

EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1924-25.

§ 5.—GREEK RELIEF-WARE FROM SPARTA.

I.—MOULDED WARES: MEGARIAN BOWLS.

Introduction.

THE footless, handleless, bowls with moulded reliefs, which are commonly known as 'Megarian bowls,' were manufactured in various parts of the Greek world as far apart as S. Russia¹ and Italy² from the end of the fourth century onwards. Since the large discoveries of this ware made during the French excavations at Delos, and the detailed study of it published by Monsieur Courby,³ we are able, not only to recognise that they do not form a single homogeneous series, but also to assign certain types to various local centres.⁴ Roughly, we may distinguish three main series:—

I. The 'Homeric' bowls:⁵ the shape is that of a deep bowl, with an out-turned rim; the principal decoration consists in a frieze represent-

¹ Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, pp. 45 ff. (especially p. 49).

² Popilius and the other manufacturers of the so-called 'Italian Megarian' ware, were, of course, Italians, but the Greek potter Ariston, whose chief centre of activity was Delos, appears to have had a workshop in Tarentum, to judge by the discovery of a signed mould there (Courby, *Les Vases grecs à Reliefs*, Paris, 1922, p. 365).

³ *Op. cit.*

⁴ The practice of exporting moulds (Zahn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 52 and 54) means that we cannot be sure from a mere examination of the stamps used that a bowl was actually manufactured in the place to whose series it belongs. A good instance is afforded by certain bowls from S. Russia (Zahn, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 24, 26, 32, 34, 36), which Courby (*op. cit.*, p. 396) claims as 'des ouvrages de l'industrie délienne.' Now as Courby (p. 395) has stated that the clay of the S. Russian fragments found in Delos differs considerably from that of the local products, while according to Zahn the bowls in question do not differ at all in clay from the rest, we seem forced to the conclusion that it was the moulds, and not the bowls, which were exported from Delos.

⁵ Studied by C. Robert, *50th Berlin Winckelmanns Programm*, 1890, pp. 1-96, and Courby, *op. cit.*, ch. xix, 'Les bols à sujets littéraires et réalistes.' To the Bibliography there given add C. Robert, 'Zwei Homerische Becher,' *Jahrb.*, 1919, pp. 65-77.

ing scenes from legend, or occasionally daily life, either continuously or in separate scenes.¹ Other decorative elements are relegated to a strictly subordinate position² and consist of:—

(1) A rosette on the base.

(2) A row of small leaves, or an ornamental band around the rosette, occupying the space between that and the more or less perpendicular field for the frieze offered by the sides of the bowl.

(3) An ornamental band under the rim: a guilloche or an egg-and-dart moulding are the most common.

These bowls are assigned to the third and second centuries B.C.,³ and to Boiotia or Chalkis as their place of origin.⁴

II. A series⁵ characterised by (a) a shape similar to that of the Homeric bowls, (b) the use of a lustrous glaze, and (c) the fact that mythological figures still form the chief element in the decoration, which is arranged according to the following scheme:—

(1) A rosette, gorgoneion, or face (profile or front view) on the base.

(2) A calyx of leaves, springing from around the rosette. We may notice the increased variety⁶ and prominence⁷ of this element as contrasted with the Homeric bowls.

¹ On two fragments from Thebes in Phthiotis ('Αρχ. Έφ. 1910, Pl. II. 2, 3) the scenes occupy two registers, one above the other. This is unusual.

² An exception is the lekythos from Anthedon signed by the potter Dionysios (Robert, *loc. cit.*, p. 93 f.), the body of which is formed by a bowl divided into two registers; in the lower are scenes illustrating the story of Sisyphos and Antikleia, in the upper a wreath of vine-leaves and grape-clusters.

³ Robert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 62–68, and the authorities quoted by Dragendorff, *Terra Sigillata*, pp. 12–16 (= *Bonnerjahrb.* xcvi. pp. 28–32).

⁴ Almost all the bowls whose provenance is known come from this region: eighteen from Thebes, Anthedon or Tanagra, ten from Thebes in Phthiotis, six from 'Boiotia,' and one from Chalkis. Courby cites his No. 30 from Cephalonia as the only example found outside this region, but we may add the bowl in the Ashmolean Museum from Megara (*Report of the Keeper*, 1903), which he cites under No. 7 as 'provenance non indiquée,' and a fragment from Athens, Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 62, II a, 1. In favour of Chalkis, Dragendorff points out that (1) according to Paus. ix. 19, 8, Aulis was the only place in Boiotia famous for pottery, though it is not clear whether he was referring to his own day or deriving his information from Hellenistic sources, and (2) while the inscriptions on some of the bowls shew contact with early Alexandrian scholarship (Robert, *loc. cit.*, p. 68), it was just in the early third century that Chalkis was a centre of intellectual life, the home of Lykophron, who afterwards became librarian at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphos. But it seems to have been in Eretria rather than Chalkis that Lykophron found a congenial intellectual circle (Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 25).

⁵ Courby, *op. cit.*, ch. xx, 'Les bols à glaçure de décoration variée.'

⁶ A specimen illustrated by Benndorf, *Griech. und Sic. Vasenbilder*, Pl. LXI. 2, for instance, introduces flower heads between the leaves, and rosettes occupy a similar position on B.M. Vases, iv. G101.

On a bowl from Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, v. Fig. 739) it forms part of the main

(3) Mythological figures, used as pure decoration, with no narrative intention.

(4) An ornamental band under the rim. For examples see Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, pp. 59–60.

That bowls of this type were manufactured in Athens is made certain by the discovery of moulds, but whether the type originated in Athens or Alexandria appears uncertain.

A small group among these bowls would appear to be earlier than the rest. They are characterised by the excellent quality of the black glaze, by careful workmanship (the rim ends in a small roll, beneath which is a narrow reserved pink stripe, and the motive on the base is sometimes surrounded by two concentric circles in relief, with a reserved stripe between) and by the arrangement of the figures in symmetrical groups, usually repeated four times.¹ Bowls on which the figures follow one another with no definite grouping are probably later and debased imitations of this type. One of the bowls found in the fourth-century tombs at Delphi exhibits this lack of systematic arrangement, and we are therefore justified in assigning to the earlier type a date considerably before the end of the fourth century. A *terminus ante quem* is given by the profile² of the young Herakles which occurs among the motives on the base, which is unlikely to have been used before the tetradrachms issued by Alexander had acquired a certain popularity. The debut of this type would therefore seem to fall between about 330–310 B.C.

III. A series³ characterised by (a) the introduction of a shallower type of bowl,⁴ with the rim turned inwards; (b) the use of a matt glaze; (c) the variation between black and red on a single vessel;⁵ (d) the arrangement of the decoration in parallel bands or zones separated from each other by a moulding; and (e) the comparative unimportance of figures

scheme of decoration, according to a suggestion of M. Perdrizet, 'Le feuillage imbriqué de la base, représente-il une vigne que vendageraient les Amours?' (*op. cit.*, p. 176).

¹ For illustrations see Benndorf, *op. cit.*, Pl. LIX. 2, 3; LX. 1, 3; LXI. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6; Courby, *op. cit.*, Pl. X. 6 (from the Louvre = inv. MNB. 3012); Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, i. Pl. XLVIII. 2 (= *B.M. Vases*, iv. G103).

² Benndorf, *op. cit.* Pl. LIX. 3b.

³ Courby, *op. cit.*, chap. xxi, 'Les bols à vernis mat.' The character of the glaze by itself is, of course, an insufficient criterion for distinguishing the different series. Some bowls, for instance, are unglazed; and the quality and character of the glaze varies considerably in each series.

⁴ Vessels other than bowls are fairly common in this series.

⁵ This phenomenon is not peculiar to these bowls. See Zahn, *Priene*, p. 405 ff.

among the motives employed. The calyx of leaves sometimes disappears altogether, generally forms the lowest zone of decoration, and occasionally usurps the whole of the decorated space. The chief centre of diffusion of this type of bowl was Delos, but there were factories in or near Priene (Zahn, *Priene*, Nos. 20–45) and Pergamon, Conze, *Pergamon*, i. 2, *Beiblatt*, 40–43, p. 274, Figs. 1–21). Of these, Priene appears to have been closely dependent on Delos¹ while Pergamon had strong local peculiarities; in particular we may notice the introduction of a new shape of bowl, intermediate between the Delian and the Homeric, with a high rim turned slightly outwards, but lacking the elegant curve of the early black glazed bowls. Bowls were also manufactured in S. Russia and Myrina, but the potters in these places seem to have been eclectic, and their products do not constitute a separate series.

The debut of the Delian series can be dated by circumstances of the excavations to the second half of the third century. The Pergamene series, which belong to the period of the monarchy, probably began about the same time.

The chief interest and importance of the 'Megarian' bowls lies in the fact that they were an economical substitute for gold and silver vessels, and enable us, to some extent, to reconstruct in imagination the products of Greek toreutic art in the fourth and third centuries B.C. Their value in this respect obviously depends on the extent to which they can be shewn to be dependent on metal originals; and it is perhaps worth noticing that the type of bowl best represented at Sparta—that on which the calyx-ornament is the chief feature of the decoration—is the one which we are able to compare in some detail with its metal prototypes.² This dependence of relief ware on toreutic must always be borne in mind when we

¹ Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 401, claims three of the bowls, Nos. 23, 26, 27, as of Delian manufacture on account of the identity of the stamps used. But Zahn treats them as identical in clay and glaze with the rest, so that here too we are probably dealing with the importation of moulds or stamps. The shape is with few exceptions that with the characteristic Delian rim turned slightly inwards: see profiles, Zahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 402, Fig. 528.

² I give a list, in chronological order, of the metal vessels which constitute the material for such comparison.

(1) Two cups from Taman (*Comptes Rendus*, 1880, Pl. II. 19 and Pl. IV. 8); early third century.

(2) Silver flask from Boiotia (*Arch. Anz.*, 1899, p. 129, Figs. 11, 12, 13).

(3) Two bowls at Naples (*Arch. Anz.*, 1897, p. 129, Figs. 16, 17); second century.

(4) The exterior of the Athena bowl from Hildesheim (Pernice and Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Pls. VI, VII; also *Arch. Anz.*, 1897, p. 128, Fig. 15); first century.

attempt to estimate the relation of Arretine ware to the earlier Greek relief wares. No doubt the potters of Arretium learnt their technical processes, the use of stamps and even their characteristic red glaze, from the Greek potters; but they used these technical processes to produce imitations, not of the comparatively unimportant Greek wares, but of the masterpieces of contemporary Augustan silversmiths. We should therefore expect to find the motives used on Arretine ware paralleled on existing pieces of Graeco-Roman silver-plate rather than on 'Megarian' bowls; and such is, in fact, the case.

EXAMPLES FROM SPARTA.

With these results in mind, it has seemed worth while to study the fragments of 'Megarian' bowls found at Sparta during the various campaigns of the British School. These fragments, which are preserved in the Museum at Sparta, are not very numerous; they are mostly quite small, and come from the most scattered parts of the site.¹ The questions to which we expect an examination of the fragments to provide an answer are two: '*Were the bowls manufactured locally or imported?*' and '*What is their relation to the known series?*'

The fact that some bowls were manufactured locally is proved by the discovery of the following moulds:—

(1) (Fig. 1, *a*). Part of base of mould: grey clay; from a circle scratched in the soft clay with a blunt instrument² (which would shew in relief on the moulded bowl), with three or four moulded shells set at intervals to serve as feet (of which one remains), spring a narrow moulded leaf of some water-plant, and a number of lines scratched in the clay, apparently intended to represent the veins of an *akanthos*-leaf. At each side of the shell are curved scratched lines, with a dot above them.

¹ *E.g.*, from the Orthia Sanctuary and neighbourhood, the altar mound, the Hellenistic tombs (*B.S.A.* xiii. 1907, pp. 165–166), the Acropolis, a field N. of the Acropolis (*L* 11), E. of the Roman Villa in *M* 15, and the site of the Byzantine church (Hagios Nikon?) on the Acropolis (cf. p. 118 above).

² The practice of drawing in the soft clay to supplement an inadequate stock of stamps is illustrated by an interesting 'Homeric' bowl published by C. Robert (*Jahrb.*, 1919, pp. 72–77, and Pl. 6) representing the death of Agamemnon. Of the figure of Aigistheus, Zahn writes: 'Der Kopf, den der Stempel bot, scheint auch zu der vorliegenden Szene nicht gepasst zu haben. Der Töpfer hat ihn durch ein scheussliches Gebilde ersetzt, das er offenbar nach dem Eindrücken des Stempels freihändig mit dem Modellierstecher in die Formwandung eingetieft hat,' *loc. cit.*, p. 73, note 1.

(2) Part of a foot of mould : grey clay ; rosette on base, surrounded by rows of small holes stabbed in the soft clay.

(3) Part of top of mould : pink clay ; scale pattern of large leaves with midriff, with the tip in high relief.

(4) Side of mould : grey clay ; godroons. Of these, the first three come from site **L 11**, which also produced a handful of fragments of bowls. A mould for a terracotta (Fig. 1, c) also came from the same site, which appears to have been a sort of potters' quarter in Hellenistic times.

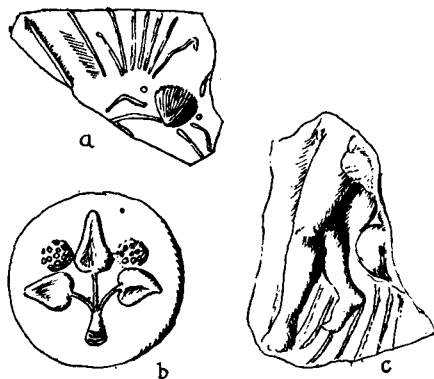


FIG. 1.—POTTER'S MOULDS AND A STAMP FROM **L 11**. (Scale 1 : 2.)

The presence of the stamp (Fig. 1, b), also from **L 11**, is a puzzle. The design occurs on Pergamene vessels with applied reliefs so frequently as to cause Conze to think of a trademark.¹ The shape of our stamp, like a wooden button-mould, is adapted to the process in which the design was stamped on a thin sheet of clay, and then cut out and applied to the walls of the vessel to be decorated ; and indeed stamps identical with ours in design and shape have been found at Pergamon.² But no examples of this technique have been found at Sparta, which in any way recall the Pergamene ware to which the stamp belongs, and the shape renders the stamp thoroughly unsuited to the preparation of a mould.

Among the fragments of bowls we can distinguish several which differ conspicuously from the rest in fabric or design :—

¹ *Pergamon*, i. 3, p. 276 ; a beautiful example of its use is the red-glazed goblet from Laodicea, *B.M. Roman Pottery*, L 35, Pl. VIII.

² *Pergamon*, i. 2, *Beibl.* 33, 14 ; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1910, p. 521, Fig. 7.

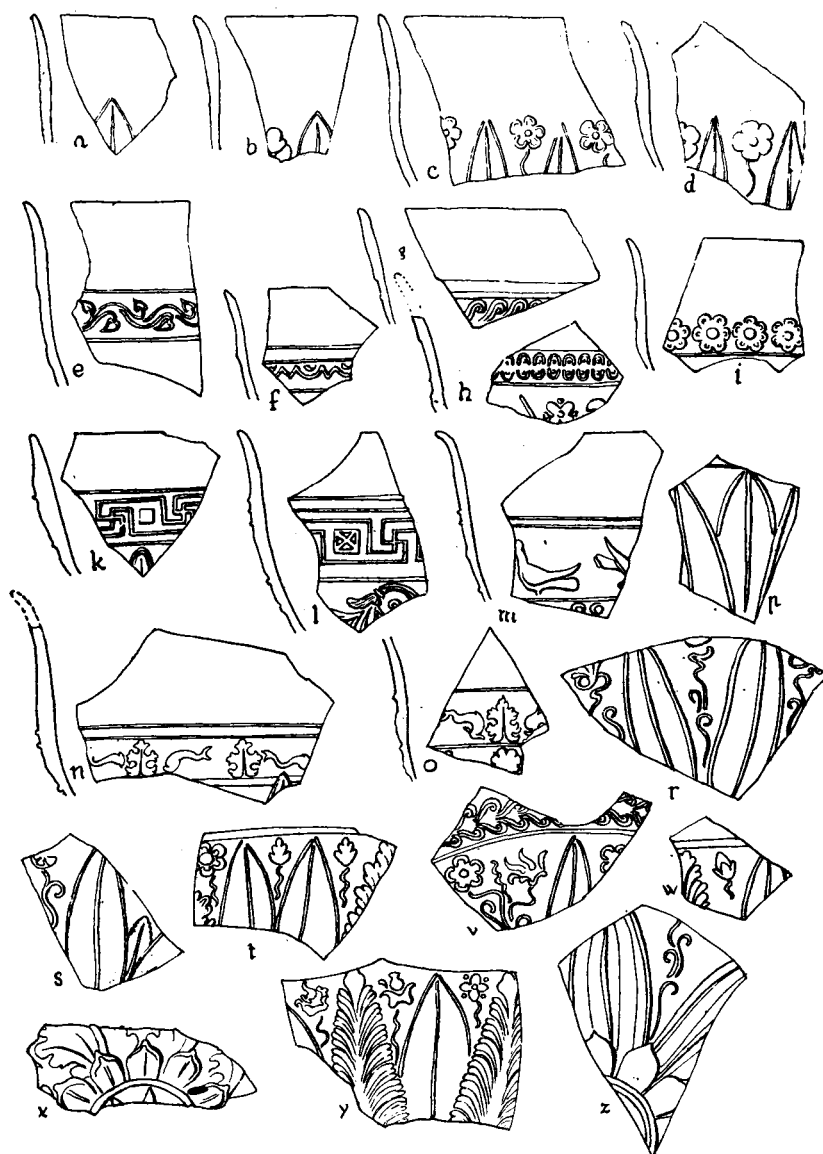


FIG. 2.—FRAGMENTS OF 'MEGARIAN' BOWLS, CHIEFLY RIMS. (Scale 1 : 2.)

(1) (Fig. 2, *l*). Fragment of rim, turned slightly outwards. Hard red paste, matt glaze, varying from red to black. Above, a maeander; in the centre of the square is an interpolated square with diagonals; below, a scroll.¹

The fragment shewn alongside (Fig. 2, *k*) appears to be a local imitation. The walls are thick, the glaze matt black, and the design clumsily executed (notice the absence of diagonals in the interpolated square). Below the maeander appears the tip of a water-leaf.

(2) Fragment of rim : similar fabric, similar maeander.

(3) Fragment of rim (Fig. 2, *o*) similar fabric and profile : two dolphins facing, with a palmette-like leaf between; ² below, a rosette.

The fragment alongside (Fig. 2, *n*) appears to be a local imitation : the clay is coarse and gritty, there is no glaze, and the design is clumsily executed. Below the ornamental band appears the tip of a water-leaf.

(4) (Fig. 2, *m*). Similar in fabric and profile, but more highly glazed : two birds facing in opposite directions; below, two small bosses, evidently part of a dotted line under the rim.

(5) Fragment of side, similar fabric : tip of godroon, with ornamental 'squiggles' above.

(6) (Fig. 5, *m*). Fragment of side : pink clay, matt glaze, black below, red above. Tip of an akanthos-leaf, above it, a Cupid running to l.; on the right, in the space between it and the next leaf, a smaller female figure, nude to the hips, kneeling to r. and apparently blowing a trumpet, to which a piece of drapery is attached.

(7) (Fig. 5, *n*). Fragment of rim and side : clay chalky grey with traces of mica, matt glaze, reddish-brown to black. Tip of two akanthos-leaves; between them a Cupid (shooting?); the ground is indicated by a moulded line. Traces of other figures right and left.³

¹ Both motives occur on Delian bowls. See Courby, *op. cit.*, Figs. 76, 4 and 77, 7. The lower part of the bowl was probably occupied by a calyx of leaves, and several examples from Delos give an idea of its general appearance, e.g. Courby, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIII, Nos. 16, 17, 36. For the scroll see also fragments from Priene (Zahn, *Priene*, Nos. 27, 28). The maeander occurs at Pergamon, both with the diagonals on the interpolated square (*Pergamon*, i. 2; *Beibl.*, 40, 1) and without them (*Beibl.* 43, 2).

² Palmettes, joined by spirals, with dolphins at each side, are very common on the ornamental band under the rims on fragments found on the Athenian Acropolis (Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 59, Nos. 11 and 12). A frieze of dolphins facing each other in pairs occurs on a bowl from Priene (Zahn, *Priene*, p. 405, No. 31). Dolphins are a common motive in all the series. They occur on rims from Pergamon combined with rosettes (*Pergamon*, i. 2, p. 274, 1) and sea-horses (i. 2; *Beibl.* 43, 2).

³ This bowl recalls one from S. Russia (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, pp. 45 ff., No. 13). A

Besides these two fragments, there is only one fragment which shews traces of figures (Fig. 5, *p*). The figure appears to be a Nike hovering,¹ but it is very obscure. The fragment comes from L 11, and the fabric presents no peculiarities.

(8) (Fig. 4, *t*). This fragment differs from the rest in the excellent quality of the black glaze, recalling the Attic. The decoration was apparently divided into zones; there remain the top of a calyx of leaves and flower-heads, and a wreath of olive-leaves tied in bundles,² with rosettes set in the empty spaces between.

The rest of the fragments may be studied together. The clay is usually a smooth chalky grey or pink, occasionally in the coarser examples a gritty grey, all with traces of mica. There are three varieties of glaze:—

(a) An opaque, lustrous brownish-black glaze of various hues, well incorporated with the clay.

(b) A deep-black matt glaze, well incorporated with the clay.

(c) A thin brown matt wash. This is only used on a few inferior specimens.³

The shape is invariably that with the high, slightly out-turned rim characteristic of Pergamon.⁴ There is no example of the Delian inturned rim,⁵ though a few examples (Figs. 2, *m*; 5, *n*) approach the more flaring curves of the earlier bowls.

The decoration shews very little variety: the absence of figure motives has already been noticed. The majority of the fragments can be assigned to a single type of bowl, that in which a calyx of leaves and flowering stalks, springing from a circle round the base, reaches right up

similar arrangement of leaves and figures occurs on a bowl from Pergamon (*op. cit.*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 43, 3), but the figures are more insignificant.

¹ This motive occurs fairly frequently among the 'bols à glaçure'; also among the little gilded clay ornaments which were used as substitutes for jewellery.

² A similar motive occurs on Delian bowls, with a group of three small dots, to represent berries, instead of the rosettes (Courby, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII. 15; XIII. 29), or with a stalk and one berry (*op. cit.*, Figs. 77–8); also on a bowl from S. Russia, and another from Priene (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, *loc. cit.*, No. 8, and *Priene*, No. 32 *a* and *b*). A simple form with only three leaves occurs at Pergamon (*op. cit.*, *Beibl.* 43, Nos. 12, 15, 19; on No. 6 it is combined with rosettes to form the band of ornament under the rim. The motive also occurs on a silver egg-platter from Boscoreale (*Mon. Piot*, v. Pl. XXIX).

³ Some fragments are unglazed.

⁴ *Pergamon*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 40, 1, and 43, *passim*. It also occurs in Priene (see above, p. 280, n. 1) and S. Russia (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, Nos. 11–17, 20, 21, 25).

⁵ Fig. 2, *k* is the nearest approach to it.

to the rim;¹ there is sometimes a band of ornament beneath the rim (Figs. 2, *k*, *n*, *v*; 4, *o*), but it is sometimes omitted (Fig. 2, *a-d*).²

An analysis of the elements out of which the decoration is built up shews their inferiority to the bowls of Pergamon and Delos. The narrow, stylised *akanthos* leaf is a meagre substitute for the luxuriant, naturalistic leaves, with the tips turned over, of these series, which appear but seldom on our bowls (Fig. 3), and as it no longer presents that effective contrast with the narrow water-leaves which is employed so happily on one of the bowls from Pergamon,³ we are not surprised to find that the practice of alternating them is dropped: Fig. 2, *t* has two water-leaves side by side between the stylised *akanthos* leaves, which appear to be discarded



FIG. 3.—FRAGMENT OF "MEGARIAN" BOWL
WITH AKANTHOS LEAF. (Scale 1 : 2.)

altogether on Figs. 2, *c-d*, *r*, *z*; 4, *c*,⁴ while on the bowl of Philokles (Fig. 4, *o*) it is the water-leaves which disappear. On Fig. 2, *p*, even the flowering shoots disappear, and we have a simple calyx of water-leaves. The wide, round-ended or heart-shaped type of water-leaf, which appears at both Delos and Pergamon, does not appear among the motives used, and even the narrow pointed variety undergoes debasement; on some of the fragments these leaves are not in moulded relief, but the outline and midriff are rendered with a barbotine-like line, as if the design had been scratched on the soft clay of the mould.⁵ The lowest point is reached in two coarse

¹ The origin and development of the calyx-ornament has been studied by Zahn (*Priene*, pp. 411-417). It occupies the whole field below the ornamental band separating the rim from the body on bowls from Delos (Courby, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII. 1, 2, 3, XIII. 17, 20), and Pergamon (*Pergamon*, *Beibl.*, 40, 1; 43, 1).

² Where the fragment does not reach up to the rim it is obviously impossible to tell whether there was an ornamental band or not. Similarly the rims on Fig. 2, *e-i*, *m*, *o*, give no hint of the decoration beneath them; *k* appears to have belonged to the type under discussion.

³ *Pergamon*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 40, 1.

⁴ A fragment from Pergamon shews only narrow pointed leaves, with flowering stalks between (*Beibl.* 43, 10).

⁵ See above, p 281, No. 1.

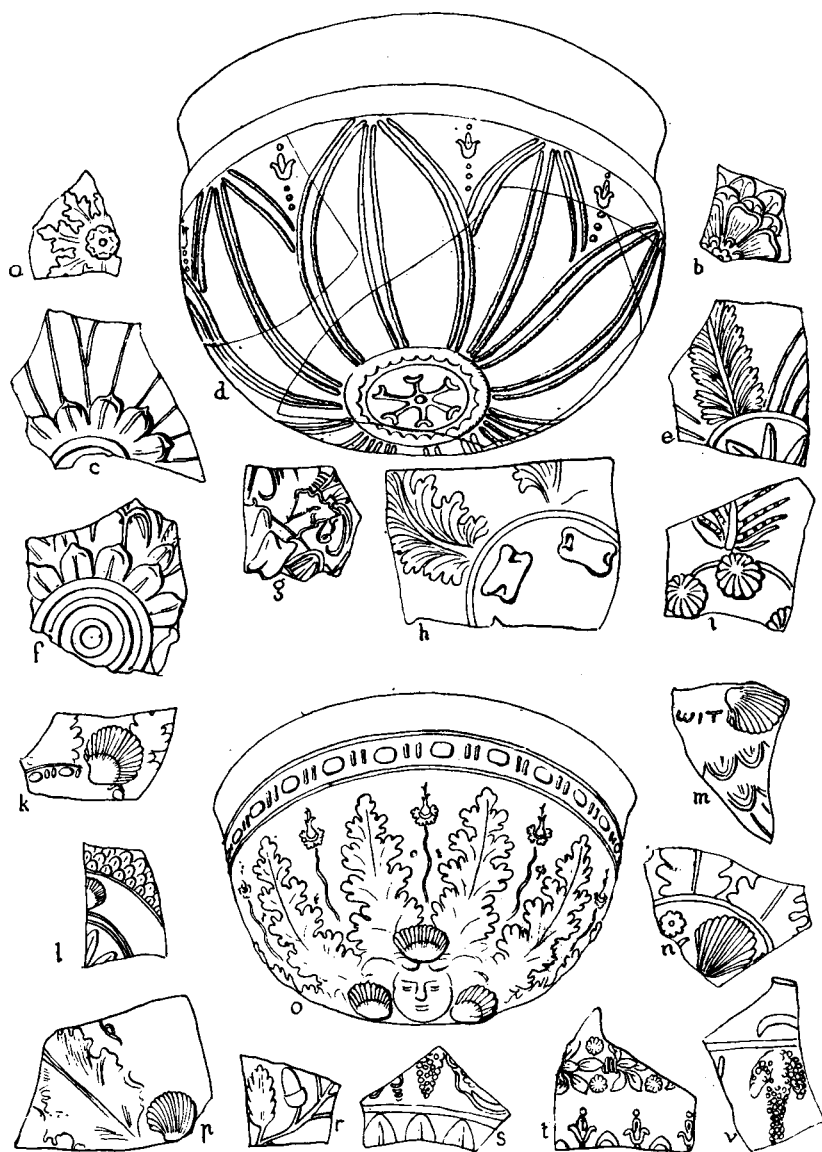


FIG. 4.—'MEGARIAN' BOWLS AND FRAGMENTS, CHIEFLY VASES. (Scale 1 : 2.)

bowls from **L 11**, of which one is illustrated (Fig. 4, *d*), and the other in Fig. 6. The clay is chalky pink, the glaze a thin brown matt wash; the rim of Fig. 4, *d* has been clumsily added after the vessel was removed from the mould, and the decoration is a hasty and impressionistic reproduction of the prevalent type. The calyx does not spring from the centre of the base, but around a fairly wide circle, which is often marked off by a line in relief (Figs. 2, *x, z*; 4, *c, e, f, h, i, n*), once by a bead-and-reel moulding, Fig. 4 (*k*),¹ and often set round with largish petals with the tips in high relief, the whole forming a sort of stand-ring, and presenting the general appearance of a sunflower (Figs. 2, *x, z*; 4, *c, f*). The inside of the circle is sometimes occupied by a rosette (Figs. 2, *x, z*; 4, *a, b, e*), or by concentric circles in relief (Fig. 4, *f*): particularly common is the use of moulded shells, astragaliskoi, or rosettes,² as feet; Figs. 1, *a*; 4, *g—p*; 5, *b, o*; on the bowl of Philokles (Fig. 4, *o*) they are set round a gorgoneion, or mask.³

Types of Decoration.

A. Decoration covering the whole body.

(1) (Fig. 5, *h, k*). A scale pattern of leaves.⁴

Different types of this scale pattern are shewn on the fragments

¹ As on a fragment from Pergamon, *op. cit.*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 42, 7.

² The practice of using moulded shells, masks, leaves in high relief, etc. as feet, is derived from metal prototypes. Zahn, *Priene*, p. 397, and Courby, *B.C.H.*, 1913, p. 427, give references for examples in both clay and metal. To these add:—

(1) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12622: a bowl in many ways recalling ours. On the base a rosette, around it four shells, with small leaves between: long narrow leaves, rising to the ornamental border beneath the rim, which consists of a very small egg-and-dart in shallow relief, dolphins, and a running quirk.

(2) Athens, 2112, from Boiotia: four shells as feet.

(3) A bowl at Delphi (*Fouilles*, v. p. 177, No. 435, Fig. 742), 'à bas quatre coquillages autour d'un gorgoneion.'

(4) A small fragment in the museum at Delphi with a shell attached.

(5) A bowl in the museum at Thebes (LXXV. 1) which has on the base four "blobs" apparently meant for shells.

Except the bowl in the Louvre (H 385 = *Mon. Piot*, vi. p. 50, Fig. 14) with three masks, mentioned by Courby, these are the only examples of such appendages on Megarian bowls which have come to my notice outside Sparta. For astragaliskoi I know of no actual parallel. Pollux (vi. 99) says of a psychter 'οὐ μὲν ἔχει πυθμένα, ἀλλ' ἀστραγαλίσκους, and it is probable that he is using the word in its strict sense as 'supports in the form of knuckle-bones.'

³ A gorgoneion or mask occurs on three bowls from Pergamon (*Beibl.* 42, Nos. 5, 6, 7). There is no example from Delos of any head or mask on the base (Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 392).

⁴ This pattern is probably derived from metal prototypes (like the cup from Boscoreale, *Mon. Piot*, v. Pl. XXIII) on which it can be traced back to the fourth century (*Not. degli*



FIG. 5.—FRAGMENTS OF 'MEGARIAN' BOWLS, CHIEFLY SIDES. (Scale 1:2.)

(Figs. 4, *l*; 5, *d, e, f, g*), but they are so small that it is impossible to tell the scheme of decoration to which they belonged. Fig. 4, *l* is interesting as shewing the same type of base as is found with the prevalent type of bowl. On the fragment of base Fig. 5, *d*, the leaves may just have defined the circle from which the calyx sprang, as on the base Fig. 4, *m*, where the base of one of the narrow water-leaves is left.

(2) (Fig. 5, *c*.) The design is obscure; the bowl appears to have been divided into hexagonal fields by lines ¹ consisting of small bosses ² and the fields then filled with lines scratched in the clay of the mould. A relief line marked off the base, which was decorated with similar scratched lines.

(3) Fragments of three bowls ornamented with small, flat bosses.

B. Decoration divided into zones.

(1) (Fig. 5, *l*.) Scale pattern.³

(2) A fragment of base; part of moulded shell surrounded by two concentric circles in relief and three rows of small, flat bosses. As the space between the top row of bosses and the break is wider than that between the rows of bosses, it is evident that they did not cover the whole bowl.

(3) (Fig. 4, *r*.) Wreath of oak-leaves and acorns.⁴

(4) (Fig. 4, *s*.) Tip of calyx of leaves; above, a line in relief, and a wreath of vine-leaves and grape-clusters.⁵

(5) (Fig. 4, *v*.) A grape-cluster, possibly from a wreath similar to (4), but larger, occupying the whole space between base-ornament and rim, just as the scroll-pattern, which generally occupies only the central zone, occupies the whole bowl on a specimen from S. Russia (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, p. 51, No. 6).

Scavi, 1896, p. 382, Fig. 8). It is used to cover the whole bowl on specimens from Delos (Courby, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII. 8, 13; XIII. 24; for the different types of leaf used, see Courby, *op. cit.*, Fig. 80, 8), S. Russia (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, No. 36), and Thrace (*Arch. Anz.*, 1918, p. 25, Fig. 29, *c, h*).

¹ This division into hexagons occurs on bowls from Delos (Courby, *op. cit.*, Fig. 80, 1 and Pl. XII. 7) and on two bowls from S. Russia (Zahn, *op. cit.*, Nos. 25 and 26). Incised hexagons also occur on plain black glazed bowls (Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 70, No. 6).

² As on No. 25 from S. Russia, mentioned above.

³ This constitutes the lower zone on a fragment from Pergamon (*Beibl.* 43, 22); the upper one is occupied by a wreath of oak-leaves and acorns; a motive which, so far as I am aware, does not occur at Delos. For the types of scale pattern used at Pergamon, see also *Beibl.*, 43, Nos. 7, 8, 10.

⁴ See note 3 above. Oak wreaths also occur on Arretine ware.

⁵ Cf. Courby, *op. cit.*, Fig. 77, 9 (from Delos); Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, pp. 50 ff., Nos. 4 and 5 (from S. Russia); *Pergamon, Beibl.* 43, 8.

(6) A bowl with a rosette with a sunk centre on the base; around it a circle from which rises an elaborate calyx of *akanthos* and water-leaves with tendrils between, above that an elaborate wreath of vine and ivy leaves.

(7) (Fig. 5, *b*.) Coarse ware, gritty grey clay, no glaze. The base was surrounded by three more or less concentric circles with moulded shells at intervals; above, four rows of rosettes, the two outer rows being rather smaller; above, a line in relief, a row of leaves and a border of bosses between lines in relief. The rim is missing.

(8) (Fig. 5, *a*.) Two registers, separated by lines in relief. The design of the lower one is not clear (perhaps a composite floral scroll?). The upper is filled with highly stylised flower-heads, divided into compartments by parallel curved lines.

(9) (Fig. 5, *l*.) The bowl signed by Sosimos. The base is occupied by a rosette, surrounded by a ring of small circles between concentric circles, and an outer ring of larger circles. The rest of the decoration consists in rosettes surrounded by festoons depending from bows;¹ below the rim a ring of small circles, and two lines in relief.

The Potters' Signatures.

Sosimos (Fig. 5, *l*) and Philokles (Fig. 4, *o*) are the only potters whose signatures have come down to us in full. The signature of the former is interesting, as it appears in the nominative case,² while the genitive is the form most often used by the makers of 'Megarian bowls.'³ Three fragments bear portions of signatures:—

(Fig. 4, *m*.) Round the base, which appears to have had no ornament, in relief $\omega\iota\tau$. This is probably part of a name ending in $-\tau\iota\omega\nu$, the signature being retrograde.⁴ Where the signature was produced—as

¹ Cf. *Pergamon*, i. 2, p. 274, Figs. 16, 17. The festoons are much more elaborate than on our bowl.

² The only other examples I know are $\text{OVI}\Lambda\text{IC}$ = (Vilis) (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, p. 73) and ΠOCCIAOC (? = ΠACIAEOC) (*loc. cit.*, p. 68, note 24), both from S. Russia; HPAKAEIDHC from Cervetri (*loc. cit.*, p. 74, note); ΔIONYCIOC on a bowl from Boiotia in Athens (Nat. Mus. No. 11556), and the graffito $\text{MAP}\omega$, a woman's name, from S. Russia (*Arch. Anz.*, 1912, p. 341).

³ For the known signatures, see Zahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 72 sqq., note 31, and Courby, *op. cit.*, pp. 363–366, 393, 412, 415–416.

⁴ As on a vase signed ACKΛHPIAΔOV in the National Museum at Athens (No. 12619: provenance unknown), and one signed ΕΥΒΑΝΟΡOC from Gythion (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1892, p. 192).

here—not by means of a stamp but by scratching the name in the soft clay of the mould, this would naturally be the case unless the maker of the mould wrote looking-glass wise.¹

(Fig. 5, *o.*) Part of a large, flat base, from **L 11**, pink clay, grey matt glaze; the base is occupied by a large star with eight rays, set round with four moulded shells; the whole surrounded by two lines in relief, between which appeared the signature in relief. Only the letters **O X** remain.

(Fig. 6.) Possibly part of the signature **ΣΩΣΙΜΟC** from **L 11**.

General Conclusions.

The fragments belong to the third series of bowls: there is nothing that recalls the 'Homeric' bowls, and only a single obscure motive

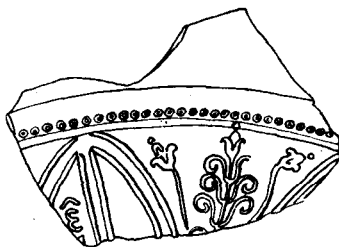


FIG. 6.—FRAGMENT SIGNED BY THE POTTER **ΣΩΣΙΜΟC**. (Scale 1 : 2.)

(Fig. 5, *p*) which recalls the 'bols à glaçure.' Of the two more or less independent centres from which this type of bowl was disseminated throughout the Greek world—Delos and Pergamon—many circumstances combine to point to the latter. Not only does the Pergamene stamp (Fig. 1, *b* above) prove trade relations, but the general appearance of the fragments finds its closest parallel on certain specimens from Pergamon.² Certain motives are common to the repertoire of both the Delian and Pergamene potters, but others, namely the gorgoneion on the base and the wreath of oak-leaves and acorns, do not occur at Delos. The absence of the characteristic Delian rim has already been noticed, nor is there a single specimen of the flat unadorned base, which is not uncommon at Delos.

¹ As on a mould for a lamp, bearing the signature of the potter Ariston (Furtwängler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, Pl. LXXV.).

² *Op. cit.*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 40, 1; 42, 3, 5; 43, 1, 2.

We seem, however, to be dealing with the products of local potters under the influence of the Pergamene series, rather than with actual importation. The general fact of local manufacture is attested by the discovery of moulds; and the appearance of a moulded water-leaf on mould No. 1 (p. 281) warns us that we need not expect all local products to be decorated in so hastily-executed a manner as the two bowls Fig. 4, *d* and Fig. 6. Nor will the quality of the glaze afford a criterion, as all three varieties occur on the same chalky grey clay; besides, neither variety corresponds with the description of the Pergamene glaze which 'wechselt von glänzendem rot bis zum schwarz. Vielfach gehen diese Farben bei Unregelmässigkeit des Brennens an demselben Gefäss ineinander über' (Conze, *Pergamon*, i. 2, pp. 274, 275). Moreover, the monotony in the scheme of decoration, the simplification of the elements out of which it is built up, and the practice of scratching motives in the mould, all suggest local potters trying to reproduce with an inadequate supply of stamps the general effect of imported specimens. The extreme fondness for the use of shells and astragaliskoi as feet also seems to be a local peculiarity. I think we may regard Nos. 1-5, p. 284 f., as almost certainly imported, and Nos. 6, 7, 8 as possibly so; but the rest I am inclined to regard as local products.

To what period are we to assign the activity of the potters who made these bowls? The date suggested by the study of the contents of the Hellenistic tombs for the bowl of Philokles,¹ namely, the first half of the second century B.C., agrees very well with such indications of date as are revealed by a study of the fragments. The series to which they belong did not begin at Delos, the most active centre of its manufacture and dissemination, until after 250 B.C., and its debut at Pergamon was probably about the same date. We can hardly assign to the activity at Sparta a contemporaneous start, as we must allow time for the foreign products to become sufficiently familiar to create a demand for imitations. How long this might be in the then existing conditions of taste and commerce at Sparta it is difficult to say, but there are indications that the bowls of Philokles and Sosimos, which belong to the second century, were among the earlier products of the industry. The gorgoneion on the former, the festoons on the latter, are both without parallel among our fragments. Now 'it may be taken as a general rule of decoration, at

¹ *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 167.

least for Greek pottery, that motives become abundant directly a style secures a vogue, and that afterwards there comes a period when a very small number of stereotyped designs are repeated *ad nauseam*.¹ No doubt this argument would have more force if the number of our fragments were considerably larger than it is, but so far as it goes it suggests that the manufacture at Sparta did not begin until the end of the third or early second century. It would perhaps be rash to go further and seek in the loss of their ports and shipping which followed the defeat of Nabis in the year 195, the circumstances which thus threw the Spartans on the resources of their local potters.

II.—BOWLS WITH MEDALLIONS.²

This class is poorly represented at Sparta; all the medallions are in flat relief.

i. (Fig. 7, a.) Head of Athena: diam. .025 m. Several specimens. The head is represented full face, in a helmet with three crests and flapping cheek-pieces, and recalls in a summary manner the well-known head of the Parthenos on gold medallions from S. Russia.³ The subject occurs on several clay medallions,⁴ of which we may mention one from S. Russia⁵ because it has been compared to the mask on the base of a 'Megarian' bowl found at Athens,⁶ and thus forms a link between the two classes.⁷ The medallion has been cut out of a sheet of clay and 'appliquéd' to the base of the bowl, a technical peculiarity of bowls found in Asia Minor, which appears to have enjoyed a particular vogue at Pergamon.⁸

¹ Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 33.

² For a discussion of this class see Pagenstecher, *Die Calenische Reliefkeramik*, I. Vorstufen, pp. 5-21.

³ Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Pl. XIX. 1, and pp. 631 and 632.

⁴ They are mostly derived from the type of the Russian medallions. For a list of Greek examples, see Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 226, No. 3: for examples in Calene ware, Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24, No. 5 (bowls), and pp. 91-92, Nos. 165-167 (gutti). Of less artistic merit are two stamps of Priene (Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, p. 466, Nos. 236, 237), which Zahn considers were used for decorating fancy bread.

⁵ Malmberg, *Materialen zur Archäologie Russlands*, vii. Pl. I. 4. = Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 365.

⁶ Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 67, c. 3.

⁷ For further links, see Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Löschcke notes the technical resemblance between the bowls with a portrait medallion of Euripides and the 'Homeric' bowls, and suggests that there may have existed metal prototypes with a portrait medallion inside and scenes from the plays outside (Dragendorff, *Terra sigillata*, p. 15 (31) note).

⁸ Pagenstecher, *op. cit.* p. 11.

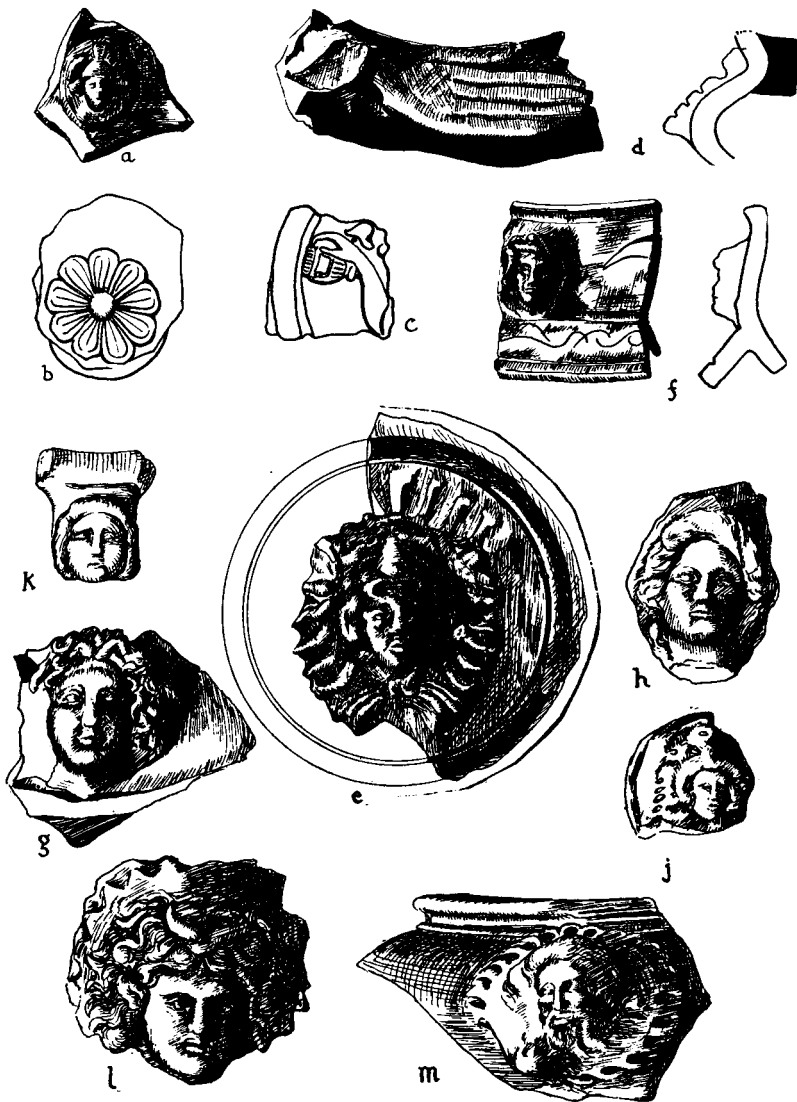


FIG. 7.—MISCELLANEOUS RELIEF-WARES. (Scale 1 : 2.)

ii. (Fig. 7, *b*.) Rosette: chalky grey clay and matt black glaze. This use of a rosette is, so far as I know, unique. Its prototype is to be sought in metal originals like that illustrated by Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 90, where the centre of the interior is decorated by a raised and gilded circle with a rosette engraved on it, and narrow bands of engraved ornament occur round the inside of the rim, and half-way up the side. Imitations of such bowls may be seen in the bowls of black glazed ware with a painted star on the centre of the interior, and painted decoration on the sides.¹ The white and yellow paint used is probably intended to suggest the gilding of the engraved decoration of the original. Our fragment should probably be regarded as a slightly later imitation of a similar original, made after relief had superseded painting 'à retouches' as a means of imitating metallic originals; painted decoration may have been retained on the sides of the bowl.²

iii. (Fig. 7, *c*.) Fragment of medallion. Matt black glaze. Hand holding a kantharos.

iv. (Fig. 7, *e*.) Portion of 'phiale mesompalos.' The medallion, which is surrounded by a moulded ring, represents the facing head of a youthful Herakles.³ The lion's skin is worn on the head, and the two front paws are tied on the breast. The features are very slight and almost suggest that Omphale⁴ rather than Herakles may be represented. The workmanship and the black glaze are both good.

¹ E.g. Watzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 70, Nos. 7*a*, *b*, *c*, p. 80, No. 29, p. 81, No. 30, p. 82, No. 32 (platter).

² The combination of painted or incised decoration with a relief medallion in the centre of the interior is more usual than the combination of painting and relief on 'Megarian' bowls, of which I only know the following three examples:—

(1) Athens, Nat. Mus. 2112, from Boiotia. Under the rim are twelve moulded rosettes, painted alternately pink and white; probably in imitation of silver vessels decorated with inset precious stones, like the two bowls from Hildesheim referred to on p. 280, n. 2, and an elegant kantharos from Tarentum (*Not. degli Scavi*, 1897, pp. 380–381, Figs. 5, 5*a*).

(2) and (3) Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 71, 8*a* and *b*, two fragments of rims, each with two bands of decoration, one painted and one in relief. Both the painted motives appear in relief on 'Megarian' bowls; indeed the painted dolphins on the second of these fragments are repeated in relief in the lower band of decoration. A simplified version, in relief, of the ivy-wreath painted on the other rim appears on one of our fragments (Fig. 2, *e*).

³ A beardless Herakles mask occurs on three askoi in London, *B.M. Vases*, IV. G73–75. For Calene ware, see Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, p. 65, No. 85 (bearded, on a bowl) and p. 111, No. 258 (gutti).

⁴ Five examples of the head of Omphale in the lion's skin are quoted by Pagenstecher on gutti of Calene ware (*op. cit.*, p. 112, No. 260).

III.—MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS.

A selection of moulded wares, chiefly from **L 11**, is shewn on Fig. 7, *f-m*.

A curious piece of relief-ware is illustrated on Fig. 7, *d*. It is obviously intended to imitate the common type of bronze handle ending in a human hand. The hand, which is flat and carelessly modelled, is left in the pink of the clay, while the vessel is black glazed.

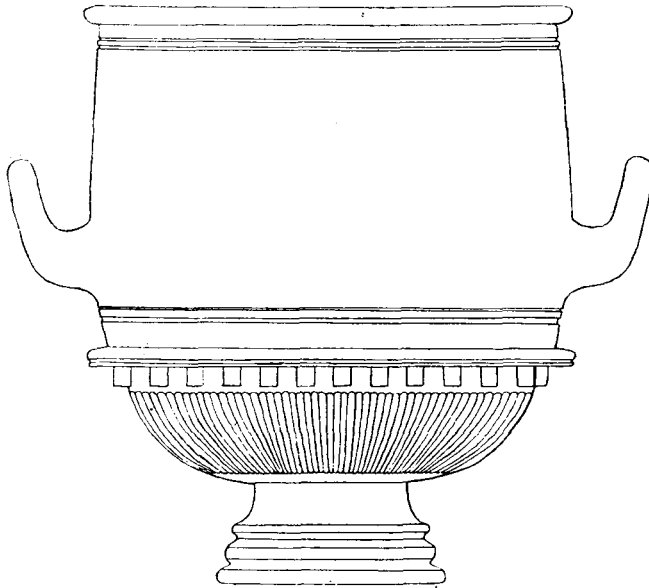


FIG. 8.—RECONSTRUCTION OF KRATER.

IV.—VESSELS WITH APPLIED RELIEFS.

From the pit at the southern end of the central trenches on the Acropolis, and the ancient trenches draining into it,¹ come a number of fragments from a series of black-glazed kraters, decorated with motives in relief. A complete list of these fragments would obviously be premature, as the deposit is not yet completely dug, but a few general remarks may not be out of place.

The kraters are all of grey clay, with a black glaze; this latter, however, varies considerably in quality: sometimes it is lustrous, and sometimes matt; on three fragments, which probably belong to a single vessel,

¹ See p. 251, above.

it is of an unpleasant mottled red, no doubt due to some accident or lack of skill in the firing; on several fragments it has disappeared almost entirely, though in general it is well consolidated with the clay. Some fragments have a chalky slip on the inside, with daubs of the black glaze. Most have the same glaze inside as out.

The kraters vary somewhat in dimensions; the diagram in Fig. 8 is taken from No. 1 below, with the missing foot supplied from No. 3. The profile of the rim, and of the dentil moulding above the fluted bowl which forms the lower part of the krater, differs from one specimen to another, and the bowl is sometimes plain instead of fluted. The fluting is shallow, as if scratched with a blunt instrument in the clay. As there are eleven varieties of the dentil moulding among the fragments, it is clear that we are dealing with at least that number of kraters. It is not certain that a rim-piece inscribed $\Sigma\lambda\iota\alpha\rho$ - - belongs to the series, but the similarity of profile and fabric makes it probable that it does so. One of the fragments (motive *b*) has part of an inscription, $\Sigma\Lambda$ (part of Λ). As this is the beginning of the inscription, it cannot be restored [Λ] $\sigma\alpha\rho$ [$\alpha\iota\alpha\iota$], but is probably the dedicator's name: in which case the whole series may have been dedicated by this $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\rho$ [$\chi\omicron\varsigma$?]. For the practice of dedicating a whole series, we may refer to the numerous vases and fragments inscribed with the name of Chilonis from the Orthia sanctuary.¹

The shape is obviously derived from metal prototypes, but I do not know of any exact parallel. The vessel was not made in a mould complete with reliefs, but the latter were cut out and applied to the walls while still soft, rather like pastry ornaments for a piecrust. This mode of decoration occurs in the fourth and third centuries on black-glazed situlae from Italy,² where it is combined with simple painted decoration and the plaque with the relief on it is trimmed into a neat rectangle; on fluted vessels,³ chiefly hydriae,⁴ of the third century, where it is combined with bands of painted decoration; and on Pergamene ware of the second century.⁵ We may note that one of our motives (*a*) occurs also on a fragment, from Tangaris' garden (immediately

¹ *B.S.A.*, xxiv. p. 116.

² A list is given by Schröder, 74th *Berlin Winckelmanns Programm*, p. 10.

³ Courby, *op. cit.*, ch. xv, 'Vases côtelés.'

⁴ The kelebe, *B.M. Vases*, G29, is exceptional.

⁵ Courby, *op. cit.*, ch. xxiv, 'La céramique à reliefs à Pergame.'

west of the Orthia Sanctuary), on which there are traces of both fluting and painting.

The number of motives is comparatively small, and in Figs. 9 and 10 we offer illustrations of all the motives occurring on fragments which can be assigned to this series of kraters. There are several joins among the fragments, and others we can sometimes group together as belonging to the same pot on account of similarity of fabric. The vessels of which we are thus enabled to form some idea as a whole are four in number, and it will be convenient to consider the motives in these groups.

I. *The Athene Krater.* This is the most complete vessel we have. The fragments, when put together, give us about half the rim and considerable portions of the fluted bowl beneath the dentil moulding. The profile of the dentil moulding is square, as shewn in Fig. 8. The motives of the rim are shewn on Fig. 9, *a*, *b* and *c*.

(Fig. 9, *a*.) The goddess Athena is sitting facing towards the left, breast and face being shewn in three-quarter view. Her shield with the Gorgoneion in the centre is resting on the ground beside her, and her right arm is raising a fold of drapery that lies across her lap. She wears a Corinthian helmet, and her hair falls in long locks down to her shoulder. The general pose of the figure, the treatment of the breasts, the heavy fold of drapery across the knees, and its contrast with the finer perpendicular folds of the chiton around the feet, all recall the reverse type of Pergamene silver coins from Attalos I to Attalos II.¹ There are, of course, differences: the absence of a crest on the helmet, the action of the right hand, which on the coins is holding out a wreath at arm's length, the position of the feet, the three-quarters view of the face, and the fact that the shield is turned towards the left. Still, the comparison derives importance from the fact that the coin has already been compared² to a much more important work of art, the silver bowl from Hildesheim, with an 'emblema' of the seated Athena, which incidentally shews a greater divergence from the coin-type than our relief. If these resemblances are more than accidental, it is natural to suppose that some well-known work of art served as a prototype for all three. The most tempting conjecture is that they were all derived from a cult statue of

¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, Pls. I. and II., Nos. 8–24.

² F. Winter, *Arch. Anz.*, 1897, p. 127. Pernice and Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, p. 24.

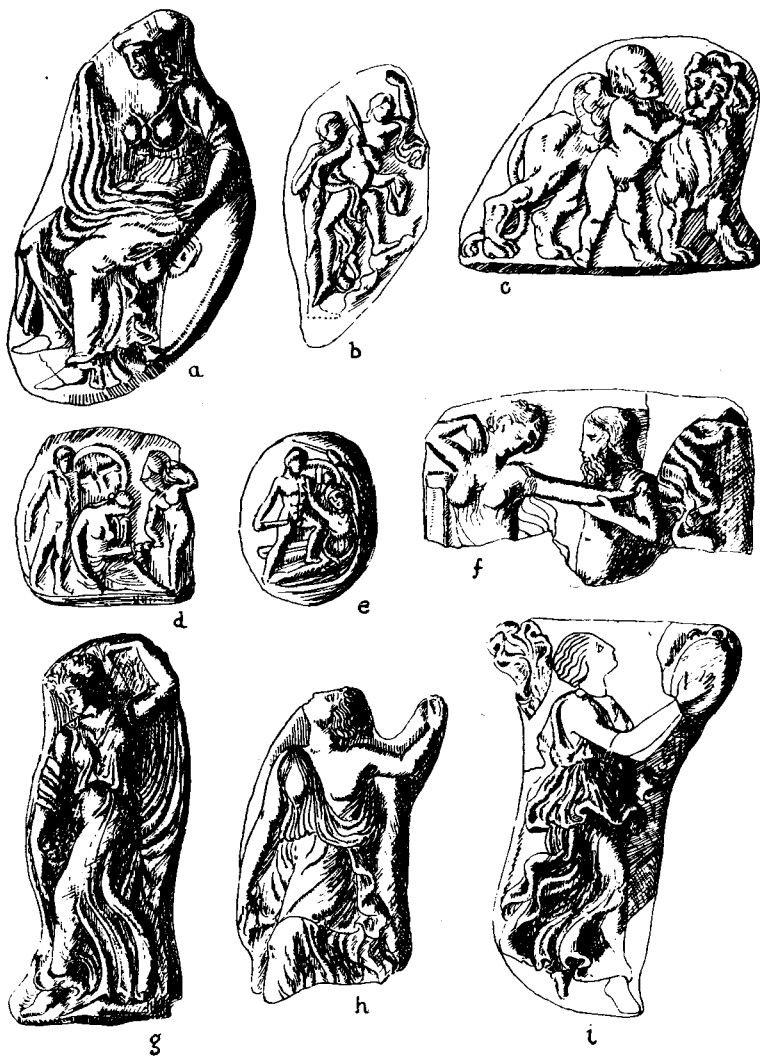


FIG. 9.—MOTIVES DECORATING THE KRATERS. (Scale 1 : 2.)

Athena Νικηφόρος, set up in the Nikephorion which Attalos I founded to commemorate his victories. Von Fritze has, however, unhesitatingly rejected this hypothesis as applied to the coin type.¹

There are fragments of at least two other examples of this motive, both corresponding with the krater under discussion in the quality of the glaze and the thickness of the walls. One of them, however, must belong to a different vessel, as there is a portion of the lip shewing above the head of the goddess, and it is narrower than on the krater under discussion. There is no difficulty in supposing that these kraters were made in pairs, as the practice has been traced by Pernice² to the end of the fifth century. The third example may belong to either of these two kraters; it suggests that the same motives were repeated in a symmetrical arrangement on each side of the krater. There is also an example with reddish glaze from one of the Acropolis trenches in 1924, and the example from a fluted vessel above referred to (p. 298 f.).

(Fig. 9, b.) This motive represents a naked young man with a drawn sword in his left hand, carrying off a maiden, naked but for some fluttering drapery. Scenes of rape are common on relief-ware, both in clay and metal, and it would be idle to attempt to give names to the pair. The youth is climbing a stony ascent, represented by some boulders on which his left foot is set; a similar representation of stony ground appears on a bronze situla in Berlin,³ and on a clay model for a bronze relief in Munich.⁴ It was a singularly happy device on bronze vessels, where the motive did not form an isolated picture rigidly framed within the outlines of the applied plaque, but merged gradually in the undecorated walls of the vessel. Such a pictorial representation of the background softened the transition from the decorated to the undecorated surface.

Another example of this motive was found in 1924 in the portico on the Acropolis. The glaze was better, and the outlines sharper and clearer, as if it has been made while the mould was newer.

(Fig. 9, c.) All that remains of this motive on the krater under consideration is the hind paw and tail of the lion. It is the commonest

¹ *Die Münzen von Pergamon*, p. 39.

² *58th Winckelmanns Programm*, pp. 19–25.

³ Schröder, *74th Winckelmanns Programm*, Pl. I and II.

⁴ Sieveking, *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 1922, p. 117, Fig. 1. See also his remarks on the relation of the Hellenistic pictorial reliefs to the pictorial treatment of background on toreutic works.

among the motives, no less than eight examples being represented, some of them by very small fragments. A muscular, but very mild-looking, lion with his tail peaceably tucked between his legs is advancing to the right, with his head turned and represented full face. A diminutive Eros standing at his shoulder chucks him under the chin. The fact that the glaze on one example of this motive corresponds to that of the motives described below (p. 364) as belonging to 'the Maenad Krater' suggests that we should give a Bacchic interpretation to this motive, whether we conceive this particular example of it as actually belonging to 'the Maenad Krater' or to a companion vessel.¹

II. *The Amazon Krater*. This krater is of slightly smaller dimensions; the walls are thinner, and the glaze more lustrous. The bowl is fluted and the moulding oval in profile. The rim is ornamented with small reliefs representing scenes from an Amazonomachy. Motive (*d*) occurs twice, motive (*e*) once. There is also a third example of motive (*d*), but the glaze is inferior, and the outlines blurred, as if it had been taken from a worn mould.

Such scenes were one of the commonest items in the repertoire of the Hellenistic artist, whether sculptor, metal-worker, or potter. Similar groupings occur over and over again, and were ultimately no doubt derived from famous pieces of sculpture, like the friezes of the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia, of Nike Apteros at Athens, and of the Mausoleum.² The group of a Greek pulling the head of an Amazon back by the hair is of frequent occurrence, so is the grouping of the combatants in sets of three similar to that in motive (*d*), but generally two figures are advancing, one to the attack and the other to the defence of the central figure on the ground. It is not quite clear whether the figure on the right of our motive is plunging his sword into the body of the seated Amazon, but he appears rather to be regarding her with an air of compassion. Moreover, the third figure, holding out a shield in protection over the Amazon, is certainly a Greek, and not an Amazon, so we should perhaps regard it as Achilles

¹ It is, of course, not certain that the kraters of this series were made in pairs, but an examination of the fragments suggests it.

² Courby has compared the motives on the bowls to these friezes. Brückner, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1888, p. 382, studied similar motives on tombstones and compared them to 'Megarian' bowls. The famous Siris bronzes closely resemble the style of the Mausoleum, and the combatants on the frieze of the Nereid monument at Xanthos borrow their attitudes and grouping from these friezes. In fact, they were part of the stock-in-trade of the Hellenistic craftsman, and might be applied to any decorative purpose.

mourning for Penthesilea, rather than as a scene of actual combat. A Greek supporting a falling Amazon, doubtless to be identified as Achilles and Penthesilea, occurs on a 'Megarian' bowl.¹

III. *The Centaur Krater*. Of this krater we possess the moulded foot, and the lower part up to and including the dentil moulding, as well as two fragmentary examples of the motive (*f*), of which the more complete is illustrated in Fig. 9, *f*. These fragments are grouped together by reason of the peculiar mottled red appearance of the glaze. The motive represents a Centaur carrying off a struggling woman, whom we should perhaps regard as a Bacchante or a Nymph rather than as a Lapith. The pursuit of Maenads by Satyrs is a common subject on R. F. Attic vases, and the Centaurs are akin to the Satyrs. On certain coins from districts of Macedonia where the worship of Dionysos was prevalent, a Centaur carrying off a woman appears as a variant of the type of a Satyr carrying off a woman.² It was therefore natural that the Centaurs should be attracted into the Dionysiac circle, as, for instance, on the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Teos built by the architect Hermogenes in the second half of the fourth century. Pliny³ mentions *Centauros Bacchasque caelati scyphi* by the silversmith Akragas, which in his day might be seen in the temple of Father Liber in Rhodes. It is not clear from this passage whether the Centaurs and Bacchantes were represented on the same cup, or even whether, if they were on different cups, the cups were regarded as counterparts; yet the passage is quoted as evidence for the Bacchic conception of the Centaurs. The truth is that we know absolutely 'nothing about Akragas except this notice in Pliny,'⁴ so that it seems idle to conjecture how he treated his Centaurs and Bacchantes. Pernice⁵ thinks that we may gain a very fair idea of his work from the vessels from Pompei and Bernay decorated with Centaurs plagued by Erotes. The closest parallel to these is the pair of statues signed by Aristeas and Papias⁶ in the time of Hadrian, for which Dickins⁷ postulated a first-century original. The

¹ Benndorf, *Griech. und Sic. Vasenbilder*, Pl. LIX. 2b.

² J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 379.

³ *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 154.

⁴ Th. Reinach (*L'histoire par les Monnaies*, pp. 87 ff.) has even suggested that there was 'no such person': that his name arose from a misunderstanding of the inscription on a coin used as an *emblem* for a bowl, which the *Cicerone* of the temple interpreted as the maker's signature, and Pliny uncritically accepted as such.

⁵ *58th Winckelmanns Programm*, p. 21.

⁶ *Cat. of the Museo Capitolino*, Salone, Nos. 2 and 4, pp. 274-5, and 277-8, and Pl. 64.

⁷ *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 51.

vessels are at any rate late Hellenistic, and we may therefore see in them, or their originals, the work of a late Hellenistic silversmith, and in the prototype of our reliefs that of an earlier craftsman of the third or fourth century, who worked more under the inspiration of the old Classical types; but to go further and associate either with the name of Akragas seems to me rash. Another treatment of Bacchic Centaurs occurs on two bowls from Pergamon (*Beibl.* 42, 15; 43, 21), where they are represented playing the harp or double flute, and this type also was probably used by the Hellenistic silversmith.

IV. *The Maenad Krater.* Several fragments, including at least two examples each of the motives (*g*) and (*h*), may be grouped together on account of the character of the glaze, which is easily flaked off, and indeed has almost entirely disappeared. A portion of the lower part of the krater attached to one of the motives shews that the bowl was not fluted, and that the moulding was oval in profile.

The motives represent girls dancing. Both are clad in long sleeveless chitons of light, clinging material, which in (*h*) has a long overfall reaching almost to the knee. Both are executing the same step; they dance towards the left, with the left foot raised, and knee slightly bent; the right arm is dropped, the left raised above the head. The figure on (*g*) has a fairly voluminous scarf or veil—perhaps her mantle—which is passed over her right arm, and raised aloft in her left hand. In spite of the similarity of attitude, the figure on (*h*) seems to have been conceived without this accessory; there is at any rate no trace of drapery across her right arm.

The difference in the two motives is, however, more striking than their resemblance. The figure on (*f*) is dancing along with demure self-possession, with her head slightly dropped, as if she were minding her steps. Her movements are graceful and without exaggeration; her attire is in perfect order, only the light breeze of her decorous movements causing it to blow out behind in graceful folds, and swirl around her feet. The other figure, in marked contrast, is in a state of ecstatic excitement; her raised arm is flung outwards with an extravagant gesture, and her head thrown back in the well-known gesture of Bacchic enthusiasm. Her dress is in wild disorder, having become unpinned on one shoulder, and has slipped down so as to expose the breast.

This contrast of two types—or perhaps stages—of Bacchic inspiration

occurs not infrequently on the monuments, whether vase-paintings or reliefs. A beautiful silver pyxis from Thessaly¹ may be mentioned, however, as an example of Greek toreutic in the third or second century,² which stands in closer relation to our reliefs than either class of monuments above referred to. The Maenads are grouped in two pairs, of which one is in the early stages of orgiastic excitement, the other is already wrought up to a high pitch of ecstasy. The dress is somewhat similar to that on our motives, and there is the same touch of the bared breast.

It may be doubted, however, in the absence of any attributes, whether our dancers should be regarded as Bacchantes at all. It is, of course, a mistake to think that Dionysos was the only Greek god honoured with dances, or that all Greek dancing was orgiastic in character; the beautiful and demure little maidens—probably Charites—dancing around the triple Hekate of Alkamenes³ at once occur to the mind to prove the contrary. In some ways our reliefs recall the dancing figures on a marble basis found on the Acropolis at Athens.⁴ Here we see the same long, sleeveless chiton, with or without an overfall, the same scarf-like mantle, and the attitude of the third figure from the left recalls that of our reliefs. These dancers have been variously identified; as women who had performed cult-dances in honour of Athena, or Artemis⁵ or as Muses.⁶ The so-called Nereids on the Nereid monument at Xanthos raise their mantles above their heads in their right hands, while the folds are passed over the dropped left arm. The gesture is not dissimilar to that of our figure (*i*), except that the raised arm is straightened; and these figures have been interpreted as the personification of ships speeding over the ocean.⁷ I do not think, however, that these considerations need cause us to hesitate in calling our dancers Bacchantes. The Bacchic dancers were by far the most famous in the Greek world, and not only were the female dancers often represented without any specific attribute,⁸ but also types which

¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1912, Pls. IV. and V.; see also the description by Arvanitopoulos, *loc. cit.*, pp. 87–95.

² The grave from which the pyxis comes belongs to the middle of the second century (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1912, p. 75).

³ *Jahresh.*, 1910, Pls. III. and IV.

⁴ Illustrated in *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, xxxiv., 1862, Pl. IV.; S. Casson, *Cat. of the Acropolis Museum*, vol. ii. No. 1327, p. 228.

⁵ Studniczka, *Kalamis*, p. 29.

⁶ S. Casson, *op. cit.* (where, however, the absence of distinctive attributes is noted).

⁷ C. Robert, *Archäologische Hermeneutik*, p. 80.

⁸ Instances are too numerous to need mention.



FIG. 10.—MOTIVES DECORATING THE KRATERS AND OTHER VESSELS. (Scale 1 : 2.)

assuredly originated in some other context were absorbed into the Thiasos; for instance, the dancers wrapped in the folds of voluminous cloaks¹ have an unmistakable Bacchic significance on a bas-relief from the theatre of Dionysos in Athens,² on a tripod-stand in the Lateran,³ and on an Attic vase painting of the fourth century.⁴ The scarf dance, on the contrary, was appropriate to the Bacchic ritual; it occurs on many monuments and is mentioned by the late writer Niketas Eugenianos as characteristic.⁵

The Maenad dancing with a tambourine (Fig. 9, *i*) does not belong to the series of the kraters; the fragments, which represent two examples of the motive, were found some distance from the pit, and the fabric is quite different—a hard red paste and a red glaze.

V. *Other Figures*. For the sake of completeness, a list of the other motives represented among the fragments is added:—

(Fig. 10, *k*.) One example. Good lustrous black glaze. Dionysos sitting facing left: only his feet and right hand resting on his knee remain, but the identification is rendered certain by the vine running along the top of the motive,⁶ and by the panther which is walking away to the left looking back at its master.

(Fig. 10, *l*.) Two examples: coarser matt-glazed ware. Seated female figure, to r.; interpretation uncertain.

(Fig. 10, *m*.) One example: similar fabric. Zeus (?) seated on throne. The relief is considerably higher than on the other motives, and it probably does not belong to the series of kraters.

(Fig. 10, *n*.) One example: very coarse and clumsy. An Eros riding on a lion, towards whose tail he faces. His action is not clear; he appears to be playing on a lyre, or possibly shooting with bow and arrows.

(Fig. 10, *o*.) One example. Matt glaze. Two figures: the grouping, and the pose of the figure to the right, recall the motive on a bronze hydria

¹ The type was probably appropriate to the nymphs. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Acropolismuseum in Athen*, No. 176, p. 83, and S. Casson, *op. cit.*, 1345, p. 248 ff., and literature mentioned there.

² Stais, *Marbres et Bronzes du Musée national*, Nos. 259–260, p. 53.

³ Brunn—Bruckmann—Arndt, *Denk.*, No. 599.

⁴ Furtwängler u. Reichhold, *Vasenmal.* Pl. 80, i.

⁵ As on a silver vase from Vicarello, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1867, Pl. CCXXXV. and text by Otto Jahn, pp. 78–82, with a list of monuments on which the figure occurs: he also quotes the passage from Niketas.

⁶ A similar vine appears on a Campanian plaque, Rohden, *Die Antiken Terrakotten*, Pl. 37.

of the fourth century in the British Museum, representing Dionysos and Ariadne.¹ The action of the female figure is, however, quite different, and the object on which the male figure rests his hand appears to be a snake rather than a rock. There are no Bacchic symbols visible, unless we regard the snake as such, and it would be equally appropriate to Asklepios and Hygieia. The foliage above their heads recalls that on two red-glazed fragments from Athens, from *emblemata* representing Dionysos and the sleeping Ariadne.² The prototype of such pictorial background should, of course, be sought in the work of Hellenistic silver-smiths rather than in such monuments as the Grimani reliefs for a fountain, in Vienna.

(Fig. 10, *p.*) One example. Matt glaze. A slim figure, with a mantle wrapped over the left arm, and a club—or sword?—swung high above the head. (Herakles and hydra?)

(Fig. 10, *t.*) Poseidon and Amymone. This fragment was found in 1924 in a trench adjoining the trenches in which the fragments belonging to the series of kraters were found in 1925; and in fabric and technique it resembles these fragments, though the curve of the profile seems to suggest that it belonged to a vessel of different shape. The motive, Poseidon and Amymone,³ occurs on several 'Megarian' bowls of the earlier glazed series (Courby's Class A)⁴ and on a 'Megarian' bowl from Pergamon;⁵ it is the only mythological motive from the earlier series which appears on the Pergamene bowls;⁶ it also appears on the later Pergamene ware with appliqué reliefs.⁷

The two remaining motives (Fig. 10, *q* and Fig. 10, *r*) certainly do not belong to the series of kraters:—

¹ *B.M. Cat.*, No. 312, *Select Bronzes*, Pl. XXXV.

² Published by Pagenstecher, *Jahrb.*, 1912, p. 167, Fig. 17, and *Rom. Mitt.*, 1911, Pl. XI. 2.

³ See Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*⁴, 'Poseidon.'

⁴ The motive, or the figures isolated, occurs on several bowls, e.g. Athens, Nat. Mus. 2100, from Megara, good black glaze; *ibid.*, 2117, from Epidauros Limera, coarse ware; *B.M. Vases* IV. G101, provenance uncertain, 'coarse black ware,' and a situla from Olbia, *Rev. Arch.*, 1904, i. p. 8. Also on terracotta incense altars, *Rev. Arch.*, 1907, ii. p. 250, Fig. 3.

⁵ Conze, *Die Kleinfunde aus Pergamon*, p. 20, where, however, the motive is misinterpreted as Iphigeneia and a sacrificing priest.

⁶ With the possible exception of scenes from an Amazonomachy, which appear to me to be represented on the fragments illustrated, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1907, p. 408, Fig. 14, though Hepding there suggests Perseus slaying Medusa.

⁷ *Pergamon*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 44, 1.

(Fig. 10, *q*.) This motive, representing Artemis with a fawn skin and hunting boots, is in the museum,¹ and, except the example of the motive (*a*) mentioned above (p. 298 f.), it is the only example from Sparta of an appliqué relief on a vessel with fluting and painted-and-incised decoration. It does not belong to the series of kraters.

(Fig. 10, *r*.) Head of a Satyr. Possibly from the hydria described below (V). Horizontal handles emerging from Satyr heads were a favourite form with the Neo-Attic sculptors in the first century.

V.—HOLLOW RELIEFS.

There are several fragments in an unusual technique. The figures are in high relief and are hollow. Several of these fragments have been put together to form the shoulder—apparently of a hydria—illustrated on Fig. 10, *s*. It represents a winged Nike with her right hand raised, apparently to crown the helmeted warrior whose head is seen just beyond her hand. The crown is rendered in a very summary manner by incisions. The other fragments include the body of a youth, a head of Herakles, the left arm and foot of a draped figure, and part of a nude torso, as well as further, but still unintelligible, portions of the incised inscription.² It is greatly to be hoped that when the whole deposit has been dug, we shall be able to reconstruct this interesting and beautiful specimen of Greek relief-ware.

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NOTE.

The following table shews the numbers, in the Sparta Museum Inventory, of the fragments illustrated on Figs. 2, 4, 5 which were found in the excavations of 1906—1910 :—

Mus. No. Illustration-reference.

- 2407. Fig. 4, *r*.
- 2465. Fig. 2, *a-h*, *m*, *r-z*.
- 2480. Fig. 2, *i*, *p*.
- 2560. Fig. 5, *d*.

¹ Found in 1908 in a trial pit ('E' in **O 12**, General Plan).

² For the form 'Αραναί cf. the votive stele published above, p. 233, No. 25.

Mus. No. Illustration-reference.

2580. Fig. 4, *v*.
2582. Figs. 2, *n*; 4, *i*.
2583. Figs. 2, *o*; 4, *n*; 5, *b*.
2585. Fig. 4, *a*.
2586. Fig. 2, *k*.
2589. Fig. 4, *e*.
2805. Fig. 5, *h*.

A. M. W.