THE POTTERY FROM THE PYRAMIDS

The pottery recovered in the investigation of the buildings discussed in the preceding article was as interesting in one way as it was disappointing in another. No ceramic evidence for the exact dating of the original construction of any of the buildings was found, but the pottery discovered during the course of the digging, particularly at Ligurio, has an interest of its own in reflecting the culture existing at various periods on or near these modest sites.

LIGURIO

The only group of sherds with any significant relation to the structure of the pyramid itself was dug out of the earth in the filling of the entrance hall. This earth seemed to be all below the floor level, but it would be impossible to say whether or not this was the original floor. In view of the fact that the pyramid underwent changes as to its internal arrangements more than once, it is possible that this fill belongs to some period other than the earliest. The sherds were few in number, and for the most part quite undistinctive. None of them is necessarily later than the late fifth or early fourth century B.C.

The only identifiable coin was discovered in cleaning between the stones of the interior structure. At the northern end of the upper waterproof pavement, between this pavement and a small stone built closely against it, was a coin of Epidaurus from the period 323–300 B.C. The coin shows almost no signs of wear and must have been lost almost as soon as it was issued. Whether it was actually lost by a workman engaged in laying the stones, or whether it happened to be in the earth that was brought in to raise the floor level of the room, can scarcely be proven. But the former would seem more probable, and the possibility remains that this floor, which seems to belong to the second of the series of modifications to the pyramid, was laid at the end of the fourth century B.C. This date would correspond roughly to that of the pottery found in the entrance hall.

At a later period, when the upper waterproof floor had been somewhat broken up in its northwestern corner, and the tile, brick, and mortar lining was applied to the walls, a mass of earth and débris was brought in to fill the pyramid to a uniform level. Considerable quantities of ash mixed with the lower strata of this fill might suggest that the new arrangements were made after damages to the pyramid from fire within.

1 Babelon, Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines, II, p. 490, no. 682; pl. ccxvii, no. 70.
In any case the fill must have been brought from a place nearby which had been used as a rubbish heap by the people living in the neighboring village (see page 537). A surprisingly large amount of pottery was included in it, some pieces fairly well preserved. The greater part of this material must date from the second and first centuries B.C., although a few sherds come from the early first century A.D. (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Pottery and Lamps


b. (L 43) Megarian Bowl, two-thirds preserved. H. 0.064 m.

Plain medallion, from which spring elongated petals. The tops of the petals were impressed in the clay in part of the bowl only. Upper zone, plain. Light red glaze, much flaked, mostly gone. Light buff clay. Cf. Thompson, D 39, also p. 456 f. Date, middle of the second century B.C.

c. (L 28) Megarian Bowl, fragmentary. Preserved height 0.075 m.

Preserved are the tops of long petals; above, high zone, undecorated. Glaze burnt unevenly, brick red to black, fairly firm. Chocolate colored clay. Cf. (b), L 43.

d. (L 47) Fusiform Unguentarium. H. 0.16 m.

Red clay fired grey on surface. White lines on neck, shoulder, body. Foot missing. Cf. Thompson, B 6. Late third century B.C.

e. (L 49) Clay Lamp, resembling Broneer Type XVI. H. 0.034 m., Diam. 0.058 m.

Red glaze on top and sides; bottom unglazed. No handle; unperforated lug on side. Professor Broneer suggests that it is an early, local variation on the normal type. Second century B.C.

f. (L 48) Clay Lamp, Type XVI. H. 0.029 m., Diam. 0.063 m.

Flaked red glaze on soft buff clay. Otherwise like (e), L 49.
In addition were found fragments of a plate (L 55) of greenish grey clay, with a metallic grey glaze covering the interior and running over outside, which resembles Thompson E 151, as well as the top of a bowl with incurring rim (L 37), to which may be compared Thompson E 46. The glaze is red inside, and fired black in streaks outside.

This material, together with other fragments of Megarian bowls and lamps of similar or earlier types, will bring the date of the fill no later, certainly, than the early part of the first century B.C. There are, however, numerous small fragments of plates with rim profiles similar to Thompson E 1, and some even more advanced. Fragments of lamps of Broneer's Types XVI, XVII, XXI were found, the latest of which was a small sherd from the back and handle of a Type XVI, 3, lamp, which will date from the earliest years of the first century A.D.

Surprising as it was to have come on so representative a collection of current Hellenistic wares in this remote spot, whose very proximity to the sanctuary of Aesculapius might lead one to expect a relative dearth of finds, even more interesting was the group of pottery which must commemorate the attempts of small potters' establishments in the Argolid to produce a supply of satisfactory substitutes for the more expensive imported utensils. Some of the pieces included under this group may, indeed, have been inferior products imported from the centres of the vase making industry, but in any case they seem to represent the kind of pottery that was used in country places where the metropolitan civilization was only reflected (Fig. 2).

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**Fig. 2. Bowls**

a. (L 1) Bowl. Diam. 0.105 m.; H. 0.064 m.

The glaze is inferior and thin, black in color, inside and outside at the top; outside below the rim it is black to metallic grey. Clay, grey buff. Although the sole decoration consists of two grooves
in a band at the shoulder, the shape is identical with that of the Megarian bowl. It may be regarded as a cheaper, perhaps later, version of that ware. Similar shapes occur in early terra sigillata.

b. (L 25) Bowl. Diam. 0.10 m.; H. 0.06 m.

The rim is slightly incurving; cf. Thompson, E 46, p. 436, but this example is considerably deeper and perhaps later. Thin brown glaze imperfectly applied inside and running over to the outside. Greenish clay.

c. (L 13) Bowl. Diam. 0.105 m.; H. 0.06 m.

Slightly outcurving rim. Red glaze inside, somewhat porous; outside, at top, glaze black from firing, imperfectly applied. Similar wares are found in earliest Roman deposits at Corinth. Cf. Waagé, Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 279 f., no. 63, for profile.

d. (L 41) Side of Bowl. P.H. 0.095 m.

Above a hemispherical bottom, a groove and a ridge; then a slightly outcurving rim, inset. Metallic grey glaze of inferior quality; grey-buff clay. The shape is close to that of the Megarian bowl, and there is a strong general resemblance to L 1.

e. (L 14) Fragment from Rim and Side of Bowl.

Rim rolls outward, sharply undercut. Above shoulder is strap-like band set off by grooves. Red glaze on buff clay.

f. (L 3) Fragments of Bowl. P.H. 0.095 m.

Profile again seems to have been influenced by Megarian bowls. On the curved walls are traces of what may have been relief decoration. Other decoration consists only of grooves. Thin red glaze outside, fired black inside. Buff clay.

Several fragments of bowls similar to L 1 and L 41 were recovered. The type seems to have been fairly common at this site. Since the clay and glaze are like those in other pots most probably of local manufacture, these two examples may be considered local imitations, or rather modifications, from finer models. The pieces with red glaze do not seem to conform to any of the standard groups of early Roman wares, but the majority of these, also, may well be local imitations. The shapes of the bowls with red glaze (L 14 and L 41) are difficult to parallel accurately, but the general profile is certainly that of the Megarian bowl, so that in them may have met influences from two quarters.

In figure 3 are illustrated three of the larger pieces. The big red-glazed bowl is of a shape unusual among Samian wares, but in technique and glaze it is almost as good as the less perfect wares of that manufacture. It seems too fine in fabric and quality to have been made locally; in comparison with the plate it is much more delicately made. Yet, the shape would seem to exclude it from the body of standard red-glazed pottery, so that it may be regarded as a superior work of local artisans. The grey-glazed dish might attract notice in any company. The complicated shape is probably too much to expect from any workman outside of the shops of the great centres. It must have been a prized and wonderful object from the cosmopolitan world, in the quiet village. The antithesis is met in the matter-of-fact dinner plate, with its porous fabric, cheap gritty glaze and plain unadorned profile. The contrast is less with some fragmentary plates and saucers, in which the glaze is harder than that of the plate illustrated, of a brick red color, and the fabric is somewhat thinner and more brittle. In these, too, the profiles fail to resemble closely those found in civic centres like Athens.
Fig. 3. Dishes and Bowl

a. (L 2) Dish. Diam. 0.187 m.; P.H. 0.07 m.
The base is missing; the bottom part of the dish is deep, with the side returning inward to cover the edges, and the rim flaring upward and outward. Rouletting around the base, inside. Black glaze, much flaked, on grey clay.

b. (L 7) Tall Red Bowl. Diam. 0.185 m.; H. 0.13 m.
Base indicated only by impressed circular groove; hemispherical bottom, straight sides, in smooth transition. Red glaze, much flaked, within and without. On the side, a black smear from firing. Pinkish buff clay. Local version of Samian (?).

c. (L 46) Plate. Diam. 0.237 m.; H. 0.05 m.
Heavy fabric roughly turned, with irregularities not smoothed off. Profile a weak version of Thompson E 1. Thin porous red glaze inside fired to black on parts of rim; outside the glaze was applied only to the under part of the rim but ran down in streaks on the lower sides. Clay buff and porous.

Some detail is added to our picture of the lives of these villagers from a few examples of purely utilitarian pottery with which are involved little of the aesthetic or scientific (Fig. 4). The small coarse salt cellar must have been in the price group of the large plate (L 46). The little grey-glazed cup, with the high handle, fulfilled some household duty, the nature of which one is free to surmise. Numerous cooking pots, or fragments of them, came from the same context as the pots under consideration; only the strainer, of those which must have been purely culinary, was glazed. The others are all of the customary bricky red clay. Most unusual is the jug with the long spout. It seems admirably adapted for filling lamps, and it may well be that it was so used. Vases only vaguely similar have been called milk bottles for feeding babies;¹ the complete abrasion of the glaze on the under side of the spout on this specimen might be attributed to infant teeth, but the pot seems rather large and heavy for baby use. Moreover, the position of the handle might be awkward for holding the pot against the face.

¹ For vases called feeding bottles, see Shear, "The Current Excavation in the Athenian Agora," A.J.A., 1936, p. 195, with fig. 11, and fig. 23. (The two vases to the left in the lower range.) The combination rattle and feeding bottle described is about as large as our vase.
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Fig. 4. Household Ware

a. (L 39) Neck of Jar with Strainer. Diam. at top 0.082 m.
Preserved from rim to shoulder, handle on one side broken off. The neck had been closed with a clay floor, in the preserved part of which were pierced two holes. Black glaze, very porous and much flaked, fired red in places. Buff clay.

b. (L 35) Small Cup. H. to top of handle 0.068 m. Diam. at mouth 0.01 m.
Flat base, bottom flaring wide and sides diminishing toward top. Handle broad and asymmetrical. Metallic grey glaze inside and on upper part of outside. Grey clay.

c. (L 24) Salt Cellar on Ring Foot. H. 0.035 m. Diam. 0.07 m.
Chocolate brown glaze inside and on outside of rim, much flaked outside. Soft buff clay.

d. (L 11) Spouted Jug. H. to top of spout 0.12 m.
Heavy base ring; body a flattened spheroid. Traces of two grooves at level of spout. Spout long and narrow. Base of handle on one side suggests a basket handle at right angles to spout. Upper part of outside covered with glaze of light chocolate color, fired black in spots. Lower part and inside unglazed. Buff clay.

In addition to these were found numbers of very fragmentary pitchers, jugs, jars, basins, and the like, indicating that the usual supply of ceramic household equipment was available and used in the village. Some of these are of fair quality and may have been imported, although it seems more reasonable to suppose that the great majority of them were made at no great distance from the consumer by provincial factories following with greater or less freedom and care the designs developed in important centres.

The value in actual money which attached to even coarse pottery in such a community may be seen in the large pithos illustrated in figure 5 (P.H. 0.65 m.). The fragments illustrated were found in position in the northwestern corner of the structure. The pithos had evidently been badly shattered in antiquity, perhaps before it was set up in the building, for in the bottom it had been repaired with no less than eight lead clamps. Two of them unite three fragments, the others only two. Numerous clamps of similar type, broken, were found in the débris, and several sherds of finer fabric with parts of broken clamps still adhering to them.
The process of repairing a pot by this method was to drill holes through the fragments, about three centimetres from the edge if the piece was as large as this pithos, or about one centimetre from the edge if it were a thinner fabric. Hot lead was then poured onto one surface, in a long narrow strip, so that the metal penetrated both of the holes. A tool with a sort of mould on one end was impressed into the lead strip to insure the penetration of the metal into the holes, and to keep the metal from running too far afield on the surface. Then the operation was repeated on the opposite side, the metal welding itself to that which had already penetrated the holes.

A small but representative collection of “small finds” was discovered during the excavation of the pyramid at Ligurio. Only two—the largest of the loomweights, and the stamped amphora handle—come from the filling which yielded the pottery described above. The other objects all came from the destruction débris of the latest commercial establishment installed in the building. They are illustrated here (Fig. 6) in the same spirit as has governed the preceding account, to add detail to the scene of life as it passed in the roadside village. The amphora handle, indeed, would suggest that foreign produce other than pottery made its way to the place, although it is possible that shipments consigned to the inns of the sanctuary of Aesculapius made it convenient to include items for a village which in a locality less favored might have been compelled to satisfy itself with home-grown oil or wine. The same conditions may explain the relative profusion of imported pottery noted above. The celt, an isolated prehistoric object, scarcely proves the existence of neolithic settlement on the site. It may have been brought from a distance as a curiosity.
a. Pyramidal Loomweight. H. 0.068 m. W. at base 0.04 m.
   Red buff clay with large gritty particles.

b. Conical Loomweight. H. 0.065 m. Diam. at bottom 0.047 m.
   Buff clay with some gritty particles.

c. Conical Loomweight. H. 0.068 m. Diam. at bottom 0.045 m.
   Clay similar to (a).

d. Conical Loomweight. P.H. 0.085 m. Diam. at bottom 0.045 m.
   Clay at core pinkish buff, surrounded by a shell of dark green clay; surface slipped light greenish yellow. Gritty particles. Somewhat contorted in firing. Dr. G. R. Davidson, who has lent her advice to the consideration of the small finds, suggests a second century B.C. date. This object was found in the filling of the pyramid.

e. Stamped Amphora Handle, Knidian.
   Πολίτης
   Κράτης

f. Bone Lace Bobbin (?). L. 0.087 m.

g. Head of Terracotta Figurine. H. 0.03 m.
   Female, wearing polos with ornament. Clay white with greenish tinge; traces of red slip.

h. Type A Celt. L. 0.052 m.
The objects listed above, although they do not all come from the principal deposit, belong to the period contemporary with or earlier than the pottery, and hence to the late Hellenistic—early Roman culture of the village. The following graffiti came from the destruction débris, and are probably part of the destroyed furnishings of the early Roman establishment set up inside the pyramid (Fig. 7).

**Fig. 7. Pithos Rim and Roof Tiles**

*a.* Rim of a Pithos bearing the scratched name 'Evávβςς. W. of rim 0.077 m. H. of letters 0.025—0.03 m. Length of inscription ca. 0.21 m.

The **nu** looks more like *eta*, but can easily be a *nu*, which gives the only possible reading. Only the lowest bar of the final letter is preserved, but it can scarcely be other than *sigma*.

*b.* Fragments of Roof Tile bearing Graffiti. Maximum Dimension on square 0.165 m.

The underside of this roof tile has been covered with scratched letters, apparently meaningless, and various irrational lines. At least three are *epilons*; a *xi* and a *mu* can be distinguished. Evidently the result of a few idle moments on the part of someone.

*c.* Roof Tile with Incised Letter "D." H. of letter 0.07 m.

The rim was found near the base of the large pithos at the doorway, and may well belong to that particular pot. The presence of the name of Euanthes in a workshop about three miles from the sanctuary of Aesculapius is interesting enough, and may well have some significance. Five men by the name of Euanthes are honored or recorded otherwise epigraphically in the sanctuary. The most honored of these flourished in the triumvirate of Antonius, Lepidus and Octavius. The first, in the fourth generation before, was the founder of a distinguished family which allied itself with another family and maintained its distinction throughout the first century A.D. and perhaps longer. Presumably a man of wealth, or at least the creator of a fortune, he must have controlled various

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1 *I.G., IV*², *proleg. XXV, IV*¹, p. 264, and Index under 'Evávβςς.
money-making ventures. His possessions, or those of his descendants, may well have included the elaborate, if small, establishment which operated in the pyramid.

If the establishment is attributed to this family, a further significance may be found in the fact that the place was owned by a family of Epidaurus. This would suggest that the village on the outskirts of which the pyramid was located belonged to Epidaurus, not to Argos. Then the village cannot have been Lessa, as Frazer and others hold.\(^1\) Pausanias described the town of Lessa, and then, as though he noticed the fact on leaving the village, remarked that the boundary between the territories of Argos and those of Epidaurus were to be found in that place. The impression is definitely that the village Lessa itself belonged to Argos. And the village of the pyramid belonged to Epidaurus.

Thus the site of Lessa must be sought farther westward than Ligurio, and may be conveniently located, as Cavvadias and others suggest,\(^2\) at the remains called, in Frazer's time, Kazarma. Indeed the obvious opposition of this fort to the neighboring Kastraki would suggest strongly that the boundary lay between them. If Lessa was the site now called Kazarma, Pausanias failed to mention both the fortress at Kastraki and the village near Ligurio. Their names are not known unless the tentative suggestions of Cavvadias based on philological speculation include the true name for the village near Ligurio and the pyramid.

Near the southeastern corner of the pyramid, in the fill which had accumulated around its exterior walls, was found a block of white marble 0.38 m. in width, 0.40 m. in height, and 0.15 m. in thickness. It was broken on the lower edge; otherwise it was finished on all sides. It bore the inscription \(\text{Ἀραξίων Ἀραξιδώγον}\), in well-cut letters (Fig. 8). The height of the \(\text{ἐν} \) is 0.036 m. Both names are known from other inscriptions.\(^3\) These cover the period from the fifth to the third centuries B.C. Our inscription dates probably from the latter part of the fourth century. This date corresponds to that given in the Corpus to \(I.G., IV^2, 197\), which preserves the name of one Thiares, son of Anaxidoros, and which was also found near Ligurio.

\(^1\) Frazer, \textit{Commentary on Pausanias}, note on II, xxi, 10.
\(^2\) \textit{Eph. Αναγ.}, 1884, p. 21; and Frazer, \textit{loc. cit.}  
\(^3\) \textit{I.G.}, IV\(^2\), 71, 48, 55, 65; 102, 202; 148 and 197.
The shop set up inside the pyramid apparently enjoyed a long and prosperous history. Nowhere did there appear any objects, excepting the smallest amount of pottery, from the Roman period of the first to the fourth centuries A.D. The handle of a Roman lamp of Corinthian make (Broneer's Type XXII), a sherd or two of second and third century pottery, are exceptions. This might seem to imply a period of abandonment, and yet there is no sign of deterioration during this period. The place fell into utter ruin during the late fourth or fifth century A.D., when the brick lining of the walls fell in, and quantities of Roman pottery of that period accumulated. It would rather appear that during the Roman period the establishment was kept in good repair and clean, and at the beginning of the early Christian period it was completely abandoned and left to disintegrate with the débris of the final years of use still on the site. The date of this period is amply attested by at least half a dozen sherds from lamps of Broneer's Type XXVIII and one large fragment of a Type XXXI. Abundant masses of very coarse pottery of contemporary date also permeated the débris from the falling walls.

PHYCHTIA AND CEPHALARIA

In both of these places all significant deposits had been disturbed at the time of destruction. Scarcely any classical pottery was found at all: a few sherds from very coarse cooking pots of uncertain date, a few relatively late Roman lamps.

At Cephalaria, where previous excavators had removed practically all of the earth, the process of examining the fill which still lay undisturbed in the hollows of the bed-rock produced evidence of prehistoric habitation on the spot, in the form of a few sherds. These sherds are all representative of the glazed or partially glazed ware of the Early Helladic period. There are a few fragments from the common larger shapes, such as jugs, askoi, and bowls with broad rims. The majority of the fragments belong to the usual sauce-boats and small bowls with incurved rims. Both shapes have the crude low ring feet. The clay is light buff in color, moderately well levigated. The biscuit is hard and breaks sharply. The glaze is generally black or metallic, dark grey, but a few pieces are reddish-brown. Although the glaze is frequently cracked, comparatively little has chipped off. As a whole, the group is representative of the later Early Helladic period.¹

¹ The observations on the prehistoric pottery from the pyramid at Cephalaria were offered by Dr. Saul Weinberg, who considers that their importance lies in the fact that they establish the location of another prehistoric site in the Peloponnesos. To him I owe further thanks for making the photographs from which the account of the pottery and small finds has been illustrated.

I want especially to express my thanks to Dr. Lord for the opportunity of taking part in this enterprise.