

PANATHENAICS OF HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TIMES¹

(PLATES 76-88)

SINCE the publication by Dow of the first Hellenistic Panathenaic amphorae found in the Agora excavations three studies have appeared which add much to our knowledge of the subject: one by Kondoleon of the amphorae from the sanctuary of Herakles on Rheneia (now in the Mykonos Museum) and of fragments from Delos; the other two, by Mitsos and Mrs. Karouzou respectively, of the amphora of Ariarathes V of Cappadocia (163-130 B.C.) from the Olympieion, now in the National Museum in Athens.²

¹ It is pleasant to acknowledge the advice and criticism of members of the staff of the Agora Excavations in Athens. This article was written in Athens during the tenure of a grant from the Johnson Fund of the American Philosophical Society.

² These and other publications referred to by brief title, usually the author's name, are listed below:

Beazley, *A.B.V.* = Beazley, Sir John, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*, Oxford, 1956.

Beazley, *Dev.* = Beazley, J. D., *Development of Attic Black-figure*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951.

Beazley, "Panathenaica" = Beazley, J.D., "Panathenaica," *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 441-465.

Blavatskii = Blavatskii, V. D., *Istoriya Antichnoi Raspisnoi Keramiki*, Moscow, 1953.

Day = Day, John, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York, 1942.

Dinsmoor = Dinsmoor, William B., *Archons of Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

Dow = Dow, Sterling, "Panathenaic Amphorae from the Hellenistic Period," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 50-58.

Ferguson = Ferguson, William Scott, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911.

Fraenkel = Fraenkel, M., *Inschriften von Pergamon (Altertümer von Pergamon, VIII, 2)*, Berlin, 1895.

Gardiner = Gardiner, E. Norman, "Panathenaic Amphorae," *J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, pp. 179-193.

Gardiner, *Athl.* = Gardiner, E. Norman, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1930.

Gardiner, *G.A.S.* = Gardiner, E. Norman, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, London, 1910.

Graef = Graef, Botho (with Hartwig, Wolters, and Zahn), *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Vol. I, pt. II, Berlin, 1911.

Graindor, *Hadrien* = Graindor, Paul, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934.

Graindor, *Hérode Atticus* = Graindor, Paul, *Hérode Atticus et sa famille*, Cairo, 1930.

Karouzou = Papaspyridi-Karouzou, Semni, *Τεχνολογικὸς καθορισμὸς τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ὀλυμπεῖου Παναθηναϊκοῦ ἀμφορέως*, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1948-49, pp. 10-32.

Kondoleon = Kondoleon, Nikolaos M., *Ἑλληνιστικοὶ παναθηναϊκοὶ ἀμφορεῖς τοῦ Μουσείου Μυκόνου*, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 576-589.

Mitsos = Mitsos, Markellos T., *Παναθηναϊκὸς ἀμφορεὺς ἐλληνιστικῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ὀλυμπεῖου*, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1948-1949, pp. 1-9.

P.A. = Kirchner, J., *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin, 1901, 2 vols.

Pritchett-Meritt = Pritchett, W. Kendrick, and Meritt, Benjamin D., *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1940.

The material for study, although still sketchy and fragmentary, is considerably increased by what is catalogued here. We now know of the existence of possibly fifty or sixty amphorae which are to be dated in Hellenistic or later times. Of the forty-nine pieces from the Agora catalogued here, which include those published by Dow, a few are later Classical rather than Hellenistic, two are small Panathenaics, and some may be parts of the same amphorae. It is estimated, however, that they represent a minimum of thirty post-classical amphorae. In addition there are perhaps twenty-six elsewhere. These will be referred to in the text as below :

Ariarathes amphora	1
(Athens, National Museum; from the Olympieion. Mitsos, figs. 1-3; Karouzou, figs. 1-5, pls. 1-2; Rumpf, <i>M.Z.</i> , pl. 54, 8, reverse).	
Acropolis 1109-11, 1112(?), 1113, 1137(?), 1138.	7(?)
(Athens, National Museum; from the Acropolis. Graef, pls. 64-65; Kondoleon, fig. 16, 1109; Dow, fig. 9, 1113a; Karouzou, pl. 3, 1113b).	
Berlin amphora	1
(Berlin, Staatliche Museen, now in Celle; from Olbia; formerly Vogell collection; Inv. 4950; H. with lid 0.784 m.; <i>Vogell</i> , pl. 4, 5; <i>Arch. Anz.</i> , 1909, p. 564, note 20; Kondoleon, pp. 579, 585; Beazley, <i>Dev.</i> , p. 100, pl. 48, 4; the reverse here, Plate 82, reproduced by permission of the Staatliche Museen).	
Corinth fragments	1
(Corinth Museum; from Corinth, South Stoa, Well XV; Inv. C-46-51; two fragments, showing parts of both panels, the reverse a horse race, here Plates 80, 81).	
Delos 6719, 6778, 6780.	3
(Delos Museum, from Delos. Kondoleon, p. 584, fig. 12, 6780; p. 585, fig. 13, 6778, 6719).	
Hermitage amphora	1
(Hermitage Museum; from Olbia. Blavatskii, p. 276, unnumbered figure).	
Kerameikos fragments	"Several"
(Athens, Kerameikos Museum, from the Kerameikos. Mentioned in Dow, p. 172. I have not seen these pieces or photographs of them.)	

Rumpf, *M. Z.* = Rumpf, Andreas, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1953.

Schmidt = Schmidt, Eduard, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, Munich, 1922.

Smith = Smith, Cecil, "Panathenaic Amphorae," *B.S.A.*, III, 1896-1897, pp. 182-200.

Vogell = [Boehlau], *Griechische Alterthümer sudrussischen Fundorts aus dem Besitze des Herrn A. Vogell*, Karlsruhe: Cassel 26-30 Mai 1908.

- Melos fragment 1
 (Collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens; from Melos. Smith, pl. XVI, b).
- Mykonos 1-9 9
 (Mykonos Museum; from Rheneia. Kondoleon, figs. 1-4: 1; figs. 5-7: 2; figs. 8-9: 3; fig. 10: 4; fig. 11: 5; p. 577: 6-7; fig. 12:8; fig. 13: 9; Rumpf, *M.Z.*, pl. 54, 6: 2).
- Oropos fragment 1
 (Oropos Museum, unpublished. Neck, from shoulder to bottom of lip. Mr. Peter Corbett kindly told me of this piece and furnished photographs. It is very close in style to, if not by the same hand as No. 5 below of the late fourth or early third century B.C.).
- Pergamon fragment 1
 (from Pergamon. Fraenkel, p. 502, no. 1328; Dow, p. 50 and note 2; p. 51, fig. 1).

Note that the amphora in Leningrad (Beazley, *A.B.V.*, p. 416, no. 17), not included here, formerly dated in the third century, is discussed by Beazley ("Panathenaica," pp. 461-462, with earlier references) and dated by him *ca.* 320/19 B.C. See also Karouzou, p. 25. Kondoleon (p. 589, note 2) refers to amphorae related to the Panathenaics found at Olbia, published by Pharmakowsky in *Bulletin de la Commission Imperiale*, VIII, 1903, pp. 29 ff., fig. 15. Four illustrations of one amphora are given in this publication; on it see below p. 341 under **20-22**. In the text Pharmakowsky mentions briefly others found at Olbia.

Although this figure falls far short of the total of those which have come down to us from the archaic and classical periods, it suggests, none the less, a degree of activity in the production of these vases in the Hellenistic period which hitherto might not have been suspected. Among those which we have the adherence of potters and painters to earlier canons of shape and decoration is marked. We are justified in assuming an unbroken tradition and continuity in these vases throughout the Hellenistic period and perhaps even down into Roman times. It seems possible now, with the increased bulk of material, that more amphorae of the period can be identified, and that some time in the future the apparent continuity of Hellenistic Panathenaics can be illustrated step by step, as it has been possible to do for the amphorae of earlier times. Although artistically this is not a happy prospect, a series of traditional vases in an eclectic period is not without interest.

Most of the amphorae with which we are here concerned can be dated within the period between about 340 B.C. and the end of the second century B.C., and are in the familiar black-figure technique. Five pieces, however, apparently fall beyond the limits of Hellenistic times and are probably to be dated in the Roman period: Nos.

12, 13, 24, 25, and the Hermitage amphora. The first four pieces were all found in the Agora excavations in contexts of Roman times: **13** and **24** of the Late Roman period, **25** more specifically in a context of the fifth or sixth century after Christ. Although their contexts are not necessarily significant, in shape and/or decoration they seem much later than those of the end of the second century B.C. They cannot now be dated closely, but the shapes of **24** and **25** suggest that they are considerably later than the second century examples. No. **12**, on the basis of shape, would fall somewhere between. The Hermitage amphora, if it is not a local imitation, would seem not to be as late as **24** and **25**: its handle-ridge is placed moderately high, and its base is more constricted than those of the Mykonos amphorae. These pieces prolong considerably the already long history of the Panathenaic amphora. Originally intended, it would seem, in the seventh century B.C., to hold the main and only export of Attica, her olive oil,³ it continued throughout the perhaps nine hundred years of its history to be associated with Athena's olive tree.

Although it is somewhat surprising that the series of Panathenaic amphorae may extend into Roman times, the frequent appearance of the amphorae on Athenian coins of imperial times,⁴ the clearer representation of an amphora on the Biel Throne⁵ and the marble votive amphorae of Panathenaic shape of the period⁶ serve to remind us that the Panathenaic shape was well known in the Roman period.

The celebration of the Panathenaic games between the time of the sack of Athens by Sulla and the reign of Hadrian is but scantily documented.⁷ We can, however, cite *I.G.*, II², 1043, of the archonship of Kallikratides (dated by Dinsmoor in 37/6 B.C.) which mentions the Panathenaia; *I.G.*, II², 1035, lines 50-51, which mention repairs of the starting mechanism in the Panathenaic Stadium, the inscription now dated by Oliver⁸ at the beginning of the principate of Augustus; and also *I.G.*, II², 3157, dated by the editor in the first century after Christ, mentioning a tragedy enacted at the Great Panathenaia (cf. the bell-krater by Polion in New York).⁹ We

³ Beazley, *Dev.*, p. 89, and note 4, p. 116; D. Burr, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 570 ff.; R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 210-211; B. L. Bailey, *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, p. 70; and, for the later development of the undecorated amphora, V. Grace, in C. Boulter, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 101-102, no. 147; also E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 378-379, no. 9.

⁴ See for example J. P. Shear, "Athenian Imperial Coinage," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 302, fig. 12.

⁵ C. Seltman, *J.H.S.*, LXVII, 1947, pl. VI, c, and pl. IX, b; see also Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, London, 1794, vol. III, pp. 19, 29.

⁶ Such as two in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *Billedtavler til kataloget over Antikke Kunstvaerker*, Copenhagen, 1907, pl. XXXVIII, 506-507, and another in Philadelphia, University Museum, MS 3447, from Lake Nemi, inscribed CHIO D·D, here Plate 87 (probably the amphora reported in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1895, p. 429, no. 8).

⁷ Cf. J. P. Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 323, who notes a gap between Augustus and Hadrian.

⁸ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 83; cf. also H. S. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 298-299 and references there.

⁹ G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven, 1936, pl. 155, no. 155, and p. 196; Beazley, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 314-315.

may note in this connection the representation of a Panathenaic on a lekane lid in the Agora, P 16788, of the advanced first century B.C.

Beginning with the time of Hadrian there is a good amount of documentation for the festival and the games. Graindor¹⁰ discusses their state under Hadrian. The reconstruction of the Pompeion after a long period of abandonment subsequent to its destruction by Sulla is dated in Hadrian's time.¹¹ Hadrian's regulation of the oil trade of Athens in A.D. 124/5, with its reservation of one-third of the production to the government of Athens (*I.G.*, II², 1100¹²) suggests the possibility that prizes of Panathenaic amphorae of oil may still have been awarded at this late date.¹³ The interest of Herodes Atticus in the Panathenaia is well known.¹⁴ In an inscription dated after the time of Hadrian, *I.G.*, II², 3163, line 10, the athlete Marcus Tullius is honored for his victories in various games including the Panathenaia. Another, from Sardis, likewise in honor of an athlete, M. Aurelius Demonstratus Damas, dated in the reign of Caracalla between A.D. 212 and 217¹⁵ records an unknown number of victories won by him in the Panathenaia. *I.G.*, II², 3169/70, a little after A.D. 248, honors the athlete Valerius Ecletus Sinopeus for victories which include four in the Panathenaia.

Agonothetai of the Panathenaia are noted below, p. 332, note 40. In connection with the inscriptions honoring these agonothetai it is interesting to note the inscribed marble throne dated by Notopoulos¹⁶ A.D. 229/30-230/1 still in place in the Theatre of Dionysos voted Marcus Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus after his services as agonothetes around the time of the reign of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235).¹⁷ Oliver¹⁸ suggests that the Sacred Gerusia "probably had a special interest in the arrangements for the Panathenaic festival." The inscription specifies that two statues of Ulpius Eubiotus be erected, accompanied by the inscriptions, one in the Prytaneion, the other in the synhedrion of the Gerusia. Since copies of both inscriptions (Oliver, nos. 31 and 32) were found in the Agora in or near the Tholos, the meeting place

¹⁰ *Hadrien*, pp. 47-49, and especially p. 48, notes 1 and 2.

¹¹ K. Kübler, *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1928, pp. 169, 179; Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 45, 248-250; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², Munich, 1931, p. 361; but see also A. Rumpf, *Jahrbuch*, LIII, 1938, pp. 119-120.

¹² For the text see Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc., Vol. XLIII), 1953, pp. 960-961; cf. Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 75, and Day, pp. 189-192.

¹³ E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardiner, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, part II, Cambridge, 1905, p. 247, and Graindor, *Hadrien*, p. 75, note the possible use of oil so purchased by the state for various public services, including the games.

¹⁴ See Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, pp. 64, 67 (his service as agonothetes of the games and his embellishment of the Panathenaic Stadium).

¹⁵ W. C. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Inscriptions of Sardis*, part I, *Sardis*, vol. VII, Leyden, 1932, no. 79a, line 10.

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 55.

¹⁷ J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 132, illustrated on p. 136; cf. G. M. A. Richter, *A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, pp. 271-276.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

of the Gerusia is probably to be thought of as in the vicinity. The relief decoration of the stele listing ephebes dated in the archonship of L. Phla. Philostratos Steiricus (A.D. 262/3; *I.G.*, II², 2245),¹⁹ in which sons of P. Herennios Dexippos are mentioned prominently, includes a head of Athena facing right, as she does on the amphorae and coins.²⁰ The amphorae shown on the stele, unfortunately, bear no resemblance to the Panathenaics. The inscription honoring P. Herennios Dexippos himself, the famous defender of Athens against the Heruli in A.D. 267 (*I.G.*, II², 3198) mentions in addition to his agonothesia of the Panathenaia the fact that he restored the terminal ornament of the Panathenaic ship and the temple (?) (ἔδος) of the goddess.²¹ It would be interesting to know for certain if the agonothesia of Dexippos and his restorations came after the invasion of the Heruli, for we seem to have no later reference to the Panathenaia. The Great Panathenaia are mentioned on a statue base of Dexippos set up in A.D. 269/70, but his agonothesia may have been pre-Herulian. The thought of the Panathenaic ship sailing gloriously as it had at the time of Herodes Atticus (Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 1, 5) through the ruins of the buildings of the Agora and up along the face of the Late Roman Fortification in which the architectural members of famous buildings were entombed was perhaps more than the Athenians of post-Herulian days, or we now, would care to contemplate.

A number of the pieces from the Agora are decorated in a technique new to the Panathenaic series with glaze outline drawing on a white ground; these will be discussed below.²²

In the following table an attempt has been made to place certain of the Panathenaics in chronological order on the basis of context, shape, style of drawing, or other considerations. The dating of pieces not included in the table must await further evidence.

Later Classical and Early Hellenistic:

1-6

Oropos fragment

3rd century:

7, 36-37, 40.

27 and Acropolis 1113 are probably of the second half of the 3rd century.

2nd century:

first half:

8, 9, 15, 17, 23 (?) , 39, 41, 42-43.

¹⁹ Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 89; Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 41.

²⁰ J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, Berlin, 1948, pl. 54, no. 147; P. Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale*, Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Gand, fasc. 53-54, Gand, 1924, pl. LXXXII.

²¹ For Dexippos see Ioannes Bergman, *De Herennio Dexippo*, Stockholm, 1897.

²² Pp. 327-328, and Nos. **40-49**.

Berlin amphora
Corinth amphora

third quarter :

11, 14, 16, 19, 33 (?), **34, 35**.

Ariarathes amphora

Acropolis 1109 (?), 1110, 1111

last quarter :

10, 20, 21, 22, 49

Mykonos 1-5

Roman period:

12, 13, 24, 25, Hermitage amphora (?).

The fragmentary nature of the material makes it difficult to trace the general changes in shape which the Panathenaics underwent in post-Classical times,²³ but something may be done with the details. Profile drawings of many Agora pieces shown on Plate 88 illustrate modifications in the elements of the shape over the years. With these late pieces may be compared their ancestors in the fourth century, such as the Archippos vase in the Louvre of 321/20 B.C.²⁴ For the lip third-century examples are lacking. Of the second-century examples **8** and **41** seem closer to those of the fourth century and are probably the earlier. Their lips are relatively shallow, with a pronounced downward turn to the rim. Nos. **42** and **43**, still within the first half of the second century, are deeper. Nos. **14, 19, 34, 35**, of the third quarter of the century, are deep also, but the rim in these is now flat on top. The rim of **49**, of the end of the century, is more sharply set. Two examples from Rheneia, Mykonos 1-2, seem similar. No. **24**, of the Roman period, is broad, shallow, the rim flat on top. As may be seen on Plate 88 the handle-ridge becomes heavier and more prominent in the course of the third and second centuries B.C. In the Hermitage amphora of the Roman (?) period, it is placed rather higher, and in **24** and **25** it is higher than ever before, now directly beneath the lip. On **24** the handles springing from it followed the curve of the lip to the rim before arching out.

The form of the base in the early part of the second century is seen on the Berlin amphora (whose lip seems similar in form to those of **8** and **41**). A base fragment from the Agora, **39**, Plates 83 and 88 resembles the Berlin vase, the lower element with a slight cupping at the top and rounded in profile. The angular form of the fourth century is now softened. The bases of Mykonos 1-5, of the end of the second century, are even more cushiony and the cupping above more prominent. In the

²³ But compare the amphorae shown in a mosaic in Delos, Smith, pl. XVI a, and in tomb paintings in Palestine, *Arch. Anz.*, XXIII, 1908, cols. 409-410.

²⁴ *C.V.A.*, III H g, pl. 6, 6-7.

Hermitage amphora the lower element is a broad simple curve and the cupping has become hardly more than a roundel at the bottom of the stem.

The Hellenistic amphorae from the Agora are in general characterized by heaviness of fabric. The thickness of the clay, of course, varies from one part of the vase to another, the lip, neck and lower parts being heavier than the body. The lip and neck are often as thick as 0.015 or 0.02 m. and sometimes even 0.025 m. The shoulder and wall vary between 0.008 and 0.017 m., the lower wall and base between 0.013 and 0.015 m. Among the fragments of earlier times from the Agora, which are for the most part wall fragments, some as thin as 0.004 m. have been noted. Although Hellenistic potters, we know, were able to throw very thin vases, in their Panathenaics they seem to have adopted a purely practical point of view, and, for better or worse, attempted no *tours de force*.

These amphorae were quite commonly thrown in sections. The lip was made in a separate piece in **8, 12, 24, 25, 32, 41, 43, 44** (?), and **46**, but not in **5-7, 36**, or **37**; often it has a long flange for insertion into the neck. The neck was separate in **5, 8, 12, 24**, and **33**. The main part of the body forms another section, and the lower part still another in **19** and **32**. In **32** and **39** the stem and base were each separate. If any chronological conclusion is to be drawn from this, it would be that the Hellenistic potter, particularly of the second century and later, found it necessary to throw such vases in more sections than his predecessors, quite possibly because of the factors of heavier fabric and a more elongated shape.

The general scheme of decoration of the black-figure vases and the technical details of representation need no introduction. As in the Panathenaics from 348 B.C. onward, Athena, occupying one panel, faces right, without exception.²⁵ In the other panel appear scenes related to the athletic games. Black glaze, the reserved ground, incision, and added white with yellow or black glaze details all continue to be employed as before.

The white-ground vases, on the other hand, have not been reported previously. There seems to be no reason to doubt that they are prize vases, for one, **41**, was inscribed with the name of a *tamias*,²⁶ as were two of the black-figured variety, **27** and Acropolis 1113a. The evidence suggests that these white vases may have been given as prizes perhaps as early as the third century B.C., certainly as early as the first half of the second century. The latest fragments come from contexts of the end of the second century. Athena, on **41, 44**, and **46**, faces right in the traditional pose. The representations on the reverses are, however, unexpected. That of **41** is a kitharist or kitharode; those of **47** and **48**, which are possibly from reverses, may be musicians also. The prizes offered victors in musical contests in the Panathenaia in the first half

²⁵ Beazley, *Dev.*, p. 98.

²⁶ See below, p. 331.

of the fourth century are known from *I.G.*, II², 2311, lines 1-22:²⁷ the kitharode awarded first place received a crown of gold worth (or weighing) a thousand drachmae²⁸ and five hundred drachmae in silver; second through fifth places received prizes of money; the kitharist and other musicians winning prizes in the other contests named received crowns of lesser value for first prizes and correspondingly less money for other prizes. For the period of the white amphorae there is no information. Is it perhaps to be inferred that by this time the amphorae had been substituted for one of the earlier musical prizes or given in addition to them?²⁹

The white ground covers the entire surface of the exterior and the interior of the lip down to the top of the neck. The decoration, always in glaze outline, is essentially the same in scheme as the black-figure. The glaze has occasionally fired red, but the intention, as seen in most of the pieces, was a bright yellow. The combination of white ground and yellow glaze was no doubt intended to give the impression of silver vases with gold designs.³⁰

Throughout the period the decoration of both kinds of amphorae remains reasonably uniform. The upper edge of the lip is reserved and painted over with a wash of red in the black-figure on our pieces and on those from Mykonos; on the white vases red is painted over the ground. Only on **24** of the Roman period is the top of the rim glazed; there is no trace of red. The Hermitage amphora is the only one to have decoration on the exterior of the lip: large, upside-down tongues in white, apparently,

²⁷ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 60, 3, says the musical prizes were ἀργύριον (or ἀργύρια) καὶ χρυσᾶ. These contests were held in the Odeion of Perikles (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13, 6).

²⁸ For gold crowns see D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 193-194; S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, *Hesperia*, Supplement I, pp. 20-21.

²⁹ There are uninscribed small vases of Panathenaic shape and decoration with musical scenes on the obverse from earlier times: London, *C.V.A.*, III H e, pl. 5, 3, kitharode; and pl. 6, 1, flute player and man: aulode (?); Louvre, *C.V.A.*, III H g, pl. 2, 5, and pl. 4, 5, kitharode. On the first of these Athena, exceptionally, faces right. Beazley notes (*B.S.A.*, XLI, 1945, p. 11) that she also faces right on Munich J 488. The Leningrad amphora, connected with the Robinson Group (Beazley, *A.B.V.*, p. 410, no. 2) and dated ca. 430-25 B.C. (Beazley, "Panathenaica," p. 453) has a kitharode on the reverse and bears the normal ἀθλα inscription. It would seem from this that in early times the amphorae could bear on the reverse any type of scene connected with the Panathenaia without regard to the nature of the event for which the amphora was actually given as a prize. Whether or not this has any bearing on the purpose of the white Panathenaics can be reconsidered when more are available for study.

³⁰ The sixteen silver Panathenaic amphorae carried in the procession of Ptolemy Philopator (224-204 B.C.) (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, V, 199, d-e) are pertinent here. They have often been discussed with reference to post-Classical Panathenaics (e.g., Smith, p. 189). Imitation of metal work in pottery, especially in Hellenistic times, is well known. Lead glazed wares of Roman times may also be considered imitations of gold and silver work; see F. F. Jones, in H. Goldman, *Tarsus I*, Princeton, 1950, p. 193. Conversely Alexandrian and earlier Egyptian imitations in other materials (glass, alabaster) of imported pottery are also attested (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XI, 784, c; Bosanquet, *J.H.S.*, XXIV, 1904, p. 327). Were the amphorae of Ptolemy, following Egyptian precedent, imitations in silver of pottery vases which themselves were intended to give the impression of vases in valuable metals?

from handle-ridge to rim. The handle-ridge is usually black or white, according to the kind of vase; on **8**, however, red wash is applied over the black here.

On the neck, above the handle-ridge, palmettes, either single or double, are the usual decoration, as they had been earlier. They become larger and more prominent in later examples (**14**, **19**, **34**, **35**, **49**, Mykonos 1-2), after the middle of the second century, their tips reaching to the lower edge of the lip. From early times, through the third century, apparently, and into the first half of the second it was the practice to show Athena's head on the lower part of the neck, her crest reaching nearly to the handle-ridge, against a background of tongue pattern (cf. Pls. 76, 77). The pattern is interrupted by her crest, but resumes again between crest and helmet. On the later amphorae the tongue pattern is abandoned on the obverse. On **44** the tongues appear only at one side of the head, and on the Berlin amphora they are completely lacking; by the middle of the second century their omission seems to be the rule. On the reverse they continue to be employed, but become fewer and bolder as on **38**, the Ariarathes amphora and Mykonos 1-3.

The decoration of **24** of the Roman period is different, as is its shape. With the handle-ridge raised to the level of the bottom of the lip, and the shoulder forming a sharp angle with the base of the neck, the neck itself is now decorated only with groups of broad vertical stripes in black and white. Athena's head could not well be placed on the neck of a vase of this shape; no doubt on this vase, as on the fragment **13**, her entire figure was shown on the wall.

The panel figure of Athena on both black-figure and white-ground vases maintains the same stance throughout, facing to right, left foot forward, shield on left arm, spear raised behind her head. From the early part of the second century onward she wears a variety of Corinthian helmet from which her loosened hair escapes down the nape of her neck, falling on her shoulders (**11**, **12**, **13**, **33**, Acropolis 1109 and probably 1110-1111, the Ariarathes amphora, Mykonos 2 and probably 1, the Berlin amphora): the effect is comparable to that on some of the Athenian coins.³¹

There is some variety in the position of the spear. On **3** it passes behind her helmet, but emerges again in front of her face. On **14**, on the Berlin amphora, and on Acropolis 1110-11, it appears entirely in front of her figure, pointing down over her right shoulder, or down across her right breast, or diagonally across her chest.

³¹ Cf. the obverses of Athenian coins illustrated in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 285-332. Mrs. Shear, however, dates the adoption of the type of Athena head with Corinthian helmet in the time of Augustus (pp. 291-294). One wonders if the change from Athenian to Corinthian helmet on the Panathenaics has any connection with the suggestion (W. B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 93-106) that the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias was destroyed by fire in the second century B.C. and replaced by a new statue? But in this connection it is to be noted that G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 275-276, suggests a later date for the destruction. The Athena type with Corinthian helmet has been referred to the Athena Promachos (Pick, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI, 1931, pp. 60-63, and Mrs. Shear, *op. cit.*; but see now Jenkins, *J.H.S.*, LXVII, 1947, pp. 31-33).

It is perhaps a melancholy observation, and all too symbolic, that the spear of the Roman Athena of **13** is no longer aggressive, but carried point up over her shoulder. On **15** and **19** Athena's forward foot is placed below the bottom of the panel.

The reverse scenes of the black-figure represent athletic contests already attested on earlier amphorae. It is pleasant now to have contemporary illustrations of our most extensive victor lists³² and of the contests they enumerate in which many well known names occur: Eumenes II, Attalos II and their brothers; Mastanabal; Ptolemy VI. Some of the specialties of the professional athlete Menodoros,³³ some years later, are among the scenes on these vases. On **14** and **17** are wrestlers; boxers on **18**; a judge (?) on **16**; races on horseback on **19**, **21**, the Hermitage amphora, Mykonos 5, and probably on the Corinth amphora. A chariot race appears on **22**, Mykonos 1-4, and 8; the apobates race on **23**; the stadiodromos on the Ariarathes amphora, and foot-races on Acropolis 1113b. On **24** a hand holds out the victor's crown to a missing, last victor.

The technique of drawing remains consistent throughout in the white vases. In the black many conventions remain the same as in earlier vases, but with slight modifications. Athena's exposed flesh is always white, as before, with details in yellow or black glaze. The ornaments of her dress and her aegis are likewise white. Details which were black before are now sometimes white: the spear, black on **3**, white on **5**, **14**, Acropolis 1109-1111; the support of the crest (when a separate element), black on **1** and **2**, is white on **5** and **32**; the crest, black on **1**, **2**, **5-8**, is white with black markings on **10**, all white on **12**, white with black outline on **33**.

As before, black is the rule for human and equine bodies, with details of the anatomy incised. The garment of the judge on **14** is black with incised folds, those of the charioteers on **22** and **23** are white, the latter with folds of yellow glaze. Horse trappings and reins are in black and incision on **19**, in white on **21** and **22**. The appurtenances of contestants: headband (**22**, **23**), fillets round chest (**23**), and crown (**24**) are in white.

The use of incision for outlining is variable. On the early pieces, **1-4**, part but not all of Athena's helmet is outlined; in **5-8** and **11**, all; in the late examples **12-13**, there is no outlining. In the amphorae after the middle of the second century Athena's drapery is entirely outlined on **19**, but the shield not; on **14** and **20** there is a considerable use of outline, but on **15** and **32**, and on **13**, of Roman times, it does not appear. For the figures on the reverse outlining of figure and drapery is usual on Agora pieces with the exception of **23**, where only interior anatomy is incised, and of **24**, of the Roman period, on which not only is there no incision, but in addition the anatomical details are entirely in white.

The placing of the columns for the column figures and the choice of type of

³² *I.G.*, II², 2313-2317, all of the second century B.C.

³³ Dow, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 38, pp. 81-90.

column seem capricious. On three there is a single column placed at left on the reverse (Mykonos 1, 3, 4); on two there are two columns, one on the obverse right, one on reverse left (Corinth and Ariarathes amphorae); on one (14) there is one on obverse left, one on reverse right; on another the normal placing of the fourth century appears, both on the obverse (41). Columns with rectangular capitals occur on 14, 27 and Acropolis 1113; with Doric (?) capitals on 26, 49, and the Corinth amphora; one with a peculiar capital, Corinthian (?), Pergamene (?), on 41, and one column with a rectangular base on 48.

The inscriptions, which are always kionedon, as in earlier times after 367/6 B.C., follow no very distinct pattern except that the three ἀθλα inscriptions whose positions are certain (14, Ariarathes and Corinth amphorae) appear on reverse left, and that none of the inscriptions referring to officials whose positions are known occur in that place. The inscriptions naming officials do occur, however, in any of the three other possible positions (12, 14, 22, 41, the Ariarathes and Corinth amphorae, Acropolis 1109, 1113). The inscription of the treasurer on 41 is painted inside the column. The Mykonos and Berlin amphorae are uninscribed.⁸⁴

Panathenaics of the Hellenistic period on which officials are named, either certainly or probably, now number thirteen. Over fifty years ago⁸⁵ it was noted that the series of fourth-century Panathenaics dated by archon inscriptions ended in the archonship of Polemon in 312/11 B.C. This is still true today.⁸⁶ Many years of study, publication and excavation have produced no later Panathenaic with an archon inscription.⁸⁷ In place of the eponymous archon we have vases inscribed with the name of a treasurer, the treasurer of military funds⁸⁸ (27, 41, Acropolis 1113) who would seem to have been the competent official in the third century and into the first half of the second. The agonothetes (presumably the agonothetes of the Panathenaia) would seem to have replaced the treasurer of military funds, as far as the Panathenaics are concerned, at least as early as the third quarter of the second century, according to the evidence of the vases.⁸⁹ The name of this official appeared on seven pieces (12,

⁸⁴ Cf. Beazley, "Panathenaica," p. 450, with reference to uninscribed Panathenaics.

⁸⁵ Ferguson, p. 56.

⁸⁶ Beazley, "Panathenaica," p. 465; *Dev.*, p. 100.

⁸⁷ See above, p. 322, on the Leningrad amphora. Agora P 3631, on which the name of an archon was inscribed, is of very heavy fabric, as are many Hellenistic Panathenaics (above, p. 327), but as a tendency toward heaviness seems to have set in early, as in 1-4, it need not be later than 312/11 B.C.

⁸⁸ Dow, pp. 57-78. For the functions and history of the office of the ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν see P.-W., *R.E.*, s.v. *Στρατιωτικά*; Ferguson, pp. 10, 23 and note 7, 99, 161, 252, 472, 473; W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 138-139; W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 94-95, note 1; S. Dow, *Prytaneis, Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 18; Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl., VIII, p. 119.

⁸⁹ From inscriptions on marble it is seen that the agonothetes probably replaced the military treasurer as the responsible officer for the vases sometime between the archonships of Sonikos,

14, 29, the Ariarathes amphora, Acropolis 1109, 1138, and the Melos fragment). If 12 is correctly dated, he would appear to have continued to be the responsible official down into Roman times.⁴⁰ On three others, 22, 28, and the Corinth amphora, the title of the official is not preserved; the date of 22 suggests that in this case at least the official was again the agonothetes.

The presence on the amphorae of the names of officials other than the archon brings into play, of course, the detailed account in *Ath. Pol.*, 60, of the administration of various aspects of the Panathenaia, the preparation of the prize amphorae, the collection of the olive oil, and other matters. At the time the *Ath. Pol.* was being written, in the early twenties of the fourth century, the ten athlothetai, in addition to other duties, saw to the preparation of the amphorae in conjunction with the Boule.⁴¹ The archon was responsible for collecting the oil; he handed it over to the Treasurers on the Acropolis, who retained it in their charge, measuring it out to the athlothetai at the Panathenaia, who in turn allotted it to the victorious contestants in the games.

175/4 B.C., and that of Aristolas, 161/0 B.C. As noted below, p. 333, the athlothetai were replaced by an agonothetes in the time of Demetrios of Phaleron (for an earlier account of the agonothetai of the Panathenaia see Ferguson, *Klio*, VIII, 1908, pp. 345-349. The conclusions reached in this article are appreciably affected by later research, especially by the identification of three archons named Nicias in the 3rd century B.C.; cf. also Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI, p. 496; and Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 92-93). In inscriptions of the third and early second century when the agonothetes is mentioned he appears simply as the agonothetes without specification of the festival for which he is responsible (possibly, as has been argued before, there was a single agonothetes for all festivals in those years?). He is still the agonothetes, festival unspecified, in the year of Sonikos (*I.G.*, II², 3088). Thereafter in the dated inscriptions the festival is specified: agonothetes of the Theseia in *I.G.*, II², 956, (161/0 B.C.); 957 (157/6 B.C.); and 958 (152/1 B.C.); agonothetes of the Panathenaia in *I.G.*, II², 968 (143/2 B.C.); 1036 (108/7 B.C.); 2336 (101/0 B.C. and 98/7 B.C.). The agonothetai of the Panathenaia named in these inscriptions: Miltiades Zoilou Marathonios, *P.A.*, 10215 (also named as agonothetes of the Theseia in the archonship of Phaidrias, 152/1 B.C., *I.G.*, II², 958); Themistokles, *P.A.*, 6653; Medeios Medeiou Peiraeus, *P.A.*, 10098; and Sarapion Sarapionos Meliteus, *P.A.*, 12564, may be expected some day to turn up on the Panathenaic vases for which they were responsible in their agonothesia. Contrariwise, the name of Ariarathes V may yet be found in a marble inscription honoring him for his benefactions as agonothetes, and from inscriptions it may be possible to restore the fragmentary names on Nos. 22 and 28.

⁴⁰ Dow, pp. 53-54, proposed a sequence of agonothetes followed by the treasurer of military funds. In Kondoleon, p. 586, the opposite sequence is suggested. The evidence now available supports the latter view. We have records of Roman agonothetai of the Panathenaic games: Herodes Atticus and T. Flavius Leosthenes, under Hadrian (Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 47-48, 116 and note 3); Tiberius Claudius Demonstratus, who was also an archon sometime after A.D. 138 (see Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 119; and for date, Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 86); Marcus Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus (Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia, Hesperia*, Suppl., VI, p. 1) about the time of the reign of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235); and either just before or immediately after his historic defense of Athens against the Heruli in A.D. 267, P. Herennios Dexippos (*I.G.*, II², 3669, dated in A.D. 269/70; cf. *I.G.*, II², 2245, dated by Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 41, in A.D. 262/3).

⁴¹ For a possible representation of the athlothetai on a red-figured vase see Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 306-308, no. 1, pls. 73-74.

In the same work, 49, 3, we are told that the treasurer of military funds (whose office was created about 346 B.C.)⁴² and the Boule jointly supervised certain matters concerned with the Panathenaic games and the making of the Nikai, presumably the Golden Nikai of Athena.⁴³ At this time, of these various officials, it is the archon whose name appears on the vases, for it is he who was seemingly held most strictly accountable. He was not allowed to take his seat in the Areopagus after his year of office until he had turned in to the Treasurers on the Acropolis his quota of the sacred oil. As Gardiner has suggested,⁴⁴ “. . . the setting of the archon’s signature on the prize vases or on a certain number of them may have been a manner of registering the fact that he had paid in his oil.”

Ferguson⁴⁵ has discussed the reforms which were made by Demetrios of Phaleron in the national festivals of Athens, including the Panathenaia, a few years after Aristotle wrote. The athlothetai were, in Demetrios’ time, superseded by an agonotheses.⁴⁶ Ferguson suggests that the athlothetai functioned for the last time in July, 310 B.C.⁴⁷ It is perhaps not premature to suggest that the eponymous archon was relieved of his duties in connection with the collection and delivery of oil for the Panathenaia at this time, since the last appearance of the archon’s name on the vases is so closely contemporary. Our evidence is as yet extremely slender for the suggestion that the treasurer of military funds took over this function from the archon at this time,⁴⁸ although by

⁴² Dinsmoor, p. 159, note 1.

⁴³ For the Golden Nikai see J. E. Sandys, *Aristotle’s Constitution of Athens*, London, 1912, note to ch. 47, 1. Aristotle’s remarks regarding the Panathenaia in this passage are vague; they have been variously translated. The military treasurer’s control of silver bullion, as shown in *I.G.*, II², 1443, of 344/3 B.C. (see also Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 47, 1, for his association with the poletai in connection with the silver mines) and his ability to furnish gold also for the making of the Lykourgan Nikai and *pompeia* (*I.G.*, II², 1943, lines 7-13; 334/3 B.C.) make him the logical person to be concerned also with the making of the valuable prizes of the Panathenaia such as the gold crowns for winners of first prizes among the musicians. In inscriptions of the latter part of the 2nd century B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 900, 1008, 1011) this treasurer is still concerned with the making of gold crowns for the ephebes (although by this time he is often not the only official concerned). For the Golden Nikai see H. A. Thompson, “A Golden Nike from the Athenian Agora,” *Athenian Studies presented to William Scott Ferguson* (*Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I), Cambridge, Mass., 1940, pp. 183-210 (this Nike is discussed by G. P. Stevens, below p. 356, Pl. 89, a); D. B. Thompson, “The Golden Nikai Reconsidered,” *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 173-209. The Nikai had been refurbished, presumably for the last time, shortly before the date when Aristotle was writing; for this see H. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-207.

⁴⁴ P. 192. The dates recorded by archons’ names on the Panathenaics of the fourth century are those of the years of the collection of the oil, not of the Great Panathenaia (Beazley, “Panathenaica,” p. 461). Gardiner, p. 192 and note 43, discusses the question of the storage of oil over long periods.

⁴⁵ Pp. 55-58.

⁴⁶ See also above, note 39.

⁴⁷ P. 57 and note 2.

⁴⁸ If he were already charged with furnishing the valuable prizes for the musical contests of the

247/6 B.C. this official is the one whose responsibility for the collection of the Panathenaic oil is attested on the vases, as the archon's had been earlier.⁴⁹ The facts that this treasurer was already concerned with the Panathenaia earlier, however, as Aristotle tells us, and that his name is the first to appear on the amphorae as the responsible official subsequent to the latest archon inscription are perhaps significant.

The eponymous archon, the Boule, with its headquarters in the Agora, and officials associated with the Boule, the athlothetai and the treasurer of military funds, we have seen, were directly concerned with important details of the Panathenaia, including the making of the amphorae and the provision of the oil. There is a very considerable number of Panathenaics from the Agora excavations and of these there is a particular concentration along the crest of Kolonos Agoraios.⁵⁰ These two sets of facts may be irrelevant to each other and unrelated. It is an interesting speculation, however, to consider the possibility that in the times when the name of the treasurer of military funds appears on the amphorae the center of government activity concerned with the Panathenaics may have been in the enigmatic Hellenistic Building north of the Hephaisteion.⁵¹ Of the three amphorae which bore the name of this treasurer

Panathenaia (see note 43), it would be reasonable for this officer to take on now the supervision of the athletic prizes as well.

Ferguson, pp. 23 and 99, suggests that the office of the treasurer of military funds may have been abolished in 323/2 and reestablished by the democracy of 307 B.C. But see *ibid.*, p. 23, note 7.

⁴⁹ See Dow, p. 57. Eurykleides was treasurer of military funds in the archonship of Diomedon (*I.G.*, II², 791) which is now dated in the year 247/6 B.C. (Pritchett-Meritt, p. xxii; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 13). For the family of Eurykleides, see below, 27.

⁵⁰ For the entire period of production of Panathenaics there are over 120 fragments from the Agora excavations. Those from the Acropolis, seemingly a very natural place for them to be found (broken in delivery, in storage, or in the distribution as prizes), number 227 (Graef, 912-1138). Of the 49 pieces of Hellenistic times and later from the Agora (many more than are represented from this period in the Acropolis collections) 20 come from Kolonos Agoraios. Of these the earlier, from the third and early second centuries (7, 8, 9, 11, 27, 36, 41, 45, 48) come from the immediate vicinity of the Hellenistic Building. The later, from some time in the first half of the second century onwards (10, 21, 22, 24, 25, 31, 32, 34, 35, 39, 49), come from south of the Hephaisteion. Others of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods (12, 13, 16, 19, 33) come from below the southeastern slopes of Kolonos or further to the south in the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs. One, 14, possibly after slight damage, seems to have served a not dishonorable though unintended use in the kitchen of the Tholos. It goes without saying that some of the fragments could have reached the Agora casually from the near-by potters' quarter. Such are 15, 17, 42, and 44, brought in probably from a potter's dump of rejects for filling between the foundations of the Middle Stoa; also 40, in a filling from a similar source, probably, in a cistern. The remainder are isolated pieces from various parts of the excavations.

⁵¹ See *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 345, 400; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 391, fig. 2 (plan), pls. 55-6 (proposed reconstruction, in model). This building has been discussed by A. Rumpf, "Der Westrand der Agora zu Athen," *Jahrbuch*, LIII, 1938, pp. 117 ff.; R. E. Wycherley, *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, pp. 95-96, and LXVIII, 1948, p. 152; Anastasios K. Orlandos, *Ἡ ἐνλόστεγος παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῆς μεσογειακῆς λεκάνης*, Athens, 1954, vol. I, pp. 64-67, note 1; p. 66, fig. 39a. Rumpf and Orlandos have suggested that the building is the Stoa Basileios. Wycherley, in discussing Rumpf's

one, **41**, comes from a cistern⁵² devoted to the particular use of occupants of this building, and the second, **27**, was found near by to the northeast. This treasurer, no doubt in addition to many other duties, was charged as we have seen with the making of the Golden Nikai, of which one was found, discarded in the third quarter of the third century, in a well near the northeast corner of the building.⁵³ Since the Hellenistic Building requires further study, the suggestion that it served originally as a headquarters of the military treasurer, who came to be a leading figure in Athenian government and finance in the third century,⁵⁴ is put forward only tentatively.

His presumed responsibility for the collection of the oil for the athletic prizes was no doubt a very minor part of the duties of the military treasurer. We can imagine, however, that it was a time-consuming business,⁵⁵ measuring the oil as it

attribution, has already pointed out difficulties in the way of such an identification. For the literary evidence concerning the Stoa Basileios, with which the date of the Hellenistic Building is not in agreement, see the testimonia, R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, pp. 21-25, 30-31.

Although more information about the date of the Hellenistic Building will no doubt be forthcoming after further study, it is possible to suggest now that it may have been erected soon after 250 B.C., as suggested by the dating of a filling in a cistern (F 5:1) which presumably was abandoned at the time of construction.

Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 66, note 1, suggests that the building was destroyed by Sulla in 86 B.C. and not rebuilt.

⁵² E 6:1 and 2, in a filling introduced at the time of the abandonment of the cistern, perhaps as early as the third quarter of the second century. It is interesting that this amphora was apparently discarded shortly after the agonothetes took over the duties of the treasurer in respect to the Panathenaic amphorae (see above, p. 331).

⁵³ Well H 6:4. See *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 519-527, and H. A. Thompson, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I, p. 183 for the circumstances of the discovery of the Nike head. For the date proposed above for the discarding of this head the undersigned is responsible.

⁵⁴ See, for instance, Ferguson, pp. 161-162, 252.

⁵⁵ The inscription specifying the prizes for various athletic events of the Panathenaia (*I.G.*, II², 2311; dated by the editors 400-350 B.C.) provides a total of over 700 amphorae of oil. Storing the jars, measuring the oil as it was collected and then satisfying the treasurers that the correct amount had been delivered to the Acropolis would have been a considerable undertaking. If, as Smith, p. 190, suggests, the amphorae were actually of different dimensions, and, particularly, of different capacities, the task would have been even more time-consuming. Ridgeway and Pryce in Whibley, *A Companion to Greek Studies*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 533, state that the capacities of Panathenaic amphorae vary from 38.39 to 40.34 liters. They do not, however, give details as to the particular amphorae measured or their dates; the variation may conceivably be due to the difference in standards of measure in different periods. The same capacity measurements are given by Doerpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, VII, 1882, p. 306, who gives Boeckh as his authority. The reference is apparently to August Boeckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen über Gewichte, Münzfüsse, und Masse des Alterthums*, Berlin, 1838, pp. 279-280. Boeckh lists a number of amphorae which he takes to be Panathenaics. Their modern identity I have not yet established, although one is apparently the Burgon amphora in London, B 130 (Beazley, *A.B.V.*, p. 89). Others, judging from the capacities given, are small Panathenaics, not prize vases. For other comments on the capacities of Panathenaics, see Miss Mabel Lang, *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, p. 26 and note 1, and W. K. Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai," Part II, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 195-196, under Liquid Measures, ἀμφορέως. Mr. Dietrich von Bothmer and Mr. Peter Corbett have recently provided capacity measurements of amphorae

came in little by little from the country districts, transferring it to official containers, storing it perhaps until sufficient was ready for transfer to the Acropolis. No doubt a kind of intermediate receiving depot was required at the time of the olive pressing in the late fall, one of the uses which the capacious Hellenistic Building could well have served.

His other more important duties in connection with public funds more than justify the devotion of a large public building to the activities of the military treasurer. Ferguson⁵⁶ has already suggested that he had a separate treasury. The Hellenistic Building, the cuttings for whose foundation, although they are distressingly denuded, permit the restoration of the superstructure along the lines of the Arsenal of Philo, would for such purposes be extremely suitable. The proposed reconstruction carries with it more than a suggestion of a relationship of the Hellenistic Building to the military.

For the collection of the oil the proximity of the Hellenistic Building to the public measures in the Tholos would be a convenience. One wonders if perhaps the presence of an official weight in a second cistern⁵⁷ which served the building reflects, however modestly, financial activities in the building from which it may have come.

Professor Thompson has suggested that topographically one may think of the Panathenaics as we do of the pieces of public measures whose proveniences are for the most part in direct relationship to the Tholos where they are known to have been kept. The dating of the Panathenaic fragments, as analyzed above,⁵⁸ suggests that, in the time when the military treasurer had responsibility for the oil collection and delivery, activities connected with the amphorae centered in the Hellenistic Build-

in New York and London, as follows: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. no. 14.130.12, of ca. 515 B.C., by the Euphiletos Painter, capacity (water) to neck, 38.83 liters; to brim, 39.83 liters. New York, Acc. no. 16.71, ca. 500-490 B.C., by the Kleophrades Painter, capacity (water) to neck, 37.12375, to brim, 38.22875 liters. London, British Museum, B 605, dated 403/2 B.C. by Süsserott (cf. *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 453), the Kuban group, capacity (water) (courtesy of the Laboratory of the British Museum) "to the level of the angle in the interior where the mouth springs out from the neck" 38.1 liters; "in addition the body of the amphora absorbed 3 lbs. of water (1.36 k.)."

⁵⁶ W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 138 and 139, note 1. The development of the state bank in Hellenistic times is a subject of considerable interest; it may well have bearing on the purpose of the Hellenistic Building. For the topographical implications of banking as regards the Agora see George M. Calhoun, *The Business Life of Ancient Athens*, Chicago, 1926, p. 95. The famous inscription of the late second century B.C. regarding weights and measures (*I.G.*, II², 1013, lines 4 and 28) speaks of the δημοσίαν τράπεζαν; conceivably the Hellenistic Building may have come to be referred to in those days by this name.

⁵⁷ G 6:2 (and F 6:3). The objects from this double cistern have been published by H. A. Thompson, in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 345-369. The cistern went out of use around 200 B.C. The weight, of lead, IL 6, is inscribed δημο for δέμοσιον. A second similar weight, IL 545, and a smaller weight, IL 357, stamped Δ.Α.Σ., were found ca. 20 m. west of the building. Miss Mabel Lang kindly tells me that the stamped letters on such weights as IL 357 may stand for δήμιον Ἀθηναίων σταθμός and that this weight may be of the Roman period.

⁵⁸ Above, note 50.

ing. The later sherds, of the times when the agonothetes was responsible for the amphorae, suggest that the center of activity concerning them then lay south of the Hephaesteion on Kolonos hill in some structure yet to be identified.⁵⁹

CATALOGUE⁶⁰

BLACK-FIGURE PANATHENAICS (1-39)

1. Neck fragment: Athena. Pl. 77.

P 19672. Valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, context of fourth and early third centuries B.C. Heavy fabric (0.015 m. thick below). Incised details on helmet and plume; face in white with details in yellow glaze; outline of face in black. P. H. 0.11 m.

On helmet, spiral tendrils terminating in an outlined flower; on neck-piece part of similar ornament. Above the helmet rises a large spiral crest support in black. Athena's hair, in yellow glaze, is brushed back along the temples in wavy lines. No indication of the spear. Lower part of crest at left.

Spiral supports in black for the crest occur on a number of the dated Panathenaics, e. g., that of the archonship of Theophrastos of 340/39 B.C., in the Louvre (*C.V.A.*, III H g, pl. 5, especially 10 and 14), and on London B 607-11 (Pl. 76), 336/5-328/7 B.C.

340-330 B.C. (?). Possibly by the same artist as London B 607 (Nikomachos Series), Plate 76.

2. Neck fragment: Athena. Pl. 77.

P 8735. Heavy fabric (0.022 m. thick at the base of the neck). Details of helmet incised; face and hand in white with details in brown and in yellow glaze. P. H. 0.05 m.

The helmet is decorated with a pair of concentric lozenges (vestigial cheek plates?), spirals, and a row of vertical dashes along the brim. Part of what is apparently a spiral support for the crest, as on 1, in black above. Her hand grasping the spear behind, and part of the crest.

For the helmet decoration compare London B 607 and 608 (Pl. 76), the former of the Hobble Group, the latter of the year of Pythodolos, 336/5 B.C. This piece has stylistic affinities with both London vases. The ornament above the brim of the helmet recurs on the crest of B 607; the prominent eyebrow and similar treatment of the hair occur also on B 608.

340-330 B.C. (?).

3. Neck fragment: Athena. Pl. 77.

P 24654. Moderately heavy fabric (0.015 m. at base of neck, 0.008 m. thick on shoulder). Helmet with incised details, face in white, details not preserved. P. H. 0.055 m.

⁵⁹ The study of the proveniences of Panathenaics of archaic and classical times from the Agora would perhaps prove profitable after the pieces themselves have been studied and placed in relation to earlier adjustments in the conduct of the Panathenaia. It is possible to suggest some reorganization of the Panathenaia shortly after 400 B.C.: the sudden appearance of the name of the eponymous archon on the vases (392/1 B.C. is suggested for the Berlin amphora, Inv. 3980; Beazley, *Dev.*, p. 97) indicates some revision in the laws (Beazley, *Dev.*, p. 96). Other adjustments, possibly contemporary, are suggested by the publication of the list of prizes to be awarded for each contest (*I.G.*, II², 2311, dated by the editor ca. 400-350 B.C.). Perikles had earlier instituted a change in regard to musical contests (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13, 6). These changes may or may not have topographical implications. The change of direction of Athena on the amphorae from the earlier left to the later right (between 359 and 348 B.C.; Beazley, *Dev.*, p. 98) might also perhaps reflect some change in the laws governing the Panathenaia.

⁶⁰ Reference to provenience is omitted when the context was disturbed or otherwise unreliable.

The forepart of the helmet with sharp pointed peak in front. The shaft of the spear, in black, cuts diagonally across the lower parts of the tongue pattern in front of the peak.

For a helmet with similar peak compare the amphora of the year of Archippos, 321/0 B.C., in the Louvre (*C.V.A.*, III H g, pl. 6, 6) and London B 611 (Pl. 76) of 328/7 B.C. On London B 608 (Pl. 76), of the Hobble Group, the spear crosses over the tongue pattern in front of the face as in our amphora.

Ca. 340-20 B.C. (?).

4. Neck fragment: Athena. Pl. 77.

P 22224. Southeast corner of market square; context of the late Roman period. Heavy fabric (0.014 m. thick). Details incised; white for the face of Athena with details in yellow glaze. P. H. 0.063 m.

Forepart of helmet and upper part of face of Athena. On the helmet an incised spiral ornament; the brim is inaccurately outlined and only slightly peaked in front. A bit of one of the tongues touches the front of the helmet. No indication of the spear.

Ca. 340-20 B.C.

5. Neck: Athena. Pls. 77, 88.

P 10766. Cistern P 10:1 and 2, filling of first half of the third century B.C. Upper attachments of both handles, handle-ridge and neck down to shoulder are preserved. Heavy fabric (0.015 m. thick above; 0.016 m. below). Details of helmet and crest incised; white for the face and hand, with details in brown and yellow glaze; spear white with black outlines. P. H. 0.18 m.

A) The crest of Athena's helmet is supported by a small spiral presumably once in glaze on the area of white ground which extends between the three bits of tongue between crest and helmet; only the outline of the spiral is preserved. Much of the white of the face has peeled

off, but eye and brow, hair, a very high placed ear and a long triangular earring, such as that on London B 608 (Pl. 76), remain. The brow and nose were probably outlined in glaze on white, now missing, the line only remaining. Above the handle-ridge are the lower tips of palmettes.

B) Tongue pattern below handle-ridge, palmettes above.

Late fourth or early third century B.C. The Oropos neck fragment is very close in style to this piece, if not by the same hand.

6. Neck fragment: crest of Athena's helmet. Pls. 77, 88.

P 25662. From debris of the house in the central part of the Agora once occupied by the French consul Fauvel.⁶¹ Handle-ridge with parts of surfaces above and below preserved. Heavy fabric (0.02 m. thick above, 0.025 m. below). Details of crest incised. P. H. 0.10 m.

The treatment of the crest with a central vertical rib resembles that of 5.

Late fourth or early third century B.C.

7. Neck fragment: Athena. Pls. 77, 88.

P 120. Kolonos Agoraios, ca. 25 m. to the north-northeast of the Hellenistic Building, west of the Stoa of Zeus, Hellenistic context. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 54, fig. 7. Preserved from handle-ridge to shoulder. Moderately heavy fabric (0.009 m. thick above, 0.015 m. below). Details of the helmet and crest incised; the white of the face has entirely disappeared. P. H. 0.15 m.

The crest springs from the top of the helmet without an intervening spiral ornament. The panel in which the head and helmet are placed is very much narrower than is usual on the earlier amphorae; at the top of the helmet it is 0.07 m. wide as compared, for instance, with 0.135 m. on No. 5 at the same level.

Third century B.C.

⁶¹ This piece cannot properly be said to have a pertinent context, since it may have been part of Fauvel's collection of antiquities.

8. Neck fragment: Athena. Pls. 76, 81, 88.

P 372. Kolonos Agoraios, *ca.* 25 m. north-east of the Hellenistic Building. Dow, pp. 52-53, figs. 5-6. Details in incision and in glaze on white. P. H. 0.026 m.; diam. lip 0.25 m.

A) Athena, helmet and face down to tip of nose preserved; hand holding spear behind. Her face and hand are in white, the outline of forehead and nose, the eyes and the fingers are in glaze. Tongue pattern on both A) and B).

Red wash over black glaze on handle-ridge; red on reserved ground of top of lip. Beneath the red, incised before firing, a graffito: Νικίων.

First half of second century B.C.

9. Neck fragment: Athena. Pl. 77.

P 25553. Kolonos Agoraios, *ca.* 15 m. north of the Hellenistic Building, Well G 5:3, abandonment filling, second quarter of second century B.C. P. H. 0.07 m.

This fragment gives a bit of the crest and back part of the helmet, in black, and, at the lower right, a small area of the white of Athena's right temple. Incision is used only for lines on the helmet, none for outlines. Athena faces right, and her helmet is probably of the Attic type.

Early second century B.C.

10. Neck fragment: Athena. Pl. 77.

P 25533. Kolonos Agoraios, south of the Hephaisteion, Cistern C 9:7, filling of the late second century B.C. Helmet in black glaze; crest in white with black lines. P. H. 0.055 m.

A bit of the top of the back of the helmet and a section of the crest behind are preserved.

Last quarter of second century B.C.

11. Neck fragment: Athena. Pl. 77.

P 25485. Immediate vicinity of the Hephaisteion. Helmet in black glaze with incised details; face in white with details in yellow glaze. P. H. 0.115 m.

Much of the helmet, which is of the Corinthian type, the upper part of the face, the brow

and eye and locks of hair behind are preserved. The hair behind is in black glaze with incised locks; that in front of the ear is in yellow glaze.

The incised and painted details are very close in style to those of Athena on the Ariarathes amphora. The same artist probably decorated both.

Third quarter of the second century B.C.

12. Neck fragment: Athena. Pl. 77.

P 19078. Valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, context of the Roman period. Black glaze with incised details for helmet; white for crest. P. H. 0.16 m.

A) Athena, wearing a Corinthian helmet, facing right against a plain background of dull red slip. Above the handle-ridge are closely spaced thick vertical strokes of glaze. Just above the lower break, at the left, is the beginning of a painted inscription: ἀ[γωνοθεοῦντος], kionedon. At the far left, below, the point of attachment of one of the handles.

Roman period.

13. Wall fragment: Athena. Pl. 77.

P 8961. Southwest corner of the Agora square, Late Roman context. Incision for interior details only; no white preserved. P. H. 0.15 m.

Athena, facing right; most of her helmet, which is Corinthian, and part of one shoulder preserved. She carries her spear over her shoulder, point up. A vague smear of glaze above the spear point.

This fragment comes from a closed vase of the scale of a Panathenaic. The representation of Athena differs from the normal in the position of the spear and the scale of the figure, which is too large for a column figure and smaller than the usual panel figure. The helmet and crest, here on the shoulder, normally appear on the neck, reaching nearly to the handle-ridge. See discussion above, p. 329.

Roman period. It may seem surprising to meet a black-figure piece such as this in a time when red-glazed pottery is so predominant.

Roman groups and deposits from the Agora excavations, however, show that Attic black-glazed pottery continued to be produced in the earlier centuries of the Roman period. Miss Judith Perlzweig kindly informs me that black-glazed lamps also occur down to the early second century after Christ.

14. Athena; wrestling match.

Pls. 78, 86, 88.

P 5911. Tholos Kitchen, context of the second century or early first B.C. Dow, pp. 51-52, figs. 2-4 (part); *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 84 and note 60. A number of pieces have been found subsequent to Dow's publication. Fragments of lip, neck, and body. Details in incision and in white. Max. dim. 0.325 m.

A) Athena, facing right. A bit of her helmet (?) is preserved on the single neck fragment. Of her right arm, raised behind and above, parts of the upper arm and forearm are preserved on a). The spear was held pointing down, the shaft crossing in front of her breast, as on the Berlin amphora. Another fragment gives a bit of her left arm with the upper part of the shield above. Her left hand and a portion of the further curve of the shield appear on another fragment, e). Below the shield, the apparent upper right corner of the panel, presumably corresponding to the top of the panel on B); the left side of the panel on A) was much higher, however. Behind Athena is an area daubed in white with a single vertical stroke and a small curved one in glaze: part of a winged (?) figure on a column (?). Fragments from below give Athena's lower drapery, b), and a bit of one foot (in white).

B) Wrestling match (fragment d), the wrestlers in the position known as *σύσταισις*, as on the amphora of the year of Polyzelos, 367/6 B.C., in London. Cf. Gardiner, *G.A.S.*, p. 382, and fig. 11, p. 381. Along the left edge of the panel (fragment e), part of the inscription [τ]ῶν [Ἀθῆνῶν] ἄθλων]. The judge (fragment d) stands at the left looking toward the combatants in the center. An isolated frag-

ment, c), inscribed: [ἀγωνοθε]τοῦντ[ος] must come from the right edge of this panel. Its relative position is fixed by a series of wheel marks which cross it and the fragment of the figure behind Athena, and continue across the skirt of Athena just below the hips. To the left of the inscription, the upper part of a rectangular column capital. The area above the panel is black. The point of attachment of the handle between the right side of B) and the left side of A) is preserved. To the left of the handle on B) is a bit of a reserved area, the lower part of a neck zone on which, presumably, a tongue pattern was painted.

The lip, of which two fragments are preserved, is reserved on top and painted red (fragment f).

The bold style of this piece, with its heavy incision, is reminiscent of the Ariarathes amphora and Acropolis 1110-1111.

Third quarter of the second century.

15. Wall fragment: Athena. Pl. 79.

P 22910. Middle Stoa Construction Fill, before ca. 150 B.C. Heavy fabric (0.012 m. thick). Folds of dress incised, but outlines of dress and foot not; foot and rows of dots along lower edge of dress in white. P. H. 0.14 m.

Athena, facing right. The fragment gives the forward left foot, part of which is painted over the black below the panel, and the lower part of her dress. The forward part of her foot and the lacings of the sandal are in glazed lines which the white has partly obliterated.

A similar line of white dots occurs on the dress of 32.

Before ca. 150 B.C.

16. Wall fragment, reverse. Pl. 79.

P 3871. Along the western end of the south side of the Agora square. Details incised. P. H. 0.07 m.

Head of a man, in profile, facing right. The outline of only face and neck incised. Presumably one of the judges of an athletic contest.

The style is reminiscent of the figures on the reverse of **14**.

Third quarter of the second century.

17. Wrestlers (?). Pl. 79.

P 22984. Middle Stoa Construction Fill, before ca. 150 B.C. Fragment of wall, heavy fabric (0.011 m. thick). Anatomical details and outlines of figures incised except for one side of each finger. P. H. 0.10 m.

At left, mid-part of body of one athlete advancing to right, left leg forward. At right, right thigh, forearm and hand of standing athlete.

For the positions of the wrestlers (?) compare Gardiner, *G.A.S.*, p. 382, fig. 110.

First half of second century B.C.

18. Boxers. Pl. 79.

P 25457. Details incised. P. H. 0.07 m.; 0.009 m. thick. Wall fragment from lower part of panel.

B) To right, the lower part of the left leg and foot of one contestant; to left, the big toe of the right foot of his opponent. An apparently meaningless glazed line runs across the sherd at the level of the heel. The lower edge of the panel below.

For the position of the feet, which suggests that the contestants are boxers, see Gardiner, *G.A.S.*, p. 419.

19. Athena: horse-race. Pls. 79, 86, 88.

P 18008. Valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, context of the early Roman period. Glazed decoration fired dark brown to red, largely flaked off, with incised details except for head and arm of Athena, which are in white. Fragments of body and lip preserved. Body: a) P. H. 0.40 m.; diam. 0.395 m.; b) P. H. 0.12 m.; c) W. 0.13 m.; three other fragments of lower body not illustrated. Lip: d) H. 0.07 m.; est. diam. 0.25 m.

A) Athena facing right, oval shield on left arm, her forward left foot in the glazed area below the bottom of the panel (fragment a).

The top of the panel is not preserved. No trace of neck ornament.

B) Horse-race, probably young riders, on horseback. The head of the forward horse on c), which joins a), with loose reins; on b) part of a horse's leg and belly. The upper left corner of the panel is preserved on a), coming at a level corresponding to that of the upper part of Athena's shield on A).

On another fragment, not illustrated, which could belong to either side: to right, the capital of a column (?); to left, two strokes of glaze.

On lip, indistinct traces: two tips of floral ornament (?) converging on a central vertical tip, probably framed palmettes.

Third quarter of second century B.C.

20-22. These were found together in a cistern south of the Hepaisteion on Kolonos Agoraios, D 12:2, in a filling of the late second century B.C. **21** and **22** are very similar in fabric and firing and are by the same artist, who also decorated Mykonos 2. Since **21** represents a race on horseback, and **22** a chariot race, and both combined, in any case, would be too large for a single panel, it seems unlikely that they come from the same vase. It is remotely possible, however, that we have to deal with a vase with two athletic panels rather than the usual A) Athena, B) contest. (In this connection it is worth noting an amphora from Olbia, Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, with athletic scenes on both sides, quadriga on one, horse and rider on the other: *Bulletin de la commission Archéologique*, VIII, 1903, pp. 29-31, fig. 15; *Compte-Rendu de la Commission impériale archéologique pour l'année 1901*, pp. 10-11, fig. 13 (both in Russian). Pharmakowsky regarded this amphora as imported to Olbia). The Athena of **20** is much smaller than normal; possibly she is in this case a column figure such as that partly preserved on Mykonos 1.

20. Athena (column figure?). Pl. 79.

P 6901 ter. Details in incision and white. P. H. 0.085 m.

The figure is preserved from neck to knees. Above, at right, a bit of black glaze may be part of a wing (?). The white areas along the right edge are possibly the interior of the shield (?). The purpose of the four horizontal incised lines at the lower right is not evident.

Last quarter of second century B.C.

21. Race on horseback. Pl. 80.

P 6901. Anatomical details incised, trappings in white. P. H. 0.22 m.

The heads of two horses and the left arm of the jockey of the horse behind. Corrosion of the surface has removed the glaze of the neck and most of the head of the forward horse and left no trace of the rider.

Last quarter of second century B.C.

22. Chariot race. Pl. 80.

P 6901 bis. Anatomical details incised; trappings of horses, garment of charioteer in white. a) P. H. 0.16 m.; b) P. H. 0.11 m.; c) P. H. 0.085 m.

a) and b) preserve the foreparts of three horses and part of the charioteer, who holds the reins in his left hand, slackening the right reins with his right hand and tightening those on the left for a turn. The strings of a white headband behind his head. The upper right corner of the panel preserved on b).

c) is probably from the obverse panel, its relative position indicated by a wheel mark which it shares with a) and b). A painted inscription, kionedon, in two lines: [ἀγωνοθετοῦν-
τος; [- - -] Ἀμφι[- - -]. For the restoration of the title of the official see above, p. 332.

Last quarter of second century B.C.

23. Charioteer. Pl. 81.

P 1893. East branch of the Great Drain, beneath Middle Stoa. Wall fragment, heavy fabric (0.012 m. thick). Anatomical details partly incised, partly in white; no incised outline for exposed parts of figure. White headband and garment with details in yellow glaze,

the white painted directly on the clay. P. H. 0.125 m.

The attitude of the charioteer, controlling the reins but looking back to his left, and the presence of a patch of black, part of a second figure, at the lower right of the fragment, indicate that this is the apobates race, the charioteer playing the part of Ἡνίοχος ἐγβιβάζων. See Gardiner, *G.A.S.*, pp. 237-238 and *I.G.*, II², 2314, lines 35-38.

Probably derived from the Middle Stoa Construction fill of ca. 150 B.C.

24. Lip and neck fragments. Pls. 81, 88.

P 25535. Kolonos Agoraios, south of the Hephaisteion. Context of Late Roman times. Lip, part of neck and a fragment of wall. Lip complete except for a small section, with both handle attachments and the handle-ridge. A piece of the neck preserves the profile to the upper part of the shoulder. Moderately heavy fabric (lip, 0.013 m. thick; neck, 0.009 m.; wall, 0.013 m. above, 0.009 m. below). Decoration in smeary dull black and in white; top of rim glazed. a) P. H. 0.08 m., diam. of lip, 0.023 m.; b) P. H. 0.07 m.; c) P. H. 0.19 m.

The handle-ridge is set very high, just under the lip. Absence of glaze above the handles indicates that they were carried up to the edge of the rim before turning down. On the neck, at left, two vertical black bands and a central white one; to right, two widely spaced vertical white bands. Neck and shoulder meet at a distinct angle, unlike earlier Panathenais. Lip, neck, and body were made in separate pieces. On b), from the reverse, is an extended hand holding out a white wreath toward the left. The hand is in black glaze with no incision, but its outline and the fingers are indicated in white.

Roman period.

25. Neck fragment. Pl. 88.

P 25541. Kolonos Agoraios, south of the Hephaisteion. Well D 12: 1, upper dump filling of fifth-sixth centuries after Christ. Upper attachment of one handle, handle-ridge, and a

bit of the surfaces above and below preserved. Heavy fabric (0.02 m. thick above). Dull metallic glaze. P. H. 0.06 m.

The handle-ridge is set very high, just beneath the lip, as in 24. The ridge is much less prominent in this example, however.

Roman period.

26. Wall fragment: column. Pl. 81.

P 25487. Heavy fabric (0.008 m. thick above, 0.012 m. below). P. H. 0.09 m.

Part of a slender column with a very broad capital, their outlines heavily incised. Across the sherd is a thin, wheel-run groove.

27. Wall fragment: column. Pl. 82.

P 109. Kolonos Agoraios, ca. 30 m. north-northeast of the Hellenistic Building, behind the back wall of the Stoa of Zeus. Dow, pp. 55-57, fig. 10; Karl Peters, *Studien zu den Panathenaischen Preisamphoren*, Berlin, 1942, p. 7. Wall fragment. Details incised. P. H. 0.085 m.

Part of a column with a rectangular capital on which stands a booted figure, his left foot on a shield. On the capital is an inscription incised before firing for which Dow has suggested the restoration: [ταμ]εύοντος, the possible identification of this official with Mikion, the son or brother of the Eurykleides who was Treasurer of Military Funds in 247/6 B.C. (see above, note 49), and the similarity of the figure on the capital to that on the sherd from the Acropolis, 1113 a.

Part of a column with a rectangular capital on which stands a booted figure, his left foot on a shield. On the capital is an inscription incised before firing for which Dow has suggested the restoration: [ταμ]εύοντος, the possible identification of this official with Mikion, the son or brother of the Eurykleides who was Treasurer of Military Funds in 247/6 B.C. (see above, note 49), and the similarity of the figure on the capital to that on the sherd from the Acropolis, 1113 a.

For the stemma of the well known and prominent family of the brothers Eurykleides and Mikion see *P.A.*, p. 390. This family had close connections with the area in which this sherd was found. The most famous Eurykleides (I) may have been a priest of the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces here; his son Mikion (III) is known to have been a priest of this sanctuary. Eurykleides (I) and his brother Mikion (II) were the movers of a decree voting a statue of Eumaridas in the archonship of

Archelaos in 222/1 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 844) which was to be set up in the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces; the stele which was to be set up beside the statue was found in the area. An altar base, found *in situ* here (*I.G.*, II², 2798) was set up in the priesthood of Mikion, presumably Mikion (III) in the archonship of Dionysios, 197/6 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 94). The base of a statue (Agora Inv. I 171, Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 67, no. 61) dedicated by another Eurykleides, presumably Eurykleides (II) in the archonship of Antigenes, 171/0 B.C., was found in 1932 in the Agora excavations just outside the north wall of the Hellenistic Building. For the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces see Judeich, *Topographie²*, p. 363, and the testimonia, R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, pp. 59-61. Later members of the family may have followed the precedent set by their treasurer ancestor, Eurykleides (I), and had a hand in Athenian financial affairs. Bellinger, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 8-11, lists abbreviated names which suggest Mikion and Eurykleides as mint magistrates on a number of New Style tetradrachms (his nos. 28, 43, 50); see also J. P. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 256-257.

Second half of third century B.C.

28. Inscribed fragment. Pl. 82.

P 6920. Fragment of wall along left side of panel. P. H. 0.06 m.

Painted inscription, kionedon: [Πο]λυκρίτ[ov] (?) or [N]αυκρίτ[ov] (?). Of the letter before Υ only a single diagonal stroke is preserved. The possibilities for the restoration of the name are limited to Polykritos, Polykrites, and Naukritos. In *P.A.*, two men named Polykritos are listed, 12029 and 12030, the former living in the last quarter of the fourth century, the latter perhaps in the second half of the second century; the single Naukritos is the father of an Archedikos who is mentioned in an inscription of 320/19 B.C. No Polykrites is listed. Since we know of no archons of the fourth century or of Hellenistic times with

names such as these and since the fabric seems Hellenistic in any case, it is assumed that the name is that of an agonomothetes or of a treasurer of military funds.

29. Inscribed fragment. Pl. 82.

P 6988. Agora square, just west of the Odeion. Fragment of wall along right side of a panel. P. H. 0.042 m.

Painted inscription: [ἀγωνο]θερ[οῦνος].

30. Inscribed fragment. Pl. 82.

P 3630. Southwest corner of the Odeion. P. W. 0.045 m.

At right, part of the top of a column and its Doric capital. Incision only for horizontal lines. To left, a painted inscription: [τ]ῶν[Ἀθηνῆθεν ἄθλων] (?).

31. Wall fragment: inscribed. Pl. 82.

P 6868. Kolonos Agoraios, south of the Hephaisteion. Heavy fabric (0.011 m. thick), metallic black glaze. P. H. 0.107 m.

To left a large section of a glazed area between panels. To right, part of a column (?) with an incised outline. Between, the end of a painted inscription, kionedon, presumably to be restored: [τῶν Ἀθηνῆθεν ἄθλων].

32. Small Panathenaic. Pl. 82.

P 8124. Kolonos Agoraios, ca. 70 m. south of the Hephaisteion. Fragments of neck and lower body. a) P. H. 0.134 m.; b) P. H. 0.049 m. Glaze fugitive. Details incised and in white.

A) Athena, facing right. On b) a part of her helmet and crest are preserved; on a) the bottom of her garment and sandalled feet. A row of white dots along the lower edge of her dress; folds above (diagonal curves to left, zigzag in center) incised. Feet and sandals in white with a glazed line on her left foot to indicate a thong. Behind her, near the break, dim, glazed lines, two horizontal above, a number, concentric arcs of a circle, touching the lower line of the panel below and cut off by the break above.

B) Above the handle-ridge, part of a framed palmette to the left, a vertical line to the right. Below the handle-ridge, tongue pattern.

Lip and upper part of neck made separately and attached at center of the handle-ridge. Main part and lower part of body, and foot each made separately.

Miniature Panathenaics are treated by Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XLI, 1945, pp. 10-22. Our nos. **32** and **33** are much larger than the miniatures however, **32** corresponding in scale to such small amphorae as London, B 317, *C.V.A.*, III H e, pl. 4, 1, and **33** to the still smaller vase *ibid.*, pl. 6, 1. A small amphora (H. 0.15 m.) of Panathenaic shape in London (*C.V.A.*, IV D. c, pl. 8 [Gr. Brit. 44], no. 2) has been classed by Smith as Gnathian. It appears to me probable that it is, however, Attic Hellenistic of the early third century B.C. A Hellenistic amphora of cut glass, presumably of small scale also, from Olbia, in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, second impression, 1953, vol. I, pl. XLIII, 1) has been dated about 200 B.C.

33. Small Panathenaic: Athena. Pl. 82.

P 3517. Southwest corner of the Agora square, Hellenistic context. Details of helmet and hair incised; face in white with glazed details; crest outlined in black with white on the interior.

A) Head of Athena, wearing a Corinthian helmet, facing right. Hand and spear not indicated.

B) Tongue pattern.

Neck made in a separate piece, its lower part serving as a core around which the body was moulded.

The head of Athena on the sherd from the Acropolis, 1109, is comparable in style.

Third quarter of second century B.C. (?).

34. Lip fragment. Pls. 83, 88.

P 25540. Kolonos Agoraios, south of the Hephaisteion. Well D 12: 1, upper dump fill-

ing of fifth-sixth centuries after Christ. Part of rim and surface below preserved. Heavy fabric (*ca.* 0.015 m. thick). P. H. 0.07 m.

Top of lip preserved; with traces of red (?). Tips of large palmettes (?) below rim.

Third quarter of second century B.C.

35. Lip fragment. Pls. 83, 88.

P 25539. Kolonos Agoraios, south of the Hephaisteion, Cistern C 9:7, filling of late second century B.C. Profile of rim and incurve just below preserved. Heavy fabric (0.015 m. thick below). Dull black glaze. P. H. 0.06 m.; est. diam. of rim: 0.252 m.

Top of rim reserved with traces of red remaining. On outside, on surface just below rim, the tips of black palmettes (?) on a reserved ground. To left, traces of the adhesion of part of a handle above the point of attachment. The handle would seem to have begun its outward arch *ca.* 0.04 m. below the edge of the rim.

Third quarter of second century B.C.

36. Neck fragment. Pls. 83, 88.

P 339. Kolonos Agoraios, *ca.* 20 m. to the north-northeast of the Hellenistic Building. Dow, p. 54, fig. 8. Preserved from handle-ridge to start of lip, including the upper attachment of one handle. Heavy fabric (0.02 m. thick below, 0.012 m. above). P. H. 0.12 m.

Double palmettes above handle-ridge on A) and B).

Third century B.C.

37. Neck fragment. Pl. 83.

P 19085. Valley between Areopagus and Hill of the Nymphs; context of Roman times. Preserved from just below handle-ridge to just below start of lip, with the upper attachment of one handle. Heavy fabric (0.02 m. thick above, 0.024 m. below). P. H. 0.105 m.

Above handle-ridge on A) and B) very carelessly drawn palmettes. The handle is very broad at the base at the point of attachment, narrowing as it rises.

Third century B.C.

38. Shoulder fragment, from reverse. Pl. 83.

P 20323. East side of the Agora square. Moderately heavy fabric (0.01 m. thick). Metallic black glaze. Max. dim. 0.16 m.

Above, the bottom parts of large tongues in red-figure technique; below, a prominent reserved band.

Large tongues, but in black, with a similar reserved band below, occur on the Ariarathes amphora, Mykonos 2 and 3 and perhaps on Mykonos 1.

Second century B.C.

39. Base fragment. Pls. 83, 88.

P 25532. Kolonos Agoraios, south of the Hephaisteion; cistern C 9:7, filling of the late second century B.C. Only exterior glazed; incised line with miltos between base and stem. P. H. 0.10 m.; est. diam. 0.27 m.

The base of the Panathenaic in Berlin is similar in form.

WHITE-GROUND PANATHENAICS (40-49)

40. Lid. Pl. 83.

P 18793. Areopagus, north slope; cistern M 21:1, filling of the third century B.C. Knob and a bit of the rim missing. Undecorated. P. H. 0.113 m.; diam. 0.225 m.

The top was deliberately pierced by a hole 0.02 m. in diameter. The knob would have been made in a separate piece with a tenon for insertion.

For earlier lids of Panathenaics see one of the year of Theophrastos, 340/39 B.C., in the Louvre (*C.V.A.*, III H g, pl. 6, 1), one of 324/3 in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (*C.V.A.*, III H f, pl. 90, 1) and one of 332/1 in Sevres (*C.V.A.*, III H f and g, pls. 17, 20 and 22). For somewhat later lids: the Berlin amphora (Pl. 82) and, presumably, the restored Mykonos 9. The diameter of our lid is about right to rest on the inner angle of the rims of such amphorae as 8 and 41. A black-glazed Hellenistic lid with West Slope decoration in the Agora, P 18001, is generally similar in shape to the Panathenaic lids, but it must have been

intended for an amphora of heroic size, for its diameter is 0.34 m.

Third century B.C.

41. Athena: kitharist or kitharode.

Pls. 84, 86, 88.

P 8522. Hellenistic Building, cistern-system E 6:1 and 2, abandonment filling of the third quarter of the second century B.C. *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 84, note 60. P. H. (upper part) 0.39 m.; (lower), 0.045 m.; combined P. H. as restored 0.76 m.; diam. 0.39 m.; diam. of lip, 0.26 m. Restored: base and stem; the handles except for the spring of the upper attachment of one; a part of the lip and much of the neck and body. The drawing is entirely in red glaze painted over the white ground. Fine dark red clay. The red glaze and red clay suggest that the vase was not subjected to the reducing phase of firing.

A) Plate 84, a and d. Athena, facing right, left leg advanced, shield outthrust on left arm, swallow-tail drapery depending from forearm. Long peplos, gathered in at the waist, and sandals. The outline of the peplos and the prominent central fold are painted in stronger lines than the other folds. On the interior of the shield two lines below are added to suggest that the shield was deeply concave and thrust upward. Behind Athena, the lower part of a column without a base, which may have been inscribed: [τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀθλω]ν. In front of her (Pl. 84, c), the upper half of a column, with a Corinthian or Pergamene (?) capital, inscribed: ταμειόντος[- - -]. The missing lower part of the column could have accommodated as many as 14 letters of the size of those preserved. The name of the treasurer need not, however, have been of this length. Slight traces of a figure on top of the column capital.

B) Plate 84, b. The lower half of a figure wearing a long chiton and sandals, playing a seven (?) stringed lyre. The figure is in stationary pose with left leg advanced, facing to the right. The fingers of the left hand are shown behind the strings: thumb, index and

middle. The purpose of the end of a horizontal line well above the lyre is not evident.

For the pose of the musician compare that of Apollo (?) on a black-figured amphora in Bologna (*C.V.A.*, III H e, pl. 8, 4-5). For a discussion of the figure on the reverse of our amphorae see above pp. 327-328 and note 29.

First half of second century B.C., probably early.

42. Lip fragment.

Pls. 83, 88.

P 1447 bis. Middle Stoa Construction Fill, before ca. 150 B.C. The lip and the top of the neck are preserved. The white surface inside extends as far down as the top of the neck. The top of the lip is painted in red over the white. The break below shows that the lip was made in a separate piece. The point of attachment of both handles is indicated by absence of white ground and the addition of clay slip at these points. Diam. of lip, 0.245 m.

On the top of the neck are the tips of schematic palmettes in yellow glaze, similar to those on 43.

First half of second century B.C.

43. Lip fragment.

Pl. 88.

P 21111. Less than a quarter of the lip preserved with the top of the neck. The white ground inside extends down to the top of the neck. The top of the lip is painted red over the white. The lip was made in a separate piece with a flange 0.03 m. high to fit into the top of the neck. P. H. 0.11 m.; est. diam. of lip, ca. 0.284 m.

At the top of the neck are the tips of palmettes (?) in yellow glaze.

First half of second century B.C.

44. Neck fragment.

Pls. 85, 88.

P 1447. Middle Stoa Construction Fill, before ca. 150 B.C. The piece preserves a part of the handle-ridge, the spring of one handle, part of the surface above and much of that below. The decoration is in yellow glaze, blackened in places, on the white ground; inside unglazed except for drips of black. P. H. 0.18 m.

A) Right hand of Athena poised spear

toward right; to right, the trailing crest and the back of her helmet. Elsewhere on the neck, tongue pattern, the tongues in solid color, separated from one another by thin lines; the tongues were apparently omitted above the head of Athena. Above the handle-ridge, schematic double palmettes.

First half of second century. B.C.

45. Neck fragment.

P 8524. Kolonos Agoraios, from a cutting just outside the west wall of the Hellenistic Building. A bit of the handle-ridge and surfaces above and below preserved. The white ground, on which the decoration is applied in yellow glaze, appears inside also down to the level of the handle-ridge. P. H. 0.08 m.

Below, the upper termination of tongue pattern; above, traces, presumably, of the bottom of a palmette.

46. Neck fragment: Athena. Pl. 85.

P 20153. The decoration is in yellow glaze, blackened in places, on the white ground; interior unglazed. P. H. 0.13 m.

At left, the front of the helmet of Athena and her face down to the bottom of the nose, looking to right, the line drawing comparatively strong and sure. At right, a single vertical boundary line of the panel; the tongue pattern was omitted on the obverse of this amphora. Traces of lower attachment of handle at right.

47. Shoulder fragment. Pl. 85.

P 12041. West of the Panathenaic Way, opposite the Eleusinion. The decoration is in dull, brownish glaze on the white ground; interior unglazed. P. H. 0.07 m.

At left, the chin, lips, and lower part of the nose of a figure facing right. Below, two widely spaced, heavy, horizontal lines, the upper straight, the lower possibly slightly curved. The lines, in this position with relation to the face, and the placing of the head low, on the shoulder of the amphora, suggest that this representation is from the reverse of a Panathenaic; a musician?

48. Body fragment: draped figure. Pl. 85.

P 10431. Kolonos Agoraios, ca. 50 m. north-west of the Hellenistic Building. Two additional fragments from the same place, without design, are uncatalogued. The decoration is in yellow glaze on the white ground; unglazed inside. P. H. 0.13 m.

At left, the lower part of a column on a rectangular base. At right, lower drapery and probably toe of right (?) foot of a figure. A musician (?).

49. Fragments. Pls. 85, 88.

P 8112. Kolonos Agoraios, south of the Hephaisteion; Well C 9:16, context of last third of first century after Christ. a) est. diam. 0.026 m.; b) max. dim. 0.11 m.; c) P. H. 0.125 m.; e) max. dim. 0.065 m.; g) max. dim. 0.11 m.; h) max. dim. 0.095 m.; i) max. dim. 0.052 m.; d), f), j), k) undecorated fragments of wall, not illustrated. a) red glaze, over white ground(?); the others white ground with yellow glaze for decoration.

These fragments are not necessarily all from the same amphora. a) giving part of the profile of the lip, is covered with fugitive red glaze inside and out. Just above the lower break outside, two patches of glaze suggest the tips of large palmettes. b) preserves part of the top of a shaft crowned with a rectangular element surmounted by one of flaring profile; a horizontal line across the shaft. There are traces of a figure on top of the abacus. c) preserves the profile of the lower wall and the top of the hollow stem. g), perhaps from the lower wall, has part of three glazed bands which encircled the body. i) has a glazed squiggle which may be part of the drapery of a figure. e) and h) may perhaps be placed close together (on the shoulder?): a diagonal line crosses e); a similar line crosses the horizontal band on h). The line seems low to be Athena's spear. On e) also is a smudged vertical band, possibly an inscription, and, to the left, a curved thin line.

Last quarter of second century B.C.

CONCORDANCE OF AGORA INVENTORY NUMBERS WITH CATALOGUE NUMBERS

<i>Agora Inv.</i>	<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Agora Inv.</i>	<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Agora Inv.</i>	<i>Cat.</i>
P 109	27	P 8112	49	P 21111	43
P 120	7	P 8124	32	P 22224	4
P 339	36	P 8522	41	P 22910	15
P 372	8	P 8524	45	P 22984	17
P 1447	44	P 8735	2	P 24654	3
P 1447 bis	42	P 8961	13	P 25457	18
P 1893	23	P 10431	48	P 25485	11
P 3517	33	P 10766	5	P 25487	26
P 3630	30	P 12041	47	P 25532	39
P 3871	16	P 18008	19	P 25533	10
P 5911	14	P 18793	40	P 25535	24
P 6868	31	P 19078	12	P 25539	35
P 6901	21	P 19085	37	P 25540	34
P 6901 bis	22	P 19672	1	P 25541	25
P 6901 ter	20	P 20153	46	P 25553	9
P 6920	28	P 20323	38	P 25622	6
P 6988	29				

ADDENDUM

Since the above was written Professor Sterling Dow has made available to me his notes on Hellenistic Panathenaics. Among them is one concerning two inscribed fragments in the collection of Mr. Loukas Benachi of Alexandria. Mr. Benachi has supplied photographs of these pieces and in addition of five other pieces in his collection, four figured fragments of Panathenaics and a Hadra hydria decorated with a representation of a Panathenaic amphora, all here illustrated on Plate 87. Acknowledgment is made, with gratitude, to Professor Dow and to Mr. Benachi for their kindness. The provenience of these pieces, the Hadra cemetery of Alexandria, suggests, quite apart from other considerations, that they are of Hellenistic times. The fragment Benachi B, below, brings the total of pieces inscribed with the name of an agonothetes (see above pp. 331-332) to eight.

Benachi A. Wall fragment, inscribed: [τῶν Ἄ]θήνη[θεν ἄθλων]

Benachi B. Wall fragment, inscribed: [ἀγωνοθετ]ῶντ[ος] [- -]v

Benachi C. Wall fragment, from reverse: part of an athlete(?)

Benachi D. Wall fragment, from reverse: head and shoulders of athlete, facing proper left.

Benachi E. Wall fragment, from reverse: feet and lower part of cloak of judge, and, at right, heel of athlete.

Benachi F. Wall fragment, from obverse: left hand of Athena holding shield, and, at right, glazed area between panels.

In style this is comparable to 14 of the third quarter of the second century B.C.

Benachi G. Hadra hydria. Representation of a Panathenaic amphora, view of reverse with runners. On either side a filleted branch. For the form of the amphora, especially the handles, compare the Berlin amphora, Plate 82, of the first half of the second century B.C.

The appearance of the publication by Miss Doris M. Taylor, "Cosa: Black Glaze Pottery," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XXV, 1957, provides what I take to be a new fragment of a Hellenistic Panathenaic, D 23, pp. 130-31, and pls. XVII and XL. Miss Taylor was unable to suggest an identification for the fragment; it is, however, comparable to **14**, **19**, **34** and **35** in profile and decoration. This new piece is especially interesting for its provenience, since it is apparently the first Panathenaic fragment of Hellenistic times known to have been found in Italy. Its context is a group dated by Miss Taylor in the last quarter of the 2nd century and early years of the first century B.C.

At a late stage in the printing of this article I have been able to compare the illustration of the Hermitage amphora in Blavatskii with those of the amphora illustrated in *Bull. de la Commission Imper. Arch.*, VIII, 1903, pp. 29-31, fig. 15, and *Compte-Rendu de la Commission Imper. Arch. pour l'année 1901*, pp. 10-11, fig. 13. The illustrations prove to be all of the same vase. References to this vase above on pp. 321, 322, 341 are accordingly to some extent affected. Since the vase has been considered not to be of Olbian manufacture and cannot certainly be set aside as non-Attic (see above under **20-22**), it remains a problem piece for the present.

G. ROGER EDWARDS

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM,
PHILADELPHIA



B 607



B 608



B 609



B 610



B 611



No. 8

Athenian Agora No. 8. Scale 1:2

Details of Amphorae in London. 336/5-328/7 B.C. Scale 1:2

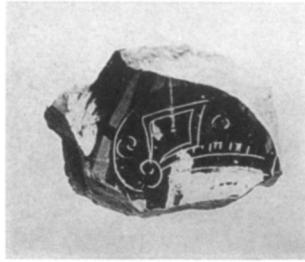
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

G. ROGER EDWARDS: PANATHENAICS OF HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TIMES

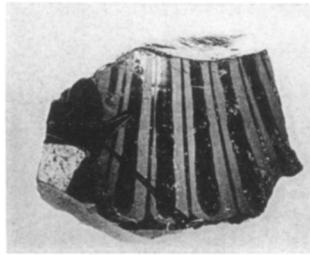
PLATE 77



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



No. 6



No. 5



No. 7



No. 9



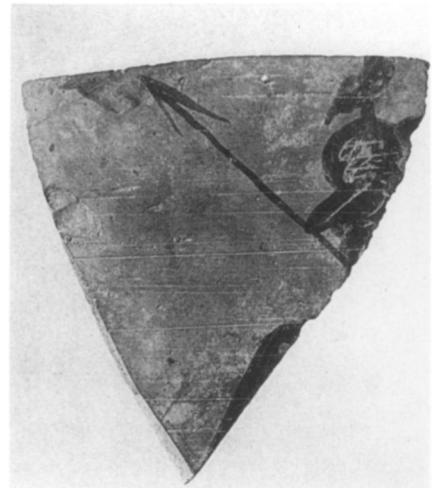
No. 10



No. 11



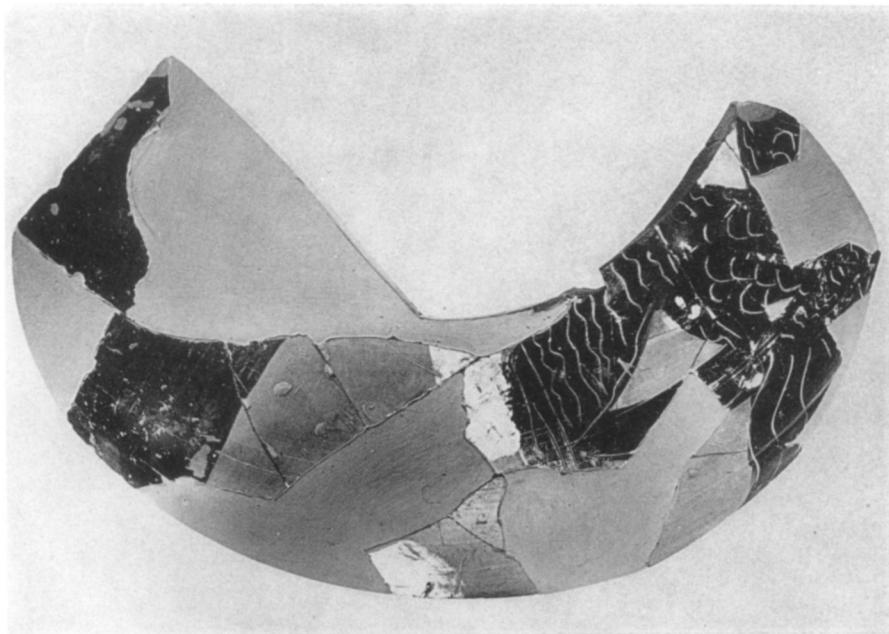
No. 12



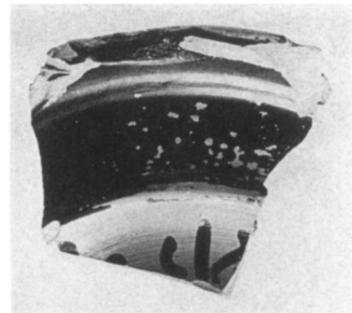
No. 13

Fragments from the Athenian Agora. Scale 2:5

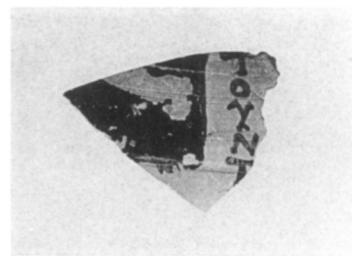
G. ROGER EDWARDS: PANATHENAICS OF HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TIMES



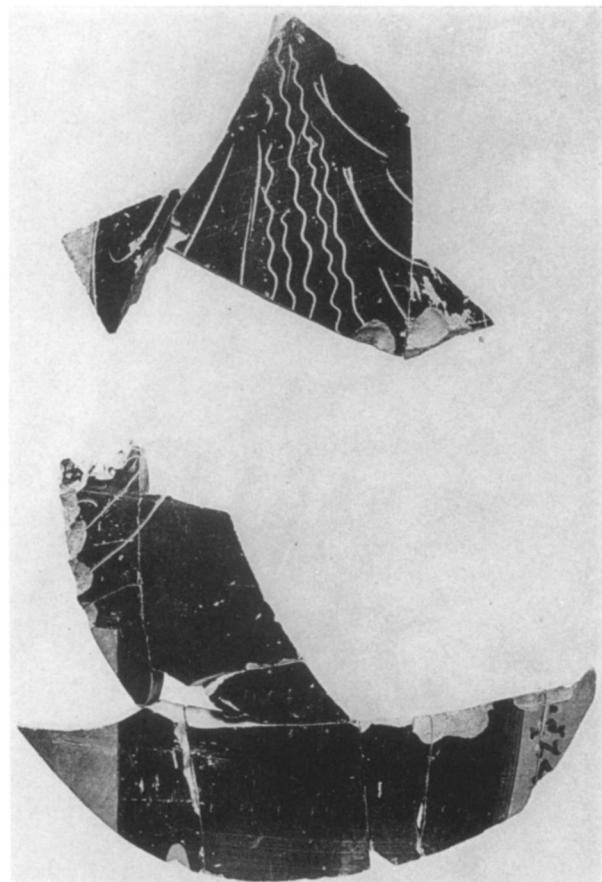
a



f



c



b

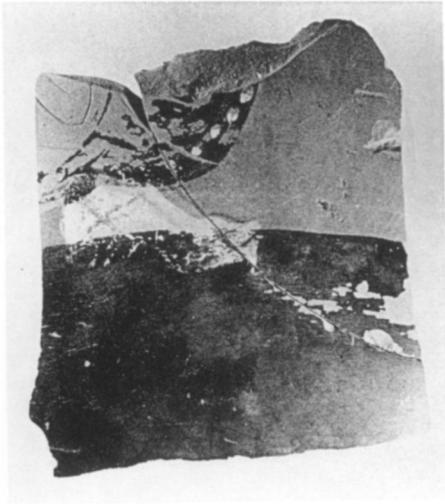
e



d

Fragmentary Amphora from the Athenian Agora, No. 14. Scale 1:3

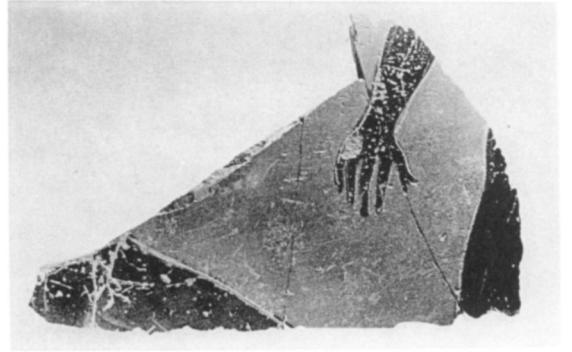
PLATE 79



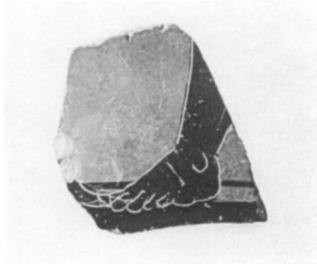
No. 15



No. 16



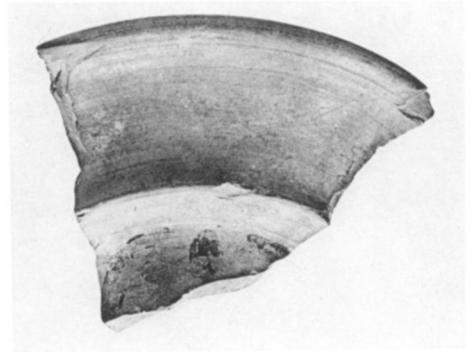
No. 17



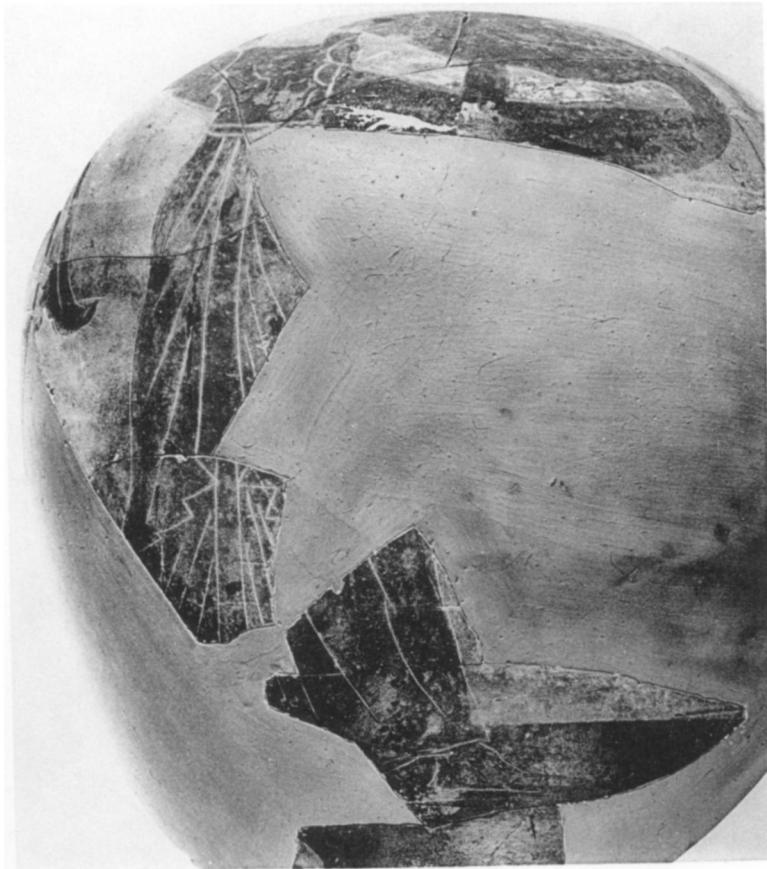
No. 18



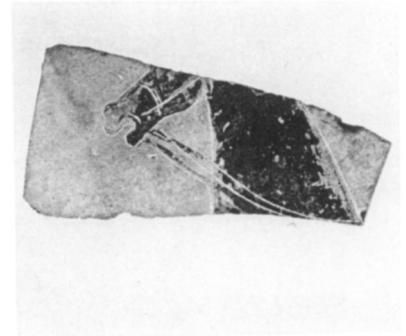
No. 20



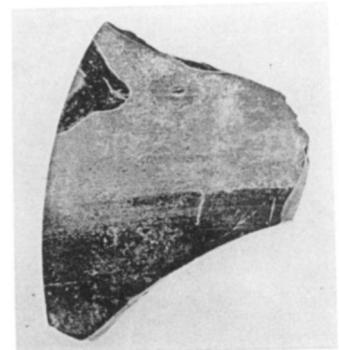
No. 19d



No. 19a



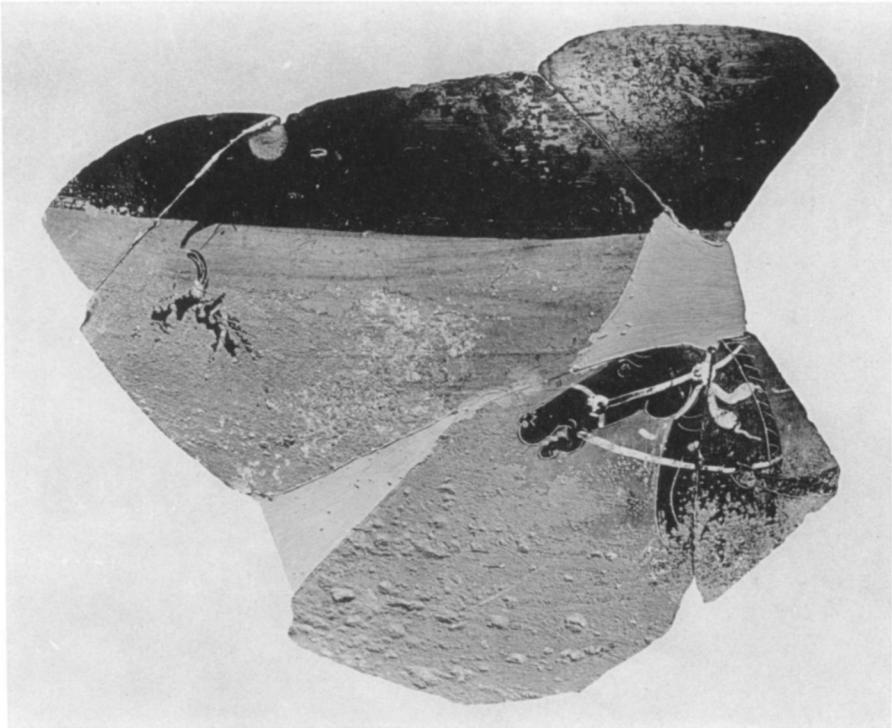
No. 19c



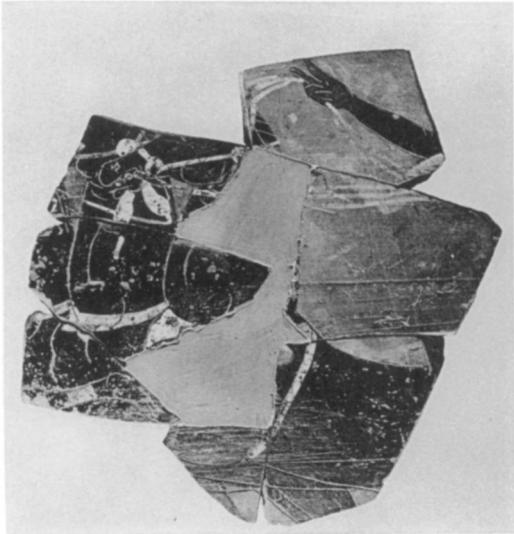
No. 19b

Fragments from the Athenian Agora. Scale 2:5 except No. 19, Scale 1:3

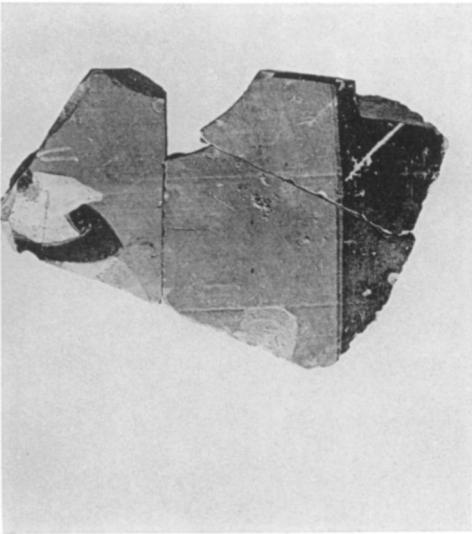
G. ROGER EDWARDS: PANATHENAICS OF HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TIMES



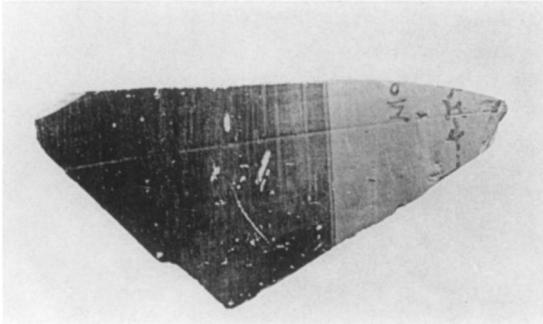
No. 21



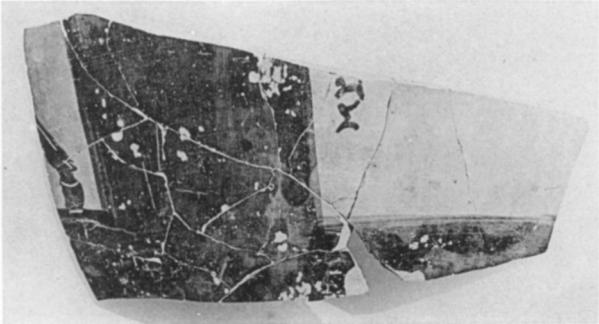
No. 22a



No. 22b



No. 22c



Corinth C-46-51b. Scale 1:4

Fragments from the Athenian Agora. Scale 2:5



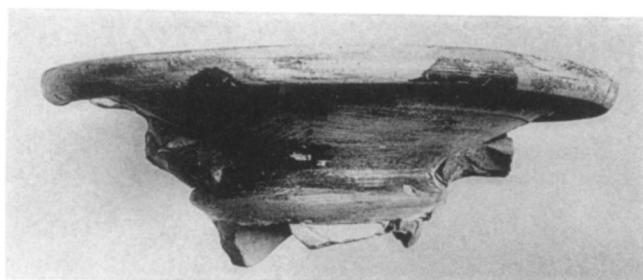
No. 23



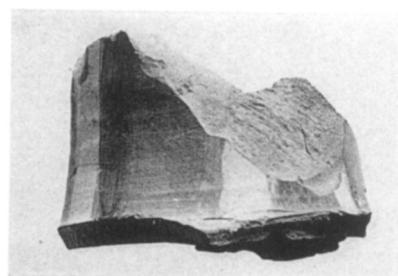
Corinth C.46-51a. Scale 1:4



No. 26



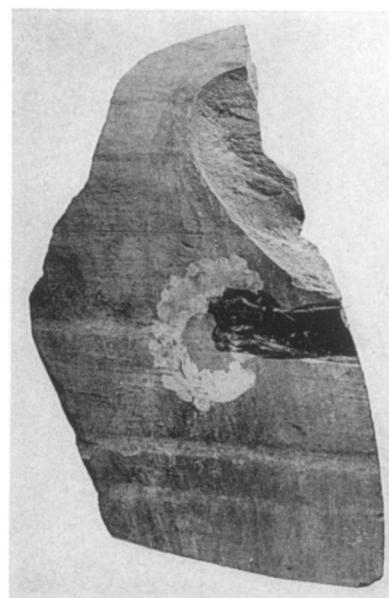
No. 24a



No. 24b

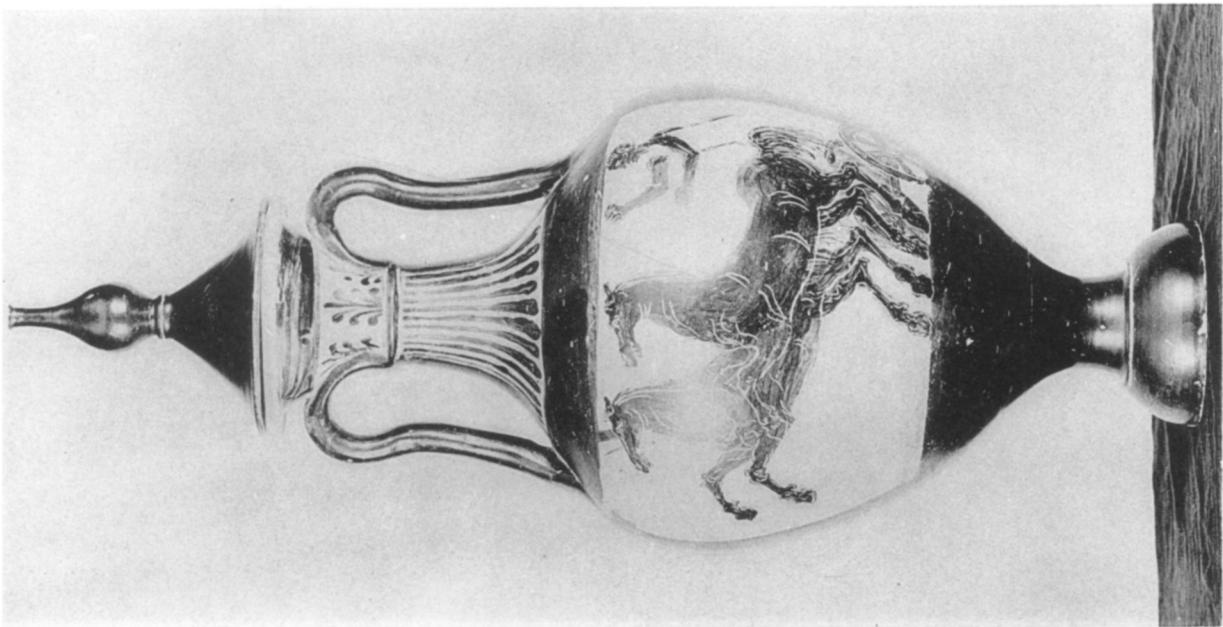


No. 8

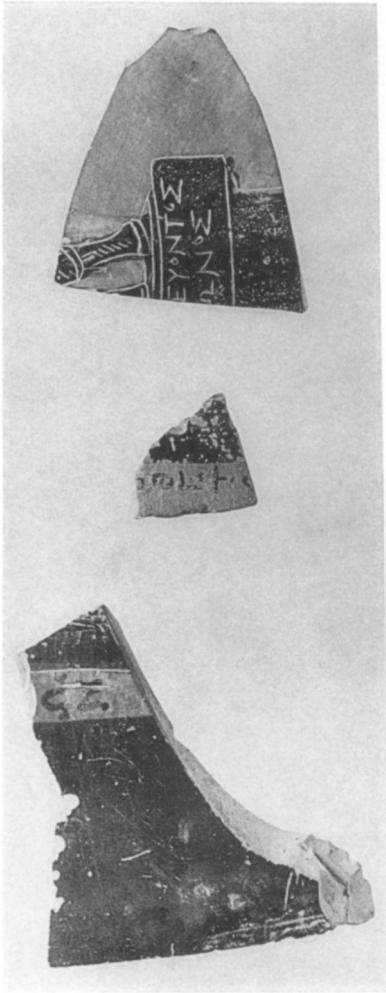


No. 24c

Fragments from the Athenian Agora. Scale 2:5



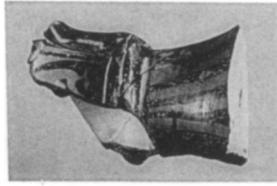
Amphora in Berlin, Inv. 4950. Scale 1:5
 (By permission of Staatliche Museen)



No. 27

No. 29

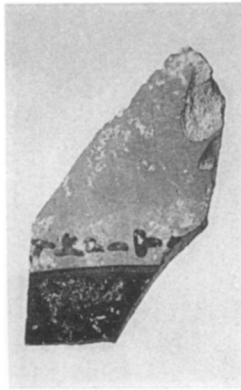
No. 31



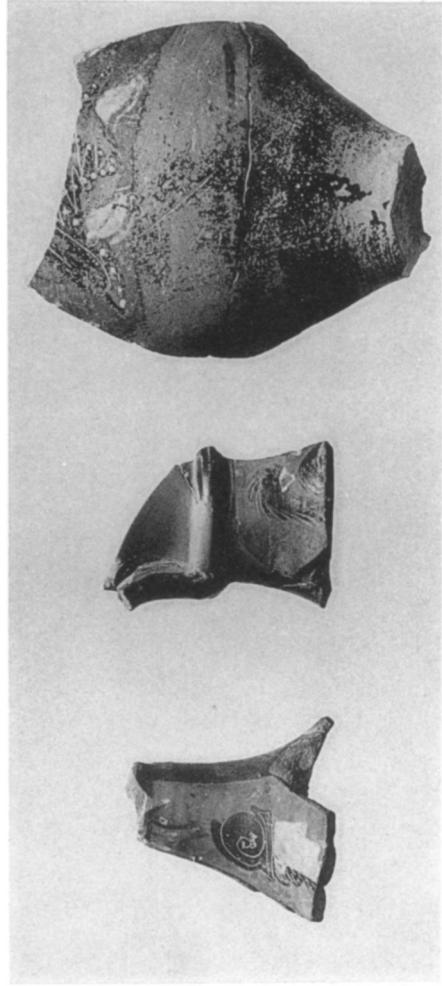
No. 32b



No. 30



No. 28

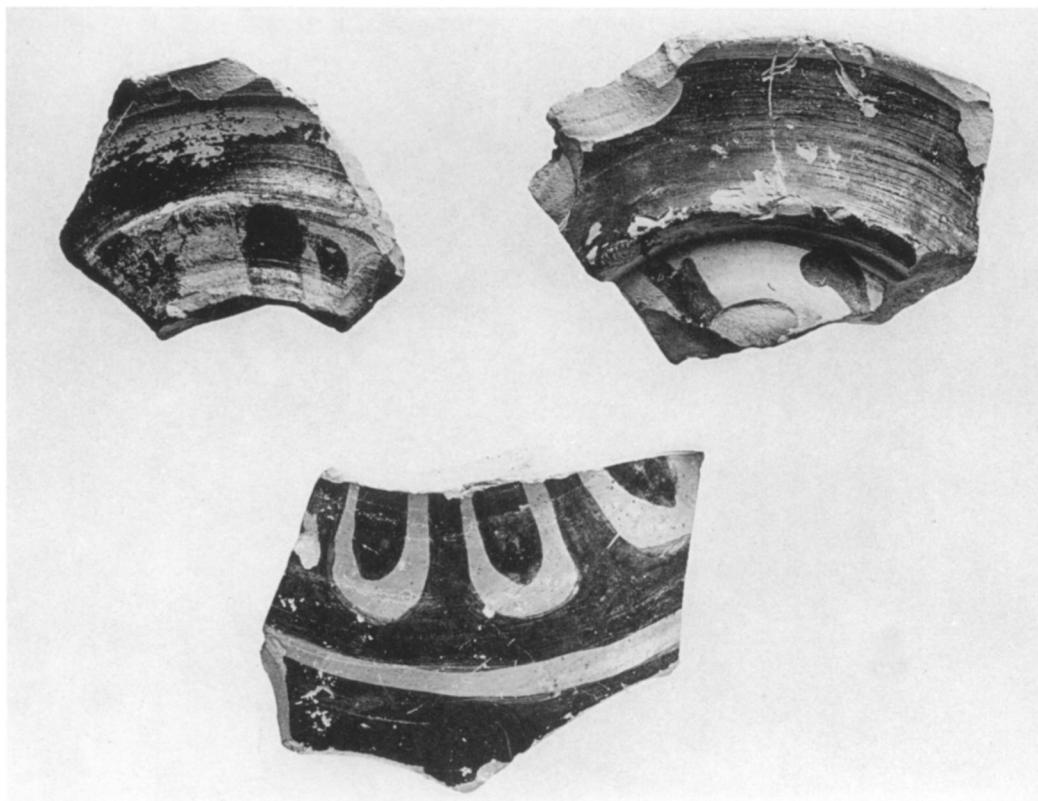


No. 32a

No. 32b

No. 33

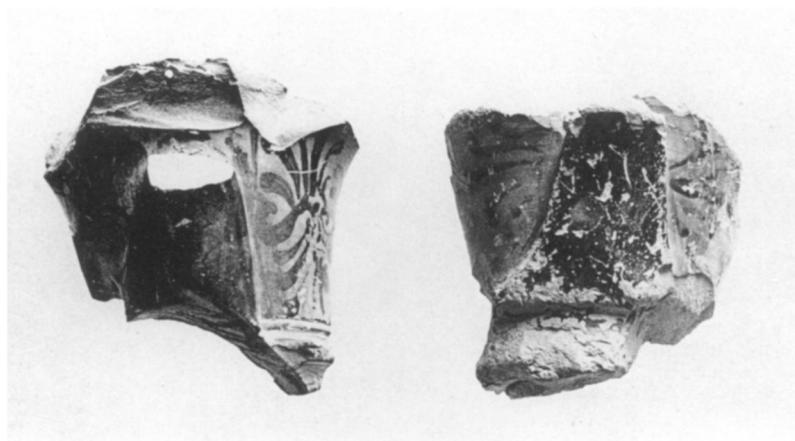
Fragments from the Athenian Agora. Scale 2:5



No. 34

No. 38

No. 35

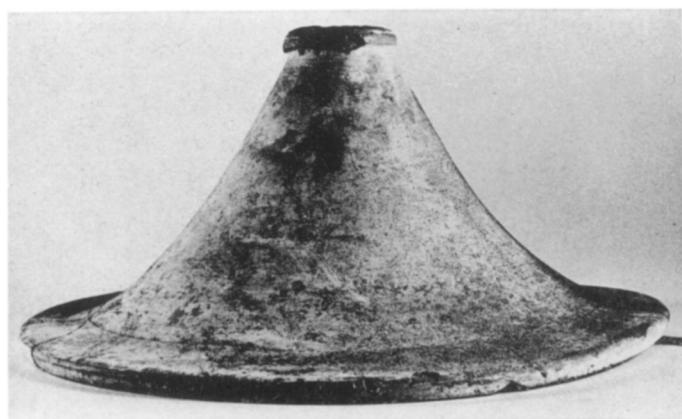


No. 36

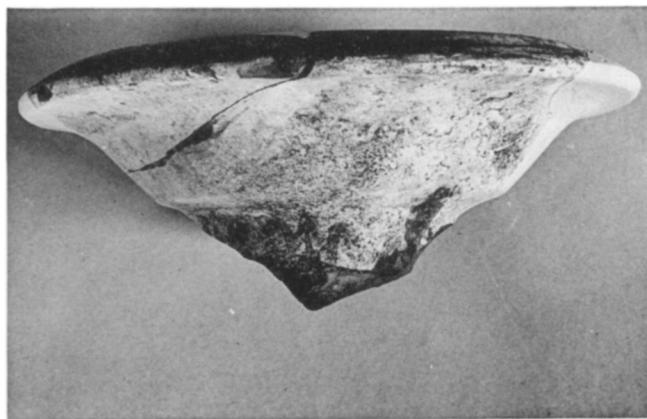
No. 37



No. 39



No. 40

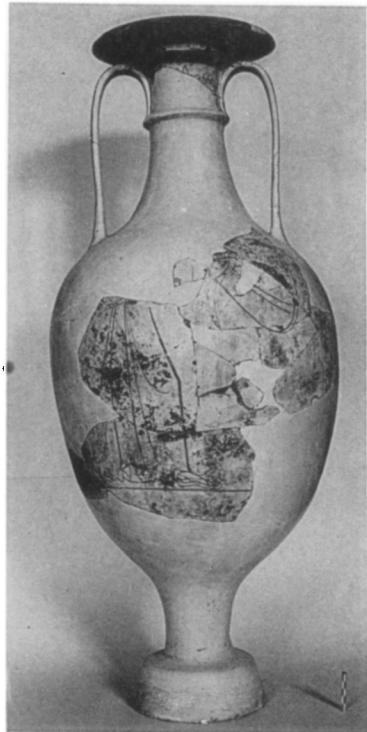


No. 42

Fragments from the Athenian Agora. Scale 2:5



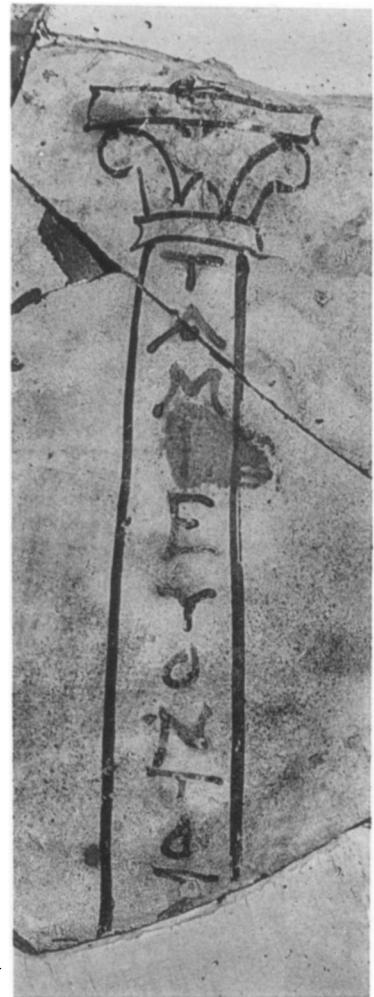
a. Scale 1:3



d. Scale 1:10



b. Scale 1:3



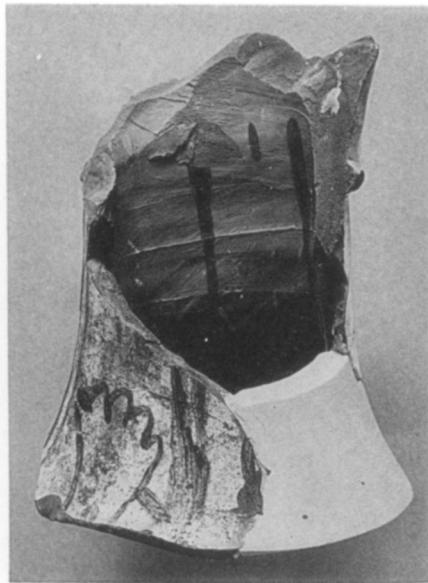
c. Scale 1:1

White-ground Amphora from the Athenian Agora, No. 41

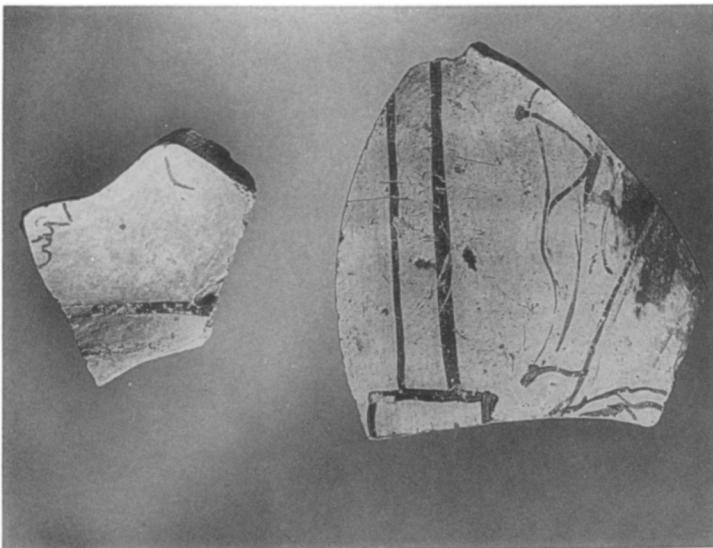
G. ROGER EDWARDS: PANATHENAICS OF HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TIMES



No. 44

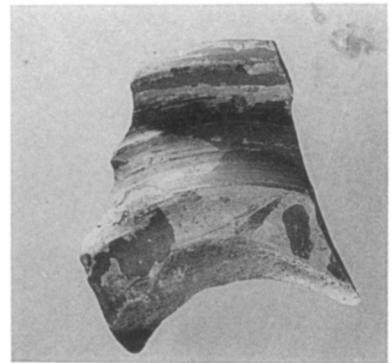


No. 46



No. 47

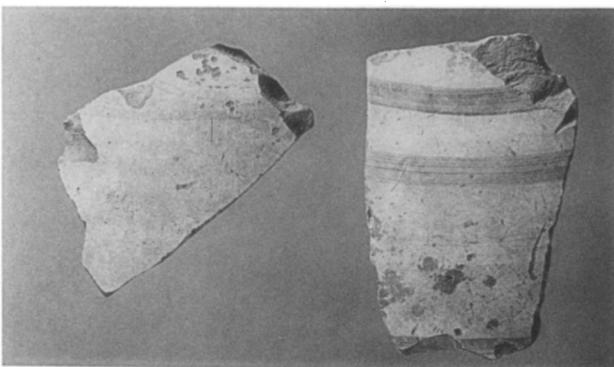
No. 48



No. 49a



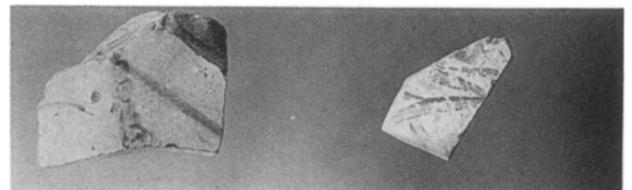
No. 49b



h

No. 49

g

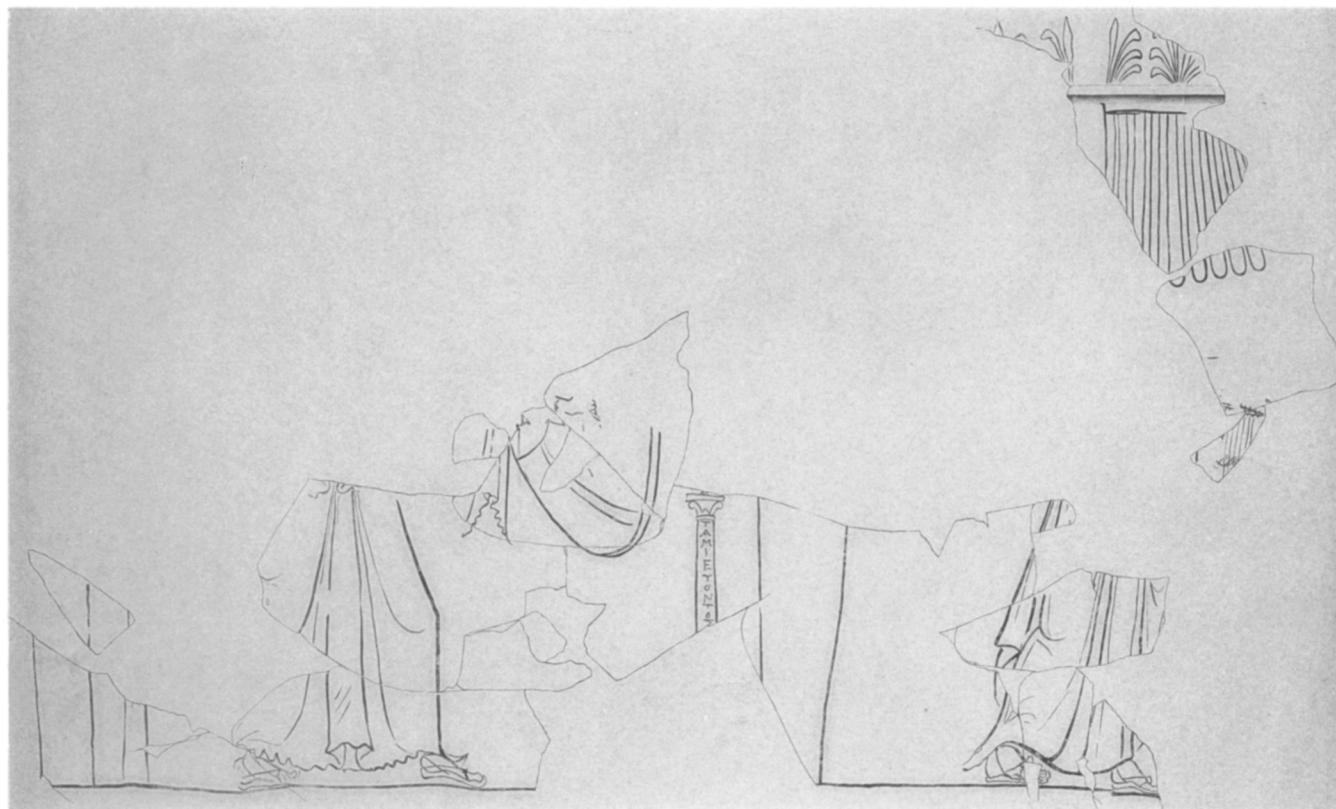


e

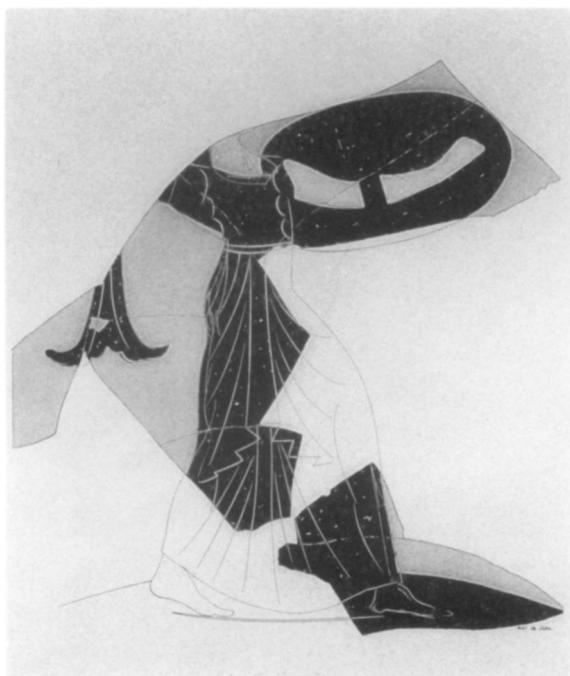
No. 49

i

White-ground Fragments from the Athenian Agora. Scale 2:5



No. 41



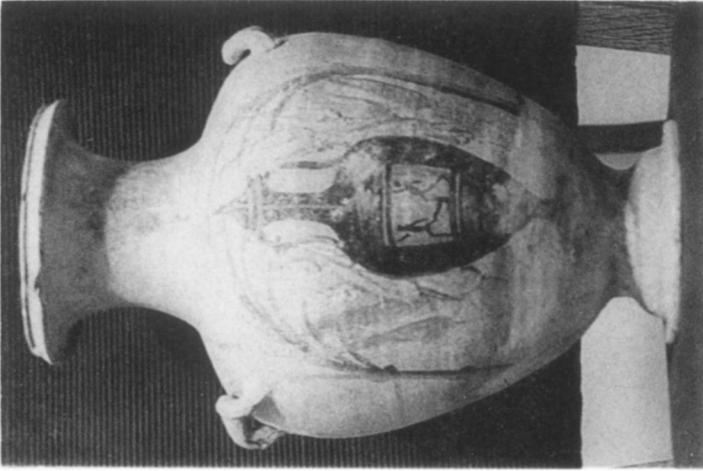
No. 19



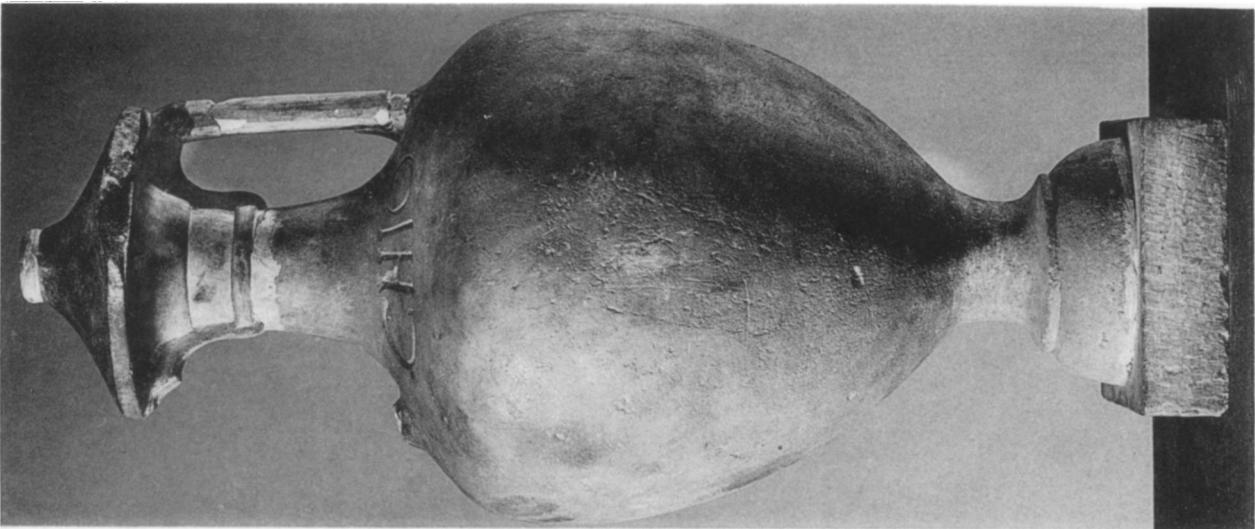
No. 14

Drawings of Amphorae from the Athenian Agora.

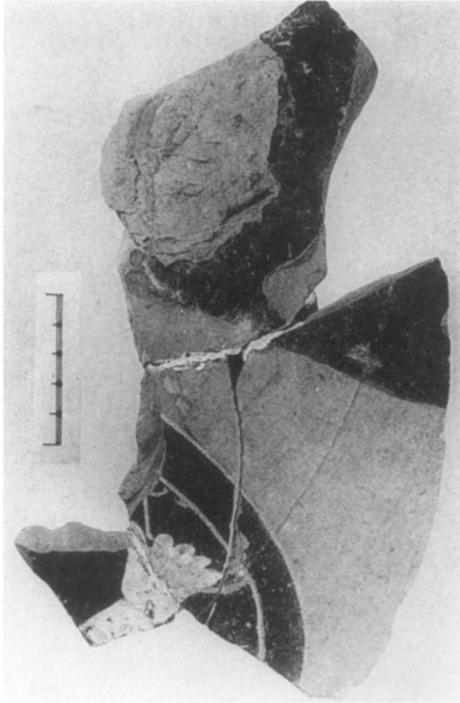
G. ROGER EDWARDS: PANATHENAICS OF HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TIMES



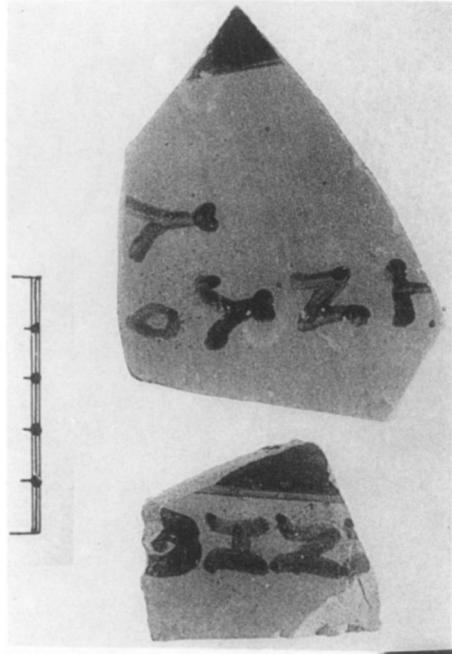
G. Hadra Hydria



Roman Marble Amphora.
Philadelphia, University Museum MS 3447



F



A

B

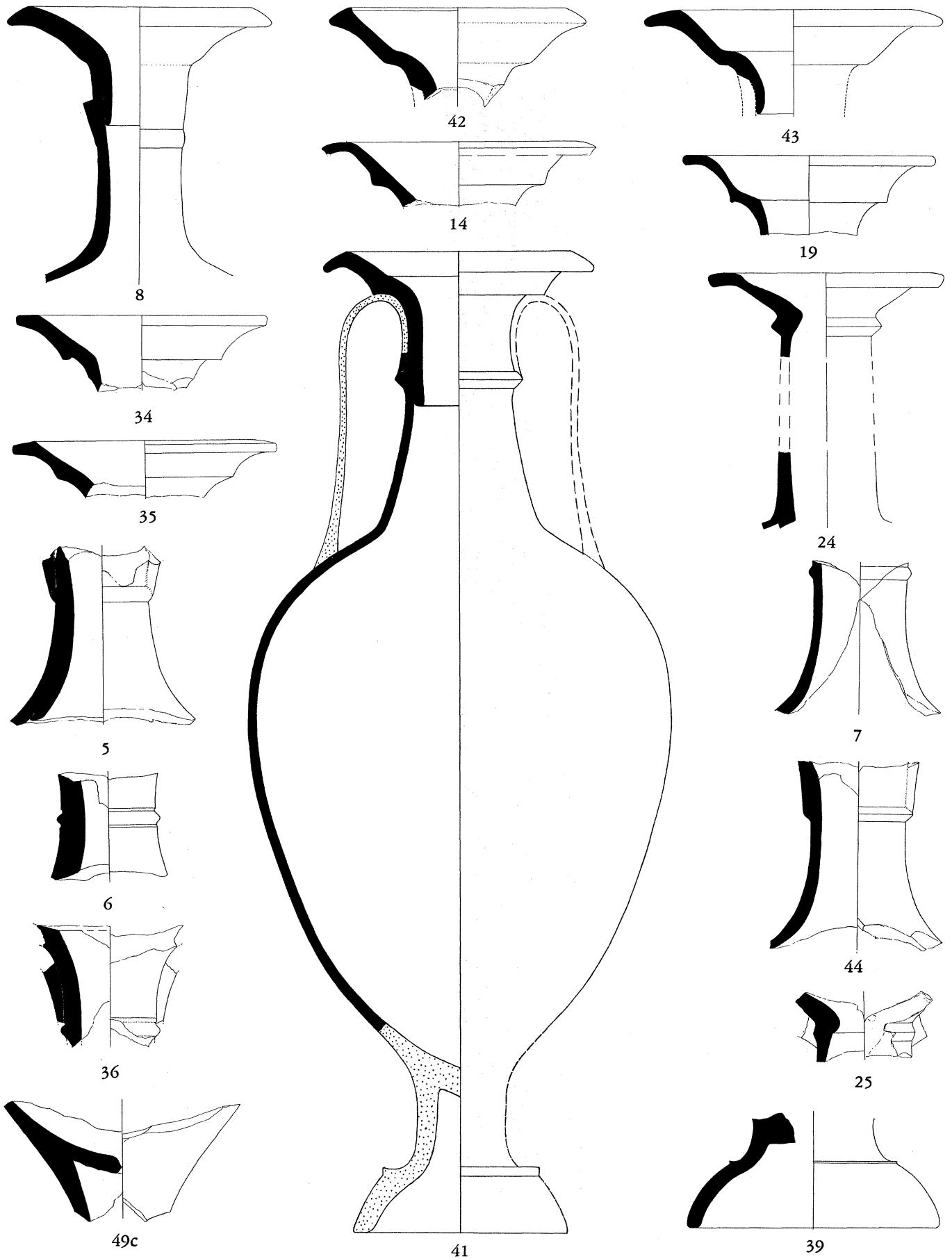


C

D

E

Fragments of Amphorae. Benachi Collection, Alexandria



Profile Drawings of Fragments and Amphora from the Athenian Agora. Scale 1:5

G. ROGER EDWARDS: PANATHENAICS OF HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TIMES