

A NEW OINOCHOE SERIES FROM THE ACROPOLIS NORTH SLOPE

CLASS OF AGORA P 15840

(PLATES 28-32)

THE excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies on the north slope of the Acropolis in 1939 brought to light fragments of at least sixteen red-figured oinochoai of a special shape.¹ These were found at the bottom of the cliffs (Deposit U 26:1) about seven meters east of the Klepsydra; the approximate location is indicated on Plate 32. The filling appeared to be washed in; the pottery was so fragmentary as to suggest mere rubbish or sweepings. The other material in the filling was of a date considerably later than the series of oinochoai; it included coins and fragments as late as the end of the 3rd century B.C.

The vases differ in detail but have certain unusual features of shape which are common to them all. They appear indeed to have been made by a single potter, and at one time. The body and foot are of a type usually associated with oinochoai of Shape I; on the front shoulder, wherever it is preserved, are two plastic mastoi in some cases painted white, in others reserved and reddened. The concave neck is distinct, with a ridge at the shoulder, and the mouth is invariably large and round, somewhat reminiscent of a hydria or loutrophoros mouth. The handle, triangular in section, joins the body at the shoulder and, bending under the mouth, is affixed to the neck by a well-moulded join which reaches down to the ridge at the junction of neck and shoulder. The vases were carefully made, though the scenes were not in every case as carefully drawn. The mouth is often intricate but always clean and neat; the body has a good profile and the foot is well made and low, as in parallel examples of the last quarter of the 5th century.² In subject matter, the vases are

¹ The find was described and one of the more complete vases of the series was illustrated in the annual report on the Excavations of the Athenian Agora for 1939, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 298-299 (P 15840, here 1). For permission to publish these vases I am indebted to Professor Homer A. Thompson, Field Director of the Agora Excavations. I am indebted also to L. Talcott, who generously turned over to me her notes on the series. On her behalf appreciation is also to be expressed to the many scholars who, over more than two decades, have examined and commented on these vases in Athens. Professor Sir John Beazley and Professor C. M. Robertson have both been good enough to read the manuscript of this article; I have profited from their suggestions.

This study was undertaken while the undersigned was the holder of a studentship at the British School of Archaeology in Athens. The photographs are by Alison Frantz; of the drawings, Fig. 1, below, is by John Travlos; the others by the undersigned.

² For the shape of the foot compare an unpublished oinochoe in Ferrara, T 2, *ARV* 845, 2 (photographs in the possession of the undersigned).

equally restricted and equally unusual. On the body of each vase, so far as preserved, is a chariot scene; the charioteer, wherever identifiable, is Athena. But this does not mean mere repetition; there is endless variety both in the drawing of the figured scenes and in the design of the ornament. For this reason it seems best to give a detailed description of each piece.

1. (P 15840) Fig. 1; Pl. 28.

H. as restored 0.267 m.; diam. as restored 0.117 m.; diam. of lip 0.112 m.; diam. of base 0.067 m. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 299, fig. 40.

Much of body, and parts of the neck, mouth and handle missing and restored; the profile not certainly complete, but many fragments, joining at the back of the vase, provide a close approximation.

The neck is surrounded below the mid-point by a wreath of small slender leaves set in pairs to either side of a straight stem. The leaves were drawn each with two or three strokes of clay-colored paint; they appear not to have been filled in with white. Compare the wreaths on **2**, **16** and **17**, all with alternating leaves and berries. All four examples are drawn in the same way but on **2** and **16** there are clear indications of a white paint filling for the leaves. (Cf. an oinochoe of shape 3, Athens N.M. 2214.)

At the base of the neck is a substantial moulded ridge, black at the back of the vase, but its vertical face reserved around the front part. The slender ovoid body is set off from the elaborately moulded foot by a ring, black but with a deep reserved groove at its lower edge. The foot is glazed on top; its vertical face (three moulded rings) is reserved. The underside of the foot and the interior of the vase below the neck are unglazed; all other examples of the series are also unglazed inside, excepting **9** and **11** where a glaze wash was used.

Of the scene on the body the lower left part is preserved: a female figure in bordered Doric chiton mounting a chariot, right. Below the scene is a band of egg and dot, not continuing around the back of the vase. Tongue pattern on the shoulder; egg pattern on the overhanging

edge of the lip; no ornament below the handle.

Relief contour for the chariot and for the horses' legs; irregular black to brown brush strokes, suggesting wood, along the edge of the chariot floor. Traces of a hanging rein in added clay-colored paint between the chariot and the horse's tail. Glaze good but considerably worn in parts.

2. (P 15841) Fig. 1; Pls. 28, 29.

H. as restored 0.316 m.; diam. as restored 0.132 m.; diam. of foot 0.091 m.

Mouth, handle, much of body and part of foot missing and restored. Shape similar to **1**; the upper and lower wall fragments do not join but their association seems certain and the relation between the neck and forelegs of the forward horse make possible a close estimate of the height of the vase to just below the lip. The lip has been restored on the analogy of **15**.

The neck is tall, concave in section, and relatively narrow. Well below its mid-point it is decorated with a wreath in added clay. The pairs of leaves alternate with berries on long stems which twist either above or below the stem. The leaves seem to have been filled in with white (see on **1**) exactly as on the better preserved wreath of **16**. The berries, as preserved, show no trace of coloring over the clay. Heavy moulded ridge at base of neck, glazed except at the front, where the vertical face is reserved; tongue pattern on shoulder; a substantial trace of one mastos on the shoulder fragment, set just to the left of the center of the vase.

Ovoid body; moulded rim at junction of body and foot set off by two scraped grooves. Three moulded rings on the outer vertical face of the foot, also separated by scraped grooves in which

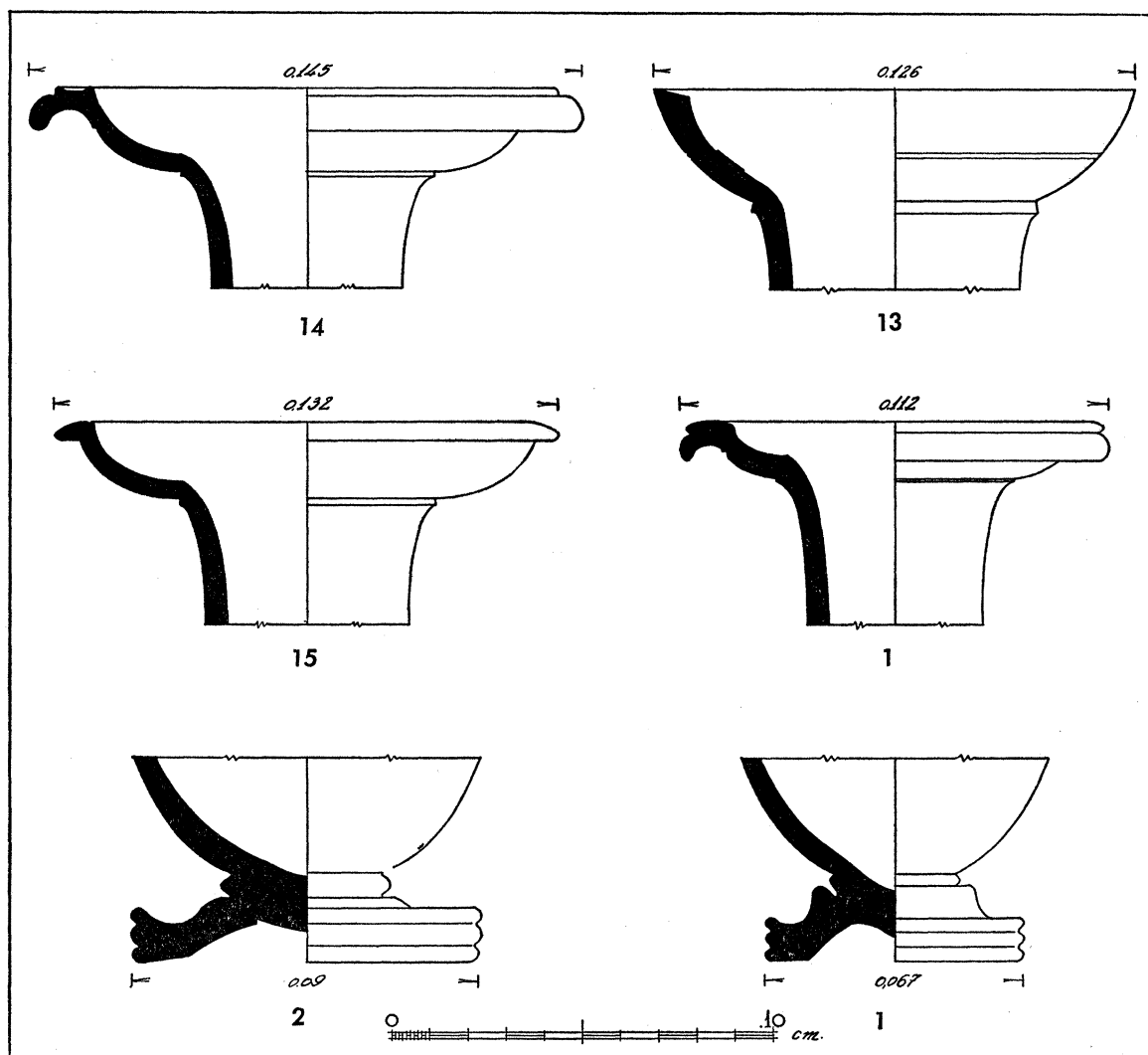


FIG. 1. Rim and Base Profiles.

remain some traces of a pink wash. Underside of foot and interior of the pot below the neck unglazed.

Of the scene is preserved part of the drapery (Doric chiton), one foot and one arm of a female figure mounting a chariot, right. The chariot is drawn by four horses, of which the lower bodies of all, the head of one and the forelock of a second remain. Facing the horses stands a youthful male figure (chlamys), the

arms and the front of the body from shoulder to waist preserved. He extends both hands toward the head of the first horse. Below the scene, egg and dot band; no evidence of handle-ornament.

Relief contour for the arm of the driver, the front of the chariot, the horses' legs and head. The reins were indicated by fine lines drawn in the glaze when it was nearly dry. White for the goad, for a double bracelet on the driver's

arm and for a circle around the brooch of the boy's chlamys, as well as in the neck ornament. The glaze firm and glossy, but considerably chipped.

3. (P 15842) Pls. 28, 29.

H. as restored 0.178 m.; diam. as restored 0.131 m.

Much of the front of the body preserved, but the foot entirely missing and restored. Moulded ridge at the junction of foot and body. On the shoulder at the center, the start of both mastos projections.

Of the scene is preserved a helmeted female figure (thin Doric chiton girdled above the overfold; helmet-crest falling to the waist over long curling hair) mounting a chariot drawn by four horses, right. Before the horses, a youthful male figure (chlamys, sandals laced high) moves right, looking back toward the team. Below the scene, meander and checker-board band. No evidence of handle ornament.

Relief contour throughout except for the charioteer's drapery, hair and helmet crest. Drawing in fine black lines. A little brown shading on the side of the chariot; the hair black to brown, the border of the chiton black. The horses have some inner markings in brown; their eyes are filled with brown around a black pupil; their collars are brown. The reins show black against the horses' necks but as a roughened surface against the black ground (cf. 2).

4. (P 15845) Pl. 29.

P. H. *ca.* 0.08 m.; diam. *ca.* 0.132 m. (approximately the original maximum).

Several joining fragments from upper wall and shoulder only. Moulded ridge at junction of shoulder and neck, its vertical face reserved so far as it remains. Two mastoi on the shoulder curve, reserved and once covered with white. Tongue pattern on shoulder at front. No handle ornament.

The upper left part of the scene only: a youth (curly light brown hair, petasos, bordered chlamys) stands right facing a quadriga (heads

of four horses) left. His right hand is on the head of the foremost horse. At the extreme right of the fragment is preserved the end of a flying helmet-plume and a bit of drapery.

No relief contour. The reins and parts of the harness-ornament were white; white also the outline of the youth's hat.

5. (P 15852) Pl. 29.

P. H. *ca.* 0.06 m.

Fragment from shoulder and upper wall. A single mastos, set well below the shoulder curve, is reserved and preserves traces of reddish coloring; it was modelled by paring, and the nipple set off by a thin black line. Tongue pattern on the shoulder, the tongues rather broader than in the other examples.

The heads and upper forequarters of four horses, standing right.

Relief contours throughout, except for the manes.

6. (P 15851) Pl. 29.

P. H. *ca.* 0.132 m.

Fragment from wall, preserving a single mastos above and much of the forequarters and heads of four horses, right. Below, a band of egg and dart.

Thick clay for bosses on horses' collars and bridles and for the reins, with considerable remains of gilding preserved over the clay. Added clay also for the central ribs of the eggs in the lower border. The mastos reserved; no clear remains of white.

Partial relief contour; the drawing in fine black lines; the collars each a broad black band beneath the gilded studs.

This piece has a very different character from the others of the series, in its more open drawing, finer lines and thinner glaze. It is by an artist of less skill; the horses are all exactly the same, their right forelegs hanging, their heads all inclined at the same angle. The drawing is much less lively than in the others. It is also the only piece on which gilding was freely used.

7. (P 26431) Pl. 29.

P. H. *ca.* 0.024 m.; P. W. *ca.* 0.079 m.

Two small fragments from wall, preserving the forequarters of four horses, right, with part of a foreleg of the left-hand horse and the start of the left foreleg of the right-hand horse. The left three wear collars filled with brown glaze, as on 3.

Good drawing in short fine black lines. Relief contour.

8. (P 15843) Pl. 30.

P. H. *ca.* 0.14 m.; diam. at bottom of figured scene 0.10 m.

Fragmentary lower body only. Moulded ridge at junction of foot and body with reserved groove above and below. The underside of the (missing) foot was unglazed. The lower circumference of the figured scene is preserved except for a piece at the center front; below the scene, continuous around the vase, meander and checkerboard band, the meanders in groups of four. At the back, palmette and tendril ornament.

The figured scene, from left to right, shows a male figure standing right, partly draped in a himation (missing: the upper front part of the body; the head save for a few brown locks and the nape; and parts of the feet and ankles). Approaching him at a gallop, a quadriga (eight hind feet, two forefeet and part of the chariot wheel remain). Beyond the chariot, next to the handle ornament, the feet and drapery of a second attendant, left.

Relief contour for the horses' feet and the chariot wheel, not for the standing figures or the ornament. Added clay for the staff of the right-hand figure. Very careful work; drawing in fine black lines. Excellent glaze with a few metallic splotches.

9. (P 15844) Pl. 30.

P. H. *ca.* 0.09 m.; diam. at base of figured scene 0.102 m.

The lower body preserved; nothing of the foot. Below the scene and continuing around the vase, meander and checkerboard band. At

the back, palmette and tendril ornament with an acanthus leaf to either side of the central palmette.

Quadriga galloping left; the legs or hooves of four horses preserved, the lower halves of the chariot wheels with traces of the chariot; also an end of the charioteer's flying drapery (bordered Doric chiton) and the lower half of the goad. Below the horses' hooves, three dolphins, leaping; the waves of the sea were indicated by concentric curves in added white of which traces remain, sometimes passing over the bodies of the dolphins. A small row of dots in added clay, just above the border, suggests the sandy sea-bottom.

Relief contour throughout except for the ornament. Excellent glaze; careful and spirited work. Inner drawing in fine firm black line, much of it relief line.

10. (P 15850) Pl. 30.

P. H. *ca.* 0.128 m.

Wall fragment preserving left edge of scene and part of back of vase, with the base of the handle and much of the ornament below it.

Hermes, striding right. He is bearded and wears a cloak over his shoulder, a petasos and winged sandals. The hair, painted in broad black strands over a brown wash, is knotted up at the nape; from this knot escape two long curling tresses, one falling forward over the shoulder, the other hanging down the back. The beard is outlined only.

The triangular base of the handle is outlined by a band of egg pattern; below and beside the handle an elaborate palmette design with an inverted bell at the center. Traces of tongue pattern on shoulder.

Relief contour for the petasos, flesh outlines and sandal-wing; in the ornament, for the bell and for the egg pattern. Brown wash for the underpainting of the hair and on the bell.

11. (P 16302) Pl. 32.

P. H. *ca.* 0.06 m.; P. W. 0.092 m.

Three joining fragments from lower wall, preserving the end of a bordered chiton and

part of the ornament below the handle. Meander and checkerboard band below.

No relief contours. Thick dull glaze wash inside. Surface battered.

12. (P 15846) Fig. 2; Pls. 31, 32.

P. H. *ca.* 0.145 m.; diam. as preserved *ca.* 0.135 m. (approximately the original maximum).

Most of the neck, handle and shoulder pre-

added clay. At the center of the vase between the mastoi, the ears and forelocks of two horses, right.

Relief contour for the helmet; white for a few strokes on its crest, for the overpainting on the mastoi and for two ornaments on the bridles, these also washed over with pink.

13. (P 15853) Fig. 1; Pl. 31.

P. H. 0.12 m.; diam. of mouth 0.125 m.



FIG. 2. Neck pattern of No. 12. (1:1).

served. Handle triangular in section; neck concave, a thin moulded ridge at its junction with the shoulder topped by a reserved line. At the center of the shoulder two neatly modelled mastoi, reserved and painted white. On the neck, double palmette and tendril ornament; on the shoulder, at the front, tongue pattern.

Bits of the upper part of the figured scene remain: at left, next the handle, a crested Corinthian helmet, the long end of the plume flying out over a bit of hair and of drapery; below the helmet a trace of the figure's face and of the hair over the brows; the figure faces right. Further right, the tip of the goad, painted in

Most of the neck, with moulded ridge at top and another, lighter, at base, preserved, with most of the wide echinus mouth. Two shallow wheelrun grooves around edge of lip outside and a broad band, offset, inside. The ridge at the base of the lip is reserved on its underside, that at the base of the neck set off by a reserved groove above and below.

Around the neck, alternating double lotus and palmette band separated by pairs of reverse spirals, except at the handle-space. White dots at the hearts of lotuses and palmettes.

Relief contour for the lotuses, for the central petals of the palmettes and for the spirals which connect the two.

14. (P 15847) Fig. 1; Pl. 31.

P. H. *ca.* 0.13 m.; diam. of mouth est. *ca.* 0.15 m.

Neck, with part of mouth and shoulder; the mouth-profile complete; circumference of lip restored. The topmost surface of the mouth reserved and washed with pink. A broad flat ridge at the base of the neck reserved and washed with pink around the front part of the vase, black behind. Tongue pattern on shoulder.

On the neck, a miniature Athena of Panathenaic type, to left. Fine lines indicate the pull on the drapery at the knee and the back of the leg. Brown wash on shield, helmet and aegis. Her spear has a pointed butt.

Of the scene on the body only traces remain: at the extreme right, two curving tips of a kerykeion; to the left of this, the top of its owner's head. Further left, uncertain traces. To the extreme left, a narrow straight-sided object, like a goad, crosses the field diagonally, its outlines continued into the tongue pattern.

Careful work. Relief contour for the kerykeion and the goad.

15. (P 14793) Fig. 1; Pl. 31.

P. H. 0.097 m.; diam. of mouth 0.132 m.

The neck and more than half the lip preserved; circumference of lip restored.

Narrow neck, slightly concave; the mouth a broad shallow echinus with projecting rim slightly downturned and grooved along its inner edge. Handle-attachment at back. The top surface of the lip reserved except at its inner edge. On the outer face of the rim an olive wreath in red-figure.

On the neck, Athena in panoply, right. Both the overfold of her chiton and the short cloak that falls from her shoulders have flying swallow-tail ends; archaizing Panathenaic type.

Relief contours for flesh and partially elsewhere. Traces of pink wash in the reserved surfaces. Careful, finely-drawn work.

16. (P 15848) Pl. 32.

P. H. *ca.* 0.10 m.; diam. at base of neck 0.085 m.

Part of neck and shoulder. Heavy moulded ridge at base of neck, the vertical face reserved except at the back. Around the neck, a wreath of slender leaves and berries set along a straight stem. At the front the central downturned berry is flanked by pairs of smaller leaves. The leaves were filled with white; see under **1**. This is the best preserved and most elaborate of the four similar neck-ornaments. On the shoulder, tongue pattern; on the curve below, two mastoi, reserved and painted white.

Of the scene, hardly a trace remains; at the extreme left the front tip of a helmet-crest, right. At the center, a bit of hair (horse's forelock?).

No relief contour preserved. The glaze firm but not brilliant.

17. (P 15849) Pl. 32.

P. H. *ca.* 0.10 m.

Handle and part of neck and shoulder preserved; from a vase slightly smaller in size than the others of the series. Neat moulded ridge around base of neck, black; tongue pattern on shoulder. Around the neck, a wreath like that on **16** but here, as on **1**, the leaves seem not to have been filled in with white.

Of the scene the upper left corner remains: the head of Athena, helmeted, right, with a trace of her shoulder and drapery and (above the broken edge) the upper line of her extended arm. Further right, a trace of animal (?) hair. The helmet was painted on in added clay after the head and hair had been finished.

No relief contour.

18. (P 16301) Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.059 m.; diam. at base of neck 0.062 m.

From a small neck, decorated in added clay in the same style as **17** but with dotted sprays replacing the berries. Below, a strong ridge, reserved around the front on its lower vertical face. At the back, coming down to the ridge, the remains of the handle.

From the point of view of drawing, these vases fall into three main groups:

- I. A single fragment, **6**, drawn with rigid elaboration, unrelated to the other pieces.
- II. Five pieces distinguished by extremely careful, almost niggling execution, closely related to each other by the drapery style: **7, 8, 9, 14, 15**.³
- III. The balance of the fragments. These show an easy, often summary manner in the figure drawing, but are closely associated with Group II by the design and execution of the ornament.

The differences in detail found within each of Groups II and III, as well as between the two groups, are obvious. Yet the interlocking features are equally apparent. For instance, the design on **8** (Pl. 30) is very close to that on **12** (Fig. 2, Pl. 31), both in the general style of the palmette and in the use of the tendril; but compare the horses' heads (Pl. 31) and the helmet (Pl. 32) of **12** with those of **2** and **3** (Pls. 28, 29), especially the fall of the plume of the helmet and the hair of the horses. Or compare the treatment of the drapery on **8** (Pl. 30) with that of the right-hand figure on **2** (Pl. 29). **7** (Pl. 29) provides an excellent example of the relation between Groups II and III. The treatment of the forequarters of the horses there is very much in the style of the drapery on the left-hand figure on **8** (Pl. 30); note the short fine lines and the expression of the roundness of the body. On the other hand, the drawing of the harness on **7** is exactly the same as on **3** (Pl. 29).

These relationships have made it impossible to divide the pieces by hands. There remains the possibility that all the vases of Group II and III, the entire series that is except for **6**, are by a single painter, executing a commission of unusual character but of limited scope as to subject with as great a variety in detail as he could command, and falling back on accepted routine only in the matter of ornament.

The ornament does in fact provide an alternative method of attempting to place these vases. Sir John Beazley notes in the *Paralipomena* to *ARV*, p. 2115, that the lotus and palmette ornament on **13**

"is almost exactly the same as in the small neck-amphorae by the Shuvalov Painter (*ARV* 754-5, nos. 31-33, 35, 37) and in his manner (p. 756, middle, no. 1) and the vase of the same type but by another painter in Cracow (*ibid.*); and looks as if it were by the same hand."

The palmette designs on **12** seem to be by the same hand as those on **13**, but again the figures are not by the Shuvalov Painter. The ornament on hydriai in his manner further recalls the palmette designs on our series of oinochoai; see especially **8, 12**

³ **9** and **15** possibly belong together although there is no direct join.

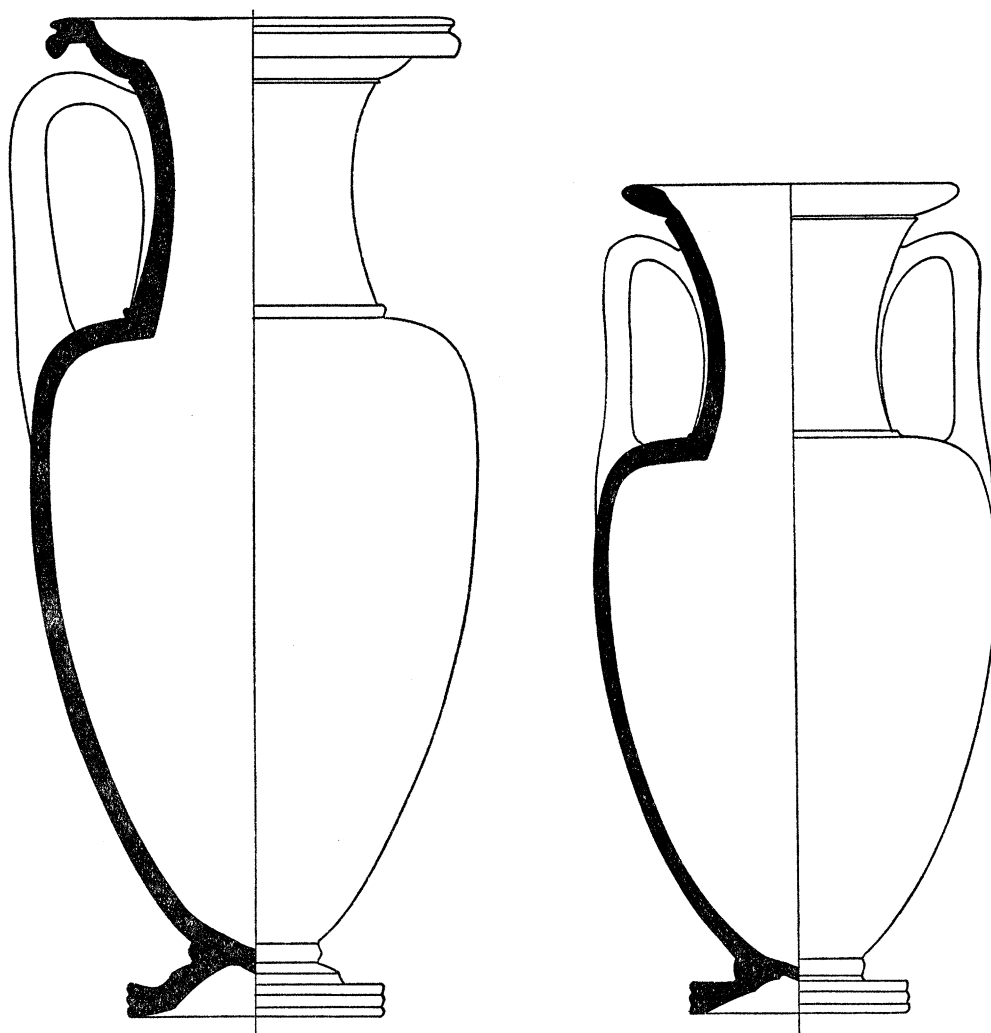


FIG. 3. Oinochoe of New Series and Neck-amphora by Shuvalov Painter Compared (1:2).

and **13**: compare three examples in London and one in Berne (*ARV* 757, 1-4), also the vase by the painter himself in Heidelberg (*ARV* 755, 43). The palmette is usually simple; the central leaf is not pointed or ribbed and there is always a double spiral below.⁴ The shape shows some similar associations: the profile of the foot on the hydriai is in the same general style as those by our potter. But here the neck-amphorae noted by Beazley are more important. In Figure 3 at right is a drawing

⁴ There is an unpublished fragment from the back of a plastic vase from the "Terracotta Pit" at Knossos with a palmette design similar to that on **10**. For knowledge of this piece I am indebted to Mr. J. N. Coldstream.

of one of these vases in Mykonos.⁵ At left, for comparison is a drawing of a composite profile of our series, combining elements of **1** and **2**. The foot of the amphora is similar to those of the oinochoai, although of course it is not the same. But the curve of the neck, the moulding of the handle to the neck and the fashion in which it is continued down to the ridge at the base, is a very similar treatment. (Note also the ridges at the top and at the base of the neck.) Furthermore the curve of the body and the disposition of its weight are so close to what we find here that it can hardly have been made by any but the same potter. The oinochoai therefore appear to have been made by a potter who worked for the Shuvalov Painter and, to judge from the ornament, they were painted in his workshop.⁶ It seems best then to avoid naming any painter, but to designate these vases by their shape, as the Class of Agora P 15840 (here **1**).

The ornament of **10** (Pl. 30) is especially interesting; it is one of the most carefully drawn and also the most elaborate. In spite of the apparent wildness of the elaboration the composition is remarkably well-contained by the tendril which virtually encloses each of the palmettes. The egg-pattern around the base of the handle (the only example in this series) also helps to give a neat and finished appearance. At the bottom, right, there is an acanthus leaf; so also on **11** and **9**, a better example.⁷ The whole design, however, is centered around the bell-flower. This is well-drawn, successfully giving the idea of roundness by the use of thinned glaze as shading. The inside of the bell, particularly on the left, and the right-hand part of the outside are thus treated. The bell-flower appears also on an Attic volute-krater of about 400 B.C. in Ferrara and on an askos from the Agora,⁸ but in neither case are the flowers shaded, nor are they as well drawn.

The context in which the oinochoai were found gives no evidence as to their date; to place them, therefore, it is necessary to rely on shapes and on style of painting. From the shape of the vases and from the style of their ornament, in particular that of

⁵ *ARV* 755, 37; C. Dugas, *Délos*, XXI, Paris, 1952, pl. 25, 60.

⁶ The decoration on oinochoai of Shape II by the Shuvalov Painter is not by the same hand that decorated these vases.

⁷ The earliest type of acanthus leaf is illustrated by the painted decoration on the viae of the cornice block of the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 42, fig. 26) and by the floral ornament on the stele Giustiniani and the stele from Karystos in Berlin, both of about 440-430 B.C. (Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, pl. 139 a and b; Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechische Grabstelen*, Berlin, 1929, pl. 2 a). Between 425 and 410 B.C. come an antefix from Phigaleia (Möbius, pl. 4 a) and a decorative frieze from a grave stele in Athens (C 1032, Möbius, pl. 5 b), both with the acanthus leaf as a relatively unimportant part of the design: two simple leaves at the base of the volutes, as we have them here. For the history of the acanthus design see J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, Oxford, 1947, p. 45.

⁸ Volute krater, *Riv. dell' Ist. Naz. d' Arch. e St. dell' Arte*, 1955, p. 99, fig. 6; askos, Agora Inv. P 22750, *ibid.*, p. 136, fig. 56.

13, they can, as already noted, be in some way associated with the workshop of the Shuvalov Painter. According to the accepted chronology, this master continued working until about 420 B.C. It is, however, probable that his influence on the work of his juniors continued for another ten if not twenty years. That the oinochoai are as early as 420 B.C. is unlikely both from the moulding of the foot and from the design of the ornament, particularly that seen on the backs of the vases. The parallels for the bell-flower in Attic vase-painting are both of about 400 B.C.; **10** can hardly be considered a direct prototype. On the other hand it is not a hackneyed piece, and should be somewhat earlier than either of the other examples.⁹ The use of shading, as seen on the bell-flower, for the express purpose of giving an idea of roundness rather than as a device to indicate a difference in material, seems to have become a general practice about 420 B.C.¹⁰ The shading on **10** is however much more accomplished than that on the earlier examples, and might suggest a date of about 410 B.C. It is also interesting to note that wreaths in added clay, similar to those on several of the oinochoe necks, begin to appear on the necks of choes at about this same date. A date of *ca.* 410 B.C. seems best to fit these vases in every way; in considering any difficulties which this dating may involve one must remember that they were a special commission produced for a ceremonial purpose and plainly combine ancient ritualistic ideas with what was considered newest and best in figure-painting.

A surprising innovation is the use of archaistic forms, seen on the Hermes of **10** and the Athena of **15**, and emphasized in the case of Athena by the fact that here the conventional goddess of the prize vases has turned to the right. The first of the prize vases on which this pose appears is dated to 348/7 B.C.¹¹ It is noteworthy that for the beginning of archaistic art in Athens in the last quarter of the 5th century these vases provide the direct evidence of originals.¹²

⁹ This is perhaps one of the earliest examples of the flower in this form, although it makes an appearance in a more primitive state in the design on the Stoa of Zeus mentioned above (p. 91, note 7). The decoration on a grave stele in Athens (C 1518, Möbius, pl. 7 b) of *ca.* 420-410 B.C. incorporates a bell-flower of very similar style to the one of this vase. It soon becomes regular and is present in the ornamental design of the monument of the Athenians who fell near Corinth in 394 B.C. (Möbius, pl. 9 d; Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1890-1922, III, no. 1529, p. 325, pl. 317).

¹⁰ Cf. the kantharos on the fragment in the Agora, P 21526, by the Dinos Painter, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 31, d; *Paralipomena* to *ARV*, p. 1131, added as no. 35; also the hydria on the bell-krater in the Manner of the Dinos Painter, *ARV* 792, 2; Vienna 1011, Brommer in *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIII-LXIV, 1938-1939, p. 173, List III, no. 7, pl. 67.

¹¹ Beazley, "Panathenaica," in *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 457.

¹² The Four Gods Base in the Acropolis Museum, one of the earliest authenticated pieces of Attic sculpture in an archaizing style, dated to *ca.* 390-370 B.C. (cf. E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, Munich, 1922, pp. 18 ff.; L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, pp. 89, 182) has now been more fully illustrated: C. Mitchell, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, LXI, 1953, p. 82, figs. 4, 5, 6.

A more serious difficulty arises in connection with the purpose of the vases and the interpretation of the scenes depicted on them. That they had some ceremonial character is plain, in the first place, from the position and circumstances in which they were found (Pl. 32). The fact that they appeared along with pottery and coins of the late 3rd century B.C. has suggested that they might have been thrown down from the Acropolis during the process of clearing some storage space in connection with the military occupation of the citadel at that period.¹³ Since the vases themselves date from the latter part of the 5th century, they must have possessed some special value or significance to account for their being preserved over some 200 years. Their ceremonial character is also quite clear from the shape of the vases; they are unlike any regular form of pottery known from their time. Most interesting and at the same time most puzzling is the presence of the plastic mastoi. In the Geometric period these appear not infrequently on oinochoai, no doubt as a symbol of fruitfulness or plenty; but thereafter they seem to be otherwise unknown on decorated pottery.¹⁴ Finally, in each case, as already noted, the scene on the front of the vase appears to show Athena either mounting or driving a chariot, and in two examples, **14** and **15**, an Athena of Panathenaic type, rendered by exception in red-figure, is represented on the neck.

That these oinochoai were in some way connected with the celebration of the Panathenaia is the most obvious suggestion, and in view of the two representations of the goddess in panoply, it may very well be the correct explanation. In that case the goddess may be thought of as going to attend the festival held in her honor. In the scene, **9**, which shows her coming over the sea, the vase-painter perhaps chose the subject purely through personal fancy; since this representation is perhaps unique, such an explanation may suit the case.¹⁵ In the late archaic and early classical periods the subject of Athena mounting a chariot was not infrequent in vase-painting. There

¹³ The practice of throwing broken vases over the Acropolis cliffs is well attested by finds in the excavations of the Acropolis North Slope, somewhat to the east of our deposit; cf. M. Z. Pease in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 214-215. The fragments recovered there appear however to derive from a clean-up of the Acropolis sanctuaries after the Persian sack.

¹⁴ A good Late Geometric example with mastoi is the oinochoe from the Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 559, fig. 18. On primitive parallels and the possible association of the name Athena with a ritual vase, cf. Cook, *Zeus*, III, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 191 ff., note 8. Although plastic mastoi apparently disappear from decorated vases in Athens after the 8th century, they continue to be used on coarse cooking pots and cauldrons throughout the classical period. Cf., e. g., from the Agora excavations, a deep casserole of ca. 500 B.C., P 25771 (*Pots and Pans of Classical Athens*, Princeton, 1958, fig. 39, right); still later, the casseroles P 10130 and P 8307, of ca. 400 and 350 B.C. respectively.

For a Geometric oinochoe of shape somewhat similar to our series, cf. *B.S.A.*, XXI, 1930-1931, pl. V, no. 70.

¹⁵ The choice of a dolphin as Athena's shield device on the Burgon amphora (*ABV*, 89, 1) may come to mind; but this is no more than one among many popular shield devices, and apparently without special association with the goddess.

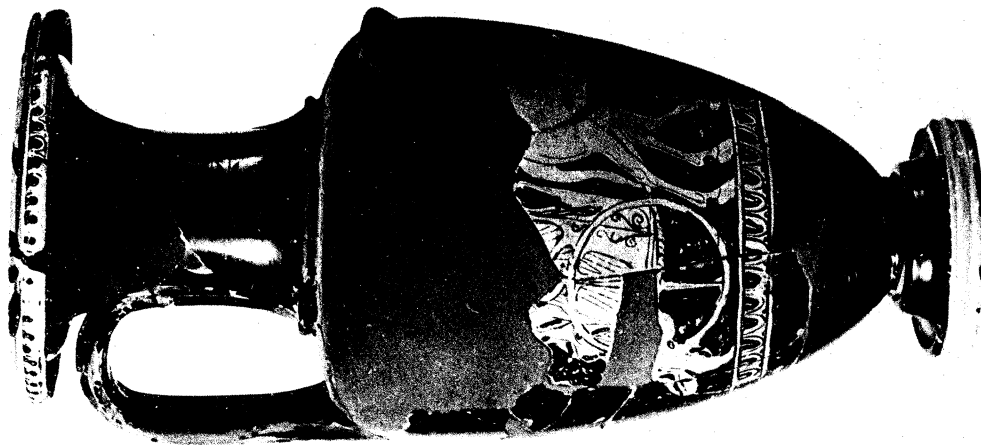
are for instance two examples by the Berlin Painter (*ARV* 137, 89 and *ARV* 138, 107); there is also the famous plaque by Skythes in black-figure on white ground. In these scenes, however, she is usually fully armed and sometimes, as on the Louvre amphora by the Troilos Painter (*ARV* 190, 2), with Herakles in attendance, or with other gods (e. g. Zeus on the Berlin Painter's calyx krater (*ARV* 137, 89)).¹⁶ In these earlier representations the goddess is thus apparently preparing to leave for the Battle of Gods and Giants; such scenes serve only to emphasize Athena's connection with the chariot.¹⁷ This connection is also traceable in literature. There are several references to Athena Ἴππία: Pindar, *Olymp.* XIII, 79; Sophokles, *OC*, 1065 ff.; and Pausanias I, xxx, 4: δείκνυνται δὲ καὶ χώρος καλούμενος κολωνὸς ἵππιος, ἔνθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς πρῶτον ἐλθεῖν λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδα καὶ βωμὸς Ποσειδῶνος Ἰππίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰππίας There is therefore the possibility that these oinochoai were used, if not in connection with the celebration of the Panathenaia, then in some special ceremony in a cult of Athena Ἴππία.

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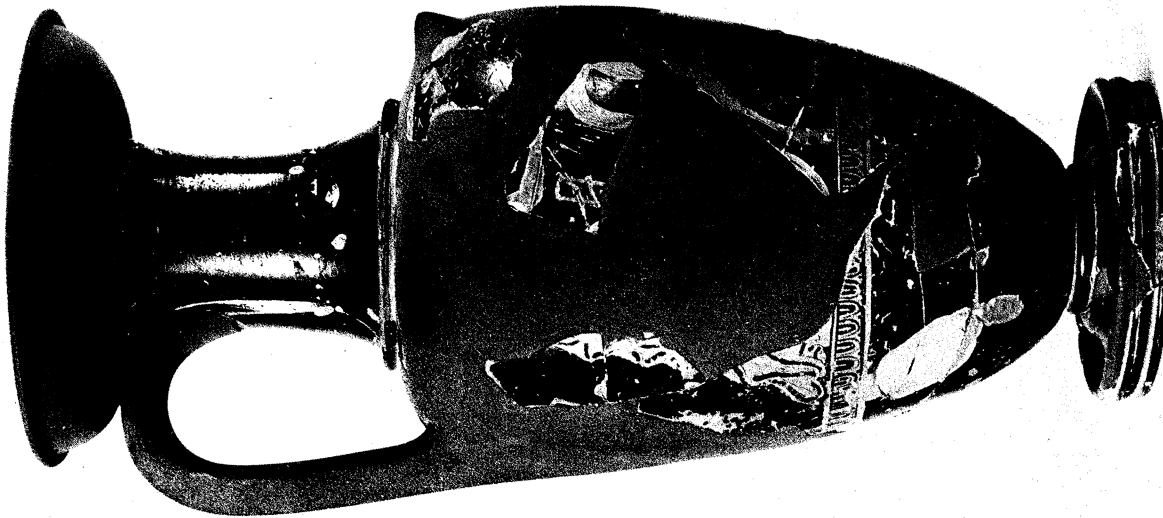
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¹⁶ One should mention here the archaic relief of Athena mounting a chariot (if the figure is Athena) in the Acropolis Museum (1342, Schrader, *Marmorbildwerke*, Frankfurt, 1939, no. 474). It is noteworthy that she is not wearing any form of armor. On the terracotta plaques published in *J.H.S.*, XVII, 1897, pp. 306 ff. and in Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, Cambridge, 1921, pp. 414 ff., she is armed: helmet, aegis and spear.

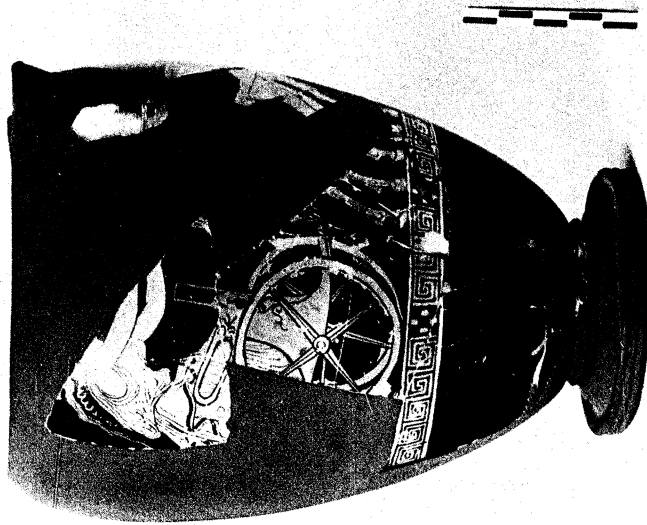
¹⁷ Aristeides in his panegyric of the goddess devotes a large section to Athena's prowess with the chariot (pp. 18 f.). The most recent study of this subject is N. Yalouris, "Athena als Herrin der Pferde," *Museum Helveticum*, VII, 1950, pp. 19-101.



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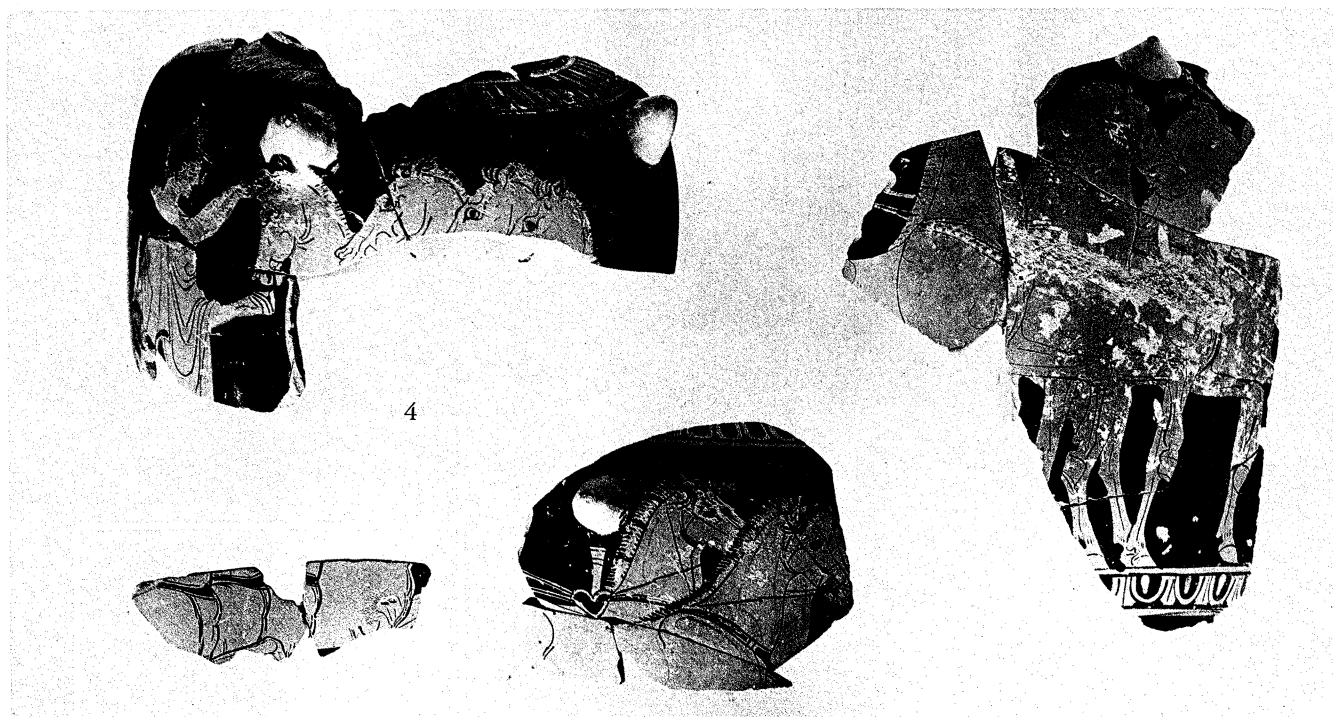
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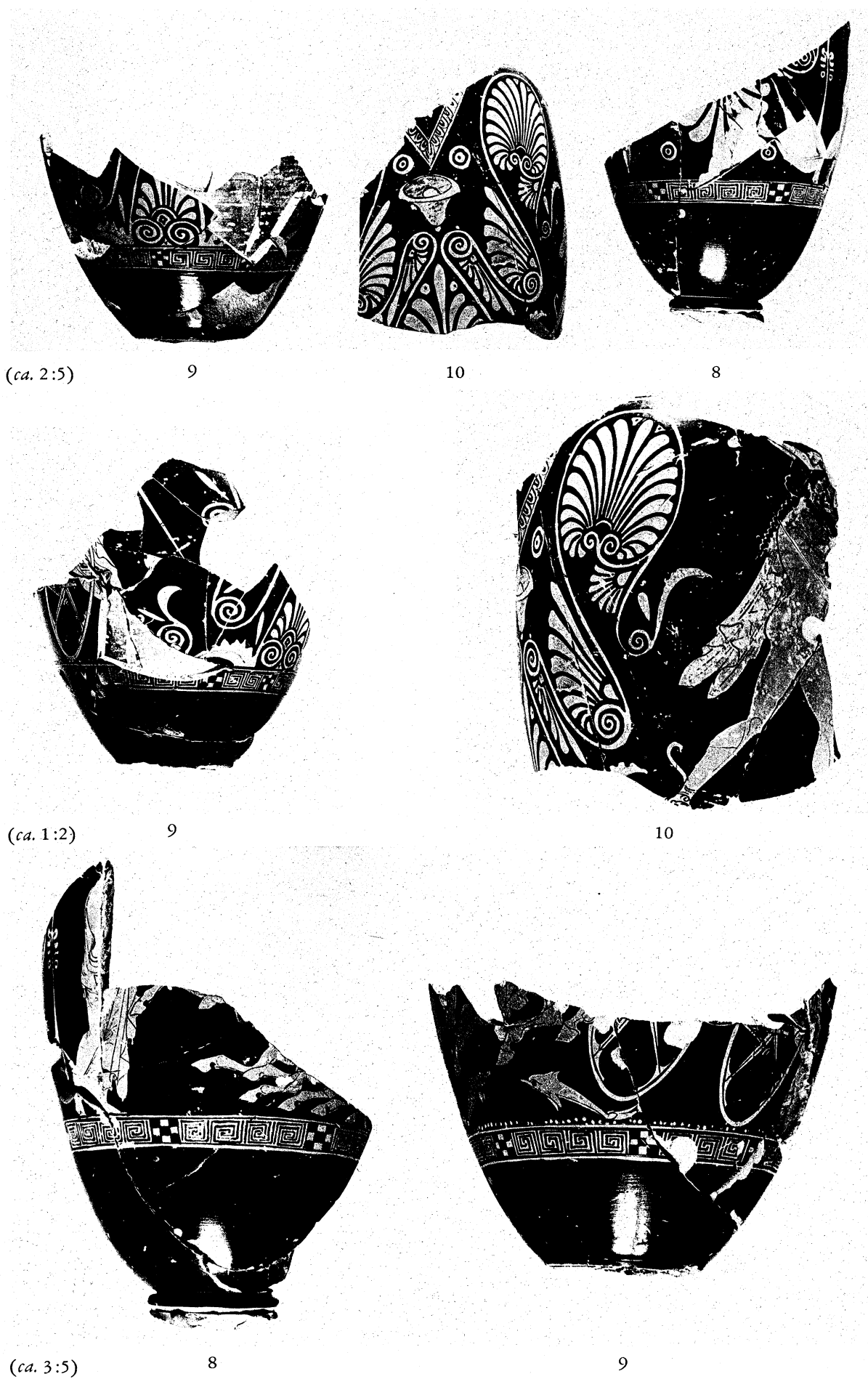
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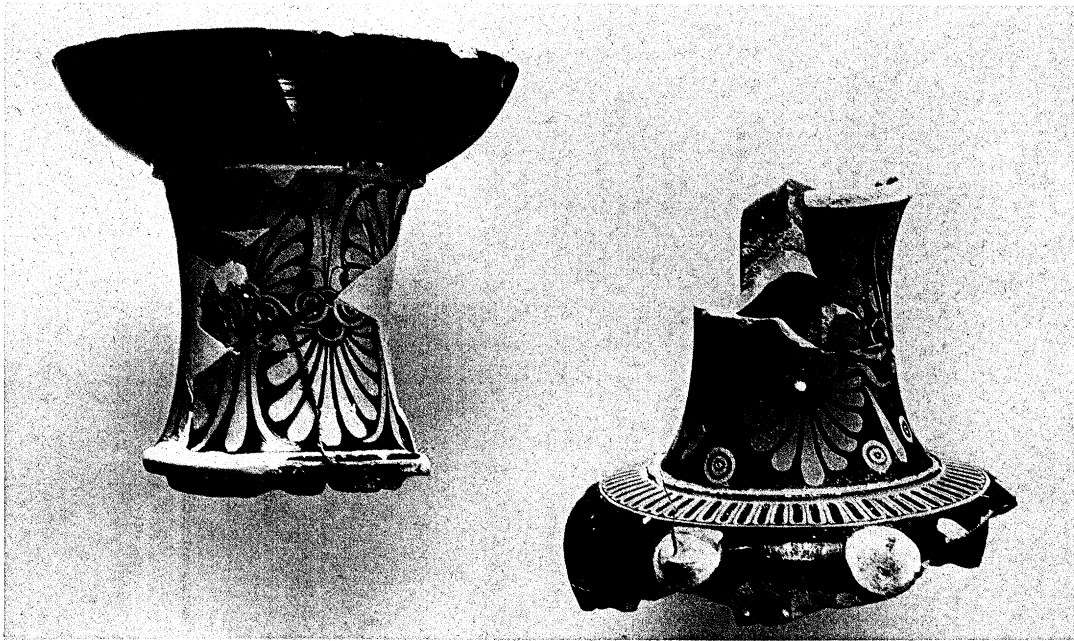


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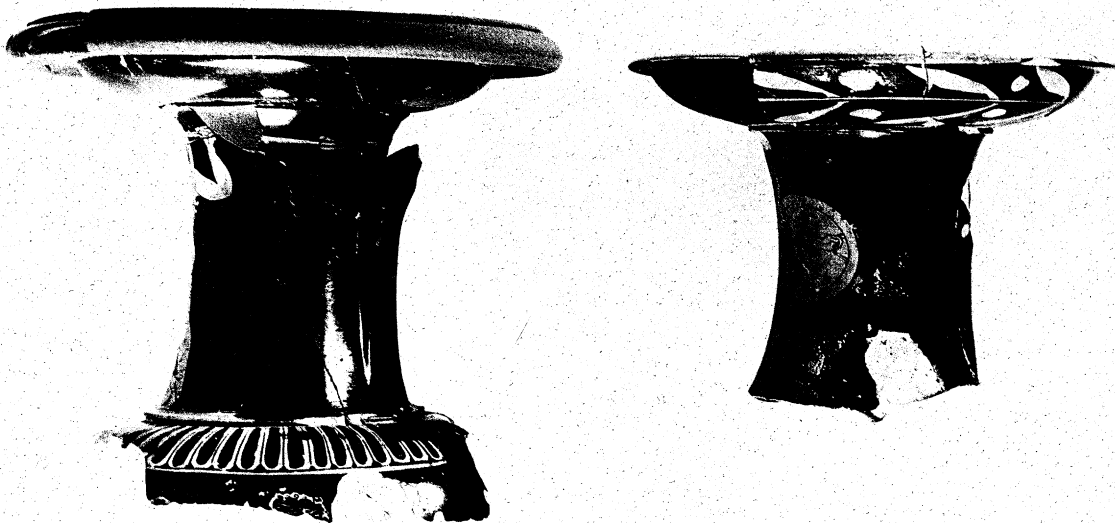
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15

14



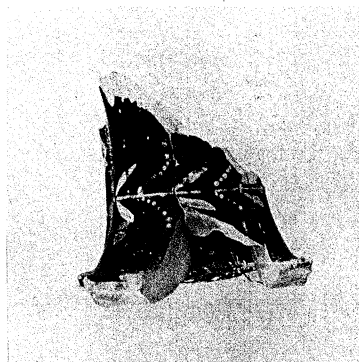
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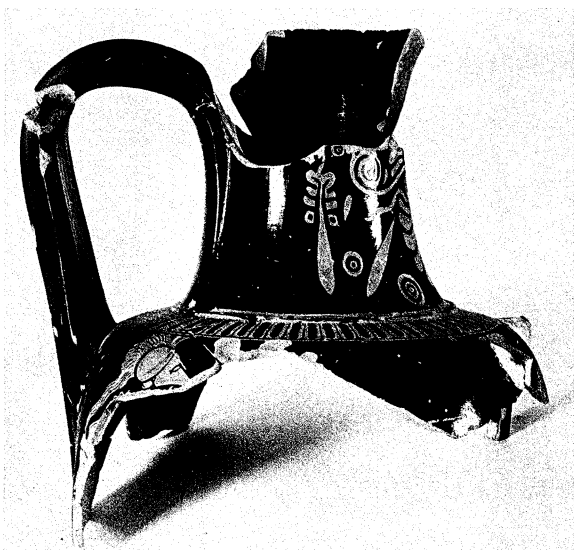
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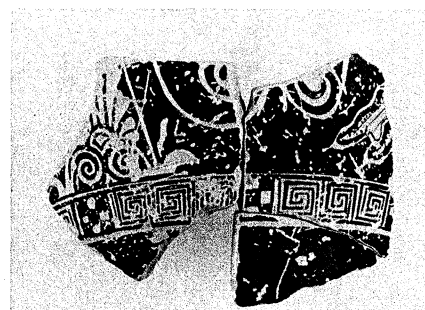


16



12

(ca. 1:2)



11



Acropolis North Slope, 1940

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