

“Nikias Made Me”: An Early Panathenaic Prize Amphora in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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MANY FESTIVALS in ancient Greece were dedicated to the gods. One of the best known is the Panathenaia, the annual celebration held in Athens to honor Athena in the first month of the Attic year, the summer month of Hekatombaion. The Panathenaia lasted several days and culminated in a grand procession that began at sunrise on the twenty-eighth, the goddess's birthday. Its terminus was the Akropolis, where sacrifices were performed and the venerated wooden statue of Athena was adorned with a new peplos woven for the occasion. About 566 B.C., the Greater Panathenaia was instituted, a more elaborate celebration that took place every four years.¹ Religious ritual and a limited number of competitions, probably mostly hippic, were a part of the festival from the time of its inception in the eighth or seventh century B.C., perhaps even earlier.² With the inauguration of the Greater Panathenaia, festival officials reorganized the games to include new contests, in particular, athletic events. At about this time, potters created a special type of vase to hold the valuable olive oil awarded to the victor in each contest.³ In the pages that follow I will discuss the context in which such works were made and chart their evolution, with a focus on the Panathenaic vase that entered The Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection in 1978—the vase that Nikias made.

The type of storage vessel in question is called a Panathenaic amphora. A typical, indeed canonical, example, which may be dated to about 520 B.C., is New York, MMA 14.130.12, by the Euphiletos Painter (Figures 1, 2).⁴ The Panathenaic amphora has an echinus-shaped mouth that is flat on top and unglazed to receive a lid, a short neck with a raised ring separating it from the shoulder, and two vertical handles that are round in section; the body is very wide at the shoulder and tapers sharply to a

narrow, echinus foot. The vase looks as if it would tip over easily and probably needed a stand to support it. Panathenaic prize amphorae hold a standard liquid measure of 38 to 39 liters (40 to 41 quarts). Their decoration is always in the Attic black-figure technique even long after that method was superseded, in the late sixth century B.C., by the more expressive red-figure technique. The figural decoration is set in panels and is also standard. Above the panel, on the obverse, just below the ring at the junction with the neck, there is a frieze of tongues, at first red alternating with black, later all black. On this side, Athena strides to the left between two columns surmounted by cocks,⁵ and an inscription alongside the left column informs the viewer that the vase was awarded as a prize: TONAΘENEΘENAΘAON (“from the Games at Athens”). Athena wears a long chiton with her aegis over her shoulders, its snaky fringe hanging down her back to waist level at least (usually farther), and on her head is a high-crested Attic helmet with L-shaped cheek pieces. A round shield held on her left arm and a spear in her raised right hand complete her image. On the reverse is a representation of the event for which the vase was awarded; on the shoulder at the junction with the neck is a zone of tongues similar to those on the obverse, but with a band of glaze that separates it from the figural panel below. A chain of lotuses and palmettes decorates each side of the neck, and above the foot is a zone of rays.⁶ The canonical Panathenaic prize amphora looked like this from about 530 B.C. until the end of the fifth century.

The earliest preserved, almost canonical, Panathenaic prize amphora is attributed to Exekias (Figures 3, 4).⁷ Exekias signs vases both as potter and as painter, and he is one of the best, if not the best, Athenian black-figure painter.⁸ As a potter, he is an innovator, introducing such shapes as the eye cup, the calyx-krater, and the amphora Type A. He also reworked known shapes, among them the neck-

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Figure 1. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to the Euphiletos Painter showing the figure of Athena, ca. 520 B.C. H. 62 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1914, 14.130.¹²

amphora and the dinos. So it is perhaps not surprising that his only known Panathenaic vase introduces features that will become standard on the canonical prize vases that begin appearing in the 520s. The Karlsruhe Panathenaic is one of Exekias's early vases and probably dates to about 540 B.C. Here, for the first time, Athena appears between two columns, her right heel raised slightly to indicate forward movement instead of a stance. There is a tongue pattern on the shoulder at the junction with the neck, and the pattern on the neck is the lotus-palmette chain. The reverse depicts two amply proportioned wrestlers flanked by a wrestler and a spectator.⁹

The formulation of the canonical Panathenaic amphora took place over a period of approximately two decades, between 550 and 530 B.C. My concern, here, is with the earlier, precanonical prize



Figure 2. Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 1 showing sprinters

vases, in particular, those datable to before 550 B.C.

In 1978, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a well-preserved Panathenaic amphora (MMA 1978.11.13) that belongs to the group of early precanonical prize vases and may be dated shortly after the games were reorganized in 566 B.C. (Figures 5–8).¹⁰ In the panel on the obverse, Athena stands facing left, her spear held threateningly in her raised right hand, her round shield with a broad red rim on her outstretched left arm. The forepart of a roaring lion, with protruding tongue, emblazons the shield. The goddess wears a simple peplos, its skirt decorated with large, red dots and a central vertical panel that has incised spirals. Small incised Xs embellish the overfold of the garment. All that may be seen of her protective aegis is a little of its scaly surface below her right arm and the heads and necks of four bearded snakes, which form its fringe. On her head is a caplike helmet with a high crest that projects above the panel where its contour is separated from the black glaze by a reserved line.¹¹ As is the custom for female figures in Attic black-figure vases, her flesh is white.¹² Athena does not stride forward but has both feet planted firmly on the ground. We see inscribed in front of her, along the edge of the panel: *TONAΘENEΘENAΘAION*. Next to the right edge is the signature of the potter Nikias: *NIKIAS EΠOIEEEN*.¹³

The event for which Nikias's Panathenaic amphora was awarded as a prize is the sprint (stadion) for men, as the inscription in the upper right corner of the reverse panel tells us: *ΑΝΔΡΟΝΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ*. Three fit runners at the peak of the race dash vigorously to the right. Only the toes of the right foot of each touch ground, and arms are outstretched to increase speed and express exertion. They are shown running in the manner introduced about this time: the thigh of the leading leg (usually the

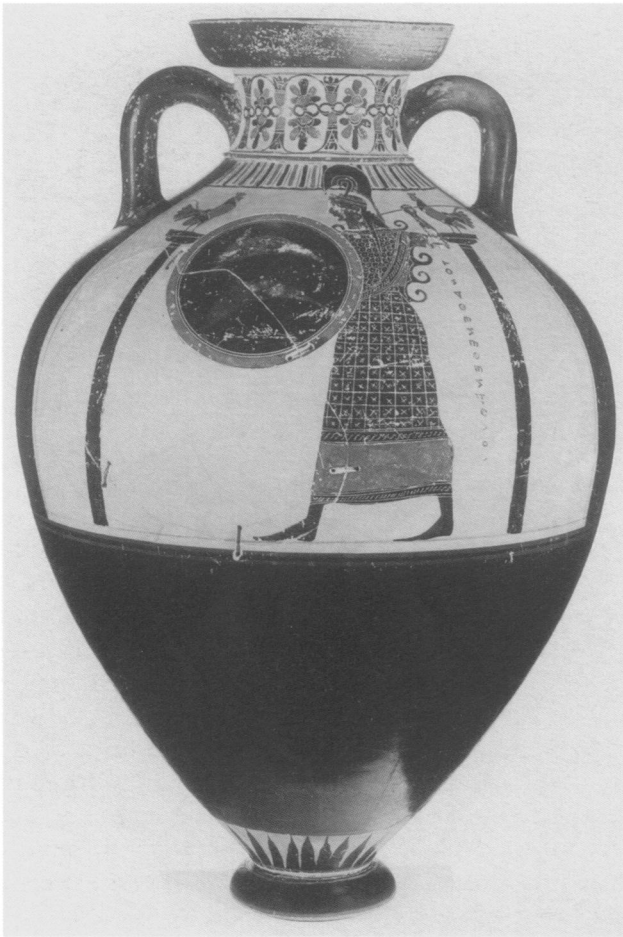


Figure 3. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to Exekias with the figure of Athena, ca. 540 B.C. H. 59.6 cm. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 65.45 (photo: Badisches Landesmuseum)

left) is raised very high so that it is roughly parallel to the ground line, with the foot well advanced; the arm on this side is raised, and both upper arms are horizontal relative to the shoulders, with the forearms bent at right angles. The visual effect is one of great energy, fully extended but ably controlled.¹⁴ The first and third runners have red hair and beards, the second a red face but black hair and beard; none has a mustache, as is frequently the case for depictions of men in the second quarter of the sixth century. In addition, around the right nipple of each is a circle in red.

Floral ornament is limited. On each side of the neck, the painter drew a lotus-palmette cross; above the restored foot appear seventeen whole and partially preserved rays. As is customary on Panathenaic amphorae, there is no ornament framing the



Figure 4. Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 3 showing wrestlers with spectators (photo: Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)

panel, only a line of glaze to provide a visual transition from the reserved glaze background of the panel to the black glaze surrounding it.

The event depicted on the New York vase is one of three types of footrace included in the Panathenaic games during the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. These were the stadion, the diaulos, and the dolichos. The first was a sprint of approximately 200 yards that was run on a straight course, and this is the race on our Panathenaic, as the inscription attests. The diaulos was twice as long, and the dolichos even longer, though divided into stades that varied in number.¹⁵ Since the oval arena with its three pillars down the center was not in use before the Hellenistic period,¹⁶ the last two races were run on a straight track as well, but, because of their greater length, the athletes had to make a turn around a post or posts.¹⁷ Thus, the runners finished at the starting place in the latter two races; in the stadion, they finished at the end opposite the start. On the Panathenaic prize vase, the sprinter in the stadion and the diaulos is clearly distinguished from the long-distance runner of the dolichos. The sprinter, because of the speed with which he must run the race, displays vigorous action, such as we see in the men on the New York vase, as well as in depictions of the diaulos generally. Our best early evidence for the diaulos is a fragmentary Panathenaic, Athens, N.M. 2468, compared by Beazley with the Painter of the Boston C.A. (C.A. for "Circe-Acheloos").¹⁸ On this piece, which today consists of only a little of Side B, the name of the race is written vertically on the right side of the panel: ΔΙΑΥΛΟΔΡΟΜΟΕΙΜΙ, retrograde.¹⁹



Figure 5. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora signed by Nikias as potter, ca. 565–560 B.C. Restored H. 61.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Bothmer Purchase Fund, 1978, 1978.11.13



Figure 6. Detail of Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 5 showing the figure of Athena, the prize inscription, and the potter's signature

Competitors in the dolichos exhibit a much more fluid and open action, akin to modern marathon runners. As far as I can tell, no precanonical Panathenaic prize vase depicts the dolichos. The earliest preserved example seems to be a work by the Euphiletos Painter, in Boston,²⁰ which probably dates in the 520s and is canonical in shape and decoration. There is no inscription naming the race; it is identified by the appearance of the runners.²¹

The New York vase signed by Nicias belongs to a group of precanonical prize Panathenaics that may be dated to before 550 B.C. Those with a known provenance come from Athens, mainly from the Akropolis, the Agora, the Kerameikos, and from tombs near these sites. Today, most of them are reduced to fragments. I shall begin with the two precanonical instances, besides our amphora, that are well preserved.

Known since the early nineteenth century is London, B.M. 1848.7–28.834 (B 160), which was discovered on May 16, 1813, in a tomb located in what

is, today, central Athens (Figures 9, 10). This vase is the namepiece of the Burgon Group, after Thomas Burgon, who supervised the excavation.²² The proportions of the London amphora are similar to those of New York, MMA 1978.11.13, and the decoration is similarly spare. The neck of the Burgon amphora shows a siren on the obverse and an owl on the reverse; above the foot are rays. In the panel of Side A, a stocky Athena strides to the left, holding on her left arm a round shield emblazoned with a leaping dolphin and in her raised right hand a spear. She has a caplike helmet, with a rather low crest that projects slightly above the panel, and wears a peplos that has a broad vertical panel decorated with squares within squares down the center of its skirt. Its neckline and the lower border of the overfold are richly patterned. The necks and heads of three spotted snakes, as well as a reserved area, signify her aegis. In front of the goddess along the edge of the panel is the prize inscription:



Figure 7. Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 5 with sprinters



Figure 8. Detail of Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 5 showing the sprinters and the inscription naming the race

TONAΘENEΘENAΘAON : EMI (“I am from the Games at Athens”).²³ The reverse depicts the synoris, a race of paired horses or mules. The animals on this vase have distinctly horse ears, but everything else points to the scene being a race for mules. First of all, they draw a cart, identified by its crossbar wheels, and the driver sits in it. If it were a chariot, the wheels would have four spokes and the charioteer would stand in the box. Second, the animals do not wear headstalls with bits and reins but are guided by a short goad and a long rod held by the driver,²⁴ a dangerous way to try to control a team of spirited horses. Third, while the chariot pole is missing today,²⁵ the animals are hitched to it by a yoke bound to the pole and attached to a collar that encircles their necks just *above* their withers; a little of the collar remains in the form of the horizontal lines with added red between them below the point where the mane stops. This type of harness contrasts with that of horses, which are hitched to the vehicle by means of a yoke attached to a yoke saddle that rests on their backs just *behind* the withers, with a cushion between the yoke saddle and animal to prevent chafing its tender skin.²⁶

The second precanonical Panathenaic is the well-preserved prize amphora in Florence attributed to Lydos (Figures 11, 12).²⁷ It is closer in design to the canonical prize vase—such as MMA 14.130.12—than are the New York Nikias and Burgon amphorae, since it has the tongue pattern on the obverse, between the top of the panel and the ring at the junction with the neck, as well as the lotus-palmette chain on each side of the neck. On Side A, Athena strides to the left holding a splendid shield, embellished with a starburst encircled by a broad, red band, and she grips a spear in her raised right hand. She wears a caplike helmet with a high crest, which overlaps the tongue pattern above, a peplos with three-dimensional folds in the skirt, and the aegis with snakes cascading down her back to a point almost level with her knees. Before her stands a nude victor holding a long fillet in his left hand. There are no columns. On Side B, Lydos depicted a chariot drawn by four horses galloping to the right, and the prize inscription is written in the field just below the top of the panel. On this side, there is no tongue pattern, though the rays are present above the foot. The



Figure 9. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to the Burgon Group, ca. 560 B.C. H. 61.3 cm. London, British Museum, 1848.7-28.834 (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

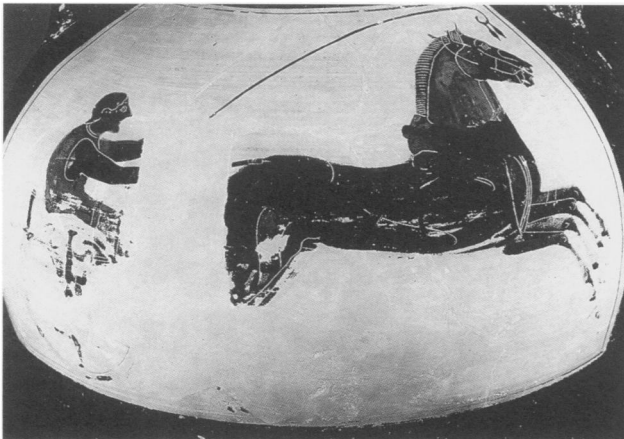


Figure 10. Detail of Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 9 showing the synoris (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Florence vase is probably later than the New York and Burgon Panathenaics.

The Burgon amphora has long been considered one of the very earliest preserved prize vases. Since hippic events were a significant part of the Panathenaic Festival's competitions from the earliest times, the synoris on the reverse of the Burgon amphora releases it from any connection with the date when the games were reorganized to include athletic events. Quite some time ago, Beazley even suggested that the Burgon amphora might predate 566 B.C.,²⁸ but today scholars are unanimous in dating it about 560 B.C.

The New York Nikias amphora, MMA 1978.11.13, sheds new and important light on the relative chronology of these early Panathenaic prize vases and their relevance to 566 B.C. In order to establish its chronological position, we may begin by considering the shape, then the placement of the panel on the body and the scheme of decoration, the style of the drawing, and, finally, the inscriptions. Our discussion will treat the four prize vases mentioned so far: the New York Nikias vase; the Burgon amphora; Lydos's vase; and the Euphiletos Painter's amphora, with which we began, for he is the first artist to leave us several prize amphorae.²⁹

From its inception, the Panathenaic shape has a top-heavy look, but if one compares the details, one may discern an evolution among these four examples, with the amphora by the Euphiletos Painter displaying the latest features. His prize vase has a shorter neck, the convex curve of its body is very tight, and its greatest diameter is lower compared with Nikias's amphora. The body of the Burgon amphora is similar in shape to the vase by the Euphiletos Painter, but it has a thicker neck, shorter handles, and its contour is not as taut (Figures 1, 9). The greatest diameter of Lydos's amphora is quite high in relation to the height, its contour is rather slack, its neck low and thick, and its handles small. In other words, there is considerable variation in shape among the three amphorae, and all these differences, taken together, are in considerable contrast with the analogous features of the canonical prize vase by the Euphiletos Painter.

Decorative elements provide better chronological guides. The lotus-palmette cross on the neck of Nikias's amphora and the absence of a tongue pattern above either panel differ markedly from the treatment of these areas on the canonical prize vase. The same applies to the Burgon amphora. Lydos, however, paints a chain of lotuses and pal-

mettes on each side of the neck of his Panathenaic (in Florence), and he places a zone of tongues above the panel on the obverse. In these two ways, his treatment of patterns foreshadows what is to come with the canonical prize vase.

More telling is the placement of the panels. On the amphora by the Euphiletos Painter, these extend from handle to handle, and the ground line occurs well below the maximum diameter of the body. In sharp contrast are the two panels on New York, MMA 1978.11.13, which are rather narrow, with a good bit of distance between them and the handles. On the Burgon amphora and Lydos's amphora, the panels are considerably wider.³⁰ On New York, MMA 1978.11.13, the figure of Athena stands approximately in the middle of the panel; on the Burgon amphora, she appears slightly to the right of center, about where she will be when the columns are introduced.³¹ Other stylistic features of New York, MMA 1978.11.13, that mark it as early are these: Athena is short and sturdy; she has both feet flat on the ground instead of one heel raised, as will be the case later; she wears a caplike helmet instead of the Attic type with L-shaped cheek pieces; the snakes of her aegis do not descend below waist level; and the skirt of her peplos has no indication of folds but is divided by a central vertical panel.³² She shares these features with the Burgon Athena. Beyond these points of comparison, we may add that the New York runners are stocky with very narrow waists, broad shoulders, and strong thighs.³³

Finally, there are the inscriptions. On New York, MMA 1978.11.13, there are three. Not only do they tell us the purpose of the vase, who made it, and what the subject is on the reverse, but the letters are thick and large. The amount of space each inscription occupies is far greater than it is on the Burgon amphora. There, the prize inscription is written in modestly sized letters in front of Athena, where it corresponds to its eventual position along the inner side of the shaft of the left column. The Burgon amphora, however, has an extra word: EMI.³⁴ Despite its deviations from the decorative scheme of the canonical Panathenaic amphora, the Burgon amphora—compared with Nikias's—is more restrained and closer to what will become the standard for the prize vase. Thus, significant details indicate that the New York amphora stands at the very beginning of this important series of Athenian black-figure vases; a bit earlier than the famous Burgon amphora, still, it is by no means alone—there

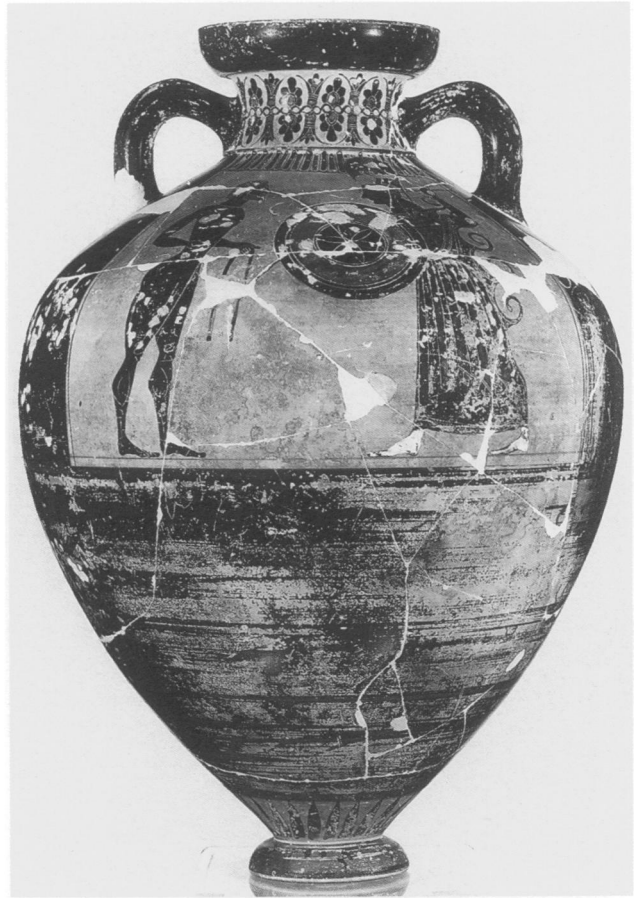


Figure 11. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to Lydos with Athena and a victor holding a fillet, ca. 550 B.C. H. 61 cm. Florence, Museo Archeologico, 97779 (photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Florence)

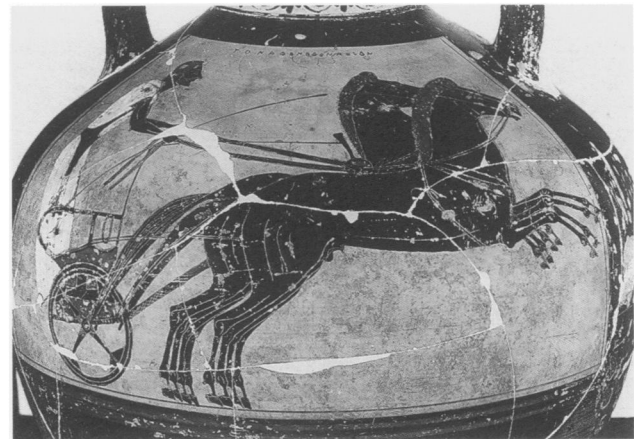


Figure 12. Detail of Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 11 showing the chariot race and the prize inscription (photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Florence)



Figure 13. Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora related to Lydos showing what remains of Athena, ca. 560 B.C. H. 59.5 cm. Halle, University, inv. 560 (photo: Halle University)

are a few, less well preserved Panathenaics, which may take their place alongside it, and they require inclusion in this discussion.

The first is the prize amphora in Halle, which Beazley related to Lydos (Figures 13, 14).³⁵ Today, the vase is restored with large pieces of painted plaster. Little remains of Athena on Side A: part of her peplos, its overfold decorated with Xs, and, above and below the belt, a broad central panel divided into two vertical rows of squares alternating with starbursts and solid circles, with the rest of the garment red; a few scales of her aegis; and a little of the rim of her shield decorated with dots. More pertinent is Side B. On the neck appears a lotus-palmette cross, similar to the one on New York, MMA 1978.11.13, except that the palmettes are smaller. In the panel, two men and a youth sprint energetically to the right and, at the upper right, is written: ANΔPON. Although the appropriate inscription is missing, Beazley had no doubt that the Halle amphora was a prize vase, and he considered it contemporary with the Burgon amphora, or perhaps a bit later.³⁶ The inscription makes clear the event was a race for men, even though one of the participants has no beard, so technically he is a youth.³⁷ The appearance of the runners tells us that it was a sprint, but whether the stadion or the diaulos is a



Figure 14. Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 13 with the race for men (photo: Halle University)

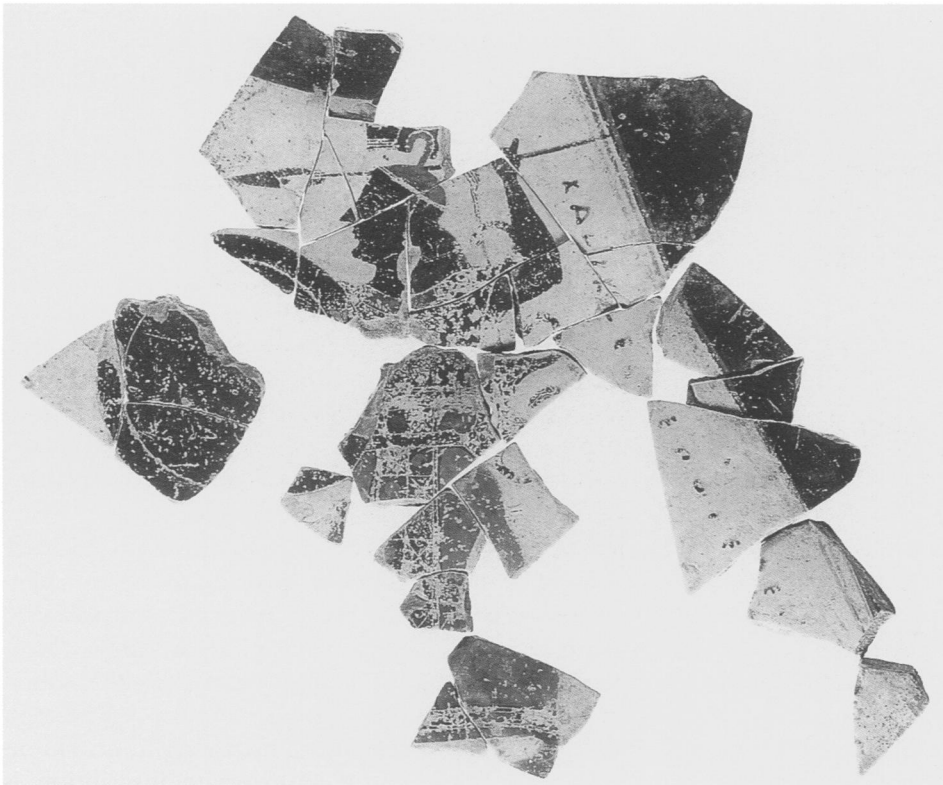


Figure 15. Side A of the fragmentary Panathenaic prize amphora by the same painter as Halle inv. 560, signed by Kallikles as potter, and showing Athena, ca. 560 B.C. Ca. 25 cm. Geneva, Collection of Jacques Chamay (photo: Jacques Chamay)

toss-up.³⁸ On both the Halle amphora and New York, MMA 1978.11.13, the panels do not quite extend to the handles, as they do on the Burgon amphora, but end well before them. Also, the four remaining letters of the inscription on the Halle

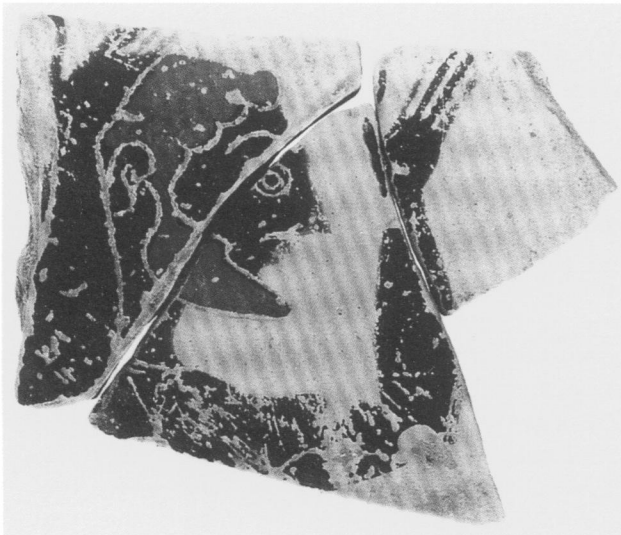


Figure 16. Detail of Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora in Figure 15 showing the head of a sprinter (photo: Jacques Chamay)

amphora are rather thick and large, similar to those on the New York vase. In other words, these inscriptions are much more a part of the figural composition than is the case with the prize inscriptions on later Panathenaics.

The Halle Panathenaic is by the same hand as a fragmentary one in the collection of Jacques Chamay, in Geneva, that is signed on the obverse by a potter named Kallikles (Figures 15, 16),³⁹ his name written behind Athena, next to the right edge of the panel. A nonjoining fragment preserves a little of the prize inscription: $\alpha\epsilon\gamma$. The reverse depicts the stadion (parts of two, probably three, runners are preserved), and there are two and a half letters remaining of the inscription that names the event: $\sigma\tau\alpha\delta\iota\omicron\nu$. A small nonjoining fragment gives parts of two letters: $\alpha\tau$, probably ANAPON . Various features confirm that the Halle amphora and the Geneva amphora are by the same painter, an observation made independently by Chamay. On each, the neckline of Athena's peplos is a wide, red band, instead of one ornamented with incision, as it is on Nikias's amphora and on many others. Her skirt has a panel that extends above and below the belt and has the same sequence of squares—incised starbursts alternating with red circles. The rest of the



Figure 17. Fragment of Side B of Panathenaic prize amphora, Akropolis 1043, with the heads of two runners and the start of the inscription naming the race, ca. 565–560 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension 11 cm. (photo: TAP Service, Athens)

skirt is red. These are uncommon features. The runners on both works are also similar: compare the head of the runner on the Geneva fragment (Figure 16) with the middle runner on Halle (Figure 14); knees and other anatomical features also confirm the attribution. In fact, these two Panathenaic amphorae are so similar that the “stadion” inscription on the piece in Geneva may argue for declaring this the event depicted on the Halle amphora.

Inscriptions, the sizes of the letters, and their placement in the composition play an important role in these very early precanonical Panathenaic prize amphorae. Every surviving bit of evidence is important, and a brief discussion of other pertinent pieces is of interest. Today, all of them are mere fragments, yet they shed a good deal of light on this experimental phase of the prize vase. Stylistically, they form a group, but they are not attributable to known artists, nor do they combine in such a way as to justify hypothesizing new painters. The first fragment, Athens, N.M. 2468, has already been mentioned.⁴⁰ It preserves most of a very vigorous sprinter running the diaulos, as the inscription written in front of him in very large letters next to the panel tells us: ΔΙΑΥΛΟΔΡΟΜΟΕΙΜΙ. He is kin to the sprinters on Nikias’s amphora, to the one in Halle, and to those on Kallikles’ vase. Akropolis 1043 (Figure 17), a small, unattributed fragment, preserves part of a race for men (most of the heads of two runners). Inscribed just below the top of the panel in front of the forehead of the second runner is: ΑΝΔΡΟΝ.⁴¹ Other inscriptions give the names of potters. Of particular importance is Kerameikos PA 443; it is signed by the potter Hypereides, who also gives his patronymic, Androgenos, as well as the

prize inscription, written retrograde in three vertical lines in front of Athena. On the reverse two pairs of sprinters run to the left.⁴² Two more Panathenaic amphorae, each a fragment, preserve part of the signature of Hypereides. The first, Agora P 10204, preserves most of the verb for potting as well as the last two and a half letters of the patronymic.⁴³ The second is a fragment found on the Akropolis in 1885, sold in 1892 with the van Branteghem collection, and rediscovered by Dietrich von Bothmer in 1985 in the Villa Grecque “Kérylos,” Beaulieu-sur-Mer.⁴⁴ It preserves a bit of the rim of Athena’s shield and part of the potter’s signature: . . . ΙΕΙΔΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. . . .

The vases and fragments just discussed constitute the early precanonical prize Panathenaics relevant to New York, MMA 1978.11.13. Taken together, they present a relatively good picture of how Athenian artists experimented with the fundamental components of the prize vase—its shape, its ornamental patterns, the arrangement and appearance of the figures in the panels, as well as the inscriptions—before they arrived at and settled on the system of decoration that would become the standard until the end of the fifth century B.C.

While New York, MMA 1978.11.13, is signed by a potter named Nikias,⁴⁵ this does not mean that he was also its painter; very different skills are required for each task.⁴⁶ A man who may easily turn lumps of clay into beautifully shaped pots might not be equally talented when it comes to applying glaze with a brush to form elegant ornamental patterns and incising lively human figures whose interactions often tell a story from myth or from daily life. Are there other vases by the same painter who decorated Nikias’s vase? At first glance, the search does not look too difficult; his vase is quite well preserved, and the drawing of the ornament and figures has character and individuality. It looks as though it would fall easily into the oeuvre of one of the painters, say, in chapter 7 of *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (“Nearchos and Others”)—for example, the Painter of Acropolis 606, the Ptoon Painter, the Camtar Painter, and the Painter of London B 76, as well as the painters in the Burgon Group.⁴⁷ All of these artists were active during the time that the Panathenaic prize vase was being developed; yet none of their styles of drawing agrees with that of our Panathenaic amphora or, indeed, with that of many of the very early prize vases that are thus far unattributed. Early work by Lydos comes to mind, especially since he has two prize vases attributed to

him with one thought to be related,⁴⁸ but here too we come up empty: the manner of drawing does not match.

So far, I have been able to find only one piece by the same artist who decorated Nikias's amphora. This is Akropolis 1043, discussed briefly above, a fragment of the reverse of a prize-sized Panathenaic amphora (Figure 17). Preserved are most of the heads of two runners and the back of the head of a third, all facing to the right, as well as the left hand and forearm of the left runner. His hair and beard are red, and his forelock is incised with short, wavy strokes, comparable to the incised spirals of the left runner on our Nikias vase. The face of the next runner on the Akropolis fragment is red, as is the face of our middle runner (see Figure 8). The small amount of the right runner that remains indicates that his hair is also red. Thus, the use of red is the same on both vases. The ears of our first and second runners are indicated by a double S-curve, a shape which I have so far been able to parallel only on Akropolis 1043. Two more comparisons confirm the attribution: the size of the fragment and the position of the inscription. According to Graef (p. 120), Akropolis 1043 has a maximum preserved dimension of 11 cm. The match with the New York Panathenaic is almost perfect with respect to size and positioning of the figures, and the inscription on the fragment begins in exactly the same place as it does on our vase. Not only are the two amphorae painted by the same artist but they are mates and were probably awarded as prizes in the same year. Perhaps they were both made by Nikias. The name of the race that surely appeared after *ANAPON*, on Akropolis 1043, was probably the stadion, though of course, one cannot know for sure. It could have been the diaulos—there would be enough room for either.

The subjects of these very early Panathenaic prize vases reveal additional features that relate them as a group. When Brandt published his study of Panathenaics in 1978,⁴⁹ his emphasis was on the preserved prize vases made before 500 B.C. He recognized that those from the earliest group, those which may be dated before 550 and are the focus of this article, were decorated more individualistically than the later ones.⁵⁰ He was more interested, however, in trying to determine when certain competitions became part of the festival. Using the subjects on the reverse as evidence, he attempted to associate some of the prize vases with specific festival years.⁵¹ On the vases made after 530 B.C., the fol-

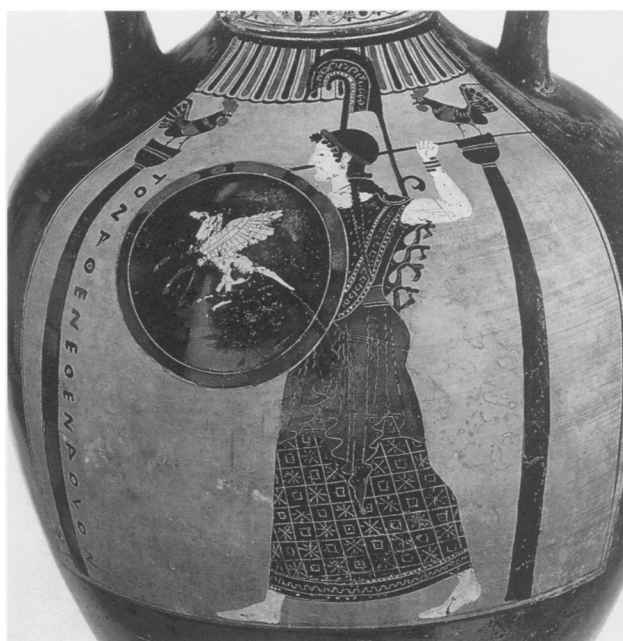


Figure 18: Detail of Side A of Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, showing the figure of Athena, ca. 500 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916, 16.71

lowing events appear: stadion, diaulos, dolichos, footrace including the footrace for hoplites, pentathlon, wrestling, boxing, synoris, quadriga, and races on horseback. Brandt admitted that he could not establish how many of these events may date back to the reorganization of 566 B.C. but concluded that "a major part of them certainly did."⁵² Realizing that this conclusion could only be conjectural, Brandt then suggested that there may have been a reorganization of the games around 530 B.C. to include more varied events, and that this coincided with the beginning of the reign of Hippias and Hipparchos, the sons of the tyrant Peisistratos.⁵³ While it is always dangerous to draw conclusions from partially preserved evidence, the vases discussed here suggest a different reading. Possibly just after 550 B.C. and, to be sure, after 530 B.C., all of the events mentioned above occur on prize vases. The only ones attested *before* 550, however, are the stadion, the diaulos, and the synoris, probably also the pentathlon.⁵⁴

All of the early prize vases depicting the sprint, whether the stadion or the diaulos, were discussed above. While almost any conclusion drawn from the study of these early Panathenaics is subject to revision pending new discoveries, especially given the ongoing excavations in Athens, the information we

have before us reveals a definite pattern. There is a very close relationship between the reorganization of the games in 566 B.C. to include athletic events and the appearance of these events on very early prize vases, coinciding as well with the decision by the festival's officials to award the victors a special, quite valuable olive oil stored in decorated amphorae that had been made to commemorate the occasion.

Provenances are also of interest. A glance through the first chapter of Beazley's *Attic Black-Figured Vase-Painters* shows that vases by the earliest generation of Attic painters were not exported⁵⁵ but remained at home, where they were used mainly for funerary purposes and for dedications. Export began in the early sixth century B.C. and, by the time the first Panathenaic amphorae were made, in the second quarter, many different shapes and the work of a large number of artists were being shipped to various foreign places, particularly to Etruria. With the Panathenaic amphora, the picture is very different, for only after the canonical system of decoration was firmly established, probably in the 520s,⁵⁶ did the shape begin to be exported in any quantity, no doubt sold for its valuable contents.⁵⁷ Panathenaic amphorae, particularly the later ones, have been found at sites all over the Mediterranean.⁵⁸ As mentioned above, all of the precanonical prize Panathenaic amphorae, with known provenances, which may be dated before 550 B.C., were excavated in Athens,⁵⁹ and a large proportion of them come from the Akropolis, where they were dedicated to Athena, no doubt as a thank offering for success in the games held in her honor.⁶⁰

It is tempting to speculate on how many Panathenaic prize amphorae were needed for specific events in each of the Greater Panathenaia. For this early phase, which is of concern here, there really is no way of knowing, since the number of vases preserved may be only a fraction of what was produced.⁶¹ It took quite a while, more than three decades after the reorganization of the games in 566 B.C., for the first canonical vases to make their appearance. Change comes slowly where ceremony and official matters are concerned (the development of the kouroi and korai offers a good parallel), and I would not be surprised in the least if the number of amphorae created for each of the Greater Panathenaic festivals, in the years before 530 B.C. and especially before 550 B.C., was not very large. Only after 520, when the canonical prize vase was firmly established, does the surviving evidence suggest that production increased considerably.⁶²

Quite a few of these amphorae remained in Athens and today are mostly mere fragments, while many others found their way to the safety of Etruscan tombs. As mentioned above, after 530, there is a marked increase in the number of events shown on the reverse, though wrestlers, runners, boxers, and competitors in the pentathlon greatly outnumber hippic and other competitions.⁶³

After 520, the freedom enjoyed by earlier potters, to sign their names on the obverse and to write the name of the event on the reverse, seems to have been prohibited. From then on, until the end of the fifth century B.C., the only inscription is that pertaining to the prize, written in front of Athena, alongside the left column. Names are conspicuously absent. There were, however, two enterprising painters who received the Panathenaic commission and managed to include an identifying symbol. These were the Kleophrades Painter and the Berlin Painter, artists active in the opening decades of the fifth century.⁶⁴ Each painter uses a particular device on Athena's shield: the Kleophrades Painter, a figure of Pegasus, as on New York, MMA 16.71 (Figure 18);⁶⁵ and the Berlin Painter, a gorgoneion, a good example of which is on a Panathenaic, once at Castle Ashby, now in a New York private collection, and currently on loan to the Metropolitan Museum.⁶⁶ Other artists may have used the device on Athena's shield as an identifying emblem, but the evidence is not as clear as it is in the case of these two painters. What the evidence does make clear is that during the formative phase of the Panathenaic prize vase, the potters and painters enjoyed considerable freedom to experiment with the basic components. After the official shape and decoration were established, however, the workshop that received the commission abided by strictly enforced rules and specifications. Not until the very late fifth and the fourth centuries would there be freedom once again in the decoration of these special Athenian vases.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Joan R. Mertens for many fruitful discussions of this project and for a critical reading of the manuscript. I also wish to thank M. A. Littauer and J. K. Anderson for their helpful comments on the synoris and the difference in harnessing arrangements for mules and horses.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABV

Sir John D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1956)

Addenda²

Thomas H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV², and Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1989)

Agora XXIII

Mary B. Moore and Mary Z. Philippides, *The Athenian Agora: Vol. XXIII, The Attic Black-Figured Pottery* (Princeton, 1986)

ARV²

Sir John D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963)

Beazley, *Development*

Sir John D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure Vase Painting* (Berkeley, 1951); 2nd corrected ed. (Berkeley, 1964); 3rd rev. ed. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1986)

BCH

Bulletin de correspondance hellénique

Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*

Martin Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren: Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 18 (Basel, 1998)

Bielefeld, "Antiken-Sammlung Halle"

Erwin Bielefeld, "Die Antiken-Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 2 (1952–53), pp. 81–134

Brandt

J. Rasmus Brandt, "Archaeologia Panathenaica I: Panathenaic Prize-Amphorae from the Sixth Century B.C.," *Acta Norvegica* 8 (1978), pp. 1–23

BSA

The British School at Athens, Annual

CVA

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*

Edward N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London, 1910)

Graef

Botho Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin, 1925–33)

IG

Inscriptiones Graecae

Immerwahr, *Attic Script*

Henry Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey* (Oxford, 1990)

JHS

The Journal of Hellenic Studies

Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*

August Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum: geordnet nach attischem Kalendar* (Leipzig, 1898)

Neils, *Goddess and Polis*

Jenifer Neils, *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, with contributions by Elizabeth J. W. Barber, Donald G. Kyle, Brunilde Sisondo Ridgway, and H. Alan Shapiro (Princeton, 1992)

Paralipomena

Sir John D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1971)

Peters, *Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*

Karl Peters, *Studien zu den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Berlin, 1942)

von Brauchitsch, *Preisamphoren*

Georg von Brauchitsch, *Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910)

NOTES

1. The most recent study of the Panathenaic Festival is Neils, *Goddess and Polis*. See, especially, her essay, "The Panathenaia: An Introduction," pp. 13–27, 194–95 (endnotes), esp. n. 1 for earlier major bibliography, in particular, Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 41–59, and Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 22–35. See also the brief but very useful discussion by Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, trans. by Peter Bing (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1983), pp. 154–58. For the general background, see Donald G. Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (Leiden, 1987), esp. chap. 1, "The Rise of Athletics at Athens," pp. 15–31. For the program of events, see Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 229–39, esp. pp. 232–35, for the athletic competitions of concern here. More briefly, Brandt, pp. 20–23. For the duration of the festival, see Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 153. A dissertation on the Panathenaic Festival, "The Goddess and the Polis: History and Development of the Panathenaia," is being prepared by Julia L. Shear at the University of Pennsylvania. For a brief report, see *The American School of Classical Studies Newsletter*, no. 40 (Fall, 1997), pp. 7, 10. Shear's research contradicts the prevailing opinion that the festival celebrates the goddess's birthday, and she writes (p. 10): "This work [the epigraphical testimonia] shows that a number of common assumptions about the festival are incorrect: It is not the celebration of the goddess's birthday but rather of her victory over the giants, and it is only Erechthonios, never Erechtheus, who is connected with the Panathenaia."

For the date of ca. 566 B.C. for the reorganization of the festival and the institution of the Greater Panathenaia, see J. A. Davison, "Notes on the Panathenaia," *JHS* 78 (1958), pp. 26–

29. A good summary of the problems concerning this date is given by Peter E. Corbett in his discussion of the Burgon Tomb, in "The Burgon and Blacas Tombs," *JHS* 80 (1960), pp. 52–58, esp. pp. 57–58; even terser is Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, p. 25. For the games themselves, see Kyle, "The Panathenaic Games: Sacred and Civic Athletics," in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 77–101, and pp. 203–8 nn. 1–137, and his earlier discussion in *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, pp. 33–39.
2. For the early date of the festival, see Davison, "Notes," *JHS* 78 (1958), pp. 24–26; more briefly, Herbert W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, 1977), p. 33; H. Alan Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz, 1989), p. 19, who thinks that the archaic cult of Athena and a celebratory festival may even have had a Mycenaean antecedent. Homer A. Thompson, "The Panathenaic Festival," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1961), cols. 224–31, suggests that the Panathenaic athletics of historic times were an internal Athenian development reaching back to the funeral games and cult of the heroized dead of Dark Age Athens; see esp. cols. 228, 231. He is concerned particularly with chariot races. Thompson also remarks that no other festival of Athens "was so closely linked as the Panathenaia with the history of the city" (col. 224).
3. This was not ordinary olive oil but was made from sacred olive trees, called Moriai. These trees were believed to be descended from the very olive tree on the Akropolis that was Athena's gift to the Athenian people in her contest with Poseidon to determine which of the two would be the protective deity of Athens. See Aristotle, *The Athenian Constitution* 60.2, trans. H. Harris Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1935), p. 165. Also, Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 78–81, for a discussion of the Moriai and the regulations concerning the trees themselves as well as of the oil they produced; more generally, Panos Valavanis, "Les Amphores panathénaïques et le commerce athénien de l'huile," *BCH*, Suppl. 13 (1986), pp. 453–60; most recently, Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 23–26.
- These olive trees belonged to the state. Their fruit was harvested and pressed into oil well in advance of the Panathenaic games in which it would be awarded as a prize. In the fourth century B.C., in addition to the inscription naming the vase as a prize, an archon's name was added to the obverse of the vase (see below, note 6). This was the archon who held office the year the oil was collected from the harvesters and delivered to the Treasurers of the Akropolis, i.e., the year *before* the games took place. See Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 82; Peters, *Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, pp. 7–9; Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 241–42; Beazley, *Development* (1986), p. 89, and p. 109 n. 62; and Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Greece*, p. 39; also, Darrel Amyx, "The Attic Stelai," *Hesperia* 27 (1958), pp. 180–81, esp. n. 41, where he says that olive oil is "commonly stored [today] for at least two years, because the olive trees in alternate years produce a heavy and a lighter yield; and the carrying over of oil to even a third year seemed not at all improbable to those [i.e. modern farmers] who were questioned."
4. *ABV*, p. 322, no. 6; *Paralipomena*, p. 142, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 87; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 129, cat. no. 6.064, pls. 20–21.
5. See Neils, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 36–38, on the meaning of the imagery on the obverse, esp. p. 37, and p. 197 nn. 50, 51; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 51–53. The idea that the columns refer to Athena's temple and the cocks are symbols of the fighting spirit seems to start with Beazley (*Development* [1951], p. 91) and is repeated in the two later editions (1964, p. 91; 1986, p. 84). Bentz (p. 52) refutes the idea that the columns refer to a specific structure, namely because they are not always of the same architectural order, and he links them with the sporting aspect of the Panathenaia.
6. The best general discussion of Panathenaic amphorae is Beazley, *Development* (1986), chap. 8, pp. 81–92, with bibliography, pp. 106–9; also, Jiří Frel, *Panathenaic Prize Amphoras* (Athens, 1973); *Agora* XXIII, pp. 12–17, with bibliography; Jennifer Neils, "Panathenaic Amphoras: Their Meaning, Makers, and Markets," in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 29–51. The recent monograph by Martin Bentz (*Panathenäische Preisamphoren*) is now the basic study for this shape.
- In general, as time progresses, the shape of the Panathenaic amphora grows taller and slimmer but the amount of oil it holds remains reasonably constant, though it may vary considerably according to economic conditions (see Bentz, pp. 31–40, for a detailed discussion of this point). In the fourth century B.C., significant changes take place: Athena strides to the right instead of the left; the name of the archon who held office the year the oil was collected (the year before the festival: see note 3 above) is inscribed next to the right-hand column; the cocks atop each column are replaced by small figures that sometimes represent known statues. For these, see Norbert Eschbach, *Statuen auf panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1986); also Bentz, pp. 53–57. For smaller changes, see *Agora* XXIII, p. 16. Besides the prize vases, identified by size and inscription, there are smaller, nonprize vases whose use is uncertain. See the remarks in *Agora* XXIII, p. 17; also Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 42–46.
7. Karlsruhe 65.45 (*Paralipomena*, p. 61, no. 8 bis; *Addenda*², p. 39; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 124, cat. no. 6.014, pls. 8–9).
8. For Exekias, see *ABV*, pp. 143–46; *Paralipomena*, pp. 59–60; *Addenda*², pp. 39–41. The best general discussion of Exekias is still Beazley, *Development* (1986), chap. 6. For the signatures, Beazley, *Development* (1986), p. 58.
9. There are, however, deviations from the canonical on both sides of this prize vase. On the obverse: the prize inscription is written next to the right column, instead of the left; Athena's peplos is rather old-fashioned, for it does not have any folds, but is plain red with an ependytes over it, and the snakes of her aegis hang down only to waist level. (For Athena's peplos, see note 32, below). The precanonical feature on the reverse is that the athletes are framed by onlookers, a nude male on the left, who looks like a wrestler, and a man on the right, wrapped in a striped himation over a long chiton. Normally, in the sixth century, only the event itself appears; in the fifth and in the early fourth centuries, however, other figures are included. For three examples, see: New York, MMA 16.71 by the Kleophrades Painter (*ABV*, p. 404, no. 8; *Paralipomena*, p. 175, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 105; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 139, cat. no. 5.009, pls. 44–45), with two pankratiasts and a judge; St. Petersburg Kū 1913.4/389, ex inv. 17553 from the Kuban Group (*ABV*, p. 411, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 177, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 107; Bentz, p. 158, cat. no. 5.237, pls. 92–93), with boxers flanked by ath-

- letes; Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg 1925.30.124 from the Nikomachos Series (*ABV*, p. 414, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 178, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 106; Bentz, p. 176, cat. no. 4.081, pls. 119–120), with boxers receiving instructions from an official and, at the far right, a woman leaning on a pillar.
10. Measurements of New York, MMA 1978.13.11: restored height 61.8 cm; diam. 42.2 cm; diam. of mouth 18.5 cm. Missing are the foot and a portion of the lower part of the body, both of which are restored in plaster and painted. Abrasions all over, including the top side of the mouth and a large section of the body below the right runner. Nicks and scratches, small pits here and there. Glaze generally dull black. Publications: *MMA Annual Report 1977–78* (1978), p. 45, ill.; *MMA Notable Acquisitions 1975–1979*, p. 14; Dietrich von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, New York, and London, 1985), p. 44, fig. 37; *Agora XXIII*, p. 14; Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, p. 183, cat. no. 1196; Ruth Lindner, in *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon* (Mainz, 1992), p. 146 n. 7; Neils, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 30, 41, and 42, fig. 27 a-b; Kyle, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 83; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 124, cat. no. 6.007, pl. 5.

D. Kyle, in Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, p. 179 n. 3, says that our Panathenaic is wrongly dated to ca. 520 and was formerly Munich 1451. His statement is incorrect and requires an explanation. Munich 1451 is an unattributed prize Panathenaic amphora with the stadion on Side B, only with four sprinters, not three, as on our vase, and inscribed above their heads is: ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΑΝΔΡΟΝΝΙΚΗ. Our inscription reads: ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ. It is the subject and the inscription that probably accounts for confusing the Munich amphora with ours. The Munich amphora should date ca. 540–30. Kyle's mention of Munich 498 in his note is actually Munich 1451; 498 is the old Jahn number. For good photographs of Munich 1451, see Brandt, pl. II b (Side B) and pl. III (Side A), and Bentz, pp. 124–25, cat. no. 6.016, pls. 8–9.
 11. The helmet and crest support are red, the crest is black except for its upper and lower contours, which are accented with white (now flaked).
 12. The iris of her eye is red, and a wavy red line defines the forelocks of her hair. In addition, the shield's lion device is white, its tongue and iris red.
 13. For a late-fifth-century potter with this name, see London, B.M. 1898.7-16.6, a bell krater, which is the namepiece of the Nikias Painter (*ARV*², p. 1333, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 480, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 365). More famous is the fourth-century Athenian mural painter by this name who was a contemporary of Euphronor. See Pliny, *Natural History* 35, 40.130–34, trans. H. Harris Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge [Mass.], 1968), pp. 357–59.
 14. For the positions of the arms and legs, see Edward Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 137, 140, with illustrations on the intervening pages. Gardiner points out that “the Greek artists have succeeded in reproducing the essential points of the sprint. The runners run well on the ball of the foot, the heel raised somewhat higher than in the long race, their knees well raised, and their bodies erect” (p. 137). He then compares the ancient images with photographs of modern races, noting the striking similarities, but goes on to point out that “perhaps for purposes of symmetry, [the Greek artists] make the right leg and arm move together, whereas in reality the right arm swings forward with the left leg and vice versa” (pp. 137, 140).
 15. For a brief discussion of these races, see Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, pp. 178–80, and in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 83; in much greater detail, Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 69–87; in general, Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 270–85; also, Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, chap. 11, pp. 128–43: “The Stadium and the Foot-race”; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 63–66.
 16. See Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 266–67. Kyle, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, writes: “Greek athletes ran on straight not oval tracks, and therefore had to turn around a post or posts (kampteres) in races longer than the sprint” (p. 83).
 17. See Kyle, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 83, and the bibliography in n. 39 on p. 204, esp. the article by Stephen P. Miller, “Lanes and Turns in the Ancient Stadium,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 84 (1980), pp. 159–66. Miller suggests that the dolichos was run around a single post, because its longer distance allowed the runners to spread out as they do today in long-distance races. But in the diaulos, the turn was around individual posts. Miller's evidence for this conclusion is material from the fourth century B.C., namely a single turning post (thus for the dolichos) excavated at Nemea in 1976. This discovery could reflect earlier practices where the evidence has not survived.
 18. *ABV*, p. 69, —, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 18; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 126, cat. no. 6.044, pl. 11. The Painter of Boston C.A. is best known for his namepiece, a cup that shows Odysseus and his men, some of them already transformed into swine, standing before Circe, who stirs the magic potion in her cup with a swizzle stick (Homer, *Odyssey* 10.220–44, trans. Richmond Lattimore [New York, 1955], p. 158). The namepiece is Boston, M.F.A. 99.519 (*ABV*, p. 69, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 18).
 19. Gardiner (*Athletics of the Ancient World*, p. 140) suggests that the diaulos may have had less violent action than the stadion and offers Athens, N.M. 2468, as evidence. I am not sure there is such a significant difference between the two.
 20. Boston, M.F.A. 99.520 (*ABV*, p. 322, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 87; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 128, cat. no. 6.058, pls. 16–17).
 21. See Herbert Hoffmann, in *CVA*, Boston 1 [USA 14], p. 40; also, J. Michael Padgett, *The Painted Past: 28 Attic Vases, 6th and 5th Centuries B.C., from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Utah Museum of Fine Arts, 1988), p. 21: “. . . the more controlled gait of the Boston runners points to a long distance contest, possibly the *dolichos*.”
 22. The basic bibliography for this vase is: *ABV*, p. 89, —, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 33, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 24; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 30, fig. 19, and p. 93, fig. 59; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.001, pls. 1–2. The best discussion of the tomb, its contents, and the circumstances of its discovery is by Corbett, “Burgon and Blacas,” pp. 52–58. The location of the tomb was “East of Aeolus Street, about half-way between the National Bank and Sophocles Street” (Corbett, p. 53). In ancient Athens, this tomb would have been close to the Acharnian Gate. See John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971), p. 159, who mentions that there was a very large cemetery lining both sides of the road leading from this gate.

- In addition to the London Panathenaic amphora, the Burgon tomb contained six smaller vases that may be dated to the middle of the sixth century B.C., or shortly thereafter. For these, see Corbett, "Burgon and Blacas," pp. 54–56, and pl. III, 1–6. They are not pertinent to the subject of the present article, but four amphorae (perhaps Panathenaics), similar in size to the London amphora, may have been. They were found three weeks earlier by Burgon, but were discarded by him, since, in their unwashed state, he did not recognize that they were figural (Corbett, "Burgon and Blacas," p. 53, quoting from a letter written on November 26, 1831, by Thomas Burgon to the Chevalier P.O. Brönsted). Nothing more is known of these vases.
23. Immerwahr (*Attic Script*, p. 183, cat. no. 1195) notes that this is a spelling mistake. The inscription should read: EIMI (εἰμί), not EMI (ἐμί).
 24. All that remains of the goad is the thin, horizontal projection at the level of the horses' croups; it is not a tail, which would begin lower down. The long, thin rod has a crook at the end, and the two pendants visible at its end on the Burgon amphora are used to urge the animals on. I wish to thank M. A. Littauer for this information.
 25. The surface is gone on the part of the vase where the chariot pole would be visible.
 26. For a good example of a mule collar, see the one by Exekias on his plaque in Berlin, 1814 (*ABV*, p. 145, no. 23; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 23; *Addenda*², p. 41; Heide Mommsen, *Exekias I. Die Grabtafeln*, Keramus Band 11 [Mainz, 1997], color pl. 3 and pl. xiv). Here, the collar rests higher on the neck, but this is because the team is being readied; the collar is propped by a stick. For an image of the collar in place, when the cart is being drawn, see the carts pulled by donkeys and mules in the wedding procession on New York, MMA 56.11.1, a lekythos by the Amasis Painter (*Paralipomena*, p. 66; *Addenda*², p. 45). The positioning of the yoke, yoke saddle, and pad is best understood from scenes where a chariot is being harnessed, a good example being the one on Berlin 1897 by Psiax (*ABV*, p. 293, no. 8; *Paralipomena*, p. 127, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 76). For ancient harnessing, see Jean Spruyette, *Early Harness Systems: Experimental Studies*, trans. Mary A. Littauer (London, 1983), passim, but esp. pp. 52–73, for the Greek chariot, and p. 63, fig. 2, for a modern reconstruction of the chariot pole, yoke, and yoke saddle.
 27. Florence 97779 (*ABV*, p. 110, no. 33; *Addenda*², p. 30; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, p. 41, fig. 26; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 124, cat. no. 6.008, pls. 6–7). For a good colored illustration of the reverse, see Elsi Spatari, *The Olympic Spirit* (Athens, 1992), p. 140.
 28. See Beazley, *Development* (1951), p. 88. Also, Peters (*Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, pp. 14–15) remarked that the Burgon amphora, because of the subject on the reverse, is not relevant to 566 B.C., though he dated it shortly after this date on the basis of similarity to the prize amphora in Halle that shows a race for men, probably the stadion, despite the lack of an identifying inscription; see, below, p. 46.
 29. See note 4 above. For Panathenaics by the Euphiletos Painter, see John D. Beazley, "Panathenaica," *American Journal of Archaeology* 47 (1943), pp. 442–43.
 30. For a good profile view of Florence 97779, see Michalis Tiverios, 'Ο Αὐδός καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ (Athens, 1976), pl. 66 β; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pl. 7.
 31. See Karlsruhe 65.45 by Exekias (note 7 above and Figure 3). On the Florence amphora by Lydos, Athena is placed far to the right, but this is because she faces the victor, who occupies the left third of the panel.
 32. The evolution of the decoration of the skirt of Athena's peplos also agrees with the relative chronology offered here. On the earliest Panathenaics, a broad central panel divides the skirt vertically and the rest of it is red. The panel is decorated with various incised patterns often embellished with red or white. This is the case with the four Athenas discussed in this article: New York, MMA 1978.11.13; the Burgon amphora; Halle inv. 560; and Geneva, Chamay (for the last two, see the discussion to follow, pp. 45–46). Others, not strictly relevant to this study, are these, all thus far unattributed: Akropolis 917 (Graef, pl. 60; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 125, cat. no. 6.023, pl. 11; ca. 560 B.C.), with panel decorated with a cable pattern of white dots; Akropolis 920 (Graef, pl. 57; Bentz, p. 125, cat. no. 6.022, pl. 11; ca. 560–550 B.C.), with panel on both overfold and skirt, separated by the belt, and decorated with rows of confronted pairs of white sphinxes; Akropolis 925 (Graef, pl. 60; Bentz, p. 125, cat. no. 6.026; probably 560–550 B.C.), with panel decorated with lozenges.
- The earliest preserved example of folds on the skirt of Athena's peplos occurs on Agora P 2071 and P 4340 (*Agora XXIII*, pp. 131–32, cat. no. 228, pl. 26; Bentz, p. 123, cat. no. 6.003, pl. 4; ca. 560–550 B.C.). These folds are uniform in breadth and terminate at the lower border. They are not three dimensional, i.e., the ends do not turn back on themselves. (For the subject on Side B of this amphora, see note 54 below.) The earliest occurrence of true falling three-dimensional folds seems to be on Athena's peplos on Lydos's prize vase in Florence (note 27, above, and Figure 11). On the canonical vases, three-dimensional folds are the norm; see, e.g., New York, MMA 14.130.12, by the Euphiletos Painter (see note 4, above, and Figure 1).
33. Compare these runners with those on the Euphiletos Painter's canonical prize vase, New York, MMA 14.130.12 (note 4, above, and Figure 2). The latter's sprinters are considerably leaner.
 34. See note 23 above.
 35. Halle, inv. 560 (*ABV*, p. 120, —; *Addenda*², p. 33; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.002, pl. 3). This vase was originally attributed by Rumpf to Lydos himself, based on the similarity of the runners on Side B to the figure of Tityos on Akropolis 631: Andreas Rumpf, *Sakonides, Bilder griechischer Vasen*, 11 (Berlin, 1937), p. 15. For Akropolis 631, see *ABV*, p. 108, no. 6; *Paralipomena*, p. 44, no. 6; *Addenda*², p. 29. The best description of the Halle amphora is to be found in von Brauchitsch, *Preisamphoren*, pp. 8–10, and Bielefeld, "Antiken-Sammlung Halle," p. 94, fig. 10.
 36. Beazley, *Development* (1986), p. 83.
 37. For age differentiation in specific races, see Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 271–72; Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, pp. 179–80; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 61–62; also Neils in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 15–16 with regard to IG II² 2311. This fourth-century inscription tells us that the stadion was divided into classes for boys, youths, and men. While this reflects fourth-century practice, age divisions surely existed from the very beginning, and it may be largely fortuitous that no evidence has survived. I have not been able to find an uncontested

- example of the stadion for youths among sixth-century prize vases, but Beazley designated Amsterdam inv. 1897, by the Euphiletos Painter, as a race for boys (*ABV*, p. 322, no. 8; *Addenda*², p. 87; Bentz, p. 128, cat. no. 6.057, pls. 14–15). Each of the four runners in this panel is beardless, but their physiques suggest they are older than boys. Perhaps they are youths but, without an identifying inscription, one cannot be sure exactly which race the painter had in mind.
38. Beazley (*Development* [1986], p. 106 n. 10) notes that there may not have been enough room to write the name of the event. This would not necessarily be the case if the name appeared in the area now missing, as suggested by von Brauchitsch, *Preisamphoren*, p. 9. For a parallel, where “stadion” precedes “andron,” see Munich 1451 (above, note 10).
39. Mentioned in *Agora XXIII*, p. 14 nn. 11, 13. See now Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.006. I know these fragments from von Bothmer’s photographs. Several nonjoining fragments make up what is known of this vase, and they will be published by Chamay in the papers of the Panathenaic conference held in Giessen, November 25–28, 1998. I wish to thank Mr. Chamay for allowing me to illustrate the two main figural fragments.
40. Above, note 18.
41. Graef, p. 120 and pl. 63; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 126, cat. no. 6.046, pl. 11. Maximum dimension 11 cm.
42. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.004, pl. 4.
43. *Agora XXIII*, p. 131, cat. no. 226, and pl. 26; Frel, *Panathenaic Prize Amphoras*, pp. 10–11; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.005.
44. *Collection van Branteghem: Catalogue [par W. Fröhner] des monuments antiques, vases peints et terres cuites dont la vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu à Paris: Hôtel Drouot . . . les lundi 30 et mardi 31 mai et le mercredi 1er juin* (Brussels, 1894), cat. no. 2; Dietrich von Bothmer, “La villa grecque Kérylos,” *Comptes rendus des séances, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris (1998), p. 529, fig. 3.
45. For early inscriptions on vases, particularly signatures, the most recent discussions are Beth Cohen, “The Literate Potter,” *MMJ* 20 (1991), pp. 50–57, and Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, pp. 7–56 (from the very earliest down to ca. 530 B.C.). Immerwahr’s study is not limited to signatures. Inscriptions appear on Greek vases as early as the Late Geometric period, with the one incised on an oinochoe in Athens considered the oldest: Athens, N.M. 192 (see most recently, Immerwahr, p. 7, with earlier bibliography).
- The earliest complete potter signatures date from the seventh century and are non-Attic (see Beazley, *Development* [1986], p. 7). In Attic pottery, Sophilos is the first to sign as painter and as potter (see Güven Bakir, *Sophilos: Ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil* [Mainz, 1981], pp. 5–7; Cohen, “Literate Potter,” p. 52, and p. 87 n. 24). The next potter signatures are those of Ergotimos, who collaborated with Kleitias (*ABV*, pp. 76–80; *Paralipomena*, pp. 29–30; *Addenda*², pp. 21–22; Immerwahr, pp. 24–29), and of Nearchos, who also signs as painter (*ABV*, pp. 82–83; *Paralipomena*, pp. 30–31; *Addenda*², p. 23; Immerwahr, pp. 26–27).
46. For the making of Attic vases, see Toby Schreiber, *Athenian Vase Construction: A Potter’s Analysis* (Malibu, 1999). For the potting of a Panathenaic amphora, see pp. 83–87 and nn. 21–23 on p. 269. As for the actual potting, Schreiber writes that, while the body of the Panathenaic amphora could indeed be thrown in one piece, “an occasional fragment indicates that the bodies of Panathenaic amphorae were thrown in sections” (p. 85). Body joins were easily smoothed over with slip to produce the effect of a single unit.
47. *ABV*, pp. 81–93; *Paralipomena*, pp. 30–34; *Addenda*², pp. 22–25.
48. Attributed: Florence 97779 (above, note 27) and Chicago 1967.115.358 (*ABV*, p. 110, no. 34; *Addenda*², p. 30; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 124, cat. no. 6.009; here, the accession number is given as 1967.115.263). Related: Halle inv. 560 (above, note 35).
49. Brandt, pp. 1–23.
50. Brandt, p. 17.
51. Brandt, pp. 19–21.
52. Brandt, p. 21. The events of the Panathenaic games celebrated much later can be reconstructed to a considerable degree from an inscription, incomplete today, dated ca. 370: *IG II² 2311*. But this does not shed light on the period under discussion. See Neils, in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, pp. 15–17 (with bibliography); also, Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, pp. 36–38.
53. Brandt, p. 19.
54. *Agora P 2071* and *P 4340* (see note 32), with its representation of the pentathlon, may be right on the cusp. Brandt (p. 4, cat. no. 17) dates it ca. 550, but he did not know the fragment of the neck with the lotus-palmette cross. I dated this fragmentary Panathenaic to ca. 560–550 (*Agora XXIII*, pp. 131–32, cat. no. 228) on the basis of the ornament on the neck; the short, stocky figure of Athena, who has both feet flat on the ground; the absence of columns; and the sturdy athlete on the reverse. All of these features are closer to Nikias’s Panathenaic amphora and to the one in Halle than to the later series. Size indicates that these fragments come from a prize vase. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 123, cat. no. 6.003, accepts my dating of this amphora and, on p. 69, agrees that it is the earliest preserved representation of the Pentathlon.
- A new feature of this Panathenaic amphora from the *Agora* is that the skirt of Athena’s peplos has vertically incised lines to indicate folds (see note 32, above).
55. I.e., the Nettos Painter and his contemporaries, who were active in the last decades of the seventh century (*ABV*, chap. 1).
56. The Euphiletos Painter is the first artist to produce a good number of Panathenaic amphorae, both prize and nonprize, and all of them have the standard system of decoration. Several of his, including New York, MMA 14.130.12, come from Vulci. See Beazley, *ABV*, p. 322, nos. 1–12; *Paralipomena*, p. 142; *Addenda*², p. 87; and the brief discussion of these vases in Beazley, *Development* (1986), p. 84.
57. Only the victor was allowed to sell off this oil. See Peters, *Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, pp. 11–12, n. 82; Valavanis, “Amphores panathénaïques,” p. 455; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 89–92, for this and a discussion of the probable monetary value of the oil.
58. For a quick reference, see Brandt’s list of sixth-century Panathenaic amphorae (pp. 5–9, cat. nos. 28–85); for later ones, see *ABV*, pp. 403–17, chap. 27: “Panathenaic Prize Amphorae”; also, for a brief review of the distribution and findspots, Valavanis, “Amphores panathénaïques,” pp. 457–60. See also the discussion by Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 111–16. For a very general discussion of figured pottery in commerce, see Brian A. Sparkes, *Greek Pottery: An Introduction* (Manchester and

- New York, 1991), chap. 6: "Out of the Shop," pp. 124–35, and pp. 151–54 for the notes.
59. For the findspots, see Brandt, pp. 3–4, cat. nos. 1–18. Beazley (*ABV*, p. 120, —) does not list a provenance for Halle inv. 560; von Brauchitsch (*Preisamphoren*, p. 9) says that it was found in Athens but is not more specific. Bielefeld ("Antiken-Sammlung Halle," p. 94) says that the provenance is unknown. Its early date and worn surface strongly suggest an Athenian findspot or at least an Attic one. The earliest exported prize vase about which we may be certain seems to be the one attributed to Lydos that was found in Orvieto and is now in Florence (above, note 27). Although noncanonical in its decoration, it probably dates after 550 B.C., as already suggested by Brandt (p. 4, cat. no. 20).
60. This is not to imply that only the early Panathenaic amphorae were dedicated on the Akropolis, for there is a whole series of them extending well into the fourth century B.C. Rather, the point is that the earliest Panathenaics were *not* exported. One may add that the Agora has produced a series ranging from the very earliest straight through to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. See *Agora* XXIII, p. 13, and n. 7.
61. This is very different from a much later era when, for example, the early-fourth-century inscription (*IG II² 2311*) tells us the number of amphorae awarded as prizes (above, note 52); also, Alan W. Johnston, "*IG II² 2311* and the Number of Panathenaic Amphorae," *BSA* 82 (1987), pp. 125–29.
62. See the list drawn up by Brandt, pp. 5–10. These entries include attributed as well as unattributed vases and fragments. None dates after 500 B.C.
63. The reason for this is very likely financial. Keeping horses in racing condition is a costly business, especially compared with keeping oneself competitively fit.
64. These two painters are best known for their red-figure work. For the Kleophrades Painter, see *ARV²*, pp. 181–93; *Paralipomena*, pp. 340–41; *Addenda²*, pp. 186–89; for his Panathenaics, see *ABV*, pp. 404–5; *Paralipomena*, pp. 175–76; *Addenda²*, p. 105. For the Berlin Painter, see *ARV²*, pp. 196–214; *Paralipomena*, pp. 341–45; *Addenda²*, pp. 190–97; for his Panathenaics, see, *ABV*, pp. 407–9; *Paralipomena*, p. 177; *Addenda²*, p. 106. The best discussion is Beazley, *Development*, pp. 86–88. On the shield device of Athena as an identifying emblem, see Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, pp. 48–51, and Appendix 7, pp. 204–6.
65. For more on the Kleophrades Painter, see, above, note 9.
66. L.1982.102.3: *ABV*, p. 408, no. 1; *Addenda²*, p. 106; Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, p. 145, cat. no. 5,079, pl. 68.