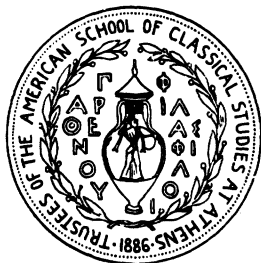


THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA  
HESPERIA: SUPPLEMENT II

1939

LATE GEOMETRIC GRAVES AND  
A SEVENTH CENTURY WELL  
IN THE AGORA



BY

RODNEY S. YOUNG

WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE SKELETAL REMAINS:  
GEOMETRIC ATHENIANS

BY

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*Annuario*: Annuario della r. Scuola Archeologica di Atene  
*A. A.*: Archäologischer Anzeiger  
*Ath. Mitt.*: Mitteilungen d. k. d. Archäologischen Instituts, Athen. Abt.  
*B. S. A.*: Annual of the British School at Athens  
*B. C. H.*: Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique  
*Delt.*: Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον  
*Eph. Arch.*: Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική  
*Jhb.*: Jahrbuch d. k. d. Archäologischen Instituts  
*J. H. S.*: Journal of Hellenic Studies  
*J. R. S.*: Journal of Roman Studies  
*Monumenti*: Monumenti Antichi d. Accad. d. Lineei  
*Praktika*: Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας

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## NOTE:

Since the manuscript of this paper left the author's hands, a study of the Protoattic style by J. M. Cook has appeared in *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, pp. 165 f.; also the publication of the important collection of Protoattic pottery at Berlin in *C.V.A., Deutschland II, Berlin I*.



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## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The literary evidence for Greek history before the sixth century has been sifted and resifted; yet the main events even of the seventh century remain vague in their outline and uncertain in their chronology, while the uncertainty covering those of the eighth deepens, until a true dark age obliterates three centuries of the early history of Greece. The chronology of the seventh and eighth centuries is based on traditional chronicles which are calculated by generations varying from twenty-five to forty years in length, as well as on lists of kings and Olympic victors which often show signs of late interpolations inserted either *maioris gloriae causa*, or in order to fit traditional, and often mythical, personages into a fixed scheme of "history." A few bare kernels of fact can be arrived at after paring away an accumulated crust of explanation, comment and myth. And yet by the sixth century Greek civilization is already formed; art and letters are already in the channels which they must follow through a logical development; the great sanctuaries with their cult and athletic rituals are established; and many of the commercial and industrial rivalries that are to last throughout Greek antiquity are already acute. Greek civilization has already spread over its allotted territory, carrying with it the structural bones—language and religion, habits of life and thought, conceptions of art, and a traditional literature—that form the skeleton on which develops the civilization of the classical period.

Thus the era before the sixth century is one of the most important in Greek history; an era of formation and ferment, in which new ideas are adopted and old ones developed; in which, in short, the foundations of Greek civilization are laid. New literary evidence

<sup>1</sup> A number of visitors to the Agora have made valuable suggestions. Particular thanks must be expressed to Dr. Kübler of the German Archaeological Institute for his generosity in discussing and giving information on his material from the Kerameikos; to Mrs. Semne Karousou for the kindest and most efficient of help in the National Museum; to Miss Richter for photographs of unpublished vases in the Metropolitan Museum, and to Dr. Homer A. Thompson for information on the grave group in the Toronto Museum. Professor G. W. Elderkin of Princeton has read the whole manuscript and made valuable suggestions. All the members of the Agora staff have been most helpful; especially Miss Talcott and Mrs. Thompson. The plan and section of the grave precinct, and the drawing of Grave XVII, are by J. Travlos; the drawings of the other graves, and the profiles and restored drawings of many vases, are by Piet de Jong. H. Wagner of the German Institute is responsible for most of the photographs, and Miss Alison Frantz of the Agora staff for the rest. Thanks are due also to J. Lawrence Angel of Harvard for his examination of the skeletons and his report on them, here published as Appendix III. It may be noted here that Angel was impressed by certain resemblances in the bony structure of the skeletons, suggesting that they belonged to members of the same family, before he was aware of the archaeological evidence for their relationship.

on this crucial period is scarcely to be hoped for; nor can the infinite reinterpretation and recombination of the literary sources be expected to provide much new information. "New evidence must be awaited" is the eternal comment made on unsolved and unsolvable problems. Yet even though further literary evidence on the early period of Greek history is not to be expected, there exists an abundance of archaeological evidence which may cast some light on the obscure, and which has the advantage, often lacking in literary sources, of being impersonal. A vast mass of material must be sifted and dated in order to determine which elements of Greek civilization were inventions of this formative period, which were handed down or revived from the Mycenaean culture that had gone before (as, for example, certain cults and sanctuaries, and many technical methods), and which were introduced from outside the Greek world (for example, coinage and the alphabet). Four periods cover this long era of nearly half a millennium: the Submycenaean, the Protogeometric, the Geometric, and the Orientalizing.<sup>1</sup> While the succession of these periods is clear, and the last can be placed in the seventh century, the lack of any fixed chronological evidence, such as the finding of dateable Egyptian or Oriental objects in Greek deposits, has allowed great latitude for the relative expansion or contraction of each of the three earlier periods. A few Egyptian scarabs and faience statuettes found in Geometric graves have not been helpful, either because they have been impossible to date within sufficiently narrow limits of time, or because experts have disagreed as to their dating, or because their dating has been clearly impossibly early to be applied to their Greek contexts.<sup>2</sup> The recent discovery of three small subgeometric skyphoi in a tomb in Cyprus which contained also a number of scarabs of the XXVIth Dynasty and Saite period, on the other hand, furnishes strong evidence for the continuation of a degenerating Geometric style well into the seventh century.<sup>3</sup> As a result of the lack of external chronological evidence, it has been possible for a single grave to be dated by one recent writer at the end of the ninth century, and by another at the end of the eighth.<sup>4</sup> The Geometric period, represented chiefly by pottery, but also by figurines of clay, bronze and ivory, as well as by elaborate jewellery and metal work, is clearly a period not only of great technical ability but also of developed artistic sense. The pictures drawn on the vases give some intimation

<sup>1</sup> Objection has been made to the use of almost every one of these terms; also to the term Proto-attic. While the objections are often well based (though sometimes merely pedantic), I use these terms because they have all acquired quite definite and fixed connotation in the minds of most archaeologists and historians. The purpose of a name, surely, is to evoke a conception of the object named; and when it has acquired a definite meaning, to change it is only to create confusion.

<sup>2</sup> Egyptian objects found in Greece have been listed and identified by J. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, Cambridge, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Amathus, Tomb 9, E. Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, II, Stockholm, 1935, pp. 55 ff., nos. 19, 76, and 122, and pl. XV.

<sup>4</sup> Dipylon Grave XIII; *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 127 ff.; *B.C.H.*, XIX, 1895, pp. 273 ff.; Kunze, *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, p. 150; Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder* (1936), pp. 36 ff. Kunze has now brought down his dating of this grave to the second quarter of the eighth century: *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1937, p. 291.

of the life lived by their makers, and even of the myths and poems with which they were familiar. The distribution of the vases themselves shows that already considerable intercourse and commerce existed between the different parts of Greece, even suggesting in certain cases the trade relations of some of the cities. Crude inscriptions scratched on the walls of the vases give evidence that knowledge of the alphabet and of writing was already spreading. The Geometric culture, then, is the earliest flowering of the Greek genius. The orientalizing style grows from the Geometric, with the addition of new elements imported from the east and of old ones revived from the past civilizations of the homeland. It is clear that the dating of this early flowering must be established before many of the important problems in the pre-classical history of Greece can be solved.

It has been remarked already that there is no certain external evidence for the dating of the Geometric period. A chronology has been established in the late eighth and seventh centuries for Protocorinthian pottery found in Greek and Etruscan tombs in Italy and Sicily.<sup>1</sup> Because only one possibly Attic Geometric sherd has been found in the west, at Syracuse,<sup>2</sup> it has been assumed that the Geometric style in Attica was already past when the western colonies were founded. It has not been remarked, on the other hand, that neither has Attic orientalizing pottery of the seventh century been found in quantity in the west. The reasons for the absence of Attic pottery are, of course, that Attica was not exporting her pottery widely before the seventh century, and that the parent cities of the western colonies—the Euboean and Cycladic cities, and Corinth—quite naturally held the monopoly of the early trade of their offshoots. The absence of Attic Geometric ware in the west is, then, of no significance for its dating.

An abundance of Attic Geometric pottery is scattered through the museums of Europe and America. By combining and arranging individual vases into groups and series, a number of courses of development for the style can be achieved. More useful, and certainly safer as evidence, are grave groups; observation of these led Wide,<sup>3</sup> as long ago

<sup>1</sup> Johansen, *Les Vases sicyoniens* (1918 and 1923), pp. 179 ff.; Schweitzer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pp. 1 ff.; Karo, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLV, 1920, pp. 106 ff.; for later modification of this chronology, Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, 1933, p. 20. The earlier chronology is based on a too early estimate of the date of the foundation of Cumae. See the article by Byvanck in *Mnemosyne*, IV, 1936-37, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Not. degli Scavi*, 1895, p. 189, fig. 90. The presence of even one sherd, if it is Attic, is of inestimable importance. Whole pots, not sherds, were exported; the rest of the amphora of which the sherd was a part undoubtedly exists, certainly shattered into many fragments, somewhere in Syracuse. Allowing half a century (to be liberal) for the life of the amphora from its manufacture in Athens to its breaking in Syracuse, it cannot have been made much before the middle of the eighth century, and probably was made considerably later. Blakeway, in republishing it in *B.S.A.*, XXXIII, 1932-33, p. 183, no. 3 and fig. 8 a, calls it "Creto-Cycladic" on the evidence of an amphora found in Thera. Compare, however, the four Attic amphoras, Wide, figs. 65-68. Almost all of the sherds and vases illustrated by Blakeway (*B.S.A.*, XXXIII, 1932-33, pp. 170 ff. and pls. 22-35; *J.R.S.*, XXV, 1935, pp. 129 ff. and pls. XX-XXII) as evidence for Greek trade in the west before the period of colonization are subgeometric or native imitations of subgeometric, and date from the late eighth and seventh century. Ingenuity of course may suggest that in early times ships were ballasted with broken pottery.

<sup>3</sup> *Jhb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 190.

as 1899, to remark that the Geometric period in Attica (Dipylonperiode) must have had a rapid development and lasted but a short time. Unfortunately, very few Geometric graves have been published as units and fully illustrated,<sup>1</sup> and the more recent material is as yet unpublished. The Agora has been unexpectedly fortunate in the number of early groups found. To date, about thirty Protogeometric graves, and an equal number of Geometric, have been dug; eight Protogeometric and early Geometric well deposits have yielded groups of vases which are thoroughly compact and consistent entities. Six seventh century deposits which contained dateable Protocorinthian vases and sherds, together with Protoattic and late Geometric pottery, have been found.

It is proposed in this study to present two of the Agora groups. The first, Group A, consists of the pottery and other objects from twenty-two graves which were found together in a small closed precinct. The relation of the graves to each other, and marked resemblances among the skeletons found in them,<sup>2</sup> strongly suggest that the terrace was a family burial plot. The limited area must have been filled in a comparatively short time; the burials (with the exception of two later additions) extend over a period of about two generations, or sixty years. The earlier graves contained vases of the developed late Geometric style; the later graves, subgeometric vases. A dating for the vases from the

<sup>1</sup> From the Dipylon, Brückner and Pernice have published (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 73 ff.) nineteen, of which one (XIX) is sixth or seventh century, and only two, VIII and IX, are illustrated. Grave XIII is illustrated in *B.C.H.*, XIX, 1895, pp. 273 ff., and most of the contents of Grave III can be discovered by piecing together single illustrations in Wide's article in *Jhb.*, XIV, 1899, pp. 188 ff., figs. 51, 88, 97 (right), 99, and, possibly, 96 at the left. Other grave groups from the Dipylon: *A.A.*, 1934, pp. 241-242, fig. 27, and Hampe, p. 38, fig. 19 and pls. 32-33; Kerameikos 334-338. Some of Brückner and Pernice's groups may be seen in the National Museum at Athens, almost all incomplete. From the Agora, one grave: *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 552 ff. From the slope of the Areopagus, two graves whose vases have probably become mixed: *C.V.A., Athens*, I, p. 3 and pl. 1, 1-4 and 5-11. Research in the inventories of the National Museum can recover four of the vases from the Pnyx grave in which was found the bronze tripod published in *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 414, and pl. XIV. Four complete graves from Spata are published in *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 131 ff. A grave from Liossia in Copenhagen is published in *C.V.A., Copenhagen*, II, p. 51, and pl. 70, 2-8 and 10. The graves at Anavysos (*Praktika*, 1911, pp. 110 ff.) have become hopelessly mixed, as have most of those from Eleusis. The Isis Grave is published (without its jewellery, scarabs, and clay balls) in *C.V.A., Athens*, I, pls. 3-6; of the other graves combinations of two to five of the vases, sometimes illustrated, can be recovered, but the vases themselves in the Eleusis Museum have become badly mixed. Of the eighty-seven graves in the Phaleron cemetery most of the contents of several can be gathered together from the publication in *Delt.*, II, 1916, pp. 13 ff., and nearly a score of complete groups are on display in the National Museum; these graves, however, are all orientalizing and subgeometric, and belong in the seventh century. The recently excavated graves at the Kerameikos (reports in *A.A.*, 1932-37) are unpublished, and likewise those of the Marathon cemetery (*Praktika*, 1934, pp. 35 ff.). A group of vases in the Toronto Museum is said to be the contents of a grave; the presence of a sixth or fifth century whorl throws great suspicion on the unity of the group: *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, p. 164 and pl. VI. Attic vases have of course been found in graves outside of Attica (Thera, Troezen, Cyprus, Corfu) that contained also Geometric pottery of other fabrics. Altogether only about fifteen groups are published in their entirety. In the publication of a group of vases from a grave, one good photograph of the whole group is often worth forty pages of text. See also Appendix I, where a list of Attic graves is given, with their probable dating.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix III.

later graves may be established by comparison with pottery of the first half of the seventh century from a well, Group C. A number of Protocorinthian vases and fragments, together with Attic imitations of Protocorinthian, give the chronology for the pottery from the well, a chronology confirmed by independently dateable Attic vases. Comparison of our material with that from seventh century graves at Phaleron and Eleusis, and with the pottery and figurines from a votive deposit at the Agora,<sup>1</sup> gives additional confirmation of the evidence supplied by Group C. Three graves, XXIII–XXV, which were found elsewhere in the Agora, are published with Group A because they contained vases contemporary with those from the grave precinct and give supplementary information. Geometric and Protoattic vases and fragments from in and around the grave precinct are listed separately for convenience as Group B. Some of these may have come from graves disturbed in later times; others are important as giving archaeological evidence as to the history of the grave terrace; and yet others are of value on their own stylistic merits.

Since the two larger groups, A and C, overlap, and since the later group can be dated, we may find good evidence in our Agora material for the dating of late Geometric pottery toward the end of the eighth century. Our groups together cover the period from about 725 to about 650, a period of rapid change and innovation, in which the Geometric style was gradually displaced by the orientalizing.<sup>2</sup> We may then analyze the shapes and decorative motives current at the end of the Geometric period; with the change from the Geometric to the orientalizing style we may see which shapes and motives die out or are transformed, and which show a continuous development or degeneration. The term subgeometric is used of degenerate Geometric shapes and motives which remain free of orientalizing influence. Subgeometric vases of poor fabric and careless decoration continued to be made over a long period after the introduction of the new orientalizing style, just as poor black-figured vases continued to be made long after the introduction of the red-figured style.

Orientalizing vases reflect the spirit of a new age of freedom and adventure. With the opening of the trade routes to the east, and the establishment of Greek colonies all over the Mediterranean world, the old confinement to narrow districts and to a feudal agricultural society, reflected in the Geometric style, broke down. The seventh century was a time of new ideas and experiment; it was also a time of selection among the new ideas and experiments. From the rather chaotic experimentation of the potters of the orientalizing period emerged the black-figured style. Much was tried, and much discarded, during the period of exuberant freedom. The pottery from our graves and our well clearly illustrates the development from the first intimation of the dissolution of the Geometric style to the full flowering of the orientalizing. If we can date our pottery, then we may fix more clearly the limits of this period of change and expansion, and at the same time perhaps throw new light on some of the problems in the chronology of early Greek history.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A later group has been published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 412; Group D, of the third quarter of the seventh century.



## I

## THE GRAVE PRECINCT

Just to the south of the Tholos there is a narrow terrace in which were found twenty Geometric burials. The terrace, supported by a retaining wall of the Geometric period, extends for nearly seventeen metres along the lower slope of Kolonos Agoraios; it appears on the published plans of the Agora.<sup>1</sup> The retaining wall runs for a distance of 16.80 m. in a northeast and southwest line, paralleling for about half its length the contour of the hillside, and returning at each end toward the northwest (plan, fig. 1). The return at the southwest end forms a right angle and runs for a distance of 2.95 m. until it meets the descending slope. At the other end, the Geometric wall returns at an obtuse angle toward the north and runs for a distance of 2.80 m., where it stops; the continuation which appears on the plan, from the point where another wall abuts against it, is part of a later repair.

The retaining wall was built partly to hold back the fill in which lay the graves, and partly to protect it from being washed away. The graves lay well down the slope near to the bottom of the valley to the east of Kolonos Agoraios; the valley carried off all the waters draining down from the slopes of the Pnyx and Areopagus, as well as from Kolonos itself. Through it, too, passed from very early times the road giving access from the Agora to the southern regions of Athens.<sup>2</sup> Thus the grave precinct, bordered by a road which was also a drain, had need of the protection afforded by its retaining wall: first, to preserve it from being undermined by the flow of water, and second, to prevent encroachment by traffic passing along the road.

The terrace wall itself shows that its builders had these two functions in mind. Founded on bedrock, it is built of rough untrimmed blocks of limestone, mixed with blocks of greenish micaceous shale; the same sort of shale was used inside the terrace for the covering-slabs over the graves. The blocks, long and often quite narrow, are laid as headers (section, fig. 2; figs. 3 and 5); the gaps behind the outer ends of the blocks are rather carefully filled by small stones making a rough, but presentable, polygonal face as a parapet beside the road (fig. 4). In appearance, the polygonal face of the wall is quite similar to that of a Geometric wall in Eleusis.<sup>3</sup> The thickness of the wall is from 60 to 70 cm.; its inner face is packed with small stones, forming a backing to close the gaps behind the headers of the wall itself. The roughly finished outer face, the method of laying the blocks as headers, the better to resist pressure from behind, and the crude unfinished inner face, together show that the wall was intended as a retaining wall from the time of its construction. The return at

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 15, fig. 13; *A. A.*, 1935, pp. 161-162, fig. 1, Beilage 2.

<sup>2</sup> See the plan, Athens in the second century A.D., in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 2 and fig. 1; the road followed the same course throughout antiquity.

<sup>3</sup> W. Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, Athens, 1933, no. 3 and pl. 2.

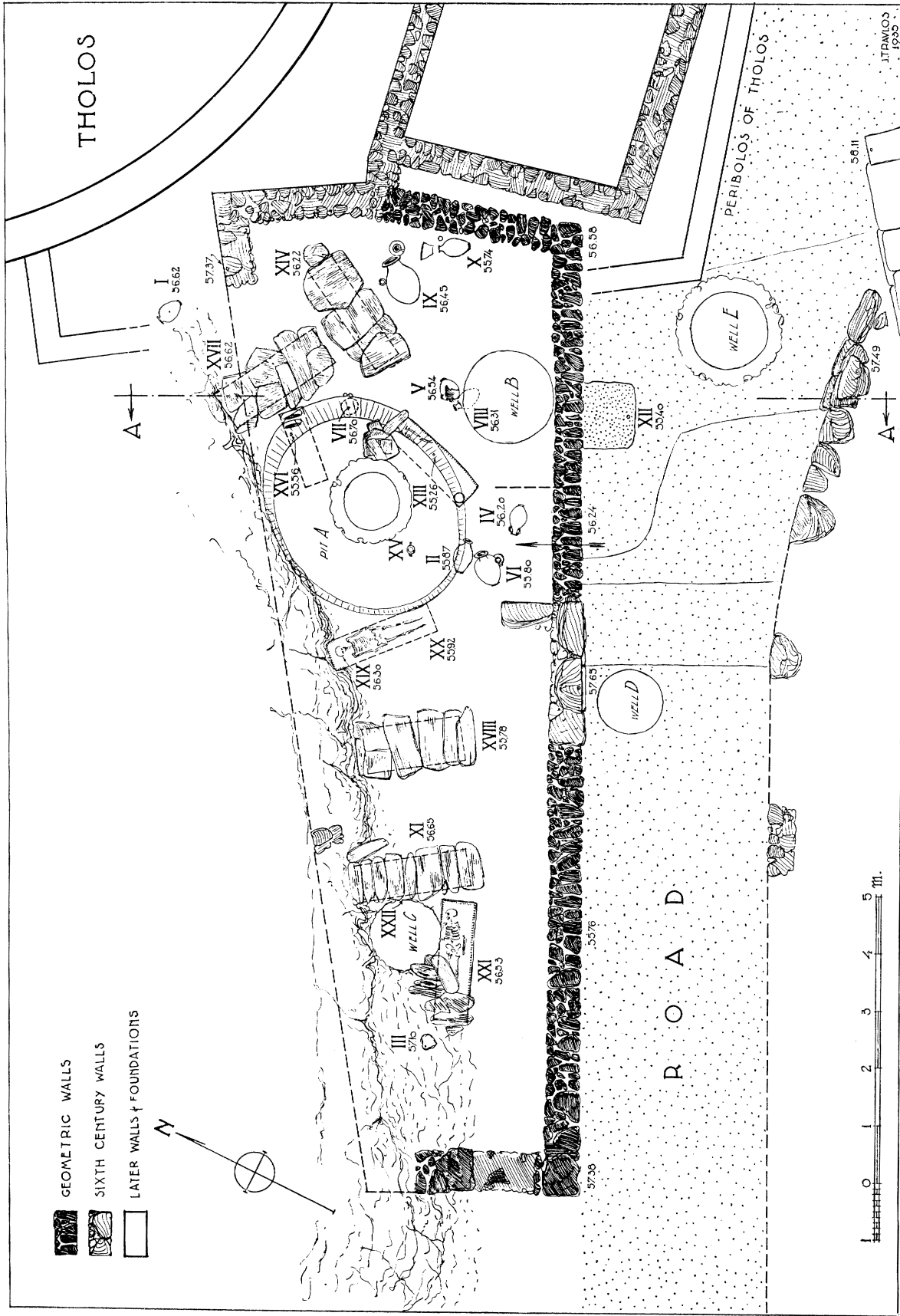


Fig. 1. Plan of the Grave Precinct. Scale, 1:100

the northeast end, which was not needed as a protection against the flow of water in the valley, and which did not border on the road, was carried only as far as was necessary to hold back the filling in the east corner of the terrace.

The maximum preserved height of the Geometric wall, close to Well B, was nearly 1.30 m. Its top was about 80 cm. below the level of the covering slabs of Grave XI, the highest in the terrace. Since the covers of the graves must have lain at least half a metre below the floor of the terrace, we arrive by addition ( $1.30 + .80 + .50$ ) at a probable total original height for the retaining wall of a little more than two and a half metres.

That the wall belongs to the Geometric period is proved not only by its relation to the graves which it encloses and by its resemblance to other Geometric walls, but also by the

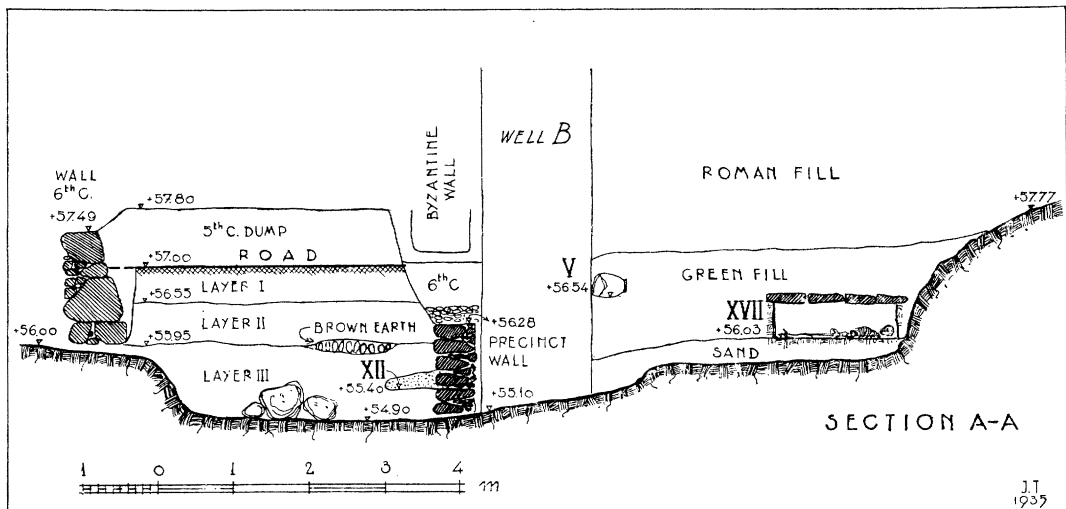


Fig. 2. Section through Grave Area A-A. Scale, 1:100

evidence of the fills to each side of it. The fill behind, partly of red gravel and partly of green broken hardpan containing an occasional Geometric sherd, had been thrown in behind the wall and over the east end of the terrace, to bring up the level to an even surface. This fill had been disturbed in many places; but where it was undisturbed, it ran against the back face of the wall, showing that the wall had been built before it was thrown in, or at the same time.

The fill along the outer face of the retaining wall was road fill. Layer III of the fill in the road (section, fig. 2) contained no sherds later than the first quarter of the seventh century. Because no provision had been made for drainage in the early road, the flow of water had destroyed the stratification, and it was impossible to distinguish at what level the terrace wall had been cut through an earlier fill, and at what level the fill had begun to accumulate against its face. At the back, the wall seemed to have been set into the layer of sand overlying bedrock (section, fig. 2), below the thrown-in fill of broken hardpan.

A thick deposit of black burned earth and cinders must have been thrown at one time on the surface of the road. This deposit (Grave XII) contained many fragments of broken and burned Geometric figurines and vases; it was clearly the refuse from a funeral pyre. Apparently after the rites had been held at the grave, the pyre was extinguished and its



Fig. 3. Geometric Retaining Wall. Inner Face, looking Northeast



Fig. 4. Geometric Retaining Wall. Outer Face

remains swept up and dumped over the edge of the terrace onto the road. The deposit lay on the north side of the road, against the face of the retaining wall; the black earth had penetrated into the cracks in the face of the wall itself. From the position of the burned deposit it was clear that the precinct wall already served as a parapet along the road when the remains of the pyre were thrown out. Had the wall been set down through the remains

of the pyre, a narrow footing-trench would have shown clearly that the wall was later. Since the vases and figurines from the burned deposit are to be dated probably at the beginning of the seventh century, they furnish final proof that the grave precinct had been marked off and enclosed by its retaining wall at some time in the eighth.

The height at which the burned deposit lay must represent the level of the surface of the road at the time when the pyre was thrown out. This level is the only one that can be fixed in the gradual accumulation of Layer III of the road filling. Sherds later than those from the burned deposit were found in Layer III, from which are published B 85–86 (fig. 91 below).

A *terminus ante quem* for the accumulation of Layer III is given by the sherds from a filling of brown earth thrown onto the hard road surface between Layer II and Layer III



Fig. 5. Geometric Retaining Wall, looking South. Well C at right

(section, fig. 2). This earth contained Protoattic vases and fragments running as late as the middle of the seventh century; it must then have been thrown over the road at some time after the middle of the century. The filling was probably brought from elsewhere; it contained fragments which joined with other fragments of vases found in the votive deposit of the first half of the seventh century, which lay about a hundred metres away toward the southeast.<sup>1</sup> A number of handsome vases and fragments from this fill are published (B 64–84; figs. 92–99 below).

Layer II, separated from Layer III by a hard road surface which ran against the face of the precinct wall, contained sherds of the second half of the seventh century, and of the early sixth; from it, B 59–63 (fig. 91 below). The uppermost layer of road filling, separated

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.

from Layer II by a hard-packed surface, contained sixth century sherds, black-glazed and black-figured of advanced style.

Burials appear to have been made regularly in the grave terrace over a period of about sixty years, or two generations, from the last quarter of the eighth century into the second quarter of the seventh. Two later graves of small children (Graves I and II) could be dated at the very end of the seventh century and in the sixth. It is possible that burials were made during the second half of the seventh century, and destroyed by the modern Pit A or the Turkish well B; the absence of any great number of sherds of the later seventh century among the sporadic finds in the disturbed parts of the area, however, suggests that there were no such burials. In any case, the presence of two graves at least half a century later than any of the others indicates that the grave precinct was known and respected as such until the early sixth century.



Fig. 6. Retaining Wall: Cut Across Road, showing 6th Century Packing and Polygonal Wall

No burials later than Grave I were found. During the sixth century the grave precinct seems to have been abandoned, and its retaining wall fallen to ruin. Its lower courses, buried deep under the accumulated fill of the road, remained undisturbed; but in its upper part blocks must either have fallen from their places, or been carried away by persons in search of building material. During the lapse of time between the final burial in the grave precinct and the rebuilding of the precinct wall, the retaining wall in the northeastern half of its course was levelled down to a depth of probably about 1.20 m., leaving it standing to a maximum height of only 1.30 m. The quarrying operations of Roman times have destroyed the evidence as to the history of the southwestern stretch of the wall (from Well D nearly to the corner).

A cut made across the road just to the east of Well D (fig. 6) throws some light on the subsequent history of the grave precinct. Here, two blocks of worked limestone forming part of a polygonal wall, are *in situ* as a parapet along the sixth century road, at the level

of the top of Layer I. The cut made across the road showed a footing-trench along the face of this upper limestone polygonal wall; the footing-trench, cut through a road filling which contained sherds running into the late sixth century, suggests that the precinct wall was reconstructed at the end of that century, or in the early fifth. The method of reconstruction was clear; the trench—probably filled with soft earth—from which the blocks of the upper courses of the Geometric wall had been taken out, was cleared down to the preserved top of the early wall. The removal of the blocks had naturally somewhat widened the wall trench. A mass of small stones was then thrown into the trench to serve as a bedding for the big limestone blocks of the polygonal parapet along the road at the surface. This packing of small stones overhangs the outer face of the Geometric wall by about 30–40 cm., showing how the edge of the road filling had been cut away by the removal of blocks from the Geometric wall. The bedding of small stones was thrown in until a depth of about 40 cm. below the road surface was reached; then larger blocks were laid on it to serve as a levelling course for the polygonal parapet wall. Probably at the same time a corresponding limestone parapet was built along the other side of the road, at the south (plan, fig. 1; section, fig. 2). Also at about the same time the northward extension of the east terrace wall, with its return toward the west, mentioned above, was added. This addition is built of well-jointed small blocks of limestone in polygonal style; it may have been built in connection with a building complex of the sixth century which lay to the north of the grave area. The terrace, which had in Geometric times been open toward the northwest, was enclosed by a wall, traces of which were found on the sloping hillside, at the time of the sixth century reconstruction. A gap in the terrace wall along the road was probably filled by a ramp or staircase giving access through the grave area to a path leading to the upper slopes of Kolonos; one block of the staircase parapet at the south side was found in its original position. The walls of the sixth century are indicated on the plan in lighter shading. Grave I, cut off from the rest of the graves by the sixth century wall, probably dates from the first half of the century, and had been made before the reconstruction of the terrace.

The purpose of the reconstruction is not clear. The sixth century floor of the grave precinct, which must have been somewhat lower than the Geometric, was nowhere preserved. A well dug in the sixth century disturbed two of the graves, XXI and XXII. The digging of a well suggests that the site was lived on; there may have been shallow founded interior walls which were obliterated by later disturbances. That the sixth century wall was built on top of the Geometric is in no way surprising, because the road followed the same course in both periods, and the sixth century builders would naturally carry their parapet wall along the edge of the road. The line where the Geometric wall had been was, moreover, probably indicated quite clearly by the softness of the filling that had been thrown into its trench. At the end of the sixth century, then, and in the early fifth, the grave terrace remained an undivided unit; it was not until about the years 470–460 that it was divided by the southwest enclosure wall of the area around the Tholos, which was carried across the northeast end of the precinct.

The preservation of the grave area is probably due to a late fifth or early fourth century releveling of the whole region to the south of the Tholos, at which time a large peribolos, partly cut into the hillside, was made. At the same time the road was covered by a dump 80 cm. to 1 m. thick; some of this dump was found lying undisturbed over the southwestern end of the terrace. The dating of the raising of the level is given not only by sherds found in the dump, but also by the filling of Well D, which was covered by the dump; the filling was of the late third quarter of the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> When the south branch of the great drain was subsequently built,<sup>2</sup> it was carried to the east of the peribolos in a channel cut for it in the bedrock considerably above the bottom of the natural drainage basin. Presumably the later inhabitants of the region, finding the bedrock at a higher level to the north and west, and knowing the position of the drain, did not suspect that an early cemetery lay hidden in the bottom of the valley at the foot of Kolonos Agoraios.

The late disturbances were not extensive. The reason that only three of the big limestone blocks of the polygonal parapet of the sixth century were found *in situ* may be that the other blocks were taken out for re-use in the fifth century when the level of the area was raised. Some of the blocks were certainly left and taken out in the fourth century after Christ; sherds of that period were found in the wall trench, from well D to the southwest corner, and to the depth at which the Geometric wall was preserved. The inhabitants of this time also took away for re-use nearly all of the blocks of the polygonal parapet wall along the south side of the early road. There were two late disturbances inside the grave precinct, and one in the road: Pit A, Well B, and Well E. Pit A, a large oval cutting, was modern; the pit was dug for the construction of the ring-wall near its centre, which was later used as a cesspool. Pit A disturbed Graves II and XIII, and destroyed Graves VII and XVI; it is quite possible that another grave, lying between Graves XX and XVII, was completely obliterated at the same time. Well B was a shallow Turkish well which went only to bedrock; its digging somewhat disturbed Grave V, and destroyed most of Grave VIII. Thus of a total of twenty graves in the burial precinct, six were disturbed in modern times, and three in ancient: two (XXI and XXII) by the sixth century diggers of Well C, and one (III) probably at the time of the reconstruction of the terrace wall in the late sixth century, when the level of the terrace floor was lowered. Well E, outside the grave precinct, was a shallow Turkish pit lined with a ring wall of stone; it caused considerable disturbance in the early road.

#### THE GRAVES

The twenty burials in the grave precinct are divided into two types, urn-burials of small children (Graves I-X) and inhumations of adults (Graves XI, XIII-XIV, and XVI-XXII).

<sup>1</sup> Section B, well 2. A number of vases and fragments from this well have been published by Miss Talcott in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 517 ff., nos. 96-101.

<sup>2</sup> See the plan, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 15, fig. 13. Thompson suggests a late third or early second century date for the construction of this part of the drain.



They have been numbered in accordance with what seems to be their chronological sequence; Grave I is the latest burial, and Grave XXII the earliest. The earliest of the urn-burials (X) is, however, earlier than the latest of the inhumations (XI). Although only twenty burials were found, twenty-two groups from the precinct are published in the catalogue. Of the two extra groups one, Grave XII, consists of pottery and figurines from the remains of a sacrificial pyre which had been burned in the precinct in connection with one or another of the inhumations. The other group, Grave XV, consists of an amphora neck and a kantharos found together in the disturbed filling of Pit A. The kantharos was found tightly fitted into the mouth of the amphora where it had been placed at the time of burial; the two vases came from the same grave. Since neither the pottery from the pyre, nor that from the late filling of Pit A could be assigned to any of the burials found, each group is listed separately as a grave group. In addition to the twenty-two groups from the terrace three burials found some distance away toward the south are published. Although these burials have no immediate connection with those in the precinct, they are published here because they are contemporary and furnish information supplementary to that given by the graves of the other group.

The ten shaft burials found in the grave terrace were cut in the firm filling of broken hardpan between the retaining wall and the hillside. Most of them lay in the wide northeast end of the precinct; at the narrower end the level of the bedrock was high, and the shafts had to be cut in the harder rock. Probably for this reason the southwesternmost part of the area was never used. An inner row of graves (XI, XVII–XX) radiated from the base of the hill; an outer lay, with different orientation, across their ends. Of the inner row four grave shafts were preserved; a possible fifth (between Graves XIX–XX and Grave XVII) may have been completely obliterated by Pit A. Two graves of different orientation interrupt the regular succession of the graves of the inner row. One of these, XVI, had been almost entirely destroyed by Pit A; only its lower end was left undisturbed. The other, Grave XXII, lay near the southwest end of the terrace; its lower end had been cut off by Grave XI, and its upper half cut through by Well C. In the outer row there were three graves; XIII, XIV, and XXI. The last of these, XXI, had been cut close beside Grave XXII and beside the end of Grave XI; the terrace was there too narrow for another shaft across the end of Grave XI.

The disposition of the shaft graves in a double row suggests that the burials were made in accordance with a plan, and that the positions occupied by earlier graves were always known approximately. In only two cases were early graves disturbed by later; in both there was probably a considerable lapse of time between the burials. Grave VI was somewhat damaged by Grave II, added more than half a century after the last of the successive early burials. Grave XXII was slightly disturbed by Grave XI, the latest of the shaft graves. It is probable that Grave XXII, which lay close in to the hillside and parallel to it, was the earliest burial made in the precinct. Cut early, and without forethought as to economy of space, it lay in a position which hindered the placing of later graves in the

narrow end of the terrace. The wide end was therefore filled first, and the narrow end used only when there was no longer any room toward the northeast.

Most of the graves of the inner series must have been made before those of the outer. The oldest must have been XXII, followed by XVII–XX (in what order is not clear). The graves of the second series, XIII–XIV, were then added, filling the wide end of the terrace, and compelling the use of the narrow end. Graves XI and XXI were then added, disturbing the earliest grave, XXII.

One grave contained two burials (XIX–XX). Quite clearly they had been made at different times; the covering slabs of Grave XX must have been lifted in order that a second body might be placed in it, and they were probably replaced afterward. The position of the grave must have been known, and it was re-used for a second burial intentionally and not by chance. In all probability the graves were unmarked; no fragments of the very large vases used as *σήματα*, nor of crude stone stelai such as were found at the Kerameikos and Eleusis<sup>1</sup> appeared in our grave area. In only one case (Grave XIV), where a stone placed over the cover at one end of the grave may have served as a bedding for a marker, was there any suggestion that the graves had been marked. The planning of the two rows of unmarked graves, the similarity of type among the graves, and the fact that the positions of burials were remembered and, as far as possible, respected, together lead to the belief that the burials were made over a relatively short period of time.

The urn-burials of children were tucked in wherever there was room, mostly in the eastern corner and along the southeast side of the precinct. Two were much later than the other graves. Grave II, to be dated about 600, was dug near the middle of the terrace and disturbed Grave VI. Perhaps as a result of the damage caused by Grave II, the latest grave, I, was placed far to the north where there was little danger of disturbing the earlier burials, the exact positions of which by that time had been forgotten. Grave III, the latest of the early burials, was cut, like the latest shaft graves XI and XXI, in the bedrock at the narrow end of the precinct.

A number of factors suggest that our grave terrace was a family cemetery. The planning of the series of graves, which were placed more with a view to economy of space than to any fixed rule of orientation, and the respect shown for earlier burials, lead to the belief that the precinct belonged to one family and was used over a short period. The peculiar relationship of Graves XIX and XX, successive burials in the same grave, furthers the belief. The intermingling of adult and child burials also suggests that the terrace was a family burial plot; very often in large common cemeteries, as at Phaleron, Marathon, Camiros, and some of the Sicilian colonies, a special part of the area was set aside for children's burials exclusively. Family plots in which successive burials can be traced, have, moreover, been found at the Kerameikos. The addition of two graves much later than the others gives evidence that the original function of the terrace was not forgotten.

<sup>1</sup> Poulsen, p. 18; *Eph. Arch.*, 1912, p. 36.

No burials of the second half of the seventh century were found to bridge the lapse of time between Graves III and II; it is possible, though unlikely, that such graves existed and were destroyed by the late disturbances in the area. A number of fragmentary vases found in the disturbed filling in various parts of the terrace may have been from such graves; but they may also be fragments of vases used in ritual observances performed in the cemetery in memory of the dead. Our precinct was probably in regular use for burials over a period of about two generations, from the last quarter of the eighth century into the second quarter of the seventh. Grave II was added about 600, Grave I somewhat later.

Small children were buried in pithoi, amphoras, or hydriai. One of our burials (III) seems to have been made in a deep bowl of coarse fabric. The vessel containing the body was always a simple vase without elaborate ornamentation, probably a pot of the type ordinarily used for the storage or export of oil or wine. Such vases were used for the burial of small children all over the Greek world. As the neck was often too narrow for the insertion of the body through the mouth of the pot, a hole was carefully made in the side, and the section removed was replaced after the body and the grave offerings had been put in.<sup>1</sup> The outlines of the breaks made for this purpose may be observed on the burial urns from our Graves II, IV, V and VI. The hydria used for burial in Grave X (fig. 27) was broken in a somewhat different manner. Two deep scratches were made, parallel to each other and at some distance apart, from the shoulder to the foot. The scratched lines were then chipped until the section of the wall between them could be taken out in one piece; after the body had been inserted the fragment was replaced. In the case of Grave IX the pithos used had a mouth wide enough for the insertion of the bodies, and no breakage was necessary.

The positions of the skeletons in their urns could not always be determined, as the tiny bones had often been almost entirely disintegrated by damp. The bones in Graves IV, V, IX and X, however, were sufficiently preserved to show that the children had been buried lying on their sides, and in a bent position with the knees drawn up. One of the graves (IX) contained two skeletons; as there was no evidence of any disturbance of the grave for the insertion of a second body, the two children must have been buried together at the same time. A similar double burial of children was found at Eleusis.<sup>2</sup> The simultaneous death of two children in the same family may well have been due to some illness of epidemic nature; Professor Soteriades, horrified by the number of infant burials at Marathon, suggests that an epidemic took place there.<sup>3</sup> In any case, the large cemeteries of children at Phaleron and elsewhere lead to the belief that infant mortality must have been very high in the primitive conditions of early Greek times.

<sup>1</sup> As at Phaleron (*Eph. Arch.*, 1911, pp. 246-248 and figs. 6-7); at Mycenae (*Eph. Arch.*, 1912, p. 128); and at Megara Hyblaea (*Monumenti*, I, pp. 770-771). The amphora from Grave 28 at Tiryns (*Tiryns*, I, p. 132, and pl. XVII, 8) seems to have been neatly cut off at the bottom.

<sup>2</sup> *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> *Praktika*, 1934, pp. 37 ff.

The burial urns containing the bodies were always laid on their sides and covered at the mouth by a flat stone or a large coarse sherd. In the case of Grave X the mouth of the hydria was covered by a one-handled cup, and the mouth of the amphora in Grave VI by a plate. The offerings of small vases were usually placed inside the burial urn with the body, but in Graves VI, VII and IX offerings were found outside as well. One of the kantharoi found in Grave IX contained carbonized matter which was probably the remains of food placed in the grave with the body. Similar carbonized matter was found in the burial urns of Graves I, IV and VI. Carbonized remains of food have been found in graves at Eleusis.<sup>1</sup> Liquid offerings of milk or honey may have been made in the coarse pitchers which stood, always upright, outside the burial urns. Such coarse pitchers were found in Graves VI–X; the mouth of the one used in Grave VIII was carefully covered with a flat slab of stone.

After the burial urn containing the body and the grave offerings had been placed in the pit dug to receive it, the mouth covered, and any further offerings put in position beside it, the pit was filled. In only one case, Grave IV, was a stone cover used. Two flat slabs were laid directly on the amphora, and a mass of small stones thrown on top of them (fig. 11). No rule of orientation was observed in the placing of the burial pots; they were laid with their mouths pointing in any direction at haphazard as the pits had been dug. The burial of small children in urns was the method commonly employed in ancient times. The term *ἐγγυρτισμός* has been suggested for the practice; although it is not actually used by ancient writers, the verb *ἐγγυρτίζειν* appears, and women called *ἐγγυρτιστριαί* are mentioned, one of whose functions may have been to prepare the dead for burial by placing them in pots.<sup>2</sup>

The shaft burials of adults were of a type used in the late Geometric period at the Dipylon.<sup>3</sup> Rectangular shafts, usually about two metres long and half a metre wide, were sunk in the filling of the terrace. The body was placed on the floor of the shaft, lying on its back with the arms extending along the sides. The legs were usually extended straight downward; in two cases, however, they seem to have been bent, with the knees raised (Graves XVIII and XXI). The vases offered at the funeral were placed around the body in the bottom of the shaft; in the case of men's graves at the lower end by the feet, and in the case of women's wherever there was room. No evidence was obtained as to the clothing worn by the dead; the fibulae found lay either on the bottom of the grave or among the vases, or had been put before burial into one of the vases. After the body and the pottery had been placed in the grave, enough earth was thrown in to cover them. In Grave XVII two of the vases were found resting on the earth fill at a high level immediately below the cover. In Graves XVIII and XX a fairly evenly distributed layer of ash and cinders extended over the earth filling covering the skeletons and grave offerings. The evidence seems clear, then, that the graves were filled before being covered. The depth of the shafts

<sup>1</sup> *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Poulsen, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *A. A.*, 1935, pp. 262 ff.

from floor to cover was usually about half a metre. The cover slabs, about a metre long, were of micaceous green shale. They had been laid across the shafts from side to side; sometimes their edges overlapped, and usually the cracks between their ends had been chinked with small stones. They formed, then, a fairly tight cover through which very little could pass. There was usually a thin layer of fine earth inside, which had sifted through, and overlay the grave filling; but in almost every case there was empty space immediately below the cover.

Since the level of the terrace floor of the Geometric period was nowhere preserved, the total depth of the grave shafts cannot be known exactly. It seems safe to assume, however, that the covering slabs lay at least half a metre below the surface. Graves of this type at the Dipylon were usually about a metre deep. The shafts in their upper part must have been as wide and long as the covers over the graves. They were cut, then, with a width of about a metre to a depth of about half a metre, from which point they were narrowed, leaving ledges along the sides to support the ends of the cover slabs. The ledges left were of the firm filling of broken hardpan; no walls were built along the sides of the grave shafts to help support the covers.

It has already been noted that, with the possible exception of XIV, no evidence was found to indicate that the graves had been marked; also that they were cut with a view more to the natural contour of the land and to economy of space than to any fixed rule of orientation. The positions of the bodies in the graves further show that no rule of grave orientation was observed. Of the inner row of graves, the bodies in three (XI, XVIII, and XX) had been laid with the heads toward the southeast, while the bodies in the other two graves (XVII and XIX) lay with their heads toward the northwest. Graves XVII and XVIII were both graves of women; Graves XI and XIX both graves of men.

In the case of none of the shaft burials had offerings of vases been left outside the graves themselves. The grave gifts were always found with the body inside the shaft. For men the offerings were limited in number, and usually consisted of weapons and drinking vessels. For women more numerous vases were brought; Grave XVII contained twenty-two pots. Characteristic in women's graves were the pyxides, which were probably used in life as toilet boxes.<sup>1</sup> Jewellery in the form of rings, pins, and fibulae was placed in women's graves instead of weapons. Undoubtedly many vases were brought new to be offered in the graves; but often vases were offered which showed clearly by their worn and chipped condition that they had undergone considerable use before being placed in the grave. Miniature vases were almost always offered in children's graves. Such little vases were probably used by the children in their lifetime and were not specially made as grave offerings; a little feeder found in a child's grave at Tiryns, for example, must have been made for use.<sup>2</sup> Some of the vases in Grave IX, which had sixteen small offerings,

<sup>1</sup> Pyxides were customarily placed in the graves of women and girls during the seventh and sixth centuries in the North Cemetery at Corinth; see *A. J. A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> Tiryns Grave 30; *Tiryns*, I, pl. XVIII, 9.

seemed fresh and new, while others were somewhat worn and peeled. In the graves of children then, as in the graves of adults, used and new vases were often offered together. All the vases in a grave were thus not necessarily strictly contemporary; some may have been as much as twenty years older than other vases found in the same grave. The dating suggested for each burial is based on what seems a probable approximate date for the latest vase offered in it; it must always be remembered that some of the other vases may be earlier.

Our cemetery yielded considerable evidence as to the funeral rites held at the graves. Two of the women's graves, XVIII and XX, contained thick layers of ash, distributed fairly evenly throughout the shafts, and which must have been thrown in before the covers were put in place. Small fragments of animal bones were, moreover, found in the same graves. The combination of ash and the bones of animals suggests that sacrifices were held at the grave, and that perhaps the funeral banquet or *περίδειπνον* was eaten there. Very strong evidence in favor of this supposition was found in Grave XI, which was a normal inhumation of a man. A mass of carbonized matter, however, was found inside the grave; among the ash and cinders were found many fragments of burned and broken vases and figurines. A considerable amount of the same carbonized matter, scattered through the filling over the grave, produced similar fragments of vases, some of which actually joined with fragments found inside the grave. Since the cover was too tight to allow the passage of any but the very smallest sherds, the burned deposit must have been thrown into the grave after the body had been put in and before the cover was laid over the shaft. Throughout the burned deposit were found small fragments of animal bone. The burned deposit can be nothing but the remains of a sacrificial pyre burned near the grave at the time of the funeral; a pyre at which animals were sacrificed and at which the meat for the funeral banquet was cooked. The bits of animal bone found scattered through the burned deposit came probably from the parts of the victims burned as sacrifices; a whole collection of unbroken animal bones found in one of the amphoras which had been offered in the grave may well represent the remains of the funeral banquet. The animal bones unfortunately were not identified as to species; bones of cows and horses, sheep and hares, as well as eggshells and seashells have been found at the Kerameikos, Phaleron, and Eleusis; the bones probably of a pig were found in a grave at the Agora.<sup>1</sup> Geometric inhumations showing traces of burning have been found at the Kerameikos and at Eleusis.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Grave XI the remains of the sacrificial pyre were used to help fill the grave. Grave XII, a thick deposit of burned matter found in the road beside the grave terrace, was part of a pyre similar to that burned beside Grave XI. In the case of Grave XII, however, the remains of the pyre were swept up and dumped over the parapet wall, instead of being used to fill the grave. As in the burned matter found in Grave XI, fragments of animal bones were found scattered through the remains of the other sacrificial pyre,

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 141; *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pp. 89 and 98; Poulsen, pp. 22 ff.; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 17 (Grave 3 a); *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> Poulsen, p. 25; *Eph. Arch.*, 1912, p. 33.

Grave XII. The similarity in the selection of vases found in the two pyres is, moreover, striking and perhaps significant: in each case a large pot, amphora or hydria, decorated with funerary scenes; a pair of bowls on perforated stands; small cups, miniature oinochoai and lekythoi, and figurines. These vases, broken and thrown into the pyre, are clearly ritual in character. Vases decorated with prothesis scenes<sup>1</sup> must have been made for use at funerals and not for everyday life. Bowls on high perforated stands seem to have been commonly used in funerary rites; bowls of this type were found in the Phaleron cemetery only in connection with pyres.<sup>2</sup> The small oinochoai and lekythoi found in Grave XII can have been of no use for the ordinary purposes of life. Oil, wine, and perfume may have been contained in the vases broken at the pyre; all were used at funerals in classical times, and all were used at the funeral of Patroklos as described by Homer in the twenty-third book of the Iliad. The contents of our pyres suggest that the custom was continuous from early times; the big vases contained perhaps the wine, the smaller the oil, and the miniature lekythoi the perfume; incense may have been burned in the shallow open saucers and skyphoi. The scene drawn on one side of the neck of the amphora from Grave XII may throw some light on the ritual. Three figures are represented bringing objects for use at the funeral (fig. 38); one is a wreath, the second a knife, and the third a vase with a high lid, perhaps a *θυμιατήριον* or incense-burner. The wreath is probably an offering to the dead; the scene on the other side of the neck of the same amphora (fig. 37) is one of prothesis, in which a figure is holding a leafy spray over the head of the dead. The knife is undoubtedly brought for use at the sacrifice.

The evidence of Graves XI and XII is important with regard to funeral ritual. Our graves show not only that sacrificial pyres were burned beside inhumations, but also that animals were actually slaughtered, and probably eaten, at the graveside. The evidence as to offerings of flowers and perhaps incense is welcome. The probability becomes strong that the traditional ritual of burial as described by Homer was continuous, handed down through the Geometric period into early classical times. Elaborate grave ceremonies such as were performed at Graves XI and XII must have been celebrated only for prominent persons. Grave XI was a man's burial; presumably the pyre Grave XII, so similar in its nature and contents to the one burned at Grave XI, was also burned beside a man's grave. Possibly the burial was our Grave XIII, which is perhaps slightly earlier than the pyre, but which contained an elaborately made pot suggesting that the person buried was an important personage.

Our graves at the Agora are of normal late Geometric type such as have been found elsewhere in Attica. The children's burials are of a type common throughout the Greek world. Our cemetery, however, furnishes new and interesting evidence as to the burial customs of the early Greek period. A list of Attic graves with their probable dating is given in Appendix I, p. 231 below.

<sup>1</sup> Geometric scenes of prothesis and ekphora are listed, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Deltion*, II, 1916, pp. 17 ff.; Graves 3 a, 14 a, 40 and 41. All were pyres; human bones are not mentioned in connection with any of them, while animal bones were found in 3 a.

## CATALOGUE OF GRAVES

## GRAVE I

Plan. Fig. 1. Contents. Fig. 7

Urn-burial of an infant. Height above sea-level 56.62 m. The amphora, containing the skeleton of a small child, had been laid on its side, with a coarse sherd over its mouth, in a shallow pit scooped for it in the bedrock. It had been partially destroyed by the laying of a later drain close by. There were no grave offerings. Some carbonized matter and a number of cinders found in the amphora with the skeleton suggest that food of some sort may have been buried with the body.

The coarse amphora of very micaceous clay is of a type for which I have found no published parallels. An amphora of similar shape and fabric was found in a pit on the north slope of the Acropolis, together with late seventh and sixth century pottery.<sup>1</sup> On the evidence of the example from the North Slope, our amphora should be dated probably in the sixth century; its fabric finds no parallels among the coarse wares of the seventh.

### I 1. Coarse Amphora. Fig. 7

P 5080. H. (as restored), 0.565 m. Diam., 0.35 m.

Most of the neck, one handle, part of the rim, and the body at one side, restored. Egg-shaped body, narrowing to an irregularly flattened tip; short neck and thick rounded lip. Smooth, very flaky, micaceous clay; unglazed.



Fig. 7. Grave I, Amphora (I 1)

## GRAVE II

Plan. Fig. 1. Contents. Figs. 8-9

Urn-burial of an infant. Height above sea-level, 55.87 m. Grave II had been slightly disturbed by the digging of Pit A; it had itself disturbed Grave VI. The amphora lay on its side with a flat stone stopping its mouth. The three small vases offered at the burial were found, together with a few of the bones of a small child, inside the amphora.

The burial amphora is a late example from a long series of Attic amphoras extending throughout the seventh century and into the sixth. The small pots are dated at the very

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Oscar Broneer for showing me this amphora from the excavations on the North Slope, and for permission to mention it here.



end of the seventh century or the beginning of the sixth. Pyxis and skyphos are late and careless imitations of late Protocorinthian types with linear decoration, which persist in Corinth until the end of the seventh century. The birds of the pyxis-lid and oinochoe, on the other hand, seem to stand near the head of an Attic group extending through the sixth century. The vases from Grave II must then date from about 600.

### II 1. Amphora. Figs. 8 and 144

P 4599. H., 0.595 m. Max. diam., 0.395 m.

Flaring foot and slightly concave neck, with heavily rounded lip. Pink clay; the egg-shaped body, the lip, and most of the foot covered with streaky brownish-red glaze. Incised on the shoulder on one side, a horizontal line with two shallow arcs pendant from it, like an elongated B (fig. 144).

For the series to which this amphora belongs, see below, **C 127**, and p. 210. Other late examples from this series are an amphora from Phaleron (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 28, no. 6 from Grave 33) found with an early Corinthian oinochoe of the last quarter of the seventh century; and, still later and more developed, the amphora carried by Dionysos on the François vase (Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, pl. I), where the body is taller and more pointed, and the foot even more flaring. The moulded neck-ring seen on earlier examples has by this time entirely disappeared.

### II 2. Small Skyphos. Fig. 9

P 4600. H., 0.049 m. Diam. at rim, 0.067 m.

Flaring base, slightly concave underneath; above it, rays. Thin brown glaze inside, and on top of each handle. Two wide bands of purple-red below the handles, with glaze bands above and below; the glaze band between crossed by short verticals. A crude lozenge chain in the handle zone, with dots between the upper points of the lozenges.

An Attic imitation of late Protocorinthian–Early Corinthian skyphoi with linear decoration, extending to the end of the seventh century; prototype as Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 279, fig. 120.

### II 3. Lidded Pyxis. Fig. 9

P 4602. H. (pyxis), 0.052 m. H. with lid, 0.091 m. Diam. at rim, 0.072 m.

Flat bottomed pyxis with deep, slightly concave side wall and handles outside the rim. Around the middle of the body a zone filled by a lozenge-chain; above and below, broad bands of purple-red, bordered by glaze bands. A wavy line in the handle zone. The convex lid has a tall knob handle decorated on top with a six-armed cross, and on the side with a purple-red and a black band; around the lid itself, a procession of birds to the right. Purple-red on the bodies of the birds. Attic clay; glaze dull brown to metallic black. The shape is taken from the Early Corinthian type discussed by Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 292. The bird procession on the lid is paralleled on a lidded skyphos from one of the latest graves at Phaleron (*Delt.*, II, 1916,

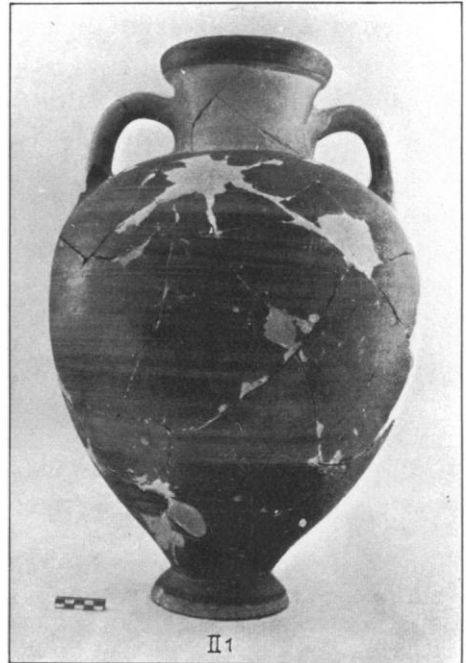


Fig. 8. Grave II, Amphora (II 1)

p. 35, fig. 29; grave 18 A). This type of unincised bird decoration is used on an Attic group common in the sixth century, and apparently beginning at the end of the seventh; several examples from the Acropolis are discussed in Graef-Langlotz I, pp. 61 ff., 569-583. See also Toronto 274-277; Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *Greek Vases in Toronto*, pl. XXV; dated about 600.

#### II 4. Oinochoe. Fig. 9

P 4601. H. to lip, 0.078 m. Max. diam., 0.056 m.

Flaring ring foot, and band handle with a glaze stripe down its outer face. A shallow groove around the base of the neck, and a fine raised ring half-way up. A siren with spread wings covers most of the body; she stands right, with her head turned back. A water fowl faces her. A band of purple runs across the wings and breast of the siren; purple is used also on the wing and breast of the bird, and on the band below. Blob and ring rosettes in the field; no incision is used. Attic clay; highly metallic black glaze.



Fig. 9. Grave II, Small Vases (II 2-4)

The neck-ring is common on Early and Middle Corinthian oinochoai and olpai. The unincised decoration is similar to that of the pyxis lid; it may be derived from Corinthian pots with unincised animal zones such as those discussed by Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 279, B and no. 191.

#### GRAVE III

Plan. Fig. 1. Contents. Fig. 10

Urn-burial of an infant. Height above sea-level, 57.20 m. The burial had been disturbed at the time of the lowering of the level of the terrace floor in the sixth century. A fragment of the coarse spouted basin, in which the body had probably been placed, was found, together with a small oinochoe and the skull and some of the bones of an infant, in a shallow round pit scooped out of the bedrock. The grave was too disturbed to give evidence as to the original position of the basin, or as to the way in which it was covered.

The burial should be dated in the second quarter of the seventh century; vases similar both to the coarse basin and to the oinochoe have been found in orientaling contexts.

Spouted basins like the one from Grave III seem to have been made down to the end of the century.

### III 1. Coarse Basin Fragment. Fig. 10

P 6482. H., 0.238 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.43 m.

A fragment preserving the complete profile; ring foot and fairly deep convex body with thickened rim, flat on top and slightly projecting. Coarse micaceous red clay with grits.

The basin probably had a shallow pouring-spout in its rim. The type is seventh century; compare, from the Agora well, **C 160**, and from the Agora votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 597 ff., 234; figs. 63 and 69. Both the well deposit and the votive deposit are dateable in the

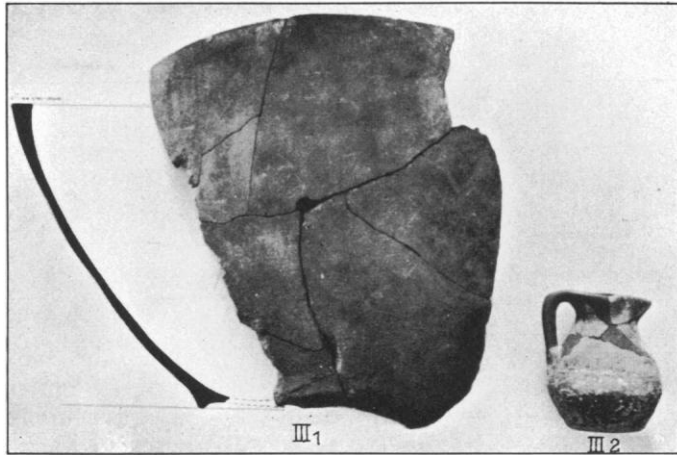


Fig. 10. Grave III, Bowl Fragment and Oinochoe (III 1-2)

first half of the seventh century. A fragment of another spouted basin of the same sort was found in an Agora deposit of the third quarter of the century: *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 426, **D 25**, and figs. 8-9.

### III 2. Oinochoe. Fig. 10

P 5347. H., 0.099 m. Max. Diam., 0.085 m.

The band handle, and gaps in the body, restored. Squat flat-bottomed body and trefoil mouth. Soft flaky clay covered with dull black glaze; a reserved band around the middle was decorated with fine glaze lines. Very badly flaked and peeled.

An oinochoe of about the same shape was found at Phaleron in a grave of the second quarter of the seventh century (Grave 48; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 41, fig. 41, 3).

## GRAVE IV

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Fig. 11. Contents. Figs. 12-13

Urn-burial of an infant. Height above sea-level, 56.20 m. The neck and part of the shoulder of the amphora had been broken away for the insertion of the body. The mouth of the amphora, which lay on its side, was covered by a coarse sherd. The amphora was

covered above by two thin flat slabs of stone, a large one resting on its body, and a smaller on its foot. The larger slab was pierced by two small holes through its centre, perhaps finger-holes for lowering it onto the amphora in the grave. A mass of small stones piled on top of the slabs must have been thrown in when the grave was filled; among them was



Fig. 11. Grave IV, Amphora with Covering of Slabs and Small Stones.

found a late Geometric sherd (**IV 2**). There were no grave offerings; carbonized matter found in the amphora with the bones of a small child suggest that food had been placed in the grave with the body.

The sherd found among the stones over the grave is from a subgeometric amphora. The burial must be somewhat later than the sherd; the amphora is of developed shape, and finds seventh century parallels. It should probably be dated at the end of the first or the beginning of the second quarter of the century.

#### **IV 1.** Amphora. Fig. 12

P 4613. H., 0.417 m. Max. Diam., 0.292 m.

The neck and part of the shoulder at one side are broken away. A slightly flaring ring foot and plump ovoid body; wide neck and flaring rounded lip. Band handles. Attic clay covered with a thick creamy slip; glaze bands around the body, foot, and rim, and a wavy vertical line down each handle.

The shape, plump body with wide neck, is descended from that of the amphora from Dipylon Grave XIII (Wide, fig. 48); to the same series belongs the Protoattic amphora from Pikrodaphne, *B.C.H.*, XVII, 1893, pls. II-III. An amphora of the same shape and decoration as **IV 1** was found in an

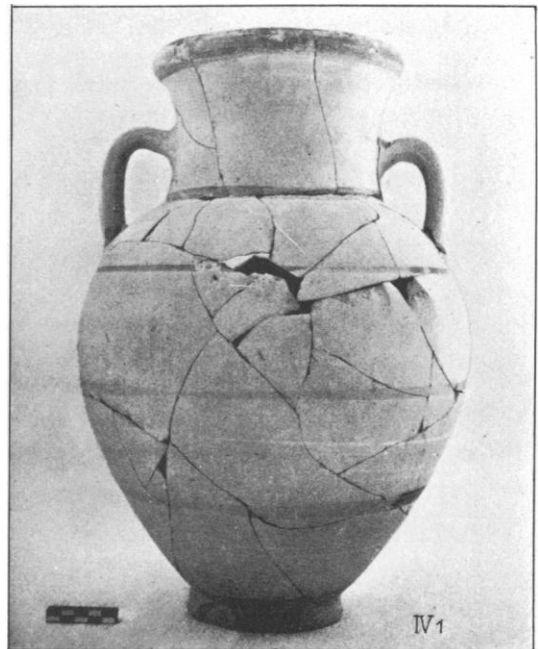


Fig. 12. Grave IV, Amphora (IV 1)

Agora well of the seventh and early sixth century, which contained no Geometric pottery (Agora Inventory P 3469). The amphora **C 146** from the seventh century well is of the same type. While these amphoras clearly have a Geometric ancestry, they are found in seventh century rather than Geometric contexts. To be noted is the substitution of the wavy line for the St. Andrew's cross as a handle decoration on very late Geometric and orientalizing vases.

#### IV 2. Amphora Fragment. Fig. 13

P 4612. P. H., 0.12 m.

Part of the neck of an amphora with flaring rounded lip. In the neck panel, part of a grazing horse; in front of the horse, a column of zigzags, with long-legged birds standing on the apices. A tall plant between the forelegs of the horse. On the preserved part of the shoulder, a section of a hanging triangle, and a lozenge chain; on the lip, zigzag, broken into short sections. Attic clay, with shiny black glaze, badly peeled.

A very similar fragment, possibly from the same pot (**B 67** below) was found in a Protoattic context; compare also the fragment **B 66** from the same context, which is very similar in style. A complete amphora of the same shape and style of decoration was found in Thera: Berlin F 3901 (Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium*, II, *Vasen*, pl. III); the amphora from Thera is Attic, and must date from the very end of the eighth century or the beginning of the seventh (compare the shape with that of Wide, fig. 48, of the last quarter of the eighth century, and the amphora from Pikrodaphne (*B. C. H.*, XVII, 1893, pls. II-III), of the late first quarter of the seventh. The decoration of grazing horses with crowded filling ornament continues, in subsidiary decorative bands, well into the seventh century; compare the Analatos Hydria, *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. III.

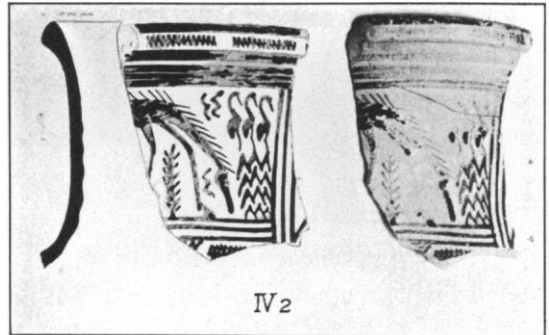


Fig. 13. Sherd from among the Stones over the Grave Cover (IV 2)

#### GRAVE V

Plan. Fig. 1. Section. Fig. 2. Contents. Figs. 14-15

Urn-burial of an infant. Height above sea-level, 56.54 m. The neck and mouth of the hydria, with part of the shoulder, were missing; the grave had been somewhat disturbed by the digging of Well B. The hydria lay on its side; in it was found the skeleton of a small child lying on its side with the knees drawn up toward the chest. The grave offering of two small pots had been placed with the body inside the hydria.

The grave seems to belong in the first quarter of the seventh century. Parallels for the hydria are to be found in the Phaleron cemetery and in our seventh century well; a group of hydriai from Rheneia is very similar in shape, fabric, and decoration. The small skyphos and cup are late in shape and subgeometric in decoration. Since stylistic considerations

lead to the dating of Grave VIII, which lay immediately below Grave V, at the end of the eighth century, Grave V should probably be dated well down in the first quarter of the seventh.

### V 1. Hydria. Fig. 14

P 4614. P. H., 0.345 m. Max. Diam., 0.305 m.

One horizontal handle, and the neck and mouth, with the vertical handle, are missing. Slightly flaring ring foot. The foot, and the bottom of the body, are glazed; two sets of triple bands around the body below the handle zone. A wavy line in the handle zone at the front. Nine glaze bands around the shoulder; in two places below the base of the neck, sets of three vertical pendants. The vertical handle was flat; enough remains to show that it was decorated with bars. The outer faces of the horizontal handles are solidly glazed. Pinkish buff clay, covered with a heavy creamy slip; black glaze, metallic in places, and much peeled.

Neck and mouth should probably be restored as on **X 1** (fig. 27). The hydria gives a false impression that it is Protogeometric; but the pale clay, creamy slip, and general appearance of the fabric are entirely different from true Protogeometric. The body, compared with the Protogeometric amphoras illustrated in *A. A.*, 1936, pp. 191-192 and figs. 5-8, is seen to be deeper and more pointed, narrower at the bottom, and with a higher, less flaring ring foot. The decoration too is not usual for Protogeometric; the multiplication of glaze bands on the shoulder, the solid glaze on the handles instead of the canonical glaze bands ending in "tails," and the single wavy line in the handle zone instead of the double or triple wavy bands always used in true Protogeometric, are evidence that our hydria belongs to a different fabric. The hydria too is a comparatively rare shape in Protogeometric; to call an amphora a two-handled hydria (*A. A.*, 1934, p. 237) is extremely misleading; see Daremberg-Saglio, *sv.* Hydria. Seventh century hydriai having a superficial resemblance to Protogeometric are not uncommon; in addition to the present example, two others have been found in the Agora, **X 1** and, in the seventh century well, **C 148**. Another, resembling our examples in fabric and decoration, was found in a seventh century grave at Phaleron (Grave 10; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 31, fig. 20). A series of pots from Delos-Rheneia includes hydriai much like ours (Dugas, *Dēlos*, XV, class Aa; hydriai and amphoras Nos. 1-27). These pots differ from ours in fabric, and are probably somewhat earlier; but in shape as well as selection and distribution of ornament, they are close to the Attic examples, and show, with them, a strong Protogeometric influence. Like the Attic hydriai, they have solidly glazed handles and single wavy lines in the handle zone; the lip is either projecting or heavily rounded, differing in this from the plain flaring Protogeometric lip. Such motives as running dog, rows of sigmas, and dotted lozenges are commonly used. Most like the Attic hydriai in shape is No. 7 of Plate IV; No. 27, Plate XV, differs from the rest in neck and lip as well as in glaze and fabric, and is the only one of the whole series that seems to be

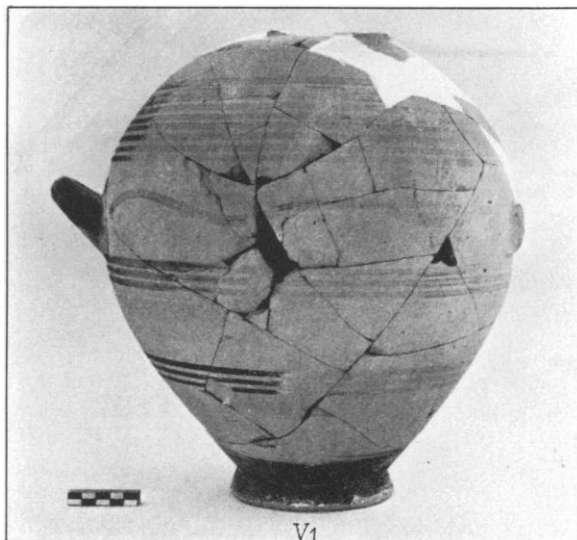


Fig. 14. Grave V, Hydria (V 1)

true Protogeometric. Protogeometric is known to have lasted late in Boeotia and Thessaly; it is not impossible that it should have influenced the Cycladic workshops, working its way through the northern Sporades or Euboia. Protogeometric has been found in Skyros (*B. S. A.*, XI, 1904-05, p. 79; *A. A.*, 1936, pp. 228-234). The Cycladic series which has been attributed by Buschor to Paros (*Ath. Mitt.*, LIV, 1929, pp. 142 ff.), is followed by an orientalizing sequel (*Délos*, XVII, *Vases archaïques des Cyclades à décor linéaire*, pls. XXXIV-XXXVI). The hydria from Phaleron Grave 10 resembles more closely those of the later Cycladic series, *Délos*, XVII, pls. XXXIV-XXXV.

**V 2.** Cup. Fig. 15

P 4616. H., 0.055 m. Diam. at rim., 0.075 m.

Part of the handle and lip restored. Flat bottom and band handle: slightly flaring lip. Short vertical blobs of glaze in the handle zone, and bands on the rim. Bars on the handle: glazed inside, except for a reserved band at the lip. Attic clay; dull black glaze, somewhat peeled.

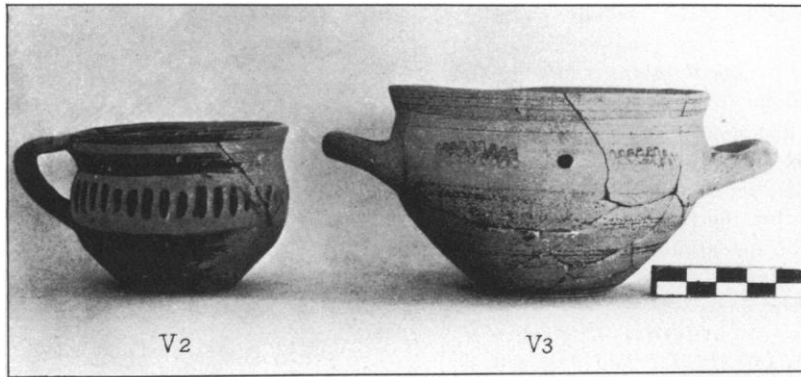


Fig. 15. Grave V, Small Vases (V 2-3)

The shape is late and the decoration subgeometric. Part of a very similar cup was found in the seventh century well (**C 57**, fig. 109 below).

**V 3.** Skyphos. Fig. 15

P 4615. H., 0.068 m. Diam. at rim, 0.109 m.

Flat bottom and straight rim tilted slightly outward. Bands on the rim, and zigzags in the reserved handle zone, with a dot at the centre. Glazed inside, with a reserved dot on the floor. Greyish buff clay, badly peeled black glaze. The fabric is Attic, perhaps misfired.

The shape is late, as indicated by the flat bottom, relatively high straight rim, and very shallow shoulder. Early skyphoi from the Areopagus graves (*C. V. A.*, *Athens*, I, pls. I-II) have a sharply rounded shoulder, low, sharply offset rim, and ring foot. Here the shoulder has almost disappeared, and the bottom is flat. The decoration is subgeometric.

GRAVE VI

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Fig. 64. Contents. Figs. 16-18

Urn-burial of a small child. Height above sea-level, 55.80 m. The burial had been slightly disturbed by the digging of Grave II. The amphora lay on its side, covered at the

mouth by a shallow plate. The grave offering of three small pots had been placed in the pit before the amphora itself, and lay immediately under its neck. One of the small vases offered had not been fired, or had been insufficiently fired; the dampness of the ground had reduced it to little more than a lump of pinkish clay easily distinguishable from the surrounding fill. It had been spherical in shape; possibly a round-bodied hand-made aryballos of the type often found in late Geometric graves (like **XVII 22** and **XXV 4**). The pink clay was well cleaned and very flaky. A coarse hand-made pitcher stood upright beside the neck of the amphora.

The amphora finds parallels in subgeometric graves not only in Attica, but also in the Argolid (Mycenae and Tiryns; also at Troezen). The small vases, late in shape, are decorated in a careful subgeometric style; a very close parallel for the plate was found with a Protoattic amphora in the Eleusis cemetery. Parallels for all the pots of the grave are to be noted in the Agora well deposit of the first half of the seventh century. The pottery from the grave should be dated in the first quarter of the seventh century.

#### **VI 1.** Amphora. Fig. 16

P 4768. H., 0.71 m. Max. diam., 0.45 m.

One handle, and parts of the body at one side, missing. Ovoid body on a high, slightly flaring, ring foot; rolled handles, and a heavy rounded rim. The body, the foot, and the rim are covered with streaky glaze, varying from black to red. (Glaze bands around the bottom of the neck; at the centre, on the front and back, two triangles, with a St. Andrew's cross inside the inner one; a wavy vertical line at each side. Glaze bands down the sides of the handles.)

This amphora differs from those of Graves VII and VIII in rim and handles, although it is otherwise close in shape. It is a development of the type of amphora found in Dipylon Grave XIII, which Hampe dates at the end of the eighth century (Hampe, p. 38; the amphora, pl. 32, N.M. 770); the body has become taller and more pointed, the foot flares, and the neck is higher and narrower. In shape our amphora is much like the Kera-meikos amphora with subgeometric decoration, Wide, fig. 54. The conventional neck decoration and heavy flaring foot are characteristic of a class of seventh century oil amphoras: *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 248, figs. 6-7, and *Delt.*, II, 1916, pp. 27-28, figs. 11-12. Fragments of several were found in our seventh century well: **C 127-133**; especially **C 129**. The earliest of the series was found in Phaleron Grave 47, which is dated by Proto-corinthian vases found in it around 700. Our amphora, with its relatively slim body and high neck, does not fit into the series, although it is clearly influenced by it.

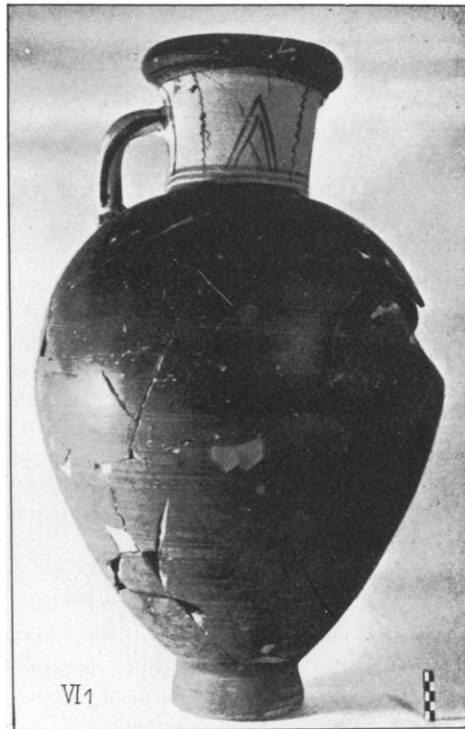


Fig. 16. Grave VI, Amphora (VI 1)



**VI 2.** Cup. Fig. 17

P 4786. H., 0.055 m. Diam. at rim, 0.071 m.

Flat bottom and band handle decorated with bars. The straight rim is tilted slightly outward. Meander on the front of the body, with a lozenge-star in a panel at each end. Checker-board pattern on the rim. Glazed inside, with three reserved bands on the inner rim. Somewhat metallic black glaze, streaky where thin.

The shape is that of the subgeometric cups **V 2**, **IX 7**, and **C 57** from the seventh century well. The rather carefully drawn decoration is purely Geometric; notable however is the "shorthand" drawing of the checker-board band on the rim, a subgeometric device. The checker-board is made by drawing three horizontal lines, and then short vertical strokes between each pair, in such a way that the verticals do not come one above the other. As a result, the reserved squares are wide, the glazed ones narrow. This method of drawing takes considerably less effort than the usual method of filling alternate squares of a grill with glaze. The same "shorthand" comes into use in Protocorinthian in the subgeometric phase; compare the drawing of the checker-board pattern on the subgeometric aryballois, Johansen, pl. XVI, and on the pyxides, pl. XVIII, 3-4, with that on the earlier pyxides, pl. XII, 3-4.



Fig. 17. Grave VI, Cup (VI 2)

**VI 3.** Plate. Fig. 18

P 4767. H., 0.041 m. Diam. at rim, 0.183 m.

About half the rim, and both handles, restored. Flat bottom and shallow body; the wall is neither concave nor convex. Dots below the rim outside, and a zone of carelessly drawn leaves on the body. A multifoil on the bottom, with dots between the ends of the leaves. A reserved ring and dot inside; series of short glaze strokes on the rim. Attic clay, dull red glaze.

A plate almost exactly like this in shape and decoration was found stopping the mouth of a Protoattic grave amphora in the cemetery at Eleusis (*Eph. Arch.*, 1912, p. 33, fig. 14). The amphora has characteristic orientalizing ornamentation on its neck, used also on the Hymettos amphora (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. V), and most popular probably at the end of the first quarter of the seventh century. The decoration of the plates is a loose and careless subgeometric; the nearly straight profile is intermediate between the deep convex late Geometric plates (**XX 6**) and the shallower, still less convex Protoattic plates of the later seventh century.

**VI 4.** Oinochoe. Fig. 18

P 4785. H., 0.122 m. Max. Diam., 0.074 m.

Flat bottom and rolled handle decorated with a ladder. A row of dots below the lip, and two zigzags across the neck. Interlocking latticed triangles on the shoulder, with a zigzag band below. The bands on the lower body are interrupted by a zone filled with verticals. Attic clay; glaze somewhat metallic, black to red, and peeled in places.

Three little oinochoai of the same shape were found in a grave at the Dipylon (Grave IX: *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII. 1893, p. 117 and pl. VIII, 2, 5 and 8; the third is not illustrated). One has not only the same shape, but almost identical decoration, as ours. In the same grave were found five one-handed Phaleron cups, an oinochoe like one found at Phaleron in Grave 78 (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 40, fig. 40; a grave of the third quarter of the seventh century), and a ribbon-handled bowl with subgeometric decoration. The Dipylon grave must belong in the first quarter of the seventh century.

### VI 5. Coarse Pitcher. Fig. 18

P 4769. H., 0.165 m. Max. Diam., 0.137 m.

Flat bottom and band handle; round mouth. Coarse micaceous red clay with grits, unglazed. The front burned black.

The long, rather deep curve of the neck and flare of the mouth are like those of the pitcher from the seventh century well, **C 156**; the neck of the pitcher **IX 18** is not so sharply concave,

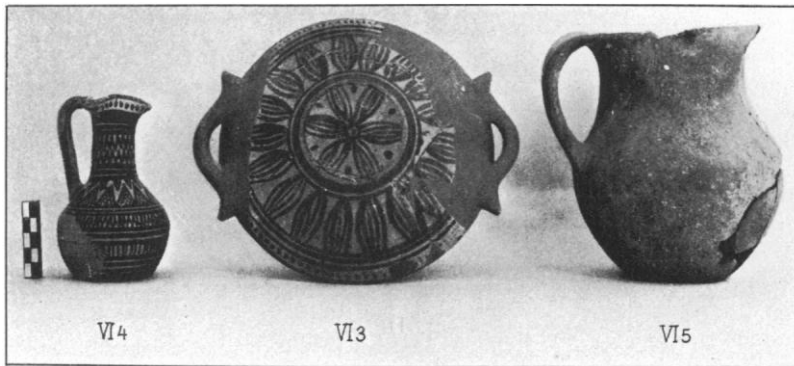


Fig. 18. Grave VI, Small Vases (VI 3-5)

nor is its lip so flaring. The development seems to be toward a more deeply profiled neck and lip. Our pitcher is more developed than the one from Grave IX, and slightly later.

### GRAVE VII

Plan. Fig. 1. Contents. Figs. 19-20

Urn-burial of an infant. Height above sea-level, 56.70 m. The burial was destroyed by the digging of Pit A, at the edge of which was found a mass of sherds belonging to the grave amphora. Among the sherds were found four small cups, fragments of a skyphos, and a kantharos, together with a few remnants of a small child's skeleton. A coarse pitcher and an oinochoe were found in the undisturbed filling just beside the broken amphora, which lay at the very edge of Pit A. There can be no doubt that the body of the child, with the small vases, had been placed in the amphora, and that the coarse pitcher and oinochoe stood beside the shoulder or neck of the burial urn.

Parallels for the amphora, found in subgeometric graves in the Argolid, date from the very end of the eighth century and in the early seventh. Small cups like the ones from our grave have been found in graves at Phaleron together with Protocorinthian vases dateable in the late eighth and early seventh century. Grave VII should be dated probably about 700 or slightly thereafter.

### VII 1. Fragmentary Amphora. Fig. 19

P 4603. P. H., 0.445 m. Diam. at lip, 0.23 m.

Most of the neck is preserved, with the lip, both handles, and part of the shoulder and body at one side. The neck is slightly concave, with flaring rounded lip; band handles from shoulder to mid-neck. The outside covered with a smooth creamy slip, which has peeled off in many places. Black to brownish glaze on the lip, and for bands around the body and base of the neck. On the handles, St. Andrew's crosses and bars.

The neck ornament has been entirely carried away with the surface peeling on one side; on the other it seems to have consisted of a vertical line carrying a lozenge divided into four sections by a cross. Amphoras with banded or solidly glazed body and conventional decoration on the neck have been found in subgeometric graves in Tiryns (*Tiryns*, I, pl. XVII, 1, 4 and 8, from Graves 38, 39, and 28 respectively), at Mycenae (*Eph. Arch.*, 1912, p. 131, fig. 1) and in a grave at Troezen (Wide, figs. 46-47; found in the same grave, and also the gold band with subgeometric decoration N.M. 10800, of which a drawing is published in *Deltion*, 1889, p. 164). Part of another was found in the Agora seventh century well (**C 136** below). Müller and Oelmann (*Tiryns*, I, pp. 138 ff.) assign the group to the Argolid, although Wide suggested that the examples from Troezen were Attic. Our amphora (and the amphora **VIII 1**) differ from the Troezen amphoras only in the banded decoration of the body; undecorated banded amphoras go back in Attic into the early Geometric period. All the Agora examples, and the two from Troezen, give every appearance of being Attic; since, however, the group is to be dated around the turn from the eighth to the seventh century, and in the first quarter of the seventh, by which time there seems to have been free intercourse between the various parts of Greece, the Argolid may have been influenced by Attica.

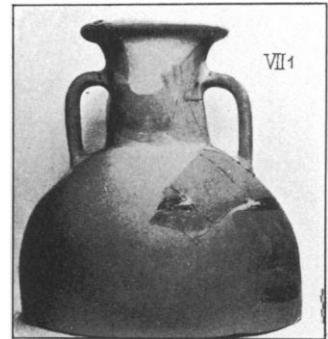


Fig. 19. Grave VII, Fragmentary Amphora (VII 1)

### VII 2. Cup. Fig. 20

P 4604. H., 0.047 m. Diam. at rim, 0.077 m.

Flat bottom and nearly straight side wall. The inside completely glazed; the outside unglazed save for a band at the lower handle attachment. Bars on the handle; Attic clay with dull red glaze. Small one-handled cups of a variety of shapes were found in early seventh century graves at Phaleron (*Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 43, fig. 45, 6-7; from graves 71 and 11 which contained Protocorinthian of the second and first quarter of the seventh century respectively; grave 71 perhaps later), and in the graves at Anavysos (*Praktika*, 1911, p. 119, fig. 13, one of twenty found) which can be dated as a group (by the Protocorinthian and Boeotian found there as well as on stylistic grounds), within the limits 725-675. Others were found in the seventh century well: **C 53-56** below. The presence of five such cups in Dipylon Grave IX (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2, 7,—only one is illustrated) is one among several indications for a dating of that grave in the first quarter of the seventh century.

**VII 3.** Cup. Fig. 20

P 4606. H., 0.047 m. Diam. at rim, 0.078 m.

Shape as **VII 2**. Glazed to the lower handle attachment, and at the rim. Five dot rosettes on the body. The inside covered with dull brown to red glaze, somewhat peeled; a reserved dot at the centre of the floor, and bars on the handle.

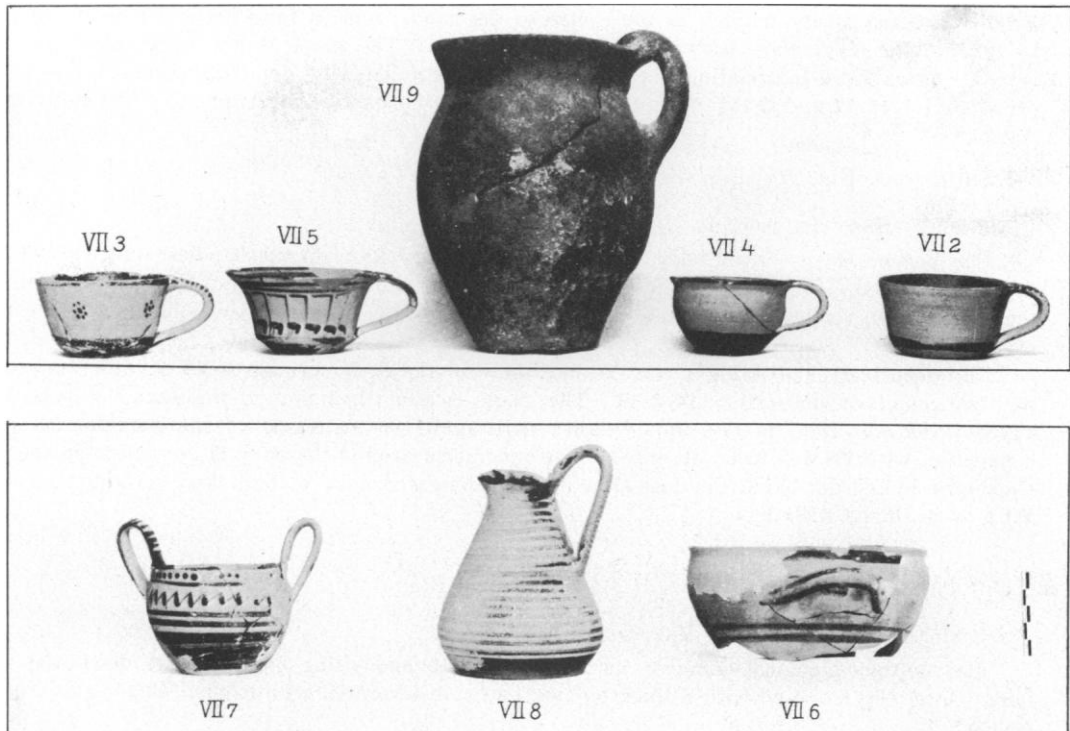


Fig. 20. Grave VII, Small Vases (VII 2-9)

**VII 4.** Cup. Fig. 20

P 4605. H., 0.047 m. Diam. at rim, 0.071 m.

Flat bottom. Convex side wall and slightly flaring lip. Bars on the handle; glazed inside save for a reserved band around the inner edge of the rim, and a dot at the centre of the floor. Dull black glaze.

The shape is descended from that of the black glazed cups with one band-handle that extend, with very little change, from the earliest to the latest Geometric (compare our **X 2** with *A.A.*, 1934, p. 241, fig. 27, left). The flattening of the shoulder so that the greatest diameter is at the lip instead of the shoulder is a late feature to be observed also in skyphoi.

**VII 5.** Cup. Fig. 20

P 4607. H., 0.05 m. Diam. at rim, 0.093 m.

Rim and handle fragments restored. Flat bottom. A procession of stylized birds around the body; bars on the handle, and a St. Andrew's cross. A reserved band inside the rim, and a dot at the centre of the floor. Glaze brownish black outside, dull red inside.

The birds are almost unrecognizable; perhaps, with their long beaks and fluffy tails, they represent Blakeway's Travelling Ostrich (*B. S. A.*, XXXIII, 1932-33, p. 172, note 1).

### VII 6. Fragmentary Skyphos. Fig. 20

P 6470. P. H., 0.068 m. Diam. at rim est., 0.14 m.

The base, and almost all of the rim, are missing. Low, slightly flaring, rim. Bands below the handle-zone and on the handle; at the centre of the handle-zone, a long vertical blob surrounded by dots. Attic clay; glaze brownish outside, red inside. The shape is not sufficiently well preserved to give much information; the elongated blob surrounded by dots is, however, a late filling ornament (cf. **IX 12** and **C 134**; also, in Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, pl. 20, A 519 and A 560).

### VII 7. Kantharos. Fig. 20

P 4608. H. to rim, 0.065 m. Diam. at rim, 0.09 m.

Flat bottom, deep convex body, and low vertical rim. Bars on the handles; dull black glaze, somewhat peeled. Glaze bands below the handle attachments, and a row of dots on the rim. In the handle-zone, vertically elongated dots linked by tangents. Reserved inside, a dot at the centre of the floor.

The deep body and straight rim are like those of the early kantharos **XV 2**; other examples with subgeometric decoration, **IX 8-10**. The shape is later than that of the example from Anavysoi (*Praktika*, 1911, p. 119, upper right); here again the flattening of the shoulder noted in connection with **VII 4** is to be observed. The decoration around the body is derived from the late Geometric linked dot band; the dots have become elongated, here to be linked by tangents, as on **VII 6** to be ringed with dots.

### VII 8. Oinochoe. Fig. 20

P 4763. H. to lip, 0.12 m. Max. Diam., 0.098 m.

Flat bottomed conical oinochoe with trefoil mouth and rising band handles decorated with bars. Attic clay covered with a thick creamy slip and decorated with bands. Black glaze, badly peeled.

The neckless oinochoe with conical body has no ancestry in Attic Geometric; the shape seems to appear in the early seventh century (as in Dipylon grave IX; *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2, 10, and in Phaleron, *Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 40, fig. 40). Somewhat similar is the oinochoe from the Kerameikos, Hampe, fig. 19, from a grave dated at the end of the eighth century.

### VII 9. Coarse Pitcher. Fig. 20

P 4770. H. to rim, 0.185 m. Max. Diam., 0.143 m.

Hand-made of coarse micaceous red clay burned black outside. Flat bottom and rolled handle rising above the rim. The rolled handle is unusual for coarse pitchers at this period, as also the tall shape and shallow neck.

## GRAVE VIII

Plan. Fig. 1. Contents. Fig. 21

Urn-burial of an infant. Height above sea-level, 56.31 m. The grave had been partly destroyed by Well B; the amphora, which lay on its side, had been cut off just below its

neck by the diggers of the well. The skeleton, and the grave offerings which must have lain in the body of the amphora, were therefore lost. The amphora mouth was doubly stopped by the bases of two other amphoras, one in its neck, the other in its mouth. The coarse hand-made pitcher stood upright beside the amphora neck; it was covered by a flat piece of stone.

Grave VIII must be older than Grave V, under which it lies; the lower grave could not have been dug without disturbing the upper. The pottery, however, is very similar to that from Graves VI and VII, and there cannot be much difference in time between Graves VIII and V. If Grave V belongs late in the first quarter of the seventh century, Grave VIII must be dated about 700.

### VIII 1. Amphora Fragment. Fig. 21

P 4609 a. P. H., 0.24 m. Diam. at rim, 0.223 m.

The neck and lip are preserved, with one handle and part of the other. Flaring rounded lip and band handles to the middle of the neck. On the front of the neck, a vertical line rising from



Fig. 21. Grave VIII, Amphora Fragments and Coarse Pitcher (VIII 1-4)

a box filled by a St. Andrew's cross. On the handles, St. Andrew's crosses. Attic clay with a heavy creamy slip; black glaze, brownish where thin. The body was banded.

Part of an amphora like VIII 1.

### VIII 2. Amphora Foot. Fig. 21

P 4609 b. Diam. of foot, 0.16 m.

Used as a lid in the mouth of VIII 1. High, heavy ring foot, very slightly flaring. Black glaze.

Probably the base of an amphora like *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 27, fig. 11, from Phaleron Grave 47, a grave of the end of the eighth century.

**VIII 3.** Amphora Foot. Fig. 21

P 4609 c. Diam. of foot, 0.13 m.

Used as a stopper in the neck of **VIII 1**. High, slightly flaring ring foot, somewhat smaller than **VIII 2**, and decorated with a band of black glaze.

Probably from a banded amphora like **IV 1**.

**VIII 4.** Coarse Pitcher. Fig. 21

P 4610. H., 0.205 m. Max. Diam., 0.165 m.

Hand-made, with flat bottom and band handle. Coarse micaceous red clay, fired partly grey, and with traces of burning on the outside.

The neck and lip are not quite so sharply profiled as those of the later pitchers **VI 5** and **C 156**.

## GRAVE IX

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Fig. 22. Contents. Figs. 23–25, 73

Urn-burial of two infants. Height above sea-level, 56.45 m. The burial pithos lay on its side, its mouth so closely covered by a stone slab that very little earth had sifted in.



Fig. 22. Graves IX and XIV, Covering Slabs of XIV in Foreground

In front of one edge of the cover a coarse pitcher stood upright, where it had been placed after the pithos had been stopped. Beside the pithos at one side was found a kantharos, and at the other side another kantharos, with an oinochoe in it, and an oinochoe. The rest of the grave offerings, twelve small vases and a bronze ring, were found inside the pithos with the skeletons of two small children. There was no evidence to suggest a reopening of the grave; both burials must have been made at the same time. An animal bone found in the earth under the coarse pitcher by the pithos mouth may have come from a sacrifice made at the time of the burial; carbonized matter found in one of the small kantharoi in the pithos may be the remains of food offered in the grave.

The small vases offered in Grave IX find parallels in the late Geometric graves at Spata, the Isis Grave at Eleusis, and the earlier graves of the Phaleron cemetery. The decoration

of some of them is in a careless subgeometric manner; a probable date for the grave is at the beginning of the seventh century. The small cups and kantharoi are very like those from Grave VII.

### IX 1. Pithos. Fig. 23

P 4960. H., 0.885 m. Max. Diam., 0.60 m. Diam. at mouth, 0.338 m.

Large flat-bottomed handleless pithos with swelling rounded body, concave neck, and plain lip. Hand-made of coarse reddish-brown clay with small red grits; the outside carefully polished, the inside left rough. Unglazed.

A pithos somewhat similar in shape from a grave at Phaleron is illustrated in *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 25, fig. 7 (from Grave 81 or Grave 11; Grave 11 is a grave of the beginning of the seventh century).

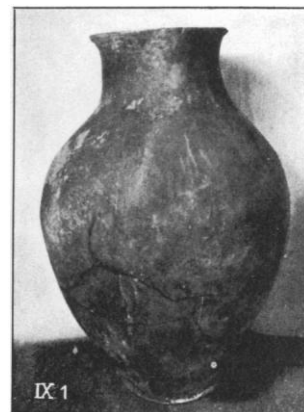


Fig. 23. Grave IX, Pithos (IX 1)

### IX 2. Cup. Fig. 24

P 4968. H., 0.043 m. Diam. at rim, 0.076 m.

Flat bottom and band handle; convex lower body and flaring rim. Glazed to the lower handle attachment; a band of glaze around the middle of the body, and another on the lip. Bars and St. Andrew's crosses on the handle. Glazed inside, with a reserved band at the lip, and a dot at the centre of the floor. Attic clay, metallic black glaze.

A cup of very similar shape, but with a wavy band around the body, was found in a grave at Phaleron (Grave 11; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 43, fig. 45, 7) which contained an "intermediate" and an early black-figured Protocorinthian aryballos (Johansen, p. 74, lists and discusses the Protocorinthian vases from this grave) and is to be dated at the very beginning of the seventh century. Another was found in Phaleron Grave 47, dateable about 700; yet another in Grave 27 which contained also a rather pointed subgeometric Protocorinthian skyphos belonging in the second quarter of the seventh century; and, finally, yet another (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 43, fig. 45, 6) was found in Grave 71 along with late subgeometric Protocorinthian pyxides which must belong near the middle of the century (*ibid.*, figs. 25, 2; 26; 27, 2). In graves at Phaleron, then, we find these cups together with Protocorinthian dating from the end of the eighth through the middle of the seventh century. At Anavysos, twenty one-handled cups were found (*Praktika*, 1911, p. 119, fig. 13) of which only one, very similar to ours, is illustrated. The Anavysos graves have become hopelessly mixed, and only a few of the pots have been published; but they contained nothing earlier than the last quarter of the eighth century, besides subgeometric, Boeotian, and Protocorinthian running well into the seventh. Most of the cups from Grave IX have the neat trim shapes and the metallic black glaze of the earlier specimens of the class, and must belong at about the turn from the eighth to the seventh century. Compare also our cups VII 2-5, and, from the seventh century well, C 53-59.

### IX 3. Phaleron Cup. Fig. 24

P 4963. H., 0.052 m. Diam. at rim, 0.08 m.

Flat bottom and band handle decorated with a wavy vertical line. A reserved band inside the lip, and dot at the centre of the floor. Metallic brownish glaze.



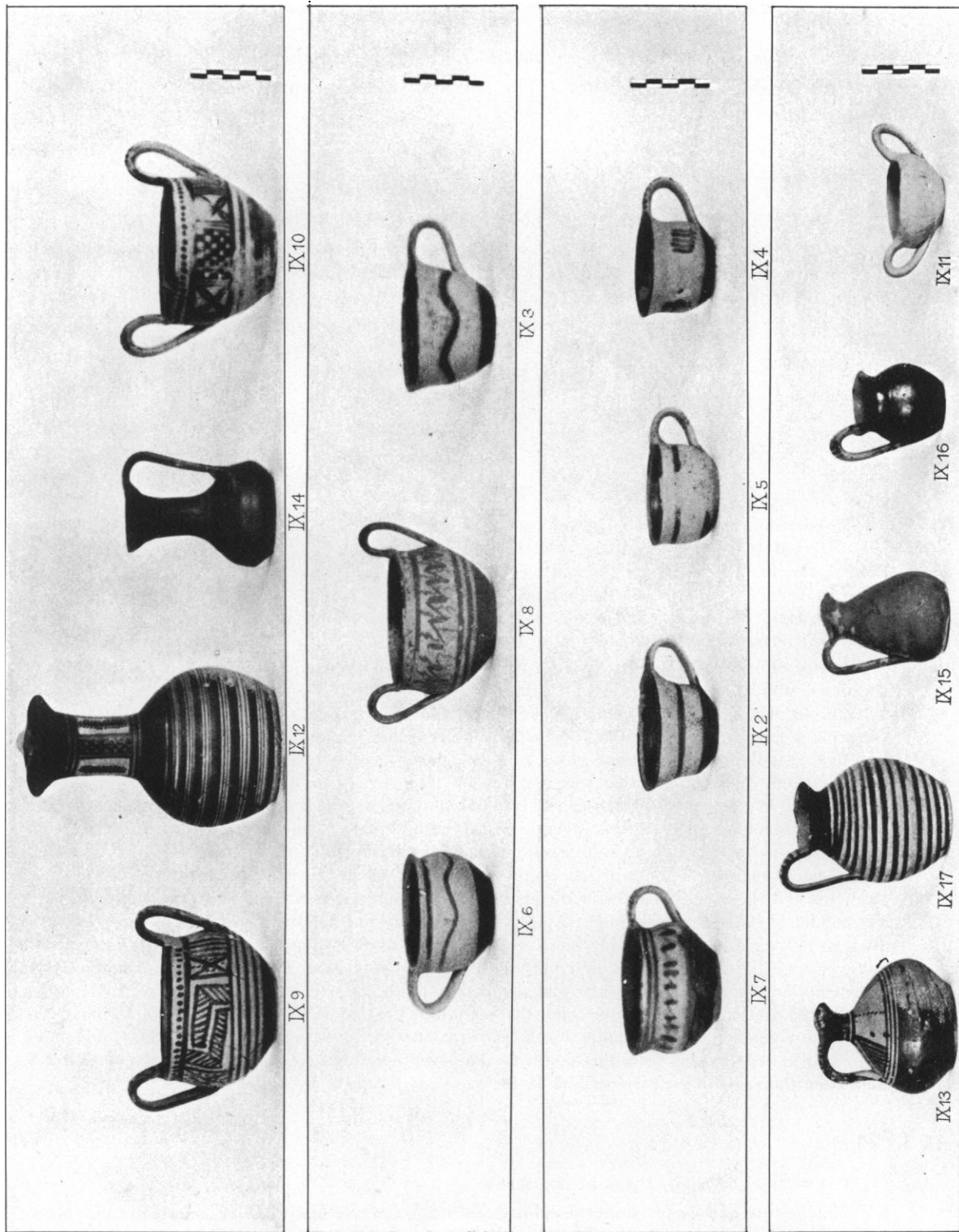


Fig. 24. Grave IX, Small Vases (IX 2-17)

**IX 4.** Phaleron Cup. Fig. 24

P 4966. H., 0.044 m. Diam. at rim, 0.066 m.

Flat bottom and band handle decorated with bars; slightly flaring at the lip. Three sets of careless vertical zigzags on the body. A reserved dot on the floor inside. Somewhat streaky black glaze.

**IX 5.** Phaleron Cup. Fig. 24

P 4965. H., 0.039 m. Diam. at rim, 0.069 m.

Flat bottom and band handle decorated with bars; glazed to the lower handle attachment, and glaze bands around the middle of the body and the lip. A reserved band inside the rim, and dot at the centre of the floor. Dull black glaze, somewhat peeled.

**IX 6.** Phaleron Cup. Fig. 24

P 4964. H., 0.05 m. Diam. at rim, 0.072 m.

Flat bottom and band handle decorated with bars and St. Andrew's crosses; sharply offset lip. Glazed to the lower handle attachment; a wavy band around the middle of the body, and bands on the rim. A reserved band inside the rim, and dot at the centre of the floor. Dull black glaze, somewhat peeled.

**IX 7.** Phaleron Cup. Fig. 24

P 4967. H., 0.054 m. Diam. at rim, 0.079 m.

Flat bottom and band handle decorated with bars. High straight rim, tilted slightly outward. The whole interior glazed. Streaky glaze, dull brown to red.

The shape resembles that of **V 2** and the fragment **C 57**. The decoration of the handle zone, elongated dots linked by tangents, is subgeometric. This cup probably belongs in the first quarter of the seventh century.

**IX 8.** Kantharos. Fig. 24

P 4973. H. to rim, 0.06 m. Diam. at rim, 0.09 m.

Flat bottom, convex body, and low vertical rim. Band handles decorated with alternating straight and wavy vertical lines, interrupted at the top by bars. In the handle-zone, elongated dots linked by tangents, with wavy lines between. A row of dots on the rim. The inside glazed, with a reserved band at the rim and dot at the centre of the floor. Dull red glaze, somewhat peeled.

Very similar in shape and decoration to **VII 7**; the body is slightly shallower and more open.

**IX 9.** Kantharos. Fig. 24

P 4961. H. to rim, 0.083 m. Diam. at rim, 0.096 m.

Flat bottom, convex body and low vertical rim. Band handles decorated with bars and St. Andrew's crosses. In the side panels, St. Andrew's crosses with dot rows between their arms; in the wide central panels, interlocking hatched meander-hooks. Bands below the handles to just above the base. The inside glazed, with a reserved band at the lip and a dot at the centre of the floor. Glaze black to reddish.

**IX 10.** Kantharos. Fig. 24

P 4976. H. to lip, 0.064 m. Diam. at rim, 0.093 m.

Flat bottom and convex body continuous with the plain lip. On the band handles, bars and St. Andrew's crosses. Dots outside the lip; the handle-zone divided by triple verticals into three panels filled at the sides by quatrefoils, in the centre with checker-board. The inside glazed, with a reserved band inside the rim and dot at the centre of the floor. Dull black glaze, somewhat peeled.

The rimless kantharos is a type different from that with vertical rim, and apparently later (compare the kantharoi from the seventh century well, **C 63-64**); it is much used in Boeotia (cf. Hampe, pl. 26). The decoration of our kantharos with panels containing checker-board and quatrefoils is like that of the pyxis **XX 5**.

**IX 11.** Kantharos. Fig. 24

P 4974. H. to rim, 0.031 m. Max. Diam., 0.06 m.

Flat-bottomed shallow body with plain lip and widely projecting band handles. Hand-made of pale buff clay, slightly micaceous; the glaze decoration, consisting of vertical lines on the handles, and checker-board panels divided by verticals on the body, has peeled entirely off.

A hand-made kantharos of somewhat similar shape was found together with a coarse hand-made pitcher in a grave at Tiryns (Grave 14; *Tiryns*, I, pl. XV, 11). In fabric, too, our kantharos resembles the aryballoi and oinochoai of the so-called "monochrome Argive" family, except that its surface is somewhat polished. If the small hand-made vases of this group are rightly assigned to the Argolid, then our kantharos must be an importation. Small hand-made vases of the "monochrome Argive" group, however, are found in relatively large numbers (especially at Eleusis) on most Geometric sites, and it seems more probable that they were locally made. The hand-made aryballoi (**XVII 22** and **XXV 4**) may have contained the local oil or perfume, just as the Proto-corinthian contained the imported. On the "monochrome Argive" group, cf. Pfuhl, *MuZ*, I, p. 82. Some vases of this class found recently in graves at Corinth (*A. J. A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 137, figs. 1-2) are certainly made of Corinthian clay.

**IX 12.** Oinochoe. Fig. 24

P 4977. H., 0.152 m. Max. Diam., 0.098 m.

Flat bottom and rolled handle. In the central neck-panel, checker-board; in each of the side-panels, a vertical surrounded by dots. The body decorated with wide and narrow bands. Attic clay; somewhat metallic glaze varying from red to black. The handle is not glazed.

The shape is that of the late round-bodied oinochoai with flat bottoms **VI 4** and **XIII 1**; three similar were found in Dipylon Grave IX (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII 2, 5 and 8; only two are illustrated). Compare also the oinochoai from the seventh century well **C 115-121** below. The elongated dot, or vertical line, surrounded by dots, appears as a filling ornament on the latest Geometric vases (Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, pl. 20, A 519 and A 560; compare also **C 134** below). Early seventh century.

**IX 13.** Oinochoe. Fig. 24

P 4971. H., 0.08 m. Max. Diam., 0.08 m.

Flat bottom and squat body with short narrow neck and trefoil mouth; band handle. Latticed triangles and vertical dot-rows on the shoulder; bars and a St. Andrew's cross on the handle. Two glaze spots, accidentally dropped, on the shoulder. Attic clay with metallic black glaze, somewhat peeled.

Similar squat oinochoai were found in two of the late Geometric graves at Spata (*Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, p. 134, fig. 8 and p. 138, fig. 12; from graves 3 and 4), and in the Isis grave at Eleusis (*C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. 4, 6). Others were found in Anavysos (*Praktika*, 1911, p. 116, 1) and at Corinth. The type seems to date from the late eighth century. The similarity of the decoration to that of late Protogeometric lekythoi is striking.

**IX 14.** Oinochoe. Fig. 24

P 4975. H., 0.088 m. Max. Diam., 0.065 m.

Flat bottom and squat body with long narrow neck and flaring lip; band handle. Bars on the handle, and a row of dots in a reserved band on the outer face of the rim; two reserved bands around the base of the neck. Attic clay, thick red glaze.

Squat oinochoai with long narrow necks and trefoil mouths are not uncommon; compare the Isis grave oinochoai, *C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. III, 8-10 and 12-13. Here the mouth is round as is that of the oinochoe from Dipylon Grave IX (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2, 6).

**IX 15.** Oinochoe. Fig. 24

P 4972. H., 0.077 m. Max. Diam., 0.057 m.

Pear-shaped body with flat bottom, trefoil mouth, and band handle. Entirely covered with thick dull glaze, somewhat peeled.

Similar in shape to **VII 7**; compare the neckless Protoattic oinochoe **C 123** below.

**IX 16.** Oinochoe. Fig. 24

P 4969. H., 0.052 m. Max. Diam., 0.052 m.

Flat bottom and rising band handle decorated with bars and vertical lines. Metallic black glaze, badly peeled.

A similar neckless miniature oinochoe was found in an unpublished Agora grave of the earlier Geometric period; but such oinochoai are most common in late graves—at Spata in Grave III (*Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, p. 134, fig. 8), at Liossia (*C.V.A., Copenhagen*, II, pl. 70, 3; from the same grave, *ibid.* 2-8, and 10), and in the Isis grave at Eleusis (*C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. III, 7 and IV, 11). The shape, miniature in the Geometric period, becomes full-size in the seventh century; cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 594-595 and figs. 59-60 (59 restored much too high), and **C 123** below.

**IX 17.** Oinochoe. Fig. 24

P 4970. H., 0.09 m. Max. Diam., 0.076 m.

Shape as **IX 16**. Bars and St. Andrew's crosses on the band handle; banded body. Metallic black glaze.

**IX 18.** Coarse Pitcher. Fig. 25

P 4962. H., 0.225 m. Max. Diam., 0.182 m.

Hand-made, with flat bottom and band handle. Coarse micaceous red clay, unglazed.

**IX 19.** Bronze Ring. Fig. 73

B 202. Diam., 0.024 m.

Similar to the bronze rings **XVIII 8-9**.

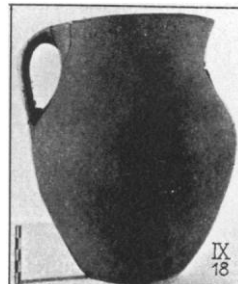


Fig. 25. Grave IX, Coarse Pitcher (IX 18)

## GRAVE X

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Fig. 26. Contents. Figs. 27–28

Urn-burial of an infant. Height above sea-level, 55.74 m. The mouth of the hydria, which, like the other burial pots in the precinct, lay on its side, was covered by the one-handed cup **X 2**. A coarse pitcher stood upright and uncovered beside the neck of the hydria. The only offering found inside with the skeleton of an infant was a small spherical pot of pink clay, with a band handle. Like the similar pot from Grave VI, it was unbaked and had become very soft from the damp; it disintegrated when an attempt was made to lift it from its place. It would seem to have been a hand-made aryballoid vase of some sort.



Fig. 26. Grave X. Hydria containing the Skull and Bones of a small Child; below the Skull, a spherical unfired Vase

The grave is probably to be dated in the late eighth century, although the vases have neither shapes or decoration easily to be dated; parallels can be found for all of them both late and early. The manner of burial, however, is the same as that of the other graves in the precinct; urn-burials in the Protogeometric and early Geometric period are usually made with the containing pot standing upright on its foot, often in a hole in the bedrock made for it, and packed around with stones; whereas the later urn-burials in our precinct, at Phaleron, and elsewhere, are made with the containing pot lying on its side, as in Grave X. The arrow ornament on the shoulder of the hydria is found on late Geometric amphoriskoi from the Tiryns cemetery.

**X 1.** Hydria. Fig. 27

P 4980. H., 0.495 m. Max. Diam., 0.334 m.

Straight ring foot, plump ovoid body, and slightly concave neck with flaring rounded lip. A band handle from the shoulder to the lip, and two rolled horizontal handles at the sides. The body decorated with widely spaced double and triple glaze bands, with a wider band on the lower shoulder; the neck solidly glazed. On the upper shoulder, series of short diagonal lines pendant from the base of the neck, and a downward-pointed arrow at the centre in front. On the vertical handle, a St. Andrew's cross. Attic clay with thick creamy slip, somewhat peeled and pitted; dull black glaze. A section of the lower body was broken out by chipping along the lines of the breaks desired, so that the section thus removed in one piece could be replaced after the insertion of the body.

The hydria is very Protogeometric in appearance, but its fabric is unlike that of any of the true Protogeometric vases in the Agora collection, and much more like that of the two other hydriai found in subgeometric contexts: **V 1** and **C 148**. The flaring rounded lip, too, is of the sort used on the subgeometric amphoras **VII 1**, and **VIII 1**; the Protogeometric amphoras from the Dipylon (*A.A.*, 1936, pp. 191–192, figs. 5–8) have flat projecting or sharp edged rims. The foot, too, is relatively high and nearly straight, whereas the Protogeometric amphoras have low flaring

feet. A hydria of the same shape as ours, with non-Protogeometric decoration on the shoulder, was found just above the Isis grave outside, and is published as belonging to the group of vases from the grave (*C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. 3, 2). The arrow is used as a decorative motive on two amphoriskoi from a late Geometric grave at Tiryns (*Tiryns*, I, pl. XVII, 7 and 9; Grave 30).

**X 2.** One-handed Cup. Fig. 28

P 4982. H., 0.063 m. Max. Diam., 0.104 m.

Flat bottom and sharply rounded shoulder with short plain lip. Barred band handle; entirely covered with glaze except for a reserved band outside the lip, another inside it, and a dot at the centre of the floor. Thick glaze, black to reddish, and very metallic in places. Thick heavy fabric.

The cup, like the hydria, gives an appearance of being early. Compare, however, its horizontally projecting handle with the sagging handle of the similar cup from the early Geometric Warrior Grave at the Dipylon (*A.A.*, 1934, p. 241, fig. 27). Metallic glaze is usually either very early or very late. I have been unable to trace any development of the shape



Fig. 27. Grave X, Hydria (X 1)

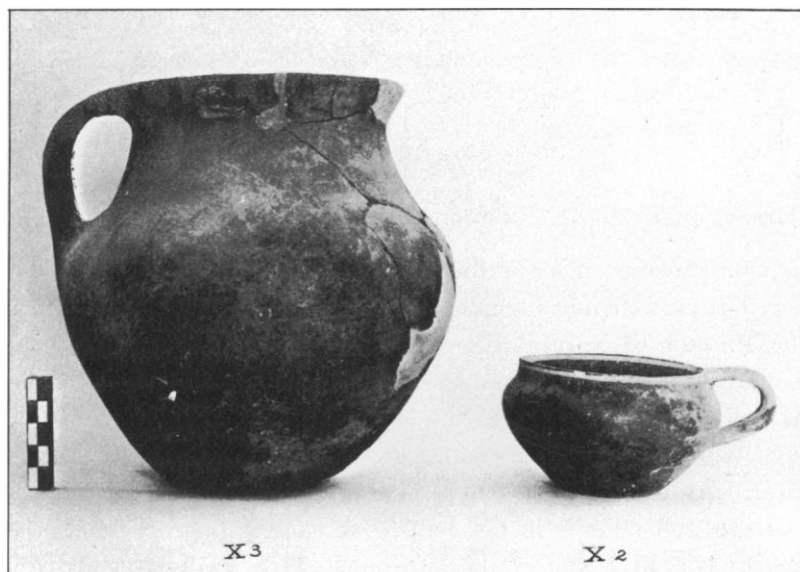


Fig. 28. Grave X, Small Vases (X 2-3)

in these black glazed one-handed cups; they seem to have been made from Protogeometric to Protoattic times with variations of rim, handle and profile that follow no consistent sequence. For a seventh century example, see **C 51** below (fig. 106).

**X 3.** Coarse Pitcher. Fig. 28

P 4981. H., 0.187 m. Max. Diam., 0.18 m.

Rather squat body flattened at the bottom; shallow concave neck and band handle. Hand-made of coarse gritty red clay, somewhat micaceous, and burned grey in places.

Rather wider in its proportions than the coarse pitchers from the other graves. The shape, like that of the one-handed cups, is hard to follow in its development; late examples, like that from Grave VI, have a deeply curved concave neck.

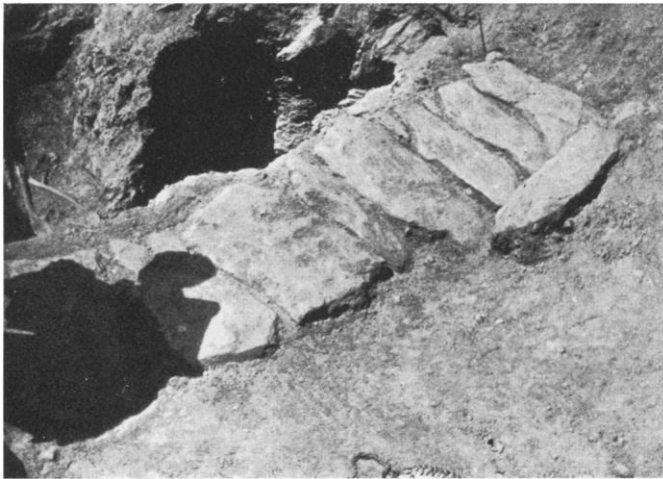


Fig. 29. Grave XI. Covering Slabs; Well C above, Grave XXI at left

GRAVE XI

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Figs. 29–31. Contents. Figs. 32–36; 73

Inhumation, with remains of a sacrificial pyre. Height above sea-level, 56.65 m. The skeleton found in Grave XI is not included in Angel's report (Appendix III) because it had been sent to the Museum of Natural History in New York for study before his arrival in Athens. It was that of a man; it lay with the head toward the northeast. The vases offered in the grave, **XI 1–5**, had been placed at the lower end of the shaft, over the feet and lower legs of the body. The amphora **XI 2** contained a collection of bones of small animals and carbonized matter. An iron knife lay across the left knee of the skeleton. There was a heavy deposit of ash and cinders in the central and lower part of the grave; most of the fragments of the hydria **XI 7** and of the two bowls **XI 8–9**, and the figurine **XI 19**, were found in the burned deposit. Much burned matter was also found scattered through the

disturbed filling over and around the grave outside; in the burned deposit outside the grave were found other pieces of the hydria and of the two bowls, and the fragments **XI 10-17**. The figurine **XI 18** was found a short distance away.

Most of the fragments found in the grave were too big to have penetrated between the closely fitted slabs of the cover. The filling of Grave XXII, which had been cut through at



Fig. 30. Graves XI, XXI, and XXII. Grave XI at left, Grave XXI above Well C, Grave XXII between Grave XI and the Well

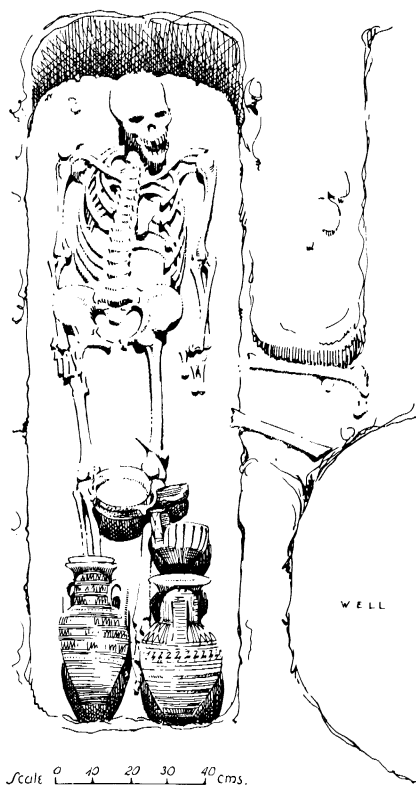


Fig. 31. Graves XI and XXII.  
Drawing by Piet de Jong

its lower end by Grave XI, showed no traces of burned matter or of fragments like those found in Grave XI. The conclusion therefore seems inevitable that the burned deposit with its fragments of vases and figurines had been thrown into Grave XI to help fill it before the cover was put in place. The fragments found outside had probably been thrown into the upper part of the shaft, above the cover, and had become scattered when the level of the grave terrace was lowered at a later time. The burned deposit must belong with Grave XI and be the remains of a sacrificial pyre burned at the time of the burial. The pyre was probably burned beside the grave. From the grave, **XI 1-6**; from the pyre, **XI 7-19**.



The pottery from Grave XI should probably be dated at the beginning of the seventh century. The decoration of the vases is drawn in a careless subgeometric manner, and a number of late motives are used. One of the fragments (**XI 14**) is decorated with dots of white paint, which came into use only at the very end of the Geometric period. The figurines, with those from Grave XII the most elaborate Geometric terracottas that have been found in Attica, are covered with the same subgeometric decoration as the vases. Nevertheless, they show a considerable advance, in ambition if in nothing else, over the simple horses and birds used as lid-handles by the late Geometric potters.

### **XI 1.** Amphora. Fig. 32

P 5423. H., 0.373 m. Max. Diam., 0.222 m.

Plump ovoid body on a vertical ring foot; tall neck, slightly concave, flaring to a rounded lip. Band handles from the shoulder to midway up the neck. The body decorated to the middle by wide and narrow glaze bands; in the zone below the handle attachments, a procession of birds. The shoulder is divided into three panels filled at the sides by checker-board, and in the middle by interlocking latticed triangles. In the neck panel, a complicated meander formed by two bands of key pattern running vertically and joined at the top. A zone around the neck above the handles is filled by another procession of birds; a reserved band on the outer face of the lip is decorated with a row of dots. The handles barred. Thick black glaze, very badly peeled.

The shape, as well as the bird decoration, is very similar to that of the late Geometric amphora, Wide, fig. 59. Another of the same shape (Wide, fig. 56), but somewhat slimmer, has decoration very close in its drawing to that of our oinochoe **XIII 1**. The two amphoras illustrated by Wide belong at the end of the eighth century; ours may be slightly later.

### **XI 2.** Amphora and Lid. Fig. 32

P 5422. H., 0.33 m. Max. Diam., 0.181 m.

Vertical ring foot and rather slim body, with tall neck, slightly concave, flaring to a rounded lip. Band handles to mid-neck, decorated with bars. Glaze bands around the body, interrupted by five decorated zones. In the lowest, a wavy line of dots; above, careless wavy verticals and a zigzag. In the zone at the level of the handle attachments, wavy verticals probably meant to be a succession of sigmas, and in the zone at the base of the neck, a wavy line of dots. On the neck, bands and zones filled with zigzag, lozenge-chain, and careless wavy verticals. A lozenge-chain on the outer face of the lip. The lid, slightly concave and with a spike handle at the centre, is decorated with glaze bands; seven series of short glaze strokes at the edge. Dull black glaze, metallic in places, and very badly peeled.

The shape, though more slender, is much the same as that of **XI 1**. Two amphoras with similar vertical foot and slender body, but with taller neck, which belong to a late but carefully decorated class, were found in the seventh century well; **C 158-159**. The elongated shape is typical of the transition from Geometric to orientalizing; compare the slim Analatos Hydria, *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 4. The careless disintegrating decoration is subgeometric of the early seventh century.

### **XI 3.** Ribbon-handled Bowl. Fig. 32

P 5420. H., 0.069 m. Diam. at rim., 0.147 m.

Flat bottom, shallow body, and high straight rim, tilted slightly outward. Horizontal band handles with out-turned ends below the rim. The lower body banded; in the handle-zone, inter-



XI2

XI1



XI4

XI3

XI5

Fig. 32. Grave XI, Vases offered in the Grave (XI 1-5)

locking latticed triangles. On the rim, zones filled by zigzag and checker-board, separated by bands. Vertical bars on the handles. The inside glazed, with three narrow reserved bands inside the rim, a broader reserved band at the shoulder, and a dot at the centre of the floor. Thick glaze, fired red inside, and black shading to red outside.

The ribbon-handled bowl is a late Geometric shape; such bowls have not been found in early graves on the Areopagus or at the Kerameikos, nor in any of the early Geometric deposits at the Agora. The bowls from Dipylon Grave XIII (Hampe, pl. 33), measuring from 20 to 28 cm. in diameter, reflect the tendency toward the making of oversize pieces characteristic of the last quarter of the eighth century. Smaller bowls of the type, often with lids and with subgeometric decoration, have been found in late graves at the Dipylon (Grave III; Wide, figs. 97 right and 99; Grave IX, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII 2, 2); at Spata (Graves 1, 2, and 4; *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 131 ff. and figs. 2, 4, and 11); at Liossia (*C.V.A., Copenhagen*, II, pl. 70, 4); and at Anavyssos (*Praktika*, 1911, p. 119, 10: an enchanting subgeometric bowl with a mouse-faced horse). Such bowls with lids may have replaced the pyxis for a short time at the beginning of the seventh century; the shape with handles was doubtless more useful than the pyxis shape. From the end of the eighth century, however, the type was made also with high stands, often perforated; the bowls on stands are made down to the middle of the seventh century or later (e.g. *A.A.*, 1934, p. 219, fig. 14), outlasting the flat-bottomed type. It might be noted here that three bowls of the latter type were found together in the same grave with the well-known bronze tripod from the Pnyx (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 414 ff. and pl. XIV; Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. 11 a). The vases from the Pnyx grave (Athens, N. M. Inventory, 169, 186, 201-202) are late eighth century. On our bowl the interlocking latticed triangles are a late decorative motive (as on the shoulder of the amphora **XI 1**) and the checker-board zone at the rim, though carefully done, is in the subgeometric "shorthand" manner noticed on the cup **VI 2**.

#### **XI 4.** Ribbon-handled Bowl. Fig. 32

P 4719. H., 0.052 m. Diam. at rim, 0.094 m.

Flat bottom; the shape as **XI 3**, but deeper and narrower, with a less well defined shoulder below the rim. Bands to the handle zone, which is decorated with single-line key pattern band. Vertical bars on the handle, and a tall, pointed, zigzag between bands on the rim. The inside glazed, with reserved bands on the rim, and a dot on the floor. Dull red glaze.

The shape, deeper and narrower than that of **XI 3**, and with the shoulder less rounded, may be slightly later. The single-line band of the handle-zone is late, and is to be noted also on **XV 1** and **XVII 12**. It may have evolved from the chain of dots linked by tangents; on late vases the dots become elongated, and it would be a simple step to link them by short horizontals alternately at the top and the bottom, instead of by diagonal tangents. Whether or not the method described was a step in the evolution of the linear key pattern, it was clearly made in that manner on our bowl. The bowls from Dipylon grave IX and the grave at Liossia are especially like ours in shape and decoration (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII 2, 2 and *C.V.A., Copenhagen*, II, pl. 70, 4). We have seen reason to date the Dipylon grave in the first quarter of the seventh century; our bowl is of about the same time.

#### **XI 5.** Kantharos. Fig. 32

P 5421. H. to lip, 0.104 m. W. at lip, 0.106 m.

Low base and deep body with widely rounded convex side wall and narrow, very slightly flaring lip. The upper body was pressed slightly inward before firing, so that it is oval, not round, at the lip, and narrower across from handle to handle than from front to back. The rising

band handles are decorated with bars and St. Andrew's crosses. The lower body solidly glazed outside; above, vertical glaze lines interrupted at regular intervals by wider vertical glaze bands, running from the lip to the glazed lower body. Glazed inside, with a reserved dot at the centre of the floor. Attic clay with thick black glaze, thin for the vertical lines.

The shape of the body and the decoration together give a naturalistic effect, as of a tulip-like flower, which is distinctly Mycenaean; compare the Mycenaean jugs, Furtwängler and Loeschke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XV, 102, and pl. XIII, 89; the latter uses single wide bands alternating with triple narrow ones. The decoration is used sparingly in late Geometric and subgeometric; compare our krater fragment from the seventh century well, **C 103**, and our skyphos fragment **B 11**. It appears on a cup from a grave at Tiryns which contained subgeometric vases (Grave 37; *Tiryns*, I, pl. XVIII, 1). All the vases using this decoration of which I know are of the end of the eighth and early seventh century.

#### **XI 6.** Iron Knife. Fig. 73

IL 172. L., 0.133 m. W., 0.016 m.

Long flat blade, pointed at one end. One side was a long curved cutting edge, the other blunt.

References to similar Geometric knives are given in the discussion of **XIX 1**, which is of the same type as **XI 6**.

#### **XI 7.** Hydria Fragments. Figs. 33–35

P 5499. P. H., 0.21 m. P. W., 0.225 m.

Several non-joining fragments from the body. The largest is from the broadest part of the vase, decorated with a wide figured zone. At the left end of the zone columns of diagonals to each side of a zigzag column set off the handle panel, in the preserved corner of which there is a triangle. Since this zone with its handle-panel comes at the middle of the body and not at the shoulder, the missing handle must have been a horizontal and not a vertical one, and therefore our fragments belong to a hydria rather than to an amphora. The decoration of the handle-zone consisted of a procession of at least six mourning women; they wear long dresses and raise their hands to their heads in lamentation. The dresses are filled with latticing; a chevron column and opposed triangles in the field between each pair of mourners. Above the figured zone, parts of two other, narrower, zones, are preserved, and decorated with checker-board and zigzag. In the zones below, a band of network, a double zigzag, and a single zigzag. The body below the single zigzag seems to have been banded. Attic clay; most of the fragments burned grey. Dull black glaze, in places peeled.

The hydria was a funerary vase of the same sort as the amphora **XII 1**; it may have been used to hold wine for the extinguishing of the funeral pyre. Compare also the fragment **B 21**, from another funerary vase, fig. 82 below. There are a number of hydriai with the same subgeometric decoration as ours; compare Berlin 31312 (Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 7), and Würzburg 80 (Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 7). The Würzburg hydria, like ours, is decorated with a procession of mourning women, and is dated by Langlotz about 700. The Berlin hydria has, on the neck, in somewhat more cheerful manner, a procession of women carrying sprays of leaves, probably dancers. The Analatos hydria (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pls. 3 and 4), somewhat later than the Berlin hydria, gives the whole scene on its neck: a row of men with joined hands, holding sprays of leaves, at one side of a lyre-player, and a similar row of women at the other side; they are dancing to the music of the lyre, perhaps in a ring as the peasants in Greece do to this day. Two hydria necks found in early seventh century deposits in the Agora, both unpublished, also have dancing scenes; like our hydria fragment, they have subgeometric decoration together

with early orientalizing, and like ours, belong at the beginning of the seventh century. The Analatos hydria, with its full-blown floral filling ornament, must belong near the end of the first quarter of the century.

**XI 8.** Ribbon-handled Bowl with Stand. Fig. 33

P 5497. H., 0.10 m. Diam. at rim, 0.135 m.

Three long narrow perforated slots in the somewhat flaring stand; shallow body, straight rim tilted slightly outward, and ribbon handles with out-turned ends below the rim. Bands around the

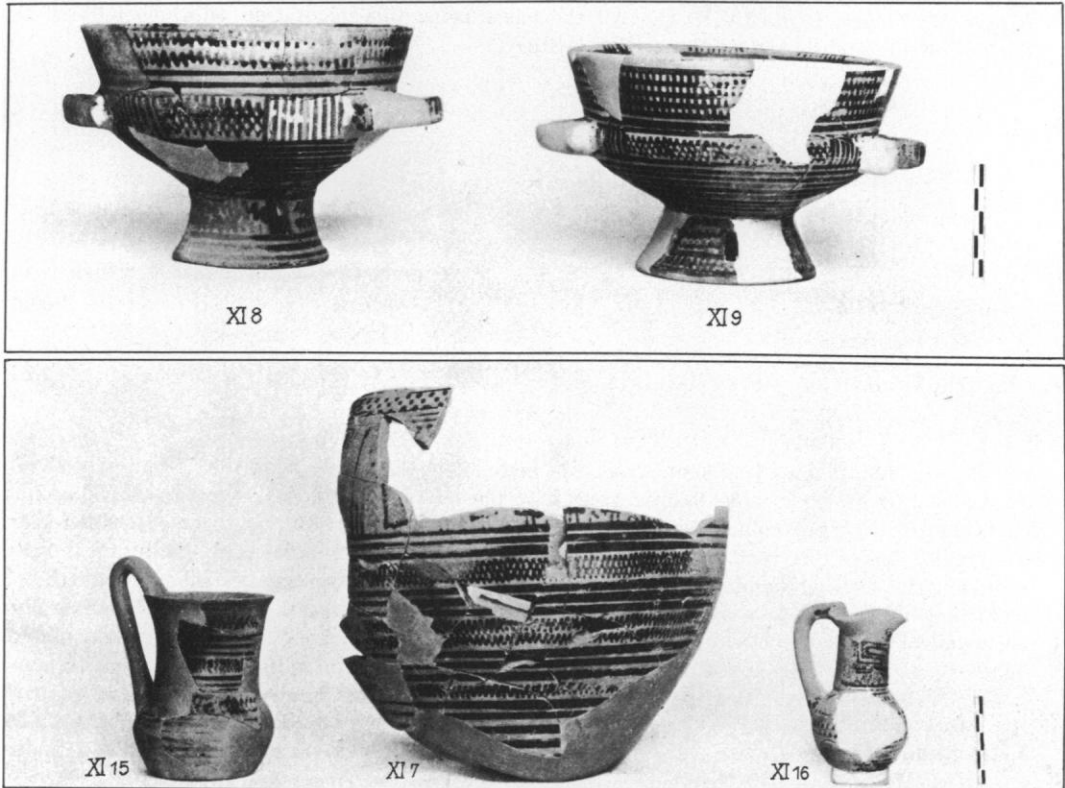


Fig. 33. Grave XI, Vases and Fragments from the Pyre (XI 7-9, 15-16)

bottom of the stand and on the lower body; double zigzags in the stand-panels between the slots. Multiple verticals beside the handles, which are also decorated with verticals; a band of net pattern in the handle-zone. Two zigzags around the rim. Glazed inside, with four reserved bands on the rim. The clay burned grey; dull black glaze, in places peeled.

The pair of bowls on stands **XI 8-9** corresponds to the pair from the other pyre, **XII 2-3**. Two more pairs of similar bowls were found in Graves XVI and XVIII at the Dipylon (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 132-133). Mention has been made above of the finding of bowls of this type in the remains of pyres at Phaleron. Early specimens usually have low stands; two examples are illustrated by Wide, figs. 101-102, and another was found at Spata in Grave 4 (*Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, p. 138, fig. 12). The bowls from Grave XII, 2-3, are of a different type, probably clay imitations of bronze tripods; cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pl. X. The early examples of ribbon-

handled bowls on stands have late Geometric and subgeometric decoration; the later examples, with higher stands, have orientalizing rather than subgeometric birds as decoration. The stand from the Kerameikos, *A. A.*, 1934, p. 219, fig. 14, which has mid-seventh century decoration, has become even higher and more elaborate. Our examples, with their simple subgeometric ornament and low stands, belong still at the beginning of the century.

### XI 9. Ribbon-handled Bowl with Stand. Fig. 33

P 5498. H., 0.094 m. Diam. at rim, 0.14 m.

Fragments of the body and stand, and one handle, restored. The bowl similar to that of **XI 8**; the stand, somewhat lower and more conical, pierced by six slots. Zigzags on the stand, bands on the lower body, and net pattern in the handle-zone; "shorthand" checker-board on the rim, and vertical bars on the handles. Three reserved bands inside the rim. The clay burned grey, and the dull black glaze somewhat peeled.

The "shorthand" of the checker-board on the rim was here shortened; the painter, after making his five horizontal bands and putting in the verticals between the top two, grew tired and drew straight verticals from the second band to the bottom. Thus only the top band is checkered, and the others below form a simple grill.

### XI 10. Bowl Fragment. Fig. 35

P 5501. P. H., 0.058 m.

Fragment of a deep bowl with in-turned rim and double ring handles. A plastic snake along the outside of the rim. Ladders on the handles; on the body below, a zone filled by zigzag, and part of another farther down. The handle panel set off by multiple verticals, and its corners filled by crosses. Glazed inside; the clay burned grey, and the dull black glaze somewhat peeled.

From a small bowl imitating a bronze tripod, like **XII 2-3**, and *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pl. X.

### XI 11. Cup Fragment. Fig. 35

P 5502. H., 0.048 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.075 m.

Part of a small flat-bottomed cup with shallow convex lower body and high straight rim tilted outward. Bands and a zone filled by a zigzag around the lower body; interlocking latticed triangles on the rim. The inside glazed, with reserved bands; series of dots on the upper face of the rim.

Part of a cup like **XII 5**, but without a stand.

### XI 12. Cup Fragment. Fig. 35

P 6483. P. H., 0.059 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.07 m.

About a quarter of the body preserved, without the bottom. Convex lower body and straight side wall, slightly outward-tilted, and flaring at the lip. Bands on the lip and on the



Fig. 34. Hydria XI 7. Restored Drawing by Piet de Jong

lower body; around the side wall a wide zone filled by a meander, and a narrower zone below filled by a row of latticed triangles. The inside unglazed, and decorated with bands at the lip. The clay burned grey, and the dull black glaze badly peeled.

Probably part of a flat-bottomed cup like **XII 7**.

**XI 13.** Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 35

P 5503. Max. Diam., 0.063 m.

Part of a shallow flat-bottomed skyphos with horizontal rolled handles. Decorated outside with bands and zones filled by zigzag and lozenge-chain. At the centre inside,

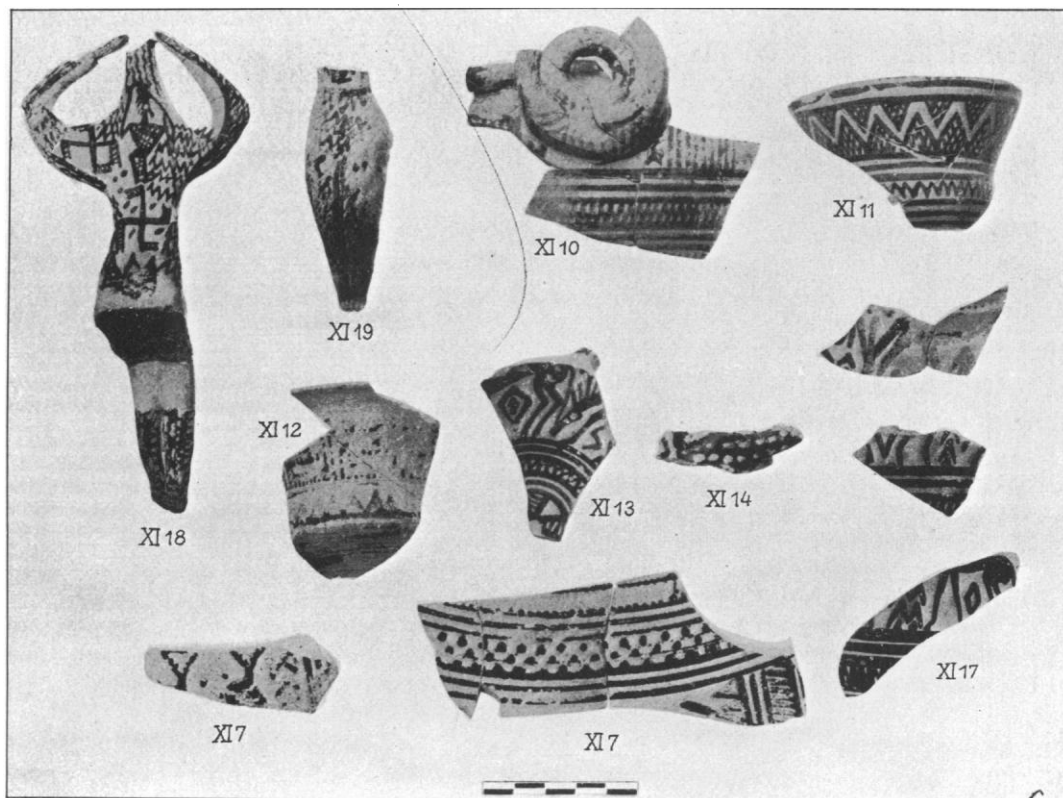


Fig. 35. Grave XI, Fragments of Vases and Figurines from the Pyre

a Maltese cross, surrounded by a zone filled with zigzag. In a wide zone around the side wall, a procession of grazing horses to the left; zigzags and lozenges in the field. Dull black glaze.

The shape of the body is like that of the saucer **XII 4**, without the stand and with different handles, and somewhat deeper; it may be a development of the type of metallic skyphos from Thera, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, pl. III, become very much shallower. Our skyphos, however, can be very little later than the one from Thera, which itself must date at the very end of the eighth century.

**XI 14.** Skyphos Handle. Fig. 35

P 6484. P. L., 0.059 m.

Part of the rolled handle of a small open vase, presumably a skyphos. Black glaze, with a double row of dots added in white.

Rows of white dots appear on very late Geometric vases, usually for decoration on plastic snakes. Wide (*Jhb.*, XIV, 1899, pp. 196 ff., number 14 and fig. 61) argues that the Athens amphora which he illustrates, fig. 61, is the very latest Geometric, while a Berlin amphora very close to it in shape and style of decoration as well as drawing, but decorated with added color (*A. A.*, 1892, p. 100), is Protoattic. The Athens amphora has, as a matter of fact, dots of added white on its plastic snakes, and the two amphoras are so close as to be very probably works of the same hand. A very late Geometric Acropolis fragment (Graef-Langlotz, 303, pl. 11) has rows of white dots added on the figures. The use of white does not become common even on Protoattic until the middle of the seventh century; its earliest appearance on Geometric must date from the very end of the eighth and beginning of the seventh century.

**XI 15.** Jug. Fig. 33

P 5504. H., 0.096 m.

Fragmentary, but with the complete profile preserved; restored. Flat-bottomed, with the convex lower body and the high, slightly concave upper part continuous in a shallow reverse curve. The lower body banded; on the upper body, zones of zigzag above and below a zone filled by a band of carelessly drawn sigmas. The inside unglazed. Dull black glaze, badly peeled.

The shape is later than that of the jugs **XVIII 1-2** and **XVII 18**, because the upper body and lower body are now continuously curved and no longer meet at an angle. Careless subgeometric decoration.

**XI 16.** Oinochoe. Fig. 33

P 5500. H., 0.095 m. Max. Diam., 0.053 m.

The trefoil mouth, the handle, and gaps in the body, restored. Flat bottom and rounded lower body, with a tall, rather wide, neck. The lower body banded; around its widest part, a zone filled by "shorthand" checker-board; zigzags on the shoulder. A band filled with meander on the neck; below it, a narrower band with a row of latticed triangles, and above, just under the lip, a zigzag. The clay burned grey, and the dull black glaze much peeled.

The shape is comparable to **VI 4** and **IX 12**; to **XII 8** from the other burned deposit, and to **C 115-117** from the seventh century well. Careless subgeometric decoration of the beginning of the seventh century.

**XI 17.** Oinochoe Fragments. Fig. 35

P 6485.

Three small non-joining fragments from the body of a small oinochoe like **XI 16**. Bands and a zigzag below the main zone, which is decorated with a procession of horses and grazing deer to the left.

**XI 18.** Terracotta Figurine: Mourning Woman. Figs. 35-36

T 807. W. at arms, 0.069 m.

A fragment of the legs, from just above the knees to just below, is missing and restored; the top of the head chipped off. A seated figure with its arms raised to its head in a gesture of lamentation. The figure was modelled from a roll of clay tapered at the ends; the legs were pinched at the end to make feet, and a shallow groove made from the feet upward to indicate the separation of the legs. Hips and body were left fairly cylindrical, and the chest flattened. The long tapering neck



was continuous with the head, which seems to have had a pinched ridge for a nose, with hollows to each side for eyes. The front of the neck is decorated with zigzags, the sides and back with wavy glaze lines representing tresses of hair. A female figure is drawn on the chest; she wears a long dress and raises her hands to her head in the same gesture of lamentation as does the figurine on which she is painted; she is flanked on either side by a swastika. The same decoration of mourner between swastikas is repeated on the back. The arms are decorated with zigzags. The waist is encircled by a wide belt of latticed triangles with dots between, and the hips are decorated in front with zigzags. Ladders run up the legs from the feet to the hips, and short verticals on the feet indicate the toes. The decoration of the legs runs around to the back of the lower legs; the upper legs are undecorated. The bottom surface of the figure is concavely curved, showing that the surface on which it sat was convex. Buff clay with black to reddish glaze.

The gesture of the arms is unmistakably one of lamentation and not one of adoration. It appears time and again on Geometric vases in scenes of prothesis or ekphora; bands of both male and female mourners are to be noted around the neck of the amphora **XII 1**. Our figurine then is simply the portrayal in the round of the conventional painted figures on the vases. Seventh century figurines representing mourners have been found at the Kerameikos, seated on the handles of vases (*A. A.*, 1932, p. 198, fig. 5); free-standing sixth century figures have also been found there (*A. A.*, 1933, pp. 281-282, fig. 16). Our figure, though it is earlier than those from the Kerameikos and from Arkades in Crete (*Annuario*, 10-12, 1927-29, p. 184, fig. 205; p. 196, fig. 217—"adoranti"), seems not to be the earliest of the type; of three figures sitting on the rim of a Mycenaean bowl from Ialysos, one, a woman, has her arms raised in the same lamenting gesture (*C. V. A., British Museum*, II a, pl. 6, 3; Furtwängler-Loeschke, pl. VI, 35). An Attic Geometric figurine in the Metropolitan Museum, of the same period as ours and very much like it in modelling and decoration, is brought forward as an argument in favor of the existence of monumental sculpture in the eighth century

(*Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, pp. 157 ff.; fig. 10). The figurine represents a personage similar to our mourning woman, but seated on a throne, and with the arms extended along the arms of the throne, not raised in lamentation. At the back of the throne, used to support the upper cross-piece, there is, however, a small kneeling figure with hands raised to head in the mourning gesture; the throned figure was probably, like our **XII 25**, used at a funeral ceremony. Figures seated on thrones, are, like mourners, often drawn on late Geometric vases. Such a figure, drawn on a shallow metallic skyphos from Dipylon Grave VII, *op. cit.*, p. 162, fig. 6 (in Athens, not Paris), is used to confirm the existence of eighth century sculpture as suggested by the enthroned figurine. Its relation to the plastic figure is precisely the same as that of the painted mourner to the plastic one, or as that of the painted chariot scene to the plastic one (**XII 24**): the painted figure is a conventional late Geometric vase ornament. The Geometric potter and coroplast were clearly one; it seems entirely natural that the potter should try his hand at representing in the round those personages, participating in scenes of festival, funeral, and foray, whom he had become so accustomed to painting. In the making of plastic birds and horses he had already had practice, using them to decorate the lids of his vases. The Attic skyphos, it might be noted, is painted in a style very similar to that of the Protocorinthian aryballos illustrated opposite it

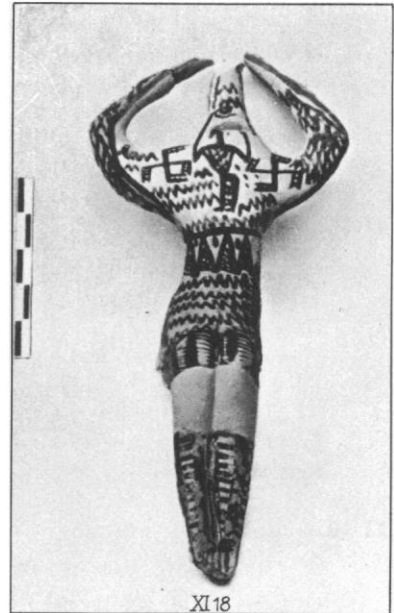


Fig. 36. Grave XI, Terracotta Figurine from the Pyre: Mourner (XI 18)

(fig. 9), a vase which Payne has dated in the first quarter of the seventh century (*C. V. A., Oxford*, II, p. 59, 5); the Attic skyphos cannot then be older than the end of the eighth. Our figurine, found with subgeometric vases and fragments, and itself decorated in a subgeometric manner, is probably early seventh century. The concavity of its bottom suggest that it sat, like the Kera-meikos figures, on the rim or handle of a vase, rather than on a throne.

### **XI 19.** Terracotta Figurine Fragment. Fig. 35

T 841. P. H., 0.075 m.

Broken off just above the waist. The lower part of a seated figure modelled in the same way as **XI 18**. The legs and hips are decorated with zigzags, and the divisions between the toes are marked by short incisions. Above the waist are what appear to be the feet of a standing figure, perhaps a mourner like the ones drawn on the chest and back of **XI 18**. Dull black glaze, somewhat peeled; the clay burned grey.

From a figurine like **XI 18**, and of about the same size. The legs, however, are decorated like those of the figure seated on the throne, **XII 23**. The bottom, too, is flat, suggesting that this figure sat on a throne rather than on the curving rim or handle of a vase.

## GRAVE XII

Plan. Fig. 1. Section. Fig. 2. Contents. Figs. 37–42; 73

Remains of a sacrificial pyre. Height above sea-level, 55.40 m. A thick deposit of ash and cinders was found in the filling of the early road beside the terrace wall of the grave precinct. The deposit extended for about a metre and a half along the wall, and for about a metre into the road; it was much thicker close to the wall than it was farther out in the road. From its position it seemed to have been swept or dumped over the edge of the terrace onto the road. Many fragments of burned pottery and figurines, together with bits of animal bones, were found in the burned deposit. The vases pieced together from the fragments are of the same character as those from the sacrificial pyre burned near Grave XI—vases which had been specially made for use at funeral rites. The burned deposit found in the road must then be the remains of a sacrificial pyre like that of Grave XI; in the case of Grave XII, however, the embers of the pyre were gathered up and thrown away instead of being used to help fill the grave. On the analogy of Grave XI the burial beside which our pyre was burned must have been that of a man.

The pottery from Grave XII should, like that from Grave XI, be dated at the beginning of the seventh century. The pottery from the two pyres is similar not only in its ritual character, but also in its subgeometric decoration. Early orientaling hooked decoration appears on the neck of the amphora **XII 1**; on the other vases we may note the late motives and the hasty methods of drawing which we have observed on the vases from Grave XI. The figurines, too, are very similar to those from Grave XI.

### **XII 1.** Amphora. Figs. 37–38. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 28, fig. 26

P 4990. H., 0.327 m. Max. Diam., 0.151 m.

Many gaps restored in plaster. Ovoid body on a high vertical ring foot; tall neck flaring to a rounded lip. Band handles to above the middle of the neck. Applied plastic snakes: one around

the outer edge of the lip, one on the shoulder in front and another at the back, and one running down each handle. Between the coils of the snakes: on the lip, zigzags; on the handles, conventional birds; and on the shoulder, triangles and zigzags. The body is decorated with plain glaze bands and zones of interlock, checker-board, and horizontal and vertical zigzags; in the principal zone around the middle, a procession of five three-horse chariots to the right. Three of the charioteers are nude, while the other two wear long dresses; in the field, filling ornament of conventional birds, lozenges, wavy lines (snakes?), and zigzag in bands and columns; a lozenge-star under each team of horses. The neck is divided at the front and back into three zones; a nearly square panel between long narrow bands above and below. The lowest band is filled, both front and back, by a dotted lozenge chain, with hooks growing upward and downward from the apices of the lozenges. The uppermost zone is occupied, at the front, by a procession of six nude men to the right, each man with one arm raised to his head in a gesture of lamentation, and carrying two spears in the other hand; at the back, a similar procession of lamenting women wearing latticed skirts. A prothesis scene is drawn in the central neck panel in front; the dead lies on his bier, over which hangs a checkered pall. Three women are in attendance: one kneels lamenting under the bier; a second, standing by its foot, raises her arms to her head; and the third, standing on a low stool at the head of the bier, holds a spray of leaves ending in a large flower over the dead (compare the same gesture in a prothesis scene on an amphora fragment, Perrot and Chipiez, VII, p. 57, fig. 5 and *Monumenti*, IX, pl. XXXIX, 3). In the field are five wavy vertical lines, probably representing snakes. The back neck panel shows three nude men bringing funerary offerings or objects to be used in the grave-ritual; the first carries a wreath of leaves, the second a knife which he holds upright, and the third some sort of two-handled vessel, possibly a thymiaterion or incense-burner. Each bears his offering in his left hand, while the right hands of two are raised to the head in lamentation. In the field, zigzags, chevrons, wavy lines, and a conventional bird. The clay is Attic; some fragments are pink, and others burned grey, as they fell inside or outside the pyre when the vase was broken. The dull black glaze is very badly peeled in places.

The vase is obviously of a class especially made for funerary use, and not for everyday life. All the figured scenes are funerary in character, arranged around the central prothesis scene, and showing various phases of the ceremonies that were observed at a burial. One of the implements brought, the knife, suggests that the sacrifice of an animal was part of the ritual. The urn carried by the third man may have contained incense, oil, or wine, all of which had their part in the ceremonies at the pyre (cf. *Iliad*, XXIII, the funeral of Patroklos). The scene around the body of the amphora represents the chariot race at the funeral games; none of the charioteers is armed. Chariot races, often portrayed on Geometric funerary amphoras and kraters, must have been a regular feature in a semi-feudal society dominated by great landholders who had little but sport to



Fig. 37. Grave XII, Amphora XII 1, Front. Drawing by Piet de Jong

occupy their time; the chariot race was one of the older contests in the Olympic games which were reestablished, according to tradition, in the early eighth century. Boxing matches, another feature of the funeral games of Patroklos (*Iliad*, XXIII, 653 ff.), appeared early among the sports at the Olympic games; like chariot races, they appear also on late Geometric vases (for example, *C.V.A., Copenhagen*, II, pl. 74, 2; Hampe, pl. 23).

Our amphora finds several parallels in shape and decoration. In shape it is similar to the Copenhagen amphora *C.V.A.*, II, pl. 73, 3, the Berlin amphora 3203 (*A.A.*, 1892, p. 100, 4), and the amphora Wide, fig. 61. A little taller and slimmer in its proportions than the Copenhagen amphora, it is in the line of the development toward the tall narrow Protoattic vases. In decoration as well as in shape it is later than the Copenhagen amphora; the hooked lozenge band at the base of the neck is a first appearance of an orientaling motive. The drawing of the figures is, however, very close to that of those on the Copenhagen vase, and our amphora can be but very slightly later. The filling ornament used on both is the same. An unpublished amphora in Oxford is closely similar in style to our amphora; a photograph of part of it is published in *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, Beilage VIII, 13. Again close in style, but somewhat later, is the high footed bowl *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 205, and pl. X, clearly a ceramic adaptation of bronze tripods like *Olympia*, IV, pl. XXXIV. The bowl has new orientaling motives in addition to the usual funerary representations. Found with our amphora were two small bowls of the same metallic type: **XII 2** and **3**. Fragments of vases of the same shapes and with the same style of decoration were found in Phaleron (*Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 251, figs. 18-19; fig. 18, right, is part of a ring handle from a footed bowl). Together with the Phaleron fragments was found a figurine like some of those from Grave XII (*ibid.*, p. 250, fig. 17). The Phaleron fragments are very like our vases and figurines from Graves XI and XII, and also like the footed bowl adapted from metal tripods. It seems clear that they should all be dated together at the very beginning of the seventh century; the Copenhagen vase perhaps about 700, the others slightly later. The Phaleron cemetery produced no grave earlier than the very end of the eighth century; the fragments that must be grouped with ours cannot be very much older than everything else in the cemetery. Like ours, they belong to a class of funerary vases that were broken and scattered at the pyre, and like ours they show signs of burning. From the fact that they are fragments, then, it does not follow that they are older sherds lying in the fill; they are funerary fragments, belong with the cemetery, and must be dated by it.

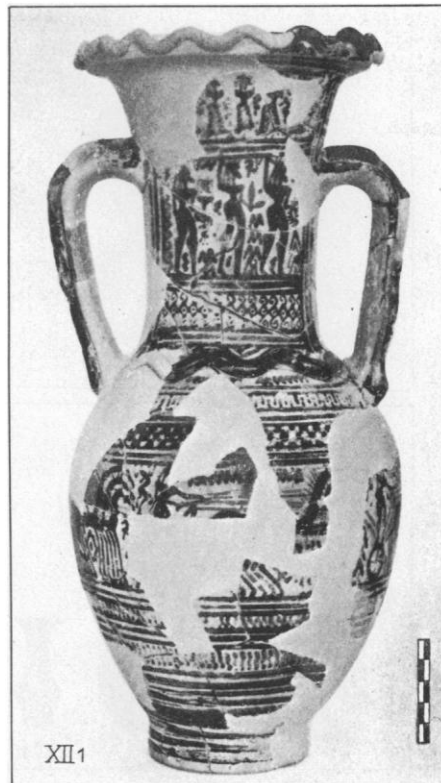


Fig. 38. Grave XII, Amphora XII 1, Back

## **XII 2.** Bowl on Perforated Stand. Fig. 39

P 4989. H. to rim, 0.137 m. Diam. at rim, 0.10 m.

Many body fragments restored. Bowl with slightly inturned rim and vertical ring handles on the shoulder. A plastic bird is perched, facing inward, on each handle, and a plastic snake

lies on the rim in front, with another at the back. The bowl rests on a high, slightly flaring stand, perforated by two series of long narrow slots; the slots of the upper series fall directly above those of the lower. The bowl is glazed inside; series of short verticals in a reserved band on the lip. Ladder pattern running up the backs of the birds, and bars on the handles. The snakes are glazed black. Zigzag and chevron columns beside the handles, and a zone filled with triple zigzags around the body; below, glaze bands and single zigzags. In the panels of the stand between the perforations, rows of zigzags, with continuous zigzags around the zones between the perforations and below them. Buff clay, in part burned grey; dull black glaze.

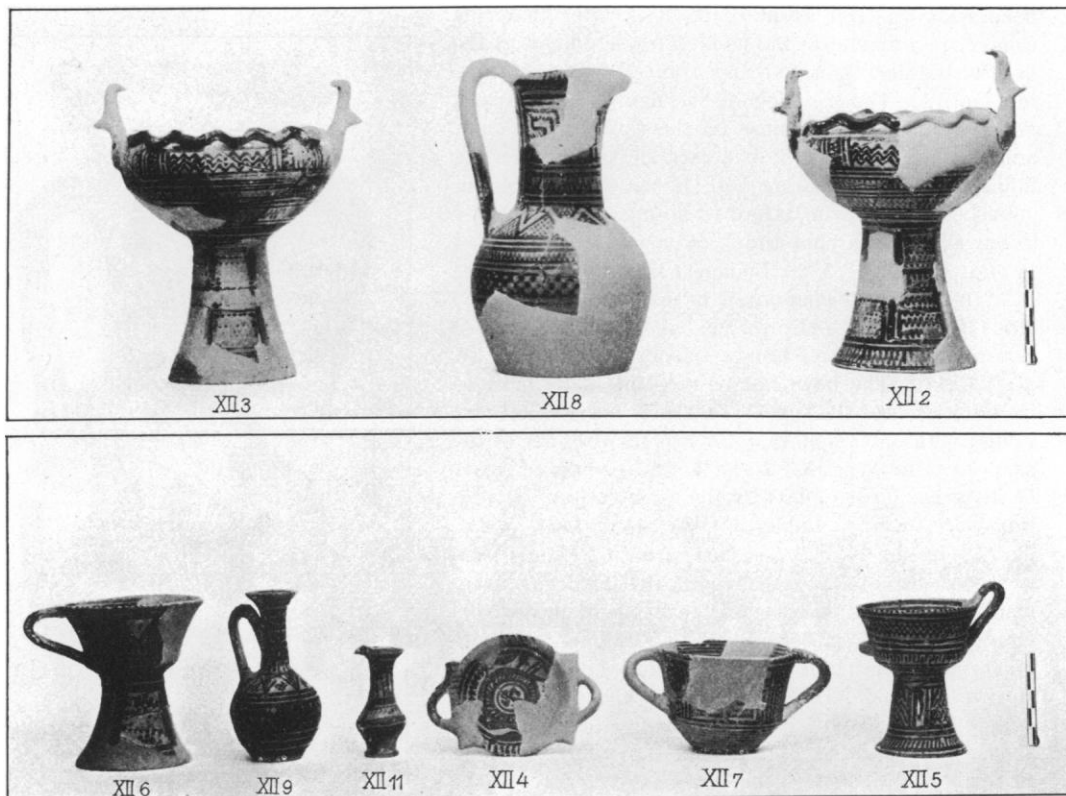


Fig. 39. Grave XII, Small Vases from a Pyre (XII 2-9, 11)

A big bowl with a stand of precisely the same shape and with the same kind of ring handles was found near the Dipylon (Piraeus Street) and is published in *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pp. 205 ff. and pl. X; stylistic similarities between it and **XII 1** have already been noted. The shape, with its ring handles, is certainly adapted from that of bronze tripods, as noted by Pernice, p. 206; in the clay, a perforated cylindrical stand had to be substituted for the three legs of the metal prototype. The handles of the Piraeus Street vase undoubtedly had animals, probably horses, on top to correspond to our birds. A fragment from another such handle, from Phaleron, is published in *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 251, fig. 18, right. Bronze tripods of the type from which these bowls were copied are preserved at Olympia: *Olympia*, IV, pls. XXVII-XXXIV (pl. XXIX, 638 with a bird very like our birds). The shape of the bowl itself is close to that of skyphoi with inturned rim (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 1, 6; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 35, fig. 28 right, and p. 36, fig. 30 right; our **C 42** below). The decoration is conventional Geometric, rather carefully done; the panels

beside the handles fine late parallels. The birds are rather conventionalized and are not modelled in great detail; the scale is too small. Our bowl must be fairly closely contemporary with the Piraeus Street bowl, even though it has no distinctively orientalizing features. The Piraeus Street bowl (height, as restored, 0.59 m.), may have stood over a grave, or been used in funeral rites; part of its decoration consists of a band of mourning women (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 226, fig. 10).

### **XII 3.** Bowl on Stand. Fig. 39

P 4991. H., 0.135 m. Diam. at rim, 0.10 m.

Fragments of the body and stand, and one handle with its bird, restored. Shape, decoration, and fabric the same as **XII 2**, and the dimensions very closely the same. The two form a pair.

Pairs of ritual vases are often found in graves; compare the pair of bowls from Grave XI above, and the two pairs from Dipylon Grave VIII (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII 1; a second bowl like no. 5 is not illustrated).

### **XII 4.** Fragmentary Saucer on Stand. Fig. 39

P 5282. P. H., 0.017 m. Diam. at rim, 0.068 m.

The saucer in part restored. A perforated stand is broken off underneath. Very shallow floor with flattened rim slightly projecting; loop handles with out-turned ends applied against the face of the rim. Outside, glaze rings, and a zone of short verticals below the rim. On the floor, a warrior with long-plumed helmet, shield, and two spears, running to the right; a curving zigzag in the field. Buff clay, burned grey in places; dull red glaze.

The warrior was probably an afterthought; his shield was drawn as a conventional central ornament on the floor of the saucer, and then his head and legs, and the ends of his spears, were squeezed into the space around it after it had occurred to the painter that his central ornament made an admirable shield. Hence the position of the legs, which, perhaps fortuitously, give the effect of running. Had the painter planned a warrior, he would have fitted him better to the space at his disposal. Figures in violent motion appear only on the very latest Geometric vases; the figures in scenes of the late eighth century are shown in a number of conventional poses—the warrior throwing his spear, driving his chariot, or marching to battle, and the mourner tearing his hair. Even the horses are static: note the humans and horses on the two kraters in New York, *A. J. A.*, XIX, 1915, pls. XVII–XXIII. On the krater from Dipylon Grave III, of the end of the eighth century, the horses are indulging in a sort of clumsy gallop. In the early seventh century on the bowl from Piraeus Street (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pl. X), we find rearing horses (again probably because of restricted space), while on the Hymettos amphora (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 5) we begin to get a little the feeling of motion in the fighting warriors. Our saucer is perhaps the earliest example of the pose that later came to be accepted as the conventional one for flying figures like the gorgons on the Nessos amphora (Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, III, pl. 19, 89).

### **XII 5.** Cup on Stand. Fig. 39

P 4987. H. to rim, 0.084 m. Diam. at rim, 0.064 m.

Shallow convex lower body and high straight rim, outward tilted. A vertical band handle rising above the rim; opposite it, below the rim, a horizontal handle. The slightly flaring stand has four long slot-like perforations. The inside glazed, with bands at the rim, and a row of dots on the lip. The vertical handle barred. Conventional geometric decoration of bands, interlock, and zigzags on the body and stand. Buff clay, dull red glaze.

A similar small cup, but with two horizontal handles, was found in Dipylon Grave VIII (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 1, 2). As with **XII 2-3**, the shape is late and the decoration is in a careful conventional style.

**XII 6.** Cup on Stand. Fig. 39

P 4986. H. (as rest.), 0.097 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.075 m.

Much of the body, and the bottom of the stand, restored. The shape is the same as that of **XII 5**; the high, flaring side wall, slightly concave, springs directly from the floor, and the band handle does not rise above the rim. A zone of latticed triangles around the body, with a dot between each pair. Buff clay, grey where burned; dull red glaze.

The carelessly drawn zigzags on the stand are drawn in the same hasty subgeometric way as those of the vases from Dipylon Grave VIII; they are here found in combination with the careful conventional style used on the other vases of the group from the pyre.

**XII 7.** Two-handled Cup. Fig. 39

P 4988. H., 0.057 m. Diam. at rim, 0.063 m.

One handle, and a large part of the body, restored. Flat bottom and high vertical side wall with plain lip. The vertical band-handles barred. The inside banded, and decorated with a zone of interlock, and a meander in the handle zone; verticals and a zigzag set off the handle panel. Rings on the bottom. Clay buff to grey, black glaze.

The shape is the same as that of **XII 6**, but without a stand.

**XII 8.** Oinochoe. Fig. 39

P 5281. H. (as rest.), 0.161 m. Max. Diam. (as rest.), 0.096 m.

The bottom, much of the handle, and parts of the body restored. Double rolled handles and trefoil mouth. On the lip, a reserved band filled with short diagonals; on the neck, a meander in a zone above a band of zigzag. Interlocking latticed triangles on the shoulder, and zones of zigzag and checker-board around the body. Ladders on the handles. Grey clay and dull black glaze.

The oinochoe belongs, in shape, to the same group as **XIII 1** (fig. 43), but is somewhat later; the neck has become very much wider in proportion to the body. The widening of the neck may be due to the influence of such Protocorinthian oinochoai as Johansen, pl. VII, 1-2; in Attica it is frequently to be observed on Protoattic oinochoai (*A. A.*, 1934, pp. 215-216, fig. 12; *Jhb.*, II, 1887, p. 45, fig. 3; *Metropolitan Museum, Handbook*, p. 61, fig. 35; Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 288, 1702). Other Protoattic oinochoai, going to the other extreme, have most exaggeratedly long narrow necks, like *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pp. 46 and 48, figs. 5, 6, and 8. The decoration is here drawn in the same careful conventional manner as that of the other vases of Grave XII; the checker-board was made by dotting alternate squares of a grill.

**XII 9.** Lekythos. Fig. 39

P 4984. H., 0.089 m. Max. Diam., 0.045 m.

Small fragments restored. Round body with flat bottom; long narrow neck with round flaring lip, and a band-handle from the shoulder of the middle of the neck. Around the body a grilled band; on the shoulder, hanging triangles with swastikas between their ends. On the neck zigzags, and a band of interlock; series of short verticals on the lip. The handle glazed. Grey clay, dull red glaze.

The shape is rare and late; two somewhat similar lekythoi were found at Anavysos (*Praktika*, 1911, p. 118, 7 and 8). The type is strikingly like the common Protogeometric lekythoi of which examples are illustrated in *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 251, fig. 20, and *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 24, fig. 22. The foot has vanished and the neck has become longer. Our lekythos, with its factory-chimney neck and careless decoration, is later than the Anavysos lekythoi, which must date

from about the end of the eighth century. Late Geometric or early orientalizing lekythoi from Crete are not unlike our Attic lekythoi in shape: *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pl. IX, 8-9.

**XII 10.** Lekythos Fragment. Fig. 40

P 4985. P. H., 0.05 m. Max. Diam., 0.058 m.

The neck and handle are broken off. Flat bottom and rounded body; a grilled zone around the body, and vertical zigzags on the shoulder. Grey clay, dull red glaze.

A fragment of a lekythos similar to **XII 9**.

**XII 11.** Miniature Lekythos. Fig. 39

P 4983. H., 0.059 m. Max. Diam., 0.027 m.

The handle missing. A miniature imitation of the foregoing type; the handle went to the lip. Hatched key pattern on the neck; on the shoulder, a row of careless short verticals. Grey clay; glaze red to black.

**XII 12.** Lekythos Fragment. Fig. 40

P 5283. P. H., 0.076 m. Diam. at rim, 0.031 m.

The neck and part of the shoulder preserved. The handle went to the lip as on **XII 11**. On the neck and body, bands, zigzags, and a row of dots. Greyish buff clay, brownish red glaze, badly peeled.

**XII 13.** Askos Fragment. Fig. 40

P 6498. P. L., 0.108 m. P. W., 0.069 m.

Broken away in front and underneath; a ridge runs along the centre of the upper side. Decorated with bands, triangles filled by diagonals, and dot rows. Clay pink to grey where it is burned; dull black glaze.

Probably part of a bird-askos of the type of N.M. 156 (Collignon-Couve 381, pl. XVI). A number of orientalizing bird and animal askoi were found at Arkades in Crete: *Annuario*, 10-12, 1927-29, figs. 65, 221, 461 and 496. A late Attic Geometric askos was found in Grave 3 at Spata (*Delt.*, VI, 1921-22, p. 134, fig. 8). Askoi, though rare, seem to have been made continuously from Mycenaean through Geometric times.

**XII 14.** Terracotta Bird. Fig. 40. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 27, fig. 25

T 756. H., 0.027 m. W., 0.012 m. L., 0.032 m.

Small bird, legless and flat-bottomed, with long beak and flat fan tail. Glaze stripes across the front of the neck and chest, and bands along the sides of the beak, head, neck and body; a St. Andrew's cross on the back between the bands. The end of the tail glazed, with incised lines to indicate the feathers. Round incised eyes, and an incised mouth-line. The clay fired grey, the glaze red. Hand-made.

Similar birds are often used as lid handles on late Geometric vases; one with fan tail very like ours stands on the lid of the great pitcher from Dipylon Grave XIII (Wide, fig. 74 a; Hampe, pl. 32). The plastic bird appears slightly later than the horse as an ornament on pottery; but he gets his freedom at about the same time. Another unattached late Geometric bird was found at Sparta (*B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 78, fig. 2, 10). The Spartan bird has plumage formed by dots of added white, which show that he is a contemporary of our Attic bird and belongs at the very end of the Geometric period. Another, later, Attic bird was found in the Agora (*Hesperia*,



II, 1933, p. 620 and fig. 86, 325); he has a higher stand and a round drooping tail, and is covered with white slip and painted with red and blue bands; he must date from near the middle of the seventh century. The bronze birds from Olympia are of the same type: *Olympia*, IV, pl. XIII, 210. A small group of clay birds decorated, like ours, with glaze, was found at Arkades in Crete; *Annuario*, 10-12, 1927-29, p. 174, fig. 194.

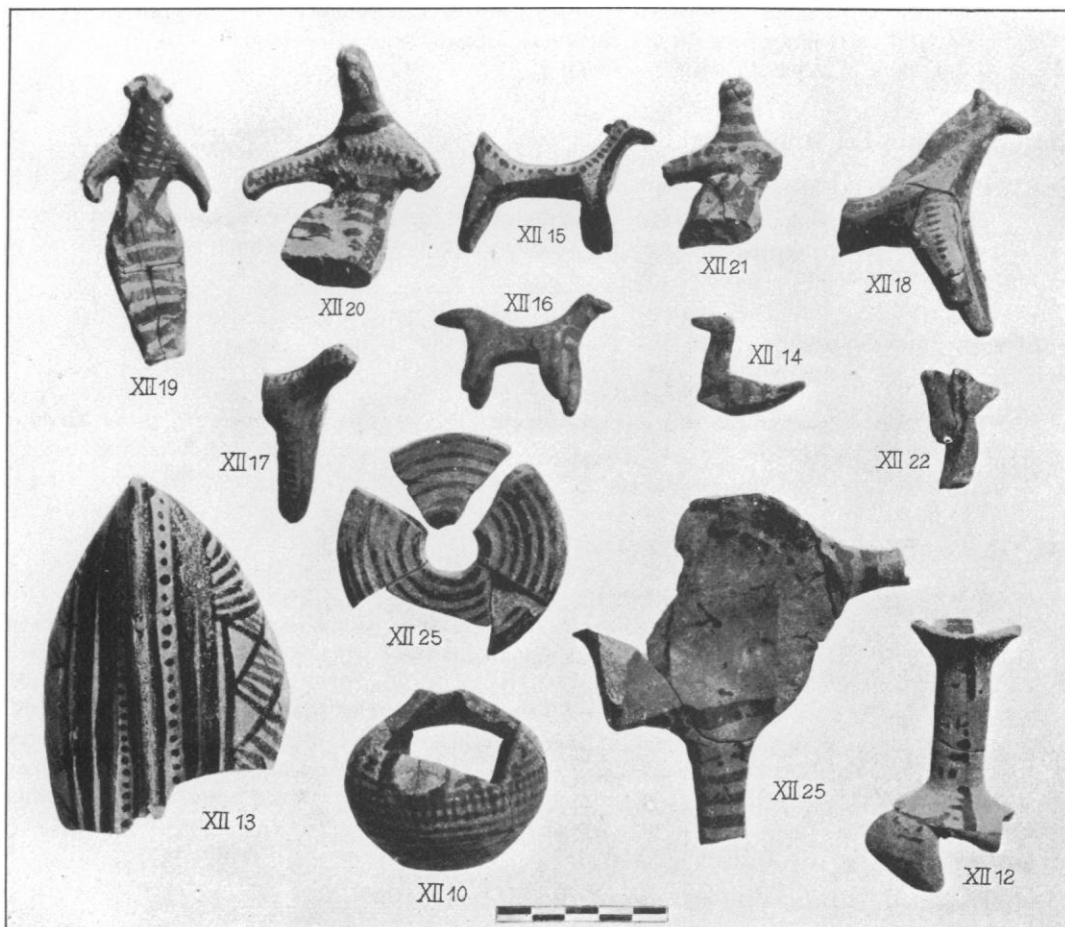


Fig. 40. Grave XII, Fragments of Vases and Figurines from a Pyre

**XII 15.** Terracotta Dog. Fig. 40. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 27, fig. 25

T 752. H., 0.039 m. W., 0.019 m. L., 0.054 m.

The tail and one ear broken off. The ears are formed of flattened pellets of clay stuck onto the back of the head. Glaze bands down the flanks and legs, around the rump, and down the spine; a row of dots running along each side of the spine, and down the legs. Grey clay, red glaze.

The absence of a mane, and the laid-back ears, suggest that a dog, rather than a horse, was intended.

**XII 16.** Terracotta Dog. Fig. 40. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 27, fig. 25

T 754. H., 0.037 m. W., 0.02 m. L., 0.051 m.

The animal has neither ear nor tail to indicate his species. Bands across the chest, and down the legs; three stripes down the back, and a band around the rump.

The creature, in the proportions of the body and the shape of the tail, resembles the Spartan horse *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 78, fig. 2, 2; but the head and the neck are very much smaller. In the absence of a mane (compare the mane of the horse **XII 18**) it seems more likely that a dog is represented.

**XII 17.** Terracotta Dog Fragment. Fig. 40

T 755. H., 0.055 m. L., 0.031 m.

The front of the face and the back of the body are missing. Glaze bands with bars between them on the leg and down the spine. Grey clay, red glaze.

This may have been either a horse or a dog; there is no suggestion of a mane.

**XII 18.** Terracotta Horse. Fig. 40

T 753. H., 0.072 m. W., 0.037 m. L., 0.059 m.

Broken off at the middle of the back. The mane is a pinched ridge, sharp and slightly wavy at its edge. Red stripes down the spine, to each side of the mane, on each side of the belly, and down the inner and outer faces of the legs. Bands across the mane and chest. Short bars down the legs and on the body. Grey clay, red glaze.

The pinched wavy mane leaves no doubt that a horse is represented; the head is very small in proportion to the body when compared with the horses from Sparta (*op. cit.*, p. 78, figs. 2, 2 and 4), but quite like the heads of plastic horses on geometric pyxis lids (**XVIII 6** and **XVII 15** and **17**). The legs are rather wide apart, perhaps for stability; lid-horses stand with their legs firmly planted. The free-standing terracotta horse is slightly later in type; like the bird, the horse is first used as a lid ornament and then made free-standing.

**XII 19.** Terracotta Seated Figure. Fig. 40. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 27, fig. 25

T 758. H., 0.08 m. W., 0.036 m.

Seated figure with the arms extended forward and downward. A shallow groove indicated the division between the legs. The features of the face are roughly indicated by pinching, which leaves a ridge for the nose between hollows for the eyes; the side projections may be intended to represent the ears. A triangular projection at the back of the head represents the hair gathered into a knot. Glaze stripes down the sides and arms, with bands across the legs and bars on the arms. A St. Andrew's cross on the stomach, and a latticed triangle on the chest and neck. Another St. Andrew's cross on the back. The eye hollows are dotted. Buff clay, red glaze.

The position of the arms is suitable for those of an enthroned figure, with the hands by the arms of the chair; a rough hollow in the outer face of the right arm at the end may be the place where it came into contact with the chair arm. This figure, as well as the two similar, **XII 20-21**, was not attached to the chair on which it sat. The face is very crudely modelled in a manner somewhat different from the other figurines, and resembling the head of the Boeotian figurine, *Mon. Piot*, I, 1894, p. 24, fig. 3. The arrangement of the hair at the back is illustrated by figures painted on vases, as Berlin 31312 (Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 7). The painted decoration on the body is probably mere ornamentation and not intended to give any literal representation of clothing. A fragment of another figurine of the same crude style was found in an early seventh

century context at Phaleron: *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 250, fig. 17. The bottom is flat and unglazed; the figure may have sat on a throne like that of **XII 23**.

**XII 20.** Terracotta Seated Figure. Fig. 40

T 776. P. H., 0.068 m. P. W. (at arms), 0.056 m.

One arm broken off, and the legs below the hips; the position of the arms and body is the same as that of **XII 21**. The head and neck are represented by a mere stump of clay; three locks of hair, however, are represented by thin flattened strips of clay applied against the "head" in front at the top. No attempt is made at the rendering of the features, unless the crossed glaze bands are taken to represent the lines of the nose and eyes. A zigzag across the chest extends the length of the arms; bands across the body. The bottom of the figure is flat; a rough unglazed mass of clay is added at the back against the base of the spine, as a prop to prevent tipping over backward. Again the decoration can hardly be taken as representing clothing in any literal way.

**XII 21.** Terracotta Seated Figure. Fig. 40

T 759. H., 0.05 m. W., 0.035 m.

The left arm, and the legs, are broken off. The pose is the same as that of the other seated figures; the arms somewhat shorter. The head, made in the same way as that of **XII 20**, is surrounded at the top with short strips of added clay representing locks of hair. The mass of clay at the base of the spine is here neatly smoothed and glazed. Bands around the head-neck, and a row of dots across the chest; a St. Andrew's cross with dots between the arms on the stomach, and another on the back. Grey to buff clay; red glaze.

The three seated figures may well show the progress in technique of their creator. The first has no plastic locks of hair (although it does have some indication of the features), and, in the absence of any prop behind, will not sit up. The second has three crude locks at the front of the head, and an experimental attempt to prop it so that it can sit up. The third has locks of hair all around the head, suggesting that the modeller was pleased with his experiment, and the clay mass behind, added before as an afterthought and expedient, is here incorporated as a part of the figure, smoothed, and covered with glaze.

**XII 22.** Terracotta Fragment: Arm. Fig. 40

T 761. H., 0.036 m.

Part of a figurine with the right arm close against the side; the separation of the fingers is indicated by incised lines. Glaze bands, and bars on the arm. Grey clay with brownish glaze.

**XII 23.** Terracotta Throne with Seated Figure. Fig. 41

T 762. H., 0.095 m. P. W., 0.05 m. Depth (chair), 0.065 m.

Fragmentary, and partially restored. One arm and one leg of the throne are completely preserved, with the lower legs of the figure seated in it. Along the outer faces of the seat, arms, and legs of the throne zigzags between bands of glaze; on the bottom a cross. The arms of the chair end in discs decorated with crosses with dots between their arms. On the feet of the seated personage, bands; on each leg a column of chevrons between vertical bands. Grey clay with black glaze.

Arm holding spherical object. T 760. L., 0.05 m.

The right arm is extended forward, holding in the hand a large sphere; the fingers are incised. Glaze bands; a row of dots down the arm, and dots on the sphere. Grey clay, dull

black glaze. The fabric is very close to that of the enthroned figure, and the scale the same; the fragment, although it does not join, might have been a part of the seated figure. The enthroned figure must have been very similar in appearance to the other terracottas from the deposit, and to the mourners from Grave XI. In the present instance, however, figure and throne were made together, and were not separable. A late Geometric enthroned terracotta statuette in the Metropolitan Museum (*Met. Mus. Bull.* 27, 1932, p. 214; *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 164, fig. 10) has been referred to above (**XI 18**). It is complete, and strikingly like ours, giving an excellent idea of how the latter must have looked. The statuette in the Metropolitan has been cited as evidence for early Greek monumental sculpture. It must, however, have been made as a figurine for use in connection with funeral ritual rather than as a mere copy of a large statue; our figure belongs in a funerary context. The small kneeling figure at the back of the throne of the Metropolitan Museum piece has its arms raised to its head in a gesture very like the gesture of lamentation of the mourning woman from Grave XI, and of so many figures painted on late Geometric funerary vases. Professor Elderkin makes the interesting suggestion that the spherical object held by our figure is a pomegranate, and that we have here the earliest representation of Persephone. Seated figures holding pomegranates and receiving gifts and homage from minuscule mortals are represented on the archaic reliefs from Sparta, *Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, pp. 301 ff. and pls. XX-XXV; also Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouloff*, pp. 25 ff. and pl. I.

**XII 24.** Terracotta Chariot and Charioteer. Fig. 42. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 27, fig. 25; *A. A.*, 1935, pp. 167-168, fig. 4

T 751. H., 0.139 m. W. of base, ca. 0.065 m. W. of chariot, 0.04 m.

The chariot car, with a flat floor and a straight side wall in front and at the sides, rests on a flat square base, the edge of which is broken away in front and along the left side; two small holes, close together, are pierced through the base near the preserved corner at the back. The chariot pole is broken off. The chariot wall is glazed outside, with reserved bands along its upper and lower edges; the upper face of the base around the chariot, and its vertical edges, are decorated with zigzags. The charioteer stands upright in his car, leaning slightly forward, with his arms extended in front to hold the reins; holes are pierced through his hands so that they may be passed through. His body is tall and thin, rather thick at the hips and buttocks; the legs are rather short, and carelessly made inside the chariot where they do not show; the feet are fastened to the chariot floor. The face is pinched into a thin ridge, notched to indicate nose and chin; the eyes are indicated by short slanting glaze lines. A projecting plume-like knob at the back of the head probably represents the hair rather than a helmet plume; it is similar to the knob on the head of **XII 19** and recalls the drawing of hair on early Protoattic vases (Berlin 31312; see above under **XII 19**). A Protoattic hydria neck found in the Agora, unpublished (Inv. P 10229), is decorated with a procession of women whose hair, decorated with cross-hatching, projects behind in much the same way as does that of our charioteer. The decoration has encroached on the eye at the front, and become somewhat confused with it. The body is glazed in front; horizontal bands joined by short verticals run across the shoulders and down the arms to just above the elbow. Vertical bands run down the sides of the body to below the hips; between them on the back,

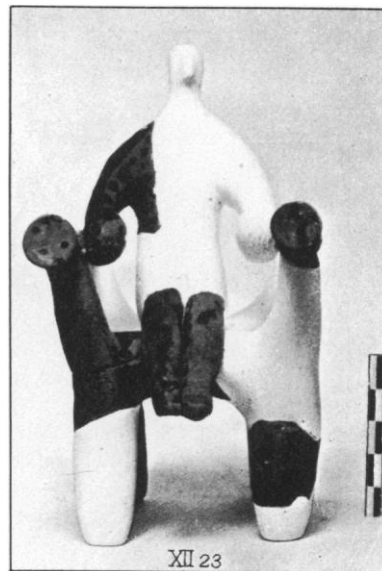


Fig. 41. Grave XII, Fragmentary Terracotta from a Pyre: Enthroned Figure (XII 23)

a panel filled by zigzags. The decoration is terminated below by horizontal stripes running around the legs well above the knees. Stripes of glaze down the lower legs at the back. The neck, forearms, and legs in front are undecorated. The glaze decoration on the body suggests that a short tunic is represented, extending from the shoulder to the hips, and with short sleeves to the elbow.

Horse's head. H., 0.056 m.

The head and neck down to the shoulder are preserved. A slit in the end of the muzzle indicates the mouth, and served to hold the reins; a small hole pierced through from side to side forms the eyes. The ears are formed by small triangular lumps of clay. Double glaze bands down the edges; diagonals on the sides, and bars across the front and mane. The edge of a spoked-wheel decoration is preserved on the shoulder.

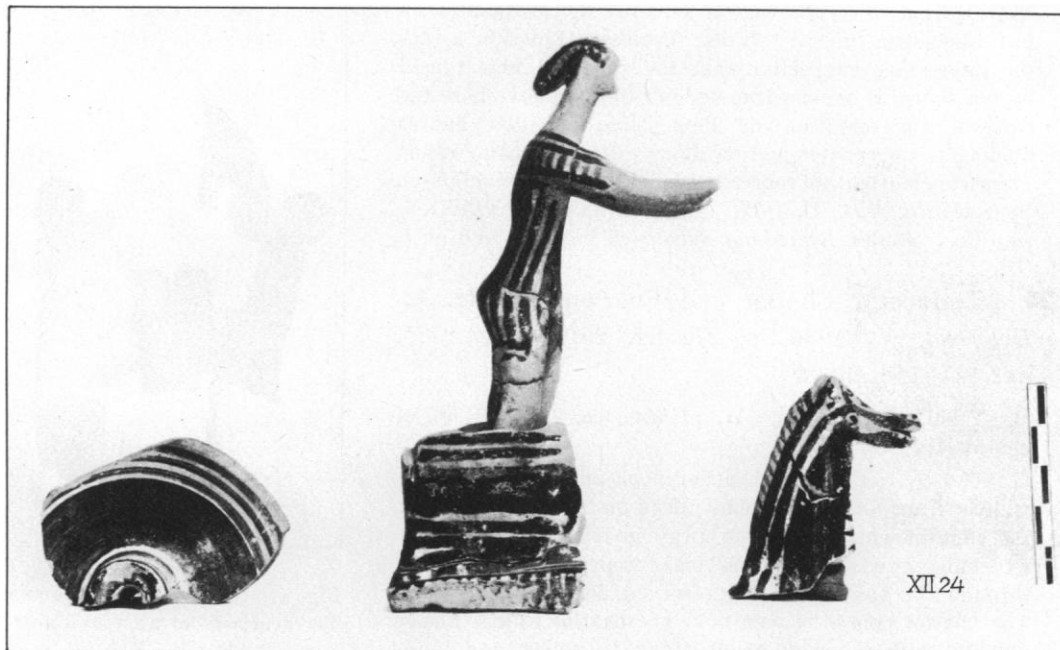


Fig. 42. Grave XII, Fragmentary Terracotta from a Pyre: Chariot and Charioteer (XII 24)

Wheel fragments (T 794). Diam., ca. 0.085 m. T., 0.08 m. T. at hub, 0.025 m.

Fragments of a flat circular wheel with pierced cylindrical hub projecting at both sides. Concentric glaze rings on the outer face; the inner face has two rings around the edge, and a broad band around the hub, which is banded.

All the fragments are very similar in fabric; clay grey to buff, and dull black glaze. The horse's head is on a scale appropriate to the chariot. The wheels are attached separately. The group should probably be reconstructed like the Vienna group, of which a drawing appears in Winter, *Die Typen der Figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, p. 25, 6; that is, the horses (there was probably more than one; the Vienna group has four) stood on a flat base, so arranged that a splinter of wood or wire could pass through it from side to side at the front and another at the back; the wheels were attached to the ends of these, which served as axles. The chariot could be placed on the base behind the horses, and probably tied to it with strings passed through the holes at

the corner. The chariot pole probably tied similarly to a yoke laid across the backs of the horses' necks, as on the Vienna group. Threads or fine wires were passed through the hands of the charioteer to the horses' mouths, serving as reins. There were no wheels attached to the chariot itself; the whole group, like the Vienna terracotta, moved as a unit on its wheeled platform. The various parts were demountable and held together with string (as are those of many modern Greek conveyances). Our charioteer resembles in his proportions figures painted on late Geometric and early Protoattic vases—on the lebes in London, and on the Anatos hydria (Hampe, pls. 22 and 31), and also early bronze and ivory statuettes (Hampe, pl. 31). His short sleeved tunic, reaching only to the upper legs, and the absence of any weapons or attachment for weapons (unless they were attached with strings) suggest that he is a chariot racer rather than a warrior. Perhaps the same distinction can be made among the early Olympia bronze chariot groups, which are very like our terracotta (*Olympia*, IV, pl. XV, 248, a bareheaded chariot racer, and 249, a helmeted warrior). An Attic Geometric figurine with a similarly pinched and notched face, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 193, and p. 194, fig. 4 A. A Protoattic chariot built on the same principle as ours was found in the Agora votive deposit; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 619, fig. 85. On early Greek chariots, see E. von Mercklin, *Der Rennwagen in Griechenland*.

## XII 25. Chariot Fragments. Fig. 40

T 793. Diam. of wheel, 0.067 m. T. of wheel, 0.013 m.

T 757. Chariot floor. L., 0.105 m. W., 0.097 m.

The floor is mostly preserved, but broken away at the front and one side; part of the side wall. The chariot wall runs around the front and sides, as on **XII 24**, and the back is open; two bars project from the edge, one toward the side, the other toward the back. The ends of both are broken off; the smaller, at the side, had a small vertical hole pierced through it. The flat hubless wheel, decorated with concentric rings on both faces, fits neatly over this bar, which was the axle; a pin through the hole prevented the wheel from coming off. The purpose of the larger bar extending backward from the open back of the chariot is not clear. The chariot wall is decorated with a zone of vertical sigmas between horizontal glaze bands; glaze rings around the axle, and around the backward-projecting bar. Traces on the floor of the attachment of the figure that stood on it.

Wheel and chariot fragments are the same in fabric; grey to buff clay, red to black glaze.

## XII 26. Bronze Bracelet. Fig. 73

B 203. Diam., ca. 0.052 m. Coil: W., 0.009 m. T., 0.01 m.

Broken into three pieces, and badly corroded. A small piece missing. A single coil, oval in section.

## GRAVE XIII

Plan. Fig. 1. Contents. Figs. 43–44

Inhumation of an adult, disturbed. Height above sea-level, 55.26 m. The grave had been disturbed by the diggers of Pit A. The cover slabs were found piled at the edge of the pit near the head of the grave. Of the skeleton, only the skull and the bones of the left arm were found in position; the rest of the bones had been thrown out by the diggers of the pit. The skeleton was that of a man; the head lay toward the northeast. At the foot of the grave, and in a position which must have been below the feet of the body, was found an

oinochoe, marked by a ring on the plan. It had been broken into many pieces by the removal of the covering slabs. Other grave offerings had probably been broken and thrown out when the grave was disturbed; the amphora and the kantharos published as Grave XV may have been among them. The only vase found in the grave dates from the end of the eighth century.

**XIII 1.** Oinochoe. Figs. 43–44. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 26, figs. 23–24; *A. J. A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 178, fig. 5; *A. A.*, 1935, p. 167, fig. 3; *J. H. S.*, LV, 1935, p. 149, fig. 2; Hampe, pp. 87–88, and fig. 31

P 4885. H., 0.228 m. Max. Diam., 0.154 m.

Round-bodied oinochoe with flat bottom, slightly concave neck, trefoil mouth and double rolled handle. After the vase had been made and painted, but before firing, four roughly circular holes were cut through its wall: two opposite each other at the sides, and two more at the front and back, at a lower level. Two carefully made hollow tubes of fine porous clay were then passed through the body of the vase from front to back and from side to side, and the edges smoothed. The tube running across from side to side passes about 2 cm. above the one running from front to back. Both are intact, and neither opens into the body of the vase. The purpose of these tubes is not clear and no parallel for them exists; although a number of suggestions has been made, any attempt at explanation remains, in the absence of evidence, almost pure speculation. It may be noted, however, that the tubes are made of granular porous clay, rather different from that of the vase itself, and are not covered with slip or glaze. In consequence, any liquid in the vase would seep through the porous clay of the tubes, but not through the walls of the oinochoe itself. The conclusion seems safe, that a potter as advanced in technique as were the makers of the late Geometric vases, must have been fully conscious of the effect of the porous tubes when he made them, and that he made them so on purpose. The oinochoe may thus have been a sort of ritual vase, from which liquid libations trickled out gradually over an extended period of time.

The decoration of the oinochoe is almost as elaborate as its structure. A band of dots runs around the lip outside, and a zigzag decorates the base of the neck. In the neck panel a procession of three warriors marches to the right; each wears a long-plumed helmet and a sword and carries a big hour-glass shaped shield and two spears. Each side of the handle is decorated with a ladder. On the shoulder, a meander in a zone below the base of the neck; a narrower zone just below the level of the handle attachment is filled by a zigzag. Bands, and a careless zigzag, on the lower body. The wide zone around the middle is filled by a figured scene centering on a battle at the back of the oinochoe, under the handle. A chariot drawn by two horses faces to the right; behind it stand two figures, both sheltering behind the same great square shield. The foremost figure is the charioteer; although he wears a plumed helmet, he carries no weapons. With his right hand he holds the shield, and in his left the reins and whip. While the charioteer mounts the car, his companion fights a rearguard action against two warriors who attack from behind with sword and spears. Another chariot stands by behind, the charioteer in the car holding the reins; it is probably the chariot in which one of the warriors on foot arrived, and from which he dismounted to join in the fight. A third chariot, four-wheeled and drawn by two horses, approaches from behind, driven by a warrior fully armed with sword and spears. It looks as though the warriors with the great square shield have decided, after a battle with their two adversaries on foot, to take to flight on the approach of reinforcement for their enemies. Hampe (pp. 87–88) has interpreted the scene as the battle between the Epeians and the Pylians described in *Iliad*, XI, 706 ff., in which the young Nestor put to rout the Molione, although they were saved from death by Poseidon. The double figure behind the shield is recognizable as that of the Aktorione-Molione, twins with one body but two heads, four arms and four legs. The

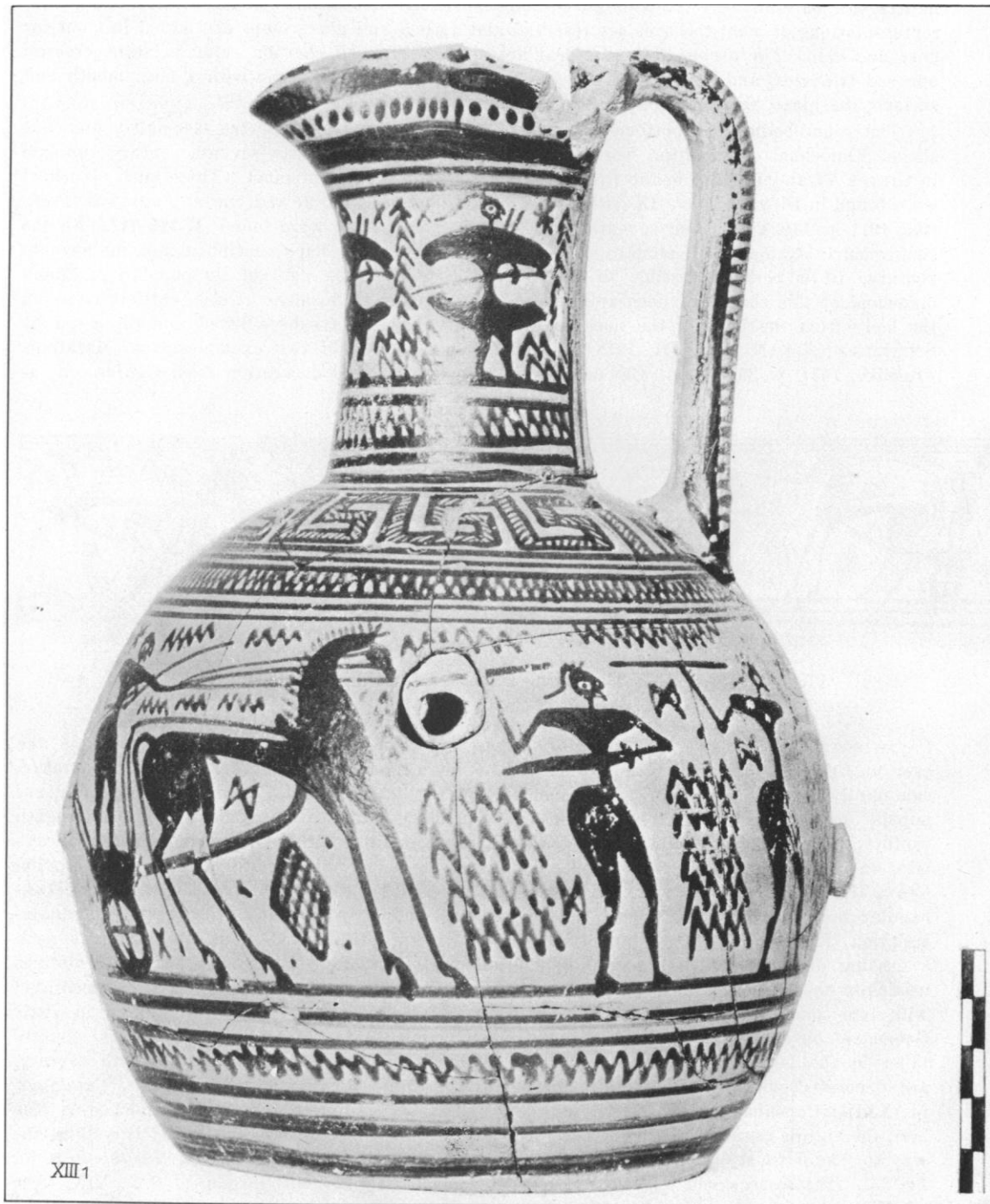


Fig. 43. Grave XIII, Oinochoe (XIII 1)



figures are carefully drawn with an attempt at detail not found on the earliest Geometric representations of men; the eyes are reserved and dotted, and glaze loops are added in front for nose and chin. For ornament in the field are used zigzag and chevron columns, stars, crosses, opposed triangles, and lozenges filled with latticing. The clay is Attic with a fine smooth buff surface; the glaze, thick and black, has peeled in many places.

The round-bodied, flat-bottomed form is the latest development of the Geometric oinochoe shape. Oinochoai of this form were found in subgeometric and early seventh century contexts in Graves VI and IX, and in the pyres XI and XII of our grave precinct. Three such oinochoai were found in Dipylon Grave IX (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2) and one at Anavysos (*Praktika*, 1911, p. 116, 2). In our seventh century well several more were found: **C 113-117**. All the subgeometric examples are miniatures; but they show that the shape continued into the seventh century. It is perhaps possible to fix an earlier limit to the date of its popularity. Many oinochoai of this shape are decorated on the sides by large concentric circles, entirely covering the body from the base of the neck to the bottom. They have been listed and discussed by Schweitzer (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pp. 143 ff.; to his list add two examples from Marathon, *Praktika*, 1934, p. 36, fig. 9), who derives the concentric circle decoration from Cyprus. If, as



Fig. 44. Grave XIII, Oinochoe. Projected Drawing by Piet de Jong

Payne suggests (*NC*, pp. 4-5), the Corinthians first came into contact with Cyprus and the east at Crete or Thera in the middle of the eighth century, then the Cypriote decoration can hardly have appeared on Attic Geometric pottery earlier than 750, and was probably not popular until the last quarter of the century. The shape can thus be confined to the late eighth century. Decoration other than the Cypriote concentric circles on these oinochoai is also always late; an oinochoe with peaked latticed triangles on the neck (Wide, fig. 88) was found in Dipylon Grave III; another has a large lozenge-star, a favorite decoration of the late Geometric ribbon-handled bowls, on its neck (Wide, fig. 89); the well-known prize oinochoe with the incised inscription (Kirchner, *Imagines*, number 1 and pl. 1; *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pl. 3) has on its neck a grazing deer, a crested bird, and a blob surrounded by dots—all of which are late motives used into the seventh century. An oinochoe at Eleusis (*Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 5, 2) is decorated with late animals; long-horned quadrupeds, and waterbirds eating fish; fish appear in Attic Geometric only toward the end, and even then rarely. Finally, two other examples, slightly taller in the body and perhaps, with their stylized miniature figures, early seventh century, are decorated with elaborate battle and hunting scenes (Boston 269 b; Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, pl. XXIII; Copenhagen, *C.V.A.*, II, pl. 73, 4). The decoration of the Agora oinochoe is also late; the shields borne by the warriors are of an exaggerated hour-glass shape that is well on the way to Protoattic stylization (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, p. 54, fig. 17; *Metropolitan Museum Handbook*, p. 61, fig. 35). The same shield appears again on the bowl in the British Museum (*J.H.S.*, XIX, 1899, pl. VIII), neatly stowed in the stern of the ship. The chariot scene on the other side of the British Museum bowl, however, interests us more; on it is shown a chariot procession so like the decoration of our oinochoe in the drawing of the horses and chariots, as well as of the

human figures, as to be quite conceivably by the same hand. Another vase, this time an amphora, belongs to the group: Wide, fig. 56 (Athens, N.M. Inventory 184). On all three vases the same figures, the same horses, the same filling ornament; if they are not by the same hand, they were certainly made in the same workshop, and all within a very short time. By different lines of evidence we can arrive independently at a late eighth century dating for each vase. The shape of the oinochoe we have already considered; we have also noticed that an epic scene is represented in the battle drawn on it—the battle of the Pylians and the Epeians, of the young Nestor against the Molione. Hampe suggests (pp. 39 ff.) that the earliest epic and mythological scenes represented on Boeotian fibulae belong in the third quarter of the eighth century. There is no reason to suppose that such representations began earlier in Attica, while considerations present themselves which suggest that they probably began later. The same epic-representation argument holds for the bowl in London, on which is drawn the embarkation of Helen (Hampe, pp. 78 ff.). Another consideration, however, also leads to the dating of the vase at the end of the eighth century; the development of the shape from that of the British Museum bowl (a photograph showing the whole bowl was published for the first time by Hampe, pl. 22, below) to that of the Protoattic bowl, *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 4, cannot have covered a long period, and the Protoattic bowl is dateable in the second quarter of the seventh century. A period of half a century would surely suffice for the further development of the shape to that of the bowl from Aegina by the Nessos Painter, in the last quarter of the century (Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 8). The same shape is used, then, in late Geometric and in early black figure; certainly a period of eighty to a hundred years is not too short a time for the development. Finally, the amphora. The similarity of its shape to our **XI 1**, from a grave with subgeometric vases and figurines, is to be noted. But the amphora itself has subgeometric decoration: the band on the neck at the level of the handle attachments, the band above the figured zone, and the second band below it, are all filled with “shorthand” checker-board decoration—a method of drawing that we have noticed in connection with our **VI 2**, used on subgeometric and not on true Geometric vases, and a method used very rarely on Early, but almost exclusively on Middle Protocorinthian vases.

All three vases, then, oinochoe, bowl, and amphora, arrive independently at a resting place in the end of the eighth century. It is interesting to note that our oinochoe, with its epic scene, and the Dipylon prize oinochoe (*Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pl. III), bearing the earliest Greek inscription, are of the same shape and date from the same time; a time when writing was still sufficiently rare to be thought of by epic characters as “baneful signs.”

#### GRAVE XIV

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Figs. 22 and 45. Contents. Fig. 46

Inhumation of a man. Height above sea-level, 56.22 m. Length of shaft, 2.12 m. Width, 0.46 m. Depth from cover, 0.60 m. Part of the northwest side of the grave had caved in, and the cover slabs slanted sharply down toward that side. A small flat stone partly overlaid the edge of the last slab at the northeast end of the cover; it may have served as a bedding for a rough stone stele or a pot placed to mark the grave. The skeleton of a man lay with the head at the northeast end of the grave. The burial offerings lay at the foot of the shaft; the skyphos was found in the mouth of the pitcher, and covered in its turn by the pitcher-lid. There were no traces of burning in the grave or above.

The pitcher found in the grave is of the same fabric, and decorated in much the same way, as some of the small vases from Grave IX. The pottery from Grave XIV, slightly earlier than that of Grave IX, is to be dated at the end of the eighth century.

**XIV 1.** Lidded Pitcher. Fig. 46

P 4959. H. to lip, 0.255 m. Max. Diam., 0.185 m.

Round-mouthed pitcher with rather ovoid body and a low flat base. The neck slightly concave, with a plain flaring lip; rising band-handle from shoulder to rim. The body banded; a wavy line on the reserved shoulder. A glaze band at the base of the neck and another on the rim; the handle decorated with bars and a St. Andrew's cross. Round lid, slightly concave, with an arched band-handle at the centre on top; a small section of the rim is cut away where it fits

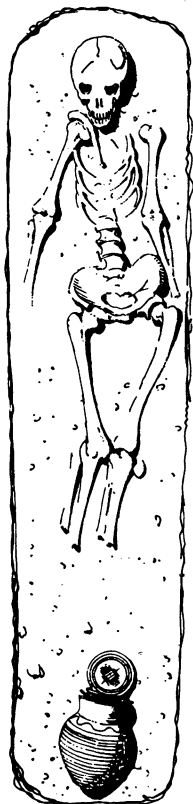


Fig. 45. Grave XIV.  
Drawing by Piet de Jong

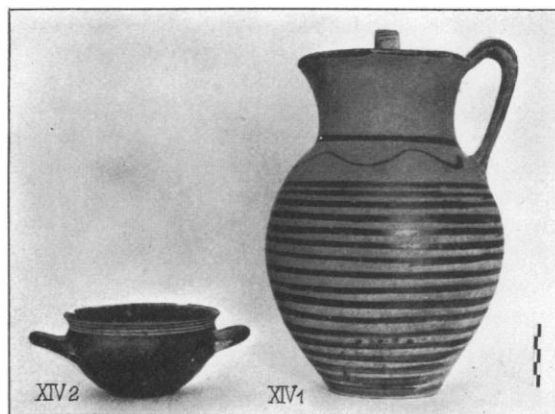


Fig. 46. Grave XIV, Vases (XIV 1-2)

against the handle of the pitcher. Glaze rings around the edge, and bars on the handle. A glaze band runs under the handle, crossed near its ends by lines running parallel with the handle. Attic clay; metallic silvery black glaze.

The shape is late and comparatively rare, most pitchers having a very high flaring upper body. Three pitchers that have, like ours, a relatively low, wide neck, are decorated in the late Geometric style of the end of the eighth century; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pls. II, 3 and IV, 5 and Leiden 48 (Brants, *Beschrijving*, pl. VII). Our pitcher is very similar in fabric and glaze to some of the little vases from Grave IX; the wavy line on its shoulder is like the wavy-line decoration of the cups **IX 5** and **6** and the banded body is like that of the oinochoe **IX 17**.

**XIV 2.** Skyphos. Fig. 46

P 4958. H., 0.06 m. Diam. at rim, 0.115 m.

Flat bottom and flaring rim; the shoulder slightly rounded. The rim banded; inside the lip a reserved band filled with series of short vertical glaze strokes. A raised lump at the centre of the handle zone, front and back. A wide reserved band half-way down the body inside, and a dot at the centre of the floor. Thick firm glaze, shading from black to red.

The shape of the skyphos is very close to that of **XVII 1**, without the low base; a trifle shallower and more open than the skyphos **V 3**, with slightly more rounded shoulder, and therefore somewhat earlier; probably about the end of the eighth century.

## GRAVE XV

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Fig. 47. Contents. Fig. 48

The neck of a geometric amphora, with a kantharos tightly wedged in its mouth, was found in the late filling of Pit A, somewhat to the west of Grave XIII. The relation of the two vases, the one inside the mouth of the other, where it had been placed as a lid, makes it certain that the vases came from a disturbed grave. The elaborate decoration of the amphora suggests that the source of the vases was an adult burial; the amphoras in which small children were buried were either simply banded, or undecorated, and the other pots offered were miniatures. The types of vase, amphora and kantharos, further suggest that the grave was that of a man; an amphora with a kantharos in its mouth was found in Grave XI. Our vases may well have come from Grave XIII; since, however, there is no way of proving that they did, they are counted separately as a grave. It is remarkable that in the disturbance caused by the digging of the pit, in which the amphora neck was broken from its body, the kantharos was not loosened from its position in the mouth of the amphora.



Fig. 47. Grave XV. Amphora Neck with Kantharos, as found in Pit A

In shape and style the pottery preserved is quite in keeping with that from the other graves of the precinct; both vases find parallels in the late eighth century.

**XV 1.** Amphora Fragment. Fig. 48

P 4886. P. H., 0.217 m. Diam. at lip, 0.207 m.

Broken off at the shoulder. The neck slightly concave, with flaring lip and band-handles to its upper part below the flare. On the outer face of the lip, a linear band of key-pattern; below, a band of latticed triangles. Across the top and bottom of the neck panels, dotted lozenge chains. In the neck panels, hatched key pattern, filled by rectangles of checker-board. On the handles, bars, and panels filled by St. Andrew's crosses superimposed on plain crosses. Attic clay with fine smooth buff surface; firm, rather shiny, black glaze.

The checker-board pattern on the neck was made by dotting alternate squares of a grill. The shape is comparable to that of the amphoras illustrated by Wide, fig. 53, decorated with neck

panels filled by birds with quatrefoils much in the manner of our jug **XVIII 1**, and fig. 58, which Wide erroneously says is from the Kerameikos; it is from the same grave at *Νέα Σφαιεῖα* as the well-known bronze tripod published by Brückner in *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 414 and pl. XIV; cf. Collignon-Couve, *Catalogue*. No. 179, where the provenience is given as "Abattoirs." From the same grave are three late bowls like Wide, fig. 96, upper row. (Brückner, in his publication, gives the numbers of the pots found in this grave; a collation of the numbers of the inventory in the National Museum with those of the former collection of the Archaeological Society, brought to light four of the eight pots mentioned by Brückner: their N. M. numbers are 169, 186, and 201-202. The grave is late eighth century.) Nearly the same decoration as on our amphora appears, less carefully done, on the neck of an amphora from Anavysos (*Praktika*, 1911, p. 123,



Fig. 48. Grave XV, Amphora Fragment and Kantharos (XV 1-2)

22); the same latticed triangles and hatched key-pattern, and the same dotted lozenge chains and cross panels on the handles. The decoration of the neck of the Anavysos amphora is, like that of ours, limited and conservative in the choice of motives used; but the decoration of its body uses a number of late devices—leaf-bands, and interlocking latticed triangles. A late motive used on our amphora is the simple linear band of key-pattern on the lip; rare and late in Geometric decoration, it is popular in subgeometric and orientalizing, and survives, with the line-meander, into the black- and red-figured styles. Our amphora fragment, which is similar in shape though not in decoration to the amphora necks **VII 1** and **VIII 1**, should be dated near the end of the eighth century.

### **XV 2.** Kantharos. Fig. 48

P 4887. H. to rim, 0.117 m. Max. Diam., 0.159 m.

Low base, deep body with rounded shoulder, and straight rim, slightly convex in profile. On the rim, latticed triangles; the handle-zone is divided into panels by sets of four verticals, and each panel is filled by a round-ended petal, latticed and outlined by a glaze ellipse. On

each of the handles, bars, and three panels filled with St. Andrew's crosses bisected by verticals.

A somewhat earlier kantharos from the Dipylon (*A.A.*, 1933, pp. 279-280, fig. 15) has a shallower body and more rounded shoulder, and a higher base; it was found in a grave with a pyxis with plastic horses on its lid, and probably belongs at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighth century. Our kantharos, with its lower base, deeper and more pointed body, and flatter shoulder, shows that the development of the shape of the kantharos followed the same course as did that of the skyphos. The kantharos is very close in fabric to the amphora neck with which it was found, and may come from the same workshop: the fondness for bands of latticed triangles, too, is common to both vases.

### GRAVE XVI

Plan. Fig. 1. Contents. Figs. 49-50

Disturbed inhumation. Height above sea-level, 55.56 m. One end of the grave shaft, 0.48 m. in width, was preserved at the northeast edge of Pit A; the rest of the grave had been destroyed by the diggers of the pit. The shaft had been cut with a northeast and southwest orientation, interrupting the series of graves, XVII-XX, which radiate from the base of the hill. Presumably the undisturbed end of the grave, in which were found two pyxides, was the foot. The offering of pyxides suggests that the grave had been that of a woman.



Fig. 49. Grave XVI, Pyxides (XVI 1-2)

The pyxides found are similar to those from Graves XVII–XVIII, and should be dated in the late eighth century.

**XVI 1.** Pyxis and Lid. Figs. 49–50

P 4884. H., 0.12 m. H. with Lid, 0.243 m. Max. Diam., 0.25 m.

Low ring foot and deep convex body. The corresponding pairs of tieholes through the rim and the lid are marked with crosses incised between the holes for one pair, and with straight incised lines for the other. The foot glazed; above it, a triple band of zigzag. A meander runs around the body. At the centre on the bottom, a Maltese cross surrounded by bands and zones filled with diagonals and interlocking teeth. Glazed inside, with a reserved dot on the floor; a glaze band runs around the upper face of the rim. The lid is convex, with a spiked knob handle, and decorated with bands and a zone of tooth pattern. Bands around the stem and spike of the handle; a triple zigzag around its knob. Attic clay with a thick creamy slip; the glaze black to chocolate-brown.

The shape is the same as that of **XVIII 7**.

**XVI 2.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 49

P 4883. H., 0.102 m. Max. Diam., 0.196 m.

Fragments of the lid, and its handle, missing. Low ring foot and convex body; one pair of tieholes through the rim and lid marked, as on **XVI 1**, by an incised cross. Zones filled by zigzag above the foot and below the rim; a meander runs around the body. On the bottom a quatrefoil; its leaves are filled with herring-bone pattern, and there are large stars between the leaves. On the flat lid, bands, and a zone of dots. Attic clay; glaze dull black to brown where thin.

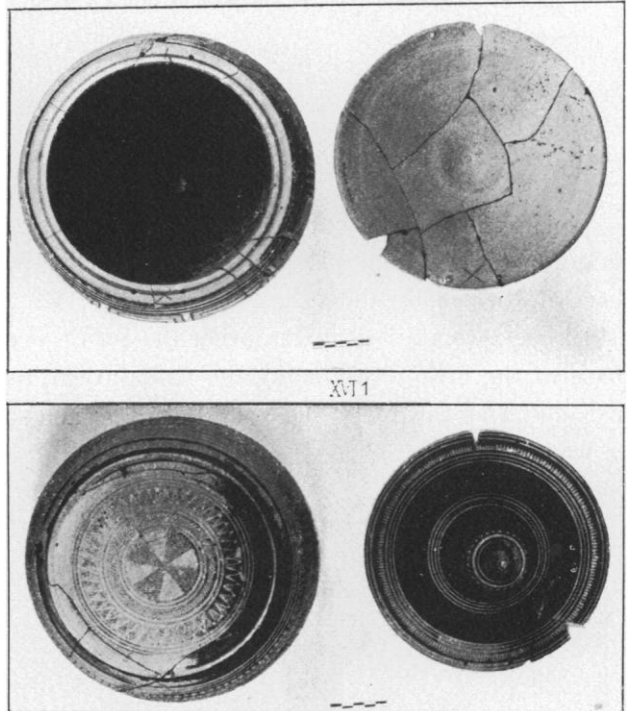


Fig. 50. Grave XVI. Pyxis XVI 1, Rim and Inside of Lid, showing Incisions; Lid and Bottom

GRAVE XVII

*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 30–31 and figs. 28–30

Plan. Fig. 1. Section. Fig. 2. Grave. Figs. 51–53. Contents. Figs. 54–57; 73

Inhumation of a woman. Height above sea-level, 56.03 m. Length of shaft, 1.81 m. Width, 0.64 m. Depth from cover, 0.54 m. The skeleton of a woman lay at the bottom of the grave, with the head at the northwest end. A small hand-made aryballos was found in

the left hand; most of the other vases were piled over the feet and legs of the skeleton at the lower end of the grave. Four skyphoi were found, stacked one inside the other, under the large pyxis at the lower left corner of the grave. Some of the pyxides had projected slightly above the top of the shaft, and had been broken when the cover slabs were put in place. The amphoriskos and the jug at the other end of the grave lay high up and very little below the cover; they must have been put in the grave after the body had been covered by a layer of earth. A large iron fibula and a bronze pin lay on the bottom of the grave to the right of the skull. Two spiral rings of bronze, a bronze fibula, and four small iron fibulae were found among the mass of vases over the knees of the skeleton.

A bit of human bone which did not belong to the skeleton of the woman buried in Grave XVII was found near the amphoriskos and above the skull. The base of a Grey Minyan goblet was also found in the grave, and a number of fragments of Grey and Yellow Minyan ware were found above outside. These stray objects in the earth thrown into the grave when it was filled suggest that a Middle Helladic burial had been disturbed by the digging of graves in the Geometric period. Selected fragments of Grey and Yellow Minyan ware from the grave area are published below, **B 22-24**.

Grave XVII is the richest found in the Agora precinct. Twenty-two vases had been offered, together with a number of pieces of bronze and iron jewellery. The vases are handsomely made and decorated, and not, as is often the case in graves containing a large number of pots, small and careless in their ornament (as in the Isis Grave; *C.V.A., Athens*, I, pls. 3-6). Comparable are the large handsome vases from Grave XIII at the Dipylon (*B.C.H.*, XIX, 1895, pp. 273 ff.). Three of the pyxides from Grave XVII, like three bowls from the Dipylon grave, are made on a large scale which must have required considerable technical skill; graves containing very big vases such as pitchers, bowls and pyxides (not the kraters and amphoras used as monuments over the graves) must all date from about the same time, perhaps over a period of a quarter of a century. We can thus group together Graves VII and XIII at the Dipylon, our Grave XVII and Graves 1, 3, and 4 at Spata; some of the Anavysos Graves must have belonged to the same group, which belongs in the last quarter of the eighth century. It is natural that among a number of vases as large as that found in Grave XVII there should be great variety of fabric and decoration, as well as some difference of period. Thus one vase, **XVII 8**, which shows considerable wear, may be somewhat older than the rest; two vases, **XVII 7** and **XVII 17**, are covered with thick creamy slip; two vases, **XVII 13** and **XVII 15**, may be by the same hand. A kalathos, **XVII 5**, may be a Boeotian importation; if it is not, it is certainly influenced by Boeotian vases of the same shape and decoration. A comparison of **XVII 7** and **XVII 8** shows how the same shape may be decorated in either an early or a late manner. The group confirms



Fig. 51. Grave XVII. Covering Slabs; Tholos Floor in Background



Wide's feeling (*Jhb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 190) that the great variety of shapes and styles of decoration found together in the same grave is an indication that the Geometric style developed rapidly and lasted but a short time.



Fig. 52. Grave XVII. Skeleton and Grave Offerings

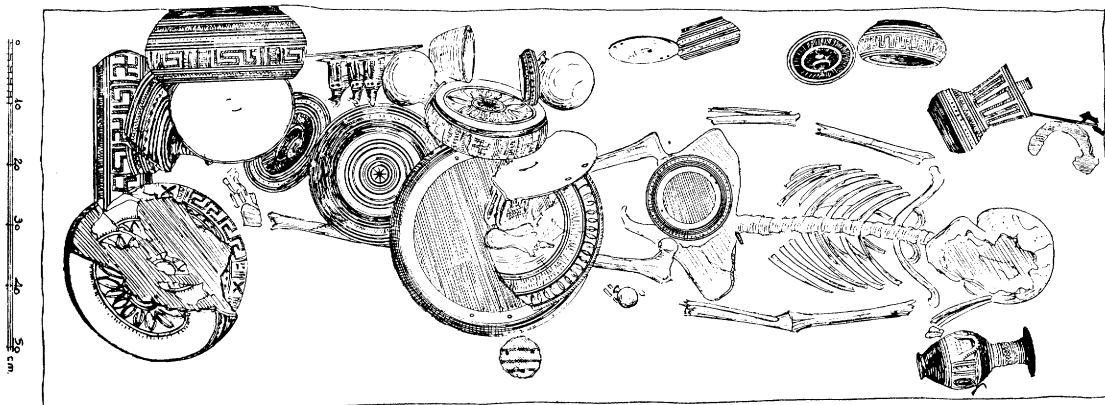


Fig. 53. Grave XVII. Drawing by J. Travlos

The jewellery found in the grave suggests, as do the vases, that the woman buried was a personage of some consequence. Pyxides, of which there were eleven in Grave XVII, and jewellery, seem to have been considered appropriate offerings at a woman's grave, while weapons and drinking vessels were offered in a man's. The fibulae belong to a type used in Boeotia in the late eighth and seventh centuries, and confirm the late eighth century dating for the grave suggested by the pottery.

**XVII 1.** Skyphos. Fig. 54

P 5071. H., 0.05 m. Diam. at rim, 0.095 m.

Low base, rounded shoulder, and short straight rim, tilted slightly outward. Glazed to the handle-zone, and banded on the rim. The handle panels are set off by verticals, and decorated with dot rosettes; in the handle-zone between, a row of chevrons on their sides, above a double glaze band. Glazed inside, with a reserved band at the rim and dot on the floor. Thick dull black glaze. In shape this should be the earliest skyphos in the grave; the rounded shoulder and rather shallow open body are early features. The base replacing the earlier ring foot, and the straight rim, are, however, more common on late skyphoi. A good parallel for the shape is the skyphos from Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 5, 1 (the rounded shoulder is exaggerated in the drawing) which is decorated with a very late figured scene.

**XVII 2.** Skyphos. Fig. 54

P 5073. H., 0.07 m. Diam. at rim, 0.109 m.

Low base and straight rim; the shoulder slightly convex. The handle panels are set off by verticals and decorated with dot rosettes; in the handle-zone between, interlocking hatched meander-hooks. The rim banded; the inside glazed, with reserved bands at the rim and a dot on the floor. Thick dull black glaze.

The shape is later than that of **XVII 1**; the body is deeper, and the shoulder less rounded. The hatching in the meander-hooks is nearly vertical, a late feature to be seen also on a skyphos in Copenhagen from a grave at Liossia with very late Geometric vases (*C.V.A., Copenhagen*, II, pl. 70, 2; the other vases from the grave are 3-8, and 10).

**XVII 3.** Skyphos. Fig. 54

P 5070. H., 0.058 m. Diam. at rim, 0.094 m.

Low base and straight rim; the shoulder very slightly rounded. The rim is banded; three dot rosettes in the handle-zone on each side. The inside glazed, with a reserved band at the rim and dot on the floor. Thick dull black glaze.

The decoration is the same as that of the three skyphoi **XX 1-3**.

**XVII 4.** Skyphos. Fig. 54

P 5072. H., 0.057 m. Diam. at rim, 0.092 m.

A base flaring in profile and slightly concave underneath. Deep convex body, flaring slightly at the lip, and without a shoulder. Entirely covered with somewhat peeled black glaze, except the undecorated handle-zone, a reserved band on the upper face of the lip, and a dot on the floor.

The relatively deep body, flaring lip, and reserved handle-zone, left undecorated, suggest that this type of skyphos may be the immediate ancestor of the similar subgeometric type that lasts through the seventh century; cf. below, p. 202 and **C 43-47**.

**XVII 5.** Kalathos. Fig. 54

P 5065. H., 0.088 m. Diam. at rim, 0.144 m.

Flat bottom and very slightly convex side wall flaring a trifle at the lip, which is pierced by a single hole near the edge. Glaze bands above the bottom and around the rim; a series of sigmas around the body between. The upper face of the lip dotted; glazed inside, with two reserved bands at the rim. Pale pink clay with a slightly greenish tinge, possibly Boeotian or Attic; dull black to red glaze.

Two Boeotian kalathoi resemble ours in shape and decoration: *Jhb.*, III, 1888, p. 340, fig. 18, and *A.A.*, 1925, p. 102, fig. 3. Protocorinthian examples of the shape also exist: *Johansen*,

pp. 66-67, fig. 43; *A. J. A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 409, fig. 3. An example in the museum at Copenhagen (*C. V. A., Copenhagen*, II, pl. 82, 1) is published as Argive. These little vases seem to be of a shape suited to everyday use, and the holes at the rim (sometimes in the bottom) seem best explained as intended for a loop of string by which the pot could be hung up; ingenious explanations of the kalathoi as incense burners or pots for cheese-making may then be avoided. The rim is not suitable for a lid to rest on. Shape and decoration are nearest to the Boeotian examples. Although the clay and glaze do not seem quite normal for Attic, I have seen four

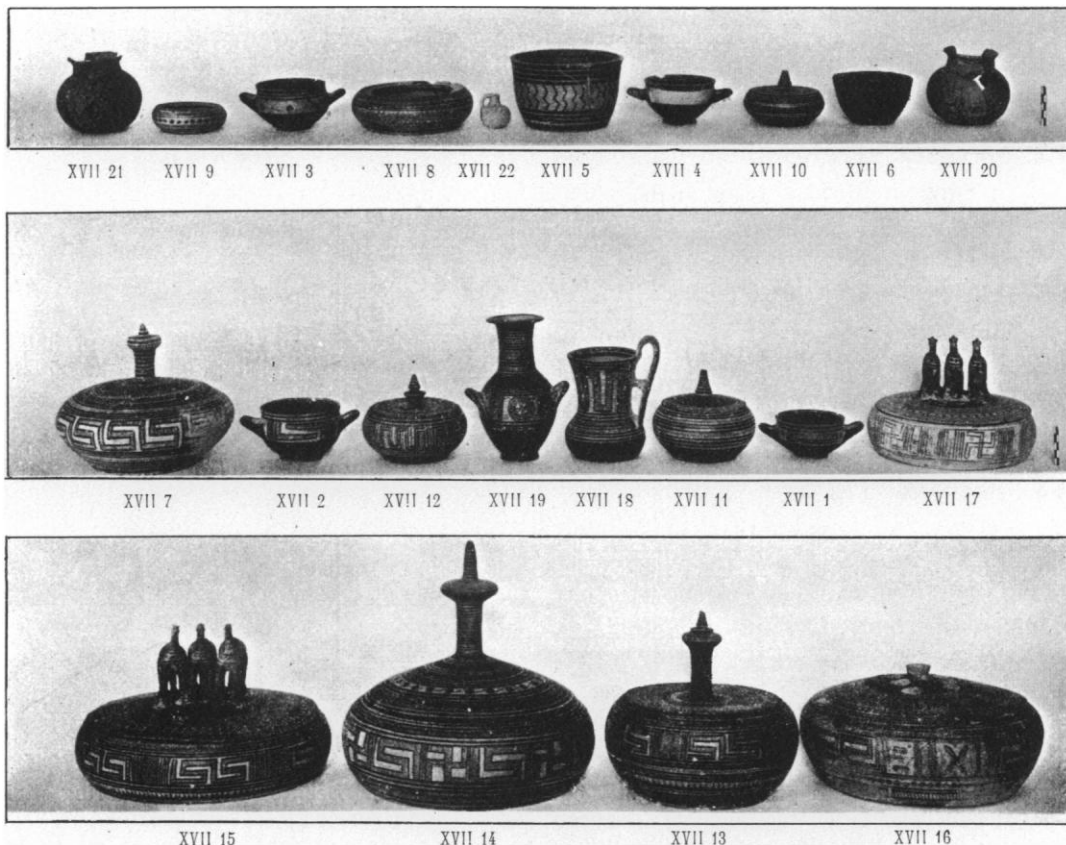


Fig. 54. Grave XVII, Vases (XVII 1-22)

similar kalathoi of undoubtedly Attic fabric in the hands of dealers in Athens. The Proto-corinthian examples from the Argive Heraeum are probably not very early, and the Boeotian kalathoi certainly are not. Our kalathos may be a Boeotian importation, or an Attic imitation; whichever it may be, it can hardly be earlier than the late eighth century. Cf. below, **C 84**.

#### **XVII 6.** Kalathos. Fig. 54

P 5058. H., 0.063 m. Diam. at rim, 0.10 m.

Flat bottom and convex side wall, with plain rim. Covered inside and out with thin streaky brownish glaze, probably put on while the pot was on the wheel. Attic clay.

**XVII 7.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 54

P 5063. H., 0.11 m. H. with lid, 0.185 m. Max. Diam., 0.227 m.

Low ring foot and convex body with the greatest width rather high. Corresponding pairs of tieholes through the rim and the lid. Glaze bands and a zigzag above the foot; a meander runs around the body. Another band of zigzag just below the rim, which is decorated with a glaze band on its upper face. On the bottom, glaze bands and a ring of dots; an eight-spoked wheel at the centre. The inside glazed, with the same decoration on the floor as on the bottom. The shallow convex lid is decorated with glaze bands and a ring of dots; bands around the stem and spike of the handle, and a row of dots around its knob. Attic clay covered with a fine creamy slip; the glaze is dull, almost matt, and shades from black to red.

This is the only pyxis decorated on the inside; another (**XVI 1**) is glazed inside, with a simple reserved dot on the floor. Three pyxides (**XVI 1** and **XVII 17**) are slipped; on all three, it is very noticeable that the slip does not hold the glaze well, since all have peeled very badly, and that it affects the glaze, making it dull and lustreless. Our pyxis is very close in fabric and decoration to **XVI 1**. The nearly vertical hatching of the meander is an indication of lateness.

**XVII 8.** Pyxis. Fig. 54

P 5074. H., 0.05 m. Max. Diam., 0.153 m.

Low ring foot and very rounded side wall. Although the rim is pierced by two pairs of tieholes, the lid was not put in the grave with the pyxis, which shows considerable evidence of wear. Bands above the foot, and a quadruple zigzag around the body; bands, and a zone filled by a single zigzag below the rim. Attic clay with black to brownish glaze, badly peeled in places.

Small shallow pyxides of this shape and with simple decoration of zigzag bands have been found in early Geometric graves at the Agora. The decoration is very common on early vases; compare the skyphoi and the pyxis from one of the Areopagus graves, *C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. 1, 9-11. Early shapes, however, as well as early methods of decoration, seem to have continued in favor into later times.

**XVII 9.** Pyxis. Fig. 54

P. 5057. H., 0.032 m. Max. Diam., 0.092 m.

Low base and rounded side wall. The rim pierced by two pairs of tieholes; the lid was not found in the grave. A row of dots above the foot; around the middle of the body, a zone filled by large round dots linked by tangents, with bands above and below. On the bottom, a multiple cross at the centre, surrounded by bands and a zone of dots. Thin black glaze, somewhat peeled.

The shape is similar to that of **XVII 8**; the decoration, however, is not early. Large dots linked by tangents appear late, and become a favorite subgeometric decoration, with careless elongated blobs taking the place of the round dots.

**XVII 10.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 54

P 5055. H., 0.043 m. H. with lid, 0.07 m. Max. Diam., 0.103 m.

Ring foot and convex side wall. Two pairs of tieholes through the rim and the lid. The body is banded, with two zones filled by wavy lines of dots. The flat lid is decorated with wide glaze bands, and with narrow ones on the spike handle. Black glaze, somewhat thin and streaky.

The wavy line appears in late Geometric as a snake, often paralleled by dots, as on our pyxis **XVIII 6**; the same dotted snake appears on early Protocorinthian (Johansen, pl. V, 1-2 and 7; pl. VII, 3, and pl. VIII, 5). An Attic Geometric pyxis of the same shape as **XVII 10**, and with the same decoration, was found at Eleusis in the Isis Grave (*C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. 5, 10).

A plain wavy line is used on the pitcher **XIV 1**, and on many Phaleron cups like those from our Graves VII and IX.

**XVII 11.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 54

P 5067. H., 0.068 m. H. with lid, 0.115 m. Max. Diam., 0.134 m.

Low base and deep convex body. Two pairs of tieholes through the rim and the lid. Solid glaze above the base; bands, and two zones filled by wavy lines of dots, around the body. The slightly convex lid is glazed, with bands at the edge and on the spike handle. Dull black glaze, shading to brown.

The decoration as on **XVII 10**; the shape as **XVIII 7** and **XVI 1**.

**XVII 12.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 54

P 5054. H., 0.066 m. H. with Lid, 0.11 m. Max. Diam., 0.138 m.

Low base and deep convex body. Two pairs of tieholes through the rim and the lid. Bands below the rim and above the glaze at the base; around the body, key-pattern. The space between the outlines of the key-pattern is not hatched; single and double vertical lines of dots run into its recesses from above and below. The flat lid is glazed, with two bands around the edge, and a double reserved band half way to the handle. The stem and knob of the handle glazed, and the spike banded. Streaky glaze, dull black to brown.

Key pattern is often used on early Geometric vases (as *A.A.*, 1934, p. 237, fig. 26); it is usually done in multiple parallel lines, most often four in number. Here it was probably intended to be a more normal late hatched band of key-pattern, and the hatching was not put in. Single line bands of key-pattern are late, and last through the seventh century. Several vases from the Isis Grave have single-line meander decoration, which appears at the same time as the single-line key pattern. Both forms of ornament seem to appear with the beginning of the dissolution of the Geometric style, and last, as subsidiary band decoration, into the black- and red-figured styles.

**XVII 13.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 54

P 5064. H., 0.125 m. H. with Lid, 0.235 m. Max. Diam., 0.248 m.

Low ring foot and deep convex body. Two pairs of tieholes through the rim and the lid, one corresponding set being marked by an incised cross on the rim, and another incised on the under side of the lid. Glaze above the foot; on the lower body, bands and zones filled with peaked triangles and a row of dots. Below the rim a zigzag, with bands above and below. The zone around the middle of the body is divided by double columns of zigzag separated by verticals into long panels, filled each by two sections of meander; one shorter panel contains only one section. On the flat lid, bands, and zones filled with peaked triangles and interlock. The stem of the handle is ribbed, the knob decorated with two bands of zigzag, and the spike banded. Attic clay with black to thin brown glaze.

Three pyxides very like **XVII 13** in shape and decoration were found in a grave at Eleusis (Grave 19; *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 83). Unfortunately none is illustrated, although another pyxis from the same grave is shown on pl. 4, 6.

**XVII 14.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 54

P 5062. H., 0.107 m. H. with lid, 0.315 m. Max. Diam., 0.325 m.

Low ring foot and wide shallow body with convex side wall. One of the pairs of tieholes on the lid, and the corresponding pair on the rim, marked by an incised cross. Bands, and a zone filled by a tall pointed zigzag, above the foot; the same decoration below the rim. The wide zone around the middle of the body is divided by triple verticals into panels, which are filled

alternately with swastikas and single sections of meander. On the bottom, an octofoil at the centre, the leaves filled with herring-bone pattern. Around the octofoil a wide latticed ring. The rather high convex lid is decorated with wide and narrow glaze bands, and, near the edge, two zones filled by round dots linked by tangents, and zigzag. The high stem of the handle, and the spike, are banded; the knob decorated with zigzags. Dull black to brown glaze.

The three pyxides **XVII 14-16** are made on as large a scale as is possible in a thin fabric; they are the biggest pyxides of which I know. As such they are quite in keeping with the megalomania of the late eighth century, which made the monumental Dipylon amphoras and kraters, and the huge one-handed pitchers. Size in itself may not be of great significance; but all the oversized vases—pitchers and bowls, as in Dipylon Grave XIII (*B.C.H.*, XIX, 1895, pp. 273 ff.) as well as our pyxides—must have been made at about the same time; that is, when the technical skill of the potters had reached a point equal to their manufacture, and when popular taste called for vessels which must, after all, have been somewhat impractical for daily use.

### **XVII 15.** Pyxis and Lid. Figs. 54-55

P 5060. H., 0.089 m. H. with Lid, 0.20 m. Max. Diam., 0.327 m.

Low ring foot and wide shallow body with slightly convex side wall. Two pairs of tieholes pierced through the rim and the lid; it is possible on this pyxis to see how the tieholes were pierced through lid and rim together before firing. A thin, sharp-pointed instrument was used, which in this case went in too far, leaving four deep holes on the inside wall below each rim-hole. By boring lid and rim together the tieholes were made to fit accurately one over the other; the angle at which they are bored, the same on lid and rim, shows that both were pierced at the same time. This is the biggest pyxis found; the floor and the lid were somewhat warped in the firing, perhaps due to the making of so large a vase of thin fabric. A zone of tooth pattern above the foot; a zigzag below the rim, with bands farther down. The wide zone around the middle of the body is divided into long panels by narrow panels filled with zigzags and bordered by quintuple verticals. In each long panel, a double section of meander. On the bottom, at the centre, a four-spoked wheel consisting of a circle with four reserved circles, dotted, inside it. The wheel is surrounded by successive zones of leaves, dotted lozenge chain, tooth pattern, and round dots linked by tangents. The lid is slightly convex, with a raised ring around an opening at the top. Three horses standing at the middle served as the handle; they are entirely glazed except for zones of linked dots across their chests, and their faces, which are decorated with rings around the eyes, St. Andrew's crosses, and chevrons on the ends of the noses. The manes are pinched to a thin line, the eyes are raised bumps, and the ears are modelled. The legs are planted firmly; the free-hanging tail behind reaches to the ground, forming a fifth leg. On the lid around the horses, a wide zone of leaves between narrow zones of zigzag, and short diagonals at the edge. Attic clay with dull brown to red glaze, in places peeled.

The decorative system is almost identical with that of **XVII 13**; fabric and glaze are so similar as to suggest that the two pyxides came from the same workshop. For the wheel ornament at the centre on the bottom, see **C 136** below; it is the wheel type that appears beside the ordinary four-spoked Geometric wheel in the late eighth century, and lasts through most of the seventh.

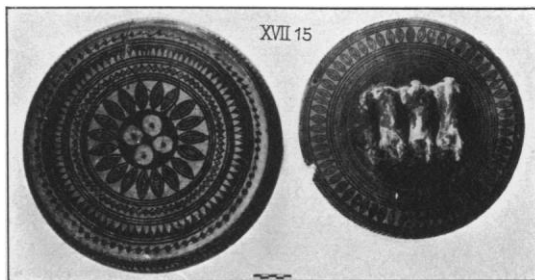


Fig. 55. Grave XVII, Pyxis (XVII 15). Lid and Bottom

**XVII 16.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 54

P 5066. H., 0.105 m. H. with Lid, 0.155 m. Max. Diam., 0.317 m.

Flat bottom and convex body with a fairly high shoulder. Corresponding pairs of tieholes are pierced through the rim and the lid. Bands above the bottom, then a zone of peaked triangles, and another of dotted rings linked by tangents. Bands, and a zigzag, below the rim. The wide zone around the body is divided into three long panels filled by meander, and five narrow panels. Four of the narrow panels are arranged in pairs separated by verticals, chevron columns, and vertical zigzags; in one panel of each pair a quatrefoil, with hatched triangles between the ends of the leaves. The remaining panel of each pair is divided horizontally into two compartments; the compartments of one contain deer, and those of the other water birds; dot rosettes and stars are used as filling ornament. The fifth, single, panel, is decorated with a quatrefoil and hatched triangles. On the bottom, a zone of leaves with swastikas between their points. The shallow convex lid has a knob handle at the centre, and was adorned with two plastic horses, which had been broken off before the pyxis was offered at the grave. Four zones around the lid are decorated with zigzag, latticing, dotted rings linked by tangents, and, at the edge, short diagonal strokes. Dull black glaze, much peeled.

The wear on the bottom, which was not protected by a ring foot, and where the glaze has almost entirely worn off, and the absence of the ornamental horse handles of the lid, show that this pyxis had been in use before being put into the grave. The thin contorted deer of one panel, and the water birds of the other, are like the deer and birds of the late kantharos at Copenhagen, *C.V.A., Copenhagen*, II, pl. 73, 5.

**XVII 17.** Pyxis and Lid. Figs. 54 and 56

P 5061. H., 0.061 m. H. with Lid, 0.16 m. Max. Diam., 0.215 m.

Shallow false ring foot and slightly convex side wall. Corresponding pairs of tieholes pierced through the rim and the lid. Bands above the foot and below the rim; the zone around the body is divided into panels by verticals and vertical zigzags to each side of zigzag columns. In each panel a swastika, with dot rosettes between its arms. On the bottom, a many-pointed blob star at the centre, surrounded by a zone of leaves; dot rosettes between the points of the leaves. Three plastic horses stand at the centre of the shallow convex lid; they are covered with glaze, except for reserved bands filled with dots linked by tangents across their chests, reserved diagonally hatched stripes down their manes and tails, and their faces, which are reserved and decorated with St. Andrew's crosses. On the lid, around the horses, a zone of short diagonals, a zone of dots linked by tangents, and, at the edge, another zone of short diagonals. Pale pink Attic clay covered with a thick creamy slip; glaze black to brown, very dull, and badly peeled. The pyxis is much worn, and the front of the face of one of the horses on the lid was broken off; the vase probably saw considerable use before it was offered at the grave.

The shape, the latest phase of the pyxis form, is the same as that of **XX 5** and **XVIII 6**. The slip, as on **XVI 1** and **XVII 7**, has made the glaze very dull, almost matt, and the glaze has peeled, as on the other slipped pyxides (also the oinochoe **VII 8**), much more from the slipped surface than from unslipped clay. The carelessly drawn leaves on the bottom are of the same

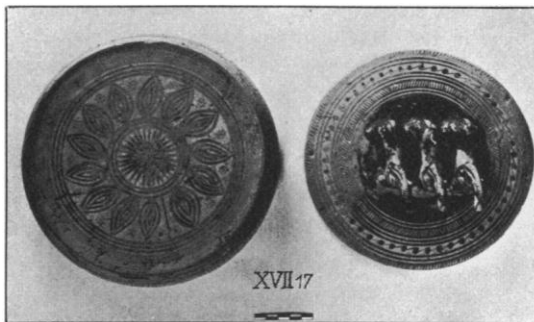


Fig. 56. Grave XVII, Pyxis (XVII 17). Lid and Bottom

type as those on the plate **VI 3**. The many-pointed blob star at the centre is a favorite filling ornament on such late vases as the cup from Thera, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, pl. III, the Louvre fragment (Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, pl. 20), and the amphora from the Kera-meikos, Wide, fig. 54.

### **XVII 18.** Jug. Fig. 54

P 5053. H. to lip, 0.134 m. Max. Diam., 0.105 m.

Flat bottom and convex lower body meeting the high flaring upper body at an angle. Rising band handle, joined to the upper body by a strut. Glazed above the bottom; bands below the handle attachment. A row of dots at the level of the handle attachment, and a zigzag above. Hatched key pattern on the upper body, framed above, below, and beside the handle by triple bands. The handle barred; two glaze bands inside the rim, and dot series on its upper face. Thick black to brownish glaze.

The shape is like that of **XVIII 1**; the lower body is, however, shallower and gives the same feeling of having been truncated below as do oinochoai like **XIII 1**. The same effect is given to an even greater degree by the subgeometric jug with orientalizing motives, Wide, fig. 80.

### **XVII 19.** Amphoriskos. Fig. 54

P 5052. H., 0.185 m. Max. Diam., 0.103 m.

Flaring ring foot and rounded body with a long narrow neck and flat projecting rim; horizontal rolled handles. The lower body glazed; bands below the handles. The handle panels are set off by columns of diagonals between verticals; dot rosettes in the corners of the handle panels, and ladders on the handles. The front and back panels are similarly filled by Maltese crosses surrounded by compass-drawn concentric circles; dot rosettes in the corners. Bands above the handles, and glaze on the shoulder. Bands and zones filled by dots and a triple zigzag around the neck. Thick streaky black to chocolate brown glaze.

The shape is that of the monumental Dipylon amphoras in miniature. Details omitted in copying are the neck ring below the lip, and the double-arched handles, here single. Late "Black Dipylon" amphoras like Wide, figs. 65-68, give not only the shape, but the decorative system, for our miniature; two of them (figs. 67-68) have the same Maltese cross at the centre of the concentric rings. These "Black Dipylon" amphoras were made at a time when Attica had begun to export vases; two were found in Thera (*Thera*, II, p. 35, fig. 107, and Louvre A 266; Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, pl. 10). A fragment, probably from another similar amphora, was found in Syracuse (*Not. degli Scavi*, 1895, p. 189, fig. 90). If the fragment from Syracuse is from such an amphora, than it cannot be much older than the middle of the eighth century. Our miniature seems to be rather an early and careful copy. Its shape appears stiff and spruce, and its decoration excellently drawn, when it is compared with six amphoriskoi (*C. V. A., Athens*, I, pls. 4, 15, 17-18, and 20-22) found in the Isis Grave at Eleusis, all of a decadent sagging form, in which body and neck make a continuous reverse curve (the same development was noted in jugs; cf. **XVIII 1**). The decoration of the Isis Grave jugs gives a subgeometric effect; the amphoriskos pl. 4, 22 has little birds between the arms of the cross in the panel on the reverse. The amphoriskos form travelled as far afield as did the full-sized amphora from which it was imitated; the lid of the krater from Cyprus in New York is adorned with a similar amphoriskos (or rather, hydriskos: Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, pp. 286-287, 1702).

### **XVII 20-21.** Pair of Hand-made Jars. Fig. 54

20. P 5056. H., 0.093 m. Max. Diam., 0.105 m.

21. P 5059. H., 0.093 m. Max. Diam., 0.103 m.

Squat rounded body, with slightly flattened bottom; low straight neck and wide outward-flaring lip, pierced by tieholes for a lid. Hand-made of fine soft pink clay, slightly micaceous;



the clay was very porous and friable when damp in the grave, and came off in splinters when broken, perhaps because of under-firing. The surface is mottled by a black substance, not glaze, which has adhered to the clay. Hand-made; the two jars are almost exactly alike.

The under-fired or unfired pots placed in Graves VI and X may well have been jars of the same sort. The mottling on the surface of the clay, which appears in places also on the aryballos **XVII 22**, may be the effect of some substance like perfume or ointment contained in the vases when they were placed in the grave. Because the jars found in Grave XVII were offered without their lids, it is not probable that they contained any liquid substance. A little jar of the same fabric and shape, but with two handles, was found in Dipylon Grave V (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 111 and fig. 9). The clay of the Dipylon vase sounds, like ours, under-fired; it is described as black—perhaps stained through and through by the contents of the pot?

**XVII 22.** Hand-made Aryballos. Fig. 54

P 5069. H., 0.042 m. Max. Diam., 0.039 m.

Found in the left hand of the skeleton where it had probably been placed full of perfume. The same black mottling noticed on **XVII 20-21** appears on one side of the aryballos, the side on which it rested. Round body, flat at the bottom; narrow neck and flaring round lip, with a vertical band-handle. Two incised lines, outlined at each side by incised dots, run around the shoulder at the level of the handle attachment. Hand-made of micaceous pale buff clay, polished on the surface, and unglazed.

Another similar aryballos was found in Grave XXV; it had been broken before being placed in the grave, perhaps to empty it of its contents. Such aryballoi often appear in late Geometric graves; in many cases they have incised or rouletted decoration (cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 118 and fig. 11; *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, p. 134, fig. 8, Grave 3 at Spata). The fabric has been called "Monochrome Argive"; it is found, however, in late Geometric and early orientalizing graves at many sites in Greece, and may have been made locally in a number of places. Variations in the clay of examples found on different sites are noticeable.

**XVII 23.** Disk. Fig. 57

P 5068. Diam., 0.066 m. Th., 0.011 m.

A round disk cut from the wall of a large open vase; creamy slip, and peeled bands of glaze, outside, and thick reddish glaze inside. Three small round holes are pierced near the edge, forming a triangle. Attic clay.

A number of similar disks cut from Geometric and orientalizing vases were found in the seventh century well; see below, p. 191 and **C 166-173**. The disk from Grave XVII might serve conveniently as a lid for small pots like the amphoriskos **XVII 19**, or the jars **XVII 20-21**. The string passed through the holes could serve either for tying it onto the rim, or as a loop by which it could be lifted. Such disks, placed in the mouth of a vase containing a liquid, and with clay or wax smeared around the edge, would serve admirably as watertight stoppers.



Fig. 57. Grave XVII, Disk (XVII 23)

**XVII 24-25.** Bronze Rings. Fig. 73

B 206-207. Diam., 0.021 m.

Two double spiral coils of bronze, which were found interlocked; the metal is too fragile to allow of their separation.

**XVII 26.** Bronze Pin. Fig. 73

B 208. L., 0.176 m.

Broken into three pieces, and mended. A long straight pin, pointed at one end, plain at the other. Very much corroded; if the pin had a head, it was not placed in the grave.

**XVII 27.** Bronze Fibula. Fig. 73

B 209. W. of catch, 0.009 m. L., 0.02 m.

The blade is missing, together with the spring. Convex-concave bow, with a flat square catch; a fibula of Blinkenberg's Attico-Boeotian type.

**XVII 28.** Iron Fibula. Fig. 73

IL 167 a. L., 0.138 m. H., 0.066 m.

Most of the blade missing. Large fibula with convex-concave bow, a spring at one end and a flat square catch at the other. Very much corroded. The measurements were taken as it lay *in situ* in the grave.

A fibula of Blinkenberg's Attico-Boeotian, and Hampe's Boeotian, type (Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, pp. 147 ff.; Hampe, pp. 1 ff.). Hampe has suggested that fibulae of this type were used in Attica in the ninth century, and in Boeotia in the late eighth and seventh. The suggestion is based on the supposedly early contexts of fibulae found in Attica, and the clearly late contexts of those found in Boeotia. Our fibula has in Grave XVII a late Attic context. On this type of fibula, see below, p. 104.

**XVII 29-32.** Iron Fibulae. Fig. 73

IL 167 b-e. L., ca. 0.028 m.

Much broken and corroded; the four fibulae were found adhering together in a mass. All had the same convex-concave bow, like that of **XVII 28**, and a spring at one end; there seems to have been a simple catch, instead of a square plate, at the other end.

## GRAVE XVIII

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Figs. 58-59, 64. Contents. Figs. 60-63; 73

Inhumation of a woman. Height above sea-level, 55.78 m. Length of shaft, 1.75 m. Width, at upper end, 0.95 m.; at lower end, 0.76 m. Depth from cover, 0.70 m. One end of the shaft was cut into the sloping rock of the hillside. Under the cover there was empty space to a depth of about 20 cm., then a thin layer of fine earth which had sifted between the slabs. Under this earth there was a layer of ash mixed with cinders, about 10 cm. thick, and extending evenly throughout the whole shaft. Below lay the earth fill thrown in to cover the body and the grave offerings. The skeleton of a woman lay at the bottom, with the head toward the southeast. The vases offered in the grave had been piled over the upper part of the body, and around the head. A bronze ring was found around one of the finger bones; two more, and a clay whorl, lay on the bottom of the shaft below the skeleton. Four small iron fibulae were found inside the pyxis beside the skull at the left.

The vases from Grave XVIII are all thoroughly developed in style, and some are late in shape. The two jugs are only slightly earlier in shape and decoration than jugs from a grave at Spata of the end of the eighth century. One of the pyxides is probably by the same hand as a pyxis from a grave at the Kerameikos which contained an oinochoe of the very end of the eighth, or beginning of the seventh, century. The pottery in Grave XVIII, then, belongs in the last quarter of the eighth century.

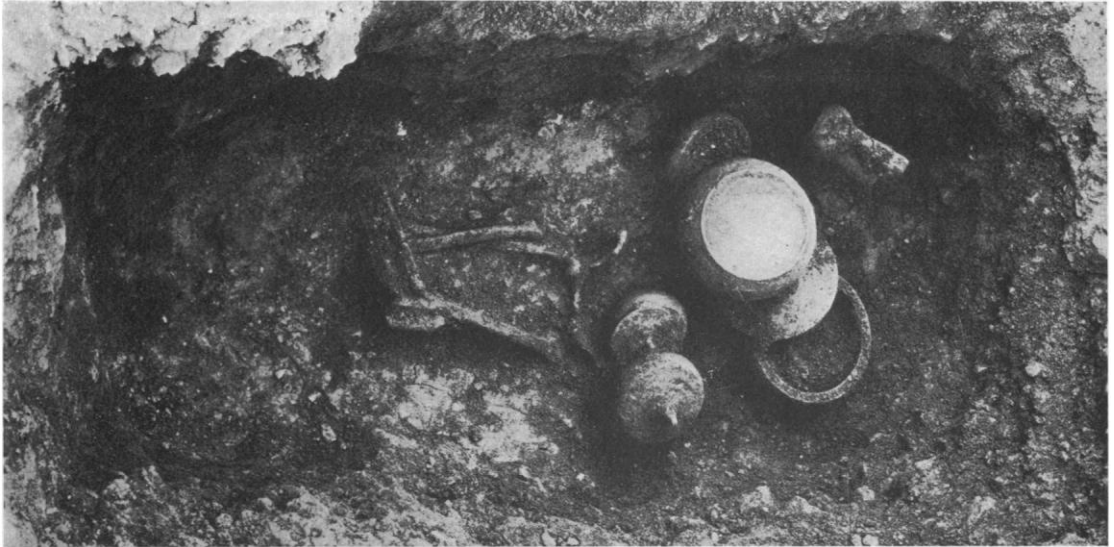


Fig. 58. Grave XVIII, Skeleton and Grave Offerings

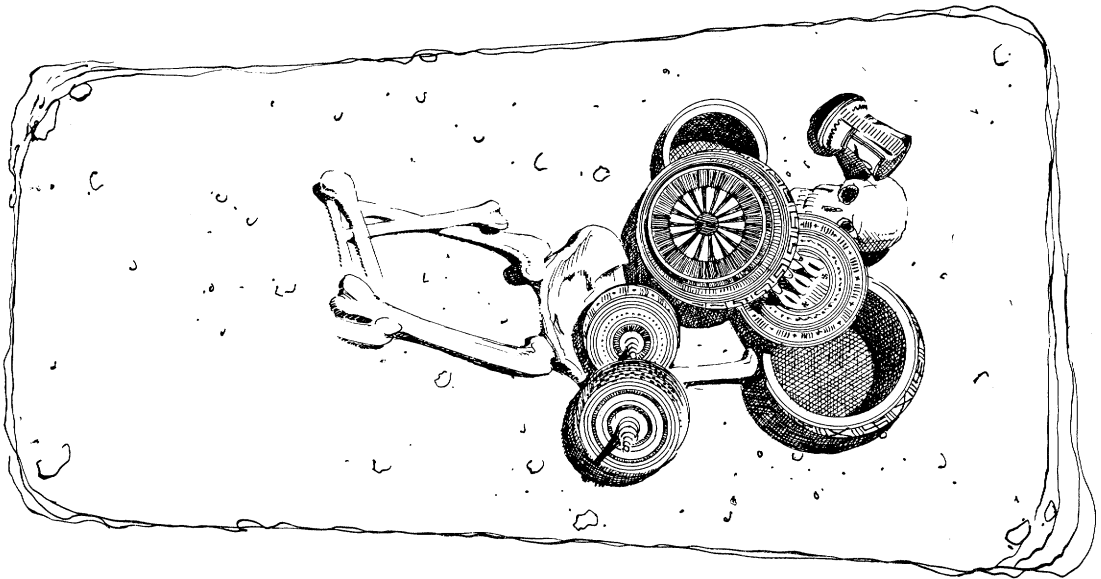


Fig. 59. Grave XVIII. Drawing by Piet de Jong

**XVIII 1.** Jug. Fig. 60

P 4782. H. to lip, 0.155 m. Max. Diam., 0.117 m.

Flat bottom; the rounded convex lower body meets the high, slightly flaring upper body at an angle. The rising band handle is attached to the body half-way up by a strut. Glaze bands, interrupted by a row of dots, below the lip. The body is divided by verticals and chevron columns into three panels; in the central panel, an octofoil, and on either side a bird with grilled body. Dot rosettes fill the corners of the bird panels, and the spaces between the leaves of the octofoil. The lower body is banded, with a zone of elongated dots linked by tangents at the level of the



Fig. 60. Grave XVIII, Vases (XVIII 1-7)

handle attachment, and solid glaze for some distance above the bottom. Bars, and a St. Andrew's cross on the handle; three glaze bands inside the lip. Attic clay with black to brownish glaze, much peeled on one side.

The system of panel decoration is the one also used on the pyxides **XX 5** and **XVIII 3**; the birds correspond to Boeotian birds of the latest phase of Geometric, in the last quarter of the eighth century; compare the birds on the Boeotian vases, Hampe, pl. 21, V. 11 and V. 27, fig. 7. The shape is a common late Geometric one, found in all the graves at Spata (*Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 131 ff.). The same shape appears in colossal and miniature proportions on the same vase, where a miniature is used as a handle decoration on the lid of an enormous pitcher (from Dipylon Grave XIII; Wide, fig. 74 and 74 a). In the Geometric period rim and lower body meet at an angle; in subgeometric and orientalizing examples, the angle becomes less marked or is merged into a continuous curve, as on the late jug, Wide, fig. 80.

**XVIII 2.** Jug. Fig. 60

P 4783. H. to lip, 0.122 m. Max. Diam., 0.085 m.

Flat bottom and a very convex lower body meeting the high, slightly flaring upper body at an angle. Bands, and a zone of dotted rings linked by tangents, below the rim. Around the upper body three sets of triple bands, separated by slightly wavy rows of dots. On the lower body, solid glaze above the bottom, then bands, and a zone of large round dots linked by tangents at the level of the handle attachment. Bars, and a St. Andrew's cross, on the handle. Three glaze bands inside the lip, and five series of dots on its upper face. Attic clay with dull black glaze, slightly metallic in places.

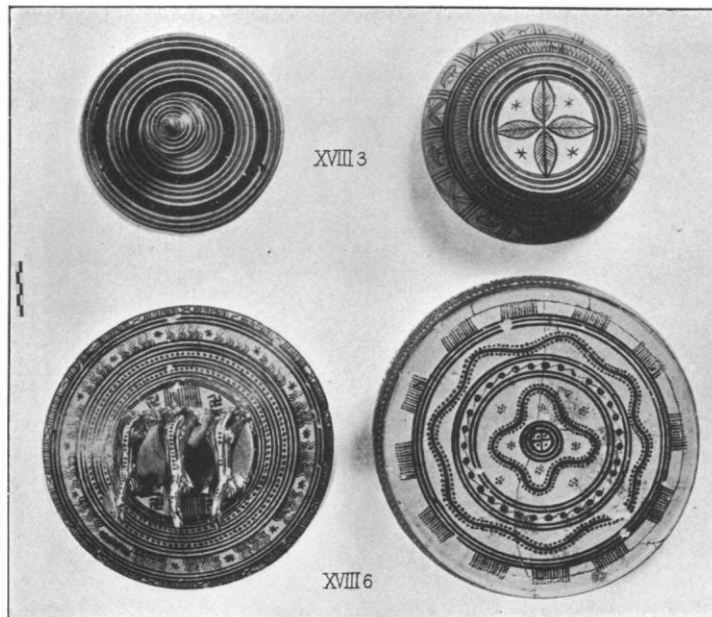


Fig. 61. Grave XVIII, Lids and Bottoms of Pyxides XVIII 3 and 6

**XVIII 3.** Pyxis and Lid. Figs. 60–61

P 4778. H., 0.087 m. H. with lid, 0.166 m. Max. Diam., 0.199 m.

A low base and convex wall curving only slightly inward toward the rim, and with the point of greatest diameter relatively high. Corresponding pairs of tieholes through the rim and the lid. Above the base and below the rim, a zone filled by a tall pointed zigzag, with bands above and below. The body is divided by triple verticals into panels. In the panels birds with latticed bodies alternate with quatrefoils that have rows of dots between their leaves. In the bird panels, filling ornament of zigzags and rows of dots. On the bottom, a quatrefoil surrounded by glaze rings; its leaves are decorated with herring-bone, and between them are cross-stars. The lid is flat, with a spiked knob handle, and is covered with a simple decoration of bands. Attic clay with black to thin brownish glaze, somewhat metallic on the lid.

The shape is not one that appears in early Geometric graves; a very similar shape is still in use in Boeotia in the early seventh century (Hampe, pl. 24, V. 49). The decorative scheme is the same as that of the jug from the same grave, **XVIII 1**, and the birds, drawn similarly, belong to the same stage of development.

**XVIII 4.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 60

P 4780. H., 0.072 m. H. with lid, 0.135 m. Max. Diam., 0.163 m.

Low base; the body shaped like that of **XVIII 3**, but somewhat shallower. Corresponding pairs of tieholes through the rim and lid. Solid glaze above the base, then bands. A broad zone of checker-board pattern around the body, and a triple band below the rim. The lid is very slightly convex, with a spike handle, and is decorated with broad and narrow glaze bands. Attic clay with metallic black glaze.

**XVIII 5.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 60

P 4779. H., 0.089 m. H. with lid, 0.13 m. Max. Diam., 0.153 m.

Low base and body shaped like that of **XVIII 3**, but much deeper. Corresponding pairs of tieholes through rim and lid. Solid glaze above the base. Around the middle of the body, a zone filled by a series of verticals separated by dots; above and below, bands interrupted by slightly wavy dot-rows. On the flat lid, bands, and dot rings; the spike handle is banded. Attic clay with badly peeled black glaze, which is metallic where preserved.

On wavy dot-rows, see above, **XVII 10**. The clay and glaze are much like those of some of the small subgeometric vases of Grave IX. There is a pyxis much like this in its decoration at Toronto: Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, pl. VIII, 110.

**XVIII 6.** Pyxis and Lid. Figs. 60–61

P 4784. H., 0.076 m. H. with lid, 0.195 m. Max. Diam., 0.275 m.

Broad low body; a shallow false ring foot continues the line of the side wall, which is only slightly convex. The diameter is somewhat less at the rim than at the foot. Corresponding pairs of tieholes through the rim and the lid. Above the foot, bands and a row of dots. The body is divided into panels by verticals and narrow latticed columns; the panels are filled alternately by checker-board pattern and swastikas. Between the arms of the swastikas, pairs of dotted rings linked by tangents. On the bottom, at the centre, concentric rings around a cross; dots between the arms of the cross. A wavy snake-ring, outlined on both sides with dots, surrounds the central decoration; farther out, a ring of dots linked by tangents, another snake-ring, and glaze bands, with series of short glaze strokes just inside the foot. Dot rosettes fill the spaces between the curves of the inner snake ring.

The lid is shaped like an inverted shallow plate, and has a round hole through the middle. On the flat central part of the lid stand three plastic horses, which served as the handle; they are covered with glaze, except for bands and rows of dots linked by tangents on their necks, and rows of dots between glaze stripes running down their manes, spines and tails. The exergues in front and behind the feet of the horses are decorated with swastikas at the corners, and series of short glaze strokes at the centre. The sloping part of the lid is decorated with bands and rows of dots; two zones at the edge contain series of zigzags separated by stars, and series of lines separated by St. Andrew's crosses. Attic clay with black to chocolate-brown glaze.

We have seen (**XX 5**) this to be the latest pyxis shape. Two pyxides of this type from a grave at Spata of the end of the eighth century have horses as lid-handles (Spata, Grave 3; *Delt.*, VI, 1920–21, p. 137, fig. 7). There are a number of pyxides by the same hand as ours; the stereotyped decoration is so consistently the same that they are unmistakably related. The body is always divided into panels filled alternately by swastikas and checker-board pattern, sometimes varied by a ring of dotted rings linked by tangents. The bottom, which has either a wavy snake-ring or a multifoil at the centre, has always an outer snake ring, and bands with series of short glaze strokes just inside the foot. The lid is invariably bordered at the edge with zones containing

series of zigzags separated by stars, and series of short glaze strokes separated by St. Andrew's crosses.

The pyxides of this group are: Copenhagen, *C.V.A., Denmark* 2, pl. 71, 4 a and b; Würzburg, Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. V, 54; The Hague, *C.V.A., Pays Bas*, II, pl. 3, 5 and 6; Kerameikos, 338, Hampe, pl. 33.

I have seen four more, said to be from Spata, in the hands of antiquity-dealers in Athens. The Kerameikos pyxis was found in a grave together with a little oinochoe which, as Hampe points out, is directly in the line of development from the latest Geometric to Phaleron ware (Hampe, p. 38 and fig. 19). The dating of this little oinochoe should then be at about 700; it seems to be the latest offering in the grave. We can thus confidently date our group of pyxides in the last quarter of the eighth century.

### XVIII 7. Pyxis. Figs. 59–60

P 4781. H., 0.112 m. Max. Diam., 0.264 m.

The lid was not put in the grave, although two pairs of tieholes pierced through the rim attest that there was once a lid. Ring foot and rather deep convex body. Above the foot, bands and a zone of interlock; a meander runs around the middle of the body. Below the rim, bands and a zone filled with zigzag. On the bottom, narrow pointed triangles, latticed, radiating from a large glazed circle at the centre. Attic clay with black glaze which is brownish where thin, and in places metallic.

The shape is early; compare the pyxis from one of the Areopagus graves *C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. 1, 9. In the course of time it becomes shallower and slightly less convex. Three deep pyxides of this type were found together in a grave in Eleusis (Eleusis Grave 19; *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 83 and pl. 4, 6; only one is illustrated. Their inventory numbers in the Eleusis Museum are 890, 891 and 894). Our pyxis is somewhat later in shape. There is a pyxis of this shape with late decoration at Cambridge, *C.V.A., Cambridge*, I, pl. 1, 20.

### XVIII 8. Clay Whorl. Fig. 62

MC 40. H., 0.013 m. Diam., 0.02 m.

The purpose of this object is not clear, since it is too small, and the hole is too big, to allow of convenient use as a whorl. It conforms in its shape, however, to the usual Geometric type of whorl.

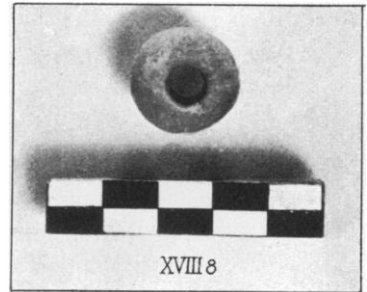


Fig. 62. Grave XVIII, Clay Whorl (XVIII 8)

### XVIII 9–10. Bronze Rings. Fig. 73

9. B 197. Diam. of ring, 0.018 m. Diam. of wire, 0.002 m.
10. B 198. Diam. of ring, 0.025 m.

Single coils of fine bronze wire; **XVIII 10** is slightly heavier than **XVIII 9**. A third ring of the same type broke into small fragments. (**XVIII 10 B**. Fig. 73.)

### XVIII 11–14. Iron Fibulae. Figs. 63, 73

IL 165. L., 0.036 m.

Four small iron fibulae, very much rusted and corroded; in places stuck together, and in places broken. The type can be clearly made out and reconstructed from the fragments; a convex-

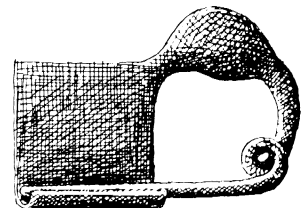


Fig. 63. Grave XVIII. Restored Drawing of Fibulae XVIII 11–14

concave bow, and a square catch-plate. Our fibulae are then examples of Blinkenberg's Attico-Boeotian type, and similar, in miniature, to **XVII 28**.

A small bronze fibula of the same type was found in fragments with the iron fibulae; it was too fragile and fragmentary to be restored.

#### GRAVE XIX

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Fig. 64. Contents. Fig. 73

Inhumation of a man. Height above sea-level, 56.30 m. The area in which the grave lay had been disturbed from above in Roman times, and the outlines of the shaft had been



Fig. 64. Graves VI, XVIII, and XIX. Grave XIX in foreground, XVIII above, and VI at left

obliterated. The northwest end, however, was preserved in a cutting in the rock of the sloping hillside. This cutting, 0.59 m. wide, extended to a total depth of 0.62 m. below the rock surface. This depth had provided space for two separate burials, one above the other. The earlier burial, Grave XX, occupied the bottom of the cutting; the later, Grave XIX, rested on a filling of ash 0.38 m. above it. A thin layer of sand had been sprinkled over the filling of the earlier burial, to serve as a floor for the later. The skeleton of a man lay with the head toward the northwest; an iron knife was found lying under the left upper arm. Other grave offerings may have been removed in Roman times.

Successive burials one above the other are of common occurrence in other Geometric cemeteries (as at the Kerameikos and Eleusis); but, as far as observed, they have always



been fortuitous and haphazard. The second use of this grave cutting in the Agora cemetery was, on the other hand, clearly no matter of chance; it necessitated the recollection of the exact position of the grave, and probably considerable effort in the careful removal, and no doubt replacement, of the stone slabs with which the earlier burial must have been covered. It may be argued that both burials could have been made at the same time; but had this been so, we should not have expected to find a layer of ash separating the two skeletons, or a sprinkling of sand over the ash for the upper body to rest on. In any event, whether or not the two burials were made at the same time, the double burial suggests some close relationship between the two occupants, and strengthens our belief that the grave precinct was a family plot. Grave XX is to be dated in the last quarter of the eighth century; Grave XIX is somewhat later. The knife found with the skeleton in Grave XIX is of the same type as the one found in Grave XI; but such knives were probably used over a long period of time.

### **XIX 1.** Iron Knife. Fig. 73

IL 162. L., 0.148 m. Max. W., 0.02 m.

Broken into two parts and mended. Flat blade.

A similar knife was found in Grave XI. The type is common; similar knives have been found in Eleusis (*Eph. Arch.*, 1889, pp. 181-182) and at Thera (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, p. 235, fig. 79, and in Schiff's Grave, *Thera*, II, p. 304, fig. 491 F).

### GRAVE XX

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Figs. 65-66. Contents. Fig. 67

Inhumation, probably of a woman. Height above sea-level, 55.92 m. The skeleton lay on the same line as that of the man above it, but with the orientation reversed: the head was at the southeast end of the grave. The grave offerings, with the exception of a pyxis, had been placed at the lower end of the cutting; the pyxis lay beside the right hand of the skeleton. The body and the vases had been covered with earth to a depth of 25 cm.; then a layer of ash and cinders, about 10 cm. thick, had been thrown into the grave. Probably the whole had been covered with slabs which were later removed to make room for the second burial (Grave XIX).

The determination of the sex of the skeleton was difficult (see Appendix III). Six of the vases offered, skyphoi, a plate, a kantharos, and an oinochoe, are offerings suitable for a man's grave; the seventh, a pyxis, is a type of vase always associated with the burial of a woman. The presence of the pyxis in our grave seems to make it more probable that the person buried was a woman than a man. The vases are late Geometric. The three skyphoi are only slightly earlier in shape than the subgeometric skyphos **V 3**, for which a date in the first quarter of the seventh century has been suggested. The kantharos, a specimen of a shape that does not appear early in the Geometric repertory, is not one of the earliest

examples of that shape. The pyxis is of the latest pyxis type and finds parallels in a very late Geometric grave at Spata; its decoration too is often used together with very late figured scenes. Our grave must date in the last quarter of the eighth century.



Fig. 65. Grave XX. Skeleton and Grave Offerings

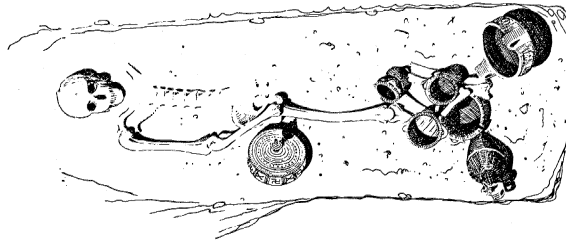


Fig. 66. Grave XX. Drawing by Piet de Jong

### XX 1. Skyphos. Fig. 67

P 4773. H., 0.07 m. Diam. at rim, 0.112 m.

Low base, shallow rounded shoulder, and narrow rim. The handle zone reserved, and a band on the rim; four dot rosettes in the handle-zone on each side. Glazed inside, with a reserved band at the rim and dot at the centre of the floor. Attic clay, with somewhat metallic black glaze.

The deep body and shallow convex shoulder are signs that our skyphos is late in the development of the shape. Early Geometric skyphoi, like those of the Areopagus Graves (*C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. I, 3-4, and 10-11) have rather shallow open bodies, well rounded at the shoulder, and standing on ring feet. Nearer in shape to our skyphos is a cup in Berlin: *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. I, 2. The skyphos from Grave V, which we have seen reason to date in the first quarter of the seventh century, is more developed than the one from Grave XX. The ring foot of the early skyphos has been replaced on the skyphos from Grave XX by a low base; the subgeometric example from Grave V has merely a flat bottom.

### XX 2. Skyphos. Fig. 67

P 4774. H., 0.072 m. Diam. at rim, 0.112 m.

Low base; the shape and decoration the same as those of XX 1, but the body more rounded and wider at the bottom. In the reserved band inside the rim, eight series of short vertical glaze strokes. Somewhat metallic black glaze, peeled in places.

**XX 3.** Skyphos. Fig. 67

P 4776. H., 0.077 m. Diam. at rim, 0.124 m.

The shape and decoration the same as those of **XX 2**. Four dot rosettes in the handle-zone on one side, five on the other. The glaze black to dark reddish-brown; dark brown inside.

**XX 4.** Kantharos. Fig. 67

P 4775. H. to rim, 0.144 m. Max. Diam., 0.195 m.

Low base and deep body with a plain rim. The lower body glazed; bands below the handle attachments. In the handle-zone, three panels separated by verticals and filled, at the sides by



Fig. 67. Grave XX, Vases (XX 1-7)

eight-spoked wheels, compass-drawn, and at the centre by meander. Below the lip, large round dots linked by tangents. Glazed inside; bars on the handles. Attic clay with black to brown glaze. The kantharos is not an early Geometric shape. One found in an unpublished Agora well of the first half of the eighth century is of essentially the same shape as the kantharos from Grave XX, but, as is to be expected, shallower, and with more rounded shoulder. Another kantharos, earlier than ours, from a grave at the Kerameikos, shows the same differences in shape as does the one from the well (*A.A.*, 1933, pp. 279-280, fig. 15). The wheels that fill the side panels are of the same type as those used as neck ornaments on amphoras from graves of the last quarter of the eighth century (Dipylon Graves XIII and X; Wide, figs. 48 and 49. Compare also the fragments from our seventh century well, **C 150-152** below).

**XX 5.** Pyxis and Lid. Fig. 67

P 4771. H., 0.07 m. H. with lid, 0.173 m. Max. Diam., 0.198 m.

A low base; the shallow body has an only slightly convex side wall. A flat in-turned rim at the top supports the lid; two corresponding pairs of holes through the rim and through the lid served as tieholes through which strings could be passed to fasten pyxis and lid together. Glaze above the base, and a triple band; the body divided into panels by sets of verticals and zigzag. Alternating panels are filled with swastikas and quatrefoils; dot rosettes serve as filling ornament between the arms of the swastikas and the leaves of the quatrefoils. On the bottom, a multifoil surrounding an eight-spoked wheel at the centre; hatched triangles fill the spaces between the outer ends of its leaves. On the spiked knob handle of the flat lid, bands, and a zone of concentric rings linked by tangents on the knob. On the lid itself, bands, elongated dots linked by tangents, and plain dots; a fringe of short glaze strokes at the edge. Attic clay with a fine smooth pale buff surface; solid black glaze, brownish where it is thin. Pyxides with wide shallow body and side wall only slightly convex seem to represent the latest development of the shape. Often their diameter is slightly less at the rim than at the base. The form must have developed from the earlier deep convex pyxis whose greatest diameter is about half-way up, like the pyxis from Areopagus Grave, *C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. I, 9; shallow early pyxides with very convex side wall also exist. Two pyxides of the same type as ours were found in a grave at Spata with very late vases, Geometric and subgeometric together (Spata, Grave 3; *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 134 ff. and figs. 6-10). The use of the quatrefoil decoration in panels is also popular in late Geometric; compare the jug, **XVIII 1**. Quatrefoil and octofoil in combination with late, almost mannered, figure decoration appear on a kantharos and a basin in Copenhagen (*C.V.A., Copenhagen*, II, pl. 72, 4 and pl. 73, 5) and on two vases from Cyprus, probably Attic, in New York (Myres, *A Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, 1701-02, pp. 286-287). It is perhaps worth noting also on our pyxis the nearly vertical hatching of the swastikas, a late manner of drawing.

**XX 6.** Plate. Fig. 67

P 4777. H., 0.057 m. Diam. at rim, 0.197 m.

Shallow ring foot and flat, slightly projecting, rim; rolled handles with out-turned ends. The body is rather deep, and the side wall markedly convex. The inside glazed; series of strokes separated by St. Andrew's crosses on the upper face of the rim. The body banded, with a row of dots half-way up; latticed decoration in the handle zone. Ladders on the handles, and a series of concentric rings, interrupted by a zone of short glaze strokes, on the bottom. Attic clay with metallic black glaze, somewhat peeled at one side.

Early Geometric plates of this type have a more convex side wall and pierced lug handles. Such plates were probably intended to be hung against the wall by their handles; the outside is always more elaborately decorated than the inside. Later plates of the same type become flat bottomed and very much shallower; their side walls become straight instead of convex. Compare the series of later plates from the seventh century well, **C 79-82**; the series continued well into the second half of the century. A plate somewhat later than ours was found with vases having subgeometric decoration, probably of the very early seventh century, in a grave at Spata (Spata Grave 2; *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 134-135, figs. 4-5).

**XX 7.** Oinochoe. Fig. 67

P 4772. H., 0.225 m. Max. Diam., 0.143 m.

Low base and band-handle. Entirely covered with thick chocolate-brown glaze except for a reserved band below the shoulder, and a panel on the front of the neck, which is filled by a band of tooth-pattern between horizontal lines above and below. Bars on the handle.

The shape is the same as that of the late round-bodied type (like **XIII 1**) except that it is not truncated at the bottom. It resembles also the taller early Geometric oinochoai; but here a base has replaced the usual early ring-foot.

## GRAVE XXI

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Figs. 29–30, 68

Inhumation of a woman. Height above sea-level, 56.53 m. Length of shaft, 2.15 m. Width, 0.63 m. Depth, 0.52 m. The grave had been rifled in the sixth century. The diggers of Well C cut through the edge of the shaft; the skeleton was complete except for the bone of the upper right arm, which had been taken off in the digging of the well. The slabs of the cover were found piled over the foot of the grave, where one of them had been left in position. Probably the diggers of the well, after finding the edge of the grave at the side of their shaft, dug from above and opened the grave, removing the offerings but respecting the skeleton. The body lay with its head at the northeast end of the cutting.

Even in the absence of grave offerings there can be little doubt that the grave belongs to the Geometric period, in view of its situation in a precinct with several Geometric burials of exactly the same type. The position of Grave XXI in relation to Graves XI and XXII suggests that it was one of the latest burials made; but there were no finds to fix its place in our series with greater certainty.



Fig. 68. Grave XXI.  
Drawing by Piet de Jong

## GRAVE XXII

Plan. Fig. 1. Grave. Figs. 29 and 31

Inhumation, probably of a man. Height above sea-level, 56.97 m. The grave cutting, oriented roughly east and west, was only 0.30 m. wide. The grave had been twice disturbed; of the skeleton only the thigh bones were found. At the east the shaft had been cut through its lower end by Grave XI; the upper half of the grave had been destroyed by Well C. As the bottom of the grave lay only about 30 cm. below the floor-level of the sixth century enclosure, the covering slabs must have been removed in the levelling down of the surface of the terrace. The body had been laid with its head toward the west; the size of the femurs, the only bones found, suggests that the skeleton was that of a man. No grave offerings were found in the preserved part of the grave, which had not been disturbed by the diggers of the well. The ends of two of the cover slabs of Grave XI rested on the earth in Grave XXII; had the earth been removed the cover of Grave XI would have fallen in.

Grave XXII had been disturbed by Grave XI, and was therefore probably considerably older than Grave XI. Its position at the narrow end of the terrace, close in beside the hill slope, suggests that it was the first burial made in our family cemetery.

## GRAVES XXIII–XXV

Thirty-five metres to the southwest of the grave precinct three more graves were found, all close together, and cut, like those of the precinct, at the foot of the slope of the Kolonos Agoraios. They appear on the plan (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 15, fig. 13) as two small rectangles just to the south of the edge of the great cutting in the hillside at the south of the grave precinct. Three burials thus close together must be, like those in the grave precinct, interrelated, and may belong to the same family. Like Graves III–XXII they belong to the end of the Geometric period. Had the grave precinct been a general cemetery instead of a family plot, these three contemporary burials would probably have been made in it instead of at some distance away. The graves are published with those of the precinct because they are of the same period, and because they yielded vases of types not found in the other graves.

## GRAVE XXIII

Disturbed cist grave. The rectangular shaft was cut in the rock with a northeast and southwest orientation; it was 1.62 m. long and 0.52 m. wide. The rock cutting was very shallow, with a depth of only 0.15–0.20 m.; the upper part of the grave must have been cut in the filling over bedrock, which had been disturbed over the area around the graves. At the bottom of the cutting there was a layer of small stones which served as a floor for the burial. The disturbance of the fill above had destroyed the grave and its skeleton; in the shallow cutting were found a few human teeth and ribs, and one skyphos broken into many small fragments. The skyphos is Attic in fabric, but Corinthianizing in shape; it is dateable in the last quarter of the eighth century.

**XXIII 1.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 69

P 3569. H., 0.07 m. Diam. at rim, 0.106 m.

Flat bottom and convex body with plain rim; rolled horizontal handles, tilted slightly upward, set just below the lip. Glazed to below the handle-zone, where there are three bands.

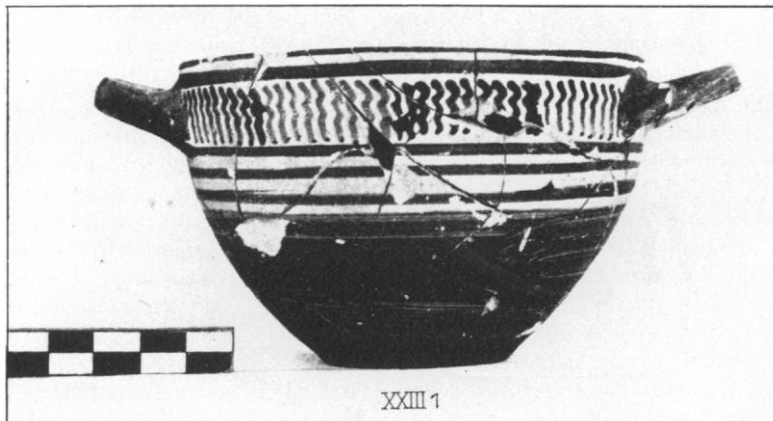


Fig. 69. Grave XXIII, Corinthianizing Skyphos (XXIII 1)

Short wavy verticals in the handle-zone; bands on the lip. The inside glazed, with a reserved band at the lip; the handles glazed. Thin fabric of Attic clay; the dull black glaze is streaky and, in places, brownish.

The shape is imitated from such early Protocorinthian skyphoi with rather shallow open body and convex side wall as Johansen, pl. IX 1, and pl. X 1. As is usual in Attic imitations (see below, p. 146), the Protocorinthian ring foot has been replaced by a flat bottom; the Attic decoration, careless and hasty, contrasts with the overcareful decoration of the Protocorinthian models. The Protocorinthian vases from which our skyphos is imitated belong in the last quarter of the eighth century. Another Attic imitation of Protocorinthian vases of this type was found in a late eighth century grave at Spata (Spata Grave 1; *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 132-133, figs. 2-3). The wavy vertical decoration in the handle-zone of our skyphos is often used for the filling of decorated zones around the lower bodies of late Geometric kraters (*A. J. A.*, XIX, 1915, pls. XVII-XXIII). Our skyphos probably belongs near the end of the eighth century.

#### GRAVE XXIV

Figs. 70-71. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 364, fig. 20

Disturbed inhumation. In the disturbed fill overlying the bedrock, a metre to the east of Grave XXIII, was found part of a skeleton. The upper part of the body and the head



Fig. 70. Graves XXIV-XXV. Skeletons and Grave Offerings

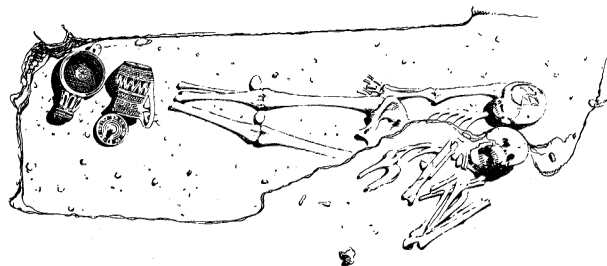


Fig. 71. Graves XXIV-XXV. Drawing by Piet de Jong

were preserved, though much damaged. The skeleton lay on the bedrock, which had been smoothed for it, with its head toward the south; the arms, lying on the chest, were bent at the elbow with the hands below the chin. The legs were missing; probably the body had been buried with bent legs and raised knees. The late disturbance which had destroyed the lower part of the skeleton, and badly damaged the upper part, had removed all traces of grave offerings. The burial partly overlay Grave XXV, which must then have been earlier. There seems to be no special relation between the two burials as there was between Graves XIX and XX; the difference in orientation between Grave XXIV and Grave XXV suggests that the later grave was placed quite by chance in its position partly over the earlier.

## GRAVE XXV

Grave. Figs. 70–71. Contents. Figs. 72. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 364–365, figs. 20–21

The grave of a youth. The shaft was cut in the bedrock to a depth of about 0.30 m.; its upper part, disturbed by Grave XXIV at one side, must have been cut in the fill over bedrock. The shaft was oriented from northeast to southwest, and measured 2.10 m. in length and 0.68 m. in width. The skeleton lay on its back, the head toward the southwest, the legs outstretched, and the arms extended along the sides. The length of the skeleton, the proportions of which suggested that it was that of a youth, from the top of the head (which was tilted forward) to the ankle was 1.34 m.; the youth could not have been very tall, and had probably not yet attained full growth. The vases offered at the burial lay at the lower end of the grave: a pitcher which had been laid across the grave below the feet, with its lid, which probably covered its mouth when it was placed in the grave; farther down, a jug and a skyphos. These vases were all found in place, but cracked; a fourth vase, a small hand-made aryballos, lay at one side of the grave near the foot, broken into two pieces. It is probable that the three decorated vases had been placed whole in the grave, and that the aryballos had been broken before its pieces were put in. The aryballos had probably contained oil or perfume, and had been broken at the burial ceremonies; a similar aryballos was found in the hand of the skeleton in Grave XVII. There was a quantity of black carbonized matter in the filling in the skyphos and the jug; probably the remains of food placed with the body in the grave. The types of vases offered—pitcher, jug, and skyphos—are the same as those offered in the man's grave XIV, and confirm the identification of the skeleton as that of a man. In their shapes and decoration the vases combine a number of late Geometric features; our grave must date from the end of the eighth century.

**XXV 1.** Skyphos. Fig. 72

P 3645. H., 0.062 m. Diam. at rim, 0.154 m.

Low base and shallow convex body with widely flaring lip; long horizontal rolled handles, set low. The lower body, and the outer faces of the handles, glazed; bands below the handle-



zone and on the inside and outside of the lip. A latticed lozenge at the centre of the handle-zone, front and back, with opposed triangles to each side. The side wall is glazed inside; the floor is reserved, and filled at the centre by an eight-spoked wheel surrounded by fourteen concentric rings. Thin fabric of Attic clay with dull brownish-black glaze.

In shape the skyphos belongs to the class of metallic imitations listed by Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, p. 76, note 6; such skyphoi have, like ours, decoration on the inside as well as on the outside; compare the two from Anavysos, *Praktika*, 1911, p. 121, 18-19, and from Spata Grave 3 (*Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, p. 134, fig. 8). The ornament is almost always early orientalizing or subgeometric. The simple motives used in the handle-zone of our example are usually late; the latticed lozenge appears most often as a filling ornament under horses on late Geometric



Fig. 72. Grave XXV, Vases (XXV 1-4)

vases, and the triangles with opposed points are popular as filling ornament on subgeometric and early orientalizing pottery. A fragment of a skyphos like ours was found in the seventh century well; see below, **C 40**, where the type is discussed.

### XXV 2. Pitcher with Lid. Fig. 72

P 3647. H. to lip, 0.192 m. Max. Diam., 0.143 m. H. of lid, 0.066 m.

Flat bottom and rather deep convex lower body meeting the wide, slightly flaring upper body at an angle; rising band handle from the lip to the lower body, joined to the upper body by a strut. Solid glaze, and bands, around the bottom; a zone filled by wavy verticals at the level of the handle attachment. On the shoulder, interlocking latticed triangles. A wide zone decorated with meander on the upper body; a dotted lozenge chain above and below. A glaze band inside the lip; eight series of dots decorate its upper face. The handle is barred, and decorated in two places with eight-armed crosses in panels. The shallow concave lid has its rim fluted at the point where it fits against the handle of the pitcher; the spike handle at the centre of the lid is banded. The upper face of the lid is also banded; at the edge, seven dot rosettes alternate with six series of short wavy glaze lines, two rosettes coming together opposite the pitcher-handle. Attic clay with dull black glaze, badly peeled.

The shape, not quite the same as that of **XVIII 1** and **XVII 18**, or of **XIV 1**, finds a late Geometric parallel in the big pitcher Wide, fig. 77, which has a plump body and wide, not very high upper part. The zone of wavy verticals is comparable to the decoration in the handle-zone of **XXIII 1**. It has already been noted that dotted lozenge chains and interlocking latticed triangles are motives used in late Geometric of the end of the eighth century.

### **XXV 3.** Jug. Fig. 72

P 3646. H. to lip, 0.085 m. Max. Diam., 0.079 m.

Flat bottom, low convex lower body and high flaring upper body; rising band handle. The angle at which upper and lower body meet has become very shallow. Glaze and bands around the bottom; a dotted lozenge chain at the level of the handle attachment. On the upper body, latticed round-ended petals, outlined with glaze; between each pair of petals a column of three dotted rings linked by tangents, pendant from downward-pointed latticed triangles. A glaze band inside the lip, and series of short verticals on its upper edge. The handle is barred, and decorated with a St. Andrew's cross. Attic clay with dull black glaze, badly peeled.

The jug belongs to the same type as **XVIII 1-2** and **XVII 18**, but it is later in shape and approaches the Protoattic form of Wide, fig. 80. Similar in shape, and covered with sub-geometric decoration, is the jug from Grave 3 at Spata (*Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, p. 134, fig. 8). Two jugs from Anavysos have the same latticed-petal decoration (*Praktika*, 1911, p. 117, 6 and p. 119, 14), a decoration suitable for the ornamentation of vases made with godroons in imitation of metal (Boston 271; Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, pl. XXII).

### **XXV 4.** Hand-made Aryballos. Fig. 72

P 3644. H., 0.081 m. Max. Diam., 0.075 m.

Spherical body, flattened at the bottom, with narrow neck flaring to a round mouth, and one band-handle. Fine buff clay, slightly micaceous, and polished on the outside, after being worked smooth by a flat-edged implement.

An aryballos of the same type as **XVII 22**, but bigger.

### THE JEWELLERY. Fig. 73

No discoveries of metal work or jewellery were made among the sporadic finds in the grave area, nor did any come from the well deposit. The iron and bronze objects from the graves are discussed here because they help to throw light on the chronology of the burials. For the influence of metal work on pottery, see below, p. 223.

The rings of bronze and iron found in Graves IX, XVII, and XVIII, and the bracelet from the sacrificial pyre Grave XII are all of undistinguished type, and are very poorly preserved. The spiral rings **XVII 24-25** are too small to have been worn on the finger; they may have been used as ornaments for the hair. Similar spirals, but more elaborately made and of gold, were found in a grave at Corinth.<sup>1</sup> In the same group of graves at Corinth were found long bronze pins, over half a metre in length. Our pin **XVII 26** may have been of this type; two pins of the same sort, presumably Attic in origin, are in the Toronto Museum.<sup>2</sup> The purpose for which such pins were used is uncertain; as fasteners for drapery they must have been very clumsy and dangerous.

<sup>1</sup> *A. J. A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 152, fig. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *J. H. S.*, LI, 1931, p. 166, figs. 2-3.

The iron knives found in Graves XI and XIX are of a type commonly found in the late Geometric period, and apparently used at least until the end of the seventh century.<sup>1</sup>

The fibulae are of greater interest. They all belong to Blinkenberg's Attico-Boeotian type,<sup>2</sup> which Hampe<sup>3</sup> has called Boeotian. Hampe argues that most of the fibulae of this type have been found in Boeotia, and that the elaborate incised decoration of many examples is stylistically similar to the decoration of Boeotian vases of the late eighth and early seventh century. Examples found in Attic graves are few; Hampe lists fibulae from the Isis Grave and from Grave a at Eleusis; a silver fibula from Thorikos, and one in Toronto.<sup>4</sup> Hampe believes the Isis Grave, Grave a, and the group of

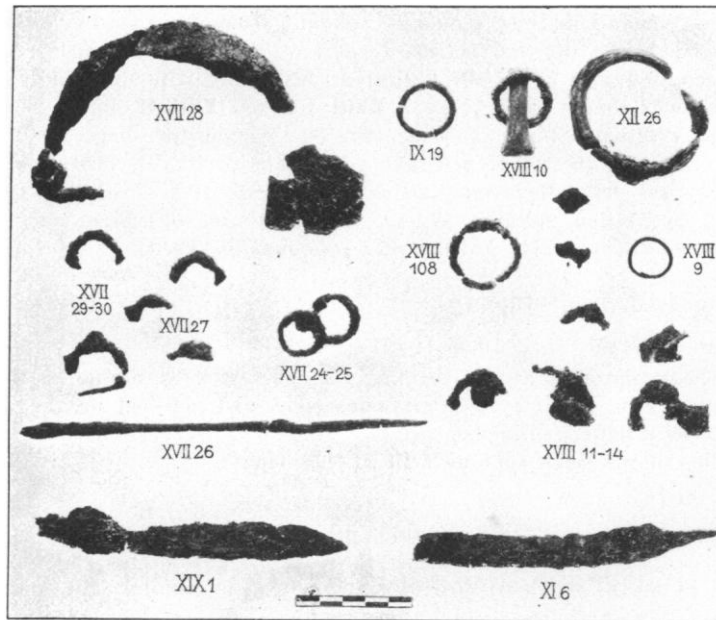


Fig. 73. Bronze and Iron Jewellery and Knives from the Graves

vases in Toronto to belong in the ninth century; he is therefore forced reluctantly to the suggestion that fibulae of the type used in the late Geometric and orientalizing period in Boeotia had been used in Attica a century earlier, and then ceased to be made. The Agora graves XVII–XVIII furnish examples of this type of fibula found in late eighth century graves in Attica. The Isis Grave and Grave a, moreover, are also late Geometric graves<sup>5</sup> of the end of the eighth century. The vases in the Toronto Museum are published together

<sup>1</sup> One was found in Schiff's Grave at Thera: *Thera*, II, p. 304, fig. 491 F.

<sup>2</sup> Blinkenberg Type VIII; pp. 147 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hampe, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Hampe, p. 5; catalogue nos. 10, 24–27, 148. The silver fibula from Thorikos apparently has no context. Other examples, said to be from Attica, are listed; they are scattered through many museums, and have nothing more than their own internal evidence as to date.

<sup>5</sup> On the Isis Grave, see Appendix II.

with two bronze pins, a bronze fibula, a crystal bead, and a whorl, as the contents of an Attic grave.<sup>1</sup> The whorl is of a type often found in sixth and fifth century deposits, never in Geometric;<sup>2</sup> its presence in the Toronto "grave" group destroys credence in the unity of the group, so that the vases (early eighth century) cannot be used as evidence for the date of the fibula.

Thus it appears that fibulae of the sort found in eighth and seventh century graves in Boeotia are found also in late eighth century Attic graves, and that none can be assigned to the ninth century. That fibulae of the same sort should have been used at the same time in Attica and Boeotia is much more probable than that they should have gone out of favor in Attica nearly a hundred years before they came into favor in Boeotia. Their use in both districts at the same time suggests that they were made in both districts, and that it is safer to cling to Blinkenberg's term, Attico-Boeotian, than without reserve to adopt Hampe's, Boeotian.

It may seem to be an *argumentum in circulo* to date our Agora graves by the fibulae found in them, and at the same time to attempt to date the fibulae by the graves in which they were found. We do not, however, rely only on the evidence of the fibulae for the dating of the pottery; many criteria other than the fibulae are used for the dating of the graves in the late eighth century. Hampe, on the other hand, has produced excellent evidence for the dating of the fibulae in the same period. Since both graves and fibulae are contemporary, we cannot be surprised at finding fibulae of this type in our graves. The misfortune is that of the only other Attic grave groups in which such fibulae have been found, two should have been for many years dated too early, and the third should be untrustworthy as a group because of an experiment in synthesis on the part of an antiquity dealer.

To Hampe's list of fibulae might be added a silver fibula from Eretria: *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVIII, 1913, p. 295, fig. 4, in addition to those noticed by Kunze, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1937, pp. 281 ff.

## II

### SPORADIC FINDS FROM IN AND NEAR THE GRAVE PRECINCT

A number of vases and fragments from various parts of the grave area are published in a second catalogue, Group B. It has been thought best to publish these fragments as groups according to finding places, rather than to divide them according to shapes.

<sup>1</sup> *J. H. S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 164 ff., and pl. VI; the whorl, no 12.

<sup>2</sup> Seven whorls of this type have been found in the Agora: two from disturbed areas, the other five (two found together), in four different deposits which were all consistently late sixth and early fifth century in character, with no Geometric sherds in any. Two more, from the East Cave of the Acropolis, have been published by Miss Pease in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 269, fig. 19, nos. 28-29. No whorls of this sort have been found in any of the Geometric deposits at the Agora, the Kerameikos, or Eleusis. The Geometric type of whorl is double-convex; see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 602, fig. 70, no. 255, and our **C 176-180**, fig. 142.

Although some of them are important in themselves they carry with them no evidence from their contexts as to their origin or dating. Others, on the other hand, throw interesting sidelights on the history of the grave area. Middle Helladic objects (**B 22–25**) suggest by their presence that the site was inhabited, and perhaps used for burials, long before the Geometric period. They serve also as an example of the finding by chance of antiquities as early as the eighth century. Fragments found in the trench from which blocks of the parapet wall had been taken away, among them a number of bits of black figure (**B 34–51**), and from the bedding made for the late sixth century reconstruction of the wall (**B 52–58**), serve to demonstrate that the terrace had become much dilapidated by the latter part of the sixth century. Fragments from Layers II (**B 59–63**) and III (**B 85–86**) of the road, and from a mass of earth dumped over the surface of Layer III (**B 64–84**), illustrate the gradual accumulation of the road filling and the raising of its level during the course of time. Large fragments of vases, found near Graves IX (**B 6–7**) and XX (**B 8**) may have belonged to graves disturbed in ancient times; fragments found in Well B (**B 26–29**) and Well C (**B 30–33**) may have come from graves disturbed by the well diggers. A large number of fragments found scattered through the disturbed filling of Pit A may also have been thrown out from rifled graves, or have been used and broken in the performance of rites honoring the dead. Most of these fragments are earlier than the middle of the seventh century, and so fail to bridge the lapse of time between Graves I–II and the earlier series of burials in the cemetery.

The fragments **B 1–5** come from a filling of greenish clay thrown in between Pit A and Well B (plan, fig. 1), and overlying the fill in which the graves were cut. Fragments of **B 1** and **B 2** were scattered through this filling, showing that they were already broken when it was dumped, at some time after the middle of the seventh century. The five objects from the greenish clay dump may have come together from quite different original sources.

#### CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS

##### **B 1.** Protoattic Oinochoe. Figs. 74–75

P 4611. H. (as restored), 0.32 m. Max. Diam. (restored), 0.18 m.

Restored; preserved are most of the low ring foot, a large section of the front of the body, and a smaller one at the side, most of the double rolled handle, and a fragment of the neck with the vertical lines setting off the handle panel and, along its upper edge, the beginning of the outward flare to the trefoil lip. Above the low ring foot, rays. On the body, two sphinxes stand facing each other; both have lion's bodies, wings, and women's heads with the faces drawn in outline. Of the sphinx at the left the back legs are preserved, with the curving tail hanging down between them; the front legs, and part of the face and wing. The feathers of the wing are incised and have rounded ends; part of three ranks of feathers is preserved. A triple band across the neck, in front of the mass of hair that falls down the back of the neck, indicates a necklace. The artist made and corrected a mistake in the drawing of the face; a thin line, hardly visible, curves upward and outward from the point where the neck and jaw-line meet, to the lower lip. This was probably the original sketch for the outline of the neck and chin, and the artist, realizing the disproportion of his sketch in time, corrected it. The other sphinx is similarly drawn, except that the feathers of her wing are drawn in

outline instead of being incised. She also wears a triple-band necklace; her ear, which is preserved, is set at the base of the jaw. Incision is sparingly used on the bodies of both sphinxes for the indication of interior details. The space between the two sphinxes is filled by a large palmette cross, with inward-turned palmettes filling the upper and lower areas enclosed by intertwined tendrils; another palmette is added at each side of the crossing. The

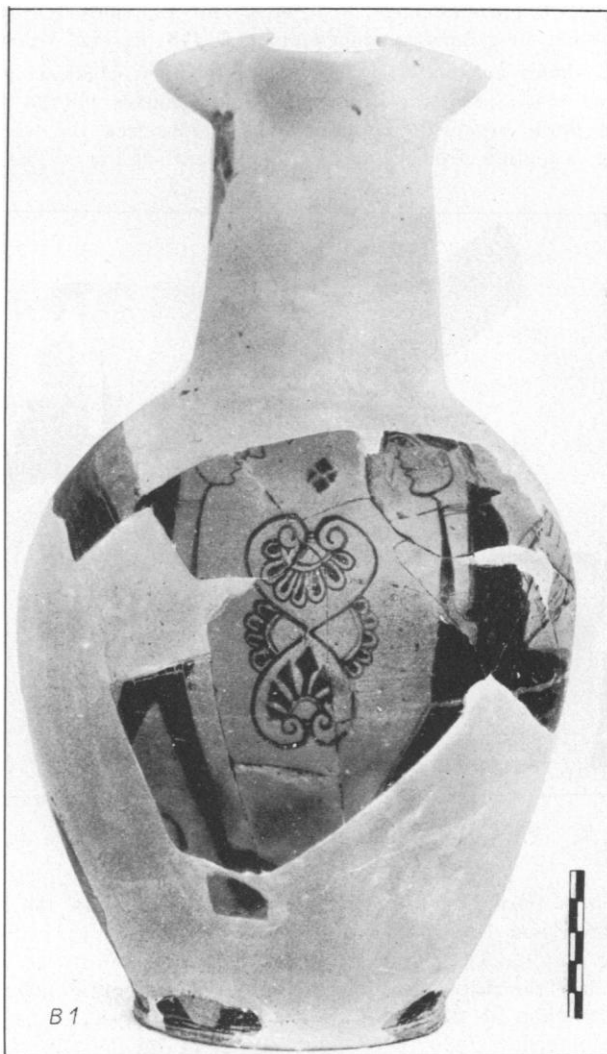


Fig. 74. Protoattic Oinochoe (B 1)

neck was decorated with floral ornament, and the handle panel set off by vertical glaze lines. Lozenges and short sections of zigzag are sparingly used as filling ornament on the neck and body; narrow glaze bands run down the back and side faces of the handle. A small fragment of the body covered with floral decoration probably belongs at the back below the handle attachment. Attic clay, with glaze varying from metallic to streaky black, and thin brown.

The shape, developed from that of the late Geometric oinochoe, is what we should expect by the middle of the seventh century. An oinochoe in New York (Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 288, 1702) dating probably from the beginning of the century, has a straight neck and less pointed body than ours. Although full-sized Protoattic oinochoai of the same shape as ours have not been found, miniatures from Phaleron (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 39, figs. 37-38) illustrate the tendency toward pointed body and tapering neck. Other Protoattic examples (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pp. 45 ff., figs. 3, 5, 6, 8, and 12) show the same tendency, which is already visible on such subgeometric oinochoai as **C 118** (fig. 122 below).

The decoration shows not only an astonishing mastery of drawing, but also a fine sense for arrangement and restraint in the ornament. The sphinxes fill the body of the pot without crowding, and the floral ornament between them emphasizes the vertical axis of the vase without distracting attention from the more important figures. The same arrangement of

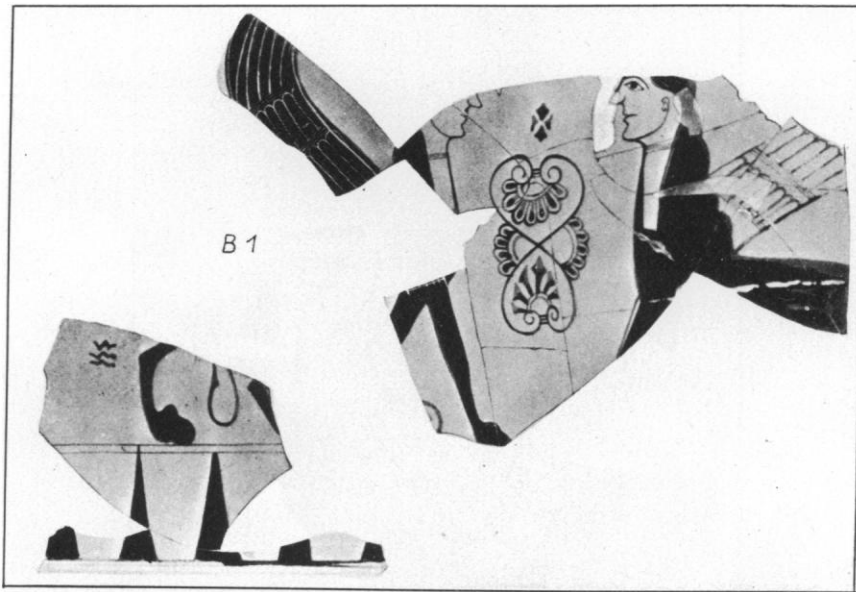


Fig. 75. Protoattic Oinochoe B 1. Drawing by Piet de Jong

opposed sphinxes with floral ornament between them appears on the shoulder of a Cycladic orientaling amphora, and is repeated on the back with horses instead of sphinxes (*Délos*, XVII, pls. XII-XIII, Bc 19). The floral ornament of the Cycladic vase is very close to that of our oinochoe, although the drawing is more coarse. The floral ornament finds many parallels in the second quarter and at the middle of the seventh century; comparable is the ornament on the neck of the oinochoe, *Jhb.*, II, 1887, p. 52, fig. 14, on the cup *A.A.*, 1934, p. 220, fig. 15, and on the kantharos **C 65** (fig. 113 below). Our oinochoe, however, shows a regularity and a discipline lacking in most Protoattic work, which seems often to take special pains to achieve asymmetry. Similar floral ornament appears again on vases with faces drawn in outline from the Kerameikos; *A.A.*, 1934, pp. 211-214, figs. 9-11, vases of the mid-seventh century. The sphinxes of our oinochoe, though more finely drawn, are no more advanced in the technique of drawing than the mourning women of the Kerameikos fragment, fig. 11, and only slightly more advanced than the figures on the Nessos amphora in New York (*J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. X-XII; the floral ornament on the back of the same vase, p. 377, fig. 3, is also illustrated in Johansen, p. 116, fig. 60). The outline drawing of the human face has been

perfected, and the time has come for further experiment. On the amphora from Kynosarges (*J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, pl. III) we have the same fine sharp outline drawing; but now the outlined face is filled with white paint representing flesh—a device still in the experimental stage in the seventh century, when the white is usually added directly on the clay of the pot, but used regularly throughout the black-figured style, when the white is applied over a glazed silhouette.

Our oinochoe, made at about the middle of the seventh century, is a link between the New York and the Kynosarges amphoras; the former cannot be much more than ten years earlier, the latter much more than ten years later. Outline drawing is very rare in Proto-corinthian; but by comparing the examples that exist with our sphinxes, we may get an outside check on their dating. Two aryballoi of Johansen's Class B Archaic Style have sphinxes and a chimaera with their heads drawn in outline (Johansen, pls. XXVI, 5 b, and XXVII, 1 b; Payne, *PV*, pl. 20, 1—"second black-figured style"); these aryballoi date from the second quarter of the seventh century. The Protocorinthian sphinxes are clearly less advanced than our Protoattic ones; the chimaera, somewhat later, provides a fair parallel, and confirms our mid-century dating. Many Cycladic and Melian vases have figures with their faces drawn in outline; the technique was certainly more at home on the islands than on the mainland, which they may have influenced. Unfortunately the Delos and Rheneia finds provide no external evidence for the dating of the Cycladic pottery which will eventually have to be dated by comparison with the better established Protocorinthian and Protoattic chronology. Our oinochoe, and fragments of a bowl found in Athens (*Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, pl. III, 2) demonstrate the skill in drawing attained by the Attic artisans by the middle of the seventh century.

## B.2. Protoattic Fragment. Figs. 76–77

P 6469. P.H., 0.159 m. P.W., 0.162 m.

A fragment from the lower body of a closed pot, probably a hydria. Double rays around the bottom; the downward-pointed triangles between the bases of the lower series of rays are filled with white. Above, part of a procession of women to the right. Parts of three women are preserved; the first and third are dressed in long skirts, with an overgarment the pointed corners of which hang down in front and behind; their clothes and feet are painted white. The figure in the middle wears a skirt drawn in outline and filled with dots. In the field between the figures, bands of zigzags, floral volutes, and vertical guilloche bands. Attic clay, covered with thick creamy slip, which has peeled badly, carrying with it much of the black glaze and white paint. The restoration in the drawing, fig. 76, is certain.

Compare the garment with that worn by the figure at the left on the Kynosarges amphora, *J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, pl. III, which is somewhat later. The lavish use of white is still comparatively rare before the middle of the seventh century, although on the Kynosarges amphora, a few years later than 650, both white and red are used in quantity.

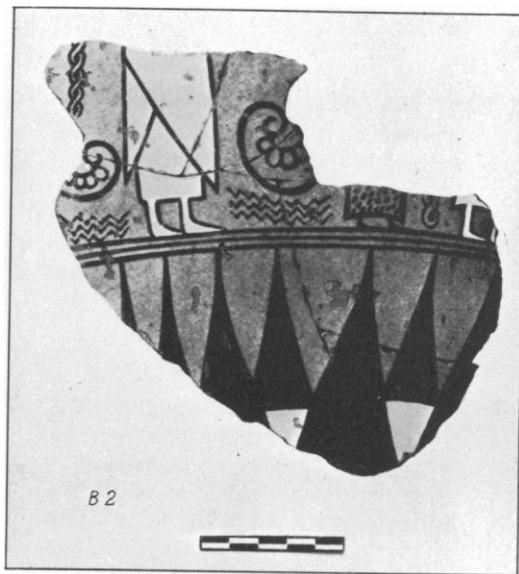


Fig. 76. Protoattic Fragment B 2. Drawing by Piet de Jong



A hydria neck at the Agora, found in a deposit of the first and second quarters of the century, is decorated with a procession of women wearing white skirts (unpublished; inventory P 10229); they are somewhat more primitive in their drawing than the ladies on our fragment.

The floral volutes are comparable to those on a cup from a Phaleron grave of the second quarter of the seventh century (Grave 48, *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 43, fig. 45, 1). Our fragment must belong at about the same time, when experimentation with white was going on, and while the old subgeometric decoration (as on the skirt of the middle woman) still continued in use. A Protoattic fragment of about the same time was found on the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, 364, pl. 13; the fragment *ibid.*, 411 a, is published as Protocorinthian; but clay and glaze, no less than style, indicate that it is Protoattic of the same stage of development).

### B 3. Geometric Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 77

P 4641. P.H., 0.115 m. Diam., 0.065 m.

The neck is preserved; at the top it starts to flare into a trefoil mouth. The preserved part of the shoulder glazed black; the handle panel at the back set off by columns of diagonals, and glazed black. The neck decoration, bordered above and below by a band of zigzag, consists of three panels filled at the sides by birds, at the centre by a swastika. Filling ornament in the panels of rows of dots, dot rosettes, and chevron columns. Attic clay, with black glaze shading to brown. Late eighth century; compare the decoration of the jug **XVIII 1** (fig. 60).

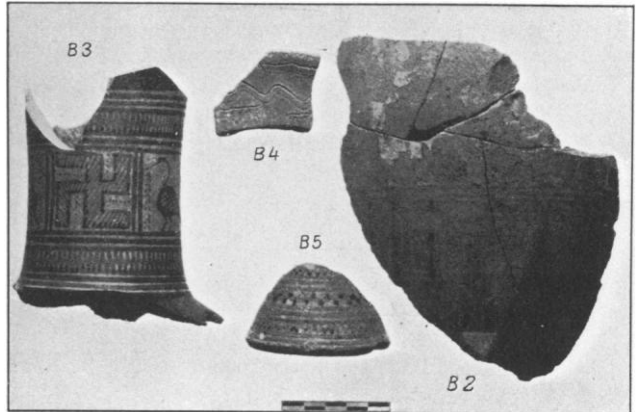


Fig. 77. Geometric and Protoattic Fragments (B 2-5)

### B 4. Incised Household Ware Fragment. Fig. 77

P 6468. Max. Diam., 0.042 m.

Rim fragment of a pitcher or amphora. A double wavy line is incised below the rim; farther down, another pair of incised wavy lines, more deeply curved. On the shoulder the top of a band of key pattern is preserved. Coarse fabric of gritty micaceous red clay.

Compare the two amphoras from Anavyssos, *Praktika*, 1911, p. 124, 26 and 28. On incised household ware, see below, p. 199 and **C 156-164**.

### B 5. Whorl Fragment. Fig. 77

MC 132. P.H., 0.04 m. Diam. at bottom (est.), 0.07 m.

Less than half of a conical whorl is preserved; it was probably pierced vertically through the middle. At one point a small hole has been bored vertically through the lower edge. On the side, a zone of checker-board separated by bands from two zigzags, one above, and the other below. The bottom is divided into squares by crossed lines; alternating squares are latticed, and filled with dot rosettes. Greyish buff clay with badly peeled black glaze; the whorl gives the appearance of having been burned.

The type is unlike that of any other whorl found in geometric or Protoattic context; it may belong in the second half of the seventh century, or later. On early whorls, see below, p. 191 and **C 176-180**.

**B 6.** Fragmentary Amphora. Fig. 78

P 4978. P.H., 0.026 m. Max. Diam., 0.215 m.

The fragments of this vase were found scattered through the disturbed fill above Grave IX; the amphora may have been used originally for another infant's burial, destroyed by one of the later graves, or by one of the pits and wells in the grave precinct. Slender ovoid body on a vertical ring foot; preserved to the shoulder, where there is a trace of the attachment of one

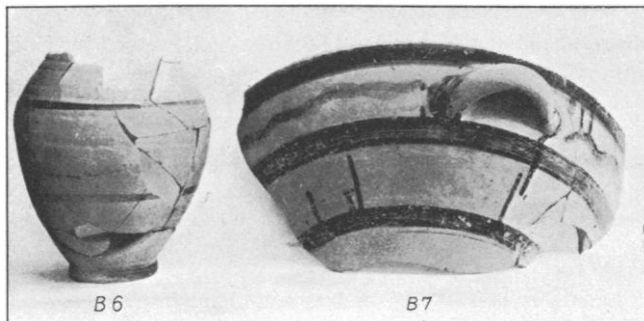


Fig. 78. Fragmentary Amphora and Basin (B 6-7) from near Grave IX

of the band-handles. The foot glazed; two fairly wide glaze bands around the body. Attic clay, with dull brown glaze.

Probably somewhat earlier than the amphoras from Graves VII and VIII; the foot is straight, and the glaze bands are wide and few in number.

**B 7.** Basin Fragment. Fig. 78

P 4979. P. H., 0.21 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.50 m.

Found in the fill to the east of Grave IX; fig. 22. The bottom is missing. Deep convex body with plain rim very slightly concave in profile, and horizontal rolled handles. Decorated with three broad glaze bands, one of which is on the rim; a wavy line in the handle-zone. The inside unglazed, except at the lip. Attic clay with streaky black glaze; the basin was probably put upside down on the wheel to be painted, and the glaze has run toward the rim. The handle, on the other hand, was stuck on with glaze which has run toward the base.

Probably to be dated about the middle of the seventh century, or later.

**B 8.** Krater Fragment. Fig. 79

P 4756. P. H., 0.18 m. P. L., 0.245 m.

Found in the fill just to the east of Grave XX. Part of the side wall of a large krater, with a "goat-head" handle. The rim is turned slightly outward, and decorated with bands and a row of dots. Below the handle, a zone of tooth-pattern. On the horizontal rolled handles, ladders with diagonal rungs; on the vertical band handle, bars. Herring-bone pattern on the face of the "goat," and opposed diagonals above. Attic clay with much-peeled black glaze; the inside glazed. Attic kraters with "goat-head" handles must be about contemporary with Corinthian geometric kraters that have

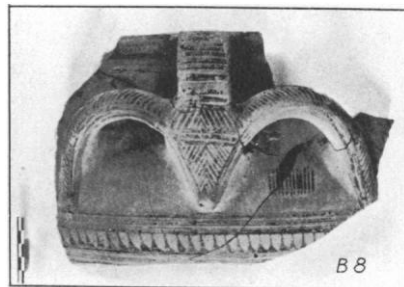


Fig. 79. Krater Fragment (B 8) from near Grave XX

single-arched handles joined to the rim by vertical bands, as *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 411-413, figs. 5-7.

The following fragments, **B 9-20**, were found mostly in the mixed late fill in the bottom of Pit A:

**B 9.** Corinthianizing Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 80

P 6475. P.H., 0.067 m. Diam. at rim, 0.16 m.

Two non-joining fragments of an Attic skyphos of Protocorinthian shape, and with conventional Protocorinthian decoration. The body of the skyphos is not preserved below the banded zone, so that it is not apparent whether the lower part was glazed, or decorated with rays. Attic clay with dull black glaze; glazed inside.

On Corinthianizing Attic skyphoi, see below, p. 146 and **C 19-34**.

**B 10.** Geometric Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 80

P 6476. H., 0.105 m.

No trace of a handle is preserved; the fragment may be from a skyphos, or a one-handed cup; probably from the former, since it has a low base. Rounded shoulder, and short, slightly flaring rim. Covered inside and out with firm black glaze except for the rim, which is banded outside, and filled by series of short vertical glaze strokes in a reserved band inside.

**B 11.** Geometric Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 80

P 6479. P.H., 0.132 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.19 m.

The bottom is not preserved. Rounded shoulder and a short vertical rim decorated with bands. In the handle-zone, series of fine vertical lines, interrupted at intervals by heavier vertical glaze bands. Glazed inside, with a reserved band filled by series of short vertical glaze-strokes at the rim. Attic clay with thick black glaze.

For the decoration of the handle zone, compare the kantharos **XI 5**, and the krater fragment **C 103** (figs. 32 and 119).

**B 12.** Geometric Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 80

P 5081. P.H., 0.083 m.

The bottom is missing. Part of a deep convex skyphos with shallow rounded shoulder and high vertical rim. The lower body glazed, and the rim decorated with bands and a row of dots; in the handle-zone, a procession of birds. Attic clay with black glaze; a reserved band around the lip inside.

The birds are like those on the lid of the big pitcher from Grave XIII in the Dipylon (Hampe, pl. 32, N.M. 771). On the shape, see below **B 52**.

**B 13.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 80

P 6477. H., 0.045 m. Diam. at rim (rest.), 0.07 m.

Restored; the profile is complete. A low flat base and short, slightly flaring rim. Glazed on the lower body and inside; a reserved band inside the rim, and glaze bands outside it. In the handle-zone, two horses to the right. Attic clay with much-peeled black glaze, slightly metallic in places.

The shallow shape, wide at the bottom, suggests that the skyphos belongs after the middle of the seventh century. The hastily drawn animals, however, are comparable to those of the middle Protocorinthian oinochoe: Johansen, pl. XVII, 5.

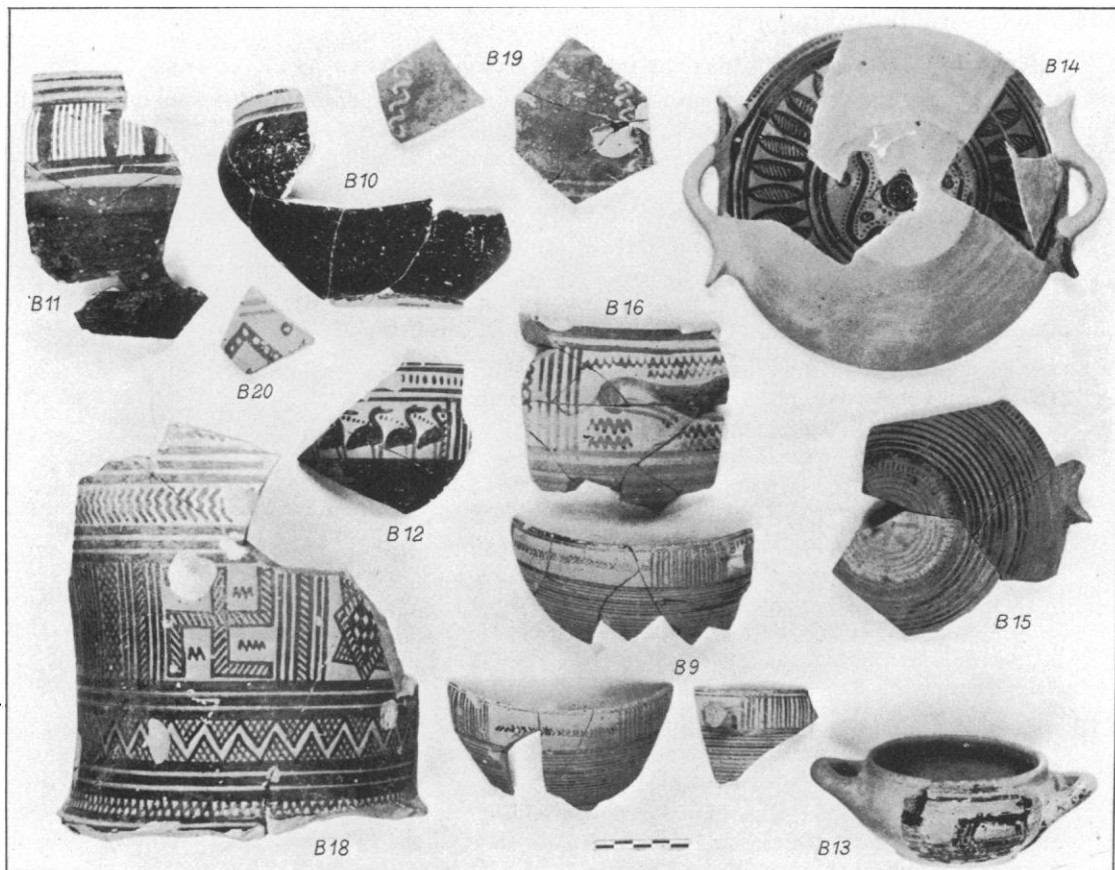


Fig. 80. Geometric and Protoattic Fragments from the Grave Precinct (B 9–16, 18–20)

**B 14.** Geometric Plate. Fig. 80

P 6474. H., 0.039 m. Diam. at rim (rest.), 0.18 m.

Restored. Low base and slightly convex side wall; rolled horizontal handles turned out at the ends. Glazed inside, with a reserved band halfway down the side, and a dot at the centre of the floor. On the upper face of the rim, series of short glaze-strokes. A band filled with a row of dots below the rim outside, and a zone of diagonally hatched leaves around the body below. On the bottom, a wheel surrounded by a dot ring, and a wavy snake-ring outlined on both sides with dots; a dotted ring in each loop of the snake. Attic clay with black glaze shading to red.

The decoration of the bottom is much like that of the bottom of the pyxis **XVIII 6**.

**B 15.** Geometric Plate Fragment. Fig. 80

P 6473. H., 0.041 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.18 m.

The profile complete, with flat bottom, straight side wall, and thickened rim, slightly projecting outside. The body banded, with a row of short verticals in the handle-zone; a four-spoked wheel on the bottom. Attic clay with badly peeled black glaze.

Later than **B 14**; see below, p. 205 and **C 79–82**.

**B 16.** Geometric Bowl Fragment. Fig. 80

P 6579. P.H., 0.099 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.25 m.

From a large two-handled bowl with short vertical rim. The body banded; in the handle-zone, a coursing hound to the right, with zigzag filling ornament in the field. The handle panel set off by multiple vertical lines and a zigzag; the rim banded. Glazed inside; the glaze dull black to thin brown.

On the shape, see below, p. 206 and **C 97-99**; on the coursing hound decoration, **C 99**.

**B 17.** Spouted Basin Fragment. Fig. 81

P 6547. P.H., 0.157 m. Diam. at rim, 0.339 m.

The bottom is missing, and the body in part restored. Deep convex body with a sharply flaring rim and a spout bridged by the rim; horizontal rolled handles set at the shoulder. Two glaze bands around the body below the handles; glaze on the handles, the spout, and the rim. The inside glazed. Attic clay with thick black glaze for the bands outside, and thin streaky black glaze inside.

Shape and fabric suggest that the basin was made after the middle of the seventh century; the glaze begins to approach in quality the black glaze of the classical period.

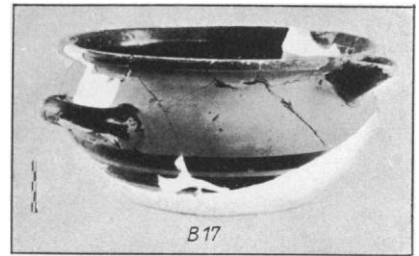


Fig. 81. Spouted Basin (B 17)

**B 18.** Geometric Amphora Fragment. Fig. 80

P 6546. P.H., 0.199 m. Diam., 0.178 m.

A fragment of the neck of a large amphora, preserving an edge of the banded shoulder; the rim is missing. Decorated in zones separated by triple horizontal bands: upward from the shoulder, a zigzag, a zone of interlocking hatched triangles, a wider zone divided into panels filled with a swastika and a lozenge-star, a zone of sigmas, and a lozenge chain. Attic clay with red glaze.

Probably from a late Geometric amphora with nearly straight neck and heavily rounded rim, like **XV 1** and **C 136** (figs. 48 and 131).

**B 19.** Protoattic Sherds: Light-on-Dark. Fig. 80

P 6580.

Two fragments from the wall of a closed pot, probably an oinochoe. Red glaze outside, and decoration in added white; horizontal lines, with vertical bands of running dog between them. Compare the decoration of the Protoattic oinochoe **C 125** (fig. 127).

**B 20.** Geometric Sherd. Fig. 80

P 5298.

A small fragment of the wall of a large closed pot. A wide zigzag glaze band, dotted with spots of added white; rings and lozenges in the field. Attic clay with dull brownish glaze. Dotting with added white appears at the end of the Geometric style, often on plastic snakes. Compare the very late Geometric sherd from the Acropolis, Graef-Langlotz, pl. XI, 303.

**B 21.** Geometric Amphora Fragment.

Fig. 82

P 5025. H. (as restored), 0.168 m.

Found in Late Roman fill just to the south of the grave precinct. A number of non-joining fragments, restored to make one. From a large closed pot, presumably an amphora. A broad zone filled by a procession of mourners with their arms raised to their heads; a many-pointed star and a vertical blob surrounded by dots between each pair. The nude figures are presumably those of men. Above, a zone of latticed triangles, and farther up, part of a zone filled by an intricate meander. Below, a dotted lozenge chain, with verticals extending upward and downward from the apices of the lozenges. Farther down, part of another zone filled by a meander. Pink to greyish clay, with a fine smooth grey-buff surface, and dull black glaze, badly peeled.

The amphora, with its band of mourners, must have been a funerary vase like the amphora **XII 1** and the hydria **XI 7**. A fragment in the Louvre has very similar decoration: the same nude mourners, pinheaded like those of our fragment (Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, pl. 20, A 541). The decoration of our fragment includes most of the motives that have been pointed out as late, and serves in a way to summarize late ornament: vertical blobs surrounded by dots, many-pointed blob stars, intricate meander, latticed triangles, and dotted lozenge chain. End of the eighth century.

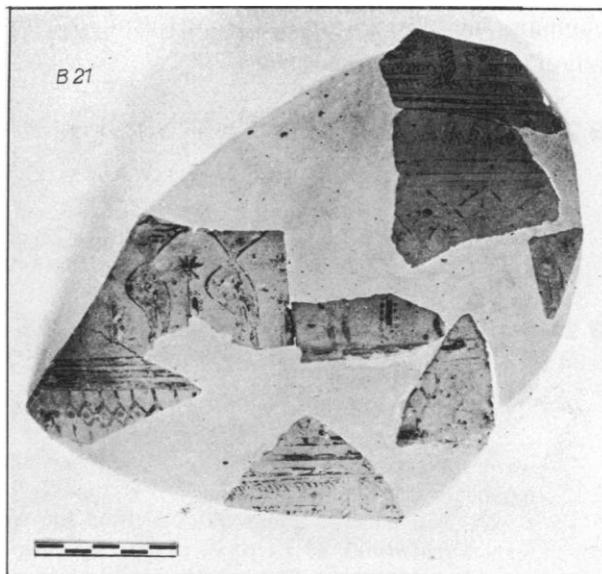


Fig. 82. Geometric Amphora Fragment (B 21)

PREHISTORIC: **B 22-25**

Human bones and a large fragment of a Grey Minyan goblet were found in Grave XVII, suggesting that a Middle Helladic burial had been disturbed. Scattered through the early fill in the northern part of the grave precinct were found a number of fragments of Grey and Yellow Minyan ware, and a few small bits of obsidian. Three fragments preserve recognizable profiles; the rest were either of the same shape, or simply wall fragments. The large fragment **B 22** was found in Grave XVII. If these sherds come from a disturbed Middle Helladic burial, then the burial must have been disturbed in late Geometric times, as no traces were found in the vicinity of the grave area of Late Helladic or Proto-geometric occupation. A number of Minyan sherds were found, moreover, in a shaft burial farther to the north.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to find here evidence for the fortuitous bringing to light of antiquities in Geometric times, an occurrence probably by no means rare. Chance finds of Grey Minyan goblets may well have given rise to the Boeotian kantharos shape;

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 20-21.

compare the Minyan goblets from Korakou with Boeotian bird kantharoi, possibly modified adaptations of the same shape.<sup>1</sup>

**B 22.** Grey Minyan Goblet Fragment. Fig. 83

P 5075. P.H., 0.06 m. Diam. of foot (est.), 0.115 m.

Found in Grave XVII.

Flaring foot, and stem with a raised ring around it; the body of the goblet broken away. From a goblet similar to one from Korakou: Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 16, fig. 20.

**B 23.** Grey Minyan Goblet Fragment. Fig. 83

P 5082. P.L., 0.074 m.

Found in the fill over bedrock near Grave I.

Rim fragment, with one end, and the edge of the other end, of the arched handle. The outward splayed rim and the inward slanting shoulder meet at a sharp angle; the vertical arched handle is set outside the rim.

A fragment of a goblet like one from Eutresis: Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis*, p. 136, fig. 184, 3-4; the profile, p. 137, fig. 185, 6. Similar goblets from Eleusis: Mylonas, *Προϊστορική Ἐλευσίς*, pp. 67-68, figs. 41-42.

**B 24.** Yellow Minyan Goblet Fragment. Fig. 83

P 5083. P.L., 0.057 m.

Found in the fill above bedrock near Grave I.

From a goblet of the same shape as **B 23**.

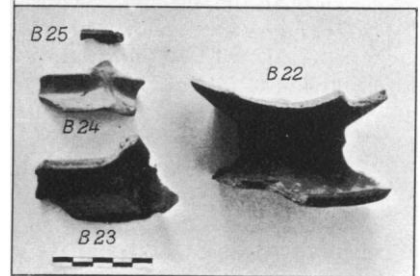


Fig. 83. Grey and Yellow Minyan Fragments; Obsidian Blade (B 22-25)

**B 25.** Obsidian Blade Fragment. Fig. 83

ST 94. P.L., 0.023 m. W., 0.009 m.

Found in disturbed Geometric fill just to the south of the heap of covering slabs from Grave XIII, in Pit A.

Both ends broken off, and the edges chipped; one side flat, a ridge down the centre of the other.

A few fragments of Geometric and Protoattic were found in the Turkish fill of Well B. They undoubtedly came originally from the grave precinct; fragments from the body of a banded amphora may be from the body of the amphora from Grave VIII. The pyxis and pyxis lids **B 26-28** are probably from a grave, perhaps Grave XVI or XXI. From the well **B 26-29**.

**B 26.** Pyxis Fragment. Fig. 84

P 3847. H. (rest.), 0.11 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.235 m.

Nine fragments, restored with plaster to make about half the circumference of the body; the bottom is missing, and almost all the rim. Convex side wall. Around the bottom a band of

<sup>1</sup> From Korakou, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 15, figs. 18-19. Examples of bird kantharoi, Sieveking and Hackl, *Vasensammlung zu München*, pl. 15, 414-415.

tooth pattern; above, a zone filled with wavy diagonals. Below the rim, a zigzag with bands above and below. In the wide zone around the body, a meander. The glaze black to light brown.

In shape, glaze, and decoration very much like **XVI 2**.

**B 27.** Pyxis Lid. Fig. 84

P 3848. H. (rest.), 0.035 m. Diam. (rest.), 0.234 m.

Probably the lid of **B 26**. A number of fragments, restored with plaster to make a shallow convex lid. Pairs of tieholes pierced near the edge. Solid glaze around the middle; zones filled with tooth pattern, dots, and near the edge, short diagonals. Clay and glaze as on **B 26**.

**B 28.** Pyxis Lid Fragment. Fig. 84

P 3849. P.H., 0.02 m. Diam. (est.), 0.17 m.

Somewhat less than a quarter of the lid preserved, with the stump of the handle. Flat; rim decorated with wavy diagonals at the edge, and a zone filled by a triple zigzag farther in. Three reserved rings half-way to the handle. Black to brown glaze.

**B 29.** Protoattic Sherd. Fig. 84

P 3850. P.H., 0.061 m. P.W., 0.05 m.

From the wall of a large open pot glazed inside. Around the lower body outside, bands; above, the hoof and lower leg of an animal to the right, with lozenge and chevron column as filling ornament. Buff clay with dull black glaze.

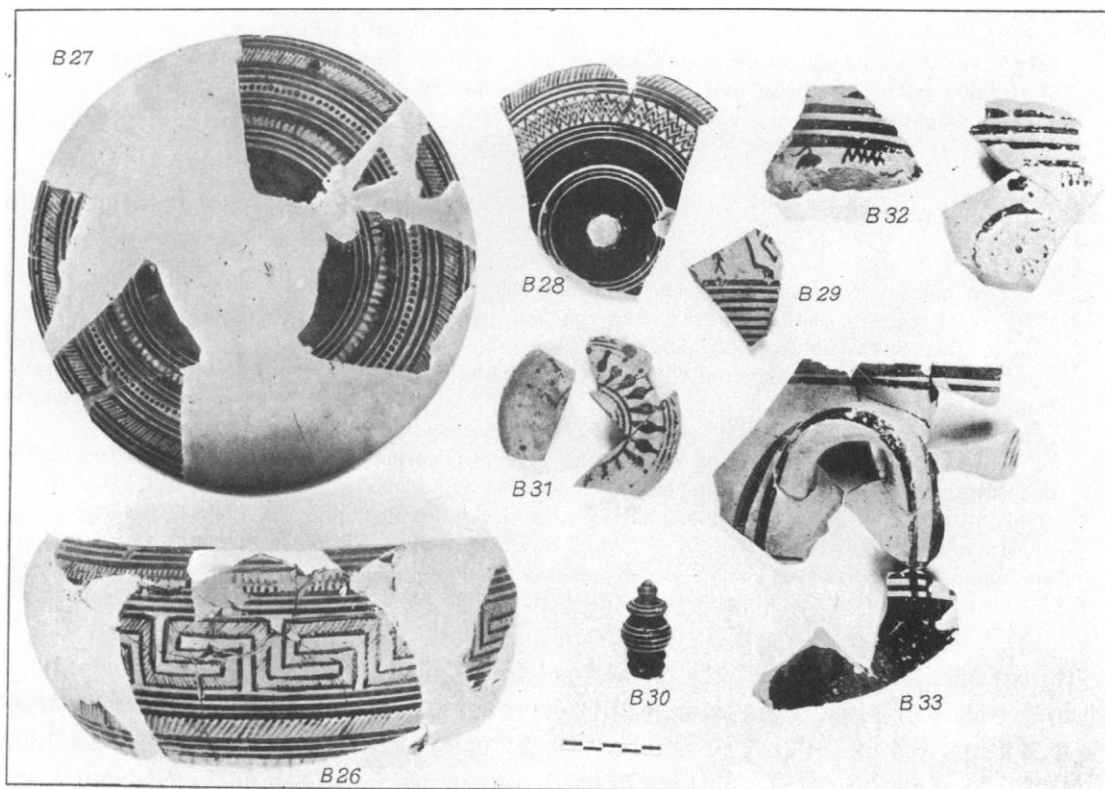


Fig. 84. Geometric and Protoattic Fragments from Wells B and C (B 26-33)



Well C, which had disturbed Graves XXI and XXII, was dug in the sixth century; fairly late black-figured sherds were found in its filling. As might be expected, a number of Geometric and Protoattic sherds, undoubtedly from the grave area, were found among the sixth century pottery of the well. From Well C, **B 30-33**.

**B 30.** Pyxis Lid Handle. Fig. 84

P 4796. H., 0.053 m. Max. Diam., 0.026 m.

Broken off at the base. A ribbed stem and rounded knob surmounted by a flat knob; a blunt spike at the top. The stem glazed, and the upper parts banded.

**B 31.** Protoattic Lid. Fig. 84

P 6585. P. H., 0.023 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.095 m.

Convex lid with down-turned edge; the handle missing. Bands around the rim and the base of the handle; a zone of leaves around the middle. Attic clay with dull black glaze, much peeled.

**B 32.** Geometric Fragments. Fig. 84

P 9838. Max. P. H., 0.096 m.

Three fragments of heavy fabric from the side of a narrow closed pot with straight wall flaring slightly toward the top; probably the base of a krater, or a stand. Glaze bands around the top; below, part of a procession of warriors wearing plumed helmets and carrying each two spears and a round shield decorated with a many-spoked wheel at the centre; filling ornament of zigzags. Attic clay with dull black glaze, badly peeled.

An amphora with very similarly drawn warriors was found at Eretria: *Eph. Arch.*, 1903, p. 14, fig. 7; latest Geometric of the end of the eighth or early seventh century.

**B 33.** Goblet Fragments. Fig. 84

P 6581.

Two non-joining fragments from a large goblet of Protogeometric shape (like *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 24, fig. 22), with slightly flaring rim and rolled handle. Glazed inside, on the rim and handle, glaze-bands, and in the handle-zone the edge of a set of concentric circles. The body below the handle-zone is covered with glaze; but under the glaze appears a set of at least seven compass-drawn concentric circles, showing now as raised rings in the glaze, with the compass point at the centre. Attic clay, with thick black glaze.

Shape, fabric and decoration seem to be perfectly normal Protogeometric. The purpose of decorating the lower body with concentric circles, and then covering them with glaze, is not clear, although it often occurs that fully drawn circles are partially glazed over (examples from Sparta and Thessaly are cited by Skeat, *The Dorians in Archaeology*, p. 33). Our fragments are among the very few Protogeometric sherds found in the neighborhood of the grave area. A goblet of this shape is illustrated in *Thera*, II, p. 186, fig. 379 b.

The trench along the north side of the road from which the blocks of the reconstructed precinct wall had been taken contained, from somewhat east of Well D to its corner, a rather mixed red fill. Partly of sand and partly of red earth and small stones, the filling seemed to be a mixture of the packing of earth and stones thrown onto the Geometric wall as a bedding for the sixth century reconstruction, and of sand and gravel from Layer I of

the road fill (section, fig. 2). The sherds were very mixed, seventh and sixth century together, and running to nearly the end of the sixth century (**B 39**). There was nothing later in the fill than **B 39**; the sherds from the undisturbed bedding below, where it was preserved, were earlier. The filling in the trench above the Geometric wall, where undisturbed, proves that the precinct wall, and probably the precinct, were in a state of dilapidation by the mid-sixth century. From the fill in the wall trench, **B 34-51**.

**B 34.** Black-Figured Amphora Fragment. Fig. 85

P 4626. P.H., 0.13 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.27 m.

Neck fragment, with projecting rim, slightly overhanging. Between the pairs of bands which border the rim, wavy verticals. In the preserved upper part of the neck panel, the head and neck of a cock to the right. The details of the head and the comb are rendered by careful incision; the feathers of the neck by rather careless latticing incisions. Purple red added on the comb, the wattles, and the beak, and in streaks on the feathers of the neck. In the field, pendant hooks, dot and blob rosettes, zigzags, and a squared reverse spiral. Attic clay with buff slip; the glaze dull brown to red.

A second fragment preserves the rounded end of the wing, bordered with a band of purple red, and with incisions to indicate the feathers. A third fragment preserves the upper corner of the panel on the other side of the neck.

Our fragments are from an amphora of the same shape, and with the same decoration, as that of the Peiraeus amphora (*Eph. Arch.*, 1897, pls. 5-6 and pp. 67 ff.). The shape of the rim and the decoration of the neck panels with cocks are the same, and the filling ornament is very similar. Payne (*NC*, pp. 344 and 374) has dated the Peiraeus amphora about 620; our fragments must belong at about the same time, or perhaps a very little earlier.



Fig. 85. Black-Figured Amphora Fragment (B 34)

**B 35-41.** Black-Figured Fragments.

Fig. 86

P 4630, 4629, 4631, 4628, 4638, 6457, 4639.

The sherds from the wall trench extend fairly well throughout the sixth century. **B 35**, a fragment of a Little-Master cup; **B 36-37**, animal frieze style; **B 38**, Polos style; **B 40**, is probably of the end of the seventh century; **B 41**, East Greek, part of a cothon; **B 39** is the most important piece for our purposes, because it is the latest. Late sixth century skyphoi of this type, which probably continued to be made into the early fifth century, were found in great numbers at Rhitsona.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 86. Black-Figured Fragments (B 35-43)

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, pp. 57 ff. and pls. XIX-XX.

**B 42.** Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 86

P 4640. P. H., 0.24 m.

The lower body missing; much of the upper part restored. Deep ovoid body with the pointed end upward; a moulded ring separates the body from the trefoil mouth. Triple rolled rising handle. A zone of long incised tongues below the neck-ring; the tongues were filled alternately with purple and white. Around the body below the handle attachment and at the point of greatest diameter, double bands of purple edged with white. Attic clay with shiny glaze shading from black to red-brown and red.

The shape is Attic; an oinochoe of this type was found in the seventh century well (**C 123**), and three were found in the Agora votive deposit (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 592 ff., nos. 211-214, and figs. 59-61). The influence of late Protocorinthian is strongly shown by the neck-ring and the incised tongue pattern; compare the late Protocorinthian oinochoe, Payne, *NC*, pl. 11, 3. Our Attic oinochoe was probably made in the last quarter of the seventh century.

**B 43.** Basin Fragment. Fig. 86

P 4635. P. H., 0.084 m. Diam. at rim. (est.), 0.28 m.

Part of a large, rather deep basin with flat rim, slightly projecting, and horizontal ribbon handle with out-turned ends. Covered with shiny black glaze, except for the outer faces of the rim and handle. Two purple bands run around the inside and two around the outside at a level just below the handle; two more around the upper face of the rim. The purple bands were bordered with white, which has almost all disappeared; a wavy line on the outer face of the rim was perhaps also painted white or purple. On the handle, opposed bands of tooth pattern.

The shiny glaze and lavish decoration with added purple and white suggest that this bowl should be dated in the last quarter of the seventh century. It may have had a spout opposite the handle, in which case the shape would probably be descended from Protoattic bowls like **C 85-88**.

**B 44.** Protoattic Bowl. Fig. 87

P 6456. H., 0.097 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.026 m.

Fragmentary; the complete profile preserved. Low base and convex body thickened at the rim, which is slightly projecting and flat on top. Rays around the base, bands around the body, and a wavy line below the lip. Glazed inside; series of short glaze strokes on the reserved upper face of the rim. Glaze rings and a dot on the bottom. Attic clay with dull black glaze, much peeled inside.

Part of a bowl similar to **C 85-88**; compare also, from the Agora votive deposit, the fragments published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 586, figs. 47-48.

**B 45.** Protoattic Sherd. Fig. 87

P 4642. P. H., 0.074 m. P. W., 0.072 m.

From the wall of a large closed pot. Preserved are parts of two figures moving to the right. Of the foremost figure are preserved part of the bodice, decorated with scale pattern, the neck, around which there is a band representing a necklace, the hair falling down behind the neck, and one arm. Of the second figure only part of the body and one arm are preserved; the dress, which is divided diagonally into differently decorated halves, is belted at the waist. The belt is decorated with purple, and half the bodice is ornamented with purple dots; the other half of the bodice, reserved, with glaze crescents. A band of running dog between the upper parts of the

figures. Incision is used for the hand of the leading figure. Attic clay with creamy slip; black to brownish glaze.

The drawing is very crude; the liberal use of added purple, however, suggests that the fragment is not very early. The hair and necklace of the leading lady are reminiscent of those of the sphinxes on the oinochoe **B 1** (figs. 74-75), although very poorly done by comparison. Of greater interest is the dress of the second woman; other examples of dresses with diagonally divided bodice or skirt are not unknown in the mid-seventh century. The divinity represented on the terracotta plaque from the Agora votive deposit (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 604, no. 277 and figs. 72-73) wears a bodice of this sort; a woman on a fragment from the Acropolis is dressed in a similarly divided skirt (Acropolis 411 a: Graef-Langlotz, pl. 13).

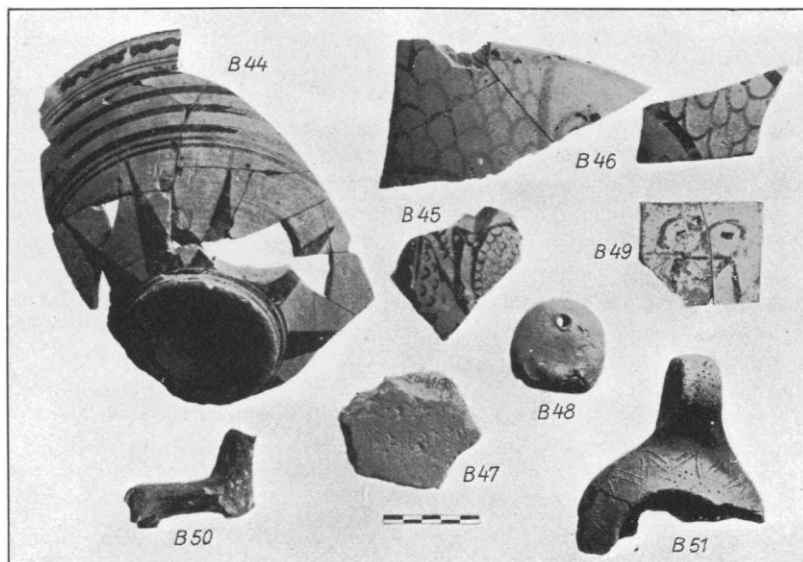


Fig. 87. Protoattic Sherds, Terracotta Lamp, and Loom Weight (B 44-51)

**B 46.** Protoattic Sherds. Fig. 87

P 6458. Max. Dim., 0.147 m.

Two non-joining fragments from the side of a large vase, probably an amphora. Outlined areas filled with scale pattern; what is represented is not clear. Similar scale pattern appears as decoration on the bodice of one of the figures on **B 45**.

**B 47.** Graffito Sherd. Figs. 87 and 144

P 4627. Max. Diam., 0.076 m. Th., 0.0165 m.

The sherd is probably the fragment of a tile; the fabric is thick and very coarse, with many large grits in the light buff clay. A thin wash of brownish glaze covers one side of the sherd; the inscription is incised on the unglazed side. The incisions were made on a sherd and not on a complete tile; the letters are fairly fresh, while the edges of the sherd are much worn. The scratching of the inscription on the unglazed side (inside) of the sherd indicates that it was not done on a complete tile.

The inscription was written boustrophedon (fig. 144). The letters of the upper line do not make sense as they are preserved; they may be part of a proper name. The word in the second line is clearly a feminine name: ΜΕΛΑΝΘΙΣ, Dark-flower. On early inscriptions on pottery, see below, p. 225.

**B 48.** Loom Weight. Fig. 87

MC 133. H., 0.05 m. W., 0.05 m. Th., 0.03 m.

Discoid loom weight, flattened at the bottom and pierced near the top. Attic clay.

**B 49.** Terracotta Plaque Fragment. Fig. 87

T 673. P. H., 0.058 m. W. at top, 0.064 m.

Mended from two pieces. One fragment was found in the wall trench; the other, two months later, in the fifth century dump over the road.

The lower part is broken off. Flat rectangular plaque, pierced by a suspension hole near the upper edge. The front and the edges are covered with thick white paint applied directly on the clay. A tripod is drawn over the white surface; the bowl and legs in red, the big ring handles in orange. Fine pinkish buff clay.

The plaque seems to be the only clearly votive offering found in the grave area; it was probably offered elsewhere, however, and brought in the earth in which it lay after having been discarded, to be used as a filling. It should probably be associated with the votive deposit which lay about a hundred metres to the southeast; fragments of the same vases were found in the votive deposit and in the grave area (**B 58** and **B 71**). Votive plaques of the same type were found in the votive deposit (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 604 ff.), and date from about the middle of the seventh century. The representation of a tripod on a votive plaque is quite appropriate; real tripods were often dedicated by the wealthy, at shrines, while more humble worshippers offered merely pictures of votive tripods.

**B 50.** Terracotta Horse. Fig. 87

T 672. P. H., 0.048 m. L., 0.068 m.

The head, legs and tail are broken off. The mane is pinched to a sharp ridge, slightly wavy at the edge; the legs seem to have been widely spread, and the tail to have been applied against one of the back legs. Attic clay, entirely covered with purplish red paint.

Similar Protoattic horses covered with red paint were found in the Agora votive deposit: *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 617 ff., esp. no. 306, fig. 85.

**B 51.** Lamp Fragment. Fig. 87

L 1635. H. (to rim), 0.039 m. P. W., 0.097 m.

About half of the body is preserved, from the back. Flat bottom and shallow convex body, with wide inward-slanting rim. Large band-handle looped from the base to the lower edge of the rim. A double zigzag line is incised around the rim, with pits made by a sharp point to each side of it; similar pits on the handle. Hand-made of coarse gritty micaceous clay; unglazed.

The lamp had a spout-like unbridged nozzle at the front; fragments from the front of such lamps have been found in seventh century Agora deposits. The fabric and decoration are the same as those of the household ware also found in seventh century deposits (**C 157-165** below).

Under the sixth century fill in the wall trench there was a filling about 30 cm. thick of red earth with many small stones. This earth rested on top of the Geometric precinct wall, and was probably thrown there in the late sixth century as a bedding for the limestone parapet built at that time along the west side of the road. The fill was not distinctly marked off from the road filling of Layer II, which was of red gravel also containing small stones, but fewer and more scattered. The sherds from the bedding over the Geometric wall were subgeometric and seventh century; they may have come originally from the grave area. The completeness of several of the vases suggests that they did. From this filling **B 52-58**.

**B 52.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 88

P 6467. H., 0.063 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.08 m.

Most of the upper body missing; the profile complete. Small flat-bottomed cup with rounded body and high straight rim. Glazed to the handle-zone; in the handle-zone a latticed panel

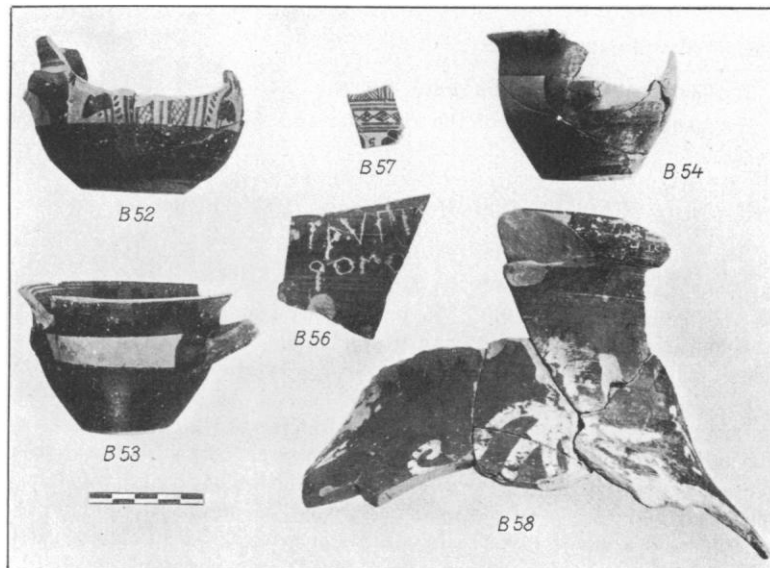


Fig. 88. Protoattic and Subgeometric Sherds (B 52-54, 56-58)

bordered by verticals, and a bird at each side; stars behind the birds, and rows of dots in front. The rim banded. Glazed inside. Attic clay with red glaze.

A number of small late Geometric skyphoi of this shape exist; most of them have subgeometric decoration. They occur in a number of different fabrics and have stereotyped decoration of birds facing across a latticed panel, or a column of diagonals. Our Attic example with its careful decoration and ornament of birds with rows of dots is comparable in style to the lid of the pitcher from Dipylon Grave XIII: Hampe, pl. 32, N.M. 771; late eighth century. Two other Attic examples from the Kerameikos, in Leyden (Brants, *Beschrijving*, pl. VI, 29 and 30) are, like ours, careful in their decoration and dateable in the late eighth century. Examples of the type belonging to other fabrics are covered with more or less careless subgeometric decoration:

Thera, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, Beilage XI, 7; "Ionian Ware," E. Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, II, pl. XV, fourth row from the bottom, fourth and fifth from the left. The skyphoi from Cyprus were found in Tomb 9 at Amathus (P. 55 ff., nos. 76 and 122) together with a number of scarabs of the XXVIth dynasty and Saite period; they can hardly be earlier than the first quarter of the seventh century. That they may be Attic exports is not unlikely; birds like the ones on no. 122 appear also on our krater fragment from the seventh century well, **C 106**; the same type of bird is common on subgeometric Boeotian vases (Hampe, pl. 21, V 30). The finding of such subgeometric cups in a dateable context in Cyprus gives proof of the continuation of Geometric shapes and decoration well into the seventh century.

**B 53.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 88

P 4659. H., 0.059 m. Diam. at rim, 0.089 m.

Deep flat-bottomed body with flaring lip; rolled handles. Entirely covered with reddish-brown glaze, except for a reserved band in the handle-zone and fine reserved lines inside the lip. Attic clay.

Subgeometric skyphoi of this type are common in the first half of the seventh century. A number were found in the seventh century well; **C 45-47**. The type continued to be made after the middle of the seventh century: see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 413 ff. and fig. 1, D 4-5.

**B 54.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 88

P 6466. H., 0.064 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.09 m.

Both of the handles, and most of the rim missing. Similar in shape, fabric, and decoration to **B 55**.

**B 55.** Skyphos: Graffito. Figs. 89-90. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 34, fig. 34

P 4663. H., 0.10 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.185 m.

Low ring foot and wide shallow body; high straight rim, tilted outward. About half the body is preserved, with the complete profile. The entire body inside and outside was covered with thick black glaze, excepting only a reserved band in the handle-zone; all the glaze has peeled off except for a few small patches inside, on the foot, and above the handle-zone. Attic clay. The inscription ΘΑΡΙΟ ΕΙΜΙ ΠΟΤΕΡΙΟΝ gives the name of the owner of the cup. The letters are well and regularly formed with wide, rather shallow, incisions which do not show the ragged edges usually to be noticed on graffiti scratched through glaze. The instrument used was apparently rather blunt. The straightness of the strokes, the evenness of the curved lines, and the absence of overlapping and of incisions over-running the desired length, all combine to suggest that the inscription was incised before the vase was fired; otherwise a sharp-pointed instrument would have been used, leaving deeper, narrower, scratches, and clearer traces of the greater difficulty of incision. The skyphos may then have been made to order for its owner by the potter, who put in the inscription.

The inscription gives not only the name of the owner, but also a name for the shape. The term poterion is a generic one applied to any vessel used for drinking; it is commonly so used by early Greek authors, and inscriptions similar to ours are found on cups as different from it in shape and date as the Little Master kylikes (cf. Pottier, *Vases antiques*, F 66, pl. 68, and Beazley, *J. H. S.*, LII, 1932, p. 178, note 21; also *Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 34, fig. 18).

Our skyphos should be about a hundred years earlier than the Little Master cups. Large skyphoi of the seventh century are rare; the small subgeometric type, **B 53-54**, **C 45-47**, with its one-handled counterpart, **C 48-50**, seems to have been the favorite Attic form, together with Protocorinthian, and Attic imitations of Protocorinthian, skyphoi. A large vase like ours, with geometric decoration of the end of the eighth century, was found in Eleusis: *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 5, 1. Our (or rather, Tharios') cup is more developed in shape; the rim is higher, and more

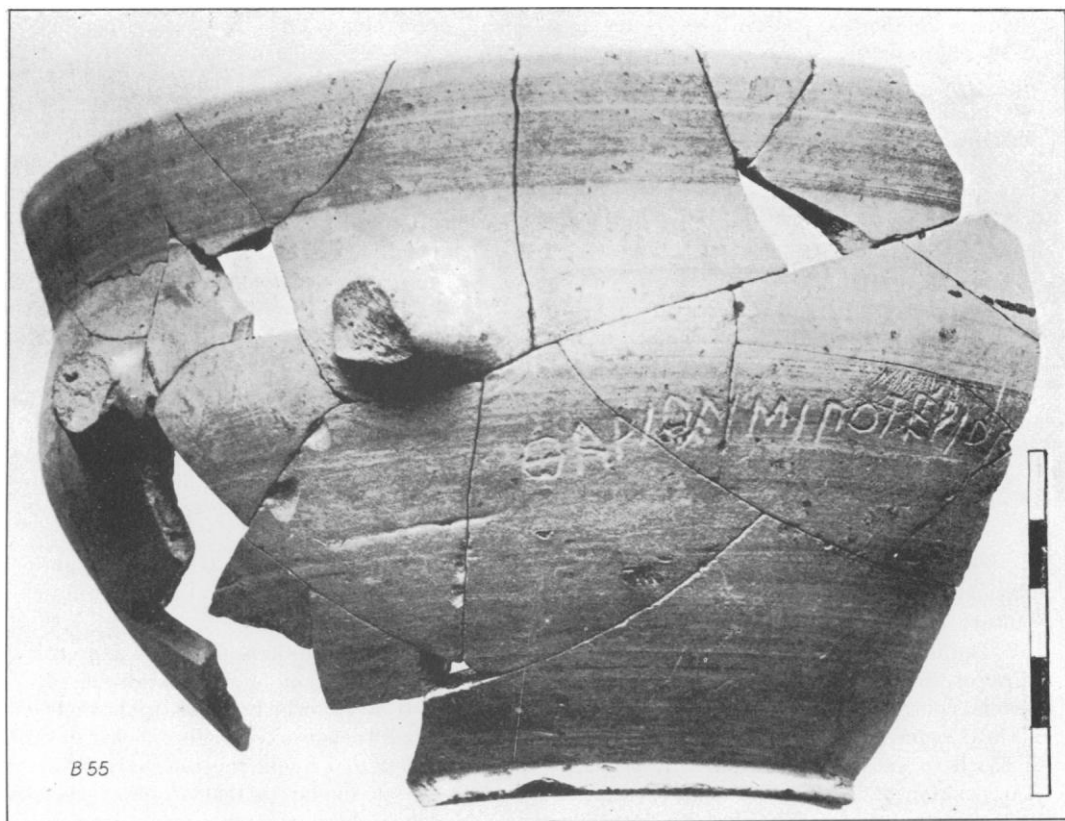


Fig. 89. Skyphos with Graffito (B 55)

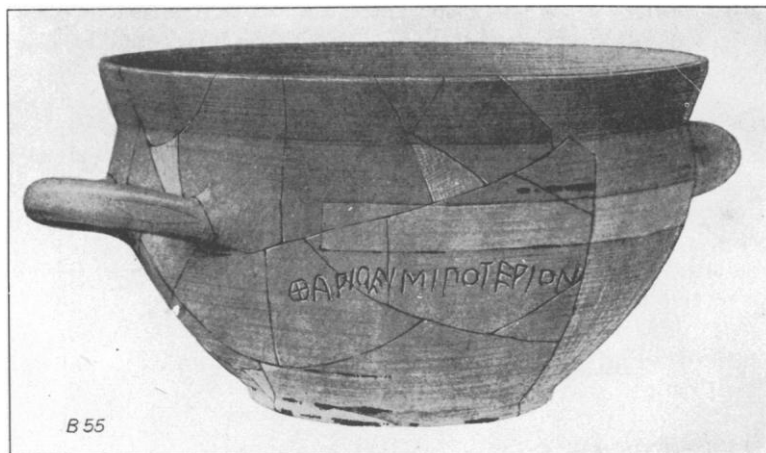


Fig. 90. Skyphos B 55. Restored Drawing by Piet de Jong



sharply offset; it has a ring foot instead of the usual late Geometric low base. Much closer in shape is another skyphos, whose owner must remain anonymous, from the seventh century well: **C 39**. Both of the Agora skyphoi have the same form of body, and both the same straight offset lip. The decoration of the cup from the well is probably to be dated near the middle of the seventh century. Tharios' cup has no decoration beyond a reserved band in the handle-zone; but such bands are characteristic of Attic subgeometric skyphoi of the first half of the seventh century and later. The simple narrow reserved handle-zone, characteristic of subgeometric vases, is not used on Geometric; the only example of which I know is our **XVII 4**, where the reserved band is very much wider than that of the seventh century skyphoi. Tharios' cup should probably be dated with the skyphos from the well, **C 39**, at about the middle of the seventh century, or perhaps in the third quarter. The dull quality of the glaze where it is preserved shows that the fine shiny black glaze that makes its appearance in the second half of the century was not yet in use, so our skyphos probably should not be brought down too near the end of the century. All of the fragments found with it in the filling of red earth and small stones are, moreover, dateable in the seventh century rather than in the eighth. For a discussion of early inscriptions on pottery, see p. 225.

**B 56.** Amphora Fragment: Graffito. Figs. 88, 144

P 4664. P. H., 0.065 m. P. W., 0.057 m.

Sherd from the wall of a large amphora covered outside with streaky red glaze. Fabric and glaze are like those of the amphoras **II 1**, and **VI 1**; the sherd is probably then from a seventh century Attic oil-amphora; see below, **C 127** and fig. 128.

The letters show clearly the ragged edges made by incision through hard-fired glaze; several slips of the incising-point demonstrate the difficulty of incision on a pot already fired. The letters contrast very strongly with those of the skyphos **B 55**, which seems to have been inscribed before firing. Our sherd suggests too that it had been broken before being inscribed; it has been subsequently broken at the right, but at the left and along the top margins are left. The position of the inscription in relation to the breaks is so similar to that on many ostraka as to suggest very strongly that the lettering was done on a sherd and not on a complete vase. The inscription itself is difficult of interpretation. The first word may have been some form of the verb *τρυνίω* to pierce or bore, perhaps here to broach. The word in the second line, *κωμο*- suggests that the inscription was an exhortation by a reveller to his companions to broach a new vessel of wine. The use of a koppa instead of a kappa is interesting.

**B 57.** Protoattic Sherd. Fig. 88

P 6464. Max. Diam., 0.031 m.

From the wall of a small open vase glazed inside. Across the top, the ends of verticals and the bottom of a column of chevrons. Below, a zone filled by a chain of latticed lozenges. At the bottom, part of a zone or panel filled with incised rosettes and wavy verticals. Attic clay with bright red glaze.

Incised rosettes probably do not begin to appear in Attica, or at Corinth, until after the middle of the seventh century.

**B 58.** Protoattic Sherd. Fig. 88. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 576, no. 137, and fig. 34, and p. 575, fig. 33

P 641

A new fragment joining one already published gives most of the other half of the octopus. The publisher remarks of her fragment "light on dark style, probably to be dated in the last half of the seventh century."

Layer II of the road produced plentiful late geometric and Protoattic sherds, mixed with some black glaze and early black figure. A few sherds are published because they are of intrinsic interest. The bulk of the pottery was late seventh and early sixth century. From Layer II, **B 59–63**.

**B 59.** Geometric Amphora Fragment. Fig. 91

P 6472. P. H., 0.236 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.32 m.

Part of the neck and rim of a large amphora, mended from several fragments. Straight wide neck and heavy round rim. The rim and shoulder glazed; bands around the top and bottom of the neck. The handle panel set off by verticals: a zone filled by a lozenge chain, and four glaze bands, below the neck panel, which is filled by sets of concentric rings, with latticed triangles below. Attic clay, with black to brownish glaze, somewhat peeled.

Part of a late Geometric amphora like **C 134** (fig. 130) and *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 3, 1.

**B 60.** Geometric Kantharos Fragment. Fig. 91

P 6491. P. H., 0.037 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.13 m.

Part of the upper body and plain rim, glazed inside. On the outside, part of an exaggerated hour-glass shield, and of a column filled with diagonals. The column may be either down the middle of the front, or beside the handle panel; in either case there were probably two shields. Attic clay with black glaze.

Probably from a kantharos like **C 63**. Similar shields are carried by the warriors on the late Geometric oinochoe **XIII 1**; they are used by themselves as a decorative motive on subgeometric and Protoattic vases. Compare *Jhb.*, II, 1887, p. 54, fig. 17.

**B 61.** Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 91

P 6490. P. H., 0.028 m.

An Attic imitation of early or middle Protocorinthian. Corinthianizing skyphoi similarly decorated with white were found at Anavysos: *Praktika*, 1911, p. 120, 15 and 16.

**B 62.** Bowl Fragment. Fig. 91

P 6471. P. H., 0.028 m. Diam. of foot (est.), 0.125 m.

The lower part of a shallow bowl with flaring ring foot. Short rays above the foot, and a glaze ring on its under side. The inside is banded, with purple added over alternate bands. Attic clay, covered with a fine light cream slip; reddish brown glaze, black under the foot outside.

The fabric seems to be Attic, slipped in imitation of Corinthian. The fragment may be from the bottom of a late seventh century lekane or bowl, of the sort found at Vourva, and more recently at Vari.

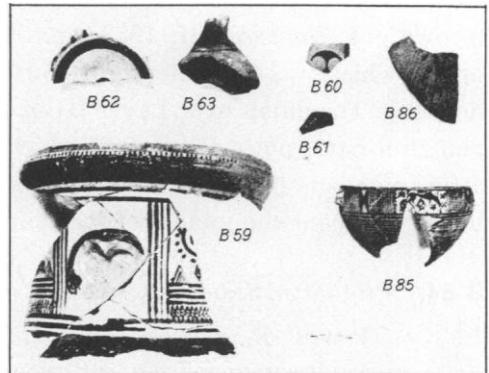


Fig. 91. Geometric and Protoattic Sherds from Layers II and III of the Road (B 59–63, 85–86)

**B 63.** Lamp Fragment. Fig. 91

L 1942. P. H., 0.071 m. P. W., 0.099 m.

Part of the body at the back, and the beginning of the vertical band-handle. Flat bottom, shallow convex side wall, and short inward-slanting rim. The handle pierced by a row of holes. Coarse micaceous red clay with grits; unglazed.

Part of a lamp similar to **B 51**. The fabric is the same as that of the seventh century incised household ware, **C 156-165**. Probably late seventh century.

Important as giving a *terminus ante quem* for the accumulation of Layer III of the road filling beside the grave precinct was a fill of brown earth dumped on the surface of the road between Layer II and Layer III (section, fig. 2). This earth filling was perhaps brought from elsewhere, possibly from near the shrine from which the Agora votive deposit was thrown out (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.). A number of fragments from the grave area, one of which was from the brown earth layer (**B 71**), joined with fragments from the votive deposit. The dump over Layer III of the road contained many fragments of late Geometric and Protoattic pottery, some of which mended up into nearly complete vases. The Protoattic fragments belong in the first half of the seventh century; a few (**B 64, 68-69, 71**) must belong at about the middle of the century. From this fill **B 64-84**.

**B 64.** Protoattic Stamnos. Figs. 92-93. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 35, fig. 35

P 4948. H. as restored, 0.375 m. Max. Diam., 0.31 m.

Fragmentary and restored; many pieces from the body, and all of the lower part of the foot are missing. Plump ovoid body on a slightly flaring foot or base; double rolled handles, one inside the other, on the shoulder. The shallow inward-turned rim is slightly concave on its upper face. Above the glazed foot, rays, with a dotted ring between each pair; above, a zone filled by a row of sigmas. The handle panels are set off by triple verticals and filled, under the handles, with floral ornament; on the handles themselves, glaze stripes. The rim glazed, with a double band below it. On each side of the body, two ducks facing; they are drawn in silhouette with reserved rings for eyes. Their legs are formed by downward converging lines meeting well above the feet, and enclosing reserved triangles. A large dot rosette with spokes linking the dots to the centre, and with a flat stemmed knob at the outer edge of each dot, fills the space between the ducks on one side; on the other, although the central part and most of one of the birds is missing, the decoration was presumably the same. In the field, beaked reverse spirals, hanging hooked triangles, zigzags, swastikas, and crosses with triangles between their arms. Floral ornament grows from the ground behind each duck. Attic clay with dull glaze, shading from black to red, and somewhat peeled.

Stamnoi of this shape, usually on a high perforated base, were popular in the seventh century; a number of Protoattic examples exist and are listed by Greifenhagen in *A. A.*, 1935, pp. 408 ff., no. 1. Greifenhagen illustrates (pp. 411-414, figs. 1-4) a stamnos in Bonn and a subgeometric stamnos in Athens from which the shape may be derived. Attention is drawn to the similarity of the decoration of the Athens stamnos to that of the Berlin amphora F 3901 (Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 3; from Thera) which we have already noticed in connection with our fragment **IV 2**, remarking that it is Attic (not island) ware and dates from the very end of the eighth century or early seventh. The Athens stamnos is then relatively late; another Attic example of the shape, in the Louvre, dates from about the same time or slightly later (Louvre 514 in Pottier's catalogue; illustrated in Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. IX, 1). The Louvre stamnos has retouching with accessory white on its meander, and, under one handle, a sow with

her piglets—a species of animal used on only one other early vase in Attica, the amphora from Pikrodaphne (*B.C.H.*, XVII, 1893, pls. II-III). The two earliest Attic stamnoi of this shape, then, hardly go back into the eighth century; the shape must have been imported from outside at a relatively late date. The form of the body of such stamnoi is like that of deep Geometric



Fig. 92. Protoattic Stamnos (B 64). Restored Drawing by Piet de Jong

pyxides such as *A.A.*, 1914, p. 467, no. 1; but Attic pyxides of this sort did not have handles. A Corinthian late Geometric pyxis with the body of the same shape but with handles on the shoulder is illustrated by Johansen, pl. III 1; it was found at Thebes, and is shown to be late by the running spiral in the zone below the rim and by the interlocking meander-hooks in the handle-zone. That this Corinthian form was adopted in Boeotia is shown by the Boeotian stamnos in Copenhagen, *C.V.A.*, II, pl. 67, 5. The more common early Protocorinthian pyxis type (Johansen, pl. XI, 1-4) was also adopted by Boeotia, which seems to have invented the multiple

rolled handle and applied it especially to this shape; two Boeotian stamnoi of the type are illustrated, pl. 21, by Hampe, who lists a number of vases of this shape, calling them, apparently indiscriminately, pyxis, stamnos, or situla. Attica probably got the shape from Boeotia in the early seventh century; the Bonn stamnos published by Greifenhagen, with its misshapen bird and latticed triangle decoration, is probably Boeotian and not Protoattic (compare the Boeotian oinochoe decoration, Hampe, pl. 21, V 37), and should date from the second quarter of the seventh century. Our Attic stamnos should date at about the middle of the century; the shape was especially popular in the second half of the seventh, and lasted into the early sixth century (compare the Attic "stamniskos" *Délos*, XVII, pl. LIII, 39, with bird decoration like that of the little vases from our Grave I). Dr. Kurt Gebauer has kindly shown me pictures of magnificently decorated Protoattic stamnoi of this shape, from Aegina, and dating after the middle of the seventh century. A fragment of a stamnos of this shape, with sub-geometric decoration, was found in our deposit in our seventh century well: **C 112** below.

Closest of the Protoattic group in shape and decoration to our vase is the stamnos in Cambridge, *C.V.A.*, I, III H, pl. II, 7. Our example probably had a high ring foot like that of the Boeotian vase in Copenhagen (*C.V.A., Denmark*, II, pl. 67, 5) instead of a high perforated base. The Cambridge stamnos is more elaborate in its decoration than ours, and perhaps a little earlier; both have as filling ornament the same beaked reverse spirals. The vase in Cambridge is very close in its drawing and ornament to the Nessos amphora in New York (*J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. X-XII). Even closer to our stamnos in its decoration than the Cambridge vase is a high footed bowl from the Kerameikos: *A.A.*, 1934,

p. 219, fig. 14; the cup beside it, fig. 15, was found with it in the same grave, dated by Kübler at about the middle, or the beginning of the third quarter, of the seventh century. On our stamnos and on the stand of the Kerameikos bowl appear similar ducks, and, as filling ornament, the same spoked dot rosettes and swastikas. In one of the panels of the upper series of the stand a cascading ornament is used which appears on the neck of an oinochoe from a Phaleron grave of the second quarter of the century (Phaleron Grave 32; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 39, fig. 38, 2). The cup, fig. 15, is decorated with floral ornament very much like that of the kantharos from our seventh century well, **C 65** (fig. 113). Some of the floral ornament of the stamnos itself is also like that of the kantharos and the Kerameikos cup. A number of lines of evidence thus suggest a dating for our stamnos at about the middle of the seventh century. That the Attic potters had by this time developed great skill in drawing we have seen on our oinochoe **B 1**; that they

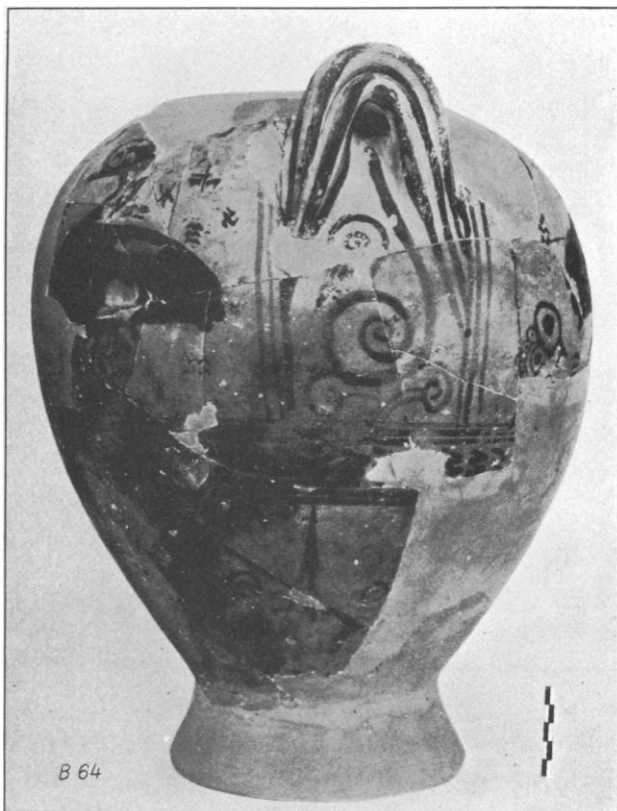


Fig. 93. Protoattic Stamnos (B 64), Side View

also had a sense of humor is shown on the stamnos by the entertaining caricaturing of the ducks in the filling ornament and in the floral decoration under the handles.

**B 65.** Protoattic Sherd. Fig. 94

P 4949. P. H., 0.067 m. P. W., 0.088 m.

Fragment from the wall of a large open bowl, glazed black inside. Along the top of the sherd, part of a guilloche band; below, a zone filled by a procession of wild goats to the right. The goats are drawn in silhouette, with outlined faces and ears, and long curving horns. Pendant hooks, dots, and zigzags in the field. Attic clay with badly peeled black glaze.

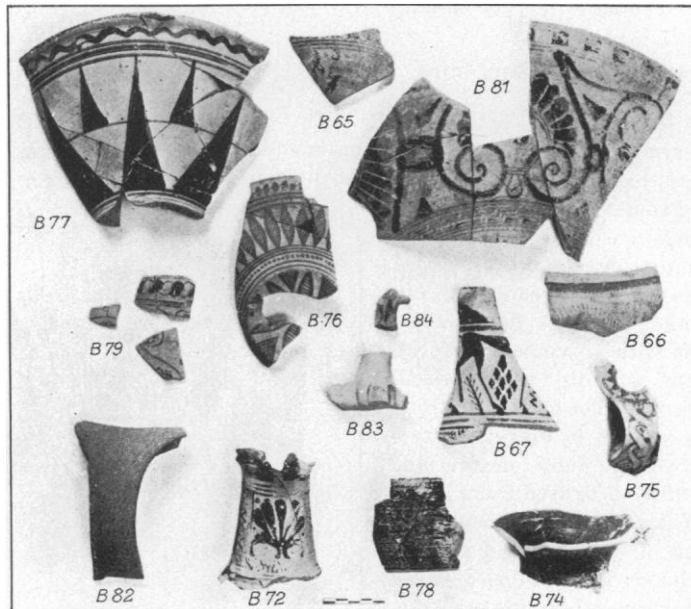


Fig. 94. Geometric and Protoattic Fragments (B 65-67, 72, 74-79, 81-84)

The wild goats with their outlined faces and long horns seem clearly to be influenced by the goats of Camiran ware (Rumpf, *Jhb.*, XLVIII, 1933, pp. 69 ff.), which was especially fond of decoration with guilloche and zones of goats. Our fragment is decorated on a small scale which does not allow of elaborate detail in the drawing; the filling ornament seems to be normal Protoattic.

**B 66.** Subgeometric Krater Fragment. Fig. 94

P 4957. P. H., 0.054 in. P. W., 0.098 m.

From the upper wall, with part of the low rim. Series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim, and zigzag sections on its outer face; glazed inside. On the body, part of the shoulder and neck of a grazing horse, right, and, in front of him, the head of another horse left. Zigzags in the field. Attic clay, with very badly peeled black glaze.

From a krater like **C 102-104**. The subgeometric decoration of spiky-maned horses we have seen before, **IV 2**; also on the Berlin amphora F 3901 (Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 3), and on our fragment **B 67**, which may be from the same amphora as **IV 2**. The fragments with horses are

very close in fabric and decoration to those with hounds, **B 16** and **C 99**; all may come from the same workshop, and all date at the very end of the eighth century and beginning of the seventh.

**B 67.** Subgeometric Amphora Fragment. Fig. 94

P 4612 b. P. H., 0.128 m.

Part of an amphora neck, slightly concave and with slightly flaring rounded lip. On the preserved edge of the shoulder, pendant triangles, and zigzags. On the neck, part of a grazing horse or deer right. Between the hind legs, a plant; under the body, a lozenge formed of smaller lozenges, and between the forelegs a zigzag. Attic clay with dull black glaze.

The fragment may be from the same amphora as **IV 2** (fig. 13); it is of the same size and fabric, and the decoration is very similar.

**B 68.** Fragmentary Protoattic Amphora. Fig. 95

P 6481. P. H. (of neck), 0.235 m.

Preserved are part of the neck, with one handle, and four fragments from the body. The high neck flares sharply at the rim, which is divided into two planes on its outer edge. The double rolled handle is decorated with wide spiral bands; a similar ornament is used on the outer edge of the lip. The back of the neck was decorated with "tied loops" and elaborate floral ornament; the front with a winged beast of which only the wing-tip with incised feathers is preserved. The fragments from the body suggest that it was decorated behind with twining floral decoration, and on the front by a figured scene, probably with a chariot; one fragment preserves the front of the neck and part of the head of a horse, and another a number of lines which may be reins over the horses' backs. Attic clay; elaborate incision on the figured scenes, outline drawing in the floral ornament.

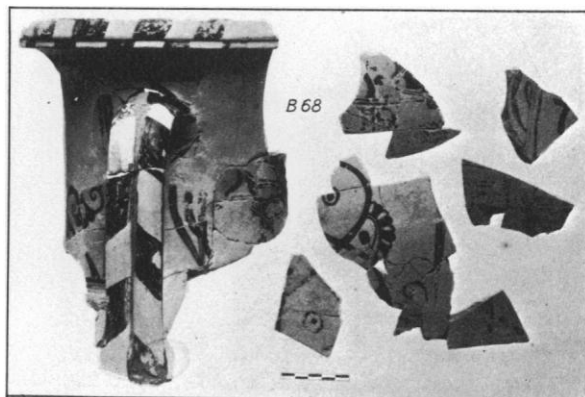


Fig. 95. Fragments of Protoattic Amphora (B 68)

The floral ornament, especially the "tied loops," is like that on the Nessos amphora in New York (*J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. X-XII; the "tied loops" on the front below the figure scene). The elaborate incision of the figures (especially the wing) recalls a fragment from the Acropolis (387; Graef-Langlotz, pl. 15). Our amphora when it was complete must have been one of the handsomest and most elaborate vases of the mid-seventh century.

**B 69.** Protoattic Amphora Fragment. Fig. 96

P 4950. P. H., 0.13 m. P. W., 0.115 m.

Most of one side of the neck is preserved, with the edge of the shoulder, which was decorated with pendant hooked triangles, alternately glazed and filled with white. In the neck panel, which is bordered by multiple horizontal and vertical glaze bands, a feeding cock to the right. His body is drawn in outline with heavy lines; the inner details drawn in finer lines. A thin transparent wash of white was laid over the whole body, the lines of the inner drawing appearing through it. In the field, a cross-rosette and a band of running dog, dotted. Attic clay with creamy slip; glaze black to reddish.

The amphora must have been shaped very much like the Nessos amphora in New York (*J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. X-XII). The elaborate outline drawing is advanced, comparable to the drawing of the sphinxes on our oinochoe **B 1**, and to that of Herakles on the New York amphora. On the New York amphora appears too the same method of drawing in outline, filling in the inner details with glaze lines, and then covering the surface with a thin wash of white. Our fragment, like the New York vase, must belong near the middle of the seventh century.

**B 70.** Protoattic Amphora Fragment. Fig. 97

P 6463. P. H., 0.31 m. Diam. at lip, 0.225 m.

A number of fragments from the upper body, with part of the neck and rim, and of one of the rolled handles; restored to below the shoulder. Balloon body with short concave neck and rounded lip. Entirely covered with black glaze; a reserved band filled by four horizontal bands around the body just below the handle attachments, and reserved panels on the shoulder at the front and the back. The panels are filled each by a pair of sets of concentric rings. Attic clay.

An amphora belonging in shape to the class of Attic oil amphoras, like **C 127**. The band below the handles is quite normal on such amphoras; the concentric circle is, however, usually drawn on the neck. Our fragment, like the amphora from Grave II, has a concave neck with no raised ring below the lip; it is probably of the middle of the seventh century or later.

**B 71.** Protoattic Oinochoe. Fig. 98

P 4956. H. as restored, 0.175 m. Max. Diam., 0.14 m.

Very fragmentary, and restored. Fragments of this vase were found among the stored sherds from the votive deposit published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff. The handle, trefoil mouth, and foot entirely restored. Rounded body and short, rather wide, neck. Above the foot, a zone of hooked rays. On the body, a pair of lions facing; they stand each with one front paw raised, their curling tails hanging between their hind legs. The bodies are drawn in silhouette, the feet ending in long curving claws; faces are outlined, and the muzzles dotted. In the field, floral ornament, zigzags, lozenges, and lozenge stars. Attic clay; the dull black glaze much peeled.

The fragments preserved were sufficiently numerous and well enough placed to make the restoration of the shape certain. It finds parallels in the Phaleron cemetery: *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 41, fig. 41, 2 and 4. The first of the Phaleron oinochoai is from a grave (no. 50) of just after the middle of the seventh century; the second from a grave (no. 33) of the last quarter. The development of the shape is apparent; the plump round body of our oinochoe becomes slimmer and more pointed, and the neck narrower. Our oinochoe, earlier in shape than the first Phaleron



Fig. 96. Protoattic Amphora Fragment (B 69)

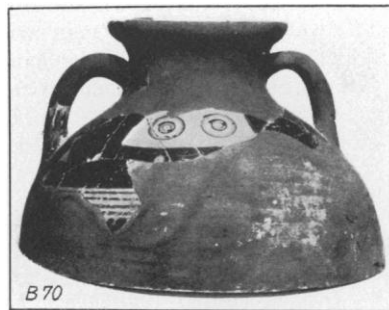


Fig. 97. Fragmentary Protoattic Amphora (B 70)



oinochoe, belongs probably in the second quarter of the century. The lions resemble very much those on the krater from Thebes (*Jhb.*, XXII, 1907, pl. 1); they have the same curling claws, the same stippled snouts, and the same arched eyebrows curved back at the ends. Our oinochoe and the krater have in common even the zone of hooked rays above the foot. The charioteers of the krater have faces well-drawn in outline, but not quite as advanced as those of our sphinx oinochoe; the vase belongs to the same style as does the Nessos amphora in New York, at about the middle of the second quarter of the century. Our oinochoe should be dated at about the same time; the oinochoe from the Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 596, fig. 61, the Burgon lebes (Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, pl. 17, 82), and the oinochoe Pfuhl, pl. 17, 83 are slightly later and belong at about the middle of the century.

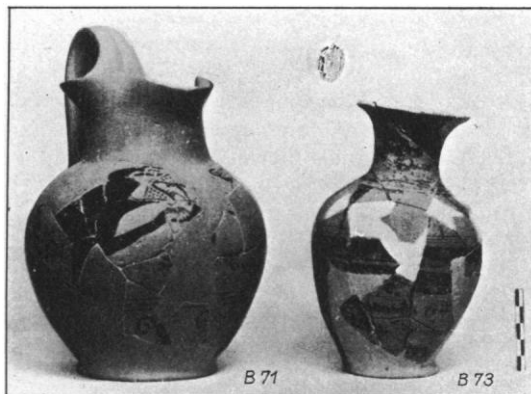


Fig. 98. Protoattic Oinochoai (B 71 and 73)

**B 72.** Protoattic Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 94

P 6496. P. H., 0.106 m. Diam. at bottom, 0.08 m.

Several subgeometric and early orientalizing oinochoe necks found in the seventh century well are, like **B 72**, long and slightly tapering: **C 118-120** (figs. 122 and 125). The palmette is like one used under the handle of the Analatos hydria (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 3; also, p. 52, fig. 12, on the oinochoe found with the Hymettos amphora) and on the Boston amphora which may well be from the same workshop as the Hymettos amphora (Boston 262; Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, pl. XXI; Hymettos amphora, *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 5). The Hymettos amphora belongs in the first quarter of the seventh century.

**B 73.** Oinochoe. Fig. 98

P 6497. H., 0.153 m. Diam. at lip, 0.068 m.

The band handle is missing; gaps in the body restored. Low base and deep body with straight neck flaring to a round mouth. Glazed, with two reserved bands, to the level of the handle attachment. On the shoulder, downward pointed rays. Buff clay with grits; dull brownish glaze, somewhat peeled.

Possibly not Attic; a fragmentary oinochoe of the third quarter of the seventh century has much the same shape and decorative scheme: *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 418, and fig. 2, D 20.

**B 74.** Corinthianizing Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 94

P 6459. P. H., 0.057 m. Diam. at lip, 0.113 m.

Part of the concave neck and flaring round mouth; rotelles beside the handle attachment. The holes through the wall between the rotelles suggest that the handle was broken off and mended in antiquity with lead clamps. Entirely covered with brownish glaze except for the faces of the rotelles, which are decorated with eight armed crosses. Five purple bands around the inside of the rim.

Probably imitated from a late Protocorinthian olpe shaped like the Chigi vase (Johansen, pl. XXXIX).

**B 75.** Protoattic Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 94

P 6494. P. H., 0.07 m. Diam. at lip (est.), 0.06 m.

Part of a round-bodied vase with short narrow neck and flaring round lip; one wide band-handle, lip to shoulder. The body and neck glazed; on the upper face of the lip, a band of short rays surrounded by glaze rings. A guilloche runs down the outer face of the handle. Attic clay with black glaze, brown where thin.

**B 76.** Geometric Plate Fragment. Fig. 94

P 6460. H., 0.048 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.24 m.

Low base and shallow body with straight wall. On the bottom a sexfoil, with latticed triangles between the points of the leaves. A row of dots around the base, and a zone of leaves around the body; dots linked by tangents on the rim. Glazed inside, with a reserved band. Attic clay with red glaze.

The decoration is nearly the same as that of the plate found with subgeometric vases in Grave 2 at Spata (*Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, p. 134, fig. 4).

**B 77.** Protoattic Bowl Fragment. Fig. 94

P 6462. H., 0.114 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.29 m.

Low base and fairly deep convex body, thickened and projecting slightly at the rim. A shallow notch on the upper face of the rim served for pouring. Below the lip, a wavy line, and three horizontal glaze bands. On the body, a double series of rays. Glazed inside; Attic clay with creamy slip and black glaze shading to red.

Fragments of a number of Protoattic bowls of this shape, one decorated with rays, were found in the Agora votive deposit (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 586, figs. 47-48, 185-192). Bowls of the type were also found in our seventh century well; **C 85-88**.

**B 78.** Cup Fragment. Fig. 94

P 6461. H., 0.075 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.10 m.

Part of a deep flat-bottomed cup with straight side wall flaring slightly at the lip; it probably had no handle. Attic clay, entirely covered with black glaze which is dull and somewhat peeled outside, slightly metallic inside. A reserved band filled with fine glaze lines inside the lip.

A fragmentary handleless cup of the same shape was found in another (unpublished) Agora deposit of the first half of the seventh century. The fabric and decoration inside the lip are like that of the class of one-handled seventh century cups (**C 48-50**) from our well. The only published example of a cup of this type without handles is later, from a Phaleron grave of the last quarter of the century (Phaleron Grave 16; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 42, fig. 44, 1).

**B 79.** Protoattic Cup Fragments. Fig. 94

P 6495. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.14 m.

Three non-joining fragments, one from the rim. The rim fragment suggests that the vase was a skyphos of Corinthian shape. Around the rim, a guilloche of alternating black and reserved strands; multiple bands above and below. On the body, floral decoration of elaborately interlacing tendrils, and palmette-like flowers. Glazed inside, with a reserved band at the lip. Attic clay with dull black glaze.

A number of Corinthianizing skyphoi were found in the seventh century well; **C 19-34**. All are imitated from middle Protocorinthian models. The floral decoration on our cup may have been like that on the back of the neck of the Nessos amphora in New York: Johansen, p. 116, fig. 60.

**B 80.** Protoattic Lid Fragment. Fig. 99

P 4658. P. H., 0.037 m. Max. Diam., 0.114 m.

Part of a shallow convex pyxis lid, with a short knob handle at the middle. The handle, concave on its upper face, is decorated around its vertical face with a band of running dog. Hooked rays radiate around the handle; each hook ends in a flower. In the wide zone around the middle of the lid is drawn a chariot procession to the right; parts of two chariots are preserved. Of the first, parts of the horses and chariot are preserved, and the charioteer, who wears a long dress. He stands upright in the car, holding in each hand the three reins that guide each of the two horses; in one hand he grasps also the whip. Behind the chariot, and standing with his back to it, is a warrior with a square shield; he holds by the bridles two horses

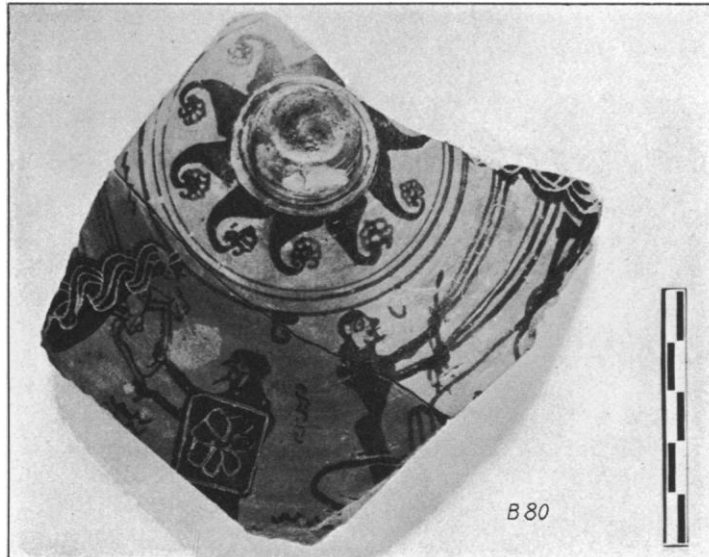


Fig. 99. Protoattic Lid Fragment (B 80)

which draw a second chariot; they are missing from the shoulder. The faces of the men are drawn in outline; the glaze has run together on that of the standing warrior, probably because the scale was very small for fine outline drawing. The faces of the horses are also drawn in outline; their two heads grow from the end of one neck. Flame-like incisions are used for the representation of the manes; the seven-leaved rosette shield-device, and the outline of the shield, are also incised. Zigzags, running dog, and pendant hooks are used sparingly in the field. Attic clay with dull black glaze.

Two Protoattic lids have the same decoration with procession of chariots. One, from Phaleron (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, p. 55, figs. 19-20) was found with its pyxis; an Attic pyxis imitating a Protocorinthian model of the first quarter of the seventh century (Johansen, pl. XII, 2; from Phaleron Grave 11, which contained also the ovoid aryballos, Johansen, pl. XVI, 7). The decoration of the Phaleron lid is in a hasty Geometric style, employing a few orientalizing motives; it is perhaps a little earlier than our lid. The other Protoattic lid, from the Kerameikos (*A. A.*, 1934, pp. 213-214, fig. 10) is slightly later than ours; Kübler dates it at about the middle of the century. The outline drawing of the face on the Kerameikos lid is more accomplished than that of ours, and the filling ornament is somewhat later. The faces of the horses on the Kerameikos

lid are drawn in silhouette; the period of experiment has passed, and the black-figured horse type has been evolved. In its manner of drawing and choice of filling ornament, the lid from the Kerameikos belongs in the orbit of the Kynosarges amphora (*J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, pp. 29 ff. and pls. II-IV) in the decade after the middle of the seventh century—about 640. Our lid, on the other hand, belongs in the circle of the Nessos amphora in New York (*J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, pp. 370 ff. and pls. X-XII), perhaps twenty years earlier. The same outlined faces for the horses, growing all from one neck, appear on both vases, and the same incised flame manes. The same floral ornament is used, and the same filling ornament, thinner on the lid than on the amphora. Somewhat earlier is a fragment from Phaleron, on which appears another chariot scene (*Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 249, fig. 11); the Phaleron fragment uses the same outlining for the drawing of faces, though somewhat more hasty and careless, the same convention for the representation of horses one behind the other, and a looped-arc mane decoration that is equivalent in drawing of the incised manes of our horses. The sharp-pointed beard jutting outward from the chin, which is characteristic of men of the earlier seventh century, first appears on such vases of the first quarter as the Phaleron fragment and an amphora in New York (*Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1923, p. 176, fig. 1), and is used on almost every male figure down to the time of the Kynosarges amphora. The New York amphora is drawn in a style very similar to that of the Phaleron fragment, but more carefully and somewhat more conservatively, so that it gives an impression of being older. A bird of a peculiar sort is drawn on its neck; the same bird appears on a middle Protocorinthian aryballos of the first quarter of the seventh century (Johansen, pl. XXII, 2 a-d). Our lid shows the combination of conservatism in drawing with innovation of invention that is characteristic of many Protoattic vases; it took nearly half a century to outgrow the Geometric manner in drawing figures, while at the same time elaborate floral and other designs were introduced and the power of invention given free rein. A Cretan urn (*Annuario*, 10-12, 1927-29, p. 135, fig. 122) from Arkades demonstrates the free play of the imagination in the orientaling period: it has a band of hooks, like those around the handle of our lid, but the hooks end in little feline heads instead of flowers.

### **B 81.** Protoattic Lid Fragment. Fig. 94

P 4955. P. H., 0.103 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.48 m.

Part of a very big convex lid with plain rim. Between bands at the edge, alternating glazed and reserved rectangles; bands around the middle. In the zone around the body, voluted tendrils from which spring palmettes, pointed alternately inward and outward. The petals of the palmettes are separated by incision. Attic clay with dull black glaze, somewhat peeled.

The palmette design with incised leaves, all of which are glazed, is well developed. A comparable Protoattic palmette is used on the Agora oinochoe *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 595, fig. 60; here the volutes are beaked like the spirals on the stamnos **B 64**; lid and oinochoe belong, like the stamnos, at about the middle of the century. The same sort of palmette appears on two orientaling vases from Arkades in Crete. The first, an oinochoe (*Annuario*, 10-12, 1927-29, p. 114, fig. 93) was found in a pithos burial with a late Protocorinthian aryballos. The second, an urn (*ibid.*, p. 192, fig. 212), was found with an aryballos of Corinthian rather than Protocorinthian type. Noticeably contrasted with the almost chaotic anomaly and asymmetry of the first half of the seventh century is the regularity of ornament in the second, as it settles down to the order of the symmetrical lotus and palmette chain used in the black-figured style.

### **B 82.** Incised Household Ware Fragment. Fig. 94

P 6493. P. H., 0.122 m. Diam. of rim (est.), 0.17 m.

The flat band handle of a hand-made pitcher of coarse micaceous clay, like **VI 5** and **C 156**. Two incised wavy lines run around the outside just below the lip, and three pairs of incised

wavy lines run down the edges and middle of the handle. On incised household ware, see below, p. 199 and **C 156-163**; the fabric was common in the seventh century.

**B 83.** Terracotta Horse Fragment. Fig. 94

T 680. P. H., 0.07 m. P. L., 0.045 m.

The front of the body is preserved, with most of the neck and the stumps of the front legs. Bands of clay were applied along each side of the body at the shoulder, perhaps to represent the shafts of a chariot. Bands of black glaze on the body and neck have peeled off.

**B 84.** Terracotta Horse Fragment. Fig. 94

T 681. P. H., 0.035 m.

The head and neck preserved. Glaze dots represented the eyes, and wavy lines run down the neck to indicate the mane.

The two horses **B 83-84** are of the same type as those found in the seventh century well; see below, p. 224 and **C 181-184**.

The lowest fill of the road, Layer III (section, fig. 2) underlying the dump of brown earth thrown on the road at some time after the middle of the seventh century, was of sand and gravel which went to bedrock. A number of large rough blocks of limestone lying in this fill may have fallen from early parapet walls beside the road. Because of the action of the water draining over the road it was not possible to distinguish successive levels representing the raising of the road surface with the passage of time; the burned deposit, Grave XII, must represent one of these stages. The sherds from Layer III were late Geometric and early orientalizing, with nothing as late as the middle of the seventh century. From Layer III, **B 85-86**.

**B 85.** Corinthianizing Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 91

P 5286. P. H., 0.086 m. Diam. at rim, 0.165 m.

The bottom missing. Part of an open skyphos of early Protocorinthian shape, with curving side wall. Banded to the handle-zone; grills interrupted by opposed triangles beside the handle, and a panel at the centre filled by a grazing deer. A bird, opposed triangles, and a lozenge-star in the field. Glazed inside, with three reserved bands at the rim. Attic clay with creamy slip; dull brownish glaze.

A similar Attic imitation of Protocorinthian was found in Grave 1 at Spata: *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, p. 133, fig. 3. Our fragment should date from the very end of the eighth century, or beginning of the seventh.

**B 86.** Protoattic Fragment. Fig. 91

P 5285. P. H., 0.082 m.

From a closed pot, small amphora or oinochoe. On the shoulder, a panel filled by a horse, left; filling ornament of running dog, dotted, zigzags, and a lozenge-star. Below, part of a zone filled by sigmas. Attic clay with creamy slip and peeled dull black glaze.

The horse is subgeometric in style; compare the subgeometric horse on the oinochoe **C 118** (fig. 124). The early orientalizing filling ornament probably belongs in the first quarter of the seventh century.

## III

## THE SEVENTH CENTURY WELL

The well lies on top of Kolonos Agoraios near its eastern edge, about eighty metres to the south of the east end of the Hephaisteion. The round well-shaft, of which the diameter is about 1.90 m., went to a depth of 16.95 m. below the surface of the rock. It was straight and well cut; in the first four metres below the mouth the diggers ran into difficulties because of the soft crumbling nature of the rock. Below, the shaft was cut in good firm rock; the great diameter of the cutting probably made the work of well-digging easier than it would have been in a narrower shaft. Geometric wells in the Agora, while they also are often well cut, are usually narrow in diameter, and rather shallow. The Kolonos well is by far the deepest of the early wells; it may have been cut at a place where the water did not penetrate easily through the rock, for even at the depth of nearly seventeen metres the well gathered water to a depth of only half a metre in its bottom.

The filling of the well, uniform throughout its depth, was of green broken hardpan mixed with brown earth. The sherds found scattered through this filling indicated that it had been thrown in all at once, since fragments of the same vases were often found at widely different levels. Much Protocorinthian, Protoattic, Geometric and subgeometric pottery was found. The fragments of Protocorinthian were mostly in the upper half of the well, though some came from near the bottom. A very great number of fragments of two-handled cups, coarsely made and unglazed, were found at all depths; the Geometric sherds appeared in as great numbers near the top as at the bottom. The well, in short, was not stratified, and had been filled at one time.

The nature of the filling, which was mostly of broken hardpan, suggested that the earth from operations in which the hilltop was levelled or otherwise cut was used to fill the well. Unfortunately, a Roman villa and a late drain at each side of the well had destroyed any signs of the surface activities of earlier times. The pottery found in the well-filling was all of the first half of the seventh century, with little that goes back into the eighth, and none that goes below the middle of the seventh. The vases may be from graves destroyed in the levelling of the hilltop, or from a nearby shrine. The former supposition seems unlikely because graves would have been respected, at least for a time. If there had been any great time lapse between the digging of the graves and their destruction, a few sherds later than those from the graves, as well as bones from the graves themselves, would have found their way into the well filling. The great number of fragments of coarsely made unglazed cups, of which there must have been at least ninety, suggests, on the other hand, that our well filling may be part of a deposit of offerings from a shrine. Such a deposit was found in the Agora and has been published.<sup>1</sup> The character

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.

of the pottery from our well is the same as that from the votive deposit; figurines, however, were few, and votive plaques were not found.<sup>1</sup>

Although the ultimate origin of the well deposit cannot be certain, the vases clearly show that it had accumulated over a period of about fifty years. A few earlier fragments were naturally found among the seventh century pottery, as early fragments are found scattered through every deposit; thus our well contained a small piece of Grey Minyan, about twenty bits of Protogeometric, and an unusual early Geometric fragment. The vases and sherds selected for publication represent the most complete vases as well as the most interesting; a few small bits are included because they represent a type of vase or decoration characteristic of the period, but not otherwise found in the deposit. Of many of the vase types published a large number of additional fragments are stored without publication; thus there are fragments of several rayed Protocorinthian skyphoi and Attic imitations of them; of banded plates with conventional Protocorinthian ornament (verticals and vertical zigzags) in the handle-zone; of subgeometric skyphoi and one-handled cups, and of seventh century oil amphoras. A large number of whorls and of disks cut from vase fragments are not published.

The vases and sherds published form, then, a representative collection from the deposit in the well. Of these, about ten per cent are Protocorinthian. All of the Protocorinthian vases and fragments belong to the second ("subgeometric") Protocorinthian style, dated in the first half of the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> It might be assumed from these alone that the Attic vases from the same deposit date from the same time. The assumption is confirmed by the Attic vases themselves, many of which are direct imitations of Protocorinthian of the same style and period.

<sup>1</sup> It is not impossible that the villa above the mouth of the well may have been a sanctuary. It had been built at least as early as Hellenistic times, and subsequently rebuilt at least twice. In two of the cisterns connected with it were found a krater of the Hellenistic period, which had been dedicated to Dionysos and Artemis, and a faience amulet of Anubis together with a Hadra vase (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 374 ff. and figs. 39-41).

<sup>2</sup> The chronology for Protocorinthian followed is that given by Payne in his *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, p. 20; the linear subgeometric vases are contemporary with the first and second black-figured styles. Payne's dating is somewhat later than Johansen's; the first Protocorinthian style covers the second half, instead of the first three quarters of the eighth century, and the second style is moved down into the first half of the seventh century. The difference in dating is the result of a more conservative estimate of the antiquity of Cumae as a Greek colony (about 750; for a discussion of dates in early Greek history, see the article by A. R. Burn, *J.H.S.*, LV, 1935, p. 130; also the article by A. W. Byvanck, *Mnemosyne*, 3rd Series, IV, 1936-37, pp. 181 ff. He suggests, p. 201, that Payne's dating of the first Protocorinthian style in the second half of the eighth century is somewhat too early. Whether or not Byvanck's chronology is correct, his suggestion that allowance must be made for a lapse of time between the foundation date of a colony and its first graves, is sensible). If the earliest orientaling vases of Crete are to be dated in the middle of the eighth century, as suggested by Payne (*B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 230), and if Corinth derived its repertory of orientaling motives from Crete (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 4; Johansen, pp. 58 ff.), then it seems clear that the earliest Protocorinthian vases cannot go back beyond the middle of the eighth century, and Payne's modification of Johansen's chronology must be accepted.

The dating for the deposit, 700–650, suggested by the Protocorinthian vases and the Protoattic imitations, is confirmed by the finding of Protoattic pottery of the same sort as that in the well together with middle Protocorinthian in the Agora votive deposit and in the Phaleron cemetery. Thus in three different kinds of deposit: in a votive dump from a shrine, in a well deposit, and in a group of graves, the contemporaneity of Protoattic and middle Protocorinthian is demonstrated. Confirmation of the dating of the Protoattic is given by the finding-places of coarse Attic oil amphoras: Gela and Daphne, both founded in the first half of the seventh century. Thus many of the amphoras which are of the same type as those found in the late-founded colonies, and which were used for child-burials in the Phaleron cemetery, must belong in the seventh century. Fragments of a number of these amphoras were found in the well and in the Agora votive deposit.

A large number of subgeometric vases and sherds was found in the well. These were contemporary with the earlier Protoattic. The subgeometric style, which is the disintegration of the Geometric, must have continued well into the first quarter of the seventh century; certain motives were used, in combination with orientalizing decoration, well past the middle of the century. Subgeometric pottery was found together with Protoattic not only in the filling of the Kolonos well, but also in the Agora votive deposit. Boeotian subgeometric has been dated by Hampe in the early seventh century.<sup>1</sup> Strong confirmation for the suggestion that subgeometric vases free of orientalizing decoration were made in the first quarter of the seventh century, and perhaps later, is given by the finding of three imported skyphoi, two with late bird decoration, in a tomb in Cyprus which also contained a number of scarabs of the Saite period.<sup>2</sup>

A number of subgeometric vases and fragments from the well are nearly identical in shape, fabric, and decoration with vases from some of the burials in the grave precinct. Since the dating for these vases can be approximately fixed not only by their style but by their context, the graves with similar vases can be dated at the same time. We may thus safely date Graves V and VI in the first quarter of the seventh century, Graves III and IV perhaps somewhat later, and Graves VII–XII in the years around 700.

#### CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS FROM THE WELL

##### PROTOCORINTHIAN: C 1–18

Protocorinthian sherds were scattered through the well deposit at all depths and in relatively large numbers. In addition to the skyphoi published, fragments of a number of others with rays above the foot were found; the skyphos was the shape most commonly represented. The Protocorinthian pottery is quite consistent in style and period, belonging to Johansen's Middle Protocorinthian ("subgeometric") group, and covering the first half

<sup>1</sup> Hampe, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Amathus, Tomb 9. E. Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, II, Stockholm, 1935, pp. 55 ff., nos. 19, 76, and 122, and pl. XV.



of the seventh century with very little (possibly **C 1** and **C 6–7**) that can be carried back into the eighth. Nothing was found, on the other hand, of the Late Protocorinthian or Transitional style belonging in the second half of the century. Our Protocorinthian vases, then, dated 700–650, furnish the key to the dating of the Attic pottery found with them. The large number of Attic imitations of Middle Protocorinthian (**C 19–34**), moreover, gives further assurance that the Attic and Protocorinthian vases are closely contemporary.

**C 1.** Protocorinthian Aryballos Fragments. Fig. 100

P 7454. P. H., 0.035 m.

Two non-joining fragments, one from the shoulder, the other from the lower body. Wide and narrow glaze bands around the body; on the shoulder a spiral, and the hindlegs and tail of a dog running to the right. Brownish glaze, somewhat peeled.

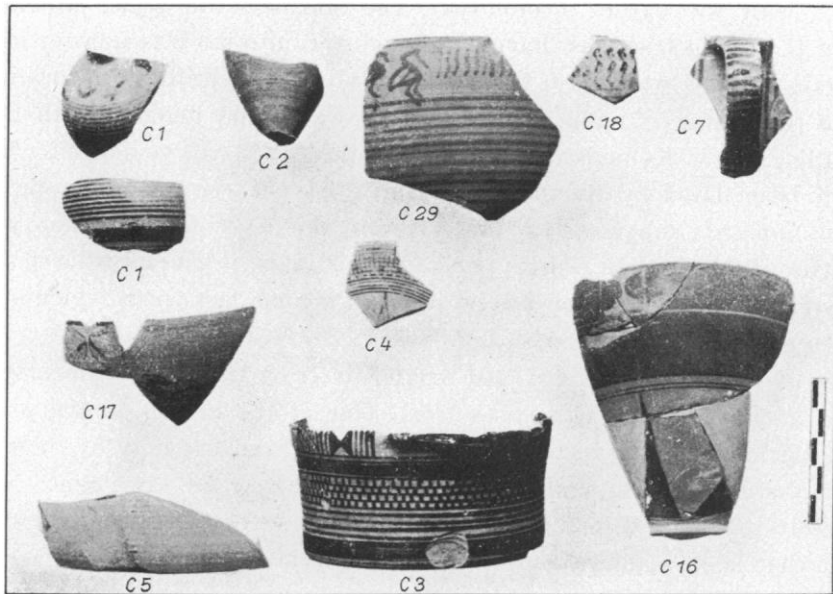


Fig. 100. Protocorinthian (C 1 5, 7, 16–18) and Protoattic (C 29) Fragments

The running hound is probably part of a hare-hunt. The hare-hunt is rare in Protocorinthian before the first black-figured style (Johansen's Class A); it has not been found at Cumae, and only two early examples have been found at Syracuse; cf. Johansen, p. 86. Although our aryballos is very fragmentary, its shape can be restored with probability as that of the intermediate type, like Johansen, pl. XIV, 3 and 9, dated by Payne about 700 or slightly later.

**C 2.** Protocorinthian Aryballos Fragment. Fig. 100

P 8345. P. H., 0.034 m.

The lower body and part of the ring foot only are preserved. Wide and narrow glaze bands; the glaze has almost entirely peeled off. The rather pointed shape is that of Johansen's second class, which belongs in the seventh century.

**C 3.** Protocorinthian Pyxis Fragment. Fig. 100

P 7012. H., 0.046 m. Diam. at rim, 0.086 m.

About half preserved, with one handle. Flat bottom and very slightly concave side wall, somewhat thickened at the rim. Around the rim, dotted latticing with butterflies in panels at the ends. The broad bands below the handle and around the base are painted purple. Glaze black to brownish, brown inside, much peeled.

The shape is closest to the subgeometric pyxides Johansen, pl. XVIII, 1, 3-4. The use of broad bands of added purple indicates a relatively late date.

**C 4.** Protocorinthian Pyxis Lid Fragment. Fig. 100

P 7453. Max. Dim., 0.033 m.

A small fragment from the rim; a flange underneath, set well back from the edge. Bands, checker-board, and rays; badly peeled red glaze. Part of a lid similar to the subgeometric lid Johansen, pl. XVIII, 3.

**C 5.** Protocorinthian Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 100

P 7455. P. H., 0.028 m. Diam. bottom (est.), 0.165 m.

From a flat-bottomed conical oinochoe like Johansen, pl. XVIII, 5-6. Fine glaze bands, almost entirely peeled.

**C 6.** Protocorinthian Kotyle. Fig. 102

P 7467. H., 0.09 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.10 m.

Restored in plaster; about half preserved, with nothing of the handles. Low flat base. Three bands of added white around the upper margin of the solidly glazed lower body. Outside the rim, verticals and zigzags; inside it, two reserved bands. Glaze black to red, and much peeled inside.

Restored as kotyle like Johansen, pl. X, 2 and 5. The shape is rare, and Johansen (p. 34) dates it early on stylistic grounds. Our example is deeper and less open than the two illustrated by Johansen, and therefore later; the bands of added white also suggest that it is later. It is probably to be dated at the end of the eighth century, or the very beginning of the seventh.

**C 7.** Protocorinthian Kotyle Handle. Fig. 100

P 8346. P. H., 0.047 m.

From a kotyle similar to **C 6**. Bars on the handle, vertical lines setting off the handle panel. Red glaze.

**C 8.** Protocorinthian Skyphos. Figs. 101, 104

P 7143. H., 0.125 m. Diam. at rim, 0.143 m.

Both handles and parts of the body restored. Fine ring foot. Glazed inside, with two reserved bands at the rim; glaze rings and a dot on the bottom inside the foot. Glaze dull black to brown, and somewhat peeled.

The deep skyphoi with rays belong to Johansen's subgeometric group, and should be dated in the first half of the seventh century. Our present example has a body still markedly convex, and must belong near the beginning of the century. Cf. Johansen, pl. IX, 6.

**C 9.** Protocorinthian Skyphos. Fig. 101

P 7142. H., 0.122 m. Diam. at rim, 0.14 m.

One handle and parts of the body restored. Ring foot. Fine bands between the rays and the handle-zone; a glaze band on the upper face of the preserved handle. Glaze brown to yellowish, and badly peeled.

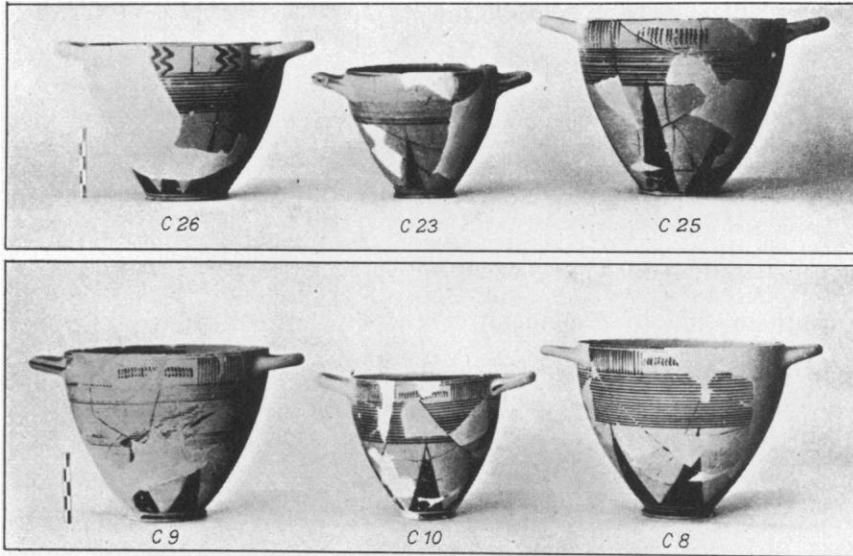


Fig. 101. Protocorinthian (C 8-10) and Protoattic (C 23, 25, 26) Skyphoi

Slightly later than **C 8**; the body is deeper and more pointed, and the side wall somewhat less convex.

**C 10.** Protocorinthian Skyphos. Fig. 101

P 7145. H., 0.101 m. Diam. at rim, 0.109 m.

One handle and parts of the body restored. Ring foot; red glaze, somewhat streaky inside. Again slightly later; the body is still convex, but more pointed and narrower at the foot.

**C 11.** Protocorinthian Skyphos. Fig. 102

P 7146. H., 0.081 m. Diam. at rim (rest.), 0.096 m.

About half the body, and one handle, restored. Ring foot; glaze dull black to brownish.

**C 12.** Protocorinthian Skyphos. Fig. 102

P 7148. H. (rest.), 0.086 m. Diam. at rim (rest.), 0.097 m.

The foot, about half the body, and one handle, restored. Glaze red to light brown.

The restoration of the bottom must be approximately correct, since the bases of the rays must come near meeting above the foot. The deep pointed shape with nearly straight side wall is late; this skyphos must belong close to the middle of the seventh century; cf. Johansen, pl. XVII, 3.

**C 13.** Protocorinthian Skyphos. Fig. 102

P 7459. Diam. of foot, 0.038 m.

Only the lower body and ring foot are preserved. Glazed, with two reserved bands; the decoration of the handle-zone was probably like that of **C 8-12**. Firm red glaze.

**C 14.** Protocorinthian Skyphos. Fig. 102

P 7144. H., 0.094 m. Diam. at rim (rest.), 0.098 m.

About one third of the body and one handle restored. Fine ring foot. Two glaze bands above the rays; the handle-zone is set off below by a line of added white, and the handle panels by vertical white lines. Glaze black to red; peeled red inside.

Skyphoi with simple decoration in added white are discussed by Johansen, pp. 68 ff. Such decoration begins in the early Protocorinthian style and extends through the subgeometric phase.

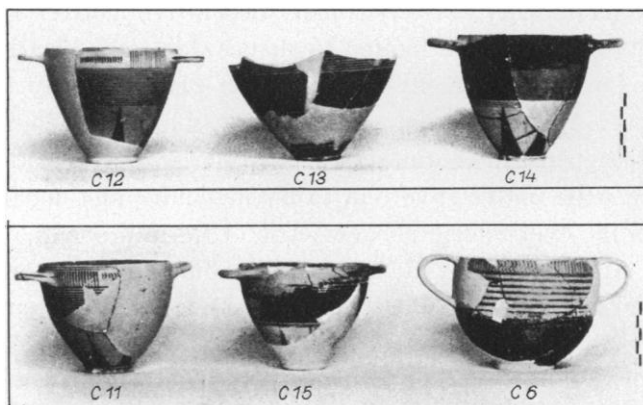


Fig. 102. Protocorinthian Skyphoi (C 6, 11-15)

A favorite ornament is the hour-glass either added in white or reserved between two nearly tangent arcs of glaze, as on our **C 16-17** below. The skyphos **C 14** is shown by the rays to belong to the subgeometric style; its deep pointed shape shows that it is late.

**C 15.** Protocorinthian Skyphos. Fig. 102

P 7147. H. (rest.), 0.079 m. Diam. at rim (rest.), 0.099 m.

The bottom restored as on **C 12**. The handle-zone is set off below by three fine bands of added purple between two of added white.

In shape and decoration similar to **C 14**; the addition of fine bands of purple is common on transitional skyphoi of the third quarter of the century; cf. *C. V. A., Oxford*, I, pl. I, 32—the type “begins before the middle of the seventh century and lasts at least until the end.”

**C 16.** Protocorinthian Skyphos. Fig. 100

P 7159. H., 0.084 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.105 m.

A fragment preserving the complete profile to the foot. The handle-zone set off below by a line of added white. Reserved at the centre of the handle-zone an hour-glass between two nearly tangent arcs of glaze; the vertical lines beside it are added in white. Red glaze; a band of added white below the rim inside.

**C 17.** Protocorinthian Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 100

P 7461. P. H., 0.04 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.10 m.

Rim fragment. Reserved hour-glass with added white verticals beside it as on **C 16**. Inside the rim a reserved band, and a band of added white below it. Much peeled brownish black glaze.

**C 18.** Protocorinthian Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 100

P 8347. P. H., 0.024 m.

Rim fragment; birds in the handle-zone, bands below. Black glaze, somewhat peeled. A subgeometric skyphos with a similar bird-band on the rim, Johansen, pl. XVII, 1.

PROTOATTIC SKYPHOI OF PROTOCOLINTHIAN SHAPE: **C 19-34**

Although Attica undoubtedly borrowed many decorative motives from Protocorinthian, the class "Attic imitations" is here limited to shapes that quite clearly are not Attic, and quite as clearly are Corinthian; chiefly skyphoi with plain, slightly in-turned rim of the shape **C 8-16** (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 294—"the shape must have been invented at Corinth"). The stereotyped Protocorinthian decoration is sometimes copied; often however the more imaginative Attic potter gave rein to his ingenuity and departed from the canon. The contrast between the over-refined subgeometric of Corinth and the careless disintegrating subgeometric of Attica noted by Hampe (p. 27) is most obvious when the Attic potter is making a direct copy from his Protocorinthian model; even without the clear difference in fabric it would be easy to tell the original and the imitation apart. The Attic vases have usually a flat base or a false ring foot instead of the fine Corinthian foot; their rays are usually much too long (the Protocorinthian rays are always about half the height of the pot) and their zone of horizontal bands is careless and uneven, varying in width according to the length of the rays. In fabric, the relatively coarse pink Attic clay can usually be distinguished without difficulty from the much finer buff clay from Corinth, and the Attic glaze lacks the tendency to peel. The Attic imitations must of course be closely contemporary with their Corinthian models; they are all taken, in fact, from Protocorinthian of the subgeometric style, and belong to the same class as the true Protocorinthian found with them in the well.

**C 19.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 103

P 7153. H., 0.083 m. Diam. at rim., 0.10 m.

One handle restored, with rim and body fragments. Low flat base; verticals and zigzags in the handle-zone. Attic clay; the glaze somewhat metallic on the lower body, dull and badly peeled above, and streaky brown inside.

The prototype is a subgeometric Protocorinthian skyphos like Johansen, pl. XVII, 4 and Payne, *PV*, pl. X, 4; Payne calls this skyphos a "linear vase of the late eighth or early seventh century." One of the earliest graves at Phaleron, belonging at the end of the eighth century, contained a transitional Protocorinthian skyphos of the same type (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 32 and fig. 22, 1; Johansen, pl. IX, 6, Grave 47). The difference between Johansen's transitional and subgeometric examples is barely perceptible—a slight deepening, and proportionate narrowing at the

top, of the later skyphos. Ours is a fairly close imitation of the subgeometric type; another similar Attic imitation was found with an early Protoattic amphora in a grave at Eleusis which surely belongs in the first quarter of the seventh century (*Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 91; the amphora, pl. III, 2).

**C 20.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 103

P 7152. H., 0.131 m. Diam. at rim, 0.14 m.

Both handles and parts of the body restored. Low ring foot; the lower part of the body solidly glazed. Two glaze bands on the outer face of the handle, as far as preserved; three reserved bands inside the rim. Attic clay; glaze black to brownish, and dull black inside, where it is somewhat peeled.

The skyphoi **C 20-22** are deeper and narrower at the top than **C 19**, and therefore somewhat later; in shape they resemble the rayed Protocorinthian skyphoi **C 9-10**.

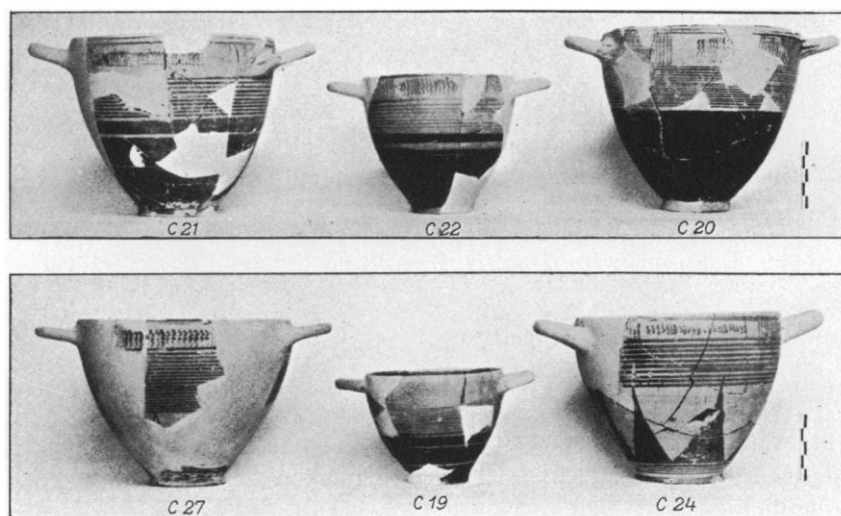


Fig. 103. Protoattic Skyphoi (C 19-22, 24, 27)

**C 21.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 103

P 7151. H., 0.126 m. Diam. at rim, 0.14 m.

All of one handle, most of the other, and several body fragments, restored. Flat base. Attic clay; glaze red to thin brown outside, red inside.

**C 22.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 103

P 7457. H., 0.10 m. Diam. at rim, 0.115 m.

Both handles and fragments of the body restored. Flat base. Attic clay; glaze streaky brown on the lower body; red on the upper body and inside.

**C 23.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 101

P 7154. H., 0.093 m. Diam. at rim, 0.104 m.

Parts of the body restored. Low flat base. Attic clay; glaze brownish outside, streaky black inside. An imitation of the rayed Protocorinthian type **C 8-11**.

**C 24.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 103

P 7149. H., 0.123 m. Diam. at rim, 0.15 m.

Both handles and parts of the body restored. Flat base with a glaze-ring on the bottom. Attic clay, dull red glaze.

**C 25.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 101

P 7150. H., 0.123 m. Diam. at rim, 0.14 m.

One handle and body fragments restored. Low flat base. Careless decoration, with very much exaggerated rays. Attic clay; dull black glaze, streaky inside.

**C 26.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 101

P 7155. H., 0.11 m. Diam. at rim, 0.14 m.

About half the body and one handle restored. A very low flat ring foot. In the handle-zone, sigmas paired in panels. Attic clay; glaze red to brownish.

The shape and decorative scheme are those of the subgeometric Protocorinthian skyphoi; only the conventional decoration of the handle-zone is varied. The band of sigmas is a not uncommon motive in Protocorinthian, Cycladic, or late Attic Geometric; but the division into equal panels is an Attic rather than a Corinthian feature. For Protoattic kantharoi with sigmas, single and paired, in panels, see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 588 and 591. figs. 51 and 54.

**C 27.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 103

P 7458. H., 0.128 m. Diam. at rim, 0.15 m.

Fragmentary; restored in plaster. Flat base; the rays above are alternately black and white. From a horizontal glaze line linking the rays at half their height springs a hooked triangle between each pair of rays. In the handle-zone a procession of stylized birds. A double reserved band inside the rim. Glaze dull brown and somewhat peeled inside.

The white-painted rays and hooked triangles are Attic variations on the otherwise faithful copy of a subgeometric Protocorinthian type. For a similar bird procession, cf. Johansen, pl. XVII, 1. Stylized birds on transitional Protocorinthian are usually drawn with two legs; cf. Johansen, pl. XI, 2.

**C 28.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 109

P 7157. P. H., 0.08 m. Diam. at rim, 0.15 m.

A fragment; about half the upper body preserved. The lower body was glazed, with reserved bands; the verticals at the ends of the handle-zones are interrupted by ladders; in the middle a procession of subgeometric birds like those of **C 18**. A row of short verticals on the outer face of each handle. Glaze black to brownish, and streaky inside.

**C 29.** Corinthianizing Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 100

P 7460. P. H., 0.063 m.

Rim fragment; in the handle-zone, birds and vertical zigzags; fine horizontal bands below. Glaze red to brownish.

The type of bird is like the late Attic Geometric bird.

**C 30.** Corinthianizing Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 109

P 7156. P. H., 0.076 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.14 m.

Part of the rim and upper body, with one handle. In the handle-zone, a dog chasing a fox with a long bushy tail. A ladder on the handle. Dull glaze, black to brown.

The fox hunt is known on Protocorinthian vases; cf. Johansen, p. 136. Another Attic skyphos imitating Protocorinthian and decorated with a fox hunt was found in Grave 1 at Spata (*Delt.*, VI, 1921, p. 133 and figs. 2-3). The shape of the skyphos from Spata, and probably of that of the present fragment, resembles the more shallow and open early Protocorinthian type Johansen, pl. IX, 1 and X, 1, and should belong at the end of the eighth century.

**C 31.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Figs. 104, 105. *Illustrated London News* for July 18, 1936, p. 1208 and fig. 8

P 7023. H., 0.12 m. Diam. at rim, 0.14 m.

Both handles and fragments of the body restored. Ring foot; above, plain and hooked rays alternating. The body between the rays and the handle-zone is divided by triple vertical lines into seven panels, variously filled: with diagonal bands of running dog; with a horizontal band of running dog between half-circles above and below; with running dog and scale pattern; with diagonal wavy lines; and with various kinds of vegetable ornament. In the handle-zone, running dog that resembles wave-pattern. Black to brownish glaze, somewhat peeled.

The shape, and the framework of the decoration, are Protocorinthian: but in the selection and application of decorative motives a chaotic effect is achieved of which only the Protoattic

potter was capable. The decoration of this skyphos is reminiscent of the filling ornament of the Anatolos hydria and the Nessos amphora in New York. It should probably be dated by reason both of its shape and of its decoration near the middle of the seventh century.



Fig. 104. Protocorinthian (C 8) and Protoattic (C 31) Skyphoi. Drawing by Piet de Jong

**C 32.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 105

P 7158. H., 0.073 m. Diam. at rim, 0.11 m.

Both handles and much of the body restored. Low flat base. Entirely covered with carelessly applied black glaze, somewhat peeled. A band of added white at the base and at the lip; double bands around the lower body and below the handle-zone. Vertical white lines beside the handle panels and the ornament at the centre of the handle-zone (broken away; probably an hour-glass).

The decoration resembles that of the Protocorinthian skyphoi **C 14-17**; the smooth and shiny black glaze is characteristic of later Corinthian pottery. Our example shows in its shape that it is taken from a prototype slightly earlier than the Early Corinthian skyphos *A. J. A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 219, fig. 2, and it must date about the middle of the seventh century. The shape is much the same, on a smaller scale, as that of **C 31**.

**C 33.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 105

P 7456. H., 0.06 m. Diam. at rim, 0.081 m.



One handle and part of the body restored. Flat bottom. The lower body glazed; below the handle-zone three careless glaze lines. In the handle-zone, a wavy line barbed at one end, perhaps meant to represent a snake. Thin streaky brownish glaze.

A later skyphos of the same shape and with the same decoration, but with a large flaring base, was found in a grave of the second half of the seventh century at Phaleron (Grave 59; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 32, fig. 23, 2). Our skyphos is shallow and open by comparison with the subgeometric Protocorinthian type; it probably stands with Corinthian vases at the head of the transitional and early Corinthian series with the shallower shape, Payne, *NC*, p. 279, fig. 120 B and p. 23, fig. 9 C, and *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 219, figs. 2-3 and 5; it probably dates from about the middle of the seventh century.

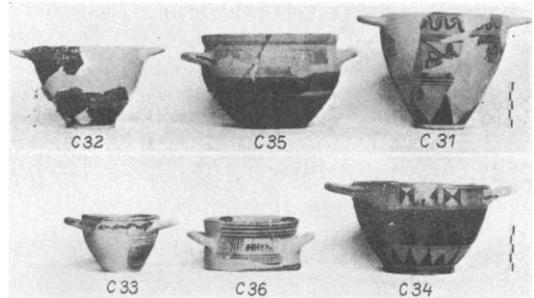


Fig. 105. Protoattic Skyphoi (C 31-36)

**C 34.** Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 105

P 7018. H., 0.095 m. Diam. at rim, 0.141 m.

One handle and small rim fragments restored. Ring foot; concentric circles and a dot on the bottom. In the handle-zone, verticals, and three sets of opposed triangles at the middle. Attic clay, dull black glaze.

Somewhat more squat and open than **C 33**, but derived from the same Corinthian prototypes. The short rays of the band above the foot are characteristic of Corinthian, rather than Proto-corinthian, skyphoi; cf. *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 219 ff.

SUBGEOMETRIC AND PROTOATTIC SKYPHOI: **C 35-47**

**C 35.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 105

P 7462. H. (as rest.), 0.097 m. Diam. at rim, 0.143 m.

The bottom is missing; both handles and much of the body restored. Deepish body with straight rim, tilted slightly outward. Attic clay with streaky black glaze; a reserved band inside the rim.

Subgeometric in shape and decoration, with deep body and very slightly rounded shoulder; cf. **V 3** above. The conventional handle-zone decoration is that used in Protocorinthian; cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 11, fig. 6 (late Geometric) and Johansen, pl. IX, 4 (from Phaleron Grave 64, dating about 700). Payne dates a similar skyphos at Oxford "late eighth or early seventh century" (*C.V.A., Oxford*, I, pl. I, 28).

**C 36.** Fragmentary Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 105

P 8348. P. H., 0.056 m. Diam. at rim, 0.104 m.

Similar in shape and decoration to **C 35**.

**C 37.** Skyphos. Fig. 106

P 7471. H. (rest.), 0.069 m. Diam. at rim, 0.127 m.

The bottom and several body fragments, restored. Reserved bands inside the rim. Bands on the rim and in the handle-zone. Shiny black glaze, streaky in places.

Slightly more pointed than **C 35**, and flatter at the shoulder; in shape much like **V 3**.

**C 38.** Geometric Skyphos. Fig. 106

P 7291. H., 0.076 m. Max. Diam., 0.127 m.

One handle and fragments of the body restored. Flat bottom and low vertical rim; in the handle-zone, compass-drawn concentric circles. Attic clay with somewhat peeled red glaze.

The shape is much like that of the late Geometric skyphos with battle scenes from Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. V, 1; our skyphos however has no foot. Compass-drawn circles are almost the only filling ornament used on the krater from Dipylon Grave III.

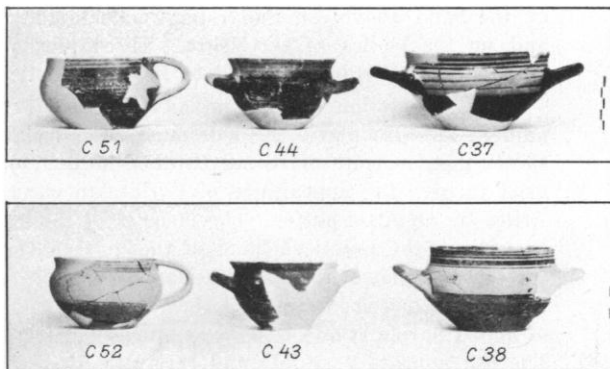


Fig. 106. Skyphoi (C 37–38, 43–44) and One-handed Cups (C 51–52)

**C 39.** Protoattic Skyphos. Fig. 107. *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 194, fig. 10; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 370, fig. 34

P 7014. H., 0.085 m. Diam. at rim (rest.), 0.15 m.

Most of the body and both handles restored; the profile is, however, preserved complete. Similar in shape to **C 38**, but with a low ring foot. Above the foot, rays; then a broad band, and a second series of rays ending in hooks. Above, two fishes swimming to the right; their interior details incised. In the field, dot rosettes and horizontal zigzag lines. The rim is divided into panels, in two of which are the glaze-painted letters  $\text{-Y}\Lambda\text{O}\ \text{\textcircled{S}}\text{I}\text{M}\text{I}$ . Inside the rim similar panels, each of which is filled by a reverse spiral. At the centre of the floor, four crossed wavy lines inside a glaze ring, making a wheel with eight crooked spokes. On the bottom, a Maltese cross. Purple is added over the glaze on alternate rays of the lower series,

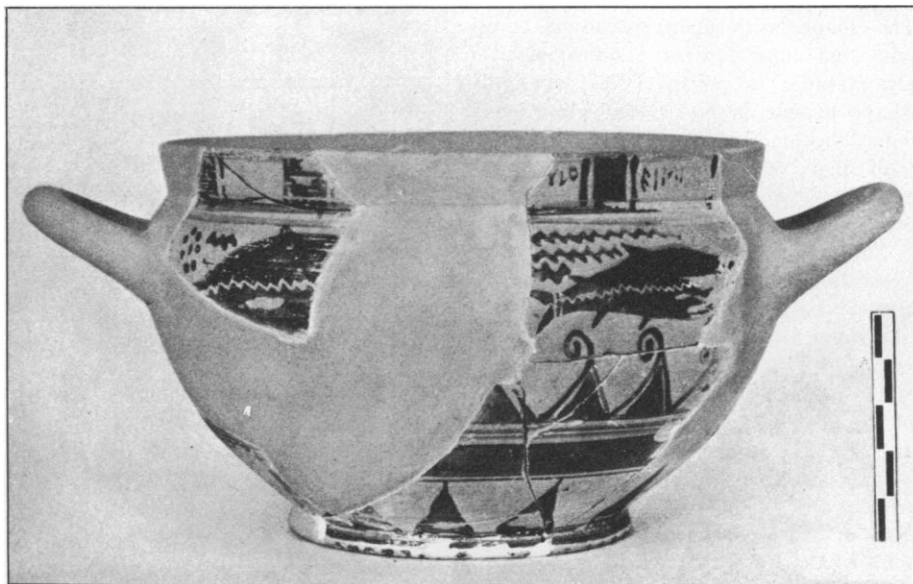


Fig. 107. Protoattic Skyphos with Dipinto (C 39)

on the band above, on the triangles inside the bases of the hooked rays of the second series, and on the bellies of the fishes. Three purple bands inside. Well levigated buff Attic clay with a creamy slip; glaze red to brownish outside, red inside.

The inscription on the rim gave the name of the owner of the cup; since the letters are painted on with glaze, the cup must have been made to order. The use of the Attic lambda shows that, in spite of strong Protocorinthian influence on the technique (the slip was probably used to give the appearance of Corinthian clay) and on the decoration, the vase was made in Attica by an Attic potter. The fineness of the letter forms is of course partly due to the skill in drawing of the practiced hand of the potter. On inscribed pots see below, p. 225. The shape is the same as that of **C 38** and the late Geometric skyphos from Eleusis cited in connection with it; also of the inscribed cup **B 55**, but somewhat more developed. The hooked rays and liberal use of added purple (white is used in late Geometric times) are among the late features of this vase. The fish appears very late and rarely in Attic Geometric; it is more common in Protocorinthian (cf. Johansen, pl. IV, 3 and IX, 3; Payne, *PV*, pl. VI, 3-4—all early), but apparently not used in Corinthian. Our skyphos is closest in feeling to the vases of Johansen's second archaic group, of the second quarter of the seventh century. Its decoration suggests almost that the fishes are, as far as possible, put into their own element—the hooked rays below suggest a wave pattern, and the long horizontal zigzags used as filling ornament carry out the illusion of water. A similar tentative feeling after landscape is given by the presence of bushes in the hare-hunt zone of the Protocorinthian Chigi vase (Payne, *PV*, pls. 27 and 28, 3).

#### **C 40.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 108

P 7464. H., 0.045 m. Diam. at rim, 0.13 m.

One handle and fragments of the body restored. Very shallow open body with flat bottom and widely flaring lip. The handles are set low, and are almost horizontal. Bands to the handle-zone and on the rim; a careless zigzag in the handle-zone. Ladders on the handles, and dots on the edge of the rim. The entire inside decorated with concentric glaze rings. Attic clay, dull glaze, black to brown.

The shape, with open spreading body and rim and long low-set handles, is obviously metallic in origin. Clay cups of this shape appear in late Geometric times, at about the end of the eighth century, most of them already with orientalizing decoration. One of these, from Thera, is discussed and illustrated by Pfuhl (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, p. 182 and pl. III), who remarks on the metallic character of the shape. Later (*Muz*, p. 71) he suggests that the shape is derived, not from a metallic prototype, but from vases of the type

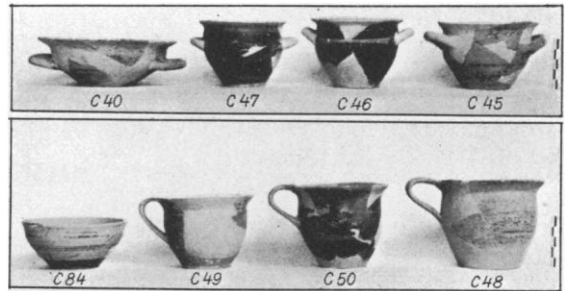


Fig. 108. Skyphoi (C 40, 45-47), One-handed Cups (C 48-50), and Kalathos (C 84)

Wide, fig. 96, upper left. Kunze follows him in this later interpretation, and gives the latest list of the skyphoi comprising the group (*Kretische Bronzereiefs*, p. 76 and note 6; to his list add the skyphos at Würzburg, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, 58, pl. 4 and 5; Langlotz calls this skyphos, which is very close to ours, "Phalerongattung"; add also five examples in the Empedocles Collection at Athens). The vase from which the type is supposed to develop is very different in shape and proportions, and only very slightly, if any, earlier than the earliest examples of the "metallic" type. Pfuhl's first theory seems clearly to be the correct one. The group now comprises, as far as I am aware, twenty-five pieces, all but two of which (from Thera) were found, as far as is known, in Attica. No doubt has ever been cast on their Attic origin.

If, then, the type is Attic and derived from metal prototypes, and the shape is unfamiliar to other Geometric fabrics, it is not too much to assume that the metal prototypes were also Attic. Our skyphos is a late member of a late group; its zigzag decoration in the handle-zone, very carelessly and unevenly drawn, and its lack of a foot, are thoroughly in keeping with the same characteristics apparent in other subgeometric vases of the early seventh century.

#### C 41. Subgeometric Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 109

P 7472. P. H., 0.034 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.12 m.

A rim fragment with one handle attachment. From a shallow cup with plain rim, perhaps of the Protocorinthian type, and decorated inside and outside. Outside, the handle panel is set off by verticals interrupted by a column of chevrons and a zigzag. A ladder on the handle, and dots below it, perhaps dot rosettes linked by dotted tangents. Around the rim a band of interlock. Inside, at the rim, series of short verticals above three bands; below, a horse to the right, with zigzag filling ornament in the field. Attic clay with badly peeled black to brown glaze.

The shape is hard to restore; the plain rim with the handle just below it suggests a skyphos of the Protocorinthian type, but the body of the vase is too shallow; nor could a skyphos of Protocorinthian shape have been conveniently decorated inside. Perhaps from a shallow skyphos like C 40, but with plain rim. The decoration inside is thoroughly subgeometric; cf. the fragment IV 2 above, fig. 13.

#### C 42. Protoattic Skyphos Fragment. Fig. 109

P 7465. P. H., 0.034 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.08 m.

A fragment comprising about a third of the upper body, with one handle; the base is missing. Inward-turned rim, slightly concave in section; rolled handle with out-turned ends, decorated with a ladder. The body and rim are banded; in the handle-zone, part of a procession of stalking-birds to the right. Glazed inside; Attic clay with metallic glaze, black to brown.

Lidded skyphoi of the same shape were found in Phaleron (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 35, fig. 28, from Grave 32, and p. 36, fig. 30, from Grave 48) in a grave of the second quarter of the seventh century (Grave 32) and in another probably of about the same time (Grave 48; Payne, *C. V. A., Oxford*, II, p. 59, no. 10, dates this grave not earlier than the first quarter of the seventh century; but a Protocorinthian skyphos, Johansen, pl. XVII, 2, found in it, is very deep and pointed, like our C 12 above, and should belong in the second quarter of the century). Another was found in Dipylon Grave VIII (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 1, 6), a grave which must also belong in the early seventh century—probably at about the end of the first quarter, since it is clearly even later than Dipylon Grave IX (*ibid.*, pl. VIII, 2). The type continues into the later seventh century; the lidded skyphos from Phaleron Grave 18 A (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 35, fig. 29) belongs near the end of the seventh century and has the same bird decoration as have the pyxis and oinochoe from our Grave II (II 3 and II 4 above, fig. 9). A fragment of a skyphos of this shape from an Agora group of the third quarter of the seventh century has been published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 419, and fig. 8, D 9. The rather comic birds are frequent enough on orientaling pottery: in Attica,

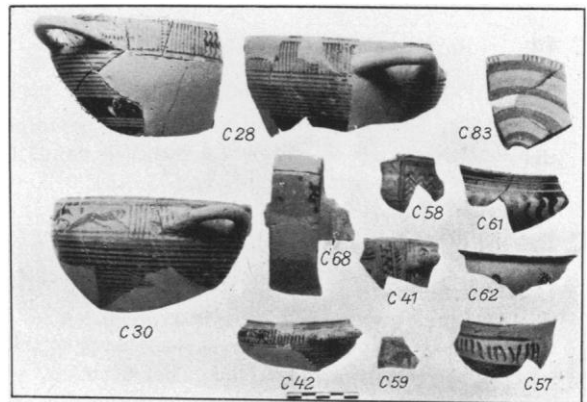


Fig. 109. Subgeometric and Protoattic Fragments (C 28, 30, 41–42, 57–59, 61–62, 68, 83)

on the Phaleron fragments, *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 250, fig. 14, and *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 39, fig. 37 (from Grave 19, a grave of the first quarter of the century), and the oinochoe *Jhb.*, II, 1887, p. 45, fig. 3; in the Cyclades, *Délos*, XVII, pls. XXVI-XXVII; and at Corinth, Johansen, pl. V, 6 b.

**C 43.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 106

P 7463. H., 0.062 m. Diam. at rim, 0.11 m.

One handle and about half the body restored. Flat bottom and rounded body with flaring rim. Entirely covered with rather poor dull reddish-brown glaze; four fine reserved bands inside the rim, and another halfway down the wall inside.

The shape is not unlike that of the skyphoi from Grave XX (**XX 1-3** above, fig. 67), although it is somewhat more developed—the body is deeper and more pointed, and the rim more flaring. There still remains a slight swelling at the shoulder; the skyphos **V 3** (fig. 15 above) has almost exactly the same profile, and another of the same shape was found at Phaleron (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 42, fig. 44, 4; from Grave 31. The pursuit of the contents and dating of this grave was given up as hopeless). The stubby carelessly made handles and the poor quality of the glaze give this skyphos a subgeometric character; it must belong early in the seventh century.

**C 44.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 106

P 7163. P.H., 0.053 m. Diam. at rim, 0.098 m.

The base and most of one side are restored. The shape the same as that of **C 43**; dull black glaze over all, except for two reserved bands outside the rim and two inside it, and a band filled with elongated dots on its edge.

**C 45.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 108

P 7161. H., 0.065 m. Diam. at rim, 0.096 m.

Small fragments of the body restored. Flat bottom, and deep, rather pointed body with no shoulder; flaring rim. A reserved band at the handle-zone, and three reserved bands inside the rim. Streaky red glaze, somewhat peeled.

Later than **C 43**, as shown by the depth of the body and the flatness of the shoulder, in keeping with the seventh century trend toward deep narrow shapes observed in the Protocorinthian skyphoi. Two similar skyphoi with reserved handle-zone were found in graves of the first quarter of the seventh century at Phaleron: Graves 23 and 58 (the skyphoi are not illustrated). Two more, from the seventh century Agora deposit, are published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 560, fig. 19, 64, and p. 564, fig. 23, 79. Another Agora deposit, unpublished, of the first half of the century, contains several examples (it is dated by Protocorinthian similar to that from the well deposit published here). The type is the common undecorated cheap skyphos of the orientizing period; it does not seem to be found with true Geometric. The development of the shape goes through the same phases as does that of the Corinthian skyphos; after the middle of the century, up to which time it has been becoming deeper and more pointed, it becomes rather shallow and open, and its rim is much less flaring. Two shallow skyphoi from a deposit in the third quarter of the seventh century at the Agora have been published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 413 and fig. 1, D 4-5. The development of the shape is also illustrated at Phaleron (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 43, fig. 45, 3 and 5, from Graves 55 and 16, both of the latter half of the seventh century).

**C 46.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 108

P 7162. H., 0.065 m. Diam. at rim, 0.095 m.

About half the body, and both handles, restored. Flat bottom, deep body, and flaring rim. A reserved band at the handle-zone, and another, filled with series of short verticals, on the rim. Streaky dull black glaze. Slightly deeper and more pointed in its proportions than **C 45**.

**C 47.** Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 108

P 7160. H., 0.063 m. Diam. at rim, 0.09 m.

Both handles and parts of the body restored. Flat bottom, deep pointed body, and flaring rim. Thin streaky brownish glaze except under the handles; three reserved bands inside the lip, the uppermost filled with dots, some of which have run a little down the rim outside. Still deeper and more pointed than **C 45-46**.

ONE-HANDLED CUPS: **C 48-60****C 48.** Subgeometric One-handed Cup. Figs. 108, 110

P 7165. H., 0.083 m. Diam. at rim, 0.105 m.

The bottom and much of the side restored. Flat bottom (the restoration is certain) and shoulderless body with flaring rim and band handle. Bars on the handle; the body glazed inside and out, with four reserved bands inside the rim, the uppermost filled with careless short verticals. Brownish-black glaze, almost entirely peeled off.

A meaningless (?) graffito on the outside below the rim (fig. 110). Another cup almost exactly like this one and also with a scratched graffito was found at Eleusis, unfortunately without context (*Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 58, fig. 4). The graffito on the Eleusis cup has been thought to represent a theta; our graffito (to use an equal amount of imagination) bears as much resemblance to a ligature zeta-epsilon followed by a tau. Cups of this type were popular for scribbling; of the twenty-one graffiti from Hymettos, sixteen are on fragments of such cups (or of skyphoi of the type **C 45-47**; *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 10 ff. and pl. I-III). The Hymettos sherds have been used as evidence in favor of the early introduction of the alphabet into Greece, and so have assumed an importance quite out of proportion to their beauty. Our examples (**C 48-50**) were found in a seventh century context. From the Agora come also fragments of another, found in a deposit whose lower limit is about 640 B.C. (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 560, fig. 19, 65; the number should be 64 to correspond to the description in the catalogue and the profile, p. 563, fig. 22; the smaller fragment has a triple line of added white decoration—in itself evidence that the cup should be dated in the seventh century). The presence of three cups of this type in an Agora deposit of the third quarter of the seventh century (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 413 and fig. 1, D 6-8) shows that such cups were made also in the later seventh century. Such cups have not been found in Geometric graves. Turning to Phaleron for confirmation of the Agora evidence, we find two more published examples: *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 42, fig. 44, 2 and 6, from Graves 48 and 32 respectively, both of which graves contained Proto-corinthian vases more probably of the second than of the first quarter of the century, and both of which have been referred to above in connection with **C 42**. A glance at the shape and the fabric is enough to convince one that these cups are the one-handed counterparts of the cheap subgeometric skyphoi of the type to which belong our **C 45-47**. Both types extend down into the second half of the century, while neither is found with true Geometric; if they were used over a long period of time, the evidence indicates that, beginning in the seventh century, they ran late, rather than they began in the eighth and ran into the seventh.

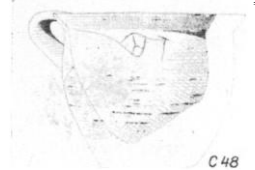


Fig. 110. Subgeometric Cup C 48. Drawing by Piet de Jong

**C 49.** Subgeometric One-handed Cup. Fig. 108

P 7468. H., 0.07 m. Diam. at rim, 0.094 m.

A large part of the body restored, and the handle. Flat bottom, deep shoulderless body, flaring rim, and band handle. Three reserved bands inside the rim, the uppermost filled with series of short verticals. Glaze black to red.

Similar to **C 48**; perhaps a trifle deeper and more pointed. Another in Leyden: Brants, *Beschrijving*, pl. IX, 58.

**C 50.** Subgeometric One-handled Cup. Fig. 108

P 7164. H., 0.072 m. Diam. at rim, 0.095 m.

The bottom and fragments of the body restored. Bars on the handle, six reserved bands inside the rim. The clay burned grey, the glaze black to brown.

**C 51.** Geometric One-handled Cup. Fig. 106

P 7470. H., 0.061 m. Diam. at rim, 0.095 m.

About half the body restored. Flat bottom, rounded shoulder, straight rim, and band handle. Entirely covered with dull reddish-brown glaze, except the rim, which is banded inside and out, and the handle which is barred.

The black-glazed one-handled cup with flat bottom, barred handle, and banded lip is a type used throughout the Geometric period with no perceptible development of the shape, although there are enough variations of the profile and the handle. A cup of the type from a late Geometric grave, **X 2** above; from an early Geometric grave, *A. A.*, 1934, pp. 241-242, fig. 27 left. Possible signs of lateness are the relatively high rim, and the length of the handle.

**C 52.** Geometric One-handled Cup. Fig. 106

P 7469. H., 0.062 m. Diam. at rim, 0.092 m.

The handle and fragments of the body restored. Banded rim and reserved handle-zone; otherwise covered with streaky dull red glaze.

The shape is very similar to that of **C 51**, but with the rim slightly more outward tilted. In proportions and decoration this vase would seem to be the one-handled counterpart of the skyphos **C 38**.

**C 53.** Phaleron Cup. Fig. 111

P 7005. H., 0.04 m. Diam. at rim, 0.083 m.

The handle restored. Flat bottom and flaring, slightly concave, side wall. Series of dots on the lip, and a wavy line in the handle-zone. Dull brownish glaze.

For Phaleron cups, see above, **VII 2** and **IX 2**. The variations of the shape are numerous. In connection with the wavy-line decoration it is interesting to note the difference in its drawing on the two cups *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 43, fig. 45, 6 and 7; the former, from Grave 71 of the third quarter of the seventh century, has, like ours, a line with short deep waves, while the latter from Grave 11 of the first quarter, has wide shallow waves.

**C 54.** Phaleron Cup. Fig. 111

P 8352. H., 0.037 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.075 m.

The handle and parts of the body restored. Low flat base and slightly concave flaring side wall. Covered with dull black glaze, badly peeled; a reserved band outside the lip, and three inside it.

**C 55.** Phaleron Cup. Fig. 111

P 8353. H., 0.05 m. Diam. at rim, 0.066 m.

The handle and small fragments of the rim and body restored. Flat bottom, convex body, and flaring rim. A glazed band around the bottom of the body; a wavy band around the lower body,

and another band below the rim. Dull black glaze, much peeled; three reserved bands inside the rim.

A small cup of nearly the same shape was found in Dipylon Grave IX; it was not included in the drawing published (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 117 and pl. VIII, 2).

**C 56.** Phaleron Cup. Fig. 111

P 6351. H., 0.043 m. Diam. at rim (rest.), 0.076 m.

Most of the rim restored. Flat bottom and band handle. Glaze bands around the body at the levels of the handle attachments; bars on the handle. The inside glazed, with reserved bands at the rim. Dull black glaze, much peeled.

This cup is almost exactly the same in shape and decoration as cups from Graves VII and IX.

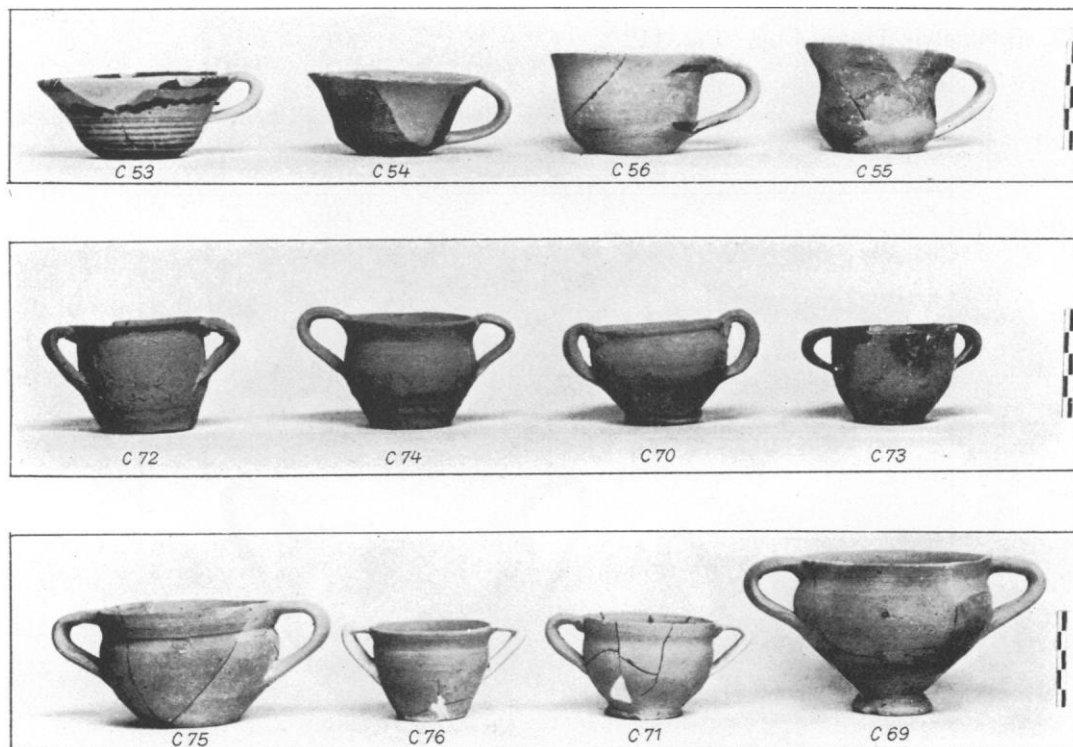


Fig. 111. Phaleron (C 53–56) and Coarse Two-handled Cups (C 69–76)

**C 57.** Phaleron Cup Fragment. Fig. 109

P 6354. P. H., 0.042 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.075 m.

Very slightly flaring vertical rim and shallow, nearly flat, shoulder. Careless verticals in the handle-zone; the inside glazed, with a reserved band at the rim. Streaky brownish glaze.

Another cup almost exactly like this, **V 2** above (fig. 15).

**C 58.** Phaleron Cup Fragment. Fig. 109

P 8355. P. H., 0.043 m.



Bands on the rim and lower body; a quadruple zigzag band in the handle-zone. A reserved band filled with short verticals inside the rim. Pink clay with buff surface; red glaze. Carelessly made on the wheel.

The fabric and decoration recall those of the small vases from Graves XI and XII.

**C 59.** Phaleron Cup Fragment. Fig. 109

P 8336. P. H., 0.023 m.

A small rim fragment. Part of a wavy line outside the rim; below, the head and neck, with the mane, of a horse to the right. Glaze and fabric similar to those of **C 58**.

The cup was very small, so that neither the potter nor the painter had scope to exercise his best abilities. Similar tiny careless cups were found at Phaleron: *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 42, fig. 44, 5 and p. 46, fig. 50, in the middle.

**C 60.** Geometric Trefoil Cup. Fig. 112

P 7477. H., 0.055 m. L. at rim, 0.10 m.

Much of the body, and the handle, restored. Flat bottom and slightly convex side wall made trefoil at the rim by two very shallow pinches; band handle. Around the body in the handle-

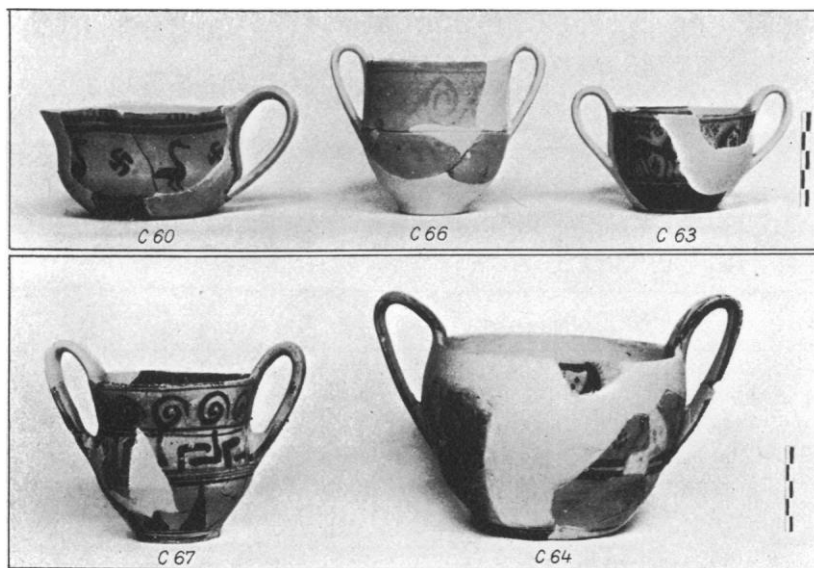


Fig. 112. Trefoil Cup (C 60) and Subgeometric and Protoattic Kantharoi (C 63-64, 66-67)

zone a procession of birds, with a swastika between each pair. Series of short verticals outside the lip, and a reserved band inside it. Slightly metallic black glaze.

Other trefoil cups: Wide, fig. 95 and, at Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. IV, 9. Our example, with its birds carefully drawn in silhouette and comparable to those of the pitcher lid from Dipylon Grave XIII (Hampe, pl. 32, N. M. 771), must belong in the late eighth century, and be one of the earliest vases in the well deposit.

**C 61.** Subgeometric Fragment. Fig. 109

P 7466. P. H., 0.043 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.16 m.

From the upper body and rim. Shallow convex shoulder and straight rim, banded. Vertical wavy lines (probably sigmas) in the handle-zone. Attic clay, black to reddish glaze, somewhat peeled; a reserved band inside the rim.

Uncertain whether it is from a skyphos, a cup, or a small krater; but it is probably too big to be from a cup. The rim as on **C 38** and **C 52**.

**C 62.** Geometric Fragment. Fig. 109

P 7473. P. H., 0.029 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.105 m.

Rim fragment; the shoulder very shallow, and the rim sharply flaring and flat on its upper face which is reserved. Covered with firm chocolate-brown glaze inside; in the handle-zone, which is reserved, dotted circles, plain and surrounded by dot rings.

Like **C 61**, probably from a skyphos. The decoration of the handle-zone is much like that of **C 38**.

SUBGEOMETRIC AND PROTOATTIC KANTHAROI: **C 63–68**

**C 63.** Subgeometric Kantharos. Fig. 112

P 7474. H. to rim, 0.052 m. W. at handles, 0.073 m.

Much of the body, and the band handles, restored. Flat bottom and convex side wall with plain lip; the lip is oval, somewhat narrower between the handles than from back to front. On each side of the body, two horses to the right; filling ornament of lozenges, swastikas, and zigzags in the field. The handle panels set off by verticals and columns of diagonals. Glazed inside, with a reserved band at the rim, and dot at the centre of the floor. Reddish brown glaze.

A little kantharos of much the same shape and decoration was found in Dipylon Grave IX (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2, 3). Another, in Cambridge, is published in *C. V. A., Cambridge*, I, pl. I, 15. All belong to the same careful archaizing subgeometric style of the beginning of the seventh century; in the same group, the cup and oinochoe from Grave VI, and the small vases from Graves XI and XII above. The same phase of Protocorinthian is illustrated in the aryballos Johansen, pl. XX, 1 and *C. V. A., Oxford*, II, pl. I, 5, an aryballos which Payne calls "clearly archaizing" and dates at the end of the first quarter of the seventh century. Compare also our kantharos **IX 10**.

**C 64.** Subgeometric Kantharos. Fig. 112

P 7476. H. to rim, 0.106 m. W. at handles, 0.13 m.

Most of the body restored in plaster; the profile complete. Flat bottom and deep convex body oval at the lip. The band handles barred at their bases and curved tops; on their vertical faces, St. Andrew's crosses. In the handle-zone on each side, a pair of tethered horses, facing; dot rosettes in the field. The inside glazed.

A large number of kantharoi of this shape and with an almost stereotyped decoration of tethered horses or facing birds has been found in Boeotia, where the type is certainly much more common than it is in Attica; cf. Hampe, pl. 26 and 28; Boston 285 (Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, pl. XXV), and Athens (Nicole, *Supplement*, pl. III, 774); these Boeotian kantharoi are sometimes, as Hampe, pl. 23 and 25, more elaborately decorated. The clay of Attic and Boeotian pottery is often so similar that it is difficult to tell them apart; there is nothing, however, about the clay of our kantharos that is obviously non-Attic. But whether or not it is actually an import is of relative unimportance; the type is Boeotian and certainly imported. Hampe dates his Boeotian examples, of the latest Geometric and subgeometric phases of the Boeotian style, at the end of the eighth and in the early seventh century.

- C 65.** Protoattic Kantharos. Fig. 113. *A. J. A.*, XL, 1936, p. 194, fig. 9; *A. A.*, 1936, p. 118, fig. 8; *J. H. S.*, XLVI, 1936, p. 137, fig. 1; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 370, fig. 33

P 7016. H. to rim, 0.049 m. W. at handles, 0.064 m.

Low flat base and convex body with plain rim, oval and narrowed between the band handles. Above the base, rays, with a pendant hook between the ends of each pair. In the handle-zone, elaborate scrolled and petalled floral ornament; the decoration on each side arranged off-centre. On each handle a pair of interlacing wavy verticals with dotted circles inside their loops. Glazed inside, with a band of alternating black and reserved rectangles at the rim. Concentric circles and a dot on the bottom. Brownish-black glaze, somewhat streaky and slightly metallic.

A somewhat metallic effect is given by the handles, the lower ends of which are applied against the vase-wall, instead of springing from it. The decoration gives the effect of a struc-



Fig. 113. Protoattic Kantharos (C 65)

tural division of the cup into lower body and high straight rim even though the curve of the side wall is continuous; on **C 66**, of the same shape, the division is marked by a shallow groove. The elaborate floral ornament is characteristic of the mid-seventh century; compare the cup from the Kerameikos, *A. A.*, 1934, pp. 219-220, fig. 15, and the Nessos amphora in New York, *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. X-XII. An oinochoe with nearly the same floral ornament was found with an aryballos of late Protocorinthian type in a pithos grave at Arkades in Crete (Pithos 35; *Annuario*, 10-12, 1927-29, p. 114, figs. 92-93; compare the aryballos with the Class C aryballos of Johansen, pl. XXXVII). On these vases of the middle of the century the ornament has reached its full elaboration; it is somewhat more simple and tentative on a cup, an oinochoe, and an amphora from Phaleron graves of the second quarter (the amphora, from Grave 18, *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 29, figs. 15-16; the cup and the oinochoe from Grave 48, *ibid.*, p. 39, fig. 38, 4 and p. 43, fig. 45, 1).

**C 66.** Orientalizing Kantharos. Fig. 112

P 7475. H. (rest.), 0.077 m. W. at handles, 0.07 m.

The bottom, fragments of the body, and both handles restored. Lower body and rim form a continuous convex curve, but are delimited by a shallow groove at their junction. On the lower body, rays; on the rim, wave pattern. Glazed inside. Very pale buff clay with creamy surface; badly peeled brownish glaze.

The fabric is the same as that of the kantharos **IX 11**, and similar to that of the so-called Monochrome Argive group.

**C 67.** Protoattic Kantharos. Fig. 112

P 7022. H. to rim, 0.091 m. W. at handles, 0.105 m.

Low base and deep convex body with rounded shoulder and offset, slightly flaring rim. Rays; interlocking meander-hooks on the shoulder, and detached spirals on the rim; a vertical down the centre of each handle, and another down each side. Glazed inside; black glaze, slightly metallic.

The kantharos shape with rounded shoulder and relatively high rim, the commonest Protoattic type, is probably developed from late Geometric kantharoi like one in Copenhagen, *C. V. A.*, II, pl. 73, 5 a-b. Several orientalizing kantharoi like ours were found in the Agora votive deposit published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933 (pp. 585 ff.; numbers 200, 204, and 205; figs. 51 and 55-57). The shape is much like that of the somewhat later Boeotian bird kantharoi (cf. Sieveking and Hackl, *Munich Catalogue*, pl. XV, 415); it is not unlikely that Boeotia imitated this type from Attica, taking it in return for the borrowing of the Boeotian type discussed above, **C 64**.

**C 68.** Kantharos Fragment. Fig. 109

P 8350. P. H., 0.094 m.

The handle, with part of the rim, of a very large kantharos of heavy fabric. The handle panel set off by verticals. Wide alternating glazed and reserved bands on the handle. Dull black glaze, somewhat peeled.

UNGLAZED CUPS: **C 69-76**

Fragments of small two-handled cups, roughly made on the wheel and unglazed, were found in the well in great numbers, scattered throughout its depth. In addition to those published, the bases of eighty more were counted; with other fragments from rims and handles, there were probably at least a hundred altogether. A cup of this type was found in the Agora deposit dated after the middle of the seventh century: *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 415 and fig. 8, D 10. Such cups are too small to have been of any use in daily life. They are perhaps votive cups of a crude miniature type often offered at sanctuaries, and usually found in great numbers; compare a late fourth century votive deposit of miniature unglazed vases, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 207 ff. All our cups are of pink Attic clay with rough spirals left on their bottoms by their careless removal from the wheel. There are small variations of shape; flat-bottomed cups may be distinguished from those with low bases and those with ring foot; but otherwise little can be learned from a group of vases so small and so roughly made.

**C 69.** Two-handled Cup. Fig. 111

P 7196. H., 0.08 m. Diam. at rim, 0.095 m.

Parts of the body, and one handle, restored. High flaring ring foot and deep pointed body with slightly flaring rim.

The shape is rare; probably derived from Protogeometric goblets, which sometimes have two vertical handles; the conical foot has become truncated. A black-glazed example was found in an early Geometric child's grave in the Agora (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 553, fig. 11, 2), and another in an unpublished well, together with simple Geometric pottery of the first half of the eighth century; three more, unglazed, came from another Agora well of about the same period. The shape, then, though rare, seems to have been made continuously throughout the Geometric period. The present example belongs to the early type, but with rather deeper and more pointed body; the other examples from the deposit (**C 70-76**) dispense with the foot and have deep narrow bodies, following the development noted also in other shapes. The original type, however, that of **C 69**, seems to have continued to be made contemporaneously with the later cups of the shape developed from it.

**C 70-71.** Two-handled Cups. Fig. 111

P 6998, P 7186. H., 0.045 m. and 0.052 m. Diam. at rim, 0.062 m. and 0.067 m.

One handle of **C 71** restored. Both have a low flat base and slightly flaring lip, and are similar in shape to **C 69** except at the bottom.

**C 72-73.** Two-handled Cups. Fig. 111

P 7068, P 7067. H., 0.04 m. and 0.044 m. Diam. at rim, 0.059 m. and 0.056 m.

Both handles of **C 73** restored. Similar in shape, but deeper and wider in the lower body; flat bottomed. **C 73** has been burned and the clay is grey.

**C 74-75.** Two-handled Cups. Fig. 111

P 7066, P 7167. H., 0.049 m. and 0.06 m. Diam. at rim, 0.06 m. and 0.08 m.

One handle of **C 75** restored. Similar in shape to **C 72-73**, but with high, nearly vertical, rims. **C 75** rather shallow and open in the body.

**C 76.** Two-handled Cup. Fig. 111

P 7019. H., 0.047 m. Diam. at rim, 0.064 m.

Both handles restored. Flat bottom and very flaring rim; body deep and pointed, much resembling in shape the glazed cups **C 48-50**.

PLATES AND BOWLS: **C 77-92****C 77.** Geometric Plate Fragment. Fig. 115

P 8366. P. H., 0.088 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.30 m.

Two fragments of the rim, one with one of the rolled handles, from a large plate, fairly deep and with convex side walls. Around the body, a zone of leaves filled with diagonals; in the handle-zone, dots linked by tangents. Two reserved bands inside, and series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim. Black to red glaze, somewhat metallic.

A plate of the same shape and with nearly the same decoration was found in a grave at Spata together with subgeometric vases of the very early seventh century (Spata Grave II;

*Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, p. 134, fig. 4); the plate in the Spata grave appears to be the earliest vase in the grave group. Both are slightly shallower than our **XX 6**, and have flatter side walls. Compare the degenerated leaf pattern on the plates from our Grave VI and from Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1912, p. 33, fig. 14, both of the first quarter of the seventh century. Our plate, and that from the Spata grave, must belong near the end of the eighth.

**C 78.** Geometric Plate Fragment. Fig. 115

P 8367. Max. Diam., 0.11 m.

A fragment of the slightly convex side wall, preserving also part of the low flat base. Decorated with bands, a lozenge chain, and a hatched meander. Brown to reddish glaze. Heavy fabric; from a large, rather shallow plate.

Late Geometric; a plate of similar shape is illustrated in Collignon-Couve, *Catalogue*, pl. XV, 347. A lid in Würzburg (Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, 53, and pl. 5) is decorated with the same sort of meander hatched with nearly straight, instead of diagonal, lines. Both the Würzburg lid and the Athens plate have zones of interlocking latticed triangles, a favorite late Geometric motive, and should belong, with our plate, at the end of the eighth century.

**C 79.** Subgeometric Plate. Figs. 114, 116

P 7487. H., 0.04 m. Diam. at rim, 0.117 m.

Body fragments restored. Low flat base and shallow, slightly convex body; rolled handles with out-turned ends. Banded outside and on the bottom; a reverse spiral at the centre on the bottom, and a succession of short verticals in the handle-zone. Glazed inside, with a reserved band half-way down the body; series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim. Glaze red to brown, and much worn.

The body is shallower and less convex, as well as considerably smaller, than **XX 6**. The glaze bands are still wide like those on late Geometric pots, but the reverse spiral on the bottom is an orientalizing feature.

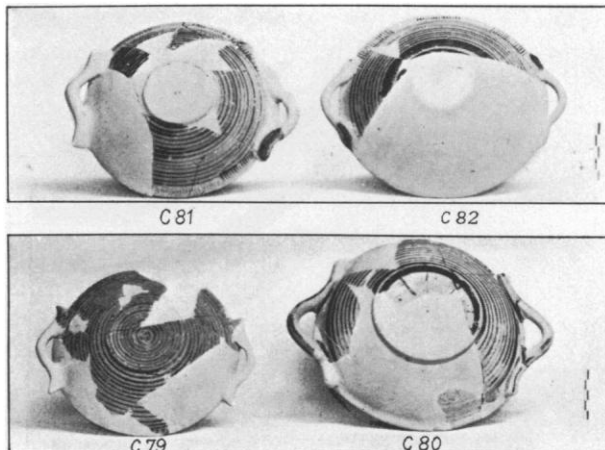


Fig. 114. Subgeometric Plates (C 79-82)

**C 80.** Subgeometric Plate. Figs. 114, 116

P 7290. H., 0.05 m. Diam. at rim, 0.207 m.

Much of the body restored. Low ring foot and rolled handles; the rim is very slightly concave. The body shaped much as **C 79**, but more curved. The outside banded, with verticals to set off the handle panels; an eight-armed cross on the bottom. The inside glazed; series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim. Dull black glaze.

**C 81.** Subgeometric Plate. Figs. 114, 116

P 7171. H., 0.036 m. Diam. at rim, 0.151 m.

Both the handles and much of the body restored. Low flat base and shallow, very slightly convex body. Narrow glaze bands; in the handle zone, verticals beside the handle panels and

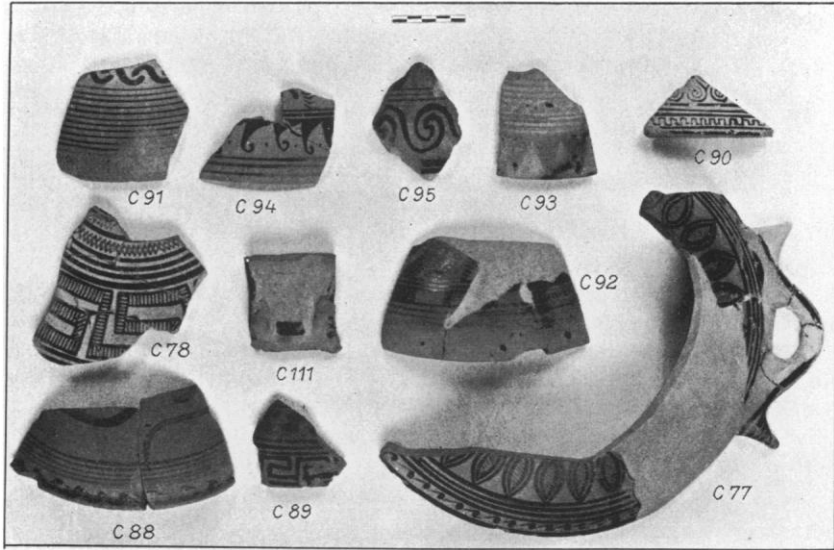


Fig. 115. Fragments of Plates (C 77-78), Bowls (C 88-92), Lids (C 93-95) and Krater Handle (C 111)

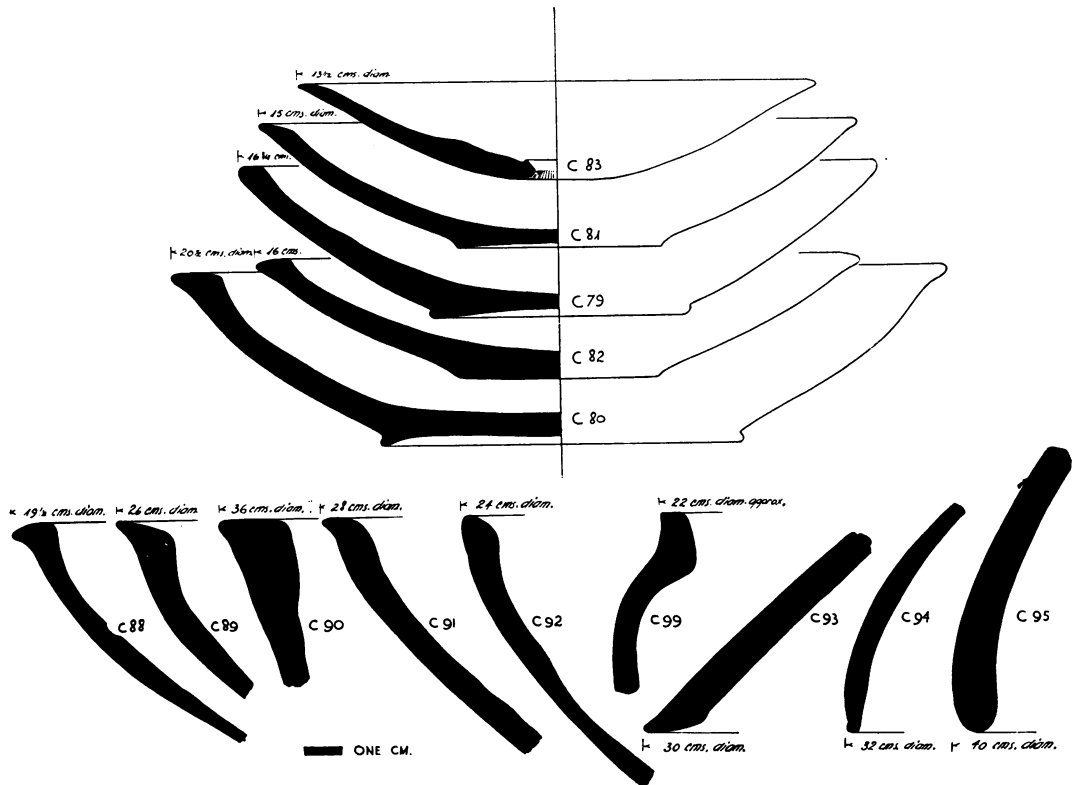


Fig. 116. Profiles of Plates, Bowls, and Lids

short vertical zigzags at the centre. Series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim, and a reserved band half-way down the body inside. Black to red glaze.

Again shallower and less convex than **C 79-80**, and somewhat later. The bands around the body are no longer of the fairly wide Geometric bands, but the careless Attic lines used in imitation of the Protocorinthian. The decoration of the handle-zone, too, is the conventional Protocorinthian handle-zone ornament. Fragments of similar plates, with wavy lines in the handle-zone, were found in the seventh century Agora votive deposit (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 585-586, figs. 46-47, 185; note especially the profile, fig. 46). A similar plate was found in Dipylon Grave VIII, which should probably be dated late in the first quarter of the seventh century (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 1, 3). Plates of this type continued to be made after the middle of the seventh century; one was found in our Agora group of the third quarter of the century; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 415 and fig. 2, D 12.

**C 82.** Subgeometric Plate. Figs. 114, 116

P 7172. H., 0.03 m. Diam. at rim, 0.17 m.

About half the body, and both handles, restored. Similar in shape and decoration to **C 81**.

**C 83.** Subgeometric Saucer Fragment. Figs. 109, 116

P 7179. H., 0.033 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.13 m.

The profile completely preserved. Part of a small, shallow slightly convex saucer with a neat round hole through the bottom. Inside, bands; series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim. The outside unglazed and decorated with four shallow wheel-run grooves between two bands of grooved slanting strokes resembling rouletting. Attic clay, red glaze.

The vase was probably too shallow to have been used as a funnel; it may have served as the lid of a round-mouthed pot, with a finger-hole at the centre as a handle. Compare, however, the similar saucer, *Argive Heraeum*, II, p. 125, fig. 50, which has a boss instead of a hole at the centre.

**C 84.** Subgeometric Kalathos. Fig. 108

P 7166. H., 0.046 m. Diam. at rim, 0.095 m.

About half preserved. Handleless bowl with low base, slightly rounded at the edge, convex side wall, and plain rim. Glazed inside, with three reserved bands at the rim. Series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim. Attic clay; dull glaze, black to brown.

Similar in shape to the kalathos from Grave **XVII 5**, fig. 54. The banded decoration is like that of the Protocorinthian kalathoi discussed by Johansen, pp. 66 ff. and figs. 43-44. The Protocorinthian examples, from the Argive Heraeum and Aegina, have no context that demands an early dating. Similar kalathoi found in graves in Eleusis and Syracuse should be dated from their contexts in the late eighth or early seventh century. Fragments of others were found in seventh century context in the Agora Votive Deposit (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, nos. 186 and 188, pp. 584 ff. and figs. 46-47).

**C 85.** Subgeometric Bowl. Fig. 117

P 7170. H., 0.064 m. Diam. at rim, 0.244 m.

Most of the rolled handle, the fragments of the body, restored. Convex body on a low flat base; plain rim. A spout in the rim at one side, and a horizontal handle applied against its face at the opposite side. Glaze bands outside, and a row of dots in the handle-zone; three reserved bands around the body inside. Highly metallic black glaze, shading to brown outside, and somewhat peeled.



The shape is very like that of such late Geometric plates as **C 77**, but shallower than **XX 6**; the glaze is very similar in quality to that of the grave pitcher **XIV 1**. Probably late eighth century; spouts appear on such late Geometric bowls as Wide, fig. 92.

**C 86.** Protoattic Bowl. Fig. 117

P 7169. H., 0.08 m. Diam. at rim, 0.22 m.

Many fragments of the body restored. Rather high base and convex body with thickened, slightly flaring, rim, flat on top. No handles preserved; a very shallow depression on the upper face of the rim, covered with a spot of glaze, served as a sort of rudimentary pour-channel; there may have been one handle at the opposite side of the rim. Fine glaze lines above the base and below the wavy line just under the rim outside; on the body between, large glaze circles. Glazed inside, with a reserved band half-way down the body; series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim. Black glaze, streaky and slightly metallic.

The bowl shape has become slightly deeper than that of the Geometric plate **XX 6**. The decoration with a wavy band at the rim is used on plates and bowls from the seventh century votive deposit from the Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 586, fig. 47; the circle decoration on a kantharos lip, *ibid.*, p. 592, fig. 57.

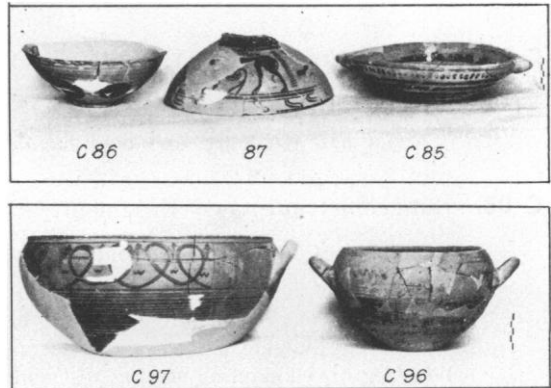


Fig. 117. Subgeometric and Protoattic Bowls  
(C 85–87, 96–97)

**C 87.** Protoattic Bowl. Figs. 117–118. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 371, fig. 35

P 7168. H., 0.097 m. Diam. at rim, 0.26 m.

Restored; about half the body preserved, with gaps. Low ring foot and convex body somewhat deeper than that of **C 86**; the same flat thickened rim, and the same rudimentary pour-channel on it. A cross on the bottom, and flame-like tongues below the rim outside. The restoration of the decoration on the body is fairly certain; parts of three lions marching to the left are preserved, and there is room for a fourth. The bodies of the lions are drawn in silhouette, their heads in outline. Between and under the lions, filling ornament of floral patterns, dotted running dog, lozenges, and zigzag columns. Glazed inside; series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim. Dull glaze, black to brownish.

Very like our bowl is another from the Agora, decorated with deer; both use the bands below the rim as groundline for their animals, which are then upside-down when the bowl stands on its foot. It is probable, then, that the bowls of this sort had a handle on the rim opposite the pour-channel or spout, like **C 85**, so that they could be hung against the wall and their decoration seen. Processions of lions with faces drawn in outline appear on the krater in Munich (*Jhb.*, XXII, 1907, pl. 1) and on the bowl from Thebes (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. IV), together with a rich floral ornament that must belong in the second quarter of the seventh century, and that approaches in lushness that of the Nessos amphora in New York (*J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. X–XII) of nearly the middle of the century. In shape, compare the bowl from Thebes with the one from Aegina by the Nessos painter, which belongs in the last quarter of the century (Berlin F 1682; Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 8; see also Payne, *NC*, p. 344, and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black Figure*, p. 11). Earlier lions in Attica, drawn entirely in silhouette on late Geometric vases, begin to appear at

about the end of the eighth century; drawing in outline, more popular and probably earlier in the Cyclades, may have been borrowed by Attica from the islands. The technique, at best rare in Protocorinthian, appears there in the second black-figured style near the middle of the seventh century; see the remarks of Johansen on outline drawing, pp. 112 ff. (the early Protocorinthian aryballoi, Johansen, pl. V, correspond in drawing rather with the late Geometric Attic phase using reserved dots for eyes, outlined skirts filled with dots as on the Analatos hydria, and outlined fishes, than with the true realistic outlining used in the Cyclades and applied to human and animal heads; Corinth preferred incision). Our bowl finds another parallel on an oinochoe of near



Fig. 118. Protoattic Bowl (C 87). Restored Drawing by Piet de Jong

the middle of the seventh century from the Agora: *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 596, fig. 61. The painter of the bowl has drawn the teeth of the lions in the same way (but slightly more pointed) as the petals of the floral ornament, running them quite out of the mouth and a little way down the chin.

### C 88. Protoattic Bowl Fragment. Figs. 115–116

P 7485. P. H., 0.06 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.195 m.

Shape as **C 86–87**, but with slightly projecting rim. Below the rim outside, a wavy line; under it a banded zone. On the lower body, reverse-curved lines from above the base to the zone of bands, with a small glaze ring between each pair; the same decoration as that of the rim of **C 87**, but with single curved lines. Series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim; the inside glazed, with a reserved band half-way down the body. Red glaze, rather thick and streaky.

A bowl somewhat similarly decorated, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 586, fig. 48, 191.

**C 89.** Protoattic Bowl Fragment. Figs. 115–116

P 8364. P. H., 0.045 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.22 m.

The shape is the same. On the upper face of the rim, series of short glaze strokes. Below the rim outside a line meander; in the zone underneath, a band of running dog. Glazed inside.

Meander and key-pattern on Geometric vases are drawn double and hatched with diagonals; both appear drawn single, however, on late Geometric vases (Grave **XV 1** above; Isis Grave, *C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. IV, 4, 6 and 8, and pl. V, 5). In Boeotia the decoration is popular on late and subgeometric vases (cf. Hampe, pl. 18). It is even more frequently used on Protoattic vases, which pass it down as an ornament for narrow bands at the rim to the black-figured style. A similar line meander is used on the kantharos from the Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 588, fig. 51.

**C 90.** Protoattic Bowl Fragment. Figs. 115–116

P 8363. P. H., 0.046 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.36 m.

From a bowl of the same shape but much bigger and of heavy fabric. Glazed inside; a series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim. Below the rim outside, a band of linear key-pattern; under it a zone filled with triangles, from the apices of which spring spirals. Black glaze.

Compare the band of key-pattern on the rim with that on the lip of the late Geometric amphora **XV 1**, fig. 48 above.

**C 91.** Protoattic Bowl Fragment. Figs. 115–116

P 8365. P. H., 0.055 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.27 m.

Same shape as **C 89**. Below the rim outside, series of vertical zigzags. On the body, bands, and a zone of running dog. Series of short glaze strokes on the upper face of the rim; glazed inside. Thick black glaze.

**C 92.** Protoattic Bowl Fragment. Figs. 115–116

P 7486. P. H., 0.07 m. Diam. of rim (est.), 0.23 m.

From another similar bowl; the rim hardly projects at the outside. On the upper face of the rim, series of short glaze strokes and a depressed glazed rudimentary pour-channel. Below the rim outside, series of vertical zigzags, with dots between; below, bands and a zone of interrupted zigzag. On the lower body parallel zigzags, running diagonally downward. Glazed inside; slightly metallic black glaze, somewhat peeled.

Bands filled with vertical and diagonal zigzags are one of the most frequently used decorations on late Boeotian Geometric (Hampe, pls. 18–19) and Cycladic vases (*Délos*, XV, especially the vases of class A b, pls. XV–XVII). Similar bands of diagonal zigzag are used more rarely in Attica on subgeometric and Protoattic vases (Collignon-Couve 254, pl. XIV; *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. IV, the Analatos hydria), often, on later pots, hastily drawn and resembling wavy lines. A number of orientalizing fragments with this decoration were found in the Agora votive deposit: *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 570 ff.

LIDS: **C 93–95****C 93.** Protoattic Lid Fragment. Figs. 115–116

P 8370. P. H., 0.078 m. Diam. of rim (est.), 0.26 m.

Plain rim, slightly thickened, and somewhat convex wall. Outside, at the edge, rays with dots between their ends, and, above, bands interrupted by a zone of running dog. Dull black glaze, badly peeled.

An Agora fragment with the same decoration, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 588, fig. 50, 198.

**C 94.** Protoattic Lid Fragment. Figs. 115–116

P 8369. P. H., 0.065 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.38 m.

Plain downward-curved rim. Above the rim outside, pendant hooks with a dot between the ends of each pair; there was probably a figured scene of some sort above, perhaps an animal procession as on *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 582, fig. 41, fragments of lids of the same shape and with the same sort of decoration. Thick black glaze.

**C 95.** Protoattic Lid Fragment. Figs. 115–116

P 8368. P. H., 0.078 m.

Compare the running spiral (made by joining the ends of interlacing reverse spirals) with that on the Nessos amphora in New York (*J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. X–XII), and that on the Kerameikos oinochoe of the same date and perhaps by the same hand as the New York vase (*A. A.*, 1934, pp. 215–216, fig. 12).

TWO-HANDLED BOWLS: **C 96–101****C 96.** Subgeometric Bowl. Fig. 117

P 7484. H., 0.135 m. Diam. at rim, 0.195 m.

One handle and fragments of the body restored. Flat bottom and deep body, with plain rim slightly in-turned. Upward tilted horizontal rolled handles. Glazed to the handle-zone, with a reserved band. In the handle-zone, two panels separated by three columns of diagonals between vertical bands down the middle. In each panel, bands and a wavy line. Banded to the lip above the handle-zone. Dull red glaze, much peeled; glazed inside.

**C 97.** Protoattic Two-handled Bowl Fragment. Fig. 117

P 7173. P. H., 0.152 m. Diam. at rim, 0.335 m.

About half the upper body preserved; the handle restored on the stumps of its attachments. Low straight rim. The body decorated with fine glaze bands, and the handle panel set off by multiple vertical bands; in the handle-zone running loops with short sections of zigzag between them below, and, above, between the top of each pair, a conventional flower rising from a horizontal band of glaze. A floral ornament under the handle. Glazed inside; rather streaky red glaze.

There was probably a spout at the missing side of the rim. The shape is much like that of the late Geometric bowl, Hampe, pl. 22 below; the decoration of running loops appears on another similar bowl from Phaleron (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 30, fig. 18, from Grave 29, of the first quarter of the seventh century). The decoration of the amphora from Phaleron Grave 18 (*ibid.*, p. 29, figs. 15–16) is also very close to that of our fragment.

**C 98.** Protoattic Two-handled Bowl Fragment. Fig. 119

P 7174. P. H., 0.14 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.27 m.

The shape as **C 97**, with slightly lower rim. Banded body; in the handle-zone, floral ornament. Slightly metallic glaze, brownish-black outside, red inside.

On the floral ornament, see above, the kantharos **C 65**. The decoration of this fragment is also very close to that of the amphora from Phaleron Grave 18, which dates at about the beginning of the second quarter of the seventh century.

**C 99.** Subgeometric Two-handled Bowl Fragment. Figs. 116 and 121

P 8360. P. H., 0.052 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.16 m.

Straight rim and convex shoulder; the beginning of a spout is preserved at the right edge. The bowl probably had rolled handles like those of **C 97**. On the shoulder below the spout, multiple vertical bands; in the handle-zone beside them, part of a hound running to the left, probably one of a succession. Zig-zags for filling ornament. Dull black glaze, somewhat peeled.

The bowl when complete was of much the same shape as Hampe, pl. 22, below. Coursing hounds, as noted above (**C 30**), appear in ProtoCorinthian at the time of the transition from the early to the middle style—at the end of the eighth century; cf. Johansen, pl. 73, and p. 86. The hunted hare is a favorite Boeotian panel ornament from the end of the eighth century on (cf. Hampe, pl. 18). The earliest Attic coursing hounds are on the Corinthianizing skyphos from Grave I at Spata (*Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 132-133 and figs. 2 and 3; late eighth century), and on the amphora in the National Museum at Athens (N. M. 897; Wide, fig. 114 in *Jhb.*, 1900, p. 53; two bands of coursing hounds) which is of the same shape as our **XI 1** (fig. 32 above) and has subgeometric decoration; it is dateable at the very end of the eighth century or the beginning of the seventh. The oinochoe in Copenhagen (*C. V. A.*, II, pl. 73, 4 a-b) with a hare-hunt on its shoulder is of about the same time. The deep cup Copenhagen, *C. V. A.*, II, pl. 73, 1 and the fragment Graef-Langlotz, pl. IX, 284, are Protoattic. Compare also **B 16** above (fig. 80). The amphora in Würzburg (Langlotz 79, pl. 7) is probably Attic; it has a number of orientaling motives (winged horses, plant ornament, and a reverse spiral), and must belong in the first quarter of the seventh century. Shape and decoration suggest for our fragments with coursing hounds (**C 30**, and **C 99**, **C 143**; **B 16**) a dating around 700 B.C. or slightly later. In the first quarter of the seventh century a hound is used as a shield device on the Hymettos amphora; *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 5.

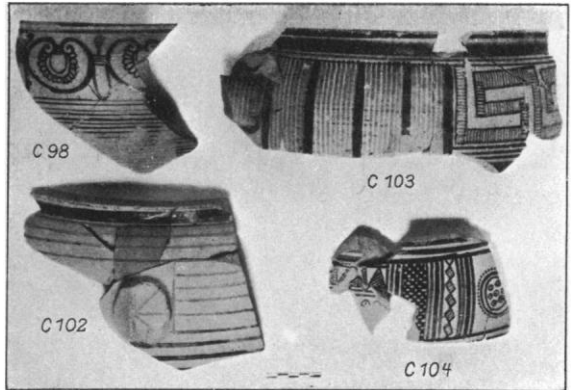


Fig. 119. Protoattic Bowl (C 98) and Geometric Krater (C 102-104) Fragments

**C 100.** Protoattic Bowl Fragment: Base. Fig. 120

P 7182. H., 0.155 m. Diam. of foot, 0.22 m.

High hollow flaring base from a two-handled bowl like Wide, fig. 92. Bands around the bottom; above, a row of reserved rays below a band of upright rays alternating with them. The centre of the floor of the bowl is preserved, covered with glaze. Attic clay, black glaze.

The flaring type of base is probably metallic in origin, and borrowed by Attica from elsewhere. The Attic potters made the bases of their kraters nearly vertical, and only very slightly flaring at the bottom (as in Collignon-Couve, 214, pl. XII); they did not indulge in the impractical flaring bases of Corinthian (*A. J. A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 412, fig. 6) and of Boeotian (Hampe, pl. 19, V 38) vases which, imitated from metal and often ribbed in their upper part, invariably were snapped off around the edges of the foot by the weight of the vases they were intended to support. The bowl Wide, fig. 92, with its



Fig. 120. Protoattic Base (C 100)

very flaring base and band handles with out-turned ends is clearly an imitation of a metal vase. The base **C 100** may be borrowed from Boeotian or Cycladic; the alternating reversed and upright rays are a common Cycladic decoration (cf. *Délos*, XV, pls. XVIII-XIX and XXXIV-XXXV).

**C 101.** Protoattic Bowl Fragment: Base. Fig. 121

P 7489. P. H., 0.037 m. Diam. of foot, 0.059 m.

Much smaller, and somewhat more flaring than **C 100**. Wide and narrow glaze bands; in a zone around the edge of the foot, short verticals, slightly diagonal. Attic clay, much peeled black glaze.

KRATER FRAGMENTS: **C 102-112**

**C 102.** Subgeometric Krater Fragment. Fig. 119

P 8359. P. H., 0.145 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.044 m.

Short straight rim and horizontal band handle below the shoulder. Glazed inside and on the rim; the body banded. Attic clay with creamy slip; shiny black glaze, somewhat peeled.

The shape is like that of Wide, fig. 93; the rounded handle-end, raised above the side of the vase, suggests imitation of a metallic prototype. The fabric and decoration are reminiscent of those of the banded amphoras from Graves VII and VIII above.

**C 103.** Geometric Krater Fragment. Fig. 119

P 7494. P. H., 0.125 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.39 m.

The shape as **C 102**; short straight rim and band handle, but without a raised metallic end against the wall of the vase. Glazed inside; on the reserved upper face of the rim, series of short glaze strokes. Ladder pattern on the handle, and a wavy line above it in the handle panel. Beside the handle panel series of fine vertical lines, interrupted at regular intervals by heavier vertical glaze bands. In the handle-zone, a meander hatched with nearly straight, instead of diagonal, lines. Brownish-black glaze.

The meander is hatched in the same way as that of **C 78** above. The decoration beside the handle-zone is the same as that used on the kantharos from Grave XI (fig. 32). About 700, or slightly later.

**C 104.** Geometric Krater Fragment. Fig. 119

P 7495. P. H., 0.10 m.

Part of a similar krater. Glazed inside; the rim banded. On the shoulder, panels separated by vertical bands, a rectangle filled with checker-board, and a vertical chain of hatched lozenges. In one panel, a dot rosette, each dot surrounded by a small glaze ring, and the whole surrounded in turn by glaze and dot rings. The other panel is divided horizontally; in the upper compartment, a series of latticed triangles, and in the preserved upper part of the lower, dotted rings linked by tangents.

Late Geometric ornament; decorative system has broken down into a chaos of irregular and subdivided panels. The elaborate dotted circle decoration appears on a late ribbon-handled bowl, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. VI, 7.

**C 105.** Geometric Krater Fragments. Fig. 121

P 8358. Max. Diam., 0.135 m.

Multiple horizontal bands above dotted rings linked by tangents; above, panels. One is divided horizontally into three by triple bands; the next is filled by an octofoil. Glazed inside; black to brownish glaze, somewhat metallic. The same chaotic panel decoration as on **C 104**.

**C 106.** Geometric Krater Fragment. Fig. 121

P 8362. Max. Dim., 0.085 m.

The edge of the handle attachment preserved at the left. In the handle-zone, which is bordered by multiple horizontal and vertical bands, a fish-tailed bird. Attic clay, black glaze; glazed inside.

A seventh century Boeotian fish-tailed bird very like ours, Hampe, pl. 21, V 30. Decoration, glaze, and fabric very similar to that of **C 105**; all the fragments may be different parts of the same pot.

**C 107.** Geometric Krater Fragment. Fig. 121

P 7496.

Glazed inside. A hatched wavy band (snake?), and a zigzag, below part of a figured scene; a man, right, followed by a horse. The horse seems either to be very hollow-chested, like those on the amphora *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, VI, 1911, p. 33, fig. 6, or to have his head turned back like the deer on the kantharos, Copenhagen, *C. V. A.*, II, pl. 73, 5 a-b.

**C 108.** Dipylon Krater Fragment. Fig. 121

P 7184. P. H., 0.165 m.

From the wall of a very big open vase glazed inside; heavy fabric. Probably from a "colossal" krater of the kind used as grave monuments; shape as *A. J. A.*, XIX, 1915, pls. XVII-XXIII. Part of a chariot procession to the right; most of one horse and chariot, and part of the wheel of the chariot in front, preserved. Zigzags, wavy lines, and hour-glasses in the field; a lozenge-star under the horse. Below, a reticulated band. Attic clay; glaze black inside, red outside.

The horse is in motion, walking like the horses on the bowl *J. H. S.*, XIX, 1899, pl. VIII. Horses on the great Dipylon amphoras and kraters are usually static; partly because they are usually drawn in teams of two and three, and partly because the painter was accustomed to draw them static before the breath of a new era impelled him to put them in motion. The reticulated band below, and the filling ornament of our fragment, are thoroughly subgeometric; compare the grazing-deer band, and the reticulated zone below it, of the Anatolian hydria (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pls. III-IV).

**C 109.** Dipylon Krater Fragments. Fig. 121

P 8357.

Banded decoration; tooth pattern, zigzag, and hatched key-pattern; another band of zigzag below a zone divided into panels. Heavy fabric; from a very large open krater. Red glaze inside and out. Rather conventional decoration, carefully drawn. Compare, however, the decoration of the great late eighth century Dipylon amphora, Pfuhl, *MuZ*, pl. I.

A late Geometric krater in New York (*Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1934, pp. 169 ff., and figs. 1-3) has meander and key-pattern decoration like that of our fragments. It has also the concentric rings filled at the centre by Maltese crosses which we have noticed on our amphoriskos **XVII 19**. The New York krater has two prothesis scenes, and two naval scenes; Miss Richter suggests that it was set up over the grave of a sea captain, and that the naval scenes represent the battle in which he lost his life. The drawing of the battle-scene is like that on the Eleusis

skyphos, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 5; the little stylized figures in violent motion are characteristic of the very end of the eighth century, and the beginning of the seventh.

**C 110.** Dipylon Krater Fragment. Fig. 121

P 7498. P. H., 0.18 m.

Part of the wall, with a handle-stump, of a similar krater. On the handle, interlocked triangles of diagonals; under it, probably diminishing triangles. A bird in the upper corner of the handle panel. Glazed inside; somewhat peeled black glaze, slightly metallic.

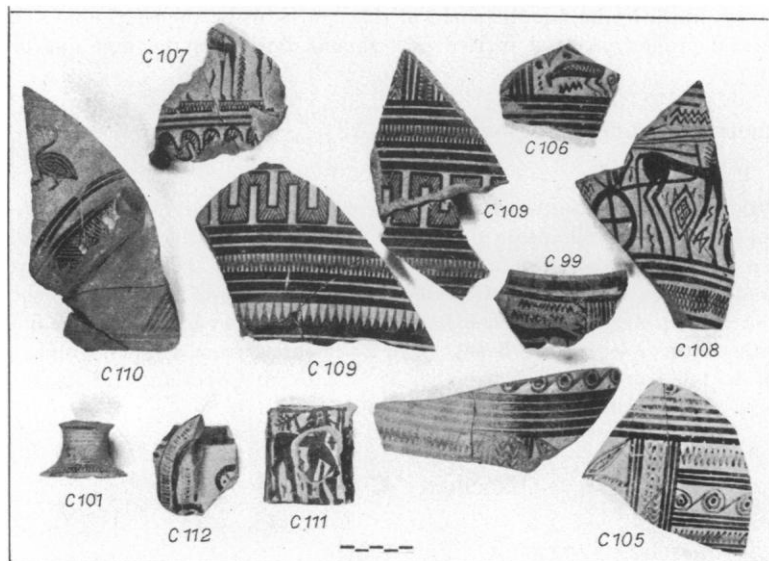


Fig. 121. Geometric and Subgeometric Krater Fragments (C 101, 105–111), Bowl Fragment (C 99) and Stamnos Fragment (C 112)

The krater in the Metropolitan Museum, *A. J. A.*, XIX, 1915, pls. XVIII and XX, also fills the corner of its handle panel with a bird. Our bird is like those on the late Geometric pitcher, Wide, fig. 72. Late eighth century.

**C 111.** Subgeometric Krater Fragment: Handle. Figs. 115, 121

P 7006. W., 0.06 m. L., 0.067 m.

The handle of a column krater. The flat rectangular lug that projected from the rim of the krater is itself complete except for the little rounded knob at one corner, which has chipped off; along the bottom it has been broken away on the line of the join with the krater rim. Underneath are preserved the stumps of two rolled handles, running diagonally downward and inward to join the krater handle rising from the shoulder. On the upper face, which is framed on three sides by glaze bands, a centaur with human forelegs, facing right; with his right arm he waves a branch, while his left is held up before his face. His club appears between his front legs. Attic clay with dull black glaze; the eye is incised.

The column krater was thought by Payne (*NC*, p. 300) to be a Corinthian invention of the late seventh century. He notes that the shape was adapted from the Geometric form with slanting band from the handle to the rim. The Geometric form, however, is often very metallic in



character; the Corinthian krater *A. J. A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 411, fig. 5, shows decided metallic influence in its flaring foot and flat band handles, projected for some little distance beyond the join along the edge of the rim, the flat form of which is also metallic. Bronze kraters may well have had flat lug handles projecting from the rim and supported below by metal struts; these were adapted rather than copied by the potters for their vases. Our handle would then be a copy and not an adaptation; it is certainly the earliest fragment of a column krater known, antedating by more than half a century the earliest Corinthian example. The centaur is a gentleman of the same sort as the centaur on the late eighth century amphora in Copenhagen (*C. V. A.*, II, pl. 73, 3; Johansen, p. 146, fig. 110); he is, however, somewhat more substantial in his proportions. The filling and rounding out of the bodies of humans as well as animals progressed in the early seventh century, until, by its middle, some of the figures were almost chubby. Our centaur, with his more natural proportions and incised eye, should date from the first quarter of the seventh century.

### C 112. Subgeometric Stamnos Fragment. Fig. 121

P 8361. P. H., 0.063 m.

Part of the handle and in-turned rim preserved, the rim slightly concave, to receive a lid. Double rolled handle, one roll inside the other. Glaze on the rim; on the handles, ladders, and, under them, a four-spoked wheel with dots between the spokes. Pinkish buff clay, dull black glaze.

The lidded stamnos with single or double rolled handles was a favorite Boeotian subgeometric shape. Taken over in Attica, it reached its fullest development by the middle of the third quarter of the seventh century (see above, **B 64**). Our fragment is from a humble subgeometric stamnos; it is difficult to tell from its fabric whether it is Attic or Boeotian, and its decoration is insufficiently preserved to be decisive on the question.

## OINOCHOAI: C 113-126

### C 113. Geometric Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 125

P 7482. P. H., 0.12 m.

The handle and trefoil mouth, and gaps in the shoulder, restored; the bottom is missing. Rounded body and slightly concave neck. A dotted lozenge chain around the bottom of the neck; the shoulder banded, with a panel filled by an eight-armed cross at the front. On the body, widely spaced vertical zigzags, probably sigmas. Pink clay and creamy slip; dull black glaze.

Round-bodied, late Geometric oinochoe shape as **XIII 1**. An oinochoe of the same shape, and with the banded shoulder decorated at the front with a panel was found in Dipylon Grave III (Wide, fig. 88); it belongs at about the end of the eighth century. The widely spaced zigzags (or sigmas) in the zone around the body appear on the kalathos **XVII 5**, and on the lid handle of Boston 265 (Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, pl. XXI); this decoration, rare in Attica, is popular in Boeotia and the Cyclades.

### C 114. Geometric Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 133

P 7483. P. H., 0.042 m. Max. Diam. pres., 0.075 m.

Part of the shoulder, with the base of the neck and the stump of the rolled handle, preserved; the neck seems to have been glazed. Concentric rings on the front and two side faces of the body; dot rosettes in the spandrels in front. Pale pink clay, rather coarse; heavy white slip and dull black glaze, badly peeled.

The shape, as far as preserved, is similar to that of **C 113**; the fabric may be Attic or Boeotian. The concentric circle body decoration for oinochoai is not uncommon in late Attic Geometric; Schweitzer (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 143) has listed the examples found up to 1915; he derives

the decoration from Cyprus. Most of the oinochoai of this shape and with this decoration are therefore of the second half of the eighth century, some possibly going down a little into the seventh.

**C 115.** Subgeometric Oinochoe.

Figs. 122–123

P 7478. H., 0.16 m. Max. Diam., 0.108 m.

The handle and fragments of the body restored. Plump rounded body, flat on the bottom, and with straight, very slightly concave neck. The body banded to the shoulder, which is glazed. In the panel at the front of the neck, two birds with long snaky necks facing each other across a tripod-like structure consisting of a pendant half circle supported at either end by a pair of vertical lines. A small glaze ring behind the neck of each bird, and another in front; under the "tripod" a pair of dots, and a latticed triangle.

The same shape as **C 115**; compare also the oinochoe from Dipylon Grave IX of the early seventh century, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2, 8. The long-necked birds are of a subgeometric type.

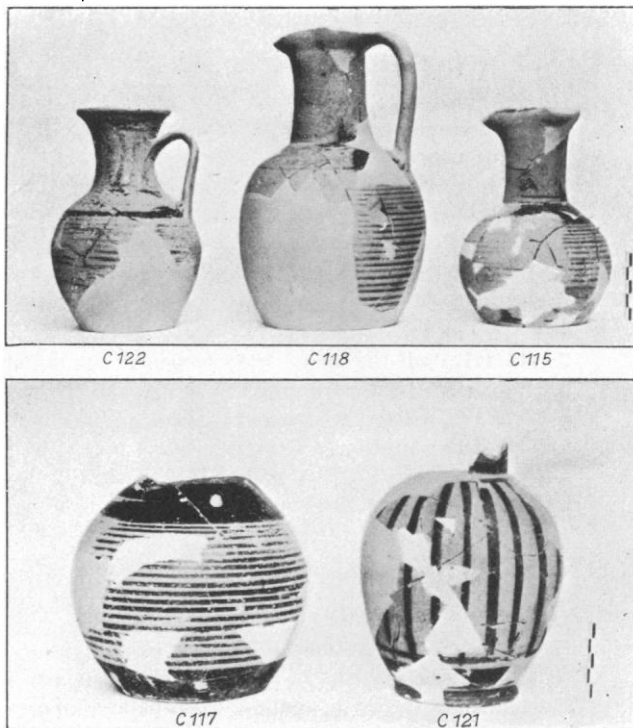


Fig. 122. Subgeometric Oinochoai (C 115, 117–118, 121–122)

**C 116.** Subgeometric Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 125

P 8372. P. H., 0.057 m.

The neck preserved, and part of the trefoil mouth. The neck slightly concave; it is divided into three zones by bands. In the upper and lower zones, a single zigzag; in the slightly wider middle zone, a double zigzag, interrupted by latticed triangles. Red glaze.

The decoration is subgeometric; the bands in the panels cannot decide whether they are zigzags or wavy lines (as is the case also on most of the vases from Dipylon Grave VIII, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII 1). The fabric is the same as that of the Phaleron cup fragments **C 58–59**.

**C 117.** Subgeometric Oinochoe. Fig. 122

P 7479. P. H., 0.135 m. Max. Diam., 0.153 m.

The body preserved, with gaps, to the base of the neck; the shape the same as that of **C 115**. Flat bottom. A wide glaze band around the bottom of the body, and another on the shoulder; the body between decorated with narrow glaze bands. Attic clay; dull black glaze, somewhat peeled.



Fig. 123. Oinochoe C 115. Drawing of Neck Panel by Piet de Jong

**C 118.** Subgeometric Oinochoe. Figs. 122, 124

P 7177. P. H., 0.217 m.

Fragmentary; the bottom is missing, and most of the body restored. Deep body and slightly tapering neck; trefoil mouth, and a double rolled handle. The body banded to the shoulder, which is glazed. In the reserved panel on the front of the neck, a horse right, with a lozenge under him. In the field, a chain of three lozenges, a chevron column, and two arcs against the side of the panel. Very badly peeled black glaze.

The shape is not far from that of the Protoattic oinochoe **B 1** (fig. 74); the type is the same as that of the oinochoai **C 113-117**, but the body has deepened again, and the neck become slightly tapering. The horse in the neck panel is a typically rickety subgeometric beast; compare him with the horses of the kantharos **C 63**, fig. 112, and on the small vases from Dipylon Graves VIII and IX (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 1, 7 and 2, 3 and 8; another oinochoe with an even more rickety horse is not illustrated).



Fig. 124. Oinochoe C 118. Drawing of Neck Panel by Piet de Jong

**C 119.** Protoattic Oinochoe Fragment. Figs. 125-126

P 7175. P. H., 0.10 m.

The neck and trefoil mouth, with part of the shoulder, preserved; the upper part of the double rolled handle restored. In the neck panel a beast—deer?—with six legs and a head at either end; the faces are drawn in outline. The painter apparently intended to draw a deer walking to the left, and then had the happy inspiration to put on another head and neck at the other end. In the process of alteration, he added two extra legs at one end, making a total of six, with two at one end, and four at the other; a compromise seems to have been arrived at by making three of the feet face one way, and three the other. Fortunately, one serious problem could be evaded because the absence of the tail on a deer (or two deer) is not very noticeable. Brownish glaze, very badly peeled.

The tapering neck is like that of **C 118**. The two-headed monster may have been inspired by some such object as the eared device at the end of the handle-zone of the bowl from Peiraeus Street, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pl. X.

**C 120.** Subgeometric Oinochoe Fragment.

Fig. 125

P 7480. P. H., 0.15 m.

The bottom missing; neck and shoulder much restored. Slightly tapering neck and double rolled handle. Dull black glaze, somewhat peeled. Similar to **C 118-119** in shape and decoration, except that the neck panel (of which only a little of the edge is preserved) is at one side, instead of at the front, of the neck.

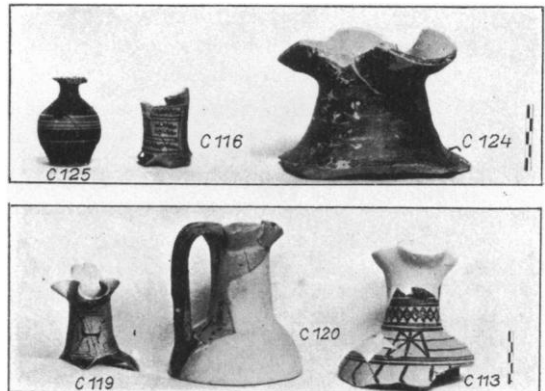


Fig. 125. Geometric and Protoattic Oinochoe Fragments (C 113, 116, 119-120, 124-125)

**C 121.** Protoattic Oinochoe. Fig. 122

P 7178. P. H., 0.167 m. Max. Diam., 0.131 m.

The handle and mouth, and most of the neck, missing; the body restored. Low flat base and deep convex body; narrow neck. Glaze bands above the base and near the upper edge of the shoulder; between them, widely spaced vertical bands. The neck glazed. Pink clay; dull black glaze.

The shape is similar to that of **C 118**. The decoration with widely spaced vertical bands is a variation on the similar decoration with vertical lines between the bands, as on **XI 5** and **C 103** above; both decorations are probably derived from Mycenaean. A small vertically banded Mycenaean oinochoe from Nauplia (Furtwängler and Loeschke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XV, 102) is strikingly like ours. The revival of this Mycenaean mode of decoration is another link in the chain connecting the Mycenaean and Orientalizing periods; Johansen and Böhlau (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pp. 33 ff.) both derive the vast majority of the orientalizing devices and ornaments of Protocorinthian and Protoattic decoration from Mycenaean. A similarly banded oinochoe, but of another shape, and decorated with an amphora on the front, was found in the Agora in the 1937 campaign in a deposit of the third quarter of the seventh century (*A. J. A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 179, fig. 3; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 417, fig. 5, D 17). An oinochoe of late Geometric shape at The Hague (*C. V. A.*, *Pays-Bas*, I, II f., pl. I, 5) uses approximately the same decoration, but alternate straight and wavy vertical bands; from the description of its fabric it does not sound Attic. Compare also the zones with widely spaced verticals around the bodies of Cycladic oinochoai: *Délos*, XV, pl. XXXVII, 14-15 and 29.



Fig. 126. Oinochoe C 119. Drawing of Neck Panel by Piet de Jong

### **C 122.** Subgeometric Oinochoe. Fig. 122

P 7176. P.H., 0.14 m. Max. Diam., 0.107 m.

The missing bottom, and gaps in the body, restored. Round body with long, slightly concave neck, flaring at the lip; round mouth and band handle from the shoulder to the middle of the neck. The body is banded to the shoulder, which is glazed. On the neck, columns of short horizontal dashes. Pink clay with yellow-buff slip and black glaze; both slip and glaze badly flaked and peeled.

An oinochoe of a similar shape was found in Dipylon Grave IX (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII 2, 6), and another in a grave at Liossia (*C. V. A.*, *Copenhagen*, II, pl. 70, 6; the vases from the grave are 2-8, and 10 on the same plate); both graves contain very late Geometric and subgeometric vases. The shape, late and rare, seems to be found chiefly in Attica; an example from Thera is published as Cretan (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, Beilage XX, 3; C 66). The columns of short dashes on the neck are probably a subgeometric "shorthand" intended to represent zigzags.

### **C 123.** Protoattic Oinochoe. Fig. 127

P 7013. P.H., 0.235 m. Max. Diam., 0.165 m.

The missing bottom, and gaps in the body, restored. Plump neckless body with trefoil mouth and band handle. Attic clay with somewhat peeled red glaze; decoration in added white as follows: double lines around the lower body and below the handle attachment, and a single line below the necking; on the shoulder, interlacing wavy vertical lines, alternating with vertical bands of running dog.

The shape is developed from the late Geometric type like **IX 17**, but has become bigger and slightly slimmer. Protoattic examples of this shape were found in the Agora votive deposit; one, like ours,

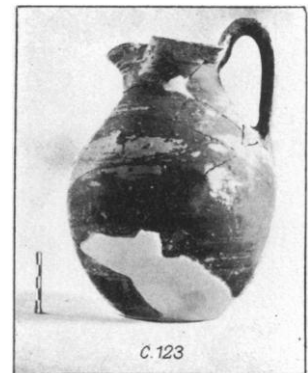


Fig. 127. Protoattic Oinochoe (C 123)

has light-on-dark decoration (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 594-595, figs. 59-60; the oinochoe fig. 59 has been restored about three centimetres too high. The correct shape is best seen in the Protoattic oinochoe, *ibid.*, p. 597, fig. 61). The type was popular in the seventh century; another was found in a context of the third quarter of the century (*A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 179, fig. 3). Our oinochoe and the light-on-dark oinochoe from the votive deposit, fig. 59, with their rather plump bodies and fairly wide necking, are probably slightly earlier than the oinochoe fig. 60, which has floral decoration of about the middle of the seventh century, and is transitional to the example of the third quarter with its shallow mouth and sharp narrow necking. For the decoration with white, compare the fragments **B 19**, fig. 80.

**C 124.** Protoattic Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 125

P 8371. P.H., 0.105 m.

Broken off at the shoulder; the handle is missing. Short, rather tapering neck, and widely spreading trefoil mouth. Streaky brownish glaze.

From a fairly large, round-bodied vase, coarsely made and glazed.

**C 125.** Subgeometric Oinochoe. Fig. 125

P 7481. H., 0.064 m. Max. Diam., 0.046 m.

Small flat-bottomed vase with narrow neck and flaring round lip; the band handle missing. A ring of dots on the upper face of the lip. The body covered with dull black glaze, except for a triple reserved band at the point of greatest diameter, and a single one above, with another below.

A little oinochoe similar to this was found in an early seventh century grave at Phaleron (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 44, fig. 46; Grave 25). Our example is slightly taller and slimmer than the one from Phaleron, and therefore somewhat later.

**C 126.** Protoattic Oinochoe Fragment: Handle. Fig. 133

P 8373. P.H., 0.135 m. W., 0.035 m.

Band handle; possibly from an amphora, but more probably from an oinochoe. On the outer face, a double column of squared spirals. Attic clay, black glaze.

Linear patterns, usually zones composed of squared spirals running diagonally downward, and filling ornaments such as reverse spirals with the spirals squared, are very much in use on large vessels of the second half of the seventh century; compare the zone on the lower body of the Peiraean amphora, and some of its filling ornament (*Eph. Arch.*, 1897, pls. 5-6).

AMPHORAS: **C 127-147**

**C 127.** Protoattic Amphora. Fig. 128

P 7185. H. (without foot), 0.68 m. Max. Diam., 0.54 m.

The high ring foot missing; gaps in the body, and most of one handle, restored. Balloon body and short straight neck with heavy rim; rolled handles. A flat raised band around the neck below the rim. Wavy vertical lines on the neck beside the handles, and a latticed triangle at the centre; an incised compass-drawn dot and circle at each side of the triangle. Attic clay with black glaze shading to red, and metallic in places; somewhat peeled. Five reserved bands around the shoulder just below the handle attachments.

The development of the shape can be traced. An amphora from a grave of the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century at Phaleron (Grave 47; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 27, fig. 11)

has a very round balloon body, straight neck with a sharp raised ring below the rim, a slimmer and more pointed body, and a more flaring foot; another Phaleron example of the same shape is published in *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 248, fig. 6, where the neck has become slightly concave. The fragment from Daphne, which must be of the second quarter of the century, or later, has a slightly concave neck (Petrie, *Tanis*, II, pl. XXIV, 9). Another, from Phaleron Grave 33, which contained early Corinthian vases of the last quarter of the seventh century, is not illustrated; but a note is made of the fact that it has no neck-ring. The amphora from our Grave I belongs to this type; it dates from the very end of the seventh century and shows in its flaring foot and definitely concave neck the further logical development of the shape. That the type continued to be made into the sixth century is suggested by the shape and decoration of the amphora carried by Dionysos on the François vase (Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, pls. I-II); the body has by now become rather slim and pointed, and the foot very flaring. Although a great number of these amphoras were found in the Phaleron cemetery, only the four discussed above are illustrated in the publications; the rounded and the echinus rim seem to be used equally, but the echinus rim is never exaggerated to the proportions attained by Pfuhl's Ionic or Euboean examples. The graffiti often found on amphoras of this type (at Thera, Gela, and Phaleron; several in the Louvre from Etruria) must then fall in the seventh century. The example from our well deposit is one of the earlier members of the series.



Fig. 128. Protoattic Amphora (C 127)

**C 128.** Amphora Fragment. Fig. 129

P 8378. P.H., 0.053 m.

Fragment from the neck of a similar amphora, with part of the shoulder. Straight vertical neck. The body glazed; at the centre of the neck, diminishing triangles, above two horizontal bands.

**C 129.** Amphora Fragment. Fig. 129

P 8374. P.H., 0.095 m. Diam. of mouth (est.), 0.17 m.

Neck fragment of a similar amphora. Heavily rounded rim; a pair of wavy verticals to each side of the handle attachment. Attic clay, red to black glaze.

**C 130.** Amphora Fragment. Fig. 129

P 8376. Max. Diam., 0.06 m.

Neck fragment; straight vertical neck. A four-spoked wheel, the spokes ending in triangles; beside it, a wavy vertical line.

**C 131.** Amphora Fragment. Fig. 129

P 8375. Max. Diam., 0.10 m.

Neck fragment. A four-spoked wheel, compass-drawn.

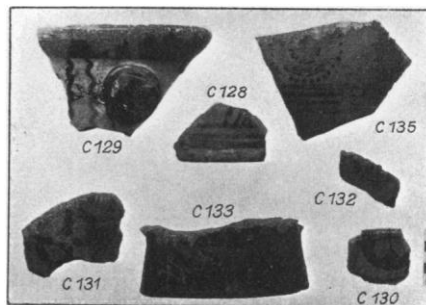


Fig. 129. Amphora Fragments (C 128-133, 135)

**C 132.** Amphora Fragment. Fig. 129

P 8377. Max. Diam., 0.072 m.

Neck fragment. Part of an eight-spoked wheel, compass-drawn.

**C 133.** Amphora Fragment. Fig. 129

P 8379. H., 0.058 m. Diam., 0.14 m.

High, slightly flaring, ring foot of an amphora, like **C 127**. Red glaze.**C 134.** Geometric Amphora Fragment. Fig. 130

P 7024. P.H., 0.305 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.49 m.

Neck fragment, with part of the heavy rounded rim; the neck nearly straight in profile. The rim glazed, with a reserved band filled with a dotted lozenge chain; another below the rim. The



Fig. 130. Geometric Amphora Fragment (C 134)

neck is divided down the middle by a meander running downward between bands of glaze; the two sections of the neck, at each side, are divided into narrow panels by horizontal glaze bands. In the topmost panel, a compass-drawn toothed wheel with four spokes; a snake, outlined with dots, to each side. In the second panel, a row of bearded goats with their heads turned back; below, a larger panel, probably almost square, filled by a horse to the right, of which only part of the head is preserved. Filling ornament in all the panels of opposed triangles, round dots or lines outlined with dots, and chains of dotted lozenges. The panels on the other side of the meander-band were similarly filled. Attic clay; glaze varying from black to red and brown. From a very large amphora.

An amphora of the same shape, and with almost exactly the same neck-decoration, is in the museum at Leyden (Brants, *Beschrijving*, 52, pl. VII). The Leyden amphora has rings of dots instead of teeth around the wheels, and repeats the decoration of the top panel in the bottom one, substituting also a dotted lozenge chain for the row of goats in the middle one. The filling

ornament is the same. The decoration of the body of the Leyden amphora, which must be at least from the same workshop as our fragment, shows many late features: two zones of latticed triangles; a meander band with nearly vertical hatching, as on **C 78** and **C 105**, instead of diagonal hatching; and a chariot procession with the horses drawn so nearly like those of our oinochoe **XIII 1** that the decoration of both pots may quite conceivably be by the same hand. The popularity of the dotted lozenge chain as a decorative band on late Geometric pottery is forcibly demonstrated on the Leyden amphora, which has no less than nine bands so decorated. A fragment of a krater in the Louvre (Pottier, *Vases antiques*, I, A 519, pl. 20) has similar decoration of dotted lozenge chains, toothed wheels, and the same filling ornament; it is probably early seventh century, and has figured bands with one, and possibly two, mythological scenes represented in them: the battle of Herakles with the Molione in the lower zone (Hampe, p. 48), and perhaps the slaying of the suitors in the upper. The Leyden amphora and the Agora fragment, slightly earlier than the Louvre fragment, should belong at about the end of the eighth century. Another amphora of the same time and with the same shape and decorative scheme for the neck, but with figure decoration more like that of the fragment in the Louvre was found in Eleusis; a picture of it is published by Wide, fig. 57.

**C 135.** Geometric Amphora Fragment. Fig. 129

P 8383.

Neck fragment from a very big vase with straight neck divided into panels. Part of two panels preserved; in each, concentric circles, compass-drawn, and filled at the centre by a wavy vertical; another wavy vertical to each side, and dot rings around the circles. Attic clay with badly peeled black glaze.

**C 136.** Geometric Amphora Fragment. Fig. 131, 144. *A. J. A.*, XL, 1936, p. 193, fig. 8

P 7180. P.H., 0.415 m. Diam. at lip, 0.21 m.

Preserved to below the shoulder; one handle and much of the body restored. Slightly concave neck, flaring to a rounded lip; band handles decorated with St. Andrew's crosses bisected by wavy vertical lines. The body glazed; just below the shoulder and at the centre of the front and back, a reserved circle filled by a four-spoked wheel with round holes between the spokes. At the bottom of the neck a zone decorated with a row of large round dots linked by tangents, and in the zone above the handle attachments, a hatched double zigzag. In the neck panels (the decoration is the same front and back) large water birds with herring-bone pattern on their bodies, facing across a four-spoked wheel like the one on the body; a star behind the neck of each bird. At the upper edge of the wheel on one side are incised three short horizontal dashes, one above the other, and a short vertical to the

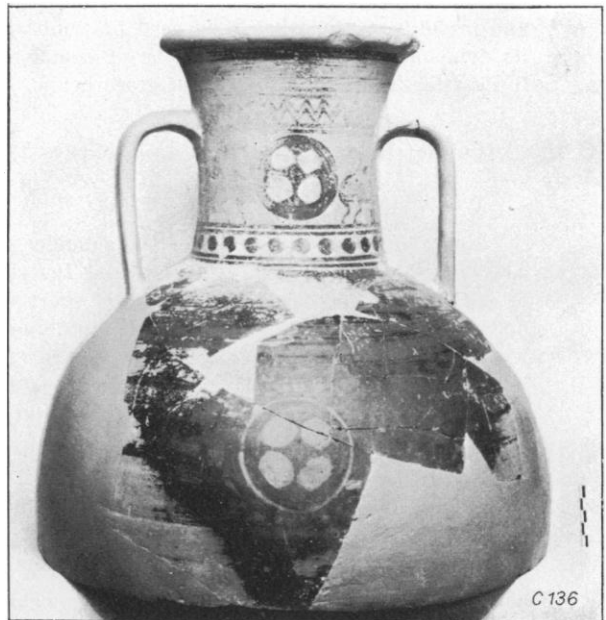


Fig. 131. Geometric Amphora Fragment (C 136)



left, not quite touching the ends of the upper two horizontals; possibly meant to be an epsilon. Attic clay, with glaze shading from black to brown and red, and peeled in places.

The shape of the amphora must have been much like that of the grave amphoras **VII 1** and **VIII 1**, and of the amphora Wide, fig. 53, which has somewhat similar neck decoration of birds facing across a panel filled by a quatrefoil, and a banded body. The same bird-and-wheel combination is used on a cup from a late grave with subgeometric pottery in Tiryns (Grave 37; *Tiryns*, I, pl. XVIII, 17; from the same grave, *ibid.*, 1, with decoration like that of our **XI 5**. and 13, with columns of dashes as on our **C 122**). The birds are like Boeotian birds of the latest Geometric phase at the end of the eighth century and beginning of the seventh (Hampe, V 11 and V 27; p. 25, fig. 7, and pl. 21). The bird and wheel decoration is itself not uncommon on Boeotian kantharoi; compare the birds (eating a snake) and wheels on the Boston kantharos which falls into Hampe's subgeometric group (Boston 285; Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, pl. XXV; Hampe's V 43). The Tiryns amphora from another grave with subgeometric vases has the same wheel ornament on the neck; its glazed body, slightly more slim than that of our amphora, ends in a very heavy flaring foot like the feet of the balloon-bodied Attic oil amphoras (Grave 38; *Tiryns*, I, pl. XVII, 1; from the same grave, the oinochoe pl. XIV, 2; the coarse pitcher with sharply flaring rim and the bowl pl. XV, 8 and 7; and the subgeometric cups and kantharos pl. XVIII, 3, 8 and 10). The four-spoked wheel is used at Thera on an amphora that has already an orientalizing band of wave-pattern; Dragendorff remarks that it represents the wagon-wheel of the period (*Thera*, II, p. 136, figs. 316-317, and p. 161). In Attica it is used, together with the more usual kind of four-spoked wheel, for chariots on late Geometric vases, as on the krater in New York, *A. J. A.*, XIX, 1915, pl. XX, and on the amphora Wide, fig. 56. As an independent decorative ornament it appears on such late cups of metallic shape as *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, pl. I (see above, **C 40**, for a discussion of cups of this shape). The same type of wheel is used, interestingly enough, as a device on early Athenian coins; Seltman suggests that it may represent the badge of the Alkmaeonid house, famous for its love of chariot racing (Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage*, pp. 34 ff., and pl. II, A 23-A 28). The variations in the type of wheel used on the necks of amphoras, as on early coins, may have significance; though the wheel may be in origin a solar symbol with magical connotations, by the end of the eighth century and in the seventh, when it is used on wine and oil amphoras and later on coins, it seems that its symbolism is more likely to be of commercial significance (a different kind of magic). On the graffiti from our Agora groups, see below, p. 225.

### **C 137.** Geometric Amphora Fragment. Fig. 133

P 7493. P.H., 0.155 m.

Neck fragment, with part of the shoulder. Slightly concave neck, flaring to a rounded lip. The body of the amphora was glazed at the shoulder, and the reserved band on the outer face of the lip was decorated with series of short verticals. The neck was divided by a column of dotted circles between vertical bands into two panels; in each panel there was a four-spoked wheel with dotted circles between the spokes. At the corners of the panels, St. Andrew's crosses in square boxes. Attic clay with slightly metallic black glaze.

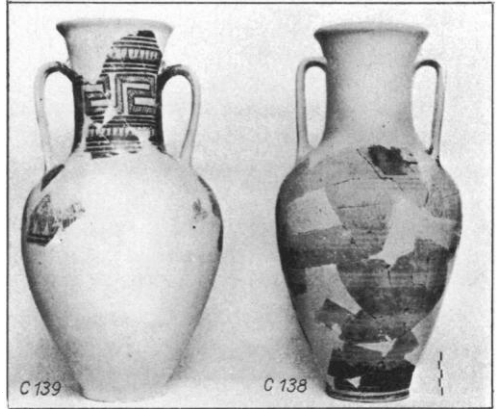
### **C 138-139.** Pair of Geometric Amphoras. Fig. 132

P 7491-7492. H. (rest.), 0.44 m. Max. Diam. (rest.), 0.23 m.

A pair of exactly similar amphoras, both fragmentary; the upper part of one is preserved, and the lower part of the other; both have been restored completely. Deep, rather slender, body on a very slightly flaring foot; long neck, flaring to a round lip, and band handles. The lower body glazed, with reserved bands, to the point of greatest diameter, which is decorated with a zone of leaves. In the panel on the neck, a meander; toothed bands above and below.

Triple wavy lines down the handles. Attic clay with black glaze, metallic in places.

The tall slender shape and the foot profile are late. The leaf band was a favorite decoration for plates (**C 77**), that was used into the subgeometric and orientalizing styles. The wavy line as a handle ornament replaces the earlier St. Andrew's cross; we have seen it used on the subgeometric amphora **IV 1**. Amphoras of the shape and with the decorative scheme of the two here published are fairly common and must come from the same workshop; a complete example, now in the National Museum in Athens, was found in Cyprus (N.M. 117; Wide, p. 196, note 7).



**C 140.** Geometric Amphora Fragment. Fig. 133      Fig. 132. Geometric Amphoras (C 138–139)

P 8382. P.H., 0.17 m.

The neck is preserved, with one handle. The shape the same as that of **C 138–139**; the decoration, which follows the same scheme, slightly more elaborate. On the handle, a ladder.

**C 141.** Geometric Amphora Fragment: Foot. Fig. 133

P 8381. P.H., 0.05 m. Diam. of foot, 0.115 m.

Slightly flaring ring foot, decorated with glaze bands. From an amphora like **C 138–139**.

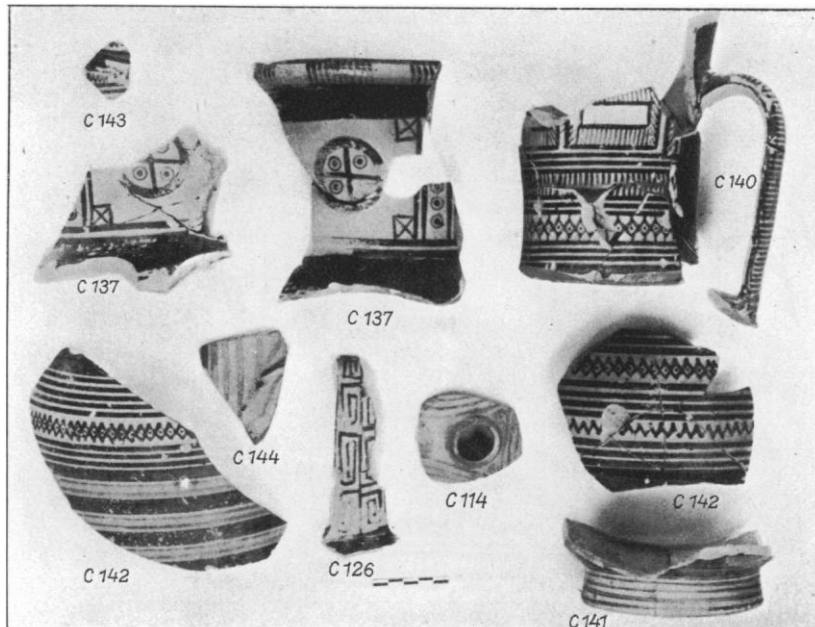


Fig. 133. Oinochoe (C 114, 126) and Amphora (C 137, 140–144) Fragments

**C 142.** Geometric Amphora Fragments. Fig. 133

P 8385.

From two similar tall slim amphoras of the same shape. The body of one is banded, with two fine lines in each reserved band, and a dotted lozenge chain just below the shoulder. The other has a zigzag band in addition to the dotted lozenge bands.

**C 143.** Amphora Fragment. Fig. 133

P 8386. Max. Diam., 0.039 m.

A small fragment from the body of a closed pot, presumably an amphora. Part of a zone is preserved, filled with a band of coursing hounds; zigzag filling ornament. Attie clay with dull black glaze.

On the coursing hound as a decoration, see above, **C 99**.

**C 144.** Protoattic Amphora Fragment. Fig. 133

P 8384. P.H., 0.075 m.

Neck fragment from a closed pot, presumably an amphora. Vertical bands bordering a panel; in it, the head and one leg of a grazing deer. Dull black glaze, almost entirely peeled off.

The deer resembles the deer grazing in a band around the lower body of the Analatos Hydria, and the ones attacked by centaurs on the bowl from Thebes (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 4).

**C 145.** Protoattic Amphora Fragments. Fig. 134

P 7183.

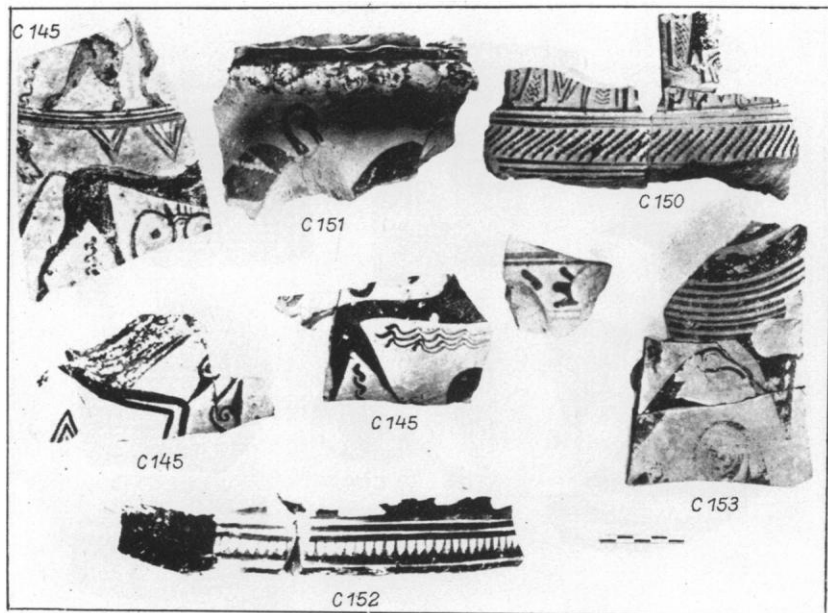


Fig. 134. Fragments of Protoattic Amphoras and Stands (C 145, 150-153)

Three non-joining fragments from the wall of a large closed pot, probably an amphora, decorated with animal friezes; the fragments preserve parts of three zones; on one fragment, part of a band of lions, and, below it, a band filled with a procession of horses to the right. The other two fragments are considerably thicker and probably come from lower down in the amphora wall; they preserve parts of two horses, one galloping hard toward the right. The faces of the horses are drawn in outline in purple, which is also applied over the glaze on the manes. Orientalizing filling ornament of volute-plants, beaked reverse spirals, running dog and wavy lines. Brown clay with a purplish tinge; dull black glaze. The fabric is probably Attic that has fired an unusual color; the clay resembles at any rate that of no other fabric. The filling ornament is easily paralleled on other Protoattic vases: for the beaked reversed spiral, see the stamnos **B 64** above, and for the volute plant, the bowl from Thebes (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 4). Galloping horses appear on orientalizing pottery from Eretria (*Eph. Arch.*, 1903, p. 31, fig. 18) and in the Cyclades (*Délos*, XVII, pl. IX, 2). The filling ornament and the drawing of the horses are characteristic of the mid-seventh century; the banded decoration, and the frieze of lions, together with the liberal use of added purple, are intimations of what is to follow in the second half. Drawing in outline with purple is an entirely new experiment.

**C 146.** Protoattic Amphora. Fig. 135

P 7490. P.H., 0.275 m. Max. Diam., 0.275 m.

The bottom missing; one handle, and gaps in the body restored. Ovoid body with wide concave neck and rounded lip; band handles decorated with a wavy vertical line down their outer faces. Glaze bands around the body and on the lip. Attic clay with red to brownish glaze.

The shape and decoration are the same as those of the amphora from Grave IV above, found with a subgeometric sherd. Another was found in an unpublished Agora well of the seventh century. Similar amphoras of the same type, which is different from the type with higher, narrower neck like the amphoras from Grave VII and VIII, were made throughout the eighth century, but they had somewhat narrower necks and plumper bodies, always with St. Andrew's crosses on the handles. Our amphora should have a flaring foot like that of **IV 1**; earlier amphoras of the type have a nearly straight vertical foot. The two amphoras, one from the well deposit, and the other from the grave, are seventh century, probably of near the middle.



Fig. 135. Fragmentary Amphora (C 146)

**C 147.** Hand-made Amphora Fragment. Fig. 136

P 7181. P.H., 0.128 m. Diam. at lip, 0.125 m.

The lower body missing; one handle restored, and gaps in the body. Short straight neck with nearly flat projecting rim, and band handles. Hand-made of fine smooth yellow-buff clay, and smoothed vertically on the surface with a flat-edged implement; unglazed.

The clay is probably Corinthian; the fabric is very much like that of the fine hand-made vases with polished surface found in graves in Corinth (*A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 137, figs. 1-2); probably late Geometric of the end of the eighth century or beginning of the seventh.

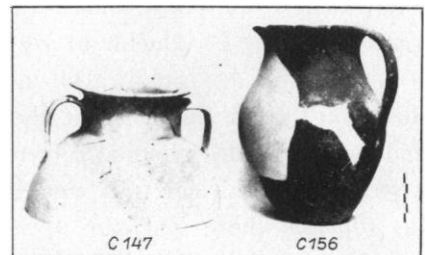


Fig. 136. Fragmentary Hand-made Amphora (C 147) and Coarse Pitcher (C 156)

## HYDRIA

**C 148.** Subgeometric Hydria. Fig. 137

P 7499. P.H., 0.30 m. Max. Diam., 0.312 m.

The bottom, the neck, and the vertical band-handle missing; gaps in the body, and most of one rolled horizontal handle restored. The body banded; a triple band below the handles, and a wide band at the shoulder. A wavy line in the handle-zone; on the upper shoulder, short tails pendant from the base of the neck. Glaze bands on the horizontal handles, and loops with pendant tails over their attachments. Attic clay with dull black glaze, badly peeled in places.

The shape, decoration, and fabric are the same as those of the two hydriai **V 1** and **X 1**. Subgeometric; the fabric is quite different from Protogeometric. See above, **V 1**.

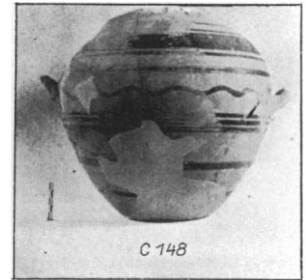


Fig. 137. Subgeometric Hydria (C 148)

## HUT MODEL

Very few examples of an interesting form of vase, the house-model, have been found in the Greek world. Prehistoric models from Melos and Crete are known, and rather elaborate late Geometric and early orientalizing houses with peaked roofs from Perachora and from the Argive Heraeum (F. Behn, *Hausurnen*, Berlin, 1924; see also the article Hausurnen in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, especially the note by Karo, *Ägäischer Kreis*). A hut model from Corinth in the Berlin Museum consists of three tall round structures pointed like beehives and peaked at the top, with small rectangular doors in front high up under the peaks (Inventory No. 4503; Behn, pl. 29 e; Ebert, pl. 73 e). The Corinthian huts, taken to be Mycenaean, are thought to represent granaries, and to show the same stage of development as the beehive tombs. In a period when the rectangular plan was already used for house-building, the old round plan continues to live on, employed in grave and barnyard architecture (Behn, pp. 65 ff.). Three late Geometric hut models on the same plan exist, with the only difference that individual huts are represented, instead of a triple hut. One was found in a Grave at Eleusis (*Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 112, fig. 32); another, from the Kerameikos, has never been published; it has a peak at the top above the door, and careless subgeometric decoration of dots, triangles, zigzags, and birds (N. M. Inventory, 698). Fragments of yet another similar model were found in our seventh century well deposit; decorated also in subgeometric style. With its vertical lines radiating downward from the peak at the top, it suggests a structure made of withes with their ends stuck in the ground, woven together with other withes to a certain height to make a straight cylindrical wall, and then with their upper ends bent and gathered together at the top and there tied; the upper part of the structure was perhaps afterward thatched. A ladder up the front gave access to the high door, through which grain could be dumped for storage inside. Such a granary would of course be a magnet for the attraction of hungry birds, which are quite appropriately represented not only on the Kerameikos model,

but also on the Agora granary, where they walk in procession around the outside, seeking ingress to the feast. The Berlin model is very simply decorated with stripes of glaze; it would be interesting to know whether it is really Mycenaean, or, like the other examples preserved, late Geometric or subgeometric; the only way of telling would probably be a careful examination of its fabric. If it is Mycenaean, then our subgeometric hut models of the same type furnish another link in the chain of evidence connecting the Mycenaean with the orientализing period.

**C 149.** Hut Model. Fig. 138

P 7292. H. as restored, 0.073 m. Diam. at bottom, as restored, 0.043 m.

Two non-joining fragments; restored, the height given by the birds, heads of which are preserved on the upper fragment. Flat bottom and cylindrical side wall, with beehive shaped top, ending in a peak; a door at the front under the peak. Vertical bands radiating downward from the peak to the top of the side wall. A procession of birds walks around the body toward the right, with dot rosettes between each pair of birds; the procession is interrupted at the front by a ladder leading up to the door. A multiple cross on the bottom. Attic clay, with dull black to brown glaze.

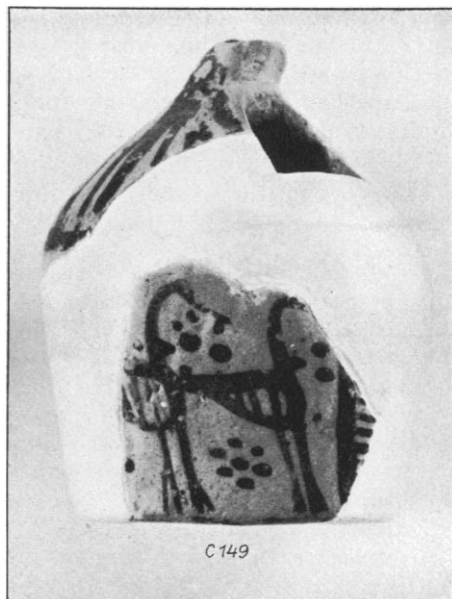


Fig. 138. Subgeometric Hut Model (C 149)

STANDS: **C 150–152**

**C 150.** Protoattic Stand Fragment. Fig. 134

P 7188. P.H., 0.105 m. P.L., 0.18 m.

Fragment from half-way up a stand with two zones perforated by long narrow slots. Above the solid band ornamented with wavy diagonals, the bottom of a slot separating two panels decorated with horses standing in a crowd of filling ornaments; the top of another slot is preserved on the lower edge, the slots falling one below the other. Attic clay with black to brownish glaze.

On stands, see *C.V.A., California*, I, pp. 10 ff., and pl. I, 2. Our stand, with the slots placed one above the other, is like the stands of ribbon-handled bowls and imitation tripods of late Geometric fabric (XII 2 and 3, above). The zone of diagonal lines is often used on such Protoattic vases as the Analatos hydria (*Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 4; also on three similar Protoattic hydriai in a private collection in Athens). Subgeometric horses and deer too are often used in subsidiary places in the decoration of orientализing vases.

**C 151.** Protoattic Stand Fragment. Fig. 134

P 7015. P.H., 0.105 m.

From the wall of a very large cylindrical stand, tapering slightly upward. Parts of two levels are preserved, separated by a projecting rounded band fluted at the edge. On the lower

zone part of a procession of large birds toward the right is preserved. The upper zone seems to have consisted of panels with perforations between them; at the left a panel is broken away, while at the right the bottom of a perforation is preserved; standing in it, part of a human foot, modelled in clay and with incised toes, is preserved. The gaps between the panels, then, seem to have been filled by figurines standing in them. Attic clay with red glaze for the birds, on the projecting fluted band, and on the floor of the window in which stands the figurine.

Just enough is preserved of our stand to whet the curiosity as to the appearance of so elaborate a structure when it was complete. The fabric, the fluted rim, and the drawing of the birds are Protoattic; although I know of no Protoattic vase decorated like this one with figures standing in windows, Protoattic vases with figurines for ornamentation exist, cf. *A.A.*, 1932, p. 198, fig. 5, and *A.A.*, 1933, pp. 271-274, figs. 6-8.

**C 152.** Geometric Tripod-Basin Fragment. Fig. 134

P 7497. Diam. of foot (est.), 0.29 m.

Part of a large open basin with a flat floor; underneath, a ring foot, from which a leg projecting downward is broken off at the left end. Since about a fifth of the total circumference is preserved, with the stump of only one leg, it seems that there can have been room for only three legs at most; and since three is the least number of legs that it was possible to have, our basin becomes a tripod. The floor is glazed, with a reserved dot at the middle; on the outer face of the ring foot bands, and a zone of tooth pattern; the decoration of the ring foot is interrupted above the foot, where its face is solidly glazed. Attic clay with black glaze metallic in places.

Our tripod may be part of a bowl constructed with a base on the same model as the tripod stands from the Warrior Grave at the Kerameikos, *A.A.*, 1934, pp. 241-242, fig. 27, and from Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 4, 3. No trace is preserved on the bottom of the foot, however, of the brace that arches from foot to foot of such stands, supporting the rim from below.

**C 153.** Protoattic Sherd: Amphora Fragment. Fig. 134

P 7488.

Fragment from low down in the wall of a very big vase, unglazed inside and therefore closed; perhaps an amphora. Glaze bands; their diameter is already too small to allow of their encircling a neck above them. The head of a long-necked bird surrounded by orientaling filling ornament is preserved above the glaze rings; the bird drawn with its head toward the foot of the pot (if we have placed the fragment rightly). Attic clay with red glaze. The bird is reminiscent of those on Acropolis 345 (Graef-Langlotz, pl. 12).

FINE HAND-MADE WARE: **C 154-155**

**C 154.** Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 139

P 8389. P.H., 0.035 m.

The neck is preserved, with part of the trefoil mouth and band handle. Fine yellow-buff clay, hand-made and smoothed vertically outside with a flat-edged implement, and polished.

The fabric is the same as that of the amphora fragment **C 148**; probably Corinthian.

**C 155.** Aryballos Fragment. Fig. 139

P 7187. Max. Diam., 0.045 m.

Part of the shoulder of a small round-bodied hand-made aryballos like **XVII 22** and **XXV 4**. Around the shoulder, two bands of rouletted ornament; below, a reverse-curved

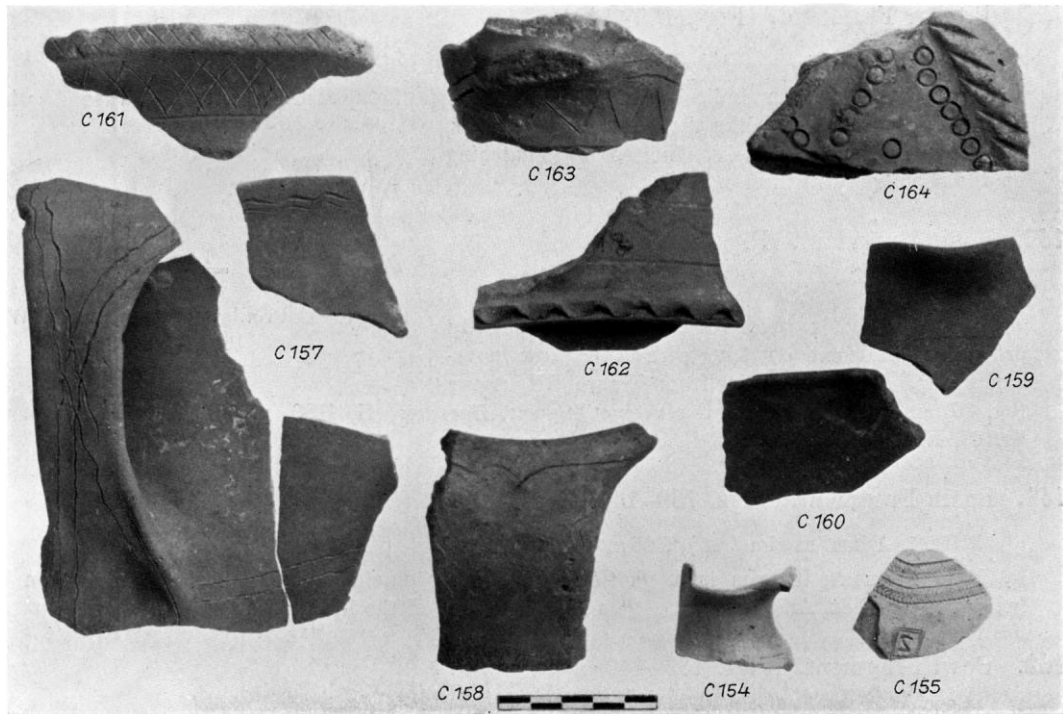


Fig. 139. Fine Hand-made (C 154–155) and Household Ware (C 157–164) Fragments

impression, probably intended to represent a bird, and framed above, below, and at the sides, by double lines. All the ornament was impressed in the soft clay before firing. Micaceous pale buff clay.

The aryballos belongs to the so-called Monochrome Argive group.

#### HOUSEHOLD WARE: C 156–165

##### C 156. Coarse Pitcher. Fig. 136

P 7180. H., 0.193 m. Max. Diam., 0.155 m.

Much of the body restored. Flat bottom and band handle; the neck is widely and deeply curved, and flaring at the lip, like that of the pitcher from Grave IX (fig. 25 above) and the pitcher from the Agora votive deposit (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 598, fig. 64).

##### C 157–158. Pitcher Fragments. Fig. 139

P 8390, 8397.

Handle and rim fragments. C 157 has double wavy lines incised on the handle, forming a St. Andrew's cross, and horizontal double wavy lines incised below the lip and above the handle attachment. C 158 has incised wavy lines running down the edges of the handle, and across its top.



**C 159.** Pitcher Fragment. Figs. 139–140

P 8391.

Part of the rim of a similarly shaped pot, with a shallow pouring spout. The vase may have been a spouted amphora, like the ones from Anavysos, *Praktika*, 1911, p. 124, 27–28. Incised cross-hatching on the shoulder; thin fabric.

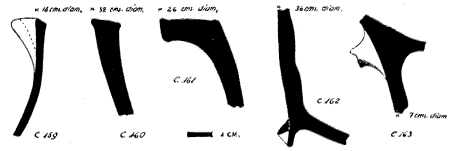


Fig. 140. Profiles of Household Ware Fragments

**C 160.** Basin Fragment. Figs. 139–140

P 8395.

From a basin with thickened rim, slightly projecting, and flat on top, with a shallow pouring spout, like the basin from Grave III above (fig. 10) and the one from the votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 597, fig. 63, and p. 601, fig. 69, No. 234.

**C 161.** Basin Fragment. Figs. 139–140

P 8393. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.25 m.

Rim fragment; the rim is much thickened, flaring outside, straight inside, and flat on top. Incised rows of St. Andrew's crosses on the outer face of the lip and on the rim below it.

**C 162.** Bowl Fragment. Figs. 139–140

P 8392.

Part of the rim and shallow concave floor preserved. The rim is straight, keeled along its lower edge, and sharply undercut; a fluted band of clay runs along the upper surface of the keel. Incised on the outer face of the rim, a wavy band between straight horizontal lines.

**C 163.** Bowl Fragment. Figs. 139–140

P 8394.

Part of a shallow bowl with a vertical band handle, on a high stand. An incised zigzag runs around the upper part of the stand, and a double wavy line at the level of the handle attachment. Another double wavy line runs around the floor of the bowl inside surrounded by a band of zigzag. Possibly from a lamp like **B 51** (fig. 87 above), but on a stand.

**C 164.** Sherd. Fig. 139

P 7452. Max. Diam., 0.088 m. T., 0.02 m.

Thick fabric; perhaps from the wall of a pithos. Two raised ridges; one is ornamented with incised diagonals to make a cable pattern, and the other, running diagonally on it, with impressed rings. A row of impressed rings runs beside the cable band, another above, and a single ring is impressed near the centre of the angle between the two ridges.

**C 165.** Brazier. Fig. 141

P 8396. H., 0.135 m. Diam., 0.175 m.

The rolled handle, and fragments of the body, restored. The straight vertical wall forms about two thirds of a cylinder open at the top and bottom; the front is also open. The upper and lower edges of the wall are slightly thickened; three small lugs project inward from the rim at the top; one at the middle, the others near each end by the opening; on these rested the pot over the fire in

the brazier. Below the rim at the back, a horizontal rolled handle, with a small round airhole through the wall below each of the side lugs inside the rim. Coarse red clay with white grits, burned grey around the lower part inside.

A fragment of another similar brazier was found during the 1937 campaign in the Agora in the seventh century deposit; otherwise, our brazier is, to my knowledge, unique. Miniature braziers of the same fabric, but made with a bowl attached above, and with incised decoration, were found at Rhitsona in a grave of the later seventh century (Grave 13, *J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, p. 346, figs. 9-10). The Rhitsona braziers were probably incense burners specially made for use at burials. There is another of the same type, but considerably bigger than the ones from Rhitsona, in the National Museum at Athens; it is said to be from Crete (N.M. Inventory, 12692). The traces of burning on the inside of our brazier show that it was actually used; probably burning charcoal was heaped inside at the bottom, and the cooking pot set on the lugs above.

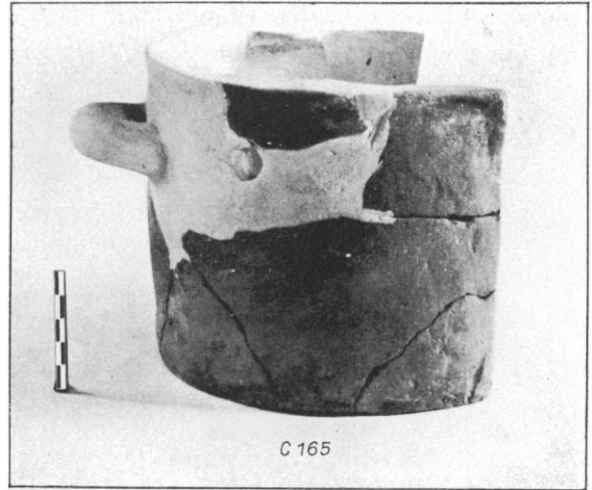


Fig. 141. Brazier (C 165)

#### DISCS: C 166-173

Twenty-seven round discs cut from the walls of Geometric and Protoattic pots, and two discs of stone, were found in the well deposit; some are pierced by a small hole through the centre. These discs have been thought to have been used as counters for a game, or as lids for small open vases. Occasionally discs are found on which the edges of the hole are worn smooth, and a groove is worn around it inside, as though a string has been passed through and either knotted inside, or tied to a short pin; others have the hole big enough for the finger to pass through; in either case the disc would seem to have been used as a lid. Similar discs were found in the Agora votive deposit; see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 603, fig. 71.

#### C 166-173. Clay discs. Fig. 142

P 7448-7451; P 8398-8401.

C 166-168 are cut from Geometric pots; on 166 a leaf band, and on 167 part of a meander with perpendicular hatching. 169-170 are orientalizing; on 169 is preserved the end of a tongue between scrolls. 171-173 are from pots with very thick walls of coarse gritty micaceous clay; perhaps pithoi. 171 is unbored, 172 is bored, and 173 has a hole in one side that does not go through to the other.

#### LOOM WEIGHTS AND WHORLS: C 174-180

Loom weights and whorls of the same types as those found in the Agora votive deposit were profusely represented in the well. Two (C 176 and C 177) are interesting because

they have late Geometric connections: one with Grave a and the Isis Grave at Eleusis, and the other with Dipylon Grave VII. Four loom weights were found, and nineteen whorls.

**C 174–175.** Loom Weights. Fig. 142

MC 246, 268.

**C 174** is pyramidal, and **C 175** flat pyramidal, with a smear of red glaze on one side. These are of the same type as the Protoattic loom weights from the votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 602, fig. 70, Nos. 250–253.

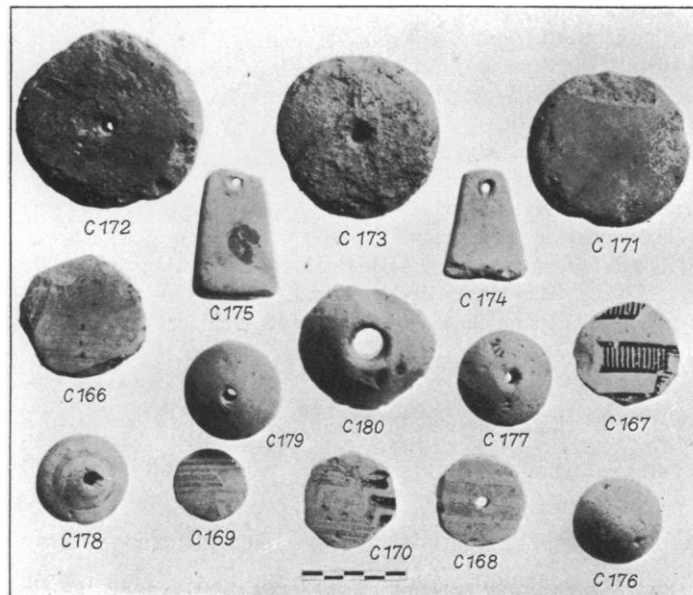


Fig. 142. Discs (C 166–173), Loom Weights (C 174–175), Clay Ball (C 176), and Whorls (C 177–180)

**C 176.** Clay Ball. Fig. 142

MC 267.

Spherical, with a small hole bored off-centre. Attic clay. Such balls were found in pumbers in the Isis Grave and in Grave a at Eleusis; sometimes they were unpierced, and sometimes speckled all over with dots of glaze. In fabric they are the same as the Geometric pots, and quite different from the incised clay balls found in the Agora votive deposit (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, Nos. 94–95); in shape, however, and probably in use, they were the same.

**C 177–180.** Clay Whorls. Fig. 142

MC 254; MC 265–266; MC 306.

Double-convex whorls pierced through the centre. **C 177** has two star-shaped stamps on each side; these are like the stamps on the loom weight from the votive deposit, fig. 70, No. 246. Three whorls with little stamped stars were reported from Dipylon Grave VII (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 115). **C 178** has a ring of glaze around one side; **C 180** an unusually large hole.

The double-convex type of whorl is the kind used throughout the Geometric period; it has been found in Geometric well deposits in the Agora extending well back into the eighth century. So far as has been shown by Geometric finds made to date, such double-convex whorls, and spherical whorls like **C 176** are the only Geometric whorls. No Geometric parallel has yet been found for the whorl published as Geometric with a group of pots supposed to be a grave group, in the Museum at Toronto (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI; whorl No. 12).

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES: **C 181–187****C 181.** Terracotta Horse. Fig. 143

T 1114. P. H., 0.033 m. P. L., 0.062 m.

The legs, the tail, and the head are broken off. The legs were rather widely spread. Glaze stripes along the body and bands around the neck. Thin dull brownish glaze, mostly peeled off.

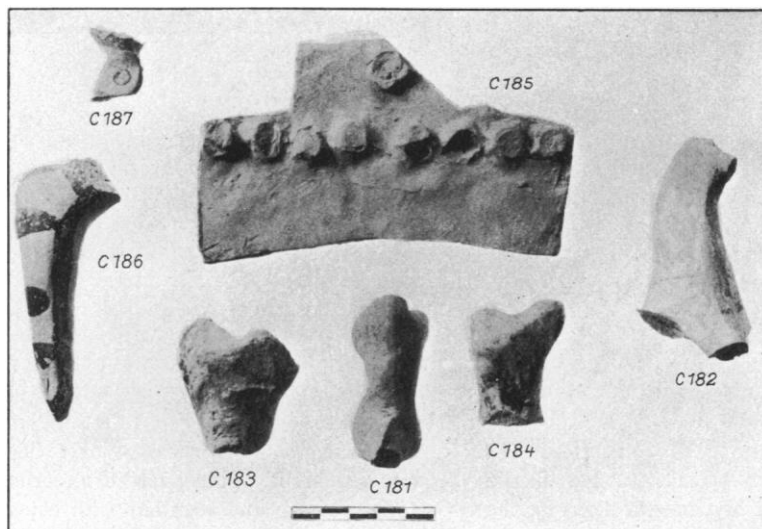


Fig. 143. Fragments of Terracotta Figurines (C 181–187)

**C 182.** Terracotta Horse Fragment. Fig. 143

T 1063. P. H., 0.08 m.

The neck is preserved, with much of the front of the body; the face is broken off. Covered with thick white paint with bands of red paint over the white.

Similar horses were found in the Agora votive deposit; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 617, fig. 83.

**C 183–184.** Terracotta Horse Fragments. Fig. 143

T 1271, 1272.

Two fragments from the hindquarters of horses; the legs are broken off. On the backs of both traces are preserved showing that riders were attached; both had the tail attached along one of the hindlegs, and both are decorated with thin streaky black-to-brown glaze. **C 183** has a multiple-

spoked wheel painted on its haunch on one side, and a dotted ring on the other; **C 184** is decorated with irregular bands and stripes of glaze. Both are of the seventh century; the manner of plastering the tail along the hindleg is Protoattic, and the glaze is subgeometric. Similar glaze-decorated horses were found in the Agora votive deposit; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 620, fig. 86.

**C 185.** Terracotta Quadriga Fragment. Fig. 143

T 1064. W., 0.13 m.

Part of a flat base, T-shaped, on which stood a quadriga; the base broken off in front and behind. The chariot stood on the narrow stem of the T, the horses in front on the wider part. The attachments of the hindlegs of the four horses are preserved on the base, and a support for the chariot behind them. Red paint on the vertical edge of the base; traces of red paint on the feet of the two outer horses, and of white on the feet of the two inner, show that two of the horses were painted red and the other two white. The chariot and the horses may have looked like a chariot and horses from the Agora votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 618—619, figs. 84—85.

**C 186.** Terracotta Chair-leg. Fig. 143

T 1273. P. H., 0.093 m.

A complete leg, tapering downward, and broken above from the flat horizontal seat. Glaze bands down the front and sides, with short horizontal dashes linking them.

Probably from a throne like **XII 23** above (fig. 41), and *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, p. 164, fig. 10.

**C 187.** Terracotta Head: Mycenaean. Fig. 143

T 1274. P. H., 0.025 m.

Round at the top, and concave on the upper surface; below, a narrow pinched face with dotted eyes and a glaze band down the nose.

The fabric is Mycenaean, and the type is a common Mycenaean one. The presence of a fragment of a Mycenaean figurine may or may not be of significance in an orientalizing deposit; fragments of Mycenaean figurines, however, have been found together with orientalizing figurines in other seventh century Agora groups, and the similarity between Mycenaean and Archaic figures of standing women with pinched faces is often very striking.

#### IV

#### THE POTTERY

The pottery included in our three groups, A—C, was made over a period of about three quarters of a century, from about 725 to 650; a period of rapid change, in which the orientalizing style displaced the Geometric. Our vases, indeed, represent three styles: the late Geometric, the subgeometric, and the orientalizing. Some of the Geometric vases already show the quickening influence of orientalizing art; all of the orientalizing vases continue to show the influence of the Geometric art that had gone before. The sub-

geometric vases serve as a link between the two styles.<sup>1</sup> While remaining free of orientalizing motives, they employ an ever-degenerating Geometric ornamentation that continues to be used in subordinate places on fully orientalizing vases. Through the subgeometric vases we may watch the degeneration of Geometric decoration as it becomes the conventional filling and subsidiary ornament of Protoattic-, and, indeed, of early Black-figured vases.

It is the purpose here to discuss the changes of fabric, shape, and decoration that took place during this period of transition, noting the characteristic shapes and ornaments of the late Geometric style, and observing which were used and abandoned and which transformed by continued use in the subgeometric and Protoattic styles. As might be expected in a mass of material as great as that found in our Agora groups, many pieces are included which are of great interest in themselves or for details of their decoration, but which fall outside the scope of such a discussion. These vases are discussed in full in their places in the catalogue, to which the reader is referred.

#### FABRIC AND TECHNIQUE

The material used by the late Geometric potters was Attic clay, usually carefully cleaned and free of grits, baked hard, and varying in color from buff to pink. The surface was often well smoothed and polished before firing; particularly fine examples of the care taken in the preparation of the clay and the polishing of its surface are the amphora and kantharos from Grave XV (fig. 48) and the oinochoe **XIII 1** (fig. 43). Most, though not all, of the Geometric vases are well made; even the smaller pots, as the skyphoi from Graves XVII and XX, are of good fabric. The subgeometric vases, on the other hand, are of poor fabric. The clay was almost never properly cleaned, contains many grits, and was not smoothed and polished on the surface before firing. A few of the earlier small cups, from Graves VII and IX, were carefully made; the large amphora **XI 2** (fig. 32), on the other hand, is of relatively poor fabric. The carelessness of the preparation of the clay for subgeometric vases is, in general, characteristic also of orientalizing ware. The Attic skyphoi made in imitation of Protocorinthian (**C 19-33**) are as careless in fabric as they are in decoration. Some of the more elaborately decorated Protoattic vases such as **B 1** and **C 65** (figs. 74 and 113), on the other hand, are of excellent fabric. It may be said that the early seventh century shows a definite decline in the quality of fabric, but that the potters were capable of producing vases of fabric as good as the late Geometric when they considered it worth their while.

<sup>1</sup> Subgeometric pottery might be called the pottery to which R. Carpenter refers as the "Geometric Overlap" in *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 61 ff. The estimate of the length of the "Geometric Overlap" at twenty-five years is too short; vases which may properly be called subgeometric seem to have been made almost to the end of the seventh century. The parallel between the survival of subgeometric and late black figure has already been suggested. See also *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 421 ff.

On occasion slip was used throughout the period under consideration. Three late Geometric pyxides (**XVI 1**, **XVII 7** and **17**) and an oinochoe (**VII 8**) are covered with a thick creamy slip. There is no reason to doubt that they were made and decorated in Attica.<sup>1</sup> Slip is sometimes used on Protoattic vases of the first half of the seventh century, as on our **B 2** and **C 39**, **C 66**, and **C 93**.<sup>2</sup> Although the use of slip is not the normal, nor even a frequent, procedure on the part of seventh century Attic potters, experimentation with it is not surprising at a time when Attica was open to external influences of all sorts. A beginning of such experimentation seems to have been made, perhaps under Boeotian or Cycladic influence, in the late eighth century.

The change for the worse that we have observed in the quality of clay is noticeable also in the quality of glaze. The Geometric vases are decorated with a firm, slightly lustrous glaze, generously applied. The glaze is put on evenly and thickly so that the clay does not show through it. Where it is thinned (for hatching and latticing, for example) it is thinned purposely and applied evenly to give a slight color contrast. Horizontal glaze bands were usually applied while the pot was on the wheel; the brush was held steady, and the glaze applied so evenly that it is often difficult to tell where the beginning and end of a band meet. Contrast the banded decoration of the vases from Grave XVIII (fig. 60) with that of the two amphoras from Grave XI (fig. 32); the later painter, although he also ran off his banded decoration while the pot was on the wheel, neither held his brush steady, nor kept an even supply of glaze in it, nor troubled himself to smooth over the junctions at beginning and end of the bands. The glaze used by

<sup>1</sup> The presence of slip on the krater and oinochoe from Cyprus in New York (Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 286 and nos. 1701-1702) does not preclude the possibility of these vases being Attic, as is suggested by Smith, *A. J. A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 414. The decorative system, as well as most of the motives, of these pots is Attic. The heraldically opposed deer nibbling at a tree, on the krater, can be matched on an Attic pyxis discussed by Graef in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, p. 448. The only distinctly non-Attic motive used is the hanging double-axe, common in Boeotia (e. g. Hampe, V 5, pl. 20). The fondness for quatrefoils and octofoils in panels, with dot rosettes between their petals, is frequently displayed on late Attic Geometric vases; we have seen it on our **XX 5**. Two vases in Copenhagen, a spouted bowl and a kantharos (*C. V. A., Copenhagen*, II, pl. 72, 4 and 73, 5) which were found in the Dipylon and of which the Attic fabric has never been doubted, have not only the same multifoil-dot rosette decoration, but display the same fondness for deer with crumpled legs as does the krater from Cyprus. A bowl with the same decoration, now at the Hague, is published as Boeotian simply because it is covered with slip (*C. V. A., Pays-Bas*, I, III G, pl. 1, 3). In publishing as Attic a stand with the same decoration (*C. V. A., California*, I, pl. 1, 2 a-d) Smith felt that in all conscientiousness he must mention an impression he had had that the stand might have been slipped.

In scale (H. 3 feet, 10 <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches, or about 1.17 m.) as well as in shape the Cesnola krater finds its best parallels in Attica. The krater itself has the same shape as the Attic krater in the Metropolitan Museum, *A. J. A.*, XIX, 1915, pl. XVII-XIX. The handles are unusual, but similar handles are found on such Attic amphoras as Wide, figs. 62-63. On the Cesnola krater they are multiplied to four, perhaps in imitation of Cretan pithoi like *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pl. VII, 9. The amphoriskos (or rather hydriskos) used as a handle on the lid is like our **XVII 19**. If the Cesnola krater is Attic, as seems probable, it is late and must belong at the very end of the eighth century or the beginning of the seventh; it shows a number of non-Attic influences.

<sup>2</sup> Also, e. g., on the bowl from Thebes, *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 4.

subgeometric potters is usually thin, streaky, and rather dull. When it was applied thickly it often became highly metallic in firing (**IX 13** and **16**, **XIV 1**; figs. 24 and 46). The glaze used on Protoattic vases is the same as that on subgeometric. It is often carefully and generously applied so as to make an evenly-colored surface; but however carefully applied it lacks the lustrous quality of the late Geometric glaze. The shiny black glaze of the Classical period was perfected in the latter part of the seventh century; the first half of the century marks a decline from the standard of late Geometric ware in the quality of glaze as in the quality of fabric.

Clay and glaze probably did not interest the potter of the early orientalizing period. He was occupied either in making careless, hastily decorated subgeometric vases, or in experimenting with new shapes and decorative ornaments. Two new technical devices, however, also presented themselves for experiment: the use of added color, and incision. Both may have come to him by way of Corinth.

The Attic potters were much slower to use added color than were the Corinthian. Of the two accessory colors, purple and white, the former appears only three times among our Agora groups, and each time on one of the later Protoattic vases: **B 45** (fig. 87), **C 39** (fig. 107), and **C 145** (fig. 134).<sup>1</sup> Although purple is freely used in Middle Protocorinthian, it appears very rarely in Attica before the middle of the seventh century. White, on the other hand, which appears at the end of the Geometric period both in Attica and in Corinth and is occasionally used in both during the first half of the seventh century, was adopted by the Protocorinthian potters as a regular part of their palette later than was purple. The use of added color was no doubt one of the devices brought from the east in the second half of the eighth century.

White was first used both at Athens and in Corinth at the end of the eighth century for the drawing or adornment of snakes. A Corinthian Geometric krater is adorned with a white snake outlined by white dots. Two Attic amphoras are decorated with plastic snakes dotted with white;<sup>2</sup> perhaps it is significant that the publisher of one of them called it Protoattic because of the use of white. Snakes decorated with added white dots are not uncommon on Early Protocorinthian.<sup>3</sup> In our Group A we can find only one fragment, **XI 14** (fig. 35), a skypos handle from one of the later graves, which has white decoration. Two subgeometric fragments, **B 20** and **B 61** (figs. 80 and 91) are decorated with white. A number of Corinthianizing pieces (**C 27** and **C 32**, figs. 103 and 105) use a system of decoration with white that was taken over from Protocorinthian models. A number of vases and fragments (**B 19**, fig. 80; **B 58**, fig. 88; **C 125**, fig. 127) belong to

<sup>1</sup> The vases of the second half of the seventh century, such as the small pots from Grave II, are, of course, not under discussion. The use of purple becomes common after the middle of the century.

<sup>2</sup> The krater from Corinth, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 411 and fig. 5. The Attic amphoras, *Wide*, *Jhb.*, XIV, 1899, pp. 196 ff., no. 14 and fig. 61; *A.A.*, 1892, p. 100. The white dots on the former of the two amphoras seem to have escaped the notice of Wide, but they exist and are quite visible to any visitor to the National Museum in Athens.

<sup>3</sup> On Early Protocorinthian, *Johansen*, pl. V 2, VIII 5, etc., and p. 54.



the so-called Light-on-Dark style.<sup>1</sup> On only one fragment (**B 2**, fig. 76) is white used to cover broad areas, as it came to be used on late Protoattic and early black-figured vases in the second half of the seventh century. The varied uses to which white was put show that the potters were in a stage of experimentation. They received the new technique of adding white at the end of the eighth century, and of adding purple somewhat later; they did not decide on how to use it until well past the middle of the seventh.

The same may be said of incision. Johansen states that incision was first used only occasionally and without system in the late stages of the Early Protocorinthian style<sup>2</sup>—that is, at the end of the eighth century. If Attica took the technique of incision from Corinth, we should expect to find our first crude attempt made very early in the seventh century in Attica. The earliest fragment with incision from our Agora group is the subgeometric column-krater handle **C 111** (fig. 121) decorated with a centaur; the date suggested for the fragment (p. 173) was early seventh century. Only a few other pieces were found on which incision had been used.<sup>3</sup> On one of them, **B 68**, the incision is elaborate and careful; the vase is developed Protoattic of about the mid-seventh century. Conventional use of incision for separating the petals of a rosette and of palmettes was made on **B 57** and **B 81** (figs. 88 and 94). A late fragment which also employs added purple has black-figured incision—that is, incision used to mark off interior details (**B 45**, fig. 87); the same sort of incision is used on the cup **C 39** (fig. 107). On the Protoattic oil amphora **C 127** (fig. 128) incised rings on the neck replace the conventional glaze-ring neck ornament of that type of amphora. From the foregoing examples of the rather haphazard use of incision we can see that the potters were engaged in experimentation with it, just as they were in the use of white. But the reason why incision did not take immediate hold in Attica as it did in Corinth is shown by two other examples: **B 1** (figs. 74–75) and **B 80** (fig. 99). On the oinochoe **B 1** two sphinxes are seated confronting each other. The wing of one is solidly glazed, and the feathers are incised; the wing of the other is outlined, and the feathers are drawn in finer glaze lines. In both cases the artist achieved the same sort of wing and the same sort of feathers. The Protoattic lid **B 80** shows horses with flame-like incisions representing the manes. A slightly earlier Protoattic amphora in New York<sup>4</sup> has horses with manes drawn by wavy lines which make very nearly the same flame-like locks. The

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 629.

<sup>2</sup> Johansen, p. 71. Need attention again be called to Payne's revised dating for the Early Protocorinthian style—750 to 700?

<sup>3</sup> Incised inscriptions are discussed below, p. 225. Presumably alphabetical inscriptions were not incised before the knowledge had come to Greece of the technique of incision.

<sup>4</sup> *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1923, p. 176, fig. 1; *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, pl. 41. The New York amphora belongs in the first quarter of the seventh century, and is probably by the same hand as fragments of an amphora from Phaleron: *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 249, fig. 11, p. 250, figs. 12–13. The peculiar bird on the neck of the New York amphora appears on a Protocorinthian aryballos of the first black-figured style—first quarter of the seventh century: Johansen, pl. XXII, 2 d; Payne, *PV*, pl. XI, 3.

Protoattic artist, then, was able to draw very much the same sort of wing or mane either by incision or in outline; it took him a long time to decide finally in favor of incision. The Protocorinthian artist, on the other hand, habitually used incision; his experiments in outline drawing were very rare. There was undoubtedly strong island influence in the Attica of the early seventh century. The Protoattic artist made use of the two techniques, Corinthian incision and Cycladic outline-drawing, side by side over a long period. Drawing in outline was not entirely abandoned until well after the seventh century. The faces of women were drawn in outline and then filled with white down to the time of Sophilos.

Although outline drawing was, in general, favored in Attica in the first half of the seventh century, incision was seized upon immediately for the decoration of coarse household ware. None of the hand-made pitchers of this fabric found in the graves of Group A was decorated with incision; on the other hand a number of fragments with rather elaborate incised decoration are to be noted among the sporadic finds of the seventh century from the grave area, and in Group C (**B 4, 51, 82; C 157–164**). Such decoration of household pottery probably started in the late eighth century.<sup>1</sup> The fabric of household ware is quite different from that of ordinary Attic pottery. It was made, however, for a special purpose and therefore adapted to that purpose; the clay may have been taken from a different bed than was the clay for ordinary Attic ware, and certainly it was differently mixed. Household ware, with very little change in fabric, is found in abundance in Attica throughout antiquity, from the Protogeometric to the Late Roman period; its presence in great quantity over so long a period indicates that it was made locally. Large pithoi like **IX 1** (fig. 23) were probably used for storage. One-handed pitchers of the sort found in Graves VI–X were used for cooking; pitchers of this sort are often burned on the outside. The fabric was probably intended to withstand fire; it was used for lamps (**B 51** and **63**, figs. 87 and 91) and a brazier (**C 165**, fig. 141) as well as for cooking pots. It is uncertain why pottery of this fabric was always made by hand instead of on the wheel.

A few hand-made aryballoi of different fabric were found: **XVII 22, XXV 5, and C 155** (figs. 54, 72, and 139). Two of the three examples are decorated with incised ornament. They belong to the fabric known as Monochrome Argive.<sup>2</sup> Vases of this fabric have been found in abundance on many Greek sites; not only aryballoi but also oinochoai with trefoil mouth or long-necked with conical body, as well as small kantharoi, belong to the group. The aryballoi may have been made to contain oil or perfume of manufacture other than Corinthian. Small vases made by hand of pale buff clay, and sometimes decorated with incision, have been found in great quantity at Eleusis. It is quite probable that the vases of the so-called Monochrome Argive group were made locally at a number of places. Two of the kantharoi from the Agora, **IX 11** and **C 66**, are made of clay like that of the aryballoi; they were turned on the wheel, however, and decorated in the normal manner with glaze.

<sup>1</sup> Late eighth century examples: from Anavysos, *Praktika*, 1911, pp. 124–125, nos. 24–29; from the Dipylon (Grave X), *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 119, fig. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Pfuhl, *MuZ*, pp. 82–83, discusses the group, and gives references.

## SHAPES

In the pottery of the late eighth century three types may be noted: vases made for ordinary use in the daily life of adults, vases made for children, and vases specially made for funerary use. The children's vases are often miniature imitations of larger models, but among them are to be found shapes which have no parallels in pottery of ordinary size. The small vases, made for children, were found in children's graves, and the larger ware in the graves of adults. Though the two types are contemporary, they are therefore seldom found together; one burial at Spata,<sup>1</sup> however, contained small oinochoai like those from our Grave IX (fig. 24) together with large pyxides like those from our Grave XVII (fig. 54). The contrast between the two types is symbolical of a change that took place at the end of the Geometric period. The potters of the late eighth century had developed high technical ability, and used it in the fabrication of very big pots. Colossal amphoras and kraters were made to be set up as monuments over graves; comment has often been made on the skill required for their manufacture.<sup>2</sup> Nearly as great skill was necessary for the making of pitchers, ribbon-handled bowls, and pyxides such as were found in the graves at Spata, at the Dipylon, and in our Grave XVII (fig. 54).<sup>3</sup> Although these vases do not compare in actual dimensions with the monumental amphoras and kraters, yet the thinness of their fabric makes them, for their size, triumphs of technique quite as great. Such vases must have been made over a short period after the potters had acquired the skill necessary for their manufacture, and while the public taste demanded them; but their very size rendered them unsuitable for ordinary use, and they must represent merely a vogue of short duration. The reaction toward smaller vases was strong; almost all the subgeometric and Protoattic ware is made on a lesser scale than its Geometric predecessors. The reduction in the size of the pottery made for everyday uses after the end of the eighth century may have been due in part to reaction against the giantism of many late Geometric vases, in part to the custom of making miniature vases for children, and in part to the influence of Protocorinthian ware, which began to make itself felt toward the end of the eighth century.

The trend toward small vases entailed the disappearance of certain Geometric forms. Most noteworthy among the shapes that ceased to be made after the eighth century is the pyxis of Geometric type. Pyxides had been made from early Geometric times; several were found in the Areopagus graves.<sup>4</sup> Early pyxides, either shallow or deep, were always made

<sup>1</sup> Spata Grave 3; *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 134 ff., and figs. 6-10.

<sup>2</sup> e. g. by Miss Richter, who has herself had experience in the throwing of pots. See her remark on the krater in New York, *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1934, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Dipylon Grave XIII: Wide, fig. 74; *B. C. H.*, 1895, pp. 273 ff.; at Spata in Graves 1, 3 and 4: *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 132 ff., figs. 2, 6, and 11. Similar pitchers with late Geometric decoration from the Dipylon, Wide, figs. 71 and 73; from Anavysos, *Praktika*, 1911, p. 122, 20 and 21. There are nine more in the Empedokles collection in Athens.

<sup>4</sup> *C. V. A.*, *Athens*, I, pls. 1-2.

with well rounded wall, and usually with ring foot. Pyxides of this shape continued to be made throughout the Geometric period; two examples from one of our late graves, **XVII 8** and **13** (fig. 54), one shallow and the other deep, are of the conventional early shape. Pyxides of later type were made with flat bottom or a low base, and with but slightly curved side-wall. The latest examples, like our **XVII 15** and **17**, **XVIII 6**, and **XX 5** (figs. 54, 60, and 67) are very nearly straight-sided, and, in two cases, slightly greater in diameter at the base than at the rim. The latest Geometric pyxides, often made of great size, were also often adorned with plastic representations of horses as handles on their lids (**XVII 15–17**, **XVIII 6**). The inconvenience of a handleless form, together with the desire for smaller vases, was perhaps the cause of the disappearance of the Geometric type of pyxis. It was replaced probably by the more useful bowl with ribbon handle, sometimes lidded,<sup>1</sup> by the lidded skyphos with in-turned rim,<sup>2</sup> and by the pyxis of Protocorinthian type.

The great one-handled pitchers of the late Geometric period also disappear, although small jugs of nearly the same shape continued to be made. The making of big vases did not, of course, stop; but big vases were made for practical use and not for display. Thus the ordinary amphora performed in a much more satisfactory way the function to which overgrown one-handled pitchers had been rather unsuitably adapted, and the pitchers were no longer made.

With the exception of the pyxis and the pitcher, however, most of the Geometric types continued to be made into the seventh century, usually on a somewhat smaller scale. With the continued use of Geometric shapes there was a continuing development of them. The contrast between the well-rounded early Geometric pyxis form and its nearly straight-sided successor is typical of the change that took place between early and late Geometric forms, and that continued into the seventh century. Different shapes underwent different developments, but in general the trend was from well rounded to less rounded forms; from plump to pointed shapes, and from well defined and sharply offset parts to a blurring and blending of parts running into each other in continuous reverse curves. With the lessening of the articulation of parts came the disappearance of some members. The ring foot of the early Geometric style gives place to a low base, which in turn often disappears, leaving a plain flat bottom. Rims, usually clearly defined from a well-curved shoulder in early Geometric vases, are in late Geometric and subgeometric vases either continuous with the side wall or disappear entirely as separate parts. With the general trend in the development of form in mind, let us look at individual shapes.

The skyphoi from Graves XVII and XX (figs. 54 and 67) are typically late Geometric in shape. In comparison with early Geometric skyphoi they are relatively deep and narrow; they have low bases instead of ring feet, and are somewhat more pointed at the bottom.

<sup>1</sup> Like the bowl from Dipylon Grave III, Wide, fig. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Like the skyphos from Dipylon Grave VIII, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 1, 6. Numerous skyphoi of this type, lidded, were found in the Phaleron cemetery.

The well-rounded early shoulder has become much less marked, and the rim is not so sharply offset. **XVII 1** and **XX 1** are still reminiscent of the earlier shape; **XVII 2-3**, **XX 3**, and **C 37-38** (fig. 106), narrower at the bottom, taller in proportion to their width, and less curved at the shoulder, are more developed; they are typical late Geometric skyphoi. Still more developed are early seventh century examples: **V 3** (fig. 15) and **C 43-44** (fig. 106); they are also slightly smaller in scale. The later examples are flat-bottomed and are becoming definitely pointed; they show almost no inward curve at the shoulder, and in them the offset lip is beginning to become merely a flaring rim. **C 44** stands at the head of a subgeometric skyphos type which continued to be made through the seventh century; **C 45-47** (fig. 108) are examples of this class, abundantly represented in every seventh century deposit. **C 45** has a flat bottom and its lower wall is no longer convex; it curves inward scarcely at all at the shoulder and has a flaring rim. **C 46-47**, later than **C 45**, are even deeper, narrower, and more pointed at the bottom. To the same type belong the skyphoi **B 53-54** (fig. 88). After the middle of the seventh century subgeometric skyphoi of this shape, which has gradually become deeper and more pointed through the first half of the century, become again shallower and wider at the bottom, and have less emphasis on the flaring lip. Two examples from a pottery group of the third quarter of the century at the Agora have been published.<sup>1</sup> The same development is to be followed at Corinth; middle Protocorinthian skyphoi become gradually deeper and more pointed until, after the middle of the century, a reaction in the late Protocorinthian and Transitional style made for skyphoi of shallower shape and wider at the bottom.

Two large skyphoi, both of which bear inscriptions, **B 55** (fig. 90) and **C 39** (fig. 107), were made at about the middle of the century and reflect the change that was to come about. Each has a ring foot, a shallow open body, a high straight offset rim, and very slightly convex shoulder. In comparison with late Geometric skyphoi they differ at rim and foot; it is probable that skyphoi like **C 38**, of typical late Geometric shape, continued in the seventh century to be made and decorated with conventional subgeometric ornament, and served as a link between mid-century examples like our inscribed pieces and the true late Geometric skyphoi with short lip and low base.<sup>2</sup>

Two other skyphos types are worthy of mention. The first, very shallow, shoulderless, and with widely flaring lip, has rather long, almost horizontal handles and is decorated on the inside as well as on the exterior. **XXV 1** (fig. 72) and **C 40** (fig. 108) belong to this type, which was clearly influenced by metal work. Skyphoi of this shape began to be made in Attica only at the end of the Geometric period, and usually are subgeometric or orientalizing in their decoration. The type seems to have no sequel of later date, and was probably limited to the period of manufacture of the metallic model from which it was copied—from

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 413 and fig. 1, D 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Like a skyphos in Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 5, 1, decorated with a figured scene of the end of the eighth century. It has a low base and a short lip, and shoulder more rounded than that of later examples.

the end of the eighth into the early seventh century. The second skyphos type, with in-turned rim, has already been mentioned as a seventh century substitute for the Geometric pyxis. It was probably imitated from late Geometric Corinthian pyxides of the same shape.<sup>1</sup> One fragment of a skyphos of this type was found in the well, **C 42** (fig. 109). A similar skyphos was found in Grave VIII at the Dipylon, and fairly numerous examples, ranging in date from the beginning to the end of the seventh century, were found in graves in the Phaleron cemetery.<sup>2</sup> Though used over a long period from the beginning of the seventh century onward, the type remained comparatively rare.

Cups with one handle were, like skyphoi, made throughout the Geometric period. They seem, in general, to go through the same development as do the skyphoi—from the shallow, rounded to the deeper, more pointed, form. The flattening of the shoulder is not so noticeable on cups as on skyphoi; and since cups were made from earliest times without ring foot or base, it is often difficult to date plain back-glazed examples. It might be suggested, however, that **X 2** (fig. 28) corresponds to late Geometric skyphoi like **XVII 1** (fig. 54), while cups like **C 51–52**, deeper and more pointed, are the counterparts of later skyphoi like **C 37–38** (fig. 106). The subgeometric skyphoi of the seventh century have also their one-handled counterparts: to the skyphoi **C 45–47** correspond the cups **C 48–50** (fig. 108). **C 48**, fairly wide at the bottom and flaring at the rim, is of about the same date as **C 45**; **C 49–50**, deeper and more pointed, and with less emphasis on the rim, are, like **C 46–47**, somewhat later. As do the skyphoi, the cups become shallower and wider at the bottom after the middle of the century.<sup>3</sup> Skyphoi and cups of this sort are the typical cheap ware of the seventh century. The great majority (sixteen out of twenty-one) of the early inscriptions from Mount Hymettos<sup>4</sup> are incised on one-handled cups of this type.

Some of the miniature cups are small models of the late Geometric type. **IX 6–7** (fig. 24), well rounded and with sharply offset rims, are close in shape to cups like **X 2** (fig. 28). Other cups of the same shape, **V 2** (fig. 15), **VI 2** (fig. 17), **VII 4** (fig. 20), and **IX 3** (fig. 24) are deeper, less rounded, and less sharply defined at the junction of rim and body. A fragment from the seventh century well, **C 57** (fig. 109) corresponds closely in decoration as well as in shape to **V 2**. Even in the miniature cups, then, the same development seems to take place—from the well-rounded, rather shallow body with markedly curved shoulder and offset rim, to the more pointed, deeper body with shallow shoulder and less marked definition of parts. Other small cups from Graves VII and IX (figs. 20 and 24) are not imitations of larger models; they find parallels, however, in fragments from the well: **C 53–56** (fig. 111), and **C 57–59** (fig. 109).

<sup>1</sup> e. g., a fragment from the votive deposit of the Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 563, no. 80, and figs. 22–23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 1, 6; *Delt.*, II, 1916, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 415 and fig. 1, D 7–8.

<sup>4</sup> *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 10 ff.

Kantharoi show much the same development of shape as do cups and skyphoi. The kantharos, however, is not an early form; no kantharoi have been found in graves of the early Geometric period. A fragmentary kantharos was found in a well at the Agora with vases of simple Geometric style of the first half of the eighth century; the kantharos, however, is shown by its decoration to be one of the latest members of the group, and should probably be dated near the middle of the century.<sup>1</sup> Kantharoi were probably first made slightly before the middle of the century and are therefore relatively late-comers in the Geometric repertory. The oldest examples in our group are **XV 2** and **XX 4** (figs. 48 and 67). Both are well rounded, with low base and inward-curved shoulder; the rim is upstanding and clearly defined from the body. Miniatures with subgeometric decoration, **VII 7** and **IX 8-9** (figs. 20 and 24), are of the same shape; they show, however, the late tendency to a lack of clear definition of parts. The tendency is further shown by **IX 10** and **C 63** (figs. 24 and 112), which are shoulderless and rimless—the former with the decoration marking off a rim no longer made as a separate member of the pot. **C 66** (fig. 112), a Protoattic kantharos, is of the same rimless shape; the body has become deep and pointed with straight upper wall marked off from the lower body by a shallow groove, making a sort of pseudo-rim. The handsomely decorated kantharos **C 65** (fig. 113) is of the same shape; the handles with their lower ends applied against the body suggest that the vase was influenced by metalwork. **C 67** (fig. 112), however, is a kantharos of typically Protoattic shape—low base, deep, rather pointed body with a shallow shoulder, and high straight rim, tilted slightly outward. Several kantharoi of this type were found in the votive deposit at the Agora.<sup>2</sup> The shape is close to that of the Boeotian bird-kantharoi; it may have been common to both Attica and Boeotia. Another kantharos type with flat bottom and wide body with plain rim slightly incurved (**C 64**, fig. 112), usually conventionally decorated with tethered horses or a pair of birds, is very common in Boeotia, rarer in Attica.<sup>3</sup> Our example seems to be Attic in fabric; probably Attic potters made vases of this type under Boeotian influence. A noteworthy feature of Attic and Boeotian kantharoi of the seventh century is the oval outline at the rim; the body was slightly pinched before firing, so that the width at the rim from handle to handle is less than the length from front to back. Geometric kantharoi have normal round rims; the late vase **XI 5** (fig. 32) is, however, oval. It does not fit into the normal kantharos series; the body is more rounded, and the rim incorporated into the body in a reverse curve. The effect of form and decoration together is that of a tulip-like flower; probably the desired effect was considered in advance and the form adapted to it. Another kantharos, **IX 11** (fig. 24), probably shows non-Attic influence; its nearest parallel is a kantharos from a grave at Tiryns.

Like the kantharoi, the kalathoi in our groups show foreign influence. **XVII 5-6** (fig. 54) are similar in shape to Boeotian kalathoi; **XVII 5** shows Boeotian influence not only in its

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished; Agora Inventory, P 6402.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 585 ff., nos. 200, 203-205; figs. 51, 54-57.

<sup>3</sup> Hampe, V 44 and V 20; pls. 26 and 28.

shape but also in its decoration. Another kalathos, **C 84** (fig. 108), shows the influence of Protocorinthian models. True Attic kalathoi of the early Geometric period are deep and pointed, narrow at the bottom, and with flaring concave walls. Later examples are shallower and wider at the bottom, with straight, outward-tilted walls. Kalathoi of early and late type were found together in the Isis Grave at Eleusis.<sup>1</sup> Open-work or fenestrated kalathoi of late shape were made in Attica toward the end of the Geometric period.

The ribbon-handled bowl is, like the kantharos, a late Geometric shape. No examples have been found in early graves on the Areopagus or in early groups at the Agora. Such bowls were probably first made after the middle of the eighth century, and they became very popular in the late Geometric period, continuing to be made into the early seventh century. Ribbon-handled bowls of great size found at the Dipylon in Grave XIII have already been mentioned. Only two were found in our cemetery, both from the same late burial, and both subgeometric in decoration: **XI 3-4** (fig. 32). **XI 4** is deep and narrow, with a high rim; its lower body is little curved, and the junction of rim and body is not sharply profiled. In shape it approaches the kalathos **XVII 6** (fig. 54), with the addition of handles. The rim of **XI 3** is tilted outward; earlier bowls have straight vertical rims. From about the end of the eighth century ribbon-handled bowls began to be made with low perforated stands, like our **XI 8-9** (fig. 33). Such bowls are often found, as were our examples, in the remains of pyres; they were probably made originally for ritual purposes, but came later into more common use, and gradually displaced the earlier type without the stand. The bowl, however, continued to develop in shape on its stand. Our **XI 8-9** are of about the same shape as **XI 3**; the rim tilts outward and the shoulder curves but little inward. The lower body is slightly deeper; a transition must be made to the stand. A mid-seventh century Protoattic bowl from the Kerameikos<sup>2</sup> illustrates the later development of the shape: the stand has become very high and wide, the body very shallow, the rim is tilted sharply outward, and only a shallow groove now marks the transition from the shoulderless body to the rim.

The ribbon handle with outward-turned ends may well have been of metallic origin. As used on the bowls it is merely decorative. On plates it served a purpose; it was so placed at the rim that the plate, simply glazed on the inside but often elaborately decorated outside, could be hung by the handle against the wall. Early Geometric plates, designed to be hung in the same manner, were made with pierced lugs projecting from the rim. The ribbon handle, admirably suited to the purpose of hanging, probably replaced the pierced lug at about the middle of the eighth century. Our plate **XX 6** (fig. 67), from a grave of the last quarter of the eighth century, is fairly deep, markedly convex in its wall, and stands on a low ring foot. Later plates of the end of the century and the beginning of the seventh, **VI 3** (fig. 18), **B 14** and **B 76** (figs. 80 and 94) and **C 77-78** (fig. 115) are shallower,

<sup>1</sup> *C. V. A., Athens*, I, pl. 6, 8 of the older type, and 10 (fenestrated) of the later shape.

<sup>2</sup> *A. A.*, 1934, p. 219, fig. 14.



less convex, and have low bases instead of ring feet. Other plates from the well, **C 79–82** (fig. 114), are noticeably smaller and more carelessly made; the handle ends are not turned sharply outward, and the body has almost entirely lost its convexity. All four, and the fragment **B 15** (fig. 80) show Protocorinthian influence in their decoration bands, and a conventional ornament in the handle-zone. Plates like **C 81–82** continued to be made well past the middle of the seventh century;<sup>1</sup> late examples are usually very small and flat bottomed.

Bowls of Protoattic type with deep convex body on a low base and with thickened lip have no Geometric predecessors. The shape, however, may have been developed by deepening that of the Geometric plate. **C 85** (fig. 117) is fairly close in shape to **XX 6**; instead of having two handles it has one handle and a spout. The new arrangement was very practical; the spout could be used for pouring, and one handle remained by which the bowl could be hung. A number of fragmentary bowls were found in the grave area and in the well which must have had the same features: **B 44** and **77** (figs. 87 and 94), **C 86–92** (figs. 115 and 117). On some the spout is a shallow fluting of the rim; on others it is a mere depression marked on the upper face of the rim by a spot of glaze. The handle is not preserved on any of our examples; that there can have been only one is shown in several cases because the rim is preserved to more than half its circumference. **C 87**, which has a rudimentary pour-channel on its rim, proves that there was a handle: the decoration is so drawn that it is upside down when the bowl stands on its foot, but appears in its correct position if the bowl hangs by its handle from a peg in the wall.

The large two-handled bowls with short rim from the Agora groups are too fragmentary to furnish much information as to the development of the shape. The handles seem to have been of two types: rolled handles tilted sharply upward, as on **C 96–97** (fig. 117), and horizontal band handles, as on **C 102–103** (fig. 119). Smaller examples of the same shape sometimes have shallow depressions for pouring in the rim, as **C 99** (fig. 121). The decoration of bowls of this sort is late Geometric, subgeometric, and Protoattic (**C 97–98**, figs. 117 and 119); the type was made from the late eighth century to the middle of the seventh, and later. Its development can be traced in complete examples preserved in various museums. A late Geometric bowl has a high base and vertical band handles with out-turned ends; the influence of metal work is strongly felt.<sup>2</sup> Another late Geometric bowl of the same shape has rolled handles and a vertical ring foot instead of a base.<sup>3</sup> Made at about the end of the eighth century, it has a rather deep body, well curved in the lower part and widely rounded at the shoulder. A later bowl, from Thebes, belongs early in the second quarter of the seventh century.<sup>4</sup> Its foot is a little more flaring, its body shallower,

<sup>1</sup> A small plate from the Agora group of the third quarter of the century, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 415 and fig. 2, D 12. A still later example, unpublished, Agora Inventory, P 5413.

<sup>2</sup> Wide, fig. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Hampe, pl. 22, below.

<sup>4</sup> *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. IV.

and only slightly convex in its lower part; the shoulder is higher and more sharply curved, and the rim lower. The bowl from Aegina by the Nessos painter, made early in the last quarter of the seventh century,<sup>1</sup> has a very flaring foot, still shallower body, more sharply curved shoulder, lower rim, and nearly straight lower wall. The time allowed for the development of the shape, about eighty years, covers very nearly three generations.

Krater fragments from the grave area and the well are, like the bowl fragments, too small to give any idea of the development of the shape. **B 8** (fig. 79) and **C 110** (fig. 121) are parts of Attic kraters of ordinary type, **B 8** with goat-head handle. **C 106–109** (fig. 121) are all very late Geometric in decoration; no Protoattic kraters were found. Probably bowls like **C 97** replaced the krater in the seventh century. The column krater, too, seems to have been introduced, perhaps under the influence of metal work, at about the beginning of the century. Our **C 111** (figs. 115 and 121), a handle, is the earliest fragment of a column krater that has been found.

Stamnoi, which began to be made at the end of the eighth century,<sup>2</sup> were probably also put to the uses for which Geometric kraters had been made. A number of subgeometric and early seventh century Attic stamnoi exist; our **C 112** (fig. 121) is a fragment of a small one. The shape reached its fullest development and greatest popularity after the middle of the century; our **B 64** (fig. 92) is an example dating from about 650. A number of handsome late Protoattic examples from Aegina are unpublished.

Jugs were probably first made at about the same time as were ribbon-handled bowls, and attained great popularity in the late Geometric period. The two shapes, jug and bowl, have been found in great numbers and seem to have been the types of vase in most common use in the second half of the eighth century. Earlier examples of the jug like our **XVII 18** and **XVIII 1** (figs. 54 and 60) sometimes have a low base; the lower body is always well rounded, and meets the high slightly flaring rim at a marked angle. Later jugs, like **XI 15** (fig. 33), are always flat-bottomed and less rounded; the definition of body and rim becomes less sharp, until finally Protoattic jugs show in profile a continuous reverse curve.<sup>3</sup> The one-handed jugs are simply reduced versions of larger pitchers. The body is usually about one third, and the rim two thirds, of the total height; the large pitchers are made with body and rim about equal in height. Small jugs were sometimes used as handles for the lids of very large pitchers; in such cases the contrast of the proportions of parts in what is essentially the same shape is very noticeable.<sup>4</sup> Pitchers like our **XIV 1** (fig. 46) were made of medium size; they have deeper bodies and lower rims and are, essentially, of amphora shape, but made with only one handle, which rises from the lip.

<sup>1</sup> Berlin F 1682; Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 8; Payne, *NC*, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest example is Louvre 514, illustrated in Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. IX.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Wide, fig. 80. An exaggerated example of the late shape, dating from about the middle of the seventh century, is illustrated in *A. A.*, 1934, pp. 211–212, fig. 9.

<sup>4</sup> The pitcher from Dipylon Grave XIII, Wide, fig. 74.

Lekythoi such as were found in the pyre, **XII 9-12** (figs. 39 and 40), are late and rare. Our examples, some of which are very small, must have been specially made for funerary use. Late Geometric lekythoi of greater size were found at Anavysos and date from about the end of the eighth century. The shape may have been borrowed from Crete;<sup>1</sup> it is not unlike that of the ordinary Protogeometric lekythos, but no early Geometric examples pointing to a continuous life and development of the type have been found.

Late Geometric oinochoai are of two types. The first, with tall, rather plump body and wide trefoil mouth above a shallow necking, seems to be an invention of the late eighth century and continued to be made through the seventh. Miniature oinochoai of this shape, but with very round body, have been found in early Geometric groups at the Agora; the shape is essentially the same as that of our **IX 16** (fig. 24). **IX 15** and **VII 8** are variations of the shape with nearly conical body. **C 123** (fig. 127) is a seventh century example of full-size oinochoai of the type; similar Protoattic oinochoai were found in the votive deposit.<sup>2</sup> A later example of the third quarter of the seventh century<sup>3</sup> is taller, narrower, and slimmer in its proportions; late Geometric examples found in a well group of the late eighth century at the Agora are lower and plumper, resembling our **IX 17** (fig. 24). The development of the shape, then, is from a short plump body to a taller less rounded one; in the course of time the necking becomes shorter, and the trefoil mouth wider and flatter.

The second, and commoner, type of oinochoe goes back to early Geometric times. It has a rather tall neck and rounded body. An early oinochoe of this type was found at the Dipylon in the Warrior Grave.<sup>4</sup> Its body is tall and pointed, and stands on a ring foot; its neck is slightly concave in profile. As the shape develops the neck becomes nearly straight and the body lower and plumper; the ring foot is replaced by a low base. **XX 7** (fig. 67) illustrates the development; **XIII 1** (fig. 43) with flat bottom and very plump round body belongs to a later phase. Oinochoai of the shape of **XIII 1** are often decorated with large concentric rings on their sides, as **C 114** (fig. 133); the decoration is Cypriote in origin, and must have been brought to Attica after the middle of the eighth century.<sup>5</sup> The type was continued into the seventh century; late Geometric and subgeometric examples, **VI 4** (fig. 18), **IX 12** (fig. 24), and **C 113, 115** and **117** (figs. 122 and 125) are of the same shape as **XIII 1**. Some subgeometric examples, **XI 16** (fig. 33), **XII 8** (fig. 39) and **C 118** (fig. 122) show a deepening of the body and widening of the neck; they may have been influenced by Early Protocorinthian oinochoai. Later Protoattic oinochoai like **B 1** (fig. 74) certainly show Protocorinthian influence.<sup>6</sup> Round-bodied Protoattic oinochoai continued to be made;

<sup>1</sup> Late Geometric and early orientalizing Cretan lekythoi, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pl. IX, 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 591 ff. and figs. 59-60; nos. 211-213.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 417 and fig. 5; D 17.

<sup>4</sup> *A.A.*, 1934, pp. 241-242, fig. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Oinochoai with this decoration are listed and discussed by Schweitzer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pp. 143 ff. Two examples from Marathon, *Praktika*, 1934, p. 36, fig. 9. Another is in the Empedokles collection. See also Wide, figs. 90-91.

<sup>6</sup> Such Early Protocorinthian oinochoai as Payne, *PV*, pl. 7.

examples like **C 119–120** (fig. 125) show an upward tapering of the neck not to be found on earlier vases of the type.

In addition to oinochoai of the two regular Attic types, examples of various shapes were found which may have been influenced by other seventh century fabrics, or may have been the results of experimentation on the part of the potters. **B 71** (fig. 98) is close in shape to Late Protocorinthian oinochoai, and may have been made under the influence of Corinth.<sup>1</sup> Vases with round mouth and handle to the middle of the neck, like our **C 122** (fig. 122), were occasionally made in the early seventh century. Squat short-necked oinochoai like **IX 13** (fig. 24) may have been made under the influence of Cretan models;<sup>2</sup> similar oinochoai were found in the Isis Grave. The oinochoe seems to have been a shape that lent itself to experiment; our **IX 14** (fig. 24) and **B 73** (fig. 98) are without parallel. Numerous oinochoai of unique form were found in the Phaleron cemetery; some Protoattic examples are quite fantastic in shape.<sup>3</sup>

The three hydriai **V 1** (fig. 14), **X 1** (fig. 27) and **C 148** (fig. 137) are late Geometric and subgeometric vases of simple decoration which find Geometric ("Parian") and orientalizing parallels in the Cyclades.<sup>4</sup> **C 148** lacks both neck and foot. **V 1**, with body more pointed and less curved in its lower part, and with higher, more flaring ring foot, than **X 1**, is later and shows again the trend of the late eighth and seventh century to deeper, more pointed body, and more flaring foot. The fragmentary hydria **XI 7** (fig. 33) would seem to have been of about the same shape as **X 1** and **V 1**. The well-known hydria from Analatos<sup>5</sup> is of different type. Its body is long, narrow, and pointed, and its neck very wide. In form it is like our amphoras **C 138–139** (fig. 132), but with higher, more flaring foot. The width of the neck, like that of our oinochoai **XI 16**, **XII 8**, and **C 118** may be due to the influence of Protocorinthian. Early seventh century hydriai like the one from Analatos have pierced walls of clay uniting the vertical handle to the neck; the plastic snakes with which they are decorated are often put on in pairs, and are very small and thin in comparison with late Geometric snakes.<sup>6</sup>

Amphora types are numerous. Early Geometric amphoras have tall, rather narrow neck, slightly concave; plump rounded body, sloping upward at the shoulder, and low, flaring ring foot.<sup>7</sup> With the passage of time the body becomes slimmer and more pointed, less curved in its lower part; the neck becomes wider and shorter, less concave, and more flar-

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Late Protocorinthian oinochoai, Payne, *NC*, fig. 10, shape A, and pl. 11, 3 which is also illustrated in *PV*, pl. 30, 5

<sup>2</sup> *C. V. A.*, *Oxford*, II, pl. I, 2, and p. 53. "Hellenic Cretan." Cretan aryballoi of this type were sometimes exported, and influenced Early Protocorinthian aryballoi.

<sup>3</sup> As *Jhb.*, II, 1887, p. 46, figs. 5–6, and p. 48, fig. 8; also p. 53, fig. 15, and p. 54, fig. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Parian Geometric, Buschor in *Ath. Mitt.*, LIV, 1929, pp. 142 ff. Orientalizing hydriai, *Délos*, XVII, pls. XXIV–XXVI, 1–8, and 9.

<sup>5</sup> The Analatos hydria, *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pls. 3–4.

<sup>6</sup> Also on the Protoattic krater in Munich, *Jhb.* XXII, 1907, pl. 1.

<sup>7</sup> As the amphora from the Warrior Grave, *A. A.*, 1934, pp. 241–242, fig. 27.

ing at the top; and the foot becomes higher, losing its flare. Our **XI 1** (fig. 32) shows most of the changes that took place. An amphora in Leyden,<sup>1</sup> made at about the end of the eighth century, has an ovoid body still well curved in its lower part; the neck is nearly straight, and the high ring foot flares only slightly. Of nearly the same shape, but with slightly more flaring neck and foot, is an early seventh century amphora at Eleusis.<sup>2</sup> The Nessos amphora in New York, of the second quarter, near the middle, of the seventh century<sup>3</sup> is noticeably more developed: the foot is more flaring, the body more pointed and straighter in its lower part, the shoulder is flatter, and the neck more flaring. The Peiraeus amphora,<sup>4</sup> dated by Payne early in the last quarter of the seventh century,<sup>5</sup> and something more than a generation later than the Nessos amphora, shows the further development of the shape. The foot is very flaring, and the body still more pointed; the shoulder is flatter and meets the neck at a sharp angle. The development is the same as that followed in the two-handled bowl; the time it took, again slightly less than three generations.

A number of the Agora amphoras of the late eighth and early seventh century have the same kind of neck and mouth, but bodies of different shape. **XI 1–2** (fig. 32) have bodies of the normal late Geometric ovoid shape; **VIII 1** (fig. 21) and **XV 1** (fig. 48) are probably from amphoras of the same shape. **XII 1** (figs. 37–38) and **C 138–139** (fig. 132) are slimmer and taller, following the seventh century trend toward tall thin shapes. **VI 1** (fig. 16), **VII 1** (fig. 19) and **C 136** (fig. 131), on the other hand, have very plump rounded bodies; **VI 1** has a heavy round lip. These three amphoras fall between the ordinary Geometric type the development of which we have traced and a balloon-bodied type, **C 127** (fig. 128), made throughout the seventh century and probably used for the export of wine or oil. Many of the children's burials in the Phaleron cemetery were made in amphoras of this sort, and many fragments were found in the votive deposit and in our well: **C 127–133**. There can be little doubt, then, that they were made in Attica. Their decoration is conventional and very simple; the body is glazed, with reserved bands around the shoulder, and the neck is reserved and decorated with wheels, concentric circles, or diminishing triangles between wavy lines. Amphoras of such simple decoration can hardly have been exported for their own sake as pottery; yet they have been found as far afield as Daphne in Egypt, Gela, and Etruria. Clearly, then, they were sent out containing some Attic product which was exported all over the Mediterranean—presumably oil. Amphoras of this shape appear, moreover, on the early Athenian silver coins. Seltman has suggested, very plausibly, that the amphoras shown on the coins represent the vessels in which oil was exported from Attica.<sup>6</sup> Our balloon-bodied amphoras are closer in shape to those represented on the coins

<sup>1</sup> Brants, *Beschrijving*, 52; pl. VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 3, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. X–XII; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, pl. 19, 86–87.

<sup>4</sup> *Eph. Arch.*, 1897, pl. 5; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, pl. 19, 88.

<sup>5</sup> Payne, *NC*, chronological table of early Attic black figure on p. 344.

<sup>6</sup> C. T. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage*, pp. 7 ff., fig. 5, and pl. 1.

than are the Tyrrhenian amphoras, which Seltman suggests contained the Attic oil. Balloon-bodied amphoras, moreover, continued to be made until the end of the seventh century and later; our **II 1** (fig. 8) is a late example of the series. A definite development of the shape may be traced; the two types of lip, torus and echinus, seem to have been equally used throughout. Early examples have very plump body, high, almost vertical ring foot, and a short straight neck with a raised ring below the lip. In the course of time the body becomes slimmer and more pointed toward the bottom, the foot more flaring, and the neck slightly concave. At some time after the middle of the century the neck-ring disappears. Our **C 127** is a rather early example; the type, however, does not seem to go back into the Geometric period, and probably began to be made about 700.<sup>1</sup> It might be noted here that **C 136**, a simply decorated vase with the body of a shape suggesting that it was a vessel of capacity, is decorated with a wheel ornament which also appears on early coins,<sup>2</sup> and bears a graffito which may have been intended to indicate the number of measures that it could contain.<sup>3</sup>

The wheel was used as a neck ornament before balloon-bodied amphoras were made. The amphora from Dipylon Grave XIII<sup>4</sup> has wheel-ornament on its neck; it is of a short, plump, shape with wide neck and round lip. The shape continued to be made into the seventh century; it remains short and plump, but becomes more pointed. The wide neck becomes slightly concave, and the ring foot more flaring. Our **IV 1** (fig. 12) and **C 146** (fig. 135) are well developed seventh century examples of the shape; an amphora of about the end of the eighth century from the Dipylon<sup>5</sup> is less developed, and falls between our seventh century amphoras and the amphora from Dipylon Grave XIII.

Our Geometric, subgeometric and Protoattic vases from the Agora show that a continuous development of shapes may be traced through the period during which they were made. Most vase forms were made with a definite function in view, and as the functions for which pottery vases were intended cannot have changed very greatly, it is natural that old forms should continue to be made. A few Geometric shapes died out; and a few Protoattic products resulting from experimentation appeared. Most of the Protoattic forms, however, were short-lived and had no effect on the subsequent development of shapes; many were fantastic forms which could not replace well established shapes that had been handed down from early times and continued to be made for the reason that they best fulfilled the functions for which they were intended.

<sup>1</sup> The earliest amphora of this type found in a dateable context is from Grave 47 at Phaleron, in which was included a Protocorinthian skyphos (Johansen, pl. IX, 6), of a shape dated by Payne late eighth and early seventh century: *C.V.A., Oxford*, pl. I, 30 and 31. The Phaleron skyphos is more developed than 31, but is not decorated with rays.

<sup>2</sup> Seltman, *op. cit.*, pls. II-IV, and pp. 35 ff.

<sup>3</sup> On the graffito, see below, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Wide, fig. 48; Hampe, pl. 32, N. M. 770.

<sup>5</sup> Hampe, pl. 32, Kerameikos 337.

## ORNAMENT

The repertory of decorative elements handed down from early Geometric times was small. The simple hatched meander was the most complicated, as well as the most significant, of the early ornaments. In addition to the meander, such elementary devices as chains of lozenges, rows of dots, tooth-pattern, and zigzag, were used. Occasional representations of horses and birds, animals familiar in daily life, appear. The design is applied either in bands running around the body of the vase, or in small rectangular panels reserved at the front and back. With the passage of time new devices were invented, and the scheme of decoration extended to cover the whole surface of the pot. The framework of band and panel decoration remained; the decoration, however, was adapted to the form of the vase. Wide bands of decoration emphasize the important parts of the shape—neck and shoulder; panel decoration fills the handle-zone. The choice of ornament is closely confined to strictly Geometric motives, and its application to a rigid decorative scheme.

After the middle of the eighth century the old band and panel decoration begins to disintegrate. The old “triglyph and metope” arrangement of square panels separated by narrow vertical stripes disappears; the “triglyphs” increase in width and prominence until they are of greater importance than the “metopes.” The metopes themselves are sometimes divided horizontally into narrow upper and lower panels; often they are used, not as part of a metope and triglyph system, but as interruptions in what is essentially running banded decoration. Some of our big pyxides, **XVII 13–17** (fig. 54), illustrate the break-up of the old metope and triglyph decoration as well as the combination of band and panel ornament; **XVII 14**, by way of contrast, illustrates the regularity of the older system. The shaking off of the bonds of the rigid Geometric decorative scheme was completed by the middle of the seventh century. Protoattic vases go to the extreme of freedom from any restraint; the ornamentation is often spread all over the surface with no relation to the form it decorates. It was the task of the later seventh century to bring order again out of chaos, to reimpose in modified form the order and discipline of the Geometric tradition, and to create the combination of freedom and restraint that became the hall-mark of Classical art.

Many motives appear on vases from our late eighth century graves which are not found on early Geometric pottery. Favorite motives of this sort are interlocking latticed triangles, peaked triangles, chains of dotted lozenges, rows of dots or dotted rings linked by tangents, lozenge stars, complicated and cascading meanders, and leaf bands. All of these, with the possible exception of the last, are motives of purely Geometric character; most of them continued to be used in the orientalizing style. With the first wave of oriental influence after the middle of the eighth century came in a number of new devices that are not truly Geometric at all: human figures, snakes, lions, deer and goats, coursing hounds; later, strange birds, hooks, rays, and vegetable ornament. With the subgeometric decline of fabric and glaze came a similar decline in the drawing of Geometric motives. Let us look

first at the purely Geometric devices as they are drawn on late Geometric, subgeometric, and orientalizing vases; then let us consider the early orientalizing motives which appear in the latter half of the eighth century.

The meander, the most important Geometric device, became very elaborate and complicated in the late eighth century. Only two of our vases, **XI 1** (fig. 32) and **B 21** (fig. 82), show elaborate late meander; more complicated ones were used, however, on the monumental Dipylon amphoras and large pitchers.<sup>1</sup> At the same time as the elaboration of the meander came also its simplification; it began to be drawn as a single line instead of a double outline with hatching. A number of vases from the Isis Grave in Eleusis show a simple line meander;<sup>2</sup> although none of our Geometric vases uses the decoration, it appears on the orientalizing fragment **C 89** (fig. 115) and was frequently employed in the black-figured style. The simple key-pattern, a less complicated kind of meander, began to be drawn as a single line at about the same time. Single line key pattern appears on our **XI 4** (fig. 32) and **XV 1** (fig. 48), both Geometric, and on the orientalizing fragment **C 90** (fig. 115). The swastika, earlier outlined and hatched, appears on late vases as a simple linear hooked cross: **XII 9** (fig. 39), **XVIII 6** (fig. 61) and **C 60** and **63** (fig. 112). Like the meander, the swastika was often complicated in the late Geometric style; the ends of the arms were turned inward.<sup>3</sup> The simple hatched meander did not cease to be made at the end of the Geometric period; an elaborate Protoattic vase, and a Protocorinthian skyphos, show that Geometric meander continued to be used into the seventh century.<sup>4</sup> In the late eighth century, though, it was sometimes put to unusual uses, as when it was run up and down as a division between panels; it is so used on a late amphora from Eleusis<sup>5</sup> and on our **C 134** (fig. 130). Late Geometric and subgeometric painters, too, often saved time in the hatching of meanders and swastikas by making straight strokes perpendicular to the outlines, instead of filling them with careful diagonals (**XX 5**, fig. 67; **C 78**, **C 103**, figs. 115 and 119). The line meander of the seventh century is paralleled on Protoattic pots by the running spiral, drawn in much the same way as the meander; running spiral appears on our fragment **C 95** (fig. 115), on the Nessos amphora in New York, and on an oinochoe at the Dipylon which may be by the same hand.<sup>6</sup> The adventures of the Geometric meander in the seventh century as contrasted with the career of the Protoattic running spiral typify the experimentation of the seventh century, and much of its result. The line meander was freely used and abused; on such vases as the Peiraeus amphora<sup>7</sup> it was made almost incredibly complicated, but it emerged as its simple self in the black-figured

<sup>1</sup> As Pfuhl, *MuZ*, III, pls. 1 and 3.

<sup>2</sup> *C. V. A.*, *Athens*, I, pl. 4, 8 and 16; pl. 5, 5.

<sup>3</sup> As on the pitcher from Dipylon Grave XIII, Wide, fig. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Protoattic, Graef-Langlotz, pl. 12; Acropolis 345. Protocorinthian, Hampe, pl. 40; mentioned and dated rather too early, by Payne, *NC*, p. 8, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Wide, fig. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Nessos Amphora, *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. X-XII; the oinochoe *A. A.*, 1934, pp. 215-216, fig. 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Eph. Arch.*, 1897, pl. 5; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, III, pl. 19, 88.



style.<sup>1</sup> The Protoattic spiral, on the other hand, disappeared as suddenly as it appeared; like much Protoattic ornament, it made a strong momentary appeal to the potters, but was later dropped.

Line meander and key pattern were simplifications that saved time; quick methods used for the hatching of Geometric meanders have already been noticed. The aim of the subgeometric potter seems to have been to produce many small cheap vases; he devised shorthand methods of drawing, and his haste resulted in a loose and careless ornamentation. Subgeometric versions of Geometric ornament were used in subsidiary zones and as filling ornament on orientalizing vases down to the middle of the seventh century.

A favorite late motive, the lozenge-star, appears on our **B 18** (fig. 80). It is carefully made; a square was drawn, filled with checker-board, and bordered; then triangles were added at the sides and latticed. Similar lozenge-stars appear on two of the ribbon-handled bowls from Dipylon Grave XIII. A later one fills a panel on **VI 2** (fig. 17); it is carelessly drawn, and the triangles have become more pointed. It is subgeometric, but easily recognizable nevertheless. A quick method of making the same motive, used by subgeometric and orientalizing potters, appears on **XII 1** under every team of horses (figs. 37–38); the square has become a lozenge, and the added triangles have been replaced by a St. Andrew's cross inside the lozenge, its ends projecting beyond the sides. Hasty shorthand lozenge-stars of this type or with sharp-pointed triangles added at the sides become the regular filling ornament under horses and lions of the Protoattic style.<sup>2</sup> A glance at the checker-board on **B 18** and on **VI 2** shows again the subgeometric shorthand method of drawing; the Geometric example is both careful and even, the subgeometric one neither; it looks like a poorly constructed wall of small bricks rather than a checkered band. **B 18** is decorated with a zigzag band, and a succession of sigmas. The same motives appear in subgeometric guise on **XI 2** (fig. 32); the zigzag is uneven, and the sigmas have become mere short vertical wavy lines. The zigzag as it is used on late Geometric vases is very tall, pointed, and narrow as compared with its drawing in early Geometric; the pyxis **XVII 14** (fig. 54) is decorated with several bands of steep late zigzag, a favorite decoration for narrow bands. Several lozenge chains appear on the amphora fragments **XV 1** (fig. 48) and **C 134** (fig. 130); the decoration is sometimes used ten or twelve times over on a single late Geometric vase.<sup>3</sup> Lozenge chains were used fairly early; in late Geometric times they were dotted, and in subgeometric decoration they became crooked and uneven (as on **XI 2**, fig. 32), were combined to make net-pattern (as on **XI 7**, figs. 33–34), or were decorated with hooks at their apices (as on **XII 1**, figs. 37–38). A zone of net pattern decorates the lower body, and a band of hooked net-pattern the neck, of the Analatos hydria. Net-pattern, often dotted, was a favorite motive on late Corinthian Geometric and Early Protocorinthian vases.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As, e. g., on Pfuhl, *MuZ*, pl. 62, 242.

<sup>2</sup> Analatos Hydria, *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pls. 3–4; krater in Munich, *Jhb.*, XXII, 1907, pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Like the vases Pfuhl, *MuZ*, III, pls. 1 and 3.

<sup>4</sup> Like Johansen, p. 9, figs. 5–6, and p. 47, figs. 16 and 19.

The degeneration of two other late Geometric motives, the leaf-band and the chain of dots or rings linked by tangents, is perhaps worth noticing. The leaf-band as used on such late Geometric vases as **XVII 15** (fig. 55), **B 14**, and **B 76** (figs. 80 and 94) is composed of rather thin pointed leaves, sometimes outlined, and always hatched; they are even and carefully drawn. The leaves on **XVII 17** (fig. 56) and **C 77** (fig. 115) are plumper and less pointed; those on **XVII 17** consist of diminishing outlines, and are not hatched at the centre. The bands on **C 138–139** (fig. 132) show plump blunt leaves, unevenly drawn, and filled at the centre by a straight line. **VI 3** (fig. 18) is decorated with still more degenerate leaves; they are not only plump and uneven, filled at the centre by a straight line, but they have been left open at their outer ends. A zone of leaves drawn in the subgeometric manner decorates the lower body of the Protoattic krater in Munich.<sup>1</sup>

Rows of dots linked by tangents decorate **XVII 9** and **14** (fig. 54), **XX 4** (fig. 67), and **C 136** (fig. 131). The large round dots are carefully drawn and evenly spaced. On **XVIII 2** and **6** (fig. 60) dotted rings are used instead of plain dots. **VII 7** (fig. 20) and **IX 7–8** (fig. 24) show the subgeometric way of making the same ornament; the dots have become elongated blobs and are no longer evenly spaced.

Two decorative devices which appear at the end of the Geometric period are worthy of notice. The first, round-ended petals in panels such as decorate **XV 2** (fig. 48) and **XXV 3** (fig. 72), may have been inspired by metal work. A kantharos in Boston is made with godroons and clearly inspired by a metal model; the godroons are decorated as round-ended petals.<sup>2</sup> The method of decoration, given the nature of the pot, could hardly have been avoided; on our examples it has been transferred to flat surfaces.

A second device is vertically banded decoration. On three of our very late Geometric pots, **XI 5** (fig. 32), **B 11** (fig. 80) and **C 103** (fig. 119), appear widely spaced vertical bands with filling of fine vertical lines between. The effect is more orientalizing than Geometric; we have noticed that accentuation of the vertical, as in the expansion of the "triglyph" and the vertical use of the meander between panels, begins only at the end of the Geometric style. Vertical banded decoration was used in the seventh century; our oinochoe **C 121** (fig. 122) uses vertical bands, omitting the fine lines between. An oinochoe with similar decoration, dated in the third quarter of the seventh century, was found in the Agora and has been published.<sup>3</sup>

With the close of the eighth century the old handle ornaments, bars and St. Andrew's crosses, began to be replaced by double and triple wavy lines running down the outer face of the handles. On the amphora **C 136** (fig. 131) the St. Andrew's crosses which decorate the handles are bisected by wavy verticals; on the very late amphoras **C 138–139** (fig. 132) the handles were decorated with triple wavy verticals; and on the seventh century amphoras **IV 1** (fig. 12) and **C 146** (fig. 135) single wavy lines decorate the handles. At the same time

<sup>1</sup> *Jhb.*, XXII, 1907, pl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Boston 271. Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, pl. XXII.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 417 and fig. 5, D 17.

we begin to note the influence of Corinth; the old Attic decoration with wide horizontal bands, as on **XIV 1** (fig. 46) begins to be displaced by the narrower linear Protocorinthian decoration, as on our **C 81–82** (fig. 114). **C 79–80** with banded decoration are in the Attic Geometric tradition; **C 81–82** with linear decoration and conventional Protocorinthian ornament in the handle-zone, have been influenced by Corinth.

Perhaps too much has been said about the decline of the Geometric style and about sub-geometric drawing; the subject is dismal enough. The latter half of the eighth century did not invent only purely Geometric motives; a new figured decoration began to appear. The end of the eighth century and the first half of the seventh saw not only the decline of Geometric ornament, but the improvement of figured. The centre of interest had shifted; the potters were willing to expend their skill on elaborate figured scenes and floral ornament, while they filled in the subordinate zones with Geometric decoration done in a very perfunctory way. The best Geometric vases are those of the last quarter of the eighth century, which are decorated with elaborate and carefully done Geometric ornament and enlivened by figured scenes. Let us look at the various kinds of animal life that began to appear on Geometric vases toward the end of the eighth century; then let us consider human figures, horses, and floral ornament, and the development of their drawing.

Snakes, deer, goats, lions, and hounds coursing foxes and rabbits, appear toward the end of the Geometric style. Winged hybrids and centaurs are somewhat later. Most of the same animals make their first appearance at Corinth in the Early Protocorinthian style of the second half of the eighth century. Corinth probably got them from the east; from Rhodes and Cyprus by way of Crete and Thera. Attica, generally thought to have been backward, in early Greek times, and to have had no great shipping or commerce of her own, probably got her new repertory of animal and floral ornament at second hand from her more enterprising neighbors, Corinth, Aegina, Chalkis and Eretria. For this reason the orientalizing style was perhaps somewhat retarded in Attica; but also it is highly probable that Attica, with a stronger tradition of Geometric art than any of her neighbors, confined herself at first in the choice of new elements to those which fitted well into the Geometric scheme. When the Attic potters finally yielded to the full orientalizing—at the end of the eighth century—the inrush of new motives and experiments was so great and so sudden that the resulting Protoattic style was one of the most chaotic in all Greek vase painting.

The coursing hound, although he is a comparative late-comer among the animals, may be considered first because he furnishes a suggestion as to whence he came. Hounds chasing rabbits and foxes appear on late Boeotian vases, and at Corinth toward the end of the Early Protocorinthian style.<sup>1</sup> Among our examples of coursing hounds, **B 16** (fig. 80), **C 30** (fig. 109), **C 99** (fig. 121) and **C 143** (fig. 133), the second is on a skyphos of Protocorinthian shape. Another early Attic example, from Grave 1 at Spata, is also on

<sup>1</sup> Hampe, pp. 20 ff. On Boeotian vases the hunted hare is often represented alone. Johansen, p. 73 and 86; two aryballoi from Syracuse, Transitional from Early to Middle Protocorinthian, are the first examples of hare-hunts. A third is on another transitional aryballos at Leyden.

a skyphos of Protocorinthian shape.<sup>1</sup> Since in two cases shape and decoration were probably taken over together from Corinth, the suggestion is very strong that the Attic potters got the coursing hound, as well as many other early orientalizing animals, through Corinth.

Snakes, which we find on Attic Geometric vases either drawn as snakes (**C 134**, fig. 130), applied in plastic form (**XII 1**, figs. 37–38), or conventionalized into wavy rings (**XVIII 6**, fig. 61; **B 14**, fig. 80), first appear at Corinth in the Early Protocorinthian style.<sup>2</sup> The snake was probably one of the earliest of the oriental motives to reach Attica; he must have been adopted shortly after the middle of the eighth century. Probably he was of cult significance; he is often applied in plastic form to funerary vases. We know that the snake was associated with the dead in Mycenaean times and again in the Classical period; probably the old serpent cult lingered on in the east, to be re-introduced into mainland Greece with the first wave of orientalizing influence after the middle of the eighth century. The snake outlined with dot rows probably had much influence on late Geometric decoration; perhaps from him were derived the wavy line ornament as used on **IX 3** and **6** and **XIV 1** (figs. 24 and 46) and the wavy dot rows as on **XI 2** and **XVII 10** and **11** (figs. 32 and 54). Short wavy lines used as filling ornament on the funeral amphora **XII 1** (figs. 37–38) were probably intended to represent snakes.

Deer, goats, and fish appear on late Attic Geometric vases. Fish and deer first appear at Corinth on Early Protocorinthian pottery. Reindeer with branching antlers do not appear on Attic vases; but they are a favorite ornament on the gold bands of Attic manufacture that often have been found in late Geometric graves;<sup>3</sup> the reindeer first appears in Corinth on the Early Protocorinthian vases. Goats with head turned back appear on our **C 134** (fig. 130) and on monumental Dipylon amphoras;<sup>4</sup> they are certainly oriental, and probably Rhodian, in origin.

The lion appears in Attica and in Boeotia at the end of the eighth century.<sup>5</sup> The first Attic lions are drawn on a very late kantharos in Copenhagen;<sup>6</sup> like many Boeotian lions, they are engaged in man-eating. Similar man-eaters appear on the Attic gold bands. The late Geometric lions are very thin matchstick creatures which have need to be fattened; the

<sup>1</sup> *Delt.*, VI, 1920–21, pp. 132–133 and figs. 2–3.

<sup>2</sup> Johansen, pp. 54 ff. A Geometric Corinthian krater, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 411, fig. 5, is decorated with one of the few figured scenes known on Corinthian Geometric. Since human figures are not employed on Early Protocorinthian, the krater, which bears also a snake, must be brought down to the end of the eighth century; it is incredible that the drawing of the human figure should have been abandoned at Corinth for a half century between the true Geometric and the Middle Protocorinthian styles. Much Corinthian Geometric pottery must be contemporary with Early Protocorinthian. Payne, in *PV*, calls the bowl in Toronto "late Geometric"; *PV*, pl. 3; Hampe, pl. 22; Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *Greek Vases in Toronto*, no. 113.

<sup>3</sup> The gold bands are listed by Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Anhang I, p. 265. Reindeer on Protocorinthian, Johansen, pl. VII, 3, and XIV, 1. One Attic example, *C.V.A., Denmark*, II, pl. 73, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Pfuhl, *MuZ*, III, pl. 1; *C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Hampe, pl. 24, V 8.

<sup>6</sup> *C.V.A., Denmark*, II, pl. 73, 5 b.

Protoattic painters fattened them. The lions which appear on the Analatos Hydria<sup>1</sup> have filled out considerably; they are still drawn in silhouette, with reserved round eyes; they probably were drawn in the first quarter of the seventh century. The lions on our **C 87** (figs. 117–118) seem to have been somewhat more developed; they were made in silhouette, but with outlined faces. The lions on the krater in Munich are still plumper, and more developed in their drawing;<sup>2</sup> the krater and our fragment belong in the second quarter of the seventh century. On the Nessos amphora in New York<sup>3</sup> the lion is well filled out, but still eating; he is drawn, not too successfully, full-face. The accomplished drawing of the lion on an oinochoe from the votive deposit at the Agora suggests that it should be placed at about the middle of the seventh century, while the Burgon lebes and the oinochoe from Phaleron,<sup>4</sup> which may be by the same hand, are perhaps even later. The partially preserved lions on our fragment **C 145** (fig. 134) seem to be already of the type used constantly in the later seventh and sixth centuries as members of animal friezes. In the drawing of ravening lions, sometimes heraldically opposed, and with the heads in outline, the Attic potters were probably working under the influence of Boeotia and the Cyclades rather than of Corinth.

The development in the drawing of the lion illustrates the advances made by the painters of the first half of the seventh century. They filled out the thin angular lions of the Geometric style, added many details, and put them in motion. The same advances were made in the drawing of men and horses; let us look at the gradual development of drawing from late Geometric to mid-seventh century chariot scenes.

The chariot procession around the body of a monumental Dipylon krater<sup>5</sup> is typical of the figured scenes of the last quarter of the eighth century. The horses are stiff, thin, and static; teams of two are represented in a very literal way by the addition of the forepart of the farther horse in front of the nearer. The human figures in the funerary scene above are long and very thin, schematically drawn with triangular chests, and with little attempt at the representation of the features. The filling ornament is sparse and strictly Geometric—birds and swastikas, zigzag and chevrons, dot rosettes and rows of dots. A monumental amphora from the Dipylon<sup>6</sup> decorated with a prothesis scene has similar sparse filling ornament and similar tall angular figures. The only attempts made at the rendering of features are the reservation of a dot for the eye, and the addition of a projection for nose and chin.

Perhaps twenty years later—more than half a generation—are our **XIII 1** (figs. 43–44), an amphora in the National Museum, the krater from Dipylon Grave III, and a bowl in the

<sup>1</sup> *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pls. 3–4.

<sup>2</sup> *Jhb.*, XXII, 1907, pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. 10–12.

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 596, fig. 61; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, pl. 17, 82–83.

<sup>5</sup> *Monumenti*, IX, pl. 40, 1; Buschor, fig. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Pfuhl, *MuZ*, pl. 1; *C. V. A.*, *Athens*, I, pl. 8.

British Museum.<sup>1</sup> The horses have filled out and become rounded; they are beginning to move. Those on the Dipylon krater are trying to gallop; one team on our **XIII 1** is walking forward with stiffly-bent front legs. The human figures, too, have filled out somewhat; they are not as tall and thin as those on the earlier vases, and they are more rounded. Eyes are represented by reserved rings instead of dots; noses and chins by loops of glaze instead of projecting knobs. The filling ornament has thickened; late vases like our **XII 1** (figs. 37–38) and **C 134** (fig. 130) show new elements in the filling ornament: blob-stars, plump verticals surrounded by dots, birds, snakes, and wavy lines; our subgeometric fragment **IV 2**, fig. 13, shows the first floral filling ornament. Two amphoras in the Metropolitan Museum demonstrate the advances made in the first quarter of the seventh century; also the disparity in the products of two contemporary artists in a period of experimentation. The first<sup>2</sup> is very close in style to the hydria from Analatos, and may be by the same hand; the tall slim shape with wide neck, the drawing of women and of lions, and certain elements of the filling ornament are the same on both vases. The horses of the New York amphora show a considerable advance over our earlier examples; not only are they plumper and closer to reality in their proportions, but they are rendered in greater detail: the eyes and ears are represented, and looped outlines have replaced the spiky Geometric mane. The representation of motion has been mastered; the team advances at an even and dignified pace. The representation of a team, too, has improved; the farther horse has retired behind the nearer, and only his head and the upper part of his neck are added at the front. The human figures also show advance in their more natural proportions and in the addition of such details as hair and clothing. The filling ornament has again thickened, and oriental elements such as the reverse spiral have been added; no use was made, however, of the elaborate floral decoration which appears on the Analatos hydria.

The second amphora in New York<sup>3</sup> is in some ways more advanced, in others more backward, than the first. The horses are very thin and schematic; nevertheless, their hindquarters are of natural proportions, their manes are represented by loops of glaze, and they advance at the same stately walk. The representation of a team has, however, improved; the farther horse has retreated entirely behind the nearer, and now both heads spring from a single neck. The human figures, like those on the other New York amphora, have reserved eyes and long hair; they are dressed in long skirts. The faces of figures on some fragments in Phaleron,<sup>4</sup> which may be by the same hand as the second New York amphora, are drawn crudely in outline. A heraldic orientalizing bird used as filling

<sup>1</sup> Wide, fig. 56; *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 92 and 104 and fig. 4; *J.H.S.*, XIX, 1899, pl. VIII, and Hampe, pl. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1911, p. 33 right.

<sup>3</sup> *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1923, p. 176; *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, pl. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 250 and figs. 11–13. On one of the Phaleron fragments, as on the New York amphora, a personage is represented as carrying a roll of drapery ending in fringes over his shoulder.

ornament on the neck of the amphora finds an almost exact parallel on a Middle Proto-corinthian aryballos.<sup>1</sup>

The two amphoras in New York are probably again about twenty years—more than half a generation—later than our very late Geometric examples. Slightly more advanced is our **B 80** (fig. 99). Of the horses only the necks and heads are preserved. The manes are rendered in incision; the faces are drawn in careful outline. The human figures, too, have their faces drawn in outline—well done, considering the scale. The filling ornament of hooks ending in palmette-like flowers and bands of running dog is orientalizing; but Geometric zigzags remain.

The Nessos amphora in New York,<sup>2</sup> to be dated just before the middle of the seventh century, is perhaps twenty years later again than the other two New York vases, and slightly later than **B 80**. It represents the culmination of Protoattic experiment; on it are combined all the technical methods—incision, outline drawing, added color; all the filling ornaments animal, vegetable, and Geometric; and all the advances in the rendering of human figures and teams of horses, that can be found on the vases of the first half of the seventh century. The humans and the horses have reached natural proportions and are ready to be taken over into the black-figured style. Outline drawing of faces has been mastered; it needs only to be refined and perfected. By the middle of the century figures like the sphinxes on our **B 1** (figs. 74–75) are being drawn. **B 1** shows in advance what is to be the task and the accomplishment of the third quarter of the century: to bring symmetry and restraint to the chaos of earlier decoration, to develop the technique of incision, and to thin out the jungle of vegetation that has overgrown every nook and cranny. The palmette-cross of **B 1**, symmetrical and carefully placed in relation to the rest of the decoration and to the shape of the pot, contrasts strongly with the similar but asymmetrical floral ornament running wild over the surface of **C 65** (fig. 113). Floral ornament on Protoattic pottery does not follow a gradual development. Although small plants occasionally appear on such subgeometric vases as on our **IV 2** (fig. 13) at the beginning of the seventh century, elaborate and full-blown vegetation appears suddenly in the first quarter of the century on vases like the Analatos hydria. Rather less elaborate floral decoration was used on early orientalizing vases at Corinth in the latter part of the eighth century;<sup>3</sup> an aryballos of the first black-figured style<sup>4</sup> has decoration like that of the Analatos hydria. If we are right in assuming that orientalizing decoration came late to Attica through Corinth, Aegina, Euboea, and the Cyclades, and that the Attic potters, who were engaged in making late Geometric vases far in advance of any achieved elsewhere, excluded all new elements but those which fitted into the Geometric scheme, then the

<sup>1</sup> Johansen, pl. XXII, 2 d; Payne, *PV*, pl. XI, 1–5. Late in the first black-figured Protocorinthian style; near the end of the first quarter of the seventh century.

<sup>2</sup> *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. X–XII.

<sup>3</sup> As Payne, *PV*, pls. 6–8.

<sup>4</sup> Payne, *PV*, pl. 9, 3–4.

explanation of the unevenness of the Protoattic style is easy: when the barrier of tradition was finally broken early in the seventh century, new techniques and new decorative motives were taken over together from all sides, some already well developed. This is demonstrated by the Protoattic vases themselves. Each painter chose those elements or technical devices that appealed to him; thus one vase,<sup>1</sup> decorated with elaborate incision, is backward in its drawing of human and animal figures; the Analatos hydria, with advanced floral and ornithological decoration and heraldically opposed lions, yet has human figures little better than those on late Geometric vases, and a conventional subgeometric band of grazing deer; one of the amphoras in New York,<sup>2</sup> with little or no filling ornament and human figures still subgeometric in character, has yet achieved the representation of a team of horses advancing abreast—but the horses themselves are still like the matchstick Geometric beasts. An unpublished hydria neck at the Agora<sup>3</sup> bears a procession of women rather crudely drawn, and early; yet they wear skirts covered with added white. In a style as mixed and free, but at the same time individual, as the Protoattic it should not be difficult to pick out the hands of various painters.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, through the maze of experimentation with incision, polychromy, and outline drawing, with lions and strange birds, with floral and animal filling-ornament of all sorts, there runs the thread of a continuous development in the drawing of the human figure, of lions, horses, and teams. The thread may be followed directly from the late Geometric to the early black-figured style. Much of the Protoattic ornament of the first half of the seventh century is highly appealing and entertaining; but most of it is irrelevant. Before the Attic vase painters could achieve the black-figured style they had to make trial of every technical and ornamental device. Much had to be discarded in the end; but the half-century of experiment well served its purpose, and at the same time produced some of the most fascinating and amusing vases ever made in Attica.

Foreign influence on the shapes and decoration of late Attic Geometric ware has been noted from time to time. Cyprus, Crete, Corinth, Boeotia, and the Cyclades all contributed. Corinth, a maritime trading city which began early to export pottery, had the greatest influence. Early Protocorinthian vases, and Attic imitations of them, are rare in Attica proper; Eleusis, lying at the crossroads between Attica, Boeotia, and the Isthmus, has produced more Early Protocorinthian than any other Attic site. Middle Protocorinthian, on the other hand, has been found in greater quantities not only at Eleusis, but at Phaleron, Anavysos, and in the Agora. The influence of Corinth, weak in the eighth century,

<sup>1</sup> Acropolis 345; Graef-Langlotz, pl. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1923, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Inventory P 10229.

<sup>4</sup> As the painter of the Analatos hydria and the amphora in New York, *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1911, p. 33 right; the painter of the amphora, *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, pl. 41, and the Phaleron fragments *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 250, figs. 11-13; the painter of the Hymettos amphora, *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. V, and the amphora, Boston 262, Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, pl. XXI; the painter of the Nessos amphora and the oinochoe, *A.A.*, 1934, pp. 215-216, fig. 12.



increased in the seventh. Chronologically, we might equate late Attic Geometric with late Corinthian Geometric<sup>1</sup> and Early Protocorinthian; Early Protoattic, at first strongly influenced by Geometric, and later freely orientalizing, with Middle Protocorinthian; and Late Protoattic—polychrome vases of the third quarter of the seventh century, like the amphora from Kynosarges<sup>2</sup>—with Late Protocorinthian and Transitional vases. Early Protoattic pottery was little exported and very little has been found outside of Attica;<sup>3</sup> Corinth supplied the market for finer wares. Attica did, however, export oil throughout the seventh century in simple amphoras like **C 127** (fig. 128). With the beginning of foreign influence and the importation of foreign wares into Attica after the middle of the eighth century, we should expect to find a corresponding exportation of Attic ware. Attic Geometric has, in fact, been found outside of Attica.<sup>4</sup> For almost all the vases and fragments found outside of Attica, parallels can be cited in the graves at the Agora, the Dipylon, and Spata. The Geometric exports, then, like the graves, belong after the middle of the eighth century, and the exportation of Attic ware began at about the same time as foreign influence began to be felt in Attica.

Corinth, known as an early maritime power, is thought by Payne<sup>5</sup> to have come into contact with the already orientalizing east through Thera and Crete at about the middle of the eighth century. Athens, which did not become a considerable maritime and trading power until nearly two centuries later, and which was hemmed in on all sides during the period of early commercial expansion by the important trading centres of Chalkis and Eretria, Aegina and Corinth, probably did her trading with the outer world through her neighbors. It might be noted here that almost all the Geometric vases imported by the west, and the local vases made in the west in imitation of imported Geometric,<sup>6</sup> are very late Geometric and subgeometric in style, and should be dated at the very end of the eighth and in the early seventh century.

<sup>1</sup> Late Corinthian Geometric: *A. J. A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 411, fig. 5; Hampe, pl. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *J. H. S.*, XXII, 1902, pp. 29 ff. and pls. II-IV.

<sup>3</sup> Most of the Protoattic from the find in Aegina is later than the middle of the seventh century.

<sup>4</sup> Attic exports are listed by Pfuhl, *MuZ*, p. 72. Finding places are Crete (Vrokastro) and Cyprus (Curium); Thera (to Pfuhl's references might now be added the amphora, Berlin F 3901, Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 3). The sherds from Delos and Rheneia are now published, *Délos*, XV, pp. 90 ff. and pls. XLI ff. The fragment from Syracuse, *Not. degli Scavi*, 1895, p. 189, has been discussed above, in the introduction; it is a fragment of an amphora like Wide, figs. 64-68. Two amphoras of this sort were among the Attic importations found in Thera. The vase found in Corcyra is mentioned by Smith, *J. H. S.*, XI, 1890, p. 175. "We have in the tomb of Menekrates from the Korinthian Corcyra, among a quantity of fairly developed Korinthian pottery, one oinochoe which is Dipylon in form, technique, and ornament." The tomb of Menekrates, a cenotaph, is well known for its archaic inscription: I.G. IX, 1, 867; the date suggested for it is the beginning of the sixth century, and the vases found in it are described, with epigraphical scorn, as "aliquot vasa parva fictilia."

<sup>5</sup> Payne, *NC*, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Blakeway in *B. S. A.*, XXXIII, 1932-33, pp. 170 ff., and in *J. R. S.*, XXV, 1935, pp. 129 ff. Most of these vases are, as might be expected, Cycladic and Corinthian; the Chalcidians were the first settlers in the west, and no doubt the first Greeks to trade there.

It is not intended to infer that there was no intercourse between Attica and the outside world before the middle of the eighth century. Occasional intercourse there must have been; but of a regular commerce and exchange of manufactured goods there is no trace. Imports from farther afield than Attica's near neighbors were probably brought by itinerant traders. The ivory of which were made the figurines found in Grave XIII at the Dipylon did not come from anywhere in the Greek world.<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Kunze are both of the opinion that the statuettes were carved in Attica. Their context we have seen to be of the late eighth century. The gold used for the bands found in Attic graves<sup>2</sup> must also have been imported. The gold bands are thought to have been made in Attica; they give evidence then of a very flourishing metal working industry in the Attica of the late Geometric period.

The influence of metal work is apparent in many late Geometric vases. Very shallow skyphoi with widely flaring lip and long handles like our **XXV 1** (fig. 72) and **C 40** (fig. 108) have been thought to be under such influence; the shape gives every indication that it is taken from metallic models. Kantharoi and pitchers made with godroons<sup>3</sup> show metallic influence; the latticed petal decoration often used on jugs may be in imitation of godroons. Handles with out-turned ends, as used on ribbon-handled bowls and spouted basins,<sup>4</sup> are probably influenced by metalwork. Ribbing as used on krater bases and pyxis handles is probably also metallic in origin. The strong influence of metal work on Attic vases suggests, then, that there was a considerable Attic metal industry. A number of bronze vases has been found in Attica; the number is small, probably because bronze is very rarely found in a condition that renders its preservation possible.<sup>5</sup> Although the number of bronze vases preserved is small, the Attico-Boeotian fibulae and Attic gold bands are products of a technically advanced and artistic metal industry.<sup>6</sup> A gold necklace and

<sup>1</sup> *B.C.H.*, XIX, 1895, pp. 273 ff. (Perrot); *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, pp. 147 ff. (Kunze). Hampe has dated these figurines in the late eighth century (pp. 36 ff.); Kunze in the late ninth. We have seen reason to confirm Hampe's dating and reject Kunze's; the ivory was then imported into Attica after regular commercial relations with the outside world had begun.

<sup>2</sup> Listed by Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Anhang I, p. 265. A gold band with incised sub-geometric decoration was found with the two probably Attic amphoras, Wide, figs. 46-47, in a grave at Troezen. It is illustrated by a drawing in *Delt.*, 1889, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Kantharos, Boston 271; Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, pl. XXII; pitcher, Wide, fig. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Spouted basin: Collignon-Couve, pl. XII, 218.

<sup>5</sup> "Une tasse de cuivre" from the Dipylon, Poulsen, p. 11, Wide, p. 127, note 22. A "hemispherical bronze pot" in Eleusis, which was used as a receptacle for bones, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 114; a bronze pot used as a lid over a Geometric vase, also from Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1889, p. 178. A tripod and basin from the Pnyx, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 414 ff. A bronze urn with a lid from Grave III at the Dipylon, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 93 and figs. 4-5. A lid, *Annali*, 1872, p. 136. At Phaleron, a bronze pyxis and lid were found in Grave 14; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 16. A bronze basin from the Dipylon, *A. A.*, 1934, p. 243. I have seen a well-preserved bronze bowl from an early Geometric grave in private possession at Athens.

<sup>6</sup> The fibulae are listed by Blinkenberg, pp. 147 ff., under the Attico-Boeotian classification; Hampe, who calls them Boeotian, lists (pp. 90 ff.) 156 examples; to his list might be added a silver fibula from Eretria, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVIII, 1913, p. 295, fig. 4, and a bronze fibula from Dreros, *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, p. 487, fig. 29. We have seen reason to believe this type of fibula to be Attic as well as Boeotian.

bronze bracelets were found in Grave 3 at Spata,<sup>1</sup> showing that the Attic metal workers could also turn their hands to fine jewellery. A number of Attic bronze statuettes were found on the Acropolis and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> There seems, from the number of finds of various sorts, to be good evidence for a flourishing Attic industry in the later eighth and seventh century; undoubtedly many bronze vases also were made, which have since perished, but which had strong influence on the pottery of the period.

### THE TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

The making of clay figurines may have been due to the influence of metal working. Kunze makes a very apt comparison between a group in bronze of a man wrestling with a centaur, and a similar group in terracotta.<sup>3</sup> Bronze figurines have been found plentifully at Olympia and some of them may be of considerable antiquity.<sup>4</sup> Bronze tripods from Olympia are often decorated on their handles by little plastic birds and horses.<sup>5</sup> An Attic bowl on a high stand, clearly made in imitation of a bronze tripod, probably had similar horses on its handles;<sup>6</sup> our **XII 2-3** (fig. 39), ornamented with plastic birds, are of the same type. The earliest Geometric figurines from Attica stand on the handles and lids of vases; and among the vases that they decorate some were obviously adapted from metal prototypes. We have already noticed a strong metallic influence on late Geometric pottery both in shape and in decoration. It seems more than likely, then, that the Attic potters adopted also the practice of making figurines from the metal workers.

The first horses, used as handles on the lids of pyxides like our **XVII 15** and **17** and **XVIII 6** (figs. 54 and 60) are very crudely modelled. Their bodies are short and thin; they stand firmly planted, with the feet close together and the free-hanging tail reaching to the ground. Little attempt is made at modelling of the head; **XVII 17** has a pinched mane, lumps for eyes, and pellets added to represent the ears. The free-standing horses and dogs from Grave XII (fig. 40) show very little advance. On the dogs the tail has been shortened; on the horse the mane has been pinched to a sharp ridge wavy at the edge. Ears are represented on one of the dogs, and on the horse. All the animals stand with their legs spread wide to give stability. The bird **XII 14** (fig. 40), beyond the use of incision for the tail feathers, the eyes, and the mouth, shows little advance on birds

<sup>1</sup> *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, p. 136, fig. 10. Comparison of the well-known treasure from Aegina in the British Museum (*J.H.S.*, XIII, 1893, pp. 195 ff.; Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery in the British Museum*, pp. 51 ff.) with Geometric and early orientalizing jewellery leads to the belief that it is orientalizing and not Mycenaean.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, pp. 141 ff. (Kunze); Hampe, pp. 32 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, pp. 143 ff., and Beil. XXXVIII-XXXIX.

<sup>4</sup> *Olympia*, IV. They all come from the "geometrische Schicht"; one would like to see the sherds found with them.

<sup>5</sup> *Olympia*, IV, pls. XXVII-XXXIV.

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pl. X.

used as handle decoration on late Geometric vases.<sup>1</sup> The human figures **XI 18** (fig. 36), **XII 19–21** (fig. 40) and **XII 24** (fig. 42) are very crudely modelled; here and there incision or added pellets and strings of clay indicate details such as fingers and hair. The subjects chosen for modelling, however, are of interest. The mourner with arms raised to the head; the charioteer standing in his car guiding his team; and the enthroned figure—all are subjects which the Geometric potter painted over and over again on his vases. Bronze models for chariot groups he may have had; but mourners and enthroned figures were probably taken from his repertory of painted scenes.

The first coroplast, then, was the potter. He first made figures of horses, birds, and snakes to ornament his pots; then he made them free-standing. All the early figurines are made of the same relatively coarse clay as the pots, and are decorated with the same glaze. A little early seventh century horse from Grave IX at the Dipylon,<sup>2</sup> made of potter's clay and glazed, was covered with decoration of added white. He is the first of the polychrome figurines of the seventh century in Attica. Subgeometric figurines of potter's clay, decorated with glaze, continued to be made through the seventh century;<sup>3</sup> our **C 183–184** (fig. 143) are examples. At the same time figures began to be made of fine soft terracotta, and to be decorated with white, red and blue paint. Our **B 50** (fig. 87) and **C 182** (fig. 143) are examples. Horses have become better proportioned, with more barrel-like bodies; the tails are applied against the back leg, and do not hang to the ground. The terracottas of poor clay were by-products of the potteries; those of finer terracotta may have been made by artisans who specialized in figurines and plaques. Probably not until the invention of the mould, however, did specialization in the making of terracottas begin. No large terracotta heads of the Dedalic type, dateable to the decade,<sup>4</sup> have been found in Attica, where the art of making terracottas began in an humble way under the influence of bronzes, and was first used for the ornamentation of vases.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE GRAFFITI (Fig. 144)

The earliest Greek inscriptions are incised on vases and sherds. The dating of these vases may not be decisive on the problem as to when the alphabet was actually introduced into Greece, since it will always be argued that earlier inscriptions may exist which have not been recovered. Nevertheless, such dating does give information as to the time by which alphabetical writing had become known, furnishing a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the alphabet.

<sup>1</sup> As on the pitcher from Dipylon Grave XIII; Wide, fig. 74, Hampe, pl. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Third quarter of the seventh century, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. and fig. 10, D 30 and 32.

<sup>4</sup> R. Jenkins, *Dedalia*, Cambridge, 1936. Subgeometric Dedalic heads can apparently be dated as closely as 700–690 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Since the above was written I have discovered that a small terracotta horse, which moved on wheels, is included in an early Geometric grave group at the Kerameikos.

Seven early inscriptions from the Agora are published here,<sup>1</sup> of which six are graffiti and the seventh a dipinto. The crosses and bars incised on the rims and lids of pyxides of the last quarter of the eighth century (as **XVI 1**, fig. 50) do not necessarily imply a knowledge of writing, and certainly cannot be interpreted as demonstrating any knowledge of alphabetical writing. They are simply convenient symbols, quite appropriate to the technique of the potter, who used them to mark the corresponding parts of the vase and its lid.

The incision on the amphora from Grave II does not seem to represent a letter of the alphabet. Since the date of the grave is around 600, the graffito on its amphora can add no further evidence as to the date of the introduction of the alphabet.

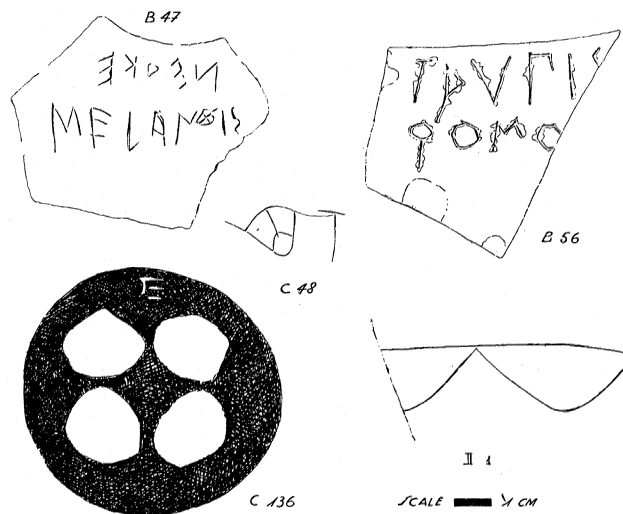


Fig. 144. Inscriptions incised on Vases. Drawing by Piet de Jong

Four of the Agora inscriptions, demonstrably seventh century or later, do not need lengthy comment. **B 47**, incised on a fragment of tile, is probably sixth century and was found with sherds of the sixth century. **B 56** is a fragment of an amphora of a common seventh century type; its glaze suggests that it belongs in the second half of the century. **C 39** (fig. 107) bears a dipinto inscription giving the name of its owner; we have seen good reason to date it near the middle of the seventh century. **B 55** (figs. 89–90), Tharios' cup, is of the same shape as **C 39**; it was decorated in the same manner as subgeometric skyphoi characteristic of the seventh century. In shape it is more developed than the

<sup>1</sup> Two more, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 563, nos. 81–82, and fig. 23. No. 81 is on a fragment of a subgeometric cup or skyphos like **C 48–50**, fig. 108. No. 82 can give no information as to its shape, style, or date; nor is the incision sufficiently preserved to give assurance that a letter of the alphabet was represented. The fabric appears to be subgeometric.

skyphos of the end of the eighth century at Eleusis;<sup>1</sup> it should probably be dated, like **C 39**, near the middle of the seventh century. Note has been made of the fact that its inscription was incised before firing. The excellence of the lettering on Tharios' cup and on the dipinto skyphos from the seventh century well is probably due to the fact that it was done by the potter himself, whose hand was quite used to fine drawing with pencil and brush. The same may be noted with regard to the "advanced" lettering of the sherds found in Corinth.<sup>2</sup>

The one-handled cup **C 48**, from the seventh century well, has a seemingly meaningless graffito. Another cup of the same sort, also bearing a meaningless graffito, was found at Eleusis.<sup>3</sup> This type of cup is subgeometric and has been found in three Agora deposits of the seventh century; it does not appear in Geometric graves or well groups. The evidence of the Agora finds is confirmed by grave groups in the Phaleron cemetery, where such cups are also found with middle Protocorinthian and Protoattic vases.<sup>4</sup> The dating for this type of cup is important, because, of the twenty-one "Geometric" sherds with incised lettering found on Mount Hymettos, sixteen are cups, or fragments of cups, of this shape.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 5, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *A. J. A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 605 ff. The sherds on fig. 1, a-b, were "possibly refired after the letters were cut... In later Corinthian pottery incised details were done after a first partial firing." If the inscribed sherds from Corinth are as early as they are said to be (750-725) then the Corinthian potters were capable of elaborate and developed incised lettering at a time when they were using incision for decorative detail in a clumsy and experimental way, and only rarely. Johansen notes (p. 51) that incision was employed only here and there, without method, in the later phases of the early Protocorinthian style (750-700; cf. Payne, *PV*, p. 20—"früher orientalisierender Stil"). If the incised inscription from Corinth dates 750-725, and the earliest Protocorinthian vases employing incision date 725-700 (probably, in fact, later), then one Corinthian potter must have mastered the technique of incision, as well as the letter forms of the alphabet, far ahead of any of his contemporaries. The Attic potters who tried their hands at incising letters did not reach the same level until the middle of the seventh century, at least seventy-five years later. It might be further noted with regard to the sherds from Corinth, that though they come from a closed deposit, the date of the closing of the deposit is not given. Presumably the drain for which they served as a bedding was not Geometric. The context of the smaller fragment of the inscription A-B, which was found elsewhere, is not given. Fragment C, on which the glaze has fired orange-red, is marked by three thin lines across the top where the glaze has fired black. The phenomenon can be due only to the presence of a triple band of added color—red or white—when the vase was fired. Decoration with multiple bands of added color was not a Geometric, nor even an early Protocorinthian, device. The fragment C should probably be dated well down toward the middle of the seventh century. Since this was written, the sherds from Corinth have been discussed by Carpenter in *A. J. A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 58 ff. He employs some of the same arguments against an early dating that I have suggested, and adds some others.

<sup>3</sup> *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 58, fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Delt.*, II, 1916, pp. 42-43. Fig. 44, 2 and 6, are from Graves 48 and 32; both graves of the second quarter of the seventh century. Fig. 45, 1 and 2, are decorated cups of the same shape; 45, 11 is a developed form of the same shape, and was found in Grave 18 a, a grave of the last quarter of the seventh century.

<sup>5</sup> *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 10 ff., and pls. I-III. They are nos. 1-6, 8-9, 11-14, 16-18, and 20. It might be noted here that of the other sherds from Mount Hymettos, which are all seventh century, no. 10 (*ibid.*, p. 17, fig. 5) is a shallow plate of the type found in the seventh century well, with a wavy line decoration below the rim as on sherds from the Agora votive deposit (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 586,

Of the Agora graffiti there remains the sixth, the amphora fragment **C 136** (fig. 131). We have seen reason to date the fragment at the very end of the eighth, or beginning of the seventh century. The symbol incised on its neck may possibly be intended to represent the letter epsilon.<sup>1</sup> If it is, it is unlike any other early epsilon; those incised on the oinochoe from the Dipylon and on the sherds from Hymettos<sup>2</sup> have downward-slanting horizontal strokes set above and below, not at, the ends of the vertical hasta. If the bird and wheel decoration of the amphora is to be interpreted as symbolic or magical,<sup>3</sup> a similar interpretation may be found for the epsilon-like symbol incised on it.<sup>4</sup> It is perhaps more probable that a numerical figure is represented by our graffito; the vertical incision at the left may stand for a large unit, perhaps five, and each of the horizontals for a single unit; the "epsilon" then represents the number eight.<sup>5</sup> Thus a number of interpretations are possible for this graffito; since, however, it is no earlier than the earliest incised alphabetical inscription known, it can afford nothing new as evidence for the dating of the introduction of the alphabet.

The inscription scratched on the oinochoe from the Dipylon remains the earliest. The inscription itself has been illustrated countless times; to the best of my knowledge there has been only one illustration, a poor drawing, of the vase on which it is incised.<sup>6</sup> The drawing does not accurately show the shape of the vase, which is the same as that of our **XIII 1** (fig. 43). In our discussion of **XIII 1** we have noted that the shape is often decorated with Cypriote concentric rings, and that it continues to be made into the seventh century. The Dipylon oinochoe, evidently more developed in shape than the first of the oinochoai decorated with Cypriote concentric rings, should be dated, on the evidence of its shape, at the end of the eighth century or later. The decoration of its neck, grazing deer and bird, is such as is found on vases of the end of the eighth and the early seventh century. It would seem difficult to date the Dipylon oinochoe earlier than 700.

fig. 47); no. 15 (p. 21, fig. 7) should probably be restored rather as a Phaleron oinochoe like the one published by Hampe, p. 38, fig. 19; no. 19 (p. 23, fig. 9) is from a Protoattic jug like *Jhb.*, II, 1887, p. 50, fig. 9, with decoration of subgeometric grazing horses of a sort used well into the seventh century for the subsidiary bands of Protoattic vases. Two of the Hymettos sherds, nos. 7 and 21, are nondescript, with no decoration or indication of shape to enable them to be dated. Blegen notes that no. 22 is considerably later than any of the others, coated with excellent black glaze.

<sup>1</sup> *A. J. A.*, XL, 1936, p. 193 and fig. 8.

<sup>2</sup> J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, pl. I, 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> On the symbolism of this motive, see the monograph of Miss Roes: *Greek Geometric Art, Its Symbolism and Its Origin*, pp. 13 ff. and figs. 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> The "mystic epsilon" is discussed and traced back into Minoan times by W. N. Bates in *A. J. A.*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 239 ff. I am indebted to D. M. Robinson for this reference.

<sup>5</sup> Such a system of incised horizontal and vertical bars, interpreted as representing prices, was in use in the fifth century; see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 514 ff., nos. 85-88 and fig. 28. Such units, it need hardly be remarked, cannot on our amphora represent units of coinage.

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pl. III. A number of other illustrations (in Baumeister, Ducati, and elsewhere) are all taken from the same drawing.

Another sherd has been used as evidence for the early appearance of the alphabet in Greece,<sup>1</sup> a small fragment from the Acropolis with painted letters and part of a meander. The meander, however, is not confined to the Geometric period; a fine meander is used on the seventh century vase, Acropolis 345.<sup>2</sup>

A fragmentary oinochoe found in Sicily has on its bottom a scratch which has been thought to represent letters.<sup>3</sup> It appears to be a subgeometric vase of Cycladic fabric. Although the dating for Cycladic pottery has not yet been established, the decoration on the oinochoe (verticals and sets of vertical wavy lines) is much the same as that employed on Early Protocorinthian oinochoai of the late eighth century, and on subgeometric Middle Protocorinthian vases down to the middle of the seventh. It would seem difficult to date the oinochoe before 700; on the other hand, it may well be considerably later.

All the inscribed vases and fragments can be dated about 700 and later; a vase bearing an alphabetical inscription of the eighth century has yet to be found. From the earliest inscription, that on the oinochoe from the Dipylon, we know that the alphabet was brought to Greece before 700; how much before seems to be as yet undecided. Perhaps noteworthy is the fact, however, that the alphabet used on the oinochoe from the Dipylon is not Attic, (broken-barred iotas, and non-Attic lambdas); the inscription may have been scratched by a foreigner on a visit to Athens.

#### CONCLUSION

The comparison of the vases from our group of burials in a family plot at the Agora with the Geometric, Protoattic, and Protocorinthian pottery from the well has shown that there is good reason for the belief that the Geometric style reached its highest development in Attica at about the turn from the third to the last quarter of the eighth century. Geometric vases continued to be made until the end of the century, but there were traces of degeneration. The subgeometric repertory of shapes and decoration continued in use beside the orientalizing down to the middle of the seventh century and later. The late Geometric period was one of activity and mild experiment; a few new motives appropriate to Geometric decoration were adopted from the Orient and used on Geometric vases; horses and birds were modelled and used to decorate the pottery. At the same time the influence of a strong local metal working industry made itself felt in the shapes and decoration of pottery.

Attica lingered behind Corinth in the adoption of orientalizing motives by about twenty years or a quarter-century. No doubt the reasons were that Attica did not have direct

<sup>1</sup> Acropolis 309; Graef-Langlotz, pl. XI.

<sup>2</sup> Graef-Langlotz, pl. XII, H.

<sup>3</sup> *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, XX, pl. III, 8 (Orsi); *J. R. S.*, XXV, 1935, p. 143 and note 55; *B. S. A.*, XXXIII, 1932-33, p. 191 and pl. 27; no. 54 (Blakeway).



contact with the east, and that she did have a stronger Geometric tradition than had any of her neighbors; she carried Geometric decoration to a higher development than did any other part of Greece. The Geometric style is the true reflection of a feudal and provincial society, conservative and narrow in its outlook, and strictly confined to agricultural interests within the limits of small localities. With the opening of the eastern trade routes in the middle of the eighth century and the sending out of colonies to the west shortly thereafter came an awakening and a change of outlook. Commerce, bringing in new methods and new ideas, took its place beside agriculture, and the merchant his place beside the landowner. Corinth and the cities of Euboea led the way; their colonies and their trade spread to the north and west. Attica lingered behind; she had no fleet, nor did she have industries that produced products for export. Her trade was limited, and confined to her near neighbors. In the seventh century Corinth had monopolized the markets for finer pottery, Corinth and Aegina the markets for bronzes; down to the time of Solon Attica was exporting oil, the product of her soil, not of her manufactories, in coarse pots. The awakening came slightly later to Attica, then, than it did to Corinth; Attica, without a fleet of ships of her own, did her trading, and took new ideas from the outside world, through her neighbors.

The change from the Geometric to the Protoattic style is one from restraint and repetition within a set form to freedom and individual expression. It is the change from a feudal and agricultural society to an industrial and commercial society. It reflects the change from epic to lyric poetry. Hesiod, who seems to have lived at the crucial period, describes the earlier world; his interests were local and agricultural, his poetry in the old epic tradition, repeated and handed down by rote. He voices a distrust for change and adventuring; the traditional methods and patterns of life are best. With the new age comes a new expression. The subjective lyric poets are interested in emotions and personalities; they have been freed from the restraint of traditional forms. Lyric poet and merchant have replaced epic poet and landowning aristocrat in the new world. The former for his literary expression, and the latter for his commercial pursuits, have need of a method of writing; perhaps the Phoenician alphabet was not the least useful or important of the new devices brought to the orientalizing world of Greece from the east.

The period from 750 to 650, then, was one of extraordinary activity and awakening. In the first years we note a gradual change and loosening of old styles, ideas, and prejudices; a small but steady intercommunication throughout the Greek world, and a limited adoption of new devices. Toward the end of the eighth century, while the old society continues to preponderate in Attica, the new gains strength at Corinth. By the early seventh century we have a complete change; with the new outlook on life comes a period of experimentation from which, after half a century, begin to emerge the outlines of the more familiar world of archaic Greece.

## APPENDIX I

## A LIST OF GRAVES AND IMPORTANT GEOMETRIC AND PROTOATTIC VASES, WITH THEIR PROBABLE DATING

## A. LAST QUARTER OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Late Geometric vases, many of them very big: monumental amphoras and kraters, large pitchers, pyxides and bowls. Pyxides with nearly straight side walls; skyphoi, cups, jugs, and kantharoi with low base instead of ring foot, amphoras and pitchers with high vertical ring foot. Plastic ornamentation with birds, horses, and snakes. Good fabric and glaze, careful Geometric decoration. First orientalizing influence on ornament: figured scenes, snakes, goats; wavy lines and rows of dots. Traces of foreign influence—Cypriote, Cretan, Boeotian, Early Protocorinthian—on shapes and decoration. Ivory figurines and gold bands.

Agora: Graves XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX.

Dipylon: Grave III, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 104. Wide, figs. 51, 88, 97, 99.

Grave XIII, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 127. *B. C. H.*, 1895, p. 273. Hampe, p. 36.

Eleusis: Grave XIX, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 83.

Spata: Grave 1, *Delt.*, VI, 1920–21, p. 132, figs. 2–3.

Monumental Dipylon Amphora, Pfuhl, pl. I, *C. V. A.*, *Athens*, pl. 8.

Ivory Statuette, Hampe, pl. 31.

## B. LATE EIGHTH—EARLY SEVENTH CENTURY.

Beginning of the breakup of the Geometric style; careless drawing and the use of shorthand methods. Small vases flat-bottomed; slightly flaring ring feet on larger vases. Figured scenes in motion—battle scenes and moving processions. First attempts at outline drawing. First appearance of many orientalizing motives: coursing hounds, fish, lions. Appearance of added white, and of incision. First floral ornament, and first free-standing terracotta figurines. Stronger Protocorinthian influence.

Agora: Graves VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XXV.

Dipylon: Grave VII, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 111 and fig. 10; Wide, fig. 75.

Grave IX, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 117 and pl. VIII, 2.

Grave published by Hampe, p. 38 and fig. 19, pls. 32–33.

Eleusis: Isis Grave. *C. V. A.*, *Athens*, I, pp. 4 ff. and pls. 3–6.

Grave a, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pp. 103 ff.

Spata: Grave 3, *Delt.*, VI, 1920–21, pp. 134–137, figs. 5–10.

Grave 4, *Delt.*, VI, 1920–21, pp. 137–138, figs. 11–12.

Liossia: *C. V. A.*, *Denmark*, II, pl. 70, 2–8 and 10.

Phaleron: Grave 11, Johansen, p. 74.

Grave 47, *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 21.

Grave 64, *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 22; Johansen, p. 39.

Amphoras with added white; Wide, fig. 61; *A. A.*, 1892, p. 100.

Amphora in Leyden; Brants; *Beschrijving*, no. 52 and pl. 7.

Amphora in Berlin; Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 3, F 3901.

Amphora in Boston; Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, pl. XXI, 262.

Bowl from Peiraeus Street; *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pl. X.

Bowl in London; *J. H. S.*, XIX, 1899, pl. VIII; Hampe, pl. 22.

Oinochoe with Inscription; *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pl. 3; Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 1.

Oinochoe from the Agora; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 593, fig. 58.

Oinochoe in Eleusis; *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 5, 2.

Kantharos in Copenhagen; *C. V. A., Denmark*, II, pl. 73, 5.

Skyphos in Eleusis; *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 5, 1.

Fragments in Louvre, A 519; Pottier, *Vases antiques*, pl. 20.

Agora: **C 103-104**; **C 108** and **111**; **C 127**, **134**, and **136**.

#### C. FIRST QUARTER OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Small subgeometric vases, very careless in fabric and decoration; deep, pointed skyphoi, cups and kantharoi. Amphoras and bowls with somewhat flaring foot. Middle Protocorinthian found in fairly large quantity, and freely imitated. Plentiful floral ornament; added white and incision used experimentally; considerable advance in the technique of outline drawing. Great variety in kind and quality of decoration, in accordance with preferences of various artists for outline drawing or incision, figured or floral motives. Debased Geometric motives lingering on as filling ornament and in subordinate zones of orientalizing vases. Probably the first figurines of fine terracotta began to be made in addition to those of ordinary pottery clay.

Agora: Graves V, VI.

Dipylon: Grave VIII, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 115 and pl. VIII, 1.

Spata: Grave 2, *Delt.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 134-135, figs. 4-5.

Eleusis: *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 91 and pl. 3, 2; Johansen, p. 40 and pl. X, 4.

*Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 92, figs. 19-21.

*Eph. Arch.*, 1912, p. 33, fig. 14.

Phaleron: Graves 10, 19 and 29, *Delt.*, II, 1916, pp. 18-20.

Elimbo (Hymettos): *Jhb.*, II, 1887, p. 43, note 10; p. 52, fig. 12, and pl. V.

Amphora from Pikrodaphni; *B. C. H.*, XVII, 1893, pls. II-III.

Amphora in New York; *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, pl. 41.

Amphora in New York; *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1911, p. 33, right.

- Fragments from Phaleron; *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 250 and figs. 11–13.  
 Hydria in Berlin; Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 7, 31312.  
 Hydria from Analatos; *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pls. 3–4.  
 Fragments from the Acropolis; Graef-Langlotz 345, pl. XII.  
 Oinochoe from the Agora; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 595, fig. 60.

#### D. SECOND QUARTER OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Elaborate floral ornament and the perfecting of drawing in outline. Rounding and filling out of the figures of men and horses. Subgeometric ornament continues to be used, and simple cheap subgeometric vases to be made.

Agora: Graves III–IV.

Dipylon: *A. A.*, 1934, pp. 217–220, figs. 14–15.

Phaleron: Graves 18, 27, 32, 37, 48, *Delt.*, II, 1916, pp. 19 ff.

Grave 18, Johansen, p. 93 and pl. XXI, 1; *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 29, figs. 15–16.

Grave 32, Johansen, pl. XXIV, 1.

Grave 48, Payne, *C. V. A., Oxford*, II, p. 59, 10. Payne dates the grave “not earlier than the first quarter of the seventh century.” The skyphos, *Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 32, fig. 22, 2 makes it later.

Amphora in New York; *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. 10–12.

Krater in Munich; *Jhb.*, XXII, 1907, pl. 1.

Bowl from Thebes; *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. IV.

Oinochoe from Dipylon; *A. A.*, 1934, pp. 215–216, fig. 12.

Oinochoe from Agora; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 596, fig. 61.

Agora **B 1, B 2, B 45, B 55, B 64, B 68, B 69, B 71, B 80, B 81; C 31, C 39, C 65, C 87, C 98, C 119, C 145, C 151.**

(**B 1, B 45, B 64, B 68, B 69; C 39, C 65, C 145** about mid-century).

#### E. THIRD QUARTER OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

The perfecting of the black-figured technique; regular use of incision, plentiful use of white and purple; gradual thinning of filling ornament.

Phaleron: Graves 71, 78, *Delt.*, II, 1916, pp. 19 ff.

Burgon lebes in London; Pfuhl, pl. 17, 82.

Oinochoe from Phaleron; Pfuhl, pl. 17, 83.

Amphora from Kynosarges; *J. H. S.*, XXII, 1902, pls. II–IV.

Fragment, *26tes Hallisches Winkelmannsprogramm*, pp. 10 ff., and other stamnoi, unpublished, from the same find.

Unpublished vases recently found at Vari.

Agora: Well deposit, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 412 ff.

## F. LAST QUARTER OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Early black-figured vases. The Peiraeus amphora, and the Nessos painter. Beginning of the group of vases decorated with incised birds and rows of dots at about the end of the century.

Agora: Grave II.

Phaleron: Graves 18 A, 33, 59, *Delt.*, II, 1916, pp. 19 ff.

## APPENDIX II

## THE ISIS GRAVE

*Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pp. 76 ff. *C.V.A., Athens*, I, p. 4, pls. 3–6.

The grave, a rectangular shaft with built walls of small stones, lay in the lowest stratum of the Eleusis cemetery. A hydria, found outside its covering, may have served as a grave-marker. Three later graves overlay the Isis Grave. The lowest of these contained a miniature krater decorated in a careless subgeometric manner probably to be dated in the early seventh century (*Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 100, fig. 24). The next grave above contained nothing; in the uppermost was found a hand-made oinochoe with rouletted decoration (*Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 106, fig. 26). The oinochoe is seventh century; it must be later than the little krater from the grave below that in which it was found. The length of time that elapsed between each successive burial is unknown. The archaeological evidence afforded by the position of the Isis Grave, however, proves only that it must be earlier than the grave immediately above it, or older than the early seventh century. It has been pointed out long since that the depth of graves in the Eleusis cemetery has no bearing on their dating (see Johansen, p. 40).

The Isis Grave contained the body of a woman, with numerous grave offerings. Among the offerings were three Egyptian scarabs and a faience figurine of Isis. The most recent dating places them in the XX–XXII dynasties (Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 80, nos. 160–163). Pendlebury's dating of the scarabs is contested; his no. 161 is called a "perfectly normal scarab of the XVIII Dynasty" (*J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 126). The scarabs apparently cannot be dated sufficiently closely to be of use in dating the grave; their presence may be disregarded, as it was by Skias (*Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 120) and by Schweitzer (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pp. 64 ff.), who thought von Bissing's dating (after 750) of the scarabs too late for the other contents of the grave. Schweitzer dates the grave, on stylistic grounds, in the ninth century; Poulsen also (*Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen*, pp. 85 ff.) dates it early both on stylistic grounds and because it lay in the lowest stratum of the Eleusis cemetery. Johansen, on the other hand, accepting von Bissing's dating of the scarabs, dates the graves of the Eleusis cemetery late (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1907, pp. 695 ff.). Furtwängler (*Antike Gemmen*, III, 1900, p. 441) states that the Geometric graves of Eleusis belong in the last

phase of the period, that they are no older than the eighth century and that, in all probability, they extend down into the seventh.

The establishment of the dating of the Isis Grave is important because the vases found in it have been used to demonstrate early steps in the Attic Geometric style, and because fibulae found in it have led Hampe, who accepts Schweitzer's ninth century dating of the grave, to the unfortunate suggestion that the same type of fibula was used in Attica in the ninth, and in Boeotia in the late eighth and early seventh centuries (Hampe, pp. 3 and 5; the fibulae, nos. 24–27). The dating of the Isis Grave might conceivably, too, be of help to Egyptologists in the dating of their scarabs.

In addition to its scarabs and fibulae, the Isis Grave contained a gold earring and a fragmentary ivory pin with incised decoration. The gold earring (*Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 6, 6) is similar in style to the gold necklace found in Grave 3 at Spata (*Delt.*, VI, 1920–21, p. 136, fig. 10), a grave dating from the end of the eighth century. Both earring and necklace are decorated with pendants and with halved Boeotian shields. Ivories were found in late eighth century graves at the Dipylon: Graves XI and XIII (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 120 ff.). Grave a at Eleusis, a grave contemporary with the Isis grave, contained a similar earring and a fragment of an ivory pin, similar fibulae, clay spheres, amphoriskoi, hand-made tripods, and spouted feeders with strainer tops and basket handles. Grave a contained also a small terracotta horse; the horse may have come from the lid of a late eighth century pyxis or amphora, or have been made free standing like the one from Dipylon Grave IX, a grave of the early seventh century (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2, 9).

The Isis Grave contained sixty-eight vases, most of which were small and carelessly made. Not unnaturally among such a large number, some are much earlier than others. The grave should be dated, however, by the latest objects found in it, and not by the earliest. Vases that are certainly early are the amphora and the kalathos, *C.V.A., Athens*, I, pl. 3, 1 and pl. 6, 8. Possibly early also are the pyxides pl. 5, 4, 11 and 12, and the skyphos on a ribbed stand pl. 6, 5. These vases may have been taken from earlier graves and re-used; many graves in the Eleusis cemetery were disturbed by later burials. The hydria, pl. 3, 2, seems to be of the same fabric as our **X 1**; its shoulder is divided into two panels by "triglyphs." The small oinochoai, pl. 3, 7 and 10 and 12–13, and pl. 4, 5–7 and 11, are like the oinochoai from our Grave IX and from Graves 3 and 4 at Spata (*Delt.*, VI, 1920–21, p. 134, fig. 8 and p. 138, fig. 12), all graves of the end of the eighth century. The jugs, pl. 3, 14–15 and pl. 4, 2–4, find a parallel in the grave from Liossia in Copenhagen (*C.V.A., Denmark*, II, pl. 70, 8), which also contained a small oinochoe like those from the Isis Grave (*ibid.*, no. 3). The miniature pot, pl. 3, 5, finds its nearest parallel in fabric and decoration in Grave 64 at Phaleron (*Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 46, fig. 50). The skyphos, pl. 6, 4, is of the same shape as the Eleusis skyphos decorated with a late figured scene, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, pl. 5, 1–1a. Two pyxides (pl. 5, 5 and pl. 5, 17–6, 1) are decorated on the bottom with quatrefoils and leaf bands which find parallels in our Graves XVIII

and XVII. The latter of the two pyxides is decorated with a zone divided into four long panels filled by zigzags, chevrons, a row of leaves, and a procession of birds. Not only the scheme of the decoration, but also the drawing of the birds, is late; compare the birds with those on the pitcher, Wide, fig. 72. The amphoriskoi pl. 4, 10, 12, 15, 17-18, 20-22, are of a late sagging shape clearly later than that of our amphoriskos, **XVII 19**. Open work kalathoi (pl. 6, 10-11) are late, with nearly straight, rather than concave, side walls. Similar open work is used on the lid-handles of late pitchers: from Anavysos, *Praktika*, 1911, p. 122, 20; from Dipylon Grave VII, Wide, fig. 75 a. Late decorative motives are used as well as late shapes in the Isis Grave; in addition to leaf bands and late birds, single-line meander (pl. 4, 6, 8 and 16; pl. 5, 5), wavy rows of dots (pl. 3, 6, 14 and 15; pl. 4, 2; pl. 5, 10, 11 and 12), and dotted lozenge chain (pl. 6, 6), appear. A clay ball of the sort found in the Isis Grave and Grave a was found in our seventh-century well, **C 176** (fig. 142 above).

While some of the favorite late Geometric shapes and decorative motives are lacking in the Isis Grave, the jewellery and many of the vases find parallels in Attic graves of the late eighth century. The Isis Grave should probably be dated shortly before 700; its pottery is provincial and consists of small careless vases.

### APPENDIX III

#### GEOMETRIC ATHENIANS

By J. LAWRENCE ANGEL

This appendix does not report on the racial types of Geometric Athens, nor even summarize the racial strains apparent in the burials dealt with by R. S. Young. It considers only age and sex characters of skeletons of six fragmentary individuals (the seventh has been sent to the American Museum of Natural History for study), as well as the existence of family traits in the group, and the conclusion indicated by these characters. A scientifically complete report on this material would require more space and more material for perspective than are at hand now.

In the case of burials XVII, XX, and XIV, animal bones also were present including pelvis, tibia, calcanea, and metapodial fragments plausibly of sheep. Of the four burials which Young places between 725 and 700 B.C., XVII is that of an adolescent female about fifteen years old, with short stature (141.3 cm. based on femoral length), rather small cranial capacity (possibly 1200-1250 cc. by Pearson's formula) although the measurements on this partial skull are not trustworthy, and a cranial index near the borderline of dolicho- and mesocephalic categories. The only observed anomaly is the retention of the second milk molars as caps for the second permanent premolars in both jaws, and in spite of incipient eruption of wisdom teeth.

Grave XVIII is that of a subadult female of nineteen, with fused epiphyses and a pubic symphyseal face of the ridge and furrow type usual for this age, but with wisdom teeth like XVII's quite visible in their opening crypts. The stature of 150.8 cm. is below categorical average for adult females, the skull is probably long, and the estimated cranial capacity (1230–70 cc.) a little below the European mean for adult females. The only anomaly is the persistence of a metopic suture dividing the frontal bone.

Burials XIX and XX formed a double grave, with XIX on top hence presumably later, though time separation of them may be small. XX is a rugged individual of doubtful sex, middle-aged (40–45), and of tall (160 cm.) or medium (164 cm.) stature depending on whether the skeleton be female or male. The skull is mesocephalic (77.84), and large (1460–80 cc. by the Pearson formula). Its most striking feature is a robusticity of malars and a face width which recall the Obercassel male and other Upper Paleolithic skulls as well as certain eskimoid mediaeval Icelanders, although in form these faces are not mongoloid. In contrast to this, burial XIX is that of a normal male young adult (30–35), of stature slightly below average (162 cm.), and a head-form just brachycephalic (80.8). The skull's capacity, about 1410 cc., is normal for European males. Anomalies include anterior compression of the tenth thoracic vertebra, which is light enough to indicate merely a slouching or bent posture, and a metacarpal fracture of the left thumb, evidently healed with some displacement. Arthritic exostoses are present on the lumbar vertebrae in a mild degree, and the left fifth metatarsal is damaged and perhaps arthritic at its base.

Burial XIV is dated about 700 B.C. It is a young adult, probably a male, and so fragmentary that no calculations can be made for a stature which may have been average. It is mesocephalic (76.67) and its skull is smaller than of XIX. It is curious that this man should have lost almost all of his teeth early in life, though the cause is not obvious: it might have been pyorrhea. Almost equally fragmentary is burial XXI. This is of a female in late middle age (50–55), ceramically not dateable since robbed. The stature (161 cm. ?) is tall, the cranial index (75.5) almost dolichocephalic, and the skull capacity large (1410 cc.).

This cataloguing leads to the conclusion that the Geometric inhumation group examined is a fairly heterogeneous one of about average growth, despite the slight validity of indirect derivations of stature and skull capacity. There are no osteologic indications of cause of death. And if it be assumed that XXI was buried within the span of the others, the group falls into two generation divisions: an older one, born perhaps in the decades 760–740, which includes XX, XIX, and XXI; and a younger, born perhaps from 735–15 B.C., including XVII, XVIII, and XIV. This division alone tends to confirm Young's opinion that this is a family group, and there is more evidence in this direction.

The evidence consists in strong similarities of detail which stand out in contrast to general variability of the group. The most striking of these is similarity of lower jaws of XX, XIX, and XXI. From above these have a roughly trapezoidal form marked by strength of the divided chin, angular body, and straight gonial regions; while from the front the crescentic rise of incisor edges above plane of molars is almost identical. This last feature



is most important in XX and XIX where it combines disharmonically in an edge to edge bite of the mill-like variety, so that the upper incisors have been worn concavely to conform with convexity of lower incisor row as if by a grindstone. Such convexity in lower incisors

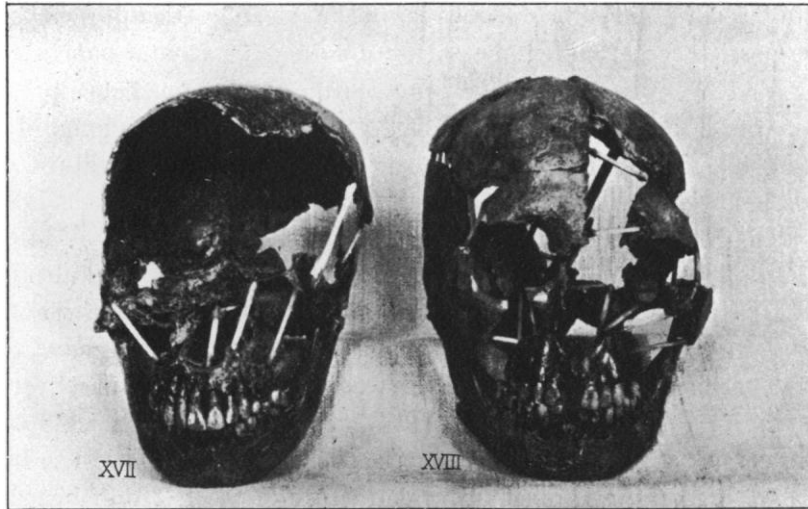


Fig. 145. Front View of Female Crania XVII and XVIII

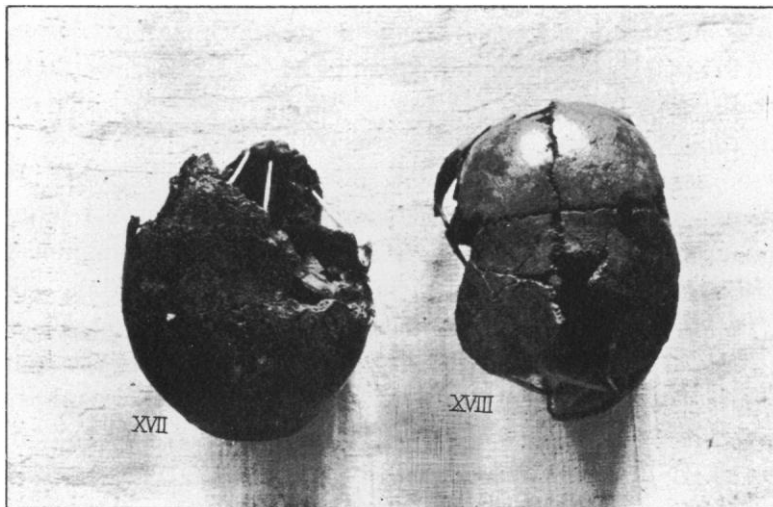


Fig. 146. Top View of Female Crania XVII and XVIII

is normal in an overlapping, more horselike form of bite as seen in XXI. In contrast to this, the two young girls, XVII and XVIII, have jaws with a gothically arched appearance from above, a pointed chin, and narrow turned-in gonial region. From the front the teeth

are even. The type of bite is a slightly overlapping one which interlocks and scissors neatly like a crab's claw. And the forms of mouth, marked by wide middle incisors approaching the shovel form, are almost the same, in spite of difference in palate proportions. XIV probably also had this gothic type of mandible, though its body is more angular here. All three share the same form of very short and rather wide ascending ramus. XIV's loss of teeth makes it impossible to decide whether his bite was of the mill type of XX and XIX or not.

Further, less obvious, similarities occur in type of cheek bones. Similar modelling for attachments of zygomatic and quadratus labii superioris muscles appears in XX, XIX, and XXI, in spite of gross dimensional variation from very wide to narrow in these three faces; XVIII probably had XX's wide malar tendency, but her malars are very flat surfaced and unmodelled by muscles. Then XX and XXI have the same wide swinging but not complicated sutural pattern, while XIV and XXI have the same tendency of the occipital to overlap the parietal bone along the lamboid suture. The glenoid fossae (mandibular joints) of XVII, XVIII, XX, and XIX are similar in their medium depth with a rounded post-glenoid process of weak to medium development; while XIV and XXI share a narrow, deep, type of fossa with steep articular eminence, in spite of axial shifting of condylar motion in XIV as an adaptation to loss of teeth. Finally the polished granular bone surface of XX, XIX, and XIV contrasts with veneered smoothness of XVII, XVIII, and perhaps XXI.

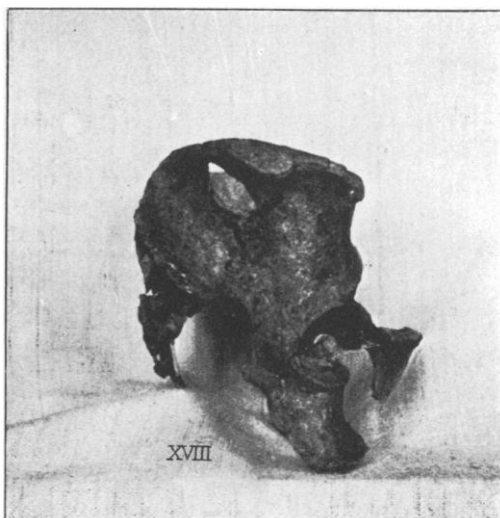


Fig. 147. Right Side of Pelvis of XVIII to show typical Female Ischiatic Notch

All these are slight and specific form variations, of which inheritance (by analogy with breeding of dogs or fruit-flies) is controlled by single or few genes. Such results as the inheritance of a whole mandible (as opposed to that of a single definite detail of a tooth) depend almost entirely on the linked association of genes in a single chromosome: the combination is not by chance alone. When parts of such a chromosome are split during crossing-over at reduction division of the egg or sperm cell which is going to help form an individual, that individual can inherit only part of the linkage group. Then the characters influenced by the rest of the linkage group will be affected by different genes from the other parent, so that the resulting combination may be disharmonic (this assumes that the germ cell from the second parent does not supply the changed section of chromosome). Such disharmonies, as in creeper fowls, where there is a definite lack or negation of a specific chromosome or gene in both germ cells, may be lethal. In this case the occurrence

in two people of the same generation of the same type of disharmony in upper and lower teeth rows probably can be taken as the effect of switching of linkage groups of quite

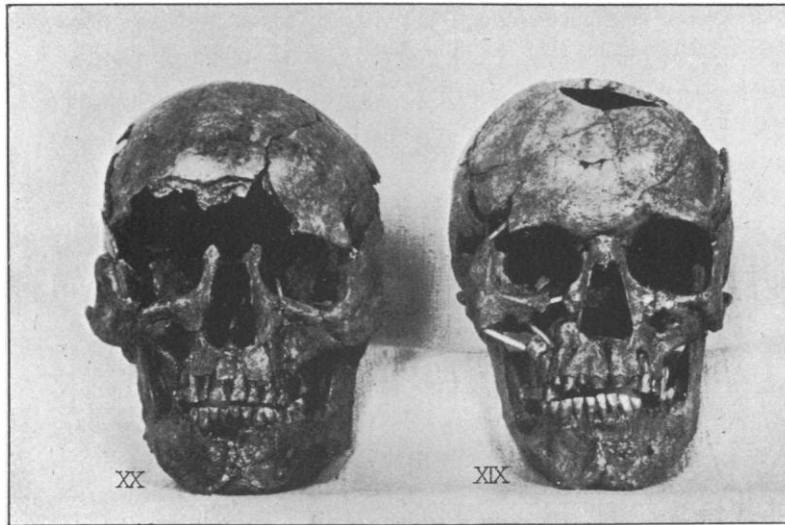


Fig. 148. Front View of Crania XX (Doubtful) and XIX (Male)

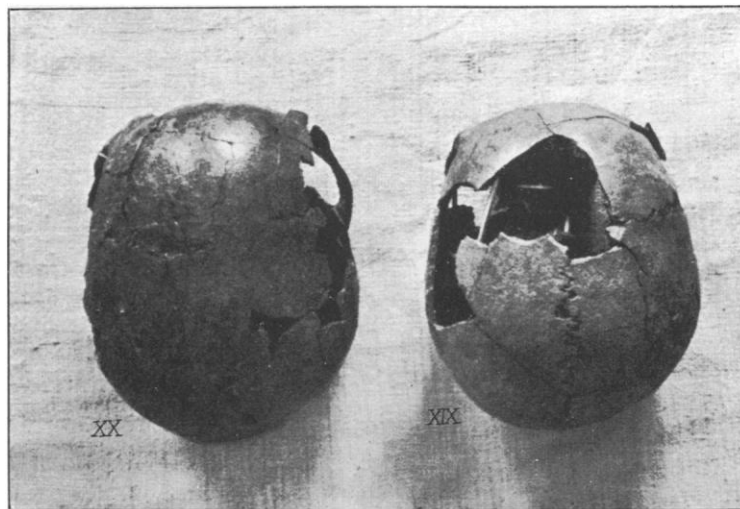


Fig. 149. Top View of Crania XX (Doubtful) and XIX (Male)

different tendencies, and hence is excellent evidence for family relationship of fairly close degree. It is also evidence for quite radical hybridization, with difference in dominance of linkage groups. Further, the crossing-over must have taken place in the previous

generation, or earlier. So that the combination of two diverse elements in this case would have to be two generations back, or earlier: in the time of XX's grandfather at latest.

Even more indicative of family relationship are the dimensions and proportions of these skulls: multiple factor characteristics which are controlled additively by many genes on many chromosomes, and not by single dominants or recessives whose mosaic effectiveness is exaggerated by formation and breakage of linkage groups during inbreeding and outbreeding respectively. The effect of these second genes in the first hybrid generation is to produce that combination of median and dominant characters with great size and energy which animal breeders call hybrid vigor. In later generations, if inbreeding follows, there is a period of recombination of characters which offer much variety and instability until selection reduces variety to sameness of a pure-blooded strain: this is the ideal contrast. Now variety in proportions and measurements is typical of the Geometric skulls

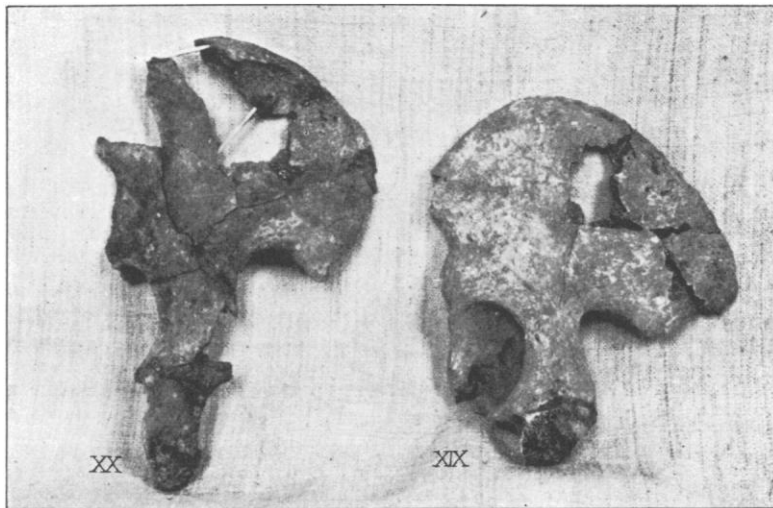


Fig. 150. Left Innominate Bones (Incomplete) of XX and XIX, to show Ischiatic Notches

under discussion. There is no gain from premature listing of measurements and indices here, but in the photographs this should be clear in type of headform observed from above. Thus an examination of similarities in detailed form against a background of variety in general proportions leads to calling these six skulls part of a family group in which vigorous mixture has taken place.

The second part of this conclusion gains strength when it comes to sexing these skeletons. It is difficult; since sex is itself determined probably by balance of autosomes as well as by indirect and direct effect of sex chromosomes themselves. In the first place sexing by secondary characters of pelvis and of skull is always a matter of degree: a contrast between male direction for structure, size, and strength, and female direction for generation, smallness, and grace. But since these qualities are universal, judgment of them depends on

knowledge of means and extremes in any given racial group whose individuals are to be sexed skeletally. The second limitation follows: sexing can be done confidently only within a known group, for since races differ in their virility, size, or strength, a female of one

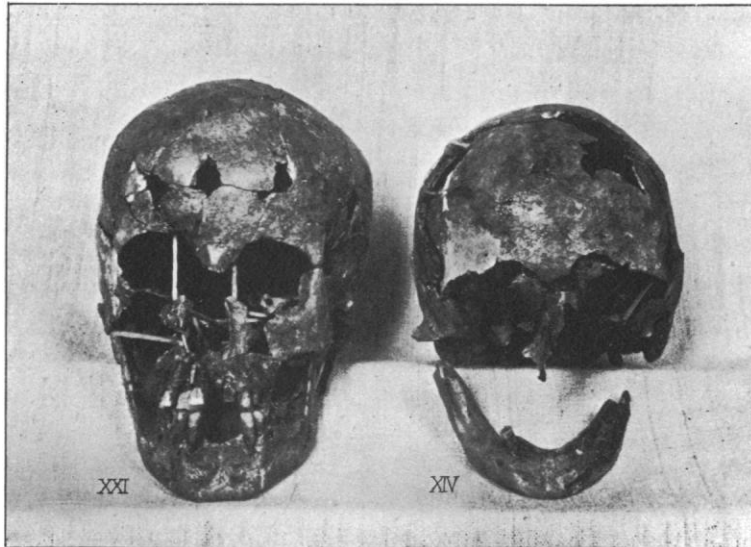


Fig. 151. Front View of Crania of XXI (Female) and XIV (Male)

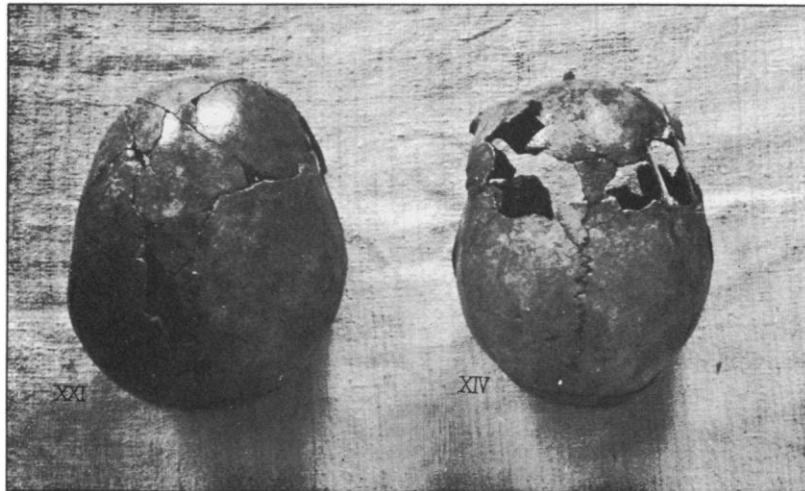


Fig. 152. Top View of Crania XXI (Female) and XIV (Male)

group can appear more male in some characteristics than a male of another race. Confusion of sex characters is normal in any one individual, therefore, but usually with those of one sex clearly predominating. Difficulty in sexing skeletons comes either when there

is very little sexual dimorphism, classically as among predynastic Egyptians who tend to approximate a male norm and among Pueblo Indians who lean toward a female one; or when there is hybridization of groups differing markedly in balance toward femaleness or maleness, especially with the added effect of hybrid vigor. In general Europeans show marked sex distinction, and skeletal sex characters are consistent. But different sub-races cover the range from ruggedness to gracility; and in mixtures of dissimilar grades unexpected combinations blur the true sex of an individual, since there is no single criterion or even group of two or three criteria which carry much more weight than many others. And this sort of mixture best explains the sex criteria of the six Geometric skulls.

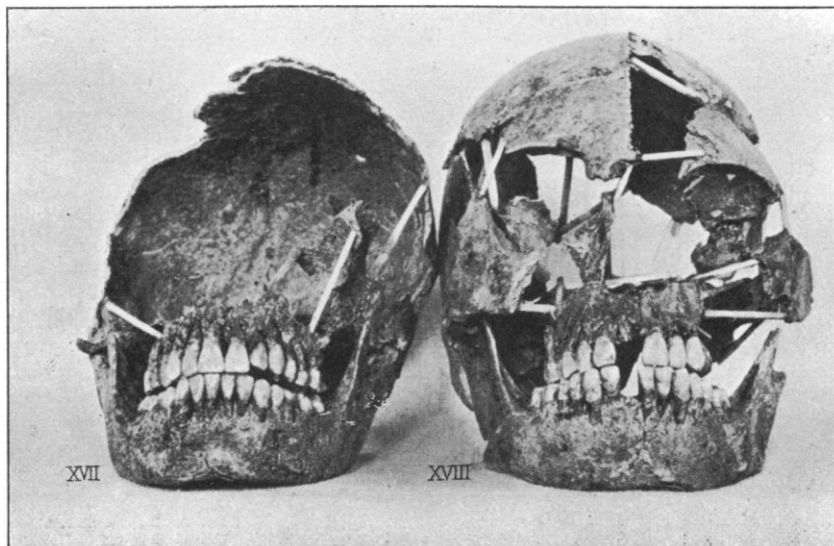


Fig. 153. Female Crania XVII and XVIII, to show Similarity in Neat, Slightly Scissoring Bites, Shovel Incisors, and Rounded Type of Mandible

XVIII has capacious pelvis with wide ischiatic notch, light, small-jointed bones, and a clearly female skull. Likewise XVII. While XIX has a fragmentary pelvis with narrow ischiatic notch, rugged, large-jointed bones, and male skull characters. But XIV, XXI, and XX show confusion.

XIV is a male archaeologically (hence culturally). But his skeleton is too broken by his grave's collapse to show any characters, and the skull has many intermediate ones: small foramen magnum, smallish brow-ridges, light muscle markings indicate femaleness; but mastoids, transition from forehead to nose, and form of jaw point to maleness. XXI was a robbed grave. An innominate fragment with wide ischiatic notch and large attachment for the sacroiliac ligaments indicates femaleness almost surely. But the skull, in spite of smoothness and a pure, steep, forehead, has male face size and long mastoids.

XX is the most difficult to sex. Burial furniture shows it socially female. Remains of pelvis give an ischiatic notch on the wide side of medium, but with small pre-auricular

sulcus, though it is possible that if the whole pelvis were reconstructible it would have female width. Limbs are robust, large-jointed, and a little larger than those of XIX. Finally, the skull is large, very vigorous, with a vault like a breaking wave, and muscle markings for the neck and face of a dictator. Yet the foramen magnum is moderate, and damaged brow-ridges may not have been heavy. Femaleness can be read into a euryprosopic facial index, and a steep forehead. The palate, also, is not relatively large ( $54 \times 62$  mm.). But on the whole the physiology of XX is too rugged to be female: her male counterpart would be an ogre, and he may have been. In any case disharmony of sex criteria as well as of general proportions suggests that one of the groups forming this hybrid stock was more virile than the others. Apparently its characters tended to dominate occasionally, just as did the female characters of Japanese gypsy moths which Goldschmidt

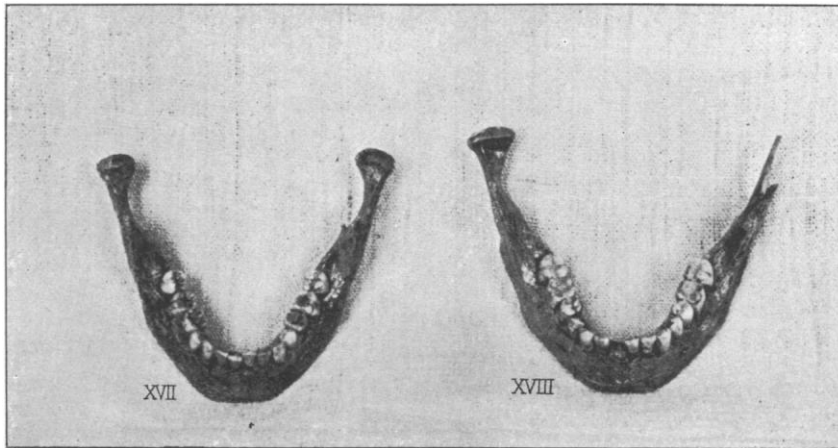


Fig. 154. Jaws of XVII and XVIII, from in Front and Above, to show Likeness

mated to European ones with resultant series of intersex offspring. This conclusion is stronger if XX be thought female.

Further possible evidence for slightly dystrophic mixture appears in combination of milk molar retention, open epiphyses, and incipient wisdom teeth in XVII when this is compared with XVIII at the same wisdom tooth stage but with fused epiphyses and a pubic symphysis (best single criterion of age) of eighteen or nineteen. This suggests a difference in growth and perhaps in metabolic rates in the mixing racial groups such as might be brought out most clearly by a strange environment with strange food. It might even have played some part in the early deaths of the two girls. Contrast between very light bones of these girls and those of the others is worth noting, especially since XVII shows a third trochanter on her femur, a development for larger attachment of gluteal muscles which otherwise would not have enough surface on this slender bone. XXI also has a third trochanter, probably just from vigor of function: XX and XIX also show well-marked attachments for these muscles, but since the bones are heavier no third trochanters were developed.

A similar effect of muscle action shows in elongated mastoids of XXI and XX, and medium ones of XVIII when compared to XVII's small and adolescent ones. This results from an increase in development of neck muscles, and particularly of the balancing sterno-cleido-mastoideus, from carrying loads on the head. This is true notably of the women, but also



Fig. 155. Crania XX and XIX, to show Similarity in Mill-like Bites, Worn Teeth, and Strong Mandibles with High Incisor Rows

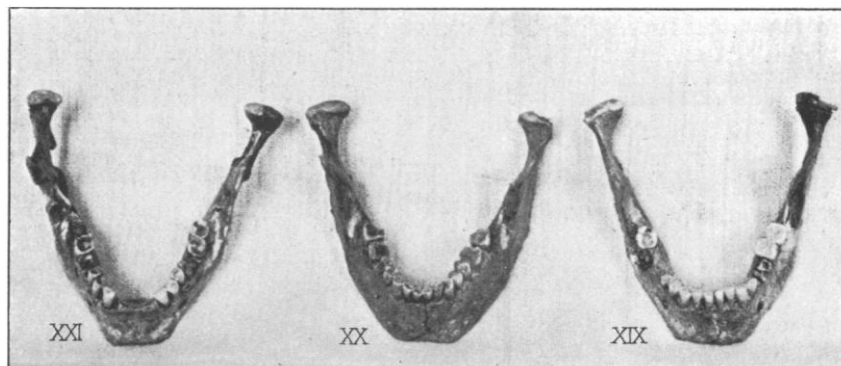


Fig. 156. Jaws of XXI, XX, and XIX, from in Front and Above, showing Similarity in Angulation and Shape

of the men in this group. This brings up the question of posture, and such living habits as appear in the skeleton. XVII shows only that her rather bowed femur lacks platymeria, being quite narrow just below the trochanters. But XVIII shows a nicely correlating combination: from vertebral measurements she probably had a well-defined forward lumbar curve which probably meant that her pelvis tilted enough for the hip sockets to be directly



in plane with the centre of gravity, so that there is almost no forward torsion of the necks of thigh bones. She shows platymeria, but as in the rest of the skeletons of this group there is no platycnemia. But this skeleton does have medium backward tilting of the tibial head as well as squatting facets on ankle joints. Thus the girl may have walked with her knees bent always, and probably she often flexed her foot far at the ankle joint either in walking up a steep hill or in squatting over her cooking. XXI's fragments are enough only to show hyperplatymeria, as do femora of XX. XX's thighs also show the same torsion of neck as XVIII's, but the lumbar vertebrae are lacking so that here torsion does not correlate surely with a curving waist. XX's tibia has a less tilted head, but has squatting facets.

XIX contrasts with this balanced posture. He has lumbar orthorachy (straightness) in which the curve probably was low down and very slight. And he has enough femoral torsion forward so that the pelvis probably was quite vertical with hip-sockets in front of centre of gravity. There is also some indication that his back was a little bowed above the waist. And he has platymeria, a straightening knee joint, and squatting facets.

The significance of these details is slight: that while squatting facets show some degree of primitiveness usually, here there lacks narrowing of the tibias, platycnemia, which occurs often in neolithic Europeans and other primitive peoples. There is no consistent indication of bent-knee gait, but hints at it would be expected among any people living in a steep and stony country. And platymeria is notably a result of much climbing and hard walking, though there may be also some structural factor here: perhaps an economy of bone at a place where sideway rather than back and forth motion provides the stress to be borne. But in general these skeletons show no lack of calcium, while their robusticity is of more note than their primitiveness in a Mediterranean country.

Thus these people appear to have had enough to eat. But while they probably drank much milk certainly they ate tough food, since teeth of all except the two young girls show pronounced wear, with only rare remnant of top enamel on molar cusps. XIX and XXI both lost a few molars perhaps from decay which began when the dentine was too exposed by wear. This wear does not seem to have been from the almost purely grinding action of some cereal eaters (Pueblo Indians), since the teeth do not have evenly worn top surfaces. Hence the diet was plausibly carnivorous, but had some ground cereal in it with enough sand to increase tooth wear beyond the present civilized rate. Caries and abscesses are not lacking except in the mouths of the two girls.

The conclusions that the skeletons have some primitive features in their robusticity, belong to a family group, yet show a great deal of hybrid variation, can be of interest in the formation period of the second height of Greek civilization, but are of slight importance historically until more data show why they became true.

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