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## PIECING TOGETHER THE STORY OF A PAIR OF MAKRON'S FRAGMENTED CUPS

*Summary.* In 2022, an Athenian red-figured cup attributed to Makron was returned to Italy by New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. The cup had been acquired in fragments, through purchase and gift, from multiple sources over several years, starting with two fragments from the restorer Fritz Bürki in 1978. A second cup, also attributed to Makron, was acquired in a parallel way. The sources for the fragments from both cups point to galleries collectors and donors – Summa Galleries, Frieda Tchachos, Elizabeth Hecht, and Dietrich von Bothmer – who have been associated with other material that has been repatriated to Italy in recent years. It is suggested that some of the incised 'signatures' by Hieron that are found on cups attributed to Makron may have been applied since antiquity.

### INTRODUCTION

In 1978, New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) purchased four fragments – of what turned out to be – from two separate Athenian red-figured cups attributed to Makron who is traditionally dated to the early decades of the fifth century BCE (New York MMA inv. 1978.11.7a–d; Bothmer 1977–78, 45) (Table 1). The tondo of **Cup 1** is decorated with a male and a female reclining at a symposium. On the outside Zeus is shown pursuing Ganymede, and on the other side, are pairs of courting male couples. The tondo of **Cup 2** has an older bearded man tying a fillet to a victorious youth. The two outside scenes show youthful athletes.

**Cup 1.** Formerly New York MMA inv. 1978.11.7b–c; 1979.11.8; 1988.1.4; 1989.42; [1990.120];<sup>1</sup> 1994.172; BAPD 6920; Bothmer 1982, pls. 7b, 9, 11b; Kunisch 1997, pl. 79, no. 236. (Figs. 1, 2)

**Cup 2.** New York MMA inv. 1978.11.7a, d; 1979.11.9; 1980.304; 1988.11.5; 1989.43; 1990.170; 1995.540; BAPD 6917; Bothmer 1982, pls. 7a, d, 11e, 13; Kunisch 1997, pl. 85, no. 250. (Figs. 7, 8, 10, 11)

<sup>1</sup> Although this fragment was listed on the original digital record for **Cup 1**, inv. 1990.120 is a mid-fifteenth century French chalice. We suggest that this was a mis-reading for inv. 1990.170 that forms part of **Cup 2**.

MAKRON'S FRAGMENTED CUPS

TABLE 1

The fragments from the two Athenian cups acquired by New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art and attributed to Makron

Cup 1	Cup 2	Source
1978.11.7b, c	1978.11.7a, d	Purchase, Fritz Bürki
1979.11.8	1979.11.9	Purchase, Summa Galleries
	1980.304	Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer
1988.11.4	1988.11.5	Purchase, Frieda Tchacos
1989.42		Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer
	1989.43	Gift of Elizabeth Hecht
[1990.120]*	1990.170	Gift of Frieda Tchacos in honour of Dietrich von Bothmer
1994.172		Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer
	1995.540	Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer

\*Fragment 1990.120 does not appear to have existed as it was assigned to a different object in the collection.



FIGURE 1

Tondo from **Cup 1**. Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Open Access Scheme).



FIGURE 2

Fragments of **Cup 1** featuring in the Medici Dossier (Source: Christos Tsirogiannis).

Makron is highly regarded by those who study Athenian pot-painters and has been the subject of a monograph by Norbert Kunisch (1997). The painter received specific interest from Sir John Beazley who in his study of red-figured pots in North American collections had commented (1918, 102):

Makron's figures are heavier and less active than those of the Panaitios painter and his followers, and his men and youths less interesting than his women. Indeed the signal beauty of his drawing resides in his women's clothes. Of his four or five best vases, three are in praise of women, the Boston kotyle, the Berlin maenad cup and the Berlin cup with the Judgment of Paris.

He expanded on the painter in a lecture delivered in Cambridge and Basel in 1955 and 1956, concluding, 'he is among the masters of archaic vase-painting in its prime' (in Kurtz 1989, 97). Gisela M.A. Richter, a distinguished curator at the MMA, described Makron as 'one of the great cup painters of his generation' (1936, 74) and observed, 'his paintings are made notable by his masterly line' (1958, 81). Martin Robertson placed Makron as one of 'three leading cup-painters' alongside Douris and the Brygos painter (1992, 100–6; see also Stupperich 2019). For Sir John Boardman, Makron's best works could be considered 'impressive and calm' (1975, 140). John H. Oakley has commented, 'Makron is the most prolific vase painter known and one of the great Late Archaic Attic red-figure cup-painters' (2000, 135; see also Boardman 1975, 140); Mary B. Moore claims that Makron was 'one of the best painters of Attic red-figured cups' (2001, 88) and notes that his drawing 'is always very expressive and accomplished' (Moore and Philippides 1986, 102).

The opportunity to acquire material – even if fragmentary – decorated by such a celebrated pot painter was not one that was easily ignored. The MMA's acquisition of the initial four fragments was presumably made on the advice of the curator of Greek and Roman Art, Dietrich von Bothmer, who shortly afterwards presented an essay on the painter to honour Martin Robertson, the one-time Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Oxford (Bothmer 1982). Bothmer observed (1982, 52):

Probably devoid of over-powering ambition, he is very much in love with his art, excelling in those aspects of it where he knew that he had no rivals. There are no truly bad vases by Makron, and if some are less interesting to us than others, hardly any are drawn in haste and sloppily executed.

Astonishingly, or perhaps fortuitously, further fragments of both cups were to join these four initial pieces from a range of other sources over the next few years.

The acquisition of these initial four fragments and their estranged companions may have turned out to have been more significant than had been realised. On July 11, 2022, a search warrant was issued by the Supreme Court of the State of New York for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the list included 'a terracotta red-figure kylix ... dated ca. 490 B.C. ... valued at \$1,200,000': this was clearly **Cup 1**. It was handed over to Italian authorities along with other items seized from the museum and has been returned to Italy where it will be displayed in the Museo dell'Arte Salvata in Rome alongside other material that had been acquired and subsequently returned by numerous north American public and private collections (see Gill 2018).

#### THE SOURCES FOR THE CUP FRAGMENTS

##### a. Fritz Bürki

The reason for returning **Cup 1** lies in the identified sources for the fragments. The vendor for the initial four fragments for both cups has been identified as Fritz Bürki, a 'conservator' or restorer, who undertook work for the dealer Robert Hecht (McNall 2003, 27) including the Sarpedon krater that was purchased by the MMA for \$1 million in 1972 (Gill 2012). Marion True, a one-time curator at the Getty Museum, suggested that there was a partnership between Bürki and Hecht (Watson and Todeschini 2006, 206). The name of Bürki has been linked to some of the 1,100 or more pieces that have been returned to Italy in recent years from north American collections (e.g. Gill 2018, 307–8, nos. 4, 8, 12 [Boston], 310–13, nos. 2–4, 13, 21–4, 31, 47 [J. Paul Getty Museum]): he also supplied material to the Virginia Museum of Art (Tsirogiannis 2013) as well as to the Louvre (a Sicilian bell-krater purchased in 1986; inv. CA 7249: Pasquier 1998). The appearance of Bürki's name in association with the MMA Makron fragments should raise concerns and may also imply that the fragments were originally sourced from Hecht.

##### b. The Summa Galleries

The following year, in 1979, several further fragments from the two cups were purchased from Summa Galleries in Beverly Hills as part of the Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried Gift (inv. 1979.11.8–9: Bothmer 1978–79, 34). These new fragments allowed a better understanding of the iconography of the cups. **Cup 1** shows on the tondo, a bearded man with a semi-naked woman reclining at a symposium. **Cup 2** shows on the tondo a youthful athlete being presented with a garland by an older man. The cups are also 'signed' (perhaps as potter, *epoisen*) by Hieron whose name appears on the handles.

The extent of the fragments that had been acquired for **Cup 1** and **Cup 2** by 1982 is shown in Bothmer's publication (1982, pls. 7b, d, 9a–b, 11b, e, 13a–b). The fragments of **Cup 1** that were supplied by Summa Galleries appear in three polaroids from the photographic dossier seized from Giacomo Medici in the Geneva Freeport, thus indicating the source of his stock (see also Gill and

Tsirogiannis 2016) (Fig. 2). The Medici fragments include much of the tondo, and parts of both sides of the exterior. The presence of Medici fragments within the acquisition from the Summa Galleries raises further questions. True suggested that not only did Hecht and Bürki work together but that Hecht and Bruce McNall were in partnership in the Summa Galleries (Watson and Todeschini 2006, 130, 206). McNall, the owner of the Summa Galleries, recalled his encounter with Hecht and the fragments of an unidentifiable pot (2003, 28):

[Hecht] brought me inside [the hotel room] where the pieces of an ancient vase were arranged on the bed on top of the wrinkled newspaper that had been used for its protection. Bob had obviously just acquired it; there was still dirt on some of the pieces. He was no doubt intending to have Fritz Buerki – the same restorer who had handled the Euphronios krater – fit it back together.

McNall confirmed that ‘the stock’ for his gallery ‘would be supplied mainly to Bob Hecht’, and then added, ‘In fact, I hardly ever acquired pieces from anyone else’ (McNall 2003, 41). Given the links between Bürki and Hecht, and Hecht and McNall, it seems feasible that the MMA fragments acquired in 1978 and 1979 originated with Hecht and were supplied separately via Bürki and The Summa Galleries. The Geneva polaroid photographs would suggest that the fragments originated with Medici. The Summa Galleries were additionally the source of a separate red-figured cup fragment attributed to Makron that was acquired by the Getty (Malibu inv. 86. AE.698.29; BAPD 22119; Kunisch 1997, pl. 78, no. 231; see Walsh 1987, 161 under no. 8 [‘Los Angeles art market’]).

### c. *Dietrich von Bothmer*

In 1980, Dietrich von Bothmer presented a further fragment of **Cup 2**, ‘attributed to Makron’, to the museum (inv. 1980.304: Bothmer 1980–81, 36), and then in 1989 another fragment of **Cup 1** (inv. 1989.42: Bothmer 1988–89, 29). Bothmer went on to donate further fragments from each of the two cups: one in 1994 from **Cup 1** (inv. 1994.172: Picón 1993–94, 35), and in 1995 a further fragment of **Cup 2** (inv. 1995.540: Metropolitan Museum of Art 1995–96, 17). It is not clear where or when the first fragment had been acquired by him, but the piece for **Cup 2** (inv. 1995.540) had been acquired in 1980, the same year that he gave his first piece for that cup (inv. 1980.304). It is unclear why it took from 1980 to 1995 for Bothmer to realise or to acknowledge that the fragment was derived from **Cup 2**: the research for Kunisch’s monograph may, perhaps, have been the prompt. Certainly, Bothmer was acquiring some of his Makron material from a number of sources including Hecht (‘R.E.H.’ e.g. New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.3828; Emory University, Carlos Museum inv. 2006.051.015, acquired in 1968), Bürki (‘F.B.’, e.g. New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.7136 [Figs. 3 and 4]), the dealer Nikolas Koutoulakis (‘N.K.’, e.g. New York MMA 2011.604.1.7139; Emory University, Carlos Museum inv. 2003.060.007, acquired June 1978; 2006.051.016A/B; 2006.051.017; 2006.051.015; see also Gill 2019), the dealer Mario Bruno of Lugano (e.g. Emory University, Carlos Museum inv. 2003.060.008, acquired May 1989), and Jiri Frel, one-time curator at the Getty (e.g. New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.463).

A study of the thousands of fragments that once formed Bothmer’s personal collection show that they were derived from a wide range of sources. One of the MMA amphora fragments attributed to the Amasis painter that was returned to Italy alongside the Makron cup (**Cup 1**) had been acquired by Bothmer from Galerie Antike Kunst Palladion, Basel, in 1985 (New York MMA inv. 1985.53: BAPD 14680; Bothmer 1985, 76, no. 2bis): the gallery was linked to Gianfranco Becchina, and six other pieces in the 2022 MMA seizure were derived from this source.



FIGURE 3  
Cup attributed to Makron. New York MMA 2011.604.1.7136 (Source: Open Access Scheme).



FIGURE 4  
Cup attributed to Makron with label recording Fritz Bürki (FB) as the source. New York MMA 2011.604.1.7136 (Source: Open Access Scheme).

Becchina is indicated as a source for other fragments in the Bothmer collection (e.g. New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.7830). The fact that parts of Bothmer's extensive collection of pot fragments was formed from insecure sources is further emphasised by the fact that a batch of 40 fragments had to be returned to Italy from the MMA when joins or associations were made with repatriated pots that had been originally acquired by other museums (Gill 2018, 290–1; 2020a, 164–9; see also Tsirogiannis and Gill 2014). Moreover, Bothmer had supplied fragments for two other pots that had already been returned to Italy from the Getty: the krater attributed to the Berlin painter, and the Onesimos cup (Williams 1991; Godart and De Caro 2007, 78–9, no. 10, 94–5, no. 18;

Padgett 2017, 395, no. BN29; Gill 2018, 290, 311–12, nos. 5 and 20; Gill 2020c, 2; Tsirogiannis 2020, 138–9). The repeated inclusion of former Bothmer fragments among the returns to Italy appears to imply that he was acquiring items from dealers who seem to have appropriated them from illicit sources.

#### d. Frieda Tchacos

In 1988, two further fragments for each of the two Makron cups were purchased from Frieda Tchacos, owner of Galerie Nefer in Switzerland, from what was then known as the Classical Purchase Fund (inv. 1988.11.4–5: Bothmer 1988–89, 29). Bothmer commented specifically on these purchases (Bothmer 1988–89, 29; see also Nørskov 2002, 157):

Of special interest was the opportunity we had to complete, very nearly, two fragmentary cups signed by Hieron as potter and painted by Makron; these had been acquired in 1979, a purchase that for once actually filled a gap. With the restoration of the cups now finished, they rank among the most impressive by that artist in the Museum.

Bothmer's statement draws attention to the purchase of the bulk of the cups from the Summa Galleries in 1979 rather than the purchase of the first four fragments from Bürki in 1978. In 1990, Tchacos presented a further cup fragment from **Cup 2** to the museum in honour of Dietrich von Bothmer (inv. 1990.170: Picón 1990–91, 31, 'Red-figured cup fragment ... attributed to Makron').<sup>2</sup> This pattern of supplying further fragments for figure-decorated pots has been seen in the sequence between the gifts of fragments made to the Getty Museum by Werner Nussberger: they were followed soon after by sales of fragments from the same pots from Galerie Nefer owned by Nussberger's wife, Frieda Nussberger-Tchacos (Gill and Chippindale 2007a, 220; Gill 2020b). Among these gifts-purchases were the fragments of the Douris phiale that was returned by the Getty Museum to Italy (inv. 81.AE.213, 85.AE.18, 85.AE.185, 88.AE.30, L.92.AE.88.2–3: Gill and Chippindale 2007a, 209, fig. 4; Godart and De Caro 2007, 110–11, no. 14; Gill 2018, 311, no. 14). Galerie Nefer also sold a fragment of the cup that had earlier been acquired from the Bareiss collection (inv. 85.AE.466 and AE.90.AE.39.20: Kunisch 1997, no. 286; Moore 1998, 47–8, pl. 436, 5, no. 64 [without noting the source]; see Walsh 1986, 187 under no. 21). Bothmer noted that the cup contained 'several tiny fragments formerly in the collection of Blatter' (Bothmer 1982, 33, no. 17A). Further Makron cup fragments, apparently unrelated to the other pieces, were purchased by the Getty from Galerie Nefer in 1997 (inv. 97.AE.22.14–17). Tchacos has also been associated with some of the pot fragments from the former collection of J. Robert Guy that was acquired by Harvard University (see Paul 1997): David Mitten, who was involved with the acquisition, was reported as saying that 'he and Cuno knew that two antiquities dealers known to traffic in looted antiquities – Robert Hecht and Frieda Tchacos – were the source of some of the fragments' (Felch 2011).

#### e. Elizabeth Hecht

A further fragment of MMA's **Cup 2** was given to the museum in 1989 by Elizabeth Hecht, the wife of Robert Hecht (inv. 1989.43: Bothmer 1988–89, 29). Hecht, as mentioned above,

<sup>2</sup> The initial digital record for **Cup 1** showed a cup fragment inv. 1990.120 presented by Tchacos. This may have been a transcription error for inv. 1990.170.

was an associate of Bürki and McNall, and has been linked to several returns to Italy (Gill 2018, 315, nos. 7–21 [MMA], 318, no. 4 [Shelby White]): two further pieces, a gilded silver phiale (inv. 1994.57: Picón 1994–95, 35) and an Attic black-figured neck-amphora attributed to the Princeton painter (inv. 1991.11.2: BAPD 9023766: Moore 2007, 23–4, figs. 3–6), were seized from the MMA in 2022. This Makron cup fragment may further support the hypothesis that the initial fragments from Bürki and the Summa Galleries were derived from Hecht.

*f. The implication of the donors*

What do the collecting histories for these two cups imply? We do not know if the cups were found together though that is a possibility given that they seem to have travelled through the market in parallel trajectories. It appears that **Cup 1** passed through the hands of Giacomo Medici, and it seems likely that by 1978 the two fragmented cups were in the hands of Hecht, and that two fragments from each of the two cups were sold to the MMA by Bürki who restored such recently surfaced objects for Hecht. It seems possible that Hecht supplied the fragments that entered Bothmer's private collection: he is known to have supplied a fragment of a cup attributed to the School of Makron in October 1980 (New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.6635) (Figs. 5 and 6). Hecht may well have retained some of the fragments of the two cups: this would explain how his wife had been in the position to present a fragment to MMA in 1989. It does raise questions about the



FIGURE 5

Cup fragment attributed to the School of Makron. New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.6635 (Source: Open Access Scheme).

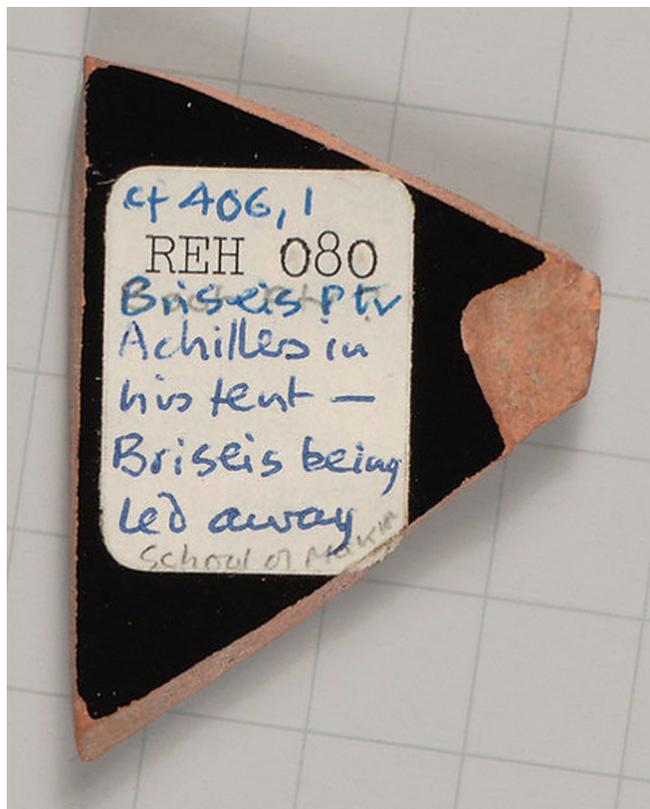


FIGURE 6

Label on the cup fragment attributed to the School of Makron indicating that it was acquired from Robert Hecht (REH). New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.6635 (Source: Open Access Scheme).

potential relationship between Hecht and Galerie Nefer as Tchacos had handled fragments from both cups. Certainly, the organigram showing the relationships in the antiquities market that was seized by the Carabinieri in September 1995 indicates a link between Hecht and Tchacos (Watson and Todeschini 2006).

#### OTHER MMA ACQUISITIONS OF CUPS ATTRIBUTED TO MAKRON IN 1979

The two cups were not the only pots attributed to Makron that were acquired by MMA in 1979. Three others were acquired in the same year: a number of fragments as a gift from Bothmer (inv. 1979.136: BAPD 275244; Bothmer 1978–79, 34; 1982, 30 [‘sent to the Vatican ... they supply many of the missing heads’]; Kunisch 1997, pl. 96, no. 296 [apparently from the same cup as fragments in the Vatican]); a fragmentary cup showing satyrs and maenads that was purchased from an unnamed source (via the Mr & Mrs Martin Fried Gift; inv. 1979.11.11; BAPD 6919: Bothmer 1978–79, 34; Bothmer 1982, 34, pls. 7c, 10, 11c, no. 39a; Kunisch 1997, pl. 58, no. 162); and a third was purchased, again from an anonymous source (Norbert Schimmel Gift Fund;

inv. 1979.11.4; 1979.11.16 [4 fr.]: BAPD 6918; Bothmer 1978–79, 34; Bothmer 1982, 34, pls. 11d, f, 12, no. 39b; Kunisch 1997, pl. 59, no. 164). Further fragments of the third cup, originally attributed to the Euaion painter, were purchased from an unnamed source in 1980 (inv. 1980.11.5: Bothmer 1979–80, 37). This cup also carried a painted, rather than incised, ‘signature’ of Hieron.

Should the sources for these other fragmentary cups be disclosed at some future point as part of the MMA’s new stated spirit of transparency (Hollein 2023), it may be possible to work out whether or not they travelled through the market alongside the fragments of the other two Makron cups acquired by the MMA in the same year from Summa Galleries.

#### ACQUISITIONS OF POTS ATTRIBUTED TO MAKRON IN OTHER COLLECTIONS

The number of fragments attributed to Makron have grown since the initial work of Beazley. Bothmer commented on the phenomenon and observed, ‘Since 1968, when *Paralipomena* went to press, many new vases and fragments that can be attributed to Makron have come to light ...’ (Bothmer 1982, 31). Bothmer lists just over 100 new fragments of which 74 come from ‘a private collection on Centre Island, New York’,<sup>3</sup> eight on the Swiss market (in several locations), six in the Bareiss collection, and five that had been acquired by the MMA (including **Cups 1** and **2**).

Bothmer’s personal collection has featured prominently. It has been noted earlier that some of the Makron fragments from his collection that had been derived from Hecht, Koutoulakis and Bruno were presented to the Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University; other pieces do not provide specific information about their recent history (e.g. Emory University, Carlos Museum inv. 2005.058.003, acquired May 1974; inv. 2003.060.006). Bothmer is linked to acquisitions by other collections. In 1990, he gave a fragment of a cup attributed to Makron to Princeton University Art Museum (inv. y1990-54) to join two fragments of the same cup showing an Ilioupersis with Helen and Menelaos that had been purchased (with an anonymous gift) by the museum in the same year (inv. y1990-20a, b: BAPD 22040; Princeton University Art Museum 1991, 58; Kunisch 1997, pl. 45, no. 135; Padgett 2017, 368–9, no. 83). These pieces, attributed to Makron by J. Robert Guy (the then curator: see Padgett 2020), were joined by a further fragment in 1998 as a gift of Mr & Mrs Peter Sharrer (inv. 1998-25): the catalogue specifically links this later addition to the fragments acquired in 1990. The Sharrers had given other Makron fragments, also attributed by Guy, to Princeton in 1985 (inv. y1985-61.1–3: BAPD 21666; Kunisch 1997, pl. 146, no. 432; BAPD 21688; Kunisch 1997, pl. 132, no. 382; pl. 156, no. 469).

Peter Sharrer is reported to have sold Guy’s collection of pot fragments to Harvard University in 1995 (Cuno 1997–98; Paul 1997; see Gill 2022, 79). This collection contained four fragments attributed to Makron (inv. 1995.18.88, 89, 101, 163; Paul 1997, nos. 74–7). Although the origin of the fragments in the Guy collection was not disclosed by Harvard, three fragments attributed to Euphronios that had formed part of the same Guy collection are now part of the Carlos Museum at Emory University (inv. 2005.026.004.A–B, 2005.026.005: BAPD 9021695; Louvre 1990, nos. 25 and 50). When the pieces were sold at Sotheby’s (New York) on June

<sup>3</sup> This would appear to be Bothmer’s private collection. For example, Bothmer 1982, 34, no. II.61A = New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.7161a, b (a sticker indicates ‘61A’). The fragment was acquired from Fritz Bürki (FB) in 1977. Bothmer 1982, 36, no. VI.125C = New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.7168 (a sticker indicates ‘125C’). The fragment was acquired from Robert Hecht (REH) in January 1980.

7, 2005 (lots 25 and 26),<sup>4</sup> it was noted that the fragments were ‘acquired together on the European art market in 1982/1983 as part of a group of fragments by various painters’. This implies that part of the Guy collection of fragments was acquired from this same European source. One of the fragments even indicated that it was derived from a private collection in England prior to 1984. Are these the same sources? Could the private collector have been a dealer? (Dealers are sometimes presented in the academic literature as private collectors: e.g. Padgett 1983–86 [1991].) This same European source may have been the origin of Guy’s fragments for the amphora attributed to the Berlin painter that were supplied to join the rest of the pieces in MMA (Gill 2020c): the amphora has since been returned to Italy. Additionally, Guy’s name has been associated with the large batch of Athenian cup fragments that was acquired by the San Antonio Museum of Art via Edoardo Almagià: like the Berlin painter’s amphora, they have been returned to Italy (Gill 2022).

In 1981, the Getty received three fragments from Bothmer that were derived from two separate cups attributed to Makron (Malibu inv. 81.AE.192.2–4). In the same year a series of fragments attributed to Makron were given by Werner Nussberger (Malibu inv. 81.AE.206.B.22, B23, B24, B25a, B37, B59, D.2315, 81.AE.212.4), as well as a further fragment presented by the Getty curator Jiri K. Frel (Malibu inv. 81.AE.9). Additional Makron fragments were acquired in 1983 from Herbert L. Lucas (Malibu inv. 83.AE.284.107, 120, 163, 185, 83.AE.286). Lucas, as well as Bothmer, supplied fragments of the Getty’s krater attributed to the Berlin painter that was returned to Italy (inv. 77.AE.5 [Lucas], 82.AE.124 [Vasek Polak], 84.AE.972 [Bothmer], 84.AE.68 [Galerie Nefer], 87.AE.51 [Frederick H. Schultz Jr.]: Padgett 2017, 395, no. BN29) suggesting that they had both derived their pieces from a suspect (and presumably the same) source. A further group of Makron fragments was acquired from the Bareiss collection in 1985 (e.g. Malibu inv. 85.AE.291, 292, 315, 337, 478: Moore 1998, nos. 61–3, 65–7, 95).

Other cups attributed to Makron include a fragment showing a Thracian rider that surfaced on the New York market through Hecht, and was then sold at Christie’s (New York) on June 4, 2008 (lot 181) before entering the Fordham University collection (inv. 2008.15: Cavaliere and Udell 2012, 62–3, no. 16). Another Makron cup showing a Thracian was acquired by Bothmer from Hecht (New York, MMA inv. 2011.604.1.7215: BAPD 21985; Kunisch 1997, pl. 108, no. 321). An additional cup passed through the collection of Elie Borowski (BAPD 2573: Leipen *et al.* 1984, 13–14, no. 10; noted by Nørskov 2002, 357) and was then sold at Christie’s (New York) on June 12, 2000 (lot 76).

#### FRAGMENTARY CUPS FROM OLD COLLECTIONS

Some of the fragments of the two MMA Makron cups were derived from individuals who have been linked to objects returned to Italy: Bürki, Bothmer, Hecht, McNall, and Tchacos. However, the emergence of fragments need not necessarily point to recent looting. It is clear that pots first known in the nineteenth century (or earlier) might have missing fragments that have resurfaced in recent years. The Campana collection was one of the key collections of Attic pottery (e.g. Beazley 1933; Heesen and Iozzo 2019). For example, in 1973 and 1974 Bothmer presented to MMA fragments of a cup attributed to Makron that showed in the tondo a reclining bearded

<sup>4</sup> See <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2005/antiquities-n08104/lot.25.html> and <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2005/antiquities-n08104/lot.26.html> (viewed on October 25, 2022).

banqueter playing kottabos (New York MMA inv. 1973.175.6, 1974.186: BAPD 6921 and 204781; Bothmer 1982, pls. 7a, 8a–c, 11a; Kunisch 1997, pl. 301). In 1975, they were joined by further fragments, originally part of the Campana collection, that were placed on loan from the Louvre (New York MMA inv. L.1975.65.21, .22): the cup's history was recorded as:

Until 1857, collection of Giampietro Campana, Rome; 1857, seized by Papal State; 1861, acquired by Napoléon III; 1863, transferred to Musée du Louvre.

A further fragment of the cup was added in 1986 as a gift from Bothmer (New York MMA inv. 1986.67).

A second cup represented by Campana fragments in the Louvre, and attributed to a follower of Makron, has been reunited with fragments in New York that were presented from the Bareiss and the Bothmer collections (Louvre inv. Cp 11814, 1981.538 = New York MMA L.1981.42.1; New York MMA inv. 1980.538, 1987.182.2A–B: BAPD 209992; Bothmer 1982, 35, no. III.95B). A third cup in the Louvre and attributed to Makron consisted of fragments from the Campana collection that were joined with fragments from the Musée St. Raymond in Toulouse (Louvre inv. Cp 11281: BAPD 204767).

The breaking of figure-decorated pots re-emerged as a phenomenon in the early twentieth century (Nørskov 2022, 126–9). This course of action allowed several museums to acquire fragments of what were perceived by scholarship as works by important pot decorators. It also helped the fragments to become collectible and thereby enhance their value on the market. However, the circulation of fragments that emerged in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century – Williams' so-called 'innocent material' (Williams 2020, 2) – should not be used as an excuse to justify the more recently formed sherd collections that may have been derived from more contemporary illicit diggings at sites of archaeological significance and then distributed through what could be considered as tainted sources.

#### INCISED SIGNATURES

Makron's name is known from a painted inscription, Makron *egraphsen*, on a skyphos that is decorated with the Trojan War myth of Helen: the piece was found at Suessula and is now in Boston (MFA inv. 13.185: BAPD 204681; Kurtz 1989, 84–5, pls. 66–7; Cohen 1991, 69–70, figs. 33–4; see also Nørskov 2022, 130). The verb, *egraphsen*, is traditionally interpreted to indicate the decorator of the pot, though it could equally refer to the designer and may have been derived or copied from higher status gold-figured silver plate (Vickers and Gill 1994, 154–68). As on the Boston skyphos, works attributed to Makron often carry what is perceived as a potter's inscription, Hieron *epoiesen* (Ἱέρων ἐποίησεν). It has been suggested that Hieron may have been the workshop owner in which Makron operated (Robertson 1972, 181–2; a response to Cook 1971; for caution, Boardman 2001, 128–9). Such 'painter' and 'potter' 'signatures' are a common feature of Athenian pottery (Hurwit 2015, 71–96).

Over 50 examples of Hieron's signature, some incised and a few painted, are known (Richter 1917; Bothmer 1982, 45–6; Cohen 1991, 69; see also Sapirstein 2013, 497) (Table 2). Both MMA cups carry incised signatures on the handles (Fig. 9). Bothmer himself owned several Hieron signatures, both incised (e.g. New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.7318, [Fig. 10] 7356, 7357, 7358, 7359, 7360 [BAPD 21948]) (Fig. 11) and painted (New York MMA inv. 2011.604.1.7355), that formed part of his collection. A painted signature is found inside the handle on the Makron cup once

TABLE 2  
Incised signatures for Hieron (based on Cohen 1991, 92, n. 118)

Museum	Shape	BAPD	Kunisch	Findspot
London, Christie's 12 June 2000, lot 76; formerly Borowski	Cup	2573	47	-
Basel, private, H. Cahn HC740	Cup B fr.	22072	81	-
Cambridge 12.27	Cup	204826	143	Poggio Sommavilla
New York MMA 1979.11.16	Cup B fr.	6918	164	-
London E61	Cup B	204827	172	Vulci
Bochum, Funcke S507; formerly Basel, M&M	Cup fr.	275245	227	-
New York MMA 79.11.8	Cup B fr.	6920	236	-
New York MMA 79.11.9	Cup B fr.	6917	250	-
Louvre S1318	Cup	204892	256	-
Louvre G141	Cup	204766	262	-
Berlin 2291	Cup B	204685	295	Vulci
Boston 13.186	Skyphos	204681	300	Suessula
New York MMA 12.231.1	Cup B	204828	301	Vulci
Louvre G145	Cup	204732	313	-
London E140	Skyphos	204683	319	Capua (Brygos tomb)
Louvre G146 = Berlin 1970.9A	Skyphos	204682	331	-
St Petersburg 649 = ex Campana	Cup B	204694	338	-
Munich 2654	Cup B	204729	340	Vulci
Lausanne private, Gillet = Geneva, private = Christie's 13 Oct 2020, lot 42	Cup B	204868	342	-
Berlin 2290	Cup	204730	345	Vulci
Rome, Villa Giulia				
Bochum S1062 [Bothmer 19A]	Cup fr.	13378	352	-
New York MMA 20.246	Cup B	204800	377	Vulci?
Louvre G143	Cup	204830	381	Vulci
Bochum S1107 = Basel M&M [Bothmer 185A]	Cup	9017885	383	-
Berlin 2292	Cup	204878	386	Vulci
Oxford 1966.498	Cup fr.	204834	394	-
Louvre G142	Cup	204881	396	Chiusi?
Rome, Villa Giulia	Cup fr.	204903	399	-
Rome, Villa Giulia 916	Cup	204880	400	Falerii
Frankfurt Univ. B404	Cup fr.	204882	407	Orvieto
Athens, Acr. 325	Cup	204701	437	Athens, Acropolis
New York MMA 08.258.57	Cup	204890	450	Falerii
Athens, Acr. 326	Cup fr.	205041	451	Athens, Acropolis
Munich, part of 2648A	Cup fr.	205043	452	Vulci
New York MMA 2011.604.1.7356	Cup handle		453	-
New York MMA 2011.604.1.7357	Cup handle		454	-
New York MMA 2011.604.1.7358	Cup handle		455	-
New York MMA 2011.604.1.7318	Cup handle		456	-
Philadelphia market = Basel M&M	Cup handle	275250	457	-
New York MMA 2011.604.1.7360	Cup handle	21948	515	-
New York MMA 2011.604.1.7359	Cup handle			-
Boston 95.28 = Florence, Museo Archeologico 11B44 [Telephos painter]	Cup fr.	205036		Vulci
Boston 98.931 [Telephos painter]	Cup	205037		Eastern Etruria

owned by Elie Borowski (BAPD 2573: Leipen *et al.* 1984, 13–14, no. 10),<sup>5</sup> the cup in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum inv. GR.12.1927: BAPD 204826), and another in the Cahn collection (BAPD 21123).

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2020/ancient-sculpture-and-works-of-art/an-attic-red-figured-kylix-attributed-to-makron-as> (viewed on 24 October 2022).



FIGURE 7

Inside of **Cup 2**. Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Open Access Scheme).

Some of the cups with incised signatures can be traced back to the nineteenth century suggesting that the inscriptions are likely to have been applied in antiquity and are therefore genuine. For example, the cup in MMA that was purchased in 1912 was reported to have been found at Vulci: the earliest record of the cup is dated to 1837 (inv. 12.231.1: BAPD 204828; Richter 1936, 72–5, no. 52). A cup now in Boston, but attributed to the Telephos painter rather than Makron, was reported to have been found at Vulci prior to 1835 (Boston MFA inv. 95.28: BAPD 205036). The signed Makron skyphos from the Brygos Tomb at Capua was reported to have been found in the excavations that took place *c.*1870 (London BM inv. 1873.0820.375; BAPD 204683; Beazley 1945, 156; Kurtz 1989, 85, pls. 78–9; Williams 1992, 625–6, figs. 6–9, 634, fig. 24). These signatures could be considered as ‘secure’.

However, it has been observed for Hieron’s incised signatures that they were ‘not all by one hand’ (Immerwahr 1990, 89). Some use a plain *rho*, or a three-barred or four-barred *sigma*: there are also some inconsistent spellings (Cohen 1991, 70). This implies that either Hieron’s name was applied by several literate colleagues in antiquity, or that in some cases the text was added in more



FIGURE 8

Hieron *epoiesen* on the handle of **Cup 2**. Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Open Access Scheme).

recent years. Certainly, concerns have been raised about the integrity of some of these signatures. Robertson, for example, noted:

Incised inscriptions are, as we have noticed, inevitably suspect. A few of Hieron's have been thought, but not proved, false. The great majority, however, are surely genuine. (Robertson 1992, 101).

It is not clear how many of these 50 signatures are ancient or how many have been added to the pots or the fragments in recent years. One of the incised signatures that has been considered suspect is on the cup now in the University of Mississippi (inv. 1977.3.105: BAPD 204724; Robinson 1938, 15, pl. iv, 1a–c, v; see also Cohen 1991, 92, n. 118). The cup had earlier formed part of the Edward P. Warren (1860–1928) collection in Lewes, Sussex (see Sox 2004), and was said



FIGURE 9  
Exterior of Cup 2. Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Open Access Scheme).



FIGURE 10  
Cup handle with inscribed Hieron epoiesen. New York, MMA inv.2011.604.1.7318 (Open Access Scheme).



FIGURE 11

Exterior of **Cup 2** and the Hieron inscription on the handle. Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Open Access Scheme).

to have been found at Capua. Robinson commented on the signature, ‘There seems no reason to believe that the signature is other than genuine’. In this he followed Beazley (Beazley 1925, 213, 474, no. 24bis), and then added:

The letters are very similar in detail of form and incision to those of the signature on the kylix in the Villa Giulia which I carefully examined for comparison.

Kunisch commented on the inscription found on the Warren cup, ‘Möglicherweise nicht antik’ (Kunisch 1997, 6 n. 6, 162, no. 20, pl. 12). The implication of doubting the inscription on the Warren Makron cup is that it raises the possibility that such inserted incised inscriptions were circulating by the early 1920s and probably prior to the First World War. It should be remembered that the Warren collection contained a number of classical forgeries and the addition of inscriptions to enhance the interest in a particular item is a possible scenario (Sande 2017; see also Williams 2004, 109).

#### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT(S) FOR THE TWO MAKRON CUPS

The precise findspots for both MMA Makron cups are unknown and information about their archaeological contexts has been permanently lost. The destruction of funerary groupings in order to supply the market and thus to meet the needs of museums and private collectors has intellectual consequences for the way that Attic pottery is discussed (see Gill 2012). There are

implications for how the distribution of Attic pottery is interpreted if the secure findspots only form a small percentage of the total surviving output for a particular pot painter (e.g. Saunders 2017).

Makron cup fragments have been found during the excavations in the Athenian Agora (e.g. Moore 1997, 321–2, pl. 133, no. 1424) and on the Acropolis (e.g. BAPD 46667; Kurtz 1989, 91, pls. 71.2, 72). Other cups are known to have been found in Etruria, including Cerveteri (e.g. Rome, Villa Giulia 50396: BAPD 204764), Populonia (BAPD 204972: Paoletti 1996), and Tarquinia (e.g. Tarquinia inv. 689: BAPD 205027); over 30 have the reported find-spot of Vulci. However, the majority of pots attributed to Makron do not have either a secure archaeological context or even a reported find-spot. While an Etruscan tomb is a possible find-spot for the pair of Makron cups, there can be little certainty that this is where they were found. It could, however, explain how the pair passed through the market together if they had either been found in the same tomb or in adjacent burials that were being disturbed at the same time. An example of the discovery of two cups attributed to the same painter in the same tomb can be provided by the two Attic red-figured cups attributed to Oltos that were found in the Tomb of the Kottabos in the Osteria Necropolis of Vulci (Bundrick 2015, 321–3; 2019, 118–22).

#### CONCLUSION

The fragments of the two MMA cups clearly passed through the market alongside each other, and shared fragments with a range of different collectors. **Cup 1** additionally featured in a Polaroid in the Medici Dossier, something that suggests its more recent surfacing. But what makes the status of **Cup 2** so different to that of **Cup 1**? The parallel history and ownership of the fragments for both cups would suggest that they were found at the same time and that the parts were dispersed along similar lines.

The networks through which these fragments passed raises other issues. Were dealers in, say, Switzerland, giving packets of fragments to museum curators as a way of thanking them for providing lucrative attributions that enhanced the value of donations? What was the relationship between the different dealers, specifically Hecht and Galerie Nefer? Was Medici the source for such material?

The fact that the MMA's curator, Bothmer, was one of the donors for the fragments raises a further question. Did he have any inkling or awareness that he was acquiring the fragments from dealers who had possessed them as a result of illegal activity? He was, after all, not just acquiring a handful of fragments, but his personal collection ran into well over 10,000 pieces: his donation of fragments to the Getty numbered just over 100 (Gill and Chippindale 2007a, 572). He would surely have noticed that some of the breaks were recent. Was Bothmer a one off, or were other curators aware of their sources? For example, Frel and True at the Getty, or Guy at Princeton, were acquiring items about which they must have been suspicious about their origins unless they were unconcerned about the ethics of acquiring recently surfaced antiquities (Gill 2020a, 164–79). Has the connoisseurship of Greek 'vases' been permitted, and perhaps encouraged, to take precedence over the archaeological information that these pots could convey (see Kurtz 1985; Boardman 2001, 128–38)? Has there been an intellectual approach toward the study of figure-decorated pottery that was accepting of or resigned to looting so long as the material was available for study and attribution?

The repatriated Makron **Cup 1** is part of a wider picture of recently acquired antiquities that have been returned from North American and European collections (Gill 2018; 2020a, 115–23).

Over 300 Greek pots or fragments – the majority are Athenian – have been returned to Italy from North American collections in recent years. **Cup 1** formed part of a further significant seizure of antiquities from the MMA that included several Attic pieces including a neck-amphora attributed to the Princeton painter (inv. 1991.11.2: BAPD 9023766), a mastos attributed to Psiax (inv. 1975.11.6: BAPD 4525: Mertens 1979), two amphora fragments attributed to the Amasis painter (inv. 1985.11.2, 1985.53: BAPD 14683 and 14680), and a white-ground cup attributed to the Villa Giulia painter (inv. 1979.11.15: BAPD 5330; Picón *et al.* 2007, 118, 430, no. 129). This return from the MMA may have implications for material in other collections, not just **Cup 2** attributed to Makron. For example, the MMA mastos attributed to Psiax surfaced through Palladion Antike Kunst in Basel, the same gallery as the mastos currently in the Indiana University Art Museum (Bloomington (IN) inv. 80.43: BAPD 4524; Mertens 1979, pl. 9.5–6).

The narrative for the Makron cups hinges on the sequence of fragments that were used to reform the pots. The wider MMA return included three other fragments that passed through Palladion Antike Kunst: one attributed to Lydos, and two to the Amasis painter. Athenian pot fragments have formed part of the returns from Princeton University Art Museum (Gill 2020a, 110–11) as well as the batch, linked to Edoardo Almagià, from the San Antonio Museum of Art (Gill 2022).

One of the striking features of the return of **Cup 1** is the way that the MMA removed mention of the acquisition of the cup (and its component fragments) from its website shortly after its seizure. Indeed, the digital footprint of the catalogue entry has been excised from the internet. In contrast, other museums, such as the San Antonio Museum of Art and Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, have made a point of presenting the full information about their deaccessioned objects on their websites. Such a policy should become one of good practice for all museums. The lack of a press statement about the MMA deaccessions could be seen as a strategy to limit interest in the nature of the acquisitions, and to hinder attempts to reconstruct the histories of the pieces that could shed light on the networks of illicit activities. In spite of the new declared policy of transparency at the MMA (Hollein 2023), it has not been possible to obtain further clarification about the fragments.

The example of the Makron cups also raises the way that information about Athenian pottery is presented. The Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BAPD) should consider recording not just the individual cup with a unique record, but also, within the entry, the accession records of each individual fragment. Each of these fragments has its own individual history and that specific information needs to be recorded and made available. Furthermore, the date for when an attribution is made by a named scholar could help locate when a fragment or an individual piece was passing through the market. The BAPD should indicate the authority for the information that it provides.

What actions could be expected from museums to help raise their professional standards? The basic listing in the MMA *Annual Report* around the acquisition of the fragments provides little information except for the donor (if it is a gift) and nothing (except for those providing the funds) if the fragment is a purchase. There is rarely an image provided, and certainly not of the fragments. Even the Object Registry of the Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD) provides limited information about objects.<sup>6</sup> Take, for example, the gold-figured silver phiale acquired by MMA in 2015 in honour of Thomas P. Campbell (inv. 2015.260.3). The recorded history cannot be presented further back than 2001 when Mary and Michael Jaharis are reported to have purchased the piece, along with two gold-figured silver cups, from Ariadne Galleries. The declared exemption from

<sup>6</sup> <https://aamd.org/object-registry>

the AAMD Guidelines for the acquisition of objects that surfaced after the benchmark of the 1970 UNESCO Convention is 'cumulative facts and circumstances'. Museums need to present, as far as is possible, the sequence of owners and galleries, each backed up by an authenticated source: some museums in the United Kingdom were adopting such a transparent approach to present the information back in the early 1990s when the problem of looting was acknowledged in a public way (Gill 1990; Vickers 1992). Such information can, of course, be provided on the museum's website. However, it is clear from the three Makron fragmentary cups also acquired in 1979 that information about the previous owners of the fragments ('provenance') is not presented with the rest of the data. Good museological practice would be to make this information freely available.

The study has assumed that the cups and their constituent fragments are ancient. However, it became clear that in the 1980s there was a move to create forged figure-decorated pottery (see Bothmer 1998; Bernard 2019). The antiquity of these pots was disguised by exposing the fabric to what appear to be dental x-rays. Imagine that a forged Athenian cup had been created, then deliberately smashed. Would museums want to go to the trouble and expense of TL-testing the individual fragments? Would their curatorial teams assume that the fragments themselves indicated their antiquity and therefore genuineness? Could the fragmentary nature of the cups deceive the eyes of acknowledged connoisseurs of this type of object? While we suspect that the two Makron cups are genuine, this assumption should be tested at some point in the future by scientific analysis.

Perhaps most alarming is the way that the workings of the market have stripped away information about the objects leaving them devoid of contextual data. This leaves scholars focussing on a stylistic approach that has little grounding in secure archaeological contexts that might provide a secure framework for dating the material (Kunisch 1997; see also Marlowe 2013). Students of Athenian figure-decorated pottery have perhaps over-focussed on the personalities – the potters and pot-painters – or iconographical themes rather than the archaeological contribution of the material they study. This limited appreciation of the material culture of ancient Athens and Etruria impoverishes our study of the past.

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We were unable to clarify some details relating to the fragments with the curatorial team in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the Metropolitan Museum of Art as we received no response to emails.

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