A GRAVE WITH A FIGURED FIBULA AT LERNA[1]

(PLATES 12–16)

DURING the American School excavations at Lerna, directed by Professor J. L. Caskey, a small Geometric cemetery was discovered on the slopes of Mt. Pontinos, about 200 m. from the main site. C. W. J. Eliot, then a member of the Lerna staff, conducted investigations there in 1955; among the graves he uncovered was the burial PA 6: 1.[2] The pottery of this deposit was soon recognized as important

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Professor J. L. Caskey for allowing me to study and publish the grave group and for extending to me so much help and patience. Many thanks are due as well to the original excavator of the grave, Mr. C. W. J. Eliot, for his advice; to Mrs. E. Protonariou-Deilaki, the Ephor of the Argolid, for making available the facilities of the Argos Museum; and to Misses S. W. Powell and K. Vitelli, for their care in drawing the often poorly preserved objects of the grave.

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I should also like to thank the following museum curators and excavators for allowing me to examine the fibulae and inventory records cited in this study: Athens, Kerameikos Museum, Miss K. Braun; Athens, National Museum, Mr. V. Kallipolitis and Mrs. E. Touloupa; Athens, Third Ephoreia, Miss O. Alexandri; Berlin, Staatliche Museen (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum), Miss E. Rohde and Mr. G. Heres; Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Mrs. C. Grünwald and Messrs. N. Himmelman-Wildschütz and H. Kyrieleis; Copenhagen, National Museum, Miss M.-L. Buhl; Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, Messrs. M. Raumschüssel and H. Protzmann; London, British Museum, Messrs. D. E. L. Haynes and R. A. Higgins; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Mr. H. W. Catling and Mrs. W. L. Brown; Thebes, Archaeological Museum, Mr. Th. Spyropoulos; Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, Mrs. N. Leipen and Mr. J. Hayes.

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Abbreviations

C.G.A. = P. Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Bibliothéque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, XXVIII, Paris, 1966.

F.G.S. = R. Hampe, *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien*, Athens, 1936.

Fibules = C. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, XIII, I, Copenhagen, 1926.

G.G.P. = J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London, 1968.

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

All measurements are in meters.

[2] For preliminary discussion and photographs, see J. L. Caskey, "Excavations at Lerna, 1955," *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 171-172.

and was accepted by both J. N. Coldstream and P. Courbin as marking the boundary between the two phases of Argive Late Geometric.[3] What seems even more worthy of attention from the grave, however, is a fibula with a decorated catchplate (Pls. 15, 16, a, b).[4] Such objects are well known to students of Iron Age Greece, but the Lerna piece is one of the very few well-preserved examples ever to come from a good context. A study of the grave group thus becomes of particular importance for elucidating the chronology of the fibulae and for understanding their development.

The burial itself consisted of an inhumation in a pithos, which had been laid on its side with a stone slab over the mouth and oriented in a west to southwest direction (Pl. 12 a, b). The pot had suffered some damage from a military trench dug during World War II.

The only traces left from the skeleton were teeth: an occiput and a first molar crown; from his examination of them, Dr. J. L. Angel concluded that they belonged to a young child, possibly about 18 months old.[5]

The grave goods were found in a compact group, for the most part, below the center of the pithos (Pl. 12, c). Located here were four fine vessels: an oinochoe, a kantharos, a skyphos, and a one-handled cup (Pls. 13, 14). Together, they make up the assemblage of pouring vessel and abundant drinking cups normal to a Greek burial.[6] Also here was a small cooking pot (Pl. 14, **5**); hardly very beautiful in itself, it may have been in the grave simply because of its contents. In the same area were the fibula; two bronze rings (Pl. 16, e), presumably once on the fingers of the child;[7] and a small bronze hoop, which possibly also was a finger ring (Pl. 16, e).

Near the foot of the pithos were two iron pieces (Pl. 16, d). The one, with its apparent biconical swellings, is almost certainly a pin[8]; the other seemed at the time of excavation to be in close relationship to the first and is therefore quite likely to be a pin as well.

[3] *G.G.P.*, p. 125; *C.G.A.*, pp. 176-177.

[4] With its squarish, relatively small catchplate and its simple bow and stem, unencumbered by multiple moldings, the fibula belongs to Class VIII of Blinkenberg, *Fibules*, pp. 147-185. For the fibula parts, I use the English equivalents of the terms in *Fibules*, diagram, p. 13. The *catchplate* is, of course, the large flat member at the front of the fibula, in the upturned part of which the pointed end of the pin is housed. At the other end, the pin terminates at the coiled *spring*, above which comes the *stem*. The *bow* is the span between stem and catchplate.

[5] J. L. Angel, *Lerna*, II, *The People*, Princeton, 1971, p. 67, no. 231 *Ler*.

[6] D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, London, 1971, pp. 209-211.

[7] The rings should have fitted reasonably well. The one intact ring, which is somewhat bent out of its original circular shape, has a diameter that varies from 0.014 to 0.016 m., while a 20-month-old child measured at the University of Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, had a middle finger with a maximum diameter of 0.015 m. and a thumb with a maximum diameter of 0.0165 m. The bending of at least one ring probably resulted from the effort to make a tighter fit than the original diameter would allow.

[8] It probably belongs to the class Geometric Group 2 in P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 9-12. See discussion in the Catalogue, below, **8** and **9**.

If it be accepted that both were pins, we can reconstruct the child's garments. It would have worn the so-called "peplos," or "Doric" dress, secured at each shoulder by the pins,[9] and above the peplos there is likely to have come a himation-like overgarment, for which the fibula, found lower down in the pithos, perhaps at chest level, would have served as fastener. While such a fastening for a himation is uncommon in the archaic and classical periods, it seems standard for an overgarment of earlier times, to judge from the evidence of graves.[10]

We can go further and assume from the probable clothing that the child was a girl. The peplos with its pair of shoulder fasteners was characteristically a female garment—in all probability, exclusively so.[11] The overgarment, however, with its single or irregular pinning, was common to both sexes, like the later himation.[12]

[9] For pins and the "peplos," see H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London, 1950, pp. 336-358, 394-405; Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94, 109-111; V. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, London, 1972, pp. 294-295.

[10] The type of early himation postulated here is the equivalent of the "shawl" of Lorimer, *op. cit.*, p. 369, whose term is adopted by V. Desborough in *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors*, Oxford, 1964, p. 56, and *The Greek Dark Ages*, p. 296: this garment would pass under one arm and go over one shoulder between the neck and the peplos pin. Lorimer supposes that this garment must differ from the "Ionic himation," which she visualizes as completely covering one shoulder and thus being incompatible with the peplos and its shoulder pins. Actually a number of the himatia on archaic kore statues pass over the shoulder in a narrow strip in just the manner of Lorimer's hypothetical shawl: e.g., G. M. A. Richter, *Korai*, London, 1968, figs. 331, 340, 361, 365.

Fasteners, normally single, at about the position of the chest and to be associated with this garment are found fairly often in Protogeometric and Geometric graves: Lorimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 338, 340, 369; more examples could now be added to Lorimer's count, with those from the early Greek cemetery at Ischia being especially important. I am informed by Dr. G. Buchner, the excavator there, that it is standard in the women's inhumations to have one fibula at the chest position and one at each shoulder (the latter, of course, would secure the peplos).

Post-Geometric himatia are occasionally shown with fasteners (albeit at shoulder level) in sculpture and vase painting: Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 109.

[11] For the association of pairs of shoulder fasteners (pins or fibulae), the peplos, and women, see Lorimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-341; also, Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, p. 295. Lorimer, p. 363, notes two exceptions: apparent male burials in Skyros and Crete with which pairs of fibulae are associated; another exception would be the Mycenae Grave G603 (V. Desborough, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 241-245).

At least some of the supposed exceptions may not in fact be such. It is possible that the sex of the skeleton in the Mycenae grave has not been correctly identified. And in light of present knowledge, the Skyros grave (J. Papadimitriou, *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, cols. 228-234) was almost certainly a woman's. The "shield-boss" in that grave may have been an accessory on a woman's belt, as at Vergina; the fragmentary iron "spearhead" may be a household knife; and the gold ornaments, bronze bracelets, and beads are much more appropriate for a female than a male.

[12] Some Attic examples of single pins in female burials are noted by Lorimer, *op. cit.*, p. 340. A recently discovered example of the single pin at Athens is Grave 5, Odos Kriezi (O. Alexandri, *Analekta*, I, 1968, p. 22), a cremation burial of a female, to judge from the belly-handled amphora.

Male burials with a single fastener include Athenian Agora Grave D 16:4 (C. W. Blegen,

CATALOGUE

1. Skyphos. Pl. 13.

L670. Argos Museum inv. 267. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 172, pl. 48, d; *C.G.A.*, pp. 211-213.

H. 0.130, D. base 0.092, D. rim 0.202.

Virtually complete. Glaze badly worn in places.

Light-colored clay with slight greenish tinge. White inclusions. Lightly micaceous.

Low ring base. Gently curved body which rises to high rounded shoulder. Offset lip with concave curve. Horizontal rope handles with spurs on ends.

Underside of base reserved. Banding on outer walls of base and on body up to handle zone, with interruption for broad zone filled with dots. In handle zone, five panels, each separated by three vertical lines. Central panel is the largest and has on at least the better preserved side a scene of two antithetical horses with a man between; a filling ornament of chevrons appears below the horses' bellies, and there are traces of subsidiary corner panels above their backs. To either side of central panel a narrower panel with three broad strips of vertical hatched zigzag. To the outside, at either end, a still narrower panel with vertical row of " M's," or short zigzag. On the exterior of lip, broad zone with row of dots. On interior of lip, reserved area interrupted by two glazed bands. Rest of interior and the handles are solidly glazed.

No clear-cut use of a multiple brush, though one would be expected for the " M's " and for the verticals dividing the panels.

The vase technically belongs to Courbin's class of deep skyphoi with horizontal handles (*C.G.A.*, pp. 211-213), but actually its closest links in both form and decoration are with a group of L.G. II kraters (see discussion, p. 91).

The theme of a man between two horses is a standard one of Argive L.G. II. The earliest occurrences may be on this skyphos and on a krater from the Argos Raptis Grave, called by Coldstream " transitional LG I-II " (*G.G.P.*, p. 125; see discussion, p. 90 and note 13).

2. Kantharos. Pl. 14.

L669. Argos Museum inv. 226. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 172, pl. 48, c; *C.G.A.*, pp. 216-217; *G.G.P.*, p. 126, note 22.

H. 0.117-0.125, D. base 0.084, D. rim 0.168-0.176.

Nearly complete.

Light-colored clay with an orange shade. Small number of white inclusions. Lightly micaceous.

Irregularly shaped with variations in height. Low ring base, from which sides rise up steeply to a high rounded shoulder. Off-set lip, with vertical strap handles rising only slightly above it.

Underside of foot reserved, except for resting surface. On exterior, lower part of body solidly glazed. In handle zone (on both faces) framework of 12 vertical lines to either side. Within the verticals three horizontal bands and, above, horizontal file of four-barred " sigmas." Lip banded on exterior and reserved on interior, with reserved area interrupted by clusters of 12 vertical lines. Interior solidly glazed below the lip.

Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 290) and Athens, Odos Kriezi, Graves 10 and 26 (Alexandri, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22, and O. Alexandri, Δελτ., XXII, 1967, B, p. 95).

Also relevant are female graves containing a pin or fibula distinct from an obvious pair or pairs of fasteners (a pair, of course, would secure the peplos). Good examples are the Attic tomb group in Toronto (J. H. Iliffe, *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 164-169; the spindle whorl indicates that the burial was female) and various graves in Syracuse (Lorimer, *op. cit.*, p. 338) and Ischia (alluded to above, note 10).

Use of a multiple brush with a component of 12 detectable in the framing verticals of the handle zones, the sigma files, and the lines on the interior of the lip.

The kantharos has the low-handled form normal to Argive Geometric (*C.G.A.*, pp. 216-218; *G.G.P.*, p. 122). It is at the point in shape evolution traced by Courbin (*C.G.A.*, p. 217) in which the foot has contracted and the body been heightened but in which the body has not yet begun to bulge. It is very close in its proportions to the Argos kantharos C. 2466 (*C.G.A.*, pl. 61) of L.G. I, but is not radically different from the kantharos C. 4 of L.G. II (*ibid.*).

The decoration of a sigma (or chevron) file within a linear framework finds many echoes on kantharoi of M.G. II and L.G. I (e.g., *C.G.A.*, pl. 60, nos. C. 64, 2521, 2522; *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, pl. 44, no. 53-321), as well as on a variety of other shapes during that time span (*G.G.P.*, pp. 123, 128-129).

3. Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 14.

L671. Argos Museum inv. 268. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 172, pl. 48, g; *C.G.A.*, pp. 199-200; *G.G.P.*, p. 126, note 4.

H. 0.119, D. base 0.052, D. belly 0.095.

Virtually intact.

Clay generally a light cream color but redder toward the core. White inclusions. Lightly micaceous. Low flaring ring base. Body plump and somewhat biconical, though having a slight sag. Short, concave neck ending in trefoil lip. Thick, vertical strap handle.

Underside of base reserved, while the outer side is solidly glazed. Exterior of body banded, with interruption for decorative zone just above belly and for another on the shoulder. In the lower zone a horizontal zigzag and in the upper a row of rounded lozenges, each having a dot in its center. Neck banded, with interruption at area of greatest constriction for broad zone with row of dots. On outer face of handle, horizontal bands framed by a vertical to either side. Interior of vase reserved.

Multiple brush with a component of 4 used for the zigzag, lozenges, and perhaps the dots.

Incised decoration of three roughly drawn concentric circles on underside of base.

The full-bodied, plump oinochoe type is an Argive staple in the Geometric period, but extreme variations within the class make it difficult to establish a shape evolution. Courbin claims that it is the multiplicity of forms that is the most abiding characteristic of the class (*C.G.A.*, p. 200). Nonetheless it does seem significant that the plump oinochoai that share the most salient feature of the Lerna piece—the very short and relatively narrow neck—are clustered at the end of M.G. II (*C.G.A.*, pl. 21, C. 32) and in the full L.G. I period (*C.G.A.*, pl. 21, C. 463; *Opuscula Atheniensia*, IV, 1963, pl. VI, 5; perhaps also unpublished oinochoai from the Argos Raptis grave and Nauplia Pronoia Grave 21/2: see *G.G.P.*, p. 126, note 4). There is some carry-over in an oinochoe classified by Courbin as L.G. II (*C.G.A.*, pl. 22, C. 302), but that piece differs from the Lerna oinochoe in its more articulated and flaring lip.

Although there are no precise parallels for the decoration among other published Argive oinochoai, the decorative elements turn up on other shapes. The most diagnostic motif is the row of detached, rounded lozenges made with the multiple brush. Such lozenges are most characteristic of L.G. I. They are unknown until that time (Courbin, *C.G.A.*, p. 96, believes that the earliest may be those on the great Argos pyxis, his plates 100-104), and while they can persist into L.G. II in conservative work, they tend to degenerate into more careless forms by that period (*G.G.P.*, p. 144).

4. One-handled cup. Pl. 14.

L668. Argos Museum inv. 226. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 172, p. 48, f; *C.G.A.*, pp. 221-222.

H. 0.042, D. base 0.033, D. rim 0.071.

Intact, but glaze has flaked badly in places.

Pale orange clay, with some white inclusions. Micaceous.

Flat base. Body flares out with minimal curve to high rounded shoulder. Offset lip, fairly straight on exterior but with convex curve on interior. Thick vertical strap handle.

Underside of foot reserved, except for a glazed ring toward the perimeter. On exterior, lower part of body solidly glazed. Just below handle zone, three glazed bands, and in handle zone proper, vertical framing lines (uncertain number) to either side of handle and running full height of zone. Within the framework vertical strokes of varying height and of fluid form: at one point they become sigmas. Broad irregular band at bottom of lip and another at top. On outer face of handle, broad, carelessly rendered vertical line. Interior of cup solidly glazed.

The cup is the variety with relatively deep body and restricted diameter that is most characteristic of the Argive Geometric output (*C.G.A.*, pp. 220-223; *G.G.P.*, pp. 122,126). Within its own class, it reflects the normal form of L.G. I. At that time the previous broad base had contracted and the side walls had changed from low and rounded to high and straight (*G.G.P.*, p. 126; *C.G.A.*, p. 223 and pl. 71, C. 58 and 60). In L.G. II the profile of the deep cups tends to shift and the point of greatest diameter comes much lower (as *C.G.A.*, pl. 71, C. 525, and pl. 72, C. 91). But there are holdovers of the old profile into L.G. II: *C.G.A.*, pl. 71, C. 1042. Complicating the situation is the fact that the Lerna-type profile persists as a standard one into L.G. II on the related class of broad cups (*C.G.A.*, pp. 223-224 and pl. 74, C. 6 and C. 173).

In its simple decoration of vertical strokes with a variant of sigmas, the Lerna piece finds parallels among both the narrow cups of its own class and the related broad ones: e.g., *C.G.A.*, pl. 71, C. 60; pl. 72, C. 2302, C. 1072, C. 531, C. 527; pl. 74, C. 95, C. 1581. As is only to be expected from the known evolution of Geometric decoration, the strokes in L.G. I tend to be long ones that run for much of the height of the zone (e.g., *C.G.A.*, pl. 74, C. 95 and C. 1581), while those of L.G. II are short with much space above and below (e.g., *C.G.A.*, pl. 72, C. 2302 and C. 1072). Significantly, the decoration on the Lerna cup shifts between the modes of the two periods.

5. Small cooking pot. Pl. 14.

L667. Argos Museum inv. 1099. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 172, pl. 48, e; *C.G.A.*, pp. 241-242, 281.

H. to rim 0.094, H. to top of handle 0.119, Max. D. 0.085, D. at rim 0.078.

Virtually complete.

Rough clay, brown in color. Considerable white and some black inclusions. Micaceous.

Handmade. No glaze, but surface polishing. Considerable blackening on side opposite handle, presumably from fire.

Rounded bottom. Globular body, constricting to a high collar at neck and then flaring out to form lip. Single vertical handle loops high above lip.

Courbin classes the pot as an "oinochoe" (*C.G.A.*, pp. 241-242), although he is aware that it and its class served a cooking function (p. 470). It is a predecessor of the Archaic and Classical chytrai, but it lacks their thin fabric and their sharply articulated lip. Cooking pots are found in the Argolid in good contexts from the end of M.G. I on (*C.G.A.*, pl. 96, C. 2480 from Argos Grave 191). Both large and small examples are known; the small tend to have high rising handles (e.g., *C.G.A.*, pl. 96, C. 486), like the Lerna piece, while the large generally have handles that go no higher than the lip (e.g., *C.G.A.*, pl. 95, C. 1421, and C. 4667). Whatever the size, the Argive cooking vessels have rounded bottoms, in contrast to those of early Athens, which are flat-bottomed until the late seventh century (E. Brann, *Athenian Agora*, VIII, *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery*, Princeton, 1962, p. 55 and pl. 11).

Courbin's tentative suggestion that the Lerna vessel and one from Tiryns Grave XXII of L.G. II might be made by the same potter (*C.G.A.*, p. 281 and cf. p. 275; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut neg. no. 1362 = *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXVIII, 1963, Beilage 18, 6) is made questionable by the fact that the Lerna piece has a considerably deeper body.

For a general discussion of comparable cooking vessels and their functions, see L. Talcott and B. Sparkes, *Pots and Pans of Classical Athens*, Athenian Agora Picture Book No. 1, Princeton, 1958; B. Sparkes, "The Greek Kitchen," *J.H.S.*, LXXXII, 1962, p. 130; L. Talcott and B. Sparkes, *Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton, 1970, pp. 224-225 and cf. p. 206. For an archaic Argive model of such a pot in use: *B.C.H.*, XCI, 1967, p. 834, fig. 2.

6. Pithos. Pl. 12, b.

L1703. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 171, pl. 48, b; *C.G.A.*, p. 247.

H. 0.968, Max. D. 0.690, D. rim 0.418.

Considerable restoration, but full original profile preserved, except for small area just above foot.

Hard coarse clay, with much added grit, including many red particles. Clay basically has pinkish salmon color, but is gray at the core, and on the surface polishing has brought out a light cream color. Non-micaceous.

Handmade.

Short, peglike foot. Sides make long, fine ovoid curve with point of greatest diameter fairly low. Very short concave neck flares out to thick rim, which inclines inward.

Courbin has noted two classes of pithoi in the Geometric Argolid (*C.G.A.*, p. 247). The one category consists of large pithoi with high relief bands; these are found from late in M.G. I on (*C.G.A.*, pl. 106, C. 3967 from Argos Grave 191). The other group is made up of smaller vessels with smooth, unbanded bodies, and it is to this category, of course, that the pithos **6** belongs. Courbin sees this variety as making its appearance later, and he traces an evolution from the ovoid Lerna profile to a more baggy form (as *Tiryns*, I, Athens, 1912, p. 131, fig. 5) with an eventual return to a lightened shape (as *C.G.A.*, pl. 106, C. 4002). More complete publication of the Argos pithoi and their contexts is needed before these hypotheses can be tested.

7. Bronze fibula. Pls. 15, 16, a, b.

L5.564. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 172, pl. 48, h. K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen*, Berlin, 1969, p. 214. *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, p. 118.

H. 0.055, L. 0.100, Max. plate H. 0.033, plate W. 0.033.

The fibula is close to complete but has suffered corrosion along the edges of the bow and plate. Ancient repair evident on the lower part of the stem; the work involved riveting back the portion of the stem that had broken away and taken the spring and pin with it.

Surface preservation varies from good to fair.

Pin round in section for most of its length, but as it moves into the loops of the spring it takes on four distinct faces. Two full loops to spring. Above, the stem flares out strongly but retains the four-face form. Biconical bead between stem and bow with reel molding at end of bow. Bow is thin and is hollowed below; on its upper surface are raised ribs: three along each edge and five down the middle, with the centermost of the latter group emphasized by a greater width (but not height). Biconical bead between bow and plate, framed to either side by a sharp reel molding. Plate has a short tab by its juncture with the bead; below is the squarish main plate area, turned up at bottom for the catch.

Incised vertical lozenge chain, rendered in double outline, on each of the outer two faces of the stem. The chains are bounded by one to two vertical lines at either side. The inner faces are left blank.

On the bow, a tremolo line runs along the inside of both outer sets of ribs and along both sides of the central set.

On the plate, both faces have essentially the same decoration. There is a border of two straight lines along the top and the two sides. At the corner adjoining the bow are three triangles, side by side, which project into the field. Within the field an isolated bird.

On the plate side with the catch (B), the bird turns its head back over its body, while on the other side (A) the bird looks straight forward. Both birds have ovoid bodies filled with closely packed tremolo lines and thick necks filled with slanted lines.

As discussed in the text, the Lerna fibula belongs to a coherent group of some 52 known fibulae, and the group itself belongs within the overall fibula Class VIII of Blinkenberg's fundamental study, *Fibules*, pp. 147-185. This category shares with Class VII (*ibid.*, pp. 128-147) a generously sized rectangular plate, a more or less vertical stem, and an approximately horizontal bow, but it differs from Class VII in having a squarer and generally smaller plate and in maintaining a bow and stem distinctly set off from one another and uncluttered by excessive moldings.

The formation of the Class VIII fibula occurs over the course of Coldstream's Attic pottery periods E.G. I to early M.G. II. The new type arises out of the canonical and geographically widespread Protogeometric fibula (as H. Müller-Karpe, *Jahrb.*, LXXVII, 1962, p. 94, fig. 12, 1 and p. 108, fig. 26, 3), and its evolution is marked by a steady enlargement of the old forepart of the Protogeometric type. At first the enlargement is confined simply to a broadening of the catch and the area immediately above, but gradually the broadening rises until it encompasses the full height of the forepart, thus transforming the old narrow member into a spacious plate. The process can be observed in the following fibulae:

1. Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.*, p. 97, fig. 15, 2, Athens, from the Kerameikos excavations. Unfortunately, the fibula is incomplete, and the claimed association with Kerameikos Protogeometric Grave 48 seems uncertain. It is supplemented by fibulae from two good grave contexts of about the early ninth century: Athens, Poulopoulou Street, 20, Grave 2, O. Alexandri, Δελτ., XXII, 1967, B, p. 112 (E.G. I grave) and Tenos, Kardiani, Grave I, D. Levi, *Annuario*, VIII-IX, 1925-1926, p. 215 and fig. 11 (Coldstream: Cycladic sub-Protogeometric).

2. L. H. Sackett and M. R. Popham, *Archaeology*, XXV, 1972, p. 19, figure, from Lefkandi, Tomb ST 59. An imported Attic M.G. I pyxis was in the grave (*ibid.*, p. 16, figures); the fibula presumably predates the pot.

3. *Ker.* V, 1, pls. 160-161, and Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107, figs. 24, 5 and 25, 3 from Athens, Kerameikos Geometric Grave 41, inv. M 48 (Coldstream: transitional E.G. II–M.G. I).

4. Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.*, p. 113, fig. 31, 3, and J. H. Iliffe, *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, p. 167, fig. 4, from an Attic grave group in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Coldstream: M.G. I).

5. *Fibules*, p. 169, fig. 199, from the Isis Grave, Eleusis (Coldstream: early M.G. II).

Even after the full development of the plate is realized, certain significant changes in the form of the Class VIII fibulae do occur. The bow is the part most affected. The old Protogeometric fibulae and the examples of Class VIII in its formative stages had convex undersurfaces to their bows. Already on the Isis Grave fibula cited there is a change, with the undersurface being made slightly concave. Such a treatment or a simple flattening of the undersurface seems to have been standard for a considerable span of the eighth century, but the Lerna fibula stands as an important landmark in a further evolution: it is the earliest fibula from a good context to show a deep hollowing

of the bow (unless it should be that hollowing is already present on the three fibulae from an Athens L.G. Ia grave, O. Alexandri, *Analekta*, V, 1972, p. 174 and fig. 13, or on the four fibulae of an Anavysos grave of perhaps L.G. Ia, N. Verdelis and K. Davaras, Δελτ., XXI, 1966, B, pp. 97-98, tomb II). The hollowing becomes common, although not universal, among the Class VIII groups of the late eighth and early seventh centuries.

Addendum: On the gold Athens fibulae, kindly made available for inspection by Miss Alexandri, the bows are still flat to just tentatively hollowed on their lower surfaces. The Lerna fibula still stands therefore as the earliest closely datable piece to be deeply hollowed.

In time, the bow can be split up into two or more segments, a common practice in the group to which the Lerna fibula belongs. The first example known for Class VIII in general is a fibula from a M.G. II grave at Corinth (North Cemetery Grave 17: R. S. Young in C. W. Blegen *et al.*, *Corinth*, XIII, *The North Cemetery*, Princeton, 1964, p. 26, and pl. 7).

Changes in plate compositions of the Class VIII fibulae and probable areas of production are discussed in the text and also in *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, pp. 112-127.

8. Iron pin. Pl. 16, d, right.

L.5.859.

Preserved L. 0.056, D. 0.009.

Broken at least at one end (the upper end as shown in Pl. 16, d). Much corroded.

Fairly circular shaft, apparently tapering at one end (the lower, as shown in Pl. 16, d). On the upper part of the shaft, there seem to be three biconical swellings, of which the lowest is most definitely present.

9. Iron pin (?). Pl. 16, d, left.

L.5.860.

Preserved L. 0.046, W. (with projecting arm) 0.022.

It is not clear if any of the original ends are preserved, but the metal at one of the present extremities (the upper as shown in Pl. 16, d) is so thin that the shaft is unlikely to have continued much beyond. Heavily corroded.

Fairly circular shaft, from which perpendicular arm projects to one side.

The interpretation of the two iron pieces, **8**, **9**, has presented some difficulties. When the excavator found them lying close together near the foot of the pithos, with the arm of **9** pointing toward **8**, he got the impression that they might make up a single H-shaped object. Later examination gave enough assurance of their being distinct pieces, for them to be inventoried separately, **8** as a possible pin and **9** as a possible nail.

It is **8** for which an identification is the more easily reached. As noted, one biconical swelling is quite clear on its shaft and there seem to be two more above it. These features suggest that the object is indeed a pin, one with multiple moldings (Geometric Group 2 in P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 9-12; Jacobsthal's Group 3, pp. 12-13, is similar but seems rather too late). In its three swellings, or "beads," the Lerna piece matches precisely bronze and iron pins from Middle Geometric II graves at Corinth (North Cemetery Graves 16 and 17: R. S. Young in C. W. Blegen *et al.*, *Corinth*, XIII, Princeton, 1964, pp. 23, 25-26, and pls. 6-7; Forum Grave Complex F-G: G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, Princeton, 1952, nos. 2258-2259, p. 280 and pl. 117). If the Lerna pin continued to correspond to the Corinthian examples in its now missing portion above the beads, it would have had a broad disc followed by other, closely packed small beads at the very top.

Since **8** is almost certainly a pin, **9**, lying close to it, is likely to have been one, too; they together would make up the canonical pair of shoulder fasteners for the "peplos" garment.

Their extreme proximity presents no problems for such an interpretation, since there would have been little breadth to the shoulders

of the eighteen-month-old child buried in the pithos.

While there are no other pins known to me which have a form precisely like that of **9**, mallet-headed pins, which bear a certain similarity to it in the crosspiece across the top, are found occasionally in the northeastern Peloponnese (Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, p. 141; to his examples add one from the fill, perhaps disturbed, of a grave at Corinth: Davidson, *op. cit.*, no. 2266, p. 281, pl. 117). It is possible, of course, that the object was originally not a pin but was pressed into service as one.

Perhaps only a small portion of both pieces is preserved, although it may be significant that they do have about the same extant lengths as iron pins from the Corinthian North Cemetery (Young, *op. cit.*, no. 17-15, p. 26, and no. 25-1, p. 30). One can suppose, too, that pins which were part of a child's apparel might not have been as long and perhaps as sharp as the potentially dangerous pin that adult women wore (cf. Herodotos, V, 87-89).

Pins had normally been iron during the Protogeometric period and even when bronze became the preferred metal in the full Geometric period, iron still did retain a certain popularity. Some of the relatively late iron pins from Corinth have been noted above; others are known from Attica, and there are a fair number from the Argolid (Argos Makris Grave 1, O. Alexandri, Δελτ., XVIII, 1963, B, pp. 57-58; Argos Grave 6/1, or "tombeau 2," P. Courbin, *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, p. 260; Tiryns, Grave II, N. Verdelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXVIII, 1963, p. 47, Beil. 24, 4). By the Middle and Late Geometric periods, iron pins were totally iron, unlike those of Protogeometric and Early Geometric, which tended to have bronze globes (E. L. Smithson, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1968, p. 109; V. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, London, 1972, pp. 141, 166).

10. Bronze ring. Pl. 16, e.

L5.565a. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 172.

H. 0.005, Max. D. 0.016, Min. D. 0.014.

Intact. Light green patina.

Simple bronze strip, bent to form a somewhat flattened hoop, with one end overlapping the other. In profile, the face of the ring is nearly straight and vertical, with only a slight concavity.

Incised decoration of a steep zigzag, rendered in tremolo line, around the outside.

11. Bronze ring. Pl. 16, e.

L5.565b. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 172.

H. 0.004.

Four joining fragments, fairly heavily corroded.

The fragments make up a ring having a form and profile like **10**.

Tremolo-line decoration on outer face, straighter and making less of a steep zigzag than on **10**.

The Lerna rings with their all but vertical faces, their overlapping ends, and their tremolo decoration are paralleled by four examples from the Argive Heraion (H. DeCou in C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, II, Cambridge, 1905, p. 262, and pl. XCI, nos. 1502-1503, 1505-1506) and by one from a L.G. II grave at Tiryns (N. Verdelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXVIII, 1963, Grave II, p. 47 and Beil. 24, 4). A ring in the same Tiryns grave, six in another L.G. II grave there (*ibid.*, Grave XXIII, p. 35), and three in the L.G. II Argos Panoply Grave (P. Courbin, *B.C.H.*, LXXXI, 1957, p. 367) have a similar form but no incised decoration—or at least none preserved. Two other rings sharing the Lerna form but having different sorts of decoration (non-tremolo straight-line work and punched circles) come from the Argive Heraion, while four more from the site, discarded, had unknown decoration (DeCou, *op. cit.*, p. 262, nos. 1504, 1507, and note following 1508).

Outside of the Argolid, rings of quite comparable form (but without incised decoration) are known in Athens from very early contexts—

from sub-Mycenaean graves at the Kerameikos (*Kerameikos*, I, 1941, pp. 85-86, fig. 3, and pl. 28). Elaborate eighth-century examples covered with gold overlay and again lacking incision have been found in a child's grave at Eretria (C. Bérard, *Eretria*, III, Bern, 1970, p. 35, no. 14, 2, pl. 11, 45, and color plate B; Bérard interprets them as bracelets for the child).

From Olympia, conversely, comes a ring with tremolo zigzag but a closed form (A. Fürtwangler, *Olympia, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, IV, *Bronzen*, Berlin, 1890, pl. XXIII, no. 403).

Within the Argolid, the great popularity of the Lerna-type ring seems relatively late. Of the Tiryns graves published by Verdelis, those prior to L.G. II have quite different rings, which lack incision and which have a more ornate form, with a pronouncedly convex or angular face (Verdelis, *op. cit.*, p. 7, fig. 3). The mixed rings of Tiryns Grave XXIII show, however, that the angular types remained current even after the Lerna sort came into favor.

12. Bronze hoop. Pl. 16, e.

L5.565c. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 172 (the reference to "two wire hoops" should have been to "one").

Max. preserved H. 0.009, Max. preserved L. 0.012, Th. 0.0005.

Single fragment, broken at both ends. Light green patina.

Thin wire bent into curve and perhaps originally into a full circle. It is approximately round in section.

It is difficult to know what function this small and none too sturdy hoop had. If it was part of the personal adornment of the child, it might have been, among various possibilities, a very simple earring, a hair ring, or a finger ring. Somewhat comparable (though slightly thicker and more elaborate) gold wire rings were found in the Argos Panoply Grave (P. Courbin, *B.C.H.*, LXXXI, 1957, p. 385, fig. 66); since that burial was male, the possibilities in that case are probably limited to the finger ring. Two other examples, again rather thicker, come from Eretria, the one from a male grave, the other from a female (C. Bérard, *Eretria*, III, Bern, 1970, p. 14, no. 6, 3, and p. 21, no. 10, 4).

THE POTTERY AND ITS CHRONOLOGY

Among the pottery of the grave, the most striking piece is the skyphos[13] **1** (Pl. 13), with its figured decoration of two horses with a man between—the classic composition of advanced Argive Geometric.[14] In both form and painting style the skyphos shows close ties to the work of Coldstream's Painter of Sparring Horses[15] and to certain related pieces, especially the kraters C. 13, C. 2432, and M.N. 230 of *C.G.A.*, pls. 30-31. Shared characteristics include battling horses with fairly standard poses and proportions, corner panels above the horses with curved borders conforming to the neck outlines and side panels with bulky vertical zigzag. In matters of form, rope handles are consistently favored.

[13] In calling this large piece a skyphos, I follow the criterion of Courbin, *C.G.A.*, p. 210, who sets a rim diameter of 23 cms. as the point beyond which a "skyphos" (his *coupe*) becomes a "krater."

[14] *C.G.A.*, p. 334 with note 1 and p. 419; *G.G.P.*, pp. 136, 139, 143.

[15] *G.G.P.*, pp. 133-134.

These ties help suggest a relative date for the skyphos and thus for the grave group. The Painter of Sparring Horses is an artist of Coldstream's Argive Late Geometric II (essentially the same as Courbin's *Géométrique récente 2*), and the vases cited as related to his work belong to that period as well. In any case, the figured work alone suggests an L.G. II date, since the scheme of man between horses seems unknown in the full L.G. I period.[16]

On the other hand, certain traits of the skyphos seem decidedly early. Coldstream has noted a tendency for L.G. II kraters (and by extension large krater-like skyphoi) to have higher lips than those of Late Geometric I,[17] but the Lerna piece has a lip which is still comparatively low. Then, too, the chevron rows below the bellies of the Lerna horses look very much as if they are ancestral to the standard leaf or fish motif found there in L.G. II vase painting,[18] including the work of the Painter of Sparring Horses. Probably the most satisfactory classification would be to put the skyphos early in L.G. II.

In contrast, the kantharos **2** (Pl. 14) would, in itself, have to be classed as no later than L.G. I. The composition of the handle zone with four-barred "sigmas" in a framework of horizontal bands and narrow vertical lines is characteristic of M.G. II and L.G. I in the Argolid and of the corresponding phases of Corinthian work.[19] More specifically, certain aspects of form, especially the contracted foot and the manner in which the sides flare out without much curve, strongly suggest that of these two periods, it is the later one, L.G. I, to which the kantharos belongs.[20]

As for the other fine pottery of the grave, it fits comfortably into the range delimited by the skyphos and the kantharos: L.G. I to early L.G. II. The oinochoe **3** (Pl. 14) has a shoulder decoration of rounded, detached lozenges executed in the multiple-brush technique. Such lozenges find their most numerous parallels in L.G. I, but they were still current in L.G. II, especially in the beginning stages.[21] The same situation, most characteristic of L.G. I but possible later, fits the cup **4** (Pl. 14) with its profile of relatively straight sides flaring out to a high, rounded shoulder.[22]

[16] Aside from the Lerna skyphos, the earliest vase decorated with the scheme is probably an unpublished krater from the Argos Raptis grave (*C.G.A.*, p. 334, note 1), classified by Coldstream as transitional L.G. I-II, like the Lerna burial (*G.G.P.*, p. 125). The Raptis grave is somewhat complicated, since it contains two inhumations.

[17] *G.G.P.*, p. 142.

[18] *G.G.P.*, p. 130; *C.G.A.*, pp. 397-403.

[19] For examples of M.G. II and L.G. I, see *C.G.A.*, pl. 116. Cf. also *G.G.P.*, pl. 25, c.

[20] Cf. *C.G.A.*, p. 217 and pls. 60-62.

[21] *C.G.A.*, pp. 94-97, 375-376; *G.G.P.*, pp. 128, 144.

[22] For relatively narrow cups like the Lerna one, the profile is most characteristic of L.G. I, although it is found, rarely, later (L.G. I: *C.G.A.*, pl. 71, C. 60, C. 96, C. 58; L.G. II: *ibid.*, C. 1042). On broader cups, however, the profile remains quite common in L.G II (*C.G.A.*, pl. 74, especially C. 6 and C. 173). For the distinction between the two types of cups, see *C.G.A.*, pp. 211-215.

Coldstream has termed the Lerna grave group transitional between L.G. I and II, and Courbin has assigned it to very nearly the same phase by putting it at the very end of his *Géométrique récente* 1.[23] While neither scholar gives much explanation, the necessity for such a classification is obvious: of the four fine vases, one was still in the L.G. I style, a second was at the first phases of L.G. II, and the two others were rather neutral pieces, though tending more toward the earlier pole than the later.

A fairly narrow date range can be established for the shift from L.G. I to L.G. II and thus for the burial. While a kotyle of Corinthian Late Geometric (in Coldstream's terminology) was found in an Argive L.G. I grave, thus showing that Argive L.G. I and Corinthian L.G. were to some extent contemporary,[24] the occurrence of a rather later Corinthian L.G. kotyle in an Argive L.G. II grave [25] indicates that Argive L.G. I must end before Corinthian L.G., and thus, in Coldstream's convincing dating,[26] before *ca.* 720 B.C.

However, the date could not be much earlier than 720. The type of Argive M.G. and L.G. composition represented by the Lerna kantharos occurs on the earliest Corinthian pottery from Megara Hyblaea,[27] which according to the Thucydidean chronology was founded in 728. Since the Argive pot painters appear to have been no more progressive than the Corinthian, the Argive L.G. I style ought still to have been current in 728 B.C.

The change in pottery periods, and the burial, should thus be put sometime in the span 728–*ca.* 720 B.C., or, more simply, *ca.* 725 B.C.

THE LERNA FIBULA AND OTHER EIGHTH-CENTURY FIBULAE

A repair on the stem of the fibula shows that it did not go into the grave new,[28] but there is no reason to suppose that it was manufactured much before the time of burial. If it had been the child's possession, it may have had no longer a lifetime than she (or he).

This indubitably eighth-century fibula has a far different scene on its catchplate from many of those that have been proposed as "Geometric" or "eighth-century." Instead of a duel, a lion hunt, or some other complex composition, there is merely an isolated bird on each side of the plate.

[23] *G.G.P.*, p. 125; *C.G.A.*, pp. 176-177.

[24] *C.G.A.*, pp. 38, 58 and pl. 148, C. 92; *G.G.P.*, p. 131.

[25] *C.G.A.*, pp. 38, 58 and pl. 148, C. 942; *G.G.P.*, p. 145.

[26] *G.G.P.*, pp. 322-325, 327.

[27] G. Vallet and F. Villard, *Mégara Hyblaea*, II, *La céramique archaïque*, Paris, 1964, p. 17, fig. 1 and pl. 2, 6.

[28] Plate fibulae often have ancient repairs, most commonly just above the spring as on the Lerna fibula. Cf. *F.G.S.*, pl. 12, top; *Fibules*, p. 174, fig. 206. The repairs prove decisively that the fibulae were worn in life and not just on the *prothesis* bier and in the grave.

The Lerna fibula is not alone. While scholars have not much discussed its manner of decoration, it finds many parallels in extant (though often unpublished) pieces. In the list of fibulae drawn up by R. Hampe in 1936,[29] for example, a single bird is noted as the plate decoration in over 15 instances, and the number has since grown.

Closely similar is a large body of fibula plates which, while not displaying birds, keep to the same sort of decoration, with a single motif (e.g. swastika, star, quatrefoil or octofoil rosette)[30] or a single representational form (e.g. horse, deer, ship).[31]

If one re-examines in the light of the Lerna evidence the few other well-preserved plate fibulae from good contexts, one can see that this type of decoration seems to be in fact the standard one for the eighth century. On the three ninth-century pieces that have their decoration intact, the scheme is not yet fully apparent. The two earliest of these, from Lefkandi in Euboia (first half of ninth century) and the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens (mid-ninth century), have precocious complex scenes, a man with horse appearing on the Lefkandi fibula and a fish below a ship on the Kerameikos piece.[32] By Attic M.G. I (second half of ninth century), a fibula in an Attic grave group now in Toronto does have a single main motif, a swastika, but the effect is somewhat cancelled out by the heavy, ornate border.[33]

In the eighth century, though, we seem assured of a Lerna-type composition on four fibulae from an unpublished grave at Anavysos, of apparently Attic L.G. Ia date (Coldstream: *ca.* 760-750); four of the catchplate sides are said to bear an incised swastika, two a bird, and two a scorpion.[34] In addition, a grave at Rhitsona in Boiotia, with pottery datable to about 700 B.C. or only slightly later, contained a fibula with a single quatrefoil on at least one side of the plate.[35]

Limited evidence suggests, however, that the taste in plate compositions may have begun changing before the eighth century was out. A Delphi grave deposit of probably *ca.* 735-720 yielded a pair of fibulae of Northern type; on at least one of the pieces is a depiction of two birds rather than one.[36] More decisively, another

[29] *F.G.S.*, pp. 90-111.

[30] Among the published examples: *F.G.S.*, p. 19, fig. 3, and pl. 7; *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, cols. 445-446, fig. 158.

[31] *F.G.S.*, pl. 7; R. A. Higgins, *B.S.A.*, LXIV, 1969, pl. 36.

[32] Lefkandi: L. H. Sackett and M. R. Popham, *Archaeology*, XXV, 1972, fig. on p. 19. To judge by its form, the fibula belongs to the first half of the ninth century and is thus earlier than the Attic M.G. I pyxis of the grave (*ibid.*, figs. on p. 16). Kerameikos, Geometric Grave 41: *Ker.*, V, I, p. 236 and pls. 159-161; H. Müller-Karpe, *Jahrb.*, LXXVII, 1962, pp. 106-107, figs. 24-25.

[33] Iliffe, *op. cit.* (above, note 12), p. 167, fig. 4.

[34] N. Verdelis and K. Davaras, Δελτ., XXI, 1966, B, p. 98; Higgins, *loc. cit.* (above, note 31), p. 147. The date is based upon the pottery of the grave on display in the Brauron Museum.

[35] P. N. Ure, *J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, p. 346, no. 8.

[36] L. Lerat, *B.C.H.*, LXI, 1937, p. 50, figs. 4-5. The grave contained at least two burials, the earlier dating to the first stages of Protogeometric. The fibulae presumably go with an oinochoe of Corinthian manufacture or at least type (p. 48, pl. II, 2, not examined by me personally); with

pair of Northern fibulae from a rather later Delphi grave of *ca.* 720-650 have a thoroughly complex scene, in which a horse and two birds crowd the none too ample field.[37]

Whatever the late shifts in taste, fibulae in the heyday of the eighth century seem characteristically to have had the limited, single composition; that is not, in the end, surprising, for a similar composition was frequent in the vase painting of the time. Panels, or "metopes," which like the fibula plates contained single geometric motifs or single figures occur regularly in all major schools of vase painting.[38] What is more, the same motifs or representations recur on both pot panels and fibula plates. In both media the bird and the quatrefoil are the most popular, and with the sole exception of the Anavysos scorpion, each of the subjects of the single-composition plates can be paralleled in the vase panels, including such perhaps unexpected ones as the star, the ship, and the deer.[39]

Development of Complex Scenes

Naturally enough, it has been the fibulae with spectacular scenes that have attracted most attention, and one of the great values of the much different Lerna fibula is that with its firm chronological anchoring it helps us to see how, within a certain body of fibulae, the complex scenes came to be devised. The Lerna piece, far from being isolated, is an integral part of a closely knit group, all of which share its more salient characteristics. In form, traditional bead moldings appear consistently between the bow and stem and between the bow and plate and, just as invariably, high, well-formed ribs run down the center and along the edges of the bow. Noticeable also is a restraint which keeps the bow from spreading to the great

its relatively narrow flaring neck combined with a broad body and its single-line meander, it relates to the Thapsos class, which flourished during Corinthian Late Geometric, probably the latter stages (the dating of the Thapsos pottery and its relation to standard Corinthian will be discussed in a forthcoming study of Late Geometric finds at Corinth).

The multiple fish on one of the plate sides of the well-preserved fibula are not relevant here. They are a peculiarity of the Northern fibulae and from the time of the first well-preserved examples of the class (probably first half of the eighth century), they appear on one side of all pieces, with only extremely rare exceptions.

[37] P. Perdrizet in *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, Paris, 1908, p. 113, figs. 406 and 406a and b. Two graves seem to have been dug together; the one was a warrior's grave with spearheads and a Corinthian "football aryballos," and the other a woman's grave with the fibulae and a Protocorinthian aryballos of "forme pansue." For this kind of error in the early excavations at Delphi, see Perdrizet, p. 153. For Perdrizet's elastic use of "forme pansue," cf. his aryballoi 200, 201, 209, 212 (p. 154); the range is from the true globular aryballoi of Early Protocorinthian to the ovoid of Middle Protocorinthian. The aryballos of the grave deposit was not accessible in the summer of 1969.

[38] *G.G.P.*, pp. 25-26, 49-51, 96, 100, 122-124, and *passim*.

[39] Examples from *G.G.P.*: swastika, pl. 9, m; star, pl. 5, b; quatrefoil, pl. 9, 1; octofoil, pl. 10, g; horse, pl. 5, d; deer, pl. 9, 1. For ship, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. 21, 6.

widths characteristic of certain other plate fibulae.[40] In incised decoration, the ornamentation of the stem consists of lozenge patterns, while on the bow a single tremolo line appears on either side of the central mass of ribs and on the inside of each set of outer ribs. The unity of the group is shown above all in drawing style, the most common denominator being the relatively flat bottom contour on the bodies of birds and fish. Within the group, the following abbreviated sequence would seem the probable order of development; it runs from the Lerna fibula to what may be the latest.

1. Lerna fibula.
2. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum), 8003. *Jahrb.*, III, 1888, p. 363, fig. c. *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, pp. 115, 117, pl. 13, no. 4.
3. Athens, National Museum, 8203. *F.G.S.*, pl. 13, top.
4. London, British Museum, 94.7-19.11. *F.G.S.*, pl. 13, center.
5. Athens, National Museum, 8208. *F.G.S.*, pl. 9, top.

6a. Formerly, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 7979. *F.G.S.*, pl. 9, top. Probably forms a pair with 6b.

6b. Munich, Antikensammlungen, 3491. *Jahrb.*, XXXI, 1916, p. 297, fig. 3 (drawing not entirely accurate). *F.G.S.*, pl. 8, middle (same drawing). Probably forms a pair with 6a. Pl. 16, c.

7. Exeter, N. H., private collection. *A.J.A.*, XV, 1911, p. 3, fig. 2, and p. 7, fig. 4. *F.G.S.*, pl. 8, bottom.
8. Athens, National Museum, 6282. *Olympia*, IV, no. 362-362a, pl. 22. *F.G.S.*, pl. 16, top.
9. Athens, National Museum, 12341. *F.G.S.*, pl. 15.

The general lines of development should be obvious enough. With No. 3, the old single-bird composition of Nos. 1 and 2 is modified by the introduction of a second, smaller bird above the first, a change reflected to some extent in the earlier of the Delphi sets of Northern fibulae referred to above.[41] With No. 4, the same scheme is adhered to, but a horse is substituted for the lower bird. The resulting theme, a bird on or above the horse's back, remains a persistent one,[42] but on the fragmentary No. 5 some slight modifications are introduced: the horse is proportionately somewhat smaller than before and the number of birds has (apparently) multiplied. It is roughly this stage to which the second fibula set at Delphi corresponds.

Modifications become still more radical on No. 6a, as the horse shrinks further, the birds continue to proliferate, and most strikingly, a small human appears, holding the horse by a tether.

Human beings now become part of the orthodox repertory of the catchplates,

[40] Those of Boeotian Group II, as defined in *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, pp. 124-125. Examples: *F.G.S.*, p. 29, fig. 10, and pl. 13, bottom; *Fibules*, p. 177, fig. 207; and the fibulae found at Rhitsona: P. N. Ure, *J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, pp. 344 and 346 and figs. 6-8, and P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, Cambridge, 1934, pl. 3, no. 88.5.

[41] Lerat, *op. cit.* (above note 36). The change may be connected with a similar scheme in Attic Geometric vase painting: Δελτ., XXIII, 1968, B, pl. 51, lower left.

[42] The old scene, nearly unaltered, turns up on some of the latest fibulae, as *F.G.S.*, pl. 11, no. 58, and pl. 16, no. 18 (with more change).

and the changes in figure style become the surest measure of chronological progression. The man of No. 6a had been drawn in a stiff, still fairly Geometric manner, with a triangular chest; on No. 7, one of the figures repeats the Geometric type, while the other two begin to swell, with their torsos and buttocks filling out noticeably. A ballooning is still more evident on No. 8, while on No. 9 the tendency is checked, as a more naturalistic, controlled canon is achieved.[43]

In working out the chronology of the sequence, one has the assurance that compositions of the first stage were current around the time of the Lerna burial of *ca.* 730-725, although the Delphi grave with the double-bird fibula of another group suggests that the second stage was reached not much later. For the last piece of the sequence, a date not before *ca.* 675-670 seems probable from the advanced figure style. It was just at this time in the incipient stages of Middle Protoattic and Middle Protocorinthian II that vase painters were beginning to draw full-bodied figures (quite comparable to those of the fibula) after their early, often clumsy remodelings of the Geometric canon. And its date ought not to be long after *ca.* 670. Nos. 2-4 are clearly by a single craftsman, R. Hampe's *Schwanmeister*,[44] a name which will here be Anglicized to the Swan Engraver. Among the succeeding pieces, Hampe has already attributed Nos. 5-7 to a particular individual, his *Löwenmeister*,[45] and it seems likely that No. 8 is from an advanced phase of the same man's work. No. 9 is certainly by another craftsman,[46] but it represents a logical progression from the stage of No. 8. If, then, the fibulae of the sequence are encompassed within the careers of not many more than two successive craftsmen, the time span could not exceed by much the minimum of *ca.* 728/20 to 675/670.

Relationship to Work of Swan Engraver

It is worth taking into account the question of whether the Lerna fibula might be by the Swan Engraver.[47] Listed below are all the fibulae that seem to the writer to be unmistakably by that craftsman. The list repeats those pieces already cited in the overall sequence, and the order is the probable chronological one.

[43] The development of plate compositions is discussed more fully in *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, pp. 119-120, 123, in which account is also taken of an evolving system of fixed themes for fixed plate sides. The latter aspect of plate decoration is the focus of DeVries, "Oral Poets and Fibula Incisers," *Teiresias*, Supplement II, 1974.

[44] *F.G.S.*, pp. 17-19. *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, pp. 117-121.

[45] *F.G.S.*, pp. 14-16.

[46] It is likely to be a late piece by Hampe's "Schiffsmeister" (*F.G.S.*, pp. 16-17), to whom should also be given, among the key pieces, *F.G.S.*, pl. 9, bottom, and pl. 14. The craftsman, my "Idaean Engraver," is discussed in *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, pp. 121-123.

[47] A connection between the fibula and the work of the Swan Engraver was already alluded to by J. L. Caskey, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 172 with note 59. Caskey's lead was followed by K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen*, Berlin, 1969, p. 214.

1. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 8003. No. 2 of overall sequence (above p. 95).
2a. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G. 505. *F.G.S.*, p. 106, no. 126. Forms a pair with No. 2b.
2b. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G. 506. *F.G.S.*, p. 106, no. 127. Forms a pair with No. 2a.
3. Athens, National Museum, 8203. No. 3 of overall sequence.
4. Dresden, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung, 1637. *Arch. Anz.*, 1898, col. 64, no. 27; *F.G.S.*, p. 100, no. 68.
5a. London, British Museum, 94.7-19.11. No. 4 of overall sequence. Forms a pair with No. 5b of this list.
5b. London, British Museum, 94.7-19.10. *F.G.S.*, p. 102, no. 90. Forms a pair with No. 5a.
6. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum), 8145.5. *F.G.S.*, p. 18, fig. 2; *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, pp. 116, 119, pl. 14, no. 5.

Certain characteristic features of the plates clearly by the Swan Engraver do occur on the Lerna fibula: the polygonal heads of the birds, their ovoid but humped bodies, and the filling ornament of delicate, wavelike tremolo lines. There are discrepancies, however. In particular, the relatively large heads of the Lerna birds and their thick, straight necks are not shared by the graceful birds, aptly called swans,[48] on the fibulae of the list.

What may be relevant here is the demonstrable fact that the Lerna fibula is early. Its plain-line border, for example, is found only on the first fibulae of the group; in the pieces definitely by the Swan Engraver it occurs only on the single-bird plates. And in form, the Lerna fibula seems to come well before the Swan Engraver's listed pieces. The taper and overall curve of its stem are inheritances from the traditional fibulae of the ninth to mid-eighth centuries,[49] and are features which have been superseded even on the single-bird fibulae clearly by the Swan Engraver. Also, the span of the bow of the Lerna fibula is still relatively short, as on blank fibulae from Attic graves of the early and mid-eighth century,[50] while the typical bows of the Swan Engraver are elongated, in the normal manner of late fibulae.

It is possible that the Lerna fibula is by the Swan Engraver and that it is simply an early work, in which his style had not yet fully formed. Thus, he would not yet have worked out the characteristic long, thin swanlike necks for his birds. And it is worth noting that even in the necks some hints of the man's future style are present. The bird on plate side A (Pl. 15) already has what is close to the standard rear contour of the neck; all that really is needed for the conversion of this ugly duckling into a swan is for the front contour to be moved closer to the rear and to run parallel to it.

[48] *F.G.S.*, p. 17.

[49] Cf. *Ker.*, V, 1, pl. 160, no. 4840; Iliffe, *op. cit.* (above, note 12), p. 167, fig. 4; *Fibules*, p. 169, fig. 199; Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.* (above, note 32), pp. 106-107, figs. 24-25; O. Alexandri, *Analekta*, V, 1972, p. 174, fig. 13.

[50] *Fibules*, p. 169, fig. 199; R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, 1939, pp. 104-105 and fig. 73; Alexandri, *loc. cit.* (above, note 49). Aside from those published by Miss Alexandri, the fibulae presumably did not have blank plates originally.

The Lerna Fibula and Boiotia

Whoever the actual maker of the fibula was, it is most unlikely that he and the other craftsmen of the group were working in the Argolid. While there has been a recent attempt to claim at least some incised plate fibulae as Argive,[51] it is dubious if fibulae of any sort were being made there in the eighth century. In the Argolid, as indeed in the whole Peloponnese, it was overwhelmingly pins rather than fibulae that were worn as clothes fasteners. In the fifth century Herodotos noted that women of Argos were pin wearers [52] and so they were in earlier times. Of the 71 Geometric grave groups in the Argolid picked out by Coldstream as significant, 16 are known to have contained pins while only 4 had fibulae.[53] And highly indicative are the Tiryns graves, dating from sub-Mycenaean to Geometric, excavated by N. Verdelis in 1957. Of the 28 graves, 12 had pins; just one had a fibula and that grave was sub-Mycenaean.[54] For a parallel elsewhere in the Peloponnese, the excavated portion of the North Cemetery at Corinth contained 114 burials from ninth to seventh centuries; 15 graves had pins and only 1 yielded a fibula.[55]

It is true that excavations at Peloponnesian sanctuaries have produced numerous fibulae, and nowhere more so than at the Argive Heraion.[56] However, the great variety of fibulae found at these sanctuaries (e.g., East Greek, Cycladic, and Thessalian types at the Argive Heraion) suggests that there was no standard local form. In the Argolid and throughout the Peloponnese it would seem that fibulae were imported items, to be dedicated in a sanctuary or to be worn as novelties.

For Attica, the evidence is just as negative as for the Argolid by the time of the Lerna burial. While during the ninth and earlier eighth centuries it had been a great center for the manufacture of plate fibulae, in forms clearly ancestral to the group

[51] N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz in *Antiken aus dem Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn*, Dusseldorf, 1969, pp. 26-27.

[52] Herodotos, V, 88-89.

[53] The four graves are the Lerna burial; the Mycenae Grave G 603 of E.G. I (Desborough, *op. cit.*, above, note 11, pp. 241-245); a Berbati grave of M.G. I (G. Säflund, *Excavations at Berbati, 1936-1937, Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology*, IV, 1965, pp. 81-90), and the Argos Makris Grave I of M.G. II (O. Alexandri, Δελτ., XVIII, 1963, B, pp. 57-58).

Important fibulae were also found in the Argos Makris Grave 2, which contained three inhumations (*ibid.*, pp. 58-59, pl. 71, γ). Of the two pots published from the grave, one is M.G. II (pl. 71, β), while the other may still be M.G. I (pl. 71, α).

[54] N. Verdelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXVIII, 1963, pp. 1-62. The grave with the fibula is Grave XIII b, pp. 7-10.

[55] R. S. Young in C. W. Blegen, *et al.*, *Corinth*, XIII, *The North Cemetery*, Princeton, 1964, pp. 13-64. The burial with the fibula is Grave 17, pp. 24-26; significantly enough, it contained three pairs of pins and one small odd pin, in addition to the single fibula.

[56] H. F. DeCou in C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, II, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 240-249; C. W. Blegen, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 440-442.

represented at Lerna, fibulae of all sorts and pins as well seem to have ceased to be current soon after the middle of the eighth century.[57]

For Euboia, the evidence is more scanty and inconclusive than downright negative. Two well-preserved plate fibulae from the island have now been published: the ninth-century Lefkandi fibula,[58] which is a direct, early predecessor of the Lerna sort, and an eighth-century piece from Eretria, which is well within the mainstream of fibula development but differs from the Lerna group in particulars like its short, thick stem.[59] Also possibly relevant are two fragmentary pieces from a grave of the late eighth-century heroon complex at Eretria;[60] they might be plate fibulae, but if so, would again be none too close to the group. Finally a factor casting doubt on the plate fibulae as a persistent local form in Euboia is their absence among the eighth-century Euboian colonies in the Greek West, where a much different type became standard.[61]

In other Aegean islands a type of plate fibula was popular (Blinkenberg, *Fibules*, Class IV), but the tall, elongated form of its plate and the lack of good definition between bow and stem are among the many traits that set it off in an unmistakable class of its own.[62]

A similar situation prevails in the northern and western reaches of Central Greece: in Phocis, West and East Locris, and Thessaly. Excavations have amply

[57] The latest well-documented Attic grave with metal fasteners known to the writer is Agora Grave G 12:9 (Tholos Grave 18): Young, *op. cit.* (above, note 50), pp. 92-93. The pottery of the grave is classed by Coldstream as L.G. Ib (*G.G.P.*, p. 46). However, a grave with a fibula reported by G. Hirschfeld is quite possibly as late as L.G. II to judge by the type of gold band found in the grave (*Annali dell' instituto di corrispondenza archaeologica*, XLIV, pp. 135-136, 155; since the band had representations of men on horseback it should belong to Group III or IV in D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche*, Berlin, 1954. One example of these groups was found with the amphora Berlin 3367, classed by Coldstream, p. 402, as L.G. I b, and another was allegedly found with the amphora Stathatou 222, L.G. II b in Coldstream's classification, p. 59, no. 15.) Kerameikos Geometric Grave 80 contained no goods other than a pin, but its location suggests that it might be L.G. II a, since it is alongside a grave (79) of that date and both were dug into a former bank of the Eridanos, perhaps soon after the stream had shifted course (*Ker.* V, 1, pp. 16, 263).

[58] Sackett and Popham, *loc. cit.* (above, note 32). I am informed by Mr. Sackett that there was a matching (but less well preserved) piece to the published fibula in the same grave, and that there were other, smaller fibulae of similar type in the necropolis.

[59] K. Kuruniotes, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVIII, 1913, p. 295, fig. 4.

[60] C. Bérard, *L'Hérôon à la porte de l'ouest*, Eretria, III, Bern, 1970, p. 14, nos. 6, 7 and 6, 9. Swords in the grave show that it is a male burial, but since the fibulae (if such they both were) don't form a coherent pair, they don't have much value as evidence for whether or not pairs of fasteners and thus the "peplos" garment could be worn by both sexes (see above, notes 9 and 11).

[61] The Euboian colonists at Cumae and Ischia joined the other Western Greeks and the more indigenous peoples of Italy in having plateless fibulae with long catches. See H. Hencken, *A.J.A.*, LXII, 1958, pp. 270-272.

[62] *Fibules*, pp. 87-106.

documented that plate fibulae, often with elaborate figured decoration, were favored in the area, but these fibulae are quite distinct from the Lerna group. Most notably, they tend to have an undifferentiated bow and stem, heavily burdened with multiple moldings (Blinkenberg, *Fibules*, Class VII).[63]

It is in Boiotia that the evidence stops being negative or unenlightening. The writer would consider 52 extant fibulae to belong to the group. Of these a significant proportion (26) are said, at least, to come from Boiotia, with all but one given the specific provenience of Thebes. The exception is a fibula found recently in excavations at Lake Paralimni.[64] Of the others, the " Theban " pieces, it may be that none comes from a controlled excavation, but there are special circumstances that allow us to put more than normal faith in the provenience claimed by dealers. In 1888 J. Boehlau carefully reported on the looting of graves at Thebes (in the suburb of Pyri) :[65]

> Eine ansehnliche Menge von Gräbern wurde namentlich in den Jahren 1886-1888 geöffnet, ein grosser Teil der Fundstücke kam nach Athen in die Sammlung der Archäologischen Gesellschaft, ein anderer wurde in Deutschland im Kunstandel vom Berliner Museum erworben, einiges auch vom Louvre und dem Berliner Museum.

Among the objects he noted as coming from the commercial excavations were incised fibulae. Observers (or participants) reported more digging at Thebes in 1890, and again decorated fibulae were among the grave goods, some of which reached the Athens collection.[66] From these two reports, it would seem sound enough to conclude that fibulae acquired by the Berlin, Paris, London, and Athens museums in the period 1886-1890 and claimed to have been found at Thebes probably were, in fact, found there. Nine of the group meet these criteria.[67]

[63] *Fibules*, pp. 128-147.

[64] Th. Spyropoulos, *Analekta*, IV, 1971, p. 326, fig. 9. Another fibula found among the votive material is likely to belong to the group, but it is so fragmentary that certainty is impossible.

[65] *Jahrb.*, III, p. 325.

[66] Πρακτικά, 1890, pp. 94-95; P. Wolters, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1892, cols. 219, 232-233, pl. 11, 1-2. While the report of the digging itself seems trustworthy enough, the statement that the finds reaching the Athens collection came from a single grave does not, unless that grave contained a multiple burial. The fibulae make up a very odd lot, and along with the other objects seem unlikely to have been the possessions of one person at a single point of time.

[67] 1) Formerly, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 7979; *F.G.S.*, p. 94, no. 40, pl. 8, top; acquired 1887; Undset in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XXI, 1889, pp. 221-222, cites a report that it came from the area of Athens, but J. Boehlau, *Jahrb.*, III, 1888, pp. 325, 361 ff. implies that it came from Boiotia. 2) Berlin, Staatliche Museen (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum), 8003; *Jahrb.*, III, 1888, p. 363, fig. c; *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, p. 115, pl. 13, 4; acquired 1887. 3) Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 8064. 101 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *F.G.S.*, p. 96, no. 44; acquired 1887. 4) Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 8064. 102 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *F.G.S.*, p. 96, no. 45; acquired 1887. 5) Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 8097. 9 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, pp. 115, 117-119, pl. 13, 2; acquired 1889. 6) Berlin,

A few more can also be considered as fairly certain to have been correctly reported. Two are in the National Museum in Athens. The one was published in 1880 as having been found at Thebes, this at a time when the site was not yet known as likely to yield fibulae.[68] The other is specifically stated in the museum records to come from the sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, though data on the finding or acquisition are not given.[69] Many of the other claims are difficult to assess,[70] but if the date of probable finding alone be considered, four fibulae (two pairs) in the possession of a certain Naue (a dealer?) *ca.* 1887 can be guessed to have indeed come from the Thebes necropolis.[71]

In contrast, only four fibulae of the group can be assigned with confidence to a locality outside Boiotia.[72] The Lerna fibula is, of course, one; another was found in

Staatliche Museen, 8097. 11 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, pp. 115, 117-119, pl. 13, 3; acquired 1889. 7) Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8145. 5 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *F.G.S.*, p. 18, fig. 2; *Forschungen und Berichte*, XIV, 1972, pp. 116, 119-120, pl. 14, 5; acquired 1890. 8) Athens, National Museum, 8199; *F.G.S.*, p. 90, no. 13, pl. 11, bottom; acquired 1890. 9) Athens, National Museum, 8203; *F.G.S.*, p. 92, no. 17, pl. 13, top; acquired 1890.

[68] Athens, National Museum, 8202; *F.G.S.*, p. 92, no. 16, pl. 9, top; first published by A. Furtwängler, *Annali*, 1880, p. 122.

[69] Athens, National Museum, 12341; *F.G.S.*, p. 92, no. 29, pl. 15.

[70] The fibulae not otherwise discussed that have greatest probability of coming from Thebes, as claimed, are three in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, G 377, 378, and 380, acquired as early as 1893 (*F.G.S.*, p. 106, nos. 121, 122, 124); they are stated in the museum records to have been previously in the Lambros collection and to have an original provenience of Thebes. Other pieces of the group supposed to be from Thebes and not cited in footnotes 65 or 69 are Athens, National Museum, 8204 (*F.G.S.*, p. 92, no. 18, pl. 16, bottom; uncertain acquisition date); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.643 (*F.G.S.*, pl. 98, no. 64, pl. 10, middle; acquired 1898); Copenhagen, National Museum, 4803 (*F.G.S.*, p. 100, no. 83; J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, Cambridge, 1968, pl. 8, d; acquired 1898, from "near Thebes"); Dresden, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung, 1637 and 1638 (*F.G.S.*, p. 100, nos. 68-69; acquired 1896); London, British Museum, 94. 7-19. 10 (*F.G.S.*, p. 102, no. 90), 94. 7-19. 11 (*F.G.S.*, p. 102, no. 89 and pl. 13, middle), 94. 7-19. 12 (*F.G.S.*, p. 102, no. 91 and pl. 10, top), 94. 7-19. 13 (*F.G.S.*, p. 102, no. 92), all acquired 1894.

Not taken into account here are the fibula London, British Museum, 97. 3-17. 2 (*F.G.S.*, p. 102, no. 93, pl. 11, middle) with a provenience of "Thebes (?)" and the fibula Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, C 224 (*F.G.S.*, p. 98, no. 63), for which the inventory merely states "wahrscheinlich aus Böotien."

[71] The one pair is Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1890. 623 and 1890. 624 (*F.G.S.*, p. 104, nos. 107-108); the other, a highly probable pair, is Munich, Antikensammlung, 3491 (*F.G.S.*, p. 104, no. 103, pl. 8, center) and the piece once in Berlin, no. 7979, cited in note 67. Undset in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XXI, 1889, pp. 221-222, cited a report that all were found in the area of Athens, but J. Boehlau in *Jahrb.*, III, 1888, pp. 325 and 361 ff. implied that the Berlin fibula came from Thebes; also, the Ashmolean records claim Thebes as the provenience of the two Oxford pieces. Naue himself lived in Munich and was presumably an antiquities dealer.

[72] A few other fibulae are claimed as having been found outside Boiotia, but these proveniences are problematic or dubious. The pair Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G 331 and G 507 (*F.G.S.*,

excavations at the Argive Heraion,[73] and a third at Olympia.[74] While the exact find circumstances are not known for a fourth, stated in the records of the Athens National Museum to be from the Idaian Cave, Crete, the museum entry seems trustworthy enough, since other objects with inventory numbers close to it clearly are Cretan and are Iron Age in date.[75]

While the Paralimni fibula and the considerable number of pieces with a probable provenience of Thebes certainly indicate that the group was made in Boiotia, an additional bit of evidence strongly suggests Thebes itself as the place of manufacture. On the fibula in Munich cited as No. 6b of the overall sequence, the rear bow segment had snapped in antiquity, thus necessitating an extensive repair. A capping strip of metal was put over the break and riveted onto the segment to hold it together (Pl. 16, c). What is particularly important is that the added cap matches the older surface very closely. The treatment of the ribs is about the same on both the old and the new portions, and the tremolo borders are incised with much the same stroke. One can make some deductions: when the fibula broke, either the woman[76] owning it or someone from her household brought it back to the workshop in which it had originally been made; and this workshop, by further deduction, could not have been far off. The fibula is one of the four noted above that were in the possession of Naue *ca.* 1887 and must almost certainly have come from the cemetery at Thebes. Thebes, then, was the home of the ancient owner, and, in all likelihood, the location of the workshop as well.

The occurrence of a fibula of this class in the Lerna grave constitutes, therefore, an instance of an object from Boiotia (in this case, specifically Thebes) reaching the Argolid. It is not the only evidence for links between the two areas. As noted

pl. 107, nos. 116 and 128) were acquired in 1893 with supposed find spots of "Dipylon, Athens (?)" for the first piece and Athens for the second. It is not known what the basis of the claim was. Records in the Athens National Museum for *Xp.* 303 (formerly 3697) do not support the provenience of Thorikos associated with it by Hampe, *F.G.S.*, p. 90, no. 10 and instead show merely that it was bought from a dealer. The records in the same museum give Peiraieus as the provenience of 8200 (*F.G.S.*, p. 90, no. 14), an alleged find spot condemned by Blinkenberg (*Fibules*, p. 174) as "peu vraisemblable."

[73] DeCou, *op. cit.* (above, note 56), p. 243, no. 868, and pl. 86.

[74] A. Furtwängler in E. Curtius and F. Adler, eds., *Olympia, Die Ergebnisse der von den deutschen Reich veranstalten Ausgrabung*, IV, Berlin, 1890, pp. 53-54, nos. 362-362 a, pl. XXII.

[75] Athens, National Museum, 11765; *F.G.S.*, pl. 14. The objects with numbers close to it are all fragments of Cretan shields, which are illustrated in E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart, 1931: 11763, pl. 30, 18; 11764, pl. 31, 21; 11766, pl. 37, 75.

[76] That the original owner was a woman is indicated by the fact that the Munich fibula almost certainly formed a pair with the fibula 7979 formerly in the Berlin, Staatliche Museen collection (*F.G.S.*, p. 94, no. 40 and pl. 8, top; for this pair and its history, see above, p. 101 and note 71). For the connection of pairs of fasteners with the "peplos" garment and thus with women, see above, p. 82, and notes 9 and 11.

above, another fibula of the group has been found among the votive material at the Argive Heraion. From the same sanctuary come two other incised plate fibulae that the writer would consider Boiotian, although they belong to another group.[77]

A seventh-century Boiotian amphora that found its way to Tiryns [78] is all that has survived of an Iron Age commerce in pottery between the two areas, but indirect evidence suggests that such a trade may have been extensive. Courbin has noted more connections between Argive Geometric and Boiotian than between Argive and any other fabric. His lists of possible stylistic borrowings from one to the other show many more cases of apparent Argive influence on Boiotian than *vice versa*, thus perhaps indicating the direction in which the flow of pottery was the heavier.[79] Two more instances of Argive influences can now be added to Courbin's count. An amphora in Heidelberg, published as Boiotian, has the typical Argive format of a closed ornamental zone above the backs of the horses,[80] and a pyxis from the Boiotian site of Paralimni is embellished with flamingo-like birds, highly reminiscent of an Argive type.[81]

It is difficult to determine the exact reasons for close contacts between Boiotia and the Argolid, but perhaps they lay in the simple fact that the two areas were important in the Greece of the eighth and early seventh centuries. Argos, we sense from dim half-historical accounts, wielded considerable political and military power and reached its apex under Pheidon at some time in those two centuries.[82] And however strong or ineffective may have been the political power of the Boiotian states, the region had considerable cultural importance: it was the center of mainland poetry, and its aristocrats were staging funerary games with enough flair, and with rich enough prizes, to lure contestants from Athens.[83]

Both regions basked as well in the prestige of a glamorous past. The two were the main centers of Bronze Age civilization and were remembered as such. The one celebrated event of mainland " history " was, for instance, the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, a force that marched against the Boiotian city from an Argive base; and the most celebrated hero, Herakles, had a double homeland of Tiryns and Thebes.

[77] Fibula from early excavations: DeCou, *op. cit.* (above, note 56), p. 243, no. 867, and pl. 86. Fibula from Blegen excavations: Blegen, *op. cit.* (above, note 56), pp. 440-442 and fig. 28, and *F.G.S.*, pl. 17, top.

[78] K. Friis Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens*, Paris and Copenhagen, 1923, p. 33, fig. 13.

[79] *C.G.A.*, pp. 521-524.

[80] *C.V.A.*, Heidelberg, III, 1966, pp. 56-57 and pl. 117.

[81] E. Touloupa Δελτ., XXI, 1966, B, p. 201, pl. 206, γ. Cf. *G.G.P.*, p. 130 and pl. 27, c-d; *C.G.A.*, p. 395 and especially pl. 104, top.

[82] *C.G.A.*, p. 565; *G.G.P.*, pp. 362-363; R. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid*, London, 1972, pp. 79-86.

[83] Cf. the 7th-century cauldrons from Boiotian funerary games that were dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis: L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 1961, pp. 91, 94, and pl. 7, nos. 3, a-e.

Both areas, too, give the impression of being bastions of conservatism, remaining aloof from the most progressive trends of the day—colonization, Mediterranean-wide trade, and large-scale workshop production—factors which, with others, were bringing about the rise of such new states, unimportant or even nonexistent in the Bronze Age, as Corinth and the Euboian cities.

With all the ties of the two regions and with all that they had in common, it seems highly appropriate that when a certain craftsman of the Theban fibula group decided to incise mythological scenes on a catch-plate, one of the subjects that he chose was the battle of Herakles with the Hydra in the marshes of Lerna.[84]

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[84] W. N. Bates, *A.J.A.*, XV, 1911, p. 3, fig. 2 and p. 7, fig. 4; *F.G.S.*, pl. 8, bottom. The scene also appeared on incised fibulae of other groups: *F.G.S.*, pl. 2, a product of a workshop that may have been located in western Boiotia, and B. Schweitzer, *Herakles*, Tübingen, 1922, fig. 34, a fibula possibly not of Boiotian manufacture.

PLATE 12

a. Burial PA 6:1 during excavation

b. No. 6, Burial Pithos

c. Grave goods as found

KEITH DEVRIES: A GRAVE WITH A FIGURED FIBULA AT LERNA

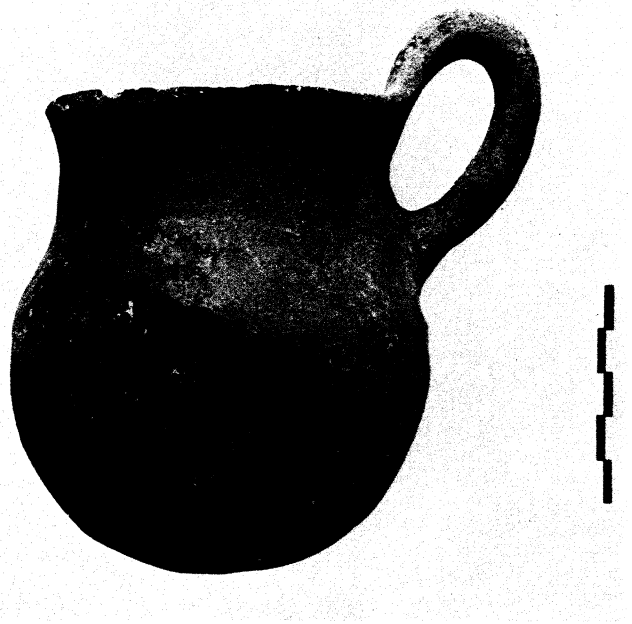
1

Central panel of No. 1: Battling horses with traces on a man between

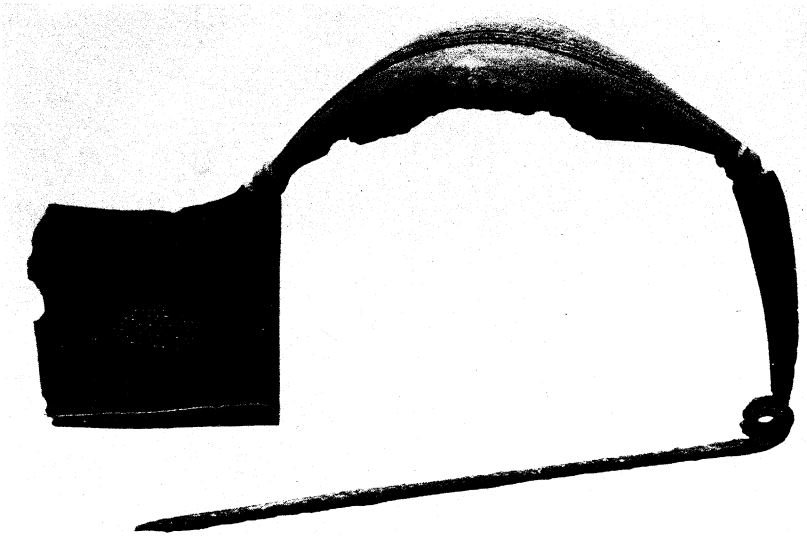
2

4

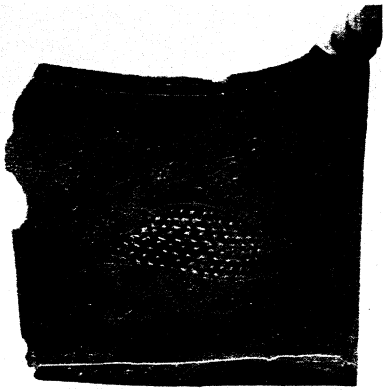
3



5

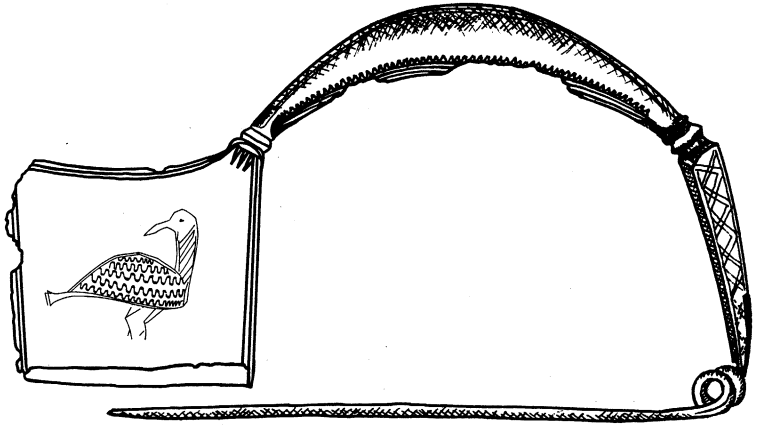


7, actual size

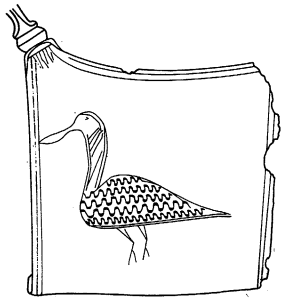


7, plate side B

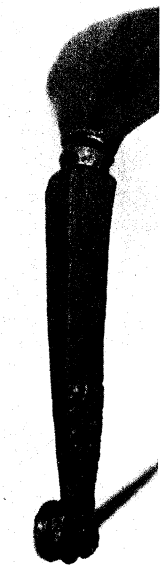
7, plate side A



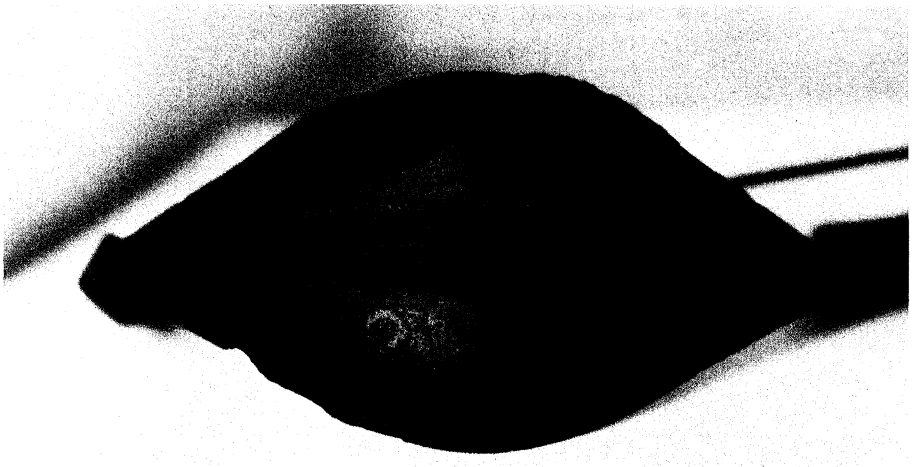
7, drawing, side B



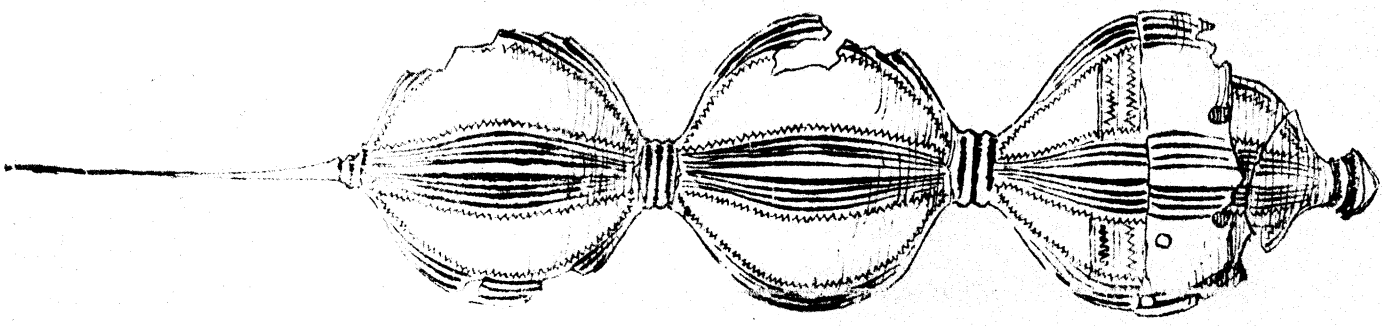
7, drawing, side A



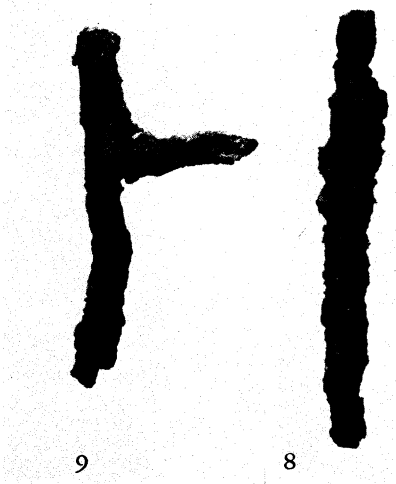
a. No. 7, repair on stem



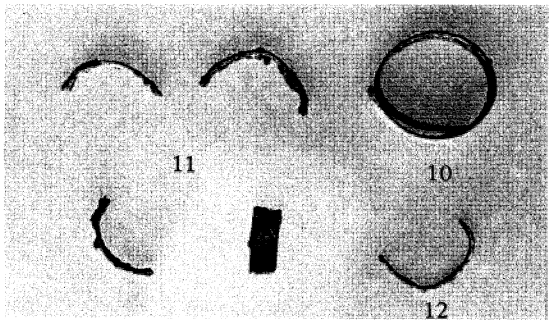
b. No. 7, bow from above



c. Drawing of Munich 3491 in 1895, showing ancient repair (1:1)



d. Iron objects (1:1)



e. Bronze rings and hoop