SILVER, GLASS, AND CLAY
EVIDENCE FOR
THE DATING OF HELLENISTIC LUXURY TABLEWARE

(PLATES 83 AND 84)

In one way or another, Virginia Grace and Dorothy Thompson have found themselves mixed up with wine; they have studied the containers in which it was transported and stored, the jugs from which it was poured, the cups from which it was drunk. In short, one can follow the vintage from ship to lip in their works. On the proximal end of this journey lie the moldmade bowls of Athens. It is thus in the spirit of the symposium that I offer this consideration of a group of Hellenistic wine cups[1] as a tribute to two friends and mentors.

THERE is ample evidence that the princes of the Hellenistic world had a large appetite for expensive tableware. Athenaios preserves astonishing accounts of displays of luxury vessels. In a procession preceding games organized by the eccentric Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175–163 B.C.) in the Antiochene suburb of Daphne, 1000 silver vessels and 800 gold ones were carried.[2] Kallixeinos of Rhodes reported the combined weight of gold and silver vessels displayed in the pavillion of Ptolemy II Philadelphos as 10,000 talents, a weight of well over 200 tons.[3] In the associated procession, which took place in Alexandria in the 270's,[4] hundreds more vessels were displayed; over a thousand are mentioned, but

[1] I would like to thank Homer Thompson, under whose directorship the clay bowls presented here were found, for permission to publish this material. Thanks are also due Gladys Weinberg for advice on Hellenistic glass and Malcolm Wallace for information about Hellenistic and Roman weights. The photographs were taken by Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. and Robert K. Vincent, Jr., and were printed by Kyriaki Moustaki. I would also like to thank Helen Townsend, Secretary of the Agora Excavations, for her assistance in practical matters.

Works frequently cited will be abbreviated as follows:

Agora XXII = S. I. Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora*, XXII, *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*, Princeton 1982

Courby = F. Courby, *Les bols grecs à reliefs*, Paris 1922

TCHP = H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 311–480

Numbers preceded by the letter P are Agora inventory numbers. All dates are before Christ.

[2] *Deipnosophistai* v.195b.

[3] *Deipnosophistai* v.197c. C. B. Gulick calculated the weight at "nearly 300 tons" (The Loeb Classical Library, *Athenaeus* II, London 1928, p. 393, note d). Malcolm Wallace, whom I have consulted on matters of metrology, has contributed the following note: "Gulick's calculation is likely based on the Attic coin talent of about 25–26 kg., 10,000 of which would make 250–260 metric tons or 275–286 U.S. (short) tons. As Kallixeinos, however, specifies silver talents and his endless metrological detail throughout the passage surely comes from official Ptolemaic sources, a more natural translation is in terms of the then current reduced Ptolemaic silver coin weights, with a talent of about 21.5 kg." Based on this hypothesis, the weight in question would be about 236.5 U.S. tons. It should be pointed out, however, that the text is unclear, and this figure may include as well the weights of other furnishings of the pavillion, among which are numbered 100 gold couches and 200 gold tripods.

[4] *Deipnosophistai* v.197c–203a. The procession described by Kallixeinos is usually identified with a celebration of the Alexandrian Ptolemaia in 279/8, 275/4, or 271/0, but P. M. Fraser expresses well-

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entries like ἀργυρωμάτων ἅμαξαι τετρακόσιαι[5] make it impossible to know exactly how many individual pieces were involved. Roman generals included the riches of the east in their triumphs, and Lucius Scipio is said to have displayed vast quantities of decorated silver and gold in a triumph of the year 189 celebrating the conquest of Asia.[6] When Attalos III bequeathed the kingdom of Pergamon to Rome in 133, his personal effects, including large amounts of precious tableware, were auctioned to eager buyers in the city.[7]

Only a fraction of these fabled riches has survived, and relatively few pieces have been found in controlled excavation circumstances. Most have reached private collections and museums through the art market, and little is known of their provenances or of the contexts in which they were found. It has therefore been very difficult to date these objects with any security, and their chronology has been founded in large part on stylistic analysis, about which there has naturally been considerable disagreement. To take a single example, a shallow silver bowl with floral decoration found at Nihawend in Iran has been dated variously by H. von Schoenebeck in the beginning of the 2nd century, by A. Oliver, Jr. in the second half of the 2nd century, by H. Küthmann and T. Kraus shortly after 100, and by L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford about the middle of the 1st century.[8]

Fortunately, however, some of these luxury goods inspired copies in clay, and comparison with these copies, for which a firm chronology has been established on the basis of archaeological contexts, can help to provide a firmer footing for the chronology of the luxury vessels.[9] It has long been recognized that there are close similarities between Hellenistic hemispherical bowls and the ceramic moldmade relief bowls commonly referred to as "Megarian bowls", and it is now generally accepted that the clay bowls originated as inexpensive copies of Hellenistic metalware.[10] The hemispherical shape and the recurrence of several "Egyptian" motifs, especially the calyx of lotus petals that decorates the bottoms of many ceramic bowls, have suggested further that the silver and gold prototypes were of Alexandrian

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founded doubts about the connection of the Pompe of Kallixeinos with the Ptolemaia. See *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, pp. 231–232 and *BCH* 78, 1954, p. 57, note 3 for discussion and summary of earlier views.

[5] *Deipnosophistai* v.202f.

[6] Livy, xxxvii.59.4–5; Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiii.148. Livy puts the weight of silver vessels at 1423 pounds, the gold at 1023; Pliny says Scipio had 1400 pounds of silver vessels and 1500 pounds of gold ones. Again, I thank Malcolm Wallace for the following note: "Taking the Roman pound as 'about 324 gms.' (M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974, pp. 590–592) and the U.S. pound as 454 gms., we may allow about five U.S. pounds or 2¼ kg. for every seven Roman pounds." The weight of the silver, then, was in the region of 1000 U.S. pounds while the gold weighed between 730 and 1070 U.S. pounds.

[7] Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiii.149.

[8] H. U. von Schoenebeck, "Ein hellenistisches Schalornament," *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand*, Munich 1938, p. 57, pl. 22:1; A. Oliver, Jr., *Silver for the Gods: 800 Years of Greek and Roman Silver*, Toledo, Ohio 1977, p. 75; H. Küthmann, "Beiträge zur hellenistisch-römischen Toreutik I," *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 5, 1958, pp. 107–108; T. Kraus, *Megarische Becher im römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz*, Mainz 1951, p. 19; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, "Les bols mégariens," *BABesch* 28, 1953, pp. 19–20.

[9] Attempts have been made in this direction by Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford (*op. cit.*, pp. 1–21), but they were hampered by the incomplete publication of the ceramic material on which she based her study.

[10] R. Zahn, "Thongeschirr," in *Priene*, T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, edd., Berlin 1904, pp. 411–415; Courby, pp. 336, 437.

manufacture.[11] In support of this suggestion, U. Hausmann has drawn attention to the similarity between a moldmade ceramic bowl in the National Museum of Athens and a silver bowl from a temple treasure found at Toukh-el-Garmous in Egypt and manufactured during the early Ptolemaic period.[12] Both the clay and the silver bowl have a rosette medallion and a wall decorated with tall, pointed, overlapping lotus petals with central ribs, and it seems clear from this comparison that the potters were copying the metalsmiths closely. The details of this relationship are not clear,[13] but potters would probably have had access to plaster casts of metal originals, such as those found at Memphis in Egypt,[14] and possibly even to the metal originals themselves.

A careful examination of the hemispherical moldmade bowls found in excavations at the ancient Agora of Athens has made it possible both to establish a firm date for the beginning of the moldmade bowls at Athens and to confirm the debt of this type of pottery to Alexandrian metalware. Evidence for the date comes from numerous contexts, usually the fills of wells or cisterns, in which moldmade bowls were found in association with coins and stamped amphora handles. The work of Agora staff numismatists Fred Kleiner and John Kroll, and above all the studies of Virginia Grace on the chronology of the amphora handles, form the basis of the pottery chronology. An analysis of this information places the beginning of hemispherical moldmade bowls in Athens in the years between 240 and 220, somewhat earlier than they are attested on other sites, and therefore supports the suggestion that they were invented by Athenian potters. The latter half of this period was a time of especially close friendship between Athens and Alexandria, and I have suggested elsewhere that the moldmade bowls originated as copies of Alexandrian silverware displayed at the first celebration of the Athenian Ptolemaia in honor of Ptolemy III Euergetes, probably in 224/3 B.C.[15] This gives us a remarkably precise date for the beginning of moldmade bowls in Athens.

[11] Zahn had suggested that the ceramic bowls themselves began to be manufactured in Alexandria (*op. cit.*, pp. 413–418; see also R. Pagenstecher, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II, iii, *Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin: Die Gefässe in Stein und Ton, Knochenschnitzereien*, Leipzig 1913, p. 64). Courby pointed out the difficulties of this thesis, suggesting that the prototypes were Alexandrian silver vases, exported and copied elsewhere (pp. 423–437). This view has been generally accepted and has been developed further by K. Parlasca, who suggests Athens as the place where ceramic moldmade bowls were first manufactured ("Das Verhältnis des megarischen Becher zum alexandrinischen Kunsthandwerk," *JdI* 70, 1955, pp. 129–154). See also A. Adriani, "Un vetro dorato alessandrino dal Caucaso," *BSRAA* 42, 1967, p. 123; U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher*, Stuttgart 1959, pp. 19–21; Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *op. cit.* (footnote 8 above), pp. 13–15.

[12] Hausmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–21, pl. 1. The ceramic bowl, which may not be Attic, cannot be dated by context, but the decorative scheme, as well as the shape and the moldmade shell feet, which relate it to the wheelmade shell-footed bowls of the 3rd century (e.g., Agora inv. P 27986; Stella G. Miller, "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, no. 34, p. 234, pl. 32) suggest that it was made in the 3rd century (*ca.* 225–200?).

[13] An interesting discussion of the relationship between Hellenistic potters and metalsmiths may be found in G. Siebert, *Recherches sur les ateliers de bols à reliefs du Péloponnèse à l'époque hellénistique*, Paris 1978, pp. 211–216.

[14] O. Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät in antiken Gypsabgüssen*, Berlin 1911, nos. 18–20, pls. 7 and 9; G. Richter, "Ancient Plaster Casts of Greek Metalware," *AJA* 62, 1958, pp. 370–371.

[15] *Agora* XXII, pp. 9–13.

Excavations in the Agora have also unearthed some excellent evidence for the form of the metal prototypes themselves. Most of the ceramic bowls were made in molds in which the decoration was stamped or drawn by hand.[16] Seven pieces, however, were made in molds which were taken directly from metal originals (Nos. 1–7; Pl. 83[17]). These seven pieces (two nearly complete bowls and five fragments) share a great delicacy of detail which cannot have been achieved by stamping or drawing motifs in a clay mold. Furthermore, they lack the repetition of minor motifs that characterizes most of the moldmade bowls; each bloom is individual and even those representing the same type of flower show minor variations. The pieces come from at least two different molds: a smaller one with a dolphin rim pattern (Nos. 1–3) and a larger one with a floral rim pattern (Nos. 4 and 5). All share the same decorative scheme. Only No. 1 preserves the medallion, an eight-petaled rosette, around which there is a low corolla of ferns and tiny lotus petals. The wall is embellished with alternating tall, thin, acanthus leaves and lotus petals, with floral tendrils between them. Despite the rather mannered elegance of the elaborate tendrils and the elongated petals and leaves, there is remarkable naturalism in the rendering of the tips of the lotus petals, which bend alternately forward to the left and backward to the right. Some of the blooms, particularly the lily (Nos. 4 and 5), are shown in a naturalistic perspective rather than in simple silhouette. This naturalism contrasts with the fantasy of the rims of Nos. 4 and 5, where delicate tendrils spring from the blooms to support small birds. These pieces are carefully made and well glazed, and several have unusually thin walls (Nos. 1, 2, and 5; wall thickness 0.002 m.). Those parts which were left to the skill of the potter (the wheel-made lip and the scraped grooves in the rim pattern and below the lip) have been executed with care and delicacy. These pieces are to the bulk of Athenian moldmade bowls as fine china is to its dime-store equivalent, and everything about them suggests that they are direct mechanical copies of the metal originals that inspired the invention of ceramic moldmade bowls at Athens.

By contrast, No. 8 is an example of what appears to be a rather faithful imitation of these bowls but made by what was to become a conventional method of production, drawing in the surface of a thrown clay mold. In this case there is no evidence that stamps were used; the entire decoration appears to have been drawn freehand. The motifs are very similar to those on the mechanical copies, except that rays appear between the petals of the medallion rosette, and it is the acanthus leaves instead of the lotus petals which bend to left and right. The rim pattern has been simplified and coarsened, but the upper band of dolphins, bird, and rosettes recalls the rim patterns of the mechanical copies Nos. 1–3, and the running spiral is a simplified form of the wave pattern, placed here, as on the mechanical copies, above a guilloche. Subsequent products, the molds for which were produced by both drawing and stamping, are less faithful to the prototypes, but even there certain details, such as the forms of some of the flowers, may be traced back to the mechanical copies (e.g. No. 9;[18] see Pl. 83).

[16] For technique of manufacture see Courby, pp. 327–328; G. R. Edwards, "Hellenistic Pottery," in *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, *Small Objects from the Pnyx, II*, Princeton 1956, pp. 85–89; *Agora* XXII, pp. 4–5.

[17] Nos. 1 and 5 are published as *Agora* XXII, nos. 49 and 50.

[18] Published as *Agora* XXII, no. 58; cf. also P 28527 and P 28543 (*Agora* XXII, nos. 55 and 59).

The archaeological contexts of the mechanical copies affirm that they were made in the 3rd century. The two most complete pieces (Nos. 1 and 2) were found in cisterns which were probably filled before the end of the 3rd century, although one of these deposits (E 14:1) was disturbed at a later date, probably in the 1st century B.C.[19] Two other fragments (Nos. 3 and 5) come from deposits which were not laid down until about the end of the first quarter of the 2nd century but which contained a great deal of earlier material.[20] If the hypothesis that the ceramic bowls were inspired by vases imported in 224/3 for the Athenian Ptolemaia is correct, then we have in these pieces copies of Alexandrian silver of 224/3 or earlier. They are therefore more than mere ceramic curiosities, for they provide a fixed point for Hellenistic silverware and other luxury vessels.

To my knowledge, none of the extant silver hemispherical bowls bears more than a general resemblance to these bowls from the Agora.[21] The resemblance is very striking, however, to a gold-glass bowl acquired in Israel and formerly in the Rothschild Collection (Pl. 84).[22] This bowl is an example of a rare type of glass, in which decoration in gold leaf is sandwiched between two layers of glass.[23] Many scholars have maintained that gold glass was an Alexandrian invention and speciality,[24] but two fragments have come to light in the debris of a glass factory on Rhodes, suggesting that gold glass was made there,[25] and it may have been manufactured elsewhere as well. The date of the Rothschild bowl and its place of manufacture have been hotly debated. Wuilleumier, who first published it, dated it on stylistic grounds in the first half of the 3rd century and placed it in Asia Minor because roughly similar ceramic bowls were made there in the 2nd century.[26] Rostovtzeff agreed that it should be placed in the 3rd century, but was convinced that the bowl, and all other gold glass for that matter, was Alexandrian and drew a comparison with a ceramic bowl found in Egypt.[27] Adriani was ambivalent; the style inclined him towards a later date, and the provenance, as well as parallels with Antiochene ceramic bowls, suggested to him that the Rothschild bowl was made in Syria or Asia Minor. On the other hand, he noted a general similarity to the moldmade decoration of two black-glazed hydriai from Alexandria in support of an early 3rd-century date and Alexandrian manufacture.[28] Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford

[19] See *Agora* XXII, Deposit Summaries, under E 14:1 and N 21:4 (lower fill).

[20] See *Agora* XXII, Deposit Summaries, under H–K 12–14 and E 5:2.

[21] Cf. a silver-gilt calyx cup from Ithaka, on which the lower body is decorated with alternating lotus petals and acanthus leaves (D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate*, London 1966, pl. 25:B and p. 100, fig. 23:C).

[22] P. Wuilleumier, *Le trésor de Tarente*, Paris 1930, pp. 29–31, pls. XI, XII. The present whereabouts of the bowl is unknown.

[23] For the technique see A. von Saldern, "Glass Finds at Gordion," *JGS* 1, 1959, p. 46.

[24] A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum*, Leipzig 1908, III, p. 838; W. Deonna, "Bol en verre à décor doré," *REA* 17, 1925, pp. 20–21; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1941, I, p. 371; III, pp. 1408–1409, note 165; von Saldern, *op. cit.*, p. 48; D. Harden, "The Canosa Group of Hellenistic Glasses in the British Museum," *JGS* 10, 1968, p. 41.

[25] See summary by G. D. Weinberg in Δελτ 23, 1968, B' [1969], pp. 441–442, pl. 410:β.

[26] Wuilleumier, *op. cit.* (footnote 22 above), pp. 30–31; he compared it to bowls from Pergamon published by Courby (pp. 404–408, figs. 86–88).

[27] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* (footnote 24 above), III, p. 1409; he compared it to a clay bowl in the Schreiber collection (Pagenstecher, *op. cit.* [footnote 11 above], pp. 71–72, fig. 83:4, p. 196, pl. 22:1). See also *ibid.*, p. 67, fig. 79:a, and p. 69, fig. 81:c.

[28] Adriani, *op. cit.* (footnote 11 above), pp. 119–120.

at first suggested a date in the 3rd century,[29] but subsequently expressed the opinion that, although a late 3rd-century date was possible, the bowl was more likely to date in the mid-2nd century. This revision seems to have been the result of her reassessment of the date of the Antiochene parallels and of her acceptance of A. Oliver, Jr.'s argument that gold glass originated around 200 B.C. She explained the similarity to bowls from Antioch with the suggestion that the Rothschild bowl was a Syrian commission executed by an Alexandrian workshop.[30]

None of the parallels with ceramics cited by these authors is as close as that between the Rothschild bowl and the ceramic bowls from the Agora which have been presented here. Both have an eight-petaled rosette on the bottom and, although the radiating rays that are placed between the petals on the Rothschild bowl do not appear on the medallion of No. 1, they are found on the fragments of the manual copy (No. 8). The medallion of the glass bowl is surrounded by what may be small leaves or simply mounds in which the leaves and petals of the wall are rooted. In any case, they resemble the corolla of tiny lotus petals that surrounds the medallion of No. 1. The wall decoration is remarkably similar. On both the glass and the ceramics tall lotus petals alternate with acanthus leaves, and, on both, the tops of the lotus petals bend alternately to right and left. The similarity extends even to some of the blooms on the intervening tendrils. The dotted flowers in Wuilleumier's plate XII, views 2 and 3, appear on No. 2, and the rhomboidal blooms visible in the watercolor on Wuilleumier's plate XI appear on Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5. The rim pattern, admittedly, is totally different, and the meander occurs very rarely on Attic bowls, if at all.[31] The shape of both body and rim, however, conforms to the Attic examples, and the size is about the same as that of the larger Athenian bowls (Nos. 4 and 5).

It is appropriate at this point to consider the relationships among ceramics, silver, and gold glass.[32] It is generally accepted, as mentioned above, that the ceramics copy the metalware, although they did of course enjoy an independent development of their own after their initial inspiration by metal prototypes. Although glass was cheaper than silver or gold in the Hellenistic period, some glass was considered a luxury item. Two ὑάλινα διάχρυσα[33] were carried in Ptolemy II's procession in Alexandria, and glass vessels are listed in treasury inventories on Delos.[34] Gold glass must have been relatively expensive, at least in comparison

[29] *Op. cit.* (footnote 8 above), p. 16.

[30] L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, "Les bols hellénistiques en verre doré," *BABesch* 45, 1970, pp. 139–140; A. Oliver, Jr., "A Gold-glass Fragment in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *JGS* 11, 1969, p. 16. For Antiochene parallels see F. Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, i, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, Princeton 1948, fig. 12, nos. 7, 12, 16, 27.

[31] Cf. P 6318 (*Agora* XXII, no. 291), which comes from a 3rd-century context but which may be an import.

[32] See Deonna, *op. cit.* (footnote 24 above), p. 20; Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* (footnote 24 above), I, p. 371.

[33] Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* v.199f. It has been suggested that this describes gold glass (Harden, *op. cit.* [footnote 24 above], p. 41; Kisa, *op. cit.* [footnote 24 above], III, p. 836; I. Schüler, "A Note on Jewish Gold Glasses," *JGS* 8, 1966, p. 48).

[34] E.g., F. Durrbach and P. Roussel, *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1937, no. 1417 A ii, lines 12–13 and no. 1429 A ii, lines 24–25. Ancient testimonia on the relative costliness of glass are contradictory; see M. L. Trowbridge, "Philological Studies in Ancient Glass," *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* XIII, 1928, pp. 364–367.

with ceramics, for it contained a certain amount of precious metal and was difficult to produce. Its rarity, however, and its smooth surface suggest that it did not serve as a prototype for moldmade relief ceramics but rather, like ceramics, followed the lead of metalware.[35] Certainly there must have been a close relationship between metal and gold-glass vases, both of which were produced for more or less the same clientele, and it is therefore likely that metalware and gold glass decorated in the same manner will be closely contemporary.

The close coincidence of motifs and their arrangement on the Rothschild bowl and the clay bowls from the Agora, direct mechanical copies of metal bowls dating in 224/3 or earlier, lends strong support to a 3rd-century date for the Rothschild bowl. More specifically, since this type of decoration was current in 224/3, it is likely that the Rothschild bowl was manufactured around that time. At this point one must guard against circular argument, but if it is true that the metal prototypes of the Agora bowls were imported from Alexandria, then the Rothschild bowl which resembles them is "Alexandrian" in its composition. This does not mean, however, that it was manufactured in Alexandria any more than the clay copies were. Presumably any glassmaker with a mastery of the technique could have copied an imported Alexandrian prototype. Indeed, the appearance of local industries of moldmade bowls sporting motifs of Alexandrian inspiration in cities from Italy to the Near East indicates that, by the end of the 3rd century, these motifs had become the common property of the Oikoumene.

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATED PIECES

The objects illustrated on Plates 83 and 84 are described below for the convenience of the reader. The rim motifs are described from top to bottom, unless otherwise indicated. Clay color is described by reference to the *Munsell Soil Color Charts*, Baltimore 1973.

1 (P 5813: *Agora* XXII, no. 49). Pl. 83
Mechanical copy of metal bowl

H. 0.065 m.; Diam. 0.125 m.

A few fragments missing; restored in plaster.

Medallion; eight-petaled rosette within fine scraped groove and ridge, surrounded by row of ferns bending forward with tiny lotus petals at base. Wall: tall acanthus leaves alternating with lotus petals, with floral tendrils between them. Tips of lotus petals bend alternately forward to left and backward to right. Rim: beading; egg and dart; dolphins swimming left; wave; beading; guilloche between cables, ridges, and scraped grooves. Scraped groove below lip. Very shiny black glaze, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6).

Context: Cistern E 14:1 (deposited before end of 3rd century, with 1st-century disturbance).

2 (P 16221). Mechanical copy of metal bowl Pl. 83

Restored H. 0.063 m.; Diam. 0.123 m.

One third of bowl preserved, medallion and lower wall missing; restored in plaster.

Made in same mold as No. 1. Scraped groove below lip. Shiny brownish black to reddish brown glaze, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6).

Context: Cistern N 21:4, lower fill (deposited before end of 3rd century).

[35] Athenaios (*Deipnosophistai* XI.784c) says that the Alexandrians imitated the shapes of clay vessels in glass, so it is conceivable that gold glass imitated moldmade bowls, though this seems to me improbable. I would expect the relationship between gold glass and ceramics to be analogous to that between siblings rather than to that between parent and child.

3 (P 11436). Mechanical copy of metal bowl Pl. 83

P.H. 0.032 m.; est. Diam. 0.125 m.
Fragment of rim.

Rim: beading; egg and dart; dolphins swimming left; wave; beading; guilloche between ridges and scraped grooves. Scraped groove below lip. Probably not from same mold as the preceding, but very similar. Dull brown glaze, pink clay (5YR 7/4).

Context: Cistern E 5:2 (deposited in first quarter of 2nd century).

4 (P 26664 a, b). Mechanical copy of metal bowl Pl. 83

P.H. a) 0.034 m., b) 0.044 m.; est. Diam. 0.16 m.
Two non-joining sections of rim.

Wall: tip of acanthus and one rhomboidal flower visible on fragment b. Rim: main decoration is band of flowers; on fragment a, closed bud and lily bloom with bird perched on tendril which grows from it; on fragment b, Rhodian rose, with bird perched on tendril of lily to right, and tendril ending in half palmette at left. Above floral band is egg and dart with beading above it. Below floral band are pairs of double spirals above a guilloche between cables, ridges, and scraped grooves. Scraped groove below lip. Possibly from same mold as No. 5. Lustrous brownish black glaze, light reddish brown clay (5YR 6/4). Miltos in scraped grooves.

Context unknown, found at L 7 on Agora grid.

5 (P 27436: *Agora* XXII, no. 50). Mechanical copy of metal bowl Pl. 83

P.H. 0.048 m.; est. Diam. 0.16.
Fragment of rim.

Wall: two blooms flank tip of acanthus leaf. Rim: indistinct motif; beading; egg and dart; band of blooms including lily and elaborate palmette springing from acanthus calyx and sprouting tendrils, one of which ends in a half palmette, another of which supports a bird; pairs of double spirals; guilloche between cables and scraped grooves. Scraped groove below lip. Possibly made in same mold as No. 4. Shiny brown glaze (7.5YR 5/2–5/4), reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6).

Context: construction fill of Middle Stoa (H–K 12–14) (deposited near end of first quarter of 2nd century).

6 (P 20185). Mechanical copy of metal bowl Pl. 83

P.H. 0.048 m.
Fragment of wall.

At left, tall acanthus leaf flanked by floral tendrils. At right, tall lotus petal with tip bent over to left. Part of rim pattern, a guilloche between cables and ridges, preserved at top. Not from same mold as Nos. 1 and 2, and probably not from same mold as Nos. 4 and 5. Shiny black glaze with metallic patches, reddish brown clay (5YR 6/6).

Context: construction fill of Stoa of Attalos II (P–R 6–12) (deposited near middle of 2nd century).

7 (P 20276). Mechanical copy of metal bowl Pl. 83

P.H. 0.045 m.
Fragment of wall.

Lotus petal in center flanked by floral tendrils. On either side is tall acanthus leaf. Probably from fairly large bowl. Dull black glaze with metallic patches, reddish brown clay (2.5YR 5/4), remarkably dark for Attic clay.

Context: found at Q 9 under floor of Square Peristyle building, with small amount of pottery of 4th and early 3rd centuries (lots ΣA 86, ΣA 87).

8 (P 4825). Freehand copy of metal bowl Pl. 83

Est. Diam. 0.12 m.; p.H. a) 0.028 m., b) 0.03 m., c) 0.024 m.; max. p. dim. d) 0.085 m.
Two joining fragments of rim (a), two fragments of wall (b, c), and section of lower wall and medallion (d).

Medallion: eight-petaled rosette with rays between petals, surrounded by two ridges and row of small ferns with tiny lotus petals at base. Wall: alternating lotus petals and acanthus leaves with floral tendrils between them. Tip of acanthus leaf bends forward and left (fragment b). Rim: at top, from left to right, are dolphins flanking dot rosette, dot rosette, dolphins flanking fern, bird flying right, dot rosette. Below are running spiral and guilloche between ridges and scraped grooves. Scraped groove below lip. Dull brown glaze, pink clay (5YR 7/4). For drawing see *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 103, fig. 2. Cf. *Agora* XXII, no. 51.

Context: found in fill of heroon at M 12 (G. V. Lalonde, "A Hero Shrine in the Athenian Agora,"

Hesperia 49, 1980, pp. 101–102) with 3rd-century coins and pottery and Turkish intrusions (lot Λ 174).

9 (P 18674: *Agora* XXII, no. 58). Floral moldmade bowl Pl. 83

H. 0.073 m.; est. Diam. 0.12 m.

Partly restored in plaster.

Medallion: eight-petaled rosette within two ridges and scraped groove, surrounded by row of small leaves. Wall: tall lotus petals alternating with floral tendrils. Rim: running spiral; beading; egg and dart. Scraped groove below rim. Brownish black glaze, light-brown clay (5YR 6/4).

Context: Cistern M 21:1 (deposited in 1st quarter of 2nd century).

Rothschild bowl (glass) Pl. 84

H. 0.08 m.; Diam. 0.15 m.

Intact.

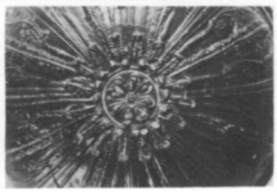
Medallion: eight-petaled rosette with rays between petals, surrounded by two lines. Wall: alternating acanthus leaves and lotus petals with floral tendrils between them, all rooted in small mounds at base. Rim: diamonds; meander; diamonds. Elements of rim bounded by two lines. Gold leaf between an inner blue and an outer clear glass.

Acquired in Israel.

SUSAN I. ROTROFF

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
Mount Allison University
Sackville, N.B.
Canada E0A 3C0

No. 1



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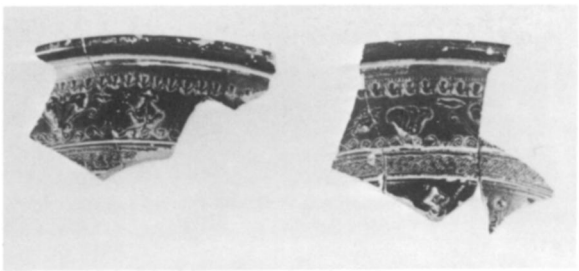

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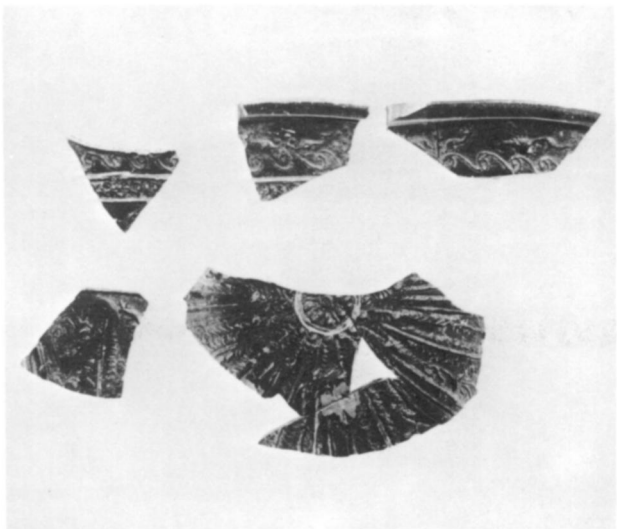


No. 8

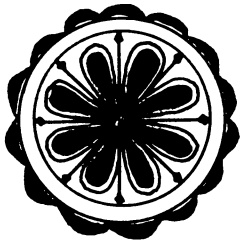
No. 9

PLATE 84

a.

a, b. After pl. XII

b.



Rothschild bowl
(P. Wuilleumier, *Le trésor de Tarente*)

c. Medallion, after pl. XI