

Article A Son of Nikon or Nikon Victorious: A New Inscription on a Fragment of a Pseudo Panathenaic Amphora

Thomas Mannack



Citation: Mannack, Thomas. 2022. A Son of Nikon or Nikon Victorious: A New Inscription on a Fragment of a Pseudo Panathenaic Amphora. *Arts* 11: 69. https://doi.org/10.3390/ arts11040069

Academic Editor: Thor J. Mednick

Received: 7 April 2022 Accepted: 2 June 2022 Published: 5 July 2022

Publisher's Note: MDPI stays neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.



Copyright: © 2022 by the author. Licensee MDPI, Basel, Switzerland. This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (https:// creativecommons.org/licenses/by/ 4.0/). Faculty of Classics, University of Oxford, Oxford OX1 3LU, UK; thomas.mannack@beazley.ox.ac.uk

Abstract: Recently, an inscribed fragment of a closed vase made of buff pinkish clay, covered with a red-orange wash, 11.8 cm wide and 8.4 cm high, and decorated with black, lustrous clay-paint surfaced briefly on the Swiss art market. It preserves a small section of the black tongue pattern on the shoulder and a wide black strip separating ornament and a panel with a straight glossy black line angled upwards; and the incomplete inscription TONIKONO[.... This paper endeavours to place the inscription and the name Nikon in a wider context and to examine the use of Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphorae.

Keywords: Panathenaic Amphorae; Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphorae; kalos-names; Nikon; chariot race

1. Shape

The decoration of the fragment (Figure 1), a black band between ornament and decorative panel, is typical of Panathenaic prize amphorae (PPA) and Pseudo-Panathenaic vases. Around 1000 Panathenaic Prize Amphorae, complete or fragmentary, have survived (Bentz 1998). They were produced from 566^1 until the Roman period as prize-vases containing olive oil for the victors and runners up in the athletic contests at the quadrennial Panathenaic Games. Between 1472 and 1567 were awarded each year according to surviving records². The list probably specified clay containers, not measures, since the list of possessions of the *Hermokopidae* lists 100 in their possession³. PPAs were always decorated in the black-figure technique and labelled "TON A@ENE@EN A@AON" identifying them as a prize awarded in the Athenian games and guaranteeing the quality of the content. They were made initially by leading black-figure workshops, later by the best red-figure painters. After an early experimental phase, the canonical version was created by Group E (Reusser and Bürge 2018; Bentz 1998, pls. 8-9.6014): around 60 cm tall, with a short neck decorated with a double lotus bud palmette chain, ovolo on the shoulder, and an ovoid body with the decoration. The obverse is decorated with Athena with raised spear and raised heel advancing to the left, turning to the right in the fourth century, between two columns surmounted by cocks. The cocks were later replaced by statues. The obverse bears the prize inscription, the reverse an athletic competition; the decoration on both sides is set in panels. The panel on the back is separated from the ovolo by a broad black strip. Rays decorate the lower body above the echinus-shaped foot.

Inscriptions other than the prize inscriptions are rare. Occasionally the prize inscription is combined with a signature for the potter⁴. Signed PPAs are thought to be specimen pieces submitted by workshops applying for the contract to produce the prizes. A few amphorae are labelled with the competition for which they were awarded, and among the earliest examples, dated around 540/530, are vases in Munich, Geneva, and Athens⁵ specifying the athletic disciplines, $\Sigma TA\Delta IO AN\Delta PON NIKE$, $AN[DRON \Sigma]TA\Delta[IO]$ combined with the signature for Kallikles, and $\Delta IA\Upsilon\Lambda O\Delta POMO$ EIMI next to athletes running to right. In the fourth century, painters briefly added the name of the archon eponymous of the year in which the vase was produced, and later the name of the Agonothetes⁶.



Pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae, 325 of which have been recorded⁷, were made by the same workshops that produced the official prizes and share the same distribution pattern; their production appears to have ceased before 450⁸. They mimic the shape and decoration of prize vases but lack the prize inscription, save for an amphora in St. Petersburg⁹, and are smaller¹⁰. Only a few bear inscriptions; usually the names of men.



Figure 1. Inscribed fragment of a Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphora, private collection.

2. Scene and Inscription

The black line in the panel of the new fragment is possibly the *kentron* of a charioteer¹¹ (Figure 2) or the staff of a trainer or judge¹². The fragmentary inscription: TONIKONO[..., can be restored to either TO(Y) NIKONO Σ , '... son of Nikon' or the name of the victor in a chariot race, TO(Y) NIKONO[Σ HAPMA]¹³. In either case, the inscribed name identifies the shape as a Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphora since personal names other than those of ceramicists and officials do not occur on prize vases. The formula TOY NIKONO Σ for a patronymic is unusual. The few vase inscriptions denoting someone's father are phrased differently. Tleson identified himself as *ho Nearchou*, 'TAE Σ ON HO NEAPXO EIIOIE Σ EN'¹⁴ on the vast majority of his cups and once as TAE Σ ON NEAPXO EIIOIE Σ EN'¹⁵. Euthymides used a similar formula, EY Θ YMIAE Σ EFPA Φ Σ EN HO IIOA[A]IO on a belly-amphora in Munich¹⁶. Around 420/410 the potter of a red-figure bell-krater used an unadorned genitive for his incised signature, NIKIA Σ EPMOKAEOY Σ ANA Φ AY Σ TIO Σ EIIOIE Σ EN¹⁷. The Achilles Painter also used the genitive case for his kalos inscriptions with patronymic, e.g., AAKIM[H] Δ H Σ KAAO Σ AI Σ XYAI Δ O¹⁸, and AEIOIIEI Θ H Σ KAAO Σ AAKIMAXO¹⁹. The victory inscription has no parallels on vases.



Figure 2. Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphora, Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg Universität, 74.

3. Nikon, a Social Network Analysis

The name Nikon is common and occurs on two further Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphorae, both decorated with racing chariots. Around 510/500, an unnamed painter decorated the reverse of a Pseudo-Panathenaic amphora in Paris²⁰ with two racing chariots and named both charioteers with inscriptions emanating from their faces, NIKON and $M\Upsilon N[N]ON^{21}$. A third inscription, placed underneath the horses, praises the beauty of a Hiketes, HIKETE Σ KAAO Σ EMOI Δ OKEI. Hiketes was not the only dreamboat among the three named men on the Pseudo-Panathenaic amphora in Paris: Nikon is called 'kalos' on a Pseudo-Panathenaic amphora in Mainz (Figures 2 and 3), dated around 500^{22} . The obverse shows Athena, her shield emblazoned with a Pegasus, the reverse a large chariot. The words EIA and [E]AAwith which the charioteer spurs on his horses, emanate from the mouth of the charioteer, and the painter added a kalos inscription to the scene, painting NIKON underneath the horses and KAAO Σ , retrograde and vertical, in front of the horses' heads (Figure 4). Men named Nikon were popular with several red-figure vase-painters²³. Beazley distinguished three beautiful men of that name: Nikon I shared the appellation 'kalos' with Solon and Memnon on a red-figure cup in London by Oltos²⁴. Myson used the name on a calyx-krater in Berlin, made around 500/490, where it is combined with Hippon²⁵, and Makron named one of the men in a "mixed petting" scene on a cup in New York, dated around 490/480, Nikon²⁶. Beazley believed that Myson, Makron, and the painter of the Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphora in Mainz referred to different men of that name²⁷.

Brenne painstakingly sorted the association of 'kaloi' in 2000. The names of labelled men can probably be used for the same purpose, since the *beaus* of the period were often used to christen figures too. The beauty of Hiketes, the Newcomer, and perhaps from Sicily²⁸, was also appreciated by the painter of a black-figure amphora once in Basel by a painter compared with Psiax by Herbert Cahn²⁹ around the same time. It is probably reasonable to assume that all three men, Nikon, Mynnon, not known apart from this vase³⁰, and Hiketes were alive at the time and therefore contemporaries. Beazley catalogued six certain mentions of Hiketes as 'kalos' on vases by Makron, Douris, and others on cups and mugs³¹, but considered the Paris Hiketes to be earlier than the red-figure beau³²; the Basel amphora by Psiax was not known to him. On the Makron cup, Nikon is in the com-

pany of ANTIΦANEΣ (praised as *kallistos*, the most beautiful), EYKΛEΣ, NIKOΘENEΣ, XAPINIΔEΣ, and ΔΙΟΝΙΣΙΓΕΝΕΣ³³. Again, we can assume that these men were contemporaries of Nikon and alive at the time of painting. Like Nikon, Antiphanes lent his name to figures and appears on psykters in the Louvre and New York and Rome attributed to Smikros³⁴, thought to be an earlier man of that name by Beazley, and Oltos³⁵, and was called 'kalos' on a red-figure cup in Basel from around 500³⁶. Nikon and Antiphanes are shown in the company of a Nikosthenes on the Basel cup, perhaps the potter of that name, who is called 'kalos' on a pyxis in Vienna³⁷. Antiphanes joins ΣΜΙΚΥ[ΘΟΣ], ΔΟΡΟΘΕΟΣ, ΚΛΕΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ, ΑΛΚΕΤΕΣ, A[NT]I[M]Ε[N]ΕΣ, and BA[TP]ΑΧΟΣ on the New York psykter. The praise of beautiful ΕΠΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ is written between the figures. Antimenes could be the same *beau* who was praised by the Antimenes Painter³⁸. Epainetos appears only twice in the vase-painters' world: here, and as the giver of a dinos in the Villa Giulia signed by Exekias to a Charops³⁹, who is named 'kalos' on two cups made around 500⁴⁰.



Figure 3. Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphora, Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg Universität, 74.

Smikythos appears elsewhere too, but the name was common⁴¹. A Smikythos, father of Onesimos, is named on a capital dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis⁴². Euthymides, no doubt the potter and painter and son of the sculptor Pollias, who made statues for Kriton, perhaps the potter Kriton⁴³, son of Skythes, around 510/500, and for the son of a Cheimerpos⁴⁴ on the Athenian Acropolis, is toasted by two naked women playing kottabos with skyphoi on a hydria assigned to Phintias from Vulci⁴⁵. Phintias also named a youth in the school scene on the body 'Euthymides'; his fellow pupils are Demetrios, Tlempolemos, and Smikythos. Tlempolemos⁴⁶ is probably the potter of three signed Little Master cups; the name is rare,⁴⁷ and beautiful on a late 6th century cup in Orvieto⁴⁸. Smikythos is 'kalos' with Leagros and Antias on a hydria attributed to Euphronios⁴⁹ and the name of a pipes player at a symposium on the shoulder of a hydria signed by Euthymides, which also names Megakles 'kalos'⁵⁰. Smikythos recurs as one of two warriors on a black-figure kyathos from Vulci⁵¹, which names Philon 'kalos'. His fellow soldier is named Skythes⁵²,



another example of the rather narrow world of Athenian vase painters, who frequently used their colleagues' names for their figures.

Figure 4. Inscriptions on the Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphora, Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg Universität, 74.

Kalos inscriptions are not fully understood. They do not refer to young people, because Onetorides was 'kalos' for about 20 years and Leagros for more than thirty (Shapiro 2004; Technau 1936). It is generally thought that they name people alive at the time and there are some indications that they are connected in some way to Athenian pottery workshops since quite a few of them are potters and painters (Scheibler 1995). Some names changed with workshop associations: Exekias potted vases painted by artists of Group E who wrote 'Stesias kalos' and 'Aristomenes kalos' on their pots⁵³. When he set out on his own, he praised Onetorides⁵⁴. Onetorides was also a darling of artists working in the workshop of the Lysippides Painter, a pupil of Exekias⁵⁵. While it is somewhat questionable to identify men by their names only, since there must have been several of the same name at any given time (although Hiketes occurs only on vases)⁵⁶, it is perhaps permissible if one considers that they appear in the same context, that of Athenian potteries, and in the same period. It is probable that the men introduced here—Nikon, Hiketes and their numerous companions were mentioned over two decades or more by painters they came into contact with. Nikon and Hiketes appear together on the Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphora in Paris and both were known to Makron. Given their probable status as wealthy, chariot-racing aristocrats it is not impossible that they had money invested in some of the potteries or trading ventures. Two of the men socialising with Nikon on Oltos' London cup, Chalphos and Euphoros, are also racing chariots, namely on a pyxis lid excavated in Samos, albeit named Chalops and Euphoros⁵⁷.

4. Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphorae and Prize Amphorae

The use and purpose of Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphorae is still unclear⁵⁸. They were found in roughly the same places as Prize vases, among them Italy, Boeotia, Thrace, Al Mina, Xanthos, Cyrene, and Apollonia⁵⁹, albeit not always in the same quantities. They were as popular as dedications on the Athenian Acropolis (115) as Prize Amphorae (109). A total of 69 were found in Italy against 97 Prize Amphora, among them the vase with the praise of beautiful Nikon, which was excavated in Vulci⁶⁰, where 12 Pseudo-Panathenaic vases and 32 Prize Amphorae were excavated. The few names inscribed on Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphorae appear to be chosen from the same circle as those on contemporary black- and red-figure vases which seems to exclude their use as personalised trophies. Distribution of both types via the second-hand market should be excluded since it probably did not exist (Johnston 1979; Osborne 1996). The idea of a market for pre-owned pottery was first proposed by Trendall and Webster for theatre vases (Trendall and Webster 1971) and was also used to explain Panathenaic Prize Amphorae in graves of non-Greeks. However, evidence suggests that sets of pottery were bought specifically for the grave in Greece and Italy. Grave 96 in Bologna is representative of burials there and contained a cup, pouring vessels and a large krater which are contemporary (Macellari 2000) and Spina presents similar evidence⁶¹. A grave in Populonia contained two hydriai attributed to the Meidias Painter which are so similar in decoration and shape that they must have been made at the same time⁶². The Brygos Tomb in Capua contains a set of vases, two stamnoi and three rhyta, in addition to the two earlier vessels, which have the same production date and appear to have been specifically acquired for the burial (Beazley 1945; Williams 1992).

The occurrence of Prize vases in non-Greek contexts can have several explanations: the winners would have sold the expensive oil, dedicated an undetermined number of pots to sanctuaries, kept a few for themselves, and sold the rest to passing traders. One could envisage eager pottery and oil merchants queuing up right after the games, but the high number of Prize Amphorae held on to by the *Hermokopidae* seems to suggest that the numbers would have been too small to make trading in used Prize-Amphorae a profitable enterprise. A positivist approach would interpret Panathenaic Prize Vases in non-Greek contexts as evidence for Greek residents there; Spina and Caere had treasuries in Delphi⁶³. It is also probable that Athenian pottery workshops awarded the contract for making prize vases produced more vases than stipulated in order to prevent shortages through damage over the three-year production period and to sell these highly desired vases. The status implied by the shape alone is attested by numerous red-figure vases of Panathenaic shape made in Athens and South Italy⁶⁴. Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphorae have been seen as souvenirs acquired by athletes who failed to win, containers of wine at banquets or made for surplus Panathenaic oil⁶⁵, although large storage vessels may have been more suitable for that purpose. Given the distribution and the inscriptions it is likely that Pseudo-Panathenaic Prize Amphorae were just another type of Attic vase sold at home and abroad, albeit one trading on the prestige of the shape and the decoration of the "real thing".

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

Abbreviations

BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database www.beazley.ox.ac.uk
Bentz 'Schwarzfigurige Amphoren panathenäischer Form' Brenne CAVI	(accessed on 5 May 2022) Bentz, M., Schwarzfigurige Amphoren panathenäischer Form. Typologie, Funktion und Verbreitung', Bentz, M. and Eschbach, N. (eds.), <i>Panathenaika: Symposion zu den</i>
	Panathenäischen Preisamphoren, Rauischholzhausen 25–29 November 1998 (Mainz, 2001) Brenne, S., 'Indices zu Kalos-Namen', Tyche, Beiträge zur Alten
	<i>Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> 15 (2000) 31–53. Immerwahr, H., A Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions,
	Preliminary Edition (1998)
LGPN	Osborne, M.J. and Byrne, S.G. (eds.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal</i> <i>Names</i> II: Attica (Oxford, 1994)

Notes

- ¹ London, British Museum, 1842, 7–28.834.
- ² Bentz, *Preisamphoren*, 17; *IG* II² 2311.
- ³ IG I³ 422.
- ⁴ E.g., Athens, Ceramicus: PA443, Bentz, pl. 4.6004; New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 1978.11.13, Bentz, pl. 5 *CAVI* 5726, BAPD 8780.
- ⁵ Munich, Antikensammlungen 1451, *CVA* Munich, Antikensammlungen 14, 55–56, figs. 2, 4, 5, Beilage 14.1, pls. 53.1, 54.1–2; *CAVI* 5163; AVI 5380; BAPD 8790. Geneva, J. Chamay, Bentz, 'Schwarzfigurige Amphoren panathenäischer Form', 7, fig. 1, pl. 1. Athens, National Museum, 2468, *ABV* 69.1. (Bentz 1998, pl. 11.6044).
- ⁶ E.g., Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Collection, 1.1138. (Graef and Langlotz 1925).
- ⁷ Bentz, 'Schwarzfigurige Amphoren panathenäischer Form', pp. 177–95.
- ⁸ Bentz, 'Schwarzfigurige Amphoren panathenäischer Form', p. 113.
- ⁹ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 10330. Bentz, 'Schwarzfigurige Amphoren panathenäischer Form', p. 193, no. 304. (Gorbunova 1983).
- ¹⁰ Bentz, 'Schwarzfigurige Amphoren panathenäischer Form', pp. 111–17.
- ¹¹ *Cf.* Paris, Musée du Louvre, F 279, *ABV* 404.2; BAPD 303043; Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphora, Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg Universität, 73.
- ¹² *Cf.* Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1464, *ABV* 406.6; *CVA* 14, 72, 73, 74, fig. 73.1, Beilage 20.1, pls. (4006, 4009) 66.4, 69.1–2; BAPD 303082.
- ¹³ I am most indebted to Rudolph Wachter, Georg Gerleigner, and Jasper Gaunt for the readings.
- ¹⁴ E.g., Lip Cup, Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, 80.AE.99.3. (Heesen 2011).
- ¹⁵ Lip Cup, once Bolligen, Blatter, 141. (Heesen 2011, pl. 90d).
- ¹⁶ Munich, Antikensammlungen, 8731, CAVI 3258.
- ¹⁷ *CAVI* 4702. London, British Museum, 1898,0716.6.
- ¹⁸ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1889.1016, *CAVI* 5884, BAPD 214017.
- ¹⁹ Athens, Triti Ephoria A 5606, *CAVI* 1746; BAPD 3971.
- ²⁰ Paris, Musée du Louvre, F 283, CVA Paris, Louvre 5, III.Hg. 4, pl. 2.6–7; ABV 716; Bentz, Amphoren, p. 192, no. 279; CAVI 6562; Brenne, p. 49, no. 54.; BAPD 352394.
- ²¹ Recognised as names by D.v. Bothmer and accepted as such by H. Immerwahr, *CAVI* 6562; Mynnon, *LGPN* II, p. 322.
- ²² Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg Universität, 74; CVA, Mainz, Universität 1, pp. 37–38, pls. 35.1–2, 39.8; CAVI 4909; ABV 671, p. 716; Para 318; AVI 5094; Bentz, Amphoren, p. 189, no. 244; BAPD 306450.
- ²³ ARV² 1603; Klein, pp. 138–39; Brenne, pp. 41, 52.
- ²⁴ London, British Museum, 1848,0619.8 (E 19), Brenne, p. 52; *ARV*² 1602; *CAVI* 4434.
- ²⁵ Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3257, *ARV*² 1602; *CVA* Berlin, Antikensammlung 11, pp. 29–33, figs. 8–14, Beilage 6.2, pls. 23–25, 75.2.
- ²⁶ ARV² 1602; New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1912.231.1, ARV² 468.146, 482, 1654; Kunisch, Makron, pp. 32–37; BAPD 204828.
- ARV^2 1602.
- ²⁸ Robinson & Fluck, p. 116, no. 111.

- ²⁹ Kunstwerke der Antike, Münzen und Medaillen, A.G., Basel, sale catalogue: Sonderliste R (December 1977) 43, no. 30; *BAdd* 391; BAPD 13622.
- ³⁰ *LGPN* II, p. 322.
- ³¹ *ARV*² 1583; *LGPN* II, p. 234, s.v. Hiketes.
- 32 ARV² 1584.
- ³³ *LGPN* II, p. 122.
- ³⁴ Paris, Louvre, G 58, *ARV*² 21.6; 1565.
- ³⁵ Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 22643 and New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 10.210.18, ARV² 54.7; Para 326; CAVI 5591; Richter & Hall, I, pp. 17–19, no. 3. pls. 4, 173.
- ³⁶ Basel, H. Cahn, HC 160, *Para* 317, BAPD 352390.
- ³⁷ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV1870, *ABV* 671.
- ³⁸ Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC 63, *ABV* 266.1, pp. 664, 691.
- ³⁹ Rome, Villa Giulia, 50599, *ABV* 146.20, p. 686.
- ⁴⁰ Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum: L 469, ARV² 167.10, 1630, 1572.2. Copenhagen, National Museum, CHR VIII 458, ARV² 138.1.
- ⁴¹ *LGPN* II, p. 401.
- ⁴² *IG* I³ 699. (Williams 2013).
- ⁴³ Olpe, Warsaw, National Museum, *ABV* 446.2.
- ⁴⁴ $IG I^3 658.$
- ⁴⁵ Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2421, *ARV*² 23.7, p. 1620.
- ⁴⁶ *LGPN* II, p. 434.
- ⁴⁷ Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3152, F 1763, Basel, Borowski, *ABV* 171.13, 178.2; 178.1. *Para* 74.3.
- ⁴⁸ Orvieto, Museo Civico. *ARV*² 1699; BAPD 275634, *CAVI* 5801.
- ⁴⁹ Dresden, Staatl. Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, ZV 925, *ARV*² 16.13.
- ⁵⁰ Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 70, *ARV*² 28.12. (Williams 2013, pp. 57–58).
- ⁵¹ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR 22.1904, *ABV* 516,1; *CAVI* 3031.
- ⁵² *LGPN* II, p. 400.
- ⁵³ Brenne, pp. 34, 44. Paris, Musée du Louvre, F 218, *ABV* 139.9, 665. Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 1698, *ABV* 136.54, 674.
- ⁵⁴ E.g., Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16757, ABV 145.13, 672,3, p. 686.
- ⁵⁵ Hydria, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST 142, *ABV* 264.2, p. 672.
- ⁵⁶ *LGPN* II, p. 235, S.V. Hiketes.
- ⁵⁷ Vathy, Museum, K1606, Beilage 8; CAVI 7430. Not in *LGPN*. (Kreuzer 1998).
- ⁵⁸ Bentz, 'Schwarzfigurige Amphoren panathenäischer Form', p. 114.
- ⁵⁹ BAPD on 1 April 2022. All the following numbers are from the BAPD.
- ⁶⁰ Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg Universität, 74.
- ⁶¹ Cf. Spina T 128, T 308, 12 who observes that the large vases in Spina appear to be 10–20 years earlier than the smaller vessels. I am greatly indebted to jasper Gaunt for help with references. (Berti and Guzzo 1993; Lezzi-Hafter 1988).
- ⁶² Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81947, 81948, *ARV*² 1312.1, 2.
- ⁶³ I am grateful to Ed Bispham for the suggestion. (Antonaccio 2007).
- ⁶⁴ E.g., Attic, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC 80, CVA Leiden, Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden 3, pp. 20–21, fig. 9, pls. (214,216) 120.1-2, 122.1-2, Apulian: Trieste, Museo Civico, S.380, CVA Trieste, Museo Civico 1, iv.d.14, iv.d.15, pls. (1932–1933) 14.1-2, 15.1-4.
- ⁶⁵ Bentz, 'Schwarzfigurige Amphoren panathenäischer Form', pp. 116–17.

References

- Antonaccio, Carla. 2007. Elite Mobility in the West. In *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and. From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire*. Edited by Simon Hornblower and Catherine Morgan. Oxford: OUP, pp. 281–82.
- Beazley, John Davidson. 1945. The Brygos Tomb at Capua. American Journal of Archaeology 49: 153–58. [CrossRef]
- Bentz, Martin. 1998. Panathenäische Preisamphoren, Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.-4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. 18. Beiheft der Halbjahresschr. *Antike Kunst*, 123–98.
- Berti, Fede, and Pier Giovanni Guzzo, eds. 1993. Spina, Storia di una città tra Greci ed Etruschi. Ferrara: Ferrara Arte, p. 52, fig. 44; p. 92, fig. 69. Against.
- Gorbunova, K. 1983. Chernofigurnie atticheskie vazi v Ermitazhe. Katalog 130: 95.

Graef, Botho, and Ernst Langlotz. 1925. *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*. Berlin: de Gruyter, vol. 1, pl. 65.1138. Heesen, Pieter. 2011. *Athenian Little-Master Cups*. Amsterdam: UvA-DARE, pl. 91a-b.

Johnston, Alan W. 1979. Trademarks on Athenian Vases. Aris and Phillips, 40-41.

Kreuzer, Bettina. 1998. Die Attisch-Schwarzfigurige Keramik aus dem Heraion von Samos, Samos XXII. Bonn: Habelt, pl. 33.159.

Lezzi-Hafter, Adrienne. 1988. Der Eretria-Maler, Werke und Weggefährten. Mainz: v. Zabern.

Macellari, Roberto. 2000. *Il Sepolcreto etrusco nel terreno Arnoaldi di Bologna (550-350 a.C.)*. Bologna: Marsilio, pls.124-127, 128.1-3. Osborne, Robin. 1996. Pots, trade and the archaic Greek. *Antiquity* 70: 31–45. [CrossRef]

Reusser, Christoph, and Martin Bürge, eds. 2018. Exekias hat mich gemalt und getöpfert: Ausstellung in der Archäologischen Sammlung der Universität Zürich, 9.11.2018-31.3.2019 (Zurich). Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum, 65.45. pp. 173–76, figs. 110–113.

Scheibler, Ingeborg. 1995. Griechische Töpferkunst, Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der Antiken Tongefässe, 2nd ed. Munich: Beck, pp. 138–39.

Shapiro, H. Alan. 2004. Leagros the Satyr. In *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies*. Edited by Clemente Marconi. Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 1–11.

Technau, Werner. 1936. Exekias. Leipzig: H. Keller, pp. 8–11.

Trendall, D. Arthur, and B. L. Thomas Webster. 1971. Illustrations of Greek Drama. London: Praeger Publishers.

- Williams, J. Dyfri. 1992. The Brygos Tomb Reassembled and 19th-Century Commerce in Capuan Antiquities. *American Journal of Archaeology* 96: 617–36. [CrossRef]
- Williams, Dyfri. 2013. Greek Potters and Painters, Marketing and Movings. In Pottery Markets in the Ancient Greek World (8th–1st Centuries B.C.). Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at the Université libre de Bruxelles, 19–21 June 2008. Edited by Tsingarida Athena and Viviers Didier. Brussels: CReA-Patrimoine, p. 58.