

VASES AND KALOS-NAMES FROM AN AGORA WELL

A collection of graffiti on vases, found in a well in the Agora during the 1935 campaign,¹ has provided a fresh grouping of Attic kalos-inscriptions, and has added new names to the list. Our brief inspection of this material falls into three parts: we must consider the few figured pieces found in the well, the inscriptions as such, and the shapes of the vases, plain black-glazed and unglazed, on and in connection with which the inscriptions appear.

The black-glazed table wares and substantial household furnishings with which the well was filled had only three figured companions. Of these the most interesting is illustrated in Figure 1.

Preserved is more than half of one side of a double-disk, or bobbin.² On it, Helios rising in his chariot drawn by winged white horses, is about to crest the sun-tipped waves. This theme, familiar from black-figured lekythoi, here finds its most elaborate expression. Our composition refines upon the solidity and power of the Brygos painter's Selene,³ to which it is most nearly related. The delicately curving wings of the horses, echoing the rim-circle, provide a second frame for the figure of the god. Beneath the horses, all is tumult. Wave upon wave seems ready to engulf so dainty a team. But above, remote from confusions, stands the charioteer, confident and serene, his divine nature indicated by the great disk of the sun lightly poised upon his head.

The contest between natural forces and the divine is a well-loved theme of Greek art; but it is rare to find, as here, an element and not its personification, represented. For the composition, our artist has to thank his predecessors, but by his emphasis on the turbulent waves he has added a dramatic content to the picture, which earlier representations of the rising sun-god altogether lack.

¹ *Hesperia*, V (1936), p. 36. This well was discovered some distance beneath the flooring of the large Stoa which occupies the northwest corner of the Agora Excavations. Its relation to its surroundings will be discussed by Dr. H. A. Thompson in his forthcoming publication of the buildings along the west side of the Agora [*Hesperia*, V (1936), no. 4]. The filling of the well was homogeneous, fragments from above joining to those from lower down.

² Inv. P 5113: diam. of disk 0.113 m. Streaky glaze on the back; the full thickness of the hub, about 0.007 m., is preserved; cf. *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, XXIII, 1928, pp. 303–306.

This piece seems hardly to belong in a series of vases for household use. It is moreover fragmentary, and, by comparison with the other contents of our well, badly battered. Since the well-diggers cut through the level of burning left by the Persian sack of 480–479 B.C., the disk here described may have fallen into the well from this burned stratum, and may thus have come originally from the same deposit as the two cups found at that same level a few paces away, in 1931 [*Hesperia*, II (1933), pp. 217 ff.]. In this case, all three pieces may have been dedicated in a small sanctuary, traces of which have survived both the Persian destruction, and the erection of the Stoa above them.

³ Berlin 2293: J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*, Tübingen, 1925 [*Att. V.*], p. 176, 6; Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, III, pp. 257–258; pl. 160.

The style is that of a painter who came to maturity during the great days of ripe archaic painting. His ideal is a lacy magnificence, here perfectly achieved. Set beside the simplicity and economy of the white cup found in the Agora in 1931 (p. 336, note 6,



Fig. 1. Agora P 5113

below) such elaboration seems labored and old-fashioned. This contrast of personalities, the one looking back to the archaic manner, the other forward to the classical style, is further emphasized by the fact that technically the two pieces have much in common. The black brush outlines are similar, and the treatment of details, whether in purple, as

the charioteer's cloak, or in dilute glaze, used for wings and waves, bears close comparison. But the painter of the disk, for all his conservative outlook, betrays in various ways, such as his use of the transitional profile eye, the fact that he worked at a date at least as late as that of the painter of the cup. We cannot go far astray in assigning this new piece to one of the immediate followers of the Brygos painter, active at about 480.

If we are to gain an idea of the full splendor of the painter's plan we must, in the mind's eye, attempt a restoration of his disk. The upper part, above the sun-god's head, has suffered severely from an iron stain which obscures the outline of the sun-disk, and its rays. Below, the broad curving bands which outline the waves in added relief have for the most part lost their surface. Where a surface is in part preserved, as on the two bands at the furthest right, it shows a dull pinkish brown color, identical with the

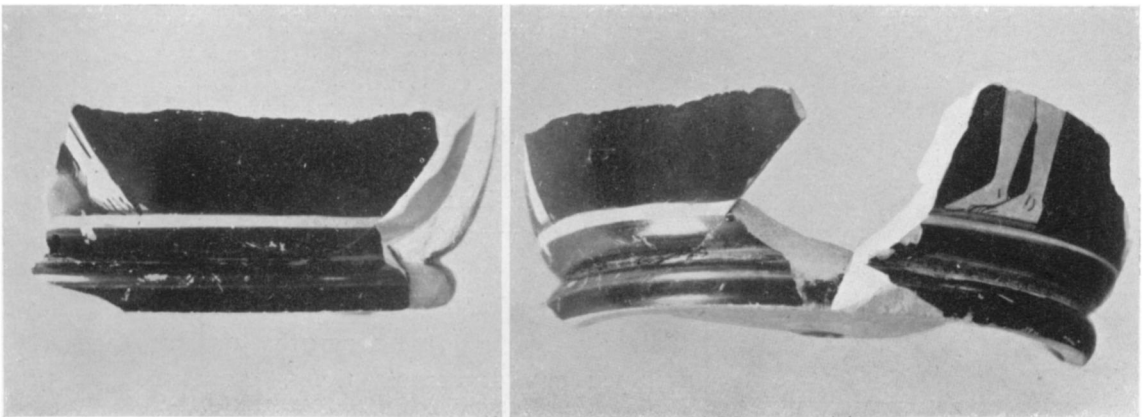


Fig. 2. Agora P 5115 (Actual Size)

surface to be seen on other white-ground vases where gold applied over details in added relief has flaked away from its sizing. There is no speck or scrap of gold remaining on our disk, and it may be thought that the artist intended nothing of the sort, whether for the sun's rays, which show the same pinkish brown surface, or for the waves upon which they strike. But where the painter has so carefully shaded the unembossed portions of the waves in a thin golden glaze wash,¹ it would seem surprising if he had left their crests in a dull and characterless brown, a treatment for which, moreover, we should be at a loss to find comparisons. We must at all events endeavor to correct the impression, derived from the photograph, that the crests of the waves were white. They show white only where the surface has been rubbed away, exposing the heavy slip used to provide relief. There seems no reason why we should deny our painter his vision of the sun's full glory.

¹ For the use of dilute glaze to indicate water, compare a lekythos showing Helios in his chariot, in the National Museum, Athens, *J.H.S.*, XIX (1899), pp. 265–269, and pl. IX.

Our other figured pieces are of a much simpler sort. One of them is a fragment¹ showing the feet of two youths (Fig. 2) in a palaestra scene. The style suggests the Telephos painter;² the date should be in the decade 480–470. The small neck amphora³ of Figure 3 is distinguished chiefly by its rather odd lip, a plain affair more suggestive of pelikai than of neck-amphorae. The painter apparently cared as little for niceties of style as the potter. His decoration, a fleeing woman on either side, is typical of the coarse work of about 470, and reflects the final decay of the archaic tradition.



Fig. 3. Agora P 5114

Among the plain black-glazed vases, we may give precedence to a group of kylikes with straight offset lip, the shape most characteristic of our well. The four varieties in which this cup was found are shown in Figure 4.⁴ The crisp metallic product at the lower right is here an isolated occurrence; the other three versions are distinguished simply by variations in the thickness of the stem, the swing of the handles, and the presence or absence of a moulded ring at the stem's top. This shape, which has been assigned to the years between 480 and 450,⁵ is common enough in plain black glaze, but rarer in figured pieces. It traces its descent from the lip-cups of the sixth century; and should be clearly distinguished from the ordinary concave-lipped cup of archaic times. An immediate predecessor, the Agora white-ground cup, is shown in Figure 5.⁶ Decorated analogies for the simplest

¹ Inv. P 5115: H. preserved, 0.032 m.; diam. of base, 0.08 m. Ring foot; shiny black glaze inside. Relief contours. Probably from a skyphos of Type B, with one vertical and one horizontal handle, the not very common squat version with bulging lower wall exemplified by a skyphos in Paris: A. de Ridder, *Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1902, no. 845 (Phot. in German Institute, Athens). Among the uninventoried fragments from our well is a vertical handle which may belong.

² *Att. V.*, pp. 225–227.

³ Inv. P 5114: H. preserved, 0.206 m.; diam. 0.167 m. The foot is wholly restored in plaster. No relief contours; dull and mottled glaze. On either side a running female figure, she on B (lower part only preserved) wearing chiton without himation. For the style and date compare a rhyton in Würzburg: E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich, 1932, pl. 203, no. 628.

⁴ Inv. P 5116, 5126, 5132 and 5131: H. 0.073–0.083 m.; diam. 0.133–0.14 m. Seven other examples, more or less complete, were found, and a large number of fragments from cups of the same sorts. Plaster restorations on these and the other vases illustrated can be seen in the photographs. Of the cups, the standard variety, in respect both to shape and glaze, is that of P 5126. The ordinary foot is that seen from beneath in Figure 16 (P 5128); P 5131 has a foot flat and reserved beneath.

⁵ *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* [C.V.A.], Oxford, 1, pl. 48, 8; additional references in C.V.A., University of Michigan, text to pl. 18, 22; C.V.A., Sèvres, III L, pl. 23, 2.

⁶ *Hesperia*, II (1933), pp. 225 and 229; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX (1935), p. 482, no. 13; H. Philippart, "Les Coupes Attiques à Fond Blanc," *L'Antiquité Classique*, V (1936), pl. 6. The Agora possesses a second cup of this

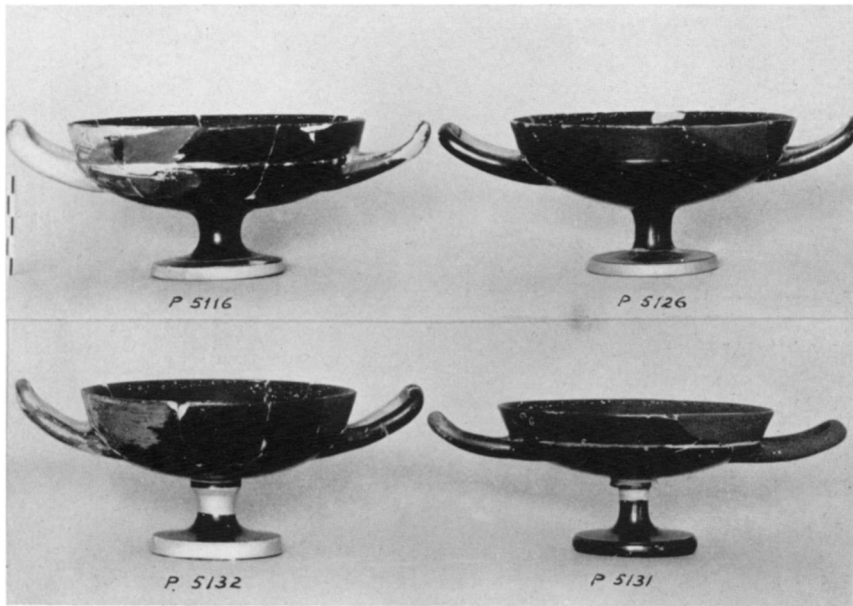


Fig. 4. Four Black-glazed Kylikes



Fig. 5. Agora P 43 (Scale *ca.* 1:2)

shapes of our Figure 4 occur among the vases of the two decades immediately following the Persian sack of 480/79; one such, shown in Figure 6, we may assign to the painter

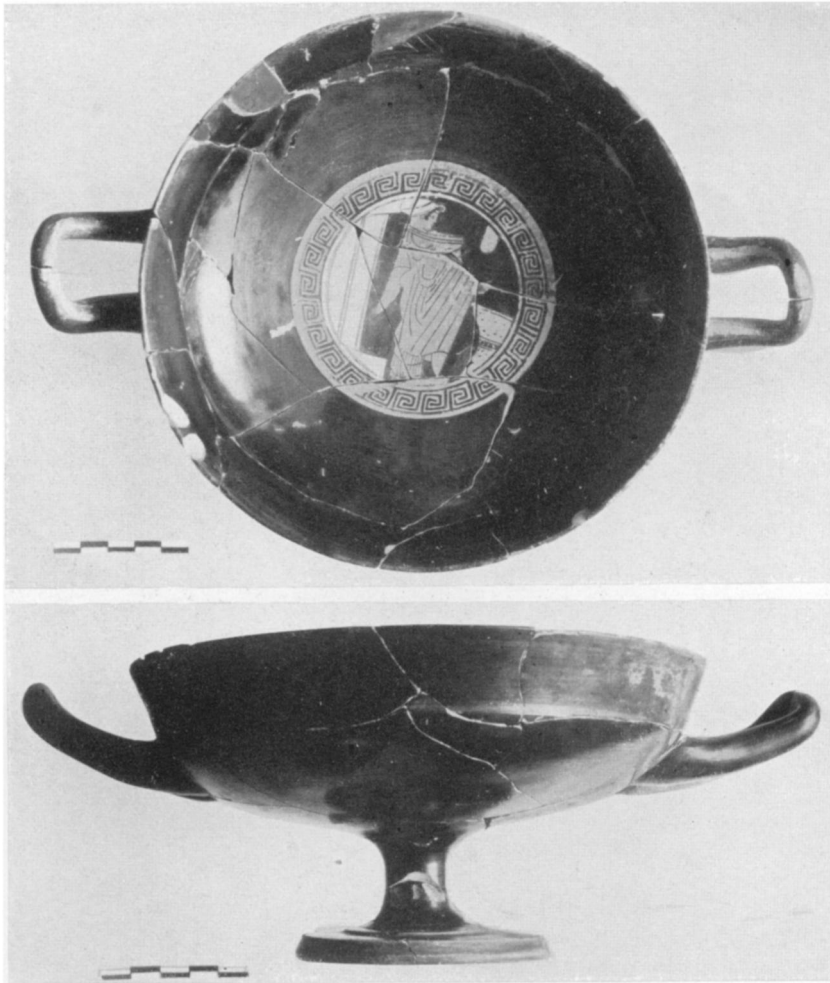


Fig. 6. Red-figured Kylix

distinctive shape, plain black, (Inv. P 2747) from a pre-Persian context. Compare also a cup with red-figured interior, to be seen in Berlin, F 4042: Inside a bull, left. The foot a thin torus.

Many representations on vases indicate the popularity of the straight-lipped cup; but it seems uncertain to what extent such representations may be accounted reliable for any detailed study of the shape: on a kylix attributed to Makron (Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie 320: *Att. V.*, p. 216, 78; K. Masner, *Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten*, Vienna, 1892, p. 40) one of the participants in the drinking party shown on the exterior holds a cup with offset lip. On the one side, the lip shows a markedly concave profile; on the other, it is perfectly straight. Again, the Colmar painter, on a cup of about 480 (Louvre G 135: *Att. V.*, p. 228, 15; E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1922, pl. 113) represents a cup of the straight-lipped sort; but it is a cup remarkably tall of stem and shallow of bowl, to be compared with our P 5131 (Fig. 4). Possibly the appearance of this variety may be set earlier than is suggested below.

of the Yale Cup.¹ The same form, in plain black, has been found in late archaic contexts in the graves from the North Cemetery in Corinth.² The somewhat more elaborate version seen at the lower left in our illustration finds a good parallel in a figured cup of about 470.³ For our most complicated piece a silver cup, found in South Russia,⁴ provides comparison; the engraved decoration of its interior, a seated Nike, suggests the red-figure of the decade 470–460. Most of our cups may have been in use throughout a good part of the second quarter of the century, but this shallow-bowled metallic version is probably, typologically, the latest of the series.

The progress of our cup-shape, from a stout deep-bodied type to a shallower and lighter form, seen in Figure 4, is emphasized when we seek out comparisons from later



Fig. 7. Stemless Cups from two Agora Wells

contexts. Of the two stemless cups shown in Figure 7, that to the left⁵ comes from the group we are here considering; that to the right⁶ from a later Agora well, filled up in the succeeding quarter of the century.

¹ Athens, in private possession: H. 0.102 m.; diam. 0.208 m. Relief contours; a heavy milto-wash on the reserved parts of the foot, and in the handle-spaces; largely worn off the interior. With the medallion, compare the name-piece in New Haven: Yale 165: *Att. V.*, p. 271, 1; P.V.C. Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection*, Yale, 1922, p. 109, fig. 37. Elsewhere, also, this painter sometimes uses the straight-lipped shape here illustrated; cf. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 216: *Att. V.*, p. 272, 17.

² Especially useful is Grave no. 66, with a lekythos by the painter of the Bowdoin box. Compare also Graves 383 and 395. I am indebted to Professor and Mrs. Shear for the opportunity of examining photographs of these unpublished grave groups.

³ W. Kraiker, *Die rotfigurigen attischen Vasen*, Berlin, 1931, no. 128, pp. 36, 37, and pl. 22.

⁴ *Compte Rendu* pour l'année 1881, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1883, pl. I, 1, 2. This cup has the shallow body, and the ring at the top of the stem, of our P 5131, and although it has the concave, not the straight lip, and the handles are far more widely and more sharply swung than the potter's craft reasonably permits, the general character and proportions well indicate its closeness to our series.

⁵ Inv. P 5137; H. 0.05 m.; diam., as restored, 0.12 m. Graffito beneath, inside the ring foot. See below, p. 352, note 4. Two others similar, one of them with a flat base instead of a ring foot, have been inventoried from this well.

⁶ Inv. P 2290; *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 507, no. 34. The stemmed shape, which corresponds with the stemless cups of this sort, appears in two examples in Berlin (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*,

Useful comparisons for other familiar shapes may also be drawn from among the vases on the Agora shelves. The six skyphoi shown in Figure 8 come from three separate deposits, the two to the left¹ from a group to be dated before 480; those in the centre² from our present well; and those to the right³ from the same deposit as the stemless cup cited above. The development of the skyphoi of "Corinthian" type, seen in the upper row, is sufficiently clear. We may note the slight downward progress of the level

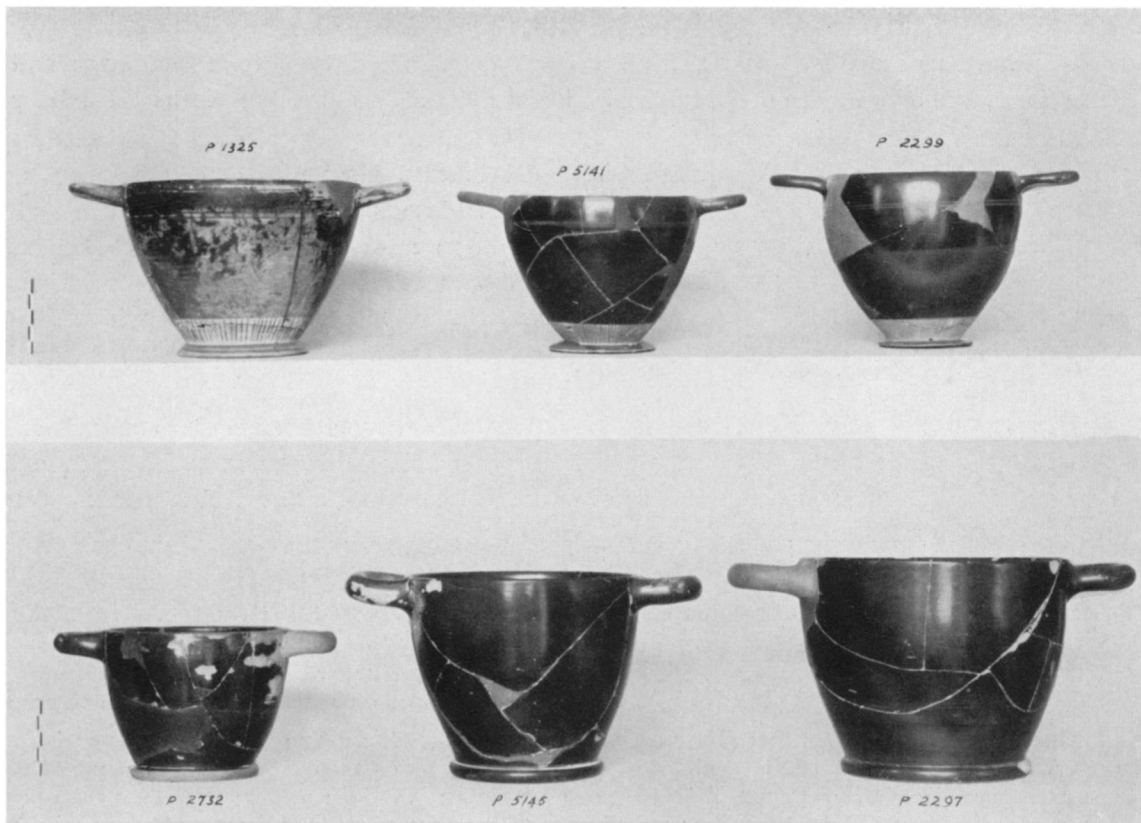


Fig. 8. Skyphoi from three Agora Wells

Berlin, 1885, nos. 2765 and 2766), decorated with careful stamped ornament. Providence, *C.V.A.*, pl. 27, 6 is another, but undecorated; the very widely swung handles here closely imitate metal.

¹ Inv. P 1325: H. 0.108 m.; max. diam. 0.15 m. Inv. P 2732: H. 0.093 m.; diam. 0.116 m. These two vases, and also the cup Inv. P 2747, p. 336, note 6, above, come from the "Rectangular Rockcut Shaft" discovered in 1932, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI (1932), p. 392. For the inclusion of this material here I am indebted to Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, who will publish the find as a whole.

² Inv. P 5141: H. 0.098 m.; max. diam. 0.126 m. Inv. P 5145: H. 0.128 m.; diam. 0.153 m. One other, of the first-named, Corinthian type, was found fairly complete; and fragments of several more. Of the Attic type, only the example illustrated has been inventoried.

³ Inv. P 2299: *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 505, no. 23; Inv. P 2297: *ibid.*, no. 21.

of greatest circumference, which in the sixth century had been the rim itself, and the gradual drawing in of walls at top and bottom. Changes in the heavier Attic type are relatively elusive, but the example from our well serves to indicate the transition from the simple single curve of the earlier piece to the perceptible double curve of the later.

Figure 9 shows various plain black-glazed vases¹ all from our present well. The stemmed bowl is a stouter and simpler shape than that of related pieces which sometimes carry figured decoration, and which have been assigned to the decade 470–460.² It may be

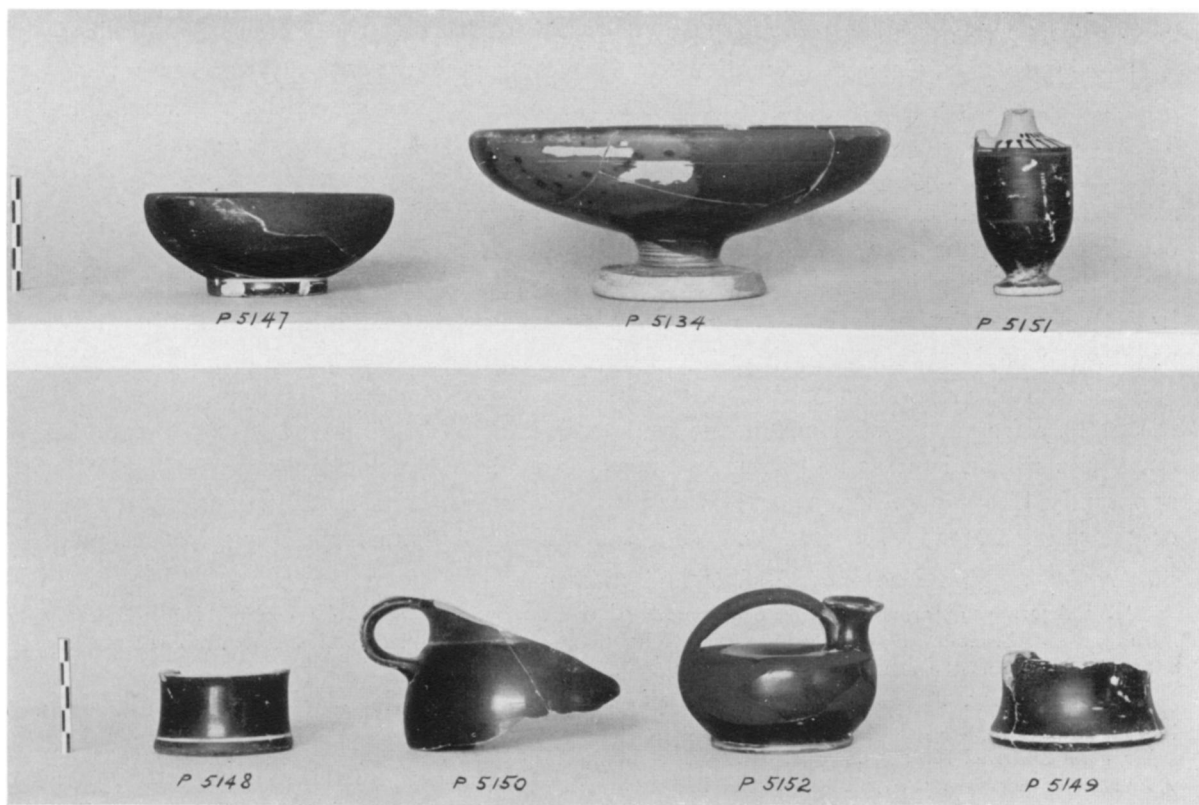


Fig. 9. Black-glazed Vases

¹ From left to right, above: Inv. P 5147, H. 0.043 m.; diam., as restored, 0.10 m.; base and profile complete; walls largely restored. P 5134, H. 0.073 m.; diam. 0.177 m. P 5151, H. pres. 0.08 m.; diam. 0.041 m.; two rows of short strokes on the reserved shoulder. Below: P 5148, H. 0.034 m.; diam. 0.057 m. P 5150, H. pres. 0.065 m. P 5152, H. 0.062 m.; diam. as restored 0.08 m. P 5149, H. 0.036 m.; diam. 0.073 m. Inventoried, but not illustrated, is a fragmentary askos, similar to P 5152, but much larger (P 5153: diam. of base, 0.118); also a fragment of a large black-glazed plate with flaring rim and plain ring foot, the rim and floor ornamented with reserved bands (P 5146: diam. est. ca. 0.33 m.).

² *C. V. A.*, Oxford, I, pls. 3, 8 and 47, 1. Our example has the plain cup lip. Cf. G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, IV, Rhodes, 1931, p. 65, fig. 40; p. 112, fig. 101; also *C. V. A.*, Sèvres, III L, pl. 23, 4. *C. V. A.*, Compiègne (IV Eb: called Campanian), pl. 24, 23, appears from the illustrations to be a stemmed bowl with the offset lip of our cup-series, Figure 4.

one of the earlier pieces of our group. The plain bowl is of interest because of its rarity in the fifth century.¹ The fragmentary squat jug differs little from figured examples of about 480.² The small black lekythos, ornamented with two red lines, may likewise be set in the vicinity of 480.³ Of the two "salt cellars," that shown to the left below is particularly neatly made; the flat top of its wall, reserved above, suggests that it may have had a lid.⁴ Both it and its fellow, shown to the right below, appear to preserve, in the scraped groove above the base, a reminiscence of the thickening at the top and bottom of the wall characteristic of earlier examples; there is no trace as yet of the flaring rim of later types.

Fashion seems a clumsy explanation for these orderly changes: there is no reason, comprehensible to us, why the potter of one generation, or decade, should have differentiated his product thus subtly from that of his predecessor. It may be argued, indeed, that the differences which we enumerate are without chronological significance. But as each successive deposit emerges from Agora cistern, grave or well, it brings its shelf-full of consistent evidence to a defence of the minutiae of shape-history.

Samples of the household pottery appear in Figure 10.⁵ Commonest is the deep krater,⁶ covered inside and on the rim with a glaze wash, and ornamented with bands around the unglazed exterior. The two varieties illustrated, the one larger, with uptilted handles, the other smaller, with straight handles, provided a very large proportion of the pottery fragments with which our well was packed. Variants appear: we note the bowl with ribbon handles and exterior flange for a lid, and also a fragment from a krater apparently like the ordinary smaller variety, but with a simple thickening at the top of the wall, instead of a rim, and with the stub of a handle springing from a point

¹ An Agora example (P 7890) from a context of the first years of the fifth century is considerably shallower and broader in proportion to its height than the example shown here, and almost entirely without in-curve at the rim. Cf. also Jacopi, *op. cit.*, p. 96, fig. 81.

² L. D. Caskey, *Attic Vase Paintings*, Boston, 1931, pl. 8, no. 20; by the Brygos Painter, *Att. V.*, p. 182, 87.

³ I am indebted for this information to Miss Emilie Haspels who in her forthcoming *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* will compare such pieces with similar but more carefully made examples from the workshop of the Sappho and Diosphos painters.

⁴ A small pyxis (P 7299) similar in size and shape to this "salt-cellar" but flanged outside for a lid, comes from a context of the second half of the century.

⁵ From left to right, above: Inv. P 5139, H. 0.042 m.; diam. 0.13 m. P 5185, H. 0.105 m.; diam. 0.13 m. P 5186, H. 0.065 m.; diam. 0.15 m. P 5159, H. 0.11 m.; diam. est. ca. 0.225 m. P 5154, H. to top of handle, as restored, 0.22 m.; diam. as restored, ca. 0.18 m. P 5156, H. 0.112 m.; diam. 0.325 m. P 5155, H. 0.16 m.; diam. 0.259 m.

Below: P 5163, H. 0.265 m.; diam. 0.372 m. P 5173, H. 0.379 m.; diam., as restored, 0.291 m. P 5184, H. 0.26 m.; diam. 0.365 m. P 5160, H. 0.259 m.; diam. 0.372 m.; cf. Figs. 17 and 18.

Not illustrated is a household mortar (P 5187: H. 0.042 m.; diam. 0.13 m.), its inner surface roughened for grinding; here, as is the case with similar objects from later contexts, it is made of a coarse greenish-buff fabric, probably imported.

⁶ *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 512, fig. 25, no. 94, shows the krater illustrated here at the lower right in relation to similar pots of different periods.

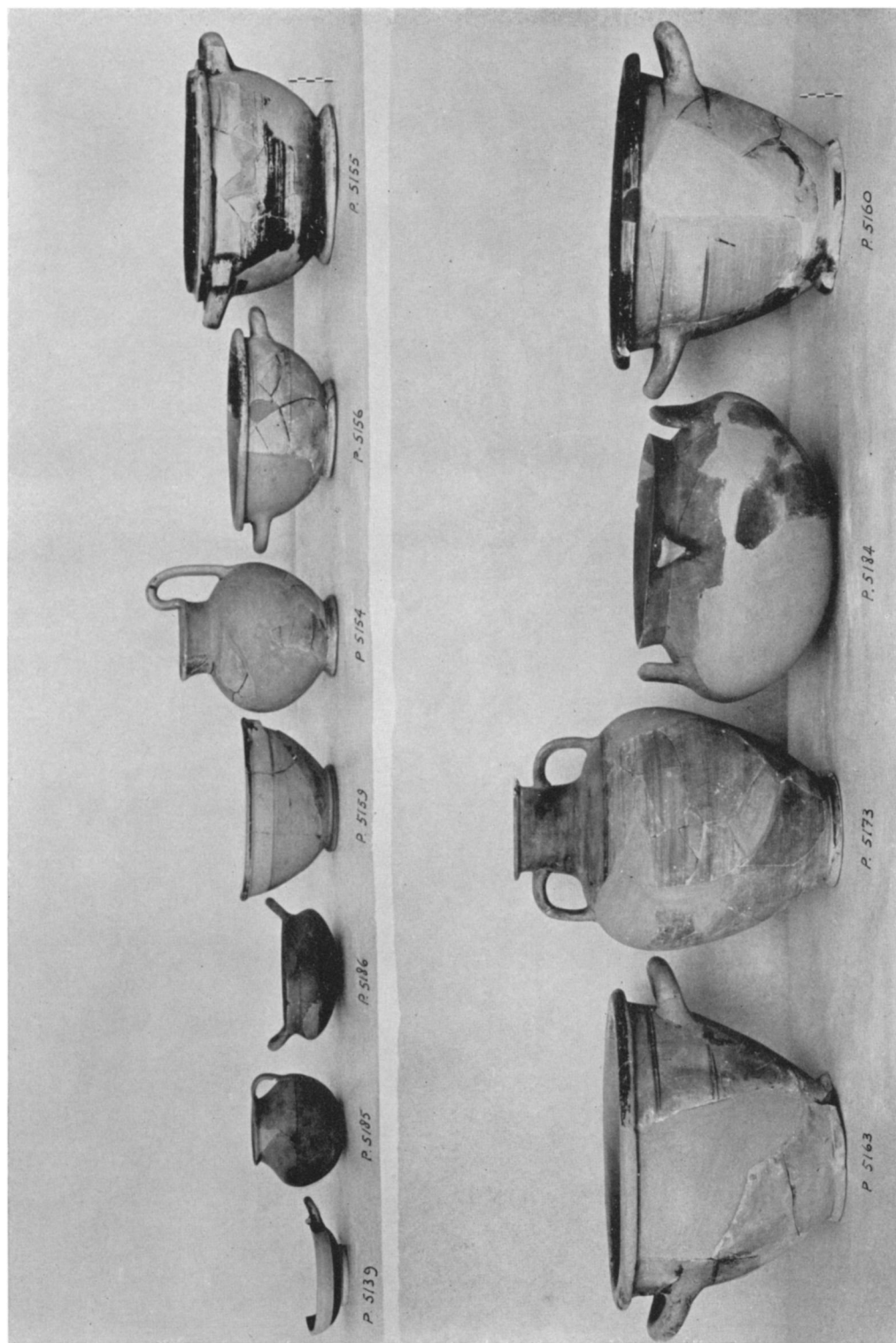


Fig. 10. Kitchen and Household Wares

directly beneath this thickening. The one-handed cup needs no introduction; the well-made partly glazed oinochoe¹ and amphora² are not too remote from figured parallels.

The thin-walled cooking pots, made of a greyish brown highly micaceous fabric, complete a practical kitchen equipment; but even in the ample days of empire-building one may reasonably enquire what household could be so vast, or so lavish, as to demand the great spouted cauldron, which dwarfs all other cooking vessels the Agora has thus far produced. The deep basin—bath-tub, laundry-tub, or krater—shown in Figure 11³ is indeed only once again as large. It provides a particularly interesting addition to our knowledge of ancient household arrangements: long familiar from representations on vases, it now

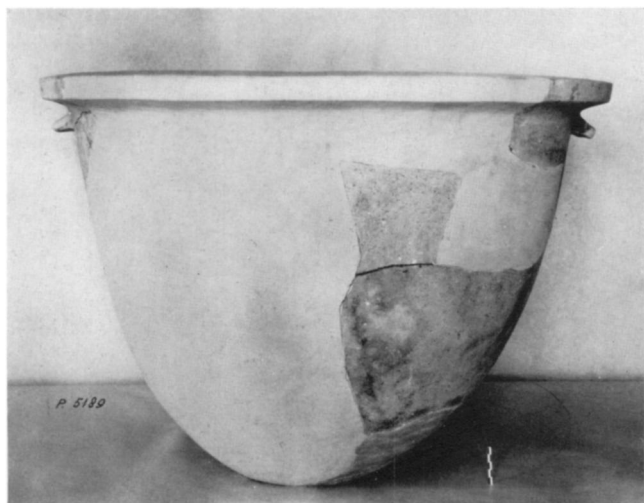


Fig. 11. Basin

³ Inv. P 5189, H. 0.565 m.; diam. at rim, 0.78 m. Small flat bottom; two lug handles beneath a flat projecting rim. Coarse light buff clay, extremely heavy fabric.

⁴ Inv. P 5174, H. 0.565 m.; diam. 0.391 m.; graffito on shoulder, **AMA**. P 5175, H. 0.57 m.; diam. 0.391 m.; graffito on shoulder, **XAR**. Figured examples elaborating on this shape occur at least from the time of the Kleophrades-Maler to that of the Achilles painter: Munich 2344: J. D. Beazley, *Der Kleophrades-Maler*, Berlin, 1933, no. 5, pl. 3; and Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 357: *Att. V.*, p. 371, 2; *Monuments Piot*, VII (1900), pls. 2, 3 (this with a plain lip similar to that of our small amphora, Figure 10, and with twisted handles). Representations of our wine-jars in use cover an even longer period: compare for instance the boy on a column krater in New York (M. M. 21.88.82: J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Oxford, 1928, *V. Pol.*, pl. 7, 2) who carries just such a jar in one hand, and in the other a straight-lipped drinking cup; fifty years and more later the silen pouring wine into a krater, on the Lycaon painter's bell-krater in Goluchow (*V. Pol.*, pl. 24) holds a very similar amphora. The fabric of our wine-jars is a fine red to brown clay, not certainly Attic. It seems reasonable to assume that wine made in Attica might have been brought to Athens in skins or tuns; a bottled vintage suggests importation. But jars such as ours could well have been bought for storage, and filled and refilled by the owners. It should moreover be noted that neither in shape nor in fabric do the wine-jars illustrated here link on directly to the series of imported amphorae with stamped handles which begin to appear in Athens in the third quarter of the century: *Hesperia*, III (1934), p. 202, fig. 1 and pp. 303–4, nos. 1–2.

appears in its own right. No less recognizable are the wine-amphorae⁴ (Fig. 12), the plump short-necked variety apparently in use in Athens throughout the first half of the fifth century. And finally we must include a trough-like object (Fig. 13)

¹ The shape approaches that of Beazley's Type IV; the body of our jug is plumper and less tapering than the shape used by the Chicago painter, Caskey, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, nos. 40–43; *Att. V.*, p. 355, 1–4.

² If we were to add to our vase the ornamental elements of broad profiled lip and foot, we should have a pot in shape very close to a plump neck amphora in London, attributed to the Alkimachos painter (B.M. 283: *Att. V.*, p. 297, 18 bis; *C.V.A.*, British Museum, III I c, pl. 17, 2).



Fig. 12. Wine Amphorae

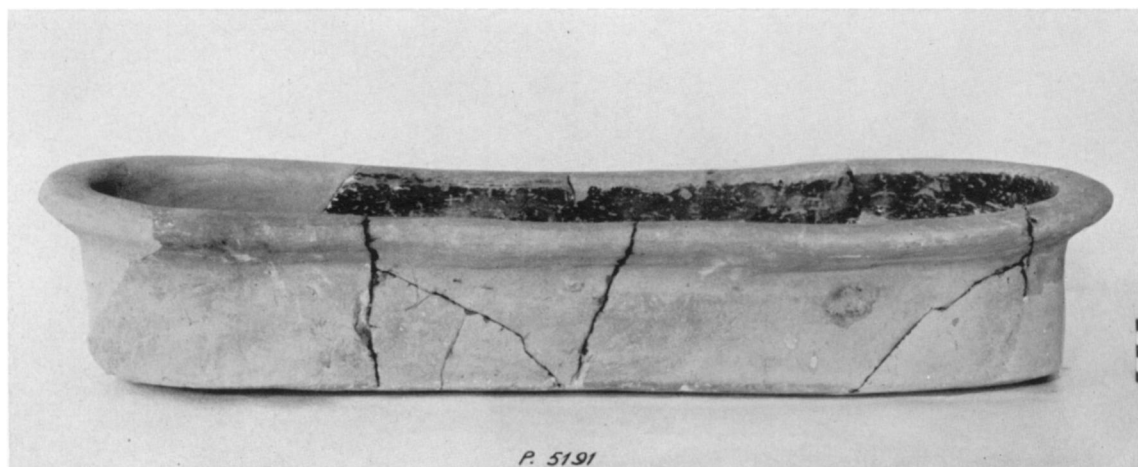


Fig. 13. Larnax

of the sort usually described as a larnax, a coffin for a small child,¹ but perhaps originally intended for a domestic use.

We may now take leave of the vases themselves, and turn rather to the inscriptions which appear on them. None of the figured pieces is inscribed; the graffiti, of which no less than forty-two occur, appear either on plain black-glazed pieces, or on kitchen and household wares. In some cases there is more than one inscription on a single vase. These inscriptions are of very varying sorts, ranging from a few letters roughly scratched to elaborate statements of praise or blame. One is an ostrakon,² scratched



Fig. 14. Ostrakon of Aristeides. P 5190

on a fragment of roofing tile (Fig. 14). The name of Aristeides which it bears assigns it to the ostrakophoria of 483, and thus provides a formal terminus *post quem* for the filling up of our well. Another inscription, on which appears the name of Sosias, has been published by Professor Shear.³ For completeness' sake, a photograph is included here (Fig. 15). The inscriptions including other names are listed below.

¹ Inv. P 5191, H. 0.14 m.; W. 0.312 m.; L. 0.78 m. Brown glaze, inside only. Many similar examples have been found in the Athenian Kerameikos, used for children's burials of the sixth and fifth centuries; *Arch. Jahrb.*, XLVII (1932), *Beiblatt*, p. 203, fig. 10. It has been suggested to me that these objects, whose fabric, and interior glazing, are very close to that of many a household pot, were made originally as kneading troughs. This explanation of the origin of the shape would entitle it to a place among our kitchen wares.

² P 5190: max. diam. 0.107 m. The inscription is on the concave side of the tile, which alone is covered with a red glaze.

³ *Hesperia*, V (1936), p. 36, fig. 36. The shape of the vase on the base of which this inscription appears is that of the small semi-glazed krater with straight handles, shown here in Figure 10.

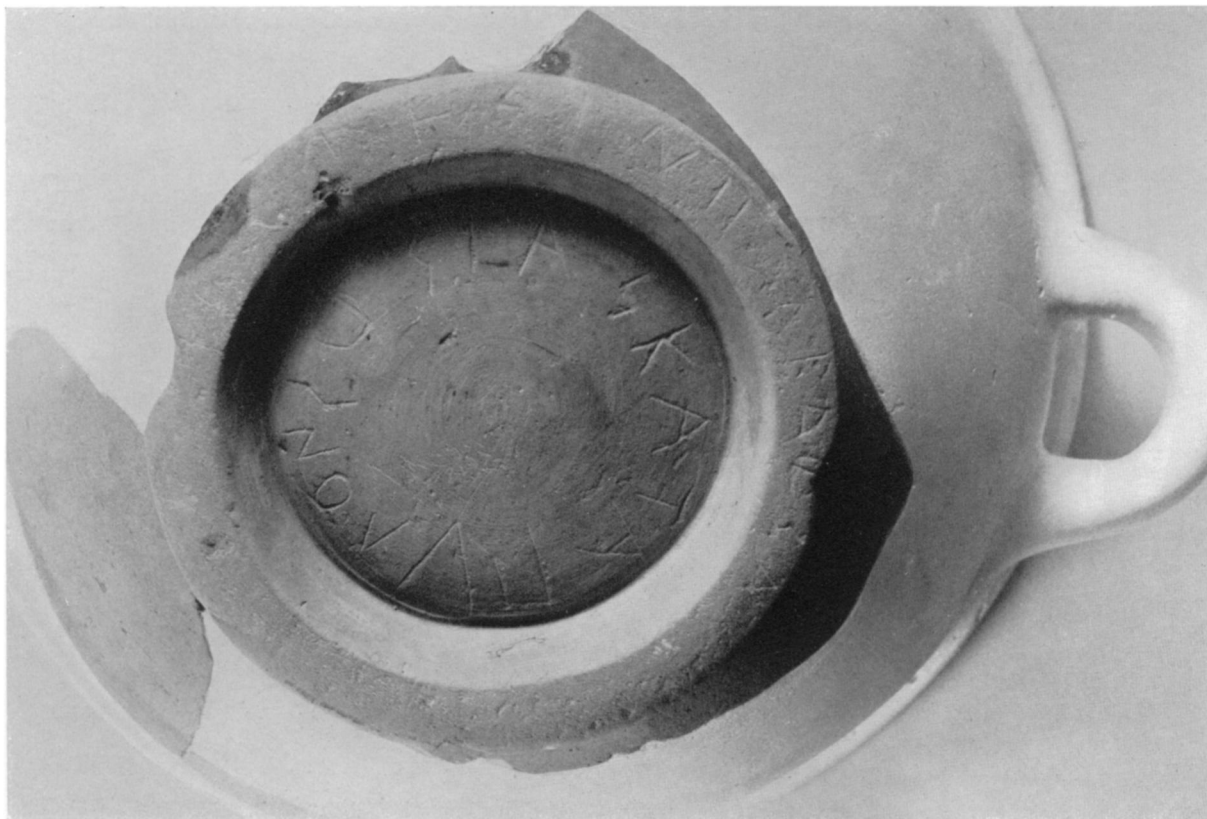


Fig. 15. Agora P 5157 (Slightly reduced)

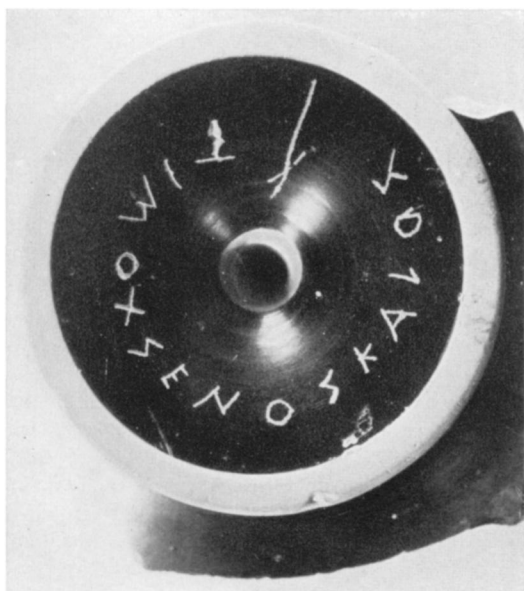


Fig. 16. Kalos-inscriptions 1 and 2 (Actual Size)

1. (P 5128) *Τιμόξενος καλός* (Fig. 16)

Neatly scratched on the underside of a black-glazed kylix base, the shape as in Figure 4. See below, 6.

2. (P 5144) *Θεσπιεὺς καλός* (Fig. 16)

Very carefully inscribed on the underside of the foot of a skyphos of Corinthian type, as in Figure 8. Whether we have here to do with a name, or rather with "the boy from Thespieae," is uncertain.

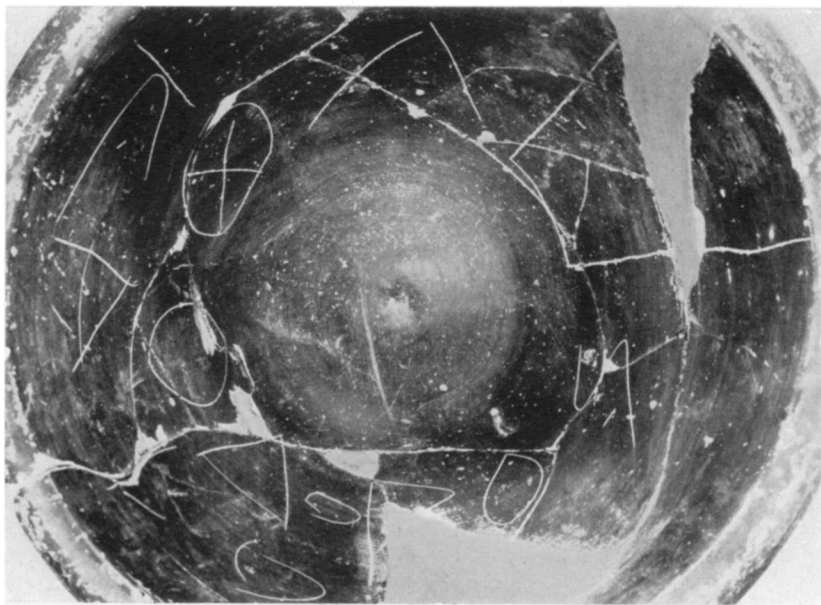


Fig. 17. Kalos-inscription 3, a (Scale *ca.* 1:4)

3. (P 5160) a) *Πυθώδορος καλός* (Fig. 17)

b) *Ἀλ(λ)καῖος καλός τὸ δοκεῖ Μέλιτι* (Fig. 18)

c) *Μεθερε*

Inscribed on a partly glazed krater (Fig. 10, at lower right): a) on the inside in large letters with the tops down, b) on the underside, and c) on the outside in large letters with tops down.

Pythodoros, though a common fifth century name, has not hitherto appeared as kalos. The archon of 432/1 (*I.G.*, I², p. 286) may possibly be here celebrated as a boy. *Πυθώδορον εἶμι* occurs on the foot of a black-glazed kylix found on the Acropolis (B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen aus der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1933, II, 1506).

Alkaios is praised on an amphora attributed to the Achilles painter (Berlin 2332: *Att.* V., p. 372, 13, reverse in *J.H.S.*, XXXIV (1914), p. 185, fig. 5 n; W. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 158). Not a common name, it is borne by an archon of 422/1 (*I.G.*, I², 311), and it appears also on a sepulchral monument of the late fifth century (*I.G.*, I², 955). For the phrasing of our inscription compare "*Ἰππείος καλὸς Ἀριστομέδει δοκεῖ*" (*C.I.G.*, 541, scratched in the unbaked clay of a tile; D. M. Robinson, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXV [1934], p. 135); also, on a red-figured alabastron in the British Museum, *Ἀφροδισία καλὴ τῶς(?) δοκεῖ*



Fig. 18. Kalos-inscription 3, *b*



Fig. 19. Inscription 4

Εὐχέλρω (B.M. E 718; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, p. 278); and καλή δοκεῖς (P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vasenschriften*, Gütersloh, 1894, p. 109, 90). Melis is hardly a name; it may well be a term of endearment.

Methere is likewise no name; it is probably some reference to the effects of the contents of the pot, but what the form may be is uncertain. Ἀ[νθ]ρὸς μεθερ[] appears in one instance inscribed above the head of Dionysos (Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 200, 182). Compare also Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, 1493, and p. 131.

4. (P 5167) Ἀλκαῖ(ος) (Fig. 19)

Scratched on the underside of a partly glazed krater. The inscription is complete as it stands.

5. (P 5169) Ἀλ]καῖος κατὰπυ[γον] (Fig. 20)

Inscribed on the underside of a partly glazed krater. Compare the Sosias inscription, Figure 15.

6. (P 5164) Θεοί Θερικλῆς καλός (Fig. 21)

Θεοί Π. ξονος καλός

Τιμόξενος καλός

Χαρμίδης καλός

Incised on the underside of the floor of a partly glazed krater. The space had first been divided into squares, like a checkerboard, by vertical and horizontal lines. The last two rows of squares are uninscribed.

The invocation Θεοί, which appears at the beginning of the first two lines, is much more common in inscriptions on stone than on pots. Compare, however, a Nolan amphora in the British Museum (B.M. E 291; C. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases*, III, London, 1896, p. 213, on which this exclamation is painted as if issuing from the lips of the aged Phineus. This vase is further inscribed "Charmides kalos."

Charmides (Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 142) gives his name to the Charmides painter (*Att. V.*, pp. 129–130); he is praised also by the Nikon painter (*Att. V.*, p. 131), and by the painter of the Munich cups (*Att. V.*, p. 476). But although unusually well known from vases, the name is not particularly common in other connections. It appears on a sepulchral monument of the late fifth century (*I. G.*, I², 960), and it occurs as the name of a Treasurer of the Other Gods in the accounts for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, in 420/19 (*I. G.*, I², 370).

Timoxenos (Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 146) is only less often praised. He is cited twice by the Charmides painter: once, as here, on the same vase with Charmides (*Att. V.*, p. 129, 3; p. 130, 5); and once by the Nikon painter (*C. V. A.*, Providence, pl. 15, 1 and p. 24). As in the case of Charmides, the name reappears twice: once on a sepulchral monument, of 425/4 (*I. G.*, I², 949); and again as that of the ἐπιστάτης on the occasion when the treaties with Rhegium and Leontini were proposed by Kallias son of Kalliades, 433/2 (*I. G.*, I², 51, 52).

Therikles, who here appears as the contemporary of Timoxenos and Charmides, is otherwise unknown; the name in the second line is uncertain.

We thus find gathered together on this single group of closely related vases the names of Alkaios, Charmides, Pythodoros, Therikles, Thespieus, and Timoxenos. Timoxenos and Charmides are already known to us as contemporaries of Glaukon, Leagros' son. The vases on which they are praised, separately and together, belong either to



Fig. 20. Inscription 5

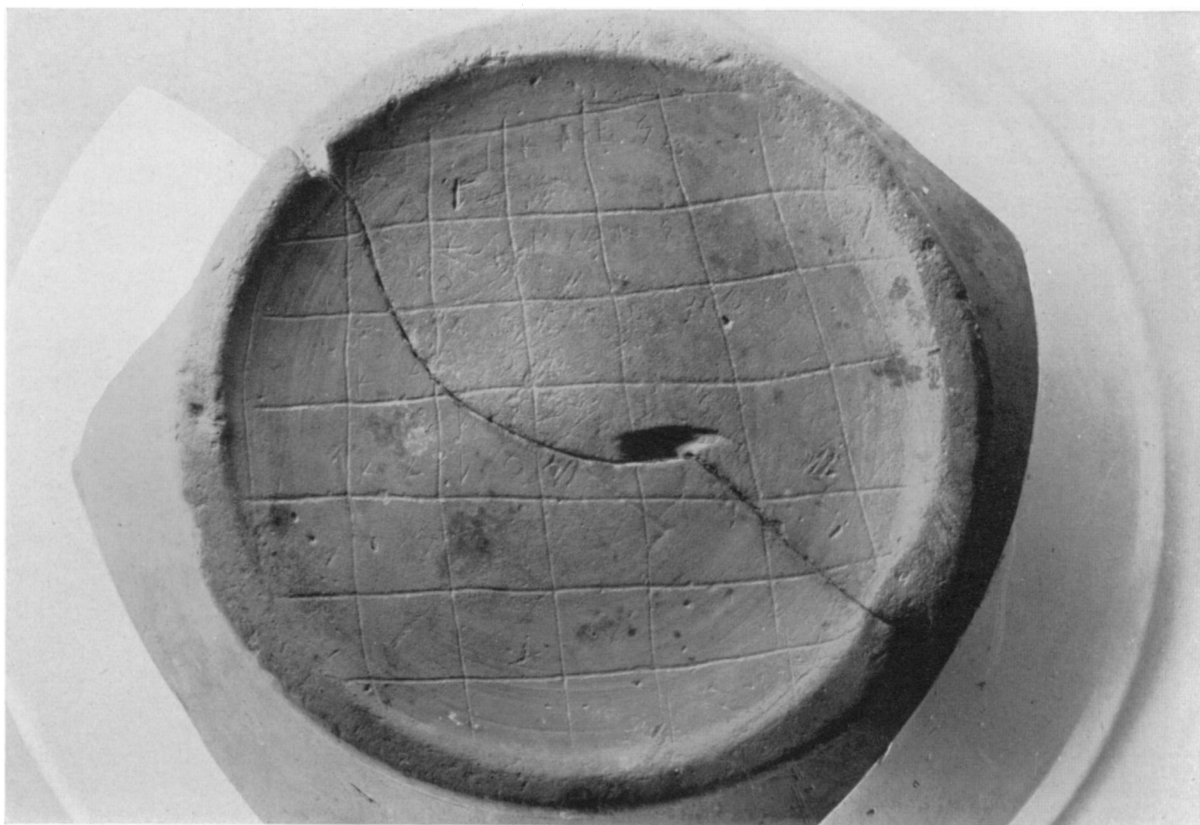


Fig. 21. Kalos-inscription 6 (Scale *ca.* 2:3)

the last stage of archaic painting or to the transition to the classical style.¹ Alkaïos, who is here praised (and reviled) with such enthusiasm, belongs in the only connection in which we have hitherto met him, to a slightly later time, the years of the early activity of the Achilles painter;² his name provides the latest association of anything in the collection we have been considering. It seems probable no less from these inscriptions than from the vases themselves that our well-group was in use during the seventies and the sixties, and was discarded somewhere about 460. We may remark that of the names listed above, three—Alkaïos, Pythodoros, Timoxenos—reappear in connection with various political activities some forty years later.³ Where the name is a common one we can of course draw no conclusions; we may, however, recall that the Leagros kalos of about 500 was Leagros the general in the sixties, and we may reasonably assume that the same gap between youthful charm and political distinction, or responsible office, pertained later in the century.

In addition to these inscriptions, our graffiti include several uncertain scrawls; a scrap of some number written on the rim of a partly glazed krater,]HP[; a comment, ΟΦΕΛΙ, on the usefulness of a cup⁴ (Fig. 7, at left), and a variety of one, two and three letter combinations. It is perhaps arguable whether ΧΑ (three times), ΧΑΡ (once, on a wine amphora: Fig. 12, at right), or ΣΟ (twice), have any connection, respectively, with the Charmides and the Sosias more formally named. We must also list ΑΜΑ, on the wine-amphora Figure 12, left, and, each from beneath the foot of a kylix of the ordinary type, the combination ΒΙ, ΝΑ and ΗΧΜ.

In view of the large number of plain black-glazed cups in the Acropolis collection inscribed with a variety of letter-combinations of this sort,⁵ the same combination only occasionally appearing more than once, we need hardly expect to find price-marks, or other trade indications, in these graffiti. It is easier to suppose that during a lull in a party one of the participants turns his cup upside down, and writes on it some name

¹ The activity of the Charmides painter and the Nikon painter has been assigned to the years 480–470: C.V.A., Oxford, I, text to pl. 17, 6 and to pl. 34, 3; on the associations of the painter of the Munich cups, cf. V. Pol., p. 35 and p. 47.

² About 460: E. Buschor, in F.R., III, p. 293. The useful overlap, which we note in our group of names, between individuals cited by the latest archaic, and also by the earliest classical painters, appears elsewhere, as for instance in the case of Kleinias, who is praised by the Alkimachos painter (*Att. V.*, p. 296, 3) and whose name appears also on vases of the "Meletos group" (*Att. V.*, p. 372, 4, 5, 10).

³ To these names we might add that of Kallias the son of Kalliades; possibly the same as the contemporary of Timoxenos and Charmides praised as fair by the Nikon painter, *Att. V.*, p. 131, 6. See above, p. 350, no. 6.

⁴ Dr. J. H. Oliver tells me that we may read *ὠφέλι* for *ὠφέλιμον*. The same form of the lambda appears on the base of the statue of Kallias Didymion (*I.G.A.*, 498) set up in Olympia after his victory in the pankration in 472, and signed by the Athenian sculptor Mikion; W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der attischen Inschriften*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 431.

⁵ Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, nos. 1517 ff. ΣΟ, which does not appear in this form among the published pieces from the Acropolis, is common elsewhere, especially on late black-figured vases: R. Hackl, *Merkanthile Inschriften auf attischen Vasen*, Munich, 1909, p. 32, nos. 221–247. Cf. also the series from Eleusis, Hackl, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

of interest to himself; or he may scratch simply initials, his own or those of some one else. And perhaps he is anxious to be sure of taking his own cup home with him again: many representations on vases, of revellers going to and fro, suggest that the fifth century Athenian, when invited out, brought his own cup with him more often than not. Sorting out unlabelled plain black glaze would indeed be a tedious business for early morning hours.

The ligature ΔE presents a somewhat different problem. It appears sixteen times in our well-group, most often on the black glaze kylikes of the sort illustrated in Figure 4, but also on three of the partly glazed household pots. On the cups, whereas other graffiti are set inconspicuously beneath the foot, this ligature appears in a large number of instances on the floor of the cup itself (Figs. 22, 23), where it cannot fail to be seen by the drinker. It can hardly be a maker's mark, for it definitely mars the appearance of the cup. There seems no reason to doubt that it is a mark of ownership: here we have a host, and a determined one, who has indeed provided cups for his guests, but does not wish to lose them. It is tempting to enquire who this host may have been. We have inspected his mammoth kitchen equipment; his dinner service



Fig. 22. Agora P 5120 (Actual Size)

no less suggests hospitality on an unusual scale. A cup in the National Museum (N. M. 1229) provides a possible clue. It is a kylix of the same shape as ours, probably from the same shop as our more solid versions, and it carries, scratched around the underside of the foot, the word $\Delta E M O \Sigma I A$. The probability that this inscription, and with it our ligature,¹ has an official connotation is strengthened when we recall the pots and standard measures of the fourth century on which the painted inscription

¹ That the same ligature occurs elsewhere, on vases from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, no. 1517, N 394 and no. 1523, N 454) and even on vases found in Italy (Hackl, *op. cit.*, p. 43, nos. 469-471) has no particular bearing on the special problem of our find. Pieces with this marking, found on the Acropolis, and also from time to time in parts of the Agora excavation other than our well, may have strayed, in spite of labels, but there is of course nothing to prevent this combination of letters being used as an ordinary personal abbreviation, in just the same way as the other combinations noted here.

ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ¹ appears, along with the sign and seal of Athens. As parallels for the method of marking public property by informal graffiti, we may refer to the vases found on the Acropolis,² where many plain black pieces are inscribed *ἱερὸν* or *ἱερὰ* (*τῆς Ἀθηναιᾶς*).

It is not necessary to assume that all of the vases from our well belonged to the state. The small dwellings or industrial establishments which existed in this corner of the Agora down to the end of the third quarter of the century could perhaps account for a part of the filling. But our array of *delta-epsilons* certainly suggests that a large portion of the vases here illustrated may have been broken in the course of meals at the public expense, during the two decades just after Salamis.

¹ *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 346, fig. 5.

² Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, no. 1368 ff. The suggestion is there made (p. 119) that these graffiti may be the inventory marks of the sanctuary, rather than dedications. Note that abbreviations appear, as **HIA** (nos. 1388, 9), and **HIE** (no. 1397). The same method of marking was used at Eleusis, where the scratched letters **HIEPON** may be seen on the foot of a black glaze cup (Inv. 4194).

These Acropolis inscriptions are frequently in conspicuous places, sometimes indeed, as our ligature, on a cup floor (nos. 1383, 1386). But this arrangement is not in itself sufficient to determine public ownership, as the names or initials of individuals do occasionally appear scratched in a similar location.

LUCY TALCOTT



Fig. 23. Agora P 5117