

THE FUNCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF LATE ATTIC BLACK-
FIGURE VASES

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Abstract

Scholarship on ancient Greek art has largely ignored the importance of Attic black-figure vases of the fifth century BCE based on the subjective quality of their painting, assuming its hasty application and non-naturalistic style indicate the vases were a cheap substitute for more finely painted red-figure vases. Our understanding of late black-figure vases has been shaped by a view of the history of Greek vase-painting (and art in general) as a continuous and seamless evolutionary process in which imagery becomes more and more mimetic as time goes on. Non-mimetic imagery is often considered inferior and low quality. Fifth-century black-figure, which was produced in significant quantities and widely exported, has long been judged a cheap product by this standard.

Abandoning this assumption, this study seeks a new understanding and appreciation of late black-figure vase-painting in its own right. I argue for late black-figure as an object of legitimate and significant scholarly examination and show that the black-figure technique in itself carried an important meaning in fifth-century Athens. Assuming that producers and consumers made conscious choices in their selection of vases with regard to technique as much as to shape and decoration, it is clear that black-figure was favored over red-figure in certain instances.

This dissertation is organized as a series of case studies focusing on individual shapes favored by black-figure vase-painters in the fifth century: the Panathenaic prize amphora, the lekythos, the skyphos, and the krateriskos. Each case study considers the use-contexts the particular shape is associated with in the fifth century. By considering

their contexts, we see that there is a clear connection between vessels with ritual uses and the continued use of the black-figure technique on these shapes.

The archaeological evidence shows that the production and use of Attic black-figure vases continue for longer and in a more significant scale than is often assumed. For the specialized uses of these vases, there is no hierarchy of quality and there are no higher-end equivalents made in red-figure. The choice of the technique was connected to the vessels' ritual use. Black-figure vases were chosen by fifth-century Athenians because the connotations of the technique and the traditions it embodied were more important than experimentation, individuality, and innovation—qualities often associated with Athenian art of the fifth century.

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1. The Decline of the Black-figure Technique in Attic Vase-painting

It is marvellous, even in the telling. It appears that long ago [the Egyptians] determined on the rule of which we are now speaking, that the youth of a State should practise in their rehearsals postures and tunes that are good: these they prescribed in detail and posted up in the temples, and outside this official list it was, and still is, forbidden to painters and all other producers of postures and representations to introduce any innovation or invention, whether in such productions or in any other branch of music, over and above the traditional forms. And if you look there, you will find that the things depicted or graven there 10,000 years ago (I mean what I say, not loosely but literally 10,000) are no whit better or worse than the productions of today, but wrought with the same art.

Plato, *Laws* 656d-657a (trans. R.G. Bury)

Attic Black-figure Vases in the Fifth Century BCE

Plato, speaking through the Athenian stranger in the *Laws* (655a-657d), contends that art can instruct citizens in virtue, but art that may seem pleasant is not always virtuous. Artists will make art that reflects their character, so an artist lacking virtue, if given license, will produce art that likewise lacks virtue. For the good of the city, the Athenian argues, artists must not be allowed the freedom to teach whatever forms they like best and must be required to produce such forms that inspire virtue. We must remember that Plato's dialog illustrates an ideal and not any reality, and Athenians did not for the most part proscribe acceptable forms for artists as he claims the Egyptians did.

More than a century before Plato wrote the *Laws*, there was something of a divergence of the traditional and the innovative in Athenian art. Vase-painters moved away from an older technique (black-figure) and its associated style to a new style and technique (red-figure) that modern scholarship has almost universally deemed more

pleasant. The usual narrative of the development of Attic vase-painting tells of the black-figure technique beginning its inevitable demise after the invention of red-figure. The late Archaic period, when the red-figure technique was developed, saw experimentation with several new techniques and new stylistic developments in Greek art, and the exhaustion of black-figure is sometimes argued to be the impetus. Martin Robertson sees the ultimate end of black-figure caused by its own technical limitations that prevented painters from fully participating in the developments in the depiction of anatomy and drapery sculptors were exploring in the late Archaic period, and that red-figure ultimately triumphed over black-figure because the fluidity and variability of its line adapts better to expressing the athletic ideal that dominates Classical art.¹ As the story goes, red-figure was embraced by the best painters and the most discerning clientele, and black-figure began a steady decline until its eventual abandonment after the Persian Wars. As John Beazley describes it, “For a while the older manner held its own, but before long it was forced into the second place, and by the end of a generation nearly all finer work was being done in red-figure.”² In its final days, the old technique was relegated to small, cheap vases, while red-figure was preferred for anything with real artistic merit and thus worth studying.

Previous scholarship has assumed that red-figure supplanted the older black-figure technique, stressing the new stylistic possibilities of the new technique as the cause for the eventual end of black-figure. While it is certainly true that red-figure presented painters with new possibilities for experimentation, I will show that black-figure was not replaced by red-figure in a straightforward sense. Consumers of Athenian vases

¹ Robertson 1992, 7, 36.

² Beazley 1986, 69.

continued to prefer the older technique for specific uses well into the fifth century.³ I will argue that the black-figure technique itself carried meaning apart from its subjective aesthetic quality. Even if we do not believe that new art forms can corrupt the youth of the city as Plato suggests, the preservation of older forms suggests the desire to retain the connotations of that form, its tradition, and its association with the history of Athens.

Fifth-century black-figure has been called second rate, low end, and just plain wretched, and serious study of the material has been neglected by art historians and archaeologists alike. It is all but absent from stylistic and iconographic studies of Greek vase-painting. To cite one example, John Boardman notes that “[w]ith rare exceptions in the first quarter [of the fifth] century the quality of the black figure is low, and we can see that it satisfied a demand for cheap cups, jugs, and oil flasks at a time when the pottery industry in Athens was booming but the finer red figure was probably beyond the purse of poorer citizens.”⁴ Red-figure painters were experimenting with new compositions and ways of rendering the human figure while black-figure painters were mass-producing hastily painted and unremarkable vessels. Attic artists of this period made innovations that would leave a lasting mark on the history of Western art, and scholarship generally considers any painters not taking part in these developments behind the curve and second rate. This is, as Richard Neer puts it, “the tendency—endemic among art historians of all stripes—to embed historical contingencies within a seamless evolutionary process: art gets more mimetic (and hence better) as time goes on.”⁵

³ All dates are BCE unless otherwise noted.

⁴ Boardman 1974, 146.

⁵ Neer 1995, 118. See also Neer 2002, 28. Neer argues that images traditionally praised for their mimetic qualities are not actually imitative of nature, but rather make a conscious play on their non-naturalistic nature. Nevertheless, late black-figure is often judged against the perceived mimetic quality of

By modern aesthetic standards, the painted decoration of late black-figure is of markedly poor quality, especially when compared to red-figure painting of the same period. From previous scholarship, we could easily assume that fifth-century black-figure vases are found in remote, impoverished, or culturally backwards areas. Robertson says that in the late sixth century, black-figure “comes to be used almost exclusively for bulk-produced hackwork,”⁶ and Haspels claims that in the fifth century, “[t]he black-figured lekythoi went on, but away from the main stream, in a back-water.”⁷ However, this is not at all the truth of the matter. Late Attic black-figure vases were used in a variety of culturally, historically, and economically rich contexts in Athens, mainland Greece, and abroad.⁸ Furthermore, there are several contexts and uses of black-figure vases in which red-figure vases are rarely if ever found and where red-figure certainly does not replace black-figure.

Considering their broader context, it is unwarranted and inappropriate to dismiss late black-figure vases as cheap alternatives to red-figure. Though they are assumed to be less desirable, low-end products, this is not borne out by the archaeological evidence. The find contexts and uses of late black-figure vases show that they were deliberately chosen over red-figure vases for certain uses. That material we have dismissed as low end was in fact specifically sought out reminds us that Greeks of the Classical period had different

contemporary red-figure painting. The issue is more complicated than claiming that red-figure of the early fifth century was naturalistic or mimetic and the black-figure of the same time was not, but it is clear the two techniques valued different qualities of representation. The value placed on one quality over the other by modern viewers is my focus here.

⁶ Robertson 1992, 36.

⁷ Haspels 1936, 78.

⁸ Volioti 2011b, 263; Jubier-Galinier 2003 84-8.

artistic and aesthetic standards than modern viewers, and indeed different visualities, and forces us to reconsider how we view all Classical visual culture.⁹

Late black-figure has been generally understudied. Some recent scholarship has sought to rectify this situation, including work by Winfred van de Put,¹⁰ Katerina Volioti,¹¹ and the posthumous work of Eleni Hatzivassiliou.¹² In particular, Hatzivassiliou's *Athenian Black Figure Iconography between 510 and 475 B.C.* is a thorough examination of the myths and motifs popular on late black-figure vases, comparing its iconography to contemporary red-figure in order to show that the older technique had its own preferred imagery. She does not, however, consider how late black-figure vases were used and how they may have differed from red-figure vases in that respect. There are also a growing number of monographs and dissertations focusing on individual black-figure painters of the technique's later years, though by their nature their scope does not include the broader issues this study seeks to address.¹³ Another traditional approach to the study of Greek vases that has encompassed some late black-figure is the study of an individual shape.¹⁴ These studies do often consider the vases' use, often in relation to its iconography, but most fall into a trap that has long plagued the study of Greek vase-painting—they rarely if at all consider the find contexts of the vases,

⁹ For the sake of clarity, by visuality I mean those elements of vision that are cultural, or as Whitney Davis calls it, “the culturality of vision” (2011, 8). Their visuality shaped and defined how the Greeks made and thought about images. By visual culture, I mean the elements of culture that are visual, including images considered high art but not neglecting supposedly low images (Bredenkamp 2003).

¹⁰ van de Put 2009; 2011; 2016.

¹¹ Volioti 2011a; 2011b; 2014; and forthcoming.

¹² Hatzivassiliou 2010.

¹³ Kunze-Götte 1992; Lissarrague 1997; Weber 2000; Fritzilas 2006; and Borgers 2007 among others.

¹⁴ Badinou 2003; Batino 2002; Bentz 1998; Diehl 1964; Haspels 1936; Mercati 2003.

if it is even known. Regardless of its subjective quality, fifth-century black-figure vase-painting should be taken seriously. Even modest objects can be informative when considered in their find contexts and in relation to their use in antiquity. More importantly though, these objects have come down to us after many centuries, and as scholars we have a moral obligation not to ignore them.¹⁵

This study re-evaluates this material, taking it seriously from both an archaeological and art historical perspective. I address how black-figure vases were used in the early fifth century and in which instances they were chosen over red-figure to shed light on how Athenians of the Classical period viewed the two techniques and whether they considered each appropriate for some contexts and not others. I avoid value judgments on the quality of work based on modern perspectives and biases and seek to address why these vases look the way they do and how that relates to their original context of use. Ultimately, I hope to provide a better understanding of what the black-figure technique meant to the people who used these vases and what connotations it had at a time when two distinct styles (defined by the two techniques) were in use. Showing that fifth-century Athenians chose late black-figure vases deliberately despite our negative aesthetic judgments of them opens up a new range of questions about the material that have not been addressed before.

The negative assessments of black-figure discussed above are the result of a longstanding habit of scholars evaluating ancient objects by modern aesthetic standards. Whitney Davis points to high formalism in particular—an art historical approach

¹⁵ Isler-Kerényi 2009, 16-8.

developed by Heinrich Wölfflin in the early twentieth century that went on to be highly influential in the field—for encouraging the attribution of aesthetic aspects to manmade objects outside the historical period in which those aesthetic aspects and ideologies existed. That is to say, works of art are critiqued based on aesthetic criteria not valued at the time of their production by those who made and used them.¹⁶ Wölfflin sought to historicize vision and elucidate concepts that would prove applicable to art of all time periods and places, thus he relied on what he considered to be intrinsic aesthetic principles rather than sociohistorical contexts.¹⁷ If there are such intrinsic aesthetic principles, they would be expressed in modern aesthetic aspects, but historians of other periods of art have generally recognized that such intrinsic principles do not exist. Anachronistic aesthetic aspects have led to the negative evaluations of late black-figure vases cited above.¹⁸

Formalism and formal analysis deal with formality, or the configuration of forms, this being distinct from stylistic analysis, which is concerned with the causes of configurations of style.¹⁹ Connoisseurship studies, like those of Attic vases carried out by Beazley and Haspels, are deeply formalist in that they look for formal elements peculiar to individuals and not historical or geographic situations. The connoisseurship approach

¹⁶ Davis 2011, 4-8.

¹⁷ Wölfflin 2015, 72; Weddigen 2015, 56-7. Though still influential today, Wölfflin's art history has been repeatedly criticized for its intrinsic Hegelianism that strips artists of agency in their stylistic choices (Levy 2015, 29-30).

¹⁸ Similar claims of anachronistic aesthetic values have been leveled broadly against the modern study of painted pottery and its valuation as a high art form. Michael Vickers and others (discussed further below) claim that painted pots were cheap imitations of valuable metal vessels that are now lost.

¹⁹ For more discussion of the definition of formalism see Davis 2011, 45-74; 2012, §1.

of Beazley and Haspels finds its roots in the work of Giovanni Morelli.²⁰ As part of his method of connoisseurship, Morelli described *Grundformen*, which are formal elements outside of a maker's awareness or intentionality and "determined by inward conditions," thus without any cause other than the artist's own idiosyncrasy and apart from any stylistic influences upon the artist.²¹ Davis doubts whether such forms exist that are completely beyond stylistic or iconographic influences, and argues that connoisseurship and iconographical analysis, which seek causes for forms, cannot be entirely formalist. The negative (aesthetic and stylistic) assessments of late black-figure by Beazley and Haspels would seem to indicate their analyses were less than completely Morellian.²²

Before Wölfflin, Alois Riegl and the Vienna School of *Strukturforschung* developed what Davis calls a historical formalism. Their work does focus on form—how artifacts look—and in particular what Riegl called *Kunstwollen*, a difficult term to translate, but broadly referring to the force driving the evolution of style, or the "sum or unity of creative powers manifested in any given artistic phenomenon."²³ Davis gives the knottier definition of the "will to artify an artifact," which makes clearer that the concept is deeper than the will or inspiration to create, encompassing the will to create with a particular intention.²⁴ Jaś Elsner argues that *Kunstwollen* "frees us from aesthetic hierarchies of objects, since in principle all the arts, all archaeological data, all craft and

²⁰ On Beazley's theory and method of connoisseurship, see Neer 1997; 2005; 2009.

²¹ Morelli 1900, (preface) 45.

²² Davis 2011, 45-8. Neer (2009, 46) voices similar skepticism regarding whether connoisseurship can be purely rational and scientific.

²³ Panofsky 2008, 43-4.

²⁴ Davis 2011, 53.

ornament can serve the same historical purpose in revealing a *Kunstwollen*.”²⁵ Riegl formulated *Kunstwollen* as a solution to the tension between close looking at individual artifacts and the desire to address an elaborated historical picture and deeper cultural meanings, to bridge the aesthetic, cultural, and structural characteristics of an object with the broader cultural aesthetics of its time.²⁶

Riegl and the Vienna School employ additional documentary evidence to clarify “what is proper to the historian’s aspect-perception (to his observation of apparent formality in the artifact) and what might have been proper to the original making and use of the artifact.”²⁷ Where documentary evidence on the production of artifacts was not available, Riegl uses configurative activity itself, gathered from the study of a large number of artifacts in addition to close looking.²⁸ Most importantly, Riegl stresses that “the understanding of man’s relation to matter,” or “the human worldview,” has changed significantly through time, and to understand images of a historical period we must understand the human worldview of the time in which the images were produced.²⁹ How deeply scholars of ancient art have taken Riegl’s words to heart is debatable, and it seems many have neglected to take into account the ancient human worldview before making aesthetic judgments about works like late black-figure vases. Nevertheless his place in the history of the study of ancient art is assured.

²⁵ Elsner 2006, 753.

²⁶ Riegl 1985, 9-17; Elsner 2006, 747-50.

²⁷ Davis 2011, 72.

²⁸ Davis 2011, 71-2.

²⁹ Riegl 2004, 55-6. For reactions to and critiques of *Kunstwollen*, see Elsner 2006, 758-66.

The application of contemporary aesthetic ideals to ancient artifacts dates back to the beginnings of Classical archaeology and art history, back to the founder of both disciplines, Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Winckelmann was the first scholar, with the 1764 publication of his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, to distinguish between periods of ancient art based on style, and to link the history of style to world history. In other words, he not only organized works into chronological periods based on their artistic style, he also claimed that developments in style were inextricably linked to other historical developments.³⁰ In particular, he saw the development of the Classical style in Greek sculpture (which he actually divided into the High and Beautiful styles³¹) as the result of an ideal combination of temperament and climate. The ideal climate in Greece along with the freedom from physical labor and the culture of the Greek gymnasium gave rise to elegant and ideal bodies and also allowed for the display of these bodies so that they might be admired and imitated by artists.³² Winckelmann saw imitation as central to the development and perfection of Greek art and part of a vital process of self-fashioning in ancient Greek culture. Mimesis in art was but one facet of this process. The most important process of imitation involved young men imitating and learning from their teachers or older pederastic partners. Greek sculpture, according to Winckelmann, is an artifact of such action. Though representation was driven by imitation, it was still

³⁰ Potts 2006, 21-2; Harloe 2013, 105-10.

³¹ The main distinction between the High and Beautiful styles is that a sculptor of the Beautiful style “imitated nature more than did his predecessors” (Winckelmann 2006, 234; Potts 2000, 68-9). The High style is exemplified by the sculpture of Niobe and her youngest daughter (Winckelmann 2006, 56 pl. 3) and the Beautiful style by Laocoön and his sons (Winckelmann 2006, 58 pl. 5, 236-7). Both sculptures are now dated later than Winckelmann thought.

³² Winckelmann 2006, 186-8; Potts 2000, 70-3; Neer 2009, 30-3.

idealized in nature. Artists did not intend to depict specific beautiful persons, but rather an ideal of beauty or conceptual beauty.³³

Winckelmann described the history of Greek art as a pattern of rise and decline, beginning with the necessity of creating images, then moving to the pursuit of beauty, and eventually declining into the superfluous.³⁴ He saw only a brief flourish for Greek art beginning in the fifth and continuing into the fourth century.³⁵ From Winckelmann's outline of the rise and decline of Greek art and the values embraced by the Greeks in the Classical period, one might assume the most important works of ancient Greek art would be the most beautiful and exhibit the greatest level of imitation of human anatomy, since, according to Winckelmann, "beauty... is the highest aim of art."³⁶ Such assumptions have long dominated discussions of ancient Greek art. It is certainly true that many important monuments of the period did present the human form in the most mimetic fashion of the time. But the interest in imitating nature did not outweigh the importance of other aspects of the work of art like function and tradition.

In contrast to Winckelmann, Jean-Pierre Vernant and later Hans Belting argued that early Greek art, before the Classical period, was not interested in the imitation of nature. Rather, they say the purpose of early images was to make present the absent (what Vernant calls *présentification*).³⁷ This was initially in the form of cult images and idols—what we would call aniconic images—meant to stand in for something beyond the

³³ Neer 2009, 41.

³⁴ Winckelmann 2006, 111; Potts 2006, 21.

³⁵ Potts 2000, 67.

³⁶ Winckelmann 1972, 89.

³⁷ Vernant 1991b; Belting 2011.

capacity of representation. Later images came to mark the absence of the dead and to make religious devotees permanently present through votive sculptures. It was necessary for these images to entail some degree of mimetic quality to be readable to those who saw them, but it was not necessary that they mimic reality so closely as to be able to be mistaken for the real thing. We see this sort of image in sixth-century sculpture—in kouroi and korai that depict non-individualized but idealized figures. Artists still had no interest in what we might call realistic depiction of the human figure or in depicting recognizable individuals. Both of these elements appear in the fifth century (and after the invention of red-figure). Vernant notes that the “notion of figural representation” cannot be taken for granted and is “neither univocal nor permanent” across cultures. The Greeks only later arrived at what he calls “the image, properly speaking: that is, the image conceived as an imitative artifice reproducing in the form of a counterfeit the external appearance of real things.”³⁸

The image, properly speaking, ultimately became disengaged from its religious and mysterious function “through a discovery of the human body and a progressive conquest of its form.”³⁹ For early images, the human aspect was not essential, and its strangeness was part of its power. In the Classical period, images became less connected to the religious as they became more naturalistic, as artists became more practiced at imitating human anatomy. Mimesis stripped the image of its strangeness and its divinity and brought it into the everyday. This was to a certain extent a natural evolution, as Belting has noted that in antiquity, “the more images approached the appearance of

³⁸ Vernant 1991b, 151-2.

³⁹ Vernant 1991b, 159.

things, the more they were apt to be judged by how close to the appearance they managed to come.”⁴⁰

Vernant shows some debt to Winckelmann in his explanation of the impetus of Greek artists to depict the human form. He argues that they depicted the gods in human form not necessarily because they conceived of them in such a way, but rather because they saw something of the divine in the human body, especially in the bodies of victorious athletes. Since athletic contests were a part of religious festivals, a victorious athlete’s body became consecrated to the gods and became itself divine.⁴¹ The body, as an incarnation of the divine, made present the absent god. For the image to give the illusion of reality and lose its strangeness, the human body must have ceased to invoke divinity and incarnate the invisible and the image began to arouse anxiety and criticism.⁴²

Images that are often considered low quality, like many of the black-figure vases that are the focus of this dissertation, carry on the role of marking absence with presence we find in earlier images because they maintain their religious function. Imitation was not a major concern of their makers and users. They invoke divinity and a strangeness with their painting and with their old-fashioned technique. Our judgment of this group of material as low end based on its appearance is biased, based on a modern perspective that sees the history of art as a seamless evolution from abstract to increasingly naturalistic or

⁴⁰ Belting 2011, 120.

⁴¹ Vernant 1991b, 159-60.

⁴² We find such criticism in Plato, *Republic* 10.596-9, where Socrates argues that artists need know nothing of what they represent, only how it appears. See also Halliwell 2002, 62.

mimetic as time goes by.⁴³ Late black-figure is deemed poor quality for not fitting into that progression and being less mimetic than some other artistic production of the time.

If we take these vases seriously—as objects intentionally chosen rather than settled for—it seems that naturalistic painting and experimentation were not major concerns for the users of these vases, though figured vases do seem to have been favored over non-figured. The presence of figured decoration seems to have been more important than the subjective quality of that decoration or even the legibility of its iconography. There was no competition for the best vases at a funeral or other religious ritual as there likely was at other social functions in Classical Athens. Users of these vases do not seem to have had a problem with the quality of their painting and considered them good enough for use in important religious rituals. It only seems appropriate that we should take these vases seriously as well.

The Value of Attic Vases

Most scholarship on ancient Greek vase-painting begins with the assumption that vases painted with figural decoration, especially finely painted black- and red-figure vases, were expensive, luxury objects. This view was challenged in a series of publications beginning in the 1980s by Michael Vickers, David Gill, and E.D. Francis that claim that Greek black-figure, red-figure, and white-ground pottery was a cheap imitation of now lost silver-figure, gold-figure, and ivory vessels. This claim was part of

⁴³ Neer 1995, 118.

a larger program by these scholars to dramatically down-date Classical Greek art.⁴⁴ They argue that many Attic vases found in excavations in Greece were slavish copies of metal vessels used in proxy as wealthy Greeks sought to make impressive offerings without sacrificing their material wealth, which they kept in the form of precious metal plate. Their argument has not found much acceptance.⁴⁵ There is little to no evidence for the existence of the precious metal and ivory vessels they claim Greek ceramics imitated, and other evidence does indicate that pottery was not such a cheap, disposable product as they claim. Vickers claims that modern scholars, Beazley in particular, have placed more value on the work of “lower orders” than anyone did in antiquity. This, he maintains, is an anachronistic view influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement of the late nineteenth century.⁴⁶

In a less extreme view, Vladimir Stissi describes painted pottery as a semi-luxury, claiming that “fine pottery was a commodity within most people’s reach.... At the same time, the omnipresence of fine ware hardly suggests that it was an object of disdain; instead it would seem that it may often have even been considered desirable by elite consumers....”⁴⁷ On the other end of the spectrum, Guy Sanders argues largely from medieval sources that before the modern era, any household that could afford pottery was not poor. He points to the labor intensiveness of pottery production and to several accounts of elite households using vessels made of wood and other materials. Large scale

⁴⁴ They have produced dozens of articles arguing for their down-dating, which would put the invention of red-figure after 479. See Vickers 1984; 1985; Francis and Vickers 1988; Vickers and Gill 1994; and Vickers 2007 in particular.

⁴⁵ See Boardman 1987; Cook 1987; Shear 1993; Pollitt 1995; Neer 2002, 206-16 in response.

⁴⁶ Vickers 1985, 123.

⁴⁷ Stissi 2002, 284.

production of ceramics does not indicate their widespread use across social strata, and he argues poorer households had little or no pottery and primarily used vessels of other materials like wood, stone, and wicker.⁴⁸

During the period when production of black-figure and red-figure overlap and we find both carefully decorated and hastily decorated pottery, it is tempting to assume the hasty pots were a cheaper alternative to the more finely painted vases—a view the quotations from various scholars above reflect. I maintain that because of the expense of time and materials put into its production regardless of its decoration and based on the contexts in which we find hastily painted pots, we should maintain the assumption that pottery was not a cheap product reserved for the poor or for disposable uses, even when the subjective quality of its painting would seem to suggest otherwise.

A Change in Techniques in Attic Vase-painting

In the fifth century, when Winckelmann saw Greek sculpture reaching its height of perfection in his High and Beautiful styles, vase-painting in Athens was undergoing a different transition of styles associated with two different vase-painting techniques—from the black-figure technique to the new red-figure technique. The change in technique was really rather simple. Attic vase-painters decorated their vases primarily with a clay slip made from the same clay as the body of the vases. Through a three stage firing process in which an initial oxidation firing was followed by a reduction stage and then a re-oxidation, the clay slip was converted to a glossy black while the exposed body of the

⁴⁸ Sanders, forthcoming. Such materials generally do not preserve well in the Greek climate, but some wooden vessels have been found at Brauron and the sanctuary of Hera on Samos, but not in any of the shapes to be discussed here.

vase remained the natural red color of the clay. Black-figure painters rendered figures and foreground elements with the black slip and added interior details by incising into the slipped areas. Red-figure painters reversed the technique. The background of red-figure scenes is painted black and figural elements are reserved with interior details rendered in slip with a fine brush.⁴⁹ Painters in both techniques employed additional colored slips, most frequently added white and red. These slips are often faded or flaked off on surviving vases. In black-figure, added white slip was frequently used for women's skin, painted over a layer of black slip, whereas red-figure painters ceased to differentiate the color of men's and women's skin.

The black-figure technique was in use in Attic vase-painting by the end of the seventh century, having been originally developed in Corinth. Attic black-figure painters developed a mature and settled style in the first decades of the sixth century, and black-figure painting reached a high level of sophistication and technical proficiency.⁵⁰ Masters of the technique like Exekias executed works with fine detail, like his famous vase in the Vatican showing the greatest Greek heroes of the Trojan War, Achilles and Ajax, playing dice (fig. 1.1).⁵¹ The painting displays the delicate work possible in black-figure. The intricate patterns on the heroes' garments are given the same care as the overall balancing of the composition. In the hands of Exekias, it is clear the black-figure technique possesses plenty of potential for artistic expression, nonetheless by the end of his career (ca. 520), Attic vase-painting was on the brink of major changes.

⁴⁹ For an overview of the techniques of Attic vase-painting, see Richter 1923, Nobel 1988, and Schreiber 1999. For more technical studies, see Aloupi-Siotis 2008, Kahn and Wissinger 2008, and Newman 2008.

⁵⁰ Beazley 1986, 12-23.

⁵¹ Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16757; *ABV* 145.13, 672.3, 686; *Paralipomena* 60.

The period from the 530s through the end of the sixth century saw a great amount of experimentation among Athenian vase-painters. Red-figure was only one of several new techniques introduced, including white-ground (to be discussed in detail in chapter 3), coral red gloss (also called intentional red),⁵² and Six's technique.⁵³ These new techniques all required significant changes to how painters worked, especially white-ground and coral red, which introduced new materials and firing processes.

The first generation of red-figure painters largely carried on the artistic and aesthetic traditions of earlier Attic vase-painting. Some painters, like the Andokides Painter and Psiax, who were likely among the developers of the technique, also worked in black-figure. They sometimes even combined the two techniques on one pot—so-called bilingual vases (fig. 1.2).⁵⁴ After this first generation of red-figure artists, painters tend to specialize in the new technique or carry on the older one.

The next generation of red-figure painters, called the Pioneer Group, worked almost exclusively in red-figure. As their name implies, they tested the possibilities of the new technique in ways the first generation of red-figure artists had not. Pioneer painters like Euphronios and Euthymides experimented with the possibilities of the new technique, explored more dynamic compositions, and showed more interest in details of human anatomy. On one of his vases dated ca. 510, Euphronios combines frontal and profile views to show athletes' bodies in active but not strained poses as they wash after

⁵² Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 19-20; Cohen 2006, 44-53.

⁵³ Cohen 2006, 72-80.

⁵⁴ Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2301; *ABV* 255.4; *ARV*² 4.9, 1617; *Paralipomena* 113, 320. On bilingual vases, see Cohen 1978; 2006, 18-25. The Andokides Painter is called the Lysippides Painter when working in black-figure.

exercise (fig. 1.3).⁵⁵ The figure at right is shown with one leg in profile and the other frontal, a simple but new scheme, while the figure at far left, seen from behind, twists his torso around to his right. Euthymides makes similar trials on a vase dated to the last decade of the sixth century, on which he shows men dancing in a *kōmos* with twisting bodies and figures in three-quarters profile in a way never attempted by (and perhaps never available to) black-figure artists (fig. 1.4a).⁵⁶ That Euthymides even wrote on the vase behind one of the revelers “*HOΣ OYΔEΠOTE EYΦPONIOΣ*” (As Euphronios never [did]) (fig. 1.4b) suggests competition between artists was a driving factor in innovating.⁵⁷ To a certain extent these changes were brought about by the technique itself and the different manner in which it allowed painters to work, but it is also the product of a generally more experimental period in Greek art.

Though late black-figure has generally been considered second rate, some later black-figure painters are still recognized as serious artists. Beazley calls the Leagros Group, a large workshop of painters working in the last quarter of the sixth century, “the last great group of Attic black-figured painters.”⁵⁸ A vase in Berkeley is indicative of the group, painted with sufficient care but with iconography that can only be read as broadly mythological (fig. 1.5a-b). The figures on the obverse (fig. 1.5a) are obviously Hermes,

⁵⁵ Berlin, Antikensammlung F2180; *ARV*² 13.1, 1619; *Paralipomena* 321.

⁵⁶ Munich, Antikensammlung 2307; *ARV*² 26.1, 1620; *Paralipomena* 323; *Beazley Addenda*² 155-6.

⁵⁷ Neer 2002, 51. Alternatively, Euthymides may be suggesting Euphronios never danced or celebrated like the men shown. In any case, the inscription is clear evidence of competition between red-figure artists. See Neer 2002, 227 n. 74 for discussion of the extensive bibliography on this vase and its inscription.

⁵⁸ Beazley 1986, 80. Haspels (1936, 78) and Robertson (1992, 178) considered another artist, the Beldam Painter, the last artist to take black-figure seriously. The Beldam Painter is related to the Haimon Group and many vases produced by the painter and his workshop exhibit hasty painting similar to the Haimon Group.

Athena, and Herakles, but what they are doing and what story is meant to be depicted are unclear.⁵⁹ The figure at center on the reverse (fig. 1.5b) can be identified as Apollo based on the *kithara* he holds and the deer behind him, but his companions may be either Artemis and Leto or Muses, and again, the narrative, if any, is unclear. Haspels, in her study of black-figure lekythoi, describes the Edinburgh Painter and his successors, the Athena Painter and the Theseus Painter, as the last painters to produce large, finely painted lekythoi, working into the second quarter of the fifth century.⁶⁰ The Sappho and Diosphos Painters are also generally recognized as some of the finer black-figure painters of the fifth century.⁶¹ They are known in particular for some of the unique or unusual scenes they painted, like a lekythos by the Sappho Painter in New York showing the chariots of the sun and moon (fig. 1.6).⁶²

On the other end of the spectrum, what are considered the worst late black-figure vases (and what will largely be the focus of this dissertation) generally come from large workshops that produced vases in large quantities that cannot easily be divided into individual hands. The Haimon Group and the Class of Athens 581 are two of the largest producers of black-figure lekythoi in the fifth century.⁶³ Some hands have been identified within these large groups. Within the Haimon Group we have the Haimon Painter and the Marathon Painter, so named because he painted several of the lekythoi dedicated in the

⁵⁹ Berkeley, Hearst Museum of Anthropology 8.3376; *ABV* 391.2; *Paralipomena* 172.

⁶⁰ Haspels 1936, 77.

⁶¹ Jubier-Galinier 2003.

⁶² New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.162.29; *ABV* 507.6.

⁶³ Volioti (2014, 150) counts nearly 2000 known lekythoi from the Haimon Workshop, and hundreds more certainly remain unpublished.

burial of the Athenian dead from the Battle of Marathon, but most of the group's work is an unattributed mass.⁶⁴ An unattributed lekythos in the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum is representative of this type of work (fig. 1.7a-b).⁶⁵ The vase shows a goddess mounting a chariot. Her face and that of the woman standing behind the chariot playing a kithara are rendered with only a few cursory incisions. Their clothing is indicated by schematic folds incised into the thin and uneven black slip, and the thin lines of the horses' legs practically fade into a blur of strokes.

These are the painters detractors of late black-figure are referring to when they call the material second-rate and the painting hasty. The imagery is repetitive and sometimes unintelligible, and the most diplomatic way to describe the painting is hasty. Figures typically take the form of sketchy masses with incised details that often do not align with their painted bodies. Added white for women's skin is sometimes painted directly onto the body of the vase instead of being painted over a layer of black slip as is the typical manner in earlier black-figure.

In addition of black-figure and red-figure, much Attic fineware pottery was decorated with a solid layer of glossy black slip.⁶⁶ Black-gloss pottery was produced in much larger quantities than black- or red-figure, likely as a side product of the same workshops.⁶⁷ In the Persian destruction deposits in the Athenian Agora collected by T.L.

⁶⁴ Haspels 1936, 62-3, 77.

⁶⁵ Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum K 100 (unpublished).

⁶⁶ This material is often incorrectly referred to as black-glaze. The glossy black surface of Greek vases of the Archaic and Classical periods is not technically a glaze, but is rather a slip, so I will prefer the term black-gloss (Schreiber 1999, 53).

⁶⁷ Sapirstein 2014, 184.

Shear, Jr. were found fragments of 1,220 black-figure vases, 100 red-figure vases, and 1,952 black-gloss vases, but these numbers are only a rough picture of the distribution of the three types of pottery. They represent minimum numbers of vessels and are heavily influenced by the biases of the excavators. Shear notes that the proportion of figured to black-gloss pottery is too high, as less effort is devoted to mending black-gloss than to figured pottery.⁶⁸ For the most part, the same range of shapes was produced in black-gloss as in figured pottery. I will not devote much space to discussion of black-gloss pottery, but in most instances we can expect a larger quantity of any shape was produced in black-gloss than in either black- or red-figure.⁶⁹

Approach

Chronological and Geographic Limits

This study will privilege objects from recorded excavation contexts in Athens and Attica securely dated to the fifth century. I choose the year 500 as the chronological starting point of this study because, as discussed below, Susan Rotroff has shown that there is practically no red-figure pottery found in sixth-century contexts in Attica. As a result, it would be pointless to consider how black- and red-figure vases were chosen for different purposes in a period where red-figure was barely, if at all, present. The vast majority of early red-figure vases were exported, which has skewed our dating of the

⁶⁸ Shear 1993, tables 2, 3, and 4, 388-93.

⁶⁹ Panathenaic amphorae and krateriskoi being major exceptions, to be discussed in chapters 2 and 5, respectively.

material.⁷⁰ To clarify the scope of this study, it will be helpful to address the chronology of early red-figure.

The invention of red-figure has traditionally been dated to the 530s, with various arguments putting it slightly earlier or later in the decade. This dating was proposed in the early twentieth century by Ernst Langlotz based on stylistic comparisons of Attic vases to other art forms, in particular the sculptural frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. The treasury is securely dated to a brief period of economic prosperity on the island of Siphnos after a windfall silver strike and before their subjugation by the Samians in 524.⁷¹ This chronology of the beginning of red-figure was laid out when little stratigraphic evidence was available to date archaeological sites and objects in Greece. As more and more material was recovered from stratified deposits, that material was dated based on this stylistic relative chronology. Over time, stratigraphy has mostly verified early stylistic dates of black-figure vases, but it was often the case that red-figure material was stylistically dated earlier than the strata in which it was found. For many years the date of early red-figure was not reconsidered with these stratified finds in mind, and it became clear that some adjustment was needed.⁷²

Renate Tölle-Kastenbein reevaluated the stylistic dating of late Archaic and early Classical art in 1983 using *kalos*-names as a non-stylistic chronological marker. She suggests a down-dating of around fifteen years for material traditionally dated between

⁷⁰ Paleothodoros 2007, 167.

⁷¹ Herodotos 3.57-8; Langlotz 1968, 17-31.

⁷² Neer 2002, 204.

530 and 520.⁷³ Though her suggested dates are similar to those later suggested by other scholars, her argument relies on assumptions of which we cannot be certain regarding the meaning of *kalos* inscriptions on vases and at what age a man could be considered *kalos*. Furthermore, her dating scheme is intended to be comprehensive and does not consider the peculiarities of vase-painting. Richard Neer has also suggested a down-dating of some sixth-century red-figure vases, but not for the beginning of the technique. He suggests lowering the date of the Pioneer group about ten years, but leaving Andokides and the earliest red-figure painters at their traditional dates.⁷⁴

In 2009, Susan Rotroff examined the early red-figure material from Persian destruction contexts in the Athenian Agora and concluded that the beginning of red-figure should be lowered to 520-515. In her survey of the Agora material, Rotroff found not a single red-figure fragment that had been recovered from Agora deposits dated to before 500, and only a very small number from deposits dating to the 490s.⁷⁵ Rotroff's proposal is cautiously argued and backed by copious evidence. The implications of this down-dating are yet to be seen, but I believe her suggested dates for the beginning of the red-figure technique will become the new standard chronology.⁷⁶

⁷³ Tölle-Kastenbein 1983. Ciancini (1986) reevaluates the dating of late Archaic and early Classical Attic pottery in light of the arguments of Tölle-Kastenbein and Francis and Vickers and ultimately concludes that Langlotz's dates should be retained.

⁷⁴ Neer 2002, 203-5.

⁷⁵ Rotroff 2009, 250-4.

⁷⁶ Paleothodoros (2007) suggests possible questions raised by Rotroff's new dates, but many of these avenues have yet to be explored.

The issue of exports is a complicated matter and not essential to the questions addressed here. Exported Attic vases found very different uses and ultimate depositional contexts from vases that stayed in the Athenian market. Vessels associated with the symposium often ended up in tombs in Italy, while it is rather rare to find such a vase in an Athenian burial. It seems some vases were made with the export market in mind, but many more Attic vases found in Italy or elsewhere are no different from those that stayed in Attica as far as shape and iconography are concerned.⁷⁷

To avoid the complication of exports and to better approach how Athenians used these vases, evidence will be limited in the first instance to vases made for and used in Athenian contexts and pieces from secure use contexts will be preferred whenever available. This approach was used effectively by Stefan Schmidt in *Rhetorische Bilder auf attischen Vasen*. Schmidt limited his corpus to vases from documented excavation contexts in Athens and Attica to better ascertain the meaning of particular iconographic themes to Athenians.⁷⁸

Case Studies

This dissertation takes the form of a series of case studies focusing on individual vase shapes. Black- and red-figure vase-painters do not produce the same range of shapes in the fifth century. Each technique is favored for some shapes and rare or absent on others. Assuming the market was driven by consumer demand and because shape and use

⁷⁷ See Reusser 2005 and Shapiro 2000 on vases made for export to Etruria.

⁷⁸ Schmidt 2005.

are so closely connected, each chapter will address why Athenians favored black-figure vases over red-figure for particular functions.

The first case study (Chapter 2) will focus on the best known use of black-figure in the fifth century and later: Panathenaic prize amphorae. These vases are associated with the games of the Greater Panathenaia festival in Athens, where they were awarded filled with olive oil to victors in the athletic and equestrian contests. The combination of their distinctive shape, iconography, and the black-figure technique mark these vases, and the oil they contained, as special and apart from quotidian oil and transport vessels.⁷⁹ Panathenaic prize amphorae are so distinctive in their shape and iconography that their connection with the games at Athens can be assured even when they are found far from Athens in contexts not associated with the festival. The vases are found all over the Mediterranean, having either traveled abroad with their victors or having been sold later. The amphorae retained a prestige value long after the oil they held was gone, and in many instances they were sold off empty to individuals who had not won them as prizes.⁸⁰

Though their shape and decoration do evolve over time, Panathenaic prize amphorae always preserve the black-figure technique. In fact, they carry on the technique longer than any other type of Attic vase and even after red-figure falls out of use. Starting in the Classical period, Panathenaic prize amphorae were decorated in black-figure by artists who otherwise worked exclusively in the newer red-figure technique. Red-figure painters often adopted an archaistic style for some elements of the Panathenaic amphorae,

⁷⁹ Bentz 1998, 33-40.

⁸⁰ Valavanis 1986, 457; Bentz 1998, 95-9; 2003, 116; 2008; Rystedt 2006.

while using a contemporary style for other elements of the same vase. As a result, prize amphorae of the fifth century and later exhibit a combination of archaistic and truly Archaic features as well as elements of contemporary artistic styles. Much has been written about the archaistic rendering of the Athena Promachos on the vases' obverses, often citing the religious conservatism it demonstrates, but it goes unsaid or is taken for granted that the black-figure technique likewise represents a religious conservatism.⁸¹

I believe it is too simplistic to attribute the continuation of the older, black-figure technique to a resistance to change. The preservation of particular visual components of Panathenaic prize amphorae makes each vase recognizable as part of a larger body of material and part of ancient traditions associated with the Panathenaic games. The games were closely tied to the illustrious past of the city of Athens, its traditions (including vase-painting), and important historical and mythological figures from the city. The continuation of black-figure sustained these traditions and celebrated the city's past after Athens fell from its place of cultural prominence and political hegemony in the fourth century.

The second case study (Chapter 3) focuses on lekythoi, which represent the largest quantity of late black-figure vases found in Attica. Lekythoi are oil vessels, sometimes associated with domestic contexts but also particularly associated with fifth-century funerary practice, so a large number have been found in graves.⁸² Burials are convenient sealed deposits that allow us to say with certainty that their contents are all

⁸¹ Neils 1992, 30; Carpenter 2007; Hölscher 2010, 109-10.

⁸² Villanueva-Puig 2003; Algrain et al. 2008, 151-2; van de Put 2011, 175-86.

associated with the actions and rituals of the funeral, so funerary lekythoi present a body of material related to ancient Greek religious practice that can be easily examined.

Unlike Panathenaic amphorae, late black-figure lekythoi are produced by workshops specializing in small, black-figure vessels. They are painted by artists who worked only in black-figure, and their painting is especially hasty, often repetitive and generic, and generally lacking in innovation and experimentation. The vases continue the use of black-figure to carry on a particular tradition associated with religious ritual.⁸³

Until white-ground lekythoi with outline drawing (rather than black-figure) become more common in funerary contexts in Athens in the 430s, black-figure lekythoi are found in practically all Attic burials that contain pottery, even in otherwise wealthy or significant graves. Previous scholarship has largely assumed that black-figure more or less disappeared after the Persian sack of Athens in 480/79, but this is largely based on an increase in the amount of red-figure pottery dated to the early Classical period on stylistic grounds.⁸⁴ When we examine contexts in Athens dated to after 480, black-figure is still very common, and when the black-figure technique is replaced by white-ground, the lekythos shape decreases in popularity and is replaced in burials by other shapes of oil containers.⁸⁵ It may have been the case that the vase shape in its funerary context had become so closely associated with the black-figure technique, when the last Attic workshops still producing black-figure ceased production in the 430s, Attic consumers

⁸³ Kurtz 1975, 152-5.

⁸⁴ Oakley 2004, 6-8; Schmidt 2005, 32-8.

⁸⁵ Kurtz 1975, 74; Oakley 2004, 216-7.

were not interested in the shape in any other technique, and opted for new shapes of oil containers for their funerary rituals.

The next case study (Chapter 4) focuses on a drinking shape, the skyphos, which appears in large numbers in Attic black-figure and presents an interesting contrast with another drinking shape, the kylix. The two shapes were both found in the repertoires of Attic vase-painters in the sixth century and both continue to be produced in the fifth century.⁸⁶ For the most part skyphoi are decorated in black-figure in the fifth century while the newer red-figure technique is preferred for kylikes. The skyphos is produced in black-figure until at least the middle of the fifth century, with a few pieces dating into the third quarter of the century. Red-figure skyphoi then become more common but are never as popular as the shape was in black-figure.⁸⁷ Red-figure kylikes continue production after black-figure skyphoi fall out of use, but by no means does the kylix or the red-figure technique take over the same roles as the skyphos and the black-figure technique. A large proportion of late black-figure skyphoi belonged to the Heron Class, characterized by their large size, around 17 cm in height and with a diameter at the lip of up to 25 cm. Such large drinking vessels are usually assumed to have served a special ritual function.⁸⁸ Like lekythoi, late black-figure skyphoi are produced by large workshops of painters working only in the older technique, and their painting is often repetitive and hasty.

The two drinking shapes may have been used in the same contexts, in particular at the symposium, but that different decorative techniques were chosen for each shape

⁸⁶ Lynch 2015, 234-5.

⁸⁷ Lynch 2015, 248-9.

⁸⁸ Scheibler 2000.

suggests the skyphos shape itself carried meaning that differed from that of the kylix. Literary sources suggest skyphoi were associated with country folk, and popular iconographic themes found on skyphoi support this association.⁸⁹ Skyphos iconography includes many scenes of the rural and the rustic. These scenes were likely not meant to illustrate how or where the vases were used, as many examples from recorded contexts come from within the city of Athens, and furthermore, late black-figure skyphoi can be found in the same contexts as red-figure kylikes. In this case the continued use of late black-figure contributed along with the shape and iconography to the rustic quality of the vases.

Black-figure skyphoi certainly had ritual functions in at least some cases, but what exactly those functions were is not made clear by their findspots. It has been suggested that skyphoi were used in coming of age rites and rituals in which children were recognized as members of a *phratry* and thus Athenian citizens.⁹⁰ These vases were also produced in a period when Athens was redefining the relationship between city and country. Individuals from rural parts of Attica may have been enfranchised and able to take part in political life for the first time.⁹¹ Users of late black-figure skyphoi may have chosen the vessels to make statements about their relationship to the countryside and the relationship of their cult activities to the country or to old-fashioned customs.

The final case study (Chapter 5) deals with krateriskoi, a special shape associated almost exclusively with cults of Artemis in Attica. It is unclear how the shape was used,

⁸⁹ Richter and Milne 1935, 26-7.

⁹⁰ Scheibler 2000, 19-20.

⁹¹ Anderson 2003, 43-84.

but krateriskoi have been found in large numbers at Artemis sanctuaries, especially at Brauron.⁹² Like lekythoi and skyphoi, krateriskoi are painted hastily by painters specializing in the older technique. Many krateriskoi appear to be made from inferior local clays rather than the fine, red clay usually associated with Attic pottery, and their painting is among the hastiest of Attic vase-painting.⁹³

Krateriskoi are difficult to date, but are generally said to have been made until the middle of the fifth century, but dates into the fourth century have been suggested.⁹⁴ This type of vase seems to have had a relatively limited life span. Though it has clear precedents in the Geometric and Protoattic periods—making the shape rather archaistic in itself—it does not appear in black-figure until the late sixth century, and does not become popular until the beginning of the fifth century.⁹⁵

The Artemis cults with which krateriskoi are associated focused on female coming of age rites that involved girls metaphorically transforming into wild animals before being reintroduced to civilization as adults.⁹⁶ These cults—and their patroness, Artemis—dealt with the liminal, the wild, and the uncivilized. As such, the black-figure technique, with its connotations of the old and rural, was a fitting choice for vessels used and dedicated at these sanctuaries.

⁹² Papadimitriou 1961, 36; Kahil 1963.

⁹³ Kahil 1963, 14; 1981, 254; Palaiokrassa 1991, 81.

⁹⁴ Kahil 1981, 259; Palaiokrassa 1989, 16-8.

⁹⁵ Kahil 1981, 254; Palaiokrassa 1989, 17-8.

⁹⁶ Kahil 1977, 1997, 403-4; Cole 1984; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 66; 1990b, 50-5; Marinatos 2002.

Only a few red-figure krateriskoi are known and their origins are uncertain.⁹⁷

Though the shape reappeared in the experimental period that produced the red-figure technique, the archaistic nature of the shape and the wild associations of the cult in which it was used likely made it seem incompatible with the new technique. Whatever the particular function of the vases was in the cult, they are not clearly replaced by another shape after krateriskoi fall out of use.

A New Understanding

Returning to the discussion of the Plato quote above, I would not imply that the newer red-figure technique was immoral and I would not go so far as to posit Plato's opinion, but I think there is an obvious tension between tradition and innovation in the late sixth and early fifth centuries similar to what he describes. Late black-figure vase-painting can be seen as retrospective. It links itself to the past and traditional forms and practices. Black-figure was retained on vases associated with ritual practices, presumably because consumers demanded such objects out of a desire to carry on specific traditions and to link their ritual practice with that of their ancestors and the history of the city of Athens. They functioned in a specific and separate context from that of red-figure vases of the same period. Red-figure painters ultimately came from the same artistic traditions as contemporary black-figure painters, but they made vases for different uses and to meet different demands from consumers. Black-figure has been judged in the same context and by the same standards as red-figure painting, contributing to its negative appraisal.

⁹⁷ Kahil 1977.

A new understanding of late black-figure vases impacts our understanding of Greek vase-painting and Greek art more broadly. Judging hastily painted late black-figure as inferior to finer painted red-figure assumes Classical Greeks determined the quality of art or images in the same way we do today. To quote Ernst Gombrich, “The test of the image is not its lifelikeness but its efficacy within a context of action.”⁹⁸ The qualities that make a good symposium vessel are not the same as those for a funerary vase or other ritual vessel. Since they were produced in different shapes for different uses, the contexts of action for black-figure and red-figure vessels were not the same and they cannot be tested or judged on the same standards. I will argue that black-figure vases were selected for certain uses because the technique itself carried meaning for the users of the vases, and that that meaning outweighed any need or desire for mimetic or naturalistic imagery or even for legible iconography.

⁹⁸ Gombrich 1969, 110.

2. Archaism and Anachronism in Panathenaic Prize Amphorae: The Semantics of Black-figure

Twice in the rites of the Athenians did sweet voices
celebrate him, and in earth baked by fire came fruit
of the olive to that brave people of Hera in the richly
ornamented walls of jars.

Pindar, *Nemean* 10.34-6 (trans. Race)

The Embodiment of Prize Status

The longest surviving use of the black-figure technique in Attic vase-painting, even out-living red-figure into the first century BCE, is on Panathenaic prize amphorae. These vases, awarded to victors in the athletic and equestrian competitions at the Panathenaic Games, are often described as archaistic for various reasons discussed below, but a closer look at prize amphorae of the fifth century and later shows that these vases employ a complex interplay of elements, and that labeling them as archaistic or conservative oversimplifies the matter.¹ Rather, the vases employ a mixture of contemporary, Archaic, and archaistic elements. The contrast and layering of styles and techniques of various periods serves to recall the mythological origins of the Panathenaia festival and the illustrious history of its host city and to advertise the same as the vases traveled beyond the city and around the Mediterranean.

The amphorae discussed below fall into the category of late black-figure by virtue of their dates, but in contrast to the vases to be addressed in later chapters, after the start of the Classical period Panathenaic prize amphorae are made by workshops that

¹ For early studies of Panathenaic prize amphorae, see von Brauchitsch 1910, Gardiner 1912, Dow 1936, Smets 1936, Peters 1942, and Beazley 1943.

otherwise produced only red-figure vases and are not the products of specialized black-figure workshops. As a result, the subjective quality of the painting on prize amphorae is quite different from that of other contemporary black-figure vases. That is to say, prize amphorae are painted much more carefully than other late black-figure. Panathenaics warrant inclusion in this study by virtue of their objective quality alone—because they are decorated in the black-figure technique—but also because that technique serves a similar function for both Panathenaics and other, hastily painted fifth century black-figure vases. Black-figure vases, whether small and hastily painted like funerary lekythoi or large and finely decorated like prize amphorae, would have stood in stark contrast to contemporary red-figure vases. The technique itself marked the vases as special and significant. The continued use of black-figure for prize amphorae probably began as a rejection of a new form in favor of the older and traditional but eventually became an indicator of the prizes' status.

Background

Panathenaic prize amphorae were awarded to victors in the athletic and equestrian competitions at the Greater Panathenaia festival held every four years in Athens. The amphorae were filled with olive oil produced from trees sacred to Athena, which was the actual prize rather than the vases themselves. The oil could be sold off by the victor, while the amphorae might be kept for sentimental reasons or for personal display.² The

² *Ath. Pol.* 60.3 describes the oil as the prize rather than the vases themselves. See Vos (1981, 40-2) for discussion of the *moriai*, the trees from which the sacred oil was produced, and the monetary value of the oil. Vos estimates an amphora full of oil could be worth twelve drachmae, with one drachma worth a day's wages for a skilled worker. See also Bentz 1998, 89-92; 2003, 113.

number of amphorae awarded varied by event, age group, and for first and second-place finishers, with up to 140 amphorae awarded for finishing first in the chariot race.³ Each prize amphora was a standard shape and volume. Though the shape evolved over time, the volume of the vessels appears to have been fairly consistent.⁴

Athletic competitions at the Greater Panathenaia, along with Panathenaic amphorae and oil as prizes, were probably introduced at the time of the reorganization of the festival around 566/5. The earliest archaeological evidence for the games is the prize amphorae themselves.⁵ The stylistically earliest Panathenaics, like the Burgon Amphora (fig. 2.1), date to this period.⁶ Since the type has its origins in the sixth century, it is natural that these vases were decorated in black-figure, since it was the principal technique of Attic figured pottery at the time. After the invention of red-figure around 525, Panathenaics continue to be produced by black-figure painters until the end of the sixth century. The Kleophrades Painter (fig. 2.2) and the workshop of the Eucharides Painter (fig. 2.3),⁷ artists who worked in both techniques, produced prize amphorae in the

³ See *IG II²* 2311 for a partial list of prizes from the Panathenaia, discussed further below.

⁴ Some undersized Panathenaics exist, which may be the result of a reduced supply of olive oil in times of war or other hardship (Vos 1981, 40-6; Shear 2001, 537-8).

⁵ See Shear (2001, 507-15) for a detailed discussion of the evidence for the date of the first Panathenaic games.

⁶ London, British Museum B130; *ABV* 89.1; *Paralipomena* 33. The Burgon Amphora is generally considered the earliest Panathenaic prize amphora. Other early examples include one in New York signed by Nikias (Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.11.13; *Beazley Addenda*² 401; Bentz 1998, pl. 5); one in Florence attributed to Lydos (Museo Archeologico 97779; *ABV* 110.33; Bentz 1998, pl. 6); and two unattributed, fragmentary vases probably by the same painter, one in Halle (University inv. 560; *ABV* 120; Bentz 1998, pl. 3) and one in a private collection in Geneva (Chamay collection; *BAPD* 25785; Moore 1999, fig. 15) (Moore 1999, Chamay 2001).

⁷ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1956.171.3; *ABV* 395.3; *Paralipomena* 173.

early fifth century.⁸ The last painters working solely in black-figure to make Panathenaics were from the workshop of the Leagros Group (fig. 2.4) in the final two decades of the sixth century.⁹ The Berlin Painter was the first artist to produce black-figure Panathenaic prize amphorae who otherwise worked solely in red-figure.¹⁰

In the Classical period, Panathenaic prize amphorae were never made by painters who decorated other vase shapes in black-figure. Specialist black-figure painters came to focus on small shapes like lekythoi and skyphoi. From the fifth century until the end of production of Panathenaic prize amphorae, artists were taking up a special but outmoded technique to decorate these pots. Compared to other fifth-century black-figure vases, Panathenaics are decorated much more carefully and with greater attention, especially to the anatomy of figures.¹¹ Though they were working in a reversed technique, red-figure painters' work is still identifiable in their black-figure prize amphorae.

⁸ Bentz (1998, 138-42, no. 5.001-5.045) lists forty-five prize amphorae from the workshop of the Kleophrades Painter and dates them 500-480. Matheson (1989, 109-10) dates all of the Kleophrades Painter's Panathenaics to 485-80. Kunze-Götte (1992, 27) claims no prize amphorae (including the Kleophrades Painter's) date between 500 and 480. For black-figure vases by the Kleophrades Painter, see *ABV* 405.17-20; *Paralipomena* 175-6; Kunze-Götte 1992, 10-2. See Bentz (1998, 142-4, no. 5.046-5.070) on the workshop of the Eucharides Painter. Langridge-Noti (2001, 76) lists twenty-nine prize amphorae attributed to him. See also Langridge 1993, 222-30, 362-78.

⁹ See Bentz (1998, 132-133, no. 6.096-6.105) for Leagros Group Panathenaics.

¹⁰ Shapiro, forthcoming.

¹¹ Unlike other late black-figure, the painting of Panathenaics is today generally considered praiseworthy, but that has not always been the case. Amyx (1958, 186) imagines "Panathenaic amphoras, with their black-figure technique of decoration, must by the late fifth century B.C. have seemed very quaint and old-fashioned and scarcely to be treasured as works of art." Beazley (1928, 28) made clear his feelings on the development of Panathenaics by the fourth century: "[N]othing fouler than the panathenaic vases of the fourth century has survived from antiquity."

Defining Features of Panathenaic Prize Amphorae

Four elements mark vessels as “official” Panathenaic prize amphorae¹² and distinguish them from so-called pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae—black-figure amphorae of Panathenaic shape that were not made to be prizes at the Panathenaia (e.g. fig. 2.5).¹³ First, the distinctive shape was a large neck-amphora with an ovoid body with a narrow foot and a constricted, offset neck. This vase shape probably originated with coarseware transport amphorae. The shape is also related to Attic “SOS” amphorae (fig. 2.6), so-called because of the decoration on their necks.¹⁴ SOS amphorae were used for exports of Attic olive oil from the Late Geometric period until the mid-sixth century, around the time oil became a prize at the Panathenaia and the quantity available for export presumably declined.¹⁵ Over time prize amphorae become taller, especially in the neck and base. The earliest Panathenaics (e.g. fig. 2.1) have an echinus mouth and foot, like contemporary neck-amphorae, but through the fifth century (e.g. fig. 2.2) the foot and mouth becomes elongated and the overall height of the vessel increases, though the body remains relatively the same size.¹⁶

¹² Bentz (1998, 19) adds a fifth distinguishing feature: volume. Though the volume of oil held by prize amphorae appears to have been fairly consistent, there is enough variation (Bentz 1998, 33-40) that I do not consider it a reliably defining feature.

¹³ Bentz 2001. See below for further discussion of pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae.

¹⁴ Johnston and Jones 1978, 133-4.

¹⁵ Johnston and Jones 1978, 140-1.

¹⁶ Neils 1992, 38-9; Bentz 1998, 33-40; Tiverios 2007, 2. The consistency in shape is related to their consistency in volume. It is difficult to measure the volume of most surviving prize amphorae given their state of preservation, but from the examples that can be measured they have a fairly consistent volume of between thirty-eight and thirty-nine liters. The individual amphorae were probably filled with pre-measured amounts of oil, so some variation in their volume would be acceptable. Each amphora probably held one *metrētēs* (12 *choes* or 144 *kotylai*) of oil, corresponding to 38.4 or 39.395 liters (Lang and Crosby 1964, 44-7; Johnston and Jones 1978, 140-1; Vos 1981, 35-8). Bentz (1998, 33-7) finds that most prize amphorae

Second, prize amphorae always feature the same decorative and iconographic scheme. On the front of the vase, Athena strides brandishing her shield and spear. She originally faces left, but in the fourth century she is turned around to face right (fig. 2.7), hiding her shield device but allowing the painter to elaborate more on her drapery and aegis. In the canonical schema of the sixth and fifth centuries, the goddess stands between two Doric columns topped with cocks—fighting animals alluding to the competitive spirit of the games. The earliest examples, like the Burgon amphora (fig. 2.1a), lack columns, and starting in the fourth century the columns are topped by Nikai or other statue-like figures instead of cocks (e.g. fig. 2.7).¹⁷ On the reverse is depicted the contest for which the amphora was awarded.¹⁸ Pseudo-Panathenaics, to be discussed in more detail later, will sometimes depict competitions for which amphorae of oil were not awarded, like musical contests (fig. 2.10b).¹⁹ The decoration of Panathenaics is also distinctive in its layout. The image on each side is placed within a panel, as is found on Attic belly-amphorae, rather than being in an open field between vines or spirals beneath the handles, as is typical of other neck-amphorae.²⁰ As I will discuss in more detail

form a group with an average volume of 36.73 liters. He offers several possible explanations for the measure of prize oil being less than one *metrētēs*.

¹⁷ On column statues and their meaning, see Eschbach 1986, 166-9; Valavanis 1987; Robertson 1992, 275-6; Tiverios 1996; Bentz 1998, 30-1. Palagia (2014, 369-70) suggests the earliest prize amphora with column statues should be dated to the archonship of Souniades in 397/6.

¹⁸ Hamilton (1996) has argued, based on the distribution of athletic events on surviving prize amphorae, that the selection of scenes on the reverse was random. On interpretation of the reverse scenes, see also Kratzmüller 2007.

¹⁹ See Shapiro 1992 for several examples of such vessels. *JG II*² 2311 provides a partial list of events and prizes.

²⁰ Neils 1992, 30-9.

below, although the black-figure technique is preserved on prize amphorae, the style of painting on the reverses evolves to reflect contemporary styles.

The most decisive marker of a prize amphora is the inscription on the obverse: τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων (of the prizes from Athens). The earliest Panathenaics sometimes include the verb εἰμί in the inscription (e.g. fig. 2.1a), making the vase speak its identity and authenticity.²¹ The inscription is often translated as “from the games at Athens” or something similar, but Immerwahr points out that the masculine ἄθλος (game or contest) is a poetic word and would not be found in a vase inscription. Instead, ἄθλων should here come from the neuter ἄθλον (prize).²² The spelling of the inscriptions changes through the fifth and fourth centuries with the standardization of the Athenian alphabet. In the fourth century, an inscription naming the eponymous archon presiding when the oil in the vase was produced is added to the obverse (e.g. fig. 2.7).²³ Around 312, the name of the archon was replaced with that of other officials connected to the games.²⁴ The prize inscription marked a vase—or rather the oil it contained—as an official prize from the festival and for commercial purposes served as a seal of the quality of the oil.²⁵ The label was especially important after the vases left Athens for the home cities of the prize

²¹ Neils 1992, 40-1; Bentz 1998, 57. Not all of the earliest prize amphorae include the verb in their inscription. Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.1086 (*BAPD* 16940; Graef and Langlotz 1925, pl. 63) and Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.1087 (*BAPD* 16936; Graef and Langlotz 1925, pl. 63) are fragments of early prize amphorae (before 530) that did. Other prize amphorae considered among the earliest (see *supra* n. 6) do not include the verb.

²² Immerwahr 1990, 183. See also Hannah 2001, 164-5.

²³ Bentz 1998, 57-8; Hannah 2001, 167; Shear 2001, 398. The earliest attested archon name on a prize amphora is Dietrephes, archon in 384/3, found on a sherd from the Agora (P35996; *BAPD* 9032482; Palagia 2014, fig. 4) (Palagia 2014, 369-70).

²⁴ Edwards 1957, 331-2; Hannah 2001, 168; Shear 2001, 399-400.

²⁵ Eschbach 1986, 1; Immerwahr 1990, 183; Neils 1992, 29, 40-1; Hannah 2001, 169.

winner, marking not only the status of the vase and its contents as a prize, but also emphasizing their origin.²⁶

The final element that marks a vase as an official Panathenaic prize amphora, and the most important for the purposes of this study, is the use of the black-figure technique. Since the first Panathenaics were produced in the second quarter of the sixth century, they were unsurprisingly decorated in black-figure, which was the only real option at the time. After the red-figure technique was introduced around 525, vase-painters continued to decorate Panathenaics in black-figure. These vases were official commissions for the civic festival, so this must have been stipulated in the contract for their production, along with guidelines regarding the volume, decoration, and inscription.

The black-figure technique survives longest on Panathenaic prize amphorae, beyond the end of red-figure in the fourth century BCE and with one example, a peculiar looking fragmentary Panathenaic amphorae from the Athenian Agora (fig. 2.8), dated as late as the fourth century CE, though this dating has not found widespread acceptance.²⁷ The vase was found in an excavated context dated to the fourth century, and together with its “pitiful” appearance, Frel takes this as proof of its exceptionally late production. The vase could be that late, but it would be an extreme outlier. The Panathenaia festival was celebrated until at least 391 CE, and its athletic competitions presumably were as well.²⁸ However, no other prize amphorae postdate the Sullan sack of Athens in 86 BCE. The

²⁶ Gardiner 1912, 188; Hamilton 1996, 157 n. 9; Kyle 1996, 122.

²⁷ Athens, Agora P26600. Thompson 1960, 366; Frel 1973, 32.

²⁸ Shear 2001, 950-1.

latest vases datable by their inscriptions come from the *agonothesia* of Sarapion in 98/7 BCE.²⁹

Fewer prize amphorae from the Hellenistic period are known today than from the preceding periods.³⁰ This could be a problem of preservation; the vases may not have been as well made and seem to have been deposited in tombs less often than in earlier periods. It could also be the case that fewer prize amphorae were produced for each festival. The games were especially popular among Hellenistic monarchs in the second century BCE, and it is also possible that richer prizes were introduced in this period. Athenaios (5.199d-e) mentions Ptolemy II Philadelphos presenting sixteen silver Panathenaic amphorae in a procession.³¹ One silver Panathenaic has been found at Vergina.³²

Find Contexts of Panathenaic Prize Amphorae

Panathenaic prize amphorae have been found all over the Greek world. The largest number—around half of the surviving examples—were found in Athens, though most of these are fragments.³³ The earliest surviving prize amphora, the Burgon Amphora in the British Museum, was used as an ossuary in a burial in Athens of the second quarter of the sixth century. A letter from Burgon notes that he found four other burials in the

²⁹ Athens, Kerameikos PA342 (Frel 1973, fig. 31) bears the inscription “ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΣΑΡΑΠΑΤΠ...” (ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Σαρά[ρα]π[ι]τωνος) (Frel 1973, 29-32; Williams 2007, 152).

³⁰ Bentz 2008, 102. On Hellenistic and later prize amphorae, see Edwards 1957 and Streicher, forthcoming.

³¹ Edwards (1957, 328 n. 30) suggests Ptolemy’s silver Panathenaics may have been imitations rather than actual prizes from the games. See also Tiverios 2000, 53.

³² Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2009.

³³ Bentz 1998, 100-8.

same area containing Panathenaic amphorae, but discarded the vases before realizing they were not coarse amphorae.³⁴ Many fragments of Panathenaics have been found on the Athenian Acropolis, certainly an obvious place for victors to make dedications after the games.³⁵

Prize amphorae were still desirable objects even when they were not one's own prize. Four prize amphorae were placed in a fifth-century Greek tomb in Taranto. Lo Porto believes the tomb's occupant could have won all four prizes, but others disagree.³⁶ Prize amphorae have also been found in the graves of non-Greeks—who could not compete in the games at Athens—in the Black Sea region and in Etruria, where they emphasize the deceased's status as an athlete.³⁷

Amphorae found outside of Athens may have been won by Greek athletes from other poleis who came to the city to compete, or the vases may have been sold off by their winners with or without their contents. Panathenaics are found around the Mediterranean in roughly the same distribution as other Attic pottery, suggesting they were traded on the same pottery market as other vases.³⁸ In some cases, prize amphorae

³⁴ Millingen 1822, 1; Corbett 1960, 52-4.

³⁵ Frel 1969.

³⁶ Lo Porto 1967, 69-84. Frel (1992, 131-3), Bentz (1998, 98-9; 2003, 115), and Schierup (2012, 122-4), among others, believe the occupant of the tomb was not the winner of the prizes it contained.

³⁷ Bentz 1998, 95-99; 2008; Rystedt 2006. Valavanis (1986, 457) takes the presence of prize amphorae in Etruscan tombs as a sign of the trade of the olive oil the vases carried rather than trade of the vases themselves. One such amphora (Paris, Louvre F277; *ABV* 404.15; *CVA* Louvre 5, pl. 3.3-4) was inscribed in Etruscan "ΣΥΘΙΝΑ" (for the tomb) before being deposited in the grave. Rystedt (2006, 504) notes, "It demonstrates a wish to protect the amphora against attempts at tampering or theft.... Four of the scratched letters damage the heads of two runners in the athletic scene of the amphora. The Etruscan who made the inscription did not care too much about the painting." I would argue that if the purpose of the inscription is to mark the vase as no longer suitable for use by the living, the defacing of the painting indicates that the inscriber did indeed care about the painting, as it was part of the object that held much of its meaning.

³⁸ Bentz 2003, 116.

were dedicated at sanctuaries outside of Attica, probably an indication of a victor dedicating his prize at his own local sanctuary upon his return home. A Kallikles of Herakleia dedicated at least one of his prize amphorae, with a finely written dedicatory inscription, at the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda (fig. 2.9).³⁹ At least seventeen prize amphorae from a single games were dedicated at the Samian Heraion. However, they feature a variety of events on their reverses, suggesting they were not dedicated by a single victor.⁴⁰

At least one hundred Panathenaic amphorae were auctioned off in Athens as the confiscated property of those convicted of profaning the Eleusinian Mysteries and the mutilation of the Herms in 415, as recorded on the Attic Stelai. Amyx believes these likely belonged to Alcibiades, who is known to have won the chariot race at Olympia in 416 and may have won the same event at the Panathenaia, and who Amyx believes was wealthy and vain enough to have retained all of the oil and amphorae for himself as an auspicious display.⁴¹

Up until the mid-fifth century, by far the largest number of exported prize amphorae were found in Etruria. There is then a sharp decline and it seems fewer amphorae left Athens in the second half of the fifth century. The Peloponnesian War is the most immediate explanation for this change, and it has even been suggested that there were major changes in the size and number of Panathenaics produced at this time.⁴² In the

³⁹ Izmir, Archaeological Museum 48-188.1948; Hellström 1965, 7-10; Bentz 1998, 193 no. 4.356; 2003, 114.

⁴⁰ Kreuzer forthcoming, 19.

⁴¹ Amyx 1958, 183-4.

⁴² Bentz (1998, 33-9) suggests the amount of oil awarded at the games was reduced and half-sized amphorae were made in the years of the Peloponnesian War and following the Persian sack of Athens in

fourth century, a significant number of prize amphorae are exported to Cyrene, but the largest number are found in Northern Greece at sites like Pella, Olynthos, Vergina, and Amphipolis.⁴³ Whether we assume the vases were taken abroad by Panathenaic victors or by secondhand dealers in oil or painted pottery, their distribution is telling of Athens' changing economic and cultural connections through time. A study of patterns of trade and deposit of prize amphorae would be informative on many levels, but beyond the scope of this study.

Because of the easily recognizable and distinctive features of the prize vases, we can be sure of their connection with the Athenian festival no matter where they are found and even when they have no recorded provenience. Though the prize oil was likely the greater financial windfall for the victor, the vases carried the prestige of victory even when empty.⁴⁴ When prize amphorae were placed in a tomb, dedicated at a sanctuary, or even just sold on the market, they were transformed from symbols of personal victory into a different type of prestige object, but the prestige they carried as prizes stayed with them even when disassociated from that role.

Panathenaic Amphorae and the Panathenaia

The vases themselves assert their connection to the Panathenaic festival with their inscription, τῶν Ἀθηνῆθεν ἄθλων (εἰμί); and with their decoration the prizes declare the

480 as a result of reduced olive harvests. Robinson (1934, 47) suggests the games may have been cancelled in 430 and 426 because of the war and no prize amphorae were produced between 434 and 422. See also Shapiro 2014, 227.

⁴³ Valavanis 1986, 457-8; Bentz 1998, 111-6; Tiverios 2000, 37; Barringer 2003, 250.

⁴⁴ Rystedt 2006; Kreuzer forthcoming, 19.

athletic contest for which they were awarded.⁴⁵ Epigraphic and literary sources attest that jars of oil were awarded as prizes for some contests at the festival, so there is ample evidence that the vases we know as Panathenaic prize amphorae were in fact associated with the Panathenaic festival at Athens.

In the *Athenaion Politeia*, Aristotle notes that the *athlothetai* were responsible, with the *boulē*, for having the amphorae made and distributing the oil to the winners.⁴⁶ A fragmentary inscription dated to around 380 lists the prizes for the various contests of the festival.⁴⁷ Different types of prizes were awarded for different categories of events, with *amphorēs* of oil awarded for the athletic and equestrian events. Based on these numbers, several estimates for the number of amphora required for each festival have been made, with 1,200 being on the low end.⁴⁸ The *amphorēs* listed on the stone may be units of measurement rather than individual decorated vessels, and this inscription may only refer to one particular celebration of the Panathenaia, so we probably cannot draw broad conclusions about how many canonical Panathenaic prize amphorae were actually produced over the lifespan of the festival and what we could expect to survive today.⁴⁹ Some later Panathenaics are constructed with such thin walls that it seems unlikely they

⁴⁵ Kyle 2007, 155-6.

⁴⁶ *Ath. Pol.* 60.1. Bentz 1998, 23-31; Shear 2001, 459-60.

⁴⁷ *IG II²* 2311; *SEG* 37:129; Shear 2001, 389; 2003, 96-103.

⁴⁸ Johnston (1987) addresses various estimates and offers his own of over 1,400 amphorae. Shear (2003, 102-3) estimates over 2,000 were needed. Several other estimates have been made, generally in the 1,200 to 2,000 range.

⁴⁹ Tiverios 2007, 14-6. Kratzmüller (2003) makes a similar argument. See Johnston 2007 for an argument against *amphorēs* as units of measure rather than physical vessels.

would even have been able to hold oil.⁵⁰ Over time, Panathenaic prize amphorae may have gone from being containers of valuable prize oil to dummy vessels serving as symbols of victory.⁵¹

Amphorae filled with oil were only given to victors in athletic and equestrian contests, while precious metal crowns and money were awarded for musical competitions, oxen for the pyrrhic dances, and either oxen or shields for the *euandria* (the contest in manly beauty).⁵² The prizes at the Panathenaia differ from those of the famous Panhellenic games at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and Isthmia, where the prizes of crowns made of natural materials carried strong symbolic but little monetary value. Victors at Athens experienced a significant financial gain in addition to the prestige their victories carried.⁵³ It is clear from the sources that the real prize was meant to be the oil contained in the Panathenaic prize amphorae, rather than the amphorae themselves. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 60.3) says explicitly, “the prizes for the victors ... in the gymnastic contests and the horserace is olive oil.”⁵⁴

The Panathenaic festival was surely a religious and sacred event, but does it follow that the prize amphorae were sacred objects? The Panathenaic games were not the

⁵⁰ Eschbach (2007, 94-5) notes sherds of a Panathenaic amphora from Bau Z in the Kerameikos (PA 647, Eschbach 2007, fig. 1, 2, 6, and 7), dated 321/0, have walls as thin as 2 mm that have been patched with clay before firing. The thin walls, he argues, would make the large vessels lighter and easier to transport, but less suitable as actual containers.

⁵¹ Themelis 2007, 21-7.

⁵² Crowther 1985, 286; Shear 2003. At some point in the fourth century or later, the prize crowns for musical contests were replaced with white-ground Panathenaic prize amphorae (Tsouklidou 2007).

⁵³ Shear 2001, 388; Kyle 2007, 74, 150-6.

⁵⁴ H. Rackham trans. “ἔστι γὰρ ἄθλα τοῖς μὲν τὴν μουσικὴν νικῶσιν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσᾶ, τοῖς δὲ τὴν εὐανδρίαν ἀσπίδες, τοῖς δὲ τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἔλαιον.”

only athletic competitions associated with a religious festival. All of the famous Panhellenic games were held at sanctuaries and as part of religious festivals. Specific evidence about the religiosity of the Panathenaic games is lacking, but from what we know of the games at Olympia, it is clear that religion and the gods were a central part of the athletic portion of the festival. Before the competition, each athlete swore an oath to Zeus (the patron deity of the festival and the games) to uphold the rules of the contests,⁵⁵ and they drew lots to determine their pairings from a vessel consecrated to Zeus, with each competitor reciting a prayer to the god before drawing.⁵⁶ By 566, Athenian aristocrats were surely aware of the major Panhellenic games, so the Panathenaic games likely took some inspiration from them.⁵⁷ It should be safe to assume a similar level of sanctity for the games at the Panathenaia as there seems to have been for those at Olympia. Panathenaic prize amphorae often had long afterlives in which they saw many varied uses at various places, but in their conception, they surely had religious associations.

⁵⁵ Paus. 5.24.9: “ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πάντων ὀπόσα ἀγάλματα Διὸς μάλιστα ἐς ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν πεποίηται: ἐπὶ κλήσιν μὲν Ὀρκιὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, ἔχει δὲ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ κεραυνὸν χειρὶ. παρὰ τοῦτῳ καθέστηκε τοῖς ἀθληταῖς καὶ πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς, ἔτι δὲ γυμνασταῖς ἐπὶ κάπρου κατόμνυσθαι τομίῳν, μηδὲν ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπίῳν ἀγῶνα ἔσεσθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν κακούργημα. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ ἀθληταὶ καὶ τότε ἔτι προσκατόμνυνται, δέκα ἐφεξῆς μηνῶν ἀπηκριβῶσθαί σφισι τὰ πάντα ἐς ἄσκησιν.”

⁵⁶ Murray 2014, 314. Lucian, *Hermotimos* 40: “προσελθῶν δὴ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἕκαστος προσευξάμενος τῷ Διὶ καθεῖς τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὴν κάλπιν ἀνασπᾶ τῶν κλήρων ἕνα καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνον ἕτερος, καὶ παρεστῶς μαστιγοφόρος ἐκάστῳ ἀνέχει αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα οὐ παρέχων ἀναγνῶναι ὅτι τὸ γράμμα ἐστὶν ὃ ἀνέσπακεν.”

⁵⁷ Shear 2001, 507.

Pseudo-Panathenaics and Other Non-Prize Amphorae

Several other types of vases produced in Athens share some features of Panathenaic prize amphorae but are assuredly not official prize vases. How and when these vases are produced and where they are found can lend some understanding of the true prize amphorae and how they were viewed in their initial use. Four types of vases discussed below—pseudo-Panathenaics, red-figure vases of Panathenaic shape, miniature Panathenaics, and official measures—are introduced under different circumstances and at different points in the history of the black-figure technique, and demonstrate how Athenians' attitude toward the appropriate use of black-figure changed from the sixth through the fourth centuries.

Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphorae

Pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae are a class of vases incorporating some of the elements of the prize amphorae, but differing from them enough that it is clear these were not official prizes from the games. Pseudo-Panathenaics are usually smaller than true prize amphorae, and lack the official inscription.⁵⁸ An example from the Athenian Agora (fig. 2.5) has the shape of a prize amphora, but is only 28 cm tall, while prize amphorae are usually over 60 cm. The overall shape of pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae closely matches the distinct proportions of the prize amphorae. Their mouths, necks, and feet are generally wider in proportion to the body, but still narrower than that of a standard neck-

⁵⁸ Neils (1992, 44) gives a range of 38-44 cm tall for pseudo-Panatheniacs, while Shear (2001, 438) gives a broader 25-50 cm. Bentz (1998, 20) notes that they are under 50 cm. Some undersized amphorae of Panathenaic shape do bear the official inscription and may indicated a smaller quantity of oil was awarded at some games (Vos 1981, 40-6; Shear 2001, 537-8).

amphora.⁵⁹ Their decorative scheme also often shows variation from that of prize amphorae, with various additions or subtractions from the standard scenes. Their reverses sometimes depict events for which oil was not given as a prize at the Panathenaia, like musical contests (fig. 2.10).⁶⁰ These vases may have been sold empty as souvenirs of the festival or commissioned by victorious athletes, or may have even been made for olive oil produced in excess of the amount needed for the prizes.⁶¹

The production of pseudo-Panathenaics begins around the same time as the production of true prize amphorae in the mid-sixth century.⁶² Pseudo-Panathenaics cease production around the beginning of the Classical period, when many black-figure workshops closed and black-figure vases came to be used for more specialized purposes. The latest black-figure workshops in the fifth century specialized mostly in smaller vessels and did not produce Panathenaic prize amphorae or pseudo-Panathenaics. Aside from some pieces of uncertain date, there are no black-figure pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae dated to the Classical period. So there are no pseudo-Panathenaics made by red-figure painters who received commissions to produce black-figure prize amphorae for

⁵⁹ Frel 1973, 14; Shapiro 1989, 32; Bentz 1998, 19-20; Shear 2001, 438-9.

⁶⁰ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 17794; *ABV* 410.2. This vase is unique in that it depicts a musical contest and has a prize inscription. The vase is undersized (54 cm) and may be a pseudo-prize amphora or may indicate that oil was awarded for musical contests at at least one Panathenaia (Neils 1992, 35).

⁶¹ Boardman 1974, 170; Shapiro 1989, 32; Neils 1992, 44; Bentz 2001, 116; Shear 2001, 438. Tiverios (1977) suggests pseudo-Panathenaics were example pieces submitted to the *boulē* by pottery workshops seeking the commission to produce prize amphorae for a particular games.

⁶² Brandt 1978, 11-2.

the games.⁶³ For the red-figure painters producing black-figure prize amphorae, the black-figure technique was specially reserved for prize vases.

Pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae do not really fall into the realm of late black-figure for the purposes of this study, but it is telling that their production ceases along with the marked downturn in black-figure vase-painting circa 480. Their looser association with the games was not enough reason for artists to continue producing black-figure pseudo-Panathenaics after the technique had fallen out of use for painters of large pots. The end of production of pseudo-Panathenaics marks the moment that the black-figure technique itself gains a symbolic significance. It was no longer a standard technique, suitable for both prizes from the religious festival and common souvenirs alike. Now, black-figure was consciously set apart from the red-figure decoration of everyday vessels.

Red-figure Amphorae of Panathenaic Shape

Red-figure amphorae of Panathenaic shape were made from the final decade of the sixth century to the mid-fourth century, with the peak of their popularity in the first half of the fifth century (fig. 2.11).⁶⁴ It seems that unlike the black-figure decoration of the official prize amphorae, the recognizable shape of the amphorae was not reserved solely for prizes and could be put to other uses. These vases may have served a similar

⁶³ Beazley 1986, 86; Bentz 1998, 20-2. Bentz identifies two fragments attributed to the Berlin Painter (Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1007 and 1013; Bentz 2001, 181.87 and 181.93; Frel 1969, 386 fig. 6) as pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae without explanation for why they are not true prize vases. The pieces were attributed by Frel (1969, 386), who identified them as prize amphorae. Neither fragment preserves a prize inscription, so their status as pseudo-prize amphorae must depend on their size. Both pieces are dated 480-60, contemporary with the Berlin Painter's prize amphorae. The fragments are small, 5.5 and 8 cm, and each preserves only a cock.

⁶⁴ See Neils et al. (2001) for a list of Attic red-figure amphorae of Panathenaic shape.

purpose to black-figure pseudo-Panathenaics, being souvenirs associated with the festival and possibly commissions by victors, but not official prizes for the games.

No red-figure Panathenaics were produced by the first generation of red-figure painters or their students, the Pioneer Group. The earliest examples were painted by the Nikoxenos Painter in the sixth century, most of which include Athena and allude to the games in some manner. The Kleophrades and Berlin Painters also decorated Panathenaic amphorae in red-figure in the last decades of the sixth century.⁶⁵ Especially after the Persian Wars, the iconography of red-figure Panathenaics alludes to the Panathenaic festival, either depicting processions or preparations for sacrifice (e.g. fig. 2.11) that might have been part of the festival, or with iconography of Theseus, the legendary founder of the games and Athens' local hero for the imperial age.⁶⁶

Some of the more prolific painters of red-figure Panathenaics also produced prize amphorae, like the Berlin Painter, the Kleophrades Painter, and the Eucharides Painter, but many more red-figure Panathenaic amphorae were painted by artists who, as far as we know, never decorated official prize vases.⁶⁷ The largest number of red-figure Panathenaics by one artist (eighteen) were painted by the Berlin Painter, who was also responsible for at least fifteen black-figure prize amphorae. Interestingly, his red-figure Panathenaics are said to be among his earliest work, all before 480, while his prize

⁶⁵ For the Berlin Painter's red-figure Panathenaics, see Cardon 1977, 29-41 and Shapiro forthcoming.

⁶⁶ Shapiro 2001, 119-24 and forthcoming. Brandt (2010) reads the scenes on some red-figure amphorae of Panathenaic shape said to allude to the rituals of the Panathenaia as rites of passage through which young males become fully invested citizens.

⁶⁷ Cf. catalogs of Neils et al. 2001 (red-figure Panathenaic amphorae) with Bentz 1998 (Panathenaic prize amphorae).

amphorae are among his later work, all dating between 480 and 460.⁶⁸ This, and the fact that most of the painters responsible for red-figure Panathenaics produced only one or two examples and no black-figure prize amphorae, suggests that the production of red-figure Panathenaics was only at most indirectly connected to the official state commission.

That red-figure painters adopted the Panathenaic amphora shape for non-prize amphorae but did not use the black-figure technique suggests that after the technique came to be associated solely with prize amphorae, it was no longer deemed appropriate for use on other vessels that were not directly connected to the games or other special uses.

Miniature Panathenaic Amphorae and Panathenaikon

Toward the end of the fifth century there is a new series of miniature amphorae of Panathenaic shape, decorated in black-figure except for a few examples in red-figure (fig. 2.12). Sizes range from 7.5 to 9.3 cm, and Beazley notes that the consistency of their fabric and production suggests they were all produced in the same workshop.⁶⁹ The series begins around 425 and continues to the middle of the fourth century. Because of when they are produced and the technique in which they are decorated—with hasty black-figure painting comparable to what we will see in the following chapters—these miniature Panathenaics fall more under the label of late black-figure than the pseudo-Panathenaics discussed earlier. Many of these small amphorae are painted in a silhouette

⁶⁸ Beazley 1986, 87; Shapiro 2001, 119-20.

⁶⁹ Beazley 1940, 10.

technique, without incision, with details added in white slip. The shape is that of a much reduced Panathenaic amphora with narrow neck and foot. The overall appearance is similar to an amphoriskos with a reverse echinus instead of a pointed foot.

The obverse shows Athena striding to the left, with details of drapery and the like rendered in added white slip. The reverses usually show a single seated athlete or a Nike. The few red-figure examples do not imitate the decorative scheme of prize amphorae and show completely different scenes. Bentz catalogs fifty-three examples of miniature black-figure Panathenaics, with forty-eight attributed to the Bulas Group. Two more red-figure miniatures are attributed to the same group.⁷⁰ The wide distribution of these vases supports the idea that they were purchased at the games by visitors to Athens and then carried back to their home cities.

These vases are probably to be associated with the *panathenaikon* perfume, mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 13.2.6) and Athenaios (15.38) as a well-known product from Athens.⁷¹ These vases are certainly associated with the Panathenaic festival given their shape, decoration, and especially because of their use of black-figure decoration. Like the larger pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae, they were probably sold as souvenirs at the festival, which lent its name to the perfume they contained. Their small size and portability would make them ideal for visitors to Athens to take back to their home poleis with them.⁷²

⁷⁰ Bentz 2001, 196-8; Neils et al. 2001, 202.

⁷¹ Pliny, *NH* 13.2.6: “panathenaicum suum athenae perseveranter optinuerunt.” Athenaios 15.38: “τὸ [μύρον] δὲ παναθηναϊκὸν λεγόμενον ἐν Ἀθήναις ... σκευάζεται.” The association between these vases and *panathenaikon* was first suggested by Stephani in 1876 and has been followed by Beazley and others (Beazley 1940, 11; Neils 1992, 44-5; Bentz 1998, 21; 2001, 117, 196-8; Shear 2001, 432-5).

⁷² Shear (2001, 435-8) has suggested fifth-century black-figure lekythoi with gigantomachy scenes and other imagery that could be associated with the Panathenaia could have been made to hold the perfume to be sold as souvenirs before the introduction of miniature Panathenaic amphorae.

Since this series of vases was introduced in the late fifth century, they represent a revival of the black-figure technique rather than a continuation like we find with prize amphorae. There is a clear intention for these vases to recall the large prize amphorae and thus the Panathenaic festival and its host city. Like many of the pseudo-Panathenaics discussed above, they include features intended to make recognizable references to prize amphorae, like the shape, the depiction of Athena and an athlete, and the black-figure technique.

Official Measures

A group of fragments of official state measures from the Athenian Agora are worth mentioning in this context (fig. 2.13 and 2.14). The fragments are too small to reconstruct precisely their size and shape, but they do appear to share some of the distinctive features of and to be close in size to Panathenaic amphorae.⁷³ The shoulder fragments have a narrow neck and a ridge where the neck meets the shoulder, like contemporary Panathenaic amphorae. The diameter at the bottom of the neck of one amphora (fig. 2.13) can be estimated as 13 cm.⁷⁴ These vases are decorated in black-figure with a helmeted head of Athena on one side (fig. 2.14)⁷⁵ and her owl on the other (fig. 2.13), and carry the inscription ΔΕΜΟΣΙΟΝ, marking them as official state measures. One vase should be dated to the first half of the fifth century, while the rest of

⁷³ Boardman 1974, 170.

⁷⁴ Athens, Agora P5906. Lang and Crosby 1964, 62, LM 16.

⁷⁵ Athens, Agora P4758. Lang and Crosby 1964, 62, LM 12.

the group should date to the fourth century by context and comparison with Athenian coinage.⁷⁶

Other official measures are marked with the same state symbols—Athena and owl—but these amphorae are unusual in that the decoration is painted and not stamped.⁷⁷ The only other official measure amphora with painted decoration is an example in Munich which lacks provenience (fig. 2.15).⁷⁸ This measure is earlier, 510-500, and a standard type B amphora shape. The decoration is the same on both sides, an owl perched on a tendril and the word ΔΕΜΟΣΙΟΣ. Though the Munich measure seems to be a predecessor to the Agora measures, there are no other examples to suggest a continuous series between them.⁷⁹ By the fourth century, when the latest of these official measures were made, the only black-figure vases produced in Athens were Panathenaic prize amphorae. As on prize amphorae, the use of black-figure could be intended to mark the measures for official rather than everyday use. The painters of these vases looked more to Athenian coins than prize amphorae for inspiration. On the official measures, Athena wears an olive crown on her helmet, which is not seen on prize amphorae, and the crest of her helmet is much lower than what we find on prize amphorae.⁸⁰ If the *amphorēs* of oil listed on the inscription discussed above were units of measure and not actual ceramic

⁷⁶ Lang and Crosby 1964, 58-63, LM 12-20.

⁷⁷ Lang and Crosby 1964, 59.

⁷⁸ Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 9406; *BAPD* 41061.

⁷⁹ Shapiro 1993. Kaeser (1987, 229-30) suggests that the vase's intact condition and volume (less than a full *metrētēs*) could indicate the piece was rejected as an official measure, found its way onto the export market, and was ultimately deposited in a tomb outside of Greece.

⁸⁰ Lang and Crosby 1964, 60.

vessels, it seems likely that these amphorae were probably official state measures for those units.⁸¹

Panathenaic Prize Amphorae and Religious Conservatism

Religious Conservatism and Style

A note on terminology: in the following discussion, I will use the term “technique” to refer to the manner in which materials are used to render the image on a vase, that is to say, black-figure or red-figure, and I will use the term “style” to refer to the characteristics of the painting attributable to a particular artist’s hand or a particular time period—what the figures look like rather than the material with which the artist drew them. The main distinction here will be between the Archaic and the Classical styles.

When they were first produced, the style of the painting on Panathenaic prize amphorae was, as Beazley put it, “straight,” that is to say, in the contemporary style.⁸² They were in the contemporary technique—black-figure—as well. After the introduction of the red-figure technique, prize amphorae continue to be decorated in black-figure and preserve the technique even after it is abandoned on other Attic vase shapes around the middle of the fifth century. In the Classical period, when prize amphorae are decorated by red-figure painters who only used the black-figure technique for these special vases, there is a shift. The reverses of the vases—the panels depicting the contest for which the prize

⁸¹ Tiverios 2007, 14-6.

⁸² Beazley 1986, 81. The rendering of human forms on prize amphorae evolves through the fifth and fourth centuries, though some elements introduced in red-figure vase-painting, like the rendering of vertical perspective through multiple groundlines, like on the Niobid Painter’s name-vase (Paris, Louvre G341; *ARV*² 601.22; *CVA* Paris, Louvre 2, pl. 1-2), are never adopted on prize amphorae.

was awarded—continue to be decorated in the contemporary, straight style. The obverse panels depicting the Athena Promachos, however, begin to employ a different style that is often described as archaizing.

Much has been written about “archaizing” or “archaistic” style in ancient Greek art, mostly regarding sculpture, though there is no widespread agreement on its chronology, origins, or meaning. There is no single definition of the terms “archaizing” and “archaistic,” and some scholars use the terms synonymously and others make a distinction between the two.⁸³ Panathenaics have received some attention from scholars of archaistic art, but the focus is mainly on how the Athena on the obverse is drawn. The continued use of the black-figure technique is described as an archaistic element without much further comment, if mentioned at all. The archaism of Panathenaics is usually explained as religious conservatism, with parallels drawn to depictions of cult images on vases intended to appear ancient.⁸⁴ The focus is always on the archaistic *style*, with technique grouped in without explanation. I do not believe it is certain that the same conclusions about the archaistic style of the Athena on the prize amphorae can be equally applied to the choice of the black-figure technique for these vases.

Along with the archaistic style, the consistency of the decoration of Panathenaics is often attributed to religious conservatism *prima facie*. The preservation of the older technique is certainly a kind of conservatism, but it is not an exclusively religious one. The necessity of a consistent and recognizable appearance of Panathenaics is also

⁸³ Ridgway (1993, 445) defines “archaizing” (distinct from “archaistic”) as including some formal features of the Archaic style, especially patterns of hair and drapery, but with the underlying style being unmistakably contemporary. Harrison (1965, 50), on the other hand, argues that it is awkward and imprecise to attempt to differentiate the two terms.

⁸⁴ Neils 1992, 30; Carpenter 2007; Hölscher 2010, 109-10.

attached to their status as prestigious prizes won by athletes and as generous gifts given by the Athenian state. As Donald Kyle points out, the vases' inscriptions emphasize the origin and donor of the prize rather than its winner, ensuring the donor-honor for Athens as the prize amphorae traveled abroad.⁸⁵ Havelock argues that a change in the prize amphorae would devalue them as a symbol of victory, that "the victor in the Panathenaic race would feel that if his trophy were very different in either shape or decoration from the trophies of previous victors his triumph would be compromised."⁸⁶ However, artists did not actually eschew any and all changes to the appearance of Panathenaic prize amphorae.

Studies of prize amphorae regularly note how they change from their earliest form in the first half of the sixth century to their highly elaborate and stylized forms in the fourth century.⁸⁷ Vase-painters maintained certain features that were probably dictated by the official commission, but they did not attempt to maintain a strict appearance of the prize amphorae, to produce an unchanging form carried through the centuries. There was obviously enough leeway in the mandated requirements for the vases that painters were allowed to make some changes as artistic styles changed, and as a result one can easily distinguish a sixth-century prize amphora from one produced in the fourth century. Prize amphorae were made to be recognizable as part of a series, but it was not necessary that every piece of the series be identical. This is an important distinction to make if we are to talk about these vases in terms of religious conservatism.

⁸⁵ Kyle 1996, 122.

⁸⁶ Havelock 1965, 332.

⁸⁷ Valavanis (1987, 470) notes that because of their highly standardized form, Panathenaic prize amphorae were in constant need of renewal by variation of secondary elements.

The conservatism displayed by the Panathenaic prize amphorae identifies them as a special series and class of vases. It marks them out as uncommon and distinguishes them from the everyday. The prize inscription is the most consistent factor and probably the most important marker of an official prize vase.⁸⁸ Through the sixth century, when black-figure vases were common, everyday objects, the black-figure technique itself was not one of the elements of the decoration of prize amphorae that marked them as a special class. In the fifth century, when the black-figure technique went into decline and eventually died out, the continuation of the technique on this special class of vases became one of the special features of the class that made them easily recognizable in various settings and when removed from their original prize context. Panathenaic prize amphorae are surely conservative in certain aspects, but religion was not the sole motivation.

The Evolution of Panathenaic Prize Amphorae

If we compare Panathenaic prize amphorae from different periods in the history of their production it becomes clear that they are only conservative in a specific and deliberate manner. The most important features are those that make them identifiable as prizes from the Panathenaia—the inscription, the decoration in black-figure, and the distinctive shape—and those are the features that are carefully preserved so that that status is always carried with them.

The earliest of the Panathenaic prize amphorae, the Burgon Amphora in the British Museum (fig. 2.1), deserves discussion by virtue of it being something of a

⁸⁸ Neils 1992, 42.

prototype to which other Panathenaics are compared.⁸⁹ As mentioned above, it was found in a grave in Athens in 1813, in an area identified by later excavations as an extensive sixth- and fifth-century cemetery.⁹⁰ The vase is considered among the oldest prize amphorae in part because it lacks some of the elements that later become canonical. It represents a period before the type had been completely standardized, so more variation was possible. The shape is squat by comparison with later examples, standing 61.2 cm tall with a maximum diameter of 41.8 cm. The thick, round handles attach the shoulder to the middle of the short neck. A raised ridge marks where the shoulder and neck meet. The foot is a small echinus (13.8 cm diameter) and the mouth a somewhat larger reverse echinus (20.3 cm diameter). Bentz gives the estimated volume as 35 liters.⁹¹

The obverse panel (fig. 2.1a) extends from about the center of the height of the amphora up over the shoulder to just below where the shoulder meets the neck. There is no geometric border, only a single, thin line. The panel shows a stout Athena striding to the left with both feet flat on the groundline. Her head, legs, and feet are in complete profile, while her torso is shown straight on from the rear. This sort of mixed perspective is typical of vase-painting of the first half of the sixth century and numerous other examples can be found. She holds a round shield in her left hand. The shield device, a dolphin, is badly faded.⁹² In her upraised right hand she holds a spear. The high crest of her helmet just breaks the picture plane on the shoulder of the vase, but does not extend

⁸⁹ London, British Museum B130 (1842,0728.834); *ABV* 89; attributed to the Burgon Group.

⁹⁰ Millingen 1822, 1; Corbett 1960, 52-4; Zachariadou and Kyriakou 1993, 23-4.

⁹¹ Bentz 1998, 123.

⁹² Cf. drawing in von Brauchitsch 1910, 7 fig. 5.

up to the neck as on later examples. The goddess wears a simple peplos with geometric designs along the border and a wider horizontal band at the waist and vertical band down the center of her skirt. The edge of her aegis is visible at the right, with two snakes curling out under her arm and one above it. To her left is the prize inscription, here written vertically in retrograde: TONAΘENEΘNAΘΛON:EMI. Unlike later examples, the inscription includes the verb εἰμί (I am), making the vase speak its identity.⁹³ On the neck is a siren with wings spread, facing right.

The scene on the reverse of the Burgon Amphora (fig. 2.1b) is within a panel of the same size as the obverse with the same simple border. The scene shows two equids galloping to the right, yoked to a small cart with a seated driver who holds a long rod terminating in a crook. The figures are all shown in profile. The animals overlap to show their position one in front of the other. We can be sure there are two of them because four front legs are shown. Much of the lower part of the image is badly worn and a section from the middle is lost. On the neck is an owl in a similar pose to the siren shown on the obverse neck, except with a frontal face. The contest depicted here is often described as a chariot race, but some have noted that the chariot car is quite different than we usually see on scenes of a four-horse racing chariot, and that the driver is seated rather than

⁹³ Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.1086 (*BAPD* 16940; Graef and Langlotz 1925, pl. 63) and 1.1087 (*BAPD* 16936; Graef and Langlotz 1925, pl. 63) also include a fragment of the verb in their inscription. One could cite many parallels for objects with inscriptions written in the first person. These are usually votive objects or funerary monuments. First person inscriptions fall out of fashion after the first half of the sixth century. See Svenbro 1993, 31-43 for examples and discussion of first person inscriptions. Though prize amphorae were sometimes used as votives and funerary dedications, they were not produced and inscribed for those purposes. Burzachechi (1962, 53) suggests that objects were inscribed with first person inscriptions because before the mid-fifth century, Greeks considered these important objects literally endowed with an inner life and voice. Svenbro (1993, 41-2), on the other hand, believes that first person inscriptions are “the most ‘economical’ way of drawing attention to the presence of the object before its beholder.”

standing. A few scholars identify the scene as a different event entirely, the mule cart race, or *apēnē*.⁹⁴

The most significant element to note is the style of painting of the amphora's black-figure scenes. It is rather typical of painting of the 560s. Bodies are shown in a mix of frontal and profile poses rather than three-quarter or twisting poses. Beazley notes that the style is similar to that of the earliest work of Lydos.⁹⁵ Figures are large and set in a panel without significant subsidiary decoration. The shape is similar to contemporary SOS transport amphorae (e.g. fig. 2.6).⁹⁶ At the time the shape itself was not special, *per se*, but it would have been unusual for an amphora shape associated with shipping to be decorated with figural scenes.

A prize amphora attributed to the Leagros Group (fig. 2.4), dated 510-500, shows substantial development from the Burgon Group's earliest example.⁹⁷ The proportions of the vase are slightly elongated at 63.2 cm tall (reconstructed) and 40.5 cm at its maximum diameter. The vase includes all of the canonical features of the decoration of a Panathenaic prize amphora. On the obverse (fig. 2.4a) there are Doric columns on either side of Athena, each with a cock on top, facing inward toward the goddess. The prize inscription is written vertically and orthograde along the right side of the left column. The subsidiary decoration has also become more elaborated and standardized. The upper

⁹⁴ Bentz (1998, 123) identifies this scene and those on two other prize amphorae (London, British Museum B131 [*ABV* 405.4; Bentz 1998, pl. 48] and London, British Museum B132 [*ABV* 405.5; Bentz 1998, pl. 49]) as mule-cart races. Both others are attributed to the Kleophrades Painter and date to 500-480. Mule-cart races were definitely held at Olympia, but there is no mention of them in any sources on the Panathenaia, apart from these prize amphorae (Kratzmüller 1993).

⁹⁵ Beazley 1986, 81-2.

⁹⁶ Johnston and Jones 1978, 133-4; Neils 1992, 38-9.

⁹⁷ Tarento, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4595; *ABV* 369.113.

border of the panel has a row of alternating black and red tongues, and the neck is decorated with a lotus-palmette chain. Athena's shield is decorated with a siren device in added white. From this period on artists and workshops begin to consistently use a single shield device on all of the prize amphorae they produce, making them easier to attribute, especially with poorly preserved examples. Athena's helmet and dress are more elaborate than the previous example. She now wears the typical Attic type helmet with a high crest that breaks the panel borders and overlaps with the tongues above. Her clothing is changed from a peplos to a chiton with many folds and geometric decoration indicated with incision.⁹⁸

The panel on the reverse (fig. 2.4b) is not as tall as on the obverse, another canonical feature of prize amphorae. The scene is another equestrian event. This time it is certainly the four-horse chariot race. Here the horses are much more staggered than the animals on the Burgon Amphora, and occupy the entire width of the panel. The horses are still shown mostly in profile, though the middle two have frontal faces and slightly foreshortened chests, in the artist's attempt at a three-quarter view. The chariot car and driver are completely overlapped by the horses. The chariot's wheels are in three-quarter view as the artist has chosen to show the moment the chariot wheels around the turning post. The driver's torso is frontal and his head in profile. Another prize amphora attributed to the Leagros Group shows a very similar scene.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Beazley 1986, 86; Neils 1992, 31-4.

⁹⁹ Sparta, Archaeological Museum; *ABV* 369.112; Bentz 1998, pl. 32.

The motif of the wheeling chariot was introduced earlier in the mid sixth century.¹⁰⁰ The decorative scheme is standardized, but the painter has freedom to experiment on the reverse and show the scene in a contemporary manner. The moment shown, making the turn at the end of the hippodrome, is one of high drama, where there is the greatest danger in the race. The artist experiments here with new ways to depict bodies in moments of physical stress. More than just depicting the facts of the event, that it involved four horses and a charioteer, the scene depicts the contest as a challenging and dangerous event.

By the time of the Leagros Group's Panathenaic commission, the *athlothetai* could have opted to hire a red-figure workshop to produce prize amphorae. Red-figure was still relatively uncommon in Athens at the time, so it is probably no surprise that they kept with the older technique.¹⁰¹ However, when commissions begin to be awarded to red-figure workshops, a decision is made that prize amphorae should continue to be black-figure and should not be decorated in the new technique. These painters maintain the old technique, but bring new developments in the depiction of anatomy to the Panathenaics from their red-figure work.

One of the earliest prize amphorae by the Berlin Painter (fig. 2.16), dated 480-460—actually among his later work—shows a group of sprinters on the reverse.¹⁰² The runners' torsos show further developments in the depiction of twisting bodies in three-quarter view. The painter has also shown the runners with a natural coordination of arm

¹⁰⁰ Beazley 1986, 86.

¹⁰¹ See Rotroff 2009 on the date of the introduction of red-figure.

¹⁰² Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 69/65; *Paralipomena* 519.2 *quater*.

and leg movements, that is, their right arms are swung forward while their right legs are swung back and vice versa. This matches a realistic running motion and this is an early example of it in Greek art.¹⁰³ It is a minor detail, but demonstrates that the painter is taking inspiration from actual bodies and not ideas of bodies.

Despite their new developments, the Berlin Painter's prize amphorae also show some archaizing tendencies on their reverses.¹⁰⁴ Athletes' bodies are more elongated with rather constricted waists. This is especially apparent when compared to an athlete on one of his red-figure amphorae (fig. 2.17), which is dated around 490, earlier than the Panathenaic discussed above.¹⁰⁵ His rendering of the Panathenaic athletes emphasizes their hips and buttocks in a rather Archaic manner. The canonical form of Panathenaics is well established by the Berlin Painter's time, but the artist begins to test the use of retrospective style on the vases. This sort of archaizing depiction of anatomy is not typical of his teachers in the Pioneer Group, so it seems to be a conscious decision on the part of the Berlin Painter rather than a regression. Since he was the first painter to take up the old technique without any personal history of working in it, it may have seemed appropriate to him to take up an archaizing style for all of the vases' decoration as well.

Panathenaics continue to evolve through the fifth century, and the canonical form comes to include the use of an archaizing style only on the obverse scenes of Athena and

¹⁰³ Beazley 1986, 87-8. Another prize amphora by the Berlin Painter (Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 375; *ABV* 408.3; Bentz 1998, pl. 68) also shows runners with alternating arm and leg movement.

¹⁰⁴ Bentz 1998, 144; Shapiro forthcoming.

¹⁰⁵ Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11114; *ARV*² 200.46. For athletes in the Berlin Painter's red-figure work, see also Munich, Antikensammlung 2310 (*ARV*² 197.6; *CVA* Munich 4, pl. 192); Munich, Antikensammlung 2313 (*ARV*² 198.12; *CVA* Munich 4, pl. 196); and New York, private collection (*BAPD* 25931).

not on the reverse athletic scenes. By the mid-fourth century the vases are dramatically different from those discussed above, though they maintain all of the defining elements of official prizes. A vase at Harvard attributed to the Marsyas Painter (fig. 2.7) shows what has become of prize amphorae by the time of its production in 340/39.¹⁰⁶ This vase can be dated precisely because of a new feature added to the official prize vases in the early fourth century, the name of the archon presiding in the year in which the vase was made. The inscription “ΘΕΙΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΗΡΧΕ” is written *kionedon* (“like a pillar,” with individual letters written horizontally and arranged in a vertical column) to the left of the right column, balancing the prize inscription on the left.¹⁰⁷ The columns on either side of Athena are probably meant to be Ionic, as they sometimes were in the fourth century. They have bases and large, oblong capitals, but the volutes are not indicated. Cocks are no longer the standard columns toppers. Instead this vase has a statue of Athena on the left column and one of Zeus on the right.¹⁰⁸

The most striking difference on the obverse is that Athena now faces the opposite direction, striding to the right, and is dressed in an elaborate and conspicuously archaistic style. The himation thrown over her shoulders and her chiton both feature the swallow-tail drapery typical of archaistic art of the fourth century and later but not actually something found in the Archaic period.¹⁰⁹ The archaistic himation first appears on prize amphorae dating to 363/2, and it becomes a hallmark of the archaistic style in painting

¹⁰⁶ Harvard, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1925.30.124; *ABV* 414.2.

¹⁰⁷ See Hamilton 1993 on archon names on prize amphorae. The archon named presided in the year that the vase was made or the oil in it produced, not the year of the Greater Panathenaia where the prize was awarded.

¹⁰⁸ See *supra* n. 17.

¹⁰⁹ Beazley 1986, 90.

and sculpture.¹¹⁰ The rendering of the folds of her drapery convincingly represent her body in three-quarter view, though her face and feet are still shown in profile. Some fourth-century prize amphorae have Athena standing with her feet together rather than striding (fig. 2.18).¹¹¹ Valavanis describes this as the Palladion type and sees it as “the final touch in the archaizing style.”¹¹² This type of Athena is limited to a particular workshop and does not become a regular feature of prize amphorae, so it does not seem to have been a variation that caught on.

The vase is taller and thinner than previous examples discussed. It measures 80 cm tall and 40 cm in diameter. Most of the added height is from the extended foot and neck. The body has the same top heavy ovoid shape as earlier examples. The ridge that once marked the transition from shoulder to neck is now near the top of the elongated neck. The tongues marking the top border of the obverse panel are now entirely on the neck and Athena’s helmet and most of her head overlap them. The foot is raised, almost to the point of the amphora having a stem. The base of the body has lost the band of rays standard in earlier prize amphorae. The small echinus foot is not much changed from fifth-century examples.

¹¹⁰ Valavanis 1991, 69-77.

¹¹¹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 20046 (*BAPD* 16230). From Eretria, dated 360/59, during the archonship of Kallimedes. Beazley (1943, 460-1) calls these vases the Hobble Group after Athena’s skirt (*ABV* 417). Cf. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 20046 (*BAPD* 16230; Valavanis 1991, pl. 20); 20044 (*BAPD* 31660; pl. 22); 20045 (*BAPD* 31339; pl. 26); Eretria, Archaeological Museum 14814 (*BAPD* 6104; pl. 28); 14815 (*BAPD* 5381; pl. 30).

¹¹² Valavanis 1991, 77-9, 341.

In the fourth century, the amphora was largely replaced by the pelike in figured vase-painting.¹¹³ By the Marsyas Painter's time, the amphora shape itself might have seemed as old-fashioned as the black-figure technique with which it was decorated.

After the late fourth century, Barringer argues the Panathenaia lost its potency as a symbol of Athens and its glorious traditions and the festival and its prize amphorae were usurped by others for non-Athenian purposes. Alexander and his successors used the festival to gain political advantage, and by the third century, she argues, even Athenian officials responsible for organizing the festival were using the prize amphorae that bore their names for personal promotion. For example, a fragment of a Panathenaic prize amphora showing the capital of a column and feet of a column-statue is dated to 248/7 based on the *tamias* inscription (Eurykleides) found on the column capital on the obverse (fig. 2.19).¹¹⁴ Eurykleides and his family are known to have dedicated several monuments in the city, and Barringer argues the placement of the *tamias* inscription is meant to recall the dedicatory inscription of an actual statue dedicated by Eurykleides.¹¹⁵ If it were not yet clear the Panathenaia were losing its prestige, several other cities began celebrating their own Panathenaias in the third century. Ephesos even began awarding its own prize amphorae produced locally by expatriate Athenian vase-painters at its Panathenaia.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Mannack 2001, 48.

¹¹⁴ Athens, Agora P109; *BAPD* 9016519 and 9016566.

¹¹⁵ Barringer 2003.

¹¹⁶ Tiverios 2000, 53-4; Barringer 2003, 251; Valavanis 2007.

Archaism and Mannerism

Returning to the issue of archaism, though I have already used the term to describe the style of the Athena on the obverse of prize amphorae and the use of the black-figure technique on the vases, we should consider whether this is an accurate term for these aspects. The terminology is difficult as is its history. There is no widely agreed upon definition of the terms “archaism,” “archaistic,” and “archaizing.” In the broadest sense, archaism in Greek art refers to objects that post-date 480 but feature some elements of the Archaic style, usually patterns of drapery or hairstyles but sometimes gestures, poses, garment styles, iconographic themes, and other details. Much of the disagreement on definitions and terminology revolves around whether these features are survivals or revivals of the old style and the artists’ intention in using Archaic features.¹¹⁷ Some have avoided the terms altogether and opt for terms like “emulative” or “retrospective.” Fullerton points out that the major problem with set terms like “archaistic” is that they imply an “internal stylistic coherence” that is usually lacking.¹¹⁸ The archaistic is not a style in itself but rather a mixing of features of multiple styles in a non-specific and inconsistent way. Two different pieces described as archaistic will not necessarily incorporate the same features of the Archaic style and those features will not necessarily be equally prominent. Furthermore, archaistic styles are employed by artists of different places and periods for a wide variety of purposes.

¹¹⁷ Willers (1975, 21-2) sees archaism in Greek sculpture as a gradual development with beginnings in the fifth century, while Havelock (1965) argues for an archaistic style invented in the Hellenistic period.

¹¹⁸ Fullerton 2003, 94.

Scholarship on archaistic styles in Greek art usually focuses on sculpture. Mannack discusses a related phenomenon in Attic vase-painting, using the term “Mannerism” as a synonym for “archaism.” Mannack follows Beazley’s labeling of a fifth-century Attic workshop as the Mannerists, which in turn followed the use of the term by Vasari to describe sixteenth century Italian painters.¹¹⁹ The term denotes “artistic ability and grace, but also affectation and superficiality.” Mannerists prefer stereotype to creativity and value form over content.¹²⁰ Note that this definition is based on motivations of the artists rather than the style of the resulting work. Mannack does describe Panathenaic prize amphorae as archaistic, but notes that they represent a different type of archaism than the Mannerist workshop. The Mannerists use a few Archaic mannerisms in their painting, while the prize amphorae employ what Pollitt calls “emblematic archaism,” which is used to indicate stability and to be “recognizable, familiar, [and] traditional looking.”¹²¹ Prize amphorae as well as coins display this type to archaism in part to maintain their value by connecting them to previous issues of prizes and coins.¹²² Notably, the Mannerists did not produce Panathenaic prize amphorae.

Archaistic elements are sometimes intended in vase-painting to indicate that a figure is a statue of a divinity rather than the god physically present. The many images of

¹¹⁹ Mannack 2001, 3-8. Mannack somewhat confusingly uses the term (capitalized in all instances) to refer to sixteenth century Italian painting, the workshop of fifth-century Attic vase-painters, and to describe the phenomenon generally. It would perhaps be clearer to speak of “the Mannerists,” “the Mannerist workshop,” and “mannerism,” respectively.

¹²⁰ Mannack 2001, 3.

¹²¹ Pollitt 1986, 180-2; Mannack 2001, 7-8.

¹²² Havelock 1965, 332.

the rape of Cassandra as she clung to the Trojan Palladion demonstrate this convention well.¹²³ It could be the case that the Panathenaic Athena is depicted archaistically because she is intended to represent a statue of the goddess—presumably a real statue that stood on the Acropolis—rather than an epiphany of the goddess. If this were the case, the statue represented must have existed at least as far back in time as 566, when the first prize amphorae were made. We have no direct evidence for any statues on the Acropolis at that time. There was certainly the ancient image in the Athena Polias temple, but it was a small, wooden statue and not likely in a striding pose.¹²⁴ Whatever Archaic statue may have been represented, it was surely destroyed or carried off when the Persians sacked the city in 479. According to Pausanias (1.28.2) an Athena Promachos by Pheidias, dedicated from the spoils taken at Marathon, stood on the Acropolis in his time (the second century CE). An earlier Promachos statue may have existed, but there is no direct evidence of it and we would have to imagine the statue in a more rigid, standing pose fitting to the sculptural style of the period.¹²⁵

Hannah suggests the Panathenaic Athena was inspired by scenes of the Gigantomachy woven into the Panathenaic peplos, thus accounting for variations between festivals and the long-term evolution of the goddess on the prize amphorae.¹²⁶ This is an intriguing idea, but several pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae show people interacting with an Athena that seems to be a statue. A vase in Paris dated to the third

¹²³ Strawczynski 2006; Hölscher 2010, 111-8.

¹²⁴ See Shapiro 1989, 24-9 for a discussion of statues of the goddess known to have been present on the Acropolis in the Archaic period.

¹²⁵ Shapiro 1989, 28.

¹²⁶ Hannah 2006.

quarter of the sixth century (fig. 2.20) has a variation of the typical obverse scene of a prize amphora with Athena striding to the left between two columns.¹²⁷ Here, the columns are topped by dinoi, and two small, nude male figures flank the goddess. They stand about half her height and each hold branches either as offerings to the goddess or to decorate the statue. The scale and the interaction between human and divinity in this scene seem to indicate this Athena is a statue and not an epiphany of the goddess, and that is how the scene has most often been interpreted.¹²⁸ Similar scenes appear on other pseudo-Panathenaics, with figures approaching the goddess as she stands ready to attack.¹²⁹ The incongruity between Athena's stance and the attitudes of the surrounding figures suggests they are not interacting with a present deity, but rather an image. A vase of a different shape, a hydria in Munich attributed to the Eucharides Painter, shows Athena in her same *promachos* pose (fig. 2.21).¹³⁰ Again the figures around her do not react to her appearance or her stance, but here her statue status is made explicit by the low platform she stands on.

If the Athena on prize amphorae were intended to represent a statue, she must represent the idea of a statue rather than a specific piece of sculpture. The amount of variation in her garments, armor, and pose—especially once archaistic elements are introduced—shows that painters were surely not trying to depict a specific, known image.

¹²⁷ Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 243; *BAPD* 1047.

¹²⁸ Shapiro 1989, 33; Neils 1992, 37.

¹²⁹ Cf. London, British Museum 1849.11-22.1 (*ABV* 307.59; Shapiro 1989, pl. 12a); Lausanne, Musee Olympique 63 (once Basel market; *BAPD* 4438; Shapiro 1989, pl. 12b); Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 43 (*BAPD* 42068; Shapiro 1989, pl. 13a-b); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.11.1 (*ABV* 298.5; Shapiro 1989, pl. 14b).

¹³⁰ Munich, Antikensammlungen 1727; *ABV* 397.33.

If a real statue were intended, these variations could be explained by Deborah Steiner's reading of ancient images, that the "efficacy of these kinds of images ... depends on a particular construction of the bond between the subject and the figurine, a bond that need not rest on any visual mimetic likeness, but on a notion of substitution, equivalence, or sympathy." In this case the subject is a hypothetical statue of Athena Promachos and the figurine Athena as depicted on prize amphorae. Steiner argues that the power of ancient Greek images was tied to their *eikōn*, a link "to its source by virtue of an intrinsic property."¹³¹

Platt argues that archaism in Greek art is usually used to indicate the mythic past as opposed to the physical presence of a god in the image.¹³² In the case of the Panathenaic prize amphorae of the fifth century and later, the archaistic Athena Promachos might then bring to mind an ancient statue of the goddess—or the idea of an ancient statue—and by extension reflect the antiquity of the festival with which the vases were associated. Pinney argues that instead of being a statue, the images on Panathenaic amphorae depict Athena is performing the pyrrhic dance after the victory in Gigantomachy.¹³³ She is an emblem of the goddess's capacity as protector of the city, and her archaistic representation emphasizes the antiquity of that role.

By contrast the straight, naturalistic style of the athletes on the reverses of most prize amphorae indicates that they are meant to represent real athletes. The athletic scenes depict the contemporary, living reality of the festival and the victors who took home its

¹³¹ Steiner 2001, 3-5.

¹³² Platt 2011, 83-91.

¹³³ Pinney 1988.

prizes and thus the scenes are usually rendered in the contemporary manner and not archaistically. We see a similar contrast between manners of rendering figures meant to depict a statue versus a physically present body on a South Italian krater of the early fourth century (fig. 2.22).¹³⁴ An epiphany of Apollo is juxtaposed with the sculpted image of the god standing within a Doric temple. The epiphanic or “real” Apollo is painted in red-figure, “thus corresponding to the realm of the ‘real’ within the vase’s depictive space,” while the statue of Apollo is rendered in a gold wash with white highlights to give the effect of a bronze sculpture.¹³⁵

Whether the Panathenaic Athena is meant to be an epiphany or a statue, and if that statue were real or hypothetical, is probably undeterminable, and in any case different painters may have had differing ideas of what they were depicting. What is significant is her anachronistic appearance, which parallels but does not truly accord with the outmoded technique with which she is rendered. The Panathenaic Athena’s archaism reflects the initial religious function of the amphorae. Whether we see her as a sculpture or other incarnation of the goddess, her “ancient” appearance, especially when contrasted with the athletic scene on the reverse of the vase, emphasize the antiquity of her festival and of her city, as well as the Panathenaic prize amphorae as a series.

To say Panathenaic prize amphorae allude to or emulate earlier vases does not fully explain their form. They do not simply remind users and viewers of an earlier type;

¹³⁴ Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579; *RVAp* 36.10. Apulian calyx-krater attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos.

¹³⁵ Platt 2011, 120-1.

they are in fact a continuation of an Archaic type. They form a continuous—though not uniform—series from the sixth century onward. The revival of Archaic stylistic elements in the Athena on the obverse of prize amphorae is less unusual and is less significant than their continued use of the black-figure technique. The amount of variation in the depiction of Athena, especially when her pose is reversed in the fourth century, shows that she is more important as an emblem of the prize's origin than its status as part of an ancient series.

Whether this continuation should be called archaism is up for debate, but I do not believe it is a useful distinction. Labeling the continuation of black-figure on prize amphorae as archaism groups them with Hellenistic and Roman statuary that incorporates Archaic elements in many different ways and for a variety of purposes. Though it is also probably wrong to imagine that all examples of archaism are meant to recapture some “lost golden past,” the antiquity of the series of Panathenaic prize amphorae makes it difficult to imagine that the incorporation of Archaic elements on fourth-century vases is not meant to refer back to the origins of the games.¹³⁶ In the fourth century, when these archaistic features were especially emphasized on Panathenaic prize amphorae, Athens struggled to regain the political hegemony it held in the fifth century, which was definitively ended by Macedonian victory in the Lamian War in 322. Hanink argues that this period “saw the ‘classical’ tragedians and their plays packaged and advertised as the products and vital embodiments of the city’s idealised past.”¹³⁷ I would argue that the Panathenaic prize amphorae could be said to be similar advertisements of the illustrious

¹³⁶ Fullerton 2003, 111.

¹³⁷ Hanink 2014, 6.

past of the city's religious festivals and by extension its mythical past through its famous vases, known all around the Greek world thanks to Athens' economic power. The prize amphorae advertised the city's status as a cultural center in the present and the past.¹³⁸

But if the retention of black-figure is more significant than the incorporation of archaizing elements, we should look for some historical motivation at that point in time when the choice was made to preserve the older technique. In the years of the late sixth through early fifth centuries Athens underwent a shift from tyranny to democracy and then went on to lead a pair of spectacular military victories over the Persian Empire. The democracy sought to legitimize itself through comparisons to Athens' heroic past, in particular drawing parallels between the synoecisms of Kleisthenes and Theseus. Though today we often associate the foundation of the Panathenaia or at least the introduction of prize amphorae with Peisistratos, in the late sixth century the festival was probably more closely associated with its mythic founder, Theseus. The conservatism of Panathenaic prize amphorae is certainly religious, but it is also political and historical. They preserve religious traditions, and the value of those traditions is seated in how they could be used to make statements about Athens' past and present.

The Afterlife of the Panathenaic Amphora as a Symbol

Panathenaics were popular imports in South Italy in the fifth century, as evidenced by the Tarantine tomb mentioned earlier, and as well as the limited local production of black-figure pseudo-Panathenaics.¹³⁹ There was clearly a market for this

¹³⁸ Bentz 2008, 102-3.

¹³⁹ See supra n. 36. For pseudo-Panathenaics produced in South Italy, see Denoyelle 1997, 402; Neils 2001, 125; Schierup 2012, 118-9. Cf. Metaponto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 310.897; a Lucanian black-

type of vase based on meaning it held locally, even without a direct connection to the Athenian festival.¹⁴⁰ In the fourth century, exports of Panathenaics to Italy sharply decreased, while at the same time local production of amphorae of Panathenaic shape increased. These locally produced amphorae, now decorated in red-figure, often show scenes at a *naiskos* or grave, sometimes with amphorae of the same shape set up as dedications or part of the cult equipment. A Lucanian amphora of Panathenaic shape (fig. 2.23) shows two Panathenaic amphorae with black-figure decoration in an otherwise red-figure scene set up atop a tomb.¹⁴¹ An inscribed stele indicates this is the tomb of Oidipous. Dedicants carry a box, a decorated fillet, and a hydria.¹⁴² Though the Panathenaic amphorae in the scene are represented with black-figure decoration, it is not the canonical scheme of prize amphorae. The vase on the left shows a woman handing a wreath to an athlete, and the right vase shows what is probably another woman and athlete. How these amphora are set up outside the tomb reflect actual practice as seen in the Tarantine athlete tomb mentioned above. Schierup argues that this scene and others like it on South Italian vases reflect a hero cult practice inspired by performances of Athenian tragedy. The performances of the plays in South Italy, she claims, reenacted

figure pseudo-Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Pisticci Painter; *BAPD* 9022400; Schierup 2012, fig. 1a-b.

¹⁴⁰ Schierup 2012, 118-20.

¹⁴¹ Paris, Louvre CA 308 (K 531); Trendall 1967, 110.572; *CVA* France 38, Louvre 25, pl. 33-4. Attributed to the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, ca. 390-80. See Pontrandolfo et al. 1988 and Schierup 2012 for more examples of South Italian vases depicting black-figure Panathenaic amphorae.

¹⁴² Part of the inscription is lost but it can be reconstructed based on another vase with the same inscription (Naples, Museo Nazionale 2868 [81735]; Trendall 1967, 114.592; Gutzwiller 2010, pl. 12.2): *νῶτῳ μὲν μολάχη[ν τε καὶ ἀσφόδελον πολύριζον] / κόλπῳ δ' Οἰδιπόδαν [Λαίου υἱὸν ἔχω]* (I have on my back mallow and asphodel with many roots and in my bosom Oidipous, son of Laios). See *SEG* 41:855; Gutzwiller 2010.

actual hero cult practice and these vases depict that practice. The emblematically Athenian shape was associated with the Athenian dramas and by extension became associated with hero cult practice.¹⁴³ The Panathenaic amphora shape came to be associated with religious practices perceived as ancient even beyond its association with a specific festival.

Representations of Panathenaic amphorae are found around the Greek world in various media. In many instances, they likely served as general symbols of victory or the city of Athens.¹⁴⁴ In the fourth century, vases imitating Panathenaic prize amphorae were produced for the games at the Halieia on Rhodes.¹⁴⁵ They could have contained prize oil but they may have had enough symbolic value to serve as prizes in themselves.¹⁴⁶ As mentioned above, in the second century the city of Ephesos awarded locally produced prize amphorae modeled after Athenian Panathenaic prize amphorae at their own Panathenaia.¹⁴⁷ A floor mosaic in a house in Delos of about 150-100 shows a prize amphora with a black-figure of a chariot race.¹⁴⁸ The vase is accompanied by a palm branch and a wreath, so the composition could represent the general success and prosperity in the house, but the markedly Athenian character of the amphora could also

¹⁴³ Schierup 2012, 120-32. See Schierup (2012) for other examples of South Italian amphorae of Panathenaic shape depicting hero cult practice.

¹⁴⁴ Frielinghaus 2001, Valavanis 2001b.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum BE2160; Hoepfner 2003, 30, fig. 43.

¹⁴⁶ Zervoudaki 1978; Themelis 2007, 27.

¹⁴⁷ Tiverios 2000, 53-4; Barringer 2003, 251; Valavanis 2007. Cf. Valavanis 2007, pl. 1-5.

¹⁴⁸ From the Maison du trident, mosaic in exedra I. Bruneau 1972, no. 234, figs. 216-8; Valavanis 2001b, 168-9.

indicate a connection to the city of Athens on the part of the homeowner.¹⁴⁹

Representations of Panathenaic amphorae are found as far afield as Tel Maresha in Israel, where vases of Panathenaic shape were painted on the walls flanking the entrances of two Hellenistic tombs.¹⁵⁰

In the second century, the Panathenaic Games became popular among Hellenistic monarchs of the Ptolemaic and Attalid dynasties. Victor lists record many victories by monarchs competing as honorary citizens in events normally reserved for Athenians. The participation of these monarchs brought a new prestige to the festival for the Athenians and to symbols of the games.¹⁵¹ This likely increased the popularity of the games and the desire for other, non-royal Greeks to display a connection to the city and its festival.

Marble amphorae of Panathenaic shape were occasionally used as funerary monuments, mostly in Athens and the east, beginning in the fourth century and down to at least the second century BCE.¹⁵² Four late examples of marble Panathenaics, not from funerary contexts, were found in Italy near Lake Nemi.¹⁵³ They are probably local products of the late second or early first century. The four vases were dedicated as a group along with several others at a Diana sanctuary and all bear the same dedicatory

¹⁴⁹ Westgate 2000, 404-5; Valavanis 2001b, 168-9.

¹⁵⁰ Valavanis 2001b, 162-4; Jacobson 2007, 23-4, 37, pl. 6, 8-10.

¹⁵¹ Shear 2007, 144-5.

¹⁵² Guldager Bilde 1997, 70-1; Clairmont 1993, 144-6, 4.781-2. Early marble Panathenaics have been found in the Athenian Kerameikos (Willemsen 1977, 140-1, pl. 60) and at Marathon (Liangouras 1979, pl. 67).

¹⁵³ Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN1518 (Guldager Bilde 1997, figs. 3-5) and IN1519 (Guldager Bilde 1997, figs. 6-7); Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology MS3446 (Guldager Bilde and Moltesen 2002, fig. 106) and MS3447 (Guldager Bilde and Moltesen 2002, fig. 107).

inscription.¹⁵⁴ Prize amphorae were likely still in production when these stone vases were produced, and the athletic theme on one vase seems to suggest they took their inspiration at least in part from the prize vases and not strictly from stone funerary vessels.¹⁵⁵

As late as the second century CE, the Panathenaic prize amphora was still a symbol of victory at the Panathenaia. When Herodes Atticus rebuilt the Panathenaic Stadium leading up to the 143/4 CE games, two marble thrones in the stadium were decorated with various symbols of the city and the games, including a prize amphora, despite the fact the vases had not been awarded at the games for over two hundred years at that point (fig. 2.24).¹⁵⁶ Another piece from the second century CE, a marble relief representing athletic prizes won by the son of Alexandros of Rhamnous, shows an amphora of Panathenaic shape labeled “ΠΑΝΑΘΗ/ΝΑΙΑ” alongside wreaths for his victories at Isthmia and Nemea and a shield for his victory at Argos.¹⁵⁷ Save the one questionable example, no prize amphorae of as late a date as these reliefs survive.¹⁵⁸ Even after production of prize amphorae was discontinued the shape continued to serve as a symbol of the games and the city of Athens.

¹⁵⁴ Guldager Bilde 1997; Guldager Bilde and Moltesen 2002, 43-4.

¹⁵⁵ Copenhagen 1518 (Guldager Bilde 1997, figs. 3-6) shows a horse race, though probably a Roman variety and not an event at the Panathenaic games (Guldager Bilde 1997, 60-1). A tomb at Pompeii of a similar or slightly later date is marked by a marble amphora of Panathenaic shape on a column, so the shape certainly had funerary connections in the region at the time (Cormack 2007, fig. 37.2).

¹⁵⁶ Williams 2007, 152-6. One throne survives today, the so-called “Biel Throne” in the British Museum (2001,0508.1). The other was drawn by Nicholas Revett but is now lost (see Williams 2007, fig. 9).

¹⁵⁷ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.11.19; *IG II²* 3145; Bentz 2004, 304-5, fig. 29.3.

¹⁵⁸ Athens, Agora P26600. Thompson 1960, 366-7, pl. 80d; Frel 1973, 32.

Conclusions

The intentions of the painters of Panathenaic amphorae with respect to the black-figure technique cannot be recovered, but they especially do not matter in this instance since the use of black-figure was probably required in the terms of the commission awarded by the city. It is more useful to address the effect the outmoded technique would have on how these vases were received and perceived by their users and viewers.¹⁵⁹ The perception of Panathenaic prize amphorae and other black-figure vases would have changed from the sixth century, when black-figure was a common technique, to the fourth century, when it was seen only on prize amphorae. It would be a huge task to attempt to track the development of perceptions of the black-figure technique, but since the technique died a fairly slow death in the fifth century, it is safe to say there was a gradual transition from its status as the common technique to a special and even unusual one by the end of the fifth century.

In the Classical period, large vases decorated in black-figure were out of the ordinary, and would have stood in stark contrast with other products from the workshops of Attic potters and painters. The technique may have seemed old-fashioned, but it came to mark the prize vases as special and significant and perhaps even sacred. What probably began as a rejection of a new form in favor of the older and traditional whether for religious or other reasons became an indicator of the prizes' status. To Athenians and other Greeks, the black-figure prize amphorae stood in clear distinction from the numerous other vases produced in Athens and exported around the Greek world.

¹⁵⁹ Fullerton 2003, 111.

These vases represent an interesting and probably unique mix of contemporary, Archaic, and archaistic elements, layering various time periods in a single object and creating rather anachronistic contrasts among these aspects. On fourth-century prize amphorae, the contrast of the elaborate, contemporary style of their painting with the obviously out-of-place and ancient black-figure technique not only brings the mythological origins of the festival into the present, but also retrojects the present into the past, as if sixth-century black-figure vases were decorated in the same overwrought style as their late Classical counterparts and as if sixth-century Athens—the time of the birth of democracy—were the same as their late Classical city. The use of black-figure is more consistent on the prize amphorae than any feature of the archaizing style in their painting, so it was likely a more important element of their meaning and purpose.

We cannot recover the intentions of the artists or the commissioners of these vases and their motivations for choosing black-figure over red-figure. We cannot say for sure whether the technique was intended to carry some sacred significance, but we can observe that the choice of technique sets these vases apart from others, and it makes them conspicuously different from everyday objects. From the evidence available, we see that it was more important that these socially and religiously significant vases look conspicuously different from other vessels than that they actually were or appeared to be old. The black-figure technique in particular took on a special significance that linked the prize vases and the games to the storied and mythic past of the city.

3. Late Black-figure Lekythoi in Funerary Contexts: Hastily Painted and Carefully Selected

They bury [the war dead] in the public tomb [*dēmosion sēma*], which is in the most beautiful suburb of the city and in which they always bury those killed in war, except of course for the men who fought at Marathon; judging their virtue outstanding, they gave them burial right there.

Thucydides 2.34.5 (trans. S. Lattimore)

The Marathon Tumulus and the Landscape of Black-figure Vase-painting in the Fifth Century

Standing today about 9 meters high and 185 meters in circumference, the Marathon Tumulus (fig. 3.1) makes for an impressive monument. The mound was originally even taller, around 12 meters, and wider as well; the rising of the ground level around it since the late Archaic period slightly decreasing its impact.¹ The tumulus is self-consciously monumental. The deposition of the warriors' cremated remains in a built mound recalls burials of epic heroes as well as aristocratic burials from the seventh century. According to Thucydides (2.34.5), the burial of the Athenians hoplites who died fighting the Persian invasion at Marathon was a singular and extraordinary honor.² By its monumental and heroic form, the tumulus is imbued with a great sense of importance that is not lost even today.

¹ Hammond 1968, 15.

² Whitley 1994, 215-7. The Marathon Tumulus is not, in fact, the first or only time Athenian casualties were buried in a communal grave at a battle site. A *polyandrion* was built in 506 for the Athenians who died in the victory over the Boeotians and Chalkidians near the Euripos River on Euboea, as well as for the Athenians who fought against the Pelasgians on Lemnos in the 490s (Shapiro 1991, 644).

The tumulus was built after the Battle of Marathon in September 490 as a grave and monument for the 192 Athenian dead.³ The dead were cremated on the battlefield, grave goods were deposited in an offering trench, and then the whole collection was covered over with a huge earthen mound (fig. 3.2). Among the offerings were a black-figure hydria attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter dating to around 500,⁴ a fragmentary red-figure kylix attributed to Onesimos,⁵ and an amphora attributed to Sophilos, perhaps a family heirloom which would have been nearly a century old when it was deposited in the burial.⁶ These pieces are all significant in their own right, and their individual object biographies beg to be read. They could tell us much about those buried in the mound or those who made the offerings. However, most of the finds from the tumulus are not as attractive. Among the cremated remains were found twenty-eight black-figure lekythoi contemporary with the burial (fig. 3.3-11).⁷ Since the deposit is securely dated, these lekythoi are an important chronological marker in Attic vase-painting.⁸ Of these lekythoi,

³ See Herodotos 6.117.1 and Pausanias 1.29.4, 1.32.3-5. For modern studies of the Marathon Tumulus, see Staïs 1890, 1891, 1893; Haspels 1936, 92; Androutopoulos 1949; Pritchett 1960, 140-2; Hammond 1968, 15-6; Clairmont 1983, 95-7; Shear 1993, 406-8; Petrakos 1996, 18-24; Goette and Weber 2004, 78-82; Valavanis 2010. For the skeptical view that the mound was not the burial place of the Athenian dead from the Battle of Marathon, see Schliemann 1884; Mingazzini 1975; Koumanoudis 1978; Mersch 1995; Fromherz 2001; and Hsu 2008.

⁴ Marathon, Archaeological Museum K762a; *ABV* 393.18; *CVA* Greece 7, Marathon Museum pl. 1-3.

⁵ Marathon, Archaeological Museum 848; *BAPD* 14270; *CVA* Athens, National Museum 1 pl. 13.

⁶ Athens, National Museum 1036; *ABV* 38.2; Steinhauer 2009, 132-3. Mingazzini (1975, 10-2) and Mersch (1995, 58-9) suggest that the tumulus had been used for burials long before 490 and the Sophilos vase belongs to an earlier grave in the plot. Pfuhl (1923, 28) and Haspels (1936, 92) believe the vase was the product of a conservative north Attic workshop. Beazley (*ABV* 38.2) and Bakır (1981, 25, 67.A12) attribute the vase to Sophilos without question. Bakır (1981, 25) places the vase in the painter's middle phase (590-80 BCE).

⁷ Staïs 1893. For the vases from the tumulus, see Rhomaios and Papaspyridi 1932, 6-8, pl. 10-14; Valavanis 2001a, pl. 1-3, 17; and Steinhauer 2009, 124-38.

⁸ See especially Langlotz 1968, 38-48.

those that are attributed to particular hands were all either made by the Haimon Painter and his workshop, including the Marathon Painter, who takes his name from the site. The vases are hastily painted, and have been described as “generally flimsy and carelessly executed.”⁹ Haspels asserts that “the Marathon painter does not care for anatomy.”¹⁰ They are generally dismissed as mediocre.¹¹

One lekythos in the lot by the Haimon Painter (fig. 3.9) is probably meant to depict Athena in the Gigantomachy. Many features of the figures are not well articulated. The painter did not incise any details of the face of the giant fleeing to the right, and his limbs and the legs of the flanking horses fade away into thin twigs at their ends. The Haimon Painter has used liberally added white for the skin of women, as is typical in black-figure. He did not, however, paint the white slip over a layer of black, as was the usual technique. The result is that Athena’s extended left hand fades away into the background, as does much of the body of the mounted Amazon at left. An early chimney lekythos found in the tumulus (fig. 3.10), which Haspels calls “shockingly bad,”¹² is painted so hastily that the scene is virtually unintelligible. It appears to show a woman kneeling and an animal at left. The presence of these vases in such a significant burial is explained away, suggesting that mourners must have bought up whatever was available and closest at hand on short notice.¹³

⁹ Boardman 1974, 148.

¹⁰ Haspels 1936, 90.

¹¹ Rhomaios and Papaspyridi 1932, 6-8.

¹² Haspels 1936, 166.

¹³ Haspels (1936, 77) imagines the Marathon Painter’s “workshop was nearest at hand, or easiest to reach, when lekythoi were needed in a hurry for the funeral pile after the battle of Marathon.”

Compared to finely painted heirloom vases or a cup by a great painter like Onesimos, the lekythoi seem less exciting and less significant. However, as we will see, these lekythoi are not unusual grave goods for the period. They are standard funerary offerings of the time and were the most common choice for fifth-century burials in Attica, no matter how significant or impressive the grave was meant to be. The other vases found in the Marathon Tumulus show that those performing the funeral rites for the Athenian dead had access to other types of pottery, but they chose for the most part small, hastily painted vases. The shape of the vases used as grave offerings may have been dictated by ritual requirements, but function does not affect decoration. There were practical necessities for the funeral ritual which required the oil carried in lekythoi, but other forces—either traditions or trends—called for the use of a particular shape decorated in a particular technique.

It is easy to dismiss material like these late black-figure lekythoi as a cheap line of production reserved for those who could not afford better, but such assumptions do not stand up to scrutiny. These vases are found in all kinds of Athenian burials up to the third quarter of the fifth century. There is not a spectrum of quality for funerary lekythoi. Socially significant burials like the Marathon Tumulus and elaborate private burials of wealthy individuals contain the same hastily painted vases as more humble graves.¹⁴

This chapter will deal with Athenian funerary lekythoi of the fifth century, focusing on the use of generic and hastily painted black-figure vases in Athens before they ultimately fall out of use and as the fine, white-ground polychrome vases so well-known and well-studied by scholars of Greek vase-painting increase in popularity. The

¹⁴ Volioti 2014, 152. For Haimonian lekythoi from wealthy, non-Attic burials, see Volioti 2014, n. 42.

role of these white-ground vases in Athenian funerary practice has been overstated and the widespread use of hastily painted black-figure vases has gone unrecognized. I will argue that we would be wrong to consider late black-figure lekythoi to be low end or second rate based on the subjective quality of their painting. I will first address how Athenians used these vases and for how long, and then explore explanations for why these modest vases were chosen over other, more finely and elaborately decorated vases available in Athens in the same period.

Negative judgments regarding the quality of late black-figure lekythoi are rooted in the historiography of Western art and the tendency to attribute aesthetic aspects to manmade objects outside the historical period in which those aesthetic aspects existed.¹⁵ In other words, we have judged these ancient images by modern standards and have not examined their place in ancient visualities and ideologies. If we try to approach these objects through the visibility of their makers and users, we can see them as distinct from other vases—in particular red-figure vases—not just in terms of their subjective quality, but in terms of visual tradition they embody.

Lekythoi in Fifth-century Athens: Development of Shape and Use

The most prolific producers of black-figure lekythoi in the fifth century include the workshops of the Haimon Painter and the Beldam Painter, whose work will figure prominently in the discussion to follow. The traditions begun by these artists, in regards to both painting and vase shape, continue into the final quarter of the fifth century.¹⁶

¹⁵ Davis 2011, 2-5.

¹⁶ Kurtz 1975, 152-5.

These vases represent the latest use of black-figure in Attic vase-painting apart from the Panathenaic prize amphorae discussed in the previous chapter. However, black-figure lekythoi belong to different workshop and artistic traditions than Panathenaics. The latest painters of black-figure lekythoi were the last Attic painters specializing in the older black-figure technique and probably worked in specialist workshops that only produced these vases. Unlike the prize amphorae, they were not a special secondary line of work by red-figure painters. At the very least the latest black-figure lekythoi deserve special attention because they represent a group of artists and craftsmen holding onto an outmoded style and carrying on a tradition separate from that of the prize amphorae. Black-figure lekythoi were certainly not prestige objects but they nevertheless served an important function and carried on a particular visual tradition that valued a different aesthetic from that of most red-figure artists, both in their primary work and their work on Panathenaic prize amphorae.

Development of the Shape

The lekythos has a significant history before the period under consideration here. It is first and foremost an oil container, and with that function it found a variety of uses through the Archaic and Classical periods. The ancient Greek word *lēkythos* (λήκυθος) is a generic term for an oil vessel and does not specifically refer to the shape called “lekythos” by modern scholars.¹⁷

The shape ultimately evolved from the alabastron, which developed in its original alabaster form in Egypt and arrived in Athens via Corinthian ceramic alabastra. Richter

¹⁷ Richter and Milner 1935, 14; Kurtz 1975, 77.

and Milne provide a simple typology of lekythoi. Their type I has a body with a continuous curve from neck to base, type II has a shoulder offset from the body, and type III has a squat body and no distinct shoulder.¹⁸ Richter and Milne's type I is called the Deianeira type by Haspels. These are the earliest lekythoi and are produced in first quarter of the sixth century. The shape still appears very much like an alabastron with foot and handle added.¹⁹ The shape appears to have developed at first for household use before finding other more specialized functions. The shoulder lekythos (fig. 3.3-17)—Richter and Milne's type II—with its offset shoulder and tapering lower body, is introduced in the second quarter of the sixth century.²⁰ Richter and Milne's type III is also called the squat lekythos. This type is not introduced until the mid-fifth century and is rarely decorated in black-figure.²¹

A variation on the shoulder lekythos—the cylinder lekythos—appears around the same time as several other new shapes in the Attic ceramic repertoire and the same time as the invention of the red-figure technique. The cylinder lekythos (fig. 3.12) has a tall, cylindrical body with an offset shoulder and a full curve from below the image area of the wall to the foot. The body does not taper sharply toward the base as it did on earlier shoulder lekythoi. The earliest examples of the shape are in black-figure and was only

¹⁸ Richter and Milner 1935, 15.

¹⁹ Haspels 1936, 1-6.

²⁰ Haspels 1936, 6-10. Haspels describes a variant on the shoulder lekythos with more vertical walls and a rounded lower body that develops around 560, which she first refers to as the shoulder-lekythos with cylinder-shaped body, then later calls the cylinder-lekythos. Beazley calls the shape "proto-cylinder." Cf. London, British Museum B31; *ABV* 451.1; *ABL* pl. 1.4. This cylinder lekythos type survives as long as lekythoi are made, but is not to be confused with the later cylinder lekythos shape discussed below, though there is clearly a connection between the two.

²¹ Moore and Philippides (1986, 252.1256) record only one example from the Agora: Athens, Agora P15355; Moore and Philippides 1986, pl. 87.1256.

slightly later adopted by red-figure artists.²² The cylinder lekythos appears in a period of widespread experimentation by Athenian potters and painters, and the new shape and the new technique probably have no greater connection than both being the result of the same experimental period. White-ground, coral red, and Six's technique all also appear at this time. The Edinburgh Painter is the first to consistently produced white-ground black-figure lekythoi at the end of the Archaic period.²³

In the Classical period, the Beldam Painter's workshop begins producing small lekythoi with bodies that flare out slightly where they meet the shoulder and cylindrical, "chimney" mouths (fig. 3.13, 3.24a, 3.28a).²⁴ Chimney lekythoi are also produced by the Emporion Painter and in especially large numbers by the Haimon workshop. This type is never taken up by red-figure artists.

Beazley divides red-figure and white-ground lekythoi into two main classes, important to note in the discussion of lekythos shapes: the standard type and the secondary type(s). Within the standard type are type BL lekythoi, associated with the Bowdoin Painter. Among the secondary lekythoi are several types (or sub-types) including type PL, associated with the Petit Palais Painter; type ATL (fig. 3.24b), associated with the Aischines and Tymbos Painters; type CL, associated with the Karlsruhe Painter; and type BEL (fig. 3.12), associated with the Beldam Painter. Standard lekythoi are generally "larger and more careful," while secondary lekythoi are "often

²² Haspels 1936, 41; Kurtz 1975, 77-8.

²³ Haspels 1936, 76. The earliest known white-ground lekythos is by Psiax (Kurtz 1975, 9).

²⁴ Haspels 1936, 178-9; Kurtz 1975, 87. The earliest chimney lekythos (fig. 3.10) was found in the Marathon Tumulus (Haspels 1936, 166).

rather nondescript in shape.”²⁵ The latest black-figure lekythoi, in particular those of the Haimon workshop, are mostly small, secondary lekythoi. Knigge gives a typology of lekythos shapes from the Kerameikos which is also a rough chronological sequence, but her categories are not much used outside of Kerameikos publications.²⁶

By the early fifth century the oval-bodied Deianeira type is long gone, and production of lekythoi in black-figure, red-figure, and white-ground focuses on the shoulder lekythos in its standard and secondary types. Red-figure lekythoi are still rather uncommon until well into the fifth century. Shear records only three from the Persian destruction clean-up deposits in the Agora.²⁷ A larger number were found in the debris from a public dining space dated circa 425.²⁸

The final lekythos type, the squat lekythos (fig. 3.14), is introduced in the middle of the fifth century is rarely decorated by black-figure painters.²⁹ Based on an examination of Agora well deposits, Schmidt argues that by the second quarter of the fifth century, the shoulder lekythos has a solely funerary use and its domestic function is taken over by the squat lekythos.³⁰ His argument is based on the lack of shoulder lekythoi

²⁵ Haspels 1936, 675. See also Kurtz 1975, 77-87.

²⁶ Knigge 1976, 33-7, pl. 77.

²⁷ Shear 1993, table 4.

²⁸ Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 87-9, 115. Rotroff and Oakley catalog fourteen red-figure shoulder lekythoi and two red-figure squat lekythoi, all dated between 470 and 450. They also catalog three squat lekythoi in plain black-gloss, dated from 450 to 425.

²⁹ There are many examples of black-gloss and red-figure palmette squat lekythoi found in the Kerameikos cemetery. Squat lekythoi decorated with black-figure patterns are rather unusual. See also Haspels 1936, 183.III.

³⁰ Schmidt 2005, 31-2.

in household well deposits.³¹ In the middle of the century, however, squat lekythoi begin to appear in burials in Athens, finding use in funerary ritual in addition to their household functions.

Around 470, the workshop of the Beldam Painter begins producing large lekythoi with false interiors. The false interior allowed a large vase to be filled to the brim with a small amount of oil (fig. 3.15). The practice was then taken up by many makers of white-ground lekythoi. Kurtz notes that if later large lekythoi do not have false interiors, it is probably an indication they were symbolic offerings and no longer used as containers for oil.³² Volioti has shown that Haimonian lekythoi came in standard sizes, indicating they were functional vessels and not simply symbolic offerings.³³

Lekythoi with false interiors are made until about 430. Later white-ground painters like the Reed Painter and Group R do not produce them. Since the type of lekythoi in which false interiors are usually found—large white-ground vases with polychrome decoration—are rare in Athens before this time, it is no surprise that few lekythoi with false interiors are found in Athens. An early false-interior lekythos, an

³¹ Household deposits are generally rare and difficult to isolate. The large number of lekythoi found in the Athenian Agora suggest at least some were used for domestic functions (van de Put 2011, 175-86).

³² Kurtz 1975, 86-7. On lekythoi with false interiors, see also Haspels 1936, 176-7; Oakley 2004b, 8. Haspels (1936, 176) cites the Beldam Painter's name vase (Athens, National Museum 1129 [CC961]; *Paralipomena* 292; *ABL* 266.1, pl. 49, 50.2, 51.1) as the earliest false interior lekythos. Volioti (2014, 160) says that no Haimonian lekythoi have false interiors and were all functional. This seems to contradict Brückner and Pernice (1893, 190), who claim "[e]ine grosse Zahl der Lekythen, welche wir in Scherben ausserhalb der Gräber gefunden haben, war in Schulterhöhe geschlossen; ihr enger Hals konnte nur wenige Tropfen fassen. Sie waren zweifellos dazu bestimmt, kostbares wolriechendes Öl aufzunehmen, mit welchem man das ganze Gefäss nicht füllen mochte." As we will see below, very few white-ground lekythoi were found in the Kerameikos, and hastily painted black-figure lekythoi were much more common. They do not specify, but Brückner and Pernice are presumably talking about black-figure vases.

³³ Volioti 2014. For the view that vases were offered empty, see Knigge 1976, 15; Stissi 2009, 28, 36.

ornament lekythos by the Beldam Painter, was found in a Kerameikos burial (fig. 3.16),³⁴ and a burial at Lenormant Street contained a later example by the Thanatos Painter,³⁵ but false interiors seem to have been made mostly for the Eretrian market.³⁶ Whatever reason or purpose for their production—either with regards to funerary laws or trends—it was not solely or even predominantly Athenian. When large lekythoi come to be purely emblematic, other small oil vessels are still found in Athenian burials, suggesting some amount of continuity in funerary practice by the continued need for oil. Around this time local potters in Eretria begin making dummy lekythoi with closed necks that otherwise mimic Attic white-ground vases.³⁷ Dummy alabastra were found in several Athenian burials from the fourth century, and often in large numbers.³⁸ These vases may have their predecessors in late fifth-century lekythoi that were still nominally functional but were made mostly for display and not to hold oil.

³⁴ Athens, Kerameikos Museum IX.10; *ABL* 266.6, pl. 50.3; *BAPD* 6039; *Paralipomena* 292; Lullies 1949, 68.55.

³⁵ Boulter 1963, 123. Athens, Agora Museum P10369; *ARV*² 1228.2; Boulter 1963, pl. 40, 43, 44.

³⁶ Other lekythoi with false interiors said to be from Attica: Berlin, Antikensammlung VI3245 (*ARV*² 749.6, *CVA* Berlin 12, pl. 11 [said to be from Athens]); VI3292 (*ARV*² 730.7, *CVA* Berlin 12, pl. 7 [Athens]); F2445 (*CVA* Berlin 12, pl. 14 [Sounion]); F2446 (*CVA* Berlin 12, pl. 15 [Sounion]); VI3291 (*ARV*² 1227.9, *CVA* Berlin 12, pl. 23 [Athens]).

³⁷ Gex 1993, 23, 52. Cf. Eretria, Archaeological Museum 133-V 2597; Gex 1993, pl. 40.

³⁸ Young (1951, 111-2, pl. 50b, 51a) describes several dummy alabastra “solid except for a slight hollowing at the mouth, [which] must have had entirely symbolic significance.” Several fourth-century burials in the Kerameikos contained similar solid stone alabastra. See Kovacovics 1990, 47 (no. 46.2-3, pl. 42.5), 114 (no. 110.6-25, pl. 49.7-9), and 117-8 (no. 119.36-90, pl. 51.5-6), among others. Hoffmann (1989, 162-3) believes Attic ceramic rhyta were dummies, since they lack a hole in the bottom for liquid to pass through. They were placed in burials, he says, as symbolic versions of metal rhyta used in hero cult rituals.

Ornament Lekythoi

A large corpus of Attic lekythoi of the late sixth and fifth centuries are decorated in the black-figure technique with non-figural designs. Typical designs include large palmettes (fig. 3.11), ivy (fig. 3.25, top row), and cross-hatching (fig. 3.16), often on white-ground but sometimes on red-ground as well. I refer to these lekythoi, as a group, as ornament lekythoi. Ornament lekythoi are not often included in discussion of black-figure pottery, whether in funerary contexts or elsewhere, and they are likewise excluded from studies of plain black-gloss pottery. On a whole, they are an understudied and underappreciated body of material.

The earliest palmette lekythoi are connected with the Marathon Painter and belong to the Class of Athens 581. Haspels associates most lekythoi decorated with other patterns in black-figure to this workshop.³⁹ Kurtz, on the other hand, attributes many ornament lekythoi to the Beldam Painter and his workshop and offers several criteria for distinguishing them from those by the Haimon workshop, to which the Marathon Painter is connected.⁴⁰ The Haimon workshop produced ornament lekythoi into the final quarter of the fifth century.⁴¹ Pattern lekythoi are contemporary with figured lekythoi and are produced in the same workshops. There are also small, red-figure squat lekythoi decorated with simple palmettes, and these are sometimes found in Athenian graves in

³⁹ Haspels 1936, 170, 180-2. One palmette lekythos (fig. 3.11) was found in the Marathon Tumulus. It shares some features of the Class of Athens 581 but is not exactly of the shape which defines the class.

⁴⁰ Kurtz 1975, 152-5. On ornament lekythoi, see also Blegen et al. 1964, 164-5; Knigge 1976, 37.

⁴¹ Kurtz 1975, 153. For late examples from Athenian burials see Willemsen et al. 1966, 37 no. 70.1-2, pl. 77.2 (dated 440/30); Charitonides 1958, 75, no. 67.10, fig. 131 (dated 420-400); 37, no. 36a.1-2, fig. 65, pl. 17β (425-410); 50, no. 47.4, pl. 17β (420-400); 108, no. 94.1, pl. 17α.

the second half of the fifth century. Though they served the same function of black-figure funerary lekythoi, they are not a direct evolution from them either in shape or decoration.

Since the painting of late black-figure lekythoi is generally hasty and the iconography not directly related to the function of the vase (to be discussed further below), it seems to me reasonable to group vases with abstract decoration with vases with figural decoration. Concerning the impetus for painters to choose abstract patterns over figural decoration, Kurtz notes that ornament lekythoi would appeal to a broader market than lekythoi with figural decoration, assuming that decoration would be geared toward a particular use.⁴² Pattern lekythoi would certainly have a broader appeal than lekythoi with funerary iconography, but black-figure lekythoi were never limited to funerary iconography. The Beldam Painter did begin producing some lekythoi with funerary scenes around 470, but the Haimon workshop produced substantially larger numbers of small lekythoi with generic figural scenes and for a longer period. The differing distribution patterns of ornament lekythoi and white-ground lekythoi is more a function of the highly specialized nature of the white-ground vases than the indistinct nature of the ornament lekythoi.⁴³ Kurtz's claim that pattern lekythoi have "a place of importance in Attic vase-painting beyond their artistic merit" thanks to their large numbers assumes that there should be any connection between an ancient object's importance to its original user and our modern conceptions of its artistic merit. The same can be said about the most hastily painted Haimonian lekythoi (cf. fig. 3.8, 3.9, 3.28a), which do have figural decoration but whose iconography sometimes unintelligible. I will address this further

⁴² Kurtz 1975, 131.

⁴³ Kurtz 1975, 133-6.

below, but it is certainly significant that vases that lack artistic merit in the eyes of modern viewers vastly outnumber those most famous for their skilled painting and sophisticated iconography in Athenian grave contexts of all types and statuses in the first half of the fifth century. When we consider the contexts in which these hastily painted vases were used, it is clear they do not represent more common, low-brow tastes.

Lekythoi and Late Black-figure

The lekythos was one of the longest hold-outs of the black-figure technique. In Athens, small, black-figure lekythoi are the funerary offering of choice through the first half of the fifth century. Most fifth-century lekythoi are hastily decorated vases produced by large workshops that cannot easily be divided into separate hands. The most prolific producers of black-figure lekythoi in the fifth century are the Haimon Painter and his workshop. Nearly 2000 Haimonian lekythoi are known, and there are certainly many more unpublished.⁴⁴ Precise stylistic dating is difficult for these vases because the painting is always rather schematic and hasty and does not substantially evolve over time.

The lekythos shape was also produced in red-figure, and there are even what might be called finer black-figure examples by the last great painters of the technique—like the Edinburgh Painter, Athena Painter, and the Theseus Painter (fig. 3.17)—but these are only rarely found in Attic contexts. Moore and Philippides record only one example

⁴⁴ Volioti 2014, 150-1. Jubier-Galinier (2003) connects the workshops of the Haimon Painter and Diosphos Painter and notes that the plurality of their work (nearly a third, including lekythoi as well as other shapes) has been found in Athens. A large quantity of the Haimon workshop's production made its way to east Greece (Tuna-Nörning 1995, 146 fig. 31).

from these three painters found in the Athenian Agora.⁴⁵ Van de Put illustrates the differences in trade patterns between what he sees as two lineages of lekythos painters in Athens from the sixth and fifth centuries. One lineage begins with the Leagros Group and focuses on predominantly larger cylinder lekythoi. This group also includes the Edinburgh, Gela, and Athena Painters. These painters' vases end up more often in the west, particularly in Sicily, than in Athenian contexts. Van de Put's second lineage, more diffuse than the first, begins with the Fat Runner Group and the Group of Vatican G52 in the 540s and includes the Cock Group, the Class of Athens 581, the Diosphos/Sappho Painter, and the Haimon Group. This group prefers smaller lekythoi, and their products are sold mostly on the home market in Athens and Attica.⁴⁶ Some vases by painters of van de Put's first lineage did find their way into Athenian graves, often alongside vases of the second lineage, but in small numbers.⁴⁷

As oil containers, lekythoi found use in contexts other than burials. Attic black-figure lekythoi were exported all over the Greek world. Volioti has examined the use of Haimonian lekythoi in religious contexts in and around Delphi,⁴⁸ while Ann Steiner has shown that Attic lekythoi can be seen as indicators of developments and changes in ritual

⁴⁵ Moore and Philippides 1986, 245.1181. Athens, Agora P19319; *ABV* 523.2; Moore and Philippides 1986, pl. 87.1181.

⁴⁶ Van de Put 2016. Van de Put describes the vases of the first lineage as "standard" lekythoi and those of the second as "secondary," but his use of the terms does not align with that of Beazley, discussed above. The size of the vases is probably a more significant distinction to draw between the two groups. For the distribution of late black-figure lekythoi, see also van de Put 2011, 98-101, 118-9, 127-9.

⁴⁷ Athena Painter lekythoi from the Kerameikos: Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, no. 262.4, pl. 47.5 (*BAPD* 9022701); Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, no. 273.1, pl. 50.1.1 (*BAPD* 9022720); Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, no. 276.3, pl. 51.3 (*BAPD* 9022734). Edinburgh Painter lekythos from the Kerameikos: Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, no. 14, pl. 8.4 (*BAPD* 9022445). Sappho Painter lekythoi from the Kerameikos: Kerameikos Museum 1516 (Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, no. 41.2, pl. 12.5-7; *BAPD* 21205), Knigge 1976, no. 20.1, pl. 19.2.1 (*BAPD* 9027220, workshop of).

⁴⁸ Volioti 2011a and 2011b.

at Corinth.⁴⁹ Over 300 late black-figure lekythoi have been found at Olympia, but unfortunately exact findspots were not recorded for most of the vases.⁵⁰ Many more late black-figure lekythoi, especially from the Haimon workshop, have been found in excavations around the Mediterranean.⁵¹

The lekythos is the most common black-figure vase shape found in the Athenian Agora, especially in the period between 510 and 480.⁵² Hundreds more have been found in Athenian burials. These deposits give us a clear and indisputable context for the use of the vessels and their contents.

Black-figure and White-ground

Though many lekythoi with black-figure decoration also utilized the white-ground technique, the term “white-ground lekythos” usually refers to lekythoi with outline drawing and polychrome painting on white-ground. Lekythoi with outline drawing on white-ground begin to be produced in Athens in the 470s by the Beldam Painter and his workshop. At first painters used a combination of black-figure and outline techniques. On a lekythos by the Beldam Painter in the National Museum in Athens (fig. 3.12), for instance, the artist has rendered the woman at left in black-figure and the tomb at right in outline. Eventually painters transitioned to an all outline technique similar to red-figure that would then be picked up by painters working primarily in that technique. For ease of

⁴⁹ Steiner 1992.

⁵⁰ Burow 2000, 204, 207-10, 236-93.

⁵¹ Jubier-Galinier 2003; van de Put 2016, 124, fig 14.

⁵² Moore and Philippides 1986, 45-7.

discussion, in this chapter I will use the term “white-ground lekythos” to refer to vases with outline drawing and polychrome painting, and “black-figure lekythos” for vases in black-figure on red-ground or white-ground. I do not deny that the white-ground technique has a particular significance when applied to funerary vases, but my focus here is on the black-figure technique. I believe any special meaning associated with white-ground is equally relevant when the vase is painted in black-figure or outline.

For a time, the iconography of white-ground lekythoi is not specialized and is comparable to contemporary red-figure. Around 470 there is a change in the technique and iconography of white-ground lekythoi and a repertoire of funerary scenes are introduced. Specialist white-ground lekythos painters develop an extended palette of colors between 470 and 450, some of which are applied to the vases after firing and do not preserve well.⁵³ A well-known and well-preserved vase in New York (fig. 3.18) gives a good idea of the colors available to lekythos painters, though the colors must have originally appeared more vibrant.⁵⁴ Painters of black-figure lekythoi on red- or white-ground, on the other hand, stick to the traditional added red and white for their vases. White-ground lekythoi also grow steadily in size after 470. The Beldam Painter introduced false interiors around this time (fig. 3.15, 3.16), which allowed larger vases to appear full of oil while only requiring a small quantity.⁵⁵

Schmidt argues that around 470 the white-ground technique came to be associated with funerary vessels and at the same time white-ground lekythoi with outline drawing

⁵³ Wehgartner 1983, 20-4; Oakley 2004b, 7-8.

⁵⁴ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.11.5; *ARV*² 744.1.

⁵⁵ Kurtz 1975, 87; Oakley 2004b, 4-9.

supplanted black-figure lekythoi as grave offerings. From this time on, he says, the white-ground lekythos is exclusively a funerary vase. The imagery of late black-figure lekythoi favored traditional themes of Attic vase-painting and exhibited a great iconographic variety because, he claims, black-figure lekythoi were not reserved solely for funerary use. He believes the new funerary themes on white-ground lekythoi were inspired by new attention paid by artists on the effects of images on viewers.⁵⁶ Though Schmidt is incorrect in his claim that Athenians gave up black-figure lekythoi in favor of white-ground in the 470s, as I will discuss below, he is right that the imagery of late black-figure lekythoi favored traditional themes. The vases were not reserved solely for funerary purposes, though in Athens especially that is where they found the vast majority of their use. As mentioned above, a large number of late black-figure lekythoi were exported to a variety of markets around the Greek world. Late black-figure painters may have kept this in mind and attempted to produce images that would have the broadest appeal. As I will discuss further below, the black-figure technique itself may have been more important in funerary or other ritual contexts than the specificity of the vases' iconography.

Oakley also notes a shift in iconography of lekythoi toward funerary scenes and summarizes how, after the beginning of the fifth century, black-figure begins to give way to outline drawing on funerary lekythoi and black-figure dies out at the beginning of the Classical period. He too claims that at this point, small, black-figure lekythoi are replaced as grave goods by larger lekythoi decorated in outline and later polychrome painting on

⁵⁶ Schmidt 2005, 32-8.

white-ground.⁵⁷ Since Oakley's study is about "picturing death," he is not concerned with vases produced before this period and only gives a brief overview of the funerary lekythos before 470. According to Oakley's narrative, the Persian Wars are the turning point when outline drawing replaces black-figure.⁵⁸ He connects the change in technique to the sudden rise in popularity of red-figure around the same time. The technique would be more or less the same to paint in outline on white-ground or in red-figure, and many artists worked in both techniques.⁵⁹

Oakley also connects the change in technique to a larger change in funerary customs in Athens after the Persian Wars. It is often repeated that the large-scale, stone monuments of the Archaic period fall out of use in the Classical period and private funerary display decreases.⁶⁰ This is around the same time as the establishment of the *Demosion Sema* and the rise of elaborate state funerals.⁶¹ The connection between the two developments, if any, is unclear. In the years following the establishment of the democracy, there seem to have been conflicting attitudes on how to confront Athens'

⁵⁷ Oakley 2004b, 6-7. My brief summary here does not do justice to the substantial works of Oakley and Schmidt, which offer very different methodological approaches to the study of white-ground lekythoi. For an overview of their differences in approach, see Schmidt's (2006) review of Oakley and Oakley's (2006) response.

⁵⁸ He first made this argument in Oakley 2001.

⁵⁹ Oakley 2004b, 6-8.

⁶⁰ Cf. Morris 1992, 128-9. Oakley (2004b, 226) sees in the imagery of white-ground lekythoi the stages in rites of passage as theorized by van Gennep (1960). He argues that the shift from aristocratic imagery of Archaic tombstones to rites of passage more reflective of basic human concerns and applicable to all Greeks made white-ground lekythoi appealing to people of all classes and more democratic in nature.

⁶¹ Shapiro (1991, 648-9) suggests the introduction of white-ground lekythoi was linked to a change in funerary practice related to the establishment of the *Demosion Sema* and "a further 'privatization' of private burials." Oakley (2004b, 215-6) disagrees, noting that the as yet unpublished excavation of an area of the *Demosion Sema* did find white-ground lekythoi. On the excavation see Rose 2000 and Stoupa 2002. Arrington (2010, 503-6; 2015, 39-49, 247) raises the date of the establishment of the public cemetery to ca. 500, disallowing a strong connection between the new artifact type and new funerary practice. On the *Demosion Sema*, see also Walter-Karydi 2015, 164-97.

aristocratic past. The *Demosion Sema*, which deemphasized individual deaths in favor of the sacrifices of the community as a whole, stood in marked contrast to the elitist, individualistic ideals of the aristocracy. At the same time, elite burial mounds in the Kerameikos were overtaken with common burials (from which many of the lekythoi discussed below originate), appropriating aristocratic forms for use by all.⁶²

Oakley's summary of the introduction of white-ground polychrome lekythoi in to Athenian funerary practice and the decline of black-figure lekythoi, though it is the typical narrative, is problematic.⁶³ He does not consider the provenience of the vases he uses as evidence for funerary customs in Athens. Very few of the vases he discusses, when they even have a secure provenience, come from burials in Attica. In fact, non-black-figure white-ground lekythoi are poorly represented in the Athenian Kerameikos and are rather rare in Athenian burials until after 440.⁶⁴ Most white-ground lekythoi dated to the first half of the fifth century are not found in Athens or Attica, but come predominantly from burials in Eretria and Sicily, especially Gela. Before they find greater use in Athens beginning in the 430s, white-ground lekythoi were clearly products made for export, so they cannot be used as evidence for Athenian funerary practice or Athenian tastes.⁶⁵ If we consider burials from Athens dated to the first half of the fifth century, hastily painted black-figure lekythoi are still the funerary vases of choice, even though finely painted white-ground lekythoi are being produced in Athenian workshops at the

⁶² Arrington 2010, 532-3.

⁶³ Discussions of white-ground lekythoi by Elena Walter-Karydi (2015, 139-63) and Elvia Giudice (2015, 261-6) include many of the same problems found in Oakley and Schmidt.

⁶⁴ Felten 1976, 77; Gex 2014, 324-5.

⁶⁵ Gex 2014, 325-6.

time. Even after white-ground lekythoi gain popularity in Athens, black-figure lekythoi continue to be used alongside them. The earliest use of white-ground lekythoi in the Kerameikos is around 460, but it is very limited. One early example, discussed further below, is found in a burial alongside twelve black-figure lekythoi and a red-figure lekythos.⁶⁶ There is no sudden replacement of one artifact type with another as Oakley suggests.

White-ground lekythoi are quite revered among historians of Greek art, and not without reason. Painters of polychrome lekythoi introduced technical innovations to vase-painting that are still not entirely understood, adding new pigments to their palettes that unfortunately did not survive as well as the classic red and black of Attic vases. Some of the most careful and delicate Greek painting to survive today is found on white-ground lekythoi, as well as some of the oldest surviving polychrome painting from Greece. White-ground lekythoi are often viewed as something of a fleeting glimpse of what wall-painting of the time must have been.⁶⁷ Their iconography also conveniently alludes to their use, with scenes at the tomb or in the underworld being common. However, we should not assume that graveside scenes on white-ground lekythoi literally represent how the vases were used. They often show graves with large tumuli and tall stelae which were uncommon in the fifth century, and some figures in these scenes are probably meant to represent the deceased himself or herself receiving the offering of oil from the vase.⁶⁸ The vases also show lekythoi set up at the tomb (fig. 3.19), while it was probably more

⁶⁶ Kerameikos S 12. Kübler 1976, 98; Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 82-3, pl. 55.

⁶⁷ Koch-Brinkmann 1999.

⁶⁸ Oakley 2004b, 145-73.

common that they were deposited in the burial rather than left at the grave later. White-ground lekythoi have also been used as evidence for a lost class of vessels made of ivory, though there is no evidence that ivory lekythoi were ever made in Athens.⁶⁹

White-ground lekythoi are also historiographically important for the study of Greek art. In the earliest studies of Attic vases, it was thought that black- and red-figure pots were Etruscan products, since most well preserved vases were found at Etruscan sites. White-ground lekythoi, on the other hand, were found in early excavations in Athens and are not commonly found in mainland Italy, so it has always been known that they were produced in Athens.⁷⁰

There is no denying the technical skill and historical importance of white-ground lekythoi, but I would argue that their significance has been stressed to the detriment of late black-figure vases. Though many fine white-ground lekythoi can be found in museum collections around the world, their provenience is often ignored or lacking. If we begin with a study of Athenian burials to determine how vases were used in funerary ritual, rather than starting with the vases to learn about funeral practices and ideas surrounding death, we find that black-figure lekythoi—whether on white-ground or red-ground—are far more common in the fifth century than white-ground lekythoi with outline drawing and polychrome painting. This is especially the case in the first half of the fifth century, but even after use of white-ground lekythoi increases in Athens in the 430s, they are never as common or as popular. They never see the same widespread use in Attic burials as black-figure lekythoi. Creating a hierarchy and claiming that black-

⁶⁹ Vickers 1984; 1985, 112; Vickers and Gill 1994, 144-53.

⁷⁰ Oakley 2004b, 1.

figure vessels were “unquestionably second rate,”⁷¹ and that “finer” vessels were “probably beyond the purse of poorer citizens”⁷² is neither helpful nor accurate.

Black-figure lekythoi, in particular lekythoi painted with non-figural designs, continue to be placed in Athenian graves into the last quarter of the fifth century, often alongside white-ground lekythoi. The latest white-ground lekythoi are produced around the end of the century. Among the latest are the Group of the Huge Lekythoi, sized up to one meter tall, probably responding to and attempting to rival stone funerary monuments in the shape of large lekythoi that had begun to be produced in Athens.⁷³

Funerary Lekythoi in Fifth-century Athens

Our best evidence for how black-figure lekythoi were used in Athens in the fifth century is in burials as grave goods.⁷⁴ In the discussion to follow, I will not attempt to draw conclusions about the social structure or demography of fifth-century Athens or to make significant diachronic observations on Athenian grave goods and funerary practice. Pottery is the focus of this study, but by no means do I intend to claim it is the only or even the most important part of a burial or of funerary ritual. It is clear though that the pottery placed in burials was chosen deliberately, and we should assume there was a specific reason lekythoi were chosen over other vase shapes.

⁷¹ Kurtz 1975, 79.

⁷² Boardman 1974, 146.

⁷³ Kurtz 1975, 68-73; Koch-Brinkmann 1999, 83-4; Oakley 2004b, 18. On the Group of the Huge Lekythoi, see *infra* n. 162.

⁷⁴ Villanueva-Puig 2003; Algrain et al. 2008, 151-2.

My primary goal is to provide a picture of how funerary lekythoi were used at a particular point in the history of Athens and Athenian vase-painting and to get at not just what types of vases Athenians used, but why they might have chosen these types over others. There is a near total lack of literary evidence regarding ancient views on pottery and vase-painting, so we must “inevitably rely to some extent on leaps of faith and analogies which are anything but direct,”⁷⁵ but we also avoid the hazard that befalls many historians of taking ancient texts as literal accounts of ancient Greek life.

Funerary Ritual

There is no single source for Athenian funerary ritual and practice in the Archaic and Classical periods, but much has been extrapolated from many sources disparate in time, genre, and media.⁷⁶ Sources generally agree that the body would be bathed and anointed with oil before being laid out in the deceased’s home for viewing.⁷⁷ This responsibility fell to the women of the *oikos*, but in the *Phaedo* (115a) Socrates bathes himself before his execution to save the women the trouble of washing his corpse.⁷⁸ When we find images of lekythoi in use in Greek art, they are often found in the hands of women. The white-ground technique predominant on funerary lekythoi from the beginning of the Classical period (first with black-figure and later in outline) also has feminine associations. The connection between lekythoi and women, dating back to the

⁷⁵ Morris 1987, 212.

⁷⁶ For literary sources for funerary ritual in ancient Greece, see Hame 1999.

⁷⁷ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 114; Garland 1985, 24; Stears 1998, 114.

⁷⁸ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 143-4; Stears 1998; Hame 2006, 2008. “δοκεῖ γὰρ δὴ βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον καὶ μὴ πράγματα ταῖς γυναίξει παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν.”

invention of the shape, is likely connected to women's role in the funerary ritual.⁷⁹ It is important to note, however, that lekythoi as grave goods do not indicate the gender of the deceased. Other objects like mirrors and strigils may have been preferred for deceased of one gender, but lekythoi were offered to both men and women in equal frequency.⁸⁰

The funerary lekythos's original function was likely to hold perfumed oil for bathing and anointing the deceased.⁸¹ Lekythoi found in burials were functional objects and in most cases must have held oil at some point in their use-life. Jubier-Galinier points out that lekythoi found in burials are almost always found lying on their sides without any sort of lid or stopper, suggesting to her that they were deposited empty as symbolic offerings.⁸² However, that they were empty when placed in the grave beside the deceased does not mean they had not previously held oil used to anoint the body or offered as a libation at the grave. Larger lekythoi with false interiors, though rare in Athens, are evidence that lekythoi were not placed in burials empty in a purely symbolically manner. The false interior would be unnecessary if there were no intention or possibility of the vase carrying oil.

However it was used, from the archaeological evidence it is clear that oil was important in funerary rites. Scenes on white-ground lekythoi show lekythoi at graves and

⁷⁹ Neils 2008.

⁸⁰ Houby-Nielsen 1995, 166-72; Bodiou and Mehl 2008, 170-1; Heinemann 2009, 162-3.

⁸¹ Strigils and soap have been found in several Kerameikos burials, marking the connection between death and bathing. Houby-Nielsen (1995, 169-71) argues that strigils and soap are gender-specific grave offerings in fifth and fourth-century Athenian burials, strigils being masculine and soap feminine. However, Kratzmüller et al. (2003, 104-8) show that strigils are found in the graves of both men and women. For soap in Kerameikos graves, see von Freytag 1976, 60-1; Knigge 1976, 92 (no. 25), 117 (no. 116, 117), 119 (no. 122, 123), 135 (no. 200), 142 (no. 238).

⁸² Jubier-Galinier 2014b, 47.

mourners bringing lekythoi, and a bail oinochoe by the Sappho Painter shows a woman at a grave carrying a box of lekythoi (fig. 3.20).⁸³ Lekythoi are standard grave offerings in the Classical period, and oil vessels of other shapes are found in graves of later periods in Athens, indicating the continuation of the use of oil in the funeral ritual after tastes in vases changed.⁸⁴ We cannot say exactly what role the vases played in funerary practice, but in a sense the vases can be said to stand in for mourners. Some grave scenes on white-ground lekythoi show lekythoi left at the tomb, indicating the tendance of the grave after burial. Lekythoi placed in the burial are the physical remnants of the funeral rites and the traces of those who took part in them.

Belting notes that images can play active roles in burial rites in addition to being quiet reminders of the deceased.⁸⁵ Belting and Arrington take the images on white-ground lekythoi—ones showing scenes at the grave at least—as this category, as images that played active roles in funerary rites to help restore order to the community and identity to the deceased. The images relate more to ideas about death than to the dead themselves.⁸⁶ The images, by their presence, served to mark the absence of the dead.⁸⁷

⁸³ Brunswick, ME, Bowdoin College Museum of Art 1984.23; *Paralipomena* 247; *Beazley Addenda*² 126. See Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 103, 149; Oakley 2005, 14-6. The iconography of bail oinochoai favors funerary scenes, and all of the examples with known findspots come from graves or offering pits in Attica or on Aegina. The shape is one of several special types of black-figure vases produced in the late sixth and early fifth centuries devoted to funerary ritual, like the loutrophoros, plaque, egg, and phormiskos (Oakley 2005, 13-7). On funerary loutrophoroi see Sabetai 2009. None of these funerary shapes are nearly as popular, widespread, or as long-lived as the funerary lekythos.

⁸⁴ Kurtz 1975, 74; Oakley 2004b, 216-7.

⁸⁵ Belting 2011, 96-8.

⁸⁶ This idea is in contrast to Schmidt's (2005, 58-79) interpretation of white-ground lekythoi. He imagines that the imagery of various vases placed in a grave represent different stages of the life and death of the individual, and as a whole they refer to the social person of the dead.

⁸⁷ Belting 2011, 106-14; Arrington 2015, 240-67. See also Vernant 1983, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c.

This idea of doubling and replacement explains well how grave markers marked the absence of the dead, whether kouroi, stelae, or even large vases. However, this explanation of funerary lekythoi used as grave goods standing in for the lost body of the dead is not as satisfying when multiple vases are placed with one deceased individual, and especially when the vases' iconography is not clearly funerary.

I would suggest that as an object could embody an individual lost, objects can stand in for actions carried out. Grave offerings played an active role in funerary rites and were left behind as physical remnants of the ritual. As grave offerings, funerary lekythoi embody the funerary rituals, the act of mourning, and the individual actors in the rites. Belting stresses the importance of embodiment to the function of images and the importance of physical media for the “re-presentation of the lost body” in funerary art.⁸⁸ The image as conceived by Vernant and Belting could have none of the psychological impact they argue for if it had no physical presence. Vernant states that an earlier, aniconic rendering of divinities in ancient Greece was a “symbol that actualizes, that makes present in this world below a power from the world beyond (a fundamentally invisible being). . . .”⁸⁹ Images signify the absent god or deceased individual and are treated as their actual presence.

An interesting fifth-century burial at a cemetery near Athens at Merenda (ancient Myrrhinous) demonstrates how true this is. Two statues—a funerary kore for a girl named Phrasikleia and a kouros usually called her “brother”—were buried after being damaged as the Persian army passed through the area in 480. A pyre associated with their

⁸⁸ Belting 2011, 19-20; Cleven 2011, 151.

⁸⁹ Vernant 1991b, 152.

burial pit contained evidence of a typical funerary ritual of the period, including four black-figure lekythoi.⁹⁰ The statues that had served as grave markers were so equated with the deceased that they were given their own funerary rites after being damaged. As a statue stood in for the deceased, I would argue that a lekythos employed as a grave good—in its physicality and physical presence—actualized the funerary ritual, the mourners, and even the grief they felt, with or without any funeral-specific iconography on the vase.

In Archaic and Classical Athens, care for the graves of one's ancestors may have been even more important than the initial funeral rituals. Annual commemorative rites, probably involving a visit to the tomb, are mentioned many times in Classical literary sources.⁹¹ Vases found in graves are not remnants of these visits, though other lekythoi may have been used for pouring oil libations at the tomb during later visits and left at the grave, as shown on some white-ground lekythoi (fig. 3.19). If such vases were regularly left at the tomb after a visit, they would serve to make present those carrying out the tendance after they have departed.⁹² Much the way we might today leave flowers or a stone on the grave of a deceased loved one, lekythoi and others offerings left at the grave would mark that someone had been there to care for the grave, and by extension the dead, as required.

⁹⁰ Rosenberg-Dimitracopoulou 2015. The pyre contained two chimney lekythoi similar to those by the Emporion Painter (Brauron, Archaeological Museum MEP 1891, Rosenberg-Dimitracopoulou 2015, fig. 9.4-6; MEP 1892, fig. 9.7-9), an ornament lekythos (MEP 1893, fig. 9.10-12), and a Haimonian lekythos missing its neck (MEP 1894, fig. 9.13-15), as well as fragments of at least two black-gloss lekythoi.

⁹¹ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 147-8; Garland 1985, 104-20.

⁹² Closterman 2014, 164.

On the other hand, vases placed inside the grave—actual grave goods—are traces of the funerary rites, and by virtue of being hidden inside the grave, did not function to make present the absent dead in the same way. In contrast to offerings visible outside the grave, these vases could be seen as making the mourners perpetually present with the dead. After all, the dead are not buried for their own sake, but rather for the sake of those burying them, and grave goods are not *for* the dead; they are *about* the dead.⁹³ The Greeks did not select particular grave goods for the tombs of their loved ones because they imagined the dead needed those objects in the afterlife. Morris has argued that in Homer and in Iron Age Greece, grave goods were a medium for making statements about the wealth and rank of the dead.⁹⁴ I believe that in the Classical period, grave goods are a similar sort of medium for making statements about the status of the dead and of those taking part in the funerary rituals. In some cases, such as with gendered grave goods, they are a visual expression of the deceased's social personality and social identity.⁹⁵ Grave goods also allow the living to make statements about their own relationship to the deceased. A single lekythos may not say much about the social status or wealth of the

⁹³ Denzey-Lewis 2013, 129.

⁹⁴ Morris 1987, 47; 1992, 104-5. Morris does claim that grave goods are “linked to the perceived needs of the dead in the next world” in ancient Greece. He cites two lines from the *Iliad* (23.50-1) that are ambiguous at best in their reference to grave goods and Herodotos' (5.92.7) account of Periander's deceased wife, Melissa, who came to him as an apparition to tell him she had no clothes in the underworld because he had not burned the clothes he buried with her. Herodotos' story is not simply about grave goods or funerary ritual, and should be probably be read as part of an allegory about the tyrant and his rule. Food and drink were common offerings to the dead after the funeral and probably during the funerary rites, but it is also important to distinguish between grave goods and other offerings that seek to draw the attention or favor of the dead or their incorporation into the other world (Closterman 2014, 166-8; van Gennepe 1960, 163-5).

⁹⁵ Schmidt (2005, 58-79) makes a similar claim based on the iconography of white-ground funerary lekythoi. I think iconography is not the most important of the vases' features, especially with earlier black-figure vases with generic scenes.

deceased (or of the donor for that matter), but the act of offering a vase and its contents to the dead asserts a connection between the donor and the deceased.

In most instances in fifth-century Athens, conspicuous consumption was no longer the goal in funerary displays, but instead mourners sought to communicate their participation in a significant tradition, emphasizing both their connection to the deceased and their place in a longer history of practice. The lekythos was not an uncommon shape in fifth-century Athens, but at the time, this particular embodiment of the shape—the black-figure shoulder lekythos—would not have been as familiar from everyday use to those participating in the funeral. Oil for household use would be found mostly in squat lekythoi either unslipped or in black-gloss, and perhaps occasionally in red-figure. Black-figure lekythoi are found in many sanctuary contexts as well, so it seems their use—and perhaps the type of oil they contained—was reserved to special occasions and functions like funerals and other religious rituals. The black-figure technique in particular marked the vases as different from those meant for everyday use.

Ultimately, to suggest that funerary lekythoi must have been either cheap or produced and purchased in a hurry ignores their significance. Even those of a lower economic class typically do not spare expense or make due with substitutes for a loved one's funeral.⁹⁶ Grave goods are carefully selected for inclusion in the burial to make specific statements about the dead and those offering them as well as to fulfill the necessities of the funerary rituals and the rites of separation and transition therein.

⁹⁶ Parker Pearson 1999, 7-11.

Lekythoi in Athenian Burials

Black-figure lekythoi are the most common objects found in burials in Athens of the fifth century. To give an idea of the number of lekythoi from recorded excavations in Athens, 692 fifth-century burials published from the Kerameikos cemetery contained 611 black-figure lekythoi, or 1,058 if we include black-figure ornament lekythoi (see table 1).⁹⁷ Other types of lekythoi were found in these burials as well, but in far fewer numbers. These include 95 white-ground lekythoi, 34 red-figure lekythoi, and 118 black-gloss lekythoi. These vases are not evenly distributed among the burials. Of the 692 burials, 246 contain at least one black-figure lekythos (or 378 if we include ornament lekythoi), 49 contain a white-ground lekythos, 19 contain a red-figure lekythos, and 92 contain a black-gloss lekythos.⁹⁸ From the numbers in table 1 we can see that black-figure lekythoi are most common in the first quarter of the fifth century and gradually decrease until they are all but absent by the last quarter of the century. White-ground lekythoi are fairly uncommon until the third quarter of the century, but even then black-figure ornament lekythoi are still more numerous and are found in more burials. The number of burials dated to the fourth quarter of the century is rather low, but the use of white-ground lekythoi appears to increase while all other types decrease.

⁹⁷ My count comes from the burials with cataloged grave goods in Schlörb-Vierneisel 1964; Willemsen et al. 1966; von Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1976; Knigge 1975, 1976, 1980; and Kunze-Götte et al. 1999. For more on excavations of the Kerameikos cemetery, see Brückner and Pernice 1893; Vierneisel 1963, 1964a, 1964b; Kübler 1973 (especially pp. 2-3 for bibliography on more Kerameikos burials without their grave goods cataloged in detail). Many published burials cannot be dated by their contents or stratigraphy, so there are certainly more fifth-century burials in the publications that I am excluding. My counts include only shoulder lekythoi and exclude squat lekythoi in all techniques. A significant number of black-gloss and red-figure squat lekythoi are found in fifth-century burials, but represent a different branch of the ceramic and iconographic tradition (Schmidt 2005, 31-2).

⁹⁸ Too much credence should not be given to these numbers, since many burials contained no objects and are not datable by stratigraphy, so the proportion of fifth-century burials containing lekythoi is actually smaller than these numbers suggest.

Another Athenian cemetery provides a similar picture. The area of Syntagma Square in the center of modern Athens was part of the larger Diocharian Gate cemetery in use around 750-300.⁹⁹ In the 117 burials dated 425-390 only one black-figure lekythos was found (fig. 3.21), along with 15 black-figure ornament lekythoi. There were also 46 white-ground lekythoi and 5 red-figure lekythoi.

A body of material so large would seem to beg for some statistical analysis to make it digestible. Ian Morris for one presents a quite complex analysis of Athenian grave goods, employing sophisticated statistical methods to raise interesting questions about the types of objects Athenians chose for the burials of their loved ones and what those choices say about the dead and those who buried them. His analysis is an attempt to test claims by Michael Vickers regarding the causes of certain developments in Athenian vase-painting and their relationship to funerary ritual. Vickers claims white-ground lekythoi are skeumorphs of ivory lekythoi that are now lost because they were thrown onto funeral pyres as part of the funerary ritual. Morris seeks a causal link between the development of white-ground lekythoi and the prevalence of cremation in Athens in the last quarter of the fifth century through quantification of grave goods.¹⁰⁰ In doing so, he must fit artifacts into set categories, like “white-ground” and “lekythos,” and consequently they are reduced to nothing more than these categories. Cultural forms

⁹⁹ Charitonidis 1958; Morris 1992, 111-8. Morris shows that the distribution of white-ground lekythoi between inhumations and cremations differs between the two cemeteries, but there does not seem to be a significant difference in the overall distribution across burial methods. Most of the grave goods in Charitonides publication are only described and not illustrated, and most of the images are of rather poor quality. Unfortunately the burials have never been more thoroughly published and the grave goods are not available to examination.

¹⁰⁰ Morris 1992, 108-18 Vickers 1984, 95. Walton et al. (2010) show that many white-ground lekythoi were burned in pyres.

become numbers in a formula, abstracting their idiosyncrasies and making a body of unique objects into uniform masses. Morris nowhere considers the subjective quality of individual vases, instead relying on quantities as indicators of relative wealth or paucity. Material culture becomes purely expressive of the social, losing all dimension and materiality.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, and the criticism of Morris's work most relevant to this study, he employs a limited number of strict categories for grave goods that ignore other significant features of the objects. Specifically, he focuses on the number of white-ground lekythoi found in each burial, but does not acknowledge or take into account that white-ground lekythoi can be decorated in black-figure or with outline drawing. The simply stated category of "white-ground lekythoi" usually implies and brings to mind large, finely painted vases with outline drawing and polychrome painting. However, Morris never makes explicitly clear what he means by "white-ground lekythos" and if his analysis of Kerameikos graves includes all fifth-century burials or only those from the last quarter century (contemporary with his comparandum, the Syntagma Square cemetery). Additionally, he lumps all red-figure vases into the category of "'prestigious' grave goods," presumably including both large red-figure pots and small squat lekythoi. Ultimately, Morris's quantification disproves Vickers's argument for a link between white-ground lekythoi and cremation, but I believe both arguments can be criticized for situating artifacts and cultural practices into a mechanical system where one element directly causes another.

¹⁰¹ Shanks 1991, 173. Here, Shanks actually critiques Morris's earlier book, *Burial and Ancient Society* (1987), but Morris employs a similar quantitative approach in both works.

Quantification and statistical analysis are often meant to lend a sense of objectivity to the study of material culture. The underlying assumption that this sort of scientific analysis is appropriate and constructive is associated with processual archaeology, the so-called “New Archaeology,” which emphasizes empiricism, objectivity, and testability, and seeks to explain past actions—that is, to discover a cause and effect relationship that gives rise to a certain cultural process—through information gathering and processing.¹⁰² Processual archaeology aims to model “past societies as functioning systems of interlocking ‘subsystems’, such as demography, settlement, religion, war, or trade.”¹⁰³

Instead of this, I aim for a hermeneutic approach that seeks to understand details in terms of the whole as well as the whole in terms of the details and to understand meanings of actions in terms of subjective intentions.¹⁰⁴ I provide the numbers above to give an idea of the size of the corpus of material being considered and a brief overview of its distribution. The counts alone give a good impression of the popularity of the shape in the various techniques, so I will leave it at that and not draw any further conclusions from the numbers alone. Below, I will focus on individual burials to give a more specific picture of the vases and how they were used.

¹⁰² Preucel 1991.

¹⁰³ Morris 1998, 22. Morris describes his method as using the processual quantitative methodology to pursue ideological (i.e. postprocessual) questions.

¹⁰⁴ Preucel 1991, 27-8; Hodder 1991, 33-4.

Burials in Fifth-century Athens

As stated earlier, nearly all Athenian funerary lekythoi of the first half of the fifth century are of the same hastily painted type. Though these vases have been assumed to be cheap, second-rate products,¹⁰⁵ they are found in historically and culturally significant burials like the Marathon Tumulus discussed above and many otherwise well-furnished burials that I will discuss below, as well as more humble graves where the only grave good may be a single black-figure lekythos. Lekythoi were also made by the “better” painters of later black-figure, like the Sappho Painter and the Athena Painter, but their lekythoi are very rarely found in Athenian burials.

Fifth-century burials in Athens are generally not very impressive or ostentatious. Funerary sculpture—the kouroi and carved stelae we often associate with Archaic burials—disappears after 480 and production of carved grave markers begins again in Athens only in the 430s, possibly related to the immigration of sculptors needed to work on the Parthenon.¹⁰⁶ The decline in stone monuments is often assumed to be connected with the Kleisthenic reforms of 508/7, and a comment by Cicero, that a law “somewhat later” (*post aliquanto*) than Solon decreed that “no one should make a tomb more elaborate than what ten men can build in three days” (*De Legibus* 2.64), is often cited as proof.¹⁰⁷ In the period between 480 and the 430s, some graves were marked with simple

¹⁰⁵ By Kurtz (1975, 79) and Boardman (1974, 146), among others.

¹⁰⁶ Stears 2000, 26-7, 39-41. A kouros head from the Kerameikos (P1455; Knigge 1983, pl. 11-3) is dated to 500-480 by stratigraphy, the latest example of a funerary kouros in Athens (Knigge 1983).

¹⁰⁷ Trans. Zetzel 1999. “De sepulcris autem nihil est apud Solonem amplius quam ‘ne quis ea delect neque alienum inferat,’ poenaque est, ‘si quis bustum (nam id puto appellari τύμβον) aut monumentum’ inquit ‘aut columnam uiolarit, deiecerit, fregerit.’ Sed post aliquanto propter has amplitudines sepulcrorum, quas in Ceramico videmus, lege sanctum est, ‘ne quis sepulcrum faceret operosius quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo.’” Suggested dates for the law range from the 530s (Richter 1945; 1961, 38-9; Boardman 1955) to the 480s (Zinserling 1965; Clairmont 1970, 11-2, 40-4; Stears 2000, 42-51; Stewart 2008, 604-5). Others (Morris 1992, 128-9; 1993, 38-44; Hölscher 2008, 304-5) dismiss the idea that changes in burial

stone markers without carved decoration.¹⁰⁸ Other graves may have been marked with wooden or other perishable markers.

From the late sixth century through most of the fifth century, Athenian grave goods are also less elaborate and presumably less expensive than in the preceding and subsequent periods. Metal objects are rare and jewelry is almost unheard of in burials in Athens. Most grave goods are pottery, and, as the numbers in table 1 indicate, the most common type of vase found in Athenian burials until the 430s—even wealthy ones—is the black-figure lekythos. When burials are generally lacking in conspicuous display, it can be difficult to distinguish the graves of the rich from those of the poor. However, some burials of this period are conspicuous in their form.

Morris believes that the Kerameikos was an exclusive cemetery in much of the sixth century, with use restricted to certain elite groups. The situation changes at the beginning of the fifth century, when the number of burials generally increases and the number of child burials especially surges.¹⁰⁹ This change could represent a suddenly growth in population, or as Houby-Nielsen argues, a change in conceptions of the dead and their role in the self-fashioning of the burying group.¹¹⁰ Still, in the fifth century, some Athenians appear to have wanted to associate themselves with the older, exclusive burials in the cemetery.

practices need be dictated by law. See also Eckstein 1958; Karusos 1961, 41-3; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 121-2; Stupperich 1977, 71-86, 243-7; Shapiro 1991, 631; Stewart 1990, 131; 2008, 585-6, 604-5; Engels 1998, 97-107; Hame 1999, 78; Walter-Karydi 2015, 127-9. Cf. Plato's hypothetical funerary law (*Laws* 958e), banning tombs larger than what can be completed by five men in five days: “χῶμα δὲ μὴ χούν ὑψηλότερον πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἔργον, ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἀποτελούμενον.”

¹⁰⁸ See Stears (2000, 31) for examples.

¹⁰⁹ Morris 1987, 99-109.

¹¹⁰ Houby-Nielsen 1995, 132-8.

Mound G in the Kerameikos was set up in the second quarter of the sixth century (fig. 3.22). Several graves were cut into the mound over the remainder of the century, and two smaller mounds (M and K) were later built up on its edge. Mound G has been interpreted as the grave of Solon¹¹¹ or a family plot belonging to the Alkmaionidai.¹¹² Though intriguing, these associations are not provable or probable. The earliest figural funerary relief from Athens was found in this mound, probably associated with its initial burial.¹¹³ Whomever the first grave in the mound belonged to, others sought to associate their burials with the mound and its prominence, either because of its historical significance or purely because of its physical size and location.

Around 490 a shaft grave was cut into Mound K and Mound L was built on top of it. Slightly later a cremation burial was dug into Mound L. The grave goods of the two burials are comingled.¹¹⁴ The burials contained five nearly complete, typical black-figure lekythoi (fig. 3.23) contemporary with the deposit and comparable to those found in the Marathon Tumulus discussed above. In addition to the pottery, the graves contained an alabaster alabastron and fragments of a bronze mirror.¹¹⁵ A lekythos from the grave of the

¹¹¹ Kübler 1973. See Stupperich (1977, 85 n. 1) and Houby-Nielsen (1995, 156-8) for an argument against this identification.

¹¹² Knigge 1991, 109-10. See Houby-Nielsen (1995, 159) for argument against.

¹¹³ Kübler 1976, 11-5. Kerameikos Museum P1132 (Knigge 1991, 27, fig. 24) is the earliest figural grave stele from Athens, but earlier funerary kouroi are known.

¹¹⁴ Kerameikos 35 HTR 49 II and 35 HTR 48 II. Kübler 1976, 73-4; Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 69-70. Since one burial was later dug into the other, it is unclear which objects belong to which burial, but all the grave goods are dated between 500 and 490.

¹¹⁵ Kübler (1976, 73-4), in describing the graves, notes that grave 246 contained one lekythos and one "Bronzeknopf," and grave 247 contained two lekythoi and a bronze mirror with case. Kunze-Götte et al. (1999, 69-70), cataloging the grave goods for both graves, list five lekythoi, a fragment of another black-figure vase (probably an olpe), a black-gloss mug, a black-gloss one-handler, an alabaster alabastron, a bronze lid, bronze disc, fragment of a bronze mirror, and another bronze fragment. It is unclear whether the grave goods were not fully reported in the initial publication or were later confused with material from

Class of Athens 581 shows a maenad riding a bull (fig. 3.23a). The vase is painted hastily, much like the vase from the Marathon Tumulus described above (fig. 3.9a). The details of the maenad's face are not incised, but her drapery is indicated with thick lines.

Morris argues that by visually and physically connecting themselves with the aristocratic sixth-century tumulus (Mound G) and imitating its form, these families unambiguously linked themselves with both the recent and heroic past.¹¹⁶ Alternatively, Houby-Nielsen believes the burials in Mound G belong to members of a sympotic association and political alliance.¹¹⁷ Either way, the burials send a clear message about group identity and social connections and are carefully considered in their location, form, and contents.

Mound G introduced new burial practice in Athens that continued through the fifth century. Instead of grave goods being deposited in a trench separate from the body (the *Opferrinne*, cf. fig. 3.2), offerings were placed in the grave with the deceased. Furthermore, pottery offered to the deceased shifted from primarily eating and drinking vessels to lekythoi.¹¹⁸ This predates the period under examination here, but represents the beginning of funerary practices that continued through the fifth century. In the 560s, black-figure was the primary technique for decorating Athenian pottery and other techniques like red-figure and white-ground had not yet been developed. Since grave goods and offering trenches were not visible after the grave was closed, fifth-century

other burials. Three of the lekythoi, the mug, one-handler, alabastron, and possibly the mirror fragment are burnt, though Kübler (1976, 74) suggests that none of the grave goods belong to 247 (the cremation).

¹¹⁶ Morris 1992, 133-5.

¹¹⁷ Houby-Nielsen 1995, 161.

¹¹⁸ Houby-Nielsen 1995, 155.

Athenians would not have been able to compare their contemporary grave offerings with those of earlier burials in the Kerameikos, so the connection between this mound and fifth-century funerary rituals was likely lost on those taking part in later burials in and around Mound G. By this time, those taking part in funerary rituals may have imagined their practice to date back to time immemorial.

A few other fifth-century burials are equally impressive in appearance.¹¹⁹ In the 460s, after the Persian Wars and after funerary sculpture had disappeared from Athens, a shaft grave was cut into Mound M and an earthen structure built above it.¹²⁰ The grave goods from this burial do not differ dramatically from the earlier burials associated with Mound L. The grave contained seven lekythoi: four in black-figure, two in black-gloss, and one red-figure lekythos (fig. 3.24). Also among the grave goods was a small iron box. These lekythoi are not among the most hastily painted black-figure, but it is noteworthy that most of the figured pottery in the burial is black-figure and the red-figure vase is the singleton.

It is interesting that one of the black-figure vases, attributed to the Beldam Painter (fig. 3.24a), and the red-figure vase, attributed to the Aischines Painter (fig. 3.24b), both

¹¹⁹ Morris (1992, 132-3 n. 5) mentions in passing some other fifth-century burials that are especially monumental for the period. Peiraios St, tumulus A (Brückner and Pernice 1893, 86-100) was initiated at the beginning of the fifth century. Grave 3 in the tumulus contained six black-figure lekythoi. They are not illustrated, but are described as “sehr flüchtiger ... auf einer war ein Gespann dargestellt, davor eine Frau sitzend, auf einer anderen sechs Männer, bis auf einen, der in ihrer Mitte sass, im Mantel bei einander stehend, nur eine Lekythos mit feinem gelben Überzug schien sorgfältigerer Art zu sein” (Brückner and Pernice 1893, 88). Another is a burial mound initiated in the fifth century (Grace 1968, 44-8), though Boulter (1963, 115) says “[t]he graves are undistinguished structurally, and, except for those of the fifth century, the contents are also modest. Even the fifth century graves could not be described as rich, but they do reflect the character of an age when the simplest furnishings possess interest and taste.”

¹²⁰ Kerameikos 35 HTR 47 II. Kübler 1976, 77-9; Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 71-2. The first burial in Mound M contained no grave goods, but the matrix of the mound contained two sherds “einer strengrotfigurigen Lekythos,” now lost. See Kübler 1976, 76-7; Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 71.

show scenes of women who appear to be taking part in some sort of ritual activity. On the Beldam Painter's vase, three women move to the right while looking back to the left and gesturing with their left hands. The red-figure vase shows two women flanking a chest and one holding out a garland to the other. The differences in style between the two vases is a telling contrast of late black-figure and contemporary red-figure. The Beldam Painter's women each hold up an awkward hand with fingers thick and out of proportion. Their clothing is rendered in a few non-distinct incisions with limited relation to actual garments. The Aischines Painter's women, on the other hand, have more carefully and believably rendered limbs and drapery. If the purchasers of these vases selected them for their somewhat related iconography, the differences in painting styles were apparently not a problem.

Though Morris warns against treating "grave goods as a simple index of wealth,"¹²¹ it is difficult not to see some distinction in wealth between a grave containing one vase and one containing ten or more. Sixteen Kerameikos burials from the fifth century contained ten or more black-figure lekythoi. This represents 4% of Kerameikos graves dated to the fifth century that contain at least one black-figure lekythos (378 total) or 2.3% of all Kerameikos graves dated to the fifth century (692 total; cf. table 1).¹²²

One such burial from around 460 contained one of the earliest white-ground polychrome lekythoi found in the Kerameikos, as well as twelve black-figure ornament lekythoi, a red-figure lekythos, two small alabaster alabastra, an iron strigil, and an

¹²¹ Morris 1992, 106.

¹²² These totals do not include burials that cannot be dated by stratigraphy or grave goods, so the actual percentages should be lower. Houby-Nielsen (1995, 138, 148) notes that graves with five or more grave goods—especially lekythoi—are rarely child burials.

bronze mirror (fig. 3.25).¹²³ The red-figure lekythos is attributed to the Aischines Painter and the white-ground vase recalls his style.¹²⁴ Though the burial is a simple shaft grave with no surviving marker, it is easily one of the best furnished burials of the period in Athens, with a large number of vases, metal objects, and alabaster vessels. The ornament lekythoi are all of the Beldam workshop, and seven of the twelve are very similar in size and shape with the same patterns of decoration. If we imagine that these seven at least were purchased as a lot for the funeral, it seems red-figure and white-ground lekythoi, though apparently acceptable funerary offerings, were not the most favored even when there was a clear desire to make a large and conspicuous offering.

White-ground lekythoi do begin to outnumber black-figure as grave offerings in the 430s. An interesting burial from the Kerameikos cemetery (from an area outside the modern archaeological park) has been linked to the plague that devastated Athens in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. The mass grave of at least 150 individuals (fig. 3.26) was discovered during excavations for the Kerameikos Metro station in 1993.¹²⁵ The burial is dated by the excavators to the early 420s.¹²⁶ Only about thirty vases were

¹²³ Kerameikos S 12. Kübler 1976, 98; Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 82-3, pl. 55.

¹²⁴ Red-figure lekythos: Kerameikos Museum 1427; *BAPD* 9022759; Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, pl. 55.5. White-ground lekythos: Kerameikos Museum 1436; *BAPD* 9022760; Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, pl. 55.4.

¹²⁵ Baziotopoulou and Drakotou 1999; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 271-3; Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002.

¹²⁶ Baziotopoulou-Valavani (2002, 198) dates the burial 430-426 in accordance with historical sources on the Peloponnesian War. She attributes three lekythoi from the burial to the Reed Painter (Athens, 3rd Ephoreia A15293, Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002, pl. 43b; A15301, pl. 44a; A15302, pl. 44b) whose work is usually dated 425-400. Other white-ground lekythoi in the burial are attributed to the Painter of Munich 2335 (A15300) and the circle of the Bird Painter (A15295, pl. 44c), usually dated 440/35-425. She attributes another lekythos to the late circle of the Tymbos Painter (A15296, pl. 44d) and assigns it a date of ca. 440, though Oakley (2004b, 15) notes that the painter's "manner" or "workshop" continues into the 420s. On the dating of white-ground lekythos painters, see Oakley 2004b, 13-8. Baziotopoulou-Valavani suggests raising the date of the beginning of the Reed Painter's career to rectify the discrepancy in dates.

deposited with the dead as grave goods, suggesting the burials were carried out in haste and without complete consideration of proper funeral rites. About fifteen of the vases are white-ground lekythoi. The grave goods also include three black-figure ornament lekythoi,¹²⁷ one red-figure shoulder lekythos,¹²⁸ five red-figure squat lekythoi,¹²⁹ and six black-gloss squat lekythoi (fig. 3.27).¹³⁰ The burial contained no grave goods other than pottery, and most of the vessels—other than two kothons¹³¹ and a skyphos in black-gloss¹³² and two red-figure choes¹³³—are oil containers. Though this is obviously an unusual burial, it at least hints at the trends in grave goods in Athens around the beginning of the last quarter of the century. White-ground lekythoi are gaining use in Athens, but are still not the most common oil vessel type for funerary use. There are now a variety of options available including white-ground lekythoi, but black-figure ornament lekythoi and squat lekythoi in black-gloss or red-figure are also in use. The differences in sizes of the vessels, with the largest lekythos 29 cm tall and the squat lekythoi around 11 cm, suggest either large differences in the amount of oil offered (which is not implausible) or that the larger vessels were deposited empty as tokens and not used as function oil containers.

¹²⁷ Athens, 3rd Ephoreia A15271, A15277, A15279; Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002, pl. 42a.

¹²⁸ Athens, 3rd Ephoreia A14281; Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002 pl. 43a.

¹²⁹ Athens, 3rd Ephoreia A15265, Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 353 fig. 388; A15270, Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002 pl. 42b; A15283, pl. 42c; A15269, pl. 42d; A15268.

¹³⁰ Athens, 3rd Ephoreia A15260, Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002, pl. 41c; A15262; A15263; A15258, 41d; A15268; A15276.

¹³¹ Athens, 3rd Ephoreia A15264; A15286, Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 353 fig. 390.

¹³² Athens, 3rd Ephoreia A15285, Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002, pl. 41a.

¹³³ Athens, 3rd Ephoreia A15284, Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002, pl. 43c; A15272, Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 356.

An apparent decrease in the number of burials in the Kerameikos during the time of the Peloponnesian War has been pointed out,¹³⁴ but Baziotopoulou-Valavani says this is not the case in the area of the Kerameikos Metro excavations, to the northwest of the Kerameikos archaeological park and the area of the long-running German excavations.¹³⁵ Additionally, the Syntagma Square cemetery was initiated in this period. This could have significant implications for studies of the demography of Athens such as Morris's that use burials as evidence.¹³⁶ However, for the purposes of this study, it should not effectively change the conclusions, given that the nature of the grave goods found in Baziotopoulou-Valavani's excavations is consistent with those of previously published burials from the Kerameikos area.

As mentioned above, in the burials excavated at Syntagma Square, only one contained a black-figure lekythos with figural decoration, but at least eleven others contained a black-figure ornament lekythos. These burials all date to the floruit of white-ground lekythoi in Athens, so they can give us an idea of what grave goods looked like after Athenians fully embraced white-ground lekythoi.¹³⁷ The single black-figure lekythos (fig. 3.21) was the only object deposited in its burial. The vase is decorated with a very hastily painted scene of a chariot flanked by seated figures. Charitonides believes the presence of this vase indicates the burial is older than the others in the excavation,

¹³⁴ Kübler 1976, 199; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 146.

¹³⁵ Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002, 200.

¹³⁶ Morris 1987, 99-109.

¹³⁷ For the Syntagma Square cemetery, see Charitonides 1958; Morris 1992, 111-7. Excavations immediately to the east of Syntagma, undertaken as part of the Athens Metro construction, revealed burials dating back to the Submycenaean period and an extensive fourth-century cemetery. The limited publications of these excavations (Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 148-89) detail no fifth-century burials.

placing it shortly after the middle of the fifth century.¹³⁸ At least four Syntagma burials contain both a black-figure ornament lekythos and a white-ground lekythos or fragment or a white-ground lekythos.¹³⁹ The simple function of these vases could easily have been carried out by a black-gloss squat lekythos, of which many were found in other burials in the cemetery, but the combination of black-figure decoration and shoulder lekythos shape seems to have remained attached to funerary uses, and the two aspects were apparently difficult to divorce. Black-gloss shoulder lekythoi are found in some burials, but they are much less common than the squat shape in that technique.

Iconography of Funerary Lekythoi

Unlike white-ground funerary lekythoi, the iconography of late black-figure lekythoi does not immediately point to how or in what context they are used. The imagery is for the most part unexceptional. A few artists, like the Sappho Painter and the Diosphos Painter, created new and unique scenes such as the well-known lekythos in New York showing Helios rising in his chariot (fig. 1.6),¹⁴⁰ but most late black-figure

¹³⁸ Charitonides 1958, 33 (burial 31 [CVIII], fig. 59α-γ). The vase appears to be a Haimonian chimney lekythos of Knigge's type IV/2. This type is dated 460-450 (Knigge 1976, 36; Volioti 2014, 150).

¹³⁹ Charitonides 1958, 36-7 (burial 35 [CVI]), 37 (burial 36α [CVα]), 50-1 (burial 47 [LXXII]), 84-9 (burial 75 [II]). None of the white-ground lekythoi from burials also containing ornament lekythoi are illustrated, and most are described as fragments. It is difficult to suggest how the vases are related and why the white-ground lekythoi are more fragmentary, but Charitonides implies they belong to the same deposit.

¹⁴⁰ Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.162.29; *ABV* 207.6; *ABL* 226.6. The vase is said to be from Athens, but has no more specific provenance. The Sappho Painter painted some remarkable funerary scenes on shapes other than lekythoi. A loutrophoros-amphora in Athens (National Museum 450 (CC688); *BAPD* 480; *CVA* Athens, National Museum 1, pl. 8.1-2, 9.3) shows several stages of the funeral rites, including the *prothesis*, procession to the tomb, lowering of the coffin into the grave, and women mourning at the tomb. The vase has an open bottom and was probably used as a grave marker, recalling the drawing on its neck. It was found near Athens at Phaleron and dates to the first decade of the fifth century (Closterman 2007). Cf. also the painter's bail oinochoe mentioned above (fig. 3.20, supra n. 53). Van de Put (2016, 124, fig. 13) notes that 40% of the Sappho and Diosphos Painters' lekythoi (of 211 total) have proveniences in Athens and Attica. Jubier-Galinier (2014a, 177-8) lists only ten lekythoi by the Sappho Painter with assured or supposed Attic provenience (though her count does not include vases attributed to the Diosphos Painter and

lekythoi (especially those dating before 480) fit into the tradition of scenes of generic narrative found on vases by the Leagros Group, whom Beazley called “the last great group of Attic black-figured painters.”¹⁴¹ Gods (especially Dionysos and Athena), heroes (especially Herakles), Amazons, and horses abound.¹⁴² Dionysos and Dionysian scenes are especially popular, which may seem unusual given the context in which the vases are used has no obvious connection to the god. Recall, for instance, the vase discussed above showing a maenad riding a bull (fig. 3.23a). Another vase from a burial discussed above shows the return of Hephaistos to Olympos (fig. 3.23 [second from left]). One Kerameikos burial contained ten black-figure lekythoi (fig. 3.28), four of which are painted with nearly identical symposium scenes, each showing a woman playing a harp at left and a figure reclining on a couch wearing some sort of headdress (fig. 3.28a).

Another vase from the same burial shows Dionysos in a chariot.¹⁴³

Knigge argues that Dionysos was fitting for these funerary vessels because the god was associated with Hades as a chthonic underworld deity.¹⁴⁴ Van de Put notes that the date of these vases is earlier than any other evidence of an association between

his workshop). Only one of her ten is from a controlled excavation in Athens: her catalog no. 3, from grave 454 in excavations in the area of Kerameikos metro station (Baziotopoulou and Drakotou 1999, pl. 21a). A Six’s technique lekythos from the Kerameikos (Athens, Kerameikos Museum 1516; *BAPD* 21205; Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, pl. 12.5-7) is probably by him.

¹⁴¹ Beazley 1986, 80. On generic narrative see Stansbury-O’Donnell 1999, 31-48. Generic narratives are structurally narrative but lack the informants and indices necessary to represent unique narratives. Stansbury-O’Donnell takes the terms informant and index from Barthes’s method of structural analysis of narratives. An index is a unit of a narrative that does not serve to advance the action, but refers “to a more or less diffuse concept which is nevertheless necessary to the meaning of the story” (Barthes 1977, 92). Indices provide semantic information about an element of narrative, tying it paradigmatically to larger categories. Informants locate the players or action in space and time (Stansbury-O’Donnell 1999, 14).

¹⁴² Knigge 1991, 37-8; Hatzivassiliou 2010, 94-5.

¹⁴³ Kerameikos S 45. Kübler 1976, 99; Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 83-4, pl. 56.1-8.

¹⁴⁴ Knigge 1976, 38-40.

Dionysos and death. He instead explains Dionysos' presence by arguing that the god's association with the symposium made him a representative of the cooperative values essential to the new democracy.¹⁴⁵ Van de Put cites Panofsky's observation that Greek funerary art is retrospective—looking back on the life lived—in contrast to Egyptian, prospective funerary art that looks ahead to the afterlife.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Schmidt sees Dionysian scenes on black-figure lekythoi as representing the common ideal of a good life, based on formerly aristocratic ideals. The imagery of the lekythoi can be explained, he says, because in the early fifth century, the lekythos, especially the shoulder-lekythos, was not yet reserved solely for funerary use. Since it had not been singled out as a special-use shape, it had not yet developed an iconography specific to that use. Schmidt notes that the situation changes by the mid-fifth century when the funerary iconography of white-ground lekythoi is developed.¹⁴⁷ Villanueva-Puig similarly argues that Dionysian scenes were meant to ease the suffering of the death of a loved one by evoking the pleasure of wine and celebration associated with Dionysos and to provide a temporary diversion much the way the drinking and revelry of a symposium might.¹⁴⁸ Contrary to all of these arguments, Scheffer claims there is no preference for placing a special god on a special shape.¹⁴⁹ Knigge argues that after 470 many images on lekythoi become even

¹⁴⁵ van de Put 2009. Villanueva-Puig (2009, 224) makes the same observation.

¹⁴⁶ Panofsky 1964, 16. Sourvinou-Inwood (1995, 298) makes a similar argument.

¹⁴⁷ Schmidt 2005, 37-40.

¹⁴⁸ Villanueva-Puig 2009.

¹⁴⁹ Scheffer 2001, 133.

more simplified to the point they can no longer be considered Dionysian. She instead sees these as predecessors to later funerary reliefs.¹⁵⁰

In the Classical period, images on black-figure lekythoi do become more generic and repetitive, to the point that specific myths can rarely be recognized and individual figures are often not clearly identifiable (cf. fig. 3.28a). Jubier-Galinier argues that the iconography of black-figure funerary lekythoi does not tell us about ancient attitudes toward death. Rather, the images were drawn from the existing repertoire of black-figure vase-painting and the number of vases present in the grave is more significant in making statements about the dead than the imagery on the vases.¹⁵¹ I am inclined to follow Jubier-Galinier's argument for these vases. The iconography is not meaningless, but one of its functions—and perhaps its primary function—is to situate it in the tradition and history of Attic vase-painting. Doubtless, the iconography of Attic vases, whether painted hastily or with great care, functioned on multiple levels.¹⁵² The time and attention required to add black-figure decoration to these vases creates or at least affirms their cultural value. No matter how abstract, figural decoration adds cultural value to the object, irrespective of any narrative conveyed in the imagery.¹⁵³

Departing from his interpretation discussed above, Stefan Schmidt elsewhere describes the generic scenes on late black-figure lekythoi as *Satzradikale*, as defined by Wittgenstein.¹⁵⁴ The *Satzradikal* is a linguistic construction that requires additional

¹⁵⁰ Knigge 1976, 38-9.

¹⁵¹ Jubier-Galinier 2014b, 48-9.

¹⁵² Scheffer 2001, 127-8.

¹⁵³ Porter 2012, 339; Lynch 2016.

¹⁵⁴ Schmidt, forthcoming.

information to have meaning. Though his primary concern is verbal language, Wittgenstein uses an image to define the term: “Imagine a picture representing a boxer in a particular fighting stance. Well, this picture can be used to tell someone how he should stand, should hold himself; or how he should not hold himself; or how a particular man did stand in such-and-such a place; and so on. One might (using the language of chemistry) call this picture a sentence-radical [*Satzradikal*].”¹⁵⁵ On their own, the generic images of late black-figure vases do not contain enough information to have meaning, but their ritual and cultural context can complete their meaning if properly understood. Part of that context is the specific meaning and use of vases of a particular shape—like the funerary associations of shoulder lekythoi—and of a particular technique—black-figure.

Pre-iconographical Recognition

As already noted in the quote from Kurtz above, a lekythos with figural decoration must have been more expensive than one painted black, and one painted with abstract patterns would likely be priced somewhere in between.¹⁵⁶ The images on hastily painted lekythoi may not clearly tell a story, but they do clearly embody the visual culture of fifth century Athens. In the fifth century, Athenians had more choices than ever when selecting vases for a burial or for any other use. Considering the low number of black-gloss lekythoi found in Kerameikos burials (table 1), it seems clear Athenians wanted decorated vases, and, for most of the fifth century, it does not seem that the quality of the painting (in the subjective sense) was an important factor in choosing these vases. This

¹⁵⁵ Wittgenstein 2009, 14, § 22.

¹⁵⁶ Kurtz 1975, 131.

could be one argument for including ornament lekythoi in our discussions of black-figure vase-painting.

Rather than assuming the imagery is meaningless, we can say that it functions on a pre-iconographic level. Panofsky defines iconography as the study of subject matter and meaning, laying out a three-stage process of iconographical interpretation, beginning with pre-iconographical recognition (the enumeration of artistic motifs), followed by iconographical analysis (recognition of images, stories, and allegories represented by the motifs), and finally iconographical interpretation or iconology (analysis of the intrinsic meaning or content of the images, stories, and allegories).¹⁵⁷ Pre-iconographical description and iconographic analysis (to the extent that it is possible for these images) show the viewer that they are part of a Greek and especially Athenian artistic tradition. The intrinsic meaning is conveyed more by the black-figure technique than the iconography. That the black-figure technique had fallen out of use for all but a few specialized purposes conveys a message about the antiquity of the traditions and ritual practices in which they took part to the users and viewers of vases on which it survived.

The Afterlife of the Funerary Lekythos

White-ground lekythoi appear in significant numbers in Athenian graves in the 430s, around the same time that carved stone grave markers reappear in Athens, but black-figure lekythoi are not immediately supplanted. The latest black-figure funerary lekythoi date to the last decades of the fifth century.¹⁵⁸ The latest white-ground lekythoi

¹⁵⁷ Panofsky 1939, 3-17; 1982, 31-3.

¹⁵⁸ Three Kerameikos burials dated 430/20 (35 HTR 18 II [Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 71 no. 254, pl. 43.1.1], H 90 [Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 95 no. 358, pl. 64.7.1], H 44 [Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 101 no. 393, pl.

date to the very end of the century. After 430, white-ground lekythoi generally increase in size, and large stone lekythoi begin to be used as grave markers around the same time.¹⁵⁹ During this period of overlap, stone lekythoi influence ceramic ones. The Group of the Huge Lekythoi, whose vases were up to a meter tall, appear in the last decade of the century. Their size is clearly inspired by stone lekythoi, though their decoration technique shows influence from contemporary free-painting. The Huge Lekythoi have holes in the bottom, so they were clearly used as grave markers rather than offerings or containers.¹⁶⁰ When funerary lekythoi do finally disappear at the beginning of the fourth century, other shapes of oil vessels take their place. Squat lekythoi in black-gloss and later red-figure appear in Athenian graves in the fifth century, often alongside black-figure and white-ground lekythoi. Later, unguentaria fill the need for oil containers in funerary rites.¹⁶¹ The change in funerary monuments and grave gifts does not necessarily indicate a change in funerary ritual.

The reason for the ultimate end of funerary lekythoi is unclear and is probably the result of several factors, changing fashions not being the least among them. Given that stone monuments, a medium undoubtedly more expensive and time consuming than even

67.1.1]) each contained a single black-figure ornament lekythos. An ornament lekythos (Athens, Agora P2284; Talcott 1935, fig. 4.7) was found in an Agora well deposit of material from a tavern destroyed in an earthquake of 426 (Lynch 2015, 248; Talcott 1935, 500.7).

¹⁵⁹ Schmaltz 1970, 81-92; Stears 2000.

¹⁶⁰ Kurtz 1975, 68-73; Koch-Brinkmann 1999, 83-4; Oakley 2004b, 18. Group of Huge Lekythoi: *ARV*² 1390; *Paralipomena* 522; *Beazley Addenda*² 372-9. Two vases by the group in Berlin (Antikensammlung F2684; *ARV*² 1390.3; *CVA* Berlin, Antikensammlung 12, pl. 44-5; and F2685; *ARV*² 1390.4; *CVA* Berlin, Antikensammlung 12, pl. 46-7) and one connected to it (F2683; *BAPD* 9022338; *CVA* Berlin, Antikensammlung 12, pl. 42-3) are said to be from Alopeke (Ambelokipi in the modern city of Athens). Oakley (2004b, 237 n. 113) notes that there are three unpublished fragments of similar vases at the Kerameikos.

¹⁶¹ Kurtz 1975, 74; Oakley 2004b, 216-7.

the most elaborate lekythoi, reappear toward the end of the century and continue after the end of funerary lekythoi, the poor state of the Athenian economy is an unlikely explanation for the end of funerary lekythoi. Oakley suggests that white-ground lekythoi were inextricably linked to the *Demosion Sema* and the Athenian war dead, so after the Peloponnesian War, they may have no longer been considered a desirable or appropriate way to memorialize the dead.¹⁶² Given the earlier date for the founding of the *Demosion Sema* suggested by Arrington, a strong connection between white-ground lekythoi and the cemetery seems unlikely, but funerary lekythoi as a whole could well have come to be associated with the site and the war dead, prompting new fashions in funerary practices and grave offerings at the end of the Peloponnesian War.¹⁶³

Marble lekythoi are just one of several types of stone funerary monuments produced in Athens between their return circa 430 and the funerary legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron in 317. Monuments also take the form of stelae, naiskoi, and loutrophoroi. The earliest Classical stone lekythoi employ many of the same sorts of scenes found on polychrome lekythoi, with a strong emphasis on women and domestic themes, so they are in one way a continuation of that tradition, though their compositions differ substantially.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Oakley 2004b, 217-8.

¹⁶³ Arrington 2010, 503-6; 2015, 39-49, 247.

¹⁶⁴ Oakley 2004b, 219-22.

Black-figure Lekythoi in South Italy and Sicily

In the mid-fourth century, pottery workshops in Campania, Paestum, and Sicily produced a new type of black-figure lekythos, called the Pagenstecher lekythos (fig. 3.29) after the scholar who first described the group. The vases are tall and slender with an ovoid body without a distinct shoulder, and usually a disc foot and a calyx mouth. They are usually decorated rather simply, with floral ornament, animals, women, or women's heads. Hurschmann suggests the vase type was developed to hold special rose-scented oil used in funerary ritual and tomb cult. Like on late Attic black-figure funerary lekythoi, the black-figure style would stand out against other, red-figure vases, and indicate that the vases and their contents were intended for this specialized use.¹⁶⁵

Pagenstecher lekythoi are most often found in graves in Italy. They appear to have first been made in Paestum in around 370-360, contemporary with the earliest red-figured production there, and continued until the end of red-figure production in South Italy.¹⁶⁶ It is a striking coincidence that the last use of black-figure in Athens and the first use of local black-figure in Italy would be so similar. Attic black-figure lekythoi were exported to South Italy in the fifth century and some found use in burials there. Could we imagine Campanians visiting the tomb of an ancestor, perhaps depositing a new burial in an old family tomb, and seeing black-figure lekythoi among the old burials? Could these antique Attic vases, with their outmoded technique and their non-narrative imagery, have inspired a new type of vase nearly a century later? As mentioned in the previous chapter, many Panathenaic prize amphorae also found their way to South Italy, bringing along with

¹⁶⁵ Hurschmann 1997, 1-7. On the vases' use and rose-oil, see also Turner 2005, 65-8.

¹⁶⁶ Turner 2005, 65.

them the connotations of their old-fashioned black-figure technique. Inspired by the use of black-figure on these prestigious vases with their religious associations, it may have seemed a fitting style in which to decorate their special funerary vessels.

Conclusions

It is difficult to say what finally provoked the decline in popularity of black-figure funerary lekythoi. Other types of oil containers continue to be found in Athenian burials into the fourth century, so it seems it was not a change in funerary ritual that led to funerary lekythoi dropping out of use in Athens. As with the initial development of red-figure and the move away from black-figure toward the end of the Archaic period, there is not a precise moment of change from one technique or vase type to another. Black-figure lekythoi are not at one point in time abandoned and replaced by white-ground lekythoi—or any other type of vase for that matter—in similar quantities and with a similar distribution. Black-figure lekythoi are gradually replaced by a variety of oil containers in the second half of the fifth century, preventing a straightforward explanation of events.

Sociological studies of symbol production can shed some light on the developments in funerary lekythoi in the fifth century. Oligarchy among producers tends to lead to homogeneous goods that change slowly. When the production of black-figure vases, especially funerary lekythoi, was limited to a few large workshops there was little impetus for vase-painters to experiment or attempt to impress customers. He or she would find basically the same sorts of vases at any of the black-figure workshops in Athens. Periods of homogeneity tend to be followed by a brief burst of competition and creativity.

When there is greater competition among producers, they are forced to cater to demand and there is a greater variety of changing goods. Consumers generally seek out variety and change.¹⁶⁷ The various types of oil vessels used in the later fifth-century burials—black-figure ornament, red-figure, black-gloss, and white-ground lekythoi, squat lekythoi—do represent an increased variety, and also suggest that imagery was not the driving factor in changes in taste, since black-gloss vessels increase in popularity as much as white-ground (see table 1). This sort of trend can be seen in the late sixth-century Kerameikos. Painters experimented with new techniques like white-ground, coral red, Six's technique, and red-figure, trying to set themselves apart in the booming Attic pottery market.

It also generally holds true that a higher level of relative equality leads to a dissociation of cultural products from class position. Markets for material culture are leveled and pluralized and producers do not need to or do not seek to differentiate themselves with a variety of material produced. This may seem appropriate for early fifth-century Athens, when the democracy had firmly taken hold and was progressing toward the radical Periklean democracy. Perhaps the use of more “traditional” and perhaps modest black-figure vases was a reflection of a relatively high level of social equality under the young democracy.¹⁶⁸ Morris for one believes fifth-century Athens was broadly egalitarian until the last quarter of the century, when there was a shift that did not lead to oligarchy, but to social attitudes that allowed the rich to pronounce themselves

¹⁶⁷ Peterson and Berger 1975, 170; Gattman 2002, 256-7.

¹⁶⁸ Gattman 2002, 261.

through symbols of wealth.¹⁶⁹ The reality of social equality and inequality in democratic Athens is no simple issue and well beyond the scope of this project, but the continued use of traditional art forms rather than newer, innovative forms may suggest a greater desire to assert membership in a group than individual wealth or elevated social status.

I offer the preceding socio-economic explanations of funerary lekythoi with caution, as such theorizations often fall into the same sort of positivist trap as the processualist statistical studies discussed earlier. To treat the development of these vases, or any cultural product, as pure functions of economic processes abstracts cultural forms and strips them of their materiality. It denies the agency of the makers and users of the objects and disregards the idiosyncrasies of the historical situation of fifth-century Athens.

My intention has been to reevaluate the use and significance of funerary lekythoi in fifth-century Athens by considering first the contexts in which they were found rather than beginning with the iconography of the vases, as many previous studies have. Black-figure lekythoi are very common in Athenian burial practice through the first half of the fifth century, after which their use declines but does not wholly cease until the end of the century. Though white-ground lekythoi begin to be produced in increasing quantities after the Persian War, their use in Athens is very limited until the 430s, and even then they are never used as widely as black-figure lekythoi.

Though black-figure funerary lekythoi seem less impressive than white-ground lekythoi both in terms of their size and the care with which they are painted, these factors do not appear to have been problematic to those who purchased and used the vases.

¹⁶⁹ Morris 1992, 149-55; 1994.

Negative judgements of late black-figure lekythoi based on modern aesthetics ignore the fact that how we recognize and represent things is cultural and cultivated.¹⁷⁰ Art historical formalism—which I take to include studies of style—has largely not concerned itself with the recovery of past formalities—the recognition of how past ways of seeing shaped what kind of images were produced.¹⁷¹

If we instead approach late black-figure funerary lekythoi through the visuality of their makers and users, we see them as distinct from other vases both in their appearance and the visual tradition they embody. As with other prominent late black-figure shapes discussed in this study, their distinctive appearance marks the vases not only as part of a separate and older visual tradition, but as part of a tradition of praxis. These vases were chosen by those preparing for funerary rites not because they were cheap or close at hand, but because their unusual and ancient appearance separated them from vases intended for everyday use. In this way, their appearance echoes the qualities of the rites for which they were used.

¹⁷⁰ Davis 2011, 32-6,

¹⁷¹ Davis 2011, 64-9.

4. Retrospective Iconography of Late Black-figure Skyphoi and Other Drinking Vessels in the Fifth Century

Often on the mountain-tops, when
the festival full of torches delights the gods,
you held a gold vessel, a large *skuphos*,
the type that shepherds own,
and you took lion-milk into your hands,
and made a large, solid cheese for Argeiophontes.

Alkman, fragment 56 (trans. S.D. Olson)¹

The Shape Called *Skyphos*

Many of the names for Greek vase shapes used by scholars today are modern conventions. Terms we used today to refer to one specific shape are often ancient Greek words that could have been used in antiquity to refer to any of several types of vases. There is usually little reason to assume the ancient users of Attic vases would have used the same name to describe the shape as we do today. The *skuphos* Alkman mentions may have borne little resemblance to the shape modern scholars call *skyphos*. This makes it very difficult to use literary sources as evidence for the use of Greek vases. Unless the object is described in detail in the ancient source—and they never are—we can never be sure of exactly what the vase looked like.

Richter and Milne note the possibility that the shape called skyphos today may have gone by the same name in antiquity because it closely resembles the type of vase called skyphos described by Athenaios (11.498a-500c) and shares the associations with

¹ Quoted at *Ath.* 11.499. “πολλάκι δ’ ἐν κορυφαῖς ὀρέων, ὄκα / σιοῖσι φάδη πολύφανος ἑορτά, / χρύσιον ἄγγος ἔχοισα, μέγαν σκύφον, / οἷά τε ποιμένες ἄνδρες ἔχοισιν, / χερσὶ λεόντεον ἐν γάλα θεῖσα / τυρὸν ἐτύρησας μέγαν ἄτρυφον Ἀργειφόντα.” Davies 1991, no. 56. On the poem, see Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 1999.

Boeotia and Herakles he mentions the ancient shape carried.² According to Asklepiades of Myrlea and Alkman (as quoted in Athenaios 11.498f-499a), skyphoi were favored by swineherds, shepherds, and country folk, and “no one from the city or who was even moderately well-to-do used a *skuphos*.”³ As we have seen in the case studies of previous chapters, the black-figure technique often connoted the old, the traditional (*sc.* old-fashioned), and the less than modern. If the skyphos was a rustic vessel associated with country folk, this likely shaped how skyphoi would have been used and how the shape was decorated by producers of painted pottery.

The skyphos—along with the kylix, sometimes simply called a “cup”—is one of two main types of fineware drinking vessels found in Attic pottery in the sixth and fifth centuries. Both shapes had been made in Athens since at least the early sixth century, but the kylix was closely associated with wine and the symposium from its beginning.⁴ The kylix was the favorite drinking-vessel shape of early red-figure painters like the Pioneers, and the shape is the support for some of the finest and most famous of their paintings.

Like lekythoi, late black-figure kylikes with non-figural decoration continue to be produced well into the fifth century, longer than other types. Shear records eighty-nine black-figure kylikes in the Persian destruction deposits from the Athenian Agora, of

² Richter and Milne 1935, 26-7.

³ Trans. Olson 2009. Other literary sources tell us it was customary to begin the symposium with small cups and progress to larger ones by the end. For instance, in Xenophon’s *Symposium* (2.23-4), Philippos asks for a servant to fill for him a big cup (τὴν μεγάλην φιάλην) since he has become thirsty from dancing. Davidson suggests different types of cups in sympotic literature are meant to represent different manners of drinking. Big, deep cups meant deep drinking, while shallow cups lent themselves to more restrained and moderate drinking and activity (Davidson 1997, 63-4). Davidson discusses various sources of sympotic literature, but most of them are far removed chronologically from the material under consideration here.

⁴ The ancient word κύλιξ was probably a generic term for a drinking cup of any shape. On the shape and its terminology, see Richter and Milne 1935, 24-5; Vanderpool 1967; Brommer 1967.

which twenty-seven are palmette-cups whose only decoration is a chain of palmettes and lotus buds restricted to the handle zone.⁵ Black-figure kylikes with figural decoration are also produced into the second quarter of the fifth century by the Haimon workshop and the Leafless Group,⁶ but very few black-figure kylikes dating this late are found in Athens. Most were exported, like a Leafless Group kylix now in London, found in a grave in the Fikellura cemetery at Kamiros, Rhodes (fig. 4.1).⁷ One very fragmentary example by the Haimon Group (fig. 4.2) was found in the debris from a public dining place in the Athenian Agora. The piece displays many of the same qualities of the Haimon Painter's lekythoi seen in the previous chapter and is quite a contrast from contemporary red-figure painting. Details of figures' faces are lost, limbs are rendered with imprecise strokes, and "[s]loppy incision is used sparingly for the details of the figures."⁸ Most late black-figure kylikes like this one have been found outside of Athens and were probably made for the export market.⁹ These vases were made for different consumers and it would be wrong to see them simply as low-end alternatives to finely painted red-figure cups. In Athens, black-gloss kylikes are found in much larger quantities than black-figure and they would certainly have been less expensive than even

⁵ Shear 1993, 389 table 1, 390 table 2, 395. Most black-figure cups with palmette chains on the exterior have no tondo decoration, with one exception being an example from the Agora (Athens, Agora P9449; Vanderpool 1946, 314; Moore and Philippides 1986, 310.1779, pl. 113), dated to the early fifth century by style but found in a late fifth-century well. On the date of the deposit (M 20:3) see Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 395.

⁶ Haimon Group kylikes: *ABV* 560-5. Leafless Group kylikes: *ABV* 629-53.

⁷ London, British Museum 1864,1007.1689; *BAPD* 331851; from Rhodes, Kamiros, Fikellura Cemetery, Tomb 274.

⁸ Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 62 cat. 5.

⁹ Volioti, forthcoming.

hastily painted black-figure. This very late black-figure kylix would have been an unusual piece to see in use in Athens, but whoever purchased it surely did not select it out of lack of other affordable choices.¹⁰

The quantities of black-figure and red-figure kylikes from the Persian destruction deposits in the Athenian Agora are similar, though some of the black-figure pieces may have been around for some time before being deposited. The skyphos, on the other hand, was adopted more slowly by red-figure painters. Red-figure skyphoi are relatively rare until the second quarter of the fifth century.¹¹ In black-figure, skyphoi continue to be produced in significant numbers from the end of the Archaic period until at least the middle of the century. The latest examples are painted quite hastily, similar to the kylix discussed above.

One Agora household deposit (well J 2:4) contained a set of eight red-figure kylikes as well as a set of at least five black-figure skyphoi.¹² It is intriguing that Athenians seem to have preferred the newer red-figure technique on one shape and the older black-figure on another, even though both shapes had been made in Athens since early in the sixth century. Different shapes suggest the vases were meant for different uses, so likewise the different techniques were preferred for those different uses. Both shapes are for drinking, and more specifically for wine-drinking in most cases. The kylix was closely aligned with the practice of the symposium, while skyphoi could find use in

¹⁰ Shear (1993, table 3) and Lynch (2015, table 9.1) record 323 black-gloss kylikes found in the Persian destruction deposits from the Agora, compared to 89 in black-figure and 81 in red-figure.

¹¹ Moore 1997, 63-6. Only four red-figure skyphoi and one red-figure cup-skyphos were found in the Persian destruction deposits (Shear 1993, 392).

¹² Lynch 2011, 99-100, 110; 2015, 242 table 9.1, 246 table 9.2.

symposia as well as other drinking settings. Some other settings that were more fitting for skyphoi were also more fitting for the old black-figure technique.

This chapter will examine Attic black-figure skyphoi of the fifth century to attempt to determine for which uses they were preferred over other drinking shapes and why Athenians might have sought these vases out for those purposes. Like the Leafless Group kylikes, much Attic pottery was made for the export market, so to avoid the complicating factor of vase made for different audiences, I will focus on skyphoi found in excavations in Athens and Attica in the first instance, but will still discuss some vases found elsewhere for comparison.

The uses associated with Panathenaic prize amphorae and lekythoi discussed previously would suggest skyphoi were used in settings with religious or ritual elements, at some non-sympotic, ritual drinking event. We have no literary sources for the use of skyphoi other than the uncertain references mentioned above, and archaeological contexts only provide limited information about how skyphoi were used. Iconography, in combination with other sources, can give us some suggestion of how and in what context these vases were used. The imagery on late skyphoi seems to associate them not with the civilized and urbane practice of symposia, but rather with rural life and other folk themes. Black-figure continued to be used on these vases because the shape itself had a connotation of the old-fashioned and traditional. The connotations of the technique combined with the rustic iconography suggest skyphoi were favored for settings in which their users sought to connect themselves to rural and old-fashioned modes of living and acting.

Shapes, Chronologies, and Contexts

The skyphos is a drinking vessel with a deep bowl, low foot, and two short, usually horizontal handles. The shape dates back to at least the eighth century, as part of the symposium set of the Geometric period.¹³ The skyphos is distinguished from the kylix by its lack of stem and its deeper bowl with a vertical or nearly vertical wall. The difference in shape makes for a different experience of the vessels and their iconography both to those using the vases and to their drinking companions viewing the images decorating the vessel.

With its wide, shallow bowl, the kylix covers the face of the drinker as he raises the cup to his lips. Vase-painters embraced and played with this aspect of kylikes, especially in the late sixth century, often decorating the exterior of the vase with eyes so that it becomes a mask for the drinker (fig. 4.3a).¹⁴ Because the bowls of kylikes are rather shallow, the decoration of the exterior of a kylix is not easily visible when it is held horizontally or rests on a table. Its exterior decoration only comes into view when the cup is tipped back to drink. The exterior of a skyphos, with its more vertical walls, presents the opposite effect, only being visible while held upright and obscured while drinking.

Kylikes require physical interaction with the vase to view their decoration. The cup must be handled for its imagery to be activated and to function properly. The exterior comes into view as the cup is lifted to be drunk from, creating an alternating presence and

¹³ Lynch 2015, 234-5.

¹⁴ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1974.344; *BAPD* 396. Boardman 1976, 288; Ferrari 1986, 11; Neer 2002, 41-2; Bundrick 2015. Many other vase shapes, skyphoi included, are also decorated with eyes. Eyes have broader decorative or iconographic functions, but the effect of vase-as-mask is most striking with kylikes. Bundrick (2015, 309) notes that most Attic eye-cups have been found in Etruria and must have been made with that market rather than the Athenian symposium in mind.

absence of the drinker and image.¹⁵ As a result, kylikes lent themselves more to the play of ambiguities often explored during symposia. This is not to say skyphoi are less visually interesting or less appropriate for symposia, just that they may be more straightforward, less playful, and perhaps do not embody the experimental qualities of kylikes and early red-figure vase-painting.¹⁶

In the fifth century, black-figure skyphos production in Athens is for the most part limited to two types: Heron Class skyphoi and cup-skyphoi. The Heron Class was first identified by Beazley and comprises Ure's Classes B and C.¹⁷ These are large, deep skyphoi (height ca. 17 cm and diameter at lip up to 25 cm) with a heavy torus foot. They take their name from the white herons often painted in the space under their handles. The difference between Ure's two classes is in the extent of the figure-decorated area. Class B skyphoi (fig. 4.4) feature figural scenes occupying most of the body of the vase, while Class C examples (fig. 4.5) have figural scenes restricted to a band between the handles with the lower half of the body painted solid black. Class C skyphoi do not have herons or other decoration below the handles. Class B skyphoi were produced by the Theseus Painter and his circle, while Class C skyphoi, with their smaller decorated area, were preferred by later painters of the Haimon Group and the CHC Group. These large vessels hold approximately three liters of liquid, much more than an individual serving of wine.

¹⁵ Neer 2002, 42.

¹⁶ Neer 2002.

¹⁷ *ABV* 617; Ure 1927, 59-62. Ure created one of the earliest typologies of skyphoi, based on material from excavations at Rhitsona in Boeotia. Her twenty-seven classes of black-figure skyphoi (many with multiple sub-classes) are based on shape and scheme of decoration. Several of Ure's classes are still in use, though many of her distinctions have proven less useful. Ure called her categories "groups," though today they are usually referred to as "Ure's Class C," etc., to conform to Beazley's (*ABV* viii) terminology, where "classes" are based on shape and decorative scheme and "groups" are based on workshop relationships.

Lynch has suggested that they could serve instead as mixing vessels for a small group of drinkers, when a full-sized krater would not be necessary.¹⁸ Another possible use, discussed further below, links these vases with certain Athenian cult practices related to the worship of Dionysos.¹⁹

The other most common type of skyphos found in fifth-century Attic vase-painting is the cup-skyphos, Ure's Classes K (fig. 4.6), L, and R.²⁰ Again these classes have the same basic shape but differ in size and decoration.²¹ Cup-skyphoi have wide, shallow bowls with a deep concave lip, a heavy foot and canted handles. The handles give the shape its name, as the same canted, horseshoe-shaped handles are found on Attic kylikes.²² Cup-skyphoi were common products of the Haimon and CHC Groups.

Hatzidakis argues the cup-skyphos was likely considered another type of kylix in antiquity.²³ Considering how they are decorated, cup-skyphoi have more in common with other types of skyphoi than with kylikes. Like other skyphoi, cup-skyphoi never have interior decoration. Kylikes, when they have figural decoration, almost always have

¹⁸ Lynch 2001, 121.

¹⁹ Scheibler 2000.

²⁰ Ure 1927, 68-9.

²¹ Hatzidakis's dissertation on Attic cup-skyphoi defines the shape in line with Ure's Classes R and K, which he then divides into his own Classes AI-III and B based on details of shape and decoration (Hatzidakis 1984, 11, 16-8). Ure's Class R is similar to Class K but with a narrower base (Ure 1927, 71-2). Hatzidakis offers a definitive description of a cup-skyphos and what distinguishes it from similar shapes. The cup-skyphos is deeper than a stemless cup and shallower than a skyphos. The handles are of the same type as those of a cup and are set below the rim. Cup-skyphoi never have interior decoration like kylikes and stemless cups sometimes do. Hatzidakis (1984, 17, figs. 1-8) also provides numerical formulae for the relationships of dimensions of various Attic drinking vessels. The height of a cup-skyphos is almost half of the diameter of the vessel, while for a skyphos the height is almost equal to the diameter.

²² Hatzidakis 1984, 15-8.

²³ Hatzidakis 1984, 291.

interior decoration and often only interior and no exterior decoration. The more vertical walls of cup-skyphoi make the visual experience of their exterior decoration more similar to that of skyphoi than kylikes. Exterior scenes are visible when the vessel is held horizontally or rests on its base on a table and not when it is raised to drink.

Other types of skyphoi are found in black-figure of the sixth century, and in red-figure and black-gloss of various periods. One of the most common black-gloss types, Corinthian type skyphoi, are never very common in Attic black-figure. The Attic type, with horizontal handles attached at the rim, becomes rare in black-figure after the third-quarter of the sixth century. In late black-figure, skyphoi of the Heron Class and cup-skyphoi are the most common, and will be the focus of this chapter.²⁴

Heron Class skyphoi are first made by the Krokotos Group—which takes its name from the saffron colored robes worn by women on many of its vases—at the beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century, but the shape’s origins go back even further. The

²⁴ Sparkes and Talcott (1970, 81-7) offer a typology for the black-gloss skyphoi found in the Athenian Agora which is later used by Moore and Philippides (1986, 58-61) for their study of black-figure vases from the Agora and by Batino (2002, 13-9) in her monograph study of skyphos iconography. Both Agora publications often refer back to Ure’s typology, but do not use it as a starting point. Sparkes and Talcott divide the shape, as produced by Attic potters, into two primary types: Corinthian and Attic. These two types already existed, having been used by R.M. Cook (1997, 225-6) and others. The Corinthian type, as the name implies, was developed by Corinthian potters and adopted by Attic potters in the sixth century. The shape is delicate, with small handles, a ring foot, and very thin walls that curve in slightly at the rim. This version of skyphos is often called a *kotylē*. The type is rather rare in Attic black-figure, and is more common in red-figure and plain black-gloss. Their second type, the Attic type skyphos, is more common in Attic black-figure. This shape is sturdier than the Corinthian type, with thicker walls and a torus foot. The most distinctive difference is the outturned rim. The shape begins in the mid-sixth century and varies considerably between workshops before reaching its canonical form in the early fifth century. Sparkes and Talcott’s typology includes Attic Type A and Type B skyphoi, but these have nothing to do with Ure’s Class A and B skyphoi. Rather, their Type A skyphoi have two small, horizontal handles attached at the lip of the vase, while Type B have one horizontal and one vertical handle (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 81-7; Moore and Philippides 1986, 58-9). Malagardis (forthcoming, 19-24) attempts to create a more definitive typology focusing on evolutionary relationships of skyphos types that will be applicable to the whole corpus of Attic black-figure skyphoi. She defines four types: Corinthian, Attic, cup-skyphoi, and mastoid skyphoi. The Attic type is further divided into Classes A1-3, B, and C1-2. Classes A1-3 and B align with Ure’s classes of the same names.

Painter of the Nicosia Olpe decorated skyphoi of a very similar shape in the 530s.²⁵ The successor of the Krokotos Group and the last painter of skyphoi of Ure's Class B is the Theseus Painter, whose skyphoi date around 500.²⁶ His body of work includes a large variety of shapes. He produced skyphoi only in the early and middle phases of his career, which continued into the 470s.²⁷

The Heron Class continues in the following generation of Attic painters with the CHC Group.²⁸ The group was named by Beazley for some of the most common scenes depicted on their vases: chariots and courting. The painting is hastier and artists begin to paint the lower half of the vase solid black, leaving a narrow band of figural decoration between the handles (Ure's Class C).²⁹ The latest Heron Class skyphoi are produced around the middle of the fifth century.

The cup-skyphos shape originates around 540 in Athens and continues into the fourth century, though only a few late red-figure examples of cup-skyphoi are known.³⁰

²⁵ Borgers 2007, 5-6. For the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, see Athens, National Museum 363 (*ABV* 453.11; *CVA* Athens 4, pl. 27). Ure (1955, 102) dates the beginning of the White Heron Group (not the same as the Heron Class, but an early group of Heron Class skyphos painters) to around 500, but it is clear this date is too low. Moore and Philippides (1986, 60) say the Heron Class begins around 500, but this is much too late if the Theseus Painter is a generation after the Krokotos Painter.

²⁶ Haspels 1936, 163. Fritzilas (2006, 252) dates the Theseus Painter's skyphoi in two phases: 505-500 and 500-495. Borgers (2007, 66-9) also defines two phases of skyphoi for the Theseus Painter, but slightly earlier: 515/510-505 and 505-495.

²⁷ Fritzilas 2006, 1; Borgers 2007, 13; Hatzivassiliou 2010, 65. Fritzilas (2006, 252) puts the end of the Theseus Painter's career at 480, while Borgers (2007, 66) places it 480/75.

²⁸ Moore and Philippides (1986, 289.1578-292.1608) date all of the vases attributed to the CHC Group in their catalog to ca. 500. Rotroff and Oakley (1992, 61.1) date a fragment of a skyphos probably by the CHC Group (Athens, Agora P31463; *BAPD* 44707; Rotroff and Oakley 1992, pl. 1) to 475-450. Batino (2002, 36-7) dates the group broadly to the first half of the fifth century. The group clearly continues beyond 475 and after the latest work of the Theseus Painter.

²⁹ CHC Group skyphoi: *ABV* 617.1-622.123, *Paralipomena* 306-7.

³⁰ Hatzidakis 1984, 15-6.

Cup-skyphoi are produced by the Haimon Group and the associated Lańcut Group well into the fifth century. Unlike the Theseus Painter, these artists produced a limited repertoire of shapes, mostly cup-skyphoi, kylikes, and lekythoi.³¹ The figure-decorated area of the vases is restricted to a narrow strip and the painting is now at its hastiest. Some later vases lack incision (making them technically not black-figure). Silhouette-painted vases first appear in the sixth century and never account for a significant portion of Attic vase production. Haspels attributes some late unincised vases to the manner of the Haimon Painter and dates them to the second quarter of the fifth century.³² Some Haimon Group and Lańcut Group skyphoi are found in Athenian contexts dating to the third quarter of the fifth century.³³ The Lindos Group, which produced miniature (approximately 4.5 cm high and 6 cm in diameter) white-ground skyphoi with silhouette

³¹ Haimon Group: cup-skyphoi (Ure's Class R and K2), *ABV* 565.598-570.699; kylikes, *ABV* 560.514-565.597; lekythoi, *ABV* 538.1-555.421. See also *Paralipomena* 263-89. The Haimon Group also produced a small number of alabastra, oinochoai, small hydriai, small neck-amphorae, pyxides, and kyathoi (*ABV* 555.422-557.2, *Paralipomena* 283-7).

³² Haspels 1936, 135; Hatzidakis 1984, 59. On earlier unincised black-figure, see Ure 1959.

³³ For Haimon Group and Lańcut Group skyphoi with late find contexts, see Knigge 1976, 298.1 (SW 142), pl. 65.7; and E73.2 (c 17), pl. 93.1. Hatzidakis (1984, 274-5) dates three Attic black-figure cup-skyphoi from a group of burials in northeast Phokis to ca. 430 (Hatzidakis 1984, 274.583 [Dakoronia 2009, 298 no. 502]; 274.584; 275.586 [Dakoronia 2009, 298 no. 503]). He considers the vases contemporary with the burials. The group of six graves was excavated near the village of Panagitsa, northwest of Elateia. Hatzidakis describes the burials as "richly furnished," containing a large number of Attic pots including fine red-figure, but only catalogs their skyphoi. The burials are cursorily published by Dakoronia (1987). Black-figure vases were found in two burials. Grave III contained several other pieces of black-gloss pottery and a bronze spear point. Another vase is said to come from grave VII, though Hatzidakis previously stated the group contained six burials and Dakoronia describes only six. Dakoronia lists only one red-figure vase among these burials: a calyx-krater in grave VI. If Hatzidakis' dating is correct, these would be among the latest Attic black-figure skyphoi, but it is impossible to evaluate. The burials and their context have not been fully published, but only with the most basic descriptions of their contents. Hatzidakis dates grave III to 440-30 "by context," but what that means is unclear. Furthermore, he notes that Boeotian workshops begin copying Attic black-figure cup-skyphoi around 425, and that Locris (where these burials are found) had strong trading ties with Boeotia (Hatzidakis 1985, 60, 259-61). Zampiti (2014, 68) dates the earliest Boeotian copies of Haimonian cup-skyphoi to the mid-fifth century. It is certainly possible that either these burials should be dated earlier or that the vases are Boeotian products.

decoration (fig. 4.7, 4.8, 4.9), carried on into the third quarter of the century.³⁴ Their skyphoi are found in sanctuary and other votive contexts in Athens and around the Greek world.

Red-figure skyphoi are relatively rare until the second quarter of the fifth century, after which Attic type A and to a lesser extent type B skyphoi are taken up by red-figure painters. Cup-skyphoi are never very common in red-figure.³⁵ Red-figure painters produce some rather large skyphoi, comparable in size to or larger than Heron Class vessels. Moore catalogs six examples from the Athenian Agora with restored diameters of 20 cm or more and many others can be found in museum collections around the world.³⁶ These large red-figure examples are not as consistent in size or as numerous as Heron Class skyphoi, so it is unlikely they replaced Heron Class vases in whatever context they were used. They were likely produced as curiosities or show pieces.

The other major drinking vessel shape, the kylix, developed in the early sixth century. The high stemmed form seems to have been well suited to drinking while reclining. The height of the cup made it easier to set down on a low table in front of the *klinē*, while the handles were used mostly for *kottabos* rather than holding the cup while

³⁴ Lindos Group: *ABV* 581-3; *Paralipomena* 290-1; Blinkenberg 1931, 17, 629-30. For find contexts in Athens, see Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 111.4 (35 HTR 13 I), pl. 25.6; 7(2).207.2 (35 HTR 5 I), pl. 32.8; 9.289.1 (HW 35), pl. 42.5; and 9.303.1 (SW 143), pl. 65.6. On miniature votive pottery, see Ekroth 2003b.

³⁵ Moore 1997, 63-6. Only four red-figure skyphoi and one red-figure cup-skyphos were found in the Persian destruction deposits (Shear 1993, 392).

³⁶ Athens, Agora P15018 (Moore 1997, pl. 118), P7921 (Moore 1997, pl. 119), P27382 (Moore 1997, pl. 120), P10031 (Moore 1997, pl. 120), P23932, and P16382 (Moore 1997, pl. 122) (none are listed in *ARV²*). Moore (1997) catalogs 71 red-figure skyphoi from the Agora in total, of which 28 have restored or estimated diameters. The potter Hieron and his collaborator the painter Makron produced even larger skyphoi, with diameters between 25 and 30 cm. Cf. Louvre G146 (*ARV²* 458.2, 460.16-18; Kunisch 1997, pl. 110); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.186 (*ARV²* 458.1; Kunisch 1997, pl. 98-9); London, British Museum 1873,0820.375 (*ARV²* 459.3; Kunisch 1997, pl. 107). Large red-figure skyphoi are produced into last quarter of the fifth century by the Kleophon Painter (cf. Toledo, Museum of Art 1982.88; *BAPD* 11777; *CVA* Toledo Museum of Art 2, pl. 84-7).

drinking. From its inception the shape was “exclusively aligned with the symbolic practice of the symposium.”³⁷ The handles of skyphoi were likewise not especially useful for picking up or holding the vessel by, but would have served as a thumb rest with the drinker’s hand wrapped around the body of the vase.³⁸ In images of skyphoi in use, drinkers do sometimes hold the vessel by its handles as well as by its base (e.g. fig. 4.10), but it is hard to tell if images on vases are realistic representations of how they would have been held.

The most popular drinking shape in Athens in the sixth century was the plain black Corinthian type skyphos. The shape was not exclusively associated with the symposium and wine drinking, so it appears more people were not participating in symposia than were, and the symposium was still a relatively exclusive practice.³⁹ The number of symposium vessels found in domestic contexts in Athens dramatically increases in the last quarter of the sixth century, indicating more widespread sympotic practice. With the new democracy, the symposium may have shifted from an elite to a more widespread activity.⁴⁰ In the Persian destruction debris deposits in the Athenian Agora, drinking vessels make up around half of the total fineware vases.⁴¹ The largest

³⁷ Lynch 2015, 236.

³⁸ Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 81.

³⁹ Lynch 2015, 238; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 81-2, 88.

⁴⁰ Lynch 2015, 240-1.

⁴¹ Shear 1993, 388-93; Lynch 2011, 20-5; 2014; 2015, 240-8. Shear (1993) carefully studied deposits from the Athenian Agora to identify twenty-one that were created in the clean-up efforts following the destruction of Athens by the Persians in 479. Lynch (2011) published a twenty-second Persian destruction clean-up deposit, J 2:4. The figures given in Shear’s study include only inventoried pottery and not context pottery, thus showing the selection bias of the excavators. The actual numbers of each type of vessel were likely higher, but Shear’s numbers do not represent a true “minimum number of vessels.” Shear notes that proportion of figured to black-gloss pots is higher than one would expect, while the proportion of household to figured pottery is too low. Some quantity of black-gloss and household pottery was discarded

number are black-gloss vases, but of figured examples, black-figure skyphoi make up the largest group with 193, followed by black-figure kylikes with 89, and then red-figure kylikes. Only five red-figure skyphoi were found in these deposits.

By the third quarter of the fifth century there is a clear change and black-figure has completely fallen out of use for drinking vessels in Athens, but it is not replaced by red-figure. The proportion of red-figure drinking vessels is actually smaller in Agora deposits from the cleanup after the earthquake of 426 than it was in the Persian destruction deposits. Drinking vessels still constitute the majority (64%) of fineware pottery, but the favored shapes have changed and most are made in black-gloss. The skyphos is now the most common shape in black-gloss and red-figure, and is joined by newly popular shapes like the stemless cup and the bolsal—a shape quite similar to a cup-skyphos, but produced almost exclusively in black-gloss. The kylix is still used, but is less common in the symposium assemblage.⁴² This is also characteristic of the finds from the debris from a public dining place published by Rotroff and Oakley dating to 475-425.⁴³ The numbers given above group all types of skyphoi together for their totals, but as discussed above different types are favored for different painting techniques.

The largest number of skyphoi found in the Agora are cup-skyphoi and date to the first quarter of the fifth century.⁴⁴ These are hastily painted pieces of Ure's Class K,

by the excavators and not inventoried. Lynch (2015) discusses the nature of the finds from the Persian destruction deposits. See also Lynch 2015, table 9.1.

⁴² Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 107-8; Lynch 2015, 248-54.

⁴³ Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 131-2; Lynch 2015, 249.

⁴⁴ Hatzidakis (1984, 22, table I) notes that, of cup-skyphoi with known provenience (430 total in his catalog), 80.2% are found outside of Athens and 79.3% outside of Attica, and only 83 (19.3%) are found in Athens. The actual number of cup-skyphoi excavated in Athens is surely higher considering the number of unpublished excavations carried out in the city. That notwithstanding, the number of cup-skyphoi found in

many attributed to the Haimon Group and the CHC Group.⁴⁵ In Hatzidakis's catalog, the largest number of cup-skyphoi found in Athens and in the rest of Greece are his Class B (Ure's Class K), dating to the first quarter of the fifth century.⁴⁶ Hatzidakis's Classes AII and AIII (Ure's Class R) continue in black-figure into the third quarter of the century, though they are found in Athens less often than they are outside of Greece.⁴⁷

Unlike lekythoi, skyphoi are not often found in archaeological contexts that associate them with specific ritual uses. Many skyphoi have been found in association with domestic contexts, like the set of five cup-skyphoi mentioned above found in a well deposit associated with a house in the Athenian Agora destroyed in the Persian sack of 479,⁴⁸ and many more Agora contexts. However they were used, it seems they were at least sometimes used in the home, likely as part of symposia or other social gatherings.

Excavations on the Athenian Acropolis found 1,150 skyphos fragments, of which Graef and Langlotz catalog 178 examples.⁴⁹ Many of these pieces clearly pre-date the period of interest here, including pieces attributed to the painter Kleitias,⁵⁰ but most

Athens is still much higher than at any other single city in Greece or elsewhere. The next largest concentration of cup-skyphoi in Hatzidakis's list is Corinth, with 19.

⁴⁵ Ure 1927, 68-9; Moore and Philippides 1986, 60-1.

⁴⁶ Hatzidakis 1984, 111-4.

⁴⁷ Hatzidakis 1984, 16, 108.

⁴⁸ Lynch 2011, 104-10.

⁴⁹ Graef and Langlotz 1925, 137, 1.1237-1.1415. Most of the fragments are difficult to place into a typology by shape, and in any case Graef and Langlotz do not follow or create a rigorous typology. They create five groups. Most of the skyphos fragments from the Acropolis fall into their Group I, Large Vases. Groups I-IV are late Archaic. Their Group V, Little Master type consists mostly of vases from earlier in the sixth century.

⁵⁰ Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.2145 (*BAPD* 32332; Graef and Langlotz 1925, pl. 93.2145); and Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.2147 (*BAPD* 32330; Graef and Langlotz 1925, pl. 93.2147).

appear to date to the last decades of the sixth century and down to 480. It is safe to assume most if not all of the pottery found on the Acropolis had a cult or votive function, but we probably cannot say more about how it might have been used in ritual feasting and drinking or other specific activities as part of or in addition to its cult or votive use. The Acropolis finds are not true votive deposits or votive dumps, but several vases of various shapes include inscriptions that speak to their dedicatory status.⁵¹ A fragmentary black-figure skyphos featuring a scene of preparations for sacrifice is inscribed “HIEPA: ... KΛEIA: ANEΘ...,” reconstructed by Graef and Langlotz as “ἱερά [τῆς Ἀθηναίας ...] κλεία ἀνέθ[εκεν]” (fig. 4.11).⁵² Several figures approach an altar while others sit in a building. We need not read the image as an illustration of the context in which the vase was used, but in this case the imagery in addition to the inscription do suggest the skyphos to be a votive.

Another Acropolis skyphos was dedicated by a Sosias, inscribed “Σοσίας ἀν[έθεκε]” (fig. 4.12).⁵³ The small fragment does not preserve any of the figural decoration of the vessel, but the handle palmette and the narrow decorative zone suggest the vase is of Ure’s Class K, an especially hastily painted group of vessels. Nevertheless, it seems it was no problem for Sosias to dedicate this type of vase was at one of the city’s most prominent sanctuaries. Because of their very fragmentary state, it is difficult to

⁵¹ Stissi 2009, 25-7.

⁵² Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.1295; *BAPD* 32105; Graef and Langlotz 1925, 145.1295. Borgers (2007, 23) attributes the fragments to the Theseus Painter but does not date them. Fritzilas (2006, 3 n. 14) seems less convinced of their connection to the painter.

⁵³ Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.1401; *BAPD* 32080; Graef and Langlotz 1925, 154.1401. Graef and Langlotz 154.1401, 154.1403, 155.1413, 155.1414, and 155.1415 are other skyphoi from the Acropolis with dedicatory inscriptions.

identify classes with certainty among the Acropolis skyphoi, but there are certainly many examples of hastily painted vessels that ended up as votives at one of the sanctuaries there.

The latest black-figure skyphoi found in Athens are miniature votive vases. A foundation deposit from a private house just inside the city walls around 420 (Bau Z in the Kerameikos) contained five miniature black-figure skyphoi of the Lindos Group (fig. 4.8).⁵⁴ They are all painted with white-ground with very similar decoration of an abstract shape, probably meant to represent a person, between handle palmettes. Another miniature skyphos of the same workshop found in a Kerameikos burial (fig. 4.7) shows a clearer depiction of a centaur brandishing a club.⁵⁵ The burial is dated to the third quarter of the fifth century, but Lindos Group skyphoi with very similar shape and decoration were also found in an Agora Persian destruction deposit dated shortly after 479 (fig. 4.9).⁵⁶ This workshop was producing these hastily painted vases for quite some time. This suggests their hastiness is not the result of a period of decline in the technique, but in response to a particular aesthetic related to this type of votive vase. Lindos Group miniature skyphoi were exported widely, especially to east Greece and the Black Sea region.⁵⁷

Red-figure skyphoi were more often exported than black-figure. Batino's figures for the first half of the fifth century show 60.1% of black-figure skyphoi (181 vases) stay

⁵⁴ Knigge 2005, 146 no. 275.1, pl. 81.

⁵⁵ Knigge 1976, 155 no. 303.1.

⁵⁶ Athens, Agora P2743; *ABV* 582.16. Moore and Philippides (1986, 288.1571) date this vase 490-80. On the date of the deposit, see Shear 1993, 383-406.

⁵⁷ *ABV* 581-3; *Paralipomena* 290-1.

in Greece while 22.97% (69 vases) are exported Italy. For the same period, only 37.2% of red-figure skyphoi (64 vases) stay in Greece while 55.8% (96 vases) go to Italy.⁵⁸

It is generally true that certain types of vases and certain iconographic themes were favored in one market over others. Many Attic vases seem to have appealed equally well to the local and export markets, while some types of vases, like those of the Perizoma Group, were certainly made for export.⁵⁹ Conversely, other vases certainly must have been made with Athenian tastes and uses in mind. Heron Class skyphoi with Dionysian imagery, *kōmoi*, and ritual scenes are found overwhelmingly in Greece compared to the rest of the Mediterranean, and they are especially popular in Athens. Chariot and pederastic scenes are found more often found on Heron Class skyphoi exported to Italy.⁶⁰ Cup-skyphoi found use both in Athens and abroad and seem to have been made to appeal to a broader audience.⁶¹ They do, however, carry on several iconographic motifs popular on their Heron Class predecessors. Though I would not suggest the imagery on these vases illustrates their use, there is surely a connection between their iconography and the context of their use.

Find context tells us more about how an object was used than its appearance or decoration. However, if we cannot determine how a vase was used by its provenience, examinations of its decoration and what that decoration might have meant to ancient viewers can tell us something about what the vessel itself meant to the user.

⁵⁸ Batino 2002, 359-60.

⁵⁹ Shapiro 2000; Reusser 2002, 263-70; Lesky 2007.

⁶⁰ Scheibler 2000, 39-42.

⁶¹ Hatzidakis 1984, 15-6; Shefton 1999.

Skyphoi, Dionysos, and the Countryside

In her 1987 article on belly amphorae, Scheibler argues that it is possible to construct “a meaningful chain of associations” (*Bedeutungsnetz*) among varied iconographic subjects found on a single shape that sheds light on the use of the shape and defines the shape as a signifier in its own right.⁶² The pictorial language (*Bildersprache*) associated with one shape can still be found on other shapes, but if its expression is most intensely and strikingly associated with one particular shape, then the iconography can be assumed to relate to the shape’s specialized use.⁶³ Scheibler associates belly amphorae with the Ephebeia and the Apatouria. The presence on these amphorae of many scenes involving Herakles can be explained by his role in the festival. The hero received libations from ephebes during the Apatouria.⁶⁴ In what follows, I will present what I consider a meaningful chain of associations of the iconographic subjects on late black-figure skyphoi that I believe show the vases were associated with the rural and old-fashioned in the minds of their users, while also having indirect associations with Athenian religious festivals and ritual practice.

⁶² Scheibler 1987, 59-60; Shapiro 1997, 63. Scheibler (2000) used this same approach to suggest ritual use for Heron Class skyphoi, to be discussed further below. Shapiro (1997) takes up Scheibler’s approach to demonstrate the banausic connotations of black-figure pelikai. Hatzivassiliou (2009) uses the approach to connect black-figure olpai with ritual.

⁶³ Scheibler 1987, 60.

⁶⁴ Scheibler 1987, 104-5. Scheibler (1987, 59) also claims that coarse or undecorated examples of the shape should be assumed to have carried the same associations found in painted pottery of that shape because the function of painted vases is rooted in that of their coarse counterparts. This may be harder to argue for most skyphoi given that black-gloss skyphoi are so common, but could be probable if black-gloss skyphoi existed in the size and shape of Heron Class skyphoi.

As stated previously, Dionysian scenes are one of the most common themes on Heron Class skyphoi as well as in the more generic iconography of cup-skyphoi. Since most drinking vessels can be associated with wine, the connection could be as simple as Dionysos and his realm referring to the wine inside the vessel. Dionysian scenes appear on a wide variety of vases, many with no connection with wine or the symposium, like the funerary lekythoi discussed in the previous chapter. The bibliography on the iconography of Dionysos and his realm is vast. Because of their popularity, the scenes are often given very broad interpretations.⁶⁵ The Dionysian imagery on lekythoi is rather generic and seems to serve mostly as an emblem of Athenian visual culture itself rather than having deeper iconological significance. These scenes warrant a more detailed reading, but they often do not make a close reading easy.

When we encounter unusual, non-mythological images, it is tempting to see specific rituals or festivals—in this case ones related to Dionysos—but this always relies on some sort of speculation or sources not directly related to the god in Athens. We can say with somewhat more certainty that many scenes on late black-figure skyphoi depict Dionysos and Dionysian activities as related to the countryside, as something outside of

⁶⁵ Heinemann (2016, 515-8) argues that despite the variety of Dionysian scenes in the repertoire of Classical Athenian vase-painters, Dionysos was fundamentally a god of the symposium. While Heinemann's study focuses on Dionysos on fifth-century Attic vases, he pays little attention to late black-figure vases. Isler-Kerényi (2015, 19) describes late black-figure iconography as not substantially different from contemporary red-figure painters, but Carpenter (1997, 12-3) argues that early red-figure painters established a new canon of Dionysian iconography while black-figure painters carried on the existing tradition. Hedreen (2009a) argues that Dionysian imagery is not meant to represent a positive or negative message, but should be read as a discourse on the social evolution of humans, on why contemporary people do not live like people of the past. On the iconography of Dionysos in black-figure, see also Carpenter 1986; Shapiro 1989, 89-100; Hatzivassiliou 2010, 12-3.

the city. Backgrounds filled with vines and the presence of goats and other animals ensure these scenes are not typical symposia in the city.⁶⁶

Dionysos' cult was prominent throughout the Attic countryside and had a special appeal to the rural population.⁶⁷ But we should not imagine that black-figure skyphoi were intended for rural populations because of their iconography, though, because many are found in household and sanctuary contexts in the city.⁶⁸ Fragments of several cup-skyphoi of the Haimon Group and Lañcut Group and large skyphoi of the CHC Group were found in the Sanctuary of Nymphe on the south slope of the Acropolis,⁶⁹ and many more skyphos fragments were found on the Acropolis proper (including fig. 4.11 and 4.12). The older, more traditional, and even old-fashioned black-figure technique lent

⁶⁶ Dietrich 2010, 69-79.

⁶⁷ Shapiro 1989, 84.

⁶⁸ See for instance the black-figure drinking vessels from a household context published in Lynch 2011, 104-23. Sanctuaries outside the city likely saw worshipers visit from the city and other towns in the regions, so archaeological contexts that might give us a glimpse of truly "rural" life are rare. One countryside domestic context in Attica, the Dema house, dates to the last quarter of the fifth century. A significant quantity of pottery and other finds were associated with the house, most of the pottery being black-gloss. There were several red-figure vases, including kraters (Jones et al. 1962, 88.1-4, pl. 27-8) and two fragments of a black-figure skyphos (Jones et al. 1962, 88.5, pl. 28b). The excavators describe the skyphos as "[r]ough 'home-made' ware perhaps by a local painter, or from Boeotia(?)" (Jones et al. 1962, 88). Given the late date of the house, the vase could be a Boeotian imitation of a late Attic black-figure skyphos (see below on Boeotian imitations), or it could be a very late product of an Attic workshop. The Dema house was large and well furnished, so material found at the site should be interpreted as the belongings of a prosperous, likely elite family (Jones et al. 1962, 100).

⁶⁹ Haimon and Lañcut Groups: Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1973, 193-5, no. 10-14. Cf. especially 194.14 (Athens, 1st Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities [once Fetiche Tjami] 1959 NAK 445; *BAPD* 1964; Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1973, pl. 69.14a-b), a cup-skyphos of Ure's Class K, which Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou compares to Agora P1270 (*ABV* 581.12; Vanderpool 1946, pl. 45.81), but says the Nymphe cup-skyphos is much older based on the painting and dates it 510-500 compared to the 490-480 date of the Agora vase. However, I see no reason the date the Nymphe vase any earlier than the Agora example. CHC Group: Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1973, 215-9, no. 67-81. Many more fragments of unattributed late black-figure vases were found at the Nymphe Shrine, including some kylikes (Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1973, 195-201, no. 15-28).

itself to the rural, Dionysian scenes popular on skyphoi. The combination of iconography and technique, and perhaps even the vase shape, is more evocative of rural festivities than of elite gatherings in the city, but it is in the city that they are found.

Several types of rural, Dionysian scenes are found on late black-figure skyphoi. Most of these iconographic themes can also be found in red-figure. However, several other types of scenes popular in red-figure vase-painting—especially on kylikes—are rather uncommon on skyphoi. These include gymnasium scenes, battle scenes, and scenes from the Homeric epics, among others.⁷⁰ The iconography of late black-figure skyphoi is generally not narrative heavy, and this is one of its greatest differences from red-figure. Rather, black-figure skyphoi favor generic narratives that could be read as a variety of stories or activities. Dionysian processions, scenes of symposiasts reclining on the ground, and scenes of the god himself can be found on many late black-figure skyphoi.

A Heron Class skyphos from the Athenian Agora attributed to the Theseus Painter (fig. 4.2) shows a Dionysian procession of people, probably not gods or other mythological figures.⁷¹ Dionysian *thiasos* scenes begin to appear on Attic vases around 560 and continue through the Archaic period.⁷² This skyphos is large, with a diameter at the lip of 24.4 cm and height of 18.8 cm.⁷³ It is a typical example of Ure's Class B; with a

⁷⁰ Batino 2002, 25-6, 36-9.

⁷¹ Athens, Agora P1544; *ABL* 251.47; *ABV* 518. Borgers 2007, 116-7, 150.44-151.52. Several other vases attributed to the Theseus Painter depict the same sort of scene: Athens, Agora P1547 (*ABL* 251.49; *ABV* 518; Borgers 2007, pl. 17c); Athens, Agora P1548 (*ABL* 251.48; *ABV* 518; Borgers 2007, pl. 17b); Athens, Agora P1549 (*ABL* 251.48bis; *ABV* 518; Borgers 2007, pl. 19a); Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 290 (Borgers 2007, pl. 18); and Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4591 (*BAPD* 7663; Borgers 2007, pl. 17d-e).

⁷² Shapiro 1989, 90.

⁷³ The vase is slightly larger than Agora P32413 (Lynch 2011, fig. 44), which Lynch (2001, 121) estimates would hold approximately three liters of wine.

wide, deep bowl; an offset, concave lip; and canted, horseshoe-shaped handles. The spreading foot is separated from the body by a narrow fillet painted red. The figural scene occupies nearly the entire height of the body and continues all the way around and under the handles. A continuous, horizontal vine decorates the lip.

On each side of the vase (figs. 4.2a and 4.2b) are four figures, three nude males and one clothed female musician, moving to the right. Under one handle is a crouching male (fig. 4.2c) and under the other handle is a goat (fig. 4.2d). The men strike poses that indicate dancing. On one side (fig. 4.2a), the woman plays an aulos and is followed by a beardless youth carrying a large pointed amphora on his shoulder. The amphora has a white garland hanging around its neck, and the revelers all wear various types of garlands or fillets on their heads. The aulos player's skin was painted in added white, which has flaked off, and her hair was painted in a different, thicker white slip. This slip was probably originally more yellow than her skin and of the same sort used by the Krokotos Painter to depict the saffron colored robes from which the group takes its name.⁷⁴ The bearded male to her right has his left leg raised and both arms out as he dances to her song. In front of him, under the handle, is a goat moving to the right (fig. 4.2d). The scene is continuous, so the goat seems to be part of the procession rather than a space filler. The figure in front of the goat, on the far left of the opposite side of the vase, looks back toward the animal, seeming to lead him forward. Another fragmentary skyphos by the Theseus Painter has the same subject with a goat under the handle (fig. 4.13).⁷⁵ There,

⁷⁴ For the Krokotos Group see Ure 1955.

⁷⁵ Athens, Agora P1547; *ABL* 251.49; *ABV* 518.

a reveler reaches back to grab the goat by its horns, clearly indicating it is part of the scene and not simply filling the awkward space under the handle.

The other side of the vase (fig. 4.2b) features a similar scene. Here the female musician plays a kithara and the bearded man behind her, rather than carrying anything to contribute to their celebration, reaches out to touch the woman. Vines fill the background of both sides, indicating a non-urban setting for this procession or *kōmos*. Vines are one of the most ubiquitous elements in much late black-figure painting. Black-figure lends itself to this sort of filling ornament more so than red-figure, but that is not to say that these background elements are meaningless. Dietrich argues that vines and other natural elements do not embody pictorial space in Greek vase-painting, but rather that they should be seen as iconographic attributes, lending to the depiction and characterization of figures and actions. Landscape elements do not simply indicate the physical setting of a scene, but contribute to the meaning of the image. Many landscape elements serve as attributes for figures connected with wild nature and beyond the boundaries of the polis.⁷⁶ We need not go as far as to say the Theseus Painter's skyphos represents an anti-polis scene, but the vines certainly suggest a non-polis setting.

Burkert suggests procession or *kōmos* scenes like this, which include a goat, may represent or refer to the sacrifice of a he-goat (τράγος) at the City Dionysia, which lent its name to tragedy, the focus of the festival (τραγωδία = goat song).⁷⁷ Additionally, Malagardis sees a figure carrying an amphora like the one on this vase as an indicator of

⁷⁶ Dietrich 2010, 65-9, 92-105

⁷⁷ Burkert 1966, 98-102.

a sacrificial context.⁷⁸ The City Dionysia took place, as the name implies, in the city and not in the countryside, but I would not suggest that this scene is meant to represent any real procession or even an idealized form of any actual practice.⁷⁹ The goat and vines alike are Dionysian attributes and their main function in the image is as indices of the Dionysian context.⁸⁰

Another major festival of Dionysos in Attica, the Rural Dionysia, was older than the City Dionysia and did take place outside of the city, with celebrations of various sizes and varying levels of complexity held by individual demes or *trittyes* or at regional centers in Attica.⁸¹ We have very little evidence for the Rural Dionysia and it likely varied by location. One common feature seems to have been a procession with a large phallus, as seen on a Little Master cup in Florence.⁸² The Rural Dionysia surely also involved feasting and drinking, and black-figure skyphoi would have been a fitting choice for these celebrations. In any case, the festival supports the wine god's association with the countryside and rural life. New deme theaters are constructed in the fourth

⁷⁸ Malagardis 1985, 76-7. Cf. Tampa, Museum of Art 1986.52 (*ABV* 704.27ter; *Paralipomena* 256; Borgers 2007, pl. 15 a-b) and Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum KAS74 (*BAPD* 351553; Borgers 2007, pl. 15c-d); which show amphorae being carried hung from a rod between two men and animals clearly being led to sacrifice.

⁷⁹ Simon 1983, 101-4.

⁸⁰ Van Straten (1995, 52-3) suggests the goat functions mostly as a space filler for an area too small for full-size human figures. Beneath the other handle on the Agora skyphos (fig. 1c) is a crouching male figure, contradicting this suggestion.

⁸¹ Paga (2010, 372-82) argues the distribution of deme theaters in Attica suggests there was one theater per *trittys* per *phylē*, and the theaters served as civic centers when not in use for dramatic festivals. Goette (2014) argues there were fewer deme theaters than often assumed, and several adjacent demes or *trittys* may have shared one theater in an area.

⁸² Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3897; *BAPD* 547; Carpenter 1986, pl. 22.

century, showing that the Rural Dionysia is not supplanted by the festival in the city as the relationship of city to countryside in Attica evolves through the fifth century.

Two Heron Class vases from the Sub-Krokotos Group show a different sort of procession. A vase from Rhitsona, now in Thebes,⁸³ and another in Athens from Tanagra⁸⁴ (fig. 4.14) show identical scenes of old men with bald heads, white hair, and beards processing to the right with right hands on their hips and left hands holding staffs with branches or vines in the background. Another vase from Tanagra shows a similar scene but with a group of women moving to the right while looking back to the left and raising their right hands, also with branches in the background.⁸⁵ These scenes are usually interpreted as dramatic choruses.⁸⁶ These groups are conspicuously static compared to the *kōmoi* described above, and the scenes lack musicians. However, their coordinated gestures support the identification as choruses.⁸⁷ Choruses are intrinsically ritual and Dionysian. These scenes lack indices that would identify them as specific choruses or festivals, but the vines in the background allude to an outdoor and rural context.

The CHC Group produced many skyphoi with scenes in the *kōmos*/procession genre.⁸⁸ The scenes are sometimes mixed groups and sometimes all women, as on a skyphos from the Agora (fig. 4.5).⁸⁹ On either side of the vase, a group of women move

⁸³ Thebes, Archaeological Museum 17097 (R.18.99); *ABV* 522.1; *CVA* Thebes 1, pl. 47.

⁸⁴ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 362; *ABV* 522.2; *CVA* Athens, National Museum 4, pl. 35.

⁸⁵ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1110; *BAPD* 15283; *CVA* Athens, National Museum 4, pl. 37.

⁸⁶ Pipili 1993, 46, 47; Sabetai 2001, 55.

⁸⁷ Webster 1970, 22.

⁸⁸ See *ABV* 619.67-620.84. Manakidou (2005) suggests the scenes should be associated with Dionysian cult.

⁸⁹ Athens Agora P1141; *ABV* 620.78.

to the right, three on one side and four on the other. Here again they move in unison, but appear slightly more dynamic than on the skyphos from Tanagra. The figures lean to the right and their hastily rendered back feet look like they are about to spring off the groundline. These figures are more obviously dancing, so could likewise represent a chorus.

At each handle, flanking the group of women, is a sphinx facing outward and looking back. Sphinxes are a common motif on skyphoi of the CHC Group, sometimes by the handles as in the Agora example, and other times at the center of the scene of on pillars. Framing the scene is the most common role for sphinxes on Attic vases in the sixth century, overseeing events and perhaps serving an apotropaic function.⁹⁰ This vase and others like it by the CHC Group do not include a goat or anything to suggest they are meant to represent sacrificial processions. Compared to the Theseus Painter skyphos discussed above, and if we see the goat more as an index of setting than action, it seems reasonable to include all of these images in the same category. All three groups discussed above—the Theseus Painter's *kōmos* scenes, the Sub-Krokotos Group choruses, and the CHC Group vases—share Dionysian connections and depictions of group ritual activity. Since they are also unified by shape, I think they can be considered broadly as one category.

Procession and *kōmos* scenes on skyphoi probably cannot be associated with specific religious activity beyond their general Dionysian connection. There are several suggestions of cult activity, like dance, wreathed celebrants and wine jars, and animals ready for sacrifice, but there is nothing to indicate these elements should be seen as

⁹⁰ Kourou 1997; Langridge-Noti 2003, 146.

markers of specific religious festivals, though many scholars seek to make such connections.⁹¹

Some late black-figure skyphoi do depict scenes that more certainly represent cult activity. The mask of Dionysos hung on a pole appears on vases in the late sixth century and continues in late black-figure, including an example by the Theseus Painter (fig. 4.15).⁹² His vase shows the mask of Dionysos on one side (fig. 4.15a) and a procession of figures wearing wreaths and carrying an amphora on the other (fig. 4.15b), further suggesting cult connection. The Theseus Painter also painted at least two skyphoi showing Dionysos in a ship-cart (fig. 4.16).⁹³ The scene is not completely unique to the artist, but the few other examples on vases appear to be closely related to his work.⁹⁴ The ship-cart procession clearly has some religious significance, and connections to the

⁹¹ Wreathing wine jugs is considered by many an allusion to the Anthesteria festival, where jugs (*choes*) of the year's new wine were garlanded and taken to the sanctuary of Dionysos *en Limnais*. See *Ath.* 10.437c-d; Deubner 1932, 99; Parke 1977, 115-6; Hamilton 1992, 23, 46. A fragmentary red-figure chous (Athens, Agora P5270; Moore 1997, pl. 69) shows a worshiper approaching a cult statue and altar carrying an oinochoe with a wreath around the neck. This is obviously a different type of vase than the one shown on the Theseus Painter's skyphos, but placing wreaths on wine jugs seems to have been a special practice reversed for festivals (Talcott 1945).

⁹² Athens, National Museum 498; *ABL* 251.44; *BAPD* 4318. Similar scenes, in black- and red-figure, showing a mask of Dionysos on a pole are said to represent the Lenaia festival. These vases are typically called "Lenaia Vases" after the earliest study of the scene by Frickenhaus (1912). The bibliography for this iconographic theme is substantial. There is some debate concerning what, if any, religious festival or ritual is depicted. See Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, 42-63 for a summary of the debate. See also Deubner 1932, 127-8; Simon 1983, 100-1; Shapiro 1989, 99; Halm-Tisserant 1991; Hamilton 1992, 134-8; Carpenter 1997, 79-82; Borgers 2007, 92-3; Hatzivassilou 2010, 13; Isler-Kerényi 2015, 125-35; Heinemann 2016, 488-502.

⁹³ Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.1281; *ABL* 250.29; *BAPD* 465. The other ship-cart vase by the Theseus Painter is London, British Museum 1836.2-24.62 (*ABL* 250.30; Borgers 2007, pl. 4a).

⁹⁴ Two other vases showing the ship-cart of Dionysos are dated ca. 500. Bologna, Museum Civico Archeologico DL109 (*ABL* 253.15; *CVA* Bologna 2, pl. 43) is a skyphos attributed to the White Heron Group. Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität S./10 1497 (*BAPD* 5921; *CVA* Tübingen 3, pl. 6.4) is a fragment of uncertain shape. On the ship-cart of Dionysos see Mansfield 1985, 69-78; Göttlicher 1992, 103-10; and Wachsmann 2012.

Anthesteria⁹⁵ or the City Dionysia festivals⁹⁶ have been suggested. It is important to note that while these scenes may allude to Athenian cult practices, both scenes feature mythological figures—a satyr on the Lenaia vase and Dionysos himself in the ship-cart—so they cannot be illustrations of cult practices.

Instead of trying to link these vases and their imagery to specific contexts, religious or otherwise, I would argue that scenes of Dionysian revelry, and especially their rural setting, were meant to signify particular qualities to the viewer and user of the vase. The rural and rustic scenes evoke a time and place likely very different from the context in which Athenians would have used the vases.⁹⁷ The scenes are idealizing and retrospective, alluding to practices that likely did not ever exist in Athens, much less at the time these vases were produced.

Another common iconographic theme found on late black-figure skyphoi puts greater emphasis on rustic and retrospective elements inherent in the old-fashioned black-figure technique. Scenes of banquets where drinkers recline on the ground rather than on couches are found in the repertoires of the Theseus Painter's and the CHC Group's Heron Class skyphoi as well as the Haimon Group's cup-skyphoi. Vines hanging above and around the banqueters in these images emphasize their setting as out-of-doors and out-of-the-city as well as their Dionysian associations. While such scenes are popular in both the black- and red-figure techniques, black-figure vases more often show drinkers reclining

⁹⁵ Deubner 1932, 102-6; Parke 1977, 109; Simon 1983, 93-4; Shapiro 1989, 99; Göttlicher 1992, 103.

⁹⁶ Burkert 1983, 200-1. See also van Straten 1995, 18-9.

⁹⁷ For the distinction between urban and rural life in ancient Athens, see Jones 1999, 82-122. Jones uses a variety of evidence to argue that rural demes were relatively isolated from the city center.

on the ground than on couches in the fifth century.⁹⁸ The motif appeared on a range of black-figure shapes (like on the kylikes in fig. 4.1 and 4.3b) but in red-figure it is mostly confined to kylikes. It is most popular in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. Examples are found as early as the second quarter of the sixth century in Lakonian and East Greek vase-painting and continue into the fourth century in Attic red-figure.⁹⁹ The height of popularity for these symposium on the ground scenes is around 500.

Heinrich cataloged 168 examples of the motif, to which Topper adds 117.¹⁰⁰ There are more examples that have not been included in their lists because they feature a single banqueter and thus cannot truly be called symposia. We could read these lone drinkers as shorthand for a larger symposium, but whether other drinkers are implied or not, there is a clear connection to scenes with multiple symposiasts. One such vase is a cup-skyphos of Ure's Class K2 by the Haimon Painter (fig. 4.6) showing a lone figure reclining on the ground.¹⁰¹ This is a smaller vessel than the Heron Class skyphoi discussed above, with a diameter at the lip of 13.8 cm and a height of 7.8 cm, and a narrow band of figural decoration between the two canted handles. The painting is very hasty, with no incision. The black slip has misfired a reddish brown in places and is worn

⁹⁸ Haimon Group cup-skyphoi do occasionally show symposia with furniture. See Athens, Agora P1368 (*ABV* 570.699; Vanderpool 1946, pl. 46.88); Oxford 1940.155 (*ABV* 575.13).

⁹⁹ Heinrich 2007, 101. For early Lakonian and East Greek vases with symposia on the ground, see Heinrich 2007, 142-3.

¹⁰⁰ Heinrich 2007, 130-53; Topper 2009a. In black-figure, the shape is found on amphorae, skyphoi, kylikes, and oinochoai, among other shapes.

¹⁰¹ Athens, Agora P32424; Lynch 2011, 207.46. For similar scenes, see Athens, 1st Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (once Fetiche Tjami) 1959 NAK 1173 (*BAPD* 3096; Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1973, pl. 91.100); Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden K.94/1,17 (*BAPD* 9009066; *CVA* Leiden 2, pl. 63.6-7); Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden B.1902/5,31 (*BAPD* 766; *CVA* Leiden 2, pl. 63.8-9).

away in others. A similar scene is repeated on both sides, showing an individual reclining on the groundline surrounded by vines with large black dots to indicate fruit and a vertical palmette by each handle. Repetition of the same or very similar scenes on both sides of the vase is a very common feature of late black-figure skyphoi.¹⁰² On one side the figure holds a large, round object, perhaps a lyre. No furniture is indicated, nor are any cushions for that matter, but it is clear the figure is intended to be reclining on the ground outdoors.

The Lañcut Group, connected with late members of the Haimon Group, produced several cup-skyphoi with the motif of drinkers reclining on the ground (fig. 4.17).¹⁰³ The narrow figural bands of their shallow cup-skyphoi only allow for a scene with a few figures, usually flanked by handle palmettes. As with the Haimon Painter cup-skyphos above, the hastiness of their production is sometimes manifest in more than the drawing. The slip is often applied thinly or misfired red instead of the consistent, solid black of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi.

The symposium on the ground motif can also be found on a Heron Class skyphos by the Theseus Painter (fig. 4.18).¹⁰⁴ This is another large skyphos (diameter at the lip

¹⁰² Steiner (1993, 207; 2007, 1-16) argues that such repetition can serve to convey emphasis when the scene is exactly repeated or, when the scenes are similar but not identical, to draw attention to what is and is not repeated.

¹⁰³ Athens, Agora P1290; *ABV* 580.5. Cf. also Athens, Agora P1561 (*ABV* 580.6; Moore and Philipides 1986, pl. 104); once Brussels, Somzée Coll. (*ABV* 580.4; Furtwangler 1897, pl. 37, ii, 4); Thebes, Archaeological Museum R.18.82 (*ABV* 580.1; Ure 1927, pl. 21); Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 20919 (*ABV* 581.7; Pavini and Giudice 2003, 296.F57); Athens, National Museum 3713 (*ABV* 581.1); Athens, Agora P1367 (*ABV* 581.2, Vanderpool 1946, pl. 46.87); Athens, Kerameikos KER 8277 (Knigge 1976, pl. 14.1); Limassol, District Archaeological Museum 502/4 (Gjerstad 1977, pl. 31.3); Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1917.1023 (*BAPD* 1164; *CVA* Germany 41 Hamburg 1, pl. 47); among others.

¹⁰⁴ Athens, Agora P1545; *ABL* 249.4; *ABV* 518. For the same scene by the Theseus Painter, see Borgers 2007, 147.24-8.

24.7 cm, height 18.4 cm) of Ure's Class B. The same scene is repeated on both sides with slightly varying details. Unlike most of the vases discussed up to this point, we can say with certainty that this scene represents mythological figures. We see Herakles, identifiable by the knobby club held in the crook of his left arm, and a companion drinking from rhyta while reclining on cushions on the ground.¹⁰⁵ Cushions under and behind the figures are indicated in added white (mostly flaked away), as are the herons below each handle. There is no furniture in the scene, and vines fill the background and set the scene out of doors and outside the city. The heroes have hung their swords, bows, and quivers from the vines above them. In front of Herakles' companion, the thick stalk of the vine grows from the ground, making it clear they are reclining in a vineyard.

A skyphos from the Athenian Agora attributed to the CHC Group of Ure's Class C (fig. 4.19) shows a scene of drinkers reclining on the ground similar to that on the Theseus Painter's vase.¹⁰⁶ The figural decoration fills a band on the upper half of the body between the handles and the lower half of the body is solid black. The scene is the same on both sides. A draped, bearded figure reclines on a cushion at center, with an aulos player to the left and a dancing satyr and maenad to either side of the central pair. The reclining figure wears a roughly rendered headdress or turban, as indicated by the small knob on his forehead and larger protrusion on the back of his head.¹⁰⁷ He is larger

¹⁰⁵ The second figure could be Iolaos, Herakles' frequent companion, but Wolf (1993, 30) argues the figure should be identified instead as Hermes based on similarities with other vases where a companion of Herakles does have attributes identifying him as the messenger god. See for instance a black-figure lekythos fragment from the Agora (Athens, Agora P2648; *ABV* 473.167; *ABL* 213.167; Moore and Philippides 1986, pl. 79.877), showing Hermes wearing a winged cap, reclining next to Herakles with his knobby club. Given the sword and baldric hanging in front of the figure in question on both sides of the vase, I think an identification as Hermes is less likely, as the god is rarely, if ever, armed.

¹⁰⁶ Athens, Agora P1140/P1160; *ABV* 620.86.

¹⁰⁷ Other Heron Class skyphoi feature figures wearing unusual headgear, but these figures are not necessarily meant to be Dionysos. Cf. Agora P26648 (*BAPD* 30784; Moore and Philippides 1986, pl. 102)

than the surrounding figures, but this need not be iconographically significant. It may simply be an attempt to create a more isocephalic composition. Since he is accompanied by satyrs and maenads, the reclining figure is likely meant to be Dionysos, and the headdress part of his often exotic costume.¹⁰⁸

The shape and size (diameter 22.5 cm, height 16.5 cm) are very similar to the Theseus Painter example above, but the painting is much less careful. The satyr and maenad figures lack any incision for facial details, and the maenads' skin is painted in white slip directly onto the body of the vase rather than over a layer of black. The black slip is applied less evenly and some thin spots have fired lighter. The subsidiary decoration is very roughly done, especially the horizontal band at the bottom of the body of the vessel.

A Heron Class skyphos of the Sub-Krokotos Group from Rhitsona has a similar scene with the reclining figure in the same scale as his companions (fig. 4.20).¹⁰⁹ The main figure and his attributes are much more clearly defined. Like the banqueters on the CHC Group vase, he wears what looks like a turban—sometimes identified as a *mitra*—and he holds a kantharos. A nearly identical scene is repeated on each side. He is flanked by four women, the one immediately to his right playing the aulos, the one at left playing

and P32413 (*BAPD* 24903; Lynch 2011, fig. 44). On the turban-like headdress, or *mitra*, see Brandenburg 1966, 76-86; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 50-6; Bezantakos 1987, 85-94. Brandenburg (1966, 133-48) shows that the *mitra* has both feminine and Oriental associations, but that its Oriental connotations are primary. These scenes are distinct from so-called Anacreontic vases, which show a musician/poet and revelers dressed in eastern garb, including turbans, long chitons, and tall boots. These scenes begin in the late sixth century and continue into the fifth, and are included in the repertoire of the Haimon Painter (cf. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.162.13 [*ABV* 538; *ABL* 241.1; *CVA* USA 1, Hoppin and Gallatin Collections, pl. 7.8]; Princeton, Art Museum 51.43 [*ABV* 538.1; Miller 1999, fig. 30]). On Anacreontic vases see Kurtz and Boardman 1983, 47-50; Price 1990, 158-67; Miller 1999, 232-41.

¹⁰⁸ On the identification of gods and other figures in banquet scenes, see Scheffer 2009.

¹⁰⁹ Thebes, Archaeological Museum 6024 (R.31.173); *ABV* 209.2.

the barbiton, and dancing women at far left and right. The background is filled with vines with bunches of grapes. The most significant difference between each side is that on one side (fig. 4.20a) the banqueter wears a garment of alternating red and black stripes decorated with white dots, while on the other (fig. 4.20b) he is nude. Dionysos is generally not shown nude in this period, and there are no satyrs present in these examples, only women who may be maenads or simply entertainers, so on one side at least the figure is a mortal symposiast.¹¹⁰ Other Heron Class skyphoi in Athens by the slightly earlier Krokotos Group show similar scenes. On one vase, the reclining figure is clothed and the same size as his companions.¹¹¹ Others, however, show a reclining figure who is conspicuously larger than the other figures in the scene.¹¹² None of these figures is certainly intended to represent Dionysos, but more likely they are meant to be the same sort of banqueter taking part in an idyllic, rural symposium.

What is most significant in these scenes is that the symposiasts recline on cushions placed on the same groundline on which the other figures stand and not on a *klinē*. In the Agora example (fig. 4.19), by the especially hasty CHC Group, there are no vines in the background or other details to indicate a setting, but the backgrounds of the Krokotos and Sub-Krokotos Group (fig. 4.20) examples are filled with grapevines. Even without the setting, the scenes are securely Dionysian and the figures reclining on the ground wearing exotic headgear are unusual enough to signify that these are not everyday scenes.

¹¹⁰ Pipili 1993, 41-2.

¹¹¹ Athens, National Museum 368; *Paralipomena* 94; *CVA* Athens 4, pl. 29.

¹¹² Athens, National Museum 14906 (*Paralipomena* 94; *CVA* Athens 4, pl. 30); Athens, Agora P26652 (*Paralipomena* 94; Moore and Philippides 1986, pl. 100).

These scenes are often lumped together with indoor symposium scenes in iconographic studies, but the absence of *klinai* represents a significant difference from a normal symposium. In Plato's *Republic* (2.367b-373c), Socrates and Glaukon each imagine banquets in their ideal cities. In Socrates' city, people lie on beds of straw and leaves, to which Glaukon objects and describes banquets employing all kinds of fine furniture.¹¹³ Though we should not take Plato to represent popular opinion, the contrast drawn between symposia indoors on furniture and outdoors on the ground is notable and parallel to what we see on these vases. Some scenes of symposiasts reclining on the groundline of the figural area could be shorthand for symposia on couches (more often the case in red-figure examples, see fig. 4.10), but as noted, many include vines or other landscape elements that mark them as outdoors (see fig. 4.1, 4.3b, 4.6, 4.17, 4.18, and 4.20), and include figures or objects on the groundline (see fig. 4.1, 4.3b, 4.19, and 4.20), indicating there is no couch implied below the banqueter.

We should not imagine that these scenes depict the setting in which these skyphoi were used. Greek vase-painting is not a documentary record of everyday life. The scenes more likely represent an ideal (especially given the presence of Herakles and Dionysos) rather than something real. The presence of these mythological figures distances them from everyday life and sets them in the heroic and mythological past. The paintings show practices or perhaps rituals associated with the countryside that we might consider rustic. Some have argued that these scenes depict some real Dionysiac ritual practice in

¹¹³ Yatromanolakis 2009, 426-7; Topper 2009b, 12-4.

Athens,¹¹⁴ but the evidence for this is uncertain and I would argue unnecessary to the understanding of the scenes.

There is no evidence or indication that Athenians regularly lay on the ground while eating or drinking or that they took to rural locations for their symposia. Heinrich argues the landscape elements, especially the vines, set the scenes in a Dionysian utopia. Scenes of “real” people reclining on the ground, as opposed to Dionysos or other gods or heroes, should be seen as imaginary feasts in the realm of Dionysos rather than some real practice.¹¹⁵ Topper argues that symposia on the ground represent a sort of primeval drinking affair, linking symposium practice to the earliest inhabitants of Greece in the minds of those using these vases. This is in contrast to the standard understanding of the symposium as an import from the Near East and synonymous with foreign luxury. In her reading, the symposium on the ground represents the practice as inherently Greek and belonging to all sharing that identity.¹¹⁶ The symposium on the ground motif, more likely than representing a religious practice, represents a rustic, old-fashioned scene of a drinking party lacking the elegance and luxury that might be found at many symposia in the city, but embodying a quaintness and even authenticity (cf. Socrates’ ideal symposium above) likely appealing to many Athenian symposiasts.

At a symposium or other setting where a fifth-century Athenian might find himself drinking from a black-figure skyphos like those discussed above, the rustic

¹¹⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood (2003, 79-89) suggests a banquet on ivy branches was part of the ritual *kōmos* celebrated during the City Dionysia. For evidence of ritual practice involving dining or drinking while reclining on the ground, see Verpoorten 1962; Goldstein 1978, 25-7; Graf 1985, 95-6; Kron 1988; Caesar 1990; Burkert 1985, 107; 1991; Heinrich 2007, 105-7.

¹¹⁵ Heinrich 2007, 108-18.

¹¹⁶ Topper 2009b; 2012.

imagery and the connotations of the old-fashioned (perhaps even what we might call archaistic) of the skyphos shape itself would stand in stark contrast to his surroundings. He most likely sat or reclined indoors on a *klinē*, not on a bed of branches and leaves, and without a canopy of vines over him. At most we might imagine a recreation of a rural symposium on the ground at a house in the city, with cushions on the floor of an *andrōn* or garden. These vases may have had cultic connections as well, especially if the old-fashioned or traditionally Athenian quality of the vases reflected values important to that cult.

Relation of Skyphoi to Athenian Cults

There is not the same clear connection between Attic skyphoi and religious festivals or cult practice that we see with Panathenaic prize amphorae, lekythoi, and krateriskoi (to be discussed in the following chapter). Skyphoi are not found overwhelmingly at one site or in one type of deposit, nor is their iconography peculiar enough to point to one special use. Several cult connections are possible, and I will discuss various suggestions below. Even though late Attic black-figure skyphoi seem to favor certain iconographic themes and Heron Class skyphoi at least seem to have been favored by the home market, I do not think we can point to one particular cult or ritual function for skyphoi. Black-figure skyphoi carried certain associations that made them well-suited to particular uses, but there was not the same essential connection to cult as we see in the other shapes discussed. If these vases were favored more for the traditional and rustic connotations of their appearance rather than an actual traditional function, it

may account for their somewhat shorter lifespan—especially for the Heron Class skyphoi—compared to other late black-figure shapes.

Skyphoi at Attic Festivals

Scheibler argues that large Heron Class skyphoi are connected with Attic cult practices based on their size, iconography, and the relatively high percentage of them found in Attica versus those exported. Their sizes vary somewhat, but most would hold about three liters of liquid, or about one *chous* (the liquid measure rather than the vase shape). The iconography and shape of the vases are not specialized enough that their use can be associated with only one particular setting. Rather, Scheibler suggests a range of meanings for their imagery and several cult contexts for their use. One such suggestion is the Anthesteria festival, which was held every year in honor of Dionysos over the course of three days in the month of Anthesterion (February-March). At the festival, jars of the year's new wine would be opened and drinking contests held where individuals competed to see who could drink a *chous* of the new wine fastest.¹¹⁷ Heron Class skyphoi would be the perfect size for these contests and the generally Dionysian scenes often found on them would fit in well at the festival dedicated to the wine god and specifically devoted to wine-drinking.

Another vase shape, called a *chous*, is probably to be connected to the Anthesteria festival. The shape—a squat, one-piece oinochoe with a low foot and a broad, trefoil mouth (Richter and Milne's type III oinochoe)—is produced in Athens throughout the

¹¹⁷ Scheibler 2000, 19-20. On the Anthesteria, see Deubner 1932, 93-123; Parke 1977, 107-20; Simon 1983, 92-9; Burkert 1985, 237-42; Hamilton 1999; Noel 1999. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 959-1234 describes the drinking contest of the Anthesteria.

fifth century.¹¹⁸ Some are large enough to hold about three liters—one liquid measure *chous*—of wine. In the third quarter of the fifth century, large numbers of miniature red-figure choes appear whose iconography seems to link them to the drinking contests of the Anthesteria. The vessels themselves are too small to have been used in the contest if it did indeed involve drinking three liters of wine. Instead, they may have been used for other, unofficial contests.¹¹⁹ Scenes on skyphoi and other shapes showing Dionysos traveling via ship-cart, as noted above,¹²⁰ may depict part of the Anthesteria or another festival of Dionysos, celebrating Dionysos' arrival from the East and as a reminder of his foreign origins.¹²¹

In addition to scenes of ritual, there are a number of scenes on skyphoi that Scheibler takes to represent coming-of-age motifs. These include youths confronted by sphinxes, which she takes as a symbol of the boys' growth and transition into adulthood.¹²² We find examples of this scene on Heron Class skyphoi and on cup-skyphoi, like an example in Athens attributed to the Theseus Painter (fig. 4.21).¹²³

¹¹⁸ Richter and Milne 1935, 19-20.

¹¹⁹ Green 1971, 189-91; Hamilton 1992, 63-81.

¹²⁰ See *supra* n. 94, n. 95.

¹²¹ Deubner 1932, 102-11; Parke 1977, 109; Simon 1983, 93-4; Shapiro 1989, 99.

¹²² Scheibler 2000, 33: "Die Sphinx wäre in diesem Fall als ein Raub- und Liebesdämon aufzufassen, der den erwachsen werdenden Knaben bedrängt." Sphinx scenes are often read as Oedipus and the Theban sphinx, but many must represent either a different myth or a generic scene. Langridge-Noti (2003, 141-54) argues for a funerary connection to these sphinxes. She sees sphinxes on columns, pedestals, or mounds as representing funerary monuments topped with sphinx statues. Figures confronting these sphinxes, she says, should be read as mourners visiting family tombs rather than any mythological figures.

¹²³ Athens, National Museum 18720; *ABV* 520.23. Heron Class: Rome, Villa Giulia 43967A (*ABV* 621.101; *CVA* Villa Giulia 3 pl. 47.3-4); London, British Museum 1836,0224.199 (*ABV* 621.102[?]); Athens, Agora P1147 (*ABV* 621.105); Athens, Agora P1148 (*ABV* 621.106); Athens, Agora AP949 (*ABV* 621.108, Broneer 1938, fig. 14); Athens, Agora P13786 (*ABV* 622.109); Catania, Museo Civico 4133 (*ABV* 622.111; Barresi and Valastro 2000, 66.54); Catania, Museo Civico 4134 (Barresi and Valastro 2000, 67.55);

Specifically, Scheibler would link these scenes and the vases they decorate to the Apatouria, an annual festival where citizen children are recognized as members of their fathers' *phratries* and *ephebes* were officially introduced into the clan.¹²⁴ The three day festival involved sacrifices and feasting, as did most Greek festivals. In this case the patron deities were Athena Phratria and Zeus Phratrios, though Dionysos also played an important role in the festival's foundation myth and one ancient source claims (*Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Ἀπατούρια) the Apatouria was a festival of Dionysos.¹²⁵ Scheibler suggests a Heron Class skyphos may be the "large cup referred to as an *oinostēria*" that Athenaios (11.494f) says were part of the rites at the Apatouria.¹²⁶ Ephebes would fill a large cup with wine before cutting their hair on the third day of the festival, the Koureotis. They would then pour a libation to Herakles and offer the rest of the wine to those accompanying them.

The Apatouria was celebrated by individual *phratries*, hereditary groups tied to common lineage with their own shrine, presumably at the home village of their ancestor. Though it was a central part of polis religion by virtue of ensuring citizenship to those taking part, the celebration of the Apatouria was not centralized in the city of Athens.¹²⁷

Nicosia, Cyprus Museum C622 (*ABV* 623.1; Gjerstad 1977, pl. 31.7); Oslo, private collection (*Paralipomena* 308; *CVA* Norway 1, pl. 17.1-2).

¹²⁴ Scheibler 2000, 32-8. On the Apatouria see Deubner 1932, 232-4; Mikalson 1975, 79; Parke 1977, 88-92; Burkert 1985, 255-6; Vidal-Naquet 1986, 108-12; Lambert 1998, 143-89. A major source for the Apatouria festival is the Demotionidai decree (*IG* II² 1237). For possible representations of the Apatouria on red-figure vases, see Knauer 1996.

¹²⁵ Lambert 1998, 144-6, 157-8.

¹²⁶ Trans. S.D. Olson. Scheibler 2000, 38-9. On the other hand, Böhr (2009) suggests a corpus of smaller red-figure kylikes, each holding about a half liter of liquid, could be meant for young men at the Apatouria. However, all of her examples with provenience come from Vulci.

¹²⁷ On polis religion see Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a, 2000b; Kindt 2009.

The members of an individual *phratry* may live scattered around Attica and return to their ancestral home every year. In this case, the rural setting in the scenes on these skyphoi may allude to or reflect such celebrations outside of the city.

Several black-figure vases of the late sixth and early fifth centuries show groups of women seated at a banquet, holding large skyphoi. These are not “*hetaira* symposium” scenes found on some early red-figure vases, where nude women recline and drink without the company of men, but *hetairai* do usually drink from skyphoi in such scenes.¹²⁸ An amphora in Munich dated to the last decade of the sixth century shows two women seated and two standing around a table hung with strips of meat (fig. 4.22).¹²⁹ The seated woman at left holds up a large skyphos while a woman standing in front of her lifts an oinochoe to fill the drinking vessel. The woman standing at center right, facing the other seated woman, holds another large vessel that does not appear to have a foot or handles. Perhaps this is the dinos from which the oinochoe has been filled. All four women wear garlands that extend well beyond their heads. Three Doric columns in the background place the scene in a stoa or perhaps a temple. Similar scenes on other vases have vines filling the background.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ On *hetaira* symposia scenes, see Peschel 1987, Ferrari 2002, 19-20; Hedreen 2009b, 222-7. Examples include a scene on the shoulder of a hydria in Munich by Phintias (Antikensammlung 2421; *ARV*² 23.7; *CVA* Munich 5, pl. 225.2) and the psykter by Euphronios in St. Petersburg (Hermitage 644; *ARV*² 16.15; Hedreen 2009b, fig. 7). The scenes are generally thought to be fantasy rather than a real practice.

¹²⁹ Munich, Antikensammlungen 1538; *ABV* 395.3; *CVA* Munich 9, pl. 10. The reverse shows two pankratists, a judge or trainer, and an aulos player. For other examples of all female banquets on black-figure vases, see Pingiatoglou 1994.

¹³⁰ Cf. two vases by the Leagros Group: a hydria in Rome (Villa Giulia 50466; *ABV* 366.75; Pingiatoglou 1994, pl. 14.2-15.2) and a column krater in Agrigento (Museo Nazionale Archeologico R142; *ABV* 377.235; *CVA* Agrigento 1, pl. 3-4).

The presence of only women and that they are seated rather than reclining makes certain the scene is not a proper symposium. Calderone and Pingiatoglou both identify this scene and others like it as a banquet during the Thesmophoria, a festival of Demeter and Kore reserved only for women.¹³¹ Literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence all show that group dining was a part of Demeter festivals around the Greek world.¹³² However, assuming vase-painters were male, any representation of these all-female festivals would have been mostly imagined. All female banquets certainly did exist in Athens, and if kylikes were used exclusively at symposia, another shape like the skyphos must have been used by women. Men are shown using both shapes at symposia (fig. 4.10). The large size of the skyphoi in these scenes, Pingiatoglou believes, could be meant as a humorous reference to women's love of wine, though she also argues that the women shown are aristocrats with their servants.¹³³ These scenes probably do not depict the Thesmophoria or any other specific festival, but rather what an idealized women's banquet would look like. The images do not prove a ritual practice involving women and skyphoi, but they do show that the skyphos and not the kylix was the vessel for such a ritual banquet in the minds of Athenians.

¹³¹ Calderone 1987; Pingiatoglou 1994.

¹³² For the extensive evidence of dining at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, see Bookidis 1993. For the Thesmophoria at Athens, see Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 132-4. Women-only ritual dining and drinking at the festival for Demeter and Kore is a central plot point of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai*.

¹³³ Pingiatoglou 1994, 46.

Images and Ritual

Heinemann makes a useful distinction between images *of* ritual (i.e. images showing ritual like the Lenaia vases) and images *for* ritual (i.e. images on vessels intended for ritual use). He is mostly concerned with red-figure vases of the later fifth century, but his observations hold for the vases discussed above. Images for ritual have an extra-pictorial (*außerbildlich*) rather than an internal (*bildimmanent*) connection to ritual, often through shape or find context.¹³⁴ For example, the miniature size and the findspots of Lindos Group skyphoi make their ritual use clear, so the small, cursory figures painted on them are clearly images for ritual. Likewise, the size and distribution of Heron Class skyphoi suggest they were used in ritual and thus their iconography represents images for ritual. Their imagery underscores but does not illustrate their ritual use. Cup-skyphoi lack the extra-pictorial features suggesting ritual use that we find with Heron Class skyphoi unless we consider the black-figure technique itself such a feature.

It is not certain if late black-figure skyphoi were used for special ritual purposes and what those purposes might have been. Skyphoi found in domestic contexts suggest the shape had a domestic function (perhaps also related to cult) in addition to use they may have found in the rituals of polis religion. The two possibilities need not be mutually exclusive, as “household cults can be smaller versions of civic cults.”¹³⁵ It is clear though, that there was something about the shape and the black-figure technique that made the two a natural pair. There were likely some contexts in which skyphoi and kylikes were used interchangeably, and the examples above show skyphoi were preferred

¹³⁴ Heinemann 2016, 430-1.

¹³⁵ Boedeker 2008, 233-6.

in some contexts. The difference between the black-figure and red-figure techniques is tightly bound up with whatever connotations of skyphoi made them preferable in those contexts. The distinction is part of the visual grammar of Classical Athens and the nuances inherent to each technique.

Visual perception cannot be fully codified into a coherent grammar, so it is impossible to proclaim one specific meaning for the black-figure technique, even if we were to limit the statement to a single time and place.¹³⁶ Since the technique—the visual aspect—is closely associated with the vase-shape—the material aspect—we can more confidently argue for a meaning associated with the combination of the black-figure technique and the skyphos shape, since this objective evidence is not purely reliant on observations about style.¹³⁷ The connection between the black-figure technique and ideas about the old-fashioned and traditional is perhaps rather obvious, but we must continue the line of inquiry and ask why objects signifying the old and the rural were popular at a particular moment. I will return to this later.

The Latest Attic Black-figure Skyphoi

Black-figure skyphoi greatly decrease in production by the third quarter of the fifth century. Deposits in the Agora from the clean-up following an earthquake in 426 contain many black-gloss skyphoi but almost none in black-figure. The shape was as popular as ever but the black-figure technique had nearly disappeared and it was not

¹³⁶ Davis 2011, 58-60.

¹³⁷ Davis 2011, 70-3.

replaced by red-figure.¹³⁸ An Agora deposit of debris from a public dining place, dated about the same time as the earthquake clean-up, contained two fairly well-preserved black-figure cup-skyphoi.¹³⁹ These vases are typical of the latest black-figure skyphoi. The shape is Ure's Class R—a pinch-base skyphos—with scenes that usually comprise one or two figures between palmettes, with the same scene repeated on both sides of the vase. These latest skyphoi are more often found outside of Athens. One, attributed to the Lańcut Group, shows a satyr with a drinking horn pursuing a maenad who also carries a drinking horn, with vines filling the background, with the same image repeated on the both sides (fig. 4.23).¹⁴⁰ Like most of the work by the Lańcut Group, there is no incision of details on this vase. The second vase does use incision in a scene showing a mantled figure seated on a stool holding a lyre.¹⁴¹ Again the image is repeated on both sides. Though the deposit is dated ca. 425, both vessels (and all of the black-figure pieces in the deposit save fragments of a Panathenaic prize amphora) are dated in the publication to the second quarter of the century. This is a plausible date for these skyphoi, but based on their preservation I would at least assume a date on the later end of the range, ca. 450.

A few other black-figure skyphoi may date to the third quarter of the century. A vase very similar to the Lańcut Group vase, though perhaps even more hastily painted

¹³⁸ Lynch (2015, 248-9) discusses the deposits. One deposit (R 13:4) was published in full by Talcott (1935).

¹³⁹ Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 62.

¹⁴⁰ Athens, Agora P30135 (*BAPD* 44704).

¹⁴¹ Athens, Agora P30138 (*BAPD* 44668; Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 62.4, pl. 1.4).

than the Agora vase, was found in a grave at Rhitsona in Boeotia dated to around 430.¹⁴² Ure takes the Attic cup as contemporary with the burial, lowering the date of black-figure skyphoi into the third quarter of the fifth century. A burial in the Kerameikos dated to the third quarter of the century contains a cup-skyphos similar to that from the Rhitsona burial.¹⁴³

The Rhitsona vase was deposited along with three Boeotian vases imitating its shape and style. Ure postulates that the supply of imported Attic pottery had been cut off by the Peloponnesian War, so Boeotian workshops began copying the vases to meet local demand for this sort of vase.¹⁴⁴ This represents the beginning of Boeotian floral cups, a style of black-figure skyphoi and kylikes of which later examples are decorated with a row of lotuses and palmettes and no figural elements.¹⁴⁵ It seems that at this late date, Attic black-figure skyphoi were produced in rather small numbers. The Peloponnesian War was surely a huge strain on all Athenians, craftsmen included, so a workshop producing a product with limited local and export demand would likely have had trouble staying in business.

The Boeotian demand for these vases is a good reminder that we should not impose modern aesthetics on ancient objects. Though they had mostly fallen out of use and out of fashion in Athens, hastily painted black-figure skyphoi were still valued

¹⁴² Thebes, Archaeological Museum R.139.40. Ure 1927, 72, 74, 81, 101, pl. 22. Cf. also Berkeley, Hearst Museum 8.444 (*ABV* 577.27; *CVA* Berkeley 1, pl. 18.2); Reading, University Museum 22.iii.2 (*ABV* 577.23; *CVA* Reading 1, pl. 11.5)

¹⁴³ Knigge 1976, 153 no. 298.1; pl. 65.7.1. Hatzidakis (1984, 16, 89, 92.252) dates this class of skyphos (his Class AIIc) to 450-430, and notes this is the only example found in an Athenian burial. See also *supra* n. 33.

¹⁴⁴ Ure 1927, 74-5.

¹⁴⁵ Sabetai 2001, 26-7; Heymans 2013, 238-40.

enough that they were imitated by Boeotian workshops. Boeotian vase-painters also produced red-figure vases at this time, but black-figure vessels still had a certain demand. Many were found in graves in the region, so this may well be tied to local funerary practice and traditions.

Late Black-figure Skyphoi Outside of Athens

Around the same time some Boeotian workshops began copying the hastily painted black-figure cup-skyphoi of the Haimon and Lañcut Groups, other vase-painters in Boeotia began producing a new type of black-figure skyphos for special cult use. Kabiric skyphoi, connected with the mystery cult of the Kabiroi near Thebes, carry on the black-figure technique longer than any Attic drinking vessels.¹⁴⁶ They were first produced around 430 and production continued until about 325. In contrast to the Attic black-figure skyphoi discussed above, production of these vessels began after red-figure had been introduced to Attic and Boeotian vase-painting, but painters opted for the older technique on this new form.¹⁴⁷ The shape is unlike any found in Attic pottery, with an ovoid body wider at the base than lip and vertical ring handles with protrusions suggesting a metal prototype (fig. 4.24, 4.25, 4.26). The size of the vases varies from about 5 to 30 cm in height. Some were likely meant for individual use while others might have been reserved for display or dedication, or were perhaps reserved for especially enthusiastic drinkers.

¹⁴⁶ Braun (1981) calls the shape a kantharos, but it lacks the high-swung handles and stem usually associated with kantharoi. Other scholars usually call the shape a cup, or in German, *Napf* (bowl).

¹⁴⁷ Sabetai 2012, 86-91; Zampiti 2014, 68.

Not much is known about the mystery cult at the Kabirion, but communal feasting and drinking were part of the activities at the sanctuary throughout its long history.¹⁴⁸ On Kabiric skyphoi, the father and son gods of the cult are often depicted as Hermes and Pan or as Dionysos and a young cup-bearer called Pais (fig. 4.24).¹⁴⁹ This suggests the rural cult was connected to the raising of animals and growing of grapes. Several Kabiric skyphoi show banqueters reclining and drinking, often apparently wearing masks and unusual headgear. The headdresses either take the form of branches sticking out from the wearer's head, but apparently not a wreath (fig. 4.25),¹⁵⁰ or branches and an inverted triangular object on top of the head (fig. 4.26).¹⁵¹ One of the patron deities of cult, Kabiros, is shown on Boeotian red-figure vases wearing the same triangular headgear.¹⁵² As discussed above, symposiasts sometimes wear unusual headdresses on Attic vases as well, which may indicate some sort of Dionysian ritual.¹⁵³ While many interesting and

¹⁴⁸ On the cult at the Kabirion, see Pausanias 4.1.7, 9.25.5-9.26.1, 9.26.6; Schachter 1986, 66-110; 2003; Daumas 1998; Blakely 2006.

¹⁴⁹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 10426. Cf. once Berlin, Antikensammlung 3286 (Wolters and Brun 1940, 107 fig. 5-6; now lost). The vase in Athens also gives an intriguing insight into the cult's theology. The scene shows Kabiros reclining and Pais as cupbearer. The figure before Pais is labeled Pratoalos ("First Man" [πρῶτος is Doric for Attic πρῶτος]). The figures at left are named Mitos ("thread," or "seed" in Orphic language) and Krateia. The scene may represent a mystery play involving a sacred marriage between the man and woman at left (Seed and Power/Goddess) and birth of first man/child (Blakely 2006, 41-2).

¹⁵⁰ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 424. Cf. Thebes, Archaeological Museum K3000+3055 (Braun and Haevernick 1981, pl. 1.5); Thebes, Archaeological Museum K1751 (Braun and Haevernick 1981, pl. 1.10); London, British Museum B78 (Braun and Haevernick 1981, pl. 22.5); Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 3057 (Braun and Haevernick 1981, pl. 23.5).

¹⁵¹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 425. Cf. Thebes, Archaeological Museum K2751+2619 (Braun and Haevernick 1981, pl. 7.1); Athens, National Museum 10426 (Braun and Haevernick 1981, pl. 22.1-2); once Berlin, Antikensammlung 3286 (Braun and Haevernick 1981, pl. 23.6; now lost).

¹⁵² Cf. Athens, National Museum 1372 (Lullies 1940, pl. 19.1) and 12487 (Lullies 1940, pl. 19.2); two Boeotian red-figure kantharoi attributed to the Painter of the Great Athenian Kantharos.

¹⁵³ See supra n. 107.

intriguing scenes are found on Kabiric skyphoi, most are not decorated with figural scenes and instead are painted with a simple wreath or grapevine around the body.¹⁵⁴

Attic black-figure skyphoi were very popular in Boeotia up until they fell out of production in the third quarter of the fifth century, at which time Boeotian workshops began producing similar skyphoi in hasty black-figure, carrying on the same visual tradition.¹⁵⁵ Kabiric skyphoi on the other hand represent a new visual tradition initiated around 430 that adopts from its beginning a conspicuously old-fashioned technique already abandoned for Attic skyphoi. We might imagine that the makers of Kabiric skyphoi were drawing on the same connotations of the rustic and old-fashioned that they saw in the shape and technique of earlier Attic skyphoi, which would be especially appropriate for the cult of the Kabiroi, with its rural setting and Dionysian associations.

Red-figure Skyphoi

Though late black-figure vases are the focus of this study, it is useful to compare red-figure vases of the same period to draw distinctions between how the two techniques were used. Batino notes that mythological scenes appear just as often on red-figure skyphoi as on black-figure, but there is a distinction in the myths shown. We find significant changes in the popularity of other types of scenes. In particular, Batino notes a sharp decrease in funerary scenes in red-figure; a decline in hunting, equestrian, and warrior scenes, but an increase in gymnasium scenes; and twice as many scenes with

¹⁵⁴ cf. Thebes, Archaeological Museum K521+453 (Braun and Haevernick 1981, pl. 10.3); Thebes, Archaeological Museum K521 (Braun and Haevernick 1981, pl. 10.6); Thebes, Archaeological Museum K1769+1776+2430 (Braun and Haevernick 1981, pl. 13.3).

¹⁵⁵ Ure 1927, 74-5.

female protagonists in red-figure as in black-figure.¹⁵⁶ There is a clear difference in the iconography preferred on red-figure vases compared to black-figure. Assuming iconographic trends are connected to demand and that demand is driven by use, it is clear that red-figure skyphoi were not used interchangeably with black-figure.

Some of the most impressive red-figure skyphoi were produced by the early generations of red-figure painters, including some vases of quite large sizes.¹⁵⁷ As noted above, some of these vases are even larger than the largest Heron Class skyphoi, but they do not come in a fairly standardized size as the Heron Class do. Also, there are a relatively small number of these large red-figure skyphoi, so it is unlikely they were produced for a particular use that met with high demand, like a religious festival. It is more likely that these large vases were destined to be display or votive objects or perhaps vessels for mixing wine at smaller gatherings, one possible use suggested for Heron Class skyphoi.

¹⁵⁶ Batino 2002, 25-6. Batino's catalog is largely based on Beazley's lists. She produces many tables of statistical analysis of the popularity of different iconographic themes on skyphoi through the sixth and fifth centuries. She calculates percentages based on both subject and meaning. However, her percentages are sometimes confusing and sometimes incorrectly calculated. For instance, in her Table 14 ("Significati degli skyphoi a figure nere"), she counts 159 scenes with a meaning related to the Dionysian sphere on black-figure skyphoi of the first half of the fifth century, which she calculates as 20.1% of the examples in that technique in that time period based on the total of 792 listed at the bottom of the column. However, in her Table 1 ("Distribuzione quantitativa degli skyphoi: rapporto tra figure nere e figure rosse") she counts 466 black-figure skyphoi from the first half of the fifth century. She appears to count a vase multiple times in Table 14 if its meaning falls into more than one of her categories. The result is that the percentages given in Table 14 are not especially meaningful. Her Table 12 ("Skyphoi a figure nere: distribuzione percentuali dei soggetti in A") gives percentages calculated counting each vase once. Here, Dionysian scenes are only 6.65%. It would be more informative to take her totals from Table 14, which combine various iconographic motifs related to Dionysos even if the god himself is not shown, and calculate them as a percentage of the total number of skyphoi of each time period and technique. Dionysian scenes then represent 34.1% (159 out of 466) rather than 20.1% of scenes on black-figure skyphoi of the first half of the fifth century based on her catalog. Many of her subsequent figures are based on the percentages in Table 14.

¹⁵⁷ See supra n. 36.

Other Drinking Vessel Shapes

Skyphoi and kylikes were not the only drinking shapes in the repertoire of Attic potters. Two less common shapes—the rhyton and the kantharos—deserve brief mention. The name *rhyton* is applied to vessels of quite a variety of shapes. The most basic form of the vessel, which is actually quite rare in the Classical period (at least in any surviving material), is horn-shaped, with the body narrowing to a point, where there is sometimes, but not always, a small hole, through which wine or other liquids could stream out. The name is related to the verb ῥέω, reflecting the flowing of liquid through the vessel. Rhyta may have one, two, or no handles, and may or may not have a base. In Attic pottery, rhyta are often plastic vases shaped like the heads of animals.¹⁵⁸ The kantharos is a deep bowled vessel with two, usually high-swung, vertical handles, and often with a high base. The shape is often seen in the hands of Dionysos on Greek vases (e.g. fig. 4.20a), and is closely associated with Boeotia.

Attic potters sometimes produced vases that are a combination of kantharos and rhyton, like an example in the British Museum dating to the last decades of the sixth century (fig. 4.27).¹⁵⁹ Hoffman argues, “The symbiosis of rhyta and kantharoi ... suggest that the two shapes must have a common origin in ritual tradition.”¹⁶⁰ He associated both shapes with hero cult, as well as Dionysos and the cult of the dead.¹⁶¹ Both shapes are inspired by metal prototypes, with surviving examples metal rhyta dating back to the

¹⁵⁸ Ebbinghaus 2008, 145.

¹⁵⁹ London, British Museum 1876,0328.5; *BAPD* 506.

¹⁶⁰ Hoffmann 1989, 137.

¹⁶¹ Hoffmann 1989, 134, 158-9.

Bronze Age. Metal rhyta always have a hole in the bottom to allow liquid to funnel through the vessels, while their ceramic counterparts generally lack these holes.¹⁶² Ceramic rhyta are often found in tombs, not as a “poor man’s” version of a finer metal vessel, but as a symbolic surrogate of a functional vessel. Their complete lack of functionality—Hoffmann believes they would be useless as drinking vessels as well—is an aspect of their votive quality.¹⁶³ Attic rhyta do often have figural decoration, but black-figure rhyta are relatively rare.¹⁶⁴

The shape appears in ceramic toward the end of the sixth century when Athenian potters and painters are experimenting with a variety of new techniques and shapes, and this is one instance where the new red-figure technique was quickly adopted for the new shape. Though rhyta were produced in Greece since the Bronze Age, in the Archaic and Classical periods the shape is associated with the east, especially Persia, and eastern luxury.¹⁶⁵ Head-shaped vases also have prototypes in East Greek and neo-Assyrian vessels.¹⁶⁶ Since these types of vessels were seen as essentially foreign and symbols of foreign luxury, the connotations of black-figure and its association with old-fashioned, rustic, and traditional attitudes was not fitting, and the technique was not preserved on these vessels, even though they were first produced in black-figure.

¹⁶² Hoffmann 1989, 153-9.

¹⁶³ Hoffmann 1989, 162-3. Others believe plastic rhyta could be perfectly functional drinking vessels, and the various animal head shapes could be seen as masks for the drinkers using them. Ebbinghaus 2008, 153.

¹⁶⁴ London, British Museum B378 (*BAPD* 506; Hoffmann 1989, 135 fig. 2a-b) is one of the earliest Attic ceramic kantharos-rhyta, decorated in black-figure. The shape is soon taken up by Douris, the Brygos Painter, and other red-figure artists.

¹⁶⁵ Hoffmann 1989, 137-9.

¹⁶⁶ Ebbinghaus 2008, 147-8.

Conclusions

Late black-figure skyphoi continue to be produced in Attica until the third quarter of the fifth century, while the shape is never very popular in red-figure, though many examples are found in plain black-gloss through the fifth and into the fourth centuries. Black-figure is preserved on skyphoi longer than on any other drinking shape, and black-figure skyphoi do not seem to have been used interchangeably with red-figure kylikes. The skyphos is arguably a less elegant shape than a kylix and likely took less time and skill to produce. A wide, shallow bowl is more difficult to throw on a potter's wheel than a vertical walled shape.¹⁶⁷ Literary sources suggest the shape may have been associated more with country folk than city dwellers, and the iconography of late black-figure skyphoi tends to support this association. The rustic connotation of the shape may have lent to its preservation in the repertoire of the latest black-figure painters. The use of black-figure and its hasty application should not be taken as indicators of the low-quality or second-rate status of the vases. Rather, the old-fashioned technique lent to the overall impression of the objects as something from times passed or as a continuation of an age-old tradition. The rustic scenes were produced in a rustic technique, on a shape that itself perhaps was associated with country folk.

The continuation of black-figure into the mid-fifth century can be seen as Athenian artists developing a vocabulary of retrospective style. As I have discussed above the rustic connotations of black-figure, we could also speak of its archaistic

¹⁶⁷ I owe a great debt to Matthew Hyleck, master potter and Director of Education at Baltimore Clayworks, for answering all of my questions about the techniques and processes of making pottery and for attempting to teach me to throw pots on the wheel.

connections, in the sense of archaism as the emulation of artistic forms from the past. The hasty painting of late black-figure is usually seen as degenerate, but we may also imagine it as an attempt to convey the qualities of the old-fashioned, the conservative, and even the venerable that we read into later archaistic sculpture. “Archaism” is not a unified style and is thus a problematic term. Sculptors working in an archaistic style and fourth-century painters of Panathenaic prize amphorae usually chose an excess of detail when working in an archaistic mode, quite in contrast to the hasty painting of late black-figure. However, I believe both groups of painters can be seen as employing a retrospective aspect. Their manner of representation was not fundamentally concerned with innovation, but with tradition and a connection to past styles.

Like the funerary lekythoi discussed in the previous chapter, late black-figure skyphoi sometimes certainly have ritual uses, and such uses have been discussed in detail by other scholars. The Lindos Group miniature skyphoi (fig. 4.7, 4.8, 4.9) are the latest use of black-figure in Attic vase-painting other than Panathenaic prize amphorae, and their form and find spots make it clear they were used as votives. The small size may have better lent itself to black-figure than red-figure, but they could have been even more easily decorated in black-gloss, as were eight other miniature skyphoi found with the vase in figure 4.8.¹⁶⁸ Extra time and effort was taken to decorate these vases in black-figure because there was a demand for it.

The question still remains of why objects signifying the old and the rural were popular at this particular moment in Athens. Though they may have been associated with some cult uses in Athens, their form seems to have been chosen by individuals taking part

¹⁶⁸ Knigge 2003, 146-7 no. 275.2, pl. 81.

in the cult practices rather than mandated by the city as was the case with Panathenaic prize amphorae. Some associations of the black-figure technique were surely shared by skyphoi and prize amphorae, like reverence for old traditions and the desire to take part in the longstanding historical practice associated with these vases, but in the case of the skyphoi, individuals sought these associations rather than the city.

Given the dramatic changes Athens saw in the late sixth and early fifth centuries—the expulsion of the tyrants followed by the introduction of democratic government and two invasions by the Persian Empire—these vases could be a reaction to (or against) recent developments in the city. Many of the suggested uses of skyphoi, like rituals at the Apaturia and other communal drinking practices, emphasize membership in a group, whether by kinship or purely social. Such rituals were always important in Athens and around the Greek world, and the use of these vases suggests a desire to link these practices with traditions of the past. Anderson argues that the Athenian *demos*, especially outside of the *asty*, was not involved in the political life of the city and popular government before the reforms of Kleisthenes.¹⁶⁹ Rural communities were represented in the center for the first time and city and country life became more closely interrelated. Anderson goes further to claim that Kleisthenes and his associates used important festivals in Attica, like the City Dionysia, the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the Brauronia, to bolster the political integration of city and countryside.¹⁷⁰ We have seen the connection

¹⁶⁹ Anderson 2003, 43-84. I owe thanks to James Kierstead for helpful discussion and for pointing me to Anderson's book.

¹⁷⁰ Anderson 2003, 178-96.

between skyphoi and the Dionysia (City or Rural), and in the next chapter will discuss the importance of late black-figure in the Brauronia.

As we will also see in the next chapter, the early fifth century represents a period of increased interest in certain cults in Attica associated with the rural and the wild, what Osborne has called “a countryside which is not the countryside of the shepherd, but a countryside of the mind.”¹⁷¹ The interest is not so much in the actual space of the countryside, but what it represents, especially to those living in the city. It represents an older, even mythological way of life that is mirrored in the imagery on skyphoi and embodied by the black-figure technique.

¹⁷¹ Osborne 1987, 192.

5. Krateriskoi: Vases for the Wild and the Liminal

As soon as I turned seven I was an Arrephoros;
then when I was ten I was a Grinder for the Foundress;
and shedding my saffron robe I was a Bear at the
Brauronia;
and once, when I was a fair girl, I carried the Basket,
wearing a necklace of dried figs.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 641-7 (trans. Henderson)

Vases for Artemis

The connection between black-figure vases and rituals associated with the rural and the uncivilized that we saw with skyphoi can also be found with another Attic vase shape, the krateriskos. Krateriskoi found use in several sanctuaries of Artemis around Attica. In fact, hardly any examples of the shape are known that did not originate at sanctuaries of the goddess. The vases are especially associated with the site of Brauron,¹ but they have also been found at the Artemis sanctuaries at Mounichia in Piraeus,² on the Athenian Acropolis,³ at the sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule near the Agora (in the ancient deme of Melite),⁴ and at Halai Araphenides (modern Loutsa).⁵ Some of the few krateriskoi that do not come from Artemis sanctuaries were found at Attic cave sanctuaries devoted to Pan at Vari⁶ and at Eleusis.⁷ The earliest krateriskoi predate the

¹ Papadimitriou 1961, 36; Kahil 1963.

² Palaiokrassa 1991, 74-82.

³ Kahil 1981.

⁴ Kahil 1965, 23; Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1965, 33-5.

⁵ Kahil 1977, 88; Kalogeropoulos 2013, 272-6.

⁶ Schörner and Goette 2004, 91-2.

⁷ Kahil 1965, 23.

Persian destruction of Athens and probably belong to the last decade of the sixth century, but most examples are broadly dated to the first half of the fifth century.⁸

The ceramic material from Brauron has not been fully published, but in her preliminary publication, Kahil notes that hundreds of krateriskoi were found at the site, especially around the two most important cult buildings: the temple of Artemis and the heroon of Iphigeneia.⁹ This is by far the largest concentration of the vases at one site. Fragments of about fifteen to twenty krateriskoi were found at the sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule,¹⁰ fragments of fifty-seven vases were found at Mounichia,¹¹ twelve at Halai Araphenides,¹² and fragments of a single vase on the Acropolis.¹³ Three krateriskos fragments have been found in different areas in the Athenian Agora, but they are not clearly associated with any cult area or building.¹⁴

Previous scholarship on krateriskoi has often focused on reconstructing ritual practice in Artemis cults through their iconography. The images are intriguing and must offer some insights into the cult and mythological background of these sites. Krateriskoi are produced almost exclusively in black-figure, and they share many of the features of late black-figure that we have seen in the lekythoi and skyphoi discussed in previous

⁸ Kahil 1981, 259.

⁹ Kahil 1977, 86.

¹⁰ Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1965, 33-5.

¹¹ Palaiokrassa 1991, 147-62.

¹² Kalogeropoulos 2013, 272-6.

¹³ Kahil 1981.

¹⁴ Athens, Agora P14550 (*BAPD* 6620; Kahil 1981, pl. 62.8); P128 (*BAPD* 6619; Kahil 1981, pl. 62.7 [N.b. Kahil's plates are mislabeled. The Agora accession numbers of pl. 62.7 and 62.8 should be switched.]); P27342 (*BAPD* 6618). Kahil 1981, 259-60.

chapters.¹⁵ They find their origins in the experimental period of Attic vase-painting in the late sixth century, and flourish in the first half of the fifth century. Their painting is hasty and often repetitive. Black slip is often applied thin so that it fires to an unintentional red, and white slip is applied directly to the clay body rather than over a layer of black slip. Most importantly, krateriskoi represent another shape produced in black-figure into the fifth century without parallels in red-figure. While there is some production of Panathenaic amphorae, lekythoi, and skyphoi in red-figure—which for the most part found different uses than their black-figure counterparts—the small number of known red-figure krateriskoi (three as opposed to hundreds in black-figure) are more minor curiosities than competing products. In this instance it may have been the case that the shape never entered into the repertoire of red-figure painters because it was even more closely associated with cult than other shapes.

Shape, Construction, and Painting

The shape takes its name from its resemblance to a small krater. Krateriskoi have double horizontal handles on each side of a bell-shaped body with a flaring lip with a high, conical base (cf. fig. 5.1) or a lower, disc foot with a stem (cf. 5.2). The shape has parallels in the large funerary kraters of the Geometric period with a high foot.¹⁶ A very close parallel to the shape can be seen in a Protoattic vase in Berlin (fig. 5.3).¹⁷ The

¹⁵ Kahil (1977) published fragments of three red-figure krateriskoi from a private collection without provenience, discussed further below, which depict scenes she believes to be related to the cult of Artemis at Brauron.

¹⁶ Palaiokrassa 1989, 17-8.

¹⁷ Berlin, Antikensammlung A37; *BAPD* 1001737. Said to be from Aegina. The preserved height of the vase is 26.5 cm, taller than any black-figure krateriskos.

Berlin vase has the same sort of double handles on either side of the body as krateriskoi, a feature Kahil considers in itself archaizing.¹⁸

Kahil describes the clay of krateriskoi from Brauron as very friable and poorly fired compared to most Attic pottery, and she suggests they are local products and not from Athenian workshops.¹⁹ Palaiokrassa has observed that the clay of Braurionian krateriskoi differs from those from Mounichia, and that the two types likely represent different local workshops. The clay of krateriskoi from Mounichia is finer and of a brighter orange color than those from Brauron.²⁰ Since the market for krateriskoi would have been much more limited than for other shapes, the larger black-figure workshops may not have considered it worthwhile to produce the shape. It may also have been the case that the rituals involving krateriskoi were secret, and thus the production of the vases was restricted to specialized workshops.²¹

The painting by these local workshops and on all black-figure krateriskoi is rather hasty (or as Kahil describes it, “négligée”) and follows many of the tendencies of late black-figure painting in Athens seen in the work of the Haimon Group and the CHC Group discussed in previous chapters, like the lack of incised details, the painting of white directly onto the red ground of the vase rather than over a layer of black slip, and thin, often misfired slip (cf. fig. 5.4). No krateriskoi have been attributed to particular

¹⁸ Kahil 1981, 254.

¹⁹ Kahil 1963, 14; 1981, 254.

²⁰ Palaiokrassa 1991, 81.

²¹ Shapiro 1989, 65.

artists' hands.²² In any case, if they are local products, they are unlikely to be associated with artists who produced other shapes. I will not venture so far as to make associations with particular workshops, but I will say that, like the late production of black-figure lekythoi and skyphoi, krateriskoi were clearly products of pottery workshops specializing in the vases, rather than side products of workshops making a larger variety of vases. Black-figure krateriskoi are all painted in the hasty, fifth-century black-figure style we have seen on lekythoi and skyphoi discussed in previous chapters. Many more are decorated with simple, horizontal black bands and no figural scenes (fig. 5.5).²³

Iconography

The iconographic repertoire of krateriskoi is intriguing if rather limited and does not show great variation between sanctuaries. Few krateriskoi are very well preserved. One nearly complete example from Brauron (fig. 5.1a) shows a common iconographic theme: two nude female figures running to the right, with the same scene repeated on both sides.²⁴ The vase is one with a high foot, standing 21.5 cm tall. The two figures are rendered in white slip painted directly onto the clay body, a technique seen in the work of other late black-figure painters like the CHC Group and the Haimon Group. Black slip is used for the figures' hair and for horizontal bands decorating the base and interior of the vessel, as well as for the altar depicted on one side above the handles (fig. 5.1b). Many

²² Palaiokrassa (1991, 154-5) hesitatingly suggests two krateriskos fragments (Kk 24 and Kk 25) were painted by the same hand, though they may belong to the same vase. The two fragments share an accession number: Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 5429.

²³ Brauron, Archaeological Museum. Kahil 1965, 20.

²⁴ Brauron, Archaeological Museum A25; *BAPD* 44635.

other fragments of krateriskoi show female figures running, clothed (fig. 5.6)²⁵ or nude (fig. 5.2). Altars are very common in these scenes, as are palm trees (fig. 5.6), setting the scene in a sanctuary and specifically one of Artemis. The scenes may represent races run at the sanctuary, or may show girls reenacting a hunt in which they play the part of wild animals and are ritually pursued.²⁶ The age of the figures has been the focus of much debate, but whatever age they are meant to be, their white skin at least makes it clear they are female.

Another common scene on krateriskoi is women dancing, and again they are often near an altar. On another vase from Brauron (fig. 5.7) we see three female figures in short chitons, moving to the left toward an altar and gesturing in unison.²⁷ A fragment from the Agora (fig. 5.4) shows two dancing girls in short chitons step to the right with joined hands.²⁸ They look back to the left, where the forelegs of a white deer can be seen at the edge of the sherd. Along with the palm tree, deer and short chitons worn by these figures are other recurring iconographic features related to Artemis. Kahil attempts to locate a palm tree in the sanctuary at Brauron based on a particular krateriskos fragment, but images on vases cannot be assumed to be literal illustrations.²⁹ The palm is a general attribute of Artemis referencing her birth on Delos and should not be taken as a reference to any real palm tree.

²⁵ Brauron, Archaeological Museum.

²⁶ Scanlon 1990.

²⁷ Brauron, Archaeological Museum.

²⁸ Athens, Agora P27342; *BAPD* 6618.

²⁹ Kahil 1977, 87.

Most of the krateriskoi from sites other than Brauron are decorated with simple geometric decoration, but interesting examples have been found in the Agora and on the Acropolis. A vase in several fragments from the Acropolis (fig. 5.8) shows several draped women including an aulos-player at an altar, with the same scene repeated on both sides.³⁰ Behind the aulos-player and above the handles on one side is a faun and on the other a siren. In contrast to the examples from Brauron, this painter has applied the white slip for women's skin over a layer of black slip in the usual manner. The vase is larger than examples from Brauron, with a diameter of 31 cm compared to a diameter of 19.1 cm for the vase in figure 5.1.³¹ Details of the figures' faces and drapery are also incised with some care. This is probably the earliest surviving krateriskoi, dating to the last decade of the sixth century, before most black-figure painting became especially hasty.³² Another krateriskos from the Agora (fig. 5.9) certainly predates the Persian destruction of Athens, but is smaller (16.5 cm restored diameter) and more hastily painted.³³ This vase should likely be dated not long before 480.

Use in Cult

Other than their clear association with sanctuaries of Artemis, we have little indication of how these vessels were used in cult practices. They are generally assumed to have held liquid or other offerings. A red-figure krater fragment from Brauron (fig.

³⁰ Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.621; *BAPD* 32074. Kahil 1981, 255-8.

³¹ Kahil 1981, 255; 1963, 13.

³² Kahil 1981, 259.

³³ Athens, Agora P14550.

5.10) shows a black-figure krateriskos lying on its side next to an altar, depicting the vase as either holding dedications or itself a dedication.³⁴ Some krateriskoi from Brauron and Mounichia were found with ashes inside of them, perhaps indicating they were used as incense burners.³⁵ Their exact function in Artemis cults is not vital to our understanding in this study, and it is likely they found more than one use in the cults and at the sanctuaries. Papadopoulou notes that dedications are not always reflective of cult activity, so we should not assume that because similar objects have been found at various sanctuaries it proves similar rituals took place at those sites, and furthermore, objects could be dedicated as substitutes for individuals who could not perform rites at the sanctuary in person.³⁶ Like other shapes, just because these vases have ritual or religious connections does not mean we should interpret their imagery as illustrations of the contexts of their use. We can say broadly that their use was related to ritual or cult activity, and their imagery, if not illustrative of that, is emblematic of it.

Publication of material from Brauron has been sadly neglected, but information from a variety of sources has allowed motivated scholars to attempt to reconstruct the cult and rites associated with the site, often using krateriskoi as evidence.³⁷ The main ritual activity at the site, a festival called the Arkteia (literally the bear ritual or festival), is generally agreed to have centered on coming-of-age rites for young girls of Attica,

³⁴ Brauron, Archaeological Museum A56 (564); *BAPD* 28998. Kahil (1977, 88) suggests in passing that this fragment is from a red-figure krateriskos. It seems like it would be a rather large vase (the fragment is 12 cm wide and 9.1 cm tall [Kahil 1963, 25]), and so are the surviving red-figure krateriskoi. Nothing about the shape as it is preserved allows it to be identified as a krateriskos with certainty.

³⁵ Kahil 1965, 24-5; Palaiokrassa 1991, 80; Kalogeropoulos 2013, 503.

³⁶ Parker 2005, 234; Papadopoulou 2014, 121.

³⁷ Kahil 1965, 20-2.

largely based on a passage in *Lysistrata* (641-7), where the women of the chorus say they were bears at the Brauronia as girls.³⁸ The iconography of the krateriskoi and other finds from the site such as statues of children provide additional evidence of a cult related to children.³⁹ The bibliography regarding the cult at Brauron and the Arkteia in Attica is substantial, with some disagreement over various details.⁴⁰ I will not attempt to contribute any new interpretation of the festival or details of its rituals. Rather, my focus is on the krateriskoi and what they meant to those who used and viewed them.

Other Finds from Artemis Sanctuaries

Brauron

Kahil stresses that her 1963 publication of ceramic material from Brauron is an eclectic selection of finds and not representative of all types and categories found at the site, but also states that the krateriskos is one of the most common shapes found at Brauron.⁴¹ Without considering all the material from the site, it would be wrong to draw conclusions about what sorts of vases were and were not favored at the sanctuary. From what has been published, it is clear that, as we would expect, iconographic themes involving Artemis and women are popular.

³⁸ *Suda*, s.v. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους elaborates on the ritual and its background. For a discussion of the *Lysistrata* passage, see Walbank 1981.

³⁹ On the sculpture see Themelis 1971, 21-4. Fragments of statues of children have also been found at the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia (Palaiokrassa 1991, 51-4, 58-9; Papadopoulou 2014, 112-3).

⁴⁰ See, among others, Condis 1967; Sale 1975; Parke 1977, 139-40; Kahil 1977, 1983; Simon 1983, 83-8; Sourvinou-Inwood 1985, 1988, 1990a; Hamilton 1989; Dowden 1989, 9-47; Parker 2005, 228-48; Marinatos 2002; Ekroth 2003a; Nielsen 2009.

⁴¹ Kahil 1963, 5, 13.

Among the other pottery from the sanctuary, Kahil lists four fragmentary black-figure epinetra.⁴² In her monograph on epinetra, Mercati includes several unpublished pieces from the site, listing twenty-one black-figure and twenty red-figure examples from Brauron.⁴³ The epinetron is a type of ceramic object that is not a vessel, but rather a tool worn on the thigh to provide a working surface for spinning wool into thread (fig. 5.11).⁴⁴ The shape appears in clay in the last quarter of the sixth century and is popular mostly in Attica, being decorated first in black-figure and later in red-figure. Attic figured epinetra were probably not made to be functional objects, but were instead specially produced as votives.⁴⁵ They are often found in sanctuaries of goddesses, and an especially large number have been found on the Acropolis.⁴⁶ Black-figure epinetra were produced as late as the mid-fifth century, the latest examples showing signs of the hasty style of the period.⁴⁷ Some examples from Brauron appear rather late, though Kahil dates them no later than the early fifth century. One example in particular, which Beazley attributes to the Diosphos Painter (fig. 5.12), shows a very summary scene of women working wool, lacking incision of facial details.⁴⁸

⁴² Kahil 1963, 12.21, 12.22, 13.23, 13.24.

⁴³ Mercati 2003, 129.72-133.88, 144.28-149.47.

⁴⁴ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 10.210.13; *ABV* 480.C. Benbow 1975, 7-18; Mercati 2003, 17-9; Badinou 2003, 18-20.

⁴⁵ Mercati 2003, 29-30; Heinrich 2006, 41.

⁴⁶ Mercati 2003, 71-4; Heinrich 2006, 42-57.

⁴⁷ Benbow 1975, 30, 62-3.

⁴⁸ Brauron, Archaeological Museum A24; *Paralipomena* 250; Kahil 1963 pl. 5.4.

No red-figure epinetra date before the middle of the fifth century.⁴⁹ Mercati dates all of the black-figure examples from Brauron to the last quarter of the sixth through the first quarter of the fifth centuries, and all of the red-figure examples from the site to the third through the fourth quarter of the fifth century. These represent more or less the entire range of dates she assigns the shape in each technique. It would be curious to have a gap of a quarter century between the last black-figure epinetra and the first red-figure examples. Because of the poor publication of Brauron and the difficult stratigraphy to be dealt with in any case, more precise dates likely cannot be determined for these pieces without comparanda from other sites, which are also for the most part stylistically dated. A reevaluation of the chronology of Attic epinetra could be informative, but it is beyond the scope of the present study.

From the same time period as the krateriskoi, Kahil describes several red-figure and white-ground kylikes found at the site. Most were found either in the northwest section of the sanctuary or in the heroon on Iphigeneia, areas where many krateriskos fragments were also found.⁵⁰ White-ground kylikes with outline drawing are universally finely painted work and are usually found either in sanctuary settings or in graves. The examples at Brauron are all decorated with female-oriented iconography, such as one example showing a woman placing a wreath on an altar (fig. 5.13).⁵¹ Examples found elsewhere often have specialized iconography related to the use or findspot. These vases

⁴⁹ Benbow 1975, 64.

⁵⁰ Kahil 1963, 15-9; 1965, 20.

⁵¹ Brauron, Archaeological Museum; Brauron, Archaeological Museum, *ARV*² 827.1, Kahil 1963, pl. 18f.

were carefully selected for dedication, if not special commissions for the occasion.⁵² The white-ground kylikes described by Kahil all date between 480 and 450, contemporary with the krateriskoi. The two types of dedicatory vessels present an interesting contrast. On the one hand these white-ground vessels represent some of the most finely painted work of Classical Athenian vase-painters in terms of technique, composition and iconography; and on the other, black-figure krateriskoi are among the most hastily painted Attic vases and feature repetitive—though not insignificant—iconography. The kylikes also represent a class of votive vases found at sanctuaries of various deities around mainland Greece, while krateriskoi found much more restricted use mostly in Attic sanctuaries of Artemis. This goes to show that the subjective quality of objects was not a determining factor in whether they were considered appropriate as votives, and likely also shows that more hastily produced objects were not considered low end or reserved for those who could not afford better, since their quality is rather uniform and there is no hierarchy of lower-end and higher-end krateriskoi.

Other Artemis sanctuaries can help fill out the picture presented by Brauron, but each site comes with its own problems. Threpsiades and Vanderpool only mention the krateriskoi, two terracotta lamps, two stone votive pillars, and a stone altar among the movable finds from the sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule.⁵³ The material from the sanctuaries at Mounichia and Halai Araphenides is better published than Brauron, though not without other issues.

⁵² Mertens 1974, 108; Tsingarida 2008, 199-202; 2012, 47.

⁵³ Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1965, 30-5.

Halai Araphenides

Kalogeropoulos has produced a very thorough publication of the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides based on excavations carried out in 1956 and 1957 by Ioannis (John) Papadimitriou, who also excavated Brauron. Unfortunately, stratigraphy and findspots were not carefully recorded, but objects can be dated well enough stylistically to make some analysis possible.⁵⁴ The krateriskoi from Halai Araphenides belong to Period 6 of the site (575-450), and account for 12 of 28 Attic black-figure fragments for the period.⁵⁵ The krateriskoi are later than all other black-figure vases of the period at the site, save perhaps a kylix fragment from the Leafless Group⁵⁶ and a fragment of a lekythos of the Haimon Group.⁵⁷ Red-figure pottery is never common at the site, with only one sherd belonging to the period and a few in the following periods.⁵⁸

In this period, the most common type of pottery found at the site is black-gloss, with 49 sherds.⁵⁹ The higher prevalence of plain black-gloss compared to both black-figure and red-figure is typical of pottery distribution in Attica.⁶⁰ No black-gloss pottery has been published from Brauron, but we would likely see a similar situation should the

⁵⁴ Kalogeropoulou 2013, 151-2.

⁵⁵ Kalogeropoulos 2013, 268-80.

⁵⁶ Kalogeropoulos 2013, 278-9 (K105). Brauron, Archaeological Museum Λ143; Kalogeropoulos 2013, pl. 144.K105.

⁵⁷ Kalogeropoulos 2013, 272 (K89). Brauron, Archaeological Museum Λ141; Kalogeropoulos 2013, pl. 142.K89.

⁵⁸ Kalogeropoulos 2013, 297 (K158). Brauron, Archaeological Museum Λ122; Kalogeropoulos 2013, pl. 145.K158.

⁵⁹ Kalogeropoulos 2013, 280.

⁶⁰ Shear 1993 387-93.

pottery from the site be fully published. Most of the black-gloss vessels from Halai Araphenides are drinking shapes, including skyphoi and kylikes, several of which are contemporary with the krateriskoi.⁶¹ These finds represent an increase in drinking vessels from previous periods, indicating an increase in ritual feasting activity at the site. Architectural remains at Brauron suggest feasting was an important activity there as well.⁶² In addition to the krateriskoi, bronze mirrors and dress pins are found as votive objects at Halai Araphenides as well as Brauron.⁶³ The dedication of clothing seems to have been popular at Brauron and this also may have been the case at Halai Araphenides. Ancient textiles rarely survive to today, but an inscribed inventory from Brauron lists many garments that had been dedicated at the site.⁶⁴

At Halai Araphenides, black-figure is clearly favored for votive pots with figural decoration. Before krateriskoi became popular, loutrophoroi are a common votive shape at the sanctuary.⁶⁵ In the sixth century, before krateriskoi become popular, black-figure is

⁶¹ Kalogeropoulos 2013, 283-93. Fragments K125-133 (skyphoi), 137-139, and 143 (kylikes) all date to the first half of the fifth century.

⁶² Papadimitriou (1963, 118), Condis (1967, 180-2), and Bouras (1967, 17-8) thought the rooms of the stoa were sleeping quarters for girls taking part in the Arkteia, but the offset doors make it clear the spaces are dining rooms (Hollinshead 1980, 38).

⁶³ Kalogeropoulos 2013, 434-6, 499.

⁶⁴ *IG* II².1514-31. For the textile dedications see Linders 1972 and Cleland 2005.

⁶⁵ Kalogeropoulos 2013, 268-72; Sabetai 2014, 67-8. Loutrophoroi are a type of ritual vessel, in this case closely associated with marriage. Hundreds of thousands of loutrophoros fragments have been found at the sanctuary of Nymphe on the south slope of the Acropolis. Many, but only a small portion of the black-figure examples have been published (Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997; Sabetai 2014, 56-9). They were certainly produced into at least the early fifth century in black-figure. Oakley (2004a, 35-6) cites a few late examples dating to the fifth century (Athens, National Museum 12947 [*BAPD* 14394; *CVA* Athens 1, pl. 9.1-2]; Quebec, Musée national des beaux arts 66.216 [Oakley 2004a, 34, 103]; and Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3507 [*BAPD* 14084; *CVA* Netherlands 1, pl. 3.3-4]) and Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou dates some examples from the Nymphe sanctuary to 490 (Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, 186.453 [Athens, National Museum 1957-Aa 223; pl. 88], 199.486 [1957-Aa 194; pl. 97], 203.496 [1957-Aa 301; pl. 101], 205.505 [1957-Aa 316; pl. 102]). Black-figure loutrophoroi dated to as late as 470 were found at the sanctuary (cf. 1957-Aa 779, unpublished). However, the red-figure pottery from the sanctuary has not

the only real option for figure decorated vases; but by the time the krateriskos shape is introduced in the late sixth or early fifth century, red-figure is being produced in Attic workshops, so the new technique could easily have been employed for the new vase type. But as we have seen in other cases, it is passed over in favor of the older, traditional black-figure technique.

Mounichia

In Palaiokrassa's publication of the Artemis sanctuary at Mounichia, almost all of the ceramics cataloged dating to the fifth century are krateriskoi. Like Kalogeropoulou's study of Halai Araphenides, Palaiokrassa's publication of the sanctuary at Mounichia deals with material excavated much earlier and not carefully recorded, in this case rescue excavations carried out in 1935 by Ioannes Threpsiades. Additional excavations were carried out in 1984, which helped better define the architectural phases of the site and produced large quantities of fragmentary votive material.⁶⁶ Other than krateriskoi, very little pottery from Mounichia dating to the fifth century has been published. Many of the other pottery fragments are of shapes associated with women and women's rituals, like pyxides, lekanides, lebetes gamikoi, and loutrophoroi. The loutrophoroi and lebetes gamikoi especially are associated with bathing as part of women's prenuptial rituals.⁶⁷

been published, so it is unclear how much overlap there may have been in the transition from black- to red-figure and how it compares to other shapes.

⁶⁶ Palaiokrassa 1989.

⁶⁷ Sabetai 2014, 55. Palaiokrassa catalogs only fragments of two miniature loutrophoroi (Palaiokrassa 1989, 36.131 [Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 84/156, 84/24, pl. 5.3.131a-b]; Palaiokrassa 1991, 137.Ka38 [Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 5412; pl. 30a]). Both are too fragmentary to indicate whether they are loutrophoros-hydriae or -amphorae. One (Palaiokrassa 1991, 137.Ka38) is decorated with a female head, likely indicating it was for use by a woman.

This suggests that at this sanctuary Artemis was associated with children's rites of passage as well as her frequent connection to marriage and childbirth.⁶⁸ Many of these same shapes are found at Brauron.⁶⁹ Again, black-gloss pottery is by far the most common and very little red-figure was found at the site. The material is very fragmentary and difficult to date with certainty, but as at Halai Araphenides, some red-figure kylikes of the first half of the fifth century were found at the site, suggesting feasting or sympotic activity.⁷⁰

Pan Caves

The only cult sites where krateriskoi were found that are not associated with Artemis are two cave sanctuaries in Attica, at Eleusis and at Vari, dedicated to Pan and the nymphs. Two krateriskoi with non-figural decoration were found at Eleusis (fig. 5.14)⁷¹ and one fragment of a krateriskos showing a running girl was found at the Vari cave (fig. 5.15).⁷² Neither cave contained any finds dating earlier than the beginning of the fifth century. The Vari cave contained little other pottery from the first half of the century. Red-figure (full size) kraters were popular at the site in the second half of the

⁶⁸ Palaiokrassa 1989, 11.

⁶⁹ Kahil 1997.

⁷⁰ Palaiokrassa 1989, 34.107 (Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 84/174; Palaiokrassa 1989, pl. 5.3.107), 34.108 (Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 84/57; Palaiokrassa 1989, pl. 5.3.108).

⁷¹ Travlos 1962, 55.

⁷² Schörner and Goette 2004, 91-2, pl. 50.4. Schörner and Goette (2004, 118) suggest that the krateriskos fragment in the Vari cave indicates Artemis was worshiped there in addition to Pan and the nymphs. There is no other strong evidence of a cult to Artemis at the site, and I do not think this assumption is necessary based on the shared associations of the gods discussed below.

century.⁷³ At the Pan cave in Eleusis were found many squat lekythoi in black-glaze and with red-figure palmettes in addition to the two krateriskoi.⁷⁴ Some of these surely date to the first half of the fifth century and the series continues into the fourth century. Other interesting finds from the cave include miniature loutrophoroi with palmette decoration and full size red-figure loutrophoroi.⁷⁵ The red-figure vases appear to date to the second half of the fifth century. Torch races linked to prenuptial rites for young men were held annually in honor of Pan in Attica.⁷⁶ I have discussed the prenuptial associations of loutrophoroi above, but should note here that the two examples from the Pan cave at Eleusis illustrated by Travlos are loutrophoroi-hydriai, which are associated with women, as opposed to loutrophoroi-amphorae, which are associated with men.⁷⁷ These vases in combination with the krateriskoi suggest the Pan cult in Attica involved prenuptial rites for both grooms and brides-to-be.

In contrast to the cults of Artemis, which had a long history before the introduction of krateriskoi, the cult of Pan was popularized in Attica following the Battle of Marathon, where the Arcadian god was credited with helping the Athenians in their victory against the invading Persian army (Hdt. 6.105).⁷⁸ The story of Pan's introduction

⁷³ Schörner and Goette 2004, 90-2. Schörner and Goette mistakenly claim that most other krateriskoi are dated to the second half of the fifth century and date the fragment from the Vari cave similarly. There is no reason to say it cannot date later than 450, but other similar vases are dated to the first half of the fifth century.

⁷⁴ Travlos 1962, 55, pl. 42a.

⁷⁵ Travlos 1962, 55, pl. 42a, 43b.

⁷⁶ Borgeaud 1988, 155; Parker 1996, 164.

⁷⁷ Sabetai 2014, 55.

⁷⁸ Parke 1977, 172-3; Borgeaud 1988, 133-5; Parker 1996, 163-4; Ellinger 2002, 316-7; Krasilnikoff 2008; Mastrapas 2013.

into the Attic pantheon was likely invented after the fact, but archaeological evidence does suggest a new interest in the god in Attica in the early fifth century.⁷⁹ His cult was often added to existing nymph sanctuaries (not to be confused with Nymphe, the patroness of marriage, whose sanctuary on the south slope of the Acropolis is mentioned above), often in caves, because of their common association with the generative power of nature.⁸⁰ In Attica Pan is associated with borders, marginal areas, and wild places alienated from the urban landscape.⁸¹ Given these many shared associations of Pan and Artemis, it should be no surprise that vases so closely associated with the goddess occasionally found their way into the sanctuaries of the new deity in Attica.⁸²

Dating

No one has developed a relative chronology for krateriskoi nor assigned dates more precise than a half century for most of the vases. Their hasty style is generally considered too coarse to allow for more precise dating. Kahil notes that the repeated flooding of Brauron confused much of the stratigraphy and made stratigraphic dating impossible.⁸³ As mentioned above, excavations at Mounichia and Halai Araphenides were not carried out in a manner that would allow dating by means other than style, so we must rely on style to date most krateriskoi. Krateriskoi are introduced into existing Attic cults of Artemis around the end of the sixth century and are probably in use until the

⁷⁹ Parker 1996, 163-4; Mastrapas 2013, 117; Krasilnikoff 2008, 191-2.

⁸⁰ Parker 1996, 165; Mastrapas 2013, 116.

⁸¹ Osborne 1987, 189-92; Borgeaud 1988, 139; Krasilnikoff 2008, 194-6.

⁸² Borgeaud 1988, 156. See Ellinger 2002 for further shared aspects of Artemis and Pan.

⁸³ Kahil 1965, 22-3.

middle of the fifth century. Cult activity at Brauron dates back to at least the ninth century and perhaps as early as the Mycenaean period.⁸⁴ There is also evidence of Mycenaean era cult activity at the Artemis sanctuary at Halai Araphenides.⁸⁵ The Acropolis krateriskos (fig. 5.8) and one from the Agora (fig. 5.9) certainly predate the Persian destruction of Athens, and were likely made in the last decade of the sixth century.⁸⁶

Many have argued for a link between the foundation of the Brauronion on the Acropolis and the Peisistratids, but any connection is uncertain.⁸⁷ Peisistratos was from Brauron, and the establishment of a branch of a local cult on the Acropolis would fit with his general program of connecting the city with the surrounding region by related cults. What can be certain of is that this special vase type was introduced to Attic Artemis cults around the end of the sixth century and remained popular for perhaps half a century. Artemis did see an increase in popularity after the Persian Wars, so the floruit of krateriskoi and their presence at various Artemis sanctuaries is likely related to increased interest in the goddess.⁸⁸ References to or influence of the cult of Brauronian Artemis is not found in Attic art other than the krateriskoi, so it may have been the case that the rituals were secret and the images were not made to be seen by those not involved. The krateriskos scenes are, however, influenced by broader developments in vase-painting

⁸⁴ Papadimitriou 1963, 111-2; Condis 1967, 28.

⁸⁵ Kalogeropoulos 2013, 153-5; McInerney 2015, 291.

⁸⁶ Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1965, 33; Kahil 1981, 259.

⁸⁷ Shapiro 1989, 65-6; Hurwit 1999, 117. On the sanctuary, see Rhodes and Dobbins 1979 and Hurwit 1999, 197-8.

⁸⁸ Simon 1983, 86; 1998, 152-5.

iconography. The popularity of Delian Apollo in late Archaic art—and by extension Delian Artemis—can be seen in the use of the palm tree as an attribute of Artemis.⁸⁹

Based on the usual dating, the krateriskos does not have a long life in Attic black-figure. Kahil puts the end of production of the shape around the middle of the fifth century.⁹⁰ This corresponds with the waning of production of black-figure in other shapes discussed in previous chapters. There is no decrease in cult activity at Artemis sanctuaries in Attica at that time that might have accounted for this change.⁹¹ A change in cult practice could account for the disappearance of krateriskoi, but we have no other evidence for such a change, and we do not find another type of vase or votive object taking the place of krateriskoi around this time.⁹² The vase shape itself likely shared many of the archaistic associations of the black-figure technique itself, making the older technique intrinsic to the meaning of the vases. The decline of black-figure may have brought an end to the shape.

Alternatively, Palaiokrassa suggests that the proposed lifespan of the shape—around half a century—is too short to account for the number of vases found at the sanctuaries. Though krateriskoi are too uniform as a group to find any chronological development, she believes their important role in cult could have resulting in the production of similar looking vessels into the fourth century, and she notes that many krateriskos fragments at Mounichia were found in fourth-century deposits.⁹³ One

⁸⁹ Shapiro 1989, 65-6.

⁹⁰ Kahil 1965, 22.

⁹¹ Palaiokrassa 1991, 81.

⁹² Palaiokrassa 1989, 18.

⁹³ Palaiokrassa 1989, 16-8.

krateriskos fragment found in the Agora (fig. 5.4) came from a late fifth-century deposit, but is assumed to have been made much earlier.⁹⁴ Such a uniform appearance of ritual vases over a timespan of a century is seen in other Attic vases, namely the Lindos Group of miniature votive skyphoi discussed in the previous chapter. Miniature vases present a host of technical issues that may contribute to less variety in their appearance, but their votive use no doubt also contributed to their uniformity. In a later publication, Palaiokrassa backs away from this suggestion and follows the usual dating, saying that production of black-figure krateriskoi cannot have continued past the middle of the fifth century on the basis of stylistic criteria.⁹⁵ Such a pronouncement about the date of krateriskoi seems overly definitive, as hastily painted vases are generally difficult to date stylistically, and krateriskoi are such specialized products that stylistic comparisons are problematic.

Unfortunately, without more examples from well recorded deposits, a down-dating of the latest krateriskoi is unlikely to be widely accepted, but I think there is no reason to assume a strict endpoint of 450. Given that the few red-figure krateriskoi discussed below date to the third quarter of the century, it would seem some krateriskoi were still around in the second half of the fifth century, unless we imagine potters reproducing a shape for a special commission a shape that had fallen out of use. It is significant that black-figure krateriskoi are not replaced by red-figure vases or any other type of vessel. Whatever prompted those taking part in rituals at these sites to stop using krateriskoi, it was not a preference for something less hastily painted. Much like

⁹⁴ Holloway 1966, 83.

⁹⁵ Palaiokrassa 1991, 81.

Panathenaic prize amphorae, krateriskoi were associated with specific important festivals, which may have led to the maintenance of a relatively unchanging form over a long period of time. However, unlike prize amphorae, they did not carry any special prestige beyond the sanctuary, which could account for less care being taken in their production. These hastily painted black-figure vases continued to be used into the fifth century likely for many of the same reasons discussed in previous chapters: conservatism, archaism, and an association with the rural or wild.

Red-figure Krateriskoi

Three fragmentary red-figure krateriskoi are known, but they lack provenience. All three examples are in a private collection in Basel, and were published by Kahil.⁹⁶ The vases are made with the same fine, Athenian clay as the majority of Attic vases rather than the local clays used for the black-figure krateriskoi found at Artemis sanctuaries.⁹⁷ Kahil dates them to the third quarter of the fifth century by style, later than black-figure examples are usually dated, though their production may have bled into the third quarter of the century as that of black-figure lekythoi and skyphoi did.

Like the black-figure examples, red-figure krateriskoi show scenes related to the cult of Artemis, but their imagery is much more detailed and actions are more clearly depicted. They include many of the same themes and details as the black-figure vases, like palm trees (fig. 5.16 no.1, 5.17 no.2), girls running (clothed [fig. 5.16 no. 3] and nude [fig. 5.17 no. 1, 3]), and deer (fig. 5.18 no. 3). The red-figure fragments, however, also

⁹⁶ Kahil 1977.

⁹⁷ Kahil 1977, 89.

include a depiction of a bear (fig. 5.17 no. 2) and a person wearing a bear mask (fig. 5.18 no. 2-3).

These images have been used in several attempts to reconstruct the rituals at Brauron and their mythological etiology. This is intriguing, since a better understanding of the ritual practices at Brauron and other Artemis sanctuaries could help us understand why particular objects like black-figure vessels were appropriate or desirable for the cult. The red-figure scenes do seem to relate closely to what we know of the cult of Artemis and the Arkteia, and preserved fragments of the distinctive double handles make their identification as *krateriskoi* fairly conclusive. Kahil states without hesitation that these images can inform us about the rituals at Brauron and others have followed her, but given their complete lack of provenience—not even a suggestion that they were found in Greece—I am reluctant to lend so much credence to these three vases as evidence for rituals at Attic Artemis sanctuaries.⁹⁸ It suffices to say that the iconography of these red-figure *krateriskoi* supports what we know about the cult at Brauron from other sources, but does not add much to our understanding of the black-figure vases.

Artemis and Late Black-figure

Artemis is associated with the untamed, wilderness, and wild animals from an early period in Greek art in her guise of *Potnia Theron* (Mistress of Animals). Sanctuaries of Artemis are often located on the physical margins of a region or polis, as are Brauron, Mounichia, and Halai Araphenides. The goddess deals with physical as well

⁹⁸ Kahil 1977, 89.

as biological borders and transitions, including childbirth and infancy.⁹⁹ Especially at Brauron but probably at other sites in Attica she oversaw the transitions of girls into womanhood. The cult is interpreted as a classic *rite de passage*.¹⁰⁰ Through the rituals at the site, girls leave their social role as children, pass through a liminal stage in the space of the sanctuary, and enter into a new social role as girls eligible for marriage.¹⁰¹ The prenuptial nature of the ritual is also supported by the loutrophoroi found at some of the sites associated with krateriskoi. Loutrophoroi carried water for bathing before the wedding, and thus are associated with unmarried girls.¹⁰² In their liminal state—playing the bear—girls become wild animals and must be tamed before being reintegrated into society. The nudity of the girls in some scenes marks them as uncivilized. When they “shed the *krokotos*,” they shed the trappings of civilization and entered the wild realm of Artemis.¹⁰³ Brauron was a rural site, lying on the periphery of Attica—a liminal place—and as such mirrored the liminal state of the participants in the rituals there.¹⁰⁴

In this respect and in her role as mistress of animals and patroness of hunters, Artemis deals with the taming of the wild. Likewise, the worship of Pan was closely associated with the rural and wild, and both deities inhabit liminal border spaces. Osborne argues that for his worshippers in Attica, “Pan stands for a countryside which is

⁹⁹ Cole 1998; 2000.

¹⁰⁰ The Arkteia is also often discussed as a form of mystery cult into which girls are initiated as they “play the bear.” For an overview of and argument against the Arkteia as mystery cult, see Faraone 2003.

¹⁰¹ Kahil 1977, 1997, 403-4; Cole 1984; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 66; 1990b, 50-5; Marinatos 2002.

¹⁰² Sabetai 2014, 56-7.

¹⁰³ Osborne 1985, 169; Scanlon 1990, 80-1.

¹⁰⁴ Nielsen 2009, 94; Papadopoulou 2014, 114; McInerney 2015, 290.

not the countryside of the shepherd, but a countryside of the mind. The rugged mountains of the caves provided an image of wildness which was in complete contrast to the civilization of the town. Worshipping Pan was a way of escaping from society.”¹⁰⁵ The older, traditional black-figure technique may have echoed the wild, uncivilized status of the users of these vases and the rituals in which they were involved. The rituals were separated and distant from the culture of the city, much like those associated with the skyphoi discussed in the previous chapter. In this case we might imagine these old-fashioned vases accompanying girls as they prepare for the rituals, ultimately to be left behind at the sanctuary as they also leave behind their previous status.

Erika Simon states that *krateriskoi* “are so numerous and frequently of such poor quality ... it seems that in the fifth century the whole populace took part in the *arkteia* and sent their young daughters ... to the service of Artemis.”¹⁰⁶ There are several problems with this claim. First, as I have stated above, the pottery from Brauron has not been comprehensively published. Kahil notes that hundreds of *krateriskoi* were found at the site, but that is far too broad an estimate to draw any conclusion regarding how many individuals took part in the rituals there.¹⁰⁷ Secondly, it is not true that *krateriskoi* are “frequently” of low quality. Rather, they are always of a consistently hasty production. With the exception of the few red-figure fragments, after the beginning of the fifth century there are no remotely finely painted examples to suggest the hasty versions were a cheaper, low-end product. Finally, even if thousands of *krateriskoi* from Brauron came

¹⁰⁵ Osborne 1987, 192.

¹⁰⁶ Simon 1983, 86.

¹⁰⁷ Kahil 1977, 86.

to light, this would not necessarily indicate thousands of individuals took part in the rituals. As we have seen in the case of funerary lekythoi, one vase does not equal one person. A single girl from a wealthy family may well have dedicated numerous hastily painted krateriskoi at the sanctuary. Given our lack of knowledge of how the vases were used, there is no reason to assume that one krateriskos represents one girl who took part in the Arkteia. It is unlikely that every young girl in Attica took part in the Arkteia, and more probably it was a practice reserved for daughters of the elite in order to advertise their availability for marriage.¹⁰⁸

If the festival was reserved for the wealthy elite, we should interpret all of the krateriskoi as dedications of those elite. The krateriskoi found in the Pan caves at Eleusis and Vari should also be seen as elite dedications, as Pan's worshipers were not local shepherds, but rather elites looking for an escape from the city.¹⁰⁹ Much like the funerary lekythoi discussed in Chapter 3, the hastiness of these vases did not preclude the wealthy from selecting them for important rituals. In other words, there is no reason to assume they were not chosen with the greatest intention by people with the financial means to acquire other, more finely painted vases if they so desired, and the finely painted white-ground kylikes from Brauron show that they did occasionally choose such vases. The few red-figure krateriskoi seem to be odd exceptions rather than indications of a corpus of more finely painted examples.

Krateriskoi maintained the older black-figure technique despite, or perhaps because of, their connection to the elite. If the Arkteia was a setting for the Athenian elite

¹⁰⁸ Parke 1977, 140.

¹⁰⁹ Osborne 1987, 192.

to form connections between families through marriage and maintain their social stature, the old-fashioned and even archaizing forms of objects associated with that setting may have been meant to convey messages about the antiquity of the rituals and the status of those taking part in them. In addition to the connotations of the rural that can be connected to Artemis, we might imagine that black-figure, in this case, also took on some connotations of elite status based on its antiquity.

6. Conclusion: Ancient and Modern Aspects

By the third quarter of the fifth century, the production of black-figure vases other than Panathenaic prize amphorae by Attic workshops had greatly decreased and figure-decorated vases were made almost exclusively in red-figure. Ornament lekythoi were some of the last holdouts of the old tradition. The fifth century saw a massive rise and fall in the political clout of Athens in the Greek world, and the virtual abandonment of the old technique and the traditions it embodied may be read in that context. We may also attribute the end of black-figure to an inevitable change in tastes and fashions, but the fact is that through the first half of the fifth century the fashion was to carry on old, traditional forms.

In the preceding chapters, I have argued that late black-figure vases cannot be considered low-end or cheap alternatives to red-figure based on the archaeological contexts in which they are found and the distribution of vase shapes associated with specific functions between the two techniques. The archaeological evidence also shows that the production and use of Attic black-figure vases continue for longer and on a more significant scale than is often assumed. The case studies presented do not encompass the entirety of fifth-century black-figure, but they cover vase shapes that represent the largest quantity and the latest examples of the technique in Attica. From these case studies, we can see that the black-figure technique survived longest on vases associated with ritual practices or religious festivals, but in most cases the decoration of the vases was not compelled by religious doctrine or laws.

For some vases, such as the Panathenaic prize amphorae, which are assuredly connected with the Greater Panathenaia festival and whose production was commissioned

by the *boulē* and the *athlothetai*, the continued use of the black-figure technique was likely dictated by those commissions in accordance with law or at least deeply ingrained customs. But for most late black-figure vases their decoration seems to have been dictated only by tradition and the semantics of the technique. Lekythoi, for example, are closely associated with funerary ritual and in many instances a lekythos saw its one and only use in a funeral, but the evidence for laws limiting funeral displays is weak and plenty of fifth-century burials flouted the laws if they did exist.

When black-figure eventually falls out of use in the mid-fifth century, lekythoi and other ritual shapes are not for the most part replaced by vases of the same shape decorated in a different technique. I have argued that the black-figure technique itself carried meaning that was important to the ritual uses of the vases it decorated. The technique evoked ideas of the old-fashioned and the traditional, and linked the vases and the rituals associated with them to traditions carried on from previous generations. In some cases, such as skyphoi and krateriskoi, the rustic connotations of the technique complemented the nature of the rituals with which they were associated—rituals linked to rural life or the uncivilized world. These ritual shapes were closely associated with the older technique and the old traditions it implied and would have seemed ineffectual in the newer red-figure technique.

There is no hierarchy of quality in late black-figure vases. Of the hundreds of black-figure funerary lekythoi from the first half of the fifth century, there are no better and worse vases. They are nearly universally of the same hasty quality. The same can be said of skyphoi and krateriskoi of the period. There is also no significant production of red-figure vases that served as higher-end options for the same roles. It is therefore

incorrect to suggest black-figure was a low-end product chosen as a cheaper alternative to red-figure. We should acknowledge that black-figure vases were sought out by consumers of various social strata. The black-figure technique was preserved not out of a resistance to change, but out of a desire to continue specific traditions and to make statements about personal connections to the past.

Late black-figure vases that are often labeled low-end embody an aesthetic aspect unfamiliar to modern beholders, and we have often neglected to take into account the human worldview in which it was created before making aesthetic judgments about the work. Instead we have essentially retrojected modern aesthetic aspects onto ancient visual culture. Judging black-figure vases in this manner does a disservice to the work itself and overlooks an opportunity to better understand ancient Greek visuality.

The preceding reevaluation of late black-figure has implications for the whole of Greek vase-painting and indeed Greek art. I have already discussed how several studies draw conclusions about a specifically Athenian visuality without considering vases' provenience, and the same can be said of many more. Considering late black-figure vases in the larger context of fifth-century Attic pottery shows they played a larger role than is usually assumed. This calls into question our assumptions about the popularity and importance of the finely painted red-figure and white-ground vases that have received much more attention. These vases and the images they carry are read as parts of sophisticated semantic systems making personal and political statements about their users, but for such purposes, it is vital to recognize who these users are. The same sign may carry vastly different meanings in Athens, Eretria, or Etruria. Hastily painted black-

figure vases are also employed in acts of self-fashioning, and their contexts show that they are also the material remains of Athenian social practices.

Images convey meaning regardless of their subjective quality, and we should recognize that Athenian visual culture is reflected in and was shaped by all types of images, including those that at first glance seem low quality. Previous scholarship on Greek vase-painting assumes that Athenians appreciated finely painted vases in much the same way we do today, and that experimentation, individuality, and innovation were among the most valued characteristics of all artwork. These traits certainly were valued in some contexts, but the continuation of black-figure into the fifth century shows that tradition was a major factor in how Athenians selected objects and images. In the case of hastily painted late black-figure vases, the value of tradition seems to have outweighed nearly all else.

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Abbreviations follow those used in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (<http://ajaonline.org/submissions/abbreviations>).

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Tables

		500-475	475-450	450-425	425-400	Total
	# of burials	202	270	157	63	692
Black-figure (figured)	Total Lekythoi	349	256	6	0	611
	avg. / burial	1.73	0.95	0.04	0.00	0.88
	# burials w/ ≥ 1	122	118	6	0	246
	% burials w/ ≥ 1	60.40%	43.70%	3.82%	0.00%	35.55%
Black-figure (all)	Total Lekythoi	464	481	110	3	1058
	avg. / burial	2.30	1.78	0.70	0.05	1.53
	# burials w/ ≥ 1	146	171	58	3	378
	% burials w/ ≥ 1	72.28%	63.33%	36.94%	4.76%	54.62%
Black-gloss	Total Lekythoi	25	70	21	2	118
	avg. / burial	0.12	0.26	0.13	0.03	0.17
	# burials w/ ≥ 1	21	52	14	5	92
	% burials w/ ≥ 1	10.40%	19.26%	8.92%	7.94%	13.29%
Red-figure	Total Lekythoi	2	15	11	6	34
	avg. / burial	0.01	0.06	0.07	0.10	0.05
	# burials w/ ≥ 1	2	6	9	2	19
	% burials w/ ≥ 1	0.99%	2.22%	5.73%	3.17%	2.75%
White-ground	Total Lekythoi	0	16	53	26	95
	avg. / burial	0.00	0.06	0.34	0.41	0.14
	# burials w/ ≥ 1	0	15	21	13	49
	% burials w/ ≥ 1	0.00%	5.56%	13.38%	20.63%	7.08%
Total	Total Lekythoi	491	582	195	37	1305
	avg. / burial	2.43	2.16	1.24	0.59	1.89

Table 1. Lekythoi from Fifth-century Burials in Athenian Kerameikos.

Figures



Figure 1.1. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16757.



Figure 1.2a. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2301.

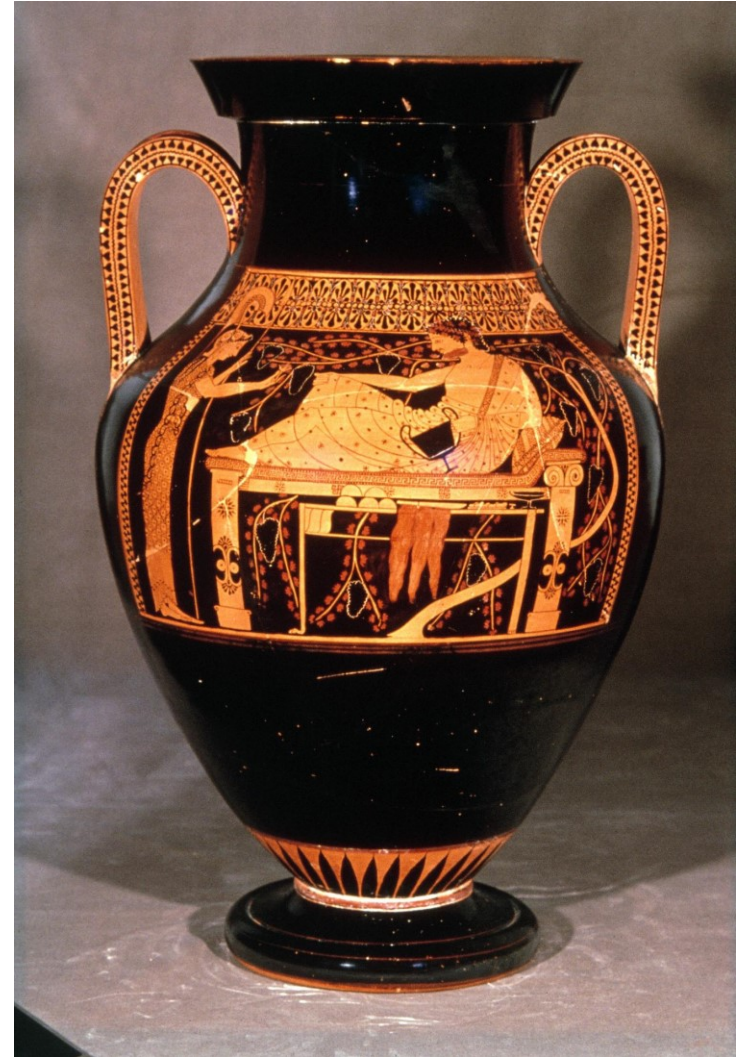


Figure 1.2b. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2301.



Figure 1.3. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung F2180.



Figure 1.4a. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2307.



Figure 1.4b. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2307.



Figure 1.5a. Berkeley, University of California, Hearst Museum of Anthropology 8.3376.



Figure 1.5b. Berkeley, University of California, Hearst Museum of Anthropology 8.3376.



Figure 1.6. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.162.29.

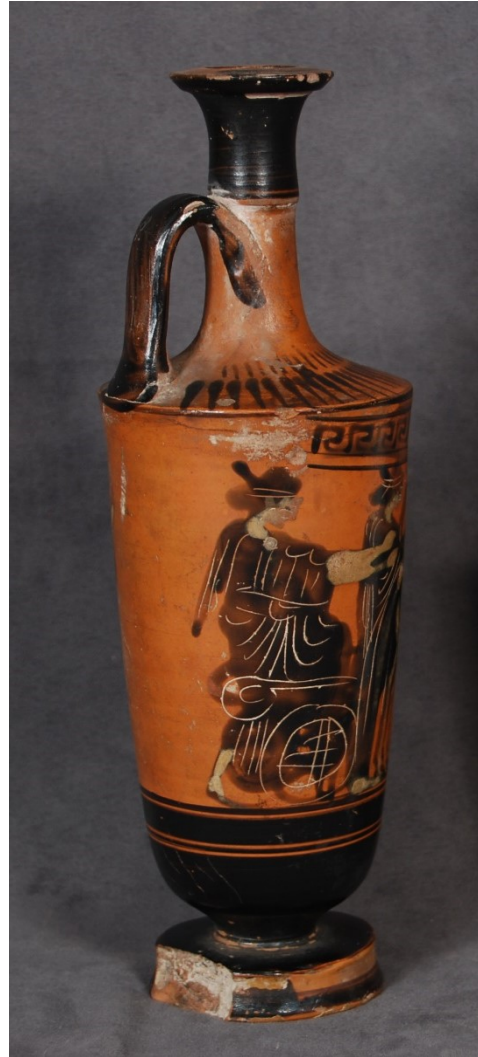


Figure 1.7a. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum K 100.



Figure 1.7b. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum K 100.



Figure 2.1a. London, British Museum B130.



Figure 2.1b. London, British Museum B130.



Figure 2.2a. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden PC 6.



Figure 2.2b. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden PC 6.



Figure 2.3a. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
1956.171.3.



Figure 2.3b. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
1956.171.3.



6.096

Figure 2.4a. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4595.



Figure 2.4b. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4595.



Figure 2.5a. Athens, Agora P24661.

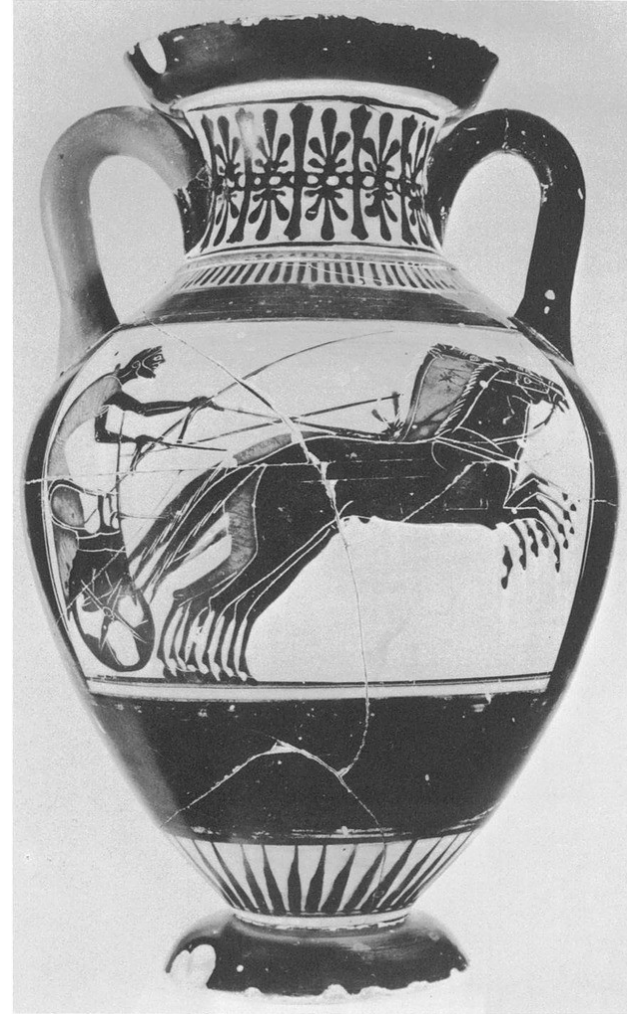


Figure 2.5b. Athens, Agora P24661.



Figure 2.6. Rome, Villa Giulia.



Figure 2.7. Harvard, Sackler Museum 1925.30.124.



Figure 2.8. Athens, Agora P26600.



Figure 2.9. Izmir, Archaeological Museum 48-188.1948.



Figure 2.10a. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 17794.



Figure 2.10b. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 17794.



Figure 2.11a. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.244.

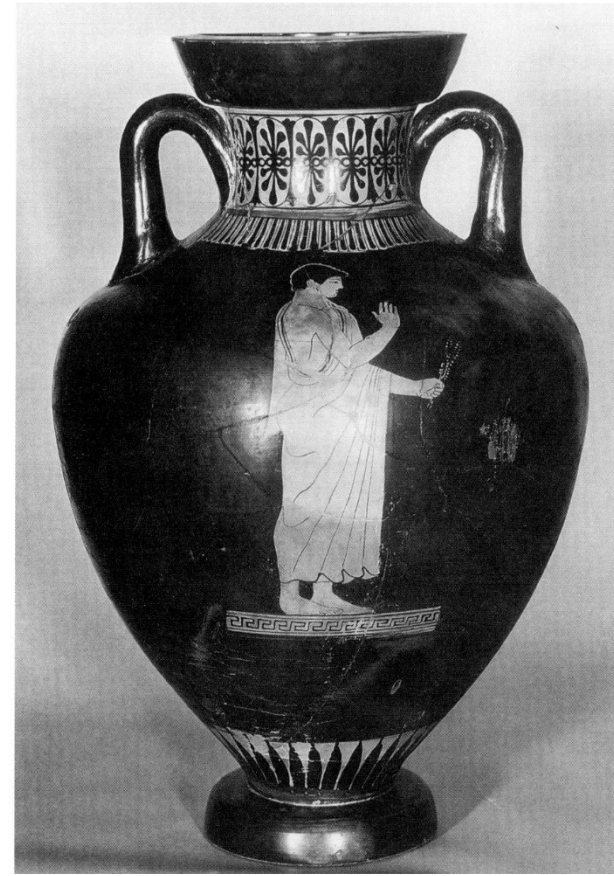


Figure 2.11b. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.244.



Figure 2.12a. London, British Museum 1894,0718.4.

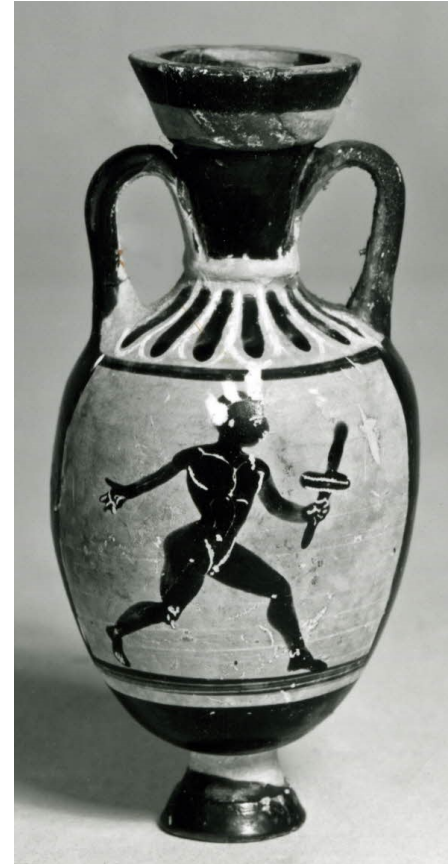


Figure 2.12b. London, British Museum 1894,0718.4.



Figure 2.13. Athens, Agora P5906



Figure 2.14. Athens, Agora P5903.

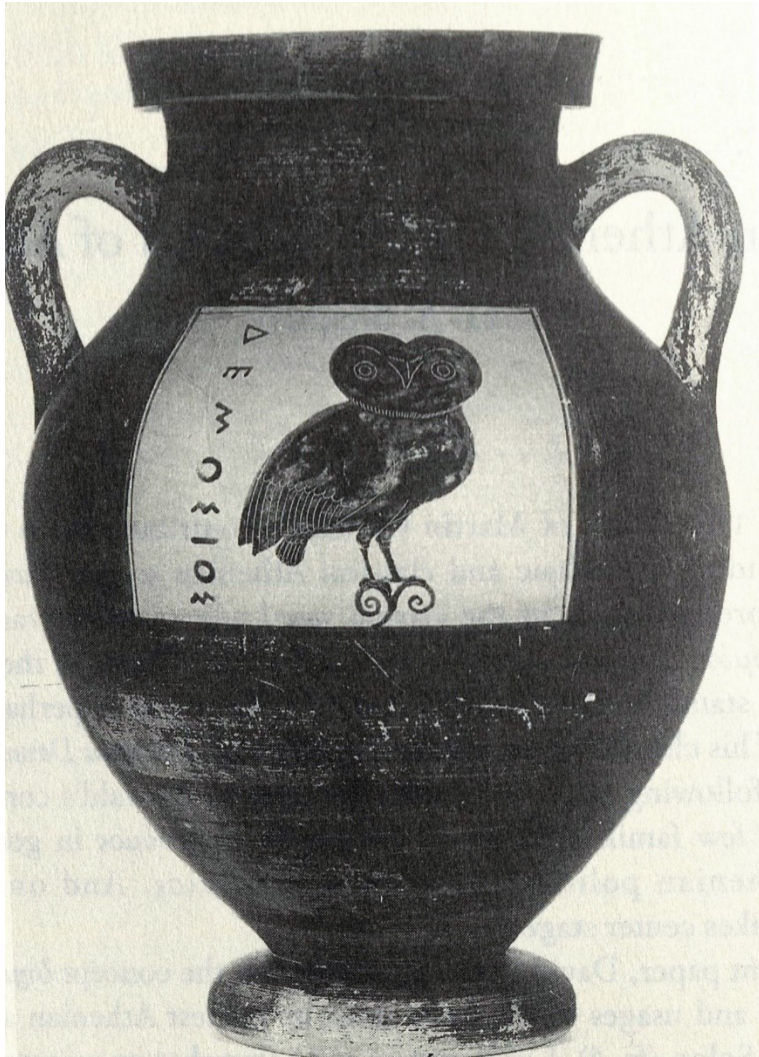


Figure 2.15. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 9406.

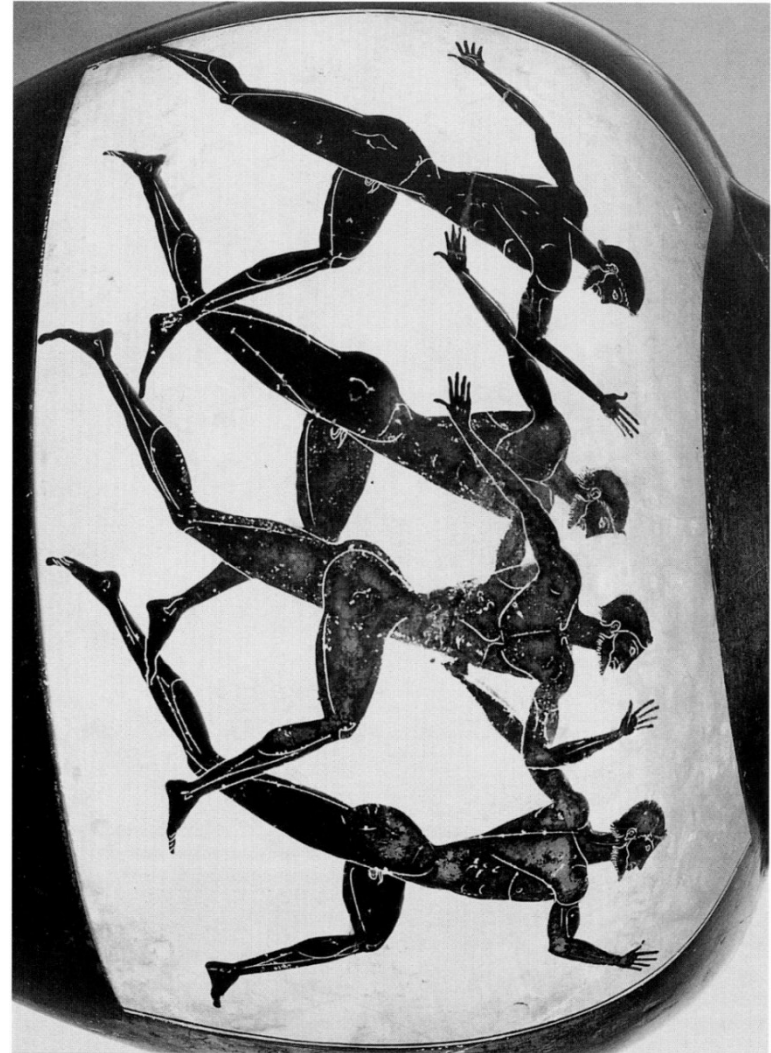


Figure 2.16. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 69/65.



Figure 2.17. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11114.



Figure 2.18. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 20046.



Figure 2.19. Athens, Agora P109.



Figure 2.20. Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 243.



Figure 2.21. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1727.



Figure 2.22. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579.



Figure 2.23. Paris, Louvre CA 308 (K 531).



Figure 2.24. London, British Museum 2001,0508.1.



Figure 3.1. The Marathon Tumulus.

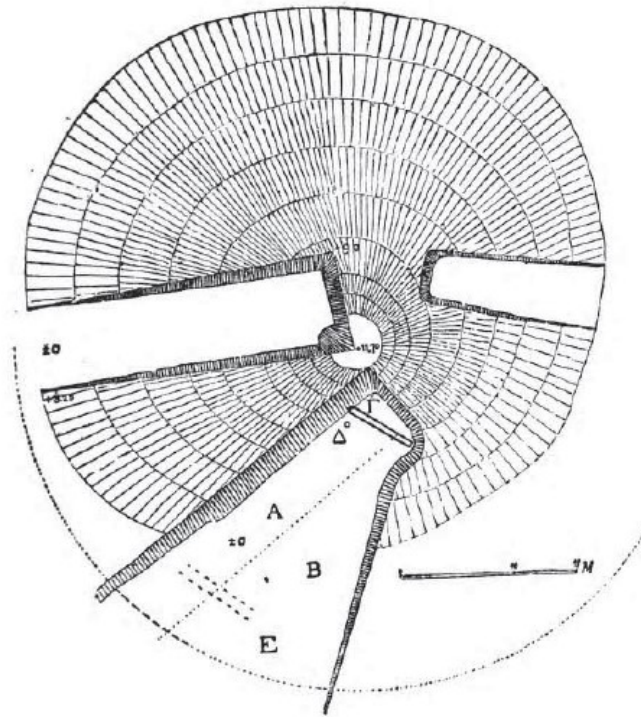


Figure 3.2. Schliemann's trench is at right. Γ is the cremation tray. The Sophilos amphora was found at Δ . The offering trench is E.



Figure 3.3. Marathon, Archaeological Museum 1011.



Figure 3.4. Marathon, Archaeological Museum 1012.



Figure 3.5. Marathon, Archaeological Museum 1013.



Figure 3.6. Marathon, Archaeological Museum 1014.

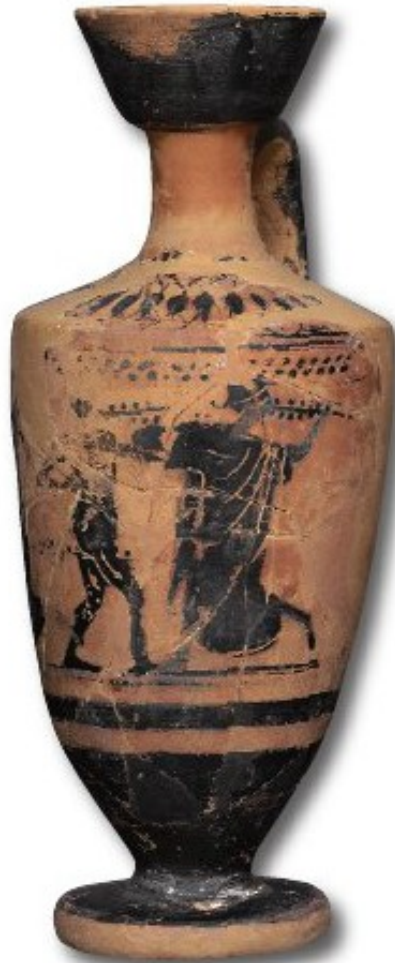


Figure 3.7. Marathon, Archaeological Museum 1015.

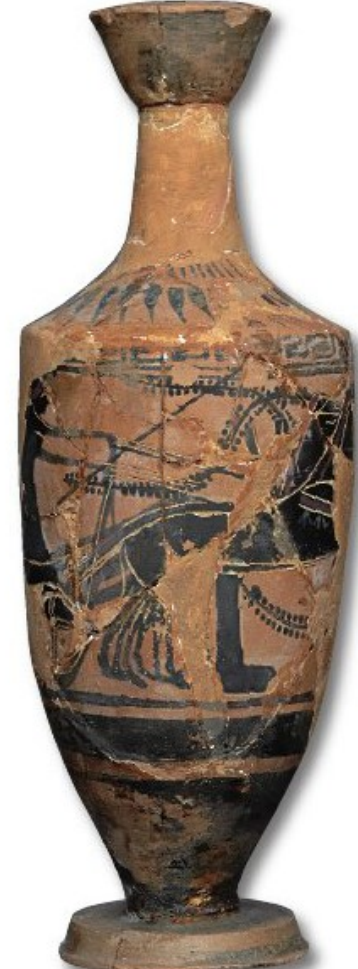


Figure 3.8. Marathon, Archaeological Museum 1018.



Figure 3.9a. Marathon, Archaeological Museum 1024.

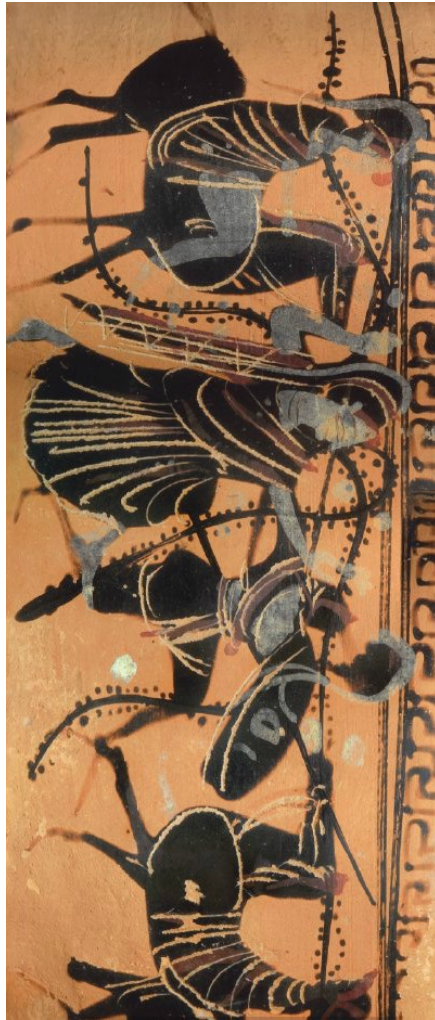


Figure 3.9b. Marathon, Archaeological Museum 1024.



Figure 3.10. Marathon, Archaeological Museum 1033.



Figure 3.11. Marathon, Archaeological Museum 1027.



Figure 3.12. Athens, National Museum 12801.



Figure 3.13. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 599.

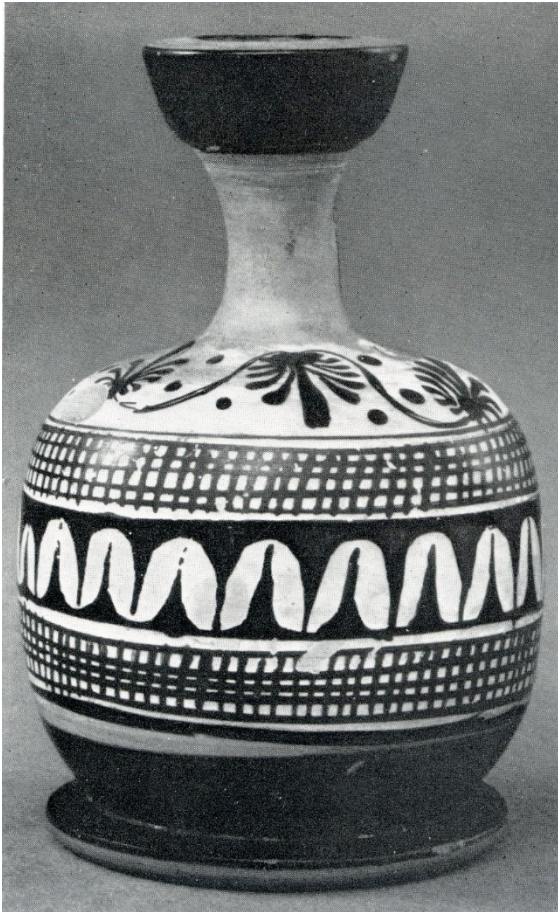


Figure 3.14. London, British Museum
1864,1007.1722.

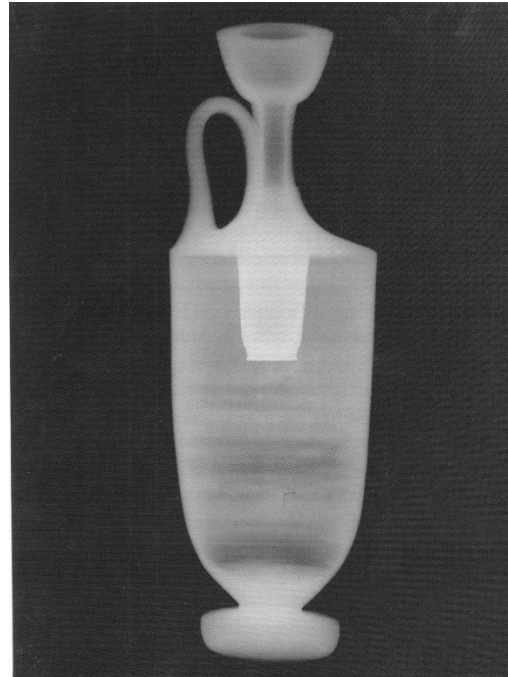


Figure 3.15. New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art 21.88.17.



Figure 3.16. Athens, Kerameikos
Museum IX.10.



Figure 3.17. Athens, Kerameikos Museum 5671.



Figure 3.18. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.11.5.



Figure 3.19. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.38.



Figure 3.20. Brunswick, ME, Bowdoin College Museum of Art
1984.23.



Figure 3.21. Black-figure lekythos from Syntagma Square.

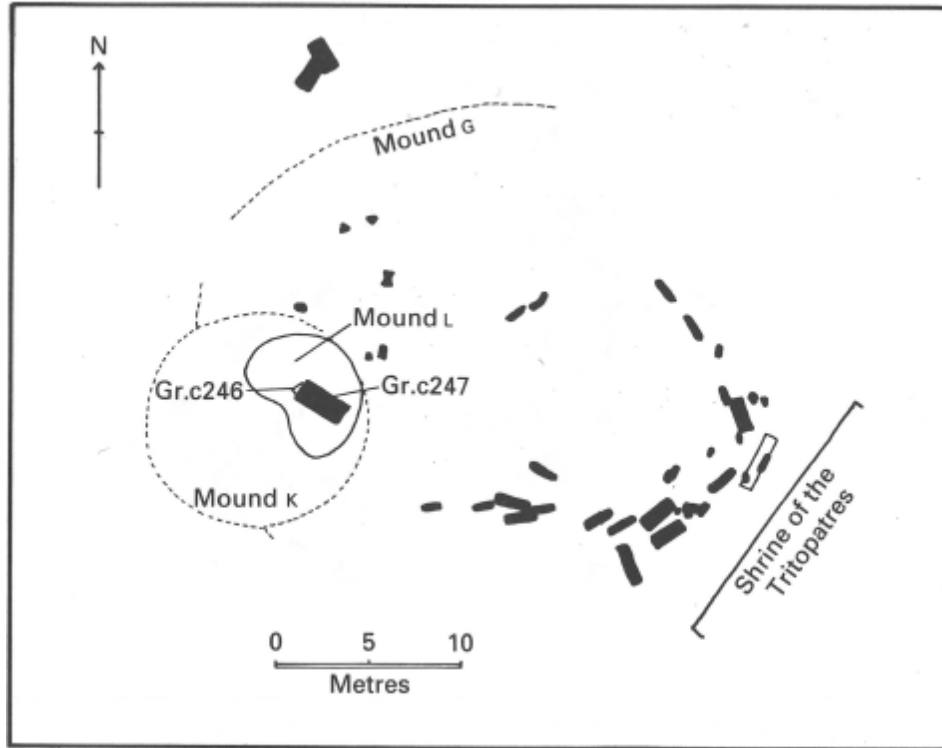


Figure 3.22. Plan showing mounds G, K, and L and burials 35 HTR 49 II and 35 HTR 48 II (246 and 247) in the Athenian Kerameikos.



Figure 3.23. Grave goods from Kerameikos burials 35 HTR 49 II and 35 HTR 48 II.



Figure 3.23a. Attic black-figure lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 from Kerameikos burial 35 HTR 49 II.



Figure 3.24. Vases from Kerameikos burial 35 HTR 47 II.



Figure 3.24a. Athens, Kerameikos Museum 1461.



Figure 3.24b. Athens, Kerameikos Museum 995.



Figure 3.25. Vases from Kerameikos burial S 12 (not to scale).

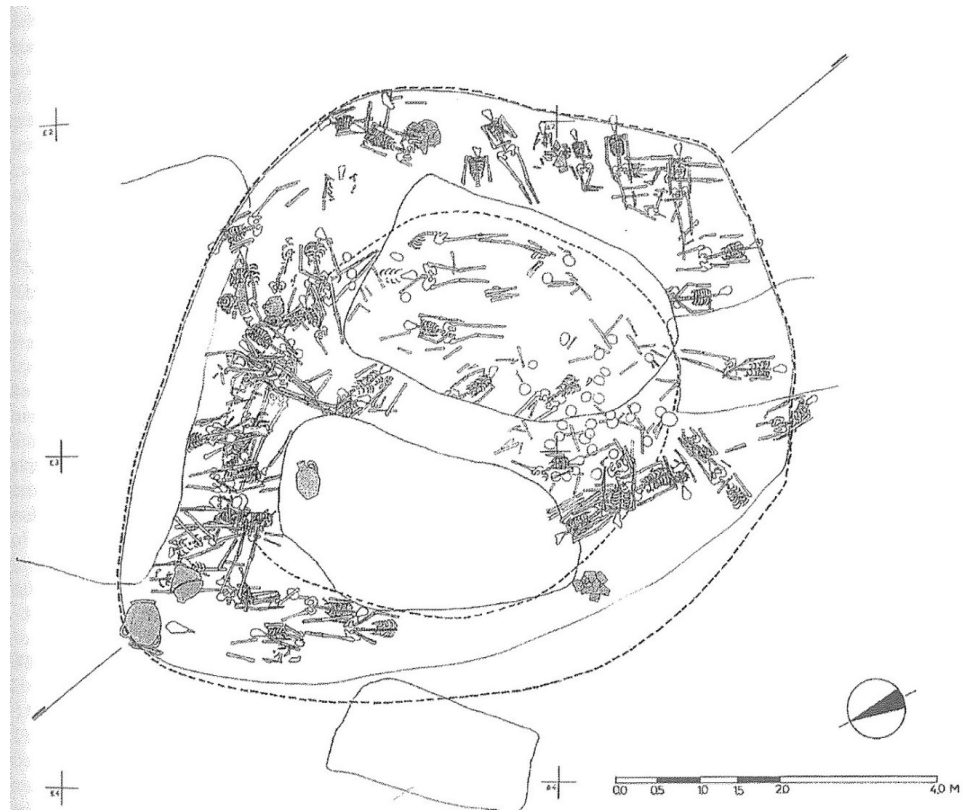


Figure 3.26. Plan of Kerameikos Metro mass burial.



Figure 3.27. Vases from Kerameikos Metro mass burial.



Figure 3.28. Vases from Kerameikos S 45 (not to scale).



Figure 3.28a. Vases from Kerameikos S 45.



Figure 3.29. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1906.1021.223.



Figure 4.1. London, British Museum 1864,1007.1689.

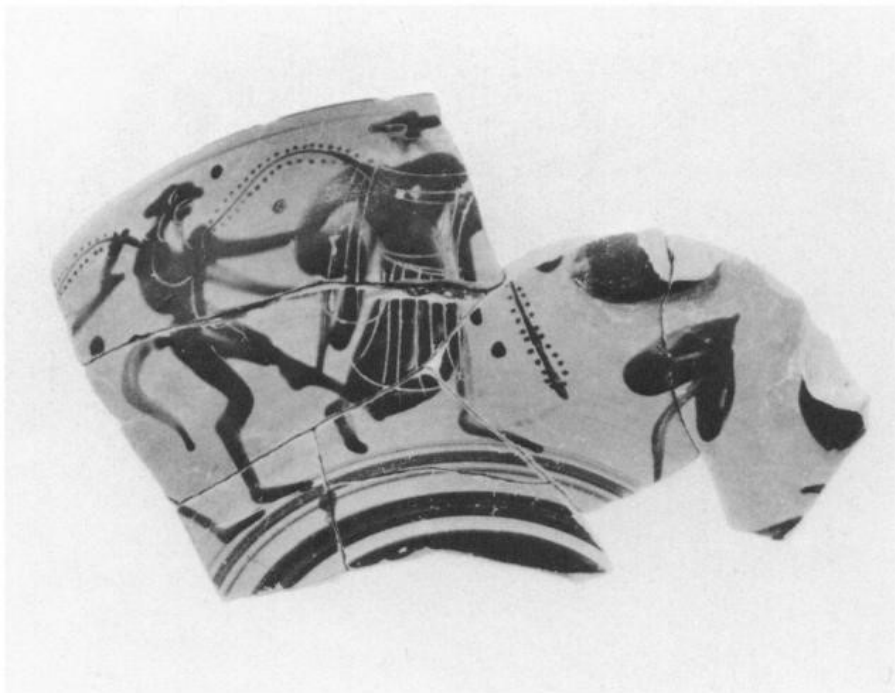


Figure 4.2. Athens, Agora P30079.



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Figure 4.3a. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1974.344.



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Figure 4.3b. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1974.344.



Figure 4.4a. Athens, Agora P1544.



Figure 4.4b. Athens, Agora P1544.



Figure 4.4c. Athens, Agora P1544.



Figure 4.4d. Athens, Agora P1544.



Figure 4.5. Athens, Agora P1141.



Figure 4.6. Athens, Agora P32424.



Figure 4.7. Athens, Kerameikos SW 143.



Figure 4.8. Athens, Kerameikos 7315.



Figure 4.9. Athens, Agora P2743.

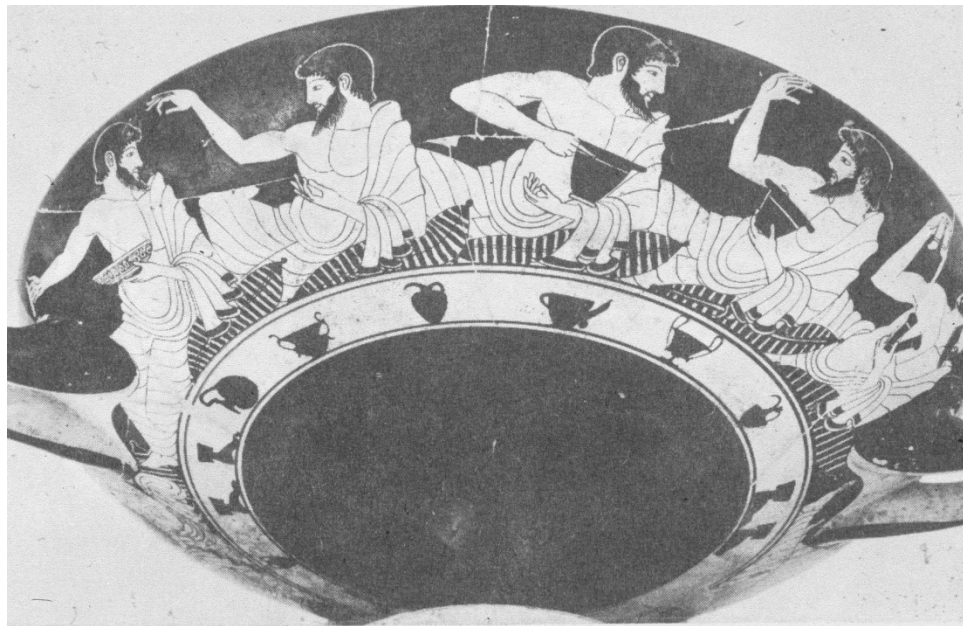


Figure 4.10. Berlin, Antikensammlung F2298.

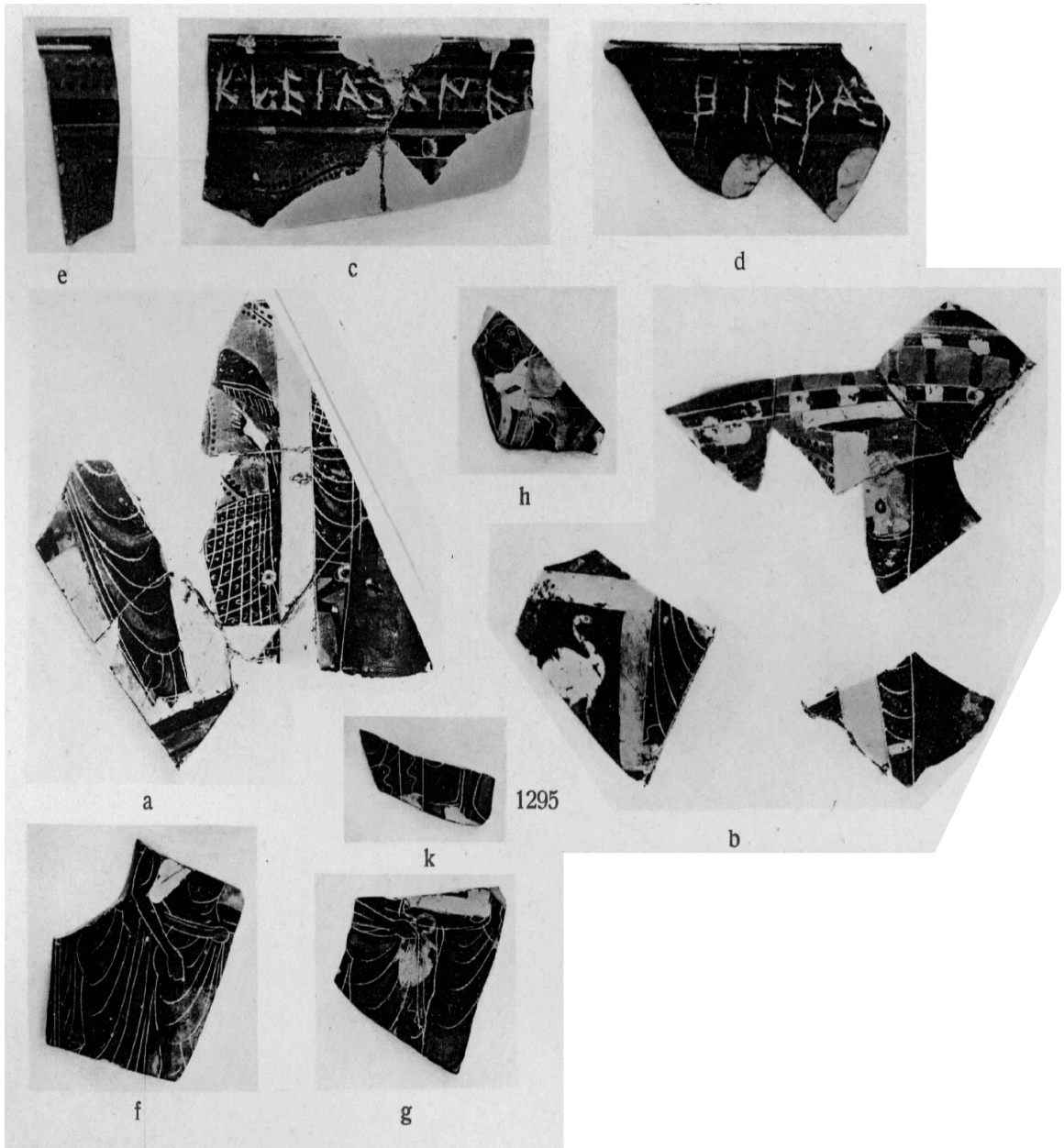


Figure 4.11. Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.1295.

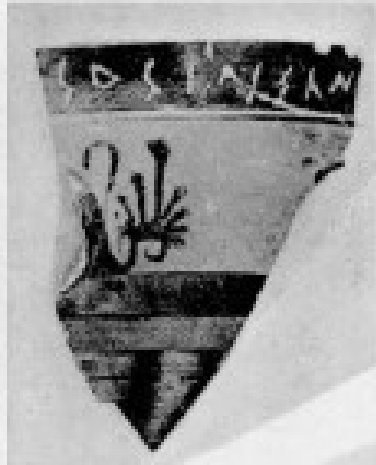


Figure 4.12. Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.1401.



Figure 4.13. Athens, Agora P1547.



Figure 4.14. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1110.

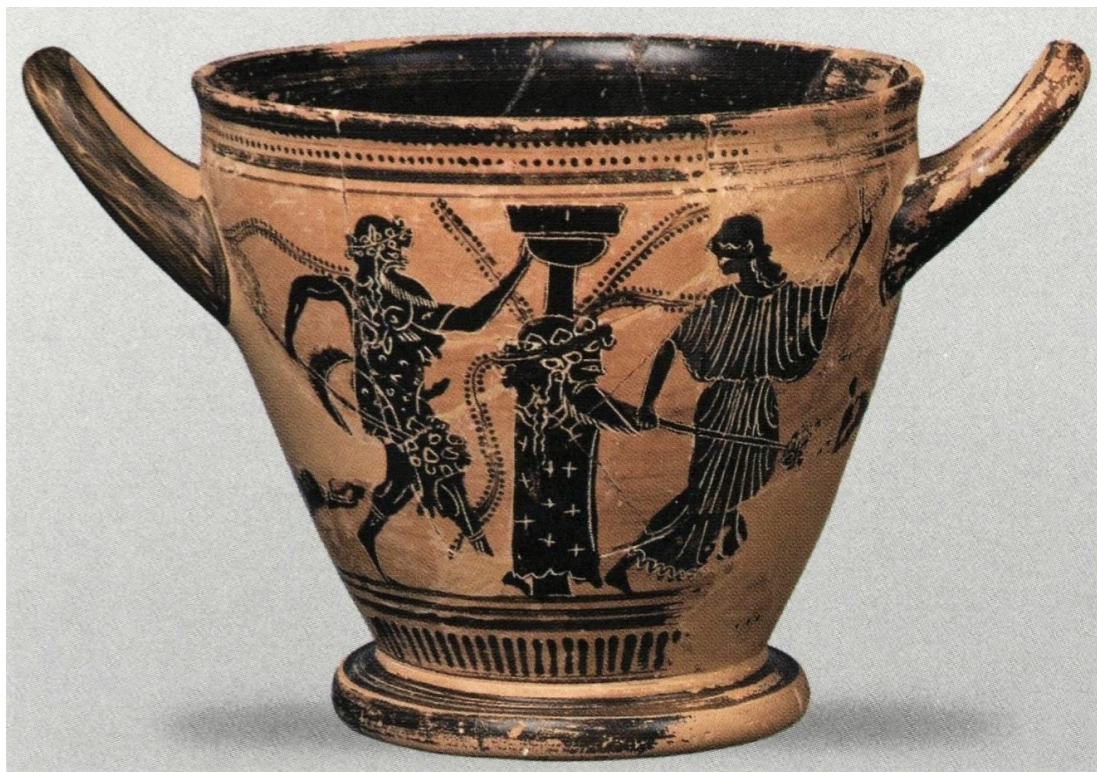


Figure 4.15a. Athens, National Museum 498.



Figure 4.15b. Athens, National Museum 498.



Figure 4.16. Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 1.1281a-b.



Figure 4.17. Athens, Agora P1290.



Figure 4.18a. Athens, Agora P1545.



Figure 4.18b. Athens, Agora P1545.



Figure 4.19. Athens, Agora P1140/P1160.



Figure 4.20a. Thebes, Archaeological Museum 6024 (R.31.173).



Figure 4.20b. Thebes, Archaeological Museum 6024 (R.31.173).



Figure 4.21. Athens, National Museum 18720.



Figure 4.22. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 1538.



Figure 4.23. Athens, Agora P30135.



Figure 4.24a. Athens, National Museum 10426.



Figure 4.24b. Athens, National Museum 10426.



Figure 4.25. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 424.



Figure 4.26. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 425.



Figure 4.27. London, British Museum 1876,0328.5.



Figure 5.1a. Brauron, Archaeological Museum A25.



Figure 5.1b. Brauron, Archaeological Museum A25.



Figure 5.2. Brauron, Archaeological Museum A26.

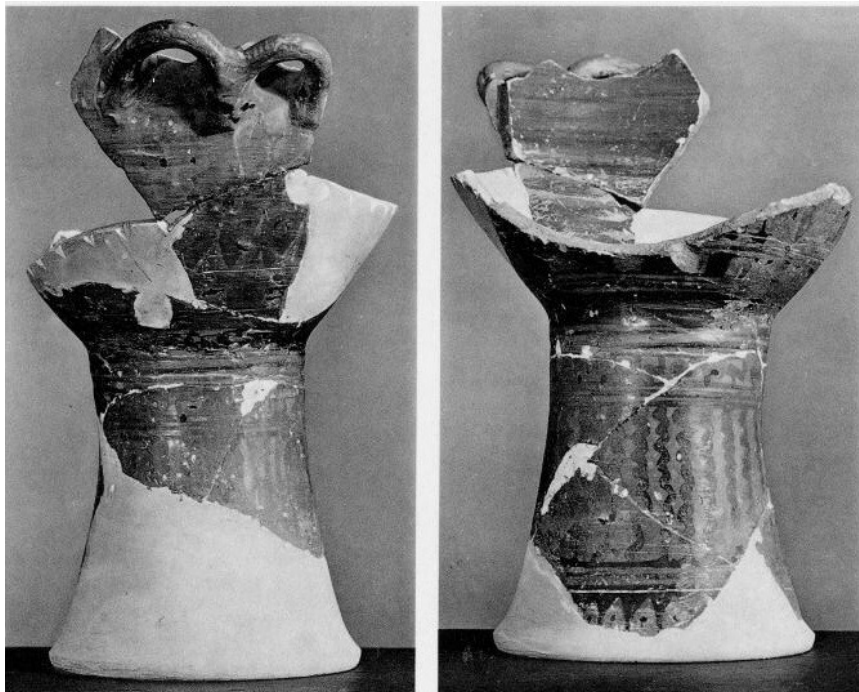


Figure 5.3. Berlin, Antikensammlung A37.



Figure 5.4. Athens, Agora P27342.



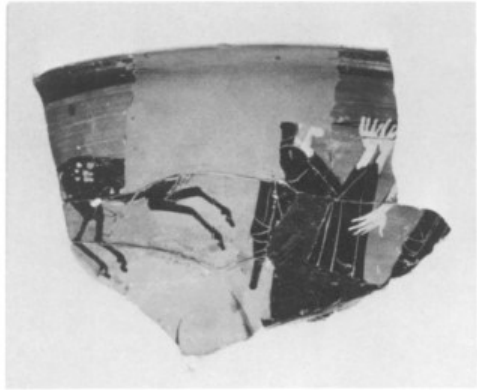
Figure 5.5. Brauron, Archaeological Museum.



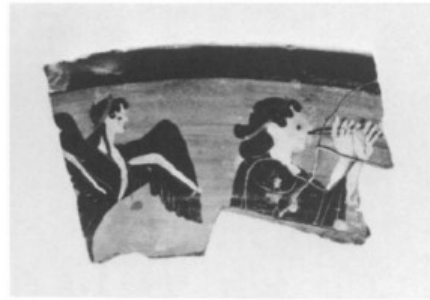
Figure 5.6. Brauron, Archaeological Museum.



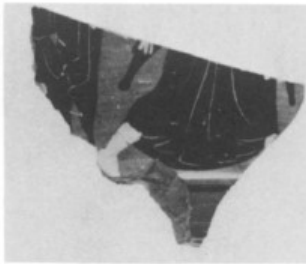
Figure 5.7. Brauron, Archaeological Museum.



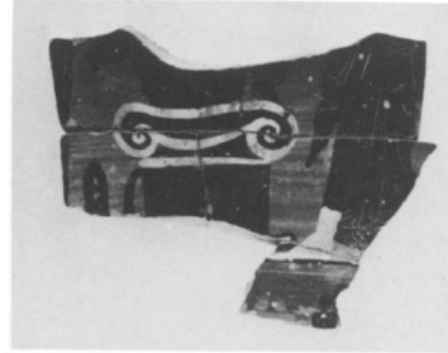
1. Acr. 621 a



2. Acr. 621 c



3. Acr. 621 d



4. Acr. 621 b

Figure 5.8. Athens, National Museum Acropolis Collection 621a-d.



Figure 5.9. Athens, Agora P14550.



Figure 5.10. Brauron, Archaeological Museum A56.



Figure 5.11. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 10.210.13.



Figure 5.12. Brauron, Archaeological Museum A24.



Figure 5.13. Brauron, Archaeological Museum.



Figure 5.14. Krateriskoi and other ceramics from the Pan Cave at Eleusis.

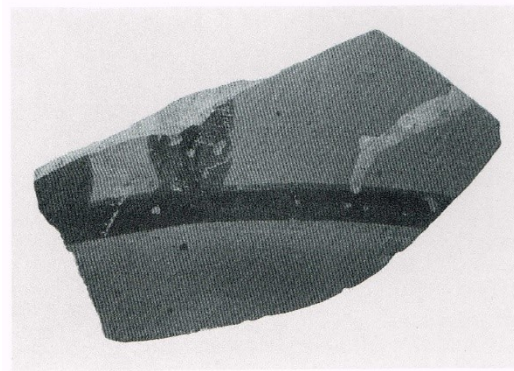


Figure 5.15. Krateriskos fragment from Vari Cave.



Figure 5.16. Basel, private collection.



Figure 5.17. Basel, private collection.



Figure 5.18. Basel, private collection.

Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

- 2017 Ph.D. Classical Art and Archaeology
 Department of Classics
 Johns Hopkins University
 Dissertation: “The Function and Significance of Late Attic Black-Figure
 Vase-Painting.”
 Advisor: H. Alan Shapiro
- 2013-2014 Regular Program
 American School of Classical Studies at Athens
- 2008 B.A. History of Art
 University of California, Berkeley

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- 2015-2016 Samuel H. Kress Pre-doctoral Fellowship in the Art and Architecture of
 Antiquity, American School of Classical Studies at Athens
- 2013-2014 Michael Jameson Fellowship, American School of Classical Studies at
 Athens
- 2011 JHU/Freiburg University Exchange Grant
- 2006-2008 The Berkeley Scholarship

PUBLICATIONS

- Forthcoming “Form and Technique as Religious Conservatism: The Case of the
 Panathenaic Prize Amphorae.” In *ZEITMONTAGEN. Formen und Funktionen
 gezielter Anachronismen*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

PAPERS DELIVERED

- 2017 “New Styles and Old Techniques: Archaism and Religious Conservatism in
 Athenian Vase-Painting.” College Art Association 105th Annual Conference, New
 York, NY. February 18, 2017.

- 2016 “Form and Technique as Religious Conservatism: The Case of the Panathenaic Prize Amphorae.” *7. kleine Mommsen-Tagung: ZEITMONTAGEN. Formen und Funktionen gezielter Anachronismen*. Technische Universität Dresden. October 14-15, 2016.
- 2015 “The (Un)importance of Mimesis in Classical Greek Art.” *Ways of Imitation*, Università degli Studi di Firenze. November 12, 2015.
- “Recreating Ancient Greek Ceramics: Approaching Experimental Archaeology.” *The Third Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum Symposium*. April 11, 2015.
- “A Case for Late Attic Black-Figure.” 116th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, LA. January 11, 2015.
- 2013 “The Pederastic Gaze in Two Greek Vases in the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum.” *The Second Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum Symposium*. April 14, 2013.
- 2012 “Making, Matching, and Marathon.” *New Graduate Research in the Classics*, Duke-UNC Graduate Colloquium 2012. March 24, 2012.
- 2011 “Athenian Iconography and the Etruscan Market: An Amphora by the Michigan Painter in the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum.” Work-in-Progress Seminar, Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften, Abteilung für Klassische Archäologie, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg. June 3, 2011.

MUSEUM/ONLINE MATERIALS

- 2015 “Red Figure Bell Krater.” Baltimore Museum of Art, BMA Go Mobile. (<http://gomobileartbma.org/#object/1232>)
- “Head of Medusa (Door Knocker): Dare to Come In?” Baltimore Museum of Art, BMA Go Mobile. (<http://gomobileartbma.org/#object/1216>)
- 2011 “Kylix attributed to Douris,” “Kylix attributed to the Antiphon Painter,” “Kylix attributed to the Kiss Painter,” and “Kylix attributed to the Proto-Panaitian Group.” Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, Attic Red-Figure Vases. (<http://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/the-collection/object-stories/attic-red-figure-vases-in-the-johns-hopkins-archaeological-museum/>)