

# EXCAVATIONS ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS, 1937<sup>1</sup>

## PLATE I

The excavations on the north and northeast slopes of the Athenian Acropolis, which were begun by the American School in the winter of 1930–1931, were continued at intervals until the spring of 1934. Most of the objects discovered in these earlier campaigns have been published in *Hesperia*.<sup>2</sup> The upper slope, as far north as the *περίπατος* below the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, was investigated and partly cleared in these early campaigns, but a row of modern houses made further progress down the slope impossible (see general plan, Fig. 1). In the winter of 1935–1936 three of these houses at the western end of the row were purchased by the American School and forthwith demolished in order to clear the area for excavation, and several others have since been purchased and removed.

All the houses in the upper row were originally built by squatters from Anaphe, who settled here some fifty years ago. Many of the houses have since changed hands, but the district is still called, from the first settlers, Anaphiotika. Below these houses the slope was unoccupied until the arrival of the refugees from Asia Minor in 1922. In the confusion that then arose some twenty-five temporary wooden houses were built on the lower slope on territory previously expropriated for archaeological purposes. The resettling

<sup>1</sup> The excavations, carried on from March 8 to July 24, were financed partly by a grant from the general excavation funds of the American School and partly by a donation from Mr. Philip Allen of Walpole, Mass. To Mr. and Mrs. Allen, who made frequent visits to the excavations during their stay in Greece in the early part of the campaign, I wish to express the appreciation of the American School of Classical Studies and my own personal thanks for their generosity and interest in the work.

Assistance in the field work was rendered by Dr. Hazel Hansen, who was in charge of the prehistoric area from March 15 to April 17, and by Miss Dorothy Schierer who supervised the work in the underground passage from May 5 to June 16. The inventories were kept by Miss Margaret Hill and Mrs. L. R. Shero. Valuable assistance was also given for shorter periods by Miss Margaret MacVeagh and Mr. Paul Morgan, Jr.

To the Director of the School, Prof. Charles H. Morgan, and to the Excavation Staff of the Athenian Agora, especially the Director and Mrs. T. L. Shear, I am indebted for invaluable help throughout the campaign and for permission to refer for comparison to unpublished material from the excavations in the Athenian Agora.

The drawings and water-colors were made by Mr. Piet de Jong, and the plans for Figs. 1 and 5 by Mr. John Travlos. The photographs are by Hermann Wagner, except the one reproduced in Fig. 41 which was made by Mrs. C. H. Morgan.

Brief notices on the results of the excavations have appeared in *Illustrated London News*, August 28, 1937, and in *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 161–164. In addition to these general accounts the following articles have appeared: Oscar Broneer, "A Calyx-Krater by Exekias," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 469–486; and Hazel D. Hansen, "The Prehistoric Pottery on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937," *ibid.*, pp. 539–570.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 31–55; II, 1933, pp. 329–417; IV, 1935, pp. 109–302.

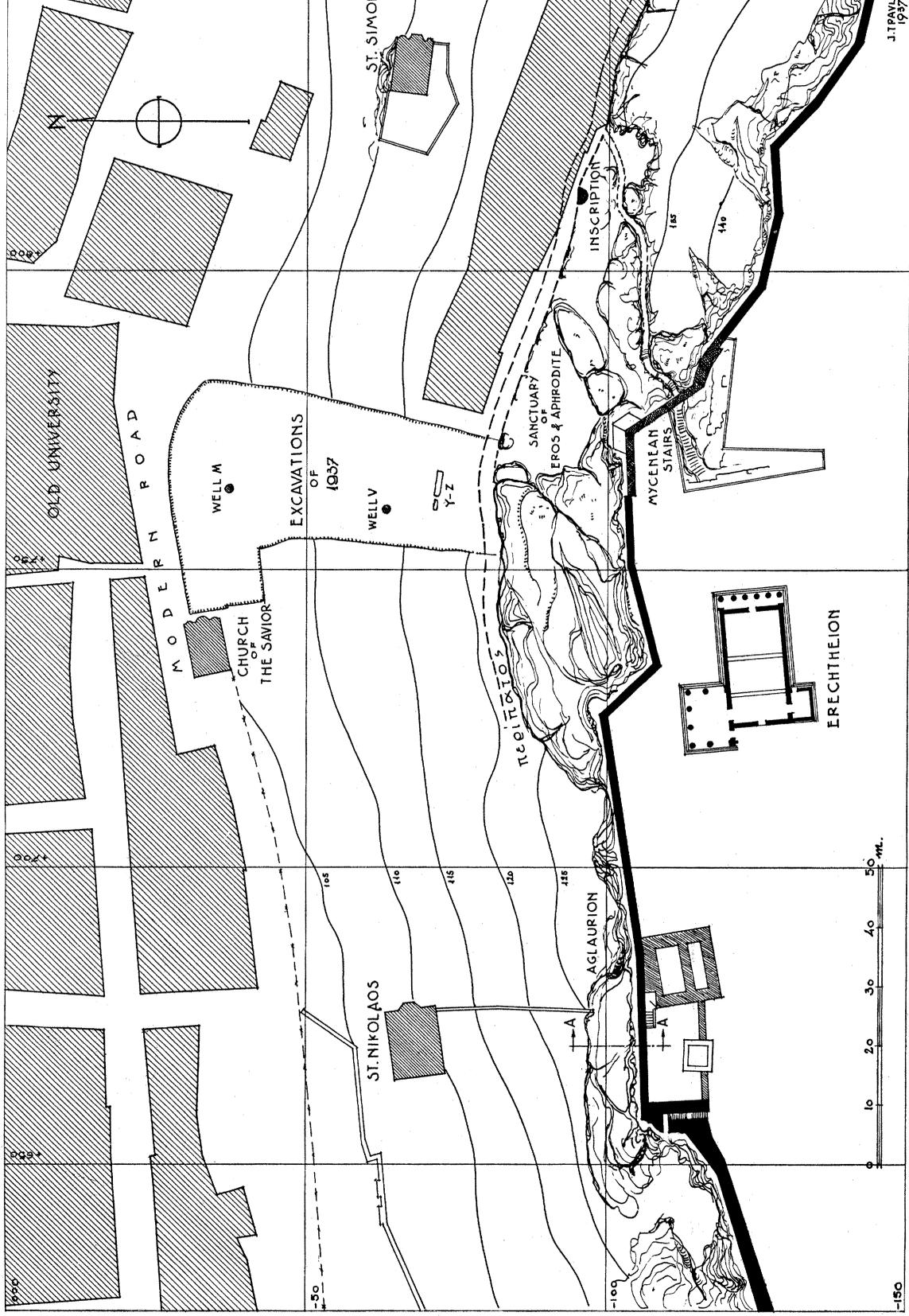


Fig. 1. North Slope of the Acropolis, General Plan

of the refugees in permanent quarters was undertaken by the Greek government shortly after their arrival, but on account of the immensity of this task the work was delayed, with the result that the temporary shelters erected by the refugees themselves came to assume permanent character. Finally in 1936, when the new Ministry of Tourism was established, an effort was made to remove all the unsightly wooden shacks still standing in the city, especially those in the vicinity of archaeological sites. By special request



Fig. 2. North Slope of the Acropolis at Beginning of Campaign 1937

of the American School of Classical Studies, the Ministry of Public Welfare, which has charge of resettling the refugees, removed all the wooden houses on the lower slope of the north side late in March 1937. This opened up the whole area from the upper row of houses to the modern road south of the old Capodistrian University. (See photograph in Fig. 2, taken during the demolition of the refugee houses.)

The aim of the excavations on the North Slope is threefold. In the first place an attempt is made to find solutions to some of the topographical questions connected with this section of ancient Athens. Numerous cult places are known to have existed all along

the slope, but the literary and epigraphical sources with regard to these are in most cases too meager to throw much light upon the cults concerned. New information can come only from fresh discoveries through excavation. The second objective of our work is to supplement the earlier excavations on the Acropolis itself. During heavy rains streams of water rush down the slopes carrying with them much archaeological material from above. A large number of potsherds, fragments of inscriptions and sculpture, architectural pieces, etc., belonging to monuments on the Acropolis, are mixed with the late fill which covers the slopes, and each campaign of excavation yields large quantities of this kind of material. In most cases the fragments are small and insignificant in themselves, but because of their connection with the known objects from the Acropolis they often assume an importance out of proportion to their size and condition. Finally, an important object of our work is the study of the scant remains of the city from prehistoric times which at last are receiving the attention they deserve. On the Acropolis itself such remains are few and difficult to interpret. In spite of the revolutionary advance in our knowledge of prehistoric Greece since the time of the Acropolis excavations, it is a fact that pitifully little is known from archaeological sources about the earliest periods in the existence of Athens. Some progress has been made to remedy this defect. The results of the excavations by the Italian School on the South Slope of the Acropolis and recent discoveries of prehistoric pottery in the American Zone of the Athenian Agora, as well as our excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis, have yielded much important material for the study of the early history of the city.

This threefold purpose of our excavation was pursued in the 1937 campaign, and some progress was made toward each objective. In the prehistoric field a small section containing stratified deposits from neolithic times to the end of the Bronze Age was excavated by Dr. Hazel Hansen. In this excavation, covering an area of only about twenty square metres, a great deal of pottery was obtained,<sup>1</sup> which has been published in an earlier number of *Hesperia*.<sup>2</sup> In addition to this exclusively prehistoric section, a considerable amount of prehistoric pottery was discovered in the main area of excavation, especially along its upper, *i.e.* southern, edge. Huge pieces of rock, which at one time must have broken off from the main mass of the Acropolis rock, now cover the southern part of this area. A few niches in the rock are the only traces left of classical occupation in this part of the slope. Insignificant remains of a Byzantine dwelling with a well preserved threshold constitute the earliest evidence of building activity, and in most places the modern fill extended down to stereo. At one point, close to the Byzantine threshold, an undisturbed prehistoric fill was discovered. Some Middle Helladic sherds were found directly below the Byzantine fill, but at a lower level the pottery appears to date chiefly from late neolithic times. No complete vases were discovered, and the sherds are so small that in no case can the shape of a vase be accurately determined. Part of the deposit extends under a large piece of rock, which must have broken away from the ledge above

<sup>1</sup> For the location of the area see figure 5 and cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pl. I, between points X, Y, and Z.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 539-570.

subsequent to the period represented by the pottery but before the Byzantine house was constructed. Another large piece of rock (Fig. 5, A), now supported by a wall of masonry, has on one side a rectangular cutting approached by steps, no longer in a horizontal position, showing that the rock has moved since the steps were cut. It is probable that these and other large pieces of rock which now cover much of this section at one time formed the roof of a cavern where the early settlers found ready-made shelter.<sup>1</sup> In the

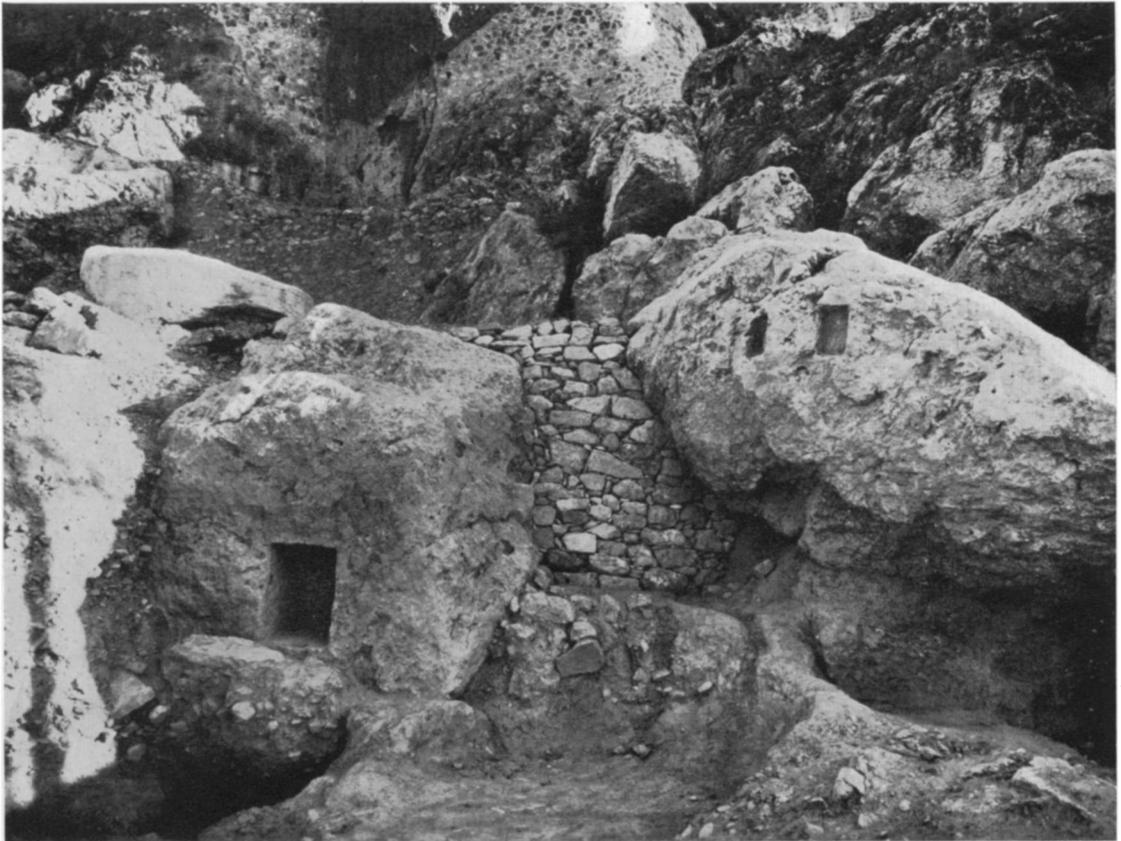


Fig. 3. Southern Edge of Excavated Area, Showing Niches in Rock

Italian excavations on the South Slope of the Acropolis further evidence was produced to show that the first inhabitants of Athens lived in caves.

The main area excavated in 1937 (Figs. 4 and 5), covering approximately 1500 square metres, extends in a narrow strip from the *περίπατος* on the south side as far north as the modern road above the old Capodistrian University of Athens. The length of this strip from north to south is *ca.* 57 m., and the average width from east to west is a little

<sup>1</sup> Originally the caves along the whole North Slope of the Acropolis were larger and more numerous than is now the case, cf. Kavvadias, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1897, p. 24.

over 25 m. All along the ledge of rock at the south edge of the excavation there are numerous niches cut in rock, the line of which gives us the approximate level of the *περίπατος*. Here and there along this path ascending rows of niches indicate that subsidiary paths led from this level to the various sanctuaries which were situated between the path and the Acropolis wall. An ascent of this kind in the form of a ramp leads from the northeast to the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite,<sup>1</sup> and a similar but somewhat



Fig. 4. View of Main Area, Looking South

steeper approach led up from the northwest at the point where our excavations began this season. Three small niches, which still retain some stucco on the inside, show the rising level of the ascent, and over against these there are clear traces of a rock-cut step on the other side of the ascending path (Fig. 3). The steepness of the ground at this point probably necessitated the building of stone steps instead of the earth ramp used on the northeast side. Below the niches and the rock-cut step and slightly farther

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 119, fig. 8.

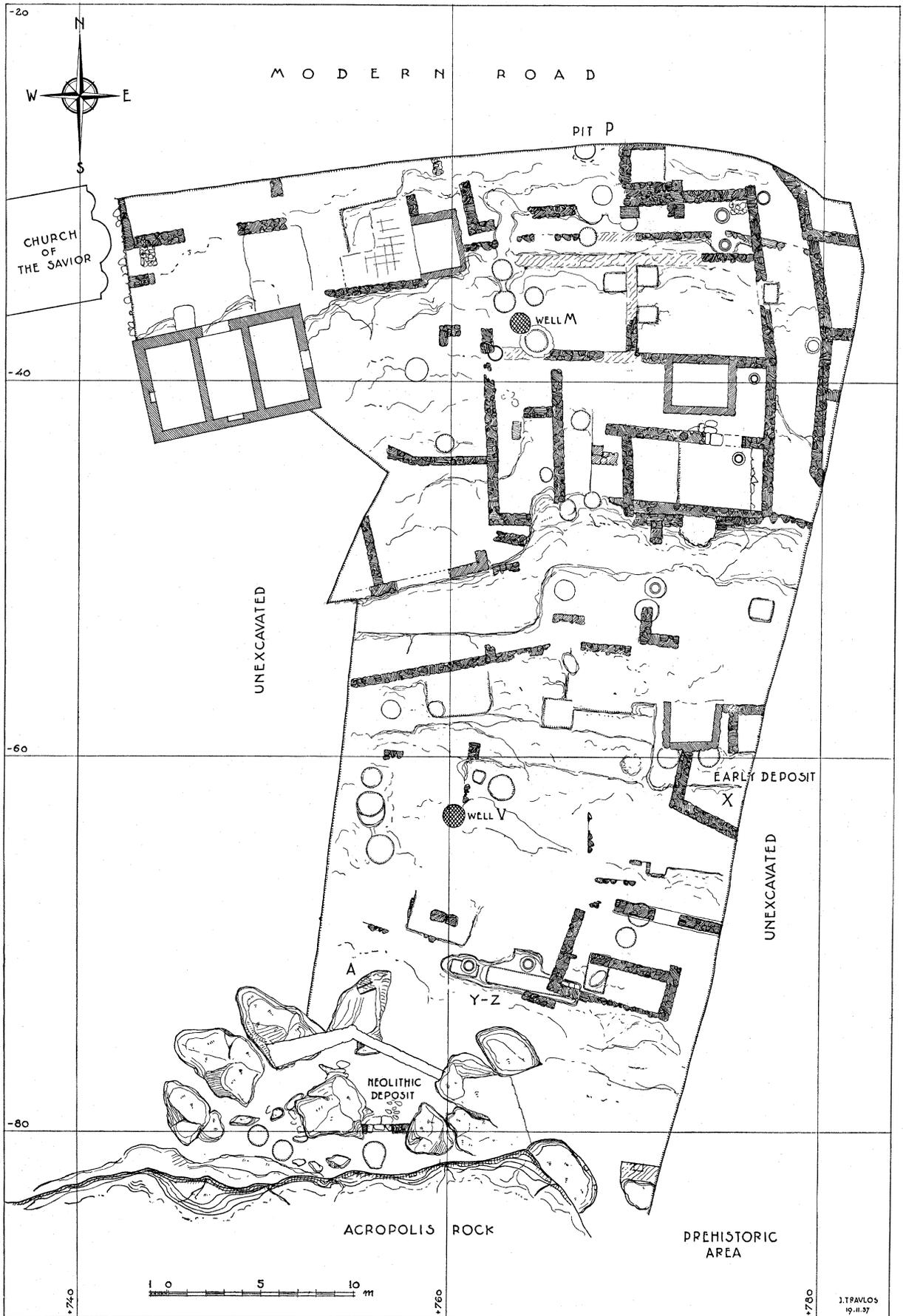


Fig. 5. Detail Plan of Area Cleared 1937

east there is a deep niche, the bottom of which is *ca.* 2 m. below the lowest of the three smaller niches. This large niche, which measures 0.62 m. in height, 0.44 m. in width at the bottom, and 0.25–0.40 m. in depth, indicates the approximate level of the *περίπατος*.<sup>1</sup> It is not unlikely that the level changed from time to time as indicated by the varying heights of the niches above the path.

In the rest of the excavated area there are no points of topographical interest. Not a single stone from a classical building was found in its original place, and there is evidence to show that the ground level has been lowered in most places since ancient times. The steepness of the slope, in which torrents of water have dug deep furrows, and the construction of cellars for mediaeval and modern houses have caused the disturbance and removal of practically all the accumulation of earth from earlier times, with the result that the fill, which covered the area before the excavations began, produced almost no stratigraphic evidence for the date of the objects which it contained.

Three points in the main area, an irregular cutting (Y–Z, Figs. 1 and 5) and two wells (M and V), are important because of the objects which they produced. These together with their contents will be discussed below. The numerous walls of late houses showing in the photograph (Fig. 4) and indicated on the plan (Fig. 5) are of no archaeological interest in themselves, but in many of them were found fragments of sculpture and inscriptions as well as some architectural pieces of importance. Because of this material the walls will be demolished, and the whole area can then be covered with earth for the planting of trees.

East of the Church of the Savior a narrow section (Fig. 6) was cleared along the modern road. The only building discovered in this area, in which were found pottery and other objects of modern times, seems to have been used for some industrial purpose. It is divided into three rooms of about equal size, and in the floor of one of these are two storage pits with channels leading into them. A deep layer of ash on the floors indicates that the building was destroyed by fire, probably as late as the beginning of the last century. To the north of this building, along the modern road, the fill was deeper and of a somewhat earlier date. Close to the east wall of the church were found some plates with green glaze and incised decoration (see p. 261, Fig. 87) which seem to date from the Turkish period.

In an earlier number of *Hesperia*<sup>2</sup> the view was expressed that the Arrephoroi made use of the underground stairway northwest of the Erechtheion on their secret mission

<sup>1</sup> I had formerly assumed on the basis of the niches farther east that the *περίπατος* ran at a much higher level at this point (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 122), and I tried to explain the accumulation of post-classical fill above the path by the assumption that a Venetian mine was dug here in 1687. I was misled by the inaccurate rendering of this territory on military sketches made for the occasion, especially those published in Laborde, *Athènes aux XV<sup>e</sup>, XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, II, pls. opp. pp. 150, 172, and Fanelli, *Atene Attica*, opp. p. 308. My mistake was kindly pointed out to me in a private letter by Prof. J. M. Paton, who showed that the mine referred to was located farther west. The discovery of the large niche at the lower level has solved the difficulty satisfactorily.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 49 ff.

to the Peribolos of Aphrodite. The narrow cleft in the rock where this stairway was built had never been thoroughly investigated,<sup>1</sup> and it seemed desirable in view of its connection with the Eros-Aphrodite Sanctuary to examine the fill to the bottom of the cleft. This undertaking proved to be a lengthy one with most unexpected results. Below the modern and mediaeval accumulation of no great depth a mixed fill containing black-figured, geometric and Mycenaean sherds extended to a depth of *ca.* 3 m. Farther down



Fig. 6. Area East of Church of the Savior, Showing Walls of Late Buildings

the sherds are mostly Mycenaean with a few geometric fragments appearing from time to time to a depth of *ca.* 6 m. The pottery discovered below this level is practically all Mycenaean, with a negligible number of small sherds of later periods, probably washed down during heavy rains. A hole dug into the Mycenaean fill reached a depth of nearly 20 m., and at the bottom were discovered well preserved flights of steps constructed of

<sup>1</sup> It was partly cleared by Kavvadias, who published a plan and drawings of the cuttings for the steps (*Εφ. Αρχ.*, 1897, pp. 26–31), but the deep fill at the bottom of the cleft has never been studied before.

flat stones laid in a mortar of clay (Fig. 7). The difficulty of working in the limited area at the bottom of this deep trench and the danger from the overhanging mass of loose fill made it necessary to cease operations here for the season. It is likely that the stairway led down into some subterranean water supply analogous to the Persea at Mycenae, but the indications are that it will continue to a considerably greater depth



Fig. 7. Underground Passage Northwest of the Erechtheion, Showing Mycenaean Stairway

than tha reached during the present campaign. Inasmuch as the work in this place will be continued in 1938, a description of the whole underground passage will be postponed until it has been entirely cleared.

#### THE CUTTING Y-Z

The three places referred to above as cutting Y-Z, and wells M and V, are the only points in the main area in which classical fill was found undisturbed. The objects from

these places constitute three definitely closed groups, and it seems desirable to present the material from each place separately.

The first of these places is a shallow cutting in stereo (marked Y-Z on the plans, Figs. 1 and 5) of irregular shape and uneven depth (Fig. 8). It measures *ca.* 6.75 m. from east to west and slightly more than 1 m. from north to south. At the east end it slopes gradually with a rough approximation of steps, and at the west end there is a small oval depression,  $1.30 \times 0.75$  m., which appears like the beginning of a shaft into an underground reservoir, with small footholds cut on either side. The bottom of the shaft is only 0.60 m. lower than that of the main cutting. At the east end of the cutting and at right angles to it there is a shallower depression in stereo (seen in the foreground in Fig. 8), measuring  $2.10 \times 1.10$  m., and only *ca.* 0.30 m. in depth. Both cuttings were filled up toward the end of the sixth century B.C. At a late period, probably in Turkish times, two storage pits were sunk into the larger cutting (visible in Fig. 8 to the right of the main cutting). Although some of the sixth century fill was then removed, the rest of it remained uncontaminated by the late intrusion. It is obvious that the early cutting was filled up at one time, and the nature of the pottery shows that this took place shortly before the end of the sixth century B.C. The latest of the datable sherds are some fragments of a red-figured kylix shown in Fig. 9. The rest of the pottery is black-figured or undecorated.

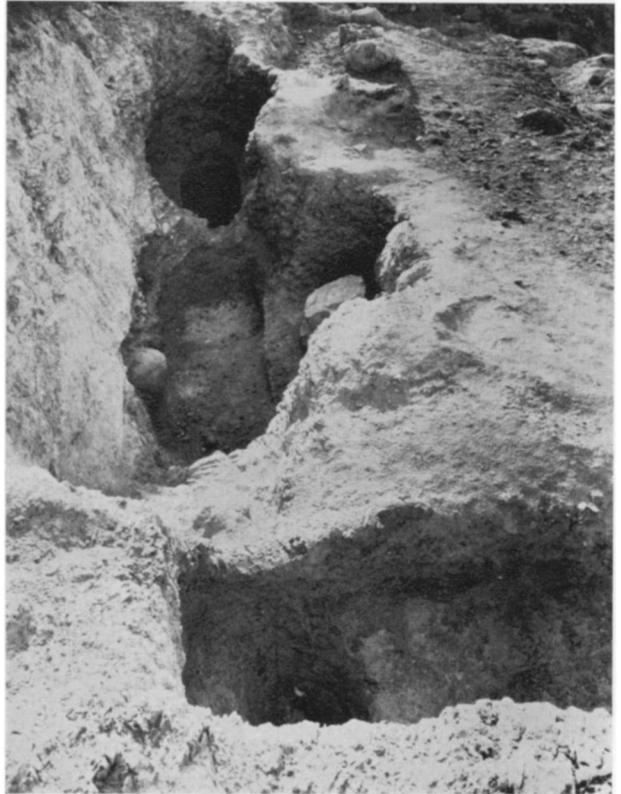


Fig. 8. The Cutting Y-Z, Looking West

1. (A.P. 911) Fig. 9. Several fragments of a red-figured kylix. Of the decoration is preserved most of the figure of an ithyphallic satyr advancing to the right toward a maenad. The tail of the satyr is added in a purplish brown color applied over the black glaze. Part of the figure, from neck to waist, right foot, and end of tail are missing. The black glaze has peeled off in several places close to the figure so as to render the details, especially of the face, very indistinct. Of the maenad only the feet and lower part of her drapery are preserved. Another small fragment

probably from the other side of the vase preserves part of a wing and part of a palmette. Several fragments have parts of the design, consisting of buds and tendrils, round the handles. Relief lines for the contours are clearly visible.

The drawing is rather careless with few interior details added. The kylix was painted by some second-rate artist of the Epictetan circle. It has many points of similarity with the works of the Euegides painter, especially the awkward rendering

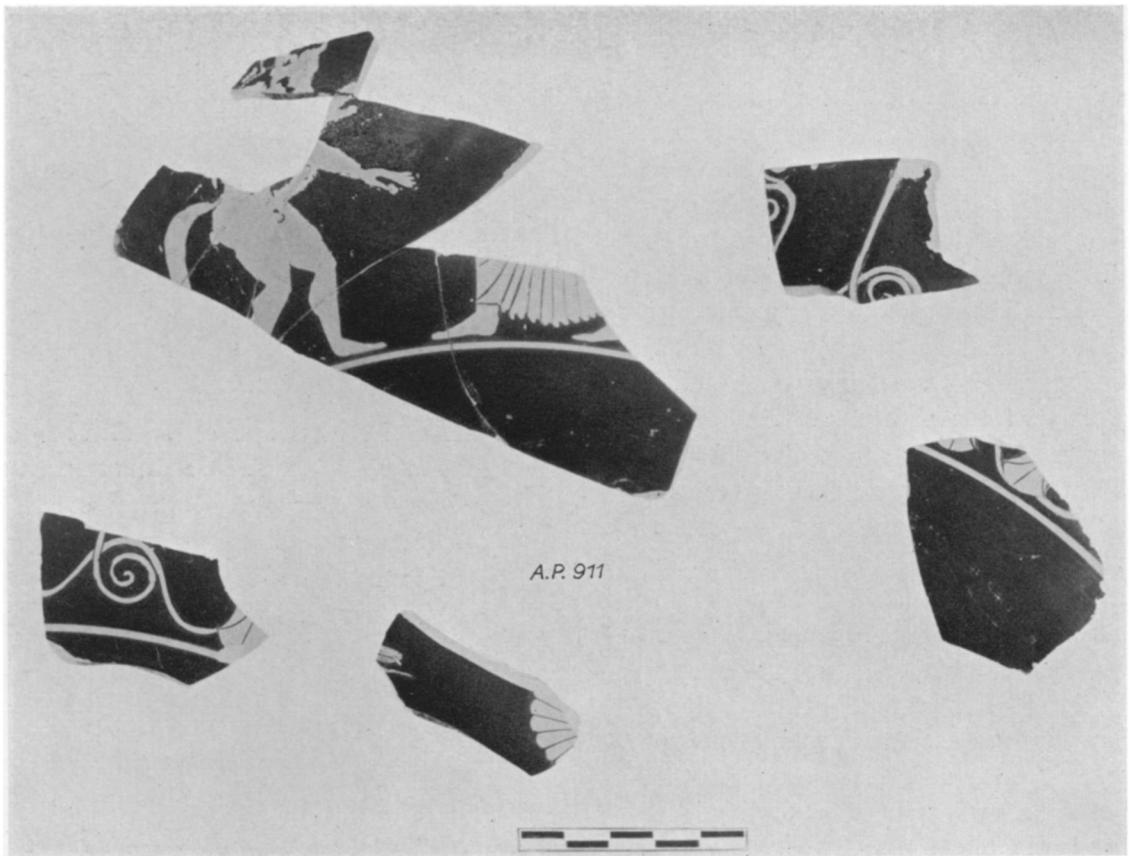


Fig. 9. Fragments of Red-figured Kylix from Y-Z

of the hands,<sup>1</sup> but on the basis of the small remaining fragments it is difficult to assign it to a definite painter. The date is *ca.* 510 B.C.

2. (A.P. 942) Fig. 10. Loutrophoros Hydria.<sup>2</sup> Height, 0.297 m. In the centre of the main zone two female figures stand facing each other, each holding a large wreath.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases*, pl. 3; Beazley, *J.H.S.*, XXXIII, 1913, p. 351, fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> For the shape see Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, pp. 5-6; and Graef-Langlotz, I, Nos. 1139-1236.

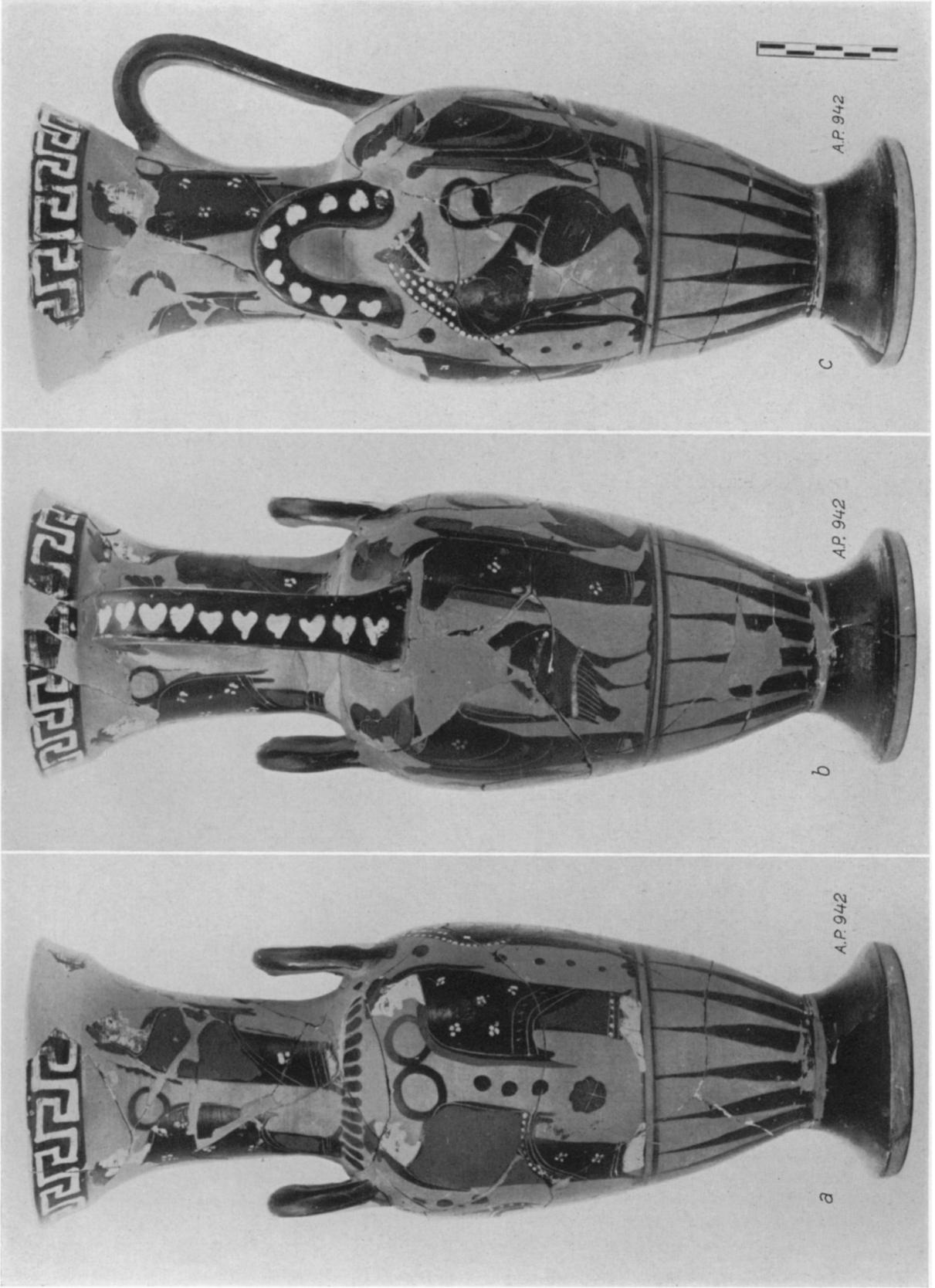


Fig. 10. Loutrophoros Hydria. from Y-Z

Their hands and arms are concealed beneath their cloaks, which hang like shawls from the shoulders. The cloak of the left figure is purple with a border of dots and incised lines at the bottom, and her chiton, edged with a simple border of incised lines, is black and decorated with small rosettes. The figure on the right wears drapery with the same patterns in the reverse order, the chiton of the one resembling the cloak of the other. A purple stripe along the front edge of the second woman's cloak is probably intended to indicate the lining. Below each of the horizontal handles is a panther with long neck and head bent back so as to come directly beneath the handle. In the rear of the main zone are two male figures facing away from each other, and between them, below the vertical handle, is the figure of a crane(?). The neck of the vase is decorated with a procession of four female figures to right, each carrying wreaths. They resemble the women in the lower zone but the patterns of their drapery vary with each figure.<sup>1</sup> These stereotyped figures are probably conceived of as taking part in the wedding ceremony for which the vase was intended.

The rim is decorated with a simple meander in white paint,<sup>2</sup> and on all the handles are single rows of heart-shaped leaves, likewise in white. The decoration on the shoulder consists of a simple tongue pattern in black, and underneath the main zone are tall rays, while blobs and rosettes are used as fillers between the figures.



Fig. 11. Black-figured Pitcher from Y-Z

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 68, no. 1155. A loutrophoros from the excavations in the Athenian Agora of the same shape as ours, but larger, and with similar decoration, and fragments of a second vase of the same type will be published by Eugene Vanderpool in the next number of *Hesperia*. For the pose of the figures and the form of the drapery cf. amphora from Daphnae, Pfuhl, *Mal. u. Zeichn.*, III, pl. 32, no. 142.

<sup>2</sup> This is the common type of decoration on the rim of this kind of vase, cf. Graef-Langlotz, p. 128.

The symmetrical grouping of the figures on the body of the vase, as contrasted with the less formal arrangement on the neck, gives a structural unity to the decoration which is not vitiated by the repetition of almost identical figures in the two zones. The excellent preservation of the white and purple, contrasting vividly with the black against the red color of the clay, and the crisp rendering of the quaint figures combine to make this vase one of the finest examples of its kind.

3. (A.P.1047) Fig.11. Black-figured pitcher. Height, 0.215 m. The pitcher is painted black except for the panel in front reserved for the decoration. Below this panel is a purple line, and on the neck is a double row of ivy leaves below a meander pattern. The reserved part probably included the rim, which may have been decorated with a checker pattern. Only a small piece of the rim is preserved at the back; the rest has been restored in plaster.

Dionysos is seated on a folding chair to the left of the centre, holding a drinking horn in his left hand. A vine rising from behind encircles his head and fills some of the vacant space in the panel. He wears a wreath with alternating black and purple parts, and a cloak decorated with triple dots of white color, purple dots and stripes. A triangular white space below his neck was probably intended to indicate an undergarment. On the right side is the figure of Athena seated on a folding chair and facing Dionysos. She has a helmet with high crest, spear, and shield. Her garment is decorated like that of Dionysos. On the shield is a bent leg painted in white, and purple dots around the rim. Athena's face and grotesquely elongated feet are also painted white. Behind the two deities on either side stands a satyr. The one on the left is dancing, the other approaches Athena with a gesture which seems to indicate

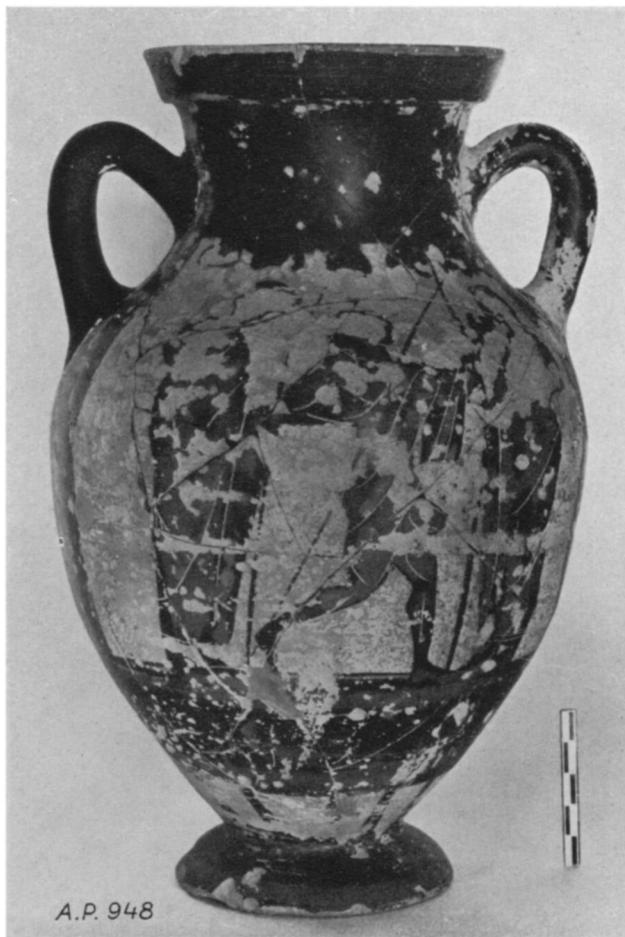


Fig. 12. Black-figured Amphora from Y-Z

surprise. The figures are badly drawn, but the effect of the whole picture is pleasing. White and purple colors are very well preserved.

4. (A.P. 948) Fig. 12. Amphora. Height, 0.26 m.; diam., 0.16 m. Most of the vase is covered with a mottled red and black glaze. Above the base is a reserved band with a pattern of rays, and on either side of the body is a reserved panel.

The clay is brick red and coarse, and seems to have contained some particles of limestone which turned to lime in the firing and caused the surface to flake off. Moreover, the vase was not properly polished before the glaze was applied; the marks of turning are clearly visible in many places.

A. A nude youth with a spear in his right hand and some indistinct object in the left is standing in the centre. He appears to be walking to the right, but is looking in the opposite direction. On either side of him is a draped figure holding a spear. Above is a row of heart-shaped leaves.

B. Fig. 12. A youthful warrior with his chlamys over his left arm and his spear in his right hand advances to the right, looking back. He, too, seems to have held something in his left hand, but it may be merely the poor rendering of the hand that gives this effect. In front and behind are draped figures holding spears, almost identical with the flanking figures on the opposite side.



Fig. 13. Black-figured Lekythos from Y-Z

5. (A.P. 941) Fig. 13. Lekythos. Height from foot to shoulder, 0.097 m.; diam., 0.062 m. The neck and most of the shoulder are missing. In the centre of the scene is a horse to left and behind him stands a figure, apparently female, wearing an outer cloak with a border of white dots and a purple stripe. She wears a fillet or wreath on her head and in her hand she appears to hold the bridle of the horse. On either side of her stands a warrior to left in full armor, with spear, helmet, and large circular shield. Purple and white are used freely for accessories. On the shoulder of the vase are figures of a cock and heart-shaped leaves. The bottom is unglazed and perforated in the centre.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See G. P. Oeconomus, "De profisionum receptaculis sepulcralibus," pp. 22 ff.

6. (A.P. 950) Fig. 14. Part of lekythos. On the front is a scene of a warrior to left between two draped figures facing each other. The drawing is very poor.
7. (A.P. 958) Fig. 14. Fragment of a black-figured lekythos, preserving the lower part of two figures. The scene seems to have consisted of a warrior between two draped figures. Very careless work.

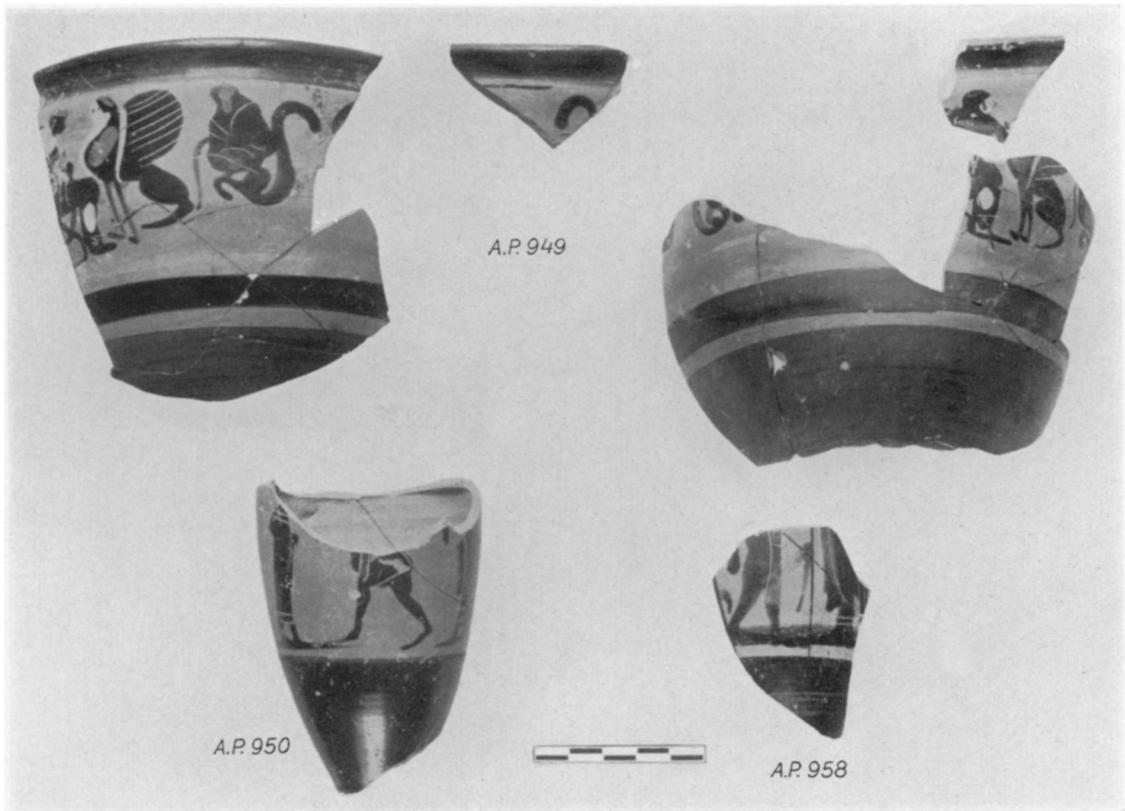


Fig. 14. Fragments of Three Black-figured Vases from Y-Z

8. (A.P. 949) Fig. 14. Fragments of a black-figured skyphos with moulded lip. The glaze varies between black and red. Of the decoration is preserved a draped figure to right seated on a folding chair, and facing him is a seated sphinx. There seems to be room for another sphinx behind the seated figure. The scene on the other side was similar. On either side of the handles were palmettes. Red and white paint and incised lines were used for accessories.

This is a striking example of the incredibly careless vase-painting produced in Athens during the period of the finest archaic art.

9. (A.P. 990) Fig. 15. Fragment of plate. On the rim is a double row of elongated leaves. In the centre within a border of purple lines and black dots is preserved

the lower part of a draped figure to right. In the exergue below is a crude palmette. The fabric is heavy and rather coarse.

10. (A.P. 970) Fig. 15. Two fragments of a plate of very fine ware. The rim both above and below has several raised and sunk bands, further accentuated by being reserved. The smaller fragment from the decorated panel in the centre preserves part of a running dog to right. Details are rendered by incised lines and a liberal

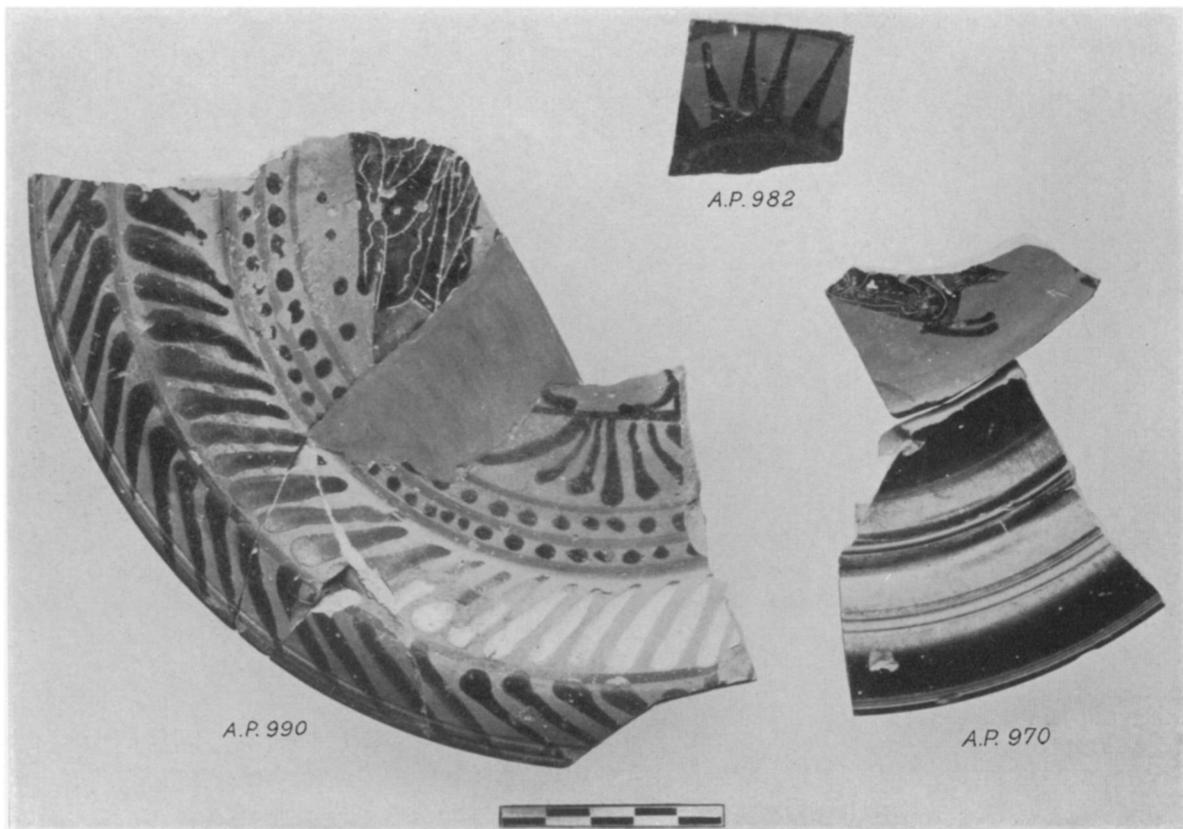


Fig. 15. Fragments of Plates and Lekanis Cover from Y-Z

use of white and purple. The two fragments do not join, but there is little doubt that they belong to the same plate.

11. (A.P. 982) Fig. 15. Sherd from middle part of lekanis cover with ray pattern and purple line. The under side is covered with a black and brown glaze and decorated with purple lines.
12. (A.P. 969) Fig. 16. Diam., 0.25 m. Fragments of lid with double row of heart-shaped leaves on the rim and rays in the centre within a reserved band. The

under side, unglazed, is provided with a substantial flange at the inner edge of the flat rim. The clay and glaze are of excellent quality.

13. (A.P. 983) Fig. 17. Sherd of Protocorinthian ware with imbricated pattern made with deeply incised lines. Below are one white and three purple lines. Light buff clay. (The sherd is turned upside down in the photograph.)
14. (A.P. 972) Fig. 17. Fragment of a black-figured lekythos on which are preserved parts of two figures facing each other.
15. (A.P. 1042) Fig. 17. Sherd of black-figured skyphos with a ray pattern at the foot and the lower parts of three draped human figures above.
16. (A.P. 995) Fig. 17. Small fragment of lekythos with figure of Herakles wearing the lion's skin. Accessories are added in purple color and incisions.
17. (A.P. 1046) Fig. 17. Small fragment of black-figured lekythos with part of warrior to right and traces of two other figures.
18. (A.P. 971) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd with part of a shield preserved. The rim is purple and the design on the shield is white.
19. (A.P. 967) Fig. 17. Tiny black-figured sherd with head of ram to right. The large curving horns are painted white, the neck is purple.
20. (A.P. 981) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd with upper part of male figure to right holding a spear. In front is part of another figure.
21. (A.P. 964) Fig. 17. Sherd from interior of cup with figure of gorgoneion. The teeth are rendered in white, the tongue is purple.
22. (A.P. 966) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd from interior of cup. One foot and part of drapery of female figure are preserved.
23. (A.P. 988) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd with head of lion. Dark purple paint is used for the mane.
24. (A.P. 994) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd with figure of warrior wearing breastplate and holding large shield and spear. Decorations on shield and breastplate are added with a creamy white paint and incised lines, and the sword belt seems to have been purple.
25. (A.P. 978) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd of open vase with left foot and part of drapery of figure to right.

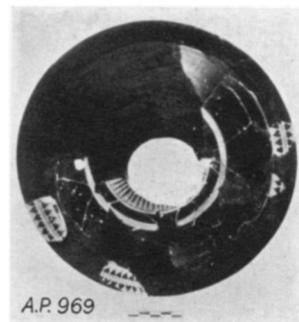


Fig. 16. Fragments of Large Lid from Y-Z

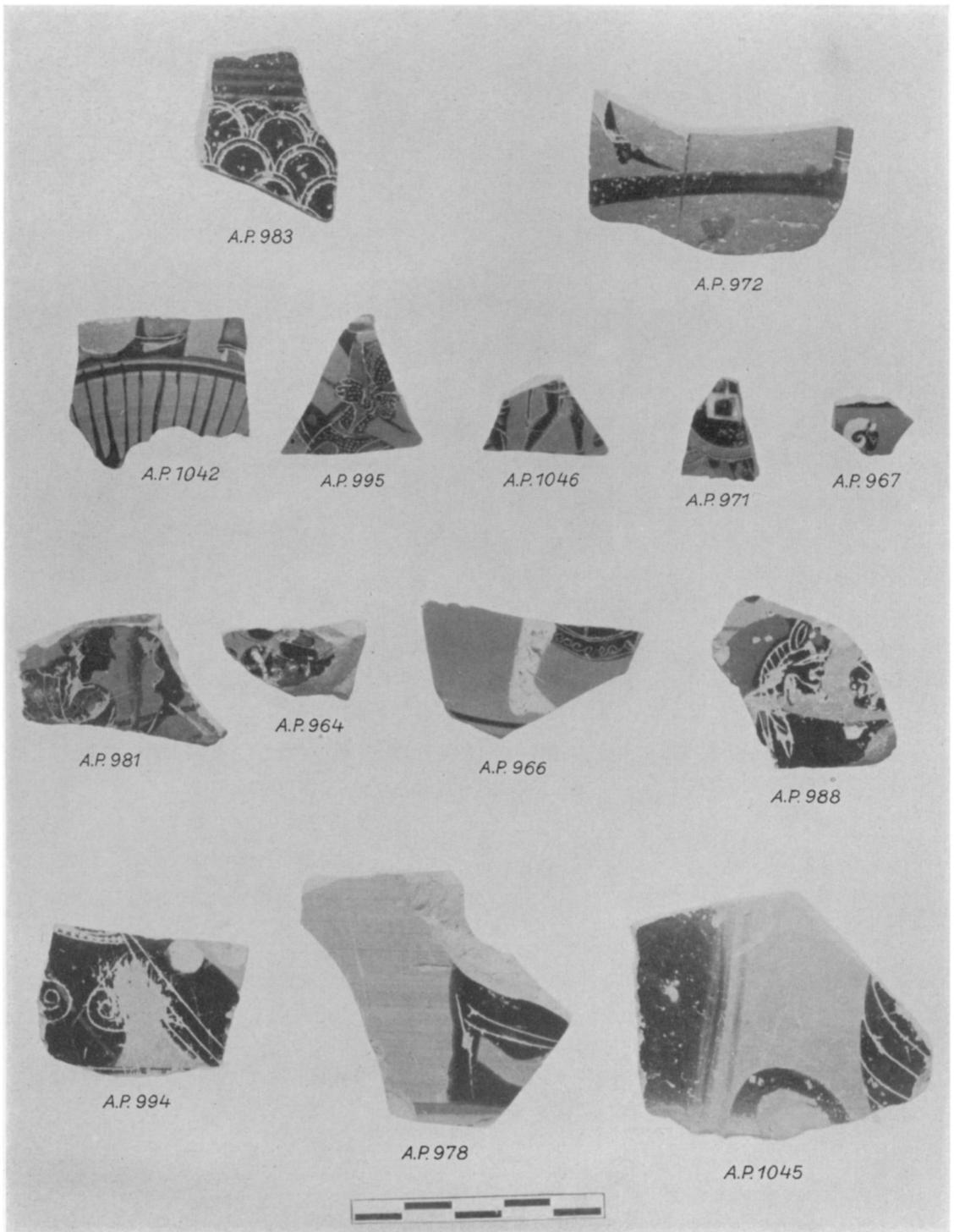


Fig. 17. Small Fragments of Pottery from Y-Z

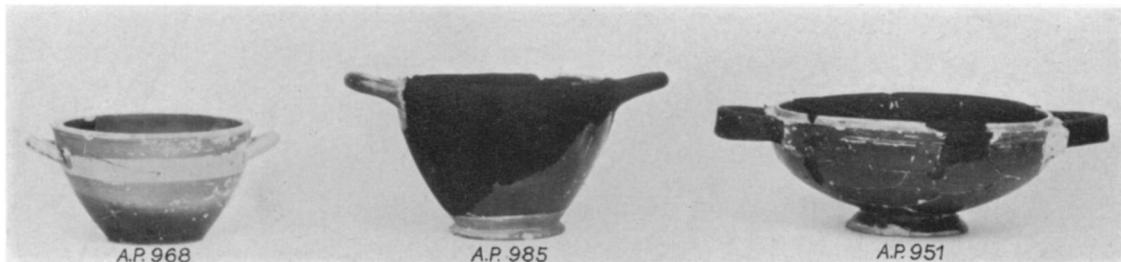


Fig. 18. Three Plain Vases from Y—Z

26. (A.P. 1045) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd with remains of figured decoration, probably part of sphinx.
27. (A.P. 968) Fig. 18. Height, 0.056 m.; diam., 0.097 m. Skyphos with flat rim projecting slightly toward the outside. At the level of the handle is a reserved band and on the rim are alternating painted and unpainted sections. The bottom is flat and unpainted. The glaze varies between red and dark brown. A similar vase was discovered in well M (see p. 216, Fig. 49, A.P. 1086).
28. (A.P. 985) Fig. 18. Height, 0.077 m.; diam., 0.108 m. Fragments of black painted skyphos with a purple band just above the base applied directly on the clay, and a narrow line of purple below the handles applied over the black glaze.
29. (A.P. 951) Fig. 18. Height, 0.064 m.; diam., 0.15 m. Shallow lekane with flange for the lid. On the inside are two double lines in purple color applied on the black glaze which covers the vase.
30. (A.P. 993) Fig. 19. Height, 0.15 m.; diam., *ca.* 0.26 m. Part of bowl with broad, flat rim and horizontal handle turned up so as to be joined to outer edge of rim. There are bands of brown glaze around the middle and on the base, and the whole inside is covered with a dark brown glaze.
31. (A.P. 947) Fig. 20. Amphora. Height, 0.34 m.; diam., 0.31 m. The clay is rather fine, of a reddish buff color. Decorations in reddish brown consist of horizontal bands on body, neck, and rim, double loops with crosses on the shoulders, and zigzags on the neck. The outside of the handles is covered with similar glaze. Much of the vase, including the whole base, is restored in plaster.



Fig. 19. Part of Bowl of Household Ware from Y—Z



Translation: "Laphilides thinks that Agasikles, Eurykles, K - - - and - - - - kles are utterly dull-witted."

The first line contains two names in the nominative case, but the second name seems to be misspelled. At the beginning of the second line there were probably two names in the nominative case, followed by the infinitive *δοκῆν*, and a third name in the dative. The letter following the name *Λαφιλίδει* was written as an *alpha* and later changed to *kappa*, or vice versa. The rest of the letters are perfectly clear, but the meaning is puzzling. The most plausible reading is *καβ(β)αρίνος*.

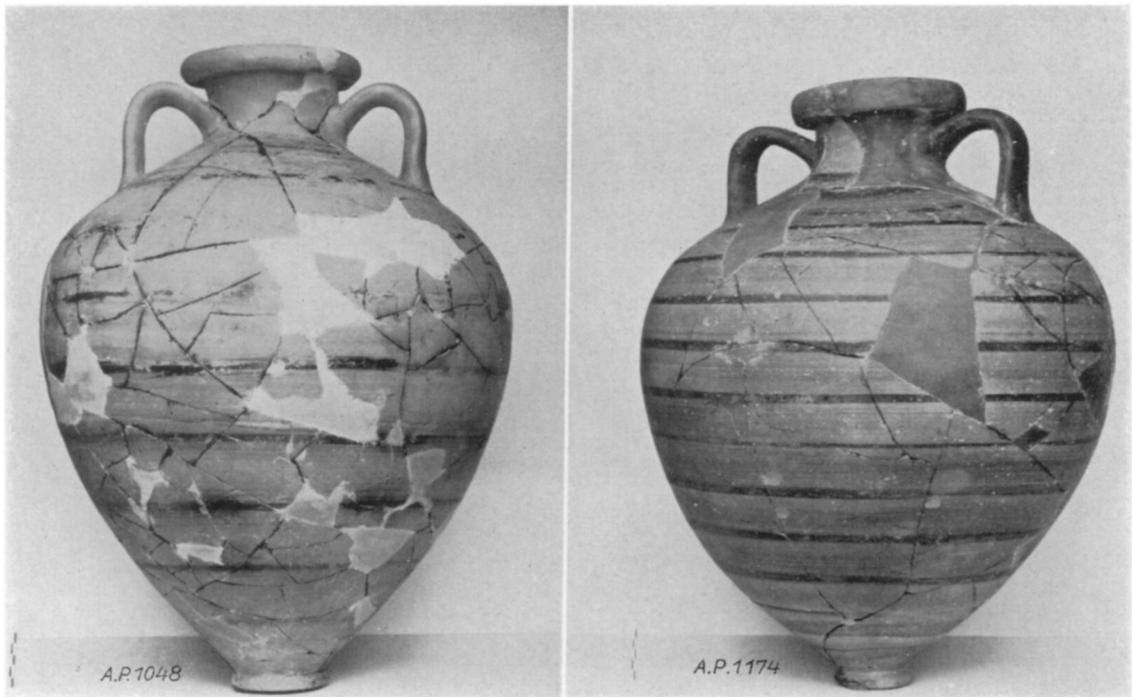


Fig. 21. Large Amphora from Y-Z (left), and Similar Vase from Main Area

The word *βαρίνος* seems to be otherwise unknown, but parallel formations, such as *βαρύφρων*, *βαρήκοος*, occur. The preposition *κατά* joined to the word *βαρίνος* here has an intensive force as in *κατάδηλος*, *καταφανής*, *κατάρατος*, *κατάπλεος*, etc. The abbreviated form of *κατά* occurs in similar formations in Doric dialects.<sup>1</sup> The infinitive *δοκῆν* is peculiar in this sentence. If all the names in the nominative were considered as the subject, the form ought to be *δοκοῦσι*. Possibly this is some conversational use of the infinitive which does not occur in literature.

The habit on the part of the ancient Athenians of recording on their household ware whatever feelings they had about their neighbors is well attested by graffiti

<sup>1</sup> E. g. the Doric form of *καταβαίνω* is *καβαίνω*; see R. Kühner, *Ausf. Grammatik d. gr. Sprache*, I, p. 179, 4.

found in the excavations in the Agora.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the vases inscribed with these sentiments were filled with wine or some other product and presented as a gesture of contempt.

The decoration on the vase is most unusual. Fortunately the contents of the cutting in which the pieces were found can be dated with accuracy to the second half of the sixth century B.C. (see p. 171), and this date is further indicated by the letter forms. The double loop pattern without the crosses appears on vases of orientalizing ware from Delos,<sup>2</sup> and Rhodes,<sup>3</sup> and on sherds from Olynthos, dating from the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.<sup>4</sup> Although the decorative motifs,

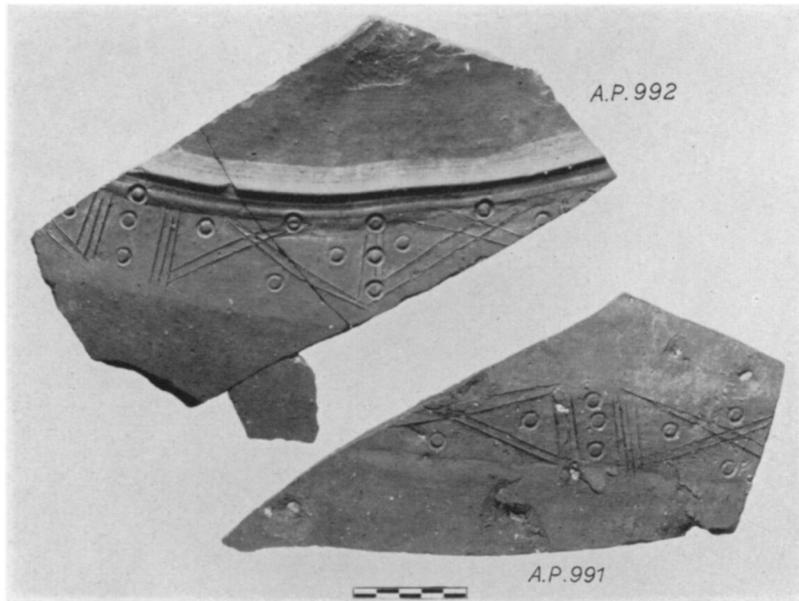


Fig. 22. Fragments of Pithos from Y- Z

simple as they are, may have been borrowed from non-Attic sources, the clay and glaze is so similar to that of other household ware from Athens (cf. No. 30 above) that there seems to be no good reason for doubting its Attic origin.

- 32.** (A.P. 1048) Fig. 21. Amphora. Height, 0.47 m.; greatest diam., 0.41 m. Pale buff clay. Coarse pot put together of numerous small fragments. On the body is a series of horizontal lines in brown paint at approximately regular intervals. The amphora shown on the right in figure 21 was found at the east edge of the main

<sup>1</sup> See L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 346 ff.; and T. L. Shear, *ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Dugas and Rhomaios, *Delos*, XVII, pl. X, nos. 7 and 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Clara Rhodos*, IV, pp. 128, fig. 121; 193, fig. 201; 254, fig. 276; 335, fig. 371.

<sup>4</sup> G. Mylonas, *Olynthos*, V, pl. 41, P. 81.

area together with sherds of the black-figure period. Similar vases have been discovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora,<sup>1</sup> and recently several amphoras of approximately the same size with similar decorations were discovered in a sixth century well in the Agora at Corinth.

33. (A.P. 991 + 992) Fig. 22. Several fragments of a pithos with at least two bands of incised lines and circles. For a discussion of the decoration see p. 221, Fig. 56 (A.P. 1127), and cf. fragments from well V, p. 198, Fig. 33, A.P. 1176.



Fig. 23. Poros Statuette from Y-Z

#### OTHER OBJECTS.

The only piece of sculpture from Y-Z (A.S. 162) is the small statuette<sup>2</sup> shown in Figs. 23, a and b, and 24. It is made of very soft stone, like hardened clay, of a light buff color. The head is missing, but the edge of the hair is preserved on the back. The greater part of the feet and part of the right hand are likewise broken away, and the

<sup>1</sup> These will be published by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool in the next number of this journal.

<sup>2</sup> Preserved height, 0.08 m.

surface is damaged in several places. There are slight traces of pink color preserved along the edges of the drapery.

The statuette represents a seated draped figure, apparently female. The hands are held on the knees, palm up, and in the left hand is a spherical object, like an apple. A similar object may have been held in the right hand. The feet are drawn back forming an acute angle at the knees, and the left foot is slightly advanced. The drapery consists of a chiton with a fringed border at the bottom and a plain fold between the knees;



Fig. 24. Poros Statuette. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

and an outer garment extending down to the edge of the chair, and forming an apronlike flap on the lap of the figure. With the exception of a broad fold or seam in front, representing the two edges of the himation, and a curved line below the left knee, the drapery is plain. At the lower edge it spreads and extends to the edge of the seat. Of the chair only the edges of the seat proper are represented. The lower part consists of a square plinth rather crudely carved. The throne may have been of some perishable material like wood into which the square plinth was inserted. In the bottom of the plinth is a hole, 0.04 m. deep and 0.009 m. in diameter, which may have fitted to a peg for fastening the figure to the base.

This statuette, probably earlier than any of the other seated figures from the Acropolis,<sup>1</sup> shows more clearly than they the influence from Ionia.<sup>2</sup> Its heavy proportions and the form of the drapery connect it very closely to the earliest among the Branchidai statues<sup>3</sup>

and the seated figure of Phileia from the Heraion on Samos.<sup>4</sup> But there is a fundamental difference between the statuette and the figures of the Ionic school. The often repeated

<sup>1</sup> Among the statues from the Acropolis the one most nearly related stylistically to our statuette is No. 655 (Dickens, *Cat. of Acrop. Mus.*, I, p. 193; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pl. 125, 5), found northeast of the Erechtheum (Petersen, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 145). This is a seated marble figure measuring 0.285 m. in height. The description by Dickens of the Acropolis figure would be equally applicable to our statuette: "The appearance of the statuette is very archaic and rude, like the earliest Branchidai figures."

<sup>2</sup> See Hans Möbius, "Form und Bedeutung der sitzenden Gestalt," in *Ath. Mitt.*, XLI, 1916, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Br.-Br.*, 141, 142.

<sup>4</sup> Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder*, p. 26, pls. 90-91.

tag that these figures "sit in their thrones as if they would never be able to rise" does not apply in the same degree to our statuette. The effect, aptly described by the above phrase, is obtained not only by the heavy drapery and by the pose of the figure, which makes it seem "all of a piece with the chair";<sup>1</sup> it is chiefly due to the position of the legs, and in this respect our statuette is more closely related to the early Attic school. In the Branchidai figures and in most seated statues of the Ionic school the angle of the knees is considerably more than a right angle, whereas in the Attic figures the legs are drawn back forming an acute angle at the knee. This is the position of the legs which a seated person has to assume before he can rise from the chair, and it is this position that gives the seated figures of the Attic school a less immobile effect. It is particularly pronounced in the Athena statue of Endoios, but may be observed in many others.<sup>2</sup> A second touch of naturalism, obtained by putting one foot slightly in front of the other, gives the springy effect especially prominent in the Athena statue. Both these elements are present in our statuette. Heavy and squat as it is, entirely submerged under the foldless drapery which almost obliterates the bodily form underneath, it nevertheless conveys the impression that the person seated in the chair is at least willing—if unable—to rise.

In view of the fact that none of the objects from the cutting can be shown to have come down from the Acropolis, it is not improbable that the figure under discussion was dedicated in one of the nearby sanctuaries on the North Slope. The object held in the hand, probably an apple, is an appropriate attribute of Aphrodite, and the nearness of her sanctuary to the place of finding adds probability to the suggestion that the seated figure represents the goddess. If this is correct, the statuette is the earliest object hitherto discovered which can be connected with her shrine.

Apart from the pottery and the statuette, few objects of interest came out of the fill in Y-Z. Two bronze vessels, a small pitcher and a bowl, are so completely oxidized that it would be inadvisable to subject them to any process of cleaning. A few pieces of terracotta figurines, one Mycenaean, and several small fragments of the primitive type, are of no importance. A more interesting object is the mould for a small head (A.F. 646), probably of the type applied to a flat plaque.<sup>3</sup> Figure 25 shows the mould and a plaster cast made from it. A tiny fragment of an Egyptian vessel of a greenish buff paste (A.M. 219, Fig. 81) was discovered close to the bottom of the cutting. It seems to be part of a flask of the shape known as Menas flasks of later times. The fragment preserves part of the figure of a bird, outlined in black.

Six loom weights were found, four of which (A.W. 59, 60, 61, 68) are of the common pyramidal type. One of these (A.W. 68) has some small depressions in the top made with a pointed instrument while the clay was wet. One (A.W. 62) is almost brick-shaped, only slightly wider at the bottom than at the top, and a single specimen (A.W. 63) is conical.

<sup>1</sup> Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 117, nos. 618, 620; and the figures of scribes on pl. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Morgan, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 203, fig. 9.

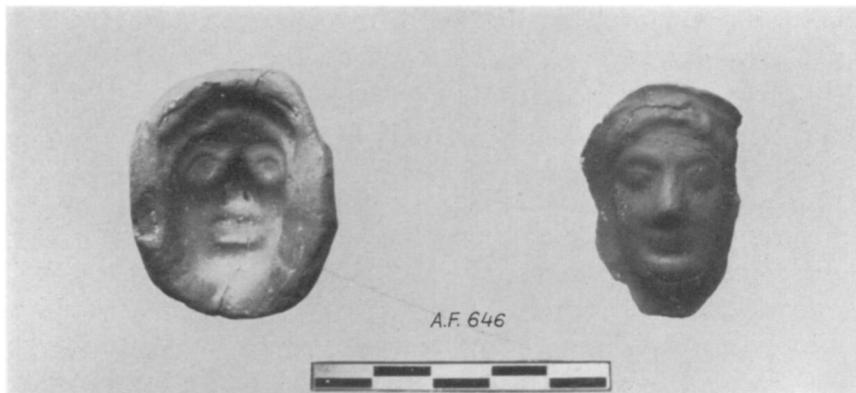


Fig. 25. Terracotta Mould and Plaster Cast of Head from Y-Z

#### WELL V

At a distance of 7 m. northwest of Y-Z was discovered a well (Fig. 5, V), having a diameter of 0.92 m. and reaching a depth of 17.80 m. In the sides are two rows of small steps. Although the well was sunk on the steep upper slope, it has an ample supply of water, standing to a depth of *ca.* 3 m., which does not give out during the dry season. The well seems to have been filled up at one time from the bottom to the very top. There was no accumulation at the bottom which can have been made while the well was still in use. Either it was filled up not long after it had been dug, or else it had been cleaned out shortly before the fill was thrown in.

For the dating of the fill the most important of the objects are two tiny pieces of red-figured cups, one with decorations round the handle (Fig. 27, A.P. 1015) similar to those on the cup from Y-Z (Fig. 9). The rest of the pottery from well V is black-figured, of the sixth century B.C.

#### POTTERY

1. (A.P. 1044) Black-figured calyx-krater of Exekias found at a depth of 17 to 17.80 m., and published in a separate article, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 469-486.
2. (A.P. 1008) Fig. 26. Three fragments of a plate of heavy fabric. In a panel to the left of the centre, a draped figure to right leans on a spear or staff. Facing him is the figure of Athena with a large shield leaning against her left side. Behind her is another draped figure also holding a spear or staff. The top of the head of the figure on the extreme right is preserved on a small fragment from the upper part of the plate. A checker pattern fills the spaces above and below the panel with the figured decoration.<sup>1</sup> The reverse is painted in bands of poor black glaze which tends to peel off.

<sup>1</sup> For a similar plate cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 99, no. 2428, a-b.

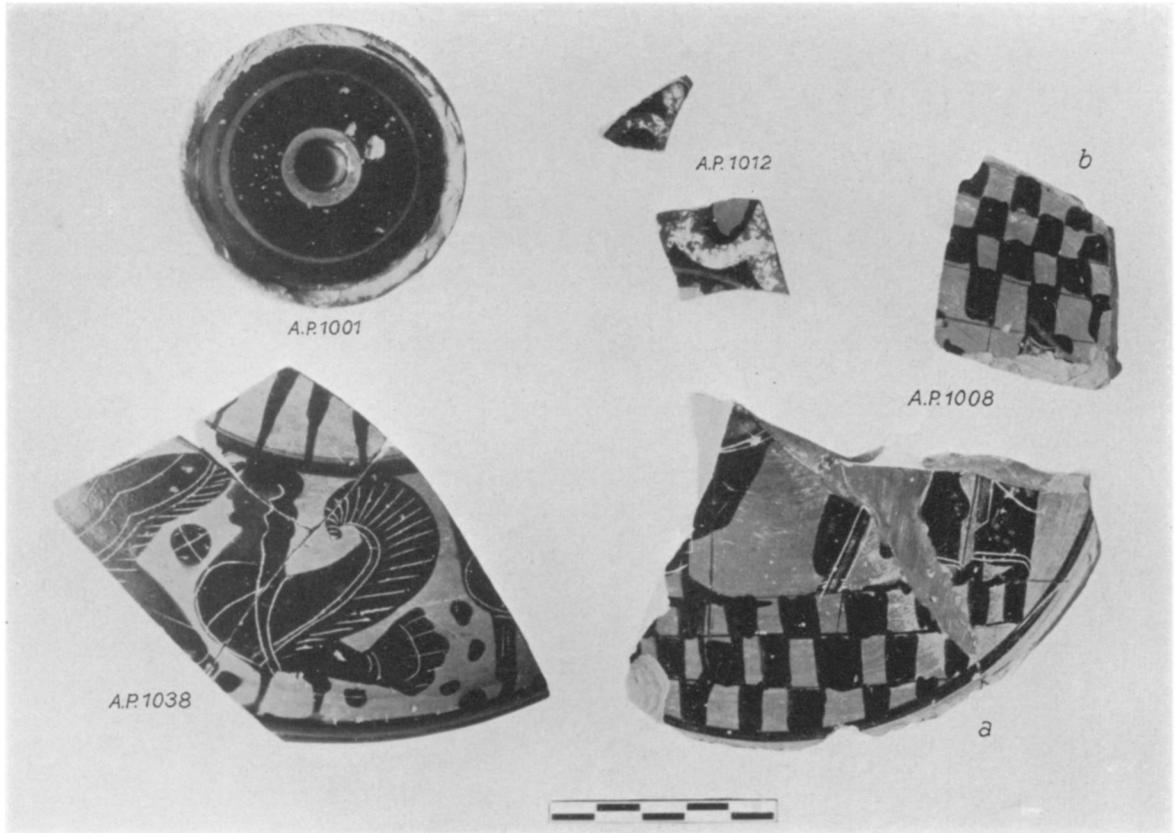


Fig. 26. Fragments of Black-figured Pottery from Well V

The three pieces came from different depths in the well, one at the very top before the well shaft had begun to appear, a second at a depth of 2.50 m., and a third at 7.25 m. The discovery of these three pieces at greatly varying depths strengthens the conclusion, drawn from the homogeneity of the fill, that the whole well was filled up at one time (see p. 195, No. 22).

3. (A.P. 1038) Fig. 26. Lid decorated on top with a row of sirens and sphinxes to left. Rosettes and small blobs are used as fillers, and round the knob in the centre is a pattern of rays. The inside is covered with black glaze, over which were applied two lines in red.
4. (A.P. 1001) Fig. 26. Handle of lid. Diam., 0.062 m. The outer edge is raised and in the centre is a deep conical depression. The edge of the rim and a ring round the depression are reserved, and there is a band of purple on the top.
5. (A.P. 1041) Fig. 27. Fragment of black-figured oinochoe with reserved panel decorated with figures. Only rear part of horse and left leg of man to right remain. The glaze

is mottled red and black, and below the decorated panel is a purple line encircling the vase.

6. (A.P. 998) Fig. 27. Small fragment of black-figured lekythos with rays at the bottom and animal's foot above.
7. (A.P. 1004) Fig. 27. Fragment of pitcher with a tongue pattern on the neck. Below are parts of two figures to right, probably sphinxes. Purple is used for the headgear of one figure and the wing of the other. Very careless work. The largest fragment came from a depth of 2-3 m.; but other pieces were found 5 m. deeper. Cf. No. 2 for a similar occurrence of fragments of the same vase found at different levels.
8. (A.P. 1017) Fig. 27. Fragment from neck and shoulder of Panathenaic amphora. Of the decoration are preserved a bit of the palmette design on the neck, some of the tongue pattern on the shoulder, and at the lower edge the face of a man to right. At the base of the neck is a raised line. Purple is used for the fillet round the man's hair, for the tongue pattern, and for narrow lines at the edges of the black band on the shoulder.
9. (A.P. 1010) Fig. 27. Fragment of large black-figured vase. Part of chariot scene; the hind legs of the horses, the pole and traces, and part of the guard of the chariot are preserved. Between the horses and the chariot the whole space is filled in with black glaze. The horse on the right seems to have been painted white, but the color has disappeared, leaving a dull black surface which stands out against the shiny glaze of the background. Purple is used on the pole and on the guard of the chariot. The inside is painted dark brown.
10. (A.P. 1037) Fig. 27. Fragment of small black-figured skyphos. The lower part is painted black with a reserved band. Above is a decorated frieze, from the figures of which are preserved the lower part of a draped human figure to left and the rear part of a small sphinx, also to left. The inside is covered with black glaze.
11. (A.P. 1018) Fig. 27. Small fragment of large vase preserving one leg and part of the cloak of a figure walking with long strides to the right. The surface is much worn.
12. (A.P. 1020) Fig. 27. Fragment of lekythos with a checker pattern and a double row of small leaves on white ground. There are also traces of a purple line at the bottom.
13. (A.P. 997) Fig. 27. Black-figured sherd. Above a band with checker pattern is the right foot of a figure to right. Behind are preserved the letters - - - ΟΣ. Below is part of animal's head(?).
14. (A.P. 1039) Fig. 27. Diam. at top, 0.065 m. Fragments of small black-figured skyphos. Below the edge on either side is a pair of sphinxes facing each other. Very careless work. The glaze is red, shifting to dark brown and black.



15. (A.P. 1019) Fig. 28. Volute from handle of volute krater, decorated with a double row of heart-shaped leaves and a wavy line. The edges of the volutes are painted purple. Cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 111, 2633.
16. (A.P. 1002) Fig. 28. Fragment from edge of handle volute decorated with running spirals. At the outer edge are traces of a purple band. Cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 111, 2631 a.

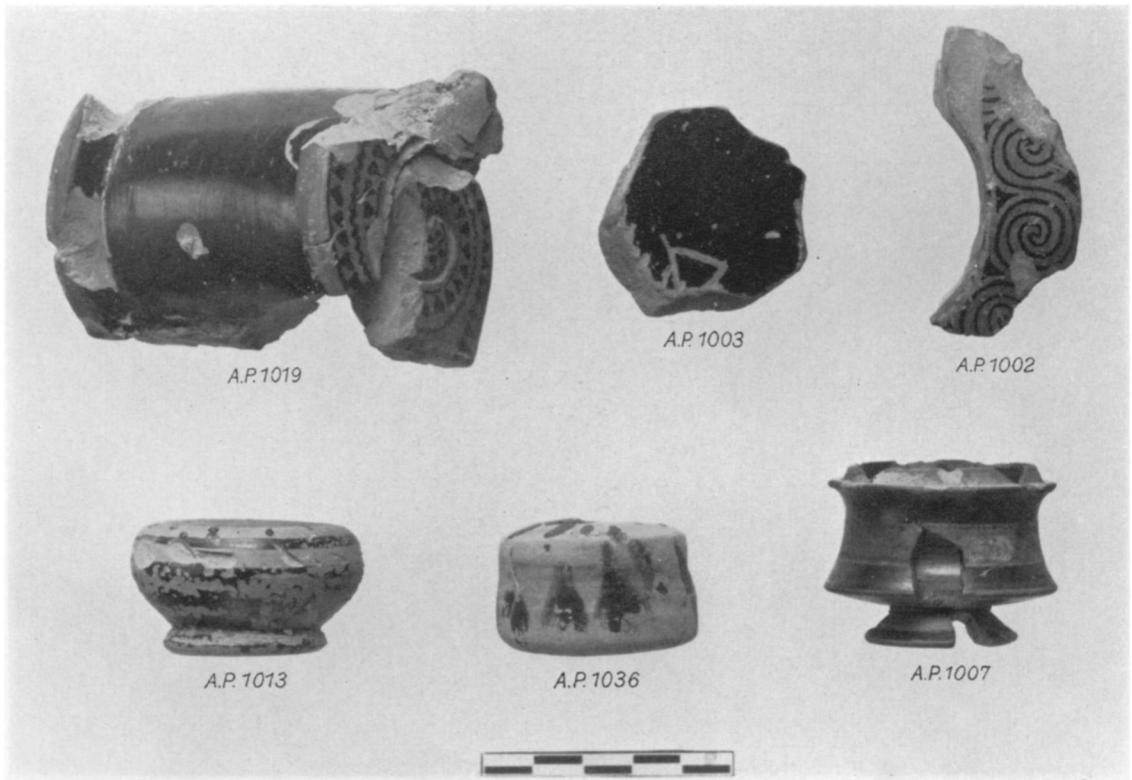


Fig. 28. Three Fragments of Pottery and Three Miniature Vases from Well V

17. (A.P. 1003) Fig. 28. Fragment of black glazed kylix on the inside of which is incised a *delta*, possibly with an *epsilon* on the left. This seems to be the kind of signature, used on vases belonging to the demos, numerous examples of which have been found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora.<sup>1</sup>
18. (A.P. 1013) Fig. 28. Miniature kothon without handle. Height, 0.025 m.; diam., 0.045 m. On the rim is a row of elongated dots on a reserved band. A narrow band below the rim and the bottom of the base are likewise unglazed. The surface tends to flake off.

<sup>1</sup> L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 352 ff.



Fig. 29. Lekythos of Six's Technique from Well V

- 19.** (A.P. 1036) Fig. 28. Diam., 0.039 m. Miniature squat oinochoe, poorly made and carelessly decorated with tongue patterns on shoulder and body. Handle and top missing.
- 20.** (A.P. 1007) Fig. 28. Miniature pyxis. Height, 0.035 m.; inner diam., 0.034 m. The foot is divided into three sections. The decoration consists of reserved bands and purple lines.
- 21.** (A.P. 1012) Fig. 26. Two small fragments of plate or bowl decorated with designs in white and purple on a black ground. The other side is unglazed.
- 22.** (A.P. 1024) Figs. 29 and 30. Lekythos in "Six's technique." Height from base to shoulder, 0.106 m.; diam. at shoulder, 0.075 m. The handle and the neck are entirely

missing, and large parts of the body have been restored in plaster. The opaque colors, applied over the black glaze, have entirely disappeared, leaving only shadowy outlines of the figures and marks of the incisions. Two colors, presumably a creamy



Fig. 30. Lekythos. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

white and some shade of red, were used, leaving slightly different outlines on the black glaze, but in the present condition of the vase it is practically impossible to determine with any degree of certainty the distribution of the two colors. The restoration of the colors indicated in figure 30 is partly conjectural.

The decorations, both on the body and on the shoulder of the vase, are confined to the front. The main scene consists of a figure of Aktaion, attacked by four dogs. He is represented entirely nude, running toward the right but looking back at the attacking dogs. His hair, which was not of the same color as the body, was presumably painted white and the body red.<sup>1</sup> The dogs are conceived of as running up on him from the rear, their heads being partly hidden behind the body of Aktaion. But the desire of the artist to represent all the figures in profile, has led him to arrange the dogs, two on either side, clinging to him high above the ground. If we are right in assuming that Aktaion was painted red or brown, all the dogs were probably white. Details were added by fine incised lines through which the opaque colors were scratched away exposing the black glaze underneath. These incisions now appear as fine shiny lines on the black glaze, but some of the details on the figure of Aktaion are rendered by deeper lines extending into the surface of the clay.

Below the decoration was a fine line, probably in purple. The shoulder decoration consists of a palmette of alternating white and red leaves, the spiral on either side of which ends in a bud.

The composition of the scene is very simple, but the figures are drawn with a sureness of form and attention to detail rarely encountered in vases decorated in this technique. The lively motion of the dogs and the frightened, helpless gestures of Aktaion are portrayed with a vividness and accuracy which the loss of the colors has not entirely obliterated.

A stylistic study of the lekythos in comparison with other vases of the same technique is difficult because of the disappearance of the colors. An alabastron in the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> on which are represented two grooms engaged in exercising horses, shows some affinity to our lekythos in the rendering of details of the nude figures, especially in the use of incised lines; but the figures of the grooms are drawn with a degree of naturalism which shows that the alabastron belongs to a later period. The fine column krater in Freiburg, published by Dragendorf,<sup>3</sup> and dated by him to the end of the sixth century is stylistically farther removed from our lekythos, although closely related in point of time.

Most of the fragments of the lekythos were found near the bottom of well V together with the pieces of the Exekias krater, but some came from a depth of only 7 m. The varying depths at which the fragments of this vase and those of the plate in figure 26 (A.P. 1008) were discovered show beyond a doubt that the well was filled up at one time.

- 23.** (A.P. 1015) Fig. 27. Small piece of red-figured cup decorated on the outside. A bell-shaped bud is the only part of the decoration that remains. Relief lines are visible

<sup>1</sup> Several instances of a similar color scheme are found (J. Six, *Gaz. Arch.*, 1888, pl. 28 B, C) but in other cases nude male figures are painted white.

<sup>2</sup> A.-S. Murray, *Mélanges Perrot*, pp. 251-254.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrb.*, XLIII, 1928, pp. 331 ff., and pls. 10, 11.

at the stem but not at the edges of the leaf itself. The fabric is less than 2 mm. thick. The bud is similar to those on A.P. 911 from Y-Z (p. 172, Fig. 9), and the date of the fragments must be approximately the same, *ca.* 510 B.C. This and the following small fragment, the only red-figured sherds from the well, are valuable for establishing the date of the fill.

24. (A.P. 1022) Fig. 27. Small sherd of red-figured cup of very thin fabric. The preserved decorations consisting of a spiral and a narrow reserved band are from the inside of the vase.
25. (A.P. 1030) Fig. 31. Small black painted pitcher. Preserved height, 0.115 m.; greatest diam., 0.079 m. The mouth and the handle are broken away. Just below the base of the handle is a purple line round the body of the vase. The base is flat and unpainted. On the neck are scratched the letters **XA**. The same two letters have been found on vases in the Athenian Agora.<sup>1</sup>

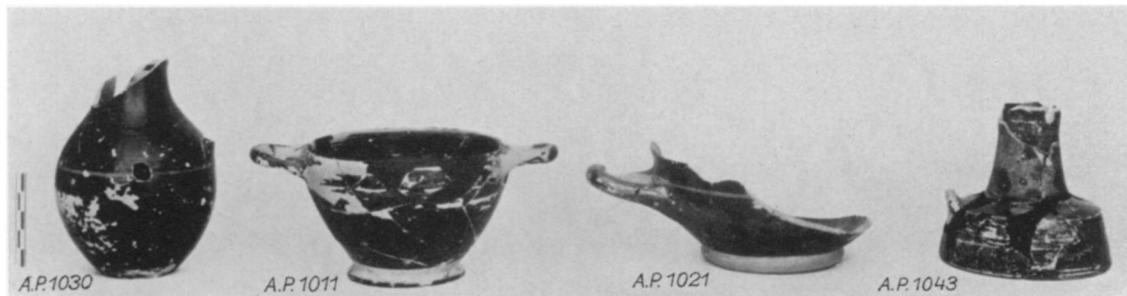


Fig. 31. Four Black Painted Vases from Well V

26. (A.P. 1011) Fig. 31. Corinthian skyphos. Height, 0.07 m.; diam., 0.102 m. It is covered with a poor, dark brown glaze, which has partly peeled off. Below the handles is a purple line, and at the foot a reserved band. The edge of the base ring is glazed and there are glazed circles in the centre, but the rest of the bottom is reserved. The color of the clay, where the glaze has peeled off, is pink, but the reserved parts at the base are light buff.
27. (A.P. 1021) Fig. 31. Part of a stemless kylix with offset rim, of rather coarse ware. There is a purple line below the rim both inside and outside. The base and the inside of the handle are unglazed.
28. (A.P. 1043) Fig. 31. Diam. at bottom, 0.09 m.; preserved height, 0.085 m. Oinochoe with squat angular body, long narrow neck, and single handle extending from the shoulder to the lip. Only the base of the handle is preserved, and the mouth is

<sup>1</sup> L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 352.

missing. The glaze is mottled red and black, and traces of purple lines are preserved on the body of the vase. The bottom is perfectly flat and unglazed.



Fig. 32. Large Undecorated Pithos from Well V

29. (A.P. 1176) Fig. 33. Fragment of large pithos of coarse, brick-red fabric, highly micaceous. Below the neck is a raised edge and directly below that a decorated band consisting of incised lines and stamped circles. Several fragments of a second pithos with similar decorations were also found at the bottom of the well. For

the type of pithos to which these fragments belong see p. 221, No. 1127, Fig. 56, and cf. p. 185, No. 33, Fig. 22.

30. (A. P. 1471) Fig. 32. Height, 0.985 m.; largest diam., 0.73 m.; outer diam. of rim, 0.555 m.; inner diam. of mouth, 0.40 m.; width of rim, 0.075 m.; diam. of base, 0.23 m. Large pithos with broad rim, flat on top, and a raised ridge to set off neck from shoulder and a similar ridge above the base. The fragments of the pithos were discovered at the bottom of well V together with the Exekias krater.

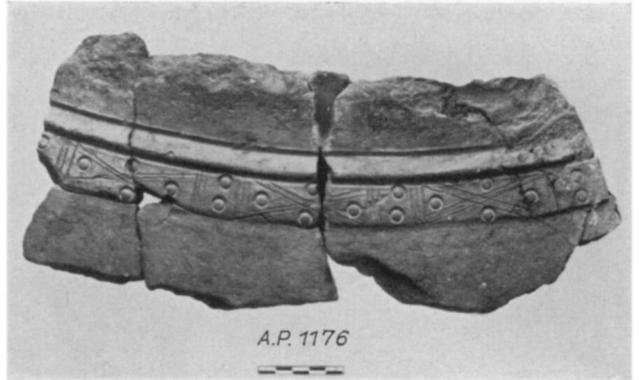


Fig. 33. Fragments of Pithos from Well V

#### LAMPS

The terracotta lamps from well V (Fig. 34) belong to types found in large numbers on the Acropolis. The earliest is A.L. 149, which is unglazed and made of rather coarse, brick-red clay. It consisted of a large circular vessel with numerous small, spoon-shaped depressions in the top which served as *infundibula*. Only two whole and two half depressions remain. The wicks lay in rudimentary nozzles, consisting of open grooves connected with the *infundibula*. A.L. 151 is of a later date, probably late sixth century B.C. The oil was poured into an open channel, the outer edge of which is pinched out at intervals to form open nozzles. A.L. 150 is made like ordinary lamps of type III,<sup>1</sup> but with an unbridged nozzle.<sup>2</sup> On the rim and the inside it is covered with a brown glaze. The reverse is flat, but has traces of an attachment to a circular base. This shows that it is part of a multiple lamp, consisting of numerous individual lamps attached to a circular stand with the nozzles turned toward the outside. No. 147, which belongs to type IV, had a small horizontal handle at the back. Like the preceding it was attached to a flat base-ring, a fragment of which still adheres to the bottom of the lamp. The individual lamps stood so close together on the stand that the sides show traces of the attachments from the other lamps of the group.

All four specimens discussed above belong to a class of multiple lamps, generally known as the Corona type, especially common on the Athenian Acropolis. It comprises several varieties, four of which are represented by the lamps from well V. It is found

<sup>1</sup> See *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> For lamps with unbridged nozzle, cf. Deonna, *B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 139, fig. 1; Walters, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps in British Museum*, p. xviii and pl. XXXIX, 10, 13; Thompson, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 196, fig. 1, L. 17. Among the published lamps from Corinth there are no examples with unbridged nozzles (see *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 5), but not a few have been discovered in the recent campaigns.

at all periods, but its use was probably limited chiefly to sanctuaries. Numerous examples have been found on the Athenian Acropolis<sup>1</sup> (still unpublished); in a temple deposit at Gortyna, Crete;<sup>2</sup> at Girgenti;<sup>3</sup> at Selinunte;<sup>4</sup> at Knidos,<sup>5</sup> and elsewhere.

Only a single specimen (A.L. 148) not belonging to the multiple type of lamps came from well V. It belongs to type V, the characteristic feature of which is the moulded lip round the central opening. It had a small horizontal handle at the back, now missing,

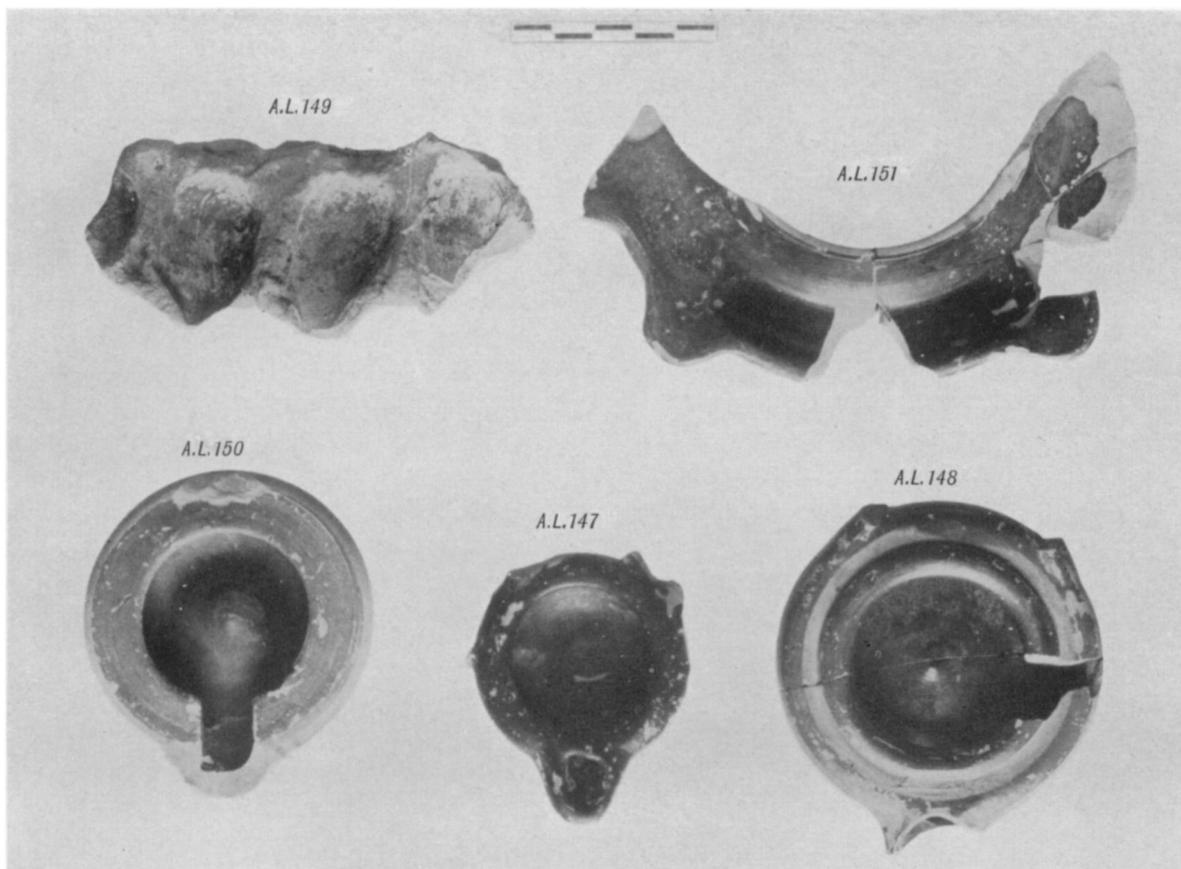


Fig. 34. Lamps from Well V

but no base. Brown glaze is applied on the inside, the nozzle, handle and moulded lip, and in a broad band on the rim. The rest is covered with a thin wash.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 345, fig. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1909, p. 102; Xanthoudides, *Guide to the Candia Museum*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Marconi (*Not. Scav.*, 1926, pp. 142-145, and fig. 33) identified the multiple lamps from Girgenti with the kernos, a multiple kind of censer, used chiefly in the cults of the Eleusinian divinities. See Leonard, *R.E.*, XI, 1, pp. 316 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, XXXII, pp. 370 ff., fig. 163.

<sup>5</sup> Walters, *op. cit.*, nos. 384-389.

The fact that all these lamps were discovered in a closed deposit with pottery of the second half of the sixth century is of the greatest importance for the dating of the individual types represented among them.

#### TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

The terracotta figurines, like the pottery from well V, present a homogeneous group of the ripe archaic period, the more important pieces of which are shown in Figs. 35-37. There are a few exceptions, including a fragmentary Mycenaean figurine of a common type<sup>1</sup> (A.F. 652, Fig. 35), and seven fragments of primitives, four of which are from standing figures of the columnar type (A.F. 624, and A.F. 653, Fig. 35), two from horses and riders (A.F. 608, Fig. 35), and one, too broken to give certain indication of its shape, seems to be part of some quadruped.

The two common types of archaic female figurines, the seated (Fig. 35, A.F. 577 and A.F. 610), and the standing (Fig. 35, A.F. 606 and A.F. 617) are represented by sixteen and five examples respectively, in addition to the separate heads, of which there are thirteen belonging to the two types.<sup>2</sup> A few have traces of red and blue color over a sizing of white, and most of them have some of the white color preserved. It is a remarkable fact that in several instances two or more of these figurines appear to have come from the same mould. Slight differences within these groups are due to the remodeling of the figures after they were removed from the moulds. In general only the front of the figurine was moulded, the rest being shaped by hand. The two seated figures in figure 35, A.F. 577 and A.F. 610, are probably from the same mould, but both show traces of remodeling. Five heads in the two upper rows of Fig. 36 show a strong similarity both in size and modeling, but the different treatment of the hair indicates that they came from three different moulds. A.F. 614 and A.F. 613 belong together as do A.F. 618 and A.F. 616, whereas A.F. 590 seems to belong to neither of these groups. Furthermore, A.F. 609 and A.F. 584 are apparently from a single mould, and the same is true of A.F. 588 and A.F. 604. All the nine heads considered above (three upper rows in Fig. 36) seem to be from seated figures. The fine head, A.F. 601, belongs to a figure of Athena wearing a helmet crest above the *stephane*.<sup>3</sup> The crest itself is missing, but the break at the top of the head shows the attachment.

The hand in figure 35 (A.F. 607) belongs to a less common type of standing figures, a few examples of which have been found in Tanagra, and in Athens.<sup>4</sup> The body is flat and the hands project straight forward. They are as a rule closed, and only the thumb

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Charles H. Morgan, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, fig. 1, a-e. The convenient classification used by Prof. Morgan in this article will be followed in the description of the terracottas below.

<sup>2</sup> The difficulty of determining whether a particular head belongs to a seated or a standing figure makes it desirable to group all the archaic heads together. Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 199, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 202, and fig. 7 b.

<sup>4</sup> Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, p. 32, 4.

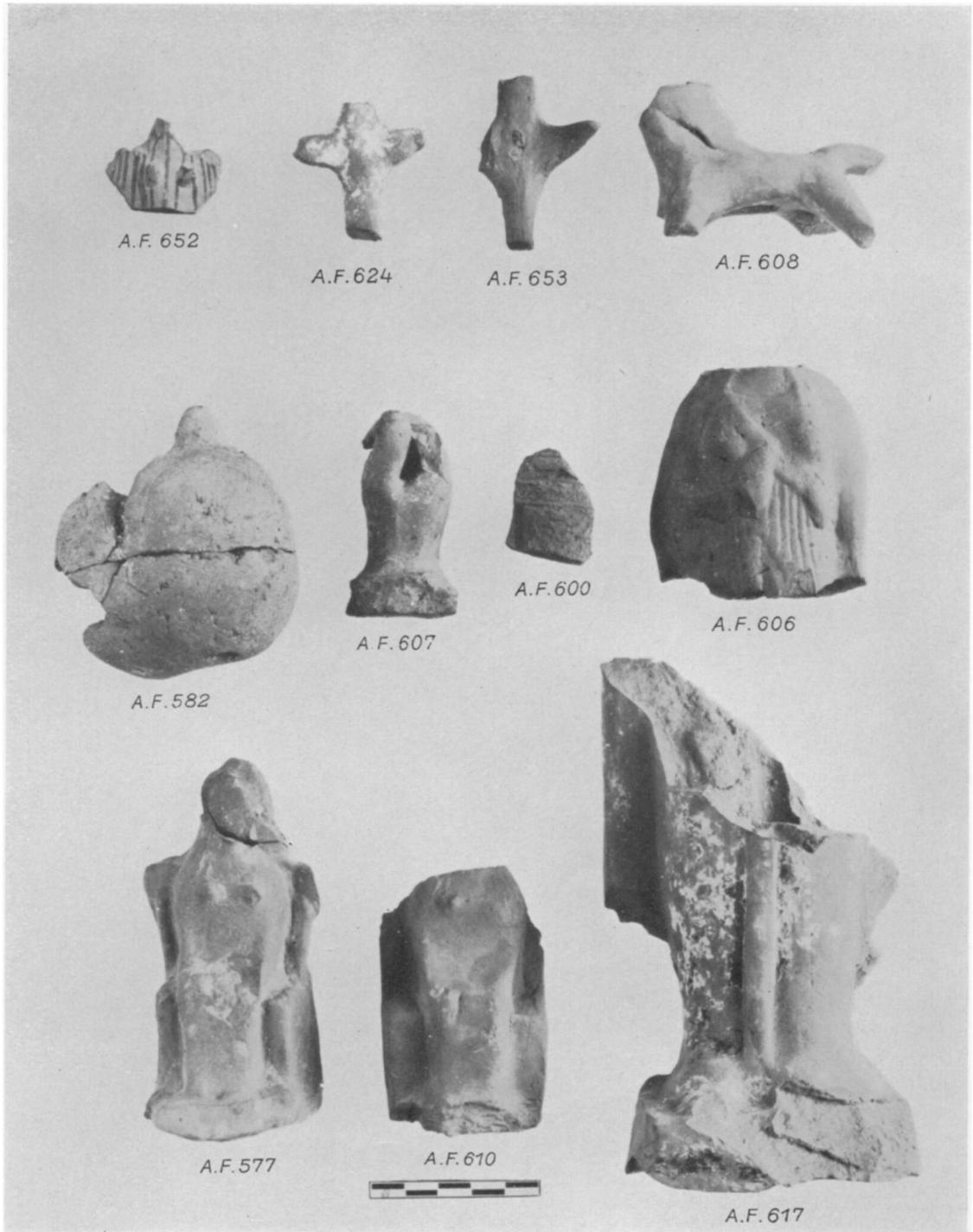


Fig. 35. Terracotta Figurines from Well V

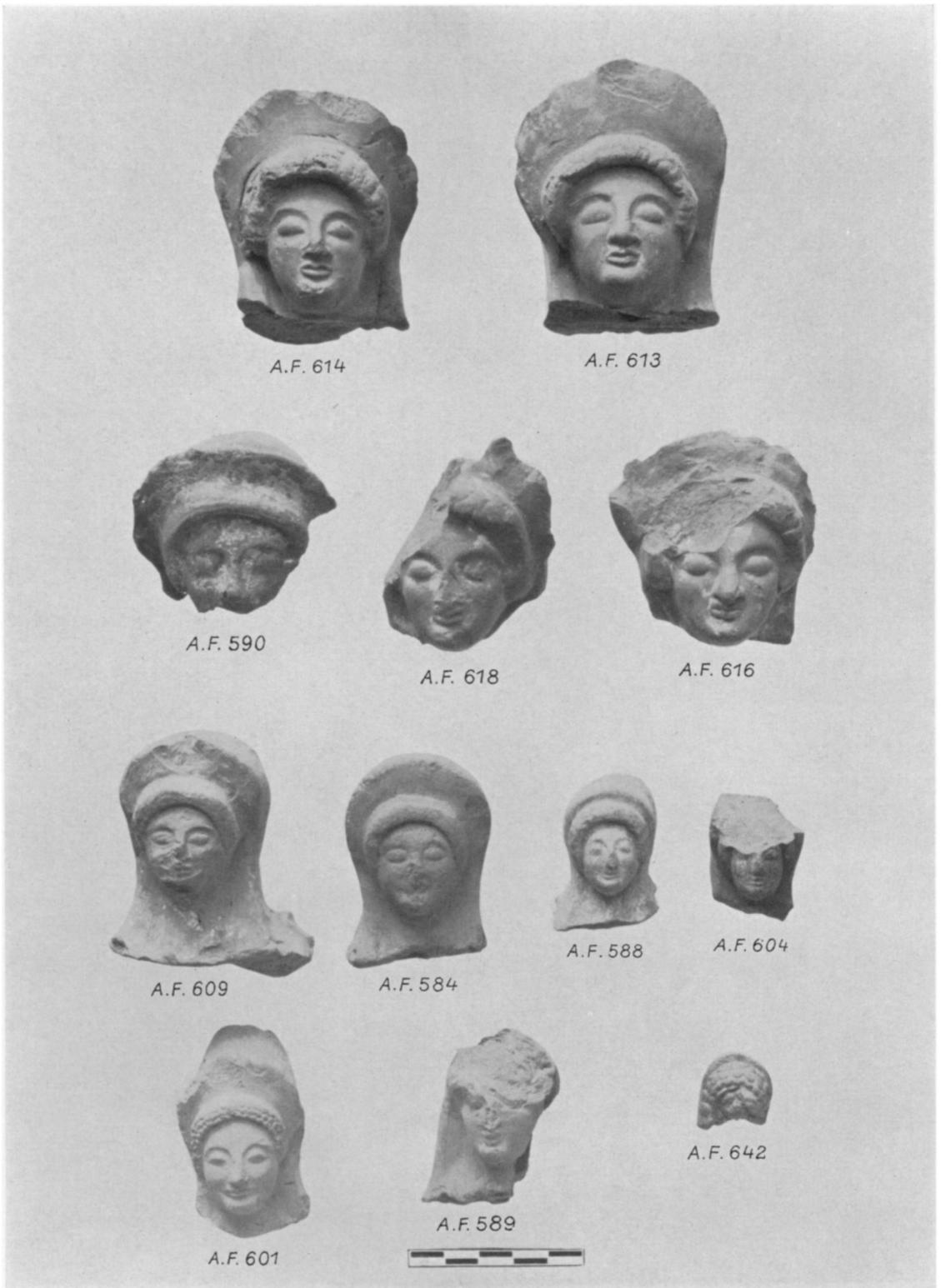


Fig. 36. Heads of Terracotta Figurines from Well V

is modeled separately, whereas the rest of the fingers are shaped together as if a mitten were worn.

At the very mouth of the well were found the fragments of the pomegranate, shown in figure 35 (A.F. 582). At one end is a deep groove and a knob, and at the other end is a hole, probably for suspension. The small fragment in figure 35 (A.F. 600) has a border of guilloche pattern and some indistinct decoration in relief. It may be part of a throne or some other piece of furniture.

A terracotta shield (Fig. 37), A.F. 583, with a diameter of 0.08 m. came from a depth of 1.50 m. In the centre is a gorgoneion. The white sizing which covers the whole surface is well preserved, and the rim had a coat of red over the white. The shield is from a large terracotta plaque on which was the figure of Athena riding in her chariot.<sup>1</sup> Part of Athena's drapery is preserved at the left edge of the fragment, and on the right side the original edge of the plaque remains.

The date of the figurines, as determined chiefly by the heads, agrees well with that of the pottery. The late archaic period, *i.e.* the very end of the sixth century and the first two decades of the fifth, is not represented. The heads belong to types which, on the basis of the Acropolis korai, may be dated chiefly in the third quarter of the century and slightly later.



Fig. 37. Fragment of Terracotta Relief from Well V

#### BRONZE HORSE-AND-RIDER

The horse-and-rider<sup>2</sup> (A.B. 177), shown in figures 38–40, was found in well V at a depth of 1.50 m. The photograph in figure 38 shows the condition of the bronze as it appeared when first discovered, and figures 39 and 40 show it after it had been cleaned.<sup>3</sup>

Both fore legs and the left hind leg of the horse are broken just below the knee, and the rider's left foot is missing. The horse's legs were apparently broken away and twisted when the figure was wrenched from its base. The tail has a break in the middle, but the lower part, being attached to the right hind leg, is preserved. There are some

<sup>1</sup> There are identical shields from similar plaques in the Acropolis Museum, cf. D. Brooke, in *Cat. of Acropolis Mus.*, II, section 2, p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> Measurements: Total length from tip of nose to tail of horse, 0.095 m.; total height above base ca. 0.10 m.

<sup>3</sup> The cleaning was done by Mrs. T. L. Shear. To her meticulous care and experience in handling metal objects of this kind is largely due the excellent appearance of the bronze.

indications of hammering on the mane of the horse and on the right shoulder of the rider. In general the surface is well preserved, but small pock-marks caused by oxidization are visible in places, especially on the right side of both horse and rider. Some of the deeper holes may be imperfections of casting.

On the right side of the horse is the beginning of an inscription, but only the first three letters, HIE, were incised. In view of the fact that the Anakeion is known to

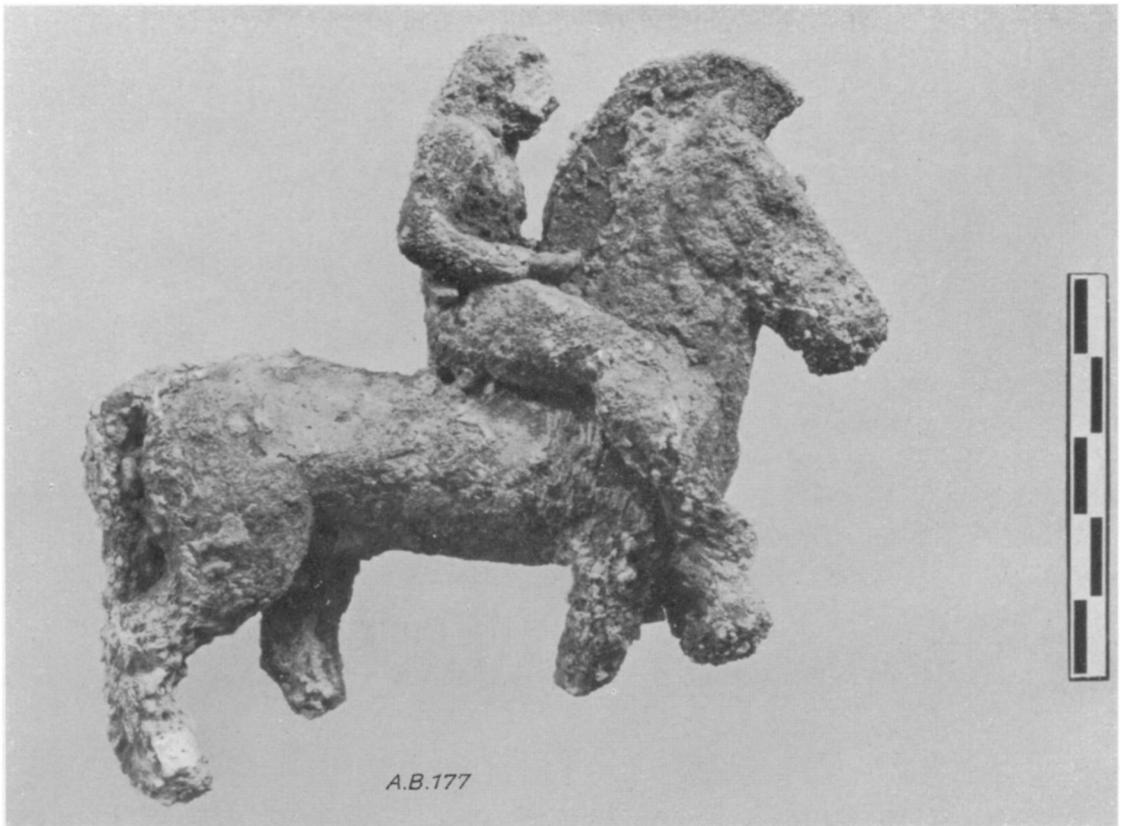


Fig. 38. Bronze Horse-and-Rider from Well V, Before Cleaning

have been located on the North Slope of the Acropolis it is tempting to restore it as *ἱερ[ον τοῖν Ἀνάκτοι]*, but it may equally well be a dedication to Athena or some other deity.

The horse is conceived in the manner of the ripe archaic period with long, cylindrical body, the neck forming nearly a right angle with the body, and the head set at an angle of approximately 45 degrees. The features of the head are modeled with great care and attention to details, but the end of the nose has suffered somewhat from oxidization. The cheeks are indicated by curved lines, but the curve is too abrupt, making the cheeks unnaturally small. The individual hairs of the hogged mane are



Fig. 39. Bronze Horse-and-Rider, Profiles

rendered by fine incised lines, and tufts of hair are similarly indicated below the cheeks and behind the elbows. The hair of the long tail is parted in the middle.



Fig. 40. Bronze Horse-and-Rider, Front View

The rider is seated far forward, and his legs, disproportionately long, seem to grip the chest of the horse. On the preserved right foot are traces of sandal straps, but he wears no other clothing. His hair, held in front by a fillet, falls in a solid mass on his back. His face is rather broad, his nose large, and his eyes bulging. His head is bent

slightly to the right (the statue's left, see Fig. 40) to avoid being hidden behind the head of the horse which is turned a little in the opposite direction.<sup>1</sup> The rider's hands, resting on his thighs, are in the position required for holding the reins, but no attachments for reins are visible either at his hands or at the mouth of the horse.

For a stylistic study of our statuette there are few examples of small bronzes that can serve as comparative material. Horses and riders of the archaic period are known from other parts of Greece and Sicily, but they are as different from our bronze as non-Attic archaic art in general differs from that of Athens. The horse-and-rider from Mantinea, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,<sup>2</sup> which is later, is not of the same breed, and the same may be said of the horse (without rider) in the Louvre from Dodona,<sup>3</sup> and of the well preserved specimen from Grumentum in the British Museum.<sup>4</sup> Among the numerous bronzes from the excavations on the Athenian Acropolis there is not a single horse-and-rider of the developed archaic period. A *protome* of Pegasos<sup>5</sup> in a rather poor condition shows some affinity with our horse, but the modeling of the Pegasos head is more advanced.

The closest parallels are to be found among the marble sculpture from the Acropolis. The head of the rider strongly resembles that of the Acropolis horseman 623,<sup>6</sup> which Schrader<sup>7</sup> has combined with the fore part of a horse (4119). In the shape of the head, and the large, slightly modeled eyes, the two heads are very similar. The shape of the hair is much the same, but the spiral curls on the marble head are omitted on the bronze.

The badly mutilated fore part of a horse, to which the marble torso seems to belong, bears less resemblance to the bronze horse. The features of the marble horse are not well enough preserved for minute comparison, but the position of the rider is quite different from that of our bronze figure. In this respect the bronze resembles more closely the fine horseman in oriental costume (606),<sup>8</sup> the only one among the mounted statues from the Acropolis sitting so far forward on the horse, and this characteristic is especially pronounced in the bronze figure. But the similarity goes further. The upper and lower curves of the horse's neck, and the shape of ears and mane are very much alike in the two figures. The peculiar modeling of the cheeks and a less minute rendering of musculature lends a somewhat more archaic appearance to the bronze horse. It is difficult to determine whether these differences should be interpreted as indications of an earlier date for the bronze, or merely as dependent on the difference in material and on individual peculiarities of the artists.

<sup>1</sup> For this convention see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pp. 6 ff., and 52.

<sup>2</sup> Ulf Jantzen, *Jahrb., Ergänzungsheft*, XIII, pl. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. XXXVIII, b.

<sup>4</sup> Jantzen, *op. cit.*, p. 26, 5; Lamb, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX, b; Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, pl. XIV, fig. 52.

<sup>5</sup> De Ridder, *Bronzes de l'Acropole*, no. 504; Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 101, and pl. XXXVIII, a.

<sup>6</sup> Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, pl. 101.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Marmor-Skulpturen*, p. 78. Cf. Dickens, *Cat. of Acropolis Mus.*, I, pp. 155, 156.

<sup>8</sup> Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, pl. 134, 2 and 3.

The Acropolis horseman in oriental costume is dated by Payne between two other statues for which he suggests the dates 550–540 and 520 respectively.<sup>1</sup> For the other group (Acropolis 623 + 4119) he does not suggest any definite date. Schrader<sup>2</sup> declares it to be the first horse-and-rider monument—not only on the Acropolis—, but this position is now occupied by the mounted statue to which the Rampin head belongs.<sup>3</sup> The latter is certainly earlier than our bronze figure. The exact date is less important than the position which it occupies in relation to the marble horsemen on the Acropolis. The indications are that it belongs early in the second half of the sixth century B.C., a date which is further indicated by the contents of the well. Since, as we have seen, the well

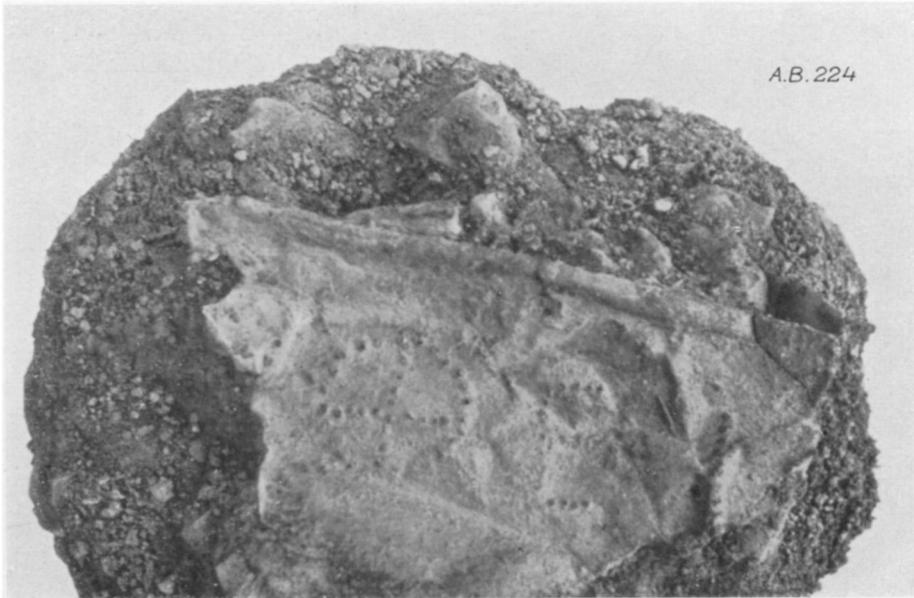


Fig. 41. Fragment of Inscribed Bronze Sheathing from Well V

was filled up during the last quarter of the century, the horse-and-rider must be earlier than that, and it seems unlikely that it was destroyed and thrown away immediately after it was dedicated.

#### OTHER METAL OBJECTS

Numerous other objects of bronze and iron were found in the well, especially near the top, but these are in such a poor state of preservation that in many cases the shapes can hardly be determined. Among the bronze objects the following are the most important: *a*) fragments of shallow bronze bowl (A.B. 222); *b*) phiale (A.B. 225) like those

<sup>1</sup> The date 510–500 suggested by Miss Richter (*op. cit.*, pl. XVII, fig. 57) is certainly too late.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> See Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

in figures 76 and 77; *c*) small beaker or dipper (A.B. 223); *d*) hoop or rim of bronze vessel (A.B. 226); *e*) several tiny fragments of thin bronze decoration with patterns and traces of an inscription (A.B. 178); *f*) a piece of a thin bronze sheathing with letters made by puncturing small holes through the bronze (A.B. 224, Fig. 41); *g*) base of bronze kylix (A.B. 204, Figs. 42 and 43), attached to a high hollow stem (diam. of base, 0.075 m.; total height, 0.06 m.); *h*) one arrow point (A.B. 190) of the type most common among the points from the Persian war.<sup>1</sup> The letters preserved on *e*) seem to be - - - NAI. They are only 0.003 m. high. On *f*) the letters are *ca.* 0.03 m. high. Of the first there remains only a slanting stroke, probably of a *nu*. The second and third are *theta* and *epsilon* and the last appears to be *iota*. These may be from the end of a name in the dative case like *Kλεά]ρθει*. Above the letters the original edge is preserved. It is not unlikely that the bronze fragment is part of a shield cover like that discovered in the Athenian Agora in 1936,<sup>2</sup> which has the same kind of lettering. If our fragment comes from a shield it was probably not circular, since the curve of the edge is so slight as to be almost imperceptible. The iron objects are in a poor condition, but the following implements can be recognized (Fig. 44): *j*) a hilted sword (length, 0.47 m.; A.M. 214); *k*) an object shaped like a trident (A.M. 212); *l*) a sickle (A.M. 213); *m*) a pruning-hook (A.M. 215); and *n*) a rectangular flat piece, possibly the blade of a mattock (A.M. 216).

Among the miscellaneous objects from well V are two loom weights (A.W. 41 and 50) of pyramidal shape, each with a circular impression in the top; another weight of a double convex shape (A.W. 70) with a hole in the centre; one terracotta whorl (A.W. 67); and one small grindstone (A.M. 208), almost spherical in shape. A large circular stone mill<sup>3</sup> (A.M. 217, Fig. 46) was found near the bottom of the well, and directly underneath were the pieces of a flat mill stone of rectangular shape.<sup>4</sup> These heavy objects had been thrown into the well shaft together with the fragments of the Exekias krater, several pieces of which were found above the mill stones, whereas most of the larger fragments came from the fill below.

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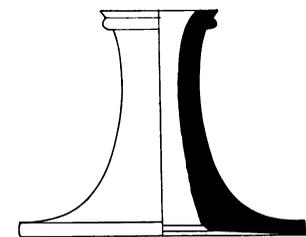


Fig. 43. Profile of Bronze Kylix Base from Well V



Fig. 42. Bronze Kylix Base from Well V

No marble sculpture came from well V except the small piece shown in figure 45 (A.S. 161). It is made of white island marble and consists of a flat piece, *ca.* 0.035 m.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 114 f., fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 346 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Height, 0.65 m.; outer diam. at top, 0.60 m.; inner diam. at top, 0.43 m. Because of its size and heavy weight the mill, which was found intact, was left standing in the excavations, but during the summer it was broken up by vandals and the pieces thrown into a deep hole.

<sup>4</sup> Length, 0.485 m.; width, 0.385 m.; thickness, 0.065–0.085 m.

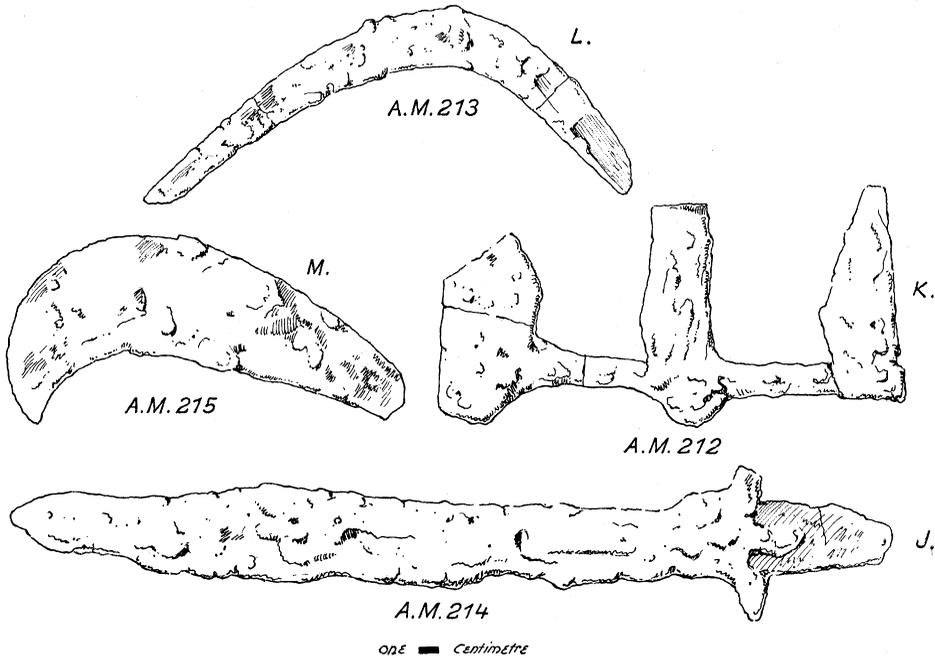


Fig. 44. Implements of Iron from Well V. Scale 1:4

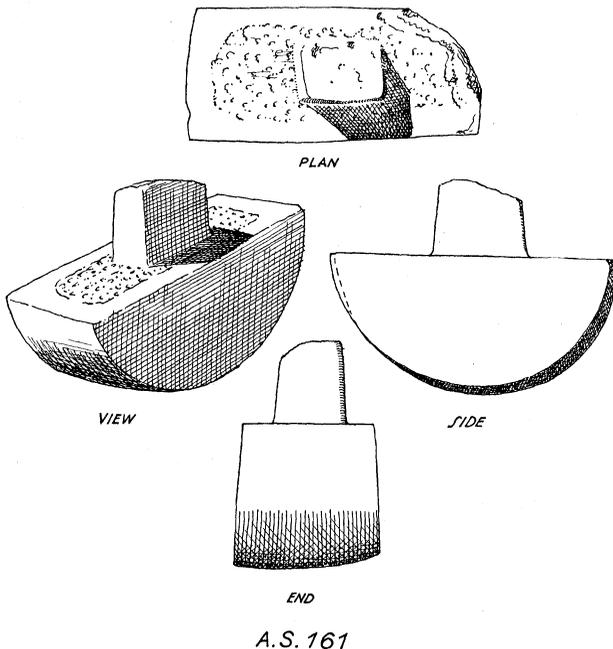


Fig. 45. Marble Piece from Well V. Scale 1:2

thick, shaped like the segment of a circle. The straight edge has a narrow anathyrosis, and in the centre is a small tenon, showing that the piece was fastened to some larger object. It may be the pommel of a sword, which for some reason had to be inserted into a marble statue as a separate piece.

A few fragments of marble cover tiles, some bits of wood, and various animal bones including the skulls of a dog and of a sheep, complete the list of recognizable objects contained in well V. The exact depth at which each object was discovered is shown on the chart on p. 211. The numbers in the chart are those of the inventory, which appear in the illustrations as well as in the text with each object mentioned and described.

Date	Depth Metres	Pottery A.P.	Figurines A.F.	Sculpture A.S.	Lamps A.L.	Bronzes A.B.	Miscellaneous A.M.	Weights A.W.
April 12	0-1	996-1000, 1012, 1013	582					
13	1-1.50	1001, 1002				222	212	
14	1.50-1.80		577, 583			177, 223	dog's skull	70
15	1.80-2.25	1003-1007	584-587			224		
16	2.25-3.15	1008 a	588-600	161	147, 148	225	208	
17	3.15-3.50	1009-1011	601			190	213, 214, sheep's skull	50
19	3.50-4	1014	602-605		149			
20	4-4.75	1015, 1016-1018	607, 608, 611, 612					
21	4.75-6		606, 609, 610, 615		150	178		
22	6-7.15	1022-1024	613, 614, 650, 651			226		
23	7.15-8.15	1008 b, 1025	653				210	
24	8.15-9.15	1026	616-622				215, 216	
26	9.15-9.80	1027			151	204		41
27	9.80-10.60							
28	10.60-11	1028-1030	624					
29	11-11.55	1031						
May 5	11.55-12	1032						
7	12-13							
8	13-14	1033, 1034						
10	14-15.60							
11	15.60-17.20	1035-1043, 1044, 1024, 1176					pieces of wood	
12	17.20-17.80	1471	642				217, 218	67

CHART RECORDING THE DAY BY DAY PROGRESS OF CLEARING WELL V,  
AND THE DEPTH AT WHICH EACH OBJECT WAS DISCOVERED

## WELL M



Fig. 46. Stone Mill from Well V

In the lower area, *ca.* 18 m. south of the old Capodistrian University of Athens a second well, M (Figs. 1 and 5), was discovered. It has a diameter at the top of 1.08 m. and a depth of 18.40 m. Unlike well V it contained objects of widely different dates. Near the top were found two sherds of a red-figured pyxis cover (A.P. 1093, Fig. 47) dating from about 430 B.C. These, the latest of the datable objects, are the only red-figured sherds from the well. At the bottom a great deal of pottery was discovered, which dates back to the end of the sixth or the early fifth century. Between these two limits two other fixed points of dating are furnished by ostraka of Themistokles and Kimon. The history of the fill seems to be as follows: The well was dug during the sixth century and was in use until late in that century or possibly slightly later. During that time a great deal of coarse pottery was lost in the

water. Shortly after the beginning of the fifth century the well fell into disuse and began to fill up gradually. At the time of the ostracism of Aristides in 482, at which Themistokles probably was proposed for ostracism, the fill in the well had reached a depth of *ca.* 4 m. Two decades later (461) it was *ca.* 12 m. deep, and at the end of the third quarter of the century it had reached the top of the well. The evidence for this gradual filling up, which continued for about three quarters of a century, will appear from the discussion of the objects listed below (*cf.* chart, p. 251).

## THE POTTERY

1. (A.P. 1105) Fig. 47. Mycenaean sherd with a pattern of dots and part of large leaf in dark brown glaze on a light buff background.
2. (A.P. 1106) Fig. 47. Fragment of Mycenaean kylix or bowl with a nautilus design and circle of dots. Brown glaze on pale buff ground.
3. (A.P. 1098) Fig. 47. Diam., 0.04 m. Miniature skyphos of Corinthian fabric, with zigzags at the lip and a purple band below. *Cf.* M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 282, fig. 20, nos. 80, 81.
4. (A.P. 1109) Fig. 47. Fragment from lip of Corinthian skyphos with a pattern of alternating black and purple buds.
5. (A.P. 1117) Fig. 47. Fragment of lekanis cover of Corinthian ware with painted bands and zigzags. There is a hole at the edge for fastening the cover.

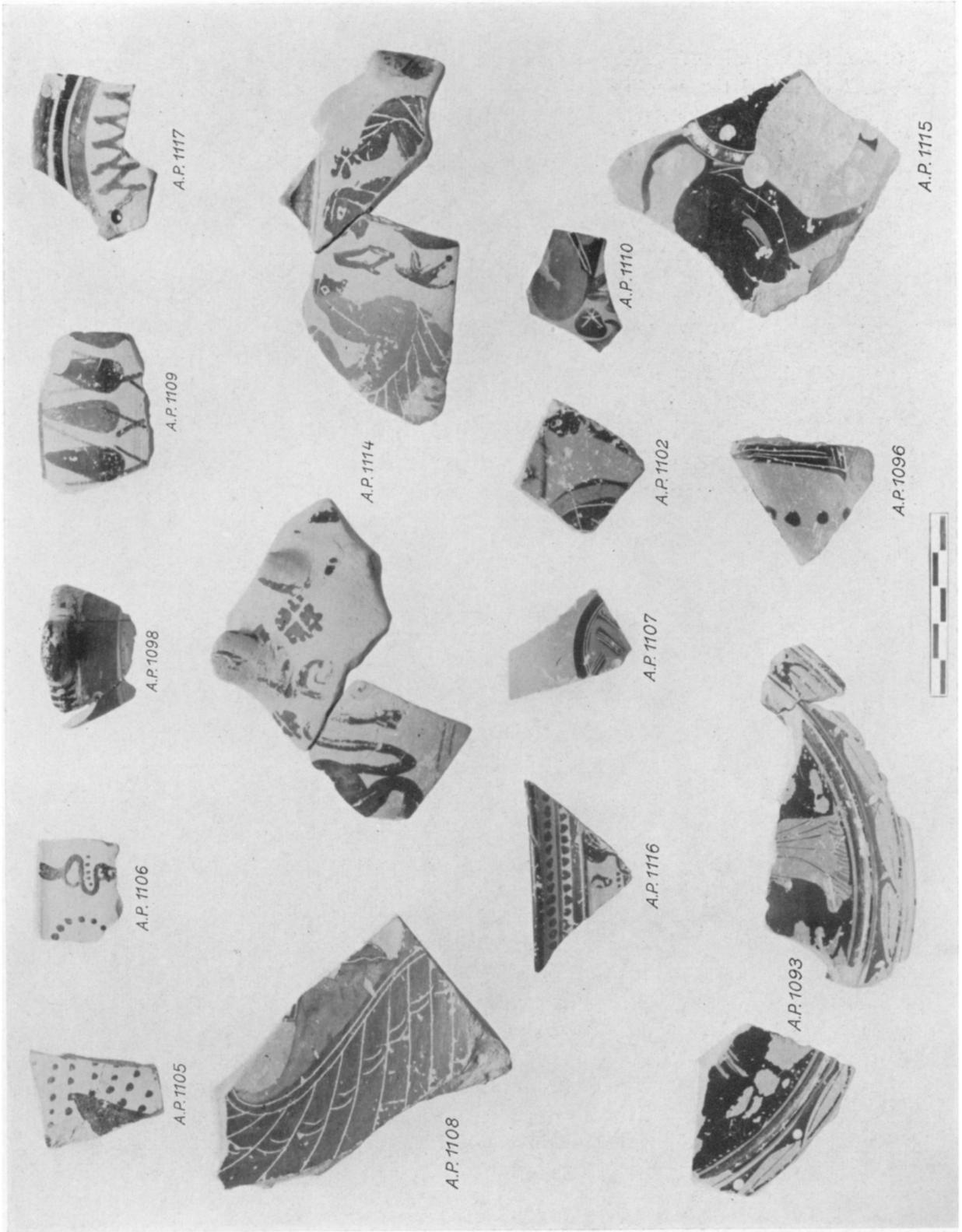


Fig. 47. Fragments of Pottery from Well M

6. (A.P. 1108) Fig. 47. Piece of large vase with figure of sphinx partly preserved. The base of the wing and the hair are purple, but the feathers of the wing are reddish brown. The fabric is 11 mm. thick.
7. (A.P. 1114) Fig. 47. Four fragments of black-figured, two-handled jar. On either side were two sphinxes facing each other and various designs used as fillers. The drawing is exceptionally careless. The clay is soft and mealy, and the glaze varies between dark brown and red.
8. (A.P. 1116) Fig. 47. Small fragment from rim of black-figured skyphos. On the profiled lip is a tendril pattern, and below on white ground is part of a figure to right. The inside is glazed black, except for a reserved band at the inner edge of the lip.
9. (A.P. 1107) Fig. 47. Small black-figured sherds with part of shield painted in purple and black.
10. (A.P. 1102) Fig. 47. Small black-figured sherd preserving part of human figure to left and circular object, probably a shield with a purple border at the edge.
11. (A.P. 1110) Fig. 47. Small black-figured sherd with fore part of sphinx to left. The wing is painted purple. In front is a rosette as filler.
12. (A.P. 1096) Fig. 47. Small black-figured sherd with part of draped figure and a row of large dots or leaves. The inside is painted black and has a double line of purple color.
13. (A.P. 1115) Fig. 47. Fragment of large black-figured vase. The rear part of an animal to left and the rim of a shield are preserved. The rim is painted white, and details are rendered in purple color and incised lines. The inside has a dark brown glaze.
14. (A.P. 1093) Fig. 47. Three fragments of red-figured pyxis lid. At the edge is a single row of elongated leaves, with pink dots at the points where the leaves overlap. Of the decoration on the top is preserved lower part of female figure to right. The outer drapery is indicated by fine black lines, and the folds of the chiton at the bottom are made with dilute glaze. Behind the woman is preserved the foot of a second figure to right, and in front of her are some sprays and dots in white paint. A smaller fragment preserves part of a wing, and below are sprays and dots like those of the larger fragment. The wings on the smaller fragment and the foot of the larger piece belong to a figure of Eros advancing to right behind the woman. These fragments, which are the only red-figured sherds from well M, can hardly be earlier than the end of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. The drawing of the figures is very careless. A few simple lines, sketched in almost at random, and a row of simple brush strokes at the lower edge suffice for the

drapery. The most characteristic feature is the use of white paint to indicate grass and flowers, which occurs on vases connected with the style of the Eretria Painter,<sup>1</sup> but is even more common on works associated with the Meidias painter<sup>2</sup> and his circle.

15. (A.P. 1134) Fig. 48. Lower part of black-figured amphora. Diam., *ca.* 0.17 m. Above the base is a ray pattern, and on either side of the body are panels with figures. In the centre on the better preserved side is a warrior to left with spear and circular shield, flanked by draped figures, one of which is holding a staff. The other side had a similar scene, but very little remains of the figures. A purple line encircles the vase beneath the panels. The surface has flaked off to such an extent that the figures are almost obliterated. For the subject matter cf. A.P. 948, Fig. 12.

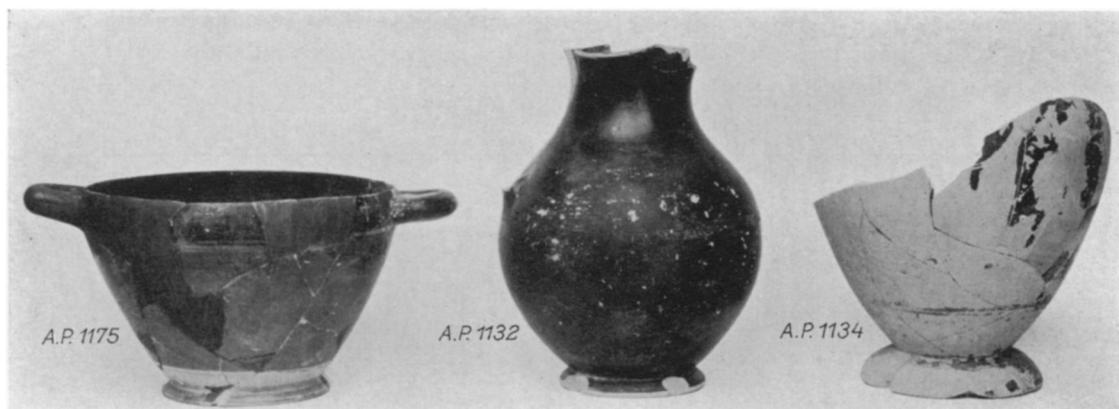


Fig. 48. Three Vases from Well M

16. (A.P. 1132) Fig. 48. Oinochoe. Height, 0.198 m.; diam., 0.15 m. It is painted black all over, except on the bottom of the base, and on the body are two horizontal lines in purple. The handle and part of the trefoil lip are missing.
17. (A.P. 1119) Fig. 49. Lower part of black painted pitcher. On the body of the vase was scratched some name ending in --  $\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . The base is unglazed underneath.

<sup>1</sup> Gardner, *J.H.S.*, XXV, 1905, p. 69, no. 534 and pl. I; Beazley, *Att. V.*, p. 430. Miss Lucy Talcott has kindly called my attention to a pyxis in Vienna (Inv. No. IV, 328) by the Eretria Painter from about 430 B.C., on which sprays and flowers are rendered in white as on the fragments from well M; C. H. Morgan II, *Worcester Art Mus. Ann.*, II, 1936–1937, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See especially pyxis in Boston, Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, fig. 12; *Mus. of Fine Arts Bull.*, III, 1905, pp. 30–31; F. Hauser, *Jahreshefte*, VIII, 1905, pp. 18 ff., pl. I; and see Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 461, no. 30.

Miss Lucy Talcott has kindly called to my attention an unpublished pyxis cover (no. 1597) in the National Museum in Athens, found in a grave in the vicinity of the Academy, which resembles A.P. 1093 so closely that the two vases seem to have been produced in the same shop. Like the fragments of our vase it is characterized by the use of grass and flowers added in white, by a single row of leaves on the rim, and by the careless rendering of the drapery. The pyxis on which it is placed does not belong to it.

18. (A.P. 1088) Fig. 49. Small hydria. Height, 0.10 m. The whole vase is painted black except for a reserved panel in front. Here a woman to right is seated on a folding chair and holding some object, perhaps a flower in her left hand. The contrast of white and black gives a pronounced Japanese effect to the carelessly drawn figure.<sup>1</sup>

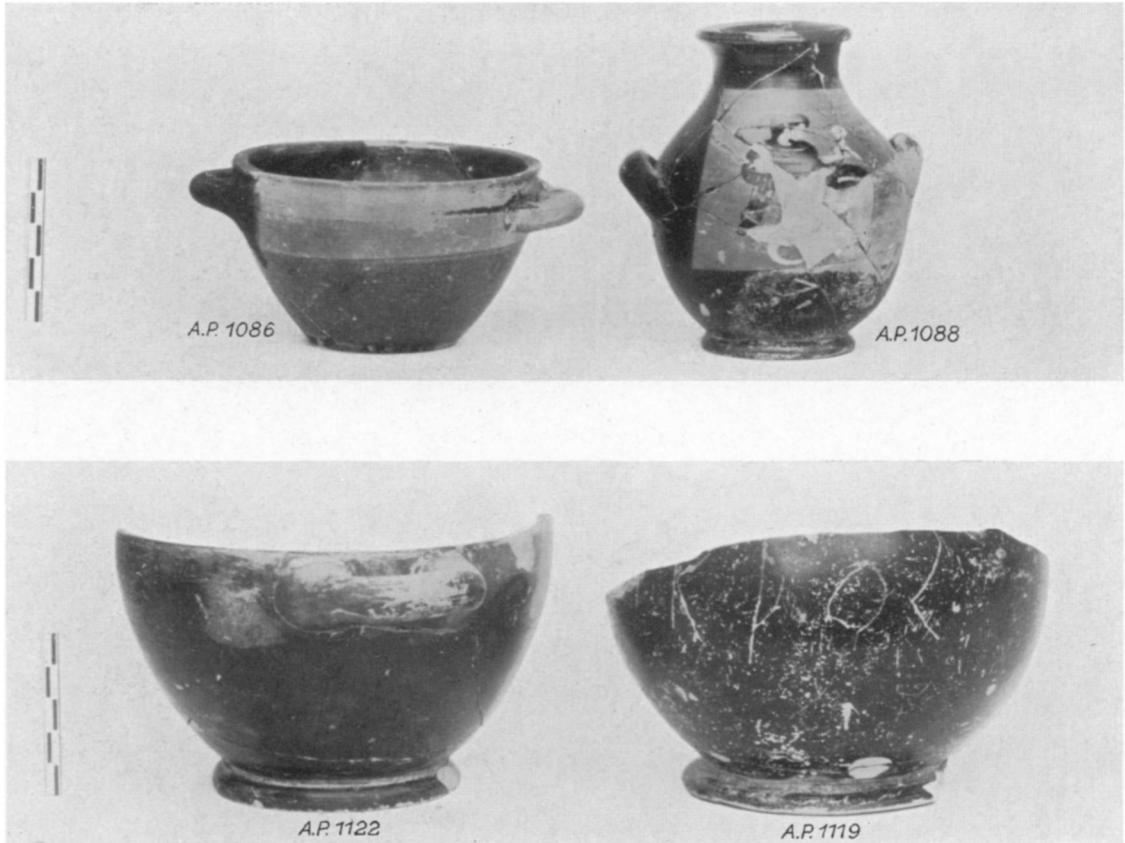


Fig. 49. Vases from Well M

19. (A.P. 1086) Fig. 49. Skyphos with flat rim, slightly projecting on the outside. Height, 0.054 m.; diam. at top, 0.09 m. Most of the vase inside and outside is covered with a dark brown glaze, but at the height of the handle there is a broad reserved band. The rim is decorated with alternating painted and reserved sections. The bottom is flat and unglazed. Both the shape and the decoration of this vase follow traditions from sub-geometric times, but the context points to a later date (see p. 181, Fig. 18, A.P. 968).

<sup>1</sup> The same kind of drawing and general effect of the figures appear on fragments of cups in Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 89, nos. 2029, 2033, 2070.

20. (A.P. 1175) Fig. 48. Corinthian skyphos. Height, 0.12 m.; diam., 0.178 m. Buff clay, black glaze shifting gradually into brown at the bottom. The rim curves in slightly. Below the rim is a double purple line, and at the base is a ray pattern. On the reverse are three concentric circles, approximately equidistant.
21. (A.P. 1122) Fig. 49. Part of skyphos. Height, 0.085 m.; diam., 0.131 m. The whole vase except the bottom of the base-ring is covered with black glaze, shifting to reddish brown at the upper edge.
22. (A.P. 1111) Fig. 50. Small skyphos with double purple line below the handle and reserved bands above the base and on the under side. Height, 0.037 m.; diam., 0.057 m.



Fig. 50. Miniature Vases from Well M

23. (A.P. 1100) Fig. 50. Miniature skyphos of the Corinthian shape, covered with a poor black glaze which has largely peeled off. Height, 0.046 m.; diam., 0.058 m.
24. (A.P. 1091) Fig. 50. Height, 0.038 m.; diam., 0.057 m. Miniature skyphos with the lower part painted black and in the upper zone traces of palmettes in black over a white color. The lip is moulded.
25. (A.P. 1099) Fig. 50. Skyphos like A.P. 1091. Height, 0.039 m.; diam., 0.053 m. On one side is the figure of a centaur(?), on the other a woman(?) between palmettes, but the figures are so carelessly drawn as to be unrecognizable.
26. (A.P. 1104) Fig. 50. Height, 0.025 m.; diam., 0.039 m. Small votive cup, undecorated, with large vertical loop-handles, one of which is broken away.

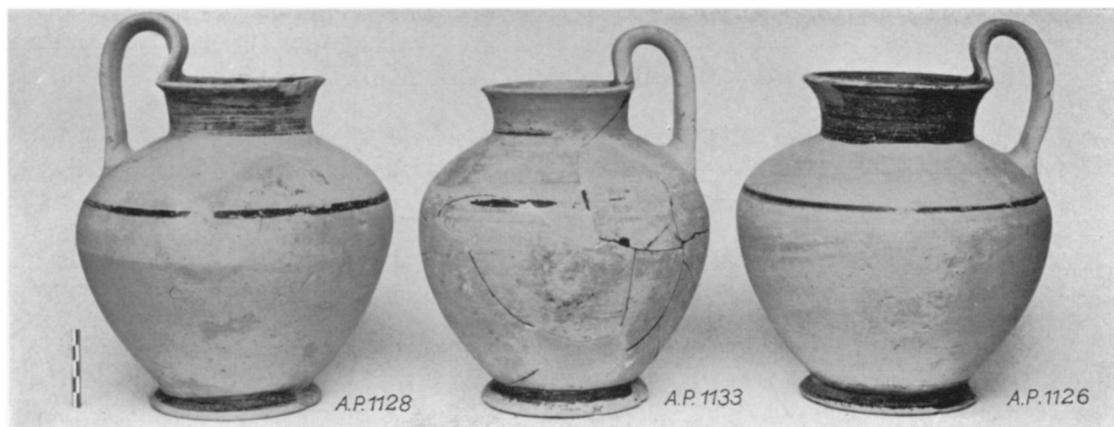


Fig. 51. Three Pitchers from Well M

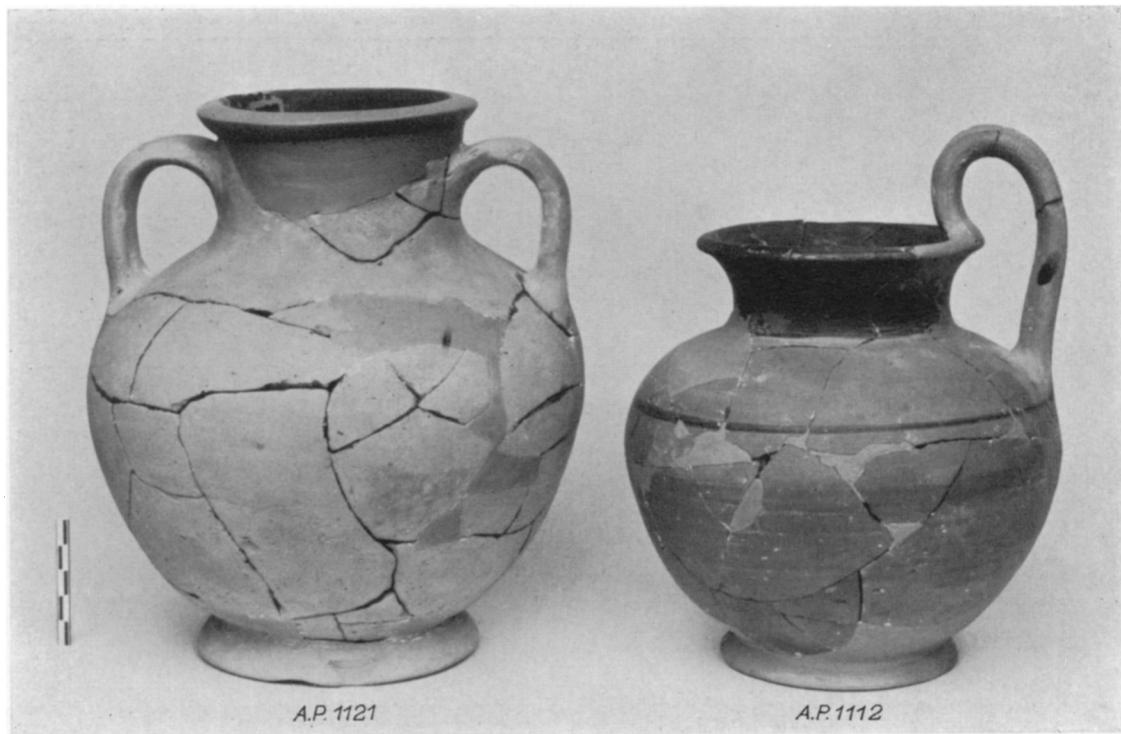


Fig. 52. Amphora and Pitcher from Well M

27. (A.P. 1092) Fig. 50. Small votive cup with vertical handles, undecorated. Height, 0.027 m.; diam., 0.041 m.
28. (A.P. 1101) Fig. 50. Small undecorated cup like A.P. 1092. Height, 0.035 m.; diam., 0.054 m.
29. (A.P. 1087) Fig. 50. Small pyxis with flange for a lid. Height, 0.034 m.; diam. at bottom, 0.065 m. On the bottom are concentric red and black circles.
30. (A.P. 1128) Fig. 51. Pitcher. Height, 0.21 m.; diam., 0.195 m. Buff clay, chocolate brown glaze on neck and foot and a narrow band round the body. The vase was found intact at the bottom of the well.<sup>1</sup>
31. (A.P. 1133) Fig. 51. Pitcher like the preceding. Height, 0.205 m.; diam., 0.18 m.
32. (A.P. 1126) Fig. 51. Pitcher, almost identical with A.P. 1128. Height, 0.205 m.; diam., 0.195 m.
33. (A.P. 1112) Fig. 52. Pitcher. Height, 0.168 m.; diam., 0.163 m. The outside is covered with a light brown glaze, but the neck and mouth, a narrow band round the body, and the base are painted dark brown.
34. (A.P. 1121) Fig. 52. Amphora. Height, 0.22 m.; diam., 0.19 m. The clay is soft and mealy. The lip and whole inside is glazed, and there are traces of glaze on the handles, but apart from these the outside is undecorated. For the shape, cf. M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 298, no. 181.
35. (A.P. 1135) Fig. 53. Large hydria of coarse ware. Height, 0.325 m.; diam., 0.30 m. Brick red, micaceous clay, handmade.

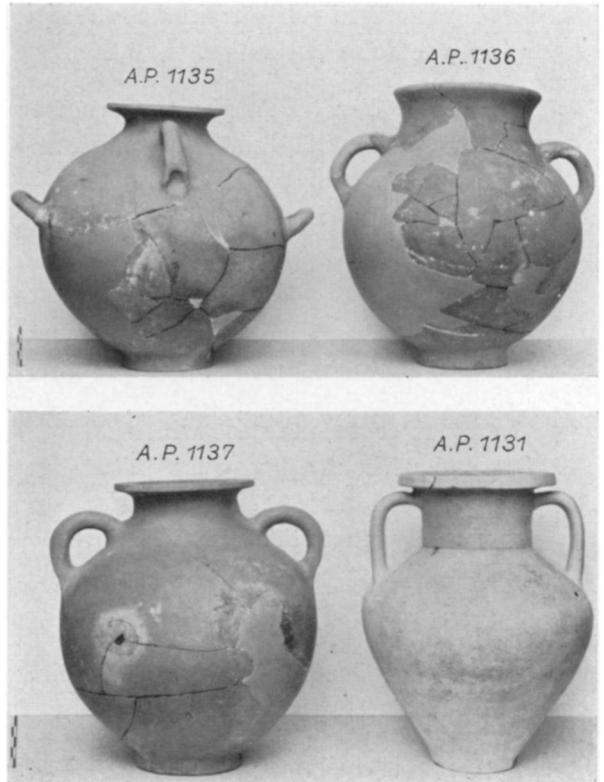


Fig. 53. Household Pottery from Well M

<sup>1</sup> For the shape see L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 343, no. P 5154, and cf. the pitcher from Corinth, M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 293, no. 148, which has a more elongated neck. The clay of our specimen resembles that of Corinth.

36. (A.P. 1136) Fig. 53. Amphora of coarse clay like that of A.P. 1135 and likewise handmade. Height, 0.35 m.; diam., 0.03 m. The mouth is very wide, 0.17 m. inside measurement at top, and there is no rim but a slightly flaring lip. On the shoulder is scratched ΗΣΠΑΚ, probably the signature of the owner.
37. (A.P. 1137) Fig. 53. Amphora of coarse ware like A.P. 1136. Height, 0.272 m.; diam., 0.235 m. It appears to have been made by hand, but the rim which is flat on top, was probably trimmed on the wheel. Several of these undecorated pots have punctures (visible in the photograph) which were mended in antiquity with some pitch-like substance.
38. (A.P. 1131) Fig. 53. Amphora of coarse porous clay of a light buff color. Height, 0.275 m.; diam., 0.21 m. This amphora differs considerably in the color and quality of the clay from the other coarse vases found at the bottom of the well, and unlike these it is made on the wheel. The shape, too, is quite different from that of the other amphoras. The body tapers in an almost straight line from the shoulder to the foot which is flat and without a base-ring. The rim is broad and flat on top. It is unlikely that this vase is of Attic make.

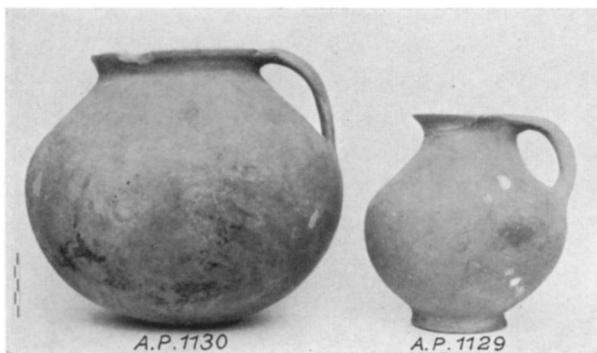


Fig. 54. Two Pitchers of Household Ware from Well M

39. (A.P. 1130) Fig. 54. Large spherical pitcher of coarse, highly micaceous clay of a bright red color. Height, 0.205 m.; diam., 0.233 m. The pitcher lacks a base. Like A.P. 1129 it is made by hand. It was found in a practically undamaged condition.
40. (A.P. 1129) Fig. 54. Pitcher of coarse handmade ware, and brick red clay. Height, 0.16 m.; diam., 0.15 m. A small piece of the lip is missing, but the rest of the vase is intact.
41. (A.P. 1094) Fig. 55. Height, 0.10 m.; diam., 0.15 m. Undecorated cooking pot with two high vertical handles and a flange round the opening where the lid rested. On the side is a narrow false spout, hollow at the top, but the wall of the vase is not perforated. On the side opposite the spout the vase is discolored from fire. The fabric is hard, of good quality, but very thin, of a brick red color.

A pot of the same shape but larger was discovered in a well at Corinth, the contents of which are dated in the years 460—420 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Another specimen of

<sup>1</sup> M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 304, 305, no. 205.

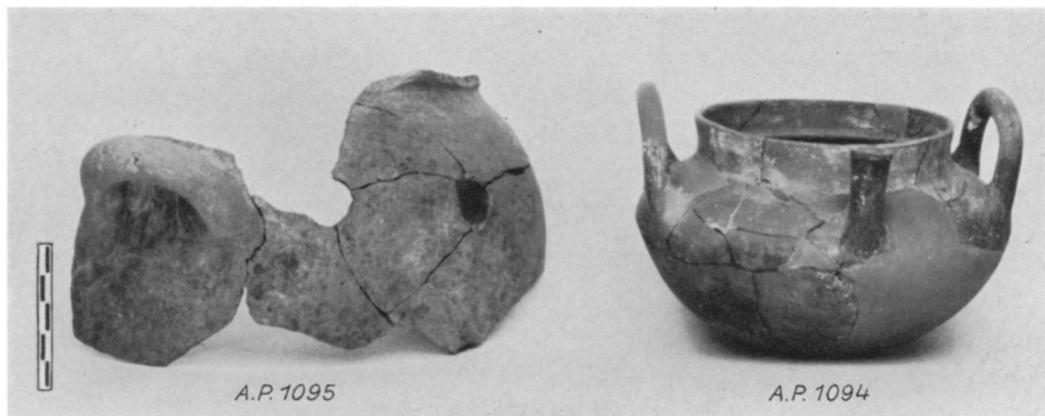


Fig. 55. Brazier and Casserole from Well M

much larger dimensions came from a well in the Athenian Agora, containing an ostrakon of Aristeides from the year 482 and pottery dating from the first four decades of the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> The shape seems to have been in use during a long period of time, but the later specimens are as a rule flatter.

42. (A.P. 1095) Fig. 55. Fragment of brazier of coarse ware, discolored from fire on the inside. One handle is preserved. There were two rows of holes on one side, and presumably a square opening on the opposite side. For the shape cf. M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 305, fig. 36, no. 213.
43. (A.P. 1127) Fig. 56. Small pithos with stamped and incised decoration. Height, 0.40 m.; diam., 0.302 m. There is a band of stamped spirals on the neck and a similar band on the shoulder. On the body is a broader band of incised lines and stamped circles. A raised band sets off the neck from the body of the vase. On the broad flat rim are scratched the letters  $\Delta IK$ .<sup>2</sup> The decoration is similar to that on a large pithos used for burial in the cemetery at the Dipylon.<sup>3</sup> It was published as a geometric grave, although



Fig. 56. Pithos from Well M

<sup>1</sup> L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 342, fig. 10, P 5184.

<sup>2</sup> For similar graffiti of three letters on domestic ware see L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 344, 352.

<sup>3</sup> Brueckner and Pernice, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 133 f., grave XIX, fig. 30.

nothing was found within the pithos that would throw light on its period. On the other hand we have several fragments of two similar but larger pithoi (see Fig. 33, A.P. 1176) from the bottom of well V with identical decorations, and other fragments from Y-Z (Fig. 22, A.P. 991 + 992). Inasmuch as all these came from late sixth century deposits and the pithos under discussion was found in a similar context, there can be little doubt that the large pithos from the Kerameikos is of approximately the same date.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 57. Public Measure

#### STANDARD OF MEASURE

At a depth of 4 metres in well M was discovered the standard of measure (A.P. 1103) shown in figure 57.<sup>2</sup> It is made of heavy fabric, well polished, but unglazed on the outside, and covered with a black glaze on the inside. The outside decoration consists of a band of seven ridges at the top, and a similar band at the bottom, where the lowest ridge is widened to form a kind of base. The sides curve in slightly at the middle, and this feature is emphasized by the ridged bands. On the inside the walls are more nearly straight, though somewhat uneven. Slightly above the middle of the pot the inscription  $\Delta\text{E}[\text{M}]\text{O}\Xi\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$  is painted in letters 0.012 m. high. There is a punctuation of three dots at the end of the word and a somewhat larger dot at a lower level, probably an accidental splash.

By holding the vessel in the proper light it is possible to detect small pock-marks in the glazed surface of the bottom and about half way up the sides, where they gradually disappear. This distribution of the marks seems to indicate that they were caused by something poured into the vase. That they are not accidental is shown by the fact that numerous fragments found in the vicinity of the Tholos are similarly marked. Whatever

<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. Young has kindly furnished the information that numerous fragments of similar ware have been found in the Athenian Agora, always with pottery of the late sixth or early fifth century. See also the small fragments from the Acropolis, Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 11, 328, 343, a-d.

<sup>2</sup> Outside height, 0.215 m.; outer diam., ca. 0.168 m.; depth, 0.197 m.; inner diam., 0.145-0.15 m.

the reason for this condition of the surface, it is likely that it was produced before the vase was fired, while the clay was still sufficiently soft to take the impressions. The glaze must have been applied after the surface had been thus indented.

At the top a triple bar is set in and fastened in the walls of the vase.<sup>1</sup> The bars are wedge-shaped in section and are covered, like the inside of the vase, with black glaze on their slanting sides, but their upper flat surface is unglazed. They were inserted into wedge-shaped holes cut in the rim, and at the points where the ends of the bars are fastened to the walls of the vase a slight projection interrupts the ridges of the upper band. At one of these points there is a small diamond-shaped seal impression with the owl of Athena in the centre.

The inscription on the outside, the stamp with the public seal, and the similarity with the measures found in the Agora Excavations<sup>2</sup> in the vicinity of the Tholos show beyond a doubt that this is one of the public standards of measure. Fortunately, no essential part of the vase is missing, which makes it possible to measure the contents with fair accuracy. By mathematical calculation the content amounts to 3253 c. mm. This number was obtained by using 0.725 m. as the radius and 0.197 m. as the depth, but the dimensions vary as much as 5 mm. at different points. Furthermore, allowance has to be made for the displacement caused by the bars set into the vase. To obtain greater accuracy of measurement the vase was filled to the top with rice, and this was then poured into glass tube measures.<sup>3</sup> The cubic content obtained in that way is 3.175 l.<sup>4</sup> The difference of 78 c. mm. is slightly more than the displacement caused by the bars, approximately 60 c. mm., making a discrepancy of *ca.* 18 c. mm., due to the inaccuracy of the measurements. Unfortunately, the second method of measurement can hardly be considered any more accurate than the first. The rice would probably pack more in the large vessel than in the glass tubes. Furthermore, by shaking the vessel slightly a considerable quantity of rice could be added, and different kinds of cereals would probably pack differently. Since the results of the two methods are so nearly the same, we may accept 3.200 l. as approximately correct. The metric equivalent of the Attic  $\chi\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\xi$  as given by F. Hultsch<sup>5</sup> is 1.094 l., which is only slightly more than one-third of our measure ( $1.094 \times 3 = 3.282$  l.).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Similar bars are found in a *modius* from a villa near Pompeii, *Not. Scav.*, 1922, p. 465, fig. 5; and *Arch. Anz.*, 1926, p. 143, fig. 25. A similar vessel in the museum at Chester is illustrated in Cagnat & Chapot, *Man. d'Arch. Rom.*, II, p. 267, fig. 499.

<sup>2</sup> T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 346.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to the pharmacist Joannes Maurikou for measuring the amount of rice contained in the vase.

<sup>4</sup> This is very nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  okades in modern Greek measurements, and a little less than six pints according to the American standard dry measure.

<sup>5</sup> *Gr. u. röm. Metrologie*, p. 703.

<sup>6</sup> According to more recent calculations by Videbantt (*R. E.*, XV, 1, *s. v.*  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ) on the basis of a kotyle of 0.208 l., the choinix is only 0.832 l. It would take nearly four choinikes of this size to fill the vase from our excavations ( $0.208 \times 4 \times 4 = 3.328$  l.). In an earlier volume of the *R. E.*, XI, 2, *s. v.*  $\kappa\omicron\tau\upsilon\lambda\eta$ , the same author gives 0.226 l. as the equivalent of the kotyle, making a choinix of 0.906, which is based on Dumont's measurements of the vase in the National Museum (*R. Arch.*, XXIV, 1872, p. 297).

It can hardly be an accident that the contents of our measure coincides very closely with the Attic chous (3.283 l.) as given by Hultsch, but the form of the vessel seems to preclude its use as a liquid measure. Inasmuch as both the liquid and the dry measure are based on a kotyle with equal value for both, there would be good reason for using a dry measure of three choinikes corresponding to the chous of liquid measure. This tentative identification is strengthened by comparison of our measure with a water-clock recently identified among the finds from the Athenian Agora.<sup>1</sup> The latter bears an inscription which appears to indicate a contents of two choes. It is found, by actual experiment, to hold the contents of our measure exactly twice. A fortunate chance has made possible the checking of one fifth century measure against another; this circumstance, though it may reopen the unhappy question of ancient measures, can perhaps do so on the basis of practical demonstration.

It is obvious that a terracotta vessel used as a standard of measure could not meet modern requirements of accuracy. The potter cannot possibly have known how much to allow for shrinkage due to the firing, and there is no indication that any adjustments were made after the vessel was baked. It might be suggested that the pock-marks, referred to above, indicate that the vessel was measured while the clay was still semi-soft by pouring into it a known quantity of grain or some similar substance, and that the size was then adjusted with due allowance for shrinkage. On the other hand, we learn from the inscription<sup>2</sup> concerning regulations of weights and measures that the standards of dry measure were constructed according to specified dimensions. Obviously, slight irregularities in the shape, unavoidable in a terracotta vessel, would allow a considerable margin of error, and it seems necessary to suppose that the clay vessels were made for practical use as the near equivalents of metal archetypes, such as have been found in other parts of the ancient world.

#### PAINTED PINAX

The fragments of a painted pinax (A.P. 1085) shown in figure 58 and plate I, were found in well M at the very top of the fill. Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.039–0.042 m. It is made of coarse clay of a brick red color, like that common in Attic roof tiles. The back is rough, but the decorated surface is smoothly finished. The top edge of the plaque is preserved above the man's head.

A bearded figure to right is holding a lyre in his left hand. The nude parts are rendered with a thick dull paint of purplish red color; his hair, beard and eye, as well as his tunic and the lyre are painted brown. This shade of brown seems to be the basic color of the figures, underlying all the other colors, as is shown in the case of the chin

<sup>1</sup> This object, and the other material on the subject of measures, from the Agora Excavations, will be published in *Hesperia*. I am indebted to Miss Lucy Talcott for information concerning this vessel.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*<sup>2</sup>, II, 1013.

which appears clearly underneath the pointed beard. The contours and some details are made with deeply incised lines. For the face and hands as well as for the contours of the lyre single lines are employed, but the other contours are made with double lines, and the stripe between the two lines is painted brown. The eye consists of two concentric circles with small triangles added at the corners, and the eyebrows are rendered with

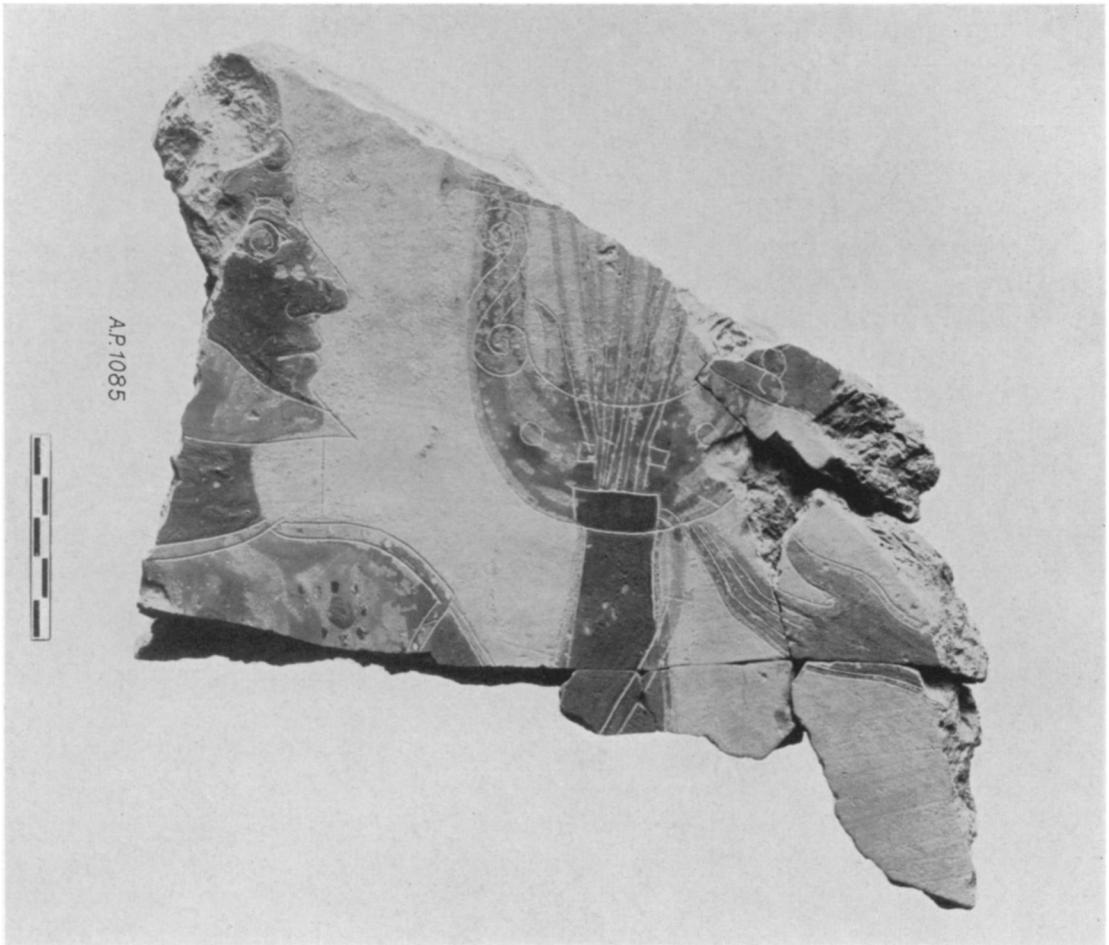


Fig. 58. Painted Pinax from Well M

double incised lines. In the case of the tunic, the double lines apparently indicate a border of the garment decorated with white dots. On the tunic are preserved two large rosettes consisting of a purple centre surrounded by smaller dots in white over a sizing of brown. The lyre, which is too small in proportion to the figure, consists of a single curved piece with bridge and crossbow for the attachment of the strings. The horns are decorated with double spirals, and on the body are two circles. The seven strings are indicated

partly by double incised lines and brown paint, and partly by painted lines without incisions. But the artist trying to show the man's hand behind the lyre got fingers and strings somewhat confused, and this confusion is augmented by the disappearance of the purple color on his hand. The string which held the plectrum hangs down from the bridge. At the right side are the two hands of a second figure, represented in the act of taking the instrument or giving it to the bearded man. Both hands are painted purple, like that of the other figure, but the finger nails are brown.

The identification of the bearded figure is rendered difficult by the fact that both he and the second figure are holding the lyre. One naturally thinks first of Apollo, who sometimes appears with a beard in early vase paintings.<sup>1</sup> It may be, however, that the figure on the right is Apollo, and in that case the bearded figure might be Zeus<sup>2</sup> or Hermes, but I know of no other instance of Apollo receiving the lyre from one of these or from someone else. It is possible that the figure to the left is the Centaur Cheiron teaching Achilles to play the lyre in the manner of the celebrated painting from Pompeii, but again parallels in archaic art are lacking. For the form of the lyre, the manner of holding it, and, above all, for the disproportionately small size of the instrument the Melian amphora, already referred to, offers the best parallel.

In the use of colors and in the style of decoration our fragment strongly resembles the painted metopes from Thermon.<sup>3</sup> The head of the hunter<sup>4</sup> on one of the metopes is remarkably like the head of the lyre player, but there is one fundamental difference. The incised lines on our fragment are particularly prominent, whereas the metopes rely entirely on color both for contours and details. Incised lines, to be sure, were used on the metopes,<sup>5</sup> and in some instances, especially apparent on the Perseus metope, the lines are double, but they seem to have served a purely technical end. They were used as outlines to guide the artist in painting the broad contour lines and in most places they have disappeared under the paint. Presumably the peculiar technique of double contour lines, so prominent on our fragment, owes its origin to this practice of scratching fine double lines on the clay in order to assure an even contour line.<sup>6</sup> Where the incisions are part of the decoration they were, of course, made after the figures had been painted. The difference is important also as indication of date.

<sup>1</sup> On a Melian amphora (A. Conze, *Mel. Thongef.*, pl. IV); the Francois vase; a B.F. sherd from the Acropolis (*Ep. Anz.*, 1883, pl. 3, and Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, pl. XXI, b, and p. 329).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for example the group of deities represented on the bronze plate of armor from Olympia (*Olympia*, IV, pl. LIX; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, 30, fig. 135).

<sup>3</sup> The colors on the metopes are not identical with those on our fragment but the color scheme is parallel, *i.e.* yellow for the background, some shade of red for the male figures, brown (or red) for outlines, and brown (or black) for hair, beard, eyebrows, etc.

<sup>4</sup> H. Koch, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, 237 ff., pl. XV; Soteriades, in *Ant. Denkm.*, II, pls. 49-52 A.

<sup>5</sup> See Soteriades in *Ant. Denkm.*, II, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> The double contour lines appear on bronze work (cf. *Olympia*, IV, pls. XXII, XXXVII, LVIII, LIX), but in this case it seems not unlikely that the metal worker took his cue from the vase painters. In order to render the broad contours on the bronze the engraver, having no recourse to the use of color, gained a similar effect with the double lines, for which the painters had already pointed the way.

It is generally accepted that the metopes from Thermon were painted by Corinthian artists working in Aetolia,<sup>1</sup> but the influence of Corinth on early Attic vase painting was sufficiently strong to account for the similarity between these metopes and the fragment from our excavations. In the second half of the seventh century, to which our plaque belongs, stylistic influences in Attic vase painting are not easily labeled. Attic art was just then emerging from the mixing bowl into which had been poured the traditions of the indigenous geometric school together with numerous elements from other artistic centres, and the resulting product, archaic Attic, was coming into independent existence. That being the case, it is among the early Attic vase paintings that we must look for comparative material. The closest parallel is offered by the Piraeus amphora in the National Museum in Athens.<sup>2</sup> Here we find the same prominence of the incisions with a slight tendency toward the double contour line,<sup>3</sup> a comparable if not similar use of colors, the same awkward rendering of the finger nails on the closed hands, the shape of eyes and beard, and, most important of all, a general similarity in the drawing of the figures which shows beyond a doubt that we are dealing with products of the same school and the same period.

The Thermon metopes have been dated in the period between 650 and 620 B.C.,<sup>4</sup> and our fragment probably belongs to a slightly later period. The prominent incised lines are an indication to that effect. This is further suggested by its close similarity to the Piraeus amphora, which likewise belongs to the period following that of the metopes.<sup>5</sup> Inasmuch as our fragment was found in the top fill of the well together with sherds of a much later period, the context offers no evidence for its date.

On the analogy of the metopes from Thermon one might be tempted to conclude that the fragment under discussion was part of a metope, but this is very unlikely. Two important features, the thinness of the slab and the absence of a frame are more appropriate in a dedicatory plaque. The proportions of the figures are approximately the same as those of the Thermon metopes, but our fragment lacks the decorated border. We may assume that the plaque measured *ca.* 0.50 × 0.60 m., which is the measurement of the

<sup>1</sup> So H. Koch (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 244) and H. Payne (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 160 *et passim*; *B.S.A.*, XXVII, 1925–1926, p. 132). But the letter forms on the Chelidon metope are not what we should expect in a Corinthian inscription of the seventh century B.C. The *epsilon*  $\epsilon$  with one exception (*I.G.*, IV, 225, Soteriades, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX, 9) regularly stands for  $\epsilon$  on the Corinthian pinakes, and the three-bar *iota* occurs only in later inscriptions (see H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 158–160). The forms are the same as those in the metrical inscription on a vase from the Dipylon (E. S. Roberts, *Introd. to Gk. Epigr.*, I, p. 74; *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. X) which, however, differ radically from the letters on the vases from the deposit on Hymettos (C. W. Blegen, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pl. III). For a discussion of the inscriptions on the metopes see Soteriades, *op. cit.*, p. 7, who assumes that the letter forms are Corinthian but with certain irregularities.

<sup>2</sup> No. 353. L. Couve, *'Ep. Aeg.*, 1897, pp. 67 ff. and pls. V–VI; Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, III, 19, fig. 88.

<sup>3</sup> The chest and fore legs of the front pair of horses but not of the second pair are so outlined in front.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. G. G. Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXVII, 1925–1926, p. 132, and *Necrocorinthia*, p. 96, n. 3, where he further limits the date to the period 640–620 B.C. See also H. Koch, *op. cit.*, pp. 244 ff.; and E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 344.

decorated field within the frames of the metopes.<sup>1</sup> The thickness is a little more than half that of the larger metopes from Thermon and only slightly less than that of the smaller ones. But the thickness in proportion to the calculated size of the slab is too slight for a metope. The cuttings which exist in the preserved archaic triglyphs on the Acropolis call for slabs—whether of marble or terracotta—of about twice the thickness of our plaque.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, these cuttings show that the inset slab in every case extended to the top of the frieze course. Inasmuch as the bearded figure comes up to the very edge of the plaque it cannot possibly have been used as a metope with no border and no room left for a taenia. Unless it formed part of a continuous frieze, such as has been suggested for the funeral plaques in Berlin, the most probable explanation is that it was used as a separate dedicatory plaque like the painted pinax in the Acropolis

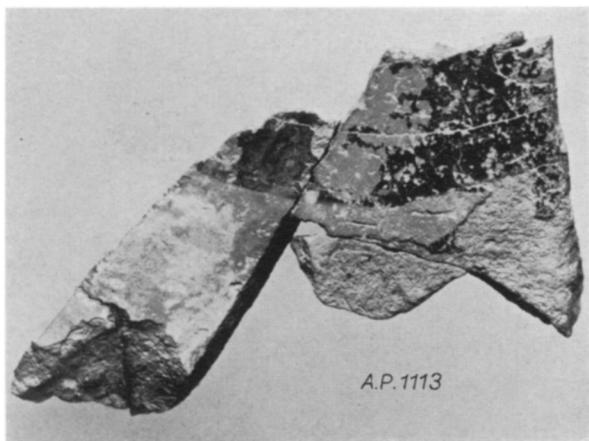


Fig. 59. Fragments of Pinax from Well M

Museum,<sup>3</sup> and the smaller pinakes from the Acropolis, Penteskouphia, and elsewhere. If so, it is one of the earliest known specimens of its type.<sup>4</sup>

Fragments of a second pinax (A.P. 1113, Fig. 59) were found at the same depth as the preceding. Thickness 0.028 m. A curving portion of some figure is preserved, possibly from the wing of a sphinx, rendered with incised lines and red glaze which has a tendency to peel off. The background was painted white. It is probable that these fragments belong to a pinax from the same series as the preceding.

#### OSTRAKA

Among the numerous objects from well M are 191 ostraka, all but one of which are inscribed with the name of Themistokles. These were found together below the water level at a depth of 13–15 m. Obviously so large a number cannot have come into the fill accidentally, and in all probability they were thrown into the well shortly after the ostracism took place.

<sup>1</sup> G. Soteriades, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Wiegand, *Arch. Porosarchitektur*, buildings A–E, pp. 148 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Εφ. Αρχ.*, 1887, pl. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. W. B. Dinsmoor has kindly called my attention to the fragment of a painted pinax in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (*Metr. Mus. Bull.*, XXXI, 1936, pp. 116 f.; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 305, fig. 3), which is of approximately the same period as ours, but the subject of its decoration (part of a lion) is so different, that a comparison of the two pieces is not possible. Some small fragments of painted plaques have been discovered in the Excavations of the Athenian Agora.

The sherds used for the ostraka are of four classes, the most numerous being the kylix bases, of which there are no less than 122. These are of three distinct varieties, illustrated in figure 60. In the first of these (Fig. 60, I) by far the most common of the three, the stem is short and just above the base is a slight ridge, set off both above and below by a scratched line. The top of the base slopes gently and uniformly to the edge, which is rounded. On the reverse the slope of the base merges gradually into the hollow part of the stem which ends in a blunt point. The base is covered above and below with a black or brown glaze, usually applied so unevenly that the clay shows

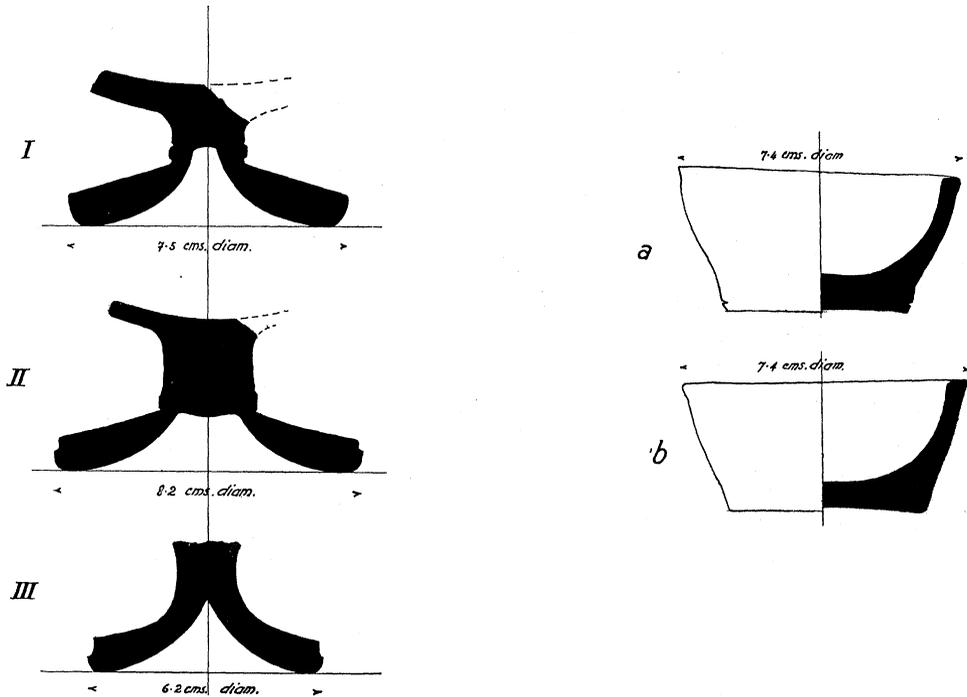


Fig. 60. Profiles of Kylix Bases and Bowls

through. The edge of the base and the hollow part of the stem are reserved. The second variety (Fig. 60, II) differs from the first in two particulars. The edge of the base has a groove or set-back near the top, in some cases very slight, but always clearly perceptible; and the centre of the reverse, which is reserved, is flat and decorated with one or more painted rings. The third variety (Fig. 60, III) of which there are only three examples, has a narrow stem merging gradually into the base without the intervening ridge observed in groups I and II. At the edge of the base is a groove like that of II, but the centre of the reverse ends in a rather sharp point. All three examples of this variety are small, having an average diameter of only 0.063 m., as compared with *ca.* 0.074 m. of I and II. Within each of these groups there is so little variation that they give the impression of having been made all in one shop and at one time. The bases usually have the inscription on the bottom, but a few are inscribed on the top, and one (A.O. 36) both on the top and on the bottom.

The second class of ostraka, numbering only ten pieces, consists of skyphos bases. These are of one variety, with a heavy base-ring grooved at the edge like the kylix bases of groups II and III. The inner edge of the base-ring is glazed, and on the reserved bottom are three concentric circles, the larger one of which has a diameter varying between 0.03 m. and 0.035 m. As in the case of the kylix bases, there is an astonishing uniformity in shape, size, and fabric. There is one exception (A.O. 46), in which the base-ring is slightly higher, and the outer circle on the bottom is made with a double line. As a rule the inscription is scratched on the painted inner edge of the base-ring, but some are inscribed on the unglazed bottom, and two on the inner glazed surface of the vase.

The third class consists of small bowls with flat base and straight or slightly bulging sides (see profiles, Fig. 60, a and b). The mean height is slightly less than 0.04 m., and the diameter varies between 0.065 m. and 0.075 m. The clay is soft, of a buff color, and the glaze, which covers all but the under side, is light brown and tends to peel off. The bowls are poorly made and so lightly fired that most of them have cracked from drying since they came out of the well. The inscription is scratched on the inside of the bowl, usually near the bottom. Several of these vessels were found quite intact, and without exception, so far as can now be determined, the bowls were unbroken at the time when the inscriptions were added. The uniformity observed in the case of the first two classes is equally striking among the bowls. It is obvious that they were all made at one time and for a given purpose, and it is most unlikely that they had been in use before they were inscribed. No bowls of this kind have appeared in the earlier excavations on the North Slope, where numerous small votive cups have been found, nor have any come to light in the recent excavations in the Agora and on the Pnyx.<sup>1</sup> Twenty-six specimens, more or less complete, belong to this class.

The fourth class comprises thirty-two small sherds, some of which belong to undecorated kylikes like those of which the bases were used. Many of the sherds have a thin brown glaze, not unlike that of the bowls, and the clay is likewise poorly baked, but none of the sherds came from bowls of the kind described above. They are parts of larger vases, like kylikes, but the pots cannot have been finished before they were broken and used for ostraka. Apparently they had received a preliminary baking, after which the glaze was applied, but the vases were broken up before the final firing had taken place.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I owe this information to Dr. Homer Thompson and Miss Lucy Talcott. A vessel recently discovered in the vicinity of the Tholos has approximately the same shape, but the rim has a different profile, and the glaze and fabric are far superior in quality to those of the bowls from well M.

<sup>2</sup> This would presuppose that the vases were fired twice. Gisela M. A. Richter (*The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, pp. 37 ff.) argues against a common practice of firing the pottery more than once. In that case we should have to suppose that the bowls and some of the sherds used as ostraka had never been fired at all, and in view of the fact that they were found below the water level in the well, it is hardly likely that they could have retained their shape with the inscriptions still legible, if they had been inscribed and thrown away before they had been fired. On the other hand, the glaze had the consistency of grease when the fragments were first taken out of the well, and this is true not only of the bowls, but of many of the kylix fragments as well.

Of the more common type of coarse sherds, usually employed for ostracism, like that inscribed with the name of Kimon (p. 242, Fig. 71, A.O. 1), not a single specimen was found among the ostraka of Themistokles.

The inscriptions are as a rule carefully incised and very legible, but variations in spelling as well as obvious mistakes occur frequently. In all but two cases the name

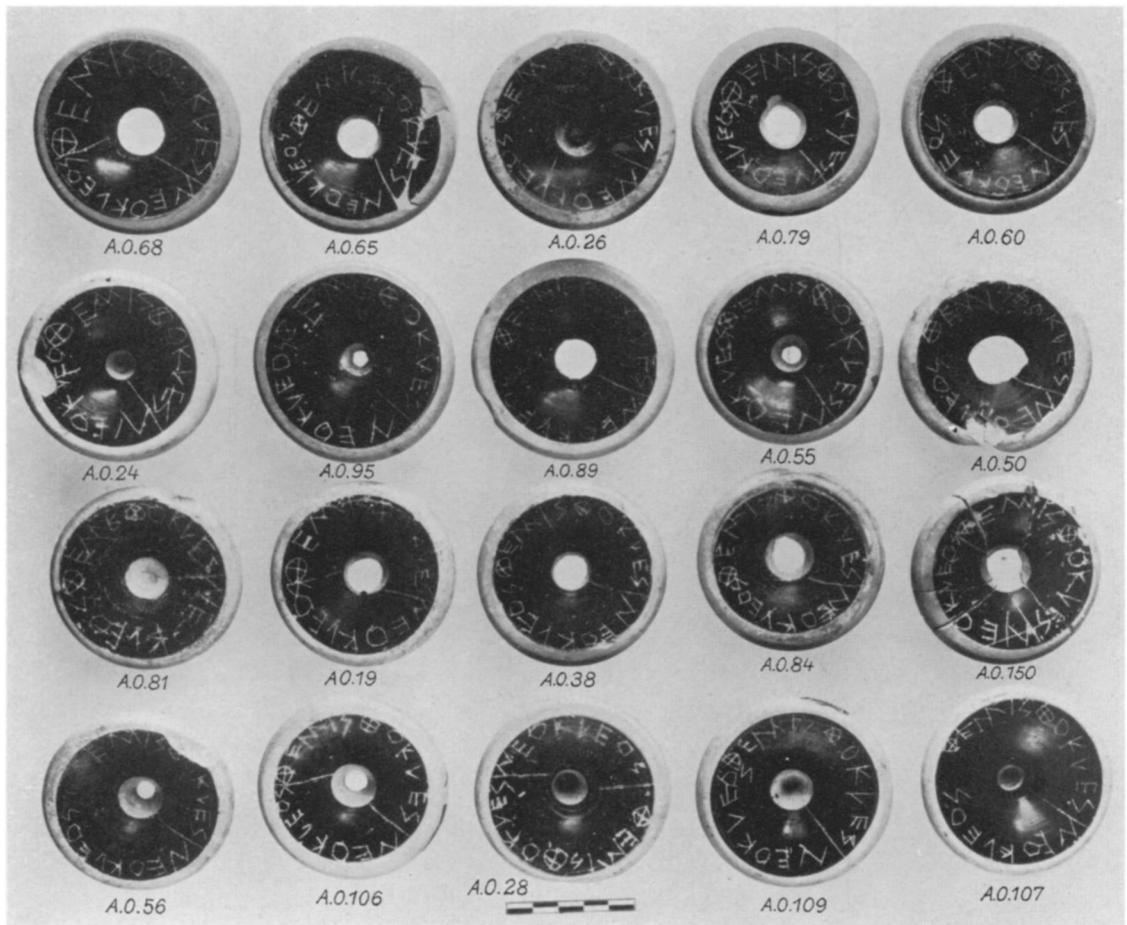


Fig. 61. Ostraka of Group A

of Themistokles is spelled with a *theta* in the third syllable. Usually his name appears in the nominative, followed by the genitive of his father's name. But there are instances of Themistokles' name in the dative, and once it is found in the genitive. The nominative of the father's name also occurs. A group of eight ostraka give the demotic  $\Phi\text{Ρ}\text{Ε}\text{Α}\text{Ρ}\text{Ι}\text{Ο}\text{Σ}$  (Fig. 68) and omit the name of the father.

The letter forms vary considerably, and the recurrence of certain combinations of forms makes it possible to group the ostraka according to different hands, of which fourteen

may be distinguished. This shows beyond a doubt that they were not inscribed by the voters themselves. The writing is sufficiently individualistic so that most of the groups can be isolated without any difficulty. Others are more nearly alike, but the margin of possible error is in any case not large. The most characteristic letter is the *theta*, which occurs in four distinct forms, but there is considerable variation also in the forms of some

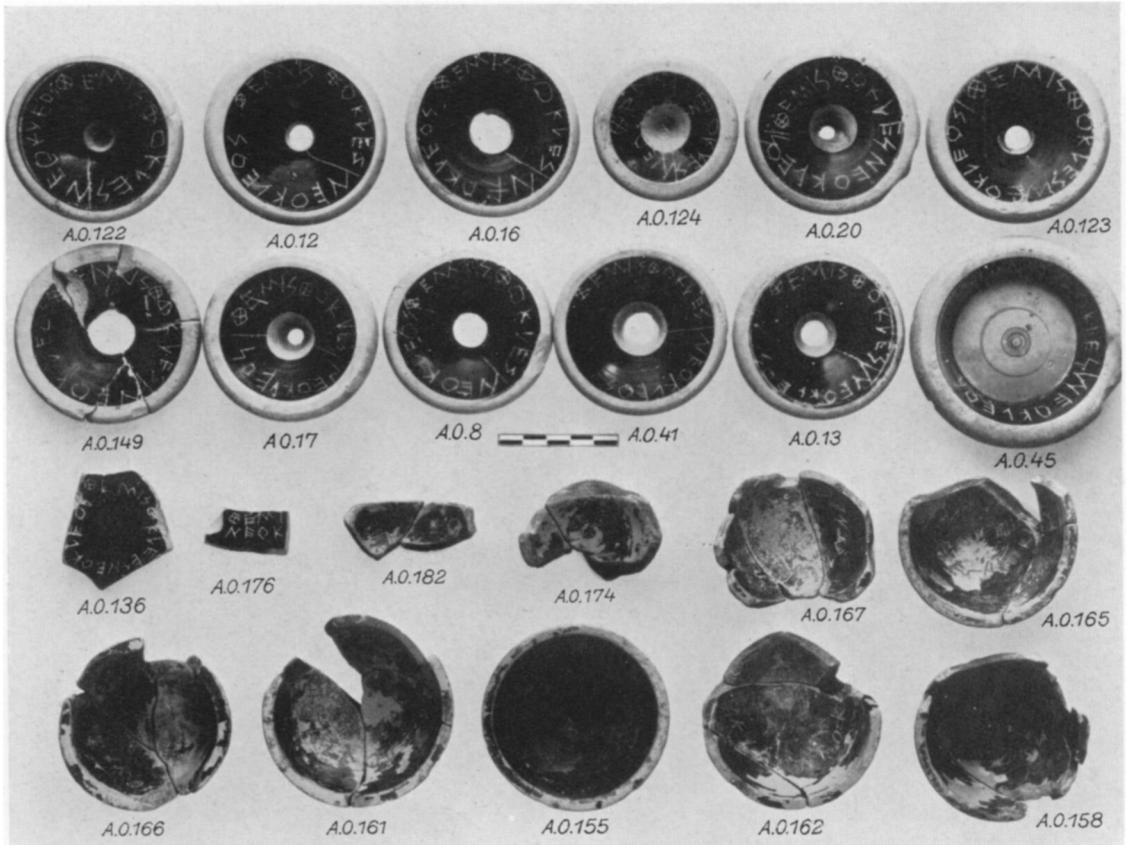


Fig. 62. Ostraka of Groups A and B

of the other letters. The ostraka have been arranged according to groups, numbered A to O, and the variations in the forms of the letters will be discussed in the description of each separate group.

- A. (Figures 61 and 62.) This group is characterized by large, bold letters, deeply incised. The *theta* is made with a St. Andrew's cross within the circle, the two slanting strokes of *kappa* usually come together in a point touching the vertical stroke, and the *sigma* is rather squat with the two angles nearly equal, but some slight deviations occur. The name of Themistokles is followed by a vertical line which separates it from the name of his father, and in a few cases there is a similar line at the end of the

father's name. A.O. 65 has a *sigma* following the second *theta*, and A.O. 20 omits the dividing line after the name of Themistokles. Thirty-two ostraka<sup>1</sup> are inscribed by this hand.

- B. (Figures 62 and 63.) The writing resembles that of A, but the letters are somewhat smaller and the two names are not divided by vertical lines. There are two exceptions

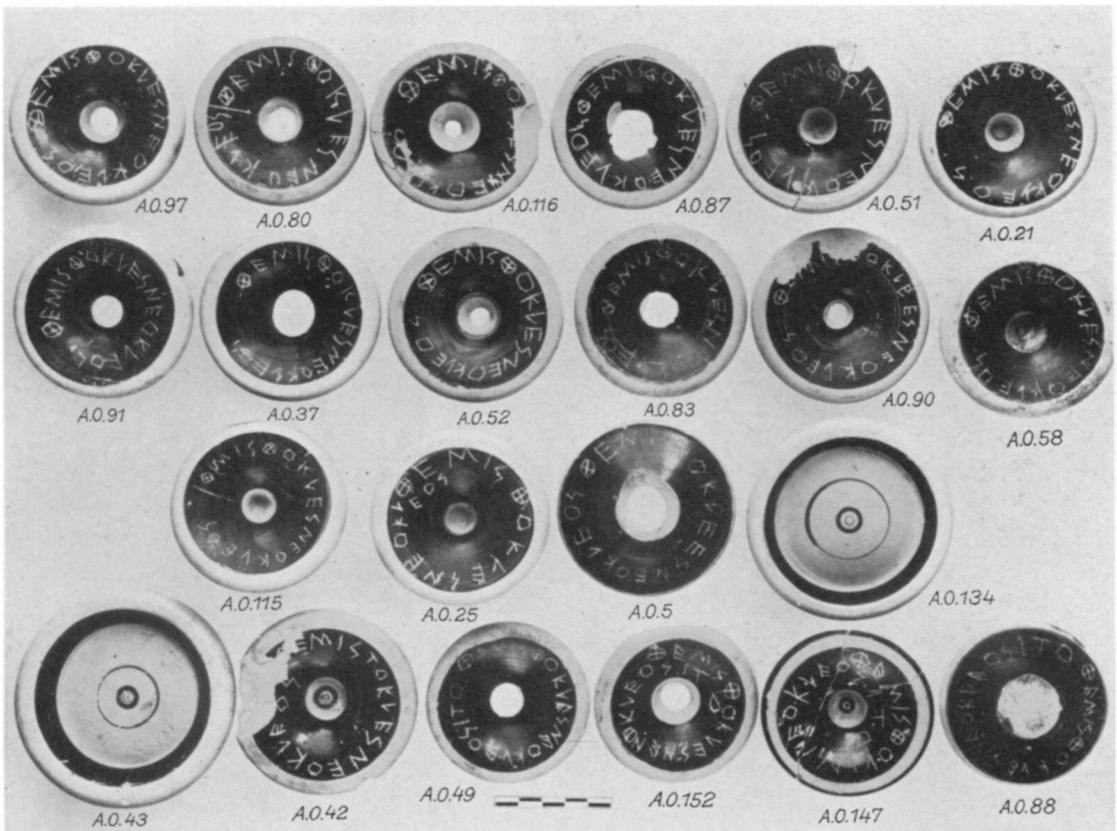


Fig. 63. Ostraka of Group B

(A.O. 115 and 80) in both of which the line precedes the name of Themistokles. *Theta* has the cross as in class A, and the *kappa* is similar in the two groups, but the *sigma* in B is more open. A.O. 5 and 136 have two *epsilon*s in the last syllable of Themistokles (cf. groups G and H) and the *omikron* of Themistokles is omitted in A.O. 136; in A.O. 51 the *kappa* in ΝΕΟΚΛΕΟΣ has been written over a *lambda*; and A.O. 116 begins the father's name with a *mu*. On four of the kylix bases (A.O. 49,

<sup>1</sup> 31 kylix bases, A.O. 68, 65, 26, 79, 60, 24, 95, 89, 55, 50, 81, 19, 38, 84, 150, 56, 106, 28, 109, 107, 122, 12, 16, 124, 20, 123, 149, 17, 8, 41, 13; and 1 skyphos base, A.O. 45.

88, 147, 152) the imperative **ITO** is added after the name. The writing resembles that of B so strongly that there can be little doubt that they were written by this hand. One of the ostraka with **ITO** (A.O. 88) is inscribed on the top of the base. On the bottom of the same base are some scratches which show that the name of Themistokles was begun and left incomplete because of misspelling. A.O. 152 has

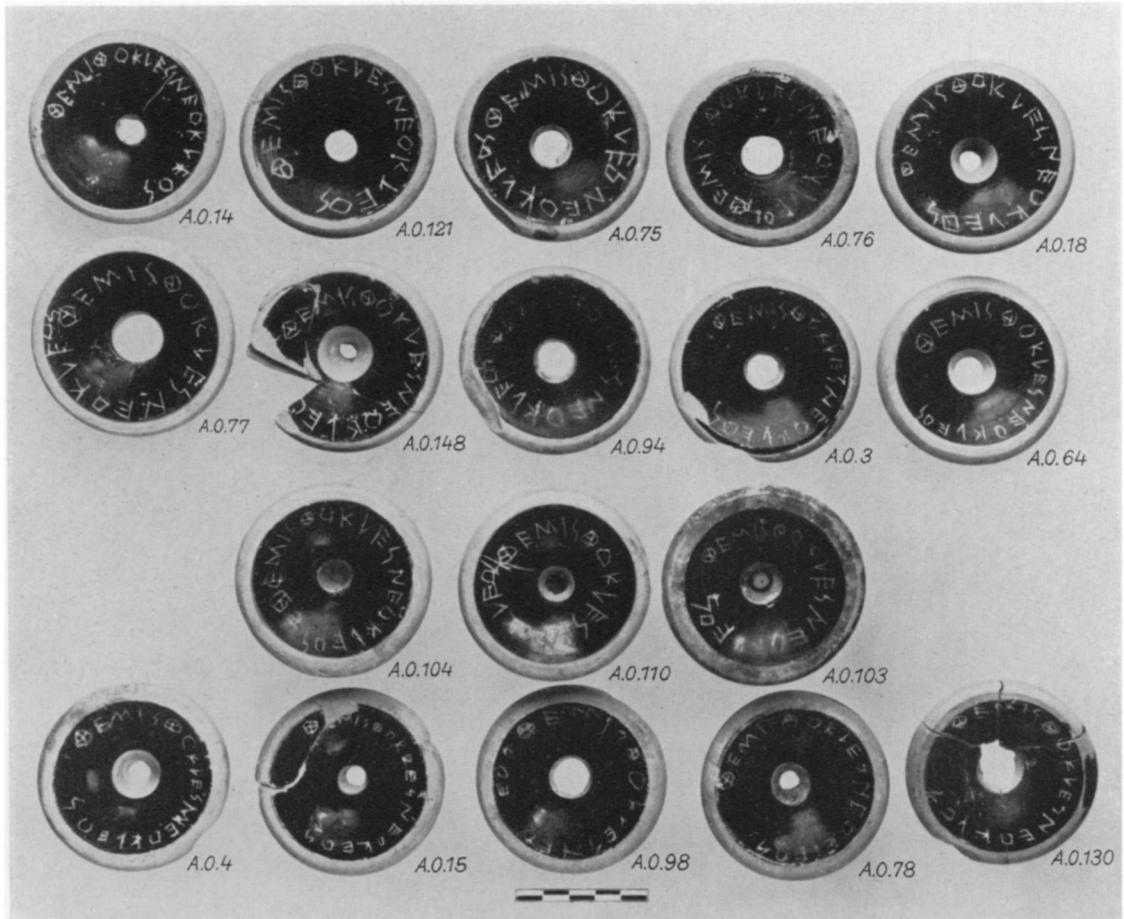


Fig. 64. Ostraka of Groups C and D

two elongated dots after Themistokles' name (cf. group I), and his father's name appears as **ΝΕΝΟΚΛΕΟΣ**. The only two ostraka on which the name of Themistokles is spelled with *tau* in the third syllable also appear to have been written by B. One is a skyphos base (A.O. 43), the other a kylix base (A.O. 42). There are thirty-three ostraka<sup>1</sup> of group B.

<sup>1</sup> 20 kylix bases, A.O. 97, 80, 116, 87, 51, 21, 91, 37, 52, 83, 90, 58, 115, 25, 5, 42, 49, 152, 147, 88; 2 skyphos bases, A.O. 134, 43; 9 bowls, A.O. 182, 174, 167, 165, 166, 161, 155, 162, 158; and 2 sherds, A.O. 136, 176.

- C. (Figure 64.) Group C differs very little from group B except in the form of the *theta*. In group B the cross is made with two intersecting lines, whereas in group C the two lines come together in a point so as to look like an *upsilon*. In most cases, however, the line on the right extends below the point of contact. Since the *theta* occurs twice on each ostrakon, this difference can hardly be accidental. In A.O. 14 there is a dividing line between the two names, and the first *sigma* in the name of Themistokles is omitted. Group C comprises thirteen ostraka,<sup>1</sup> all kylix bases.

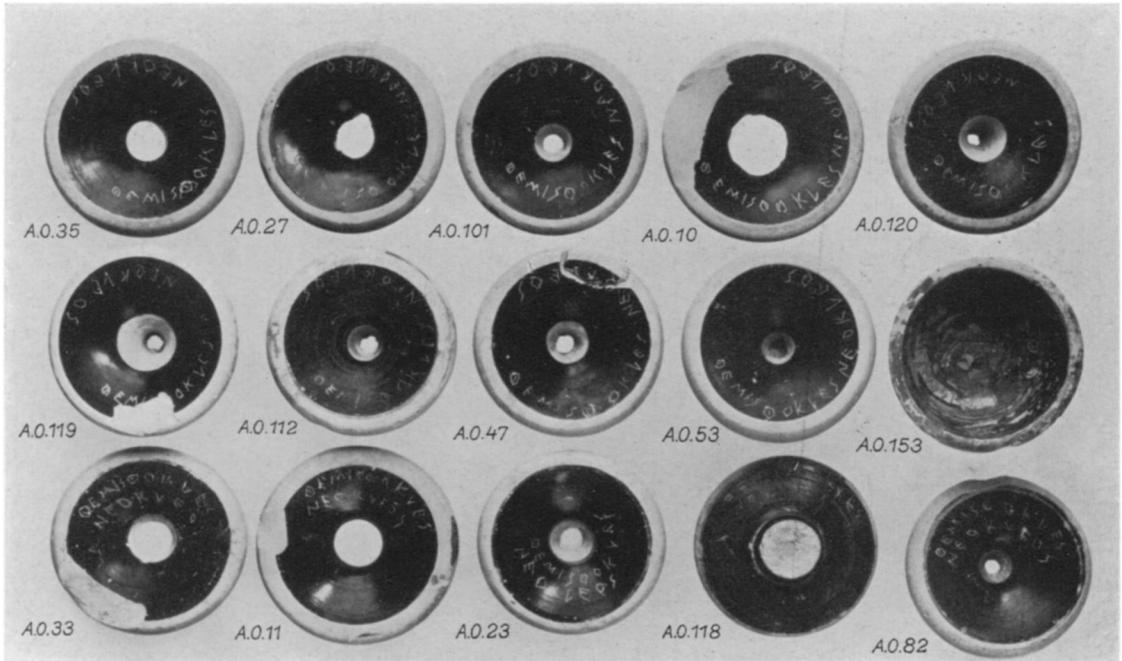


Fig. 65. Ostraka of Group E

- D. (Figure 64.) The letters are somewhat smaller than in groups B and C. The two slanting strokes of *kappa* form a very acute angle, the lower lines being practically horizontal; *sigma* is squat with a correspondingly sharp angle, and the *omikron* is as a rule written with a single unbroken line open at the bottom. A.O. 130 omits the second *epsilon* in the father's name. Only five ostraka,<sup>2</sup> all kylix bases, were inscribed by the hand of D.
- E. (Figure 65.) This is the most easily recognized of all the hands. Whereas the other groups are as a rule written with the top of the letters toward the outer edge of the circular base and the bottom toward the centre, in group E the reverse is most

<sup>1</sup> A.O. 14, 121, 75, 76, 18, 77, 148, 94, 3, 64, 104, 110, 103.

<sup>2</sup> A.O. 4, 15, 98, 78, 130.

commonly the case. The letters are small and incised with very fine lines. As a result the two names do not complete the circle but are usually widely separated, and in several instances the names are written one above the other. The characteristic letters are *theta*, which is written like a *phi* with a short vertical line within the circle, and *sigma*, which is very open. The two slanting strokes of *kappa* usually form a

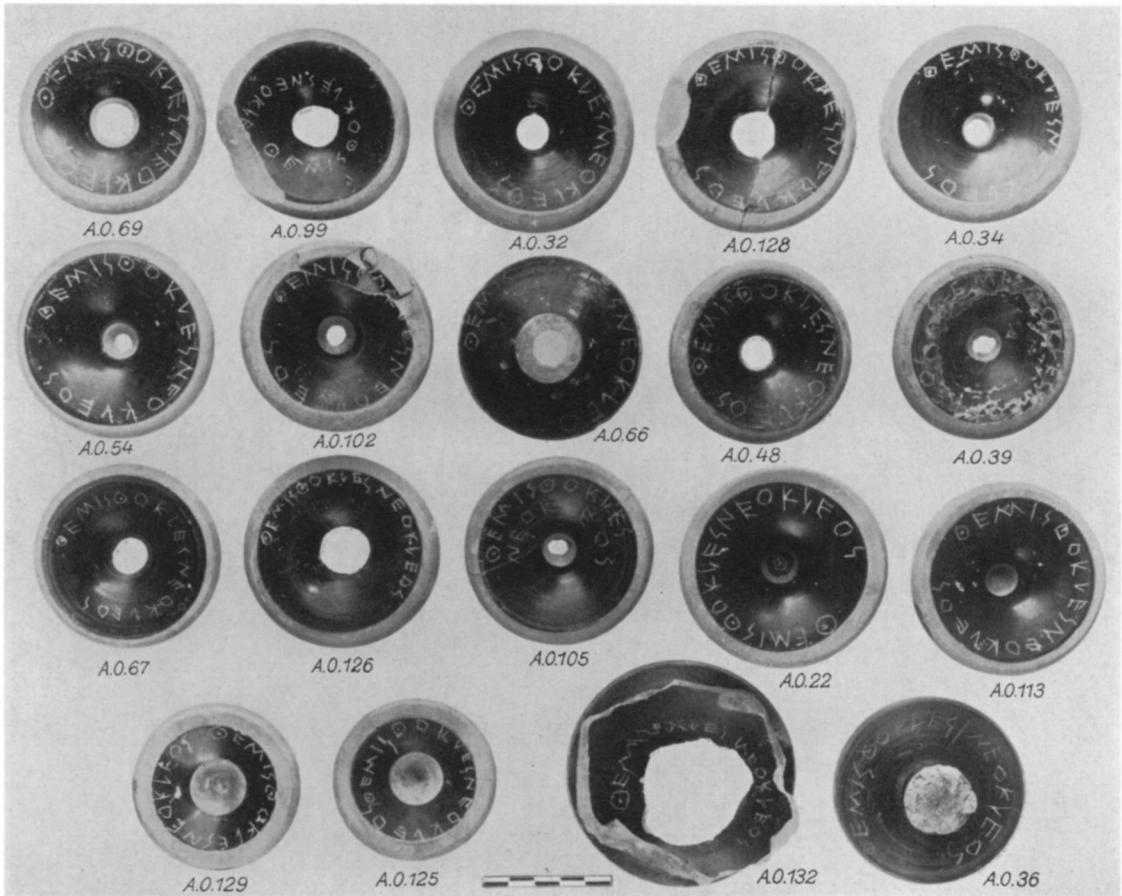


Fig. 66. Ostraka of Group F

very obtuse angle, which rarely touches the vertical stroke. In A.O. 118 the first *epsilon* in the name of Neokles is omitted, and the *lambda* is turned upside down. Fourteen kylix bases and one bowl belong to this group.<sup>1</sup>

- F. (Figures 66 and 67.) This is the most numerous of all the groups and on the whole the most carefully written. The letters are of medium size and regularly spaced. *Theta* has a dot in the centre, and the *sigma* is often written with the

<sup>1</sup> 14 kylix bases, A.O. 35, 27, 101, 10, 120, 119, 112, 47, 53, 33, 11, 23, 118, 82; and one bowl, A.O. 153.

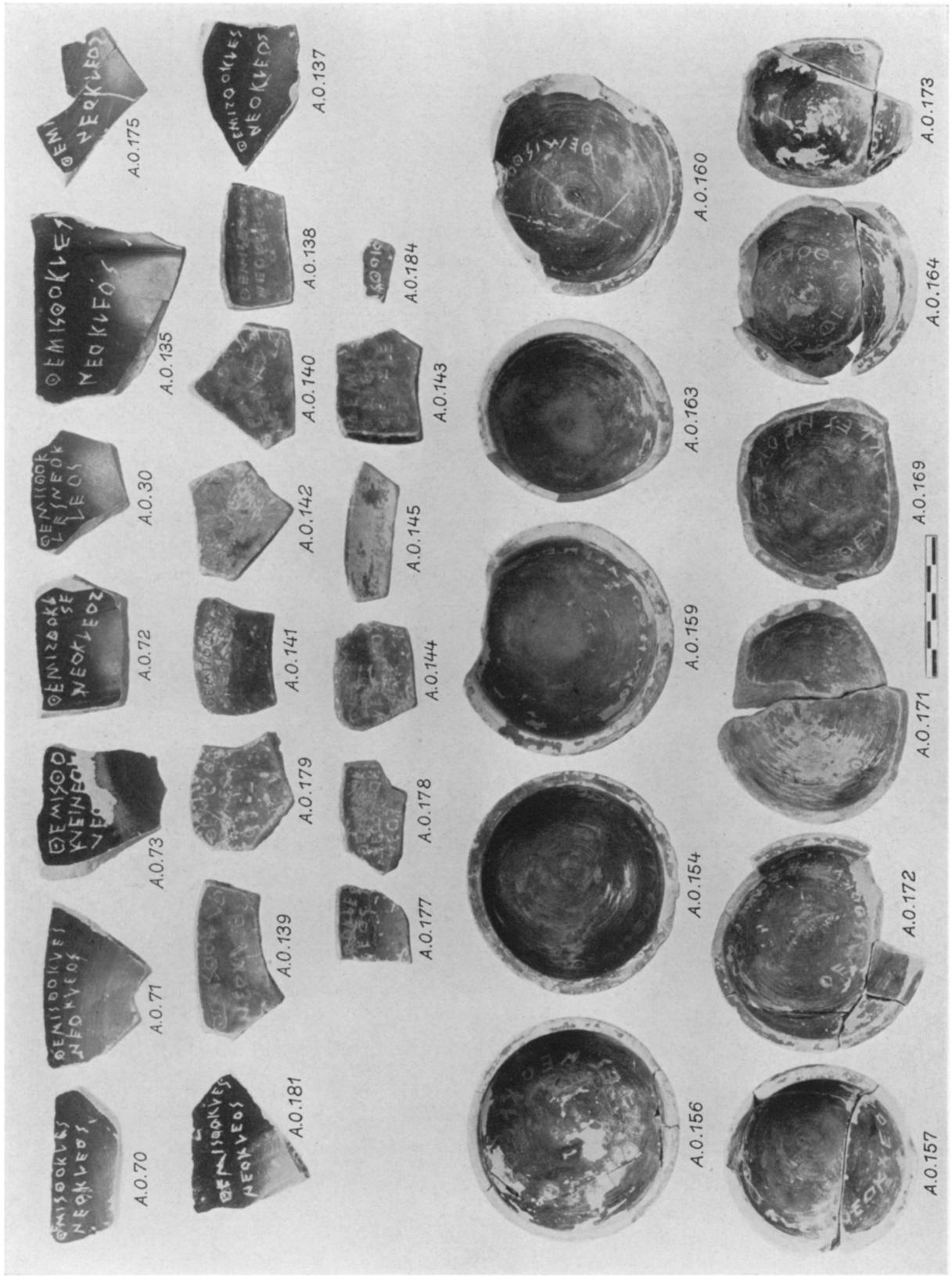


Fig. 67. Ostraka of Group F

upper and middle strokes forming a nearly right angle, whereas the angle between the middle and the lower strokes is obtuse. The lower stroke is usually longer than the other two and almost vertical. There are few irregularities, most of which occur on sherds and bowls. In a few cases (A.O. 72 and 137) the *sigma* is turned the wrong way; one *sigma* (A.O. 139) has four bars, and twice (A.O. 73 and 154) the dative form of Themistokles' name occurs. On A.O. 99 the letters are written with the tops toward the centre as in group E. A.O. 141 was inscribed on both sides, apparently both times with the name of Themistokles, but one inscription has been erased. A.O. 36, which is inscribed twice, is described under group M. No less than fifty-one ostraka<sup>1</sup> of all classes were inscribed by this hand.

- G. (Figure 68.) Only two specimens, both kylix bases,<sup>2</sup> belong to this group. The *theta* has the cross as in A-C. The *sigma* is usually written with five strokes, but in one case it has three strokes, and in another four. The double *epsilon* in the last syllable of Themistokles' name occurs on both ostraka of group G (cf. group B, A.O. 5 and 136, and group H).
- H. (Figure 68.) The writing is small, like that of E, but the letter forms are different. The *theta* has a cross, and the circle tends toward squareness. There are only three specimens of this class, all kylix bases,<sup>3</sup> and in all of these the name of Themistokles is written with two *epsilon*s in the last syllable. This, as we have seen, occurs twice in B, and twice in G.
- I. (Figure 68.) This hand is best recognized by the use of two dots, like a colon, to separate the two names. *Theta* is written with a dot in the centre, the strokes of *lambda* are of so nearly equal length as to give the appearance of *upsilon*, the slanting strokes of *kappa* come together in a point touching the upright stroke, and *sigma* is made with three strokes of about equal length.

A.O. 146 is inscribed twice. The less clearly visible letters on the unglazed part seem to be written by the same hand. Themistokles' name appears as ΘΞΜΣΘΟΚΛΕΟ. In the second inscription written on the glazed inner edge of the base-ring, the first *omikron* in ΝΞΟΚΛΕΟΣ was first written as a *mu* and later corrected. In A.O. 131 the second *theta* has two lines through it, as if it were intended to be written with a cross. In A.O. 133 the first *sigma* was written as an *omikron* and later corrected. The *nu* in the father's name has a fourth stroke, which gives it the appearance of a W, the *kappa* was first written as *epsilon*, and the name is in the nominative. A.O. 168 has the form ΝΞΟΚΛΟΣ. One skyphos base (A.O. 44), on which the name of Themistokles is in the dative, with no punctuation mark separating the two names,

<sup>1</sup> 18 kylix bases, A.O. 69, 99, 32, 128, 34, 54, 102, 66, 48, 39, 67, 126, 105, 22, 113, 129, 125, (36); 1 skyphos base, A.O. 132; 11 bowls, A.O. 156, 154, 159, 163, 160, 157, 172, 171, 169, 164, 173; and 21 sherds, A.O. 70, 71, 73, 72, 30, 135, 175, 181, 139, 179, 141, 142, 140, 138, 137, 177, 178, 144, 145, 143, 184.

<sup>2</sup> A.O. 92, and 57.

<sup>3</sup> A.O. 96, 127, and 114.

seems to have been written by this hand. Five skyphos bases, one bowl, and one sherd, but no kylix bases show the features peculiar to this hand.<sup>1</sup>

- K. (Figure 68.) The ostraka written by this hand all have the demotic instead of the father's name. *Theta* is written with a large dot, which seems to have been formed by two intersecting short lines, and in one case (A.O. 61) the first *theta* has a large

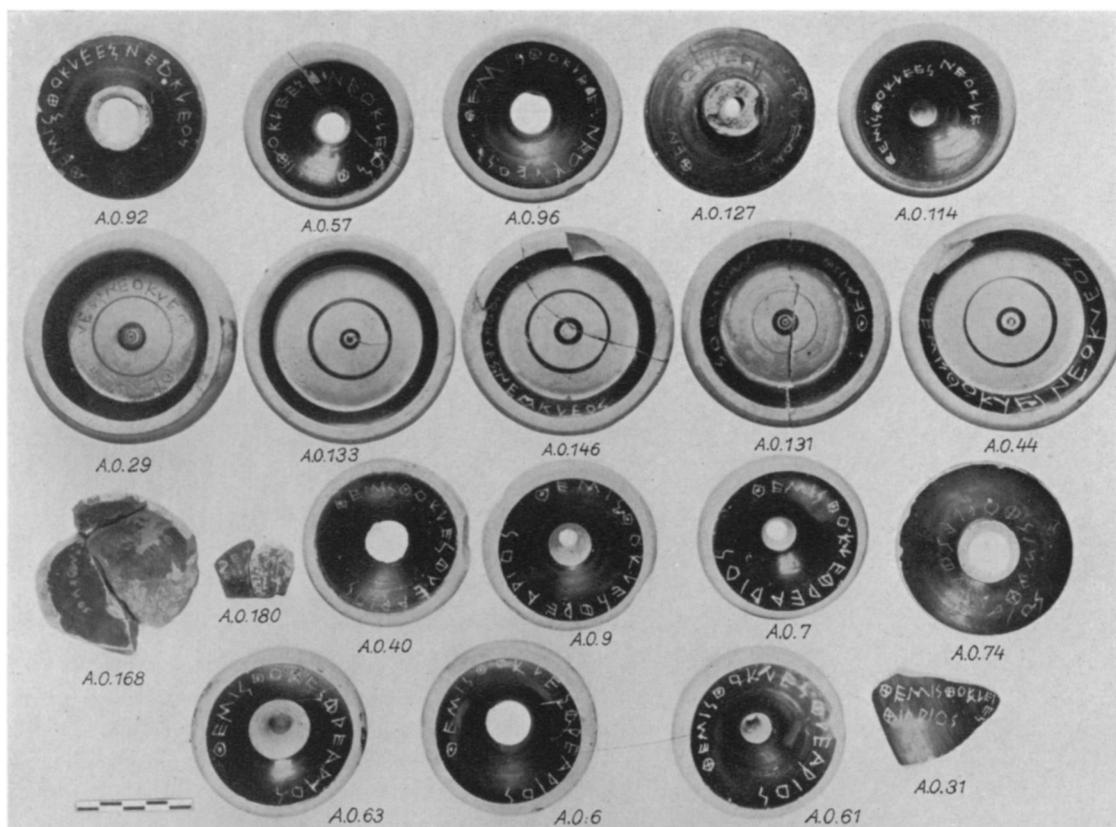


Fig. 68. Ostraka of Groups G, H, I, K

cross as in group A. *Phi* is written with a vertical line which does not extend outside the circle, and the *rho* has a large loop without tail. On one kylix base (A.O. 63) the *lambda* of Themistokles was forgotten and later added above the line. In addition to six kylix bases certainly written by this hand, there are two other ostraka using the demotic instead of the father's name. One of these, a kylix base (A.O. 74) inscribed on the top, has both *thetas* written with a large cross within the circle, but in other respects the writing resembles that of K. The other is

<sup>1</sup> 5 skyphos bases, A.O. 29, 133, 146, 131, 44; 1 bowl, A.O. 168; and 1 sherd, A.O. 180.

a black painted sherd from the lip of a cup. The letters are like those of A.O. 74, but there are some curious misspellings: ΘΕΜΙΣΘΟΚΛΕΙΕΣ ΘΙΑΠΙΟΣ. The name of Themistokles seems to have been written first in the dative case, and later ΕΣ was added below. For the form Θιάπιος there seems to be no rational explanation. Inasmuch as the *theta* with the large cross appears on one of the ostraka of group K and the writing is otherwise similar, it seems probable that all the Θρεάπιος ostraka, of which there are only eight,<sup>1</sup> were written by the same hand.

- L. (Figure 69.) The genitive of the father's name is written with *omega*, and the *theta* has the upright cross. On one kylix base (A.O. 117) both *thetas* are practically square. In two instances (A.O. 117, 86) Themistokles' name is written with a double *sigma* in the middle, and in A.O. 100 the last *sigma* of the first name is omitted.



Fig. 69. Ostraka of Group L

A.O. 100 and A.O. 117, and probably also A.O. 86 have dividing lines after the first name. On the skyphos base (A.O. 46), in this case inscribed on the inside, the father's name is written slightly lower, which probably accounts for the omission of the dividing line. There are four ostraka of this group.<sup>2</sup>

- M. (Figure 70.) The ostraka of this group seem to have been inscribed by an unusually unschooled writer. The writing resembles that of E, but the letters are larger, still the possibility that the ostraka of these two groups were inscribed by the same hand must be admitted. The *theta* has the form of a *phi* as in E, *sigma* is usually turned the wrong way, *lambda* is often upside down, and in some cases the middle stroke of *nu* slants in the wrong direction. On one of these specimens (A.O. 111) the name of Themistokles appears in the genitive case, and on another (A.O. 108) the father's name is in the nominative. A.O. 36 is a specially interesting specimen. On the bottom it was inscribed by the hand of M with the mistakes characteristic of that group. Two of the *sigmas* are turned the wrong way, and the father's name is in the nominative. On the top (Fig. 66) it is inscribed in

<sup>1</sup> 7 kylix bases, A.O. 40, 9, 7, 74, 63, 6, 61; and 1 sherd, A.O. 31.

<sup>2</sup> 3 kylix bases, A.O. 117, 100, 86; 1 skyphos base, A.O. 46.

a different hand resembling that of F but differing in some respects. The letters are rather large, and the two names are separated by a dividing line. Five kylix bases were inscribed by the hand of M.<sup>1</sup>

- N. (Figure 70.) There is only a single specimen<sup>2</sup> from this hand. The letters are large and in general resemble those of A, but the *theta* is written with a dot in the centre. There is no division line, and the names are written in two lines.
- O. (Figure 70.) One kylix base<sup>3</sup> inscribed with exceptionally small letters does not seem to belong to any of the above groups. The *theta* has the dot as in group F, but in other respects the writing rather resembles that of E.

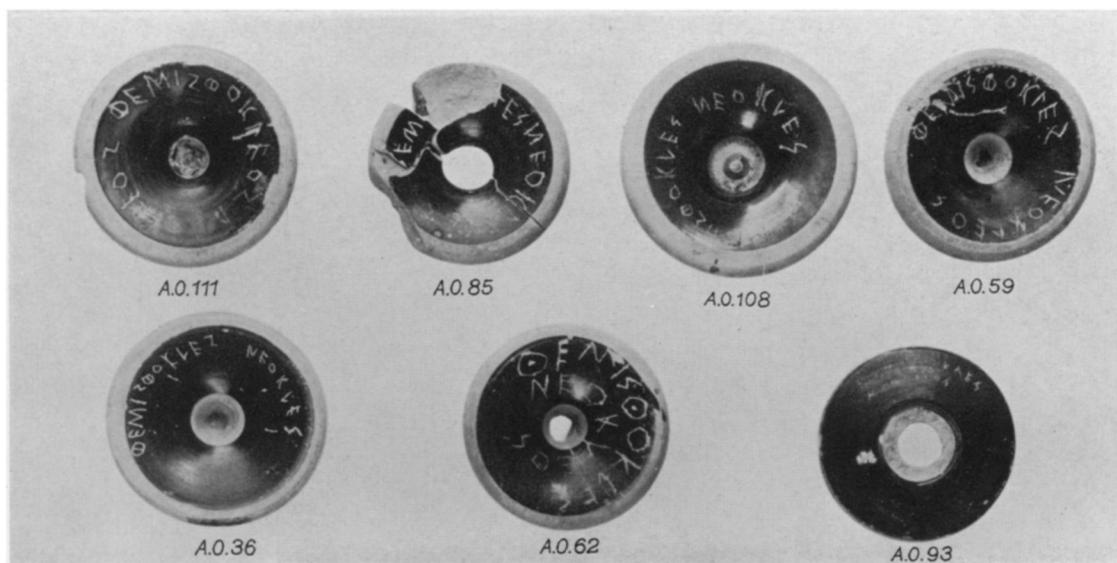


Fig. 70. Ostraka of Groups M, N, O

In addition to the groups described above there are eleven fragments<sup>4</sup> too small to be assigned to any hand. Among the ostraka were also found one uninscribed kylix base of type I and, at a higher level, one with some illegible letters.

A single ostrakon (Fig. 71, A.O. 1), found at a depth of only 6.50 m., has the name of Kimon, son of Miltiades, whose ostracism took place in the spring of 461 B.C. The letters are scratched on the rim of a large bowl, covered with brown glaze. The *lambda* has the Ionic form, but in other respects the writing is Attic.

<sup>1</sup> A.O. 111, 85, 108, 59, 36.

<sup>2</sup> A.O. 62.

<sup>3</sup> A.O. 93.

<sup>4</sup> 4 of bowls, A.O. 170, 183, 190, 192; and 7 of sherds, A.O. 188, 186, 193, 189, 187, 191, 185.

Themistokles was ostracized from Athens some time during the late seventies of the fifth century,<sup>1</sup> but this can hardly have been the first time that an attempt was made to oust him from the city. His political career as leader of the progressive party brought him into constant clash with the opposing factions headed by such men as Hipparchos, Megakles, Xanthippos, and Aristekides, who all went into exile largely through the influence of Themistokles. There is every probability that votes were cast for his banishment at many of the *ostrakophoriai* that took place during the twenty years in which he played a leading rôle in the government of Athens, and archaeological evidence tends to bear out this supposition. That he was proposed for ostracism in 482<sup>2</sup> is shown by the fact that ostraka of Themistokles and Aristekides have been found together in wells and stratified deposits in the Athenian Agora.<sup>3</sup>



Fig. 71. Ostrakon of Kimon

Another name which occurs frequently on ostraka from similar contexts is that of Kallyxenos, son of Aristonymos, whose political career is otherwise unknown.

To which of the ostracisms of Themistokles do our ostraka belong? A glance at the ostraka of the year 483/2 from the Agora will suggest an answer to this question. It is a fortunate fact that the bases of pottery, both of kylikes and skyphoi, show definite changes in profile and decoration which follow the chronological development of the vases. Among the ostraka from the Agora there are at least three of Aristekides, one of Themistokles, one of Xanthippos (ostracized in 484), and several of Kallyxenos, inscribed on kylix bases similar to those from well M. In view of the remarkable uniformity in the shapes of the bases, there is every probability that the ostraka from well M were prepared for the ostracism of 482. The same conclusion will be reached

<sup>1</sup> Carcopino, *L'Ostracism Athénien*, pp. 157 ff., gives 472/1 as the most probable year of his ostracism.

<sup>2</sup> For the date of the ostracism of Aristekides see Carcopino, *op. cit.*, p. 150; *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, IV, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 460; V, 1936, p. 39; *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 13; Homer Thompson, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 296.

by a comparison of the skyphoi bases with certain skyphoi found in a well deposit in the Agora, the contents of which date from the early fifth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

It has already been pointed out that the ostraka from the well were not inscribed by the voters themselves, and there are good reasons to believe that they were never used. We know that the *ostrakophoriai* took place in the Agora, which is far from the well in which the ostraka were discovered, and it seems unlikely that they were carried up the slopes of the Acropolis to be thrown away. Moreover, one would expect to find ostraka with other names among those of Themistokles, if the contents of the "ballot boxes" had been emptied into the well after the votes had been counted. Finally, the uniformity of the material used for the ostraka and the fact that no coarse sherds are found among them is further proof of the contention that they had never been cast at an ostracism. We may credit the opponents of Themistokles with the foresight of having prepared the ostraka on specially attractive material for distribution among the citizens who were not sufficiently well versed in the art of writing or were otherwise unwilling to take the trouble to prepare their own ballots.

#### LAMPS

Six terracotta lamps and fragments of lamps (Fig. 72) were found in well M. Two of these, A.L. 155 and A.L. 157 are pieces of multiple lamps like those discussed above together with the contents from well V (p. 199, Fig. 34). A.L. 155, found at a depth of 16.50 m., is made by hand of a coarse, micaceous clay, of reddish brown color. The individual units, three of which are preserved entire, are slightly more developed in form than those of A.L. 149, Fig. 34, and may be of a somewhat later date. A.L. 157, which came from near the top of the well, is a fifth century type. It consisted of a large circular receptacle with a rather broad rim pierced with numerous small wick-holes without any proper nozzles. In the centre was a hollow tube,<sup>2</sup> and on the bottom is a broad flat base-ring.

Two fragments of one lamp (A.L. 159) belong to type III, but certain features are present not commonly found in this type. The outer half of the rim is nearly flat and projects slightly, and the inner half slopes steeply toward the inside. The nozzle was unbridged, and at the back was a small handle. The bottom is flat without a base. Only the nozzle, the rim, and the inside were glazed. The remaining three lamps belong

<sup>1</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool. A corroboration of an early date of our ostraka was offered me by Prof. H. R. W. Smith, who is making a study of the chronological development of skyphoi bases. Knowing the ostraka only from photographs, he suggested, on the basis of shape and decoration alone, that the skyphoi to which they belong were made before the time of the Persian Invasion.

<sup>2</sup> It is generally considered that this tube developed because the lamps were set on a stand provided with a peg that fitted into the tube. Another explanation is offered by H. A. Thompson (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 198, note 1) that the tube is "a final stage in the development of the open centre found so commonly in the early multiple lamps in the Acropolis Museum, and in the hundreds of so-called 'kernoi' from the Sicilian sanctuaries of Demeter." Whatever was the origin of the tube, the lamps with open centre continued in use long after the tube lamps had reached their full development, cf. A.L. 151, fig. 34.

to type IV. The earliest of these (A.L. 156), found at the very bottom of the well together with the coarse household ware, is a flat, open dish with narrow rim, unbridged short nozzle, no handle and no base. In the bottom is a conical depression, with a corresponding conical projection on the inside. The nozzle and the inside are covered with a dull brown glaze. A small specimen (A.L. 154<sup>1</sup>), with broad rim, bridged nozzle,

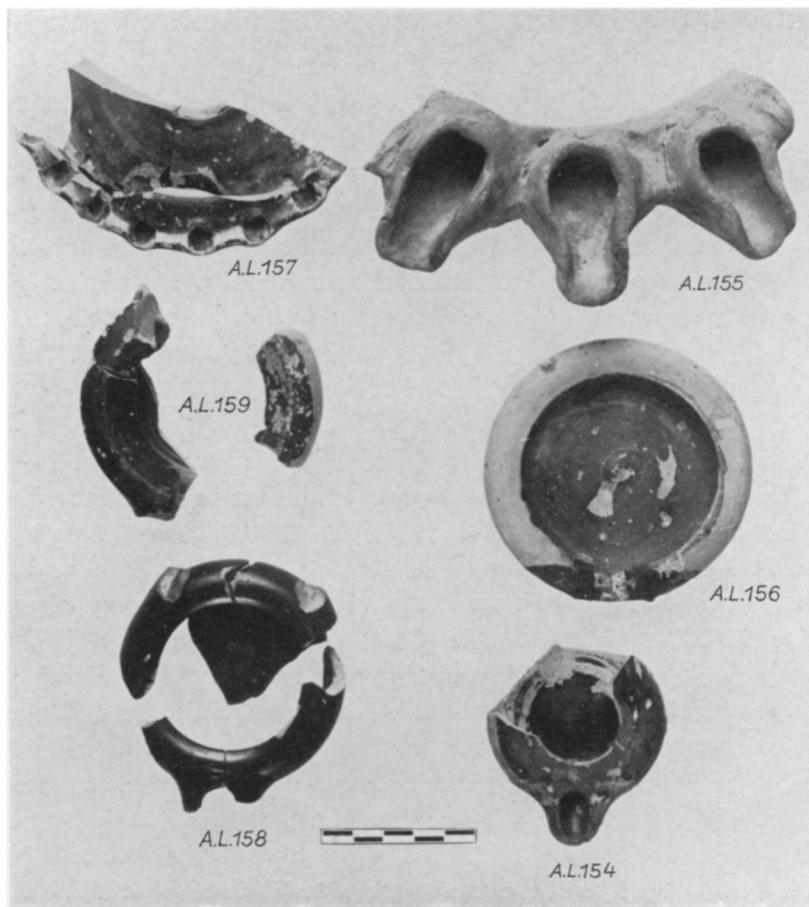


Fig. 72. Terracotta Lamps from Well M

and lacking both handle and base, is of later date. A black glaze covers inside, nozzle and rim. The latest of all the lamps from well M (A.L. 158), which came from the fill near the top, is a good example of the fully developed type IV of the fifth century,<sup>2</sup> with curving rim, horizontal handle, and low flat base. The black glaze, which covers all but the bottom of the base, is of excellent quality.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, pl. II, 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. II, 64.

## FIGURINES

The terracotta figurines (Fig. 73), like the pottery, testify to the gradual filling up of well M. A few small pieces of primitives (A.F. 654, 655, 662, 657) came out of the fill at various depths in the well, but those found near the bottom are all of the archaic type. Two are seated female figures (A.F. 664, 665), and one fragment is from the lower part



Fig. 73. Terracotta Figurines from Well M

of a large standing figure (A.F. 663). Two heads in rather poor condition (A.F. 661, 659), found at a depth of 6 to 8 m., belong to the period after the Persian wars. A.F. 659 is probably the earlier of the two. The hair, divided in the centre, falls in full, wavy masses over the forehead. The eyes are still rather straight and bulging, lending an expression of vacant stare to the face, but there is no trace of the archaic smile. The second head (A.F. 661) has certain features showing a tendency toward experimentation along new lines in the manner of the transitional period. The hair is covered with a kerchief<sup>1</sup> wrapped several times about the head. The features of the face are carefully

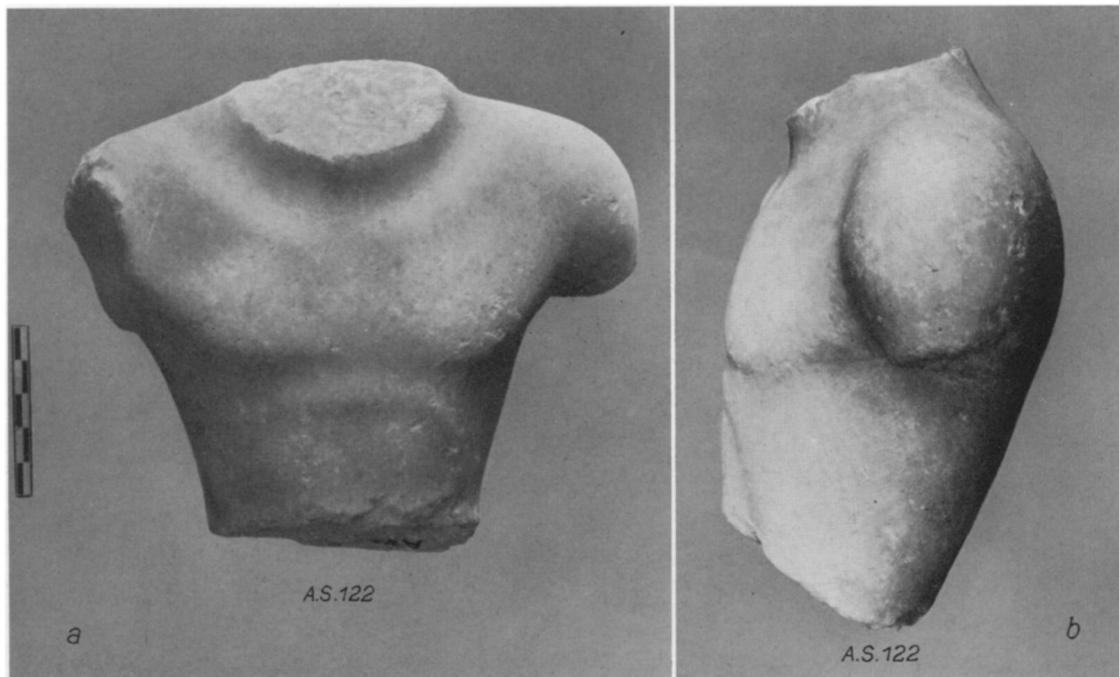


Fig. 74. Torso of Rider from Well M

modeled. The eyes are rendered with a degree of naturalism never attained in truly archaic figures, and the muscles about the mouth and chin give a highly individualistic expression to the face.

#### SCULPTURE

Two pieces of marble sculpture were found in well M. One is the torso of a rider (A.S. 122, Fig. 74, a, b), *ca.* one-third life size,<sup>2</sup> of grayish coarse-grained marble. The left

<sup>1</sup> A similar headgear is worn by two heads from one of the earlier campaigns on the North Slope. One of these, of somewhat later date than A.F. 661, is published by C. H. Morgan, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 208, fig. 12, a.

<sup>2</sup> Preserved height, 0.14 m.; width at shoulders, 0.15 m.

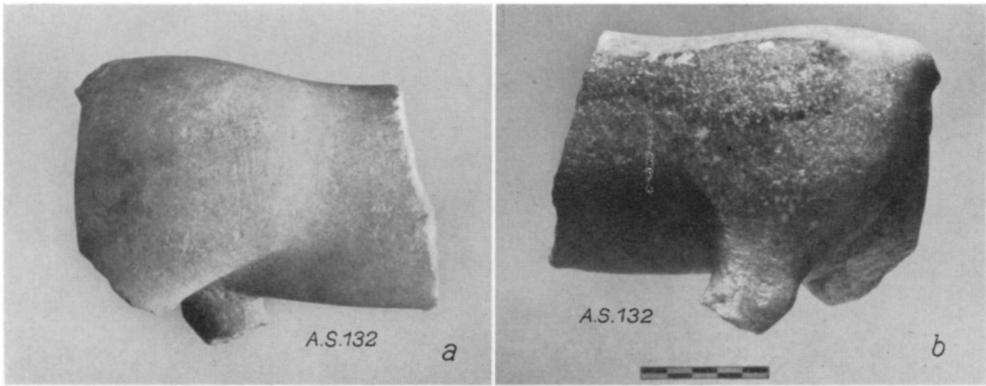


Fig. 75. Fragment of Marble Pig from Well M

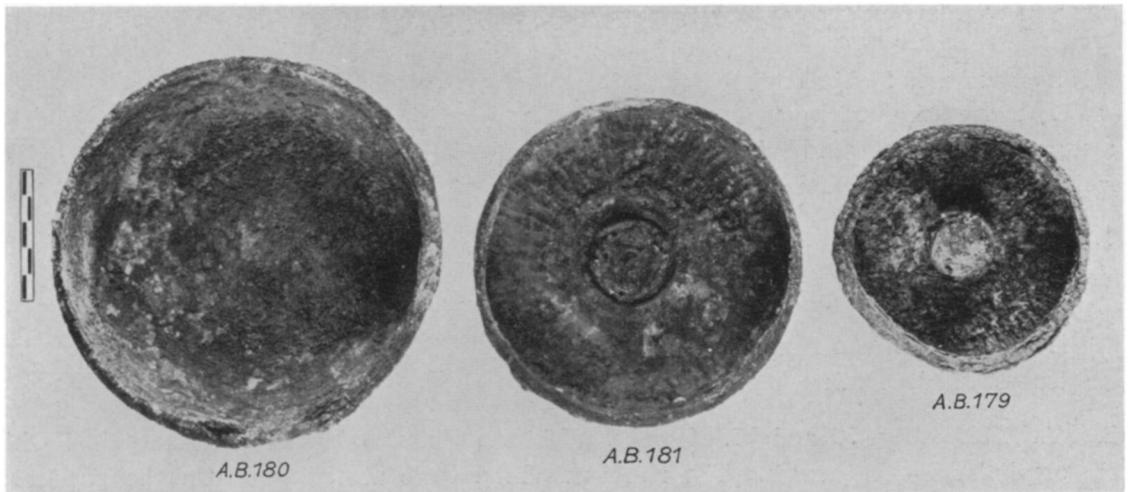


Fig. 76. Bronze Vessels from Well M, Inside

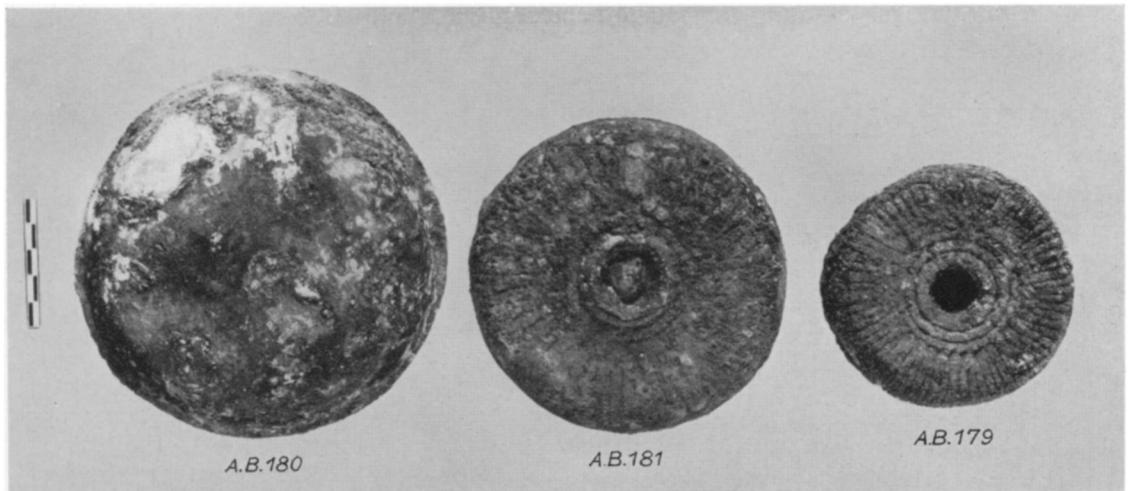


Fig. 77. Bronze Vessels from Well M, Outside

arm was drawn back, and the right hand seems to have been held forward. The stooping shoulders and the forward bend of the neck show that the statuette represented a mounted figure.<sup>1</sup> The musculature of chest and abdomen is modeled with great care and delicacy, and the surface of the marble has been smoothly polished in front, whereas the back is roughly finished.

The second fragment (A.S. 132, Fig. 75, a, b) preserves the rear half of a small sow,<sup>2</sup> of coarse grained marble with blue veins. It is carefully modeled and well finished on the right side only. The left side, being rather flat and sketchily treated, cannot have been intended to be seen. The fragment is probably part of a dedication to Demeter from one of her sanctuaries known to have existed on the slopes of the Acropolis.<sup>3</sup>

#### METAL OBJECTS AND MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

Numerous metal objects were found in well M, many of them in a poor state of preservation. Those found below the water level are corroded beyond recognition.

1. (A.B. 180) Figs. 76 and 77. Bronze bowl. Height, 0.04 m.; diam., 0.14 m. The rim flares out slightly, and below is a double incised line, but no other traces of decoration are preserved.
2. (A.B. 181) Figs. 76 and 77. Height, 0.038 m.; diam., 0.122 m. Bronze phiale with omphalos in the centre. The rim turns in a little at the top. On the edge are some horizontal lines, and from there a series of elongated loops or tongues extend toward the omphalos.
3. (A.B. 179) Figs. 76 and 77. Height, 0.023 m.; diam., 0.092 m. Bronze phiale like the preceding but of smaller size.
4. (A.B. 182) Fig. 78. Length, 0.155 m.; width, 0.065 m. Bronze leaf of very thin metal and in poor condition.
5. (A.B. 217) Fig. 79. Solid bronze rod broken at one end. Length, 0.276 m.; diam., 0.013–0.016 m. It tapers gradually toward the broken end, and at the other end are some grooves which seem to have resulted from turning in a socket.
6. (A.B. 220) Fig. 79. Piece of bronze rod, broken at one end and terminating in a blunt point at the other. Length, 0.047 m.; diam., 0.006–0.011 m.

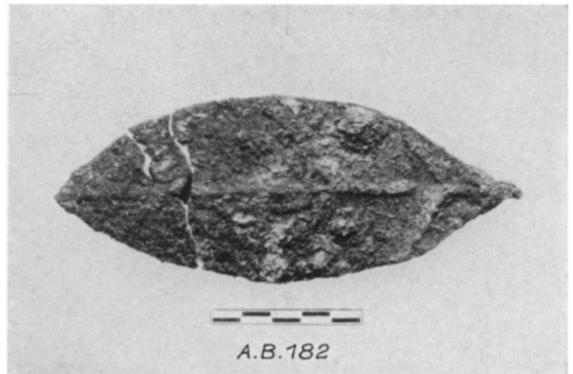


Fig. 78. Bronze Leaf from Well M

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, pl. 133, no. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Total length of fragment, 0.15 m.

<sup>3</sup> Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, pp. 286 ff.; Keramopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XII, 1929, pp. 73 ff.

7. (A.B. 221) Fig. 79. Bronze piece shaped like the point of an umbrella. Length, 0.061 m. At the thicker end it is hollow for a length of *ca.* 0.02 m., and on the outside is a flange, beyond which it is broken off.
8. (A.M. 239) Fig. 79. Spear butt of iron and bronze. Total length, 0.26 m. It consists of a socket of iron, *ca.* 0.025 m. in diameter, held together with a bronze ring at the open end, and tapering slightly toward the closed end, where it is attached by means of a bronze shoe to a solid piece of iron, *ca.* 0.033 m. square in section and 0.105 m. long.

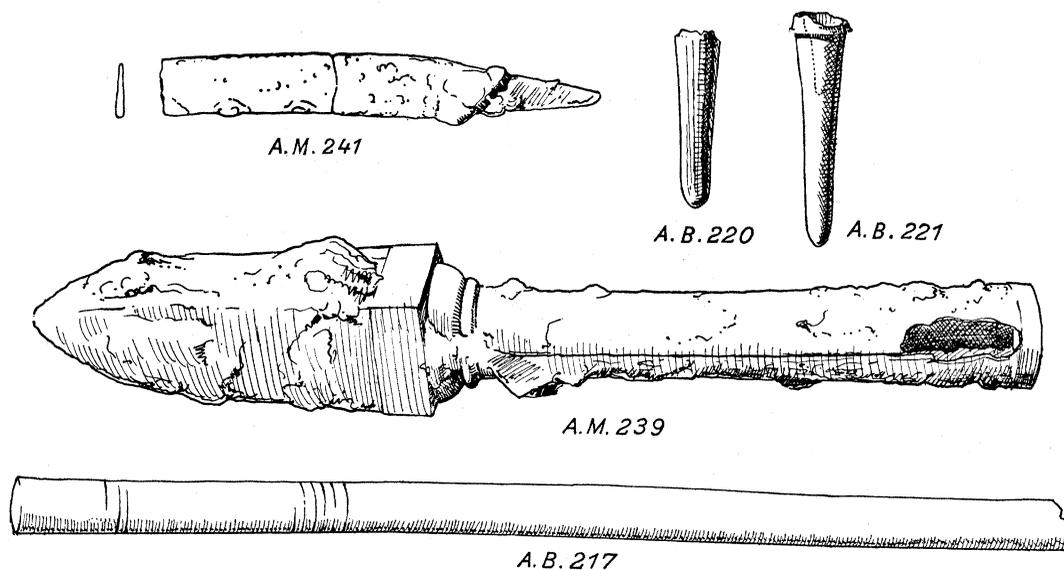


Fig. 79. Objects of Bronze and Iron from Well M

The common shape of spear butt is more elongated and pointed, so much so that examples of that type have been mistaken for spear blades.<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, possible that our specimen is broken off at the end, but this is not necessarily the case. A butt end of bronze from Cyprus, now in Paris,<sup>2</sup> is equally blunt and thick in proportion to the spear shaft, but it is circular instead of square in section. A dedicatory inscription dates it to about 480 B.C. The best parallel from Greece is offered by an iron spear butt from Patras.<sup>3</sup> It is somewhat more elongated and

<sup>1</sup> See Furtwängler, *Olympia*, IV, p. 175 and pl. LXIV, 1050—1060, and cf. Richter, *Gk. Etr. and Rom. Br. in Metr. Mus.*, p. 398. Prof. Homer Thompson, to whom I am indebted for the identification of the spear butt from well M, has called my attention to a similar object in Toronto (*Bull. Roy. Ont. Mus.*, March 1932, p. 13.)

<sup>2</sup> Babelon-Blanchet, *Bronzes Antiques de la Bibl. Nat.*, p. 670, no. 2141.

<sup>3</sup> Bosanquet, *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, pp. 273 ff. This article is the best brief discussion on the subject, but see also Walters, *Cat. of Br. in Br. Mus.*, nos. 77, 2767, 2768, 3202; and Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 33, pls. XXXIX, XL.

slender, but in other respects it is very similar to ours, even to the bronze ring at the juncture between the socket and the butt end proper.

9. (A.M. 241) Fig. 79. Iron knife. Length, 0.113 m. It was found fastened by rust to a small stone, from which it is impossible to remove it without damaging the blade.
10. (A.M. 243) Fig. 80. Iron adze, badly destroyed by rust, but the shape can be clearly determined. It is practically identical with that of the modern *σεπάρονι*, regularly used by Greek carpenters in place of the common hatchet.

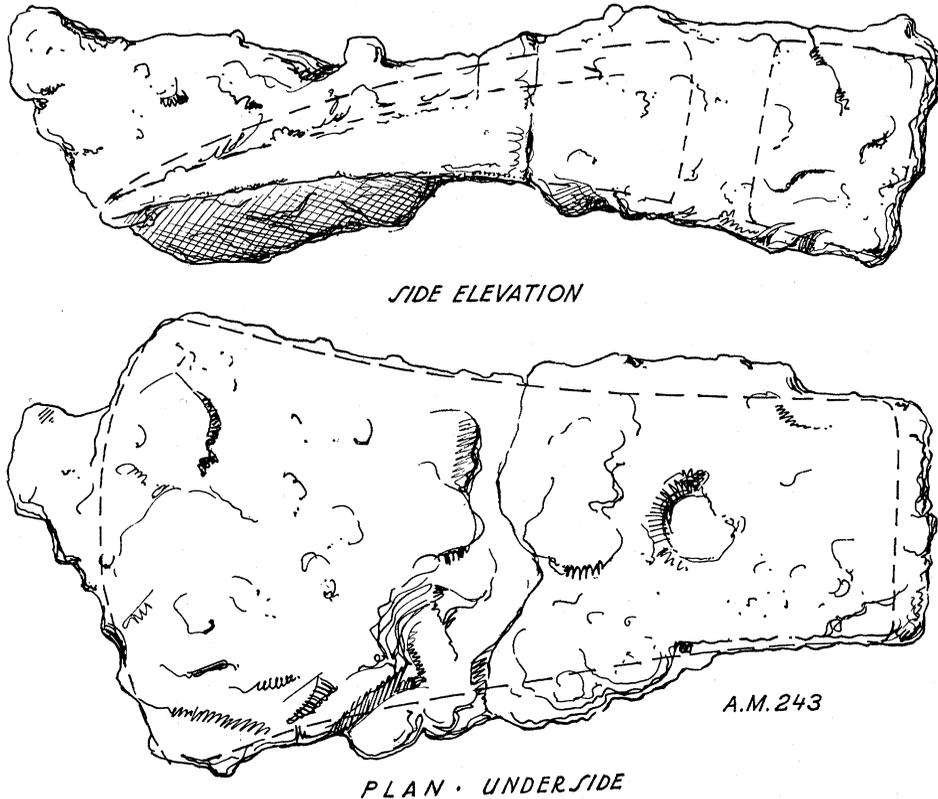


Fig. 80. Iron Adze from Well M

11. (A.M. 240.) Twelve lead rivets of various sizes, probably prepared to be used for mending pottery.<sup>1</sup>

The miscellaneous objects from well M include six terracotta loom weights (A.W. 72-77), all of the pyramidal type. One (A.W. 76) has three incised lines in the top, and another (A.W. 74) has five small depressions arranged in a quincunx. A flat circular grindstone (A.M. 242), 0.112 m. in diameter and 0.035 m. in thickness, came from a depth of 11 m.

<sup>1</sup> See *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 469.

Date	Depth Metres	Pottery A.P.	Figurines A.F.	Sculpture A.S.	Lamps A.L.	Bronzes A.B.	Miscellaneous A.M.	Weights A.W.	Ostraka A.O.
May 14	0-0.70	1085-1087					235		
15	0.70-2.10	1088-1096	654		157				
17	2.10-3.10	1097-1102, 1113	655				236-238, 240	72-74, 77	
18	3.10-4.10	1103-1105	656-658		158	179-182, 217, 220, 221, 227	239		
19	4.10-4.75	1115-1117				Fragments	241		
20	4.75-6	1106, 1107, 1114	659, 660						
21	6-7	1108-1112	661		159				
22	7-8.30					Bowl			
24	8.30-9.10	1118							
25	9.10-10			122					
26	10-11.20			134				75	
27	11.20-11.90	1114					242		
28	11.90-13		662				243, Cover Tiles		
29	13-14	1119-1121		132					
31	14-14.55	1122, 1123					Wood		3-30, 51, 153-161
June 1	14.55-15.30		663		154				32-50, 52-152, 166-175, 181-193
2	15.30-16.15								
3	16.15-16.80	1124, 1125	664		155				
4	16.80-17.75		665				Wood		
5	17.75-18.40	1126-1137, 1175			156		Wood	76	

CHART RECORDING THE DAY BY DAY PROGRESS OF CLEARING WELL M,  
AND THE DEPTH AT WHICH EACH OBJECT WAS DISCOVERED

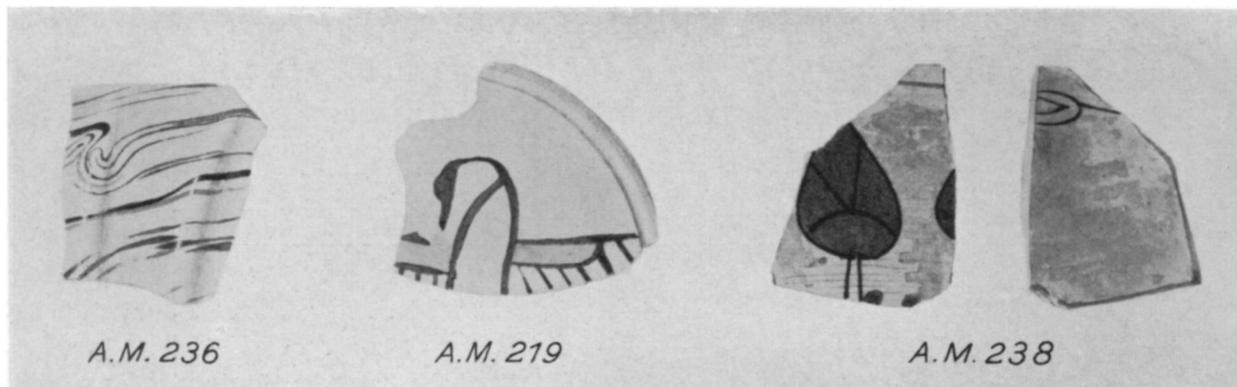


Fig. 81. Objects of Glass and Faience

One small piece of opaque glass (A.M. 236, Fig. 81) with blue striations and raised ribs is from an open bowl with part of the slightly flaring lip preserved.<sup>1</sup> A small fragment of faience (A.M. 238, Fig. 81) resembles the Egyptian piece found in Y-Z (p. 187). It is part of an open vessel and preserves a small piece of the upper edge. On the outside it was decorated with buds outlined in black and filled in with purple, and on the inside is a small leaf near the edge of the vessel. Both fragments came from a depth of two to three metres, with objects dated in the second half of the fifth century (see p. 214, Fig. 47, A.P. 1093).

#### OBJECTS FROM THE LATE FILL OF THE MAIN AREA

In the main area of excavation almost no undisturbed stratification was observed, with the exception of the fill in cuttings Y-Z and in wells V and M, the contents of which have been discussed above. At one point, however, near the east edge of the area (Fig. 5, X) there was a slight accumulation of earth containing pottery and terracotta figurines of the late sixth century B.C. (cf. p. 183, Fig. 21, A.P. 1174). This may prove to be the outer edge of an undisturbed deposit, extending into the unexcavated area toward the east. The sculpture and pottery culled from the late fill in the excavation of 1937, are now being studied and will appear in a future number of this journal. The remaining material, comprising a large variety of objects: terracotta figurines, coins, and miscellaneous finds, will be published in connection with the material from subsequent campaigns. A small selection of significant objects of postclassical times will be discussed below.

No less than 125 fragments of inscriptions were discovered in 1937. Many of these are unimportant pieces preserving a few letters each. The important documents from the sixth to the third century B.C. are published in a separate article by Eugene Schweigert in this number of *Hesperia*.

<sup>1</sup> Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum*, I, pl. I, gives examples of similar bowls from Egypt.

## BYZANTINE IVORY RELIEF

Along the east side of the main area (at point X, Fig. 5) was discovered a fragment of a carved ivory pyxis<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 82, A.M. 230). Below the rounded lip is a raised moulding made on the lathe, and a small piece of the base moulding is preserved at the lower edge of the fragment. If we assume that the two mouldings were of the same width, the total height of the pyxis may be calculated at *ca.* 0.117 m.

A raised, curving line, indicating the ground, divides the picture into an upper and a lower half. In the centre of the upper part is the figure of a man dressed in short tunic and cloak, which hangs from his shoulder and flutters in the wind. He is swinging a heavy stick or club, which he grasps with both hands, and seems to be engaged in rousing to action an animal of uncertain identity, sitting calmly in front of him. Only the hind part is preserved, but the nature of the break at the right edge seems to indicate that the animal was looking back at him. At the left edge of the upper zone are preserved the hind legs and tail of a lion, hurrying away to the left. Above the lion in the upper left corner there is a peculiar basket-like object, which appears to be suspended from the moulding, and below it are five slightly curving lines incised in the background of the picture.

In the lower zone parts of four animals are preserved. A hare looking up at the man with the club is running fast toward the right, and at the very edge of the break is the tail of another animal, apparently running in the same direction. It differs somewhat from the tails of the lions, but the identity of the animal cannot be determined. A male lion to left fills most of the left half of the lower zone. The front



Fig. 82. Fragment of Ivory Pyxis

<sup>1</sup> Height of fragment, 0.103 m.; width, 0.056 m.

part of his head and his paws are lost. He, too, is making off with great speed. Below is the fore part of a dog, barking at the other animals. He seems to be tied to some object behind him, or possibly he is held by a leash.

What is the meaning of this picture? At first glance it appears like a hunting scene, such as are often found on ivories of this kind, but grave difficulties arise from this interpretation. A stick, even a large one, is not the proper weapon for a lion hunt, and the speed with which the beasts rush away, seems out of keeping with the hunter's equipment. The only animal not in a hurry to depart is the one about to receive the blow. It would be difficult indeed to find a parallel for such a hunting scene in early Christian art, or in the art of any period. The common weapon used by lion hunters in such scenes is the spear, and usually the lions are represented as turning against the hunter, not fleeing from him.<sup>1</sup> Are we to assume that the lions are rushing to attack a second hunter more suitably armed for the chase, leaving the man at the top of the picture to swing his inoffensive weapon in the air? And what is the meaning of the curious object at the upper edge? These questions find no answer on the assumption that the relief represents the hunt.

Suggestions have been made that we are dealing with a scene from the arena,<sup>2</sup> another type of picture very common on early Byzantine ivories. But this seems even less likely. What has a hare and a dog on leash to do in such a picture, and again what of the basket-like object in the upper left corner?

There is a third explanation, through which most of these difficulties will be removed. It seems to me highly probable that the fragment belongs to a relief representing the story of Noah at the moment when the last animals were being rounded up and driven into the Ark.<sup>3</sup> The man swinging the stick is one of the sons of Noah hastening on the animals that lag behind. The Ark would have been represented on the opposite side of the pyxis. On the preserved piece the animals run in both directions, approaching the ark from opposite sides. The object in the upper left corner can now be explained as a cloud from which the rain has begun to pour down.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A typical example is the lively hunting scene on a somewhat earlier ivory carving in R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, pl. 60, but similar scenes are very numerous.

<sup>2</sup> This suggestion was first made by Miss Berta Segall.

<sup>3</sup> This unorthodox view is not quite in keeping with the Bible story, where the animals are represented as coming to the ark of their own volition, but Byzantine artists may have been less well versed in details of the Old Testament stories than in the tradition of their craft.

<sup>4</sup> I know of no exact parallel in early Christian art to this way of indicating a cloud in the sky, but analogous figures are found. The cloud with the downpour of rain at the beginning of the flood is somewhat similarly indicated in mediaeval miniatures (Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque Grec de Smyrne*, pl. 12, no. 32); likewise the fire from heaven consuming Sodom (*ibid.*, pl. 23, no. 67). In scenes representing the sacrifice of Isaac the hand of God protruding from a cloud is similarly shown at the upper border of the picture (see especially the ivory pyxis in Berlin, Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, p. 160, Abb. 2, zu no. 37; and compare A. M. Smith, *A. J. A.*, XXVI, 1922, pp. 159 ff.; *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, no. 1468, where references to other such scenes are given). Similarly, the hand of God projecting from a cloud appears at the top of pictures showing the announcement of the coming of the flood as in the mosaics of the narthex of St. Mark's in Venice (Ch. Diehl, *La Peinture Byz.*, pl. XXXIII; cf. Peirce and Tyler, *L'Art Byz.*, I, pl. 189). Prof. Valentine Müller has kindly called my attention to a somewhat similar representation of clouds on a wall-painting from Assur (*Jahrb.*, XLII, 1927, p. 11, fig. 7).

This is the artist's way of indicating the exact moment which his picture is intended to portray.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible, however, that certain elements in the picture were borrowed from hunting scenes. That, being by far a more common subject for reliefs of this kind, might well have served the ambitious artist as a model from which to choose his figures. The dog on the leash seems less appropriate among the animals going into the ark, but the artist, finding the dog in the hunting scene together with the running lion, copied the whole group without reflecting on the appropriateness of such a combination. Or possibly he conceived of the dog as belonging to the family of Noah, doing the same duty as a shepherd dog in a flock of sheep and goats. However that may be, the difficulties involved in this interpretation are less serious than those arising from any of the other explanations.<sup>2</sup>

The type of pyxis to which our fragment belongs was common in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. A somewhat earlier example than ours, reputed to have come from Athens and now in the Louvre, is published by Hans Graeven in *Mon. Piot*, VI, 1899, pp. 159 ff., pl. XV,<sup>3</sup> and a list of fifteen similar pyxides is given on p. 160. To these should be added a pyxis of Coptic origin in the Bliss collection,<sup>4</sup> dating from the sixth century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

The date of our fragment can be fixed within narrow limits. A close parallel, stylistically, is offered by an ivory pyxis in the Bargello at Florence, which has been dated at the end of the fifth century.<sup>6</sup> On one side it represents a chase. Three mounted

<sup>1</sup> The story of Noah is not frequently portrayed in early Christian art, but neither is it entirely lacking (see *Br. Mus. Guide to Early Christian and Byz. Antiquities*, p. 21; O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, I, nos. 17, 21, 1224). The epitaph of Pontia in the Lateran Museum, which originally was interpreted as containing a scene from Noah's ark (Garucci, *Storia*, VI, 1880, pl. 482, 2) is, so far as I know, the earliest. According to this interpretation Noah is seated in front of a gabled structure, intended to represent the ark, while one of his sons, whip in hand, is driving some animals toward him. This is one of five scenes in the picture, the central one representing Adam and Eve. To the right of this scene is a man plowing, presumably Abel, engaged, according to the Bible account, in husbandry. At the extreme left and right are figures of the Good Shepherd and of Daniel among the lions. Leclercq (Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dict.*, I<sup>1</sup>, 1924, col. 1034, fig. 245; III<sup>1</sup>, 1913, col. 873, fig. 2665; cf. *Röm. Quart.*, II, 1888, p. 287, *Bull. Arch. Christ.*, VI, 1888-9, p. 74) interprets the seated figure in front of the gabled structure as a woman spinning wool, and the corresponding figure on the other side as a farmer plowing his field. It is difficult to see why these secular groups should be inserted between the Old Testament scenes in the picture.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Alison Frantz, with whom I have discussed the problems connected with the interpretation of the ivory, is of the opinion that the relief represents a hunting scene, and that the object in the upper left corner is part of an architectural background. She would interpret the "cloud" as the capital of a column and the incised lines as the fluted shaft.

<sup>3</sup> This article was called to my attention by Prof. Edward Capps, Jr., who will publish in the near future a new study of Early Christian ivories. For a more detailed study of our fragment reference should be made to his publication where it will be discussed in connection with other pyxides of the same type.

<sup>4</sup> *The Dark Ages*, Worcester Art Museum, 1937, no. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Excellent illustrations of ivory pyxides are found in Peirce and Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 98, 160, 163; II, pls. 9, a-e, 11, b, 12, b, 158, c, 159, b, 160, a and b; and Louis Bréhier, *La Sculpture et les Arts Mineurs Byzantins*, pl. XXV.

<sup>6</sup> Peirce and Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 163, c.

hunters are charging against several lions, bears and other animals. One lion has turned against the only hunter on foot, who thrusts his spear into the beast. The mounted hunters, on the other hand, are pursuing the fleeing animals. The lions are very similar to those on our fragment, but the pyxis in Florence seems to be slightly earlier in date. Another pyxis in the Cathedral of Sens,<sup>1</sup> also decorated with hunting scenes, is somewhat earlier than the Florence pyxis. Here, too, is a lion being speared by a hunter and underneath is a barking dog. The composition of this group is so similar to that of the lion and the dog in the lower left corner of our fragment that they may well go back to a common prototype.

But a definite dating of these pyxides will depend on the consular diptychs, many of which can be assigned to the year in which they were made. By comparison with these the fragment from our excavation must be dated in the first quarter of the sixth century. Two diptychs from the year of Anastasios (517)<sup>2</sup> with scenes from the arena



Fig. 83 a. Coin of Justinian II.  
Obverse



Fig. 83 b. Coin of Justinian II.  
Reverse

have many features in common with our fragment and with the pyxis in Florence. The peculiar rendering of the large bushy hair with vertical striations, the deep drill holes used for the eyes of both men and beasts, and the poorly modeled, cherubic faces of the gladiators are characteristic of the figures on our fragment. On the diptychs from the year of Aerobindus (506), of which there are many,<sup>3</sup> the faces are more carefully modeled, the hair is commonly rendered with cross hatchings, although the striated hairdress occurs often enough, and the animals are carved with far greater accuracy and feeling for anatomical details. The pyxis in Florence is more closely related to this group of diptychs.

The pyxis fragment from our excavation, though small, will fill an important place in the history of early Christian ivories. Rarely are such ivories found in modern excavations, and antiquities which have passed through dealers' hands have lost much of their archaeological importance. Moreover, the scene—whatever interpretation we follow—is unique in the art of this period.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 160, d.

<sup>2</sup> R. Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, pls. 20, 21.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, pls. 9, 13, 12.

The ivory was discovered in a section of the excavation which had suffered less from modern intrusion than any other part of the main area. In the same context was discovered a Byzantine coin (Fig. 83) which would help to fix the date of the destruction of the pyxis, and, consequently, serve as a convenient *terminus ante quem* for the date of the carving. The following description of the coin was prepared by Dr. Josephine M. Harris, Fellow in Archaeology for the year 1937-1938.

## JUSTINIAN II (SECOND REIGN) 705-711

Æ 16 mm.

Obv.

Bust of Justinian II on l., bearded, of Tiberius, his son, on r., beardless; each wears crown with cross; Justinian with mantle and robe; Tiberius with dress of lozenge pattern; between them supported with their r. hands a cross potent; whole within circle of dots.

Rev.

X

⊥ X on l., Ñ

X Ñ on r.; below B. Circle of dots. Evidence either of restriking or overstriking. Any symbol above K obliterated.

B.M.C. *Byz.*, II, p. 356, 10.

This coin, while agreeing in its general form with known types of Justinian, varies remarkably from them in its details. On the obverse Justinian and Tiberius support between them a cross potent, while on the bronze coin of the same denomination listed in the B.M.C.<sup>1</sup> they hold a patriarchal cross on a globe, and only on the gold coin of the same period<sup>2</sup> does the cross potent on steps appear. Whether the cross potent in the present coin rests on a globe or steps cannot be determined as the lower part of the coin has been clipped. The dress of Tiberius is here of lozenge pattern, whereas on every coin of Justinian's second reign, as described in the B.M.C.,<sup>3</sup> he wears a mantle and robe. Furthermore there is no evidence of any obverse inscription on the coin and indeed there is no room for one between the figures and the circle of dots. Although this lack of inscription is an unusual feature and is not found on the coins in the B.M.C.,<sup>4</sup> it is mentioned by de Saulcy<sup>5</sup> who describes a similar coin without inscription.

The reverse of this coin presents a peculiarity which is perhaps unique in Byzantine coinage: the numeral is to the left of the K and the year to the right, while on every coin of this type listed in the B.M.C. and Sabatier the opposite is found: the year is left and the numeral right. The coin presumably belongs to the year 710<sup>6</sup> and is probably a new type, at least insofar as can be determined from available evidence.

<sup>1</sup> B.M.C., *Byz.*, II, p. 356, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 354, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 354-356.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> F. de Saulcy, *Essai de Classification de Suites Monétaires Byzantines*, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> Following B.M.C., II, p. 356, which dates coins with XXV in 705. Cf. de Saulcy, p. 123.

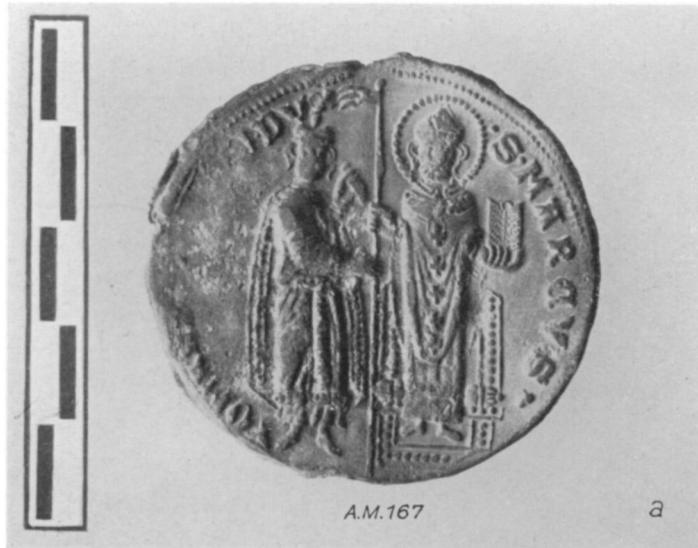


Fig. 84 a. Lead Seal of Tomasso Mocenigo. Obverse

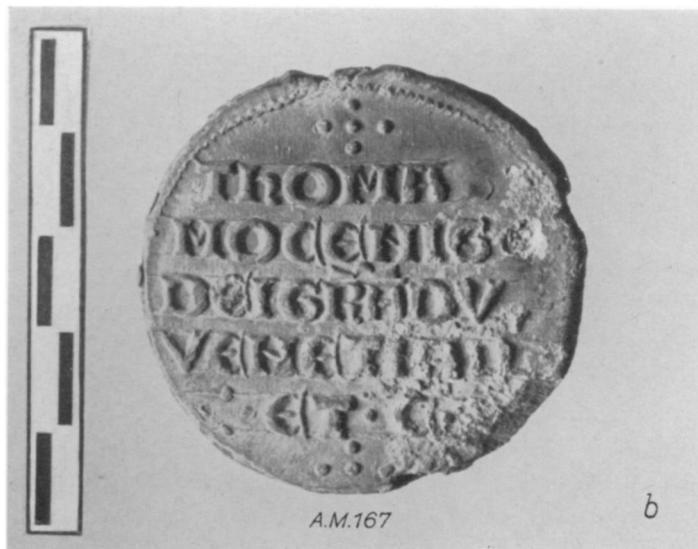


Fig. 84 b. Lead Seal of Tomasso Mocenigo. Reverse

## VENETIAN LEAD SEAL

A lead seal (Fig. 84) of Tomasso Mocenigo, Doge of Venice 1413–1423, is of especial significance for the history of Athens in the early part of the fifteenth century A.D. It is well preserved with the exception of a slight corrosion on the left side of the obverse and on the right side of the reverse. On the obverse is the figure of St. Mark with nimbus and mitre, holding the Book of Gospels in his left hand and a tall standard in his right. He wears a mantle with a row of crosses on the border round the shoulders and down the front. Although he appears to be standing, the throne behind and the position of his feet show that the engraver intended to represent him in a sitting position. On his right stands the figure of the Doge, wearing his crown and an embroidered mantle over a tunic. With his right hand he also is holding the standard between him and St. Mark, and in his left hand is a mappa. The legend reads: TOMAŞ [MOCENIG]Q DVX ·S·MARCVS· On the reverse is the legend THOMAS | MOCENIGO | DEI GRADV | VENETIAR | ET·C· There are five pellets in a quincunx above the inscription and a similar group, with one pellet missing, in the lower exergue. At the beginning of the last line is a group of four pellets; of the corresponding group at the other end of the line only one pellet is preserved.

Tomasso Mocenigo was a contemporary of Antonio Acciajuoli, Duke of Athens from 1402 to 1435, whose chancery was in the northwest wing of the Mnesekleian Propylaia. The intimate—if not always cordial—relations between Athens and Venice at this time created the necessity for a lively correspondence between the two rulers,<sup>1</sup> and it is likely that the lead seal from our excavations was affixed to one of the letters of state sent by Mocenigo to Acciajuoli.

## POTTERY

Very little Byzantine pottery has been discovered in the excavations on the North Slope, with the exception of coarse household ware and extremely late glazed ware without decoration. But in the last campaign a few pieces were brought to light which deserve to be mentioned.

The two vases of sgraffito ware, shown in Fig. 85, came from the fill of a small pit (Fig. 5, P) at the north edge of the main area. A.P. 938 is a plate<sup>2</sup> with high, almost vertical, rim and a low base-ring (see profile, Fig. 86). The clay is hard and well fired, of a brick red color. Only the inside is glazed in a creamy white with a tinge of brown, whereas the reverse is covered with a thin white wash. The decoration consists of a small central medallion with a palmette, surrounded by a plain band and a border of pointed leaves and circular blobs, all against an imbricated ground. On the outside of the border are three incised lines made by a compass which has left a small depression in the centre of the medallion.

<sup>1</sup> See William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, pp. 359–362, who cites the contemporary literature.

<sup>2</sup> Height, 0.045 m.; diam., 0.223 m.

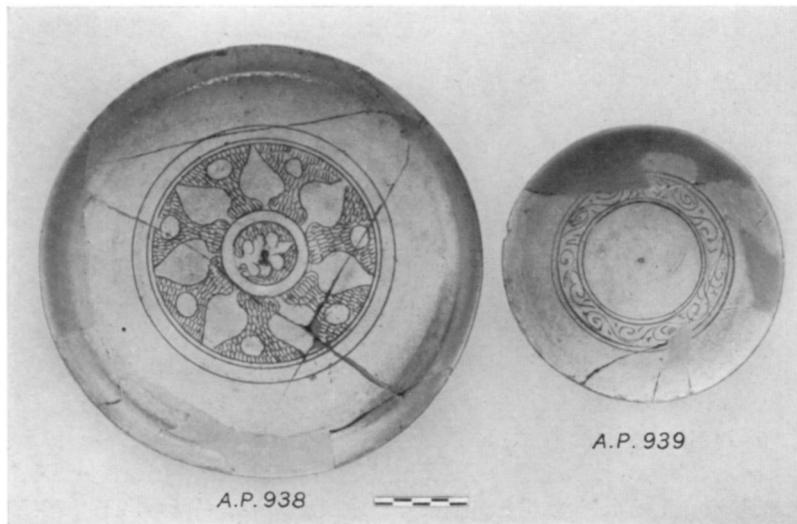


Fig. 85. Two Byzantine Vases

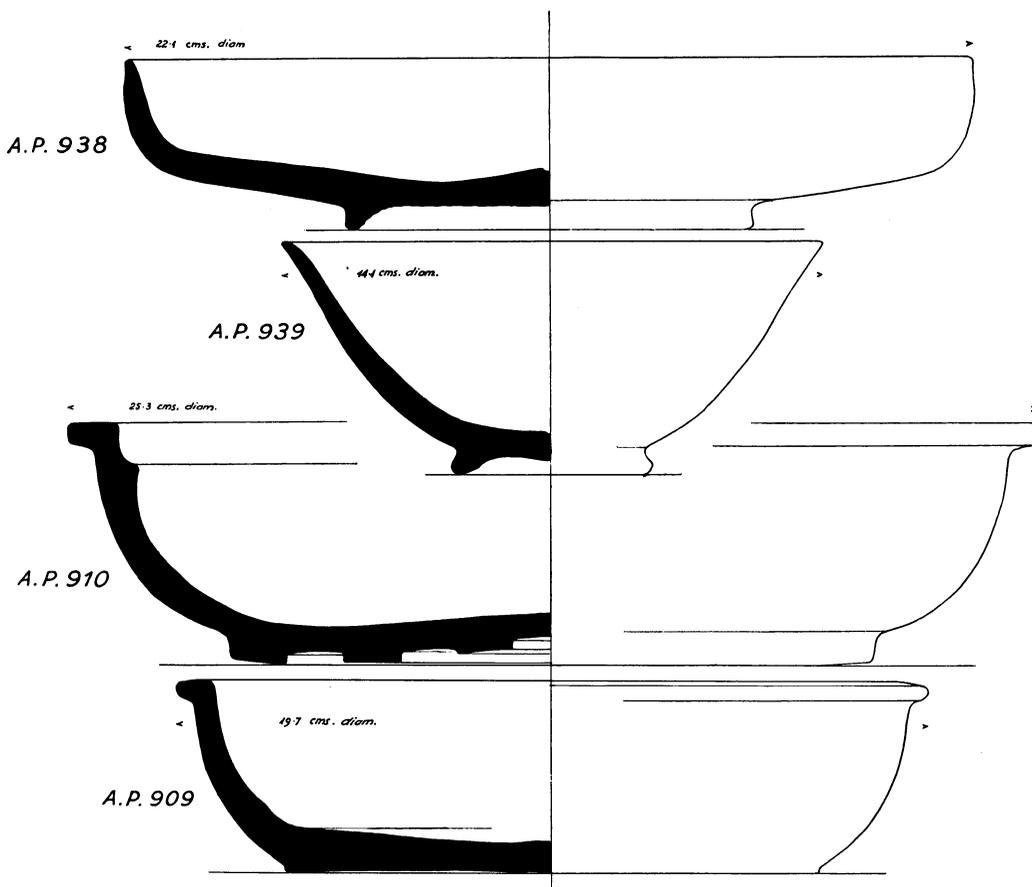


Fig. 86. Profiles of Byzantine Pottery

The smaller vase<sup>1</sup> in figure 85 (A.P. 939) is a deep cup on a low base-ring (Fig. 86). The clay is of a reddish buff color, and the glaze, covering the inside only, is yellow with a green tinge. The decoration, consisting of a decadent rinceau between double lines, is less carefully executed than in the plate. In the centre is a mark of the compass with which the lines were drawn in.

The two vases were discovered together in a small storage pit at the north edge of the main area (Fig. 5, P). Since they came from a closed deposit with no visible intrusion

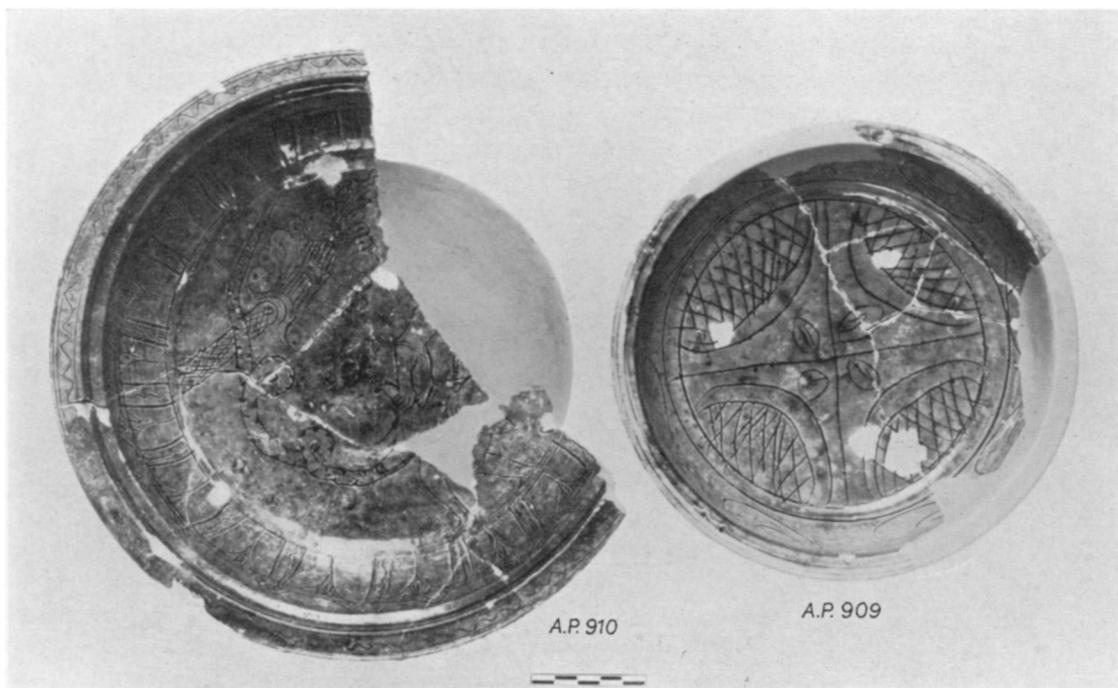


Fig. 87. Two Bowls of Turkish Times

from without, it is obvious that they cannot be far apart in date. Two well preserved coins<sup>2</sup> of John II (1118–1143 A.D.), discovered in pit P together with the vases, give the date of the fill.

Two flat bowls (Fig. 87), decorated with designs in the same technique, were found in the fill close to the Church of the Savior. A.P. 910<sup>3</sup> is a chafing dish with broad flat rim, projecting on the outside, and below it a slight flange (see profile, Fig. 86). Although the shape seems to call for a lid, it is unlikely that one was used, since there are no signs of wear along the edge where the lid would fit into the flange. On the reverse are three broad base-rings, separated by sunk bands of the same width as the rings.

<sup>1</sup> Height, 0.06 m.; diam., 0.14 m.

<sup>2</sup> B.M.C., II, p. 565, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Height, 0.062 m.; diam., 0.254 m.

The clay is light brown, of good quality. The outside is unglazed, but the inside is covered with a thick coat of dark green glaze. Marks of the tripod used for stacking the vases in the furnace are clearly visible on the inside.

The decorations, executed in sgraffito technique, stand out in black lines against the green background. On the rim is a wavy line, and on the side below the flange is a series of cross-hatched triangles above a broad border divided by straight and wavy lines into units of about equal width. In the centre of each unit is a pendent triangle, from the lower corner of which a straight line extends to the bottom of the border. The triangles are filled with carelessly drawn patterns of no special character. The design of the whole border gives the effect of an arcade, and it is not unlikely that it originated from some architectural motif. In the central panel a man to left is forcing open the jaws of a gigantic dragon. The upper part of the figure is lost. He wears knee breeches and a jacket, held in at the waist with a girdle. The effect of the struggle is shown by two coils on the long, snake-like body of the dragon. On the left is the figure of a palm tree. The decoration is unusual for the late period to which the plate obviously belongs, *ca.* fifteenth century A.D.

The second bowl<sup>1</sup> in figure 87 (A.P. 909), found with the preceding, is decorated with simple designs in the same technique. The clay is reddish buff, and the glaze, covering the inside, is green of a somewhat lighter shade than that of the preceding. The rim is flat and projects toward the outside, and at one point it is pierced with two small holes for suspension. The central medallion is divided by a cross into four equal parts, each of which is occupied by a segment filled in with cross-hatchings. On the border is a row of loose spirals.



Fig. 88. Grave Stele of Julianos

#### BYZANTINE GRAVE STELE

Among the inscribed marbles of early Christian times there is only one sufficiently well preserved to be of any interest. This is a grave stele,<sup>2</sup> found April 16, 1937, built into a wall of one of the modern houses. The inscription is cut on a piece of ancient white marble, with a beveled edge on the right side and roughly tooled back. The top of the block is gabled and decorated with double spirals. Below the inscription is the figure of a bird pecking at a large leaf, and another leaf is carved at the end of the last line. The inscription reads:

<sup>1</sup> Height, 0.05 m.; diam., 0.20 m.

<sup>2</sup> Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.; height of letters, 0.015–0.025 m.

[κ]υμητήριον  
 [᾿Ι]ουλλιανοῦ  
 [π]ερί ἔτων τρ-  
 [ι]άκοντα πέν-  
 5 τε τέχνης  
 κεντητῆς  
 [κ]αλῶς φρε-  
 [γ]ήσας ἐνθά-  
 [δ]ε κίτε

## Translation:

The grave of Julianos, who lived  
*ca.* thirty-five years, a man well skilled  
 in the art of mosaics (or embroidery).  
 Here he lies buried.

The misspellings found in the text are common in early Christian inscriptions.

Line 1, *upsilon* instead of *omikron iota*.

Line 2, double *lambda* in the name Julianos.

Line 7, *epsilon* instead of *omikron* in *φρονήσας*, probably a mere spelling mistake, although the *epsilon* is in the stem of the word.

Line 9, *κίτε* instead of *κεῖται*, is merely phonetic spelling.

The phrase *τέχνης κεντητῆς* should probably be construed as governed by *καλῶς φρονήσας*, although *κεντητῆς* might conceivably have been used as a noun, with *τέχνης* dependent upon it. The adjective *κεντητός*, literally pricked or pierced, is used in connection with any kind of needle work or embroidery, but the noun *κέντησις* occurs also in late inscriptions in the sense of having to do with mosaics.<sup>1</sup> The change of case from the genitive to the nominative in ll. 2 and 8 is not uncommon in inscriptions of this kind.

<sup>1</sup> *I. G. Rom.*, IV, 1417.



Painted Pinax. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong