

LATE GEOMETRIC GRAVE GROUPS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 88-92)

SEVEN grave groups of the eighth century B.C. found in the Agora Excavations, hitherto wholly or partially unpublished, are presented here.¹

The graves may be located by their grid numbers on the plan in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 12. Five of them are marked on the plan of roads and graves of the Geometric period in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 278. Of these, graves E 19: 1, E 19: 2, E 19: 3, and E 18: 1 form the little concentration east of the road which passes north and south over the west slope of the Areopagus. The fifth, grave N 21: 6, is marked south

¹ The photography was done by M. Alison Frantz. The skeletal material was identified by J. Lawrence Angel.

A plan which will indicate the relative positions of all graves and other deposits of the eleventh through the seventh centuries B.C. will be included in the final publication of the pottery of that period. The following Protogeometric and Geometric graves have been published since 1939, when the Late Geometric cemetery was published by R. S. Young in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II:

- I 18: 1 *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 158, pl. 41, 1 (Middle Geometric).
- D 16: 2 R. S. Young, "Sepulturae Intra Urbem," *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, Grave 1, p. 82, pl. 35, c, d 1949, pp. 275 ff., pls. 66-72.
- D 16: 3 *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 330, pl. 104, 1 (Late Geometric).
- B 21: 10 R. S. Young, "Sepulturae Intra Urbem," *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, Grave 1, p. 82, pl. 35, c, d (Late Geometric).
- B 21: 23 *Ibid.*, upper fill of Grave 18, pp. 83-85, pls. 35, c, 36 (Late Geometric).
- B 21: 2 *Ibid.*, Grave 2, pp. 85-86, pls. 37, a, b (Subgeometric).
Ibid., Grave A, p. 69, pl. 35, a, b.
- R 20: 1 *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 196-197, pl. XLI, 1, 2.
- J 7: 1 *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 200-201, pls. 72, b, 77, nos. 37-38.
- O 7: 11 *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 108, pl. 27, c (Protogeometric).
- D 16: 4 C. W. Blegen, "Two Athenian Grave Groups of about 900 B.C.," *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 279 ff., pls. 73-78 ff.
- Q 8: 6 *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 58, pl. 16, c (Protogeometric).

The following short titles are used in this paper:

Hesperia, Suppl. II: R. S. Young, "Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora," *Hesperia*, Supplement II, Athens, 1939.

Kerameikos, V, 1: K. Kübler, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen Die Nekropole des 10 bis 8 Jahrhunderts*, V, 1, Berlin, 1954.

Matz: F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst, Die geometrische und die früharchaische Form*, text and plates, Frankfurt, 1950.

of the upper branch of the road which ran at right angles to the former across the north slope of the Areopagus; it lay over the dromos of the big Mycenaean chamber tomb at N 21-22. All five graves were of the third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

A sixth grave, Q 17: 6, lay by the east-west road lower down on the Areopagus slope and roughly in the course of the road which runs at latitude 16 on the grid plan. This grave belonged to the very late eighth century.

Grave N 11: 1, of the last quarter of the eighth century, was near the very center of the later Agora. It is the last pre-classical burial found in the actual square and evidently gives a *terminus post quem* for the final exclusion of burials from this busy residential area,² just as one last well (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39; to be published in a later article as Well F) marks the upper limit for the conversion of the same area into the public market place.

The dating of the offerings in each grave and their significance is discussed in the Catalogue. A chronology of compromise between Kübler's early dating in *Kerameikos* V,1 and Young's low dating in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II is corroborated by such evidence as the graves offer on this problem. Concisely stated, it seems that the end of Ripe Geometric and much of Late Geometric must fall within the third, rather than the second or last quarter of the eighth century B.C.

Grave E 19: 3. Inhumation. Fig. 1, Pl. 88.

L. 1.70 m.; W. 0.55 m.; diam. 0.38 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, noted.

Cut into bedrock and oriented north and south. Skeleton of a man, about twenty-four years old, stretched out with head at south end. Southern top edge of shaft projects to form a niche over the head. For position of offerings see Figure 1. The dagger (7) lay by the right forearm, the scarab (8) at the right foot.

Compared with other graves of the area this one is fairly richly furnished. One wonders whether the young man who kept his knife by his side in the grave brought home the scarab from his own travels.

What is striking about the offerings is that oinochoe 1, of Ripe Geometric style, occurs in the company of the ordinary, cursorily made Late Geometric ware. Possibly the relatives simply bought old stock cheap for the grave, but in view of the evidence of Grave E 19: 1, the more likely explanation seems to be that both styles were current in the third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

² See *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39 for the many household wells found here.

1. Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 89.

P 15122. H. 0.215 m.; diam. 0.155 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, bottom center.

Broad plain base, with the slightest ridge outside. Single-strand rolled handle. Glazed all over except for inner handle; reserved band on shoulders, in it three glaze lines. On neck, a picture panel framed by diagonals in columns at the sides, zigzag at bottom. In panel, grazing doe to right; dot rosettes, dotted oval and star in field.

Reddish brown glaze, metallic in places.

A small work by the "classical" Dipylon workshop, the products of which have been collected by P. Kahane, "Die Entwicklungsphasen der attischen Keramik," *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 477 and G. Nottbohm, "Der Meister der grossen Dipylon-Amphora in Athen," *Jahrb.*, LVIII, 1942, p. 2. (Different hands have since been distinguished by E. Kunze. Two early krater doublets, "Disiecta membra attischer Grabkratere," *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1953-1955, I, pp. 162 ff.; a hand later than the great amphora itself; "Bruchstücke attischer Grabkratere," *Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer*, Stuttgart, 1954, pp. 48 ff.). First on Nottbohm's list is the Agora fragment *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 134, p. 180, fig. 130; by the same hand as an unpublished fragmentary Dipylon amphora (Agora P 10664).

The grazing doe on the neck panel with its concavely bent neck is very like those of a procession on the neck of an amphora as well as that on a banded oinochoe with an almost identical neck panel, both in Munich and assigned to the Dipylon workshop (*C.V.A.*, Munich 3, Inv. 6080, pl. 107, p. 11; Inv. 6400, pls. 110, 112, p. 13).

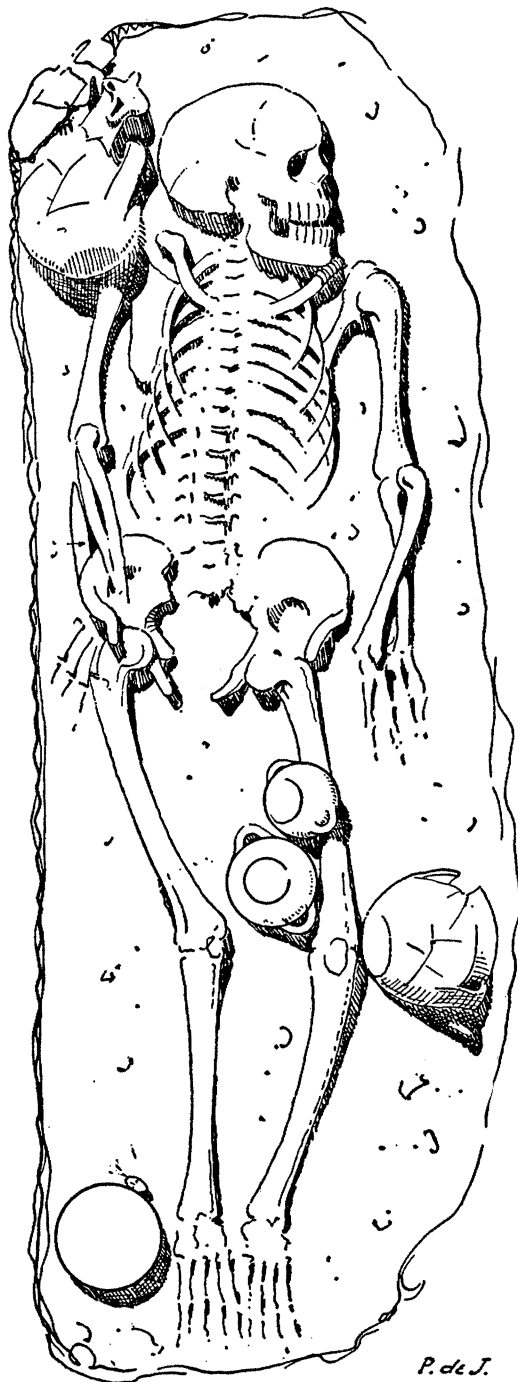
Somewhat after 750 B.C.

2. Oinochoe. Pl. 89.

P 15127. Rest. H. 0.216 m.; diam. 0.147 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, top center.

Neck and handle restored. Like 1, but



Ten  cms.

FIG. 1. Grave E 19:3.

shoulder unglazed, with one band in blank panel. Reserved band at base of neck and at bottom.

An almost exact counterpart with a solid glazed neck comes from a Late Geometric Well (L 18:2) in the Agora; this well also contained a Phaleron cup like those in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave IX. Cf. the shape of the oinochoe from that grave (*ibid.*, IX 12) and its Kerameikos counterpart (*Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 78, Grave 90) with that of 2.

Fine widely spaced lines on the shoulder occur on a somewhat earlier oinochoe with a banded body (*ibid.*, pl. 76, Grave 76). Later example: *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 113, p. 174, fig. 125. This Late Geometric scheme of light shoulder and dark body on oinochoai harks back to Early Protogeometric (V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford, 1952, p. 48).

Third quarter of the eighth century.

3. Skyphos with tongues. Pl. 89.

P 15125. H. 0.06 m.; diam. 0.092 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, upper right.

Low disk foot. Inside glazed, reserved line at rim, dot on bottom. Outside, rim banded, hatched tongues in panels; below, banding and solid glaze to foot. Dots over handles and one dot above each attachment.

Skyphoi with false gadrooning are perhaps even more common than bird skyphoi (see 4). See *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 99, from graves 71, 28; several from the Agora, e. g. P 17181 from a Late Geometric Well, M 11:1.

This example is a little more careful than most; usually the tongues are squeezed together at the bottom, thus obscuring the gadroon effect.

4. Skyphos with birds. Pl. 89.

P 15126. H. 0.069 m.; diam. 0.112 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, upper left.

Plain base, pointed lower body. Straight rim. Glazed inside with two reserved lines at rim. Outside, on rim dots. On shoulder, two panels

with birds with hatched bodies, facing center, between them a column of cross hatching. Near handles, dotted circle with dot tail; bands over handles. Below, bands and solid glaze to foot. Inside glazed red, outside discolored reddish brown.

These bird skyphoi are ubiquitous in Late Geometric; see *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 122, 4; *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, Musée National III h, pl. 70, 9; E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, Munich, 1932, pl. 4, 31; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 97; Agora P 17183 from a Late Geometric well M 11:1. A scaraboid seal-stone was found in such a skyphos (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 310, pl. 40,7; see below under 8).

These skyphoi precede the group of "bird and birdseed" cups (*B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 144, fig. 5) and appear to be the products of one shop working in the third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

5. Kantharos. Pl. 89.

P 15123. H. to rim 0.121 m.; diam. 0.15 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, lower left.

Low standing base, pointed body. High straight rim not offset from shoulder. Pushed in to form an oval where handles are attached. High swung, broad band handles. Glazed inside with reserved dot at center of bottom, and reserved line at rim. Outside, on rim, elongated dots connected by lines; below, cross hatched tongues in panels. On each handle cross bars and a long panel with a cross on outer side of handle. Bottom glazed solid.

Black glaze.

A very fine kantharos with real gadrooning is in Boston, A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Cambridge, Mass., 1928, pl. XXII, 271. For a kantharos with false gadrooning from the Agora see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XV, 2, p. 74, fig. 48. A contemporary bird kantharos from the Kerameikos, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 86, Grave 24. Such pots, twice re-

moved from their metal originals (*Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 223) were mass produced at this time. For the history of the kantharos see *ibid.*, p. 204.

Third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

6. Kantharos. Pl. 89.

P 15124. H. to rim 0.132 m.; diam. 0.155 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, lower right.

Like 5, but double reserved line at rim inside, additional cross panel on side of handle facing pot. Dots on rim; stacked chevrons between tongues; more bands above base.

Black glaze.

See under 5. A little earlier: *C.V.A.*, Mannheim 1, pl. I, Inv. 127.

7. Iron knife. Pl. 89.

IL 744. L. 0.122 m.; W. 0.02 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, top row.

Long straight (?) blade with pointed tang for insertion into handle. Much encrusted.

Knives from Late Geometric graves are usually slightly curved with a convex cutting edge, but this one is so encrusted that it is impossible to tell whether it is an odd straight one, or perhaps even a dagger. See *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 104, fig. 73 (Late Geometric); *Hesperia*, XXI, 1925, p. 287, pl. 74, c (Early Geometric).

8. Scarab. Pl. 89.

G 198. L. 0.013 m.; H. 0.007 m.

Sky-blue frit, pierced lengthwise. In intaglio, an ibex (?) to right. Groove around border.

Scarabs of this sort are universally agreed to yield no date. For a listing of scarabs found in Greece see J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, Cambridge, 1930 (Attic ones rare), supplemented by H. Payne, *Perachora*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 76-77. See also Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II,

Appendix II, The Isis Grave, pp. 234-236; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 159, note 121, and the summary by T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London, 1957, pp. 39-40, 49.

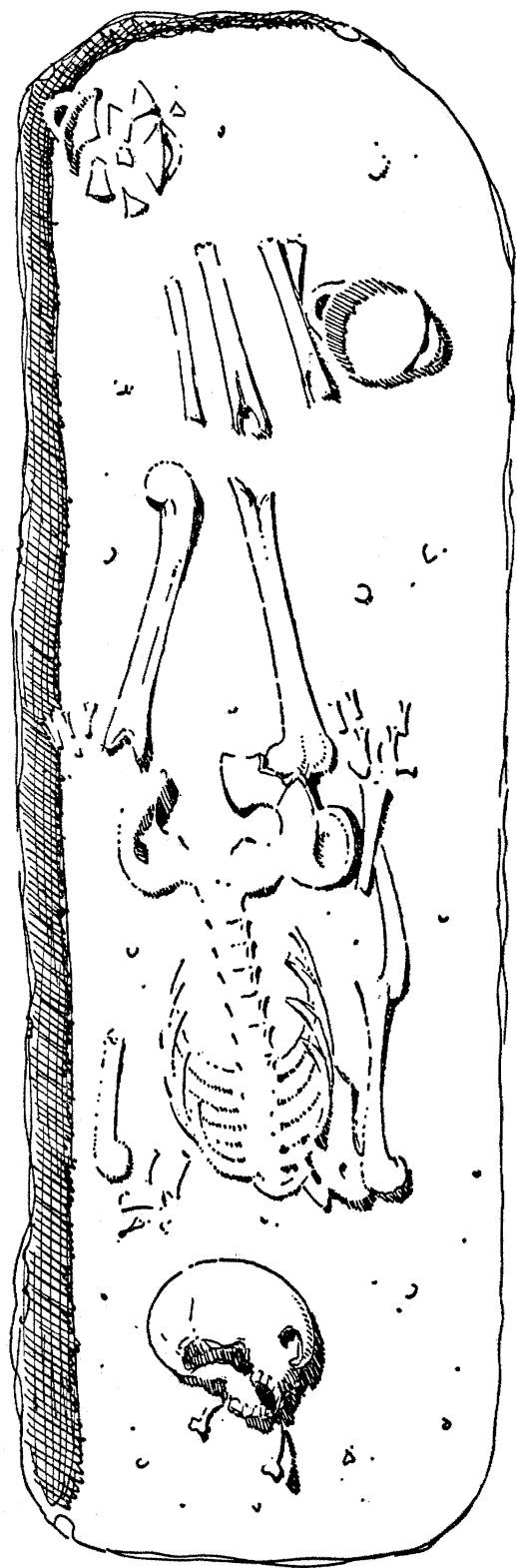
Deer and ibex on Egyptian scarabs: F. Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, London, 1925, p. 24.

A scarab found in Corinth in an eighth century context, of the same beetle type as ours and with similar carving on the underside, is the closest parallel (G. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, p. 223, no. 1763, pl. 100). It was tentatively pronounced to be of Phoenician make, and a similar origin is possible for the Agora scarab. Another Phoenician import, a glass amulet, was found in an Agora well of the first half of the century (R. S. Young, "An Early Amulet found in Athens," *Hesperia*,



FIG. 2. Spindle Whorl MC 206.

Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 426 ff., pl. 64). From the same well comes a spindle whorl with an impression evidently from a similar scarab (Agora MC 206, Fig. 2, Pls. 89, 90). A Phoenician "false scarab" was found in a grave near Athens in a Geometric skyphos made in the workshop of our 4 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 310, no. 7, pl. 40). These Phoenician knick-knacks must have been much more common than a count of the finds would show (no scarabs from Athens have apparently ever been illustrated). Two other scarabs have been found in the Agora, but not in relevant contexts (G 124; MC 147). See several from Chios, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 32. Note the similarity of the Corinth and Agora intaglios with Geometric animals (cf. the ibex on the oinochoe, Matz, pl. 7, and the cow, E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, Vol. III, pl. 4, no. 14).



Ten  cms. R. de J. del.

FIG. 3. Grave E 19:1.

Grave E 19: 1. Inhumation. Fig. 3, Pl. 88.

L. 2 m.; W. 0.58 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, noted.

Grave cut in bedrock and oriented east and west. Skeleton of a male, about forty years old, laid out with arms at sides and knees slightly bent. The head, which had however been disturbed, was at the east. The offerings were at the west end. In the fill there was a little mixed pottery, including Geometric and Protogeometric scraps.

The association of an Attic copy of the round walled Protocorinthian kotyle 2 with the bird skyphos 1 is interesting since such kotylai are usually found with rather advanced Late Geometric (cf. the very slightly later kotyle *Kerameikos*, V,1, pl. 132 and its pottery context, *ibid.*, pl. 134 from the same workshop as vases of an Agora pyre, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave XII, pp. 55 ff.; also the Manchester kotyle in *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 144, fig. 4 b and Cook's remarks on the kotyle series, p. 153). The thought that Late Geometric moves quickly again suggests itself.

Date of grave: third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

1. Skyphos with birds. Pl. 90.

P 15030. H. 0.08 m.; diam. 0.12 m.

Shape just like E 19: 3, 4 but shoulder goes straight into rim. Inside glazed with reserved dot in center, reserved band half way up, two reserved lines at rim. Outside, on rim, broad band with lines on either side. On shoulder, in panels separated by columns of hatching, birds facing center; dot rosettes. Lower body and handles glazed.

Black glaze.

For the run of the Late Geometric bird skyphoi see E 19: 3, 4. This one, with its long-necked silhouette birds and column hatching, gives the impression of being patterned after Dipylon work; see under E 19: 3, 1. Similar: J. P. J. Brants, *Beschrijving van de Klassieke Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, The Hague, 1930, pl. 6, nos. 29, 30; cf. also the lower part of an amphora from the Dipylon workshop, *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 106,2; very close is the jug handle, *Algemeene Gids*, Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, 1956, pl. XLVI, no. 1210.

After 750 B.C.

2. Kotyle. Fig. 4, Pl. 90.

P 15029. H. 0.062 m.; diam. 0.115 m.

Plain base, plain rim, drawn in. All glazed except for dot on bottom inside, a line inside and outside at rim, narrow zone at the base.

Reddish brown glaze, peeled.

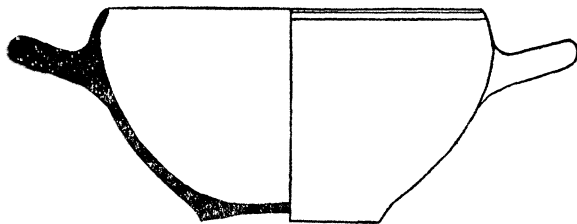


FIG. 4. Kotyle 2 from Grave 19:1.

This is an Attic copy of a Corinthian kotyle of the third quarter of the eighth century B.C., plain painted like an Attic skyphos which differs only in having an offset rim, e.g. *Kerameikos*, V,1, pl. 100.

The Corinthian kotylai which, besides being imported to Athens, are found in Cumae and Syracuse (and hence have absolute dates) are with their Attic copies among the pieces which give the dates of Attic Geometric and have a

large literature, e.g. Kahane, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 478 ff., pl. 28; Cook, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 153, fig. 4; Kübler, *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen, 1950, p. 6, figs. 1-3; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 132 and *passim*; *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, pp. 73-74.

An exact parallel to ours is found in W. Kraiker, *Aigina, Die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jahr-*

hunderts, Berlin, 1951, pl. 2, no. 30, from a Late Geometric deposit. The wideness of both kotylai indicate that they are early in the series. The Attic copies do not seem to lag much behind their prototypes (e.g. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 132, a Corinthian and an Attic example from Grave 99).

Ca. 730 B.C.

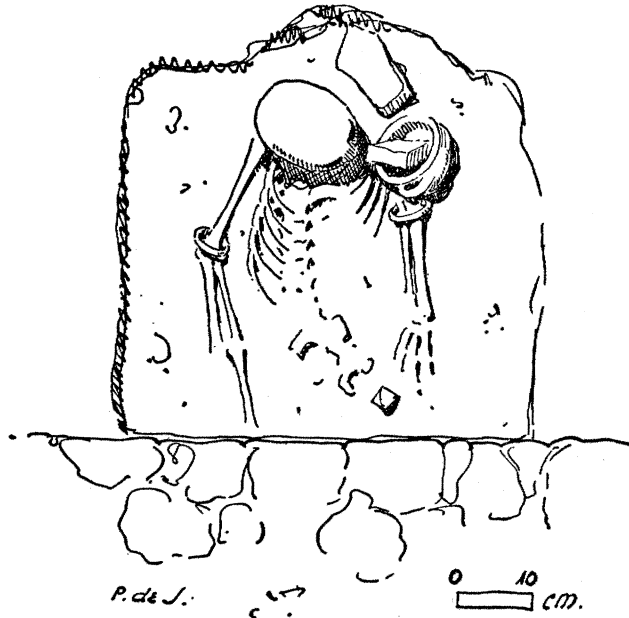


FIG. 5. Grave E 19:2.

Grave E 19:2. Inhumation. Fig. 5, Pl. 88.

P. L. 0.50 m.; W. 0.57 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, noted.

Cut in bedrock with head at east. Bottom half of grave and skeleton cut away in later times. The skull, that of a child of six years, was found standing upright. The piece of iron binding (3) lay by the head. It may have belonged to a chest against which the body was propped in sitting position. Near the backbone lay a glass bead (4) which had probably hung around the child's neck. On each forearm was a bronze bracelet (2).

Date of grave: third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

1. Skyphos. Pl. 90.

P 15115. H. 0.065 m.; diam. 0.107 m.

Low disk foot; rim slightly drawn out, flat on top. Glazed inside, with reserved dot on bottom, reserved band decorated with groups of vertical lines on rim. Outside, band at rim-shoulder joint; body below handles and handles glazed.

Reddish brown glaze.

Except for the dot rosettes and more successful glaze, it is like three cups in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave XX 1,2,3, pp. 95-96, fig. 67; also *Kerameikos*, V,1, Grave 21, Inv. 366, pl. 100.

2. Bronze armlets. Pl. 90.

B 689. Approx. diam. 0.045 m.; Th. of wire 0.004 m. and 0.003 m.

Two armlets, made of heavy bronze wire oval in section. The plain ends overlap for about 0.02 m. Green patina, sound condition.

A similar armlet was found in a child's grave at the *Kerameikos*, *Kerameikos*, V,1, Grave 87, p. 196; also in the *Agora*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XII 26, p. 67, fig. 73.

3. Rivetted Iron Binding. Pl. 90.

IL 745. P. L. 0.057 m.; W. 0.028 m.; distance between bands 0.019 m.

Two bands held together by two long pins with heads rivetted into bands. Traces of wood between the bands.

Probably used to hold together the wooden slats of a chest or, less likely in a child's grave, a bier. Cf. *Kerameikos*, V,1, pl. 167, M 125-127.

4. Glass Bead. Pl. 90.

G 197. L. 0.022 m.; diam. 0.024 m.

Double cone with hole slightly off center. One end of hole has a slot cut into one side. Clear, light green glass; silvery greenish blue patination.

Shaped like a spindle whorl of the period.

No other glass beads in Geometric contexts

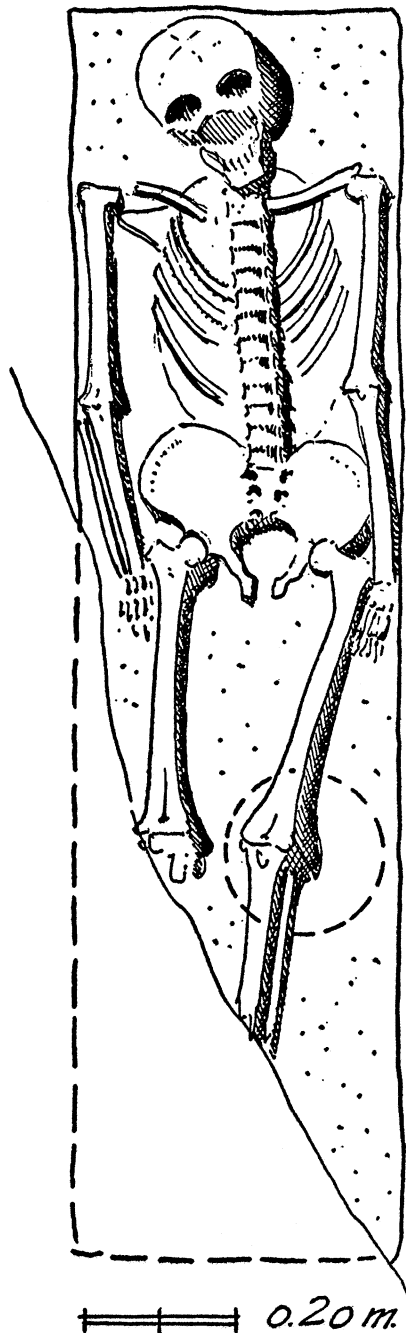


FIG. 6. Grave E 18:1.

at Athens appear to have been published, but the situation is analogous to that of the scarabs; there are plenty of the period in other sites,

especially in Laconia (R. M. Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, J.H.S., Supplement V, London, 1929, p. 386) and at Perachora (H. Payne, *Perachora*, Oxford, 1940, p. 76). It is possible that the biconical shape of the spindle whorls newly introduced in this period (e.g. MC 206, Pl. 90, see above, under E 19:3, 8) was suggested by glass beads like ours and found to be very functional, having a maximum hole length with a minimum chipping surface.

Beads of this shape occur in Mycenaean times, e.g. C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, Cambridge, 1937, p. 304, no. 7, "Bicones" fig. 284, 4.

This bead, as well as the scarab E 19:3, 8 will be discussed further by Th. E. Haevernick in her publication of beads from the Agora.

5. Terracotta horse. Pl. 10.

P 15106. Found in earlier exploration immediately by this grave and very probably belonging with it.

P. H. 0.073 m.; L. 0.073 m.

All but one leg broken off; that one is finished at the bottom but shows signs of an attachment a little above. On one side, head and neck reserved with lines on neck and dot-and-tangents around breast. On the other side only head reserved. Bands down back and tail.

The horse probably stood on a pyxis lid. Its one-sided decoration shows that it had mates; the plain side would be set against another horse of the group. A barrel-mouth and a blade-like mane are normal for Late Geometric horses, but the wide spread of the mane and the lightness of the decoration point to the white horses of the seventh century (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 617 ff., figs. 83-86). The Late Geometric caparison is matched by the decoration of the pots in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave XX, pp. 94-97, fig. 67.

Geometric horses: *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225, *Keramikos*, V, 1, pls. 142-143 and *passim*; Matz, p. 75, pl. 26.

Grave E 18: 1. Inhumation. Fig. 6, Pl. 88.

P. L. 1.30 m.; W. 0.43 m.; diam. at head 0.80 m.

Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, p. 277, noted.

Cut in bedrock, shaft oriented north and south. Male skeleton, about fifty years old, with legs outstretched and arms at sides, lying with head at north, slightly raised. Fill shot through with cinders and wood ash. The lid was lying in the fill about half way down above the left knee. There were no other offerings, but a few sherds scattered through the fill were largely Late Geometric.

Probably a part of the grave complex E 19: 1,2,3, and to be dated with these in the third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

1. Lid. Fig. 7, Pl. 91.

P 17504. Diam. 0.195 m.; H. 0.06 m.

Intact. Round, concave coming to a point in the center, with a strap handle. Unglazed.

This shield-shaped lid would fit a large round-mouthed jug or an amphora, like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, X 12, p. 46, fig. 32 and XIV 1, p. 72, fig. 46. Saucer-shaped lids (Agora P 4989b, P 5422b) which have a flat standing

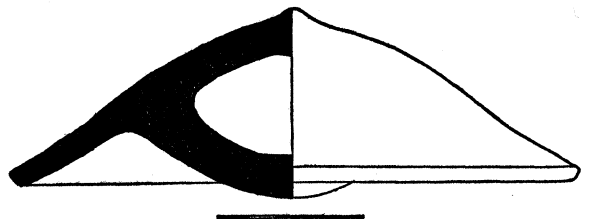


FIG. 7. Lid 1 from Grave E 18: 1.

surface on the convex underside are illustrated on Plate 92. Similar mastoid-shaped lids were

made in Crete, J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa*, Cambridge, 1957, pl. 108, bottom.

Grave N 21 : 6. Inhumation. Pl. 88.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 292, fig. 34; marked on the plan fig. 15.

The burial lies over the dromos of the Mycenaean chamber tomb N 21-22 : 1, *ibid.*, pp. 274 ff. The eastern part of the grave was on bedrock; the rest lay over the soft fill of the dromos. A large tree had sent down its roots among the offerings and the bits of bone which were left were very much disturbed. The head apparently lay at the northeast.

Third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

1. Pyxis with lid. Pls. 91, 92.

P 14816. H. to rim 0.105 m.; diam. of lid 0.217 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 291, fig. 34, left; *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 587, fig. 18.

Ring foot. Two pairs of holes in flange at rim matched by holes on edge of lid. Lid nearly flat with long stem and pyxis-shaped knob, broken at top. On lid, from outside in: triangles, dots, solid glaze. Bands and solid glaze on stem, chevrons on knob, solid glaze on top of knob. On bowl, from top: zigzags, hatched maeander, gear pattern, triangles, foot glazed. On underside, twelve foil star with irregular hatched leaves, naturally drawn.

Discolored brown glaze.

The underside is painted in the same ungeometric manner as that of the pyxis *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 82, XVII 14. Similar leaf patterns in *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 62, especially Inv. 5709.

The most characteristic feature of these Geometric flat pyxides is the variety in their sameness; seldom are two exactly alike either in shape or decoration, even in the same group. Two stages represented by Agora grave groups, one of the first half of the eighth century (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. 41, p. 158, I 18:1), the other of the third quarter (*Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave XVII, pl. 54) can be distinguished. This pyxis, 1, as well as 2 and 3 belong to the

second stage, when the pyxides have grown larger and less monotonously neat in workmanship, and where the earlier running decoration is broken up into panels which contain new filling ornament such as birds, swastikas, leaves, maeander strips (see 2).

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 58, 59. For use and development see *ibid.*, pp. 27-28, 64; *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 200-201.

Third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

2. Pyxis. Pls. 91, 92.

P 14817. H. 0.083 m.; diam. 0.185 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 291, fig. 34, center.

Much of sides missing. Ring foot. Rim flange has one hole preserved. Outside: fine zigzags, hatched maeander panels alternating with swastika panels. At base, triangles. Underside: large hatched maeander with legs rounded to fit tondo, stars in fields. Inside on bottom: concentric circles with cross in center; corners filled with concentric triangles.

Blackish brown glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 61, Inv. 609 for the concentric angle motif. The adaptation of the maeander to the tondo parallels the drawing of the leaves on the underside of 1 in the loose handling of Geometric forms.

3. Lid with cup on stem. Pl. 91.

P 14818. H. 0.17 m.; diam. 0.336 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 292, fig. 34; *A.J.A.*, XLIII, p. 586, fig. 19.

Underedge rounded off by paring. On shallow dome, a ridged solid stem bearing a cup with rolled handles and high straight rim. Cup painted inside, rim banded inside and out. Connected concentric circles on shoulder, banding below. Bands over handle and its attachment. Stem glazed onto lid, then two bands, solid glaze band, and zones of decoration all set off by three bands: zigzags, stacked zigzag lines, standing triangles.

Brown to black glaze.

Cf. the lid-with-a-skyphos on a Late Geometric bowl *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 105, 104,3, p. 10 (with comparative material); also *ibid.*, pl. 114, 104,4. The skyphos on 3 is comparable

to a rib-stemmed Agora krater (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 29 a, b).

Lids with pot handles are common; often the handle pot follows the shape of the main pot, e. g. a bowl pyxis on a bowl pyxis (*Kerameikos*, V,1, pl. 31, Inv. 2135), a flat pyxis on a flat pyxis (*ibid.*, pl. 57 and 1 above), a jug on a jug (Munich, *op. cit.*; *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, pp. 205 ff.). The geometric pyxides are always dummies (in classical times pyxides often have real miniatures on lids). They must have been made in the spirit in which we are intrigued by infinite mirror images and in which the pot stacks like *C.V.A.*, Athens 1, pl. 1,5, were made. Those lid pots which had actual capacity may have been used for an extra offering.

Third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

Grave N 11:1. Cist Grave. Pl. 88.

W. 0.50 m.

Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 39, noted as grave to the east of the southeast corner of the great court of the Gymnasium.

A shallow grave superimposed on the well N 11:5 (*ibid.*, p. 39). The grave was a simple cist and oriented north and south with the head of the skeleton, which was that of a child of ten years, at the north side. A number of small field stones along the east may have come from a lining; the pots were found among these. Two other skulls were found in the area of the grave but above it; one of these was of a man of about fifty years. Since there were other grave-like but empty cuttings in the vicinity it is likely that there was a small group of graves here, but whether they were contemporary with N 11:1 cannot be determined.

The sequence of deposits here is very interesting. In the well was found the neck of a large Dipylon grave amphora (*ibid.*, pl. 18, a), a slipshod last product of the Dipylon tradition, surely no earlier than 730 B.C.; while among the latest well fill was a Late Geometric amphora neck with a horse (P 22439; M2 in an article on Late Geometric Wells to appear in *Hesperia*) which, though it shows an advance over the horses on the Dipylon neck in its outlined mouth and hooves and in the looseness of its stance, is not really far removed from it in its low technique and careless spirit. Both fragments have useful connections, the Dipylon neck with an amphora from Grave 85 in the *Kerameikos* (*Kerameikos* V,1, pls. 37, 141) which contains Phaleron cups, the Late Geometric neck with the Benaki Amphora (Cook in *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 150, pl. 19) whose painter just preceded the Early Protoattic painters. One may

infer that at the very most two decades separate these pots, and that the grave which the Dipylon amphora marked was by no means undisturbed for the conventionally assumed "decent" generation. If the well is just pre-Protoattic, the grave offerings, though clearly made to order to suit a child's taste and perhaps a little old fashioned, have only Late Geometric parallels. Again, one may infer that the putting down of the grave over the well was a matter of a few years, if not months.

This find sequence, besides showing once again that one cannot reckon with rigid chronological spacings, seems to offer evidence in favor of a Late Geometric period (used in P. Kahane's sense, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 478 ff., not in Young's who includes the Ripe style) beginning neither as early as 750 nor as late as 710 B.C.

Date of grave, *ca.* 710 B.C.

1. Squat trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 92.

P 22412. H. 0.09 m.; diam. at base 0.065 m.

Spreading bottom, cylindrical neck with trefoil lip. Band handle with vertical bands. On neck, bands and a zone of vertical wavy lines on shoulder, three zigzags, band and solid glaze below. Glaze very worn.

Many little squat oinochoai are found (see *C.V.A.*, Athens 1, pl. 3, nos. 8-10, 12-14), but this one is really just a jug like 2 with its lip pulled into a trefoil.

2. Jug. Pl. 92.

P 22413. H. 0.08 m.; diam. at base 0.051 m.

Cylindrical high rim walls with slight flare. Squat flat bottom. Band handle from bottom attached at rim. On rim wall, bands, below hatched leaves. On shoulder, dots connected by tangent lines, glazed below on handle. Verticals and a cross.

Black worn glaze.

Cf. a jug from the child's grave D 16:3, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 104, b, top right, also *Kerameikos* V,1, pl. III, Inv. 831 and *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 117, 5 and 6.

3. Three handled cup. Pls. 91, 92.

P 22414. H. 0.055 m.; diam. at rim 0.079 m.

High, flaring rim. On shoulder three rolled handles. Low disk base. Banded inside and out. In handle zone vertical zigzags, inside, at same level, a broad band. Vertical lines on handles.

This little pot-sport is based on two handled high rimmed skyphoi such as the one from the child's grave D 16:3, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 104, b, bottom right; also *Kerameikos* V,1, pl. 98. This shape was sometimes a feeder (*C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 119,6) so it is appropriate for a child's grave.

See *Jahrb.*, XL, 1925, pp. 221 f., figs. 25-27 for Geometric three-handled offering baskets used in the marriage ceremony. It is a bare possibility that something of this sort was intended here.

4. Three handled cup. Pl. 92.

P 22415. Much restored including one handle.

Exactly like 3.

Grave Q 17:6. Urn burial. Fig. 8.

In the southeast corner of Q 17. A child about one month old had been placed in the burial urn (1) which was lying on its side. The upper part of it had been cut away in later times. The mouth was closed with the foot of a bowl (2). The four small pots were outside.

The contents of this grave are paralleled by those of graves 19 and 56 at Phaleron (*A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 27-28, figs. 4,5, there dated in the first quarter of the seventh century) and Graves 64, 98, 99 and 100, from the Kerameikos (*Kerameikos* V, 1, pls. 132, 139, 106 etc., there dated to *ca.* 730 B.C.). Grave 99 was cut by Grave 100, but there is no appreciable difference in their subgeometric offerings whose forms, even when based on a Protocorinthian prototype as is the jug-aryballos here, 4, are indistinct and capricious.

Grave 98, however, contained two standed bowls from the Early Protoattic Analatos workshop, *ibid.*, pl. 26, whose activity must begin *ca.* 710 B.C. (Cook *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 153), so that our Early Protoattic cup cannot be very much later. By it Grave Q 17: 6 is dated to the late eighth century B.C.

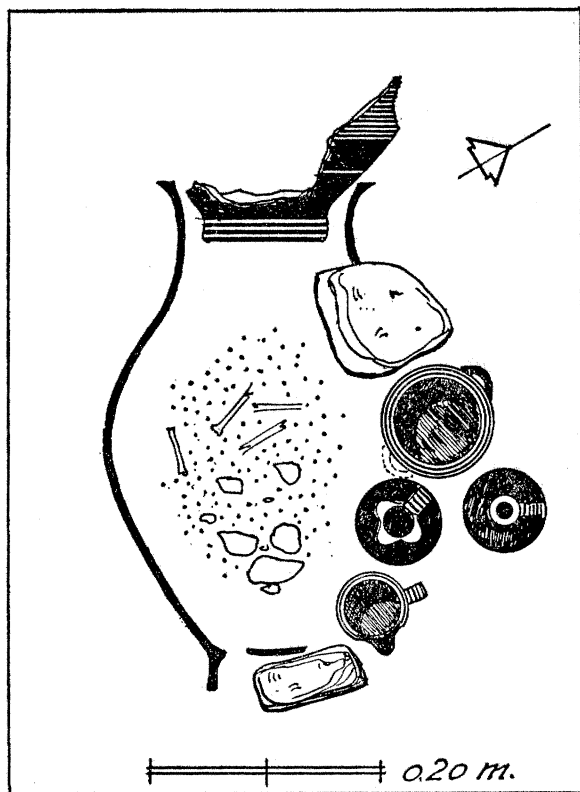


FIG. 8. Grave Q 17: 6.

1. Standed pithos: Micaceous Ware. Pl. 92.
P 25787. P. H. 0.45 m.; diam. at rim 0.20 m.

Several joining fragments, giving one side of pot. Flaring rim, broad and flat on top; stand broken away, except for top part of one panel, W. 0.095 m. Incised decoration: below rim,

double wavy lines, double horizontal strokes, double wavy lines. Below, similar patterns vertically, also straight double lines enclosing dots, and single lines enclosed by dots in Z pattern. Lower on shoulder, double zigzag and a raised wart. Below that, pattern as at rim.

Clay much pitted. The pot is broken along the line of the incised shoulder decoration and it may be that it was cut apart in antiquity to insert the body.

A similar standed pithos was found in Eretria, *B.S.A.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 11 and p. 14, fig. 16 f. High feet are typical of Eretrian pithoi and rare in Athens; perhaps the potter of the Agora pithos had seen un-Attic pieces.

Cf. a pithos with short fenestrated stand from the Kerameikos (*Kerameikos* V, 1, pl. 157, Grave 65).

The pithos is not made of the regular heavy pithos fabric but of the thin walled micaceous fabric used in cooking ware. In fact, except for its lack of handles it looks just like a cooking jug of the turn of the eighth century; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 598, no. 225, fig. 64.

This is a time of experimentation in this fabric; for instance, hydriai are first made of this ware now, *Kerameikos* V, 1, pl. 155, Grave 98.

2. Base of bowl: Protoattic. Pl. 92.

P 25788. P. H. 0.14 m.; diam. of foot 0.11 m.
High ring foot, banded. Lower body glazed

with one reserved line. Banding above. Glazed inside.

Brownish black glaze.

From an Early Protoattic bowl like *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, Grave 29 no. 2, p. 31, fig. 11; also from Agora well O 12:1, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39, to be published in a later article as F 19.

Late eighth century B.C.

3. Neckless trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 92.

P 25790. H. 0.095 m.; diam. 0.073 m.

Band handle, plain base. A roughly round piece of the bottom had broken away and fallen into the pot. Glazed to just above base except for reserved space with four lines at base of handle. Vertical bands on handle.

Brownish black glaze.

The very ordinary subgeometric type, cf. *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, Grave 47, no. 5, Grave 19, no. 3, pp. 225-227, figs. 1,4; *Kerameikos* V,1, pl. 81, Grave 100.

4. Jug aryballos. Pl. 92.

P 25791. P. H. 0.085 m.; diam. 0.073 m.

Mouth restored. Band handle and flat base glazed except for reserved zone with four lines at base of handle. Wavy line on handle.

Brown to black glaze.

Cf. the examples from Phaleron graves, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, Grave 83, no. 2, Grave 19, no. 2, pp. 25-27, figs. 3,4; from the *Kerameikos*, *Kerameikos*, V,1, Graves 64 and 99, pl. 139. For the Protocorinthian prototype, see *A.J.A.*, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, left.

5. Skyphos. Pl. 92.

P 25792. H. 0.06 m.; diam. 0.10 m.

One handle restored. Plain flaring rim, not set off from body. Short rolled handles, plain base. Glazed inside, lines on rim. Glazed all over outside except under handles.

Black glaze, worn.

Subgeometric, cf. from Phaleron, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, Grave 10, no. 3, p. 30, fig. 9; also *Kerameikos* V,1, pl. 100, Grave 63.

6. One handled cup: Protoattic. Pls. 91, 92.

P 25789. H. 0.045 m.; diam. 0.062 m.

Intact. Flaring plain rim; lip drawn out to form spout at one side. Band handle. Slight disk base. Lower body beveled. Inside glazed, rim banded with short strokes at outside. Outside, rim glazed, lozenges to base of handle, fine banding below, broader band just above foot. Line on foot, on standing base then circle near edge, broader one near center. On handle, ladder, panel framed by three vertical lines.

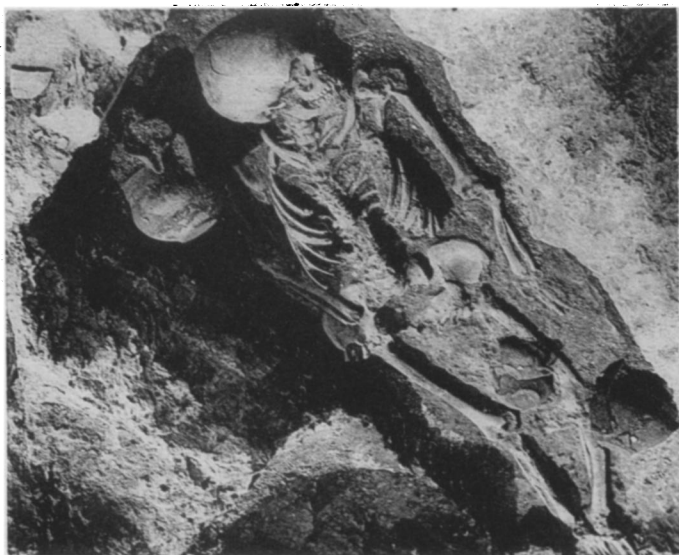
Red to brown glaze.

A daintily made feeding cup based on the one handled cup type represented by *Kerameikos*, V,1, pl. 106, especially the one from Grave 100; also Phaleron Grave 56, no. 1, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 28, fig. 5. The decoration is Early Protoattic, cf. Matz, pl. 193. Cf. also real invalid cups, *Br. Mus. Quart.*, 1949-1955, pp. 65 ff., pl. XXVI; and a similar cup *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 563, no. 74.

Protoattic painters delight in miniatures; the prettiest example is the kantharos in *Hesperia*, *Suppl.* II, C 65, p. 160, fig. 113. For trefoiled feeding cups, see *ibid.*, under C 60, p. 158.

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Grave E 19:3



Grave E 19:1



Grave E 19:2



Grave E 18:1



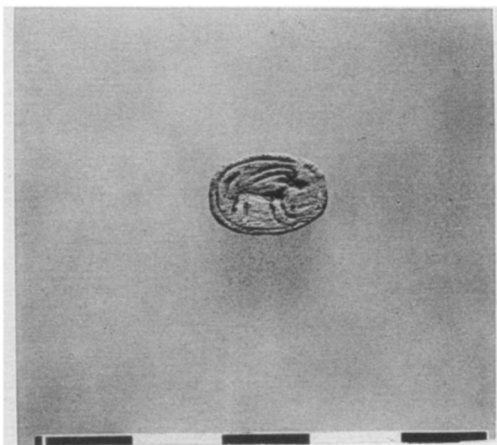
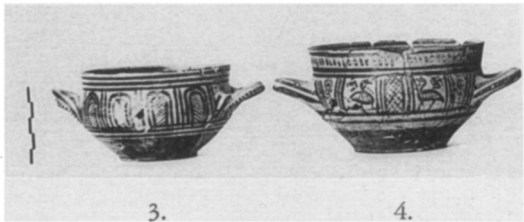
Grave N 21:6



Grave N 11:1



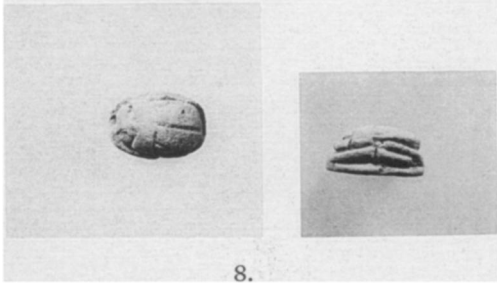
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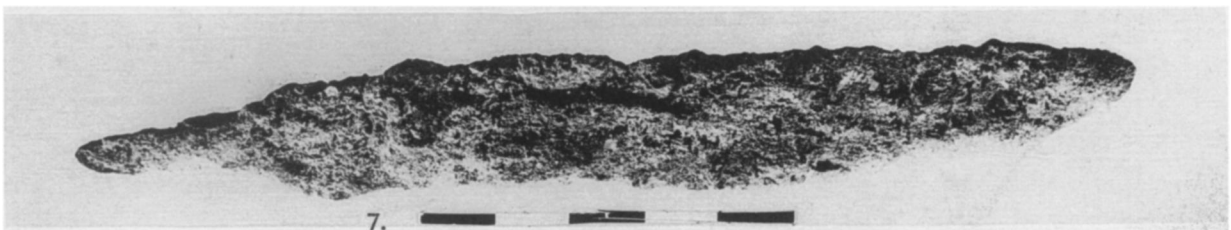
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Spindle Whorl MC 206



8.



7.

Grave E 19:3



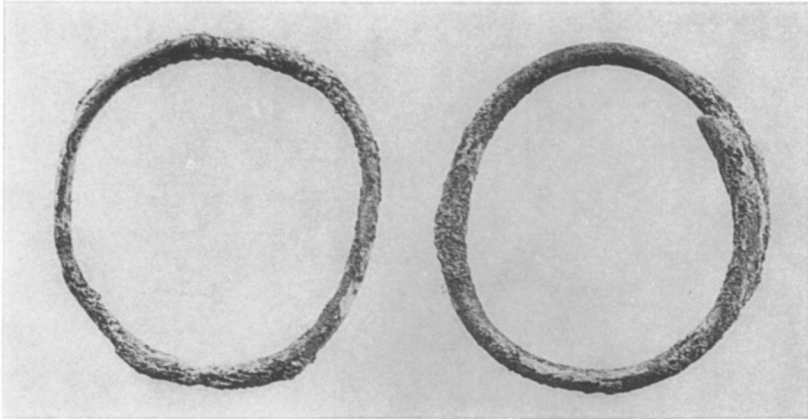
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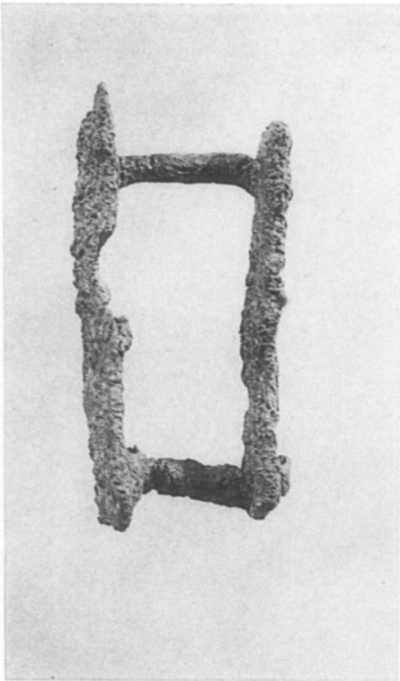
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Grave E 19:1

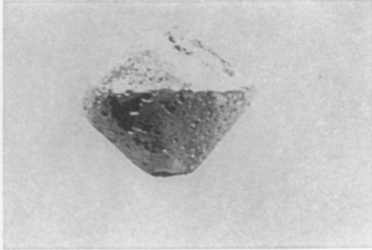
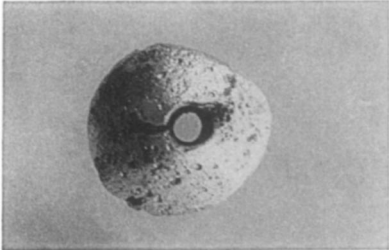
Grave E 19:2



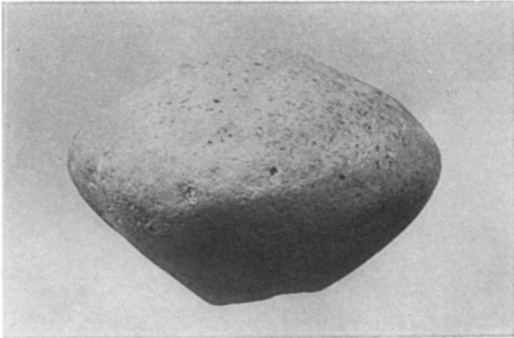
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Spindle Whorl MC 206



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Grave E 19:2



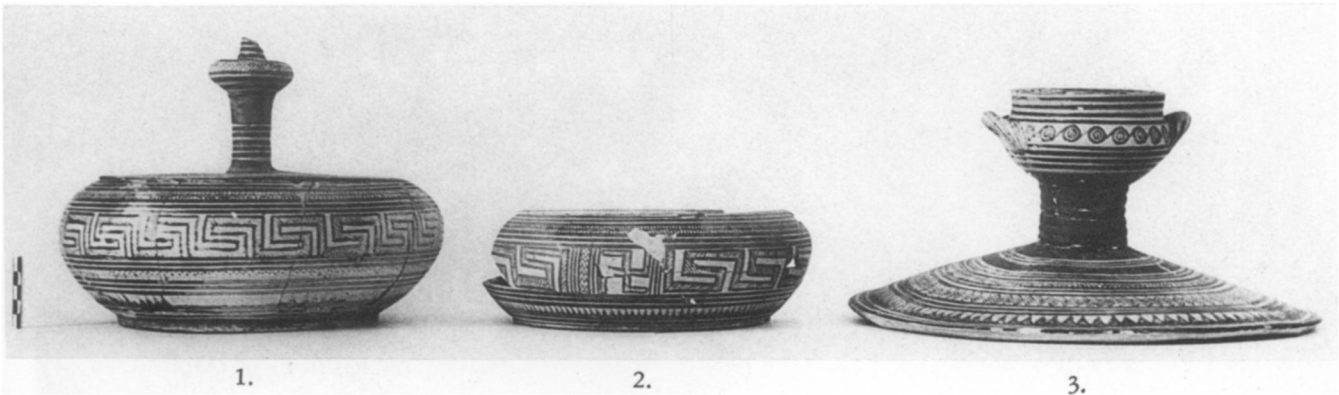
Spindle Whorl MC 206



Grave E 18:1, 1.

Grave N 11:1, 3

Grave Q 17:6, 6

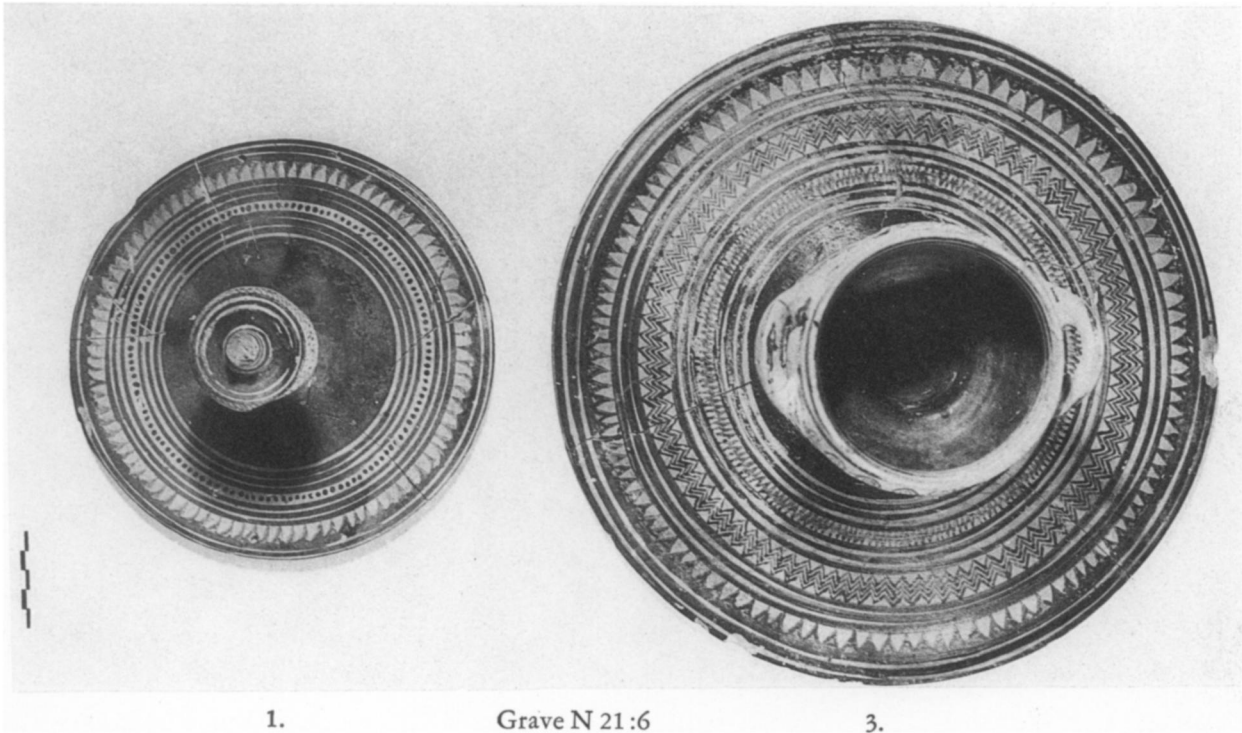


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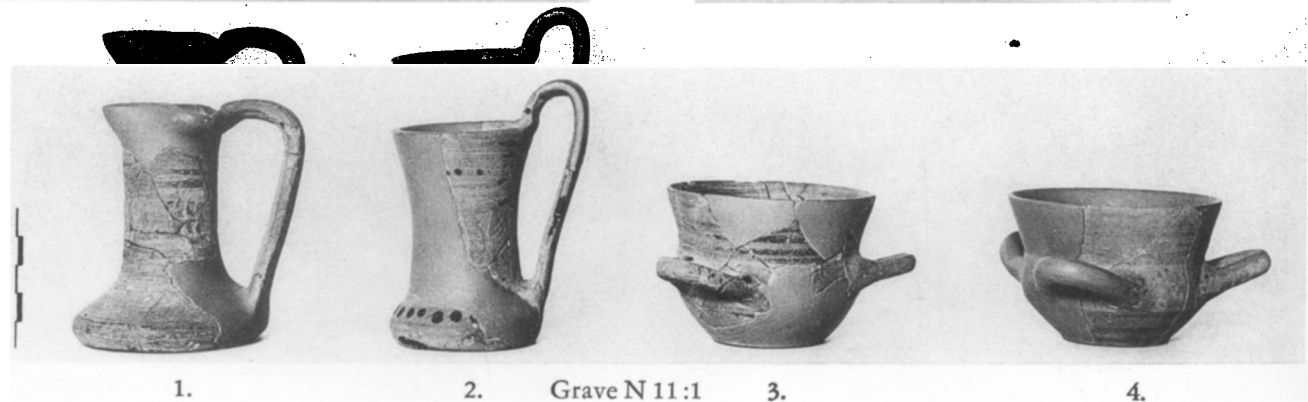
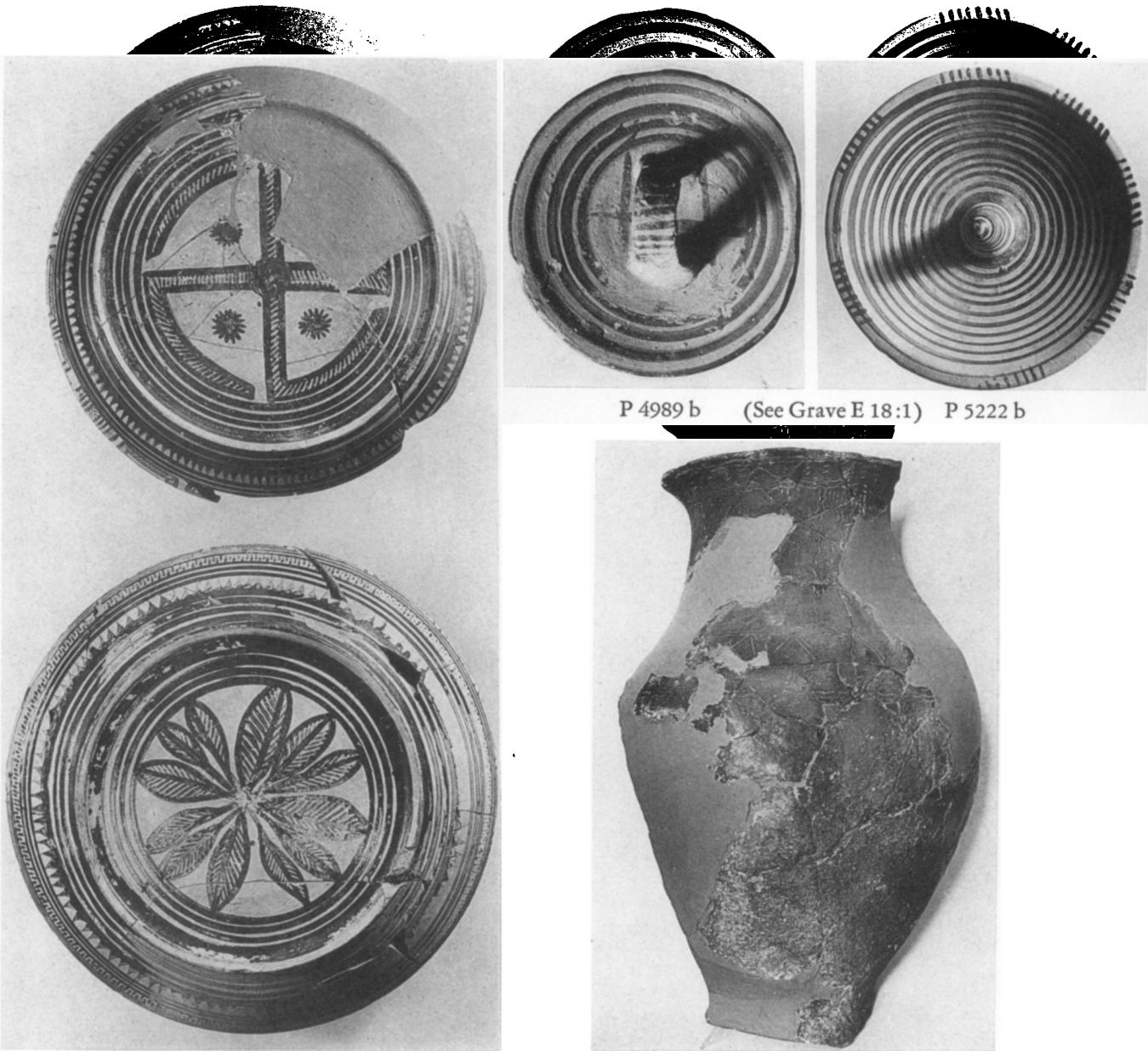
Grave N 21:6



1.

Grave N 21:6

3.



EVA BRANN: LATE GEOMETRIC GRAVE GROUPS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA