

# ATTIC WEST SLOPE VASE PAINTING

(PLATES 14–46)

Πολλὰ γίνεται ὅμοια.

A lot of things look alike.

Euboulos *apud* Athenaios, 11.467b

IN 1901 Carl Watzinger published the first analytical study of Athenian Hellenistic over-painted pottery,<sup>1</sup> basing his work on vases found in recent German excavations on the

<sup>1</sup> The material from the Agora that forms the core of this study was entrusted to me for publication by T. Leslie Shear, Jr., and by Homer A. Thompson, Director and former Director of the Agora Excavations, and they have assisted my work in every way. The Greek Archaeological Service has been generous in arranging access to the material; the guards in the Stoa of Attalos, particularly Niki Katopodi, along with Jan Diamant, the Secretary of the excavations, did the tiresome work of removing the vases from the cases for study. Alice Paterakis mended and restored broken vessels, and Marie and Craig Mauzy took many new photographs of Agora material specially for this article; for printing of those photographs I am grateful to Koula Moustaki. Additional photographs were generously supplied by the following: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Bonn; Antikensammlung, Munich; Archäologisches Institut der Universität Göttingen; Archäologisches Institut der Universität Tübingen; Ashmolean Museum; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen; Kerameikos Excavations; Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Brussels; Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design; Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Frankfurt; Städtliches Reiss-Museum, Mannheim; Trustees of the British Museum; Martin von Wagner-Museum, Würzburg; Frederick A. Winter. For the drawings I am grateful to a long line of Agora draftspersons, including Lynn Grant, Elizabeth Safran, Lorene Sterner, and Helen Townsend. The Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung provided me with financial support for library research in Germany and travel to Greece; I am particularly grateful to Professor Ulrich Hausmann, my sponsor in that program, for sympathetic support of my work and to Bettina von Freytag gen. Löringhoff for providing access to objects in Tübingen and space and equipment for drawing them. Colleagues at the Archäologisches Institut in Tübingen were both hospitable and helpful, and I benefited from the opportunity to present some of the results of my work in the Archaeological Colloquium there. I am grateful to my husband, Robert Lamberton, for reading and rereading my manuscript, and for spirited discussions of methodology that have had an important impact on the finished product.

Abbreviations of frequently cited works are as follows:

- Agora* XXII = S. I. Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora, XXII, Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*, Princeton 1982
- Alt-Ägina* II, i = R. Smetana-Scherrer, "Spätclassische und hellenistische Keramik," in *Alt-Ägina* II, i, Mainz 1982, pp. 56–91
- Callaghan, "Knossian Artists" = P. J. Callaghan, "Knossian Artists and Ptolemaic Alexandria," in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano, Studi in onore di Achille Adriani*, Rome 1983–1984, pp. 789–794
- Cook, *IHV* = B. F. Cook, *Inscribed Hadra Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers XII)*, New York 1966
- Cook, "Some Groups" = B. F. Cook, "Some Groups of Hadra Vases," in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano, Studi in onore di Achille Adriani*, Rome 1983–1984, pp. 795–803
- Enklaar, 1985 = A. Enklaar, "Chronologie et peintres des hydries de Hadra," *BABesch* 60, 1985, pp. 106–151
- Guerrini = L. Guerrini, *Vase di Hadra: Tentativo di sistemazione cronologica di una classe ceramica (Studi miscellanei VIII)*, Rome 1964
- Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops" = S. I. Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops in Hellenistic Athens," in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium Amsterdam 1984 (Allard Pierson Series V)*, Amsterdam 1984, pp. 173–177
- TCHP* = H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3, 1934,

West Slope of the Akropolis.<sup>2</sup> This provenance has given its name to the type, now commonly known as “West Slope Ware”, although, strictly speaking, the term refers not to a ware but to a technique and system of decoration used throughout the eastern Mediterranean on finer vessels of Hellenistic date.

In the years since Watzinger’s article appeared, much more Attic West Slope pottery has come to light and been published,<sup>3</sup> but no serious attempt has been made to refine the classification and chronology of the type as a whole. The present study, based on the West Slope pottery found in excavations at the Athenian Agora and augmented by published vases, aims to establish a structure for such a classification and to assign some West Slope pieces to groups of limited chronological range.

Attic West Slope pottery was covered with the normal black glaze of Attic ware, then decorated in white and tan (dilute solutions of two different kinds of clay) before firing; details were sometimes added in incision, a practice that became common in Athens only after the middle of the 3rd century. Only in rare instances (e.g. the Incised Wave Group, pp. 85–88 below) was incision used on Attic West Slope to carry out the whole design. The West Slope technique has antecedents in Archaic and Classical ceramics<sup>4</sup> but appears to have developed directly out of the gold-decorated vases of the 4th century.<sup>5</sup> These are black-glazed pots of high quality, decorated with delicate gilded motifs. A thick application of clay serves as a base for the gilding, which has disappeared from many examples. Gradually, presumably as an economy, the gilding was omitted, and white was added to enliven the pattern, giving rise to true West Slope decoration. At Athens this development took place in the course of the first quarter of the 3rd century, and West Slope decoration was well established by about 275 B.C. West Slope inherited shapes and motifs from its gold-decorated antecedents but soon developed a large repertoire of new ones. At Athens it continued to be produced until the end of the Hellenistic period, and late examples can be dated in the second half of the 1st century B.C.

West Slope pottery is often difficult to date. Where we have enough examples of a single shape, the evidence of shape development and context together can provide a reliable chronology. Such is the case, for example, with West Slope amphoras and kantharoi, popular shapes that were almost always decorated in West Slope technique. But West Slope decoration was often reserved for special shapes that were produced only in small numbers. In

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pp. 311–480 (reprinted in H. A. Thompson, D. B. Thompson, and S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery and Terracottas*, Princeton 1987)

*Vogell* = *Griechische Altertümer südrussischen Fundortes aus dem Besitze des Herrn A. Vogell*, Karlsruhe (sale catalogue, Max Cramer, 27–30 May, 1908)

<sup>2</sup> C. Watzinger, “Vasenfunde aus Athen,” *AM* 26, 1901 (pp. 50–102), pp. 67–102.

<sup>3</sup> Much material is scattered in excavation reports and fascicles of the *CVA*. Some of the most useful collections are *TCHP*; *Alt-Ägina* II, i; and *Vogell*.

<sup>4</sup> J. Six, “Vases polychromes sur fond noir de la période archaïque,” *GazArch* 13, 1888, pp. 193–210; *idem*, “Vases polychromes sur fond noir de la période archaïque (suite et fin),” *GazArch* 13, 1888, pp. 281–294; J. R. Green, “A Series of Added Red-figure Choes,” *AA (JdI)* 85, 1970, pp. 475–487.

<sup>5</sup> G. Kopcke, “Golddekorierte attische Schwarzfirniskeramik des vierten Jahrh. v.Chr.,” *AM* 79, 1964, pp. 22–84. There may also be a debt to Gnathian pottery, which was made much earlier than Attic West Slope and which was imported in small amounts to Athens (J. R. Green, “Ears of Corn and Other Offerings,” in *Studies in Honor of Arthur Dale Trendall*, A. Cambitoglou, ed., Sydney 1979 [pp. 81–90], p. 81, pl. 20, fig. 4, pl. 21, fig. 5).

these cases, shape and context cannot provide a firm chronological framework, and we must find other means of dating the specimens under consideration. The only other evidence readily available is the decoration itself. An understanding of the evolution of that decoration will assist not only in dating formerly undatable pots but also in refining the chronology proposed for other series on the basis of shape and context alone.

### METHODOLOGY

Attic West Slope pottery does not lend itself well to a detailed system of classification like that devised by Beazley for red-figured and black-figured vases.<sup>6</sup> The small amount of material available for study, its poor state of preservation, and the nature of West Slope painting itself all militate against the identification of individual vase painters whose careers may be followed over the years. West Slope pottery is not well represented in the excavation record or in archaeological publications. The present study is based on the approximately 600 inventoried pieces from the Agora Excavations, a minimal data base for the investigation, and it has proved difficult to expand it much beyond that body of material. As an aesthetically inferior ware, West Slope pottery has often escaped inventory or, later, publication on archaeological sites. Museum collections of West Slope are generally small; it is rarely exhibited, and relatively few pieces have reached the pages and plates of the *CVA*.<sup>7</sup> For these reasons, the number of known West Slope pots is small, and even if two or three vases with distinctive painting can be recognized at the Agora, there exists no easily accessible material with which to expand that group.

Technique and style pose further difficulties. The painted designs are often poorly preserved; details in white have frequently flaked away, and in some instances the entire decorative scheme remains only as a ghost on the surface of the glaze. Even when well preserved, many of the commonest motifs (e.g., dot rosette, diagonal lines) are of such extreme simplicity that they express no individuality. In addition, the number of motifs used on a single vase is usually quite small. For a credible attribution, one would like to see a number of different motifs that were all painted in the same manner. But such cross checks are impossible when the entire decorative scheme is, for instance, a single grapevine or ivy garland. Even when more than one motif appears, there are a number of instances where the execution of one motif is identical in all respects to its execution on another vase, but another motif is quite different from that on the comparandum. So, for example, the distinctive pattern of dotted hoops on the shoulder of a kantharos of unusual shape in the Agora (61; Pl. 30) is identical to a pattern on three other vases (now placed in the Shark Group: 58–60; Pl. 30). But the dolphins that appear on the neck of 61 are totally unlike those on the

<sup>6</sup> For discussions of the drawbacks of the system even for black and red figure see M. Robertson, "Beazley and Attic Vase Painting," in *Beazley and Oxford*, D. Kurtz, ed., Oxford 1985, pp. 19–30; P. Bruneau, "Situation méthodologique de l'histoire de l'art antique," *AntCl* 44, 1976, pp. 425–487, esp. pp. 448–451.

<sup>7</sup> Graves, of course, commonly provide the complete vases in museums; but except in the early Hellenistic period, Athenians did not normally bury decorated pottery with their dead, and later West Slope pottery was not exported to areas where this custom persisted. At the Kerameikos, Hellenistic graves are commonly furnished simply with large collections of unguentaria, and the same phenomenon was observed in the graves at Lenormant Street. E.g., U. Knigge, *Kerameikos*, IX, *Der Süd Hügel*, Berlin 1976, pp. 59–60, pls. 68–71, 96, 97; C. G. Boulter, "Graves in Lenormant Street, Athens," *Hesperia* 32, 1963 (pp. 113–137), graves H–K, pp. 125–126, pl. 46.

Shark Group cups. This creates a dilemma, which may be summed up in two questions: 1) Why would two different individuals paint the hoop pattern so similarly? 2) Why would one individual paint dolphins so differently? We may reply to the first question that the two artisans were familiar with one another's work, that one was perhaps the teacher of the other, that one admired and therefore closely copied the pattern that appeared on the vase of the other, or that both were copying a simple design from a pattern-book of some sort. In answer to the second question we might suggest that an individual is not an automaton and can change certain things about the way he paints at will, and that the form of the pot, and the position in which the painter was compelled to hold his hand as he painted it, may have had an effect on the way the final product looked. None of these answers solves the problem of whether or not the two pots in question were painted by a single individual. Satisfying as a solution would be, it is not within our grasp; more important is the realization that, whoever painted the two pots, there is a close relationship between them, and they are probably closely contemporary.

The difficulty of making credible attributions of Hellenistic painted pottery to individual hands is illustrated by the case of the Hadra hydriai, the majority of which have come to light in Alexandrian cemeteries, where they served as ash urns for soldiers and diplomats who died during their term of duty in the city.<sup>8</sup> They exist in two varieties: a locally made whitewashed type with polychrome decoration; and vases of finer clay, decorated on a clay ground in silhouette or black-figure technique, manufactured, it now seems, on Crete<sup>9</sup> but, like their fellows, found in large numbers in Alexandria. In recent years three different scholars have applied themselves to the study of the clay-ground hydriai. P. J. Callaghan, taking as his point of departure the Hellenistic pottery of Knossos, has attributed selected Hadra vases to individual painters whose work he has recognized on West Slope vases at the Cretan site.<sup>10</sup> B. F. Cook and A. Enklaar have both published analyses of a large group of Hadra vases. Enklaar's study, based on vases from Alexandria but incorporating many other Hadras as well, attempts to assign vases to different hands, distinguishing 24 painters who worked within three different workshops.<sup>11</sup> Cook, on the other hand, does not attempt to define individual oeuvres but assigns vases to groups sharing details of floral and geometric decoration, composition, and shape;<sup>12</sup> these groups appear to represent vases of about the same date, possibly manufactured in the same locality, but not always decorated by the same artist.

<sup>8</sup> This, at least, is the canonical interpretation (see Enklaar, 1985, pp. 109–110); but Dr. Bettina von Freytag gen. Löringhoff informs me analysis of the bones from the Hadra vases in Tübingen reveals that most contained the remains of a woman and a child.

<sup>9</sup> P. J. Callaghan and R. E. Jones, "Hadra Hydriai and Central Crete: A Fabric Analysis," *BSA* 80, 1985, pp. 1–17.

<sup>10</sup> A complete account of this investigation has not yet appeared in print, but comments may be found in Callaghan and Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–16; P. J. Callaghan, "The Little Palace Well and Knossian Pottery of the Later Third and Second Centuries B.C.," *BSA* 76, 1981 (pp. 35–58), p. 56; *idem*, "The Medusa Rondanini and Antiochus III," *BSA* 76, 1981 (pp. 59–70), pp. 63–65; Callaghan, "Knossian Artists."

<sup>11</sup> Enklaar, 1985; some conclusions are modified in *idem*, "Les hydries de Hadra II: Formes et ateliers," *BABesch* 61, 1986, pp. 41–68.

<sup>12</sup> Cook, "Some Groups."

The efforts of these three scholars have produced startlingly different results, as a few examples will serve to illustrate. Both Callaghan and Enklaar have built oeuvres around a Hadra vase in Moscow that depicts runners, calling the artist respectively the Dromeus Painter and the Peintre des Coureurs, and both agree on the attribution of five more vases to this hand.<sup>13</sup> They agree, too, in placing this artist in the same workshop as Pylon, to whom they both attribute the same two vases.<sup>14</sup> But Enklaar adds four more pieces to the work of the Dromeus Painter, one of which Callaghan assigns instead to his Hippocamp Painter. Still, this represents a fairly high degree of agreement. The case of the Centaurs Painter/Peintre des Centaures is less encouraging.<sup>15</sup> Only three of the nine works attributed to him by Callaghan appear in Enklaar's list. Four others Enklaar attributes to three different painters in the same shop, not all of them contemporary, and two he does not discuss.<sup>16</sup> If we turn to Cook's work, we find that he places two of the pieces by Callaghan's Centaurs Painter in his Group II and two in Group IV, one he relates loosely to his Group V, and one is placed in his Group VIII.<sup>17</sup> A last discouraging instance is furnished by Callaghan's Hippocamp Painter, so named from the subject of a fine Hadra hydria in Brussels.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The Moscow vase is Guerrini, no. A 7; other Hadras attributed by both Callaghan and Enklaar are nos. A 3–6 and A 8. For Callaghan's attributions see Callaghan, "Knossian Artists," p. 791 and Callaghan and Jones (footnote 9 above), p. 11. For Enklaar's attributions see Enklaar, 1985, pp. 140–142.

<sup>14</sup> Callaghan, "Knossian Artists," pp. 791–792; Enklaar, 1985, p. 142.

<sup>15</sup> For Enklaar's attributions to this painter see Enklaar, 1985, pp. 126–129. For Callaghan's attributions see Callaghan, *BSA* 76, 1981 (footnote 10 above), pp. 63–64; Callaghan, "Knossian Artists," p. 792; Cook, "Some Groups", pp. 799, 800, 802. For convenience, a summary of Callaghan's list follows, culled from the sources cited above:

Alexandria 19100 (Guerrini, no. B 2)

Benaki collection (Guerrini, no. B 3)

Alexandria 26016 (Guerrini, no. B 11)

New York, M.M.A. 90.9.38 (Guerrini, no. E 4; Cook, *IHV*, no. 2)

New York, M.M.A. 90.9.16 (Cook, *IHV*, no. 15)

Athens 2559 (Guerrini, no. F 10)

Cairo 26234 (C. C. Edgar, *Greek Vases in the Cairo Museum*, Cairo 1911, no. 26234)

Formerly New York, M.M.A. 90.9.20 (Cook, "Some Groups," no. 47)

E. Bielefeld, *Eine Fundgruppe griechischer Vasen in Deckfarbentechnik*, Frankfurt 1970, no. 1, pp. 3–9.

<sup>16</sup> Enklaar attributes Alexandria 26016 (Bielefeld, *loc. cit.*) and Cairo 26234 to his Peintre des Centaures (Enklaar, 1985, nos. 7:6, 10, 11, p. 126). He attributes Alexandria 19100 and the Benaki Hadra to his Peintre d'Alexandrie 5269 (nos. 2:6, 12, p. 121) and New York, M.M.A. 90.9.38 to his Peintre des Bandes Diagonales (no. 1:3, p. 133). Athens 2559 he relates to his Peintre des Rosettes (p. 131).

<sup>17</sup> Group II: Cook, "Some Groups," nos. 19, 26, p. 797. Group IV: nos. 47, 48, p. 799. Group V: no. 54, p. 800. Group VIII: no. 76, p. 802.

<sup>18</sup> Brussels A 13 (*CV4*, Brussels 3 [Belgium 3], pl. 3 [141]:2). For the attributions see Callaghan, *BSA* 76, 1981 (footnote 10 above), p. 56 and Cook, "Some Groups," pp. 797 and 802. The other vases Callaghan gives to this painter are

Alexandria 9740 (Guerrini, no. B 5)

New York, M.M.A. 90.9.29 and 90.9.18 (Cook, *IHV*, nos. 9 and 27)

Sarasota, formerly New York, M.M.A. 90.9.8 (Cook, "Some Groups," no. 75)

Toronto C 457 and C 458 (D. M. Robinson, C. G. Harcum, and J. H. Iliffe, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology*, Toronto, Toronto 1930, nos. 621, 620, pp. 267–268, pl. XCVIII)

Athens, Agora P 7194 (Guerrini, no. A 10)

Callaghan, *op. cit.*, no. 59

E. Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo 1912, no. 48, pp. 32–33, pl. XXXV:42.

Callaghan attributes ten vases to this hand, but Enklaar divides the seven of these that he discusses among four painters in two different workshops.<sup>19</sup> Cook assigns one of the vases to his Group II and three others to Group VIII.<sup>20</sup>

If we are to take seriously the hypothesis that attributions reflect the realities of the past and that vases attributed to one hand were in fact made by a single individual, as the vocabulary of Callaghan's and Enklaar's studies implies, it is clear that there are real problems here. The close agreement between Callaghan and Enklaar on the work of the Dromeus Painter encourages optimism, but the different pictures they derive from other material must serve as a warning that all such systems of classification are, at bottom, at least in part subjective. Hadra vases, themselves no works of art, are more monumental, better decorated, and better published than Attic West Slope pottery. If such difficulties attend the attribution of the Hadras, we must be cautious indeed in our approach to West Slope vases.

Nonetheless, it has proved possible in a limited number of cases to identify groups of Attic West Slope pots that are clearly closely interrelated. Because of the difficulties referred to above, it has seemed best to follow Cook's lead, assigning vases to groups rather than painters, while making clear that within those groups there are different degrees of coherence. In some the similarities are striking and numerous, suggesting that the pots in question were made by one person at about the same time, and in such cases perhaps we are justified in using the terms "painter" and "hand". But the definitions of these groupings must be so narrow that to equate them with an individual is misleading. That individual will have painted much other pottery that we cannot assign to him, and we can never have any idea of his life work or productivity. Other groups show greater variation. Sometimes these include pots by the same hand, but more often the vases are linked by unusual motifs, technical details, or principles of composition.

My aim, then, is not to trace the careers of artisans but rather to provide a framework for the more precise definition of motifs and decorative schemes and their assignment to chronological limits. The eventual addition of other material to these groupings may help to elucidate the relationships between these pieces, and they are described here, in part, to encourage others to recognize related pieces in other collections of Attic West Slope pottery.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Enklaar's attributions are as follows:

New York, M.M.A. 90.9.29 and 18 to Peintre des Bandes Diagonales (Enklaar, 1985, nos. 11:9 and 10, p. 133);

Alexandria 9740 to Peintre des Centaurs (no. 7:4, p. 126);

Toronto C 457 and C 458 and Athens, Agora P 7194 to Peintre des Ténias (nos. 6:1–3, p. 143);

Brussels A 13 to Peintre des Coureurs (no. 1:1, p. 140).

<sup>20</sup> Cook, "Some Groups," no. 22, p. 797; nos. 73–75, p. 802.

<sup>21</sup> Entries in the catalogue below give the present location and inventory number of each piece (if known), previous publication, a brief description of the decoration, and context or provenance. For Agora material, the context is normally a deposit, often in a cistern or well (usually a letter and a number, followed by a colon and a second number). Some of these contexts are discussed in *Agora XXII*, pp. 96–106 and in S. I. Rotroff, "Preface: Chronological Commentary on the Contexts," in H. A. Thompson, D. B. Thompson, and S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery and Terracottas*, Princeton 1987, pp. 183–194. "Group A", "Group B", and "Group E" refer to *TCHP*; for "Group F" see footnote 53 below.

## THE GROUPS

## THE BRACKET LEAF GROUP (280–250 B.C.)

The hallmark of the group is a grapevine with delicate bunches of grapes and distinctive leaves. On a cup-kantharos (1) and an amphora (2) the vine has a straight stem, with leaves and grape bunches alternating (Figs. 1 and 2, Pl. 14). The leaves are painted as a bracket with a third, tripartite lobe between them. The bunches of grapes are made up of dots descending from delicate tendrils; on both pieces, grape bunches appear upside down above the tendril, as well as hanging down from it in a more logical manner. A similar bunch of grapes appears as an isolated element on the lid of a pyxis (3; Pl. 14).

A fragment of a Hellenistic angular kantharos from Thompson's Group B (4) is closely similar (Pl. 14). The grape bunches above the stem are lacking, but the tendrils associated with them are present. A bowl-kantharos in Würzburg (5), a miniature bowl from the Kerameikos (6), and a skyphos from Aigina (7) agree with 4 in most details (Pl. 15).

Another amphora (8) shares the straight stem and bracket leaf of the pieces described above (Fig. 3, Pl. 15). The grape bunches are generally similar but appear right side up above the stem. The dolphins on the shoulder of this vase, however, are very different from those on the shoulder of 2, and the two were probably not painted by the same artisan.

Slight variations from this scheme appear on a calyx-cup from the Agora (9; Fig. 4, Pl. 15). Here the stem is punctuated by blobs at the point where the tendrils join it (a feature present also on 4), and the leaves are feathery. The design is closely paralleled by that on a kantharos with special handles in Brussels (10; Pl. 16) and a skyphos in London (11;

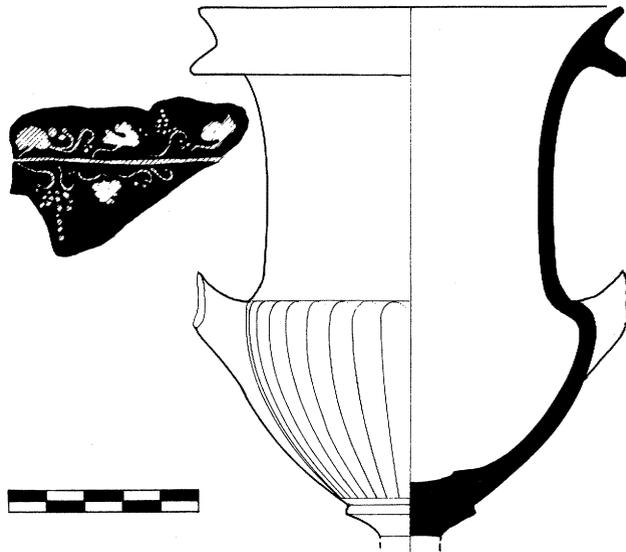


FIG. 1. Cup-kantharos 1

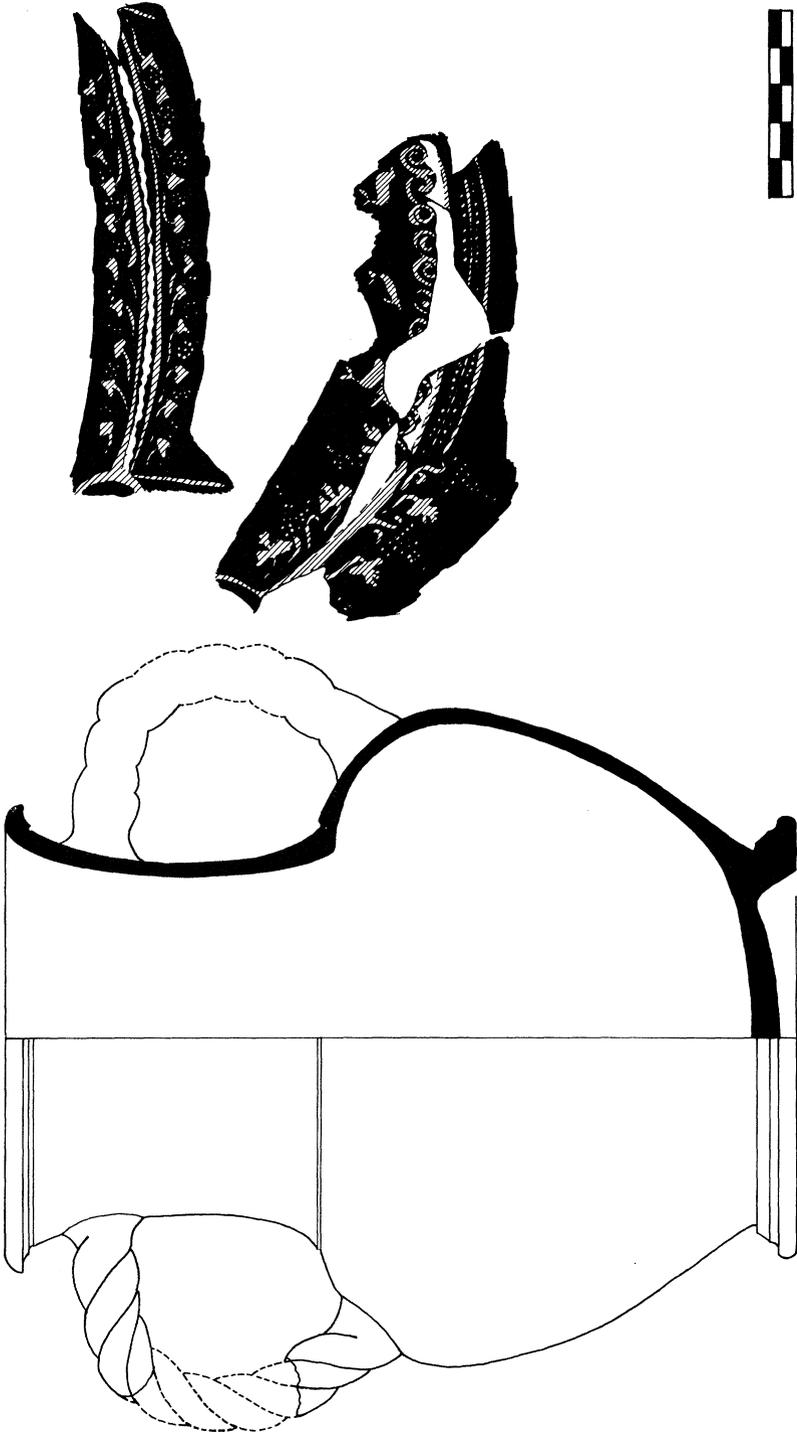


FIG. 2. Amphora 2

Pl. 16), and possibly also a fragmentary cup found on Samos (12; Pl. 17). The shapes of all four, as well as the context of 9, suggest that these are early members of the group.

Finally we may add two pieces probably by a single hand. The composition of the vine on the amphora 13 and the pyxis lid 14 is the same as that outlined above, and the leaves conform to the bracket pattern of others in this group (Pl. 17). The stem, however, is undulating, the grape bunches more compact and lopsidedly triangular, and the whole executed more boldly and with a thicker brush.<sup>22</sup> On a third piece, a fragmentary hemispherical cup (15), the dolphins are close to those on the shoulder of the amphora 13, with long, skinny bodies painted with two strokes (Pl. 17), but are probably not by the same hand, and the piece is only very tentatively associated with the group.

Differences in detail among vases of the Bracket Leaf Group suggest that not all are the work of a single painter. The similarity of motifs, then, must be due to contemporaneity, and perhaps also to workshop. The shapes of two of the amphoras (8 and 13) are fairly close, and they could have been made by the same potter, although the masks at the base of the handles indicate that 13 is the later of the two; the shape of 2, however, is quite different.

### *Date*

The bowl-kantharos in Würzburg (5) dates towards the end of the first quarter of the 3rd century on the basis of its shape;<sup>23</sup> this is also the date of the three delicate drinking cups (9–11). The cup-kantharos 1 falls at the end of the development of that shape, probably after 275 B.C. The Hellenistic kantharos (4) is a shape that is not well established until the second quarter of the century. The amphoras are of an early stage in the development of the West Slope amphora, which began to be produced around 275; the latest (13) may have been made around the middle of the century. This suggests that the pieces above were painted within the span *ca.* 280–250. The contexts of pieces in the Agora confirm this estimate. The calyx-cup 9 comes from Cistern D 16:1, deposited in the first quarter of the 3rd century,<sup>24</sup> and the pyxis lid 3 was found in a cistern with coins of the first quarter of the 3rd century.<sup>25</sup> Four members of the group come from Thompson's Group B, which contained material ranging in date from the late 4th century to *ca.* 240 B.C. (1, 2, 4, and 8).<sup>26</sup> Two pieces (13 and 15) were found in E 14:1, a deposit not closed until about 210, but which contained much material of the second and third quarters of the 3rd century.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> A cup-kantharos and a hemispherical cup probably also to be associated with the group were excavated at Demetrias; I am grateful to Dr. Andreas Furtwängler for this information.

<sup>23</sup> At the Agora this version of the shape, with outturned rim, first occurs in Menon's Cistern (Stella G. Miller, "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43, 1974 [pp. 194–245], no. 14, p. 230, pl. 30), which I now estimate was probably filled *ca.* 275 B.C. (*ca.* ten years later than suggested in S. I. Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems on the Kolonos Agoraios," *Hesperia* 52, 1983 [pp. 257–297], p. 262 and *eadem*, "Spool Salt Cellars from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 53, 1984 [pp. 343–354], pp. 346–347).

<sup>24</sup> For the date see *ibid.*, pp. 349–350.

<sup>25</sup> R 13:9; for evidence of date see Rotroff, *Hesperia* 52, 1983 (footnote 23 above), p. 262.

<sup>26</sup> For discussion and bibliography on the date of Group B see *Agora* XXII, pp. 108–109.

<sup>27</sup> See *Agora* XXII, p. 99.

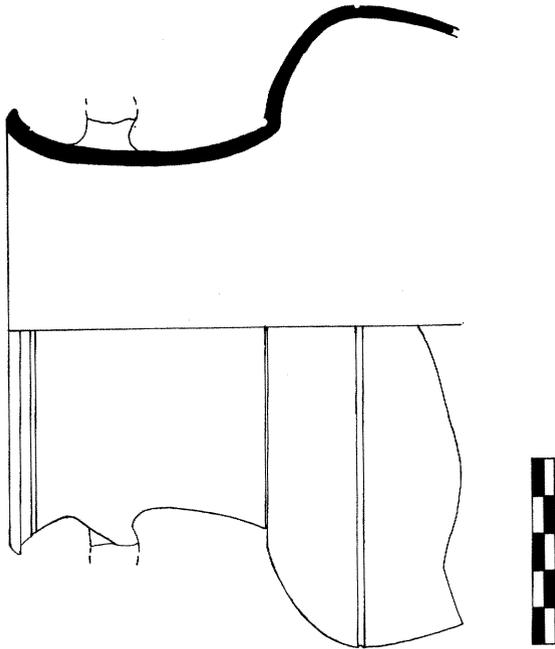


FIG. 3. Amphora 3

1. Cup-kantharos, molded rim Fig. 1, Pl. 14  
Agora P 739. H 16:3 (Group B). Missing: foot,  
stem, and handles. Partly restored.  
*TCHP*, B 20, p. 338, fig. 18.

Grapevine.

2. West Slope amphora Fig. 2, Pl. 14  
Agora P 1106. H 16:3 (Group B). Parts of han-  
dles and body restored.  
*TCHP*, B 3, pp. 334–335, figs. 15 and 16.

Ivy vine on neck. Dolphins over waves at center of  
shoulder, flanked by grapevine.

3. Pyxis with lid Pl. 14  
Agora P 30937. R 13:9.

Ivy vine and alternating grape bunches and single  
cornucopiae on top; grapevine on side.

4. Angular kantharos Pl. 14  
Agora P 4065. H 16:3 (Group B). Fragment.  
*TCHP*, B 23, p. 339, fig. 19.

Grapevine, with inscription  $\Delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon\sigma[ov]$  above.

5. Bowl-kantharos, outturned rim Pl. 15  
Würzburg L 728.  
E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*,  
Munich 1932, no. 728, p. 132, pl. 223; *Vogell*,  
no. 339, pl. VII:11.

Grapevine, with inscription  $\Delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon\sigma\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$  above.  
Probably from South Russia.

6. Covered bowl Pl. 15  
Athens, Kerameikos.  
K. Vierneisel, "Die Ausgrabungen im Keramei-  
kos: Die Grabung in der Nekropole, 1962," *AA*  
(*JdI* 79) 1964 (cols. 420–467), col. 456, fig. 50.

Grapevine on body; checkerboard and rectangles on  
lid.

From early Hellenistic grave in the Kerameikos.

7. Skyphos Pl. 15  
Aigina 1025. Two non-joining fragments.  
*Alt-Agina* II, i, no. 483, p. 70, pl. 37.

Grapevine.

From Aigina.

8. West Slope amphora Fig. 3, Pl. 15  
Agora P 505. H 16:3 (Group B). Missing: foot,  
lower body, and handles. Partly restored.

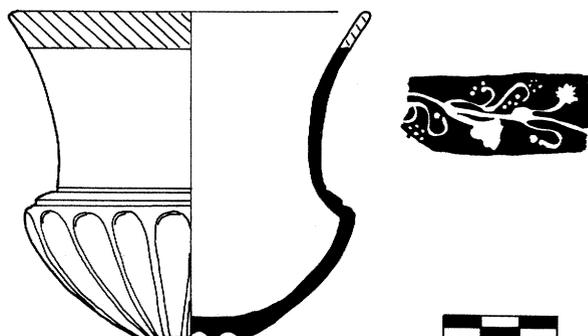


FIG. 4. Calyx-cup 9

*TCHP*, B 35, pp. 341–342, fig. 22.

Grapevine on neck; dolphins over spiral waves on  
shoulder.

9. Calyx-cup Fig. 4, Pl. 15  
Agora P 19355. D 16:1. Rim and parts of lower  
body restored.

Grapevine.

10. Kantharos, special handles Pl. 16  
Brussels A 1717.  
*CVA*, Brussels 3 (Belgium 3), pl. 3 (138):10;  
Kopcke (footnote 5 above), pl. 44:6.

Grapevine.

From Kalymnos.

11. Skyphos, turned foot Pl. 16  
London, British Museum 1928.1-17.74.  
Kopcke (footnote 5 above), pl. 47:3.

Grapevine.

12. Kantharos or cup-kantharos Pl. 17  
Samos K 4116. Fragment.  
H. P. Isler and T. E. Kalpaxis, *Samos, IV, Das*  
*archaische Nordtor*, Bonn 1978, no. 262, p. 114,  
pl. 57, Beil. 9.

Grapevine, with inscription  $\Delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon\sigma\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$  above.

13. West Slope amphora Pl. 17  
Agora P 5818. E 14:1, lower fill. Parts of handles  
and body restored.

Grapevine on neck, dolphins over spiral waves on  
shoulder.

- |  |        |   |        |
|--|--------|---|--------|
| <p>14. Pyxis lid<br/>Agora P 11283. B 13:8. Dome and most of cylinder restored.<br/>Grapevine.</p> | Pl. 17 | <p>15. Hemispherical cup<br/>Agora P 6294. E 14:1, lower fill. Two non-joining fragments.<br/>Dolphins over spiral waves.</p> | Pl. 17 |
|--|--------|---|--------|

THE EDWARDS GROUP (275–265 B.C.)<sup>28</sup>

Five pieces, a cup-kantharos (**16**), a guttus (**17**), a plate (**18**), an oinochoe (**19**), and a Hellenistic angular kantharos (**20**), share a distinctive ivy garland (Pl. 18). The thick tan stem, punctuated with white patches, has an undulating outline and was drawn by moving the brush in a tight spiral. From this stem spring thin stems with ivy leaves, alternating with dot rosettes. Although the scheme is a very simple one, it is unusual enough to suggest that all were painted by the same hand, and at about the same time.

A sixth piece, a cup-kantharos now in Frankfurt and formerly in the Vogell Collection (**21**), is slightly different, for the ivy leaves are drawn in outline instead of silhouette (Pl. 18); the shape places it close in date to **16**. These unusual outline ivy leaves appear again on a fine conical cup with an emblem (**22**) and a pyxis lid (**23**) from the Agora and on a cup-kantharos in Tübingen (**24**) and a bowl-kantharos in Bonn (**25**), both also formerly in the Vogell Collection (Pl. 19). On these pieces, however, the stem is a slender, sagging line (**24**) or is lacking (**22**, **23**, and **25**). On four of the five vases with outline ivy leaves, the berries that alternate with the leaves are shown as rectangles of dots but on the fifth appear as dot rosettes (**23**). Outline ivy leaves occur also on two pieces from Thompson's Group B,<sup>29</sup> but the tighter drawing of the leaves suggests that they are by a different hand.<sup>30</sup>

*Date*

The cup-kantharoi are contemporary, and **16** and **24** are probably by the same potter. Although the rims are different, note the closely similar feet and stems, ribbed lower body, the angle and height of the handles, and the over-all proportions of the body. They fall near the end of the development of the shape, which continued into the 260's. The oinochoe is a new Hellenistic shape, introduced around 275, at the same time as the West Slope amphora, which it closely resembles. The conical cup began to be made in the second quarter of the 3rd century; the extreme shallowness of **22** places it very near the beginning of the series, and a date in the 270's would not be out of place. The angular kantharos was introduced in the course of the first quarter of the 3rd century; **20** probably dates in the second quarter.

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|---|--------|---|--------|
| <p>16. Cup-kantharos, plain rim<br/>Agora P 26000. F 17:3, upper period of use. Missing: parts of rim and handles.<br/>Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops," p. 175, fig. 1.<br/>Ivy garland.</p> | Pl. 18 | <p>17. Guttus<br/>Agora P 20881. D 17:3. Fragment.<br/>Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops," p. 175, fig. 1.<br/>Ivy garland.</p> | Pl. 18 |
|---|--------|---|--------|

<sup>28</sup> This group of vases was first discussed in Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops," p. 175.

<sup>29</sup> *TCHP*, B 4, B 22 (P 1107, P 4064).

<sup>30</sup> A fragment of an angular kantharos probably also to be attributed to this group was unearthed at Demetrias; again, I thank Dr. Andreas Furtwängler for sharing this information with me.

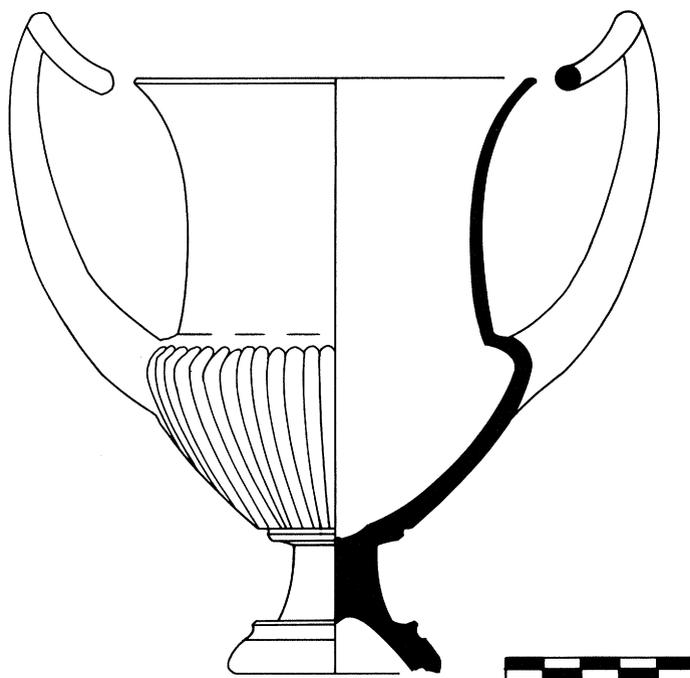


FIG. 5. Cup-kantharos 24

18. Plate Pl. 18  
Agora P 31798. E 14:1, lower fill. Two non-joining fragments.  
Ivy garland.
19. Oinochoe with cylindrical neck Pl. 18  
Agora P 28255.  
Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops," p. 175, fig. 1.  
Ivy garland on shoulder, olive garland on neck.  
Purchased in Athens by G. Roger Edwards.
20. Angular kantharos Pl. 18  
Agora P 31801. E 3:1. Fragment of upper body with handle.  
Ivy garland.
21. Cup-kantharos, molded rim Pl. 18  
Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte.  
H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Frankfurt 1923, p. 79, pl. 59:e; *Vogell*, no. 314, p. 35, fig. 14:b, pl. VI:29.  
Ivy garland, with inscription Ἀφροδίτης above.  
Probably from South Russia.
22. Conical cup Pl. 19  
Agora P 5814. E 14:1, lower fill. Partly restored.
- Ivy garland, crosshatching around relief emblem on floor.
23. Pyxis lid Pl. 19  
Agora P 22931. H-K 12-14 (Middle Stoa building fill)? Fragmentary.  
Ivy garland.
24. Cup-kantharos, plain rim Fig. 5, Pl. 19  
Tübingen 1432.  
C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, Reutlingen 1924, G 2, p. 68, pl. 50; *Vogell*, no. 314, pl. VI:31.  
Ivy garland with inscription Διονύσου above.  
Probably from South Russia.
25. Bowl-kantharos, outturned rim Pl. 19  
Bonn 1302.  
*Antiken aus dem Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn*, Düsseldorf 1971, no. 234, pp. 203-204, pl. 108; *Vogell*, no. 338, pl. VI:7.  
Ivy garland, inscribed Διονύσου.  
Probably from South Russia.

## THE DIKERAS GROUP (270–260 B.C.)

We begin with two cup-kantharoi (Pl. 20) decorated with a standard pattern of pairs of antithetical dolphins leaping over waves (26 and 27). The dolphins are painted in five strokes: body, snout, crest, ventral fin, and tail. The tail is a short, nearly straight, and nearly horizontal line perpendicular to the body. The wave pattern on the two cups is also identical, although this is not a very distinctive motif. Closely similar dolphins appear on a bowl-kantharos in Munich (28), here with a tiny garlanded torch as a central motif (Pl. 20). A third cup-kantharos (29) was painted less delicately, using a heavier brush, but the manner of painting the dolphins and the wave pattern is identical (Pl. 21). In addition, the forms of the phi and the alpha of the inscription  $\phi\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ <sup>31</sup> on 27 and 29 are identical. The phi consists of a vertical stroke and two curved horizontal strokes. All three strokes of the alpha are distinctly curved; the curving crossbar is particularly striking.

Handwriting provides the clue to another link, with a plain-rimmed cup-kantharos (30), although the motifs are different from those described above (Pl. 21). The vase is of very high quality, and the painting and the lettering of the inscription ( $\phi\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ ) are more careful than that on 27 and 29, but the letter forms are the same: an alpha with strongly curved strokes and a phi made up of three strokes, although here the two curved horizontal strokes are carefully closed to form an oval. The link between 30 and 26, 27, and 29 is further strengthened by the shape, which is closely similar, and by provenance (30 was found in workshop debris together with 26 and 29), and we may thus add it to our grouping. 30 has a central cornucopia, flanked by bunches of grapes and then torches. The cornucopia is a double one, a *dikeras*, outlined in tan but filled in with white; three sprouts grow from its top, and feathery fillets hang from its sides. The grapes are made up of tiny dots in a broad rectangle, a triangle, and a vertical line. Of the three tendrils above them, the topmost is crowned with a frondlike leaf, the lower two accented by single, horizontal rows of dots within their curves. The torches, tan with white accents, have delicate flames at the top and double fillets hanging down either side. A cup-kantharos in Providence (31), identical in shape except for its molded rim and ribbed lower body, carries exactly the same motifs (Pl. 21), identical in details of execution, and again with the inscription  $\phi\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ . Certainly by the same hand are a cup-kantharos from Gordion (32; Pl. 21)<sup>32</sup> and a bowl-kantharos now in Göttingen and formerly in the Vogell Collection (33; Pl. 22). The details of the grapes, particularly on 32, are identical to those on the Agora piece, but here the central cornucopia is replaced by a thymiaterion, and the inscription reads  $\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu$ .<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup>  $\phi\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  is one of the most common inscriptions on the so-called *grammatika ekpomatata*, or inscribed cups, mentioned by Athenaios (11.784d, 466e–467c) and well represented in the ceramics of the late 4th to mid-3rd century. For discussions of the practice see C. Picard, “A propos de deux coupes du Vatican et d’un fragment du Musée Kirchner,” *MélRome* 30, 1910 (pp. 99–116), pp. 104–106; *idem*, “Questions de céramique hellénistique,” *RA* 22, 1913 (pp. 161–192), pp. 174–178; see also P. Wolters, “Eingeritzte Inschriften auf Vasen,” *AM* 38, 1913 (pp. 193–202), pp. 197–199. About twenty-five instances of the inscription  $\phi\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  are known to me on Attic drinking cups, but mine is certainly not a complete list.

<sup>32</sup> Frederick Winter kindly brought this unpublished piece to my attention; I am grateful to him and to Kenneth Sams for permission to include it here.

<sup>33</sup> The inscription  $\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu$  is relatively rare. It may be restored with assurance on a cup from Mirmeki (36) and probably also on a calyx cup of ca. 270 from the Agora decorated with a checkerboard pattern: (P 17785: [ $\delta\acute{\omega}\rho$ ]ου).

Other pieces diverge in small details from those described above. The dolphins on the shoulder of a small oinochoe (34) are like those on 26 and 27, except that the stroke forming the snout is double curved (Pl. 22). These dolphins appear also on a bowl-kantharos from the Agora (35); the link to our group is strengthened by the band of crosses accented with white dots below the wave pattern (Pl. 22), found also on the rim of the Gordion cup-kantharos (32) discussed above. More dolphins of similar configuration occur on a number of published vases: a cup from Mirmeki (36), where they leap over a wave pattern like that on our cup-kantharoi; on two bowl-kantharoi (Pl. 23), from South Russia (37) and from Aigina (38), very close in shape to each other and to 35 and 33; and on a pyxis from South Russia (Pl. 24), now in Oxford (39). On 37–39 the dolphins leap over a pattern of hoops and leaves rather than waves. The three are closely similar, and, as far as one can tell from the photographs, are probably the work of one person. To this group of related vases we may also add a small fragment of a pyxis lid from the Agora (40; Pl. 24); it has no dolphins, but the grapevine, with rectangles of dots substituted for bunches of grapes, is very close to that on the shoulder of the oinochoe discussed above (34); on both 34 and 40 the leaf is similar to the leaf that ornaments the bunch of grapes on 30 and related pieces. A bowl-kantharos from Rhodes<sup>34</sup> is similar in composition to 28, with a tiny single cornucopia rather than a torch as a central motif. The dolphins, however, are somewhat different from those described above, with their bodies placed practically vertically.

#### Date

The oinochoe with cylindrical neck was introduced about 275, providing a *terminus post quem* for 34. The cup-kantharoi come at the end of the development of that shape; more advanced than the most recent pieces in Menon's Cistern,<sup>35</sup> they were probably made in the 260's. The bowl-kantharoi are about contemporary.

The decoration itself may help to narrow the dating. Some of the vases display motifs derived from Alexandrian iconography and reflect political ties between Athens and Alexandria which may be dated with some accuracy. The most important motif in this connection is the *dikeras*, which appears first on 30 and 31. It is commonly claimed that the double cornucopia was invented by Ptolemy II as a symbol for the fertility of Arsinoe II, his queen from 275 to 270 B.C.<sup>36</sup> Even if this is not the case,<sup>37</sup> the symbol reached prominence as the mark of this queen and is unlikely to have appeared commonly before 275. Since it is elsewhere associated only with the deified Arsinoe,<sup>38</sup> a date after 270 is highly probable for those vases on which it appears. We may further limit the span within which this motif was first introduced on Athenian pottery to the years before the end of the Chremonidean War, the outcome of which put an end to close ties between Athens and the Ptolemies. Given that, during that time, ties were indeed very close, the common inscription *φιλίας* may have

<sup>34</sup> G. Jacopi, "Le Necropoli di Pontamo (Calchi)," *CIRh* II, 1932–1940 (pp. 117–164), p. 125, fig. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Miller (footnote 23 above), no. 10, p. 230, pl. 30.

<sup>36</sup> D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience*, Oxford 1973, pp. 32–33, 54–55. For a summary of discussion of the dates of the marriage see P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, II, p. 367, note 228.

<sup>37</sup> E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos*, London 1983, pp. 202–208.

<sup>38</sup> E.g., on the oinochoai used in the service of the dead queen's cult and on posthumous coins in her honor (Thompson [footnote 36 above], nos. 1–3, 4–6, pls. I–IV, LXXIII:b, c).

special meaning on these cups, referring to good feeling not only among the drinkers but towards royal Egyptian patrons as well. Possibly the pieces with thymiateria also make some reference to the Ptolemies and their generosity to Athens at this time. While thymiateria are occasionally found on earlier Attic red-figured and gold-decorated pottery, this form of the object, with broad base and central rod with multiple incense cups, is new, possibly inspired by a specific object visible in Athens at this time. Alexandria was well stocked with incense burners; over 350 were displayed in the great procession staged by Ptolemy Philadelphos there in the 270's (Athenaios, 5.197e, 198b, 202b).<sup>39</sup> Ptolemy might have sent one to the Athenians for use in their processions, just as he sent ropes for use in the Panathenaia of 278.<sup>40</sup> The inscription *δῶρον*, like *φιλίας*, would then also take on special meaning. Granted a Ptolemaic content to this iconography, we may then recognize the flanking bunches of grapes as references to the descent of the Ptolemies from Dionysos.

The Dikeras Group and the Edwards Group are closely related. The vases not only are contemporary but were made in the same workshop, for the work of the same potter appears in both Groups. Note the similarity in shape between the cup-kantharoi **16**, **21** (Pl. 18), and **24** (Fig. 5) of the Edwards Group and **26**, **27**, and **29–31** of the Dikeras Group (Fig. 6; Pl. 21). The two small oinochoai **34** of the Dikeras Group (Fig. 7) and **19** of the Edwards Group (Pl. 18) are also not unlike. A workshop link is also suggested by the border of crosses accented with white dots, found on **22** of the Edwards Group (Pl. 19), and on **32** and **35**, associated with the Dikeras Group (Pls. 21 and 22). It is also noteworthy that vases of both Groups were found in the same cistern, a deposit of workshop debris southwest of the Agora square (E 14:1).<sup>41</sup>

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| <p><b>26.</b> Cup-kantharos, plain rim      Fig. 6, Pl. 20<br/>Agora P 5833. E 14:1, lower fill. Part of rim and one handle restored.<br/>Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops," p. 175, fig. 2.<br/>Dolphins over spiral waves.</p>                    | <p><i>AA (JdI 25)</i> 1910, col. 58; <i>Vogell</i>, no. 334, pl. VI:13.<br/>Dolphins over spiral waves, with garlanded torch in center; inscription <i>φιλίας</i> above.<br/>Probably from South Russia.</p>  |
| <p><b>27.</b> Cup-kantharos, plain rim      Fig. 6, Pl. 20<br/>Agora P 27703. Area N 6. Missing: most of handles.<br/>Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops," p. 175, fig. 2.<br/>Decoration as the preceding, with inscription <i>φιλίας</i> above.</p> | <p><b>29.</b> Cup-kantharos, molded rim      Fig. 6, Pl. 21<br/>Agora P 5719. E 14:1 or E 14:3 (its drawshaft). Most of handles restored.<br/><i>Hesperia</i> 5, 1936, p. 38, fig. 38; <i>Agora XII</i>, p. 119, note 41; Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops," p. 175, fig. 2.<br/>Dolphins over spiral waves, with leaf in center; inscription <i>φιλίας</i> above.</p> |
| <p><b>28.</b> Bowl-kantharos      Pl. 20<br/>Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 6126.<br/>Missing: top of one handle.</p>  |   |

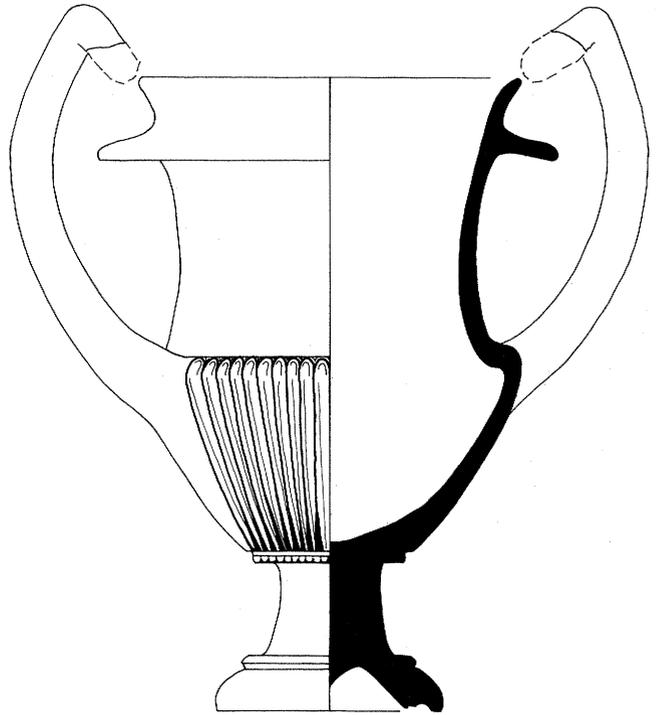
<sup>39</sup> For the date of the procession see Fraser (footnote 36 above), pp. 231–232 and Rice (footnote 37 above), pp. 182–187.

<sup>40</sup> Agora I 7295, lines 64–70. T. Leslie Shear, Jr., *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 17), Princeton 1978, pp. 3–4, 39–40.

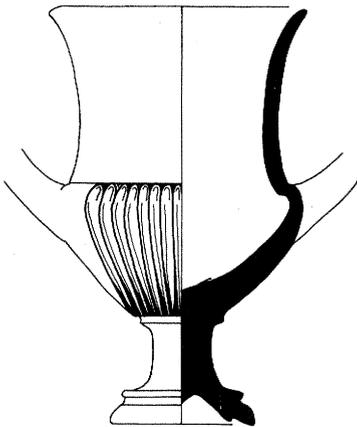
<sup>41</sup> The lower fill of Cistern E 14:1 contained **18** and **22** of the Edwards Group, and **26**, **30**, **34**, and perhaps **29** of the Dikeras Group. For E 14:1 see *Agora XXII*, p. 99.



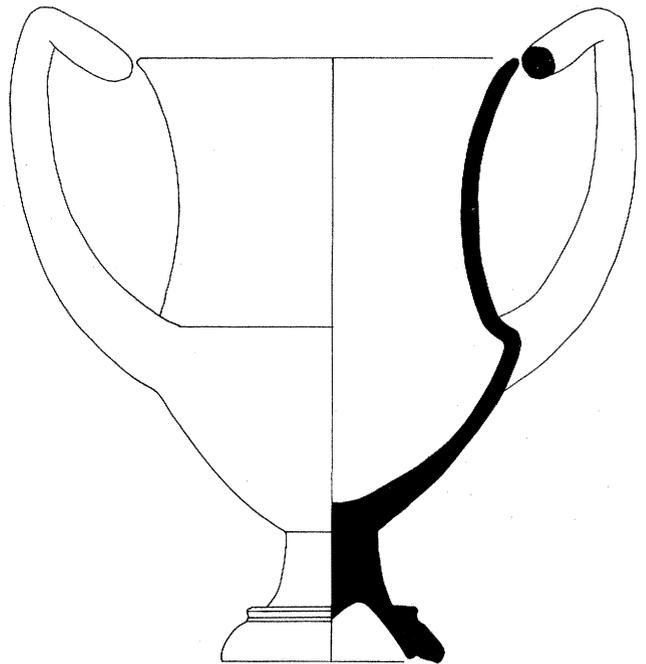
26



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27



30

FIG. 6. Cup-kantharoi of the Dikeras Group. Scale 1:2

30. Cup-kantharos, plain rim Fig. 6, Pl. 21  
Agora P 5811. E 14:1, lower fill. Part of one handle and lower body restored.  
*Hesperia* 5, 1936, p. 38, fig. 38; *Agora* XII, p. 120, note 47; Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops," p. 175, fig. 2.

Double cornucopia flanked by grape bunches and torches, with inscription *φιλίας* above.

31. Cup-kantharos, molded rim Pl. 21  
Providence, Rhode Island 25.111.  
*CVA*, Providence 1 (USA 2), pl. 27 (81):5.

Decoration as the preceding, inscribed *φιλίας* on one side.

Bought in Athens.

32. Cup-kantharos, molded rim Pl. 21  
Gordion P 2078. Fragment of upper body and rim.

Thymiaterion, bunch of grapes, and torch, with inscription *[δῶ]ρον* above; crosshatching on flange below rim.

From Gordion.

33. Bowl-kantharos, outturned rim Pl. 22  
Göttingen III-16.  
*Vogell*, no. 336, p. 35, fig. 14:c, pl. VI:3.

Thymiaterion flanked by grape bunches and torches, with inscription *δῶρον* above.

Probably from South Russia.

34. Oinochoe with cylindrical neck Fig. 7, Pl. 22  
Agora P 5720. E 14:1, lower fill. Lower body missing.

Ivy garland on neck. On shoulder: ivy, grapevine, and dolphins over spiral waves.

35. Bowl-kantharos, outturned rim Pl. 22  
Agora P 7201. D 11:2. Handles missing. Most of rim and part of lower body restored.

Cross at center, flanked by dolphins flanking garlanded torches, over spiral waves with crosshatching below. Inscription *[φ]ιλ[ίας]* above.

36. Cup-kantharos?

Z. Sztetyllo, *Mirmeki* III, Warsaw 1976, p. 80, fig. 71; M. L. Bernhard, "La céramique hellénistique de Mirmeki," *Atti del VII Congresso di*



FIG. 7. Oinochoe 34. Scale 1:2

*Archeologia Classica* III, Rome 1961 (pp. 73–79), p. 75, pl. I:1. Fragment.

Dolphins over spiral waves, with inscription *[δῶ]ρον* above.

From Mirmeki.

37. Bowl-kantharos, outturned rim Pl. 23  
Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Schaal (under 21 above), p. 79, pl. 59:d; *Vogell*, no. 335, p. 35, fig. 14, pl. VI:1.

Dolphins over hoops and sprouts, with inscription *φιλίας* above.

Probably from South Russia.

38. Bowl-kantharos Pl. 23  
Aigina 1313. Missing: handles, rim, and much of upper wall.  
*Alt-Agina* II, i, no. 489, p. 70, pl. 38.

Decoration as 37.

From Aigina.

39. Pyxis Pl. 24  
Oxford, Ashmolean 1925.76.  
*CVA*, Oxford 1 (Great Britain 3), pl. 4 (96):9 and 47(139):7.

Dolphins over hoops and leaves on lid; spearhead necklace on side.

From South Russia.

40. Pyxis lid? Pl. 24  
Agora P 26327. Fragment.  
Grapevine.

## VASES MORE LOOSELY RELATED TO THE DIKERAS GROUP (270–215 B.C.)

The following vases share motifs with the Dikeras Group, and these motifs are in many instances executed in remarkably similar ways. And yet the probable range of date of these pieces, as far as we can estimate them on the basis of shape and context, is so great that, in some cases at least, the similarities can have nothing to do with common authorship. They must rather be ascribed to the heavily traditional and canonical form of some of the decorative motifs that were employed. This suggests that generations of painters referred to the same models or, either consciously or unconsciously, copied the works of their predecessors with a surprisingly high degree of fidelity.

The finest expression of the motifs in question is found on the cup-kantharos (30) described above, with central *dikeras* flanked by grape bunches and torches (Pl. 21). Similar bunches of grapes, often together with *dikeras* and torches, appear on a series of other pieces. 41, a small lid (Pl. 24), shares all three of the motifs on 30; the bunch of grapes is similar, down to the two series of emphasizing dots in the tendrils. The piece is very small, and none of the motifs is so carefully carried out as they are on 30, but they appear to derive from it. Closely similar, but more sloppily painted, are the motifs on a kantharos of unusual shape (Pl. 24), from Olbia, now in Mannheim (42).<sup>42</sup> A fragmentary amphora (43) also shares all three motifs (Fig. 8, Pl. 25). The bunch of grapes is close to that on the lid 41, though larger; it lacks the leaf, but this is perhaps because it is placed close to the neck of the vase and there is no space for that element of the design. A pair of hoops decorate the top of the cornucopia, a detail not included on 30 or 41, and the flames on the torch bend to the left as though blown by a strong wind. 43 is linked to the bolster bowl 45 (Pl. 25) by a distinctive petal rosette which occurs only very rarely in the Attic repertoire. A small fragment of an amphora or an oinochoe (44) has a partial bunch of grapes with four tendrils (Fig. 9); the partially preserved thymiaterion is similar to that on 32 and 33. The bunch of grapes on the pyxis lid 46 (Pl. 26) is close to that on 41 and 43, but the emphasizing dots of the tendrils are missing or reduced to two; the flames on the torch bend sharply to the left, as on 43. It is similar in this respect and also in its bunch of grapes to a conical cup (47; Pl. 26) and to a reversible lid (48; Pl. 26); the cornucopia on the latter has hoops like those on 43. These motifs appear again on an elaborate amphora (49; Pl. 27), where the bunch of grapes is very similar to that on 47 and the cornucopia has double hoops like those on 43 and 48; the dolphins that appear on the neck of this piece are quite similar to those on one of the kantharoi of the Dikeras Group (29; Pl. 21). Another amphora (50) is poorly preserved (Fig. 10, Pl. 28); what remains of the bunch of grapes is similar to those described above, but there are four rather than three tendrils. The cornucopia has a single hoop, while the cornucopiae on 48 and 43 have double hoops. The bunch of grapes on the oinochoe 51 also has four tendrils (Fig. 11, Pl. 28), but the bunch itself is more elongated than any other example; otherwise the piece is too poorly preserved for assessment. The bunch of grapes on the rilled-rim plate 52 seems to be a small, sloppy version of that in our main group (Pl. 28).

<sup>42</sup> Note also another piece of the same shape but with different decoration (E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, Munich 1932, no. 729, p. 132, pl. 223).

*Date*

None of the pieces in this group can be dated very closely on the basis of shape. Their contexts are of only limited value, since most of the pieces are very fragmentary and may well have been quite old at the time of discard. The amphoras **43**, **44**, and **50** are relatively early pieces, since they do not have checkerboards on the shoulder, and may be placed in the second or early third quarter of the 3rd century, possibly contemporary with the Dikeras Group. The Mannheim kantharos (**42**) may also date about this time. But the oinochoe **51** and amphora **49** should be dated after *ca.* 225 B.C. on the basis of the shapes of their handles and the pattern of checkerboard and rectangles on their shoulders, and the conical bowl **47** was made in the second half of the century. We thus have a considerable range of date, over 50 years, for these pieces, which makes it unlikely that they are all the work of a single person. And there are just enough tiny differences in the way that various motifs are carried out to instill doubt that all the pieces are by one individual, even if the dates suggested by shape and context could be sufficiently adjusted to fit within the normal working span of one human being. Some motifs, then, even apparently distinctive ones, are not useful for attribution and may not even be good chronological indicators, at least for very fine dating. It is possible, of course, that there is some sort of workshop connection between the vases discussed above, but proof of that is not yet forthcoming.

- |   |               |  |                       |
|---|---------------|--|-----------------------|
| <p><b>41.</b> Small lid<br/>Agora P 10736. F 5:1. Fragmentary.<br/>Alternating double cornucopiae and torches, with bunches of grapes between.</p>  | <p>Pl. 24</p> | <p><b>43.</b> West Slope amphora<br/>Agora P 18700. M 21:1. Fragment.<br/>Double cornucopia flanked by bunches of grapes, with torch and rosette at right.</p> | <p>Fig. 8, Pl. 25</p> |
| <p><b>42.</b> Kantharos<br/>Mannheim 227. Missing: handles and part of rim.<br/><i>CVA</i>, Mannheim 1 (Germany 13), pl. 36 (622):1.<br/>Double cornucopia flanked by grape bunches and torches. Olive garland on upper body.<br/>From Olbia.</p> | <p>Pl. 24</p> | <p><b>44.</b> Amphora or oinochoe<br/>Agora P 20184. Fragment. Area D 17.<br/>Part of thymiaterion, with bunches of grapes at left.</p>                        | <p>Fig. 9, Pl. 25</p> |
|   |               | <p><b>45.</b> Bolster bowl<br/>Agora P 4878. H 6:4. Fragment.<br/>Rosette flanked by ears of wheat.</p>  | <p>Pl. 25</p>         |



FIG. 8. Amphora 43. Scale 1:2



FIG. 9. Amphora or oinochoe 44. Scale 1:3

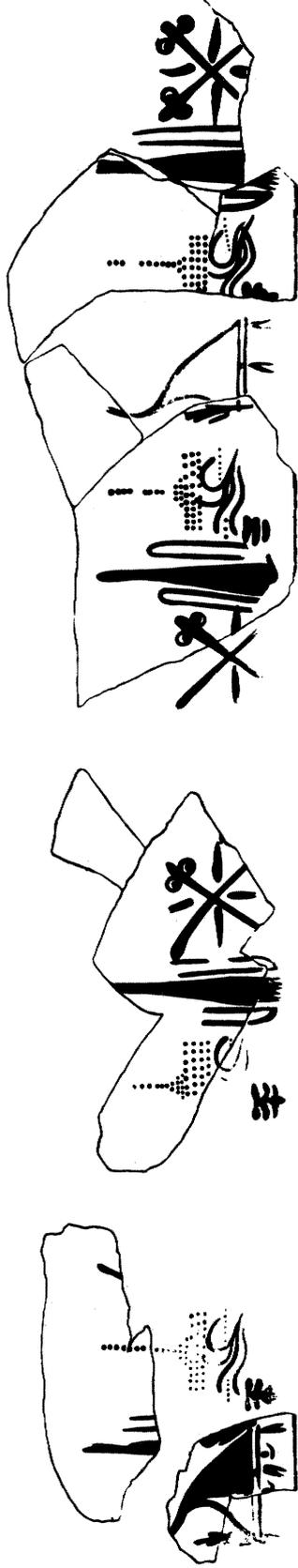


FIG. 10. Amphora 50. Scale 2:5

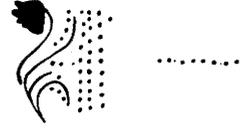


FIG. 11. Oinochoe 51. Scale 1:3

46. Pyxis lid Pl. 26  
Agora P 7089. P-R 6-12 (Stoa of Attalos building fill). Flange and most of cylinder restored.  
Alternating grape bunches and torches on top; ivy vine on side.
47. Conical cup Pl. 26  
Agora P 859. Area G 17. Two non-joining fragments.  
Thymiaterion, bunches of grapes, and torches.
48. Reversible lid Pl. 26  
Agora P 21066. H-K 12-14 (Middle Stoa building fill). Fragment.  
Double cornucopia flanked by torches. Asterisk on knob.
49. West Slope amphora Pl. 27  
Agora P 29344. P 21:4. Partly restored.  
T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia* 42, 1973 (pp. 121-179), p. 155, note 78, pl. 33:e.
50. West Slope amphora Fig. 10, Pl. 28  
Agora P 14192. D 11:2. Body, foot, and part of one handle. Partly restored.  
Rotroff, "Ceramic Workshops," fig. 3.  
Double cornucopia, bunch of grapes, torch, and elaborate cross on shoulder.
51. Oinochoe with cylindrical neck Fig. 11, Pl. 28  
Agora P 28108. F 17:4. Part of shoulder, neck, and rim, half of handle.  
Double cornucopia, bunch of grapes, torch, and "thunderbolt" on neck; checkerboards and rectangles on shoulder.
52. Rilled-rim plate Pl. 28  
Agora P 16255. N 21:4, lower fill. Partly restored.  
Alternating branch and bunch of grapes; star medalion in center.

#### THE PTOLEMY GROUP (280-260 B.C.)

A portrait of a Ptolemaic ruler, probably Ptolemy I, appears as an emblem on the bottom of the name piece, a conical cup (53); the king can be recognized from his large, deepset eyes, the curls over his ear, and the *kausia*, a traditional Macedonian cap and emblem of kingship, that he wears (Pl. 29).<sup>43</sup> The alternating grape bunches and dolphins that surround him (referring perhaps to the supposed descent of the Ptolemies from Dionysos) are distinctive. The dolphin has a tadpolelike silhouette, with the head made large by the thick strokes delineating the snout and dorsal fin; the flukes of the tail are drawn with a curved stroke, sometimes bisected by the thin end of the body. The bunches of grapes have two tendrils and a large leaf above a rather small bunch of grapes marked by a few dots; it is a busier and more constricted pattern than the bunches of grapes in the Bracket Leaf Group, less structured than that of the Dikeras Group. The same dolphins appear on 54 (a conical cup; Pl. 29), the dolphins and bunch of grapes on 55 (a cup with moldmade feet; Pl. 29), and the bunch of grapes probably again on 56 (another conical cup; Pl. 29).<sup>44</sup> Another portrait of Ptolemy, a mirror image of that on 53, appears on cup 57, likely to be from the same shop but not necessarily decorated by the same artisan.

<sup>43</sup> S. I. Rotroff, "A Ptolemaic Portrait in Athens," in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, Copenhagen 1988, pp. 516-523.

<sup>44</sup> I had originally thought that the dolphins on the kantharos Agora P 27183 were by the same hand (see *ibid.*, fig. 5), but this now seems unlikely.

*Date*

Like the double cornucopia on kantharoi of the Dikeras Group, the portrait of Ptolemy reflects the great popularity of the Egyptian dynasty in Athens. The use of small-scale portraits in clay and faïence as part of the paraphernalia of the royal cult probably begins in Egypt with the deification of Soter after his death in 282 B.C.<sup>45</sup> The Agora cups were probably inspired by Egyptian pieces brought back to Athens by travelers, whether ambassadors, mercenaries, or ordinary tourists, and thus may be dated to the late 280's or later. Like the *dikeras* cups, they should also date before 260 and the end of the Chremonidean War. The conical cup and the cup with moldmade feet are new, Hellenistic inventions that first appear in the third decade of the 3rd century, and the Ptolemy cups are early examples, certainly before mid-century. Context supports this dating, for several of the pieces come from a single deposit, workshop debris discarded around the middle of the 3rd century (E 3:1).

- |   |        |   |        |
|---|--------|---|--------|
| 53. Conical cup<br>Agora P 747. I 17:5. Partly restored.<br><i>Illustrated London News</i> , June 26, 1932, pp. 1062–1063, fig. 7; <i>Art and Archaeology</i> , 34, fasc. 1, 1933, p. 26; C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, <i>Griekische Ceramiek</i> , Rotterdam 1936, p. 155; L. Forti, <i>La ceramica de Gnathia</i> , Naples 1965, p. 29, pl. V:b; Rotroff (footnote 43 above), p. 517, figs. 1 and 2.<br>Ivy around rim. Within it, alternating dolphins and bunches of grapes over spiral waves. Relief emblem at center. | Pl. 29 | 55. Cup with moldmade feet<br>Agora P 26882. E 3:1. Fragment.<br>Dolphin and bunch of grapes over spiral waves. | Pl. 29 |
| 54. Conical cup<br>Agora P 26886. E 3:1. Fragment.<br>Dolphins above, grapevine below.  | Pl. 29 | 56. Conical cup<br>Agora P 26887. E 3:1. Fragment.<br>Grapevine.  | Pl. 29 |
|   |        | 57. Hemispherical or conical cup.<br>Agora P 16626. Area B 22. Fragment.<br>Ivy surrounds relief emblem.        | Pl. 29 |

## THE SHARK GROUP (275–240 B.C.)

We begin with a subgroup of three pots: a bowl-kantharos (**58**) and two cups with moldmade feet (**59** and **60**). On all three, dolphins (alternating with dot rosettes) leap over a hoop design (Pl. 30). The latter consists of double hoops with a white dot within; between them grow leaves, alternating with white dot rosettes (probably lacking on **60**). The dolphins resemble sharks: long and thin, with two fins growing almost symmetrically from their heads. The tails are painted as a Y with curved strokes, often not quite aligned with the body. The shapes of **59** and **60** are identical. A very similar hoop design appears on an elaborate kantharos (**61**), but the dolphins are completely different.

The form of the dolphins, and particularly of the tails, links these pieces to four Hellenistic kantharoi (**62–65**). Again the dolphins are long and skinny, with symmetrical fins

<sup>45</sup> Thompson (footnote 36 above), pp. 76–77, 94, 118–119; H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin 1975, pp. 142–146. For the cult see *ibid.*, pp. 138–149 and Fraser (footnote 36 above), I, pp. 213–232.

around their heads and Y-shaped tails often not joining the bodies (Pl. 31). On three of these, dot rosettes appear as spacers, as in the pieces above. Here, however, the dolphins leap over a spiral or diagonal wave pattern. Also to be added to this group are three more kantharoi (66–68) and an amphora (69). The dolphins are more sloppily done, painted with a large brush, but in essentials the same (Fig. 13, Pls. 31 and 32); note that on 62, 66, and 67 the entire scene is identical, the central dolphin scheme flanked by branches and double hanging fillets.

### *Date*

The bowl-kantharos and cups with moldmade feet represented in the first subgroup are early Hellenistic shapes, developed in the third decade of the 3rd century. The angular kantharos well represented in the second series becomes popular in the course of the second quarter of the 3rd century; undecorated fragments were found in Menon's Cistern and in Group A,<sup>46</sup> but pieces with West Slope decoration seem to fall closer to the middle of the century. The amphora 69 has developed beyond the earliest stages of the shape, as the slightly arching handles indicate. Part of the necklace pattern on the neck is incised, which also indicates a later date, around 250 or after. We might suggest, then, that the three earlier pieces were painted around 275 B.C., while the others fall closer to the middle of the century, or even slightly later.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>58.</b> Bowl-kantharos, outturned rim                      Pl. 30<br/>Agora P 5926. E 14:1, lower fill. Missing: foot, stem, and handles. Partly restored.<br/>Dolphins over hoops and leaves.</p>                                     | <p><b>63.</b> Angular kantharos    Fig. 12, Pl. 31<br/>Agora P 13449. O 20:3, lower fill. One handle missing.<br/>Dolphins over spiral waves.</p>  |
| <p><b>59.</b> Cup with moldmade feet                                      Pl. 30<br/>Agora P 15130. F 19:2, upper fill. Fragmentary.<br/>Decoration as 58.</p>   | <p><b>64.</b> Angular kantharos    Fig. 12, Pl. 31<br/>Agora P 26012. F 17:3, upper period of use. Partly restored.<br/>Dolphins over wave pattern formed by wavy white line above diagonal strokes.</p> |
| <p><b>60.</b> Cup with moldmade feet                                      Pl. 30<br/>P 26883·E 3:1. Fragment.<br/>Decoration as 58.</p>  | <p><b>65.</b> Angular kantharos    Pl. 31<br/>Agora P 8274. C 12:2. Fragmentary.<br/>Decoration as 64.</p>   |
| <p><b>61.</b> Kantharos    Pl. 30<br/>Agora P 9074. N 18:3. Foot and lower body restored.<br/>Dolphins over spiral waves on neck; grapevine over hoops and leaves on shoulder.</p> | <p><b>66.</b> Angular kantharos    Fig. 12, Pl. 31<br/>Agora P 26002. F 17:3, upper period of use. Missing: part of foot and chips of rim.<br/>Decoration as 62.</p>                                     |
| <p><b>62.</b> Angular kantharos    Fig. 12, Pl. 31<br/>Agora P 25996. F 17:3, upper period of use.<br/>Dolphins over spiral waves, flanked by branches.</p>  | <p><b>67.</b> Angular kantharos    Fig. 12, Pl. 31<br/>Agora P 4096. H 16:3 (Group B). Lower body</p>  |

<sup>46</sup> P 28127 from Menon's Cistern (not published in Miller [footnote 23 above]); *TCHP*, A 31.

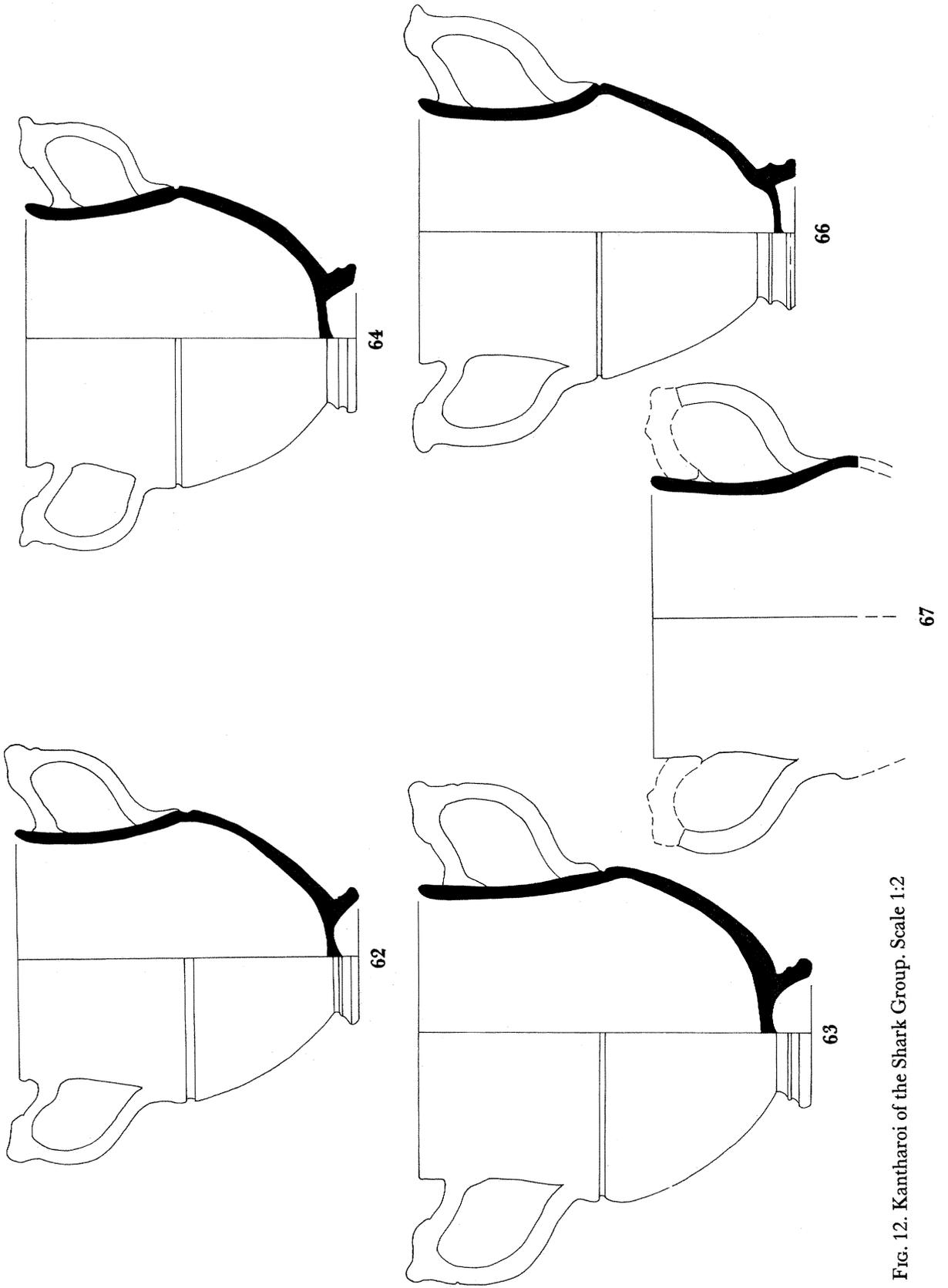


FIG. 12. Kantharoi of the Shark Group. Scale 1:2

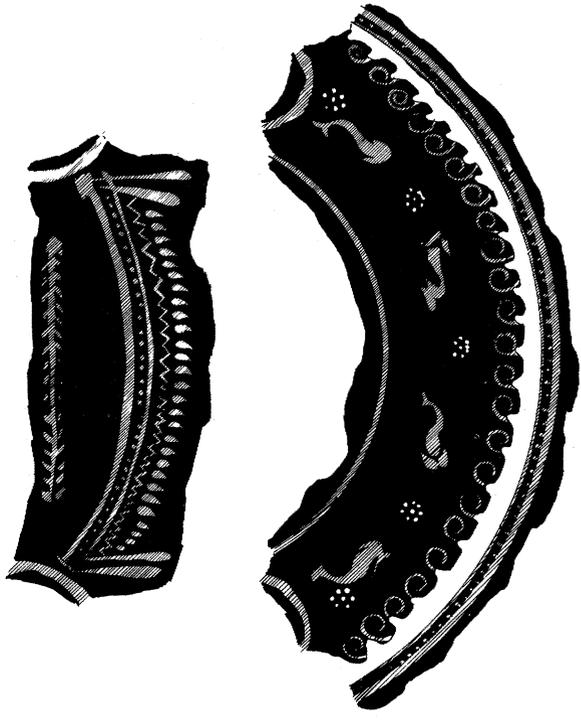
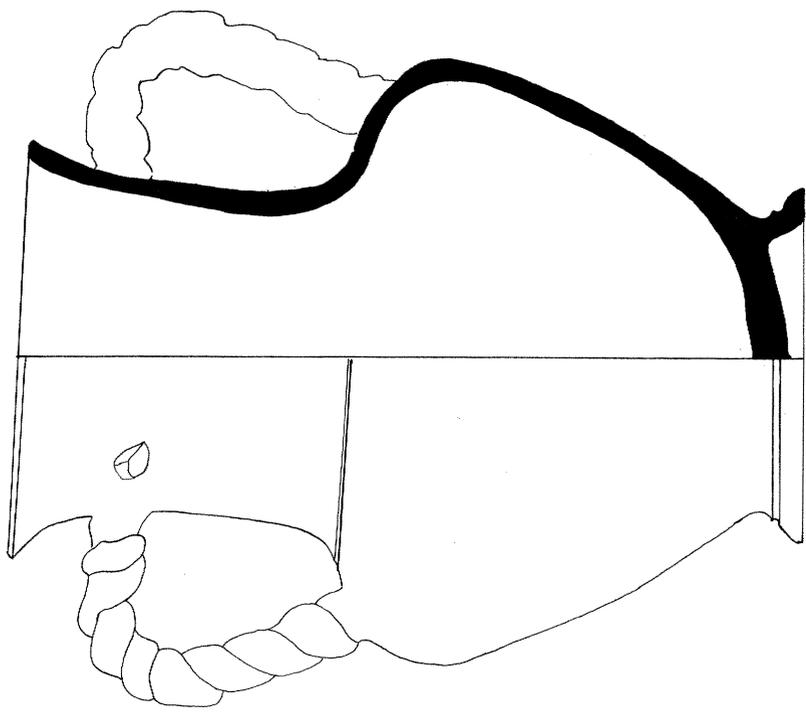


FIG. 13. Amphora 69

and foot missing. Most of handles and part of upper wall restored.

*TCHP*, B 8, p. 336, fig. 17.

Decoration as **62**.

**68.** Angular kantharos Pl. 32

Agora P 31795. E 14:1, lower fill. Two non-joining fragments with one handle.

Dolphins over diagonal wave pattern.

**69.** West Slope amphora Fig. 13, Pl. 32

Agora P 5808. E 14:1, lower fill. Fragmentary.

Olive garland and spearhead necklace on neck; dolphins over spiral waves on shoulder.

THE INCISED WAVE GROUP (250–175 B.C.)

The core of this group is formed by 15 tall baggy kantharoi of closely similar shape, decorated with the same very simple wave pattern (e.g. **70–77**; Pl. 33).<sup>47</sup> The essential feature is an incised wave, running right, with three lines below, and flanked by one to three diagonal lines. Incision was augmented by white, which is now mostly missing. White was sloppily painted in below the incised waves, white fillets hang from some of the diagonal lines, and occasionally a white dot rosette appears at the top of a diagonal line (e.g. **77**).

The same pattern is found on fragments of two tall angular kantharoi. On one (**78**) it conforms in all details to the pattern described above (Pl. 33); on the other (**79**) the wave pattern is more carefully executed, and a painted dot rosette and incised dolphin appear above it (Pl. 33). Two squatter baggy kantharoi also bear the pattern (**80** and **81**; Pl. 34). Also related is a rather low angular kantharos (**82**); here, however, the fillets have hooks at the top (Pl. 34). Similar fillets occur as a subsidiary pattern on another kantharos of the same shape (**83**) from the same deposit, and probably from the same workshop (Pl. 34). The pattern occurs, with others, on an amphora in Boston and an askos in Athens, but both these pieces exhibit peculiarities that suggest that they may not be Attic.<sup>48</sup>

*Date*

The tall, thin baggy kantharoi of the core group come at the very end of the development of the shape, probably in the first decade of the 2nd century. The fact that several were found in the same contexts suggests that there is a workshop link among them: two come from O 16:3, two or three from F 17:4, and five from P 21:4;<sup>49</sup> the latter two deposits are definitely workshop dumps. Similar treatment of the underside and mask thumb rests from the same mold suggest that some examples were potted by the same person. An earlier stage of the shape may be recognized in **81**, the only example to have any other sort of decoration

<sup>47</sup> In addition to pieces illustrated here: Agora P 11440, P 22927, P 25436, P 28178, P 28179, P 28180, P 31742.

<sup>48</sup> *EAA* VI, Rome 1963, p. 24, lower right (askos); *CVA*, Fogg Museum 1 (USA 8), pl. 25 (363):4 (amphora). The amusing shape of the askos is not paralleled in demonstrably Attic material, and Watzinger, who first published it, suggested that it was Boiotian ([footnote 2 above], no. 34, pp. 83–84). The rather squat proportions of the amphora and its extensive incised decoration would also be unusual for Attic West Slope.

<sup>49</sup> For the deposits see *Agora* XXII, pp. 100, 105, 106. A single fragment from the lower fill of the Satyr Cistern (**77**) is probably intrusive in that somewhat earlier deposit. For the Satyr Cistern (N 21:4) see *Agora* XXII, p. 105; S. I. Rotroff, "Athenian Hellenistic Pottery: Toward a Firmer Chronology," *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988*, Mainz 1990 (pp. 173–178), p. 177, pl. 24:2, right; and Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff (footnote 21 above), pp. 185–186.

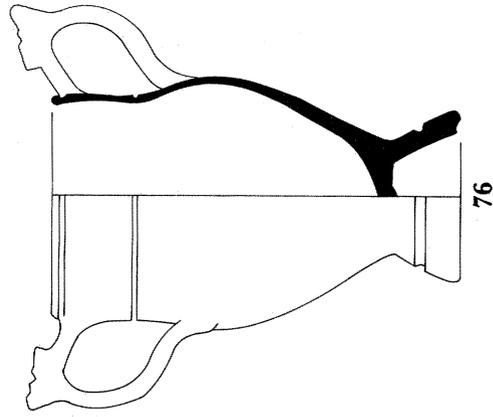
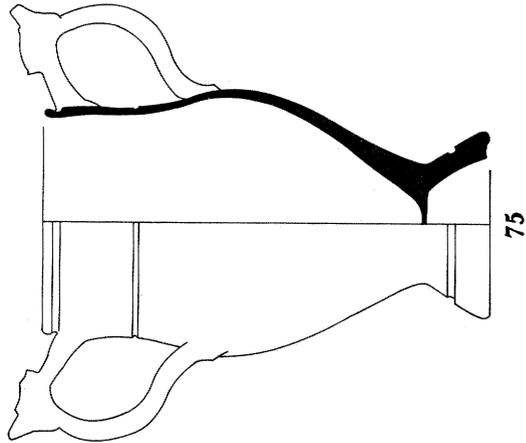
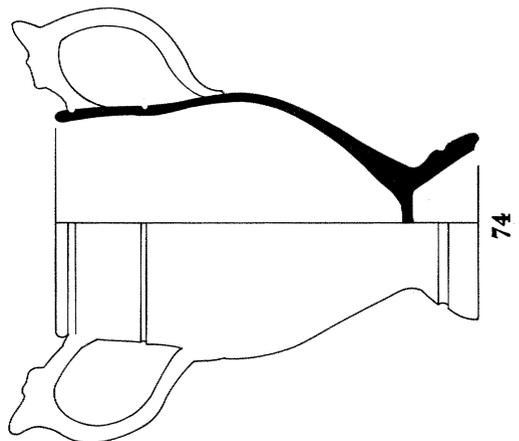
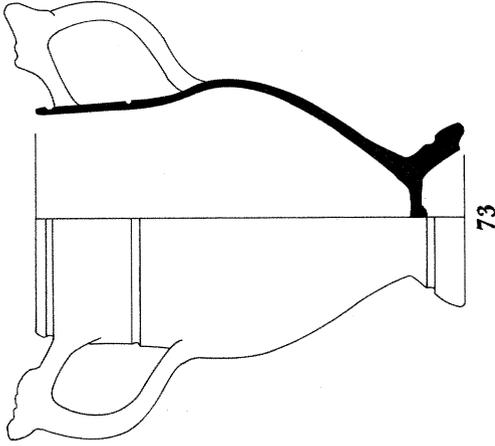
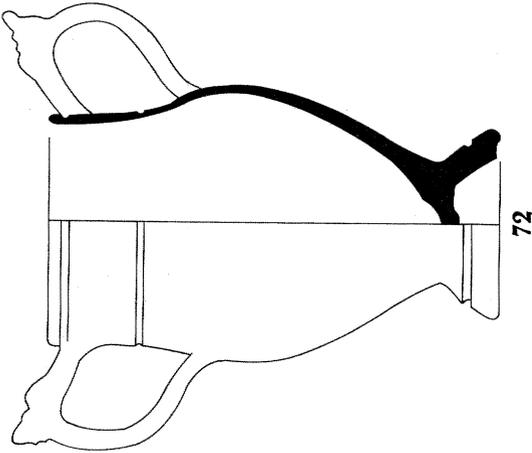
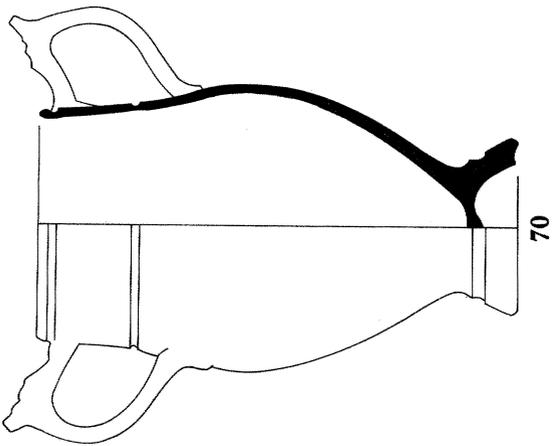


FIG. 14. Baggy kantharoi of the Incised Wave Group. Scale 1:3



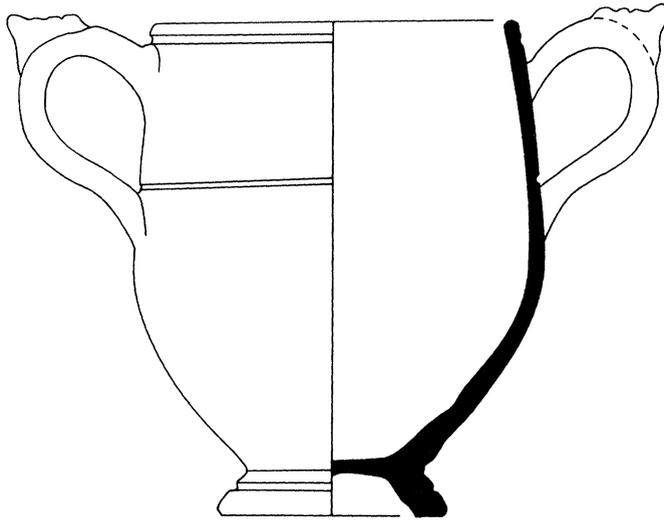


FIG. 16. Baggy kantharos 81. Scale 1:2

- |   |                        |  |
|---|------------------------|--|
| <p><b>78.</b> Angular kantharos<br/>Agora P 4075. H 16:4 (Group D). Fragment.<br/><i>TCHP</i>, D 29, p. 377, fig. 62.</p>   | <p>Pl. 33</p>          | <p>Side A: incised wave between diagonal lines; dot rosette at top of diagonal lines. Side B: painted wreath flanked by branches and double knotted fillets.</p> |
| <p>Incised wave pattern.</p>  |                        |  |
| <p><b>79.</b> Angular kantharos<br/>Agora P 26259. M 18:10. Fragment.</p>   | <p>Pl. 33</p>          |  |
| <p>Incised dolphin over wave.</p>   |                        |  |
| <p><b>80.</b> Baggy kantharos<br/>Agora P 16218. N 21:4, upper fill. One handle and half of body restored.<br/>Rotroff (footnote 49 above), pl. 24:2, center.</p> | <p>Fig. 15, Pl. 34</p> |  |
| <p>Incised wave between diagonal lines.</p>   |                        |  |
| <p><b>81.</b> Baggy kantharos<br/>Agora P 11668. M 20:4. One handle and half of body restored.</p>  | <p>Fig. 16, Pl. 34</p> |  |
|   |                        | <p><b>82.</b> Angular kantharos<br/>Agora P 31803. E 3:1. Fragments of wall; one handle.</p>   |
|   |                        | <p>Incised wave, hooked fillets at side.</p>   |
|   |                        | <p><b>83.</b> Angular kantharos<br/>Agora P 26879. E 3:1. Missing: handles, much of rim and wall.</p>  |
|   |                        | <p>Incised hooked fillet, bunch of grapes with incised tendrils, and incised branch.</p>   |

#### THE LARGE LEAF GROUPS (120–86 B.C.)

West Slope painting undergoes a renaissance in the second half of the 2nd century, using large, well-formed floral patterns to decorate substantial shapes, frequently lids and amphoras. The patterns are extremely simple, but one can distinguish a series of interlocking groups that are distinctive for this period.

*Large Leaf Group 1*

Four pieces (**84–87**) are decorated with a simple grapevine (Figs. 17–19, Pl. 35). This consists of an undulating stem in white, with large, palmettelike leaves placed symmetrically on either side of it, without any connecting stems. White dot rosettes are sometimes scattered in the field. **84** and **86** are probably by the same hand, but the others may not be. The same composition is used on **88–90**, but with large, heart-shaped ivy leaves substituted for grape leaves (Fig. 20, Pls. 36–38). On **86** (Fig. 19) there also appears a large, trefoil-style garland, found also on another vase, **91** (Fig. 21), although not identically executed. Other shared motifs: a “teardrop” asterisk of eight elements, alternating white and tan, on the knobs of **84**, **88**, **89**, and **91**; teardrop rays (**89** and **90**); a border of diagonal strokes (**86**, **88**, and **91**); and pseudo bead-and-reel consisting of groups of short perpendicular lines (**84** and **89**). These pots, then, partake of a common decorative repertoire, suggesting that they are closely related in time and possibly in production. The shapes are mostly reversible lids and pyxis lids, with one baggy kantharos (**85**) and one oinochoe (**90**).

*Large Leaf Group 2*

Reversible lids (**92–97**) dominate in this group, with one amphora (**98**) and one guttus (**99**). The large ivy leaves are arranged around a wavy white stem, as in Group 1, but are attached to that stem by incised lines (Fig. 22, Pls. 38–41). In one case the main stem too is incised (**97**), and additional incised tendrils also may occur (**93**). Dot rosettes normally alternate with the ivy leaves. The links to Group 1 are clear. The composition is identical to that of **88–90** of Large Leaf Group 1, except for the incised stems, and reversible lids are a favorite shape in each group. It is suggestive also that **90** from Group 1 and **99** from Group 2 were found together. Both groups use diagonal strokes for borders (**86**, **88**, and **91** in Group 1, **95** and **96** in Group 2), but the pseudo bead-and-reel of Group 1 (**84** and **89**) is replaced by a true bead-and-reel in Group 2 (**92** and **93**). Knobs in both groups have teardrop asterisks (**84**, **88**, **89**, and **91** in Group 1; **92**, **93**, **96**, and **97** in Group 2), and vertical teardrops appear in both groups (**89** and **90** in Group 1, on the neck of **99** in Group 2). We may conclude that the two groups are contemporary, possibly from the same shop, possibly even by the same hand.

*Large Leaf Group 3*

These pieces, all pyxis lids or reversible lids, are for the most part very fragmentary but share characteristics of decoration with Groups 1 and 2. On several, the knob bears a teardrop asterisk (**104**; Pl. 43), and diagonal lines (**100** and **104**; Fig. 23, Pl. 43) or bead-and-reel (**101**; Fig. 24) appear as borders. Teardrop rays (**102** and **103**; Fig. 25, Pl. 42) and trefoil garlands (**103** and **105**; Figs. 26 and 28:b) also appear, as well as part of a bold floral garland of the sort typical of Groups 1 and 2 (**104** and perhaps **105**; Figs. 27 and 28:a). A new motif for this group is found on **101** (Fig. 24, Pl. 43), a reversible lid with a spearhead<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> This seems to have been the ancient name for this popular form of jewelry, which was a common motif in West Slope and gold-decorated pottery (W. Deonna, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XVIII, *Le mobilier Délien*, Paris 1938, pp. 301–302; R. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London 1961, p. 168).

necklace finely executed, largely in incision; its bead-and-reel border is comparable to that on **93** of Large Leaf Group 2.

#### *Large Leaf Group 4*

A final group consists of pieces that are less closely linked, either because of shape or state of preservation. Large ivy leaves and dot rosettes may be discerned on the neck of the amphora **106** (Fig. 29), but the pattern is mostly missing. The form and context of the piece place it with the Large Leaf groups. **107** is a small fragment of a reversible lid (Pl. 44), similar to **94** of Group 2, with which it shares a lotus petal. Its running-dog border pattern is related to the running spiral on **97** (Group 2). Large dots or bead-and-reel like those on **92** and **93** (Group 2) or pseudo bead-and-reel like that on **84** (Group 1) decorate a series of small situlas (**108–112**) and miniature amphoras (**113** and **114**; Pl. 44). The fragmentary reversible lid **115**, from which most of the paint has flaked, seems to have been decorated with a series of large linked dots; it comes from a Sullan context and must be contemporary with the Large Leaf pots. Finally, another fragment of a pyxis lid from Group E (**116**) is poorly preserved, but a trace of a wavy stem survives.

#### *Date*

Since some pieces were found in Thompson's Group E, this type of decoration must begin before *ca.* 110;<sup>51</sup> it is common in Sullan destruction debris,<sup>52</sup> suggesting that it continued down at least to 86 B.C. Some pieces come from later deposits, but they are likely to be leftover rubbish from the destruction.<sup>53</sup> The narrowest possible date range for the group would be *ca.* 120–86 B.C.

#### *Large Leaf Group 1*

- |  |                        |   |                        |
|--|------------------------|---|------------------------|
| <p><b>84.</b> Reversible lid<br/>Agora P 3366. F 15:2 (Group E). Fragmentary.<br/><i>TCHP</i>, E 62, pp. 400–401, fig. 89.<br/>Grapevine, with pseudo bead-and-reel borders and teardrop asterisk on knob.</p> | <p>Fig. 17, Pl. 35</p> | <p><b>86.</b> Pyxis lid<br/>Agora P 11839. N 19:1, upper fill (Group F).<br/>Fragmentary.<br/>Grapevine on side, trefoil garland on top, diagonal-line borders.</p> | <p>Fig. 19, Pl. 35</p> |
| <p><b>85.</b> Baggy kantharos<br/>Agora P 3371. F 15:2 (Group E). Fragment.<br/><i>TCHP</i>, E 67, p. 402, fig. 91.<br/>Grapevine.</p>   | <p>Fig. 18, Pl. 35</p> | <p><b>87.</b> Reversible lid<br/>Agora P 28442. P 20:2. Fragmentary.<br/>Grapevine.</p>   | <p>Pl. 35</p>          |

<sup>51</sup> **84**, **85**, **98**, **100**, and **116** (*TCHP*, E 62, E 67, E 59, E 63, E 65a). For the date of Group E see *Agora* XXII, p. 110 and V. R. Grace and M. Savvatiyanou-Petropoulakou, "Les timbres amphoriques grecs," in *Exploration archéologique de Délos, XXVII, L'îlot de la maison des comédiens*, Paris 1970 (pp. 277–382), p. 322.

<sup>52</sup> E 14:3, middle fill (**89** and **91–93**), F 19:3 (**96**, **102**, and **104**), F 13:3 (**105**), M 20:1 (**114** and **115**), N 20:4 (**101** and **103**), O 17:5 (**95**). For deposit dates, see *Agora* XXII, deposit summaries, pp. 96–106.

<sup>53</sup> **86** and **88** come from Robinson's Group F, the latest pieces in which date towards the end of the 1st century; our pieces were viewed by Robinson as earlier intrusions and therefore excluded in his publication of the group (H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora, V, Pottery of the Roman Period: Chronology*, Princeton 1959, p. 11).



FIG. 17. Reversible lid 84. Scale 1:2

88. Reversible lid  
Agora P 11841. N 19:1, upper fill (Group F).  
Fragmentary.

Ivy vine, diagonal-line borders, teardrop asterisk on knob.

89. Pyxis lid  
Agora P 6010. E 14:3, middle fill. Fragmentary.

Ivy vine and pseudo bead-and-reel on top, rays on side, teardrop asterisk at center of top.



FIG. 18. Baggy kantharos 85. Scale 1:3



FIG. 19. Pyxis lid 86

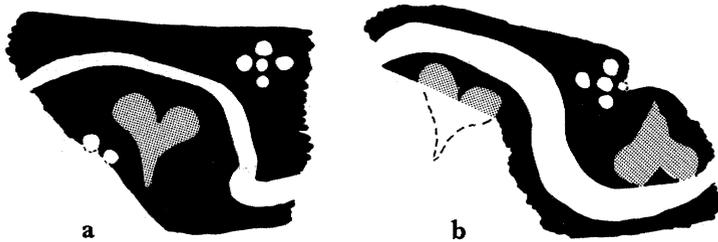


FIG. 20. Pyxis lid 89. Scale 1:3

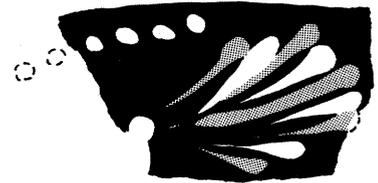


FIG. 21. Pyxis lid 91. Scale 1:3

90. Oinochoe Pl. 38  
Agora P 5920. Area F 10–11. Mouth and handle missing.  
Rays on neck, ivy vine on belly.
91. Pyxis lid Fig. 21, Pl. 38  
Agora P 6011. E 14:3, middle fill. Fragmentary.  
Trefoil garland on top, diagonal-line border, teardrop asterisk in center of top.
- Large Leaf Group 2*
92. Reversible lid Pl. 38  
Agora P 6007. E 14:3, middle fill. Fragmentary.  
Ivy vine, dot and bead-and-reel borders, teardrop asterisk on knob.
93. Reversible lid Pl. 39  
Agora P 6006. E 14:3, middle fill. Fragmentary.  
Decoration as 92, with elaborate incised tendrils.
94. Reversible lid Pl. 39  
Agora P 31779. Area C–D 16–19. Fragment.  
Ivy vine towards outside; within this, alternating rounded and pointed lotus petals.
95. Reversible lid Pl. 39  
Agora P 26035. O 17:5. Fragment.  
Ivy vine, diagonal-line borders, star with alternating rays and dotted lines on knob.
96. Reversible lid Pl. 40  
Agora P 15111. F 19:3. Fragmentary.  
Ivy vine, diagonal-line border, asterisk on knob.
97. Reversible lid Pl. 41  
Agora P 3565. Area C 13. Fragment.
- Ivy vine, running-spiral border, teardrop asterisk on knob.
98. Amphora Fig. 22, Pl. 41  
Agora P 3185. F 15:2 (Group E). Fragmentary.  
*TCHP*, E 59, pp. 398–399, figs. 87, 88.  
Ivy vine on neck; checkerboard and lattice on shoulder.
99. Guttus Pl. 41  
Agora P 3202. Area F 10–11. Mouth and handle missing.  
Ivy vine on shoulder, rays on neck.
- Large Leaf Group 3*
100. Reversible lid Fig. 23, Pl. 42  
Agora P 3365. F 15:2 (Group E). Fragmentary.  
*TCHP*, E 63, p. 402, fig. 90.  
Rays, diagonal-line border.
101. Reversible lid Fig. 24, Pl. 43  
Agora P 12164. N 20:4, middle fill. Fragmentary.  
Spearhead necklace, dot and bead-and-reel borders, rosette on knob.
102. Pyxis lid Fig. 25, Pl. 42  
Agora P 19657. F 19:3. Fragment.  
Teardrops or rays on side, diagonal lines or ends of petals on top.
103. Pyxis lid Fig. 26, Pl. 42  
Agora P 12163. N 20:4, period of use. Fragment.  
Trefoil garland on top, rays on side.
104. Reversible lid Fig. 27, Pl. 43  
Agora P 19658. F 19:3. Fragment.

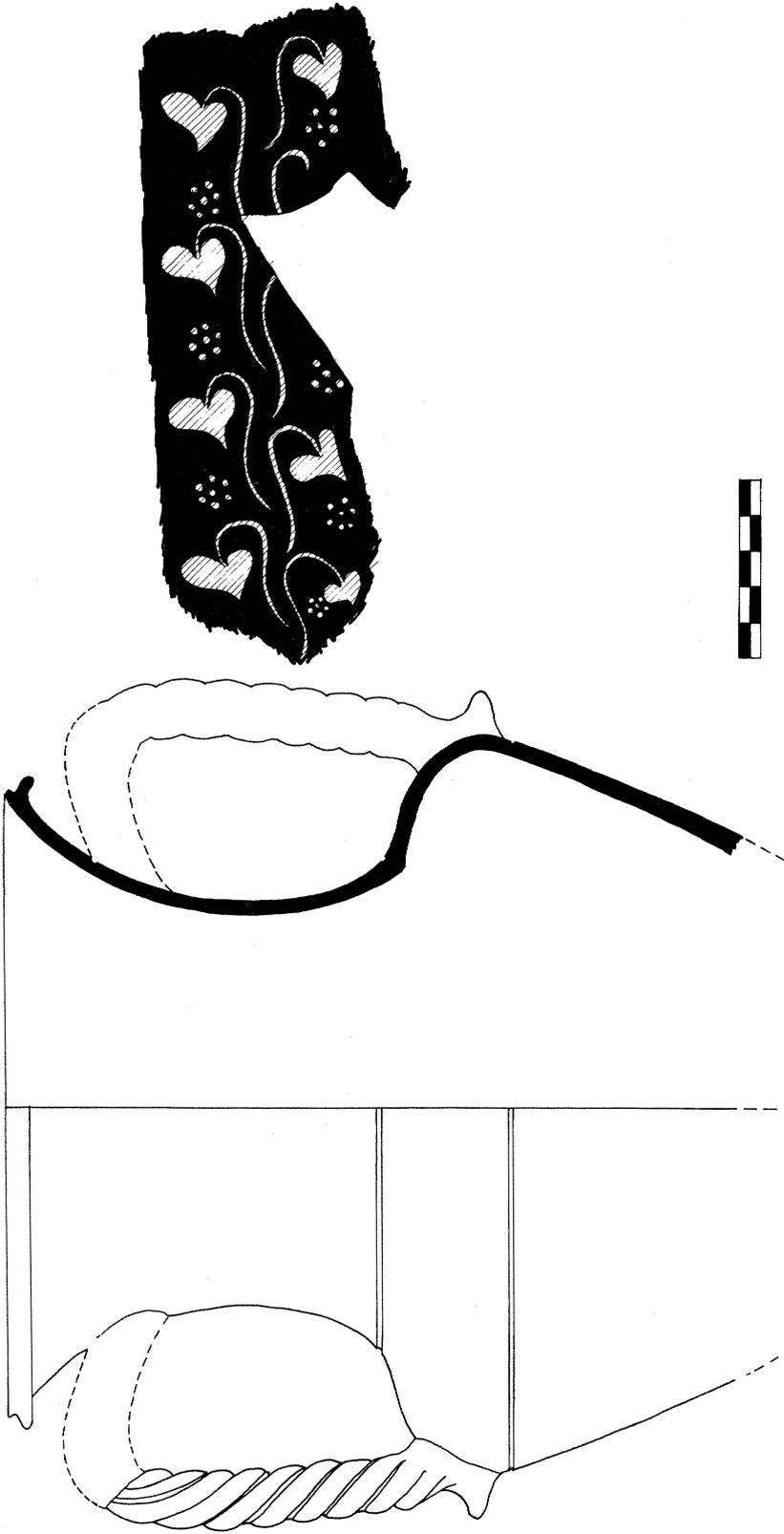


FIG. 22. Amphora 98

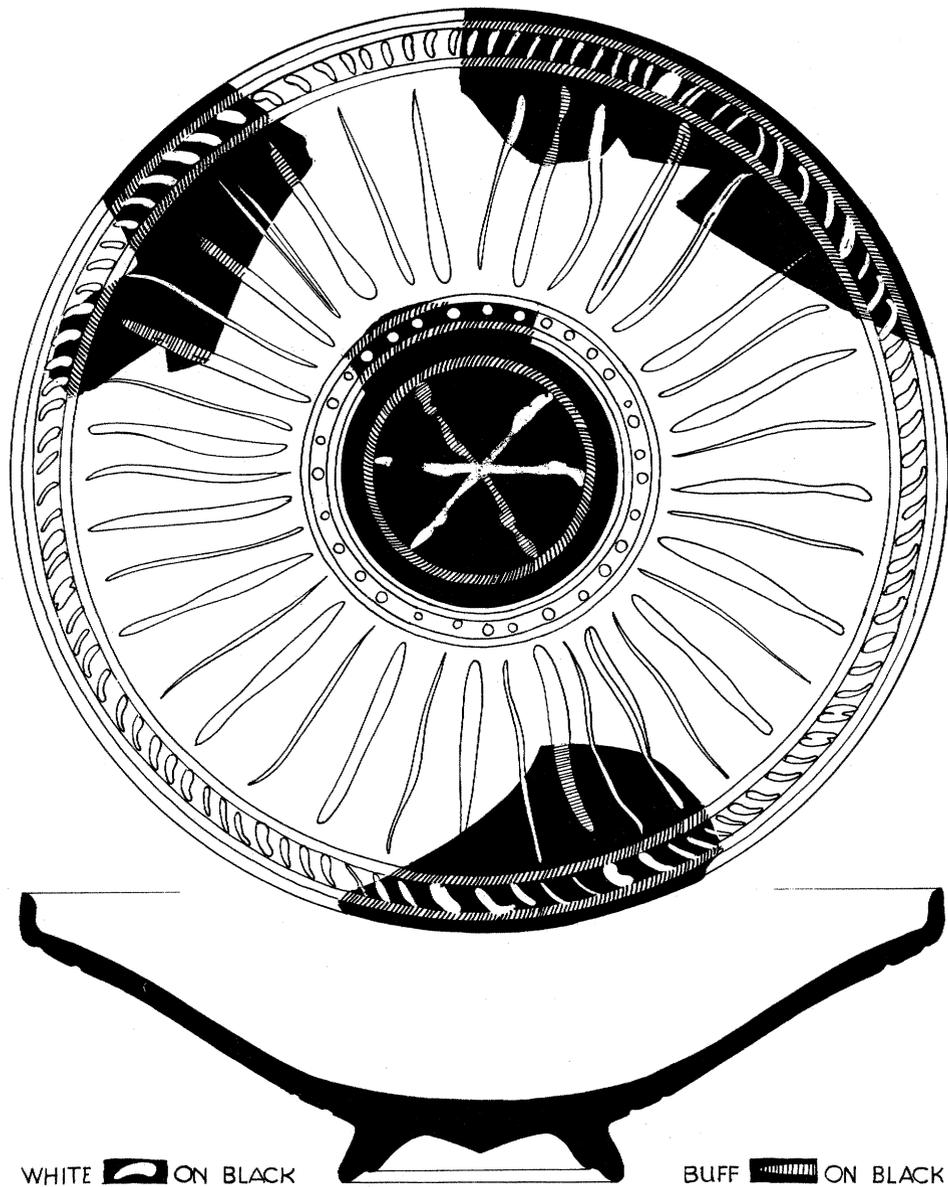


FIG. 23. Reversible lid 100. Scale 1:2

Garland, diagonal-line border, teardrop asterisk on knob.

105. Pyxis lid Fig. 28, Pl. 43  
 Agora P 25557. F 13:3. Fragment.  
 Garland on top, trefoil garland on side.

*Large Leaf Group 4*

106. Amphora Fig. 29, Pl. 44  
 Agora P 17020. D 19:2. Fragmentary.  
 Ivy vine on neck, checkerboard and lattice on shoulder.

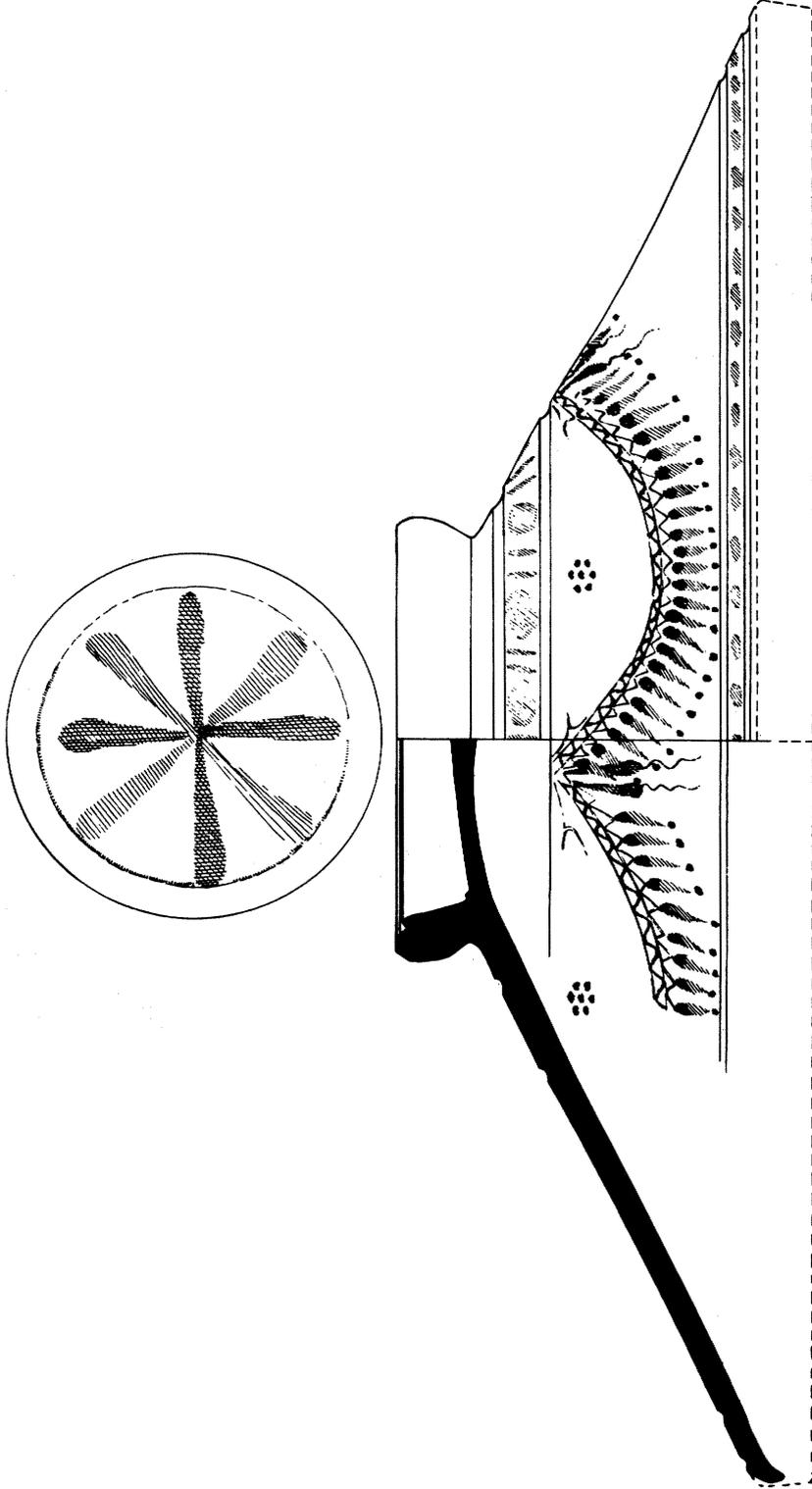


FIG. 24. Reversible lid 101. Scale 3:5

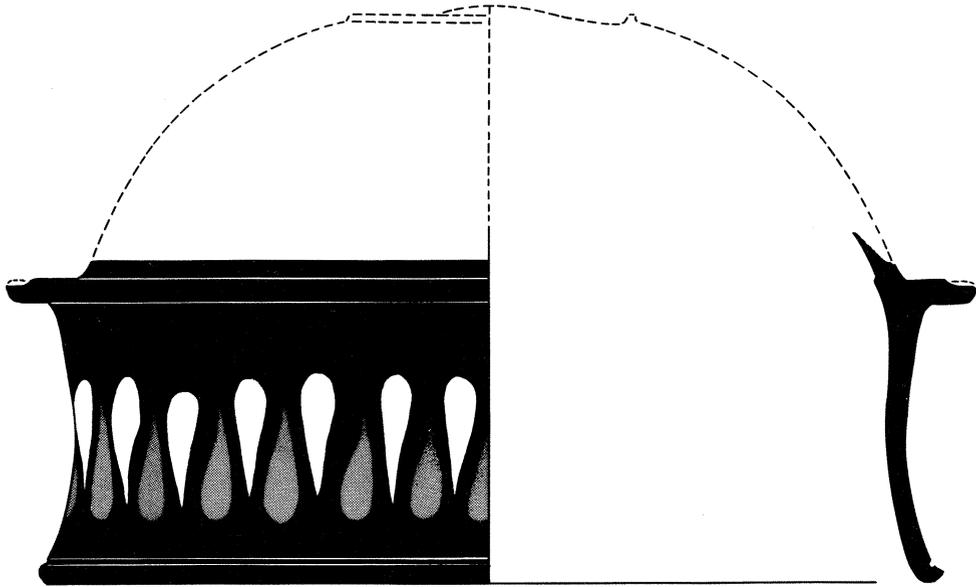


FIG. 25. Pyxis lid 102. Scale 1:2



FIG. 26. Pyxis lid 103. Scale 1:3



FIG. 27. Reversible lid 104. Scale 1:3

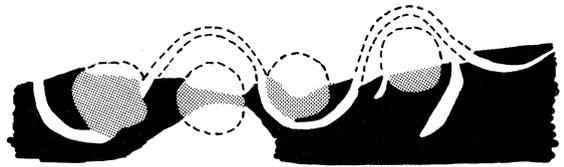


FIG. 28. Pyxis lid 105. Scale 1:3

**107.** Reversible lid  
 Agora P 5307. Area M 11. Fragment.  
 Alternating pointed and rounded(?) lotus petals within running-dog border.

Pl. 44

**108.** Situla  
 Agora P 19181. D 17:11.  
 Bead-and-reel below rim.

Pl. 44

**109.** Situla  
 Agora P 19180. D 17:11.  
 Decoration as **108**.  
 Pl. 44

**110.** Situla  
 Agora P 17150. B 20:1. Handle restored.  
 Row of large dots within swag hanging from rim.

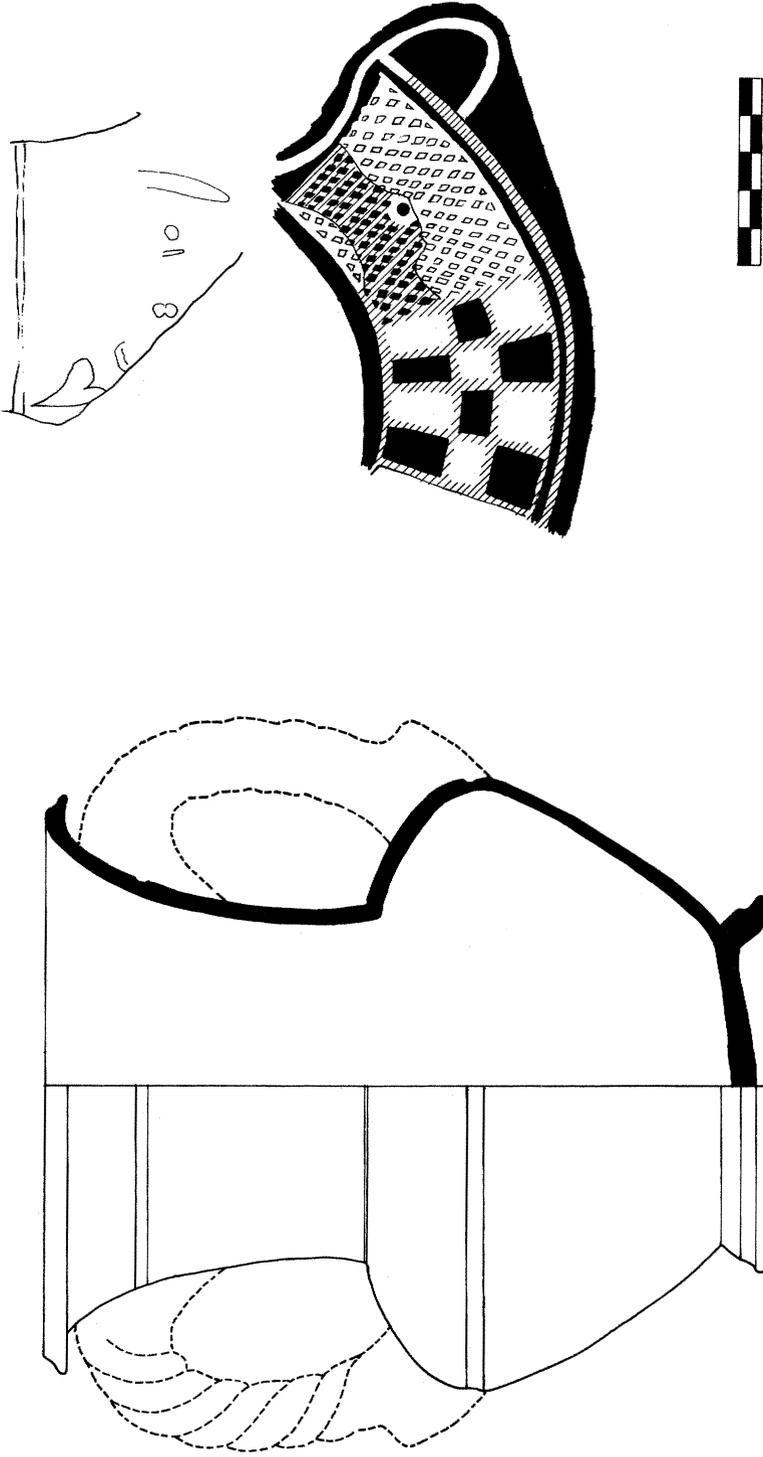


FIG. 29. Amphora 106

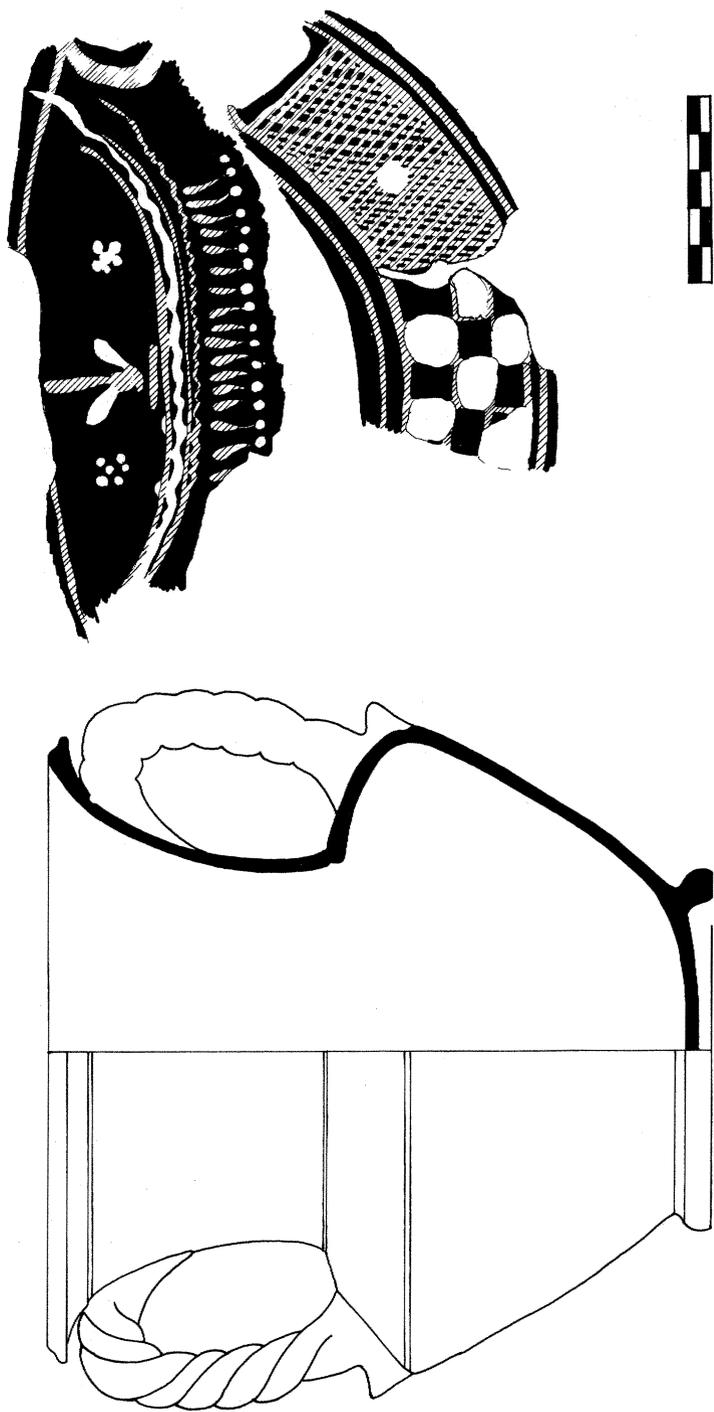


FIG. 30. Amphora 117

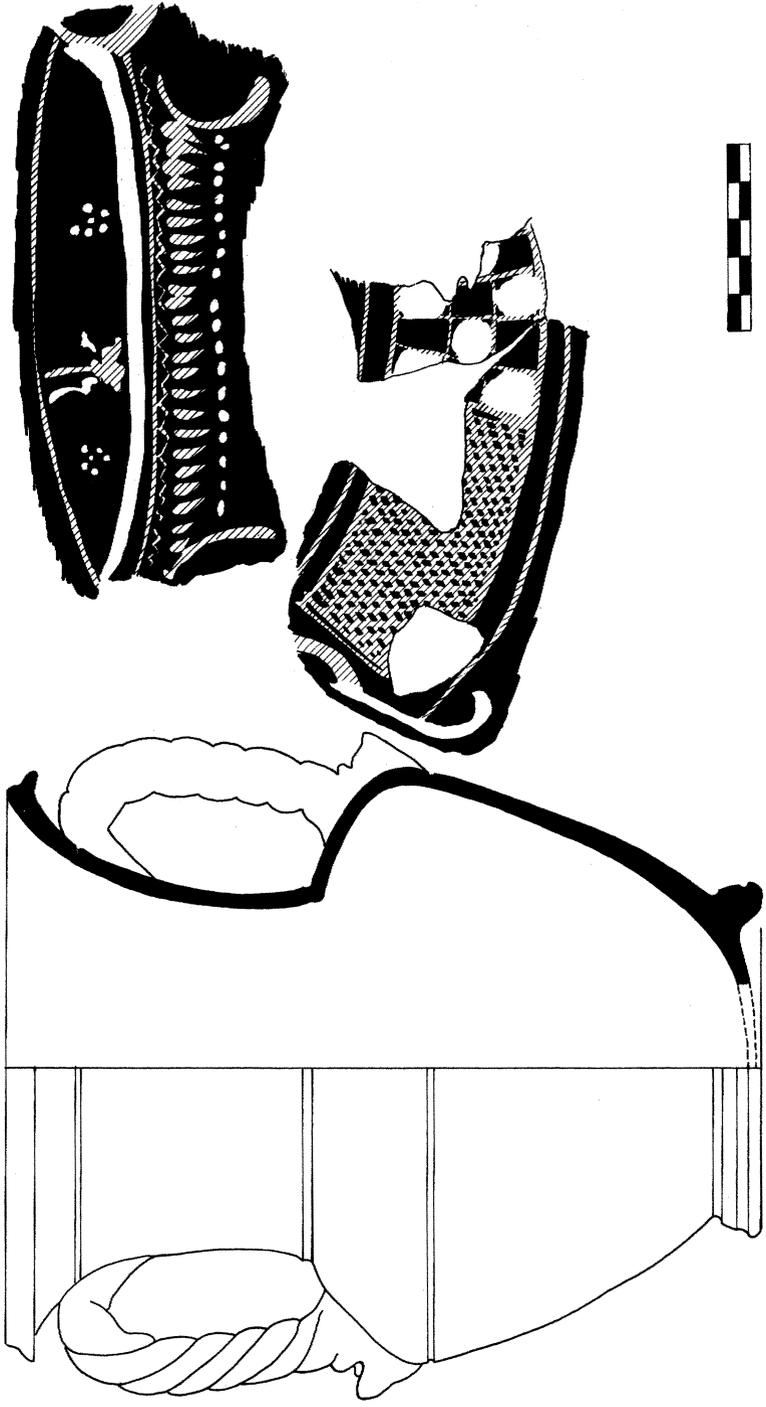


FIG. 31. Amphora 118

**111. Situla**

Agora P 518. G 14:2.

Pseudo bead-and-reel below rim.

**112. Situla**

Agora P 16111. G 14:2. Handle missing, body partly restored.

Bead-and-reel(?) below rim.

**113. Miniature amphora**

Pl. 44

Agora P 9285. M–N 18:1.

Teardrops and vertical lines on neck, bead-and-reel on shoulder.

**114. Miniature amphora**

Agora P 14417. M 20:1. One handle and part of body and neck restored.

Bead-and-reel on shoulder.

**115. Reversible lid**

Agora P 14420. M 20:1. Fragmentary.

Contiguous large dots.

**116. Pyxis lid**

Agora P 3373. F 15:2 (Group E). Fragment.

*TCHP*, E 65 a, fig. 91.

Trefoil garland.

**THE GAUDY AMPHORA GROUP (100–86 B.C.)**

Three late Hellenistic amphoras have a bold spearhead necklace on the neck (Figs. 30 and 31, Pls. 45 and 46). The band of the necklace is accented with a white wavy line, white dots appear at the ends of the spearheads, and the connecting chain is incised. Above this motif, in the center of the neck, is a palmette (117 and 118) or rosette (119), flanked by white dot rosettes. The two palmettes are identical, ornamented with an additional white petal on either side, and the closely similar composition of the third piece suggests that it, too, was painted by the same person. The shapes of the rims of the three amphoras are also similar. Two of the three pieces were found in Sullan contexts, suggesting that they were made *ca.* 100–86 B.C.

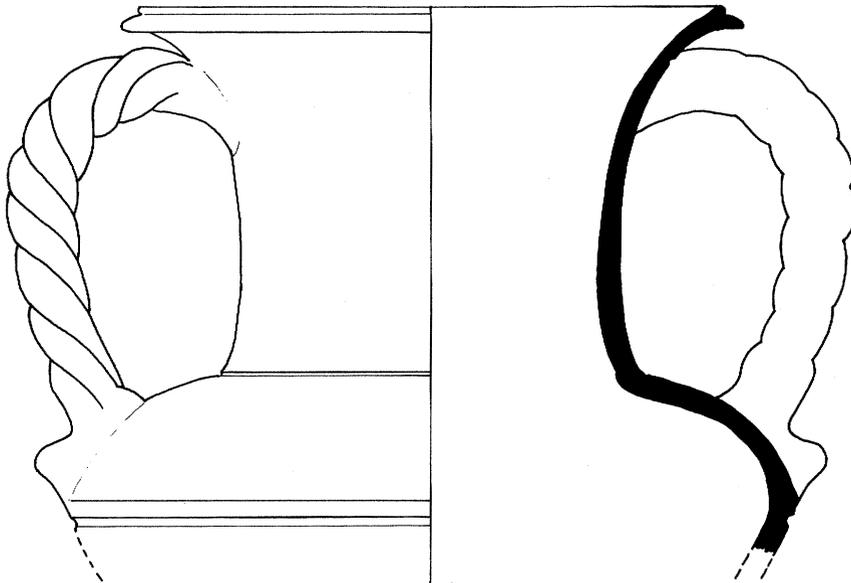


FIG. 32. Amphora 119. Scale 1:2

- 117.** Amphora Fig. 30, Pl. 45  
Agora P 25874. Area A–D 14–17. One handle, part of rim, neck, and body restored.  
Spearhead necklace with palmette above on neck, checkerboard and lattice on shoulder.
- 118.** Amphora Fig. 31, Pl. 45  
Agora P 26034. O 17:5. One handle and part of body restored.  
Decoration as **117**.
- 119.** Amphora Fig. 32, Pl. 46  
Agora P 8945. M 20:1. Fragmentary.  
Spearhead necklace with rosette above on neck, checkerboard and rectangles on shoulder.

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1 (1:2)



2



2, details



3 (1:2)



4 (1:2)

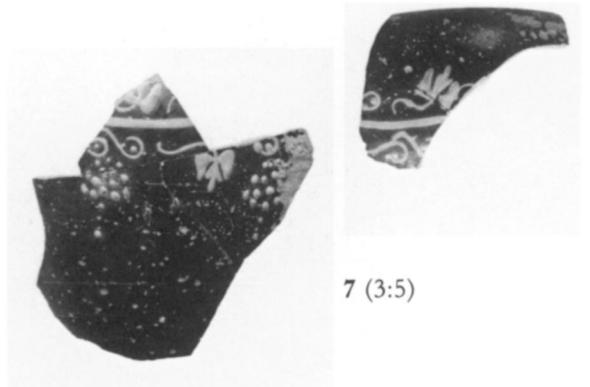
Bracket Leaf Group



5 (2:3)



6 (ca. 2:3)



7 (3:5)



8 (1:2)



9 (1:2)

Bracket-Leaf Group

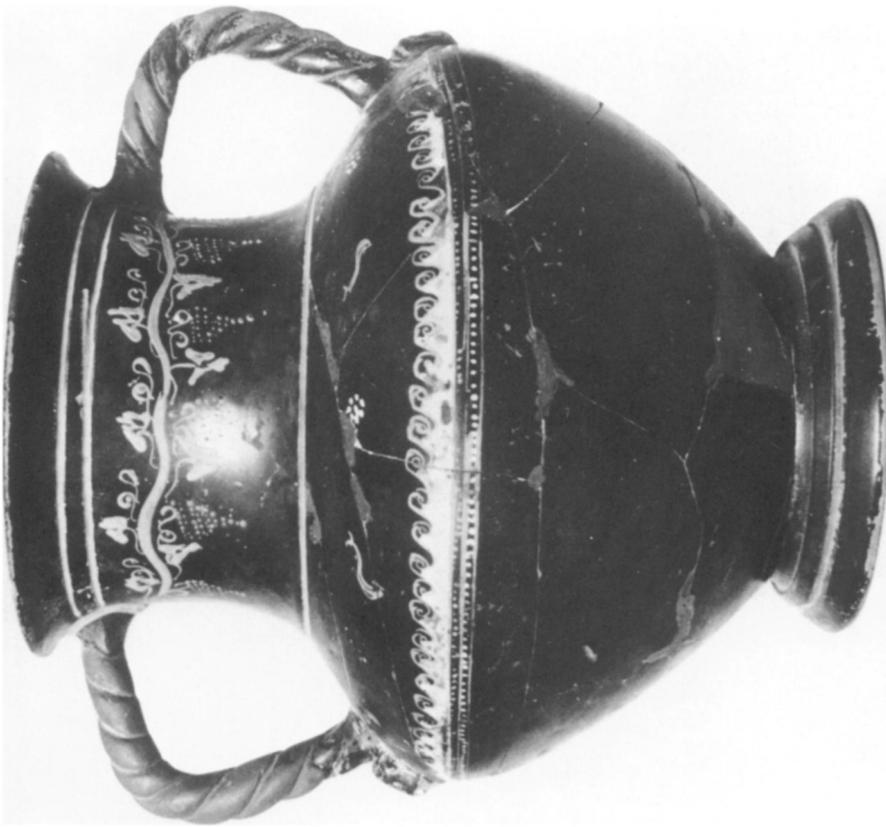


10 (9:10)

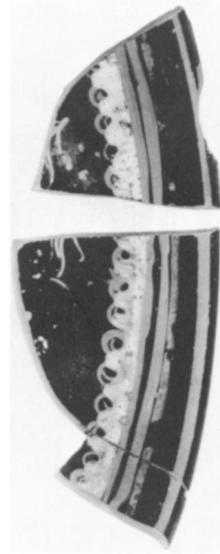


11 (1:1)

Bracket Leaf Group



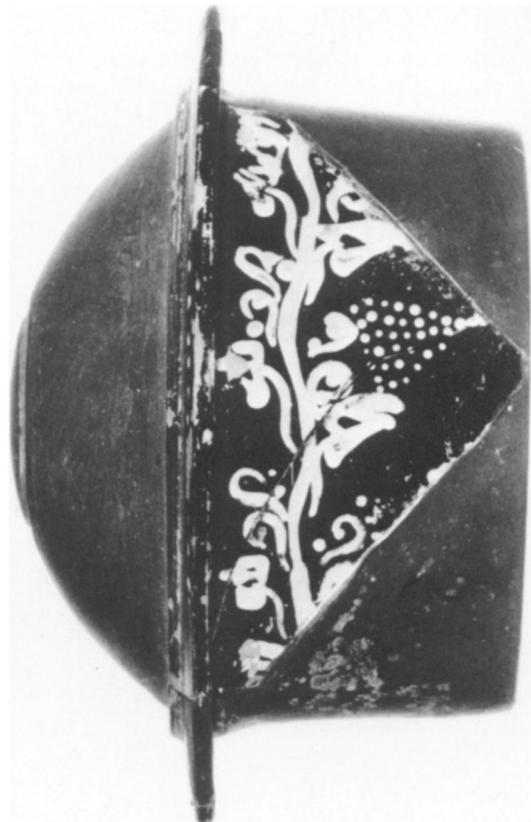
13 (1:2)



15 (1:2)



12 (ca. 1.3:1)



14 (1:1)

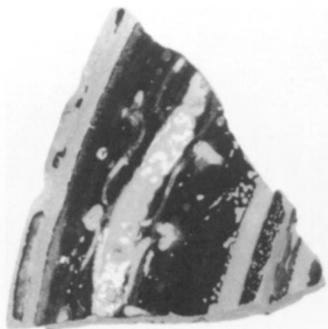
Bracket Leaf Group



16 (1:2)



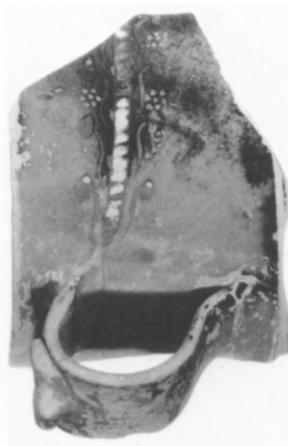
17 (1:2)



18 (1:1)



19 (1:2)



20 (1:2)



21

Edwards Group



22 (1:2)



24 (1:2)



23 (1:2)



25 (ca. 9:10)

Edwards Group



26 (1:2)



27 (1:2)



28

Dikeras Group



29 (1:2)



30 (1:2)



31 (9:10)



32 (ca. 1:3)

Dikeras Group



33



33, detail



34 (1:2)



34, detail



35 (1:2)



35, detail

Dikeras Group



37 (ca. 1:1)



38 (1:1)

Dikeras Group



39 (ca. 4:3)



40 (1:1)



41 (1:1)



42 (9:10)

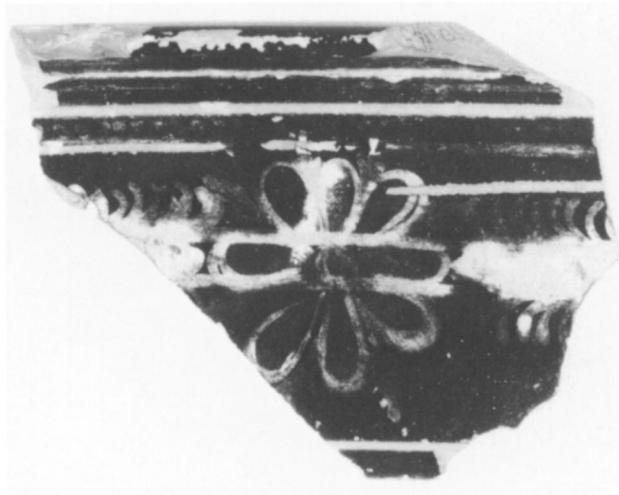
Dikeras Group and related (41, 42)



43 (1:1)



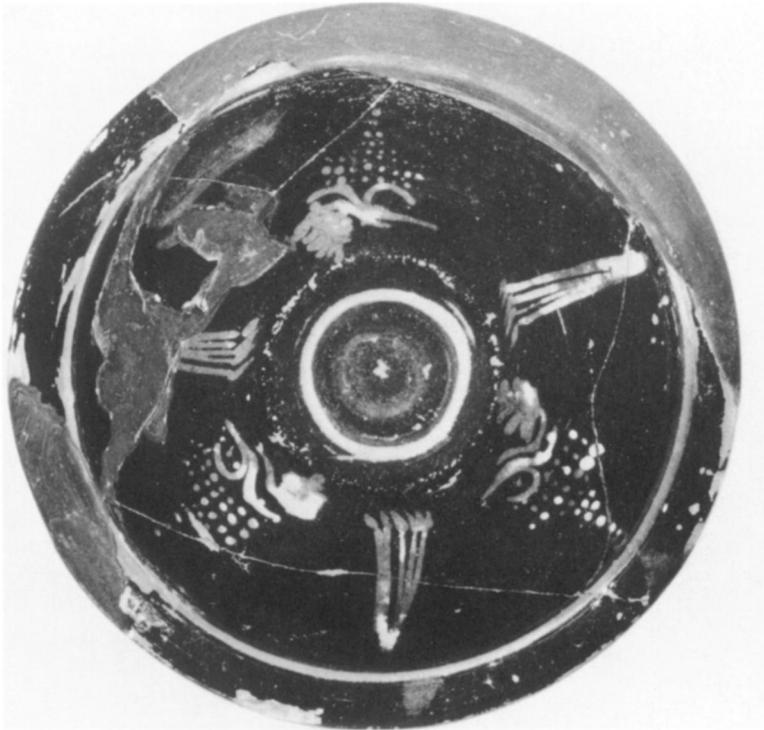
44 (1:2)



45 (1:1)

Vases related to the Dikeras Group

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46 (1:1)



48 (1:2)



47 (1:2)

Vases related to the Dikeras Group

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49 (1:2)



49, detail

Amphora related to the Dikeras Group

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50 (1:2)



52 (1:2)

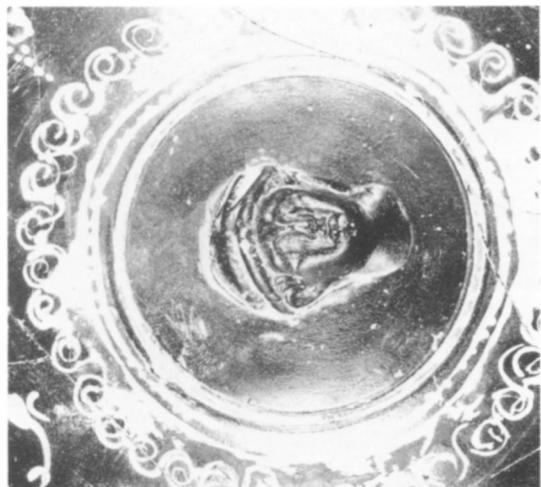


51 (1:1)



51 (1:1)

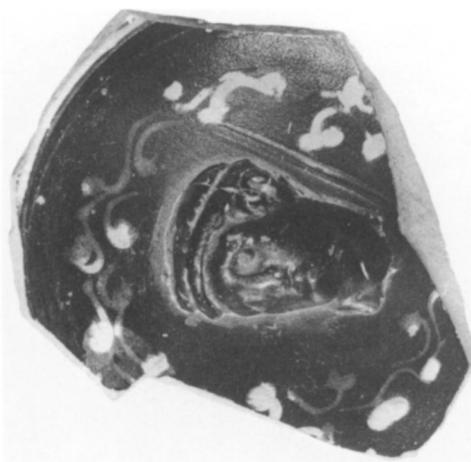
Vases related to the Dikeras Group



53, detail



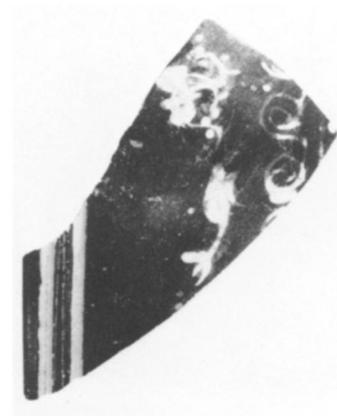
53 (1:2)



57 (1:1)



56 (1:1)



55 (1:1)



54 (1:1)

Ptolemy Group

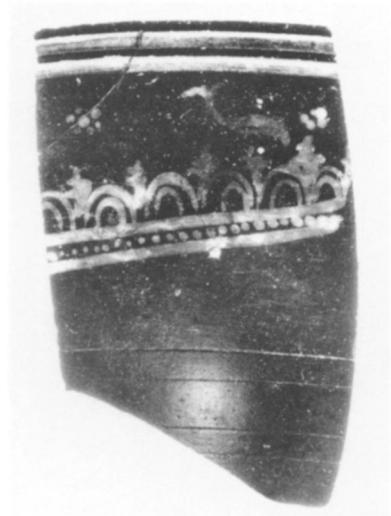
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58 (1:2)



59 (1:2)



60 (1:2)



61 (1:2)

Shark Group



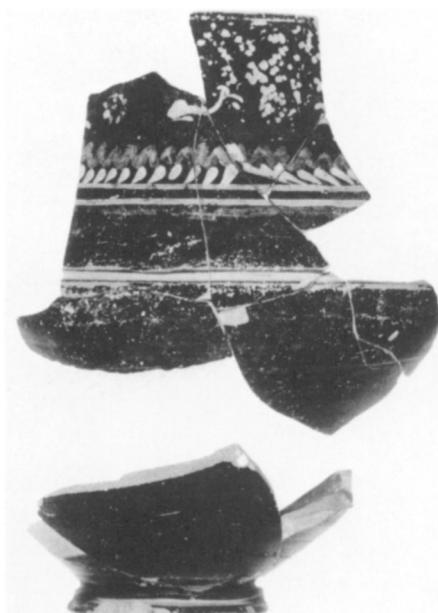
62



64



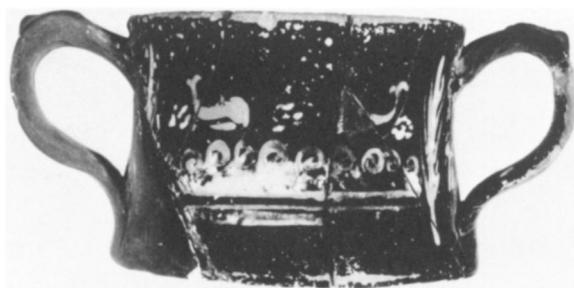
63



65



66



67

Shark Group

Scale 1:2

PLATE 32



68a (1:2)



68b (1:2)



Shark Group

69 (1:2)



69, detail of shoulder



70



71



77



72



78



79

Incised Wave Group

Scale 1:2



80



81, side A



81, side B



82

Incised Wave Group

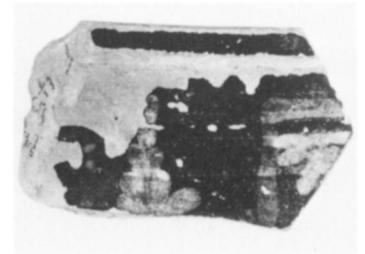


83

Scale 1:2



84 (1:2)



85 (1:1)

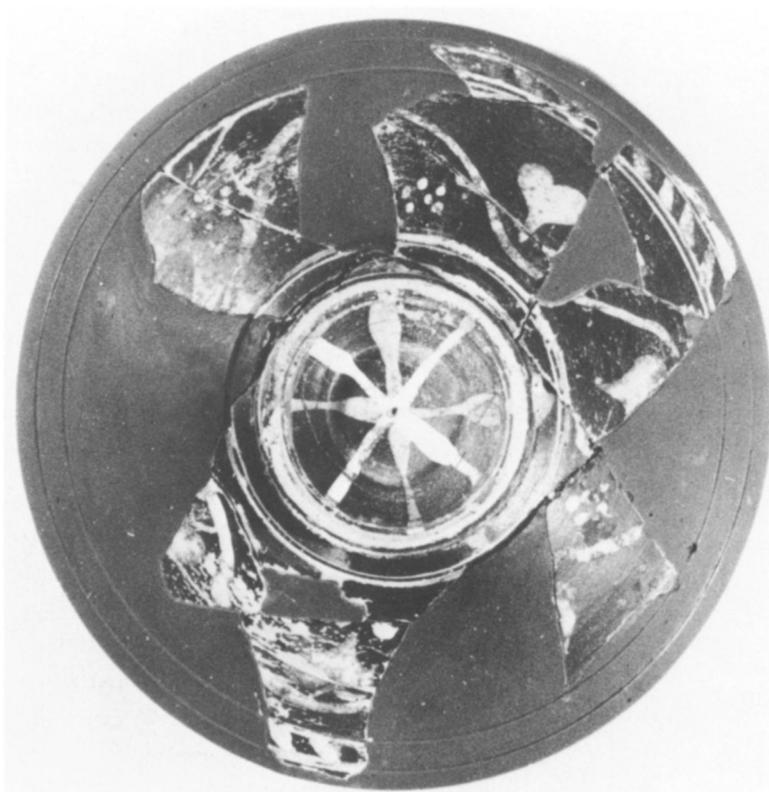


86 (slightly less than 2:5)



87 (1:2)

Large Leaf Group 1



88, top



88

Large Leaf Group 1

Scale 1:2



89, top



89

Large Leaf Group 1

Scale 1:2



90



92



91

Large Leaf Group 1 (90, 91), Large Leaf Group 2 (92)

Scale 1:2

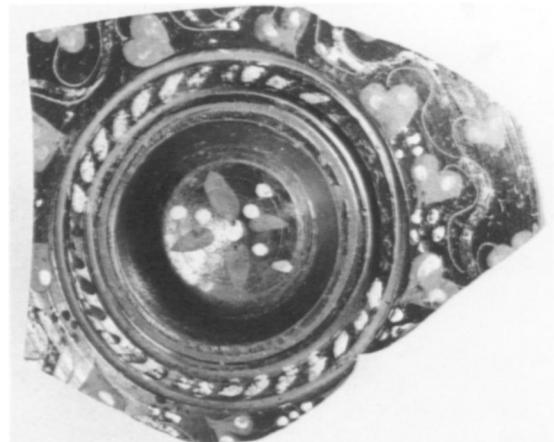


93



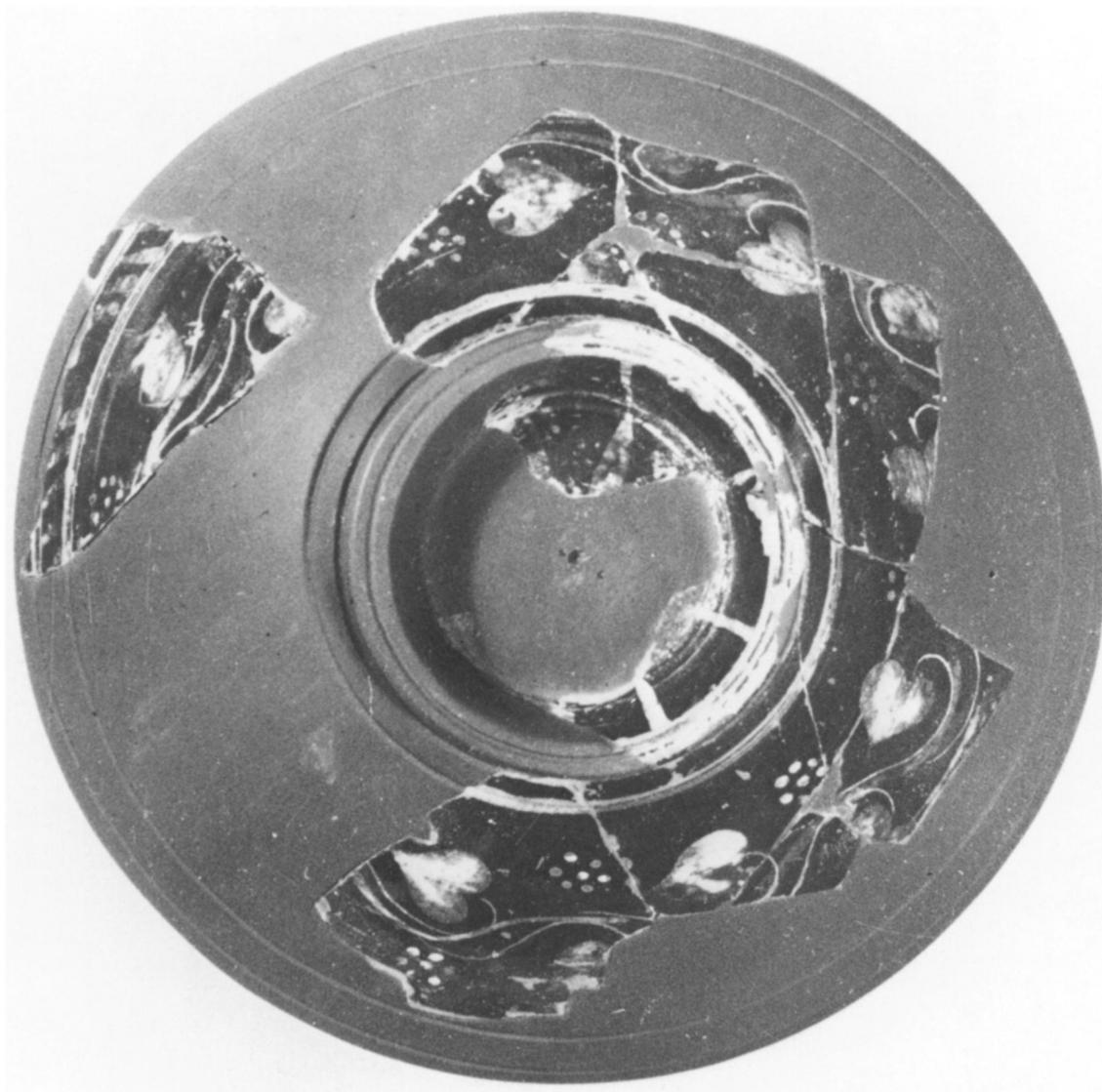
94

Large Leaf Group 2



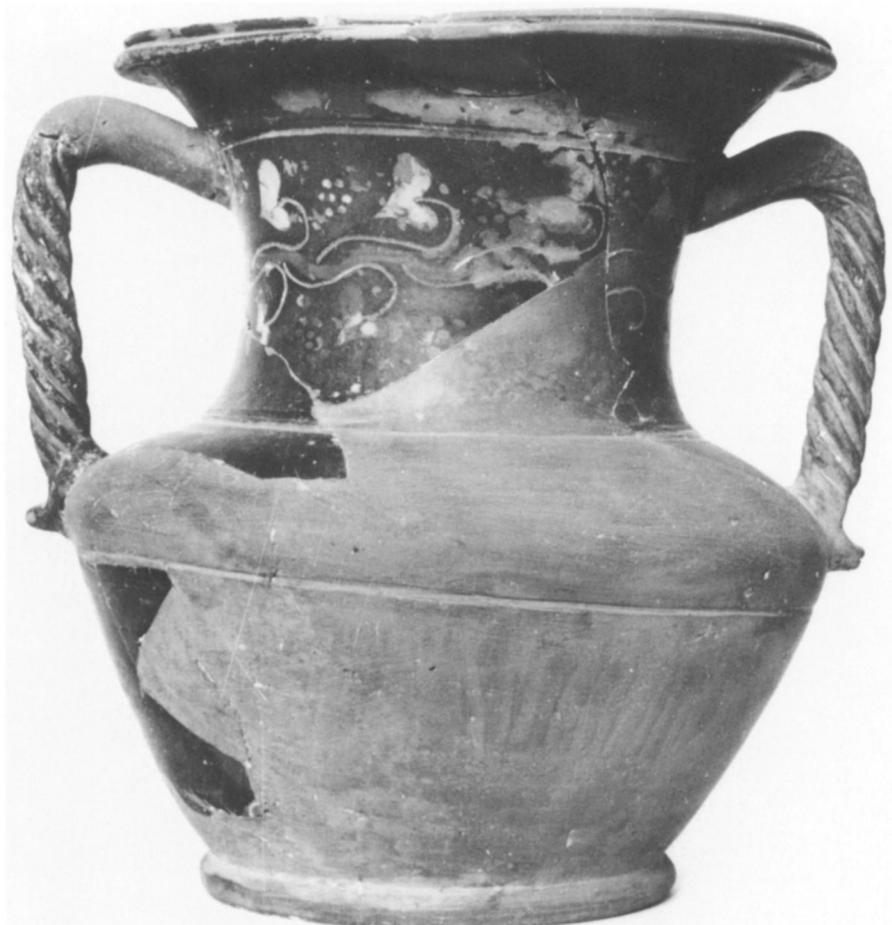
95

Scale 1:2



96 (1:2)

Large Leaf Group 2



98



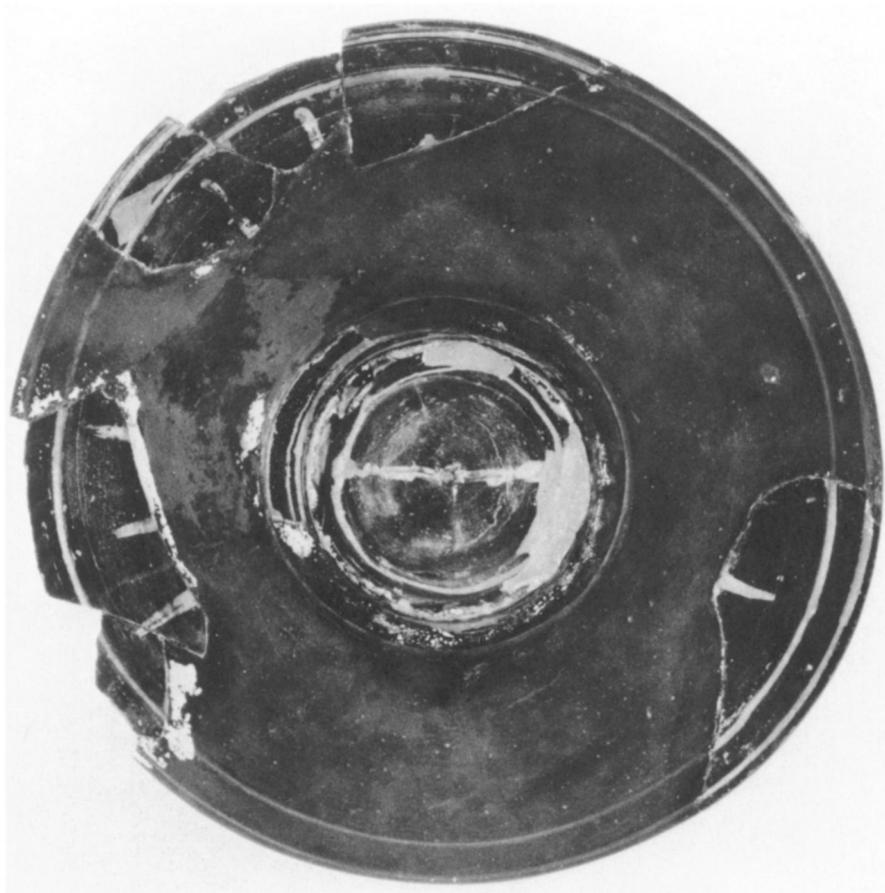
99



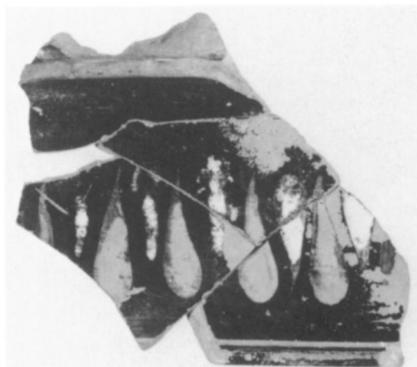
97

Large Leaf Group 2

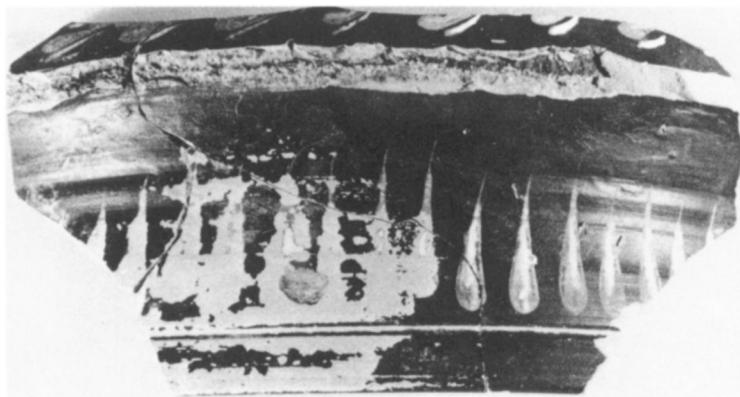
Scale 1:2



100

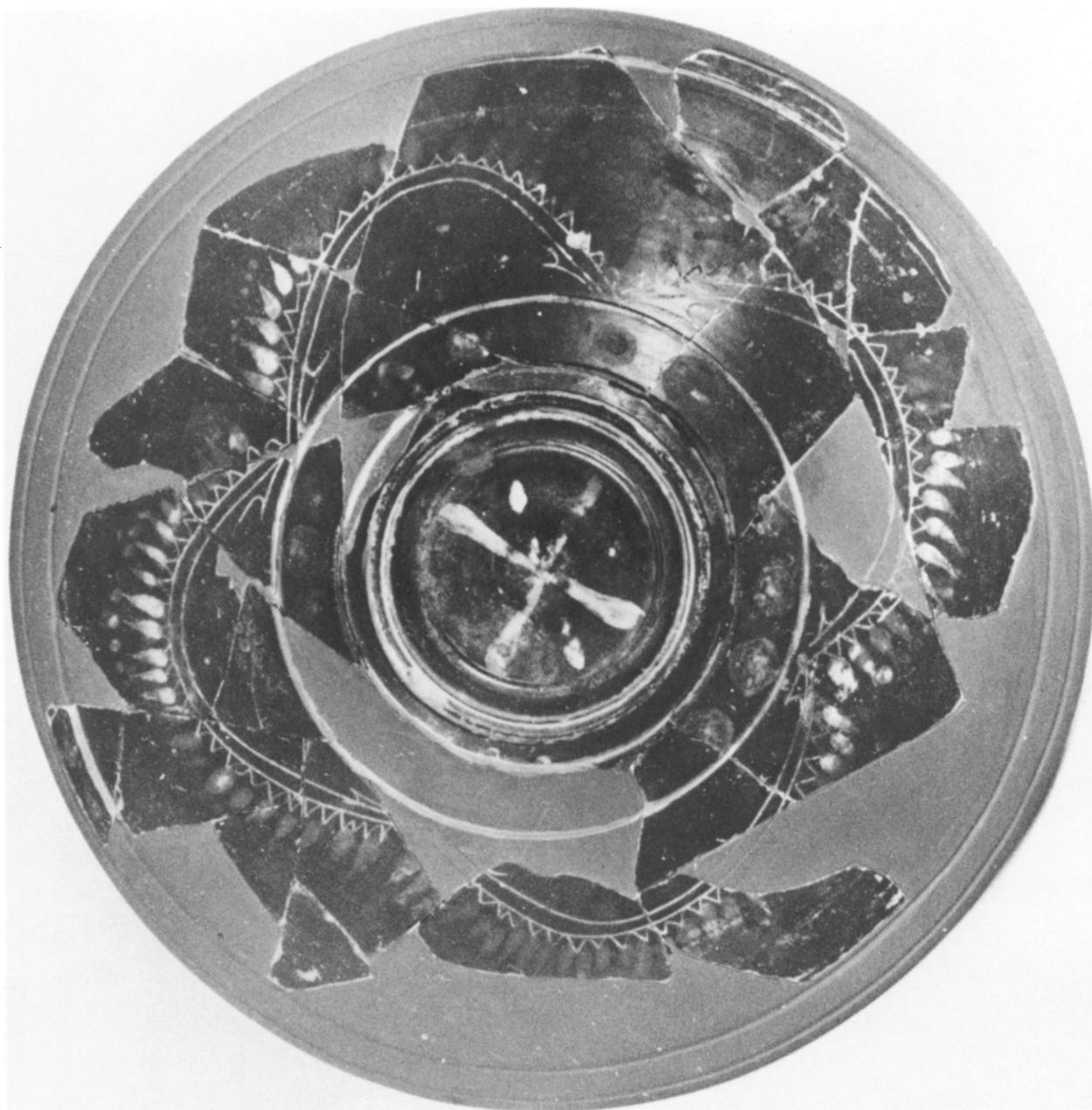


102



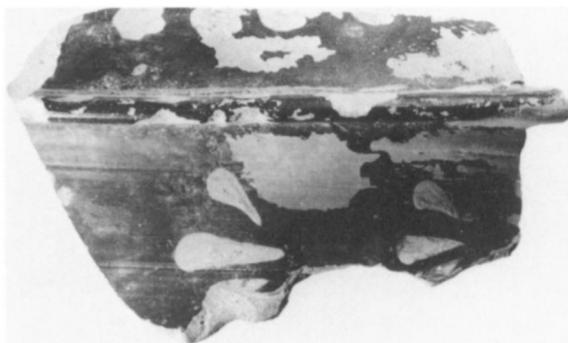
103

Large Leaf Group 3



104

101



105

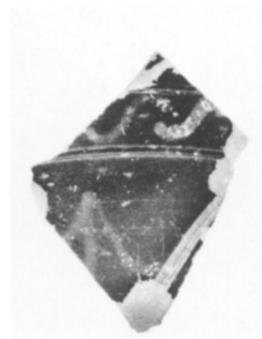
Large Leaf Group 3

Scale 1:2

PLATE 44



106 (1:2)



107 (1:2)



108 (1:2)



109 (2:3)



113 (3:5)

Large Leaf Group 4



117



118

Gaudy Amphora Group

Scale 1:2



119 (1:2)

Gaudy Amphora Group