

KERNOI FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 65-72)

ATHENAIOS (XI.478D) gives a general description of a kernos¹ and describes how it was used:

Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Δίου Κωδίου φησί· “μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τελετὴν ποιεῖ καὶ αἰρεῖ τὰ ἐκ τῆς θαλάμης καὶ νέμει ὅσοι ἄνω τὸ κέρνος περιενηνοχότες. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἀγγεῖον κεραμεοῦν ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς κοτυλίσκους κεκολλημένους· ἐνέεισι δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὄρμνοι, μήκωνες λευκοί, πυροί, κριθαί, πισοί, λάθουροι, ὦχροι φακοί, κύαμοι, ζεαί, βρόμος, παλάθιον, μέλι, ἔλαιον, οἶνος, γάλα, ὄιον ἔριον ἄπλυτον· ὁ δὲ τοῦτο βαστάσας οἶον λικνοφορήσας τούτων γεύεται.”²

Polemon, in his treatise *On the Fleece of Zeus*, says: “After this he (a priest) performs the rite and takes the contents from the chamber and distributes (them to those) who have gone around carrying the kernos aloft. This is a clay vessel having many little cups (*kotyliskoi*) stuck on to it. In them there are sage, white poppy, wheat, barley, peas, pulse, okra(?), lentils, beans, rice-wheat, oats, a cake of compressed fruit, honey, oil, wine, milk, and unwashed sheep's wool. He who has carried it around tastes of these contents like a liknophoros.”

Part of this text, with slight variations, is also cited by Athenaios in 476F, where he cites Ammonios's treatise *On Altars and Sacrifices* as his source:

ΚΕΡΝΟΣ ἀγγεῖον κεραμεοῦν, ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς κοτυλίσκους κεκολλημένους, ἐν οἷς, φησὶν, μήκωνες λευκοί, πυροί, κριθαί, πισοί, λάθουροι, ὦχροι, φακοί. ὁ δὲ βαστάσας αὐτὸ οἶον λικνοφορήσας τούτων γεύεται, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἀμμώνιος ἐν γ' περὶ Βωμῶν καὶ Θυσιῶν.

The Polemon in question is Polemon of Ilium (ca. 220-160 B.C.); the Ammonios referred to is probably Ammonios of Lamptraí (fl. 1st century after Christ). Rubensohn was probably correct in his conjecture that the word *φησὶν* in 476F refers to Ammonios, who was in turn quoting Polemon.³ It seems likely, therefore, that Pole-

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to a number of colleagues for their assistance in my work on the Agora kernoí. Above all, I am grateful to Homer Thompson, who suggested the project to me, shared his vast knowledge with me, and gave me valuable advice on many occasions. T. Leslie Shear, Jr. and the staff of the Agora excavations helped me in countless ways. I also benefited from the advice and assistance of George Bakalakis, John Kroll, Eugene Vanderpool, Sr., and Eugene Vanderpool, Jr.

² Line 2: ἄνω A; ἄν ὅσι Casaubon. Line 3: ἐνέεισι Kaibel; ἐνέει A. Although admittedly awkward, ἄνω seems to be justified by the Pinax of Niinnion (see p. 00 below).

³ O. Rubensohn, “Kerchnos,” *AthMitt* 23, 1898 (= Rubensohn, “Kerchnos”), pp. 271-306, esp. p. 275.

mon is the original source of Athenaios' information. Since the fleece of Zeus played a role in the rites at Eleusis, Polemon's treatise probably dealt mainly with Eleusinian cult practices, and his information about the kernos, as Rubensohn has suggested, should probably be understood as referring to an Eleusinian cult vessel.

In general, the kernos in the Classical world was used in the rites of chthonic mother goddesses—Rhea, Kybele, and, although the literary evidence is less explicit in her case, Demeter.⁴ In the cults of these goddesses the vessel was at times carried around, perhaps on the head, as part of a dance called the *κερνοφορία* or *κερνοφόρον*.⁵ The exact significance of the rite in which the kernos was used is not known, but clearly part of it involved the consecration of different vegetable, fruit, and livestock products to the goddess who governed the earth that nourished them.

The word *κέρχνος* may be a variant of *κέρνος*. An inventory from the City Eleusinion in Athens, the site from which the major finds of kernoi to be described in this article come, mentions *κέρχνοι χρυσοί* (*IG* I², 313, line 17; 314, line 23; dated 407/6 B.C.). This question is not without importance since, if *κέρχνος* is the same as *κέρνος*, we have solid evidence for the existence of this vessel in the Eleusinian cult, and in the Agora, in the 5th century B.C. The basic meaning of *κέρχνος* is "rough" or "a roughness", and the word may have come to be associated with *κέρνος* through a popular etymology of the latter. If *κέρνος* was a non-Greek word in origin there may have been an inclination to associate it with the more familiar root and thereby have it "make sense" in Greek.⁶ Some kernoi are covered with a multitude of very small *kotyliskoi* which give the surface of the vessel a rough, uneven appearance (Pls. 65: a, 67: c, 68: a). In the popular mind it may have been felt that the basic meaning of *κέρνος* was "a vessel with roughnesses."⁷

The question of what a Greek kernos looked like, and of what cults it was associated with, remained an essentially literary one until 1885.⁸ In that year the Greek archaeologist D. Philios published part of a group of terracotta, stone, and bronze vessels from Eleusis which are now generally taken to be kernoi (Pl. 65).⁹ Most of these vessels were found in a layer of ashes under the porch of the Telesterion con-

⁴ Rhea: Nikander, *Alexipharmaka*, 217 and scholia. Kybele: Alexander Aetolus. *Anth. Pal.* VII. 709; Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* II.15.3; Hesychios, *s.v.* *κερνεία*. Demeter: scholiast on Plato, *Gorgias* 497c (in connection with the Lesser Mysteries). The reliability of the last-mentioned source has been disputed. See C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Regimontii Prussorum 1829, p. 25; Rubensohn, "Kerchnos," p. 271.

⁵ Pollux, *Onom.* IV. 103; Athenaios, XIV. 629D.

⁶ Just as, for example, "chaise lounge" has developed in popular English out of the French "chaise-longue".

⁷ The case for a close connection between *κέρνος* and *κέρχνος* is argued by Rubensohn, "Kerchnos," pp. 273-274; *contra*: Leonard, *RE*, *s.v.* *kernos* (1921). H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1960, p. 832, *s.v.* *κέρνος*, sees no real linguistic connection between the two words but likes the idea of their being related through a folk etymology.

⁸ See, for example, Lobeck (footnote 4 above), p. 26.

⁹ D. Philios, «Ἀρχαιολογικὰ εὐρήματα τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνασκαφῶν», *Ἐφ'Αρχ.*, 1885, pp. 170-184, pl. IX, figs. 5-9.

structed by the architect Philon between 317 and 307 B.C. Other fragments were reported to have been found under the floor of the Bouleuterion and in the area of the Peisistratid mud-brick wall. Since some of these vessels had *kotyliskoi* Philios speculated that his finds might be kernoi but decided in the end that they were simply *thymiateria*.¹⁰ The discovery in 1895 of the Pinax of Niinnion, however, led others who studied the Eleusinian vessels to the conclusion that Philios's finds were indeed kernoi. The main panel of the pinax seems to depict a religious procession in which a group of processioners, accompanied by Iacchos, approach the two seated Eleusinian goddesses. Two of the women in this procession carry on their heads vessels which bear a general resemblance to those from Eleusis. The pedimental triangle of the pinax depicts a third woman who also bears such a vessel on her head and who seems to be engaged in an excited dance.¹¹ K. Kourouniotes and O. Rubensohn concluded from this evidence that the procession on the pinax, or the dance, or both, must represent the *kernophoria* and hence that the Eleusis vessels must be kernoi.¹²

The Eleusis finds have never been fully published and Rubensohn's article of 1898 is still the best source of information about them. Rubensohn's description of the Eleusis vases, reinforced by my own examination of them in 1973, makes it clear that they and the finds from the Athenian Agora are very closely related.¹³ Possibly all these vessels are the products of one workshop. The Agora finds include no metal or stone examples, and even those in clay are less well preserved than their counterparts from Eleusis; but they appear to preserve in fragmentary form all the varieties of shape and detail that are found at Eleusis.

TYPES

The basic shape of what we may call the "Eleusinian kernos" (i. e. those from Eleusis and the Agora) consists in all cases of a conical base surmounted by a bowl

¹⁰ Philios, *op. cit.*, p. 174; K. von Fritze, «Εἰς τὸ τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι λατρείας», *Ἐφ'Αρχ.*, 1897, pp. 163-174, first brought the recently discovered Pinax of Niinnion into the discussion regarding the identity of the Eleusinian vessels. Philios also speculated that the vessels might be *plemochoai*, a vessel shaped like a top which was used in the Eleusinian mysteries (Athenaios, XI.496B; Pollux, X.74). This suggestion had a modest afterlife in the *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins* where the term "plemochoe" was used to identify representations of what I here call the "plain type" of kernos, e. g. the volume on Attica, Megaris, Aegina, edd. R. S. Poole and B. V. Head, London 1888, p. 114 (on the coins see below, Appendix).

¹¹ The original publication is A. Skias, *Ἐφ'Αρχ.*, 1901, pp. 1-39, 163-170. Interpretations of the pinax are summed up in G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, pp. 213-221. I favor the interpretation which sees the main panel of the plaque as a single scene, the *kernophoria*. The elaborate three-part interpretation first proposed by Svoronos («Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος Μυστηριακοῦ πίνακος», *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, 1901, pp. 169-191, 233-515) and given new life by Mylonas strikes me as a fantasy propounded against all reason.

¹² K. Kourouniotes, «Κέρνοι», *Ἐφ'Αρχ.*, 1898, pp. 22-27; Rubensohn, "Kerchnos," pp. 282-284.

¹³ A thorough publication of the Eleusis kernoi is now being prepared by Professor George Bakalakis. I am grateful to Professor Bakalakis and to the authorities of the Greek Archaeological Service for permission to examine the Eleusis finds.

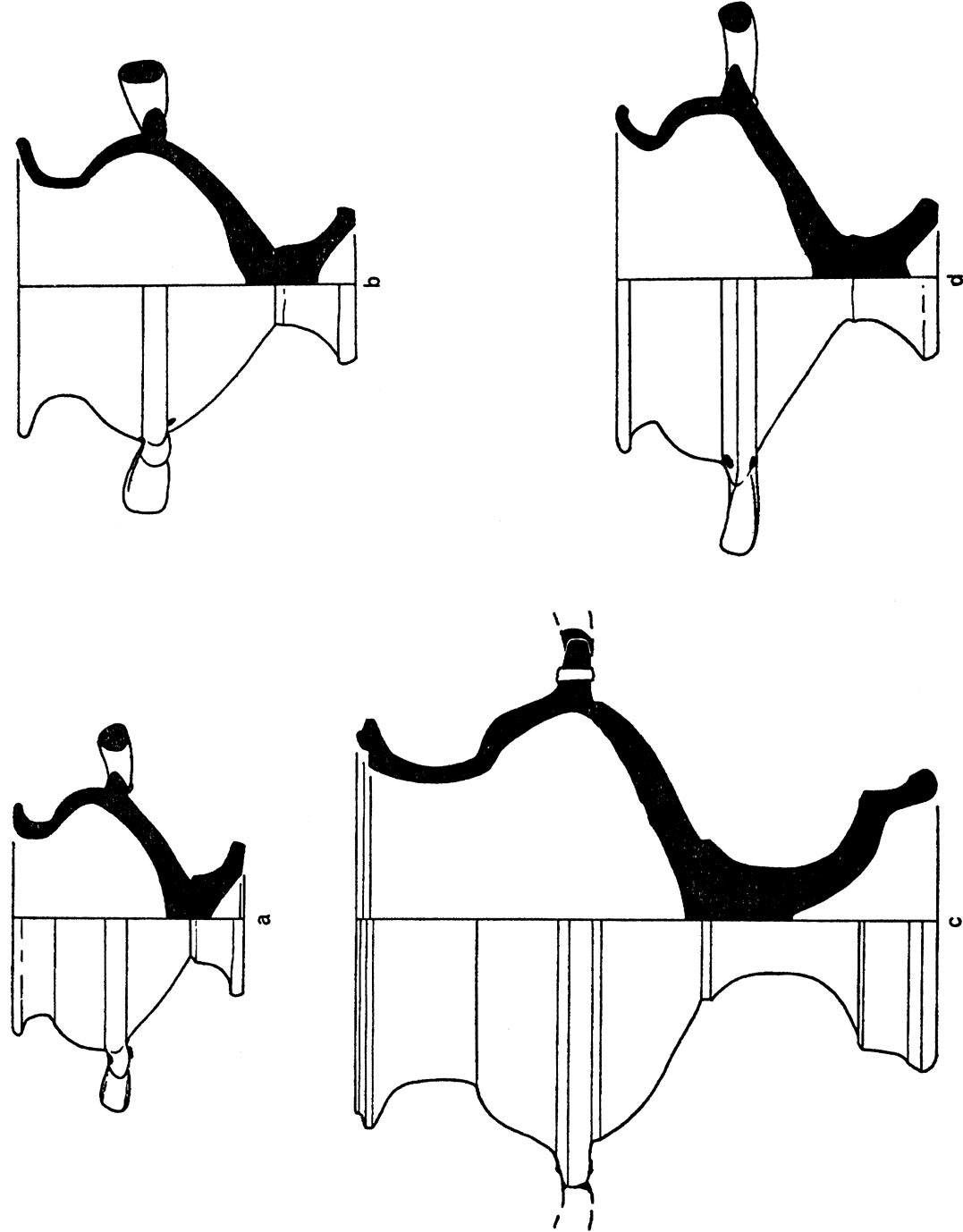


FIG. 1. a) XXIV. 2. b) XXXVIII. 12. c) I. 1. d) I. 12. Scale 1:2.

with two distinct sections: a lower body which flares out to a thick flange, and an upper body, above the flange, which curves inward toward a wide mouth. The mouth is usually marked by a raised rim which curves outward slightly (Fig. 1; Pls. 66: c, 69: c, 71: b). The flange normally has two loop handles and is usually pierced by several holes, most commonly a pair of holes placed adjacent to each handle. Upon this basic shape there are, I propose, four significant variations which involve the size, number, disposition, and presence or absence, of *kotyliskoi*:

- 1) The large-*kotyliskos* type. Large, well-articulated *kotyliskoi*, usually eight or nine in number, are placed around the flange (Pl. 65: b).
- 2) The small-*kotyliskos* type. A cluster of small, summarily rendered *kotyliskoi*, resembling suction cups, are arranged in rows so as to cover the flange and/or the upper body of the vessel (Pl. 67: b).
- 3) The vestigial-*kotyliskos* type. The *kotyliskoi* are rendered in a token way in the form of small raised circles or simple holes on the flange and/or upper body (Pl. 68: a).
- 4) The plain type. Same shape, but the *kotyliskoi* are lacking altogether. This is by far the most common type, both at Eleusis and in the Agora (Fig. 1; Pls. 66: a, c, 69: c, 71: b, 72: a, b).

Since our literary sources imply that it was the *kotyliskoi* which really distinguished the kernos as a vessel, it may seem paradoxical to use the term for a vessel which has none. The reasons for identifying our "plain type" as a kernos are fourfold: (A) The shape of the plain type of vessel is identical with that of kernoi which do have *kotyliskoi*. (B) Both at Eleusis and in the Agora the plain type of vessel has been found in the same deposits with the other, more obvious types of kernoi. There thus seems to be little doubt that they are some kind of Eleusinian cult vessel. (C) The absence of *kotyliskoi* may be explained by the function of these vessels. The majority of the examples in terracotta seem clearly to be votives. They are made from the same soft clay that is used for votive figurines, and the scale of many of them is miniature (Pls. 69: a, 72: a). On such small votives *kotyliskoi* would have had no function. If the potter had been required to make a large number of tiny *kotyliskoi* for a vessel only a few centimeters in diameter, the price of the votive would undoubtedly have risen in proportion to his time and effort. Some of the Eleusis finds indicate, moreover, that the votives were sometimes given a thin covering of gold leaf, presumably in imitation of the *κέρχνοι χρυσοί* of IG I², 313. To cover tiny *kotyliskoi* with gold leaf would have been an additional, tedious burden for the manufacturer. The most practical solution was simply to omit the *kotyliskoi* on votives or, at the most, to add little vestigial *kotyliskoi* in the form of holes on the surface of the vase. Since many, perhaps all, of the terracotta vessels which were not gilded were painted, the *kotyliskoi* may in some cases have been indicated by painting. (D) Vessels which look like our plain type of kernos occur in artistic representations that seem to have an

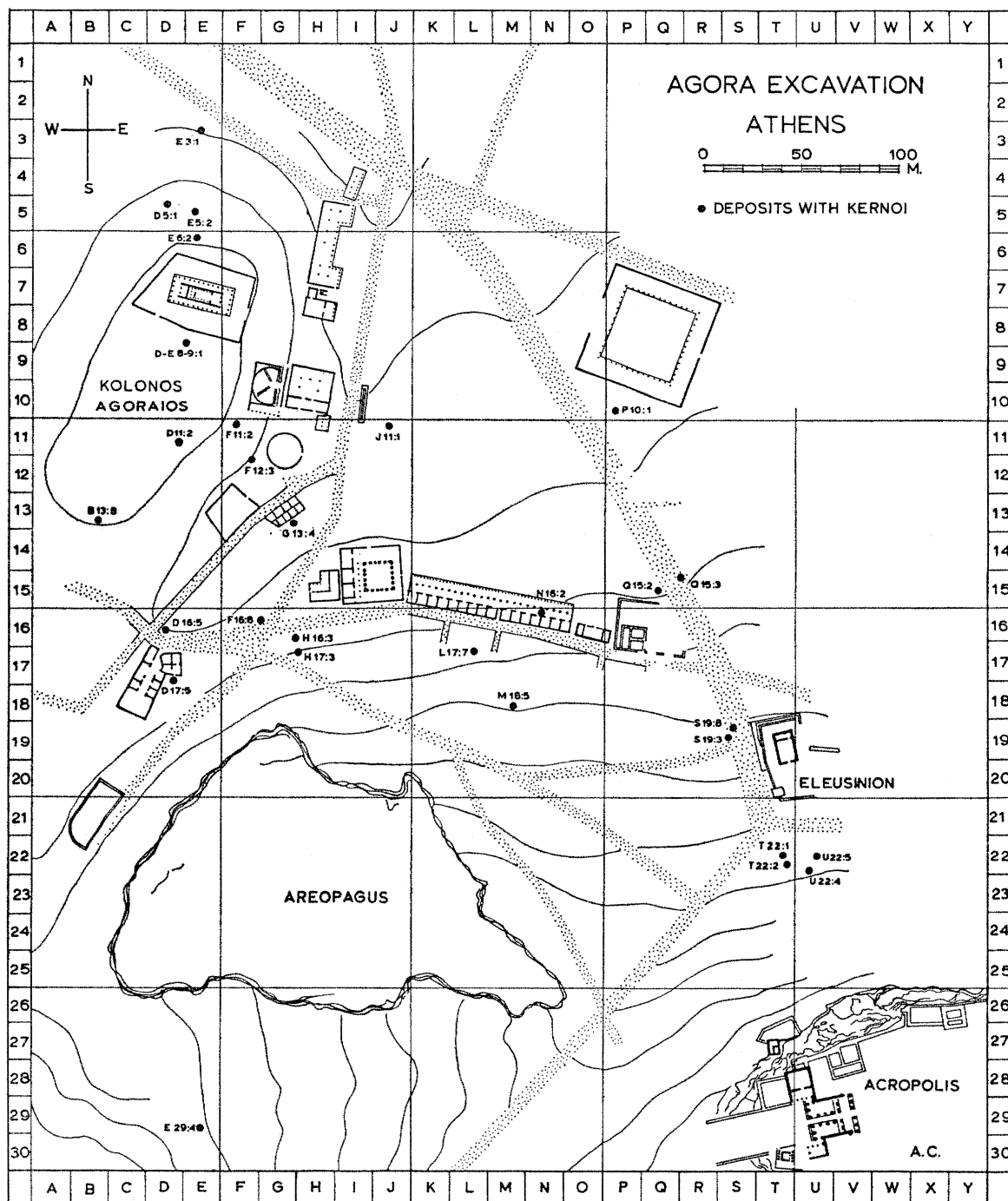


FIG. 2. Plan of the Athenian Agora showing locations of kernos deposits.

Eleusinian context. The Pinax of Niinnion, which probably represents the *kernophoria*, has already been mentioned. Vessels similar to those represented on the pinax occur on Attic coins and lead tokens, and also as a graffito on a lamp (see Appendix). Some of these coins are directly connected with Eleusis and its rites. It is perhaps significant that most of these representations show small branches or sprigs of some kind of vegetation projecting from the flange. The presence of such branches is in keeping with the function of the kernos as described by Athenaios and could be used as supporting evidence for the conclusion that these vessels are in fact kernoi. As noted earlier, most of the vessels from the Agora (and also, as far as I can determine, from Eleusis) have holes in the flange which would be appropriate for holding these branches.

The combined weight of these arguments makes it reasonable, in my opinion, to treat our plain type of vessel as a kernos, as Homer Thompson did when he published a selection of the Agora finds in 1934.¹⁴

CATALOGUE OF KERNOI DISCOVERED IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

A. MAJOR DEPOSITS (I, II)

I. Deposit T 22:1 (Pl. 66:a). Excavated March 11-14, 1938 and labeled "Kernos pit #1" by the excavator, Arthur W. Parsons. The pit was found under the west face of the Post-Herulian Wall, about 18 meters south of the gate of the precinct identified as the Eleusinion. Whether or not this particular spot was part of the Eleusinion is uncertain. According to the excavator's field notebook the kernoi were "tightly packed and were thrown here mostly complete, but the weight of the wall resting on them has cracked most of them so that they are actually in many fragments." In addition to the vessels which have been catalogued and listed below, the Agora storage containers (Lots II B 136, B 137, T 138) contain fragments of about 30 additional kernoi. The few sherds found in the deposit suggest a date in the 4th century B.C. Most indicative is the handle of a black-glazed oinochoe (P 30187) of "shape 3" (see Sparkes and Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery*, Princeton 1970, p. 245, nos. 127-129, pl. 7) and a fragment of a wine amphora.

¹⁴ Homer A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 447-450.

Philios's proposal that these vessels were thymiateria is not, it must be admitted, indefensible. A scholiast on Nikander, *Alexipharmaka* 217 observes: «κέρνους γὰρ φασι τοὺς μυστικοὺς κρατῆρας ἐφ' ᾧν λύχνους τιθέασιν.» Nikander's reference is to the *κερνοφόρος* in the cult of Rhea, but Rubensohn, "Kerchnoi," pp. 287-290, has argued that the scholiast's interpretation can apply to Eleusinian kernoi as well. He proposes that a candle was probably placed on the cake, *παλάθιον*, mentioned by Polemon and that the cake and candle together were placed inside the main bowl of the kernos. Regardless of whether this suggestion is right or wrong, the presence of latticework lids cannot be said to provide conclusive evidence about the identity of our vases one way or the other. Other types of lids have been found with kernoi (although they cannot be proved to belong to them, any more than the latticework lids can), and it may be that latticework lids were simply a standard item produced by potters for use on a variety of vessels.

I. 1 (P 12138) Fig. 1: c; Pl. 72: a

A large kernos, mended from several fragments, with part of the lid preserved. Much of the foot, body, and flange, including both handles, is broken away. Two holes are preserved on the flange. The lid fits into a recess in the rim. There are decorative grooves on the rim, and distinct ridges terminate the foot. White paint is well preserved on some of the fragments. Soft buff clay. H. of body 0.145; Diam. at rim of body 0.103; pres. H. of lid 0.028; Diam. of lid 0.088 m.

I. 2 (P 12140) Pls. 66: a, 72: a

Red-glazed kernos. Portions of the rim and upper body and both handles are missing. A pair of holes on the flange at each handle. One of these holes is small and does not pierce the flange, perhaps suggesting that the holes were not really functional on these small votive kernoi. Relatively hard, gritty, buff clay. H. 0.103; Diam. at flange 0.115 m.

I. 3 (P 12147) Pl. 66: a

Red-glazed kernos. One handle and portions of the rim, flange, and body are missing. A pair of holes on each side of the flange spaced between the handles. Faint traces of white paint. Buff clay. H. 0.08; Diam. at rim 0.071, at flange 0.10 m.

I. 4 (P 12141) Pl. 66: a

Kernos with the handles, parts of the upper body, and most of the rim missing. A pair of holes on the flange at each handle (one missing). Traces of white paint over a red slip. Buff clay. H. 0.08; Diam. at flange 0.102 m.

I. 5 (P 12142) Pl. 66: a

The handles, flange, much of the upper body and most of the rim are missing. A pair of holes on the flange, apparently near one handle. White paint with slight traces of decoration in red on the upper wall. Buff clay. H. 0.075; Diam. at flange 0.10 m.

I. 6 (P 12143) Pl. 66: a

The handles and portions of the rim missing.

A pair of holes at each handle. Traces of red slip. Buff clay. Pres. H. 0.085; Diam. at flange 0.10 m.

I. 7 (P 12146) Pl. 66: a, c

The handles and pieces of the upper body are missing. A pair of holes at each handle. Traces of white paint inside and out. Buff clay. H. 0.084; Diam. at rim 0.076, at flange 0.092 m.

I. 8 (P 12149) Pl. 66: a

Handles, portions of flange, and upper body are missing. Buff clay. H. 0.065; Diam. at flange 0.082, at rim 0.059 m.

I. 9 (P 12292) Pls. 66: a, 67: a

Fragment of a latticework lid. Fits **I. 8** but does not necessarily belong to it. Buff clay. Pres. H. 0.023; Diam. 0.059 m.

I. 10 (P 12145) Pl. 66: a

The handles, portions of the foot and portions of the rim are missing. Two holes on flange, on opposite sides of the flange. One does not pierce flange. Traces of reddish glaze. Buff clay. H. 0.068; Diam. at flange 0.081 m.

I. 11 (P 12132) Pl. 66: a-c

Complete except for a small chip from the flange. A pair of holes at each handle. White paint over red slip. Buff clay. H. 0.066; Diam. at flange 0.074, at rim 0.058 m.

I. 12 (P 12139) Fig. 1: d; Pl. 66: a-c

Small portions of foot, flange and rim are missing. A pair of holes at each handle. Fine, hard, pink-to-buff clay. H. 0.08; Diam. at flange 0.108, at rim 0.087 m.

I. 13 (P 12148) Pl. 66: a

One handle and chips from the foot, flange, and upper body are missing. Possible traces of black paint on the flange. Buff clay. H. 0.065; Diam. at flange 0.085, at rim 0.064 m.

I. 14 (P 12144) Pl. 66: a, c

Handles, most of the rim, and a chip from the foot are missing. A pair of holes on the flange at each handle. Pinkish clay covered by

yellow-white slip. H. 0.07; Diam. at flange 0.082 m.

I. 15 (P 12291) Pl. 66: a, c

One handle and chips from the foot and rim are missing. One hole at each handle. Pink-to-buff clay with traces of white paint inside and out. H. 0.08; Diam. at flange 0.083, at rim 0.071 m.

I. 16 (P 12150) Pl. 66: a

Handles and portions of the flange, upper body, and rim are missing. Three holes preserved on flange, apparently the remains of two pairs, one pair at each handle. Buff clay with traces of white paint. H. 0.065; Diam. at rim ca. 0.053, at flange 0.068 m.

II. Deposit T 22:2. A pit found about 30 meters south of the Stoa of the Eleusinion and 7 meters east of the Post-Herulian Wall, about 10 meters southeast of Kernos pit #1. This pit was called "Kernos pit #2" by the excavator. In addition to the pieces catalogued below, Agora storage container B 139 contains fragments of perhaps 20 additional vessels, including 11 bases with holes pierced in them. Datable material in the deposit belongs to the 4th century B.C. Most indicative is P 12293, a fragment of a red-figured chous dated by Van Hoorn to the early 4th century (see G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden 1951, p. 86, note 208, pl. 254).

At the time the pit was dug, the excavator, Arthur Parsons, noted: "The pit was c. 1.00 m. x c. 0.70 m. by 0.45 m. deep; originally it was certainly deeper, for the so-called 'plataia' where it lies has been levelled off in Byzantine (possibly in late Roman) times. The kernoi, in contrast to those found in Kernos pit 1, were in a very fragmentary state when deposited."

II. 1 (P 12408) Pl. 67: b

Fragment of a large kernos (mended). Nearly half of the upper body, with part of the lower wall, rim, flange, and one handle preserved. One hole in the flange at the handle. White paint, with slight traces of red preserved on some of the pieces. Hard, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.065; pres. Diam. including handles 0.216 m.

II. 2 (P 12418) Pl. 67: c

Fragment of the upper wall of a kernos with twelve small *kotyliskoi* arranged in three rows. Reddish clay with buff slip. Pres. H. 0.046; Diam. of *kotyliskoi* 0.01-0.012 m.

II. 3 (P 12419) Pl. 67: c

Fragment of the upper wall of a kernos with

I. 17 (P 12151) Pl. 67: a

Portion of a domed lid, with lower rim and inset flange preserved. Buff clay covered with red paint. Pres. H. 0.027; Diam. 0.067.

I. 18 (P 30173) Pl. 66: a

Small kernos. One handle and portions of the foot, lower body, flange, and upper body are missing. Two holes in the flange at the preserved handle. Soft, buff clay. H. 0.069; Diam. at flange excluding handles 0.071 m.

I. 19 (P 30174) Pl. 66: a

Lid, perhaps from a kernos. Pieces missing from the lower edge and from the top. Ornamental grooves accentuate the lower rim and the carination of the shoulder. Soft, buff clay with substantial traces of white paint. Pres. H. 0.058; max. Diam. 0.098 m.

remains of two rows of *kotyliskoi* (two of the *kotyliskoi* are well preserved) and a row of holes pierced at the upper edge. Gritty, reddish clay with buff slip. Pres. H. 0.027; pres. W. 0.069; Diam. of *kotyliskoi* 0.014-0.015 m.

II. 4 (P 12417) Pl. 68: a

Fragment of the upper body and rim of a kernos-like vessel. Three rows of small holes below the rim resemble the holes in **II. 3** above. The holes do not pierce the vessel. Remains of two triangular cutouts below these holes. These holes might be vestigial *kotyliskoi*. Hard, red clay. Pres. H. 0.038; est. Diam. at rim 0.13 m.

II. 5 (P 12416) Pl. 68: a

Handle and portions of the flange and upper body of a kernos-like vessel. A raised ridge,

a series of small holes which do not pierce the vessel (cf. **II. 4** above), and an eye-shaped cut-out on the upper body. One hole in the flange at the handle. Hard, brownish clay. Pres. H. 0.047; est. Diam. at flange 0.22 m.

II. 6 (P 12411) Pl. 68:b

Fragment of the upper body of a kernos-like vessel. Portions of the rim and a trace of the flange preserved. Pennant-like designs in red on a white ground painted on upper body. Hard, brown clay. Pres. H. 0.04; est. Diam. at rim 0.11 m.

II. 7 (P 12412) Pl. 68:b

Fragment of same design as **II. 6**, but the curvature is greater, hence apparently not from the same vessel. Pres. H. 0.035; est. Diam. at rim 0.10 m.

II. 8 (P 12413) Pl. 68:b

Similar to **II. 6** and **II. 7** but with no trace of flange. Pres. H. 0.032; est. Diam. at rim 0.13 m.

II. 9 (P 12422) Pl. 69:a

Miniature kernos with six very small *kotylikoi* on the shoulder and a hole at each handle. The surface of the bottom of the foot is rough, suggesting that this piece may have been attached to a large vessel. Hard, brownish clay. Pres. H. 0.023; Diam. with handles 0.027 m.

II. 10 (P 12409)

Kernos with foot, handle, and about half of the upper body and rim missing. Pairs of holes on opposite sides of the flange, apparently at the handles. Pinkish buff clay covered with white paint. Pres. H. 0.053; Diam. at flange 0.12 m.

II. 11 (P 12414)

Fragment of body of kernos with portions of the rim and flange. One hole in flange. Hard, fine, pinkish clay with glaze wash. Pres. H. 0.048; max. dim. 0.076 m.

II. 12 (P 12421) Pl. 69:b

Kotylikos or miniature kernos originally at-

tached to a larger vessel. Hard, pinkish clay covered with white paint. Pres. H. 0.05; Diam. at flange 0.045 m.

II. 13 (P 12420) Pl. 69:b

Miniature kernos, originally attached to a larger vessel, perhaps on the handle. Four holes in the flange, one at each handle and one on each side between the handles. A median ridge between the flange and rim. Hard, pinkish clay with traces of white paint. Pres. H. 0.059; Diam. at flange including handles 0.063 m.

II. 14 (P 12415) Pl. 70:a

Fragment of body, flange, and rim of a kernos. The straight profile of the upper body, with an offset about one third of the way up, is unusual, but resembles **II. 12** and **II. 13**. Hole in flange points to its being a kernos rather than a keeled bowl. Hard, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.05; est. Diam. at rim 0.135 m.

II. 15 (P 12410) Pl. 70:a

Fragment similar in profile to **II. 14**. Brownish clay covered with white paint. Pres. H. 0.055; est. Diam. at rim 0.08 m.

II. 16 (P 12423) Pl. 67:a

Fragment of a large latticework lid. Two bands of cutout decoration: triangles below, rectangles and triangles above, and a circle of holes near the top. Decorative grooves separate these bands. Part of a pierced knob on top. Hard, reddish clay. H. 0.073; est. Diam. at flange 0.16 m.

II. 17 (P 30175)

Fragment of lower body, flange, and part of one *kotylikos* preserved. The edge of the *kotylikos* is broken all around. Reddish clay with dark slip. Pres. H. 0.060; pres. W. 0.087 m.

II. 18 (P 30176)

Fragment of flange and upper body of a small kernos with one well-preserved *kotylikos* and traces of two others preserved. Hard, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.035; pres. W. 0.051; Diam. of *kotylikos* 0.016 m.

II. 19 (P 30177)

Small fragment of the lower body and flange of a kernos, with remains of three small *kotyliskoi* preserved on the flange. One *kotyliskos* is well preserved. Its edge is outlined in red paint. Only traces of the stems of the other two *kotyliskoi*. Hard, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.024; pres. W. 0.044; Diam. of *kotyliskos* 0.010 m.

II. 20 (P 30178)

Fragment of the lower body and flange of a kernos. One handle, pierced by a hole, one small *kotyliskos*, and the stems of four other *kotyliskoi* on the flange. Hard, reddish clay covered by a buff slip on the exterior. Pres. W. at flange 0.0575 m.

II. 21 (P 30179)

Fragment of the rim of a kernos (?) with four holes pierced through the body of the vessel beneath the rim. Reddish clay with faint traces of white paint. Pres. H. 0.028; pres. W. 0.031 m.

II. 22 (P 30180)

Portion of flange, upper body and rim of a kernos with one partially preserved *kotyliskos* on flange. An oblong area of black paint is preserved on the upper body. Buff clay. Pres. H. 0.0355; pres. W. 0.0535 m.

II. 23 (P 30181) Pl. 69: b

Kotyliskos attached to a loop handle. Reddish clay covered by a buff slip and traces of white paint. An ornamental groove runs around the edge of the inner surface of the *kotyliskos*.

Narrow irregular grooves on the exterior, separating the stem from the cup. H. 0.0325; Diam. 0.040 m.

II. 24 (P 30182) Pl. 69: b

Fragment of a kernos with portions of lower body, flange, and upper body preserved, and one relatively large *kotyliskos* on the flange. Ornamental groove around the edge of the inner surface of the *kotyliskos*. Hard, gritty, reddish clay with buff slip. Pres. H. (of *kotyliskos*) 0.037; Diam. 0.034 m.

II. 25 (P 30183) Pl. 69: b

Kotyliskos and a small portion of the flange of a kernos. The *kotyliskos* has a neatly formed flat rim. Hard, reddish clay covered by a buff slip. Pres. H. 0.029; Diam. 0.036 m.

II. 26 (P 30184) Pl. 70: b

Base and a portion of the lower body of a kernos. Two holes in base, on opposite sides. Hard, orange-colored clay covered by a buff slip. Pres. H. 0.041; Diam. 0.077 m.

II. 27 (P 30185) Pl. 70: b

Base similar in detail to **II. 26** above but with a lower, wider profile. Pres. H. 0.025; Diam. 0.075 m.

II. 28 (P 30186)

Kotyliskos. A wide recessed groove decorates the edge of the interior. Hard, reddish clay (with traces of black glaze?). Pres. H. 0.022; Diam. 0.054 m.

B. OTHER DATABLE DEPOSITS (III-XXVIII)

III. Deposit B 13:8. Fill from a well in the Theseion Plataia. Period of use of the well: 325-300 B.C.; filled ca. 300-275 B.C.

III. 1 (P 11274) Pl. 69: c

Small kernos. The rim, parts of the upper and lower body, and part of the flange including the handles are missing. Two holes in the flange at the handle. Faint traces of white

paint. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.065; Diam. at flange 0.09 m.

III. 2 (P 11275) Pl. 70: c

Black-glazed *kotyliskos* from a large kernos. Pres. H. 0.041; Diam. 0.066 m.

IV. Deposit BB 17: 1. Dumped filling in a well in the Theseion Plataia with material dating 375-350 B.C. including black-glazed ware and a lamp

of Agora type 25A. (L 3221. See R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps and their Survivals*, Princeton 1958, p. 68, no. 270.)

IV. 1 (P 11809)

Fragment of a large kernos. Most of the lower body, part of the flange with one handle, and part of the upper body are preserved. Two holes in flange, one at the handle, another about 90° away. Reddish orange clay with a reddish wash on the exterior. Traces of black paint on handle and flange, and of white paint on lower body. Pres. H. 0.085; est. Diam. at flange 0.203 m.

V. Deposit D 5:1. Debris from a stucco-lined, rock-cut pit about 20 meters north-north-west of the Hephaisteion, containing red-figured sherds, black-glazed ware, terracottas and a lamp of type 24C' (L 2840), datable to *ca.* 400-350 B.C.

V. 1 (P 9493) Pl. 67:b

A large kernos, restored. Fragments of lower body, flange with handles, upper body and rim are preserved (base is restored by analogy with V. 2). Four holes in flange, one at each handle and one on each side between the handles. Reddish clay, with traces of white slip (?). Diam. at flange (excluding handle) as restored 0.19, of rim as restored 0.13 m.

V. 2 (P 22755)

Foot of a large kernos, mended from two pieces. Remains of one hole pierced in stem. Hard, gritty, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.042 m.

VI. Deposit D 11:2. Dumped filling in a cistern in the Theseion Plataia. Filled in the 3rd century B.C.

VI. 1 (P 7199) Pl. 69:c

Small kernos with the handles and portions of the foot, upper body and rim missing. Two holes in flange at each handle. Substantial traces of white paint inside and out. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.08; Diam. at flange 0.095 m.

VI. 2 (P 7200)

Small kernos with the handles, part of the flange and most of the upper body missing. A pair of holes on each side of the flange spaced between the handles. Substantial traces of white paint on the exterior. Soft, pinkish clay. Pres. H. 0.07; Diam. at flange 0.084 m.

VII. Deposit D-E 8-9:1. Dumped filling in a cistern system on the Kolonos Agoraios south of the Hephaisteion. The fill dates *ca.* 330-305 B.C., with some traces of supplementary filling in the 3rd century B.C.

VII. 1 (P 6931) Pl. 69:c

Fragmentary kernos, mended. Stem and base and portions of the lower body, upper body, flange and rim are missing. Part of one handle, with a hole pierced on one side of it, is preserved. A narrow groove runs below the flange. Traces of white paint. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.08; Diam. at rim 0.018 m.

VIII. Deposit E 3:1. Dumped fill in a cistern north of the Hephaisteion on the north side of the Piraeus railway. The filling dates from *ca.* 325-300 B.C. or shortly after.

VIII. 1 (P 7697)

Small kernos, with foot, stem, handles, and part of flange and body missing. Four holes on flange, apparently two flanking each handle. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.065; Diam. at flange 0.092, at rim 0.074 m.

IX. Deposit E 29:4. Mainly from *strosis* 2 beneath the marble-chip pavement in the House of the Greek Mosaic Court on the west slope of the Areopagus. Early 3rd century B.C.

IX. 1 (P 27188) Pl. 71:a

Large black-glazed kernos (restored). Portions of three *kotyliskoi*, of the rim, the bowl, of one handle, and of the base, are preserved. Reserved band at the juncture of the bowl and the base. Diam. at rim excluding handles 0.285; Diam. of *kotyliskoi* 0.072 m.

X. Deposit F 11:2. A well about 18 meters west of the Tholos and 5 meters south of the New Bouleuterion containing dumped fill datable to the second half of the 4th century B.C.

X. 1 (P 4440) Pl. 69:c

Small kernos. Part of the rim, about half of the upper body, most of one handle, and pieces of the base are missing and have been restored. Light buff clay. Two holes at each handle. Traces of white paint. H. 0.093; Diam. at rim as restored 0.070 m.

XI. Deposit F 12:3. A well about 10 meters west of the Tholos. The "chamber group" from which the kernos fragment comes is dated to the second half of the 4th century B.C.

XI. 1 (P 4401)

Fragment of the lower body of a kernos with portions of the flange and the stem preserved. Light buff clay. H. 0.035; Diam. ca. 0.105 m.

XII. Deposit F 16:8. Filling in a cistern and well in the Marble Worker's House in the southwest corner of the Agora, west of the Heliaia, ca. 340-260 B.C.

XII. 1 (P 28036) Pls. 69:a, 72:a

A miniature kernos. Stem missing. One hole pierced through a projection on the flange. Scale is comparable only to **XXIII. 5**. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.0205; Diam. of rim 0.0205 m.

XIII. Deposit G 13:4. Use filling in a well about 10 meters south of the Tholos. Period of use: ca. 340-310 B.C.

XIII. 1 (P 2869)

Small kernos. The stem and portions of the flange and rim are missing. Traces of white paint. A pair of holes on one side of the flange, apparently near a handle (missing). Pres. 0.056; Diam. of rim 0.075, of flange 0.095 m.

XIV. Deposit H 16:3. Dumped fillings in a cistern system about 15 meters west of the building identified as the Heliaia, filled in stages between ca. 320-275 B.C.

XIV. 1 (P 585) Pl. 69:c

Small kernos, complete except for pieces of rim, which are restored. A pair of holes at each handle. Soft, buff clay. H. 0.07, Diam. at flange 0.074 m.

XIV. 2 (P 2525) Pl. 71:b

Small kernos with portions of body, flange, and rim missing. A pair of holes at each handle. Soft, buff clay. H. 0.075; Diam. with handles 0.10 m.

XIV. 3 (P 1110)

Fragment of a small kernos. Portions of the body and the flange and one handle are preserved. A pair of holes at the handle. Traces of white paint. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.036; pres. W. 0.061 m.

XIV. 4 (P 815) Pl. 71:c

Large black-glazed kernos. Five of the original nine *kotyliskoi* are preserved (the others are restored). Two handles bent over the rim. Glazed all over except for narrow reserved bands, two at base and one at junction of stem with bowl. H. 0.163; Diam. of bowl 0.255; max. Diam. of *kotyliskoi* 0.068 m.

XIV. 5 (P 4068) Pl. 67:a

Fragment of a lid with flange and open work above, possibly belonging to a kernos. Buff clay. Pres. H. 0.032; pres. W. 0.0605.

XV. Deposit H 17:3. Contents of a pocket in a well on the south side of the Agora, west of the Heliaia. A few sherds suggest a date in the 4th century B.C. (Lot Σ T 172).

XV. 1 (P 26025) Pl. 70:c

Black-glazed *kotyliskos* from a kernos, with portions of the rim of the kernos preserved. Pres. H. 0.045; Diam. 0.059 m.

XVI. Deposit J 11:1. Filling in a depression in the bedrock west of the Odeion of Agrippa. Mostly datable to ca. 400-340 B.C., with a few later intrusions.

XVI. 1 (P 22291)

Fragment of a small kernos. Part of the lower body, flange with one hole, and upper body preserved. Soft pinkish yellow clay. Pres. H. 0.023; pres. Diam. 0.07 m.

XVII. Deposit K-L 18-20:1. Filling from a drainage system on the north slope of the Areopagus, dating from the last quarter of the 4th century through the 3rd century B.C.

XVII. 1 (P 16645)

Fragment of a small kernos, with about half of the lower body, flange, and upper body preserved. One hole in flange. Light buff clay. Pres. H. 0.065; est. Diam. at flange 0.10 m.

XVII. 2 (P 16158)

Fragment of a small kernos. About half of the lower body and the flange as well as portions of the upper body are preserved. Light buff clay. Substantial traces of white paint on the exterior and a few traces on the interior. Slight traces of blue paint on the flange. Pres. H. 0.058; est. Diam. at flange 0.015 m.

XVII. 3 (P 16157)

Fragment of a *kotyliskos* from a large kernos. Black to brown glaze. Slight curvature of the stem. Pres. H. 0.033; est. Diam. 0.05 m.

XVIII. Deposit M 18:5. Contents of a drainage trench about 20 meters south of South Stoa I, dated *ca.* 300 B.C.

XVIII. 1 (P 9359)

Pl. 70:c

Black-glazed *kotyliskos*. Slight curvature of stem. Diam. 0.047; Pres. H. 0.028 m.

XIX. Deposit N 16:2. Dumped filling in a rectangular cutting beneath South Stoa I, dating to *ca.* 325 B.C.

XIX. 1 (P 23413)

Fragment of a small kernos with portions of the rim, body, and flange missing. Soft, buff clay. A few traces of white paint. H. 0.088; Diam. excluding flange 0.072 m.

XX. Deposit Q 15:2. Dumped filling in a well just west of the Library of Pantainos, dating to *ca.* 420-400 B.C.

XX. 1 (P 23833)

Fragment of the foot of a large kernos (compare **XXXVII. 1**). One hole in the preserved portion of the stem. Hard, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.042; Diam. as preserved 0.12 m.

XXI. Deposit Q 15:3. Deposit of sherds in a stereo hollow about 3 meters west of the Library of Pantainos. Datable to the 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. Note in particular a lamp (L 1172) of type 25B' datable to this period (*Agora* IV, pp. 74-77). Uncatalogued sherds include fragments of a fish plate and rouletted ware which appear to date to the 4th century B.C. (Lot I B 164a).

XXI. 1 (P 2517)

Miniature kernos, complete except for most of the stem and the base. Two holes at each handle. Pinkish clay with buff slip. H. 0.053; Diam. at rim 0.058 m.

XXII. Deposit P 10:1. Dumped filling in a cistern about 10 meters west of the Stoa of Attalos, dating *ca.* 350-300 B.C.

XXII. 1 (P 19706)

Small kernos with most of flange and upper body missing. Two holes preserved in the flange, apparently near the handles. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.065; pres. W. 0.075 m.

XXII. 2 (P 19704)

Fragment of a small kernos. Portions of the body, rim, flange and one handle are preserved. One hole in the flange just outside the handle. Traces of white and perhaps yellow paint. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.041; pres. W. 0.072 m.

XXIII. Deposit S 19:3. Dumped filling, refuse from the shop of a manufacturer of votives, found in an unused cistern, outside the market square to the southeast, just west of the Panathenaic Way. Dated *ca.* 330-320 B.C.

XXIII. 1 (P 12402) Pl. 71:b

A small votive kernos in soft, buff clay, complete except for chips from the rim. Traces of white paint. Three holes on each side at the handles. H. 0.065; W. 0.096; Diam. 0.074 m.

XXIII. 2 (P 12403) Pl. 71:b

Miniature kernos in soft, buff clay. Missing part of the stem, base, all of one handle and part of the other. H. 0.044; Diam. 0.055 m.

XXIII. 3 (P 12996) Pl. 71:b

Miniature kernos complete except for chip from foot. Soft, buff clay. Traces of white paint. Single hole at each handle. H. 0.047; max. Diam. 0.050 m.

XXIII. 4 (P 12481) Pl. 72:a

Miniature kernos complete except for small chips. Soft, buff clay. Traces of white paint. Single hole at each handle. H. 0.046; Diam. 0.043 m.

XXIII. 5 (P 12997) Pl. 69:a

Miniature kernos, the smallest found in the Agora deposits. Stem and base missing. Indication of handle on one side. Soft, buff clay. Traces of white paint. Pres. H. 0.014; Diam. 0.024 m.

XXIV. Deposit S 19:8. A well and a pit west of the Panathenaic Way opposite the Eleusinion. Period of use: 340-325 B.C.

XXIV. 1 (P 12993) Pl. 71:b

Small kernos. The rim, part of the upper wall, most of the handles, and pieces of the flange are missing. Soft, pink clay. Two holes on one side of the flange about 0.22 m. outside the end of the handle. Pres. H. 0.075; Diam. 0.112 m.

XXIV. 2 (P 14252) Fig. 1:a, Pl. 72:a

Miniature kernos. Chips missing from the rim and flange. Soft, buff clay. Traces of white paint. Two holes at flange at each handle. H. 0.059; Diam. at rim 0.058 m.

XXIV. 3 (P 13106) Pl. 69:a

Terracotta mold for the flange and upper wall of a miniature kernos. Soft, buff clay. H. 0.028; L. 0.055; W. 0.044 m. (*Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 153, 164, pl. 42.)

XXV. Grid T 18. A pit, perhaps a cistern, beneath the third room of a Roman building just north of the large retaining wall of the Eleusinion. This pit produced many small fragments of kernoi in a context datable to the 4th century B.C. (Lot EA 42 [S]).

XXV. 1 (P 26765) Pl. 67:c

Fragment of the flange and body of a kernos with nine *kotyliskoi*, arranged in three rows, on the flange. A red wash is used to outline the rims of the *kotyliskoi*. Coarse, micaceous, pink clay. Pres. H. 0.039; pres. W. 0.070; Diam. of *kotyliskoi* 0.018-0.020 m.

XXV. 2 (P 26766) Pl. 67:c

Fragment of the flange and body of a kernos with three well-preserved small *kotyliskoi*, and traces of six others, on a narrow flange. One hole pierced in the flange. Coarse, micaceous, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.045; pres. W. 0.119; Diam. of *kotyliskoi* 0.01 m.

XXV. 3 (P 26767) Pl. 67:c

Fragment of the upper body of a kernos with one *kotyliskos* attached and traces of another. The interior and outer rim of the *kotyliskos* and also the upper part of the vase are painted with a dull black paint or glaze. Coarse, micaceous, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.0315; pres. W. 0.068; Diam. of *kotyliskos* 0.016 m.

XXV. 4 (P 26768)

Small kernos with the stem and part of the flange missing. Three equally spaced holes on flange. There were probably originally four, with one flanking each handle. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.05; Diam. at rim 0.058, at flange 0.073 m.

XXVI. Grid T 21. Contents of a pocket on the line of the early peribolos wall of the

Eleusinion, near the entrance. Fragments of a number of kernoi were found in a context dating to the 4th century B.C. (Lot EA 57 [S]).

XXVI. 1 (P 26515 a, b) Pl. 68: a

Fragment of a kernos, mended from many pieces with fragments of the rim, body and flange preserved. On the flange, cup-like circles. The loop of the handle has a similar but larger "cup". Traces of white paint. Brownish clay. Pres. H. 0.052; est. Diam. at flange 0.17; pres. W. of handle fragment 0.060 m.

XXVI. 2 (P 30161) Pl. 69: b

Kotyliskos with a lower body, flange and upper body, thus reproducing our "plain type" of kernos in *kotyliskos* form, just as **II. 9** reproduces a multiple kernos. Soft, buff clay. Diam. 0.036; pres. H. 0.0355 m.

XXVII. Grid U 20. The filling just north of the trench of an early peribolos or retaining wall in the Eleusinion, east of the temple. Small fragments of several kernoi in a context datable to the 4th century B.C. (Lot EA 63 [S]).

XXVII. 1 (P 26518)

Small kernos, with the stem and portions of the body, flange, and rim missing. One hole detectable on flange. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.046; Diam. at flange 0.082 m.

XXVIII. Deposit U 22: 5. A layer of fill near the east edge of a semicircular structure or cutting about 22 meters south of the Stoa of the Eleusinion. The excavation notebooks suggest that this fill was cut into a lower stratum which was itself mixed (containing sherds from the Mycenaean to the Hellenistic period). The

sherds found with the objects catalogued here seem to belong to the 4th century B.C.; e.g. P 30171, a fragment of a black-glazed rouletted bowl (cf. *Agora* XII, pp. 131-132 and pl. 33, nos. 827-840), and L 5818, the spout of a lamp, perhaps *Agora* type 25B or 25C' (see *Agora* IV, pp. 72-78, pls. 38, 39).

XXVIII. 1 (P 12077)

The rim and most of the upper body as well as chips from the lower body and foot are missing. A pair of holes at each handle. Pinkish brown clay. Pres. 0.066; Diam. at flange 0.085.

XXVIII. 2 (P 12134)

Fragment of the upper body and flange of a kernos with traces of a fence-like pattern painted in red on a white ground. Hard, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.042; pres. W. 0.055 m. (Cf. **XXXIX. 7.**)

XXVIII. 3 (P 12135) Pl. 68: b

Small fragment of the upper body and rim of a kernos with a trace of a geometric design in red on a white ground. Buff clay. Pres. H. ca. 0.03; pres. W. 0.029 m.

XXVIII. 4 (P 12133) Pl. 68: b

Fragment of the upper body and rim of a vessel which could be a kernos. A wreath pattern in red purple is painted on a white ground. Brownish clay. H. 0.038; pres. W. 0.071 m.

XXVIII. 5 (P 30172) Pl. 69: b

Kotyliskos and portion of the flange of a kernos. Two slightly raised bands outline the rim of the cup. Reddish clay with traces of white slip. Pres. H. 0.032; Diam. of *kotyliskos* 0.024 m.

C. DEPOSITS SUGGESTING A *TERMINUS ANTE QUEM* (**XXIX-XXXIII**)

XXIX. Deposit E 6:2. Abandonment fill in a cistern under the southwest corner of the Hellenistic building north of the Hephaisteion. The kernos fragment comes from the upper filling of the west chamber. The fill is Hellenistic.

XXIX. 1 (P 8595)

Kotyliskos from a kernos covered with a dull brownish glaze. Curvature of stem marked. Pres. H. 0.032; Diam. 0.050 m.

XXX. Deposit D 17:5. From the lower fill

in a cistern built against the south wall of the annex of the Poros Building west of the Areopagus (*Hesperia* 20, 1951, p. 182). The cistern was built *ca.* 350-325 but the fill dates from the late 3rd century B.C.

XXX. 1 (P 19887) Pl. 72 : a

A large kernos (restored). The foot, stem, handles, a piece of the rim, and chips from the upper and lower body are missing. Three holes, 120° apart, on flange. Two holes opposite one another on the rim. Soft, reddish buff clay. Pres. H. 0.105; Diam. at flange 0.195, at rim 0.135 m.

XXXI. Deposit L 17:7. Dumped fill in a cistern south of the South Stoa complex. Fill deposited in the 3rd century B.C.

XXXI. 1 (P 26058)

Small kernos mended from many fragments. Portions of the rim, body, and flange are missing. A pair of holes at each handle. Traces of white paint. Soft, buff clay. H. 0.076; Diam. at flange excluding handles *ca.* 0.075 m.

XXXII. Deposit M-N 15:1. Building fill from South Stoa II. Mixed debris ranging from the 4th to the 2nd century B.C., mostly Hellenistic.

D. UNDATED DEPOSITS (**XXXIV-XXXVII**)

XXXIV. Deposit D 16:5. A well with mixed Hellenistic and late Roman fill in the southwest corner of the Agora.

XXXIV. 1 (P 19373)

Small kernos with most of upper body missing. Four holes, about equally spaced, on the preserved portion of the flange. Gritty, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.065; Diam. at flange *ca.* 0.10 m.

XXXV. Deposit E 5:2. From a cistern about 16 meters north of the Hephaisteion. The "hard earth" in this cistern contained mostly Hellenistic fill, but late Roman and Byzantine sherds were also noted.

XXXII. 1 (P 23221)

Fragmentary painted kernos. Twenty fragments preserved (counting mended fragments as one) including pieces of the flange, handle, and upper body. Well-preserved traces of white, blue, and red paint. On the fragment with the handle (P 23221 b) there appear to have been alternating triangular areas of blue and red. Soft, buff clay.

P 23221 a = L. 0.082, pres. H. 0.039 m.

P 23221 b = L. 0.076, max. Th. of handle 0.0205 m.

Est. inner Diam. of vase 0.26 m.

XXXIII. Grid P-R 6-12. Fill from the Stoa of Attalos and dump from the Greek excavations in the Stoa of Attalos.

XXXIII. 1 (P 24140) Pl. 71 : b

Small kernos with portions of the rim and the flange, including one handle, missing. A pair of holes on each side of the flange, spaced between the handles. Traces of white paint. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.065; Diam. at flange 0.082 m.

XXXIII. 2 (P 19522)

Fragment of a large black-glazed kernos with one *kotyliskos*, portions of the bowl, and part of one handle preserved. Pres. W. 0.105; pres. H. 0.06; Diam. of *kotyliskos* 0.045 m.

XXXV. 1 (P 11537) Pl. 70 : c

Black-glazed *kotyliskos*, possibly from the handle of a large kernos. Pres. H. 0.036, Diam. 0.049 m.

XXXVI. Grid Q 17. Fill from a gravel drain in the Southeastern area of the Agora, just south of the Mint.

XXXVI. 1 (P 22354)

Small kernos with most of the upper body and the flange, portions of the lower body, and pieces of the foot missing. Substantial remains of white paint. Soft, pinkish clay. Pres. H.

0.068; pres. Diam. of bowl excluding flange 0.084 m.

XXXVII. Deposit U 22: 4. Deposit below the wall of a late antique building about 15 meters south of the Stoa of the Eleusinion and 7 meters east of the Post-Herulian Wall. In addition to the material listed below, the Agora storage containers (Lots II B 133 and B 134) contain about 100 small fragments of kernoi. There is no reliable evidence by which the deposit can be dated.

XXXVII. 1 (P 9683) Pl. 70: b

Fragment of a large kernos, mended. All of the rim, the handles, most of the upper body, and parts of the lower body and foot are missing. Three holes on the preserved part of the flange, one at each handle, and one centered between the handles. Two holes on the foot, placed on opposite sides. This fragment makes it clear that the other examples of such feet come from kernoi. Hard reddish clay with traces of a brownish wash. Pres. H. 0.10; Diam. at flange 0.181 m.

XXXVII. 2 (P 9684)

Fragment with an essentially vertical upper wall similar to **II. 14** and **II. 15** (Pl. 70: a). One handle and part of the flange, upper body, and rim are preserved. Hard, reddish clay with traces of a dark wash. Pres. H. 0.053; est. Diam. at flange 0.15 m.

XXXVII. 3 (P 9685)

Fragment similar in profile to **XXXVII. 2**. Portions of lower body, flange, and upper body with the rim are preserved. One hole in flange. Hard, orange clay. Pres. H. 0.04; est. Diam. at flange 0.11 m.

XXXVII. 4 (P 9686) Pl. 67: c

Fragment of body and flange of a kernos with one relatively large *kotyliskos* preserved. Hard, reddish clay covered by a light wash. Pres. H. 0.048; pres. W. 0.0615 m.

XXXVII. 5 (P 30162)

Fragment of the lower body and flange of a

kernos with one partially preserved *kotyliskos*. Pinkish clay with traces of dark-colored slip inside the *kotyliskos*. Pres. W. 0.073; pres. H. 0.046 m.

XXXVII. 6 (P 30163) Pl. 69: b

Kotyliskos from a kernos. Reddish clay with worn black glaze. Pres. H. 0.031; Diam. 0.0305 m.

XXXVII. 7 (P 30164)

Fragment with small holes in a groove around rim, possibly from a kernos. Reddish clay with traces of white paint. Pres. H. 0.044; pres. W. 0.047 m.

XXXVII. 8 (P 30165)

Fragment of a kernos (?) with a portion of a handle preserved. Worn black glaze on upper body. Reddish clay. Pres. W. 0.082 m.

XXXVII. 9 (P 30166)

Fragment of the flange and lower body of a kernos with decorative grooves on the body. Reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.040; pres. W. 0.100 m.

XXXVII. 10 (P 30167)

Portion of the base and lower body of a kernos, with a hole on each side of the base. Hard, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.036; pres. W. 0.075 m.

XXXVII. 11 (P 30168)

Portion of the base and lower body of a kernos, with a hole on each side of the base. Hard, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.053; max. Diam. of base 0.063 m.

XXXVII. 12 (P 30169)

Kotyliskos from a kernos, with a slight curvature of the stem and a hole in the center of the cup. Hard, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.020; Diam. at top 0.030 m.

XXXVII. 14 (P 30170)

Fragment of the flange and body of a kernos, mended from five pieces. Decorative grooves on the lower (?) body. Hard, reddish clay covered with brownish slip. Pres. W. 0.141 m.

E. STRAY FINDS (XXXVIII)

XXXVIII. 1 (P 4097)

Fragment of the lower body and flange of a kernos. Traces of white paint. L. 0.084; est. Diam. 0.18 m. From a cistern about 15 meters southwest of the Heliaia (Grid H 16-17).

XXXVIII. 2 (P 5884)

Black-glazed *kotyliskos* with most of the rim missing. Pres. H. 0.044 m. Found in a pit beneath the foundations of the front wall of the Bouleuterion (Grid F-G 10).

XXXVIII. 3 (P 27783)

Small kernos, with stem, handles, and portions of the upper body and rim missing. Three holes, two on opposite sides of the flange and one on the upper body, are preserved. Traces of white paint inside and out. Soft, reddish clay. Pres. H. 0.046; Diam. at flange 0.075 m. Found in a road-cut south of Southwest Fountain House Annex (Grid H 16).

XXXVIII. 4 (P 12509) Pl. 72: b

Small kernos, complete except for part of the handles and a piece of the rim. A pair of holes in the flange at each handle. Traces of white paint on the foot and in the interior. Reddish buff clay. H. 0.058; Diam. of rim 0.062, of flange 0.076 m. Found in fill south of the market square about 30 meters south of the Church of the Holy Apostles and 35 meters west of the Eleusinion (Grid O 20).

XXXVIII. 5 (P 25569)

Black-glazed *kotyliskos*. Pres. H. 0.030; Diam. 0.0475. Found in late fill near the Church of the Holy Apostles (Grid O-P 15-16).

XXXVIII. 6 (P 12519)

Fragment of kernos with portions of the upper body, lower body, and flange preserved. Two holes in flange. Substantial remains of white paint. Pinkish clay. Pres. H. 0.046; est. Diam. 0.15 m. Found in fill against a wall (Grid O 21).

XXXVIII. 7 (P 15084)

Fragment of the body and flange of a small kernos. Buff clay with red wash. Pres. H. 0.035; pres. W. 0.065 m. Found in sandy fill about 15 meters west of the Eleusinion (Grid S 20).

XXXVIII. 8 (P 15557)

Fragment of the body and flange of a kernos. Buff clay. Pres. H. 0.047; pres. W. 0.075 m. Found in broken bedrock fill about 25 meters southwest of the Eleusinion (Grid R 22).

XXXVIII. 9 (P 15385) Pl. 68: a

Fragment of a kernos with a handle and a portion of the flange and body preserved. A knob with a depression at the top of the loop of the handle, perhaps intended as a *kotyliskos*. The end of the handle has a projection marked by two depressions forming a heart shape, inside of which there is a hole in the flange. Buff clay with traces of reddish paint or glaze. Pres. W. 0.061; pres. H. 0.023. Found in disturbed fill about 25 meters southwest of the Eleusinion (Grid R 22).

XXXVIII. 10 (P 10725)

Fragment of a small kernos. Missing: all the rim, most of the upper body and flange, a portion of the lower body, and a chip from the foot. Soft pinkish clay. Pres. H. 0.075; pres. Diam. at flange 0.079 m. Found in hard fill at the side of a modern wall trench just north of the Stoa of the Eleusinion (Grid T 20-21).

XXXVIII. 11 (P 26529) Pl. 67: c

Fragment of the flange, handle, and lower body of a large kernos with nine *kotyliskoi* on the flange arranged in two or three rows. Traces of reddish paint on the *kotyliskoi*. Coarse, red clay. Maximum dimension 0.135; Diam. of *kotyliskoi* 0.012-0.017 m. From fill in front of the north retaining wall of the Eleusinion (Grid T 18).

XXXVIII. 12 (P 17106) Fig. 1: b; Pl. 72: a

Small kernos with portion of the foot and the

rim, and one handle missing and restored. A pair of holes in the flange at each handle. Traces of white paint. Soft, buff clay. H. 0.085; Diam. at flange 0.087. Found during an excavation for the building of a house on Aristides Street. The excavation revealed part of the City Wall.

XXXVIII. 13 (P 21499)

Handle and a portion of the rim of a kernos. One hole in the flange at the handle. Reddish clay covered by a buff wash. Max. dim. 0.10; est. Diam. 0.19 m. From a well east of the semicircular structure or cutting south of the Stoa of the Eleusinion (U 22/2).

XXXVIII. 14 (P 21501)

Fragment of lower body and a piece of the

rim of a kernos. Reddish clay covered by a brown-to-red wash. Max. dim. 0.08 m. From a well about 17 meters south of the Stoa of the Eleusinion, northeast of the semicircular cutting or structure (U 22/3).

XXXVIII. 15 (P 9332)

Pl. 72: b

Small kernos, complete except for chips from the rim, flange, and foot. A pair of holes on each side of the flange, apparently at the handles. Buff clay. H. 0.085; Diam. at flange 0.090 m. From a mixed deposit (4th to 2nd century B.C.) about 7 meters south of the late antique house or school at the northeast foot of the Areopagus (see *Hesperia* 27, 1959, p. 104; Grid M 18).

F. FINDS WITH ONLY GENERAL PROVENIENCE RECORDED (**XXXIX**)

From the valley west of the Areopagus:

XXXIX. 1 (P 19451)

Pl. 72: b

Small kernos. Parts of the rim, upper body and flange are missing. A pair of holes on opposite sides of the flange, apparently at the handles. Traces of white paint. Buff clay. H. 0.88; Diam. at flange 0.089 m.

XXXIX. 2 (P 19452)

Pl. 68: a

Fragment of a small kernos with small rings, probably intended as *kotyliskoi*, on upper body. Traces of dark paint on and between the rings. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.038; pres. W. 0.06105 m.

From the Theseion Plataia:

XXXIX. 3 (P 22829)

Small kernos with parts of the flange and most of the upper body missing. Remains of three holes on the flange. Substantial traces of white paint. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.07; Diam. at flange 0.081 m.

From the area south of the Eleusinion (Section II):

XXXIX. 4 (P 21099)

Pl. 72: b

Rim, parts of upper body, the handles, and chips from the flange and foot are missing. A pair of holes in the flange at each handle. Soft, buff clay with a lighter buff wash. Pres. H. 0.07, Diam. at flange 0.093 m.

XXXIX. 5 (P 21100)

Rim, handles, much of the upper body, and chips from the lower body and foot are missing. Buff clay covered by an orange-to-red wash. Pres. H. 0.07; Diam. at flange 0.096 m.

XXXIX. 6 (P 21101)

Pl. 72: b

Most of the rim, the handles, and chips from the upper body, flange, and foot are missing. Traces of a pair of holes in the flange at each handle. Soft, whitish clay. H. 0.07; Diam. at flange 0.077 m.

From fill near Post-Herulian Wall in the area south of the Eleusinion:

XXXIX. 7 (P 21105)

Pl. 68: b

Small fragment with red design on white ground. Three horizontal, triangular, red "penants" flanked by a vertical bar. Pres. H. 0.034 m.

G. STRAY FINDS OF POSSIBLE KERNOS LIDS (XL)

XL. 1 (P 23091)

Pl. 67 : a

Lattice-work lid. Top missing. Reddish clay (with traces of red glaze?). Pres. H. 0.032; Diam. 0.072 m. From fill over a retaining wall just north of the Heliaia (Grid I 14).

XL. 2 (P 15553)

Pl. 67 : a

Lid with five, evenly spaced triangular holes. Two horizontal grooves on flange and below knob. Depression on top of knob. Buff clay with traces of red glaze. H. 0.043; Diam. 0.07 m. Found in broken bedrock fill about 35 meters southwest of the Eleusinion (Grid Q 22).

XL. 3 (P 22784)

Possibly a solid lid. Described as a kernos

fragment when found, but the lower edge of the wide rim is finished off, hence not the flange and upper body of a kernos. Trace of a small flange suitable for a lid. Buff clay with possible traces of a brown wash. H. 0.05; pres. W. 0.063 m. From a stone water channel about 8 meters north of the Church of the Holy Apostles.

XL. 4 (P 19679)

Pl. 67 : a

Solid lid. Raised ridge around lower base. Edge of upper knob is irregularly bent. Chip broken from lower edge. Soft, buff clay. Pres. H. 0.041; Diam. at base 0.081 m. Found in mixed fill (4th century to Hellenistic) in "House H, room 10", southwest of the market square (Grid C 20).

CONCLUSIONS

LOCATION OF FINDS (Fig. 2)

As the Catalogue indicates, sporadic finds of kernoi have been made, mostly in wells and cisterns, in all parts of the Agora, but there is clearly a concentration of them in and around the area which has been identified as the City Eleusinion (Deposits **I, II, XXIV-XXIX, XXXVII**).¹⁵ The precise limits of this sanctuary are difficult to determine, not only because they may have changed from time to time but also because its east side has yet to be excavated. The west side of the sanctuary was clearly defined by a peribolos wall along the Panathenaic Way, and the line of the massive retaining wall of the bastion on which the temple stood presumably marks its northern limit; but whether or not the stoa which was built in the 2nd century after Christ marked what was and always had been the southern boundary of the sanctuary is not clear. Travlos supposes the existence of a road behind this stoa,¹⁶ but such a road need not have terminated the area of the Eleusinion. The two major deposits of kernoi were found in pits in the area to the south of this late stoa. Deposit **I** seems to have been a patient, deliberate burial of unbroken votive kernoi which had accumulated in the sanctuary and had to be disposed of in some reasonably pious manner. It is not unlikely that the pit in which these kernoi were found was dug by officials of

¹⁵ The identification of the Eleusinion is strongly supported by a concentration of inscriptions and marble reliefs, all of an Eleusinian character, in the area. The site also seems to fit the literary references relating to the City Eleusinion. See H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, pp. 150-155 (with further references); John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971, pp. 198-203.

¹⁶ Travlos, *op. cit.*, p. 198 and p. 423, fig. 540.

the Eleusinion, and if such was the case, the location of Deposit **I** might be taken to imply that the officials of the Eleusinion had control of, or at least access to, this southern area.

DATE

The kernoi from the Agora seem to be a phenomenon of the 4th century B.C. A review of the deposits listed in the Catalogue reveals only two possible exceptions: One base found in the filling of a well (Deposit **XX**) might be said to date from the late 5th century B.C., and the large kernos found in Deposit **XXX**, if it goes with the fill of the cistern, could be dated to the 3rd century B.C.

Whether or not this 4th-century date also holds for the kernoi from Eleusis is a question which the forthcoming study by Professor Bakalakis will perhaps be able to answer. Provisionally one may at least say that a 4th-century date for many of the kernoi from Eleusis, for example those found by Philios under the Porch of Philon, is quite probable. As far as I could determine from my own brief examination of the Eleusinian finds in 1973, the terracotta kernoi from Eleusis and the Agora are very similar in shape, fabric, and decoration. The stone and bronze kernoi from Eleusis thus far have no parallel among the Agora finds, but they have essentially the same shape as the terracotta examples and would seem to be near them in date.

In view of the fact that the Eleusinian cult was a very old one, that vessels which have been called kernoi have been found in various parts of Greece in earlier periods (see footnote 23 below), and that what seem to be kernoi are depicted on Athenian and Eleusinian coins and tokens during later centuries (see Appendix), this concentration of our finds in the 4th century is surprising and calls for some explanation. While none is obvious, various hypotheses may be proposed. One possibility is that the apparently limited chronological range of our finds is an illusion created by accidents of discovery. In other words, earlier and later kernoi existed, but they have not yet been found. The number of datable deposits with kernoi found in the Agora is substantial, however, and it is difficult to believe that the consistency of date to which these deposits point is purely a matter of chance. Another possibility is that real kernoi, the actual cult vessels, were used in the Eleusinian rites well before and well after the 4th century B.C., but the custom of offering small reproductions of them to the goddesses was a temporary fashion in the 4th century.¹⁷ Most, if not all, of the Agora kernoi seem,

¹⁷ Perhaps, as Homer Thompson has suggested to me, the Agora kernoi are connected with a revival of interest in the City Eleusinion during the regime of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.). Such a revival can be documented for other sanctuaries during this period, for example, Apollo Patroos, Dionysos Eleuthereus, Artemis Aristoboule, and the main sanctuary of the Eleusinian cult at Eleusis itself. Professor Thompson notes that inscriptions datable to the time of Lykourgos point to a new surge of activity in the City Eleusinion. In *IG II²*, 333 (R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, no. 209) of 335/4, lines 20-21 and 27-28, provision is made to consult the god about whether or not the *kosmoi hieroi* for Demeter and Kore should be more lavish; *IG II²*, 1672 (*Agora* III, no. 215) of 329/8 records architectural and decorative work

as noted earlier, to have been votives. Still another possibility is that *kernophoria*, and with it the kernos, were relatively late additions to the Eleusinian cult. The 4th century B.C., as E. R. Dodds has observed, was a period of "regression" in which there was "a fashion for foreign cults, mostly of a highly emotional, 'orgiastic' kind, which developed with surprising suddenness during the Peloponnesian War."¹⁸ Perhaps the *kernophoria* were originally part of the rites of Kybele and Rhea and came to Eleusis as part of the same wave that seems to have brought Dionysiac features into the cult.¹⁹ This would not explain, however, why there are no kernoi from the Agora after the 4th century B.C.

SHAPE AND DECORATION

The basic shape of Eleusinian kernoi (once again using the term to describe finds from both Eleusis and the Agora), and the sub-categories into which they can be divided on the basis of variations in the *kotyliskoi*, have already been described. Leaving aside for a moment the large black-glazed vessels, which seem to lack an upper body and rim (Pl. 71: a, c), there are only minor variations upon this basic shape, and it does not seem possible to trace a typological development of the Eleusinian kernos. A few vases and fragments have a distinctly straight-sided profile of the upper body (Pls. 69: c [VI. 1]; 70: a), and three of the larger vases have a low, wide profile with a relatively small rim (Pl. 67: b), but the contexts in which these variants were found do not suggest that they are consistently earlier or later than other vessels in the group.

One remarkable feature of the Agora finds which, as far as I know, is not so well documented by the finds from Eleusis, is their great variation in size. They range from what are probably full-size replicas of actual cult vessels to tiny miniatures (Pl. 72: a).

With the exception of ample remains of white paint on many vessels, little trace of decoration survives on the Agora finds. Nothing remains, for example, of the gold leaf found on some of the Eleusis kernoi. A few sherds preserve indications of painted designs. One seems to show a wreath just below the rim (Pl. 68: b [XXXVIII 4]). Several others bear a pattern of pennant-shaped horizontal and vertical lines in red which resembles a fence or barred gates. This design is also found at Eleusis and has been interpreted by Rubensohn as representing "Bacchos rings".²⁰

Most of our reasonably complete kernoi, as noted throughout the Catalogue, have holes in the flange, most commonly a pair adjacent to each handle. The representa-

in the sanctuary. Thompson also notes that one of the major dedications in the Eleusinion, the statues of his parents dedicated by Demopeithides of Acharnai, seems, judging by its letter forms and clamp, to date from this period.

¹⁸ E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951, p. 193.

¹⁹ Mainly through the fusion of Iacchos and Bacchos. See Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, Munich 1955, pp. 599-600.

²⁰ Rubensohn, "Kerchnos," p. 300 and pl. XIV.

tions of kernoi on the Pinax of Niinnion, and on coins, tokens and graffiti suggest, as already noted, that the principal function of these holes was to receive sprigs of wheat or some other vegetable material. A few of the larger kernoi also have a pair of holes in their bases (Pl. 70: b). Perhaps on actual cult vessels these holes in the base helped to secure a cord or band by which the kernos was held in place when it was carried on the top of one's head. The holes on the flange may also have played some role in this function, since the kernos which is carried by the processioner in the upper center of the main panel of the Pinax of Niinnion seems to be supported by struts which extend between the flange and the top of her head. In this same representation, it also looks as if a cord loops around the top of the vessel and passes through the flange near the points where the struts seem to be fastened to it.

The large black-glazed vessels which we have called kernoi (Pl. 71: a, c) are clearly anomalous. They lacked the projecting flange, holes, and upper body which are typical of other kernoi both from the Agora and Eleusis. These vessels obviously fit the Athenaios-Polemon description of a kernos much better than do our numerous plain-type kernoi. Yet, perverse and paradoxical as it may appear, it seems to me at least worth considering the possibility that these are not kernoi at all but rather some sort of elaborate serving dish. It is true that our best preserved example of the black-glazed vessels was found in the filling of a cistern which also yielded other kernoi of the more common type, but neither this vessel nor any of the other black-glazed fragments were found in or near the Eleusinion.

ELEUSINIAN KERNOI AND OTHER VESSELS CALLED KERNOI

The word "kernos" has come to be used for any kind of multiple vessel which has smaller containers attached to some sort of larger support, such as a bowl, a ring, or a block. Vessels which fit this description have been found in different areas of Greece, Italy, Cyprus, the Near East, and even beyond, in contexts ranging from the Early Bronze Age to the present. While a complete survey of such vessels is beyond the scope of this article, it may be useful to inquire briefly into the question of what relationship, if any, the Eleusinian kernoi bear to all these other vessels.

The first fact which should be emphasized is the uniqueness of the Eleusinian vessels. Except for a very small number of strays, their distinctive shape is, as far as I know, not found outside of Eleusis and the Agora. One of these strays was found by Professor John Young in 1959 near a slag heap outside one of the mines at Laurion and is now in the collection of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (Pl. 72: c).²¹ How it came to be where it was found is anybody's guess. Possibly it strayed from the near-by sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Thorikos. It is, in any case, Attic and closely related to the Eleusis vessels.

²¹ ASP 54. Completely preserved except for pieces of the rim. Hard, gritty, red clay. H. 0.096; Diam. at rim 0.064, at flange 0.103 m. I am grateful to Professor James McCredie, former Director of the American School of Classical Studies, for providing me with information about this vase and to Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. for providing photographs of it.

The only other site from which kernoi of the Eleusinian type are known is Alexandria. One example is said to have come from the Shatbi cemetery and another, at one time in Heidelberg, is said to have come from somewhere in Alexandria. The existence of these kernoi in Alexandria was most probably a result of Eleusinian influence in Hellenistic Egypt. We know from Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.48) that an Eleusinian priest of the Eumolpid clan named Timotheus was called to Egypt to advise Ptolemy I on theological matters relating to the cult of Serapis. It is also known that Ptolemy I established a village named Eleusis east of Alexandria and that a festival of Demeter, probably incorporating elements of the Eleusinian cult, was held there.²²

The non-Eleusinian vessels which have been identified as kernoi can be divided into three general types: (a) the table type, in which smaller containers are attached to the top of a tray-like or table-like base; (b) the stem type, in which the containers surround and project from a central stem or container, usually conical or cylindrical in shape; and (c) the ring type, in which the containers, sometimes accompanied by animal protomes and human figurines, are attached to a ring-shaped or wheel-shaped base.

These vessels are most common in the Bronze Age. The table type is characteristic of the Early Bronze Age in Crete and Cyprus. The most elaborate examples of the stem type are found in the Cyclades, particularly at Phylakopi, in the Late Bronze Age. The ring type is found in Crete, Cyprus, the Greek mainland, and apparently also on the Cycladic islands in the Late Bronze Age.

After the Bronze Age what seem to be variants of the stem type survive in Crete, notably in the vessels from the Acropolis of Gortyna. The ring type also survives and seems to have been spread over a wide area. Examples dating from the Archaic period have been found on Rhodes and Samos in the East and at Gela and Kroton in the West.²³

²² The Shatbi kernos is illustrated in E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo 1912, no. 248, pl. LVIII: 131. The Heidelberg vessel is illustrated by R. Pagenstecher in *Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Siegl* II, iii, Leipzig 1913, p. 12, abb. 18. Note also abb. 17, a drawing of a kernos in a private collection in Dresden, said to have come from Athens. On the Alexandrian village of Eleusis and its festival see Peter Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, Oxford 1972, pp. 200-201.

²³ To catalogue and evaluate all the kernos-like vessels from areas of Greek culture (let alone those occurring outside the classical world) would be a major project, one quite obviously beyond the scope of the present study. I append the following references simply to illustrate the variety and geographical distribution of such vessels in Greece and in areas of Greek colonial settlement.

For a general summary of the varieties of kernos-like vessels found in Crete, the Greek mainland, and Cyprus in the Bronze Age see Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd ed., Lund 1950, pp. 135-141. Add to Nilsson's review another type from Prosymna, dated to Late Helladic I: C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge 1937, I, pp. 213, 408; II, figs. 539, 672, 673.

For post-Bronze Age examples, in addition to those cited elsewhere in this article, see: *Gortyna*: *Annuario*, N.S., 17-18, 1955-56, p. 208, figs. 30, 31 and p. 269.

Rhodes: Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, *Fouilles de l'acropole*, Berlin 1931, pl. 52, no. 1202 and pp. 331-333.

The crucial question about all these vessels is, "Do they, taken together, constitute a single phenomenon, i. e. 'the Kernos'?" Is there, in other words, a unifying thread of form and function that ties them together over thousands of years so that the kernos can be viewed as the outward expression of a continuing religious idea, similar to the seven-branched candlestick or communion chalice? Some scholars have believed this to be the case. Xanthoudides has proposed, in fact, that the kernos came into use in Crete in the Early Minoan period and continues to be used in the rites of the Orthodox Church in the 20th century.²⁴ There is obviously something spine tingling about this grand hypothesis. If true, it would make the kernos perhaps the oldest continuing religious institution in the world.

In order to make the hypothesis even remotely plausible, however, one would have to prove that there are some common elements of form and function among all the vessels which have been called kernoi. As far as form is concerned the case is undeniably quite weak. The only aspect of form which unites these vessels is that they have small receptacles attached to some sort of base. Otherwise the variety of design and size which they exhibit is enormous, and one type does not seem to evolve into another type in any clearly discernible way. If we turn to function, the case, it seems to me, is even weaker. Aside from the Eleusinian kernoi, there is very little evidence preserved to tell us how all these vessels which have been identified as kernoi were used. What evidence there is, however, suggests that the function of many of these multiple vessels, particularly those dating from the Bronze Age, was funereal rather than agrarian. Many of them have been found in tombs. The offerings which they held, as Bosanquet suggested when he published the vessels from Melos,²⁵ are more likely to have been offerings to the dead similar to the *χοαὶ τρίσπονδοι* described by Homer and later writers.²⁶

Samos: Hans Walter, *Frühe samische Gefässe* (*Samos V*), Bonn 1968, pl. 48, no. 281 and p. 86.
Naukratis: E. A. Gardner, *Naukratis II*, London 1888, pl. 7, no. 3.

Kroton: *NotScav*, 1911, suppl., p. 117, fig. 100.

Gela: *MonAnt* 17, 1906, p. 631, fig. 446.

Recent excavations in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth have brought to light a group of small terracotta offering trays which have small receptacles, and sometimes models of fruits and cakes, attached to them (*Hesperia* 34, 1965, p. 23 and pl. 11:c; 37, 1968, p. 320). No date has as yet been assigned to these finds by the excavators. Although these trays have scarcely any relationship in form to the Eleusinian kernoi, they may have had a similar function. They are, in any case, among the very few kernos-like vessels found outside Eleusis that can be shown to have an indisputable connection with the cult of Demeter and Kore. Several offering trays of the same type from the Potters' Quarter in Corinth will soon be published by J. L. Benson in *Corinth* XV, iii. These examples appear to range in date from the 6th century B.C. through the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. It is probable that all of the Corinthian offering trays were manufactured in the Potters' Quarter.

²⁴ S. Xanthoudides, "Cretan Kernoi," *BSA* 12, 1905/06, pp. 9-23.

²⁵ R. C. Bosanquet, "Notes from the Cyclades," *BSA* 3, 1896/97, pp. 52-70, esp. pp. 54 and 57-61.

²⁶ Homer, *Od.* X.519-520; XI.27-28. Sophokles, *OC* 479; *Ant.* 431. Aischylos, *Pers.* 609-613; Euripides, *I.T.* 162-165; *Orest.* 115.

The indisputably funereal context in which many of the so-called kernoi have been found has led a group of French scholars to develop the hypothesis that the kernos originated as a funeral cult vessel but was eventually adapted, in Crete, to the rites of a goddess who controlled the earth's vegetation. W. Deonna proposed that the stimulus which inspired the creation of the Cretan kernos was the table of offerings used in Egyptian tombs. When this form was converted from stone to terracotta in Crete all its essential elements, the base, the table top, and the small cups, etc., which were placed on the table, were linked together to form a single vessel, the kernos.²⁷ Since the kernos was in essence a table of offerings, Deonna saw nothing surprising in its being adapted to the rites of a goddess of vegetation. The vessel, he felt, could be adapted for any type of multiple offering. Pierre Demargne preferred to think that the extension of the function of the kernos was related to the nature of the goddess in whose rites it was used: like Persephone-Kore in Classical times, this Cretan mother goddess was probably thought of both as Queen of the Dead and as the Mistress of Vegetation, and the kernos could be used to make offerings to her in either aspect.²⁸ F. Chapouthier proposed that the key monument that marked the development of the kernos into a vessel connected with agrarian rites was the great stone "offering table" found in the southwest corner of the court of the palace at Mallia.²⁹ The arrangement of depressions on this stone disc seemed to Chapouthier to be so similar to the arrangement of the *kotylikoi* on the kernoi at Eleusis that he claimed the Mallian stone table as the ultimate ancestor of the Eleusinian kernoi. It should be noted, however, that there is no proof whatever that the Mallia table ever had a religious function, much less a kernos-like function, and a number of scholars, notably Harriet Boyd, Sir Arthur Evans, and Sinclair Hood, have taken Minoan stone "offering tables" of this type to be gaming tables.³⁰

In the end the validity of the grand kernos hypothesis hinges upon whether or not one can establish some connection between these many supposed "kernoi" and the vessels from Eleusis and the Agora, since only for the Eleusinian kernoi can we be reasonably certain of the vessels' religious function. Xanthoudides adduced two vessels which he thought established some relationship between the Eleusinian and Cretan kernoi. One is a fragment from Eleusis which bears a close resemblance to a Cretan multiple vessel from Kourtes.³¹ The Eleusis fragment is of unknown provenience and date and is quite unlike the normal Eleusinian kernoi which have been described in this article. The other vessel cited by Xanthoudides is a kernos from

²⁷ W. Deonna, "Mobilier Délien: Tables antiques d'offrandes avec écuelles et table d'autel chrétien," *BCH* 58, 1934, pp.1-90, esp. pp. 52-61.

²⁸ P. Demargne, "Culte funéraire et foyer domestique dans la Crète minoenne," *BCH* 56, 1932, pp. 60-88.

²⁹ F. Chapouthier, "Une table à offrandes au palais de Mallia," *BCH* 52, 1928, pp. 292-323.

³⁰ H. A. Boyd, "Excavations at Kavousi, Crete in 1900," *AJA*, Ser. 2, 5, 1901, pp. 150-151, esp. pp. 141-142; Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, London 1921-1936, III, pp. 390-396; Sinclair Hood, *The Minoans*, New York 1971, p. 230 and pl. 100.

³¹ Xanthoudides (footnote 24 above), pp. 15-18; see also Nilsson (footnote 23 above), p. 138.

Ayios Nikolaos in Crete which admittedly bears more resemblance to the Eleusinian kernoi than most of the non-Eleusinian vessels. The date of this vessel is also unknown, but Xanthoudides speculated that it might be Hellenistic or Roman. Rather than being a link between the Eleusinian kernoi and Bronze Age "kernoi", the Ayios Nikolaos vase might represent a late borrowing from Eleusis.

Also arguing against the likelihood that there is a connection between the Eleusis vessels and those from other areas are the facts that (a) the shape of the Eleusis vessels, particularly their upper body and rim, is unparalleled and (b) the Eleusis vessels all seem to date from the 4th century B.C. and give no indication of developing from or blending with other non-Eleusinian vessels.

Since we know from late writers that kernoi were used in the cults of Rhea, it is possible, as I speculated earlier, that the vessel had a long history in the cult of this goddess in Crete and was suddenly borrowed or adapted by the devotees of the Eleusinian cult after the Peloponnesian War. But on the basis of the evidence currently available it is probably more judicious to conclude that the Eleusinian kernoi are unrelated to kernos-like vessels found elsewhere and that the latter are not, in fact, kernoi.

APPENDIX

REPRESENTATIONS OF ELEUSINIAN KERNOI ON ATTIC COINS AND TOKENS ³²

a) Bronze. Obv.: head of Athena. Rev.: kernos as an adjunct symbol, with an owl or between two owls. See J. N. Svoronos, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich 1923-1926, pl. 24, nos. 33-50. Dated by Kroll to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.

b) Bronze, issued under the name of Eleusis. Obv.: head of Demeter. Rev.: kernos and a Bacchos ring. See Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 103, nos. 29-32. Dated by Kroll to the second half of the 3rd century B.C.

c) Bronze, issued under the name of Athens. Obv.: Triptolemos or Demeter seated in a winged car. Rev.: AΘE and kernos with branches or wheat spears in or near the handles. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 103, nos. 47-49. Margaret Thompson, "Coins for the Eleusinia," *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 213-229, dates this series to 287-263 B.C.

d) Bronze, issued under the name of Athens, with the kernos struck over various earlier por-

traits and symbols, including portraits of Antigonos Gonatas. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 104, nos. 1-19. Kroll dates this group to the second half of the 3rd century B.C.

e) Bronze, issued under the name of Athens. Obv.: kernos, with sprigs in flange at handle. Rev.: wheat wreath surrounding Bacchos ring. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 104, nos. 21-23.

f) Bronze, series with head of Apollo or Artemis and a kernos surrounded by a wreath on the reverse, connected with the Athenian acquisition of Delos. Datable to 166-86 B.C. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 106, nos. 30, 48-51, 76-83.

g) Bronze, issued along with a silver issue of New Style coinage (see i below). Obv.: head of Athena. Rev.: kernos as adjunct symbol with an owl. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 79, no. 35. Post-Sullan, perhaps late 80's B.C.

h) Bronze. Obv.: helmeted head of Athena. Rev.: kernos used as an adjunct symbol with a standing Demeter. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 25,

³² I am grateful to Professor John Kroll for current information about the dates of these coins based on contextual evidence provided by the Agora Excavations.

nos. 13-14. Dated between 86 B.C. and the time of Augustus, perhaps after 50 B.C.

i) Silver tetradrachms, New Style, with the kernos as an adjunct symbol. See Margaret Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York 1961, p. 369, pl. 128, nos. 1147-1157. Dated by Thompson to 120/119 B.C.; by others to the late 80's B.C. (See H. B. Mattingly, "Some Third Magistrates in the Athenian New Style Silver Coinage," *JHS* 91, 1971, pp. 85-93.)

j) Silver tetradrachms with kernos as an adjunct symbol. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, nos. 4a-7a. Dated 195/194 B.C. by Thompson. D. M. Lewis favors a date some 30-35 years later

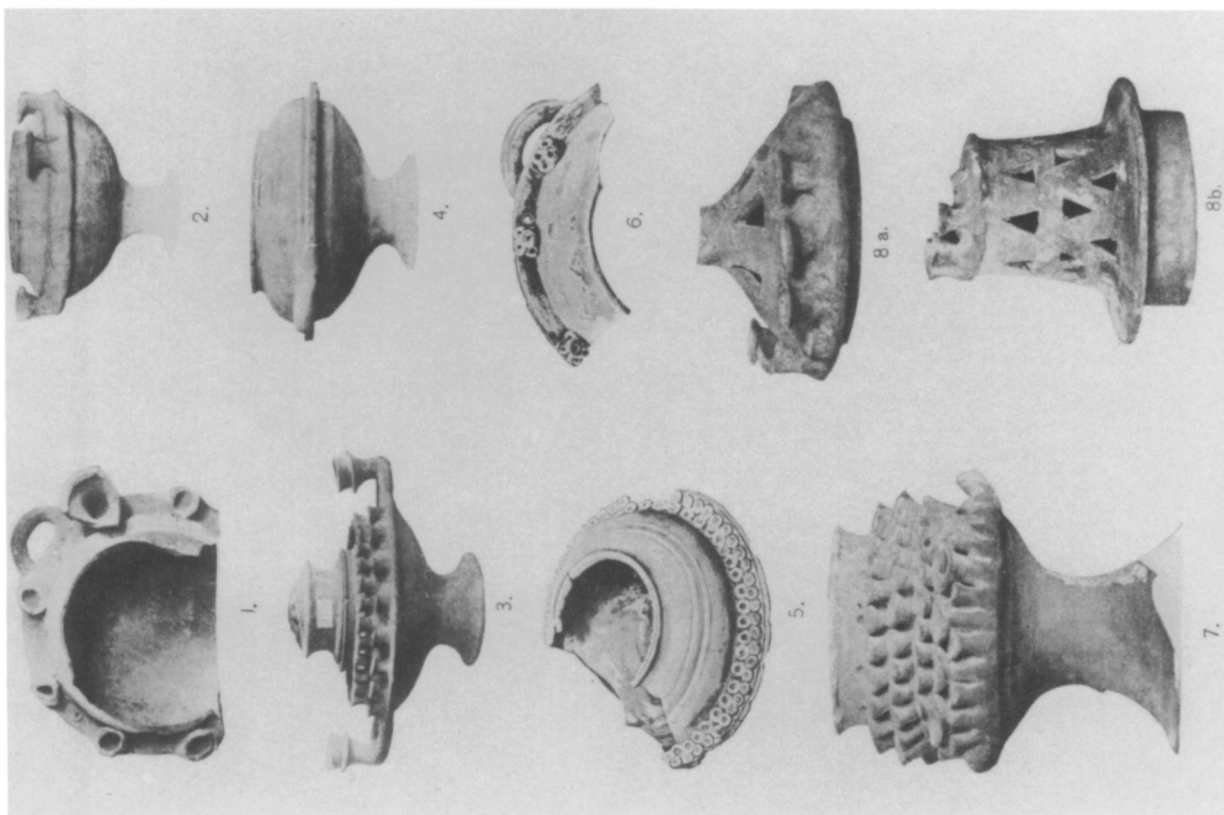
("The Chronology of Athenian New Style Coinage," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th ser., 2, 1962, pp. 275-300).

For the kernos on bronze tokens: Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 102, nos. 18, 19, 37-39. On lead tokens see Margaret Crosby, *The Athenian Agora*, X, *Weights, Measures and Tokens*, Princeton 1964, Part II, pp. 105-106, nos. L203-L205, pl. 26; and p. 123, no. L336, pl. 31 (with bibliography of earlier finds).

I append a graffito on a lamp from the Agora dating from the late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C., which may also represent a kernos. See Richard H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps and their Survivals*, Princeton 1958, pl. 24, no. 558.

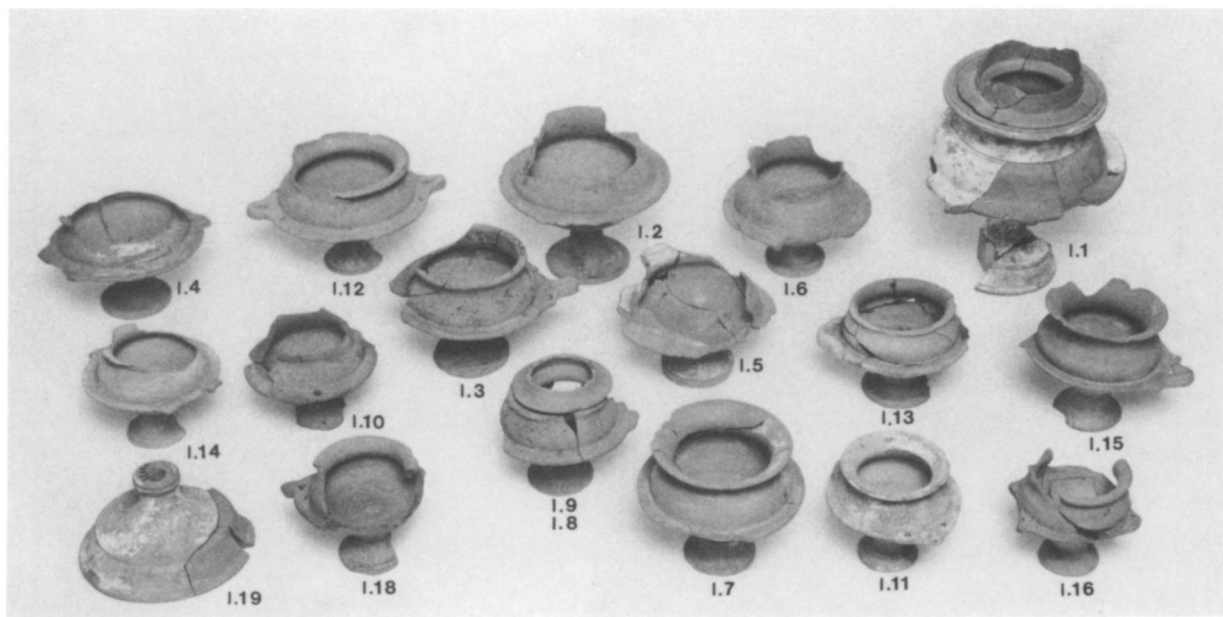
JEROME J. POLLITT

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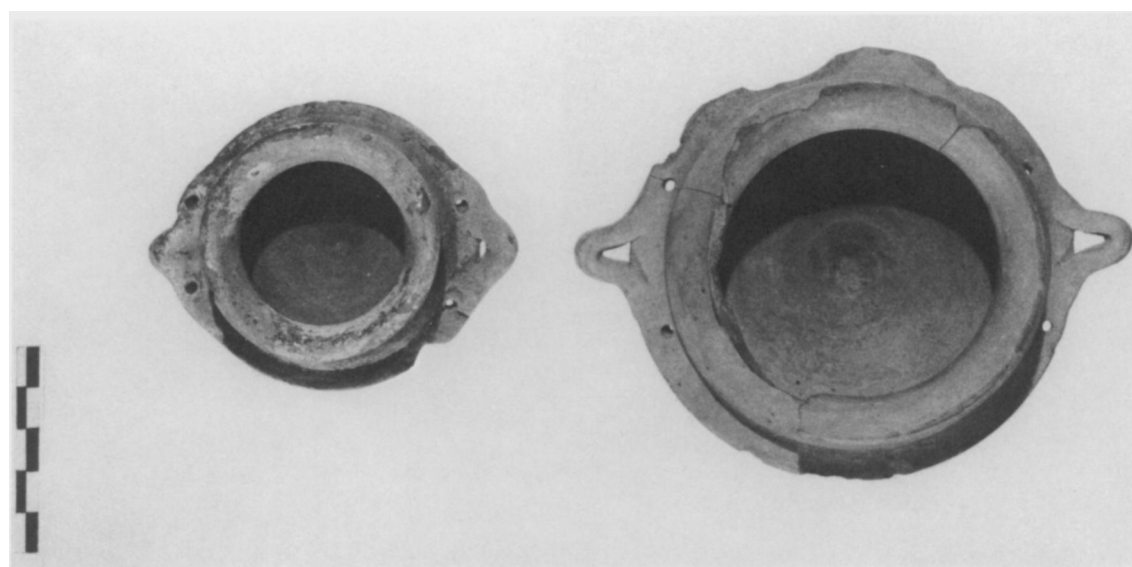


b. Kernoi from Eleusis (photograph, N. Stournaras)

a. Kernoi from Eleusis (*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 23, 1898, pl. XIII)



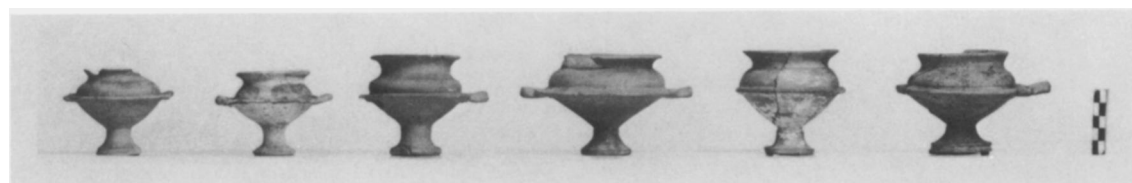
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b.

I.11

I.12



c.

I.14

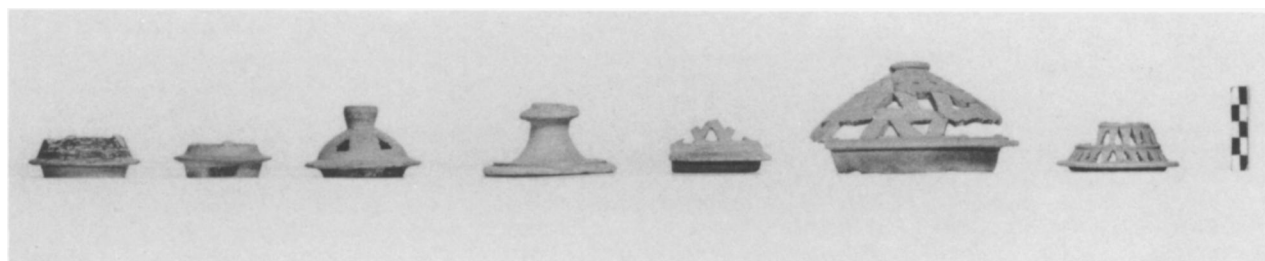
I.11

I.15

I.12

I.7

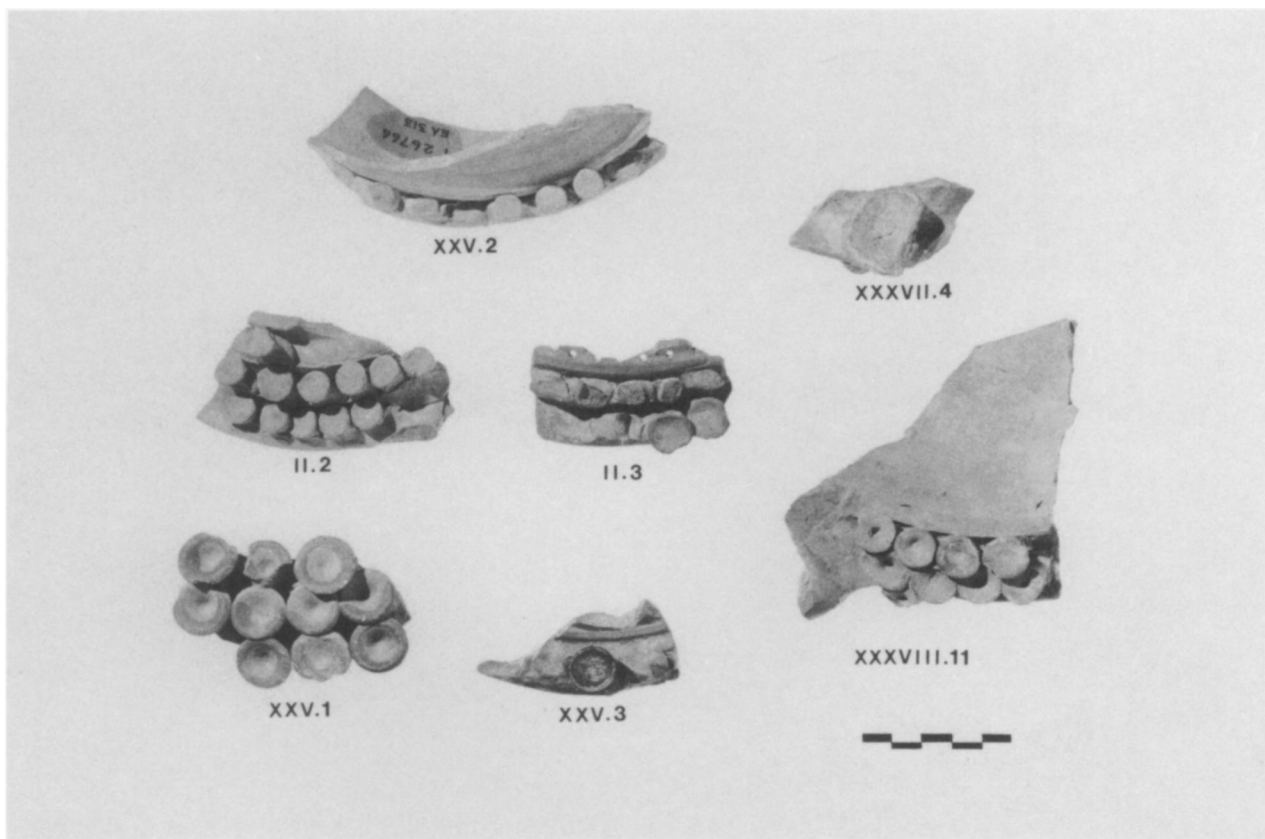
I.3



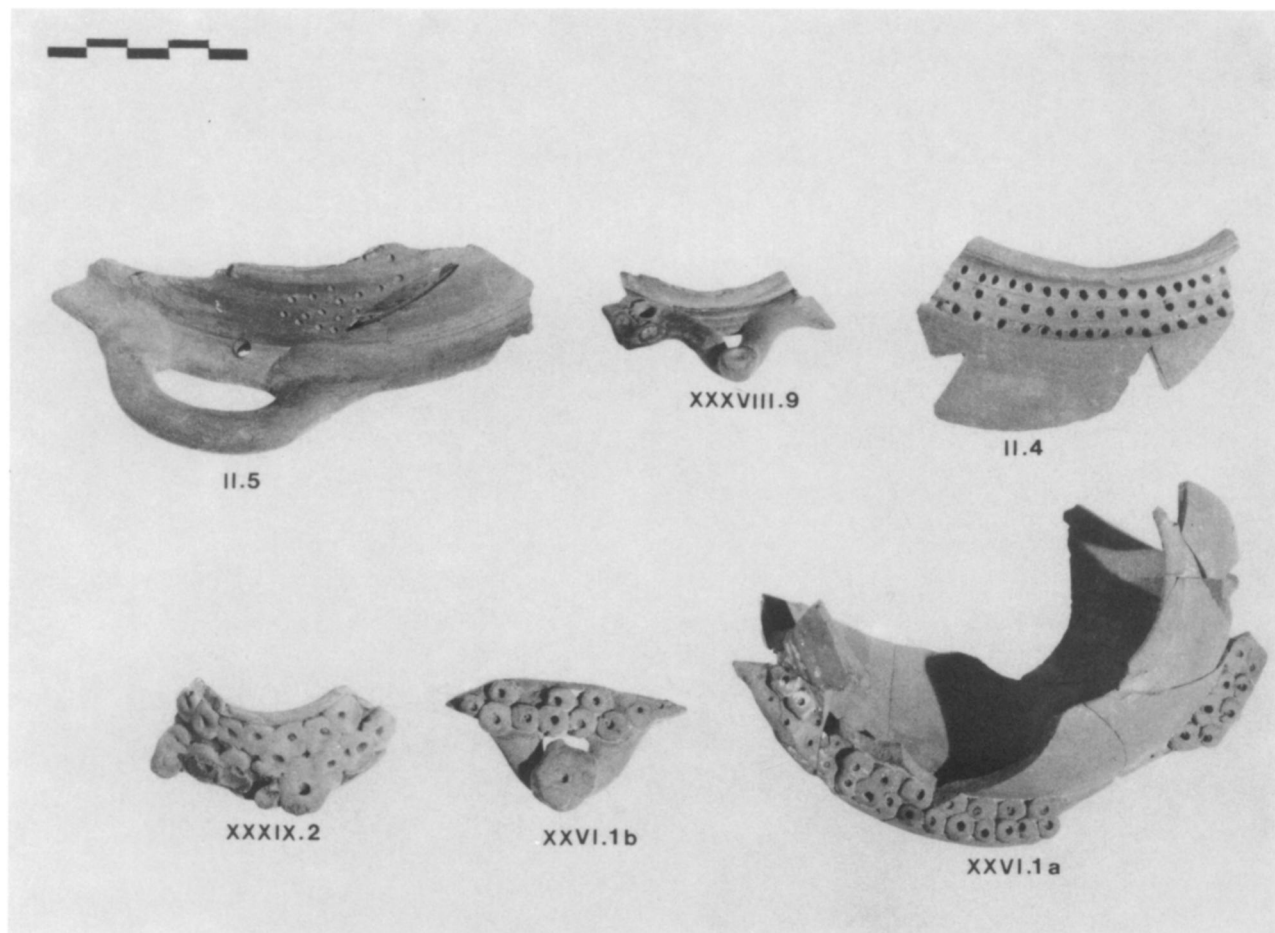
a. I.17 I.9 XL.2 XL.4 XIV.5 II.16 XL.1



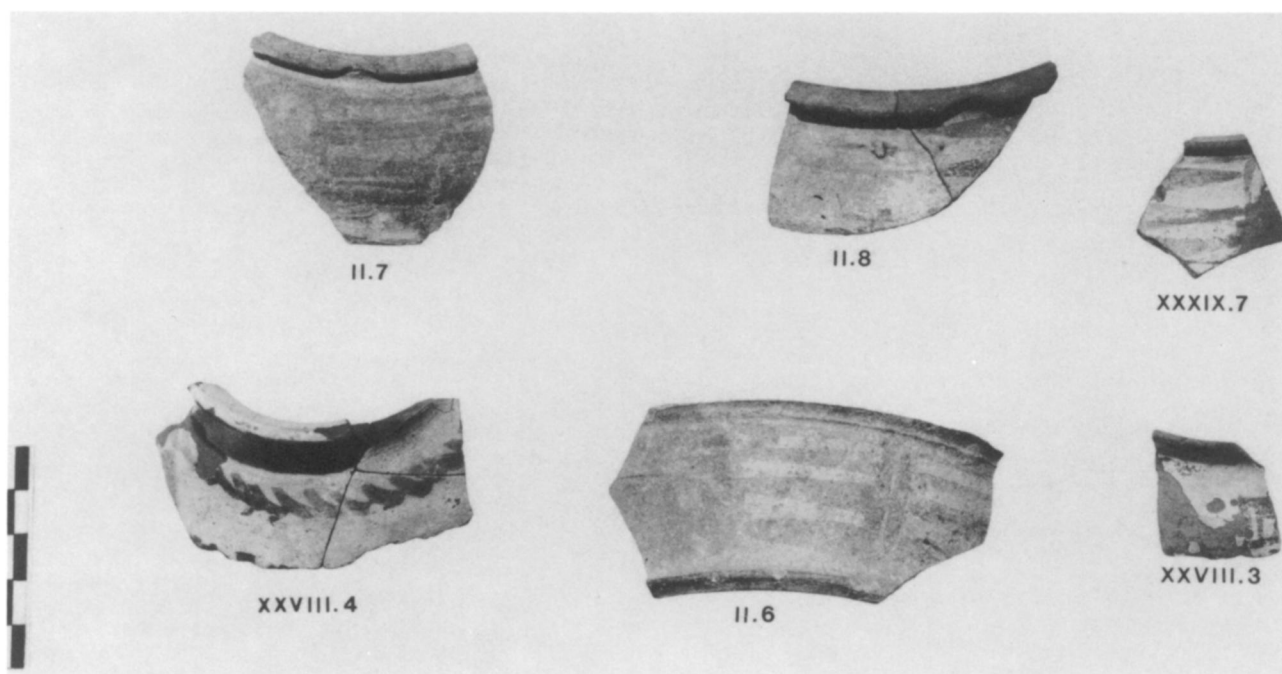
b. IV.1 V.1 II.1



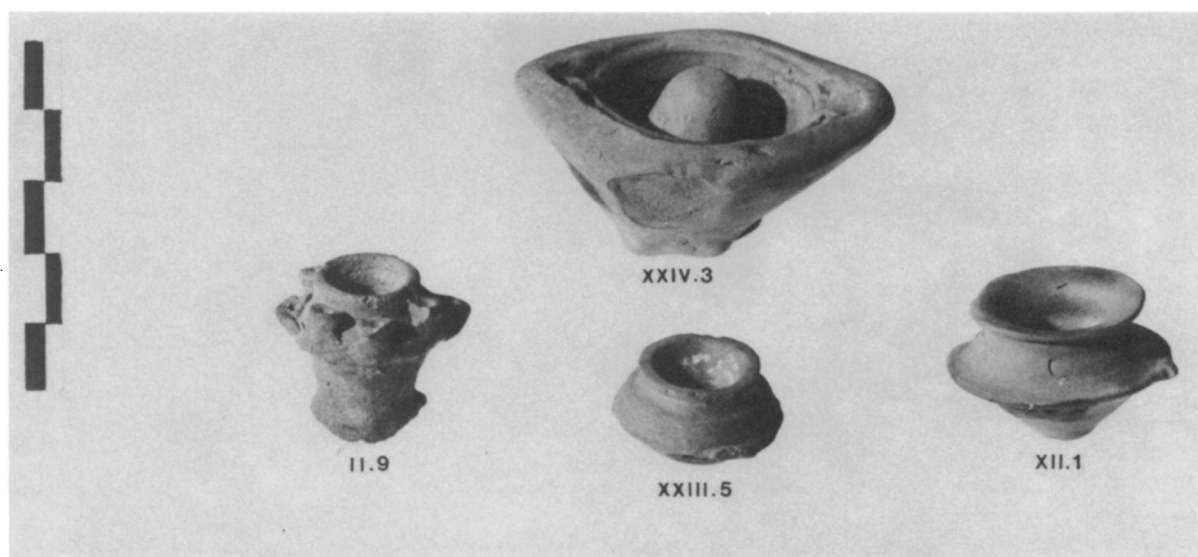
c.



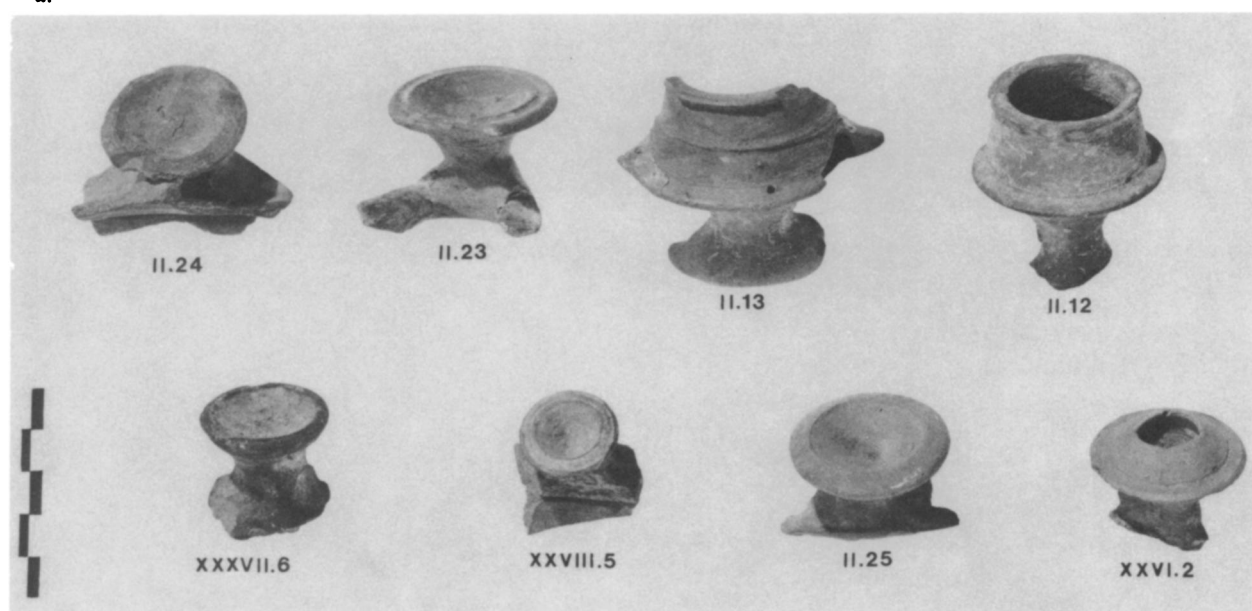
a.



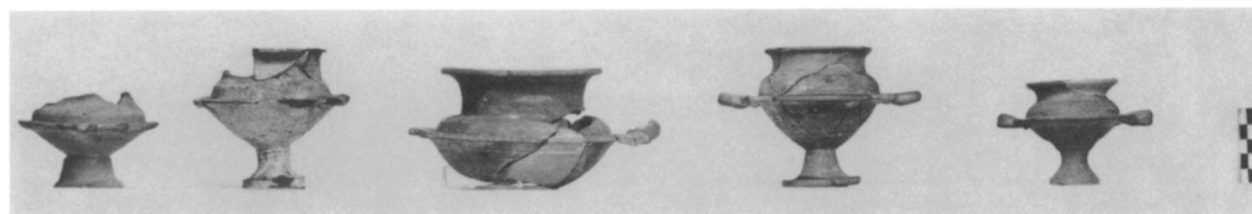
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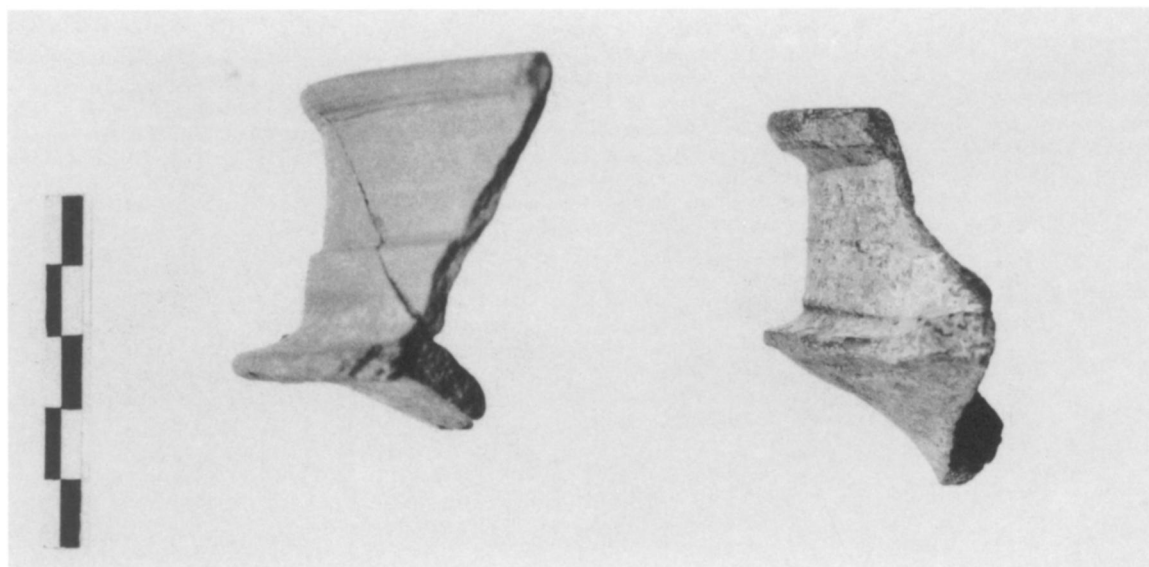
a.



b.



c. III.1 VI.1 VII.1 X.1 XIV.1



a.

II.14

II.15

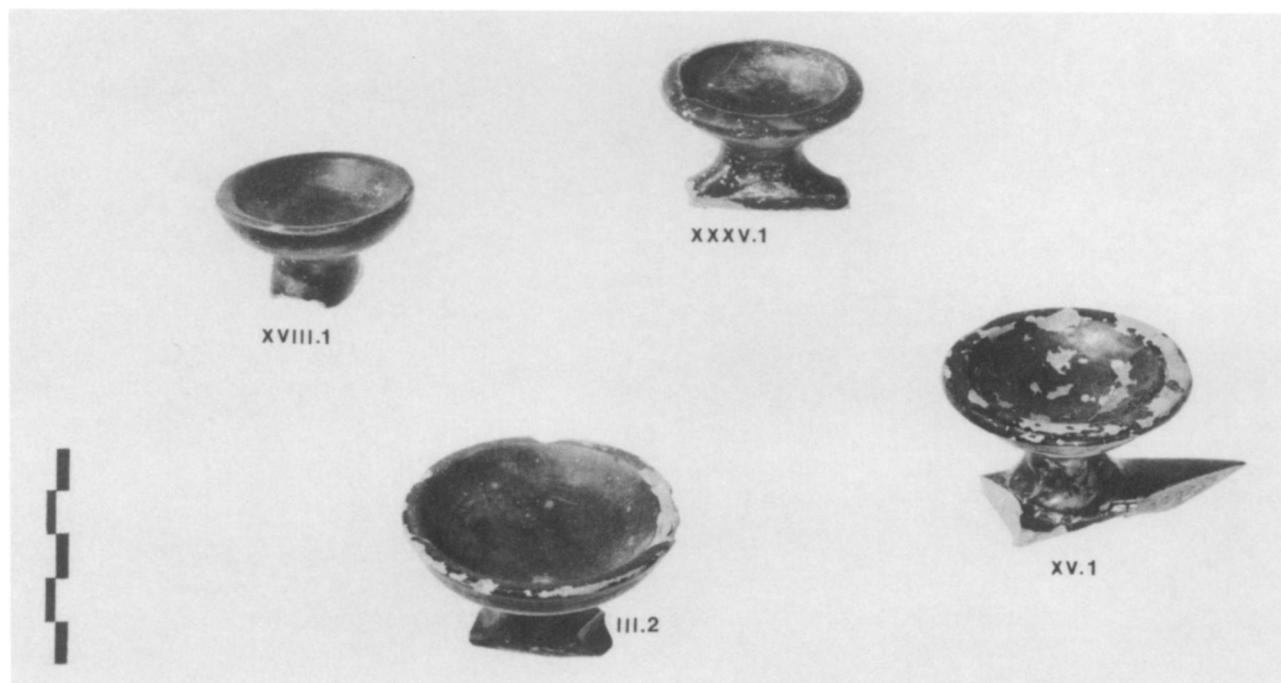


b.

XXXVII.1

II.26

II.27

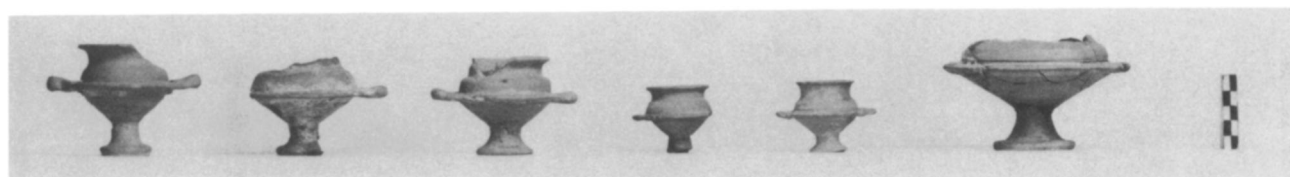


c.

JEROME J. POLLITT: KERNOI FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



a. IX.1



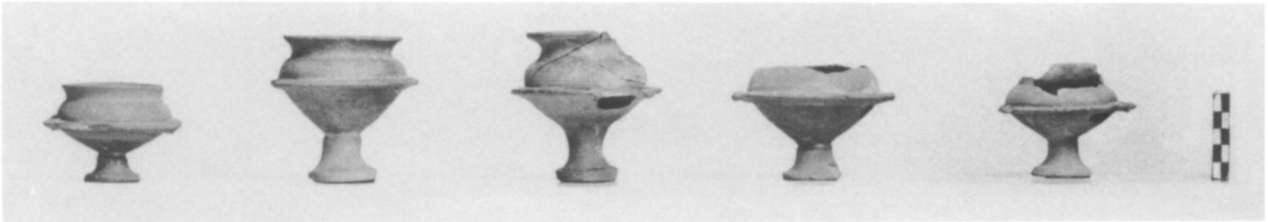
b. XIV.2 XXXIII.1 XXIII.1 XXIII.2 XXIII.3 XXIV.1



c. XIV.4



a. XXX.1 I.1 I.2 XXXVIII.12 XXIV.2 XXIII.4 XII.1



b. XXXVIII.4 XXXVIII.15 XXXIX.1 XXXIX.4 XXXIX.6



c. ASP 54. Kernos from Laurion