ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 73-103)

THE 1937 campaign of the American excavations in the Athenian Agora included work on the Kolonos Agoraioi. One of the most interesting results was the discovery and clearing of a well ¹ whose contents proved to be of considerable value for the study of Attic pottery. For this reason it has seemed desirable to present the material as a whole.²

The well is situated on the southern slopes of the Kolonos. The diameter of the shaft at the mouth is 1.14 metres; it was cleared to the bottom, 17.80 metres below the surface. The modern water-level is 11 metres down. I quote the description from the excavator’s notebook: “The well-shaft, unusually wide and rather well cut, widens towards the bottom to a diameter of ca. 1.50 m. There were great quantities of pottery, mostly coarse; this pottery seems to be all of the same period . . . and joins

In addition to the normal abbreviations for periodicals the following are used:

| A.B.C. | Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien. |
| Ans.   | Archäologischer Anzeiger.        |
| Deubner | Deubner, Attische Feste.         |
| FR.    | Furtwängler-Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei. |
| Kekulé | Kekulé, Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike. |
| Kraiker | Kraiker, Die rotfigurigen attischen Vasen (Collection of the Archaeological Institute of Heidelberg). |
| Langlotz | Langlotz, Griechische Vasen in Würzburg. |
| ML.    | Monumenti Antichi Pubblicati per Cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. |
| Rendiconti | Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. |
| Richter and Hall | Richter and Hall, Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. |

In the introduction, catalogue and plates, the numbers preceded by a ‘T’ refer to the catalogue in Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp. 476-523.

¹ There is a brief reference to this well in Hesperia, VII, 1938, pp. 344-345. It falls in Section IIΘ and its grid reference is 113/ΔΔ. Its clearing was supervised by Mr. Rodney S. Young.

² Thanks are due to the Committee of the British School at Athens for permission to present in Hesperia the results of work done during my tenure of the School’s Macmillan Studentship; to Professor Homer A. Thompson and Miss Lucy Talcott for advice and criticism, and for their generosity in allowing me to publish this material. Of the photographs, plates 73 to 76 are by Herman Wagner; for the rest I am indebted to Miss Alison Frantz. Most of the profiles were drawn by Mrs. C. E. Whipple; the storage amphorae are by Miss Marian Welker and the lamps by John Travlos.
from the baskets at various depths indicate that it was all thrown in at the same time. . . . There was no well-deposit of water-jugs and amphoras at the bottom. At the top we dug about a metre of early third or late fourth century B. C. fill, thrown in no doubt to bring up the level after the earlier fill of the well had settled.”

The pottery includes a greater proportion of red-figured vases than is usually found in Agora well-deposits. These vases receive detailed treatment in the catalogue below, and so need only a brief reference at this point. None of the pieces can be classed among the finest products of the period; the tantalizing scrap, No. 4, is of good quality, perhaps the best in the well (though our judgment might be less favourable had more of the krater survived); the rest ranges from good second-class pieces like the amphora, No. 1, and the lebes gamikos, No. 7, to hack-work like the skyphos and the ring-vase, Nos. 20 and 18; the latter, however, is made noteworthy by its unusual shape. Three of these vases have a special claim to attention because of the interest of the scenes represented upon them; despite uncertainties of interpretation the procession on No. 1, the torch-race and sacrifice on No. 5, and the torch-race on No. 16 may throw new light on Athenian festivals. On the remainder the subjects are drawn from the normal repertory of the period, and show little novelty of treatment. The one black-figured piece, the miniature Panathenaic amphora, No. 23, deserves comment, not for its theme or execution, but because its presence is a confirmation of Beazley’s view that this class of vase came into being before 400 B. C. Our figured vases have, however, an interest which masterpieces lack, since they illustrate the standard of achievement among minor artists and are more truly representative of their time. For the present study they have a further importance in that they enable us to date the contents of the well considered as a whole; it is therefore necessary to analyse their chronological implications.

At first sight it might seem that an upper limit of 440 to 430 B. C. is given by the pyxis, No. 21, and the standless lebes gamikos, No. 6; the pyxis is surely of much the same date as the similar vase published in Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp. 476 and 480, T 2, while the lebes need be little later. The amphora, the oinochoe and the stemmed kylix (Nos. 1, 16 and 12) appear to be the latest pieces in the well, belonging perhaps to the last decade of the century; the Triptolemos fragment (No. 4) may be their contemporary; the two bell-kraters, the stamnos, one of the lebetes and the skyphos (Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7 and 20) seem rather earlier; the choe fragment and the stemless cup (Nos. 17 and 14) are both to be placed in the last quarter of the century, and nothing about the remaining minor pieces necessitates a different dating for them. Thus the bulk of the figured vases form a compact group which can be assigned to the years between 425 and 400 B.C.; the two earlier pieces are separated from this group by a considerable gap, and they may be regarded as survivals, whose long life was perhaps due to the comparative shelter of the dressing table.

*B.S.A.*, 41, 1940-1945, p. 11.
The significance of our red-figured material becomes even greater when we take into account its distribution throughout the well-filling. The oinochoe, one of the latest pieces, came from the bottom of the well; the Herakles krater was not far above it; the amphora was about two-thirds of the way down, and the stemmed kylix was near the upper limit of the fifth century fill. The most satisfactory explanation for the presence of contemporary vases at the top, middle, and bottom is that the whole filling was thrown in at one time; the same conclusion was drawn by the excavator from the occurrence of joins between fragments from different levels. Moreover, the fact that all but two of the figured vases can be placed within comparatively narrow chronological limits suggests very strongly that the group of pottery under discussion does not represent a rubbish-heap which accumulated over many years and was then shovelled out of sight in a sudden access of tidiness; it is what one might expect to find if the well had been used as a dump in the course of clearing up after a major disaster to the china-cupboard. Furthermore, in view of the large amount of pottery which the well contained, it seems likely that more than one household was involved.

It may appear surprising that this particular well should have been chosen as a refuse-pit, since the excavator's account shows clearly that it had been dug or cleaned out only a short time before it was filled up. A possible explanation is that it had proved a failure, though during excavation the flow of water proved embarrassingly ample; it may be that the filling was thrown in as part of a building programme; if so, whatever was erected above it has been obliterated by the Roman house which later occupied the site. But it should be observed that at the bottom of the well was found the skeleton of a man about twenty years of age; we may perhaps suppose that the corpse could not be recovered, and that the well, thus tainted, was put to another use.

For the examination of the black-glazed ware from our well the earlier well-group which is discussed in _Hesperia_, IV, 1935, pp. 476-523, provides a useful foil. That article included an account of the development immediately before and during our period of a considerable number of different vase forms. The publication of the present well has given the opportunity of amplifying what has already been said, and also of outlining the further evolution of certain shapes during the first half of the fourth century. The outline is indeed less complete than one might wish; the Agora

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4 It yielded 44 baskets of pottery. All the impressed, ribbed and black-glazed ware was kept; the inventoried pieces are representative. The great bulk of the pottery was coarse amphorae and semi-glazed kraters. These were heavily selected, four sample tins of amphorae and two of kraters being kept. There were also fragments of coarse oinochoai, lekanides, casseroles, lids and braziers. Here too the inventoried examples are representative. Everything which was inventoried is published here, save for an orientalising sherd (Inv. P 10,962), a scrap of wood (Inv. W 10), and some terracotta fragments (for details see below, p. 339).

5 These bones are discussed and illustrated by J. L. Angel in _Hesperia_, XIV, 1945, p. 311, No. 113, p. 309, fig. 9, and pl. LV.
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has produced several deposits contemporary with ours, and a fair number which contain vases similar to the most developed forms found at Olynthos, but the intermediate stages are poorly represented. Even so it is worth attempting to bridge this gap, since the characteristics of the vase shapes of the last quarter of the fifth century and the tendencies at work on them stand out most clearly when contrasted with the products of the preceding and succeeding generations.

In technique and workmanship the vases from our well are a match for their forerunners. One can detect a change in taste, a movement away from the robustness and full profiles of the preceding era; the thickness of the fabric decreases; handles become more slender and more elongated; these modifications are clearly illustrated if the thin-walled cup-kotylai and the plates from our well are set beside the earlier versions; the Attic-type skyphoi, Nos. 20, 24 and 25, and the ribbed jugs, Nos. 78-80, are further examples of the attempt to enliven a simple outline. Certain shapes, however, do not show any such clear and unambiguous development; in Agora deposits of the last thirty years of the century the bolsal is found with several varieties of profile and decoration, all of which appear to be contemporary; the Corinthian-type skyphos, the small glazed bowl and the one-handler retain their old plain forms, and indeed it is our period which produced the heavy-walled cup-kotyle (Nos. 33, 34) whose keynote is solid durability. Alike in the new refinements and in the perpetuation of old models a certain neatness or even delicacy of execution prevails. Undersides display a series of well-defined glazed zones and circles, with a pleasing balance of light and dark; rims are carefully finished, and feet crisply profiled. One technical idiosyncracy deserves comment; the placing of a finely-tooled concave moulding at the inner junction of foot and floor. This era was clearly not one of innovation. We find the occasional oddity like the ring-handled cup, No. 28, but the only new form to win popularity was the heavy cup-kotyle; the other favourite shapes of the

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7 Contrast with them Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 476, T 21 and T 50-52.
8 Nos. 77; 157-161. For the name see Beazley, B.S.A., 41, 1940-1945, p. 18, note 2.
9 A similar diversity marks the examples from the katharsis pit at Rheneia.
10 Nos. 26, 27; 63-66; 72-75.
11 E.g. the cup-kotylai Nos. 33, 34, 38, and the bolsals Nos. 158, 159, 161; the arrangement on No. 160 is unusual, but its scraped grooves are accurately made.
12 This moulding first makes its appearance on figured cups and lekythoi and on some fine quality glazed vases; e.g. a stemless cup figured in Collignon and Couve, Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes, pl. 44, 1217; a stemless cup in the Agora, A.R.V., p. 773, No. 3; the Agora lekythoi, A.R.V., p. 761, Nos. 1-3; the cup-kotyle, Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 501, T 10. By the end of the third quarter of the century it is found mainly on squat lekythoi and small glazed bowls. This use of it becomes very common during our period (cf. Nos. 9, 10, 11, 42, 63-67, and the lamp No. 114); it retains its popularity during the early part of the fourth century and then disappears.
period are closely akin to their predecessors, and the modifications which occur are applied with restraint and subtlety. There is but a single note of decline; though the quality of the glaze is often good and sometimes incomparable, many entries in the catalogue will be found to contain a note of some discoloration or deficiency.

The limitations of our evidence do not permit us to state with any precision the date of the subsequent deterioration, but it can at least be said that the effects are obvious well before the end of the first half of the fourth century. When one handles vases or fragments of this later period the characteristic which becomes immediately apparent is the greater thickness of the fabric; the increase is in general hard to detect from pictures or drawn profiles, but the comparison of the bolsals Nos. 157 and 162 (fig. 1) may serve to illustrate its magnitude. At the same time the average dimensions of such vases as cups, skyphoi, cup-kotylai, one-handlers and bolsals are considerably below those of typical fifth-century examples. The result is an air of squatness and clumsiness. Furthermore, there is a growing over-emphasis in the harshly outturned lips, contracted bodies and exaggerated handles which are to be seen over a wide range of shapes; again, the kantharos figured in Hesperia, Supplement IV, p. 133, a, has a foot evolved from what was originally a simple stand-ring, as on a stemless cup or cup-kotyle; it is now well on the way to becoming the high, stemmed affair found on late fourth-century kantharoi. In general the individual parts develop at the expense of the unity of the vase as a whole. Moreover the standard of workmanship is noticeably lower; the general coarseness of form is accompanied by carelessness over details, especially in the treatment of feet and undersides, and vases with dull and unpleasing glaze become more and more common. We must, however, be careful neither to antedate these changes nor to exaggerate the speed with which they took place. More than a generation separates the vases of our well from the period when evidence is once more abundant, and even at this later date good glaze and good finish are still to be found.

No account of the material from our well would be complete without some consideration of the examples of impressed decoration which it contained. Since 1935 the Agora excavations have greatly increased the amount of evidence for the last quarter of the fifth century, and certain additions can now be made to earlier discussions of the subject. The evolution of the arrangements found on individual vase

13 The skyphoi Nos. 138 and 141, the cup-kotylai Nos. 148 and 149, and the bolsal No. 162, may serve as illustrations; further examples can be found in Olynthus, V.
14 E. g. Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 165, fig. 98, a.
15 For the latter the old alternation of dark and reserved areas survives for a time, but the glaze is applied in a slovenly manner; then a new system is introduced, whereby the inner vertical face of the foot curves without a break into the underside, which rises to a low central cone (e. g. the plate, No. 153 and the cup-kotyle No. 149); the whole is glazed. No great accuracy of execution is required.
16 Notably a comprehensive study by L. Talcott in Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp. 481-492, and two
forms is dealt with under the relevant entries in the catalogue; 17 the general point which must here be made is that during our period each kind of vase has its own motifs, which are peculiar to it and are rarely to be found on any other shape. Typical examples are the cup-kotyle, with its centrepiece of linked palmettes surrounded by an ovule or dot border, 18 and the bolsal, whose decoration normally consists of a series of palmettes set round a circle. 19 There are instances of the employment of a pattern on a vase of alien shape, but when this occurs there is usually some modification. For instance, on the ribbed stemless cup, No. 35, the centrepiece is a cup-kotyle motif, but around it is placed the outer row of tongues from a normal cup rosette. For the heavy cup-kotyle the scheme normal for the thin-walled variety was employed, but it is of interest to observe that the two examples from our well show a modified version; on No. 33 the palmettes are reduced to four, which would be unusual on a thin-walled cup-kotyle of this time, 20 while the palmette-array on No. 34 may be compared with the decoration of the bolsal, No. 160.

This increasing standardisation was probably due to several contributory causes. There is a clear and continuous development in cup-kotyle decoration from an early, elaborate scheme like Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 482, T 11, through our Nos. 147 and 37 to such examples as No. 38 and Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 485, T 114; no less obvious is the connection between the patterns inside earlier red-figured stemless cups (e.g. J.H.S., 56, 1936, p. 209, figs. 11 and 12) and the later version exemplified by No. 143; here No. 142 supplies the link. Such continuity presumably reflects an established workshop tradition. It would also seem that experience taught which kinds of pattern were best suited to a given shape of vase. Tongues and rosettes are appropriate and easily executed where a large area has to be covered; palmettes, with or without an outer border, are suitable for a small medallion. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the last quarter century we normally find tongues or rosettes on stemless cups and combinations of palmettes on cup-kotylai and bolsals. Another probable factor is the desire for speed and ease in manufacture, for it is noteworthy that devices such as leaves, maeanders and lotus flowers 21 which probably took some time to produce, are extremely rare in this period. The lamentable lack of invention in the decoration of the bowl, No. 61, is perhaps a further example of the evil effects of concentration on articles by A. D. Ure (J.H.S., 56, 1936, pp. 205-215; J.H.S., 64, 1944, pp. 67-77) which contain detailed examinations of this kind of ornament as applied to two classes of red-figured vases, namely stemless cups and heavy cup-kotylai.

17 Stemless cups under No. 36; bolsals under No. 77; heavy-walled cup-kotylai under Nos. 33-34; thin-walled cup-kotylai under Nos. 37-39.
20 Contrast No. 38 and Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 485, T 114, but compare the fourth century version, No. 148.
economy of production. Whatever the cause may have been, the fact remains that in the last quarter of the fifth century impressed decoration had become largely a matter of stereotyped formulae. It is, therefore, important to realize that in attempting to estimate the date of any given example one must consider not only the motif and its stage of development, but also the shape of the vase on which it occurs.

The tendency to restrict a particular pattern to a particular shape can still be observed in the fourth century, but the growing poverty of impressed ornament steadily reduced such distinctions. The stemless cup, No. 145, has lost all vestiges of rosette or tongues and bears the ovules and linked palmettes of a cup-kotyle. Finally, the introduction of rouletting early in the second quarter of the century (if not somewhat before) provided a means of making a border to a pattern in far less time than was needed when ovules were applied. From then on a variety of shapes—cup-kotylai, bolsals, plates, bowls and even the newly-developed kantharoi—may all display a combination of palmettes and rouletting. Once again these changes must not be dated too early in the century, for the series of red-figured cup-kotylai demonstrates that in careful hands impressed ornament might long retain much of its original quality.

Our knowledge of the equipment of an Athenian household is further increased by the semi-glazed ware from our well. It has much in common with the comparable material from deposits of the preceding period. Here, as there, the krater is the commonest form; the three lidded bowls, Nos. 87-89, deserve a word of comment, since their general similarity to a well-known form of black-glazed vase invites the suggestion that they may be a humbler version of the lekanis. Still more interesting is the two-handled jug, No. 92. Its peculiarities can perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that it was designed as a wine-decanter, but whatever its purpose, its long

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22 E. g. the bowl illustrated in Olynthus, V, pl. 153, 559, bears essentially the same scheme as our No. 62, with the addition of ovules at the centre and in the curve of each connecting arc. Set beside its forerunner it has a heavy, lifeless air, and there is a similar stiffness in the decoration of the cup-kotyle, No. 148.

23 Cup-kotylai, No. 149 and Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 485, T 115; bolsals, Ure, Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona, pl. 16; plates, No. 153 and Olynthus, V, pl. 155, 582; kantharoi, Olynthus, V, text to pls. 148-150, passim.

24 J.H.S., 64, 1944, pp. 67-77.

25 Cf. Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 493; the development from the sixth century to the fourth is there illustrated on p. 512, fig. 25.

26 Deubner, Jahrbuch, 15, 1900, p. 152, identified the black-glazed lekanis. The figured scenes on the lids of many such vases make it probable that they were for the dressing-table. However, Photius, Lexicon, s. v. lekáνη, says --- ᾧτ olοi παλαιοί δ ήμεις λεκάνην, ποδονπτήρα ἐκάλουν: λακάνον δὲ καὶ λεκάνιδα ἄγγεια ὧτα ἔχοντα πρὸς ὑποδοχήν ὄψιν καὶ τοιούτων τινῶν. We may also quote Aristophanes, Acharnians, 1110; κάροι λεκάνων τῶν λαγφών δος κρέων, adding the observation that the glazed interiors of our dishes would make them suitable containers for cooked or greasy foods.
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pedigree (cf. Pl. 96, Nos. 163, 164) and its popularity \(^{27}\) show that it was no freak but a genuine household requisite.

Vases for the preparation of food form a proportion of the coarse, unglazed pottery which our deposit contained, but by far the greater part is made up of wine storage amphorae. The diversity of fabric which they display shows clearly that the import of wine continued despite the Peloponnesian war. We need feel no surprise, since the keystone of Athenian strategy was the availability of foreign supplies, but the dipinto on the shoulder of one such jar (No. 102), though it has so far defied interpretation, seems to carry a hint of fastidious connoisseurship. Less remarkable are three stamped fragments. One (No. 108) is a neck-fragment, with a wheel or some similar device; the other two are stamped on the handle, one bearing a satyr's head (No. 106) and the other (No. 107) Nike in a fast biga. The fine quality and oval shape of the latter impression suggest that it came from a sealstone rather than from a die made for the purpose. Our well also produced three other seal impressions; the loom-weights, Nos. 123, 124, 127, were marked in this way before firing, the ring used being perhaps that of their future owner. The general lines of the two more elaborate compositions can be made out, though much of the detail is obscure; on one (No. 123) we see Eros, crouching to right beside an amphora neck; on the other (No. 127) is a seated figure, Pan, or a satyr, it may be, who plays the pipes. In addition the well contained various minor household articles. The styli (Nos. 131 and 132) and the set of knuckle-bones (No. 134) perhaps belonged to the same child as the choe and miniature cup-kotyle (Nos. 17 and 39), and carry a suggestion of school and playtime.

A greater importance belongs to the unfinished statuette, No. 136, and to the problems it presents. The condition of its back shows that it cannot be part of a normal relief, yet at this period it is surely impossible for Herakles in violent action to be an isolated figure. The suggestion that it was intended to form part of an appliqué relief on a statue-base or the like is extremely attractive; moreover, such a position would give a fair degree of protection to the thin and vulnerable arms and legs. It is, however, not the identity or destination of our figure but its unfinished condition which constitutes its main claim on our attention; since it comes from a closed deposit whose chronological limits are relatively narrow, it may justifiably be regarded as a welcome addition to the evidence for the sculptural technique of the later fifth century, and, as such, it has two unusual features. The first is the way in which the two sides have been worked independently; the front has been brought near completion, while the back is still in an extremely rough state. This departure from what has been shown to be the normal practice of the classical period \(^{28}\) may perhaps

\(^{27}\) Almost all the Agora deposits of this period include at least one vase of this shape.

\(^{28}\) Blümel, *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit*, pp. 3-12, especially p. 11.
be due to the desire to leave the limbs of this small figure half-embedded in the block for as long as possible in order to minimise the chance of damage during working. Even so, the present-day condition of the piece, with the lower legs and right forearm broken away, may warrant the belief that the support proved inadequate. The second peculiarity lies in the execution of the modelling of the front; it is quite clear that in the later stages the flat and bull-nosed chisels were the main tools employed, and though one must be cautious in applying to large-scale sculpture conclusions drawn from the study of a statuette, this new evidence surely indicates that by the end of the fifth century these two tools might be used more freely than has sometimes been supposed.

CATALOGUE
Figured Pottery

1. Red-figured amphora of Panathenaic shape. Pls. 73 and 74. P. 10,554. Height, 0.525 m.; diameter as restored, 0.315 m. Much of body and parts of lip restored; chips missing from foot. Though there is no actual join between the upper and lower parts of the body, there is sufficient overlap to give a reliable profile.

A. Three wreathed youths in himatia move in procession to right past an olive tree. From his attitude the leading figure carried something carefully before him with both hands; the next two carry between them a shallow tray. Enough remains of the left hand of the third figure to show that the tray was lightly held, and so presumably not weighty.

B. Three more wreathed youths; the first has his himation wrapped round his lower body and over his raised left forearm; the third wears his over the left shoulder, below the right arm, and over the shoulder again, serving as a pad for the large amphora of Panathenaic shape which he carries.

Inscriptions. On A, above and to the right of the first figure, $X^\text{ΡΥΣ}$. This could be restored as $X^\text{Ρυσος}$, a common luck name on vases; compare the shoes in Berlin (No. 2661; Lenormant, Élité des Monuments Céramographiques, Vol. I, pl. 97), Heidelberg (Kraiker, No. 235), Zurich (Deubner, pl. 16, 2.) and the Athenian Agora, P 1051; alternatively it might have been one of the many $X^\text{ρυς}$—compounds. Above and to the right of the third figure, $KΩΠΡΕΥΣ$. On B, just above the amphora, running to the right, $ΕΥΙΩΝΙΙ$, presumably for $Εύγομος$; so, rather than $Εύγομος$, Beazley (by letter Oct. 14, 1937) and one may note that the analogy of $Κοπρεύς$ makes it probable that this inscription, too, referred to one individual, and not to the group.

Around the mouth, an olive spray with berries: at the root and lower part of each handle, two vertically opposed palmettes. A scraped groove at the junction of body and foot. The flat rim is reserved; a glaze wash within. Relief contour for the faces, the tree, the tray, the amphora and the spray around the mouth. Dilute glaze for shading on the drapery, and on the side of the tray. White for the berries on the wreaths, the tree and the spray round the mouth, and for the inscriptions.

The name $Kοπρεύς$ might suggest that a mythological explanation should be sought for the scene on this vase, but this suggestion is

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29 One might suppose this to be the reason why the figure was abandoned; cf. Blümel, op. cit., p. 2, and Griechische Bildhauer an der Arbeit, p. 9, on the reasons which cause a work to be left unfinished.
 unsupported by other evidence. Nothing designates the left-hand youth on A as the herald of Eurystheus, nor is his mien appropriate to one bearing unwelcome orders to Herakles or demanding the surrender of his sons; yet these alone are the contexts in which we would expect to find him. The choice of this name by the painter is mysterious. It occurs in Teos (C.I.G., II, 3064, 34) but not apparently in Attica. It might have some reference to the Attic deme Κόπρος, but the obvious allusion is to Eurystheus’ herald, who is an unlikely eponym, since from the Iliad (XV, 638-641) to Euripides’ Herakleidai he is of ill repute. There is perhaps a ray of half-light in a passage in Philostratos (Vitae sophistarum II, 1, 8), in which he says that Herodes Atticus changed the ceremonial dress of Athenian ephebes from black χλαμίδες to white; “Τέως γὰρ δὴ μελαίνας ένημεροίως τὰς ἐκκλησίας περικάθῃτο καὶ τὰς πομπὰς ἔπεμψαν πενθοῦς δημοσίως τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Κοσπέα, ὅν αὐτοί ἀπέκτεναν τοῖς Ηρακλείδας τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀποστώντα.” Our youths, however, wear ordinary ἱμάτια, not black χλαμίδες, and this isolated statement, whose lateness makes it poor evidence for the fifth century B.C., affords no obvious solution to the mystery.

Mythology apart, it must be surely some great occasion which provides the setting for this solemn cortege. Among the suggestions that can be made are the Plynteria (proposed because our procession is of young men, and I.G., IIa, 1006, 11-12, of 123/2 B.C., speaks of ephebes escorting the statue of Athena to the sea) or the Lenaia (suggested by the amphora on B and Plutarch’s words (De Cupiditate Divitiarum, 8.D) “Ἡ πάτριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἐορτή τὸ παλαίνων ἐπέμεπτο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἱλαρῶς, ἀμφορεῖς οἴνου καὶ κληματίς”). The balance of probability, however, seems to favour some connection with the Panathenaia. The very shape of our vase suggests this thought, though not conclusively, for two amphorae in the manner of the Meidias painter (A.R.V., p. 835, Nos. 10 and 11) show that for a red-figured vase Panathenaic shape did not entail a Pana-

thenaic subject. Again, the olive-wreath round the mouth is unusual for an amphora; it takes little imagination to interpret it as a neat allusion to the contents, and so to believe that our vase, like the prize amphorae, was an oil container.

It is difficult to identify the scene represented on this vase with any part of the actual Panathenaic procession as known to us from the Parthenon frieze; the tray on A might be explained as one of the σκαφαί, but on the frieze a σκαφή is carried by one man, not by two (British Museum, Smith, Sculptures of the Parthenon, pl. 42, No. 13) and the σκαφφόροι, are followed by ἰδραφόροι; no amphorae are to be seen. Both the frieze and the vase, however, are incomplete, and the possibility of such an identification cannot be denied. Our youths wear olive wreaths, but this need not constrain us to regard them as victors in the games, for despite Pfuhl’s inference (De Pompiris, p. 20, note 130), there is no proof that they alone wore olive wreaths at the Panathenaia.

The olive tree on A might be explained as one of the μορία, the sacred trees which produced the prize oil. It would then be attractive to connect with it the amphora on B and the statement by Aristotle (‘Αθ. Πολ., 60,2.) that it was the archon’s duty to collect this oil from the landowners concerned; unfortunately we know of no ritual or ceremony connected with this collection. Alternatively, it may be Athena’s tree beside the Erectheum which is represented. Until the time of the Panathenaic festival the prize oil was kept on the Acropolis under the charge of the ταμία; it was then distributed by the Ἀθλοθέται, who were ten in number (‘Αθ. Πολ., 60,3). If the picture on our vase is restored as a continuous frieze, there is room for four more figures, making ten in all; thus the occasion depicted might be the transfer of the prizes to the place where they were awarded. The duties of the Ἀθλοθέται also included marshalling the procession and cooperating with the Βουλὴ in getting the prize amphorae made (‘Αθ. Πολ., 60,1). Our
men may seem over young for such responsibilities, but there is no mention of any age limit, and the two figures on the Parthenon frieze who are interpreted as marshals seem no older (*Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 38, Nos. 47 and 48, and text, p. 54). Ἐὐρισκόμενοι would be an apt name for one of these officials, though Ὀπισθὸς seems incongruous. At all events, our ignorance and the lack of detailed evidence preclude any definite solution to the problem.

Stylistically our vase seems to have some affinities with the work of the Talos painter; compare, for example, the head of Polydeukes on A of the painter's name-piece in Ruvo (*FR.*, pl. 38-39) with that of the central figure on A of our amphora. Differences in treatment of hair and drapery, however, suggest that ours is by another, less skilful hand; for comparison with the drapery one may refer to a fragment of a bell-krater from Al Mina of which Beazley says, "There is something in the drawing of the himation that recalls the Talos painter" (*J.H.S.*, 59, 1949, pp. 21-22, No. 54).

For its shape this amphora may be compared with the black-figured Panathenaeic which compose Beazley's Robinson, Kuban and Hildesheim groups (*A.J.A.*, 47, 1943, pp. 451 to 455). It resembles the earliest group in height and general proportions; it is considerably less tall and less slender than all the vases in the later Kuban group, with the exception of the first (London 1903, 2-17, 1. *C.V.A.* B.M., III Hf, pl. 1, 1), which Beazley has described as "smaller, earlier and less florid" (*loc. cit.*). Similarities of detail, however, indicate that our vase cannot be far removed in time from the Kuban group; in the degree of elongation of the neck and lower body it compares with London B 606 (*C.V.A.* B.M., III Hf, pl. I, 2); in mouth profile with Leningrad 17.553 (*Ans.*, 1914, p. 287, figs. 108-109); its handles resemble those of London B 605 (*C.V.A.* B.M., III Hf, pl. 2, Nos. 3 and 6). The two vases of the Hildesheim group (*Ans.*, 1919, pp. 79-80, figs. 1 and 2) also seem rather more developed than our piece; on both of them, as on No. 4 of the Kuban group (London B 605), Athena has the Tyrannicides as a shield blazon, and the use of this motif on the London vase led Süsserott to date it to 403/2 B.C. (Griechische Plastik des 4 Jahrhunderts vor Christus, pp. 69-72). The further development of the shape in the next decade is illustrated by Berlin 3980 (Schmidt, Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom, pl. 2, 2), on which Süsserott would restore the name of the archon of 392/1 B.C. (*op. cit.*, pp. 72-74). Here the degree of slendernes of the body is unchanged; the neck has developed little if at all beyond London B 605, but the drawing out of the lower body is more advanced, and so is the outward curve of the lip. It is clear that our red-figured Panathenaeic is placed by its shape between the Robinson and the Kuban and Hildesheim groups, and should not be much earlier than London 1903, 2-17.1. This conclusion does not conflict with the stylistic evidence, which suggests a date near 410 B.C. for the figured decoration.

2. Red-figured bell-krater. Pls. 75 and 76. P 10,673. Height, 0.338 m.; diameter of rim, 0.342 m. Small parts of rim and of one handle, and pieces of body and foot restored.

A. In the centre stand Athena and Herakles. The goddess wears a thin embroidered Doric chiton, and a crested Corinthian helmet which is pushed back to leave her face exposed; the projecting point above her forehead is the tip of the cheek-piece; cf. *C.V.A.* Vienna, pl. 25, Nos. 1 and 3; she holds an oinochoe in her right hand and her spear in her left; on her right wrist, a bracelet. The hero's left arm, draped in the lion-skin, rests on his club; his extended right hand held a phiale, part of which is preserved at the point where the spear shaft meets the lacuna in the centre of the vase; for the position of his right hand and arm, compare the right-hand maenad on the pelike figured in Tillyard, *The Hope Vases*, pl. 16, No. 105. In the field on either side of him hangs a wreath. Since the photograph on
Pl. 75 was taken, a further fragment, which gives part of the left-hand wreath, has been added to the right of Athena's left hand. On the right stands a wreathed youth, wearing a decorated chlamys, boots and petasos, and holding two spears; from the left approaches a bearded, hairy-chested man in a voluminous starred himation. He, too, is wreathed and makes as though to proffer his right hand to Herakles.

The hanging wreaths and those worn by the two outer figures in honour of the occasion show that we have here Herakles Καλλίνκος; the libation which the phiale implies is as appropriate to the successful outcome of an undertaking as to its commencement; compare the bell-krater Naples 14.6711 (A.R.V., p. 792; Manner of the Dinos painter, No. 7) on which Nike proffers a phiale to a wreathed youth. The theme of Athena ministering to her protégé between his labours is common on vases from the early fifth century onward. The youth is presumably Iolaos, who is frequently represented as equipped for the road; compare especially the London hydria by the Meidias painter (A.R.V., p. 831, No. 1) where the inscription makes the identification certain; the explanation of the bearded figure is more difficult. Nothing suggests that he is superhuman; he might be Amphitryon, coming to greet his foster-son, for the Trachiniae of Sophocles shows that fifth-century Athens knew a version of the legend in which he did not drop out of the story after Herakles' childhood; he might be one whom Herakles has just benefited: Admetus, Oineus, Dexamenes and Kreon are among the possibilities, but the artist's interest clearly lay in his central pair, and he has given no clue to guide us.

B. A conventional thiasos. Dionysos, nude save for a himation thrown over the left shoulder, and caught up by the right hand, wearing an ivy-wreath and holding a thyrsus; a nude, wreathed satyr, whose raised left foot rests upon a rock (indicated by incision in the glaze); his supporting right leg is slightly bent. His two arms are raised before him; perhaps one hand held the thyrsus while the other made a gesture; compare the satyr on the pelike illustrated in Tillyard, The Hope Vases, pl. 16,105. A maenad dressed in a thin Doric chiton acts as torchbearer. At the back of her head the surface has been abraded, but the outline suggests that her hair was fastened up in a kerchief; in addition she wore some kind of wreath.

Almost complete relief-contour on A; for the faces only on B. White for Athena's bracelet and the berries of the wreaths on A, and for the berries on the ivy wreaths and for the maenad's wreath on B. Dilute glaze on the lion-skin and the draperies on A.

The sub-Meidian drapery indicates the era to which our vase belongs; to justify the term, compare the drapery on the hydria New York 16.52 (A.R.V., p. 835; Manner of the Meidias painter, No. 1). For the treatment of the breast of Athena we may compare a fragment of a bell-krater in Heidelberg (Kraiker, pl. 46, 226; there described as near the Nikias painter, and dated around 400 B.C.); an oinochoe in the British Museum also shows some similarities of detail (E 543. A.R.V., p. 844; "Somewhat recalls the Guidice painter"); compare the lower drapery of our Athena and maenad with that of Leto on the London vase; the zigzag hanging hems of the drapery of Iolaos, the bearded man and Dionysos with the dependent tail of Apollo's himation, and the left hands of Dionysos and the maenad with the right hands of Artemis and Leto on the oinochoe. These comparisons suggest a date in the last decade of the fifth century for our vase, but its shape makes us reluctant to put it much after 410 B.C.; see for example the bell-krater by the Pothos painter (A.R.V., p. 803, No. 20).

3. Red-figured bell-krater. Pl. 77. P 10,559. Height as restored, 0.247 m., diameter as restored, 0.347 m. Many joining fragments preserve about two-thirds of the body with much of the handles and one piece of the rim.

A. A sylvan scene is indicated by the irregular incised ground lines and by the plant. At
the right, Apollo, nude save for a himation; he wears a wreath and fillet and holds a sceptre of laurel. Next, Hermes, also with wreath and fillet, clad in chlamys and petasos; the short staff in his left hand is surely the lower end of the kerykeion; then a female figure in a Doric chiton, with stephane and earrings, who holds in her left hand a long staff, the top of which is lost. She looks back to the fourth figure, who gestures to her with his right hand. He is bearded and though the surface has suffered at this point, comparison with such pieces as No. 137 identifies him as a satyr; he too is wreathed.

The conjunction of Apollo with members of the Dionysiac circle is not uncommon at this period; compare a bell-krater by the Dinos painter (A.R.V., p. 791, No. 27); two vases by the Erbach painter (A.R.V., p. 866, Nos. 2 and 4); and a bell-krater in Berlin (Archäologische Zeitung, 1865, pl. 203). It may be that our scene depicts such a peaceful association; on the other hand it might be referred to the legend of Apollo and Marsyas, though a representation in which neither of the rivals was performing would be unusual; contrast, among many others, three bell-kraters by the Pothos painter (A.R.V., p. 802, Nos. 14, 17 and 18); a volute krater and a bell-krater by the Kadmos painter (A.R.V., p. 803, No. 1 and p. 804, No. 2) and a bell-krater by the Semele painter (A.R.V., p. 851, No. 2). The female figure is hard to explain on either view. She can scarcely be Athena, who is frequently present at the contest, for she lacks helmet and aegis, and the staff in her left hand has the oblique bands of a sceptre; but it is equally difficult to see her as a maenad with a sceptre in place of the normal torch or thyrsus. One may perhaps think of Leto, but her presence in either setting would be equally puzzling.

B. Three mantle figures; the rear heel of the centre one is just preserved; he faced right.

Partial relief contour on A; dilute glaze for some internal detail; white for the laurel berries and the fillets on A. Glaze thin in places and unevenly applied.

It is hard to find any clear stylistic affiliation for this unpretentious piece. We might compare the right hand of our satyr with that of Zetes on the Talos krater (A.R.V., p. 845; Talos painter, No. 1) or with that of Hermes on a bell-krater in the Villa Giulia (A.R.V., p. 846, bottom); the handle ornament of our vase resembles that of the Villa Giulia krater in structure, but there is an equal degree of general similarity and detailed difference between it and the ornament on a bell-krater by the Kadmos painter (A.R.V., p. 804, No. 8). The pose of Hermes resembles that of Theseus on another of the Kadmos painter's works (A.R.V., p. 804, No. 2; ML. 14, p. 27, fig. 8); Apollo may be compared with the representation of the god in the Semele painter's bell-krater (A.R.V., p. 851, No. 2) though a better parallel for the exaggerated protrusion of the right hip is provided by the Eros on a pyxis lid in Heidelberg (A.R.V., p. 840; "Manner of the Meidias painter, No. 79"). In all these details the vase reflects the style of the period rather than that of any known artist; the date should be near that of the two preceding vases. The similarity of shape between it and No. 2 is in harmony with such a dating.

4. Fragment of red-figured bell-krater. Pl. 80. P 10,960. Maximum dimension, 0.097 m. One fragment preserves part of the offset lip and of the wall.

On the lip is part of the customary olive-wreath, the berry and its stem being in white. In the field the upper part of a wreathed head, three-quarters right; left of this, a raised right hand. At the extreme left of the fragment, part of a vertical shaft with an oblique line on it; it was presumably a sceptre. Above the head, ТРΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟ[.]

Relief contour for the hand and the sceptre. Dilute glaze for the hair. White for the berries on both wreaths and for the lettering.

The relation between Triptolemos' head and the upper border suggests that he was raised
in the winged chariot. The position of his hand is not decisive for his attitude, for both standing and seated figures are found with one hand raised behind the head; e.g. the left-hand figure on a lekythos by the Meidias painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 833, No. 10) and the figure above one handle of a kalyx-krater by the Meleager painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 871, No. 8; Langlotz, pl. 191, upper left). The sceptre at the left was doubtless held by someone who stood beside him, probably Demeter or Persephone.

The fragment is from an ornate vase of the late fifth century; for the form of the wreathe on the lip compare those on the neck of the Pronomos krater (*FR.*, pl. 145) and on the mouth of No. 1 (Pl. 73); for the hand with its indiarubber fingers compare the bell-krater Villa Giulia 2382 (*A.R.V.*, p. 846; Related to the Talos painter); the elaborate treatment of the hair is also of the period.


6. Fragmentary red-figured lebes gamikos, type 2 (*A.R.V.*, p. 766, Marlay-painter, No. 10). Pl. 80. P 10,539. Height as restored, 0.133 m.; maximum diameter as restored, 0.139 m. Most of rim, both handles, part of the body, and all the foot restored by analogy with a contemporary vase.

A. On the right, a door; a woman in chiton and himation to left, her right arm limply raised before her. In the field between the woman and the door, a sakkos. Left of her, a woman to right, wearing chiton and himation, and holding a casket before her. To the left of her, a tree. Between the two women, a Doric column.

B. On the right a Doric column; woman in chiton and himation to left; before her, a woman seated to right, dressed in chiton and himation.

Tongue pattern on the shoulder. Little relief contour. Dilute glaze on the himation of the right-hand woman on A, and on the sakkos.

7. Fragmentary red-figured lebes gamikos, type 1. Pl. 81: fragments a and b-c (d and e not illustrated). P 10,540. Maximum dimension of a), 0.122 m.; height of b)-c) as restored, 0.163 m.; estimated diameter of d), 0.088 m.; maximum dimension of e), 0.058 m. Fragment a) gives part of the shoulder and body, with two handle roots; b) and c) join, giving most of the stand, including part of the upper border (meander and checker square); d) gives part of the foot, with the usual lower border and the lower end of a scarf; e) gives part of the lower border and of the feet of the first woman on the stand.

On the body, a woman seen frontally, looking right; she wears a thin Doric chiton, ornamented head band, necklace and earring. To the right, part of the vertical edge of the basket which she carried with her left hand. To her left is another woman facing right and wearing a thin Doric chiton, ornamented headband, and earring. She carries before her with both hands a small ornate chest and also holds in each hand a patterned scarf. Behind her is part of some object whose hooked top resembles the lateral projection of the handle of the perfume vase carried by the second woman on the stand; there is, however, no trace of the body of such a vase, and the "hook" seems to pass uninterruptedly into drapery. It might therefore be part of a sakkos hung on the wall as on a white-ground lekythos by the Phiale painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 658, No. 103), though the hooked end is perhaps overprominent for this. The three tongues between the two handle roots are an unusual feature for such a vase.

On the stand, a woman facing left, wrapped in a himation and holding a mirror in her right hand; to the left, a woman seen frontally, dressed in a Doric chiton; she holds a perfume vase and a patterned scarf in her right hand, another scarf and something else in her left; it was a small object (perhaps an alabaster) for the surviving traces of her knuckles show that her left hand grasped it firmly, as her right hand does the perfume vase; had it been a box or something similar it would have
been balanced squarely on her hand; cf. the second woman from the right on the obverse of a lebes by the Washing painter (A.R.V., p. 742, No. 1). Between the two women is a stool with a cushion; above the mirror is the lower part of a rectangular object, which is to be conceived as hanging on the wall. To the left again, a woman in a thin Doric chiton, moving right and carrying before her with both hands a basket and a scarf. In the field to right of her hangs a sakkos.

On the body, partial relief contour; dilute glaze for the drapery of the right-hand woman and for the folds of the scarf; the necklace and the earring of the right-hand woman in applied clay. On the stand, no relief contour; dilute glaze on the mirror back, on the drapery of the first woman, and on the centre line of the scarf in the right hand of the second woman. The background glaze on the body fired dark brown.

The bringing of gifts to a bride is a common subject on a lebes, and our vase adds nothing to the dispute whether or no the epaulia is intended (see the references in C.V.A. University of California 1, p. 50 on pl. 51, 1). The objects on it are normal, though the chest with its double row of ovules is more elaborate than usual. On chests, cf. Richter, Ancient Furniture, pp. 93-94; on the stool, ibid., pp. 31-32; on such baskets, ibid., p. 98, where they are shown to be round. On our vase though the running dogs round the middle of the basket come to a definite end at the left, at the right the tip of one is shown; this may be to suggest that the zone continues uninterrupted round the basket. The fringed, patterned scarf is occasionally found on vases of the late sixth and early fifth centuries; see the stamnai Brussels A 717 (A.R.V., p. 20; Smikros, No. 1, where it is used as a headband), and London E 440 (A.R.V., p. 177; Siren painter, No. 1, where one is carried by the leading Eros). It becomes common from the second half of the fifth century onward, generally in "wedding-present scenes." This use of it is not exclusive, though some such connotation can generally be inferred; on the Semele painter's hydria in California (A.R.V., p. 851, No. 1) it is to be seen in the hands of Aphrodite's attendants; on a pelike in Harvard (A.R.V., p. 843) the subject of the main scene is uncertain, but amorous; on the reverse a woman holds a scarf and a basket. Similar scarves appear on the Louvre hydriai M 14 and M 15 (C.V.A. Louvre 9, III 1 d, pl. 54, Nos. 5 and 13) whose subjects seem purely domestic; on the stemmed kylix from our well (No. 12) the scene appears to be the palaestra; compare also the scarf carried by Nike on a neck-amphora by Douris (A.R.V., p. 292, No. 202). Ordinarily the scarf is held by the middle, and the hand may or may not grasp some other object in addition; sometimes, however, it is worn as a headband; cf. the stamnai Brussels A 717. Such scarves are often decorated with dots grouped in threes; this may explain the headgear on an oinochoe in the Musée Rodin (C.V.A., pl. 26, 7) and on a pyxis lid in Bonn (A.R.V., p. 760; painter of Florence 4217, No. 1). See also the headbands of Adonis and Phao on the Meidias painter's hydriai in Florence (A.R.V., p. 832, Nos. 3 and 4) and that of Dionysos on the kalyx-kra ter Jena 832 (Hahland, Vasen um Meidias, pl. 16, a).

On the other hand the plain fillet is common on vases from a much earlier date; its normal significance as an emblem of victory and its connections with grave offerings are well known; it occurs also as a form of headgear worn by Dionysos and his associates, and by komasts and others; Dionysos wears it on the Dinos painter's name vase (A.R.V., p. 790, No. 3) and on a stamnai in Harvard (A.R.V., p. 689; Curti painter, No. 1); Hephaistos on his return, on the stamnai A.R.V., p. 695, No. 4; a maenad on the painted amphora Cabinet des Médailles 357 (A.R.V., p. 634, No. 2); komasts, on the cup New York 21.88.150 (A.R.V., p. 252, No. 113) and the skyphos Berlin 3219 (A.R.V., p. 520, bottom); Demeter or Kore, on the hydria Madrid 11023 (A.R.V., p. 404, No. 50); Leto, on the bell-krater New York 24.97.96 (A.R.V., p. 402, No. 16); a
woman in a pursuit scene on the hydria New York 06. 1021. 190 (A.R.V., p. 409, No. 27); a woman in a departure scene on the stamnos New York 06. 1021. 176 (A.R.V., p. 402, No. 28). There are two ways of wearing the fillet; it may be wound round the head and fastened upon itself by its string-like ends (as on the New York hydria); or the centre part may be wound one and a half times round the head, a loop of the free material tucked under the band thus formed at either side, and the two ends left to dangle (as on the Berlin skyphos). It is in the second way that the "scarves" of Adonis, Phaon and Dionysos are worn. On some vases fillets are shown hanging in the field in domestic scenes; e.g. the hydriai Louvre CA 161 (A.R.V., p. 848, No. 18), London E 204 (A. R. V., p. 746, No. 68) and Copenhagen 153 (A.R.V., p. 746, No. 67). The fillet can be identified as the requete; see Dow, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 41, p. 68, where the majority of the passages cited refer to the requete as a symbol of victory; on most of the earlier vases the fillet has this significance. It is however clear from the examples quoted that on vases of the second half of the fifth century the fillet and the fringed scarf have a certain overlap of function. Moreover it would seem that in antiquity the distinction between the requete and the μίτρα was not sharply defined; Bacchylides, 12, 196, and Pindar Isthmian 4, 62, use μίτρα, and not requete; the μίτρα is an attribute of Dionysos (Strabo, 15,1038; Lucian, Bacchus, 2; Diodorus, 4, 4, 4) and part of the dress of a maenad (Euripides, Bacchae, 833 and 929), yet it is the fillet which is depicted on most Dionysiac scenes on vases. It may therefore be suggested that while the plain fillet is the requete, the correct name for the patterned scarf is μίτρα.

Judged by its style, our vase should not be far in time from a hydria by the Nikias painter (A.R.V., p. 848, No. 19); compare for example the right-hand woman on the body of our lebes with Clara Rhodos, VI-VII, p. 215, fig. 262, and p. 217, fig. 265.

8. Part of the stand of a red-figured lebes gamikos, type 1. P 10,571. Preserved height, 0.160 m. Five joining fragments preserve part of the lower wall of the stand.

A draped figure to left, much worn: facing it, a figure to right, in chiton and himation; between the two, a wool basket. To the left again, a draped figure to left, confronted by a figure to right in a chiton with an overfall; the left hand raises part of the overfall. Of the figures, only the lower parts are preserved. Lower border, ovules above the usual rays.

Rather coarse work.

9. Red-figured squat lekythos. Pl. 81. P 10,547. Preserved height 0.067 m.; maximum diameter, 0.050 m. Mouth and part of neck missing. Concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor.

A female head to right; she wears an ornamented headband, necklace and earring. Before her, a volute plant. Würzburg 582, Langlotz, pl. 209) gives a somewhat better version of this commonplace. Glaze fired rather grey and dull in places. The underside is reserved.

10. Red-figured squat lekythos. Pl. 81. P 10,550. Height, 0.112 m.; maximum diameter, 0.069 m. Most of the handle missing. Concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor.

A woman running left and looking back. She wears a cross-girt Doric chiton and carries a pyxis in her left hand. To the right, a volute plant. Glaze fair, but worn in places. The underside is reserved.

11. Red-figured squat lekythos. Pl. 81. P 10,557. Preserved height, 0.05 m.; maximum diameter, 0.06 m. Neck, mouth and handle missing. Concave moulding at inner junction of foot and body.

A child, nude save for an amulet, crawling right and playing with three balls (?). Relief contour for lower edge of right forearm. Glaze fired greyish in places, with some small blisters; rather worn. The underside is reserved.

Such representations are commonest on
choes; for their appearance on squat lekythoi, compare Clara Rhodos, II, p. 133, fig. 14 (from a tomb in which the rest of the vases appear to form two groups; one around the middle of the second half of the fifth century, and the other some fifty years later); Clara Rhodos, VIII, p. 181, fig. 170, right; C.V.A. Cracow, Musée National, No. 6, C.V.A. Oxford 2, pl. 63, No. 1 (there dated "about 420"). Our vase should belong to the same era as the choes figured in C.V.A. Oxford, pl. 43, Nos. 6, 7, 8 (the first two there dated "about 440-420"); the third, "about 450-420") and in C.V.A. Munich 2, pl. 90, Nos. 1 and 3-6 (there dated "um 420").

12. Fragmentary red-figured stemmed kylix. Pl. 82. P 10,538. Maximum dimension, 0.171 m. Parts of bowl, floor and stem survive. There are four other non-joining scraps, not illustrated here, which may belong to this vase or to the next; two handle stems, a fragment with part of a handle palmette, and a rim fragment; the last has a fine wheel-run groove just below the rim on the outside.

I. A nude youth, turned half left, standing in front of a stele; his right arm hangs by his side, with a leafy twig lightly held between the fingers; his left arm is bent across the body, with the elbow resting on the stele. Part of his right foot is cut off by the border. From the right a woman comes towards him; she wears a thin Doric chiton with a patterned yoke, a headband, and an earring. Her right arm is extended towards the youth's head; in her left she holds a fillet. She is clearly in mid-air; this, with the fillet, indicates that she is Nike, coming to crown the victor; for other examples of wingless Nikes see Appendix, note 44.

A. A nude male to right; his left foot on a rock and his body bent well forward.

B. A female figure beside a stele; she was apparently moving left, with her weight on her right foot. She holds a patterned scarf in her right hand.

Considerable relief contour. Dilute glaze for some internal detail, and for the contour of the lower part of the face. White for the fillet and the twig. Good glaze.

In view of the possible interchangeability of scarf and fillet (see above on No. 7) it may be that Nike is again represented on the exterior. It would be unusual to find a cup of this period with only one figure on each of the two external scenes. The next piece is by the same hand, and similar in fabric; one would expect it to belong. It cannot go with B, however, and it is hard to see how the stele on it could be combined with the rock on A.

The patterned yoke on the dress, the rendering of the mouth by a dot, and the use of dilute glaze for the contour of the lower part of the face might suggest that the vase must be dated after the turn of the century; for the yoke, compare a vase by the Jena painter (A.R.V., p. 883, No. 71), and the bell-krater fragment Bonn 540 (A.R.V., p. 966, addendum to pp. 870-4; there said to recall the early work of the Meleager painter); for the dilute glaze contour, see the maenad on the bell-krater fragment illustrated in Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, pl. 4. This evidence is not conclusive, for a calyx-krater by the painter of the Feuardent Marsyas (A.R.V., p. 803, No. 1) shows that the yoke occurs in vase painting of the last quarter of the fifth century, and there are fifth-century examples of the dot mouth (A.R.V., p. 801; Aison, No. 12: p. 836; Manner of the Meidias painter, No. 26: p. 843; painter of Louvre 539, No. 1. Compare also the woman on the stand of No. 7 in this catalogue). The style of the drawing suggests that our cup is to be dated around 410 B.C.

13. Rim-fragment of a red-figured kylix. Pl. 80. P 18,631. Maximum dimension, 0.113 m. Made up from four joining fragments. A fine wheel-run groove just below the rim on the outside.

The head and shoulders of a youth, seen frontally. He looks left, with his left arm raised and his right forearm resting on a stele.
On his head is a fillet, with three vertical rays. At the left of the fragment is part of a hand. In the field between hang a strigil and an aryballos.

Partial relief contour. Dilute glaze for the contour of the lower part of the face, and for the mouth of the aryballos. White for the fillet and rays, and for the aryballos strap with its five hanging tags.

14. Red-figured stemless cup. Pl. 83. P 10,574. Height, 0.055 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.191 m. One handle and much of rim and wall restored. Moulded ring foot; rim offset within.

I. Two nude youths, one leaning on a stele. The left foot of the other overlaps the border, which is a plain reserved circle.

A. Three nude youths, the central one between two stelai; in the field to the left of him an aryballos.

B. Similar, but with only one stele, and with the aryballos to the right.

Partial relief contour. The underside decorated with glazed zones on broad, shallow mouldings. Glaze cracked in places; fired greyish within.

15. Red-figured stemless cup. Pls. 86 and 91. P 10,552. Height, excluding handles, 0.045 m.; diameter of rim, 0.152 m. Fragments of rim, one piece of foot, and most of handles restored. Stepped ring foot and plain bowl.

Within, a coarse, reserved palmette surrounded by a reserved circle. No relief contour. The resting surface reserved; a reserved disc in the centre of the underside, with two coarse glazed circles and a dot. Glaze thin in places within and peeled extensively outside.

16. Red-figured oinochoe, type III. Pl. 84. P 10,675. Height as restored, 0.250 m.; maximum diameter, 0.189 m. Parts of lop, most of the body and all the foot restored.

A youth to right; he is nude save for a fillet round his head; in his left hand he holds a torch with a hand-shield. Behind him, a stele; on the extreme right the vertical edge of an object which is best explained as another stele; at its foot a hydria. On the left, a male to right, with a staff in his right hand. He wears a himation; the surviving traces of the drawing indicate that it passed over his left shoulder and beneath his right arm, the loose end being wrapped over his left hand and forearm. Upper and lower borders, ovules and dots; the ovules were solid black, with a white streak in each of the upper ovules, and a white blob in each of the lower. The side border is a simple reserved line.

Partial relief contour. White for the fillet and the centres of the ovules. Glaze dull, fired chocolate in places and rather peeled.

It has been suggested that many, if not all, large oinochoai of this shape resemble the miniature variety in bearing scenes connected with the Anthestera (Deubner, p. 96 and ff.; Karouzou, A.J.A., 50, 1946, p. 122). The torch on our vase indicates that the subject is a torch-race (see Appendix, note 34). Similar torches appear on other oinochoai of this kind (A.R.V., p. 781, 55. Rendiconti 5, vol. 33, p. 296; the same fragment, van Hoorn, fig. 4), and van Hoorn has put forward the theory that a torch-race took place at the Anthestera, in addition to those at other festivals (for these, see Appendix, note 47). He would distinguish between the older form of the race, in which the course lay between two altars, and a later version in which the starting and finishing points were stelai (van Hoorn, pp. 7-8). Our scene fits well with this view; and van Hoorn's further hypothesis (ibid., pp. 8-9) that the final act of the runner was to place his torch, still burning, upon the finishing post may explain the pose of our youth; he is not waiting for the start, for he is in front of the starting post, and his straight rearward leg would make a proper start impossible; moreover the Greek starting position was with both feet close together (Gardiner, Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals, p. 275; Athletics of the Ancient World, fig. 88); on the other hand, the pose is not that of running. The hydria is for the
victor; the nature of the prize is not remarkable (cf. Beazley, Greek Vases in Poland, p. 20 and p. 79; Richter and Hall, p. 53, No. 31, note 2), and the evidence of this oinochoe suggests that the torch-race at the Anthesteria must be added to the list of occasions on which a hydria was awarded. The cloaked figure may be explained as the gymnasiarch of the team to which the runner belongs, since Andocides, I, 132, and Lysias, XXI, 3, show that the races at the Hephaisteia and Prometheia were liturgies at this period; or he may with less probability be interpreted as the ἅρχων βασιλεύς; it is true that Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ., 57, 1, τίθηται δὲ καὶ τῶν τῶν Λαμπάδων ἄγων ἀπαντάς seems not to apply to the fifth century, at least for the Prometheia, since I.G., I², 84, 33-34 speaks of ἰεροποιός as in charge. It is however quite possible that the βασιλεύς had some connection with the races at other festivals.

The profile of our youth resembles those of Χρυσή and of the woman beside Phaon on a calyx-krater in Palermo (A.R.V., p. 833, bottom; “very close to the (Medias) painter, and may be a latish work from his own hand”).

17. Red-figured choe fragment. Pl. 80. P 10,676. Preserved height, 0.076 m. Part of the body survives with the lower part of the neck and a piece of the spreading ring foot. Plump body.

Two children nude save for a wreath and a fillet apiece. One holds the shaft of a toy cart, while the other steps into it. On the neck an ivy wreath with berries. Lower border, ovules and dots.

Partial relief contour. White for the fillets; the leaves and berries of the wreath in applied clay, on which traces of pink survive. Good glaze outside; a wash within. The style recalls that of No. 14.

On choes in general, see Karouzou, A.J.A., 50, 1946, pp. 122 ff., with a bibliography on p. 122; C.V.A. San Francisco, pp. 47 ff. For the motif of one child pulling another in a cart, cf. Deubner, pl. 29, 4, and Karouzou, loc. cit., p. 125. For the ivy wreath, cf. Deubner, op. cit., pls. 9, 1 and 16, 2. Our vase should be contemporary with the fragment Heidelberg 236 (Kraiker, pl. 43).

18. Red-figured ring vase. Pl. 84 and Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 346, fig. 29. P 10,570. Total height, 0.100 m.; height of ring, 0.040 m.; diameter of skyphoi, ca. 0.079 m. Small pieces missing from the ring; of the skyphoi the bases, parts of walls and rims, and one handle are preserved. Each of the skyphoi has a hole pierced through the bottom which communicates with the hollow ring.

On each are the remains of the same trite theme (cf. No. 21), a woman running right and looking back at the Eros who pursues her, holding a casket. On the upper surface of the base are reserved blobs, vaguely leaf-shaped; on the outer wall is a reserved olive wreath between two reserved lines. No relief contour.

Blinkenberg, Couve, and Leonard (Lindos, I, p. 331; Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. kernos; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. kernos) have drawn a distinction between this kind of multiple cup and such vases as those figured in A.M., 23, 1898, pl. 13, and have shown that it is to the second class that the term kernos should be applied. The name and purpose of our vase are alike unknown, but it is noteworthy that the form remains essentially unaltered over a considerable period and that it is not localised; there is a seventh century Corinthian example with three skyphoi (Anz., 1936, p. 355, No. 8); one in Würzburg (Langlotz, pl. 120, No. 446), which has three kylikes, is said to be of island manufacture and is dated in the second half of the sixth century; on a vase from Teano dei Sidicini (ML., 20, p. 71, fig. 39) the three skyphoi have a fourth century look. For fragments of others, see ML., 17, p. 631, fig. 446, and Lindos, I, p. 333 and pl. 52, 1202. It is difficult to imagine a common household use to account for this conservatism; if it was a trick vase the joke must have worn thin between the seventh and fourth centuries, and, moreover, it is hard to see where the catch lay. Perhaps
the vessel had some ritual function as a communal cup for drinking or for libations.

19. Red-figured askos. Pls. 84 and 85. P 10,541. Height, 0.061 m.; diameter, 0.087 m. Intact save for a hole in the bottom.

On the body a dog and a deer, both facing the spout. No relief contour; glaze thin in places, rather dull, and worn at the lip and at points round the widest part.

The beasts on our piece are perhaps not far in time from such as *A.R.V.*, p. 858; the Mina painter, No. 6, and near the Mina painter, Nos. 1-4.

20. Red-figure skyphos, Attic type. Pl. 85. P 10,561. Height, 0.132 m.; diameter of rim, 0.163 m.; of base, 0.109 m. Parts of rim and walls and both handles restored.

A. A nude male, in rear view, looking left; facing him, a youth draped in a himation, and leaning on a stick; the surface has perished from the object in his extended right hand; the round object below the left hand of the nude figure is perhaps an aryballos.

B. Similar; the fragment where the aryballos would be is lost, and the cloaked youth has no stick, and holds a strigil.

Little relief contour. The underside is reserved, with three neat concentric glazed circles and a dot. Glaze fired red within, at the bottom, and gray in patches outside.

The quality of the drawing makes a stylistic dating very hazardous. Two cups by the painter of Ruvo 325 (*A.R.V.*, p. 859, Nos. 1 and 2) show that work of this kind is not unknown in the last quarter of the fifth century and the structure of the handle ornament is paralleled on another Agora skyphos of the same period (P 10,031, a piece of rather better quality). The evidence of the handle ornament must be used with caution; the skyphos Bonn 92 (*C.V.A. Bonn*, pl. 22, Nos. 7 and 8; described there by Greifenhagen as "flüchtige Zeichnung von Ende des 5 Jahrhunderts") is close to ours in shape and has similar lumpy drawing; its palmette motif, however, resem-bles that of a skyphos by one of the later followers of the Penthesilea painter (Agora P 7921. *A.R.V.*, p. 623; connected with the painter of London E 777, No. 9). These comparisons show that our vase need be no later than the end of the century.

Despite the insecurity of this dating, the resemblances of outline between No. 20, its two plain companions Nos. 24 and 25, and skyphoi from other contemporary Agora deposits, suggest that the three numbered examples from our well do in fact represent the variety current in the last quarter of the fifth century and so continue the series presented in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8. Only a slight increase in the outward curve of the upper wall and a faint flattening of the lower contour distinguish No. 20 and the Bonn skyphos from the vases of the third quarter of the century (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8, bottom right; the same vase, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 505, T 21; a red-figured version, p. 491, fig. 13, T 120). In Nos. 24 and 25 the double curve is clearly visible, yet we can still perceive the influence of that conservatism which characterises the history of the shape during the fifth century; note as an example of this the profile of the red-figured skyphos shown in *Olynthus*, V, pl. 97 (*A.R.V.*, p. 864; Millin painter, No. 3). As for subsequent developments, No. 138 (fig. 1), helps to span the gap between our vase and those of half a century later (*Olynthus*, V, pl. 185, 971 and 973; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 89, fig. 46,d).

The attempt to decide the chronological relation between the three vases from our well is unprofitable. The greater outward curve of the lip of No. 25 might incline us to regard it as later than No. 24, despite the similarity of their proportions, but a glance at No. 139 should deter us from taking an isolated element of a vase's form as the criterion for its date. The two profiles on fig. 1, 139 are from opposite sides of the same pot, and one would be ill-advised to interpret this asymmetry as the result of anything but careless handling before firing.

A chamfered horizontal flange at the junction of body and foot. It is probable that the foot originally resembled that of the pyxis in Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 480, fig. 4, T 2; traces of the three openings in it still survive.

On the body are two pairs of figures. Each consists of a woman pursued by an Eros who carries a casket in his left hand; one woman wears an Ionic chiton and a headband; she too carries a casket; to the right of her stands a kalathos; the other, dressed in chiton and himation, is empty-handed.

Black rays on the horizontal flange. The underside reserved with a glazed circle. No relief contour. Glaze fair, though worn. A thick wash within, much damaged at the bottom.

22. Fragment of a red-figured pyxis, type A. Pl. 80. P 10,959. Preserved height, 0.049 m.

From a vase similar in form to the last. At the extreme right, a piece of drapery; then a woman in a Doric chiton, running right and looking back; her outstretched hand holds what may be a mirror seen in side view (cf. C.V.A. Florence 2, pl. 62, 3); her left hand raises a corner of her garment. To the left of her is the top of some object, perhaps a volute plant, and at the left-hand edge of the fragment is part of another figure.

Relief contour for the chin and mouth. Glaze rather pitted; a thin wash inside, rather worn.

23. Fragment of a miniature Panathenaic amphora. Pl. 80. P 10,961. Maximum dimension, 0.054 m. A single fragment preserves part of the shoulder and lower neck; the lower handle-roots also survive, as does the ring moulding round the neck.

A. The head of Athena to left; the eye is wide open, with a short lower lid. She wears a helmet with the cheek-pieces turned up; the tall crest-holder runs up to the moulding on the neck; the crest itself is lost, but its tail can be seen hanging down behind the back of the helmet. Her right hand holds a spear; on her right wrist is a bracelet.

B. The tip of some object at the extreme left of the picture.

Coarse incision on the helmet, including its contour; incision also for the eye, and the bracelet. The right arm is in white laid directly on the clay; the white of the face has faded from the black glaze over which it was applied.

Tongue pattern on the shoulder, front and back. Dots on the moulding round the neck. The inside of the handles is reserved.

On miniature Panathenaics, see B.S.A., 41, 1940-45, pp. 10-12. Our vase differs from the group there discussed, of which only 24 is comparable in size and in the quantity of incision; the tongues on the shoulder are more numerous and have no white; the dots on the moulding are a peculiarity, and it is a more detailed and careful piece of work.

Black-Glazed Pottery

24. Black-glazed skyphos, Attic type. Pl. 85. P 10,993. Height, 0.105 m.; diameter of rim, 0.131 m.; of base, 0.081 m. A third of wall and one handle restored.

Underside reserved, with two glazed circles and a dot. Glaze fired red over most of the pot, and rather dull. Traces of stacking.

25. Black-glazed skyphos, Attic type. Fig. 1. P 10,994. Height, 0.106 m.; estimated diameter of rim, 0.130 m.; of base, 0.081 m. Most of rim, much of wall and both handles missing.

Underside reserved, with two glazed circles and a dot. Glaze fired red over most of the pot, and dull in patches.

26. Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type. P 10,995. Height, 0.081 m.; estimated diameter of rim, 0.095 m.; of base, 0.049 m. Most of rim and walls and both handles missing.

Profile close to No. 27. Flaring ring foot. Glazed all over; the glaze fired greyish in places; traces of stacking.
27. Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type. Pl. 85 and fig. 2. P 10,996. Height, 0.106 m.; estimated diameter of rim, 0.120 m.; of base, 0.066 m. Much of rim and walls restored.

The handles rather square in plan, with the attachments slightly drawn together. Above the foot, a reserved band, cross-hatched. Under-

Fig. 1. Profiles of Black-Glazed Bolsals and Attic-Type Skyphoi

circle and dot decoration. None of the skyphoi from our well has red bands round the body; there is a solitary example of uncrossed rays, and another of a reserved band without rays; contrast the group of (earlier) vases from a well at Corinth (Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 273-274, Nos. 29-39). There is little difference in profile between our vases and an example from the third quarter of the century (Hesperia, V,
1936, p. 340, fig. 8, above right). In the fourth century, however, the development is more striking; contrast with No. 27 a skyphos from the second quarter of the fourth century (fig. 2, 141); it is less developed in shape than Olynthus, V, pl. 184, 986, which again appears to be slightly less advanced than the vase figured in Hesperia, Supplement IV, p. 133, fig. 98, b. To bridge the gap between No. 141 and No. 27, we may interpolate another from an alien context (No. 140). Its rim and lower underside reserved, with a neat glazed zone, two glazed circles and a dot.

Glaze fired dull red within, save for the rim; lustrous outside, fired red at the base and chestnut on the body.

29. Black-glazed askos. P 10,543. Height to top of spout, 0.048 m.; diameter, 0.088 m. The handle and part of the body missing.

Underside reserved. Glaze fired reddish, and almost entirely peeled.

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![Fig. 2. Profiles of Black-Glazed Corinthian-Type Skyphoi](image)

wall are a little less drawn in than those of the skyphos (N.M. 13.909) in the National Museum in Athens, which is referred to in Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 506. The figured decoration of the National Museum vase suggests a date in or near the third decade of the fourth century; No. 140 should therefore belong to the first quarter of the century.

28. Black-glazed ring-handled cup. Pl. 85. P 10,569. Height, 0.075 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.082 m.; diameter of foot, 0.046 m. Most of one handle and parts of rim and wall restored.

Deep, well-curved body with outturned lip; vertical grooved ring handles; finely profiled ring foot, with a concave moulding at the inner junction of foot and floor. A scraped groove at the external junction of foot and body; the

30. Black-glazed askos. P 10,992. Preserved height, 0.032 m.; diameter, 0.086 m. The spout, handle, and much of the floor missing. Underside reserved. Fair glaze.

The same form as No. 19, but with a shallower body.

31. Black-glazed bell-krater. Pl. 86. P 11,000. Height, 0.236 m.; diameter of rim, 0.255 m.

One handle and small pieces of rim, wall and base restored.

Completely glazed save for a reserved space between the handle-roots, the inside of the handles, a reserved line on top of the lip, two incised lines at the junction of lip and wall, a scraped groove at the junction of foot and stem, the vertical face of the foot, and the underside. The glaze has fired streaky, and varies from greyish-black to brown. Less de-
veloped in shape than No. 2. Compare A.R.V.,
p. 780, No. 25.

32. Black-glazed oinochoe. Pl. 86. P 10,999. Height, 0.243 m.; maximum diameter, 0.190 m. Much of the trefoil mouth and of the neck, and parts of the body restored. Plump body; rounded ring foot.

Underside reserved. Glaze wash within; on the outside, rather thin brownish glaze, much pitted.

33. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, heavy walled. Pls. 86 and 87. P 10,976. Height, 0.074 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.134 m. Two-thirds of rim and wall and both handles restored.

Deep bowl with thickened outturned lip, offset within. A scraped groove at the junction of wall and foot. Foot completely glazed; underside reserved, with glazed circles and a dot. Impressed decoration within. Glaze fired grey and chestnut in places, and much peeled. Traces of stacking.

34. Ribbed black-glazed cup-kotyle, heavy walled. Pls. 86 and 87. P 10,576. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter of rim, 0.138 m. Half of rim and wall and both handles restored.

Deep bowl with shallow ribbing: above this is a slight offset, from which the plain lip curves outwards. A scraped groove at the junction of wall and foot. Foot completely glazed; underside reserved, with glazed circles and a dot. Impressed decoration within. Good glaze.

The red-figured vases of this shape have received full treatment based on their figured and impressed decoration (A. D. Ure, J.H.S., 64, 1944, pp. 67-77). In the opening paragraph of that article it is stated that "the earliest examples are to be dated before the end of the fifth" (sc. century). With this the evidence from the Agora is in agreement, for the shape appears only in the latest fifth century deposits, being absent from those of the twenties. This, added to its comparative rarity on the Agora shelves, leads one to the conclusion that it was a product of the last quarter of the century. There is no obvious ancestry to account for its distinctive characteristics; the deep, heavy bowl, with a broad groove marking off the thickened, outturned lip; the foot, with a rounded moulding surmounted by an angular one and separated from the body by a plain "neck"; the heavy rolled handles which curve gently upward to just below the rim. No. 34 is a ribbed version; compare the similar vases figured in Clara Rhodos, VI-VII, p. 159, fig. 187, and Swedish Expedition to Cyprus, III, pl. 83, 10. It differs in having an unthickened, flaring lip, much like that of the ribbed stemless cup, No. 35, but this feature is paralleled on an otherwise canonical cup-kotyle from a contemporary Agora well-group (P 9368, from the same well as No. 139).

Our examples differ from the later red-figured vases in having a deeper bowl with a more gently curving wall; in this they resemble Mrs. Ure's Nos. 1 and 3 (J.H.S., 64, 1944, p. 68, fig. 1; Jacobstahl, Göttin gen Vasen, pl. 15, No. 45). Their undersides, when compared with those of later vases, illustrate the scheme typical of the fifth century and show how slight are the modifications of the next decade or so (see J.H.S., 64, 1944, pl. 2, 24; pl. 5, 12 and 14). It should be remarked that in general their impressed decoration is more complex than Mrs. Ure's earlier varieties, No. 33 being exceptional in its simplicity. The normal schemes, of which No. 34 and a vase in Brunswick are representative, resemble those of thin-walled cup-kotylai of the period (C.V.A. Brunswick, pl. 29, 4 and 5; very close in shape and decoration to another Agora vase (P 10,008) from a late fifth-century context).

The existence of examples with rouletting inside and a glazed underside which rises to a central cone indicates that the heavy-walled cup-kotyle persisted into the second quarter of the fourth century. Two other pieces, whose impressed decoration consists of four palmettes without rouletting, are more advanced in shape than the red-figured specimens mentioned above (C.V.A. Oxford 2, pl. 65, 8; C.V.A.
they have strongly rounded bodies and more sharply curved handles, with a heavier lip and narrower foot. This stage of development may throw some light on the problems surrounding the origin of the fourth-century cup-kantharos; compare a vase from below the temple of Zeus and Athena on the west side of the Athenian Agora (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 89, fig. 46, a).

35. Black-glazed ribbed stemless cup. Pls. 86 and 87. P 10,545. Height, 0.060 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.159 m.; diameter of foot, 0.084 m. Most of lip, much of wall and both handles restored.

Outturned lip; ribbed body, with a double ring-moulding at the base of the ribbing. High moulded ring foot; a reserved line at the outer junction of wall and foot. Underside, alternate glazed and reserved zones, with some moulding. Impressed decoration within. Glaze rather dull inside.

Cups of this kind occur in limited numbers in Agora deposits containing pottery of the last quarter of the fifth century. The Agora examples are all similar as regards body form, but the foot of No. 35 is unusually high, which may be a sign of lateness; compare the red-figured stemless cup Bonn 128 (A.R.V., p. 882, No. 45); the normal decoration of the underside is a succession of glazed and reserved zones on shallow mouldings. The impressed decoration resembles that of contemporary unribbed stemless cups, and is therefore discussed below (under No. 36).

36. Fragments of a black-glazed stemless cup. Pl. 88. Only a) is illustrated. P 10,978. Three non-joining pieces; a), maximum dimension, 0.101 m.; giving part of floor, foot and wall; b), maximum dimension, 0.074 m.; giving part of floor, foot and wall; c), maximum dimension, 0.083 m.; giving part of wall, with one handle-root.

Lip offset within. Moulded ring foot; scraped groove at the outer junction of wall and foot. Underside, an alternation of glazed and reserved zones, with some moulding. Impressed decoration within. Glazed fired grey inside.

This shape is poorly represented in our well, but the evidence of contemporary Agora deposits makes it clear that it maintained its popularity during the last quarter of the fifth century. Within the series formed by the Agora examples only minor differences are found in the profiles of wall and foot; these have perhaps little chronological significance and may be explained as the differences between the products of individual workshops. The handles might have been more informative, but few survive. On the cups of the third quarter of the century the underside is usually completely glazed except for a central reserved disc, but the scheme common in the last quarter, which is composed of alternating glazed and reserved zones and circles, does occur on some earlier examples. The evolution of the impressed decoration is, however, clear.

Mrs. Ure has shown how on red-figured stemless cups an original star motif developed into a rosette surrounded by one or two zones of tongues (J.H.S., 56, 1936, pp. 205-215, Nos. 1 to 13); it is a short step from her Nos. 11 and 12 to our No. 142 (Pl. 88). The inner zone of tongues may be omitted or may be replaced by palmettes or ovules (e.g., Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 483, fig. 6, T 98 and T 107); even in designs of such originality as that figured in Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 52, fig. 32, the structure is the same; a circular centrepiece surrounded by zones of ornament, with no organic connection between the various components.

Most of the designs of the last quarter of the century differ from their forerunners in quality rather than in structure. Pl. 88, 143, shows a careless and unoriginal version of the rosette-and-tongue decoration in which the tongues even lack the customary arcs at either end; Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 482, fig. 5, T 108 illustrates a combination which includes palmettes. On some examples, however, the
The ancestry of this system of decoration is so far forgotten that the central rosette is replaced by some other motif which may be taken bodily from a different shape of vase; on No. 36 (Pl. 88) the outer zone of tongues and the palmettes are normal, but in the centre were apparently four palmettes set cruciform (typical for the bolsal; cf. No. 161); on No. 35 the centre ornament is that of a thin-walled cup-kotyle (cf. Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 485, T 114); on No. 144 it is a small many-pointed star; compare the thin-walled cup-kotyle No. 146, and the vase from the Grave of the Lacedaemonians (Anz., 1937, pp. 197-198, fig. 14). The wheel has come full circle, and the star from which this scheme of decoration originally developed is reintroduced, but on a small scale and as a substitute.

The Agora excavations give only limited evidence for the history of the black-glazed stemless kylix in the fourth century; its popularity appears to have waned. No. 145 is typical of the few specimens at our disposal; pl. 86 shows its characteristic handles and high, narrow ring foot; the decoration of the underside is heavy and unprepossessing, and the impressed decoration (Pl. 88) has lost all vestiges of the rosette; cf. Mrs. Ure, loc. cit., p. 212; “There is no example of a red-figured stemless kylix with an incised rosette later than the end of the century.” The overall dimensions are well below those of a typical fifth-century stemless. It is not surprising that this shape, like certain others, seems to have been displaced by the kantharos.

37. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled. Pls. 86, 89, and 90. P 10,973. Height, 0.073 m.; estimated diameter, 0.151 m.; diameter of foot, 0.072 m. About two-thirds of rim and wall, both handles, and part of floor restored.

Lip offset within; foot separated from wall by a scraped groove. Within, nine badly impressed linked palmettes around two incised concentric circles; outer border, two incised concentric circles, with impressed dots between them. Glaze fired reddish-brown in places and much worn.

38. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled. Pls. 86, 89, and 90. P 10,974. Height, 0.064 m.; estimated diameter, 0.147 m.; diameter of foot, 0.074 m. About two-thirds of rim and walls, both handles and part of floor and foot restored.

Lip offset within; a wheel-run groove below the rim outside. Foot separated from wall by a scraped groove. On the underside, graffito fV. Impressed decoration within. Glaze fired chestnut in places.

39. Miniature black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled. P 10,975. Height, 0.040 m.; estimated diameter, 0.070 m. Rather less than half the cup preserved, with the roots of one handle.

Lip offset within; plain wall profile. Foot separated from wall by a scraped groove. Underside, a broad glazed zone, two glazed circles and a dot. Within, the remains of four impressed palmettes around a circle of impressed ovules. Glaze fired reddish and peeling in places.

The characteristics and development of this shape in the fifth and fourth centuries have already been discussed and illustrated (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 486 and p. 503, T 11); as a result of subsequent discoveries that discussion can now be supplemented. In the fifth century the general proportions alter but little; T 10, T 11 and T 114 show the same wide bowl, though the lip of the later vase is turned over (loc. cit., figs. 1, 9 and 20); in each case the foot consists of two elements, an upper plain ring or “neck” below which is a moulding; this moulding is itself made up of two members, the upper, larger one tapering to meet a small ring moulding below. T 114 is distinguished from its ancestors by the greater stylisation of its impressed decoration, by the bending back of its handle tips and by the decoration of its underside; this is mainly reserved with a glazed zone, circles and dot, as opposed to the cushion-like mouldings and the
predominance of glaze on T 10 and T 11 (see Pl. 90).

Of the two full sized cup-kotylai from our well No. 38 resembles T 114 in all essentials, but No. 37 belongs to another group which also includes two vases from different contexts, Nos. 146 and 147. In these the moulding of the foot is composed of two almost equal members; the underside is unmodelled, but mainly glazed, save for a small reserved disc (in No. 37 the heaviness of the glazed zone is relieved by a narrow reserved circle); and the impressed decoration is intermediate in elaboration between T 10 and T 11 on the one hand, and T 114 and No. 38 on the other. In the simplicity of its wall profile No. 37 resembles the earlier pair, while Nos. 146 and 147 show the faint beginning of that outward curve which has been remarked in T 114 and in No. 38; but the handle of No. 147 (the only one to survive) is only slightly bent back at the tip. Thus the class to which Nos. 37, 146 and 147 belong has links both with T 10 and T 11 and also with T 114 and No. 38; an intermediate dating may therefore be suggested and the comparatively elaborate decoration of Nos. 146 and 147 makes one reluctant to put them later than the twenties of the fifth century.

No. 148, the one Agora example which is sufficiently well preserved to illustrate the characteristics of the shape in the first quarter of the fourth century, bridges the gap in the series shown in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935 (T 114, T 115, T 116; p. 502, fig. 20; p. 486, fig. 9; p. 482, fig. 5; p. 485, fig. 8; see also pl. 86 of the present article). Its dimensions are below those of the average fifth-century cup-kotyle; this is true in general for all fourth-century specimens, the size of T 115 being unusual; it has the typical heavier fabric in wall and foot; and shows the tendency for the foot to become higher in relation to the total height of the vase. The moulding of the foot is already noticeably coarser than in T 114, or No. 38, though it has not yet sunk to the clumsiness of No. 149 (see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 502, and here Pl. 86). The decoration of the underside is still quite neat, but the surviving traces suggest that there were at least two substantial glazed circles round the centre; later examples show a decrease in the proportion left reserved, and the glazed zones are often carelessly applied. On No. 149, one of the latest Agora cup-kotylai, there occurs the same completely glazed, slightly conical underside and grooved resting surface which is found on other shapes toward the end of the second quarter of the century (for example, the bolsal, the kantharos and cup-kantharos, the heavy-walled cup-kotyle and the plain black-glazed bowl); the vase also demonstrates the later form of handle, in which the stems curve together and then diverge to meet the bar at an acute angle. The impressed decoration of No. 148 is a further simplification of the late fifth-century version, and is in fact the same arrangement as on No. 33, a heavy-walled cup-kotyle from our well; the next stage is the substitution of rouletting for the outer border of ovules, as in T 115 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 485, fig. 8) while the decoration of No. 149 shows the final outcome of the quest for speed and economy in manufacture.

40. Black-glazed plate with impressed decoration. Fig. 3. P 10,969. Height, 0.023 m.; diameter, 0.151 m. Much of rim and part of floor restored.

Flat floor; moulded underside. On the floor three rings of impressed ovules between incised circles. Glaze fired chestnut.

41. Black-glazed plate with impressed decoration. Fig. 3. P 10,968. Height, 0.025 m.; diameter, 0.166 m. Pieces of rim and floor restored.

Similar to the last, but with only two rings of ovules. Good black glaze, fired red within the foot.

These two plates exemplify the form in use during the last thirty years of the fifth century; fig. 3 makes clear the characteristics of foot, rim and underside. No. 150 (fig. 4) is an earlier version; comparison with the shapes current in the first two decades of the century
suggests that it is one of the earlier pieces in the deposit from which it comes; compare *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 64, bottom left; a plate in Berkeley is not too remote in profile from doubtless served many of the same purposes; see also a vase in Oxford which comes close to ours in dimensions (*C.V.A.* Oxford 2, pl. 52, 13); the majority of the examples from

No. 150 (*C.V.A.* University of California 1, pl. 31, 2 and p. 38; contrast an earlier plate, *ibid.*, pl. 31 and p. 38, 1). No. 151 represents a variety of dish which appears on Agora evidence to have been a popular contemporary of such plates as those from our well, and which the Agora are only about two-thirds this size. From an earlier context is No. 152, which presents a curious blend of the features of Nos. 150 and 151, and may help to explain the origin of the latter’s complex profile. No. 153 is the descendant of our two plates; similar pieces
occur among the vases from Olynthus (cf. Olynthus, V., pl. 157, 608, for the underside: pl. 157, 609, pl. 158, 612, 617, 619 and pl. 159, 621, for the view from above).

42. Black-glazed squat lekythos. Pl. 91. P 10,548. Height, 0.105 m.; diameter, 0.069 m. Intact except for a small hole in the side and minor chips. Rounded ring foot, with a concave moulding at the inner junction of foot and floor.

Completely glazed save for the lower part of the foot, the underside, and a reserved band below the handle-root, in which are running dogs between two glazed lines. Glaze fired grey in places.

43. Black-glazed squat lekythos. Pl. 91. P 10,549. Preserved height, 0.058 m.; diameter, 0.051 m. Mouth, neck and handle missing. Melon ribbed body. Plain ring foot.

Completely glazed save for the underside. For the shape, compare perhaps Langlotz, pl. 209, 588 (there dated "Ende 5 Jhr").

44. Black-glazed squat lekythos. P 16,672. Preserved height, 0.072 m. Mouth, neck and part of shoulder and handle of a lekythos.

Similar to that shown in Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 509, fig. 24, T 56, but with the shoulder less sloping. A moulded ring at the base of the neck.

45. Black-glazed squat lekythos. P 16,673. Preserved height, 0.083 m. Part of mouth, with neck, handle and part of shoulder of a vase similar to No. 44, but lacking the moulding; sloping shoulder.

Poor glaze, fired chestnut in places.

46. Black-glazed olpe with impressed decoration. Pl. 91. P 10,760. Preserved height, 0.071 m.; maximum diameter, 0.052 m. The handle and much of the lip restored. Flaring mouth; projecting disc foot. The handle is incorrectly restored. It should perhaps resemble that of C.V.A. Sévres, pl. 25, 5.

Around the shoulder, seven hanging linked impressed palmettes. The underside reserved; dull glaze on body and lip, somewhat worn in places; glaze wash within.

Impressed decoration is rare on this shape; in C.V.A. Oxford 1, p. 40, on pl. 48, 13, two examples are quoted, of which at least one is probably not Attic.

47. Black-glazed lekanis. Pl. 91. P 10,990. Height, 0.059 m.; maximum diameter as restored, 0.123 m. Both handles and about half of walls, rim and foot restored. The rim flanged to receive the lid; plain broad ring foot. Sufficient of the handle-roots remains to justify the restoration of spurred handles like those on a similar (but finer) Agora example.

Glazed inside and out save for the resting surface and underside, and a reserved zone on either side at handle level, in which are vertical zizags. Glaze rather thin and worn in places.

48. Miniature black-glazed lekanis-pyxis. Pl. 91. P 10,558. Height to handles, 0.040 m.; maximum diameter, 0.080 m. Mended from two pieces; complete save for a chip from the flange, and a hole in the floor. Rim flanged to receive the lid. Two upturned cup-handles. Disc foot, slightly concave on the underside.

Completely glazed except for the underside. The glaze dull inside and out, and much worn on one handle. For the name, cf. A.R.V., p. 911, end.

49. Black-glazed casserole. Pl. 91. P 10,991. Height to top of spout, 0.055 m.; maximum diameter, 0.107 m. Both handles and parts of wall, foot and spout restored. Plump body; rounded ring foot; unpierced spout. The vase originally had a flaring rim, flanged inside to take a lid. Subsequently it was trimmed down all round. It seems probable that the handles should have been restored to resemble those of a similar vase in Cambridge (C.V.A. 2, pl. 30, 6).

Reserved, a patch between the handle roots, the junction of wall and foot, and the underside, which is decorated with glazed circles and a dot. Good glaze, rather worn in places.
The vase shape is taken from the kitchen, useless spout and all, with a simple foot added for stability (cf. Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 494, fig. 16, T 78, 79; p. 495; p. 513). This modification suggests that the vase was intended as a pyxis, and not as a child’s toy.

50. Black-glazed lekanis lid. Pl. 91. P 10,553. Height, 0.073 m.; diameter, 0.174 m. Two fragments of rim and top restored. For the side view, compare C.V.A. Oxford 2, pl. 65, 14.

A reserved conical depression in the centre of the handle disc; reserved bands at rim and shoulder, and at the upper and lower edges of the disc. The rest covered with dull glaze, fired red in places.

51. Black-glazed lekanis lid. P 10,965. Height, 0.051 m.; diameter, 0.139 m. Fragments of rim and top restored; chips missing from the knob. The top rather flatter than on No. 50; compare C.V.A. Oxford 1, pl. 48, 17.

A glazed conical depression in the centre of the handle disc. The contact surface and bands on the disc reserved; a scraped ring at the base of the handle stem. Fair glaze.

52. Black-glazed lekanis lid. P 10,966. Height, 0.040 m.; diameter, 0.106 m. About half the top restored. Even flatter than No. 51.

A large reserved conical depression in the centre of the handle disc; also reserved, the edge of the disc, most of the handle stem and a broad shallow raised band on the top. Dull glaze.

53. Lid of a lebes gamikos, type 1. Pl. 91. P 10,963. Preserved height, 0.051 m.; diameter as restored, 0.190 m. The knob missing; about half the top restored. The reserved underside has a flange set well in from the rim. See A.M., 32, 1907, pp. 100-101 on the decoration of such lids.

54. Black-patterned lid, probably from a pyxis, type A. Pl. 91. P 10,573. Preserved height, 0.036 m.; diameter, 0.123 m. A fragment of the top restored; the handle missing; flanged beneath.

The curve from the rim to the flange is glazed; the underside is reserved with a broad glazed zone. Compare C.V.A. Munich 2, pl. 99, 3, for a similar scheme of decoration, but with the position of the tongues and the ovules reversed.

55. Black-glazed lid, probably from a pyxis, type C. Pl. 91. P 10,964. Preserved height, 0.020 m.; diameter, 0.143 m. About a third of the rim and top restored. Shallow domed top; a vertical flange below, which fitted inside the wall of the body. Ring mouldings around the handle and at the junction of dome and rim. There is no trace of the start of a handle stem; the piece may have had a metal handle; compare Richter, Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases, fig. 136. Completely glazed save for reserved lines on the upper and lower surfaces. The glaze fired grey in places and rather worn.

56. Black-glazed lid. Pl. 91. P 10,967. Preserved height, 0.018 m.; diameter, 0.091 m. About half restored; the handle missing.

The lid is a shallow cone, with a plain rim, no flange, and two moulded rings round the centre. At some time after firing the centre has been neatly trimmed off and a hole bored through. This was perhaps done to accommodate a substitute handle after the original knob had been broken away. Excellent glaze outside; streaky within.

57. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 93. P 10,577. Height, 0.117 m.; diameter, 0.330 m. Parts of rim, wall and foot missing. The wall thickens at the flat rim, which slopes inward. Substantial rounded ring foot.

Glazed all over save for the resting surface and the underside, on which part of a glazed circle survives. Glaze fired red in places; all round the outside, a ring of small vertical scratches just below the point at which the wall thickens.

No other contemporary or near-contemporary
glazed bowl from the Agora shelves approaches this one in size. The fact that it is glazed might suggest that it was made for the table rather than the kitchen, but the scratches around its rim are best explained by the hypothesis that it had been set in a circular hole cut in a table or stand in much the same arrangement as in an old-fashioned washstand, and that its contents had been stirred energetically. The normal kitchen mixing bowl was presumably the semi-glazed krater (cf. Nos. 85 and 86). Possibly our piece was an experiment which proved impracticable for its original purpose and was not repeated.

58. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,997. Height, 0.075 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.168 m. About three-quarters of rim and much of wall restored. Deep rounded body; the lip very slightly outturned; the fabric rather thin for its size. Rounded ring foot.

Broad reserved band below the rim on the outside; reserved line at junction of wall and foot; resting surface reserved; so also the underside, which is decorated with a glazed zone and glazed circles and a dot. Glaze fired streaky red, and much peeled.

59. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,989. Height, 0.039 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.117 m. Much of body, foot and floor restored. Rounded body; grooved, projecting rim; spreading ring foot.

The ridged surface of the rim, the junction of wall and foot, and the resting surface are reserved; so also the underside, on which part of a glazed zone survives. Glaze fired dull pink.

60. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,970. Height, 0.047 m.; diameter of rim, 0.177 m. Fragments of rim and wall restored. Rather shallow body, with rounded, projecting rim. Spreading ring foot.

Impressed decoration within. Completely glazed save for the resting surface and a reserved disc at the centre of the underside; in this, two glazed circles and a dot. Glaze fired brown, and much peeled.

61. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,971. Height, 0.050 m.; diameter, 0.183 m. About a third of rim and wall restored. Rather shallow body, with rounded rim, which projects slightly. Heavy spreading ring foot.

Impressed decoration within; the palmettes were unevenly applied; as a result a ridge was formed at one end of each of them, which has worn away. Glazed all over save for a line at the junction of wall and foot, and the resting surface; the underside also reserved, with a glazed zone, two glazed circles and a dot. Glaze dull black to reddish brown, and worn in places. Traces of stacking within.

62. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,972. Height, 0.040 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.152 m. Two-thirds of rim, part of wall and a piece of foot restored. Shallow bowl; rounded rim, below which is a groove on the outside; a third of the way down the wall, a ring moulding. Rounded ring foot with two horizontal grooves on its outer face.

Impressed decoration within; the die used for the palmettes had a chip missing. Completely glazed save for a reserved disc in the centre of the underside. Glaze fired dull grey in places.

No. 154 shows that small glazed bowls like Nos. 63-67 have a considerable history. We may contrast vases of the size of our Nos. 58-62 which are first common in Agora deposits of the period of our well and become increasingly popular during the succeeding century. The impressed decoration of Nos. 60-62 indicates that they were destined for the table.
64. Small black-glazed bowl. P 10,983. Height, 0.029 m.; diameter, 0.090 m. Mended from two pieces. Complete save for chips from foot.

Reserved resting surface; underside reserved with two glazed circles and a dot. Deep glazed concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor. Glaze varies from black to grey, with some red.

65. Small black-glazed bowl. P 10,984. Height, 0.026 m.; diameter, 0.083 m. Intact save for chips from rim.

Completely glazed; concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor. Glaze dull black.

cave moulding; on others the foot is a simple disc. The great majority, however, have the form shown in fig. 5, 63. The concave moulding occurs on some examples from contexts of the third quarter of the century (as Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 508, T 45) and rises to predominance in the period of our well. No. 67 shows that the impressed decoration which occasionally appears on this class of vase may be applied with some originality. The development of the shape seems to have been comparatively slow, but fig. 5, 154 illustrates a variety current in the first half of the fifth century, while No. 155 comes from a context around the middle of the fourth.

66. Small black-glazed bowl. P 10,985. Height, 0.022 m.; diameter, 0.086 m. Mended from two pieces; complete save for chips from rim and foot.

Underside reserved, with two glazed circles and a dot. Glazed concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor. Glaze fired chestnut within and on most of outside.

67. Small black-glazed bowl. Pl. 88. P 10979. Maximum dimension 0.054 m.; estimated diameter of foot, 0.060 m. One fragment preserves part of the floor and ring foot.

Resting surface reserved; underside reserved with a small glazed circle and a dot. Glazed concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor. Impressed decoration within. Good glaze.

The unnumbered pieces from this well include small black-glazed bowls with plain rounded ring feet which lack the inner con-

68. Black-glazed salt cellar. Pl. 93 and fig. 6. P 10,537. Height, 0.028 m.; diameter, 0.069 m. Parts of rim and foot restored. Concave side wall; bottom inset. Completely glazed; the glaze fired chestnut at one point and rather worn.

Graffito. 1) Within, fig. 6, right; 2) On the underside, fig. 6, left. G. A. Stamires suggests for 1), Σμων (Δως), (cf. Ἕφημερίς, 1898, p. 13, 6; I.G., I, 359 and 775; I.G., II, 1929, 20); for 2), Παράμυθ (Θος) (cf. I.G., II, 28, 1; 106, 4; II, 2272); presumably the writer miscalculated his first line, and had to squeeze the second alpha in below it. This appears to be by the same hand as the interior graffito, and differs markedly from the remaining five letters, ΤΟΞ ΝΟ, for which no interpretation has been suggested.

The neat rim and foot, the comparative shallowness and the irregular curve of the wall are normal for the period, though an even concavity is not unknown. Contrast earlier exam-
ple, which are deeper and more evenly curved, and often have a flat or mildly concave underside (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 66, 289-291). See *Olynthus*, V, pl. 189, 1042, for the fourth-century version; on certain of the pieces shown there the sharpest curve comes in the upper part of the wall, and not in the lower as on our vase. Similar vases were found with Nos. 149 and 162, and in Agora deposits contemporary with them; see *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 133, fig. 98, d. These have the same kind of profile as the Olynthian, they are moreover heavier in fabric than ours, and many of them have a grooved resting surface.

Bonn, pl. 28, 1-4, for a unique red-figured example. With No. 71 compare *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 508, T 48. The versions of the first half of the century are easily distinguishable by their inset bottoms (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 66, 283, 284, and 286).

72. Black-glazed one-handler. P 10,551. Height, 0.035 m.; diameter, 0.085 m. Half the handle and a chip from rim missing. The foot a solid disc; the handle slightly tilted. Glazed all over, the glaze being dull.

73. Black-glazed one-handler. P 10,560. Height, 0.027 m.; diameter, 0.068 m. The handle and part of rim and wall restored. Rounded ring foot. Glazed all over; the glaze fired brown in places, and peeled.

74. Black-glazed one-handler. Pl. 93. P 10,987. Height, 0.037 m.; diameter, 0.109 m. A piece of rim and wall restored. Slightly spreading ring foot; the handle tilted. Resting surface and underside reserved, with two glazed circles and a dot. The glaze varies from black to red.

75. Black-glazed one-handler. P 19,117. Height, 0.045 m.; estimated diameter, 0.126 m. The handle and most of wall missing. Flat floor; slightly spreading ring foot.

A reserved line round most of the foot;

69. Black-glazed salt cellar. Pl. 93. P 16,674. Height, 0.026 m.; diameter of rim, 0.059 m. One fragment, preserving two-thirds of the vase. Flat bottom; rounded rim. Completely glazed.

70. Black-glazed salt cellar. P 10,986. Height, 0.024 m.; diameter of rim, 0.059 m. Intact. Similar to No. 69 but the wall less curved.

71. Black-glazed salt cellar. Pl. 93. P 10,572. Height, 0.024 m.; maximum diameter, 0.062 m. Intact save for chips from the rim. Faintly convex reserved underside.

Nos. 69 and 70 are very close to *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 508, T 46 and 47. See C.V.A. 68

Fig. 6. Graffiti on Black-Glazed Salt Cellar

For the history of the shape, see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 507, on T 37-42. Note that those one-handlers have undersides which are completely glazed or have only a small reserved area; in our well, though completely glazed pieces occur, the great majority have reserved undersides with glazed bands or circles and a dot. The tendency for the handle-roots to be pinched together is already apparent on some of our examples.

76. Black-glazed stemless cup. Pl. 93. P 10,988. Height, 0.037 m.; diameter of rim, 0.112 m. Parts of rim, wall and of both handles restored. Flaring offset lip; shallow body; small ring foot.

The underside reserved, with two narrow glazed circles; the resting surface and a band above the foot also reserved. Glaze fired grey in places, and peeled at one point on the lip.

This variety of cup is discussed in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 507, T 34-35; T 34 is figured in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 339, fig. 7, right. The material from the katharsis pit on Rheneia provides good parallels for the shape of our piece and for the decoration of its underside.

77. Black-glazed bolsal (for the name see Beazley, *B.S.A.*, 41, 1940-45, p. 18, note 2; there also, references to other discussions of this shape). Pl. 93. P 10,977. Height, 0.048 m.; diameter of rim, 0.107 m. A piece of the rim and wall and much of both handles restored. Coarse plain foot.

Within, four small, deeply impressed palmettes around an incised groove. The handles and underside much worn; the underside reserved with a glazed zone and dot. Glaze, black to red; dull and much peeled.

Although in our well only one specimen of this very popular shape is sufficiently preserved to be inventoried, the presence of fragments of many others, and the numerous examples from other well fillings of the second half of the fifth century necessitate some discussion.

Fig. 1, 157, and the vases figured in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 502, fig. 20, T 12 and 14, and p. 503, fig. 22, illustrate the range of variation within the fifth century in the proportion of height to diameter, in the type of foot (T 14 being the norm) and in the concavity of the lower wall. The underside, which in very rare cases is completely glazed, may carry any of the schemes of decoration represented on Pl. 95; by far the commonest is No. 161. As handles are the first casualties our evidence for them is not as full as might be desired. It is clear, however, that the fourth-century tendency to set the attachments closer together, and to tilt the whole handle was already at work in the last quarter of the fifth century, though the horizontal U-shape still prevails (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 504). The interior may be completely plain; this is not necessarily a sign of a utility brand, since some of the undecorated examples are fine in fabric, glaze and profile; most commonly a simple scheme of four impressed palmettes is found, as pl. 94, 157, but the fragments from our well include more complex arrangements, and so do other contemporary and earlier groups; cf. pl. 94, 159 and 160, and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 504, fig. 21, T 12, 13, 16.

We have no direct knowledge of the shape's history in the first quarter of the fourth century. The final stages are, however, clear. A heavier fabric becomes the rule, often with the lip outturned (cf. fig. 1, 162). The foot becomes coarser and more rounded, while the angle between it and the wall is blurred; compare a red-figured (Olynthian) example (*Olynthus*, V, pl. 123, p. 273). The underside is often completely glazed, rising to a low cone in the centre and the resting surface is grooved; the tilting and pinching-in of the handles becomes pronounced; for these points see Ure, *Black-Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. 16, 4 and, for the handles, *C.V.A.* Sévres, III and IV, pl. 25, 42-44. In the interior we find only
stereotyped arrangements, often with a roulettet border.

These characteristics mark off the fourth-century version from its ancestors. Within the second half of the fifth century, however, all the variations described at the outset occur simultaneously; the one exception is that the use of scraped grooves on the underside is apparently confined to the end of the century. It is rare even then, so that its absence from earlier deposits may be fortuitous. Moreover, when one puts the fifth-century examples in a series based on any one criterion the order does not tally with that obtained by consideration of other details. It is not possible to trace any consecutive development. This conclusion, so remarkable in view of the systematic evolution of the majority of black-glazed shapes, is based on the study of over forty Agora examples, whose contexts are unambiguous. The bolsal has no definite ancestry. Its relatives, No. 156 and Hesperia, IV, 1935, figs. 10 and 20, T 17, have a rounder bowl, a moulded foot, and a scheme of impressed decoration akin to that of such stemless kylikes as Hesperia, IV, 1935, fig. 8, T 102. The canonical fifth-century form has a foot and handles similar to those of a thin-walled skyphos, but the body is an innovation. The absence of any tradition of development perhaps accounts for the shape’s instability during the fifth century.

Even this negative result is still valuable, for these vases are found in graves and other contexts of the time no less than in household deposits such as those of the Agora; see Blinkenberg, Lindos, I; the graffiti 2841 to 2844; Swedish Expedition to Cyprus, II (certain of the tombs at Marion); Clara Rhodos, II (Pon- tano cemetery), III (Ialysos), VI-VII (Cala- tomilo, Fikellura and Rhodes); Olynthus, V and XI. It must be stressed that though we can distinguish fifth-century bolsals from fourth-century ones, we cannot rely upon the shape to assist in establishing a detailed relative chronology within the fifth century.

78. Black-glazed wide-mouthed jug. Pl. 93. P 10,982. Height, 0.132 m.; diameter of rim, 0.128 m. About a third of wall and part of lip restored. Glaze fired chestnut in places, and rather peeled.

79. Black-glazed wide-mouthed jug. Pl. 93. P 10,981. Height, 0.092 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.082 m. Parts of wall and lip restored. Glaze fired reddish brown and much peeled.

80. Black-glazed wide-mouthed jug. Pl. 93. P 10,546. Height, 0.083 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.078 m. Much of lip, and parts of body restored. The handle missing. Glaze fired chestnut and grey, and peeled.

81. Black-glazed wide-mouthed jug. Pl. 85. P 10,980. Height, 0.066 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.086 m. The handle, much of lip and parts of body restored. Good glaze.

The first three of these vases are similar in all but scale. They each have a double handle, a rope-like moulding at the junction of body and lip, and a foot formed by running a groove round the lower body; all are completely glazed.

The developments of shoulder, body and lip which are characteristic of the last quarter of the fifth century become apparent if Nos. 78 and 80 are set beside earlier examples such as Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 508, T 50-52, and Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 280, Nos. 55, 56, and 58; see also the discussion of the shape in those two articles. For a vase of this kind in use, see the right-hand figure on A of the column-krater Madrid 11039 (A.R.V., p. 705, No. 15). No. 79 has a less pronounced shoulder than its two companions, but its body does not have the full curves typical of the preceding period. The ribbing on all three, as on similar vases from contemporary deposits, is plain, with the grooves fairly widely spaced and ending at the top in semi-circular arcs; compare Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 280, fig. 19, No. 60 and a fine example (P 18,350) from the same well filling as No. 143. In contrast to these, a jug from the katharsis pit on Rhenia lacks the accentuation of the shoulder, and its ribs do
not end in arcs. Impressed decoration, such as palmettes and circles, seems to have been little used on this shape in the last quarter of the century.

Two similar vases occur in an early fourth-century context in the Agora (P 9309 and P 8618; the latter referred to in Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 281); but the absence of the shape from the Agora deposits which contain pottery resembling the later material from Olynthus suggests that it cannot have persisted long after the end of the first quarter of the century.

No. 81 is an example of the lower type of jug; cf. Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 277, fig. 17, No. 57; compare also the vase held by Herakles on the Boeotian pyxis London E 814 (Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum, Vol. 3, pl. 21, 2; whence Pfußl, Malerei und Zeichnung, fig. 611; in section 778 dated on stylistic grounds to “the later fifth century at the earliest”). The ribbing forms a petal pattern and the triangular spaces between the petals are stippled. Little difference in proportion can be seen between it and its immediate forerunners; perhaps the lip flares a shade more widely, and the body seems rather deeper and less rounded in outline, but the latter feature may be due to the distorting effect of the deep ribbing.

The shallower ribbing of the earlier jugs was produced by grooving the surface, with but little distortion of fabric. The deeper segmentations of our vases involved an actual bending of the wall of the pot. Such ribbing increases the strength of a metal vase, but is a source of weakness in pottery; on many of the Agora examples the fabric has cracked on the inside along the lines of division between the ribs. In contrast to our vases fourth-century ribbed kantharoi normally have smooth interiors; it seems likely that they were produced by a different process which avoided overstraining the clay.

**Semi-Glazed Pottery**

Under this heading are included the askoi, Nos. 83, 84, and the two-handled jug, No. 92, which are completely covered with a glaze wash. They are, however, coarser in glaze and fabric than the pottery discussed hitherto; moreover most examples of these two shapes are in fact semi-glazed.

82. Semi-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,998. Height, 0.042 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.097 m. About three-quarters restored. Deep bowl, with flat bottom and plain rim. Glazed bands outside at lip and just below; glazed within, the glaze fired greyish and rather peeled.

83. Glazed askos. P 11,001. Height as restored, 0.200 m. The bell mouth, pointed tail and fragments of the body restored. Plump body; disc foot. Dull streaky red glaze within; on the outside, good glaze, ranging from chestnut to red; much worn on the handle.

84. Glazed askos. Pl. 86. P 11,002. Height as restored, 0.253 m. The base, much of the pointed tail, and fragments of the body restored. Similar to No. 83. Thin streaky brown glaze within; on the outside a thin red glaze wash, much worn and peeled.

See Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 512, T 75, and p. 495 for a similar vase, with a suggestion about its purpose.

85. Semi-glazed krater. Pl. 96. P 11,009. Height, 0.188 m.; diameter, 0.369 m. Fragments of wall and both handles restored. Warped in firing. Rounded ring foot. The curved projecting rim slopes downwards; the rolled horizontal handles are turned up vertically to join it. Within, dull black glaze, rather peeled; two glazed bands on the rim; one outside, below the handles; the foot also glazed.

86. Semi-glazed krater. Pl. 96. P 11,010. Height, 0.187 m.; diameter, 0.398 m. Much of wall, part of rim and one handle restored. Rounded ring foot; the rolled horizontal handles are turned up vertically to meet the flat, projecting rim. Within, streaky brown glaze, much worn at the bottom; on the rim, two
glazed bands crossed by short stripes; a single band below the handles; the foot glazed.

For the development of such kraters from the late sixth century to the early fourth, see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 512, fig. 25. Our examples resemble the later pair there illustrated in being relatively low and wide, but the peculiar form of their handles necessitated the handle-roots being set lower than one might expect at this period. For an earlier use of this handle form see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 66, 306 and 307; C.V.A. Compiègne, pl. 18, 1-2 shows a rare application of it to a red-figured bell-krater.

87. Semi-glazed lekanis. Pl. 96. P 11,004. Height, 0.103 m.; diameter, 0.251 m. Fragments of rim and body restored. Spreading ring foot; horizontal double rolled handles; a slight flare at the rim, which is flanged inside to receive the lid. Within, dull red glaze, somewhat peeled; on the outside, a glazed band just below the handles.

88. Semi-glazed lekanis. P 11,005. Height, 0.060 m.; diameter, 0.165 m. Fragments of rim and body restored. A smaller edition of No. 87, with plain handles. Dull black glaze within, almost entirely peeled.

89. Semi-glazed lekanis. P 11,006. Height, 0.060 m.; diameter, 0.167 m. Fragments of rim and body restored. Similar to No. 88, with the glaze better preserved.

90. Semi-glazed lid. Pl. 97. P 11,007. Height, 0.068 m.; diameter, 0.207 m. About a third restored. A conical depression in the centre of the handle. On the outside, thin red glaze, with three reserved bands below the handle.

91. Semi-glazed lid. P 11,008. Height, 0.067 m.; diameter, 0.201 m. About half restored. Similar to No. 90, with one reserved band.

These two lids are both probably from vases like Nos. 87-89, though they do not fit any of the inventoried pieces.

92. Glazed two-handled jug. Pl. 96. P 11,003. Height, 0.165 m.; diameter, 0.211 m. One handle, parts of lip and much of body restored. Ring foot; vertical-sided rim. Two double-rolled handles, set approximately at right angles to each other. Streaky red glaze within; dull black glaze on the upper body, and red on the lower, the whole much peeled.

The forms of body and handle which this vase displays are the result of a long development, whose earlier stages are represented by Nos. 163 and 164. The addition of a second handle is made comparatively late in the history of the shape; a very few examples with two handles have been found in contexts of the third quarter of the fifth century, but the great majority come from deposits contemporary with that of our well (e.g. the vase figured in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 346, fig. 30). The way in which the two handles are set close together may seem strange at first sight; in practice one finds that this setting seems clearly intended to enable one to hand the jug to a reclining or seated neighbour with greater ease and elegance. Furthermore, experiments with an intact specimen have shown that, while the bulk of the contents can be poured out without difficulty, the residue can only be removed when the vessel is turned completely upside down; the dregs are trapped. These two facts suggest that our vase and its ancestors may have served as wine decanters on occasions such as everyday meals, too modest to warrant all the apparatus of a symposium. It may be remarked in passing that the vase with which the tests were made proved to be an excellent pourer.

The introduction of the second handle may of course have been an independent Athenian invention, but published examples from Corinth antedate the earliest known Athenian ones (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 293, fig. 25, 151, and p. 294, 151-153; from a well whose contents are dated to 460-420 B. C. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 592, fig. 18, 150, and p. 596; from a well containing pottery of the second half of the sixth century and the first two decades of the
fifth (pp. 557-560). These Corinthian pieces show no trace of the body- or handle-form characteristic of the Attic). Moreover No. 165, which is possibly of Corinthian fabric and is closer to the Corinthian version than to the Athenian, suggests the possibility of outside influence at this time. Note also certain vases from Italy; three whose only link is the possession of two handles set close together (Baur, The Stodard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases, No. 248, p. 148, fig. 58; Mayer, Apulien vor und während der Hellenisirung, p. 230, fig. 59, and pl. 10, 7); two others, less remote (Notizie degli Scavi, 1904, p. 133; 1929, p. 98); compare also Aurigemma, Il R. Museo di Spina, p. 105, below, second from the right, and p. 111, middle of second row. Contrast the fourth century (?) vase, Robinson, Greek Vases at Toronto, pl. 93, 578.

The shape is rare in Agora deposits of the mid-fourth century; possibly it fell out of favour, and the few later examples like Hesperia, III, 1934, p. 341, fig. 21, B. 33 may be imports.

93. Semi-glazed stamnos. Pl. 97. P 11,011. Preserved height, 0.234 m.; maximum diameter, 0.442 m. The shoulder and low vertical rim survive, strengthened with plaster. On the shoulder the roots of a horizontal rolled handle are preserved; there may well have been another on the opposite side. The rim is glazed; glazed bands on the shoulder below the handle. Coarse buff clay.

Similar in shape to Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 514, T 84, but of a different fabric, and without the knobs.

Coarse Pottery

94. Mortar. Pl. 96. P 11,012. Height, 0.070 m.; diameter, 0.281 m. One fragment of rim and a small piece of the bowl restored. Plain disc base; projecting convex rim, with two reel handles and a spout. Micaceous Attic clay; no added grit or small stones.

95. Coarse kalathos. Pl. 97. P 11,017. Height, 0.437 m.; estimated diameter of rim, 0.390 m. Much of wall restored. Low projecting base; high wall; thickened, rounded rim. No trace of any handles has survived. Highly micaceous gritty grey fabric with a brownish surface. Shallow vertical grooves, apparently made with the finger before firing, run from top to bottom around half the interior.

The occurrence in Hellenistic deposits of vases similar to ours in general form and in the detail of being partially grooved suggests that its peculiarities were intended to meet some abiding domestic need, but what that was we cannot say.

96. Casserole. Pl. 96. P 11,014. Height, 0.165 m.; maximum diameter, 0.211 m. One handle and parts of the body restored. The rim is flanged inside to receive a lid; the spout is unpierced. Coarse grey fabric, shading into brown in places. For the shape cf. Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 343, fig. 10, and VI, 1937, p. 305, fig. 36, 205.

97. Small cooking pot. Pl. 97. P 11,013. Height, 0.086 m.; maximum diameter, 0.119 m. About half the rim and wall restored. Round bottom; a single band handle. Reddish-brown micaceous clay fired bright orange in places; traces of a thin brown wash on the outside, and of burning on the bottom.

98. Coarse miniature pot. Pl. 97. P 10,555. Height, 0.064 m.; maximum diameter, 0.030 m. The vase originally had a vertical handle, which appears to have been broken off before firing. It has a false base, formed by running a deep groove round the lower body. For this feature, compare the later vases from Corinth (Hesperia, XVI, 1947, pl. 62 and p. 241 ff.). Ours, like these, was no doubt a medicine or perfume container, presumably serving a purpose similar to that of the more familiar types of unguentary of the Hellenistic world. Wheel made. Coarse muddy grey fabric, unglazed.

99. Large round brazier. P 11,015. Diameter of rim, 0.530 m. Rather more than half the
rim and part of the body preserved. The rim is wide and flat, with two spit-holders on it. Two rolled horizontal handles. Coarse and very gritty brown fabric. Broken and repaired in antiquity with stout lead clamps.

100. Miniature brazier. Pl. 97. P 11,016. Height as restored, 0.059 m.; diameter of rim, 0.156 m. Parts of the body and the bottom of the high perforated stand restored. Much warped. Flat projecting rim beneath which are the roots of two horizontal rolled handles. Coarse brown micaceous clay.

These, the largest and smallest of the Agora examples, are standard in pattern (cf. Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 515, fig. 27, T 82; VI, 1937, p. 305, fig. 36, 212). It was no doubt the exceptional size of No. 99 which made it worth mending. The purpose of No. 100 is not clear; sowelakia, one might think, but there are no spit-rests.

WINE AMPHORAE

Nos. 102-105 have dipinti, some of which perhaps refer to the quality or price of their content. Nos. 106-108 are stamped.

101. Wine amphora. Pl. 98. P 11,018. Height, 0.730 m.; maximum diameter, 0.365 m. Much of the wall and lip restored. Ovoid body, ending in a peg-like toe; straight neck; rolled handles from just below the rounded lip. Coarse grey micaceous clay. A similar amphora comes from the same context as No. 143.

102. Wine amphora fragment. Pls. 97 and 98. P 11,021. Preserved height, 0.302 m. The neck is preserved, with one handle and much of the shoulder; none of the lip survives. Thumb impressions at the base of either handle. Pink gritty clay.

In black, on the shoulder ΩΣΧΟΩΑ; the alpha is larger than the other letters. Hesychius, s. v. ωσχοι gives τὰ νέα κλήματα σὺν αὐτῶι τῶι βότρυαι; the Etymologicum Magnum has a similar explanation for ωσχος. It thus seems possible that our inscription has some reference to the contents of the jar.

We may perhaps compare with this dipinto the letters on a neck fragment (P 11,368) whose context is of the late fifth and early fourth centuries; on it, in red paint, ΟΣ[.

103. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 97. P 11,022. Preserved height, 0.242 m. The neck, much of the shoulder and most of both handles have survived. Pinkish-brown gritty clay, with a lighter surface. Some dark substance has run down from the lip on to the neck. Remains of a putty-like coating within. In red, at the base of the neck, Π.

104. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 97. P 11,019. Preserved height, 0.246 m. The neck is preserved, with one handle. Thickenened lip, below which are two grooves. Slightly micaceous pink clay, with creamy slip. In black on the neck, Δ.


106. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 98 and fig. 7. SS 7,614. Preserved height, 0.180 m. A complete handle, with part of the rim and shoulder. A thumb impression at the base of the handle. The interior is coated with a layer of some putty-like substance, beneath which are traces of pitch.

On the handle is a round stamp, imperfectly applied; it contains a satyr-head to right. Comparison with certain later pieces suggests that the deep indentation which runs from the line of the jaw to the ear is not accidental, and this, with absence of any clear indication of the neck, inclines one to interpret the head as a satyr-mask. Such an interpretation might also account for the rather archaic appearance of the features (cf. the Pronomos vase, FR., pl. 143, and text, vol. III, p. 143; contrast the satyr-heads on Thasian stamps, A.J.A., 50, 1946, p. 32, 12-14).
The fabric and profile of this fragment agree closely with fragments of two other storage-amphorae from contemporary deposits. These are identified as Mendean by their stamps (Dionysos on a donkey; compare Noe, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 27; The Mende (Kaliandra) Hoard). One of them (SS 6917) is published in Hesperia, Supplement VIII, pl. 20, I; the other is No. 166 in this catalogue (see pl. 98 and fig. 7).

Miss Virginia Grace, to whom I am indebted for advice about the stamped wine-storage amphorae, has kindly contributed the following note: "Mr. Corbett's references (under his 106) to the deposit in which was found SS 6917 are to be taken as a correction of my statement (Hesperia, Supplement VIII, p. 182) of Mende with Thasos and Chios as states whose early stamped jars are contemporary with Athenian Imperial standards regulations."

107. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 98 and fig. 7. SS 7,615. Maximum dimension, 0.155 m. Part of neck and of one handle. Micaceous buff clay.

In an oval stamp on the handle is a two-horsed chariot, driven to right by Nike. On coins of this period such a motif is far more popular in Magna Graecia than in mainland Greece or the Aegean.

108. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 98 and fig. 7. SS 7,802. Preserved height, 0.092 m. Part of the neck and thickened lip. Micaceous orange-buff clay.

From the same well as SS 6917 (see above
on No. 106) comes a neck-fragment (SS 6918), broken all around, which is very similar in fabric to our piece; it too has a stamped wheel. Another fragment (SS 1906) whose context is of the late fifth and early fourth centuries is identical with ours in fabric and profile; here once again there is a stamped wheel on the neck.

**TERRACOTTA LAMPS**

In working on the lamps I have had the advantage of consulting an unpublished dissertation by Richard Howland. The types noted are those established by O. Broneer, *Corinth*, vol. IV, part II, *Terracotta Lamps*.

In addition to the catalogued pieces several other fragmentary lamps were found. Apart from two small scraps from Type II lamps they all belonged to one of the three varieties represented below; the total number of each variety was roughly equal.

109. Lamp, type IV. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,160. Height, 0.025 m.; diameter, 0.073 m. Broken but complete. Low base, slightly concave beneath; shallow body; long nozzle; horizontal band handle. Underside reserved; the rest covered with dull reddish-brown glaze, much peeled.

110. Lamp, type IV. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,159. Height, 0.028 m.; diameter, 0.083 m. The handle missing. Similar to No. 109 but heavier. Underside alone reserved. Fair glaze.

111. Lamp, type IV. L 3,084. Height, 0.022 m.; diameter, 0.071 m. Complete save for the handle. Similar to No. 109. Underside reserved; glaze rather worn round the handle.

112. Lamp, type IV, with multiple nozzle. L 3,161. Maximum dimension, 0.065 m. One fragment gives part of the low base, the continuously curved wall and of three nozzles which are shorter than those of Nos. 109-111. Underside and lower wall reserved.

113. Lamp, type V. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,086. Height, 0.031 m.; diameter, 0.070 m. The nozzle restored; the horizontal U-shaped handle missing. Grooved top; nearly vertical side wall; broad, flat-topped nozzle; low ring foot. The resting surface reserved, as also the centre
of the underside, which has a central glazed dot. Glaze fired chestnut in places, and rather worn.

114. Lamp, type V. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,162. Height, 0.033 m.; diameter, 0.074 m. Part of wall missing, with the handle. Grooved top; bulging side wall; one large and one small nozzle set nearly at right angles; low ring foot, with a concave moulding at the interior junction with the body. The whole completely covered with good glaze, which has been worn or scraped off the ridge on top.

115. Lamp, type V. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,083. Height, 0.030 m.; diameter, 0.069 m. The horizontal U-shaped handle missing. Much of the nozzle restored. Grooved top; nearly vertical side wall; low ring foot. The clay badly discoloured by burning; the glaze almost entirely peeled.

116. Lamp, type V. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,165. Height, 0.031 m.; diameter, 0.079 m. Nozzle restored; horizontal band handle missing. Classified as type V, but the narrow foot, the unbroken curve of the body, the unglazed exterior and the form of the handle suggest affinities with type VII b.

117. Lamp, type VI. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,082. Height, 0.028 m.; diameter, 0.064 m. Part of nozzle restored; the horizontal band handle missing. Small raised base, slightly concave beneath; convex sloping rim. Small wick hole. Completely glazed save for the underside.

118. Lamp, type VI. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,163. Height, 0.033 m.; diameter, 0.077 m. Part of base restored; the horizontal band handle missing. Low base markedly concave beneath. The angle between side and rim rather rounded. Broad nozzle. Completely glazed save for the underside.

119. Lamp, type VI. L 3,164. Height, 0.031 m.; diameter, 0.073 m. Parts of body and tip of nozzle restored. The horizontal band handle missing. Similar to No. 117, with a groove dividing the underside into a reserved ring and a glazed central medallion. The rest of the lamp covered with fair glaze, fired chestnut in places.

**Terracottas**

I am indebted to Mrs. D. B. Thompson for advice on the terracottas from the well.

In addition to the three catalogued pieces the following fragments were inventoried: part of the body of a horse, T 1577; part of a ‘primitive,’ possibly a rider belonging to the preceding, T 1578 (cf. Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 194, fig. 4, o); and two fragments of a table, T 1579 a) and b). All save No. 122 show traces of a white slip.

120. Scallop shell. Pl. 99. T 1,529. Length, 0.098 m.; width, 0.070 m. Broken all around, the fractures being much worn. The inside is plain, the outside, ribbed. Remains of white slip on the outside; there were also traces of red before washing. The fabric thickens below the hinge, but the piece is too worn at the edges to permit us to say whether or no it was originally attached to something else.

Part of a mould for a shell of this type has been found in an Agora deposit of the late fourth and early third century. The ribs on it are thinner than those on our example, but there is little essential difference between the two.

121. Mould for the back of a woman’s head. Pl. 100, where a cast from the mould is also shown. T 1,581. Height, 0.054 m.; width, 0.074 m. Complete. The hair gathered at the nape of the neck. Near the edges on the outside are 6 string grooves arranged in pairs and the remains of 4 clay tabs.

122. Jointed doll. Pl. 100. T 1528. Preserved height 0.102 m. The legs are missing from below the knees, and the head is lost; the front of the body somewhat battered. A standing nude female figure, with a hole pierced from shoulder to shoulder for the attachment of the arms; there are also traces of the attach-
ment of the lower legs. Micaceous orange-buff clay, with a grey core.

LOOM-WEIGHTS AND SPINDLE-WHORLS

On these see *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, pp. 65-96. Sixty-three pyramidal weights were found in our well, of which only two are catalogued. Of the uncatalogued examples eight show a great diversity of weight, but the rest appear to fall into three groups; twenty-four weigh between 61 and 68 grammes; fourteen between 70 and 75 grammes; fifteen between 77 and 78 grammes. The well also contained two lentoid and two conical loom-weights, as here catalogued. The presence of the two conical weights in an Athenian deposit of this date is surprising, though the shape was already current at Corinth; see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 475, and *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, p. 76.


In an oval stamp on the top, a winged figure crouching right, facing what appears to be the inverted upper half of an amphora; a lump above it serves to indicate its contents. The shape of the vase reminds one of the scene on a squat lekythos in Karlsruhe (*FR.*, pl. 78, 1; Nicole, *Medias*, pl. 8, 3) where the presence of Eros gives a clue to the identity of our figure. Attic.


In an oval stamp on the top, a lion, half-crouching to left; pearled border. Attic.


126. Conical loom-weight. Pl. 101. MC 406. Height, 0.070 m. Mended from two pieces. Single hole. A small irregular X incised before firing in the centre of the underside; beside it is a blank oval depression. Orange-buff clay.

127. Lentoid loom-weight. Pl. 101. MC 388. Diameter, 0.205 m.; thickness, 0.031 m. Intact save for chips. Two holes.

At the centre is an oval stamp, in which is a figure seated to right (apparently in a tree) and playing the flute or pipes. Gritty brown clay.

128. Lentoid loom-weight. Pl. 101. MC 405. Diameter, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.037 m. Intact, but somewhat worn. Two holes. Buff clay, washed over.

129. Glazed whorl. Pl. 101. MC 410. Height, 0.028 m.; maximum diameter, 0.027 m. Intact, save for minor chips. Dull black glaze much peeled.

130. Glazed whorl. Pl. 101. MC 411. Height, 0.027 m.; maximum diameter, 0.035 m. Intact, save for chips. Dull black glaze, much worn.

BONE OBJECTS

On styli see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 335, and the early fifth-century examples there figured on pl. 69, 351-356.

131. Stylus. Pl. 101. BI 404. Length, 0.127 m. Intact. Round shaft; broad erasing end; fancy centre.

132. Stylus. Pl. 101. BI 421. Length, 0.110 m. Intact. The shaft rounded at the writing end and square for the other half of its length.

133. Earspoon. Pl. 101. BI 415. Length, 0.102 m. End of the handle broken off. Discoloured green.

134. Astragals. Pl. 99. BI 422. Length, 0.032 m. to 0.028 m. A set of five; three discoloured green; one is pierced with three small holes.

STONE OBJECTS

135. Poros mortar. Pl. 96. ST 215. Height,
0.125 m.; diameter of rim, 0.390 m. Fragments of rim and body missing; one piece does not join. Shallow body; complex moulded ring foot, hollowed out below; a ring moulding at junction of wall and foot; a groove below the rounded foot.

Interesting for the good quality and comparative elaborateness of the work, and also as providing a stone parallel for No. 94.

136. Unfinished statuette. Pls. 102 and 103. S 948. Height, 0.188 m.; width, 0.116 m.; thickness, 0.051 m. The legs are broken off at the knees; the left forearm is also missing.

Herakles, seen frontally, looking to right; his left arm is raised before his face; his right arm was extended. He wears the lion-skin, with the scalp on his head, the fore-paws knotted on his chest, and the rest of the skin wrapped over his left arm, from which it hangs at his left side. Pentelic marble.

The statuette supplies much information about technique. The modelling of the front is very far advanced, some parts needing only the final rubbing down. Most of the work on the flesh and the lion-scare was done with the bull-nosed chisel; there are some traces of the flat chisel, particularly on the left thigh; the point was used to accentuate details. There are no obvious claw-chisel marks. In the deep hollow between Herakles’ face and his left forearm are traces of eight drill-holes; the drill must have been about 0.006 m. in diameter.

This work extends to about half the depth of the body, so that the trunk and limbs stand out as though in relief. It is, however, clear that the figure is not part of a relief of the normal kind, since at the back the main features (head, spine, shoulders and buttocks) have been blocked out with coarse point-work. Apparently the front was first brought almost to completion and then the back was to be worked. In view of the slenderness and consequent fragility of the limbs one may infer that this method of work was adopted in order to leave a ‘skin’ of marble between limbs and body for as long as possible, and thus to strengthen them and lessen the risk of damage during handling. The condition in which the figure was found suggests that the precaution was insufficient.

The attitude of our figure would be unusual for a statuette, especially as the pose does not make sense in isolation and presupposes an opponent, whether human or animal. Professor Thompson has suggested that it was destined to form part of an appliquéd relief, similar to those on the Erechtheion frieze or on the statue base in the Hephaisteion (*Hesperia*, Supplement V, pp. 105-110), but considerably smaller in scale, since the original height of our figure must have been about 0.250 m. The fact that the back is not flattened to fit against a background does not invalidate the suggestion here proposed, for it is clear that on some if not all of the figures from the Erechtheion frieze the rear part was originally roughly modelled and subsequently cut down to give a flat contact surface.

**Pottery From Other Deposits**

137. Red-figured bell-krater fragment. Pl. 78.

From a well on the Kolonos Agoraion, with pottery of the last quarter of the fifth century.

P 8446. Maximum dimension, 0.065 m. A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall just below the rim.

The head and shoulders of a satyr to right. He wears a wreath, and has his arms half raised before him. At the left of the fragment is the vertical edge of some object. Relief contour for the face and nape. The wreath in white, now faded. Good glaze.

138. Black-glazed skyphos, Attic type. Fig. 1.

From a cistern north of the Hephaisteion, with pottery of the first quarter of the fourth century.

P 7915. Height, 0.077 m.; diameter of rim, 0.086 m.; of base, 0.057 m. About a third of wall and both handles missing.

Underside reserved save for two small glazed circles round the centre. Graffito on underside ΔΕ ; see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 353 on earlier,
ligatured examples of these letters. Glaze fired red in places. Traces of stacking.

139. Black-glazed skyphos, Attic type. Fig. 1.

From the deposit mentioned in Hesperia, Supplement IV, p. 131, d: “the lower filling of a well, on the slopes of the Areopagus, which contained a great variety of figured, glazed, and household wares of the last quarter of the fifth century, as late as the last decade.”

P 10,073. Height, 0.086 m.; diameter of rim, 0.116 m.; of base, 0.069 m. Pieces of rim and wall and part of one handle missing. Asymmetrical profile.

Narrow reserved band at junction of wall and foot. Resting surface and underside of floor reserved, with a small glazed circle round the centre. Glaze fired grey and chestnut in places, and somewhat peeled. Traces of stacking outside.

140. Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type. Fig. 2.

Found in a mixed deposit, which included pottery of the late fourth and early third centuries.

P 19,443. Height, 0.082 m.; diameter of rim, 0.084 m.; of base, 0.046 m. About a third of wall and both handles missing. Flaring ring foot.

Reserved band round lower body, with crossed rays. Underside reserved with one large and one small glazed circle and a dot. Glaze peeled in places.

141. Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type. Fig. 2.

From an unfinished cistern northeast of the Areopagus, with pottery of the second quarter of the fourth century.

P 14,812. Height, 0.078 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.078 m.; of base, 0.039 m. About half of wall and much of one handle restored. Rather carelessly finished foot.

Glazed all over; the glaze has a metallic sheen in places; in others it is carelessly applied and dull.


From the same deposit as the pieces discussed in Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 47-53.

P 4846. Height as restored, 0.053 m.; diameter as restored, 0.203 m. Handles, most of wall and part of foot restored. Rim offset within; moulded ring foot.

Underside, a reserved central disc, with two glazed circles and a dot; the rest glazed with two ring mouldings. Impressed decoration within. Good glaze.


From the same deposit as the ostrakon of Hyperbolos and the two oinochoai figured in Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 186, fig. 8 and pls. 66, 3, 67, 1 and 2.

P 18,812. Preserved height, 0.018 m.; diameter of foot, 0.066 m. A single fragment preserves the centre of the floor with the moulded ring foot. The start of the ribbing survives at one point.

A reserved line at the outer junction of floor and foot; underside, a reserved central disc, with two irregular glazed circles and a dot; the rest glazed except for a reserved circle at the inner junction of foot and floor. Impressed decoration within. Fair glaze.


From a well in the southeast corner of the Agora, which contained pottery of the last quarter of the fifth century.

P 9201. Preserved height, 0.029 m.; diameter of foot, 0.078 m. The foot and part of floor and lower walls preserved. Lip offset within; moulded ring foot.

A scraped groove at the outer junction of floor and foot. Underside; a glazed zone at the inner junction of foot and floor; the rest reserved, with glazed circles and dot; shallow cushiony mouldings. Impressed decoration within. Fair glaze.


From a well just outside the southwest
corner of the Agora; the part of the filling from which this vase comes contained pottery of the first half of the fourth century.

P 8052. Height, 0.068 m.; diameter of rim, 0.121 m. One handle restored; chips missing from rim and foot. Comparatively deep bowl; high, moulded ring foot.

Resting surface reserved; underside, glazed zones separated by reserved lines. Impressed decoration within. Glaze rather thin in places and worn inside.

146. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled type. Pls. 86, 89, and 90.

From the side of a drain (not yet fully excavated) in front of the Stoa of Attalos; no context.

P 8052. Height, 0.068 m.; diameter of rim, 0.148 m.; of foot, 0.077 m. Two-thirds of rim, parts of wall, both handles and fragments of foot restored. Lip offset within.

Two wheel-run grooves below the rim, outside; a further pair above the level of the handle-roots. Foot separated from wall by a scraped groove. Impressed decoration within. Glaze fired reddish-brown in places.

147. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled type. Pls. 86, 89, and 90. Context as No. 139.

P 9438. Height, 0.078 m.; estimated diameter, 0.150 m.; diameter of foot, 0.071 m. Much of rim and wall, and one handle restored. Foot slightly chipped.

Lip offset within; foot separated from wall by a scraped groove. Impressed decoration within. Good glaze.


From a small well deposit on the lower slopes northwest of the Areopagus, with pottery of the first quarter of the fourth century.

P 16,432. Height, 0.066 m.; estimated diameter, 0.122 m.; diameter of foot, 0.067 m. Much of rim and wall, most of both handles and centre of floor restored. Rather heavy fabric; lip offset within.

Foot separated from wall by narrow scraped groove. Within, the remains of four impressed palmettes, set cruciform; the distance between them suggests that they were linked. Outer border, impressed ovules between two incised concentric circles. Glaze fired reddish in places.

149. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled type. Pls. 86, 89, and 90.

From a cistern southeast of the Kolonos Agoraioi, containing pottery of the second to third quarters of the fourth century.

P 6373. Height, 0.057 m.; diameter of rim, 0.121 m.; of foot, 0.070 m. Complete but for pieces of rim and wall and one handle. Heavy fabric. Lip offset within by an indistinct ridge.

Completely glazed save for the grooved resting surface. Impressed decoration within. Dull glaze.

150. Semi-glazed plate. Fig. 4.

From a well to the northwest of the Areopagus, which contained pottery predominantly of the third quarter of the fifth century, with some earlier material.

P 16,496. Height, 0.030 m.; diameter, 0.184 m. Nearly half the rim and small pieces of floor missing. Broad flaring rim, pierced with two suspension holes, and lightly offset on the outside. Low ring foot.

Glazed with streaky black within, save for the edge of the rim and a line at the junction of rim and floor. Outside unglazed save for the offset line, the inner and outer edges of the foot and two small circles on the underside.

151. Black-glazed dish. Fig. 4.

From a well to the northeast of the Areopagus, with pottery of the second half of the fifth century, among which is a fragment of a bell-krater "which recalls the Semele and Susesula painters" (A.R.V., p. 851).

P 12,979. Height, 0.036 m.; maximum diameter, 0.163 m. Two small pieces of floor and some chips missing. Complex profile.

Reserved, the groove below the rim, the resting surface, and a disc in the centre of the underside, which is decorated with a small...
circle and a dot. Centre of the floor fired red from stacking.

152. Unglazed plate. Fig. 4. Context as No. 142. P 4863. Height, 0.018 m.; estimated diameter, 0.156 m. Rather less than half preserved.
Two suspension holes pierced in the ring foot. Solid fabric; buff clay, beautifully finished.

153. Black-glazed plate. Fig. 4.
From a deposit northwest of the Agora, beside the road leading to the Kerameikos; it contained foundry waste and pottery from around the middle of the fourth century.
P 14,649. Height, 0.026 m.; diameter, 0.151 m. Small pieces of rim and foot restored.
Within, seven interlaced palmettes surrounded by multiple rouletting. Completely covered with good glaze.

154. Small black-glazed bowl. Fig. 5.
From a well to the northwest of the Areopagus, with pottery of the first to second quarters of the fifth century.
P 16,023. Height, 0.028 m.; diameter, 0.097 m. One fragment of wall and lip restored.
Underside reserved, with a glazed circle and dot. Good glaze.

155. Small black-glazed bowl. Fig. 5. Context as No. 149. P 6366. Height, 0.026 m.; diameter, 0.084 m. One fragment of wall and lip missing.
Completely glazed save for the broad resting surface and a band round the foot. Glaze fired black to red.

156. Black-glazed deep stemless cup. Pl. 94 and fig. 1.
From a well on the north slope of the Areopagus, with pottery of the third quarter of the fifth century.
P 9819. Height, 0.042 m.; maximum diameter, 0.092 m. One handle and a piece of the wall missing. Plain, rounded bowl, whose maximum diameter is below the rim; ring moulding round lower wall; moulded ring foot.
Impressed decoration within. Excellent black glaze all over.

157. Black-glazed bolsal. Pl. 94 and fig. 1.
From a small deposit between the rear wall of the Stoa of Zeus and the retaining wall behind it, with working chips from the construction of the Stoa and pottery of ca. 430-410 B.C. (See Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 55-56.)
P 13,232. Height, 0.055 m.; estimated diameter 0.113 m. Both handles, half the body and parts of foot and floor missing. Fine profile.
Impressed decoration within. Underside reserved with a careful narrow glazed zone, two circles and a dot. Good glaze.

158. Black-glazed bolsal. Pl. 95. Context as No. 151. P 14,149. Height, 0.050 m.; diameter, 0.108 m. Parts of rim and wall, and one handle restored. Body much as No. 147; flaring ring foot.
No impressed decoration. Glaze fired chestnut in places and rather worn.

159. Black-glazed bolsal. Pls. 94 and 95.
Part of the rubbish deposited in the mouth of an abandoned well in the Tholos precinct, with pottery of the last quarter of the fifth century; the associated figured material is published in Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 129-131, and figs. 96 and 97.
P 11,770. Height, 0.054 m.; estimated diameter, 0.105 m. Handles and much of wall missing. Body much as No. 157. Flaring ring foot.
Impressed decoration within. Scraped groove round lower wall outside. Fairly good glaze.

160. Black-glazed bolsal. Pls. 94 and 95. Context as No. 139. P 10,095. Height, 0.055 m.; estimated diameter, 0.120 m. Most of body and both handles missing. Body rather more angular than No. 157. Rather heavy flaring ring foot.
Impressed decoration within. Two scraped grooves round lower wall outside. Underside glazed, with scraped circles and central dot. Glaze somewhat peeled above stacking line outside.

161. Black-glazed bolsal. Pls. 94 and 95. Context as No. 139. P 9446. Height, 0.054 m.; diameter, 0.104 m. Foot, most of wall and one stem of one handle preserved. Body similar to No. 160. Flaring ring foot.

Within, four impressed palmettes around an incised circle. Good glaze.

162. Black-glazed bolsal. Fig. 1.

From a deposit in the Tholos precinct, with pottery of the second quarter of the fourth century; see Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 132-135 and fig. 98, where part of the associated material is published.

P 12,386. Height, 0.046 m.; diameter, 0.103 m. Part of wall, the whole of one handle and most of the other missing. Low in proportion to its height; lip markedly outturned. Heavy, clumsy foot.

No impressed decoration. Dull glaze, fired grey and brown in places, with traces of stacking outside.


From an unfinished well outside the southwest corner of the Agora, with pottery of the last quarter of the sixth century and of the early years of the fifth.

P 8868. Height, 0.210 m.; diameter, 0.237 m. Fragments of the body restored. Ring foot. High convex upper body; one double rolled handle.

The neck glazed inside and out; the handle glazed on the outside only; two glazed bands on the body. Attic.

164. Semi-glazed jug. Pl. 96. Context as No. 150. P 16,503. Height, 0.142 m.; diameter, 0.222 m. Fragments of body restored in plaster. A squatter version of No. 163.

The neck glazed inside and out; six glazed blobs on the handle; a glazed band on the body. Attic. On the shoulder, graffito of one symbol.


From a well on the Kolonos Agoraios; the pottery is contemporary with that from our well.

P 10,941. Height, 0.154 m.; diameter, 0.181 m. Small pieces of body restored. Squat, rounded body; spreading disc foot, with the marks caused by removal from the wheel still visible on the underside. Two vertical ribbed handles, set close together.

Creamy slip; glazed bands on lip and body. Probably not Attic.

166. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 98 and fig. 7.

From a well in the valley between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Areopagus, with pottery of the last quarter of the fifth century.

SS 10,231. Preserved height, 0.105 m. A single fragment preserves part of the rim and of one handle. The interior is coated with a layer of some putty-like substance. Micaceous buff clay.

On the handle is a circular stamp, showing Dionysos on a donkey, to right. His outstretched right hand holds some object, probably a kantharos (cf. the coinage of Mende; above, on No. 106); the scene has a pearled border.

The stamp does not correspond in detail with any known type found on the series of Mendean tetrobols which is believed to end in 423 B.C. (the date of the reduction of the city by Athens) but see Noe, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 27, pp. 53-54, for the suggestion that the type persisted on tetrobols after that date.
APPENDIX

ΦΤΑΙ ΝΙΚΩΣΗ ΒΟΤΣ

The scenes on one of the red-figured vases from our well are of considerable interest. On one side is represented a race and on the other side a sacrifice; there is clearly the possibility that these pictures may provide new evidence for some Athenian ceremony. It has, therefore, seemed preferable to treat the vase separately, in order that the numerous problems which it raises may receive more detailed discussion than would be possible in the catalogue.

The shape of the vase is not certain; its rounded ring foot and lower wall are almost completely preserved; a non-joining fragment gives part of the neck and shoulder, at whose junction is a reserved band with a red stripe in it and a zone of tongues below. The underside and lower part of the foot are reserved. Within, the body is covered with thin glaze, applied with a brush; the inside of the neck is carefully glazed. The vase was, therefore, semi-closed, with the interior not clearly visible, though accessible to the brush. It is best explained as a stamnos; stamnoi are indeed rare at this period, but the Agora excavations have produced another not far removed from ours in date and shape. The use of the ovule pattern for the lower border is unusual on a vase of this kind. No trace survives of the handle attachments, nor yet of the ornament which would normally be associated with them. At first glance the figured decoration is not decisive for their position, since it shows but one obvious break instead of the two which one might expect. The action is punctuated by a tree, beside which stands a herm, facing left; on the side of the shaft is drawn a kerykeion; above, the stub arm is indicated. To the left of the herm stands a nude male,

80 No. 5. Pls. 78 and 79. P 10,542. Preserved height, 0.176 m.; diameter of foot, 0.145 m.; maximum dimension of the fragment, 0.106 m. Partial relief contour. Dilute glaze for the bull's scalp and for some anatomical detail. White for the altar flames.

The man with the bull on A may be set beside the figures of Theseus with the Minotaur and with the Crommyonian sow on a kylix in Madrid (A.R.V., p. 800; Aison, No. 20. C.V.A. Madrid, III I D, pl. 2 and pl. 4, below); the bull can be compared with the Marathonian bull on the same cup (ibid., pl. 3, below). A similar pose, with the same general scheme of anatomical detail, appears on a krater fragment in New York (06.1021.140. A.R.V., p. 870; the painter of the New York Centauromachy, No. 2). The Agora stamnos comes between the two; it appears to be earlier than the three kraters in Leipsic, Bologna and the Hearst collection which supply possible parallels for individual figures (see below) and belongs to the decade around 410 B.C.

81 P 1052. A.R.V., p. 803; “Near the Pothos painter.” Earlier examples of the stamnos with a plain ring foot are to be found among the vases decorated by the Kleophon painter (A.R.V., p. 784, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7).

82 See Lullies, Die Typen griechischen Herme, pp. 44-45, for a list of further examples.
who turns slightly left and holds in his left hand a long multiple torch; beside him is
another nude male, holding a similar torch in his left hand; his right foot rests on
the uppermost of two steps which form the base of a kindled altar. From the left
approaches a female figure who wears a Doric chiton and holds in her right hand a
torch with a hand-shield. She is followed by a bull and a youth who is nude save for
a himation over his left arm. With his left hand he holds the bull’s left horn; it is
restive, and the woman looks back, stretching out her right hand as if to help to
control it. Behind the bull comes another pair, both apparently nude, and the scene
closes with two running figures; these last four are all moving to the right. If the
natural division produced by the herm and the tree is assumed to represent the position
of one handle, the other handle must fall between the man with the bull and the next
figure to the left. It is probable that the two handles obscured parts of the two figures
and of the herm and the tree, but such an arrangement is not without parallel.\textsuperscript{33} The
division produces two satisfactory scenes; A, having the altar as its focal point, with
two men and the herm on one side balanced by the man, the woman and the bull on
the other; B, a continuous series of four figures. The right foot of the last of these
overlaps the tree, which suggests that the tree does not go with the herm, but is to
be regarded as the starting point of the movement on B.

The clue to the understanding of the vase is the torch held by the female figure.
Giglioli \textsuperscript{34} has pointed out that the torch with a hand-shield is characteristic of the
torch-race, and that with it is commonly associated a headdress formed of a band
in which are set vertical spikes or “leaves.” In general vases on which the torch and
headdress appear show either the actual contest or a scene which can be best explained
as some ceremony after the race. On the Agora stamnos the racing torch appears
on the main scene; though there is no direct evidence to connect it with the reverse as
well, three of the figures (the two runners and the man to the left of the bull-handler)
reappear with minor modifications on three indisputable torch-race pictures, which
are found on the reverse of an unpublished bell-krater in the Hearst Collection,\textsuperscript{35} on
an oinochoe in the Louvre,\textsuperscript{36} and on the neck of a volute-krater in Ferrara;\textsuperscript{37} each
one shows the moment just before the hand-over. The fourth figure on the reverse

\textsuperscript{33} Cf. three hydriai of the last quarter of the fifth century; Syracuse 38031 (\textit{C.V.A.} Syracuse,
III I, pls. 26-27); London E 225 (\textit{A.R.V.}, p. 847; Nikias painter, No. 15); Louvre CA 2260
(\textit{A.R.V.}, p. 794; Chrysis painter, No. 3). For the principle, see Beazley, \textit{C.V.A.} Oxford 1, p. 22
on pl. 26: “The handles are thought of as clapped over the finished picture, an idea as old as the
Français vase.”

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Rendiconti}, 5, vol. 31, p. 330.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{A.R.V.}, p. 853; Kekrops painter, No. 3. I am indebted to Professor H. R. W. Smith for
photographs of this vase and for permission to describe it.

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Rendiconti}, 5, vol. 33, p. 69, figs. 1 and 2; see also Gardiner, \textit{Athletics of the Ancient World},
fig. 65; Schröder, \textit{Der Sport im Altertum}, pl. 50.

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{A.R.V.}, p. 797; Polion, No. 1.
of our vase has no obvious parallel, but the position of the legs is not incompatible with a pose in which the body was seen in three-quarters or front view, with the head looking back toward the runners and the right hand outstretched to take the torch. The resemblances between certain of the figures on the Hearst, Louvre and Ferrara vases invite the suggestion that underlying all three is a common original (perhaps a large scale painting \(^{38}\)), which also supplied the inspiration for our scene. It would therefore be attractive to add the reverse of the Agora vase to the group of representations of the διαδοχή in the torch-race.\(^{39}\)

For the obverse there is no satisfactory parallel. There are several representations of a restive bull being led to the sacrifice \(^{40}\) and among them are some whose connection with the torch-race is clear. On the calyx-krater Mannheim CG 123 \(^{41}\) the bull is preceded by a woman with a racing torch; on the bell-krater Vienna 706 \(^{42}\) the attendant youths wear spiked headdresses; so do those on the bell-krater Leipsic T 958,\(^{43}\) one of whom holds up a racing torch; the same headgear reappears on the main scene of the Hearst bell-krater, worn by three youths dressed in patterned himation who control a plunging bull. The comparison of our vase with these scenes reveals isolated resemblances among the male figures, but no close correspondence. The female figure, however, has a striking counterpart on the Mannheim krater; despite certain differences in drapery, which are not surprising in view of the generation separating the two vases, each woman has the same general pose, with the same overlap of the front legs of the rearing bull across the lower part of the figure, and the same backward-looking head and outstretched right arm; there is only a slight difference between the positions of the left forearms and the racing torches.\(^{44}\) Either

\(^{38}\) Cf. the suggestions of Hauser (Jahreshefte, 8, 1905, p. 35) and Giglioli (Rendiconti, 5, vol. 31, p. 335), both based on a reference in Harpokration, s. v. λαμπάς, to Polemon περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς προπηλαίοις πυάκων.

\(^{39}\) Note also that it is difficult to suggest another explanation for the juxtaposition in a separate scene of two running and two stationary figures; it is equally hard to connect the right-hand pair with the group around the altar and to isolate the runners, or to assume that the vase bears a single continuous scene and still to account for the activity of the final couple.

\(^{40}\) Cf. the four vases grouped together by Schoppa, Anz., 1935, p. 34, and the three there cited on p. 37, note 1.

\(^{41}\) Schoppa, loc. cit., D, figs. 1 and 2.

\(^{42}\) Ibid., fig. 4. The tripod in the field does not fit with the little that is known about torch-races and the prizes given for them. Perhaps it, like the brcanium on the Leipsic krater, serves to indicate that the scene is a sacred precinct; cf. Beazley, J.H.S., 59, 1939, p. 37 for ox skulls nailed to the walls of sanctuaries.

\(^{43}\) Festschrift zum 500-jährigen Jubiläum der Universität Leipzig, IV, 1, pl. 5, 4; van Hoorn, pl. 4, No. 2. I am indebted to Dr. G. van Hoorn for making available to me a copy of his work, "De Fakkelloop."

\(^{44}\) The Mannheim female has been explained (Schoppa, loc. cit., p. 40) as the personification of the victorious tribe, which may well be true both for her and for the woman on our vase; but the interpretation as Nike is equally feasible, since winglessness does not exclude this possibility;
of the two without the other might be thought a modification of some such figure as the Nike who precedes the bull on the Nike parapet, but this detailed coincidence suggests very strongly that both are faithful reproductions of the same model; the alternative is to suppose that two vase-painters working at an interval of perhaps thirty years produced independent versions which tally even to the torches. Yet it is only with the Mannheim vase that our picture has any close connection; the other representations mentioned above do indeed serve as aids to the interpretation of detail on our main scene, but considered as a whole it does not resemble any of them in grouping and composition.

There is only a restricted number of occasions to which the representations on our vase can be referred. The four serious possibilities are the torch-races at the Panathenaia, Prometheia and Hephaisteia, and the one in honour of Pan. Wecklein showed that the torch-race in its original form was essentially the transfer of fire from one altar to another. The evidence is divided as regards the starting point, but it seems clear that, whether it was the altar of Prometheus or the altar of Eros, it lay in or beside the Academy. The Academy also contained an olive tree unsurpassed

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cf. Roscher, *Lexicon*, s. v. Nike, p. 316. These two figures cannot easily be separated from the wingless females on the Hearst and Leipsic kraters and thus from the indubitable (winged) Nikai who help to control the bulls on the Vienna krater (above, note 42) and the oinochoai in Athens (Kekulé, p. 5) and Leningrad (*A.B.C.*, pl. 61, 8).

45 Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 22, pl. 7.

46 It does not seem likely that the Mannheim vase can have been directly inspired by the stamnos, for the context of our vase suggests that it and the associated pottery had been broken and thrown aside by the end of the fifth century.

47 *I.G.*, I\(^2\), 84, which deals with the regulation in 421/0 of the Hephaisteia, speaks of the first three; Harpokration, s. v. λαμπάδας, and Stidias, s. v. λαμπάδας, quote Polemon for the existence of the same three; on the other hand the Patmos scholiast on Demosthenes, 57, 43 refers to races in honour of Prometheus, Hephaistos and Pan; so does Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 228, s. v. γυμνασίαρχος. Photius, s. v. λαμπάδας, mentions only Pan and Prometheus. This discrepancy among the later authorities points to the absence of clear evidence in antiquity but the testimony of *I. G.*, I\(^2\), 84 is unimpeachable for the Panathenaia, Prometheia and Hephaisteia, and so is Herodotus, VI, 105 for the race in honour of Pan. The latter passage, however, is no proof that the ceremony had not lapsed by the end of the fifth century, and one may doubt whether it was ever of great importance. As for the other known torch-races, that at the Bendideia was a mounted race, at least at the time of its introduction in 427 B. C. (Plato, *Republic*, I, 328 a); the evidence for such races at the Hermeia, Theseia and Epitaphia is considerably later than the fifth century. The two oinochoai figured by van Hoorn, pl. 5, Nos. 4 and 6, may be evidence for a torch-race at the Anthestheria, but, if so, note that the race was of the second type described by van Hoorn (*loc. cit.*, p. 8), in which the starting and finishing points were stelai; it will be seen that the race on our vase belonged to the other, earlier class.


49 Pausanias, I, 30, 2: Ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶ Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θέουσιν ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχουσι καιομένας λαμπάδας.

Hermias on Plato, *Phaedrus*, 231 e: ὁ δρόμος ὁ μακρός τοῖς Παναθηριαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ
in venerability save by the one on the Acropolis; in view of the suggestion that on our vase the tree is to be dissociated from the herm and connected with the reverse, one is tempted to think of the tree not as a general indication of a country setting, but as showing that the subordinate picture represents a specific moment at the outset of the race.

Vase-paintings and literary sources show that the race ended with the kindling of an altar. On the main scene of our vase the altar is already alight, and here as on other vases mentioned above the torches carried by the attendant youths suggest that the ceremony is taking place by night. It does not seem over-fanciful to suppose that the sacrifice was in fact celebrated on the same night as the torch-race, and at the altar which had been the goal, and that the fire on it was kept burning until the time of the ceremony. Korte suggested that a different altar served as the finishing point for each race; the altar of Athena on the Acropolis for the Panathenaia, one before the Hephaisteion for the Hephaisteia, and an unknown one for the Prometheia. Unfortunately the detail in our main scene is insufficient to determine its exact location; the herm at the right of the picture is the only guide, and its possible interpretations are embarrassingly plentiful. Its presence may have no topographical significance and may be due to the well-known connection of Hermes with athletics, or it may indicate any one of a number of places.

*Ephesos ἐγίνετο· ἐντεύθεν γὰρ ἄψαμενοι οἱ ἐφηβοὶ τὰς λαμπάδας ἔθεον, καὶ τοῦ νυκῶντος τῆς λαμπάδος ἦν πυρὰ τῶν τῆς Θαίας ἱερῶν ἐφιπτέτο.

Cf. Plutarch, Solon, 1: Δέχεται δὲ καὶ Πεισίόπτρος ἑραστής Χάρμου γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τῶν Ἐρωτοῦ ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ καθερώσαι, ὅπως τὸ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσιν οἱ τῆς ἱερῶν λαμπάδα διεθέντες.

Pausanias, I, 30, 1: Πρὸ δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ἐρωτοῦ ἑχὼν ἐπίγραμμα ός Χάρμου Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος Ἐρωτι ἀναβεῖ.

See Deubner, p. 211 for a possible explanation of the apparent discrepancy.


Patmos scholiast on Demosthenes, 57, 43: οἱ ἐφηβοὶ κατὰ διδασχὴν τρέχοντες ἑπτοντο τὸν βωμὸν καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἄψας ἠνίκα καὶ ἦ τούτου φυλή: also the scholiast on Plato, Phaedrus, 231 e, quoted above, note 49.

5 The Hearst and Vienna bell-kraters.

54 The single racing torch which appears on our vase, the Leipsic bell-krater (van Hoorn, pl. 4, 2) and the Mannheim kalyx-krater (Anz., 1935, pp. 37-38, fig. 2) is surely to be thought of as the one with which the victory was gained, but it would be overbold to imagine that the fact that this torch is still alight implies that only the briefest interval can have separated the sacrifice from the race; symbolism has its limits.

56 Jahrbuch, 7, 1892, p. 152.


57 Plato, Hipparchos, 228 shows that the herms of Hipparchos were dotted around the country-
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY 351

There is, however, one piece of evidence which may provide a solution. In the first half of the fourth century the tribe whose team was victorious in the torch-race at the Panathenaia received a bull.\textsuperscript{58} We have already commented on the significance of the headgear worn by the youths who escort the bulls on the Leipzig, Hearst and Vienna vases.\textsuperscript{59} The indisputable Nike on the Vienna vase makes it plausible that each of the groups of youths represented on the three kraters and on the Agora stamnos is a team which has been successful in a torch-race and is now bringing triumphantly to sacrifice the bull which has been gained by its united endeavors. Nothing is known of the prizes for such races at other festivals, but one may doubt whether the provision made on other occasions rivalled the lavishness of the Panathenaia. This argument is not conclusive and it must also be admitted that the prize list is later than most if not all of this group of vases; even so, the balance of the evidence appears to favour the interpretation of our scene as a moment in the Panathenaia.\textsuperscript{60}

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side; Thucydides, 6, 27, speaks of numerous herms about the city; there were herms in the Agora, "The Herms" par excellence (Xenophon, Ίππαρχικός, III, 2), \((\alphaπ\,\tauις\,\piοικίλης\,καί\,\tauις\,\betaαυσιλέος\,\sigmaτοάς\) (Harpokration, s. v. Έρμαι) and so not far from the Hephaisteion; there was also Έρμης προπύλαιος (Pausanias, I, 22, 8) at the entry to the Acropolis, though the exact form of this work has been disputed.

58 I.G., II\textsuperscript{2}, 2311, 76. Mommsen, \textit{Feste der Stadt Athen}, pp. 103-4, showed that this line, like the succeeding, referred to the torch-race.

59 On the Hearst krater a youth in the background is marked off from the others by the fact that though he too wears his best himation he lacks the spiked headdress; he is simply an admiring spectator, his arms outspread in wonder, and naturally does not have the insignia of a competitor.

60 On the obverse of the Hearst bell-krater and above the group around the bull which occupies the foreground are the upper parts of a youth and an altar. The convention of obscuring the lower part of a figure is sometimes used in vase-painting to indicate a hilly or rocky setting; cf. Pan and Eros on a calyx-krater in Palermo, \textit{FR.}, pl. 59, and two satyrs on the reverse of the Pronomos vase, \textit{ibid.}, pl. 145. The representation on the Hearst krater is perhaps more appropriate to the rocky eminence of the Acropolis than to the milder slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios.
1. Red-Figured Amphora: Procession

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
1. Red-Figured Amphora: Detail of Reverse

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
Red-Figured Bell-Krater: Herakles and Athena

Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century
2. Red-Figured Bell-Krater: Reverse and Handle Ornament

Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century
3. Red-Figured Bell-Krater: Apollo and Hermes
   (Less than half actual size)

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
137. Red-Figured Fragment: Satyr (Actual size)

5. Red-Figured Stamnos: Torch-Race and Sacrifice

Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century
5. Red-Figured Stamnos: Torch-Race and Sacrifice

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
Red-Figured and Black-Figured Fragments

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY

PLATE 80
7. Fragment of Lebes Gamikos

9, 10, 11. Red-FIGured Lekythoi

7. Red-FIGured Lebes Gamikos Stand

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
14. Red-Figured Stemless Cup: Palaestra Scenes

Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century
16. Red-Figured Oinochoe: Torch Racer

18. Red-Figured Ring Vase

19. Red-Figured Askos

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
PLATE 85

27, 20, 24. Red-Figured and Black-Glazed Skyphoi

20. Red-Figured Skyphos: Obverse and Handle Ornament

21. Red-Figured Pyxis

28, 19, 81. Black-Glazed Ring-Handled Cup, Red-Figured Askos, Black-Glazed Ribbed Jug

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
34, 35, 33. Black-Glazed Ribbed Cup-Kotyle, Ribbed Stemless Cup and Heavy-Walled Cup-Kotyle

146, 147, 37. Black-Glazed Thin-Walled Cup-Kotylai

38, 148, 149. Black-Glazed Thin-Walled Cup-Kotylai

15, 145. Red-Figured and Black-Glazed Stemless Cups

32, 31, 84. Black-Glazed Oinochoe and Bell-Krater; Glazed Askos

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY

34, 35, 33. Black-Glazed Ribbed Cup-Kotyle. Ribbed Stemless Cup and Heavy-Walled Cup-Kotyle: Undersides and Interiors
Black-Glazed Thin-Walled Cup-Kotylai: Interiors

Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century
Black-Glazed Thin-Walled Cup-Kotylai: Undersides

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
50, 53, 56, 54, 55. Black-Glazed and Patterned Lids

15. Interior of Stemless Cup

46, 42, 43. Black-Glazed Olpe and Lekythoi

47, 48, 49. Black-Glazed Lekanis, Lekanis-Pyxis and Casserole-Pyxis

Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century
Black-Glazed and Semi-Glazed Bowls: Exteriors and Interiors

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
74, 77, 76. Black-Glazed One-Handler, Bolsal and Stemless Cup

69, 68, 71. Black-Glazed Salt-Cellars

57. Large Black-Glazed Bowl

80, 78, 79. Black-Glazed Ribbed Jugs

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
Black-Glazed Bolsals: Interiors

Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century
Black-Glazed Bolsaks: Undersides

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
PLATE 96

85, 96, 86. Semi-Glazed Kraters and Coarse Casserole

87, 92. Semi-Glazed Lekanis and Two-Handled Jug

164, 163, 165. Semi-Glazed Jugs

135, 94. Stone and Terracotta Mortars

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
PLATE 97

97, 98, 90, 100. Coarse Cooking Pot, Miniature Pot, Semi-Glazed Lid and Brazier

93. Semi-Glazed Stamnos

95. Coarse Kalathos

102, 103, 104, 105. Fragments of Wine Storage Amphorae

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
Wine Storage Amphorae: Dipinto and Stamped Fragments

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
Terracotta Lamps

134. Knuckle Bones

120. Terracotta Shell

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
PLATE 100

121. Terracotta Mould and Modern Cast

122. Terracotta Doll

*Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century*
Terracotta Loom-Weights and Spindle Whorls

127, 123, 124. Seal Impressions on Loom-Weights (Actual Size)

Bone Styli and Earspoon

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
136. Unfinished Statuette: Herakles

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY
Unfinished Statuette: Front and Rear Views

ATLIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY