THE ATHENIAN AGORA

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS

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THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

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THE NEOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGES

BY

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In Memory of

Lucy Talcott
PREFACE

One of the surprising rewards of the American Excavations in the Agora and its vicinity was the comparative wealth of early or "prehistoric" material. Although the excavations were primarily concerned with elucidating the history and topography of Classical Athens, these early finds constitute a most important addition to our knowledge of Athens in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages and the place she occupies in the wider field of Aegean archaeology. Of the nearly one thousand inventoried items of a date prior to about 1150 B.C. (roughly the end of the Mycenaean period and the date at which the Submycenaean material begins), by far the greater amount is pottery, both whole vases and potsherds. But, in addition, the Agora has produced objects of stone, bone and ivory, bronze, lead, and more rarely silver and gold, glass and semi-precious stones, some of these of real artistic merit.

The very quantity of material is a striking proof of the habitation of the Agora and the surrounding slopes of the Acropolis, Areopagus and the neighboring hills from at least the fourth millennium B.C. This had been in part deduced from earlier excavations, notably those of the Greeks and Germans on the Acropolis, the Americans on the North Slope, the Italians on the South Slope, and it is currently being supplemented by Greek excavations in several areas, particularly the South Slope, the Hill of Philopappos, the Olympeion, and Plato's Academy. Nowhere, however, is the evidence so full and the series so complete as in the Agora. Although no actual prehistoric settlement has been laid bare, nor has any building of this period been uncovered, this is not surprising considering the continuous habitation and usage of the area from Geometric through Classical, Roman, medieval and modern times. Many of the building projects of these later periods entailed a cutting down and levelling of bedrock, so that only those deposits that cut deeply enough into virgin rock or those that were used to fill in natural pockets and declivities have survived. Thus, our greatest source of information for the Neolithic and the Early and Middle Helladic periods comes from wells, pits and bothroi, and for the Late Helladic period from over forty chamber tombs and graves. Numbers based on the Agora grid have been assigned to almost eighty such prehistoric deposits, which are listed alphabetically (followed by items in the Catalogue in boldface) in the Index of Deposits; these are located with appropriate symbols on the Plan (Pl. 91).

Since there is little real stratigraphy, the material from the Neolithic through the Middle Helladic period has not been presented according to deposits, but selectively according to types and fabrics. 408 items have been chosen to illustrate the range of finds from these periods, and they have been arranged in the Catalogue under two main headings, "Neolithic" and "Early and Middle Helladic," each preceded by a general discussion of the types of deposit, the main characteristics of the pottery and other finds, and conclusions as to date and cultural affinities. For the Mycenaean period, the tombs and graves are discussed individually, each followed by the publication of its complete inventory. The tombs are designated by Roman
numerals, and are arranged in a topographic sequence, beginning with the large ones on the North Slope of the Areopagus. The objects within each tomb are given a separate series of Arabic numerals; thus each item from a tomb has a double numeral, Roman plus Arabic (for example I-16 for the large ivory pyxis from the chamber tomb N 21–22:1). In addition, somewhat less than 100 other Mycenaean objects, not from tombs, continue the running sequence of Arabic numerals from the first part of the book (409–504). The Mycenaean section is preceded by a discussion of the tomb types, burial customs, offerings, and an appraisal of the Agora Mycenaean pottery, its chronological range, characteristic shapes and motives, and local idiosyncrasies. This section concludes with an attempt to place the Agora material within the broader context of the Mycenaean remains on the Acropolis and the North Slope, and to synthesize a brief history of Mycenaean Athens.

This study was begun in 1961 under a fellowship from the American Association of University Women, which enabled me to spend the summer months in Athens working with the objects and using the excavation notebooks. A further period of study in Athens, from January to July 1964, was assisted by a grant-in-aid of the American Philosophical Society. Meanwhile library research has been pursued at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton during several summers. To all these institutions I owe my thanks.

Of the many people who have encouraged and contributed to this volume I should like to thank especially Homer A. Thompson for making this material available to me, for answering many questions and explaining many problems, and Lucy Talcott for her interest and her knowledge of the objects. Of the various Agora excavators over the years who dug and recorded significant deposits of prehistoric material, the following deserve special mention: the late Arthur W. Parsons for the prehistoric wells in Section OA, Eugene Vanderpool for the Mycenaean chamber tombs on the North Slope of the Areopagus and for supervising those discovered under the Stoa of Attalos, and Emily Townsend Vermeule for her excavation and study of the tomb under the Temple of Ares (Tomb VII) found in 1951 and the new tomb with the coffins discovered in 1965 (Tomb XL). Thanks are also due the various members of the Agora staff, especially Poly Demoulini and Spyro Spyropoulos. The new group photographs of fragments (Pls. 2–18; 15–20; 24) and of Mycenaean shapes (Pls. 65–67) were taken by James Heyle in the spring of 1964; most of the others are by Alison Frantz. The plans are mainly the work of John Travlos assisted by his daughter Nina, who has also drawn most of the pottery profiles. The drawings of the Matt-painted pottery found in 1936 were made by Piet de Jong when the decoration was still fresh; other drawings are by Hero Athanasiades. Without the help and patience of these people, this book could not have been completed.

To my colleagues in the field of prehistoric studies my debt is great: to the late Alan J. B. Wace and the late Mary H. Swindler for furthering my interest in Mycenaean studies, to Carl W. Blegen for his inspiration and guidance, to Saul S. Weinberg and Colin Renfrew for discussing specific Neolithic and Cycladic problems with me, to John L. Caskey for applying the wisdom of Lerna and Keos, and to Evelyn L. Smithson for many helpful suggestions with the later Mycenaean material. Our special debt to Oscar Broneer, who first revealed the full importance of Mycenaean Athens with his excavation of the Mycenaean Fountain, will be apparent in the third section of this publication. To the pottery experts, Frederick R. Matson and Marie Farnsworth, I am indebted for much helpful counsel, although in not all instances was the verdict unequivocal. I should also like to thank members of the Greek Archaeological
Service for allowing me to see comparative material, both published and unpublished, especially George Dontas and Nicholas Platon for pottery in the Acropolis Museum, and Semni Karouzou and Agnes Sakellariou for objects in the National Museum.

This book was finished in the summer of 1967, and it has not been possible to include subsequent bibliography. It was possible to add the new chamber tomb (Tomb XL) and the Mycenaean grave (XLI) found during the clearing of the South Square in the summer of 1965, but the manuscript was too far along to incorporate in the Catalogue other fragments of prehistoric ware found that summer; these are referred to by their inventory numbers under similar objects.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

JUNE, 1968
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see also Ch. T. and P. T.


ABBREVIATIONS OF DESCRIPTIVE TERMS USED IN THE CATALOGUE

D. = diameter (measured at greatest width)

est. D. = estimated diameter (measured on a chart of concentric circles)

H. = height

L. = length

max. dim. = maximum dimension (measured in any direction)

P.H. = preserved height

P.L. = preserved length

P.W. = preserved width

T. = thickness

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

E.H. = Early Helladic


FS = Furumark’s Shapes (Types), *M.P.*, pp. 585–648

L.H. = Late Helladic (used here for building periods and non-ceramic material)

L.M. = Late Minoan

M.H. = Middle Helladic

M.M. = Middle Minoan

Myc. = Mycenaean (here applied to all L.H. pottery)
I. THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

1. DEPOSITS

(Plate 91 and pp. 274-275)

Our main evidence for the Neolithic period comes from the fill of twenty wells dug by the late Arthur W. Parsons from 1937 to 1939. These were not in the Agora proper but high up on the northwest slope of the Acropolis in an area below and to the east and west of the classical Klepsydra, and also not far from the famous caves and Long Rocks of the North Slope. Here the water table was so high that the natural springs which fed the Klepsydra in classical times could be reached with a minimum of digging, and the caves may once have served as rock shelters or places of burial or worship. Of such usage, however, all vestiges have disappeared and we have merely the fill of the adjacent wells to indicate the period and type of occupancy. From the number of wells one must surely surmise some near-by settlement, but perhaps farther down the slope in the area of the later Eleusinion where miscellaneous Neolithic sherds have been unearthed.

Since these wells have received only scant treatment in the preliminary reports, it may be advisable to describe one or two individually as well as to indicate their general characteristics. On the whole, the wells were roughly circular or irregular in plan with an average diameter of about 1.0 m. at the top, often tapering toward the bottom. They were crudely cut with the primitive tools at the disposal of the diggers, and reach an average depth of only 3 to 4 m. Whenever a too large or intractable boulder was encountered, the well was either abandoned before water was struck (T 24:2, T 26:4, T 26:5 and probably R 28:2, T 26:1, U 25:1) or the shaft was deflected so as to avoid the boulder.

This was the case with U 24:2, the deepest of the Neolithic wells. It was unusually neatly cut with a diameter of 1.0 to 1.10 m. down to a depth of 6.0 m. when a ledge of harder rock projecting from the northeast was met. This necessitated an undercutting of the southwest side, and beyond that point the well continues another 1.70 m. on the new axis, but the scooped out depression at the bottom is made to fall approximately beneath the center of the upper shaft for convenience in drawing water. With a total depth of 7.70 m. this well yielded the

1 The widening and improvement of the modern peripatos (Odos Akropoleos = Section Omicron Alpha) by the Greek government led to the excavation of this area (Shear, Hesperia, VII, 1938, pp. 330ff.).
2 Also Shear, Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 221; IX, 1940, pp. 297-298.
3 This information comes from the carefully kept notebooks of the excavator, Arthur W. Parsons, who unfortunately did not live to publish these prehistoric wells. Although often supervising the digging of four or five at the same time (ranging from Neolithic to Archaic), he kept an admirable record, and with few exceptions the finds had been mended and sorted before World War II closed the excavations. In the spring of 1957 when this material was being transferred to the Stoa of Attalos, Miss Margaret Crosby reexamined it and noted those wells which seemed in need of additional sorting and mending. This work was given priority in the summer of 1961, when the author began study of the Agora prehistoric material, and she wishes to thank her daughter Mary for many patient hours of joining and mending, resulting in a number of significant new fragments which were inventoried, and the practically complete pot 5.
largest inventory of catalogued objects as well as eleven containers of sherds, one of stone and obsidian fragments, and one of bones. Although the material was divided by the excavator into an upper and a lower fill, there is no apparent stratification or distinction in material between the two lots, and the whole seems to represent a single dump fill rather than a period of use or gradual accumulation plus dump. The pottery from this well covers fairly completely the full range of types from the other Neolithic wells, and it also contained seven obsidian flakes, one blade, several fragmentary handaxes, pieces of mortars and millstones, as well as animal bones. Unlike some others it yielded no human skeletal material and no whole pots.

Human bones and complete vases were found in several wells, although the association is not consistent enough to suggest disturbed graves as the source of both. T 26:3 produced the intact biconical jar 3, along with a human humerus, whereas S 27:4 yielded the skull of a child and the coarse wide-mouthed bowl 171, likewise complete except for chips. However, the two wells with the most abundant skeletal material, which has been published by Angel,4 namely the child’s skull from U 25:1 and the three skulls from U 26:2, yielded only fragmentary pottery. From U 26:5 came the beautiful intact Red Burnished jar 1, and no skeletal material. Therefore, it seems better to reject the idea that the whole pots, which are mostly the Red Burnished biconical jars, came originally from graves.

In U 26:5 the biconical jar 1 was found beneath a projecting boulder near the bottom, along with the usual assortment of animal bones and fragmentary pottery. The well is very neatly cut and, apart from the boulder, almost perfectly circular with a diameter of 0.85 m. It had a preserved depth of only 2.40 m. and there is no certainty that water was reached. Nonetheless the position of this jar and its intact condition may well indicate a use fill, and the possibility exists that the Red Burnished biconical jars served as containers to draw water.5 Although their size and capacity in general are small and the surface far finer than would be expected for such utilitarian pots, one should perhaps not reject this possibility. The vertically pierced lug handles of 1, 2, 3, etc. would have been ideal for inserting strings or thongs to let down the pot, and if the cord snapped when the pot was at the bottom or snagged under a boulder, an intact vase would be the owner’s loss and the archaeologist’s reward. This may explain why the Red Burnished jars are far more nearly complete than most other types; whole or nearly whole examples are found in seven wells. The scrappier material may then be considered dump fill, used to fill in the wells once they ran dry, and with this latter might be associated some skeletal material from neighboring graves as well as animal bones and other household refuse. If we can accept this conclusion as a working premise, it may furnish some chronological guidance, although the time difference need not be great, when one considers the shallowness of the wells.

There are few certain Neolithic finds from the Agora proper, although stone celts and obsidian flakes which may be Neolithic have turned up in a number of miscellaneous contexts, perhaps having travelled far from their original location. This is the case also of the unique marble statuette of a recumbent woman 219, a stray find among the demolition marbles of N-Q 19–22, which has probably worked down from the northwest corner of the Acropolis. Although its location tells us nothing, it is of rare importance as proof of settlement at a somewhat earlier period than indicated by the wells.6 A few Neolithic sherds have turned up in miscellaneous contexts (36, 48, 66). The two prehistoric fills associated with ancient roads (E-G 2–4 and O–Q 16–17), which are discussed below (pp. 52, 113), produced nothing that is distinctively Neolithic; there are some coarse and nondescript sherds below the Middle Helladic stratum,
but these may well be Early Helladic. The early grave in the Metoon drain-cut (I 9:2) was published by Shear as a Subneolithic burial, but it is more likely Middle Helladic and will be discussed in the next section. There is thus no certain evidence for Neolithic occupancy in the Agora proper, but one must assume a settlement on the Northwest Slope not far from the wells.

The other main area of Athens which has produced Neolithic material is the South Slope. Here Skias in 1899 had found a prehistoric burial which was at first considered Neolithic but is more probably Middle Helladic. Then, in 1922, excavations conducted by the Italian School, under Della Setta and Doro Levi, revealed near the Stoa of Eumenes the foundations of a Neolithic hut of rectilinear or slightly curved plan with a central hearth. This was apparently a stratified site with four layers comprising construction fill, use accumulation, destruction, and post-destruction fill, followed by a sterile layer dividing the Neolithic from the Early Helladic. It should therefore be of prime importance in establishing a relative chronology for our wells near the Klepsydra. Unfortunately, however, the resemblances are not close, since painted ware of both Sesklo and Dimini types and their imitations are dominant in the Neolithic hut and almost completely absent in the Agora material. Some red and dark burnished monochrome ware was also found, but again the similarities are not striking, although Milojčić has used this material to assign the Agora biconical jars to his Period III or Late Sesklo period. We shall return to this problem when we consider the outside connections and the chronology of the Agora material.

In 1923 the Italians continued their excavations on the South Slope by exploring a small grotto with several entrances above the Asklepieion. This contained habitation material in part assigned to the beginning of the Bronze Age. Some of the pottery is clearly Early Helladic II with sauceboats and Urfiris ware, but much of it is earlier monochrome ware, either coarse or burnished, with lug handles, plastic bands with thumb impressions, etc. not far removed from some of the fragments in our wells. Whether it should be termed Neolithic or Early Helladic I is a problem to which we shall return. To such an intermediate position belongs the Neolithic material from the lowest level of the prehistoric area of the North Slope investigated by Hazel Hansen in 1937.

Recent Greek excavations on the hill slope below the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and in the area of the Asklepieion have uncovered several small Neolithic pits which provide close parallels for the Agora Red Burnished jars and for the Coarse ware from our wells.

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10 *Levi, Abitazioni*, pl. XXVII.
11 *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI, A–L. Through the kindness of Mr. Dontas, then ephor of the Acropolis, I saw this material in 1961, but could find no close parallels.
12 See below, note 41.
15 Through the kindness of Dr. Nicholas Platon, then Director of the Acropolis, I examined this material in the Acropolis Museum in 1964 and was struck by the very close parallels to our Red Burnished jars, including such details as the elaborate lug handles with inverted U-attachments comparable to 1, 8, 7 and traces of stripe-burnished or white painted patterns. The coarse ware included rims of cooking pots or baking pans like 185 and 186, and bases with grass or straw impressions like 180 and 181. The material from two Neolithic pits below the Odeion of Herodes Atticus excavated by Mrs. Sakellarakia (1955–1960) includes several Red Burnished fragments with pierced lugs and a bowl with vertical ribs like 34. I wish to thank Mr. Travlos and Miss Maro Tsoni for making arrangements for me to see this pottery which is stored in the Pethei-Tzami (Mosque in Roman Market). See also the pottery from the Late Neolithic well west of the Boule Gate (*Δλντ.,* XXI, 1966, B [1968], pp. 42–49, pl. 63).
Thus our knowledge of Neolithic Athens comes essentially from the slopes of the Acropolis, particularly the South, the North and the Northwest. How this material relates to the Neolithic from the rest of Attica and other parts of Greece will be considered later, after we have evaluated the pottery.

2. POTTERY

The pottery from the Neolithic wells divides itself into two main classes, fine ware and coarse, with the former coming in general from small or medium-sized pots, the latter from larger storage-containers, cooking pots, and the like. There is, however, no absolute dividing line between the two, and some of the incised ware (especially the scoops and related fragments, 111–124) seems to occupy an intermediate position.

RED BURNISHED WARE

Of the finer wares, the most characteristic ware and indeed the hallmark of the complex is our Red Burnished class. It occurs in every well, though not always in its best quality, and it is often the only finer ware present. Furthermore, it makes up to a number of fairly complete pots, which as we have suggested above may represent the use fill of the wells. There is no question that it should be considered a local specialty, and this is confirmed by the gray misfired sherd of a biconical jar (84) found in T 26:3.

FABRIC AND TECHNIQUE

This is a heavy ware with fairly thick walls ranging from ca. 0.005 to 0.01 m. or even thicker in the largest examples (8). The clay is gritty with some sand and impurities, reddish brown in color, usually fired with a gray core. It seems to have been coated by a rather thick red slip on all parts that would be visible. The surface ranges in color from a clear orange-red (1, 4) to a darker cherry-red (19), and is sometimes mottled in firing, though usually not on the best and presumably earlier examples. In 5, the mottingling, ranging in color from buff to dark gray, looks deliberately produced by the application of coals. In 19 we have quite a different, and probably unintentional, effect with a sharp line of demarcation between a red and a brownish black zone, where the vase was in contact with another pot in the kiln.

After the application of the slip, and before firing, the pots were burnished with a blunt instrument and polished with a cloth to achieve a luster, which in the best examples is very

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18 Schachermeyr, Die ältesten Kulturen Griechenlands, p. 70, believes that the distribution of Neolithic material on different sides of the Acropolis would lead to the conclusion that the Acropolis itself was occupied, and if so it would have surpassed in size all other Neolithic settlements in the Mediterranean, even Knossos. However, we do not have the lengthy sequence of the Thessalian sites or Knossos represented in our material.

19 Unpublished botanical studies by Dr. Hopf have revealed the use of various seeds for tempering: leguminous seeds in 3 and 8; naked barley (Hordeum vulgare L. var. nudum) in 6, the latter important as up until now its cultivation was not known from Neolithic Greece, and scarcely known in the Bronze Age. See now Appendix, pp. 267–269.

20 The question of an applied or of a technical slip (i.e. one which results by smoothing and working the damp surface) is one on which archaeologists disagree. I have consulted two pottery experts, Frederick R. Matson of Pennsylvania State University and Marie Farnsworth of New York, on a number of technical problems and have profited greatly from their observations. There are, however, cases where they disagree or where one cannot be certain of the exact technical procedure. On the Red Burnished class a separate application of slip seems likely because the deep red color stops abruptly on the interior of biconical jars just below the collar (fragments 13 and 14), nor does it occur under the foot-ring (16). Furthermore, it is apparently related to a Red Slipped class where there are clear traces of a separate application and no burnishing (see some incised ware 104, 112, 118, 114, 117, 118, 119, 122, etc. and some of the finer plain ware 125–127).

21 Restored painting by Piet de Jong, Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 297, fig. 38.
high. Sometimes a pattern was produced by having the burnishing strokes go obliquely or at right angles and reserving an unburnished area between them, a technique related to a large Pattern Burnished group of the Late Neolithic period, where the patterns are usually confined to a narrow zone and the remainder of the pot uniformly polished. Our examples are rather different with a coarser all-over pattern, in one or two cases composed of meandroid or labyrinthine elements (35 and 36), and they resemble fragments from the Kephala graves on Keos (see below, p. 20).

Most of the patterns on our Red Burnished group were produced, however, not by partial burnishing but by the application of a matt white (?) paint, which has flaked off, dulling the originally burnished surface, sometimes only imperceptibly, at other times gouging it out in deep furrows. Paint was certainly the source of the elaborate pattern of opposed oblique lines framed by vertical and horizontal bands on 9, for these are dull rather than shiny and therefore the negative effect of a true pattern burnishing. It is likely that more traces of white paint survived at the time of excavation, for Shear comments on the fact that “linear decorations made by white painted stripes are fairly well preserved” on our 1 and 2, whereas today only the pattern is perceptible, and that barely so on 1. On 19 a design of oblique lines can be detected only within the brown reduced area where the bowl was in contact with another pot. These occurrences show the fugitive and elusive nature of the white paint and thus make any separation of the Red Burnished ware into Plain, Painted or Pattern Burnished a risky business. We have accordingly grouped them all together with the exception of a few small fragments on which the painted design rather than the vase-shape is important (87-92).

The interiors of some biconical jars (7 and 8 for example) show that they were built up by hand coilwise, and they still bear traces of thumb impressions, and some horizontal scoring with a blunt instrument. Bases, lug handles, etc. were added separately. On several of the larger examples with a flattened base (6 and 8) there are traces of a mat impression, which would suggest a relatively late horizon and the anticipation of the slow wheel.

**SHAPES**

There are two main shapes: the biconical or ovoid jar and the hemispherical or shallow bowl. Among the examples of each there are differences which suggest a stylistic development. The biconical jars which we presume to be of the earlier type are more clearly biconical in shape,

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22 In only one or two examples (20 and less certainly 21) do we seem to be dealing with a real glaze, i.e. a slip which fires to a naturally glossy surface (for this distinction see Caskey, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 137, note 22). In both cases the sherds are roughly rectangular in shape and show wear on one or two edges, having been deliberately cut down for use as burnishers. They might thus be considered relics of a somewhat earlier period, as their Urfirnis surface would indicate. 23 E.g. Orchomenos, II, pls. X, XII, 1, c, e, f (gray or black); Prosymna, II, fig. 635 (Red Burnished). 24 Professor Matson has examined these vases carefully and is of the opinion that paint was the source of the dulling of the surface. He likens the eating away of the surface of 12, 27, etc. to the effect of Scotch tape when peeled from a painted surface. 25 *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 298. 26 Apparently the paint adhered better on the area that was reduced; this explanation seems preferable to the possibility of the design being a “ghost” from the adjacent pot. 27 87 might perhaps have been better grouped with the Red Burnished open bowls (19-55), but for the others (88-91) the uniqueness of the pattern and the smallness of the sherd justify our separation, even though there is no separation in technique. 28 6 only clearly shows traces of a mat impression, which however does not approach the regularity or complexity of those on Early Cycladic (*Phylakopi*, pl. VI). 29 Since we do not have a stratified sequence nor do our wells provide a chronological sequence, our observations on stylistic evolution must be regarded as tentative. They are based primarily on the premise of artistic decline at the end of the Neolithic period, and this seems supported by the comparative material from Kephala, Palaia Kokkinia, Aegina and the cave at Patissia (see below, pp. 8f.) which does not exactly parallel our finest examples and which is certainly close to the beginning of the Early Cycladic period. There seems no good reason to doubt that the best Red Burnished biconical jars are earlier, and the real problem is how much earlier (see below, p. 21).
have a straight low collar and a ring foot of about equal height (1-4). Ornamental lug handles are set on opposite sides of the shoulders and their double piercings are usually matched with corresponding pairs of holes in the ring base (1, 2, 3). The characteristic form of lug is an elongated horizontal, with two vertical piercings and two depending vertical ridges (the “inverted U-attachment”) seen on 1, 3, 7, 12 and 13. It assumes its most elaborate form on 4 where there are two horizontally pierced lugs set one above the other and connected by vertical ridges each pierced four times horizontally. This is a unique example, but the type with inverted U-attachments is exactly matched elsewhere in Athens (see above, note 17), and has some affinity to lugs on some of the Late Neolithic material from the Kephala graves on Keos (see below, p. 8).

A further development of the biconical jar apparently produced a more ovoid shape with flat or slightly concave base (5, 8, 10, 18) and protruding tubular lugs pierced horizontally (5) which develop into regular ribbon handles (8). Although the red burnish remains good on some (10), it is often mottled in firing (8) or thin (5), and it rarely attains the high even luster of the presumably earlier shape. Furthermore, painted patterns are rare. No. 9 is an exception to this statement, but it does not exactly fit into this later group. It is more angular than the others, has a lower rim, loop handles set from rim to shoulder, and an excellent deep red burnished surface, on which an elaborate pattern (see drawing, Pl. 69) of opposed oblique lines set off by horizontals and bounded by vertical panels on either side of the handles is just barely detectable. No. 6 also stands outside the main line of development. It is large and coarse with a dull burnished slip, and has horizontal lugs pierced vertically at the widest part of the body, two sets of stringholes in the collar rim above the handles, and traces of a mat impression on the flattened base. It seems to connect with the Coarse ware pithoi and baking pans, and is almost certainly very late in the series.

The Red Burnished bowls are mostly of a simple hemispherical shape with a flattened or lightly concave base (19, 52, 53), in one case only (55) with a developed conical foot. The best preserved and most elegant example is 19 with a tapering and slightly flaring lip, which occurs also with even more flare on 23. Many bowls are deeper, quite large and more strictly hemispherical in shape, sometimes with a lug pierced horizontally (28-30), which develops into a real handle on the shallower bowl 31 and into a horizontally set loop handle on 32. Some were decorated with painted patterns of oblique parallel lines, etc. (19 and 27) which relate them to the biconical jars. Other examples are more straight-walled, and in two cases (33-34) are decorated with applied ridges which recall the lug-attachments of the jars (1, 3, 7, etc.). In another (37) the wall is lightly concave with flaring lip and the remnants of a handle-attachment. Other bowls (39-43) are shallower with incurved rim, in at least one case of a shape which would normally be ascribed to the Early Helladic period.30 The carinated bowls (44-47) with outturned lip, while not numerous, sometimes attain great elegance as in 47 with its delicately profiled ribbon handle with a slight knob at the bottom suggestive of a metallic derivation. Such is also true of the fragmentary bowl with offset collar-neck and slightly flaring rim (48) which closely parallels the shape of one of the gold bowls from Euboia in the Benaki Museum.31 At any rate, with some of our Red Burnished bowls we seem already to have entered a Chalcolithic horizon.

Other shapes present in Red Burnished are less easily identified because of their rarity and the fragmentary nature of the material. The fruitstand is, however, certain, because of two base
fragments. One (56) is almost cylindrical and preserved to its full height, the other (57), a mere fragment, has clear traces of two triangular cutouts like those found on fruitstands and spit supports from Thessaly and Central Greece in the Late Neolithic period. A bowl fragment with flaring wall and lip drawn up to a point (59) may well come from a fruitstand of well-known Thessalian B type, although it could be from a related bowl type with flat bottom. More enigmatic are the fragments of enormous ribbon handles (60-64) for which we have little comparative material. They range in width from 0.06 to over 0.10 m. (60), an example which curves at both ends and preserves the stump of a strut on its unburnished concave side. Another type seems to be sharply bent or folded (62-64), in one case with three horned protuberances at the top. It seems likely that 62-63 belong to one handle, 63 being part of the folded apex, 62 near the lower attachment to a curving rim (Pl. 5 for reconstruction). Parallels to these handles occur in the Coarse ware to be discussed below.

Small fragments of knobs or feet suggest other shapes: 65 is apparently the truncated foot, probably one of three, from a large closed pot which would thus have had affinities with the Troy I and Anatolian tripod-footed pots. On the other hand, 66 seems to be the knob from a large lid; 67 and 68 are less easily diagnosed.

DECORATION

The only decoration, as we have seen, consists of ornamental lugs, plastic ridges, and fugitive traces of painted patterns (probably originally in matt white) or occasional examples of pattern-burnishing (35). On the whole, the patterns are rather careless and amorphous, and can hardly have improved the appearance of such satisfying shapes as 1 and 19. They consist mostly of opposed groups of parallel lines, which cover the whole vase in an untectonic way (the pattern can be made out in the photographs of 2 and 27). There is a general resemblance to the incised patterns of Early Cycladic, where however the design is usually better organized. The tectonic arrangement of 9, where the decoration is confined to the shoulder and takes account of the handle positions, is exceptional. Other motives, used more sparingly, are the interlocking squares of 35 and 36, and the tangent S-quirk of 88, which we have classified under Painted ware. In their meandroid and spiral affinities these last examples show connections with the Late Neolithic Dimini culture.

AFFINITIES

As our most important and characteristic group, Red Burnished has received a detailed analysis; furthermore its dating is difficult. At first glance it bears a superficial resemblance to the A 1 Red Monochrome ware, which is now dated to the Middle Neolithic period. These resemblances are, however, confined to a very few simple shapes, notably the ovoid or biconical jar and the hemispherical bowl, and even here the shapes do not coincide exactly, for the jars lack our characteristic lugs and stringholes, and the bowls usually have a raised base.
NEOLITHIC PERIOD: INTRODUCTION

Furthermore A 1 Red Monochrome is a finer ware with a bright orange-red surface and occurs in a much more sophisticated repertory of shapes—carinated bowls, pear-shaped jugs, bell-shaped mugs—none of which are found in our Red Burnished. It is rarely decorated, except occasionally by applied pellets of clay, but there is a related class (A 3α) with patterns in matt white which are simplified versions of the A 3β Red-on-White Sesklo ware.40

Despite these striking differences, Milojčić has assigned the Agora Red Burnished jars to his Period III (advanced Sesklo) and considers them “beautiful products of the old Chaironeia folk.” For confirmation of this early date he uses the stratification of the Neolithic Hut on the South Slope where Sesklo ware fragments were found in the lower strata.41 This conclusion does not seem tenable because of the obviously late features which occur in our repertory of shapes, notably fruitstands with cutouts, bowls with pulled up rim, wide folded ribbon handles, all of which have affinities with the B wares of the Dimini period. Furthermore, the more complicated painted and burnished patterns of a few pieces, such as the incipient spiral and the meandroid elements of 35, 36 and 88, point to the same horizon. The dating of our biconical jars was complicated by the fact that until recently no close parallels had been found for our elaborate lugs with inverted U-attachments. These have now been found in identical form in a Neolithic pit near the Asklepieion and in a related form on one of the burial jars from the Kephala cemetery on Keos.42 The latter is most significant in suggesting the chronological range and cultural relations of our biconical jars. Although all too little is known about the Cyclades in the Late Neolithic period, one may suggest that our Red Burnished class shows new elements coming from this direction at the end of the Neolithic period, perhaps amalgamating with an older indigenous Red Burnished class which may have been the descendant of A 1 Red Monochrome.43 A Late Neolithic and Cycladic-oriented horizon is suggested by two other sites in Attica which have yielded a related, but not identical, Red Burnished ware in company with Early Cycladic imports. One is the site of Palaia Kokkinia near Peiraeus which produced Red Monochrome hemispherical bowls with concave bases and heavy vertical lug handles along with fragments of very early Early Cycladic pyxides and frying pans.44 This is obviously a somewhat later complex than our wells, and to such an intermediate period should be assigned a group of vases found accidentally in March, 1964 in a cave near Patissia, where likewise Cycladic elements were present although in less canonical Early Cycladic form.45

40 For the more complicated shapes in Red Monochrome see P.T., p. 87, fig. 40, c, f, h and Holmberg, Neol. Pot., pp. 16f., pl. V, 1. For the painted patterns see P.T., pp. 89, 92, figs. 42, a, 44, a; Naissance, I, figs. 220–222.

41 V. Milojčić, “Zur Chronologie der jüngeren Steinzeit Griechenlands,” Jahrb., LXV–LXVI, 1950–1951, pp. 38ff., fig. 12, nos. 8 and 12 = our 1 and 2. The presumed parallels with the South Slope Hut material are probably to Levi, Ablazioni, pp. 439–440, fig. 25, b–d and especially fig. 26, which, however, is described (p. 494) as coarse monochrome “bruno-cafe.” In our opinion the closest published parallel to the Agora biconical jars is the fragment (fig. 25, d) which is described as “levigato in rosso cupo” and comes from the fill of the Hut, namely the fourth or top stratum, directly beneath the sterile layer separating it from Early Helladic.

42 For the parallels from the Neolithic pit near the Asklepieion, see above, note 17. The Kephala example is unpublished but was shown me in 1964 by J. L. Caskey. It is a large mottled Red Burnished jar, used for the burial of a small infant, and had two horizontal lugs doubly pierced, from which depend three ridges, the outer ones longer than the central ones. These were set on opposite sides of the shoulder and were matched with vertical ribbon loop handles, like those of 8, on the belly.

43 The preference for lug handles (perhaps from an area where stone vases were prevalent), the skeuomorphic arrangement of the painted patterns, and a general resemblance to Early Cycladic Red Burnished pyxides (Cyclades, figs. 59–60, 63–64, 67, 71–72) suggest Cycladic affinities, although our material must be somewhat earlier than the beginning of Early Cycladic. The Neolithic period on the Cyclades is only beginning to be recognized; the excavations at Kephala on Keos have contributed much. Note the occurrence of an early stone vase with pierced lugs in one of the graves (Hesperia, XXXI, 1962, pl. 92, d, p. 265), the proto-Cycladic terracotta head discussed below (p. 17, note 92), etc. The recent excavations of Colin Renfrew on Saliagos near Antiparos (Antiquity, XL, 1966, pp. 87, 218–219) should shed further light on the period. Mr. Renfrew spent considerable time going through the Agora material for Cycladic connections, and I have profited from discussions with him.

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46 These were brought by the Archaeological Service for cleaning and mending to the Stoa of Attalos, where they were seen by the author.
Accordingly, we reject a Middle Neolithic or Late Sesklo date for our Red Burnished jars and feel that they belong to the end of the Neolithic period at a time when new impulses from the East, traveling across the Cyclades, were to introduce the Copper or Bronze Age. Such a conclusion is borne out by the metallic shapes of certain bowls and handles (47 and 48) and the near Early Helladic profile of the bowl with incurved rim (43). Furthermore, this is the horizon suggested by the rest of the material from the wells, and although the intact jars may represent a use fill, as we have suggested, the interval between them and the dump fill can scarcely have been the millennium that intervenes between Late Sesklo and the end of the Neolithic period.

Gray or Black Burnished Ware (Pls. 6, 69)

This ware forms only a small proportion of the material, and with few exceptions (84, mis-fired example of biconical jar like 5, etc.) is totally different from Red Burnished in shapes and decoration. Furthermore, aside from a small group of distinctive fluted fragments (70-75), there is no great homogeneity among the material.

Technique

All fragments are gray throughout, and therefore the color is the result of firing in a reducing kiln. The surface is usually burnished, and in only a few cases (72, 76, 82) does the color seem to have been enhanced by the application of a carboniferous substance. Some fragments are thinner-walled and finer than any examples in our Red Burnished group (see especially 72, 76, 79 and 80).

Shapes

Only three shapes can be recognized: a deep open bowl (77-78), a shallow pot with offset collar rim (70), and a low bowl or plate with rim rolled inward (81) or thickened and pulled out to a point (82). The bowl profiles are different from those of Red Burnished, being steeper (78) or straight-walled (77) and in one case with a high splaying lip (76). The pot with offset collar rim (70) occurs in the most complete of the fluted ware fragments, and is probably represented in the others (71-75). Here there is a parallel among the Red Burnished bowls, namely 48 for which a metallic prototype has been noted. In the present group both shape and decoration suggest a Chalcolithic horizon. The small Gray ware ribbon handle (79) reminds one of the Neolithic Gray ware from Corinth; if this parallel is valid, it would be considerably earlier than the rest of this class.

Decoration

There is a unique sherd with fine incision (80) which seems to belong here rather than with the larger group of coarser incised ware (101-124). Otherwise the only decoration is the fluted or reeded treatment of the surface of the group 70-75. On the finest example (72), where the surface has an obsidian-like brilliance, the flutes are very sharp and a deep groove sets off the junction of neck and shoulder. The same treatment, but more blurred, is used on 70, 71 and 73. On 74 and 75 blunt incisions with flat planes between give a reeded rather than

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46 This is also the opinion of Saul Weinberg (C.A.H., I, Ch. X, p. 49), and I have been aided by his suggestions.
47 Holmberg's chronology (Neol. Pot., p. 38) would give an interval of 1200 years, from 4300 to 3000 B.C.
49 Possibly from a carinated bowl like Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 508, fig. 23, g.
fluted effect. The flutes are generally vertical or slightly oblique, but on 74 there is an opposed group of diagonals at the right.

AFFINITIES

This ware, probably imported for the most part, is important in suggesting the chronological range of our deposits. No. 82 has been recognized as a Western Anatolian import by David French, who has shown its close affinities to Kumtepe I b and to the earliest subphase of Troy I.\(^{50}\) No. 81 should also come from a Kumtepe I b bowl, of a type also found on the North Slope, some of which have broad horizontally pierced lug handles.\(^{51}\) The color of these is mottled brown to black.

The other sherds resemble more generally the Gray and Black Burnished wares of Central and Northern Greece referred to by the designations Larissa (Milojićić and Grundmann) or \(\Gamma 1\alpha\) (Tsountas and Wace-Thompson). Although certainly current at the end of the Dimini period and just prior to the beginning of the Bronze Age, these wares are not entirely Chalcolithic, and their first appearance must go back to the beginning of the Late Neolithic period,\(^{52}\) if indeed not earlier. Our material is unstratified and much too scanty to contribute anything to the chronological debate. It is our opinion, however, that apart from the Gray ware sherds (79 and 80) and the nondescript hemispherical bowl fragment (78) our fragments are late and probably Chalcolithic, with Anatolian parallels for the fluted ware. Exact parallels for this distinctive group are hard to find, but it is certainly related to the Thessalian \(\Gamma 1\alpha\) "rippled or ribbed ware" and the ribbed ware from Servia in Macedonia.\(^{53}\) A bowl with collar neck similar in shape to our 70 occurs in black Pattern Burnished ware at Orchomenos, and seems to continue into the latest stage of Neolithic in the burial urns at Soufli Magoula in Thessaly.\(^{54}\)

None of these, however, gives quite the same sense of elegance conveyed by our finest fragments, which in shape and to a lesser extent in decoration call to mind the gold and silver bowls in the Benaki Museum, which are almost certainly Anatolian imports to Euboia at the beginning of the Copper Age.\(^{55}\) The implication of these metallic prototypes for dating our Agora Neolithic material will be discussed more fully below (pp. 20–21).

PAINTED WARES (Pls. 7, 69)

The paucity of painted ware from the Agora deposits is striking and contrasts markedly with the material from the Neolithic Hut on the South Slope excavated by the Italians, where Late Sesklo Red-on-White painted ware occurred in the lower strata, and with it later Matt-painted and polychrome Dimini-type ware, which predominate in the upper strata.\(^{56}\) Whether


\(^{51}\) Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 540f., figs. 1, c, d, e, f, d = French, Anat. St., XIV, 1964, p. 136, fig. 9, 1–5. The Kumtepe I b type is shown in Anat. St., XI, 1961, p. 134, fig. 5, 10–49. It seems to lead directly to shape A 12 at Troy, which is characteristic of the earlier subphases of Troy I (Troy, I, pp. 60–61, figs. 258–261).

\(^{52}\) See above references in note 48 to Holmberg and Weinberg.

\(^{53}\) P. T., p. 105, fig. 55, m and D.S., cols. 239–240, figs. 138–139. Pr. Mac., pp. 141–143, nos. 19–36, fig. 11, pl. VII. Cf. also the Larissa ware at Otzaki (Jahrh. z. Mus. Mainz, VI, 1959, p. 54, fig. 18, 6, 10).

\(^{54}\) Biesantz, Arch. Anz., 1959, cols. 63–65, figs. 10, 11, a = Naisance, II, figs. 494, 436.

\(^{55}\) As the remarks of Miss Segall, Katalog Museum Benaki, pp. 11ff., 211f. with parallels cited both in clay and in metal at Ahtislibel and Alaça Hüyük. Even the reeded pattern of 74 recalls the pattern of verticals framing diminishing triangles on the gold bowl no. 1 (pl. I–3). A similar fluting is also found on the black polished ware pyxides from Towns I–II at Thermi on Lesbos (Thermi, pl. VIII, 10, 98, 138).

\(^{56}\) Levi, Abitazioni, pp. 438ff., figs. 29–31, 94–97, pl. XXVII, a, ß, c; Late Sesklo Red-on-White painted ware; pp. 442ff., figs. 33, 33, pl. XXVII (remaining fragments): Matt-painted and trichrome Dimini type ware. One of the earliest pieces from the South Slope Hut is the \(\Lambda 3\) ß ware fragment (p. 461, fig. 35, pl. XXVII, a) which has parallels at Sesklo and other East Thessalian sites. The even saw-tooth edges of the "fames" suggest a fairly early date (cf. Holmberg, Neol. Pot., p. 18, who summarizes Milojićić’s division into Sesklo I, II, and III).
these Sesklo-related sherds represent dump-fill in the construction of the Hut or whether a Late Sesklo-type pottery was still in vogue during the occupation of the Hut is not clear from the publication. Its main occupancy, however, seems to belong to the Late Neolithic period in which Mattpainted and the various B 3 wares were in vogue.57 There is nothing really comparable in our material.

Our main decorated ware was, as we have seen, the Red Burnished with patterns painted in a fugitive matt white, which has mostly flaked off. These were discussed above, p. 7, but here are cited five additional fragments on which the design or the paint is better preserved (87–91): 87, a fragment of a very fine little bowl with indrawn but flaring lip, has a neat pattern of horizontal and vertical lines; 88, from a closed pot, has a connected band of S-quirks on the shoulder above parallel oblique lines; 89–91 have a pattern of horizontals and verticals vaguely recalling brickwork. Of these, the incipient spiral of 88 is important and may confirm the generally late date and Cycladic affinities of our material.

One unique sherd (86) of Red-on-White painted ware appears to come from a considerably earlier phase. Technically, it differs greatly from the rest of our sherds, for it was covered with a thick creamy white slip on which the design has been painted in orange-red, presumably with a multiple brush, after which the whole was polished. Coming from a closed pot, it bears a neat pattern of opposed parallel diagonals, which do not cross or abut to form the typical zigzag pattern of Chaironeia ware; instead they interlock and give the impression of an overall skeuomorphic pattern. The closest parallel we have found is a fragment of a Red-on-White ware jug from Sotira on Cyprus. The resemblance may be fortuitous, but its date would accord better with the rest of our material than would the much earlier Chaironeia ware.58

One typical sherd of Neolithic Mattpainted ware (93) bears a pattern in black on a buff ground, of elongated triangles depending from two horizontal bands. Coming from the shoulder of a small closed pot, it has parallels both at Orchomenos and in the Hut on the South Slope.59 The other sherds with dark paint on a buff ground (94–97), and in one case red on a gray burnished slip (98), are too scrappy and nondescriptive to classify exactly, but all seem to belong to the B 3 classification. In no case, however, do we have polychrome or typical Dimini decoration. The fact that everything from our wells with even a trace of red or black painted decoration was catalogued, and that the total adds up to merely eight sherds, suggests that the widespread Late Neolithic painted wares were no longer popular in the context of our deposits, although they were in the Hut on the South Slope. The chronological implications of this will be discussed below (pp. 19–20).

White Slipped Ware (Pls. 7, 69)

Two small fragments (99–100) plus a few more sherds (e.g. P 13980) of this distinctive fabric occur in our wells. The ware is thin and covered with a hard creamy slip which is less white and more permanent than on the typical E.H. II White Slipped and Polished ware which occurs exclusively in our Middle Helladic deposits. Thus there seems to be no possible confusion in context. No. 99 is from a small fairly high flaring foot decorated with incised lines at right angles framing a panel filled with fine incised dots, a pattern which may be related to one group of the B 2 wares.60 No. 100 is from the rim of a straight-walled bowl and shows two neatly bored holes which may be mendholes.

57 For a brief discussion of the subdivision of the Late Neolithic painted wares with an account of the Arapi, Otzaki, and Classic Dimini terminology of Miloj6i6, see Holmberg, Neol. Pot., pp. 28–33.
58 P. Dikaios, Sotira, pl. 78, 611, 0 (dated about 3500–3200 B.C. from C-14 samples).
59 Orchomenos, II, pl. XXV, 2 (hatched triangles and more elaborate); Levi, Abitazioni, pl. XXVII, r.
60 D.S., col. 202, figs. 113–115.
Fine Incised Ware (Pls. 8, 69)

A small group (101-104) comes from the rims of fairly heavy straight-walled pots (104 perhaps biconical). All are characterized by a thin red to brown slip with clear traces of the burnishing tool. Nos. 101 and 102 are decorated on the wall with parallel diagonal lines incised with a blunt tool; 103 and 104 are decorated on the rim only with a pattern of parallel zigzags or filled triangles. There is no trace of white filling in the incisions.

Scoop Fragments

Only generally related to the above is a much larger group of fragments (111-124) characterized by blunt or grooved incision, sometimes taking on curvilinear or meandroid forms and apparently covering the whole surface. The fragments are small of rather heavy gritty clay, often with traces of a red slip; they consist of enigmatic shapes, such as "legs" and fragments of double curvature, which at first defied classification. Through the realization that 111 was part of the branching strut of a broad-handled scoop like that found by Tsountas at Sesklo, and here illustrated again, the other fragments began to fall into place as parts of similar scoops, coming from the struts (111-115), the broad ribbon handle (116, 120, 121), the bowl (117), or the flaring base (123), of four or five different examples.

Until very recently the scoop from Sesklo was a unique piece. It was found unstratified on the side of the mound, and assigned by Tsountas to his Thessalian B period, because of its general affinities with a group of B 2 incised vases with decoration composed of spiral and meandroid elements and thus loosely associated with the Dimini-type painted wares. It has now been joined not only by our Agora fragments but by several more nearly complete examples from the Kephala graves on Keos. None of our Agora fragments preserves any trace of burnishing or of white filling in the incisions, both of which are found on the Sesklo scoop; otherwise our finest fragments agree with it remarkably well in style, and the same may be said of the handle fragment from Keos. Furthermore, both in Athens and in Keos we seem to have some inferior imitations, for the restored Kephala scoop and our fragments 120 and 123 are noticeably simpler.

The greater number of examples from Athens and Keos certainly raises the question of non-Thessalian origin for the Sesklo scoop, although it is the finest piece of the lot and does have a close association with a larger group of Late Thessalian incised ware. At any rate, the presence of this rare shape in southeast Thessaly, in the Cyclades and in Attica is proof of their close intercommunication in the Late Neolithic period.

61 They bear a general resemblance to the Late Neolithic incised ware from Prosymna (Prosymna, II, fig. 627), without furnishing very close parallels.

62 Philip Auerbach, a member of the Keos excavations in 1961, first suggested that scoops were represented in our Neolithic material, while he was examining it for possible parallels with the vases from Kephala.

63 D.S., pl. 16, 3. Cf. Naissance, II, figs. 383-384. Our photographs were taken by James Heyle through the kindness of the National Museum.

64 In view of the rarity of this shape, it may be worthwhile to speculate on the number of examples represented in our fragments. Our thirteen fragments from six different wells seem to divide into four or five different groups: 1) an excellent group composed of 111, 118, 114, 116, 117, 119 and 121 which approaches the Sesklo scoop in elaboration of design; 2) a smaller and rather debased imitation represented by fragments 120 and 123; 3) two fragments (112 and 118) with less deeply incised and more curvilinear decoration; 4) the coarse strut 115 which seems to come from a larger example; and 5) the less certain example 122. (124 is certainly not from a scoop but related in technique and style.) This should yield a total of at least four, and probably several more, examples, for of the finest group only four (111, 116, 117 and 121) are homogeneous enough to assign to one example, even though they come from three different wells situated in the same general area (T 26).

65 D.S., cols. 206-207. For the related ware, see Naissance, II, figs. 379-381. Holmberg distinguishes between an Otzaki and a Classical Dimini phase in the incised ware and assigns the scoop from Sesklo to the former (Neol. Pot., p. 31, pl. XIV, 2).

66 The Kephala graves have now produced a fine handle (Grave X, inv. 2, Hesperia, XXXI, 1962, p. 265, pl. 92, f), a more or less complete example (Grave XX, inv. 10, Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 46, e, f), and "fragments of several others" (ibid., p. 316).
That the vase shape was actually a scoop for grain, as Tsountas suggested, seems doubtful, for the base would be awkward. Furthermore the Sesklo example preserves clear traces of black discoloration, as if from burning, at the base and inside the bowl, both of which are very thick.\textsuperscript{66a} There is also a row of diamond perforations along the top of the bowl and down the center of the broad ribbon handle (found also on our 120 and 121). Such holes, along with the blackening, suggest a brazier or incense burner, more ritual than practical. Both Caskey and Holmberg have noted a resemblance of the scoop shape to the curious four-legged vessels from Elateia and Corinth, which Weinberg has shown derive from a class of Jugoslav cult vessels datable to Vinča A.\textsuperscript{67} Although dating to a late stage of the Middle Neolithic, they continued in a brownish ware with curvilinear incisions into the Late Neolithic period, and these later examples are thus not far removed in time from our scoops. The location of the Kephala examples in tombs suggests a religious significance (and in this connection one should not forget that skeletal material in our wells might likewise connote disturbed burials). In brief, a ritual rather than a practical function seems most likely for the scoops.

A small group of incised sherds with simple angular patterns (105-110) bears no relation to the group we have just discussed but seems rather to be an inferior version of the group 101-104.

Fine Undecorated Ware (Pls. 9, 69)

A small group fits into none of the above categories, the ware being fine and slipped, but not burnished or otherwise decorated. In 125-127 there are clear traces of a red slip, in 128 it was white, and in 129 it seems to be merely the buff technical slip of the fabric.

The charming diminuitive whole pot, 125, seems to be the latest evolutionary stage of our Red Burnished biconical jars. It has acquired a piriform shape with a continuous flaring foot, a wider mouth and two small horizontally pierced lugs on the shoulder. It is a well-made miniature with close parallels in the Red Burnished or slipped ware from Palaia Kokkinia and perhaps in the Cyclades.\textsuperscript{68}

No. 127, the fragment of a small spoon with straight handle, has a good parallel in the complete spoon from Early Helladic Lerna (Lerna III).\textsuperscript{69} Whether such terracotta spoons antedate the beginning of the Bronze Age is uncertain; the fragment of a larger specimen from Sesklo is apparently unstratified.\textsuperscript{70}

Coarse Ware (Pls. 9-13, 69)

Next to the Red Burnished, the largest proportion of material from our Neolithic wells consists of Coarse ware. Indeed these two classes make up to 90–95\% of the total, which is suggestive of the local origin of both. The Coarse ware is thicker, has considerably more grit and tempering material (in some cases chopped straw or chaff), is usually only wet-smoothed, and rarely shows any applied slip or burnishing. Few shapes can be made up, although the two wide-mouthed bowls 171-172 were found virtually intact and may come from the use fills of their respective wells. Despite the fragmentary nature of most of the material, many pieces show interesting decorative treatments and unusual handles, which enable the ware to be compared

\textsuperscript{66a} The scoop was examined outside the case in 1964 through the courtesy of Mrs. Sakellariou.


\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Prokletije}, 1851 (1952), p. 104, fig. 13 (outline at bottom perhaps wrongly restored).

\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Hesperia}, XXIV, 1955, p. 45, pl. 28, c, which must be of E.H. II date because of the associated sauceboats (pl. 21, a-c). Cf. also the spoons with loop handles from E.H. levels at Eutresis (\textit{Eutresis}, p. 87, fig. 106).

\textsuperscript{70} D.S., col. 348, fig. 285; cf. \textit{P. T.}, p. 73.
with Late Neolithic to Early Helladic pottery from other sites. The following classification is based on type of decoration.

**INCISED WARE**

A number of heavy fragments, mostly rim or wall pieces of large open jars or pithoi, bear fairly elaborate incised decoration, applied either directly to the surface or to a raised band (132, 133, 136, 137). This consists for the most part of opposed parallel oblique lines, which are arranged in bands of interlocking triangles (131-134) or simpler zigzags (136-137). The incision varies from the very sharp and neat (130-133) to a broader grooved (134-135) or careless and scratchy (136-138) treatment.

We now have some idea of what these pithoi must have looked like as a result of the Kephala excavations on Keos, where they were sometimes used as burial jars. Here two types were in vogue: a large bulbous jar with collar neck and a wide-mouthed type with straight upper wall tapering toward the flattened bottom. At Kephala the decoration consisted primarily of plastic bands with thumbmarks, and incised decoration was rare and inferior to that on our best fragments. Although the closest parallel to our fragment with the raised band and alternating hatched triangles (132) occurs on several large pithos fragments from Troy II (where the motif occurs in a more elaborate context), it seems hardly necessary to postulate so late a date for the simpler occurrence.

**IMPRESSED WARE**

Another decorative treatment resulted from impressing the wet surface with a series of short strokes made by a sharp tool (139-143). The pattern was usually arranged in one or more horizontal or curving bands, and was in one case (143) combined with regular incision. Sometimes the tool was pushed in vertically, leaving the impression of its circular (144 and 148) or triangular section (145 and 146); in one case (147) a thumbnail was clearly the tool. Some of the impressed ware fragments come from thick-walled pots or pithoi (142-148), but a smaller pyxoid bowl with incurved rim (139-141) also occurs.

**RELIEF-DECORATED WARE**

Eight fragments, all except one (154) from large heavy pithoi, bear relief decoration of applied strips or pinched out ridges, not treated plasticly by thumbmarks but left plain. These bands are usually arranged in an angular fashion, as verticals, horizontals, diagonals, or in combination, but in one case (153) a rudimentary spiral occurs, which suggests Dimini affinities. This ware is matched closely among sherds from the Cave of Pan near Marathon, where the spiral as well as the crossing diagonals of 150 also occurs; it is also found in Thessaly among the B and Γ wares. On 157 the decoration is produced differently, namely by impressing with a circular implement from the back and causing bosses to stand out in relief.
WARE WITH PLASTIC BANDS IMITATING ROPEWORK

With one exception (158), a low pyxoid bowl rather like 139-141, this decoration is restricted to pithoi. The wide-mouthed, straight-walled type occurs in the rim fragments (159, 161-164), several of which have horizontal or arched lugs slightly below the rim. An alternative form with slightly indrawn mouth and vertical loop handle is represented by 160, but there is no certain indication of the collared type found at Kephala.78 The bands are nicked with horizontal or diagonal gouges (158, 159, 160, 164, 165, 170), impressed with a circular tool (162, 163, 169), or crimped with the thumb like piecrust (161, 166, 167, 168). All give the general impression of ropes bound around the jars. Some run obliquely to the lugs or handles, while others are in a parallel or right-angled arrangement (165, 167). Such plastic bands imitative of ropework are common in Early Helladic contexts, but they also occur in the Late Neolithic period, where they are often more elaborate and have closer resemblances to ours.79

UNDECORATED

Very few shapes can be reconstructed, and some of the handles included in this group may well belong with the decorated pithos fragments discussed above.

We have evidence for: wide-mouthed deep bowls or cooking pots (171-174), shallower bowls with inturned rim or carinated shoulder (175-177), an open saucer (178), flat baking pans tempered with chaff and sometimes having internal lugs and stringholes below the rim (180-182, 184-188),80 fragments of pithoi, in one case with four vertical dashes which may be a numeral (183), and many coarse handles of both vertical ribbon and horizontal lug varieties. The latter occur in many forms, some of which are paralleled in the Thessalian \( \Gamma \ 9 \) wares: the projecting horizontal ledge with rounded corners (199-200), with downturned edges making an inverted U (201), with semicircular indentation (202) or with thumbhole (203). The vertical ribbon handles have closer affinities with our Red Burnished ware, particularly in the few coarse equivalents to the large folded handles (205-206); however, in many of these vertical handles the addition of a plastic knob (189, 194, 196) or vertical grooving (193, 196, 207, 208) suggests a Chalcolithic horizon. Once again the Kephala graves have provided helpful parallels: 196 is similar to the “elephant-head” lugs and 206-207 resemble some unpublished examples.81 Furthermore, this material has shown that the same pithos could be equipped with both horizontal lugs and ribbon handles.82 The horned handles, 204-205, suggest Thessalian parallels.83

Of the miscellaneous shapes represented by single fragments the following may be noted: a high stand (213) recalling the Red Burnished fruitstands (56-58), a shallow plate or lid (214) which should perhaps be associated with the baking pans as the upper part of an oven, the
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baking pan or basin (215) of alternative form, and the knobs or feet (216 and 217), the latter probably from a tripod-footed pot, the former more likely from the wall of a pithos.84

The general picture conveyed by our Coarse ware is of a somewhat later milieu than was suggested by the fine. Many pieces have parallels in E.H. I, and some even in E.H. II material from other sites. On the other hand, there are equally strong, if not stronger, comparisons with the Late Neolithic Coarse ware from Asea and with that from the Kephala graves on Keos: these would suggest that our material need not be later than the latest Neolithic or the transition to Early Helladic.

3. SCULPTURE AND OTHER ARTIFACTS

(Pls. 14–15)

SCULPTURE

Three examples of Neolithic sculpture have been recognized among the Agora material. One, a large and handsome marble statuette of a reclining woman (219), was found unstratified in the general area of the Eleusinion; the other two (220–221), both of terracotta, came from the Neolithic wells T 26:3 and T 26:6.

The statuette85 is important evidence for Neolithic occupation at a period considerably earlier than the fill of our wells. Although her recumbent and twisted position, with head and chest elevated and the lower torso twisted to the right with knees drawn up, is not easily paralleled in other examples, she conforms in general to the well-known nude steatopygous type which was rendered with great fondness and naturalism in the Sesklo period, both in terracotta and, occasionally, in marble. Especially close is the resemblance to a group of seated statuettes with folded legs published by Weinberg.86 These all show an obesity restricted to the area below the waist, and an angular abdominal protrusion, and all have the hands folded across the chest, characteristics which are also to be found on our statuette. She may be compared especially with the marble statuette in the Fitzwilliam Museum which is reported to be from Patissia near Athens.87 In this example, although the surface is less well preserved and the pose less complicated, one may note the same broad square shoulders and folded arms, the overdeveloped buttocks, and the deep incisions below the abdomen and between the thighs. Because of the fracture of our statuette at the base of the neck we cannot be certain that it had the long neck and undeveloped head which are characteristic of this type. Weinberg has derived the type from the Near East and dated it to the end of the Middle Neolithic period. At the time of his writing (1951) the closest parallels came from Adalia and the Amuq plain and were dated to the end of the Anatolian Chalcolithic period, shortly before Troy I. James Mellaart’s recent excavations in the Konya plain at Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük have confirmed the general correctness of Weinberg’s conclusions, while pushing back the date of such steatopygous figurines by several millennia. Curiously, the closest parallel for the complicated pose of the Agora statuette occurs

84 Cf. Eutresis, p. 88, fig. 110, 2–3 (from First Meter Deposit and therefore E.H. I).
85 Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 235, fig. 33, where the statuette is shown upright, although Shear rightly conjectured that “the best interpretation of the pose seems to be that of a figure lying on its stomach.” Newer photographs on Plate 14 reveal the complexity of the twisted position: from the front, the right side, above and below. A second fragmentary marble statuette of more conventional type was found by Broneer below the west entrance to the Mycenaean Fountain (Fountain, p. 406, fig. 88).
87 Weinberg, op. cit., pl. 1, C and Naissance, I, fig. 145.
in a terracotta from Hacilar VI.\(^{88}\) Here a reclining female with pendulous abdomen is portrayed with much the same double twist—shoulders and head raised frontally, hips and thighs turned almost 90 degrees—but the pose is rendered with greater finesse and more naturalistic transitions in the Hacilar example which must nevertheless be considerably older.\(^{89}\) Can we assume that the reclining female type was part of the general repertory of steatopygous figurines introduced from Anatolia and the Near East by the bearers of the Old Sesklo culture? In this case our marble statuette would be a late survival of a type otherwise unknown on the Greek mainland. Chronologically it must belong at the end of the Middle Neolithic period, a period attested for Athens by the Sesklo-type pottery found in the construction fill of the Hut on the South Slope.

The type, or types, of statuettes current in the later period of the wells on the Northwest Slope are revealed by two small terracottas (220–221), at first not easily recognized as such, one being a head broken off from a good-sized statuette, the other a small but complete figurine. This latter (221), suggestive of a profiled knob but clearly finished at the bottom and with a cuplike hollow underneath, has general affinities to the terracottas from the Thessalian B period at Sesklo, Dimini and Tsangli.\(^{90}\) It also finds a parallel in a crude little figurine from Kephala,\(^{91}\) which is, however, nude and ithyphallic whereas ours seems clearly female and wears a kind of bell-shaped skirt. Points of similarity are the dumpy proportions, the unformed head, and the knoblike arms formed by the application of a roll of clay which encircles the back.

The head (220), which must be from a good-sized statuette perhaps 25 to 30 cms. tall, is of considerably greater artistic importance and is also paralleled at Kephala.\(^{92}\) Not only its size but its flatness, simplicity and backward inclination relate it to the well-known class of Early Cycladic marble statuettes.\(^{93}\) At first glance, the only humanized feature is the triangular nose set rather high, but on further scrutiny lightly incised verticals or perforations at either side suggest ears, and remnants of a broken lump at the top of the back may have represented hair or merely the bulge of the cranium. All these features are paralleled on the Kephala head, which is a little coarser, having been made of the local clay. Our head is perforated vertically through the cylindrical neck, and must have been made separately for setting into a statuette.

**Artifacts**

A number of stone celts without boring and of the primitive handaxe type were found in the Agora in unstratified contexts. Only one (222), a complete and perfect specimen of dark red stone agreeing in form with Tsountas' Type A,\(^{94}\) is here included, along with two fragmentary examples (223 and 224) from Neolithic wells, the former of dark steatite and broken at both ends but apparently of Type B\(^ {95}\) the latter a coarse specimen agreeing in general with 222. No.225, a bored celt of double-hammer or battle-axe type, comes as a surprise in

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\(^{88}\) *Anat. St.*, XI, 1961, pp. 56–57, fig. 18, pl. X, b. I am indebted to Professor Machteld Mellink of Bryn Mawr for calling to my attention the occurrence of the same pose in stone in Anatolia: a small statuette in the Alistair B. Martin Collection in New York which was said to have come from Hacilar and is to be published by her in the forthcoming catalogue of this collection, and secondly a miniature green stone statuette found on the surface at Çukurkent near Hacilar. Both have the same twisted recumbent pose as the Agora statuette. See now Peter J. Ucko, *Anthropomorphic Figurines*, London, 1968, p. 397, who makes the same Hacilar comparison for the Agora statuette. Steven Diamant brought this book to my attention.


\(^{90}\) D.S., pls. 35, 6–7; 36, 3, 4, 6; *P. T.*, pp. 127–128, figs. 76, d, 77, f (the first from Stratum III at Tsangli and therefore from late Thessalian A).

\(^{91}\) *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, p. 316 pl. 46, a–b.

\(^{92}\) *Ibid.*, p. 316, pl. 46, c–d.


\(^{94}\) D.S., cols. 308–309, figs. 231–232; *P. T.*, p. 33. The type continued to be used in Early Helladic and even later periods: *Zygouries*, pl. XXII, 7 (E.H.); *Asea*, p. 123, fig. 115, 13 (M.H.).

\(^{95}\) D.S., col. 310, fig. 233.
the Neolithic context of U 24:3, since this type has usually been thought to mark the arrival of new peoples at the end of the Early Helladic period. However, our example of hard gray schist, not well polished, finds a close parallel in the earliest subphase of Troy I, which brings it within the cultural horizon of our Black Burnished ware and the Western Anatolian Late Chalcolithic imports discussed by French. No. 226, from a Neolithic context (S 27:4), seems to be a natural formation adapted for use, the tang perhaps inserted into a bone handle and the blade showing signs of wear. No. 227 is a fragmentary dome-shaped grinder, agreeing with some from E.H. levels at Zygouries, but of too simple and widely diffused a form to draw chronological or cultural parallels. The same is true of the fragmentary millstones or saddle-querns (228–230) which turn up in several of our Neolithic wells.

More significant is the occurrence of obsidian. A small matrix (231) and a fragmentary blade (233) were found in S 27:3, a complete blade (232) plus seven additional flakes in U 24:2, and uncatalogued flakes also in T 24:4, T 26:6, U 24:3, and U 26:5. These represent clear evidence of trade connections with the Cyclades, particularly Melos, and supplement the Cycladic parallels, especially to Kephala on Keos, we have noted in the pottery. The contrast with Troy, where only one blade was found in Troy I and two in Troy II, is noticeable, especially if one adds to the Agora material the wealth of obsidian found in the Italian excavations on the South Slope. The occurrence of obsidian has, however, little chronological significance, since Melian obsidian is found on all the Thessalian sites, even in the earliest strata.

Two shallow-domed spindle whorls (234–235) and a conical-shaped object of terracotta (236) may be a heavier whorl, less likely a loomweight, complete our inventory of Neolithic objects.

4. RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

Our knowledge of the Greek Neolithic period has undergone profound changes in the past decade. With the German excavations of Milojčić at the Thessalian sites of Otzaki, Arapi and Argissa and the Greek excavations of Theocharis at a number of sites, both old and new, the picture has become far more complex than the simple division into Thessalian A and B proposed by Tsountas and followed by Wace and Thompson. Not only has the sequence been lengthened considerably by the discovery of preceramic remains and other well-marked ceramic phases that precede the typical Sesklo ware of Tsountas’ Thessalian A but the use of radiocarbon dating has shown that Thessaly did not lag far behind the Near East as a center of early village culture. Dates in the sixth millennium for Early Neolithic pottery in Greece are now a possibility. Mellaart’s excavations at Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük in central Anatolia with their early C-14 dates, steatopygous figurines and a pottery style related to the Sesklo culture have confirmed the bridge whereby this essentially Near Eastern culture travelled to Greece, as

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96 Eutresis, pp. 206–207, fig. 278, 6–9 (M.H.). But see Asea, p. 122, note 1 with reference to occurrence of bored celts in E.H. contexts at Asea and Malthi as well as in Early Bronze Age Macedonia.
97 Troy, I, fig. 217, 36.366, p. 87. Cf. Blegen’s statement that “this form of weapon was known from the beginning of the settlement” (p. 45).
98 Zygouries, p. 200, fig. 188, 2, 5, 7.
99 See Troy, I, p. 46.
100 Troy, I, fig. 217, 37.108; fig. 362, 37.65, 37.257.
Weinberg and Schachermeyr had earlier postulated. Not all agree on the reliability of radiocarbon dates nor on the relative length and terminology of the various pottery phases, but it is clear that the old division into two periods is an oversimplification. Weinberg in 1947 proposed a tripartite division into Early, Middle and Late Neolithic and this is followed by Holmberg in his recent monograph.

If we accept this division as a working hypothesis, our material is confined to a relatively narrow compass, and does not involve us with the first, and scarcely at all with the second, phase. We have nothing from the Agora typical of Early Neolithic with its softly baked Rainbow or "Bunt-Keramik," or the Proto-Sesklo Early Painted or Pre-Sesklo Barbotine classes of Thessaly, nor do these seem to be present among the Neolithic material from the Hut on the South Slope. Attica, however, should not be ruled out for this early period, since Theocharesh's excavations at Nea Makri on the east coast near Marathon have revealed a fine collection of Early Neolithic pottery, both Rainbow and Black Monochrome, some with white-filled incisions paralleled in the Early Chalcolithic from Mersin. Some Early Neolithic is also found in the Cave of Pan near Marathon, partially excavated by Papademetriou in 1957. The position of Nea Makri on the east coast may indicate the direction from which these early settlers came.

From the Middle Neolithic period characterized by the Red-on-White Sesklo ware, the Red Monochrome wares from Central Greece, and the Urfirnis and Patterned Urfirnis wares from the Peloponnesos, we have nothing, or practically nothing, unless we accept our Red Burnished ware as a branch of the A 1 Red Monochrome ware, a conclusion we have seen reason to reject. The South Slope Hut, however, has produced some Sesklo-type painted ware, and our excavations have yielded the marble statuette of a reclining woman, with Middle Neolithic affinities, so that one must assume occupation of Athens in this period. Less certain ascriptions to a Middle Neolithic horizon might be our Red-on-White painted sherd, the red glazed sherd, and possibly the small Gray ware fragments; but with these examples we are dealing with very fragmentary material.

It is the Late Neolithic period that provides most of our parallels, yet, curiously, the striking Dimini-type painted wares of Thessaly are completely lacking, and there is only one small recognizable sherd of the related Mattpainted ware of Central and Southern Greece. The fact that these B 3 Painted wares were found abundantly in the Hut on the South Slope suggests a still different, and probably later, horizon for our material. What we do have that can be paralleled elsewhere are: 1) a medium fine Incised ware with all-over curvilinear and meandroid decoration (the B 2 ware of Thessaly) which was here in Athens apparently confined to scoops of the Sesklo type and which was perhaps imitated in a coarser variant; 2) a Black Burnished and sometimes fluted ware which seems to have been partially imported from the

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107 Schachermeyr (Das Ägäische Neolithikum, p. 9) thinks these dates are 600 to 1000 years too high, and Milojć is apparently of the same opinion. Both had presented shorter chronologies in their earlier books (Schachermeyr, Die ältesten Kulturen, 1955, pp. 30–31, and Milojć, Chronologie der jüngeren Steinzeit, 1949, table at back) with Pre-Sesklo ending somewhere in the mid fourth millennium and Dimini and Larissa put in the first half of the third millennium. Weinberg, on the other hand, has always favored a longer chronology, and welcomed the early dates of Carbon 14 samples from Elateia (Hesperia, XXXI, 1962, pp. 207–209), which put Early Neolithic or Pre-Sesklo in the sixth, Middle Neolithic and Sesklo in the fifth, and Late Neolithic in the fourth millennium.


112 See also Weinberg, C.A.H., I, Ch. X, p. 20.

113 Cf. Caskey's remarks on the naturally lustrous red glazed ware in the upper Neolithic levels at Lerna (i.e. Lerna II which seems to be Middle Neolithic) in Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, p. 159; XXVII, 1958, p. 137, note 22.
Troad in the Kumtepe I b period and to have had general affinities with northwest Anatolia at the end of the Chalcolithic period, as indeed the metallic shapes and decoration would suggest; 3) much Coarse ware, some with quite elaborate incised or plastic decoration, which in shapes—pithoi, baking pans, etc.—as well as in decoration presages the Early Helladic repertory, but is nevertheless paralleled in Late Neolithic contexts at Asea and at Kephala on Keos. Accompanying these classes is our Red Burnished ware which in its finest specimens is not exactly duplicated anywhere else, but which has general affinities to a more widely diffused class of heavy, heavily burnished red ware found at Palaia Kokkinia near Peiraeus, on Aegina, and at Kephala on Keos at the transition from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age. Furthermore, the complicated lugs, stringholes and generally pyxoid shapes of our jars suggest Cycladic affinities, even though these cannot as yet be exactly matched. The appearance of the fruitstand shape, of bases with triangular cutouts, and wide ribbon handles, sometimes horned, suggests the incorporation of Thessalian B elements (as does also the occurrence of the scoop shape and the spiral-meander patterns of the incised ware, patterns which also occur, but more incipiently, on some few of the painted or burnish-decorated sherds). The tripod-footed pot as evidenced by 65 and 217 points rather to northwest Anatolia and to Troy I14 but at Athens it occurs in the local Red Burnished rather than in the dark burnished wares of that region.

In conclusion, our Red Burnished, as well as the whole context of the wells, seems to point to a transitional period at the very end of the Late Neolithic when immigrants were arriving who were to be the introducers of metal. That they came by way of the Cyclades, perhaps incorporating certain specifically Cycladic features, seems likely because of the number of parallels between the Kephala material and that from the Agora wells. In this connection the Proto-Cycladic terracotta head, 220, should be cited. It is uncertain how the Thessalian elements reached Athens. There must have been a ready exchange back and forth between the Gulf of Volo and the Cyclades, as shown by the profusion of Melian obsidian at Thessalian Neolithic sites and occurrence of scoops of Sesklo type on Keos; perhaps the Thessalian elements arrived late along with the northwest Anatolian and the Proto-Cycladic.115 On the other hand, these Thessalian features may in part have been a legacy of an earlier contact, since Dimini-type Painted ware was present in the South Slope Hut and in the Cave of Pan near Marathon.116

The question may be asked why our material should be considered Neolithic if it already presages the beginning of the Bronze Age. This is because it is still primarily of a Neolithic character—witness the fruitstands, the Incised ware scoops, etc. The so-called Chalcolithic features seem to occur in imported or foreign-inspired ware. Furthermore, there is nothing distinctively Early Helladic from our Neolithic wells, with the possible exception of the bowl with incurved rim 43. There is no sign of typical E.H. shapes such as the askos and the sauceboat nor of E.H. Urfirnis; and the general fabric is a thicker, heavier ware than is typical for this period. It might be argued that this phase should be designated E.H. I, and indeed our Neolithic wells must contain the only material that can be assigned to this stage in Athens.117

The site which ought to provide the closest information about the stratigraphic context of our well deposits is Eutresis in Boeotia, where in 1958 the Caskeys reopened and enlarged the deeper

114 Troy, I, fig. 223 a–b, B 14 and C 34, pp. 67, 73, where Blegen cites parallels with Protosilaos, Thermi and Yortan, showing its essentially Chalcolithic origin.
117 The relatively small quantity of verifiable Early Helladic material from the Agora comes almost entirely from wells and rubbish deposits laid down in the Middle Helladic period, and from these the pottery is E.H. II and III with parallels in Lerna III and IV. Lerna has unfortunately furnished very little evidence for the Late Neolithic period and there was perhaps a break in habitation in E.H. I (see Caskey, "The Early Helladic Period in the Argolid," Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, pp. 285–303, especially pp. 286–288).
RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

soundings of Miss Goldman's excavations. Of their nine stratigraphic groups (ranging from Neolithic of Group I through E.H. III of Group IX) our material corresponds best with Groups II and III, both characterized by a thick-slipped and burnished ware, sometimes decorated with matt white, with some parallels in the eastern Aegean and Troy I. Although shapes and details do not agree exactly, both the Agora Red Burnished and the dark burnished ware from Eutresis are marked by horizontal lugs and rudimentary handles; furthermore, there is a close parallel to our fluted ware in a small ribbed jar from Group III. Of Group II the Caskeys say that it is provisionally to be dated in a very early, perhaps preliminary, stage of the Early Bronze Age. Group III they regard as representing further change and development with the Red-slipped ware of E.H. I the typical and distinctive fabric. However, the red jugs and jars of this level do not closely resemble our best Red Burnished jars, which we prefer to consider a local Attic development of a somewhat earlier period, probably corresponding to Group II.

From the foregoing discussion it must be clear that for an absolute date one is dependent not on Neolithic chronologies, but on the date of Troy I and the introduction of the Bronze Age, for we are approaching very closely this period. There are two schools of thought—the higher chronology championed by Weinberg and Caskey, who would put the beginning of Troy I about 3200 B.C., and the lower of Schachermeyr and Milojčić who would make it about 500 years later. In the absence of any additional evidence, we might propose a date of about 3200–3000 B.C. as the closest dating we can give for the fill of our wells. Although there may be a few earlier pieces, on the whole they seem to represent a unified complex.

119 Ibid., p. 140, pl. 47, III. 10.
120 Ibid., p. 162.
121 Weinberg, C.A.H., I, Ch. X, p. 48. See also references above and notes 46, 47. A recent C-14 date of 3021 B.C. ± 57 from Kephala supports this earlier dating (communication from J. L. Caskey).
CATALOGUE

1. POTTERY

RED BURNISHED WARE (1–69; Pls. 1–5, 68–69)

BICONICAL JARS (1–18; Pls. 1–2, 68–69)

1. Intact Red Burnished Jar. Frontispiece, Pl. 1.
   P 14871. Well, U 26:5 (beneath projecting boulder near bottom). *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 298, fig. 39; *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 579, fig. 2; *Jahrb.*, LXV–LXVI, 1950–1951, p. 84, fig. 12, 8. H. 0.196 m., D. belly 0.214 m., D. mouth 0.087 m., D. foot 0.085 m.
   Intact except for chips.
   Gritty red to brown clay; orange-red slip with high burnish; on one side evenly smoothed, on other traces of pattern of vertical and oblique lines, probably once in matt white paint.
   Broad biconical shape with straight low neck and high ring foot. On either side just below neck a horizontal lug with two vertical piercings and a lightly raised ridge depending from each end. Two pairs of corresponding piercings in the base.
   Although this ware bears a general resemblance to the Red Monochrome A 1 ware from Thessaly and Central Greece (see above, p. 7, notes 38–39), the parallels are not convincing, and it is impossible to consider this jar a product of the old Chaironeia folk, as Milojčić does (*Jahrb.*, LXV–LXVI, 1950–1951, pp. 32f.). The only close parallels are from Athens, particularly from a Neolithic pit on the South Slope near the Asklepieion (see above, note 17), but the general chronological range and cultural affinities have now been clarified through the excavations at Kephala on Keos, where a Late Neolithic cemetery has produced a related but less fine Red Burnished ware with similar lug handles (see above, pp. 8–9).
   Late Neolithic.

   P 14872. Well, T 26:4. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 334, fig. 16; *I.L.N.*, 1937, p. 432, fig. 13. H. 0.15 m., D. belly 0.156 m., D. mouth 0.07 m. Mended, but complete except for small chips.
   Coarse reddish brown clay with gray core; red slip with a medium high burnish, mottled in firing (grayish brown at greatest diameter on one side). Leguminous seed for tempering material (Hopf, *Botanical Report*, pl. II, 1; see below p. 267). Inside rough, with traces of original clay coils.
   Somewhat ovoid in shape with low ring foot and straight low neck. On either side, high on shoulder, a small horizontal lug with double piercings and lightly raised ridges depending from either end, forming an inverted U-attachment as in 1. Two pairs of corresponding piercings in the foot-ring, one pair not quite pierced through.
   Late Neolithic.

   P 10851. Well, T 26:3. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 394, fig. 16; *I.L.N.*, 1937, p. 432, fig. 13. H. 0.15 m., D. belly 0.156 m., D. mouth 0.07 m. Mended, but complete except for small chips.
   Somewhat ovoid in shape with low ring foot and straight low neck. On either side, high on shoulder, a small horizontal lug with double piercings and lightly raised ridges depending from either end, forming an inverted U-attachment as in 1. Two pairs of corresponding piercings in the foot-ring, one pair not quite pierced through.
   Late Neolithic.

   P 13898. Well, T 26:3. H. as rest. 0.155 m., D. belly 0.191 m. Base, about one-half of rim, both handles, and much of upper wall preserved in four nonjoining fragments; restored in plaster.
   Gritty red-brown clay, gray at core; red slip, evenly burnished all over.
   Squat biconical shape than 1–3. Slightly raised base, lightly concave beneath; low vertical rim, not so sharply set off as in 3. Elaborate composite lug
handles, each made up of two horizontally pierced lugs, one above the other, connected by vertical parallel ridges, pierced 4 times horizontally, making 6 pairs of holes on each side. No piercings in base-ring.

This elaborate type of lug is unique in the Agora and elsewhere, and seems to have been a fanciful elaboration of the type with inverted U-attachments (see 1, 3, 7, 12, 13).

See also p. 6.
Late Neolithic.

P 26977. Well, T 26:4. H. 0.153 m., D. 0.152 m., D. mouth 0.075 m. Mended (in 1961) from many pieces; complete except for small fragments.
Gritty reddish buff clay with thin red burnished slip, mottled black and buff as if deliberately from coals. Ovoid biconical form with greatest diameter higher than in 3; low vertical neck and flattened base. Two lugs pierced horizontally set high on shoulder.
See also p. 6.
Late Neolithic.

P 14563. Well, U 24:2. H. 0.172 m., max. D. 0.154 m. Mended from many pieces; about half of rim, parts of wall and half of one handle missing.
Gritty clay, gray to red; dull red burnished slip, brown in part, except on base and inside of neck. Tempering material naked barley (Hordeum vulgare L. var. nudum), up to now not known in Neolithic Greece and scarcely in the Bronze Age (Hopf, Botanical Report, pl. I, 1; see below p. 267.).
Ovoid body on flat bottom; high vertical neck. Horizontal lug handles, pierced vertically, set at widest part of body. Two large piercings (0.008 m.) through rim immediately above handles, on either side. Base roughened from impression of mat on which pot was shaped (see Pl. 1).
This pot is somewhat outside the regular line of development; the mat impression suggests that we are close to the Early Helladic period.
See also pp. 5–6.
Latest Neolithic or E.H. I?

P 18997. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.197 m., D. belly 0.198 m. About one-third of circumference preserved, without base and only beginning of rim.
Gritty brown clay, largely fired gray; red slip outside, partly fired black, with medium high burnish, much worn. Traces of thumb impressions and some coilwork inside.
More ovoid shape like 3. Inverted U-type lug, doubly pierced, as on 1, 3, 12, and 13.
Late Neolithic.

P 13879. Well, S 27:4. Est. H. ca. 0.35 m., D. base 0.10 m. Three fragments mended from many preserve most of base and lower wall and part of upper wall with one handle.
Hard gritty red-brown clay, gray at core; red slip, in part deliberately fired to give a mottled effect, originally with a high burnish. Leguminous seed for tempering material (Hopf, Botanical Report, pl. II, 2).
Shape probably close to 5 but much larger. Flat base with some trace of mat impression; broad horizontally pierced lug, or loop handle, high on shoulder. Interior shows traces of coilwork and some horizontal scoring with a blunt tool.
This is our largest example of a Red Burnished biconical jar. The walls measure from 0.007 to 0.01+ m.
thick. P 18894, a small fragment preserving part of the rim of an equally large biconical jar, comes also from Well S 27:4, but it does not seem to belong to the same pot.

See also pp. 4 ff., 267.
Late Neolithic.

P 18896. Well, T 26:8. P.H. 0.145 m., est. D. of rim ca. 0.125 m. About one-half of rim and body preserved with one handle and nothing of base.
Gritty brown clay, gray core; well-burnished red slip, partly mottled in firing, and preserving traces of elaborate pattern on shoulder, probably once rendered in matt white paint.
Squat sharp-shouldered body with plain low vertical rim, and short ribbon handle from lip to just below rim. Shape not exactly duplicated in our Red Burnished jars, but handle close to 8; body more angular than 1.
Decoration confined to shoulder: panel of diagonal lines framed by two verticals below handle; panels of opposed diagonals on either side framed by six parallel horizontal lines (see drawing, Pl. 69). Our only really tectonic decorative scheme on Red Burnished, it connects with some of the incised patterns on our Coarse ware (130-133).
See also pp. 5, 7.
Late Neolithic.

P 18018. Well, U 25:1. P.H. ca. 0.095 m., D. 0.143 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.08 m. Body, put together from many pieces, preserved to curve of shoulder; one fragment has part of plain nearly vertical lip.
Coarse reddish brown clay, a little soft; orange-red slip, with an even medium burnish.
Ovoid shape with flattened base, like 5. No handles preserved.
Late Neolithic.

P 19088. Well, T 25:1. P.H. 0.12 m. Three fragments, the largest preserving much of rounded wall and start of flattened bottom, as well as one pair of lug handles at top.
Coarse red clay, gray at core; outside red slipped and polished with an even burnish of high quality where well preserved.
Apparently ovoid shape like 5, but handles are set lower on shoulder and consist of a pair of longish lugs pierced vertically.
Late Neolithic.

P 10640. North Slope, Trench 6 (scraping bedrock north of Paved Building), and two joining fragments from Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.138 m., P.W. 0.115 m. Fragment from mouth and shoulder of a wide-mouthed pot with a lug handle with two vertical piercings.
Gritty reddish clay with gray core; burned red slip on neck and shoulder. Traces of a diagonal pattern on the shoulder, rectilinear patterns on lower body, and a framed panel of diagonals beneath handle, all probably once in matt white paint.
The type of lug with inverted U-attachment is close to 7. The pattern bears some resemblance to that on 9, but seems less well organized.
Late Neolithic.

P 26978. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.056 m., est. D. ca. 0.155 m., D. lip 0.10 m. Fragment preserves about one-half of rim and one handle.
Gritty gray buff clay; bright red slip outside and on inside of lip, with good burnish.
Low slightly flaring rim with straight lip; horizontal lug pierced twice vertically set high on shoulder; parallel ridges extend downward making inverted U-attachment, as on 1, 3, 7, and 12.
Late Neolithic.

P 10641. Well, T 26:1. P.H. 0.05 m., est. D. lip ca. 0.11 m. Fragment of shoulder and neck of jar like 1; no handle preserved.
Coarse brown clay; fine evenly burnished red slip outside and on inside of neck.
Rim nicely formed with a convex surface int. and ext.
Late Neolithic.

15. Fragment of Red Burnished Jar with Ledge Handle. Pl. 2.
P 14750. Well, U 24:2, upper fill. P.H. 0.043 m., est. D. 0.22 m. From upper wall of biconical jar with ledge handle, doubly pierced, high on shoulder.
Gritty brown clay; good red burnished slip.
Late Neolithic.

P 13911. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.037 m., est. D. base ca. 0.10 m. Small segment of base and start of flaring wall of closed pot.
Gritty red-brown clay; red slip with medium high burnish outside but not underneath foot.
False ring foot raised high on ext. with flaring profile, but surface only slightly concave beneath; a pair of stringholes pierced diagonally through base.
Late Neolithic.
P 13912. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.086 m., est. D. base ca. 0.10 m. One-quarter to one-third of circumference of high foot-ring and bottom of closed pot.
Gritty brown clay, gray at core; poorly burnished red slip outside and below.
Foot-ring high and thin and nearly straight in profile. Cf. P 14752 from Well, U 24:2.
Late Neolithic.

P 14753. Well, U 24:2. Max. dim. 0.078 m. About one-half of a small flat base, very slightly concave, from a closed jar with a squat profile.
Gritty brown clay, partly fired black, with well burnished red slip outside.
Late Neolithic.

OPEN BOWLS (19–55; Pls. 3–4, 68–69)

P 14562. Well, U 24:2. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 297, fig. 38 (restoration). H. 0.10 m., est. D. 0.22 m. About one-half circumference preserved in three joining pieces, giving complete profile.
Gritty clay mostly fired gray; excellently burnished slip fired red to brown, with sharp line of demarcation as if from contact with another pot in kiln. Traces of a pattern of opposed diagonals, visible only in brown area of exterior, probably remains of matt white paint.
Almost hemispherical shape, with small slightly concave base and plain tapering lip with suggestion of a flare.
Although the simple hemispherical bowl shape can be traced back to an earlier period in such examples as the black burnished bowl from a late phase of the Early Neolithic period at Lerna (Hesperia, XXVII, 1958, p. 138, pl. 38, a) or the Middle Neolithic bowl from Katsaba, Crete (Arch. Anz., 1962, col. 123, fig. 7), a more cogent parallel is furnished in the Red Burnished ware from Palaia Kokkinia near Peiraeus (Παλαια Κόκκινια, 1951, p. 103, figs. 9, 5 and 10, a).
See also p. 4.
Late Neolithic.

P 13927. Well, S 27:5, upper fill. P.H. 0.063 m., P.W. 0.069 m. Rim fragment from wall of open bowl.
Reddish gritty clay, gray at core; exceptionally lustrous red slip, probably a real glaze.
Rim and one of broken edges much worn; perhaps used as a burnisher as in 21.
Although in shape this fragment allies itself with 19, technically it appears different and may well have been coated with a real glaze rather than a burnished slip (see Caskey, Hesperia, XXVII, 1958, p. 137, note 22). In this case it should be earlier than our Late Neolithic complex, and might owe something to the Middle Neolithic Urfiris ware. The fact that it may have been used as a burnisher might support this earlier dating.
See also p. 19.
Middle Neolithic?

P 13884. Well, S 27:4. P.H. 0.055 m., P.W. 0.052 m. Fragment from wall of large open vessel.
Gritty brownish buff clay, gray at core; outside and inside a lustrous red surface which may be a real glaze rather than a burnished slip.
The careful rectangular shape and the wear on the edges show that the sherd has been deliberately cut down and used, perhaps as a burnisher.
See remarks under 20. In 21 the evidence for glaze is less certain, and we may have merely an extremely well preserved burnished slip.
Middle or Late Neolithic.

22. Rim Fragment of Open Bowl. Pls. 3, 68.
P 17297. Late Mycenaean Well, S 27:7. P.H. 0.07 m., est. D. rim 0.29 m. Rim fragment from hemispherical bowl with plain tapering lip.
Coarse pinkish clay, gray at core; dull burnished red slip interior and exterior.
Cf. P 13904 from T 26:3.
Late Neolithic.

23. Rim Fragment of Open Bowl. Pls. 3, 68.
P 25859. Well, T 26:6. P.H. 0.055 m., P.W. 0.077 m. Fragment of rim and side wall of open bowl.
Gritty clay, gray at core; excellently burnished slip, brownish red.
From a hemispherical bowl like 19, but with slightly more flare.
Late Neolithic.

P 13878. Well, T 26:1. P.H. 0.044 m., P.W. 0.04 m. Small fragment from plain lip and wall of open bowl.
Brown clay, gray at core; well burnished pale red slip.
Inside, well below rim, a good-sized hole has been partially bored through wall, possibly an intended mendhole.
Late Neolithic.

P 14584. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.062 m., est. D. 0.24 m. Fragment from wall of open bowl with plain lip.
Gritty brownish clay; burnished slip, brown outside, bright red int. with traces of diagonal pattern (from matt white paint?).
Cf. P 13997 from T 24:2.
Late Neolithic.
26. Rim Fragment of Open Bowl.  Pl. 3.
   P 14741. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.15 m., P.W. 0.10 m.
   Fragment from wall of open, almost hemispherical,
bowl with plain lip.
   Gritty brown clay, gray at core; poorly preserved
   red slip inside and out, with pattern of diagonal
   or herringbone lines on ext., groups of three to seven
   horizontal lines on int., apparently the result of
   flaked-off matt paint.
   Late Neolithic.

27. Fragment of Open Bowl.  Pl. 3.
   P 13985. Well, S 27:3. Max. dim. 0.12 m. Large
   fragment from near base of bowl.
   Gritty brown clay, gray at core; red burnished
   slip inside and out, with radiating panels of parallel
   diagonal lines, probably once painted in matt white.
   Of the pattern only the wearing away of the surface
   where the paint has flaked off remains.
   Fragments of similar bowls with decoration of
   oblique lines: P 14588 from U 24:3 and P 13881 from
   S 27:4. Late Neolithic.

28. Rim Fragment of Open Bowl, Lug Handle.  Pls. 8, 68.
   P 14784. Well, U 24:2, bottom fill. P.H. 0.11 m.,
est. D. ca. 0.21 m. Fragment preserves part of rim and
   fairly steep wall.
   Gritty brown clay, mostly fired gray; red slip, most-
   ly fired brown, int. and ext., with medium high bur-
   nish.
   Lightly incurved rim with small lug, not pierced
   completely through, a little below lip.
   Similar deep bowls with pierced lugs are found in the
   South Slope Hut (cf. Levi, Abitazioni, pp. 429, 487,
   figs. 19, a and 23, b, which comes from superficial
   stratum).
   Late Neolithic.

29. Rim Fragment of Open Bowl, Lug Handle.  Pls. 8, 68.
   P 14791. Well, T 24:4. P.H. 0.125 m., P.W. 0.075 m.
   Fragment from deep bowl with plain lip and hori-
   zontally pierced lug just below rim.
   Brown gritty clay, mostly fired gray; dark red to
   brown slip with light burnish inside and out.
   Rim slightly thickened; handle no longer a hori-
   zontally pierced lug as in 28-30, but a small strap
   handle.
   Similar: P 18941 from T 25:1.
   Late Neolithic.

30. Fragment of Open Bowl, Lug Handle.  Pls. 3.
   P 14592. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.058 m., P.W. 0.05 m.
   Fragment from wall of a large open bowl with lug
   handle horizontally pierced.
   Gritty brownish clay, gray at core; red slip with
   medium high burnish inside and out.
   From the lower edge of the lug a raised rib ex-
   tends obliquely downwards.
   Late Neolithic.

31. Fragment of Shallow Bowl, Vertical Handle.  Pls. 3, 68.
   P 14742. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.056 m., est. D. rim
   ca. 0.28 m. Rim fragment from bowl with plain lip
   and small vertical handle below rim.
   Gritty brown clay, mostly fired gray; dark red to
   brown slip with light burnish inside and out.
   Rim slightly thickened; handle no longer a hori-
   zontally pierced lug as in 28-30, but a small strap
   handle.
   Similar: P 18941 from T 25:1.
   Late Neolithic.

32. Rim Fragment of Open Bowl, Horizontal Handle.  Pls. 3, 68.
   P 13986. Well, S 27:3. P.H. 0.046 m., P.W. 0.067 m.
   From rim of open bowl with plain lip.
   Brown gritty clay fired gray; thick dull red slip
   with medium burnish, unevenly fired, inside and out.
   Just below lip a small horizontal handle, set
   slightly obliquely.
   Late Neolithic.

   P 13888. Well, S 27:4. P.H. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.078 m.
   Fragment from rim and wall of large open vessel.
   Gritty brown clay; thick, burnished red slip, much
   worn.
   The wall has slight inward curvature at top and
   bottom, plain lip slightly flattened on top. On out-
   side a high ridge, almost vertical, ends in a slight
   protuberance at rim, making it not quite horizontal.
   Such plastic ridges on open bowls are known from
   earlier phases of the Neolithic, for example a red
   monochrome bowl from Otzaki (Naissance, I, fig. 124)
   where the vertical ridge pulls up the rim as on our
   example, and a bowl fragment from Katsaba, Crete,
   with a diagonal ridge (B.C.H., LXXXI, 1957, p. 627,
   fig. 24).
   Late Neolithic.
34. Fragment of Straight-sided Bowl. Pls. 4, 68.
P 14582. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.07 m., est. D. rim 0.18 m. Fragment from rim of large deep straight-sided bowl.
Gritty gray clay, brown at surface; red slip inside and out, with medium high burnish.
Lip somewhat thickened, from which depend two ribs not quite vertical. Rim horizontal in contrast to 33.
Late Neolithic.

P 13905. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.049 m., P.W. 0.056 m. Fragment of plain lip and straight wall of open bowl.
Gritty brown clay, largely fired gray; burnished slip, dull red to black, with an elaborate pattern of enclosed squares, suggestive of a labyrinth.
On this sherd the pattern was almost certainly produced by stripe-burnishing rather than paint. Cf. the fragments from Kephala, Keos (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 47, h, i), and from Thorikos (Thorikos, 1965, III, p. 25, fig. 21).
See also pp. 5, 7.
Late Neolithic.

36. Sherd from Bowl with Painted or Burnished Pattern. Pls. 4, 69.
P 22365. Miscellaneous find in Section H. Max. dim. 0.046 m. Sherd broken all around from bowl with fairly straight wall.
Brownish clay; red burnished slip, int. with pattern of vertical and horizontal parallel lines, ext. with parallel diagonals.
Here the pattern was probably produced by matt white paint, although the int. decoration is somewhat like that on 35.
Late Neolithic.

37. Fragment of Bowl with Splayed Lip. Pls. 4, 68.
P 14580. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.051 m., est. D. lip ca. 0.14 m. Fragment from rim and upper part of open bowl.
Coarse clay, gray to brownish buff, with some mica; dull red slip with poor burnish inside and out.
Slightly concave wall with splayed lip; at bottom of fragment trace of handle attachment.
See also p. 6.
Late Neolithic.

38. Rim Fragment of Open Bowl. Pl. 4.
P 27010. Well, T 26:5. P.H. 0.045 m., P.W. 0.042 m. Small fragment of thin-walled bowl with slightly flaring rim.
Gritty buff clay; brown lightly burnished slip int. and ext. (slightly more red on int.).
Late Neolithic.

P 13907. Well, S 28:1, upper fill. P.H. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.06 m. Three joining fragments from rim and wall of open bowl with slightly incurved lip.
Gritty clay, gray throughout; burnished slip, red int., mottled red to black ext.
Late Neolithic.

40. Fragment of Bowl with Incurved Rim. Pls. 4, 68.
P 13873. Well, T 26:1. P.H. 0.055 m., P.W. 0.072 m. Fragment from rim and wall of a small round-bodied bowl with incurved lip.
Brown clay, fired gray almost throughout; red slip, largely fired black, burnished only on ext.
Considerably deeper and with less indrawn lip than 43.
Cf. P 18882 from S 27:4, which has thinner walls and is finer. Cf. bowl from Palaia Kokkinia (Προκοκικα, 1951, p. 108, fig. 9, I).
Late Neolithic.

41. Fragment of Bowl with Vertical Rim. Pl. 4.
P 14749. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.046 m., P.W. 0.085 m. Fragment preserves part of wall and low vertical rim.
Brown clay, gray at core; red slip int. and ext., with light burnish ext. only.
This seems to belong to the type with incurved rim, although it is more angular than 39, 40, 43.
Late Neolithic.

42. Fragment of Bowl with Sharply Incurved Rim. Pls. 4, 68.
P 14744. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.055 m., P.W. 0.087 m. Fragment preserves part of wall and low sharply incurved rim.
Gritty clay, largely fired gray; red burnished slip int. and ext., much worn.
Late Neolithic.

43. Fragment of Bowl with Incurved Rim. Pls. 4, 68.
P 27011. Well, S 27:3. Max. dim. 0.08 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.24 m. Fragment preserves about one-fourth of rim and complete profile to start of base.
Gritty gray-buff clay; smooth red slip int.; ext. red burnished slip, mottled black in firing.
Low flaring bowl with incurved rim, not quite horizontal.
This, our most advanced example of the bowl with incurved rim, leads directly to the Early Helladic shape. Cf. a bowl from the First Meter Deposit at Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 84, pl. V, 1) which is also mottled black in firing.
Latest Neolithic or E.H. I?

44. Fragment of Pseudo-Carinated Bowl. Pls. 4, 68.
P 14746. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.088 m., P.W. 0.022 m. Rim fragment from low bowl with slightly splayed rim.
Gritty brown clay, gray at core; orange-red slip inside and out, with high burnish. The wall is thickened to form a carination on ext. only. Cf. profile with that of stripe-burnished bowl from Orchomenos (Orchomenos, II, p. 28, fig. 19) which is deeper but also has a pseudo-carination.

Late Neolithic.

45. Fragment of Carinated Bowl. Pls. 4, 68.
P 14745. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.047 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.185 m. Fragment preserves part of wall with angular shoulder and low slightly splayed lip.
Brown clay, mostly fired gray; burnished slip red to orange inside and out. Carination carried through on inside. Rim notched on edge. Shape similar to 47.
Late Neolithic.

46. Fragment of Carinated Bowl, Lug Handle. Pls. 4.
P 13903. Well, T 26:3, upper fill. P.H. 0.04 m., P.W. 0.055 m. Fragment from rim and shoulder.
Gritty brown clay; red slip int. and ext. without any preserved trace of burnishing.
Low slightly flaring rim and angular shoulder; horizontally pierced lug at shoulder.
Late Neolithic.

47. Rim Fragment of Cup with Vertical Handle.
Pls. 4, 68.
P 25856. Well, U 24:4. P.H. 0.052 m., P.W. 0.039 m. Small fragment of rim and side of cup with vertical strap handle.
Brownish gray clay; red-brown slip, with fair burnish.
Very neat fragment with thin walls, offset rim, and carination at handle attachment. Vertical handle rolled out from rim, lightly grooved in middle and with a slight knob at bottom.
This, the most developed of our handles, is suggestive of a metallic prototype.
See also p. 6. Latest Neolithic or E.H. I?

48. Fragment of Closed Bowl with Vertical Rim.
Pls. 4, 68.
P 22817. Middle Stoa filling, Layer 3, H-K 12-15. P.H. 0.045 m. Fragment of rim and upper part of small bowl.
Brownish red clay with many impurities; red slip, burnished int. and ext.
The shape is similar to one of the gold bowls in the Benaki Museum (Segall, Katalog Museum Benaki, no. 1, pp. 11-14, pls. 1-3) and suggests a Chalcolithic horizon. Possibly an import from the Cyclades?
See also pp. 6, 9. Latest Neolithic to Early Bronze.

49. Fragment of Closed Bowl with Vertical Lip. Pl. 4.
P 14581. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.053 m., P.W. 0.066 m. Fragment preserves part of squat bulging wall with plain, nearly vertical lip.
Coarse clay, brownish to buff, with some mica. Dull red burnished slip, ext. only; traces of herringbone pattern, probably remains of matt paint.
The shape seems too squat to be part of a biconical jar, but it is far less elegant than 48.
Late Neolithic.

P 13901. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.034 m., P.W. 0.041 m. Rim fragment from small vessel with wide mouth and low rounded rim, nearly vertical.
Gritty brown clay, gray core; burnished red slip, much flaked.
Late Neolithic.

51. Fragment of Base of Heavy Bowl.
Pls. 4, 68.
P 27006. Well, T 26:5. Max. dim. 0.17 m., est. D. base ca. 0.135 m. Mended from many fragments, preserving about one-half the flattened base and part of the flaring wall of a large open bowl.
Thick gritty buff clay; thick red slip int. and ext., mottled in firing and ranging from red to brown and dark gray; fair burnish on ext.
Probable traces of grass impressions on base, which is completely flat and unfinished.
Late Neolithic.

52. Fragment of Base of Bowl. Pls. 4, 68.
P 14589. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.028 m. Fragment preserves part of flat bottom and flaring wall of open bowl.
Gritty red clay, gray at core; well burnished red slip inside and out.
Base slightly countersunk as on 19.
Cf. P 13906 from T 26:3. Cf. the bowls from Palaia Kokkinia (Παλαια Κοκκινια, 1951 pp. 102–103, figs. 8,α and 10,α).
Late Neolithic.

53. Fragment of Base of Bowl. Pls. 4, 68.
P 27002. Well, T 26:4. Max. dim. 0.053 m. Fragment preserves part of flat bottom and flaring wall of open bowl.
Gritty red clay, gray at core; well burnished red slip inside and out.
Base slightly countersunk as on 19.
Cf. P 13906 from T 26:3. Cf. the bowls from Palaia Kokkinia (Παλαια Κοκκινια, 1951 pp. 102–103, figs. 8,α and 10,α).
Late Neolithic.

54. Fragment of Base of Bowl. Pls. 4, 68.
P 14785. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.06 m., est. D. of base ca. 0.065 m. Fragment preserves about one-third of base and part of lower wall of open bowl.
POTTERY: RED BURNISHED WARE

Gritty brown clay, gray at core; thin red slip with light burnish inside and out.
Low false ring foot, straight on ext., only slightly concave beneath. Wall somewhat dented.
In fabric this is midway between fine and coarse ware.
Late Neolithic.

55. Fragment of Conical Base of Bowl. Pls. 4.
P 37008. Well, T 26:5. P.H. 0.07 m., D. base 0.09 m. Fragment preserves flaring conical base and part of flaring wall of rather coarse thick-walled open bowl.
Gritty red clay with gray core; red slip outside, with faint traces of herringbone pattern (from decoration in matt paint).
Nearly cylindrical stand, spreading slightly to plain edge below; traces of two small holes pierced through wall near bottom, probably mendholes.
Similar fruitstand bases were popular in the Late Neolithic period in Thessaly, occurring generally in painted wares (e.g. P.T., p. 98, fig. 50, d–j).
Late Neolithic.

FRUITSTANDS, HANDLES, AND MISCELLANEOUS (56–69; Pls. 5, 68)

56. Base of Red Burnished Fruitstand. Pls. 5, 68.
P 14590. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.084 m., est. D. base ca. 0.08 m. Mended from several fragments; stand preserved to full height with trace of start of bowl above.
Gritty red clay with heavy gray core; red burnished slip outside, with faint traces of herringbone pattern (from decoration in matt paint).

57. Fragment of Base of Fruitstand with Cutout. Pls. 5, 68.
P 14591. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.067 m. Fragment from large bowl with walls flaring to a plain lip which is drawn up into a blunt point.
Gritty brownish gray clay with gray core; red slip with fair burnish on int., not well preserved on ext.
Flaring shape and drawn-up rim, as well as heavy fabric suggest the bowl of a fruitstand (cf. D.S., pl. 10, 1).
Late Neolithic.

58. Fragment of Red Slipped Stand. Pls. 5.
P 13913. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.053 m., est. D. ca. 0.08 m. Fragment apparently preserves full height of a high foot-ring or stand.
Gritty brown clay, gray at core; red slip without any traces of burnishing.
Two deep horizontal grooves around outside.
Late Neolithic.

59. Fragment of Flaring Bowl, Fruitstand (?). Pls. 5, 68.
P 14583. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.10 m. Fragment from large bowl with walls flaring to a plain lip which is drawn up into a blunt point.
Gritty brownish clay with gray core; red slip with fair burnish on int., not well preserved on ext.
Flaring shape and drawn-up rim, as well as heavy fabric suggest the bowl of a fruitstand (cf. D.S., pl. 10, 1).
Late Neolithic.

60. Fragment of Giant Ribbon Handle. Pls. 5, 68.
P 13909. Well, T 26:3. P.L. 0.125 m., W. 0.102 m.
A very thin object, broken at both ends but preserving complete width.
Gritty orange-brown clay; thick orange-red slip ext., with high even burnish.
Object, which begins to curve sharply at one end and preserves the stump of a small strut on underside, seems best explained as an enormous ribbon handle.
With the exception of the Late Neolithic scoops (see below, 111–123), which are in a different fabric and have incised decoration, such wide ribbon handles are unparalleled. Although one might theorize that 60 is an Attic adaptation of such vases, there is little to indicate that it did come from a scoop and the strut seems to be in the wrong place.
Cf. the smaller (ca. 0.04 m. wide) ribbon handle from the South Slope Hut (Levi, Abitazioni, p. 441, fig. 29, o).
See also pp. 7–8.
Late Neolithic.

61. Fragment of Large Ribbon Handle. Pls. 5.
P 14594. Well, U 24:3. W. 0.088 m. The full width preserved, ends broken.
Gritty gray to brown clay; rather dull light red burnished slip ext. only.
On the underside traces of two attachments.
Cf. P 27016 from U 26:5, which is 0.075 m. wide and has no trace of attachments.
Late Neolithic.

62. Fragment of Broad Ribbon Handle. Pls. 5.
P 18938. Well, T 24:2. P.L. 0.059 m., W. 0.059 m.
Lower end of a broad ribbon handle, curved at bottom.
Brown gritty clay with gray core; red slip int. and ext. with medium burnish.
On convex side the stump of a small horn or attachment (cf. however 60, where strut is clearly on concave int.).

For a general parallel cf. the Late Neolithic pot from a grave in Tr. JC at Lerna (Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 41, b) which has a wide ribbon handle with a horn on top and traces of two struts set crosswise in the circular opening. If 62 and 63 belong together, our handle was folded rather than curved.

Late Neolithic.

63. Top of Folded Ribbon Handle. Pls. 5, 68.
  P 19980. Well, S 27:5. W. 0.057 m. Probably top of ribbon handle rising to sharp apex above rim of an open pot. Large chip missing from one side.
  Gritty red-brown clay; well-burnished red slip.
  Late Neolithic.

64. Fragment of Folded Horned Handle. Pls. 5, 68.
  P 14593. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.065 m. W. 0.079 m. Heavy vertical handle, made in two pieces, joined towards the top, the upper edge with three rounded projections.
  Gritty gray to brown clay, rather dull red to black burnished slip.
  Late Neolithic.

65. Knob or Foot of Closed Pot. Pls. 5, 68.
  P 14754. Well, U 24:2, upper fill. P.H. 0.04 m., P.W. 0.062 m. Part of a large closed pot with a cylindrical knob.
  Gritty brown clay, partly fired gray; red burnished slip on ext., inside unburnished.
  Possible reused, after breaking, as a grinder.
  Late Neolithic ?

66. Knob from Heavy Pot. Pl. 5.
  P 24230. Miscellaneous find, pocket in bedrock south of Church of Holy Apostles. P.H. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.08 m., D. of knob 0.045 m. Projecting knob, broken from wall of pot or lid.
  Solid; very heavy orange-brown clay with some grit; burnished red slip outside, inside unburnished. Possibly reused, after breaking, as a grinder.
  Late Neolithic?

67. Leg or Strut. Pl. 5.
  P 19990. Well, S 28:1. P.H. 0.089 m. A roughly cylindrical object tapering toward bottom, either the leg of a pot, or the strut of a branching handle like 111.
  Brown gritty clay, gray at core; traces of red slip, with little or no burnish.
  The absence of parallels to pots on such tall, thin legs and the general resemblance to certain of the struts associated with scoops (particularly 114-115) make this latter suggestion more likely. Here, however, there is little if any remnant of the characteristic grooved incision.
  Late Neolithic.

68. Lug or Foot of Pot. Pl. 5.
  P 14755. Well, U 24:2, upper fill. P.L. 0.028 m., W. 0.02 m. A square-ended lug or projection thickening toward wall of object from which broken.
  Gritty light brown clay, gray at core; much worn, slightly burnished red slip. Similar fabric to 67.
  Late Neolithic.

69. Fragment of Incense Burner (?). Pl. 5.
  P 13928. Well, S 27:5, upper fill. P.H. 0.082 m., P.W. 0.085 m. From wall or floor of open pot.
  Gritty pinkish clay, gray at core and blackened on outside; thick, slightly burnished red slip int. and ext. (much worn).
  Two luglike attachments set close together which may form feet or sledge legs. Frederick Matson has suggested to me a general resemblance to the Cycladic incense burners from Naxos in the National Museum (N.M. 6118) which have larger sledge legs and are pierced with a row of holes. The fact that our sherd is blackened on ext. seems significant in this connection.
  Late Neolithic.

GRAY OR BLACK BURNISHED WARE (70-84; Pls. 6, 69)

70. Fragment of Jar with Collar Rim. Frontispiece, Pls. 6, 69.
  P 13907. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.056 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.10 m. Fragment from squat jar with high collarlike rim.
  Gritty gray clay; gray slip with good burnish ext. and int. rim; inside black; the color certainly intentional and produced by reduction.
POTTERY: GRAY OR BLACK BURNISHED WARE

On the body neat diagonal ribs suggestive of metalwork, with sharp arrises and concave flutes.

Although exact parallels are not plentiful, this ware seems certainly to have been imported and to belong to a Chalcolithic horizon with Anatolian affinities. A black ribbed or rippled ware is found in Towns I–II at Thermi in a pyxis shape not unlike ours but with pierced lugs (Thermi, pl. VIII, 10, 98, 138) and at Servia in Macedonia (Pr. Mac., pp. 141–148, nos. 19–36, fig. 11, pl. VII), where the designs are more elaborate. It is certainly related to the Larissa stage of Late Neolithic Thessalian wares (the \( \Gamma^1 \times \beta \) and \( \Gamma^3 \epsilon \) wares of P.T., pp. 105, 152, figs. 55, m., \( \varepsilon \); D.S., col. 278, fig. 211) and the latest Neolithic from Soufli Magoula, where the fluting consists of painted lines (Arch. Anz., 1959, cols. 68–65, figs. 10, 11, a; Naissance, II, figs. 434, 436). Our examples seem later than those from Servia and the best Larissa ware, and are probably more akin to the pyxides from Thermi. The shape and the type of decoration are suggestive of the metal bowls from Euboia in the Benaki Museum (see 48) but these should belong to the true Bronze Age rather than to a Chalcolithic horizon (see Renfrew, A.J.A., LXXI, 1967, pp. 1-18, especially p. 7).

See also pp. 9–10.

71. Fragment of Fluted Bowl. Pl. 6.

P 13942. Well, T 25:1. P.H. 0.032 m., P.W. 0.046 m. Fragment of open bowl with nearly vertical rim, well set off from shoulder.

Gritty dark gray clay; brownish to gray slip with high burnish int. and ext.

Vertical fluting on shoulder. Similar to 70, but finished on int. and therefore more open shape.

Latest Neolithic.

72. Fragment of Fluted Bowl. Pl. 6.

P 14596. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.026 m., P.W. 0.036 m. Small fragment preserving part of rounded wall and start of vertical rim.

Gritty dark gray clay; slip with high black polish of almost obsidian appearance int. and ext.

Neatly spaced vertical flutings on wall; sharply profiled groove sets off shoulder from rim. Burning on int. indicates open bowl with vertical rim.

Cf. P 14595 from U 24:3 and P 14757 from U 24:2, neither of which is so fine. 72 is in fabric by far the best example of this class.

Latest Neolithic.

73. Two Fragments from Fluted Pot. Pl. 6.

P 26981. Well, T 26:4. Max. dim. a, 0.13 m., b, 0.04 m. Two non-joining fragments from a closed pot.

Gritty reddish clay with gray core, fired gray int. and ext.; slight traces of burnishing ext. only.

Light fluting runs almost vertically on a, more obliquely on b.

These two fragments probably come from a single pot, similar to 70, but much inferior.

Latest Neolithic.

74. Fragment of Fluted Jar. Pl. 6.

P 13908. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.064 m., P.W. 0.069 m. Two joining fragments, from shoulder preserving start of neck.

Gritty clay, gray throughout; burnished gray slip, ext. only.

From a pot with a much wider shoulder than 70, and with wider, flatter and less careful fluting, arranged in panels of opposed diagonals.

Latest Neolithic.

75. Fragment of Fluted Jar. Pl. 6.

P 13984. Well, S 27:3. Max. dim. 0.036 m. Small fragment from wall of a closed pot.

Gritty clay, gray throughout; gray burnished slip, much worn, outside.

Decoration here is reeded rather than fluted, and consists of vertical broad flat ridges framed by narrow grooves.

Latest Neolithic.

76. Fragment of High Flaring Rim. Pls. 6, 69.

P 14792. Well, T 24:4. P.H. 0.033 m., P.W. 0.028 m. Fragment preserves high flaring rim with plain lip from open bowl.

Fine clay, gray throughout; well burnished slip, gray to black, int. and ext.

A fine fragment, this seems earlier than 70–75 and should probably be connected with the Black Burnished ware which comprises one of the new wares toward the end of Middle Neolithic and which continues into Late Neolithic in Central Greece (see Holmberg, A.J.A., LXVIII, 1964, pp. 343–348; Weinberg, A.J.A., LXIX, 1965, pp. 160–161).


Middle to Late Neolithic.

77. Fragment of Deep Bowl. Pls. 6, 69.

P 14586. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.038 m., P.W. 0.029 m. Fragment preserves high flaring rim with plain lip from open bowl.

Gritty clay; gray throughout; well burnished slip, gray to black, int. and ext.

A fine fragment, this seems earlier than 70–75 and should probably be connected with the Black Burnished ware which comprises one of the new wares toward the end of Middle Neolithic and which continues into Late Neolithic in Central Greece (see Holmberg, A.J.A., LXVIII, 1964, pp. 343–348; Weinberg, A.J.A., LXIX, 1965, pp. 160–161).


Middle to Late Neolithic.

OTHER GRAY WARES (76–84; Pls. 6, 69)

76. Fragment of High Flaring Rim. Pls. 6, 69.

P 14792. Well, T 24:4. P.H. 0.038 m., P.W. 0.029 m. Fragment preserves high flaring rim with plain lip from open bowl.

Fine clay, gray throughout; well burnished slip, gray to black, int. and ext.

A fine fragment, this seems earlier than 70–75 and should probably be connected with the Black Burnished ware which comprises one of the new wares toward the end of Middle Neolithic and which continues into Late Neolithic in Central Greece (see Holmberg, A.J.A., LXVIII, 1964, pp. 343–348; Weinberg, A.J.A., LXIX, 1965, pp. 160–161).


Middle to Late Neolithic.

77. Fragment of Deep Bowl. Pls. 6, 69.

P 14586. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.075 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.19 m. Fragment from bowl with markedly low shoulder, upper wall flaring slightly to plain lip.

Gritty gray clay; grayish black slip, well-burnished int. and ext.

Cf. profile with that of Black Polished bowl from Orchomenos (Orchomenos, II, p. 10, fig. 3). Middle to Late Neolithic.
78. Fragment of Deep Bowl. Pls. 6, 69.  
P 14599. Well, U 24:3. P. H. 0.078 m., P. W. 0.083 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.14 m. Fragment preserves greater portion of profile of deep bowl.  
Gritty clay, gray to brown; rather poorly burnished black to brown slip, int. and ext.  
Hemispherical shape with slightly outturned rim; thin-walled but careless.  
Middle to Late Neolithic.

79. Fragment of Ribbon Handle, Gray Ware. Pl. 6.  
P 13979. Well, R 28:2. P. H. 0.037 m., P. W. 0.046 m.  
Lower end and attachment of a wide, thin, ribbon handle.  
Gray to beige clay with some grit, polished gray slip int. and ext.  
Thin and fine, this is very different from the Red Burnished ribbon handles (60–64) and may perhaps be connected with the Neolithic Gray ware from Corinth where ribbon handles on carinated bowls occur (see Weinberg’s Class II C, Hesperia, VI, 1987, p. 508, fig. 23, g).  
See also pp. 9, 19.  
Middle Neolithic?

80. Incised Gray Ware Sherd. Pl. 6.  
P 14790. Well, U 24:2. P. H. 0.032 m., P. W. 0.029 m.  
Small fragment from wall of a closed vase; no finished edge.  
Gritty clay, gray throughout; gray burnished slip outside. Incised decoration: triangle filled with close-set fine parallel lines, and beginning of second triangle. No traces of filling.  
A unique sherd at the Agora, this should probably be connected with the Gray and Black Burnished ware of central and southern Greece at the end of the Middle Neolithic period (see Holmberg, Neol. Pot., pp. 26–27).  
See also pp. 81.  
Middle to Late Neolithic.

81. Fragment of Flaring Bowl, Rolled Rim. Pls. 6, 69.  
P 14756. Well, U 24:2. P. H. 0.022 m., P. W. 0.033 m.  
Small fragment preserving part of straight flaring wall with rim rolled toward int.  
Gritty clay, gray throughout; well burnished slip, mottled brown to black, int. and on rim.  
Cf. with profiles of Anatolian Late Chalcolithic basins of Kumtepe I b type (David French, Anat. St., XI, 1961, pp. 102, 124, fig. 5, 26–49).  
This heavy dark mottled ware is almost certainly to be regarded as an Anatolian import (cf. also 82). Fragments of similar bowls of Kumtepe I b type have been found on the North Slope (Hesperia, VI, 1987, pp. 540 f., figs. 1, c, d, 2, a, b, d).  
See also pp. 10, 20.  
Latest Neolithic.

82. Fragment from Rim of Flaring Bowl, Pierced Horn. Frontispiece, Pls. 6, 69.  
P 18874. Well, T 26:1. Anat. St., XI, 1961, pp. 111, 140–141, fig. 15, 24. P. H. 0.052 m., P. W. 0.055 m., est. D. ca. 0.33 m. Fragment from a large dish with thickened rim pinched up into a low horn.  
Gritty clay, brown to gray; highly burnished slip, mottled black to gray.  
Pierced below horn at junction of wall and rim.  
This sherd has been recognized as an Anatolian Chalcolithic import by David French (Anat. St., XI, 1961, p. 111). With it must go 81 and the fragments from the North Slope cited above.  
Cf. also bowls from Troy I (Troy, I, fig. 243, 25, shape A 6).  
See also pp. 10, 20.  
Latest Neolithic.

83. Vertical Lug Handle from Large Pot. Pl. 6.  
P 14751. Well, U 24:2. P. H. 0.047 m., P. W. 0.070 m.  
Short lug-like handle and bit of wall from a large vessel.  
Coarse gritty clay, brown to black; burnished slip, black to brownish, with high luster where well preserved.  
Late Neolithic.

84. Fragment of Gray Biconical Jar, Misfired ? Pl. 6.  
P 13899. Well, T 26:3. P. H. 0.084 m., P. W. 0.057 m.  
Fragment preserves rim, part of shoulder, and one horizontally pierced lug of biconical jar.  
Gritty clay, fired gray throughout; burnished slip, pale gray.  
This fragment seems to belong with the Red Burnished biconical jars (cf. 5 and 8) and is probably gray merely through an accident in firing. Surface very friable with the appearance of a Fehlbrand (Marie Farnsworth concurs in this opinion). If so, this is important confirmatory evidence for the local manufacture of the Red Burnished jars, a fact which seems clearly indicated by their distribution.  
Late Neolithic.

Painted Wares (85–98; Pls. 7, 69)

Red Paint on White Slip (85–86; Pls. 7, 69)

85. Fragment from Closed Pot. Frontispiece, Pl 7.  
P 14740. Well, U 24:2. P. H. 0.090 m., P. W. 0.095 m.  
Two joining fragments from wall of closed pot.  
Gritty reddish brown clay, gray at core; int. rough and reddish; ext. covered with thick creamy white slip, on which design painted in reddish brown with multiple brush; afterwards burnished.  
The pattern consists of parallel groups of opposed diagonals, giving an all-over scheme of interlocking hatched triangles.
This fragment is unique among our material, nor have any exact parallels been found. The nearest is a Red-on-White ware jug fragment from Sotira in Cyprus, which is decorated with parallel zigzags covering the whole surface, also painted with multiple brush (Sotira, p. 183, pl. 78, 511, o). Although geographically distant, it seems closer stylistically than the Red-on-White Chaironeia ware, where the parallel lines either cross to form a lattice pattern or make parallel triangles (cf. Orchomenos, II, pls. XV–XVIII). The general skeuomorphic effect as well as the Late Neolithic range of our wells accords better with the Sotira fragment than with Chaironeia ware.

See also pp. 11, 19.

Late Neolithic.

86. Rim Fragment from Large Pot. Pls. 7, 69.
P 18885. Well, S 27:4. P.H. 0.049 m., P.W. 0.047 m.
Sherd from rim of a large pot with a horizontal boring for a lug at bottom.
Gritty coarse pink clay, gray at core; white slip (?) int. and ext., with horizontal bands of red and white ext., and traces of red int.

This has no stylistic connection with 85, and indeed it is difficult to determine whether the red has been painted on a white slip or whether we have a red burnished slip with traces of matt white paint.

Late Neolithic.

RED BURNISHED WITH WHITE PAINT (87–92; Pls. 7, 69)

87. Fragment of Open Bowl with Outturned Lip.
Frontispie e. Pls. 7, 69.
P 10642. Well, T 26:1. P.H. 0.054 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.24 m. Fragment of wall and lip of an open bowl with plain lip slightly outturned.
Coarse brown clay with gray core; highly polished cherry red slip int. and ext.; remains of painted decoration, probably once in matt white.
On ext. rim 3 horizontal bands; on wall groups of 10 or more narrow vertical stripes.
While somewhat brighter in color and with a more delicate profile, this fragment seems to belong with our Red Burnished bowls (19–55).

Late Neolithic.

P 26979. Well, T 26:4. Max. dim. a, rim and upper wall 0.098 m.; b, rim fragment 0.045 m.; c, wall fragment 0.025 m. Three non-joining fragments from a globular or biconical pot, the largest preserving part of low flaring rim and a considerable part of shoulder.
Gritty red clay; burnished surface with remains of painted decoration, originally in matt white (?).

Two horizontal lines below rim framing a band of S-quarks connected by tangents; parallel diagonals on wall below.
Part of a small pierced hole to r. on fragment a (mendhole?).
The curvilinear decoration suggests a connection with either the Dimini or Early Cycladic cultures. See also pp. 7, 11.

Late Neolithic.

89. Sherd from Round-bodied Pot. Pl. 7.
P 13880. Well, S 27:4. P.H. 0.057 m., P.W. 0.043 m. From wall of round-bodied closed bowl or pot.
Gritty brown clay, largely fired gray; burnished slip eggplant purple ext. only; int. black and inferior. Traces of decoration, probably in white paint.
Two horizontal bands and one diagonal.
This is the only sherd of Red Burnished ware in a purple color from the Agora.

Late Neolithic.

90. Two Sherds from Heavy Bowl. Pl. 7.
P 27012. Well, T 26:5. Max. dim.: a, 0.056 m.; b, 0.052 m. Two non-joining fragments, possibly not from same pot.
Thick gritty pinkish buff clay, gray core; red burnished slip ext. with traces of oblique parallel lines (matt white paint?); int. smoothed but not burnished.
Possibly from bowl of a fruitstand.

Late Neolithic.

91. Fragment of Open Bowl. Pl. 7.
P 26980. Well, T 26:4. Max. dim. 0.065 m. Fragment from a thick-walled open bowl, possibly a fruitstand.
Gritty light buff clay; int. and ext. covered with purplish red slip; design either traces of paint or, more likely, reserved.
On ext. three parallel diagonals with traces of perpendiculars giving a brickwork effect.
In shape and type of design this goes with 90, but the pattern seems to have been produced by reserving areas from the burnishing tool.
Cf. sherd from Arapi (Arch. Anz., 1955, cols. 185–186, fig. 1, 6) which Milojčić assigns to Arapi stage of Thessalian B and describes as Red Polished with matt lines reserved when pot was burnished.

Late Neolithic.

P 13931. Well, S 27:5. Max. dim. 0.03 m. A tiny chip from the surface of a flat-walled vessel.
Pinkish brown clay; oblique lines of white on red ground.
Stylistically this seems to go with 90 and 91, although the technique is not absolutely certain.

Late Neolithic.
NEOLITHIC PERIOD: CATALOGUE

DARK MATT PAINT ON BUFF GROUND (93–97; Pls. 7, 69)

93. Painted Sherd from Closed Pot. Frontispiece, Pl. 7.

P 18988. Well, S 27:8. P.H. 0.089 m., P.W. 0.086 m. From shoulder of a small closed pot.

Fine, gritty pinkish clay, buff slip; matt black paint ext.

Two horizontal bands at base of neck; from lower elongated triangles depend.

This seems to be standard Late Neolithic Matt-painted ware. For pattern cf. Orchomenos, II, pl. XXV, 2, and a sherd from the South Slope Hut (Levi, Abitazioni, pl. XXVII, r).

See also pp. 11, 19.

Late Neolithic (probably earlier than bulk of material).

94. Painted Sherd. Pl. 7.


Gritty pink clay; pale buff somewhat burnished ext.; dark matt paint.

A single band on ext.

Late Neolithic.

95. Fragment of Bowl with Plain Lip. Pl. 7.

P 18999. Well, T 24:2. P.H. 0.054 m., P.W. 0.038 m. From wall of large pot.

Hard gritty clay, gray at core, pinkish at surfaces; light buff slip; gray matt paint.

A band of paint at lip int. and ext.

Late Neolithic.

96. Two Painted Ware Sherds. Pl. 7.

P 14739. Well, U 24:2. Two non-joining fragments: a, P.H. 0.049 m., P.W. 0.045 m.; b, P.H. 0.042 m., P.W. 0.044 m. From wall of large pot.

Gritty coarse clay, pinkish to buff; buff slip ext. with fair polish; reddish brown paint.

Broad horizontal bands.

Late Neolithic.


P 19982. Well, S 27:3. P.H. 0.087 m., P.W. 0.046 m. Fragment preserves plain lip, flattened on top, and handle attachment of large open vessel.

Gritty pinkish clay, gray core; burnished deep buff slip int. and ext.; matt dark paint.

Painted band covers lip and extends down ca. 1 cm. on ext., only slightly on int.

This resembles some of the Neolithic sherds from the Hut on the South Slope (cf. Levi, Abitazioni, pl. XXVII, r, from superficial stratum).

Late Neolithic.

RED MATT PAINT ON GRAY

98. Painted Sherd. Pl. 7.

P 19977. Well, R 28:2. P.H. 0.041 m., P.W. 0.087 m. From shoulder (?) of a closed vase.

Gritty pinkish clay; gray burnished slip ext. with matt purple paint; int. in color of clay and lightly burnished.

Two horizontal bands.

Late Neolithic.

WHITE SLIPPED WARE (99–100; Pls. 7, 69)


P 18914. Well, T 26:3. Max. dim. 0.035 m. Fragment apparently from a small fairly high flaring foot, preserving lower edge.

Orange-brown clay, fairly fine with little grit; traces of lustrous creamy slip.

Outside decorated with incised lines at right angles, framing a panel filled with pinhole dots.

Possibly related to the incised ware of Thessalian B with bands filled with fine dots (D.S., col. 202, figs. 118–115).

See also p. 11.

Late Neolithic.

100. Sherd with Mendholes (?). Pl. 7.

P 14738. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.089 m., P.W. 0.084 m. Rim fragment from straight-walled vessel with plain flattened lip.

Brownish buff clay, gray at core; hard creamy burnished slip int. and ext.

A neat hole preserved near rim, and part of another lower down on wall (mendholes?).

For similar fabric cf. P 18980 from R 28:2. This ware is quite different from the E.H. II White Slipped and Polished (241–244); here the fabric is coarser, the slip less white and more permanent.

See also p. 11.

Late Neolithic.

FINE INCISED WARE (101–124; Pls. 8, 10, 69)

SLIPPED AND BURNISHED WITH NEAT ANGULAR INCISIONS (101–104; Pls. 8, 69)


P 14736. Well, U 26:2. P.H. 0.062 m. Rim fragment from high straight-necked or straight-walled vase, curving outward slightly at bottom.

Gritty brown clay, gray core; slipped int.; burnished red to brown slip ext. with marks of burning tool.

Four incised lines below plain lip; five oblique lines on wall.
Cf. in general the Late Neolithic incised ware from Prosymna (Prosymna, II, fig. 627).

See also p. 12.

Late Neolithic.

102. Small Fragment from Rim.

P 19981. Well, S 27:3. P.H. 0.086 m., P.W. 0.028 m.
Small fragment from plain rim of an open vessel.
Gritty brown clay, fired gray almost throughout; streaky reddish brown burnished slip inside and out.
Inscribed decoration outside: at least three oblique lines and two large dots.
In same technique as 101.
Late Neolithic.

103. Rim Fragment, Red Burnished.

P 14587. Well, U 24:8. P.H. 0.042 m., est. D. rim not less than 0.25 m. Rim fragment from large open vessel.
Heavy fabric, gritty brownish clay, gray at core; worn red burnish int. and ext.
Straight wall, rounded lip with a band of deeply incised groups of opposed diagonal lines around outer face.
Late Neolithic.

104. Rim Fragment.

P 18902. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.082 m., P.W. 0.06 m.
Rim fragment probably from a biconical jar.
Gritty brown clay, gray core; traces of a red slip, perhaps burnished.
Plain vertical rim decorated with incised chevrons and horizontal lines.
Late Neolithic.

105. Rim Fragment from Large Pot.

P 14759. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.068 m., P.W. 0.065 m.
From upper incurving wall of a large vessel with plain rounded lip.
Gritty dark brown clay; brown slip ext. only, somewhat mottled; int. rough.
Below lip ext. a single horizontal line from which depend opposed parallel diagonals making chevron pattern.
Cf. profile with Neolithic Urfirnis bowl from Orchomenos (Orchomenos, II, p. 34, fig. 32).
Late Neolithic.

106. Rim Fragment from Bowl.

P 18918. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.057 m., P.W. 0.04 m.
Fragment of plain lip and wall of open bowl.
Brown clay, largely fired gray; traces of brownish red slip int. and probably ext.
Wall decorated with diagonal incisions fading toward rim.
Late Neolithic.

107. Fragment of Coarse Jar.

P 14787. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.055 m., P.W. 0.087 m.
Fragment from a jar with convex wall and very low rounded rim.
Coarse gritty clay, dark gray throughout.
Two roughly horizontal lines below rim; oblique incisions on body, sharp and rather careless.
Late Neolithic.

108. Fragment of Basket Handle.

P 14604. Well, U 24:3. P.W. 0.043 m. Fragment from rim of vessel preserving what is apparently part of a band basket handle rising from the plain rim.
Gritty red clay, gray at core.
Deep diagonal gouges on handle and wall.
Late Neolithic.

109. Fragment from Small Open Bowl.

P 13991. "Prehistoric Region," Section OA over bedrock (pure Neolithic). P.H. 0.022 m., P.W. 0.083 m.
Rim fragment of small open vessel, preserving vertically pierced horizontal lug handle.
Gritty pinkish brown clay, gray at core; slight traces of red slip.
Incised decoration on outside: two horizontal lines below lip; herringbone below handle.
Late Neolithic.

110. Base of Bowl, once with Conical Foot.

P 26985. Well, T 26:4. Max. dim. 0.08 m., D. foot 0.055 m. Fragment preserves floor and part of wall of small bowl with traces underneath where conical foot has been broken off.
Thin gritty buff clay, fired buff inside, gray outside.
Row of sharp diagonal incisions around base-ring. Possibly from a fruitstand.
Late Neolithic.

111. Branching Strut from Handle of Scoop.

P 26982. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.07 m. Broken at both ends; lower end roughly circular; upper end separates into three branches.
Gritty gray clay; pinkest buff slip.
Broad vertical grooves, branching at top. Lower part of diamond cutout at top.
This curious fragment, with a finished edge at l. and a curving finished edge two-thirds of the way up at r., broken above, must surely come from the upper part of a strut, where it branches and turns back sharply to form part of a broad ribbon handle, as on the scoop from Sesklo (D.S., pl. 16, 3; here Pl. 8).
Cf. also the complete handle from Kephala, Keos (Hesperia, XXXI, 1962, pl. 92, f) as well as the complete scoop (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 46, e-f) and numerous other fragments.

See also pp. 12–13, 19.

Late Neolithic.

112. Strut from Handle of Scoop. Pl. 8.
P 14769. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.072 m. Broken at both ends and therefore more likely a strut than the leg of a pot.

Coarse gritty clay, mostly gray-brown at surface; traces of red slip.

The outside face decorated with broad incised grooves running obliquely and terminating at top in a kind of plothook spiral or meandroid pattern.

Such meandroid patterns, but in a sharper incision with white filling, are characteristic of the Sesklo scoop. A broad grooved type of incision with spiraliform patterns occurs in Central Greece (Schiste Odos: 'Ep. 'Apx., 1908, cols. 63–96, pl. β, 21–22).

Late Neolithic.

113. Fragment of Strut (?) from Scoop. Pl. 8.
P 27244. Well, U 24:2, bottom fill. P.H. 0.031 m.

Small fragment broken at both ends and chipped along one side.

Gritty buff clay, gray core; abundant traces of red slip.

Neat incised decoration of oblique lines and squares ext. face only.

Four additional fragments in same container.

Late Neolithic.

114. Strut from Handle of Scoop. Pl. 8.
P 27017. Well, U 26:5. P.H. 0.04 m., D. 0.014 m.

Strut, almost circular in section, broken at both ends, apparently from scoop.

Hard, slightly gritty buff clay; traces of red slip.

Two blunt diagonal grooves run up outside of fragment.

Late Neolithic.

115. Fragment of Strut (?). Pl. 8.
P 26988. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.04 m., max. D. 0.024 m.

Broken at both ends.

Gritty gray clay; traces of red slip.

Although having a diameter somewhat greater than the other struts, this fragment is finished in the same way with diagonal incisions on the front face only.

Late Neolithic.

116. Fragment from Top of Broad Handle of Scoop. Pl. 8.
P 13924. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.031 m., P.W. 0.05 m.

A curving fragment broken at top, at l. and at bottom; finished edges at r. and l. near bottom.

Pink clay, gray at core; incised lines: diagonals framed by two parallel lines at r., on ext.

Until it was realized that scoops were present in our material, this fragment defied identification. It is now clearly recognizable as one side of a broad band handle where it bends to subdivide into two struts (the beginning of the strut is at the bottom r., the arched opening at the bottom l.).

Cf. the Sesklo scoop and the handle from Kephala (above, 111).

See also p. 12, note 64.

Late Neolithic.

117. Fragment from Bowl of Scoop. Pl. 8.
P 27246. Well, T 26:3, upper fill. P.L. 0.054 m.

Fragment broken at all sides with exception of small finished edge at r.; from upper part of bowl of scoop with attachment for one of handle struts.

Gritty buff clay; traces of red slip.

Two deep incised grooves parallel to rim; diagonal incisions at base of strut.

This fragment is of the same high quality as 111, 116, and 121, all of which could conceivably have come from the same scoop.

Late Neolithic.

118. Fragment of Rim of Scoop Bowl (?). Pl. 8.
P 13940. Well, U 25:1. P.H. 0.023 m., P.W.

Plain rim fragment from a thick-walled pot, possibly bowl of scoop.

Gritty clay, pink at surface, gray core; traces of red slip.

Incised decoration of broad shallow grooves: horizontal band parallel to rim and two curving lines.

Late Neolithic.

119. Small Fragment from Rim or Handle of Scoop. Pl. 8.
P 26984. Well, T 26:4. Max. L. 0.04 m.

Fragment broken on three sides, preserving one finished edge and slight curvature.

Buff clay; traces of red slip.

Broad grooved incision of diagonal lines with two verticals parallel to edge.

It is difficult to decide whether this comes from the rim of a scoop or from one edge of the broad band handle.

Late Neolithic.

120. Fragment from Rear of Scoop Bowl. Pl. 8.
P 27243. Well, U 24:2, upper fill. P.H. 0.057 m., P.D. 0.062 m. Fragment preserves back of scoop bowl with lower attachment of a broad ribbon handle.

Gritty buff clay, gray core; no traces of slip.

Two rough incised lines at base of handle and lower part of a diamond cutout.
This is coarser in technique and smaller in scale than our best group of fragments (111, 116, 117, 121).

Late Neolithic.

121. Fragment of Band Handle from Scoop. Pl. 8.
P 25860. Well, T 26:6. P.H. 0.027 m., P.W. 0.045 m.
Fragment broken all around except at left, preserving the bottom and left side of a broad ribbon handle, probably from a scoop.

Gritty gray clay; no traces of slip.

Note the lower l. side of a diamond cutout preserved at upper r. This makes the ascription to a scoop almost certain. In decoration this fragment is very close to the handle of the Sesklo scoop (Pl. 8).

Late Neolithic.

122. Fragment of Band Handle (?). Pls. 8, 69.
P 13923. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.038 m., P.W. 0.03 m.
Fragment broken at both ends and along right side from which two attachments have been broken away.

Brown clay, gray core; traces of red slip.

The back is quite rough, the face decorated with a pattern of neat incised lines: groups of opposed diagonals framed by two parallel lines on either side.

The sherd widens slightly toward the top, and although little curvature is preserved, it suggests the possibility that it is one-half of a broad band handle broken in the middle at the line of the openwork design. The design is very similar to that of the handle of the Sesklo scoop (Pl. 8).

Late Neolithic.

123. Fragment of Flaring Foot(?), perhaps from Scoop. Pl. 8.
P 14761. Well, U 24:2, upper fill. P.H. 0.048 m., est. D. ca. 0.07 m. Fragment preserves the full height of a high flaring base (?) without any sign of the bowl.

Coarse gritty brown clay, largely fired black; no traces of slip.

Incised decoration of parallel chevrons and diagonals.

Since this is higher than the usual scoop base and no part of the floor of the bowl is preserved, it should conceivably be turned the other way and considered the flaring rim of a pot.

Late Neolithic.

P 13922. Well, T 26:3, upper fill. Max. dim. 0.05 m.
One projecting end preserved (bottom), the other two broken.

Gritty pink clay, gray core; traces of red slip.

Blunt grooved incisions run spirally around object.

Although certainly not from a scoop (possibly from a terracotta figurine), this fragment both in technique and in type of incision seems related to the scoop fragments of the better class.

Late Neolithic.

FINE UNDECORATED WARE (125–129; Pls. 9, 69)

P 10852. Well, T 26:3. H. 0.07 m., D. 0.073 m. Intact.

Orange-buff clay; considerable remains of red slip, but no traces of burnishing.

Small pot with round body; fairly high foot, concave below; wide mouth with low vertical rim and plain lip; two small horizontally pierced lugs high on shoulder. A well made miniature, as if intended for a child.

Technically this is similar to 46, which is larger and has a slipped int. and which we have classified with the Red Burnished bowls.

This pot may perhaps be considered the final stage of the Red Burnished biconical jar in the Late Neolithic period. Cf. the pot from Palaiokokkinia (Προκοκκινια, 1951, p. 104, figs. 12–13) which is twice as large as ours and should perhaps be restored with a foot.

See also p. 13.

Late Neolithic.

126. Small Grooved Handle. Pls. 9, 69.
P 14749. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.031 m., P.W. 0.018 m.

Handle broken from small straight-sided pot.

Brown clay, mostly fired gray; traces of red slip int. and ext.

Handle attached at rim and neatly grooved vertically.

In fabric rather similar to 112 (also from U 24:2) which we have suggested was the strut of a scoop.

Late Neolithic.

P 13998. Well, S 27:5. P.L. 0.038 m. Stump of thick handle and about one-third of shallow bowl preserved.

Fairly fine brown clay, gray core; traces of red slip.

Fire-blackened below.

A larger terracotta spoon was found at Sesklo (D.S., col. 348, fig. 285), and they are fairly common in the earliest Early Helladic stratum at Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 86, fig. 106, 1–4) and at Lerna in a level antedating the House of the Tiles (Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pl. 23, c). They occur both with a loop handle or with a short solid handle as in our example.

They are also known from Troy (Samml. Troj. Allert., nos. 8896–8849) which may represent the region from which this more sophisticated shape entered at the transition to the Bronze Age.

Late Neolithic to Early Helladic?
128. Horn-like Ear, Lug, or Foot. Pls. 9, 69.  
P 14781. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.045 m., P.W. 0.025 m.  
Fragment preserving high narrow horn-like object broken from rim (?) or foot (?) of pot.  
Gritty pinkish buff clay; white slip and perhaps traces of paint.  
Nicely profiled with moulded vertical ridges giving a somewhat metallic effect.  
It is difficult to decide whether this should be restored as a horned lug at the rim of an open pot or as the foot of a small pot or pyxis, of which, however, there is no trace of the floor.  
Late Neolithic.

129. Small Fragment of Handle or Lug (?). Pl. 9.  
P 27001. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.03 m.  
Top of fragment with scalloped edge preserved intact; broken at bottom, at l. and possibly at r.  
Very fine buff clay with gray core.  
Alternatively this fragment may be from the rim of a fairly straight-walled bowl with an oblique rib ending in a scallop as in the Red Burnished bowl 33.  
Late Neolithic.

COARSE WARE: DECORATED (130–170; Pls. 9–11, 69)  
FRAGMENTS WITH BANDS OF INCISED DECORATION (130–138; Pls. 9, 69)

130. Sherd from Wall of Heavy Pot. Pl. 9.  
P 18876. Well, T 26:1. P.H. 0.058 m., P.W. 0.045 m.  
Sherd from wall of vase with very slight curvature, preserving no finished edge.  
Clay brown to buff at surfaces, partly fired gray; traces of red slip int.  
Decorated ext. with opposed groups of diagonal lines carefully incised.  
The decoration resembles that on the raised bands of 132 and 133, which probably come from pithoi.  
Cf. in general the type of incision on a jar fragment from Kephala (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 47, a), where the design is less neat, owing perhaps to the coarser and more micaceous clay.  
See also p. 14.  
Late Neolithic.

P 14606. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.075 m., P.W. 0.048 m.  
Wall fragment from heavy vase, preserving no finished edge.  
Gritty gray clay; surface light pinkish buff inside, outside considerably blackened; some slip or surfacing.  
Wall decorated by a horizontal band of incised hatched alternating triangles, framed by horizontal lines.  
Late Neolithic.

P 18920. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.10 m., P.W. 0.025 m.  
From wall of large vessel, perhaps a pithos; no finished edge.  
Soft clay, brownish buff at surfaces, gray at core; unalipped.  
Around body a broad raised band with a very neat incised pattern of opposed diagonal lines, creating alternate hatched triangles.  
Cf. P 14605 from U 24:3 for a similar fragment with a raised band with less neat incision.  
The same scheme in a more elaborate context is applied to a pithos from Troy II (Troy, I, fig. 411, 137.998, 137.999), which must be considerably later than our examples.  
See also p. 14.  
Late Neolithic.

133. Rim Fragment from Large Open Pot. Pls. 9, 69.  
P 25857. Well, T 26:5. P.H. 0.053 m., P.W. 0.066 m.  
Rim fragment from a large open pot or pithos.  
Clay dark gray at core, light brown at surface; traces of red int.  
Plain rim with raised band having incised decoration on ext.: opposed groups of diagonals framed by two horizontal lines just below rim.  
Cf. with a coarse ware sherd from Orchomenos (Orchomenos, II, pl. IX, 4). The same pattern, but with deep excisions, occurs on a sherd from the Cave of Pan near Marathon (Naissance, II, fig. 837).  
Late Neolithic.

134. Rim Fragment from Coarse Pot. Pl. 9.  
P 14758. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.072 m., P.W. 0.058 m.  
From wall of large vessel with plain rounded lip.  
Coarse gritty clay, brown to gray; unpolished brownish slip ext.  
Below lip ext. a band of horizontal and oblique incisions done with a blunt instrument, making a pattern of opposed hatched triangles as in 132 and 133.  
This pot was almost straight-walled and had an est. D. of at least 0.30 m.  
Late Neolithic.

P 19921. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.076 m., P.W. 0.084 m.  
Fragment from wall of a large vessel, preserving no finished edge.  
Gritty brown clay; no slip; somewhat blackened int.  
Decoration consists of a broad band of rounded grooves done with a blunt instrument. Similar to 134, but broader incisions.  
Late Neolithic.
136. Fragment of a Coarse Pot with Handle. Pl. 9. P 14787. Misc. find from Section OA. P.H. 0.117 m., P.W. 0.142 m. Fragment from wall of a large closed pot or pithos with vertical ribbon handle. Brown coarse clay with much white grit; no slip. At level of handle attachment, a raised horizontal band with carelessly incised chevrons; traces of another raised band at right angles running upwards (?). This is apparently an inferior version of the pithoi with raised bands with neater and more elaborate incision (cf. 132 and 133). A similar type of careless incision is found at Sesklo in the G 2 ware (D.S., col. 250, fig. 161).

For the shape cf. the pithoi from Kephala (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 46, h, i).
Late Neolithic.

137. Fragment of a Coarse Pot with Handle. Pls. 9, 69. P 14608. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.11 m., P.W. 0.105m. Wall fragment from a large coarse pot with vertical strap handle. Heavy gray clay with brownish surfaces. Extending upward from handle attachment a broad slightly raised band decorated with heavily gouged herringbones; at level of upper handle attachment a rounded plastic band with diagonal incisions. Cf. a similar pithos from Sesklo (D.S., col. 280, fig. 222), and in general the pithoi from Kephala (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 46, h, i).
Late Neolithic.

138. Rim Fragment from Coarse Pot. Pl. 9. P 26998. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.08 m., P.W. 0.065 m. Rim fragment from an almost straight-walled pot with small ribbon handle set below rim. Coarse grayish brown clay; no slip. Diagonal scratchy incisions on rim, framed by two horizontals; diagonal incisions below handle. Traces of a pierced hole (mendhole?) at lower l. Late Neolithic.

139. Rim Fragment of Coarse Bowl. Pls. 10, 69. P 14602. Well, U 24:3. P.W. 0.049 m., est. D. rim not less than 0.22 m. Fragment from wall and rim of carinated bowl. Gritty gray to brown clay; smoothed int. and ext. Mock rolled rim; wall thickened at carination. On rim and at shoulder angle a series of short deep vertical strokes. The resemblance in shape and in the nicking of the rim to the much finer Gray ware bowls from Corinth may be fortuitous, as they must be considerably earlier (cf. Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 510, figs. 26 c, 27 a, d).
Late Neolithic.

140. Rim Fragment of Coarse Bowl. Pls. 10, 69. P 27015. Well, U 26:5. P.H. 0.043 m., P.W. 0.09 m. Fragment preserves rim and part of shoulder of a low bowl with rounded shoulder and contracted rim. Gritty gray clay with mica. Slightly rolled rim. Row of oblique incised dashes on shoulder. Late Neolithic.

141. Fragment from Shoulder of Closed Pot. Pls. 10, 69. P 19919. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.039 m., P.W. 0.051 m. Fragment from shoulder of a shallow bowl with strongly contracted rim (not preserved). Gritty gray brown clay with some mica. Two oblique bands of short vertical incised strokes. In shape this must have been more pyxoid than 140. Late Neolithic.

142. Rim Fragment from Straight-walled Pot. Pl. 10. P 14762. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.041 m., P.W. 0.041 m. Rim fragment from a large pot with straight wall and slightly flattened rim. Gritty dark brown clay with some mica. Two oblique bands of short incised strokes below rim. Late Neolithic.

143. Rim Fragment from Straight-walled Pot. Pl. 10. P 26994. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.054 m., P.W. 0.055 m. Rim fragment from large coarse pot. Thick gritty buff clay with gray core; slip on exterior. Incised decoration: two rows of oblique dashes below rim; opposed diagonal lines below, neatly incised. Cf. a somewhat similar coarse ware sherd from Soteriades' excavations in Phokis ('Ep. 'Apx., 1908, cols. 91-92, pl. β, 17, from Chaironeia or Elateia). Late Neolithic.

144. Rim Fragment from Heavy Pot. Pl. 10. P 27000. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.05 m., P.W. 0.065 m. Rim fragment from heavy pithos with slightly incurving wall and rolled rim. Coarse gritty micaceous clay, gray to brown. Two vertical rows of impressed dots below rim. Cf. the similar use of vertical rows of impressed dots on a jar from Troy II (Troy, I, pp. 284-285, fig. 408, 36.849). Since the pattern is a simple one and the gray and black polished ware "hardly dis-
distinguishable from the wares of Troy I" (ibid., p. 284) the chronological implications of this comparison are not disturbing.

Late Neolithic.


Gritty brown clay with gray core; brown slip on ext.

On rim low relief band with thumb impressions (which connect with 158–170); at base of fragment a horizontal row of neat triangular impressions, relating it to 146. The impressions apparently made with the end of a cut stick.

Cf. the circular and diamond-shaped impressions on coarse ware from Troy I (Troy, I, figs. 242, 12; 248, 1).

Late Neolithic.


Brick red coarse clay.

Broad shallow incised line and three rows of triangular impressions, staggered. Impressions apparently made with the end of a cut stick as on 145.

Cf. the circular and diamond-shaped impressions on coarse ware from Troy I (Troy, I, figs. 242, 12; 248, 1).

Late Neolithic.


Coarse clay, pinkish buff ext., gray int.

Parts of three rows of thumbnail impressions preserved. Clear evidence that clay was impressed by potter's thumbnail while still wet and pushed up somewhat between impressions.

Although nail impressions were used in the pre-Sesklo period at Argissa and Otzaki in a special class of Barbotine or Cardium-impressed ware (Arch. Anz., 1954, cols. 19–20, figs. 19–20), our fragment is more closely related to the Neolithic coarse ware from Asea (Asea, p. 58, fig. 61, n).

Late Neolithic.


Gritty buff to gray clay with a stone-like feel.

Around the outer face, a band of small round holes punched in a slightly raised band.

Cf. the raised bands with impressed circles on Thessalian B pithoi (D.S., cols. 230ff., figs. 124, 126, 127, 129).

Late Neolithic.

FRAGMENTS WITH PLAIN RELIEF DECORATION (149–157; Pl. 10)

149. Fragment from Wall of Heavy Pot. Pl 10. P 13877. Well, T 26:1. P.H. 0.088 m., P.W. 0.085 m. Fragment from wall of large heavy vase, no finished edge.

Coarse clay, pinkish to gray; possibly slipped on ext.

Relief decoration consisting of linear pattern of pinched-out ridges: an inverted triangle with apex resting on a horizontal.

Cf. a similar fragment from the Cave of Pan near Marathon (Naissance, II, fig. 84). Also cf. the Neolithic Coarse Ware from Asea (Asea, p. 57, fig. 60, a).

Late Neolithic.

150. Fragment from Wall of Heavy Pot. Pl. 10. P 27008. Well, T 26:4. Max. dim. 0.08 m. Fragment from wall of large heavy vase, no finished edge.

Hard gritty gray brown clay; int. and ext. surfaces smoothed.

Exterior decorated by two relief bands, less angular in section than on 149, which cross to form an X. Neatly bored hole almost at crossing.

Cf. a similar Neolithic sherd from Ayios Strategos, Lakonia (B.S.A., LV, 1960, pl. 19, a, 8).

Late Neolithic.

151. Fragment from Wall of Pithos. Pl. 10. P 13932. Well, S 27:5. P.H. 0.046 m., P.W. 0.082 m. Fragment from wall of heavy vase, probably a pithos.

Orange-buff clay, gray at core; orange-red slip outside.

Decorated on exterior with a horizontal ridge in high relief and two parallel diagonal ridges in lower relief.

Late Neolithic.

152. Rim Fragment from Large Pot. Pl. 10. P 14786. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.047 m., P.W. 0.046 m. Rim fragment from a large jar with low rounded rim.

Fairly fine, gritty brick red clay. Thinner walls than usual in coarse ware.

A sharp vertical rib on wall, ending just below rim.

Late Neolithic.

153. Wall Fragment from Pithos. Pl. 10. P 14768. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.065 m., P.W. 0.061 m. Fragment from wall of pithos.

Gritty dark brown clay, gray at core.

Elaborate pattern of moulded ridges: spiral, vertical, and one diagonal band.

Apparently part of an elaborate spiraliform composition, this fragment is unique among the Agora
material. However, such spirals are found elsewhere in Late Neolithic Coarse ware; cf. a sherd from the Cave of Pan near Marathon (Naissance, II, fig. 885); a Late Neolithic sherd from the East Yerogalaro Ridge at Prosymna (Prosýmna, II, fig. 626, 9); and a pithos fragment from Zerelia in F 3 ware (P.T., p. 156, fig. 101, b). Also, from the middle period of Troy I (Troy, I, fig. 247, 1).

Late Neolithic.

154. Wall Fragment with Vertical Handle.  Pl. 10.  
P 14769. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.123 m., P.W. 0.085 m.  
Fragment from a pithos with straight wall and vertical ribbon handle, rim not preserved.  
Coarse gritty brown clay, gray at core; well smoothed inside.  
From upper and lower attachments of handle plastic ridges run into wall, both horizontally and obliquely.  
Late Neolithic.

155. Wall Fragment from Pithos.  Pl. 10.  
P 27018. Well, U 26:5. Max. dim. 0.055 m. Wall fragment of pithos, no finished edge preserved.  
Coarse gritty buff clay, smoothed int.  
Relief pattern of parallel and opposed diagonal ridges, sharply pinched up.  
Cf. a similar decoration on pithos fragments from Sesklo (D.S., col. 233, fig. 130 = Naissance, II, fig. 479).  
Late Neolithic.

156. Wall Fragment from Pithos.  Pl. 10.  
P 27014. Well, U 26:2. P.H. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.075 m.  
Wall fragment of pithos, no finished edge preserved.  
Coarse gritty buff clay, fairly well smoothed inside.  
Relief pattern consisting of one horizontal and five vertical ridges, triangular in section.  
Cf. 155. The arrangement of ridges here is even closer to the Sesklo example.  
Late Neolithic.

P 26999. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.045 m., P.W. 0.042 m.  
Rim fragment from coarse pot, smaller and thinner-walled than pithos.  
Hard gritty gray-brown clay, fired black inside.  
Relief decoration consists of at least two rows of knobs formed by impressing wet clay from back with a round implement. In at least two cases tool has pierced through, forming holes.  
For a similar technique cf. the much finer Middle Neolithic stand from Lerna (Hesperia, XXVII, 1958, p. 188, pl. 38, e–f), where the knobs are smaller and arranged to form a pattern.  
Late Neolithic.

158. Rim Fragment from Carinated Bowl.  Pls. 11, 69.  
P 25865. Well, U 26:5. P.H. 0.042 m., P.W. 0.05 m.  
Rim fragment from a small pot with sharply curved wall and thickened lip.  
Gritty reddish brown clay, gray core, with some mica; surfacing ext.  
On ext. two diagonal plastic bands with neat horizontal slashes.  
Similar in shape to 139 (with short stroke incisions). This is finer than most of the fragments with rope-work bands.  
Late Neolithic.

159. Rim Fragment from Heavy Pot.  Pl. 11.  
P 26998. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.083 m., P.L. 0.055 m.  
Fragment preserves part of slightly rolled rim and straight wall from a fair-sized pot.  
Hard brownish clay with grit, gray core.  
From rim depends a small oblique plastic band with neat diagonal slashings.  
Cf. P 14609 from U 24:3 for similar band.  
Cf. also the Thessalian example (D.S., col. 281, fig. 219).  
Late Neolithic.

160. Rim Fragment from Small Pithos, Vertical Handle.  Pl. 11.  
P 27007. Well, T 26:5. P.H. 0.135 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.25 m. Fragment preserves part of rim, curving wall and vertical strap handle from small pithos.  
Gritty red-buff clay, gray core.  
A plastic band with small slash impressions runs obliquely downward from upper handle attachment.  
The best parallels for our pithos fragments are now furnished by the graves at Kephala, Keos, where two types, one with a collared neck, the other with a wide plain rim (as on 160–165) occur (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 46 h, i). Both vertical loop handles, as here, and horizontal unpierced lugs, as on 161–163, are found; also plastic bands with thumbmarks occur. At least one of these was used as a burial jar (Kph. 7 = Hesperia, op. cit., pl. 46, i). See also pp. 14–15.  
Late Neolithic.

161. Rim Fragment from Pithos.  Pl. 11.  
P 13938. Well, S 27:5. P.H. 0.082 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.32 m. Two joining fragments from a large open pot, probably a pithos, with small rolled rim.  
Very gritty purplish red clay, thick gray core.  
A plastic band with a row of thumb impressions runs obliquely upwards to end in an unpierced horizontal lug set a little below rim.  
Late Neolithic.
162. Rim Fragment from Pithos with Lug. Pl. 11.
P 14765. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.084 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.043 m. Rim fragment from a large open vessel with straight wall and plain lip.
Coarse gritty dark brown clay, gray at core, with much sand and mica.
Just below lip an unpierced horizontal lug, from which depend oblique ridges. Edge of lug and ridges decorated with circular impressions.
Cf. P 13887 from S 27:4, which has a curving plastic band with broader gouges.
Cf. also the Coarse ware sherd from Asea (Asea, p. 58, fig. 61, d).
Late Neolithic.

163. Rim Fragment from Pithos. Pl. 11.
P 13917. Well, T26:3. P.H. 0.054 m., P.W. 0.055 m. Rim fragment from upper wall of a large open vessel with plain rim.
Very gritty purplish brown clay with sand and mica; unslipped.
Close beneath rim an inverted U-shaped lug, its legs decorated with circular impressions.
Late Neolithic.

164. Rim Fragment from Open Pithos. Pl. 11.
P 27020. Well, T26:6. P.H. 0.065 m., P.W. 0.098 m. Fragment preserves part of slightly flaring rim of large open pot.
Gritty grayish buff clay; smoothed int. and ext. From rim depend two almost vertical plastic bands with small nicked impressions.
Cf. fragments of Thessalian G ware pithoi (D.S., col. 281, figs. 219–220). Cf. also a fragment from the Grotto on the South Slope (Levi, Abitazioni, p. 474, fig. 55, d), which is considered Eneolithic.
Late Neolithic.

165. Rim Fragment from Open Pithos. Pl. 11.
P 25861. Well, T26:6. P.H. 0.061 m., P.W. 0.076 m. Fragment from rim of large open pot.
Coarse gritty tan clay.
On ext. plastic rope-like ridges, both vertical and horizontal, those at r. decorated with small nicked impressions.
Cf. also a Coarse ware sherd from Asea (Asea, p. 58, fig. 61, e).
Late Neolithic.

166. Wall Fragment from Pithos. Pl. 11.
P 18989. Well, S 28:1. P.H. 0.162 m., P.W. 0.175 m. One large fragment, mended from many, preserves part of the wall of a large heavy pot.
Coarse gritty clay, red-brown to gray, with some mica; the inside rough and much worn.
Fragment preserves the ends of two vertical ridges with thumb impressions, terminating just below the shoulder.
Late Neolithic.

167. Small Wall Fragment from Pithos. Pl. 11.
P 14607. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.09 m., P.W. 0.087 m. Wall fragment from a coarse heavy pot, no finished edge preserved.
Extremely gritty brownish gray clay.
Outside decorated with a plastic band, turning at a right angle, and decorated with small impressed dots or thumb impressions.
Cf. P 14608, also from U 24:3, which is decorated with a similar plastic band.
Late Neolithic.

168. Small Wall Fragment. Pl. 11.
P 14767. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.066 m., P.W. 0.06 m. Small fragment from wall of a large coarse pot.
Coarse gritty pinkish buff clay, gray inside; buff surfacing outside.
Outside preserves plastic ridge with careful row of thumb impressions. In this example they seem actually to have been produced by the thumb, pushed from right to left.
Cf. a similar fragment from Ayios Strategos, Lakonia (B.S.A., LV, 1960, pl. 19, a, 1).
Late Neolithic.

169. Small Wall Fragment. Pl. 11.
P 18986. Well, S 27:4. P.H. 0.066 m., P.W. 0.068 m. Fragment from wall of large open vase.
Gritty clay, dark brown to gray; perhaps some grayish brown slip or surfacing outside.
Outside decorated with three parallel plastic ridges with small circular impressions.
Cf. Neolithic Coarse ware with similar decoration from Ayios Strategos (B.S.A., LV, 1960, pl. 19, a, 7), Asea (Asea, p. 58, fig. 61, a), and Sesklo (D.S., col. 232, fig. 129).
Late Neolithic.

170. Small Wall Fragment. Pl. 11.
P 14764. Well, U24:2. P.H. 0.068 m., P.W. 0.112 m. Fragment from wall of large open pot.
Coarse gritty brownish buff clay, gray at core. Outside decorated with low vertical and diagonal ridges, notched with long thin incisions, sharp and extending beyond ridge in some cases.
Cf. a similar treatment on a sherd from Ayios Strategos, Lakonia (B.S.A., LV, 1960, pl. 19, a, 5).
Late Neolithic.
COARSE WARE: PLAIN (171–218; Pls. 12–13, 69)

WIDE-MOUTHED BOWLS OR COOKING POTS (171–174; Pl. 12)

   P 10849. Well, S27:4. H.0.115 m., D. lip 0.145 m.
   Complete except for small chips.
   Open pot with flat bottom, wide mouth with low
   thickened lip. Two small band handles, hardly more
   than bored vertical lugs, from lip to shoulder.
   Coarse clay, gray to brick red, full of white bits
   and pebbles; some slip or finishing on ext.; unevenly
   fired producing a distinctly mottled effect.
   Cf. P 13900 from T 26:3, a fragment of a similar
   rim and handle from a finer wide-mouthed bowl with
   traces of red burnished slip.
   See in general the round-bodied deep bowls with
   thick walls and slightly concave bottoms, “with ver-
   tical ribbon handles, often rudimentary, or lugs” from
   Tsangli assigned to r 3 by Wace (P.T., p. 112, fig. 59,
   a–b).
   Late Neolithic.

   P 14549. Well, T 24:4. H. 0.12 m., D. 0.16 m. Part
   of rim and small piece of wall and of floor missing.
   Open pot with small flat bottom, plain rim and
   small vertical band handles from rim to shoulder.
   Coarse clay with much extremely coarse grit
   (quartz?); unslipped; fired mostly black throughout
   with some brown patches. Much coarser fabric and
   less well made than 171, although close in shape and
   size.
   Late Neolithic.

173. Fragmentary Cooking Pot. Pl. 12 (base only).
   P 27026. Well, T26:5. Est. D. base 0.12 m., P.H.
   0.28 m. Three large non-joining fragments, made up of
   many pieces, from a wide globular pot with flat base;
   rim and handles not preserved.
   Gritty gray-buff clay, fired red on interior, mottled
   gray to red on exterior.
   In shape probably similar to 171 and 172, but sev-
   eral times larger, and more suitable in size for cook-
   ing pot.
   Late Neolithic.

   P 25862. Well, T26:6. P.H.0.065 m., P.W.0.079 m.
   Fragment preserves rim and part of wall of coarse
   closed pot.
   Plain vertical rim. Horizontal lug handle pierced
   vertically; knob to left of handle pierced horizontally.
   Gritty brown clay with white bits, gray at core;
   no slip or surfacing.
   Late Neolithic.

SHALLOW BOWLS (175–178; Pls. 12, 69)

175. Fragment from Rim and Upper Wall. Pls. 12, 69.
   P 13891. Well, S27:4. P.H.0.051 m., P.W.0.058 m.
   Fragment preserves rim and upper wall of a shallow
   bowl with a low nearly vertical rim, slightly incurved;
   rounded shoulder.
   Gritty clay, brown to gray; brownish slip (?) on ext.
   Late Neolithic.

176. Rim Fragment from Carinated Bowl Pls. 12, 69.
   P 14598. Well, U 24:3. P.W. 0.08 m., D. rim not
   less than 0.31 m. Fragment preserves part of steep
   wall and short shoulder with sharp angle.
   Gritty gray clay, some surfacing, fired black inside.
   Sharp angle of wall is false carination, but this is
   more pronounced than in Red Burnished example 44.
   Bowls with a similar profile are found earlier at the
   end of the Middle Neolithic period in both Gray ware
   and Urfinnis at Corinth (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 510,
   fig. 26, d, p. 508, fig. 14, a).
   Late Neolithic.

177. Rim Fragment from Bowl. Pl. 12.
   P 14597. Well, U 24:3. P.W. 0.089 m., est. D. rim
   ca. 0.27 m. Rim fragment from bowl with rounded
   shoulder topped by small rolled rim.
   Gritty clay; with brick red surfaces int. and
   ext., not slipped.
   A small knob on the shoulder at the curve.
   Late Neolithic.

   P 13929. Well, S 27:5. H. 0.024 m., D. rim
   0.06 m. A small crudely made bowl with plain rim and hint
   of foot-ring. Chipped but otherwise intact.
   Brown gritty clay; with brick red surfaces int. and
   ext., not slipped.
   Cf. similar crude shallow bowls from a Neolithic
   house at Katsaba, Crete (B.C.H., LXXIX, 1955,
   p. 295, fig. 4), which should, however, be somewhat
   earlier (Middle Neolithic).
   Late Neolithic.

BASES WITH MAT OR STRAW IMPRESSIONS (179–182; Pl. 12)

179. Fragmentary Base from Coarse Pot. Pl. 12.
   P 18992. Misc. find, Section OA, “Prehistoric
   Region.” P.H. 0.048 m., est. D. base ca. 0.13 m. Two
   joining fragments from flat base of large coarse pot
   with flaring walls.
   Gritty putty brown clay with quartz, gray at core
   and blackened by fire.
   The edge of the pot preserves marks which closely
   resemble mat impressions, but the base itself, although
   not concave, is smooth.
The later Early Cycladic mat impressions from Phylakopi (Phylakopi, pl. VI) are much more elaborate, but simpler ones have now been found from Kephala (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 46, g).

If our vase were fashioned on a mat, it is not quite clear why the flat base itself preserves no trace of impressions.

Latest Neolithic.

180. Two Fragments of Base with Straw Impressions. Pl. 12.

P 27005. Well, T 26:4. a, Max. dim. 0.055 m., b, Max. dim. 0.063 m. Two small fragments of bases with groups of irregular impressions; possibly not from the same pot.

Gritty buff clay, soft with gray core.

The impressions do not seem regular or deep enough to have been made by a mat (as on 179). They are probably straw impressions, as on bases from Sotira, Cyprus (Sotira, pl. 85, 631 v, 514 y, 756 p, 501 i) or on a fragment of a baking pan from the Neolithic Hut on the South Slope (Levi, Abitazioni, p. 435, fig. 22, c). Possibly they were tempered with chaff.

Late Neolithic.

181. Fragment of Base with Straw Impressions. Pl. 12.

P 27019. Well, U 26:5. Max. dim. 0.068 m. Flat fragment presumably from floor of coarse pot, one side smoothed, other with irregular impressions.

Gritty buff clay, smoothed brown surface inside.

These are probably straw impressions as on 180.

Late Neolithic.

182. Fragment of Base with Impressions. Pl. 12.

P 27004. Well, T 26:4. Max. dim. 0.048 m. Small fragment of base (?) from coarse pot.

Gritty brownish clay with gray core.

On one side remains of red slip; on other groups of five or six parallel strokes, as if produced by brush in wet clay or perhaps the marks of the burnishing tool.

Cf. Zygouries, p. 117, fig. 109, 7.

This is apparently different from 180–181.

Late Neolithic.

FRAGMENTS OF PITHOI AND BAKING PANS (183–188; Pls. 12, 69)

183. Rim Fragment from Pithos with Graffito. Pl. 12.

P 25863. Well, T 26:6. P.H. 0.093 m., P.W. 0.14 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.25 m. Two joining fragments preserve plain rim with long horizontal lug just below it.

Buff clay with mica, light gray at core.

To r. of lug four verticals deliberately scratched before firing, possibly a numeral.

Similar pot-marks occur on the later pottery from Phylakopi (Phylakopi, pp. 177–180). Our sign is the four vertical strokes of A 6 on the table of signs (p. 179). Since this is such an obvious sign, it seems hardly necessary to make a connection. However, the use of a sign or numeral should connote a fairly advanced period and may suggest Cycladic influence.

Late Neolithic.

184. Rim Fragment with Bored Hole. Pl. 12.

P 14777. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.088 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.26 m. Fragment from vertical rim of a large pot.

Gritty pinkish brown clay, gray at core; roughly slipped inside and out in pale orange-buff.

A neatly bored stringhole at base of rim.

Late Neolithic.


P 26997. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.006 m., P.W. 0.006 m. Rim fragment from large almost straight-walled vessel with little curvature at rim.

Coarse gritty clay with large grits, brown to gray, the surface very rough and striated.

Three almost evenly spaced perforations below rim.

This, as perhaps 184, probably comes from a baking pan. Cf. Holmberg's discussion of the examples from Asea (Asea, pp. 55 f., figs. 57, c, 58). Although often considered typical of Early Helladic (Korakou, p. 13, fig. 15; Zygouries, p. 117; Eutresis, pp. 106 ff., fig. 141; Tiryns, IV, p. 63, figs. 48–49), they seem also to occur already at the end of the Neolithic.

Cf. also the row of bored holes below the rim of Coarse ware from Orchomenos (Orchomenos, II, pl. XII, 1, a, d).

See also p. 15.

Late Neolithic.


P 26992. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.065 m., P.W. 0.088 m. Fragment preserves part of rim and upper wall of large straight-sided pot with a horizontal lug below rim, apparently on inside.

Coarse reddish brown clay, gray core; striated surface rather similar to 185.

Unless vase was very badly warped the double-scalloped lug was placed inside and apparently served as a flange for cover.

Three closely set perforations below rim.

Cf. Holmberg's reconstruction of a Neolithic baking pan oven from Asea (Asea, pp. 55–56, fig. 58) where the inside lugs serve to support a second inverted pan as cover. Similar inside lugs also occur in the Late Neolithic ware from Kephala.

See also p. 15.

Late Neolithic.
  P 18934. Well, S27:5. P.H. 0.051 m., P.W. 0.095 m.
Rim fragment from large open vessel with splayed
rim.
Very gritty brown clay, gray at core; sandy and
micaceous especially on exterior.
From inner edge of rim two lug-like tongues project
inward, perhaps to support a lid.
Late Neolithic.

188. Rim Fragment with Inside Lug. Pls. 12, 69.
  P 14783. Well, U24:2. P.H. 0.051 m., P.W. 0.097 m.
From wall of large open pot with lug-like arrange-
ment, mostly broken away, rising from rim and
pierced by five holes. Inside, below the lug, a
projecting ledge, double, unpierced.
Gritty red-brown clay, gray at core.
Although somewhat different in arrangement of lugs
and stringholes, this seems to belong with the other
baking pan fragments (184-187).
Late Neolithic.

HANDLES (189-212; Pls. 13, 69)

  P 18890. Well, S27:4. P.H. 0.073 m., P.W. 0.067 m.
Handle with part of rim and wall of a large open
pot.
Very gritty clay, pinkish to gray.
The vertical strap handle is attached at top to the
slightly flaring rim, and ends below its lower at-
tachment in a tongue-like horn.
Cf. P 14773 and P 14788 from U 24:2, which are
similar handles but without the projecting horn at
bottom.
Late Neolithic.

  P 14600. Well, U 24:3. P.H. ca. 0.18 m. Fragment
of nearly vertical upper wall with plain lip and start of
sloping lower wall. Vertical strap handle on lower part
of upper wall.
Gritty gray clay, surfaces fired red to brownish
black; ext. slipped.
Late Neolithic.

  P 14776. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.054 m., P.W. 0.059 m.
Fragment from wall of large open vessel with plain
lip; just below lip a clumsily made vertical lug, not
pierced through.
Very heavy gritty pinkish brown clay, gray at
core, disproportionate in thickness to rather small
lug.
Late Neolithic.

  P 14775. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.055 m., est. D. rim
ca. 0.26 m. From upper wall of a large jar with low,
thick vertical rim, flattened above. Small vertical
handle, unusually neatly shaped and rising to a trian-
gular upper attachment, placed just below rim.
Gritty brown clay, thick gray core.
Late Neolithic.

  P 26990. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.04 m. Fragment
preserves vertical ribbed handle from coarse pot; at-
tachment at rim complete, broken at bottom.
Coarse gritty brown clay; traces of red slip (ext.
only?).
Late Neolithic.

  P 26991. Well, T 26:4. P.H. 0.05 m. Vertical loop
handle complete with both attachments to wall;
slightly ribbed with projecting knob near top.
Coarse reddish clay, gray core.
Late Neolithic.

  P 13916. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.06 m., P.W. 0.037 m.
Fragment from wall of vase preserving narrow ribbon
handle. Rim not preserved; at top where handle
joins, it curves sharply toward int.
Dark brown gritty clay; traces of red slip ext., per-
haps once burnished; int. well smoothed.
Possibly from an open cooking-pot shape like 171
and 172.
Cf. Neolithic handle from Ayios Strategos, La-
konia (B.S.A., LV, 1960, pl. 19 a, 3).
Late Neolithic.

  P 13910. Well, T 26:3. P.H. 0.051 m., P.W. 0.085 m.
Vertical ribbon handle widening toward the top.
Gritty gray clay; traces of a red slip.
Profiled surface with shallow central groove wid-
ing toward top and broken by a small bump. The
wall is nearly straight in profile so far as preserved.
Cf. in general with the so-called "elephant-head"
lugs from Kephala, Keos (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964,
pl. 47, b-d). Other similar but uncatalogued exam-
pies have been noted in other Neolithic wells.
Late Neolithic.

  P 18889. Well, S 27:4. Max. dim. 0.049 m. Handle
and fragment of wall of a closed pot.
Small handle nearly round in cross-section with
squarish arrangement of attachments. The curve of
the wall suggests that this was a vertical handle, although it projects at an angle from wall.

Coarse gritty dark brown clay; int. patched up with pieces of clay (as a result of attaching the handle?).

Late Neolithic.

P 13875. Well, T 26:1. P.H. 0.078 m., W. of handle 0.064 m. Fragment from a large closed pot, probably a biconical jar, preserving a short vertical ribbon handle, developed from a lug.

Coarse gritty dark brown clay, partly fired gray, inside smoothed.

Cf. handle of Red Burnished jar 8, from S 27:4, for similar type of handle, which is identical in size.

Cf. also Late Neolithic Coarse ware from Prosymna (Prosymna, II, fig. 625, 8, 12).

Late Neolithic.

199. Rim Fragment with Ledge Handle. Pl. 13.
P 14771. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.068 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.20 m. Fragment from bowl with convex walls and plain rim, small ledge handle or lug at lip.

Heavy gritty brown clay, gray at core; red slip outside, largely worn away; mottled in firing.

Cf. handle of Red Burnished jar 8, from S 27:4, for similar type of handle, which is identical in size.

Cf. also Late Neolithic Coarse ware from Prosymna (Prosymna, II, fig. 625, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10).

Late Neolithic.

P 14774. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.048 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.28 m. Fragment from a large open vessel with a long narrow ledge or lug just below the slightly splayed rounded rim.

Soft gritty orange-buff clay.

Cf. 64, a Red Burnished ribbon handle with three horns at top. P 13925 from T 26:3 is perhaps part of such a horned handle, although of the folded ribbon type of 64.

Late Neolithic.

201. Lug Handle from Coarse Pot. Pl. 13.
P 26987. Well, T 26:4. Max. dim. 0.105 m. Fragment preserves flat horizontal lug with short vertical ridges desending from either end, making inverted-U attachment.

Gritty gray buff clay, gray at core.

Cf. the Late Neolithic Coarse ware from the East Yerogalaro Ridge at Prosymna (Prosymna, II, fig. 625, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10).

Late Neolithic.

P 26988. Well, T 26:4. Max. dim. 0.083 m. Rim fragment from large coarse pot preserving horizontal lug with semicircular indentation in center giving a double scalloped effect.

Gritty gray buff clay, pinkish buff.

Cf. the scalloped lugs in ι·3 ware from Thessaly (D.S., cols. 268-269, figs. 183-185).
P 13943 from T 25:1 is a broken example of a similar lug.

Late Neolithic.

P 26989. Well, T 26:4. Max. dim. 0.058 m. Lug handle, with thumbhole, broken away from wall of large coarse pot; chipped on one side.

Gritty clay, traces of orange-brown slip.

For similar lug with bored thumbhole, cf. the example from Sesklo (D.S., col. 268, fig. 182).

Late Neolithic.

P 14779. Well, U 24:2. P.H. 0.07 m. Probabably from a vertical handle with a horn rising above upper attachment; attached at one end and by a strut in the middle; horn chipped at top.

Gritty brownish buff clay, gray at core.

Cf. the horned handles found in Thessaly (D.S., cols. 229-233, figs. 123 ff.; 271 ff., figs. 189 ff.). Ours is particularly close to D.S., col. 279, fig. 215.


Late Neolithic.

P 14611. Well, U 24:3. P.H. 0.055 m., W. 0.055 m. A flat band handle bent back on itself.

Gritty gray buff clay; smooth red-brown to gray surface, slipped and lightly burnished.

Although less fine, this relates closely to the broad strap handles of Red Burnished ware (60-64), which are wider, ranging from 0.037 to 0.102 m.

Cf. also the broad ribbon handles in Late Neolithic Coarse ware from the East Yerogalaro Ridge at Prosymna (Prosymna, II, fig. 625, 3, 11).

Late Neolithic.
P 18888. Well, S 27:4. P.H. 0.041m., W. 0.058m.
Fragment preserves full width of a broad arched handle, decorated with high rounded ribs, lengthwise, separated by narrow grooves.
Coarse gritty clay, dark brown, gray at core.
A rather similar wide and longitudinally grooved handle in the local coarse ware was noted in the apotheké at Keos among the material from the Kephala graves. This fragment has not been published.
Late Neolithic.

208. Fragment of Broad Ribbed Handle. Pl. 13.
P 27009. Well, T 26:5. P.W. 0.07 m. Fragment preserves rim and downward curvature of broad vertical loop handle (hardly more than a lug pierced horizontally); edge broken away at right.
Gritty gray-brown clay, with traces of surfacing. Three vertical ridges, and probably a fourth, give a ribbed effect.
Cf. reference to Kephala example under 207.
Late Neolithic.

P 14782. Well, U24:2. P.H.0.029m., P.W.0.045m.
Apparently a slightly pointed lug, bored in center with a small knob at base, broken from rim of vessel of unknown shape.
Gritty dark brown clay, gray at core.
Late Neolithic.

P 14789. Well, U 24:2. P.H.0.064m., P.W.0.065m.
One end of an oval object broken from wall of vessel, broken at top and at r.
Brown gritty clay, gray core, the outside smoothed.
This is perhaps the lower outer attachment of a folded ribbon handle comparable to the Red Burnished examples 62 and 63.
Late Neolithic.

211. Handle (?) from Coarse Pot. Pl. 13.
P 14778. Well, U 24:2, upper fill. P.H.0.079m., P.W. 0.056 m. A heavy object, tapering and deeply grooved toward bottom, attached at bottom to wall of coarse pot.
Gritty brown clay, gray core.
Finished flat edge at top of fragment.
Late Neolithic.

212. Pierced Lug Handle from Closed Pot. Pl. 13.
P 18915. Well, T 26:3. P.H.0.079m., P.W.0.069m.
Fragment from wall of a large closed pot, preserving all but the extremities of a vertical or oblique lug, doubly pierced.
Gritty brownish clay, gray core; traces of a red slip ext., probably never burnished.
The finishing marks on the int. seem to indicate that the lug went vertically or obliquely rather than horizontally.
This is more closely related to the pierced lugs on Red Burnished biconical jars (especially 4) than to most Coarse ware lugs.
Late Neolithic.

P 18985. Well, S 27:5. P.H. 0.057 m., est. D. base ca. 0.07 m. Nearly half of wall of high, slightly flaring foot and whole circle of bottom of pot preserved.
Reddish brown gritty clay, gray core; surface mottled in firing.
Cf. the Red Burnished stands 56–58.
Late Neolithic.

214. Fragment from Coarse Plate or Lid. Pl. 13.
P 18892. Well, S 27:4. Max. dim. 0.069 m., est. D. ca. 0.22 m. Fragment from rim of very shallow plate or lid.
Coarse brownish gritty clay; ext. rough, int. smoothed and has traces of red slip.
Near the rim two (and part of a third) stringholes. The fabric and the stringholes resemble 185 and 186 which we have suggested come from baking pans; however, this fragment has a smoother finish on the int.
Late Neolithic.

P 27021. Well, T 26:6. H. 0.025 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.56 m. Fragment preserving the complete profile and part of floor of a large heavy basin with slightly outturned lip.
Heavy gritty gray clay, smoothed surface int. and on rim; bottom reddish brown with some grass impression.
Three diagonal slashes at junction of base and wall ext.
Cf. profile with rims of Early Helladic baking pans from Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 108, fig. 142, top and middle), which are about the same diameter.
Late Neolithic or Early Helladic?

216. Knob from Lid or Pithos. Pl. 13.
P 27013. Well, U 26:2. P.H.0.03m., D. knob 0.04m.
Fragment preserves complete knob and part of surrounding wall.
Gritty gray buff clay; traces of red slip ext., smoothed int.
Perhaps from the wall of a pithos; cf. a fragment from the First Meter Deposit at Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 88, fig. 110, 2–3).
Late Neolithic to Early Helladic?
217. Fragment with Knob (Foot ?). Pls. 13, 69.
P 13993. Well, S 27:4. Max. dim. 0.088 m., H. of knob ca. 0.013 m. Fragment probably from base of large open pot with short heavy projecting knob.
Gritty brownish clay, gray core; ext. slipped and mottled red to gray, int. also slipped.
This knob was probably one of three to support a large globular pot.
Cf. the finer Red Burnished example 65 and the Trojan and Anatolian parallels there cited.
Late Neolithic.

218. Fragment of Horned Handle or Foot (?). PI. 13.
P 14780. Well, U24:2, upper fill. P.H. 0.054 m. Broken at top and at edge of strut.
Gritty pinkish brown clay, gray core.
It is not at all clear how this fragment should be restored. It bears a general similarity in shape to 124, which has incised decoration relating it to the scoop fragments.
Late Neolithic.

2. SCULPTURE
(219-221; Pl. 14)

S 1097. Stray find, "Demolition Marbles," N-Q 19–22. Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 296, fig. 33. P.H. 0.09 m., P.L. 0.137 m., P.W. 0.192 m. Head, forearms, lower legs and feet missing.
Pentelic (?) marble.
Female figure in twisted position with upper part of body facing front and legs shown in profile; arms placed horizontally across the body with hands meeting in the center; knees drawn up. Nude and steatopygous with incisions indicating the vagina and the division of the buttocks. Gouges on upper torso probably accidental.
The position is unusually complex with the upper torso twisted 90 degrees to the left and bent back at right angles at the waist. The most satisfactory interpretation of the pose seems to be that of a reclining female resting on her stomach with knees drawn up and head and shoulders elevated.
This is the only Neolithic marble statuette from the Agora, but the lower part of a female figure of more conventional type was found in the North Slope excavations below the west entrance to the Mycenaean Fountain (Fountain, 1939, pp. 405–406, fig. 88). There is also a marble statuette of a seated woman said to come from Patissia, Athens, and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Naissance, I, fig. 145), which, although in a different pose, shows a similar stylization and steatopygy restricted to the area below the waist. It and six other figurines of the steatopygous type with folded legs have been published by Weinberg and dated to the end of the Middle Neolithic period (A.J.A., LV, 1951, pp. 122–123). There is no close parallel in Greece for the complicated twisted pose of our statuette, but a terracotta example found at Hacilar (Anat. St., XI, 1961, pp. 56–57, pl. X, b) and two miniature stone examples from the same general region (see above, note 88) show a twisted recumbent pose rendered with greater finesse than in our female.
The Anatolian examples are considerably older (sixth millennium), but suggest the prototype.
See also pp. 16–17.
End of the Middle Neolithic.

P 25864. Well, T 26:6. P.H.0.045 m., W.0.035 m., T. 0.016 m. Broken at neck and chip missing in center top, especially at back.
Gritty brown clay, gray core.
Almost cylindrical at neck with a hole in center, showing that head was made separately for insertion. The backward curvature toward the thin edge at top is similar to the inclination of heads of later Cycladic marble figurines. Nose, an oblong bump in relief on front, is the only facial feature. Lightly incised lines from top on either side may represent ears. Slightly raised surface at edge of missing chip on back, hair (?)?
The Cycladic appearance of this head is now strengthened by the discovery of a similar head in a Late Neolithic tomb at Kephala, Keos (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 46, c–d). For the practice of inserting a separate head in a statuette, cf. the marble heads from Sesklo and Dimini of Thessalian B (D.S., pl. 38, 6–9).
See also p. 17.
Late Neolithic.

P 13926. Well, T 26:3, bottom fill. H. 0.042 m., W. 0.037 m. Chipped but otherwise intact.
Gritty clay, dark brown to gray.
A figure consisting of a long cone-shaped object with a cuplike hollow at the bottom. A thick coil of clay, extending about two-thirds of the way around the middle, forms arms. The head consists of a narrow flattened projection on top. The front surface smoothed and flattened.
Cf. a somewhat similar figurine, but probably male, from a Late Neolithic tomb at Kephala (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 46, a–b).

This is roughly of the type of the later terracotta figurines from Sesklo and Dimini (D.S., pls. 35, 6–7; 36, 3, 4, 6). Cf. also the figurines from Tsangli III (P.T., pp. 128, 127, figs. 73, 76, d) and Tsangli VII (P.T., p. 128, fig. 77, f).

See also p. 17.

Late Neolithic.

3. ARTIFACTS

(222–236; Pls. 15, 77)

OBJECTS OF STONE (222–233; Pl. 15)

Celts and other artifacts (222–226; Pl. 15)

222. Stone Celt.

ST 427. Misc. find from modern fill in triangular cutting, A–B 16–17. L.0.09 m., W.0.055 m., T.0.04 m.

Complete except for small chip on cutting edge.

Dark red stone.

A handaxe, smooth-polished towards cutting edge, roughened and rounded at other end.

Probably Neolithic.

223. Steatite Celt.

ST 711. Well, U24:4. P.L.0.062 m., max. W. 0.043 m., max. T. 0.02 m. Polished steatite celt, broken at both ends, apparently tapering toward one end. The bottom is approximately flat, the upper surface convex making the cross-section almost hemispherical.

Both 222 and 223 are examples of polished stone handaxes without any boring for a handle, and are closely paralleled by examples found in Neolithic contexts in Thessaly (D.S., cols. 308–310, figs. 231–233; P.T., p. 23). Whereas 222 belongs to Tsountas’ Type A, 223 is apparently an example of the slenderer Type B (cf. D.S., col. 310, fig. 233). Such handaxes continued into the Early Bronze Age: cf. Zygouries, pl. XXII, 7 and Troy, I, fig. 217, 35.87 (Stratum Ib).

See also p. 17.

Late Neolithic.

224. Fragmentary Celt.

ST 266. Well, T 26:3. P.L. 0.108 m., max. W. 0.049 m., max. T. 0.022 m. Stone celt, broken at both ends.

A long oval piece of gray schist-like stone, considerably worn; much less well worked and smoothed than 223, but apparently belonging to the same general classification.

Cf. Troy, I, fig. 217, 35.87 from Stratum Ib.

Late Neolithic.

225. Fragmentary Double Hammer.

ST 284. Well, U 24:3. P.L. 0.091 m., max. W. 0.053 m., max. T. 0.025 m. A roughly oval object, flattened on both faces, and pierced somewhere near the center with a hole which shows signs of wear; about one-half missing. Apparently a double hammer. Hard brownish gray schist.

Although the double hammer or battle axe is usually associated with the migrations at the end of the Early Helladic period (Eutresis, pp. 206–207, figs. 278, 6–8), it does have earlier occurrences (in E.H. contexts at Asea and Malthi as well as in Early Bronze Age Macedonia, see Holmberg, Asea, p. 122, note 1). In the context of this well a connection with Western Anatolia in the Late Chalcolithic period seems likely. A double hammer closely resembling ours was found in the earliest subphase of Troy I (Troy, I, fig. 217, 36.366).

See also pp. 17–18.

Late Neolithic.

226. Stone Celt.

ST 265. Well, S 27:4. L. 0.115 m., max. W. 0.034 m. A natural pebble, roughly the shape of a thick knife-blade with a tang, which seems to have been worn smooth through use.

Gray schist-like stone.

Late Neolithic.

GRINDER AND MILLSTONES (227–230; Pl. 15)

227. Stone Grinder.

ST 283. Well, U 24:3. H. 0.048 m., max. W. 0.078 m.

Roughly dome-shaped grinder, with one side broken away, the flat side worn smooth.

Gray limestone.

Cf. the spherical and dome-shaped grinders from Early Helladic contexts at Zygouries (Zygouries, p. 200, fig. 188, 2, 5, 7).

Late Neolithic.

228. Fragment of Millstone.

ST 264. Well, S 27:4. P.L. 0.10 m., P.W. 0.11 m., T. 0.026 m. Apparently from one end of a saddle-shaped quern, domed on one side, slightly concave and worn smooth on the other.

Gray volcanic stone.
Cf. the saddle querns from Troy I (Troy, I, fig. 218) and Zygouries (Zygouries, p. 200). As Blegen points out (Troy, I, p. 46) these familiar saddle querns are known everywhere throughout the Near East and the Aegean and since “volcanic formations are usually fairly near at hand to supply local needs,” millstones are of little value as evidence of trading relations.

Late Neolithic.

229. Fragment of Millstone. Pl. 15.
ST 289. Well, U 24:2. P.L. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.069 m., T. 0.039 m. One corner of a millstone of gray volcanic stone; flat below, convex above.
Late Neolithic.

230. Fragment of Millstone. Pl. 15.
ST 285. Well, U 24:3. H. ca. 0.08 m., P.L. ca. 0.11 m. Fragment from edge of millstone, preserving part of flat bottom and of high dome-shaped top. Gray stone with many small particles of quartz.
Late Neolithic.

OBSIDIAN (231–233; Pl. 15)

231. Obsidian Matrix. Pl. 15.
ST 267. Well, S 27:3. Max. dim. 0.022 m. A small and fragmentary obsidian matrix, yet showing clearly where the blades have been chipped off.

The occurrence of obsidian in the Neolithic wells of the Agora points to direct relations with Melos (cf. now Renfrew, Cann and Dixon, “Obsidian in the Aegean,” B.S.A., LX, 1965, pp. 225–247, where Melos is shown to have been the only significant source throughout the prehistoric period). Note also the abundance of obsidian in the Grotto on the South Slope (Levi, Ablazioni, pp. 481-483, figs. 66–67). Cf. by contrast the scarcity of obsidian at Troy: one blade in Troy I (Troy, I, fig. 217, 37.108), two in Troy II, (ibid., fig. 366–368, examples from Troy II). It resembles more closely the plain whorls from Zygouries (Zygouries, p. 190, fig. 179), although ours is shallower than most (height about one-fourth instead of one-half the diameter).
Late Neolithic.

ST 282. Well, U 24:2. L. 0.05 m., W. 0.0125 m. Obsidian blade, apparently complete. It is very thin and forms a shallow S-curve. One side is worked smooth, the other has two lengthwise ridges. Cutting edges sharp without serration.
Late Neolithic.

ST 268. Well, S 27:3, upper fill. P.L. 0.022 m. Broken at both ends.

A narrow blade, triangular in section, the cutting edges lightly serrated.
Late Neolithic.

OBJECTS OF TERRACOTTA (234–236; Pls. 15, 77)

234. Spindle Whorl. Pls. 15, 77. P 25858. Well, T 26:5. D. 0.044 m., H. 0.019 m. Chip missing from one side.
Light brown clay, gray at core; traces of red slip. Flat bottom with shallow convex top; pierced through center.
This is a simple type of whorl, differing markedly from the more elaborate biconical or spherical Trojan examples which sometimes have incised decoration (cf. Troy, I, figs. 128, 221–222, examples from Troy I; figs. 366–368, examples from Troy II). It resembles more closely the plain whorls from Zygouries (Zygouries, p. 190, fig. 179), although ours is shallower than most (height about one-fourth instead of one-half the diameter).
Late Neolithic.

236. Spindle Whorl or Loomweight. Pl. 15.
MC 1078. Well, T 26:4. P.D. 0.05 m., D. of hole 0.018 m., P.H. 0.028 m. Conical shape, broken at bottom; bored longitudinally.
Gritty gray-brown clay; hard surface, mottled in firing.
If this is a whorl, it is much higher and coarser than the other examples. However, the loomweights from Troy I and II are flatter and are pierced horizontally above the center (cf. Troy, I, fig. 221, 36.365, 35.458, fig. 369) instead of vertically. When complete this may have resembled the terracotta object from the Early Helladic stratum at Korakou (Korakou, p. 104, fig. 129, 3) which is referred to as a pear-shaped spindle whorl.
Late Neolithic.
II. EARLY AND MIDDLE HELLADIC

INTRODUCTION

There are no pure Early Helladic fills from the Agora and very little material that can be definitely assigned to this period. Some material from the twenty Late Neolithic wells previously discussed may be transitional to Early Helladic, or might even be termed E.H. I, as we have suggested above (p. 20). On the other hand, the fill of deposits laid down in the Middle Helladic period contains scraps of pottery of well-defined E.H. II types, as well as a few whole pots that are E.H. III or transitional to Middle Helladic. Because of the difficulty of isolating the Early Helladic material, we have kept it in its separate mixed contexts.

1. DEPOSITS

(Plate 91 and pp. 274-275)

The area of the Northwest Slope below the Klepsydra contained five wells which were filled up in Middle Helladic times (R 28:1, S 27:1, S 27:2, T 24:1, T 26:2). These are interspersed among the Late Neolithic wells, but show a clear distinction in the deposits.¹ In general, the Middle Helladic wells are a little deeper, but are not any more carefully cut or regular in shape than the Neolithic. In T 24:1, the deepest example with a depth of 8.80 m., the center of the shaft was shifted when a hard ledge of rock was struck, as had been done in the Neolithic well U 24:2. T 26:2 was shallow (2.30 m.) with no apparent water, but a thin layer of sand at the bottom. In no instance was there clear evidence for a use fill, and the intermingling of Early Helladic with Middle Helladic material suggests that we are dealing mostly with dump fill. However, the number of complete or restorable pots is surprising, fifteen in R 28:1, twelve in T 24:1; furthermore eight were intact except for chips (250, 252, 328, 338, 360, 361, 353, 354). Of the two quite elegant specimens 328 and 338, one wonders why a chipped spout was sufficient reason for their being discarded. Although there are copious remains of animal bones, the absence of any human skeletal material would seem to preclude the possibility of disturbed graves. For the other intact specimens which are heavier and coarser, especially the pitchers, 350-351 and 353-354, a connection with the actual use of the wells seems likely.²

Unlike the Neolithic period where our evidence comes primarily from the slopes of the Acropolis, the Middle Helladic finds suggest widespread occupancy over the entire area of the Agora. In almost every spot where bedrock was reached sherds of characteristic Gray Minyan ware came to light, and it even appears that Middle Helladic pottery was so generally available

¹ Hesperia, VII, 1938, pp. 335-338.
² Lucy Talcott assured me that evidence for a clearly stratified use fill is frequently absent and does not mean that none of the pottery found was connected with the use of the well.
probably offerings in small cist graves which were disturbed) that it sometimes found its way into or around Geometric graves (see 283, 292 and 346). Natural clefts and declivities in bedrock were filled in and levelled in Middle Helladic times, providing us with dump fill roughly comparable to the material from the five wells but producing no whole pots. The two pits (B 21:15 and G 19:1) off the North and West Slopes of the Areopagus are of this type, more irregular and shallower than the wells, with no evidence for artificial shaping or water, and the presence of household refuse (cinders, ash, fragmentary pithoi) shows that they were used like bothroi. The gully R 21:4 was larger and more irregular and presupposes general levelling operations in Middle Helladic times. This likewise was the nature of the M.H. fill beneath the archaic houses to the east of the Tholos (G–H 11–12). But in none of these areas were there any extant architectural remains, either house walls or pavements, to be associated with Middle Helladic occupancy.

Two stratified deposits, one at the extreme northwest corner and across the Athens-Peiraeus railroad track (E–F 2),3 the other in the southeast central area near the Mint and Southeast Fountain House,4 point to the existence of ancient roads which were in use at least as early, and probably considerably earlier than, the Middle Helladic period. The former road was the main thoroughfare leading from the area of the later Dipylon to the Agora, the latter the main South Road across the area. The routes of both are indicated on Travlos' plan, Plate 91. For the South Road, excavated by Margaret Crosby in 1955 and 1956, Homer Thompson comments on the extraordinary thickness (1.50 m.) of the stratified deposit of the Middle and Late Helladic periods and on the fact that "the volume of pottery was enough to attest habitation . . . it provides the most ample and indeed almost the only evidence yet available for habitation, as distinct from burial, within the area later occupied by the Agora or its immediate environs. Even within the thickness of the prehistoric deposit appeared traffic-beaten, gravelled surfaces which implied the existence of a thoroughfare."5

With this widespread Middle Helladic occupation of the Agora area, one must assume that there were also characteristic intramural burials, although no trace of any has been found intact, doubtless due to the fact that the burials were in shallow cist graves that fell prey to the later users of the area as a cemetery in Mycenaean and subsequent times. Indeed the only pre-Mycenaean burial found in the Agora is of a deeper and rather extraordinary type, and is not easily datable. In 1935 during the excavation of the civic buildings along the west side of the Agora a circular cutting in bedrock 0.73 m. in diameter came to light slightly to the east of the façade of the Metroon (I 9:2; Pl. 78).6 It proved to be the top of a shaft going down 8.0 m. and then opening out toward the southeast into a small rectangular chamber, quite rough and irregular, with an adult burial. The chamber was small, 0.80 m. in length, and the body was laid in a contracted position on its side with knees drawn up. Two small handmade vases were the only offerings (384–385). The Metroon burial was published by Shear as Subneolithic and compared with the prehistoric burial found by Skias on the South Slope of the Acropolis in 1899,7 although

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3 Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 299–300. Layer XIII produced hardpacked road gravel and clear M.H. material (Minyan and Matt-painted); the underlying layer XIV was also M.H., XV mixed E.H.–M.H., XVI probably only E.H., and the pockets in bedrock (XVII and XVIII) possibly Neolithic. Since the pre-Middle Helladic material is very scrappy and nondescript, one can merely note that it is heavy and handmade and could be either Late Neolithic or Early Helladic.

4 Hesperia, XXV, 1956, pp. 47ff., pl. XII, b.

5 Ibid., p. 49. From three separate roadcuts (two in Section Tau and one in Psi) there is nothing distinctively earlier than Middle Helladic. The bottom strata and pockets in bedrock produced much Minyan, both Gray and Yellow, Matt-painted and Coarse wares; the upper prehistoric strata yielded Mycenaean, in some cases mixed with Classical. In 1965 during further clearing of the South Square, evidence was found for the existence of a third road across the Agora in prehistoric times (see Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 40); this road must have been the "remote ancestor of the familiar Panathenaic Way." Several interesting fragments of prehistoric pottery (P 27937–27939) from M 12:2 have been inventoried, but it has not been possible to incorporate these in the Catalogue; they are, however, referred to under appropriate comparisons.


7 Ep. 'Apx., 1902, cols. 123–130. See also, F. T., p. 221.
the latter seems to have been lined with crude brick and to have contained six bodies. It is no longer possible to uphold a Neolithic date for either grave, since the fill of our shaft was entirely Middle Helladic, and Minyan, Red Burnished and incised sherds were found in the South Slope grave along with a small handmade jug. Another point of similarity is the occurrence of a small obsidian arrowtip (386) in the fill of I 9:2, and eight obsidian arrowheads of the hafted type plus three flakes in Skias’ tomb. Although the arrowheads could equally well be Late Neolithic, the pottery in the fill of both graves is clearly Middle Helladic, and therefore the burials and the crude handmade pots should also be of this period. The actual form of our grave may be roughly compared with the double grave at the bottom of a shaft discovered many years ago at Corinth. Here, however, the offerings point to an Early Helladic date with strong Cycladic influence in the pottery.

From other excavations in Athens one can draw much the same conclusion of widespread and long-lasting occupation in Middle Helladic times, preceded by clearly attested but more fragmentary evidence for the Early Helladic period. From the Acropolis itself a few sherds may be Early Helladic, whereas there is ample evidence for Middle Helladic in both Minyan and Matt-painted wares. The North Slope excavations of Broneer and Hazel Hansen yielded some Early Helladic but far more Middle Helladic pottery.

The South Slope had presented a somewhat misleading picture from the older excavations, since Early Helladic predominated over Middle Helladic. The Grotto above the Asklepieion, excavated by the Italians in 1923, contained not only the heavy, burnished monochrome ware with Anatolian Chalcolithic parallels, which we have already cited in connection with our Neolithic (see above, pp. 10–11), but also the best and largest assortment of developed Early Helladic pottery so far published from Athens. It consists of a number of sauceboat fragments, Urfirnis ware as well as White Slipped and Polished, and a few decorated sherds which should be E.H. II Painted ware. With this material was found a large collection of obsidian blades and several matrices. There was nothing Middle Helladic in this grotto, but not far away and somewhat closer to the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, Skias had found the early tomb we have discussed above, which now seems more properly to be Middle Helladic. Recent Greek excavations have added substantially to the evidence and have shown the importance of the South

9 Mylonas, Aghios Kosmas, p. 4, note 17, refers to Early Helladic found by Leicester Holland within the Erechtheion (cf. Korakou, p. 110, note 5 and James Morton Paton, The Erechtheum, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, p. 581). The sherds figured in Graef, Ant. Vasen, I, pl. I, 2–4 appear to be Early Cycladic III with affinities to our 255–254. Similar vases were found in the earliest Middle Helladic or transitional stratum at Eutresis (Eutresis, pp. 182–183, figs. 253–254) and are therefore not really evidence for the Early Helladic period.
10 Graef, Ant. Vasen, I, p. 1 refers to “six sherds of monochrome Trojan ware of the Sixth City” of which one is of “fine Gray Ware” (Minyan?) as well as no. 6, a fragment from a “Gray Ware cup with handles.” The Matt-painted are more fully illustrated (pl. I, 10–25). In addition to the various classes found among the Agora material, they include polychrome Matt-painted (nos. 14–17) and sherds of cups with running spirals (pl. II, 27–29) resembling those from the upper M.H. level at Korakou (Korakou, p. 26, figs. 35–36).
11 Hesperia, II, 1933, pp. 356–363. Figs. 26 and 27 are labelled Early Helladic, but a few fragments seem to be Middle Helladic (namely fig. 26, a, cf. with our 263; and fig. 27, b, cf. with 383). Among the E.H. material there are “sherds of sauceboats” (fig. 26, i–m), one of Light-on-Dark Patterned ware (fig. 26, f), and some incised ware of Cycladic origin including a duck vase (fig. 27, h), the illustrated material from the 1931–1932 excavations is not now available for study in the Agora Museum, nor could its whereabouts be ascertained. Most of the prehistoric material illustrated is Middle Helladic (ibid., figs. 28–33) or Late Helladic (figs. 34–45).
12 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 542–557. Figs. 3 and 4 are called Early Helladic, but include many Middle Helladic (see below, notes 57 and 138). Fig. 3, a–d and f are E.H. II White Slipped and Polished ware, and a few sherds of E.H. were found in the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain (Fountain, p. 549, fig. 23, e–j). The pottery from the 1937 and 1938 campaigns on the North Slope is housed in the Stoa of Attalos and was available for study and comparison; specific comparisons are cited in our Catalogue according to the A.P. (Acropolis Pottery) numbers. See Index of Acropolis Pottery, pp. 285–286.
14 Ibid., fig. 64, b, 1–2. Caskey (Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 292) has made a distinction between E.H. II Painted ware and E.H. III Dark-on-Light Patterned ware on the evidence of the material from Lerna III and IV respectively.
Slope in Middle Helladic times. In 1959 Miliadis, excavating below the Odeion of Herodes, found both Early and Middle Helladic sherds and a bothros with pure Middle Helladic fill. In 1961 during salvage operations on the Angelopoulos property south of the Street of Dionysios the Areopagite, two small cist graves and traces of two Middle Helladic houses were excavated by Donatas. The latter are important as the first architectural remains of this period so far discovered in Athens. Further east and nearer the Asklepieion a Middle Helladic bothros has more recently been dug by Platon.

Especially in the Middle Helladic period we have evidence for occupation some distance away from the Acropolis. Far to the south in the area of the Olympieion, excavations in 1959 by Travlos and the late John Threpsiades disclosed a deep prehistoric deposit with both Middle and Late Helladic pottery, but apparently nothing of Neolithic or Early Helladic date. And to the southwest on the Hill of Philopappos the Threpsiades in 1962 found an interesting Middle Helladic deposit in a rock cutting which was later used as a Geometric grave. To the north-west in the Kerameikos German excavations before the war had disclosed a Middle Helladic cist grave with three interesting pots, as well as other pre-Mycenaean sherds from the general area. Still farther to the northwest excavations by Stavropoullos have shown the importance in prehistoric times of the region later occupied by Plato's Academy. Especially significant are the mention of Early Helladic sherds and the presence of an Early Helladic stratum beneath the mud-brick "sacred house" of Geometric times.

In order to draw definite conclusions one must await fuller reports from the new excavations. It would seem, however, that Athens, both the Acropolis and its slopes and also the Academy, was inhabited in Early Helladic times, but that this material has been disturbed and telescoped by the far denser and more pervasive Middle Helladic occupation. We have nothing comparable to Early Helladic coastal sites in Attica like Askitario on the east coast or Aghios Kosmas, both of which escaped the superposition of a Middle Helladic stratum and are thus more or less intact. Moreover, it is unlikely that Athens had the importance in the Early Helladic period of these coastal sites which may have been Cycladic foundations and must have drawn their livelihood from trade and seafaring.

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16 Excavated by Mrs. Sakelleraki during excavations conducted by Miliadis from 1955–1960; to be published in a forthcoming AEAr. Through the kindness of Dr. Platon, Mr. Travlos, and Miss Maro Tsioni I was able to examine this material in 1964 in the Fetihe-Tzami (Mosque in Roman Market). The bothros contained Gray and Yellow Minyan, M.H. Red Burnished, Mattpainted and Coarse, and it seemed to be purely Middle Helladic.

17 Reported briefly in ΔΗΑ., XVII, 1961–1962, pp. 85–86, esp. pp. 85–86, 90; see also B.C.H., LXXXVI, 1962, p. 640. The graves contained few offerings, and no pottery is illustrated in the preliminary report. However, material from a near-by stratified deposit on the Angelopoulos property was shown me in the Fetihe Tzami. It ranged from M.H. through early Mycenaean (Myc. II–III A:1) and included a fragment of an E.C. frying-pan, Gray and Yellow Minyan, Red Burnished and Fine Mattpainted, but nothing specifically Early Helladic.

18 Excavated in 1963 or 1964. The pottery was examined in the storeroom of the Acropolis Museum through the kindness of Dr. Platon. It consisted of two fragmentary Mattpainted pithoi, a Gray Minyan kantharos, and a Cycladic duck vase without decoration.


20 I examined this material in 1964 in the Apotheke of the Library of Hadrian through the kindness of Miss Kaloudi. It consisted of a large M.H. Red Burnished bowl like 260, a complete Cycladic duck vase and three fragmentary ones like 256, as well as a coarse handmade jug. The good condition of the pottery would suggest that they came from a grave rather than a bothros.

21 Arch. Anz., 1966, cols. 197–203, figs. 18–19.


23 I have not been able to examine this material, and it has not been published with the exception of a fragmentary Minyan bowl (Προσκινητέρα, 1955, pl. 10, c). See also earlier excavations of Aristophron and the report of a prehistoric settlement south of the gymnasion (A.J.A., XLI, 1937, p. 158; Arch. Anz., 1937, col. 117).

24 Y. Mylonas, Aghios Kosmas, 1959. See also Caskey, Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 300, for the E.H. II date of the destruction of this site.
With the Middle Helladic period there is apparently a change of sites in Attica. Aghios Kosmas and Askario were abandoned until Late Helladic times, but at Brauron a strong Middle Helladic stratum with a fortification wall succeeded the Early Helladic settlement, and a large Middle Helladic foundation was made at Skala Oropou to the north. The slightly inland position of these last two sites is probably symptomatic of changed conditions. Athens, which is even further inland, shows a comparable dominance of Middle Helladic over Early Helladic, but coastal Eleusis has revealed no clear Early Helladic stratum and shows a remarkable continuity from Middle to Late Helladic.

2. POTTERY
(Pls. 16–27)

Because of the unstratified nature of our material, one must depend on outside parallels for establishing even a relative chronology. For this the carefully stratified site of Lerna in the Argolid is of great importance. Our material from the wells and bothroi filled up in Middle Helladic times covers the three periods of Lerna III, IV, and V, with the last dominant and with a few pieces coeval with the period of Lerna VI. These strata have been equated by the excavator, J. L. Caskey, with the periods traditionally known as E.H. II, E.H. III and M.H.

Although Athens and Lerna lie some distance apart and the development may not have been exactly the same in the two regions, Lerna is now the basic reference site for Early and Middle Helladic, and we have therefore divided our pottery into three main groups which seem to be roughly contemporary with the Periods of Lerna III, IV, and V.

THE PERIOD OF LERNA III OR EARLIER

HEAVILY BURNISHED WARE (Pls. 16, 70)

The three small fragments 237–239 are clearly early, but only for 239, the pared open spout of a bowl or sauceboat, do we have good Early Helladic parallels. No. 237 is more enigmatic; its deliberate and artistic mottling differs from anything in our Neolithic Red Burnished ware, but the shape is not easily ascertained (probably a closed pot with a flaring base and the remnants of a stringhole). It may conceivably be Late Neolithic, and the same is more likely for 238, which has parallels among our Red Burnished bowls with lug handles, for example 29 and 30. If so these two would represent the only Neolithic material in their respective wells, T 26;2 and T 24;1.

SLIPPED AND POLISHED WARE (Pls. 16, 70)

No. 240 is from a shallow bowl with incurved rim, and is covered with a highly polished orange-red slip, somewhat flaked and showing striations from the burnishing tool. It seems to...
EARLY AND MIDDLE HELLADIC: INTRODUCTION

correspond to the A II ware from Zygouries, which was characteristic of the earlier part of Early Helladic, and it cannot under any circumstances be confused with Neolithic. However, it may conceivably be Middle Helladic, since its surface treatment closely resembles 258 and 268, and the sharply carinated profile of the former seems to lead directly into the Middle Helladic Red Burnished bowls 260-261.

Fortunately for 241-244 there is no difficulty in recognizing the fine Slipped and Polished ware, usually creamy white, yellow or mottled, so well described by Blegen and known from a number of Early Helladic sites. This is our best index for Early Helladic in Athens, not only in the Agora, but also for the North Slope and the Grotto above the Asklepieion on the South Slope. From stratigraphic evidence elsewhere this fabric seems to be typical of the earlier part of E.H. II, for it decreased at the very end of Lerna III. Being very brittle and fine, it occurs only in small fragments in our deposits; 241 seems to be part of the spout of a sauceboat and 244 the flaring foot-ring of an open bowl or sauceboat.

**URFINIS WARE (Pl. 16)**

There is a surprising absence of typical E.H. II Urfinis from the Agora deposits, and no fragments of the ubiquitous sauceboat in this ware. Small scraps were noted in the context pottery from T 26:2, from layer XV of the stratified deposit at the northwest corner of the Agora (E–F 2), and from a mixed layer of the fill of the area of the Tholos (G–H 11–12). The only piece that has been catalogued (245) is atypical: the fragment of a heavy lid with a flange; it is coated with a crackly black glaze resembling Urfinis, but of poor quality and therefore perhaps E.H. III in date.

**INCISED WARE (Pl. 16)**

Only one sherd of our incised ware, which is presumably imported from the Cyclades, would appear to be early. No. 246 has a lustrous black burnished slip and neat fine incisions which can be paralleled by a sherd with stamped spirals from the First Meter Deposit at Eutresis.

One should note the extreme scarcity and fragmentary nature of this material, which is all that we have which can be paralleled with the period of Lerna III.

**THE PERIOD OF LERNA IV**

The fortunate occurrence of a burnt stratum marking the end of the House of the Tiles and of Lerna III has enabled Caskey to draw a sharp distinction between E.H. II and E.H. III and to reappraise the Early Helladic material from other sites. Patterned Ware, both Dark-on-Light and the reverse Light-on-Dark or "Aghia Marina" style, makes its first appearance, and new shapes such as the tankard and the two-handled bowl replace the askos and the sauceboat of E.H. II.

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23 *258 and 268 are considered Middle Helladic by Caskey.*
24 *Zygouries*, pp. 78–83, pl. IX; *Eutresis*, p. 97, pl. VI, 1. Also *Asine*, pp. 219–220, fig. 161, 5, where it is dated to E.H. III (but see *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 301).
25 In addition to eight inventoried sherds, several dozen more were noted in the storage containers from S 27:2, T 24:1, and T 26:2. Our material is covered uniformly with a creamy white slip, and does not show the range of colors or mottling found at Zygouries. From the North Slope: A.P. 1301–1304 and 1306 (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 542, fig. 8, a–d, f). From the South Slope, see *Levi, Abitazioni*, pp. 479–490, figs. 64–65.
27 Urfinis was apparently found in the Grotto on the South Slope (see note 35) and has been reported from Plato's Academy (see note 22), so its absence among our material is probably accidental.
28 *Eutresis*, p. 81, fig. 97, 2.
POTTERY: PERIOD OF LERNA IV

PATTERNED WARE (Pis. 16, 70)

Three small fragments (247-249) have been recognized. They are all in the Light-on-Dark style, apparently more characteristic of Central Greece than the Peloponnesos, and if one can judge from the splaying lips of 248-249, they presumably came from the characteristic tankard shape. Only on 247 is there a clear remnant of the pattern of hatched triangles, but on the other two there are certainly traces of horizontal lines in white.

BLACK BURNISHED WARE (Pls. 16, 70)

Three more or less complete vases (250-252) in a brick red clay with a gray or black burnished surface come from three different Middle Helladic wells (T 24:1, S 27:2, and R 28:1). They seem to form a group by virtue of their foreign affinities and their probable dating to the period of Lerna IV. No. 250, a globular jar with flattened bottom, vertical lugs, and flaring rim with stringholes, bears a general resemblance to our Neolithic Red Burnished biconical jars, but is surely from a different horizon. The fabric suggests Trojan-Anatolian connections, and the shape is roughly paralleled by Type C 28 characteristic of Troy II, although no exact parallels have been found. The paired stringholes in the rim are found in a brownish black pot from Asine, for which Persson has also found a parallel in Troy II. No. 251, a graceful bowl with incurved rim and silvery gray burnished surface, has closer affinities with the Cyclades, and is probably to be associated with Black Burnished bowls from Eutresis and Aegina, where they appear in a transitional Early to Middle Helladic context.

No. 252 is also unique among the Agora material and stands out as an import by reason of its mammiform bosses, ear-shaped handles and irregular shape. Northwest Anatolia seems to have been the ultimate origin of this shape, for it is found there as early as Thermi I and occurs in a variant form with single bosses and horizontal handles in Troy IIg. The closest counterparts to our example come, however, from Early Bronze Age Macedonia, where they are found in the company of tankards and cups of the depas shape which show Trojan influence. These do not always have knobs, but one from Goná is remarkably like our example in shape and has a single boss on either side. A less direct connection may be noted with the black Slipped and Polished bowls which are ubiquitous in Lerna IV, occurring both in a handmade form and in a gray wheelmade variant which is indistinguishable from Minyan ware.

40 Light-on-Dark: Eutresis, pp. 116-117, figs. 155-156, pl. VIII. Dark-on-Light: Zygouries, pl. XIII; Korakou, p. 10, fig. 10; Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 10, b (Lerna). Note Caskey's remark that the "Aghia Marina style" is well attested but relatively scarce in Lerna IV (Hesperia, XXIX, 1956, p. 295).
41 The pattern appears to be darker than the ground because the paint has flaked off, but has preserved the surface from incrustation. Cf. the similar effect on the Mattpainted jar 325.
42 Troy, I, fig. 401, 57.11117 (Phase IIb) and 35.479 (Phase IIg), both with different types of lugs. Cf. also Schliemann's Schnurösengefässe from the Burnt City and Troy IV (refs. in Troy, I, p. 236). The Trojan examples often have a higher more cylindrical neck.
43 Asine, p. 265, fig. 184, 8 compared with Schmidt, Samml. Troj. Altert., p. 64, no. 1498. Its M.H. I date need not make it later than Lerna IV (see Hesperia, XXIX, 1956, p. 297). Note also the Trojan jar of bizarre form imported into a late stage of Lerna IV (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 11, b), the general resemblance of the tankards of Troy II (Troy, I, fig. 380) to the Patterned ware tankards of E.H. III, and the occurrence of the depas amphikypellon shape (Troy, I, figs. 381-382) in a modified version in Patterned ware at Lerna (Hesperia, XXV, 1955, pl. 21, i). All these show a close connection between E.H. III and Troy III-V.
44 Cf. Eutresis, fig. 177, p. 134 ("found in a stratum where Early Helladic sherds still outnumbered the Middle Helladic"). Perhaps to be connected with the Black Burnished bowls from Phylakopi I (Phylakopi, p. 154, pl. XXXIII, 2 and p. 163, "seventh layer contained a good many fragments of black polished bowls").
45 Cf. Thermi, pl. XIII, no. 30, p. 100; Troy, I, fig. 398, 35.424, p. 333.
46 Heurtley, Pre. Mac., pp. 81-82, no. 190, pl. XI, from Haghiros Mamos; p. 186, no. 271, pl. XIV, from Goná (nos. 272 and 316 are somewhat similar, but without knob). I examined no. 271 in the Museum at Thessaloniki, through the courtesy of the director, and was struck with its resemblance to 252 in the heavy fabric and the somewhat warped shape. It is a little smaller (H. 0.112 m.).
47 Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, pp. 296-297, pl. 70, i (refs. to Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 9, a-b; XXV, 1956, pl. 49, e; XXVI, 1957, pl. 42, f).
Incised Ware (Pls. 16, 70)

Nos. 253-254 come from imported Early Cycladic pyxides, and 255 from the lid of such a pyxis. No. 253 is a fragment of the cylindrical type with tapering sides and has parallels in the First City of Phylakopi; No. 254 comes from the higher type with curved wall and is also matched at Phylakopi I. Not only the current later dating of Phylakopi I but the occurrence of similar pyxides at Eutresis “on the floors of houses of the first (M.H.) building level or in the transitional stratum just preceding it” confirms our assigning these fragments to the period of Lerna IV.

The small quantity and the imported nature of this material should be noted, but the three whole pots contrast with the earlier material contemporary with Lerna III.

The Period of Lerna V

It is natural that most of the pottery from the Agora fills laid down in the Middle Helladic times should be ascribed to this period. The five wells on the Northwest Slope have provided an excellent series of whole or restorable pots, but even with the additional catalogued fragments from them and from the other deposits, one has no real conception of the quantity of Middle Helladic material from the Agora unless one has examined the uninventoryed context pottery, which runs into a far greater bulk than for the Neolithic or even the Late Helladic period.

Cycladic Imports (Pls. 17, 70)

No. 256 is a fragmentary ribbed askos or duck vase of well-known Cycladic type. Such vases, often with incised decoration, were common in the mature phase of Phylakopi and were exported as far afield as Troy, but they turn up in considerable numbers at Aegina and on the Greek mainland, often in company with other Cycladic or Cycladic-inspired material, particularly the Red Burnished carinated bowls like our 260-263. The closest parallels to our ribbed example come from Aegina, Eutresis, and from the recently found deposit on the Philopappos hill. Whether these duck vases should really be assigned to a later period than the late pyxides is not absolutely clear; however, the incised pyxides are late survivals of an older tradition, whereas the duck vases are usually found with ware that can more properly be called Middle Helladic.

No. 257, a miscellaneous find from the area of the later Eleusinion, was recognized as prehistoric but its exact classification and interpretation are difficult. Of coarse heavy fabric with a

47 Phylakopi, p. 87, Section 4, pl. IV, 1, 2 (double). Caskey now makes Phylakopi I contemporary with Lerna IV (C.A.H., I, Ch. XXVI, p. 26).
48 Eutresis, pp. 182-186. For 258 cf. fig. 258, 2; for 255, fig. 254.
49 This is because the Mycenaean material came chiefly from tombs and the bulk of it made up into whole pots which were inventoried.
50 Phylakopi, pp. 88-89, pl. IV, 6, 8. Cyclades, figs. 92-93 (misprinted 99-100), 95. These form part of Edgar’s Group 4 and with the later pyxides belong to the mature phase of the First City (see Phylakopi, pp. 249 f.).
52 Welter, Aigina, p. 14, fig. 15. Figs. 12-13 have incised decoration; fig. 14 is apparently plain. Welter places these in his Early Bronze period.
53 Eutresis, pp. 188-184, figs. 255, 2; 256, 1. They were found on the floor of House X assigned to the first building level of Middle Helladic (ibid., pp. 36-37), and a ribbed black jar (pl. XII, 2), probably also of Cycladic origin, was found in the same context.
54 See above, note 20: a complete incised duck and three fragmentary ribbed examples. In 1909 an incised example was found on the South Slope (Δήμ., I, 1915, Παρασ., p. 34, fig. 1, 1); another comes from the North Slope (Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 357, fig. 27, h).
55 At Lerna the sole duck vase that has been illustrated comes from the first stratum of Lerna V (Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pl. 42, d and referred to in XXIX, 1960, p. 298) whereas there are fragments of lids with stamped spirals and incised patterns from the lowest E.H. II stratum (Hesperia, XXVII, 1958, pl. 35, d-f; XXIX, 1960, pl. 69, e).
lightly burnished gray surface and traces of incised decoration, it may be part of a ring-shaped vase similar to one found at Phylakopi in the company of duck vases.\textsuperscript{56}

**Red Burnished Ware (Pis. 17, 70)**

One of the most pleasing fabrics of the Middle Helladic repertory, this is well represented by the fine bowl, 260, and the fragments of related examples 261-263. It also occurs in the material from the North Slope, where it is not always correctly designated.\textsuperscript{57} It runs the gamut from a thin, transparent, but easily flaked slip with a high polish (258 and 268) to an evenly high red burnish on a brick red clay (260) and can be fired partly red and partly black with an almost vitreous surface (263 and numerous uncatalogued fragments from the North Slope). This last, when fired predominantly black, approaches, if it is not identical with, the fabric of Argive Minyan, and indeed some of the shapes of Middle Helladic Red Burnished are strongly carinated or reproduce well-known Minyan types.\textsuperscript{58} This is not true, however, of many examples from the Agora,\textsuperscript{59} which are mostly shallow bowls with carinated shoulder and slightly incurved (258-261) or offset (262-263) rim. They are often provided with lug handles, in 260 and 261 horizontal with double piercings, in 262 a small vertical lug pierced once. Such shapes are found also at Eutresis, but are especially common on Aegina and in Melos, as Miss Goldman notes.\textsuperscript{60} More examples like 260 and 261 are turning up in fair numbers in the new Greek excavations on the South Slope and on the Hill of Philopappos, sometimes in company with Cycladic duck vases suggestive of their foreign origin and a dating near the beginning of the Middle Helladic period. The more strongly carinated profiles and the fabric resembling Argive Minyan of 262 and 263 may represent a mainland development under the influence of Minyan ware.

No. 264 is somewhat different, coming from a large bowl with upstanding rim splayed toward the inside and decorated on the upper surface with short parallel strokes of matt black. The red slip is unusually lustrous and seems to be a real glaze. Here, there is the likelihood of another Cycladic import, as the only parallels I know come from the islands.\textsuperscript{61}

Nos. 266 and 267 are rim fragments of large bowls with slightly carinated profiles and have traces of white matt painted decoration on the upper wall. They seem to belong with the Red Burnished ware with white patterns from Eutresis\textsuperscript{62} rather than with the Light-on-Dark Matt-painted ware (324-330).

No. 268 has the flaked transparent slip characteristic of 258, and for both of these there is some question whether they should be considered Middle Helladic. With 258 goes 259 which has

\textsuperscript{56} Phylakopi, p. 91, pl. IV, 9 and Cyclades, fig. 94. A similar but more complete ring-shaped object with a narrow aperture throughout was found on the Angelopoulos site along with Middle Helladic material. In neither case, however, does the “spout” veer at the angle of the Phylakopi example. Similar vases, but with feet, are found in Troy II (Troy, I, pp. 240-241, Shape D 80, fig. 406, a) and in Aegina (Welter, Aegina, pl. 13, fig. 1), presumably under Cycladic influence.

\textsuperscript{57} Goldman, Eutresis, pp. 126-132, gives perhaps the fullest account of this fabric. North Slope examples: Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 360, fig. 30; VI, 1937, p. 547, fig. 5, a, g, k, l and also p. 543, fig. 3, g, k, l which are labelled E.H.

\textsuperscript{58} E.g., Eutresis, pp. 132-133; examples pl. IV, 127, figs. 170, 8-11; 171, 3-4. See also Phylakopi, p. 154, fig. 137; B.S.A., XVII, 1910-1911, pl. VII, 4, 201 (from Phylakopi).

\textsuperscript{59} Shape does not exactly correspond, but perhaps similar to a stemmed goblet and 266 is a debased version of a Red Minyan goblet rim covered in a rather matt red paint (cf. Miss Goldman’s remark, Eutresis, p. 125, on the “unpleasant dull appearance like that of a sticky surface” of some of her Red Burnished). Caskey considers this latter fragment contemporary with Lerna VI.

\textsuperscript{60} Eutresis, p. 128. For examples see p. 127, figs. 170, 1-7, 172, 1; p. 130, fig. 174, 2-3. For Melian examples cf. B.S.A., XVII, 1910-1911, p. 20 and reference to bowl shapes of Phylakopi, pl. XXXIII, most of which are painted in the Geometric style of early Phylakopi II, and resemble but do not exactly correspond in shape to our 260. Similar bowls are displayed in the Aegina Museum.

\textsuperscript{61} Eutresis, p. 129-130, figs. 174, 5; 175, 1, 4, 7.
a similar profile but is coarser and has no trace of a burnished slip. No. 268, which comes apparently from a closed pot, has a rather nicely profiled base comparable to those on some Middle Helladic Red Burnished bowls from Eutresis.

No. 269, which is heavier than most Middle Helladic Red Burnished and in this respect resembles Neolithic, comes from Well R 28:1; it is almost certainly the stem of a large M.H. goblet or fruitstand.

**Argive Minyan (Pl. 18)**

We have mentioned the affinity of certain mottled Red Burnished fragments like 263 to Argive Minyan, and the same shape is found almost completely black among the North Slope material. We have only one fragment (270) in this fabric which reproduces a well-known Minyan shape, but there are additional fragments from the North Slope.

The handsome water jar 271, of a shape which occurs in Middle Helladic Matt-painted (301, 325-326), is an excellently fashioned pot, large, wheelmade, with profiled handles having raised edges. It is covered with a highly polished black slip which is similar to the surface of Argive Minyan, although probably later than most examples of this ware.

**Gray Minyan (Pls. 18–19, 70)**

Although not many whole pots could be made up, Gray Minyan was found in great quantity in all Middle Helladic deposits and almost everywhere that bedrock was touched. The total number of vases represented by the inventoried fragments plus the uninventoried sherds must have run to several hundred or more. Our examples belong to the types well-known from other Middle Helladic strata and can be discussed briefly.

Our catalogue includes fourteen fragmentary examples of stemmed goblets (272–285). The type with ribbon loop handles set vertically on the carinated shoulder (272–273) and the type with rolled loop handles set horizontally and rising from the rim (275) are represented, as they are in the North Slope material. The preserved stems are of the high type with many rings (280) or with a few at the top of a plain flaring column (281–282), but the low type with a single ring (283) also occurs. No. 284 is from the base of a very large goblet, while 285 is a much smaller unfluted stem apparently in a kind of imitation Minyan.

Only two other shapes are represented in our Minyan material. Nos. 286–289 come from

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63 The carinated upper wall seems higher and straighter than in certified E.H. examples (e.g., Zygouries, p. 82, fig. 68; p. 106, fig. 90, 107) and 258 resembles 260, for which there is a sure early M.H. dating through the occurrence of similar bowls in contexts with imported duck vases. Caskey felt certain that 258 and 259 were Middle Helladic.

64 Eutresis, p. 127, fig. 172, 1–2.

65 Cf. Eutresis, pl. X; B.S.A., XVII, 1910–1911, pl. VII, 4, 167 (Phylakopi). Cf. also the smaller stem from the North Slope (A.P. 1331, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 547, fig. 5, e, which is shown upside down in the photograph).

66 Eutresis, pp. 132–135, figs. 178–181. Our fragment seems to have come from a goblet with handles set below the rim and closer to the Gray Minyan type (cf. the Black Minyan example from Lerna, Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, c).

67 A.P. 1324, 1329, 1330 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 547, figs. 5, d, i, j).

68 The following rough count of fragments stored in the context pottery may give some idea of the total, although few vases could be made up. R 28:1 (stems of 2 or 3 ring-stemmed goblets plus smaller scraps); S 27:1 (at least 12 goblets with rim and handle fragments; some smaller cups); T 26:2 (about 12 fragments); T 24:1 (6 or 8 goblets, wall fragments, carinated rims and handles of both types); T 26:2 (about 12 fragments); R 21:4 (about 70 fragments); I 9:2 (21 fragments); E–F:2 (55–60 fragments); G–H 11–12 (about 70 fragments); O–Q 16–17 (at least 45 fragments). The durability and unmistakable character of Minyan ware may have led to a greater preservation of sherd material than for some of the less distinctive wares (this was pointed out to me by Homer Thompson).

69 Loop-handled type: Eutresis, pp. 136–137, figs. 184, 1, 5; 185, 3, 4; A.P. 1338 and 1341 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 551, fig. 8, a, d). Ring-handled type: Eutresis, p. 136, fig. 184, 3–4; A.P. 1940 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 551, fig. 8, c). Cf. also from the North Slope, Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 338, fig. 28, e, h. For a discussion of the two types of goblets and their occurrence in the Cycladic in imported and locally produced ware, see Scopes, B.S.A., LI, 1956, pp. 15–16.

70 For the high-stemmed or “northern type” cf. Eutresis, pp. 136–137, figs. 183–184, 185, 6. Also from North Slope, A.P. 1348–1349 and 1951 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 551, fig. 8, k, l, n). For the low-stemmed or “southern type” cf. Korakou, p. 16, fig. 20. No examples of this type noted among the North Slope material.

71 Cf. Miss Goldman’s remarks on gray slipped fabrics, Eutresis, p. 144.
carinated bowls or kantharoi with high-swung handles; No. 286, a diminutive and restorable specimen, is of the low sharply carinated variety, as is 287, whereas 289 was larger, straighter-walled and taller. The other shape, represented by 290 and the fragment 291, is a fairly deep rounded bowl with flat bottom and sharply outturned lip. It may have had one loop handle, but scarcely two, since no trace of attachment is preserved. Perhaps a later development of the Black Burnished bowls of Lerna IV which also continue into Lerna V, it occurs with a single ribbon handle from the rim at Asine and with a high-swung handle at Krisa.

Yellow Minyan (Pls. 19, 70)

The catalogue of Yellow Minyan is comparatively small, since our classification is restricted to ware which resembles Gray Minyan in technique and which reproduces many of the same shapes or shows an evolution from the more strongly carinated forms of the gray ware. We have not included the finer buff ware, as does Miss Goldman, since its shapes are more closely allied to those of undecorated coarse ware.

Nos. 292-293 are small fragments of stemmed goblets with ring handles like the Gray Minyan example 275, whereas 295 is the Yellow Minyan version of the type with vertical strap handles (cf. 273-275). In these there is no essential difference in shape between the Gray and Yellow Minyan versions and they may be contemporary, but in 296, the stem of a goblet with curving bowl, we are on the way to the Ephyraean shape of Myc. I–II. Nos. 297–298 are profiled bases of fine buff ware with polished surface, apparently from closed pots, and may be compared with similar examples from Eutresis.

Nos. 299 and 300 are Yellow Minyan ware with Matt-painted decoration, and could be put in either classification. No. 299 is the rim of an open bowl with carinated upper wall, probably like the examples from Korakou, but with a simpler pattern of crossing diagonal lines creating open lozenges. No. 300, the fragment of a splayed rim with angular Minyan profile and an interior flange, is decorated with loops on top of the rim. It is wheelmade of fine buff clay, and seems to come from a closed shape, possibly a small storage jar.

Matt-painted Ware (Pls. 20–23, 71–74)

This, the most interesting Middle Helladic pottery group from the Agora excavations, includes several first-rate and unusual whole pots (e.g. 328 and 338) which have been cited by Robert

For the first type cf. Eutresis, p. 139, fig. 187, 3; for the second, Korakou, p. 15, figs. 18-19. No specimens of this shape noted in North Slope material.

Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, pp. 296–297, pl. 70, i and references. Also Korakou, p. 16, fig. 22.

Asine, p. 265, fig. 184, 4; B.C.H., LXII, 1938, p. 114, fig. 3, 2 (perhaps related to the round-bodied kantharoi, Kirha, pl. XXXV, 10–12).

Eutresis, pp. 165ff.

Although the evolution from Gray to Yellow Minyan to Mycenaean has been correctly analyzed by Blegen (Korakou, pp. 116–117), there was also involved the influence of Matt-painted and Coarse ware shapes, as well as the strong influence of Minoan imports. For this reason the jug with cutaway neck, 351, the ancestor of the well-known Mycenaean shape (cf. VII–19), although of fine buff ware, is scarcely to be considered Yellow Minyan in the restrictive sense. Its shape occurs in Middle Helladic Coarse ware 349, and belongs to the Matt-painted repertory (Robert J. Buck, "Middle Helladic Matt-painted Pottery," Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 231–313, shape 88 who, p. 286, refers to this shape as "a 'Minyanized' version of the older shape, i.e. made by potters used to Minyan techniques").

Cf. the larger fragment from the North Slope, A.P. 1398 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 558, fig. 13, m).

Eutresis, p. 169, fig. 238, 1 for the existence of this shape already in Middle Helladic. Our fragment 296 came from a predominantly M.H. fill, R 21:4, which however did contain some Late Helladic material. For Ephyraean goblets see Korakou, pp. 54–57, pls. VI, VII.

Eutresis, p. 165, fig. 231 (lower row).

Miss Goldman keeps her examples with Yellow Minyan (Eutresis, pp. 167–174), but Buck includes these in a special group under Fine Wares (Buck, pp. 241). Since we have only two examples, which are more interesting for their shapes, we have kept them under Yellow Minyan.

Korakou, p. 99, fig. 99. This is Buck's shape A4, for which he suggests Cycladic rather than Yellow Minyan derivation (Buck, p. 284).

Cf. Buck's shape C9 (Buck, pp. 249, 296), which occurs in polychrome Matt-painted ware with Yellow Minyan connections.
EARLY AND MIDDLE HELLADIC: INTRODUCTION

Buck in his recent and definitive study of Matt-painted ware. From the standpoint of technique the Agora examples can be divided into five classes which correspond closely to all but two of Buck's seven classes. In the coarse ware we have: I) dark paint on light clay (Buck's "Buff-Green ware"); II) dark paint on a white-slipped red clay (Buck's "White-Slipped ware"); III) light paint on red clay (Buck's "Light-on-Dark Matt-painted"), and we lack only his "Red Ware" (with black matt paint) which had a more restricted, and particularly Central Greek and Thessalian distribution. In fine ware we have: IV) dark paint on a fine creamy white fabric (Buck's "Green-Yellow ware") and V) Yellow Minyan, but we lack any examples of his "Polychrome ware," which did, however, occur in Athens. The material in the Catalogue is presented according to these classes, of which we have already considered two fragments in the Yellow Minyan group.

CLASS I—COARSE LIGHT CLAY WITH DARK MATT PAINT (301-317; Pls. 20–21, 71–72)

The material is quite fragmentary with the exception of the small amphora with shoulder handles, 301, which is almost complete and had been mended in antiquity with lead clamps. Buck uses it as the type example for his shape C8, and, because of its pendant triangle decoration (Mot. 38) which occurs on spouted bowls of early date from Korakou and Lerna, dates it early in the series. It may also be related to the larger water jar type, which has another set of horizontal handles lower down on the belly and occurs in a fragmentary example with the same decoration from Korakou.

Nos. 302–306 are rim fragments from large open bowls of various shapes. All except 306 are of the earlier type A1, probably with pierced horizontal lug handles like 304. No. 306 seems rather to belong to type A5, characterized by a defined shoulder and a treatment of the lip "showing a close relationship to Minyan ware" with which the wheelmade technique of our example accords. The flanked saltires (Mot. 30) of 303 and multiple zigzags (Mot. 7) of 302, in each case arranged in a horizontal band in the handle zone, are characteristic of such bowls, whereas the curving festoons of 305 may imitate the incised festoons of Argive Minyan.

No. 313 consists of two fragments from a large pithos or barrel jar (Type C1) with offset rim with stringholes and flange for lid, a type well-known from Aegina and other sites. No. 314, a large wall fragment, and 315, a pierced horizontal lug, come from similar pithoi. The wheel patterns (Mot. 100), stars (Mot. 122), and crosshatched lozenges (Mots. 20–21) belong to the well-known decorative repertory of these pithoi, a group which may have originated in Aegina.

See above, note 76. Like Furumark's study of Mycenaean Pottery (Arne Furumark, The Mycenaean Pottery, Stockholm, 1942) Buck concentrates on a typological arrangement of shapes and motives, and refers to, but does not illustrate, specific vases.

83 See above, note 76. Like Furumark's study of Mycenaean Pottery (Arne Furumark, The Mycenaean Pottery, Stockholm, 1942) Buck concentrates on a typological arrangement of shapes and motives, and refers to, but does not illustrate, specific vases.
84 See Buck, p. 284. Nos. 302–303 closely resemble in decoration the pedestalled example from Lerna (Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pl. 42, a) which is early.
85 See Buck, p. 284. E.g., Black Minyan bowl from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, c, from House D). See also Buck, p. 234.
86 E.g., Black Minyan bowl from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, c, from House D). See also Buck, p. 234.
87 E.g., Black Minyan bowl from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, c, from House D). See also Buck, p. 234.
88 E.g., Black Minyan bowl from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, c, from House D). See also Buck, p. 234.
89 E.g., Black Minyan bowl from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, c, from House D). See also Buck, p. 234.
90 E.g., Black Minyan bowl from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, c, from House D). See also Buck, p. 234.
91 E.g., Black Minyan bowl from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, c, from House D). See also Buck, p. 234.
92 E.g., Black Minyan bowl from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, c, from House D). See also Buck, p. 234.
POTTERY: PERIOD OF LERNA V

Nos. 307–312 are sherds from pots of uncertain shape, 312 having been cut down into a button or whorl with a central piercing. They are interesting chiefly for their decoration, 307 having a certain affinity to the decorated Yellow Minyan of Eutresis and the Fine Matte-painted of Zygouries.93 Nos. 308–309 are of standard type, but 310–311 are different, and in their parallel diagonal lines and less adhesive paint resemble the Dark-on-Light Middle Helladic Glazed ware from Asine and Lerna.94

The jug fragments, 316–317, seem to anticipate Mycenaean, and may well be from the end of the period or even from the time of Lerna VI. The wheelmade neck with flaring rim is paralleled in the coarse undecorated pitchers 353–354, and is similar to a jug from the penultimate phase of Lerna V.95

CLASS II—DARK PAINT ON LIGHT SLIP (318–323; Pls. 21, 71–73)

While not so large as the preceding class, the small number of examples in the catalogue is perhaps misleading. Because of the poor preservation of the slip, which has often flaked off removing the painted decoration, there are not many examples worth including, but nearly every Middle Helladic well contained fragments of large pots in this technique.96 It is tempting to consider it an Attic substitute for the more standard coarse Matte-painted of Class I, but if so its occurrence was not restricted to Athens.97

No. 318 is a large pithos of C1 shape with an elaborate panelled decoration of hatched lozenges, opposed latticed triangles, and interlocking triangles, but the whole poorly preserved. No. 319 is the better part of a large conical lid with small loop handle and the bottom edge bevelled to fit against the interior flange of a pithos of about the same size as 318. It is similar to the undecorated example 369. The remaining examples are sherds: 320 from the rim of a pithos like 318, 321 the rim and handle of an open bowl like 302–305 of Class I, and 322 from a large closed pot of indeterminate form. No. 323, from a carinated bowl with vertical loop handle, shows the influence of Minyan ware and is of Buck’s Shape A6.98 With the exception of 318 the patterns are not noteworthy.

It is possible that 371, from a beak-spouted bowl of coarse gritty red clay with traces of creamy white slip, once bore Matte-painted decoration, no trace of which is preserved.99

CLASS III—LIGHT-ON-DARK (324-330; Pls. 22, 73–74)

Once again the number of items in the catalogue minimizes the occurrence of this class at Athens, where most Middle Helladic deposits yielded a considerable quantity.100 Coming from large heavy pots, badly broken and with only a few simple patterns, they add nothing to the better preserved examples. Their simplicity and their resemblance in clay and technical details to the coarse undecorated ware would suggest that a good proportion of this class was made locally.

Nos. 324–327 are fairly complete amphoras of three different types. Nos. 325–326 of the same shape as 301 (Buck C8) have simpler decoration, almost obliterated, but the long rays of 326 relate the pattern to the more canonical pendant triangles of the Class I example. No. 326 could thus well be a local imitation of an imported early amphora such as 301. No. 324 with

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93 Eutresis, p. 168, fig. 235, 3; Zygouries, p. 132, fig. 126, 12.
94 Asine, p. 275, fig. 190, which Persson considers a possible import from Phylakopi. Cf. Caskey’s remarks (Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 298) and the example from Lerna V (pl. 70, k) which also has a similar decorative scheme.
95 Hesperia, XXXIII, 1954, pl. 7, b (right).
96 Examples noted in R 28:1, S 27:1, S 27:2 and T 26:2.
97 Pithoi in the same fabric have been found at Eutresis and elsewhere (Eutresis, pp. 145, 149, fig. 205, pl. XIV). The pottery from an early tholos tomb in Messenia seems also to have been of this White Slipped variety (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1954, pp. 159–160, nos. 1–5, pl. 37).
98 Buck, pp. 248, 284. Asine, p. 273, fig. 189, 2 is a particularly good parallel for our fragment.
99 Cf. vases 2 and 3 from the early tholos tomb near Pylos cited above, note 97.
100 Especially from R 28:1, S 27:1, S 27:2, T 24:1.
horizontally set loop handles is really a small version of the pithos type with indrawn mouth (C5). Its decoration, a zone of zigzag lines and another of concentric arcs tastefully arranged above the handles, is a simplified version of the scheme on a Light-on-Dark jar of the same shape from the upper Middle Helladic stratum at Lerna. The latter in turn is related to the Light-on-Dark Glazed ware jars from Aegina and Asine, which are of Cretan or, more probably, Cycladic inspiration. No. 327 with vertical handles from just below the rim may be an early version of the small two-handled jar (D6), although the rim which is pulled out into two pour channels is unusual. Its pattern is almost obliterated.

No. 329 is a large hydria with two sets of handles (C7), the upper ones vertical and placed on the shoulders as in the C8 type amphora, the lower horizontal lugs resembling those of the closed jar or pithos (C5). Little trace of decoration remains, but it seems to have consisted mainly of large pendant triangles. A similar example comes from the North Slope. No. 330 is a pithos or barrel jar (C1) resembling the fragmentary examples of Class I and II (313-315 and 318) we have already discussed. Its decoration is simpler, consisting merely of crossing diagonal lines and concentric arcs.

The most interesting vase in this class is 328, an intact deep bowl with tubular spout and vertical handle. It is listed by Buck under his B4 shape, although most have the basket handle of our undecorated version 370. He claims a Cycladic origin for the shape and points out that the Cycladic examples "have a more exaggerated protrusion at the tip (of the spout) . . . None from the Cyclades is reported as having a basket handle." Ours is thus more Cycladic than most of the mainland examples, and is very likely an import. Only the pattern of short vertical strokes on the rim is preserved in the original matt white paint; the zone of pendant triangles on the shoulder now appears in the original red surface against the lighter incrustation of the wall.

CLASS IV—FINE DARK-ON-LIGHT MATTPAINTED (331-341; Pls. 23, 71)

This fine ware was first described by Blegen in his publication of the Korakou material. The clay, ranging from greenish yellow to buff or almost white, is well refined, and the vases, which are usually handmade, have thin delicate walls. The patterns in dull black, gray or brown are made up of fine linear motives, with occasional spirals or concentric circles. In some cases (e.g. 333) the panel arrangement and the fine geometric detail anticipate a later Mycenaean (particularly Myc. III B) style in a remarkable manner, as Buck also points out. Occasionally (333, 335) the vases are wheelmade, and then the attribution to decorated Yellow Minyan or to Fine Matt painted is purely academic.

Nos. 331-336 belong to deep one- or two-handled cups of Buck's shapes A11 and A12, which constitute the majority of examples in this ware at other sites as well. Only 336 has the strongly carinated profile of A11, which was usually equipped with one or two high-slung rib-

101 This example, although published (Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 338, fig. 20), is not included by Buck and differs somewhat from the other examples of his shape C5.
102 Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pl. 17, e (from Grave B. 12, almost certainly belonging to "later phases of the period," p. 35).
103 Welter, Aigina, figs. 17-18 (fig. 17 has polychrome decoration with red details superimposed on the white); Asine, p. 277, fig. 191. Persson argues for mainland manufacture under Cycladic influence.
104 The examples cited under D6 by Buck (p. 249) are all late and show the influence of Yellow Minyan in their flat ribbon handles and offset rims (cf. Prosymna, I, p. 383, II, fig. 646).
105 Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 555, fig. 11, a.
106 Buck, p. 286. Phylakopi, pl. XIX, 8 has a spout much like ours. Cf. Åberg, Bronzezeitliche und Frühisenzeitliche Chronologie, IV, p. 130, fig. 240 (Thera).
107 Korakou, p. 27, type 6.
108 Buck, p. 308. There can, of course, be no question of direct continuity as there is a time gap of 200-300 years, and Buck's hypothesis of a resurgence of native preferences in later Mycenaean seems the only possible explanation. The resemblance between M.H. Matt painted and Myc. III B does require caution in assigning sherds from unstratified contexts, and of the North Slope material classified as Mycenaean the following seemed to me to be almost certainly Fine Matt painted: A.P. 1999, 1405-1406, 1416 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 560, fig. 14, a, g, h, r).
bon handles under the influence of the Minyan kantharos. A12 is less strongly carinated and is distinguished by a rather heavy rolled handle. It was certainly more popular than the three examples cited by Buck would indicate; to this type belong 331-332 and probably also 333-335. The patterns of 331-332 are badly effaced, but a water color of 331 made soon after its discovery showed a pattern of concentric circles with a double hatched lozenge between. No. 332 preserves a circle filled with dots near the handle. Vertical framing lines near the handle and curving arcs on the interior of the lip are characteristic of these cups.

The most interesting example is 333, not only because its well-preserved panel decoration anticipates Mycenaean, but also because certain technical peculiarities suggest that it may have been a Fehlbrand. The larger fragment has been deeply indented, either accidentally while in leatherhard condition or intentionally to form a pour channel, and the smaller fragment has been burnt to a dark greenish gray color.

The finest example of this class from Athens is the intact hole-mouthed jar 338, which reproduces in Mattpainted technique the well-known Middle Minoan shape, although its immediate ancestry should perhaps be sought in the Cyclades. The fine zonal pattern below the rim is Buck’s Mot. 8, found only on this vase and on a sherd from Eleusis, but the S-spiral band descending below the spout occurs in more elaborate form on a jar of similar shape from Grave Beta at Mycenae. This latter should give the general chronological range toward the end of Middle Helladic. I know of no parallel for the melon-like arrangement of vertical lines on the body. The presence, on the wall a little above the base, of a potter’s mark lightly incised before firing, which in form is closely paralleled by those on Middle Cycladic pots from Phylakopi, might suggest a Cycladic origin, although somewhat similar marks occur on Coarse ware from Lerna and Asine. No. 339, the rim fragment of a rounded pot with plain mouth, may have come from a similar but less globular jar, also with fine linear patterns on the shoulder and vertical lines on the body.

No. 340, a series of non-joining fragments from a larger closed pot, shows a pattern of pendant loops similar to that of 339, repeated on a larger scale on the wall and with horizontal bands framing a hatched zigzag pattern.

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109 Buck, pp. 244, 284-285. Aigina, p. 21, fig. 24; Asine, p. 268, fig. 186, 1; Eutresis, pl. XV, 1; Korakou, p. 28, fig. 38 (Gonia); Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pl. 43, b, f (Lerna).
110 Buck, p. 244. In addition to the Agora examples, add Eutresis, pl. XV, 3-4 (which are called “small jugs” by Miss Goldman, pp. 154-155); North Slope A.P. 1399 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 560, fig. 14, a).
111 See above, note 108. All motives of the composition can be matched in other examples of Fine Mattpainted (Buck’s Mots. 49, 118A, 123, pls. 43, 44), and it is the arrangement rather than the details that suggest Myc. III B.
112 Shear, Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 338, considered it certainly a Fehlbrand, but Homer Thompson inclines to the view that the indentation was intentional (cf. the pour channels on 327 and perhaps more conclusively the rims of Eutresis, pl. XV, 4, p. 158, fig. 230, 1 which are described as “trefoil-mouthed jugs”). In this case the burning of the smaller fragment might be regarded as accidental after breakage. If 333 could be regarded as a certified Fehlbrand, it would be an important argument for local production of this class of Fine Mattpainted, but in the author’s opinion the evidence is not conclusive either way.
113 Also Buck, p. 246, B6, where he cites only the Agora vase and some fragments from Korakou (Korakou, p. 26, fig. 35, 8, 14) in Mattpainted ware. An import of Middle Minoan shape was found in the M.H. Grave J 4 at Lerna along with Argive Minyan and Fine Mattpainted (Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pl. 43, c), and by the time of Lerna VI this shape had been incorporated into the L.H. I repertoire (Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pl. 16, c).
114 See also Buck, p. 294. Åberg, IV, p. 136, fig. 355 (Thera); Phylakopi, pl. XXV, 1-3 (probably later) but cf. pl. XVIII, 11-12 (fragments of same shape in earlier Mattpainted ware of Group 9, see pp. 116-117).
115 Pr. Eleusis, p. 102, fig. 82, 15, where the lines are doubled.
116 Mylonas, Anc. Myc., fig. 43, b.
117 There is a general resemblance to the White-slipped II Cyproite milk bowls (cf. S.C.E., I, pl. CXIV). A few fragments of such imports were found at Phylakopi (Phylakopi, pp. 158-159, fig. 148), in a deposit which should be contemporary with the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.
118 Phylakopi, pp. 177-180 and table. Our mark is closest to C6 and C9 (but the latter is reversed). Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, p. 34, pl. 15, c-f (Lerna); Asine, pp. 293-294, fig. 185, for which Frödin and Persson also draw Cycladic parallels. The occurrence of these potter’s marks may merely indicate close cultural interrelations at the close of the Middle Helladic period, rather than their being proof of Cycladic imports.
119 Perhaps a variant of Buck’s Mot. 9; cf. Eutresis, pl. XV, 2. Conceivably a North Slope sherd comes from the same pot where it narrows for the neck: A.P. 1416 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 560, fig. 14, r).
No. 341, also from a closed pot, has horizontal ribs, perhaps under Minyan influence, combined with fine matt-painted hatching in a style that is found elsewhere.\textsuperscript{120}

**CLASS V—YELLOW MINYAN WITH MATT-PAINTED DECORATION (299–300)**

See above under Yellow Minyan (p. 61).

**COARSE WARES (Periods of Lerna IV–VI; Pls. 24–27, 71–74)**

It is unlikely that our material includes anything earlier than E.H. III or the period of Lerna IV. The repertory ranges from very coarse handmade pots, some so crude they are difficult to date out of context (e.g. 384–385) through ordinary coarse domestic ware (the pitchers, amphoras, pithoi, etc. 353–359) to finer wheelmade and well-shaped vases of light buff clay (350–351) which are influenced by Yellow Minyan and are the immediate ancestors of undecorated Mycenaean. Unlike the Late Neolithic-E.H. I material of the preceding section, there is only a small group with incised or plastic decoration, and that is of a careless and inferior order (379–383).

The material in the Catalogue is presented typologically according to shapes: large bowls and cooking pots (342–346), jugs and pitchers (347–354), amphoras (355–357), pithoi (358–368), and a miscellaneous group (369–383) which includes two fragments with potter’s marks (377–378) and five with incised and plastic decoration (379–383).

The two pots (384–385) from the well shaft burial (I 9:2) are published separately at the end, but in view of their Subneolithic attribution, it seems advisable to consider them first.

**POTTERY FROM BURIAL I 9:2 (Pls. 27, 71)**

The two small vases, 384–385, are made of coarse, unusually gritty clay, with a dull orange-red slip, rudely burnished. They do not at all resemble our Neolithic Red Burnished either in technique or in shape. In form they are careless and warped, the conical foot of 384 being higher on one side and the rim of 385 far from a perfect circle. The handles which rise from the rim, small loops with vertical wall attachments on 384 and cleft lugs on 385, have no parallels in our Neolithic material, but are roughly matched in a group of crude Middle Helladic vases from other sites.\textsuperscript{121} We have presented the evidence of the fill of the shaft, which was predominantly Gray Minyan and Coarse ware, in support of a Middle Helladic date for the burial. On the other hand, the occurrence of a crude pot with a similar handle in Lerna IV,\textsuperscript{122} as well as the resemblance of the type of burial to the Early Helladic double tomb at Corinth, might suggest that this deposit should be dated somewhat earlier, i.e. to the time of Lerna IV or transitional to Middle Helladic.

The crude small handmade pitchers 347–348 and the fragmentary cup 376 have a resemblance, if only in their coarseness and irregularities, to the pots from the Metroon burial, but they lack the surfacing and may be considered more standard Middle Helladic Coarse ware.\textsuperscript{123}

**COOKING POTS (Pl. 24)**

The cooking pots, 343–346, represent a specialized group. They are all handmade of coarse micaceous clay, heavy but well-fashioned. Nos. 343 and 346 show a blackening of the exterior through use. The latter, although found in a Late Geometric context, agrees more closely with

\textsuperscript{120} A.P. 1372 and 1373 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 554, fig. 10, e–f); Asine, p. 290, fig. 199, 16; Eutresis, pp. 161–162, fig. 225.

\textsuperscript{121} See Miss Goldman’s remarks on the deterioration of Middle Helladic household pottery (Eutresis, pp. 175 f.) and cf. the handles of fig. 245, 5–6 with those of 384.

\textsuperscript{122} Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 9, c, which was found in House A, of the period of Lerna IV.

\textsuperscript{123} No. 348 has fairly close parallels at Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 178, fig. 246, 2) and Asine (Asine, p. 281, fig. 198, 1). For 376, cf. Eutresis, p. 179, fig. 248.
Middle Helladic cooking pots, and may be considered a survival along with the fragmentary Minyan ware (283 and 292) found in the same area.\(^{124}\) The raised base of 344 and the high-swung handle (or handles?) of 345 are found in Middle Helladic cooking pots from Asine\(^{125}\) and suggest the influence of Minyan ware.

**STANDARD DOMESTIC WARE (Pls. 24–27, 71–74)**

Much of the standard domestic ware finds parallels in the Matt painted repertory of shapes. This is true of 342, a large open bowl of Buck’s shape A1, of the spouted bowl, 370 (B4), which closely resembles our Light-on-Dark example, 328, of the pithos cover 369 (D3), which parallels the white-slipped example 319, and the belly-handled amphoras or storage jars, 356–357 (C5).

This last shape becomes the customary form for undecorated pithoi, occurring in numerous fragmentary examples (359-361 and 363-365) and in the outsize example, 358, where the handles are above the greatest circumference. The barrel jar (C1), which was the popular Matt painted pithos shape, is not found in an undecorated version, but the wide-mouthed storage jar (C2) occurs in several examples. These may not have had handles, and are distinguished by small decorative bosses,\(^{126}\) on 362 associated with a small incised chevron and on 377 with a more elaborate potter’s mark.\(^{127}\) Of plastically decorated pithos fragments, 366 has a simple raised band with thumbmarks below the neck and 367 has one or more bands with diagonal slashes imitating ropework, both much inferior to the comparable Late Neolithic examples (compare 161, 165–169 with 366; 159, 164 and 170 with 367). No. 368, a squat knob with a cuplike depression, may be from the wall of a very large pithos.\(^{128}\)

The large pitchers, 353-354, and the amphora with vertical handles, 355, are probably less directly connected with Matt painted shapes. Their closest parallel is the large hydria with vertical handles (C6) found in the Shaft Grave period and in later Middle Helladic levels, for which Buck assumes an evolution during Middle Helladic with some influence of Minyan types.\(^{129}\)

The small jug with cut-away neck, 349, of coarse heavy fabric, looks early and has some parallels in early Matt painted ware,\(^{130}\) but its development into 350–351 is surely due to the influence of Yellow Minyan ware, and one must assume a considerable time span.\(^{131}\) No. 350 is handmade with a rolled handle, whereas 351 is wheelmade of fine orange-buff clay with a metallic ribbon handle. It is one of the most pleasing shapes evolved in the Middle Helladic period and it leads directly into Mycenaean; whether one terms it Yellow Minyan or finer Coarse ware is a matter of choice.\(^{132}\)

The fragments 373-375 also occupy an intermediate position between fine and coarse, and 373 might well be called an imitation of Yellow Minyan. It is wheelmade of light orange-brown clay covered with a thin orange wash; in shape it is an imitation of the Minyan goblet (cf. 295 in Yellow Minyan).

\(^{124}\) Hesperia, Suppl. II, 1989, p. 33, fig. 20 (VII, 9). Published with the Geometric offerings, although Young comments: “The rolled handle is unusual for coarse pitchers at this period, as also the tall shape and shallow neck.” The way in which the rolled handle has been thrust through the wall and finished off in a lumpy fashion agrees with other Middle Helladic examples. For the Minyan ware and an obsidian blade from the same cemetery, see ibid., pp. 115–116, fig. 83, B 22–B 25.

\(^{125}\) Asine, p. 283, fig. 194, 2-3.

\(^{126}\) Cf. the complete examples from Asine (Asine, p. 281, fig. 193, 8–9), of which the second is also distinguished by “three small bosses set vertically” on the shoulder.

\(^{127}\) General similarity to G 12 and 13 of Edgar’s list from Phylakopi (Phylakopi, p. 179). 378, the base of a small closed pot, has a graffito of three parallel strokes (Edgar’s A 5 or A 12) which resembles those on Coarse ware from the filling of Shaft Grave I at Lerna (Hesperia, XXXV, 1955, pl. 15, c, f).

\(^{128}\) Cf. the Middle Helladic knobbed pithoi from Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 34, figs. 35, 1; 41); also the complete E.H. knobbed pithos from Zygiouries (Zygiouries, p. 120, fig. 112). Neither has the hollowed interior of our knob which could perhaps have been used for a thumbhold when shifting the empty pithos.

\(^{129}\) Buck, p. 296.

\(^{130}\) Buck, p. 249, Shape B9 and references.

\(^{131}\) So also Buck for his Shape B14, p. 295.

\(^{132}\) The surface is unpolished and rather soft, so that the vase is less Yellow Minyan in texture than in shape.
Little need be said about the incised or plastically decorated fragments 379-383 which show the customary deterioration of this class in Middle Helladic. Similar coarse scratchy incisions are found at Eutresis, as well as on the North Slope, and are related to Valmin’s “Adriatic” ware.

3. ARTIFACTS

(Pls. 28, 77)

There are no statuettes or works of sculpture in the Middle Helladic deposits, but this is not unexpected. The Early and Middle Helladic periods represented a decline in such works after the Neolithic floriit, and not until Mycenaean times does production become common. The artifacts are all purely utilitarian: oval and spherical grinders (387-390), oval millstones or querns of the well-known saddle shape (391-395) which do not differ from those found in Neolithic contexts, and obsidian blades (400-401). Worth noting is the flint blade with serrated edge, 399, the obsidian arrow-tip of hafted type, 386, from the fill of the Metron burial shaft, and the large obsidian matrix, 398. No. 396 is apparently a paving stone, our only bit of architectural evidence for Early to Middle Helladic times, and 397 is a worked stone of uncertain purpose.

From S 27:2, one of the Middle Helladic wells, came five large pieces of staghorn, sawn and whittled, or bored vertically or transversely, for use as handles (402-406). No. 406 shows the branching of the antler, which has been cut off neatly above its root. Such objects do not occur in our Neolithic wells, and may be compared with the worked antler fragments found in transitional Middle Helladic contexts at Asine (i.e. contemporary with Lerna IV), for which Frödin and Persson claim an Indo-European origin.

Nos. 407-408 are small conical terracotta spindle whorls, undecorated and differing little from the Neolithic examples, 234-235.

4. RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

As we have indicated above (p. 51), the absence of any real stratigraphy for the Early and Middle Helladic deposits necessitates an evaluation of our material in terms of what has been found stratified at prehistoric habitation sites in the Argolid and in Central Greece. Among these sites Korakou, Zygouries, Asine, and Eutresis especially furnish valuable parallels, but the newest excavations by J. L. Caskey at Lerna have proved most valuable because of the clear separation of typical Early Helladic (E.H. II) from a later intrusive culture, sometimes called E.H. III, sometimes M.H. I or “transitional to Middle Helladic” at other sites. At

133 Eutresis, p. 179, fig. 250; A.P. 1915-1917, 1920 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 545, fig. 4, a-c, f) wrongly called, in my opinion, Early Helladic. See also discussion under 881 below.

134 For Early Helladic statuettes, see fragment from Lerna IV (Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pl. 22, j-k); Zygouries, pl. XXI, 1-3; Eutresis, p. 197, fig. 269, 2, 4, 5. They are even rarer in Middle Helladic contexts: e.g. Eutresis, fig. 269, 8 (the head of an animal attached to a ring handle in Gray Minyan clay). A Middle Helladic fragmentary statuette (T 3710) was found in 1965 in the prehistoric deposit in the South Square, M 12:2, and will be discussed by Richard Nicholls in the Agora publication. It has an incised dotted and chevron pattern and does not closely resemble any of the published statuettes.

135 This find consisted of a large piece of obsidian (0.14 × 0.14 × 0.05 m.) and four smaller chunks found in an unstratified context in the central area of the Agora (Section Lambda, which has produced little prehistoric but is not far removed from the prehistoric deposits of the South Road in Sections Tau and Psi). Four small prehistoric sherds were found in the area; they are not clearly Neolithic and may more probably be considered Middle Helladic. Although its exact period cannot be vouched for, it has seemed appropriate to include this enormous matrix.

136 Asine, pp. 233-254, fig. 178. But against this theory, cf. Blegen’s red deer antler fragments from Zygouries, House D, which is apparently of the period of Lerna III (Zygouries, p. 198, fig. 189).

RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

Lerna the burning of the House of the Tiles at the end of Lerna III and the designation of its area as taboo by a covering tumulus suggest that the culture of Lerna IV was that of a different people. This conclusion is supported by a new house type, the apsidal megaron, ubiquitous bothroi, and new classes of pottery, among them Patterned ware, “Smear Ware,” deep bowls with two handles ranging from dark slipped and burnished handmade examples (cf. our 252) to gray wheelmade ones which are in fabric indistinguishable from Gray Minyan, and some exotic pieces with Trojan connections (cf. our 250). There was no break between Lerna IV and V, which represents the developed Middle Helladic stratum with the full complement of characteristic features: intramural burials in cist graves, Gray Minyan in the usual ring-stemmed goblets (cf. our 272–285), kantharoi (286–289), etc., the first appearance of Matte painted ware, along with many examples of imported pottery, such as Cycladic duck vases (cf. our 256) and Middle Minoan I and II pots. With Lerna VI we come to the end of Middle Helladic, the time of the Royal Shaft Graves at Mycenae and Late Helladic I.

Although the Agora material apparently covers the entire range from Lerna III through VI, the first and last phases are represented only minimally, Lerna IV somewhat more fully, and it is only with Lerna V that we have a more or less complete inventory of types. Several questions arise. Should one assume a chronological gap between the Neolithic wells and the later wells? Only a few pieces from the latter (e.g. 238, 239) seem to evolve directly from the former, and the material of Lerna III types is woefully meager. If, however, our Neolithic material is in part contemporary with what has been called E.H. I elsewhere, the actual gap may not be so great. At the lower end too there is an apparent gap between our latest Middle Helladic and our earliest Mycenaean (e.g. Grave XVI, the Lily Bowl Grave), perhaps because Middle Helladic forms may have lasted longer in Athens than in those centers which were to provide the impetus for Mycenaean development (see below, pp. 149–150). Among the pieces which may be coeval with Lerna VI or Late Helladic I in the Argolid, one may cite some of the Fine Matte painted (e.g. 336, 338), the Yellow Minyan goblet stem (296), and some of the Undecorated and Coarse ware (350, 351, 353, 354, 378).

In terms of absolute dates for these deposits we are likewise dependent on other excavations, where externally datable objects such as fragments of Minoan pottery or material susceptible to C-14 analysis have been found. Here again Lerna is especially helpful. Radioactive carbon dates from the destruction of the House of the Tiles range from the twenty-third to the twenty-first century B.C.E. Lerna III was, however, a long period with at least six architectural phases, its beginnings probably going back to middle Troy I and its *floruit* coeval with Troy II. Weinberg postulates dates ca. 2800 to 2300 or 2200 B.C.E. for E.H. II. Lerna IV would then comprise the last two or three centuries of the third millennium with the beginnings of Lerna V and Middle Helladic dated by the imported M.M. Ia fragments, which ought to be about contemporary with the beginning of the XIIth dynasty or the early second millennium. Lerna V must have been a fairly long period of perhaps four centuries, since it is not until Lerna VI that we pick up parallels with the Royal Grave Circles at Mycenae and attendant synchronisms with the end of the Second Intermediate Period and the beginnings of the XVIIIth dynasty (1580 B.C.E.). With this, however, we are dealing with Mycenaean chronology.

141 Helene Kantor’s equation of M.M. II A with the reign of Amenemhet II (1929–1895 B.C.E.), based on the Tod Treasure (see “The Relative Chronology of Egypt and its Foreign Correlations,” in Ehrich, Chronologies in Old World Archaeology, 1965, pp. 19–21) would push back the beginnings of Middle Minoan at least to the start of the XIIth dynasty and the early years of the second millennium. See also Steinberg, Rel. Chron., p. 308.
CATALOGUE

1. POTTERY

PERIOD OF LERNA III OR EARLIER (E.H. I-II)

HEAVILY BURNISHED (237–239; Pls. 16, 70)

237. Fragment of Mottled Pot. Pls. 16, 70.


Coarse clay, brownish with red core; ext. lustrous slip fired in deliberate patches of red, yellowish brown and black; int. unfinished with striations.

The wall is comparatively thin, and the mottled surface differs from that on some of our Neolithic Red Burnished (e.g. 5); furthermore the shape is not found in our Neolithic repertory, although it is difficult to ascertain exactly what shape is represented by this fragment. The intentional and colorful mottling resembles that of E.H. II ware from Zygouries (Zygouries, pls. VII, 2, IX, 1), and the contemporary mottled ware from Vasiliki in Crete (Seager, Trans. Dept. of Arch., Univ. of Penna., 1905, Vol. I, Part III, pp. 215ff.).

Cf. a somewhat similar fragment from the North Slope (Hesperia, VI, 1987, p. 548, fig. 3, n).

See also p. 55.

238. Rim Fragment with Lug Handle. Pls. 16.

P 9751. Well, T 24:1. Max. dim. 0.049 m. Small fragment from rim (?) of a large bowl with broad lug handle set just below the plain lip. Red to gray clay, slipped and burnished ext., mottled in firing.

This fragment can be compared with our Red Burnished Neolithic bowls with lug handles (e.g. 29 and 30), and may possibly be Neolithic. If so, it is the only Neolithic fragment in this well.

See also p. 55.

239. Pared Spout from Open Bowl or Sauceboat. Pl 16.

P 13955. Well, R 28:1. P.L. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.04 m. Fragment of long open spout from open bowl or sauceboat.

Gritty reddish clay with mica; burnished reddish brown slip outside.

This fragment is handmade and shows clear marks of paring of the surface on the exterior.

Cf. pared spout of a sauceboat in White ware from the First Meter Deposit at Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 88, pl. I, 7). Also sauceboat spout in Cream Slipped and Polished ware from the North Slope (A.P. 1302 = Hesperia, VI, 1987, p. 548, fig. 3, b).

See also p. 55.

E.H. I or II.

SLIPPED AND POLISHED (240–244; Pls. 16, 70)

240. Fragment from Bowl with Incurved Rim. Pls. 16, 70.

P 17545. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.035 m., est. D. ca. 0.20 m. Rim fragment from an open bowl, with part of plain upturned rim and a bit of lower wall preserved.

Buff clay; highly polished orange-red slip inside and out, somewhat flaked. Apparently handmade, although some trace of horizontal lines which are perhaps the result of the burnishing tool.

In shape not exactly like the bowl from Zygouries (Zygouries, pl. VII, 1) with fine horizontal lines on polished ext. (see p. 78, note 1) and crackled black Urfirnis on int. That example which is certainly E.H. II has a more incurved rim and a raised base; ours has a straighter, more upturned rim and may possibly be Middle Helladic (cf. 258, 260–261).

See also p. 56.

E.H. II or M.H. I?

241. Fragment from Sauceboat. Pl. 16.

P 14844. Stratified Deposit at E-F 2–3:2, Layer XVb. P.H. 0.089 m. Fragment preserves part of plain lip and start of spout of a round-bodied vase, probably a sauceboat.

Fine hard pinkish buff clay; hard polished creamy white slip int. and ext., very well preserved.
This is the Fine Slipped and Polished ware (Class A II) of E.H. II so well described by Blegen (Zygouries, pp. 78-88) and known from a number of sites (Eutresis, pp. 97 f., fig. 127, pl. VI, 1; Astine, p. 220, fig. 161, 5; Lerna, Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 289). At Athens it occurs on the North Slope (A.P. 1301-1304, 1306, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 542, fig. 8, a-d, f) and in the Grotto above the Asklepieion on the South Slope (Levi, Abitazioni, pp. 479-480, figs. 64-65).

See also p. 56.

E.H. II.

242. Rim Fragment from Open Bowl or Sauceboat. Pls. 16, 70.

P 18954. Well, R 28:1. P.H. 0.042 m., P.W. 0.03 m. Rim fragment from open bowl with plain lip.

Fine hard dark-buff clay; lustrous polished slip, creamy yellow int., streaky and silvery ext., somewhat peeled.

E.H. II.

243. Rim Fragment from Open Bowl or Sauceboat. Pl. 16.

P 14843. Prehistoric fill in Tholos Trench Q, Room A, layer IV, G-H 11-12. P.H. 0.026 m. Fragment from rim of round-bodied vase with plain lip, probably a sauceboat.

Fine hard pinkish buff clay, polished creamy slip int. and ext., well preserved.

Cf. similar rim fragment P 25716 (O-Q 16-17) on which the slip is less well preserved; also sherds P 13949 (S 27:1), P 15699 (R 21:4) and P 13895 (S 27:4) with no ext. edge preserved. The last, from a Neolithic context, resembles E.H. II Slipped and Polished more closely than it does Neolithic White Slipped and Polished (99-100).

E.H. II.

244. Fragment of Foot-ring from Open Pot. Pls. 16, 70.

P 19974. Well, T 26:2. P.H. 0.017 m. Fragment of a neat flaring foot-ring from an open pot.

Fine hard pinkish buff clay, polished creamy slip on ext. of foot and int. of pot; underside of foot reserved.

Perhaps from a sauceboat on a high flaring foot (cf. Eutresis, p. 94, fig. 118), or from a flaring bowl (cf. Zygouries, p. 81, fig. 67, 298).

E.H. II.

245. Fragment of Lid with Flange. Pl. 16.

P 13950. Well, S 27:1. P.H. 0.028 m., est. D. flange ca. 0.08 m. Fragment of a lid with flange, about one quarter preserved, but outer edge and lower edge of flange broken and chipped.

Fine clay, pinkish to gray, buff at surfaces; thick fabric; much worn crackly black glaze above, which resembles Urfirnis.

See also p. 56.

E.H. II?

246. Small Fragment from Closed Pot. Pl. 16.

P 13958. Well, R 28:1. P.H. 0.022 m., P.W. 0.024 m. Small fragment from wall of a closed pot.

Fine clay with grit, even pale gray throughout; lustrous black burnished slip outside. Deep incision in a pattern of hatched triangles.

Much finer than 253-255. This is closest to the sherds of Early Cycladic origin from the First Meter Deposit at Eutresis (cf. Eutresis, p. 81, fig. 97, 2). See also p. 56.

E.H. I or II.

PERIOD OF LERNA IV (E.H. III)

PATTERNED WARE (247-249; Pls. 16, 70)

247. Fragment from Tankard (?). Pls. 16, 70.

P 13957. Well, R 26:1. P.H. 0.025 m., P.W. 0.036 m. Small fragment from wall of closed pot.

Pale buff clay with fine grit; dark brownish glaze, crackled, with decoration of lozenges and crosshatching, presumably once in matt white, which has flaked off leaving the glaze darker underneath.

This seems clearly to be a small fragment of Light-on-Dark Patterned ware (Blegen’s Class C II, Korakou, p. 10), perhaps from a tankard such as Eutresis, pl. VIII, cf. pp. 117-118, fig. 155, 2, 5. See also p. 57 and note 40.

E.H. III.

248. Sherd from Rim of Tankard (?). Pls. 16.

P 13963. Well, R 28:1. Max. dim. 0.023 m. Small sherd from a widely splayed rim.

Gritty dark pinkish buff clay; dull black glaze int. and ext. Decoration in white on flaring, inner surface of rim: crosshatched lozenges between 2 thin bands; one band at base of rim on ext.

Technique the same as on 247 and 249. Perhaps only one or two vases are represented, since all are from the same context.

See also p. 57.

E.H. III.
249. Fragment from Neck of Tankard (?). Pls. 16, 70.  
P 19956. Well, R 28:1. P.H. 0.082 m., P.W. 0.035 m.  
Fragment preserves start of neck from shoulder of a  
closed pot.  
Pale buff clay with fine grit; dull thin brownish  
glaze ext. and on int. of neck; on ext. neck, thin  
horizontal bands in added white. Crackled glaze re- 
sembles Urfirnis.  
Perhaps from the neck of a tankard like Eutresis,  
pl. VIII.  
See also p. 57.  
E.H. III.

Black Burnished (250-252; Pls. 16, 70)

250. Intact Jar with Lug Handles. Pl. 16.  
P 3984. Well, T 24:1. Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 385,  
fig. 17; A.J.A., XLI, 1937, p. 178, fig. 1. H. 0.15 m.,  
D. 0.145 m. Handmade jar, intact except for chips  
missing from lip and one lug broken.  
Coarse clay, brick red to brown; grayish brown to  
black burnished surface ext. and on int. of neck.  
Good shape with flat bottom, ovoid body and low  
neck curving concavely into flaring rim. Two small  
pierced vertical lugs on shoulder. Above each lug  
a pair of small holes is pierced in the rim.  
This pot is somewhat reminiscent of the Neolithic  
Red Burnished biconical jars (1-18), with which it was  
associated by Shear (Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 387). It  
is, however, certainly later, and probably of the  
period of Lerna IV. The black burnished fabric sug- 
gests Trojan-Anatolian connections, but no very close  
parallels have been found. See Blegen, Troy, I, fig.  
401, 37.1117, a black burnished pot from Troy IIId,  
which has double lugs with vertical stringholes. Cf.  
the M.H. I example with 2 pairs of stringholes at rim  
and no lugs (Asine, p. 265, fig. 184, 8) for which Pers- 
son also cites Trojan parallels.  
See also p. 57.  
E.H. III, probably imported from the Troad.

251. Gray Burnished Bowl. Pls. 16, 70.  
P 10853. Well, S 27:2. H. 0.10 m., D. lip 0.18 m.  
Gray polished bowl about one half preserved; wall  
fragments and most of base restored in plaster.  
Handmade of gritty red clay; surface slipped and  
burnished to a silvery gray-black, with irregular bur- 
nishing strokes visible on int.  
Graceful shape with flat base, steep sides curving  
in from well-defined shoulder to plain lip, thickened  
on int.  
Cf. the Black Burnished bowls from Eutresis and  
Aegina which occur in a transitional E.H.-M.H.  
context (Eutresis, p. 184, fig. 177). Also Phylakopi,  
pp. 154, 163, pl. XXXIII, 2.  
See also p. 57.  
E.H. III, perhaps imported from the Cyclades.

252. Intact Two-handled Jar with Bosses.  
Pl. 16.  
P 10523. Well, R 28:1. J.H.S., LVII, 1937, p. 121,  
fig. 1, middle; Arch. Anz., 1987, cols. 105-106, fig. 6,  
middle. H. 0.145 m., D. 0.162 m. Two-handled round  
jar; chip missing from lip, otherwise intact.  
Brick red clay, rather coarse; black burnished slip,  
considerably worn, mottled red to black in firing.  
Squat pot with wide mouth and flaring rim, an- 
gular body sloping to small depressed bottom, not  
quite symmetrically placed; two ear-shaped band  
handles set vertically on shoulder. Two button-like  
knobs on shoulder front and back. Very irregularly  
Made; one side much higher than the other.  
The closest parallels to this pot are from Early  
Bronze Age Anatolia and Macedonia, where examples  
of globular pots with knobs of Black Burnished ware  
are common. Cf. Troy, I, p. 383, fig. 398, 55.244, which  
has horizontal handles and only one knob on each  
side, from Phase IIg; Thermi, pl. XIII, 30, same  
general shape as our example from Town I; Pr. Mac.,  
p. 82, nos. 190, 271-2, 316. No. 271 (p. 186, pl. XIV)  
from Gonä was examined in the Museum at Thes- 
saloniki and is particularly close to ours in its fabric  
and warped shape.  
Cf. also the M.H. I (E.H. III ?) pot from Asine with  
3 pairs of nipple-like pellets (Asine, p. 265, fig. 184,  
11) and note also a general resemblance to the black-  
slipped two-handled bowls characteristic of Lerna IV  
(Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, pp. 296-297, pl. 70, i and  
references to other Proto-Minyan examples). These  
are more Proto-Minyan in appearance, some being  
wheelmade, and none seem to have had bosses.  
See also p. 57.  
E.H. III, probably a Macedonian import.

Incised Ware (253-255; Pls. 16, 70)

253. Fragment of Cycladic Pyxis.  
Pls. 16, 70.  
P 25719. From sand in bedrock cutting S. of W.  
part of Southeast Fountain House, O-Q 16-17. Max.  
dim. 0.05 m. Fragment preserves some of flat bottom  
and oblique wall, presumably from a pyxis.  
Handmade of gritty micaceous gray clay with  
traces of a dark polished slip. Incised decoration on  
wall: 2 parallel lines and apex of triangle or lozenge  
with punched dot.  
Probably an Early Cycladic import: cf. the pyxis  
type with tapering sides (Phylakopi, pl. IV, 1). Note  
the pyxis fragment from the transitional E.H. III to  
M.H. I level at Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 182, fig. 258, 2).  
Sherds of Cycladic-type pyxides from the North Slope  
(Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 357, fig. 27, c, i, j; VI, 1937,  
p. 545, fig. 4, d).  
See also p. 58.  
E.H. III or M.H. I.
POTTERY: PERIOD OF LERNA V, RED BURNISHED

254. Fragment of Cycladic Pyxis.  
   P 17494. Pit, B 21:15. Max. dim. 0.035 m. Fragment from wall of coarse pot.  
   Micaceous dark red clay with grits, brown at surface. Incised decoration on the outside: an oblique line of short, parallel diagonal strokes, a circle of dots within a ring, and an incised line at left.  
   Probably from the wall of an E.C. II pyxis: cf. the pyxis type with curving wall (Phylakopi, pl. IV, 3).  
   See also p. 58.  
   E.H. III or M.H. I?

255. Fragment of Lid from Cycladic Pyxis.  
   P 16654. Pit, B 21:15. Max. dim. 0.06 m., est. D. ca. 0.08 m. Rim fragment of a nearly flat round lid, slightly convex on top.  
   Coarse micaceous dark reddish brown clay, handmade. Incised decoration on outside: elongated dots or short strokes around edge; single and double rows of same between straight lines radiating from center.  
   Probably from the lid of an E.C. II pyxis: cf. Eutresis, p. 183, fig. 254. Possibly from the lid of the pyxis represented by the fragment 254.  
   See also p. 58.  
   E.H. III or M.H. I?

PERIOD OF LERNA V (MIDDLE HELLADIC)

CYCLADIC IMPORTS (256–257; Pls. 17, 70)

256. Fragmentary Cycladic Duck Vase.  
   Pls. 17, 70.  
   P 9742. Well, T 24:1. P.H. 0.12 m. Fragment of small ribbed askos, mended from many pieces; all of bottom and most of lower wall and back part missing.  
   Rounded upper body ornamented with horizontal ribs; lower wall, set at an angle, plain; straight neck, rising obliquely from near top, finished with a projecting lip flat on top. Very small vertical handle from below lip to top of pot, now missing.  
   Very dark red coarse clay; black slipped surface.  
   Clearly a Cycladic import; note the duck vases from Phylakopi (Phylakopi, pl. IV, 6, 8), without ribbing and with incision which was probably the original type.  
   Similar duck vases are found in early M.H. strata at Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 184, figs. 255, 256, 1), Aegina (Aigina, p. 14, figs. 12–15) and Lerna (Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pl. 42, d).  
   Other examples from Athens: South Slope (Δέλτ., I, 1915, Παράρτ., p. 34, fig. 1, 1); North Slope (Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 357, fig. 27, h; A.P. 1905, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 549, fig. 3, e); Philopappos Hill (4 examples, see note 20).  
   See also pp. 58.  
   M.H. I?

257. Fragment from Ring-shaped Vase (?).  
   Pl. 17.  
   Incised decoration: triangular groups of flaring lines.  
   Cf. more complete ring-shaped object, Black Burnished, from Greek excavations on South Slope (see above note 56) which occurred with M.H. A parallel with the Cycladic ring vases (Phylakopi, p. 91, pl. IV, 9) seems likely although its exact reconstruction is uncertain.  
   M.H. I?

RED BURNISHED WARE (258–269; Pls. 17, 70)

258. Fragmentary Red Burnished Bowl.  
   Pls. 17, 70.  
   P 16657. Pit, B 21:15. P.H. 0.092 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.29 m. Several joining fragments from body and rim of bowl with sloping wall and short upstanding rim; two floor fragments do not join.  
   Soft buff clay; highly polished red transparent slip, much worn.  
   Here there is a real difficulty whether one is dealing with an E.H. specimen (cf. profile with the Urfirnis bowl from Eutresis, Eutresis, p. 99, fig. 128, 5, or the example from the Isthmia, Hesperia, XXVII, 1958, pl. 12 b, b) or whether this is an early M.H. example leading directly to such bowls as 260–261. J.L. Caskey favors the attribution to Middle Helladic, with which the more strongly carinated profile seems better to accord.  
   See also pp. 59–60.  
   Middle Helladic?

259. Rim Fragment from Bowl.  
   Pls. 17, 70.  
   P 24754. Gully area of Southeast Fountain House and Mint, bedrock bottom, O–Q 16–17. P.H. 0.073 m., est. D. ca. 0.21. Five joining fragments from a bowl with vertical rim, similar in shape to 258.  
   Gritty orange-brown clay, somewhat darker at core, scattered white bits.  
   See also p. 59.  
   Middle Helladic?

P 10527. Well, R 28:1. H. 0.095 m., D. 0.25 m. Fragmentary low carinated bowl with base ring. All of base and about half of circumference of wall preserved, including one obliquely placed lug just above carination.

Coarse brick red clay, red throughout; highly polished red slip inside and out; handmade.

The shape, with a low neat foot-ring, a strong carination at shoulder and small lug handles pierced twice vertically, is one of the most pleasing Middle Helladic creations.

Similar examples occur elsewhere: Korakou, p. 18, fig. 25 (with offset lip); Eutresis, p. 127, fig. 170, 7 (profile identical to ours) and p. 130, fig. 174, 3; Argos (B.C.H., XXX, 1906, p. 19, fig. 22); Aegina (examples seen in Museum), often in company with duck vases. A Cycladic origin is probable (see above p. 59 and note 60).

Other examples from Athens: a large example, very similar to 260, from the M.H. deposit on the Hill of Philopappos (see above note 20) and fragments from the North Slope excavations (A.P. 1807, 1912: Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 543, fig. 3, g, 1, wrongly labelled E.H.), and from the recent Greek excavations on the South Slope (not yet illustrated).

See also p. 59.

Middle Helladic.

261. Fragmentary Red Burnished Bowl.

P 9995. Well, T 24:1. A.J.A., XLI, 1937, p. 178, fig. 1, H. 0.097 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.26 m. About one half of low carinated bowl preserved in three joining fragments.

Gray clay with large grits; surface slipped with red and burnished; fired unevenly red to brown.

Small low foot, slightly concave below; flaring sides almost without curve; upturned rim with plain lip. Horizontal lug handles, doubly pierced, just below lip.

Shape and dimensions almost identical with 260, but fabric less red throughout.

Cf. examples cited above, and a M.H. I bowl from Asine (Asine, p. 261, fig. 188, 18).

Middle Helladic.

262. Rim Fragment of Red Burnished Bowl.

P 10683. Well, S 27:2. H. 0.03 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.28 m. Fragment from rim and wall of a large open bowl with sharply upturned rim with a flat top projecting inward.

Gritty reddish clay with gray core; highly polished red slip, decorated in matt black paint with close-set vertical lines across top of rim, in panels; bands with vertical lines on wall below shoulder. Wheelmade.

This sherd is unique among the Agora material by virtue of its highly lustrous surface and dark matt paint. It is apparently an import.

Cf. fragment of similar wheelmade Red Burnished bowl from Siphnos (B.S.A., XLIV, 1949, p. 32, fig. 6, 5) which also, according to the description, had traces of groups of strokes on rim in purple matt paint. There is furthermore a fragment from Aegina in the sherd collection of the British School in Athens with groups of vertical strokes in white matt paint on a highly polished red surface; it comes from a similar, but not identical, open carinated bowl. Perhaps all should be restored on a pedestalled foot: cf. standed plate from Phylakopi (B.S.A., XVII, 1910–1911, pl. VII, 167).

See also p. 59.

Middle Helladic (Cycladic import?).

263. Rim Fragment from Shallow Bowl or Goblet.

P 15101. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.085 m., max. dim. 0.105 m. Fragment from shallow bowl (or pedestalled goblet) with angular wall and outturned flat-topped lip (profile same as 263).

Gritty red clay, brown at core; polished red slip inside and out, partially blackened in firing.

Cf. a very similar fragment from the North Slope excavations (Hesperia, II, 1938, p. 360, fig. 30, a) and uncatalogued examples from what seems to be a pure Middle Helladic deposit. These are fired partially black and approach the appearance of Argive Minyan. A.P. 1311 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 548, fig. 3, k) shows a horizontally pierced lug which may have been standard to this shape.

See also p. 59.

Middle Helladic.

264. Rim Fragment from Open Bowl or Plate.

P 10744. Well, S 27:2. P.H. 0.03 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.28 m. Fragment from rim and wall of a large open bowl with sharply upturned rim with a flat top projecting inward.

Gritty red clay with gray core; highly polished red slip, decorated in matt black paint with close-set vertical lines across top of rim, in panels; bands with vertical lines on wall below shoulder. Wheelmade.

This sherd is unique among the Agora material by virtue of its highly lustrous surface and dark matt paint. It is apparently an import.

Cf. fragment of similar wheelmade Red Burnished bowl from Siphnos (B.S.A., XLIV, 1949, p. 32, fig. 6, 5) which also, according to the description, had traces of groups of strokes on rim in purple matt paint. There is furthermore a fragment from Aegina in the sherd collection of the British School in Athens with groups of vertical strokes in white matt paint on a highly polished red surface; it comes from a similar, but not identical, open carinated bowl. Perhaps all should be restored on a pedestalled foot: cf. standed plate from Phylakopi (B.S.A., XVII, 1910–1911, pl. VII, 167).

See also p. 59.

Middle Helladic (Cycladic import?).

265. Fragment from Red Minyan Goblet.

P 15082. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.057 m., est. D. ca. 0.20 m. Fragment from a large bowl with flaring rim, almost vertical neck and angular shoulder, probably a goblet.
Orange-buff clay with particles in it; covered inside and out with red matt paint, somewhat flaked, especially on top of rim, no trace of burnishing; wheelmade.

Probably from a goblet like *Eutresis*, p. 127, fig. 170, 11. Similar red goblets with dull surface occur in Lerna VI (information from J. L. Caskey).

Cf. complete specimen in Red Monochrome ware from the North Slope (A.P. 1387, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 549, fig. 7).

End of Middle Helladic.

266. Rim Fragment from Bowl, White Matt Paint.

Pl. 17.

P 15695. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.072 m., P.W. 0.06 m.

Fragment from bowl with angular side, outturned rim.

Gritty clay, gray-brown at core, orange-brown at surface, apparently with some slip or burnishing; decoration in matt white paint on upper wall: oblique parallel lines opposed by another group.

Technically 266 and 267 belong with the Red Burnished group rather than with the coarser Light-on-Dark Mattpainted (324-330).

For shape and technique, cf. *Eutresis*, pp. 130-131, figs. 174, 1, 5; 175, 1, 3; for general similarity of pattern, fig. 175, 1, 4.

See also p. 59.

Middle Helladic.

267. Rim Fragment from Bowl, White Matt Paint.

Pl. 17.

P 13966. Well, S 27:2. P.L. 0.08 m., P.H. 0.04 m., W. of handle 0.035 m.

Fragment preserves upper wall of open bowl with slightly carinated rim (now missing) and a broad vertical loop handle.

Very gritty pink clay; red burnished int. and ext.; geometric decoration in soft matt white, almost obliterated, but apparently consisting of groups of vertical and oblique lines, pendant from horizontal band below rim.


Middle Helladic.

268. Base of Red Burnished Pot.

Pl. 17.

P 13944. Well, T 24:1. P.H. 0.021 m., D. base 0.047 m. Low base, concave beneath, probably from a closed pot.

Handmade; thick fabric of gritty pale buff clay, slightly micaceous; traces of lustrous red burnished slip or glaze ext. and under foot. Surface resembles 258.

For profile cf. *Eutresis*, p. 127, fig. 172, 1, 2.

See also pp. 59–60.

Middle Helladic.

269. Base of Red Burnished Fruitstand.

Pl. 17.

P 10494. Well, R 28:1. P.H. 0.078 m., D. base 0.152 m. High flaring stand, with center of bowl only preserved.

Heavy fabric, coarse gritty brownish to gray clay; bright red burnished slip, much worn. Handmade.

From a large vase, probably a fruitstand, with a hollow foot. Although the fabric bears a superficial resemblance to our Neolithic Red Burnished, the context is M.H. and the shape is more sophisticated, agreeing better with M.H. Red Burnished.


Cf. the similar but smaller stem from the North Slope excavations (A.P. 1331, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 547, fig. 5, k) which lacks a base and is pictured upside down.

See also p. 60.

Middle Helladic.

ARGIVE MINYAN (270–271; Pl. 18)

270. Fragment from Carinated Bowl or Goblet.

Pl. 18.

P 27092. Well, S 27:2. P.L. 0.08 m., P.W. 0.04 m., W. of handle 0.035 m. Fragment preserves upper wall of open bowl with slightly carinated rim (now missing) and a broad vertical loop handle.

Gritty red clay; black surfacing int., glossy black burnished slip ext.

This fragment is a fine example of Argive Minyan, from a carinated bowl or possibly a stemmed goblet. Cf. *Eutresis*, pp. 132f., figs. 178–181, and the bowl from Lerna (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, c).

Cf. sherds from North Slope excavations (A.P. 1324, 1829, 1390, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 547, fig. 5, d, i, j).

See also p. 60.

Middle Helladic.

271. Black Burnished Water Jar.

Pl. 18.

P 10455. Well, R 28:1. H. 0.837 m., D. 0.29 m. Large water jar mended from many fragments which preserve complete profile and much of body; parts of lip, walls, and one handle restored in plaster.

Excellently fashioned pot with small bottom irregularly flattened, swelling body, rounded shoulder, wide neck with plain projecting lip. Two small vertical handles, with raised edges, on shoulder. Two small holes, one on either side, under lip for attaching cover (?).

Coarse bricklike fabric with highly polished black slip, comparable to Argive Minyan in finish. Mended with lead in antiquity. Wheelmade.

This is a M.H. amphora shape occurring in the Mattpainted examples, 301, 325–326 (Buck's Type C8), which lack, however, the finish and articulation of this jar. I know of no other Argive Minyan example. Very likely it was used to draw water from our wells and
was sufficiently prized to have been mended in antiquity.
See also p. 60.
Middle Helladic (probably late).

**Gray Minyan (272–291; Pls. 18–19, 70)**

**Stemmed Goblets (272–285; Pls. 18–19, 70)**

**272. Fragment from Rim and Handle.** Pls. 18, 70.
P 9734. Well, T 24:1. P.L. 0.15 m., P.W. at rim 0.04 m., est. D. ca. 0.26 m. Fragment preserves part of wall and rim of a large bowl with a sharply carinated profile and a high angular concave rim finished with a small projecting lip, triangular in section.
Light gray clay throughout; typical wheelmade Gray Minyan fabric; surface badly encrusted.
Broad vertical band handle, from wall carination to middle of rim, not rising to lip. Moulded ring halfway down bowl as preserved.
Apparently from a deep-bowled Minyan goblet like Evtesis, pp. 136–137, figs. 184, 1, 185, 4.
Cf. rim of similar but larger goblet from North Slope (A.P. 1338, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 551, fig. 8, a).
See also p. 60.
Middle Helladic.

**273. Wall and Handle Fragment.** P1. 18.
P 9735. Well, T 24:1. P.H. ca. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.10 m.
Wall fragment of a Minyan goblet similar to 272 but straighter and higher above carination and with none of rim preserved.
Broad vertical band handle from carination of upper and lower wall to near top of upper wall.
Typical Minyan fabric: fine gray clay throughout; surface encrusted.
Cf. fragments from North Slope excavations (Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 358, fig. 28, f, i).
Similar fragments from disturbed contexts: P 2488 (H 8–10) and P 19196 (A–B 16–17).
Middle Helladic.

**274. Rim Fragment from Goblet.** Pls. 18, 70.
P 9732. Well, T 24:1. P.H. 0.073 m., est. D. rim 0.255 m. Single fragment preserves part of rim and wall of angular bowl, probably from stemmed goblet.
Wheelmade. Light gray clay throughout, with darker gray surface, badly encrusted.
Probably from a Minyan goblet similar to 273 but with a higher shoulder and shallower bowl; cf. Evtesis, p. 187, fig. 185, 1.
Middle Helladic.

**275. Rim and Handle Fragment.** Pls. 18, 70.
P 9733. Well, T 24:1. P.H. (including handle) ca. 0.07 m., max. W. 0.11 m. Fragment preserves part of rim and handle of Minyan goblet.
Light gray clay throughout with traces of darker gray surfacing.
Sharply concave rim set at an angle to wall. Horizontal handle, round in section, rising vertically from rim and extending downward in vertical ridges to carination.
This is the second type of Minyan stemmed goblet with upright ring handles set on rim; cf. Evtesis, pp. 136–137, figs. 184, 3–4, 185, 6.
Cf. P 5082, found in fill over Geometric Grave 17, G 12:18 (Hesperia, Suppl. II, p. 116, fig. 88, B 23), and several more uncatologued fragments of similar rims and handles from Well, T 24:1.
Cf. fragments from North Slope excavations (Hesperia, II, 1938, p. 358, fig. 28, e, h; A.P. 1340, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 551, fig. 8, c).
See also p. 60.
Middle Helladic.

**276. Rim Fragment from Goblet.** Pls. 18, 70.
P 24788. Miscellaneous find, on bedrock, probably to be associated with stratified deposit O–Q 16–17. P.H. 0.059 m. Rim fragment of Gray Minyan cup or stemmed goblet.
Dark gray clay throughout; smooth and polished surface; wheelmade, typical Minyan ware.
Strongly carinated shoulder with flaring rim; horizontal grooves on upper shoulder, less defined on rim.
Cf. ribbed rim piece from North Slope excavations (Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 358, fig. 28, c).
Middle Helladic.

**277. Rim Fragment from Goblet.** Pls. 18, 70.
P 15203. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.05 m., P.W. 0.07 m., est. D. lip not less than 0.18 m. A single fragment preserving part of the angular shoulder and flaring rim of a deep bowl or stemmed goblet.
Typical gray clay throughout, with dark gray surfacing.
Middle Helladic.

**278. Rim Fragment from Large Goblet.** Pls. 18, 70.
P 22149. Miscellaneous find, J–L 9–10. Max. dim. 0.065 m. Fragment preserves rim from pot with high flaring rim and projecting lip like 272 and 274.
Wheelmade of gray clay with gray to buff polished surface.
Cf. fragments of goblet rims with outwardly splayed lips from North Slope (A.P. 1342 and 1345, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 551, fig. 8, e, h).
Middle Helladic.

**279. Fragment from Carinated Bowl.** Pl. 18.
P 25575. Miscellaneous find, M–N 13–15. P.H. 0.04 m., P.W. 0.088 m. Sherd from side of bowl with angular shoulder, lip missing.
Wheelmade; gray clay throughout. Rather more micaceous and not as smooth as typical Minyan.

Apparently from carinated shoulder of a stemmed goblet.

Middle Helladic.

280. Ringed Stem from Goblet. Pl. 18.
P 9736. Well, T 24:1. P.H. 0.09 m., D. top as preserved ca. 0.07 m. Stem only, with none of lower edge and nothing of bowl preserved.

Light gray fabric throughout; surface badly encrusted.

Flaring, heavily wheel-ridged stem of a large goblet, with at least six rings. Possibly stem of 274.

Cf. Eutresis, p. 136, fig. 183, 8, which tapers towards bottom.

Cf. stem with at least six rings from North Slope which preserves inside of bowl at top (A.P. 1349, Hesperia, VI, 1987, p. 551, fig. 8, l). Middle Helladic.

281. Ringed Stem from Goblet. Pl. 18.
P 9737. Well, T 24:1. P.H. 0.08 m., D. top as preserved ca. 0.07 m. Stem of Minyan goblet, with part of floor of bowl preserved.

Typical Gray Minyan fabric.

Fragment from flaring stem of goblet somewhat smaller than 280 and concave in profile, with four ribs placed at upper part of stem only.

Cf. similar stem from North Slope (A.P. 1351, Hesperia, VI, 1987, p. 551, fig. 8, n). Middle Helladic.

282. Fragment from Minyan Goblet. Pl. 18.

Wheelmade, gray throughout; excellent Minyan fabric. Grape seed (Vitis vinifera L.) with part of stem for tempering material.

Cf. Eutresis, p. 136, fig. 184, 4 which has only two rings and a somewhat less pleasing curve. Middle Helladic.

P 5075. G 12:17, Grave 16 (Geometric), possibly connected with an earlier burial. Hesperia, Suppl. II, p. 116, fig. 88, P.H. 0.06 m., est. D. base 0.115 m. Fragment preserves base of low-stemmed Minyan goblet.

Wheelmade; fine gray clay throughout with dark gray surface, smooth and polished.

High hollow base with a moulded ring around the outside at junction of bowl and stem.

This represents the so-called "Southern type" of Minyan goblet, i.e. with a much lower stem with fewer rings. Cf. Korakou, p. 16, fig. 20, which has two rings. Cf. also P 27397 from 1985 excavations in South Square, M 12:2.

Middle Helladic.

P 9738. Well, T 24:1. P.H. 0.048 m., D. base 0.148 m. Fragment of base of Minyan goblet, preserving more than one-half the circumference of the foot and the start of the lightly ribbed stem.

Gray fabric throughout, without much polish; surface badly encrusted.

Broad nearly flat foot, slightly upturned at the edge with a single groove at the bottom of the outer face.

Cf. also P 22887, miscellaneous find from K-P 16–17.

Middle Helladic.

P 10536. Well, S 27:1. P.H. 0.048 m., D. near middle 0.02 m. Stem of goblet, broken top and bottom but with part of finished surface preserved at both ends.

Clay deep buff to gray, micaceous; gray slip highly polished, perhaps in imitation of Minyan.

Stem unringed and pierced from top to bottom with a small hole tapering in diameter.

Cf. Miss Goldman's remarks on the imitation of Minyan goblets in slipped ware, Eutresis, p. 144.

Cf. the unringed goblet stem from Lerna (B.C.H., LXXVII, 1953, p. 212, fig. 14, Red Minyan?); also the larger stem from the North Slope (A.P. 1350, Hesperia, VI, 1987, p. 551, fig. 8, m) which is in true Minyan ware.

Middle Helladic.

KANTHAROI (286–289; Pl. 19)

P 13968. Well, S 27:2. H. (without handles) 0.035 m., D. ca. 0.122 m. About one-half of rim and much of wall missing; handle attachment preserved; restored in plaster.

Hard very fine slightly micaceous clay, silvery gray throughout; thin-walled and delicate.

Wide low cup on small flat bottom, sharply carinated wall and splayed lip. Two high-swung ribbon handles attached at lip and shoulder.

Typical Gray Minyan shape, cf. Eutresis, p. 139, fig. 187, 3.

See also p. 61.

Middle Helladic.

P 10855. Well, S 27:2. H. 0.04 m., est. D. ca. 0.105 m. Fragment of small carinated cup, less than one-half preserved.
Flat base, very shallow sides, sharp shoulder and splaying lip. At one side part of handle attachment. Almost identical in shape and dimensions with 286, but apparently from a different cup.

Middle Helladic.

288. High-swung Handle from Kantharos. Pl. 19. P 16655. Pit, B 21:15. P.H. 0.055 m., W. handle 0.024 m. Handle and fragment of adjacent rim from carinated bowl with two high-swung handles.
Typical Gray Minyan fabric.
Rising band handle, tilted outward at an angle; offset rim; short vertical wall, slightly convex; nearly flat floor. Nearly complete profile preserved, which agrees with 286, but in size is intermediate between small examples and 289.

Middle Helladic.

289. Fragment from Large Kantharos. Pl. 19. P 14500. Pit, G 19:1. P.H. 0.059 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.18 m. Fragment, much mended, preserves about one-half of upper body and rim of kantharos.
Very fine wheelmade fabric, gray throughout, with typical soapy feel.
Upper and lower body meet at an angle. Straight rim, sharply offset; stump of vertical band handle set against outer face of rim, apparently a high-swung handle like those of 286.
Somewhat higher body and much larger diameter than 286 and 287; cf. Eutresis, p. 189, fig. 187, 4; Korakou, p. 15, fig. 19.

Middle Helladic.

ROUND BOWLS (290-291; Pl. 19)

Fine fabric, wheelmade of light gray clay, with darker gray surfacing; surface encrusted.
Flat-bottomed bowl with rounded sides and small sharply outturned lip. Possibly with one handle, of which there is no trace of attachment; but scarcely two.
Cf. Asine, p. 265, fig. 184, 4 (with one ribbon handle); and the round bowl with offset lip and rounded base with one high-swung handle from Krisa (B.C.H., LXII, 1938, p. 114, fig. 3, 2).

See also p. 61.
Middle Helladic.

Gray clay throughout; polished surface; not certainly wheelmade, rough and dentid on int.
Possibly from a more closed pot like Eutresis, pp. 140-141, figs. 190, 4-5, 7, 194, 2.

Middle Helladic.

YELLOW MINYAN (292-300; Pls. 19, 70)

Fine yellowish buff fabric with polished surface; wheelmade.
Similar in shape to Gray Minyan example 275.

See also p. 61.
Middle Helladic.

Fine buff clay, rather soft, with slipped and polished surface; wheelmade.
Cf. handle from North Slope (Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 368, fig. 84, b).

Middle Helladic.

294. Sherd with Stump of Handle. P 15696. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.076 m., P.W. 0.072 m. Sherd broken all around from side of cup or goblet with stump of vertical rolled handle.
Light buff clay with creamy polished slip int. and ext.
Possibly from a deep cup like Eutresis, p. 163, fig. 228, 1.

Middle Helladic.

295. Fragment from Carinated Goblet with Strap Handle. P 15696. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.076 m., P.W. 0.072 m. Fragment of carinated bowl or stemmed goblet with wide vertical strap handle below rim; shoulder intentionally ridged.
Gritty clay with white bits in it, gray at core, orange-brown at surface; polished interior; wheelmade. Not the best Yellow Minyan technique, but a typical Minyan shape.
Cf. Eutresis, p. 163, fig. 228, 3, a Yellow Minyan fragment with a broad strap handle and an intentionally ridged shoulder above the carination.
Cf. larger fragment from the North Slope (A.P. 1998, *Hesperia*, VI, 1987, p. 558, fig. 13, m) which is assigned (wrongly?) to Late Helladic period.

**Middle Helladic.**

296. Stem from Later Form of Goblet.  
Pl. 19.  
P 15697.  
P.H. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.105 m.  
Fragment of stemmed goblet, preserving part of floor and wall, with short stem and start of projecting foot.

Gritty clay, dark gray to brown at core; light grayish brown polished surface; wheelmade, but surface hand-smoothed int. and ext.

This is the later form of Yellow Minyan goblet (cf. *Eutresis*, p. 169, fig. 238, 1) which leads directly to Ephyrine ware (*Korakou*, pp. 19, 54 ff.; pls. VI, VII) and ultimately to the Mycenaean stemmed goblets.

**End of Middle Helladic.**

297. Profiled Base from Pot.  
Pls. 19, 70.  
P 15698.  
P.H. 0.02 m., D. foot 0.057 m.  
Disc foot broken off from pot, preserving short stem and center of floor; depression in bottom of foot.

Wheelmade; buff clay with purplish gray core; polished surface.

Cf. *Eutresis*, p. 165, fig. 231, lower left, which lacks the countersunk area; also *Zygouries*, p. 127, fig. 120, 1.

**Middle Helladic.**

298. Fragment of Flaring Foot-ring.  
Pls. 19, 70.  
P 14508.  
Pit, G19:1.  
Max. dim. 0.063 m.  
Fragment from a splayed rim with angular, typically Minyan profile, and interior flange.

Wheelmade of fine, pale buff clay, buff at surfaces; traces of decoration in dark matt paint, almost obliterated: a horizontal band at junction of rim and wall outside, wide loops on top of rim.

Possibly from a small storage jar of Buck’s Shape C9 (Buck, pp. 249, 296) which has Yellow Minyan connections and occurs with polychrome Mattpainted decoration (*Prosymna*, I, pl. IV, 1–2).

See also p. 61.

**Middle Helladic.**

**MATTPAINTED WARE (301–341; Pls. 20–23, 71–74)**

**CLASS I—COARSE LIGHT CLAY WITH DARK MATT PAINT (301–317; Pls. 20–21, 71–72)**

301. Amphora with Shoulder Handles.  
Pl. 20.  
P 10524.  
Well, R 28:1.  
*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 336, fig. 18; *I.L.N.*, Sept. 11, 1937, p. 432, fig. 16.  
H. 0.227 m., D. 0.214 m.  
Mended from many fragments; bits of rim and body missing, otherwise complete.

This is the type example for Buck’s Shape C8 (Buck, p. 288 and references). Some of his examples (*Korakou*, p. 27, fig. 37) have a more articulated profile or have the handles set horizontally (*Mylonas, Anc. Myc.*, figs. 43, a, 64, a–b, 81, a–b) and are obviously later. The Athens example is dated early by Buck (p. 288) and the same decoration occurs on a spouted bowl and a small pithos from the original floor of House M at Lerna (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 8, a, b). Cf. also the spouted bowl, *Korakou*, p. 21, fig. 29.

See also p. 62.

**Middle Helladic.**
302. Rim Fragment from Open Bowl. Pl. 20.
P 13882. Well, U 25:2 (Archaic). P.H. 0.075 m., est. D. rim 0.42 m. Fragment from rim and wall of a large open vessel with mouth slightly incurving. Flat slightly projecting lip.
Gritty buff to pinkish buff clay, greenish buff slip. Decoration in matt grayish black: two widely spaced horizontal bands framing groups of four to six parallel diagonal lines which form triangles.
Buck’s Shape Al (Buck, p. 242 and references); Mot. 7, multiple zigzag lines (p. 253, pl. 42).
For type of handle to be restored, cf. Korakou, p. 22, fig. 90. For general arrangement of decoration, cf. pedestalled Mattpainted bowl from Lerna (Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pl. 42, a).
See also p. 62.
Middle Helladic.

303. Rim Fragment from Open Bowl. Pls. 20, 71.
P 17547. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.055 m., P.W. 0.045 m. Fragment of a deep bowl preserving part of rim and upper wall. Plain rim flat on top.
Gray buff clay, cream-colored surface; decoration in dark brown matt paint: short strokes across flat top of rim; on outside a band at top, two wide vertical lines and a diagonal made up of three narrower lines preserved.
Buck’s Shape Al (see 302); Mot. 30, flanked saltires (p. 257, pl. 42).
Middle Helladic.

304. Rim Fragment with Lug Handle. Pl. 20.
P 19970. Well, S 27:2. P.H. 0.089 m., P.W. 0.113 m.
Large horizontal lug handle, vertically pierced, set just below the plain flattened lip of a large open vessel.
Pinkish buff clay, some grit, buff at surfaces. A band of matt black below lip outside and cross bars on lip.
Probably from a bowl of Buck’s Shape A1 (see 302).
Middle Helladic.

305. Fragment from Bowl with Incurved Rim. Pls. 20, 71.
P 23503. Miscellaneous find, K–Q 14–18. Max. dim. 0.08 m., est. D. rim not less than 0.16 m. Rim fragment from a large bowl with inturned rim.
Handmade; gritty clay, gray to reddish brown at core, light gray on surface; decorated with wide curving bands of dark brown to black paint.
Buck’s Shape A1 (p. 242 and references).
Middle Helladic.

P 10581. Well, S 27:1. P.H. ca. 0.10 m., est. D. lip ca. 0.20 m. Fragment of a deep bowl, part of rim and upper wall only preserved. Rounded shoulder with flaring lip, thickened to inside.
Medium fine greenish buff clay; decoration in lavender gray matt paint: tongues on int., horizontal bands on ext. of lip; pendant triangles formed by parallel diagonal lines, widely separated and not so regular as in 302.
This vase was apparently wheelmade and has a good shape; deeper than 302. Probably Buck’s Shape A5 (p. 242 and references). Cf. Korakou, p. 29, fig. 40.
Middle Helladic.

Gritty buff clay, cream-colored surfacing ext.; possibly wheelmade.
Decoration in dark brown matt paint: band of cross-hatched triangles, then solid inverted triangles, two horizontal bands below; trace of paint at bottom of fragment.
Combination of Buck’s Mots. 47 and 48, cross-hatched triangles in row and solid-filled triangles in row (p. 261, pl. 43). Cf. Eutresis, p. 168, fig. 235, 3 (Yellow Minyan) and Zygouries, p. 192, fig. 126, 12 (Fine Mattpainted).
Middle Helladic.

308. Sherd from Large Pot. Pl. 20.
Handmade of gritty light buff clay with some surfacing; linear decoration in gray matt paint: a broad band framed by two narrower bands, opposed diagonals. Related to Buck’s Mot. 80, flanked saltires (p. 257, pl. 42).
Cf. Welter, Aigina, p. 17, fig. 20 for possible restoration of pattern.
Middle Helladic.

309. Sherd from Large Pot. Pl. 20.
P 22148. Miscellaneous find, J–K 8–11, trial cut above bedrock. Max. dim. 0.061 m. Sherd broken all around from wall of vessel.
Pale greenish yellow clay with lots of grits; handmade. Decoration in brown matt paint: hatched triangles outlined above, with broad horizontal band and diagonal below.
Buck’s Mot. 46, hatched triangles in row (p. 261, pl. 43).
Middle Helladic.

310. Sherd from Closed Pot. Pl. 20.
P 24747. Miscellaneous find, K–Q 14–17. P.H. 0.062 m., P.W. 0.046 m. Sherd from a large closed pot, having marked curvature of shoulder or wall below.
Thick handmade fabric (over 1 cm. thickness), gray at core, light gray surface; decoration in dark gray matt paint: broad band with fine parallel diagonals. Cf. fragment from North Slope (A.P. 1366, Hesperia, VI, 1987, p. 553, fig. 9, o).

The pattern is not matched in Buck’s repertory of Matt painted motives and seems more closely related to designs on M.H. pottery with lustrous paint: cf. the jar from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, pl. 70, k). However, the fabric of our sherd does not accord with the “brittle quality of the hard biscuit” described by Caskey (ibid., p. 298).

See also p. 63.

Middle Helladic.


Handmade; yellow buff clay, gray at core; decoration in dark gray-brown: broad horizontal band and narrow diagonals. Cf. dark-on-light glazed ware from Asine (Asine, p. 275, fig. 190) with parallel diagonals diverging from broad band. This sherd is even more likely to be connected with the M.H. Glazed ware (see 310).

Middle Helladic.

312. Fragment of Disc cut down from Sherd. Pl. 20. P 14005. Well, S 27:2. T. 0.009 m., est. D. 0.055 m. About one-third of a small disc pierced in center, the outer edge shaved off obliquely.

Gritty buff clay; matt painted cross lines on top. It seems to have been carefully cut from the wall of a pot, for use as a lid, button, whorl? Middle Helladic.

313. Two Fragments from Pithos. Pls. 20, 72. P 9741. Well, T 24:1. P.H. a, 0.07 m., b, 0.16 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.52 m. Two non-joining fragments, one from the wall, the other from the rim of a large pithos.

Coarse greenish white clay with lighter surface; heavy fabric; decoration in brownish-gray-brown: broad horizontal band and narrow diagonals. Nearly vertical wall; broad horizontal projecting rim (ca. 0.06 m. wide) set just below plain lip, making flange for lid, and pierced with two large holes.

Decoration: on the rim, a band just below the lip, and groups of broad strokes radiating from it; on the wall vertical and diagonal bands, and a circle enclosing a cross, made up of three parallel crossing lines.

From a barrel jar, Shape Cl (Buck, p. 247 and references); Mot. 100, single circle enclosing saltires (p. 272, pl. 44). Cf. Korakou, p. 21, fig. 28, with a decorative scheme roughly the same; cf. also pithoid jar used as burial urn from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pl. 12, b).

Middle Helladic.

314. Wall Fragment from Pithos. Pl. 20. P 10854. Well, S 27:2. P.H. 0.235 m., P.W. 0.245 m. Large wall fragment of pithos, no finished edge preserved.

Handmade; coarse grayish buff clay with many white particles; decoration in grayish black paint: wheels (Buck’s Mot. 100, p. 272, pl. 44) bars, crosshatched lozenges or triangles (Buck’s Mot. 21, p. 255, pl. 42) and 3 star-like rosettes preserved (Buck’s Mot. 122, p. 276, pl. 44).

From a barrel jar, Buck’s Shape Cl (see 313). For parallels for the wheel and star-like rosette cf. Eutresis, p. 150, fig. 206, 1, 4; cf. also Aigina, p. 17, fig. 19.

Cf. fragments from the North Slope (A.P. 1359 and 1367, Hesperia, VI, 1987, p. 553, fig. 9, h, p). Middle Helladic.


Thick fabric. Coarse gritty pinkish clay, buff at core; creamy buff ext.; grayish matt paint; transverse bars on upper surface of lug, horizontal line below handle on the outside.

Probably from a pithos or barrel jar, Buck’s Shape Cl: cf. Eutresis, pl. XIV.

Middle Helladic.

316. Two Fragments from Jug. Pl. 21. P 17554. Gully, R 21:4. a, P.H. 0.068 m., est. D. top ca. 0.14 m., b, max. dim. 0.125 m. Two non-joining fragments of an oinochoe: a, preserving part of flaring neck and plain rim; b, preserving part of the base of the neck and the wide shoulder.

Apparently wheelmade; clay irregular gray to pink at core; cream colored surfacing on outside; brown matt paint for decoration: two uneven wide bands of brown around lower part of neck; at base of neck another band and parts of three others on shoulder.

Buck’s Shape B7 or B8 (Buck, p. 246 and references). Cf. Eutresis, p. 158, fig. 220, 2; the jug from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, b, right).

Middle Helladic.

317. Base of Closed Pot. Pl. 21. P 17541. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.068 m., est. D. top ca. 0.14 m., b, max. dim. 0.125 m. Two non-joining fragments of an oinochoe: a, preserving part of flaring neck and plain rim; b, preserving part of the base of the neck and the wide shoulder.

Apparently wheelmade; clay irregular gray to pink at core; cream colored surfacing on outside; brown matt paint for decoration: two uneven wide bands of brown around lower part of neck; at base of neck another band and parts of three others on shoulder.

Buck’s Shape B7 or B8 (Buck, p. 246 and references). Cf. Eutresis, p. 158, fig. 220, 2; the jug from Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, b, right).

Middle Helladic.
EARLY AND MIDDLE HELLADIC: CATALOGUE

CLASS II—DARK PAINT ON LIGHT SLIP (318–323, Pls. 21, 71–73)

318. Fragmentary Pithos. Pls. 21, 73.

P 14501. Pit, G19:1. P.H. 0.386 m., D. rim 0.361 m.

Large fragmentary pithos preserved from rim about halfway down, lower part missing. One horizontal lug handle preserved, pierced by round hole through middle; flaring rim convex on its upper face with an inner vertical flange; two small holes, close together, through rim, probably matched by another pair on opposite side.

Coarse clay with white bits, gray at core, red at the surface; thick creamy slip all over int. and ext.; decoration in black matt paint over the slip: double band below lip, the body divided into long panels by double and triple vertical bands; in the panels chains of latticed lozenges (Buck’s Mot. 20, p. 255, pl. 42), opposed latticed triangles, flanked saltires (Buck’s Mot. 30), and interlocking teeth.

Buck’s barrel jar, Shape Cl (Buck, pp. 247–248 and references).

Cf. the pithoi in this technique from Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 149, fig. 205, pl. XIV). Also the fragments from the North Slope (A.P. 1377 and 1378, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 555, fig. 11, b–c).

Middle Helladic.

319. Lid from Pithos. Pls. 21, 72.

P 10433. Well, R 28:1. H. to top of lid 0.125 m., H. including handle 0.175 m., D. ca. 0.40 m. Large conical lid, more than one-half preserved, chips missing.

Handmade but well fashioned; coarse gritty clay, red with gray core; cream slip int. and ext.; linear decoration in black matt paint, faded to gray, on ext.

Flattened on top, a small loop handle rising from the flattened area. Bottom bevelled to fit against flange of a pithos like 318.

Decoration: lid divided into four quadrants, each radius forming the axis of diminishing chevrons; flattened area surrounded by a circle, and handle framed by two parallel lines with perpendicular running under handle.

Buck’s Shape D3 (p. 249 and references). Cf. the coarse undecorated lid 369.

Middle Helladic.

320. Rim Fragment from Small Pithos. Pls. 21, 71.

P 17546. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.057 m., D. rim ca. 0.25 m. Rim fragment from a small pithos with wide flat rim, set at right angles to almost vertical side wall; small vertical flange at inner edge of rim.

Gritty clay, gray at core, red-brown at surface; covered inside and out with cream-colored slip, some-

what flaked; decoration in dark brown matt paint: two diagonal lines on top of rim; on ext., band at junction of rim and wall, three diagonal lines below.

From a pithos or jar of Buck’s Shape C1 (see 313). Middle Helladic.

321. Rim Fragment from Bowl with Lug Handle. Pl. 21.

P 18971. Well, S 27:2. P.H. 0.054 m., P.W. 0.127 m.

Rim fragment of a large open bowl with large horizontal lug handle set just below the flattened and slightly projecting rim.

Gritty coarse red clay; thick creamy slip int. and ext.; decoration in red-brown matt paint: short parallel strokes on rim and a band outlining the handle.

Cf. P 18970 also from S 27:2, a similar fragment of Dark-on-Light Matt painted without slip.

Buck’s Shape A1 (see 302–305).

Middle Helladic.

322. Sherd from Neck of Large Pot. Pl. 21.

P 22161. Miscellaneous find, K–Q 14–17. P.H. 0.062 m., P.W. 0.06 m. Sherd broken all around from neck of large pot.

Micaceous red clay with gray core; outside covered with cream-colored slip, much of which has flaked off; horizontal stripes in black matt paint near top and bottom of sherd.

Middle Helladic.

323. Rim and Handle Fragment from Carinated Bowl. Pls. 21, 71.

P 10535. Well, S 27:1. P.H. 0.05 m. Fragment from wall and lip of a pot with sharp shoulder, flaring lip, and small broad vertical handle.

Coarse red clay; on outside traces of light slip and dark bands on handle and hatchings on shoulder; decoration poorly preserved.

Buck’s Shape A6, small carinated bowl (Buck, p. 243 and references). Cf. Asine, p. 273, fig. 189, 2.

Note the similarity of profile to the Gray Minyan goblets 272, 274–277), an influence noted by Buck (p. 284).

Middle Helladic.

CLASS III—LIGHT-ON-DARK (324–330; Pls. 22, 73–74)

324. Jar with Horizontal Handles. Pl. 22.

P 10235. Well, S 27:1. Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 338, fig. 20. H. 0.26 m., D. 0.21 m. About half of rim missing, otherwise intact.

Handmade; brick red coarse clay (without slip); decoration in creamy white matt paint, rather worn.

Small slightly convex bottom; ovoid body with widest diameter about at center of vase; shoulder tapering up to merge into plain flaring lip. Two small
horizontal handles at point of greatest circumference, their ends pushed through wall of pot.

Decoration: horizontal bands at bottom of rim and at handle zone, and one between; upper zone has groups of three diagonal lines making large triangles; lower zone has large concentric arcs made by double lines.

Probably a small example of Buck's Shape C5, closed jar, although our example has less of a neck and a more offset rim than most of the examples cited (Buck, p. 248). Very close in shape and decoration to the example from the filling of a Shaft Grave at Lerna, cf. Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pl. 17, e; neither of these is cited by Buck. Cf. A.P. 1362 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 558, fig. 9, k) which seems to have a hatched racket design.

Middle Helladic (probably late).

325. Amphora with Shoulder Handles. Pl. 22.
P 13961. Well, R 28:1. H. 0.223 m., D. as restored 0.182 m. Very fragmentary but profile is complete; restored in plaster.
Gritty micaceous clay, red to brown, gray at core; traces of Light-on-Dark decoration on neck and shoulder, now all but obliterated.
Flat bottom, ovoid body; wide neck with plain splayed lip; one arched handle, round in section, high on shoulder, is preserved; second restored.
The shape and dimensions are roughly the same as the Dark-on-Light amphora 301, from the same context. Buck's Shape C8 (Buck, p. 249 and references).

Middle Helladic.

326. Fragmentary Amphora with Shoulder Handles. Pls. 23, 74.
P 10530. Well, S 27:1. P.H. 0.253 m., D. 0.256 m. Most of lower body and one vertical handle preserved.
Coarse red clay, decorated sparingly in well-preserved creamy matt paint: bars on handle, a loop around handle; on wall bottoms of long rays pointing downwards are preserved.
Egg-shaped with small flat bottom; handle, round in section, set on the shoulder as in 325, its ends pushed through wall of pot.

Middle Helladic.

327. Small Amphora with Neck Handles, Pour Channel. Pl. 22.
P 13960. Well, R 28:1. H. 0.18 m., D. 0.147 m. Many wall fragments missing, restored in plaster.
Gritty micaceous orange-red clay, gray at core; traces of yellowish white decoration: bands on neck, triangles (?) on shoulder, almost completely obliterated.
Small flat bottom, squat rounded body; wide short neck with plain flaring lip pressed into a pour channel at either side; two round vertical handles from just below lip to shoulder.

Apparently a variation of Buck's D6, small two-handled jar (Buck, p. 249 and references). Cf. the amphora with pinched out mouth for pouring in Melian Mattpainted ware (Phylakopi, pl. XI, 5–6).

Middle Helladic.

328. Spouted Pot. Pl. 22.
P 10522. Well, R 28:1. Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 389, fig. 21; A.J.A., XLII, 1938, p. 6, fig. 5; J.H.S., LVII, 1937, p. 121, fig. 1 (left); Arch. Anz., 1937, cols. 105–106, fig. 6, left. H. 0.158 m., D. 0.205 m. End of spout chipped, otherwise intact.
Handmade of coarse red clay, gray at core; red surfacing. Mattpainted decoration of large double triangles on the shoulder has disappeared, its pattern remaining in red where paint protected the surface from white incrustation of lime deposit. A few short white strokes remain on the top of the lip, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the entire decoration was in the somewhat elusive creamy white matt paint customary to this class.
Flat bottom; walls flaring to sharp shoulder, then sloping inwards to plain lip, bevelled toward int.; large round spout, its lip somewhat cut away, set at an angle to the shoulder; at the back, a single small vertical handle, round in section, set on the shoulder.

Cited by Buck as an example of his Shape B4, deep bowl with tubular spout (Buck, p. 245 and references) although most examples have a basket handle. Ours has more in common with Cycladic examples (Phylakopi, pl. 19, 8 and one from Thera, Åberg, IV, p. 130, fig. 240) and may well be an import.
See also p. 64.

Middle Helladic (perhaps imported from Cyclades).

P 13959. Well, R 28:1. H. 0.41 m., D. as restored 0.312 m. Many fragments, including one horizontal handle, missing; restored in plaster.
Gritty clay, red to brown; decoration in matt white: groups of vertical strokes on inside of lip; a band around top of neck and one at junction of neck and shoulder, from which depend large hanging triangles.
Flat small bottom, ovoid body; concave-profiled neck with plain splayed lip. Two large horizontal lug handles, pierced, at greatest diameter; two vertical handles, round in section, on shoulder. All handles pushed through wall of pot.

This is the second type of M.H. water jar described by Blegen (Korakou, p. 28; Buck's Shape C7, pp. 248–249 and references). It is intimately connected with the somewhat smaller amphora with shoulder handles, 301 and 325.
Cf. the example of this shape, incomplete at base, from the North Slope, which is also in the Light-on-Dark technique (A.P. 1376, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 555, fig. 11, a).

Middle Helladic.


P 10529. Well, S 27:1. H. as restored 0.60 m., D. lip 0.85 m. About one-half of the upper part preserved and many non-joining fragments, including part of handle attachment; restored in plaster.

Coarse clay, red to black; decoration in matt white: diagonal lines and concentric arcs near bottom.

Bulging wall tapers gradually to somewhat contracted mouth; flaring offset lip with almost horizontal interior flange. In lip a hole has been punched, but core never removed.

Buck's Shape C1, barrel jar (pp. 247–248 and references). Cf. Korakou, p. 21, fig. 28, which is decorated with dark paint on a light ground. Also 313 and 318.

This is the only pithos in this technique that has been restored and catalogued, but there are many large sherds in storage of a coarse brick red clay with a few lines in creamy white matt paint, some of which probably represent pithoi, others hydriai (especially from Wells R 28:1 and S 27:2).

Middle Helladic.


P 9739. Well, T 24:1. A.J.A., XLII, 1937, p. 178, fig. 1. H. 0.076 m., D. lip 0.122 m. Mended from many pieces; small fragments of wall missing, restored in plaster.

Handmade; pale yellow-buff micaceous clay with very thin walls; decoration in grayish black matt paint, now almost completely obliterated.

Small flattened bottom; rounding walls merging into gently outturned lip. Single vertical handle, round in section, from rim to middle of wall.

Decoration (see the reconstruction of Piet de Jong made soon after its discovery): a frieze of alternating concentric circles (Buck's Mot. 98, p. 272, pl. 44) and paired lozenges with interior cross-hatching (a variation of Buck's Mot. 21 and 22, p. 255, pl. 42); two vertical lines by handle. Two horizontal lines below rim and opposed diagonals from rim inside.

This is a fine specimen of the special class of Matt-painted ware, first described by Blegen (Korakou, p. 27, type 6, fig. 38, cup from Gonia) which is found especially in cups of this shape (Buck's Shape A12, p. 244 and references). Cf. also Welter, Aigina, p. 20, fig. 23; Taylor, Mycenaean Pottery in Italy, pl. 16, 1 (Monte Sallia, Sicily).

Cf. fragment of a very similar cup from the North Slope excavations (A.P. 1399, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 560, fig. 14, a) wrongly called Late Helladic.

See also p. 65.

Middle Helladic.

332. Fragmentary Deep Cup. Pls. 28, 71.

P 9740. Well, T 24:1. P.H. to rim 0.065 m. From a cup in shape and fabric like 331, mended from three pieces; handle and part of rim and wall preserved.

Fine buff fabric; handmade with very thin lip; decoration in brownish matt paint, mostly faded: next the handle, two vertical stripes, then a circle with dots inside; int., a band at the lip, and three concentric curving arcs from the lip across the point of handle attachment.

See also p. 65.

Middle Helladic.

333. Two Fragments from Deep Cup. Pls. 28, 71.

P 10748. Well, S 27:2. a, H. 0.072 m., P.W. 0.115 m., b, P.H. 0.042 m., P.W. 0.048 m. Referred to by Shear, Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 388. Two non-joining fragments preserve about one-third the circumference of a deep bowl with plain lip.

Fine buff clay, with hard buff surface (more like Yellow Minyan than 331–332); probably wheelmade; decoration in matt black.

Upper wall bent in sharply; perhaps damaged in manufacture, but cf. pour channels of 327. No handle preserved, and should probably be restored with one rather than two on analogy with 331 and 332.

Decoration: two bands below lip, two at shoulder and one above base; shoulder decorated by a panel pattern consisting of a central triglyph of herringbone pattern (Mot. 49, Buck, p. 262, pl. 43) framed by S-spirals (Buck's Mot. 118, p. 275, pl. 44) and dot rosettes (Mot. 123, p. 276, pl. 44). Decoration very neatly and carefully done.

The smaller fragment is burnt to a greenish gray. If this pot was definitely damaged in firing, it would be an important indication of local manufacture of this Fine class of Matt-painted ware.

Probably Buck's Shape A12 (see 331 and 332).

The S-spiral is found on numerous examples of Fine Matt-painted: Eutresis, pl. 15, 3; Zygouries, pl. 14, 1; Prosymna, II, fig. 648, 573, 522, 586, 590; Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pl. 48, d (Lerna). It also occurs in fragments from the North Slope (Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 362, fig. 33, b and A.P. 1405, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 560, fig. 14, g). Rarely, if ever, does the syntax of ornament so strongly anticipate a Myc. III B composition as on our cup with its central triglyph flanked by antithetic spirals (see above p. 64 and note 108).

See also pp. 64–65.

Middle Helladic.
334. Fragments from Bottom of Deep Cup.  
Pls. 28, 71.  
P 15205. Gully, R 21:4. P.W. a, 0.063 m., b, 0.045 m.  
Two fragments from flat bottom which curves up  
without sharp break into sides, probably from a deep  
cup like 331 and 332.  
Fine handmade fabric; pinkish buff clay at core,  
cream-colored at surface. Bands of dark brown matt  
paint about bottom of wall.  
Middle Helladic.

335. Fragment from Rim of Deep Cup.  
Pl. 23.  
P 24753. Gully in bedrock, stratified deposit O–Q  
16–17. P.H. 0.043 m. Three joining fragments from  
outrunturn rim of deep bowl.  
Thin light gray fabric, apparently wheelmade;  
decoration in matt brown paint. Probably from a deep  
cup like 331 and 332.  
Decoration: two horizontal lines below lip and a  
rosette of four ovals with a dot in each (Mot. 124,  
p. 253, pl. 42); then band of  
parallel diagonal arcs from rim.  
Cf. the rosette with Eutresis, pl. XV, 3; also Asine,  
fig. 200, 5. Prosymna, II, fig. 648, 590.  
Middle Helladic.

336. Fragment from Carinated Cup.  
Pls. 23, 71.  
P 15204. Gully, R 21:4. P.H. 0.055 m., P.W. 0.56 m.  
Two joining fragments preserve part of angular wall  
with markedly concave upper half, flaring to plain  
rim, of which a trace may remain.  
Fine gray-buff clay with light surface; handmade;  
decoration in brown matt paint.  
Shape more carinated than 331 and 332; probably  
Buck's Shape A11 (Buck, p. 244 and references).  
Decoration: row of dots between two bands, each  
made up of 3 horizontal lines (Buck's Mot. 68,  
p. 265, pl. 49); from upper band groups of diagonal  
lines rise to rim; beneath lower band a pendant  
triangle and part of curved pattern filled with op-  
posed diagonals (related to Buck's Mot. 92, hatched  
semicircle, p. 270, pl. 43).  
Cf. Eutresis, pl. XV, 1, 2, the latter similar in  
pattern; a Yellow Minyan fragment from Krisa with  
the same pattern depending from the rim (B.C.H.,  
LXXII, 1938, p. 122, fig. 18, 9).  
Cf. also the fragments of cups of the same shape  
from North Slope (A.P. 1405 and 1422, Hesperia, VI,  
1937, pp. 560, 563, figs. 14, g, 16, b) wrongly (?)  
called L.H. I and L.H. III.  
Middle Helladic (probably late).

337. Fragment from Angular Cup (?).  
Pl. 23.  
P 25718. Bedrock cutting, stratified deposit O–Q  
16–17. Max. dim. 0.03 m. Fragment, broken all  
around, from wall of pot with angular body.  
Fine fabric of creamy buff clay; handmade; decor-  
ation in gray matt paint; pairs of oblique lines run- 
ing from the carination.  
Probably from a carinated cup of Buck's Shape  
A11 (p. 244, pl. 39). See 336.  
Middle Helladic.

338. Intact Hole-mouthed Jar.  
Pl. 23.  
P 10521. Well, R 28:1. Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 387,  
fig. 19; A.J.A., XLII, 1938, p. 5, fig. 4; J.H.S.,  
LVII, 1937, p. 121, fig. 1; I.L.N., Sept. 11, 1937,  
p. 492, fig. 15; Arch. Anz., 1937, cols. 105–106,  
fig. 6, right. Vermeule, Gr.B.A., pl. IX,D, H.  
0.12 m., D. 0.15 m. End of spout chipped, otherwise  
intact.  
Handmade of pale greenish buff clay, fine buff sur-  
facing; decoration in brownish gray matt paint, badly  
effaced. A graffito (Pl. 23), incised before the firing,  
occurs near the base directly beneath handle to left  
of spout.  
Round-bodied, flat-bottomed pot with plain lip; two  
horizontal handles round in section at the shoulder.  
Spout, roughly triangular in section, bridged at the  
lip, projects horizontally, very finely shaped.  
Decoration: at rim, neat band of triangles, sub-  
divided by vertical strokes, between two horizontal  
lines (Buck's Mot. 8, p. 253, pl. 42); then band of  
running S-spirals (Buck's Mot. 106, p. 273, pl. 44)  
curving downwards below attachment of spout; nar-  
row vertical stripes, widely spaced, reaching to bot-  
tom of pot.  
The shape, Buck's B6 (pp. 246, 294) has Middle  
Minoan parallels (P.M., I, p. 268, fig. 199, a), but  
occur also on the Cyclades (Thera: Åberg, IV, p. 196,  
fig. 255, Phylakopi, pl. XVIII, 11–12) and in the  
Argolid (Korakou, p. 26, fig. 35, 8, 14) in Matt-  
painted ware. The Agora jar is the best preserved of  
these. An imported M.M. jar in Kamares ware was  
found in Grave J 4 at Lerna (Hesperia, XXVI, 1957,  
pl. 43, e) and the shape occurs in an early Mycenaean  
(L.H. I) jar found in the fill of a Shaft Grave at  
Lerna (Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pl. 16, c).  
The running S-spiral is fairly common on the main-  
land toward the end of Middle Helladie under Minoan  
influence (Korakou, pp. 24–26, figs. 34, 8; 35, 4; 36,  
17; Eutresis, pl. 15, 4). A similar usage, below the  
rim and descending beneath the spout, occurs on a  
spouted bowl of Shape B4 from Grave Beta at My-  
cenaie (Mylonas, Anc. Myc., fig. 43, b).  
The potter's mark, consisting of one vertical and  
two upward oblique strokes to right, is close to  
Edgar's signs C 6 and C 9 (Phylakopi, table p. 179)  
and is the only example I know in Fine Mattpainted  
from the Mainland, although this is the period of  
similar marks on coarse ware bases from Asine (Asine,  
p. 284, fig. 195) and Lerna (Hesperia, XXIV, 1955,  
pl. 15, e–f). The location on the wall immediately
above foot resembles that of the flat-bottomed pot from Lerna (ibid., pl. 15, d).

This is one of the finest Matt painted vases in existence and should probably be considered an import.

See also p. 65.

Middle Helladic (end of period).

P 25012. Miscellaneous find. Max. dim. 0.047 m.
Fragment of pot with plain rim and rounded shoulder, perhaps from a hole-mouthed jug like 338.

Handmade of fine pinkish clay with yellowish green, slightly polished surface; decoration in black matt paint: at rim three parallel lines, then a row of hanging loops (Mot. 85, p. 269, pl. 43), two more parallel lines, and the beginning of widely spaced uprights, as in 338.

For decoration of pendant loops, cf. Zygouries, pl. XIV, 1; Eutresis, p. 169, fig. 236, 1; Asine, p. 290, fig. 199, 8; fragment from North Slope (A.P. 1416, cited under 340).

Middle Helladic.

340. Fragments from Large Pot. Pl. 23.
P 13969. Well, S 27:2. Largest fragment, P.H. 0.086 m., P.W. 0.12 m. Seven non-joining fragments, one mended from two, from wall of a large closed pot.

Very fine quality handmade fabric of gritty micaaceous clay, buff to pinkish buff, well surfaced on outside; decoration in matt brown paint; the scheme approximately thus from top down: a band of pendant loops (Buck's Mot. 85, cf. 339), three horizontal bands, a zone of double zigzags, filled with hatchings, three horizontal bands, a zone of pendant loops, four or more horizontal bands.

Cf. the hatched zigzags to the dot-filled zigzags of Eutresis, pl. XV, 2.

The sherd A.P. 1416 from the North Slope (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 560, fig. 14, r) may well be a fragment from this vase nearer the rim, for the fabric and thickness of the wall are very similar and the loops are drawn in the same slightly lopsided way.

See also p. 65.

Middle Helladic.

341. Two Fragments from Closed Pot. Pls. 28, 71.
P 18972. Well, S 27:2. a, P.H. 0.07 m., P.W. 0.08 m., b, P.H. 0.063 m., P.W. 0.042 m. Two non-joining fragments from wall of a closed pot.

Very fine quality handmade fabric of gritty micaaceous clay, pale buff, well surfaced on outside. At least three horizontal ribs around body with traces of Matt painted hatchings in grayish black between ribs and a horizontal band below.

Cf. the fragments with broad rills and hatchings, Eutresis, pp. 161-162, fig. 225; also Asine, p. 290, fig. 199, 16. A small handleless jar from Lerna (Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pl. 40, b) has hatchings between painted bands.

The fragments from the North Slope (A.P. 1872 and 1873, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 554, fig. 10, e–f) with raised bands and groups of vertical lines are clearly related to 341.

Middle Helladic.

342. Large Bowl, Two Lug Handles. Pls. 24, 72.
P 9744. Well, T 24:1. Hopf, Botanical Report, pl. III, 1, 8. H. ca. 0.20 m., D. 0.367 m. Mended from many pieces; a few small fragments of rim and walls missing, restored in plaster.

Handmade; coarse red micaaceous clay; red to buff slip, much worn. Rim imperfectly shaped, but good pot for large size. Barley and grape seed for tempering material. (See now p. 267.)

Deep wide bowl with small projecting lip; walls flare from flat bottom, then curve inward slightly to the lip. Two horizontal lug handles, pierced vertically, at point of greatest circumference.

Close in shape to Buck's Matt painted Shape A1 (see 302-304).

Cf. P 17549 from R 21:4, a fragment preserving part of the rim and one horizontal pierced handle from a similar coarse bowl.

Middle Helladic.

P 9745. Well, T 24:1. H.0.25 m., max. D.0.268 m., D. rim 0.252 m. Mended from many pieces; fragments of body missing, restored in plaster.

Handmade, but well fashioned; micaaceous red clay; blackened outside from use.

Large deep-bodied pot; short flaring rim; small flat bottom. Just below rim a single small vertical handle, round in section.

Cf. the cooking pots and household pottery from M.H. Eutresis (Eutresis, pp. 175-177, figs. 244-245) none of which is exactly the same as ours. Most are smaller and less well fashioned.

Cf. P 17543 from R 21:4, a rim and handle fragment from a similar cooking pot of gritty red clay. Also P 17540 from R 21:4 which has a somewhat different handle with a protuberance at top.

Middle Helladic.

P 18962. Well, R 28:1. H.0.135 m., D.0.125 m. Much of wall missing, parts of lip and most of handle; restored in plaster.
Handmade; gritty micaceous clay, red to brown and black; some surfacing.

Neat fairly high flaring foot; ovoid body with high shoulder; wide mouth with plain collar-like rim.

Single handle, round in section, from shoulder to lip.

Cf. Eutresis, p. 177, fig. 245, 3, which has a somewhat less indrawn lip and defined foot.

Middle Helladic.

345. Domestic Pot with One or Two High-swung Handles.

P 10742. Well, S 27:2. About one-half preserved, restored in plaster. H. to rim 0.12 m., H. to top of handle 0.147 m., est. D. ca. 0.15 m.

Handmade; very coarse clay with large grits, brown to black; outside smoothed and fired with a mottled effect.

Flat bottom; deep round body; wide mouth with low splaying lip. One high-swung handle, lip to mid-body; second restored, perhaps wrongly.

Cf. Eutresis, p. 177, fig. 245, 1, which is somewhat broader and has a less offset rim; also Asine, p. 288, fig. 194, 2–8, and the example from House A at Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 9, d). None of these has two handles.

Middle Helladic.

346. Middle Helladic.

347. Small Jug.

P 10687. Well, S 27:2. H. 0.087 m., D. 0.065 m. Front part of lip and neck missing.

Handmade; very coarse pale buff clay with many red and black bits; no surfacing or decoration.

Flat-bottomed jug, the body irregularly bulging, the neck slightly drawn in, the lip apparently a large trefoil. Handle round in section from rim to shoulder, with end thrust through wall.

See also p. 66.

Middle Helladic (early ?).

348. Small Jug.

P 9743. Well, T 24:1. H. 0.095 m., D. ca. 0.072 m. Mended from many pieces; much of the body and most of the lip with the upper part of the handle missing.

Handmade; gray buff clay, coarse with impurities, considerably blackened inside; traces of light slip.

Slightly concave bottom; eggy body forming a continuous curve with the neck; plain lip apparently somewhat cut away behind. Handle, round in section, from lip to shoulder.

Cf. general shape with Eutresis, p. 178, fig. 246, 2; also Asine, p. 281, fig. 198, 1.

Middle Helladic.

349. Small Jug with Cut-away Neck.

P 9501. Well, T 24:1. A.J.A., XLI, 1937, p. 178, fig. 1. H. 0.103 m., D. 0.071 m. Vertical handle, chips from lip, and small bits from wall missing.

Handmade; coarse micaceous gray to brown clay; no surfacing. Rather thick and heavy for small size, but considerably better fashioned than 347–348.

Round-bodied jug with small flattened bottom. Straight neck, lip slightly out-turned at the front, cut away at the back.

Cf. similar jug from Grave D 5 at Lerna (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 7, a, middle), which lies immediately below the first Late Helladic deposits (ibid., p. 11).

See also p. 67.

Middle Helladic.


P 10741. Well, S 27:2. H. 0.228 m., D. 0.175 m. Lip considerably chipped, small hole in shoulder; otherwise intact.

Handmade (?) of coarse red micaceous clay; smoothed surface, somewhat mottled in the firing.

Round-bodied jug on flattened bottom; neck narrowing slightly to plain lip, out-turned in front, cut away behind. Rising handle, round in section, from back of lip to well down on shoulder.

Very much the same shape as 351, but seems earlier.

See also p. 67.

Middle Helladic.

351. Intact Jug with Cut-away Neck.

P 10526. Well, R 28:1. H. 0.245 m., D. 0.175 m. Intact save for chip from lip and small hole in wall.

Middle Helladic.
Wheelmade; fine orange-buff clay; traces of whitish slip.

Plump ovoid body, small flat bottom; narrow neck flaring slightly to plain cut-away lip. Rising band handle, lip to shoulder.

Similar to 350 but more sophisticated, especially in treatment of handle. Cf. Matt-painted Shape B14 (Buck, pp. 247, 295) and probable influence of Yellow Minyan.

See also p. 67.

Middle Helladic (late).

352. Jug with Straight (?) Lip. Pl. 25. P 9747. Well, T 24:1. H.0.23m., D.0.165m. Lip largely broken away; fragments from body missing, restored in plaster.

Handmade; coarse micaceous clay, buff at surface, gray at core; smoothed surface, somewhat mottled in firing.

Bottom irregularly flattened; ovoid shape with neck curving into shoulder; wide neck, slightly flaring plain lip. Handle, round in section, from just below rim to shoulder.

In shape this jug seems intermediate between the crude small jug 348 and the more developed large jugs 353-354.

Middle Helladic.

353. Large Ovoid Jug. Pl. 25. P 9502. Well, T 24:1. H.0.295 m., D.0.223 m. Complete except for part of lip.

Coarse micaceous brick red clay; some surfacing, but no slip. Snail shell for tempering material.

Ovoid body tapering to small irregularly flattened bottom; broad neck; plain, round, slightly flaring lip.

Similar in shape to 354 but bottom less flat.

Cf. P 16656 from B 21:15, a fragmentary jug of the same type; and P 14504 from G 19:1, fragment preserving about half the base and part of the side wall of a similar jug.

See also pp. 67, 267.

Middle Helladic (late).


Neck apparently wheelmade, and perhaps whole pot, micaceous brown clay, with well smoothed exterior.

Good ovoid shape with small, slightly convex bottom; broad, fairly high neck; flaring lip. Short handle from high on shoulder to just below lip, upper attachment pushed into flaring rim making knob on inner surface.

Similar to 353, but larger and steadier.

Cf. Eutresis, p. 164, fig. 230,1 for Yellow Minyan jug of much the same shape but with a profiled lip.

See also p. 67.

Middle Helladic (late).


Coarse red clay, with some surfacing, similar to 353 and 354.

Ovoid body; small flattened bottom (not very steady); straight neck flaring slightly to plain out-turned lip.

Two vertical handles, round in section, from just below lip to middle of shoulder.

See also p. 67.

Middle Helladic (late).

356. Amphora with Horizontal Handles on Belly. Pl. 25. P 9746. Well, T 24:1. H.0.33m., max. D.0.25m., D. lip 0.135 m. Many fragments of wall and most of one handle missing; restored in plaster.

Coarse micaceous red clay; red to buff surface, probably not slipped, but comparable to 353-355.

Plump ovoid body, neatly flattened on the bottom; wide neck, plain flaring rim. Two horizontal handles, round in section, at point of greatest circumference.

This shape, the amphora with belly handles, is really a smaller version of one form of pithos (cf. 358). For shape, cf. Eutresis, p. 179, fig. 247, which is called a pithos, although only 0.30 m. high.

Middle Helladic.

357. Fragmentary Amphora or Small Pithos. Pl. 26. P 14506. Pit, G 19:1. P.H. 0.156 m., P.W. 0.204 m. Part of neck, lip, and shoulder preserved from an amphora or small pithos similar to 356.

Coarse reddish clay with large grits; handmade; neck made separately and attached; some surfacing on exterior and on interior of neck.

Middle Helladic.

358. Pithos. Pl. 25. P 18965. Well, R 28:1. H. as restored 0.985 m., D. ca. 0.65 m. Many fragments preserving flat slightly raised base, one lug handle, pierced, high narrow neck and much of the walls; the rim is missing.

Restored in plaster.

Gritty slightly micaceous clay, red to brown, gray at core.

Body tapers to small flattened base; high gently rounded shoulder; slightly concave neck, flaring toward lip. Horizontal lug handles, pierced, on wall above point of greatest circumference.

This shape seems to be a large-scale version of the amphora with belly handles (356 and 357), but the
handles have been moved up beyond the point of greatest circumference and are disproportionately small. I know of no other example exactly comparable.

See also p. 67.

Middle Helladic.

P 14505. Pit, G 19:1. P.H. 0.384 m., D. lip 0.224 m. The bottom third of the pot missing.
Handmade of coarse reddish brown clay with plentiful grits and mica; the surface brown and very slightly smoothed. Neck made separately and attached.
Handles as in 356, but total size of vase larger, and apparently broader and squatter in proportion to height.
Cf. Eutresis, p. 179, fig. 247.
Middle Helladic.

P 14507. Pit, G 19:1. P.H. 0.201 m., P.W. 0.274 m.
Fragment of a pithos similar to 359, preserving part of the body and one of pierced horizontal handles.
Very coarse clay with large grits; handmade; lumps on inside where handles attached; traces of black int.; reddish brown surfacing on ext.
Middle Helladic.

P 9748. Well, T 24:1. P.H. 0.33 m. Fragment, mended from many pieces, preserving part of wall with one pierced horizontal lug handle.
Micaceous red clay, red surfacing; bright red interior through firing.
Cf. P 9752, also from T 24:1, a fragment preserving part of flat bottom and flaring wall of a large coarse pot, with a mending hole and part of lead clamp in place, probably from a pithos or coarse amphora.
Middle Helladic.

362. Pithos.  Pls. 25, 73.
P 14502. Pit, G 19:1. H. as restored 0.545 m., D. at rim 0.382 m. Much of the body missing and all of the bottom; restored in plaster.
Coarse clay, brownish to red, with much mica; handmade with considerable evidence of scraping on interior; outside much burned on one side.
Deep rather pointed body, wide mouth with flaring lip. Just below lip, front and back, nearly opposite each other, a small boss, one marked by an incised chevron immediately below. A non-joining fragment, not made up, has three similar bosses so arranged as to require a fourth; it may come from the missing wall of the pithos, just below lip. No handles preserved.

In shape this bears some resemblance to the Matt-painted wide-mouthed storage jar (Shape C2, Buck, p. 248, pl. 41). However, ours and others like it are taller and seem not to have had handles: cf. Asine, p. 281, fig. 193, 8–10. They are often decorated with small bosses on shoulder (ibid., fig. 193, 9–10).
Cf. P 14503 from G 19:1, the upper body of a pithos very similar in shape, dimensions (D. rim 0.38 m.), and fabric to 362, and with two bosses below the rim so spaced as to suggest that there were originally three. These bosses are much too small to have served a functional purpose for securing ropes, etc. Cf. also the decorative bosses, usually three below the rim, on M.H. coarse ware cups (Asine, p. 283, fig. 194, 3–5).
Cf. also 377, a wall fragment from a pithos with a boss and graffito.
See also p. 67.

Middle Helladic.

363. Neck Fragment from Large Pithos. Pls. 26, 73.
P 13952. Well, S 27:1. P.H. 0.26 m., D. lip 0.51 m.
Something over one-half the neck and lip, with one small joining fragment of shoulder preserved; several small non-joining fragments.
Pinkish buff clay with much very coarse grit; the original surface inside is completely destroyed.
High neck with concave profile, flaring to plain lip, flattened on top. Clamp holes, for mending, in two wall fragments.
Although fragmentary, this is the largest Middle Helladic pithos preserved from the Agora excavations. The diameter of the rim approaches the greatest diameter of 358 (0.65 m.) which had a height of almost one meter (0.985 m.). The neck is lower and more concave than in 358–359, but it is closer to these than to the type represented by 362.
Middle Helladic.

P 13951. Well, S 27:1. P.H. 0.09 m., D. rim est. ca. 0.29 m. Fragment from mouth of small pithos with a slightly bulging neck and a very wide splayed rim, slightly upcurved to an angular lip.
Gritty reddish to brown clay, gray at core. Outside and on rim, traces of thick soft creamy white slip, identical with that used as base for Matt-painted decoration. Rim apparently wheelmade.
Middle Helladic.

P 13948. Well, T 24:1. P.H. 0.11 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.35 m. About one-third of mouth and neck preserved.
Gritty micaceous red clay, gray at core. Neck possibly wheelmade; attached separately. Traces of creamy white slip (?).
Neck almost straight, flat outturned lip. On shoulder just below neck, a raised horizontal band.

Middle Helladic.


Coarse gritty micaceous clay, brownish red; orange-buff surfacing ext. Naked barley for tempering.

Wide shoulder, short neck curving out to thickened lip with angular profile. Around shoulder, just below neck, an applied ridge with neat thumb impressions.

In shape the pithos rim is most like that of 365. The plastic band with thumbmarks has a long history going back into the Late Neolithic period (cf. 161, 165-169).

See also pp. 67, 267.

Middle Helladic.

367. Fragment from Pithos with Plastic Decoration. P 13973. Well, S 27:2. P.H. 0.072 m., P.W. 0.155 m. Fragment from junction of shoulder and neck of a large heavy pithos decorated with a plastic band with diagonal incisions imitating ropework.

Coarse gritty clay, red at surfaces, gray at core.

Such plastic bands with diagonal incisions also go back into the Late Neolithic period (cf. 169, 164, 170).

See also pp. 67, 267.

Middle Helladic.

368. Hollow Knob from Pithos. P 13953. Well, S 27:1. P. H. 0.077 m., D. of knob 0.047 m. A squat knob with a cup-like hollow in it projects from the wall (?) of a vessel which, so far as preserved, is quite flat. The back is very worn and rough.

Very heavy bricklike fabric of gritty brownish buff clay, unslipped.

Perhaps from the toe, or more probably the wall, of a large pithos. Knobs for securing ropes are fairly common, and the hollow in the center might facilitate lifting. Note the M.H. pithos with knobs from House C at Eutresis (*Eutresis*, p. 34, figs. 35, 1, 41).

Middle Helladic.

369. Domed Lid with Handle. P 13975. Well, T 26:2. H. without handle 0.11 m., with handle 0.152 m., D. 0.295 m. Somewhat over one-half preserved; restored in plaster.

Pinkish red clay, very gritty and micaceous; unslipped.

High domed lid with small flattened top; rolled basket handle, set on the top, its ends poked through; bevelled edge at bottom.

Cf. the Mattpainted lid, 319, from R 28:1, which is similar in shape, but must have formed the cover of a pithos with a somewhat broader mouth. Note also the differences in the bevelled edge, 319 being designed to fit against a flange as in pithos 318, 369 designed to fit over the lip as in 365.

Middle Helladic.

370. Spouted Pot with Basket Handle. Pl. 27. P 10528. Well, R 28:1. H. to rim 0.12 m., H. to top of handle 0.197 m., W. of body 0.149 m., L. of body 0.157 m. Fragments of wall, small bit of rim and tip of spout missing.

Very coarse brick red clay; brownish at surface.

Plump jug on small flat bottom; wide mouth with lip slightly inturned, bridged from back to front by a high-rising basket handle, round in section. At the front, just below the handle attachment, is a rather large spout, with cut-away lip, set at an angle, similar to spout of 328.

The shape occurs in Mattpainted (Buck’s Shape B4, pp. 245-246 and references); cf. under 328. Miss Goldman (*Eutresis*, p. 155) calls attention to a diminutive example, coarse and undecorated, from Chalkis, which has a smaller handle and a higher more flaring spout. Cf. the Mattpainted examples from an early tholos near Pylos (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 37, 2-3).

Cf. the coarse spout from the North Slope (A.P. 1932, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 556, fig. 12, d) which might better be turned 45° in the photograph. Cf. also the spout with strainer in the wall of the vessel, P 27399, found in 1965 in the prehistoric deposit in the South Square, M12:2.

Middle Helladic.

371. Long Open Spout from Closed Pot. P 24787. Mixed fill, stratified deposit O-Q 16-17. P.L. 0.10 m., P.H. 0.063 m. Long open spout, end chipped off and broken away from pot.

Coarse gritty red clay, gray at core with small white bits; gray surface with flaky creamy white slip, both ext. and int. of spout.

Possibly with Mattpainted decoration which is now effaced. Cf. examples from an early tholos tomb near Pylos (cited under 370).

Middle Helladic.

372. Bridged (?) Spout from Bowl. P 13947. Well, T 24:1. P.H. 0.065 m. Two joining fragments preserving bit of rim and wall and part of spout.

Handmade; thick fabric of gritty micaceous red clay; fairly good surfacing.
Large shallow bowl with rim turning sharply up to flattened slightly projecting lip; the spout seems to have been bridged.

For shape, compare the Yellow Minyan spouted bowl fragments (Eutresis, p. 167, fig. 284). Probably related to Buck's Shape B3 (p. 245 and references).

Middle Helladic.

373. Rim Fragment of Carinated Bowl. Pls. 27, 71.
P 15202. Gully, R 21:4. P. H. 0.074 m., P. W. 0.13 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.21 m. Rim fragment preserves angular shoulder, flaring rim, and short vertical strap handle from shoulder to under side of rim.

Wheelmade; light orange-brown clay, thin orange wash (?).
This would seem to be a poor imitation of Yellow Minyan (cf. 295).
Cf. also the local Minyan fragment from Keos (B.S.A., LI, 1956, p. 16, fig. 1, 6).
See also p. 67.

Middle Helladic.

374. Handle and Wall Fragment from Closed Pot. Pls. 27, 71.
P 17542. Gully, R 21:4. P. H. 0.08 m., P. W. 0.06 m. Fragment from wall of closed pot with short vertical handle, round in section, and beginning of spring for rim preserved at edge of break above handle.

Handmade; rather thin clean fabric, yellow-brown at core, light buff on surface; lightly burnished on outside.
Although handmade, this seems closer in fabric to Yellow Minyan than do 373 and 375.

Middle Helladic.

375. Fragment with Lug Handle. Pl. 27.
P 17553. Gully, R 21:4. P. H. 0.052 m., P. W. 0.048 m. Fragment with bit of almost vertical, slightly inset rim and part of body of shallow bowl; small lug handle at angle of body and rim.

Clay, gray at core, light brown and micaceous at surface.

Middle Helladic.

376. Fragment of Small Crucible (?). Pls. 27, 71.
P 13945. Well, T 24:1. H. 0.06 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.08 m. About one-quarter preserved with full profile, of a small deep cup.

Handmade of gritty micaceous clay, red to brown; not much surfacing.
Thick flat bottom and plain lip, slightly flattened.
Cf. the crude handmade cups from Eutresis (Eutresis, p. 179, fig. 248), which Miss Goldman compares with crucibles.

Middle Helladic.

377. Fragment from Pithos with Graffito. Pls. 27, 73.
P 9749. Well, T 24:1. Max. dim. 0.18 m. Wall fragment from a large handmade pot, pithos (?).

Coarse greenish buff clay with many black bits and mica; surfacing outside.
On the outside a small raised knob, from which springs a potter's mark or sign, incised in the clay before firing.
Cf. the small boss with that on pithos 362 which has a small incised chevron immediately below. Here, however, the mark seems more a definite sign and is closely paralleled at Phylakopi (Edgar's G 12, Phylakopi, p. 179). Cf. also the signs on 338 and 378.

Middle Helladic.

378. Base with Graffito. Pl. 27.
P 17550. Gully, R 21:4. P. H. 0.028 m., D. base 0.07 m. Flat-bottomed, slightly flaring base and start of wall from closed pot.

Coarse gritty brown clay.
Three short lines scratched on center of bottom before firing; volumetric?
Cf. the potter's marks from Phylakopi (Edgar's A 5 or A 12, Phylakopi, p. 179). Cf. the bases with graffiti from filling of a Shaft Grave at Lerna (Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pl. 15, c–f) to be dated to the end of M.H. Middle Helladic (end).

P 17544. Gully, R 21:4. Max. dim. 0.049 m. Sherd probably from a wide flat rim; curve beginning at edge of break on inside. Three deep dents on outer rim face.

Coarse dark brown clay with white bits; darker at core; lightly polished on interior. Like cooking pot fabric.
Thickness of fabric would indicate that sherd comes from the rim of a heavy pot rather than a small bowl.

Middle Helladic.

380. Fragment from Strap Handle, Plastic Decoration. Pl. 27.
P 17555. Gully, R 21:4. W. 0.041 m., P. H. 0.057 m., T. 0.013 m. Fragment preserving original edges on both sides, possibly from a vertical strap handle.

Gritty clay, gray at center, dull orange at surface. Traces of thick red paint (?) on front.
Side edges turn up on front surface with diagonal indentations; raised band down middle with diagonal gouges giving cable effect.

Middle Helladic.

381. Fragment with Vertical Incised Handle. Pls. 27, 72.
P 9750. Well, T 24:1. P. H. ca. 0.13 m., W. of handle 0.055 m. Fragment from a large, steep-walled bowl with a vertical band handle rising well above the rim, and decorated on the outside with coarsely incised grooves.
Very coarse brownish red clay with large grits; surfaced.

A low knob-like projection on the inside of the wall at the lower handle attachment (where pushed through?).

For type of incision, cf. Eutresis, p. 179, fig. 250; for shape cf. ibid., fig. 250, 1, 6–7, which come from a deep bowl with a single, high-swung handle.

Cf. also the fragments of such handles from Malthi (S.M.E., p. 261, fig. 60, 18–19, pl. XXI, D,1–11).

Nos. 381–383 belong to Valmin’s so-called “Adria- tic” ware (S.M.E., pp. 239f., 256ff., pls. 1, 1, III, 3–21, XVI, 1, 108, XXI, p. 261, fig. 60) which was found in copious quantity at Malthi. According to Valmin (pp. 239–240) it occurred unchanged in all strata from the Neolithic period through Late Helladic. However, its occurrence with “Proto-Minyan,” also assigned to Neolithic (pp. 290–291), is suspicious (as noted by Weinberg, A.J.A., XLIV, 1940, pp. 157–158) and would rather suggest E.H. III–M.H. I or the Period of Lerna IV.

E.H. III or early Middle Helladic.

382. Rim Fragment from Wide-mouthed Jar.

P 18946. Well, T 24:1. P.H. 0.037 m. Fragment from wide-mouthed bowl or jar with wide splayed rim. Deeply incised lines on wall ending a little below lip.

Reddish micaceous clay, gray at core; surface blackened.

Cf. Eutresis, p. 179, fig. 250, 1, 4; also S.M.E., p. 261, fig. 60, 1–5, 9.

Cf. similar fragments from North Slope (A.P. 1817 and 1930, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 545, fig. 4, c, f), classified as Early Helladic.

Transitional to Middle Helladic.

383. Two Fragments from Incised Bowl with Strap Handle.

P 27025. Well, T 26:2. a, max. dim. 0.055 m., b, P.H. of handle 0.04 m., W. of handle 0.032 m. Two non-joining fragments preserving base and start of side-wall (a) and part of broad strap handle (b).

Gritty orange-red clay, coarse diagonal incisions on wall of pot and on handle.

Cf. Eutresis, p. 179, fig. 250, 6; S.M.E., pl. XXI, D, 6–7, J, 1–5.

Cf. fragments of similar coarse incised ware from North Slope (A.P. 1315 and 1316, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 545, fig. 4, a–b), here classified as E.H.

See also p. 68.

Transitional to Middle Helladic.

2. EARLY BURIAL IN METROON DRAIN CUT: I 9:2

Pls. 27–28, 71; Plan, Pl. 78


The only pre-Mycenaean burial discovered intact in the Agora was found in April, 1935, during excavations to the east of the Metroon. The grave was of an unusual type: a small side-chamber at the bottom of a circular shaft 0.73 m. in diameter which reached a depth of 3.00 m. below the surface of the bedrock (Pl. 78). This shaft was apparently originally cut as a well, since it tapped a generous vein of water. The side-chamber extending 0.80 m. from the side of the shaft to the southeast seems to have been an afterthought, as it was much more roughly and irregularly cut. Within this chamber, his head toward the main shaft, lay an adult male skeleton in crouching position, much crushed and disarranged by the stones and earth.1 The only grave offerings were two simple handmade pots: 385 by the head and 384 by the feet. The shaft had been filled with clay and rocks and broken pottery, which is uniformly of Middle Helladic date.2 It also contained the small obsidian arrow tip, 386.

In the preliminary publication, Shear dated this burial to the Neolithic period prior to 3000 B.C. (a date also accepted by Angel for the skeleton). This was presumably on the basis

1 For an anthropological study of this skeleton (27 AA), see J. Lawrence Angel, “Skeletal Material from Attica,” Hesperia, XIV, 1945, pp. 291–292, fig. 1, pl. XLII, 2, also pp. 319–320. His conclusion of a hybrid mixture “of all four elements, Mediterranean, ‘Megalithic,’ Dinaric-Iranian and Alpine” (p. 320), is not conclusive evidence for dating the skeleton to the Neolithic period.

2 Twenty-one fragments of Gray Minyan, three of Matt-painted, and several Coarse ware fragments were counted. Shear explained the presence of M.H. pottery in the shaft as due to its use as a well in M.H. times (A.J.A., XXXIX, 1935, p. 441).
of the pots found with the skeleton and did not take account of the uniform Middle Helladic character of the filling of the shaft. Furthermore, the pots have no close parallels among the Neolithic pottery from the Agora, and although at first glance they seem much cruder than the more standard Middle Helladic fabrics of the filling, they have some fairly close parallels among the coarse handmade pottery from Eutresis and other sites. Consequently, a Middle Helladic date is to be preferred.

The type of burial is, however, not the characteristic Middle Helladic cist grave. It has its closest parallel in a double grave at the bottom of a shaft discovered many years ago at Old Corinth, where, however, the considerable grave offerings were exclusively of the Early Helladic period with some possible Cycladic imports. Such an early date does not seem to be indicated for our burial, since the grave goods correspond better with those from the prehistoric tomb of unbaked brick with upper and lower burials, on the South Slope of the Acropolis, excavated by Skias. This also contained obsidian arrowheads (11 of them) and several sherds of Minyan ware; a rough handmade jug was found near by. Although the date of the grave on the South Slope has also been considered Neolithic by some, it seems wiser to regard both as unusual grave forms of the earlier Middle Helladic period, perhaps of the transitional phase from Early Helladic (i.e. period of Lerna IV).

See also pp. 52–53.

Offerings (384–386; Pls. 27, 71)

384. Handmade Bowl on Conical Foot. Pls. 27, 71. P 6072. At foot of skeleton. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 21, fig. 18; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 441, fig. 8; *I.L.N.*, Oct. 19, 1935, p. 647, fig. 2. H. 0.095 m., D. 0.102 to 0.112 m. Upper part of handles and fragments from side wall missing, restored in plaster.

Coarse unusually gritty clay with gray core; dull orange slip int. and ext.; rudely burnished both int. and ext., but very coarse compared to Neolithic burnishing.

Deep bowl on high conical foot; plain rim with two vertical loop handles rising above rim, their attachments running well down the side wall. Handmade and crude, the rim not a perfect circle.

Cf. the crude handmade pottery of M.H.: *Eutresis*, p. 177, fig. 245, 5, 6 (with a handle somewhat like ours); *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 9, e (from House A at Lerna, apparently early in M.H.).

Middle Helladic (early).


Coarse clay, fired ash gray; slipped and polished both int. and ext.; slip much flaked and does not resemble Neolithic burnished ware.

Round bottom, gently outturned lip. On one side a cleft lug rises from the rim (opposite one restored). The vase had been broken in antiquity and mended: three pairs of holes drilled alongside the fracture.

Middle Helladic (early).

Filling of Shaft (386; Pl. 28)

386. Obsidian Arrow Tip. Pl. 28. ST 103. From filling of shaft. P.L. 0.028 m., W. 0.026 m., T. 0.006 m.

Black obsidian.

Triangular, flat; roughly flaked, with no tang or barbs.

Cf. the barbed triangular obsidian arrowheads from M.H. strata at Korakou and Eutresis (*Korakou*, p. 105, fig. 130, 4–5; *Eutresis*, p. 208, fig. 280, 2); also the E.H. example, *Zygouries*, pl. XX, 23. Those from the grave on the South Slope ('Ep. *'Apx.*, 1902, col. 128, fig. 3) had tangs; some were short and triangular like ours, others longer and narrower. Both types, with and without tang, occurred at Asine (*Asine*, pp. 248 ff., fig. 175, 4).

Middle Helladic.

3 Cf. *Eutresis*, p. 222, figs. 292–294; *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pl. 14, d (Lerna), etc. However, the contracted position, with the skeleton laid on its side with knees drawn up, in a cutting too small for extended burial, agrees with M.H. practices.

4 *A.J.A.*, I, 1897, pp. 813–832, figs. 1–2.

5 *'Ep. *'Apx.*, 1902, cols. 123–130, figs. 1–4. Mentioned also by Wace, *P.T.*, p. 221, who notes the sherds of Minyan ware implying a M.H. date. See also H. Bulle, *Orchomenos*, I, p. 68, who compares the mud-brick form to examples from Orchomenos of the "older Mycenean layer" (i.e. M.H.) and comments on the contracted burial and the "Lydian" gray ware sherds (i.e. Minyan).

3. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

OBJECTS OF STONE

grinders (387–390; Pl. 28)

387. Oval Grinder.

ST 277. Pit, G 19:1. L. 0.117 m., W. 0.078 m., T. 0.024 m. Nearly oval flat piece of gray stone; one side much worn from grinding; chipped at top.

Cf. the oval-shaped pounder mentioned as coming from the M.H. stratum at Korakou (Korakou, p. 105). Also note the occurrence of oval-shaped grinders in Troy VI (Troy, III, fig. 299, 32.205).

See also p. 68.

Probably Middle Helladic.

388. Fragmentary Grinder.

ST 183. Well, T 24:1. P.L. 0.057 m., P.W. 0.06 m. Fragment of whitish stone, one end broken, the other worn smooth and rounded (from use as grinder?).

Probably Middle Helladic.

389. Fragmentary Grinder.

ST 211. Well, T 26:2. P.L. 0.026 m., P.W. 0.08 m. A fragment of hard black stone, perhaps originally oval. The unbroken surfaces are polished extremely smooth. Apparently part of a Celt or grinder.

Probably Middle Helladic.

390. Spherical Grinder or Pounder.

ST 276. Pit, G 19:1. Max. dim. 0.052 m. Limestone (?) beach pebble, nearly spherical in shape. One side much worn and polished from grinding.

Cf. the spherical grinders from the E.H. stratum at Zygouries (Zygouries, p. 200, fig. 188, 4, 9, 15). The shape is apparently the result of nature which provided ready-made a convenient hard pebble for grinding.

Early or Middle Helladic.

millstones, etc. (391–397; Pl. 28)

391. Rectangular Quern.

ST 204. Well, R 28:1. L. 0.323 m., W. 0.195 m., T. 0.075 m. Roughly rectangular stone, preserving full size of quern; back worn and rounded at edges; face concave and worn smooth from grinding. Gray volcanic stone.

This is a well-preserved example of the familiar saddle-shaped quern, which occurs also in Neolithic contexts from the Agora (228 from S 27:4).

Middle Helladic?

392. Fragmentary Quern.

ST 278. Pit, G 19:1. Max. dim. 0.14 m., T. 0.055 m. One end of an ordinary millstone, oval in shape; convex on one side, flat and slightly concave on the other. Gray volcanic stone.

393. Fragment of Oval Millstone.

ST 206. Well, S 27:1. Max. dim. ca. 0.14 m., T. 0.055 m. One end of an oval millstone of ordinary type, the concave side much worn.

Gray volcanic stone.

394. Fragment of Oval Millstone.

ST 212. Well, T 26:2. P.L. 0.176 m., W. 0.154 m. One end of an ordinary millstone, oval in shape; convex on one side, irregularly domed on the other. The concave side much worn.

Gray volcanic stone.

395. Fragment of Oval Millstone.

ST 175. Well, T 24:1. P.L. 0.16 m., W. 0.196 m., T. 0.056 m. The end of an oval millstone, concave on one side, irregularly domed on the other. The concave side much worn.

Gray volcanic stone.

396. Paving Stone (?).

ST 205. Well, R 28:1. L. 0.375 m., W. 0.365 m., T. 0.05 m. Thin, roughly square slab of gray stone, flat on one side where fractured; much worn on the other. Apparently a paving stone; if so, the only architectural remainder of this period which has been found in the Agora excavations.

See also p. 68.

Middle Helladic?

397. Curved Piece of Limestone.

ST 182. Well, T 24:1. Max. dim. 0.245 m. Thin piece of white limestone, rough on one side, smoother on the other, worked down to a finished edge forming part of an elliptical curve. Purpose uncertain.

Middle Helladic?

OBSIDIAN AND FLINT (398–401; Pl. 28)

398. Large Obsidian Matrix.

ST 646. Miscellaneous Find unstratified, K–N 11–14. L. 0.14 m., W. 0.14 m., T. 0.05 m. Large black obsidian matrix found with four smaller chunks.

Not certainly prehistoric, although four small prehistoric sherds, not easily identifiable, were found in the same area.

For the uses and sources of obsidian in prehistoric and classical times, cf. C. Renfrew, J. R. Cann and

See also p. 68 and note 135.

Early to Middle Helladic?

399. Red Flint Blade.  
ST 214. Well, S 27:2. H. 0.024 m., W. 0.033 m., max. T. 0.007 m. A small blade with straight toothed cutting edge and high rounded back. Cutting edge much blunted.

Made from a chip of red flint.

Cf. the flint blade from the L.H. III stratum at Korakou (Korakou, p. 108, fig. 133, 10).

Early to Middle Helladic?

400. Fragmentary Obsidian Blade.  
ST 340. Pit, B 21:15. P.L. 0.022 m., max. W. 0.01 m. Broken at both ends. One side flat; the other in three planes with sharp cutting edges, lightly serrated, at the sides.

Black obsidian, presumably Melian.  
Early to Middle Helladic?

401. Fragmentary Obsidian Blade.  
ST 269. Well, T 24:1. P.L. 0.026 m. Broken at both ends, the edges a little chipped. A very untidy blade, a truncated irregular triangle in section.

Black obsidian, presumably Melian.  
Early to Middle Helladic?

402. Horn Handle (?).  
BI 412. Well, S 27:2. L. 0.045 m., max. W. 0.041 m. Full length apparently preserved. Short section of a horn, one end neatly cut off, the other roughly whittled. A vertical hole down the center may be artificial; possibly used as a handle.

Cf. the occurrence of sawn fragments from antlers of red deer in the E.H. stratum at Zygouries (Zygouries, p. 198, fig. 182) which Blegen assumed were intended for use in smaller pieces as handles for knives or socketed celts.

Persson (Asine, pp. 253–254), discussing the objects of staghorn (fig. 178) and the actual stag’s horn (fig. 179) found in the earliest M.H. stratum (i.e. period of Lerna IV), comments on their Central European connection and thinks it probable that Indo-Europeans brought with them the knowledge of bored staghorn implements used with stone celts.

See also p. 68 and note 136.

Middle Helladic.

403. Fragment of Horn Handle (?).  
BI 413. Well, S 27:2. P.L. 0.064 m., max. W. 0.036 m. Fragment only, broken at one end and at one side. Piece of a horn, the surface worked smooth, the inside hollowed out.

Possibly used as handle. See 402.

Middle Helladic.

404. Sawn Piece of Horn.  
BI 411. Well, S 27:2. P.L. 0.123 m., max. W. 0.042 m. Upper end broken away. Lower end of a horn, neatly cut off below, with three small holes pierced near lower edge; surface smoothed.

Handle?

Middle Helladic.

405. Sawn Piece of Horn.  
BI 409. Well, S 27:2. L. 0.16 m., D. 0.048 m. Much chipped at one end, but full length preserved. Neatly cut off from length of large horn, pierced from side at center; surface smoothed.

Handle?

Middle Helladic.

BI 410. Well, S 27:2. L. 0.168 m., max. W. 0.059 m. From base of a branching antler. Full length apparently preserved. Surface has been smoothed; one branch cut off close; another cut off neatly above its root, where there is a large horizontal piercing. The lower end is worn very smooth.

Middle Helladic.

407. Whorl or Button.  
MC 528. Well, S 27:2. H. 0.023 m., D. 0.023 m. A chip missing from one side. A small roughly conical object, vertically pierced.

Coarse reddish clay, gray at core.

With a height equal to its diameter this is a higher type of whorl than the flatter examples from Neolithic contexts (234–236). It does not differ perceptibly in form or dimensions from the terracotta buttons of the earlier Mycenaean tombs at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, pp. 256, 312f.; II, fig. 602), particularly Types 1 ("Short Cones") and 2 ("Standard Cones"), and very possibly this should be regarded as a button. If so, it might indicate continuity of dress-types from Middle Helladic to Mycenaean.

Middle Helladic.

408. Whorl or Button.  
MC 527. Well, S 27:2. H. 0.017 m., D. 0.038 m. A small squat dome, convex below, vertically pierced.

Coarse brownish clay, fired gray at surface.

See 407.

Middle Helladic.
III. THE MYCENAEAN PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

Even before the Agora Excavations more was known of the Mycenaean period in Athens than of the preceding periods. Monumental stretches of Cyclopean or "Pelasgian" walls, revealed during Greek and German excavations of the Acropolis in the nineteenth century,¹ had proved that here was the site of a Mycenaean citadel comparable to those in the Argolid, and equaling them in the size of its walled area. Scantier traces of terrace walls had localized the site of the palace megaron in the general area of the Erechtheion and the Old Athena Temple but the two stone bases near the Porch of the Maidens are now suspected of being archaic.² Fragmentary pottery published by Graef revealed contacts with the Argolid going back at least as early as the period of the Palace style in Late Helladic II and made it clear that Athens was part of the Mycenaean world from the late sixteenth or early fifteenth century.³

In the 1930’s Broneer’s excavations on the North Slope produced important evidence for the latter part of the Mycenaean period. A Mycenaean stairway northeast of the Erechtheion which led down through a postern gate was blocked off in a period of more intensive fortification, and squatters’ houses were built over the staircase, but these too were abandoned, probably in haste. Even more indicative of the troubled times is the secret underground Fountain which Broneer discovered ingeniously constructed in a cleft of the Acropolis rock to the northwest of the Erechtheion near the House of the Arrephori.⁴ The pottery from the houses, from the construction of the Fountain, and from the fill after its collapse confirms that the development of Athens is parallel to that of the Argolid strongholds in the later thirteenth century, at a time when there was widespread refortification followed by destruction and abandonment.⁵ At Athens there is no trace of conflagration, but Desborough⁶ has recently developed the theory of a shift of population and the gradual infiltration of new elements, a theory which will be considered below.

The pottery from Broneer’s excavations on the North Slope, briefly but admirably published in Hesperia, is for the most part stored in the Agora Museum, and has been carefully studied

³ Graef, Ant. Vasen, I, pls. 2–8, nos. 32–236 (nos. 32–76 are Myc. I–II).
⁶ Desborough, L. Myc. See below, pp. 154–155.
and compared with the material from the Agora excavations. Curiously there is little of our pottery, and that chiefly from bothroi and rubbish deposits (J 10:1, O 7:4, K 6:1), that resembles the material from the North Slope, and conversely very little from the North Slope that parallels the pottery from the Agora tombs. How much this is due to the different nature of the deposits—the one essentially domestic, the other sepulchral—and how much to a chronological difference, the Agora material being in general earlier, are questions to which we shall return.

1. THE MYCENAEAN CEMETERY

Until the advent of American excavations in the Agora in 1931 very little had been found of a funerary nature to complement the architectural remains on the Acropolis. Dörpfeld had found two small Mycenaean graves between the Areopagus and the Pnyx, and a few Mycenaean stirrup-vases had turned up in the Dipylon area, presumably from disturbed burials. In 1931 a rich chamber tomb, unfortunately looted, was found below the Hill of Philopappos; apparently belonging to Late Helladic II, it still contained a few gold ornaments and a gem, which have since disappeared. The first evidence that the Agora area had been used as a cemetery in Mycenaean times came from a badly disturbed tomb (VIII) in the central area, which was discovered in 1933 and produced the only gold signet ring (VIII–6) so far found in Athens. In 1935 a Mycenaean cist grave (XXXVII) containing a skeleton and two pots was discovered to the north of the Middle Stoa.

These earlier finds, however, gave little indication of the richness that awaited the excavators with the discovery in 1939 of the large chamber tombs on the north slope of the Areopagus. The unplundered Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides (I) and a badly disturbed one (II) some 15 meters to the west were discovered that year, while two more, the Tomb of the Bronzes (III) and another badly destroyed one (IV) were excavated in 1947, when excavations were resumed after the war.

With the more intensive excavation of the deeper areas of the Agora in the post-war period the number of Mycenaean tombs and graves increased greatly. Nearly every excavation report from 1947 on records the finding of several, and during the engineering operations for the rebuilding of the Stoa of Attalos in 1952 and 1953 it was difficult to keep up with the large number of newly discovered burials, which were especially concentrated at the northeast corner of the Agora. At present forty-six burial places which can be ascribed to the Mycenaean period have been recorded, but the very fact that two of these were found only in 1965 during final clearing of the South Square shows that the actual number must have been far greater. With

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7 Parallels to the North Slope pottery (with their A.P. numbers) are cited wherever pertinent. Although it has not seemed necessary or desirable to republish this material, any historical conclusions about Mycenaean Athens must combine the ceramic evidence from the Agora, the North Slope and the Acropolis. See below, pp. 147–157.
9 Kraiker-Kübler, Kerameikos, I, p. 89, pl. 63, inv. 534 (Myc. III A/B stirrup-vase found in P.G. grave). Other sherds ibid., p. 109, pl. 38.
14 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 45, 55–78. A word of explanation is needed to account for the apparent discrepancy between the 45 burial places cited by Mrs. Vermeule (Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 53) and our Roman numeral series of 41 (which includes N 14:3 not counted by her). We have assigned numbers only to those having an Agora deposit number, i.e. those which yielded pottery or skeletal remains, usually both. Therefore, 5 additional presumed or intended Mycenaean burial places are not included: the unfinished and collapsed chamber tomb on the Hill of the Nymphs (below, p. 178), the two large tombs on the east side of the Kolones that had been scoured back and almost destroyed (below, pp. 181–183), and two small pit graves in the central area which had been totally cleared out (below, p. 198). In the following analysis of types of burial, we make use of only 41.
a concentration at the northeast corner it is also likely that more tombs will be discovered on the other side of the Athens-Peiraeus Railway when excavations take place there.

**Location and Geographical Grouping**

The general location of the Mycenaean cemetery to the northwest of the Acropolis conforms with a fairly widespread Mycenaean practice, whether dictated by religious tradition or some other cause. Within this area the slopes of the larger hills seem to have determined the location of the larger and more important chamber tombs, with the Areopagus in first place because of its nearness to the Acropolis. Certainly the four tombs discovered on its north slope (Tombs I–IV) form a special group both in size and in wealth of contents. Another favored location was apparently the east slope of the Kolonos Agoraioi where, however, later building operations on the west side of the Agora have all but destroyed at least two large chamber tombs. The Hill of the Nymphs seems not to have been especially singled out, but served as an ordinary small cemetery at a somewhat later period (V–VI and unfinished chamber tomb). On the other hand, the Mouseion Hill (or Hill of Philopappos) was the location of an early and wealthy chamber tomb, perhaps part of a larger cemetery now destroyed.

By and large, however, our tombs and graves are concentrated in the Agora proper, an area which is now almost entirely level but which in Mycenaean times must have had small rises and declivities which determined the orientation of the dromoi of chamber tombs. A group of tombs and graves (VII–XII) along the west side of the Agora forms one part of this cemetery, and the western orientation of the original dromos of Tomb VII should indicate a slope in that direction and thus a level area or road between the Kolonos and these tombs. A much larger group occupies the northeast corner of the Agora. Although we have made a distinction between those to the west of the Stoa of Attalos (XIII–XXI) and those lying beneath and to the east (XXII–XXXVI), they all undoubtedly belonged to the same cemetery. Here the prevailing direction of the dromoi is toward the north, and this would suggest that the central Agora was somewhat higher in Mycenaean times and probably sloped toward the Eridanos and was skirted by a road running from west to east. A final group of burials (XXXVII–XLI) including the important additions of 1965 lies somewhat apart in the south central Agora, separated today by the Panathenaic Way from the larger group to the northeast. In this connection the western orientation of the dromos of the only chamber tomb of this last group (XL) is somewhat puzzling.

**Chamber Tombs**

Of the total 41 Mycenaean burial places only slightly more than half (21) were certainly chamber tombs, evidenced by some preservation of the dromos or blocking wall or by multiple burials. To these should probably be added five others (VIII–X and XXV–XXVI) where the evidence is less nearly complete, owing to disturbance in the central Agora or under the Stoa of Attalos. There are, however, at least 12 examples of the simpler pit or cist type of grave, in all cases but one (VI) with a single interment, and two others (XXIX and XLI) of unusual types. These other types of burial will be considered below (pp. 103–104), but it should be noted here that the occurrence of types other than the chamber tomb is unusual in a Mycenaean cemetery.

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15 Is it accidental that other great Mycenaean cemeteries (Mycenae, the Argive Heraion, Berbati, Dendra) lay to the west of the acropolis? One is tempted to wonder whether the concept of the "islands of the blest" already goes back to Mycenaean times.


17 Above, note 10.

18 This is the only one of a group of tombs and graves (VII–XI) near the Temple of Ares with a preserved dromos, Ares Tomb, pp. 187–219.

19 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 56.

19a For XXXV, a disturbed burial, it is impossible to hazard a guess whether it was a chamber tomb or a cist grave.
ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS (Plans, Pls. 79-90)

The Agora examples vary from the monumental Tombs I and III on the north slope of the Areopagus, tombs which would have been noteworthy in any Argolid cemetery, down to the miniature Tombs XIII and XX which have chambers of 1 square meter or less. The majority of tombs that could be measured belong, however, in the classification of “small,” i.e. with chambers of less than 6 square meters, usually with a dimension of approximately 2.0 m. in each direction. Only three exceeded these modest proportions: Tomb I with an area of over 24 sq. m., Tomb III somewhat over 13 sq. m., and Tomb XII just barely over the 6 sq. m. limit. The first two were clearly tombs of important, if not princely, persons and the third was unfinished and seems to have collapsed during construction. Fear of such collapse may indeed have been the main controlling factor in limiting the size of chamber in Athens, where the softness of the rock (a friable marl without the conglomerate ledges of the Argolid) precluded the more spacious proportions found there.20 The small scale of most of the Agora tombs thus seems to have been the result of conditions of the terrain rather than of poverty or scarcity of persons to be buried. (Tomb VII with 25 burials and many rich offerings in an area of only 5½ sq. m. is a good example.)

Despite the precaution of cutting small chambers, the ceilings collapsed early, sometimes while the tomb was being constructed (XII), at other times immediately after an interment (I) or during the course of a relatively short period of use (XL). No roofs were found intact, but in most cases we have no real evidence of their fate, since the rock had been trimmed down by the later Classical builders often to within 10–20 cm. of the tomb floor. The relatively good preservation of the burials, with less evidence for later disturbance than in most Argolid cemeteries,21 suggests, however, that the Agora tombs were sealed in early by fallen bedrock and were not discovered until the building operations of the Classical period. How much rifling was done then we do not know, but the two votive deposits of funerary lekythoi in the Ares Tomb (VII) and the evidence that a fourth-century monument base was shifted so as to avoid destroying Tomb XV seem to indicate that they were in general respected, if not venerated.

In 10 examples the shape of the chamber was well, or reasonably well, preserved. In Tombs I, III, V, XXIV and XL it was roughly rectangular with the transverse axis greater than the longitudinal. Tomb XIV had a roughly square chamber, somewhat deeper than broad, whereas Tombs XXI and XXIII had more deeply curved rear walls, resulting in a roughly semicircular or stilted semicircular plan. Tomb XX was little more than the enlargement of the dromos into a small cubbyhole, and in Tomb VII the chamber was very irregular, almost triangular in shape. The position of the doorway and at least portions of the blocking wall were found in all the above 10 examples except for Tomb XXIV, but the wall was preserved to a significant height only in Tombs I, III, V, XIV and XL. In the first and last it was found intact, and both exhibit the characteristic upward taper of Mycenaean doorways in Argolid tombs. A deep stomion characterized only Tombs I and III; in other examples it was no deeper than the blocking wall. The doorway was fairly accurately centered with respect to the chamber in Tombs I, III, XIV and XL, but in Tombs V and VII it was quite unsymmetrically placed.

20 Rough statistics following the pattern of Blegen’s study of the Argive Heraion tombs (Prosymna, I, p. 244) have been compiled for Wace’s chamber tombs at Mycenae (Ch. T.), the tombs at Dendra (R. T. D. and N. T. D.) and at Berbati (Berbati).

Of 50 tombs at Prosymna, 33 had chambers with an area greater than 6 sq. m., 15 of these with an area greater than 10 sq. m.

Of Wace’s 24 tombs at Mycenae, 18 chambers were greater than 6 sq. m., 7 of these greater than 10 sq. m.

Of 9 tombs at Dendra all were greater than 8 sq. m., 5 of them greater than 15 sq. m. They ranged up to the gigantic proportions of Tomb 10 which had an area of about 33 sq. m.

The 7 chamber tombs so far published from Berbati all had an area of 9–10 sq. m.

The dromos was preserved to a significant length in only a few tombs (I, XIII, XIV, and XL). The 11.0 m. preserved length in Tomb I need not have been much less than its original measurement, but in Tomb III the 3.80 m. length was obviously far short of the original. Neither of these dromoi reveals much widening toward the doorway, a feature which characterized the tombs at Prosymna and Dendra and made possible wide jambs beside the doorway. The less well-preserved dromoi of Tombs V and XV seem also to have been of the "straight" type, whereas those of Tombs XIII, XIV, and XL widen perceptibly. Of these XIII and XIV are comparatively late, whereas XL is early and is the only clearly preserved occurrence of the stepped type of dromos. Tomb VII is unusual for its two dromoi, of which one is clearly a later addition in the interests of expediency.

The dromoi of Tomb XIV, the Tomb of the Niches, one of the best cut and best preserved of the ordinary chamber tombs, was equipped with two lateral niches symmetrically placed, one on either side, giving it a cruciform plan. Although such dromoi niches, with child burials as here, or with secondary burials, occur elsewhere, they are rarely, if ever, used with the same architectural regularity. The neat angular cutting of the jambs and the centering of the doorway also distinguish this tomb.

Only in the case of the large Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides (I) does the chamber itself have any architectural pretensions. Here not only the monumental size and costly offerings, but the rock-cut benches along either side wall, the lightly hipped ceiling, and the deep rectangular floor cist show that this tomb belonged to a family of quality. It is our only example with rockcut benches, and although these are found in Argolid tombs, either for interments or for offerings, they seldom display the same symmetry. Likewise the burial cist with its single slate covering slab is unusual, and is of quite a different order from the shallower and irregular bone pits which are common in the Argolid and in Athens. Such primary burial cists are usually restricted to tholoi or to the wealthiest chamber tombs, and even in these they seldom attain the regularity of ours, nor is the single covering slab customary. One is reminded rather of the rockcut and built tombs of Crete in the last days of the Palace at Knossos, a period which should be contemporary with our tomb.

22 If one can draw conclusions from the Argolid chamber tombs, dromoi from 11-12 up to 17-18 m. long are typical for those having chambers measuring more than 20 sq. m., but of course the gradient of the hill is the actual controlling factor.
23 At the Argive Heraion the divergence toward the doorway is especially marked and can readily be observed on the plans (Prosymna, II, pls. 2-40), the measurements often being in a 1:2 or 2:3 ratio (Tombs 34, 1.05-2.02 m.; 42, 1.05-1.98 m.; 7, 1.15-2.33 m.; 2, 1.30-2.02 m.; 3, 1.05-2.20 m.). This feature is less marked at Dendra, where only Tomb 9 has so marked a widening (1.0-2.15 m.) and Tomb 10 (2.15-2.55 m.) is closer to our Tomb I (1.90-2.40 m.). At Mycenae the dromoi appear straighter, although Tombs 502, 515, 529, and 533 have marked widening. There is perhaps some relation of this feature to the "broad" and "narrow" types as defined by Wace (Ch.T., pp. 124-125) and Blegen (Prosymna, I, pp. 232-233), where
24 Occurring on one side of the chamber in the following: Prosymna, Tombs 6, 10, and 50 and built of masonry in Tombs 5, 11, 13 and 26 (Prosymna, I, p. 245); Mycenae, Tombs 505, 518 and 529 (Ch.T., p. 136); Dendra, Tomb 8 (N.T.D., pp. 37-41, figs. 37, 40, 42). These benches were used either for an interment, often secondary, or for offerings as in our tomb.
25 Prosymna Tomb 59 (Prosymna, I, pp. 73, 235); Berbati Tomb 12 (Berbati, pp. 68-71, fig. 51); Perati, Tomb Σ 23a (Epyov, 1957, p. 19, fig. 18): Asine, Tombs 1:3 and 4 (Asine, pp. 171-175, 391-392). See also Ch.T., pp. 128-129 and examples cited.
26 Prosymna, Tombs 6 and 87 (Prosymna, I, pp. 124, 154-155).
27 See the discussion of such bone cists by Blegen (Prosymna, I, pp. 245-247). Of the 87 cists found at the Argive Heraion, only two (both in Tomb 45) contained a primary interment.
28 See shafts I, II, and III of Tomb 9 at Dendra, which were rectangular but had multiple covering slabs (N.T.D., pp. 51-56, fig. 61); shaft 1 of Tomb 10 without covering slabs (Ibid., pp. 59-68, figs. 75, 87); and the irregularly-shaped burial pits I and III of the tholoi at Dendra (R.T.D., pp. 19-18, figs. 11, 18, 18). The tholos at Vaphio contained a burial cist (Ep. Apy., 1987, pp. 150-152; also Mylonas, Myc. M.A., p. 126); there were two in the tholos at Myrmochorion (B.C.H., LXXII, 1957, pp. 558-559) and others in the destroyed tholos at Pylos (A.J.A., LXII, 1958, p. 176, pl. 40, figs. 12-13; W. Taylour, The Myrmochorion, Cambridge, 1964, pp. 80-88, pl. 24). None of these was apparently roofed with a single slab.
29 The typical form of interment in the contemporary Warrior Graves at Knossos was either directly on the floor or in wooden coffins (Hood, B.S.A., LL, 1956, p. 86) and in terracotta larnakes in the slightly later chamber tombs at Zafer Papoura (Evans, P.T.K., pp. 6ff.). However, neat and deep rectangular burial cists are characteristic of the vaulted tombs at Isopata,
MANNER OF INTERMENT AND FUNERAL RITES

The burial cist of Tomb I, clearly a burial cist albeit empty, was unique among the Agora tombs, with the possible exception of one in the badly destroyed adjacent Tomb II. Another unusual method of burial is found in Tomb XL, where the first two burials had been placed in wooden coffins. Mrs. Vermeule has noted the significance of this practice in connection with a small group of wealthy tombs in the Argolid and in Crete at approximately the time of the fall of Knossos. In the light of this new discovery, one is reminded of the traces of wood, accompanied by blue pigment and ivory rosette inlays, in the much wealthier Tomb III. Here, however, since the traces of wood were all found to the right of the skeleton, the original suggestion of a low wooden table on which the bronze sword, razor and bowl (III-17 to 20) were placed seems preferable.

The majority of interments were placed directly on the floor of the chamber, the skeleton on its back in an extended or only slightly contracted position. Single burials in diminutive chamber tombs like XIII and XX were treated more like those in pit graves, the five-and-a-half year old child in XX being in a curled-up position. Surprising in comparison to the chamber tombs at Mycenae and the Argive Heraion is the large number of more or less intact burials. Of the 68 skeletons recognized by Angel in 11 chamber tombs (III, V, VII, XIV, XV, XVIII, XX, XXIII, XXIV, XXXIV, and XL) no less than 25 seem to have been in their primary position, a contrast to the many bone piles in the Argolid with their confusion of swept-up remains. This would certainly suggest that the individual tombs in Athens were used over a shorter span of time, probably because of the tendency of the roof to collapse.

Where the burials were intact no consistency could be observed in the orientation of the skeletons, either in respect to the doorway or to the cardinal points, and one must assume that expediency of burial dictated position.

In tombs having a somewhat longer history, many of the same practices used in the Argolid can be observed. Bone cists, or piles of swept-aside bones from previous interments, were noted in Tombs IV, V, VII, X, XIV, XXI, XXXIII, and XXIV (at least 12 people, 8 in two separate pits). The Argive system of spreading a layer of sand over previous interments is found only in the Ares Tomb (VII), where such a sterile stratum separates the later Myc. III C burials from the earlier ones. This tomb, despite its modest size, contained the greatest number of interments (25). The practice of general fumigation with a thorough burning of earlier remains, noted at the Argive Heraion, is not found in our tombs, although in Tomb XL there is some evidence that a fire had been lit between the time of the coffin burials C and D and that of burial A.

A different type of burning, more directly connected with funeral rites than with purification, was noted in Tombs I and III. The former presents many problems because of the empty
burial cist and absence of human remains, problems which are best deferred until a full description of the tomb is given (see below, pp. 158ff.). Here, however, we should note the presence of an ash pile in the center of the chamber, which had obviously been disturbed since a quantity of ash was strewn over the lid of the cist and extended down into the grave cutting. Furthermore, at the back of the chamber in the area of a group of small objects (I-17 to 19 and I-23), which may have been removed from the cist, were found numerous small scraps of bone and several large canine-looking teeth. Since these have proved to be animal rather than human, they cannot have anything to do with the actual burial, but must rather point to the sacrifice of a pet dog or the remnants of a funeral meal.

In Tomb III we have clear evidence for a sacrificial pyre, probably in connection with the last interment. Although no blackened area was found on the floor of the chamber or in the extant part of the dromos, the contents heaped into the three-handled jar (III-15) found opposite the door are clearly the remnants of such a pyre. Bits of carbonized wood, blackened ivory, vitrified sherds of pottery including a kylix stem, and a few scraps of bone from a small animal reveal the type of sacrifice.

From the Agora little information was obtained concerning the nature of the dromos fill, since the cemetery had been so greatly encroached upon by later builders and original fill was found only in the dromoi of Tombs I, III, V, XII, XIV, and XL, and in a substantial amount only in the first and last. However, in both these tombs fragments of pottery in the dromos join fragmentary vases in the chamber and involve some difficulty with the canonical theory that they represent a sweeping out of the chamber at the time of a later interment. Tomb I was presumably used only once, and in Tomb XL fragments of the teacup (XL-9) were found under the coffin of the first burial, suggesting a ritual smashing.

Apart from the niche burials of Tomb XIV, where two children had been buried in the right-hand niche and one in the left, primary interments which did not involve opening the blocking wall of the doorway, no other skeletal material was found in the preserved dromoi.

With the necessity for frequent re-opening of chamber tombs for subsequent burials, one must assume some sort of tomb marker visible on the surface, once the dromos was filled in. No proper grave stele was found in any of the 52 tombs at the Argive Heraion, but the use of a large boulder above the door was suggested by Blegen. Agora Tomb XL has revealed the existence of a worked stone stele, which although broken and built into the upper filling of the doorway, is the first yet recognized at Athens, and it now seems likely that the rough limestone slab (XXIV-24) with face and sides worked smooth, which was found in the chamber of Tomb XXXIV, may be a fragment of another such stele.

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38 Examined by William Phelps in August, 1966. He found evidence for pig, sheep or goat, and possibly dog (one split tooth). It therefore looks more like the remnants of a meal than a sacrifice.
39 Noted by Persson in the tholos at Dendra (R.T.D., pp. 39, 69-70) and in two of the chamber tombs at Mycenae (Ch.T., p. 145: Tombs 505 and 533).
40 See Mylonas, Myc. M.A., pp. 94, 99, 109, 113, 133 and 183 for references to funeral meals, a custom which seems to go back to the Shaft Grave period. Also Anc. Myc., pp. 132, 144, 146, 148.
41 See especially the remains from Pit IV in the Tholos at Dendra (R.T.D., pp. 40-41) and Persson's remarks on the sacrificial pyre (ibid., p. 70).
42 The evidence for Tomb I will be discussed in detail under the tomb description (below, pp. 158ff.). Mrs. Vermeule suggests that broken and incomplete vases (9, 11 and 12) in Tomb XL (Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 67). Persson also assumed ritual smashing to explain a stirrup-vas and a beaked jug found partly in the King's grave and partly in the dromos of the Dendra tholos (R.T.D., pp. 68-70). Wace and Blegen seem to have restricted this practice to the kylikes used by mourners in drinking their farewell toast (Ch.T., p. 131; Prosymna, I, pp. 237-238).
43 A Protogeometric cist burial of a child was, however, made in the original dromos of Tomb VII (Ares Tomb, pp. 200-201). John Travlos has also suggested that the Mycenaean cist grave XIX was set down in the dromos of the adjacent chamber tomb XVIII, but since the dromos has been completely destroyed, this remains at best conjectural.
44 Prosymna, I, p. 237.
45 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 69, 77-78, no. 15.
46 It seems too small and too well-worked to have served as a covering slab for one of the bone cists.
Pit and Cist Graves

Over one-third of the Mycenaean burial places in the Agora were definitely not chamber tombs. There were 12 certain, and 3 probable, examples of the simpler cist or pit type, where a single body had been deposited in a rectangular or oval cutting often covered with slabs of stone. These were scattered throughout the chamber tomb necropolis with the exception of the Areopagus and Kolonos Agoraios areas, and it is difficult to make any chronological distinction between the two types. Apart from the late Grave VI, which is clearly Myc. III C, the others, like the chamber tombs, run from Myc. II B through III A or the transition to III B, i.e. from the second half of the fifteenth century to somewhat after 1300 B.C.

One is consequently forced to examine the reasons for the occurrence of the simpler type in an era in which the chamber tomb with multiple burials was the dominant form, indeed at most Mycenaean sites the only acceptable form, apart from occasional pit burials of children. However, in our cemetery only five pit graves (VI, XI, XVI, XXXVI, and XXXIX) contained child burials, and an equal number contained adults (XVII, XIX, XXVII, XXVIII, and XXXVII). Since this form of interment was clearly not restricted to children in Athens, one may ask whether it represents a cheaper and poorer mode of burial. For adults the answer would seem to be affirmative, if one can judge from the solitary pots deposited in Graves XIX and XXVIII, or the two pots and bronze knife of Grave XVII. For children, however, there was clearly no stigma attached to burial in a pit grave. The little girl of less than two buried in Grave XVI had been showered with offerings: a necklace with a gold pendant, an ivory comb and pin, ten vases including the beautiful Lily Bowl (XVI–1), and a group of sea-shells. Together they constitute one of the richest inventories of a single burial in the Agora cemetery. In Grave XXXIX the offerings were fewer, but still considerable, three good pots and a necklace of minute beads. In Grave VI, on the other hand, with two children cramped on top of each other and a single Granary style cup as their only offering, we are clearly dealing with an impoverished burial, which may be a reflection of the troubled times.

The question arises whether there is a genuine distinction between pit and cist graves and, if so, what is the relation of the latter to the earlier Middle Helladic cist graves and to the later Submycenaean type found in the cemeteries of the Agora, Kerameikos and Salamis. Since Desborough has recently proposed that the Submycenaean cist burials represent a new type intrusive from the North which first comes in at the end of the Mycenaean period, it seems worthwhile to examine the evidence for Mycenaean cist burials in some detail. The distinction between pit and cist graves made by Desborough is perhaps artificial: that cist graves were covered with roofing slabs, pit graves were not and were furthermore usually restricted to the burials of children. I should prefer a distinction based on the shape of the cutting and the relation of the body to the cutting. Pit graves are in general small and oval with the body contracted, whereas the genuine cist, especially as used in the later cemeteries, was long and narrow with the body extended and filling practically the entire grave cutting. Thus, Grave VI would be a good example of a pit burial, XXXVII of a cist grave (even though it had no preserved cover slabs). With the child burials in Graves XVI and XXXIX we are dealing with rectangular cuttings of considerably greater dimensions than the body; while they may represent a continuation of the wealthier cist or shaft graves at the end of the Middle Helladic period, they seem to have little to do with the new type of cist grave discussed by Desborough.

47 Note the examples from Voula (Aliki Glyphada) cited by Desborough, L. Mycs., p. 33, note 13.
48 In two other examples of the family cemetery (VIII–XI) the pits had been cleaned out. In three further examples (XXX, XXXV, and XXXVIII) the form of grave is too uncertain to count.
49 Desborough, L. Mycs., pp. 33, 37-38, 112-113 and passim. He admits the continuation of the Middle Helladic cist grave form at Eleusis and in a few other isolated examples, but seems to me to have minimized its usage in Athens.
On the other hand, Graves XVII, XIX, and XXXVII seem true cist graves, and cover slabs were preserved in XVII and XIX. The cuttings range from 1.40 to 1.90 m. in length and are only 0.50 to 0.60 m. in width, with an adult burial in each case.\(^{50}\)

Although Desborough may be right that the cemeteries of the Kerameikos and Salamis represent a new intrusive type of burial, the Mycenaean cemetery in the Agora shows the existence of single adult burials in long rectangular cuttings, sometimes—(perhaps always, if the evidence were better preserved)—roofed with covering slabs, and going back to the beginning of the fourteenth century.\(^{51}\) Together with these were pit burials, both of children and adults, and oversized rectangular cists for children. All of these are probably derived from Middle Helladic types, and they should thus be compared with the Mycenaean graves at Eleusis\(^{52}\) rather than the Submycenaean cemeteries. Since there is nothing that distinguishes our cist graves from contemporary chamber tombs in their contents, they should be regarded as the survival of an older form rather than the introduction of a new one.\(^{53}\)

**Unique Types**

Two of our burials do not conform to either of the other two main groups. Grave XXIX has been described as a pit grave with one side closed off by a wall of fieldstones,\(^{54}\) but several features seem inconsistent with this explanation. Actually, there is an outer walled cist and an inner rockcut cist as large as the chamber of many of our tombs (1.50 by 2.0 m.), and furthermore the interment and offerings have been tucked away against the far wall as if allowance had been made for subsequent burials. One wonders whether this was intended for a chamber tomb, with the dromos and blocking wall as wide as the chamber, or whether it was open above and thus a kind of cist or shaft grave, comparable perhaps to the pit graves in the Zafer Papoura cemetery\(^{55}\) or to the abortive chamber tomb XXXIX at the Argive Heraion.\(^{56}\) Since the rock had been trimmed down by the builders of the Stoa terrace, we have no information about the roof.

Grave XLI is a simple burial in the mouth of a disused well, which was found in the summer of 1965 at the south end of a trial trench dug through the South Square.\(^{57}\) Its single offering, the crooked kylix (XLI-1), suggests a late period roughly contemporary with the upper burials in the Ares Tomb (VII), with the children’s pit grave (VI), and with the refuse fills in the dromos of Tomb XII and the Kylix Pit 0 7:4.

**Offerings**

All the Mycenaean tombs and graves with the exception of the cleaned-out tombs under the Stoa of Attalos (XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV) and another in the central area (XXXVIII), were equipped with at least one funeral gift.

**Pottery**

Pottery constitutes the major part of the offerings, a total of 208 vases from tombs, with more from disturbed areas adjacent to the cemetery. This material will be discussed more fully

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\(^{50}\) Grave XXVIII, with an exposed cutting of 1.30 by 0.60 m. and with three stone slabs tumbling in the grave and a single interment, should be of the same type.

\(^{51}\) Note the Myc. III A:1 ewer fragment XXXVII-2.


\(^{53}\) Perhaps the difficulty in cutting chamber tombs that would not collapse led to the continuation of the older form in Athens.

\(^{54}\) Actually a second wall was discovered a little further to the southeast, leaving a passage 0.45 m. wide between them without any trace of covering slabs, bones or offerings, although the base of a kylix (XXIX-1) was embedded in the stones of the north wall of the outer cist.

\(^{55}\) Evans, P.T.K., pp. 15–21, especially pp. 24–25, figs. 17–18.

\(^{56}\) Prosmyna, I, pp. 131–132; II, pl. 25, fig. 313.

below (pp. 114ff.) in a separate section treating the Mycenaean pottery as a whole (both the vases from the cemetery and the pottery from the rubbish deposits and North Slope wells), but a few remarks may be made here about funeral usage.

The number of vases in individual tombs ranges from the single pots of Graves VI, XIX, XXVIII, and XLI to large numbers in tombs with multiple burials (26 in VII, 21 in XXIV). With the exception of the remains of a pyre in III-15, all pots were found empty, but one must assume that they originally held substances thought useful to the dead in his journey to the underworld.58 The large vases (three-handled jars, kraters and amphoras) probably contained wine, which could be poured from the ewers and pitchers into kylikes and cups for actual drinking by the funeral party and for symbolic refreshment for the deceased. The open shapes like the shallow handleless bowls and bowls with ribbon handles (III-12 and III-4) and the kalathos (VII-24) may have contained offerings of solid food,59 whereas the small squat alabastra so frequent in our tombs doubtless held perfumed oil or unguent. A few other shapes seem to have had a more specialized function: feeding bottles (XIV-6 and 7, XXXIX-3) and smaller askoi (XVI-8 and 9) which were definitely associated with the burials of small children, and the ritual vases from Tomb XXVI, which support Blegen’s theory of the burial of a priest in Tomb 44 at the Argive Heraion.60

None of our tombs contained vessels of precious metal, although the burial cist in Tomb I may have been originally so equipped. However, in both this tomb and in the neighboring Tomb of the Bronzes (III) a special class of imitation silver vases, where the surface of the pot has been sheathed with a thin layer of tinfoil, has been recognized.61

BRONZES

Bronze vessels were found in three tombs: the long-handled “ladle” or more probably lamp62 found just inside the door of Tomb I (I-22), the poorly preserved shallow bowl found on the table with the swords in Tomb III (III-20), and the small kalathos-shaped bowl with wishbone handles in the diminutive Tomb XIII (XIII-1).

Costly bronze weapons which were associated with the Mycenaean warrior aristocracy occurred in only one tomb. In Tomb III a long horned rapier (III-17) and a short sword or dagger (III-18) were found on a wooden table beside the third burial, and the gold-plated rivets near by show that these were luxury pieces of the same general type as those current at the time of the fall of Knossos.63 The fragmentary bronze sword or dagger (409) from the Bouleuterion Plateia, which probably came from one of the large destroyed tombs along the east side of the Kolonos, is of a different type. Although poorly preserved, it seems to belong to a shorter slashing weapon with flanged hilt and without a midrib.64

Other weapons from our tombs are a badly corroded dagger (XV-4) and the tip of another (VII-28), a simple bronze knife (XVII-3), and a monumental spearhead, perhaps used for boar-hunting, found in the Tomb of the Coffins (XL-5).65 To these might be added the-collec-

58 The alabastron XL-2 was filled with a pale crumbly earth, possibly unguent. Prosymna, I, p. 259; Ch. T., p. 143, note 1. Cf. the excellent survey of burial customs in Mylonas, Myc. M.A., pp. 132-135, especially p. 134 with the distinction made between equipping the dead for the journey to the other world (i.e. until the flesh decayed) and permanent tendance which he thinks did not exist in Mycenaean times (ibid., pp. 176-186).
60 Prosymna, I, pp. 213-214; II, figs. 538-539.
62 See the discussion by Persson on the evolution of Minoan and Mycenaean lamps (N.T.D., pp. 102-111) and note the similar example from Tomb 8 (p. 46, fig. 49, 1), which was also found just inside the chamber.
64 Cf. Blegen’s Type d daggers from Prosymna (Prosymna, I, pp. 336-338; II, figs. 485, 377, 198). Sandars, op.cit., pp. 132-133, 149 assigns these to her Class E i daggers.
65 See discussion of this piece by Mrs. Vermeule, Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 74-75.
tion of bronze and obsidian arrowheads, once contained in a quiver, which were found in the Ares Tomb (VII–29 and 30), and the three so-called “cleavers” (III–19, VII–27, and XIV–9), for which the old terminology of “razor” seems preferable.66

Other bronze objects seem more strictly feminine: two circular mirrors (I–23 and XXI–13) with no trace of handles, a needle (XI–6), and a curious implement or possibly a straight pin once crowned with a separate head (XXI–14).67 A long piece of copper wire (I–24) from the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides has been tentatively identified as part of a small symbolic balance like those found in some Mycenaean tombs.68

**IVORIES**

In Mycenaean tombs this material was used for offerings usually associated with wealthy female burials, objects such as carved cosmetic boxes, mirror handles, combs, etc. For this reason the splendid ivories from Tomb I constitute the strongest argument that this tomb served as the burial place of a woman of high station.

The large ivory pyxis (I–16), decorated with a spirited and savage scene of two winged griffins of Minoan type attacking two deer and two fawns amid a rocky landscape, was well described and illustrated by Shear in the original publication of this tomb and has already earned a place with the finest Mycenaean carved ivories.69 Whether one emphasizes the Minoan inspiration of the theme or the Mycenaean transformation along more abstract lines, the style clearly represents the fusion that resulted from the presence of Mycenaean at Knossos in the last days of the palace, a period which coincides in time with the date of our tomb.70 Whether it was something of an heirloom brought back from Knossos or originated in the Argolid workshop which seems to have been responsible for most of the pottery found in this tomb, it has a strongly metropolitan character and can hardly be claimed for local Athenian work.71

The small ivory pyxis (I–17), only slightly more than two inches in height and decorated with three zones of nautili with dotted tentacles, has a goldsmith-like delicacy. The handles, in the shape of figure-eight shields, were three in number and were dowelled on separately. Perhaps because of its small size it lacks such technical refinements as the double bottom and tin lining of the large example.72 It also must have originated in a metropolitan workshop and seems to have been of a more traditional type, for the same combination of nautili and handles in the form of figure-eight shields occurs in an alabaster example, at twice the scale of ours, from a thirteenth-century tomb at Antheia in Achaia.73

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66 Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, pp. 347–348, suggested the possibility that these were offensive weapons or meat cleavers. If so, we are left with no candidate for a razor.


68 *Prosymna*, I, pp. 351–352; II, figs. 215, 6, 7; 548, 5; 196; 443, 2; 485, 3. These are all small scale pans, usually pierced at the rim with four holes, and with no remains of the balance, which it is conjectured may have been of wood. In our example no trace of the pans survives, suggesting more a symbolic balance like the gold examples from Shaft Grave III at Mycenae (Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 197, nos. 301–302, Karo, S.C., pp. 55–56, pl. XXXIV). The more functional pans, like those from the Argive Heraion, may have served a practical purpose like the weighing out of cosmetics; they often accompany mirrors and other feminine equipment.


70 Miss Kantor’s date of possibly before 1400 B.C., and the suggestion that the pyxis was something of an heirloom when it was buried, is I think preferable to Mrs. Vermeule’s dating after the fall of Knossos. Since the pottery in this tomb is clearly Myc. III A:1, it is difficult to make the pyxis any later; and whatever absolute dates are assigned, it is generally recognized that the fall of Knossos is contemporary with the end of that phase (see Vermeule, *Gr.B.A.*, pp. 144–145). The new pyxis from Katsaba with the capture of a wild bull (*B.C.H.*, LXXXVIII, 1964, p. 846, fig. 3) is earlier and apparently in the pure Minoan style of the earlier fifteenth century.

71 Less well preserved pyxides of similar scale and slightly tapering form, revealing the original section of the tusk as in ours, were found by Tsountas in chamber tombs at Mycenae and are now displayed in the National Museum (*Ep. ‘ApX.*, 1888, pl. 8, 6). These have never been fully published, but will be the subject of a special study by Mrs. Agnes Sakellariou Vermeule, *Gr.B.A.*, p. 343, note 15, refers to a pyxis fragment with griffin attacking a bull from Tsountas’ Tomb 27.

72 See description in Catalogue, below p. 166.

73 Προστάτικη, 1997, p. 91, fig. 10. See also Vermeule, *A.J.A.*, LXIV, 1960, pp. 12–13, pl. 5, fig. 34.
From the same complex that produced the small pyxis came a set of large and unusual ivory pins (I–18) resembling modern barrettes, although their exact mechanism and purpose are uncertain,74 three straight pins (I–19) and a small oblong plaque (I–20) with two holes and faint traces of low relief, which could possibly be part of the top of a comb.

The other ivories are less elaborate than those from Tomb I. From Tomb III came four rosettes and several other small fragments of carved ivory (III–21) which were presumably used as decorative inlays on the wooden table beside the third burial. The Ares Tomb yielded an ivory comb with central medallion (VII–31) like some from the Argive Heraion75 and also six fragments of at least two bone pins or hair ornaments (VII–32) resembling the barrettes from Tomb I. The Lily Bowl Grave (XVI) produced another type of comb (XVI–12) with a straight top and simple mouldings, as well as fragments of a straight pin (XVI–13). A similar ivory comb of simple form (XXIII–7) was found in Tomb XXIII.

JEWELRY

Of the more sumptuous offerings such as the gold necklaces, earrings, bracelets, rings found in the wealthiest chamber tombs of the Argolid,76 the Agora tombs produced little, although it is probable that the body removed from the cist in Tomb I was richly bedecked. Nonetheless, a badly disturbed tomb found in 1933 produced a gold signet ring (VIII–6), the only one so far found in Athens. Although small and relatively unimpressive in comparison with the finest Minoan-Mycenaean signets, this ring has attracted considerable attention because of its possibly mythological subject.77 A male figure striding to the right, either bull-headed or wearing a bull mask, is followed by two flounce-skirted women, the first seemingly attached by two curving bands or “fetters” to the man. Shear immediately proposed a connection with the legend of the Cretan Minotaur and the sacrifice of the Athenian maidens, but other scholars have been less sure of the bull-headed character of the man, and have proposed religious rather than mythological interpretations. The Reverend V. E. Kenna has recently examined the ring with me, impressions have been taken, and a new drawing has been made which seems more accurate than the one originally published.78 His observations are described more fully in the Catalogue (p. 192), but here one might note that he thinks that the bezel was re-engraved, which accounts for a certain carelessness of drawing and some peculiarities. The male figure, he believes, is wearing a bull mask, comparable to those found on male ministrants on cylinder seals in Cyprus,79 and although he disavows any connection with the Minotaur legend, the presence of a bull-headed or bull-masked male on an Athenian ring is nonetheless provocative of speculation (see below, p. 156). However, if our ring has any connection with the Theseus legend, it constitutes an additional argument for pushing this back into an early period. The context of the ring was clearly the first half of the fourteenth century B.C. and not about 1200 B.C.80

74 No exact parallels for these have been found at other sites. The serration of the curved pieces looks suitable for keeping the hair from slipping, but there is no visible means of fastening nor of attaching the plate to the pin.

75 Prosymna, II, fig. 419, 2 from Tomb 14.

76 Tomb 10 at Dendra was exceptionally wealthy in gold jewelry (N.T.D., pp. 75ff., figs. 89, 92-93, pls. III, V, VII), but enough has been found in other chamber tombs at Mycenae, the Argive Heraion, etc. to suggest that the early burials were wealthy and that much of the gold has been removed (see Ch.T., p. 191).


78 The style is not so heavy and coarse as in the drawing originally published, which was furthermore inaccurate in some details such as the elimination of the feet of the women (according to the Rev. Kenna part of the original engraving). The new drawing was made in 1964 by Miss Hero Athanasiades.


A gold pendant in the form of a stylized lily with the anthers rendered with granulation (XVI-11) was found in the Lily Bowl Grave along with beads of quartz and glass paste, which made up the rest of the necklace. This pendant compares favorably with the individual members of fine gold necklaces from Dendra and the Argive Heraion. Simpler gold beads, either elliptical and fluted (IX-2) or spherical and plain (XIV-10 and XXI-12), were found in single examples in three other tombs, in two cases associated with necklaces of paste beads. The latter, mostly in poor preservation, were found in seven tombs (VII, XIV, XVI, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, and XXXIX). These range in color from white to pale green, yellow and blue, and include most of the well-known shapes found at the Argive Heraion: plain spherical, melon-fluted, tubular, annular and small spherical. In only one case (VII-33) was there a possible trace of gold leaf. The paste beads were often accompanied by individual beads of quartz, carnelian, or other semi-precious stone (XVI-11, XXI-12, XXIV-22). Three amethyst beads, all globular (VIII-7 and 8; XXIV-22) were probably imported from Egypt, and confirm the early chronological range of our tombs, at the transition from Late Helladic II to III. There is only one occurrence of amber, an amygdaloid bead from the left wrist of skeleton D in Tomb XL (XI-16). From the same skeleton came our only engraved sealstone, a carnelian with a flying eagle (XI-17) which has been well described by Mrs. Vermeule. Its context, not much after 1400 B.C., confirms the existence of a careless, linear style of engraving at a fairly early period.

EVIDENCE FOR FUNERARY COSTUME

Here may be considered three disparate types of object: gold leaf repoussé ornaments, lead wires, and steatite whorls or buttons.

Ever since Schliemann's discovery of countless gold foil ornaments in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, there has been little doubt that these served to bedeck the funeral shroud, those with small holes sewed into position, those without either glued or merely laid in position. Such a practice seems to have been reserved for royalty or the nobility. Only in our two wealthiest chamber tombs on the north slope of the Areopagus did such ornaments occur. In Tomb I a total of 128 separate pieces (I-25 to 29) of five different types (ivy leaf, shell, two sizes of rosette and plain discs) were found, concentrated near the cist and cover slab, where they had presumably fallen off the body as it was being removed. In Tomb III, 38 small gold rosettes were found in the northeast corner of the chamber (III-22), not immediately connected with any of the three skeletons. It has been conjectured that they may have decorated a cloak or garment hung on a peg in the wall.

More enigmatic are the pieces of lead wire found in three of our tombs (VIII-10, IX-3, and XXVI-6 and 7) as well as in those of the Argolid, where they have been variously interpreted as wires for trussing the corpse in position, for sealing the tomb or some particular deposit, or most recently as dress weights to stiffen the flounces. Unfortunately our three tombs were too badly disturbed to contribute additional evidence, but elsewhere the proximity to the bones makes the first or last theory preferable to the second. Holmberg considered the evidence

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81 Prosymna, II, figs. 577; 369, 2. N.T.D., p. 78, fig. 92, 1, pl. V, 2 (gold necklace of lily and shield-shaped beads from Tomb 10).
82 Prosymna, I, pp. 296ff.; II, figs. 575, 579. Cf. also our mould for making glass beads (XXIX-8) and references cited.
83 Prosymna, I, pp. 292-293; Ch.T., p. 208.
84 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 78, fig. 4, pl. 24, f.
87 Blegen, Prosymna, I, pp. 255; Persson, N.T.D., p. 50 with reference to the unpublished evidence from Berbati.
88 Thanks to A. Akerström I have been able to see photostats of the as yet unpublished manuscript of Holmberg dealing with chamber tomb 1 of the N.E. Cemetery at Berbati. In this tomb lead wires (no. 70) about 5.0 m. in total length were
from Berbati in favor of dress-weights, which would seem to imply the female court dress as depicted in Mycenaean frescoes. However, they are not found in all female burials, and it therefore seems more likely that they represent a mortuary practice, used at the undertaker's discretion, in arranging the corpse and supporting the shroud. At any rate, they were evidently confined to a relatively early period and to fairly wealthy interments.

Equally uncertain is the purpose of the steatite button-shaped objects found very frequently in Mycenaean tombs. Originally called spindle whorls, they were recognized by Blegen as more probably buttons, since they are too numerous and universal to be connected exclusively with women's burials. He has likewise demonstrated the development of a new and improved shanked type during the course of Late Helladic III; but no one has attempted to explain the type of costume on which these buttons were used, occurring sometimes singly and sometimes in groups of six or more. The cut and sewn sleeved garment depicted in male representations on frescoes does not indicate such buttons, nor do they seem to have a place in the traditional female court costume, where steatite buttons would have been heavy indeed. It seems to me that the only likely place for such stone buttons, especially where single, would have been at the shoulder of a heavy woolen cloak.

Where a set of such "buttons," sometimes assorted in size or type, occurs, perhaps we should best visualize them strung as a necklace of beads. Two small steatite objects (VII-34 and 442), each pierced horizontally and having the form of a figure-eight shield, were almost certainly beads. Both were found in relatively late contexts.

**SPECIALIZED OFFERINGS**

Three tombs (X, XX, and XXVI) yielded terracotta figurines of the well-known Mycenaean female types, best referred to by Furumark's designations (Phi, Psi, and Tau). All but the first tomb, where the bones were disturbed and the evidence was incomplete, contained the burials of children. The evidence thus confirms Mylonas' theory that female statuettes served as symbolic "nurses" for the journey to the underworld. Our statuettes will be studied more fully by Mrs. Elizabeth French in connection with the complete corpus of Agora terracottas, but one might note here that they conform to Furumark's general classification and confirm his dating. X-1 is an early type of Phi-figurine and occurs with a fine stippled teacup of Myc. III A:1; XXVI-4 and 5 are of more advanced Phi-type and occur with later Myc. III A pottery; the Psi-type (XX-3) from the small chamber tomb of a child is of late type and should belong to the end of Myc. III B.

It is possible that the occurrence of sea-shells in Mycenaean tombs likewise points to the burial of a child. A group of shells (XVI-14) was found in the Lily Bowl Grave, where a little girl of...
less than two had been buried, and in two other tombs with child burials (5 in XXI and 2 in XXIV) individual shells occurred, although not in a closed context.\textsuperscript{96}

By far the most interesting specialized group of offerings came from the walled pit grave XXIX which yielded a single coarse pitcher (XXIX-2) and a group of implements which it is tempting to associate with the craft of the deceased. The most revealing of these is XXIX-3, which has been recognized as half of a stone mould for making glass beads. Although small and simple, it conforms in type to the casting moulds for making elaborate glass paste ornaments which have been found at Mycenae and Thebes.\textsuperscript{97} The other objects found with it are less informative: a stone celt (XXIX-4), a bone handle (XXIX-6), and a small bone chisel-shaped tool with drilled holes (XXIX-5).

**CHRONOLOGICAL RANGE OF MYCENAEAN CEMETERY**

Although a fuller discussion of Mycenaean chronology and the relation of the cemetery to the remains on the Acropolis will be presented later when we have considered the pottery in more detail, a brief summary may be given here. Significantly, well over half the tombs fall in the Myc. III A period, with a large number in the early stages of that period, and only a few belong exclusively to III B or III C.

**Myc. II B:** VII (1st 5 burials), XVI, and probably XXXI (before 1400 B.C.).

**Myc. III A:1:** I, VII (middle burials), X, XXXVII, and XL plus the earlier burials in III, XIV, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, and XXXII (from ca. 1400 to 1375 B.C.).

**Myc. III A:2:** II, III, IV, XV, XVIII, and XXXIX plus some of the material from XXI, XXIII, and XXIV (second quarter and mid fourteenth century).

**Myc. III A:2 late:** V, XI, XIII, XVII, XIX, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, and XXXVI plus the later burials in XIV (second half of the fourteenth century, and probably into the thirteenth century, see below, pp. 151–152).

**Myc. III B:** XX and XXV (thirteenth century).

**Myc. III B/C:** VI, VII (upper burial stratum), and XLI (end of thirteenth and early twelfth century).

2. OTHER MYCENAEAN DEPOSITS

In addition to fragmentary Mycenaean vases which turned up in miscellaneous contexts in various parts of the Agora and almost certainly came from destroyed tombs (\textsuperscript{410-412} from those along the east side of the Kolonos; \textsuperscript{413-424} from others beneath the Stoa of Attalos), several concentrations of Mycenaean material need to be considered. While not strictly "closed" in the same sense as the tombs, these deposits were laid down in Mycenaean times and afford a different type of information. We have divided these into: 1) rubbish deposits, 2) wells, and 3) road fill. At the end of this section we shall also briefly mention 4) other Mycenaean deposits outside the Agora and the North Slope (i.e. those not dug in the Agora Excavations of the American School).

\textsuperscript{96} Shells were found in the following tombs at the Argive Heraion: Tombs 1, 3, 4, 19, 25, 26, 34, 35, 37, 38 and 44 (Pros- ymna, I, p. 465). No suggestion is given as to their purpose, but Vermeule, Gr.B.A., p. 300, refers to "lead-filled shells" for children to play games with.

Rubbish Deposits

A deposit at the northeast corner of the Agora (O 7:14) yielded several fine but fragmentary vases (425-427) which must have come from one or more destroyed tombs in the area, but with these was a large quantity of what can only be termed “household refuse.” Thus, this deposit and the gully which extends southward ally themselves with the small bothros P 8:9. In both there were legs of tripod cooking pots similar to 441 and to those from houses on the North Slope,98 fragments of pithoi and other large coarse pots, fragments of undecorated domestic kylikes (like 433-438), as well as animal bones and a grinder (in O 7:14), fragments of roof tiles and a chunk of stone (in P 8:9). The same type of domestic refuse, but without the admixture of earlier and finer material,99 is found in two more homogeneous deposits: the so-called “Kylix Pit” (O 7:4) which yielded fourteen or fifteen fragmentary kylikes as well as other material which must be assigned to an advanced stage of Myc. III B, and the dromos fill of the unfinished chamber tomb XII, which likewise produced a dozen coarse kylikes and other fragmentary vases of an even later style, probably III C.

Clearly some explanation for these deposits of a domestic character in the immediate vicinity of the Mycenaean cemetery is needed, although there is little to suggest that they overlapped in time the use of the area as a cemetery.100 On the other hand, it is surprising to find evidence for habitation so far from the Acropolis at the very period of intensive fortification, when one would have expected Athenians to have gathered within the Pelasgian defenses of the Acropolis. Still another explanation might regard these fills as rubbish brought from some little distance, perhaps from destroyed or abandoned houses on the slopes of the Acropolis, in connection with levelling operations in the Agora at a period when danger was no longer imminent. However, the few burials that are contemporary with these deposits (Grave VI, the upper burial stratum of Tomb VII, and the well burial XLI) suggest a period of impoverishment, whereas the quantity of fill in the Mycenaean Fountain shows that the Acropolis remained the main area of habitation.101

Wells and Water Supply

If the Agora area, or even the region to the north of the excavated area, was inhabited in the later Late Helladic III B period (as might be indicated by the rubbish deposits cited above), there is surprisingly little evidence for wells or adjacent water supply. The Agora has yielded only two small wells of the Mycenaean period, neither of which can be considered a major source. H 11:2, in the area of the later Tholos, produced only a handful of sherds and the pitcher 446, which is of advanced Myc. III C style and hardly applicable to the period in question. K 6:1, north of the Temple of Ares and thus in the region of the Mycenaean cemetery, is even smaller but produced three Mycenaean pots (443-445) and some earlier sherds. If the well itself served some function in connection with funeral rites, as Mrs. Smithson102 has suggested to me, its fill points to a date essentially later than the cemetery and closer to that of the other rubbish deposits cited above.

98 *Hesperia,* II, 1933, pp. 365 ff., fig. 45, a, b.
99 In addition to the catalogued items from O 7:14 the gully produced about 20 fine painted sherds badly worn including a painted kylix stem, the scrap of a stirrup-vase with III A papyrus blossom, and a small scrap of a kylix (?) with a naturalistically drawn vertical murex. The decorated material in P 8:9 was even scrappier, but included two small sherds of a kylix with vertical murex decoration of III B style. Curiously, these represent the very period that is most lacking in our material (see below, pp. 151-152.)
100 They would thus not contradict the Mycenaean custom of setting the cemetery some little distance away from the settlement, often to the west (see above, note 15).
101 See below, p. 154 and notes 413-414.
102 The sequence of water supplies and the historical conclusions implicit in this sequence have been worked out jointly with Mrs. Evelyn Smithson, who is publishing the Submycenaean and Protogeometric material.
The main sources of water in the Mycenaean period seem to have clustered around the northwest Acropolis slopes in the area of the later Klepsydra, and thus follow in the tradition of their Neolithic and Middle Helladic predecessors. Two Mycenaean wells were located during the pre-war excavations of Arthur W. Parsons, and to these must be added Broneer's secret "Fountain" and some evidence for the earliest exploitation of the Klepsydra spring. It is important to arrange these sources in a chronological sequence on the basis of their pottery, in order to form some idea of the location and concentration of settlement in the various periods.

Well V 24:1, about 6.20 m. deep with a diameter of 1.10–1.40 m., was situated about 35 meters down the slope northwest of the exit of the Mycenaean Fountain. It seems clearly to have been the earliest water supply for the area, with the bulk of pottery good Myc. III B along with an admixture of III A (447–448, 451) and possibly earlier (465) material, and a few pieces transitional to Myc. III C (455–456, 460). With the exception of the large amphora, 464, and the crumpled lead sheathing, 471, which may be connected with the actual use of the well, the material seems to have been dump fill from neighboring houses on the North Slope, houses which were earlier than the squatters' houses built over the northeast staircase.103

Although the fill of the Fountain, or underground cistern, contained some Myc. III A and earlier material, it was essentially latest III B and III C in style, with those pieces that could be associated with the actual construction and use dating to the very end of Myc. III B or close to 1200 B.C.104 This Fountain must have been the main water supply not only for the ruling family on the Acropolis, but for the entire Mycenaean city gathered within the Pelasgian walls and the Pelargikon during a time of threatened invasion, and in this function it answers closely to the so-called Perseia at Mycenae and the two recently discovered cisterns approached from within the walls at Tiryns.105 Broneer has shown that the staircase with its wooden tie-beams could not have lasted more than about twenty-five years in the damp environment of the rock cleft, but that once the staircase had collapsed the secret Fountain had already served its purpose and became a convenient dump for debris from the Acropolis.106

Our second well, S 27:7, which was situated considerably further west and only a few meters from the Klepsydra, belongs to approximately the same period as that in which the Fountain was serving as a dump. From the large fragments of small vases at the bottom, which seem to constitute a use fill, this well must be assigned to an advanced Myc. III C date (note the Granary style skyphos, 472, and cup, 474), i.e. later than most of the fill from the Fountain.

To a still later period, either the very end of Mycenaean or the beginning of Submycenaean, belongs the first exploitation of the springs of the Klepsydra, if we may judge from the stratified deposit found beneath the paved court in front of the fountain (T 26–27:2). Although the krater fragment, 479, is advanced Myc. III B and contemporary with much of the material from Broneer's Fountain, the small hydria, 482, is close in style to some of the Perati vases107 and there are other links with Submycenaean. The near-by well, U 26:4, which has been designated Submycenaean, must be only slightly later.108

The evidence for this sequence of wells and water-supplies has been presented in full, because of the historical implications to which we shall return in our last section (see below, pp. 147ff.).

103 Hesperia, II, 1933, pp. 366ff., figs. 37–45.
104 See below, p. 116 and notes 126–127.
107 This well, to be published by Mrs. Smithson, contains some decorated Mycenaean pithos fragments which must represent debris from the Acropolis (see below, p. 141, note 298).
OTHER MYCENAEAN DEPOSITS

STRATIFIED DEPOSITS CONNECTED WITH ROADS

We have had occasion to mention earlier (above, p. 52) the existence of certain stratified deposits with traffic-beaten gravelled surfaces which imply the existence of ancient roads leading into and across the Agora. There were three main areas in which such deposits were found: 1) at the northwest corner of the Agora on the other side of the Athens-Peiraeus Railroad (E–F 2); 2) at the west side in the area of the Tholos (G–H 11–12); and 3) in the south central Agora in the area of the Mint and Southeast Fountain House (O–Q 16–17) to which may now be added another deposit somewhat to the north in the South Square (M 14:2).109

In all cases the greatest depth of deposit could be assigned to the Middle Helladic period, with some underlying earlier material (Neolithic or Early Helladic) and some Mycenaean recognizable in the upper strata, at least in the area of the Mint (O–Q 16–17).110

These deposits imply the existence of roads leading across the Agora: one running along the north side roughly in an east-west direction, another running diagonally from northwest to southeast in the general direction of the Panathenaic Way, and still another in an east-west direction along the south side of the Agora. All antedated the Mycenaean period, but doubtless remained in use during it, and all headed toward the northwest corner of the Acropolis, where, as we have seen, the main sources of water were located.

EVIDENCE FOR MYCENAEAN OCCUPATION BEYOND THE AGORA AND THE ACROPOLIS

In addition to the slight evidence for the existence of Mycenaean tombs beyond the area of the Agora (see above, p. 47), recent Greek excavations have contributed substantially to our knowledge of Mycenaean occupation, particularly to the south of the Acropolis. Several Mycenaean wells yielded material running from Myc. II through III A:1, i.e. roughly contemporary with our earlier tombs and closer in style than most of the material from the North Slope, and one produced an imported Late Minoan I B octopus stirrup-vase as well as fragments of imported Ephyraean kylikes.111 These would seem to indicate that the gentler and sunnier slopes to the south of the Acropolis, especially below the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and the Asklepieion, were preferred for habitation in the period of early Mycenaean settlement.112 But during the subsequent Myc. III A and B periods, and presumably before the threat of invasion which led to the construction of the Pelasgian walls and the underground cistern, habitation may have been more widespread and scattered. This conclusion is suggested by the discovery of two Mycenaean wells on the Hill of the Muses near the monument of Philopappos113 and by

110 The greatest amount of Mycenaean was found in the road cuts in Sections Tau and Psi (O–Q 16–17) where in general it overlaid a strong Middle Helladic stratum and was beneath the Classical stratum. Only two Mycenaean pieces (483–484) have been catalogued, but there were numerous kylix stems, a few with painted decoration, fragments from large closed pots and from some smaller closed pots. See below, pp. 262–263.
111 Through the kindness of Dr. Platon, I was able to examine this material in the Acropolis Museum in the summer of 1964. One well yielded the L.M. I B octopus stirrup-vase, numerous fragments of Ephyraean kylikes (nautilus, lily, etc.), fragments of decorated cups of Keftiu shape, several large squat alabastra with crested wave and wheel decoration, Myc. III A:1 fragments of stippled teacups and sherds of three-handled jars with scale pattern. The range is in general earlier than the material from our tombs, and the Myc. II ware appeared to be standard and imported. See now ΔΑΔ. XX, 1965, Xρονικά (1967), cols. 23–33, pls. 25–31.
112 Other Mycenaean material excavated by Miliades below the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and by Dontas on the Angelopoulos property was shown me in the summer of 1964 in the Fetihe-Tzami (Mosque in the Roman Market) through the kindness of Miss Maro Tsoni. In general this is a little later than that from Platon's well near the Asklepieion (above, note 111) and agrees more closely with the range of our tombs.
113 Two Mycenaean wells were excavated in 1963 beneath a building on Chariatidon Street by J. Travlos, through whose kindness I was able to examine the material in the apotheke of the Library of Hadrian. One well was essentially Myc. III A with a few fragments of earlier material; in general it contained poorer pottery than that coming from our better tombs, mostly what we have termed “provincial ware” (see below, p. 118). The other was somewhat later (transitional Myc. III A–B) and again contained much plain dull glazed ware, no stirrup-vase fragments, no fragments of Panel style skyphoi, nor anything that would relate it to the Mycenaean Fountain. In short it looks like a dreary continuation of the provincial style in the thirteenth century.
some Mycenaean sherds in the area of the Olympieion. Until these excavations have been completed and the material is published, it seems unsafe to go beyond the general conclusion that there was some settlement beyond the Acropolis and its immediate slopes.

3. THE MYCENAEAN POTTERY FROM THE AGORA

Since pottery is the one common denominator of all our deposits—tombs, rubbish deposits, wells and road stratification—it provides the best evidence for the history of Mycenaean Athens, both for its internal development and for its connection with the Argolid and with other parts of the Mycenaean empire. For this reason we have reserved a detailed study of the pottery until the end.

CHRONOLOGY

We have followed throughout the typology and classification of Furumark, and, although we differ in some minor details, we accept the basic divisions of his chronology, which assigns the Myc. III A style essentially to the fourteenth century, III B to the thirteenth and III C to the twelfth century B.C. Furumark recognized a Myc. III A:1 style which was transitional between Myc. II B (Ephyraean and the later Palace style) and the Myc. III A:2 koine, which he divided into an earlier and a later phase. Since III A:1 was contemporary with the latest phase of the palace at Knossos, the destruction of which had been set about 1400 B.C., Furumark assigned the last quarter of the fifteenth century to III A:1, and the entire fourteenth century to III A:2, making the dividing line between his III A:2 early and III A:2 late at 1375 B.C., i.e. coeval with the beginning of the reign of Akhenaten and the closed context of sherds from Tell el Amarna in Egypt which can be assigned to the second quarter of the century. Myc. III B he equated with the reign of Rameses II (1800-1230 B.C.), through synchronisms found at various Levantine sites to which Myc. III B pottery was exported and through a firm relative chronology from stratified palace sites on the Greek mainland, the great architectural phases of which belong to this period. Myc. III C was the period of the dissolution of the Mycenaean koine, caused by the upheavals of the Sea Peoples in the reigns of Merneptah (1232-1224 B.C.) and Rameses III (1198-1166 B.C.), and of the destruction of the mainland palaces and the Mycenaean way of life, probably by northern invaders. Furumark separated Myc. III C into two main and distinct divisions, Myc. III C:1, from ca. 1230 to 1150 B.C. before the destruction of Mycenae and Myc. III C:2, the period of the Submycenaean cemeteries on Salamis and in the Kerameikos. Although he originally divided III C:1 into an early and late phase, he later refined this into three divisions: C:1a, a late continuation of III B, C:1b, the Close style, and C:1c, the Granary and wavy-line style.

In the twenty-five years that have elapsed since Furumark's basic work new developments naturally necessitate slight modifications of his divisions and dates. Particularly important are the recent reappraisals of the destruction evidence from the palaces at Knossos and Mycenae. The material from the first site, both the excavators' notebooks and the pottery from the
destruction level, is being restudied in answer to Leonard Palmer's charge that the palace was actually destroyed about 1200 B.C. or some two hundred years later than Sir Arthur Evans' date. Although Palmer has been proven wrong in his basic thesis, a careful sifting of the pottery current at the time of the destruction has shown that the Late Minoan II Palace style was already yielding to the simpler L.M. III A style, and that therefore the great conflagration must be set some time in the fourteenth century rather than at the end of the fifteenth. The fact that the destruction pottery does not yet presuppose the mainland Mycenaean development of the Tell el Amarna style would suggest that 1375 B.C. must be the lower limit. Because of this lowering of the date of the destruction of Knossos we no longer have 1400 as the dividing line between III A:1 and III A:2, and it would therefore seem more sensible to combine the last decade or two of the fifteenth century with the first quarter of the fourteenth century and use the designation III A:1 for the entire period that is contemporary with the last phase of the Cretan palace and which is pre-Tell el Amarna in style. Myc. III A:2 would thus cover the last 75 years of the century, with the earlier phase, the second quarter, restricted to the Tell el Amarna material and its exact parallels elsewhere, and with the later phase a more decadent continuation in which some elements of Myc. III B appear toward the end.

At Mycenae recent excavations both by the British School and by the Greek Archaeological Service have helped to refine and subdivide Furumark's Myc. III B period, and have shown that the city suffered not just one catastrophe in the burning of the Granary during the twelfth century, but was visited by at least three separate destructions. The first, which destroyed the houses outside the walls, occurred during the heyday of the III B style, perhaps about the middle of the thirteenth century, and it affords a convenient demarcation of two phases Myc. III B:1 and III B:2 (a division not used by Furumark). The burning of the Potter's Shop at Zygouries may well have been roughly contemporary with this catastrophe. Following upon this earlier destruction is a period of more intensive fortification of mainland palaces accompanied by a slacking off of trade with the Levant. Stylistically this phase is characterized by deep bowls with developed Panel style decoration as evidenced in the earlier strata (I-V) of the Lion Gate deposit.

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120 Our designation Myc. III A:1 would thus include transitional II B/III A, III A:1 and whatever of Furumark's III A:2 early is clearly pre-Tell el Amarna.

121 One of the fallacies of Furumark's Myc. III A:2 late period was that it did not make full use of the closed Tell el Amarna deposit in sorting out the style of the second quarter of the fourteenth century (see review by J. F. Daniel, A.J.A., XLVII, 1943, pp. 252-253).

122 Elizabeth, Wace French is doing a valuable service in presenting the evidence from closed pottery groups at Mycenae (B.S.A., LVIII, 1963, pp. 44-52; LIX, 1964, pp. 241-261; LX, 1965, pp. 159-202). In the article dealing with Myc. III A:2, some of the material, particularly from the dromos of Tomb 505 and from the terrace on the Atreus Ridge, seems to overlap Myc. III B (at least the stage we would call III B:1). She herself admits that there is some overlap (ibid., pp. 159, 194 ff.), and prefers to make the dividing line between III A and III B the advent of the deep bowl (Type 284) rather than the vertical murex.

123 Desborough, C.A.H., II, Ch. XXXVI; L. Myc., 1964, pp. 73-75; Alin, Fundstätten, pp. 10-25. Mylonas doubts the evidence for three destructions at Mycenae, and thinks that only the last was the result of enemy action (Myc.M.A., pp. 221-222).

124 Zygouries, pp. 30-38, 149-167 and pls. 16-18. There seems to me some real difficulty in connecting the burning of the Potter's Shop with the destructions at the end of III B as Alin tentatively does (Fundstätten, pp. 58-59) but perhaps one is misled by the scarcity of decorated pottery and the restricted repertory of shapes in which no paneled bowls occurred. See now Elizabeth French, "A Group of Late Helladic III B 2 Pottery from Mycenae," B.S.A., LXIV, 1969, pp. 71 ff., especially pp. 87 ff.

The second and most important catastrophe at Mycenae resulted in the burning of the palace on the acropolis, and occurred at a time when the latest III B style was still in vogue and before the advent of the Myc. III C Granary and Close styles. It has been dated around 1200 B.C. and has been shown to be contemporary with a wave of destruction on the mainland which also burnt the palaces at Pylos and Tiryns and caused the abandonment of a number of sites. These catastrophes were immediately preceded by last-ditch defensive efforts at several palaces, notably the walled extensions at Mycenae, Tiryns, and perhaps the Pelargikon at Athens, and the construction of elaborate secret water supply systems to withstand siege. This wave of destruction clearly marks the end of an era, and it would thus seem perverse in the light of this new evidence to end Myc. III B with the reign of Rameses II in 1230 B.C. and to call this latest pre-destruction pottery Myc. III C:1 early as Furumark did. Although tendencies toward the new III C style are present, neither the Close style nor the Granary class has appeared. At most it can be designated “transitional B/C” as the end of the fourteenth century can be called “transitional A/B.”

The third destruction at Mycenae was the one recognized long ago by Wace in the burning of the Granary and the burnt stratum between VIII and IX of the adjacent Lion Gate deposit. This occurred in the full bloom of both the Close and the Granary styles, i.e. well into Myc. III C and probably toward the middle of the twelfth century. Not all Mycenaean sites are characterized by this period or this destruction, for some had already been abandoned at the end of Myc. III B, and others were founded only in the Myc. III C period. The uniform development of a pottery koine throughout the Mycenaean world no longer exists, and we have a break-up into regional styles.

A comparative tabulation of the chronology of Furumark and the one proposed here is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Furumark</th>
<th>Immerwahr</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1550 B.C.</td>
<td>Myc. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Myc. II A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1450</td>
<td>Myc. II B</td>
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<tr>
<td>1425</td>
<td>Myc. III A:1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1400</td>
<td>Myc. III A:2 early</td>
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<tr>
<td>1375</td>
<td>Myc. III A:2 late</td>
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<tr>
<td>1350</td>
<td>Myc. III A:2 late</td>
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<tr>
<td>1325</td>
<td>Myc. III A:2 late</td>
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<td>1300</td>
<td>Myc. III B</td>
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<td>1250</td>
<td>Myc. III B</td>
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<tr>
<td>1230</td>
<td>Myc. III C:1 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200</td>
<td>Myc. III C:1 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1150</td>
<td>Myc. III C:1 c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125</td>
<td>Myc. III C:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1260</td>
<td>Myc. III C:1 and 2(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1230</td>
<td>Myc. III C:1 and 2(?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


128 B.S.A., XXV, 1921–23, pp. 29–54, pls. V, f, VII–XI. For the pioneer work in evaluating the late character of the material from the Granary and the upper strata of the Lion Gate deposit, see the fundamental review of Fountain by J. F. Daniel, A.J.A., XLIV, 1940, pp. 552–559.

FABRICS

Much of the Mycenaean pottery from the Agora is indistinguishable in fabric from the finest Mycenaean products from the Argolid or from the standard ware of countless sites of the Mycenaean empire. On the other hand, many vases are decidedly inferior in technique with a dull glaze and less refined biscuit, and these certainly suggest local production. Between these two extremes lies another more amorphous group which approximates but does not quite measure up to the highest Mycenaean standards; furthermore in some cases idiosyncracies of shape or decoration or both suggest the work of a local potter. Here, however, technique alone cannot be the only basis for judgment. The following classification is based on fabric only; in the discussion of shapes and decorative motives there will be some further attempt to appraise the role of local Attic potters.

a) STANDARD WARE (fine)

The standard Mycenaean fabric has a fine well-purified biscuit varying in color from creamy yellow to pinkish buff, the amount of tempering material determined by the size of the vase and the thickness of the walls. Nearly always wheelmade, it shows clear marks of the wheel-rotation on the interior of closed pots, but has the surface well smoothed on the interior of open shapes. The surface is lightly polished, often to a high lustre, the result not of an applied slip but of the "technical slip" resulting from wet-smoothing and polishing. Handles, feet, necks, etc. were made separately, and one can often detect on the interior the junction of two parts; such a join was sometimes concealed on the exterior by a plastic band (I-1, 4; III-14; XXIII-1, 2; XXXI-1; etc.). Unusually thick and metallic handles were often pierced with small vent-holes at top and bottom to allow for better firing (I-1; XXIII-2; XXXI-1), and in one case the torus base has been pierced with eleven firing-holes (I-13). In some examples (e.g. II-1) the biscuit was too refined, with insufficient tempering material, and this resulted in a laminated wall with an air-space between.

The glaze is lustrous and varies from a clear orange-red to mahogany-brown or even black, depending upon firing conditions and thickness. The thick black variety often became cracked and seems in general to have adhered less well than the thinner orange-red or brown. That firing conditions also were responsible for changes in color is shown by the differences occurring on the opposite sides of the same vase (e.g. I-4), where it had been exposed both to oxidizing and reducing conditions.

The surface could be treated in the following manners:

1. Smoothed and polished but otherwise undecorated: VII-14 (interior waterproofed with glaze wash); XV-1; XXIV-15; XXXII-3; XXXIX-1; etc. An especially popular treatment for the stemmed kylix.

2. Covered completely with lustrous glaze, usually in reddish brown: I-4; X-2; XXXII-1 (see below for provincial imitations).

3. Decorated with horizontal bands while vase was revolving on wheel and with free-hand shoulder ornaments in lustrous glaze. The majority of Mycenaean vases in fine ware are so

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130 A few shapes were handmade, notably small mugs and baseless askoi which often resemble figurines in their decoration. See below, p. 130 (XX-2 and 460).
131 Although the term slip is still commonly used, I have been assured by Frederick Matson that the surface was the result of wet-smoothing.
132 I know of no other example with so many firing holes, nor in this location; furthermore the fabric is not altogether standard (see below, p. 118.).
treated. Technically fine examples are I-1 to 3, 5 to 6, 14; III-14; VII-16; XVI-1; XXVI-2; 425; 426. Some early examples have a stippled or “thrush-egg” surface, the glaze having been applied thinly with a brush (X-4; XXIV-1; XI-7 and 9). Three examples (XXVI-1; 425; 426) have applied matt creamy white paint for subsidiary decoration, a practice confined to exceptional examples, often of the pictorial style, and apparently an indication of quality rather than date.133

b) IMITATION SILVER OR TIN-INCRASTED WARE

In this class, which has been the subject of a separate study,134 the surface was only rough-smoothed and originally covered with a sheathing of tinfoil so as to produce the illusion of a silver vase: I-11 and 12; III-1, 4 to 13, 16; possibly others (VII-15 ?) where no trace of the tinfoil remains. This technique, which seems to have been relatively rare and restricted in time,135 was apparently limited to funeral usage among the well-to-do. It occurs also in the Argolid, Crete, and Rhodes in the early fourteenth century; the twelve examples from our Tomb of the Bronzes (Tomb III) show that Athens was indeed in the mainstream of metropolitan practices.

c) PROVINCIAL WARE (imitating STANDARD)

Here the fabric is apt to be coarser with more grit and tempering material, even in relatively small vases (e.g. 412, XI-3, 9, 10, 11, 12), and the biscuit is often orange to brick red, resembling the characteristic Attic clay of later periods (I-7). Especially numerous and certainly provincial is a group of vases, usually in a pinkish orange clay, covered with a dull thin glaze ranging from brown to orange-red and occasionally black, obviously imitative of Class a 2. Especially common are deep-bowled kylikes of Ephyraean shape (Type 263136: I-15; XXI-1; XXIII-4; XXIV-12 to 14; etc.), pitchers with beaked spout (Type 144: XXI-8 to 10), cut-away neck (Type 136: VII-18) or straight mouth (Type 112: X-6), shallow bowls and cups of various forms (V-6; X-3; XIII-2; etc.), askoi and feeding bottles (V-5; XIV-6; XVIII-8; XXIV-21), amphoras and wide-mouthed jugs (VII-20; XIV-5; XV-2; etc.).

Harder to detect are provincial examples imitating Classes a 1 and 3. In examples of a fine buff ware it is possible that a rough-smoothed surface (VII-13; XVIII-4 and 5) or warping (XXI-3 and XI-7 and 12) suggests less than the high standards of the Argolid, and therefore local production has been proposed.137 With the decorated vases the occurrence of abnormalities and carelessness in the application of traditional decorative schemes aids one’s assessment (VII-2, 3, 8, 9, 19; XVI-3 to 6; XXI-3 to 5 and 9). In other cases the clay is noticeably pinker and the glaze less permanent (I-13; VII-17) or the fabric grittier. However, some examples of excellent technique, indistinguishable from the finest products of Argolid workmanship, have been suspected of local manufacture merely because their shapes are especially common in Attica.138

133 The use of applied white, which goes back at least as early as Myc. I (the applied dots on tangential spiral bands), appears in the pictorial style from the early Myc. III A Octopus Krater from Enkomi to the Myc. III C Warrior Vase from Mycenae. This argues against Bronner’s theory of lateness for this technique (Fountain, p. 372, note 59) but in general see his excellent description of fabrics based on the Fountain material (ibid., pp. 349-349 and passim).

134 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 381-386.

135 Ibid., pp. 394-395 for list of known examples. While it is indeed probable that many more examples have gone unnoticed or have been lost through cleaning in hydrochloric acid (see p. 396), it is noteworthy that the known examples are confined to a relatively narrow period in the early fourteenth century (ibid., pp. 388-392).

136 All references to shape derive from Furumark’s “Catalogue of Vessel Types” in M.P., pp. 583-643, the number preceded by “Type.”


138 Ibid., pp. 75-76 (no. 6). See below, pp. 133-134 for discussion of ewers.
d) COARSE AND DOMESTIC WARE

Since most of our pottery comes from tombs, this is not a numerous class, and is represented in the cemetery mainly by wide-mouthed amphoras and jugs (V-7 and 8; XX-1; XXXVI-3). The rubbish deposits J 10:1 and O 7:4 and the wells V 24:1 and S 27:7 furnish additional examples, mostly of a somewhat later chronological range. In these examples the clay is in general a warm buff, tempered with grit, usually unslipped and undecorated. In those shapes also characteristic of fine ware the pot is treated with greater carelessness, only roughly turned and without removing the rotating ridges and grooves, and is sometimes badly warped and misshapen (note especially the kylikes 433-438, 444, 473). Here parallels to the domestic pottery of other Mycenaean provincial sites, particularly Pylos,139 may be noted, for in general the surface treatment at the Argolid sites is better.140 The big pots (XII-8 and 464) are usually better technically, probably in the interest of serviceability.

A special fabric, sandy and micaceous with an almost stone-like feel, was used for tripod cooking pots (represented by 441 and by uncatalogued fragments from P 8:9 and O 7:14). It is carefully handmade, has a dark gray core, and is somewhat blackened on the exterior from use over an open fire.

e) NON-MYCENAEN WARE

The Canaanite jar (I-8) from the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides is the only import from outside the Mycenaean world. Here not only the shape, which is paralleled in Egyptian tomb paintings of the XVIIIth dynasty and in examples from Canaan and the Near East,141 but the coarse gray fabric with numerous small pebbles testifies to its foreign origin.

Curiously, nothing can be ascribed to Crete, although a fine L.M. I B octopus stirrup-vase was recently found in a well on the South Slope, and a Minoan basket-shaped vase with dolphins from Varkisa on the coast has been published.142

Two vases found in Mycenaean contexts are not strictly speaking Mycenaean, but have closer ties with Middle Helladic: the handmade black-burnished askos (XVI-9) and the burnished jar (465) from Well V 24:1.

SHAPES

If we classify the Agora material on the basis of Furumark’s catalogue of 336 types, or shape variations,143 we may note that it contains the surprisingly high total of approximately one hundred types, a substantial repertory when one remembers that the domestic series is very incomplete and the chronological range somewhat restricted.144 Two more or less unique shapes (XVI-1 and XXVI-2) are not found in Furumark. The ensuing arrangement is an adaptation of Blegen’s classification according to function:145 a) vases for storing; b) vases for eating and drinking; c) vases for pouring; and d) specialized shapes.

139 See especially the kylikes from Pylos, Pylos, I, 1, pp. 366ff., Shapes 27.29; 2, figs. 359–364. Pylos, however, has certain variations not found in our kylix types.
140 Zygouries, p. 151, figs. 141–142.
142 See above, note 111. Varkisa vase: Antiquity, 1960, p. 266 and Vermeule, Gr.B.A., p. 143, fig. 27.
143 M.P., pp. 585–643. His 336 types are arranged under 103 basic shapes or “forms,” such as the pithoid jar (Form 7) or the stemmed cup or kylix (Form 79).
144 For the distinction between pottery found in tombs and pottery from domestic deposits, see E. W. French, B.S.A., LVIII, 1963, pp. 44ff.
145 Troy, I, pp. 56–76, which is also the basis for the arrangement of the Pylos pottery. Since our material is largely from tombs with a greater incidence of closed shapes, we have begun with Troy, group c), vases for storing.
Vases for Storing

1. The Pithoid Jar (Form 7)
(called Three-handled Jar in Catalogue)

Pl. 65

Types 18–19: large (above 30 cm. in ht.) with three vertical handles, usually ribbed. Myc. II B to III A:1.
I-1, 2, and 13; III-2 and 15 (5 examples).

Type 23: medium (ca. 20–25 cm. in ht.) with three vertical handles, sometimes ribbed. Myc. III A:1–2.
I-3; VII-11 and 12; VIII-3; XIV-1 and 4; XVII-1; XIX-3 to 5; 419; 420; 491 (13 examples).

I-9 and 10; III-3; VII-10 and 13; 486 (6 examples).

Types 20–21: large with three horizontal grooved handles. Myc. II A–B.
I-7 (1 example).

XVI-3 and 4; XXI-1; XIX-6 (4 examples).

Types 44–45: small (ca. 10–15 cm. in ht.) piriform shape with three horizontal handles. Myc. III A:2–B.
V-4; XIII-3; XIV-2; XVIII-1; XXIV-7; XXXV-1; 421; XXXVIII-1; XL-10; 457; 485; 492 (14 examples).

Next to the kylix the pithoid jar is the most prevalent shape in the Agora, accounting for 43 examples. Significantly, the type with three vertical handles outnumbers the alternative form with horizontal handles 24 to 19, and is an indication of the early date or derivation of our material, since this shape was especially characteristic of the Palace style and the Myc. III A:1 period. The perfection of this form with low concave neck separated by a plastic band from the shoulder, broad piriform body, and profiled handles terminating in a plastic knob is best seen in the two splendid specimens from Tomb I (1 and 2), which rank with the finest examples from the Argolid and Rhodes and should certainly be regarded as imports. III-15 is the only other example which comes close in size and quality, although some of the medium range (Type 29: VII-12; XIV-4; XIX-3, etc.) are close approximations of the type seen in I-2. I-3 represents a slightly different form with lower neck, taller and more concave body, less metallic handles and narrower decorative zone (Type 28); it too is closely paralleled in the Argolid and occurs in other less perfect examples from the Agora (VII-11; XIV-1; XIX-4 and 5). I-13, a large specimen found in fragments in the dromos of Tomb I, has a torus base pierced by 11 vent-holes, an uncanonical feature which along with its pinkish fabric is suggestive of local manufacture. The large jar III-2 is undecorated, a practice also found in the Argolid.

146 The heights of our examples are all somewhat less than the average heights given by Furumark: e.g., the large specimens of Types 18–19 (50–60 cm.), medium of Type 23 (30–50 cm.), etc.
147 See below, pp. 146, 162 for discussion of nautilus jar (I-1). For I-2 there are many close parallels in the Argolid, particularly two examples from Tomb 10 at Dendra (N.T.D., pp. 67ff., figs. 79, 80).
148 Dendra, Tomb 10, nos. 7 and 8 (N.T.D., fig. 81, 1–2).
149 Prosymna, II, figs. 260, 1053; 438, 174; 536, 1098.
The alternative form with three horizontally set loop handles also goes back to a Palace style prototype but was especially popular in the Myc. III A:2 Amara koine. Of the early Types 20–21 we have only the large jar with ogival canopy decoration from Tomb I (7); its coarse fabric and careless ornamentation suggest local manufacture.\textsuperscript{150} Three small jars of early shape (XVI–3 and 4; XXI–1) belong to Myc. II–III A:1, the first two showing some affinity to the two-handled form seen in Shaft Grave I at Mycenae.\textsuperscript{151} Of the later form (Types 44–45) which was marked by small vases of advanced piriform shape with a narrow shoulder zone decorated with simple linear patterns, we have 14 examples, a few of which are probably still III A:1 (XXIV–7; XL–10). The fragment 467, if it comes from a piriform jar, is best ascribed to an advanced Myc. III B date because of its decoration.\textsuperscript{152}

2. The Krater with Strap Handles (Form 3)

I–14; XL–3 and 11; 411; 412; 425 (6 examples).

Type 10: advanced piriform or stemmed. Myc. III B/C.
VII–25 (1 example).

This shape, often the vehicle for pictorial decoration, enjoyed a wide vogue in the earlier Mycenaean period and was especially popular in Attica.\textsuperscript{153} In the Agora it occurs with pictorial decoration in the fragmentary Altar Krater (425), which ranks among the finest Mycenaean vases and was probably imported from some Argolid center (see below, pp. 248 ff.). Equally fine technically is the fragmentary krater from the dromos of Tomb I (14). The shape to which these should be restored—a graceful piriform to conical form with wide mouth and offset lip, two broad band handles without metallic features—can be seen better in the newly discovered complete example from the Tomb with the Coffins (XL–3), which although “extraordinarily impressive,” betrays certain technical defects and is therefore probably of local manufacture.\textsuperscript{154} XL–11 is far less perfect in shape and is technically poorer. All these vases should be dated to Myc. III A:1 or earliest III A:2. Nos. 411 and 412, miscellaneous finds from the west side of the Agora, probably came from destroyed tombs along the Kolonos. No. 412 must have been a handsome krater, local in manufacture, of about the same period and style as XL–3; 411 is perhaps slightly later. Such kraters, as the evidence from Tomb XL has shown, were important in funerary ritual.\textsuperscript{155}

A later example, also fragmentary, was found in the top burial stratum of the Ares Tomb (VII–25). It has parallels among the material from the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain and should be dated to the end of Myc. III B or early III C.\textsuperscript{156}

\textsuperscript{150} There is almost no color contrast between the biscuit and the glaze; the wave on the neck is carelessly drawn and the ogival canopy much simpler than in the best examples from the Argolid (e.g. Dendra, Tomb 8, no. 2, N.T.D., p. 43, fig. 46).
\textsuperscript{151} If the double-axe pattern should be restored on XVI–4 (as suggested by the Piet de Jong drawing made soon after its discovery, see below, p. 206), this would strengthen the parallel (see Karo, S.G., pl. CLXVII).
\textsuperscript{152} More likely of the amphoriskos shape (Types 59 and 64); see discussion in Catalogue.
\textsuperscript{153} Markopoulo: 'Ey 'Apx., 1895, pl. 10, 9, 9a; Vourvatsi: Attica, pl. 10, 1; other fragmentary examples cited by Stubbings, Attica, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{154} Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 74. One might note that it (as well as XL–11) lacks the characteristic loops beneath the handles, which are found on the Altar Krater (425), the fragmentary krater from the dromos of Tomb I (I–14), and the early pictorial style vases from the Levant such as the Window Krater from Kourion (Vermeule, Gr.B.A., pl. XXXIII A), and seem to represent a kind of hallmark of excellence. Note Mrs. French’s observation of this feature on the fragmentary kraters from the Atreus bothros at Mycenae (B.S.A., LIX, 1964, p. 248).
\textsuperscript{155} Note its position on top of the coffin of Burial D (Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 58, fig. 2, pp. 63–64). For the probable connection of pictorial-style kraters with funerary rites in Cyprus, see Vermeule, Gr.B.A., pp. 204–206.
\textsuperscript{156} Similar late examples of the strap-handled krater were found by Broneer in the fill of the Fountain (Fountain, pp. 361–362, fig. 39).

This form is more characteristic of domestic than sepulchral deposits, and is restricted to Myc. III B and C. 157 Both facts explain its rarity among the Agora material in contrast to that from the North Slope and the Fountain. Indeed all five examples are very fragmentary, four coming from wells or rubbish deposits and one from a miscellaneous context. No. 479, a good example of the developed Myc. III B:2 Panel style, finds close parallels both at Mycenae and among the Fountain material; 158 440 has a late version of the murex pattern seen in the Potter’s Shop at Zygouries. 159 Both could be imported pieces, although the fabric of 440 seems inferior. Nos. 451 and 452 are less canonical, the latter certainly late III B, whereas 498 with a Myc. III B flower is perhaps earlier. 160

4. Squat Jars of Alabastron Shape or with Angular Profile (pyxis) (Forms 16, 17, 19)

Pl. 65

Types 82 and 84: large flat shape with three handles. Myc. II B–III A:1. I–5 and 6; VII–3 and 5; VIII–1; 413; 489 (7 examples).

Type 83: small flat type with three handles. Myc. II–III A:1. VII–2, 4, 6–8; VIII–2; IX–1; XV–3; XVI–6; XXI–2 and 3 (11 examples).

Type 85: higher rounded type. Myc. III A:2–B. VII–9; XI–1 and 3; XVI–5; XVIII–3; XXV–4; XXXV–2 (7 examples).

Type 87: squat jug with one handle. Myc. II B–III A:1. VII–1 (1 example).

Types 93–94: angular-profiled squat jar or pyxis. Myc. III A:1–B. XXI–4 and 9; XXIV–20; XXVIII–1; XL–2; 414; 459 (7 examples).

Type 98: straight-sided with two handles. Myc. III C:1. 500 and 501(?) (2 examples).

Grouping together the curved alabastra, the straight-sided pyxides, and a solitary squat one-handed jug, we have 35 examples of this type of small container suitable for offerings of perfumed oil or unguents in tombs. Numerically it is exceeded only by the pithoid jar and kylix shapes.

Our earliest examples of the large flat type (Types 82, 84) are two fragmentary vases from beneath the Stoa of Attalos (413 and uncatalogued); on these the dot-outlined crested wave and wheel pattern on the base are clearly Myc. II B (see below, p. 237). The largest and best preserved examples are, however, the two alabastra from the East Bench of Tomb I (5 and 6), which are Myc. III A:1. They are closely paralleled in the Argolid, 161 and are reminiscent of the alabaster examples from the Throne Room at Knossos. 162

158 B.S.A., XXV, 1921–1923, pl. V, c, d (not exact); Fountain, p. 355, fig. 29.
159 Zygouries, p. 145, fig. 135, 1.
160 Cf. Zygouries, p. 146, fig. 137, 4, 6.
161 Tomb 10 at Dendra (N.T.D., p. 98, fig. 104, 1 a, b) yielded an example of approximately the same dimensions and with the same decoration; B.C.H., LXXVII, 1953, p. 70, fig. 15, 1 (Argos, O.T. VI).
162 Evans, P.M., IV, 2, p. 339, fig. 910.
In the small flat type (Type 83) where the diameter ranges from ca. 0.07 to 0.095 m. (compared to 0.15 to 0.20 m.) the shape is apt to look less flat and depressed. Especially interesting are the five examples from the Ares Tomb which range from Myc. II B to III A:1 and include typical imported specimens (VII-4, 6 and 7) and careless local imitations (VII-2 and 8). Although XVI-6 is too badly preserved (undecorated?) to be closely dated, its context in the Lily Bowl Grave indicates an early date. XXI-2 and 3 seem a little later than the examples from the Ares Tomb, as does XV-3.164

The higher rounded type (Type 85) is essentially the later Myc. III A:2 form, with a height greater than half the diameter and the greatest volume set higher (cf. the rather prosaic examples with wave pattern XI-1 and 3; XXXV-2). On the other hand, the examples XVI-5 and VII-9 are clearly earlier and should be assigned to Myc. II B and III A:1 respectively; they are quite uncanonical and certainly local. XXV-4, gray and brittle throughout with traces of glaze on the upper body, seems to be an example of misfiring. The alternative possibility of subsequent burning and vitrification seems less likely.

The straight-sided alabastron or pyxis (Types 93-94) was the more prevalent later type, particularly in the export trade to the Levant from the Amarna period on. XXVIII-1 and 414, with bands on the lower body and a simple geometric ornament on the angular shoulder, are typical of this phase, whereas XL-2 with its wavy line and degenerate ivy leaf pattern must be somewhat earlier.165 The angular type has Myc. II B antecedents, which usually have two decorative zones, and this treatment seems imitated in the rather careless examples from Tomb XXI (4 and 9). Like the uncanonical curved alabastra from the Ares Tomb, they should be regarded as local products of the Myc. III A:1 period. No. 459 from Well V 24:1 is of the later Myc. III B form with convex bottom, and has parallels in the pottery from the Mycenaean Fountain.166

The fragments 500 and 501(?) seem to belong to the still later III C:1 development of the angular shape into the larger pyxis with two handles arching above the shoulder and often applied plastically to the side-wall. This type, 98, had a vogue in Athens at the time of the construction and fill of the Fountain.167

VII-1 is our only example of the squat jug type (Type 87), which has an early ancestry and may have influenced the development of the true alabastron shape. It was found with one of the earliest burials in the Ares Tomb, and, although badly worn, has canonical decoration of curve-stemmed ivy leaves which relates it to the example from the Maket Tomb in Egypt168 and others of Myc. II date from the Peloponnesos169 and Thessaly.170

5. False-necked Jar or Stirrup-Jar (Form 46)

Type 171: globular with height equal to diameter. Myc. III A:2.

II-1; V-3; XXVI-3; 448; 487 (5 examples).

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163 See Ares Tomb, pp. 202-204, although Mrs. Vermeule does not consider that those of greenish clay and with close parallels in the Argolid were evidence sufficient to have been imported.

164 XXI-2 is in the tradition of the alabastra decorated with wave and ivy leaf, although here parallel rows of dots have been substituted for the leaf; XXI-3 with its tangential spiral band and open wave is earlier and less canonical; XV-3 with wave and dot rosettes is apparently standard Myc. III A:1-2 work.

165 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 73. Although XL-2 is associated with Burial A (the third in sequence), all four burials took place within a span of 25 or 30 years within the Myc. III A:1 period (ibid., p. 69).

166 For the earlier type with two decorated zones, cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 109, 212, 213. Fountain, p. 384, fig. 65, k-p.


168 Korakou, p. 53, fig. 71, b; Prosymna, II, fig. 683, 137; Epyov, 1956, p. 100, fig. 102 (Monemvasia).

170 Epyov, 1957, p. 35, fig. 85 (Volos and Noleia).
Type 180: squat with diameter greater than height. Myc. III B.
  X X V - 1 (1 example).

Type 176: Eastern type with height greater than diameter. Myc. III C : 1.
  5 0 3 (1 example).

Uncertain type: 4 5 6.

One of the surprising features of the Agora material is the infrequency of the stirrup-vase, a shape which seems well-nigh ubiquitous to Mycenaean collections, indeed the most characteristic Mycenaean shape. We have only three complete (II - 1; V - 3; X X V - 1) and one fragmentary example (X X VI - 3) from our tombs, the other four fragments coming from Well V 24:1 or from miscellaneous deposits. II - 1, V - 3, X X VI - 3, and probably the fragments 4 4 8 and 4 8 7, are typical examples of the small globular form with banded decoration and simple geometric arcs or chevrons on the shoulder which characterizes Myc. III A:2, whereas X X V - 1 is an example of the later III B squat or "perked-up" type (Type 180), one of the few specifically III B forms from the Agora tombs. It is paralleled not only in the Argolid, but also in the Mycenaean pottery from chamber tombs in Attica. 1 7 1 No. 5 0 3, a most interesting fragment, apparently comes from a large stirrup-vase of Late Eastern type (Type 176) decorated with an octopus. Although paralleled by numerous examples in Rhodes and the Dodecanese, 1 7 2 and more recently from the late tombs at Perati in east Attica, this type has not previously been noted in Athens, with the exception of the example from the Dipylon. 1 7 3

The fact that the Agora tombs have produced so few stirrup-vases may be explained largely by their chronological horizon. Many of our tombs fall in the Myc. II to III A:1 period, the heyday of the squat alabastron shape, before the great rise in popularity of the stirrup-vase in the Myc. III A:2 commercial expansion. While the two shapes are not altogether mutually exclusive, the stirrup-vase and the straight-sided alabastron or pyxis tend to supersede the round alabastron as small closed containers for perfumed oil or unguents in tombs. 1 7 4 Although some of our tombs must certainly be assigned to this later period, preferences and styles seem to reflect the earlier period of contact with the Argolid (see below, pp. 151—152).

6. Globular Flask (Forms 48 and 49)

  III - 1 4 (1 example).

Type 190: horizontal type decoration. Myc. III A : 2.
  4 1 6 (1 example).

We have a single example each of these two related types, which were extremely popular in the export trade to the Levant from the Amarna period on and gave rise to Levantine imitations. 1 7 5 III - 1 4 is a particularly fine example of the "vertical type" or characteristic pilgrim-

171 Prosymna, II, figs. 115, 280; 141, 145; 354, 782; 507, 89; Zygouries, p. 168, fig. 161, 356; p. 172, fig. 167, 331; Attica, pl. I, 2, 3, 4 (Vourvati).
172 E.g. C. V. A. Rodii Ac, pls. 2, 7–8; 10, 1–2; B. M. Cat. I, 1, A 932, pl. XIII; Ialysos, pp. 120 ff., figs., 39, 64, 90, pl. II; Desborough, L. Mys., pl. 6, b (Naxos).
173 For Perati see Epov, 1954, p. 111, figs. 10–11; Desborough, op. cit., pl. 6, c, d. For the Dipylon vase see Ath. Mitt., XXXII, 1907, pl. 25, 1, p. 157; Kerameikos, I, pl. 5, 1, p. 131.
175 E.g., Type 191, a "Levanto-Mycenaean" form and the later Palestinian Iron Age pilgrim bottles (e.g. the examples from Tell Abu Hawan, Q.D.A.P., IV, 1935, pl. XIV, 161–162).
bottle with concentric circles; both the shape and the tangent spiral band beneath the handles have exact parallels at Tell el Amarna, and it should not be later than the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Other specimens have been found in Attica. The bottle 416, with horizontal bands and somewhat careless lattice pattern on the shoulder, seems somewhat later but still III A.

7. Hydria (Form 33)

Type 129: small (10–20 cm. high), globular, wide-mouthed. Myc. III A: 2–B.

XXVI-1; XXXVI-2 (2 examples).

Type 128: tall (ca. 40 cm. high), domestic. Myc. III B–C: 1.

XII-8; 460; 476 (3 examples).

Type 130: globular narrow-necked, medium (ca. 20 cm. high). Myc. III B.

482 (Myc. III C miniature).

Of the two examples from tombs, XXVI–1 is a finely decorated specimen (see below, p. 138) and is furthermore distinguished by a pierced hole about 6 mm. in diameter through the resting surface and thereby communicating with the interior; this hole is located in the exact center of the front directly beneath the largest octopus (Pl. 75). It is clearly a ritual vase, belonging to a class first noted by Stubbings in examples from Attica, Rhodes, and the Argolid. A similar vase from a tomb in Nauplia suggests that ours was imported from the Argolid. XXXVI–2 is coarser in both shape and fabric, has no pierced aperture, and is covered with a dull glaze wash. It is presumably a local product, and from its context ought not to be later than the end of III A.

The other small decorated hydria 482, found intact beneath the court of the Klepsydra, is of a quite different type, with tall narrow neck and rolled rim. Although not easily paralleled among hydriai, it is best explained as a variant of a late jug type to which shoulder handles have been added. The same decorative scheme—tassel pattern on shoulder and wavy line in handle zone—occurs on late III C:1 jugs from Perati and Asine. Indeed the vase might almost be termed Submycenaean.

The other examples, all fragmentary, come from large coarse domestic hydriai, which have parallels with the pottery from the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain. They should thus be dated to the end of Myc. III B or even III C. Nos. 460 and 476 may have been used to draw water from their respective wells (V 24:1 and S 27:7), although they are too incomplete to be considered actual use-fill.

176 C.V.A. Br.Mus. III a, pl. 10, 16; B.M. Cat., I, 1, A 997, i, fig. 267.
177 Attica, pl. 16, 5, 6 (Vourvatai).
178 XII–8 is from the dromos fill of an unfinished tomb and was accompanied by other fragmentary and coarse domestic ware.
179 Attica, pp. 56–57, pl. 18, 2 (Kopreza) with other examples cited: Athens, N.M 3566 (from Nauplia); Prosymna, II, fig. 290, 702; B.M. Cat., I, 1, A 880 and 881 (Ialysos). Add now Ialysos, p. 130, fig. 51 (Ialysos) and B.C.H., LXXIX, 1955, p. 238, fig. 11 (Nauplia Museum). A new example in Hobart, Tasmania, which was acquired in Athens seems not to preserve any trace of the pierced base, but otherwise belongs to the same series (A.J.A., LXXI, 1967, pp. 87–89, pl. 32, 1). It is apparently early Myc. III B.
180 The new example in Nauplia, cited in note 179, is decorated with an octopus, whereas the other cited by Stubbings (N.M. 3566) is decorated with a stylized palm.
181 Εγγυού, 1956, p. 93, fig. 22, 531, 512.
183 Fountain, p. 398, fig. 79 may represent fragments of such hydriai, although no complete specimens of this scale were found.
S. Amphora (Form 11)

Type 66: ovroid shape, low neck, handles from rim. Myc. II A–III B.  
V–7 and 8; XIV–5; XXXV–5; XL–8 (5 examples).

Type 68: high wide neck, handles from rim. Myc. II B–III B.  
XXIV–18 and 19; XXXVI–3 (3 examples).

Type 69: narrower neck, handles from rim. Myc. III B–C.  
XII–7 and 430 (2 examples).

XVIII–7; XX–1; XL–1 (3 examples).

All examples come from tombs with the exception of XII–7 and 430, which are fragmentary large domestic amphoras from rubbish deposits containing late Myc. III B material.  
The sepulchral examples are about half the size (ranging from ca. 12 to 20 cm. in height) and are either covered with a thin glaze wash or are left unglazed (V–7 and 8; XX–1; XXXVI–3).  
Both types—with handles from the rim (Types 66 and 68) and with handles set vertically on the shoulders (Type 74)—were in use concurrently as proved by the evidence from Tomb XL.  

Such amphoras can be matched in Mycenaean tombs in the Argolid, but there they seem proportionately less characteristic. Furthermore, our examples in a coarse pinkish fabric with dull glaze belong to the “provincial ware” of Class c we have noted above (p. 118) and were clearly local products, perhaps reflecting the strength of Middle Helladic tradition in Athens.  
Not found in our wealthiest tombs (I and III), the amphora shape may have substituted for the more elegant and imported pithoid jars as the largest container for wine and water in poorer burials.

b) VASES FOR EATING AND DRINKING

1. Stemmed Cup or Kylix (Form 79)  
Pls. 66–67

Type 256: decorated, with rounded bowl and round loop handle. Myc. III A:2 early.  
426 (1 example).

Type 258: decorated with tall stem and shallower bowl. Myc. III B.  
424 (1 example).

Type 259 (?): decorated, principally Rhodo-Myc. Myc. III A:2–B.  
VII–16 (1 example).

Type 263: plain or monochrome, with deep bowl and low stem. Myc. I–II B.  
I–15; XXII–1; XXXIII–4; XXIV–12 to 14; XXIX–1; 418; 483 (9 examples).

184 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 72ff., nos. 1 and 8, see pp. 73, 76.
185 For Type 74 cf. our amphora 301 (Buck’s Type C8), above, p. 79. For Type 66 cf. our amphora 327 (a variation of Buck’s Type D6), above, p. 83.
186 Cf. the examples from the Argive Heraion (C. Waldstein, Argive Heraeum, II, Boston, 1902–1905, p. 93, fig. 25; Prosymna, II, figs. 109, 209; 177, 289, etc.).
Type 264: plain or monochrome, with deep bowl and taller stem. Myc. III A:1–2.
 III–8; IV–1; X–2; XXXII–1 (4 examples).

Type 266: plain or monochrome, shallow, high-stemmed. Myc. III A:1–C.
 XV–1; XXIV–15; XXXII–3; XL–12 (4 examples).

 III–6, 9, 10; XL–13; 428; 431 (6 examples).

Type 267 (later): low one-handled type, plain. Myc. III B–C.
 XII–1 (+11 exs.); 436; 437; 438 (+3 exs.); 444; 494 (6 + 14 examples).

 I–11 and 12; III–7; VII–14 and 16; XVI–2 (6 examples).

Type 272: taller stemmed with 1 or 2 high-swung handles. Myc. III A:1–2.
 III–5; XVIII–6; XXXIX–1 (3 examples).

Type 274: conical-bowled with low handles, plain. Myc. III B–C.
 XLI–1; 433–435; 473 (5 examples).

The kylix, with over 50 examples and many other uncatalogued fragments, was the most prevalent shape in the Agora, because it occurred in both cemetery and domestic deposits and runs through all chronological phases. From the multiplicity of types listed above, several general conclusions may be noted. First of all, the almost complete absence of decorated examples (only four: VII–16; XVI–2; 424 and 426) is unusual and in contrast to most parts of the Mycenaean world. Our two excellent examples, the deep-bowled kylix with octopus (426) and the kylix with spiral band from the Ares Tomb (VII–16), are best explained as imports either from the Argolid or from Rhodes.187 XVI–2, a deep-bowled kylix with high-swung handle from the Lily Bowl Grave, is clearly early and a variant of the Myc. II Ephyraean type; it too is probably an import, although the decoration is poorly preserved.188 Of the developed Myc. III A:2–B decorated kylix types so numerous in both tomb and habitation deposits in the Argolid as well as in chamber tombs in Attica189 we have only the small sherd 424 decorated with a vertical murex of Myc. III A:2/B type.191 The possible significance of this absence will be discussed below (p. 152).

All other examples of the kylix shape are either smoothed, glazed, tin-incrusted, or left quite rough in the late domestic examples of Types 267 and 274. For many, and particularly the earlier examples, there is a strong metallic tendency seen in the offset lip and flat ribbon handles.192 This metallic effect was reinforced by a monochrome glaze (XXXII–1) or a lightly polished surface (VII–14), and in a special class (see above, p. 118) imitated silver by the application of tinfoil. The variety of metallic shapes prevalent in the earlier fourteenth century is well illustrated by the six kylikes of this class from the Tomb of the Bronzes (Type 264: III–8; Type 267: III–6, 9, 10; Types 271–272: III–7, with one handle, and III–5, two-handled).

187 Ares Tomb, pp. 203, 210–211 (with Aegean rather than Argolid parallels for VII–16). I am not certain that Mrs. Vermeule is correct in thinking this piece an import from Rhodes (?). Note Mrs. French's remarks on the fortuitous absence of the Myc. III A:2 early kylix type from Mycenae (B.S.A., LX, 1965, p. 160). The Rhodian origin of 426 would seem more likely in view of the popularity of the kylix decorated with octopus there (B.M. Cat., I, 1, A 870, pl. XIV, etc.) yet even here the Rhodian type seems derivative rather than identical (see below, p. 250).
188 Cf. 3 examples of this shape from the Prehistoric Cemetery at Mycenae (B.S.A., XLV, 1950, pl. 21 a, 2, 5, 7) dated to L.H. I; also cup from Koronion near Pylos decorated with double axes (Παραισία, 1952 [1955], p. 480, fig. 6).
190 Attica, pl. 4, 7–12, 14–15, pl. 5, 1.
191 Cf. also the few additional uncatalogued scraps from O 7:14 and P 8:9 noted above, note 99.
192 Attica, pp. 62–63.
This practice of tin-incrustation is found elsewhere, and in Tomb 10 at Dendra the same shapes were duplicated in silver. There are few other examples from Athens equally elegant in shape, although the goblet with one high-swung handle from the Ares Tomb (VII-15) is a somewhat earlier version of III-7, and the two-handed type XXXIX-1 is perhaps also a little earlier than III-5. These are in a fine buff ware without any trace of tinfoil. Likewise the stemmed type with two low handles (III-8) occurs without tinfoil in several buff monochrome examples (XV-1; XXIV-15; XXXII-3; XL-12), two of which are badly warped and may have been made locally. The short-stemmed type with one handle and lightly carinated bowl (III-6, 9, 10) was more widely used and occurs both in glazed examples (428 and 431) as well as in an early plain smoothed specimen (XL-13); furthermore, it became one of the characteristic later forms of the domestic repertory.

If one may consider the decorated kylikes and the "imitation silver" examples as de luxe pieces, the characteristic kylix for more ordinary burials is the deep-bowled short-stemmed type (Type 263) covered with a dull monochrome glaze. Here the derivation of the shape from the Myc. I–II kylix of Ephyraean form is unmistakable, and the inferior "provincial" fabric and chronological range suggest the perpetuation of the type into the Myc. III A:1–2 period when the Argolid favored the taller stemmed types and decorated examples.

Our domestic examples are all later, coming from wells and rubbish deposits of the transitional Myc. III B/C period. They are uniformly poor in quality, unglazed and undecorated, only very rudimentarily smoothed and often with broad wheel-marks. Frequently they are badly warped and misshapen (434 and 435). Two main shapes occur: a late continuation of the carinated one-handled type (Type 267) and a new conical-bowled form (Type 274) which, while perhaps owing something to earlier deep-bowled Ephyraean forms, marks the advent of Myc. III B:2 and is particularly characteristic of domestic deposits at the end of that period. Both forms occur in the Mycenaean Fountain, but neither is specifically Attic, although our examples were certainly locally produced. Broneer has suggested that the low-stemmed carinated type may have served alternately as a lamp, and several of our examples (437 and 438) show traces of black accretion within the bowl. XLII-1 (an example of Type 274) is the only instance of a late domestic type associated with a grave in the Agora, and it came from the uncanonical burial in the mouth of a well (N 14:3).

2. Cups (Forms 58, 78, 62, 63, etc.)

Pl. 67

X-4; XL-7 and 9 (3 examples).

Type 220: slightly deeper teacup. Myc. III A:2–B.
XXVIII–3; 439 (2 examples).

XXVIII–2; XXIII–6; XXXII–2 (3 examples with high handle).

193 N.T.D., p. 92, fig. 103, pp. 135–136.
196 See below, pp. 151–152.
197 Cf. French, B.S.A., LX, 1965, p. 159 for the introduction of the deep bowl (Type 284) and the conical-bowled kylix (Type 274) as marking the upper limit of Myc. III B, which she sets somewhat later than most scholars (see above, note 122).
198 The numerous examples from the Kylix Pit 0 7:4 are about as poor specimens as one can make, and 438 shows the interesting aberration of two handles on a one-handed type (Type 267). For examples from the Fountain see Fountain, p. 376, fig. 58, a–c.
199 Fountain, p. 377.
V-6 (1 example).

Type 215: deep-bowled with straighter sides. Myc. III C:1.
VI-1; VII-23; 474 (3 examples).

410; XXIV-16 (2 examples).

Type 249: deep semiglobular spouted cup. Myc. III A:2–C:1.
XIII-2 (1 example).

XXIV-2 (1 example).

Type 226: cylindrical cup or tankard. Myc. III A:2–C:1.
XXV-2 and 429 (2 examples).

Type 240: cup with raised handles. (Myc. II)–III C:1.
XXXI-2 (1 example).

Types 126 and 205: handmade miniature cups and mugs.
XX-2 and 450 (2 examples).

We have grouped together here some 21 cups without stems, which represent ten or more different types and reveal less uniformity than in the kylix types.

Of the teacups, the first three (Type 219) are typical examples of Myc. II–III A:1 cups with stippled decoration.200 The shape continued into the Myc. III B period, where it is found in a simple banded example (XXV-3) and a late domestic undecorated version from the Kylix Pit (439). An alternative form with raised handle, perhaps influenced by the early shallow cup with ring handle (Type 237), occurs in several examples (XVIII-2; XXIII-6 and XXXII-2), the last two covered with the monochrome red wash of our “provincial” group.201

The deeper semiglobular cup is more characteristic of the later period, especially Myc. III C. However, V-6, a deep cup on a conical foot in Red Monochrome ware, cannot from its context be later than the end of Myc. III A or transitional III B. It is best regarded as a kind of Attic “sport,” derived from the deep teacup with low conical foot of Myc. I–II times (Types 211–212). The other examples (VI-1; VII-23; 474) are typical of the later development. They run chronologically from the transitional III B/C example from the Ares Tomb (VII-23), undecorated and somewhat ogival in profile,202 through the developed III C:1 cup from the Children’s Grave (VI-1), a cup which has good parallels in the Argolid,203 to the late example, 474, which comes from well S 27:7 and should be dated to the end of Myc. III C:1.204

In the spouted cups (Types 253 and 249) the early form was shallow like the teacup and had a raised handle and a spout at 90 degrees from the handle. The fragment 410 is typical; decorated with the canonical solid wave pattern pendant from the rim, it has close parallels from the Argolid and Rhodes and is probably an imported piece.205 The monochrome example

200 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 76, nos. 7, 9, the latter more carelessly made.
201 XVIII-2 may have been incorrectly restored with a high-swung handle; see discussion in Catalogue.
202 Indeed it differs very little from the teacup 489 except in its somewhat greater height and higher base-ring. This ought to establish the contemporaneity of the late burials in the Ares Tomb with the adjacent rubbish deposits (J 10:1 and O 7:4).
203 Korakou, p. 65, fig. 92; B.S.A., XXV, 1921–1923, pl. XI, j (Granary).
204 Ibid., pl. XI, f, g, i (from Granary).
205 Prosymna, II, figs. 692–693; Ialysos, p. 97, fig. 13; Asine, p. 368, fig. 239. See also the example from Kopreza, Attica, pl. 8, 11.
XXIV-16, coated in a dull glaze wash, is almost certainly an Attic imitation. The later form, with a deeper bowl and a low handle opposite the spout (Type 249), occurs in the handmade miniature XIII-2 from the diminutive chamber tomb of a child.

Both the conical (Type 230) and cylindrical cup or tankard (Type 226) are related to the famous Keftiu or Vaphio shape with metallic prototypes. XXIV-2 is our only example of the first type with markedly concave walls and carinated offset foot. In a yellow monochrome ware, possibly handmade, it seems to owe something both to Yellow Minyan and to Fine Mattpainted, although it is clearly of Myc. III A date.206 The two tankards (XXV-2 and 429) are both relatively late in the Agora sequence, probably Myc. III B. XXV-2 is more akin to the earlier shape with a diameter greater than its height (Type 225); however, it lacks any reminiscence of the metallic midrib and is decorated with a grotesquely large row of retrograde N’s. No. 429 is a large specimen of the later shape with a height equal to or exceeding the diameter; it, however, preserves some trace of the midrib and is decorated in two zones.

The “kantharos” (Type 240) XXXI-2 is a rare early Mycenaean form which owes much to its Gray and Yellow Minyan ancestry.207 It occurred in one of our earliest closed groups along with a large ewer of early type (XXXI-1), both datable to Myc. II B or earliest III A:1.

The handmade mug XX-2 found in a child’s chamber tomb must be dated to advanced Myc. III B on the basis of the Psi-type figurine found with it. Only 4 cm. in height, it belongs to a baggy type of handmade jug which showed little development from Myc. II to III C.208 No. 450 from Well V 24:1 is a fragment of another handmade miniature, decorated in a style recalling Mycenaean figurines.209

3. Bowls (Forms 57, 85, 80, 82, etc.)

Type 204: plain without handles. Myc. I–III B.

III-12, 13, and 16; XIV-3 (4 examples).


X-3 (1 example).


III-4, 11; XII-2; 499 (4 examples).

Type 304: deep bowl with conical base, 1 or 2 horizontal handles. Myc. III A:1–2.

415 (1 example).

Type 288: small semiglobular bowl usually with one horizontal handle. Myc. III A:2–B.

X-5; 432 (2 examples).

Type 284: deep bowl or “skyphos” with two horizontal handles. Myc. III B–C:1.

XII-4; 453–455; 496–497 (6 examples).

Type 285: late Granary style skyphos. Myc. III C:1 late.

XII-3 and 472 (2 examples).

Type 291: deep conical bowl or “kalathos.” Myc. III C:1.

VII-24 (1 example).

206 Cf. the Yellow Minyan cup from the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, II, fig. 281, 597). Painted examples from the same site: Prosymna, II, figs. 415, 1214; 260, 525. Also from Mycenae (Ch.T., pl. XXII, Tomb 524, no. 8) and Attica (Attica, pl. 8, 6–7). Furumark derives this shape from the Vaphio cup shape (M.P., p. 55, note 6).

207 See also Furumark, M.P., p. 55.

208 Prosymna, II, figs. 376, 911; 476, 945; 508, 71, 66 (none of these an exact parallel).

209 Conceivably it had the basket handle of Type 317 (M.P., p. 67, fig. 20; Zygouries, p. 172, fig. 168, 330).
Type 294: big shallow bowl with horizontal handles. Myc. III B–C:1.
XII–6 (+3 uncatalogued).

Deep open bowl with 3 loop handles on rim. Myc. II B.
XVI–1 (1 example).

Here we have grouped together some 26 examples of 10 different shapes. Significantly, several of these shapes (e.g. Types 284, 285, and 294) are found only in our late domestic deposits.

The shallow handless bowls of Types 204 and 207, which occur in several of our tombs, were most likely simple containers for food offerings and have no pretensions beyond their utilitarian function. However, the three examples from the Tomb of the Bronzes (III–12, 13, and 16) were sheathed with tinfoil to harmonize with the imitation silver kylikes, whereas XIV–3 has a simple red glaze. X–3 with a flat projecting lip resembles Myc. II B saucers with interior decoration, although ours is plain.

The shallow bowl with ribbon handles (Type 295) was apparently the more common form in domestic deposits, XII–2 and 499 representing typical examples from late Myc. III B or C:1. The same shape, however, goes back to Myc. III A, and occurs with tin-incrustation in two examples from the Tomb of the Bronzes (III–4 and 11), as well as in others from tombs at Mycenae and Ialysos.

Examples of deep bowls with one horizontal handle (Types 304 and 283), although not common, are significant, since they are clearly earlier than the advent of the typical deep bowl or skyphos (Type 284) of Myc. III B. No. 415, which probably came from a disturbed grave beneath the Stoa of Attalos, has a conical foot underneath and a deep bowl resembling kylikes of Type 263, and is covered with the monochrome red glaze so frequent in that form. X–5 is a rather ordinary example of Type 283, a deep bowl of semiglobular shape with one handle, which may have contributed to the evolution of the Myc. III B krater and skyphos shape. Although especially popular in Attica in Myc. III A:2 and transitional III B, the one-handled type is also found at Tell el Amarna, Rhodes and the Argolid and cannot be claimed as specifically Attic. The small fragment 432, from a bothros in front of the Stoa of Attalos (P 8:9), is a rare and important piece. Although only a small part of the bowl with a curve-stemmed spiral band of early type is preserved, the horizontally set handle is intact and is distinguished by a vertical protuberance giving it a wishbone-like effect. The closest parallels, however, are not with pottery but with the two silver and gold cups with inlaid bulls’ heads from Dendra and Enkomi, each of which has a button-like protuberance rising above the loop handle. Such cups, which were clearly the product of the same atelier and which can be dated to the earlier fourteenth century, may well have given rise to ceramic imitations like our cup which, on the basis of its ornament, ought not to be later than the first half of the fourteenth century.
None of our examples of the deep bowl or skyphos (Types 284–285) comes from a bona fide tomb group, since the dromos fill of Tomb XII was clearly not sepulchral. Indeed this shape has usually been associated with habitation levels, and even in the Argolid is usually confined to late burials of a period that is hardly represented in the Agora.219 With the possible exception of XII–3 and 4, our examples can all be connected with the occupation of the Acropolis and its slopes in latest Myc. III B and III C:1, 453–455 coming from Well V 24:1, 472 from Well S 27:7, and 496–497 from miscellaneous contexts. Our closest parallels are naturally with Broneer’s pottery from the North Slope and from the fill of the Fountain. Nos. 453 and 454 are good examples of Myc. III B:3 panel patterns,220 whereas XII–3 and 472, which are completely covered with dark glaze inside and out except under the foot, are typical of the Granary style.221 The others should be assigned to a transitional III B/C stage.222

A single example of the deep conical bowl or kalathos shape (Type 291) came from one of the latest burials in the Ares Tomb (VII–24). This shape, which enjoyed a late vogue in the Myc. III C:1 period, particularly in Rhodes and the eastern Aegean,223 has also been found in the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain224 and more recently at Perati225 in east Attica, where some examples have plastic figurines of mourning women attached to the rim.226 Our example with its interior frieze of carelessly drawn fish may show some influence from the Late Eastern pictorial style227 but is hardly to be considered an import. The metallic origin of this shape has been pointed out by Furumark,228 and one should note that the Agora produced a diminutive bronze example (XIII–1) of the earlier type with spout and wishbone handles terminating in a button.229

The fragmentary examples of large open bowls with thickened rim and low ring foot from the dromos of Tomb XII (XII–6 plus 3 uncatologued specimens) seem to belong to vessels of Type 294. Such bowls, with pinched out ribbon handles set horizontally at the rim, are found in domestic deposits at Korakou, Athens, and elsewhere in a late Myc. III B to C:1 horizon.230 This accords well with the general nature of the fill in this unfinished chamber tomb (see pp. 197–199).

We have reserved until the last a consideration of our most handsome bowl, the beautiful Lily Bowl from a child’s grave (XVI–1), because this is not a standard shape in Furumark and to the best of my knowledge is not exactly paralleled elsewhere. The flat projecting rim, the semiglobular shape, and above all the naturalistic floral decoration relate it to a group of Myc. II B–III A:1 spouted cups with a vertical ribbon handle rising above the rim (Type 253).231 In our specimen, however, the three handles rise horizontally from the rim and suggest that

219 Cf. Wace (Ch. T., p. 172) on rarity of deep bowl in tombs, only 1 example coming from his tombs at Mycenae (pl. XLV, 5). Occasional examples have been found at Thebes (Δικτύο, III, 1917, p. 191, fig. 136, 2); and from late burials at Asine (Asine, pp. 397ff., fig. 260) and Pylos (A.J.A., LXIII, 1939, pl. 25, fig. 18), which is a krater of Types 282–283.

220 Fountain, pp. 365f., figs. 43, 45, b, d.

221 Fountain, p. 370, fig. 49, c, pp. 367, 421–422; B.S.A., XXV, 1921–1923, p. 33, fig. 9, a, e, f, pls. X, b, XI, m.

222 For 496 and 497 cf. Fountain, p. 387, fig. 44, b; for XII–4 cf. ibid., p. 368, fig. 46, f, k, p. 369, fig. 47, o, q; for 455 cf. ibid., p. 368, fig. 45, a, e.

223 Ialysos, pp. 86ff., figs. 38, 42, 43, 63; B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 1016 (Kalynmos).

224 Fountain, pp. 371f., figs. 53–54, shape 5.


226 The mourning women are also found in Rhodes (Ialysos, figs. 65, 31; 102, 13). Desborough, L. Myes., pl. 7, a, b. See also, Sp. E. Iakovides, “A Mycenaean Mourning Custom,” A.J.A., LXX, 1966, pp. 49–50, pl. 15.


228 M.P., p. 52; also Fountain, p. 372.

229 This tomb is certainly not much later than 1300 n.c. and scarcely as late as that suggested in the preliminary report (Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 107: “well on in Late Helladic III B or even C”). See below, pp. 199–201. The bronze bowl is little more than half the size of VII–24 (H. 0.051 compared with 0.092 m.).
the bowl was intended for suspension.\textsuperscript{232} This feature relates the shape more closely to certain two-handled basins from Phylakopi, which are however invariably decorated on the interior.\textsuperscript{233} Despite the uniqueness of our Lily Bowl it is of such superlative quality and so much in the spirit of the Argive Ephyraean tradition that it is best regarded as an import.\textsuperscript{234}

c) VASES FOR POURING

\hspace{40pt} 1. Low Beaked Jug or Ewer (Form 41)

\hspace{40pt} Pl. 67

Type 143: big, depressed ovoid with narrow neck, long beak, metallic handle, etc. Myc. II B.

\hspace{40pt} VII-17; XXIII-2 (2 examples).

Type 144: big, ovoid, with generally shorter beak and less clearly metallic features. Myc. III

\hspace{40pt} A:1.

\hspace{40pt} XXIII-1; XXIV-8, 9, 10; XXXI-1; 417; XXXVII-2; XI-6 (8 examples).

Type 145: shape more globular with wider neck and shorter beak. Myc. III A:2.

\hspace{40pt} XIX-1 (1 example).

Our 11 examples of this attractive shape give a distinctive character to the Mycenaean pottery from the Agora. Although such ewers are known from the Argolid,\textsuperscript{235} from Thebes, Chalkis and Volos to the North,\textsuperscript{236} and from Ialysos and Cyprus,\textsuperscript{237} Attica has produced an astonishing number of fine examples,\textsuperscript{238} a fact which naturally raises the question of local production. The origin of the type, which at first had strong metallic features, must lie in the Myc. II B style of the Argolid, e.g. the ewer from Korakou and early imported examples at Ialysos and Thebes,\textsuperscript{239} and this derivation may account for the Ephyraean-like arrangement of isolated motives distributed usually three times over the polished clay ground of the vase. Furthermore, the motives themselves, such as the nautili of XXXVII-2 and XL-6 and the more abstract triple spiral of XXIII-1, were popular in Ephyraean ware.\textsuperscript{240} Ours are clearly a bit later and somewhat less metallic in shape, although most preserve something of the plastic ridge at the junction of neck and shoulder and the knob termination of the handle; three (VII-17; XXX-1 and XL-6) have a reminiscence of the foliate band. The first of these, the octopus and dolphin ewer from the Ares Tomb (VII-17), is stylistically earlier in shape and allies itself to a ewer with poorly preserved decoration of papyrus blossoms from Tomb XXXIII (2); in fabric the dolphin ewer seems local, whereas XXIII-2 may be imported. Neither, however, could be the basis for the free-field arrangement of XXXIII-1, XXXI-1, XXXVII-2 and XL-6. It is with this

\textsuperscript{232} See H. A. Thompson, \textit{Agora Guide\textdegree}, 1964, p. 145, for suggestion that this bowl served as a hanging flower pot.

\textsuperscript{233} Phylakopi, p. 110, fig. 77, pl. XV, 17-20.

\textsuperscript{234} Of the other vases in this grave all but XVI-2 (possibly XVI-7) are probably local. See below, pp. 205-208.

\textsuperscript{235} Korakou, p. 51, fig. 69, pl. V; Berbati, pp. 40-41, figs. 20-23, pp. 64-65, figs. 43-46; Prosymna, I, pl. VIII, 413, II, figs. 251, 667; 700-702; B.S.A., LIX, 1964, pl. 71, d (Atreus bothros, Mycenae).

\textsuperscript{236} \textit{AE\textdegree}T., III, 1917, pp. 80ff., figs. 59; 68, 2; 143, 1 (Thebes); \textit{'Eφ. 'Αρχ.}, 1906, cols. 211-240, pl. XII (Volos); Chalkis, pl. 24, 412.

\textsuperscript{237} Ialysos, pp. 185, 211, figs. 108, 134, 10; \textit{Myk. Vasen}, pl. IX, 53-54; \textit{C.V.A. Br.Mus. IIIa}, pl. 4, 3 (all from Ialysos). At least one fine example from Cyprus: \textit{C.V.A. Br.Mus. II C b}, pl. 4, 17 (Hala Sultan Tekke).

\textsuperscript{238} Add to the 11 examples from the Agora the following: Kopriza (\textit{Eφ. 'Αρχ.}, 1895, pl. X, 8); Vourvatsi (\textit{Attica}, pl. 14, 3); Hymettos (\textit{C.V.A. Copenhagen III A}, pl. 63, 1); Brauron (\textit{B.C.H.}, LXXXI, 1957, p. 522, fig. 23); Salamis (\textit{A.J.A.}, LIV, 1950, pls. I, V). These are all fine large early examples. There are others less spectacular, e.g. \textit{Attica}, pl. 14, 1, 4, 9. Cf. also Schefold, \textit{Meisterwerke}, p. 118, figs. 21-23 (probable Attic provenience).

\textsuperscript{239} Korakou, pl. V; Ialysos, p. 185, fig. 108; \textit{Δήλωσις}, III, 1917, p. 199, fig. 143, 1.

\textsuperscript{240} See below, pp. 143, 146.
last group that the question of origin is most acute, for they are technically very fine specimens. Should they be regarded as "the kind of vase Athens does well" or as proof of strong commercial contact with the Argolid in the Myc. III A:1 period? Because of the widespread distribution of similar ewers and because of Athens' other Argolid connections in Myc. III A:1 (see below, p. 151) I am inclined to the latter opinion.

The monochrome ewers XXIV-8, 9, and 10 are a different case. They belong to the dull glaze-wash provincial ware of the deep-bowed kylikes (Type 263), and like them attest to the strength of the Myc. II B–III A:1 tradition in Athens through the later fourteenth century. Our latest ewer is XIX-1, a poor specimen obviously of local manufacture, of the later form (Type 145) in which the metallic features have practically disappeared. Dating to transitional Myc. III A/B, it shows the persistent popularity of this form in Athens for a period of over one hundred years.

2. Amphoroid Beaked Jug (Form 42)

Pl. 67


I-4; III-1; XVIII-4 and 5; XXI-7; XXIV-11; XXXV-4 (7 examples).

These examples also provide an excellent series illustrating a type which was introduced early in one or more imported examples (e.g. I-4) and which was perpetuated with increasing carelessness during the fourteenth century. Perhaps metallic in origin and probably Minoan, it may derive from a simple functional copper shape like that found in the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth at Knossos, which has a single arched ribbon handle of more purely metallic type and the characteristic neck ring. The beautiful highly lustrous glaze varying from reddish brown to black of the jug from the East Bench of Tomb I (4) furthers the illusion of a copper vase, and a similar effect is found on two jugs from the Argive Heraion. This treatment, along with its grander scale and proportions, suggests that I-4 was an import from the same Argolid region that produced the other vases on the East Bench.

Most vases of this shape are, however, left in a yellow-buff monochrome clay ground resembling Yellow Minyan ware. This is true of our XVIII-4 and 5, as well as other vases of the same shape from the Argive Heraion, Thebes, Asine, and elsewhere in Attica. In our examples the surface is not well smoothed or polished, contrasting with the elegance of shape; yet there seems to be no trace of the tin-incrustation that was almost certainly used on III-1, which formed part of the imitation silver service of the wealthier Tomb of the Bronzes.

241 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 75. I am not convinced that Mrs. Vermeule is correct (with the exception of the monochrome glazed examples and those that are obviously different, like VII-17 and XIX-1). Since there is such a widespread distribution of similar examples, is it not preferable to regard this as the result of Mycenaean trade in the Myc. III A:1 period? Only if we could assume an Attic origin for the examples found elsewhere, which seems highly unlikely, would we be justified in claiming the ewer as an Attic type.

242 See examples cited above, notes 235–237.

243 Furumark, M.P., p. 20, who thinks the form was originally ceramic but acquired a metallic appearance. Wace (Ch. T., p. 169) also cites Minoan ceramic parallels going back to M.M. (P.M., II, p. 371, fig. 206 e).

244 P. T.K., p. 41, fig. 37.

245 Prosymna, II, figs. 703–704.

246 Ibid., figs. 194, 869; 252, 1055; 368, 908; 477, 919.

247 ΔΑΣ., III, 1917, p. 91, fig. 65, 1 (Ismenion, Tomb 3).

248 Asine, p. 364, fig. 286, 7.

249 Attica, pl. 14, 6–7 (Vourvatsi); Праоспік, 1955 (1960), pl. 27, a (Aliki Glyphada).

This shape rarely bore painted decoration even in the Argolid.\textsuperscript{251} We have one fairly large and coarse example (XXIV-11) with simple banded decoration. The other two, XI-7 and XXXV-4, are in the provincial monochrome ware.

3. Jugs with Cut-away Neck (Forms 34, 36, 37)


XXV-1 (1 example).


VII-19; XVI-7 (2 examples).

Type 186: large globular or globular biconical. Myc. III A:2–B.

VII-18; VIII-5; XXXVII-1; 427 (4 examples).

The above seven examples, six of which certainly come from tombs, do not form as unified a series as do the ewers or beaked jugs. Several different shapes are involved, and in some we seem to be dealing with local variants. The earliest is clearly XVI-7, a small globular jug, possibly with stippled decoration, from the Lily Bowl Grave; it has close parallels in Myc. II examples from the Argolid.\textsuperscript{252} The other small jug (VII-19) has been correctly diagnosed as a “crude imitation in miniature of the ‘oinochoe’ form,” an elegant type usually decorated with vertical wavy bands.\textsuperscript{253} Of this more conventional Myc. III A:1–2 form, which is known in Attica,\textsuperscript{254} we have a fragmentary example, presumably once quite fine (XXXV-1).

Two other fragmentary examples (VIII-5 and 427) have painted decoration of good quality and should belong to the earlier Myc. III A:2 period. Tantalizingly little of the lip of 427 is preserved, but it must have been a handsome specimen with a plastic ridge at junction of neck and shoulder, and plastic bosses arranged like a figure-eight shield probably near the handle.\textsuperscript{255} VII-18 and XXVII-1, both of rather micaceous clay with dull monochrome red glaze wash, seem clearly local products, the former earlier in shape,\textsuperscript{256} the latter approaching the Myc. III B form with abbreviated cutout at handle attachment and little flare to the rim.

4. Narrow-necked Jug with Straight Lip (Forms 25, 29)

Type 112: small globular shape. Myc. III A:2.

X–6; XI–2 (2 examples).

Type 121: narrow-necked with handle from below rim. Myc. III B–C:1.

XII–5 (1 example).

The earlier specimens (X–6 and XI–2) are of gritty fabric covered with dull monochrome glaze relating them to other local products. In a sense they are variations of the monochrome ewers and jugs with cut-away necks.

\textsuperscript{251} Two examples from the Argive Heraion have somewhat more decoration (\textit{Prosymna II}, figs. 166, 340; 356, 645). Also Ch.T., pl. XLII, 42 and an almost identical example from Thebes (\textit{Delkta. III}, 1917, p. 161, fig. 120, 2).

\textsuperscript{252} \textit{Ares Tomb}, p. 212. For standard versions cf. C.V.A., Br.Mus. III a, pl. 4, 6 (Ialysos); C.V.A., Br. Mus. II C b, pl. 4, 16 (Maroni); \textit{Prosymna II}, figs. 150, 1049; 372, 896; 472, 926–927.

\textsuperscript{253} \textit{Attica}, pl. 14, 2 (Vourvati); \textit{Myk. Vasen}, pl. XVIII, 133 (Ailiki).

\textsuperscript{254} The bad preservation of this vase is an unfortunate loss, for it must have been of a high order and comparable in quality to the Altar Krater (425) and the octopus kylix (426) found in the same deposit, and like them datable to Furumark’s Myc. III A:2e period. There is enough of the rim with the root of the handle in a non-joining fragment to suggest that it was cut away; however the location of the bosses with relation to the handle is not certain, and the decoration can be made out only with the greatest difficulty (see below, p. 250).

\textsuperscript{255} \textit{Ares Tomb}, p. 212. Cf. \textit{Korakou}, fig. 67.
XII-5 from the dromos fill of the unfinished chamber tomb is entirely different. It has the high narrow neck with splaying lip, the articulated shoulder and handle set below the rim of the type current in latest Myc. III B to early III C, with which dating the pothook spiral decoration accords.

5. Small Round Jug with Straight Lip (Form 25)


These are rather undistinguished small jugs, obviously related to the larger coarse wide-mouthed jugs, and like them show little stylistic development in shape. XXXIX-2, of rather coarse fabric and covered with poor red to brown glaze, is undoubtedly the earliest since it was found in a child’s pit grave with a Myc. III A:2 kylix (XXXIX-1). The banded and more biconical example XXI-8 may be as late as the beginning of Myc. III B, although nothing else in the tomb would suggest so late a date. VII-22 from one of the upper burials in the Ares Tomb does not differ much from this last example, yet it must be about one hundred years later, an indication perhaps of the conservatism of a simple type.

6. Coarse Wide-mouthed Jugs (Forms 23, 24, 26)

Type 109: plain globular. Myc. I–III B. VII-20; XV-2; XVI-10; XVII-2; XXIX-2 (5 examples).

Type 105: globular biconical with splaying neck. Myc. III B. XIV-8; 443; 478 (3 examples).


These jugs are more than twice as large as in the preceding group (ca. 20 cm. in height compared with 8 cm.) and are of coarse clay either covered with a thin glaze wash or with the surface merely smoothed (XIV-8; 443 and 478). In one case (446) we have simple banded decoration.

In the early examples (VII-20; XV-2 and XVI-10) the neck is low and flaring, more or less continuous with the shoulder, and the body capacious and well-formed with the greatest diameter somewhat above the halfway point. XVII-2 with a taller and more sharply articulated neck and a more ovoid body approaches the Myc. III B type (Type 105). The heavily rolled rim of 443 and 478 agrees more closely with specimens found in the fill of the Fountain and should point to the end of III B or early III C.

257 Type found in the houses on the North Slope of the Acropolis (Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 368, fig. 40, b) but apparently not in the fill of the Fountain, although the rest of the deposit J 10:1 accords closely with the Fountain material and the pothook spiral decoration of our jug occurs there (Fountain, p. 374, fig. 56 a, p. 397, fig. 78, a, c, d, j). Cf. also a similar jug from Tomb I: 7 at Asine (Asine, p. 409, fig. 268, 8) dated to Myc. III C:1 e by Furumark (C.M.P., p. 76).

258 Cf. Korakou, p. 67, fig. 96, which Furumark assigns to III B.

259 See below, pp. 213–214, for the sequence of burials in this tomb and the problem posed by the alabastron XXI-9 associated with the latest burial by the doorway.

260 The cup (VII-28), the kalathos (VII-24) and the fragmentary krater (VII-25) are all clearly of early Myc. III C style.

261 This seems to me somewhat different in shape from the decorated examples of Type 110 (cf. Zygouries, p. 169, fig. 164, 361, 363) where the neck is lower and more articulated from the shoulder. It may show some influence of the Lev.-Myc. Type 116 (M.P., p. 609) where the neck is about one-third the total height and more splaying. At any rate, it seems later than the other examples.

262 Fountain, p. 396, fig. 77.
d) SPECIALIZED SHAPES

Here we have grouped a variety of rarer shapes, some of which seem to have had a primarily ritual purpose, others to have been connected principally with the burials of children, whereas a third group from domestic deposits concerns the preparation and storage of food.

1. Rhyta and Ritual Vases

Type 77: small handleless jar. Myc. II B–III A:1 (–2).
   XXIV–1; XXVI–2 (2 examples).

Type 199: conical rhyton, or filler. Myc. I–III B.
   445; 447 (2 examples).

Type 201: ostrich-egg rhyton, globular with funnel and vertical handle. Myc. III A–B.
   XXI–6 (1 example).

Type 129: small hydria; variant with pierced base. Myc. III A:2–B.
   XXVI–1 (1 example).

While one should probably not claim a ritual usage for all the above examples, they either derive from what seems originally to have been a ritual shape, or have certain peculiarities which suggest a ritual interpretation.263

XXIV–1 is an example of an early type of handleless globular pot with stippled decoration which certainly derives ultimately from the rhyton made from a genuine ostrich-egg.264 The earliest examples are more ovoid and one is still pierced at the bottom, whereas in our example and in others of the same Myc. III A:1 period the shape is more depressed or globular and the bottom is solid.265 Probably to be associated with this same shape is the unique and unfortunately fragmentary pot from Tomb XXVI (2), where the lip flares and has been serrated to give the effect of the blossom end of a pomegranate.266 The shape (Pl. 76) was apparently more ovoid than globular, showing perhaps a conflation of the pomegranate with the ostrich-egg; the bottom, which is incomplete, seems to have been flat and was probably not pierced. Although we do not know of any Mycenaean association of the pomegranate with the dead,267 the discovery of this unusual pot in the same tomb with the octopus hydria with pierced base (XXVI–1) strengthens the idea of a religious significance.

XXI–6 is an example of the piriform jug-like type of rhyton, which seems to have developed from the Minoan pegtop variety.268 Here the lower part is protracted into a hollow funnel which would have facilitated filling smaller vases but could also have served for ritual drinking

263 Nilsson, M.M.R. discounts the ritual significance of the rhyton, and thinks the only shape for which we can claim a ritual usage is the narrow-necked libation jug depicted on Minoan and Mycenaean signets (pp. 144–145). I fail to see how the various vases with pierced base-rings and multiple orifices can be explained if they had no religious significance (see Attica, pp. 55–58).

264 Karo, S.G., pl. CXLI–II. For derivation of this shape from ostrich-egg, see Prosymna, I, pp. 405–406 and M.P., p. 73.

265 The pierced example (Type 76) comes from Tomb 518 at Mycenae (Ch.T., p. 82, pl. I, 82). Furumark, M.P., p. 73, note 6 points out that his Type 77 has been dated too early and belongs essentially to Myc. II B–III A:1.

266 A resemblance also noted by A. Åkerström who agrees that the pot, despite its uniqueness, is clearly Mycenaean and probably Myc. III A. The technique is excellent, and although the motives of concentric semicircles and fine banding are unusual at this period, they can be matched in other examples (see below, pp. 228–229). Even the serrated rim is found on a small pithoid jar from a new Mycenaean chamber tomb on Karpathos, although its excavator Charitonides claims the cutting to be modern (ΔΑΛΔ., XVII, 1961–1962, pp. 92 ff., No. 97, pl. 26 c). This tomb is Myc. III A, and there is a remarkable affinity between some of its pottery and the Agora material.

267 See the discussion under XXVI–2 with reference to the Eighteenth Dynasty examples of pomegranate pots and the revival of the shape in Late Geometric graves. Also A.J.A., LXXIV, 1970, p. 197.

268 M.P., pp. 71–73, fig. 20.
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or libations.\textsuperscript{269} To Furumark's examples one can add a rhyton from Vourvatsi,\textsuperscript{270} two from Prosymi\textsuperscript{271} na, and the Agora vase, so the shape was not a rare one in Myc. III A:2–B.

Of the more common funnel-type of rhyton we have only two fragments (445 and 447), both from rubbish deposits. In 445 there is no doubt of the shape, but the surface is poorly preserved and the decoration consists merely of encircling bands; it is probably late Myc. III B. No. 447 is much finer and is painted with some form of floral decoration. One might note the relative popularity of this form in Athens\textsuperscript{272} and in Attica,\textsuperscript{273} a popularity which seems to extend to ritual vases as a whole. Stubbings has collected a number of other ritual vase shapes, some of quite elaborate and fantastic design.\textsuperscript{274} Only one of these additional types occurs in the Agora, the small hydria with octopus decoration and pierced resting surface (XXVI-1) we have discussed above (p. 125). Furumark seems to have missed the piercings in the examples he cites and to have combined them with a simpler and more serviceable type (Type 129).\textsuperscript{275} Those with intentional holes are, however, all handsome vases with high-quality decoration, in one case with a clearly ritual connotation: the Ialysos hydria with horns of consecration and double axes.\textsuperscript{276} Since all come from tombs, one should perhaps associate them with liquid offerings to the dead at the time of the funeral rites.\textsuperscript{277}

2. Feeding Bottles and Askoi

Types 160–161: side-spouted necked jar with basket handle. Myc. III A:2–B.

XIV–6; 7; XXXIX–3; 490 (3 examples).


XVI–8 (1 example).


V–5; VII–21; XVI–9; XVIII–8; XXIV–21; 504 (6 examples).

Both shapes apparently derive from Helladic or Cycladic ancestry, and the askos never became standardized to the same extent as other Mycenaean forms.\textsuperscript{278} For the side-spouted jar the strong presumption that it was used for feeding children has led to the name "feeding bottle,"\textsuperscript{279} a conclusion supported by the distribution of our examples in children's graves. Three of our examples come from unequivocal contexts: XIV–6 from the west dromos niche of the Tomb

\textsuperscript{269} M.P., p. 71, note 8 and references.
\textsuperscript{270} Attica, p. 56, fig. 25, B, pl. 18, 3.
\textsuperscript{271} Prosymna, II, figs. 261, 1056; 726.
\textsuperscript{272} Four fragments from the Acropolis: Graef, Ant. Vasen, I, pl. 3, 93–94; Fountain, p. 386, fig. 67, 1, m (earlier than bulk of material from Fountain).
\textsuperscript{273} Three from Vourvatsi (Δεστ., XI, 1927–1928, Παράκτ., pp. 65–66, figs. 26, 27; Attica, pl. 18, 5); fragment from Spata (Myk. Vasen, pl. XVII, 114).
\textsuperscript{274} Attica, pp. 55–59. In addition to the above types he cites the following:
1) Small jug or hydria with pierced base-ring like our XXVI–1.
2) Another of essentially the same form but with plastic figure-eight shields from Vourvatsi (pl. 18, 4).
3) Jug in Berlin from a cave on Hymettos with small replicas communicating with apertures to main vase which is also pierced (pl. 14, 8).
4) Rhyton from Trachones with hollow ring handles pierced to communicate with interior which is also pierced at bottom (Myk. Vasen, pl. XIX, 137). A similar fragmentary example with pictorial decoration representing a procession has now been found in the Bronze Age temple on Keos (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, p. 332, pl. 62, 2).
5) Bucket-like pot from Vourvatsi with pierced base (pl. 18, 6).
\textsuperscript{275} Zygouries, p. 173, fig. 170 (the hole visible in the photograph opposite the main handle is above the resting surface and seems to be accidental).
\textsuperscript{276} Ialysos, p. 190, fig. 51.
\textsuperscript{277} Mylonas, Myc.M.A., pp. 176ff. makes a distinction between funeral rites and an actual cult of the dead.
\textsuperscript{278} M.P., p. 34, 102 for feeding bottle; p. 68 for askos.
\textsuperscript{279} Prosymna, I, p. 444. Note other examples from children's graves, e.g. Asine, p. 355, fig. 292, 2–3 (child's cist grave); 'Αρχ. Εφ., 1953–1964, pl. 1, p. 89, fig. 4, 2 (child burial in a shaft grave at Eleusis).
of the Niches associated with the skeletons of two children, XIV-7 with the skeleton of a small child introduced from above after the partial collapse of this tomb, and XXXIX-3 from the small pit grave of a child. It is likely that the fourth example (490), from a sixth-century well, came from a disturbed child's grave in the area of the Mycenaean tombs XVIII-XXI.280 Skeletal analysis points to the association of feeding bottles with somewhat older children than one might expect, namely the five to seven year range, suggesting perhaps the desire to give some infantile solace for their journey to the Underworld.281

Feeding bottles were seldom decorated, usually being glazed all over (XIV-7 and 490) or merely painted with bands (XIV-6 and XXXIX-3), and their dating is therefore difficult. Furumark282 endeavors to make some sequence from the shape and angle of the spout, whereas Mrs. Hankey283 uses the location of the spout in relation to the handle, but neither system works too well for our examples, which from their context must be dated to later Myc. III A:2 and early Myc. III B.284

The askos has an even earlier ancestry, deriving from Early Bronze askoid shapes which in turn reflect the original skin prototype.285 Our one example of the small baseless type (XVI-8), which often developed along theriomorphic lines, comes from the pit grave of a small girl, which also yielded a small black handmade askos (XVI-9) with high narrow spout that could have served for feeding. Indeed, although there is less definite evidence than for feeding bottles, the association of small askoi with children's burials seems likely.286 XVI-9 is quite unstandardized in shape and not Mycenaean in technique; it most likely represents a continuation of the Middle Helladic repertory into Mycenaean times.287

Our other askoi of the based type (Type 195) are somewhat more canonical, although the askos never became a really standard shape and seems to have enjoyed a greater popularity in Attica than in the Argolid.288 Our earliest and most elaborate example (VII-21) combines the vertical spout of the stirrup-vase with the basket handle of the feeding bottle and the vertical wavy striped decoration of the oinochoe.289 In XVIII-8 the high basket handle is retained, but the shape is more depressed with the spout obliquely placed; it is covered with a thin black wash, perhaps in imitation of older examples (e.g. XVI-9). The same is true for V-5, which comes closer to the more standard form (Type 195) with short oblique spout and loop handle connecting spout to top of vase. These two examples are small (ca. 9 cm. high). In the larger examples (ca. 16 cm. high) the handle is even more condensed and completely integrated with the spout; XXIV-21 is covered with a thin orange wash, whereas 504 is merely smoothed.

280 This well also yielded a Mycenaean figurine (T 1633) which should be further confirmation for associating 490 with a child's burial.
281 See Mylonas on the use of terracotta figurines in children's graves with much the same purpose in mind (Myc.M.A., pp. 115-116).
282 M.P., p. 609, Types 159-161.
283 Chalkis, p. 69, where a case is made for the type with spout at right angles to the handle being the earlier.
284 XXXIX-3 from its closed context and association with a Myc. III A:2 kylix (XXXX-4) of fairly early type ought not to be later than the mid to third quarter of the fourteenth century, yet in shape the feeding bottle is closer to the late example (XIV-7) introduced from above in the Tomb of the Niches than to XIV-6 from the west niche, which must be the earlier in this tomb. In itself XIV-6 has the flaring spout and more angular handle of Furumark's later type, but the spout at right angles to the handle which Mrs. Hankey considers the earlier form.
285 M.P., p. 68. See now the E.H. II askos from Lerna III (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 11, a) which shows that the based form is also an early invention.
286 Korakou, p. 63, fig. 73, p. 102 (Grave I: “grave of a young girl” with bones poorly preserved); Zigouries, p. 172, fig. 169, 392 (from chamber tomb XXXV which yielded a number of terracotta figurines and a feeding bottle); B.C.H., LXXXII, 1958, p. 671, fig. 4 (child's grave at Aliki).
287 The only other parallel to XVI-9 that I have found comes from Tomb 18 at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, p. 453; II, fig. 110, 225) which Blegen describes as “in an inferior kind of grey Minyan ware.” He mentions another in crumbling fragments from Tomb 33.
288 Attica, pp. 52-53 (Stubbings mentions 5 from Vourvatsi, 2 from Kopreza, 2 from the Acropolis and 1 each from Pikermi and Aliki).
289 Ares Tomb, p. 213, no. 21.

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3. Domestic Shapes

Type 320: tripod cooking pot or “cauldron.” Myc. II–III C. 441 (1 example + uncatalogued fragments).

Type 236: ladle or semiglobular cup with raised handle. Myc. II B–III C. 458; 484 (2 examples).


Type 335: conical lid with loop handle; often perforated. Myc. II B–III C. 461 (1 example).

Type 13: pithos with flat base. Myc. III. 462; 463; 464 (3 examples).

Most of our examples are fragmentary, coming from rubbish deposits or stratified fill, and they thus have little to contribute to the fuller repertory found by Broneer on the North Slope.

The leg of a tripod cooking pot, 441, belongs to the form represented in more complete examples from houses built over the northeast stairway and from the fill of the Fountain.290 Although most of our extant examples belong to the latest occupation levels, it is doubtful if the form had changed much from earlier Mycenaean times.291

The ladle, represented by 458 and 484, is also known from the North Slope excavations.292 Characterized by a high loop handle and a small bowl, which in the earlier examples had a flat resting surface,293 ours and the North Slope examples seem to belong to the later type with rounded bowl which could only have been hung.

No. 461, of gritty clay like the cooking-pot fabric (see above, p. 119), is apparently part of a domed lid, originally with loop handle, and perforated with holes about 1 cm. in diameter, which suggest that it was used in connection with a brazier or incense burner.294

Our other two lids are of the flat-topped variety with a central hole instead of a handle. XII–9, from the domestic deposit in the dromos of Tomb XII, is large and undecorated, and would have provided a suitable lid for a large pot such as the coarse amphora XII–7.295 An earlier decorated example (XXI–5) comes from a tomb which had a fairly long history, but its association in a pit with early alabastra suggests that it ought not to be later than Myc. III A:1.296

Of the pithos shape we have the fairly complete undecorated example, 464, which is relatively small, apparently handmade, and equipped with side handles in the manner of the belly amphora (Type 58); however, its generally lax shape connects it more closely with the standard pithos form (Type 13) than with the more organic belly amphora shape. Nos. 462 and 463 are small

290 Hesperia, II, 1933, pp. 365ff., fig. 45, a, b; Fountain, pp. 398ff., fig. 81, a–b.
291 Blegen refers to three-legged cooking pots from the L.H. II stratum at Korakou (Korakou, p. 59). Cf. the Myc. III B example from the House of the Sphinxes at Mycenae (B.S.A., XLIX, 1954, pl. 37, c) with the III B/C examples cited above (note 290) and the III C examples from the Granary (B.S.A., XXV, 1921–1923, pl. 8, b).
292 Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 371, fig. 44, c; Fountain, p. 382, fig. 64, j–m.
293 Zygouries, p. 154, fig. 144.
294 Similar lids without holes were found in the fill of the Fountain and have been associated by Broneer with the cooking pots (Fountain, pp. 398ff.). Pierced braziers or incense burners found in tombs have been connected with fumigation (cf. Ch. T., p. 140; Prosymna, I, pp. 259, 455–456).
295 Cf. examples from the North Slope painted with concentric circles (Fountain, p. 385, fig. 65, a–j) and the undecorated examples from Zygouries (Zygouries, p. 154, fig. 146).
296 Cf. its decoration with the carelless wheel patterns on two early alabastra (VII–2 and 3: Area Tomb, p. 205, fig. 5).
fragments of decorated pithoi, less elaborate than the examples from the Mycenaean Fountain\textsuperscript{297} or from the Submycenaean well U 26:4, which contained earlier debris from the Acropolis.\textsuperscript{298}

The fragmentary burnished pot, 465, from Well V 24:1, seems outside the Mycenaean repertory and to belong better with the Middle Helladic pithos shape as seen in 362.\textsuperscript{299}

**Decoration**

Although a discussion of the decorative motives can be more general\textsuperscript{300} even a cursory tabulation of patterns supports the main conclusion reached on the basis of shapes. Both repertories are essentially of early derivation going back to the Myc. II B or III A:1 period. Whereas the deep-bowled kylix (Type 263), the pithoid jar with three vertical handles (Type 23), the beaked ewer (Type 143), and the squat alabastron (Type 82) are typical of the Agora repertory of shapes, so are the wave or rock pattern (Mot. 32), the curve-stemmed (Mot. 49) and running spiral (Mot. 46), floral patterns that have not yet become too stylized for recognition, such as the sacral ivy (Mot. 12), the palm (Mots. 14 and 15), the lily (Mot. 9) and the papyrus (Mot. 11), and marine motives like the argonaut (Mot. 22) and the octopus (Mot. 21) which came into being in the Late Minoan I B period and the subsequent Palace style. Just as the stirrup-vase and certain other shapes which characterize the Amarna koine are atypical of the Agora material, so is the Myc. III flower (Mot. 18) and the whorl-shell or murex (Mot. 23), both of which are represented by only a few examples.\textsuperscript{301} Indeed much of the range of patterns characteristic of developed Myc. III A:2 and earlier III B is missing from our material, and one suddenly encounters later Myc. III B motives on our few fragments which connect with the much fuller repertory from the North Slope and Mycenaean Fountain.\textsuperscript{302}

A few patterns will be discussed in more detail to illustrate their early nature and to show how, in some examples, they have been continued or altered along local lines.

The stipple pattern (Mot. 77) is chronologically restricted to Myc. II A–III A:1, and does not lead to a further evolution. Significantly, our relatively small body of material yielded five examples, several of which may have been locally produced.\textsuperscript{303} These represent three teacups (X–4; XI–7 and 9), a globular pot derived from the ostrich-egg rhyton (XXIV–1) and the jug with cut-away neck (XVI–7).

Although the simple scale pattern (Mot. 70) admits of little development from Myc. II A through III B, the way in which it is used on our examples (I–2, 9; VII–12; XIV–4; XVI–3; XVII–1; XXI–1; XXIV–3, 7; XL–11) points to an early date. All are pithoid jars with the exception of the last example, a strap-handled krater, and the patterned zone is deep, covering from one-third to two-thirds of the surface.\textsuperscript{304} With the exception of XVI–3, the scale is simple without the interior elaboration which sometimes characterizes Myc. III A:2 and B scales,\textsuperscript{305} and this example has the simple dotted filling which goes back to Myc. II\textsuperscript{306} and is carelessly rendered in an apparently local style.

\textsuperscript{297} Fountain, p. 399, fig. 80. Also cf. the knob decorated with incised radial lines from the North Slope (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 507, fig. 19, a) with our 468.

\textsuperscript{298} P 17310–17314 will be discussed by Mrs. Evelyn Smithson in the publication of the Submycenaean and Proto-geometric material.

\textsuperscript{299} Both in fabric and in shape this example seems closer to the Middle Helladic pithoi discussed above, p. 67.

\textsuperscript{300} Well over half the vases are undecorated or have simple ornamentation of encircling bands, shoulder net or cross-hatching, parallel oblique lines, etc. which of themselves contribute little to a stylistic analysis of decoration.

\textsuperscript{301} See below, p. 147.

\textsuperscript{302} E.g. the antithetic spiral (Mot. 50) on 454 and the panelled patterns (Mot. 75) on 458 and 479.

\textsuperscript{303} Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 67, 76.

\textsuperscript{304} Most come closer to a 2:3 ratio, e.g. I–2, etc.

\textsuperscript{305} M.P., p. 403, fig. 70, Mot. 70:5.

\textsuperscript{306} Despite Furumark's dating of this type to Myc. III A:1 there seem several other clear cases of earlier usage, e.g. on the deep Myc. I–II teacup from Chalkis (Chalkis, pl. 20, 544).
The tricurved arch (Mot. 62) fulfils much the same function as the scale when used to give an all-over reticulated surface to the deep shoulder zone of pithoid jars. We have only one example (1-13), but similar occurrences are known from Rhodes and the Argolid. The filling ornaments vary, ours using the unstemmed "waz" papyrus which seems to have been the original filling. XII-4 illustrates a much later disintegrated version of the tricurved arch, where it is used without interior filling and as an isolated motive.

The ogival canopy (Mot. 13) was another torsional pattern used for deep zones on early pithoid jars. Although perhaps of ultimate Minoan derivation, this pattern was developed especially on the mainland with a strong axial symmetry and was especially common on three-handed jars with horizontally set handles of the Myc. II A and B period (Types 20-21). Our single example (1-7) is in fabric clearly local (see above, p. 118), and its very simplified and careless rendering of the ogival canopy contrasts markedly with the best Argolid examples which must have been its prototype. The disintegrated version of the ogival canopy, taking the form of an S-shaped streamer above a band of evenly rounded rock pattern, is found on the two large squat alabastra (I-5 and 6) from the East Bench of Tomb I.

Our most common single motive is the solid "wave" or rock pattern (Mot. 32) which occurs on 23 examples, all squat alabastra with the exception of 410, a spouted bowl of Type 253, where the pattern is used pendant from the rim. In the alabastra it rises from the curving wall immediately above the base and frames the shoulder ornament: ogival streamers (I-5 and 6; 489), sacral ivy (VII-4, 5, and 7), rows of dots or dot rosettes (VIII-2; XI-1; XV-3; XXI-2). In other examples the waves are larger and the shoulder is left blank (VII-6) or they are treated uncanonically as an open wave (VII-8), in one case (XXI-3) framing a spiral band. We have only two examples (413, actually one of a pair from the same context) of the elaborate type of crested wave with dot-outlined border characteristic of the best Myc. II B examples, and on ours the fragmentary wheel pattern on the base confirms the early date.

Spirals of various types constitute the main decoration of a number of examples, with the main concentration of specific forms derivative from Myc. II B to III A:1. We have no examples of the early Myc. I–II A tangential spiral band with applied white dots so popular in the Argolid (Mot. 46:9–13), although a few fragments of teacups with such decoration have been found on the Acropolis and North Slope. Our examples of the running spiral are of the simpler Myc. III A type, the fine running band spiral with "Zwickel" of the kylix and the more conventional line spiral with abbreviated "Zwickel" of the pilgrim bottle both careful imported pieces of Myc. III A:1 and III A:2 respectively. Other more carelessly drawn spiral bands occur on examples which may well be of local workmanship: the strap-handled krater, 412, with casual chevron fillings, the alabastron which combines

307 Ialysos, p. 160, fig. 57, 1.
308 Prosymna, II, fig. 718, 157; Asine, p. 382, fig. 249, 1.
309 M.P., pp. 392, 261, fig. 33, b, d (Mot. 11, papyrus).
310 Single trefoil arches of earlier ancestry were often used in pictorial compositions to suggest a landscape setting, but the row of isolated arches had a particularly florid late III B and C:1 development (M.P., p. 391, fig. 68, 19, 20, 28, 30, etc.).
311 M.P., p. 274, fig. 37. Furumark is probably correct in connecting this with the rock pattern and ivy leaf spray of L.M. I B derivation: note the atrophied ivy leaves still present in some early examples (Mot. 13: 1–2) and the association of the disintegrated form with the wave pattern on alabastra (Mot. 13: 6, 7, 8).
312 Prosymna, II, fig. 145, 255; N.T.D., p. 43, fig. 46; Ch.T., pl. XXII, 16.
313 N.T.D., p. 93, fig. 104, 1, a and b (some decoration and approximately the same dimensions). This tomb, No. 10, has furnished especially close parallels to the pottery from our Tombs I (3, 5, 6, 7) and III (tin-incrusted vases 6, 7, 9, etc.).
314 Prosymna, II, figs. 207, 1167–1168; 345, 981, 985; 668, 399; Asine, p. 368, fig. 239, 9; Ch.T., pl. XXVII, 2–3, XXIII, 24, 26. It was also diffused to other parts of the Mycenaean world: Ialysos, p. 128, fig. 49; Myrmicionchorion, Epyrus, 1955, p. 96, fig. 97, Chalkis, pl. 15, 414 B'.
315 A.P. 392 (Hesperia, II, 1933, pp. 363ff., fig. 36, c); A.P. 2960 (Fountain, p. 350, fig. 24, b).
316 This seems to be a combination of the broader band spiral of fresco and metal derivation (Mot. 46:2, 4; cf. Ares Tomb, pp. 210–211) with the line spiral with "Zwickel" of ceramic derivation (Mot. 46:40–41).
spiral band with an outline wave, and the kantharos XXXI-2 which does not correctly connect the tangents with the outer convolution of the spiral.\textsuperscript{318} An even greater travesty of the spiral band occurs on the straight-sided alabastron XXI-9 which has ineptly drawn spirals, replaced in several cases by a circle with large central dot. The other two examples of running spirals (452 and 455) are late Myc. III B; both reverse the direction of the spiral, having it run from left to right, and 452 uses the large central eye of other late examples.\textsuperscript{319}

The double and triple spiral (Mot. 47) forming an isolated motive in the manner of Ephyraean decoration\textsuperscript{320} is symptomatic of the Myc. II B/III A:1 character and influence on much of our material. We find it in triple form on the splendid ewer XXIII-1, a somewhat later version of the II B ewer from Korakou with double spiral motives,\textsuperscript{321} and in doubleform on the fragmentary strap-handled krater (I-14) from the dromos of Tomb I. The triple spiral could be easily pictorialized into a nautilus (Mot. 22), which may account for the popularity of the latter on ewers of the same type as XXIII-1 (XXXVII-2 and XL-6).\textsuperscript{322} The handle streamers of XXIII-1 and XXXVII-2 also point to an Ephyraean heritage. Just as the ewer shape was perpetuated in debased monochrome examples (XXIV-8, 9, and 10), so the double spiral occurs on the shoulder zone of a late Myc. III A/B ewer of local workmanship (XIX-1) as a reminder of its original derivation.

The curve-stemmed spiral (Mot. 49) is a substitute floral pattern of early range, a kind of abbreviated lily.\textsuperscript{323} We find it used either singly or doubly in the shoulder panels of pithoid jars (I-3; XIV-1; XXIV-4 and 6; 420; and XL-10) in conventional Argolid fashion,\textsuperscript{324} once on a squat alabastron (VIII-1) and again on the shallow cup with wishbone handle (432). On the ewer XXXI-1 it has been pictorialized by the addition of feathery leaves and tendrils in a bold rather careless style which may connote local manufacture.

The stemmed spiral (Mot. 51) has a later range, and occurs on only one example (XII-5), the narrow-necked jug from the dromos fill of the unfinished chamber tomb. Here the hanging or "pothook" spirals confirm the generally late III B/C:1 range of this material. Likewise we have only one example (454) of the antithetic spiral (Mot. 50) which often accompanied the Panel style in its later phase.

As we have indicated above, our floral patterns belong in most part to an early stage before complete hybridization and conventionalization set in. Most popular of all is the sacral ivy (Mot. 12), and in a sense its popularity is a corollary to the popularity of the squat alabastron and the rock pattern (Mot. 32), for many examples are found in such combination, notably on the alabastra from the Ares Tomb (VII-4, 5, 7). It also occurs without the wave pattern on the early squat jug (VII-1) and on the Myc. II deep stemmed cup with high-swung handle (XVI-2) where only the triple curving stems are preserved.\textsuperscript{325} On the straight-sided alabastron XXI-4, the original pattern has been replaced with mere groups of curving triple lines.\textsuperscript{326} Several pithoid jars of early type make use of the sacral ivy as shoulder decoration: on VII-11

\textsuperscript{318} The nearest parallel in Furumark is of Myc. III B date (Mot. 46:53), but both the kantharos shape and the association in a closed group with the ewer XXXI-1 show that our example cannot be later than Myc. III A:1.

\textsuperscript{319} M.P., Mot. 46:54, 58–59 (changed direction) and 57 (central eyes). I wonder whether the reversed direction of many of the late III B-C spiral bands (e.g. Fountain, p. 357, fig. 32, a, p. 368, fig. 45, e, g) was not due to the fact that such shapes as the krater and the skyphos were inverted on their rims for decoration.

\textsuperscript{320} See also M.P., p. 358.

\textsuperscript{321} Korakou, pl. V.

\textsuperscript{322} Other ewers with nautili or triple spirals from Attica: Kopreza ('Ερ. 'Αρχ., 1895, pl. 10, 8), Vourvatsi (Attica, pl. 14, 8), Salamis (A.J.A., LIV, 1950, pls. I, V). See above, pp. 133–134 and below, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{323} M.P., pp. 361–362.

\textsuperscript{324} Prosopon, II, figs. 260, 654; 454, 125; N.T.D., p. 67, fig. 81, 1–2.

\textsuperscript{325} It seems likely, however, that these ended in ivy leaves, now obliterated.

\textsuperscript{326} This is one of the three uncanonical and presumably local alabastra from this tomb, which seem to represent a slightly later range than those from the Ares Tomb. The original source of the curving line motive is suggested by the Myc. III A:1 tankard from Zygouries (Zygouries, p. 138, fig. 130, 1) with vestigial ivy leaves.
it occurs as the main ornament above an abbreviated wave, on III-15 it is combined with the palm also on curving stem, and on VII-10 it appears in one panel only, dwarfed between two voluted lilies.

The lily (Mot. 9) appears twice on vases from the Agora. On the beautiful Lily Bowl which has given its name to Grave XVI, one finds it in its original Myc. II B form as used on Ephyraean goblets from Korakou,327 on a spindle whorl from Mycenae,328 and on a fragmentary cup from Argos.329 As in fresco prototypes, the volutes are thick without many convolutions, but the anthers have acquired several cross-bars which become exaggerated in the later ceramic style.330 Five lilies on this bowl are placed on triple stems curving to the right, whereas the sixth has the fleur de lys arrangement with opposed inward curving leaves or "roots." The total effect is both graceful and varied. By contrast the lilies on the diminutive III A:1 jar from the Ares Tomb (VII-10) are fussy and crowded. Here the volutes have become a pair of opposed spirals and the anthers have many cross-bars; in two panels the lilies lean to the right on curved stems, in the third they are opposed with a dwarf ivy between.

Unfortunately, in our two examples of the papyrus (Mot. 11), XXIII-2 and 427, the glaze is so nearly effaced that it is impossible to be sure of the exact form. Both vase shapes are, however, stylistically early, XXIII-2 a strongly metallic ewer close to the II B example from Korakou, and 427, a jug with cut-away neck. In both examples the papyrus seems to have had the openwork tuft of the fresco prototypes, in 427 with opposed volutes, in XXIII-2 the unvoluted type with framing arcs.331

The ubiquitous Myc. III flower (Mot. 16) which seems to have been a specific III A:2 creation from several elements (lily, papyrus, etc.),332 is hardly present in our material, and the examples are late: the large tankard 429 from the bothros deposit O 7:14,333 and the small krater or skyphos fragments 496 and 498, which have remnants of floral patterns of voluted type which seem to correspond to their Myc. III B date.334 By including the North Slope and Acropolis material, one can considerably enlarge the corpus of Myc. III flowers from Athens; however, these are almost all of late type, and there is little or nothing to indicate the evolution of these motives on Attic soil from the earlier floral forms represented in the Agora tombs.335 Our few stirrup-vases, all of which must be earlier than most of the Acropolis examples, are decorated with concentric arcs (II-1 and XXV-1) or with parallel chevrons (V-3 and 487), both of which Furumark derives from the multiple stem and tongue pattern (Mot. 19).336

One other floral pattern of more elaborate type remains to be discussed, namely the palm (Mots. 14 and 15) which occurs on two examples. On III-15 it is used with a large curve-stemmed ivy leaf and a Zwickel papyrus as part of the handle decoration of a big three-handled

327 Korakou, pls. VI, 4, VII, 1.
328 Ch.T., pl. XXVIII, 16.
329 B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 782.
330 M.P., fig. 33, Mot. 9:11, 13, 16, 17 (all Myc. III A:1). The lily does not outlast the Myc. III A:1 period, becoming as-similated in the III A:2 period with the papyrus to form the Myc. III flower of voluted type (Mot. 18). See Furumark, M.P., pp. 284f.
331 Both belong to the general type of M.P., Mot. 11:23-43 (figs. 33, 34), 427 being probably something like no. 38. The unpublished drawing (by Piet de Jong) of XXIII-2 shows a motive more like nos. 40-43 (Myc. III A:2e) which seems some-what late for the vase shape. Could it have been more like nos. 33-29 (Myc. II A)?
332 M.P., pp. 284f.
333 Perhaps closest to Mot. 18:82-83 (M.P., p. 399, fig. 45), since it seems to have had a single V-shaped outline with a curving arc of dashes and an internal anther. This would suggest a Myc. III A:2 late date.
334 For 498 cf. M.P., Mot. 18:26 (fig. 42); 36, 39-41 (fig. 44) where some hybridization with the octopus has taken place.
335 Of the 11 stirrup-vases from the Acropolis which were shown me in the National Museum in August 1961, through the kindness of Mrs. Semni Karouzou, not one had a floral pattern earlier than Myc. III B (Mot. 18:109, 117, 119, 123, 127, 157 were represented). The same conclusion can be drawn for most of the North Slope material (Fountain, p. 386, fig. 67, g, p. 389, fig. 70, p, q). There are a few exceptions, notably A.P. 1412 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 560, fig. 14, n).
336 M.P., pp. 286f. Both the angular form (Mot. 18:15-20) and the semicircular (Mot. 19:26-31) seem to have shown some attraction to the Myc. III flower, especially when used in its place on the shoulder of stirrup-vases.
jar. On this vase the palm is relatively small, and is on a curved stem like the ivy; however, the lower volutes and the knotted trunk are emphasized as in other examples of the Palm I type (Mot. 14). The palms on our second example, the Altar Krater (425), are completely different. They have a triple component at the top, long pendant leaves and conventionalized “roots,” and belong to a type (Palm II) which Furumark derives from glyptic rather than ceramic prototypes. Interestingly enough most examples of such palms occur on vases of the pictorial style, of which our vase is an important new example. Because of the popularity of the pictorial style in the Levant, Furumark suggests that this palm type may have originated in the Eastern Mediterranean, but it should be remembered that such “orientalizing” motives had already entered the Minoan glyptic repertory long before the creation of the Myc. III A:2 pictorial style and the Mycenaean commercial penetration of the Levant.

Our vase with its central altar with horns of consecration (Mot. 36) and probable double axe (Mot. 35) standing in an outdoor grove is not only an important addition to the growing corpus of pictorial-style vases from the Greek mainland but suggests the essentially ritual nature of many of the earlier pictorial scenes, for which there may well have been prototypes on signets. The same combination of palms, horns of consecration and double axe occurs on a small Myc. III A hydria from Ialysos which has the pierced base-ring of a special ritual class. Another Myc. III A krater of the strap-handled type, from Enkomi and now in the British Museum, omits the palms, substituting boukrania with double axes between repeated representations of horned altars topped by double axes. The Altar Krater, technically a superb example, ranks with the finest products of the pictorial workshops, and is most likely an import from the Argolid during the early III A:2 period.

Although the Altar Krater is the only true pictorial-style vase from the Agora, some marine motives verge closely on the pictorial, particularly in the series with octopus representations, whereas others like the nautilus or argonaut (Mot. 22) and the whorl-shell (Mot. 23) were used more or less abstractly. We have already mentioned the close connection between the self-

337 There are no exact parallels to this palm, but the lower part agrees closely with Mot. 14:12 (Myc. II B) and the upper part with Mot. 14:6, 9 (Myc. III A:2). Mot. 14:6 should probably be dated earlier than Furumark does; it comes from the Kopreza Krater (Karageorghis, A.J.A., 1885, pl. 10, 9). I think III-15 should be dated to Myc. III A:1 and believe it was re-used from one of the earlier burials as the container for the remnants of a pyre (see above, p. 103).

338 M.P., pp. 278ff.

339 See also Archaeology, XIII, 1960, pp. 12–13 with reference to the Enkomi Griffin Krater (B.M. C 397). This same palm type is found on the L.M. I Vaphio cup (Marinatos-Hirmer, fig. 178) as well as on ivories from Argos (B.C.H., XXVIII, 1904, pp. 364ff., figs. 21–22), Mycenae (Marinatos-Hirmer, figs. 220–221), and Rutsi (Marinatos-Hirmer, fig. 222) and gems from Mycenae (Eph. Ἀρχ., 1888, pl. 10, 43) and Ialysos (B.M.Cat., Gems, 1926, no. 71, pl. 2).

340 Mylonas (in conversation) has questioned the restoration of the central object above the altar as a double axe because he doubts the significance of the double axe for Mycenaean ritual, apart from purely Minoan borrowings (see Myc.M.A., p. 169ff.). However, it is difficult to find something else to restore in this position; it could scarcely have been a palm of the adjacent type, which would not have had a completely bare shaft.

341 Archaeology, XIII, 1960, p. 10, figs. 6, 8, 10.

342 To these should be added new material from Tiryns (Ἀρχ., Α.Ι., 1956, Χρον., pp. 5–8, figs. 10–12, 14), Mycenae (Πρακτικά, 1951, pp. 195–196, fig. 6), Argos (B.C.H., LXXXV, 1958, pp. 861ff., figs. 2, 5), the Pylos region (B.C.H., LXXXV, 1961, p. 705, fig. 6), Aliki Glyphada (Eph. Ἀρχ., 1954, p. 10, fig. 8) as well as important late material from Iolkos (B.C.H., LXXXV, 1961, pp. 708f., figs. 20–21) and Perati (B.C.H., LXXXIII, 1959, pp. 598, fig. 32).

343 Cf. the Homage Krater in the Louvre (Karageorghis, A.J.A., LXII, 1958, pl. 99; Vermeule, Gr.B.A., p. 206, fig. 36) with the Mycenaean gold signet ring from Tiryns (Marinatos-Hirmer, fig. 207 above) where Ta-urt demons with juglets take the place of the file of soldiers and priest. See also Vermeule on the funerary significance of the chariot kraters (Gr.B.A., pp. 204–206).

344 Ialysos, p. 130, fig. 51. See above, pp. 125, 138.

345 B.M.Cat. 1, 2, C 401, which has been incorrectly described as a loop-handled krater (Type 281), an error which must have been responsible for Furumark’s date of Myc. III B. Through the kindness of Mr. Reynold Higgins, I was able to examine this vase and can certify that it was a strap-handled krater and probably of Myc. III A:2 date. It apparently had five boukrania and four altars on each side.

346 I would compare it with the Window Krater from Kourion (Karageorghis, J.H.S., LXXVII, 1957, p. 697), the Marmot ridge krater in the Metropolitan Museum (A.J.A., XLIX, 1945, pp. 544ff., figs. 8–10), and a few others of like quality that I have handled. The krater from Kopreza with dancing women on one side and palms on the other is probably contemporary, but is disappointingly provincial (Eph. Ἀρχ., 1895, pl. 10, 9), see below, p. 249.
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contained double or triple spiral (Mot. 47) and the nautilus, and they are often used interchangeably with much the same effect. One need only compare the ewer with spirals X XIII-1 with the nautilus ewers XXXVII-2 and XL-6, or the strap-handled krater with double spiral I-14 with the nautilus krater XL-3. These are all rather simple "curtailed" versions in which the animal's body is minimized and the coils emphasized by many spiral convolutions (XL-3 and 6). Such nautili have good Myc. III A:1 pedigrees and were particularly popular in Attica, although known also in Rhodes, Chalkis, and Thebes, which has produced one of the earliest examples. Despite their predominantly northern distribution, sherds of such nautilus ewers found in the Atreus bothros at Mycenae make it likely that at least the earliest examples were imported from the Argolid. The nautili on the magnificent pithoid jar from the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides (I-1) are of a different type with well-defined body and tentacles less tightly coiled. They are not exactly matched in Furumark nor in any example known to me, being midway between the Myc. II B nautilus on the Thebes ewer (Mot. 22:4) and the more elaborate versions on the large III A:2 jars from Rhodes (Mot. 22:11-12). The coil type is early, but the spiral "eye" and the additional looping tentacle in front resemble the nautili on a jar from Kameiros. Ours are apparently the antecedent stage of a type which became popular in Rhodes.

The octopus or "cuttlefish" (Mot. 21) is found on four of our examples which cover a wide chronological range and illustrate the development of this motive. Originating in the L.M. I B marine style, the octopus with its curving tentacles was well suited to the all-embracing torsional effect beloved by the Minoans. Our earliest example, the ewer VII-17, has become more conventionalized along Mycenaean lines with an axial placement and symmetric tentacles; nonetheless the large naturalistic body, the flamboyant spread of arms and the inclusion of curlicues suggestive of seaweed preserve something of the earlier marine style, which is enhanced by the addition of two dolphins. The fabric, as well as the absence of exact parallels, suggests a local Athenian product of the late Myc. II B period. The deep-bowled kylix, with a large octopus on each side belongs to a type especially common on Rhodes, where most examples are somewhat later. Ours has the large body with four tentacles on each side commonly found on Myc. III A:1-2 rhyta and amphoroid kraters, rather than the abbreviated version of the Rhodian kylikes. As in many of the Myc. III A:2 (and some III B) specimens, the suckers, which had originally been suggested by the scalloped or fringed lower edge of the tentacle, are here replaced by superimposed white dots. The same scheme, but with the body also covered with white dots, is found on the small hydria XXVI-1, where each of the three creatures has been abbreviated to the two-tentacled version of the stemmed cups. This vase, both in shape and decoration, has close parallels in the Argolid and should be dated to advanced Myc. III A:2

346 Attic ewers with nautili in addition to Agora XL-6 and XXXVII-2 (which seems to have motive upside down): 1) Vourvati, nos. 141 and similar 143: Attica, pl. 14, 3. 2) Kopreza (Athens, N.M. 3765): *Ep. *Apx. 1895, pl. 10, 8. 3) Hymettos: C.V.A., Denmark, III a, pl. 63, 1. 4) Salamis: A.J.A., LIV, 1950, pls. I, V (now in Fogg Museum). See above, note 322. 347 Jalgos, pp. 211, fig. 134, 10; Annuario, XIII-XIV, 1933-1940, pp. 282, fig. 27; 299, fig. 44. 348 Chalkis, pl. 24, 468. 349 Salamis: *A.J.A., LIX, 1964, p. 251, pl. 71, d, 1, 2. 350 Myk. Vase., p. 80, fig. 38. Four spirals (in addition to the "eye") are rare, since one of the upstanding tentacles is usually dropped when the looping coil in front is introduced; but see Jalgos, p. 213, fig. 136, 7 and an unpublished pithoid jar in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of a size and shape similar to ours. 351 For the imported Minoan stirrup-jar with octopus decoration found by Dr. Platon in 1964 in a well on the South Slope of the Acropolis near the Asklepieion see above, p. 113 and *A.J.A., XX, 1965, Xρωνακά, col. 29, pl. 26, a. 352 B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 870-878, pl. XIV and C.V.A., Br. Mus. III a, pl. 5, 24, 26, 29-30. 353 MP., Mot. 21:3-6. 354 Close to MP., Mot. 21:10 (without white), 12, 14.
or transitional III B, i.e. the late fourteenth century. Our fourth example, 503, is over a century later, belonging to the Myc. III C:1 period. Unfortunately, it is a mere scrap; however, there seems little doubt that the dark heart-shaped form with reserved “eyes” comes from the body of an octopus of the type commonly found on Late Eastern Myc. III C:1 stirrup-vases. The fringed outline, as well as the end of a tentacle in the upper left, confirms this identification. The fringed tentacles in this type are quite different from the Myc. III A–B dotted type and probably reflect renewed Minoan influence in the creation of this late style. Although known from an unstratified find from the Dipylon cemetery this is the only other evidence for a late octopus stirrup-vas in Athens, compared to countless examples from Perati in eastern Attica, and it thus does not preclude Desborough’s theory of a basic distinction between eastern Attica and Athens at the close of the Mycenaean period.

Our two examples of fish or dolphins (Mot. 20), although both occurring in the Ares Tomb, are at opposite chronological points. Both, however, may reflect indirect Minoan influence. The dolphins of the octopus ewer VII–17 belong to the L.M. I B–L.M. II marine tradition of the frescoes and vases although they have too many fins and curiously inverted forked tails. The same juxtaposition of octopus and paired dolphins had a long tradition in Mycenaean art, for they occur on alternate squares on the stucco pavements at Tiryns and Pylos. The rather crudely drawn outline fish with interior wavy lines on the kalathos VII–24 from one of the latest burials of the upper burial stratum of this tomb ally themselves more closely to the Late Eastern pictorial style, for which Minoan influence has rightly been assumed.

Of the murex or “whorl-shell” (Mot. 23) which was one of the most popular motives in Myc. III A:2 and III B we have only two small scraps. No. 424 comes from a kylix decorated with vertical murex; although incomplete, the relatively full and curved whorl suggests a transitional III A:2–B date rather than developed III B. No. 440, from a loop-handled krater, has the solid-tailed murex of advanced III B type. The infrequency of the murex pattern at Athens, where it also occurs only rarely in the Acropolis and North Slope material, seems to be of some significance in attempting a reconstruction of the history of Mycenaean Athens and her relations with the Argolid.

4. HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS

Despite the Athenian claim to being autochthonous, our study of the Agora material certainly suggests that changes or reinforcements of population took place within the two millennia we have considered. The dominantly Anatolian Late Neolithic population may have

356 Desborough, L. Mycs., pl. 6 (Mouliana, Naxos and Perati).
357 M.P., pp. 192, 304.
359 See below, p. 154 and notes 416–418.
361 Pyllos, I, figs. 163–165; Tiryns, II, pp. 229–231, pls. XIX, XXI.
363 M.P., Mot. 23:10, 18.
364 Four sherds with murex shells were noted among the North Slope material: A.P. 1106 (Myc. III B kylix rim), 2790 (III B tankard fragment, Fountain, p. 374, fig. 56, f), 2977 (III A kylix fragment with diagonal murex, Fountain, p. 380, fig. 24, g), 3020 (III B skyphos fragment with vertical murex). From the Acropolis one sherd only with murex is illustrated (Graef, Ant. Vasen, I, pl. VI, 201: Myc. III A kylix with horizontal murex), but several more are mentioned: nos. 89 and 91 (rim fragments of kylikes with vertical murex shells), 91 (fragment of conical rhyton), 139 (skyphos). In short, the stylistic range of the Agora material seems essentially earlier than the popularity of the murex, and the North Slope and Acropolis material by and large later.
365 Thucydides I, 2.
remained during the Early Bronze Age, with some renewed influence from the Cyclades and from the neighboring areas to the south and north. Without stratified habitation layers, which are entirely absent, we cannot tell whether the new elements that characterize Lema IV (247–249; 252) were the result of infiltration or represent violent upheaval as they did at Lerna. A parallel with more near-by Eutresis would suggest that if there was a catastrophe at Athens, it came with the introduction of Middle Helladic culture. Although here too we are dealing not with a habitation stratum but with pottery found mostly in wells and rubbish deposits, the abundance of Minyan ware and the depth of road metal associated with this period in the central Agora support the conclusion that Athens was thickly settled and an important site for the Middle Helladic invaders. According to the best informed opinion, these people were Greek speakers and the basic substratum of the Attic language should have been introduced at this time.

Minyan ware has been found on the Acropolis and, if one can judge from the continuity of Middle Helladic to Mycenaean at other acropolis sites, one may assume that the Athenian Acropolis was already chosen for a ruler's house. Of course, with the subsequent alterations and denudations of the rocky outcrop this conclusion must remain conjectural.

We have far more evidence for the succeeding period when Athens became part of the Mycenaean world and the Acropolis the site of a Mycenaean palace, and yet here too a number of problems remain. Although there need not have been, and indeed there probably was not, any substantial change in population from Middle Helladic, Athens could not have developed as she did without considerable outside influence. In order to appraise the nature of this transformation from Middle Helladic "burg" to Mycenaean palace and citadel, one must briefly postulate certain basic premises about Mycenaean civilization as a whole. If we divide it chronologically into six critical phases, we may note:

1. The Shaft Grave period which overlaps Middle Helladic and runs into or through Late Helladic I. By no means characteristic of all sites, this period is mainly confined to the Argolid, where it occurs most lavishly at Mycenae in the tombs of both grave circles. However, a comparable phase seems represented in the western Peloponnesos in the earliest tholoi. Through contact with the brilliant Minoan civilization, whether by trade, piracy, or exchange of population at a few centers, the simple Middle Helladic culture was suddenly transformed, and remained under its spell for the next four hundred years.

2. The Early Palace period, beginning in Late Helladic I but especially characteristic of Late Helladic II, exemplified by Palace style pottery, by the foundation of a number of new palaces far distant from Mycenae yet culturally linked, and by the occurrence of tholos tombs for royalty and chamber tombs for aristocracy and ordinary individuals.

3. The Mycenaean occupation of Knossos exemplified by the Linear B archives and a warrior aristocracy. This period which terminated in the final destruction of Knossos as a palace seems to run from ca. 1450 to 1380 B.C. (i.e. Myc. II B–III A:1).

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367 See above, pp. 20, 54.
369 The pre-Greek place-names such as Lykabettos, Hymettos, etc. have usually been associated with the Early Helladic stratum. See J. Haley and C. Blegen, "The Coming of the Greeks: The Geographical Distribution of Pre-Greek Place Names," A.J.A., XXXII, 1928, pp. 141ff. For a convenient summary of the latest evidence and bibliography, see Vermeule, Gr.B.A., pp. 60–64, 70–72.
370 Graef, Ant. Vasen, I, pp. 1ff. (See above, p. 53, note 10.) It is probably accidental that not more was saved.
371 E.g., Mycenae, Tiryns, the Argive Heraion, Berbati and most sites in the Argolid, as well as Brauron, Thorikos and Athens in Attica. See Alin, Fundstellen, passim.
372 For a recent appraisal of the historical phases of Mycenaean, see Vermeule, Gr.B.A., Chapters IV and V (pp. 82–155) deal essentially with our first three phases, Chapters VI and VII (pp. 156–281) with our fourth, and Chapter VIII (pp. 282–379) with our fifth and sixth. Although not divided and designated in quite the same way, the historical implications are similar.
4. The overseas commercial expansion to Egypt, Cyprus and the Levant, which was primarily a phenomenon of the Argolid and involved the great potteries already active there. Beginning before the destruction of Knossos, but gaining momentum thereafter, this expansion runs from the Amarna period through most of the reign of Rameses II (i.e. from ca. 1400 or 1880 to 1240 or 1230 B.C.) and embraces the Myc. III A:2 and the III B (with the exception of its latest phase) pottery styles.

5. A period of retrenchment of overseas activities and concentration on construction of elaborate citadel defenses, including such features as underground cisterns within the walled fortresses to withstand siege. These activities fall primarily in the second half of the thirteenth century, and culminated in widespread destruction or abandonment of many Mycenaean sites about 1200 B.C. when the Myc. III B pottery style was giving way to III C.

6. A period of break-up of Mycenaean civilization into regional styles with some new elements coming in. Along with some reoccupation of old sites, there were new foundations, the result of dispersal of population. This period should be dated to the first half or most of the twelfth century.

Before attempting to evaluate the Athenian evidence in terms of these critical phases, a word of caution should be voiced. One must remember that our conclusions derive from an incompletely preserved record, owing to the Mycenaean levels being more disturbed at Athens than at purely "prehistoric" sites. As we have mentioned earlier, our information comes largely from two distinct sources, the Agora tombs and their pottery on the one hand, and the Acropolis architectural remains with associated pottery on the other, and these two do not completely dovetail. Furthermore, in evaluating the evidence from pottery, certain basic tenets, which result not merely from a study of Mycenaean pottery in Athens, but from other regional areas, should be formulated. Although subject to differences in interpretation,373 the following assumptions seem to me justified:

1. The consistent development of Mycenaean pottery through its manifold stylistic phases took place in the Argolid, and one cannot assume spontaneous origin in various centers.
2. Trade could diffuse these styles to distant regions, but unless trade relations were kept up, there would be a gap in development. Trade preferences could also affect the frequency of certain types, for example the pictorial kraters in the Levant.
3. Mycenaean colonial outposts, such as Rhodes and the northern centers we shall consider, originally imported pottery from the Argolid, and kept up the importation to some extent, but gradually evolved their own local pottery styles, which were based primarily on pottery of the stage in which they were "founded."
4. Such a local pottery development could be really updated only by renewed contacts with the Argolid, in a more intimate way than by a few casual imports.

What historical conclusions can we now draw for Mycenaean Athens? It seems self-evident that Mycenaean culture already evolved (one might almost say like a full-grown Athena from the head of Zeus) came to a site which was still in a dominantly Minyan Middle Helladic stage. There is no evidence for an evolutionary phase corresponding to the Shaft Grave period. Minoan

373 In general, opinions vary between those who consider the Argolid unique in creating the style and controlling its development down through the end of Myc. III B, mainly through the export of pottery (Archaeology, XIII, 1960, pp. 4–13, and Desborough, L.Mycs., pp. 217ff.) and those who see regional styles developing within Myc. III A and B. While some of the latter undoubtedly took place, it is my contention that such products can be recognized as provincial and that the full range of shapes and motives could have been created only in one center and could not have developed simultaneously in several independent regions. Recent technological studies are showing the identity of clay in vases found in Cyprus and in the Argolid, even though some scholars have considered their pictorial decoration a Cypriote creation (see H. W. Catling and A. Millett, "A Study in the Composition Patterns of Mycenaean Pictorial Pottery from Cyprus," B.S.A., LX, 1965, pp. 212–234).
imports are negligible, and there is little indication of Mattpaint imitations of Minoan shapes and motives such as are known from Korakou, Aegina, and even Eleusis which seems to follow a different pattern from Athens.\textsuperscript{374} In fact, from our material one would conclude that Athens remained within a Middle Helladic horizon throughout the Shaft Grave period or most of the sixteenth century.

There is nothing distinctively Late Helladic I from the Agora, and little or nothing from the Acropolis which must be assigned to this stage.\textsuperscript{375} Nonetheless, by the Early Palace period (our second phase), enough imported Mycenaean pottery of high quality has been found to indicate the establishment of a Mycenaean palace on the Acropolis\textsuperscript{376} and additional fragments from the North Slope substantiate this conclusion.\textsuperscript{377} Nothing of this stage has been found in the Agora, but some of the earlier tombs have vases in a local style which presuppose the existence of Palace style prototypes, notably the jar with ogival canopy decoration from the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides (I–7) and the marine-style ewer from the Ares Tomb (VII–17).

Where were these early dynasts buried? Surely not in any tomb that has so far been located in the Agora, for none has material that goes back to this Myc. II A stage, and furthermore on the analogy of Argolid practice one would expect royalty to have been buried in a tholos tomb. Unfortunately, no trace of one has ever been found, and if there was one (as I think likely), it probably no longer exists, because of the intensive occupation of Athens. The likelihood of a now-vanished tholos tomb in Athens is strengthened by the fact that eastern Attica has produced three tholos tombs of this period (L.H. I–II), two at Thorikos\textsuperscript{378} and one at Marathon.\textsuperscript{379} If Athens was without a tholos, one would have to assume that she was backward in comparison with the east coast. This, however, may have been true for this period, since it seems quite likely that the early Mycenaean northern expansion was a coastal phenomenon, involving settlers making their way by sea from the Argolid or Corinthia across the Saronic Gulf and around Cape Sounion and thence into the straits of Euboea and on into the Gulf of Volo. One can plot along this route a string of early Mycenaean coastal settlements—Thorikos, Brauron, Marathon, Drones\textsuperscript{380} in Boiotia, Chalkis,\textsuperscript{381} and finally the harbor Neleia and the palace site Iolkos\textsuperscript{382} in

\textsuperscript{374} Our Mattpaint derivatives of Minoan shapes, e.g. 328 and 328, seem to have come second-hand through the Cyclades rather than through direct imitation of Minoan models, and their decoration is quite un-Minoan. Three sherds from the Acropolis (Graef, \textit{Ant. Vasen}, I, pl. II, 27–29) with running spirals are closer to Blegen’s Class B II and D I of Middle Helladic III (cf. Korakou, p. 26, fig. 36, p. 33, fig. 47, pl. II), but we have nothing that corresponds to the Keftiu cups and double axe motives of Korakou, pl. III, 4, 7, and the transitional class where Minoan shapes and motives were rendered in Mattpaint technique is completely lacking. This is not true at Aegina (\textit{Aigina}, figs. 28–29) or Eleusis (\textit{Prætorian}, 1953 [1956], pp. 77 ff., 1955 [1960], pp. 67 ff.), which seem to have been more in the mainstream in the Shaft Grave period.

\textsuperscript{375} I noted three sherds from the North Slope which could be Myc. I, namely A.P. 2958, 2959, and 2960 (\textit{Fountain}, p. 350, fig. 24, a, f, b), of which only the last seems more likely Myc. I than II. Most of the earlier material from the Acropolis is Palace style (see below, note 376), but a few fragments may be transitional I–II A, notably the deep teacup with double ax motives (Graef, \textit{Ant. Vasen}, I, no. 67) and fragments with “hatched loop” or “tennis racket” pattern (ibid., pl. III, 39 [unillustrated]).

\textsuperscript{376} Published in Graef, \textit{Ant. Vasen}, I, some of which were inspected by me in the National Museum in August, 1961. It is difficult to ascertain exactly where on the Acropolis given pieces were found. Important are the three-handled jars with bands of curved stripes or tortoise-shell ripple (ibid., no. 52; pls. II, 42, III, 71), sherds with ogival canopy pattern (ibid., pls. II, 40, III, 60), fragmentary Palace style jars with palm trees (ibid., pl. II, 47, 59), fragment with an ivy leaf (ibid., pl. II, 59), the shoulder of a large ewer comparable to the Marseilles ewer with marine decoration (ibid., pl. II, 45) and similar marine fragments (46, 47). Several have exact parallels at Mycenae cited by Graef. Iakovides (\textit{Myc. Acrop.}) assigns a few walls of a single small building north of the Erechtheion to this period (L.H. I). See Broneer, \textit{Gnomon}, XXXV, 1963, p. 709.

\textsuperscript{377} \textit{Hesperia}, II, 1933, p. 364, fig. 36 and A.P. 341, 392, and 1275 (not illustrated); \textit{Hesperia}, VI, 1937, p. 560, fig. 14, p (A.P. 1414: fragment from a large vase with foliate band); \textit{Fountain}, p. 350, fig. 24, c, n, y (A.P. 2963, 2967, and 2978).

\textsuperscript{378} An oval tholos and a round tholos excavated by Staia between 1889 and 1893 (\textit{Eph. Aýyos}, 1895, cols. 221–234; \textit{Prætorian}, 1893, pp. 12ff., pl. 2) which are dated by their pottery to Myc. I–II. See now the two new tombs discovered during recent Belgian excavations: I, another oval tholos; II, a built rectangular tomb (\textit{Thorikos}, 1963, I, pp. 27–46).


HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS

the Gulf of Volo which must have been the goal. Most of these seem to belong to a slightly earlier horizon than is attested for Athens, and one might argue that Athens first became important with the overland northern expansion to Boiotia and the foundation of the Kadmeion in Late Helladic II. Whether the east coast had priority or not, one certainly cannot claim Athenian synoecism or even domination of Attica in early Mycenaean times.

The widespread "Mycenaeizing" of Athens seems to have fallen in the second half of the fifteenth century, when pit graves and chamber tombs with full Mycenaean inventories and belonging to ordinary individuals are found in the Agora cemetery. These contain imported Myc. II B vases (e.g. XVI-1 and 2; VII-1, 4 and 14) as well as local imitations of II B types (e.g. some of the alabastra from the Ares Tomb, VII-2 and 3). Furthermore, the strength of the II B–III A:1 ceramic tradition in Athens is attested by the popularity and persistence of deep-bowed kylikes of Ephyraean shape, squat alabastra, pithoid jars of early form, ewers, strap-handled kraters, etc. This period coincides with our third phase of Mycenaean historical development, namely the period of the Warrior Graves and militarist dynasty at Knossos. Is it purely accidental that Athens is now drawn more fully into the mainstream of Mycenaean affairs?

The Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides is here instructive, for it belongs precisely to the period coinciding with the "last days of Knossos," and might suggest the tomb of an aristocratic "princess" whose family had been deeply involved in the affairs of the Mycenaeans at Knossos. While most of the pottery is clearly imported from the Argolid, certain features suggest more intimate connection with Crete at the end of Late Minoan II. This is particularly true of the tomb itself with its regular planning, symmetrical rockcut benches and floor cist with slate slab, features which are best paralleled in the rockcut Tomb of the Double Axes and the built tombs at Isopata. One might note furthermore the Minoan-Mycenaean eclecticism of the large ivory pyxis with its Minoan flying gallop, crested griffins, and wind-swept tree—either the work of a Mycenaean artist well-schooled in the Minoan tradition or less likely of a Minoan artist producing for a Mycenaean client. A further link binding Athens to the Argolid and to Knossos at this particular time is the practice of tin-incrusted pottery, which occurs in two fragmentary kylikes from Tomb I as well as in the full "imitation silver" service of a dozen vases from the slightly later Tomb of the Bronzes. As we have suggested elsewhere, this practice is especially characteristic of aristocratic tombs of the warrior elite at mainland palace sites as well as at Knossos in its latest palace period. Another parallel with this cultural milieu is furnished by the two wooden coffins recently discovered in Tomb XL; as Mrs. Vermeule has noted, the use of coffins or larnakes has a longer and better attested tradition in Crete and traces of wooden coffins have been noted in several of the new Warrior Graves at Knossos. Suggestive too is the man apparently wearing a bull mask on the gold signet ring (VIII-6) from a disturbed tomb very little later than this period; to him we shall return when we consider the legendary tradition.

In the period following the destruction of Knossos, our fourth phase, which saw Mycenaean overseas expansion to the Levant, Athens seems to have taken little part. We noted the infrequency of developed Myc. III A:2 shapes such as the stirrup-jar, the straight-sided alabastron, the smaller pithoid jar, etc., shapes which form the mainstay of the Amarna koine, as well as the decorated stemmed kylikes so popular in the Argolid and Rhodes, and the Myc. III flowers and murex shells which form their characteristic ornament. While one gets occasional examples of these koine types, e.g. the pilgrim flask (III-14), the stirrup-jars (II-1 and V-3), the pithoid

384 See above, p. 100 and note 90.
386 Ibid., pp. 69–72 and references to coffins in Warrior Graves.
jars (XVIII-1, XXIII-3, XXXVI-1, etc.), the angular pyxis (XXVIII-1 and 414), these do not represent the dominant Agora style, which is essentially a continuation of Myc. II B–III A:1. In the locally produced deep-bowled kylikes and ewers in an inferior “red wash” ware, it might really be termed “sub-III A:1.” Even more rarely do we get an example of the earlier III B development, e.g. the flat-topped stirrup-vase (XXV-1) and a few kylix sherds with vertical murex design (424).

If, however, one turns to Attica as a whole, the picture is radically and surprisingly different. Using the material collected by Stubbings, attica, one notes a widespread distribution of chamber tomb cemeteries throughout Attica. While some of these contain pottery comparable to the earlier stage represented in the Agora (deep-bowled kylikes, teacups, strap-handled kraters, nautilus ewers), these are concentrated at a few sites on the west coast and in the earlier tombs at Vourvatsi and Kopreza in the Mesogeia. But this is just the beginning of the series. Decorated kylikes of III A:2 types known from the Argolid and Rhodes are common at Vourvatsi and Pikermi whereas they hardly occur in Athens. Furthermore, the late III A:2 and early III B type with vertical murex shells and stylized flowers is relatively common. More striking is the widespread distribution of stirrup-vases which run from early III A:2 down to III C. This fact, in conjunction with the almost complete absence of the squat or round alabastron, constitutes a radical difference between the Attic and Agora tomb series. In short, it appears likely that the Mycenaean expansion into central Attica took place largely in the period following the destruction of Knossos, and brought with it the style of the Myc. III A:2 koine. This, in turn, partially lapsed into local imitations (a kind of “sub-III A:2” style) but seems to have kept abreast of Argolid Myc. III B developments more fully than our material from the Agora would indicate.

Thus, from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-thirteenth century, there is ample evidence for widespread Mycenaean settlement in Attica and little to indicate the overall domination of Athens. The occurrence of a tholos tomb at Menidi with pottery that seems to run from Myc. III A–B, reveals that Athens tolerated a rival prince only fifteen kilometers to the north at the ancient site of Nemesis. And to the same period apparently belongs the triple chamber tomb at Spata in the eastern Mesogeia, a tomb which in its elaborate plan and wealth of ivories and other ornaments is surely not inferior to our Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides.
When then did Athens become the most important Mycenaean site in Attica? I feel that this took place essentially in our fifth phase. The Acropolis was the largest and most easily fortified habitation site in Attica and therefore in the period of Mycenaean retrenchment and fortification it became the citadel par excellence for this region, rivalling in the strength of its Pelasgian walls and in its enclosed area the citadels of the Argolid. Was this due merely to Athenian initiative or was Athens chosen as part of a central Mycenaean plan to defend the whole southeastern part of Greece north of the Isthmus from threatened attack? The parallel development of fortifications at Athens and Mycenae, with their specialized art of Cyclopean or "Pelasgian" masonry, projecting bastions by the main entrance, and underground secret water supplies at both sites, might rather indicate a kind of pan-Mycenaean strategy, with which the construction of a wall across the Corinthian Isthmus would accord. This latter conclusion, that is, a master plan involving Athens, is suggested also by the suddenly renewed contact with the Mycenaean pottery of the Argolid in its developed Myc. III B phase, the Panel style, which, if we read the evidence correctly from the Agora and the Acropolis, abruptly updates the Athenian ceramic development. Admittedly, some of our material may be missing (such as a later part of the cemetery in the undug area to the north of the Athens-Peiraeus Railway), but it is hard to envisage the development of the pottery from the Fountain without assuming wholesale involvement with the affairs of the Argolid in its last period of fortification, an involvement such as had not existed since the early fourteenth century and the last days of Knossos.

These defensive preparations were of little avail as far as the Argolid citadels are concerned. Both Mycenae and Tiryns show widespread destruction by fire at a time when Myc. III B was giving way to III C, i.e. at the end of the thirteenth century, and other sites without fortifications were abandoned. Although Mycenae was reoccupied and experienced another catastrophe some fifty years later in the burning of the Granary, the centralized Mycenaean palace era had essentially closed and there had begun a dispersal of population to Achaia, Kephallenia,

of the tomb should go back to the early fourteenth century, if not earlier (see Furumark, C.M.P., p. 70 for two main periods of use). The gold ornaments, ivory pyxis lid (B.C.H., II, 1878, pl. XIV, 1), and bronze arrowheads comprise the only Attic parallels to the objects from our Areopagus Tombs I and III and the Ares Tomb (VII). Furthermore, there are pieces of genuine pierced boar's tusks as well as glass paste imitations, and the former at least should point to an early date. However, the tomb undoubtedly continued in use well down into Myc. III B, and to this later period should be assigned the often reproduced ivory plaques and warrior head (Marinatos-Hirmer, figs. 215-216).

405 Mylonas, Myc.M.A., gives the perimeter and walled area of the three main citadels as follows: 1) Mycenae ca. 30,000 sq. m. and 900 m. perimeter (p. 16); 2) Athens ca. 25,000 sq. m. and 700 m. perimeter (p. 37); 3) Tiryns ca. 20,000 sq. m. and 725 m. perimeter (p. 11). Gla (p. 43) was much the largest with a walled area of 200,000 sq. m. and a circuit of ca. 3,000 m., but it seems to have served a different purpose from the others, "a common refuge in time of war or invasion" for the people of the Copais basin (p. 44). This also, like Athens, seems to belong to one period, and could perhaps be construed as part of the same strategy that led to the fortification of the Acropolis and the construction of the Isthmian wall (see below, note 408).

406 Although Bronner (Fountain, pp. 416-429 and articles cited above, note 106), who, however, assumed an earlier stage of the citadel wall connected with the postern gate. Also Alín, Fundstätten, pp. 99-103.


408 Bronner, Antiquity, XXXII, 1958, pp. 80ff.; Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, p. 384. The fact that this wall was intended as a trans-Isthmian defense has been doubted by some: Mylonas, Myc.M.A., pp. 219-220; Vermeule, Gr.B.A., p. 264. Its intended purpose and dating to the late III B period have recently been reaffirmed by Bronner, "The Cyclopean Wall at the Isthmus of Corinth," Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 946-962, who stresses the "co-operative action implied in such an undertaking" and the probability that this was prompted by the beginning of the Dorian Invasion (pp. 357f.). Although Bronner (Fountain, pp. 346ff.) has pointed out several specifically Athenian shapes (Shape 8: p. 378, fig. 59, and Shape 15: p. 384, figs. 65, 66, a), the dominant style depends upon the late Myc. III B development in the Argolid, and we have little reason to trace its organic development in Athens.

409 Desborough, L, Mycs., p. 9; Alín, Fundstätten, pp. 148-150.
the Aegean islands, etc. Much has been made of the fact that there is no evidence for a catastrophe at Athens, a fact which accords with the Athenian tradition that they were never conquered during the Dorian Invasion or Return of the Herakleidai, and on which their historic claim to being “autochthonous” may be partly based. It is true that no burnt stratum has been found in connection with the Pelasgian walls or in the fill of the Fountain or in the rubbish deposits of late Mycenaean times in the Agora, and therefore Athens seems to have been bypassed by the people who destroyed the Myc. III B strongholds in the Argolid. For a period of perhaps fifty years, as indicated by the use of the Fountain, its collapse and gradual fill with rubbish and pottery, some of which is related to the Myc. III C style of the Argolid, a sizable body of Mycenaean must have remained within the Acropolis fortifications, using first the Fountain and later Well S 27:7 which may have been situated within the Pelargikon as a water supply. There are so few burials in the Agora that can be assigned to this period—the six interments of the upper burial layer in Tomb VII and the two children buried in the pit grave on the Hill of the Nymphs (VI)—that one wonders whether burials may not have taken place within the walled area of the Acropolis. However, this would be contrary to Mycenaean practice, and of the fourteen cist graves mentioned by Iakovides all should apparently be assigned to the Submycenaean period.

Desborough has recently developed the theory of a general shift of population and wealth from Athens and western Attica to the eastern coast in the period following the destruction of Mycenaean palace culture at the end of Myc. III B. The cemetery at Perati with its wealthy chamber tombs has been cited as a prime example of this phenomenon, yet it is scarcely a continuation of what we know for Athens in the preceding period, and it looks more like an extra-Attic foundation with strong Aegean and Rhodian ties, perhaps a kind of halfway station between the Argolid and Rhodes in the period of Myc. III C dispersal. At any rate, the east coast seems to have been further removed from the path of invasion, or disturbance, than Athens and western Attica, and thus to have preserved a purer Mycenaean culture. Except for eastern Attica, Perati and the Porto Raphti Road cemetery, most of the Mycenaean cemeteries in Attica show a falling off of burials after Myc. III B, and support Desborough’s conclusion of a general depopulation.

If the Acropolis was not sacked and continued to be occupied during much of the Myc. III C period, what then was responsible for the gradual disappearance of Mycenaean culture in

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412 Although no Mycenaean habitation stratum has been found on the Acropolis, if there had been a conflagration, one would expect to find its effect upon the houses suddenly abandoned on the North Slope (Hesperia, II, 1933, pp. 351ff.) and in some of the refuse thrown into the Mycenaean Fountain following its collapse.

413 Fountain, p. 368, fig. 46, n (A.P. 2724: Close style, probably imported); p. 390, fig. 71, b, c (A.P. 2932 and 2930: Close style, probably imported); p. 370, fig. 49 (Granary style skyphoi); p. 376, fig. 37, f, g (Granary class kylikes). Bronner uses the designation L.H. III C for most of the pottery from the Fountain (ibid., pp. 416ff.) yet clearly implies that it belongs to the earlier stage “when the Granary class was just coming into vogue.” Desborough (L. Myc., p. 9) uses this as evidence that the Fountain and even the houses on the North Slope should be dated after the Argolid disaster, “but not long after.” However, I think this conclusion results from the difficulty in distinguishing between the construction and use fill of the Fountain on the one hand, and its dump fill on the other, and unless Close or Granary pieces can be proved for the former, such a dating seems unwarranted.

414 For the probable location of the Pelargikon below the northwest corner of the Acropolis, see Iakovides, Myc.Acrop., pp. 178–199; Mylonas, Myc.M.A., pp. 40–41.

415 For the fusion of Argive, Naxian and Dodecanesian elements in the Perati pottery, especially in the octopus stirrup-vases, see Desborough, L. Myc., pp. 118ff., 226.

416 Desborough, L. Myc., pp. 226ff.
Athens? One Mycenaean palace could not survive in a rapidly changing world, especially since, as Desborough has recently suggested, the whole civilization had been based upon the interdependence of small kingdoms, each with its monarchical administration and requirements of imported raw materials, particularly metals. In this connection, the founders' hoards at Athens and Mycenae, which must be dated to Myc. III C, are symptomatic of conditions far different from the free and easy exchange of commodities in Myc. III A and B. Furthermore, if Desborough is correct in his theory that the cist grave form and the long bronze dress pins and arched fibulae found in Submycenaean burials in Athens and Salamis point to new elements from outside the Mycenaean world proper, then Athens and western Attica were in the path of invaders who infiltrated during the course of the twelfth century. And according to the oral tradition, Athens at this time became the refuge for dispersed people, notably the Neleids from Pylos. But with the disappearance of Mycenaean and the arrival of new elements, we have passed the limits of this volume.

In conclusion, it is tempting to suggest a correlation of the archaeological record with the Attic tradition. We have already noted that despite the Athenian claim of being the autochthonous settlers of Athens there were several periods in which substantial population changes must have taken place, certainly in the Middle Helladic period, perhaps in the early Mycenaean period, and again in the newcomers who were responsible for the Submycenaean cist cemeteries. Yet there must have been enough continuity of settlement and culture to have encouraged the belief in an unbroken tradition, to which the legends of the earth-born kings Kekrops and Erichthonios are made to conform. The worship of Athena on the Acropolis is surely a legacy from Mycenaean times. A palace goddess, whose position in the Mycenaean pantheon is now assured from the a-ta-na po-ti-ni-ja of the Linear B tablets, she must go back to the days when the Acropolis was the site of a Mycenaean palace. Although the direct connection between the so-called megaron column bases and the Old Athena temple is no longer tenable, the megaron can hardly have been located elsewhere than on the large Mycenaean terrace which later supported the earliest temple of Athena. Thus, Homer's association of the "goodly house of Erechtheus" with the temple of Athena seems to have a basis of fact, and Erechtheus may therefore have been the name of one of the Mycenaean rulers.

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419 Desborough, L.Myc., pp. 241–244, gives a good summary of the dependence of Mycenaean civilization on its palace economy. See also, Vermeule, Gr.B.A., pp. 232ff.
420 O. Montelius, La Grèce préclassique, 1924, p. 155, figs. 481–499. This hoard has been dated by Miss Sandars, A.J.A., LXVII, 1963, pp. 135ff. to the same time as the Mycenae hoards, i.e., not much before 1200.
421 'Επ. Απχ., 1891, col. 25; B.S.A., XLVIII, 1953, pp. 6–7, pl. 2; Sandars, op.cit., pp. 135–136.
422 See especially Desborough, L.Myc., pp. 231ff.
423 It has been suggested that there may have been a temporary Doric influence from these newcomers, an influence revealed by certain Doric features in the dialect before its separation into Attic and Ionic (Desborough, L.Myc., p. 245; J. Chadwick, Greece and Rome, 1956, pp. 88ff.; Risch, Museum Helveticum, 1955, pp. 61ff.).
425 Harrison, Myth. and Mons., pp. xxi–xxvii. The fertility rites of the Arrephoroi and the close association with the caves and cult places on the North Slope might take this stratum of Attic myth back into a very remote period. Note the abundance of prehistoric material, especially Neolithic and Middle Helladic, from this area (see above, pp. 1ff., 51ff.). See also Broner on the cult of Aphrodite in the Gardens (Hesperia, I, 1932, p. 52; Fountain, pp. 322, 428). Attic tradition dated Kekrops to the sixteenth century and ascribed a tomb to him on the Acropolis by the later Erechtheion.
426 Ventris-Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, 1956, pp. 126–127, 311–312 (KN 308 = V 52); Morpurgo, Mycenaean Graecitatis Lexicon, Rome, 1963, pp. 39–40. Even before the decipherment it had been suggested that the worship of Athena (a palace goddess) and the name of the city as "the town of Athena" went back to Mycenaean times (Blegen, Athenian Studies, p. 2; Nilsson, M.M.R., pp. 489–490).
427 Cf. above, notes 2 and 406.
428 Erechtheus is the Athenian king who leads the Athenian contingent of 50 ships in the Catalogue (Iliad, II, 546–556). As Homer Thompson has pointed out elsewhere, the very fact that the Athenian contingent of fifty ships is exceeded only by the main centers of Mycenaean civilization (Argos and Tiryns, 80 ships; Mycenae, 100; Sparta, 60; Pylos, 90; etc.) suggests the importance of Mycenaean Athens whatever her role in the poems.
This raises the difficult question of the relative unimportance of Athens in the Homeric poems, where she is relegated to a decidedly minor role, which, if the poet is accurately reflecting Mycenaean conditions, would seem to be contradicted by the size and strength of the Mycenaean Acropolis and the wealth of the Agora cemetery. A possible explanation of this difficulty may be suggested by the fact that Athens' greatness lay in periods essentially outside the narrative of the Trojan War. More frequently of late this war has been set back in the mid-thirteenth century at a time when the Mycenaean koine was intact and a common undertaking in Asia Minor would have been historically feasible, but we have noted little evidence that Athens took a major part in the Myc. III B koine. On the other hand, her closest associations with the central Mycenaean kingdom lay in the late fifteenth to early fourteenth century (our phase 8) and again in the period of intensive fortification and siege conditions (phase 5).

Are there any Athenian traditions that might reflect these periods? Despite the obviously late features of much of the Theseus saga, one exploit takes him back into the earlier Mycenaean period. His Cretan expedition and slaying of the Minotaur, if based on historical fact, must surely be set in the period before the destruction of the great Late Minoan II palace in the early fourteenth century instead of at the later date assigned Theseus in Athenian tradition. Unfortunately, there is little to indicate Minoan suzerainty over Attica or Athens in the fifteenth century, or indeed at any time, and such control seems implicit in the story with its tribute of Athenian youths and maidens. The only two certain Minoan vases of the period that have been found, one at Varkisa on the coast, the other on the South Slope of the Acropolis in a Mycenaean context, seem much more tokens of trade than conquest. However, even if we deny the tribute part of the story, we must admit that Athens seems to have been closely associated with the Mycenaean warrior aristocracy that was in control of Knossos during the last days of the palace. We have noted similarities in tomb forms and burial practices, such features as the rockcut benches and slab-covered cist of Tomb I, the wooden coffins of Tomb XL, the swords and tin-incrusted pottery of Tomb III. May these features not admit the possibility of an Athenian "Theseus" at Knossos who returned to Athens with new wealth and new ideas around the turn of the century. Although the Theseus connections of the gold signet ring (VIII–6) have generally been denied since they were first proposed by Shear, it is indeed curious that the only representation of a male ministrant wearing a bull-mask should occur on a Mycenaean ring from Athens if it does not recall some memory of Cretan rites which in turn gave rise to the legend of the bull-headed Minotaur.

431 As a kind of Attic Herakles, Theseus must have acquired many of his exploits in the period following the great invasions of the twelfth century, a period which projected Herakles as the Dorian hero par excellence. See Desborough, L.Mycs., pp. 245 ff.
433 The traditional date of Theseus is one generation before the Trojan War, he having been driven into exile by Menestheus, Agamemnon's ally, but there exists the strong probability of two Theseus's, the earlier one being coeval with the Minos dated by the Marmor Parium to 1437 (Eratosthenes 1407), see J. L. Myres, Who Were the Greeks?, Berkeley, 1930, pp. 325 ff.
434 See above, pp. 118 and 119, notes 111 and 142. However, although tribute could be enacted without conquest, it seems surprising that Athens which plays the dominant role in this tale of Cretan control shows fewer signs of Minoan contact than the Argolid or Messenia.
435 This Athenian contact with Knossos cannot, however, be put back in the period of the Minoan thalassocracy (see above, note 492) but would apparently have been made during the period in which the Mycenaean Greeks were in control.
436 See above, p. 107, note 77.
437 See above, p. 107, note 79.
For the other period of close involvement, that of the intensive fortification of the Acropolis in the later thirteenth century, Athenian tradition recalled that the walls were built by the Pelasgians, a foreign race of skilled artificers who were rewarded with a piece of land at the foot of Hymettos for the service they had rendered. For the Classical Athenians, however, the name Pelasgian seems to have been equated loosely with anything very ancient and particularly with the older Aegean stock, and therefore its association with the Mycenaean fortification is not particularly helpful. But according to another tradition the walls were considered the work of giants, a tradition that agrees more closely with the legend of the Cyclopes building the walls at Tiryns and Mycenae. Clearly there is no difference in appearance between Pelasgian and Cyclopean masonry, both being made of superhumanly large boulders, but otherwise the Classical tradition is not helpful in relating the fortifications to a historic phase of Mycenaean civilization.

With the Athenian tradition of Kodros, the last Athenian king and Neleid refugee from Pylos who sacrificed himself by the Ilissos to spare Athens from the Doriens, we are clearly at the end of the gradual break-up and dispersal of Mycenaean civilization, perhaps as late as the eleventh century.

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438 Herodotos VI, 137.
439 The Athenians of the Classical period seem also to have had an alternative tradition that the so-called Pelasgian walls had been built by giants; see the red-figured skyphos in the Louvre (G 372) by the Penelope Painter (Beazley, A.R.V.2, pp. 1300–1301; Jahrb., LV, pp. 149–152) which shows Athena and a giant shouldering a large boulder (his name Ρυς inscribed) with the overseer Philyas. This has been interpreted as Athena commanding the building of the Pelasgian wall on the Acropolis. See also Harrison, Prim. Athens, pp. 22–23, figs. 10–11.
440 Pausanius, II, 16, 5; 25, 8.
441 Pausanius, I, 19, 6.
CATALOGUE

1. DESCRIPTION OF TOMBS AND CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS

THE TOMBS ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE AREOPAGUS (I-IV).

This group consists of four large chamber tombs cut into the northeast slope of the Areopagus (see Plan, Pl. 79). Although two (Tombs II and IV) had been badly disturbed and yielded relatively fragmentary and poor offerings, the parallel alignment of the dromoi of all four and the relative contemporaneity of offerings suggest that they were part of one complex to be dated soon after 1400 B.C. and comprising the burial places for aristocratic or "princely" persons. Probably the cemetery originally consisted of more tombs, all traces of which have been lost in the subsequent re-use of the area. It is here that one might suspect the location of a tholos tomb, long since destroyed.¹

TOMB I: TOMB OF THE IVORY PYXIDES (N 21-22:1)

Pls. 29-83, 65, 67, 75, 77; Plan, Pl. 80

Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 274-291.

By far the largest and wealthiest of the Agora chamber tombs, Tomb I was the first to be discovered more or less intact. Coming to light in May, 1939, it was excavated during the following month by Eugene Vanderpool and received a preliminary publication by T. Leslie Shear in his Annual Report. The discovery received wide publicity, and it is thus the best known of the Agora tombs.² Although typical in its chronological range of material, it is exceptional in size, architectural form, and quality of offerings. Furthermore, it offers well-nigh insoluble problems in the reconstruction of its history and that of the occupant whose body was not recovered.

The tomb (Plan, Pl. 80) was approached by a long dromos, at least 11 meters in length, running from north to south, with walls tapering lightly inward, with a width ranging from 2.0 m. at the bottom to 1.50 m. at the top.³ The dromos had been cut at the north end by a late Roman wall; it contained a filling of earth undisturbed since Mycenaean times, except at the north end where a Geometric grave (N 21:6)⁴ had been sunk into its upper part and two pits had been dug in the Turkish period (Pl. 29, a). At the south end the dromos, which sloped downward and widened slightly, led to a doorway 1.20 m. wide and 2.40 m. deep, which had been

¹ See also p. 150, and note the location of the tholos tomb at Dendra in a necropolis of wealthy chamber tombs (N. T. D., p. 18, fig. 17), one of which has many features in common with our Tomb I (see below).
³ See discussion of dromos proportions and length in relation to size of chamber, above p. 100.
⁴ See Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, pp. 412-413.
TOMBS AND OBJECTS: TOMB I

blocked by a wall of carefully packed fieldstones (Pl. 29, b). This wall was 1.40 m. thick and was set in the outer face of the stomion. It was preserved to its entire height and, in the excavator’s opinion, had never been opened.

The large rectangular chamber (5.90 m. wide by 4.80 m. deep) was set at a slight angle to the dromos. The roof of the chamber had collapsed in the Mycenaean period, presumably because its height approached too closely the highest point of firm bedrock (see section, Pl. 80). The chamber was largely filled with broken pieces of bedrock, but also on the west side with some heavy boulders of limestone placed near the top of a crude wall. This extraneous material must have been introduced after the roof had collapsed, but still fairly early in the Mycenaean period because of the fragmentary kylix (I-16; Pl. 31) and sherds of several other similar ones found in the fill. The maximum preserved height of the chamber was 2.75 m., and a small portion of the northwest corner suggested that the roof was not horizontal, but rose slightly toward the center with a gently hipped effect (see Model, Pl. 30).^5

A rockcut bench, 0.75 m. wide and 0.60 m. high, extended along each side wall, that on the east holding the best preserved funeral offerings, the vases I-1 to 6 and the large ivory pyxis, I-16. The vases had been crushed by the collapse of the roof, but had not been subsequently disturbed, and it was possible to fix their positions with certainty (Pl. 29, d). It seems likely that the western bench was also the repository of offerings (I-9 to 12), but here they have suffered much more disturbance. Other offerings in their original position were the large pithoid jar (I-7) and the Canaanite amphora (I-8) leaning against the north wall to the east of the doorway, and the bronze “ladle” or lamp (I-23) lying on the floor near the door (Pl. 29, e).

Beside the West Bench in the southwest corner of the chamber was a deep cist grave cut into bedrock; it measured 1.80 m. by 0.60 m. by 1.20 m. deep (Pl. 29, f). This had been originally covered by a slate slab, which was found in a diagonal position beside the grave, having been lifted and shoved to one side (Pl. 29, e). The grave contained neither bones nor offerings, except for one small scrap of gold (J 79, perhaps of the type represented by I-25). A group of offerings, probably from the cist, was found on the floor beside the cover of the grave. These consisted of the bronze mirror (I-23), a set of ivory pins (I-19), two ivory hair ornaments (I-18), a small ivory pyxis (I-17), and copper wire (from a balance?, I-24). As Shear pointed out, these feminine articles prove that the burial was that of a woman. The other offerings consisted of 128 ornaments of thin gold sheet, of several different types (I-25 to 29) found mostly heaped together in three groups near the north end of the grave. Most of these have small holes perforated along the edges, presumably for attachment to the shroud. They had apparently been collected for removal from the tomb, but were then abandoned near the cover.

The only other evidence from the chamber consisted of fragments of carbonized wood and ash found near the center and running in part down into the grave cutting, and a few scraps of bone and canine-looking teeth found near the pile of offerings by the cist (I-17 to 19, 23–24). Since these are not human,^6 they suggest either the remnants of a sacrifice or a funeral meal.^7 However, the ash pile was disturbed and somewhat scattered at the time the cover slab was moved, and one fragmentary vase (I-9), of which a joining sherd came from the West Bench, was found in the ash pile but without traces of burning.

There is a real enigma presented by this handsome tomb, since there is no trace of the occupant who had been provided with these costly offerings. The tomb has clearly been disturbed and the cist opened, the body apparently removed but much of value left behind. The excavator

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^5 An attempt was made to reconstruct the roof of the chamber and doorway, but this was only partially successful and the tomb was again filled with earth in July, 1953, as the best means of preserving it. The scale model in the Agora Museum gives a good idea of its appearance.

^6 See above, p. 102, note 38.

^7 See above, p. 102, notes 39–40.
concluded that the tomb was used only once, for the burial of a woman, and that soon after, before another interment could take place, the roof collapsed. This occasioned re-entry from above by a trench dug exactly over the site of the cist grave for the specific purpose of removing the body and offerings from the cist to another tomb, "an act of family piety." Presumably the offerings on the East Bench were already sealed off by the fall of rock, and the pile of small objects by the cist was perhaps abandoned in haste when further collapse of the roof threatened. Then the hole was filled with earth, split bedrock and heavy chunks of limestone, which effectively sealed off the tomb from later pillagers. The date is indicated by the fragmentary kylikes (I–15 and other fragments) found in this fill.

Ingenious and romantic as is the theory proposed by the excavator, it is perhaps not the only solution, for it does not seem completely consistent with what we know of Mycenaean burial practices elsewhere and with certain other evidence from the tomb, particularly the dromos. Clearly the tomb had been re-entered from above and the body removed, perhaps also with valuable jewelry and gold cups from the cist grave, not necessarily an act of piety but possibly of avarice, although most cases of tomb-robbing took place in the post-Mycenaean period.8 But was this the only time the tomb had been entered since the original interment?

In the excavator’s opinion the dromos had never been reopened. Certainly the blocking wall of the doorway was intact and shows no clear evidence of rebuilding, but this does not prove that it could not have been rebuilt from the bottom up, as seems to have been the earlier practice.9 Apparently the dromos revealed no clear stratification, but it did contain a sizable quantity of significant sherd material which can be divided into the three classes of dromos material described by Wace and Blegen:10 earlier material in the soil through which the dromos was cut,11 fragments of broken kylikes and other pottery used by the funeral party in drinking a farewell toast,12 and fragmentary larger vases which may once have stood in the chamber and have been swept out at the time of a later interment. To this last class the two handsome vases, a large pithoid jar with reticulated shoulder zone (I–13) and a strap-handled krater with nautilus decoration (I–14), seem to belong, especially as in each case a fragment was found in the chamber in the area of the West Bench. However, these are not appreciably, if at all, earlier than the material from the East Bench. Possibly they were part of the equipment of the original and only burial and were broken either accidentally or ritually during the funeral, and were then swept out during a tidying up of the tomb before the dromos was filled in.13 Our knowledge of Mycenaean funeral rites may be defective on this point, and the assumption of more than one burial only compounds the difficulty of no skeletal remains.

As to the likelihood of the body being removed to another tomb when the roof collapsed, here too our understanding of Mycenaean practice may be inadequate. Attention has been

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8 It might be argued that the body had been richly bedecked with gold jewelry comparable to that from the burial cist of Tomb 10 at Dendra (N. T. D., pp. 74ff., reconstruction, fig. 105; pls. III–V) and that what was left behind seemed insignificant in comparison. Removal of valuable objects by members of the family is assumed by most scholars, e.g. Wace (Ch. T., p. 145), Blegen (Prosymna, I, p. 247), and Mylonas (Myc. M. A., p. 113), but this is somewhat different from the systematic tomb looting of post-Mycenaean times.

9 Wace concluded for the chamber tombs at Mycenae that the earlier practice was to dig out the dromos and unblock the doorway completely (Ch. T., pp. 192–193), whereas later the shorter expedient of digging out the dromos in front of the doorway to a depth of ca. 1.50 m. and removing only the upper part of the blocking wall was used. The latter practice leaves a clear stratification in both dromos and blocking wall, such as was noted by Persson at Dendra in Tombs 8, 9 and 10 (N. T. D., figs. 37–39, 54–57, 66–70).

10 Ch. T., pp. 130–131; Prosymna, I, pp. 237–238.

11 Several Gray Minyan sherds, some coarse ware, and one Red Burnished sherd uncatalogued and in storage container.

12 Several fine rim fragments from kylikes, undecorated in smooth polished yellow-buff fabric; rim fragment from shallow bowl with ribbon handle like III–11, but with no traces of tin.

13 For the Royal Tomb at Dendra Persson assumed a ritual breaking and smashing of the stirrup-vase, fragments of which were found in three pits in the chamber as well as in the dromos (R. T. D., p. 70, fig. 46). For the fragmentary vases 8, 6 and 9, with part of the last found in the dromos, all three of which were associated with the first burials in Tomb XL, see E. Vermeule, Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 67.
focused, particularly by Mylonas, on the absence in Mycenaean times of a cult of the dead, or even of much respect for the bones of a relative, since a common practice in chamber tombs was to sweep aside previous interments or cram them into bone pits. However, the same author emphasizes the importance of funeral rites and the provision of the deceased with what he would need, either symbolically or actually, in the way of food and drink, for the journey to the other world which presumably lasted as long as the flesh had not decomposed. Only, I think, if the roof of our tomb collapsed almost immediately after the burial would the removal of the body as an act of family piety be consistent with what we know of Mycenaean funeral practices.

Interestingly enough, there are other cases where skeletal material is lacking or inadequate to account for the apparent number of burials. One of these was the wealthy Chamber Tomb 10 at Dendra, a tomb which has many points of similarity with ours and belongs in part to the same chronological stage. Here, although the blocking wall shows clearly two periods of construction and the filling of the stomion was stratified with two layers of charcoal, only one body was discovered. Persson believed that only one burial took place, despite the range of time that seems indicated between the burial gifts in the chamber and the fragmentary Palace style jar in the dromos, and he suggested that the tomb was opened either for a subsequent burial that did not take place because the roof had already begun to collapse or, on the analogy of the Agora Tomb, to remove the dead to another tomb. In any case, the tomb there was surrounded with a rectangular wall at ground level, suggesting a continuing respect for the area.

Persson inclined to the view that Tomb 10 was a Royal Tomb, and Shear voiced the same opinion with regard to our tomb, even going so far as to associate it with the wife or daughter of Erechtheus. Both tombs are clearly more than ordinary chamber tombs, and the wealth of jewelry and cups of precious metal at Dendra are comparable to finds in tholoi, yet there was also a royal tholos tomb at Dendra as part of the same cemetery and in use concurrently with Tomb 10, and I suspect that the same conditions would be found to have prevailed at Athens if our evidence were more complete. In my opinion one should consider these tombs those of wealthy noble families, and reserve the term “royal” for the beehive or tholos type.

Although we may never know the full history of our tomb or who its original occupant was, one should not minimize its importance as one of the finest chamber tombs ever discovered. Architecturally, with its symmetrical rockcut benches and deep burial cist with a single covering slab it has no close parallels on the mainland, but is reminiscent rather of some of the tombs at Knossos in the last palatial age, and to this period the evidence of the pottery, ivories and other objects points.

The pottery belongs almost entirely to Furumark’s Myc. III A:1 stage (before the destruction of Knossos), good examples being the jars (I–2 and 3) and the alabastra (I–5 and 6) from the East Bench, all of which have almost exact duplicates in Tomb 10 at Dendra. The nautilus jar (I–1) may be slightly earlier, transitional from Myc. II to III A:1, and the local jar with
ogival canopy (I-7) reflects a still earlier tradition. Likewise the large ivory pyxis (I-16) may be a work of the late fifteenth century, and the ivy leaf on the gold ornaments (I-25) is paralleled on jewelry from tombs of the late fifteenth to early fourteenth century. The same is true of the use of tin-incrustation on the kylikes (I-11 and 12), a practice found in Tomb 10 at Dendra and in our neighboring Tomb III, as well as at Knossos, Mycenae and Ialysos. Therefore a date of close to 1400 B.C. seems likely.

See also pp. 97–102, 151.


POTTERY

Vases on East Bench (I-1 to 6; Pls. 30, 65, 67)


P 15234. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 281, fig. 18; A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 582, fig. 8; J.H.S., LIX, 1939, p. 190, fig. 1; I.L.N., July 22, 1939, p. 162, fig. 7. H. 0.48 m., D. 0.39 m. Three-handled piriiform jar, mended from many pieces; small fragments, chips and flakes missing.

Buff clay, rather gritty with pits and impurities, but surface well smoothed and somewhat polished.

Decoration in rather streaky orange-brown to black glaze, badly flaked in two panels. Low concave neck with broad flat lip and a narrow plastic band separating neck from shoulder. Three vertical loop handles on upper part of body with central ridge terminating in plastic knob at lower attachment, each handle pierced by a small diagonal vent-hole at upper and lower attachment. Broad piriiform body with flat bottom and false torus foot.

Decoration: a band of running S-quirks near inner edge of flat lip; neck glazed with one narrow band below; handles glazed and surrounded with a tailed figure-8 ornament, outlined. Deep shoulder zone with a large nautilus in each panel and reserved rosettes surrounded by circle above. Lower body decorated with three encircling lines and two deep zones of glaze separated by a reserved band with five encircling lines.

Furumark, M.P., Types 18–19 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B–III A:1; Motive 22, nos. 4, 8, 11 (p. 307, fig. 50), Myc. II B–III A:1.

This is a fine specimen of a more common type: cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 456, 111; B.M. Cat., I, 1, A 825, pl. X; etc. Our example is closest in shape and in the very deep zone of scale pattern to two examples from Tomb 10 at Dendra, which are a little larger (N.T.D., pp. 67, 71, figs. 79, 83).

See also pp. 120, 141.

Myc. III A:1 (early; imported).


P 15237. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 281, fig. 20. H. 0.385 m., D. 0.175 m. Three-handled pithoid jar, mended from many fragments; a few fragments and chips of mouth and body missing; surface badly flaked on one side.

Hard creamy buff clay, well smoothed and polished; lustrous crackled brownish black paint, rubbed off in places.

Low concave neck with broad flat lip and a narrow plastic band at base of neck. Three vertical loop handles on upper shoulder with central ridge and plastic knob at base. Broad piriiform body tapering to a small torus foot.

Neck and handles covered with dark glaze. A deep wavy line on upper face of flat lip. A deep zone of scale pattern on upper half of body; lower half covered with dark glaze with two broad reserved bands near top, each subdivided by three narrow encircling lines.

Furumark, M.P., Types 18 and 19 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B–III A:1; Motive 70, no. 1 (p. 403, fig. 70), Myc. II A–III B.

This is a fine specimen of a more common type: cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 456, 111; B.M. Cat., I, 1, A 825, pl. X; etc. Our example is closest in shape and in the very deep zone of scale pattern to two examples from Tomb 10 at Dendra, which are a little larger (N.T.D., pp. 67, 71, figs. 79, 83).

See also pp. 120, 141.

Myc. III A:1 (early; imported).
spiral and a large double chevron, or “multiple stem” (Mot. 19). Below spirals broad band framed by narrow line above and below; wide reserved zone with deep zone of banding on foot, consisting of a narrow line, broad band, two narrow lines and a deeper band of glaze on foot.

Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B–III A:1; Mot. 49: 10–11 (p. 363, fig. 62), Myc. III A:1–2.

This is again a common motive on somewhat smaller pithoid jars with less broad shoulder and narrower decorated zone: cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 260, 624; B.M.Cat., I, A 823, pl. X; Ialysos, p. 189, fig. 112. Very close parallels from Tomb 10 at Dendra (N.T.D., p. 67, fig. 81).

Cf. other similar jars from the Agora: XIV–1, XXIV–4 and 5, XL–10 (with horizontal handles). See also pp. 120, 143. Myc. III A:1 (imported).

I–4. Amphoroid Beaked Jug, Solid Glaze. Pls. 30, 67. P 15239. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 281, fig. 21; A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 582, fig. 10. H. 0.26 m., D. 0.17 m. Beaked jug mended from many pieces; a few small fragments of body missing; also numerous minor chips.

Fine reddish brown clay; highly lustrous glaze, rather flaky, fired unevenly red to black and giving a metallic effect.

Narrow neck with sharply articulated raised band at base; projecting spout rises at an oblique angle from mouth. Two handles, round in section from shoulder to near top of spout. Broad shoulder tapering sharply in piriform curve to small flat bottom with torus base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 150 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B–III A:2. Closest to the examples from the Argive Heraion: Prosymna, II, figs. 703, 704 (the latter very close in appearance to ours but somewhat smaller). Ours is perhaps the finest example of this shape, and suggests its possible origin in copper (see above, p. 134, note 244).


I–5. Squat Alabastron with Wave Pattern. Pl. 30. P 15236. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 282, figs. 22–23; A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 582, fig. 11. H. 0.066 m., D. 0.227 m. Squat alabastron, mended from many pieces; a few small fragments and chips of body missing.

Clay pinkish buff with lightly polished surface; lustrous orange-red to brown streaky glaze.

Small round mouth with flat outturned lip; flat spreading body; three small handles on upper shoulder rise to height of rim. Neck and handles painted. Band at junction of neck and shoulder. Shoulder decorated with a round-crested wave pattern and with an S-shaped streamer between handles. Concentric circles on base consisting of five groups of two lines each.

Furumark, M.P., Type 84 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. III A:1; Mots. 82: 5 (p. 323, fig. 54), 13: 8 (p. 275, fig. 8), Myc. III A:1.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 712: also figs. 322, 543; 431, 159; B.C.H., LXXVII, 1953, p. 70, fig. 15, 1 (Argos); N.T.D., p. 93, fig. 104, 1. See also pp. 122, 142. Myc. III A:1 (imported).

I–6. Squat Alabastron with Wave Pattern. P 15235. H. 0.065 m., D. 0.22 m. Squat alabastron, mended from many pieces; a few small fragments and chips of body missing. Buff clay and surfacing; brownish black glaze, rather flaked.

Identical to I–5 but decoration less well preserved. Myc. III A:1 (imported).
   P 15358.  *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 288, fig. 24; V. G. Grace, "The Canaanite Jar," *The Aegean and the Near East*, pp. 80–109, pl. IX, 1, 4, fig. 5, 3. H. 0.58 m., D. 0.325 m., capacity, 22,575 cc. Pointed amphora mended from many pieces; fragments of mouth and body missing.
   Coarse clay containing numerous small pebbles; it has fired gray except at surface where it is various shades of buff; no glaze or decoration.
   Round mouth with torus lip; short neck flowing into broad sloping shoulder; body tapers downward to a blunt point at bottom. Two vertical handles, round in section, on upper part of body. On top of handle to left in photograph is an incised mark.

Furumark (*M.P.*, p. 74) correctly recognized the foreign manufacture of such jars, but illustrates only the later form (fig. 21, Type 18a), and is uncertain as to the place of manufacture, preferring Syria or southern Anatolia to Egypt (*Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca*, pp. 56, 76), because of the presumed Minoan signs incised on the handles of some examples. Miss Grace has shown definitively the Canaanite origin of such jars which were introduced from Canaan to Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty and also imported to Aegean sites. She has subdivided them into two groups: an earlier form of the late 15th to 14th century, to which our example belongs, and a later form with more angular shoulder of the 13th century.

The closest parallel to our jar in the Aegean area is the one imported to Argos and found in an early Myceanaean tomb (Tomb VI, *B.C.H.*, XXVIII, 1904, pp. 375–387 and Grace, *op.cit.*, pp. 101–102, pl. IX, 2), and the same form is shown as an offering brought by Syrian princes in the fifteenth century Tomb of Rekhmara (Grace, *op.cit.*, p. 85, fig. 2 b).

In discussing the incised handle marks, Miss Grace remarks that they were mostly scratched before firing and that although they have a few parallels in Minoan and Cypriote scripts, they are not in Linear B. She concludes: "On the whole, the Semitic parallels seem the most important" (*op.cit.*, p. 88). For discussion of sign on handle of our vase see *op.cit.*, p. 101.

Canaanite import of the late fifteenth century.

**Fragmentary Vases from Chamber (I-9 to 12; Pl. 31)**

   P 15573. From ash pile at center of chamber plus one joining fragment from central part of West Bench. Handle fragment found in storage (dump). P.H. 0.095 m., est. D. lip ca. 0.09 m. Fragment of three-handled jar like I-2, only smaller. Mended from several pieces.
   Fine greenish buff clay with lightly polished surface; paint varies from black to lustrous orange-red.
   Short wide neck, slightly concave and with trace of plastic ridge, projecting lip, part of broad rounded shoulder and one vertical handle with central ridge and plastic knob at bottom preserved.
   On top of lip, a band at edge and a row of dots; neck glazed; one narrow band at base of neck and deep zone of scale pattern on shoulder.

Furumark, *M.P.*, Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3). Myc. III A:1; Mot. 70: 1 (p. 403, fig. 70), Myc. II A–III B.


   P 26940. From northwest part of chamber at level of West Bench. Max. dim. 0.066 m. Fragment from shoulder of closed pot, probably a small three-handled jar with vertical handles like I-9, but nothing of neck or handles preserved.
   Orange-buff clay, hard and well smoothed; decoration in lustrous orange-red glaze.
   Fine net pattern on shoulder with encircling lines below: a reserved band with three narrow lines framed by two broad bands.

Furumark, *M.P.*, Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3); Mot. 57: 2 (p. 388, fig. 67), Myc. III A:1–C.

With the comparatively deep zone of decoration the type with vertical handles seems preferable: cf. *Prosymna*, II, fig. 716, 15.

   P 27101. From northwest part of chamber below level of bench. Max. dim. 0.102 m. The lower part of a flat high-swinged handle with part of the adjacent pot wall. Two joining fragments.
   Yellow buff clay with pink core, hard but not smoothed. Incrustation on int. and ext. both of handle and bowl, analyzed as tin (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 381–396).

Very possibly from the same kylix as I-12 and from a type with one or two high-swinged handles: cf. III-5 and 7.
   See also pp. 118, 127, 151. Myc. III A:1–2 (?).

   P 27100. From central part of West Bench. P.H. 0.055 m., D. of foot 0.075 m. Foot and rather short stem preserved. Mended from three fragments.
   Yellow buff clay with pink core, hard but not polished. Traces of incrustation analyzed as tin on base and stem and extending about 0.015 m. into concave surface beneath (perhaps originally folded under?).
   Cf. base of III-5. Myc. III A:1–2 (?).
Also from the area of the West Bench and the central part of chamber came some uncatalogued fragments representing several more kylikes, at least one of which apparently was tin-incrusted (cf. III-9 for probable shape) and a shallow bowl (or bowls?) with remnants of tin (cf. III-13 for shape). These have not been analyzed but the incrustation resembles that of I-11 and 12.

**Fragmentary Vases from Dromos (I-13 and 14; Pls. 31, 75)**

I-13. Fragmentary Three-handled Jar. Pls. 31, 75. P 26988. Over thirty fragments of a large three-handled pithoid jar found in southern, central, and northern cuts of dromos. One fragment from northwest corner of chamber joins one from central cut of dromos. P.H. largest shoulder fragment 0.13 m., D. foot 0.13 m. Foot intact; lower part of one vertical handle; small fragment preserves upper part of shoulder and beginning of neck; large fragment made up of several joins preserves lower part of shoulder zone and three encircling bands below; other smaller fragments from shoulder zone, and two fragments preserve banding above foot.

Pinkish buff clay with lightly polished buff surface; dark red to orange lustrous paint.

Although fragmentary, this was clearly a large three-handled jar comparable in size and shape to I-1. Somewhat later form, without plastic ridge at base of neck; handles less sharply profiled; less deep decoration shoulder zone. Ring foot has eleven holes pierced from top diagonally through ring (for better firing?).

Neck glazed inside and out; shoulder decorated with deep zone of elaborate net pattern composed of trefoil arch with "Zwickel-papyrus" filling, bordered below by three broad horizontal bands; then reserved zone, three narrower horizontal bands and deep zone of glaze at foot.

Furumark, M.P., Types 19 or 34 (pp. 22–23, figs. 3–4), Myc. III A: 2c; Mots. 62: 13 (p. 391, fig. 68), Myc. III A:2; and 11: 13 (p. 261, fig. 39), Myc. IIIA–B. For restoration of motive, cf. Furumark, M.P., Types 6–7 (pp. 22–23, figs. 3–4), Myc. III A:1–2e; Mot. 47: 1 (p. 357, fig. 60), Myc. II B. For restoration of shape: Ialysos, p. 160, fig. 87; p. 213, fig. 136, 8. Similar jars from Atreus bothros at Mycenae (B.S.A., LIX, 1964, pl. 72b, 6–8) dated to Myc. III A:1.

For restoration of shape cf. the new krater with nautili XI–3, which is, however, probably a local work.

See also pp. 121, 143.


**Fragmentary Vases Associated with Stones in Western Half of Chamber (I-15; Pl 31)**

I-15. Fragmentary Kylix, Glazed. Pl. 31 P 15574. Fragmentary kylix consisting of two large fragments, mended from many pieces, with a tenuous join between them: a, preserving part of rim and wall with one handle; b, part of the floor and wall, the stem and beginning of foot. a, P.H. ca. 0.08 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.20 m., b, P.H. 0.08 m.

Clay pink to brick red, heavy and rather soft; thick matt red glaze.

Deep bowl on short rather thick stem with disc foot (no edge preserved). Lower wall steep and flaring; more rounded above. Slightly outturned lip. Broad handle from lip with slight vertical groove in middle. Glazed all over except beneath foot.


Several fragments of two other similar deep-handled kylikes with all-over glaze, uncatalogued.

These are important evidence for the date of re-entry of the tomb, but unfortunately the evidence is not clearcut since these are examples of local provincial type which perpetuated an earlier form throughout the fourteenth century. Furthermore, they were too fragmentary for profiles to be drawn. Cf. XXIII–4 and XXIV–12 to 14 for probable restoration.

See also pp. 118, 126.

IVORIES

I–16. Large Ivory Pyxis and Lid. Pl. 32. BI 511. Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 283ff., figs. 27–29; A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, pp. 581–585, figs. 12–14; J.H.S., LIX, 1939, pl. XIV; Arch. Anz., 1940, cols. 161–162, figs. 28–29; I.L.N., July 22, 1939, p. 168, figs. 13, 15, 16. For more recent discussions and illustrations, see H. Kantor, Archaeology, XIII, 1960, p. 15, fig. 3; Vermeule, Gr.B.A., p. 219, pl. XXXVI B–C; Mylonas, Myc.M.A., p. 196, fig. 141; Demargne, Birth of Greek Art, fig. 310. From East Bench. Max. H. over all 0.16 m., H. of lid 0.013 m., D. lid 0.11 m. Broken and split into many pieces, but largely complete; one side slightly higher than other.

A cylindrical box, cut from section of a tusk and tapering very slightly toward top, as tusk narrowed. Flat lid is held in place by projecting central disc which fits down inside wall of box. Bottom is made in two superimposed parts, one providing actual floor of the box, the other, fastened to first by ivory pegs, is a separate piece which provides a base for the whole. Traces of a metal lining, analyzed as tin, facing left and patches of rockwork. Close under rim, landscape background: windswept tree beneath griffin fairly complete, the other fragmentary. Border decoration at top and bottom consists of foliate band, the lions seen from above for handles in contrast to the fawns which thereby become much more a part of the overall relief composition. No one has called attention in print to this peculiarity, but years ago Mary H. Swindler¹ compared them to the ivory lions used as attachments on later Etruscan situlae and boxes (Bernardini Tomb: M.A.A.R., III, pp. 61ff., pl. 38, 5, 6; Barberini Tomb: M.A.A.R., V, p. 34, pl. 17) and a long oriental tradition seems likely, though it is not necessarily a valid argument for manufacture outside the Aegean area.

Shear considered the possibility of an Attic origin because of the evidence for a local school provided by the many carved ivories found at Spata and Menidi. These, however, need not have been locally produced but seem rather to belong to the international style of the thirteenth century (cf. Kantor, op.cit., p. 22, fig. 13 from Spata). The closest parallels to the Agora pyxis seem to be furnished by some poorly preserved pyxides found by Tsountas at Mycenae (‘Εφ. Αρχ., 1888, pl. 8, especially no. 6 from Tomb 27 with griffin attacking contorted bull). Some of these are on display in the Mycenaean room of the National Museum and will be the subject of a special study by Mrs. Agnes Sakellariou.

In our opinion this pyxis was made at some major metropolitan center, either at Knossos during the period of Mycenaean control or in the Argolid at a time probably shortly before the fall of Knossos. The ivory tusk was, of course, imported from the East, and with the commercial contacts this implies may have come not only the idea of carving ivory pyxides from a section of tusk but also of equipping them with handles in the form of couchant lions.

See also p. 106 and notes 70–71. Late fifteenth century.

I–17. Small Ivory Pyxis and Lid. Pl. 33. BI 513. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 289, fig. 31; A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 585, fig. 15; Archaeology, XIII, 1960, p. 15, fig. 2. Lying on bronze mirror (I–23) and on floor of chamber beside it, near south wall at about its mid-point. H. 0.052 m., D. box at bottom 0.045 m., D. lid 0.045 m., H. lid at edge 0.0065 m. One edge of the base, three fragments of the wall and two of three handles missing. Two pieces apparently from the edge of the base do not join.

¹ Both in her seminar and in an unpublished manuscript for a book on The Beginnings of Greek Art.
Small cylindrical box, tapering very slightly toward the top. Top and bottom are simple disks each with a projecting central part to fit inside the box. On one side of the wall near the rim a small vertical handle, shaped like a figure-eight shield dowelled into place. From cutting for attachment of second, one must assume that there were originally three.

Relief decoration around wall, three zones of nautili with dotted spiral tentacles. On the lid, much damaged, the same motive. Edge of lid and base decorated with tricurved arch frieze.

A more conventional type than I-16; cf. a similar but poorly preserved ivory pyxis of approximately the scale of I-16 from Mycenae in the National Museum, decorated with rows of nautili, and the alabaster example from Antheia in Achaia with nautili and handles in the form of figure-eight shields (Προσμνα, 1987, p. 91, fig. 10; A.J.A., LXIV, 1960, pp. 12–18, pl. 5, fig. 34), which is more conventionalized and certainly later.

See also p. 106.

Late fifteenth century.


BI 514. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 288, fig. 30; A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 585, fig. 15. Lying on bronze mirror toward the top. Possibly remnants of such an object.

The plain flat bars of both barrettes are preserved, that of a, the longer, rounded at one end and squared off at the other; that of b rounded at both ends and with a shallow depression as if for a finger hold on the under side, near one end. The pins, much mended and in both cases broken at both ends, consist each of a long piece, oval in section for most of the preserved length, but flattened at one end and curving around to form a sharp hook, projecting beyond the line of the bar. The outer edge of the pin on a is serrated, and the serrations continue around the edge of the hook part. A similar serrated piece appears to belong to b. Nothing of any catch at the opposite end is preserved, nor is it clear how bar and pin were joined together; c is a plain rounded fragment of a pin perhaps from a similar hair ornament.

Bone or ivory.

No exact counterparts to these have been found elsewhere, nor is the mechanism altogether clear. A pin with curved end was found in the Ares Tomb (VII–32) which may have come from a similar barrette.

See also p. 107.


BI 530. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 228, fig. 30. A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 585, fig. 15. Found with small ivory pyxis (I-17) and hair ornaments (I-18). a, L. 0.196 m., max. D. 0.006 m.; b, P.L. 0.135 m., max. D. 0.005 m.; c, P.L. 0.182 m., max. D. 0.004 m. The “set” consists of one complete pin, two good-sized fragments of others, and five scraps. The complete pin and the two large fragments are each mended from several pieces.

Each consists of a plain tapering shaft, round in section and somewhat curved or bent, and cut off straight at the thick end.

Cf. the bone pins from the tombs at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, II, pp. 285–286, II, fig. 107, 4–6). These are smaller and had decorated heads, but mention is made of others which are plain and about the length of ours.

See also p. 107.


BI 531. From central part of West Bench. L. 0.055 m., W. 0.107 m., T. 0.008 m. A small oblong plaque, dimensions fully preserved, one corner missing.

One side is rough, on the other traces of decoration in low relief. Along one long edge two holes, rather less than a full circle, are cut through the plaque.


See also p. 107.


BI 532. From dump of earth from northeast part of chamber near door, close to floor, near where bronze lamp (I-22) was found. P.L. 0.038 m., max. W. 0.007 m.

Two joining fragments appear to preserve most of a thin small sharply tapering piece, broken at the tip. The top and sides are finished smooth; the underneath is rougher.

Ivory stained black throughout.

Probably tooth of comb: cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 598, d. It is unlikely that our “princess” would not have been equipped with a comb, and I-20 and 21 are the likely remnants of such an object.

See also p. 107.

BRONZES


B 704. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 285, fig. 26; Perlzweig, Lamps from the Athenian Agora (Agora Picture Book No. 9), no. 1. Found against north wall of chamber to left of door as one enters. L. 0.40 m., D. bowl 0.16 m., H. bowl 0.087 m. Several small holes in bowl as a result of corrosion; otherwise intact.

An open bowl with a long flat handle which is horizontal as it leaves the body, but turns downward towards its end. Rim of bowl flat on top and turned outward. Opposite the handle, a broad shallow spout
projects slightly. A slight sinking at the center of the bowl makes a small flat, slightly offset, bottom.

Analyzed as almost pure copper.

Although referred to as a "ladle" in the original publication and associated with the large vases (I-7 and 8) that stood near by, it seems more likely that this was a lamp, the small channel opposite the handle being designed to support the wick. Its position near the doorway seems appropriate.

Cf. similar bronze lamps from Tombs 2 and 8 at Dendra, the latter also found just inside doorway (R.T.D., pp. 94-95, pl. XXXII, 4; N.T.D., p. 46, fig. 49, 1) and Persson's discussion of the evolution of Minoan-Mycenaean lamps (N.T.D., pp. 102-111). A more elaborate version comes from the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth at Knossos (Evans, P.T.K., p. 39, fig. 35, a) and is also found at Tomb 2 at Dendra (R.T.D., pl. XXXII, 4 middle).

See also p. 105.

I-23. Bronze Mirror.  

Pl. 33.

B 705. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 288, fig. 30; A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 585, fig. 15. Found lying on floor of chamber, near south wall, at about its mid-point. D. ca. 0.115 m., T. as corroded ca. 0.006 m. A plain disc of bronze, broken and much corroded; edges chipped.

This was almost certainly a mirror, although no remains of a handle or provisions for the attachment of one were found. Possibly the remnants of a small round hole above 1 cm. from edge?

Cf. the bronze mirrors from the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, pp. 350-351; II, fig. 417, 7) which are roughly the same size as ours and often lack remains of a handle or the evidence for attachment.

See also p. 106.

I-24. Copper Wire from Balance (?).  

Pl. 33.

J 88. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 288, fig. 30; A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 585, fig. 15. From dump of earth from south central part of chamber near floor, area where small ivory pyxis (I-17) was found. P.L. as bent 0.062 m. Complete.

A long piece of fine copper wire, now bent over double, and worn thin in places. The wire tapers towards the ends, which are turned up in long loops or hooks. Slightly off-center from the middle of the piece, a small rectangular piercing.

Possibly the wire for a small balance. Cf. the bronze scale-panes found in tombs at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, pp. 351-352; II, fig. 215, 6, 7) which must have come from a larger and more complicated balance. Ours may have been more symbolic in nature comparable to the gold balances from Shaft Grave III at Mycenae (Schliemann, Mycenae, p. 197, nos. 301-302; Karo, S.G., p. 247).

Cf. also discussion by Persson, N.T.D., p. 73.

See also p. 106 and note 68.

GOLD ORNAMENTS

One hundred twenty-eight ornaments and fragments of thin gold leaf were found. These were concentrated in the northwest part of the chamber, along the West Bench, on the floor near the slab (area of the small ivory pyxis), with a few scattered elsewhere.

They fall into five main types: a large drop-shaped ornament decorated with an ivy leaf (I-25), a shell-shaped ornament with a small rosette in the center (I-26), a large disc with rosette (I-27), a small disc with rosette (I-28), and a plain gold disc (I-29).

Furthermore there were twenty-five fragments of gold leaf which were either plain or so badly crumpled and bent that their original shape could not be determined. Note that in some cases a whole lot, not necessarily of one type, was assigned the same inventory number, e.g. J 64 and J 65.


Pl. 33.

J 64 (13 examples). Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 290, fig. 32; A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 585, fig. 16. From northwest part of chamber, against face of West Bench, 0.60 m. below top and practically on floor of chamber. L. 0.049 m., W. 0.039 m. Ten complete but slightly bent; three more severely bent and somewhat broken.

Decoration, in low repoussé: a conventional ivy-leaf formed by two volutes crowned by curving lines. None are pierced.

Other examples: J 65 (5), also from foot of West Bench, identical, but with small piercings around edge; J 68, lying on floor near West Bench, pierced around edge.

The motive is the sacral ivy, Furumark, M.P., Mot. 12, y, z, and aa (p. 270, fig. 35), Myc. II A-B. Cf. gold beads from Tomb 10 at Dendra (N.T.D., p. 84, fig. 92, 3, pl. V, 4) which are similar to ours but smaller and with beading around the edge; they had a backing and could be strung. Cf. also steatite mould for making sacral ivy ornaments from the tholos at Kephala, Knossos (B.S.A., L1,1956, pl. 12, e).

Cf. also simplified version on gold strip from Mycenae (Ch.T., pl. XXXII, Tomb 515, 80, a).

See also p. 108.

I-26. Shell Ornaments (4 examples)  

Pls. 33, 77.


Shell-shaped with lower edge straight, upper edge scalloped; converging flutes running downward; small eight-petalled rosette in center. Pierced at edge.

Other examples: J 84, J 65 (1), and J 51.

No parallels for this ornament have been found in other Mycenaean tombs.
I-27. Large Rosettes (47 examples).  
J 65 (30 examples). Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 290, fig. 32; A.J.A., XLIII, 1989, p. 585, fig. 16. From northwest part of chamber, along foot of bench, 0.90 to 1.25 m. from north end of chamber. D. 0.025 m.  
Eight-petalled rosette with central dot; pierced around the edges for attachment.  
Other examples: J 68 (11) and single examples: J 58, 64, 67, 76, 86, and 90.  
For the motive, cf. Furumark, M.P., Mot. 17: 9, 12 (p. 281, fig. 40), Myc. II A-B, both of which have twelve petals.  
Much more common than the sacral ivy or our unique shell ornament, rosettes with 8 or 12 petals have been found in many Mycenaean tombs: cf. Ch. T., pls. XIII, 28, XXXII, 72, b and 80, c (the latter more elaborate with a double row of petals); N.T.D., fig. 62, 2 (8 petals); Asine, p. 372, fig. 241 (small 8-petalled and larger 12-petalled). Cf. also the large heavy girdle rosettes from Tomb 10 at Dendra: N.T.D., p. 84, fig. 98, pl. III.

J 47, Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 290, fig. 32; A.J.A., XLIII, 1989, p. 585, fig. 16. From near center of West Bench. D. larger (3 examples) 0.017 m.; D. smaller 0.012 m.  
Other examples: J 52, 53, 61, 63, 78 (under slab), 81 (9), 87, 89, 90, 91, 92 (2).

I-29. Plain Gold Discs (18 examples).  
J 64 (4 examples). Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 290, fig. 32; A.J.A., XLIII, 1989, p. 585, fig. 16. From northwest part of chamber, against face of West Bench, practically on floor of chamber. D. larger (8 examples) 0.017 m.; D. smaller 0.012 m.  
Other examples: J 52, 53, 61, 63, 78 (under slab), 81 (9), 87, 89, 90, 91, 92 (2).

During the same campaign which yielded the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides, a smaller and badly disturbed chamber tomb was discovered about 15 meters to the west. The chamber was apparently hemispherical, very roughly hewn with a diameter estimated at ca. 3.0 m.; it was also approached from the north, although nothing remained of the dromos. A cist grave (Pl. 34, a) of about the same dimensions as that in Tomb I (1.90 m. by 0.75-0.90 m. by 1.30 m. deep) had been cut in the floor of the chamber, but had been used as the overflow of a modern cesspool. Furthermore a Roman tile drain had cut away a large part of the original rock. Accordingly, the only remains from the original tomb were found in a small pocket close to the south wall (Pl. 34, b); these consisted of some pieces of thigh and leg bones and fragments of four pots (II-1 to 4), including a nearly complete stirrup-vasse (II-1, Pls. 34, 75). Although the pottery is fragmentary and a little later than that from Tomb I, it is of good Myc. III A style, and shows that the tomb was in use during the earlier fourteenth century.

The fact that a packing of rough stones was found in connection with the vases and that the incomplete skeletal remains lay above them might suggest a small walled ossuary where earlier remains had been deposited at the time of a subsequent interment. The deep cist grave would indicate the burial of a person of importance.

See also pp. 97, 101.
II-1. Stirrup-vase. Pls. 34, 75.
P 15070. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 291, fig. 93. *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 687, fig. 17. H. 0.11 m., D. 0.113 m.
Mended from many pieces; part of lip and spout, one-half of handle, chips from disc, and small fragments of wall missing.
Orange to creamy buff clay, not sufficiently tempered, with laminated surface; orange-red semilustrous paint.
Low raised base, concave beneath; plump round body; vertical spout with flaring lip on shoulder; flat stirrup handles meeting in flat-topped disc on top of false neck.
Decoration in red glaze: zones of broad and narrow bands on body and shoulder to line of spout attachment; on shoulder five groups of hand drawn concentric arcs; on spout glazed band at top and bottom; upper surface of handles glazed; band at base of false neck and solid circle on top of disc.
Furumark, M.P., Type 171 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. III A:2; Mot. 19: 28, 29, 31 (p. 299, fig. 47), Myc. III A:2.
Cf. *Prosymna*, II, figs. 720, 38; *Chalkis*, pl. 25, 460 IA'; *Attica*, p. 17, fig. 4, nos. 7, 8, pl. 1, 5 and 7 (for shape).
Although a widely diffused and popular type, this is one of only two globular stirrup-vases from the Agora tombs (see V-3).
See also pp. 124, 144, 151.
Myc. III A:2.

II-2. Fragment with Piriform Base. Pl. 34.
P 15069. P.H. 0.13 m., D. foot 0.067 m. A single fragment preserves the small foot and some of the lower part of the spreading body.
Flaky orange-pink clay, not properly tempered; orange-red paint without much lustre.
Elegant piriform shape. Decorated with groups of broad and narrow horizontal lines.

II-3. Shoulder Fragment from Closed Pot. Pl. 34.
P 15071. P.H. ca. 0.16 m. Several joining fragments preserve part of wall and shoulder of a large closed pot.
Bright pinkish buff clay with smooth buff surface; orange-brown to black streaky glaze.
On shoulder radiating rays or "petals," black with thin brown outlines, framed by four horizontal lines below; two more lines farther down on fragment.
Shape probably a narrow-necked jug (Furumark, M.P., Type 120 (p. 31, fig. 6) or the later form of ewer (M.P., Type 145, p. 31, fig. 6) both of which are Myc. III A:2. Cf. *Prosymna*, II, figs. 699, 700.
The shoulder decoration is unusual and not matched in Furumark, although perhaps derived from the curved stripe motive (M.P., Mot. 67: 10, p. 403, fig. 70) or the atrophied ogival canopy (M.P., Mot. 13: 7, p. 275, fig. 37) both of Myc. III A date. A remarkably close parallel is furnished by the ewer from Tomb Γ at Aliki Glyphada (Προστυχάκη, 1955, pl. 27 Λ) where the decoration seems more clearly a derivation of curved stripes, perhaps along purely Attic lines: cf. askos VII-21.
Myc. III A:2.

II-4. Fragmentary Kylix (?). Pl. 34.
P 15072. P.H. 0.046 m., est. D. ca. 0.15 m. Several joining fragments preserve part of rim and wall of a large shallow bowl with outturned rim. Very soft pink clay with large red bits. Traces of white on surface, either accretion, or base for tin incrustation. Undecorated.
Shape either teacup (M.P., Types 219-220, p. 48, fig. 18) or stemmed cup, probably with only one handle (M.P., Type 267 or 271, p. 60, fig. 16) both of Myc. III A:1-2 date. Cf. III-6, 7, etc. for tincrusted examples.
Myc. III A:2.

Tomb III: Tomb of the Bronzes (M 21:2)
Pls. 34–36, 66–67, 76–77; Plan, Pl. 81

This large chamber tomb was discovered in the spring of 1947, lying 15 meters northwest of Tomb I, and was excavated by Eugene Vanderpool. It received a careful preliminary publication in the Annual Report,¹ and has been the basis of a special study of an unusual class of Mycenaean vases covered with tinfoil.²

¹ See also *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, p. 270, pl. LXV, a; *J.H.S.*, LXVI, 1946, p. 110, fig. 2.
The tomb had a roughly rectangular chamber (Pl. 34, d), somewhat smaller than that of Tomb I, but exceeded only by it in size, measuring 4.65 m. across by 2.85 m. deep. It was approached by a dromos from the north, which was preserved for a length of only 3.80 m. (Pl. 34, c). Measuring 2.0 m. wide at the bottom, the dromos walls were preserved to a maximum height of ca. 1.60 m. and showed an appreciable inward inclination. The floor sloped downward to the doorway which was 0.88 m. wide and was found closed with a rough stone blocking wall.

Since the roof of the chamber had collapsed in Mycenaean times, the burials and offerings were found intact, although the area had been much used in Roman and modern times. The tomb contained three burials, which to judge from the style of the pottery must have taken place over a relatively short span of time. The heap of bones near the west wall represents the earliest burial (A); associated with them were three pots (III-1, 2, and 3) with another three (III-4, 5 and 6) in a compact group perhaps representing a supplementary offering.

The second and third burials (Pl. 35, a) were each represented by an orderly skeleton stretched out at full length on its back with hands folded across the abdomen, that designated B along the south or back wall of the chamber with head at the east apparently a woman. Associated with this burial were seven vases that lay near the head (III-7 to 13). The third burial (C), that of a man lying along the east wall of the chamber with his head toward the south (Pl. 35, b), received the most costly offerings: a long bronze sword (III-17), a dagger (III-18), razor (III-19) and bowl (III-20), all of bronze, which had been placed on a wooden table at the side of the body. Evidence for the table consisted of the stain of decayed wood and traces of blue pigment; perhaps also the ivory inlays (III-21) came from this table. Since both these skeletons were found in perfect order, they must have been buried in rapid succession.

The large three-handled pithoid jar (III-15), which contained the remains of a sacrificial pyre, and the pilgrim flask (III-14) found near the middle of the chamber, as well as the small bowl (III-16) from the west side of the entrance, cannot be assigned to a specific burial, but presumably reached the tomb, or were moved, at the time of one of the later burials. Near the middle of the floor, and probably to be associated with Burial B, were nine steatite buttons (III-23). Thirty-eight thin gold rosettes (III-22), of which thirty-two lay in a compact group at the base of the wall near the feet of Burial C, and some gold rivet heads and a gold strip to be associated with the sword and dagger comprise the other offerings of this tomb, which of the Agora Tombs is second in wealth only to the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides.

Of the pottery only three pieces bore painted decoration (III-3, 14 and 15). The majority of vases were undecorated kylikes of four different types, shallow handleless bowls, bowls with horizontal ribbon handles, a ewer and a large undecorated pithoid jar. Although the kylikes in particular are elegant in shape, the surface is almost without exception rough and unpolished and preserves patches of black incrustation adhering to a whitish substance. Samples taken from ten of the undecorated vases and analyzed spectrographically by Marie Farnsworth revealed pure tin oxide and showed that they had originally been covered with tinfoil in imitation of and as a cheaper funeral substitute for silver vases. The same practice was ap-
parently in use in wealthy chamber tombs at Mycenae, Dendra, the Argive Heraion, Ialysos and Knossos at a period contemporaneous with our tomb.\(^{10}\)

The painted vases, however, form the best chronological index, particularly the pilgrim flask (III–14). As has been pointed out,\(^ {11}\) it is closely paralleled in the sherds from Tell el Amarna in Egypt, which can be dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century.\(^ {12}\) Since it seems to belong to one of the later burials, it would imply a date of the first half of the fourteenth century for the whole tomb, extending down perhaps a generation later than Tomb I. The apparent Myc. III A:1 date of the jar with the remnants of the sacrificial pyre (III–15) and the close resemblance in shape of the ewer (I–1) to the glazed example (I–4) show that the interval between the two tombs cannot have been great.

See also pp. 97–102, 105, 107–108.

Myc. III A:1–2 (first half of fourteenth century).

**POTTERY**

**Vases from West Side of Chamber, Associated with Burial A (III–1 to 6; Pls. 35, 66–67)**

**III–1. Amphoroid Beaked Jug**  
Pls. 35, 67.  
P 17788. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, 2, f;  
H. 0.17 m., D. 0.12 m. Mended from many pieces; part of the base, fragments from wall, and about half the spout missing.

Pink to buff clay; surface smoothed and lightly polished; small traces of white with black substance adhering, probably indicating that surface was originally covered with tin, but insufficient remains for analysis.

Narrow neck, set off from shoulder by plastic ridge; broad rounded shoulder, body tapering to small foot concave beneath. Two rolled handles, round in section, from lip to near outer edge of shoulder. Lip pulled out on one side to a short spout.

Furumark, *M.P.*, Types 150 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B–III A:2. A smaller and less fine version of the glazed jug I–4 but larger than the monochrome clay examples XVIII–4 and 5 (see Pl. 67).

See also p. 134.


**III–2. Pithoid Jar with Three Handles. Undecorated.**  
Pl. 35.  
P 17766. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, 2, d;  
H. 0.085 m., D. 0.23 m. From three separate places in northwest corner; one fragment from back of dromos wall. Mended from many pieces (a few not incorporated and a few missing); surface chipped.

Creamy buff clay at surface, red in fractures; blackish paint, badly worn.

Nicely formed miniature shape. Low concave neck with flat projecting rim and plastic band at base of neck; squat piriform body tapering to slightly splaying foot with ring molding. Traces of three handles on shoulder, probably set vertically.

Neck glazed; fairly deep band of net pattern on shoulder; plastic knob at lower attachment. Shape and dimensions fairly close to I–2.


See also p. 120.


**III–3. Small Pithoid Jar, Decorated.**  
Pl. 35.  
P 17763. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, 2, 1;  
H. 0.06 m., D. 0.148 m. Mended from several fragments, but complete save for minor chips.

Grayish pink clay with buff surface, badly flaked; blackish paint, badly worn.

Nicely formed miniature shape. Low concave neck with flat projecting rim and plastic band at base of neck; squat piriform body tapering to slightly splaying foot with ring molding. Traces of three handles on shoulder, probably set vertically.

Neck glazed; fairly deep band of net pattern on shoulder, framed below by broad and narrow horizontal bands (groups of three narrow lines between broad bands).


**III–4. Shallow Bowl, with Ribbon Handles, Tinned.**  
Pl. 35.  
P 17763. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, 2, 1;  
H. 0.06 m., D. 0.148 m. Mended from several fragments, but complete save for minor chips.
Dark pink to reddish clay, not polished or well smoothed. Large patches of black adhering to white substance, analyzed as tin oxide (Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 396, pl. 93).

Low flaring bowl with flattened foot not properly smoothed; rim somewhat warped; broad ribbon handles set horizontally just below rim.

Furumark, M.P., Type 295 (p. 53, fig. 15), Myc. III A–B.

Cf. other examples of this shape with remnants of tin-incrustation: Mycenae, T. 515, no. 51 (Ch.T., pl. XXXI); Ialysos (B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 850, pl. X); Knossos (P.T.K., p. 72, no. 67 a). For others less certainly tinned cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 353, 789; 356, 775; etc. Also Asine, p. 370, fig. 240, 61-64. See also p. 131. Myc. III A.

P 17764. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, 2, j; B.C.H., LXXI–LXXII, 1947–1948, pl. LXVI, upper. H. 0.148 m., H. with handles 0.208 m., D. 0.128 m. Complete save for small fragment and minor chips.

Unevenly fired orange to pinkish-buff clay; surface lightly polished; heavy patches of black adhering to surface inside and out but not under foot; analyzed as tin oxide (see above, III-4).

Deep bowl with outturned and offset lip, fairly high stem, flaring conical foot; two high-swung ribbon handles attached at rim and shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 272 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A: 1–2. Cf. fragments I-11 and 12, probably of same type. Tinned examples of this shape from Dendra, Tomb 10 (N.T.D., p. 92, fig. 103, 2-3); Mycenae, T. 515, no. 52 (Ch.T., pl. XXXI); Knossos, Toms 66 and 67 (P.T.K., pp. 72, 73, 124, fig. 118, 66, h); Argive Heraion, Tomb 37 (Prosymna, II, fig. 397, 718–714); and possibly Asine, Tomb 1:1 (Asine, p. 361, fig. 235, 50, 51, 56).

Cf. the glazed examples of this shape, 428 and 431; also the plain smoothed example XI–13. See also pp. 127–128. Myc. III A: 1–2.

III-6. One-handled Kylix, Tinned. Pls. 35.

Pinkish clay with smooth creamy buff surface on ext., lightly polished; patches of black adhering to whitish surface inside and out, and under foot; remains of tin sheathing, sample analyzed (see above III–4).

Relatively deep bowl with slightly outturned lip; medium tall stem and flaring conical foot; one high-swung ribbon handle from top of rim to shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 264 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A: 1–2. For tinned examples, cf. Knossos, Tomb 7, 173.

VASES FROM SOUTH SIDE OF CHAMBER ASSOCIATED WITH BURIAL B (III-7 to 13; Pls. 35, 66–67)

P 17754. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, 2, h; B.C.H., LXXI–LXXII, 1947–1948, pl. LXVI, upper. Found near head of second skeleton. H. 0.125 m., H. with handle 0.178 m., D. 0.125 m. Complete save for minor chips.

Orange-red clay; surface not well polished or smoothed; patches of black adhering to whitish substance, the remains of tin sheathing, sample analyzed (see above, III–4).

Deep bowl with slightly outturned lip; medium tall stem and flaring conical foot; one high-swung ribbon handle from top of rim to shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 271 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. II B. Although dated by Furumark to Myc. II B, this type seems certainly to have continued into III A: 1. Cf. tinned example from Dendra, Tomb 10 (N.T.D., p. 92, fig. 103, 4)

Cf. also VII–15 which is slightly earlier in form and shows no evidence of tin sheathing.


Pinkish clay with smooth creamy buff surface on ext., lightly polished; patches of black adhering to whitish surface inside and out, and under foot; remains of tin sheathing, sample analyzed (see above III–4).

Relatively deep bowl with small outturned lip, slightly warped; medium high stem; foot almost a flat disc with countersunk center; a groove runs around outer vertical edge of base; two band handles from rim.

Furumark, M.P., Type 267 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A: 1–2. Cf. other probable examples of tin incrustation on this shape: Dendra, Tomb 10 (N.T.D., p. 92, fig. 103, 2–3); Mycenae, T. 515, no. 52 (Ch.T., pl. XXXI); Knossos, Toms 66 and 67 (P.T.K., pp. 72, 73, 124, fig. 118, 66, h); Argive Heraion, Tomb 37 (Prosymna, II, fig. 397, 718–714); and possibly Asine, Tomb 1:1 (Asine, p. 361, fig. 235, 50, 51, 56).
MYCENAEAN PERIOD: CATALOGUE

I (P.T.K., p. 124, fig. 118) and Mycenae, T. 515, no. 48 (Ch.T., pl. XXXXI). The example from Dendra, Tomb 10 (N.T.D., p. 92, fig. 108, 1) has a deeper bowl more like our glazed example XXXII-1. The present example is not much different from the taller stemmed type seen in the buff monochrome examples XXIV-15, XXXII-3 and XI-12.

See also pp. 127–128.


P 17756. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, 2, m; B.C.H., LXXI–LXXII, 1947–1948, pl. LXVI, upper. H. 0.105 m., D. 0.115 m. Small fragments of foot and lip missing; otherwise intact.

Pale buff clay, smoothed but not polished or glazed. Traces of tin sheathing, especially inside bowl, but insufficient for analysis.

Fairly deep bowl with narrow outturned and offset lip, and slight carination at shoulder, moderately high stem and disc foot countersunk at center; wide ribbon handle from rim to shoulder. Similar to III–6 but more graceful and metallic, and looks earlier.

See references under III–6.


Pinkish buff clay, not smoothed or polished; many patches of black adhering to white substance on interior and exterior and extending for about 1 cm. under foot; remains of tin sheathing, analyzed (see above, III–4).

Fairly deep bowl with narrow outturned lip, trace of carination at shoulder; moderately high stem and disk foot with countersunk circle underneath; band handle from rim to shoulder. In shape this stands between III–9 and III–6, which is the most carinated.

See references under III–6.


Orange-red clay like III–7, not very well smoothed; many traces of black patches inside, remains of tin sheathing, analyzed (see above, III–4).

Low flaring bowl on flattened foot; two broad ribbon handles set horizontally just below rim.

Similar to III–4, but a little shallower and rim not so warped.

See references under III–4.

Myc. III A.

III–12. Shallow Bowl without Handles, Tinned. Pl. 35.

P 17761. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, 2, g; B.C.H., LXXI–LXXII, 1947–1948, pl. LXVI, upper. Found near head of second skeleton. H. 0.05 m., D. 0.11 m. Complete save for minor chips.

Pinkish buff clay, not smoothed or polished; a few fragments of black adhering to interior and exterior analyzed as tin (see above, III–4).

An open bowl with rim and small flat foot, cut off with string; striations not removed.

Furumark, M.P., Type 204 (p. 53, fig. 15), Myc. I–III B.

No other certain or probable tinned examples of this shape are known to me, although it is highly likely that such simple undecorated containers were so treated in the wealthier tombs. Blegen mentions 44 unpainted examples from Prosymna, of which the bases are often rough with string-marks. The shape has probable Cretan affinities (Prosymna, I, pp. 413, 424).

Cf. the glazed example XIV–3.

See also p. 181.

Myc. III A.


Pinkish buff clay, not very well smoothed; a few remnants of tinfoil sheathing, sample analyzed (see above, III–4).

An open bowl with plain rim and small flat foot; similar in shape to III–12, but slightly warped.

See references under III–12.

Myc. III A.

VASES NEAR ENTRANCE ASSOCIATED WITH BURIALS B OR C (III–14 to 16; Pls. 35–36, 76)


Fine buff clay, pinkish buff in fractures; smoothed and polished surface; lustrous black to brown glaze.
Slightly flattened form with narrow neck and projecting lip; rather high and slightly flaring foot-ring; two ribbon handles from middle of neck to shoulder. Two reserved bands on top of lip; two bands near top and one at base of neck, M with triangular filling between; handles and foot glazed; groups of concentric circles (four broad circles with groups of three narrow lines between, three fine concentric circles at center) on each face; under each handle a band of running spirals with angular fillings.

Furumark, M.P., Type 188 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. III A:2; Mot. 46: 8 (p. 353, fig. 59), Myc. III A:2.

Cf. popularity of this shape at Tell el Amarna (B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 998, p. 188, fig. 268 = C.V.A., Br. Mus. IIIa, pl. 10, 16) and occurrence of the same type of spiral band on the shoulder of jugs (B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 997, p. 187, fig. 267).

Although more common in the Levantine trade (cf. B.M.Cat., I, 2, C 561, pl. III), the pilgrim flask is also found in the Argolid (Prosymna, I, p. 442, pl. VIII, 859; II, figs. 706-707) and in Attica (Attica, pl. 16, 5-6; Collignon-Couve, pl. VII, 116). Our example with its fairly high foot and neat spiral band looks somewhat earlier than the Tell el Amarna example in the British Museum. Furumark (M.P., p. 616) assigns the Attic examples to Myc. III A:1-2e. See also pp. 124-125, 142.

Myc. III A:2 (probably early).


P 17757. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, 2, b; B.C.H., LXXI-LXXII, 1947-1948, pl. LXVI, upper. Found in center of tomb opposite the door. H. 0.275 m., D. 0.215 m. A few small fragments of body missing.

Greenish buff clay, well smoothed and originally polished; brownish black glaze badly worn.

Medium high concave neck with flat projecting lip; rounded piriform body with tapering base and ring foot; three vertical handles on shoulder with plastic projection at lower attachment.

Neck, foot and handles glazed; in shoulder zone in each panel a curved-stemmed ivy leaf and a palmette on a curved stem with a papyrus blossom in angle (Pl. 76); two broad bands framed above and below by a narrow line between shoulder zone and deep band of glaze on foot.

Furumark, M.P., Type 19 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. III A:1; Mots. 12: 27 (p. 271, fig. 36), Myc. III A:1; 11: 66 (p. 265, fig. 84). No exact parallel for the palmette but probably closest to Mot. 14: 8 (p. 277, fig. 38), Myc. III A:2. Cf. the palm and ivy leaf on the jar Prosymna, II, fig. 246, and on the alabastron, C.V.A., Br. Mus. IIIa, pl. 10, 92, which may be from Attica (notation of A. J. B. Wace).

In shape and decoration this jar is only a little later than the large jars, I-1 and 2. The neck is slightly higher, the plastic ridge gone, and the handles less metallic. The decorative zone is less deep, but the relative naturalism of its motives suggests an earlier date than the formalism of the Amarna style, represented by III-14. It therefore seems likely that III-15 should be associated with an earlier burial and that it was moved to its position by the doorway when used to gather up the remnants of a sacrificial pyre, probably in connection with Burial C. The material found within the jar consisted of charcoal, pieces of vitrified pottery, a small scrap of blackened bone or ivory, and three other fragments of bone from a small animal. This is our only instance of a vase with its contents preserved, here surely secondary.

See also pp. 102, 120, 144, Myc. III A:1.

III-16. Shallow Bowl without Handles, Tinned.

Pl. 35.

P 17762. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XXXIX, 2, a; B.C.H., LXXI-LXXII, 1947-1948, pl. LXVI, upper. Found just inside chamber door. H. 0.051 m., D. 0.115 m. Complete save for minor chips.

Pinkish clay; surface flaked inside and not well smoothed; many patches of black inside and out adhering to whitish substance, remains of tin sheathing; sample analyzed (see above, III-4).

Similar to III-12 and 13; see references under former.

BRONZES

III-17. Bronze Sword with Gold Rivets.

Pl. 36.

B 778 and 779; J 99 and 101. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 157, fig. 4, pl. XXXIX, 3; J.H.S., LXVII, 1947, p. 110, fig. 2; Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 92, 93. B 778, sword, lying on carbonized remains of wooden table by Burial C; L. 0.74 m., G.W. handle 0.058 m.; broken in five pieces but complete. B 779, a small chunk of bronze with gold disc, found near left elbow of Burial C; D. 0.011 m.; probably rivet from sword. J 99, a small gold disc, found in southwest corner; D. 0.011 m.; probably rivet from sword. J 101, a strip of gold leaf, found near leg of table; L. 0.07 m., W. 0.004 m.; perhaps decoration of hilt.

Rapier with heavy midrib down center of blade; horsed hilt; raised rim around edge of tang to take handle plates, presumably of wood, which were fastened on with rivets, one of which was found in place. Rivets, probably originally five in number, had prominent heads overlaid with sheet gold.

This is a fine example of the horned sword or rapier classified as Type C i by Miss Sandars (A.J.A., LXVII, 1963, pp. 117ff. and catalogue, pp. 144-146.
pl. 21). Although the Agora example is not included in her catalogue, it is certainly of the new fifteenth-century type with "a slender blade with a high midrib, and a horned projection for the hand . . . carried out in the same casting as blade and tang . . . C i has invariably two rivet-holes in the blade at shoulder level, or rather lower, and usually from one to three in the grip. There is also usually a narrow unfanged extension at the pommel-end, with a small rivet-hole for securing the pommel; always a separate unit" (p. 119). Although "splendidly ornamented hilts are found on most of these swords, with a free use of gold-plating" (Zafer Papoura 36, P.T.K., figs. 58, 110; Tholos, Dendra, R.T.D., pls. XX, no. iii, XXII, 2, XXIII, 1–3), the Agora example preserves only the large rivets capped with gold and the hoop J 101.

Cf. the similar bronze sword from Tomb 37 at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, pp. 127 ff., 329 f.; II, figs. 298, 301) which is of almost the same dimensions (L: 0.75 m., G.W. 0.072 m.). As in our sword the handle of wood, traces of which were recovered, was fastened on with gold-plated rivets (six in number), and there were presumably ivory plates and a gold wire binding (fig. 301, 6–7)

Miss Sandars dates the C i swords to the "middle or latter half of the fifteenth century, before the destruction of the L.M. II Palace at Knossos" (p. 120) with the possibility that the mainland swords are "slightly later than the Cretan, falling at the beginning of the fourteenth century." Tomb 37 at Prosmyna is dated early in L.H. III A and has pottery, including a probable "imitation silver" or tin- or tinned-cased group similar to ours from Tomb III (see Prosmyna, II, figs. 294, 296–297; cf. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 395).

See also p. 105.

Late fifteenth to early fourteenth century.

III–18. Bronze Dagger with Gold Rivets. Pl. 36. B 781 and J 99. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 157, fig. 4, pl. XXXIX, 3; J.H.S., LXVII, 1947, p. 110, fig. 2; Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pl. 92, a. Lying on carbonized remains of wooden table by skeleton C, on top of sword III–17. P.L. ca. 0.46 m. Badly corroded; blade preserved in several pieces, but nothing of hilt except two small pieces which appear to be projecting horns. To one of these a gold-leaf rivet-head cover of a smaller size was found adhering (J 99: smaller than 3 associated with III–17, D. 0.008 m.). Very narrow blade with heavy central midrib of the same type as III–17.

This is obviously of the same type as III–17, but shorter and less well preserved. It would seem to belie Miss Sandars' statement that "no complete sword [of C i type] is less than 0.60 m. (apart from an uncharacteristic one from Cos)" (op.cit., p. 119). Although Thompson (Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 156, note 9) points to the usual complement of a long sword with a dagger at the Argive Heraion, these were of a different type (a leaf-shaped dagger without hilt or midrib from Tomb 37, Prosymna, II, fig. 299, and a dagger of E ii type with flanged pommel-tang extension found with a sword of D i type in Tomb 25, Prosymna, II, fig. 198 and Sandars, op.cit., pp. 148, 150). Our dagger exceeds the usual measurement (0.30–0.40 m.) and is perhaps better termed a short sword.

Late fifteenth to fourteenth century.

III–19. Razor. Pl. 36. B 782. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 157, fig. 4, pl. XXXIX, 3; J.H.S., LXVII, 1947, p. 110, fig. 2; Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pl. 92, a. Found with other bronzes on carbonized remains of table in southeast part of chamber; lying nearest skeleton. P.L. 0.19 m., W. of blade 0.045 m. Corroded but apparently more or less complete and with very sharp edge.

A broad curved tool with tang for insertion into wooden handle.

This is a fine example of the type of object alternatively termed "razor" or "cleaver," found fairly frequently in tombs of L.H. III date on the Greek mainland, at Ialysos in Rhodes, and in the cemetery of Zapher Papoura in Crete.

The original identification as razor was proposed by Tsountas ('Ep. 'Apx., 1888, p. 171); Blegen (Prosmyna, I, pp. 347 ff.) suggested that their function was slashing or chopping rather than shaving, but for arguments against "cleaver" see Townsend (Vermeule), Ares Tomb, pp. 215–216 re VII–27. The thin cutting edge and short handle are much more suitable for a razor. Hence such objects would be the masculine equivalent of the combs, mirrors, cosmetic boxes, etc. deposited with female burials as objects of personal toilet needed for the journey to the other world.

Of the six examples from the Argive Heraion ours is closest to one from Tomb 10 (Prosmyna, II, fig. 513, 4).

See also p. 106 and VII–27 and XIV–9, both less well preserved.


Fortunately a drawing was made, for the bowl is no longer extant, having disintegrated completely while soaking. It was apparently an open bowl with
rounded bottom and outturned lip, and had one horizontal handle preserved, attached below the lip; traces of vertical fluting or rilling on lip and on shoulder.

No close parallels have been found. See also p. 105.

IVORIES

III-21. Rosettes and Other Inlays (from Table 7). PIs. 36, 77.
BI 742. From cleaning floor in area of table, east part of chamber. D. of largest rosette ca. 0.015 m. Four rosettes and a leaf surrounding outside of another rosette (?); also four small fragments; all considerably darkened.

Neatly worked with plain back, therefore intended as inlays, probably from the wooden table near which they were found.

Cf. the ivory rosettes, perhaps for inlaying small wooden caskets, from tombs at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, p. 284; II, figs. 242, 10–12; 417, 8; 446, 14). Cf. also the ivory rosette from Tomb I: 1 at Asine (Asine, p. 375, fig. 244). See also p. 107.

GOLD

J 100. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XL, 1. Found on floor at base of wall in northeast corner of chamber.

D. 0.013–0.015 m. Thirty-eight thin discs: one fragmentary, one crumpled, one half-preserved, others largely complete.

Simple eight-petalled rosette pattern in very low relief. Each disc pierced irregularly in two or three places, as if for attachment.

Cf. the smaller gold rosettes (I–28) from the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides.

STONE

ST 388. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XL, 1. H. 0.01 m., D. 0.018 m. Intact. Conical type with straight sides. Purplish steatite.

ST 389. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XL, 1. From dump of tomb chamber. Two examples: a, H. 0.01 m., D. 0.017 m.; b, H. 0.007 m., D. 0.012 m. Both intact. Straight-sided conical type. Purplish steatite.

ST 390. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XL, 1. Near head of skeleton B (two in situ, four from dump of earth from same spot). Six examples ranging in H. from 0.008 m. to 0.014 m. and in D. from 0.014 m. to 0.02 m. All intact. Conical with concave sides; shanked type. Grayish steatite. Note graduated sizes.

The best treatment of the stone whorls or buttons is found in Blegen, Prosymna, I, pp. 256f. and 812f. Ours belong to his types 1 and 3 (“short cone” and “conoid,” Prosymna, II, fig. 602). See also pp. 109, note 89. L.H. III, when steatite replaces earlier terracotta buttons.

TOMB IV: DISTURBED CHAMBER TOMB (M 21:3)

Pl. 87; Plan: Pl. 81

Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 158.

This badly preserved chamber tomb was also found in 1947. It had a square chamber, 2.80 m. across by 1.60 m. deep, approached by a dromos from the north, most of which had been cut away by the basements of modern houses. Of the north half of the chamber only the lowest
10 cm. were preserved, whereas in the southwest corner broken bedrock stood to a height of over a meter. Toward the center of the chamber the upper half of a skeleton was found, laid out with head to south and cut off below the waist by a modern house basement.

Tomb IV was rich in bones, but contained little else. At both the southwest and southeast corners piles of bones of earlier interments were heaped up, that at the southwest containing three skulls. There were also two small pits, one in the northwest corner (0.40 m. by 0.90 m. by 0.25 m. deep) containing nothing but broken bedrock, another in the southwest corner (1.10 m. by 0.50 m. by 0.20 m. deep) full of bones and another skull. All told there were five skulls found, but Angel has identified the remains of ten skeletons, eight males and two females. In funeral practices this tomb follows the customs of the Argolid chamber tombs, in sweeping aside earlier remains or gathering them up and depositing them into bone cists, which differ markedly from the more regular and deeper burial cists of Tombs I and II.

Although much smaller than Tombs I and III, this may once have contained considerable burial equipment; however, only a handful of sherds were recovered. These consisted of a few fragments of plain bowls and kylikes, of which only the upper part of one could be mended.

1 Skeletons AA 42-45: 42 being the skeleton in the center, M. about 35; 43 the SW bone pile with 3 M. skulls; 44 the SE bone pile, fragments; 45 the SW bone pit with the remains of 4 M. and 2 F. skeletons.


IV–I. Fragmentary Kylix.

P 17890. P.H. 0.07 m., est. D. ca. 0.14 m. Stem and about one half of rim and bowl and part of one handle missing.

Pinkish buff clay, rosy in fracture; surface lightly polished and smoothed; no evidence for tin sheathing.

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<td>P 17890.</td>
<td>P.H. 0.07 m., est. D. ca. 0.14 m. Stem and about one half of rim and bowl and part of one handle missing.</td>
<td>Fairly deep bowl with slightly outturned rim. Two flat ribbon handles from rim to shoulder.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pinkish buff clay, rosy in fracture; surface lightly polished and smoothed; no evidence for tin sheathing.</td>
<td>Furumark, M.P., Type 264 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1-2.</td>
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THE TOMBS ON THE HILL OF THE NYMPHS (V AND VI)

Proceeding in a westerly direction from the north slope of the Areopagus and Tombs I–IV, one comes to the Hill of the Nymphs, an area which was also explored in the spring of 1947. At the northeastern foot of the hill, in a region much disturbed by modern buildings, a small Mycenaean chamber tomb was discovered, its burials intact. Furthermore evidence of an unfinished chamber tomb about a dozen meters to the west was noticed. The following spring a late pit grave, containing the skeletons of two children and a single cup, was discovered about the same distance to the southeast. Thus, apparently, there was once a Mycenaean cemetery of more ordinary individuals on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, of which only these examples have survived the intensive utilization of the region.

1 Although counted in our enumeration of 46 Mycenaean burial places this tomb has not been assigned a Roman numeral or a grid deposit number, since it contained neither skeletal material nor pottery (see above, p. 97 and note 14). It apparently has approximately the same scheme and dimensions as Tomb V: a dromos 0.80 m. wide and 2.0 m. long, a circular chamber or working space 1.20 m. in diameter leading into a chamber 1.20 m. by 0.85 m. (Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 165). It may have been discontinued through some fault in the rock, for part of the ceiling had collapsed in antiquity, though how early we do not know.

TOMB V: CHAMBER TOMB (A–B 18:1)

Pls. 37, 76; Plan: Pl. 82


Excavated in June, 1947, by Rodney S. Young, this tomb consisted of a small rectangular chamber, 2.80 m. wide by 1.80 m. deep, entered from the east through a dromos 1.10 m. wide.
which contracted to a doorway 0.92 m. wide. The doorway preserved its rough stone blocking-wall to a height of 0.70 m. to 0.80 m., and the dromos the firm red earth with which it had been packed to a height of 1.30 m.

Only the lower 0.50 m. of the chamber had been hewn from bedrock, the upper part being cut from very compact gravelly earth. The ceiling of the chamber had collapsed at least as early as the sixth century B.C. Two skeletons were found lying in order, their heads toward the east and their legs doubled up (Pl. 37). Several earlier interments had been swept aside; some bones were found in the corners of the chamber, others in a small pit (0.55 m. by 0.30 m. by 0.23 m. deep) near the southeast corner.²

The burial offerings consisted only of pottery: six more or less complete vases and two fragmentary ones, which are difficult to assign to particular burials. The coarse amphora (V–8), which was found standing upright at the feet of the northern skeleton, obviously belonged to that burial; its mouth was still stopped by a stone, but it contained nothing, the original liquid offering having evaporated. The three-handled jar (V–4), the other plain amphora (V–7), and the cup (V–6) all lay tumbled in the northwest corner of the room; since in two cases a handle is missing, it looks as if they had been swept aside from an earlier burial. The stirrup-vase (V–3) was found in the middle of the chamber near the southern skeleton, but it too lacked a handle and may have come from one of the earlier interments. The askos (V–5) was found in the extreme northeast corner some distance from either skeleton. The fragmentary kylizes (V–1 and 2) obviously belonged to one of the earlier burials.

Although it is difficult to apportion the vases, the range of time represented cannot have been great. On the evidence of the painted vases V–3 and 4, the tomb should be dated to the fourteenth century, probably to the second half; since there is nothing distinctively Myc. III B among the pottery, the four or five interments probably took place during the span of one or two generations.

V–1. Fragmentary Kylix.

P 17909. Fragments scattered in tomb and vase incomplete; three non-joining fragments. P.H. a, 0.049 m., b, 0.062 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.12 m.

Fine orange-buff clay with thick orange-red glaze inside and out, mostly flaked off except on inside of small fragments.

Kylix with fairly deep bowl and outturned rim; vertical handle set just below rim; nothing of stem or base preserved.

Furumark, M.P., Type 269 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1–2. Cf. B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 860–861, pl. X (from Ialysos); Attica, p. 25, fig. 9 A, pl. 4, 1–3, 6.


V–2. Fragmentary Kylix.

P 17910. At very northwest corner of tomb. P.H. 0.069 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.15 m. Two non-joining fragments, one from upper body and rim, other (much mended) from lower body.

Orange-buff clay with grits, rather thick and coarse; covered with a streaky, non-lustrous wash a little darker than clay.

From a fairly deep-bowled kylix with offset rim; nothing of handles or base preserved.

Furumark, M.P., Type 264 or 269 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1–2.


P 17903. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. XLV, 2, b. H. 0.118 m., D. 0.115 m. Lying beside the skeleton at south. One handle missing; also end of spouted mouth, many small body fragments and chips.

Slightly greenish pale buff clay, fairly hard and smooth, but poorly preserved; dull brown glaze, badly peeled.

Low ring foot; plump round body; vertical spout on shoulder; flat stirrup handles meeting in flat-topped disc on top of false neck.

Ring base and outside of handles glazed; ring and dot on top of false neck; groups of broad and narrow bands on body to line of spout attachment; on shoulder groups of diminishing chevrons: one each in smaller panels between spout and handle, three in large panel opposite spout.

Furumark, M.P., Type 171 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc.

² Skeletons AA 86–39 analyzed by Angel: 36, the S skeleton, F. 27 years; 37, the N skeleton, M. 33 years; 38, from pit F. 45 years; 39, from corners, adult fragments and child of 7 years.
III A:2; Mot. 19: 11, 17 (p. 299, fig. 47), Myc. III A:2.

Cf. the similar but better preserved stirrup-vase II-1 with concentric arcs rather than chevrons.
See also pp. 124, 144.
Myc. III A:2 (probably late).

From northwest corner of chamber. H. 0.169 m., D. 0.144 m. Two handles and small fragments of body missing.

Fine, slightly powdery pinkish buff clay, with badly peeled surface; decoration in deep red glaze, mostly gone.

Low concave neck with broad flat lip and small ring at junction with shoulder; piriform body with ring foot; three loop handles set horizontally on shoulder; groups of vertical strokes in shoulder panels between handles; groups of broad and narrow bands below; deep band of glaze at foot.

Furumark, M.P., Types 44-45 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:2-B; Mot. 64: 22 (p. 397, fig. 69).

Although poorly preserved this is a good example of the characteristic advanced Myc. III A:2 type of pithoid jar with many parallels on the mainland and in the Levant. Blegen (*Prosymna*, I, pp. 447f.) mentions 38 examples of this shape, the commonest type of jar at the Argive Heraion: cf. *Prosymna*, II, figs. 173, 313; 714, 18; etc. Also Asine, Tomb I: 1, p. 366, fig. 237, 27.

Cf. XVIII-1, XXIII-3, XXXV-3, XXXVII-1: for similar examples.
See also p. 120.
Myc. III A:2.

Found in extreme northeast corner of chamber. H. 0.088 m., D. 0.085 m. Complete except for chip from spout.

Thin fabric of fine pale buff clay, covered all over with fairly lustrous thin black glaze.

Squat body, flattened at bottom and somewhat pointed at top; diagonal spout on shoulder; horizontal loop handle from middle of spout to center of top. Glaze applied thinly and in two operations: first, starting from middle of bottom giving a spiraliform effect (with vase turned upside down before addition of spout and handle?); second, in thicker glaze, with revolutions rotating from circle formed by handle and spout.

Furumark, M.P., Type 195 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II A–III C:1.

Cf. *Attica*, pl. 16, 8–10. The askos seems to have been more popular in Attica than in the Argolid (*Attica*, p. 52 and above pp. 138–139).

Cf. XVIII–8 and XXIV–21 which with this vase constitute the more standardized askoi from the Agora.
Myc. III A:2?

V-6. One-handled Footed Cup. Pl. 37.
In northwest corner of chamber with fragments of bone inside. H. 0.078 m., D. rim 0.111 m.
Orange-red clay with grits; non-lustrous red wash inside and out.

Deep bowl with plain rim and one vertical band handle rising slightly above rim to well down on wall; high, almost conical foot.

Not exactly paralleled in Furumark, M.P., but probably a variant of Type 213 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. II B–III A:1 under the influence of the deep-bowled kylix; or perhaps a continuation of the Myc. I–II A Types 211–212 which sometimes had a conical foot (cf. *Prosymna*, II, fig. 195, 496) in a debased local style.

See also pp. 118, 129.
Myc. III A:2? (datable only by context).

P 17906. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLV, 2, d.
From northwest corner of chamber. H. 0.147 m., D. 0.142 m. Fragments of body, most of rim, and one handle missing.

Coarse purplish gray clay with large black and white grits; unglazed.

Plain rim, fairly wide neck curving gradually into shoulder, ovoid body, and flattened base; two band handles from rim to shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 66 (p. 36, fig. 8), Myc. II A–III C:1. Cf. *Prosymna*, II, figs. 109, 209; 177, 289, etc.

Cf. XIV–5, XXXV–5 and XL–8.
See also p. 126.
Myc. III A (from context).

Found standing upright at feet of northern skeleton, its mouth stopped with a stone. H. 0.158 m., D. 0.147 m. Complete except for minor chips from mouth and neck.

Buff clay, rather coarse and slightly micaceous; unglazed.

Plain flaring rim, wide neck curving into shoulder, ovoid body with bottom not well flattened; two vertical band handles from rim to shoulder.

Similar in shape to V–7; see references.
TOMBS AND OBJECTS: GRAVE VI

GRAVE VI: PIT GRAVE WITH BURIAL OF TWO CHILDREN (A 18:4)

Pl. 38; Plan: Pl. 82


In the spring of 1948 the extension of this Mycenaean cemetery to the southeast was confirmed through the discovery of a pit grave with the burial of two young children. A rough rectangular cutting in soft stereo (0.95 m. by 0.64 m. by 0.28 m. deep), lying under the western wall of a Geometric house, contained the doubled-up skeletons of two small children and a simple one-handled cup (VI-I; Pl. 38). The children had been laid on their sides, one on top of the other; on the basis of the analysis of their teeth, they were judged to be about five and eight years. The cup had been placed in an upright position at the bottom of the cutting, before the upper body was put in, but because of the cramped space and doubled up postures, it seems likely that both burials took place simultaneously. The grave was not lined, but had apparently been covered with small stones. From the date of the cup, this burial appears to be considerably later than Tomb V, probably after the turn from the thirteenth to the twelfth century.

See also pp. 103, 111, 154.

Myc. III C:1.

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VI-I. Deep One-handled Cup.

Pl. 38. P 19211. _Hesperia_, XVIII, 1949, pl. 39, 1. H. 0.08 m., D. at rim 0.118 m. Intact.

Pinkish buff clay with many grits, covered all over with light buff slip; decoration in dull orange-red thin glaze paint.

Deep cup with low base-ring; nearly vertical upper wall with plain rim. Decoration: bands below rim inside and out, on edge of lip and on handle; circle at center of floor.

Furumark, M.P., Type 215 (p. 49, fig. 14), Myc. III C:1e.

Cf. _Korakou_, p. 65, fig. 92; _B.S.A._, XXV, 1921–1923, pl. 11, j (from Granary); _Attica_, p. 85, fig. 14, D (Kopreza); Graef, _Ant. Vasen_, I, pl. 5, 181 (Acropolis); _Fountain_, pp. 381–382, figs. 59, b, 64, a–d.

Our example seems later than most of these, but probably not so late as _B.S.A._, XXV, 1921–1923, pl. 11, f, g, i, p. 83, fig. 9, d (Stratum X of Lion Gate deposit), which Furumark assigns to Type 216, Myc. III C:1 late. These all have a higher and more developed foot than ours.

Cf. also VII-23, which seems a little earlier, and 474 (later).

See also p. 129.

Myc. III C:1.

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DISTURBED CHAMBER TOMBS ON THE EAST SLOPE OF THE KOLONOS AGORAIOS

409–412; Pl. 38

Continuing in a northerly direction from Tomb V and Grave VI on the east slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, one comes to the Kolonos, at the foot of which in Classical times the important civic buildings of ancient Athens were constructed. In the process of their building and especially during their Hellenistic enlargements, the east slope of the Kolonos was scarpd back and this would doubtless have destroyed any Mycenaean chamber tombs that may have been cut into its eastern face.

In 1935 a fragmentary bronze sword or dagger (409) and the fragment of a Mycenaean cup (410), found in a disturbed context in the Forecourt of the Bouleuterion Plateia, suggested the possibility of a destroyed chamber tomb not far away. In 1951 Rodney Young proposed that

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2 Ibid., p. 167.
certain cryptic cuttings in the rock both in the Forecourt of the New Bouleuterion and in the west side of an unidentified building (Strategeion?) to the south of the Tholos might be the remains of Mycenaean chamber tombs which had been all but completely quarried away by later builders, and this became the accepted opinion. However, a re-examination of the evidence by Homer Thompson in 1967 suggests that the cuttings themselves are most likely the remains of unfinished Classical cisterns. Nonetheless, the presence of the Mycenaean sword and several fine fragmentary vases (411–412 were found somewhat farther to the south) argues for the presence of destroyed chamber tombs along the east side of the Kolonos.

BRONZE

409. Fragmentary Dagger.

Pl. 38.

B 252. Bouleuterion Plateia, scraping bedrock in south part (context disturbed), approximately F 11. P.L. 0.176 m., W. at hilt ca. 0.031 m. Four joining fragments preserving part of hilt and stub of blade. The edges of the hilt and of the shoulders of the blade are flanged to grip the handle plates; no midrib. Although a very different weapon from the horned sword and dagger (III–17 and 18) from the Tomb of the Bronzes, this need not be later. Cf. Prosymna, I, pp. 386f. (Blegen’s Type d); II, figs. 198, 377, 1; 462; 485, 1; N.T.D., p. 34, fig. 35, 1 (Tomb 7); B.S.A., LI, 1956, pl. 15, a, no. 7 (Warrior Grave, Knossos) which belong to Classes E i and E ii (see A.J.A., LXVII, 1963, pp. 182 –183, 149–150). Consisting of round or angular-shoulder dirks or daggers with flanged shoulders and pommeled extensions, they run concurrently with the C i and D i swords and date to the later fifteenth and first half of the fourteenth century. Our example is too fragmentary to assign specifically to either sub-class, and its length was probably only 0.80–0.40 m.

First half of fourteenth century?

410. Fragmentary Spouted Cup with High-swung Handle.

Pl. 38.

P 5887. Bouleuterion Plateia, disturbed area southeast corner, approximately F 11. P.H. 0.085 m. One handle and fragment of lip preserved. Pale buff clay; flaky black to brown glaze on lip, on outside of handle and in a wave pattern around top of outside wall. Shallow bowl with flaring rim, one high-swung loop handle.

Furumark, M.P., Types 7–8 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:2; Mot. 61: 11 (p. 383, fig. 67), Myc. III A:2. Although somewhat difficult to date, this is probably still Myc. III A and almost certainly a provincial work. The pattern anticipates the Myc. III B Panel style but lacks the rigid formalism with vertical boundaries of the true III B triglyphs (cf. M.P., Mot. 75: 1–18, p. 414, fig. 72). Cf. 412 and XL–3 for other Attic versions of Myc. III A:1–2 strap-handled kraters. See also p. 121.

Myc. III A:2?

412. Fragmentary Krater with Tangent Spirals.

Pl. 38.

P 9185. Miscellaneous find, approximately G 14. P.H. 0.08 m. Fragment of rim and body of large open bowl; stub of vertical handle preserved at rim. Hard buff fabric with creamy polished surface, not well smoothed, especially under handle; brown to black lustrous glaze.

From a strap-handled krater like 425, I–14 and XL–3; rim somewhat lower and more nearly horizontal. Dark glazed band on rim inside and out, on top of handle, and for shoulder decoration: a group of three vertical zigzag lines framed by a row of dots on either side.

Furumark, M.P., Types 7–8 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:2; Mot. 61: 11 (p. 383, fig. 67), Myc. III A:2. Although somewhat difficult to date, this is probably still Myc. III A and almost certainly a provincial work. The pattern anticipates the Myc. III B Panel style but lacks the rigid formalism with vertical boundaries of the true III B triglyphs (cf. M.P., Mot. 75: 1–18, p. 414, fig. 72). Cf. 412 and XL–3 for other Attic versions of Myc. III A:1–2 strap-handled kraters.

See also p. 121.

Myc. III A:2?

POTTERY

411. Fragment from Krater with Strap Handles.

Pl. 38.

P 9184. Miscellaneous find, approximately G 14. P.H. 0.08 m. Fragment of rim and body of large open bowl; stub of vertical handle preserved at rim. Hard buff fabric with creamy polished surface, not well smoothed, especially under handle; brown to black lustrous glaze.

From a strap-handled krater like 425, I–14 and XL–3; rim somewhat lower and more nearly horizontal. Dark glazed band on rim inside and out, on top of handle, and for shoulder decoration: a group of three vertical zigzag lines framed by a row of dots on either side.

Furumark, M.P., Types 7–8 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:2; Mot. 61: 11 (p. 383, fig. 67), Myc. III A:2. Although somewhat difficult to date, this is probably still Myc. III A and almost certainly a provincial work. The pattern anticipates the Myc. III B Panel style but lacks the rigid formalism with vertical boundaries of the true III B triglyphs (cf. M.P., Mot. 75: 1–18, p. 414, fig. 72). Cf. 412 and XL–3 for other Attic versions of Myc. III A:1–2 strap-handled kraters.

See also p. 121.

Myc. III A:2?
Light buff clay with many grits; hard smoothed surface; red to brown glaze paint, crackled and not very lustrous. Flaring offset rim and rounded shoulder suggest krater with strap handles like 425 and XL-3. Rim glazed inside and out; on shoulder a band of tangent spirals with parallel chevrons as filling; three horizontal bands below and at least one more near base.

Furumark, M.P., Types 6–7 (pp. 32–23, figs. 3–4), Myc. III A:2; Mot. 46: 42, 46 (p. 357, fig. 60), Myc. III A:1–2. Probably close in size and spirit to the new nautilus krater XL-3. Both seem to have been bold and impressive works, if somewhat careless in the preparation of the clay (see Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 74) and to have imitated closely Myc. III A:1 kraters from the Argolid (cf. B.S.A., LIX, 1964, pl. 72, b, 6–8, Atreus bothros) and examples presumably exported to Cyprus (C.V.A., Br.Mus., II Cb, pls. 7, 2; 9, 7; 11, 19).

See also p. 121.
Myc. III A:1–2 (local work).


The next group of tombs, consisting of five small chamber tombs and a double pit grave, lies in a line running almost due North-South about 70 to 80 meters east of the scarped back remains of the tombs along the east face of the Kolonos Agoraios. Although possibly other tombs lay in between and have been completely destroyed in later levelling operations, it seems preferable to regard them as separate groups.

Tomb VII under the north side of the Temple of Ares was originally approached by a dromos leading in from the west, in the opposite direction from the tombs on the Kolonos, a fact which would suggest a natural declivity between these two areas. Furthermore, unlike the east slope of the Kolonos, the terrain in the present area was singularly ill-suited for chamber tombs. Tomb VII, although extraordinarily rich in contents and in number of interments, was very small with a chamber no more than a meter in height, and Tomb XII, about 60 meters to the south, seems to have collapsed while it was being cut and was apparently never used as a tomb but as a later refuse pit. Between these two lay VIII–XI, for which the evidence is very incomplete. Multiple burials in VIII–X seem to point to very badly disturbed chamber tombs, whereas XI seems to have consisted of two pit burials side by side.

TOMB VII: CHAMBER TOMB UNDER TEMPLE OF ARES (J 7:2)

Pls. 39–40, 65–67, 77; Plan: Pl. 83

This small but extraordinarily rich chamber tomb, lying under the northern foundations of the Augustan reconstruction of the Temple of Ares, was excavated under the direction of Emily Townsend (now Mrs. Cornelius Vermeule) in the spring of 1951, and was the first of the Agora Mycenaean tombs to receive a full and meticulous publication.¹ The results are here summarized and for convenience the inventory of finds is incorporated in our catalogue.²

The tomb chamber, roughly hewn out of bedrock with an irregular plan, about 2.00 by 2.85 m., more triangular than rectangular, was considerably smaller than those of Tombs I and III, yet it contained a total of more than fifteen interments,³ stretching over a period of about two hundred and fifty years (from ca. 1450 to 1200 B.C.). The tomb as found had two dromoi, the original one entering at the west being a short narrow passage with very little slope to the

² We have shortened the descriptions of the finds and have cited as comparanda mostly material discovered since 1955. For ease of cross reference we have kept the original catalogue number, herewith prefixed by VII.
³ The excavator counted 14 to 15 burials. Skeletal analysis by J. Lawrence Angel revealed that as many as 25 people were buried in the tomb. Numbered from AA 102 to 116, many of these proved to be multiple. The total breaks down to 8 males, 6 females, 9 children and 2 adults (uncertain).
floor, the second leading in from the northeast being even narrower and more precipitous. The excavator conjectured that perhaps some accident such as a slide of rock made the original entrance impassable and led to the cutting of a second dromos, an unusual feature in Mycenaean tombs at any site.4

Eight or more burials were made in the tomb during its first period (1450 to 1400 or slightly later),5 at least seven of them through the west doorway; the earlier ones had been shoved aside but Burials VI, VII and VIII were found in fairly good order, the first two at the south end, the third at the north end of the chamber (Pl. 89, b). Following this original period of use, a layer of sandy earth approximately 0.40 m. deep was spread over these remains and six or seven additional interments were made at the end of the thirteenth or the early twelfth century, all through the new northeast doorway and apparently limited to the northern half of the chamber.

The history of the tomb did not, however, end with the end of the Mycenaean age. During the Protogeometric period a cremation pit was dug above or beside the chamber and a child was buried in the old dromos.6 Twice in the Classical period workmen, apparently engaged in some new construction, came upon this tomb and seem to have been responsible for the deposit of two groups of funeral lekythoi; seven dating to ca. 470 B.C. were found in a shallow pit in bedrock below the knees of Skeleton VII, and two dating to ca. 430 B.C. were placed in the west door after the stone blocking wall had been removed.7 Some four hundred years later the foundations of the Temple of Ares were laid across part of the chamber (Pl. 39, a), perhaps destroying some of the contents of its second period of use. Considering the intensive use of the area and the relative shallowness of the tomb chamber, it is truly remarkable that this tomb has yielded our richest inventory of finds.

See also pp. 98–101.


POTTERY

VASES FROM LOWER BURIAL STRATUM (VII–1 to 21; Pls. 39, 65–67)


P 21244. Ares Tomb, p. 204, pl. 73, 1. Beneath skull I. H. 0.078 m., D. 0.099 m. Complete.
Pink-buff clay; red glaze paint, badly worn.
“One-handled alabastron” type with angular underbody and rounded shoulder.
Mouth, rim, neck, handle and lower body painted.
Reserved zone on shoulder with row of oval dots above; ivy pattern of three large leaves with double S-curved stems.
Furumark, M., Type 87 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II B; Mot. 12: 23 (p. 271, fig. 36), Myc. II B.
Add Korakou, p. 53, fig. 71, b (with ivy leaves).
The squat jugs from Monemvasia (‘Εγγο, 1956, p. 100, fig. 102) and Neleia (‘Εγγο, 1957, p. 85, fig. 35) have different decoration.

The only example of this shape from the Agora.
See also p. 123.
Myc. II B.


P 21254. Ares Tomb, pp. 204–205, fig. 5, pl. 73, 2. Associated with skull II. H. 0.088–0.035 m., D. 0.075 m.
Complete with minor chips.
Pink-buff clay; red glaze, badly worn.
Flat bottom; sharply rounded profile; rim not completely horizontal.
Rim and handles glazed; band at base of neck and two on lower body. Double wavy line on shoulder. On bottom wheel consisting of two double wavy lines in form of non-symmetrical cross.
Furumark, M., Type 83 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II–III A:1; Mot. 33: 12, 15 (p. 327, fig. 55), Myc. II A–B; 68: 8 (p. 403, fig. 70), Myc. II A–B.
See also p. 123.
Myc. II A–B (provincial work).

4 Cf. Chamber Tomb I: 1 at Asine, which also covers a long period of time (Asine, pp. 156–157, figs. 134–135).
5 In view of the probable lowering of the date of the fall of Knossos and the Myc. III A:1 period which antedates it (see above, pp. 114ff.), the dates assigned the earlier burials in this tomb are probably a little high.
7 Ibid., pp. 218–219, pl. 77, nos. 39–47.
TOMBS AND OBJECTS: TOMB VII

P 21253. *Ares Tomb*, pp. 205f., figs. 5, 6, pl. 73, 3.  
Associated with burials IV and V. H. 0.05 m., D. 0.176 m. Complete except for part of rim and chips from lower body.  
Pink clay with pink-buff surface; brown-black glaze, worn.  
Flat spreading body with slightly concave base; wide flat rim.  
Rim and handles glazed; band at junction of neck and shoulder. On shoulder a wave pattern, crests pointed under handles, rounded between; leaf spray or double wavy lines above central crest. Base: wheel pattern, carelessly drawn; three sets of strokes, two double, one triple.  
Furumark, M.P., Types 82 and 84 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II B–III A:1; Mots. 32: 5 (p. 323, fig. 54), Myc. I–III B; 68: 2 (p. 403, fig. 70), Myc. II B–III A:1.  
Myc. II B (probably provincial work).

VII-4. Squat Alabastron.  
P 21252. *Ares Tomb*, pp. 205f., figs. 5–6, pl. 73, 4.  
H. 0.039 m., D. 0.091 m. Complete except for fragments from base.  
Greenish buff hard clay; black glaze, cracked and peeled.  
Low baggy body; pronounced ridge at junction of neck and shoulder; very carefully shaped.  
Neck and handles painted; encircling lines rim, upper shoulder and junction of shoulder and base. Shoulder decorated with a low wave pattern with a double stemmed ivy leaf in panel between each handle. Carefully drawn wheel pattern on base: closed spiral with four pairs of zigzag spokes.  
Furumark, M.P., Type 83 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II B; Mots. 12: 24 (p. 271, fig. 36), Myc. II B; 82: 5 (p. 323, fig. 54); 68: 2, 4 (p. 403, fig. 70), Myc. II A–III A:1.  
Myc. II B (probably provincial work).

VII-5. Squat Alabastron.  
P 21255. *Ares Tomb*, pp. 205f., figs. 5–6, pl. 73, 5.  
Associated with burials IV and V. H. 0.05 m., D. 0.121 m. Complete except for one handle.  
Pink-buff clay; red-brown glaze.  
Rounded bottom, low rounded shoulder, curving rim.  
Rim, neck and handles painted; four bands on upper shoulder. Shoulder decoration wave-and-ivy pattern; waves have rounded crests, ivy leaves triple stems. Concentric circles on base.  
Furumark, M.P., Type 84 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. III A:1; Mots. 12: 25–27 (p. 271, fig. 36), Myc. II B–III A:1; 82: 5.  
Myc. III A:1 (imported).

P 21251. *Ares Tomb*, pp. 205f., fig. 5, pl. 73, 6.  
Associated with burials IV and V. H. 0.085 m., D. 0.079 m. One handle missing.  
Very fine hard buff clay with creamy surface; orange-red to brown glaze.  
Flat bottom, high shoulder, rolling rim, small handles.  
Rim and handles painted. Broad band on neck, narrow band on upper shoulder. Shoulder decorated with wave pattern with pointed crests. Concentric circles on bottom.  
Furumark, M.P., Type 88 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II B–III A. No exact parallels for wave with pointed crest.  

VII-7. Squat Alabastron.  
P 21256. *Ares Tomb*, pp. 205f., fig. 5, pl. 73, 7.  
Associated with burials IV and V. H. 0.035–0.037 m., D. 0.088 m. Intact except for chips.  
Pale buff clay, hard and smooth; brown-black glaze; excellent fabric.  
Slightly uneven body with large rounded rim and largish handles.  
Rim, neck and handles painted. Shoulder decorated with wave-and-ivy pattern; low close-set waves with rounded crests and triple-stemmed ivy leaves. Concentric circles on base.  
Furumark, M.P., Type 83 (p. 41, fig. 11); Mot. 12: 26–27 (p. 271, fig. 36), Myc. III A:1.  
Fabric and style close to jar VII–10.  

P 21250. *Ares Tomb*, pp. 205f., fig. 5, pl. 73, 8.  
Associated with burials IV and V. H. 0.058 m., D. 0.10 m. Intact except for one handle and chips.  
Buff clay, creamy surface; thin brownish black glaze.  
High body with somewhat irregular profile; bumpy surface.  
Rim, neck, and handles painted. Crude outline of wave pattern on shoulder, a single pointed crest in each panel. Three concentric circles on bottom, crudely drawn.  
Furumark, M.P., Type 83 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II B–III A:1.  
Myc. III A:1 (provincial).

P 21242. *Ares Tomb*, p. 208, pl. 73, 9.  
H. 0.039 m., D. 0.058 m. One handle missing.  
Fine buff clay, brownish black glaze, mostly peeled; carelessly made.
Flat bottom with high angular biconical body.
Rim, neck and handles painted. Parallel vertical stripes in shoulder zone; blobs in wave-like pattern below; broad circular band on bottom.
Furumark, M.P., Type 85 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. III A-B.
Add Chalkis, pl. 16, 514.
Myc. III A.

VII-10. Three-handled Jar with Lilies. Pl. 39. P 21259. Ares Tomb, p. 208, pl. 74, 10. H. 0.141 m., D. 0.115 m. Mended from many pieces; chips missing.
Smooth hard buff clay; dark brown glaze, rather worn.
Low concave neck with flat lip; short piriform body; three vertical handles with medial ridge; flat foot.
Underside of lip and neck glazed. On lip wavy line between narrow stripes; on handles saw-tooth between two vertical stripes which loop around lower attachments. On lower body broad and narrow bands above deep zone of glaze above base. Shoulder zone decorated with lilies; in two panels two plants each leaning in same direction; in third panel, lilies opposed with dwarf ivy spray with quadruple stem between.
See also pp. 120, 144.

Pink-buff clay; buff surface; orange-red glaze.
Tall piriform body with light ridge at junction of neck and shoulder; wide mouth with flat lip; flaring foot with concave base; vertical handles with slight knob at bottom attachment.
Mouth, neck and painted inside and out; handles painted. Lower body banded above deep solid zone at foot. Shoulder: wave and ivy pattern; in each panel an ivy spray on triple wavy stem rises from low waves; double wavy stem ends in loop around each handle attachment.
Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. III A:1; Mot. 9: 13, 16 (p. 258, fig. 82), Myc. III A:1; Mot. 70: 1 (p. 408, fig. 70), Myc. II A-III B. Cf. I-2, XIV-4, XVII-1, and XXIV-3.
See also pp. 120, 141.

Fine greenish buff clay; brown to black glaze, badly worn.
Broad piriform body with false torus foot, lightly concave beneath; vertical handles with slight knob at lower attachment.
Mouth, neck and handles glazed; rim has wavy line between two stripes; upper body deep zone of scale pattern; lower body banded.
Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. III A:B-III A:1; Mot. 70: 1 (p. 408, fig. 70), Myc. II A-III B.
Cf. I-2, XIV-4, XVII-1, and XXIV-3.
See also pp. 120, 141.

Buff clay and surface, not well-smoothed with wheel-marks remaining; undecorated.
Offset slightly concave foot; squat piriform body; wide mouth with flat projecting lip; handles flat ribbon set well down on shoulder.
Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 536, 1038.
Myc. III A.

VII-14. Stemmed Goblet with High-swung Handles. Pls. 39, 66. P 21262. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26a; Ares Tomb, p. 209, pl. 74, 14; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 224. Probably associated with burials I and II. H. to rim 0.103 m., H. with handles 0.144 m., D. 0.124 m. Complete except for small chips.
Pale pinkish buff clay, smooth polished surface ext.; int. painted in red-brown glaze in horizontal sweeping strokes.
Thin sloping foot, concave beneath; short stem; deep rounded bowl with thin offset lip; two high-swung ribbon hands.
Furumark, M.P., Type 270 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. II A. Close to Ephyraean shape Type 263.
Myc. II A-B.

VII-15. Kylix with High-swung Handle. Pls. 39, 66. P 21249. Ares Tomb, p. 209, pl. 74, 15. Associated with burials IV and V. H. to rim 0.12 m., H. with handle 0.179 m., D. 0.135-0.139 m. Complete except for chip from rim.
Pink clay with some impurities; buff surface without polish; undecorated.
Thin sloping foot, concave beneath; slender flaring stem; deep bowl with thin offset lip and one high-slung handle from rim.

Furumark, M.P., Type 271 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. II B.

Close in shape, but probably a little earlier than III-7. The metallic shape and somewhat unfinished surface suggest tin sheathing, but no traces remain.

Cf. B.C.H., LXXVII, 1953, p. 64, fig. 9 (Argos, Tomb III).

See also p. 128.


P 21243. Ares Tomb, pp. 210–211, pl. 74, 16; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 224 (detail of pattern). Associated with burial VIII. H. 0.15–0.155 m., D. 0.17 m. One handle missing; otherwise complete.

Pale buff clay with smooth polished surface; lustrous red-brown glaze; excellent fabric.

Flat disc-shaped foot with countersunk depression; long tapering stem, shallow spreading bowl with light ridge at junction of stem and bowl; thin lip lightly outturned; vertical ribbon handles from rim to below curve of bowl.

Lip painted inside and out; handle painted; stem banded and edge of foot painted; reserved zone on lower bowl, bordered by three narrow bands above and below; upper zone of bowl decorated with a band of running spirals: five double interlocking spirals on one side with triangular filling ornaments.

Probably an intermediate form between Furumark, M.P., Type 255 (p. 60, fig. 16) and Type 259 (p. 61, fig. 17), which is characteristic of Rhodos in Myc. III A:2 (B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 866–867, pl. XIV). The running spiral with angular fillings is also not matched closely in Furumark, but as Mrs. Vermeule has shown (Ares Tomb, pp. 210–211), it is more closely related to the early type of band spiral, M.P., Mot. 46: 1–4, 82 (p. 358, fig. 59) which occurs in frescoes and in metalwork; the “zwickel” filling (M.P., Mot. 11: 54–55, p. 265, fig. 34) is found with the simpler running spiral in III A:1 and Amarna vases (cf. III-14).

This is certainly the finest kylix with spiral band known from any site, and must be considered an imported piece.

Furumark, M.P., Type 138 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. II B; Mots. 21: 4 (p. 303, fig. 48), Myc. III A:2 early; 20: 4, 7 (not close, p. 303, fig. 48), Myc. III B. The same combination of octopus and dolphin has been found on the floor decoration at Tiryns and more recently at Pylos (see above, note 362).

Add to references cited the ewer with snail-shells from Myrmisochorion (B.C.H., LXXXI, 1957, p. 564, fig. 29) and the nautilus ewer from Hymettos (C.V.A., Copenhagen, III A, pl. 68, 1a–b), both of which are probably a little earlier than ours.

See also pp. 135, 146–147.


VII-17. Ewer with Octopus and Dolphins. P1s. 39, 67.

P 21246. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, a; Ares Tomb, p. 211f., fig. 7, pl. 73, 17; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 225. Associated with burials IV and V. H. 0.27 m., D. 0.24 m. Mended from 133 pieces; small fragments missing.

Fine red-buff clay, buff surface (powdery); red-brown glaze, badly worn.

Low raised base; broad ovoid body with slender flaring neck and slight ridge at junction; elongated spout set at 40 degree angle; broad strap handle with medial ridge and knob at bottom.

Neck and handle painted; spout banded; foliate band below ridge; front of body covered with large octopus with four pairs of tentacles, a fish (dolphin?) on either side below handle; narrow stripe above broad band around base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 143 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. II B; Mots. 21: 4 (p. 303, fig. 48), Myc. III A:2 early; 20: 4, 7 (not close, p. 303, fig. 48), Myc. III B. The same combination of octopus and dolphin has been found on the floor decoration at Tiryns and more recently at Pylos (see above, note 362).

Add to references cited the ewer with snail-shells from Myrmisochorion (B.C.H., LXXXI, 1957, p. 564, fig. 29) and the nautilus ewer from Hymettos (C.V.A., Copenhagen, III A, pl. 68, 1a–b), both of which are probably a little earlier than ours.

See also pp. 135, 146–147.


P 21247. Ares Tomb, p. 212, pl. 75, 18; Hopf, Botanical Report, pl. IV, 4. Associated with burial VI. H. as restored 0.245 m., D. 0.19 m. Large fragments of neck and wall, most of handle missing; restored in plaster.

Orange-pink clay, coarse and micaceous; monochrome dull pink glaze. Leaf-tempering material.

Small raised base concave underneath; broad nearly biconical body; tall slender neck with pronounced ridge at junction of neck and shoulder; plain flaring lip cut away vertically above handle; broad band handle with medial rib ending in pinched knob at lower attachment.

Furumark, M.P., Type 136 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III A:2–B. This example is probably earlier than those cited by Furumark (see Ares Tomb, p. 212).

See also pp. 135, 263.

Myc. III A.


P 21260. Ares Tomb, p. 212, pl. 75, 19. Associated with burial III. H. 0.065 m., D. 0.089 m. Chip from rim, otherwise intact.
Buff clay, creamy buff surface; red-brown glaze. Rather carelessly made.

High base; plump ovoid biconical body; flaring lip cut away vertically above handle attachment; rolled handle from rim to greatest diameter of body.

Lip, neck, and handle painted solid; band around base; body decorated with five sets of vertical stripes, the three at the front double and the two alongside the handle triple.

Furumark, M.P., Type 135 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. I-III A:1.

This little jug is clearly a crude provincial imitation of the oinochoe form with curved stripes (M.P., Mot. 67: 9–10, p. 408, fig. 70). Cf. the early fragmentary jug with cut-away neck from Keos (B.S.A., LI, 1956, p. 30, fig. 5).

See also p. 135.


P 21245. Ares Tomb, p. 213, pl. 75, 20. Associated with burials IV and V. H. 0.194 m., D. 0.163 m. Chips from rim; otherwise intact.

Orange-buff clay; thin orange-red glaze. Hull barley for tempering (Hopf, Botanical Report).

Small rounded bottom; ovoid body with short neck and flaring plain lip; rolled handle from just below rim to slightly above greatest diameter.

Furumark, M.P., Type 109 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. I-III B.

See also pp. 186, 268.


P 21261. Ares Tomb, p. 213, pl. 75, 21. Associated with burial III. H. to spout 0.10 m., H. with handle 0.132 m., D. 0.119–0.122 m. Mended from many pieces; complete except for small chips.

Pale greenish buff clay with hard surface; black glaze, badly worn.

Small raised base; low ovoid body; spout rising vertically from upper shoulder; rolled basket handle set vertically on top of pot.

Bands on spout; handle decorated with slanting stripes between narrow bands; a broad band around each handle attachment and an oval loop enclosing the two. Body decorated with eight sets of vertical wavy lines, alternately single and double. Band around base and a narrow stripe above.

Shape a variant of Furumark, M.P., Type 195 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. II A–III C:1. See Ares Tomb, p. 213, on rarity of form with vertical spout of stirrup- vase type and basket handle of feeding jug type.

For the general shape, but without the straight spout, cf. the early examples from Iria near Nauplia (B.C.H., LXXIX, 1955, p. 243, fig. 30) and Phyialakopi (p. 186, fig. 109).

See also p. 139.


Vases from Upper Burial Stratum (VII–22 to 25; Pls. 39, 40, 67)


P 21241. Ares Tomb, p. 213, pl. 75, 22. Associated with burial XII. H. 0.073 m., D. 0.065 m. Intact.

Yellow-buff clay; dull brownish black glaze.

Small raised foot, concave beneath; squat globular body; high neck with flaring lip; band handle from rim to just above middle of body.

Lip banded; handle decorated with transverse stripes between narrow lateral bands; broad band around base of neck and foot. Upper part of shoulder filled with horizontal wavy line; bands and narrow stripes on lower part of body.

Furumark, M.P., Types 113–115 (pp. 30-31, figs. 5–6), Myc. III A:2–C:1.

See also p. 186.

Myc. III B–C:1.


P 21263. Ares Tomb, pp. 213–214, pl. 75, 23. Associated with burial XIII. H. 0.067 m., D. 0.124 m. Complete; mended from many pieces.

Pink-buff clay, not well smoothed with many wheel-marks; undecorated.

Small ring foot; broad deep bowl with ogival profile; flaring lip and moulded rim; vertical band handle.


See also p. 129.

Myc. III B–C:1.


P 21200. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, a; Ares Tomb, p. 214, pl. 75, 24. Associated with burial XIV. H. 0.092 m., D. 0.174–0.179 m. Small chips missing; otherwise intact.

Pink-buff clay, gritty and poorly levigated; thin orange-red paint, fired black in places.

Furumark, M.P., Type 291 (p. 53, fig. 15), Myc. III C:1; Mot. 20: 6, 12 (not close, p. 303, fig. 48), Myc. III B–C:1.

To the references given add now the very frequent examples of this shape from Perati (e.g. "Epyov, 1956, p. 23, fig. 21, 509), some of which are decorated with
figurines of mourners ("Epyov, 1961, p. 15, fig. 11, 820) in a manner which recalls examples from Rhodes (Ialysos, p. 143, fig. 65, 81). So far as I know none of the Perati examples that have been figured shows pictorial decoration, but this style was popular at Perati on the octopus stirrup-vases and also occurs on a kalathos from Kalymnos (B.M.Cat. I, 1, A 1016, pl. XV).

See also pp. 132, 147.

Myc. III C:1.

VII-25. Fragments of Krater with Strap Handles.

P 21278. Ares Tomb, pp. 214–215, pl. 77, 25. Four fragments of which two join; part of rim and handle preserved. Max. dim. largest fragment 0.17 m. Pinkish buff clay, not very fine; dull orange-red paint.

Furumark, M.P., Types 9–10 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III B–C:1.

Pattern in handle zone only partly preserved, but probably part of a typical Myc. III C:1 composition of concentric arcs. Cf. M.P., Mots. 43: 33 (p. 344, fig. 58); 51: 22 (p. 366, fig. 63); 62: 26 (p. 391, fig. 68). Cf. fragments of this shape from the Mycenaean Fountain (Fountain, p. 362, fig. 39, especially d).

See also p. 121.

Myc. III C:1.


P 21277. Ares Tomb, p. 215. Associated with burials IV and V. Three fragments. D. lip 0.042–0.044 m. Orange porous clay; red glaze; surface worn and powdery.

Most of the upper part preserved with pieces of wall.

Decoration visible only on largest fragment: lip glazed int. and ext.; below three bands.

Also mentioned (op.cit., p. 215) are fragments of a three-handled jar with cuttlefish, scraps of three more alabastra, one with ivy pattern, and the stems and bases of seven undecorated kylikes.

BRONZES, JEWELRY, ETC.


B 997. Ares Tomb, p. 215, fig. 8, pl. 76, 27. Associated with Burial VIII. P.L. 0.164 m., L. of handle 0.04 m., T. of blade 0.004 m. Heavily corroded; much of cutting edge and back disintegrated. Where the original metal is preserved, the blade is seen to be beautifully finished and drawn out to an extremely thin fine edge.

Similar to III-19, which is better preserved. The excavator favors the original identification as razors. See also p. 106 and note 66.

Late Helladic III A.


Pl. 40.

B 936. Ares Tomb, p. 216, fig. 8, pl. 76, 28. Associated with Burial VIII. P.L. 0.038 m., P.W. 0.026 m., T. 0.0115 m.

Massive blade with heavy median rib, which could be tip of almost any thrusting weapon: rapier, dagger, spear, or sword. Cf. III-17 and 18 for sword type; XL–6 for spear with midrib.

Late Helladic III A.


Pl. 40.

B 938. Ares Tomb, p. 216, pl. 76, 29. Associated with burial VIII. Five arrowheads: a, P.L. 0.0385 m., P.W. 0.0125 m.; b, P.L. 0.0385 m., W. 0.015 m.; c, P.L. 0.028 m.; d, P.L. 0.026 m.; e, P.L. 0.0255 m.

All slender, sharply pointed with very slightly curving edges and long tapering barbs; no tang or midrib.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 385, 5.

Late Helladic III A.


Pl. 40.

ST 501 and 502. Ares Tomb, p. 216, pl. 76, 30. Associated with Burial VIII. Four arrowheads: a, L. 0.028 m., W. 0.013 m., T. 0.003 m.; b, L. 0.025 m., W. 0.013 m., T. 0.003 m.; c, L. 0.0205 m., W. 0.013 m., T. 0.003 m.; d, L. 0.02 m., W. 0.0135 m., T. 0.004 m.

All intact.

The first two are long and tapering with quite short flat barbs; fairly thin, roughly flaked, but very sharp points; the second two are stubbier and more curved on the cutting edge.

Among the latest stone arrowheads, but found in a quiver with bronze arrowheads (VII-29) and associated with Myc. III A pottery. Cf. somewhat earlier obsidian arrowheads from Tholos 2 at Koukounara ("Epyov, 1959, p. 123, fig. 130) and from Tomb 8 at Dendra (N.T.D., p. 48, fig. 51).

Late Helladic III A.

VII-31. Ivory Comb.

Pl. 40.

BI 665. Ares Tomb, p. 216, fig. 8, pl. 76, 31. Associated with Burial V. L. 0.057 m., W. to back 0.036 m., H. to central medallion 0.041 m., T. at top 0.008 m. Several teeth broken or missing.

High rounded back with two ovolo mouldings on each side. Central knob consists of a plain disk on either side with a connecting shank.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 419, 2. Cf. other combs XVI-12 and XXII-7.

See also p. 107.

Late Helladic II–III.
VII-32. Bone Pin Fragments. P1. 40. BI 666. *Ares Tomb*, p. 216, pl. 76, 32. Associated with Burial V. P.L. 0.01–0.03 m., D. 0.004 and 0.008 m.

Six fragments. The two distinct shaft diameters suggest two separate pins or possibly the two sides of a hair ornament. Two sections are curved, four straight. Cf. the barrettes with curved and serrated ends from Tomb I (I-18).

Late Helladic II–III.


Four spherical beads, graduated in size, and pierced. Now all chalky white in color and very friable. Traces of pale green color with white bands; in one case possibly traces of gold leaf.

J 128. *Ares Tomb*, p. 217, pl. 76, 33, b. H. 0.004–0.007 m., D. 0.006–0.01 m.

Sixty-six beads. Two of pink quartz are spherical with flakes of metallic-looking paint adhering to the surface. Two of white paste are depressed spherical in shape and laterally banded, similar to G 415. Ten of white paste are spherical and laterally ribbed. One of blue paste is spherical and vertically ribbed. Four of blue paste are spherical and plain. Forty-five white discs are of paste or bone.

Cf. *Prosymna*, II, fig. 464, 6. Also the necklace from the Lily Bowl Grave (XVI-11).

See also p. 108.

Late Helladic III A.

VII-34. Steatite Bead. Pl. 40. ST 498. *Ares Tomb*, p. 217, fig. 8, pl. 76, 34. Associated with Burial XIII or XIV. L. 0.018 m., W. 0.0155 m., T. 0.007 m. Intact.

Shaped like a figure-8 shield, and pierced through the waist. Convex on upper surface; four circular depressions on underside. Possibly a seal, but more likely a neck ornament.

Cf. similar steatite bead 442 from O 7:4.

Late Helladic III B–C.


b, ST 500. H. 0.0145 m., D. 0.0195 m. Black steatite in excellent condition. Biconical shape.

c, MC 869. H. 0.012 m., D. 0.017 m. Mended from many pieces, one fragment missing. Gritty red clay: signs of burning. Blunt cone with splayed base.

Late Helladic II–III.

**Tomb VIII: Disturbed Chamber Tomb (J 8:4)**

Pls. 41, 77; Plan: Pl. 84


Discovered in the spring of 1933, the first Mycenaean burial found in the Agora, it is situated about 20 meters due south of Tomb VII, only a few meters beyond the south edge of the Augustan foundation of the Temple of Ares. Unlike Tomb VII, it had been badly disturbed, and one can say little about its original form. The excavation was conducted by James H. Oliver, and the tomb and its contents were noted by Shear in his Annual Report, where he mentions “the scant remains of three skeletons lying close together just beneath the floor level of the classical period,” and illustrates five fragmentary vases associated with them as well as a gold signet ring (VIII–6) which attracted much attention.

The presence of three skeletons and the relative wealth of offerings suggest a badly destroyed chamber tomb, of which the entire upper part had been cut away, rather than a pit or cist grave. The pottery agrees fairly closely with that found in the lower burial layer of Tomb VII, particularly that associated with burials IV to VIII, and must likewise be dated early in

1 The plan which is shown on Pl. 84 is designed merely to show the relationship of J 8:4 to the graves or tombs discovered in 1952; no plan was made in 1933, and I am indebted to John Travlos for rendering the sketch in the 1952 excavation notebook in publishable form, as well as for discussing the evidence with me.


3 Ibid., figs. 6–8. See bibliography under VIII–6.
Myc. III A (during the first half of the fourteenth century). The two tombs were evidently part of one cemetery with others lying beneath, or completely destroyed by the reconstruction of the Temple of Ares.

POTTERY


Orange-pink clay with hard polished buff surface; orange-red to mahogany lustrous paint. Excellent technique.

Neck and handle glazed; band below neck and at least three at start of base. Shoulder decorated with stemmed spirals, a large one between handles and a smaller one under handle.

Furumark, M.P., Type 84 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. III A:1; Mot. 49: 10 (p. 363, fig. 62), Myc. III A:1-2.

Not so common a pattern on the squat alabastron as the wave-and-ivy decoration of VII-4, 5 and 7, the stemmed spiral is found on the body of early angular alabastra (e.g. *B.M.Cat.*, I, 1, A 815 and 816, pl. X) and very frequently on the shoulder of pithoid jars (e.g. I-3, XIV-1, XXIV-4 and 5, etc.). It occurs, however, three times on squat alabastra from Chalkis (*Chalkis*, pls. 15, 450 B'; 17, 402 A', 553 A'), a phenomenon noted by Mrs. Hankey (*Chalkis*, p. 63). These have concentric circles on the base and must like ours be dated to Myc. III A:1.


Pinkish buff clay; hard polished cream surface; red paint, lustrous but worn.

Rounded shape, somewhat higher than VIII-1. Two encircling bands on upper shoulder; shallow wave pattern above base and two narrow bands (concentric circles?); on shoulder a dot rosette.

Furumark, M.P., Type 88 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II-III A:1; Mot. 92: 5 (p. 383, fig. 54), Myc. I-III B. The four dots appear to form a kind of rosette but are more likely the end of parallel rows of dots (cf. *Prosymna*, II, fig. 251, 652, 629), the outgrowth of elaborate dotted wave patterns of Myc. I and II (cf. *Prosymna*, II, figs. 668, 687).

Cf. close-set wave to pattern on VII-7.


Pale greenish buff clay with hard polished surface; rather dull black paint, in part worn off.

Plastic ridge where neck joins shoulder. Neck glazed inside and out; scale pattern on shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II-III A:1; Mot. 70: 1 (p. 408, fig. 70), Myc. II A-III B.

Cf. the large jar of this type I-2 and the examples with which this must have been comparable in size, I-9, VII-12, etc.


Pinkish buff hard fabric; polished surface; streaky orange-red paint, slightly lustrous.

Neat low base-ring. Careful banded decoration: wide band above base-ring, framed by narrow line above; group of three narrow lines, reserved area and trace of another broad band.

From a pithoid jar (cf. *Prosymna*, II, fig. 126, 265) or more likely a jug or ewer (cf. *Prosymna*, II, figs. 700, 701).

Myc. III A.

VIII-5. Fragmentary Jug with Cut-away Neck. Pl. 41. P 1984. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 318, fig. 6. P.H. 0.12 m., D. lip ca. 0.05 m. Almost complete profile preserved with about one-quarter of circumference of globular body; none of base preserved; mended from many pieces.

Shear's date of "about 1200 B.C." (*ibid.*, p. 318) is obviously much too late. Such a correction is in order, since it has led to a consequent late dating of the ring, which in turn has been connected with the Theseus legend (see above, pp. 107, 156).

Evidence that Tomb IX (J 8:1) which was discovered in 1952, lying adjacent and to the south, may have been part of Tomb VIII will be presented below.
Pink clay, with cream surface outside and inside as far as depth of neck; slightly lustrous paint, brown to red.

Neck cut away at back; traces of handle attachment. Three bands of paint around the bottom; three at point of greatest circumference and one where neck joins body. Around lip, broad band extending down about 6 mm. on inside. To left of handle attachment pattern of double loops and six solid dots.

Furumark, M.P., Type 186 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III A:2–B. No real parallel for pattern in Furumark, although it most closely resembles an abbreviated floral pattern: cf. M.P., Mot. 11: 52 (p. 265, fig. 34), Myc. III A:1, which also makes use of a symmetrical arrangement of loops and dots.


JEWELRY AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS


The hoop, flat in section, is turned out slightly at either edge. Oval bezel with design in intaglio: bull-headed man (or wearing bull-mask?) striding to right with two female figures in flounced skirts behind him; small symbols in field to left and above. Man holds a spear or scepter (?); from his waist two lines extend to the first woman. The symbols are plausibly interpreted as an abbreviated cult building at left and the epiphany of the goddess in the trifoliate quantity above (Rev. V. E. Kenna).

Since the size of the hoop is too small for a man’s finger, this ring was probably worn on a thong or loop of bronze wire, as has been suggested for the example from the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, p. 267).

The ring, although less fine in workmanship than the best Mycenaean signets (cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 576; Marinatos-Hirmer, pl. 206, etc.), has attracted considerable interest because of its unusual representation which suggests a mythological interpretation. A bull-headed man apparently leading captive women on a ring from Mycenaean Athens cannot fail to recall to us the legend of Theseus and the Minotaur, and it was interpreted by Shear in the original publication (A.J.A., XXXVII, 1933, p. 540; Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 319), as the Minotaur leading away captive Athenian maidens. This interpretation has not found much favor and has been rejected by Nilsson, Persson and Webster (references above). Persson and Webster both see a religious connotation, the former “a predecessor to Hermes Psychopompos ... who, staff in hand, conducts the imprisoned dead away from this world to the kingdom of the dead,” whereas Webster favors “Poseidon leading forth two spring goddesses,” interpreting the “scepter” as a trident. Neither of these takes cognizance of the bull-headed quality of the male head. Nilsson does not propose another interpretation, but considers the mythological one “certainly hasty.”

In studying the ring it became clear that the reconstructed drawing in the original publication (which was widely reproduced) was inaccurate in a number of respects (the omission of the ground line and the feet of the women for example) and that this might have influenced the interpretation, particularly if there was any inaccuracy in the male head. Accordingly, a new drawing was made by Hero Athanasiadis, reproduced on Pl. 41.

The Reverend V. E. Kenna kindly looked at the ring with me in 1964 and wrote up his observations which are here quoted in part. His basic observation was that the ring showed two periods of engraving—the pillar, the trifoliate quantity, the feet of the women, and the ground line being original, the larger part of the women’s bodies, the bull-headed man with the wand later work—and that this may account for certain stylistic difficulties, but “does not alter the main content of the present representation, that of a bull man leading two captive women.” He was certain of the bull-headed quality of the male head and noted comparisons with cylinder seals found in Cyprus depicting male ministrants with bull masks (Contenan, La glyptique syro-hittite, nos. 198, 199, 200, 206). While Kenna discounted any connection with the legend of the Minotaur, the parallelism of theme seems to me suggestive (see above, pp. 107, 156).

He believes that the use of the trifoliate quantity in place of the epiphany of the goddess of earlier rings, as also the relatively small size of the ring, indicates mainland Greek manufacture “with subsequent repair and re-engraving toward the end of that age, of which the date of the associated pottery gives some indication.” Was he here influenced by Shear’s date of “about 1200 B.C.”?

Without being in a position to appraise the evidence for re-engraving, one might note that a careless linear style of seal engraving was already present from the early fourteenth century (see XI–17), and certainly the pottery found with the gold ring will not admit a date later than the first half of the fourteenth century.

See also p. 107.

Late Helladic III A.
TOMB IX: DISTURBED CHAMBER TOMB (?) (J 8:1)

During the spring campaigns of 1951 and 1952, an extension of the Mycenaean cemetery revealed by Tomb VIII was discovered slightly further to the south and west. Six additional Mycenaean “gravestones” as they were termed by their excavator, Rebecca Wood (now Mrs. Henry S. Robinson), were detected, lying immediately below the Classical level, which in this area rested upon bedrock, thereby almost obliterating the evidence. Two had been cleaned out altogether, and two should be taken together as a double pit grave (our Grave XI, J 8:3). We are thus left with two complexes, at J 8:1 and J 8:2, which are best explained as the badly destroyed remains of chamber tombs (our Tombs IX and X). Tomb IX produced only a few scraps of bone, one alabastron, a gold bead, and a scrap of lead wire, and the possibility presents itself that it is really a continuation of the rich but destroyed Tomb VIII which had been detected many years earlier. The presence of gold jewelry and lead wires in both complexes suggests a connection, but since they were dug quite separately and could not be properly planned, it seems wiser to consider them individually.

IX-1. Squat Alabastron. Pl. 41.

P 22140. H. 0.059 m., D. 0.103 m. Mended from many pieces; about one-half of mouth, base, part of lower body, and one handle missing.

Hard buff clay with lightly polished creamy buff surface; red to brown streaky glaze paint.

Neck and handles glazed; narrow line at base of neck; two broad bands at bottom of curved shoul-

1 The excavator assigned the letters A to F to this group: A and B being our Grave XI, C our Tomb IX, D and E the two that were cleaned out, and F our Tomb X. These letters appear on the plans which were drawn from the excavator's notebook. D and E are not counted in our total of 41 burial places, since they were not assigned deposit numbers (see above, p. 97 and note 14).

2 AA 174: analyzed by Angel as scraps of an adult.

3 See Tomb VIII, note 1.
MYCENAEAN PERIOD: CATALOGUE

der; one large pointed wave in each panel between handles; concentric circles on base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 88 (p. 41, fig. 11). Pointed wave not shown under Mot. 32 (p. 323, fig. 54).

Cf. VII-6 and 8.


J 127. L. 0.0088 m., max. D. 0.0045 m. Complete but slightly squashed. Elliptical seed-like head, pierced lengthwise and fluted.

Cf. the gold beads from the tombs at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, pp. 267 ff.); only one example seems to be close in type and dimensions to ours: “a small bead resembling a grain of wheat, with incised lines dividing the lobes” (II, fig. 541, 8).

See also p. 108.

Late Helladic III A.


J 128. P.L. 0.026 m. Broken at both ends. Fragment is a simple curved rod, the metal gray and not analyzed.

Originally thought to be a fragment from a silver pin, it has now been redescribed because of its close resemblance to the lead coils (VIII-10) from the neighboring tomb.

Late Helladic III A.

TOMB X: DISTURBED CHAMBER TOMB (?) (J 8:2)

Pls. 42, 67; Plan: Pl. 84

Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 41.

Lying a little to the south of Tomb IX, this complex, which was referred to by the excavator as “Grave F,” was found hopelessly disturbed and scoured away (Pl. 42). Quoting the excavator, “It seemed to be not so much a grave as a collection of bones and offerings, presumably swept aside to make room for later burials. The bones were hopelessly mixed and gave no indication of the position of the body at time of inhumation or how many skeletons were represented.” Skeletal analysis revealed the remains of three individuals,1 and it seems likely that they had been swept aside when the adjoining double grave (XI) was set down at a slightly lower level.

While the pottery from Tomb X is partially nondescript (X-5 and 6), several pieces, notably the stippled teacup (X-4) and the shallow saucer (X-3) belong to the initial stage of Myc. III A.

X-1. Terracotta Figurine. Pl. 42.

T 8117. H. 0.118 m., D. body 0.052 m. Many small joining fragments; several small pieces missing, filled out with plaster. Buff clay; red glaze.

Simple bird-faced, Phi-shaped figurine with flaring foot, concave beneath, disc-like body with breasts indicated, and flat-topped head. Applied circles of clay for eyes; applied pigtail hangs down back. Wavy vertical stripes on body; solid glaze on top and back of head.

Cf. discussion in Furumark, C.M.P., pp. 86-89, on the dating of Mycenaean figurines, and his assignment of the Phi-type to the Myc. III A period, with which the contents of this grave accord. Mrs. Elizabeth French, who will publish this figurine more fully in the Agora volume on Terracottas, classifies it as an early Phi-type of the beginning of Myc. III A, earlier than XXVI-4 and 5.

See also p. 109.


P 22141. H. 0.181 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.11 m. Mended from many pieces; preserves about one-third circumference of body and greater part of foot; restored in plaster.

Orange-buff fine clay; thin walls; covered with glossy orange-red glaze inside and out except under foot; glaze much worn.

Deep bowl with slightly offset rim; sturdy stem with spreading disc foot, hollow at center underneath. Two vertical strap handles, one incomplete.

1 AA 176, analyzed as representing one male, one female and a child of 2 or 3, are listed by Angel as coming from Grave E, surely a mistake since E is described as a cutting that had been cleaned out and in the fifth century filled in with dug bedrock. We have taken these as coming from Grave F, our Tomb X.
TOMBS AND OBJECTS: GRAVE XI

Furumark, M.P., Type 264 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1–2. Cf. Attica, pls. 4, 4 and 7, 4 (Vourvatsi and Pikermi). Cf. also the better preserved example XXXII–I.


P 22142. P.H. 0.025 m., D. 0.071 m. Six joining fragments preserve body; foot missing; chips from rim.

Orange-buff clay; undecorated.

Shallow semiglobular shape with slightly offset rim, broad and flat above; probably a ring foot.

Furumark, M.P., Type 207 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. II B–III A:1. Cf. the Myc. II decorated examples, Korakou, p. 53, fig. 72; Prosomna, II, fig. 680.

This is the only example of this shape from the Agora.


P 22143. H. 0.037 m., D. rim 0.108 m. Three joining fragments complete vase.

Pinkish clay with creamy surface; dark orange glaze on rim, handle, base ring and four concentric bands above foot; stippling in dilute glaze on body.

Fine fabric.

Low graceful shape with slightly offset rim and lightly concave base, incised circle inside bowl; band handle from rim to lower shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 219 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. II B–III A:1; Mot. 77: 2 (p. 492, fig. 73), Myc. II B–III A:2 e.

Cf. Prosomna, II, fig. 252, 626; Attica, pl. 8, 1 (Vourvatsi); Ch.T., pl. XXXIV, 18; Πρασιτικά, 1955, pl. 27, ε (Aliki Glyphada). The type with stippled decoration is characteristic of Myc. III A:1; cf. sherds from Atreus bothros (B.S.A., LIX, 1964, pl. 72, a, 1–5, 7–9.

Cf. also XL–7 and 9. The present example seems the finest, certainly superior to XI–9.

See also pp. 129, 141.


P 22145. H. 0.082 m., D. 0.144 m. Mended from many pieces; most of circumference and complete profile preserved; chips and fragments missing from rim, handle not complete.

Soft orange-buff clay with lightly polished surface; orange-red glaze, rather worn.

Deep bowl with straight rim and small ring foot. One rolled handle set horizontally on shoulder. Rim and handle glazed; bands on body: one below rim, three at middle and three at base. Two concentric circles incised on bottom under foot (wheel marks?).

Furumark, M.P., Type 283 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. III A:2.

This is a rare shape, and although perhaps the ancestor of the Myc. III B skyphos (Type 284), it is distinctively different and has an earlier range. Surprisingly, it was very popular in Attica (cf. Attica, p. 35, fig. 14, C, pl. 9, 1–3, 5, 7–8, 13–15) but this is our only example aside from the unusual fragmentary cup 432 with wishbone handle.

See also p. 181.

Myc. III A:2 (probably local).

P 22144. P. H. 0.116 m., est. D. ca. 0.13 m. Neck, handle, and upper body preserved; nothing of base; mended from many pieces.

Gritty brown clay; streaky brown to black glaze on outside and on inside of neck.

Straight rim, narrow neck flowing gradually into broad body, the greatest diameter of which is sharply articulated; vertical strap handle, lightly grooved from rim to shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 112 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. III A:1–2. Larger than examples cited and perhaps more closely related to ewer.

See also p. 135.

Myc. III A:2 (provincial).

Grave XI: Double Pit Grave (J 8:3)

Pls. 42, 65; Plan: Pl. 84

Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 41.

This was the first of the group of burials to be discovered southwest of the Temple of Ares when excavations had been resumed after the war. It was excavated in the spring of 1951 by Rebecca Wood, and given the designation Graves A and B. A was a squarish cutting less than 1.0 m. in length with the remains of two small skeletons; B, lying just to the south and

1 The skeletal material (AA 177) assigned to this deposit does not agree with the evidence of the plan and the excavator’s description, since AA 177 consisted of bones of a M. about 40 to the north, and a F.(?) to the south, whereas the plan clearly shows three skulls, apparently all children.
separated by a thin wall of bedrock only 0.015 m. wide, was somewhat longer and narrower and contained an extended small skeleton, apparently in good order (see Plan). These were judged to be the burials of children. The following spring when the complex at J 8:2 (our Tomb X) lying just to the east and at a slightly lower level was discovered, it was thought that this had been cut into and disturbed when the double grave was dug, a conclusion which seems to be substantiated by the later date of the contents of Grave XI. At any rate, the remains of this confused complex suggest a small family cemetery.  


**XI-1. Fragmentary Alabastron.**

P 21195. Grave ‘‘A.’’ P.H. 0.062 m., est. D. ca. 0.155 m. Very badly broken; many small scraps do not join. Most of body and all of neck, mouth and handles missing.  
Light buff to pink clay with buff surface; black glaze, worn.  
Wave pattern on body; concentric circles on bottom. Dot filling ornaments above wave.  
Furumark, *M.P.*, Type 85 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. III A:2–B; Mot. 32: 5 (p. 823, fig. 54), Myc. I–III B.  
Myc. III A:2.

**XI-2. Fragmentary Jug.**

P 21196. Grave ‘‘A.’’ P.H.(without handle) 0.07 m. Very badly broken. Neck, mouth, and shoulder missing; several small fragments do not join.  
Cinnamon brown clay; rather thick and gritty fabric; red-brown paint, without luster.  
Flat bottom; plump rounded body; vertical handle from shoulder. Monochrome dull glaze.  
Furumark, *M.P.*, Type 112 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. III A:2. Cf. larger example X–6.  
See also p. 135.  
Myc. III A:2.

**XI-3. Alabastron.**

Pls. 42, 65.  
P 21194. Grave ‘‘A.’’ H. 0.075 m., D. ca. 0.105 m. Mended from many pieces; about one-half the circumference and one handle missing, restored in plaster.  
Rather thick fabric; pinkish buff clay and surface; streaky glaze, brown to black.  
Plump alabastron with high neck and narrow outturned rim.  
Rim, neck and handles glazed. At base of neck two narrow lines and a broad band. On shoulder wave pattern with quirk above wave depression; three glazed lines and band below. On underside central dot and four concentric circles.  
Furumark, *M.P.*, Type 85 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. III A:2–B; Mot. 32: 5 (p. 823, fig. 54), Myc. I–III B.  
This is definitely later than any of the alabastra from Tomb VII and one of the latest examples of this shape from the Agora.  
See also p. 123.  
Myc. III A–B.

**XI-4. Stone Button.**

ST 491. Grave ‘‘A.’’ H. 0.019 m., D. 0.028 m. Scratched on bottom. Hard black stone, polished smooth.  
Conical with flat bottom and slightly rounded top. Pierced vertically.

**XI-5. Jug Fragments.**

Not illustrated.  
P 21197. Grave ‘‘B.’’ D. mouth 0.078 m. Much broken and much missing. Lip and top of handle, fragments of shoulder and scraps of rest of vase preserved.  
Rather heavy fabric, pinkish with gray core; thin red wash outside and on inside of neck.  
Round mouthed, wide bodied jug; broad handle, lightly double-grooved, from rim.  
Probably Furumark, M.P., Type 109 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. I–III B.  
Myc. III A–B?

**XI-6. Bronze Needle.**

B 984. Grave ‘‘B.’’ P.L. 0.054 m. Broken near tip. Pierced at opposite end with an eye.  
No such bronze needles seem to have been found at the Argive Heraion; at least none are reported in *Prosymna*, II, pp. 329 ff. Is it not a rather strange tomb-offering in child’s grave?  
See also p. 106.  
Late Helladic III.

**TOMB XII: UNFINISHED CHAMBER TOMB (J 10:1)**

Pls. 43, 75; Plan: Pl. 85

*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 41.

In the spring of 1952 a small chamber tomb was discovered about sixty meters due south of Tomb VII, but with the dromos leading in from the north rather than the west. This tomb poses
several problems. The chamber as cleared was rough and irregular, (Pl. 43), and collapsed bedrock filled it for about 1.20 m. in height. Beneath the collapsed bedrock there was a layer of scattered fieldstones, no orderly interments, and practically no vestige of pottery or bone.¹ These features suggest a tomb that had collapsed while being cut and had never been used; one is reminded of the unfinished chamber tomb on the east slope of the Hill of the Nymphs.² However, in the present case the dromos produced a sizable quantity of broken pottery (XII–1 to 9 plus many uncatalogued fragments). In the Annual Report this was associated with the tomb, “since no household deposit of the Mycenaean period was encountered at ground level in the general area,” although it was admitted that “the history of what happened is obscure.”³ One should note, however, the totally different character and date of the deposit from those found in the adjacent tombs and graves.

The pottery from this deposit was altogether fragmentary, and consisted of many coarse undecorated kylikes, an amphora and hydria, jug, etc., as well as some late skyphoi which cannot be dated earlier than Myc. III C:1 and must fall at about the same time as the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain on the North Slope.⁴ The neighboring tombs, however, run from the transition of Myc. II to III A (Tomb VII) down to the end of Myc. III A or early III B (Grave XI). This would imply an interval of at least one hundred years between the quarrying of our tomb and its eventual use. Since the nature of the pottery is much closer to that found in three deposits toward the northeast corner of the Agora, which are almost certainly pits or bothroi,⁵ it seems likely that the present deposit represents a later re-use, as a refuse pit, of the dromos of a collapsed and unfinished chamber tomb (presumably dug as part of the same cemetery that included Tombs VII–XI).

The deposit then is of no use in dating the tomb, and is of quite a different character from those we have previously considered.

See also pp. 99, 111.

Date of tomb probably Late Helladic III A; deposit, Myc. III C:1.


P 22273. H. 0.105 m., est. D. ca. 0.125 m. About three-quarters of upper wall missing, and chips from foot.

Pinkish buff clay with bits, buff surfacing; not well smoothed on int.

Carinated bowl with offset lip; short stem spreading toward bowl; disc foot slightly rounded above with concave surface and central depression beneath.

Small band handle from rim to below carination. Undecorated.

Furumark, M.P., Type 267 (p. 61, fig. 17), Myc. III B-C:1. Cf. Zygouries, p. 152, fig. 143 (Potter's Shop); Pylos, I, pp. 356–357, Shape 27, fig. 329; Fountain, p. 376, fig. 58, b, c (complete example found in conjunction with use of stairway).

Eleven similar fragmentary kylikes uncatalogued from this deposit. Cf. also 437 and 438 (O 7:4) which are sloppier; also 444 (K 6:1) and 494.

By the time of the Granary at Mycenae this type seems to have been extinct (cf. B.S.A., XXV, 1921–1923, pl. X, e).

See also pp. 127–128.

Myc. III B-C.


P 22280. H. 0.059 m., est. D. ca. 0.17 m. Several joining fragments preserve lower part and a little of rim, giving complete profile; restored in plaster.

Coarse pinkish buff clay with no surfacing. Not well smoothed; carelessly made. Undecorated.

Carinated rim, concave in profile, with plain lip;
flaring lower wall; countersunk base giving ring foot.

Probably an Attic variant of Furumark's Type 295 (p. 53, fig. 15), Myc. III B-C: 1; cf. Broneer's Shape 9, Fountain, p. 379, fig. 61. Possibly without handles like Zygouries, p. 154, fig. 146.

See also p. 181.

Myc. III B-C.

XII-3. Skyphos in Granary Style.

P 22275. H. 0.147 m., D. 0.196 m. Mended from many pieces; center of floor, part of rim and of lower wall, end of one handle missing.

Yellow buff clay; thin dull purplish brown glaze, much worn inside and out, except beneath foot.

Deep bowl with plain rim slightly outturned; ring foot with broad flat resting surface; horizontally set loop handles.

Furumark, M.P., Type 285 (p. 49, fig. 14), Myc. III C: 1 late. Cf. Fountain, p. 370, fig. 49, c; Korakou, p. 71, fig. 103. The examples from the Granary and from Strata X-XI of Lion Gate deposit seem a little later (B.S.A., XXV, 1921-1923, p. 38, fig. 9, a, e, f, pls. X, b, XI, m).

Fragments of a similar skyphos uncatalogued and in storage. Cf. also 472 from Well, S 27:7.

See also p. 182.

Myc. III C: 1 (late).

XII-4. Fragmentary Skyphos.

P 22279. D. base 0.055 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.13 m. Several fragments mending to two preserve: a, part of rim and wall with one handle; b, most of foot with center of floor and start of wall.

Pinkish buff clay with smooth light buff surfacing; decoration in black to brown glaze.

Bell-shaped skyphos with ring foot and plain outturned rim. Decoration: ext., band at rim, on handle and around foot, narrow bands at line of handle attachment, triple wavy arch on upper wall; int., concentric circles at center of floor, the inner circles in fine brown lines, outer broad black band.

Furumark, M.P., Type 284 (p. 49, fig. 14), Myc. III B-C: 1; Mot. 62: 7, 23 (p. 391, fig. 68).

This shape is not clearly represented in the Fountain material, but cf. Fountain, p. 397, fig. 78, a, c, d, j for hanging spirals from neck of closed pots.

See also p. 182.

Myc. III B-C.

XII-5. Narrow-necked Jug.

P 22278. P.H. 0.145 m., est. D. ca. 0.204 m. Several joining fragments preserve most of neck and lip, the handle and part of shoulder and start of wall; restored in plaster to below handle.

Light red clay, light buff surfacing; decoration in red to brownish glaze adhering well.

Narrow neck with round mouth, the lip flaring and thickened. Band handle from below lip. Broad shoulder rounding into wall.

Horizontal bands on rim, below lip, at base of neck and two at outer edge of shoulder. On shoulder pot-hook spirals, each hanging from band at base of neck.

Furumark, M.P., Type 121 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III B-C: 1; Mot. 51: 23 (p. 366, fig. 63), Myc. III B-C: 1.

Technically this resembles the Fountain material but cf. Fountain, p. 397, fig. 78, a, c, d, j for spirals from neck of closed pots.

See also p. 136.

Myc. III B-C.

XII-6. Deep Open Bowl.

P 22277. H. 0.137 m., est. D. ca. 0.30 m. Several fragments mending up to three preserve much of base and part of wall and rim, giving complete profile but nothing of handles.

Very coarse reddish clay with many large impurities; slightly lustrous red glaze adhering well.

Low ring foot with broad flat resting surface; flaring walls; thickened rim, flat on top and slightly projecting. Glazed int.; rim and bands ext., three on upper wall and one above foot.

Furumark, M.P., Type 294 (p. 49, fig. 14), Myc. III B-C: 1. Probably like Korakou, p. 63, figs. 87, 88. Cf. also Fountain, p. 370, figs. 50-51. Note Broneer's reference to common occurrence of this shape in settlements and rarity in tombs.

Fragments of three others from this deposit uncatalogued.

See also p. 182.

Myc. III B-C.

XII-7. Fragmentary Coarse Amphora.

P 22274. W. across handles 0.22 m., D. lip 0.182 m. Upper part of ovoid amphora, mended from several pieces, preserving neck and rim, one handle and part of another.

Coarse buff to dirty brown fabric, fired grayish brown. On ext. thin light buff slip, much worn, extending part way inside neck where dripped down. Heavy flaring rim; rolled handles from rim.

Furumark, M.P., Type 69 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. III B-C. Cf. Zygouries, p. 163, fig. 158; Fountain, pp. 393, 396, figs. 74, 76, b.

See also p. 126.

Myc. III B-C.
II-8. Fragmentary Coarse Hydria. PI. 43.
P 22276. Rest. H. 0.33 m., max. D. 0.31 m. Most of neck and rim and much of shoulder preserved with most of the vertical handle; also part of one side with one horizontal handle; nothing of lower wall or base preserved; restored in plaster to above base.
Thick fabric; pinkish buff clay with bits; smooth light buff surfacing.
Straight neck with thickened lip; rounded body; rolled handles.

Furumark, M.P., Type 128 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. III B-C. Cf. Korakou, p. 69, fig. 100; Fountain, p. 396, fig. 76, a.
Cf. 460 and 476 from Wells V 24:1 and S 27:7.
See also p. 125.
Myc. III B–C.

II-9. Coarse Lid. PI. 43.
P 22281. H. 0.043 m., est. D. ca. 0.13 m. Several joining fragments and a small non-joining one give half of a plain lid for a sizable pot (cf. D. with rim of amphora XII–7).
Thick gray buff clay; remains of lighter surfacing, and possibly traces of faded concentric rings in dull paint.
Flat top, plain deep down-turned edge.

Furumark, M.P., Type 334 (p. 78), Myc. III A:2–C. Cf. Asine, p. 415, fig. 270, 14 (Tomb I: 7 with some quite late material); Fountain, p. 384, fig. 65, a–j. The examples from the Potter’s Shop at Zygouries (Zygouries, p. 154, fig. 146) are of a different type with conical top. All these examples have a small hole in the center, with which ours should probably be restored. Cf. the earlier decorated lid XXI–5.
See also p. 140.
Myc. III B–C.

The next group of Mycenaean tombs, which occupies the whole northeast corner of the Agora, begins some eighty meters due east of Tomb VII (J 7:2). The tombs along the east side under the Stoa of Attalos are doubtless an extension of the same cemetery, but for purposes of convenience we have divided it into two parts, those to the west of the Stoa Terrace, and those lying directly under and to the east.1 Although there may once have been more tombs lying along the north side and closing the gap between Tomb VII and Tomb XIII, all vestiges have been lost in the scarping down of the area or in the construction of the Athens-Peiraeus Railway. From the orientation of the dromoi of this group, all of which face north, it is apparent that the ancient ground level must have risen toward the south2 (Plan, Pl. 79).

This group shows a concentration of four small chamber tombs (XIII to XV and XVIII at O 7:7, O 7:5, O 7:2 and O 8:4) with three small graves (XVI, XVII, and XIX at N 7:2, O 7:3, and O 8:3) sandwiched between in an area of about 150 square meters, with another two small chamber tombs (XX and XXI at P 8:8 and P 9:4) lying somewhat apart to the south.
There are also three non-sepulchral or rubbish deposits in the same area (O 7:4, O 7:14, and P 8:9), at least one of which (that at O 7:14) contained pottery from disturbed or destroyed chamber tombs.3

1 Since the conditions of excavating were quite different in the two areas, we have grouped together those occupying letters N, O, and P on the grid, and those to the east in letters Q and R.
2 The excavator’s notebook also confirms this with the notation that the ground is “rising steeply toward the south.” However, the steepness of the dromoi suggests that it cannot have been a very appreciable grade.
3 See also p. 111 and below, pp. 247ff.

TOMB XIII: SMALL CHAMBER TOMB (O 7:7)
Pls. 44, 77; Plan: Pl. 79


This small chamber tomb, which was excavated in the 1951 campaign, has been published briefly in the Annual Report and illustrated elsewhere.1 Although badly disturbed at var-i-
ous times in antiquity, it was clearly a chamber tomb with the chamber little more than a cubby-hole at the end of a steep dromos, entered at the north by two steps, and with the stone blocking-wall preserved for a few courses (Pl. 44, b). The dromos was at least 2.20 m. long with a width of 0.80 to 0.90 m. tapering upward to 0.60 m., and preserved to a height of at least 1.05 m.

The small chamber (Pl. 44, a) contained a few bones, a small spouted bronze bowl (XIII-1), a spouted pottery cup (XIII-2) and a steatite button (XIII-4). The other vase that has been associated with this tomb (XIII-3) was found in the fifth-century well which had been dug through the tomb chamber.

Although dated in the original report “well on in Late Helladic III B or even in C,” in our opinion the tomb need not be later than the end of Myc. III A or early III B. See also pp. 99–100, 105.

XIII-1. Small Bronze Bowl. Pl. 44.
B 966. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, b; A.J.A., LV, 1952, pl. 9, A; B.C.H., LXVII, 1952, p. 213, fig. 12; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 225. H. 0.051 m., D. 0.10 m. Intact; heavily corroded and surface rough.

Flat-bottomed bowl with walls flaring to plain flattened rim; shallow spout at one side of rim; two wishbone handles slightly slanting outwards set low on shoulder. Ends of handles set through walls and well-riveted on inside. Careful miniature work.

This is one of the few bronze vases of the Mycenaean period known from Athens. It is of a shape which occurs in metal in the richly decorated example from the Cenotaph at Dendra (R.T.D., pp. 92 ff.; XXXI, 4, fig. 67; XXXI, 6, fig. 68, the first with handles like ours, the second with spout), and in a bowl almost identical to ours, but larger, from Asine, Tomb 1:5 (Asine, p. 393, fig. 257). Cf. also a new example from the tholos at Tragana (B.C.H., LXXX, 1956, p. 284, fig. 12). These are approximately three times bigger than ours, ranging from ca. 0.14 to 0.16 m. in height. Similar handles are found on a fragmentary bronze basin from the Argive Heraion (Prosyna, II, fig. 610). None of these should be later than L.H. III A. Cf. Minoan antecedents (P.T.K., pp. 51 f., fig. 53 b).

The metal form influenced the kalathos shape in pottery (cf. also Furumark, M.P., p. 52). Note the imitation rivet heads on two clay kalathoi from Kalymnos (B. M.Cat., I, 1, A 1016–1017, pl. XV = C.V.A., Br. Mus., III a, pl. 9, 6, 8).

See also p. 105.

Late Helladic III A–B.

XIII-2. Spouted Cup. Pl. 44.
P 21570. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, b; A.J.A., LV, 1952, pl. 9, A; B.C.H., LXVII, 1952, p. 210, fig. 12; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 225. H. 0.048 m., D. 0.068 m. Mended from several pieces; chips missing, otherwise complete.

Pinkish buff clay, very soft and bumpy; handmade (?); the whole surface probably originally covered with a cream slip which has flaked off taking with it the red paint, of which only traces remain.

Low rounded bowl with flaring lip and open spout set obliquely; low ring base; vertical band handle from rim to shoulder. Rim, spout and probably handle covered with paint; possibly also the shoulder with bands on lower part of body.

Furumark, M.P., Type 249 (p. 48, fig. 18), Myc. III A:2–B. Cf. Prosyna, II, figs. 192, 874; 572, 805; B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 852, pl. XIII (Ialysos); B.C.H., LXVII, 1957, p. 577, fig. 14 (Diasea near Olympia); C.V.A., Karlsruhe, III a, pl. 2, 2 (Attica). Also Attica, p. 87, Type F, pl. 9, 4, 6 (Vourvatsi). Many of these seem to be of III A:2 date. Ours seems to be a crude local imitation of a standard type.

See also pp. 129–130.

Myc. III A:2–B.

XIII-3. Fragmentary Three-handled Jar. Pl. 44.
P 21993. P.H. 0.08 m., D. rim 0.071 m. Six joining fragments preserve most of rim and neck and about one-half of upper part of body, including all of one handle and root of another.

Soft orange-buff clay, a little powdery; orange-red glaze, much worn.

Low slightly concave neck with flat rim projecting toward the outside; rounded sloping shoulder with marked tapering toward bottom; sharply upturned horizontal handles.

Rim, neck, both inside and out, and handles glazed; two narrow bands at junction of neck and shoulder;

A fifth-century well (N 7:3) had cut away a good part of the chamber, and a Geometric grave (O 7:11) had been set down in the upper fill of the dromos.

AA 129: analyzed by Angel as an adult female of 16 (?). The small size of the chamber and the diminutive size of the offerings would rather have suggested the burial of a child.

Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 107. For the earlier dating of the bronze bowl and spouted cup see below.
TOMB XIV: TOMB OF THE NICHES (O 7:5)

Pls. 45–46, 65, 77; Plan: Pls. 79, 83

Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp. 105–106, fig. 4, pl. 25, b, c.

Lying a few meters south and east of Tomb XIII (Plan: Pl. 79) with a parallel alignment of its dromos, Tomb XIV was also found in the spring of 1951 and received a preliminary publication in the Annual Report. Unlike its neighbor it was carefully cut and much better preserved. It is one of the few tombs found in the Agora that has an almost architectural regularity with squared chamber (1.75 m. wide by 2.10 m. deep) and axially centered dromos (Pl. 45, a; 4.0 m. long by 1.10 m. wide tapering upward to 0.80 m.). The dromos had two lateral niches (1.0 m. long by 0.50 m. high) used for the burials of children, two in the right-hand or western niche (Pl. 45, b), one in the eastern niche. The niches are symmetrically placed with respect to the doorway, but the eastern niche was at a considerably higher level and contained no offerings. The tomb had not been robbed or disturbed in post-Mycenaean times, for the doors of the main chamber and the niches were found closed with rough rubble walls.

The chamber itself (Pl. 45, c) had been used for multiple burials: the remains of the two earliest occupants had been swept to the back, and two later skeletons were found in order at the sides of the chamber, lying on their backs with their knees drawn up. Subsequently, the roof of the chamber collapsed and the body of a child was introduced from above. All told there were eight interments, yet the number of offerings is comparatively small and the time range represented by them does not appear to be great, with the possible exception of the feeding bottle (XIV–7) and the fragmentary coarse jug (XIV–8) associated with burial V.

Burials I–IV should be about contemporary with the middle burials of Tomb VII (i.e. Myc. III A:1 to 2 early), the niche burials probably a little later, and the burial introduced after the collapse of the tomb perhaps well on in Myc. III B.

See also pp. 99–102.

POTTERY

VASES WITH PILE OF BONES AT BACK OF CHAMBER


P 21590. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 25, c; A.J.A., LVI, 1952, pl. 8, B; B.C.H., LXXVI, 1952, p. 212, fig. 11. H. 0.192 m., D. 0.144 m. Mended from many fragments; small pieces from rim and wall missing.

Light gray-buff clay, well smoothed; brownish black glaze, crackled and worn. Misfiring near one handle has produced “pink blush.” Some carbonized matter and an animal tooth found in jar.

1 Also B.C.H., LXXVI, 1952, p. 212, figs. 10–11; A.J.A., LVI, 1952, p. 178, pl. 8, A, B.

2 Three tombs in the Argive Heraion contained a small burial niche each in the dromos; in two cases these had been used as ossuaries for assembled bones, but in Tomb 30 the niche was used for the primary interment of a child (Prosymna, I, pp. 234–235). Cf. also the niche in the dromos of Tomb 23 at Perati which from the furnishings—feeding bottle, sea-shells, idol—was clearly the interment of a child (Epyov, 1957, p. 19, fig. 18).

3 Only seven skeletons were assigned to this tomb in Angel’s analysis: AA 117–123. 117 (burial V) Child of 7; 118 and 119 (burials I and II) M. of 46 and P. of 36; 120 (burial III) M. of 40; 121 (burial IV) M. of 37; 122 and 123 (burials VI and VII) Children of 6 and 5. Apparently the bones of the East Niche were not analyzed.

4 The numbering of the burials apparently proceeded from the chamber to the niches, but there is every reason to think that burial V was in reality the eighth.
Low concave neck with spreading flat rim; tall piriform body with false ring base; three vertical handles with slight projection at base attachment. Rim, neck, handles, and wide zone at base glazed. Handle zone has two stemmed spirals in each panel, framed below by two broad bands, each with a fine line above, and a group of fine lines between lower band and glazed foot.

Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B–III A:1; Mot. 49: 6, 10 (p. 363, fig. 62), Myc. III A:1–2.

Cf. I–3 and references, also XXIV–4 and 5. In comparison with the others this is somewhat awkward and ungraceful with the spirals floating rather than confined in shoulder zone. Cf. Ialysos, p. 189, fig. 112, 1.

See also pp. 120, 143.

Myc. III A:1 (?).


P 21589. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 25, c; A.J.A., LVI, 1952, pl. 8, B; B.C.H., LXXVI, 1952, p. 210, fig. 11. H. 0.09 m., D. 0.08 m. One handle and fragment of lip missing; base cracked.

Creamy buff clay; brownish black glaze, badly worn, leaving only faint brown traces. Some carbonized bones found in pot.

Low concave neck with flat spreading rim; squat piriform body with countersunk base; three rolled handles set horizontally on shoulder. Mouth and handles glazed; net pattern on shoulder; horizontal bands on lower body.

Furumark, M.P., Type 44 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:1–2; Mot. 57: 2 (p. 383, fig. 67), Myc. III A:1–C:1.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 714, 154; Attica, pl. 12, 1 (Vourvatsi). A common type in the Amarna trade, this is the only example from the Agora with simple net pattern. Most others have variations of the foliate band; cf. V–4, XVIII–1, etc.

See also p. 120.

Myc. III A:2.


Soft pink-buff clay, orange-red paint, worn and without luster.

Small open bowl with slightly incurved rim; a suggestion of a formed base with flat bottom.

Furumark, M.P., Type 204 (p. 53, fig. 19), Myc. I–III C.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 280, 523. Cf. tin-sheathed examples III–12, 13, 16.

See also p. 181.

Myc. III A.

Vase from East Side of Chamber (XIV–4; Pls. 45, 65)


P 21577. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 25, c; A.J.A., LVI, 1952, pl. 8, B; B.C.H., LXXVI, 1952, p. 212, fig. 11. H. 0.18 m., D. 0.152 m. Mended from many pieces; fragments of rim, base and wall missing.

Very smooth pale buff clay with gray pink core; reddish brown glaze, streaky and worn in parts.

Low concave neck with spreading rim, flaring slightly downwards; broad piriform shape with flaring base and flat bottom with projecting ring; three vertical handles with median ridge.

Neck inside and out, rim, handles outside, and lower part of body glazed; shoulder zone filled with scale pattern framed below by two groups of broad and narrow bands.

Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B–III A:1, Mot. 70: 1 (p. 403, fig. 70), Myc. II A–III B.

Cf. the larger example 1–2 and references. Close to VII–12 and XVII–1 but better preserved. Although found with one of the later interments this is stylistically as early, if not earlier, than XIV–1. Perhaps re-used?

See also p. 120.


Vases from West Niche in Dromos (XIV–5 and 6; Pl. 45)


P 21573. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 25, c; A.J.A., LVI, 1952, pl. 8, B; B.C.H., LXXVI, 1952, p. 212, fig. 11. H. 0.147 m., D. 0.131 m. Intact except for fragment mended on lip and a smaller one missing.

Coarse orange-buff clay, not well purified; traces of brownish wash all over.

Broad mouth with thickened rim; short neck flowing without articulation into shoulder; baggy shape with narrow bottom not well stabilized.

Furumark, M.P., Type 66 (p. 36, fig. 8), Myc. II A–III C.

Cf. V–7 and 8 and references.

See also p. 126.

Myc. III A.


P 21574. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 25, c; A.J.A., LVI, 1952, pl. 8, B; B.C.H., LXXVI, 1952, p. 212, fig. 11. H. (including handle) 0.13 m., D. 0.105 m. Mended from many pieces; small fragments and chips missing.
TOMBS AND OBJECTS: TOMB XIV

Very light grayish white clay, hard but not well smoothed; dull brownish black paint.

Low neck with flaring rim; broad basket-like handle; body almost biconical with countersunk base; diagonal spout from broadest part of shoulder. Neck and spout glazed; two bands on handle; bands at base of neck, below spout and at base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 160 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III A:2.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 708 (Myc. III A decorated examples); Attica, pl. 17, 1-8, all with spouts parallel to handle. The two decorated examples from Chalkis (Chalkis, pl. 22, 449B’ and 449A’) most closely resemble ours in shape and position of spout at right angles to handle. Probably a regional rather than a chronological feature.

See also pp. 138-139.

Myc. III A:2 (?).

OTHER FINDS

XIV-9. Bronze Knife or Razor. Pl. 46.

B 968. From pile of bones at south. P.L. as it lay in ground 0.12 m., P.W. 0.025 m. Broken into a number of pieces and in poor condition.

Impossible to tell from its preservation whether this was a knife or a razor, but because of the preserved width in proportion to length and the lack of any taper, the latter seems preferable. Cf. III-19 and VII-27 with references.

See also p. 106.

Late Helladic III.

XIV-10. Gold Bead. Pl. 46.

J 126. From among bones at southeast corner. D. 0.004 m.

Small round bead, pierced for stringing on a necklace.

Cf. the spherical gold beads from the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, p. 270; II, fig. 541, 6) which are made of two half-spheres joined carefully and vary in diameter from 0.007 to 0.003 m.

Cf. also XXI-12 and p. 108.

Late Helladic III.


G 436. From pocket in floor at west side of main chamber. D. 0.015 m., T. 0.009 m. Slightly broken; surface pitted.

White paste bead with large hole through center. Blegen’s Type 14, “Annular” (Prosymna, II, fig. 599, 14).

Cf. also p. 108.

Late Helladic III.


ST 514. From among bones at southeast corner. H. 0.012 m., D. 0.019 m. Intact; not completely polished; tool marks still visible.

Dark brownish, mottled stone. Truncated pyramid shape.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 602, 1, “short cone.”

Late Helladic III.


ST 515. From under neck of east skeleton, main chamber. H. 0.017 m., D. 0.025 m. Intact for minor chips.

Biconical shape.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 602, 6, “bicone.”

Late Helladic III.
Mycenaean Period: Catalogue

Tomb XV: Small Chamber Tomb (O 7:2)
Pls. 46, 65; Plan: PIs. 79, 85.

Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 47, pl. 17, a, b.

The scant remains of a third chamber tomb in the region were encountered in the spring of 1952, lying about five meters southeast of Tomb XIV. A preliminary publication appeared in the Annual Report.

In the present tomb only the bottom 0.10 to 0.20 m. of the chamber was preserved along with the partial skeletal remains of two or three occupants (Pl. 46, a). The plan revealed a square chamber (1.80 m. by 1.80 m.), entered by a sloping dromos (0.90 m. wide and preserved to a length of 2.5 m.) from the northeast. The only grave offerings were two pots and a bronze dagger, although a third pot (XV-3) which had been found the previous season in a late pit which cut through the northern half of the chamber must be associated with this tomb.

The reason for the scantiness of the remains and the incomplete condition of the skeletons is, however, to be explained by an earlier disturbance. Apparently much of the tomb had been cut away by workmen who were engaged in digging the foundations for a large monument in the fourth century B.C. and once they had struck the skeletons reverence for the dead induced them to shift the monument westward by its own width (Pl. 46, b). This affords a parallel to the two sets of propitiatory white-ground lekythoi deposited in Tomb VII, when fifth-century workmen came upon the burials there.

From the offerings this tomb should be dated fairly early in the fourteenth century, either Myc. III A: 1 or more likely Myc. III A: 2 early.

See also p. 99.

XV-1. Kylix.

Pl. 46.

P 22318. Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pl. 17, b. H. 0.12 m., D. 0.123 m. Mended from many fragments; complete except for chips.

Creamy buff clay with pinkish core; well smoothed; undecorated.

Disc foot, concave beneath; tall slender stem; graceful curving bowl with sharply outturned lip; small band handles from lip to well down on wall.

Furumark, M.P., Type 266 (p. 59, fig. 16), Myc. III A: 1–C: 1.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 296, 720; Attica, pls. 5, 9 (Vourvatsi) and 7, 2 (Pikermi).

The tin-incrusted kylix (III-8) has a deeper bowl, but this is nonetheless an early type. Cf. XI-12 in a Myc. III A: 1 context. Cf. also XXIV-15 and XXXII-3.

See also pp. 127–128.


Pl. 46.

P 22319. Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pl. 17, b. H. 0.225 m., D. 0.195 m. Mended from many pieces; part of rim, neck and wall missing on one side; also part of bottom; restored in plaster.

Brownish buff clay with white bits; scanty remains of thin brownish glaze wash.

Globular biconical shape with small flat bottom, concave neck, flaring plain rim, and band handle from rim to shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 109 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. I–III B.

Cf. VII-20 and references.

See also p. 186.


P 21596. From north edge of late pit in O 7. H. 0.037 m., D. 0.068 m. One handle missing; otherwise intact.

Rather heavy pinkish clay with smooth hard surface; orange-red glaze.

Low concave neck with flat projecting rim; curving body flattened on bottom; three small loop handles. Neck and handles glazed; continuous wave pattern on shoulder with dot rosettes between handles; concentric circles on base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 83 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II A–III A: 1; Motis. 32: 5 (p. 323, fig. 54), Myc. I–III B; 27: 15, 17 (p. 315, fig. 53), Myc. II B–III A: 2.

1 AA 132 and 133: analyzed by Angel as F. of 52 and Child of 6.

2 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 47.

3 The kylix (XV-1) is close in shape to XI-12 (Myc. III A: 1–2) and the alabastron (XV-3) not much later than those from the middle burials of Tomb VII (VII-6 and 7).
Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 711, 161 (probably a little earlier); B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 814, pl. X from Ialysos must be a little later.

None of the alabastra from the Ares Tomb combines the “sea anemone” with the wave, but cf. VIII-2 and XXI-2 with rows of dots above wave. See also pp. 128, 142.


GRAVE XVI: LILY BOWL GRAVE (N 7:2)

Pls. 47, 65-66, 75, 77; Plan: Pls. 79, 87


Barely two meters to the south of the chamber of Tomb XIII lay a small pit grave (0.50 m. by 1.85 m. by 0.75 m. deep) containing the skeleton of an infant girl. Although a simple grave with a single interment, the pit was packed with gifts. These consisted of ten vases, among them the beautiful Lily Bowl (XVI-1), which form a fine early group, a necklace, ivory comb and pin, and a collection of seashells. Excavated in the spring of 1951, along with its neighbors (XIII-XIV), the grave received a preliminary publication in the Annual Report.

The relative spaciousness of the cutting in respect to the small skeleton (Pl. 47) and the wealth of offerings is reminiscent of the Shaft Graves and particularly of those of the Prehistoric Cemetery below the Lion Gate at Mycenae. It is with this period (L.H. I–II) that our vases ally themselves, and “no later than Late Helladic III A” does not fully emphasize their early quality. Of all the Agora burials this is the earliest closed group and must be even a little earlier than the first burials in Tomb VII, probably no later than the mid-fifteenth century.

See also pp. 103, 108, 109-110.

POTTERY

XVI-1. The Lily Bowl. Pl. 47.

P 21300. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, c.; A.J.A., LVI, 1952, pl. 8, D; J.H.S., LXII, 1952, p. 96, fig. 4; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 224; B.C.H., LXXVI, 1952, p. 211, fig. 9. At foot of grave. H. 0.078 m., D. 0.177 m. Mended from eight pieces; small chips missing.

Buff clay with smooth cream surface; chocolate brown glaze, thinned in places and not altogether lustrous.

Deep open bowl with flat offset rim; three rolled loop handles set horizontally on rim and rising almost vertically above it; flattened bottom. Rim and handles glazed. Inside, two concentric circles at lower part. Outside, a frieze of six lilies, each with two voluted petals and three stamens, placed obliquely on curving triple stems (one has opposed rootlets), above three horizontal bands. Not a standard shape and apparently more or less unique, although there is a resemblance in the flattened bottom and thinned lip to certain early spouted cups, Furumark, M.P., Type 253 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. II A-III A:2. Perhaps the origin of the shape is to be sought in metal, although here too no real parallel has been found. A small angular-sided bowl from the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, II, fig. 478, 933) has the same arrangement of handles but otherwise is completely different, and certainly later. Closer in time and spirit are certain Matt-painted basins from Phylakopi (Phylakopi, p. 110, fig. 77, pl. XV, 17-20) with two loop handles on rim and interior decoration. Cf. also the Myc. I–II A basin from Keos with crocuses and an interior tondo (Hesperia, XXXI, 1

1 AA 127: analyzed by Angel as a child of about one and a half. The type of offerings indicates the sex as female.

2 See also A.J.A., LVI, 1952, p. 122, pl. 8, D (Lily Bowl); J.H.S., LXII, 1952, p. 96, fig. 4 (Lily Bowl); Archaeology, IV, 1951, pp. 223-225.

3 Wace, Mycenae, pl. 70, a (Grave III of Prehistoric Cemetery); cited also in Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 107.

4 Ibid., p. 108.

5 In Grave XVI there is nothing at all that presupposes Myc. III A:1, whereas in the early burials of the Ares Tomb (VII) there is a gradual evolution. Only the stemmed goblet (VII-14) and the squat jug (VII-1) seem to belong to the phase represented by this group.
1962, pl. 97, a–b). It has been suggested (Agora Guide, 2nd ed., p. 145) that it was “clearly intended for bulbs,” a hanging flower pot; this would account for the three suspension loops, but seems too modern an idea. I would prefer to think of it as something used in the toilet or meals of the infant girl.

Decoration is standard representation of lily: Furumark, M.P., Mot. 9: 6, 7 (p. 258, fig. 82), Myc. II B. Cf. especially the representations on Ephryeanean ware (Korakou, pls. VI, 4, VII, 1); also B.S.A., LI, 1956, p. 125, fig. 3 (Ephryeanean fragment from Phylakopi); B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 782 (fragmentary teacup from Aspis, Argos). A somewhat earlier version of the lily than on the spouted cup from the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, II, fig. 698) with which our vase has a close stylistic affinity.

See also pp. 182–183, 144.

Myc. II B (imported).

XVI–2. Stemmed Cup with High-swung Handle.

Pls. 47, 66.

P 21809. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, c. At foot of grave. H. 0.092 m., D. 0.113 m. Mended from three pieces; chipped.

Yellow buff clay, smooth and fine; brown glaze, mostly worn.

Deep bowl with offset rim; low stem with spreading disc foot concave beneath; high-swung ribbon handle from rim to shoulder.

Lip and handle painted; a band around the handle attachment; shoulder decorated with groups of three curving wavy lines (perhaps ending in small ivy-leaves, now obliterated); bands below; foot probably glazed.

Furumark, M.P., Type 270 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. I–II A; Mot. 12:25 (p. 271, fig. 36), Myc. II B.

Cf. three examples of this shape from Grave III of Prehistoric Cemetery at Mycenae (B.S.A., XLY, 1950, pp. 211–212, pl. 21, a, 2, 5, 7) which are a little less elegant in shape and are dated L.H. I. Cf. also Προσκύνη, 1952 (1955), p. 480, fig. 6 (Koronion near Pylos); Chalkis, pl. 20, 543, both earlier than ours. Prosymna, II, fig. 676 in Ephryeanean ware is closer in shape.

The decoration is paralleled on the early alabastra from the Ares Tomb (VII–I, 4 and 7).

See also pp. 127, 143.

Myc. II (imported?).


Pls. 47, 65.

P 21808. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, c; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 224. At head of grave. H. 0.106 m., D. 0.105 m. Mended from twenty-two pieces; small pieces from rim and walls missing.

Yellow buff clay; brown to black glaze, cracked and worn.

Broad piriform shape with very low, almost straight neck and flat projecting rim; splayed flattened base; three rolled handles set horizontally high on shoulder.

Rim, neck, and handles glazed; deep shoulder zone filled with dotted scale pattern, framed below by three encircling bands, and two broader ones at foot.

Furumark, M.P., Type 28 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B–III A:1; Mot. 70: 2 (p. 408, fig. 70), Myc. III A:1.

The shape is closely related to the Myc. I small pithoid jar with two horizontal handles as found in Shaft Grave I at Mycenae (Karo, S.G., pl. CLXVII, 191–192) and at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, II, fig. 638, 382, 453–454, 495). Cf. early use of dotted scale on Myc. II cup from Chalkis (Chalkis, pl. 20, 544).

The careless rendering of the scale pattern and the broad bands, as well as the shape, favor a dating in Myc. II; possibly a local work.

See also pp. 121, 141.


Pl. 47.

P 21807. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, c; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 225. At head of grave. H. 0.10 m., D. 0.14 m. Intact.

Yellow clay with pale cream surface; cracked brown glaze, mostly effaced.

Broad piriform shape with very low neck and flat projecting rim; splayed flattened base; three rolled handles set horizontally.

Mouth, neck, handles, and base once glazed. Deep shoulder zone with stylized plant decoration (grass-like leaves?), almost completely gone. A drawing made soon after excavation (Agora LVII–48) by P. de Jong shows double axes with streamers, of which no trace can now be seen.


See also p. 121.

Myc. II B.


Pls. 47, 75.

P 21801. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, c; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 224. Inside Lily Bowl at foot of grave. H. 0.098 m., D. 0.059 m. One handle missing; also small chips.

Yellow clay with light cream surface; light brown crackled glaze.

Low neck with flat outturned rim; fairly high rounded shoulder and round bottom, diminutive and rather crude shape. Rim and handles glazed; carelessly drawn wave pattern with rounded crests at greatest diameter; two encircling bands below, the
lower one attached by a transverse line to a smaller irregular circle (degenerate wheel pattern?).

Furumark, M.P., Type 80 or 85 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. I–III A:1; Mots. 32: 5 (p. 328, fig. 54), Myc. I–III B; 68: 2 (not exact, p. 408, fig. 70), Myc. II–III A:1. For shape cf. "Epyov, 1957, p. 36, fig. 36 (Iolkos, with ivy leaves), which is clearly Myc. II, and in shape resembles the squat one-handled jug. Apparently a crude local imitation of an early shape, this might be compared, although not exactly matched, with some of the alabastra from the Ares Tomb (VII–2, 3, 6).

See also p. 128.

Myc. II (provincial).

P 21309. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, c; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 224. At head of grave. P.H. 0.085 m., D. 0.07 m. Neck and handles broken; chipped and cracked.
Buff clay; surface very damaged; undecorated (?).
Furumark, M.P., Type 83 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II–III A.
See also p. 123.

Myc. II B (?)

P 21305. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, c; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 225. At foot of grave. H. 0.085 m., D. 0.082 m. Intact.
Pale cream surface with traces of brown paint; surface damaged.
Ovoid body with low base-ring; low neck cut away obliquely at back; rolled handle arched upward from base of neck and terminating high on shoulder.
Neck and foot apparently glazed; irregular traces of glaze over body, possibly stippled.
Furumark, M.P., Type 135 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. I–III A:1. Cf. Korakou, pp. 50ff., figs. 66, b, 67, 79, b (all L.H. II); Prosymna, II, fig. 681; Chalkis, pl. 42, 481.
See also pp. 185, 141. Cf. VII–19 which is far less canonical than the present example.

Myc. II B (imported?).

P 21306. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, c; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 225. At foot of grave. H. with handle 0.049 m., L. 0.086 m. Intact; surface damaged.
Buff surface; most of painted decoration gone.
Elongated baseless askos, one end pointed like a bird’s tail, the other end opening into a wide spout; flat handle arched from rim of spout to about middle of body.
Decoration not clear: running dog (?) pattern on the upper part from the tail around the base of spout and back again; band around the ellipsoid bottom.

Furumark, M.P., Type 194 (p. 67, fig. 20), Myc. II–III C:1; Mot. 48: 5 (p. 360, fig. 61), Myc. I–III C:1. Cf. Korakou, p. 53, fig. 73, b; Zygouries, p. 172, fig. 169, 328; Prosymna, II, figs. 133, 364; 220, 491; 305, 745; B.C.H., LXXXII, 1958, p. 671, fig. 4 (Child’s grave at Aliki). The Korakou example is L.H. II. Cf. still earlier example from Grave III of Prehistoric Cemetery, Mycenae (B.S.A., XLV, 1950, pl. 21, 6).
See also p. 139.

Myc. II.

P 21804. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, c; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 225. At foot of grave. H. with spout 0.052 m., H. without spout 0.085 m., D. 0.045 m. Intact except for small chips.
Micaceous whitish clay; covered all over with black surface (probably burnished slip rather than glaze).
Handmade.
High piriform body with a narrow base; high, almost vertical spout on one side of shoulder; small loop handle on other side.
Shape: this specific form is not listed in Furumark, M.P., although it might be considered a variant of Type 195 (based askos); however, the general shape and proportions are more like a stirrup-vase. Apparently a rare form and fabric. I know of only one comparable vase, unfortunately fragmentary, a diminutive black askos from Tomb 18 at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, II, fig. 110, 225) from a heap of vases ranging from L.H. I to III. It is described (I, p. 453) as “in an inferior kind of grey Minyan ware,” and mention is made of another in crumbling fragments from Tomb 38 (L.H. III).
Possibly some vague descendant of the “duck vases” of Middle Helladic (cf. 256 and references) which were in a black burnished ware. This vase is clearly not Mycenaean in shape or technique.
See also pp. 119, 139.

Myc. II.

P 21302. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 26, c; Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 224. At foot of grave. H. with spout 0.185 m., D. 0.17 m. Mended from eight pieces; small parts of mouth and fragment from body missing.
Orange-buff clay, rather well finished; reddish wash (?) over surface.
Broad neck with flaring straight rim; ovoid biconical shape with flattened base; thick rolled handle from lip to shoulder.
Furumark, M.P., Type 109 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. I–III B. A pleasing early example of this utilitarian shape. Cf. VII–20.
See also p. 186.

Myc. II.
OTHER OFFERINGS


Pls. 47, 77.

J 124. Pendant: P.H. 0.011 m., W. 0.011 m. Largest (quartz) bead: D. 0.015 m., H. 0.008 m. Found a little below head of skeleton.

Preserved are seven beads: one of quartz or light amethyst, one of light blue paste, two of green paste, one with melon ribbing, fragments of another of green paste and one of yellow. Gold pendant, broken at tip, consists of two opposed spirals, connected by a curving member decorated by grooves and a series of dots above them (formalized lily motive). Pendant very nicely made of two sheets of gold, upper with repoussé decoration, lower plain. Anthers done with granulation, some of which are missing. In cleaning pendant some purplish powder was collected, suggesting that grooves may have been filled with silver (?).

For lily pendant compare the fine gold necklace from Tomb 2 at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, II, fig. 577, a) dating to L.H. II. Ours is much closer to the lily pendants of this necklace than to those of the L.H. III necklace from Tomb 41 (Prosymna, I, p. 269; II, fig. 859, 2). Spherical beads of glass paste begin in L.H. I and continue into L.H. III, with some of the finest and largest specimens belonging to the earlier period (Prosymna, I, pp. 297ff., II, figs. 142, 1; 143, 12). The colors range from greenish blue and purplish blue, to yellow and white. For bead with melon fluting cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 143, 9 (from dromos of Tomb 1, L.H. I–III). See Prosymna, II, fig. 599, 4, “Grooved.”

See also p. 108.

Late Helladic II.

XVI-12. Ivory Comb.

Pl 47.

BI 669. At head of grave. L. 0.05 m., H. 0.045 m. Most of teeth lost; fragments of four of them do not join. Surface badly corroded.

Flat broad top, straight above; both faces lightly moulded with a rounded band between light ridges.

This comb apparently lacks the central rosette or medallion characteristic of the comb from Tomb 14 at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, II, figs. 419, 2; 598) and of the comb from the Ares Tomb (VII-31).

See also p. 107.

Late Helladic.

XVI-13. Bone or Ivory Pin.

BI 669 bis. Two fragments: P.L. a, 0.052 m.; b, 0.046 m. Non-joining, so that if from same pin total length would have been at least 0.10 m. (but cf. the length of I-19, which is 0.196 m.).

Late Helladic.


Pl 47.

BI 668. At head of grave. Largest fragment L. 0.042 m.

Small cockle shell, small conch shell, and others, mostly fragmentary.

Sixty-one shells were found in tombs at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, pp. 464-465; II, fig. 463, 11–13).

It seems likely that shells were considered an appropriate gift for a child’s burial (we have them in three tombs with children) and they may have served as playthings in actual life.

See pp. 109–110.

In the spring of 1951 there was also discovered a small cist grave lying between Tombs XIV and XV. This received a preliminary publication in the Annual Report.¹ The cutting was roughly rectangular (1.60 by 0.50 m.) and was once covered with rough stone slabs, two of which were found over the body. The skeleton, presumably that of a man,² lay in a somewhat contracted position with the head at the southeast and with the offerings, two pots and a bronze knife, at this end of the grave.

¹ See also Archaeology, IV, 1951, pp. 223–225.
² AA 124: analyzed by Angel as F. about 14. Here there seems to be some mistake. One wonders whether it was an adolescent boy or whether the skeletons somehow got mixed, for the knife points clearly to the burial of a male.
In the light of the current discussions concerning the origin of the Submycenaean cist grave form, this burial is important in showing the occurrence of many features of the later cist burials in a genuine Mycenaean context. The long rectangular cutting, the covering slabs, and the burial of an adult in a relatively extended position are all present. The burial cannot be dated later than the end of Myc. III A or the beginning of III B.

3 See also pp.103-104 and note 49. Add now Carl Gustaf Styrenius, Submycenaean Studies, pp. 161-162, who has also voiced criticism of Desborough's theory of the derivation of Attic Submycenaean cist graves from non-Mycenaean examples. He has cited the occurrence of ten single burials in the Mycenaean cemetery in the Agora (these can now be extended to from 12 to 15), but as we have suggested above (p. 108) not all these should be considered cist graves or connected with the later form. The present grave is, however, one that might well be significant. Although the body is not fully extended, the cutting was apparently long enough and it was the placing of the offerings at the head that led to the slight contraction of the legs.

XVII-1. Three-handled Jar, Scale Pattern. Pl. 48. P 21529. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 27, b. H. 0.187 m., D. 0.16 m. Mended from many pieces; considerable part of rim and chips from body missing; walls warped so that fragments do not join properly. Greenish gray clay, hard and smooth; much-worn flaky black glaze.

Low conical neck with flat projecting rim and pronounced ridge at base of neck; piriform body with ring base and conical bottom; three vertical band handles with slight knob at lower attachment.

Mouth and neck, inside and out, upper face of handles glazed. Deep shoulder zone of large scale pattern. Lower half of vase covered with glaze with two reserved zones near top, each having three narrow encircling lines.

Furuinark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 8), Myc. III A:1-2; Mot. 70: 1 (p. 408, fig. 70), Myc. III A-B. Here the shape seems somewhat later than VII-20 and approaches Type 105 with more clearly articulated neck. But cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 167, 1140; 174, 328 (both in Myc. III A contexts).

See also p. 136. Myc. III A (-B) (provincial work).

XVII-2. Coarse Jug. Pl. 48. P 21530. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 27, b. H. 0.165 m., D. 0.128 m. Intact except for small chips from rim. Orange-buff clay, full of impurities; covered all over with thin reddish wash, mostly worn.

Slightly flaring, rather high neck with plain rim; round body, narrow base with flat bottom; flatish handle from rim to shoulder.

Furuinark, M.P., Type 109 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. III A-B. Here the shape seems somewhat later than VII-20 and approaches Type 105 with more clearly articulated neck. But cf. Prosymna, I, pp. 342ff.; II, fig. 270, 4 (L.H. I); fig. 262, 1 (L.H. III). Both are approximately same shape and dimensions as ours.

See also p. 136. Myc. III A (-B) (provincial work).

XVII-3. Bronze Knife. Pl. 48. B 965. P.L. 0.135 m., max. W. 0.014 m. Mended from several pieces; both ends missing; surface corroded and some scraps disintegrated in cleaning. Two rivets for attachment of handle preserved.

For similar bronze knives from the Argive Heraion cf. Prosymna, I, pp. 342ff.; II, fig. 270, 4 (L.H. I); fig. 262, 1 (L.H. III). Both are approximately same shape and dimensions as ours.

See also p. 105. Late Helladic III.

Tomb XVIII: Chamber Tomb (O 8:4)

Pls. 48–49, 65, 67; Plan: Pl. 86

This small chamber tomb was discovered in January, 1954, during engineering work connected with the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos, and it has not received a preliminary publication. Lying about four meters to the southeast of the chamber of Tomb XIV, it had been badly disturbed by a fourth-century b.c. pit which cut into the northeast part of the chamber (rectangular, ca. 1.80 m. by 1.80 m.). The dromos, which probably led in from the northeast as in the neighboring Tombs XIII–XV, could not be traced.

Two skeletons and traces of a third were found. Only the one lying along the west edge of the chamber was well-preserved, with its head to the south, knees up, and with the pots (XVIII-1

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through 7) at its feet (Pl. 49). Two more pots (XVIII-8 and 9) were found lying between this skeleton and the chamber wall. Thus, all offerings were associated with this better preserved skeleton. Although the offerings at the foot may have been moved from the eastern skeleton (or skeletons) at the time of the later interment, the range in time cannot have been great. The pottery is entirely of Myc. III A:2 type, with the exception of the beaked jugs (XVIII-4 and 5) which seem to perpetuate a III A:1 form in a kind of debased technique.

Pottery

Vases at Feet of Skeleton 1 (XVIII-1 to 7; Pls. 48, 65, 67)

XVIII-1. Three-Handled Jar.

Pl. 48.

P 23718. H. 0.15 m., D. 0.182 m. The neck and rim mended; one fragment missing; body intact.

Orange-pink clay with light buff surface; orange-red glaze, badly worn and leaving in many places a matt orange surface.

Low wide neck with flat projecting rim, sloping slightly downward; broad-shouldered piriform body tapering, then spreading to form a torus base; three loop handles set horizontally high on shoulder.

Neck, int. and ext., handles, and foot glazed; on top of rim bands; shoulder zone filled with vertical lines irregularly spaced. Below: two broad bands with two narrow lines between, a broad reserved zone, another broad band, two narrow lines, and deep zone of glaze at foot.


XVIII-2. Teacup with High Handle.

Pls. 48, 67.

P 23720. H. 0.065 m., H. with handle restored 0.093 m.; D. 0.145 m. Mended from several pieces; handle and chips missing; now restored in plaster.

Pinkish clay; light buff surface; decoration in orange-red glaze, considerably worn.

Narrow offset rim; fairly high bowl with upper wall almost vertical, then tapering steeply to a small base, concave beneath. Band handle from rim to shoulder, restored as arching above rim but no real evidence.

Decoration consists only of encircling bands: rim glazed, a narrow band below; three bands at lower handle attachment; two lower down and a broad band around base.

Either Furumark, M.P., Type 220 (p. 23, fig. 13), Myc. III A:2-B (if handle is incorrectly restored) or a local variant with the raised handle of the earlier Types 237-238. Cf. discussion under XXIII-6. The former possibility seems more likely: cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 125, 241; 252, 626; 691 (all Myc. III A). But cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 156, 426; 372, 873; 508, 82 (all with high-sprung handles of "spouted bowl" Type 253 or "dipper" Type 236).

See also p. 129.

Myc. III A:2.


Pls. 48, 65.

P 23723. P.H. 0.045 m., D. 0.101 m. Mended from several pieces; most of bottom and part of top preserved; fragment of neck and rim; part of shoulder cleaned off with a knife; restored in plaster.

Pink clay, buff surface; decoration in dark brown to black glaze, quite worn.

Medium high concave neck with flat rim; fairly high curved walls with flattened bottom; three small loop handles. Neck, rim, and handles glazed; bands around shoulder below neck; on shoulder large wave pattern with rounded crests; concentric circles on bottom.

Furumark, M.P., Type 85 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. III A:2-B; Mot. 32: 5 (p. 323, fig. 54), Myc. I-III B. Later than the alabastra from Tomb VII but not so late as XI-3.

See also p. 122.

Myc. III A:2 (late?).


Pls. 48, 67.

P 23721. H. 0.165 m., D. 0.098 m. Intact.

Pinkish buff clay, smooth light buff surface, unpolished and unglazed. Not well smoothed and handles quite rough.

Piriform body with high shoulder, the lower wall tapering sharply; bottom concave beneath. Narrow neck with a plastic ring around shoulder at base of neck. Neck spreads out to form an open spout in front, a plain oval lip behind. Band handles arched from below lip to edge of shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 150 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B-III A:2.

A very pleasing vase, but a less impressive specimen than I-4; later than the tin-incrusted example III-1, and approaching Type 151 of "advanced piriform" shape. Similar undecorated examples "in a sort of Yellow Minyan" (Prosymna, I, p. 441) occurred at the Argive Heraion (II, figs. 194, 452; 368, 908; 477, 919); Asine (Asine, p. 365, fig. 236, 7); Argos (B.C.H., LXXVII, 1953, p. 66, fig. 11); Thebes (Δηλτρ., III, 1917, p. 91, fig. 65, 1), where decorated examples were also found (ibid., p. 161, fig. 120, 2). From At-
ticas they are known from Vourvatsi (Attica, pl. 14, 7) and Aliki (Προσωπικά, 1955, pl. 27, a).
See also p. 184.
Myc. III A:2 (probably fairly late).

**XVIII-5. Beaked Jug.**
Pl. 48.
P 23719. H. 0.153 m., D. 0.102 m. Mended from many pieces; lip at back, part of one handle and wall fragments missing.
Pinkish buff clay with creamy buff surface; unpolished and unglazed; surface not well smoothed.
Very similar to XVIII-4; ridge at base of neck less pronounced and indicated for only part of circumference. Crudely pinched out bosses at bottom of handle attachments.
See references above under XVIII-4.
Myc. II A:2.

**XVIII-6. Kylix with High-swung Handles.**
Pl. 48.
P 23722. H. 0.163 m., H. top of handle 0.23 m., D. 0.145 m. Mended from many pieces; the stem and pot intact; much of rim and parts of both handles missing; restored in plaster.
Red-orange clay with light buff surface; not glazed or polished, but smoother than XVIII-4 and 5.
Deep bowl with narrow offset rim; medium high stem flaring to disc foot, concave beneath. Two narrow band handles arching high from rim and attached below at greatest diameter of bowl.
Furumark, M.P., Type 272 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1-2. This is clearly the latest of our four examples with two high-swung handles (cf. Pl. 66); the stem is taller and the handles begin to sag inward. But not yet the uningly Myc. III B form (Type 273): cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 353, 786-788; 582, 1013; 597, 1020. Comparable to example from Tomb 520 at Mycenae (Ch.T., pl. XVI, 31) dated late in Myc. III A:2 by Furumark. Cf. also Asine, p. 361, fig. 235, 39, 40.
Myc. III A:2.

**XVIII-7. Coarse Amphora.**
Pl. 48.
P 23724. H. 0.127 m., D. 0.12 m. Much of rim and neck with the top of one handle missing, and large chip from foot; restored in plaster.
Coarse brownish micaceous clay; covered outside with thin gray wash.
Plump biconical body with wide neck forming continuous curve with shoulder; projecting rim, flat on top; flaring rather high ring foot; two small but broad band handles set on shoulder.
Furumark, M.P., Type 74 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. II B–III A:2. Cf. the new example XL–I from a pure Myc. III A:1 context. The present example has a more developed foot and is certainly somewhat later, but not nearly so late as XX–I.
See also p. 126.
Myc. III A:2.

**XVIII-8. Askos.**
Pl. 48.
P 23726. H. of pot 0.055 m., H. with handle 0.094 m., D. 0.093 m. Bottom cracked, apparently in making; otherwise intact.
Heavy brownish gray fabric, coarse with impurities; thin glaze wash (?) brown to gray.
Shallow domed askos with flat bottom; long tubular spout set at an angle to shoulder, with plain slightly flaring lip; high-arched basket handle on top.
Furumark, M.P., Type 195 (not exact, p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. II A–III C:1.
Of the other askoi from the Agora tombs, this is closest to V–5: although that is less squat, has a shorter spout and a lower handle which connects spout and top of body. For the basket handle cf. VII–21, which otherwise differs with a low straight spout and a more pronounced base. The little black askos, XVI–9, is altogether different in shape, although the length of spout is comparable. This shape is one of the least standardized of Mycenaean. The number of black askoi is suggestive of a Middle or Early Helladic ancestry, when black burnished and Minyan wares were in vogue.
See also pp. 138–139.
Myc. III A:2.

**XVIII-9. Fragmentary Small Globular Jug (?)**
Pl. 48.
P 23725. P.H. 0.053 m., D. 0.074 m. Upper part entirely missing, and much of wall.
Very heavy fabric for diminutive size; grayish buff with buff surface. Thin but lustrous, streaky brownish black glaze all over, worn.
Small plump pot on very small ring foot; trace of start of neck at broken upper edge of shoulder. No remains of handle.
Shape: probably Furumark, M.P., Type 112 or 114 (pp. 30–31, figs. 5, 6), Myc. III A:1–2.
Myc. III A:2.

**XVIII-10. Stone Button.**
Pl. 49.
ST 603. H. 0.16 m., D. 0.021 m. Dark gray stone, with white veins. Chipped.
Biconical shape.
Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 602, 6 (“bicorne”).
Late Helladic III.
In November, 1953, a small cist grave was discovered lying almost on the axis of Tomb XVIII but about two and a half meters to the northeast of the northeast corner of its chamber. Measuring 1.40 m. by 0.55 m., it is similar in form to Grave XVII, and like it was covered with a few rough stone covering slabs (Pl. 49), under which lay the skeleton of an adult with the head to the north and the knees up, the grave being rather short. A single offering, the ewer XIX-1, was placed above the knees. The style of this solitary offering suggests an advanced date in Myc. III A:2, or even III B, for the burial.

See also pp. 103–104.

1 Tomb XVIII was actually not discovered until two months later. It has been suggested by John Travlos that the cist grave was perhaps set down in the dromos of the chamber tomb, but this is uncertain since the actual dromos was not detected.  
2 Skeleton not listed by Angel. The notebook records the fact that the grave was full of water and the bones later collapsed.

P 28889. H. 0.215 m., D. 0.16 m. Mended from several pieces; fragments from shoulder and lip missing.  
Orange-buff clay, reddish in fracture and very poorly levigated; pink-buff surface with traces of a lighter slip; dull brownish black glaze, streaky and worn.  
High narrow neck with flaring mouth, cut away in back and forming a short spout in front; broad and rounded shoulder with lower wall sloping sharply to small flat bottom. Ridged handle from cut-away part of mouth to shoulder, a small boss at its lower attachment. Glaze band around mouth, at base of neck and above bottom; two stripes down the handle, and three bands around point of greatest circumference. On shoulder, groups of two running spirals connected by tangents; series of concentric arcs by handle.  
Furumark, M.P., Type 145 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III A:2 late; Mot. 47: 1 (p. 357, fig. 60), Myc. II B, not closely matched in execution. The spirals resemble rather Mot. 46: 52 (p. 357, fig. 60), Myc. III A:1–B.  
This appears to be a rather decadent version of an early type, derived from the fine Myc. II to early Myc. III A ewers on which such isolated spiraliform designs were common (cf. Korakou, pl. V). In comparison with our beautiful ewers VII-17, XXIII-1 and 2, XXXI-1, XL-6, this is clearly a late and provincial work.  
See also p. 184.  
Myc. III A:2 late (or early III B).

TOMB XX: CHILD'S CHAMBER TOMB (P 8:8)  
Pl. 49; Plan: Pl. 87  

In December, 1953, there was found a miniature chamber tomb complete with a dromos and door closed with stones, but with a chamber measuring only 0.50 m. by 0.70 m. and just large enough to contain the curled up skeleton of a child and a few simple offerings (Pl. 49). Lying about 15 meters southeast of Tomb XVIII, it is only a few meters to the west of the foundation for the terrace in front of the Stoa of Attalos.  
The pottery is fairly nondescript, although the coarse amphora (XX-1) is certainly later than XVIII-7, and the Psi-type figurine (XX-3) gives the best clue for dating the tomb to an advanced stage of Myc. III B. It is one of the latest Mycenaean burials in the Agora, and only Grave VI and the upper burial stratum of Tomb VII are later.  
See also pp. 99, 109.

1 AA 141: analyzed by Angel as child of five and a half.  
2 No preliminary publication, but mentioned in Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, p. 188, note 4.
XX-1. Small Amphora.  Pl. 49.
  P 23691. H. 0.12 m., D. 0.116 m. Mended from several pieces; a small fragment of shoulder and lip missing.
  Grayish buff clay with pink core, fairly well levigated and smoothed; unglazed.
  Wide mouth with flaring lip; deep ovoid body tapering to disc foot; small vertical handles on shoulder.
  Furumark, M.P., Type 74 (p. 85, fig. 7), Myc. II B–III A:2. Perhaps influenced by Myc. III B cooking pots (cf. Zygouries, p. 159, fig. 152) which have a similar lax profile and are about the same size. The small scale is characteristic of this shape (cf. XVIII–7).
  Myc. III B (advanced).

  P 23692. H. to top of handle 0.04 m., D. 0.038 m. Handle broken off and mended; complete except for chips.
  Orange-buff clay; decoration in red glaze. Heavy lime (?) deposit on inside and traces over glaze on outside.
  Handmade. Deep round-bottomed mug with wide mouth and plain slightly flaring rim; heavy roughly rolled vertical handle rising slightly above rim. Decorated with three encircling bands and a line of paint on handle. Miniature scale.
  Furumark's Type Pai (C.M.P., pp. 86ff.) dated to Late Helladic III B. Cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 612, 609. This figurine gives the best chronological indication for the date of the tomb (see above p. 212). To be published more fully by Mrs. Elizabeth French who dates it “probably L.H. III C.”
  See also p. 109 and note 95.
  Myc. III B (–C) (?).

XX-3. Terracotta Figurine, Psi-Type.  Pl. 49.
  T 3337. H. 0.071 m., W. at arms 0.045 m. Mended from several pieces; complete.
  Buff clay; reddish brown glaze.
  Standing female figure with upraised arms. Flaring headdress, concave on top. Skirt flares at bottom to form base of figurine, concave beneath. Pellets indicate breasts. Glaze decoration for band at top of headdress, eyes and nose, vertical line down front of dress, horizontal line for belt, and wavy lines on sleeves.
  Furumark’s Type Psi (C.M.P., pp. 86ff.) dated to Late Helladic III B. Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 612, 609. This figurine gives the best chronological indication for the date of the tomb (see above p. 212). To be published more fully by Mrs. Elizabeth French who dates it “probably L.H. III C.”
  See also p. 109 and note 95. Myc. III B (–C) (?).

TOMB XXI: CHAMBER TOMB (P 9:4)

Pls. 50, 65, 67, 76–77; Plan: Pl. 86

In January, 1954, a chamber tomb was discovered lying about 20 meters to the west of Pier 15 of the Stoa of Attalos and almost in a line and a few meters south of Tomb XX.¹ Although the entire upper part had been cut away in Classical times, leaving only the lowest 0.50 to 0.80 m., and a Classical pit had cut away the northwest corner of the chamber, the burials were remarkably undisturbed and the chamber could be planned and measured (2.00 m. wide by 2.40 m. deep). The dromos, opening to the northeast, was short and steep and irregularly cut. It was 0.70 m. wide and was preserved to a length of 1.50 m.; a few stones of the blocking wall of the doorway remained.

The tomb had been used for five or more burials.² Three skeletons were found in their original position (Pl. 50). One lay along the east side with head to south and legs doubled up; another in the center with feet toward the door; and a third at the back of the chamber. In the southwest corner were the remains of a swept-up skeleton, and beneath this a shallow pit with swept-up bones and pots from still earlier burials. The sequence of burials should run as follows: 1) the remains in the pit; 2) the swept-up skeleton at southwest corner; 3) and 4) the skeletons at the back and the east side; 5) the skeleton at the door. With each burial were found

¹ This tomb has not received a preliminary publication in the Annual Report.
² The remains of seven skeletons were analyzed by Angel: AA 137–140. 137 (E. side) F. child of 10; 138 (in front of door) M. child of 6; 139 (back of chamber) M. child of 6; 140 (SW corner) F. child of 5; 140 a, b and c (bone pit) child of 10, F. of 45, M. middle-aged.
some offerings, but most of the pottery came from the pit and the swept-aside skeleton in the southwest corner.³

The offerings seem to run from the transitional Myc. II–III A:1 period (about contemporary or very little later than the earlier burials in Tomb VII) through the fourteenth century, and into the Myc. III B period, if the jug XXI-8 is correctly dated to that period. This was associated with the skeleton at the back of the chamber, which was presumably earlier than the one at the door, yet with the latter was found the angular alabastron XXI-9 which stylistically belongs with the earliest material. Curiously, all four last interments were children; perhaps these all took place in the Myc. III B period and some offerings from the earlier burials were reused.

The local character of most of the pottery (the jar XXI-1, the alabastron XXI-2, and the rhyton XXI-6 are exceptions) makes absolute dating difficult. See also pp. 99, 101, 110.

**POTTERY**

**FROM BONE PIT (XXI-1 to 5; Pls. 50, 65, 76)**

**XXI-1. Three-handled Jar, Scale Pattern.** Pls. 50, 65.

P 23702. H. 0.10 m., D. 0.082 m. Intact except for chips from lip and one handle.

Pale creamy buff clay with polished surface; brown glaze, somewhat worn.

Small pithoid jar with very low concave neck and flat spreading rim; bottom slightly concave; three loop handles set horizontally high on shoulder. Lip, neck, and handles glazed; deep zone of scale pattern reaching two-thirds down body; narrow bands and broader band at foot.

Furumark, M.P., Type 28 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II-B–III A:1; Mot. 70: 1 (p. 408, fig. 70), Myc. II-A–III B.

This is quite different from the standard Myc. III A:1 shape with scale pattern (cf. I–2, VII–12, etc.) and both in form and in deep zone of decoration seems a diminutive version of Myc. II Palace style examples. Cf. small early examples, Prosymna, II, fig. 106, 412 (ivy decoration) and Ch.T., pl. LI, 3 (net pattern), the latter fairly close to ours and dated to L.H. II.

Far more standard than XVI–3 and probably an import. See also p. 121.

Myc. II B.

**XXI-2. Squat Alabastron, Wave Pattern.** Pl. 50.

P 23701. H. 0.057 m., D. 0.095 m. Mended from several pieces; fragments of wall, two handles, and part of lip missing.

Light pinkish buff clay, pink at core; dark brown to black glaze.

Very low neck with broad projecting lip, slightly turned down; body more depressed than in XXI-2; rounded bottom; three small loop handles.

Neck, rim, and handles glazed; a line around top of shoulder at base of neck; broad wave pattern with rounded crests around lower shoulder; concentric circles on underside. From the left attachment of each handle a double row of dots.

Furumark, M.P., Type 83 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II–III A:1; Mot. 82: 5, 23 (p. 323, fig. 54), Myc. I–III B and especially II B–III A:1. Cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 156, 490; 709, 151; Chalkis, pls. 15, 414A'; 17, 472B'. These are all Myc. III A:1 versions of the earlier II B crested wave alabastra (cf. Ch.T., pl. XXVII, 2–4, 7) and have concentric circles on base. None of the examples from the Ares Tomb has rows of dots but cf. VII–6 and 7 for shape.

See also p. 123.

Myc. III A:1 (probably imported).

**XXI-3. Squat Alabastron, Spiral Band Decoration.** Pls. 50, 65.

P 23704. H. 0.045 m., D. 0.092 m. Mended from several pieces; fragments of wall, two handles, and part of lip missing.

Light pinkish buff clay, pink at core; dark brown to black glaze.

Very low neck with broad projecting rim, slightly turned down; body more depressed than in XXI-2; rounded bottom; three small loop handles.

Neck, rim and handles glazed; a single band below neck at top of shoulder; on shoulder tangent spiral band with linear wave pattern below; groups of concentric circles on base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 88 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II–III A:1; Mot. 46: 52 (p. 357, fig. 60), Myc.

³ XXI-1 to 5 from pit form a homogeneous group of Myc. II–III A:1, whereas XXI-6 and 7 associated with swept-aside skeleton in southwest corner must be later in Myc. III A:2. The jug XXI-8 associated with the skeleton at the back is still later. Two very fine fragmentary pithoid jars with vertical parallel lines on the shoulder (cf. XVIII–1) were found in the Classical pit which cut through the chamber and should be associated with one of the earlier burials (uncatalogued).
An uncanonical decoration of the squat alabastron, the running spiral has perhaps been borrowed from the squat jug type (Prosymna, II, fig. 683, 562) or the angular alabastron (B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 816) and here combined with the open wave to fill the angles. Almost certainly a provincial variant: cf. also the three alabastra with stemmed spirals, Chalkis, p. 68, pl. 15, 450B'. Cf. also the better spiral band on a squat alabastron in Fogg Museum said to have come from Attica (C.V.A., Fogg, Illa, pl. II, 11). But note the alabastron from Argos with 2 rows of spirals (B.C.H., LXXXIII, 1959, p. 773, fig. 7).

The whole composition is rather careless and has some of the inventive abandon that characterizes several pots from the Ares Tomb (cf. VII-2, 8, 9, 19, 21).

XXI-4. Angular Alabastron. Pls. 50, 65. P 23708. H. 0.065 m., D. 0.092 m. Mended from many pieces; fragments of wall and one handle missing; lip chipped.

Pale creamy buff clay; black to brown glaze, crackled and pale orange-brown where worn.

Low neck with flat projecting rim; sloping shoulder meeting at sharp angle with vertical wall; flat bottom; three small loop handles.

Lip, neck, and handles glazed. On shoulder, between handles, running W's; on wall four groups of oblique wavy lines, 2 each of 4 and 5. One narrow band at junction of shoulder and wall; two at base of wall; concentric circles on bottom.

Furumark, M.P., Type 93 (p. 44, fig. 12), Myc. III A:1-2; Mot. 12: 16 (p. 271, fig. 36), Myc. III A:1.

Here we have an uncanonical treatment of the angular alabastron (cf. also the examples Chalkis, pl. 18, some earlier). Although in the tradition of the Myc. II examples with two zones of decoration (Ch.T., pls. XXXIX, 19, XL, 17, 18; Prosymna, II, fig. 689), this uses patterns in a degenerate and casual way. For the wavy lines which should have terminated in ivy leaves cf. the Myc. III A:1 tankard (Zygouries, p. 138, fig. 30, 1), and for the shoulder squiggles cf. the neat wavy line (Mot. 53: 4, 5, p. 373, fig. 65) of more conventional angular alabastra (Prosymna, II, fig. 109, 212). This belongs stylistically with the alabastra VII-2 and VII-9 from the Ares Tomb and with XXI-3 and XXI-9 from this tomb. They are best considered as local products with an unconventional stamp.

See also p. 123.

Myc. III A:1 (provincial).

XXI-5. Decorated Lid. Pls. 50, 76. P 23705. H. 0.034 m., D. 0.107 m. Mended from many pieces; a little of edge, and chips missing.

Pale buff clay, very smooth and fine; black to brown glaze, much worn.

Flat-topped lid with deep down-turned rim with slightly convex profile; plain edge; a small hole pierced through the center of the top.

On top, two concentric circles around the central hole; radiating from the outer circle wavy lines, extending to near edge; below and on rim, six narrow encircling bands.

Furumark, M.P., Type 334 (p. 642), Myc. III A:2-C; Mot. 68: 1, 2 (p. 403, fig. 70), Myc. II A-III A:1. Furumark does not list any very early lids, but from the context our example cannot be later than early Myc. III A. No exact parallel for the rather careless and casual arrangement of the radiating wavy lines; however, the flat surface has been treated in the same manner as the bases of Myc. II alabastra, with a central concentric arrangement from which radiate wavy lines (Prosymna, II, figs. 686-688).

See also p. 140.

Myc. III A:1 (provincial).

XXI-6. Piriform Rhyton. Pl. 50. P 23696. H. 0.12 m., D. 0.083 m. Mended from several pieces; small chips missing.

Light buff clay; decoration in brown to red-brown glaze.

Plump pear-shaped funnel with plain rim, slightly flaring; slender tapering funnel end. Vertical rolled handle on shoulder.

Rim glazed outside and for a short distance inside; handle and funnel end glazed. Narrow band below neck and three lines below lower handle attachment; handle zone filled with narrow vertical lines extending irregularly above and below framing lines. On the tapering lower wall two groups of narrow bands.

Furumark, M.P., Type 201 (p. 67, fig. 20), Myc. III A:2-B; Mot. 64: 21 (p. 397, fig. 69), Myc. III A:2. Cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 261, 1056; 726; Attica, pl. 18, 3 (Vourvatsi) and Myk.Vasen, pl. XIX, 139 (Aliki). These examples are all Myc. III A:2 or later.

See also pp. 137-138.

Myc. III A:2 (advanced; probably imported).

XXI-7. Amphoroid Beaked Jug. Pls. 50, 67. P 23697. H. 0.125 m., D. 0.102 m. Spout missing; also chips; one handle broken off and mended.

Reddish buff clay with many impurities; outside and inside to bottom of neck covered with thin dull reddish brown wash, considerably worn.
Narrow neck flaring to plain rim, on one side apparently drawn out to form a spout, now missing; broad shoulders, the walls tapering to a small false ring foot. Two rolled handles, rim to shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 150 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B–IIIA 2. Cf. the earlier examples of this shape I–4, II–1, and XVIII–4 and 5 (see Pl. 67). Although certainly as late as, or later than XVIII–4, this corresponds more closely to the earlier plumper form and is in the tradition of the provincial ware kylikes that perpetuate Myc. II forms.

See also pp. 134–135.

WITH SKELETON AT BACK OF CHAMBER (XXI–8; Pl. 50)


P 23695. H. 0.079 m., D. 0.079 m. Intact except for chips.

Pinkish buff clay, only fairly well smoothed; black to red-brown glaze; cracked and worn.

Wide neck with low plain rim, flaring slightly; plump globular biconical body with flat bottom; band handle from rim to shoulder.

Edge of rim and handle glazed; a broad band at junction of neck and shoulder; a pair of bands around point of greatest circumference and another pair at bottom of wall.

Furumark, M.P., Type 114 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III A:2. Cf. Zygouries, p. 168, fig. 163, 353 (III B); Prosymna, II, figs. 261, 696; 333, 738. Cf. also VII–22 from upper burial stratum of Ares Tomb (III B–C). See also p. 136.

Myc. III B (?)

OTHER OFFERINGS


ST 601. From southwest corner. D. 0.024 m., T. 0.01 m. Translucent stone (quartz?).

One side flat, the other roughly bevelled, and perhaps never finished. Pierced through center by a hole which splays outwards toward both sides.

This is flatter and of a different shape from the steatite buttons (cf. types Prosymna, II, fig. 602). It seems too asymmetrical to have been a bead, nor does it resemble closely the large rock-crystal spheres from the Argive Heraion and elsewhere, which Blegen assumes were the heads of pins (Prosymna, I, p. 294; II, fig. 575, 13, 14).

Late Helladic III.


ST 602. From southwest corner. H. 0.01 m., D. 0.016 m. Chip missing. Dark gray stone, speckled with white.

Concave conical shape; pierced.

Blegen's “conoid” type (Prosymna, II, fig. 602, 3).

Late Helladic III.


J 138. From southwest corner. Necklace consisting of seven beads of glass paste (D. 0.0025–0.009 m.) and one of gold (D. 0.005 m.) together with fragments of others. Preserved with these a small seashell.

One segmented bead of blue glass (cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 599, 7); 5 spherical (1 each of gold, white paste, blue paste, 2 of carnelian); and two long cylindrical beads of dark paste (cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 599, 15).
TOMBS AND OBJECTS: TOMB XXII

Cf. the necklace XVI-11 from the Lily Bowl Grave.
See also p. 108.
Late Helladic III.

B 1062. With skeleton at east. D. 0.14 m. Thin plain disk, complete except for chips around edge; very badly oxidized.
Two rivet holes near one edge.
Cf. the bronze mirror from The Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides (I-23) which is somewhat smaller and less well preserved, and has no indication of the handle attachment.
See also p. 106.
Late Helladic III.

B 1068. With skeleton at east. P.L. 0.042 m., W. of blade 0.005 m. Small narrow blade, the sides turned up along most of its length, forming a rectangular channel.
The purpose of this implement is not clear. Possibly for cosmetic purposes, because of association with mirror, or, less likely, to be connected with quartz disc (XXI-10) on analogy of bronze pins with rock crystal heads (cf. Prosymna, I, p. 294; II, fig. 575, 13-14). (The bronze does fit through the aperture and is fairly sharp at one end; however, they were not found together).
Late Helladic III.

BI 713. With skeleton at east. L. 0.091 m., D. at head 0.005 m. Apparently complete.
Turned head. Shaft tapers to sharp point.
Cf. the bone pins from the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, pp. 285-286; II, fig. 107, 4-6).
Late Helladic III.

THE TOMBS ALONG THE EAST SIDE BENEATH THE STOA OF ATTALOS (XXII–XXXVI)

Although undoubtedly a continuation of the cemetery at the northeast corner of the Agora, the present series is considered separately because of the nature of the terrain and the difficulties imposed upon the excavators. This group of fifteen, consisting of nine small chamber tombs and six pit or cist graves, or burials too uncertain to be classified according to type, lies entirely beneath the Stoa of Attalos or in the area immediately to the east (ranging from squares P to R and 7 to 10 on the grid). Not only were they badly disturbed by the ancient builders of the Stoa who sunk their foundation trenches deep into stereo, but lying as they do between the ancient piers of the Stoa, they were almost impossible to excavate with the same thoroughness that characterized excavations elsewhere. Seldom could the complete plan of the tomb be plotted, and in some cases the nature of the burial remains unknown. All but three, which were discovered in 1949 or 1950, were found in the summer and fall of 1953 and in the spring of 1954, when the rebuilding of the Stoa was initiated. Most of them were thus first detected by the engineers engaged in this project, but as soon as there was any indication of an ancient burial, it was excavated in as scientific a manner as possible, under the supervision of Eugene Vanderpool. Undoubtedly there were more tombs that have not been located, perhaps irretrievably obliterated by the ancient Stoa builders, and from these a certain number of fragmentary vases found in the Stoa construction fill (413–424) probably came.

Although the tombs themselves are badly preserved and less well documented than those lying to the west, the pottery from these burials consisting of some seventy vases, some in remarkably good preservation, is a significant addition to the Agora collection of Mycenaean. The material runs from the Myc. II B period to early Myc. III B, with the greatest concentration in Myc. III A. Only two of these tomb groups have been illustrated in the Annual Reports. In publishing these tombs, we begin with those at the north end, the chamber tombs first and then the cist graves or uncertain burials, and end with the group further to the south near Stoa Pier 12.

1 Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 825–836, pl. 100, d; XXIII, 1954, pp. 57–58, pl. 16, b.
**TOMB XXII: DROMOS OF CHAMBER TOMB (Q 7:2)**

Pls. 51, 75

This tomb, or more properly its dromos, was discovered in August, 1953, when workmen were clearing the bottom stratum of the foundations of the Stoa colonnade at its northern end. A soft spot in the earth revealed a cutting about 0.95 m. wide running from west to east and sloping downward toward the east, apparently the dromos of a chamber tomb, with its chamber under the stylobate foundations of the Stoa. The cutting was filled with greenish earth and contained only two sherds, one the base of a kylix (XXII-1). The chamber and its burials could not be excavated, if indeed they had been spared by the Stoa builders.

1 Although there is no mention of skeletal material in the notebook, AA 150 (analyzed by Angel as F. of 24) has been assigned to this deposit.

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**TOMB XXIII: CHAMBER TOMB NORTHWEST OF PIER 19 (Q 8:8)**

Pls. 51, 67, 77; Plan: Pl. 88

In September, 1953, when engineers were opening an East-West drain between Piers 19 and 20, workmen came upon a Mycenaean chamber tomb lying about the level of the nineteenth foundation course of the Stoa (Pl. 51). The chamber was roughly square in shape, (2.70 m. wide by 2.10 m. deep), oriented northeast to southwest across its transverse axis. The entrance was at the northwest side where a row of sizable fieldstones rested on the floor of the tomb and indicated the lowest course of the original blocking wall of the doorway (0.80 m. wide). At the inner northeast corner of the chamber the side wall began to arch over at a height of about 0.60 m. above the floor.

Despite the disturbance of the area, the burial layer was remarkably well preserved, with the remains of four interments and their offerings. The latest burial was made about 0.25 m. above floor level with the skeleton oriented in the axis of the chamber but closer to the west wall, its head toward the southeast. A single offering, the cup XXIII-6, found on the opposite side of the chamber but at this level, can be assigned to this burial. Two earlier burials at floor level revealed skeletons to the right and left of the entrance axis. The left, or northern one, had associated with it a large beaked jug or ewer (XXIII-2) as well as four steatite buttons (XXIII-10 to 13). The southern skeleton had three pots, the ewer (XXIII-1) which stood in the southwest corner, a three-handled jar (XXIII-3) near its waist, and a kylix (XXIII-4) at its feet. In the center of the chamber was a fragmentary kylix (XXIII-5) and the remnants of a bronze knife. The earliest remains came from a small round pit in the northeast corner (0.40 m.}

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1 Counted down from the preserved original north end of the Stoa.
2 AA 154 to 156 analyzed as follows (but without indication as to which belonged to which position in chamber): 154, F. of 53; 155, M. of 35; 155a, M. of 40; 156, F. of 13.
3 It apparently disintegrated completely and could not be catalogued.
TOMBS AND OBJECTS: TOMB XXIII

in diameter and 0.80 m. deep), in which was found a skull and various bones, an ivory comb (XXIII-7), three beads of glass paste (XXIII-8), and a terracotta button (XXIII-9). This last item is of some chronological significance and should indicate a Myc. II date for these swept-up remains but the transitional Myc. II-III A character of the ewers associated with the lower burial layer suggests that this cannot be much later.

See also pp. 99, 101.

POTTERY

P 23578. Standing on floor in southwest corner. H. 0.28 m., D. 0.227 m. Intact.

Yellow-buff clay, well smoothed; brownish black glaze, cracked and worn in places.

Narrow neck with traces of plastic band at junction with shoulder; flaring rim pulled out into trough spout which rises at an oblique angle; ridged handle from rim opposite spout to shoulder with plastic knob at lower attachment; almost globular body with flattened base.

Rim, handle and base glazed; three bands at end of spout, two on neck, another at junction with shoulder, and another above base. Body decorated with three groups of triple spirals with central triangular filling; four wavy streamers from handle attachment.

Furumark, M.P., Type 144 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. III A:1; Mot. 47: 1 and 4 (p. 357, fig. 60), Myc. II B.

While the shape is the slightly later more ovoid form of ewer with shorter spout and straighter handle, the decoration is a direct descendant of Ephyraean ware, with its absence of banding, isolation of motives and characteristic streamers below handle. For the triple spiral with "zwickel" filling, cf. the double spiral on the Myc. II B ewer from Korakou (pl. V) and the single spiral on the ewer from Ialysos (Ialysos, p. 185, fig. 108). The metallic tongue pattern and foliate band of these earlier examples are gone, and ours should be dated to Myc. III A:1.

Triple spiral clearly related to simplified nautilus popular on these ewers (cf. XXXVII-2 and XL-6). Cf. especially Scheinfeld, Meisterwerke, p. 118, fig. 21, with "zwickel" fillings.

See also pp. 183, 148.


P 23579. On floor of tomb near northeast corner. H. 0.184 m., D. 0.149 m. Very much shattered; mended and parts from wall restored in plaster.

Hard buff clay with badly pockeved surface; red glaze, not very lustrous.

Medium high neck with projecting rim sloping downward to ext.; piriform body flaring slightly to flat base; three loop handles set horizontally on shoulder.

Rim, neck, outside of handles, and lower part of body glazed; band on rim; in handle area a row of short oblique lines with a row of dots above them; groups of encircling bands below handle zone and further down.

Furumark, M.P., Types 44-45 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:2-B; Mot. 64: 17-18 (p. 397, fig. 69), Myc. III A:2. The downward-sloping lip is a late feature.

Cf. XVIII-1 and references.

Myc. III A:2 (late).

P 23582. Near middle of tomb, on floor. H. 0.184 m., D. 0.149 m. Very much shattered; mended and parts from wall restored in plaster.

Buff clay with orange-buff surface; black glaze, cracked, flaked and almost gone; surface in very poor preservation.

Narrow neck flaring to trough spout rising at an oblique angle; plastic band at junction of neck and shoulder; ridged handle from rim opposite spout to shoulder; terminating in a metallic-like knob; broad piriform body contracting to a small flat bottom. A firing hole at each handle attachment.

Decoration almost gone and difficult to make out: rim, handle and foot glazed; a band at base of neck, probably one around middle and above foot; shoulder decoration apparently fan-shaped floral ornaments made up of concentric arcs.

Furumark, M.P., Type 149 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. II B; probably some form of Mot. 11: 23, 29, 51 (pp. 261, 265, figs. 93-94), Myc. II A-III A:1. Cf. Scheinfeld, Meisterwerke, p. 118, fig. 23 for a possible parallel. With a longer spout and more metallic handle this vase is earlier in shape than XXIII-1, yet the decoration is more in conformity with the Myc. III A zonal principles than the free-field Ephyraean composition of XXIII-1. Probably from an Argive workshop: cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 701, which must be a little later. For shape cf. VII-17.

See also pp. 133, 144.


Prosymna, I, p. 313.

The ewer XXIII-2, stylistically the earliest pot in the tomb (Myc. II B to earliest III A:1), is poorly preserved and was apparently imported. Was it perhaps re-used from the earliest interment when the remains were collected in the bone pit?

P 23580. From near feet of western skeleton. H. 0.106 m., D. 0.135 m. Mended from many pieces; part of rim, half of one handle, and pieces from wall restored in plaster.

Gritty orange clay covered with dull red-brown glaze, flaked; not well smoothed. Apparently glaze did not extend to bottom of foot.

Deep bowl with slightly offset rim; low stem and small flaring foot concave beneath; two small band handles from rim to shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 263 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. I–II B.

Local imitation of an early form: cf. remarks under XXII–1.

Myc. III A.


P 23583. Fragments from floor of grave. Est. D. rim ca. 0.14 m. Several joining fragments from wall and rim.

Fine pale gray-buff clay, hard and smooth with a light polish; a few flakes of black probably discoloration or possibly tin incrustation (?).

Thin wall with everted rim. Since nothing of stem or handles is preserved, the shape cannot be accurately determined. Cf. III–5, 6, 8–10 from the Tomb of the Bronzes and VII–15 from the Ares Tomb.

Probably contemporary with the ewers and the remains in the bone pit.


XXIII-6. Cup with High-swung Handle. Pl. 51.

P 23581. To north of upper skeleton about 0.25 m. above floor. H. 0.055 m., H. with handle 0.085 m., D. 0.15 m. Mended from three pieces.

Very gritty buff clay with slight traces of thin red wash on inside.

Shallow open bowl with slightly thickened rim; wall tapers to small flat foot; one vertical band handle rising from rim with lower attachment on shoulder.

Not a standard shape in Furumark but probably a variant of Type 220 (p. 48, fig. 18), Myc. III A:2 under the influence of the early teacup form with raised ring handle (Type 287).

Cf. Attica, pl. 8, 8 (Pikermi) and C.V.A., Copenhagen, IIIa, pl. 64, 10 (“Athens”). Perhaps an Attic form, but cf. B.C.H., LXXXI, 1957, p. 577, fig. 18 (Myc. III A:2–B cup from Diaseia near Olympia).

Cf. XVIII–2 and XXXIII–2. See also p. 129.

Myc. III A:2(–B)? From its position in the tomb above XXXIII–3 it cannot be very early.

OTHER OFFERINGS


BI 712. From small pit in northeast corner. H. of back 0.026 m., P. L. 0.044 m., T. 0.005 m.; L. teeth 0.025 m. One end preserved with some fragments of teeth.

Plain rectangular back with two pairs of grooves on front and back.

Cf. comb from Lily Bowl Grave (XVI–12). See also p. 107.

Late Helladic.


G 501. From small pit in northeast corner. Two tubular beads (L. 0.012 m., D. 0.007 m. and L. 0.018 m., D. 0.006 m.) and one ring-shaped (D. 0.01 m.; T. 0.006 m.). All white in color.

Cf. the glass beads from the tombs at the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, I, pp. 296 ff.; II, fig. 599, 14, 15). See also p. 108.

Late Helladic.


T 3383. From small pit in northeast corner. H. 0.015 m., D. 0.02 m. Dull brown clay; polished.

Biconical shape.

Cf. the terracotta buttons from the tombs at the Argive Heraion which with four exceptions belong to the L.H. I–II burials; the commonest shape among these is the bicone (Prosymna, I, pp. 313–317; II, fig. 602, 6).

Late Helladic II.


ST 595. To east of eastern skeleton, but above floor. H. 0.021 m., D. 0.035 m. Dark purple stone with red veins.

Conical shape, slightly concave below. Our largest example.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 602, 1 ("short cone").

Late Helladic III.


ST 596. At waist of eastern skeleton. H. 0.014 m., D. 0.022 m. Plum-colored stone.

Conical shape, with bevelled edge.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 602, 2 ("short cone").

Late Helladic III.


ST 597. At waist of eastern skeleton. H. 0.012 m., D. 0.02 m. Plum-colored stone.
Tomb XXIV: Chamber Tomb Northeast of Pier 19 (Q 8:4)

Pls. 52–53, 65–67, 77; Plan: Pl. 88

Situated just inside the original north end of the Stoa about two meters east of Tomb XXIII, this tomb, which was found by Stoa engineers in July, 1953, shows a parallel alignment of dromos and chamber to XXIII, both being entered from the north. It was, however, at a somewhat higher level, and the northern part, including most of the doorway and the dromos, had been cut away by the ancient Stoa builders (Pl. 53). The dimensions of the chamber were 2.90 m. wide by 1.60 m. deep. Unusual features of the tomb were a small recess in the back or south wall, in which stood the askos (XXIV-21), and a rough stone slab (XXIV-24), which was found on the floor near the center of the east side, but which may once have been a grave marker at ground level.

The tomb had been used for repeated burials. Two skeletons, both to the west of the entrance, extended with feet toward the door, seem to represent the latest interments, although the eastern one had been somewhat pushed to the side. Unfortunately, no offerings were definitely assigned to these burials, but the askos in the niche (XXIV-21) and an angular alabastron (XXIV-20) found about 0.30 m. above floor level should probably be assigned to this burial stratum. In the southeast corner and along the west wall there were swept-up piles of bones and offerings from earlier burials, and in the northwest corner there was a small round pit (0.50 m. in diameter by 0.20 m. deep) full of bones. Skeletal analysis revealed the remains of twelve interments.

Despite the number of interments, this tomb was not a particularly wealthy one except in the quantity of pots, many of which are in a provincial fabric with dull glaze and seem to perpetuate Myc. II shapes in a debased technique, for example the deep-bowled kylikes (XXIV-12 to 14) and the ewers (XXIV-8 to 10). These are difficult to date. The decorated vases comprise some early (Myc. III A:1) pieces, which appear to have been imported (XXIV-1 and 3 to 7). Some beads (XXIV-22) and a steatite button (XXIV-23) were the only other offerings found, but it is possible that some objects of greater value had been removed at the time of the later interments.

See also pp. 99, 101–102, 105.

1 Parallel with the bottom of the sixteenth foundation course of the Stoa compared with the nineteenth of XXIII.

2 The eastern part of the north wall is preserved for a length of about 0.90 m. where it seems to turn northwards for the door.

3 This recess is not indicated on the plan but is visible on the photograph (Pl. 53).

4 AA 142–147 analyzed by Angel as follows: southeast corner, 142, M. of 48; 142a, C. of 7; 143, M. of 44; 143a, C. of 4; west side, 144, M. of 39; 144a, M. of 28; 145, F. of 42; 145a, F. of 18; west center, 146, M. of 42; 146a, F. of 41; east center, 147, M. of 50; 147a, F. of 25. The double entries under “west center” and “east center” would seem to indicate that there was an earlier interment under the two latest burials.

5 The mixed character of XXIV-22 might point in this direction. For this practice, cf. Wace, Ch.T., p. 145. Not all the pots were drawn at the time of excavation and hence only those of certain location are indicated on the plan. In the Catalogue the pottery is presented according to types and in the probable chronological sequence rather than according to specific areas of the tomb.
MYCENAEAN PERIOD: CATALOGUE

POTTERY

XXIV-1. Small Globular Pot, Stippled. Pl. 52.
  P 23533. From northeast corner and probably associated with bone pit. H. 0.088 m., D. 0.108 m. Small fragments of wall restored; lip chipped.
  Buff clay, very hard and smooth; decoration in black to brown glaze, worn; body stippled with thinned brownish glaze.
  Globular pot with no handles; narrow neck with outturned rim, sloping slightly downwards; small flat bottom.
  Horizontal bands on neck, two narrow and one wider; two broad bands at base; entire body stippled.
  Furumark, M.P., Type 77 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. II B–III A: 1; Mot. 77: 2 (p. 422, fig. 73), Myc. II B–III A: 2 (early). Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 669 (dated L.H. I); C.V.A., Br. Mus., III a, pl. 10, 3 (Maroni); Chalkis, pl. 22, 471; etc.
  These examples like ours have a solid foot, but the type was clearly derived (Prosymna, I, pp. 405–406) from the rhyton made from an actual ostrich egg, as the stippled decoration indicates, and an early example from Tomb 518 at Mycenae (Ch.T., pl. I, 32) had a pierced bottom.
  See also p. 187.

XXIV-2. Deep Footed Cup, Monochrome. Pl. 52.
  P 23576. H. 0.06 m., D. 0.085 m. Fragments of wall and base remain; about half restored in plaster; no trace of handle.
  Pale yellow clay with many impurities; traces of white slip.
  Small deep cup with gently flaring rim; lightly concave wall forming an angle with the lower part; low ring foot. Probably to be restored with a handle.
  Furumark, M.P., Type 230 (p. 53, fig. 15), Myc. III A: 2. Cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 415, 1214; and 281, 597 (the latter in Yellow Minyan, undecorated, and very close to ours). Both are clearly earlier than the Myc. III A: 2 date assigned by Furumark to this shape. For later examples, cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 260, 625; Ch.T., pl. XXII, 8; B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 840–841, pl. XIII. The examples from Attica (Attica, pl. 8, 6–7) seem still later.
  Our example is possibly handmade and resembles more closely Fine Matte-painted ware (cf. 331–337) than Yellow Minyan.
  See also p. 180.
  Myc. III A: 1 (?).

  P 23563. H. 0.213 m., D. 0.173 m. Many wall fragments and two small bits of rim missing; restored in plaster.
  Light greenish buff clay, hard and smooth; dark brown glaze, much flaked.
  Low concave neck with flat projecting rim and slight plastic band at base of neck; broad piriform shape tapering to slightly projecting ring foot with moulded profile. Three vertically set ribbed handles with marked thumb depression and projecting knob at lower attachment.
  Neck glazed inside and out; handles glazed; groups of cross-bars on reserved top of rim. Broad band of scale pattern on shoulder; broad and narrow bands on lower wall; deep band of glaze at foot.
  Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. III A: 1; Mot. 49: 8, 10 (p. 363, fig. 62), Myc. III A–II B.
  A very fine example of this popular early type; in shape close to VII–12 and a little earlier than XIV–4; considerably earlier than XVII–1. See references under I–2, a large version of the same.
  See also pp. 120, 141.

XXIV-4. Three-handled Jar, Stemmed Spirals. Pl. 52.
  P 23565. H. 0.185 m., D. 0.14 m. Many fragments missing from wall and rim; restored.
  Pinkish clay with light buff surfacing; red-brown glaze paint, fairly firm, and lustrous.
  Low concave neck with broad rim sloping slightly downwards; high shoulder sloping downward to small projecting ring foot; three vertical band handles.
  Neck glazed; a reserved line on the rim; handles glazed. Narrow band at top of shoulder; in each panel between pairs of handles, two stemmed spirals, one larger and one smaller; below, two broad bands with narrow line between; reserved zone; another broad band and three narrow lines; deep zone of glaze above and on foot-ring.
  Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. III A: 1–2. Cf. I–3, XIV–1 and XXIV–5. This example is closest in shape and quality to the example from Tomb I. See references under I–3.
  See also pp. 120, 143.

XXIV-5. Three-handled Jar. Pl. 52.
  P 23566. H. as restored 0.191 m., D. 0.148 m. Lower body and base, many wall fragments, part of rim, and two handles missing; restored in plaster (base perhaps too high?).
  Drab buff clay; black to brown paint, crackled and much flaked.
  Low neck with flat projecting rim; piriform body; three vertical band handles. Neck glazed; row of dots between bands on top of rim; handles glazed outside.
In handle zone, two stemmed spirals, not all of equal size, in each panel between pairs of handles; two groups of bands below.

For shape and decoration see references under XXIV-4.


P 23564. H. 0.10 m., D. 0.094 m. Fragments of wall and rim, one handle and part of another missing.

Pinkish buff clay; firm red-brown glaze.

Low concave neck with flat spreading rim; piriform shape contracting to narrow flaring foot, sharply concave beneath. Three horizontally set loop handles high on shoulder.

Neck glazed; top of rim banded; handles glazed; deep zone of scale pattern on shoulder zone; two groups of horizontal bands below and deep zone of glaze around lower wall and outside of foot.

Furumark, M.P., Types 28 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B-III A:1, Mot. 70: 1 (p. 403, fig. 70), Myc. II A–III B.

Nice miniature example; clearly early because of broad shoulder and deep decorative zone. Cf. with type with vertical handles (I–2, VII–12, XXIV–3, etc.). Cf. also with diminutive examples with horizontal handles from Chalkis (Chalkis, pl. 21, 448, 519 Γ').

See also p. 121.


XXIV-7. Small Three-handled Jar.

Pls. 52, 65.

P 23584. H. 0.168 m., D. 0.137 m. Some fragments from wall and one handle missing; restored in plaster.

Greenish buff clay, hard with lightly polished surface; brownish black glaze, much worn.

Wide concave neck with projecting rim, sloping slightly downwards; piriform body flaring to profiled foot with concave underside; rolled loop handles set horizontally high on shoulder.

Neck glazed; rim reserved and decorated with a single line; handles glazed. On shoulder fairly deep zone of scale pattern; on wall three sets of bands in groups of three; solid glaze around bottom of wall and on foot.

Larger but essentially similar to XXIV-6; however well on the way toward the Myc. III A:2 shape (FS 44). Cf. Pl. 65, XXXVII–1.

See also p. 191.


XXIV-8. Large Monochrome Ewer.

Pl. 52.

P 23581. H. 0.355 m., D. 0.284 m. Small fragments of wall and front part of spout missing.

Fairly coarse red clay, the whole covered with dull glaze paint, fired red to black; some traces of cross-burnishing on lower part.

Narrow neck, concave in profile with a plastic ridge at junction with shoulder; rim flares to a trough spout which originally rose at an oblique angle; broad globular biconical body tapering to a small nearly flat bottom. Broad band handle from rim opposite spout to shoulder; ridge down center of handle terminates in a low boss at the lower attachment.


This is a large undecorated version of the fine painted ewers such as VII–17, XXIII–1 and 2, XXXI–1, XL–6. Decoration was customary on this shape and of the twenty-six examples from the Argive Heraion, only one was undecorated (Prosymna, I, pp. 439–440; II, fig. 358, 1105), a diminutive jug (0.049 m. high) in Gray Minyan ware, hardly comparable to our example. This may well be a local Athenian adaptation of the painted type, but no examples with monochrome glaze are reported in Attica, pp. 49–50.

A handsome vase with a fairly lustrous surface, metallic features, and good shape, this should be early. Apparently found in shallow pit with XXIV-1 (see plan).

See also p. 184.


Pl. 52.

P 23569. P.H. 0.165 m., D. 0.14 m. Mouth, neck, and wall fragments missing; in part restored.

Deep orange clay, not very well purified; covered with thin orange-red paint.

Broad-shouldered piriform body with flat bottom; handle lightly ribbed. Should probably be restored with beaked spout like XXIV-8 and 10.

This, as far as preserved, conforms to the more elegant shape of ewer like XXIV-8, but lacks the plastic attachment at the base of the handle. See references.

Myc. III A.

XXIV-10. Small Monochrome Ewer.

Pls. 52, 67.

P 23570. H. as restored 0.175 m., D. 0.15 m. Base, mouth, and many wall fragments missing; restored in plaster.

Red-buff clay with some impurities; covered with red-brown wash.

Plump piriform body with flattened base; plastic ridge at junction of neck and shoulder; band handle from back of lip. At both the upper and lower handle attachments a sizable hole was pierced through before firing.

Technically this is similar to XXIV-9, but the shape is more globular like XXIII–1.

Myc. III A.
P 23529. H. 0.232 m., D. 0.158 m. Broken but largely complete except for spout; small wall fragments restored in plaster.
Buff clay with lighter buff surfacing; dull brown to black paint, considerably worn.
Narrow neck, the rim on one side almost straight, traces of a projecting spout on the other; piriform body, somewhat lop-sided, tapering to a narrow, lightly concave bottom; rolled handles from rim to shoulder.
Banded decoration at base of neck, around middle (three stripes), and at foot where there is a deep zone with two narrow bands above; handles painted. Bands carelessly painted.
Furumark, M.P., Type 150 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B-III A: 2. This is a rather ungraceful example of the shape represented by the glazed jug from Tomb I (I-4) and the undecorated monochrome examples XVIII-4 and 5. When this shape bore decoration in the Argolid it was more elaborate and finer: cf. Ch. T., pl. XLII, 42; Prosymna, II, fig. 256, 645. See also p. 155.
Myc. III A.

P 23571. H. 0.117 m., D. 0.132 m. Mended from many pieces; wall and rim fragments and one handle missing and restored.
Shape similar to XXIV-12, but bowl deeper and walls sharply tapering.
A better vase than XXIV-12 or 13, this is close to the Ephyraean shape (cf. Korakou, pl. VII) and the glaze has some luster. Midway between Stubbings’s Types B₁ and B₂ (cf. Attica, pp. 27ff. and note reference, p. 28 to “thousands of sherds of kylikes of this sort in a rubbish pit” at Mycenae found in 1989, “the contents of which are all clearly of an early phase of the L.H. III period”). Apparently this deposit was the Atreus bothros (cf. B.S.A., LIX, 1964, pp. 248ff. and note 24 with statement that “only the painted pottery survived the war”). Possibly this early type with monochrome glaze continued to be used for domestic purposes in the Argolid but was not popular in tombs, where it was replaced by the decorated kylix with taller stem. See also pp. 118, 126ff.
Myc. III A.

P 23572. H. as restored 0.135 m., D. 0.18 m. One handle and much of one side missing; restored in plaster.
Coarse orange-buff clay; thin dull chocolate brown to black glaze wash except under foot.
Shallow bowl with narrow outturned rim; small flat bottom; bridged trough spout projects horizontally from rim; no trace of handle.
Furumark, M.P., Type 253 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. II A-III B. No examples cited which lack a handle; probably handle on our cup is missing, since it should be located 90 degrees from the spout, an area here restored in plaster.
Cf. the standard Myc. III A decorated example, 410. The present example is doubtless a local imitation.
See also p. 129–130.
Myc. III A.

P 23573. H. as restored 0.138 m., D. 0.152 m. Base, stem, one handle, and much of wall missing; restored in plaster.
Coarse buff clay; orange-brown glaze wash, with some luster.
Shape similar to XXIV-12, but bowl deeper and walls sharply tapering.
Fine apricot clay with creamy surface, smooth and polished giving the effect of a bloom.
Shallow bowl with everted rim; tall stem restored with disc base; two small ribbon handles from rim.
Furumark, M.P., Type 260 or 266 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A: 1-C.
Cf. XV-1 (references), XXXII-3, and XL-12. See also p. 128.

P 23574. H. as restored 0.175 m., D. 0.145 m. All of base and one side of bowl missing and restored.
Fine apricot clay with creamy surface, smooth and polished giving the effect of a bloom.
Shallow bowl with everted rim; tall stem restored with disc base; two small ribbon handles from rim.
Furumark, M.P., Type 265 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A: 1-C.
Cf. XV-1 (references), XXXII-3, and XL-12. See also p. 128.

P 23575. H. 0.057 m., D. 0.138 m. Fragments missing from wall and rim; restored.
Buff clay, not well refined; covered with thick but dull black glaze, fired unevenly; much flaked.
Shallow bowl with narrow outturned rim; small flat bottom; bridged trough spout projects horizontally from rim; no trace of handle.
Furumark, M.P., Type 253 (p. 48, fig. 18), Myc. II A-III B. No examples cited which lack a handle; probably handle on our cup is missing, since it should be located 90 degrees from the spout, an area here restored in plaster.
Cf. the standard Myc. III A decorated example, 410. The present example is doubtless a local imitation.
See also p. 129–130.
Myc. III A.

P 23577. Est. D. ca. 0.11 m. Fragments only from wall.
Coarse orange-buff clay; soft, not well smoothed. 
Plain rim; no trace of base. 
Shape probably like III-12 and 16. 
Furumark, M.P., Type 204 (p. 53, fig. 15), Myc. I-III B. 
Myc. III A. 

P 23567. Hopf, Botanical Report, pl. IV, 2 and 3. 
H. 0.166 m., D. 0.15 m. Many wall fragments and part of rim missing; restored. 
Coarse light brown clay with impurities, surfaced with a thin red-brown glaze wash, fired dark in one spot. Small leaf in tempering material. 
Fairly tall neck with outturned lip; globular biconical body with a small flattened bottom, not very steady; thin strap handles from lip to shoulder. 
Furumark, M.P., Type 68 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. II B-III B. Cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 109, 209; 177, 303, 289. 
See also pp. 126, 268. 
Myc. III A. 

P 23568. P.H. 0.125 m., D. 0.144 m. Handles, most of mouth and part of upper wall remain; in part restored. 
Coarse light brown clay surfaced with a thin red-brown slip or glaze wash. 
Shape similar to XXIV-18, but the handles are thicker, lightly ridged, and slope less rapidly from the rim. 
See reference above, under XXIV-18. 
Myc. III A. 

P 23582. Found near northeast corner, about 0.80 m. above floor. H. 0.098 m., D. 0.145 m. Small wall fragments, much of bottom, part of rim and one handle restored in plaster. 
Pinkish clay with light buff, hard, smooth surface; orange-red glaze, lustrous but worn. 
Low neck with flat outturned rim; angular shoulder with slightly concave lower walls; convex bottom; three small loop handles high on shoulder. 
Rim, inside and out, and handles glazed; narrow band around upper part of shoulder; five bands at angle of wall and bottom. Between bands, fine diagonal lines around shoulder and wall. Bottom has two circles at outer edge, center missing. 
Furumark, M.P., Type 93 (p. 44, fig. 12), Myc. III A:1-2; decoration a variant of Mot. 64: "Foliate Band," 21 (p. 897, fig. 69) or 57: "Diaper Net," 2 (p. 883, fig. 67) without crosshatching. 
The double zone of decoration might indicate an early date (cf. XXI-4 and 9) or the local continuation of an early type. Here, however, the fabric and total appearance are much closer to standard Myc. III A:2 ware (cf. XXVIII-1 and 414), but the shape is similar to the Myc. III A:1 example (XI-2). Decoration resembles that on the rhyton XXI-6; note manner in which hatching crosses transverse bands. 
If this pot indicates the latest period of use of the tomb (see location), it should mean a date not later than the mid fourteenth century, with the other burials falling in the first half of the century. 
See also p. 122. 
Myc. III A:2 (early?). 

P 23530. From niche in south wall. H. 0.16 m., D. 0.185 m. Broken but largely complete; a few small wall fragments restored. 
Coarse reddish clay, covered all over with thin orange-red wash. 
Globular pot with small flat bottom and flattened top, suggesting that it was made in two sections on the wheel and was joined at middle. Spout, slightly concave in profile with flaring rim, set at an oblique angle on shoulder. Small band handle, with slight central rib, from below flattened top to the middle of spout. 
Furumark, M.P., Type 195 (p. 67, fig. 20), Myc. II A-III C:1. 
A larger version of the type found in V-5 (see discussion) but closest to the undecorated example from a Collector's Dump (504). Cf. also the askoi from Vourvatsi (Attica, pl. 16, 8-9). 
See also p. 139. 
Myc. III A. 

J 131. Among bones at west side of chamber. D. of beads from ca. 0.007 m. to 0.014 m. 
Lot consists of one spherical purple bead (amethyst?), four small reddish ones of different sizes (agate or carnelian?), and six larger white paste beads, globular but flattened top and bottom, along with several fragments of similar paste beads. Also included are two bits of straight bone pin and one snail shell. 
Suggestive of greater wealth with one of earlier burials? See above p. 221. 
Late Helladic. 

St 594. H. 0.008 m., D. 0.021 m. Intact; slightly chipped. Greenish stone. 
Low concave conical shape; pierced. 
Blegen's "conoid" type (Prosymna, II, fig. 602,3). Late Helladic III.
XXIV-24. Rough Stone Slab (Grave-marker?).

Pl. 52.

ST 598. On floor near center of east side of chamber. P.L. 0.85 m., W. on top surface 0.14 m., T. ca. 0.035 m. Apparently broken at both ends; bottom flat, but left rough as split. Top dressed smooth, and both sides to near bottom where rough projecting edge has been left.

Grayish white limestone.

Cf. XL-15 which is a bit larger and also worked smooth on edges and face. Found in upper packing of blocking wall and considered a grave-marker, perhaps incomplete (Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 77-78).

See also p. 102.

TOMB XXV: CHAMBER TOMB UNDER LATE ROMAN FORTIFICATION WALL (R 7:1)

Pl. 53

In October, 1953, the Stoa engineers, who were digging a deep trench which passed under the Late Roman Fortification Wall four or five meters east of Stoa Shop XX, came upon the remains of a Mycenaean chamber tomb, from which several vases and sherds, as well as the remnants of two skeletons, were brought up. It was impossible to fix the limits of the tomb in any direction, since at the north and south it was cut by the wall, and operations could not be extended to the east and west, owing to the rapid flow of water from the surface of bedrock. However, the multiple burials establish it as a chamber tomb, part of the same group as XXII, XXIII, and XXIV, but somewhat later in time.

On the evidence of its pottery, this is one of the latest Mycenaean tombs from the Agora, falling in the thirteenth century, for it is among the very few that have yielded clear examples of the Myc. III B pottery style, namely the depressed stirrup vase XXV-1.

XXV-1. Stirrup-Vase.

Pl. 53.

P 23616. H. 0.08 m., D. 0.114 m. Intact.

Fine hard reddish buff clay; light red paint, mostly faded.

Straight spout with slightly flaring rim about equal in height to false neck; flat disc on top and two stirrup handles; broad flat shoulder and depressed body tapering to a rather broad base with a low ring foot. Concentric circles on top of false mouth; concentric arcs on shoulder; encircling bands in groups of two on lower body; band on foot.

Furumark, M.P., Type 180 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III B; Mots. 49: 17 (p. 343, fig. 57), Myc. III B; or 17: 31 (p. 299, fig. 47), Myc. III A-B.

This is Furumark's "perked-up" squat type which is confined to Myc. III B. Cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 115, 280; 141, 145 (also fig. 722); 354, 782; 507, 83 (with Psi-figurines); Zygouries, p. 168, fig. 161, 356. Cf. also the Attic examples, Attica, pp. 14 ff., pl. 1, 2-4 (Vourvatsi); Myk. Vasen, pl. XVII, 118 (Spata).

See also pp. 124, 152.

Myc. III B.

XXV-2. Tankard.

Pl. 53.

P 23617. H. 0.065 m., D. 0.068 m. Mended from several pieces; fragment of rim and bottom missing, restored in plaster.

Hard, fine pink-buff clay; orange-red paint, fairly well preserved.

Mug with flaring rim, concave sides and flat bottom; vertical loop handle from below rim.

Rim, edge of base, outside of handle covered with paint; handle zone decorated with row of large retrograde N's, framed by three encircling lines above, four below; four concentric circles on base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 226 (p. 33, fig. 15), Myc. III A: 2-C:1; Mot. 60: 2 (p. 383, fig. 67), Myc. III A-B.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 100, 393. Although not a common shape in the Argolid chamber tombs, examples are found in Attica (cf. Attica, p. 35, pl. 8, 9-10, 12-13). In shape ours most closely resembles the example from Brauron (pl. 8, 9). The lower broader shape with flaring rim is closer to the Myc. III A type but it lacks the central midrib. Likewise the decorative zone of N-pattern, enlarged to a grotesque

1 AA 164 and 164a analyzed by Angel as follows: 164, M. of 55; 164a, M. of 16 or 17.
2 Only XX, VI, the upper burial stratum of VII, and XLI seem clearly later, and in all these except XX the pottery is transitional Myc. III B/C or even III C:1. See also p. 110.
degree, seems a travesty on the neat narrow zones of this pattern in the Tell el Amarna style. I know of no other vase where this pattern has been given such prominence (for canonical treatment, cf. C.V.A., Copenhagen, III a, pl. 48, 12, a tankard from Apollakia, Rhodes).

See also pp. 129-130.

Myc. III A:2-B.

P 23618. H. 0.087 m., D. 0.105 m. About one-half preserved, the rest restored in plaster.
Pinkish buff clay with impurities; brown paint. A shallow open cup with rolled rim and small low ring foot; one flat loop handle from rim to lower wall. Rim, handle outside, profile of foot covered with paint; broad and thin bands around lower wall; a circle on the center of the inside.

Furumark, M.P., Type 220 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. III A:2-B. Although rather heavy and coarse, this is more the Myc. III A than the III B form as seen in shallow cups from the Potter's Shop at Zygouries (Zygouries, p. 154, fig. 145, 408, 450). Cf. also 439 (from O 7:4) which must be still later than the present example.

See also p. 129.

Myc. III A:2-B.

XXV-4. Round Alabastron, Misfired (?). Pl. 53.
P 23624. H. 0.088 m., D. 0.105 m. All three handles and most of one side of body missing; restored in plaster.
Gray clay throughout; very brittle and flaky; dark gray glaze wash.
Deep alabastron with rather tall neck flaring to narrow rim rounded on top; flattened bottom. Traces of glaze on upper half of body.

Furumark, M.P., Type 85 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. III A:2-B. Cf. Prosymnna, II, figs. 254, 731; 557, 366. At first sight this has the appearance of Gray Minyan (cf. the Gray Minyan alabastron, Prosymnna, I, p. 445; II, fig. 226, 437). However, the presence of a true glaze and perhaps some decoration suggest rather a misfired example in which the fabric and paint were unintentionally reduced in the kiln. If so, it would be an important confirmation of the local production of Mycenaean pottery in Athens. Alternatively, the pot may have been badly burnt subsequent to its manufacture; the extreme brittleness of the clay is reminiscent of the vitrified sherds found in the pithoid jar III-15 (see above).

See also p. 123.

Myc. III A:2-B.

Tomb XXVI: Chamber Tomb East of Shop XIX (R 7:2)

Pls. 53–54, 75–76; Plan: Pl. 88

In July 1953, when Stoa engineers were digging beside the foundations just east of Stoa Shop XIX, they came upon some bones, Mycenaean sherds,1 and a pot (XXVI-1). As the excavation was enlarged the legs of two skeletons were exposed in a trench about one meter wide, with the whole pot and the coil of lead wire (XXVI-6) found between the two sets of legs. The floor of the tomb was level with the seventh foundation course of the Stoa, and there was no great depth of bedrock fill above the bones, barely 0.20 to 0.30 m. before the Classical level. No sure limit to the tomb could be fixed in any direction,2 although tunnelling to the east the following year was done to a maximum penetration of 1.80 m. east of the Stoa Foundations. In this subsequent operation a broken skull, the bones of a doubled-up skeleton, two terracotta figurines (XXVI-4 and 5), other coils of lead wire (XXVI-7), and two more skulls were found. No end of the tomb was in sight when operations had to be stopped.

Although the excavation of this tomb was incomplete, it was clearly a chamber tomb with multiple burials,3 and contained some very fine and unusual pottery. The ritual character of

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1 Presumably these were the sherds of XXVI-2 and 3 which were found in storage and catalogued in the summer of 1961.

2 The plan seems to establish an eastern limit, but this is perhaps an arbitrary one, as the notebook expressly states that "no end of the tomb was in sight" when operations ceased. I also fail to see that there is any indication that this tomb or XXV were entered by dromoi leading to the south, as indicated on the master plan. A northern orientation on the analogy of XXIV would seem more likely.

3 AA 148–149 analyzed by Angel as follows: 148, M. of 47; 148a, F. of 27; 149, C. of 2 and a half; 149a, C. of 3 and a half. (These last should be the two found in 1954 and thus associated with the terracotta figurines; see also p. 109).
the pierced hydria (XXVI-1), and the unusual and perhaps ritual form of XXVI-2, suggest that we may be dealing with the burial of a person of some religious stature, although the evidence for this theory is less than in Tomb 44 at the Argive Heraion, where Blegen found a table of offerings and six pierced vases, which he suggests may have been the paraphernalia of a priest.\footnote{Prosymna, I, pp. 213-214. Table of offerings: II, figs. 539, 672-673; pierced vases: fig. 538, 1000-1003, 1008. These are dated to L.H. I; a triple kernos of L.H. III (fig. 530, 1029) was also found in the same tomb, leading to the speculation of a hereditary priesthood.}

From the pottery that was recovered this tomb should be dated in the Myc. III A:2 period, probably well down in the second half of the fourteenth century.

XXVI-1. Hydria with Octopus Decoration.

P 23535. H. 0.141 m., D. 0.135 m. Mended from many pieces; parts from neck and walls as well as half of one horizontal handle restored in plaster. Yellow-buff clay, not very well purified; dark to light brown paint, worn in many places; superimposed white dots for suckers of the octopus.

Fairly high flaring mouth; globular body with small ring foot; flattish vertical handle from lip to shoulder; two small horizontal handles, round in section, at greatest diameter. A hole made before firing through resting surface of vase in middle of front, 0.006 m. in D. (Pl. 75).

Rim, handles outside, base of neck, foot-ring covered with paint. In handle zone the motive of an octopus is repeated three times, twice upright, once sideways. In the two smaller panels divided by the vertical handle, the tentacles have been somewhat abridged. Lower half of body covered with groups of thin bands.

Furumark, M.P., Type 129 (pp. 80-81, figs. 5-6), Myc. III A:2-B; Mot. 21: 9-10, 14 (pp. 308-309, figs. 48-49), Myc. III A:2-B.

The shape is fairly rare and has been recognized as a ritual one by Stubbings (Attica, pp. 56-57) because of the small pierced hole in the center of the front through the resting surface. Forsdyke (B.M.Cat., I, 1, pp. 157-158) had recognized this feature earlier in connection with two somewhat later hydriae from Ialysos (A 880-881, and both the Agora example and the Nauplia vase (B.C.H., LXXIX, 1955, p. 288, fig. 11) are decorated with octopuses, the latter done with a rather careless abandon and without superimposed white. Ours are neat and relatively naturalistic with the prolonged body of the earlier examples (cf. Mot. 21: 14), but with the number of tentacles (2 pairs) curtailed from the original four.

See also pp. 125, 138, 146-147. Myc. III A:2 (late).

XXVI-2. Fragmentary Closed Pot. 

P 27028. D. neck est. ca. 0.04 m. Rest. H. 0.128 m. Eight non-joining fragments preserve part of rim, shoulder decoration, and encircling bands above base.

Fine hard pink-buff clay; lustrous orange-red glaze paint; highest quality fabric. Apparently from a small closed pot of globular shape with a low flaring rim cut in points (see reconstructed drawing, Pl. 76).

Rim glazed inside and out; on shoulder a frieze of pendant concentric semicircles framed above and below by a broad band bordered by a row of dots; on lower body fine encircling lines of equal width cover complete surface.

Not a standard shape but probably a variant of Furumark, M.P., Type 77 or 78 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. III A:1-2, under the influence of the pomegranate...
which must have inspired the serrated rim;¹ Mot. 43: 8 (p. 348, fig. 57), Myc. III A:2.

Both shape and decoration are unusual. The fine banding on the lower part of the vase differs from the usual Mycenaean alternation of groups of narrow lines framed by broader bands and foreshadows Protocorinthian. (But cf. the similar fine banding on some later Mycenaean vases from Achaia, A.J.A., LXIV, 1960, pls. 1, figs. 2–3, 3, fig. 24). The rows of dots bordering the shoulder ornament may be a survival from Myc. II (cf. the early alabastra, Prosymna, II, figs. 687, 689; Ch.T., pl. V, 7). The serrated rim is paralleled only on a pithoid jar (one of a linked pair) from a chamber tomb on Karpathos (Δελτ., XVII A, 1961–1962, pl. 26a, β, 5, i, p. 68, no. 97) which the excavator considers was cut after discovery, clearly not the case with our example. Curiously, the Karpathos tomb belongs to the same chronological range as many of our Agora tombs, immediately after the destruction of Knossos, but it has a more strongly Minoan flavor (cf. Warrior Graves at Knossos, B.S.A., XLVII, 1952, pp. 243–277, pls. 50–56). Furthermore the jar no. 97 was certainly ritual, being one of a pair with a connecting tube (cf. Evans, T.D.A., pp. 32–33, fig. 46, 6a), and it is likely that ours also had a ritual significance because of its association in the same tomb with the pierced hydria.

Although the pomegranate is known in Mycenaean art in metalwork,² this is the first recorded instance of its occurrence as a shape in Mycenaean pottery. Interestingly enough, the shape is known in the Late Geometric period,³ when according to Jacobsthal it was introduced from Cyprus.⁴ More pertinent to the period of our vase are the faience examples found in Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian tombs⁵ and the imported polychrome glass examples found in Late Cypriote II tombs at Enkomi in Cyprus along with imported Mycenaean pottery.⁶ The question of survival, or revival, of the pomegranate pot from ¹ Ake Åkerström who examined this vase with me in 1961 agreed on this point and had no doubt concerning the Myc. III A character of the vase. ² Karo, S.G., p. 55, no. 77, pl. XXII; Ch.T., p. 195, pl. XXXVIII, 75. ³ Scheffold, Meisterwerke, p. 124, fig. 41; K. Kübler, Kerameikos, V, 1, Berlin, 1954, p. 244, pl. 118, 5381. ⁴ P. Jacobsthal, Greek Pits and their Connections with Europe and Asia, Oxford, 1956, pp. 187–188. ⁵ F. Johansen, Les vases sicyoniens, Copenhagen, 1923, pp. 28–30 and references. ⁶ Murray, Smith and Walters, Excavations in Cyprus, London, 1900, p. 34, fig. 62, 1218 (from Tomb 88), p. 35, fig. 63, 1053–53 (from Tomb 66). Mycenaean to Geometric requires further investigation.

See also p. 137. Myc. III A:2 (late).

XXVI–3. Fragmentary Stirrup-Vase (?). Pl. 53. P 27029. Four non-joining fragments preserve base and part of wall. P.H. 0.05 m., D. base 0.025 m.

Fine pale buff clay, lustrous brownish black paint, rather worn.

Small globular closed pot with neatly formed base with ring moulding and concave beneath. Decoration consisted of groups of wide and narrow encircling lines; shoulder apparently undecorated. Probably a small stirrup-vase. Cf. Furumark, M.P., Type 171 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. III A:2–C:1, some of which were miniature examples (0.05 m. to 0.07 m. in height).


Phi-type statuette with typical disc-torso with plastic breasts, columnar stem. Features and decoration of dress, vertical wavy lines, in red glaze. A long braid of hair hangs down back to waist.

Dated by Mrs. Elizabeth French, who will publish this statuette more fully (see above p. 109, and note 94), to Myc. III A but a later type than X–1. Myc. III A:2.


XXVI–6. Lead Wire Loop. Pl. 54. IL 1301. Total L. ca. 0.24 m. Broken into four pieces and bent. Roughly rectangular in section.

See above, pp. 108–109, and remarks under VIII–10. Late Helladic III.

XXVI–7. Lead Wire Coil. Pl. 54. IL 1367. T. 0.004 m. A considerable length of thick wire in a loose coil, broken into many pieces. With them is preserved a pebble and a chip of flint. Late Helladic III.
GRAVE XXVII: Cist (?) Grave at Northwest Corner of Stoa (Q 7:5)

Pl. 54

This simple pit or cist grave (Pl. 54) set deeply down, ca. 1.50 meters below the surface, into bedrock at the extreme north end of the Stoa within the colonnade and only a few meters to the east of XXII was discovered by Stoa workmen in July, 1954. Excavation revealed a single skeleton, extended, with head to east, and legs bent up at the knees, the arms folded over the abdomen. Two pots placed beside the left thigh were the only offerings.

From the style of the better preserved pot (XXVII-1), a simple monochrome jug with cut-away neck, this burial should probably be placed in the Myc. III B period, and certainly not before the end of Myc. III A. It is thus one of our later burials, and a poor one.

1 For the distinction between pit and cist graves, see above, pp. 103-104. In this case the measurements were not recorded, but in the photograph the cutting looks rectangular. No covering slabs were found, and the skeleton was slightly contracted.

2 AA 179 analyzed by Angel as F. of 37.

XXVII-1. Jug with Cut-away Neck. Pl. 54. P 24282. H. 0.225 m., D. 0.18 m. Intact except for chips.

Sandy buff clay with impurities; remains of thin orange-red wash.

Narrow neck, concave in profile; plain rim cut down slightly in back to point of handle attachment; broad biconical body on small imperfectly flattened plain bottom. Thin flat band handle to shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 186 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III A:2-C:1. Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 124, 283 (decorated example of Myc. III B); Asine, p. 408, fig. 268, 9 (undecorated and close to ours).

Cf. VII-18 which is earlier.

See also pp. 135.

Myc. III B(?).

XXVII-2. Fragmentary Pot. Not illustrated. P 24283. P.h. largest fragment ca. 0.13 m. Some very poorly preserved fragments of a pot of uncertain shape, the fabric so flaky that it cannot be separated from the clay found in it. Remains of red glaze.

GRAVE XXVIII: Cist Grave opposite Pier 21 (Q 7:4)

Pls. 54, 65, 77; Plan: Pl. 87

A cist grave with a northeast to southwest orientation, lying about 0.75 m. below the bottom of the Stoa conglomerate foundations (Pl. 54) and about five meters southwest of Grave XXVII, was discovered in April, 1954. Although only the south side and the west end could be certainly fixed, the dimensions as exposed (1.30 m. by 0.60 m.) agree with those of our other cist graves; furthermore, tumbled in the grave were three rough stone slabs, presumably from a covering. A single skeleton lay in order, with feet to west and legs bent at the knees to fit into the space. A conical stone button at the waist and an angular alabastron were the only offerings. From the evidence of the latter, this grave should be dated not much before the end of Myc. III A, perhaps even a little later.

1 See above, p. 104.

2 Apparently these had been removed at the time of the photograph shown on Pl. 54.

3 AA 167 analyzed by Angel as F. of 43.

XXVIII-1. Angular Alabastron. Pls. 54, 65. P 23808. P.h. 0.11 m., D. 0.145 m. Badly broken and much missing, restored in plaster.

Pink to buff clay with hard smooth light buff surface; orange to brown glaze, rather faded.

Low neck with flat projecting rim; angular shoulder and cylindrical body tapering slightly toward flat base; three loop handles.

Rim, inside and out, tops of handles glazed; net pattern on shoulder; encircling bands on lower shoulder and upper wall, also above base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 94 (p. 44, fig. 12), Myc. 280
TOMBS AND OBJECTS: GRAVE XXIX

III A: 2-B; Mot. 57: 2 (p. 388, fig. 67), Myc. III A: 1-C:1.
A common Myc. III A:2 type: cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 572, 1188. Cf. also 414. Both are later than XI-2 and probably also than XXIV-20 (see remarks). See also p. 128. Myc. III A:2 (late).

ST 616. H. 0.016 m., D. 0.022 m. Pale greenish gray stone (steatite?). Conical form. Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 602, 1 ("short cone"). Late Helladic III.

GRAVE XXIX: ARTISAN’S GRAVE (P-Q 7-8:1)
Pls. 55, 77; Plan: Pl. 89

Discovered in March, 1954, this grave lies deep beneath the foundations of the Stoa terrace about opposite Pier 20 and to the west of the Room with the Ballot-Box.1 It was of an unusual type, conforming neither to our pit nor to our cist graves,2 and consisted of two parts. The outer part was a rectangular pit (2.10 by 1.30 m.) cut down in the soft bedrock to a depth of ca. 0.90 m., with both long sides walled with fieldstones, leaving a passage only 0.45 m. wide in the middle. This narrow space was full of gray earth and clay with no trace of bones or any offerings, although the base of a goblet (XXIX-1) was embedded in the stones of the north side. The inner part of the grave was revealed when the stone packing along the north side had been removed. The cutting in bedrock was seen to extend well beyond the stones, forming a rectangular cist (1.50 by 2.0 by 0.90 m. deep). Along the north side lay a skeleton3 with head to the northeast, legs slightly flexed at the knees, and hands crossed over the chest (PI. 55). Beyond the head was the plain pitcher (XXIX-2), two bone objects, a steatite celt, and a steatite mould for making jewelry (XXIX-3).

The pot is too nondescript in style to give a definitive date, but it does not appear to be early, either the end of Myc. III A, or more probably Myc. III B. Aside from the uncanonical form of grave, the greatest interest attaches to the unusual group of offerings (XXIX-3 to 6) which suggest the burial of an artisan with his tools of trade.
See also p. 110.

P 28906. From stone packing along north side of outer cist. P.H. 0.057 m., D. base 0.074 m. Preserved up to lower part of bowl; base chipped. Pinkish buff clay; covered with thin red wash, also under foot.
Low stem flaring to disc base with countersunk depression.
Furumark, M.P., Type 263 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. I-II B. Cf. XXIV-12 to 14 and discussion. This kylix must antedate burial but need not be earlier than Myc. III A:1.

P 28751. From north end of grave. H. 0.210 m., D. 0.19 m. Small chips missing from rim and a small hole in lower wall.
Buff clay, fine and hard, covered with thin glaze wash fired black and brown.
Low neck flaring to straight rim; plump biconical body with small imperfectly flattened base; strap handle from rim to shoulder with finger groove running down handle.
Furumark, M.P., Type 109 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. I-II B. The flat handle, thin walls and brown to black glaze differentiate this from the earlier examples (VII-20, XVI-10, etc). See also p. 136. Myc. III A-B.

ST 610. L. 0.027 m., W. 0.025 m., T. 0.07 m. Only one side of mould remains. Compact gray stone soapy to touch.
In its face is an impression hemispherical in shape with hole bored through mould at its middle. A conical pour-channel opens in one edge. Bottom surface

1 Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 58-59, pl. 14, d.
2 See above, p. 104 for discussion of possibilities.
3 AA 166b analyzed by Angel as M. of 26.
rather rough with two hemispherical depressions (accidental?).


Cf. also Thea E. Haevernick, "Beiträge zur Geschichte d. antiken Glases: III, Mykenisches Glas," *Jahr. d. Röm.-Germ. Zentralmuseums Mainz*, VII, 1960, pp. 36-53, who mentions our mould (p. 41, note 26). Cf. also Haevernick, "Mycenaean Glass," *Archaeology*, XVI, 1963, pp. 190-193, who notes the intrinsic value of glass in Mycenaean times and doubts that it was intended as a core for gold leaf ornaments. Its original color was always blue (the *kyanos* of Homer), the present appearance being due to opaque layers of corrosion.

Late Helladic III.

**XXIX-4. Steatite Celt.**

ST 609. W. 0.033 m., H. 0.027 m., T. 0.01 m.

Intact. Dark green stone. Short and broad-faced; carved to a sharp edge. The occurrence of such a celt in a L.H. context is rather unexpected, but cf. the hoard of stone implements found in Cist IV of Tomb 27 at the Argive Heraion (Furumark, *M.P.*, Type 263; cf. XXIV-12 to 14, etc.) from a mixed context; uncatalogued.

Late Helladic.

**XXIX-5. Bone Implement.**

BI 722. L. 0.085 m., W. 0.017 m., T. 0.01 m.

Small chisel-shaped tool with four holes drilled in it, the first going all the way through, the others partially bored from both sides.

Purpose uncertain.

Late Helladic.

**XXIX-6. Bone Handle (?)**

BI 723. L. 0.05 m., max. D. 0.03 m.

Hollow tapering piece drilled transversely through large end.

Purpose uncertain.

Late Helladic.

**GRAVE XXX: CIST GRAVE IN NORTHWEST CORNER OF STOA TERRACE (Q 8:13)**

Pl. 55; Plan: Pl. 87

This burial, which was found in December, 1953, is situated in the Stoa Terrace a few meters to the south of Grave XXIX. It consisted merely of an adult skeleton lying in an extended position with head to east and the left leg slightly flexed at the knee (Pl. 55).1 No offerings were found in the grave, nor was its exact form determined, although it seemed to be a cist about 1.60 m. long by 0.70 m. wide. Since Protogeometric sherds were found on the stones which overlay the burial (covering slabs?), and since some Mycenaean sherds2 were found in the immediate vicinity, the burial is most probably to be assigned to this period, and is thus part of the thick concentration of Mycenaean tombs and graves in the area.

1 AA 168 analyzed by Angel as F. of 30.

2 Fragments of two Mycenaean kylikes with pale red glaze wash inside and out (probably Furumark, *M.P.*, Type 263; cf. XXIV-12 to 14, etc.) from a mixed context; uncatalogued.

**TOMB XXXI: CHAMBER TOMB WEST OF PIER 12 (Q 10:3)**

Pls. 55, 67; Plan: Pl. 89


Tomb XXXI, the northernmost of four small chamber tombs clustered densely around Pier 12 within the Stoa colonnade, was discovered in September, 1953, and was briefly reported in the Annual Report.1 The northern part of the tomb had been cut away by the foundation

1 See also *J.H.S.*, LXXIV, 1954, p. 146, fig. 3, a.
trench for the south stylobate of the Square Building that preceded the Stoa, and the dromos, if one existed, must have been lost in this operation. The chamber was small with an original east-west dimension of 1.60 m. and a preserved north-south dimension of 1.20 m., the walls preserved to a maximum height of 0.90 m. A single skeleton lay in some disorder in the eastern part with its head to the south. Beneath the skull were slight traces of black, either from burning or from the decay of organic matter. The offerings consisted only of two vases, both datable to the end of Myc. II B or earliest Myc. III A:1.

Although it might be argued from the single interment and the absence of any preserved dromos that this was a pit grave, the location of the body along the edge of the cutting would seem rather to indicate a small chamber tomb that has been cut away at the north.

XXXI-1. Ewer with Stemmed Spirals. Pls. 55, 67. P 23587. Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 16, b; J.H.S., LXXIV, 1954, p. 146, fig. 3, a; Arch. Anz., LXIX, 1954, col. 109, fig. 3; B.C.H., LXXVIII, 1954, p. 102, fig. 5. H. 0.39 m., D. 0.253 m. Mended from many pieces; small pieces from wall and base restored in plaster.

Greenish buff clay; black paint, badly flaked.

Narrow neck flaring to rim which rises in an oblique angle forming a trough spout; plastic ring at junction of neck and shoulder; broad piriform body tapering to small flattened base; strap handle with midrib and knob at lower attachment.

Rim and outside of handle glazed; groups of bands on spout, neck, and at foot; running quirk below plastic band at top of shoulder; four large stemmed spirals with feathery leaf pattern on upper body.

Furumark, M.P., Type 144 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. III A:1; Mot. 49: 1 (p. 363, fig. 62), Myc. III A:1. The shape is close to the earlier more elegant form (of. VII-17 and XXIII-2) with pronounced plastic band and a reminiscence of the foliate band in the running quirk (Mot. 49: 5, p. 360, fig. 61). About contemporary, or a little earlier, than the new nautilus ewer (XL-6).

The simpler curve-stemmed spiral is found on a ewer from Ialysos (C.V.A., Br. Mus., IIIa, pl. 4, 3) but here it has taken on a living quality with some details borrowed from floral patterns (cf. "lily," Mot. 9: 16, p. 258, fig. 32). In this respect it allus itself with a whole group of ewers which combine spiral, floral and sometimes marine elements like the nautilus in bold free-field arrangements (cf. Salamis ewer, A.J.A., LIV, 1950, pls. I, V; Scheffold, Meisterwerke, p. 118, figs. 21-23). In its rather careless rendering it is particularly close to the Chalkis ewer with lily (Chalkis, pl. 24, 412) and to the ewer with lily in private possession (Scheffold, op.cit., fig. 22). A northern provincial origin for these ewers is a distinct possibility.

See also pp. 133-134, 143.


XXXI-2. Kantharos with Spiral Band. Pl. 55. P 23588. See references under XXXI-1. H. of bowl 0.06 m., H. with handles 0.127 m., D. 0.142 m. Mended from many pieces; small pieces from rim and walls restored in plaster.

Creamy buff clay, hard and smooth; dark brown glaze, crackled.

Shallow open bowl with offset rim and low flaring foot; two high-swung handles from rim to shoulders. The rim somewhat warped.

Rim, outside of handles, lower wall, profile of foot and greater part of resting surface covered with paint; frieze of linked spirals on wall, the tangents continuing beyond the outer circumference of the spirals.

Furumark, M.P., Type 240 or 241 (p. 53, fig. 15), Myc. II-III C:1; Mot. 46: 51-53 (p. 357, fig. 60). Myc. I–III B.

The shape, which is rare in the Mycenaean repertoire, seems an evolution from the Minyan kantharos which became less angular in Yellow Minyan ware. By the Late Helladic period there was a further softening of profile, perhaps under the influence of the teacup shape which sometimes had one high-swung or ring handle (M.P., Types 237 or 241, p. 48, fig. 13). The disconnected or poorly connected tangent spirals also have early parallels (cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 674, an L.H. II goblet) although carelessly drawn ones could produce this effect at any period; these, however, look quite neat.

See also pp. 130, 143.


2 AA 163 analyzed by Angel as F. of 43.
3 Possibly the remnants of a pillow or folded cloth: cf. the stain under the skull of Burial B in Tomb XL (Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 61). Several bones of a bird were also found in the vicinity.
4 Cf. Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 57-58, notes 36, 37. This is probably contemporary with the earlier burials in Tomb VII and preceded only by the Lily Bowl Grave (XVI).
5 Published as a pit grave in the Annual Report.
6 Even as preserved the cutting is not appreciably smaller than in many of our chamber tombs (VII: 2.0 by 2.85 m.; XIV: 1.75 by 2.10 m.; XV: 1.80 by 1.90 m.).
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Tomb XXXII: Chamber Tomb at Southeast Corner, Pier 12 (Q 10:2)

Pls. 56, 67; Plan: Pl. 89

Like Tomb XXXI this small chamber tomb was discovered in September, 1953; it also has no trace of a dromos, which must have been located at the north and have been cut away by the trench for the south stylobate of the Square Building. The dimensions of the chamber are 1.60 m. east-west by a preserved length of 1.40 m. north-south. The walls were preserved to a height of 0.065 m., and the grave was full of broken bedrock with a little soft brown silt around the bones. The broken bedrock plus the presence of more than one burial is certain indication of a chamber tomb rather than a pit grave. The two skeletons\(^1\) lay along the east side, more or less in order, with the bones resting directly on the bedrock floor. Three pots and traces of a bronze pin\(^2\) on the chest of the west skeleton were the only offerings.

\textsuperscript{1} AA 159 (E. skeleton) analyzed by Angel as F. of 16; AA 160 (W. skeleton) M. of 48.

\textsuperscript{2} This was too badly preserved to be catalogued. From the evidence of the pottery, particularly the fine deep-bowled glazed goblet (XXXII-1), the tomb should be dated to the Myc. III A: period.


P 23585. On floor to south of skull of west skeleton.

H. 0.155 m., D. 0.126 m. Mended from many pieces; small pieces restored in plaster.

Pinkish buff clay covered with deep red lustrous glaze only a little flaked. Underside of foot reserved.

Deep bowl with offset rim; low stem; flat foot with depression at center underneath; two vertical ribbon handles from rim.

Furumark, M.P., Type 264 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1–2 (early). Somewhat taller stem than the dull-glazed examples of Type 263 (cf. XXIV-12 to 14, etc.) and with a fine lustrous glaze, this may well be an imported example of Myc. III A:1; a little earlier in shape than the tin sheathed example III-8.

Cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 255, 656, and 296, 715 (both glazed but neither so fine as our example); Ialysos, p. 204, fig. 127, 8, 11; Attica, pls. 4, 4; 7, 3 (Vourvatsi and Pikermi). See also p. 127.

Cf. X-2, a fragmentary example.


XXXII-2. Cup with High-swung Handle. Pl. 56.

P 23586. Found inside XXXII-1. H. 0.046 m., D. 0.108 m. Mended from two pieces.

Dull orange clay, coarse and impure with large grits; possible traces of thin red wash inside and out.

Almost hemispherical open bowl with narrow offset rim and slightly concave base; one high vertical handle rising from rim.

Not a standard shape in Furumark, M.P.; possibly a variant of Type 220. Cf. XXIII-6 and remarks.

Myc. III A:1-2 (?).


P 23584. Found at south edge of tomb. H. 0.186 m., D. 0.182 m. Mended from many pieces; a few small fragments restored in plaster.

Pale apricot clay, hard and fine; surface rubbed smooth with almost a bloom.

Medium deep bowl with slightly offset rim; fairly high stem flaring to disc base with circular depression underneath; two small flat handles from rim. Rim of bowl somewhat warped.

Furumark, M.P., Type 260 or 266 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1–2. Cf. XXIV-15 and XI-12. XV-1 (references) is perhaps a little later.


Tomb XXXIII: Chamber Tomb Southeast of Pier 12 (Q 10:5)

Pl. 56; Plan: Pl. 89

Lying immediately to the east of Tomb XXXII, this small chamber tomb was likewise discovered in September, 1953. As finally cleared the chamber was roughly rectangular, measuring 1.70 m. by 1.40 m., and was cut down to within 0.65 m. by the construction of the Square Building. A rectangular cutting at the northwest corner may have been the entrance, although this cutting may be later; the southwest corner of the chamber appeared to have been unfinished.
Across the north end lay the single skeleton of a child with head to east, lying on its back with knees doubled up.\(^1\) The body was laid on a thin layer of brown clay. No offerings and no trace of bones were found in the rest of the chamber, which had been somewhat disturbed in Classical times. Although no offerings were found, its proximity to XXXI and XXXII might suggest an early date in Myc. III A.

\(^1\) AA 158, analyzed by Angel as C. of 9.

**TOMB XXXIV: CHAMBER TOMB AT SOUTHWEST CORNER, PIER 12 (Q 10:6)**

Lying to the west of XXXII, this tomb was discovered at the same time as the others in this group. The entire north side of the chamber had been cut away by Stoa Pier 12 (Pl. 56), and most of the depth by leveling operations in connection with the Square Building, so that the greatest preserved depth was only 0.25 m. What remained of the chamber measured 1.30 m. east-west by 0.90 m. north-south. Despite the disturbance two skeletons were found in order as far as their thighs, lying in a north-south position with their heads to the south; the east skeleton lay on its right side with the right hand under the head, the left over the chest;\(^1\) the west skeleton had the left arm raised to its chin, the right arm at its side.\(^2\) There was no trace of offerings of any kind, but these may have been in the north part which was demolished by the Stoa pier. This tomb is probably contemporary with the others in this group (XXXI–XXXIV), early in Myc. III A.

\(^1\) AA 161 analyzed by Angel as F. of 40.  
\(^2\) AA 162, M. of 51.

**TOMB (?) XXXV: DISTURBED BURIAL NEAR PIER 12 (Q 9:1)**

In May, 1950, during an earlier campaign of excavation of the Stoa, a disturbed burial was found in the trench for the east stylobate of the Square Building. Lying just north of Tomb XXXIII, it seems to have been a part of the group of small chamber tombs clustered around Pier 12. It was so badly disturbed by the Classical builders that it is impossible to tell anything about the plan, whether it was a small chamber tomb or a pit grave. Five fragmentary pots and a few human bones were found.\(^1\)

\(^1\) The bones were discarded. Although it might be argued that the pottery of this deposit came from one of the near-by tombs without offerings (XXXIII or XXXIV), this does not seem likely. In the case of XXXIII the north wall of the chamber was preserved, so that the pottery could only have come from the dromos.

**XXXV-1. Fragmentary Jug with Cut-away Neck.**

Pl. 56.

P 20686. P.H. 0.12 m., D. 0.072 m. Mouth, neck, handle and upper half of body preserved; also two non-joining fragments from lower body.  
Orange-buff clay; orange-red glaze without much luster.  
Tall narrow neck flaring at rim to short spout cut-away at back; plastic ridge at junction of neck and shoulder; vertical band handle with slight knob at lower attachment.  
Rim and handle glazed; horizontal bands on neck; body decorated with vertical wavy lines, a broad one alternating with three narrow lines.

Furumark, *M.P.*, Types 192–193 (p. 22, fig. 8), Myc. II B–III A: 2; Mot. 67: 9–10 (p. 408, fig. 70), Myc. III A: 1–2.  
This is a diminutive example of a popular Myc. III A type which was widely distributed: *Prosymna*, II, figs. 150, 1049; 372, 896; 472, 926–927; *Ialysos*, p. 96, fig. 11; *B.M.Cat.*, I, 2, C 579, pl. III (Maroni).  
Also found in Attica: *Attica*, pl. 14, 2 (Vourvatsi);
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Myk. Vasen, pl. XVIII, 133 (Aliki). It is much closer to the canonical type than the small jug VII-19, which is apparently a local imitation of an earlier, more globular form.
See also p. 135.
Myc. III A:2.

XXXV-2. Fragmentary Round Alabastron, Wave Pattern.
P 20687. P.H. 0.053 m., est. D. ca. 0.085 m. Mouth and about half of body missing; one non-joining fragment.
Hard buff fabric, pinkish in core; orange-red lustrous glaze paint.
Rather high shape with rounded body; three small loop handles high on shoulder. Neck and handles glazed; wave pattern on shoulder; concentric circles in groups on bottom. Furumark, M.P., Type 85 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. III A:2-B; Mot. 32: 5 (p. 323, fig. 54), Myc. I-III B. Cf. XVIII-3. Not so late as XI-1.
Myc. III A:2.

XXXV-3. Fragments of Three-handled Jar.
P 20688. D. of mouth 0.09 m. Three fragments preserving: a, part of mouth; b, one handle and part of shoulder; c, fragment of body.
Hard pale buff clay; red to mahogany glaze, pinkish where thin.
Low concave neck with flat projecting rim; horizontally set loop handle (one of three).
Band on rim; neck, inside and out, and outside of handle glazed; groups of vertical lines on shoulder bordered by bands above and below.
Myc. III A:2.

Pl. 56.
P 20689. D. of mouth 0.03 m. Four fragments: a, spouted mouth, neck and upper stubs of handles; b, lower handle stub; c, part of body; d, uncertain. Orange-buff clay, rather coarse and unglazed; fired purplish gray on interior.
Furumark, M.P., Type 150 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. II B–III A:2. Cf. XVIII-4 and references. Probably closer to more globular form of XXI-7.
Myc. III A:2 (?)

XXXV-5. Coarse Jug (?) or Amphora.
Pl. 56.
P 20690. H. 0.145 m., D. mouth 0.09 m. About one-half rim and body, including handle and base, preserved; restored in plaster.
Pinkish brown fairly coarse clay; streaky black glaze wash.
Low neck with broad round mouth having slightly rolled rim; broad shoulder tapering to small flat foot; vertical band handle from rim. Probably Furumark, M.P., Type 66 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. II A–III B. The parallels (Prosymna, II, fig. 109, 209, etc.) make it likely that this vase should be restored with two handles. The coarse jug type seems to have had a much thicker rolled handle.
Cf. V-7 and 8; XL-8.

GRAVE XXXVI: DISTURBED GRAVE IN SCARP EAST OF STOA (R 10:4)
Pl. 57

Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 326, pl. 100, d.

In July, 1949, three Mycenaean pots were found in a small rectangular cutting to the east of the Stoa, a little to the south of the group of tombs clustered around Pier 12. The cutting measured only 0.50 by 0.40 m. Although there was no sign of bones, it was almost certainly a grave, perhaps that of a child whose bones had completely disintegrated.1 This small grave group has been briefly noted in the Annual Report.

XXXVI-1. Three-handled Jar.
P 20911. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pl. 100, d (middle). H. 0.145 m., D. 0.182 m. Part of one handle and minor fragments of body and lip missing; restored in plaster.
Pale pink-buff clay with creamy surface; orange to brown glaze, much faded and worn.

1 This was the opinion of Carl W. Blegen: “almost certainly a grave because of the whole pots.”
shoulder zone; groups of broad and narrow encircling bands below shoulder zone and at foot.


Myc. III A: 2 (probably late).


Pl. 57.

P 20812. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pl. 100, d (right). H. 0.165 m., D. 0.141 m. Shattered but complete except for splinters.

Reddish buff clay; dull brown to gray glaze wash ext. and int. of lip.

Concave neck with projecting lip; plump biconical body flattened slightly on bottom which is not very steady. One rolled vertical handle from rim to shoulder; two small loop handles set horizontally on shoulders, their lower ends flattened against wall with thumb-marks.

Furumark, M.P., Type 129 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. III A:2-B. A much coarser example of the shape seen in the ritual hydria XXVI-1.

See also p. 125.

Myc. III A:2 (late).

XXXVI-3. Coarse Amphora.

Pl. 57.

P 20813. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pl. 100, d (left). H. 0.21 m., D. 0.175 m. Part of lip and neck, minor fragments of body missing; restored in plaster.

Orange-buff clay, coarse with impurities; not well smoothed; unglazed.

Fairly wide neck with plain rim; ovoid body with flat bottom; two flat vertical handles from lip to shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 68 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. II B-III B. Cf. XXXIV-18 and 19.

Myc. III A:2–B.

POTTERY FROM DESTROYED TOMBS UNDER THE STOA OF ATTALOS (P-R 6-12)

Pls. 57, 76

It is unlikely that the area between Pier 20, with Tombs XXIII and XXIV, and Pier 12, with the four chamber tombs XXXI-XXXIV and the disturbed burial XXXV, did not contain more Mycenaean graves or tombs, which have been completely destroyed in the construction of the Square Building and the Stoa of Attalos. A number of Mycenaean sherds and fragmentary vases were discovered in 1949 in the construction fill of the Stoa, particularly in the region of Piers 17 and 18, but also somewhat further to the south in the area of Pier 15.1 Although no longer in their closed contexts, these fragments have more significance than the casual miscellaneous find, and are here included using the running serial numbers of our Catalogue.

413. Fragmentary Squat Alabastron, Crested Wave.

Pls. 57, 76.

P 27030. Stoa Construction fill west of Piers 17-18. P.H. 0.05 m., est. D. base ca. 0.19 m. Large fragment joined from two preserves about one quarter of base and wall approximately up to handles.

Fine buff clay with pink core; orange-brown lustrous glaze, badly flaked.

Large depressed shape with flattened bottom, curving wall with greatest diameter low. On shoulder pointed wave pattern bordered by dots and radiating rows of dots above crest; wheel pattern on base framed by two concentric circles.

Furumark, M.P., Type 82 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. II B; Mots. 32: 20, 24 (p. 323, fig. 54), Myc. II B–III A:1; 68: 2 (p. 403, fig. 70), Myc. II A–III A:1. A frequent but beautiful early type: cf. Prosymna, II, figs. 207, 1167–1168; 345, 981, 985; 687; Ialysos, p. 128, fig. 49. Ch.T., pl. XXVII, 2, 3, 7; Asine, p. 365, fig. 296, 9; Chalkis, pl. 15, 414 B', etc.

This is apparently the earliest large squat alabastron from the Agora excavations, earlier than the two examples from the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides (I–5 and 6), and considerably larger and much closer to Argive examples than the alabastra from the Ares Tomb (VII–2 to 9).

Fragments of a second large squat alabastron with wheel pattern on base from same context, but not catalogued.

See also pp. 122, 142.

Myc. II B (probably imported).

1 The piers, directly beneath the interior row of columns, are numbered from the south to north, and run from 1 to 22. See plan, Agora Guide, 2nd ed., p. 118, fig. 25.
P 20169. Patch of pure dug bedrock, northwest of Pier 17. P.H. 0.085 m., est. D. ca. 0.13 m. Three non-joining fragments preserve complete profile and over one-half of circumference; restored in plaster.

Orange-buff clay; orange-red to brown glaze, lustrous where well preserved.

Narrow neck, sloping shoulder, straight wall and flat bottom; one loop handle and traces of second (originally three) set horizontally on shoulder. Neck and handles glazed; a band of vertical strokes on shoulder framed by narrow lines above and below; groups of broad and narrow bands on wall; concentric circles on base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 94 (p. 44, fig. 12), Myc. III A:2-B; Mot. 64: 21 (p. 897, fig. 69), Myc. III A:2. Cf. XXVIII-1 (references).

See also p. 123.
Myc. III A:2.

415. Deep Bowl with One Loop Handle. Pl. 57.  
P 20211. Stoa Construction fill, west of Piers 17-18. H. 0.11 m., D. 0.13 m. Much of rim and part of wall missing; restored in plaster.

Pinkish buff clay; glaze shading from red to black, rather worn but once fairly thick and lustrous; foot reserved underneath.

Wide mouth with plain lip; broad body tapering into foot which is low and spreading, hollow underneath. One loop handle set horizontally high on wall.

Furumark, M.P., Type 304 (p. 65, fig. 18), Myc. III A:1-2. Cf. Attica, pl. 5, 13 (Vourvatsi); Berbati, p. 38, fig. 19, 5 (monochrome glaze with two handles); Ch.T., pl. XLIII, 12.

The only example from the Agora of this shape which is more closely related to the deep-bowled kylix of Type 263 than to the later skyphos (Type 284).

See also p. 131.

P 20312. Stoa Construction fill, west of Piers 17-18. H. 0.105 m., D. 0.08 m. One handle, part of body and base missing, restored in plaster.

Pale pink-buff clay, hard polished buff surface; brown to black glaze.

Tall narrow neck with projecting horizontal lip; globular body with flat bottom; two vertical band handles from middle of neck to shoulder.

Lip glazed; ladder pattern on handles; two encircling lines on neck; zone of rather carelessly drawn net pattern on shoulder; groups of encircling lines below and broader band at base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 190 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III A:2; Mot. 57: 2 (p. 888, fig. 67), Myc. III A:1-C:1.

The only example of this form from the Agora, but cf. Attica, p. 61, pl. 16, 1-4, 7. See also pp. 124-125.
Myc. III A:2.

417. Fragment from Ewer. Pl. 57.  
P 22474. Terrace opposite Stoa Piers 15-16, Square Building Fill. P.H. 0.085 m. Most of neck and mouth preserved; end of spout broken away; stub of handle.

Buff clay; thin brownish black glaze.

Tall narrow concave neck flaring to lip which was pulled up to form spout at an oblique angle. Bands at rim, on beak and neck and at junction of neck with shoulder. Inside of fragment shows clearly that neck was made separately from jug and inserted with a join of clay at junction, and traces of plastic ridge on exterior.

Fragments of a similar ewer from same context.

Furumark, M.P., Types 143-144 (p. 80, fig. 5), Myc. II B-III A:1. From a large and presumably handsome example: cf. XXIII-1 and 2; XXXI-1, etc.

P 24737. From footing trench of Stoa Pier 15. P.H. 0.043 m., D. of foot 0.067 m. Base and bottom of bowl alone remain.

Pinkish buff clay; thinned orange-red paint inside and out except under foot.

Deep bowl with very low stem and disc foot, with circular depression underneath.

Furumark, M.P., Type 263 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. I-II B.

Apparently a provincial imitation of an older type; cf. XXIV-12 to 14 and remarks.
Myc. III A.

419. Fragment from Three-handled Jar. Pl. 57.  
P 20985. From Northeast corner of Square Building, Layer II (O-R 7-10). Max. dim. 0.09 m. Shoulder fragment broken all around; one vertical handle remains.

Pink-buff clay with cream surface; lustrous black glaze, crackled.

On shoulder stemmed ivy leaf and multiple chevron pattern; bands at base of neck; handle glazed and loop around handle.


420. Fragment from Three-handled Jar. Pl. 57.  
P 22212. Footing trench of Stoa, west of Pier 17, Max. dim. 0.11 m. Part of rim and shoulder of a three-
handled jar; traces of attachment of handles preserved.

Buff clay and surface, not very fine or well-smoothed; red to brown glaze without much luster.

Low concave neck with projecting rim; handles probably vertically set. Neck glazed; stemmed spiral in shoulder zone; two encircling bands below.

Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. III A:1-2; Mot. 49: 6, 10 (p. 363, fig. 62), Myc. III A:1-2. Cf. examples with stemmed spirals (I-3, XIV-1, XXIV-4 and 5); apparently here only one spiral between each set of handles as in XL-10.


421. Fragment from Three-handled Jar. Pl. 57.

P 20991. From cut between North Stylobate of Square Building and Late Roman Fortification Wall, Layer III. D. mouth 0.10 m. About one-half the mouth and part of the shoulder preserved, mended from many pieces; surface much flaked.

Very fine pink clay with smooth light buff surfacing; orange-red glaze.

From small three-handled jar with low concave neck with flat projecting rim; attachment for one horizontally set loop handle preserved.

Neck glazed inside and out; two narrow concentric bands on rim; on shoulder four narrow bands, then a zone of vertical dashes dotted above and below; below, broad glazed bands alternating with groups of narrow bands.

Furumark, M.P., Types 44-45 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:2; Mot. 64: 18 (p. 397, fig. 69), Myc. III A:2 early. Apparently finer and earlier than some examples of this common type (cf. V-4).

Myc. III A:2 (early).

422. Fragment from Jar (?). Pl. 57.

P 21223. From fifth century B.C. well by Stoa Pier 8 (Q 10:4). P.H. 0.041 m., D. base 0.057 m. About one-half (?) of base and start of flaring wall preserved. Dark buff clay, creamy surface; brown glaze.

Probably the base of a three-handled jar with flat bottom and spreading wall. Around the base a broad band with a narrow one above; a second broad band higher on the wall. Cf. II-2.

Myc. III A.

423. Fragment from Closed Pot. Pl. 57.

P 20285. From terrace opposite Pier 19, mixed Early Byzantine fill. Max. dim. 0.074 m. Broken all around.

Buff clay with fine polished buff surface; decoration in black to orange glaze, somewhat peeled.

From wall of closed pot with inward curvature and narrow neck (probably a jug or ewer). Decorated with pairs of wavy lines both horizontally and vertically, probably producing an elaborate net pattern. Horizontal bands on neck and traces of one at bottom of fragment.

Decoration: not exactly paralleled in Furumark but apparently a variant of M.P., Mot. 62: Tricurved Arch, 18, 17 (p. 391, fig. 68), Myc. III A:1.


424. Fragment from Decorated Kylix. Pl. 57.

P 21185. From Fifth Century B.C. well by Stoa Pier 8 (Q 10:4). Max dim. 0.037 m. Small fragment from wall, broken all around.

Hard creamy buff clay; lustrous brown glaze.

Vertical murex on wall.

Almost certainly from a kylix: Furumark, M.P., Types 257 or 258 (p. 61, fig. 17), Myc. III A:2-B; Mot. 28: 4, 7 (p. 311, fig. 51), Myc. III A:2 or B.

One of the few decorated kylikes from the Agora, this is the only one with murex decoration. But cf. Attica, pls. 4, 8; 6, 1, 11-12; 7, 6. Not necessarily as late as Myc. III B since the vertical murex has recently been shown to have begun already in Myc. III A:2 (late); cf. B.S.A., LX, 1965, pp. 159, 178, pl. 51a, 1-2.

See also pp. 127, 147.

Myc. III A:2-B.

THE BURIALS IN THE SOUTH-CENTRAL AREA (XXXVII-XLI)

Three cist or pit graves, which were found in the area between the Middle Stoa and the Odeion during the campaigns of 1935 and 1952, did not connect closely with any of the other groups of tombs. In 1965 during further investigation of the South Square a fine early chamber tomb with the remains of two wooden coffins (XL) and a late and poor well burial (XLI) were discovered, and it now appears that these are the remnants of a much vaster cemetery which covered the whole region, others having been destroyed with the cutting down and levelling of the central part of the Agora.
Discovered in February, 1935, this was one of the first Mycenaean burials found in the Agora, and was briefly published in the Annual Report. It consisted of a rectangular cist, carefully cut with vertical sides and a flat bottom, measuring 1.90 m. by 0.55 m. by 0.48-50 m. deep. There were apparently originally covering slabs, but these were missing. The grave had been disturbed in Roman times and again by a Turkish bothros which cut into it and sliced away about one-half of the three-handled jar (XXXVII-1). The skeleton was well preserved from the head to the pelvis, but the feet and lower legs were disarranged and the thigh bones apparently removed by the Romans. The skeleton lay on its back with the head turned to the left and the right arm flexed across the chest, the fingers clutching the left upper arm. The left arm was raised vertically toward the surface, and the hand had been cut off above the wrist and was found lying close to the right hand.

From the evidence of the two vases, particularly the fine but fragmentary ewer with nautilus decoration (XXXVII-2), the grave should be dated to the Myc. III A:1 period at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

XXXVII-1. Three-handled Jar. Pl. 58. P 4646. Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 22, fig. 20; I.L.N., Oct. 19, 1935, p. 647, fig. 1. H. 0.16 m., D. 0.126 m., D. lip 0.09 m. About one-half of circumference preserved, but profile complete; broken, especially at foot, into many fragments; restored in plaster.

Fine pink-buff clay with smooth and hard surface; reddish brown lustrous glaze.

Low concave neck with wide mouth and flat projecting lip; piriform body tapering to small spreading foot, concave beneath. Two of original three upright loop handles, set horizontally, are preserved.

Neck, inside and out, and handles glazed; two narrow bands on rim; a raised band unglazed separates neck from shoulder; opposed groups of seven or eight diagonals in handle zone framed below by two broad eneiciling bands with two narrow lines between; deep zone of glaze at foot with three narrow and one broad band above.

Furumark, M.P., Types 44 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:1-2; Mot. 64: 22 (p. 397, fig. 69), Myc. III A:1.

Not only its association with the ewer but its fine shape and fabric would make this perhaps the earliest example of a type we have in several other examples (cf. V-4, XVIII-1, XXXVI-1). Cf. XI–10, a Myc. III A:1 example of this shape, but less fine and perhaps local.


XXXVII-2. Fragments of Ewer with Nautilus (?) Decoration. Pls. 58, 76. P 4647. P.H. 0.13 m., W. 0.16 m. Fragment from wall of large vase; mended from many pieces. At right-hand upper edge thickening of the wall suggests attachment for handle.

Small fragment preserves lower part of beaked spout.

Fine greenish buff clay, hard and smooth; brownish black glaze.

Globular shape with broad shoulder and tapering toward bottom; triple spiral or argonaut on shoulder and tail of streamer from below handle.

Furumark, M.P., Types 143–144 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. II B–III A:1; Mot. 22: 7, 10 (p. 307, fig. 50), Myc. III A:1.

Although certainly suggestive of the nautilus or argonaut motive, our fragment creates certain difficulties in the restoration (Pl. 76), for it seems to result in the unparalleled arrangement of an upside-down creature, with body above the coils. Cf. XI–6 and other examples cited there for correct position. Possibly a triple spiral or some other ornament, since the handle streamers do not admit reversing the fragment.

See also pp. 188, 146.


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1 See the plan published Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 22, fig. 19.
2 AA 28, published by Angel, Hesperia, XIV, 1945, pp. 296–297 (no. 37) and pl. 45, as a middle-aged adult male of Nordic-Iranian type, and a warrior (wound in shoulder blade and well-healed fracture of right radius, figs. 2 and 3).
3 More likely the result of later disturbance than a violent end, although the warrior analysis makes the latter possibility tempting.
4 Far earlier than the date "about 1200 B.C." of the original publication.
GRAVE XXXVIII: Mycenaean (?) Grave (M 12:2)

**Pl. 58**

*Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 23.*

In March, 1935, during clearing operations of the slope leading up to the terrace wall in front of the Middle Stoa, a skeleton was discovered lying with head to the northwest and legs drawn up.¹ The grave seems to have been simply a hole dug either in bedrock or in hard green fill, and the excavators were unable to fix its limits. Not a single object of any sort was found in the grave, but if the offerings were at the feet they would have been disturbed by a late Turkish pit, and if at the head by the builders of the so-called “Burnt Building.”² The only clue to the date of the burial is its similarity to the nearby cist grave XXXVII.

¹ AA 35, analyzed by Angel as F. of 38.

² 485–487, which are presented below under “Mycenaean Pottery without Significant Context” might possibly be associated with this burial.

GRAVE XXXIX: Child’s Pit Grave (N 12:1)

**Pls. 58, 66; Plan: Pl. 87**

A third small grave about ten meters to the northeast of XXXVII was discovered in May, 1952. It consisted of a shallow rectangular cutting in bedrock about 1.40 m. by 0.70 m., but it was probably somewhat bigger, since the east side and a large part of the north side had been cut away by later builders.¹ It contained a single burial, that of a small child,² laid lengthwise in the grave along the south side. Only the skull was preserved in position. A kylix (XXXIX–1) and a small jug (XXXIX–2) were found along the west side of the grave, and a feeding bottle (XXXIX–3) was to the right of the skull. Many minute glass beads were found under the skull and around the feeding bottle, and doubtless came from a necklace worn by the child.

From the early form of the kylix the grave ought not to be later than the Myc. III A:1 or early III A:2 period.

See also pp. 103–104.

¹ For the burial of a small child this was fairly large and it thus conforms more with the Lily Bowl Grave (XVI), a generous cist or shaft, than with the true cist form with adult burial of XVII, XIX, and XXXVII.

² AA 171, analyzed by Angel as C of 5 and a half, male (?). The necklace, however, ought to indicate a female: cf. the child buried in the Lily Bowl Grave.

**XXXIX–1. Kylix with High-swung Handles.**

**Pls. 58, 66.**

P 22313. H. to top of handles 0.184 m., H. to rim 0.126 m., D. rim 0.225 m. Mended from many pieces; a few fragments from rim and walls missing and one fragment of handle.

Light buff clay with hard, lightly polished surface; undecorated.

Deep bowl with narrow outturned lip; medium high slender stem with spreading foot, concave beneath. Two high-swung band handles from lip to shoulder.

*Furumark, M.P., Type 272 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1–2. Cf. III–5 and XVIII–6 (references).*

See also p. 128.


**XXXIX–2. Small Jug.**

**Pl. 58.**

P 22315. H. 0.087 m., D. 0.0835 m. Chip missing from lip; otherwise intact.

Pinkish buff clay with occasional large bits, not very well smoothed on lower part; glazed all over except beneath foot with thin red to brown glaze, unevenly applied and somewhat worn.

Low wide neck with plain lip slightly outturned; globular body on very low ring foot; band handle from rim.

*Furumark, M.P., Types 112–114 (pp. 30–31, figs. 5–6), Myc. III A:1–B. Little evidence for dating: cf. later examples XXI–8 and VII–22 (references).*

See also p. 136.

Myc. III A.

P 22914. H. with handle 0.126 m., H. to lip 0.09 m., D. body 0.09 m. Mended from many pieces; complete save small piece of rim and chips.

Pinkish buff clay and surfacing; thin brownish black glaze.

Low neck with outturned lip; squat globular shape with low ring foot; spout high on shoulder rising obliquely; high basket handle.

Spout, top of handle and rim glazed; encircling bands on body; one wide and one narrow at junction of neck and shoulder; three narrow below spout and one broader around base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 160 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III A:2. Cf. XIV-6 and 7 (references).

See also pp. 138-139.

Myc. III A:2.


G 458. G.D. of beads 0.002 m. 187 small plain beads of soft glass in different colors (light brown, grayish and others).

Spout, top of handle and rim glazed; encircling bands on body; one wide and one narrow at junction of neck and shoulder; three narrow below spout and one broader around base.


G 458. G.D. of beads 0.002 m. 187 small plain beads of soft glass in different colors (light brown, grayish and others).

See also p. 108.

Late Helladic III.

TOMB XL: TOMB WITH COFFINS (N 12:4)

Pls. 59, 75; Plan: Pl. 90

Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 55-78.

In the summer of 1965 a new chamber tomb under the terrace of the Middle Stoa was discovered during final probing of the area, and was excavated by Homer Thompson and Emily Vermeule. With John Travlos Mrs. Vermeule has published a full account of the tomb and its contents. Not only was it remarkably well preserved because of the early collapse of the roof and the absence of subsequent disturbance, thus allowing us to draw our fullest evidence for the sequence of burials, but it also had the unusual feature that two burials had been made in wooden coffins.

The tomb was entered from the west by a stepped dromos, at least 4.20 m. long by 1.10 to 1.50 m. wide, splaying slightly toward the doorway, which was 1.26 m. high by 0.60 m. wide at the base with a lightly arched top. The doorway was found blocked with a stone packing, which included near its top a broken conglomerate grave marker (XL-15), and which proved to have been erected at least three times; during one of the occasions of reopening, the doorway was widened 0.20 m. to the north. The chamber, while described as a "small irregular trapezoid," is of about average size and actually quite rectangular by Agora standards. As in most cases, it is broader than deep (2.72 m. by 1.75 m.). Although the roof had collapsed, the walls were preserved to an average height of 1.35 m.

Four burials were found undisturbed laid out parallel with an east-west direction, in all but one case facing the door. They were numbered A to D in the order of excavation, but fallen...
bedrock and differences of level indicate that Burial B was the latest, A next, and C and D the earliest, and presumably contemporary. The greatest interest attaches to the remains of rotated white wood which surrounded both these skeletons, and was especially well preserved in Burial D. These fibrous remains seem certainly to represent coffins rather than biers,7 perhaps rough unsmoothed boxes of cypress or pine measuring 1.65 m. long by 0.45 m. broad and about 0.40–0.43 m. high.8 Mrs. Vermeule has given a full account of the evidence for coffin burials in Mycenaean times9 and has stressed the close analogy with the wooden coffin from Katsaba10 and the less well-preserved remains of coffins in the Warrior Graves near Knossos.11 These belong to a period approximately contemporary with or very little earlier than our tomb, which from its pottery must be dated to Myc. III A:1.12

Although there were four burials, these must have taken place within a generation of a single family. With the help of the skeletal analyses of J. Lawrence Angel, Mrs. Vermeule reconstructs the history as follows. The father (C) and son (D) were buried at the same time, having died in battle or the hunt and “brought home from the field in hastily constructed boxes” or possibly the victims of a disease “which made it desirable that they be kept in coffins until a tomb could be excavated for them,”13 then, after a slight fall of the roof, the mother (A) at the opposite side of the doorway, and finally, after a more serious slide, the adolescent boy (B) in front of the doorway.

The funeral offerings consisted of eleven vases, all datable to Myc. III A:1, a long bronze spearhead (XL-5) which together with the fine nautilus krater (XL-3) rested on the lid of D’s coffin, two steatite buttons (XL-4 and 14, the latter from the dromos), an amygdaloid amber bead (XL-16) and an engraved carnelian sealstone (XL-17), both from the left wrist of D, and an anomalous scrap of ivory (XI-18). Is it not curious that Burial D, the son, had the richest offerings?

The pottery from this tomb which belongs to the same period as the wealthier or “princely” Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides is a welcome addition to that beautiful phase of Mycenaean termed “Agorastil” by Schachermeyr.14 In contrast to the large and mostly imported pots of Tomb I, the vases here may be the work of local Attic potters. For the strap-handled kraters (XL-3 and 11) as well as the little amphoras (XL-1 and 8) this seems likely; perhaps less so for the fine ewer (XL-6), the stippled teacups (XL-7 and 9), and the stemmed kylikes (XL-12 and 13), although as Mrs. Vermeule notes, there is a certain imperfection in all of these.15 Through its series of characteristic III A:1 shapes, this tomb with its short history helps to define a given period in certain other Agora tombs with less strictly closed contexts: through the ewer the early to middle burials of the Ares Tomb (cf. VII-17) and the earlier burials in Tomb XXIII (cf. XXIII-1 and 2); through the stippled teacups the disturbed Tomb X (X-4); through the kraters the destroyed tombs along the Kolonos Agoraios (cf. 411 and 412).

See also pp. 98-102.

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7 See especially ibid., pp. 62–64, for the location of the wood in relation to the bones. Significant also was the high position of the krater (XL-3) which apparently toppled over from the lid of coffin D and was held above Burial C by the lid of his coffin (see N–S section; Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 58, fig. 2; also photograph, our Pl. 59, with vases returned after mending).
8 For the analysis of the wood and the probable dimensions see ibid., pp. 65–66. Perhaps significantly, the dimensions of several of our cist graves (XVII, XIX, XXXVII) correspond very closely to the measurements of the coffins, that is no larger than was necessary for an adult burial.
9 Ibid., pp. 69–72.
10 Kr. Xronol. VI, 1952, pp. 11ff.
13 Ibid., p. 68.
14 Arch. Anz., LXXVII, 1962, cols. 220f. with the sequence: Palace style, Ephrysean, Agora, El Amarna, etc. He uses the term “Agorastil” for a phase without regional implications.
15 Vermeule, op.cit., p. 67 and Catalogue, pp. 72ff.
P 27448. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 72–73, pl. 24, a. H. 0.14 m., D. 0.125 m. Above right shoulder of Burial B. Complete; mended from many fragments.  
Red-buff clay full of grit and pockmarks; streaky red-black glaze wash.  
Globular body with flat ring foot; concave neck with offset rim; vertical strap handles from shoulder to greatest diameter. Whole body, and int. of neck, covered with streaky wash.  
Furumark, M.P., Type 74 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. II B–III A:2.  
Cf. XVIII–7 and XX–1.  
See also p. 126.  
Myc. III A:1 (from context).

P 27449. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 73, pl. 23, c. Above right hip of Burial A. H. 0.10 m., D. at base 0.15 m. Intact.  
Fine buff clay with a little grit; brown-black crackled glaze paint, a little worn.  
Broad base slightly convex, vertical sides, sloping shoulder with three horizontally set handles, low splaying neck with flat rim.  
Concentric circles on base, groups of bands on side, wavy line above degenerate ivy pattern in each handle zone panel.  
Furumark, M.P., Type 93 (p. 44, fig. 12), Myc. III A:1; Mot. 58: 4–5 (p. 373, fig. 65), Myc. III A:1–2.  
While well on the way to the standard Myc. III A:2 type of XXVIII–1 and 414, the vestigial ivy leaves show a connection with the Myc. II type with more elaborately decorated shoulder and wall (cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 689 with wave and ivy on shoulder).  
See also p. 128.  

P 27450. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 73–74, pl. 22, a, b. On top of coffin over head of Burial D. H. 0.33 m., D. at rim 0.34 m., with handles 0.43 m. Mended from 31 pieces; complete save for chips and one piece below handle.  
Pale, poorly cleaned buff clay with grit and pebbles; prominent wheel ridges; fine buff surfacing; clear light red glaze.  
Broad conical body, only slightly concave toward base; small torus disc base; thin offset rim with broad vertical strap handles to greatest diameter of body; two fine vent-holes at top of each handle.  
Rim glazed inside and out; handles edged by vertical bands and crossed by diagonal bars; three bands below decorated zone; band above solid glazed foot. Decorated zone framed by fine line at sides and at top, within which three curtailed argonauts facing left; formulaic seaweed, trefoil rockwork and rosettes.  
Furumark, M.P., Type 7 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:1–2; Mot. 22: 16 (p. 307, fig. 50), Myc. III A:1; 17: 18 (p. 281, fig. 40), Myc. II B–III A:1; 29: 20 (p. 315, fig. 53), Myc. III A:1.  
I would not classify this krater with Mrs. Vermeule as Furumark’s Type 6 (cf. C.V.A., Br. Mus., II Cb, pl. 10, 12 which is more conical), but would agree with her Myc. III A:1 date. Both conical and conical piriform examples (Furumark, M.P., Type 7) were found in the Atreus bothros (B.S.A., LIX, 1964, pp. 248–249); on these the loop design at the base of the handle is “almost standard.” The absence of this canonical feature and the fabric, which resembles that of 412, suggest a local origin. See further remarks on this shape in discussion of the Altar Krater (425).  
See also pp. 121, 146.  

ST 737. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 74, pl. 24, f. Close to alabastron 2, above right hip of Burial A. H. 0.007 m., D. base 0.014 m. Minor chips from bottom edge.  
Purple steatite.  
Conical shape. Vertical stringhole with wear at top.  
Late Helladic III.

XL-5. Bronze Spearhead.  
B 1287. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 74–75, fig. 3, pl. 24, c. On top of coffin over legs of Burial D. P.L. 0.54 m., D. socket at shaft 0.028 m., at mid-
point of blade 0.08 m., L. socket 0.135 m. Badly corroded but lifted in paraffin.

Plain circular socket terminating in a slight ring grooved at each edge. No sign of a split or nail holes for securing to shaft. Blade round in center section, with thin flat cutting edges. Continuous profile with gradual contraction to sharp pointed nose.

This has been well described and analyzed by Mrs. Vermeule who notes that it is the second longest Aegean spearhead published, surpassed only by that from the tholos at Dendra (R.T.D., p. 97, pl. XX, 6) and similar to another from a coffin burial in one of the Warrior Graves near Knossos (B.S.A., II, 1956, p. 96, no. 8, pl. 14, e). These were clearly used for thrusting rather than throwing, either in duels on the battlefield or in certain forms of chase (op. cit., p. 75). Late Helladic III.


P 27451. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 75–76, pl. 22, a, c. At foot of Burial C. H. 0.315 m., D. 0.27 m. Nearly complete; mended from over one hundred fragments.

Finest pale green-yellow clay with grit and pockmarks; smooth buff surface; dark red-brown paint turning to black on handle and neck.

Bulging ovoid body, low slightly concave foot, flat base; curved strap handle with pronounced midrib; plastic knob at lower attachment and plastic ridge at junction of neck and shoulder; short spout curving up at 50 degrees to vertical axis.

Bands edging rim of spout and crossing its undersurface; two groups of bands on neck; handle and foot glazed, with band above. Continuous fine wavy line around top of shoulder (reminiscent of foliate band) and three curtailed argonauts (nautili) on body, with simple flowers and "zwickels" in angles between spirals.

Furumark, M.P., Type 144 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. III A:1; Mot. 77: 16 (p. 307, fig. 73), Myc. II B–III A:1.

Cf. XXIII–1 and references. That example is more perfect in shape, but I am not certain that the warping in the present example is a sure indication of local manufacture.


P 27455. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 76, pl. 24, b. Under coffin and left leg of Burial D. H. 0.10 m., D. 0.105 m. Complete except for chips; mended from sixteen pieces.

Fine pale buff clay; dilute streaky red-black matt paint.

Crookedly shaped on potter’s wheel. Globular binconical body, low spreading neck, two vertical strap handles from rim to greatest diameter, faint ring foot.

Furumark, M.P., Type 66 (p. 36, fig. 8), Myc. II A–III B.

Cf. XXXV–5 and discussion.

See also p. 126. Myc. III A:1.


P 27458. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 76, pl. 29, a. From under the coffin of Burial D and from the dromos. H. 0.04 m., D. with handle 0.135 m. Two sherds from dromos, three from chamber; missing half of rim, handle, three-fourths of bowl; restored in plaster.

Red-buff clay with lumps and grit; wheel-marks not smoothed from interior; buff surface; orange-red glaze paint.

Same type as XL-7 but coarser; bowl lower and foot broader.

Edge of rim and foot painted solid; broad band above two fine lines above foot; coarse mottled or stippled pattern.

Furumark, M.P., Type 219 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. II B–III A:1; Mot. 77: 2 (p. 422, fig. 73), Myc. II B–III A:1.

I agree that this is apparently a provincial imitation of the type seen in X–4; and therefore it may
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suggest local manufacture for the better example XI-7.


P 27454. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 76–77, pl. 23, d. Under coffin and left leg of Burial D. H. 0.128 m., D. 0.115 m. Complete except for chips from rim, one handle broken.

Buff clay with grit and pockmarks; good buff surfacing; streaky orange-brown glaze paint.

Pear-shaped body, slender flaring stem, flat base, three rolled handles on shoulder, low flaring neck with flat lip spreading downward; slight plastic ridge at junction of shoulder and neck.

Lower body and foot painted solid with thin band above; shoulder zone framed by three bands below and two above; rim striped on outer edge; interior of neck glazed, also handles; a single long-stemmed spiral between each pair of handles.

Furumark, M.P., Type 28 or 44 (pp. 22-23, figs. 3–4), Myc. III A:1–2; Mot. 49: 4 (p. 363, fig. 62), Myc. III A:1.

This is apparently a small version of the type which usually had vertical handles and two stemmed spirals in handle zone (I–3, XIV–1, XXIV–4 and 5); it is carelessly painted and I suspect was made locally.

See also pp. 120, 143.


P 27456. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 77, pl. 23, e. From in front of door (in dromos). Pres. H. 0.09 m., D. rim ca. 0.26 m., at base 0.11 m. Found in three major sections, mended from eleven pieces, about one-sixth of body and one handle missing.

Extremely coarse pale buff clay, pocked and full of grit; dirty green-buff surface; black paint faded and crackled and almost worn away.

Deep lopsided pear-shaped body, raised ring base, flat vertical handles from rim to below decorated zone, thin outturned rim. Mrs. Vermeule comments, “The krater seems to have been knocked crooked while still soft, before or during firing.”

Rim painted solid; handles edged and crossed by diagonal bars; thin stripes framing top and sides of decorated zone which has simple scale pattern; banded below decorative zone and above foot.

Furumark, M.P., Types 6-7 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:1–II B. Cf. remarks under XI-3.


P 27457. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 77, pl. 23, f. From under coffin and right leg of Burial D. H. 0.135 m., D. ca. 0.10 m. with handle, 0.165 m. as restored with two handles. Part of foot and over half of bowl missing; restored in plaster.

Red-buff clay with grit and pockmarks; buff surface, undecorated.

Rounded bowl with finely profiled outturned rim, thin flat handles curving from rim to base of bowl, slender high stem with disc foot with countersunk hollow. Extremely crooked; knocked over before firing (?).

Furumark, M.P., Type 260 or 266 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1–2. Cf. Ch.T., pl. XVI, 28 classified as Type 266. Type 264 has a deeper bowl: cf. III–8.

Cf. also XV–1, XXIV–15 and XXXII–3, all of which are less crooked.


P 27458. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 77, pl. 24, e. From front of door (in dromos). Pres. H. 0.09 m., D. rim ca. 0.11 m., with handle 0.155 m. Mended from many pieces; foot, stem and parts of bowl missing.

Red-buff clay; no surfacing; undecorated.

Conical bowl, concave lip, slightly outturned rim, single flat handle rising in loop slightly above rim.

Furumark, M.P., Type 287 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1–III B. Cf. the tin-incrusted examples III–6, 9, 10. See also p. 128.


ST 734. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 77, pl. 24, e, f. From dromos, in front of door. H. 0.013 m., D. 0.02 m. Split and cracked, chips from bottom edge. Burned?

Gray black steatite with white stains, speckled with brown.

Not a true cone. Vertical stringhole.

Late Helladic III.


A 3521. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 77–78, pl. 24, d. From upper packing of doorway. Max. H. after mending 0.55 m., max. W. 0.55 m., T. 0.08 to 0.15 m. In two joining pieces stacked one above the other in the packing.

A rough trapezoid of river conglomerate. Edges and faces worked; rough, worn and chipped; perhaps incomplete.

As Mrs. Vermeule comments, “The example here is clearly a worked stone of stele-character, the first recorded grave marker in the Agora.” Re-examining the evidence in the light of this discovery, I suspect that the rough stone slab found inside the chamber of Tomb XXIV once served the same function, erected outside the tomb. It also is dressed smooth on the face and the sides.

Cf. XXIV–24 and see also p. 102.
TOMBS AND OBJECTS: GRAVE XLI


From left wrist of skeleton D. L. 0.025 m., D. 0.017 m. Broken at one end, condition fair.

Pierced longitudinally.

The only piece of amber from the Mycenaean cemetery.

XL-17. Carnelian Sealstone. Pl. 75.

J 141. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 78, fig. 4, pl. 24, f.
From left wrist of Skeleton D. L. 0.025 m., D. 0.018 m. Front broken through at center to string-hole; back bevelled in broad facets, chips on front top edge.

The carving represents a bird with double tail, probably an eagle, rising vertically in rear view with head turned left. No enclosing outline, sketchy style.

Mrs. Vermeule cites five parallels (two mainland and three Cretan) and notes that this sketchy style is not a sign of late date (cf. the glass sealstone in an L.H. I context in Tomb 516 at Mycenae, Ch.T., p. 67, fig. 26 with a similar design).

See also p. 108.

Late Helladic III.


BI 792. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 78. From floor south of Burial C. No context. L. 0.018 m., W. 0.003 m. Burned? Stained and blackened.

Mrs. Vermeule suggests that this may have come from a belt or weapon of one of the funeral party.

GRAVE XLI: BURIAL IN MOUTH OF WELL (N 14:3)

Pl. 61

Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 45.

Found during the same campaign that yielded the richly equipped small chamber tomb XL, this was a simple burial in the mouth of a disused well and was furnished with a single offering, a deep-bowled kylix, which seems to be of Myc. III B date.¹

P 27490. H. 0.165 m., D. rim 0.152–0.178 m. (with handles ?), D. foot 0.075 m. Broken, but lacks only small fragments of handle and wall; completely restored in plaster.

Coarse clay; unglazed.

Deep conical bowl, short stem, disc foot, band handles from rim to greatest diameter. Very irregular in shape; warped.

Furumark, M.P., Type 274 (p. 61, fig. 17), Myc. III B–C:1.

I have not seen this vase, but it is apparently close to those from the Kylix Pit (O 7:4), 433–435, and would suggest a poor burial at a time when the Mycenaean Cemetery was not being extensively used (cf. the upper burials in Tomb VII, Grave VI, and Tomb XX).

See also p. 128.

Myc. III B–C:1.

2. THE NON-SEPULCHRAL MYCENAEAN DEPOSITS

About three-quarters of the Mycenaean pottery from the Agora comes from tombs and graves; the remainder, which is much more fragmentary, comes from deposits which are chronologically less exact and more mixed in character. There are, in general, two types of non-

¹ According to Homer Thompson, this well burial does not necessarily represent a primary interment, since the remains seem to have been deposited as bones rather than as a body. Quoting from a letter of August 8, 1967: “The shaft was cut through the soft rock to a depth of 2.75 m., ending in a stratum of harder rock. Diameter at mouth 1.00 m. contracting slightly below. To a depth of ca. 0.60 m. the mouth of the well had been filled with large fieldstones. From among these stones came the fragments of the kylix (P 27490) and a handful of other L.H. III sherds. Below the stones, at a depth of ca. 1.50 m., lay many of the bones of a human skeleton; the remains had apparently been deposited as bones rather than as a body. According to J. L. Angel they derived from a middle-aged male. The fill below the bones was brown clay, which yielded only a very few small sherds and no complete vase.” (I have not been able to examine the sherd evidence, and therefore any conclusions concerning this burial must be regarded as tentative. S.A.I.)
sepulchral deposits: three pits and bothroi at the northeast corner (O 7:14, O 7:4, and P 8:9), which contain a mixture of material, some early and fine in quality and ranking with the best examples from the chamber tombs in the area, the rest coarse household ware, in general later in date and resembling rather the dromos fill of Tomb XII (above pp. 196-199). In addition, there are four wells, two in the central Agora (K 6:1 and H 11:2) and two near the Klepsydra (V 24:1 and S 27:7), which are almost entirely later in character than the pottery from the tombs, and two stratified deposits, one (O–Q 16–17) in connection with an ancient road across the south side of the Agora, the other (T 26–27:2) beneath the paved court of the Klepsydra at the northwest corner of the Acropolis.

The most important material from these deposits will be published according to deposit, but using our running serial numbers. In conclusion, we add twenty additional items without significant context which help to round out our picture of the pottery of Mycenaean Athens.

PITS AND BOTHROI

MYCENAEN GULLY AND DEPOSIT IN FRONT OF NORTHEAST STOA (O 7:14)

425–431; Pls. 60, 66–67, 79

This rather enigmatic complex discovered in June, 1951, produced several fragmentary Mycenaean vases which are among the finest from the Agora, along with much coarse ware and many animal bones which give it the character of a refuse deposit. It consisted of a series of irregular pits, some gradually linked up with one another to form what seemed a natural gully. The largest pit measuring 1.70 m. east-west by about 1.20 m. north-south and having a maximum depth of 0.90 m. was situated from five to ten meters northeast of the gully proper and was cut at the north by the back wall of the Northeast Stoa, which was set down a little into it. It was here that the Altar Krater (425), the kylix with octopus (426), and the fragmentary ewer (427) as well as some considerably later material, for example the tankard (429), were found. The gully itself ran in a southwesterly direction and yielded about twenty small painted sherds, fragmentary cooking pots (cf. 441 from O 7:4), unglazed kylix stems, fragments from pithoi and other coarse pots, as well as part of a stone grinder and many animal bones. Apparently in both pit and gully we are dealing with a mixed fill, not of one homogeneous phase, and consisting partly of household refuse. Because of its proximity to the chamber tombs (especially Tombs XIII–XV) and because of the exceptional quality of several of the vases, it seems likely that some of the material came from disturbed tombs.

See also p. 111.

425. Fragmentary Krater with Strap Handles, the “Altar Krater.” Pl. 60.
P 21564. Archaeology, IV, 1951, p. 225 (detail of floral pattern); XIII, 1960, p. 8, fig. 7. P.H. 0.22 m., rest. H. 0.25 m., D. rim 0.31 m., D. with handles 0.32 m. Mended from many pieces; almost half the upper circumference including one handle preserved; restored in plaster, probably not tall enough (see below).

Creamy buff clay, hard and smooth with polished surface; mahogany brown glaze, orange-brown where thinned. Reserved details on legs of altar; superimposed creamy white for details on horns, altar and palms.

Wide mouth with broad flaring rim, rounded wall probably tapering to a piriform base; broad band handles from rim to shoulder.

Rim painted inside and out; handles have horizontal stripes framed by verticals which form a loop intersecting three horizontal bands below shoulder zone; a second pair of arcs form a circle separating handle area from the pictorial scene; lower part of body banded or covered with paint. The picture on the preserved side consists of a central altar
three legs surmounted by large horns of consecration flanking a double axe, the top of which is missing; on either side of altar two palms, those on the right separated by lozenge chains. The space was evidently not quite accurately calculated and the altar is slightly off-center; of reverse nothing but lozenge chain by handle.

Furumark, M.P., Types 6-7 (pp. 22-23, figs. 3-4), Myc. III A: 1-2 early; Mots. 85: 21-22 (p. 927, fig. 55), Myc. III A: 2-3; 36: 3-4 (p. 333, fig. 56), Myc. III A: 2-3; 15: 2 (p. 207, fig. 99), Myc. III A: 2 e.

In shape the Altar Krater belongs with a whole group of early strap-handled kraters, some with abstract decoration and others with pictorial scenes. Its early date has not always been recognized, partly because of its fragmentary character and incomplete restoration, which even in the latest attempt is not altogether successful. The total effect can be appreciated better in the complete example with ar-gonauts or nautili from Tomb XL where the height and diameter are about equal, as seems to have been generally true for this shape. Mrs. Vermeule in publishing the argonaut krater (XL-3) has, I think, unduly stressed the rarity of this shape, both in Greece and in Cyprus, for there are a number of early examples with abstract decoration from Cyprus, and the Window Krater from Kourion (J.H.S., LXXVII, 1957, pp. 269-271) has fellows in the new kraters from Pyla (Fasti Archaeologici, VII, 1952, p. 132, fig. 4) and Enkomi (A.J.A., LXII, 1958, pl. 98, 1); the Homage Krater from Aradippo (ibid., pl. 99, 3-4) should not be much later. I do not believe she is right in doubting the early date of the Markopoulo krater with palms and dancing women (Ep. 'Apx., 1895, pl. 10, 9) or the krater from Vourvatsi (Attica, pl. 10, 1), although these have a certain provincial quality, which she has recognized in XL-3, and which ally them more with the Koukounara group with birds (Egr. 1963, p. 87, figs. 89-91).

The scene represents a Minoan-Mycenaean altar with horns of consecration and an upright shaft which must have supported a double axe, the whole flanked by elaborate floral patterns which belong to Furumark's Palm II type (Mot. 15, p. 279, fig. 39). Derived from glyptic prototypes (goldwork, ivory, and seals), these are found on several other early Myc. III A: 2 vases: under the handles of a fine early chariot krater from Enkomi (Sjoqvist, Problems, p. 70, fig. 19, 1) and on a conical rhyton from My-cenae (B.M.Cat., I, 1, A 1067, 1), both of which have the asymmetrical tops of our palms. A less exact parallel is found on the pierced hydria from Ialysos (cited in note 5) which combines the palm with horns of consecration and double axe as on our krater, the whole conveying the idea of an altar in a sacred grove, in the case of the pierced vase with a definite ritual significance (see above, pp. 227-228). A much later survival of the same theme has been suggested by Blegen for a Myc. III B loop-handled krater from the Arge Heraiion (Prosymna, I, p. 451, pl. VIII, 28).

Another vase related to ours is the fragmentary krater from Enkomi (B.M.Cat., I, 1, C 401; C.V.A., Br. Mus., II Cb, pl. 11, 16) with boukrania, horns of consecration and double axes, a vase which has been incorrectly analyzed as a loop-handled krater and accordingly dated to Myc. III B. While less fine and presumably a little later than the Altar Krater, it is still good Myc. III A work.

Despite the number of parallels cited to early pictorial vases found in Cyprus, I feel no hesitation in claiming an Argolid workshop both for our vase and for them, an opinion which is now shared by a number of scholars.

1 Dated L.H. III C in Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, p. 203; correctly to the fourteenth century in Archaeologia, III, 1951, p. 223. The photographs on Pl. 60 show three stages in its restoration: as it was first mended, with the break filled in with plaster and the base flattened off (giving the erroneous impression of the Myc. III B loop-handled krater in proportions), and finally after an attempt to restore the lower part correctly, which should however have been protracted further to a smaller base, resulting in a conical to conical pitiform profile (cf. XL-3 and XL-11). The average size of these kraters is from 0.30 m. to 0.35 m. in height and diameter, but the Window Krater was 0.428 m. in height.

2 Mylonas (see above, note 344) would like to restore a palm, but this seems unlikely, although the hydria from Ialysos alternates double axe with palms in the horns of consecration (Ialysos, p. 130, fig. 51).

3 See above note 344. I have examined this vase through the kindness of the British Museum authorities, and there is absolutely no question that it was a krater of the strap-handled type.
of scholars and is supported by technological examination of the clay. As an example of the more canonical standards of the Altar Krater in comparison with XL-3, one might note the differences in handle treatment (cf. Pls. 59, 60). The broader handle with ladder pattern, the characteristic loop formed by a continuation of the exterior banded edge, and the clear separation of the handle area from the pictorial scene are all to be found both on the Altar and the Window Krater, but not on XL-3.

See also pp. 118, 121, 145.

Myc. III A:2 early (imported).


P 21591. *Archaeology*, IV, 1951, pp. 224–225, detail. P.H. 0.12 m., H. as restored 0.21 m., D. 0.19 m., D. with handles 0.218 m. Mended from many pieces; about one-half of upper part, including handle, and foot preserved; restored in plaster.

Pinkish buff clay; red-brown lustrous paint with superimposed white for details.

Deep bowl with slightly outturned rim; fairly short stem (perhaps restored too high) and spreading disc foot, slightly concave with countersunk center; two loop handles, round in section, from rim.

Rim, outside of handles, stem and foot covered with paint, the disc foot having narrow reserved bands. Each side of bowl decorated with a large octopus having four pairs of tentacles forming undulating loops by handles; superimposed white dots on tentacles.

Furumark, *M.P.*, Type 256 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:2 e; Mot. 21: 3–4, 14 (pp. 308, 305, figs. 48–49), Myc. III A:1–2 e.

In shape this is the early deep-bowled kylix which is represented in only a few sherds from the Atreus deposit ( *B.S.A.*, LXIX, 1964, p. 250 and fig. 2, 7–8) but occurs in several examples from Vourvatsi (*Attica*, pl. 4, 9, 11). With octopus decoration it was very popular in Rhodes (*C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, IIIa, pl. 50, 1–7; Br. Mus., IIIa, pl. 5, 24, 26, 29–30), where, however, the four pairs of tentacles were usually abridged to two. Particularly close to ours is the kylix in Brussels (*C.V.A.*, Brussels, IIIa, pl. 3, 2), unfortunately without provenance. The octopus with four pairs of tentacles and superimposed white is also found on kraters of the pictorial style (cf. *S.C.E.*, I, pl. CXX, 8–4 and *C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., II C b, pl. 9, 2). The association of this kylix in the same deposit with the Altar Krater suggests that they may both have come from the same workshop.

See also pp. 127, 146.

Myc. III A:1–2 early (imported).


P 21595. P.H. 0.17 m., D. 0.207 m. Mended from many pieces; lower part from junction of neck restored in plaster; part of rim with root of handle preserved in a non-joining fragment.

Light creamy buff clay, fine with lightly polished surface; black paint, almost entirely gone.

Slightly projecting rim, sloping inwards; narrow neck with plastic ridge at junction of neck and shoulder; plump ovoid body with very low ring foot. Originally vertical handle from rim to shoulder. Two plastic bosses arranged like figure-8 shield probably opposite handle. Rim probably cut away slightly at back, less likely beaked in front.

Dolgoof pattern on rim; encircling bands on neck and lower part of body; on shoulder schematized floral patterns, difficult to make out but apparently voluted and with radiating rows of concentric dashes.

Furumark, *M.P.*, Type 186 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III A:2–B or Type 144 (p. 30, fig. 5), Myc. III A:1–2; some form of Mot. 11: e.g. 29 and 33 (pp. 261, 265, figs. 33–34), Myc. II–III A:2 e.

See also pp. 135, 144.

Myc. III A:2 early (probably contemporary with 425 and 426).


P 21592. H. 0.10 m., D. 0.128 m. Mended from many pieces; fragments of rim and walls missing; restored in plaster.

Orange-buff clay rather coarse with impurities; streaky but lustrous brownish black glaze inside and out except under foot.

Deep bowl with slightly offset rim; thick stem, spreading foot, a ridge at its upper limit, hollow at center underneath; band handle from rim.

Furumark, *M.P.*, Type 267 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. III A:1–2. Somewhat deeper bowl and shorter stem, perhaps influenced by monochrome glazed Type 263.

Cf. III–6, 9, 10 and XL–13.

See also p. 128.


429. Tankard. Pl. 60.

P 21598. H. 0.155 m., D. as rest. 0.15 m. Over half of upper part, fragments from lower walls and bottom missing; restored in plaster (wrongly restored with two handles, second now removed).

Deep red-buff clay, rather soft and polished; dull red paint, mostly worn.

Tall concave profile flaring at top and bottom; plastic ridge around middle not well defined; plain rim and flat bottom; one vertical band handle set well below rim.

Groups of encircling bands at rim and middle form two decorated zones: parallel diagonal lines or foliate band in upper zone; papyrus flowers in lower.
Mycenaean Deposits: Bothros

Furumark, M.P., Type 226 (p. 53, fig. 15), Myc. III A:2–B; some version of Mot. 18 (p. 298, fig. 45) but too indistinct for exact comparison.

Cf. Attica, pl. 8, 12–18 (Vourvatsi); B.S.A., LII, 1957, pl. 41 d (Myceneae, Prehistoric Cemetery).

See also pp. 180, 144.

Myc. III A:2–B, inferior work and probably local.

430. Coarse Amphora. Pl. 60.

P 21594. H. 0.295 m., D. 0.26 m. Mended from many pieces; parts of one handle and large fragments from walls missing; restored.

Orange-buff clay with gray core and many impurities; dull grayish black wash over most of outside, fired red in one spot.

High nearly straight neck with thickened rim; ovoid body with narrow base; handles round in section from rim to shoulder.

Furumark, M.P., Type 69 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. III B. Cf. Zygouries, p. 163, fig. 158 (Potter’s Shop).

Ours need not be quite so late, but cf. XII-7 from dromos fill.

See also p. 126.

Myc. III B.

431. One-handled Kylix, Glazed. Pl. 60.

P 22457. From Mycenaean Gully. H. 0.092 m., D. 0.123 m. Foot, handle and about one-half of body preserved; restored in plaster.

Buff clay with bits; dull reddish brown glaze except beneath foot.

Deep bowl with slightly everted lip; rim somewhat warped; short stem and broad disc foot slightly concave at center; band handle from rim.

See references under 428.


Mycenaean Bothros Opposite Stoa Pier 17 (P 8:9)

432; Pls. 61, 75

Lying only a few meters to the north and in a line with Tomb XX was a small irregular pit about 1.30 m. in diameter and 1.50 m. deep, presumably a bothros. The fill was entirely Mycenaean, but represented an odd assortment of material: fragments of roof tiles and a large chunk of stone, fragmentary cooking pots on tripod legs, large coarse pots including the fragment of a pithos, twenty to thirty kylix fragments ranging from a fine yellow fabric to very coarse reddish ware, and a few small fragments of painted ware. Among the last was the fragmentary Myc. III A cup with wishbone handle (432), two small fragments of Myc. III B kylikes with vertical murex decoration, a fragmentary three-handled jar with scale pattern, and some rim fragments from open bowls with horizontal handles. It would thus seem to contain domestic refuse ranging from the fourteenth into the thirteenth century, with the possibility that some of the finer fragments might have infiltrated from the adjacent chamber tombs when they were opened for subsequent burials. Although there is less fine ware, the contents of this bothros agree in the main with those from the Mycenaean Gully and Deposit in front of the Northeast Stoa (O 7:14) and would suggest domestic habitation somewhere in the area.

See also pp. 111, 248.

432. Fragmentary Bowl with Wishbone Handle Pls. 61, 75.

P 28784. Max. dim. 0.088 m. Three joining fragments preserve handle and some of rim and body.

Pinkish buff clay, smooth and hard buff surfacing; red to brown lustrous glaze.

Shallow cup or bowl with slightly everted rim; horizontally set wishbone handle with knob at top rises slightly above rim.

Rim inside and out and handle glazed; frieze of stemmed spirals in handle zone; trace of encircling band below.

Shape: apparently a variant of Furumark, M.P., Type 283 (p. 48, fig. 18), Myc. III A:2, the knobbled or wishbone handle being substituted for the usual loop handle, perhaps under the influence of metal vases. Cf. the silver inlaid cups with bulls’ heads from Dendra and Enkomi (R.T.D., pls. I, XII–XV, and Claude F. S. Schaeffer, Enkomí–Alasiya, pls. C-D) which have more elaborate wishbone handles; and the Myc. III B cup from Klavdia by the Protome Painter (B.M.Cat., I, 2, C 623 and A.J.A., LX, 1956, pl. 53, fig. 8). In the present example the decoration is clearly Myc. III A. Cf. Furumark, M.P., Mot. 49: 14, 15 (p. 363, fig. 62), Myc. III A:2 e. No Cypriote influence need be assumed, but cf. Karageorghis, Nouveaux documents, pp. 204ff.

See also pp. 131, 148.

Myc. III A:2 early.
This small irregular pit (about 0.70 m. by 0.45 m. by 0.50 m. deep) lay a few meters to the east of the dromos of Tomb XIV. It was full of Mycenaean sherds and fragmentary pots, mostly kylikes, but also contained occasional scraps of bone and several small stone slabs lying in no order. Originally termed a grave, there is nothing in favor of this identification and much that argues against it. The size would be very cramped even for the burial of a child, no skeleton or certain human bones were found, the pottery was found in complete disorder and included single fragments of some vases, including the leg of a tripod cooking pot (441) like those found in the Mycenaean Bothros (P 8:9) and the Pit in front of the Northeast Stoa (O 7:14). Although a number of more or less complete kylikes were found, these were all extremely coarse and of careless workmanship, and there is no reason to believe they were not chipped or minus a handle when they were discarded. Therefore the identification as a refuse pit seems more likely, and one might note the similarity of material to that found in the dromos of the unfinished chamber tomb XII, which seems to be somewhat later in date.

See also p. 111.


P 21406. H. 0.171 m., D. 0.186 m. Mended from several pieces; fragments from rim and walls and one handle missing, restored in plaster.

Pinkish buff clay, not well smoothed; clear traces of wheel marks; unglazed.

Deep tapering bowl with plain rim; medium high stem; flat disc foot with depression in center underneath. Two vertical band handles from rim.

Furumark, M.P., Type 274 (p. 61, fig. 17), Myc.

III B–C:1 e. This is a characteristic form of domestic kylix found in destruction levels at a number of sites (Zygouries, p. 152, fig. 142; Korakou, p. 71, fig. 102, 2; Great Poros Wall at Mycenae, B.S.A., L, 1955, pl. 45, d, e; Iolkos, "Epyov, 1956, p. 49, fig. 49; Blegen, Pylos, I, pp. 366–371ff., Type 29, figs. 361–364). In shape our examples agree more closely with Blegen’s Shape 29 d but the dimensions are close to Shape 29 e, “Standard Size.” Also found in fill of Mycenaean Fountain (Fountain, p. 376, fig. 58, a). Not found in Granary at Mycenae where the taller stemmed type with conical bowl appears (B.S.A., XXV, 1921–23, pl. 10, c).

See also pp. 127–128.

Myc. III B–C:1 e.


P 21407. H. 0.146 m., D. 0.155–0.162 m. Mended from many pieces; profile complete, but more than one-half the foot, small pieces from wall and part of one handle missing, restored in plaster.

Buff clay with red bits; unpolished.

Shape similar to 433, but narrower bowl and shorter stem, badly warped. See above references, under 433.

Myc. III B–C:1.


P 21408. H. 0.156 m., D. 0.158–0.168 m. Mended from many pieces; complete except for small chips.

Pinkish buff clay, coarse with impurities; not well smoothed with wheel-marks visible; warped.

Shape similar to 433 but with straighter rim and flatter foot. See above references, under 433.

Myc. III B–C:1.


P 21409. H. 0.10 m., D. 0.10–0.112 m. Mended from many pieces; nearly complete; fragments of lip and foot missing.

Unglazed buff clay with bits; poorly shaped with wheel-ridges not removed.

Narrow bowl with slightly offset lip and distinct angle at shoulder where lower conical part of bowl meets straighter wall of rim; medium low stem; sloping spreading foot with shallow depression underneath; two small vertical band handles from rim.

Furumark, M.P., Type 267 (p. 61, fig. 17), Myc.

III B–C:1. Cf. Zygouries, p. 152, fig. 143; "Epyov, 1956, p. 49, fig. 48 (Iolkos); Fountain, p. 376, fig. 58, b, c; Pylos, I, pp. 366–367, Shape 27, figs. 359–360. The shape is not nearly so common at Pylos as the conical-bowled Shape 29 (209 examples compared with 3,278).

The two handles on our example are unusual, 437 being the characteristic form.

See also pp. 127–128.

Myc. III B–C:1 e.

437. Angular-bowled Kylix. Pls. 61, 66.

P 21411. H. 0.108 m., D. 0.110 m. Mended from many pieces; complete but for small fragments of rim and wall.
Buff clay; unglazed; some black accretion inside.

Shape similar to 436, but better shaped, more carinated bowl and only one handle. This is clearly a later development of the carinated low-stemmed kylix seen in the tin incrusted examples (III-6, 9 and 10) and the glazed examples 428 and 431.

The black accretion inside may suggest its use as a lamp (cf. Bronner, Fountain, p. 377).

See also p. 128.

Myc. III B-C:1 e.


P 21412. H. 0.109 m., D. 0.113 m. Mended from four pieces; complete except for lip fragment and handle. Very pale coarse cream-colored clay with pink core; unglazed and unpolished.

Shape similar to 437 (see references under 436 and 437). Cf. also P 21410, 21413 and 21414 from same deposit.

Myc. III B-C:1 e.

439. Teacup. Pl. 61.

P 21417. H. 0.043 m., D. 0.11 m. Mended from three pieces; complete but for handle and chips. Orange-buff clay, poorly cleaned; unglazed.

Shallow teacup shape with flaring rim, one vertical band handle from rim, and flat slightly offset base.

Furumark, M.P., Type 220 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. III A:2–B. Cf. Zygouries, p. 154, fig. 145, 403, 450; Pylos, I, p. 360, Shape 12, figs. 353–354 (1160 examples counted); in profile ours agrees most closely with Nos. 1 and 2). The single specimen from the Fountain (Fountain, p. 381, fig. 63, a) is more carinated like the bowl of a kylix of Type 267.

See also p. 129.

Myc. III B–C:1 e.

440. Fragment of Krater. Pl. 61.

P 21416. Max. dim. 0.073 m. Wall fragment with no finished edge.

Orange-buff clay; dark red glaze, not very lustrous.

From straight wall of a large open pot, probably a krater with loop handles. Parts of two vertical murex shells preserved, that on the right almost complete.

Furumark, M.P., Types 281–282 (pp. 48–49, figs. 18–14), Myc. III B–C:1; Mot. 23: 9–10 (p. 311, fig. 51) Myc. III B. Plentiful examples of this shape but none with murex decoration from the Fountain (Fountain, pp. 351–361, figs. 29–38). Cf. kylix with murex from Potter’s Shop (Zygouries, p. 145, fig. 135, left).

The shape is rare at Pylos and most of the examples are more properly the smaller skyphos (Types 284–286): Pylos, I, pp. 397–399, Shape 60, figs. 385–386 (10 examples numbered).

See also pp. 122, 147.

Myc. III B (late).

441. Foot of Tripod Cooking Pot. Pl. 61.

P 21415. P.H. ca. 0.175 m., T. of foot at top 0.016 m. One foot and a little of round-bodied bowl only preserved.

Sandy micaceous clay, pinkish with gray core; carefully made by hand. Somewhat blackened from use.

High foot, a thin oval in section, tapering to a small blunt tip.

Furumark, M.P., Type 390 (p. 75, fig. 21), Myc. II–III C. Cf. Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 372, fig. 45 (from houses built over Northeast Stairway); Fountain, p. 399, fig. 81; B.S.A., XLIX, 1954, pl. 37, c (House of Sphinxes). The examples from Pylos are much smaller (Pylos, I, pp. 413–414, Shapes 69 and 70, figs. 395–396) and are called “tripod-cups,” their legs being only 1.5 to 2.5 cms. long.

Uncatalogued fragments similar to 441 from O 7: 14 and P 8:9.

See also pp. 119, 140.

Myc. III B–C:1.

442. Steatite Bead. Pl. 61.

ST 506. L. 0.0165 m., W. 0.017 m. Intact. Black steatite.

Shield-shaped, lentoid. Pierced horizontally.

Compare the similar shield-shaped bead from the Ares Tomb (VII–34) which has four circular depres-
sions on underside and was perhaps used as a seal.

Associated with Burials XIII and XIV of upper burial stratum.

Late Helladic III B–C.

WELLS

WELL NORTH OF TEMPLE OF ARE (K 6:1)

443–445; Pl. 61

This small well which lies about 20 meters northeast of Tomb VII was discovered in the spring of 1952. Circular in shape with an upper diameter of about 0.80 m., it was only 2.20 m. deep; however, water was struck between 1.40 and 1.80 m. below the surface of bedrock. The
coarse jug (443), which was intact except for a small chip, was found at a depth of 1.60 m. The rest of the fill was fragmentary and consisted of much coarse ware and very little decorated. Nothing was later than the Mycenaean period, and there were a few earlier pieces, including one Gray Minyan fragment. The existence of a Mycenaean well in this area, when taken with the evidence of domestic refuse in the three deposits further to the east (O 7:4, O 7:14, and P 8:9) would suggest a Mycenaean settlement along the north side of the Agora.

See also p. 111.

P 22264. H. 0.247 m., D. 0.197 m., D. lip 0.107 m.
Intact except for small chip from wall.
Pinkish buff clay, lighter buff surfacing.
Fairly high neck with round mouth and rolled rim projecting slightly; ovoid body on low ring base; handle circular in section from rim to middle of shoulder. Well made pot.
Furumark, M.P., Type 105 (p. 35, fig. 7), Myc. III B. Cf. Zygouries, p. 156, fig. 149 (Potter’s Shop); Fountain, p. 396, fig. 77; Pylos, I, pp. 376–377, Shape 36, figs. 367–368.
Cf. XIV-S and 478.
See also p. 136.
Myc. III B.

444. Angular-bowled Kylix. Pl. 61.
P 22267. H. 0.102 m., est. D. ca. 0.11 m. Mended from several fragments. Much of foot, body and rim missing.
Sandy pale greenish buff clay with many bits. A few traces of orange-red glaze on int.? Deep bowl with nearly vertical rim forming an angle with wall; short stem with sloping foot, concave beneath with central depression; small rather thick band handle from lip to below angle.
Furumark, M.P., Type 267 (p. 61, fig. 17), Myc. III B–C:1. Cf. 436–438 and references.
Myc. III B (–C:1).

P 22366. P.H. 0.11 m., max. D. 0.088 m. Two joining fragments; broken above; foot chipped.
Rather heavy fabric; buff clay with smooth pink-buff surface; red to brown glaze badly worn.
Preserves most of lower end of tapering conical rhyton with rather swelling and irregular wall; not well smoothed inside but clear indication of circular hole leading to base. Decorated with groups of broad and narrow encircling bands.
Furumark, M.P., Type 199 (p. 67, fig. 120), Myc. I–III B. Cf. fragments from the Fountain (Fountain, p. 386, fig. 67,1, m) which are probably earlier (Myc. III A ?) than the bulk of the fill. The shape is not classified at Pylos but seems to have occurred in several fragmentary examples (referred to on pp. 285, 285, 349). Cf. the fine earlier examples from Attica (Attica, pl. 18, 1, 5).
Cf. also 447 and pp. 187–188.
Myc. III B (?).

Well in Tholos, Trench Q (H 11:2)

446; Pl. 61

Hesperia, Suppl. IV, 1940, p. 3.

This small well was discovered in the spring of 1938 in the middle of the easternmost room of the North Archaic House adjacent to the Tholos. It was circular with a diameter at the mouth of ca. 2.30 m. narrowing down at 3.00 m. to 0.85 m., giving a hopper-shaped effect to the upper part. The pottery which was scanty (a handful of plain sherds and the pitcher 446) began at 3.65 m., and at 4.75 m. the well came to an abrupt end. The location of a Mycenaean well in this area is somewhat surprising, since we have no other evidence for the existence of domestic occupation in Mycenaean times along the west side of the Agora, with the exception of the filling of the dromos of the unfinished chamber tomb XII, other possible indications of domestic habitation being clustered at the northeast corner of the Agora.

See also p. 111.
446. Coarse Jug. P 18256. *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 3, fig. 2. H. 0.198 m., D. 0.166 m. Many fragments missing; re-stored in plaster.

Pale gray buff clay containing much grit; surface smoothed; decoration in dull blackish paint, much worn.

Cylindrical neck with flaring slightly thickened rim; squat biconical shape on lightly defined base; round handle lip to shoulder. Two encircling bands around greatest circumference.

Furumark, M.P., Type 116 (p. 603), considered Lev.-Myc. III B. The neck is taller and more concave than in the usual Myc. III B jug (cf. *Zygouries*, pp. 168–169, figs. 163–164). Possibly this represents a late Eastern influence comparable to that seen in the kalathos with fish and bird from the Ares Tomb (VII–24) or the Perati influence on the small hydria 482.

Probably Myc. III C (advanced).

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**Mycenaean Well (V 24:1)**

447–471; Pls. 62–63, 77

Of the twenty-seven prehistoric wells discovered in 1937, 1938 and 1939 on the northwest slopes of the Acropolis, two belonged to the Mycenaean period. The earlier of these is situated about 35 meters down the slope northwest of the exit of the Mycenaean Fountain (see Pls. 91, 92). The well was circular or roughly oval in section (about 1.40 m. east-west by 1.10 m. north-south) decreasing to a diameter of about 0.90 m. in the lower part. It had a depth of 6.20 meters, with water beginning at about 2.50 meters and being copious at 5.00 meters. The bottom of the shaft was rough, blocked by a ledge of rock too hard to cut, which still bears in two places the marks of a pointed tool with which it was tested. About 0.30 m. below a late Roman pit which cut into the north side sherds occurred in fair quantity and the fill seemed to be pure.

The fill was unstratified and seems to constitute dump fill from neighboring houses of the Myc. III B period, and is somewhat earlier than the major part of the dump fill of the Fountain. With the possible exception of a large pithos, 464, and the crumpled lead sheathing, 471, there does not seem to be evidence for a use fill. The pottery is presented in the Catalogue in roughly chronological order.

See also p. 112.

447. Fragment of Conical Rhyton. P 15527. P.H. 0.041 m., P.W. 0.033 m. Fragment with no finished edge from wall of small fairly straight-sided pot.

Fine hard pinkish buff clay, gray at core, polished surface outside, smoothed inside; lustrous red glaze.

Fairly straight wall, small diameter, and finished surface inside suggest a conical rhyton.

On outside, two horizontal bands, and a pattern of elongated hatched triangles and curving lines, probably part of a floral pattern.

Furumark, M.P., Type 199 (p. 67, fig. 20), Myc. I–III B; pattern probably a form of Mot. 11 (p. 265, fig. 34) or 18 (p. 287, fig. 42).

From the technique and the shape an early date seems likely. Cf. the less fine example 445 and references.

Myc. III A–B.

448. Fragment of Stirrup-vase. P 15521. P.H. 0.055 m., P.W. 0.062 m. Fragment, broken all around, from shoulder with stump of one handle.

Buff clay with hard polished surface; lustrous orange-red paint.

Globular shape so far as preserved. Decoration: on shoulder, two broad encircling bands with six narrow lines between; above in handle zone traces of a pattern with parallel curves (floral pattern?); below, zone of double hooks or sidewise S's.

Furumark, M.P., Type 171 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III A:2–C:1; Mot. 48 (p. 360, fig. 61), Myc. III A–C:1. Cf. the stirrup-vase fragments from the Fountain (*Fountain*, pp. 389ff., figs. 70–71), many of which are later.

See also pp. 123–124.

Myc. III A–B.

449. Fragment of Narrow-necked Jug (?). P 15520. P.H. 0.043 m., P.W. 0.047 m. Fragment with no finished edge preserves part of shoulder and start of neck.

Pinkish buff clay with smooth light buff surface; lustrous red glaze.

From a closed pot with quite broad shoulder and narrow neck. Decoration consists of an encircling
band at junction of neck and shoulder, a diagonal guilloche-like pattern consisting of two wavy lines enclosing a row of dots, and a triangular object with a reserved wavy line in the center.

Shape: too small to determine what type of jug.

Decoration: Furumark, M.P., Mot. 48: 23 (p. 360, fig. 61), Myc. III B. It is impossible to decide about the other pattern, but it has a certain pictorial quality (perhaps the wing of a bird?): cf. M.P., Mot. 7: 22, 26, 28, 29 (p. 253, fig. 30), Myc. III A:2–B.

The general effect of neatness and fussiness reminds one of certain Myc. III B pictorial kraters, particularly those found in Cyprus but known also on the Greek mainland (see A.J.A., LX, 1956, pp. 187–141, pls. 52–54).

Myc. III B (earlier than main fill of Fountain).

450. Fragment of Small Handmade Cup or Bowl.

Pl. 62.

P 15526. P.H. 0.042 m., P.W. 0.037 m. Fragment preserving part of rim and wall.

Fine pinkish buff clay, gritty, gray at core; red glaze.

Thick wall tapering to plain thin lip. Handmade.

Wall outside covered with vertical wavy lines of glaze, resembling decoration of a Mycenaean figurine.

Furumark, M.P., Type 205 (p. 619), Myc. III B.

Cf. Zygouries, p. 140, fig. 181, 6; p. 172, fig. 168, 380; Prosymna, II, figs. 507, 79; 508, 76.

Such handmade bowls were probably the product of the coroplast and come in various forms usually decorated with vertical wavy lines like the figurines.

See also p. 130.

Probably Myc. III B.

451. Fragment of Krater.

Pl. 62.

P 14684. P.H. ca. 0.085 m. Wall fragment with trace of rim at top.

Heavy but good fabric; buff clay with grit; hard pale buff polished surface; lustrous brown glaze.

From wall of krater with fairly straight wall and narrow splayed rim.

Glazed on inside and outside of rim; three horizontal bands on lower wall; design in handle zone consisting of oblique oval formed of eight curving parallel lines joined at right.

Probably Furumark, M.P., Type 281 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. III B; less likely Types 8–9 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:2–B; decoration a variant of Mot. 19: 92, 33, 37 (p. 299, fig. 47), Myc. III A:2.

Not definitely a krater with loop handles and possibly a late version of the strap-handled krater: cf. Fountain, p. 362, fig. 39. The decoration seems to be a local variation of the “Multiple tongue” pattern. Fabric resembles the krater 411.

Myc. III A–B, more likely late than early.

452. Fragments from Krater with Loop Handles.

Pl. 62.

P 14685. P.H. ca. 0.085 m. Two non-joining fragments from wall preserving part of rim.

Heavy pinkish buff clay with grits; buff surface; chocolate-brown painted without luster; fabric less good than 451.

From wall of wide-mouthed krater with splaying rim; traces of handle to left on larger fragment. Glazed bands at inner and outer edge of lip; two rows of tangent spirals below a broad band.

Furumark, M.P., Types 281–282 (pp. 48–49, figs. 13–14), Myc. III B–C:1; Mot. 46: 57 (p. 357, fig. 60), Myc. III B (here reversed).

Here there is no doubt as to the krater shape, and there are close parallels in the Fountain Material (A.P. 2645, 2718, Fountain, p. 357, fig. 32, a, 45, g). Cf. also the spiral band on a Myc. III B skyphos from Mycenae (B.S.A., L, 1955, pl. 43, a), also running clockwise from the spiral centers which are filled.

See also pp. 122, 143.

Myc. III B–C:1.

453. Fragment of Skyphos.

Pl. 62.

P 15524. P.H. 0.036 m., P.W. 0.049 m. Fragment from wall with part of rim.

Buff clay with creamy buff surface; lustrous brown glaze.

Splayed rim with plain lip. Two narrow bands inside lip, one on edge of lip; panel pattern of zigzag between two vertical lines on wall.

Furumark, M.P., Type 284 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. III B–C:1; Mot. 75: 10, 22 (p. 414, fig. 72), Myc. III B–C:1 e. Cf. A.P. 2692, 2693, Fountain, p. 365, fig. 42, a–b, d.

See also p. 182.

Myc. III B (advanced).

454. Fragment of Skyphos.

Pl. 62.

P 15525. P.H. 0.089 m., P.W. 0.053 m. Fragment of rim and wall.

Buff clay with creamy buff hard surface; lustrous black glaze.

Rim very slightly splayed with rolled lip. Glaze covers the inside, the lip and a broad band below on outside. Below a panel of eight verticals, painted from right to left with decreasing thickness of glaze (probably from left to right with bowl turned upside down on rim); start of curving pattern at left.

Furumark, M.P., Type 284 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. III B–C:1; Mot. 50 (p. 363, fig. 62), Myc. III B–C:1.

The most common shape from the fill of the Fountain (Fountain, pp. 362–370 ff., Broneer’s Shape 3, figs. 40–49). Cf. especially Fountain, p. 368, fig. 45 b, d, h for antithetic spiral patterns.

Cf. also p. 182.

Myc. III B (advanced).
455. Fragment of Skyphos. Pl. 62.
P 15523. P.H. 0.064 m., est. D. ca. 0.16 m. Fragment of rim and wall.
Soft micaceous red-buff clay; red glaze, much worn.
Rim slightly splayed with plain lip. Broad band of glaze below lip and linked spirals below.
Furumark, M.P., Type 284 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. III B-C:1; Mot. 46: 54 (p. 357, fig. 60), Myc. III A:2–C:1. Cf. Fountain, p. 368, fig. 45, e for pattern, although that sherd (A.P. 2716) with shiny black glazed interior seems later.
See also p. 192.
Myc. III B–C:1.

P 15522. P.H. 0.048 m., P.W. 0.044 m. Fragment preserves stump of spout.
Dark buff clay with grit; blackish brown glaze, fairly lustrous but flaked.
Solid band around base of spout; traces of a circle or spiral on shoulder.
Shape impossible to diagnose exactly; but probably late because of technique and color of glaze. Cf. Fountain, p. 388, fig. 69, a–b.
See also p. 124.
Myc. III B–C.

457. Fragmentary Jar or Amphoriskos (?). Pl. 62.
P 15519. P.H. 0.087 m., P.W. 0.112 m. Large wall fragment made up of a number of joining pieces which preserves one horizontal loop handle; another small non-joining fragment from handle zone.
Fine greenish buff clay with hard polished surface; brownish black glaze, badly worn.
Shape either a small piriform jar with three handles, or more likely, an amphoriskos.
Decoration extremely fine and miniature work, in dilute brown glaze, with thicker black for horizontal bands. Handle glazed, narrow zone of fine net pattern in handle zone, framed above and below by broad bands and six fine lines; similar scheme of banding repeated farther down.
Although at first suggestive of a three-handled jar of Furumark’s Types 44–45 (p. 28, fig. 4), there is too great an area above handle before contraction for neck (cf. with Prosymna, II, fig. 714), and there is no suggestion of tapering toward a piriform base. Furumark, M.P., Type 94 or 96 (p. 44, fig. 12), Myc. III A: 2–C: 1. Cf. Fountain, p. 384, fig. 65, k–p. Later than XXVIII–1 or 414.
See also p. 123.
Myc. III B–C.

458. High-swung Handle from Ladle. Pl. 62.
P 15528. P.H. 0.113 m. Handle and attachment to wall only preserved.
Deep buff clay, coarse with impurities. Furumark, M.P., Type 236 (pp. 48–49, figs. 13–14), Myc. III B–C:1. Cf. Zygouries, p. 154, fig. 144 (Potter’s Shop); A.P. 2838–2841, Fountain, p. 382, fig. 64, j–m, which are smaller than ours. Cf. the graduated dippers and strainers from Pylos (Pylos, I, pp. 366–366, Shapes 20–25, figs. 385–385b); in size our fragment agrees most closely with the largest, Shape 25. Cf. also 484, and p. 140.
Myc. III B–C:1.

P 15518. P.H. 0.059 m., D. base 0.091 m. Mouth, much of shoulder and handles missing; restored in plaster.
Pinkish buff clay, hard lustrous cream surface; streaky red to brown glaze.
Bottom slightly convex with small flattened central part; straight wall and angular shoulder; probably three loop handles. Encircling bands on shoulder and wall.
Later than XXVIII–1 or 414.
See also p. 123.
Myc. III B.

460. Fragmentary Large Hydria. Pl. 62.
P 15529. P.H. 0.183 m., P.W. 0.37 m. Preserved is a large piece of the wall with one horizontal loop handle, giving nearly half the circumference of the handle zone; also many non-joining fragments.
Gritty orange-buff clay with lustrous cream slip or surfacing outside; not well smoothed; orange-red semi-lustrous paint, crackled but adhering well.
Fragment probably comes from a large globular hydria.
Horizontal encircling bands in pairs above and below handle; outside of handle glazed and extending downward in an arc on wall of vase to top of lower banding; traces of a zone of hook spirals rising from uppermost band above handle zone.
Furumark, M.P., Type 128 (p. 44, fig. 7), Myc. III B–C:1; Mot. 51: 23 (p. 366, fig. 63), Myc. III B–C:1.
Cf. Korakou, p. 69, fig. 100. No complete hydria of this scale was found in the Fountain but some fragments (Fountain, p. 398, fig. 79) may have come from such; for pothook spirals cf. ibid., p. 397, fig. 78, a, c, j. Nothing similar from Pylos. Cf. XII-8 and 476. See also p. 125. Myc. III B–C:1.

461. Fragment of Lid of “Incense-Burner.” Pl. 62. P 15530. Max. dim. 0.118 m. Fragment from center of lid with attachment for small loop handle.

Gritty reddish brown clay, like cooking-pot fabric; unglazed.

Slightly domed shape; pierced with holes about 0.008–0.009 m. in diameter.


462. Fragment of Pithos, Plastic Decoration. Pl. 62. P 15533. P.H. 0.145 m., P.W. 0.225 m. Two joining fragments from wall of pithos.

Very coarse gritty terracotta brown fabric; unglazed.

Raised horizontal band with careless ladder ornament in relief.

Furumark, M.P., Type 13 (p. 75, fig. 21). Cf. Korakou, p. 73, fig. 106; Fountain, p. 399, fig. 80, e. Except for the unusual example from Pylos (Pylos, I, p. 394, Shape 55 b, fig. 381) with all over moulded rope bands, the other storage jars are plain or have painted decoration. See also p. 140. Myc. III.

463. Boss or Knob from Pithos (?). Pl. 62. P 15534. P.H. 0.046 m., D. knob ca. 0.058 m. Broken from wall of large heavy vessel. Gritty brown clay, gray at core; pithos fabric.

Flat-topped knob with low concave sides, the top decorated with incised radial lines.

Cf. the similar knob with radial lines from the North Slope (A.P. 1451, Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 567, fig. 19, a) which is classified as a lug from a storage vase. See also p. 140. Myc. III.

464. Fragmentary Pithos, Undecorated. Pl. 62. P 15532. H. 0.66 m., D. 0.462 m. Mended from many pieces; a few fragments missing.

Thick reddish buff clay, coarse with grits; well smoothed; unglazed. Handmade?

Small mouth with splayed and bevelled lip; short neck which flows into long ovoid body with small flat base; two loop handles set horizontally high on shoulder.

Shape not closely matched in Furumark but closer to M.P., Type 13 (p. 75, fig. 21) with addition of handles than to more organic belly-amphora, Type 58 (p. 36, fig. 8). See also p. 140. Myc. III B–C.

465. Fragmentary Wide-mouthed Burnished Jar. Pl. 62. P 15531. Est. D. lip ca. 0.185 m., est. D. base ca. 0.15 m. Two large non-joining fragments, each made up of a number of pieces; and seven small non-joining fragments: a, preserves about one-half of mouth and shoulder, b, about one-half of base and lower wall.

Coarse ruddy brown clay, dark gray at core and over most of outside; outside and inside of rim highly burnished. Handmade (?).

Flat base with wide mouth and high slightly splayed rim.

Although the fabric resembles Mycenaean cooking-pot ware, the burnish is unusual, and the shape differs markedly from the characteristic Mycenaean cooking pot on tripod legs (e.g., Fountain, p. 399, fig. 81, a–b). In shape it resembles the Middle Helladic cooking pots 343–345, two from wells on the Northwest Slope, and the possibility exists that this is considerably earlier than the rest of the fill of the well. See also p. 141. Middle to Late Helladic?


Orange-pink clay; bands of red glaze.

Creature wears a curly topknot and is classified by Elizabeth French as a horse with curling forelock. Bands of paint down middle of back, around neck, tail and start of legs.

Cf. animal figurines from the Argive Heraion (Prosymna, II, figs. 613–616), none of which has this type of topknot; they seem rather to represent bulls or cows (cf. Prosymna, I, pp. 360–365). Cf. also Korakou, p. 107, fig. 182.

Dated Late Helladic III B from fill of well by Mrs. French.

467. Stone Button. Pls. 63, 77. ST 291. H. 0.019 m., D. 0.08 m. Chipped at lower edge. Polished black stone.

A squat cone, vertically pierced.

Cf. Prosymna, II, fig. 602, 2 (“short cone”). Late Helladic III.
468. Fragment of Stone Axe or Hammer. Pl. 63.
ST 290. P.L. 0.05 m., H. 0.044 m., T. 0.04 m. About half preserved. Hard gray stone, highly polished.
The pointed end of an axe or hammer, bored vertically for a handle.
Stone tools in Mycenaean contexts are something of a rarity, but see Korakou, p. 109 and fig. 183, 7, 9.
Cf. also XXIX-4.
Late Helladic (?).

469. Fragment of Stone Mortar. Pl. 63.
ST 322. H. 0.071 m., est. D. ca. 0.35 m. About one-quarter circumference preserved. Gray volcanic stone.
Shallow bowl with rounded sides, plain lip and flat bottom. The inside much worn.
Cf. the well-preserved mortar and pestle (Fountain, p. 412, fig. 94).
Late Helladic.

470. Fragment of Whetstone. Pl. 63.
ST 323. P.H. 0.065 m., max. W. 0.017 m. One corner of a thin rectangular slab of light grayish yellow sandstone.
Sides and bottom worked smooth, the top deeply worn.
Cf. Korakou, p. 108, fig. 188, 8.
Late Helladic.

IL 724. Max. L. as bent 0.52 m. A large crumpled sheet of lead. Possibly a basin because D. of mouth seems large in proportion to H.
Cf. the crumpled lead sheathings found in the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain (Fountain, pp. 415–416, fig. 100) and Broneer’s suggestion that they were used for covers of vessels of some perishable material.
The discovery of our example in a near-by well would lend support to the theory that these vessels were used to draw water. Broneer comments on the large amount of lead from Mycenaean deposits in Athens, and believes this indicates Athenian control of the mines at Laureion. Cf. now also the crumpled lead basin from drain beneath corridor of Citadel House at Mycenae (B.C.H., LXXXV, 1961, p. 669, fig. 8).
Late Helladic.

**Mycenaean Well (S 27:7)**

472–478; Pls. 63, 67

Discovered in the spring of 1939, this well was situated almost one hundred meters to the southwest of Well V 24:1, only a few meters to the west of the Klepsydra and in the region where the prehistoric wells are most numerous. The shaft was originally almost rectangular, about 1.10 to 1.15 m. on the side, but the sides had collapsed rather badly in the upper 4.00 meters, so that the general impression was that of a circular well with a diameter of about 1.50 m. The well was 6.25 meters deep with a little black hardpan in the bottom and a number of large fragments of small vases, possibly representing a use fill; among these was 472, a fragmentary late Granary style skyphos. The upper fill to about 1.25 m. was mixed with Byzantine, and contained a Neolithic Red Burnished sherd included in our Neolithic Catalogue (22). Below this there was clean dry bedrock and a purely Mycenaean fill.

On the basis of the pottery, particularly that at the bottom which may represent the period of use, this well is later than V 24:1, and belongs with the latest material in the fill of the Fountain, the mature Granary style of Myc. III C. When combined with the evidence from the pits and cuttings under the paved court of the Klepsydra (T 26–27:2), one might conclude that after the serious threat to Athens toward the end of the thirteenth century, which led to the construction of the Fountain, there was a period of relative calm. At this time when the Fountain had fallen into disrepair and was filled up, the inhabitants of the Acropolis were free to draw their water outside, making use of the natural springs at the Klepsydra and of Well S 27:7, which was dug in the area where the water table was high. If these were within the walled area of the Pelargikon (cf. Iakovides, *Myc. Acrop.*, p. 204, fig. 38), the historical picture may be somewhat different.

See also pp. 112, 154.
472. Fragmentary Skyphos. Pl. 68.
P 15081. From bottom of well. H. 0.194 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.16 m. Complete profile with base and about one half of upper wall with one handle preserved, restored in plaster.
Fairly fine fabric of dark orange-buff clay; streaky matt brownish black glaze.
Large deep cup with plain slightly flaring lip; ring foot; horizontal handles uptilted. Glazed inside and out; underside of foot reserved.

Furumark, M.P., Type 285 (p. 49, fig. 14), Myc. III C:1 late. Cf. Korakou, p. 71, fig. 108; Fountain, p. 370, fig. 49, c (Fountain, where this glazed group was less frequent than decorated skyphoi of transitional Myc. III B–C:1; completely absent from houses along northeast staircase, ibid., p. 366); B.S.A., XXV, 1921–1923, p. 83, fig. 9, a, f, pls. VIII, c, d, X, b, XI, m (strata X–XI of Lion Gate deposit and Granary). The examples from Pylos (Pylos, I, pp. 397–399, Shape 60, figs. 385–386) seem to me earlier than the advent of the true Granary style, those with fine painted decoration (e.g. Nos. 562, 576, 588, 591, 593, 1150) being more properly latest III B, and those covered with monochrome glaze (Nos. 594 and 1172), usually reddish rather than black, a local phenomenon (the foot and lip being quite different from the true Granary style skyphos).
See also pp. 130, 132.

Myc. III C:1 (advanced).

P 17298. P.H. 0.14 m., rest. H. 0.175 m., D. rim 0.165 m. Most of stem, foot, one handle and fragments of body missing; restored in plaster.
Poorly levigated buff clay; unglazed and unsurfacecd.
Deep rather pointed bowl with plain lip, very thin and chipped; two vertical band handles from rim.
Furumark, M.P., Type 274 (p. 61, fig. 17), Myc. III B–C:1 e. Similar to 433–435 from the “Kylix Pit” (O 7:4). See references ad loc.

Myc. III B–C:1 e.

P 15080. From ca. 5.50 m. H. 0.088 m., D. lip 0.122 m. Three joining pieces preserve complete cup.
Fine pinkish buff clay with a few grits; buff surface; matt redd streaky glaze.
Deep cup with plain slightly flaring lip; low ring foot; narrow vertical ribbon handle from lip. Inside waterproofed with reddish brown glaze; bands of same on handle.
Furumark, M.P., Type 215 (p. 49, fig. 14), Myc. III C:1. Somewhat later than the cups from the Fountain (Fountain, p. 378, fig. 59, b) and probably the latest in our series (cf. VII–23 and VI–1), being very close to an example from the Granary at Mycenae (B.S.A., XXV, 1921–1923, pl. XI, g) and one from Stratum X (ibid., p. 83, fig. 9 d). The form is not found at Pylos where the “teacup” of Furumark’s Type 220 lingers (Pylos, I, p. 360, Shape 12, figs. 353–354); cf. our 439 from O 7:4.
See also p. 129.

Myc. III C:1 (advanced).

475. Fragment of Closed Pot. Pl. 68.
P 17299. P.H. 0.068 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.11 m. Fragment preserving part of neck, rim and shoulder of medium-sized closed pot.

Whitish buff clay with almost white surface; some impurities; pale brown to black non-lustrous glaze.
Short straight neck with flat projecting rim and broad curving shoulder. Shape uncertain but resembles a three-handled pithoid jar. Neck glazed inside; rim decorated on top with arcs; on shoulder traces of a double loop between bands.

There is nothing really comparable from the Mycenaean Fountain, although projecting rims of kraters and kalathoi are often decorated with arcs, usually concentric (Fountain, pp. 352, 378, figs. 26, k, n, 54, o, t). The only pithoid jar from the Fountain (p. 387, fig. 68) has five handles and a much higher neck. However, the small pithoid jar with low neck and three handles continued on into Myc. III C (M.P., Type 49, p. 23, fig. 4) and it seems likely that our fragment belonged to such a jar. The fabric is unusual and certainly late.

Myc. III C (?).

476. Neck of Small Jug or Hydria (?). Pl. 63.
P 17300. P.H. 0.047 m., max. W. 0.047 m. Neck fragment of closed pot with stump of handle.

Fairly fine fabric of pinkish clay with whitish buff surface; black non-lustrous paint.
Fairly high straight neck with slightly flaring rim; stump of one vertical handle at middle of neck. Two encircling bands, one above handle attachment and second at junction of neck and shoulder.

All amphoras and jugs from the Mycenaean Fountain have the upper handle attachment at the rim (Fountain, pp. 398, 396, figs. 74, 76, b, 77, a–b). More likely a late coarse hydria type (M.P., Type 128, p. 35, fig. 7; Korakou, p. 69, fig. 100) where the neck is tall and narrow, with a rolled rim, set off from the shoulder by a band of paint, and where the vertical handle springs from below the lip.

Myc. III B–C:1.

477. Wall Fragment of Closed Pot, Amphora or Hydria. Pl. 68.
P 17301. P.H. 0.159 m., P.W. 0.263 m. Shoulder fragment of large closed pot.

Pinkish buff clay, buff surfacing; fabric soft and poorly finished; brown to black dull glaze.
MYCENAEAN DEPOSITS: STRATIFIED FILLS

Broad globular shape with three encircling bands. Cf. 460 from V 24:1 and fragments of large closed vessels from the Fountain (Fountain, p. 398, fig. 79). Myc. III B–C:1.

P 17892. P.H. 0.097 m., est. D. rim ca. 0.13 m. Non-joining fragments from neck, rim, and shoulder. Buff clay, soft with grits; unglazed. Short straight neck with grooves from wheel not smoothed out; rounded rim; no trace of any handle and therefore probably a jug rather than an amphora. Cf. jugs from Mycenaean Fountain for the probable shape (Fountain, p. 396, fig. 77). Cf. 443 from Well K 6:1, which comes from a slightly earlier context. Myc. III B–C:1.

STRATIFIED FILLS

PITS AND CUTTINGS BENEATH PAVED COURT OF KLEPSYDRA (T 26–27:2)

479–482; Pl. 64

Hesperia, X, 1941, pp. 7–8; XII, 1943, pp. 205ff., 223.

During the investigations of the Classical Klepsydra by the late Arthur W. Parsons in the spring of 1938, two cuttings, an eastern and a western, were discovered beneath the paved court or cistern in front of the Fountain House. These cuttings, one of which measured 2.75 m. by 2.00 m. by 1.60 m. deep, were about 0.80 to 0.85 m. below the floor level of the building. They contained a fill ranging from black loose earth to grayish green sand with early pottery, most of which is latest Mycenaean. Apparently these pits collected the overflow from the Klepsydra. From the evidence of the pottery there was undoubtedly some exploitation of the Klepsydra at the very end of the Mycenaean period, at a time when the Mycenaean Fountain on the Acropolis had already fallen into disrepair, and when the near-by Well S 27:7 was in use or had just been abandoned. With the exception of 479 the pottery is in general later than the fill of S 27:7 and makes a transition to that of the Submycenaean Well U 26:4.1

See also p. 112.

479. Fragment of Krater. Pl. 64.
P 25843. P.H. 0.048 m., P.W. 0.072 m., est. D. ca. 0.215 m. Fragment of rim and side wall. Hard pinkish buff clay; lustrous red to brown glaze. Good fabric. Flat-topped projecting rim. Decoration: on top of rim, zigzag between single bands; on wall, panel pattern consisting of groups of verticals (five at left, none preserved at right) with facing arcade patterns between; at left beginning of what was probably an antithetic spiral.

Furumark, M.P., Type 281 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. III B; Mots. 50: 4, 8 (p. 363, fig. 62), Myc. III B–C:1; 75: 3, 17 (p. 414, fig. 72), Myc. III B–C:1. Very close to krater fragments from the Fountain. Cf. Fountain, pp. 352, fig. 26, d–f (pattern on rim: A.P. 2585–2587); 355, fig. 29, a, n (panel pattern: A.P. 2609, 2620). Cf. also the pattern on a skyphos (A.P. 1074, ibid., p. 368, fig. 45, b).

See also p. 122.
Advanced Myc. III B.

480. Fragment of Cup. Pl. 64.
P 25845. P.H. 0.05 m., D. foot 0.042 m. Base and part of lower wall only preserved. Rather thick pinkish buff hard clay; brown to black lustrous glaze, tending toward Geometric coloring. Ring foot and flaring wall. On outside, band of glaze at top of foot, and two more bands around wall close to line of break. On inside, covered with dark glaze with reserved circle at bottom; cross and three dots in quadrants of circle.

Probably Furumark, M.P., Type 242 (pp. 48–49, figs. 13–14), Myc. III B–C:2. Cf. Fountain, pp. 377–379, Shape 8, figs. 59, a, 60. Broneer (p. 379) points out the specifically Attic quality of this shape which seems to combine elements of the kylix and the skyphos. It is apparently a late development, as no examples were found in the houses on the northeast slope of the Acropolis.

In decoration our fragment agrees almost exactly with fragments from the Fountain (Fountain, p. 378, 1 This is the opinion of Evelyn Smithson who is publishing the Submycenaean and Protogeometric material.
fig. 60, j, k) with the exception of the addition of the cross and dots within the reserved circle. These last two features connect with Submycenaean; cf. the kylix P 17928 from Submycenaean Well U 24:2 which has a central cross within a reserved circle in interior of bowl, and bowl P 24246 with a Submycenaean conical foot which uses a central dot within a reserved circle.


481. Handle Fragment.  
Pl. 64.  
P 25844. P.H. 0.078 m., W. 0.025 m. Lower part of large vertical handle.  
Pinkish buff clay, rather hard and gritty; dull orange paint.  
Three deep sharp grooves run lengthwise. Lines of glaze in and over grooves.  
Probably from a large amphora like those from the Fountain (Fountain, p. 393, fig. 74); note the variety of handles shown in fig. 75, none of which is, however, identical to ours: a is grooved vertically but without the sharp lines, which resemble more the twisted rope handles (b-e), also enhanced with paint.  
Again a transitional link to Submycenaean; cf. the still more sharply grooved handle P 22554 from Well U 24:2.  
Myc. III C:1-2

482. Small Hydria.  
Pl. 64.  
P 16758. Hesperia, X, 1941, p. 8, fig. 7. H. 0.10 m., D. 0.086 m. Intact.  
Very red clay, thick and heavy for small size; lightly polished surface; red semi-lustrous paint.  
Tall narrow neck with thickened rim, slightly projecting; high shouldered and round bodied with rather heavy ring foot; vertical band handle from lip and two horizontally set band handles on shoulder.  
Horizontal band at base of neck with vertical strokes or tongues below; two encircling bands above handle attachments; wavy line in handle zone with two more bands below; vertical strokes on handles.  
Closer to the small jug shape, Furumark, M.P., Type 187 (p. 81, fig. 6), Myc. III C:1-2, than to the large hydria Type 128; Mots. 53: 20 (p. 373, fig. 75), Myc. III C:1 late; 72: 11, 12 (p. 411, fig. 71), Myc. III C:1.  
Cf. especially the small jugs from Perati (Epyov, 1956, p. 28, fig. 22, 531) and Asine (Asine, p. 401, fig. 263, 1). The thick rolled rim and biconical shape with substantial base-ring are likewise characteristic of the Perati jug. I know of no other example where side handles have transformed the shape into a hydria.  
See also p. 125.  

SOUTH ROAD (O–Q 16–17)  
483–484; Pls. 64, 75  
Hesperia, XXV, 1956, pp. 47–49.

These important excavations beneath the South Road in the area of the Mint and Southeast Fountain House took place in the spring of 1955 and the summer of 1956 and have been referred to in the Annual Report. Two deep exploratory trenches revealed above bedrock a stratified deposit of the Middle and Late Helladic periods with a thickness of about 1.50 meters. Although there were no associated structural remains, the volume of pottery was sufficient to attest habitation within the area later occupied by the Agora or its immediate environs. The traffic-beaten gravelled surfaces imply the existence of a thoroughfare at the south side of the Agora leading toward the Acropolis. The fact that the fill is stratified with the Middle Helladic underlying the Mycenaeans shows that it was not a later dump fill and implies the existence of a road from Middle Helladic times onwards. The pottery was very fragmentary, and only a few pieces were individually worth cataloguing, although collectively the evidence is very important. From the lower levels came many fragments of Gray Minyan, a few sherds of Yellow Minyan, much Mattpainted, including a few fine sherds which have been included in the Catalogue (311, 335, 337) as well as many fragments of heavy pithoi and other coarse ware, including cooking pots. There were also some stone querns. From the upper strata, although some Minyan was still present, considerable quantities of Mycenaeans were found. Kylix stems were particularly plentiful, many unglazed, some completely covered with glaze, and a few with traces of

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banding or painted decoration. There were also a number of fragments of fairly large closed pots, some with painted decoration, but nothing distinctive as to shape or dating. Good lustrous red glaze, however, was present on certain fragments, suggesting a Myc. III A or early III B dating for some of the material. Only a few fragments of skyphoi or material recognizably analogous to the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain were observed. There was also a quantity of coarse pithos and cooking-pot ware, including one tripod leg. In general the material seems to have an earlier range than the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain and is closer to that found in the rubbish deposits at the northeast corner of the Agora (O 7:14 and P 8:9); however the material is much more fragmentary and less easily analyzed, and we have included only two items in the Catalogue.

See also pp. 52, 113.

483. Kylix Foot. Pls. 64, 75.

P 25720. From sand in bedrock cutting, south of mid part of Southeast Fountain House. D. foot 0.07 m. Most of foot with beginning of bowl preserved.

Heavy orange-buff micaceous fabric; dull red glaze. Flaring foot with countersunk depression underneath; bowl begins directly with no intervening stem.

Probably Furumark, M.P., Type 263 (p. 60, fig. 16), Myc. I-II. Cf. XXII-1, XXIII-4, XXIV-12 to 14, XXIX-1. These other examples have been dated from their contexts to Myc. III A and we have suggested that this early type of deep-bowled kylix had a long life in Attica. The present example is rather heavy and poorly shaped; from its context it could be earlier (cf. Korakou, pp. 43-44, figs. 59-60, L.H. I monochrome goblets), but the fabric resembles the provincial examples cited. Myc. II-III.

484. Fragmentary Ladle. Pl. 64.

P 25786. Scarp south of Mint; Layer 6, bottom of gully. H. including handle 0.105 m. About half of bowl with complete handle preserved.

Orange micaceous clay, unglazed and not well smoothed.

Small footless bowl with large high-swung handle having groove running down center.

Furumark, M.P., Type 236 (pp. 48-49, figs. 13-14), Myc. III B-C:1. Cf. 458 from V 24:1 and references cited.

See also p. 140.

Myc. III B-C:1.

3. MYCENAEAN POTTERY WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT CONTEXT

485-504; Pls. 64, 75-76

Here are presented the more important Mycenaean pots and fragments without significant context, namely, those that cannot be associated with any group of tombs or any deposit closed in the Mycenaean Age. We have already included a few miscellaneous finds where it seemed likely that they came from destroyed tombs in the area (410-412, perhaps to be associated with destroyed tombs on the Kolonos Agoraios, and 413-424, pottery almost certainly from destroyed tombs under the Stoa of Attalos). In the present group, however, the fragments are arranged according to period, since their original provenience is more obscure.

485. Lower Part of Three-handled Jar. Pl. 64.

P 5432. L 10: from loose white earth at bottom of wall trench of Burnt Building. From destroyed tomb in area? P.H. 0.095 m., D. base 0.037 m. Two contiguous fragments preserve base and part of piriform body up to handle zone.

Fine buff clay with creamy surface, lightly polished; red to brownish black glaze, carelessly applied.

Broad piriform body contracting to small ring foot. Broad band of glaze around base and lower part; on shoulder two narrow encircling bands and slanting lines above them.

Furumark, M.P., Type 44 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:1-2; Mot. 64: 21 (p. 397, fig. 69), Myc. III A:2. Cf. V-4, XVIII-1, XXIII-3, XXXVII-1.

Myc. III A:2.

486. Lower Part of Three-handled Jar. Pl. 64.

P 5433. L 10: wall trench of Burnt Building, white earth. From destroyed tomb in area? P.H. 0.087 m.,
D. base 0.04 m. Four joining fragments preserve base and lower part of body.

Clay pink to buff with creamy buff surfacing; not very well smoothed.

Piriform body contracting to small ring foot; apparently undecorated.

Probably Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. III A:1. Cf. VII-13 and references.


487. Fragment of a Stirrup-Vase. Pl. 64.
P 5434. L 10: from white earth at bottom of wall trench of Burnt Building. From destroyed tomb in area? Max. dim. 0.051 m. Piece from shoulder of a small closed pot with one handle attachment preserved.

Hard gray-buff fine clay with polished surface; brown glaze paint.

Probably from shoulder of small globular stirrup-vase with lower attachment of one stirrup handle broken off. Parallel chevrons on shoulder; broad and narrow bands below.

Furumark, M.P., Type 171 (pp. 30-31, figs. 5-6), Myc. III A:2; Mot. 19: 25 (p. 299, fig. 47), Myc. III A:2-B. Cf. the stirrup-vases II-1 and V-3 from Myc. III A:2 contexts.

See also pp. 127-128.

Myc. III A:2.

488. Fragment from Shoulder of Closed Pot. Pl. 64.
P 21182. N 7: foundations of south wall of late Roman house. Max. dim. 0.085 m. Fragment from shoulder.

Reddish clay with hard surface; not very lustrous orange-red paint.

Probably from shoulder of three-handled jar (no handles preserved). Scale pattern, very carelessly painted, on shoulder; three bands beneath.

Myc. III A (provincial?)

489. Fragment of Alabastron. Pl. 64.
P 8054. M-P 6-12: mixed late Roman fill. Max. dim. 0.073 m. Fragment from shoulder of squat alabastron, broken all around.

Pink-buff clay with polished cream surface; brown to black lustrous paint, cracked and worn.

From a fairly large and low squat alabastron. Neck glazed; row of dots below; wave pattern at junction of shoulder and bottom; curving streamer pattern on shoulder; nothing of pattern on bottom preserved.

Furumark, M.P., Type 84 (p. 41, fig. 11), Myc. III A:1; Mot. 13: 8 (p. 275, fig. 37), Myc. III A:1; 32: 5 (p. 323, fig. 54), Myc. I-III B.

This is probably a somewhat smaller version of the two large alabastra from the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides (I-5 and 6); unfortunately pattern on bottom not preserved, but concentric circles likely.


490. Fragmentary Feeding Bottle. Pl. 64.
P 12680. P 8:5 (6th c. well but Mycenaean figurine T 1653 from same deposit). P.H. 0.056 m., D. of mouth 0.045 m. Part of neck, rim, and shoulder with the spout preserved.

Rather coarse pale buff clay; thin brownish black glaze outside and on interior of neck.

Rounded shoulder, the spout set at an angle; flaring lip with stumps of basket handle set parallel to spout.

Cf. XIV-7 and references.

Probably from a disturbed child’s grave in vicinity. Myc. III A:2 (?)

491. Fragment of Three-handled Jar. Pl. 64.
P 22355. P 16: mixed fill to late Roman. Max. dim. 0.056 m. Broken all around but preserving one vertical strap handle.

Light pinkish clay with buff surfacing; glaze light red to brown, rather worn.

From three-handled jar with vertical handles. Handle glazed; net pattern on shoulder; two horizontal bands below.

Furumark, M.P., Type 23 (p. 22, fig. 3), Myc. III A:1; Mot. 57: 2 (p. 398, fig. 67), Myc. III A:1-C:1. Cf. I-10 and references.

Myc. III A.

492. Fragment of Three-handled Jar. Pl. 64.
P 24748. P 17: debris on early house wall, mixed with sherds as late as sixth century B.C. P.H. 0.058 m. Two joining fragments from shoulder preserving one horizontal loop handle.

Pinkish buff clay, hard and fairly well smoothed; orange-red glaze paint, worn.

Probably from shoulder of small piriform jar with three loop handles. Neck glazed inside and out; handle glazed; three lines around base of neck; groups of vertical lines in shoulder zone; trace of encircling band below.

Furumark, M.P., Type 44 (p. 23, fig. 4), Myc. III A:2; Mot. 64: 22 (p. 397, fig. 69), Myc. III A:1-C:1. Cf. V-4 and XXXVII-1.

Myc. III A:2.

493. Fragment of Kylix (?). Pl. 64.
P 22334. M 16: Hellenistic fill. P.H. 0.222 m., P.W. 0.063 m. Rim fragment of open bowl.

Greenish gray clay, fairly fine orange-brown to black glaze, mostly gone.

Fragment with curving wall and flaring offset lip, probably from a kylix or small stemmed krater. Rim glazed; on body part of spiral and triangular filling pattern.

Furumark, M.P., Type 259 (?) (p. 61, fig. 17), Myc. III A:2 late; probably some version of Mot. 46 (p. 357, fig. 60).
Decorated kylikes are rare in the Agora; cf. VII–16 and 426.

See also p. 127.

Myc. III A:2 (?)

494. Fragment of Undecorated Kylix. Pl. 64.
P 23936. M 16: from Hellenistic disturbance beside bottom of median wall of Shop Building. Max. dim. 0.07 m. Handle and upper part of wall only.

Pinkish buff clay with bits; unglazed.

From a kylix with angular profile and band handle from lip to below carination.

Furumark, M.P., Type 267 (p. 61, fig. 17), Myc. III B–C:1. Cf. 436–438 from “Kylix Pit” (O 7:4) and references.

Myc. III B–C.

495. Six Kylix Stems. Pl. 64.
P 25288. Geometric Well, S 18:1. Hesperia, XXX, 1961, p. 125, l. 66, pl. 22; Brann, Agora, VIII, Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery, p. 19, note 81. P.H. range from 0.045 to 0.06 m. Base and bowl broken off and trimmed in late 8th century to be used as bobbins.

Mostly soft yellow to pinkish buff rather coarse clay, unpolished and unglazed.

Too mutilated to analyze for type and date. The significant fact about these kylix stems is their discovery and re-use in the Late Geometric period, when the intensive exploitation of the Agora area both for habitation and for a cemetery must have uncovered many Mycenaean graves (see Brann, op. cit., pp. 15, 19, 51 and passim on the possible Mycenaean revival in the eighth century).

Myc. III.

496. Rim Fragment of Skyphos. Pl. 64.
P 14686. R 20: Byzantine fill. P.H. 0.088 m., P.W. 0.083 m. Fragment preserves part of rim.

Pinkish buff clay; flaky red paint.

From a deep bowl with slightly outcurved rim. Design on wall: a cross reserved against a red disc; circle of dots outlining disc.

Furumark, M.P., Type 281 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. III B; Mot. 18: 36, 39–41 (p. 291, fig. 44), Myc. III B.

Cf. Fountain, p. 359, fig. 36, b; Zygouries, p. 146, fig. 137, 4, 6; Prosymna, I, pl. VIII, 231.

See also p. 144.

Myc. III B.

497. Handle Fragment from Skyphos. Pl. 64.
P 23071. N 16: South Terrace, Cut VI, miscellaneous find. P.H. 0.049 m., P.W. 0.056 m. Broken all around, with horizontal loop handle preserved intact.

Pinkish buff hard clay; fairly lustrous red glaze.

From side of skyphos. Outside reserved save for row of dots on handle and two stripes of glaze below; inside glazed with reserved band near edge of break at bottom.

Furumark, M.P., Type 284 (pp. 48–49, figs. 13–14), Myc. III B–C:1.

For decoration cf. scheme of certain skyphoi from the Mycenaean Fountain (A.P. 2745 and 2747, Fountain, p. 369, fig. 48, d, f). These lack the row of nest dots on the handle.

Myc. III B–C:1.

498. Fragment of Small Krater. Pl. 64.
P 15383. Q–R 20: Turkish fill. P.H. 0.041 m., P.W. 0.081 m. Fragment preserves part of rim and wall.

Light buff rather heavy clay; not very lustrous brown paint.

From open bowl with vertical wall and flat outturned rim, probably a small krater.

Glazed band on rim and extending down on interior and exterior; inside unglazed; on wall a pattern composed of three sets of concentric ares with row of dots outside, probably some form of Mycenaean flower.

Furumark, M.P., Type 285 (p. 48, fig. 13), Myc. III B; Mot. 18: 36, 39–41 (p. 291, fig. 44), Myc. III B.

Cf. Fountain, p. 359, fig. 36, b; Zygouries, p. 146, fig. 137, 4, 6; Prosymna, I, pl. VIII, 231.

See also p. 144.

Myc. III B.

499. Base of Shallow Bowl. Pl. 64.
P 23068. M–N 14–15: tumbled in Well, Hellenistic fill. P.H. 0.021 m., P.D. 0.07 m. Floor and ring foot of shallow bowl.

Pinkish buff hard clay, rather fine; non-lustrous red paint.

Shallow bowl with ring foot. Inside two concentric circles around floor.

Furumark, M.P., Type 285 (p. 53, fig. 15), Myc. III B–C:1. Cf. Fountain, pp. 379–380, Shape 9, figs. 61–62, especially g and h.

Myc. III B–C:1.

500. Fragment from Pyxis (?). Pls. 64, 75.
P 24789. Q 17: Roman fill in cistern drawshaft. P.H. 0.058 m., P.D. 0.07 m. Rim, handle, and part of wall preserved.

Thin buff fabric, hard and wheelmade; non-lustrous blackish glaze.

Small round-bodied pot with offset rim and angular shoulder; probably two vertical loop handles set on shoulder and rising slightly above rim. Bands of glaze on side, lip, and top of handle.
Probably Furumark, M.P., Type 98 (p. 44, fig. 12), Myc. III C:1. Cf. Fountain, pp. 388–385, Shape 15, figs. 65, k–p, 66, a. Our example seems earlier than fig. 66, a and more like the fragments, fig. 65, k–p.

See also p. 128.

Myc. III C:1.

501. Fragment of a Pyxis (?).

P 23639. M 15: Hellenistic disturbance by median wall of Shop Building. P.H. 0.04 m. Part of flat bottom and straight side of closed pot.

Buff clay with polished surface; decoration in light and dark brown glaze, not well preserved.

From a straight-sided pyxis? On wall a single zigzag between two verticals in light brown paint; to left part of a broad curved line and two oblique strokes, perhaps in connection with handle attachment.

See 500 and references.

Myc. III C:1.


P 25416. P 7:3: Late Geometric Well. Brann, Well K, Hesperia, XXX, 1961, p. 117, K 9 (not illustrated). P.H. 0.049 m., max. dim. top 0.085 m.

Heavy fabric with impurities; light buff at surface. Remains of red paint on top.

Irregularly flat disc on top with rough projections on both sides where stirrup handles broken off; cylindrical neck below. A hole made before firing is pierced through better preserved handle projection.

Probably from a large coarse stirrup-jar of Furumark’s Type 164 (pp. 36–97, figs. 8–9), Myc. II–III C:1. Cf. the examples from the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae (The Mycenaean Tablets, II, 1968, figs. 32–97).

Myc. III.

503. Fragment from Wall of Octopus Stirrup-Vase.

P 15382. R 21: pocket in bedrock. P.H. 0.05 m., P.W. 0.087 m. Broken all around; from side of closed pot, near shoulder.

Light grayish buff clay, cream surface; red to brown glaze, badly worn.

Probably from a large stirrup-jar of Late Eastern type with octopus decoration. Two facing spirals with large central eyes reserved against a red to brown ground of indeterminate but ivy-leaf shape answering closely to the upper part of an octopus; the whole motif framed by a fine pattern of short fringed lines; trace of tentacle at upper left, similarly fringed. The absence of further tentacles is rather curious, if this is to be restored as an octopus (cf. Pl. 76).

Furumark, M.P., Type 176 (p. 31, fig. 6), Myc. III C:1; Mot. 21: 25–27 (p. 305, fig. 49), Myc. III C:1.

The most recent discussion of the Octopus stirrup-jars is found in Desborough, L. Mys., p. 16 and passim with complete list in Appendix B (pp. 271–272). He illustrates a new example from Naxos and two of the Perati jars on pl. 6, with the Kos jar on the frontispiece. For Rhodian examples cf. Ialysos, pp. 119 ff., figs. 39, 64, 99, pl. II; C.V.A., Rodi, II A c, pls. 2, 7–8; 10, 1–2; 11, 1; 13, 1; C.V.A., Br. Mus. III a, pl. 7, 16, a. Other examples: Perati, Epycov, 1954, p. 11, figs. 10–11; Porto Rafti Road, Attica, pl. 2, 3; Scoglio del Tonno, Taylour, M.P.I., pl. 14, 12.

Although very fragmentary this is an important addition to the Mycenaean pottery from the Agora, as it points to connections with the eastern Mediterranean in the Myc. III C period, connections that have so far been discovered only at Perati and the Porto Rafti Road cemetery in eastern Attica, with the exception of the example found unstratified in the Dipylon (Kerameikos, I, pl. 5).

Technically this fragment connects with some of the latest material from the Mycenaean Fountain; note the reserved technique (Fountain, pp. 356–357, figs. 30, 32, j, k, and p. 420) and the fine fringed outlines (ibid., p. 359, fig. 36, e–g), fragments which are however less fine than 503.

See also pp. 124, 147.

Myc. III C:1 (probably imported from Aegean or eastern Attica).

504. Undecorated Askos.

P 3877. K 14:1: Collector’s Dump, ranging from Mycenaean to Turkish. H. 0.157 m., L. without neck 0.175 m. Part of handle and side walls missing.

Coarse pinkish buff clay, unevenly fired, with many inclusions. Top of body has sagged out of shape before firing. Traces of a light slip (?).

Squat body with low foot well stabilized; short flaring spout rises at an oblique angle; small ribbon handle from base of spout to top of body. Undecorated.


See also pp. 138–139.

Myc. III A–B.
APPENDIX

PLANT REMAINS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA
NEOLITHIC TO BYZANTINE

In 1959 Dr. Maria Hopf of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz made a botanical study of plant materials found in the Agora. This was presented as an informal typewritten report with four photographic plates, the pertinent information being recorded on the pottery inventory cards, where this author had access to the findings and made use of the conclusions, particularly important for the Neolithic period. (Our references in the Catalogue are to this unpublished Botanical Report.) However, it has belatedly seemed appropriate to include a revised version of this report as an appendix to Athenian Agora, XIII, although the last six entries dealing with actual seed and plant material fall outside the chronological limits of this volume. Unfortunately, it is not possible at this late date to include the photographic plates. Dr. Hopf has translated her original report and brought it up to date to make reference to her more recent studies of plant material from Lerna and Thessaly. The material is arranged chronologically in two series: A) inclusions in pottery and B) charred seeds and fruits. Numbers in parentheses refer to our Catalogue Numbers.

Athens, October 7, 1970

S.A.I.

A. Inclusions in Pottery

   A naked barley grain, measuring 5.8×3.3×2.8 mm.; the ventral side is incomplete at the right lower end, and at the base, whereas the whole back is preserved; it seems to be symmetrically built, but as there is neither glume nor rachilla, it cannot be decided whether the grain came from a two- or many-rowed ear.

   Hordeum vulgare L. var. nudum—naked barley.

   A flat triangular, somewhat wrinkled pulse seed, 5.0×4.5 mm.; position and shape of hilum, which would help to identify the seed, is not to be seen; judging from its size and shape, it may belong to Vicia ervilia (L.) Willd. (Bitter Vetch) or a species of the genus Lathyrus.

   A round leguminous seed with slightly flattened sides, ca. 5.8 mm. in diameter, with no criteria for a more precise identification, probably a pea, cf. Pisum.

4. P 13964. Middle Helladic Pithos Fragment (366).
   The ventral side of a big barley corn, its left lower part is missing, the furrow is very narrow in its lower half; in the upper half bits of the vascular string and at the top the fluff of apical hair are preserved; the total length (with hair) is 8.0 mm., the width 3.5 mm.

   Hordeum vulgare L. var. nudum—naked barley.

5. P 9744. Middle Helladic Coarse Bowl (342).
   The ventral side of a flat, slender grain, the base is incomplete, the furrow widens in the middle of the grain. (6.0)×2.7 mm.

   Hordeum vulgare L. cf. nudum—barley, perhaps naked.

6. P 9744. Same vessel as above.
   A big grape pip, without stalklet, measuring (6.0)×5.0 mm.

   Vitis vinifera L.—vine.

   Grape pip as above, but left side is incomplete, and the stalklet is preserved; 6.7×(4.8) mm.

   Vitis vinifera L.—vine.

   A flat round shell of a snail, most probably a sea-snail. The slightly ribbed shell measures 3.0 mm. in diameter.

Measurements in parentheses are taken from incomplete seeds.
Back of a barley corn, the longitudinal nerves of which show; the awn is broken off. (8.0) × 4.0 mm.
Hordeum vulgare L.—hulled barley.

The ventral side of a barley corn, the lower part covered by the interior glume. (6.0) × 2.7 mm.

B. CHARRED SEEDS AND FRUITS

Carbonized grapes, more or less damaged or broken, some of them showing 1 or 2 pips in the interior, from which it can be concluded that there must have been 3 or 4, as is common with wild and not highly cultivated species. The measurements are (8.0–15.0) 10.65 × (6.5–15.0) 9.95 mm.
Vitis vinifera L.—vine.

2. Early Geometric Grave, D 16:2.
Carbonized figs, considerably shrunk, but still showing their original shape and measuring (28.0–35.0) 31.7 × (15.0–20.0) 17.3 mm. (see Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, p. 282, pl. 66, 4).

3. Byzantine Granary, Area T-U 22.
a). 12 barley grains, some of them twisted as is usual with lateral grains in many-rowed ears. (5.8–7.1) 6.25 × (2.3–3.2) 2.8 mm.
Hordeum vulgare L. polystichum—many-rowed, hulled barley.
b). 4 grains belonging to a wheat species; but since they differ very much in shape and size and are broken or puffed, it cannot be determined with certainty, although it is likely, that it is bread wheat. Triticum cf. aestivum L.—(bread?) wheat.
c). Among the grain there are cotyledons of a leguminous seed, which could not be identified, as the seed shell with the hilum is gone.

4. Byzantine Apotheke or Granary, Area T 22.
A larger sample which consists of barley only; the grains are well-preserved and not puffed, showing their original shape. Some are twisted; quite a number of smaller and bigger fragments of glumes, which have fallen off, are also preserved. The average measurements are almost the same as in the above sample, though the range of variation is much wider. (4.0–8.0) 6.23 × (2.1–3.6) 2.94 mm.
Hordeum vulgare L. polystichum—many-rowed, hulled barley.

The remains of food plants found in the Athenian Agora can be summarized as follows:

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Up to now very little plant material from Greek sites is known, even from Classical times. Only the mound of Lerna in the Argolid produced a large number of seeds and fruits from Neolithic to Classical strata (M. Hopf, Züchter, XXXI, 1961, pp. 239ff.; Jahrb. Röm.-Germ. Zentralmus., IX, 1962, pp. 1ff.). In Thessaly plant remains were found on several sites (see Milojčić, Boessneck, Hopf, "Die deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Argissa-Magula," Thessalica, I, 1962, pp. 101ff., and J. Renfrew, Thessalika, V, 1966, pp. 21ff.).

The Agora plants here described are also represented at one or the other of the above-mentioned places. However, it is quite remarkable that naked barley existed already in Neolithic central Greece, whereas from contemporary northern finds only hulled barley is described.
Furthermore it may be of interest that grapes and figs occurred in graves at the same place and period, and apparently were used in the same way during funerals. In Lerna these two fruit species superseded each other; up to E.H. II quite a lot of charred figs, and only figs, were found; beginning with E.H. III there were grape pips and berries, but no more figs. Only in E.H. II pottery, perhaps belonging to and coming with invaders, some impressions of grape pips could be identified. According to B. Logothetis (‘Η Ἐξέλιξις τῆς Αμπέλου καὶ τῆς Ἀμπελουργίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τὰ Ἀρχαιολογικά Εὑρήματα τῆς Περιοχῆς, Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστήμιου Θσσαλονίκης, 1970), who gives a survey of all prehistoric grapes from Greece, the oldest, i.e. Neolithic, grapes are known from Macedonia (Photoleivous); all the grapes found more southward are younger. And the pips included in the Agora pottery (342 and 282) are not older than Middle Helladic. So, perhaps, the vine came to Greece from the north.


Maria Hoff
## CONCORDANCE

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Red Burnished Biconical Jars, Late Neolithic
Fragments of Red Burnished Biconical Jars, Neolithic
Red Burnished Bowls, Neolithic
PLATE 4

Red Burnished Bowls, Neolithic
Red Burnished, Miscellaneous Shapes, Neolithic
Painted Ware, Neolithic

White Slipped Ware, Neolithic
Incised Ware, Neolithic (1:2)

Fragments of Scoops and Related Ware (1:2)

The Sesklo Scoop, Athens, National Museum (1:3)
Miscellaneous Fine Undecorated, Neolithic

Coarse Incised Ware, Neolithic (1:2)
Coarse Ware with Incisions, Impressions and Relief Decoration, Neolithic
Coarse Ware with Plastic Bands, Neolithic (1:2)
Handles, Coarse, Neolithic (1:2)

Miscellaneous Coarse, Neolithic
219. Neolithic Stone Statuette, Reclining Woman

220. Proto-Cycladic Terracotta Head (2:3)

221. Terracotta Figurine (2:3)

Neolithic Sculpture
PLATE 15

Neolithic Celts (1:3)

Neolithic Grinder and Millstones (1:3)

Neolithic Miscellaneous (1:2)
Early Helladic and Period of Lerna IV
Argive and Gray Minyan
289 Gray Minyan (1:3, except 291, 1:2)  
290

Yellow Minyan (1:2)
Dark-on-Light Matte Painted Ware
Dark-on-Light Coarse Mattpainted Ware (1:3)

Dark Mattpainted on Light Slip
Light-on-Dark Mattpainted Ware
Fine Matt-Painted Ware

331 (2:5)
332 (2:5)
333 (2:5)
334
335
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337
338
(1:1)
339
340 (1:3)
341 (1:3)
Middle Helladic Coarse Ware
Middle Helladic Coarse Ware
Middle Helladic Pithoi
PLATE 27

Miscellaneous Middle Helladic Coarse Ware

Early Well Burial (I 9:2)
PLATE 28

**Arrow Tip (1:2)**

**Obsidian Matrix (1:3)**

**Grinders (1:3)**

**Millstones etc. (1:8)**

**Blades, Loomweights (1:2)**

**Sawn Pieces of Antler (1:3)**

Miscellaneous Objects, Early and Middle Helladic
a. Dromos, looking South

b. Blocking Wall of Doorway, looking South

c. Objects in Northeast Corner of Chamber

d. Objects found on East Bench

e. Southwest Part of Chamber with Cist and Corner Slab

f. Cist in Southwest Corner, after Cleaning

Tomb I, Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides (N 21-22:1)
Photograph of Model

1. Jar

3. Jar

4. Jar

5. Alabastron

2. Jar

(1:5 except 1, 1:6)

Pottery on East Bench

Tomb I
Pottery from Northeast Corner (1:10)

Pottery from West Part of Chamber (2:5)

Fragmentary Vases from Dromos

Tomb I
Detail of Lion Handle

Detail of Fawn

Detail of Tree and Foliate Band

Drawing by Piet de Jong

Large Ivory Pyxis

Tomb I-16.
22. Bronze Lamp (1:5)

17. Small Ivory Pyxis (1:1)

20, 21. Fragments of Comb (?) (1:2)

24 19 23
18

Objects near Cist (2:5)

25–29. Gold Ornaments (1:2)

Tomb I
a. Cist Grave Cleared, looking Northeast

b. Vases and Bones along South Wall of Chamber

c. Dromos and Doorway looking South

d. Chamber looking North, Vases Replaced

Tomb II, Disturbed Tomb with Cist Grave (N 21:5)

Tomb III, Tomb of the Bronzes (M 21:2)
a. Chamber from West, Vases Replaced

b. Skeleton at East End, Remains of Table

Pottery from Tomb (1:5)

Tomb III, Tomb of the Bronzes (M 21:2)
Bronze Swords and Miscellaneous Objects

Tomb III
Tomb IV, Disturbed Chamber Tomb (M 21:3)

Tomb with Skeletons and Pots Looking West

Tomb V, Chamber Tomb on Hill of the Nymphs (A-B 18:1)
Grave looking West with Skeletons and Pot

Grave VI, Pit Grave with Burial of Two Children (A 18:4)

Objects from Disturbed Chamber Tombs on East Slope of Kolonos Agoraioi
Tomb VII, Chamber Tomb under Temple of Ares (J 7:2)
Pottery Associated with Later Interments (1:3)

Tomb VII
Mycenaean Burial

Graves C and D from West

Tomb VIII, Disturbed Chamber Tomb (J 8:4)

Tomb IX, Disturbed Chamber Tomb (J 8:1)
PLATE 42

Tomb X, from West

Double Grave XI

Tomb X, Disturbed Chamber Tomb (J 8:2)

Grave XI, Double Pit Grave (J 8:3)
Tomb XII, Unfinished Chamber Tomb (J 10:1)
a. Chamber from West
b. Dromos from North

(1:2)

Tomb XIII, Small Chamber Tomb (O 7:7)
a. Tomb as Cleared from North

b. West Niche with Wall Removed

c. Chamber with Skeletons

8. from Top Burial

Tomb XIV, Tomb of the Niches (O 7:5)
Tomb XIV

a. Chamber from East

b. Tomb with Final Monument Cutting at Right

Tomb XV, Small Chamber Tomb (O 7:2)
Grave XVI, Lily Bowl Grave (N 7:2)
Cist Grave XVII (O 7:3)

Tomb XVIII, Chamber Tomb (O 8:4)
PLATE 49

Tomb XVIII (O 8:4)

Cist Grave XIX (O 8:3)

Tomb XX, Child's Chamber Tomb (P 8:8)
Tomb XXI, Chamber Tomb (P 9:4)
From Dromos of Tomb XXII (Q 7:2)

Tomb XXIII, Chamber Tomb (Q 8:8)
Tomb XXIV, Chamber Tomb (Q 8:4)

22 (1:2)
23 (2:3)
24 (1:5)
Tomb XXIV from East and Above

Tomb XXV, Chamber Tomb under Late Roman Fortification (R 7:1)

View from Above

Tomb XXVI, Chamber Tomb (R 7:2)
Objects from Tomb XXVI

Grave XXVII (Q 7:5)

Grave XXVIII (Q 7:4)
Grave XXIX

Grave XXIX (P-Q 7:8:1)

Grave XXX (Q 8:13)

Tomb XXXI, Chamber Tomb (Q 10:3)
Tomb XXXII, Chamber Tomb (Q 10:2)

Tomb XXXIII, Chamber Tomb (Q 10:5)

Tomb XXXIV, Chamber Tomb (Q 10:6)

XXXV, Disturbed Burial (Q 9:1)
XXXVI, Disturbed Grave (R 10:4)

Pottery from Destroyed Graves under Stoa of Attalos
Grave XXXVII, Cist Grave (M 12:1)

Grave XXXVIII (M 12:2)

Grave XXXIX, Child's Grave (N 12:1)

Offerings from Grave XXXIX
Tomb XL from Southwest, Dromos and Doorway

Burials C and D in Position, Vase Returned

Tomb XL, Tomb with Coffins (N 12:4)
Deposit in Front of Northeast Stoa (O 7:14)
Grave XLI-1 (1:4)

Mycenaean Bothros (P 8:9)

The Kylix Pit (O 7:4)

Well (H 11:2)

Well (K 6:1)
PLATE 62

Pottery from Well (V 24:1)
Miscellaneous Objects, Well (V 24:1)

Pottery from Well (S 27:7)
PLATE 64

Pits and Cuttings under Klepsydra (T 26-27:2)

From O-Q 16-17

Mycenaean Pottery without Significant Context
Shapes of Mycenaean Pottery
Kylix with High-swung Handle (FS 270-271)

Kylix with Two High-swung Handles (FS 271-272)

Deep-bowled and Conical-bowled Kylix (FS 263 and 274)

One-handed Low Kylix (FS 267)

Shapes of Mycenaean Pottery
Group of Stemmed Kylikes (1:6)

Cups (1:4)

Ewers (FS 143-145)

Amphoroid Beaked Jugs (FS 150)

Shapes of Mycenaean Pottery
Pattern on Red Burnished Jar

Red Burnished

Painted Ware

Gray Burnished

Neolithic Incised

Neolithic Incised and Coarse

(1:2)
Middle Helladic

(1:3)
Middle Helladic

(1:3)
Mycenaean

(1:2)
Mycenaean Decoration

(1:2)
Mycenaean Ornaments, etc.

Neolithic Whorls

Middle Helladic Whorls or Buttons

Mycenaean Buttons or Beads

(1:1)
Early Burial in Metoon Drain Cut (19:2)
PLATE 79

Tombs I (N 21-22:1), II (N 21:5), III (M 21:2), IV (M 21:3)

Tombs XIII (07:7), XIV (07:5), XV (07:2), XVI (N 7:2), XVII (07:3)

Deposits Kylix Pit (07:4) and Gully (07:14)

Submycenaean (07:1) and Protogeometric (07:11) Graves
PLATE 83

Tomb VII Lower and Upper Burial Strata

Tomb XIV
Grave XI (top), Tomb X (bottom)

(See p. 190, note 1 and p. 193, note 1)
Actual State Plan of the Athenian Agora