THE TOMB OF A RICH ATHENIAN LADY, *CA.* 850 B.C.[1]

(PLATES 18–33)

THE North Slopes of the Areopagus, the burial place of the nobility of the Mycenaean Acropolis at Athens,[2] continued to be used for burial during the Dark Age that followed. Thirty-one tombs, scattered over this area, are chance survivors from cemeteries of the Submycenaean through the Geometric periods, *ca.* 1150-700 B.C.[3] Most of these tombs were mutilated, and none, as it has been preserved to us, is especially rich. The best of them suggest that the deceased had lived in a certain affluence, but hardly in luxury.[4] This picture must now be adjusted to take into account a remarkable grave that appeared in this past season's excavations.

[1] I am warmly grateful to Professor Homer A. Thompson, to the American School of Classical Studies, and to the excavator, Gerald V. Lalonde, for the privilege of studying this material and preparing it for publication. While my debt to my fellow Agora Staff members and visitors to the Agora is apparent on almost every page, special thanks are due Prof. Edith Porada, Prof. Pierre Amandry, Mr. J. N. Coldstream, Prof. Colin N. Edmonson and Prof. Evelyn B. Harrison. Without artistic and technical assistance no paper could have been written; I acknowledge the following with deepest thanks. The photographs are all the work of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, Jr.; the drawing, Plate 18, was made by Mr. John Travlos; the plan, Figure 1, and the drawing, Plate 27, were made by Mr. William B. Dinsmoor, Jr.; Figure 4 was drawn by Mrs. Jean Barlow; all the other drawings are the work of Mrs. Helen Besi. I thank also Mr. Nikos Restakis for painstaking scale printing, Mrs. Poly Demoulini, and, not least, Mr. Spyros Spyropoulos for mending and sympathetic assistance at every turn.

Most frequent references: W. Kraiker and K. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, Berlin, 1939; K. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, IV, Berlin, 1943, and *Kerameikos*, V, 1, Berlin, 1954, abbreviated: *Ker.*, I, IV, V, 1. Individual pieces from the Kerameikos are cited by inventory number, volume number, plate and grave number, e.g. Inv. 1254 (V, 1, pl. 22, Gr. G 43). To keep the several series of grave numbers distinct, I have prefixed PG (= Protogeometric), G (= Geometric); these series designations do not always correspond with the date of the grave (e.g. Grave PG 41 is now surely Geometric in date).

[2] *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 274-291, N 21-22:1 and N 21:5; XVII, 1946, pp. 154-158, N 21:2 and N 21:3.

[3] On the initial date of the Submycenaean period, see V. Desborough, *Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors*, Oxford, 1964, pp. 241, 17-28.

I use the following subdivisions and approximate dates for the Geometric period:

EG I	*ca.* 900–875 B.C.	MG II	800–760
EG II	875–850	LG I	760–735
MG I	850–800	LG II	735–700

See the chronological table, R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London, 1961, p. xlvii. Approximately this same scheme was first set forth by J. N. Coldstream; a full discussion of it will appear in his *Greek Geometric Pottery* (Methuen, in press).

[4] *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 275-297, D 16:2; XXI, 1952, pp. 279-293, D 16:4.

On June 14, 1967, excavation was resumed along the west end of the South Road.[5] This venerable thoroughfare follows closely the line of an ancient road which led in from the Peiraeus Gate and, skirting the foot of the Areopagus, formed the southern boundary of the Classical Market Square. A few meters to the west of this season's excavation, the road forks, a branch leading up along the middle slopes of the Areopagus past the Mycenaean tombs. The line of this upper road, closed as a thoroughfare following its excavation some years ago,[6] is still retained in a footpath. Both streets have had a continuous history from early times, for they follow the natural routes along the terrain. Road metal has attested their existence in Classical times, and the Mycenaean tombs and Dark Age graves aligned along each show that they were already in use a millennium earlier. One of the objectives of this year's campaign was to complete the exploration of the lower road and a narrow strip, less than three meters wide, that separated it from the line of the 1932 excavations in the angle formed by the two roads.

In the first hours of digging the new burial (Pls. 18, 19)[7] began to emerge less than a meter north of the 1932 section line and barely 15 centimeters beneath the floor of the large temenos, probably of the fourth century, to the east of the triangular hieron.[8] The burial is the richest of post-Mycenaean times in the Agora area and perhaps the richest of its period in Athens. Its contents, including granulated and filigreed gold jewelry, ivory stamp seals, faïence and glass beads, present a picture of imported luxury and local technical accomplishment that was hitherto barely hinted at for Athens in the middle of the ninth century B.C.. For these reasons it has seemed desirable to make the contents of the grave available immediately in a separate report.

The form of the tomb (Fig. 1) presents nothing unusual. It belongs to the familiar trench-and-hole type[9] that was developed in Athens in the earliest Proto-geometric times. Though it was damaged, the restoration of the basic scheme is certain. The urn-hole was untouched, but the vertical faces of the pyre-trench had been obliterated and most of the pyre debris removed in grading for the fourth century temenos, if indeed inroads had not begun earlier. The debris was scattered, some of it near by to the south,[10] but much of it had been carried off and dumped

[5] Earlier excavation along the South Road (formerly Asteroskopeion St.), *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 47-57; II, 1933, pp. 469-470, fig. 18.

[6] Excavation along this road (formerly Apollodoros St.) was begun in 1897 by W. Dörpfeld. Six graves were uncovered, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 478; some of the vases, EG I through MG I, are illustrated, *C.V.A.*, Athènes 1, Grèce 1, pls. 1, 11-12 and 2, 1-6. Three other graves, less than a meter distant, were cleared by the Agora Excavations in 1932 (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 470, fig. 19) and in 1947 (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 158-159, pl. XLI, 1).

[7] Deposit number H 16:6.

[8] H. A. Thompson, above, p. 58.

[9] As *Ker.*, V, 1, pp. 7-11. The best preserved example is Eleusis Grave Γ 16, Πρακτικά, 1955, pp. 74-76.

[10] **10**.

in the area of the Geometric House about 15 meters further south;[11] the latest sherds in the dumped filling over the house were contemporary with the fourth century temenos. Finally, in the Hellenistic period, a bottle-shaped cistern (Pls. 18, 19, b) was sunk through the western floor of the pyre-trench, undercutting its floor, with

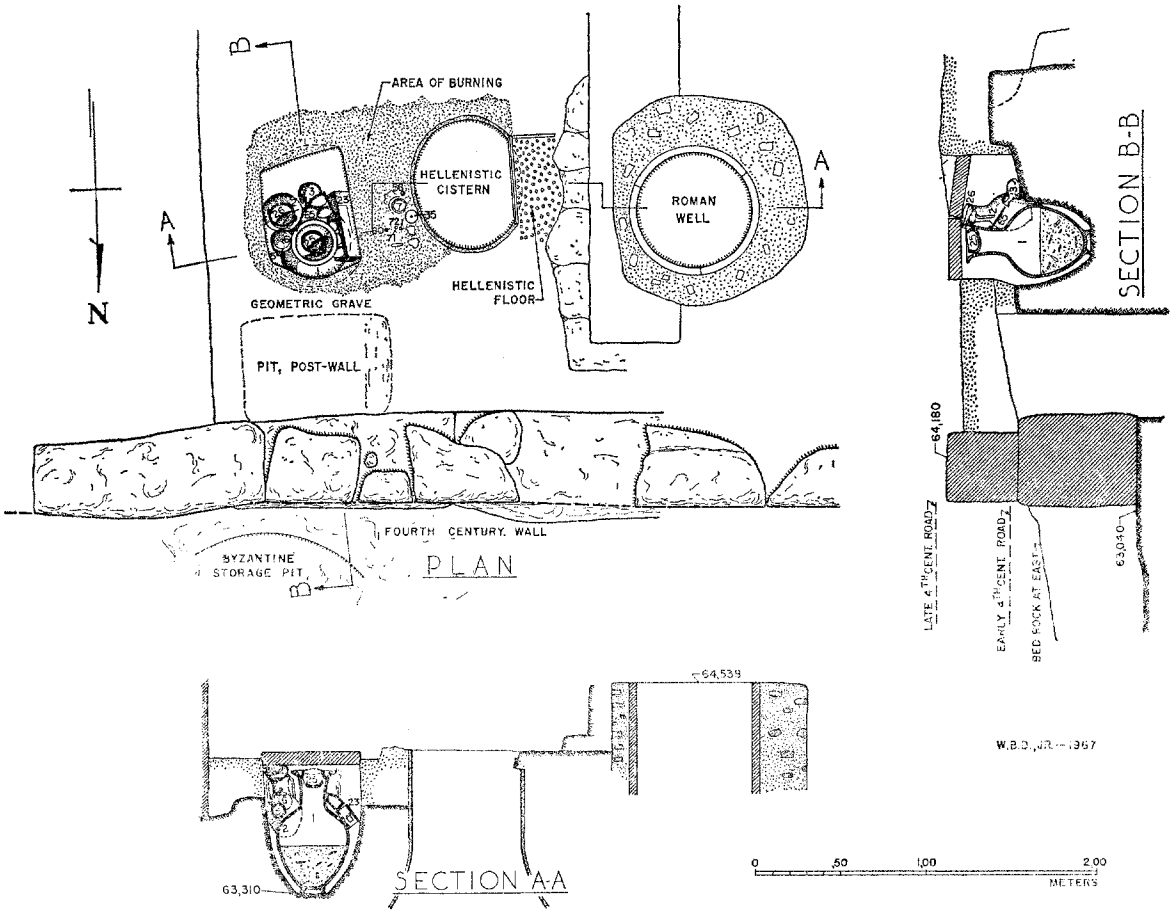

FIG. 1. Geometric Burial

[11] *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542-567. From that catalogue, nos. 47, 53-55, 73, 83, 86, 88-89, and 93 join pieces from the new pyre; many more joining pieces came from the 1932 storage pottery. The possibility of joins was first considered and confirmed by the excavator, Mr. Lalonde, from a careful study of that publication.

its flaring sides narrowly missing the urn-hole. Still later, Roman, Byzantine and modern activities threatened the remnants of the grave, but did not touch them.

An upper trench containing pyre debris is both canonical for this period in Athens and necessary to explain how the concentration of pyre debris survived. The floor of the trench is preserved in a rectangular area of hard, heavily burned earth, L. *ca.* 1.50, W. *ca.* 1.06; it may have been no larger.[12] The pyre, doubtless spilling onto the ground level surrounding the mouth of the trench, was burned on the spot, with the trench, pre-cut, as a focal point. Crude brick and perhaps lumps of clay seem to have been used as supports to ease the draft.[13] When the fire had died down and the debris cooled, the bones of the deceased were gathered up and deposited in the urn, and the jewelry and seals, which had been removed from the corpse before the fire was lighted, were returned to their rightful owner. The remaining pyre-debris was then raked to the west end of the trench,[14] where the heaviest concentration survived, and a hole for the urn was dug down in two stages into the east floor of the trench, through earth into bedrock (Pl. 18). It was deepest at the north end to accommodate the full height of the urn; unburned vases, perhaps symbolic of food and necessities for the deceased, were clustered around the shoulder of the urn and in the shallower south end of the urn-hole, which reached only to the level of bedrock.[15] The sides of the urn-hole were unburned. Pieces of the supports, some of their faces heavily burned and embedded with pieces of charcoal, were used to seal over the urn-hole.[16] The brick covering of the northern half, above the urn, remained in place; pieces of the southern half cracked and subsided into the hole, breaking some of the pots within.[17]

[12] EG II trenches at the Kerameikos have the following areas: 1.55 x 0.85, Grave 2; 1.50 x 0.78, Grave G 38. The full width only is preserved in the contemporary graves G 42 (1.03) and G 43 (1.00).

[13] *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 10; fragments of crude brick are common in Agora pyre debris. Later, slots cut in the ends of the trenches eased the draft, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 81-82.

[14] *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 10; also observed in other graves at the Agora.

[15] P.D. 0.90, of which 0.80 is the urn-hole. Top of urn-hole, *ca.* 0.75 x 0.52, Diam. at bedrock 0.50, narrowing to 0.20 at bottom.

[16] Beginning with the earliest years of the Geometric style urns are usually countersunk only to about half their height and the unburned offerings are clustered about them on the trench floor. Sometimes a low barrier (brick, stone, or a dyke of dug bedrock) separates the urn and unburned offerings from the pyre-debris, *Ker.*, V, 1 ,p. 10; this has been observed at the Agora. The best example is Eleusis Grave Θ 52, Πρακτικά, 1956, pl. 11*a*. Increasing size of urns may have discouraged deep urn-holes, but many of the partially buried urns are small (H. 0.40). Large urns (H. 0.50-0.70) are a feature of EG and are not found later. **1** and the urns of Kerameikos Graves G 38 (male) and G 41 (female), among the largest known, are the only urns of this period to have been completely concealed within the urn-hole.

[17] The only fully preserved early brick from the Agora is from Protogeometric Grave C 9:13, 0.23 x 0.23 x 0.09; see *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 10, where dimensions of 0.49 x 0.44 x 0.09 are given. L. 0.49 is suitable for the brick over the urn. Only the thickness of the collapsed pieces was preserved, 0.08 and 0.09. These conformed closely to the outlines of the southern part of the hole; the standard thickness suggests that they were in fact bricks, but they may have been trimmed to make a tight seal.

The mouth of the urn (**1**) was stopped tightly with the intact cup (**25**); no earth had penetrated its interior. Within it were the bones of a woman and a few animal bones,[18] three straight pins (**64, 66, 67**), a pair of bronze fibulae (**68, 69**), three gold rings (**74-76**), a pair of gold earrings (**77**), a necklace (**78**), two ivory stamp seals (**79, 80**) and an ivory disk (**81**). All were ornaments which the corpse must have worn at the *prothesis*; although the array was lavish, there is no real duplication that would suggest the random contents of a jewel box. But all were removed before burning, for none shows the ravages of the heat that reduced the bones to splinters. Quite exceptionally, a tiny charred strut joining one of the kalathoi in the pyre (**33**) was found in the urn.[19] All the other unburned pots were filled with seeped earth. The neck amphora (**2**)[19a] was closed by a cup (**26**); both were damaged by fallen brick. Three small jugs (**3-5**), a pyxis (**6**), and a bronze pin (**65**) lay around the shoulder of the urn on the east and south. A terracotta chest (**23**) along the west side of the urn contained darkish earth and a bronze ring (**70**), which, lying well above the floor of the chest, appears to have entered with the seeping earth after the lid had been displaced.[20] The five granaries decorating the lid of the chest held nothing but a little seeped earth. One of the gold rings (**73**) was found on bedrock in the southern half of the urn-hole.

[18] AA 302. "Adult woman, *ca.* 30 (24-40) years old." These were examined by J. L. Angel, September, 1967. There was no trace of a human child, infant or foetus. Animal bones, almost all carbonized, included lamb vertebrae and two larger vertebrae, probably from a calf.

[19] *Ker.*, V, 1, pp. 25-26. I know of only two other instances of pottery in urns. An unburned small conical foot, P 8043, was found in the urn of Agora Grave C 9:13 (Late Protogeometric); it does not join, but may well be the foot of P 6704, from the pyre. A very tiny miniature pyxis, P 6683, was found in the urn of C 9:10 (Late Protogeometric). It was heavily burned with an iron fibula adhering firmly to its side; the inclusion of the pyxis may have been the only way that this piece of jewelry could have been returned to the deceased.

[19a] It was remarked at the time of excavation that the neck amphora is quite unusual in a woman's grave. Several other small neck amphorae (H. under 0.40) are known; most come from men's graves containing very large urns, e.g., Agora Grave R 20:1, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLI, 1, and Kerameikos Grave G 74. This is the only one from a woman's grave, but very occasionally a woman's bones were deposited in a neck amphora of normal size (H. *ca.* 0.40), a shape usually reserved for men; cf. *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 151. The idea of a neck amphora in a female burial is not, then, totally unknown. It was suggested that this pot, its mouth closed by a cup like the urn, might have contained a foetus, all traces of which had vanished. But I find it hard to believe that a foetus, whose max. diam. had to be under *ca.* 0.07 to pass through the intact neck, would have been taken seriously; even if born alive, being under 6 months, no one would have given it a chance of survival. Late Protogeometric foetuses (youngest known, *ca.* 7 months) were deposited in wide-mouthed cooking pots (e.g. Agora P 21338, D. mouth 0.20, H. 0.37, Grave C 10:2); we have, unfortunately, no evidence for Early or middle Geometric infants of any age. Food vessels, their mouths sometimes closed by cups, are fairly common in this position; an oinochoe with cup in Agora Grave D 16:4, a man's grave (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 280, fig. 2). Two oinochoai lay against the shoulder of the urn in an EG II woman's grave, Kerameikos Grave G 41; the mouth of the grave was mutilated and cups, if there ever were any, had vanished.

[20] But cf. the contemporary Marathon Tomb 2, where a bronze ring was found in a globular pyxis and a bronze pin in a coarse pitcher; both were, however, uncovered (Πρακτικά, 1939, p. 33).

Outside the urn-hole pyre sherds and charcoal were scattered over the whole of the burned area, thinly in the east, heavily in the west. Immediately west of the urn-hole, along its southern half, lay a large lump of burned clay, of the same consistency as the bricks, and perhaps decomposed bricks, so fused that their separateness was lost. The lump was fairly flat on top, where it was blackened from fire and flecked with charcoal, but otherwise amorphous; max. dim. *ca.* 0.40 x 0.25 x *ca.* 0.18. This may be the remnant of a compartment wall,[21] but there are no traces of a continuation to the north side. Pyre pottery and charcoal were thick along the rim of the Hellenistic cistern. Most of the Handmade Incised Ware was found there, the complete pyxis (**35**) poised upside down on the brink of the cistern. One gold ring (**71**) lay on burned earth near by; another (**72**), partly melted, a little beneath it.[22] The terracotta balls, beads and whorls were also in this area.

Twenty of the inventoried pots from the pyre trench include joining sherds from the filling in the area of the Geometric House. A number of other pieces in that deposit almost certainly come from the pyre,[23] but do not join any of the fragments found *in situ*. Other fragments in that dump and some recovered a short distance from the tomb come from graves both earlier and slightly later, making it quite likely that this tomb is the only survivor of a cluster of graves once grouped along the road at this point.

The new tomb belongs with a group of exceptionally fine graves at the Kerameikos that stand at the close of EG II and point the way to future developments.

The pottery in these tombs stands out even in a period of extraordinary technical accomplishment. The best of it is formed with skill, taste and imagination, and it is exquisitely painted with an inventiveness that will not be seen in such force again until Late Geometric. One gets the impression of a leading workshop, possibly a group working in close cooperation. Most of the elaborate pieces seem to be the work of the same artist. **22**, **23**, and **1** go together; **3** and **5**, surely the work of one artist, may belong with them. **12** is closely connected with Kerameikos Inv. 1254 (V, 1, pl. 22, Gr. G 43) and Inv. 1256 (V, 1, pl. 48, Isolated Find), and the careful paired meanders may place these in the same group. For the wider associations of individual pieces, see below.

Though the Kerameikos tombs are less well preserved than ours, there are clear indications in Graves G 41, G 42 and G 43 of richness and of contacts that reach far beyond the borders of Attica. The new tomb confirms the fact that it is not a question of sporadic oriental trinkets that made their way into Athenian graves by chance. The three Kerameikos tombs all contain exotic materials. The only

[21] See note 16.

[22] The melting is surely from contact with a hot object, rather than the full heat of the pyre. Perhaps the two rings were dropped in the confusion of the funeral?

[23] E. g., *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 557-566, figs. 16, 24, nos. 41, 46, 84, 85, 35, 36, 87, 90-92, 94-96.

obvious import hitherto has been the " Phoenician bowl " in Grave G 42; the necklace, **78**, now joins it, and the immediate provenience of both will probably prove to be a Syrian port. The gold in these tombs, though imported as raw material, is surely locally worked: bands (Graves G 42 and G 43, men's graves), rings and pins (Grave G 41, a woman's grave). The ivory double duck's-head in Grave G 41, through its connections with **79** and **80**, may now, perhaps, be regarded as local work. The chains of elaborately decorated bronze fibulae in Grave G 41, together with the gold pair in Berlin (see pp. 110-111), indicate a thorough familiarity with oriental motives, but a selective adaptation of them to meet local tastes. The gold earrings (see **77**) imply a far more intimate association of Greeks with orientals than has hitherto been suspected. Whether the technique or the technician was imported, it was into an Athenian society with refined tastes and high standards, one that supported a lively artistic tradition developing along clear lines. Though receptive to new ideas, it was not to be swamped by them. Some time was to pass before the Geometric style had relaxed sufficiently for wholesale accommodation of new motives into the pottery repertory.

These tombs at the Kerameikos and in the Agora were graves of wealthy Athenians, the supervisors of extensive farm lands, and perhaps also the directors of an expanding overseas trade. The stamp seals in the new grave suggest that women, too, had responsibilities in economic affairs, though these may have been confined to domestic matters. It is suggested below (see **23**) that property qualifications may already have modified the definition of an aristocracy based solely on birth, and that the lady in our tomb may have been the daughter of a *pentakosiomedimnos*, who as a member of the highest propertied class was qualified to serve his community as a basileus, polemarch or archon. It is not impossible that she, herself, was an archon's wife: γυνὴ Ἀρρίφρονος, if we may follow for the moment the literary personifications which for later generations of Athenians enlivened the Dark Age.[24]

CATALOGUE

Except for some duplicates noted below, all tolerably complete pieces certainly from this grave have been inventoried; a few very fragmentary pots, even sherds, of special interest have also been included. The arrangement is: Pottery, divided by fabric (within this, conventionally, by closed then open shapes) into Fine Painted Ware, **1-34**, and Attic Fine Handmade Incised Ware, **35-63**; Metal, **65-77** (Iron, Bronze, Gold); Glass, **78**; Ivory, **79-81**. All dimensions are in meters. In general, the descriptions are intended to supplement the plates, although special features may be noted and a few pieces have been described in some detail.

1-34. Fine Painted Ware.

Basic fabric, see *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 158. The usual Early Geometric fabric is extraordinarily fine, marking the high point of the long development that began in Early Protogeometric; the average is considerably above that of Middle Geometric. The best is hard-

[24] Athenian " king list " of Kastor of Rhodes, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, 250, F4.

fired, well smoothed and polished, a deep pinkish buff in color. The glaze is more uniform in color and more often a true black than in Protogeometric; splotchy reddish areas are relatively rare. The glaze is still fairly thick and adherent, often with a slight or pronounced metallic luster. But there remains considerable variation even among the most carefully made pieces.

1. Belly-handled amphora. Pl. 20.

P 27629. Urn.

H. 0.715; D. 0.42. Mouth broken; otherwise intact.

Lip bevelled on top. Flaring ring foot, deeply turned beneath.

The back is the same as the front, except that the meanders in the side panels have only two keys, without the introverted end.

Hard warm pinkish buff clay, the surface a bit dull. Black to brownish glaze, fairly lustrous where best preserved, peeled in places and badly eroded over about half the back.

The shape is developed from the old Protogeometric belly-handled amphora, which occasionally even then, especially for grave markers (" Grab-amphoren "), achieved this size. Belly-handled amphorae of normal size (H. *ca.* 0.40) were replaced as women's urns by shoulder-handled amphorae at the beginning of EG I. No large grave markers of that period have survived, but their existence may perhaps be inferred from the rash of very large belly-handled urns that appears at the end of EG II; these preserve the old Protogeometric form with a few modernizations, such as the tall neck and more slender, pointed body. The circle metopes are remnants of the files of full circles that decorated the bellies of the very large Protogeometric amphorae, but were eschewed by the smaller ones. Apart from these very large belly-handled amphorae, concentric circles survive only in circular areas, as e. g. on the bottoms of kalathoi. Panels that will develop into the " triglyphs " of these Geometric urns began to appear in belly zones at the close of Protogeometric, e.g. Kerameikos Inv. 2027 (IV, pl. 10, Gr. PG 48); the idea was not new between horizontal handles, for panels separating circles had long been in use on Protogeometric skyphoi (e.g. Kerameikos, Inv. 1091, IV, pl. 22, Gr. PG 38).

Although men's large urns (H. *ca.* 0.70) were used in the earlier years of EG II (Kerameikos Inv. 925, V, 1, pl. 27, Gr. G 2), Kerameikos Inv. 2146 (V, 1, pl. 46, Gr. G 41) and this are the earliest women's large urns from known contexts.[25] Kerameikos Inv. 1256 (V, 1, pls. 47-48, Isolated Find) may well be contemporary; see **12**. Athens N.M. Inv. 217 is probably EG II, but the work is less careful; the others appear to be Middle Geometric, except for Inv. 805, which is Late Geometric.

Both Kerameikos Inv. 2146 and **1** are extraordinarily fine work, planned with taste and meticulously executed. Whereas Inv. 2146 is a highly individual creation, **1** sets the pattern for the rest.

Dotted multiple zigzags are found only in this tomb; see **10**. Simple multiple zigzags begin in EG II (Kerameikos Inv. 247, V, 1, pl. 89, Gr. G 75a, may be the earliest), but are common only in Middle Geometric. Reserved cross in circle metopes, also on Kerameikos Inv. 2146; cf. the bottom of the kalathos, **29**. The dots as angle-fillers here anticipate the rosettes on the other amphorae; Inv. 2146 is plain. Cf. dots in the angles of the squares framing the warts on **25**. Dotted receding lozenges with dots in the angles, cf.

[25] Others:
Athens N. M. Inv. 217, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 200, fig. 68.
Athens N. M. Inv. 216, *ibid.*, p. 199, fig. 66; *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XXIII, 3.
Eleusis, no number, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 200, fig. 67.
Athens N. M. Inv. 219, *ibid.*, p. 199, fig. 65.
Athens N. M. Inv. 805, *ibid.*, p. 199, fig. 64; *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XXIV.

Athens N.M. Inv. 217 (vertical column); plain receding lozenges with angle-dots, cf. **23**; dotted simple lozenges, see **6**. Outline lozenges come into use only at the end of EG II; the more complicated versions are weeded in the course of Middle Geometric, and the simple dotted lozenge chain, compressed to a narrow motive, alone survives into Late Geometric, where it is very popular. The handles of the other large belly-handled amphorae are laddered. The solidly glazed handles here are unique in Athens. They are exactly like those on Agora P 14819, an imported belly-handler from somewhere in the Cyclades; it might be this late, though it is still Protogeometric in style.

2. Small neck amphora. Pl. 21.

P 27630. Urn-hole.

H. 0.367; D. 0.214. Mouth crushed beneath collapsed brick; otherwise intact.

Tall neck. Flaring ring foot.

Handles laddered.

Deep pinkish buff clay; lustrous black glaze, in places with a metallic sheen, but peeled over large areas.

The patterns are conservative; opposed lines, a Protogeometric and Early Geometric pattern, are used only rarely later, and in this position are replaced in Middle Geometric by bars-and-butterfly (as Kerameikos Inv. 2155, V, 1, pl. 29, Gr. G 36; MG I). The single strip on the neck, front and back, is usual on smaller amphorae; cf. Kerameikos Invs. 926 and 253, V, 1, pl. 25, Grs. G 2 and G 74; Agora P 17080, Grave R 20:1 (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLI, 1). The barred lip is common from the close of Protogeometric on; bars-and-butterfly is usual on Middle Geometric and has already begun to appear on very large neck amphorae in EG II, e.g. Kerameikos Inv. 925 (V, 1, pl. 27, Gr. G 2).

3-4. Oinochoai-lekythoi.

This is an oil jug with narrow neck, trefoil mouth, and more or less sack-like body. It replaces the Protogeometric round-mouthed, ovoid-bodied lekythos at the very beginning of the Geometric period (Agora Grave D 16:2, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 67, nos. 8-13). Unlike its predecessor, it is relatively rare, and is not, apart from its earliest appearance in Agora Grave D 16:2, produced in sets of nearly identical jugs, a fashion that seems to belong to Late Protogeometric and the rich graves of the Transition. In the Geometric period, it is made from time to time on demand, and shows no consistent or chronologically useful development in shape and little in decoration. The size varies from miniature to very large, and any "normal size" is quite meaningless. Although it is relatively rare, the decoration is fairly consistent. Apart from two small EG I pieces,[26] the severe black glaze format, preferred on most other Early Geometric pots, is avoided on this shape. The reserved shoulder with latticed triangles preserves one of the common Protogeometric lekythos types, and like those the necks of all but the smallest have a few rings or a broad pattern. In Middle Geometric some, mostly large, have warts on the shoulder; a fanning meander runs over them as if they did not exist. See warts on large cups, p. 97. Larger and better pieces have several zones on the body and may have more than one on the neck. One, its neck diminished in height, but otherwise similar to 4, comes from a Late Geometric context.[27] It may be that the "Giant-oinochoe" with warts should be regarded as a descendant of the sporadic oil-jugs.

3. Oinochoe-lekythos. Fig. 2; Pl. 21

P 27631. Urn-hole.

H. 0.16; D. 0.129. Tip of spout rotted away. Low ring foot, somewhat deeper beneath.

[26] Blegen Grave, C, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 77 C, with window-panel on shoulder. Agora Grave H 17:2, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 553, fig. 11, 4, with fine reserved lines only.

[27] *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 38, fig. 24, 13, Grave IX, LG II a.

Lip glazed. Shoulder, four latticed triangles, a dot rosette between each two, but not alongside the handle. Handle, four bars above and below the herringbone; lower attachment ringed.

This is the most elaborate oinochoe-lekythos

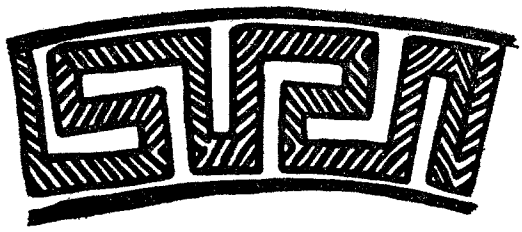

FIG. 2. No. 3

less than 0.20 high. Similar decoration, though simpler, is found on one of the earliest examples of the shape: Agora P 19234 (*Hesperia,* XVIII, 1949, p. 292, fig. 6); at least a generation separates them and it is hard to see any real connection.

The dot rosettes are among the earliest. Cf. **5**, and the contemporary monumental krater, Kerameikos Inv. 1254 (V, 1, pl. 22, Gr. G 43), where rosettes are used in the angles of circle metopes. They are also used in that position on Kerameikos Inv. 1256 (V, 1, pl. 48, Isolated Find), which has so much in common with Inv. 1254 as to be by the same hand; both I think are surely by the same hand as **12**; **3**, **5**, and **23** are close, though perhaps not that hand. The central dot in the rosettes on **3** and **5** is heavier than the side dots; the Kerameikos rosettes make no such distinction.

Kerameikos Inv. 1256 also has the paired meander, both on the neck and the shoulder. Apart from examples in this grave (**3**, **12** and **23**), the paired meander is rare before Late Geometric: broad-bottomed oinochoe, Agora P 6409 (Well L 6:2, lower filling: context MG I), atrocious painting; Agora P 6402, kantharos with dot-filling in the meander (same well, upper filling, where the latest material is MG II, but much probably including this piece is MG I). The fused battlement is an improvised space-filler. Handle, cf. the oinochoe-lekythos, Kerameikos Inv. 1141 (V, 1, pl. 83, Gr. G 13); it is used sporadically from EG I on.

4. Small oinochoe-lekythos. Pl. 21.

P 27632. Urn-hole.

H. 0.103; D. 0.087. Intact; mouth rotted inside.

No base; flat bottom.

Shoulder, three latticed triangles, doubly outlined. Handle barred.

Pinkish buff clay; adherent black glaze with a slight gloss.

Small, with slightly shorter neck: Kerameikos Inv. 864 (V, 1, pl. 83, Gr. G 11; later MG I). More squat body, Agora P 17480 (*Hesperia,* XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1, q, Grave I 18:1; MG I). All have low, false ring bases, hollowed or flat beneath. The flat bottom without base, though unusual on jugs, is regular on Early Geometric cups, cf. **27**. The simple flat bottom is found from time to time, cf. a Late Protogeometric lekythos from Nea Ionia (*Hesperia,* XXX, 1961, pl. 24, no. 34).

5. Aryballos with high-swung handle. Pl. 21.

P 27633. Urn-hole.

H. 0.087, to top of handle, 0.113; D. 0.077. Intact.

Flat bottom with no base. Handle, thick oval in section.

Thick band of glaze on the rim. Shoulder, five sets of 8-10 receding triangles, between each set a dot rosette on a dotted stalk. Wide band of glaze just above the resting surface. Handle laddered; lower attachment ringed.

Pinkish buff clay; brown-black glaze, thinning to light red-brown over most of the pot.

A charming one-of-a-kind confection. Receding triangles are found sporadically from the end of the Mycenaean period. Freestanding they are commoner earlier, but the idea is a simple one, and the triangles are often used to fill the angles between lozenges; see **23**, lid. The dot rosettes on stalks are closest to the dotted frames in the circle-metopes of Kerameikos Inv. 1256 (V, 1, pl. 48, Isolated Find); on the rela-

tionship of these pots, see **3**. Fine stripes covering areas that earlier would have been glazed are common only in MG II and begin only toward the end of MG I, e.g. the skyphos, Kerameikos Inv. 861 (V, 1, pl. 95, Gr. G 11). The shape of **5** is peculiar and possibly inspired by handmade aryballoi, although they are first attested only in MG I, e.g. Agora P 17471 and 17478 (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1, n and t, Grave I 18:1). The fat oval handle is individual.

6-13. Pyxides

The tomb contained not less than eight pyxides,[28] one of them (**6**) from the urn-hole, intact, the rest quite fragmentary, from the pyre. They are of two kinds, globular and pointed; both have a countersunk flange to bed the lid. Both are purely Geometric forms and appear in the earliest Geometric graves,[29] side by side with the old Protogeometric globular pyxis with everted lip. The Geometric globular pyxis appears to be a modification of that older form, but the pointed pyxis is a wholly new creation without ceramic antecedents.[30] The Protogeometric form does not outlive EG I; the Geometric globular pyxis and the pointed pyxis continue in EG II.[31] In MG I the globular pyxis is replaced by the "low pyxis," a broader and shallower form.[32] A number of pointed pyxides come from MG I contexts,[33] but the form is lost before MG II,[34] when the low pyxis, now with decorated bottom and surely, like the pointed pyxis, suspended, replaces it.

Both forms of pyxis carry "reference marks," casual gashes or "X's," matching on underside of lid and lip or top of shoulder. There are a pair of such marks, always diametrically opposite and near the tie-holes. They seem to indicate that this lid belongs to this pot and that it fits best in this position. The "reference marks" appear to have served as a temporary guide until the tie-holes could be punched. The tie-holes were made by one stroke passing through lid and lip, after painting had been completed, but while the clay was still soft enough to be displaced slightly. "Reference marks" were rarely smoothed away, almost never from the body, although glaze sometimes obscures them. On Agora P 7204 (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 18, I 24; EG II rubbish in a MG II context), the one preserved tie-hole cuts straight through a sloppy "X" incised on the flange.

Globular pyxides: All have a simple ring foot and differ from the Protogeometric form only in the kind of lip. The decoration is taken from that older vase, which in Early Geometric contexts has three zones on the body, a broad one flanked by a pair of narrow zones. The body is glazed above and below. Only one globular pyxis has fewer than this number;[35] very large

[28] The total number of pyxides in the pyre must have been much larger. There were sherds from several others in the pyre deposit and still more in the dump by the Geometric House. Only one of the seven inventoried lids may belong with an inventoried body; and there were fragments of a few more lids, uninventoried, from both deposits. An estimate of 20 pyxides is conservative.

[29] D 16:2, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 68, nos. 2 and 4. Protogeometric form, *ibid.*, pl. 67, no. 3.

[30] Influence of basketry, *Agora*, VIII, p. 14, with references.

[31] Berlin-Munich Group: *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. I, 6; *C.V.A.*, München 3, Deutschl. 9, pl. 129, 1 and 2.

[32] The earlier low pyxides tend to be proportionally taller than the later ones, but there is no gradual transition between them and the Geometric globular form.

[33] Kerameikos Inv. 1201 (V, 1, pl. 110, Gr. G 13); Agora P 543 (I 18:2); Agora P 17475 (I 18:1, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1, d); Acropolis West Slope Grave 2 (*C.V.A.*, Athènes 1, Grèce 1, pl. 1, 8); Toronto Group from Attica (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI, 1-6).

[34] Agora P 7204 is EG II rubbish in an MG II well (D 12:3): *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 18 (I 24), pp. 107-108; the chronology throughout differs somewhat from that used here.

[35] Marathon, Tomb 2, with meander only, Πρακτικά, 1939, p. 30, fig. 3*a*, perhaps provincial.

pieces may have more,[36] but the zones never encroach seriously on the broad glazed areas above and below. Shape is no guide to date.

Pointed pyxides: Usually the whole surface of the pot is covered with zones of ornament, as many as eight; though zigzags are sometimes repeated as spacers, there is a considerable variety on each pot. All pointed pyxides have one broad motive, rarely more. This is commonly a hatched meander, key or battlement, but a line battlement (EG I) and multiple zigzags (**10**) are also used. Narrow motives include checkerboard, lozenge chains (**11**) with a variety of fillers, dotted double-dogtooth, slanting or perpendicular bars, chevrons, opposed lines (once),[37] and the ubiquitous zigzag. The latest pieces [38] have a tall meander, too heavy for the size of the pot, and ill-matched to the contours; it is flanked by zigzags, and glazed areas above and below replace other narrow zones of subsidiary ornament. The bodies of these pieces tend to be tall and stiff.[39] But other pieces from MG I contexts are virtually indistinguishable in shape and decoration from Early Geometric pyxides.

6. Globular pyxis and lid. Pl. 21.

P 27634 a and b. Urn-hole.

H. 0.098, with lid 0.136; D. 0.128; H. lid 0.043; D. 0.08. Intact; chips from edge of lid.

a) *Body*:

Single tie-holes, diametrically opposite. Reference marks: a short vertical scratch at the top of the shoulder, just below each tie-hole.

Glaze on vertical and horizontal surfaces of flange, carried just onto body.

Pinkish buff clay; black to orange-brown glaze, rather dull and in places peeled.

Virtually identical in pattern, but a little more squat in shape: the miniature Kerameikos Inv. 950 (V, 1, pl. 15, 18, Gr. G 3; H. 0.061); the low conical lid continues the outline of the body; context EG I. Lozenges, dotted as here, neck of amphoriskos from Eleusis Grave α (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1898, pl. 2, 16; context MG I), and on the pointed pyxides, Toronto C 1036 and C 1037 (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI, 2 and 6; context MG I). See **1**.

b) *Lid*:

Shallow domed, with top-shaped knob on low three-ringed stem. Bands of bars, more or less slanting.

Firm black to brown glaze, slightly lustrous.

This lid was not made for this box, but was found on it. It does not rest tightly against the recessed flange. There are two pairs of opposite tie-holes, set further in toward the center than those on the body. Although they do not quite coincide, it is possible to pass a string through the holes on the body and one of each set on the lid. Reference marks: diametrically opposite gashes on underside of lid, just to the right of each set of tie-holes. The gashes, like the holes, do not correspond with those on the body.

7. Globular pyxis. Pl. 21.

P 27717. Pyre; joining sherds from the dump by the Geometric House.

H. 0.162; D. 0.198. About a quarter of the pot; profile complete. One tie-hole preserved and part of the second of its pair. Reference mark: a gash between the two holes, just next to the complete one.

[36] Cf. **7** and **8**, where the auxiliary zones are doubled. Munich 6232 (*C.V.A.*, München 3, Deutschl. 9, pl. 108, 3), twice the size of any of the others, has three broad zones, each separated by zigzags and with three auxiliary zones below, but the broad glazed areas are still prominent.

[37] Toronto, *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI, 6.

[38] Kerameikos Inv. 1201 (V, 1, pl. 110, Gr. G 13; battlement); Agora P 17475 (I 18:1, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1, d; key). The ugly piece in Reading belongs with these (*C.V.A.*, Reading 1, Great Britain 12, pl. 8, 1 a).

[39] One from the Berlin-Munich Group (*C.V.A.*, München 3, Deutschl. 9, pl. 129, 1) with a tall meander and two auxiliary zones below, anticipates these, but its contours are full.

Flange: vertical face glazed; a broad reserved band on horizontal face, then glaze carried over onto the body.

Unburned sherds are hard, rich deep pinkish buff clay; lustrous glaze with body. Excellent fabric and careful painting.

A pair with **8**. This is about twice the size of **6**, and by doubling the number of auxiliary zones the balance between pattern and glaze is maintained without grossly enlarging the height of the zones.

8. Fragmentary globular pyxis. Pl. 21.

P 1674. Pyre; joining sherds from the dump by the Geometric House, one of them, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 560, fig. 19, no. 55.

P.H. 0.12; D. 0.203; D. base 0.094. Profile preserved from base into shoulder.

See **7**.

Excellent fabric with lustrous black to brown glaze; more extensive heat-damage than on **7**.

Several other fragments, non-joining, are from **7** or **8**, or possibly from a third pyxis, identical with them.

9. Fragments of a globular pyxis. Pl. 21.

P 27638. Pyre.

P. H. 0.07; D. mouth est. *ca.* 0.052. Two non-joining fragments set in plaster. About a quarter of the body; profile preserved almost to the base. Half of one tie-hole preserved; reference mark: a deep gash on the shoulder, somewhat to the left of the tie-hole.

Strongly rounded shoulder; rather thick flange, only slightly countersunk.

Glaze on inner edge of flange, carried onto horizontal face; broad reserved stripe, then glaze carried onto upper body in a broad band.

Hard clay; firm, lustrous brown glaze.

See **15**, possibly the lid.

10. Fragmentary pointed pyxis. Pl. 22.

P 213. Pyre. Most of the sherds came from the dump by the Geometric House, one of these being *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 558, figs. 16-17, no. 47 (there numbered P 1639; with the help of the new pyre sherds, it now joins P 213. P 213 as the lower number now refers to the whole new pot). One sherd was found *ca.* 5 m. south of the tomb in 1932.

H. 0.135; D. rest. 0.10. Several non-joining fragments set in plaster; profile complete except for the very tip, which is worn; tie-holes and reference marks lost.

Flange reserved.

Hard clay; firm glaze, mostly chocolate brown. Some sherds burned. Very nice fabric.

Dotted multiple zigzag, see **1**. Slanting bars are fairly common in EG II and MG; bars are rare in EG I and usually perpendicular.

11. Fragmentary pointed pyxis. Pl. 22.

P 1664. Pyre; all sherds, except the joining point, are from the dump by the Geometric House, one of these, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 562, fig. 21, no. 73.

P. H. *ca.* 0.095; D. rest. *ca.* 0.075. Profile preserved to base of shoulder.

Light pinkish buff clay, dulled in places from smoke; dull black glaze, worn and much peeled.

Compartmented lozenges are new at this time: dotted, **23**; without dots, belly-handled amphora, Athens N.M. Inv. 219 (*Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 65; probably MG I). Receding angle-fillers used with receding lozenges, **31**; on handles of a large neck amphora, Athens N.M. Inv. 815 (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XIX, 1; EG II) and the pointed pyxis Toronto C 1035 (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI, 4; MG I). And see the gold rings, **74** and **75**.

12. Fragmentary pointed pyxis. Fig. 3; Pl. 22.

P 27639. Pyre; one joining sherd from the dump by the Geometric House.

P. H. 0.11; D. rest. *ca.* 0.09. Profile preserved almost to tip; *ca.* 0.01 missing. Two large fragments and several sherds set in plaster. No tie-holes or reference marks preserved.

Glaze covers the flange and extends just onto the body. Superimposed zones, from top: zig-

zag, dogtooth, meander (Fig. 3), checkerboard (4 rows), zigzag, then solid glaze.

Hard brittle buff clay, variously discolored; black glaze, largely peeled. Extraordinarily fine painting.

Three units of paired meander exactly fit the circumference.[40] Paired meanders, see **3**; battlement-filler, cf. handle finial of **24**. The hatching, opposed on the two legs of the battlement, is distinctive; this is one of the peculiarities that connects **12** with the painter of Kerameikos Inv. 1256 (V, 1, pl. 48, Isolated Find) and Kerameikos Inv. 1254 (V, 1, pl. 22, Gr. G 43).

13. Fragmentary pointed pyxis. Pl. 22.

P 27640. Pyre; joining sherds from the dump by the Geometric House.

Rest. H. 0.13; P.H. 0.081; D. rest. *ca.* 0.085; D. mouth *ca.* 0.05. One large fragment preserves the profile into the lower body. The point, non-joining, appears to belong; its uppermost zone matches the lowest preserved on the body fragment. One tie-hole and a reference mark remain: a single vertical stroke on the shoulder aligns with the center of the hole.

Flange reserved. Band of glaze on the upper body, then superimposed zones, from the top: zigzag, zigzag, hatched key left with at least one battlement, dogtooth, zigzag, rings, then glaze to point.

Hard clay, variously discolored from smoke; black glaze, peeled over large areas.

Fragments from another, almost identical, uninventoried.

14-21. Pyxis Lids.

While pyxis lids themselves show no basic changes from Protogeometric into Geometric, the EG II examples are uniformly securely bedded on a countersunk flange. They are all more or less domed and the profile is of no assistance in dating. Protogeometric lids had small biconical handles or handles in the shape of an inverted cone. The inverted cone disappears at the beginning of Early Geometric; some of the Early Geometric biconical handles are exactly like the Protogeometric. Most Geometric handles have a shank or stem separating a finial from the body of the lid. The height of the handle is generally of no help in dating, although the very tall ringed stems belong to Middle and Late Geometric low pyxides; but even on that new form, the biconical finial (now very asymmetrical, like a tall truncated cone) on a very short stem continues into Late Geometric.

Few Early Geometric lids are well prserved.

FIG. 3. No. 12

One globular pyxis of Protogeometric type from an EG I grave (Kerameikos Inv. 2135, V, 1, pl. 51, Gr. G 1) has a knob in the form of a model of itself, the profiled base resting directly on the dome of the lid. The finial **21** is of this type, and probably sat directly on its lid without any intervening stem; it may belong with **17**. There is no evidence that the Protogeometric pyxis with everted lip, which it so closely resembles, was still made in EG II. A similar finial in the form of a Protogeometric pyxis is on the lid of the earliest low pyxis (Berlin, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. 1,4). Model pyxides continue to be used as finials on low pyxides where they more commonly resemble the flat bodies they crown. Cf. the pyxides in Agora Grave I 18:1 (*Hesperia,* XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1, h, i, k, l); the type is

[40] I owe this observation to Helen Besi, who made the restored drawing.

common in MG II and LG. Another EG I lid fitting a pyxis of Protogeometric shape had a small plastic horse for a handle (*Hesperia,* XVIII, 1949, p. 290, fig. 3, Grave D 16: 2). an experiment that is not repeated until the later years of MG II, heralding the lavish quadrigae of Late Geometric. The only lids belonging to globular pyxides from EG II contexts have low, ringed stems (Berlin, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. 1, 3; and **6**, here), but I doubt that further examples would support a rule. The Berlin-Munich pointed pyxis lids are very like ours, though the conical finial of one is rather taller. The forms of Middle Geometric handles as they appear on flat pyxides tend to be more exaggerated in cone and stem height; Middle Geometric pointed pyxis lids are more conservative and hardly distinguishable from EG II lids.

The decoration of lids is simple. The finial is usually ringed, the top of it always; the stem is glazed. Triangles, popular on Protogeometric lids, are found from time to time. The commonest are simple reserved lines (**17-19**) and bands of bars (**6, 15, 16**). Chevrons are rarer (**14**). In MG I a zone of dots becomes common.

14. Fragments from a pyxis lid. Pl. 22.

P 27660. Pyre.

D. *ca.* 0.12. Two non-joining fragments preserve about a quarter of the lid; center lost.

Rising steeply toward the center. One pair of tie-holes remains and a reference mark: a gash perpendicular to the circumference, between them on the underside.

Hard pinkish buff clay, somewhat damaged from burning; black glaze, adherent except where actually burned.

Simple chevrons are used as filling in a battlement meander on the EG I pyxis, Agora P 19240 (*Hesperia,* XVIII, 1949, p. 290, fig. 3, Grave D 16:2). Chevrons begin to be used in narrow zones or strip panels only at this time, cf. Kerameikos Inv. 2146 (V, 1, pl. 46, Gr. G 41). They are popular in Middle Geometric and continue into Late Geometric, where they are frequently drawn with a multiple brush.

15. Fragmentary pyxis lid. Pl. 21.

P 27661. Pyre.

D. 0.07; H. 0.043. Pair of single tie-holes; reference marks lost.

Burned and brittle. Glaze dull, but adherent.

Possibly the lid of **9**.

Slanting bars, see **10**.

16. Fragment of pyxis lid. Pl. 21.

P 27662. Pyre.

D. 0.07; H. 0.041. Pair of single tie-holes; part of one reference mark, a gash, remains.

Finial simpler in profile than **15**.

Burned and very brittle; glaze mostly peeled.

17. Fragment of pyxis lid. Pl. 21.

P 27663. Pyre.

D. 0.09. One pair of tie-holes preserved and part of one reference mark: a gash alongside the break, just to the right of the holes.

Hard pinkish buff clay; dark brown lustrous glaze.

The fabric is identical with that of finial **21**, and they may be parts of the same lid. Although this lid fits the pyxis **9**, the holes and reference marks do not match.

18. Sherd from a pyxis lid. Pl. 22.

P 27664. Pyre.

D. *ca.* 0.07. Part of one tie-hole; reference marks lost.

Hard clay, darkened from smoke; glaze damaged.

19. Fragmentary pyxis lid. Pl. 21.

P 27665. Pyre.

D. 0.06; H. 0.028. Tie-holes and reference marks lost.

Glaze at the base of the handle; decoration of the knob illegible.

Very heavily burned and crumbly.

20. Fragment of pyxis lid. Pl. 21.

P 27667. Pyre.

Max. dim. 0.032. Domed.

Part of a zone of slanting bars, then glaze up onto the side of the handle; top of finial ringed.

Heavily burned and brittle; all glaze peeled.

21. Finial from pyxis lid. Pl. 21.

P 27666. Pyre.

D. 0.03; P. H. 0.035. In the shape of a model of a Protogeometric pyxis; the tip of the knob is worn away. Spring of moulding that forms the "foot" preserved.

Top (the "lid") ringed.

Pinkish buff clay; dull adherent black glaze.

The fabric is identical with **17** and this may be the handle of it; for type, see p. 90. There is no parallel in an EG II context for finial without stem, but none, either, for this form of finial.

22-23. Granaries.

Besides **22** and **23**, there are at least ten other pointed structures, probably or certainly from Attica.[41] All have a window high up on

[41] 1) Princeton 51-13. Attic Fine Handmade Incised Ware. A pair, once attached to a platform, now lost. Said to be from Phaleron. P.H. 0.05. Frances F. Jones of the Princeton Art Museum kindly supplied these details. Because of the fabric, not later than MG I.

2) Eleusis. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1898, col. 112, fig. 32. From "the richest grave after the Isis Grave and Grave α," that of an adult around 25 years old. What is known of the context appears to be Late Geometric. H. 0.084. Squat; horizontal stripes.

3) Kallithea Athenon. *B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, pp. 413-414, fig. 7. Context disturbed, but apparently Late Geometric. H. 0.093. Very squat; striped.

4) Heidelberg 61/1. *C.V.A.*, Heidelberg 3, Deutschl. 27, pl. 113, 7. Context unknown. H. 0.101. Very squat; no flap. Striped, except for a row of "soldier birds" at the level of the opening and zigzags on the point. Late eighth century.

5) Oxford 1928.314. *Select Exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's Gifts to the Ashmolean, 1912-1966*, Oxford, 1967, pl. IV, no. 56. H. 0.096. Very squat like the Kallithea piece; nubbin-flap. Smeary glaze all over; "Attic."

6) Athens N.M. 18490. Empedokles Collection. H. *ca.* 0.10. Small flap, worn or broken. Streaky glaze, interrupted by two sets of fine reserved bands.

7) Karlsruhe B 1511. *C.V.A.*, Karlsruhe 1, Deutschl. 7, pl. 4, 5-8. Something that looks like a griffin-protome sits above the window in place of the flap. Horses on the "roof." Early Protoattic.

Four other pots were apparently intended to be the same thing, but the point and flap have been combined, so that the pot appears to stoop forward.

8) Agora P 7292. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 186-187, fig. 138, C 149; fragments of another, identical, uninventoried. H. 0.073. Radiating verticals indicate a "thatched roof"; file of birds; broad ladder to window. Spokes on bottom. Late Geometric.

9) Schloss Fasanerie, Inv. 90. *C.V.A.*, Schloss Fasanerie 2, Deutschl. 16, pl. 56, 10. Like 8, but the upper part of the roof is removable, as a lid. H. 0.065. Late Geometric.

10) Athens, N.M. 697. From the Dipylon. H. *ca.* 0.05. Birds; latticed panel reaching up to window. Late Geometric.

A triple-bodied piece with stooped peaks is said to be Submycenaean from Corinth; I have not seen it, but would be surprised if it were any earlier than the others: Berlin 4503, Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, "Hausurnen," pl. 73, e.

Fragments of another very large granary of Athenian provenience and Geometric in date have been reported to me, but I have not seen them.

On significance and use: R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 186-187; D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, pp. 413-414.

the wall, roughly square or trapezoidal, as the knife happened to slice; note the variation in the five on **23**. The flaps above the window on those from this tomb are good-sized, fairly neatly square, and perpendicular to the axis of the structure. Those from this tomb are the earliest in Greece (see p. 92, note 41) and the Princeton piece may be contemporary; it cannot, in any case, be later than MG I because of the Handmade Incised fabric (see p. 103). All the others appear to be Late Geometric or Early Protoattic, leaving a gap of perhaps 100 years; the differences in shape and execution support this. The later are uniformly squat, often bulbous onions, the flap a little bump or omitted altogether. The two little slots, carved with care into the bottom in the front of each of the five on **23**, must represent some distinctive characteristic of the original structure, such as little doors or vents. Not enough of the base of **22** has survived to tell whether it had slots too. Like the degeneration of the flap, the slots were dropped from the later ones.

All of these pieces with a known context come from graves, and since Handmade Incised Ware is known only from tombs, the Princeton piece also was very likely sepulchral. They were put in women's graves, but have not yet turned up in children's graves. I do not think that they were rattles or toys, despite the genuine rattles accompanying the Eleusis piece.[42] Nor do I believe in beehives, bread ovens, kilns, whistles, ink-pots, banks (an anachronism that has been seriously proposed) or in that last desperation, "cult objects," unless we are to understand that anything, whatever its practical use in daily life, becomes a cult object once it is deposited in a tomb. In any case, these objects are rare and not an essential part of the burial furniture, for which nothing else could be substituted. The view that they are model granaries has found the most supporters, and surely this is the most plausible explanation. I am not sure that decoration with "greedy birds" or horses offers strong support for this identification, but the ladders,[43] placed so that the grain could be carried up and dumped in the hole are attractive; the flap could be closed to keep out rain, birds and rodents. The holes at the bottom might represent spouts through which to draw off the grain, though I have no idea why there were two.

22. Large model granary. Pl. 23.

P 27668. Pyre.

Rest. H. 0.28; D. 0.20. The largest fragment winds like an orange peel around the pot; the base does not join, but its position is certain; the sherd with the window-flap is close, but does not actually join. The top is set in, but is not certainly from this pot; it is the only sherd from the dump by the Geometric House (not an argument in itself, see **11** and **12**). Profile complete to top of window.

Deep ring foot, not profiled outside.

Lowest part of body glazed, then three groups of patterned zones to the level of the window: dogtooth, hatched key left, dogtooth; zigzag, dotted double-dogtooth, zigzag; dogtooth, hatched key left, dogtooth. The area immediately adjoining the window is glazed, but the narrow patterned zones continue around the back three-quarters of the pot: zigzag, slanting bars, checkers, chevrons. If the top belongs, not more than one narrow zone of ornament is missing. On the edges of the flap, tangent dots; on its top, a dotted receding, compartmented square. On the front above the flap, two lines, then a bit of glaze (another line or the start of a glazed area). Point glazed, with the tip ringed.

Deep pinkish buff clay; lustrous black to brown glaze, variously discolored, some sherds burned gray.

Tangent dots, see also **31**; this is the earliest context for them. Rows of dots of any kind become common only in MG I; one of the

[42] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1898, col. 111. In the grave of an adult around 25 years; the sex could not be determined.

[43] Schloss Fasanerie and Agora 7292, see note 41.

earliest uses: the pyxis lid in the Berlin-Munich Group (Munich 7646 b, *C.V.A.*, München 3, Deutschl. 9, pl. 129, 2; EG II). Tangent dots are otherwise a Late Geometric pattern; in Late Geometric the zone is taller and the pattern more bold. There are no apparent links. The compartmented and dotted square is an adaptation of the compartmented lozenge on the legs of **23**. This may be by the same hand. Dotted double-dogtooth, see **30**; slanting bars, see **10**; chevrons, see **14**.

23. Chest and lid with five model granaries.

Pls. 24-27.

P 27646 a and b. Urn-hole.

Max. L. (lug to lug) 0.445; Max. total H. 0.253; Max. total W. 0.095. Mended complete, except for chips.

The chest, the flat platform of the lid and the lugs are handmade, the fabric thick, poorly baked, soft and splintery. It was moist and pliant, almost the consistency of cheese, when found. It had cracked under the pressure of the fallen brick and warped in drying. Mending was possible only with the extensive use of brass dowels; surface cracks, where pieces no longer locked together tightly, have been filled with plaster. The clay is a light pinkish buff to pale buff; the glaze is black and fairly well preserved on the lid, mostly chocolate brown and peeled from the box. The fabric of the model granaries, turned on the wheel to normal thinness, is sturdy, though a little pale in color for this period.

Chest:

L. box. 0.388; W. 0.075; H. 0.124; Th. walls *ca.* 0.008-0.011. Inside dimensions: L. 0.372; W. 0.057; Depth 0.053. Cut-outs: on sides, *ca.* 0.10 x 0.04; on ends, *ca.* 0.035 x 0.04. Lugs: L. 0.028; max. W. 0.021; max. H. 0.021.

Handmade. Assembled from five pieces: two sides, two ends, and floor of the chest, which is sealed to the sides by applied clay smoothed up against the walls above and below (Pl. 26). The cut-outs leave a brace at the bottom, *ca.* 0.017 high, that runs around all four sides. The lugs were applied with the lid, its granaries probably already attached, in position on top of the box. A fat, thumb-shaped piece of clay was applied to the middle of either end, fitted against both box and lid; surely preliminary modelling of the protome had been finished, but the fine ridges that separate the slanting panels on the muzzles would not have been made while the piece still required much handling; the underside of one of the lugs, too, seems to have been pared to final form after it was in position. The lugs were pierced, top to bottom, then cut horizontally to separate the "top," which would be the lug for the lid, from the bottom which would serve for the box. These cuts are irregular and on both lugs incline downward slightly toward the outside. The lid fits in only one position; it cannot be turned backwards without wobbling, nor can it rest on a broad flat surface without teetering.

Glaze all over the inside of the chest, the rim, the lugs, including the resting surface, and, exceptionally, the cut faces of the cut-out windows. Only a few flecks of glaze survive inside.

Patterned decoration, see Plate 27.

Lid:

Platform: Th. 0.012; W. 0.075. The bases of the granaries are flush with the rear edge; their bellies project *ca.* 0.02 beyond it.

Granaries; from left front: 1) H. 0.115; D. 0.08, 2) H. 0.104; D. 0.074, 3) P. H. (tip missing) 0.106; D. 0.076, 4) H. 0.099; D. 0.075, 5) H. 0.11; D. 0.08. Trapezoidal windows at top *ca.* 0.014 x 0.013; max. W. largest flap 0.016; max. projection 0.01. At the base of each granary, center front, a pair of holes, *ca.* 0.009 square, do not penetrate the interior.

The granaries were turned on the wheel like pointed pyxides, drawn up from the bottom and closed in a point; they were cut from the wheel (string marks, Pl. 26) and their bottoms left rough. (At this stage, had they been pointed pyxides, they would have been inverted, the mouth cut and the flange worked up from the exceptional thickness of the fabric at the "top";

see the section, Pl. 27.) The granaries were applied to the platform-lid and sealed with applied clay smoothed around the base of each; the pair of square cut-out holes in the applied clay, made before glazing, passes through this clay into but not through the fabric of the granary.

Patterned decoration, see Plate 27; flaps reserved on top and decorated with a pair of receding " pi's " (see Pl. 25).

The lid was painted after the modelling was completed; some small areas on the sides of the granaries and on the platform between them could not be reached in painting.

For other chests of this type, see *Hesperia,* XXX, 1961, pp. 165-166, under no. 42. No. **23** is assembled from separate members like the very early Protogeometric chests; the individual pieces are cut from thin slabs of clay, probably rolled flat, rather than pressed flat on a revolving wheel as were the slabs from which the early chests were cut. The long narrow box-lids, *Ker.*, IV, pl. 36, are isolated finds and could be Geometric in date. Otherwise there is no evidence for chests of clay between Late Protogeometric and **23**. For granaries, see p. 92.

This is one of the most elaborate Geometric pieces known. Every surface is decorated, the patterns complicated, purposely varied and alive with invention. The draughtsmanship is exquisite. One can only regret that the thick fabric did not bake properly in the time allotted the ordinary pots that were no doubt fired with it, with the result that much of the design must now be charted from " ghost-prints."

The spacing is remarkably good and, on the box itself, there are no tag-ends of meanders to be resolved; there is one on the lid, where an extra bit of meander on the far right granary is coiled back into itself, as on the front side-panels of **1**. The interlocking meander is a painstaking creation; since the lid fits in only one position, it was surely designed for the front. This meander is not tried again until the threshold of Late Geometric (e. g. Kerameikos Inv. 1214, V, 1, pl. 49, Gr. G 25), when shortly thereafter it becomes one of the glories of the Dipylon Master. The hatching of each meander here, exceptionally, does not change direction; the two are hatched in opposite directions, very likely to help the viewer keep them distinct. The hatching of the smaller meanders on this pot changes direction canonically. No less care has been expended on the meander that balances it on the back; the first and the final legs are filled with chevrons, the central span with " M's " on the verticals, triple zigzag on the horizontals. There are no mistakes. Cf. the battlements on the pyxides, Agora Inv. P 19240 and P 19239 (*Hesperia,* XVIII, 1949, pp. 290-291, figs. 3-4), which are filled with chevrons and zigzags, at most double; they are EG I, and since we have no intermediate pieces, there is probably no connection between them other than the patience and inventiveness of their respective painters. The vertical panels with superimposed " M's " or zigzags are new at this time. Cf. the krater, Kerameikos Inv. 1254 (V, 1, pl. 22, Gr. G 43); composite-handled bowls Invs. 2143-2144 (V, 1, pl. 93, Gr. G 42); belly-handled amphora, Inv. 1256 (V, 1, pl. 48, Isolated Find). They continue through Late Geometric. Instead of a symmetrical arrangement of panels on the back, there is checkerboard at the left and in the center, dogtooth on the right; see **30**. Four different lozenge-chains are used on this piece, the compartmented one with receding angle-fillers on the legs, front and back, being the most complex (see **11**).

The two ends are very nearly identical. The lug emerges from a glazed rectangle, as also on the Late Protogeometric chest (*Hesperia,* XXX, 1961, pl. 28, no. 42). The complex meanders are like those on the central granaries. This is their first known occurrence, and, apart from Kerameikos Inv. 884 (V, 1, pl. 29, Gr. G 13, an otherwise sloppy and unambitious piece), which is close in date, they are found again only at the beginning of Late Geometric. The patterns on the bottom braces all around are peculiar in not being closed off from the panels they adjoin. Receding lozenges with dots in the angles fill the legs; less monumental

and without dots, Kerameikos Inv. 1254 (V, 1, pl. 22, Gr. G 43); dots, see **6**. Only the pattern on the braces is different: teeth on one end, lozenges with heavy central dots and receding angle-fillers on the other. The same pattern, also with heavy dots, is used on the front vertical face of the lid, with a solid wedge of glaze in the angles.

For receding triangles, here slightly bowed in sympathy with the bases of the granaries, see **5**. The inverted receding triangles with heavy dots in the angles have not turned up elsewhere.

The plastic upper lug—crocodile or wolf protome, or ship's prow—has no sure contemporaries. Representational treatment of functional excrescences was known in Mycenaean times, but had long since passed from fashion in Athens. The most suggestive configuration, the " nose " of double horizontal rolled handles, is soberly passed up in the Geometric period. A plastic ornament, hardly a functional excrescence for it is alongside a knobbed handle, lies on the lid of a flat pyxis from Acropolis West Slope Grave 1 (Athens N.M. Inv. 15318, *C.V.A.*, Athènes 1, Grèce 1, pl. 1, 9); this boukranion, once with flaring horns and ears, is explicitly modelled and the eyes and nostrils are appropriately decorated. But even here, as on our protome, geometric ornament intruded; there is a large receding lozenge on the forehead (perhaps the forerunner of the " hairstar "). There is little such activity again until Late Geometric.[44]

The three other chests with known contexts also come from women's graves.[45] It is likely that all had the same significance, and the decoration on the lid of **23** makes the meaning virtually certain. Like the horses, or teams of them, which only a little later decorate the lids of low pyxides, the granaries are signs of affluence, and it is not precluded that their number here, five, is significant. If one can put any faith in Aristotle's statement (*Ath. Pol.*, 3, 1) that before Drakon's time officials were chosen *ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην*, property qualifications, however rudimentary, must have existed.[46] Five symbolic measures of grain might have been a boastful reminder that, as everyone knew, the dead lady had belonged to the highest propertied class, and that her husband, and surely her father, as a *pentakosiomedimnos,* had been eligible to serve his community as basileus, polemarch or archon. Chests in Classical representations are usually containers for or symbols of dowry.[47] This is very likely the significance of this chest, as well as of the others more modestly adorned. The lid was a convenient place to display this badge of

[44] Apart from the plastic horse on the EG I pyxis lid (see p. 91), the only other piece of Early Geometric modelling is the double duck's-head finial on the ivory " Plättchen " from Kerameikos Grave 41, probably of local manufacture, see under **79**.

[45] Very early Protogeometric:

Kerameikos Inv. 771 (I, pl. 59, Gr. PG 13), with belly-handled urn; skeletal analysis, *Ker.*, I, p. 259: " adult, probably female."

Kerameikos Inv. 924 (IV, pl. 3, Gr. PG 22), inhumation; hair-spirals and pins have yet to be found in a man's grave.

Late Protogeometric:

Nea Ionia, Athens N.M. 18104 (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 28; context, p. 151). The full context was not preserved, but it certainly included Attic Fine Handmade Incised Ware, which is found only in the graves of women and children; since the fragments were found in a pyre, a child's grave is excluded.

[46] So J. E. Sandys, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*[2], London, 1912, p. 18, note on *πεντακοσιομέδιμνος*. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14, where Sandys summarizes Busolt's views that *πεντακοσιομέδιμνος* must originally have referred to measures of grain and that Solon extended it to include wine and oil as well (*Ath. Pol.*, 7, 4: *ξηρὰ καὶ ὑγρά*).

[47] E. B. Harrison, *A.J.A.*, LXXI, 1967, p. 43, with references.

wealth. And that the family did not just barely qualify, the king-sized model, **22**, leaves no doubt.

24. Fragments from a kantharos. Pl. 22.

P 27637. Pyre; one sherd from the dump by the Geometric House.

P. H. 0.048; D. est. 0.086. Three non-joining fragments preserve slightly more than half the circumference, lip into lower body; one handle complete and part of the second.

A panel, front and back, covers about two-thirds of the area between the handles; it is framed by lines above and below, but not at the sides: hatched key left. Inner face of lip: group of strokes. At the base of the handle, a reserved square (the sides splay downward, so that it is slightly trapezoidal) : crossed diagonals with angle-fillers.

Darkened from smoke, but not actually burned; good black glaze, very thin-walled fabric of excellent quality.

The broad panel is Early Geometric, cf. Kerameikos Inv. 930 (V, 1, pl. 84, Gr. G 2). The double ladder is not common, cf. Kerameikos Inv. 1249 (V, 1, pl. 151, Gr. G 43, neck amphora; EG II) and Kerameikos Inv. 898 (V, 1, pl. 150, Gr. G 7, shoulder-handled amphora; EG I). A patterned square interrupting a barred vertical handle is found from time to time from Protogeometric on; on cups and kantharoi with high-swung handles it is at the bend of the handle. The position here is unique. Cf. the battlement-filler on **12**, where the angle-fillers are glazed; angle-fillers, see **23**.

25-27. Large Cups.

Seven large cups are known to me;[48] each has a pair of conical warts. With two possible exceptions, they are all EG II. They are distributed about equally between men's and women's graves. These are half again as large as the normal teacup;[49] the lip is low and sharply out-turned; the foot is a low ring. The outer face of the lip has a pair of reserved lines; some have groups of strokes on the inner face (**25**), others are clear (**26**). All have a broad panel in front, opposite the handle; on five of the cups it is filled with a hatched meander, key or key and battlement. The warts may be inside this panel (**26**) or just outside it, each in its own reserved square (**25**); in either case, the wart is respected and decorated with rings or a spiral. The Areopagus cup and one in Eleusis paint over the warts, following the usual treatment of warts on oinochoai-lekythoi (see p. 85), where they are ignored; they are either covered by a meander or painted out if the shoulder is glazed. A single broad-bottomed oinochoe from Eleusis sets the warts in reserved panels to either side of a multiple zigzag and decorates them as on large cups.[50]

[48] **25**, **26**; Kerameikos Inv. 932 (V, 1, pl. 105, Gr. G 2); Acropolis West Slope Grave 1 (Athens N.M. Inv. 15310, *C.V.A.*, Athènes 1, Grèce 1, pl. 1, 1); Marathon Tomb 2 (Πρακτικά, 1939, p. 30, fig. 3δ); Eleusis Museum, possibly that shown in the mouth of an MG I urn, Πρακτικά, 1956, pl. 11β, Grave Θ 52: panel, latticed lozenges with dots in the angles. A seventh from the German excavations on the North Slopes of the Areopagus in 1897 is now lost. It is illustrated, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 59, fig. 11 (= Pfuhl, *M.u.Z.*, fig. 5), in a sketch that may not be accurate. It appears to be an adaptation of the cup that is carefully drawn and described by O. Rubensohn in the Excavation Daybook, vol. VIII, p. 6, II (available to me through the kindness of Dr. E. Kunze, Dr. W. Fuchs and Prof. J. W. Graham). There is more than one panel; multiple zigzags across the front, flanked by conical warts that are completely painted over by a glazed panel, then side panels reaching to the handle, also filled with multiple zigzags. The published drawing shows only the front frames of the side panels; the height of the pot seems too low for the diameter. The information in the Daybook suggests an MG I context; it is surely not later, and may still be EG II.

[49] E.g. Kerameikos Inv. 934 (V, 1, pl. 105, Gr. G 2) : H. 0.056; or **27** here.

[50] Eleusis Inv. 987. German Archaeological Institute Neg. 417.

There is no continuous tradition of warts on post-Mycenaean pots. They are applied to certain shapes from time to time, e.g. in Submycenaean, belly-handled amphorae, oinochoai and handmade pots; in Protogeometric, an occasional cooking pot; in Geometric, oinochoai, cups and sporadic handmade pieces. It is hard to see them as vestigial rivets in the positions they occupy on these Geometric cups and oinochoai. Whether they are apotropaic (eyes, when decorated), chthonic or fertility symbols (breasts, when veiled), or just spoofs, it seems futile to speculate.[50a]

25. Large cup with warts. Pl. 22.

P 27635. Closing the mouth of the urn, **1**. H. 0.078; D. 0.122. Intact except for chips.

Wart ringed, with a dot at the tip and a dot in each of the angles of the squares. Handle laddered.

Pinkish buff clay; black glaze, peeled over large areas, but where best preserved slightly lustrous.

Dots in angles, cf. circle metopes on **1**.

26. Large cup with warts. Pl. 22.

P 27636. Closing the mouth of **2**.

H. 0.083; D. 0.137. Smashed by fallen brick.

Warts ringed. Handle, broad stripe of glaze over most of the horizontal course, then bars.

Pinkish buff clay; firm black glaze, thinned to deep brown, fairly lustrous.

27. Cup. Pl. 22.

P 27669. Periphery of pyre; some light smoke darkening.

H. 0.056; D. 0.083. Two non-joining fragments, their position certain, preserve about half.

Flat bottom, no base. Lightly inset lip, nearly vertical.

Two reserved bands on the outer face of the lip, one on the inner. Body glazed except for panel in front opposite the handle; it extends from the lip to mid body; a line below it, but no side frames: three triple-line battlements, dotted. Handle laddered.

Miserable fabric, flaked and corroded. Dull buff clay; a few flecks of brown to black glaze survive.

The line battlement is commoner in EG I, but still used in EG II, e. g. the necks of Kerameikos Inv. 2146 (V, 1, pl. 46, Gr. G 41: dotted) and Inv. 2149 (V, 1, pl. 28, Gr. G 43: plain).

28-34. Cut-work kalathoi.

There were at least eight cut-work kalathoi in the pyre, raising the number of known Attic examples to twelve. The earliest post-Mycenaean kalathos belongs to the fully developed Protogeometric style.[51] It is a cut-work piece and comes from a context slightly earlier than solid-walled pieces,[52] but this must be accidental. Kalathoi are never very common, and like other special grave furniture are deceptively conservative and show no consistent development. The latest are two from the Isis Grave (MG II); the last splaying solid-walled kalathos is from the same grave.[53]

All cut-work kalathoi seem to have had two banks of struts separated by a cross-brace; **33** is subdivided again. All have round holes through the center of the floor, pushed through

[50a] On mastoi, see R. Greene, *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, p. 93 and note 14, a " symbol of fruitfulness or plenty."

[51] Agora P 17445 (Well A 20: 5).

[52] Late Protogeometric; e.g. Agora P 6694 (Grave C 9: 9); Kerameikos Inv. 579 (I, pl. 71, Gr. PG 16).

[53] Cut-work: Athens N.M. Invs. 10968 and 10969, *C.V.A.*, Athènes 1, Grèce 1, pl. 6,10 and 11; solid: Inv. 11021, *ibid.*, pl. 6,8. The Late Geometric squat kalathoi (e.g. *Agora*, VIII, pl. 15, nos. 257, 264, p. 61 with references) have nothing to do, either in shape or decoration, with these elegant early pieces.

before painting; the hole perhaps was of some technical use in cutting the windows. A few points laid out on the pot itself or beside it on the wheel would have insured mathematically symmetrical triangular units in multiples of six or eight.[54] Occasionally on the most careful pieces, this may have been done. Usually the potter plotted few or no points and relied solely on his eye. A miscalculation on **28**, otherwise carefully made, resulted in a parallelogram at the end of the upper bank. The potter of **30** hacked away at random. But here, since the fabric and glaze are excellent, one feels sure that the painter, whose appalling sloppiness would be difficult to match, in this one case at least, cut the triangles. Incised guide-lines always mark the top and bottom of the banks. These weaken the fabric and struts tend to snap off along these lines. Such guide-lines, sometimes fairly deep, are normally used on wheel-made, cut-work shapes, e.g. stands, thymiaterion lids, etc. from Geometric times through the Hellenistic period.[55] But the guide-lines are not always followed in the cutting, and the decoration may coincide with neither. The first incision for the triangular windows was perpendicular to the base; the end of this cut is usually visible, bisecting the base of the triangles. On **30** it is a haphazard gash; on neater pieces it makes a clean right angle with the wall surface. These cuts, as they appear on the underside of the lip, tops and bottoms of braces, and base, make possible a reconstruction of the patterns formed by the windows, even if all the struts have been lost. The sides of the triangles were cut next; the base of the triangles last of all.

The pot was glazed inside and out after cutting.[56] On all kalathoi except **30** the cut surfaces and the face of the hole are unglazed,[57] though occasionally a little glaze may run down onto them. The earliest cut-work kalathos had twelve triangles in the lower bank, alternately inverted, the base line of one at the same level as the apex of the next (see Fig. 4, a). The length of the cut-out is about the same as the solid interspace, which is bisected by a cut; the struts touch only at one point at the apex, so that the effect is that of a *row of discrete triangles*, rather than of a zigzag, as below. The two cut-work kalathoi from the Isis Grave [58] follow this scheme and the irregular hacking of **30** was probably so intended. **28** and **29** have fairly evenly aligned *superimposed zigzags* (Fig. 4, b). **31** has one, and **32** at least one row of zigzags. Here the point of attachment is as small as possible, and the perpendicular cut runs, not from guide-line to guide-line, but short of one about the width of a strut. The patterns in the two banks are not always the same; **31** has *interlocking triangles* in the lower bank (see Fig. 4, d). The struts on **34** very nearly align from one bank to the next, so as to appear almost continuous (as if made from a single withe in basketry); the resulting pattern is a *chain of lozenges bisected by a cross-brace* (see Fig. 4, c). **33** is the most complex piece known. The upper bank consists of small lozenges bisected by a light secondary brace; the delicate triangles of the lower register appear to be the upper half of another chain of bisected lozenges.

Openwork kalathoi, like solid ones, always have decorated bottoms:[59] St. Andrew's cross

[54] For units of six, strike off the radius along the circumference; for units of eight, bisect perpendicular diameters.

[55] The Protogeometric stands, Kerameikos Inv. 2028 and 2029 (IV, pl. 25, Gr. PG 48) do not have incised guide-lines. The Protogeometric kalathos base is not preserved to a point where these lines would show. Guide-lines may be a Geometric development.

[56] So far as I can tell. It is just possible that the inside was glazed first.

[57] Also true of stands, but occasionally, as on Kerameikos Invs. 2028 and 2029 (IV, pl. 25, Gr. PG 48), the cut faces are glazed.

[58] Isis Grave, pl. 6,10 is based on multiples of eight, not six.

[59] The EG I solid miniature kalathoi from Kerameikos Grave G 3 (V, 1, Invs. 940 and 942, pl. 15,3 and 5) are reserved underneath.

(**28**), reserved cross with concentric circles (**29** and another, uninventoried), dotted reserved cross, or dotted squares.[60] **30** is unique among kalathoi in having its bottom solidly glazed. Groups of strokes on the horizontal face of the lip are usual, but **30** is clear. Whereas solid kalathoi usually have a pair of suspension-holes on one side just below the lip, cut-work pieces do not; a cord through a window would serve.

Patterns on the vertical face of the lip, cross-brace, and the vertical side of the base vary, but the struts are always hatched, with the exception of Isis Grave No. 10, which has lines parallel to the long sides of the struts.

Most kalathoi come from women's graves, but one solid one closed the mouth of a warrior's urn.[61] The only cut-work kalathoi come from this tomb and the Isis Grave, both women's graves.[62] Unlined, they cannot have

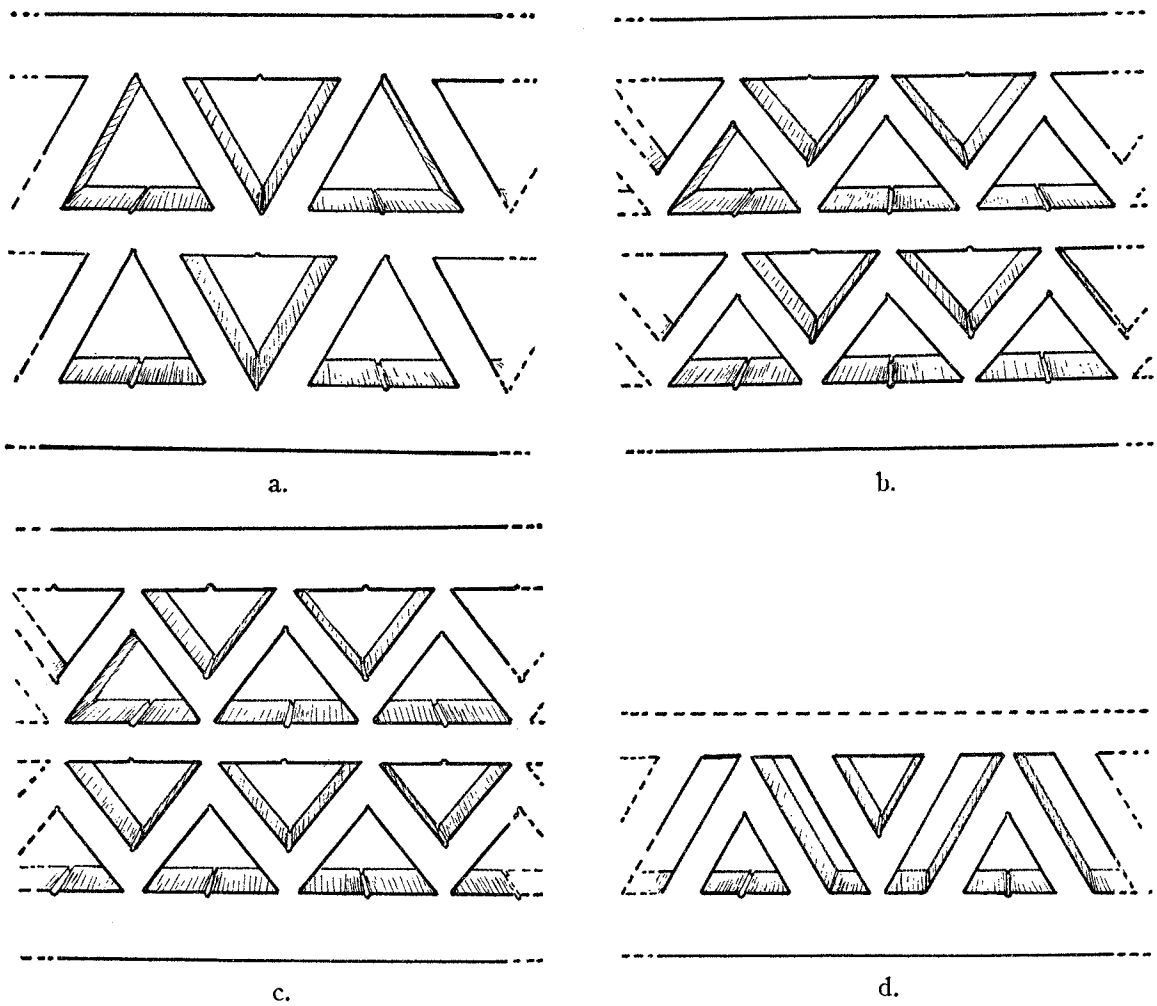

FIG. 4. Kalathoi a. No. 30, b. Nos. 28, 29, c. No. 34, d. No. 31.

[60] Both in the Isis Grave, see note 53.
[61] Agora P 24792, Grave N 16:4 (EG I).
[62] Agora P 17445 and P 21082 come from wells containing some cemetery debris.

held moist or powdery substances or small units. But like the granaries, they are probably to be thought of as miniatures, models of some object common in daily life.[63] Baskets for produce or wool are attractive possibilities.[64]

28. Cut-work kalathos. Pl. 28.

P 27641. Pyre.

H. 0.061; D. rim 0.102; D. base 0.039. About a quarter missing.

Superimposed zigzags: 16 windows below; 24 above, the side of the last omitted for lack of space, so that the window is a parallelogram. Cf. **31**, for intentional parallelograms.

Groups of 5-7 strokes on lip.

Warm pinkish buff clay; brown-black glaze, slightly metallic. One piece heavily burned.

Fragments of a second kalathos of about the same size, but with only three lines on the brace, not five as here, uninventoried.

St. Andrew's cross, in metopes of a belly-handled amphora, Athens N.M. Inv. 217 (*Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 200, fig. 68), which seems to be contemporary with this tomb.

29. Cut-work kalathos fragments. Pl. 28.

P 1645. Pyre. Many sherds, some joining, from the dump by the Geometric House; some, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 560-561, figs. 19-20, no. 53 (the height of the profile, fig. 20, must be adjusted to accommodate a second bank).

D. rim est. *ca.* 0.17; D. at cross-brace *ca.* 0.11; D. base *ca.* 0.06. Fragments from base, with an arc of the central hole, cross-brace, rim, and many struts, possibly all from the same pot, but no joins connect the three parts. Base and rim fragments from a second kalathos, nearly identical, as well as many non-joining struts that could be from either pot, uninventoried; the brace **34** may belong with these, for their window-pattern is uncertain.

Superimposed zigzags: eight windows in the lower bank, 16 in the upper.

Hard pinkish buff clay; firm, tan to light red glaze; a few sherds darkened from smoke, some heavily burned.

Reserved cross, see **1**.

30. Fragments from a cut-work kalathos. Pl. 28.

P 26029. Pyre; two pieces, including the base, come from the dump by the Geometric House.

D. rim est. *ca.* 0.16; D. base *ca.* 0.05. Four non-joining pieces preserve parts of the rim, brace, upper and lower struts, and base; there are gaps in the profile. The base is profiled outside. The outline of the central hole has been worn away, but a fleck of glaze on the break, midway through the thickness of the base, indicates that there was one.

Despite carefully incised guide-lines, the cutting and painting are crude.

Top of lip reserved; lip, dotted double-dog-tooth; brace, haphazard chevrons; base, scribbled multiple zigzags. Struts barred, but not outlined. Glaze on all cut faces; bottom solidly glazed.

Mostly burned or darkened from smoke; where undamaged, pinkish buff clay with adherent, lustrous black glaze. The fabric and turning are in striking contrast with the wretched cutting and painting, both of which may have been done by the same heavy hand.

A profiled base is very rare on kalathoi. Cf. solid-walled miniature kalathos, Kerameikos Inv. 942 (V, 1, pl. 15, 5, Gr. G 3; EG I). The earliest cut-work kalathos, Agora P 17445 (de-

[63] Their possible ritual use, particularly in Eleusinian contexts, has been stressed (Kübler, *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 29, with references), but despite the granaries in this tomb, I doubt that it is relevant here. Others have suggested that they might be thymiaterion lids, inverted so that the decorated bottoms would show; this is an attractive idea, but suitable bowls to go with them have yet to be found.

[64] Richter, *Shapes and Names*, pp. 13-14.

veloped Protogeometric), also has a profiled base, but there is no continuous tradition.

Dotted double-dogtooth is first used in EG I, e.g. Agora P 19239, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 291, fig. 4 (the drawing does not convey the delicacy of the draughtsmanship; the teeth are neat little equilateral triangles). The pattern there, as in EG II, is drawn as a zigzag extending from border to border, bisected by a line at mid height; the resulting triangles are alternately glazed. The pattern is most popular in EG II, where the teeth are longer and sharper as here. Chevron, see **14**. Multiple zigzag, see **1** and **23**.

31. Fragments from a cut-work kalathos. Pl. 28.

P 1646. Pyre. Joining fragments from the dump by the Geometric House; one of the rim pieces, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 561, fig. 19, no. 54.

D. rim est. *ca.* 0.17. Sections of rim (not all are illustrated here), upper and lower struts, and cross-brace. About a third preserved, from rim to near base. The fine incised guide-lines were not carefully followed in cutting or painting. The struts of the lower bank are fatter as the fabric thickens toward the base.

Zigzag above; interlocking triangles (apparently 12 in number) below. There are at least two parallelograms, so that they are not likely to be the result of miscalculation. Though the cutting is careless, the painting is fairly neat.

Lip, tangent dots; brace, dotted receding lozenges, the angles glazed. Struts outlined and hatched.

Hard clay, smoke-darkened, in places heavily burned; dull black glaze, peeled over wide areas.

Tangent dots on lip, see **22**. Pattern of brace, without dots, cf. the pointed pyxis, Athens N.M. 15317, from Acropolis West Slope Grave 2 (*C.V.A.*, Athènes 1, Grèce 1, pl. 1, 8). Lozenges generally, see **11**.

32. Fragments from a cut-work kalathos. Pl. 28.

P 27642. Pyre.

P. H. 0.038; D. est. *ca.* 0.17. About a quarter of the circumference with one strut of the upper bank.

The incised guide-lines are carefully followed in the cutting.

Similar to **29**, but heavier fabric and on a larger scale.

Hard gray clay; dull adherent black glaze.

33. Fragments from a cut-work kalathos. Pl. 28.

P 26028. Pyre. One sherd from the dump by the Geometric House; another, heavily burned and crumbling, from the ash in the urn.

P. H. *ca.* 0.07; D. at top of the central brace, *ca.* 0.107. About half the circumference, from mid body. Large central brace with joining struts of upper bank forming lozenges bisected by a light secondary brace. It is likely that the delicate triangles below the central brace met another secondary brace to complete a lozenge chain below.

Brace, opposed groups of chevrons, a dot in the lozenge formed at one end, solid triangles in the angles formed at the other end. Struts outlined and hatched.

Variously discolored. Hard pinkish buff clay; dull black glaze, slightly metallic on one sherd, in places peeled.

Opposed chevrons set vertically, with solid glaze between the groups, cf. belly-handled amphora, Kerameikos Inv. 2146 (V, 1, pl. 46, Gr. G 41).

34. Sherds from a cut-work kalathos. Pl. 28.

P 26026. Pyre; two non-joining sherds from the dump by the Geometric House.

P. H. 0.046; H. brace 0.012; D. brace *ca.* 0.10. Four fragments from a cross-brace, one with upper struts still attached; nearly identical in size with **29**. These cannot be part of **29**, for the scars from the lost struts show that the windows formed bisected lozenges. These could belong with fragments of the second kalathos, uninventoried, mentioned under **29**.

Fabric, see **29**; two sherds burned.
Bars, see **10**.

35-63. Attic Fine Handmade Incised Ware.[65]

This fabric has a continuous history from Late Protogeometric into MG I, when it begins to be replaced by other little handmade vases, totally unrelated to it and themselves having little in common.[66] None of this earlier group has come from a MG II context.[67]

The basic fabric is virtually unchanged from Protogeometric times, although the walls, particularly of pyxides, may be thinner, and the surface where intact is always highly polished and shows the fine striations of a comb (Pl. 29), which was employed in thinning the walls. Both the bowls and the lower bodies of the pyxides appear to have been pressed into a mould. The insides of the pyxides, not normally visible, are unsmoothed. Vertical troughs made by the tool that pressed the clay against the mould radiate from the bottom to the base of the shoulder; generally there are finger-made troughs as well. The upper part appears to have been formed separately and joined to the lower body, for it is always smooth inside and the fabric quite thin; a girdling finger-trough inside usually marks the transition between the upper and lower body, though no actual seam was visible. The walls of bowls vary greatly in thickness; the walls were combed inside and out and carefully finished, but occasionally traces of a fingerprint survive from pressure against the mould.[68] The hollow balls (**56-57**) were also mould-made.

The carelessness and haste in execution that characterizes most of these pieces is in marked contrast with the complexity of patterns; their diversity is remarkable and their combinations quite unpredictable. Sometimes pieces appear to have been manufactured in sets with matching patterns: a pyxis, a bowl, a bead (loom-weight ?) or so, a spindle whorl.

White or red, perhaps even blue filling would have added greatly to the liveliness and legibility of these little pieces. This has been reported from time to time, but I have not personally seen traces that were surely not incrustation.

Some shapes are different from those in the Protogeometric repertory, and there are some new motives and changes in syntax; but many pieces would be difficult to distinguish from those in Protogeometric contexts.

The old Protogeometric eared pyxis with tall matching lid[69] was at some point replaced by the *pointed pyxis* with simple flat lid. The lower body is normally pointed, but **35** has a narrow stump base. All have a plain hole-mouth with single opposite tie-holes, a little

[65] Description and earlier history, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 170-171; some points are corrected below.

[66] Most coherent is a group of small oinochoai and aryballoi of quite different, somewhat gritty tan or pale fabric; they are almost never decorated. Agora P 17471 has a pricked amorphous neck ring and streamer (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1, n; t is plain). Perhaps by accident, all of these other handmade fabrics come from inhumation burials. Handmade Incised Ware was restricted to graves of women and children; one of the gritty aryballoi came from the grave of a man in his middle years (Agora P 6843, Grave C 8:9; J. L. Angel).

[67] The Isis Grave contained eight handmade vases, none related to our fabric. The tripods are the closest, but, though unburned, the fabric is gray to black throughout. I suspect that they are local Eleusinian work, for other pieces from Eleusis are said to be of black clay. Athenian pieces are black only when they have been through a fire. In MG II graves, the characteristic Handmade Incised pyxis disappears and aryballoi and miniature oinochoai of gritty ware appear. Handmade Incised bowls are replaced by " Red Cross " bowls.

[68] Prof. Frederick R. Matson examined these pieces and provided many helpful observations which have been incorporated into the text, I hope accurately.

[69] E. g. Kerameikos Inv. 1075 (IV, pl. 31, Gr. PG 37).

down from the rim, for suspension and for securing the lid. The almost flat, button-like disks, **47-53**, seem to be lids (Pl. 30). Though they cover the apertures, the holes are well in from those on the body. It is virtually impossible to run the lid up and down the suspension-string as on the painted pointed pyxides. But the holes are well-placed for tying on the lid, perhaps to keep out insects, for the lids do not fit tightly enough to prevent the escape of liquid or powdery substances. No trace has remained of what, if anything, the pyxides held. The earliest context for the pointed pyxis is our pyre. There were at least 15 in it (**35-46**) and parts of four or five others from the dump by the Geometric House may also have belonged with these, though there are no joins to prove this. The body is decorated with broad zones of incised ornament. One of the commonest patterns is the "triglyph and metope" composed of herringbone and lozenge columns (see **38**). Lozenges are new to the Geometric repertory of Handmade Incised Ware and are popular. In metopes they are also used on whorls (see **58**), beads,[70] and on a collared jar on three toes.[71] Sometimes the lozenges are lined up in a horizontal zone on pyxides,[72] and on a bead, **62**. Impressed circles entwined in a wavy stroke-line are common on all forms of Protogeometric Handmade Incised Ware,[73] but the use of bold waves alone, executed in solid or stroke-lines, is Geometric; at least five of the pyxides have a bold line on the shoulder and some have wavy lines encircling the belly (see **35**). Another purely Geometric pattern suited to lower bodies of pyxides and to bowls is stroke-filled, pendant triangles (see **35** and **55**). Stroke-filled zigzags are also new;[74] the enclosed-stroke circle is related and is not a Protogeometric pattern.[75]

There were two bowls in the pyre (**54-55**) and sherds from possibly others in the dump by the Geometric House. Though the bottom of neither is preserved, there is no evidence that the pointed or narrow, flat bottoms[76] popular at the end of Protogeometric were still being made; the latest from a good context is EG I.[77]

Two (**56-57**), possibly four, hollow balls, pierced for suspension, came from the pyre. They were formed in a mould that was open at the top and later closed with a thin cap (which formed, in fact, the bottom); radiating rough tool-marks and fingermarks remain inside, like those in the bottoms of pointed pyxides. I can only imagine that these were ornaments to be hung from trees, like Christmas-tree balls; they are light and would sway nicely with the wind, perhaps even whistle if the suspension-holes were not completely plugged with string.

Clay beads and whorls continue the Protogeometric shapes without change, but the decoration with compartments, zigzags or lozenges is found only in Geometric contexts. A very few continue to be undecorated, or in the case of whorls decorated on the bottom only. The great ropes of beads, often in graduated sizes, are unknown after the transition to EG I. Their use is uncertain; although they rarely seem to have been large enough to have been an effective loomweight, this is not impossible.

[70] Kerameikos Inv. 900 (V, 1, pl. 157, Gr. G 7; EG I).

[71] Eleusis Grave α, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1898, pl. 2, 14.

[72] Agora P 1671 bis, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, no. 86, center, and P 1672, no. 87, right, These may well have been part of our pyre.

[73] *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 30; *Ker.*, IV, pl. 29.

[74] The bowl fragments, *Ker.*, IV, pl. 30, lowest, all isolated finds, have their best parallels among Geometric pieces.

[75] *Ker.*, IV, pl. 30, lowest; there are beads and whorls with this pattern, unpublished, in the Agora, but none is from a good context.

[76] *Ker.*, IV, pls. 29-30.

[77] P 735, Grave H 17:2. Four sherds were published, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, no. 7; the bottom and sherds filling out the profile have since been identified.

No collared jars on three toes were found *in situ* in the pyre, but a group of fragments from the dump by the Geometric House may be from one;[78] the only complete examples are from a MG I context.[79]

Other Protogeometric forms may have disappeared from the repertory. There is nothing in the fragments of little tubs and tripods (*Ker.* IV, pl. 30) that requires them to be Geometric; the latest of the Protogeometric dollies, from Kerameikos Grave PG 48, stand right on the borderline of EG I.

35. Pointed pyxis with stump base. Pls. 29, 30.

P 27643. Pyre. A few sherds blackened from coals.

H. 0.101; D. 0.07; D. mouth *ca.* 0.024. Mended complete except for chips.

Narrow, flat stump base.

Lower body, triangles, then a wavy stroke-line with impressed circles in the lower bays only. Strokes around the edge of the base.

Soft buff clay, in places with a high polish; comb marks on all parts of the vase (Pl. 29).

Wavy line on shoulder, **44-46** and P 1675, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, no. 91, upper. Stroke-lines or solid-lines on the belly, **36**, **46**, and *Hesperia, ibid.*, no. 90. Pendant triangles, **42**, **43**, **45**.

Stump base on painted pointed pyxis, Toronto C 1034 (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI, 3; fairly early MG I context). The stump base recalls, but is not easily to be connected with, those on Late Geometric handmade pyxides from the Argolid, e.g. P. Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Paris, 1966, pl. 99, C 2437.

36. Two fragments from a pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 27644. Pyre.

P. H. *ca.* 0.067; D. mouth *ca.* 0.02. Two non-joining fragments preserve the profile from rim to near the point.

Shoulder, broad double zigzags; lower body, groups of converging vertical lines: between each set, an impressed circle.

Very soft, dirty buff clay; finish lost and surface powdery.

37. Fragmentary pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 1678. Pyre; one sherd from the dump by the Geometric House: *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, no. 93.

P. H. major fragment, 0.08; of point 0.023. Three non-joining fragments preserve most of the profile with both tie-holes; the point appears to belong.

Mouth smooth. Lower body, wavy stroke-line with impressed circles in the bays, then groups of straight lines converging toward the base; between them an undulating stroke-line set vertically, with impressed circles in the bays. These lines appear to converge on the fragmentary point, the stroke-lines meeting at the very tip.

Hard pinkish buff clay, very brittle; a little polish survives.

38. Fragmentary pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 27647. Pyre.

P. H. *ca.* 0.08; D. *ca.* 0.065. About two-thirds of the body, from shoulder to point.

On body, probably five herringbone "triglyphs" alternating with vertical three-lozenge columns. The upper closing line of the shoulder is preserved, but nothing certainly from the mouth. Lower body, zone of horizontal herringbone, then encircling lines to the point.

Soft clay, variously discolored dirty buff to gray. Heavy, thick-walled fabric, the polish mostly gone.

Fragments from at least three others, uninventoried, in the pyre and one from the dump

[78] As suggested by the excavator. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, nos. 35 and 92 appear to be from the same pot; the two of them together cannot be manoeuvred into a conventional pyxis.

[79] Eleusis Grave α, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1898, pl. 2, 14-15.

by the Geometric House was probably from the pyre: P 1671 bis, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, no. 86 center. Others, **39** and Eleusis Grave XLIV, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1912, p. 35, fig. 15, no. 2.

39. Fragments from a pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 1671. One small joining sherd from the pyre; the two larger pieces are from the dump by the Geometric House, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, no. 86, left and right (the center piece, P 1671 bis, is not from this pot).

P. H. 0.075; D. est. *ca.* 0.08. Two fragments reaching from rim to lower body.

The inner face of the rim is very angular and nicked. Shoulder, horizontal herringbone between straight lines. Body as **38**, but four lozenges in the "metopes." A bit of the lower framing line remains.

Rather soft, pinkish buff clay; smooth tan surface with a fair polish in places. Careful work.

See **38**.

40. Fragmentary pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 1673. Pyre, with one joining sherd from the dump by the Geometric House, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 565-566, fig. 24, no. 88 (the small upper fragment does not belong) and fig. 25, where mislabelled "90." The new joining sherd shows that the pot was not a tripod jar.

P. H. 0.06. About a third preserved, from the base of the shoulder almost to the tip, which is broken off.

Lowest zone: line edged below by strokes, then an undulating stroke-line, some of the bays with impressed circles.

Soft yellow-buff clay, smoke darkened on one side; surface smooth, but polish lost. One non-joining fragment, burned gray throughout.

Wavy line, see **38**.

41. Fragment from pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 1674. Four non-joining fragments from the pyre; the rest from the dump by the Geometric House, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 565-566, fig. 24, no. 89; the profile is more symmetrical than that shown in fig. 25.

P. H. largest fragment, 0.043. Probably all one pot.

At least four superimposed zones of broad zigzag, stroke-edged, the upper zones confined above and below, the lowest not separated from the lines radiating from the tip; above one of these, a broad zone with a rising stroke-line.

Fabric buff throughout, but one piece darkened from smoke; polish lost. Very careless work; the strokes sometimes degenerate into pin-pricks.

42. Fragment of pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 27648. Pyre; one sherd from the dump by the Geometric House.

Max. dim. 0.06. Belly zone and part of lower body.

On lower body, a pair of enclosed stroke-lines setting off as if to form pendant triangles. Cf. **43**, possibly from this pot.

Soft pinkish buff clay, very crumbly; some coal stains.

Belly and triangles, see **35**.

43. Sherd from a pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 27649. Pyre. Possibly part of **42**.

Max. dim. 0.04. From lower body, but well above the point.

Upper of two zones: triangles (or enclosed stroke-zigzag). A single straight line, stroke-edged below, separates this from the lower zone. Lower zone, apparently triangles of enclosed-stroke lines with an undulating vertical stroke in the upper angle.

Very brittle pinkish buff clay, the surface very like **42**.

44. Fragmentary pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 27650. Pyre; one joining sherd from the dump by the Geometric House, P 1673 bis, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, no. 88, upper.

P. H. a) 0.065, b) *ca.* 0.03; D. 0.058. Three

non-joining fragments, lower body to beginning of shoulder, and shoulder to rim. Almost certainly one pot.

Mouth delicately finished; part of one tie-hole.

Fairly hard pinkish buff clay with a trace of polish. Very sloppy incision.

See **35**.

45. Fragments from a pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 27651. Pyre.

P. H. *ca.* 0.05; D. *ca.* 0.07; D. mouth, *ca.* 0.04. Two non-joining fragments from rim to just below the greatest diameter. One neat tie-hole remains, D. 0.003.

Stroke-girdle below rim. Scallops on upper third of shoulder. Lower body, triangles of one or two enclosed stroke-lines, stroke-lines in the angles.

Burned gray throughout. Excellent polish on shoulder.

See **35**.

46. Fragments of a pointed pyxis. Pl. 29.

P 27652. Pyre.

P. H. 0.085. One large fragment preserves the profile from rim into lower body; two others, non-joining, from the shoulder.

Shoulder, deep undulating line. At base of shoulder, two enclosed stroke-lines. Deep zone on body containing a wavy stroke-line, a straight stroke-line, a wavy incised line, then stroke-edged triangles. Two lines stroke-edged above close the zone. A stroke and the start of a diagonal line alongside it survive from a lower zone.

Soft clay, gray outside, dirty buff inside; a little polish.

See **35**.

47. Pyxis lid. Pl. 30.

P 27653. Pyre.

H. 0.01; D. *ca.* 0.04. Chipped.

Lightly domed on bottom, more so on top. Tie-holes, 0.027 apart, D. 0.0015.

Soft buff clay, a little smoked.

48. Pyxis lid. Pl. 30.

P 27654. Pyre.

H. 0.009; D. 0.032. Chipped.

Flat bottom; top lightly conical. Tie-holes 0.023 apart, D. 0.0025.

Soft pinkish buff clay.

Possibly the lid of **35** on which it is photographed.

49. Pyxis lid. Pl. 30.

P 27655. Pyre.

Th. 0.004; D. 0.031. Chipped.

Pinched flat; top and bottom covered with crisscrossing fingerprints. Tie-holes, *ca.* 0.018 apart, D. 0.004.

Dirty dark soft clay.

50. Pyxis lid. Pl. 30.

P 27656. Pyre.

Th. 0.003; D. 0.026. Like **49**, but lightly concave; fingerprints. Tie-holes 0.014 apart, D. 0.003-0.005.

Soft slightly pink clay.

51. Pyxis lid.

P 27657. Pyre.

Th. 0.003; D. 0.026. Like **50**; fingerprints. Tie-holes 0.014 apart, D. 0.004.

Soft pale clay.

52. Pyxis lid. Pl. 30.

P 27658. Pyre.

Th. 0.003; D. *ca.* 0.024. Like **50**; fingerprints. Tie-holes 0.015 apart, D. 0.002-0.005.

Deep pinkish buff clay; fine surface, crazed and peeling.

53. Pyxis lid.

P 27659. Pyre.

Th. 0.003; D. 0.024. Like **50**. Tie-holes 0.012 apart, D. 0.004.

Very brittle gray clay; surface entirely scaled away.

54. Fragmentary hemispherical bowl. Pl. 30.

P 642. One rim fragment from pyre; another, worn, from modern surface about two meters to the south; the main fragment is from the dump by the Geometric House, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 565-566, figs. 24 and 25, no. 83.

P. H. *ca.* 0.04; D. *ca.* 0.09.

A little more than half the circumference; profile from rim into mid body. Plain hemispherical; rim flattened on top.

Body divided into panels by " triglyph " complexes of straight lines, stroke-lines and scallops. Between them, vertical undulating stroke-lines with impressed circles in the bays.

Buff to orange clay, in places with a good polish; clear comb-marks.

55. Fragmentary hemispherical bowl. Pl. 30.

P 27645. Pyre.

P. H. 0.038; D. est. *ca.* 0.082. Two non-joining pieces preserve about a third of the walls and rim. Plain lip, lightly flattened on top.

In the core of some (alternating?) pendant triangles, an impressed double-circle surrounded by strokes.

Brittle pinkish buff clay, variously discolored; a little polish.

56. Hollow clay ball. Pl. 30.

MC 1110. Pyre.

H. 0.028; D. 0.03. Small part missing.

Lightly flattened top and bottom. Pair of opposite, horizontally pierced suspension holes near the top.

A circle sets off the cap, top and bottom: on the top, an irregular trilobite line bordered by strokes; bottom, five radial double lines. Main zone, enclosed stroke-zigzag, with enclosed stroke-lines pendant from the upper border; along the lower border, a stroke-line.

Pinkish buff clay; polish lost. Variously discolored.

Cf. **57.** The two published from the dump by the Geometric House (T 185 and T 236, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, nos. 94, 95) are probably from our pyre. All four from the Kerameikos (*Ker.*, IV, pl. 32), very similar to ours, are stray finds.

57. Fragment of a hollow clay ball. Pl. 30.

MC 1109. Pyre; one sherd from the dump by the Geometric House.

H. 0.026; D. 0.028. About two-thirds preserved with one suspension-hole near the top. Sphere, lightly flattened top and bottom.

Top and bottom cap defined by enclosed stroke-lines: on the bottom, six enclosed stroke-radii; on top, apparently three enclosed stroke-radii, alternating with three stroke-radii. Main zone, undulating stroke-line with impressed circles in the bays; stroke-lines above and below.

Soft pinkish buff clay; surface damaged and polish lost.

See **56.**

58. Spindle whorl. Pl. 30.

MC 1111. Pyre.

H. 0.026; D. below 0.028; D. hole 0.005. Intact.

Lightly flattened top and bottom.

Three columns of two-lozenge " metopes," separated by herringbone " triglyphs."

Pinkish buff clay; polish lost.

Another, slightly larger and with identical decoration, was found in the dump by the Geometric House and may be from this pyre: T 274, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 565, fig. 24, no. 96.

59. Spindle whorl. Pl. 30.

MC 1112. Pyre.

H. 0.022; D. below 0.025; D. hole 0.0045. Intact except for a chip.

Impressed circle omitted from one of the lower angles of the zigzag.

Pinkish buff clay, slightly smoked; polish lost.

Zigzag, see **60.**

60. Solid clay bead. Pl. 30.

MC 1113. Pyre.
H. 0.021; D. 0.025; D. hole 0.0065. Intact. Lightly flattened.
Pinkish buff clay; polish lost.
Cf. **61** and **63**. Others: MC 219, an isolated find from *ca.* 40 m. to the west; Kerameikos Inv. 2154 (IV, pl. 32, Gr. PG 41; context EG I). Smaller beads omit the straight lines above and below the zigzag. The whorl **59** is part of the same " set."

61. Solid clay bead. Pl. 30.

MC 1114. Pyre.
H. 0.0215; D. 0.025; D. hole 0.0045. Intact. Like **60**.
Pinkish buff clay, a little smoke-darkened. Polish lost and surface powdery.

62. Solid clay bead. Pl. 30.

MC 1115. Pyre.
H. 0.022; D. 0.025; D. hole 0.0055.
Pinkish buff clay, smoke-darkened on one side; polish lost.

63. Solid clay bead. Pl. 30.

MC 116. Pyre.
H. 0.019; D. 0.028; D. hole 0.0045.
Like **60**.
Pinkish buff clay; surface largely corroded away.

64-67. Pins.

Pins, the nearly indispensible concommitant of Protogeometric burials of women and girls, are far less common in Geometric graves. Protogeometric antecedents: *Hesperia,* XXX, 1961, p. 173, no. 57. Pins entirely of bronze begin to appear beside the familiar iron pin with bronze ball at the beginning of EG I; at the same time a finial above the disk-head becomes regular. The earliest pins in bronze reproduce the extravagant dimensions of Late Protogeometric pins, e. g. Late Protogeometric iron pins, Agora IL 498, P. L. 0.47, est. L. *ca.* 0.50 (Grave C 9: 13). The dimensions of the preserved parts of the EG I bronze pins, B 840 and B 841 (*Hesperia,* XVIII, 1949, pl. 72, nos. 26-27), D. head *ca.* 0.03, D. ball *ca.* 0.025, are identical with IL 498 and their shafts cannot have been much shorter. Thereafter the fashion subsides and pins comfortably under 0.20 may have been usual; the gold-plated iron pin from Kerameikos Grave G 41 (Inv. M 42, V, 1, pl. 159), now the longest from Geometric Athens, is only 0.312. It seems likely that the half-meter long pins were made to order for very special funerals and that their vogue, beginning toward the end of Protogeometric, did not outlast EG I; pins of modest dimensions surely continued in daily use throughout. No trace of incised decoration has survived on Protogeometric pins, and it is not certain that iron could be worked in this way. Probably a good many more of the Geometric bronze pins carried mouldings and incised decoration than their pitiful condition now reveals. The exquisitely chased Kerameikos gold-plated pins and the finely engraved small bronze pair in Toronto (Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins,* pp. 3-5, no. 12) alone suggest something of the delicacy and variety these simple pins once showed. The fragments **64** are the latest evidence for the combination of iron and bronze. Fragmentary pins of iron alone are reported from MG I contexts (Kerameikos Grave G 76, I, pp. 107-108, fig. 9; Grave G 12, Inv. M 97-98, not illustrated), but none surely later, although poor preservation often makes it impossible to tell whether a fragment is from a fibula or pin. Whether or not the fashion of wearing pins had passed (as seems unlikely), the practise of putting them in graves had.

The bronze pins **65-67** all appear to be round in section along the entire length of the shaft; it is unlikely that there was a secondary bead nearer the middle of the shaft as is clearly preserved on the Toronto pair. Engraved decoration on ours is not precluded, but the surfaces are too corroded to show any. None of the early Athenian pins seems to have the

square upper shaft mentioned by Jacobsthal (*Greek Pins*, pp. 3-5, no. 12) and if it is Athenian, it is probably late.

64. Fragmentary iron pin with bronze ball. Pl. 31.

IL 1496. Urn. Two non-joining pieces, a) head through ball, b) near the point. On b) the clear imprint of coarse linen fabric.

P. L. a) 0.042, b) 0.029. D. upper shaft *ca.* 0.006; D. ball *ca.* 0.013; L. between head and ball *ca.* 0.02.

From a pin similar to **65** and about the same size, but with iron shaft and head. Disk-head now broken all around; the top is damaged and there may have been something above it.

Bronze flecks and stain around the head, probably from other pins near by.

Now the latest context for this combination of materials.

65. Bronze pin with ball. Pl. 31.

B 1313. Urn-hole. Complete, but very corroded.

L. 0.175; D. ball *ca.* 0.012; D. head *ca.* 0.013; D. shaft *ca.* 0.006; L. between ball and head 0.018; H. finial 0.007.

66. Bronze pin with ball. Pl. 31.

B 1314. Urn. Three segments, not certainly belonging together, but the only combination of fragments adding to a plausible length.

L. *ca.* 0.17; D. ball 0.012; D. head *ca.* 0.017; D. finial 0.009; H. finial *ca.* 0.008; L. between ball and head 0.026; D. shaft *ca.* 0.006. Head splitting and flaking in laminae; no traces of incision.

Like **65**.

67. Fragmentary bronze pin with ball. Pl. 31.

B 1315. Urn. Three non-joining fragments, not certainly from the same pin, but the only combination of fragments adding to a plausible length.

P. L. *ca.* 0.16; D. ball 0.012. A bit of the upper shaft and all of the head missing, perhaps as much as 0.02.

68-69. Fibulae.

The bronze fibulae that begin to appear in Late Protogeometric graves are identical in form with their iron contemporaries; see *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 173, no. 58. Their size varies, and some at the end of Protogeometric and the beginning of EG I are quite large, though not so spectacular as the pins, e.g. iron, Agora IL 14, L. 0.085, H. 0.06 (Grave C 9:13); the fragments of the bronze fibulae in Grave D 16: 2 are about the same size (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 72, nos. 28-29, B 842-843). A wide range of sizes continues to be made, and more often than the pins they find their way into graves. The EG II assortment in Kerameikos Grave G 41 (M 47, V, 1, pl. 159) runs from L. 0.13 to a little under 0.04 (some of the effective length is now dissipated in the new square catch-plate); the LG I group from the Agora (IL 167, B 209, a total of 6 from Grave G 12:17, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 87, 104, fig. 73, XVII-27-32) runs from L. 0.138 to L. 0.02, both with extravagant catch-plate. Though relatively few fibulae have survived from intermediate contexts, there may be a continuous tradition of sets of fibulae.

The best preserved catch-plate in our tomb, on **68**, is only slightly broader than the Protogeometric examples; it is best paralleled on the Berlin gold fibulae [80] (G. Bruns, *Schatzkammer der Antike*, Berlin, 1946, p. 7, fig. 2; Blinkenberg, *Les fibules grecques*, pp. 77-78, fig. 65). The square catch-plate, first found in Kerameikos Grave G 41, appears suddenly and is not a development from this. It may have been improvised locally as a wider frame for figured

[80] I wish to thank Dr. A. Greifenhagen and Dr. U. Gehrig of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin for photographs and additional information about these pieces.

representations which the square catch-plates carry from the beginning. The same may be true of the flat half-moon bow, which also first appears in Kerameikos Grave G 41. The Berlin fibulae have flat, leaf-shaped bows, a form that was common only in Submycenaean and appeared only once in Attica during Protogeometric (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 173-174, no. 59). At what point the broad thickened leaf-bow (such as those in Agora Grave G 12:17) first appears, and whether it develops gradually, either by thickening the leaf or spreading the standard bow (as e.g. Kerameikos Inv. M 48, V, 1, pl. 160, Grave G 41), or is a fresh creation is not known. Nor can we, in view of poor preservation and paucity of examples, know for sure how long the modest flaring catch-plate, such as **68**, continued alongside the more ostentatious square catch-plate; **68** is the latest well documented example. The bows of **68** and **69**, with large central bead, are now unique in Athens; they have Cretan parallels, but there is no reason to insist that they are imported. Clearly, this is a period of experimentation with fibulae. What emerges is that in contrast to the uniformity of the Protogeometric period, there is a great variety in Geometric fibulae, but the well preserved examples are too few to determine the relations between them.

Incised decoration had begun on bronze fibulae already in Protogeometric (Agora B 277, barred fillets on either side of the beads: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 365, fig. 30, Grave F 9:1). The Berlin gold fibulae give some idea of the possibilities for fibulae with simple catch-plate; the fibulae from Kerameikos Grave G 41 set the standard for elaborate decoration of the square catch-plate. Both sets are EG II. The Toronto fibula, also with square catch-plate and nicely incised, is MG I. Later fibulae from Athens are too poorly preserved to show any decoration.

68. Fragmentary bronze fibula. Pl. 31.

B 1316 Urn.

G. L. (chord) 0.044; G. W. 0.018. Arch in one piece; several fragments of one or more double springs, flaring catch-plates, and needles, may be from this pin or **69**.

The end by the spring is pyramidal in form. No traces of incised decoration.

Three beads and double spring, with rather small catch-plate, Brock, *Fortetsa*, pl. 167, Inv. 1106, Tomb II 23 (iv); PG B, 850-820 B.C. The catch-plate here is closest to the Berlin gold fibulae, which are surely contemporary with this tomb (see pp. 83, 110).

69. Fragmentary bronze fibula. Pl. 31.

B 1317. Urn.

G. L. (chord) 0.035; G. W. 0.012. Arch in one piece, very badly corroded.

Like **68**, but a little smaller.

70. Bronze finger ring. Pl. 32.

B 1312. In chest, **23**.

D. 0.02; W. 0.003. Somewhat corroded, but intact. No traces of incised decoration.

71-77. Gold Jewelry.

On technique, see Herbert Hoffman and Patricia F. Davidson, *Greek Gold Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, Mainz, 1965, a masterfully simple explanation of the problems of working gold and the technical processes involved in making pieces like ours (properties and problems, pp. 22-27; repoussé and chasing, pp. 33-34; decorative wires, pp. 36-37; "welding," pp. 45-47; granulation, pp. 47-48). See also R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London, 1961, pp. 8-14, 18-23. Mrs. Davidson's view of simplified colloidal hard-soldering is attractive; the terms used below are hers.

I can find no good reason for doubting that the gold jewelry in this tomb is all locally made. The raw material was imported, and the techniques, though known in Mycenaean Greece, were probably reintroduced from the East not long before this time. There is the rare gold "hair-spiral" in the Submycenaean period,

then nothing in gold until EG I, if the only decorated pot in Kerameikos Grave G 7 (Inv. 898, V, 1, pl. 42) has been correctly assigned. The rings of Grave G 7 (Invs. M 72 and M 73, V, 1, pl. 159) are thin gold strips, technically quite different from their bronze contemporaries and predecessors. Like our **71-73** they appear to have been worked over a form, bevelled at the edges with a "V"-shaped trough running around the middle, in which a close-set row of dots was chased. The broader strip-rings **74-76** combine repoussé and chasing: the top and bottom rows of dots are punched from behind; the zigzags, lozenges and subsidiary rows of dots are chased. The motives on these rings are purely Greek and easily paralleled, some on the first Attic gold bands (e.g., Kerameikos Inv. M 74, V, 1, pl. 158, Grave G 42; EG II), all on contemporary Athenian pottery.

The magnificent earrings, **77 a** and **b**, too, find their closest relatives among contemporary Athenian jewelry. Curvilinear motives, although not yet used on contemporary pottery, appear frequently on contemporary jewelry that is firmly locked in the Attic sequence. A running wave pattern decorates the heads of the gold-plated iron pins with wooden balls from Kerameikos Grave G 41 (Invs. M 42-43, V, 1, pl. 159); but the necking on these pins consists of simple zigzags like those on **76**. The form, with a secondary bead about the same distance down the shaft as the ball is from the head, is that of the Toronto bronze pins (Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, pp. 3-5, no. 12); they are decorated with dotted lozenges and zigzags familiar from contemporary Athenian pottery. Both running dogs and lozenges are found on the bronze fibulae from Kerameikos Grave G 41 (Inv. M 48, V, 1, pl. 160). But the Berlin gold fibulae offer the most striking parallels.

The alleged provenience (Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, pp. 77-78) of these splendid pieces is surely correct: "Attica" if not Athens itself. On their form and position in the Attic sequence, see pp. 110-111; they belong, like our tomb, to the end of EG II, *ca.* 850 B.C. Though technically less radical than our earrings, they are among the most accomplished products of the Dark Ages. The running dog is used freely, and the incised "braid" down the spine may well have been inspired by a "twist-braid" like those on our earrings. The use of curvilinear motives is not, then, an argument against Athenian manufacture.

Miss Porada, who kindly examined the earrings in Athens, finds oriental parallels only for the triangular calyxes on the pomegranates; the necking above the flowers and the shape of the earring as a whole are quite otherwise. Even the fine granulation she finds more like Mycenaean work than Near Eastern. But the earrings are equally out of place among Mycenaean goldwork, and, in any case, no chronologically intermediate pieces that would support a living tradition have appeared in Greece. There are no finds elsewhere that would bring them in from another Dark Age center in the Greek world. It is quite otherwise with the next earliest Attic earrings, those from Eleusis Grave α, at most a generation later, and those from the Isis Grave (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1898, pl. 6, 6), two if not three generations later. Both pairs, if not imports, are faithful copies of oriental originals, with their heavy emphasis on the circular bow, long pendants, and colored insets. The difference is that in our specimens exotic techniques have been adapted to suit local tastes; the Eleusinian earrings are imports or products designed to meet an oriental fad.

71. Gold finger ring. Pl. 32.

J 142. Pyre.

D. *ca.* 0.02; W. 0.0035; Wt. 0.808 gram. Bent and torn through half the width. Very thin fabric.

See **73.**

72. Gold finger ring. Pl. 32

J 143. Pyre.

P. L. *ca.* 0.045; W. 0.004; Wt. 1.196 grams Broken and melted on one side.

Top and bottom are more rounded than **71** or **73**. See **73**.

73. Gold finger ring. Pl. 32.

J 144. Urn-hole.
D. 0.019; W. 0.004; Wt. 1.210 grams. Intact.

74. Broad gold finger ring. Pl. 32.

J 145. Urn.
D. 0.02; W. 0.0145; Wt. 1.668 grams. Intact. Bent flat when found, but easily opened.
Simple circle, the sides not profiled.
Receding lozenges, nowhere else on rings, but a conspicuous pattern on the better pottery in this grave; see **23**. Dot-edging, top and bottom, cf. Kerameikos Invs. M 44 and M 45 (V, 1, pl. 159, Gr. G 41), otherwise plain.

75. Broad gold finger ring. Pl. 32.

J 146. Urn.
D. 0.02; W. 0.014; Wt. 1.650 grams. Intact. Bent flat when found, but easily opened.
Virtually identical with **74**.

76. Broad gold finger ring. Pl. 32.

J 147. Urn.
D. 0.019; W. 0.012; Wt. 1.450 grams. Intact. Bent flat when found, but easily opened.
Shape and dot-edging as **74**. Zigzags on the earliest of the Attic gold bands, Kerameikos Inv. M 74 (V, 1, pl. 158, Gr. G 42): three superimposed, the outer two chased, the middle one repoussé. Zigzags on pots, see **1**.

77 a and **b**. Pair of gold earrings. Pls. 30, 32.

J 148. Urn.
a) G. L. 0.064; G. W. 0.0205; Wt. 5.934 grams.
b) G. L. 0.065; G. W. 0.021; Wt. 6.109 grams.
Each earring is composed of three parts: shaft, trapezoidal plaque, pomegranate finials.

Shaft: L. 0.033; W. 0.005; Th. 0.0005. Composed of strands of wire, both ends of which are based against a bar, a little over half way down the back of the plaque, and which rise to form a narrow loop. The strands are rectangular in section, plain alternating with pairs of twisted strands set side by side to form a "twist braid": plain, "twist braid," plain, then a single strand looped to make a "twist braid" in the center. The effect is of a solid shaft with rounded top.

Plaque: L. 0.018; W. top 0.015; W. bottom 0.018; Th. 0.001. Front: Bottom border, a pair of rectangular strips, between them, a "twist braid." At either side, a "twist braid" at the edge, then a rectangular wire. Upper border, stretching between the two side frames, "twist braid" at the top, then a rectangular wire. Within this frame are three panels: the upper is horizontal and occupies about a third of the free height, the other two run vertically below it. The horizontal division and the vertical divider between the two lower panels are made up of two plain rectangular wires with a "twist braid" between them. Each of the three panels is edged all around inside by a continuous row of very fine granules. In the upper panel, two units of open guilloche ("running dog") made of fine "strip-twisted" round wire. Within each vertical panel, a pair of "strip-twisted" running dogs, closed top and bottom by little arcs of "strip-twisted" wire.

Back: Side borders, running from top edge to top edge, like the front, "twist braid" on the edge, then a plain rectangular wire. These adossed "twist braids," front and back, form a "twist braid" on the side edge. Lower border running between side borders, "twist braid" at the bottom, then plain rectangular wire. About a third of the way up the plaque a cross-piece, formed of two plain rectangular wires with a "twist braid" between them. The strands of wire forming the shaft reach to this cross-piece; the four outer wires splay to the corners, the central "twist braid" continuing straight to meet the bar perpendicularly.

Finials: The pomegranates are hollow and here and there have been lightly dented. I

think they are made from three pieces, probably an upper and lower rounded cone, certainly a hollow tube, pinched front and back and side to side to form the flower. The upper join, if it is one, is very smooth; the lower join is masked by a single girdle of tiny granules. One of the girdles was set too high, so that a very light seam shows just below it (Pl. 32, detail, extreme right pomegranate). The bottom of the plaque is folded back at right angles to form a tiny shelf, against the bottom of which the pomegranates are attached. At the top of each pomegranate in front are three solidly-granulated triangles; only the top row of granules extends around to the back of the fruit. A row of four granules above each triangle masks the join with the plaque in front.

Only the pendant portion of the earrings has survived; they would have been suspended from a thin gold wire or hook passed through the lady's ears. The shafts of this pair were bent double when found, and if not intentional grave-side mutilation, the long dangling pendants may in their last use have been shortened in this fashion, the gold ear-wire now passed through the broad loop of the stem. But it is unlikely that they were designed to be worn in this way. On the best preserved piece (**77 b**), a small neatly-worked round hole was surely intended to receive the ear-wire. Microscopic examination shows traces of wear, both within the hole and perhaps on the wires above it (Pl. 30).

78. Necklace. Pl. 33.

Constituent parts, see below. The restringing of the necklace rests on no ancient examples. It is simply the only way that all the elements could be accommodated reasonably and with a minimum of restoration. Restored are: five small white beads (there were enough broken pieces to account for an original 12) and three brown beads (also enough fragments to permit an original twelve). The spacer beads make it certain that there were three strands; two are needed to consolidate the ends, and two frame the triple strands neatly alongside the large central bead. Three strings passing through the heavy central bead are a good idea when one remembers that it constitutes about a fifth of the total weight of the necklace. The diameter of the disk-beads will not permit them to abut against the spacers; the graduated smaller beads spread the strings sufficiently to accommodate the disks. At the ends, the three strings pass through the spacers and are knotted together at the outer end. On one end their tails are drawn around to form a closed loop; at the other, they are passed through the rock-crystal bead. This button-loop arrangement forms the clasp. The more durable rock crystal would be superior to faïence in a position subject to much handling and hard use.

78 a. *Ca.* 1100 faïence disk-beads. Pl. 33.

G 588. Urn.

D. 0.007 with Th. 0.0015; D. 0.005 with Th. 0.003. L. strung in a single strand 2.05 m. Total wt. *ca.* 85 grams.

Flat disks with holes in center. The dimensions vary, but there does not seem to be a graduated series. Most of the beads are closer to D. 0.007 and are thin, but about 100 of them are thicker and narrower, but do not appear to form a second series.

The fabric of all is the same, mostly pale green, but a few preserve a more vivid blue-green.

Technique of making disk-beads and tubular beads, A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*,[4] revised by J. R. Harris, London, 1962, pp. 45-46.

Amathous, Tomb 21, contained 924 faïence beads of this type, *Swed. Cyprus Exped.*, II, pp. 116, 118, pl. 25, nos. 49, 50. Their date, middle or end of CG II, falls in the first half of the ninth century, according to the excavator, E. Gjerstad (*Swed. Cyprus Exped.*, IV, 2, p. 427). He notes (*ibid.*, p. 412) that the glass industry in Egypt dies out at the beginning of the first millennium and does not revive until the sixth century; the earliest faïence of Egyptian type in Cyprus is CG II, he says

(*ibid.*, p. 417). Presumably it comes from Syria, which I suspect is the provenience of the rest of the glass in our tomb.

78 b. Four triple spacer-beads. Pl. 33.

G 589. Urn.

H. 0.011; L. 0.011; Th. 0.003. Two are damaged.

Three tubular beads stuck one on top of the other. Each is pierced horizontally to secure a strand of a triple necklace.

Faded pale green faïence; very fragile.

Beck, *Beads and Pendants*, p. 14, fig. 15, no. A 2 a.

See **78 a.** R. A. Higgins, "The Elgin Jewelry," *British Museum Quarterly*, XXIII, 1960/61, p. 104, where he states that multitubular beads are Egyptian in origin and especially common there in faïence.

78 c. Seven tiny spherical beads of glass.[81] Pl. 33.

G 590. Urn. Fragments of others, but not many.

D. 0.004. Lightly flattened sphere.

Greenish white.

78 d. Nine brown glass beads. Pl. 33.

G 591. Urn. Fragments of two or three more.

D. *ca.* 0.005; H. 0.004-0.006.

The diameters are uniform, but the lengths are irregular and the ends uneven, as if cast in one piece, cinched at intervals and later broken apart.

Brown to green-brown glass (?) with very shiny surface.

78 e. Large glass bead. Pl. 33.

G 587. Urn. Intact with some chipping at the lower end, where a bit of bronze from an adjacent pin still adheres. Surface crumbly.

L. 0.047; W. 0.021; Th. 0.015; D. hole 0.002; Wt. 20.126 grams.

Dull gray-green glass with porous white scallops. At one end a ring of white leading into seven columns of scallops.

Form, H. C. Beck, *Classification and Nomenclature of Beads and Pendants*, London, 1928: Long bead, Group I, circular, Type D I a; technique, pp. 66-67, fig. 73, "Wire-drawn Scallop Bead."

78 f. Rock crystal bead. Pl. 33.

J 149. Urn.

D. 0.008; H. 0.006.

Flattened hemispherical.

This bead is all but invisible at the top of the necklace, Pl. 33.

79. Ivory stamp seal. Pl. 33.

BI 802. Urn. Much of the bottom is missing and parts of the sides.

H. 0.021; L. top 0.009; L. bottom, est. *ca.* 0.018; W. top 0.005; W. bottom est. *ca.* 0.016.

Flaring truncated pyramid, pierced horizontally near the top.

The incision on the top and sides is very shallow. The bottom is deeply cut with bold lines. It is very poorly preserved: there remain: around the edge a pair of deeply cut lines, probably a frame running around all four sides. Within it, a checkerboard. Two sides are preserved, one the full length; it has three checkers, two raised, the middle one deeply

[81] I thank Dr. Robert H. Brill of the Corning Glass Museum for the following additional information about these beads.

78 c. Glass throughout, so heavily weathered that the original color can no longer be determined.

78 d. Glass, very much weathered; very likely originally "an olive green transparent color." Among the fragments from this group sent for analysis was "one very small piece of a very well decolorized glass, which before weathering would have essentially looked black. This had also weathered on the surface to an orangish-brown color." (Letter, December 19, 1967.)

excavated, perhaps in a simple square, but the center is not preserved.

Same intaglio border of tiny triangles on the double duck-headed triangular "Plättchen" from Kerameikos Grave G 41 (V, 1, pl. 161). It is very poorly preserved; I have not seen it, but it could be part of another seal of this type. There were traces of red coloring on the beak; ours had none whatever.

Pyramidal shape: cf. the faïence stamp seal from Tomb 43 at Marmara on Rhodes (*Cl. Rh.*, VIII, p. 164, fig. 151; H. 0.045). Mr. Coldstream dates the context to Rhodian Early Geometric, the first half of the ninth century. The details are otherwise unlike ours and the sealing surface has two superimposed lions(?).

80. Fragmentary ivory stamp seal. Pl. 33.

BI 803. Urn. Three non-joining fragments, the largest with a suspension hole near the top.

H. 0.017; W. top 0.006; W. bottom est. *ca.* 0.01.

Asymmetrical, apparently in the shape of a truncated, four-sided horn. Less careful work than **79**.

The largest fragment, a longitudinal slice through the middle, preserves part of the top, bottom and two sides. The top is undecorated.

At the bottom of the sides, the bead pattern with an incised line above it appears to have run around all four sides. On the bottom, a zigzag in high relief running from one side to the other, then perpendicular to it two panels in fairly deep intaglio, the designs illegible. A corner fragment preserves the lower part of a third side and more of the bottom. Bead pattern at the bottom of the sides, as above, on the third side, parallel to the edge, bead pattern and an incised line; on the other face an incised line parallel to the edge. It cannot be a continuation of any of the lines on the large fragment although it is part of one of the faces preserved on that. On the bottom, within an incised frame parts of two (?) panels, one of which is surely a zigzag in high relief, on a slightly larger scale than that on the large fragment; the other panel is illegible. A third fragment nearly joins this one and continues the bead pattern above.

Parts discolored from contact with burned material.

81. Fragmentary ivory plaque. Pl. 32.

BI 804. Urn.

D. 0.045; Th. 0.002. Almost half missing; the shape and restoration are uncertain.

The bottom is flat and scored irregularly as if to bond adhesive. Flat above with rounded edges.

Part of a suspension hole preserved. A human eye has been incised around it, the hole being the pupil, a circle, hatched within, is the iris; the outline is almond-shaped, possibly intended to be in profile. To one side, an arc with hatching along its inner edge, that must be an ear. The mouth is a simple lightly curved incision. There are no certain traces of a nose, though one stroke might be a nostril, if we assume a full front face on an oval-shaped plaque. But it could be in profile. Glued to a mirror-image of itself, this piece might be an amulet, pierced for suspension.

The eye is quite naturalistic. The execution is quite casual, more like doodling. Although human figures have not yet entered into the repertory of decoration, an early experiment is found on a krater, roughly contemporary with this tomb, Kerameikos Inv. 1254 (V, 1, pl. 22, Gr. G 43), where a mourning figure is tucked between the handle and the frame of a panel; it has no part in the formal scheme of decoration, nor does the horse under the handle. There is no serious attempt to introduce human figures into decoration until MG II.

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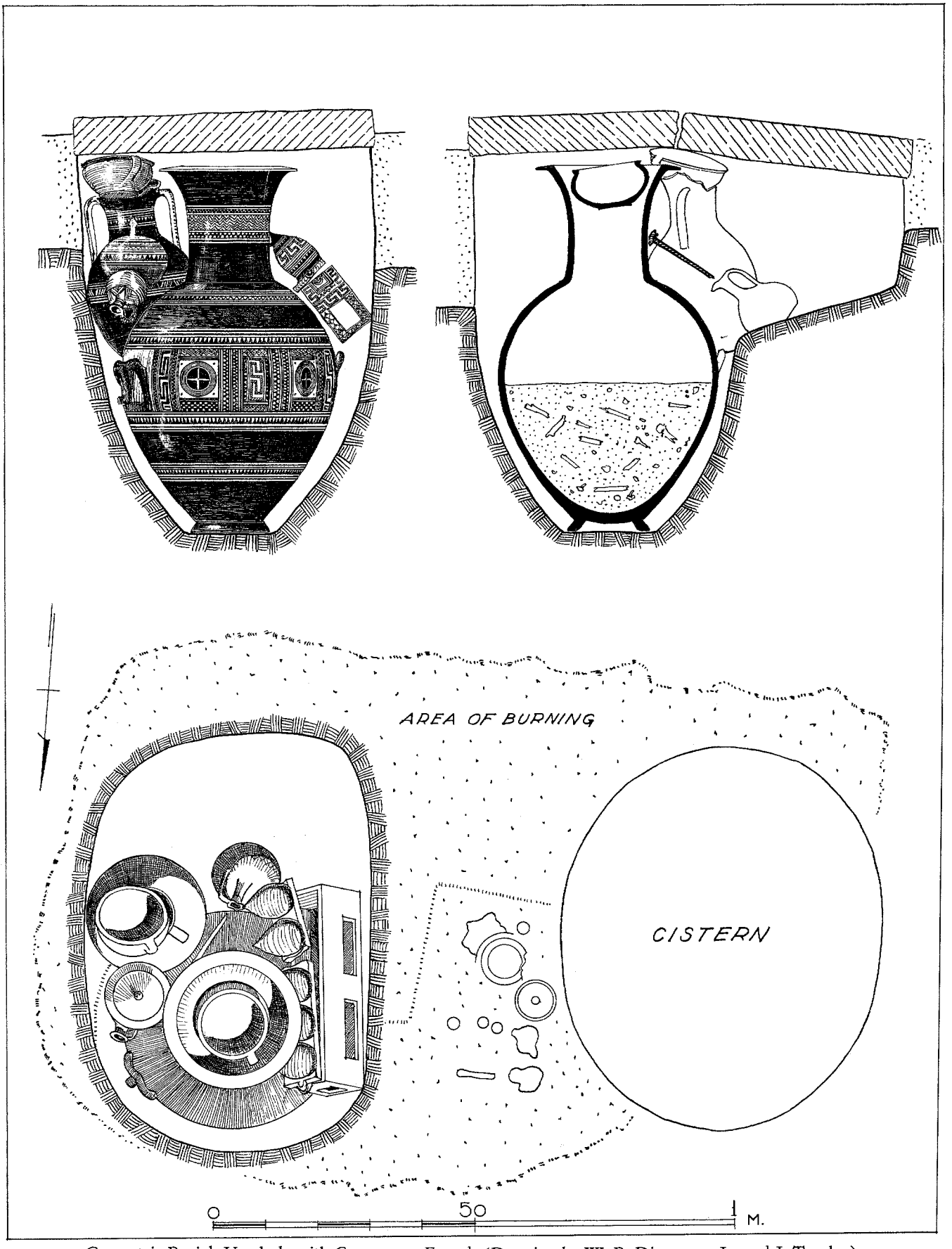
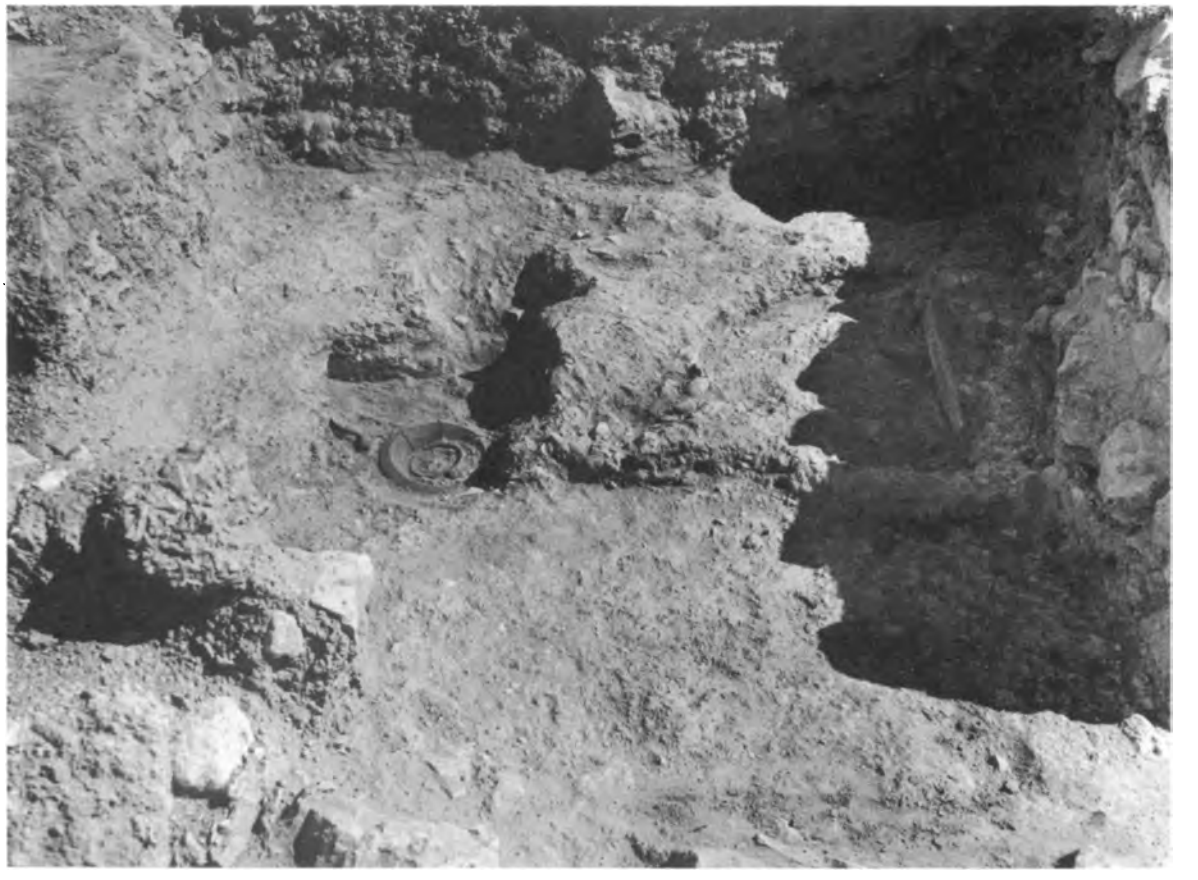


Geometric Burial. Urn-hole with Contents as Found (Drawing by W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr. and J. Travlos)



a. Geometric Burial with Covering Bricks Removed, looking South

b. Urn-hole with Urn and Offerings as Found, looking North

PLATE 20

1 (1:5)

1 Detail of Handle

2 3 4 5 6 (1:4)

7 (1:4) 8

3 Detail

21 20 19 16 15
17

(1:3)

9 (2:5)

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10

11 (2:5)

12

13

26 25

18
14

24

27

(1:3)

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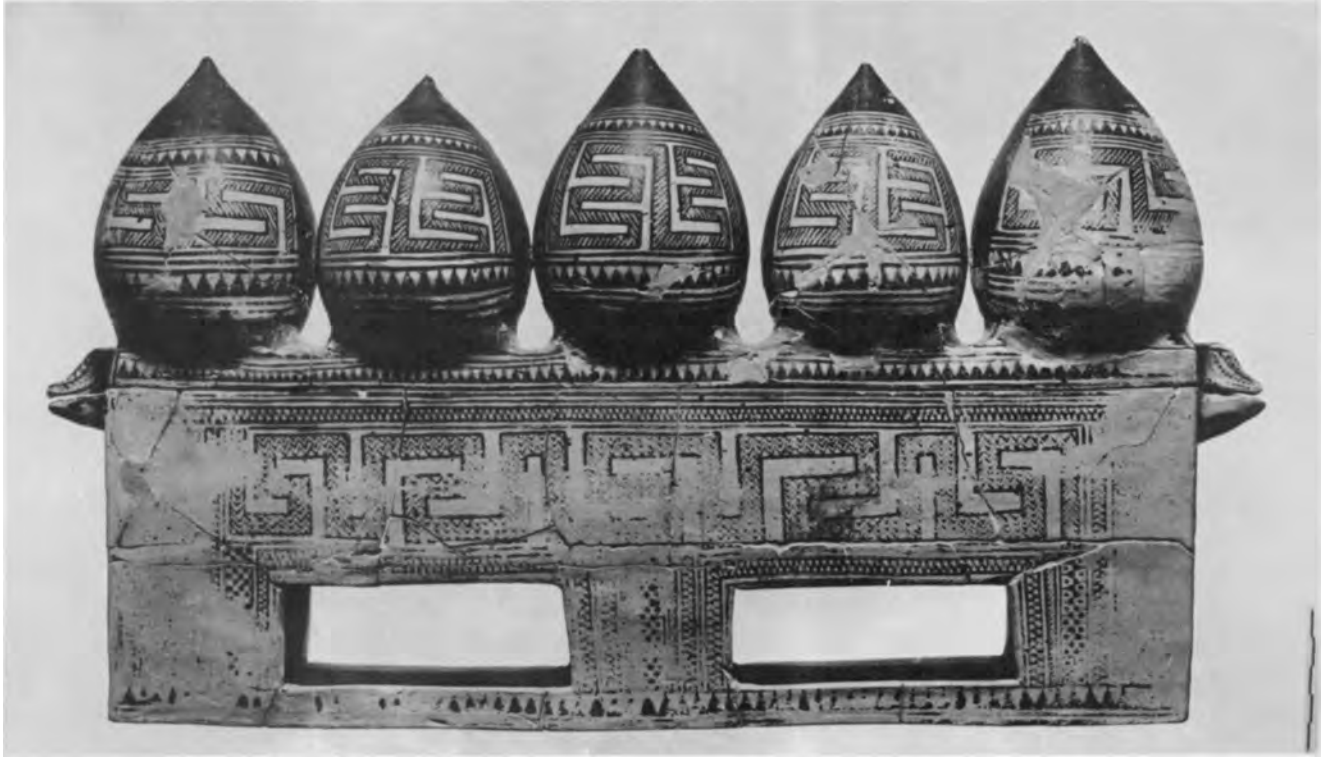
22 (1:3)

PLATE 24

23 Front

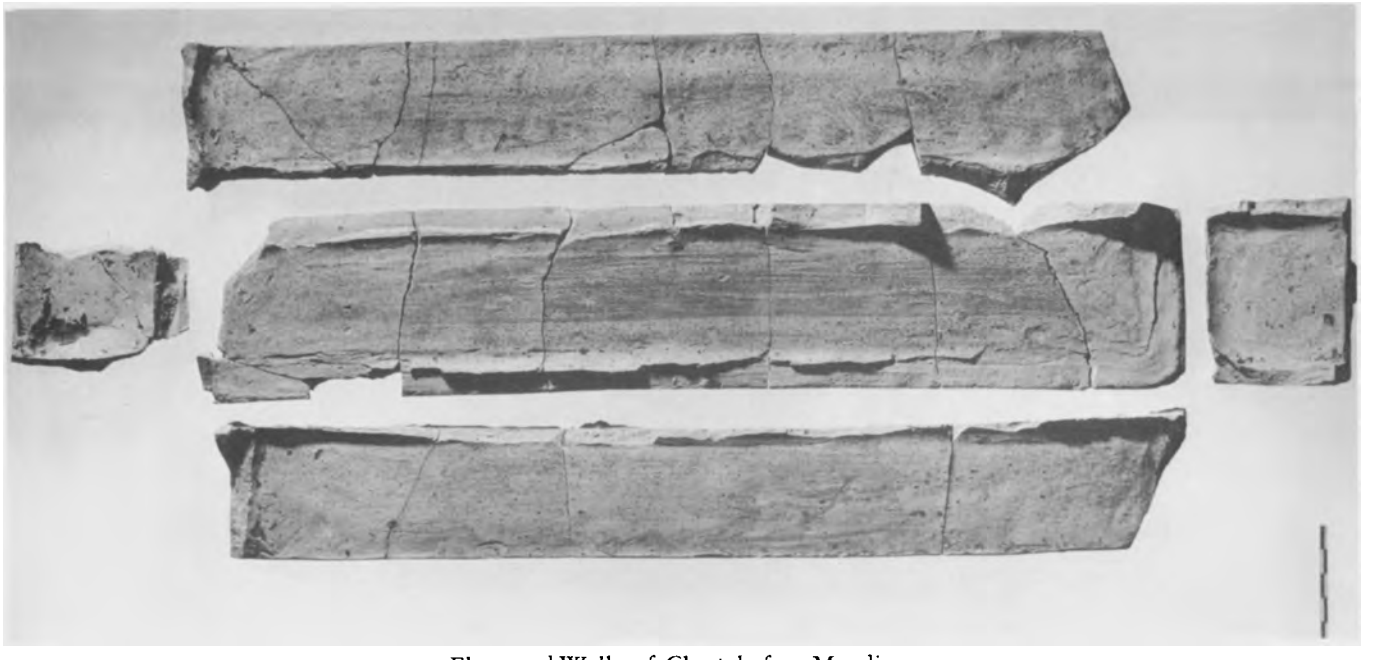


23 Back

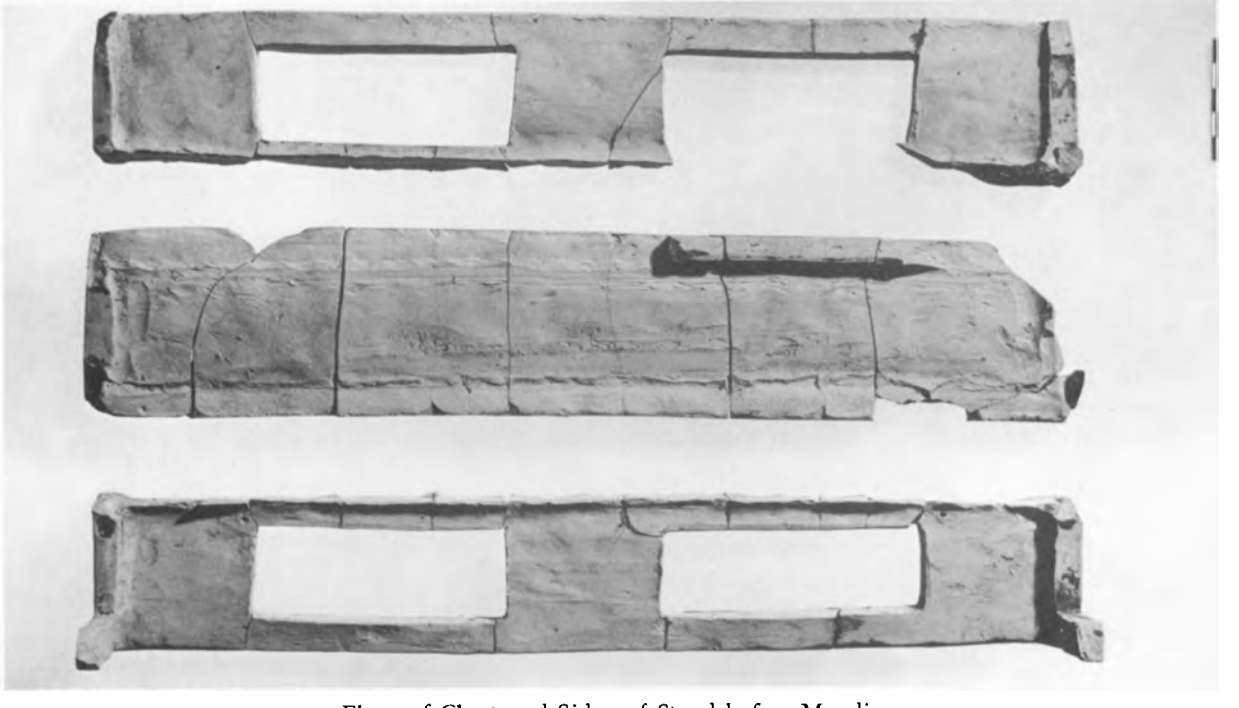
EVELYN LORD SMITHSON: THE TOMB OF A RICH ATHENIAN LADY OF ABOUT 850 B.C.

23 Lid from Above

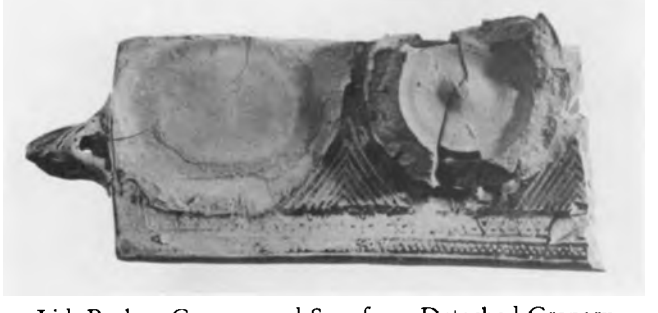
23



Floor and Walls of Chest before Mending



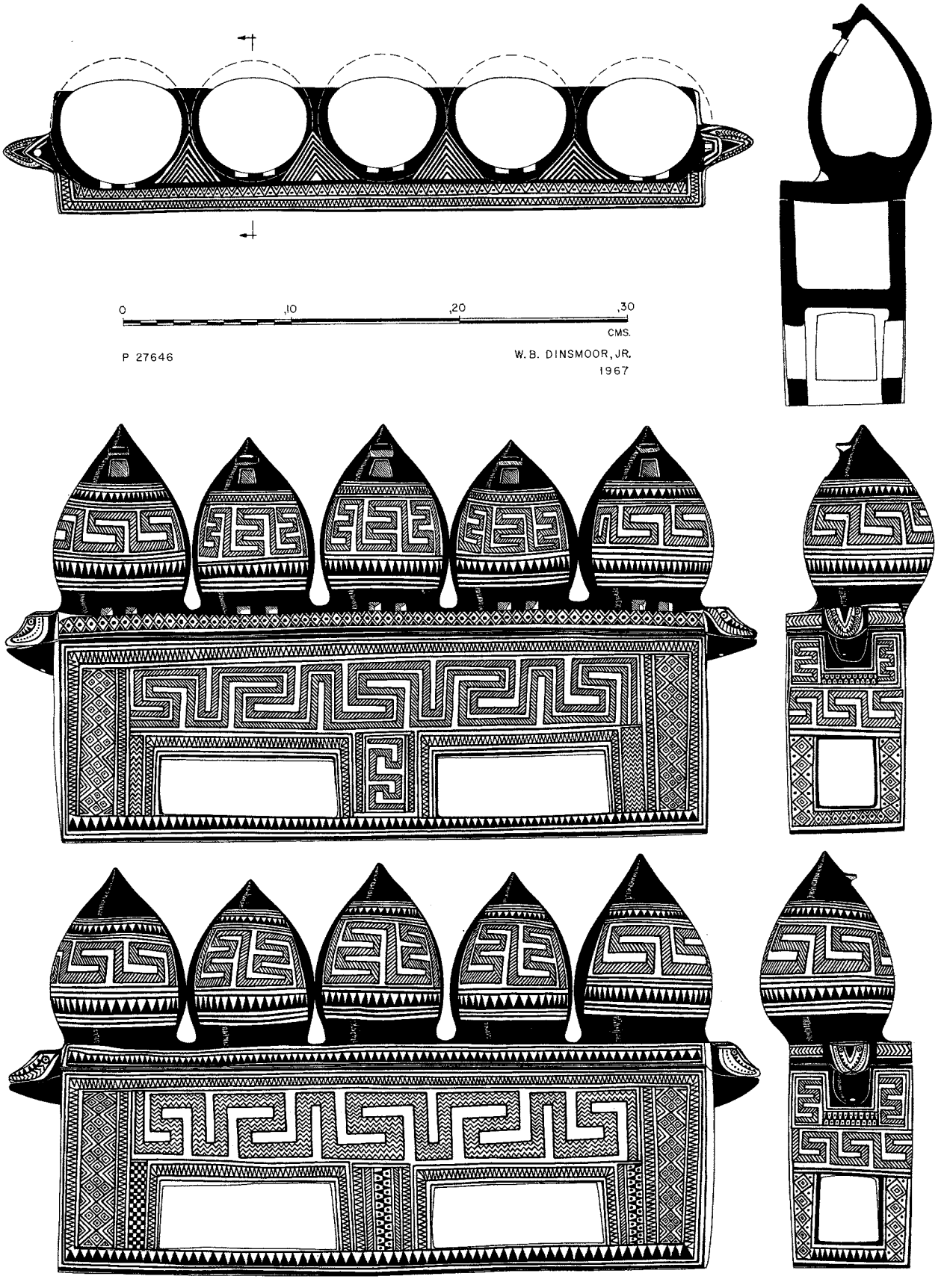
Floor of Chest and Sides of Stand before Mending



Lid. Broken Granary and Scar from Detached Granary

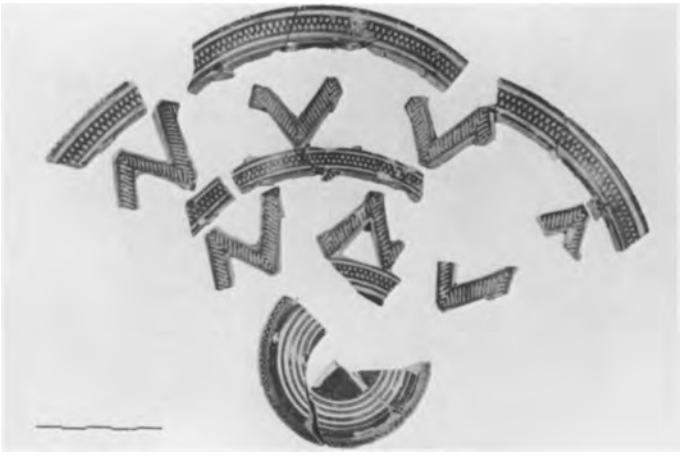
Underside of Granary

23 (2:5)


0
.10
.20
.30
CMS.
P 27646
W. B. DINSMOOR, JR.
1967

28 (1:2)

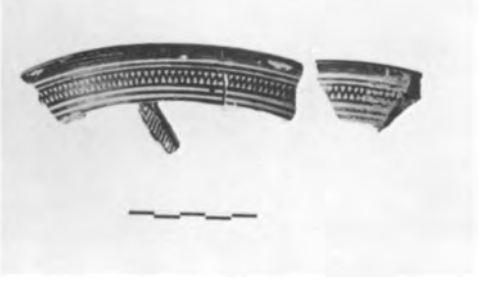
28 Bottom



29

30

31



32

33 (1:3)

34

35

35 Detail

37

38

36

39

40

42

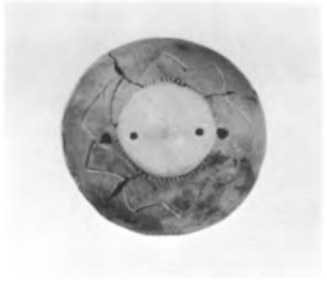
41

43

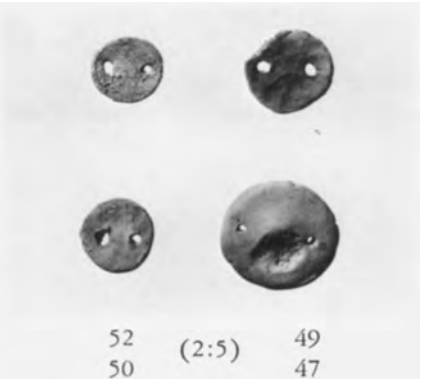
44

45
(1:2)

46



35 + 48



52 50 (2:5) 49 47

56 (1:2) 57

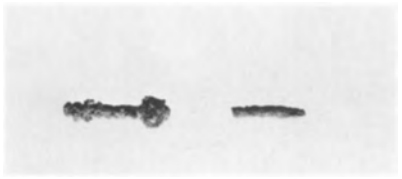
54 (1:2)

55

58 59 (1:2)

60 61 63 62

77 b Details (left 9:1; right 13:1)



64

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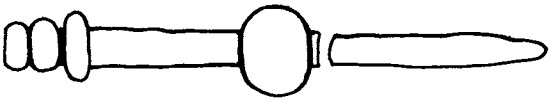
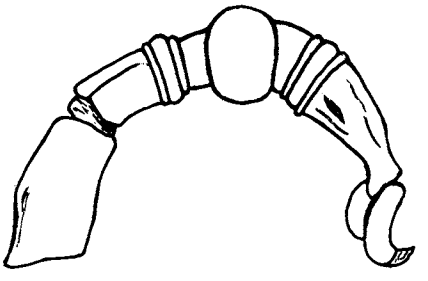
69

68

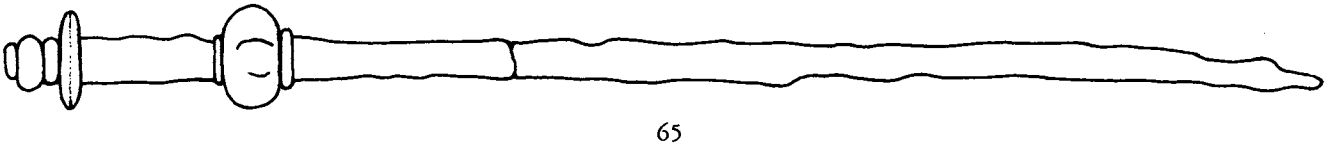
(1:3)



64



68



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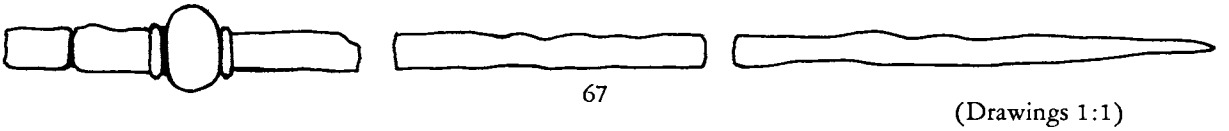
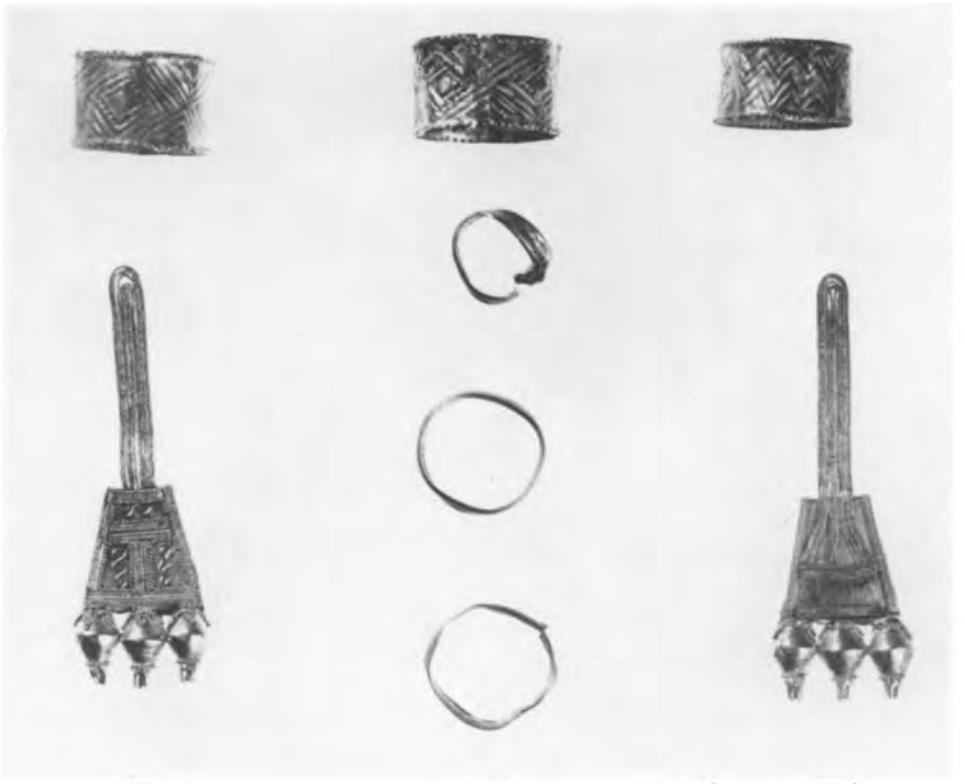
66



67

(Drawings 1:1)

64 Detail showing Imprint of Fabric (2:1)



75
77 a

74
72
73
71

76

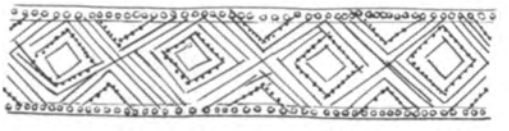
77 b

(slightly under 1:1)

70

70 (1:1)

73 (1:1)



74 (1:1)

76 (1:1)

77 b Detail (more than 2:1)

81 Drawing, Front, Back (1:1)

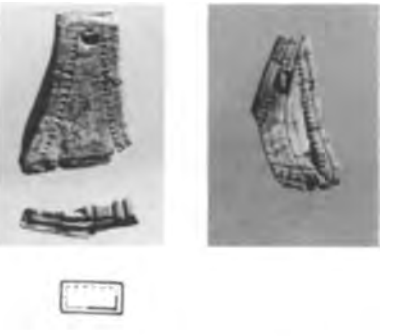
78 (slightly under 1:2)

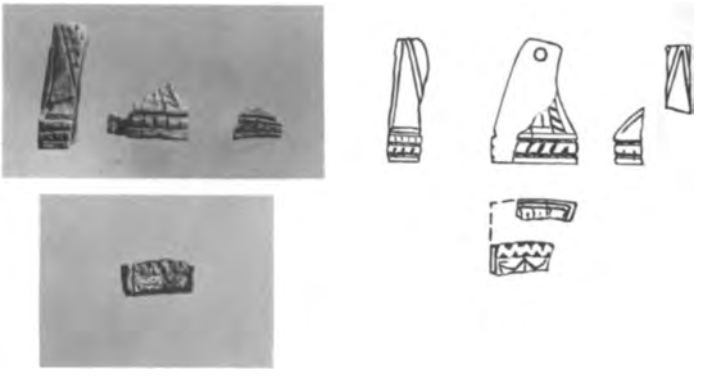
78 b

78 d

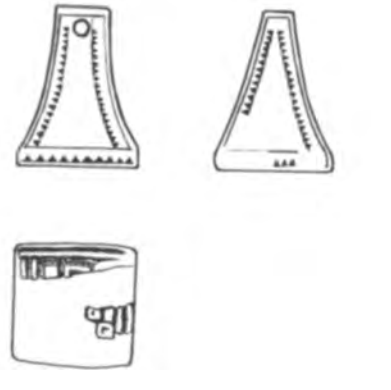
78 c

78 e





80 (1:1)



79 (1:1)