A GEOMETRIC HOUSE AND A PROTO-ATTIC VOTIVE DEPOSIT

INTRODUCTION[1]

On the north slope of the Areiopagos, the junction of two modern streets, *Ἀστεροσκοπείου* and *Ἀπολλοδώρου*, forms a rough triangle with its sharpest corner to the west. Here, where the ways from the Agora parted, to the Pnyx on the right and to the Acropolis on the left, scholars had conjecturally placed the Tholos, the Metroon, and the Bouleuterion.[2] The excavation of a good portion of this area in the spring of 1932 showed that the street lines ran much as had been supposed, but it revealed no public buildings. Instead, an unexpected bit of the Athens of a remote period was found miraculously preserved in an area approximately 10 m. square. For, in a complex of Greek and Roman houses, streets, and drains, two remarkable discoveries came to light: a Geometric house and a votive deposit of the first half of the seventh century B.C. Owing to the unusual character of these discoveries and to the presence of valuable chronological evidence, they have been considered worthy of full discussion in this preliminary report.

ARCHITECTURE

The area under consideration (Fig. 1) escaped for some reason the complete destruction which most of the region underwent in Roman times. It lies at the base of a ridge of soft rock which at various periods was faced by retaining walls. Below the retaining walls the ground slopes away gradually to the north. The early deposit was therefore most deeply preserved at the south (*ca.* 1.00 m.). The bounds are definite. On the south runs a very late wall of heavy conglomerate blocks (see Plan, Fig. 2, Late Wall). At

[1] To the Director of the American School I am indebted for lending me the services of Joseph Shelley for the preparation of the architectural drawings. The profiles and drawings of the pottery are by Piet de Jong of the Agora staff and the photographs by H. Wagner of the German Institute. Many visiting scholars and friends have contributed help that cannot all be acknowledged in full, but Dr. Kübler, Dr. Kraiker, Dr. Welter, Mr. Humfry Payne, and M. Kourouniotes should be particularly thanked for showing me unpublished material from the Kerameikos, Aegina, Eleusis, and Perachora. Franklin Daniel of the University of California gave me valuable criticism on the Geometric section. I am especially grateful to Dr. Homer A. Thompson for much assistance during excavation and afterwards.

[2] See W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*[2], Plan I, p. 344, fig. 43.

the southeast this wall had to be removed for the excavation of the early deposit beneath it. On the east a retaining wall runs approximately north-south (D–D). It is built of large conglomerate and limestone blocks, fairly well cut, bedded on one thin course of limestone. The finish of the surface indicates that the wall was built to face east. This wall cut through the early deposit. Its date cannot be closely determined, but the filling and

Fig. 1. Geometric Area from the Southeast. The pits shown on the Plan, Fig. 2, have been refilled and wall A rebuilt

other evidence point to the late Hellenistic period. On the north the area was much disturbed in very late Roman times. On the west the native rock is cut away irregularly by modern cellars.

Within this area late intrusions have done much damage. At the southeast, Byzantine cisterns penetrated into the early deposit. Along the western side a modern house wall and a Byzantine cistern destroyed all but a fragment of the apsidal wall of Geometric times. Finally eight pits which are lettered on the plan, two of them originally classical wells (F and I), were sunk into the area. These pits yielded many early sherds from the deposits that they had destroyed.

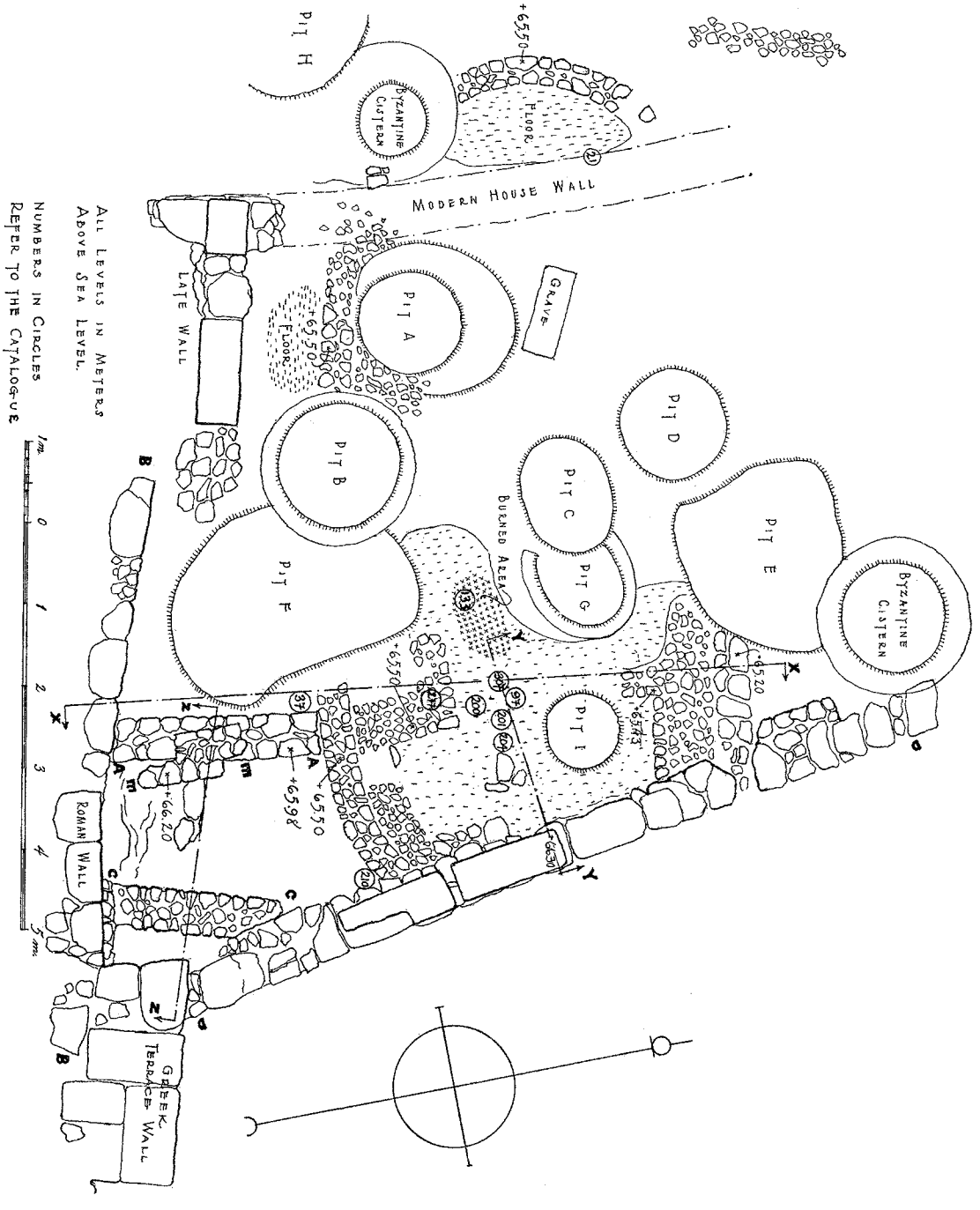

Fig. 2. Plan of the Area

The early architectural remains in this area are therefore too fragmentary for our complete understanding. Despite these intrusions, however, it is possible to trace the relative architectural chronology. In the first place, two curved walls with approximately parallel fragments of walls joining them are apparent on the plan (Fig. 2). These walls might belong to two apsidal buildings facing each other. But division into two buildings with a court or street between them gives a plan of absurd proportions. In addition, the fact that these walls are similar in construction, size, and level seems to indicate that they belong to one building. The curves supplement each other neatly and the floors lie at the same level. Restoration of these walls to form an elliptical house of 11.00×5.00 m. oriented east and west makes a reasonable and intelligible plan (Fig. 3).

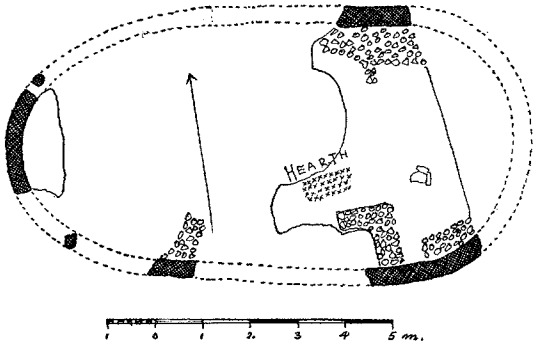

Fig. 3. Plan of the Geometric House

The curved walls and the wall on the south are built of small stones to a height of 0.10 to 0.25 m., varying with the level of the virgin soil on which they are bedded (Fig. 4). They vary from 0.35 m. to 0.40 m. in width with a level top. The wall on the north side, however, differs in style. It is built of much larger stones. Its average width is 0.40 m.; its height, consisting of one layer of

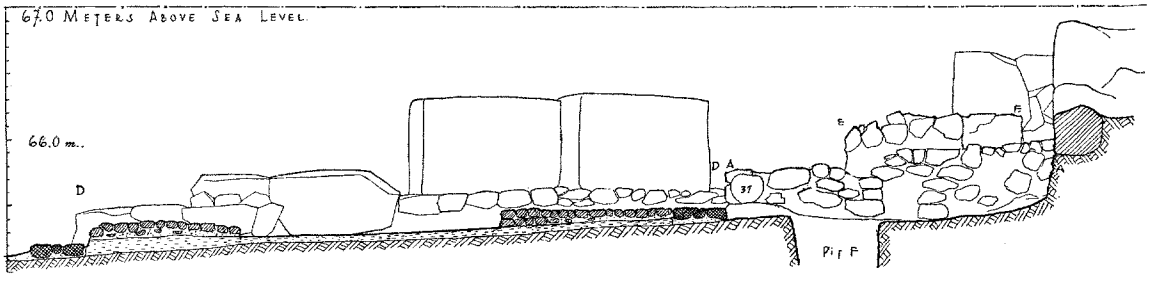

Fig. 4. Section through the Geometric House at X—X on the Plan

stones, is 0.20 m. above hard-pan. Its top level is *ca.* 0.30 m. below that of the other walls. But since it lies lower on the slope, this fact does not exclude it from connection with them.

Inside the western apse a floor of hard-packed earth and red sand is preserved, resting on hard-pan and full of carbonized matter and a few Geometric sherds. The level is 0.15 m. below the top of the wall. Upon this floor, 0.60 m. inside the apse, just under a modern house-wall stood a Geometric oinochoe (No. **21**, Fig. 2, see below, p. 555). To the east of the modern house-wall a small grave was cut into bed-rock

(see below, p. 552). The filling over it was disturbed but its upper level must have been close to that of the floor.

The floor at the eastern end of the building is better preserved (Fig. 5). Owing to the lower ground level, the hard red floor is bedded on a filling of dark earth full of carbonized matter and some gravel, resting on hard-pan. The surface of the floor is covered in places with fine white sea-sand, such as was also found in houses of the

Fig. 5. The Eastern End of the Geometric House, looking North. Pit I is shown here and in Fig. 6 before Excavation

Middle Cypriote period.[1] Toward the centre a region *ca.* 1.00 m. long by 0.60 m. wide shows a thin layer of burning. Although no construction exists about it, this probably indicates the hearth.[2] Sherds from the floor itself and from the filling beneath it at this end are Geometric (see below, p. 555, Fig. 12).

Over this floor, against the walls, peculiar erections of small stones were found, laid in some places with a neat inner edge and level top. Trenches cut through these erections revealed one or two layers of small stones, sometimes laid with sand as a

[1] E. Gjerstadt, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, Uppsala, 1926, p. 29.
[2] Cf. H. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 14.

mortar, *ca.* 0.15 m. deep, resting on the house-floor. They must be, therefore, additions to the house rather than an integral part of it. Since no brick lay directly on them, they could not have been walls. Nor did they serve as paving, being elevated above the rest of the floor level. The northeastern stone platform, however, projects in such a way as to suggest that it may have served as a crude division between the entrance and the central part of the house. Rather, these stone erections seem to be benches or platforms for beds, such as have been found in Eutresis,[1] in Korakou,[2] and in Cyprus.[3] On the floor in the eastern end rest two large irregular stones and a granite quern. The pottery found upon the floor and stone platforms at this end is scanty. It includes Geometric, Protocorinthian and Proto-attic sherds (see below, p. 555, Fig. 12).

The plan of the house is that of an asymmetrical ellipse. With this plan a possible covering would be the hoop-roof of reeds bent over and thatched outside.[4] The presence of the clay layer over the walls and floor, however, suggests that the walls were of sun-dried brick, with a steep thatched roof such as is represented on terracotta models of the late Geometric period.[5] These steep roofs do not seem to have needed any interior support. A remarkably close parallel is the poros model from Samos which is elliptical in plan with a door asymmetrically placed on the side and a pitch roof with two dormer-like smoke-holes at the ends.[6] Buschor dates this in the late seventh or early sixth century, but it might well represent the tradition of a house-type like ours. But since the evidence is insufficient for certainty, the plan (Fig. 3) is restored with no suggestion for the placing of the door and no attempt at the reconstruction of a roof. We have clear evidence only for a house of an asymmetrical elliptical plan, with a hearth fairly near the centre, and stone platforms at the sides. This building appears to have fallen to pieces gradually, remaining in part at least above ground until the early seventh century.

To the south of this house, various fragments of early walls were discovered (Fig. 6). The rubble wall (A–A on the plan) which runs up to the apsidal wall, but at a higher level, its bottom at *ca.* 0.20 m. above the top of the wall, appears also to belong to the Geometric period. Not only does it stop in relation to the house-wall in such a way as to suggest that it must be contemporaneous with it, but against it stood a Geometric oinochoe in such a position that the wall must antedate the vase (see Plan, No. **37**, and Figs. 4 and 7; see below, p. 557). This wall A–A is of good heavy construction *ca.* 0.60 m. wide, preserved to a height of *ca.* 0.50 m. above hard-pan with various additions built

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[2] C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, Boston and New York, 1921, pp. 93–94; cf. p. 81, fig. 112.

[3] Gjerstadt, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–25.

[4] Cf. L. B. Holland, *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 324 ff., fig. 2, I. I am indebted to Dr. Holland for writing me in detail his interpretation of the Agora house. The evidence of the models, however, makes me consider the hoop-roof unlikely in our case.

[5] G. Oikonomos, *Arch Eph.*, 1931, pp. 1 ff. The apsidal plan of an example recently found at Perachora is especially significant for our house.

[6] E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, pp. 16 f., Beilage IV, fig. 6.

Fig. 6. The Eastern End of the Geometric House and the Walls to the South, looking South

Fig. 7. The Geometric Oinochoe, No. **37**, *in situ* against the Wall A–A

later on top of it and against it. At its south end a later terrace-wall of rough limestone overlocks it (B–B on plan). The filling, packed hard against the wall A–A, was whitish-yellow fallen brick and earth containing Protocorinthian, Proto-attic, and Geometric sherds. Similar filling with much Proto-attic was packed against the north face of the terrace-wall, B–B. This wall was displaced and broken off by a heavy Greek terrace-wall to the east (Plan, Fig. 2). Against it another fragment of rubble wall, C–C, 0.60 m. wide also abutted. The wall C–C is bedded on an earth filling 0.40 m. over hard-pan and is therefore probably of a later date than the wall A–A. Traces of the greenish bricks set in yellow clay were visible above this wall (see Fig. 8). Fragments of Corinthian skyphoi with white bands were found against it. A section taken between

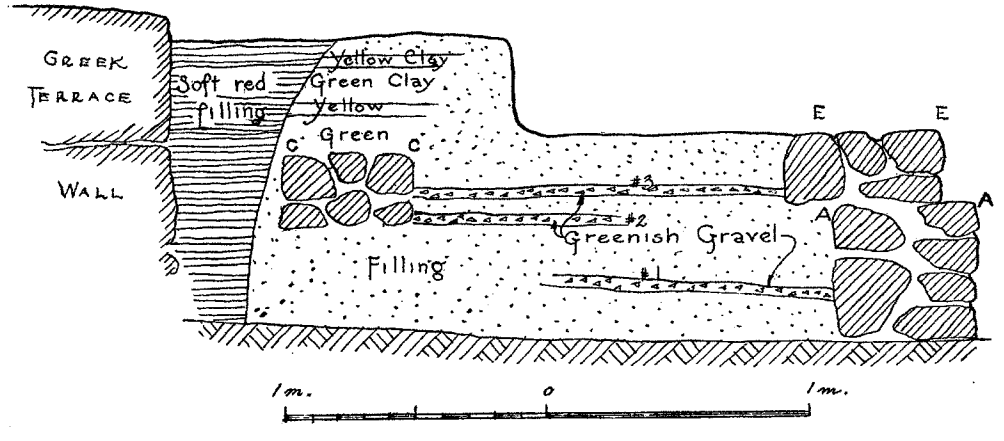

Fig. 8. Section through Walls C–C and A–A looking South along the Line Z–Z

the walls A–A and C–C shows three levels (Fig. 8). The first is the level of the bottom of the wall A–A; the second that of the bottom of the wall C–C; the third, higher up along the wall C–C, is probably that of the additional wall E–E. These levels are those represented by layers of greenish-yellow gravel deposited by water. They are probably habitation-levels in a court or street. To the west of wall A–A stood the vase (No. **37**); this indicates that the floor, now destroyed, lay on that side. The filling between these walls A–A and C–C contained some Protocorinthian, much Proto-attic and a little Geometric, as well as abundant household ware. Outside the house along its southern side were traces of a floor with two granite querns and Geometric sherds upon it. Evidently several houses were packed close together at the base of the terrace-wall.

The most interesting portion of this area is the eastern end where a strip of about 3.00 m. in width is preserved along the terrace-wall D–D. Over the end of the house in an area bounded by its walls, which lay, however, at a deeper level, a mass of gravel and small stones was dumped for a filling directly on the layer of clay fallen from the

house walls (Fig. 9). In this filling was contained the votive deposit (see below, p. 636 f.). It was covered by a thin layer of ashes. Through it a narrow trench was cut to lay the wall D–D. Since no stray objects were found outside this area, the deposit probably never extended much farther. To the south, in the area bounded by the walls A–A, B–B, and C–C, which may conveniently be called the Area A–C, the filling contained only household pottery in large quantities and miscellaneous Proto-attic sherds. Since the pottery is clearly contemporary and since, in a few cases, pieces from one vase were found in the two areas, we must assume that the upper fillings at least were thrown in at the same time. This deliberate packing with gravel and stones and discarded

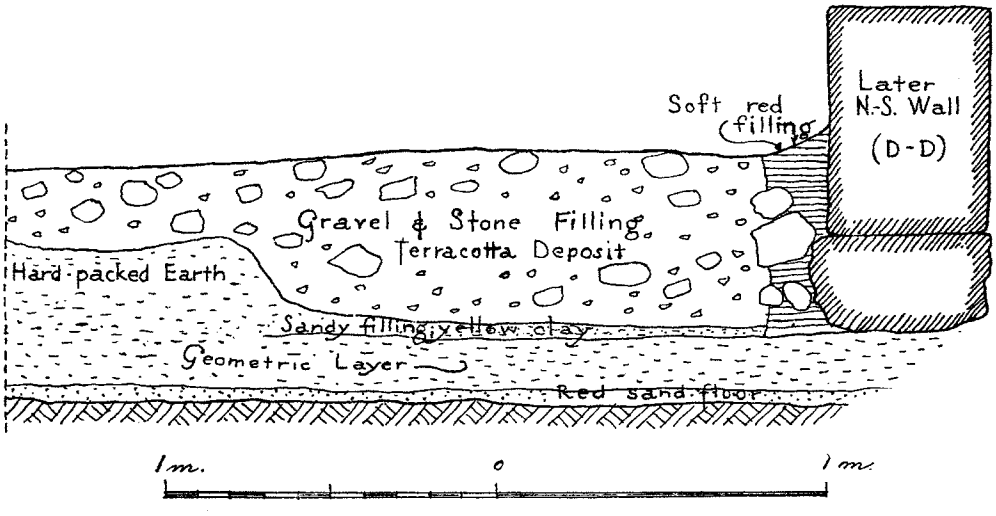

Fig. 9. Section along the Line Y–Y looking North

pottery must have been intended to raise the level so that one could pass up over the ridge of rock to the upper slope of the Areiopagos. It seems, then, that we have here the course of a road. The surface had been cut away by late cisterns, but the long line of the later terrace-wall, itself retaining a filling, seems to preserve the older line. That a right of way is long-lived and a road makes hard digging might explain the extraordinary survival of this bit of primitive Athens.

The scarcity of buildings of the Geometric period in general makes these few walls especially interesting. In Weickert's list of Geometric buildings, those of curved plan seem to have been temples while the houses are rectangular.[1] These buildings have been found at Thermon, Eretria, Thebes, Mt. Ptoon, Sparta, Bukovia (Rhodes), Asine, Miletos, Praisos, Troy, Eleusis,[2] and Perachora. None of them is identical with ours in plan.

[1] C. Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Augsburg, 1929, pp. 7 ff., but the house walls near Miletos are in part curved, *Milet*, I, 8, pl. III.

[2] A. Skias, *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, pl. 29–30, pp. 32 ff.; F. Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 14; K. Kourouniotes, *Arch. Delt.*, 1930–1931, *παράρτημα*, pp. 23–24.

The only example which is at all similar is that of a small elliptical house recently discovered at Thermon,[1] which was apparently covered with a hoop-roof. The report makes no mention of the pottery found with it. In connection with the form of our house it is perhaps worthy of mention that a sizable deposit of Middle Helladic pottery was found near-by in this area, whereas only two or three Late Helladic sherds came to light. But since the Middle Helladic apsidal plan has one straight end, we cannot insist upon any direct influence upon the Geometric house.

In view of the rare survival of buildings of the Geometric period, it is indeed strange that an Athenian example should have been preserved. A passage in Vitruvius is suggestive in this connection: "Athenis," he writes, "Areopagi antiquitatis exemplar ad hoc tempus luto tectum."[2] If a building with a clay roof of primitive type survived into Roman times on the Areiopagos, presumably that district was not very closely inhabited in the classical period. Possibly this relic of prehistoric Athens, doubtless restored by antiquarians, had been a Geometric house like ours, near ours, which itself lay just under the surface on the outskirts of the city that had moved northward.

POTTERY AND OTHER MATERIAL

For the purposes of condensation, all the pottery and objects to be discussed are given serial numbers in order of mention, with a brief description of the more important pieces. The numbers in parentheses are those of the Agora Catalogue. Since each object is illustrated, obvious details are not described, such as shapes, breakages, or missing parts. The technical details, such as the color of the clay and paint are mentioned only when they differ from the norm as it is described at the heading of each class. The following abbreviations are used: H. = height; T. = thickness; D. = depth; L. = length; d. = diameter. It must be noted that this catalogue includes only the most interesting material. Much similar matter of non-significant character has been omitted.

Geometric

The Geometric pottery was found in such circumstances as to indicate a certain relative chronology. According to the architectural evidence, the pottery from the grave appears to be the earliest; that from the house a little later; and the latest is the miscellaneous filling.

In this discussion of the Geometric pottery, the purpose is to present the excavated material with emphasis upon its own relative chronology. When this material has been examined in its own temporal sequence, we may consider what light it may throw upon the problem of absolute dating (see below, p. 566). No more categorical terms than the stylistic descriptions "simple," "developed," and "ripe" can be used with certainty.

[1] A. K. Rhomaios, *Praktika*, 1931, p. 64.

[2] II, 1, 5. Judeich, *Topographie*[2], p. 300.

Grave

The small cist grave of a child is cut in hard-pan to a depth of *ca.* 0.20 m. below the level of the Geometric house-floor. It is an irregular rectangle, oriented approximately southeast to northwest, measuring 1.00 m.×0.40 m. (Fig. 10). The filling over the grave was disturbed. It contained a little burned matter to the east of the head just outside the grave.

The skeleton was lying on its back with the head at the east on a lower level than the feet. The badly preserved bones are those of a child of about 4 to 6 years old.[1] By the head lay two small sea-shells, such as have been found in Rhodian graves.[2] At the left side of the child lay the bones of a small animal, probably a pig.

The position of the miniature vases in the grave may be seen on the plan (Fig. 10). The clay is reddish buff, the glaze a lustrous black.

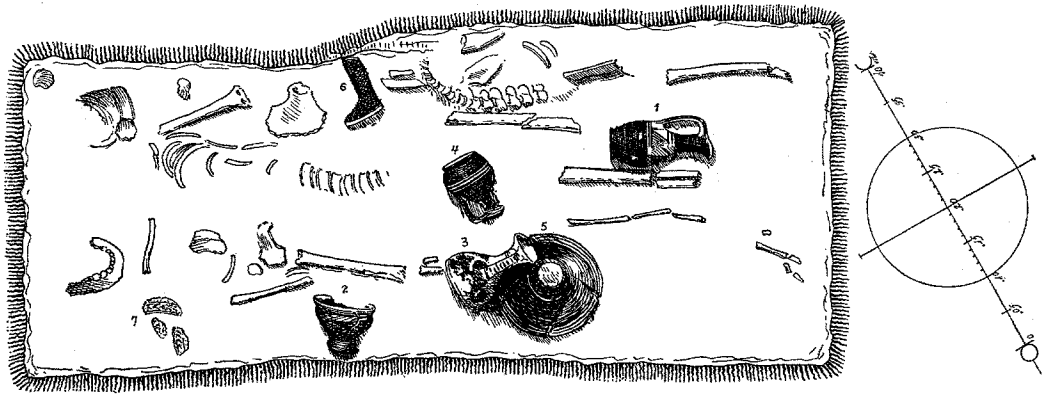

Fig. 10. Child's Grave of the Geometric Period

1. (P 730) Fig. 11

Oinochoe with a trefoil mouth, decorated in a reserved zone on the shoulder with diminishing triangles and a star; bars on the handle. H. 0.092 m.; d. 0.045 m.; base d. 0.03 m. The slender shape is unusual and apparently early.

2. (P 731) Fig. 11

Kylix with a low conical foot and offset rim decorated with reserved lines; bars on the handles. H. 0.055 m.; d. of rim 0.073 m.; d. of base 0.037 m. The fabric, foot, and decoration are related to those of the Protogeometric style (cf. *C.V.A.*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 1, pl. I, No. 10, p. 1).

3. (P 732) Fig. 11

Squat oinochoe with a trefoil mouth and a reserved panel on the neck decorated with a maeander; bars on the handle. H. 0.107 m.; d. 0.073 m. Pale cream-colored clay, which is found in other Attic Geometric vases. A simple example of the type of oinochoe common in the Isis grave at Eleusis (*C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III Hd, pl. 3, Nos. 8 ff.).

[1] Professor Koumaris of the University of Athens kindly examined the bones for me.

[2] Cf. K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia*, Berlin, 1914, p. 160. They have been frequently found in graves at Corinth, see *A. J. A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 426.

4. (P 733) Fig. 11

Oinochoe with trefoil mouth, decorated with three reserved lines, and bars on the handle. H. 0.089 m.; d. 0.069 m. Similar pieces seem to be later than this example (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2, No. 10; *C.V.A.*, Pays-Bas, 1, II F, pl. 1, No. 3).

5. (P 734) Fig. 11

Conical base with a moulding at the top, decorated with three reserved lines at the bottom. H. 0.058 m.; d. 0.12 m. Probably from a deep Protogeometric bowl. No other fragments of this vase were found in or near the grave. Presumably this base was re-used as a cup or lid. Examples of such re-used fragments are not infrequent in Geometric graves (*Arch. Eph*, 1898, p. 107; *ibid.*, 1911, p. 248).

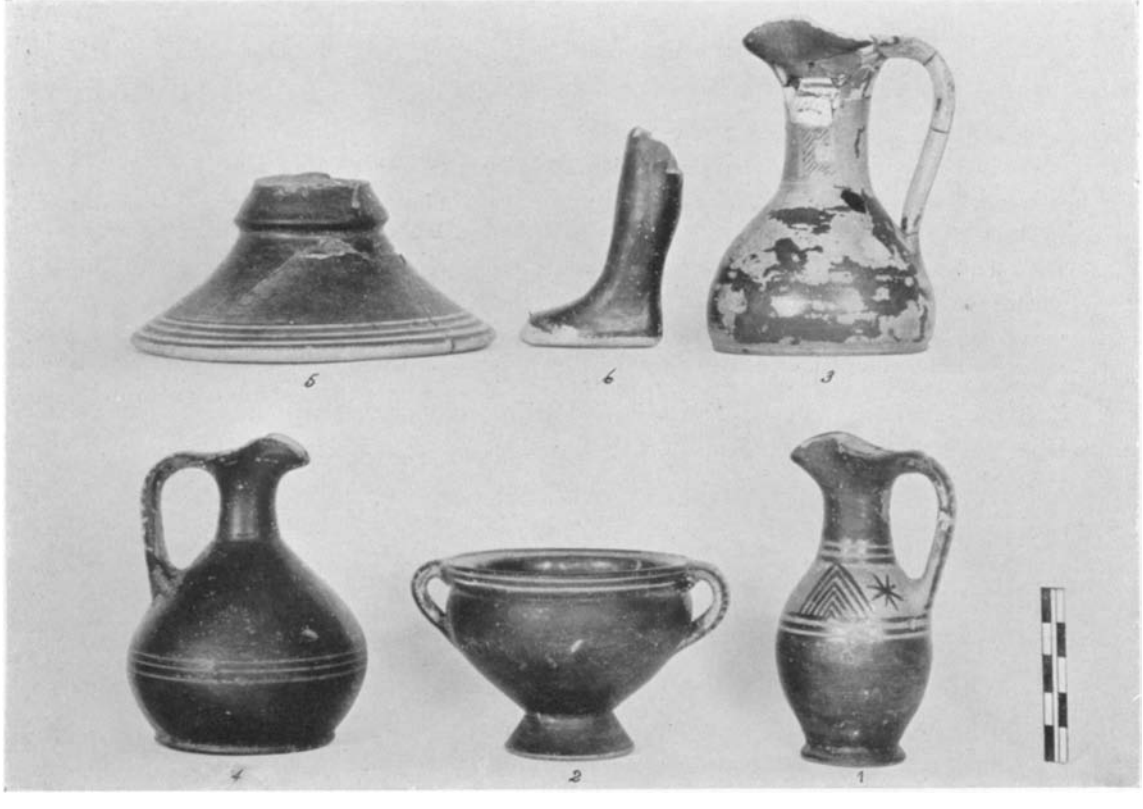

Fig. 11. Vases from the Child's Grave

6. (T 260) Fig. 11

Fragmentary handle in the shape of a leg, with a reserved square at the ankle in front. H. 0.073 m.; L. of foot 0.047 m. The leg is broken at the top just as it bends back. It seems to be the handle of a kylix, like the more elaborate example in the Berlin Museum (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. I, No. 2). It has been suggested that the pair of clay boots that was placed in a grave in Eleusis had the magical purpose of providing the dead with adequate foot-gear for his journey.[1]

[1] Skias, *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, p. 104, and note 1; pl. 4, No. 4. Poulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.

This idea certainly existed in ancient Egypt and apparently it was the custom not long ago in modern Greece to dress the dead in a pair of new shoes. The fact that the broken handle alone was put in the grave may mean that some such idea was in the mind of the donor.

7. (P 735) Fig. 24

Fragmentary hand-made bowl decorated with incised herring-bone pattern round the rim and zigzags and circles below; two holes at the rim. Estimated d. 0.11 m. Soft gray clay red at the core, slightly polished. Hand-made by pressing into a rough mould.[1] For the discussion of this ware see below, p. 564.

This type of cist grave for a child, with burning around but not in the grave, occurs at Eleusis.[2] The depth of these graves is usually 1.00 m. It seems unlikely, therefore, that this grave was sunk in the floor of the house at a depth of only 0.20 m. when common usage and sense would dictate a greater depth. It is also worthy of remark that the graves apparently in the floors of Middle Helladic houses at Eutresis were found on careful study to have been sunk from higher levels.[3] No other undisturbed grave was found in this immediate area, though there is evidence of two disturbed graves within the house limits (see below, p. 561). But on this slope of the Areiopagos near-by several other graves came to light.[4] These are consistently either Protogeometric amphora burials or Geometric cist graves, usually showing traces of burning. In addition, small areas were found among the graves where burned offerings had been made and the vases discarded. Very possibly they indicate a cult of the dead (see below, p. 636). All of this funerary pottery is in the simple style. Such "Acropolis ware" is usually considered the earliest Geometric[5] and nothing in our excavation contradicts this theory. Since the pottery that was found under the floor of the house appears to be slightly later than that from the graves, and since it is unlikely that the cemetery is later than the house, we may suppose that the town spread gradually down the slopes of the Acropolis and Areiopagos. Houses were also built over the cemetery at Eleusis.[6]

The Pottery from the House

The pottery from the filling over and on the floor of the house at both ends was mixed. The latest material is Attic and Corinthian of the early sixth century. But the sherds from within the floor and under it in undisturbed places can safely be taken as evidence for the date of latest habitation. Since this pottery forms a definite group and is unique in being the only Geometric pottery hitherto found in a dwelling, it is described in full. Unless otherwise stated, the clay is buff and the paint black to brown or reddish.

[1] I am indebted to Professor Persson for the description of this technique.
[2] Skias, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Poulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 ff.
[3] Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 224 (The only two examples of burials within the house are not parallel to ours).
[4] See pp. 468–470.
[5] See E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, I, p. 67.
[6] Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

A. Selected sherds from within or under the house-floor

8–20. (P 1605–1617) Figs. 12–13

Fragments of vases of various shapes; Nos. **8–10** Protogeometric; Nos. **11–19** Simple Geometric No. **20** Household Ware.

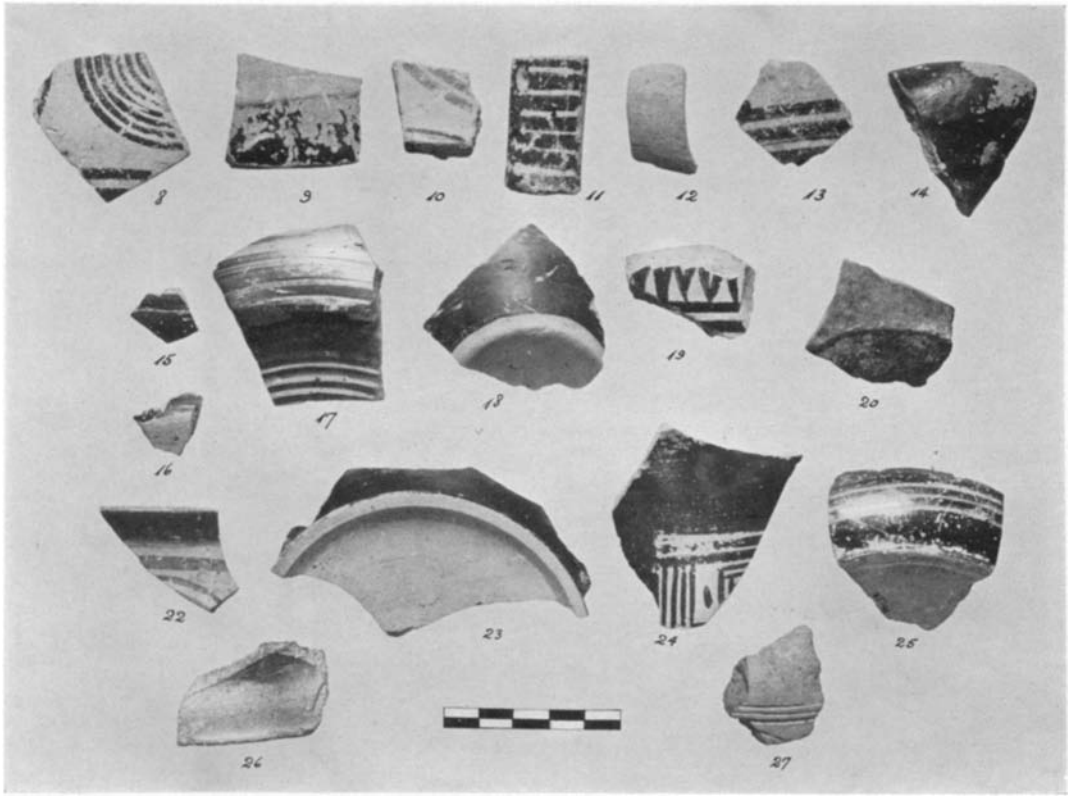

Fig. 12. Sherds from within or under the Floor of the Geometric House (Nos. **8–20**), and from on Top of the Floor at the Western End (Nos. **22–27**)

B. Selected pottery from on top of the floor at the western end of the house

21. (P 461) Fig. 14

Fragmentary oinochoe, glazed, except for two triple reserved lines round the body. From the floor 0.60 m. east of the western apsidal wall (see Fig. 2). Upper part broken off by the modern house wall which ran over it. H. 0.15 m.; d. 0.15 m.; base d. 0.079 m.

Presumably it had a high neck decorated with a maeander or zigzags in a front panel, and a trefoil mouth and a broad striped handle. Two similar examples came from another grave in the Agora (P 552–553, see p. 470). Similar pieces have also been

found elsewhere in Athens,[1] in Eleusis, and in Corinth. The simplicity of the shape and style has been usually considered an earmark of an early date in the Geometric period.

22–27. (P 1618–1623) Figs. 12–13

Fragments of vases of various shapes; No. **22** Protogeometric; Nos. **23–25** Simple Geometric; Nos. **26–27** Household Ware.

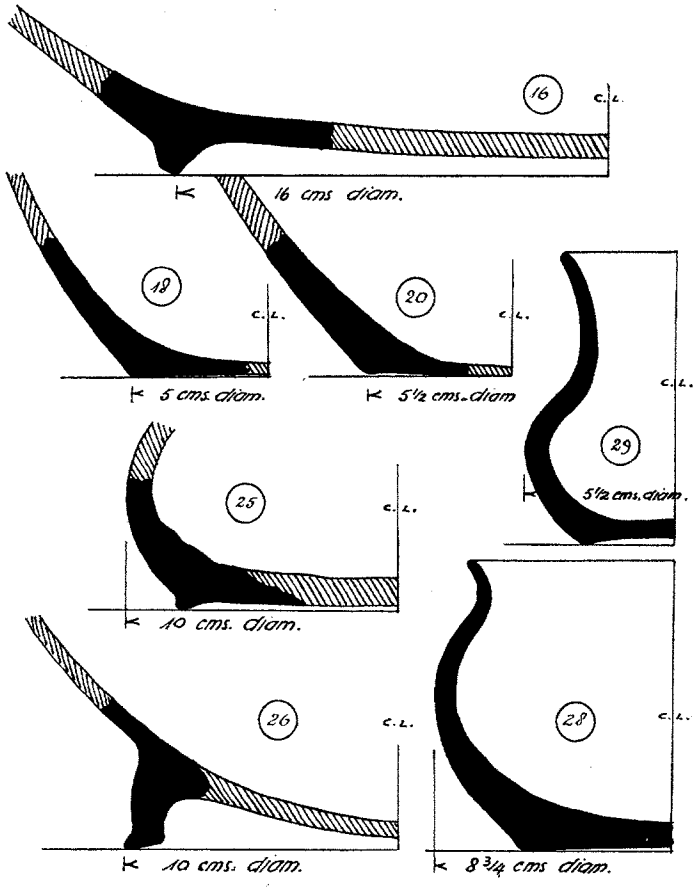

Fig. 13. Profiles of Geometric Sherds from within the House Floor (Nos. **16–26**), and above it (Nos. **28–29**)

C. Selected pottery from on top of the floor and platforms at the eastern end of the house

28. (P 586) Figs. 13 and 15

Fragmentary kylix decorated with stars in a zone between horizontal handles; row of dots inside the lip. Glazed inside with a reserved dot in the centre. H. 0.051 m.; base d. 0.054 m.; greatest d. 0.093 m. Reddish buff clay, reddish brown paint. Simple Geometric style of the type found in the Isis grave in Eleusis (*C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III Hd, pl. 6, No. 6).

[1] *C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III Hd, pl. 2, No. 2.

29. (P 535) Figs. 13 and 15

Fragmentary small jug with one handle, decorated with lines and dots. H. 0.054 m.; d. 0.057 m. Simple Geometric style of a common type.

30–36. (P 1624–1625; P 631; P 1626–1629) Figs. 16, 17, 24

Fragments of vases of various shapes: No. **30** Developed style; No. **31** Simple style; No. **32** late Geometric or Proto-attic; Nos. **33–34** Developed style; Nos. **35–36** Incised Polished ware.

The Pottery from Outside the House

The rest of the Geometric pottery was found outside the house, chiefly in the area A–C. (See above, p. 550.)

37. (P 532) Figs. 7 and 18

Fragmentary oinochoe, with a deeply rounded body and a slender neck. Traces of the handle behind. The bosses in front are characteristic of this type of vase.[1]

Fig. 14. Geometric Oinochoe (No. **21**) from the Floor of the House. Scale 1:2½

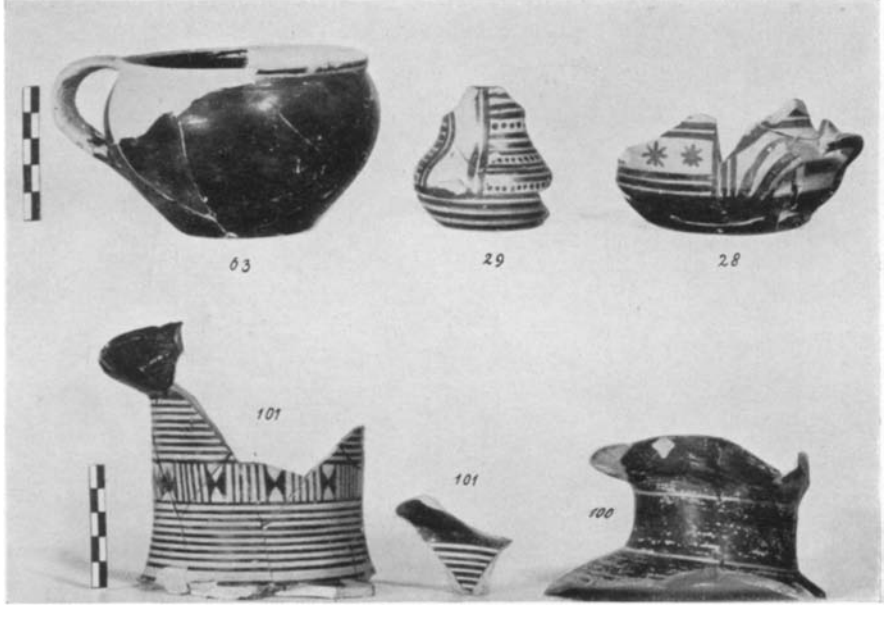

Fig. 15. Geometric (Nos. **28–29, 63**) and Protocorinthian (Nos. **100–101**) Sherds from the Filling over the House

[1] Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, I, p. 70; cf. Gotschmich, *Studien zur ältesten griechischen Kunst*, Prag, 1930, p. 28.

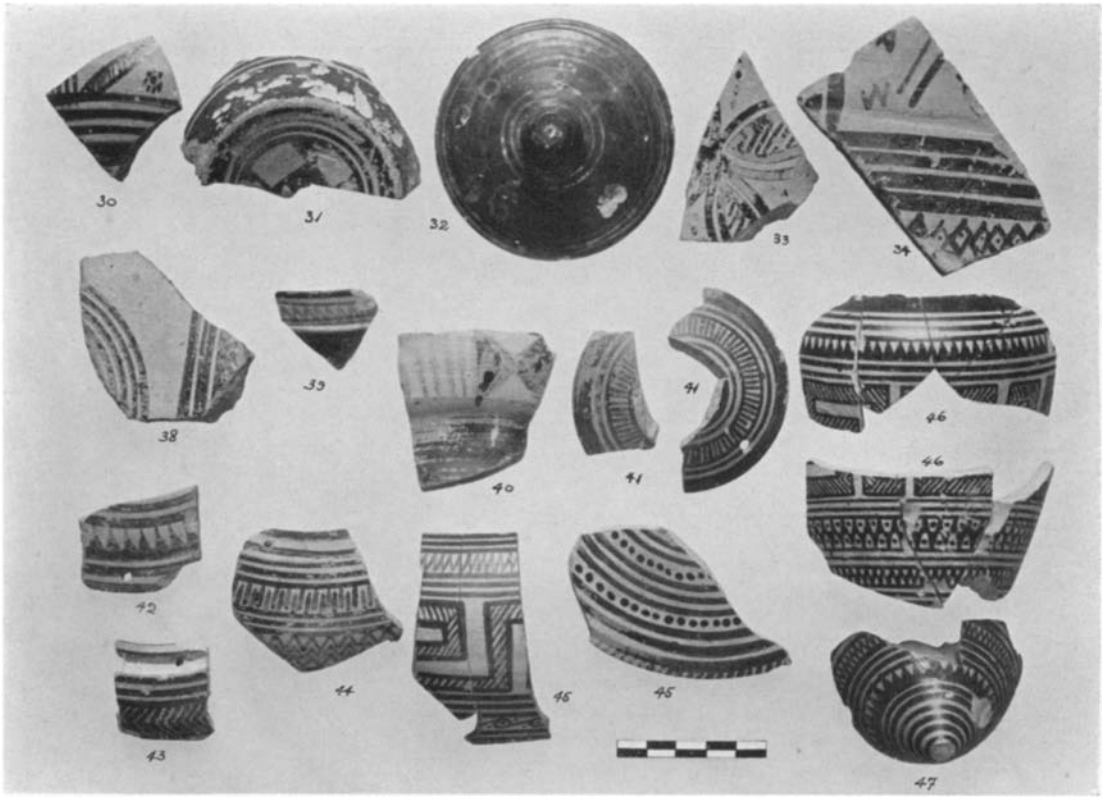

Fig. 16. Geometric and Proto-attic Sherds from the Filling over the House (Nos. **30**–**34**) and Outside it (Nos. **38**–**47**)

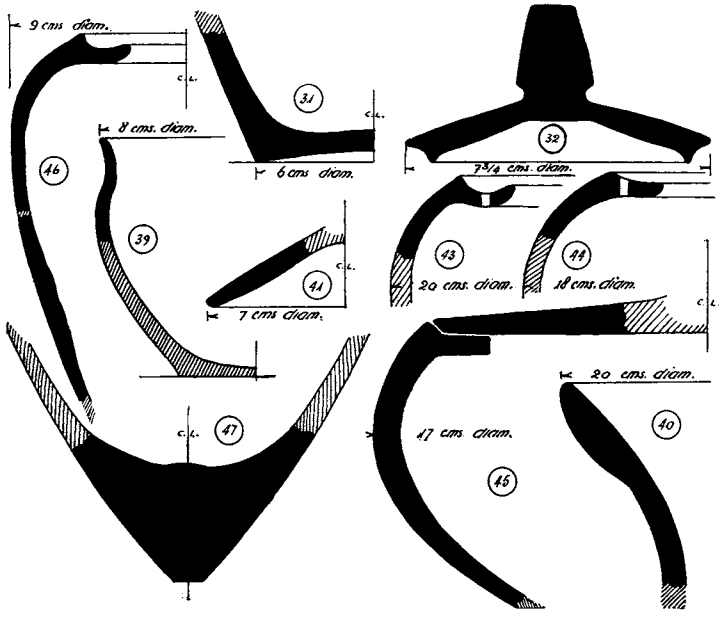

Fig. 17. Profiles of Geometric and Proto-attic Sherds from the Filling Over and Outside the House

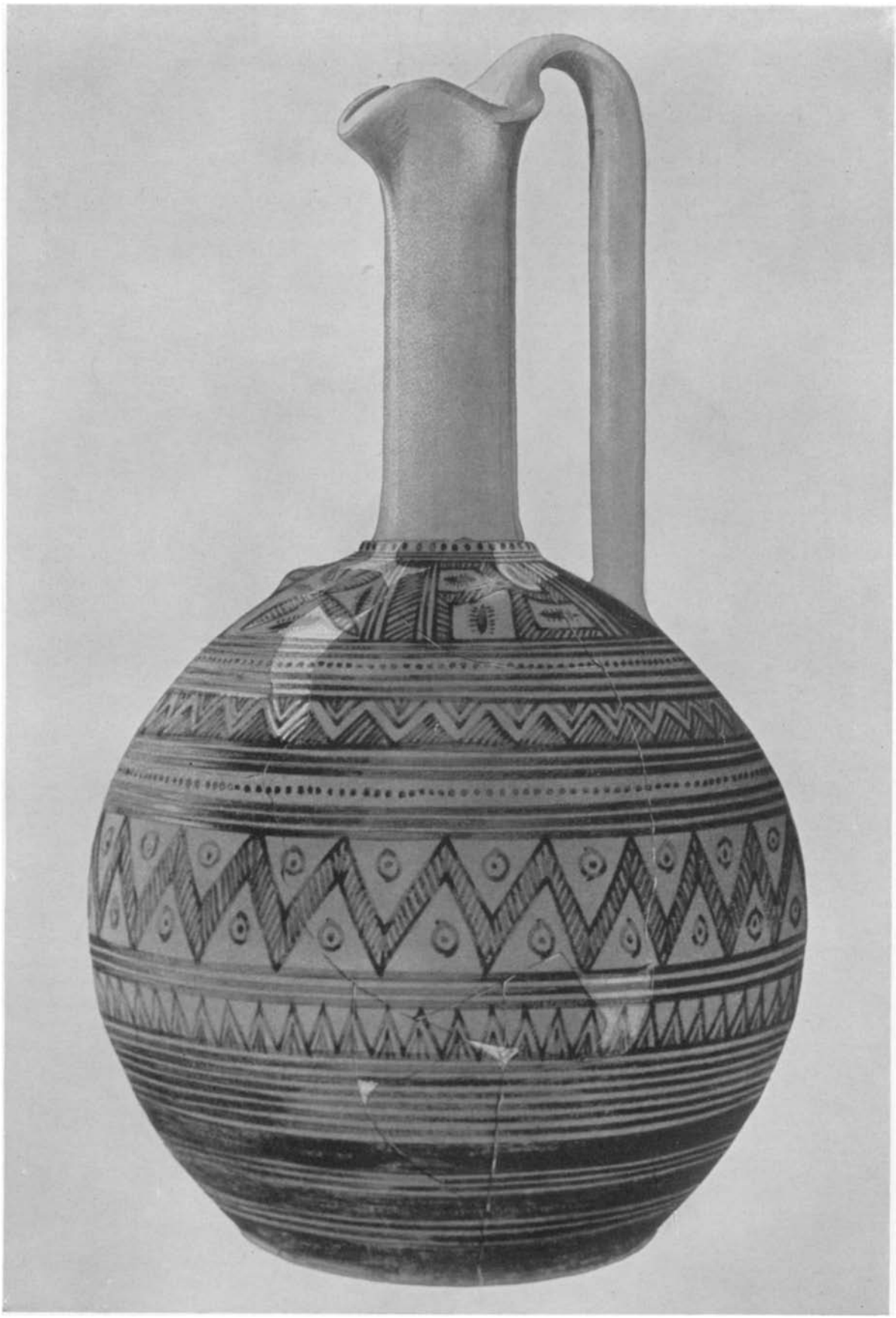

Fig. 18. Geometric Oinochoe, No. **37**, with Neck and Handle restored. From a Water-color by P. de Jong

Collar: in relief and ornamented with dots.

Shoulder: Back: glazed solid. Front: three metopes; in the two outer, hatched swastikas, in the centre, four-petal ornament hatched. Oval filling ornaments surrounded by dots.

Body: three zones; in the upper, set off by lines and dots, interlocking hatched and double triangles; in the centre, a large hatched zigzag with filling ornament of dotted circles; in the lower, a row of double triangles pointed upward.

Lower part: three solid bands alternating with bands of reserved lines.

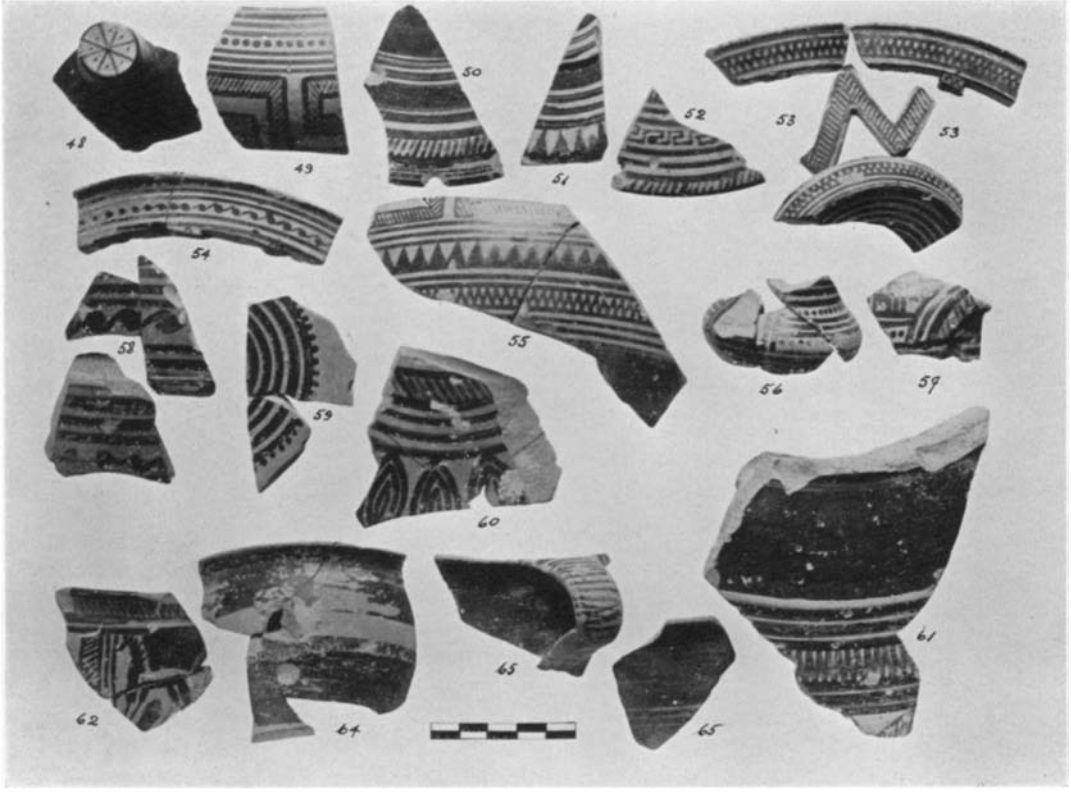

Fig. 19. Geometric Sherds from Outside the House

Found standing against the west side of wall A–A, its base on a level with the bottom of the wall. Much broken at the upper part and side by the excavators of Pit F in which fragments were found (see Figs. 2, 4, and 7). H. 0.243 m.; greatest d. 0.244 m.; base d. 0.141 m. Pinkish buff clay, black glaze.

This appears to be an early example of the slender-necked type of oinochoe. A squatter one comes from a grave in Eleusis[1] together with other vases of a fairly developed style. The closest parallel is one from Athens in the National Museum. Its size and shape are almost identical; its style and decoration are even simpler, containing

[1] Skias, *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, pl. 3, 10, p. 113.

the repertory of the simple style, such as hatched triangles, interlocking tooth pattern, and small zigzags. The large hatched zigzag on the Agora piece is rather a rare motive in Attica, although common in the Argolid.[1] The metope designs are found in conjunction on many Attic vases of the developed style, as are also the other decorative elements. This oinochoe, then, appears to fall in the mid-Geometric period, certainly before the most advanced and elaborate Dipylon vases.

38–40. (P 1630–1632) Figs. 16–17

Fragments of vases of various shapes: No. **38** Protogeometric; No. **39** Simple style; No. **40** late Geometric or Proto-attic.

Fragments of pyxides and their lids, of simple style, such as have been found before on the Acropolis,[2] were in part burned, a sign that they come from graves. Many were found in the region of the preserved grave, by Pits A, B, and F in deep holes filled with classical sherds. Presumably, then, there were other graves here, rifled in much later times. They probably formed a part of the cemetery which apparently lay in that region before the house was built. Since also one similar fragment (No. **16**) comes from the floor of the house, it seems evident that the graves were earlier than the house. For the types of vases, cf. *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI; *C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III H d, pl. 1, No. 8; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. I, No. 6.

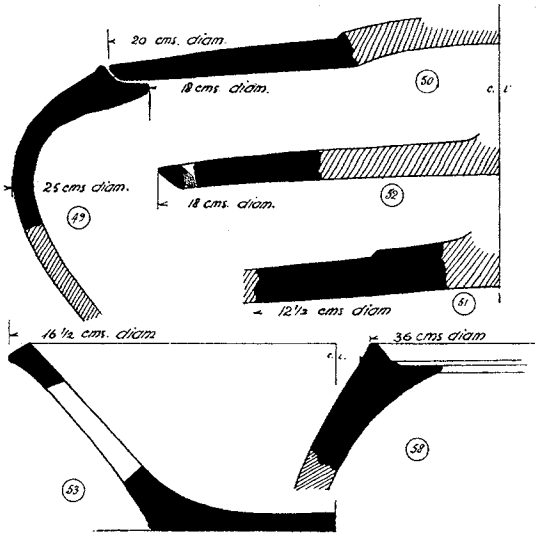

Fig. 20. Profiles of Geometric Sherds from Outside the House

41–52. (P 1633–1644) Figs. 16–17, 19–20

Fragments from pyxides and lids of Simple and Developed style.

53–54. (P 1645–1646) Figs. 19–20

Fragments from openwork kalathoi of Simple style. Cf. *C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III H d, pl. 6, Nos. 10–11.

55–62. (P 1647–1654) Figs. 19–20

Fragments of various shapes; Simple and Developed styles.

[1] Cf., however, Eleusis Museum No. 639, with rosette filling ornaments.
[2] *C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III H d, pl. 1, No. 8.

63. (P 913) Fig. 15

Fragmentary cup, glazed inside and out, with bars on the handles and a reserved line round the rim. From a disturbed filling. H. 0.066 m.; d. at mouth 0.092 m. A rather high example of a type common throughout the Geometric period. One was found in a grave in the Agora with vases of the Simple style. (Cf. *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, p. 58, fig. 4; *Arch. Delt.*, 1916, p. 43, fig. 45, Nos. 10, 11; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, pp. 115 ff., figs. 24–25; Beilage XII, Nos. 1, 3.)

Fig. 21. Geometric Sherds from Outside the House

64. (P 1655) Figs. 19 and 22

Fragmentary cup, glazed inside and out, with offset rim decorated with lines inside; stripes on the rim and three white lines round the body. From above the floor of the house, east end. Red glaze. Fragment with handle. H. 0.044 m.; W. 0.059 m. A more advanced example like No. **63**. The red glaze and white paint are both late.

65. (P 1656) Figs. 19 and 22

Similar cup, fragmentary, decorated with lines inside the rim and a reserved band round the body. From the region near the grave. H. 0.06 m.; W. 0.073 m. Fragments from many more similar cups were found.

66–72. (P 1657–1663) Figs. 21–22

Fragments from large vases of Developed and Ripe "Dipylon" style.

73–79. (P 1664; P 838; P 1665–1668; P 839) Figs. 21–23

Fragments of various shapes; Ripe and Degenerate style.

80. (P 455) Figs. 22–23

Fragment from a Corinthian late Geometric pyxis with lattice triangle, butterfly ornament in metopes, and lines below; glazed inside. From a disturbed filling south of the late conglomerate wall. H. 0.052 m.; W. 0.059 m.; T. 0.004 m. Fine Corinthian clay with black glaze outside and red lustrous glaze inside. An interesting instance of the importation of Geometric ware from one place to another. For the close relations between Athens and Corinth in the seventh century, see below, p. 634.

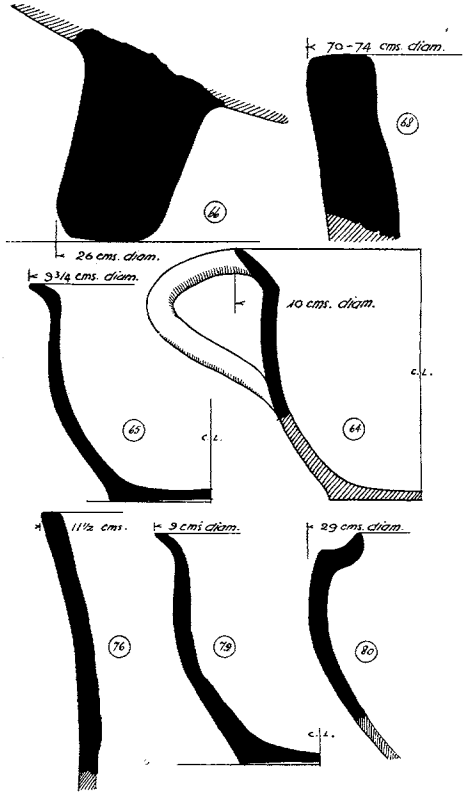

Fig. 22. Profiles of Geometric Sherds from Outside the House

Inscribed Sherds

The two very fragmentary graffiti on Geometric sherds are especially interesting in connection with those on the Attic vases from Hymettos excavated by the American School in 1924. The context in which our sherds were found indicates a date not later than *ca.* 640 B.C. But since the inscriptions are on Geometric sherds, they may well be far earlier. Unfortunately, the letter forms are not peculiar in any way nor does the famous oinochoe offer the same letters for comparison.[1] The presence of graffiti suggests that some of the Geometric pottery is of votive character—a point which will be considered in relation to the later votive deposit (see below, p. 636).

81. (P 536) Fig. 23

Fragment from a small kylix, glazed inside and out, with a graffito. From between walls A–A and D–D, lower deposit. Greatest dimension 0.027 m. After the vase was made, two letters, B and I, were incised, retrograde. The short stroke at the extreme right side is not so deep as those of the other letters and is hard to restore. It may be merely a scratch. The straight I is noteworty.

82. (P 1222) Fig. 23

Fragment from a large closed vase, glazed outside, with a graffito. Same provenience as No. **81**, near wall A–A. Greatest dimension 0.028 m. The letter, incised after firing, appears to be M.

[1] *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pp. 106 ff., pl. III. B. Schweitzer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 141. R. Carpenter, *A. J. A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 24 f.

In addition to sherds, the filling contained many disks which were cut from Geometric pottery. These will be discussed later in relation to the votive deposit with which they were found. The following disks show patterns: Nos. **257–263**, all from large vases of ripe Dipylon style. Many of those with stripes may also be Geometric. Those from coarse wares are less certain.

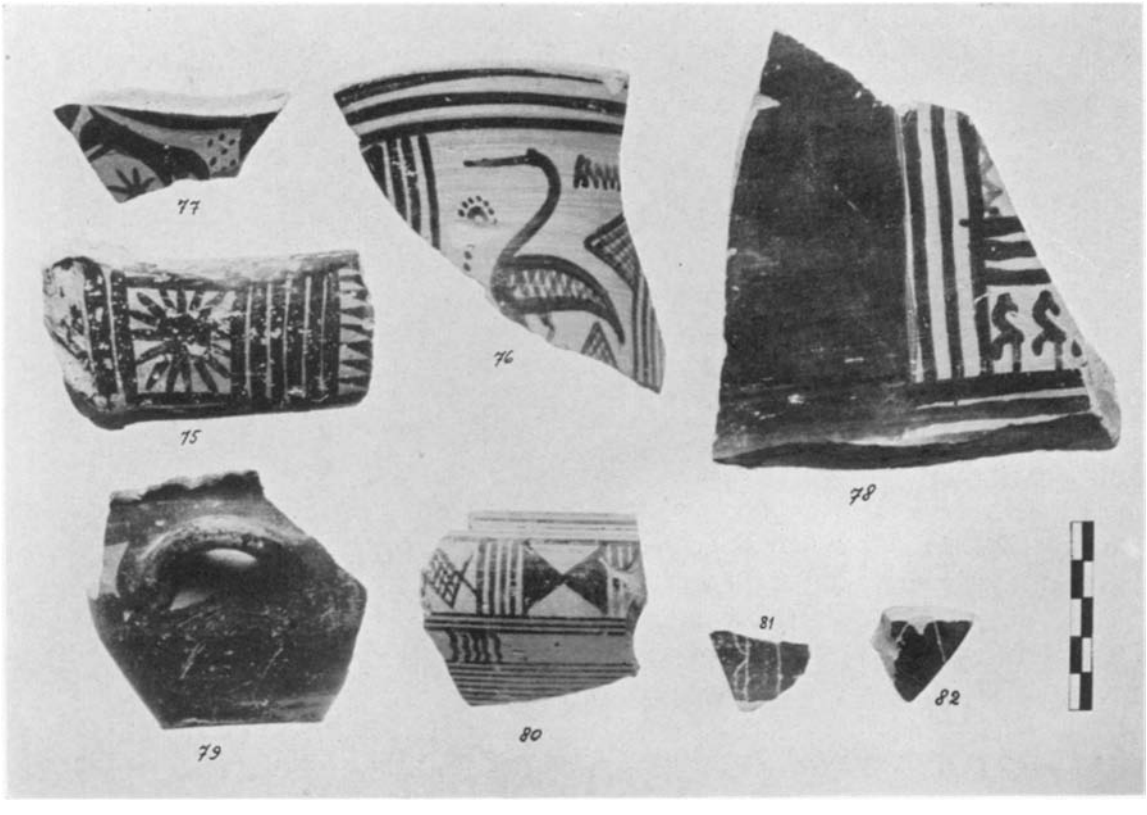

Fig. 23. Geometric Sherds from Outside the House

Incised Polished Ware

Along with the Geometric and Proto-attic pottery also appeared a certain amount of the hand-made polished ware with incisions which we have already noted from the grave and the house-floor (see above, pp. 554, 557). To judge from its presence in graves in Eleusis this ware appears to be contemporary with fairly early Geometric, though it shows clear relations with mainland prehistoric ware.[1] There is no evidence for the

[1] Skias, *op. cit.*, pl. 2, Nos. 14, 15; *Arch. Eph.*, 1912, p. 35; fig. 15, No. 2. Cf. S. Wide, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, p. 394, pl. XV, 2, 3.

length of its duration. The following selected examples from disturbed areas, chiefly near the grave, may be offered as representative in shape and design. The clay is yellow, soft, and lightly polished; occasionally it varies to gray from different firing. Some traces remain of a thick white filling in the incised decorations. The shapes are shallow bowls, pointed pyxides, and tripods, always small.

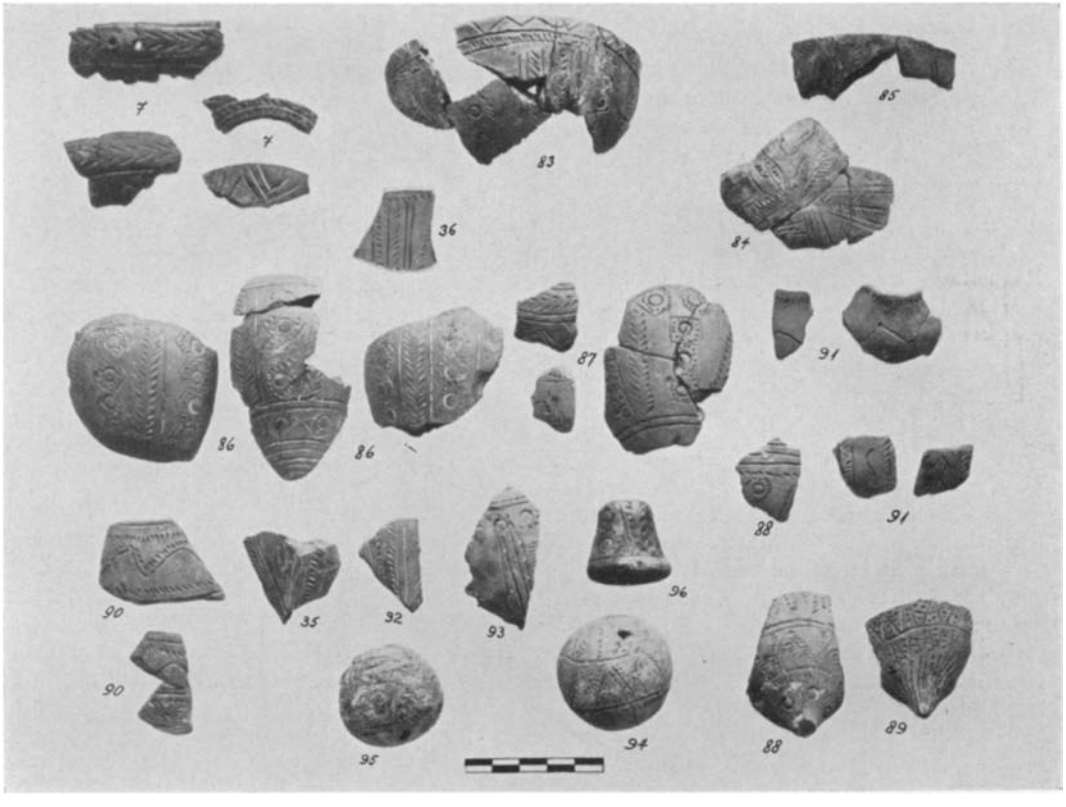

Fig. 24. Hand-made incised Geometric Ware

83–93. (P 642; P 1669–1678) Figs. 24–25

Fragments of various shapes: Nos. **83–87** Bowls; Nos. **88–93** Tripods or pointed Pyxides.

Small terracotta balls, usually not bored, with painted ornamentation have been found in Geometric graves at Eleusis.[1] Skias interprets them as weights for nets, which seem scarcely suitable for the women's graves in which they were found. Persson, in discussing similar balls with inscriptions from Cyprus,[2] suggests that they were used as

[1] Skias, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 107, Isis grave.

[2] "Some Inscribed Terracotta Balls from Enkomi," *Symbolae Philologicae, O. A. Danielsson Octogenario Dicatae*, Upsaliae, 1932, pp. 269 ff.

weights for measuring fine shreds of metal for currency. In technique the nearest parallels are from Troy, but these are bored vertically and seem to have been used as whorls.[1] It seems unlikely that our irregular balls could have been used as any exact weights. More probably they had some simple household use.

94. (T 185) Fig. 24

Terracotta ball decorated with a zone of zigzags with four lines, bordered by dots and four rows of dots radiating to meet it above and below. From Pit F. d. *ca.* 0.041 m. Pierced horizontally near the top. White filling preserved; traces of blue paint on one side (?).

95. (T 236) Fig. 24

Half a similar ball decorated with a zone of circles and dots, radiating lines above and below. From the filling just over the house. d. *ca.* 0.038 m. Pierced horizontally near the top. White filling preserved; traces of red paint (?).

96. (T 274) Fig. 24

Spindle whorl decorated with vertical panels of alternate herring-bone pattern and circles surrounded by serpentine dotted lines inside diamonds; row of dots at the bottom. From the region by the grave. H. 0.029 m.; d. at bottom 0.03 m. Clay buff but much burned. White filling preserved. Probably made by the potter of No. **83** (cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 115, whorls with impressed stars).

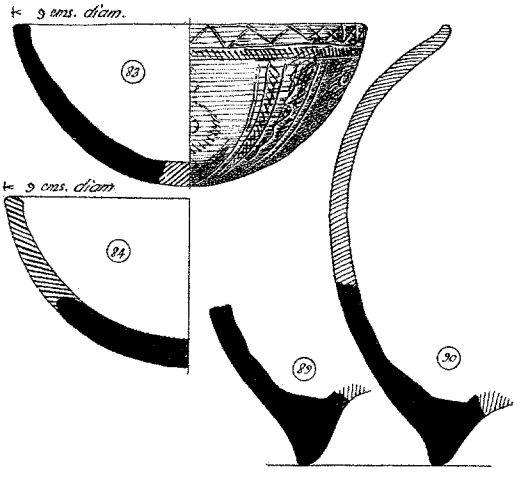

Fig. 25. Profiles of Hand-made Incised Geometric Ware. Scale 1:2

Now that we have surveyed this Geometric pottery, we must consider the problem of its absolute dating. The stylistic sequence as shown in the sherds from the graves, the house-floor, and the upper filling is that worked out by Poulsen.[2] The earlier wares resemble those from the Acropolis slope and Eleusis and the later those from the Dipylon. Protocorinthian was found only with the more developed style.

If we employ the chronology for Geometric that is accepted by most scholars, we must date the grave in the house early in the ninth century and those outside it only a little later. To judge by the sherds from the floor, the house itself cannot have been built before the middle of the ninth century. The date of its latest occupation is indicated by two vases: one (No. **21**) found upon its floor, the other (No. **37**) against a wall that must have been built later than the house (see above, p. 547). The fragmentary condition and the simple style of the former prevent us from classifying it strictly, but the type

[1] H. Schmidt, *Trojanische Altertümer*, Berlin, 1902, p. 205, Nos. 4156–4162.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.; Pfuhl, I, pp. 67 ff.

is generally considered early. The style of the latter is pre-Dipylon and would usually be dated about the beginning of the eighth century. Now, its position against the wall A–A (Fig. 7) and above the level of the apsidal wall makes this vase obviously later than the building of the house. Moreover, the position and preservation of both these vases indicate that they were left on the house-floors at the time of latest habitation. But upon the fallen walls of these houses and in part upon the floors, with no intervening

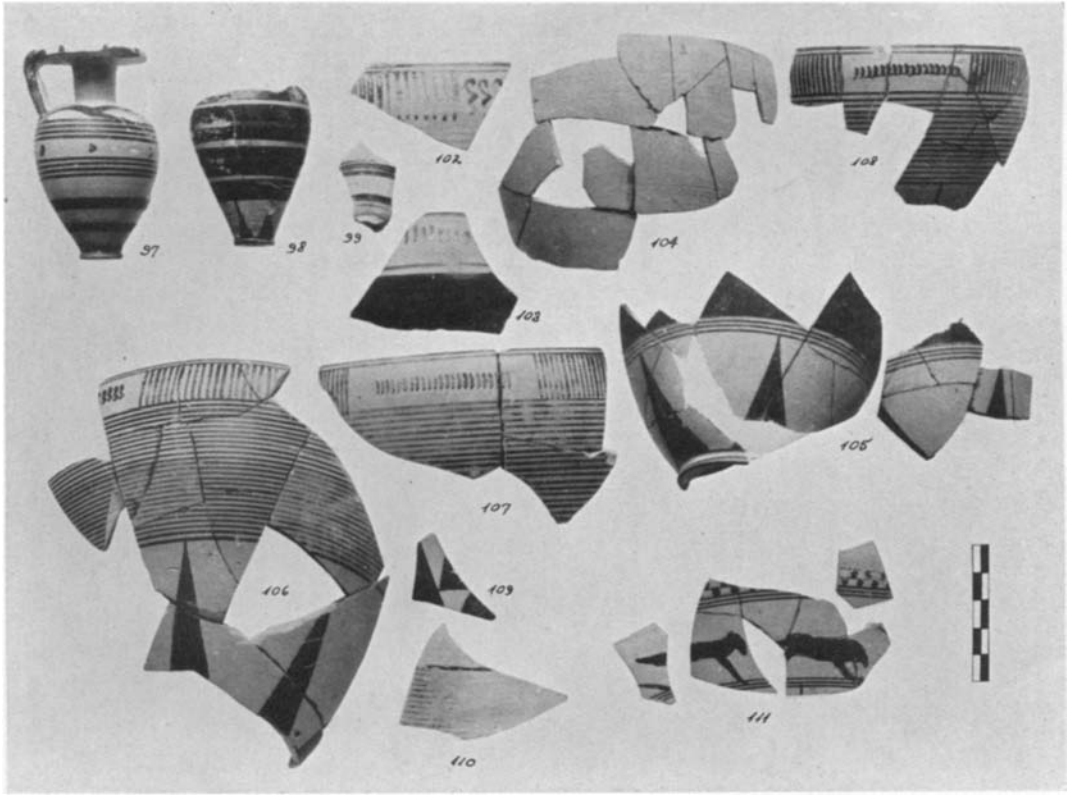

Fig. 26. Protocorinthian Pottery from the Upper Deposit

filling whatsoever, lay late Dipylon, Protocorinthian, and Proto-attic—that is, wares usually assigned to the late eighth century at least. This seems to give us a period of nearly one hundred years between the desertion of the house and its final destruction. Possibly our previous dating of Geometric has been too generous or possibly chronology based on stylistic arguments cannot be trusted. The sequence of styles in our deposit, however, follows the assumed order. We are forced to the conclusion that our absolute chronology for these styles is erroneous. It is to be hoped that further excavations will offer stratified evidence for the solution of this perplexing problem.

PROTOCORINTHIAN

Throughout the upper deposit Protocorinthian ware was found in some quantity. Since in general it can be dated to the first half of the seventh century, with only a few pieces as late as 640 B.C., it offers the most stable chronological evidence for dating that deposit. The East Greek bowl (No. **125**) also belongs to the same period.

Two classes of Protocorinthian ware are evident: a thin, fine fabric of Corinthian clay and a thicker, cruder fabric of reddish clay such as has been found in Phaleron and in Eleusis.[1] This was presumably a local imitation. Unless otherwise noted, the most interesting examples of Protocorinthian which are listed are from the upper deposit, found together with Proto-attic. A curious piece (No. **338**) was found in the excavations of 1933.

Pointed Aryballoi

97. (P 578) Fig. 26

Complete. On the shoulder, two coursing hounds; dots round the lip, rim, and body; below: broad and narrow bands; ribbon handle with a wavy line. From the votive deposit, centre, together with Nos. **98**, **133**, **200–201**, **304 B**, **329** (see Fig. 2). H. 0.07 m.; d. 0.041 m.; rim d. 0.034 m. The single row of hounds on the shoulder is rare. The shape and type belong to Johansen's archaic style, type B, dating in the middle of the seventh century or a little after it.

98. (P 577) Fig. 26

Top missing. Broad black bands with applied narrow red lines; rays at the bottom. Found with No. **97**. H. 0.053 m.; d. of base 0.014 m. Date *ca.* 650–640 B.C. (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 19; *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, III c, pl. I, No. 35; Levi, *Annuario*, X–XII, 1927–1929, p. 355, fig. 463).

99. (P 1679) Fig. 26

Lower part; decorated with red bands. H. 0.029 m.; W. 0.02 m. The type is like that of Nos. **97–98**.

Oinochoai

100. (P 841) Fig. 15

Fragmentary upper part. Shoulder, neck, and trefoil mouth glazed red outside; two narrow white bands around the neck, diamonds in creamy white on either side of the front lip. H. 0.062 m.; W. 0.115 m. Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 32; fig. 10 c, for the proportions, but the neck curves, a "Post-Transitional" characteristic. Cf. pl. 11, 3 "Transitional." But the glazed body seems to be Protocorinthian. Date *ca.* 650 B.C. (?)

101. (P 871) Fig. 15

Neck and part of a trefoil mouth. Decorated in red with fine horizontal lines and with a zone of vertical lines and butterfly-pattern and lattice lozenges in front; rays at the base of the neck; a band inside the mouth. From near wall A–A to south of the house, H. 0.085 m.; d. 0.085 m. (cf. Johansen, p. 20, pl. VII, 2, from Cumae. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, 1933, pl. 4, 1, considers this example as Cumaean, of the late Geometric period. The technique of our piece is certainly Protocorinthian and the rays indicate that it is to be dated in the seventh century; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 12, and *Necrocorinthia*, p. 13, fig. 6. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 369, fig. 485).

[1] Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens*, Copenhague, 1923, pp. 173 f. S. Pelekides, *Arch. Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 33.

102–111. (P 1680–1683; P 842; P 1685–1689) Fig. 26

Fragments from skyphoi; Nos. **102–104** Early and Nos. **105–111** Middle Protocorinthian period.

Many other fragments of these common skyphoi were found, which do not merit publication except the examples of Attic manufacture, Nos. **112–114** (P 1690–1692) Fig. 27.

115–121. (P 1693–1694; P 831; P 1695–1698) Figs. 27–28

Fragments from Pyxis lids; Nos. **115–120** may be dated in the mid-seventh century. No. **121** is a fragment from a pyxis.

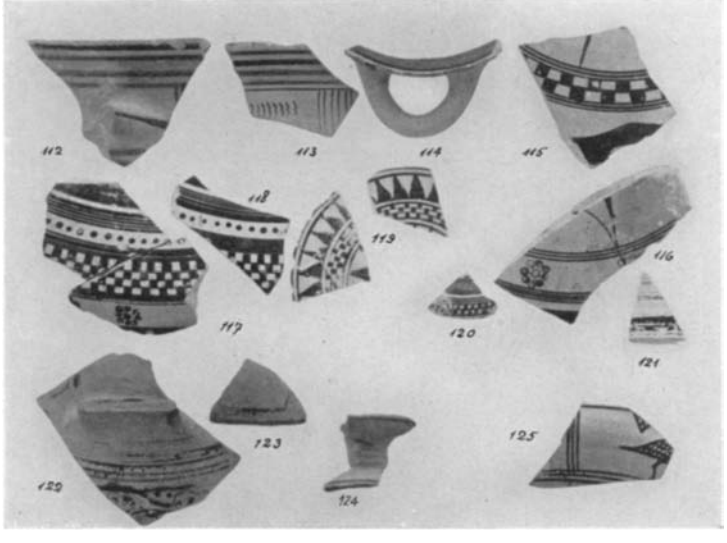

Fig. 27. Attic (Nos. **112–114**), Protocorinthian (Nos. **115–121**), Corinthian (Nos. **122–124**), and East Greek (No. **125**) Sherds from the Upper Deposit

CORINTHIAN

122–124. (P 1699–1701) Fig. 27

Fragments from vases of various shapes; Early Corinthian period. Since these came from disturbed areas, they have no bearing upon the chronology of the deposit. A few other insignificant pieces were found.

EAST GREEK

125. (P 1702) Figs. 27–28

Fragment from the upper part of an incurving bowl with a slightly grooved rim, decorated with a waterbird to right in a panel with lattice-triangle above. From between walls A–A and C–C above bed-rock. H. 0.032 m.; W. 0.053 m. Light red clay with hard buff surface; glazed black inside, dilute glaze outside. An interesting importation (E. F. Price, *East Greek Pottery*,

pp. 1 f. references; cf. also *Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 55, figs. 26 and 30; *ibid.*, III, p. 64, fig. 54). An example was found at Sparta with Subgeometric and Laconian I pottery, dating *ca.* 740–660 B.C. (*Artemis Orthia*, p. 115, fig. 85 b. Cf. also Levi, *Annuario*, X–XII, 1927–1929, pp. 690 ff. Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection*, New Haven, 1922, p. 53 and fig. 16, dates No. 65 at 700–650 B.C.)

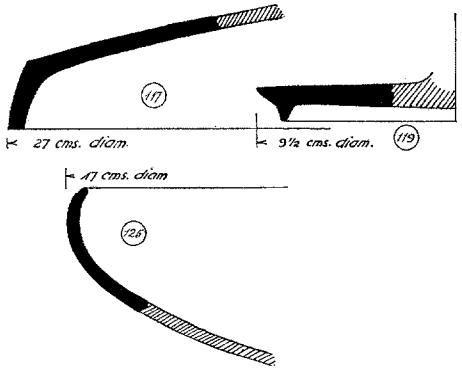

Fig. 28. Profiles of Protocorinthian (Nos. 117, 119) and East Greek (No. 125) Sherds

PROTO-ATTIC

By far the most abundant and the most unusual pottery from this area is the Proto-attic. Since little is known about the Athenian products of this period, a catalogue is given of all the characteristic pieces before the discussion of its chronology (see below, p. 635). The descriptive categories "Subgeometric," "Early Orientalizing," "Orientalizing," and "Light on Dark" styles are defined below, p. 631. For the dating of the individual sherds, see the table, Fig. 91. Consult this table also for references to well known Proto-attic vases, such as the Theban krater, Analatos hydria, Burgon lebes, etc.

In technique this pottery varies considerably. Some of it is made of finely micaceous clay like Dipylon ware with a similar surface and glaze. Most of it is of inferior quality, of coarse clay with dilute glaze. Unless otherwise stated the clay may be assumed to be buff in color and the paint black to brownish varying in lustre. See also Nos. **330** ff., additional material found in the excavations of 1933.

Large Neck Amphorae

126–130. (P 1703–1707) Figs. 29–30

Amphorae of this class with a very small foot are glazed all over except for the reserved panel on the neck and sometimes bands round the body. The decoration usually consists of concentric circles between wavy lines. This class seems to be related to a more elaborate group of amphorae with decoration on the neck and with lines round the body. Examples of the latter group were found with Dipylon vases and therefore presumably it is the earlier. The simpler type with its lower neck and smaller, higher foot has been found in Rhodes, Daphne, Syracuse, many in Etruria, at Caere, and in Thera (in general, cf. *Thera*, II, pp. 188–189, Pfuhl, I, p. 127, Price, *East Greek Pottery*, p. 4, with references). The one found in Thera closely resembles the Agora examples and it was found with Subgeometric ware and with one early Orientalizing type of vase. In Attica, these amphorae are plentiful, particularly in a seventh century cemetery in Phaleron where they were used for child-burials (*Arch. Delt.*, 1916, pp. 27 f., figs. 11–12; *Arch. Eph.*, 1911, p. 248, figs. 6–7). They have also been found in Eleusis and in the Kerameikos and

sherds in some numbers elsewhere in the Agora. Dragendorff denies Wide's suggestion (*Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, pp. 188 ff.) that they are Attic because the clay is redder and the glaze duller than those of Dipylon ware. He considers that they probably carried wine as an export from some port with wide trade relations east and west. He suggests Chalkis or the Euboean area. Pfuhl relates them to the Ionian circle. But the clay, glaze, and profile of our examples so closely resemble those of other Proto-attic sherds

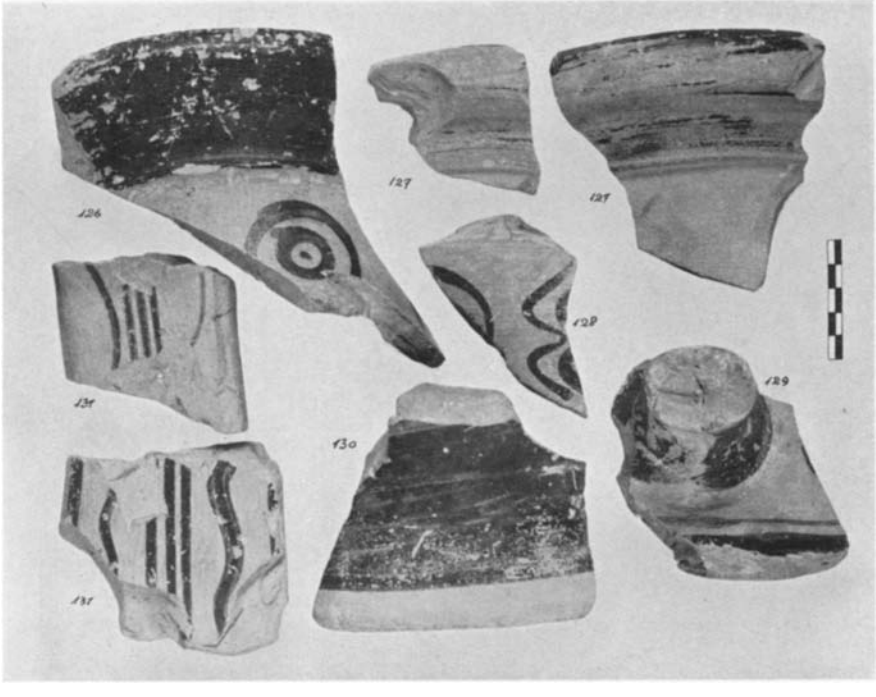

Fig. 29. Sherds from Proto-attic Amphorae

of the Subgeometric style that it seems highly probable that some at least were made in Athens itself. The difference in technique noted by Dragendorff is just the difference between Geometric and Proto-attic, and some of the examples certainly date well down in the seventh century. They are clearly most abundant in Attica, and are imports elsewhere even in Etruria. It is tempting to suggest that in these vases we have the first Athenian pots to be exported, doubtless filled with oil, or earlier, with wine.

131. (P 1708) Fig. 29

Fragments (2) from a broad handle, decorated with three stripes down the centre and wavy bands on either side. From Pit E: (a) H. 0.087 m.; W. 0.095 m. (b) H. 0.07 m.; W. 0.074 m. Brownish glaze. Apparently from the same handle, which must have tapered considerably. The lower part is even wider than that of the Athens Nessos amphora (W. 0.08 m., Pfuhl, fig. 89). The broad handle is common on large amphorae, but it usually does not taper. Subgeometric style.

This is the first instance described with that very common motive, the wavy line. Although it appears in Mycenaean and Protogeometric times, Gotschmich considers that it did not survive, but was revived during the seventh century under the new oriental influence (*Studien zur ältesten griechischen Kunst,* 1930, pp. 21 f.). It occurs in great abundance on a simple ware that is found together with seventh century decorated vases in Rhodian graves (cf. the East Greek pottery with band decoration in general, Price, *East Greek Pottery,* pp. 3 ff.).

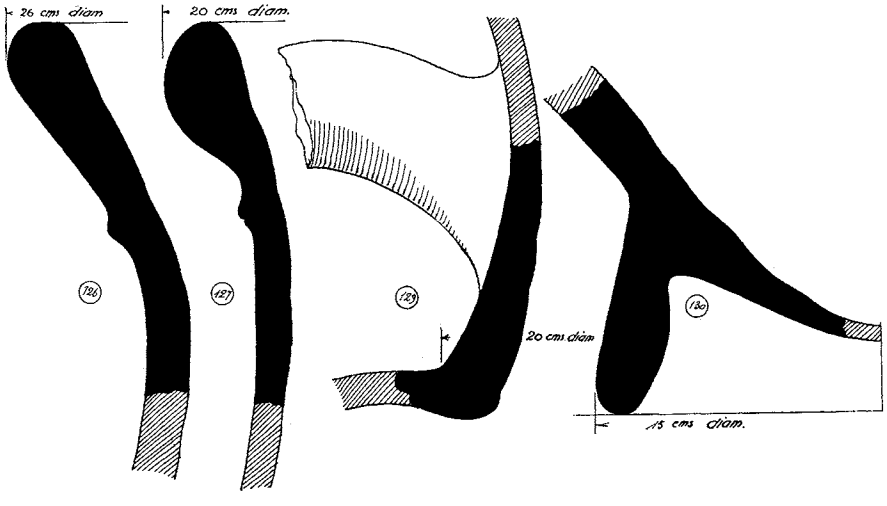

Fig. 30. Profiles of Proto-attic Amphorae. Scale 1:2

132. (P 459) Fig. 31

Lower part of a neck fragment showing the lower part of a lion walking left and the leg of another lion walking right; filling ornaments of wavy lines and a rosette with dotted petals. From above the curved wall at the west end of the house. H. 0.106 m.; W. 0.095 m.; T. 0.15 m.; estimated diameter *ca.* 0.11 m. Clay and glaze like those of Geometric. Inner details crudely incised.

This use of incision is unique among all the sherds of early style from this deposit. The style of the drawing of the paws and tail and the filling ornaments indicate that this example is about contemporary with the Burgon lebes (Pfuhl, fig. 82). Compare the incisions with those on a sherd from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, *Akropolis-Vasen,* I, pl. 12, No. 345 A). Orientalizing style.

133. (P 576) Figs. 31–32

(A) Fragment from the neck (?) showing the upper part of the legs of two nude men back to back, part of a third figure at the right; also (B) fragment from a flat part of the vase, showing an arm on a smaller scale. From the votive deposit together with Nos. **97–98, 134, 200–201, 304 B, 329** (see Fig. 2). H. 0.115 m.; T. 0.012 m.; estimated diameter 0.34 m. Buff clay with smooth lustrous surface; drippings from a thin clay wash inside. Lustrous black paint outlines; flesh painted in

a color that had a soft purple surface when first excavated but that disappeared when the sherds were placed in water, leaving a dull reddish brown. Traces of erroneous preliminary drawing (Fig. 32) which were scratched away between the left pair of legs and erased and then covered with paint in the other cases.

The curvature of fragment A and the size of the figures in relation to the diameter suggest that it comes from the cylindrical neck of a very large amphora like that from Kynosarges (*J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, pp. 29 ff., pl. II–IV). The scale of our fragment, however, is a little larger, requiring a neck 0.40–0.45 m. high as opposed to 0.35 m. The clay and

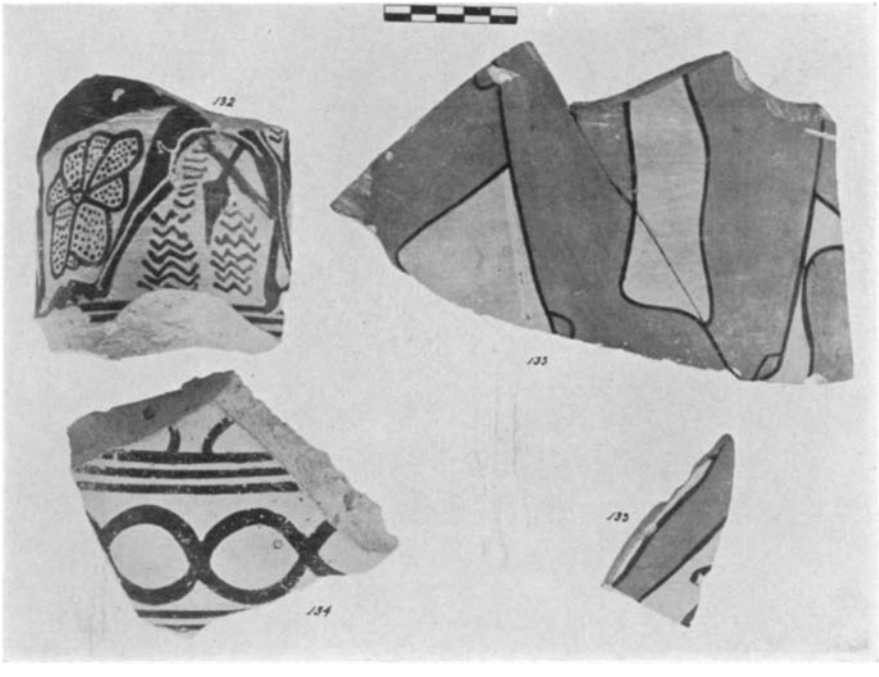

Fig. 31. Sherds from Proto-attic Amphorae

surface are similar to those of the Kynosarges amphora, but on that, white is used for the flesh. A dilute brown occurs on the New York Nessos amphora (*J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, p. 380) and on the Thermon metopes, but it is not like the color on the Agora piece.

What scene is represented is uncertain. The knees are bent in action rather than in running. The shape at the right hand corner seems to be part, possibly a shoulder, of a fallen figure. If we restore two erect figures back to back, engaged in wrestling or in fighting with two other figures which occupy a little less space, we can fill out the diameter with two panels and two ornamental handles. Or possibly two figures were fighting and one running away. Perhaps the smaller fragment, which is flat, comes from a handle.

The style of drawing has no exact parallel among Proto-attic vases; in spirit, it may be likened to that of the Praisos plate on which a hero wrestles with a monster (Pfuhl, fig. 57). The technique of our sherds resembles that of the interior of the same plate. The drawing is not much earlier than that of the Perseus of the Thermon metope, which Payne dates 650–630 B.C. (*B.S.A.*, XXVII, 1925–1926, p. 132). This early attempt at the use of color, without supplementary incisions, indicates a date probably not long before the middle of the seventh century.

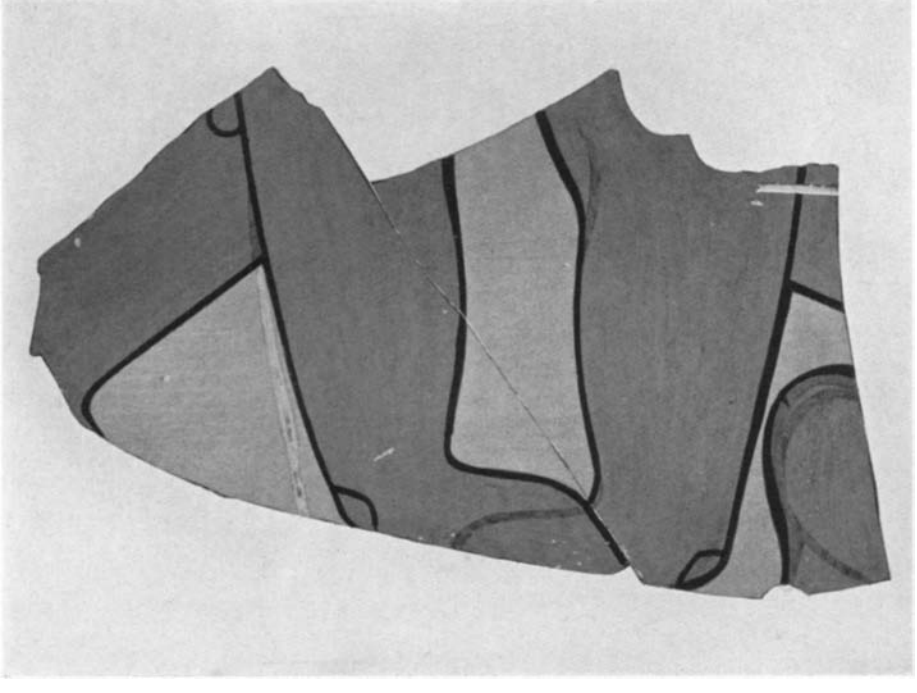

Fig. 32. Proto-attic Sherd, No. **133**, showing Preliminary Sketch. From a Water-color by P. de Jong

134. (P 1709) Fig. 31

Fragment from the shoulder, decorated with a zone of chain pattern between lines. Found with No. **133**. H. 0.10 m.; W. 0.13 m.; T. 0.014 m. Clay similar to that of No. **133** but redder; same drippings of a clay slip inside; surface damaged; black lustrous glaze. Possibly from the lower shoulder of the same vase as No. **133**. Cf. the more complicated braid on the New York Nessos amphora. Orientalizing style.

Smaller Amphorae or Hydriai

These familiar shapes show connections with Geometric rather than with later hydriai.

135. (P 1710) Figs. 33–34

Rim fragment decorated with a snake in relief covered with white dots; zigzags on the neck below. From Area A–C. H. 0.049 m.; W. 0.135 m.; estimated diameter *ca.* 0.15 m. Technique similar to Geometric. From a hydria such as that from Analatos (Pfuhl, fig. 79). Cf. Berlin No. 31312, Neugebauer, *Vasenführer*, pl. 7. For the snake in relief on vases, see Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst*, 1913, pp. 35 ff., 50. Early Proto-attic, possibly of the late eighth century. Subgeometric style.

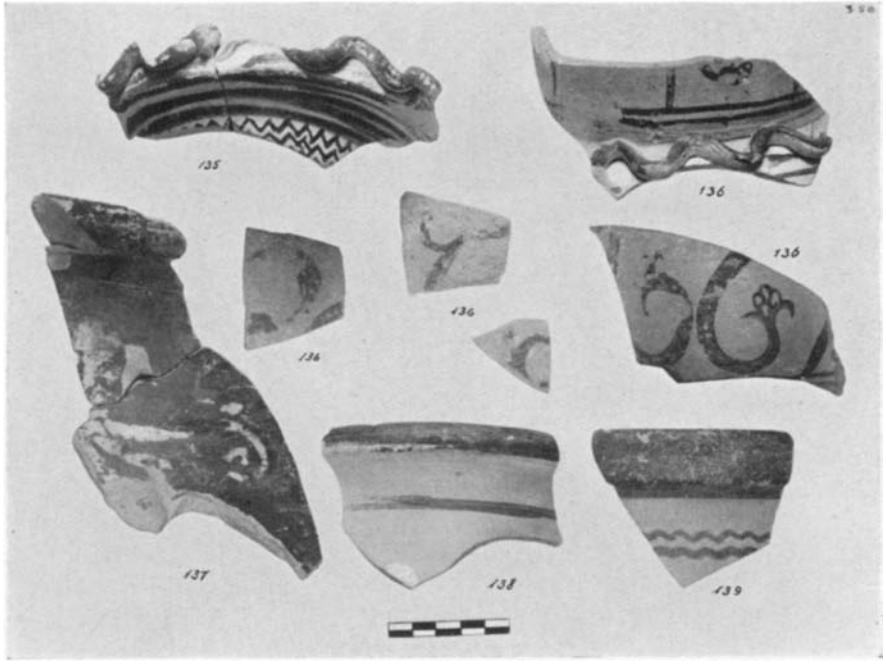

Fig. 33. Sherds from Proto-attic Amphorae and Hydriai

136. (P 1711) Figs. 33–34

(A) Fragment from the base of the neck, with snake in relief on the shoulder; panels on the neck decorated with a small palmette. From the surface filling. H. 0.048 m.; W. 0.121 m. Dilute red glaze. From a hydria like No. **135**, or possibly from an oinochoe.

(B) Four fragments from the body, decorated with curling tendrils ending in palmettes. The largest shows two lines at the bottom. From beside wall A–A. H. of the largest fragment 0.085 m.; W. 0.122 m. Presumably these fragments came from a zone of the vase as on the Analatos hydria (Fig. 91). Very early Orientalizing style.

Amphorae

The type of amphora in which the neck slopes gradually into the body is unknown in Geometric times. It appears, however, frequently in this deposit, with a rim of simple rounded profile.

137. (P 641) Figs. 33–34

Fragment from the rim, neck, and upper part, glazed outside and decorated with an octopus in thinned yellow clay; glazed band inside. From Pit E. H. 0.125 m.; T. 0.013 m.; W. 0.09 m. Glaze varies from red to black. A most unusual piece (cf. Nos. **168**, **266–267**). Elsewhere, the octopus occurs on only one Proto-attic sherd known to me (Graef-Langlotz, *Akrop.-Vasen*, p. 37, No. 365) and on two Early Corinthian (Payne, *Necrocor.*, Nos. 540, 629). Miss Lucy Talcott kindly informs me that she saw a similar fragment in the Delos Museum. Light on Dark style, probably to be dated in the last half of the seventh century.

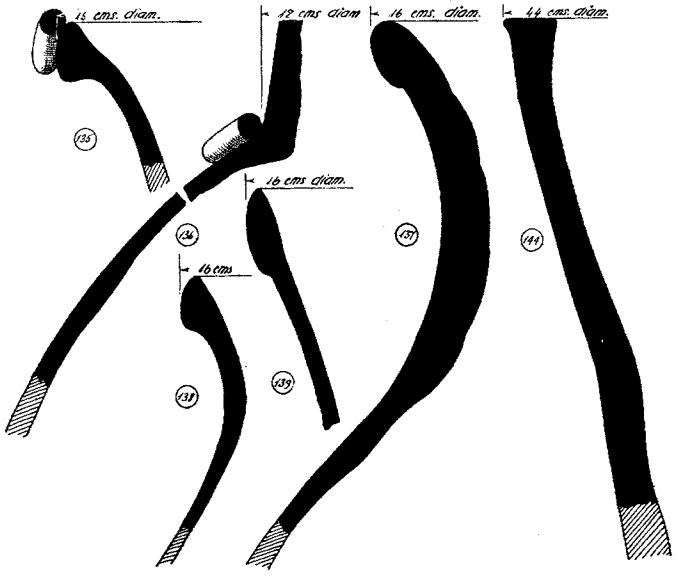

Fig. 34. Profiles of Proto-attic Amphorae, Hydriai, and of a Krater. Scale 1:2

138. (P 1712) Figs. 33–34

Similar fragment, with glazed rim and glazed band around the neck. From Area A–C. H. 0.06 m.; W. 0.101 m. Subgeometric style.

139. (P 1713) Figs. 33–34

Similar fragment, with rim glazed red and two wavy red lines around the neck. From Area A–C. H. 0.066 m.; W. 0.082 m. The sandy clay and dull paint of Nos. **138–139** are like those of Miss Price's *East Greek Pottery*, class II A, p. 3 (cf. *Jahrb.*, I, 1886, p. 149, No. 2938; Pfuhl, pp. 137, 193). Subgeometric style. Numerous examples of this class were found.

140–141. (P 1714–1715) Figs. 35–36

Fragments from rims.

Kraters and Open Vessels

Kraters on high pierced stands were very popular during the seventh century. They appear to be descendants of the Geometric types, but vary considerably in shape. Only

enough was preserved in this deposit for a conjectural restoration. Nilsson considers that they may have been used as cauldrons for heating water in the hero-cult (*The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 526; see below, p. 637). Some of these sherds may come from the type of bowl with a foot that is often called a lebes (e.g. the Burgon lebes).

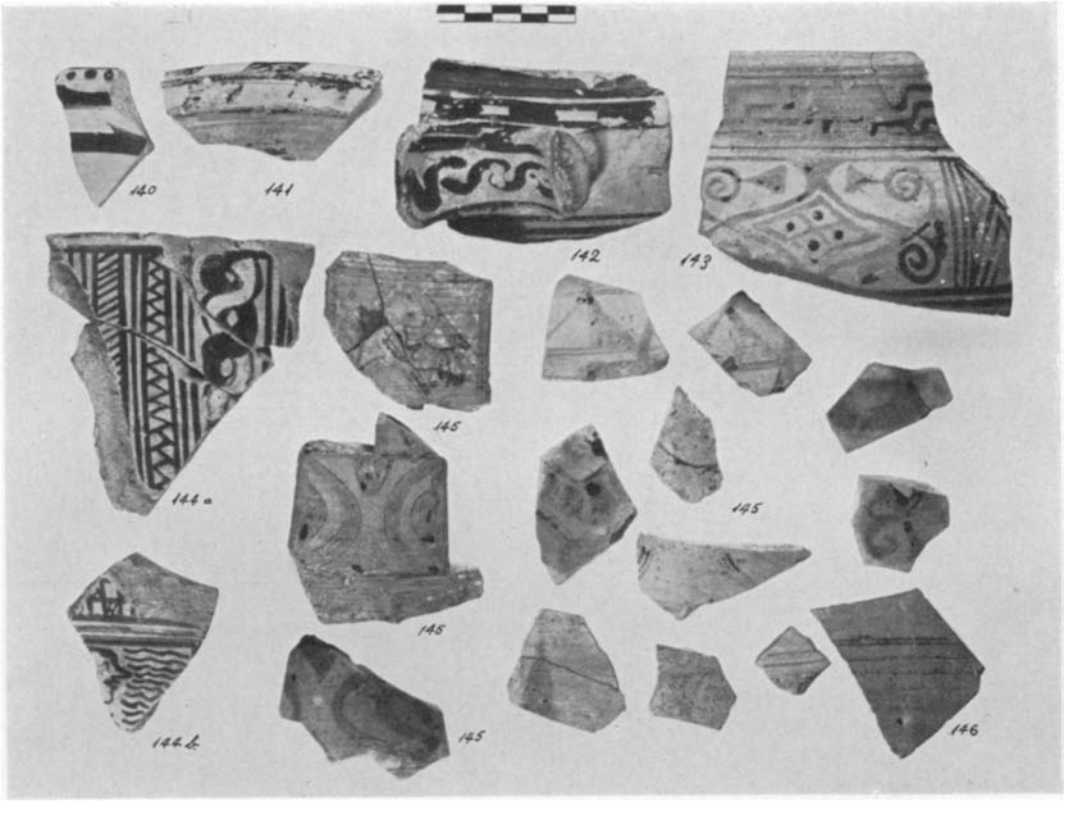

Fig. 35. Sherds from Proto-attic Amphorae and Kraters

142. (P 1716) Figs. 35–36

Fragment from the upper part with incurving rim, decorated with bands and a running dog on the handle, which has projecting ends. From the surface filling. H. 0.062 m.; W. 0.09 m. Glaze red; unglazed inside. The type of handle, which may be called "crescent," is very common at this period. Early Orientalizing (?) style.

143. (P 474) Figs. 35–36

Fragment from the upper part, decorated with step pattern outside the flaring rim and a row of large dots bordered by lines inside, and a panel of diamond and volutes between geometric borders; lines below. From the surface filling. H. 0.092 m.; W. 0.11 m.; glazed inside. Orientalizing style.

144. (P 873) Figs. 34–35

(A) Fragment of the rim and side, decorated with vertical panels of hatching and zigzags and a guilloche; bars on the flat rim. From the filling under the late conglomerate wall and over the terrace-wall B–B. H. 0.10 m.; W. 0.037 m.; T. 0.014 m. Smooth surface; white used as an accessory laid directly on the clay of one half the guilloche as on the N. Y. Nessos amphora (Fig. 91). It is another Eastern motive (cf. No. **338** and Poulsen, *Der Orient*, p. 14, fig. 9).

(B) Fragment from bowl and stand (?) decorated with checker-board pattern on the flaring upper part and with female face to right with wavy lines as filling ornaments. Same provenience. H. 0.066 m.; W. 0.056 m.; T. 0.011 m. Glazed inside. The peculiar shape does not seem reconcilable with the steep bowl of the other fragment, but the sherds certainly seem to belong to one vase. Cf. the head on a fragment in the Aegina Museum. Early Orientalizing style.

145. (P 460) Figs. 35 and 37

Fragments from a large vase on a stand, probably open, but unpainted inside. Preserved: three fragmentary panels from the stand, decorated with palmettes and semicircles; three fragments with rays; seven fragments from the upper part decorated with palmettes pendent between volutes with triangles above. From the surface filling. Upper panel: H. 0.075 m.; W. 0.07 m.; lower: H. 0.056 m.; W. 0.058 m. Other fragments all small. Estimated diameter of mouth 0.50 m.

A restoration is offered. The angles at the rays and at the palmette design above make the kalyx shape seem the most probable. This must have been a very fine vase of the early Orientalizing style, probably of the early seventh century. For the palmette motive cf. No. **213** and *C. V. A.*, Cambridge, 1, p. 4, fig. 1.

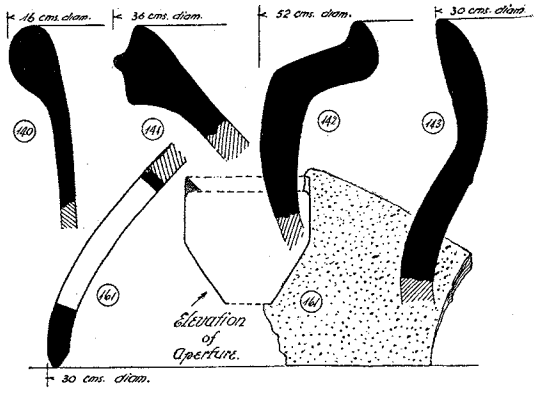

Fig. 36. Profiles of a Proto-attic Amphora, Kraters and a Lid. Scale 1:2

146. (P 1717) Figs. 35 and 38

Similar fragment, but probably not from the same vase as No. **145**. A zone above showing the start of a ray or of a spiral-hook; a zone below decorated with a palmette between large dotted leaves. From between walls A–A and C–C above bed-rock. H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.058 m. The palmette motive is a refinement on the clumsy trefoil ornaments of dotted leaves on the New York Nessos amphora (Fig. 91). The drawing is firmer than that on most of our Proto-attic sherds (cf. *Anz.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 199, fig. 6). Orientalizing style.

147–152. (P 1717; P 442; P 1718–1722) Figs. 39–40

Fragments from a stand, from bases, and rims; Subgeometric and Early Orientalizing styles.

153. (P 1723) Figs. 39–40

Fragment from the upper part with a moulded rim and raised ridge running round the vase by the handle with a vertical ridge beside the handle. From the surface filling. H. 0.098 m.; W. 0.11 m. An unusual piece of which the rim seems to indicate a date possibly in the seventh century, more probably in the sixth. Cf. Schmidt, *Trojanische Altertümer*, p. 181, No. 3661.

154. (P 1724) Figs. 39–40

Fragment from a large vessel decorated with a band under the straight rim and chain-pattern below. From a Pit. H. 0.076 m.; W. 0.115 m. Hand-made and uneven; the side wall is straight, curving inward at one end and swelling below. From a circular vessel pulled out to a spout? For the design cf. No. **134**. Early Orientalizing style.

155. (P 843) Figs. 39–40

Leg of a small tripod with part of the bowl preserved, decorated with a long-necked bird doubled up to fit the space. From Area A–C. H. 0.15 m.; W. 0.029 m.; T. 0.013 m. Not glazed inside. An unusual reproduction in clay of the common small bronze votive tripod. For the style cf. *Arch. Eph.*, 1911, p. 250, fig. 14. Orientalizing style.

Miscellaneous Fragments from Large Vases

Lids

156. (P 1725) Figs. 40–41

Fragment showing above: a bird's foot and uncertain filling ornaments, and below: a zone of diminishing triangles between lines. From the votive deposit. H. 0.088 m.; W. 0.145 m.; estimated diameter 0.36 m. Smooth buff surface; dull red paint. Slight traces of burning. Probably from a large amphora. Early Orientalizing style.

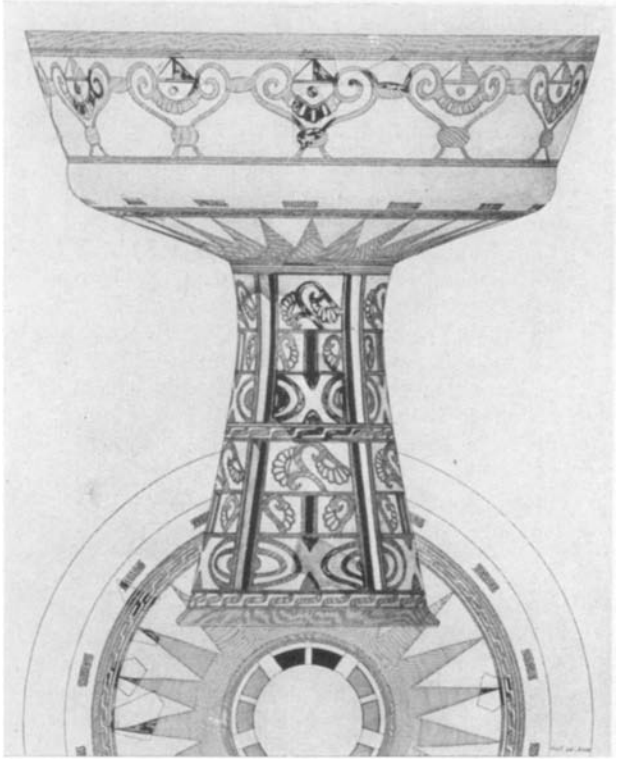

Fig. 37. Restoration of a Proto-attic Krater, No. **145**. From a Drawing by P. de Jong. Scale *ca.* 1 : 7

157. (P 1726) Figs. 40–41

Similar fragment with down-turned lip, decorated with a guilloche on the rim and with a zone showing an animal walking right; between its forelegs a bird with its head bent back; zigzags as filling ornaments. From beside wall A–A. H. 0.145 m.; W. 0.074 m. Red glaze; traces of burning. From a krater? For the guilloche, cf. No. **144**. Early Orientalizing style.

158. (P 840) Figs. 40–41

Two fragments from a similar lid decorated with a zone of feeding water birds moving right, with tooth-pattern between lines at the rim. From Area A–C. D. 0.072 m.; W. 0.052 m. H. of small fragment 0.032 m. Black glaze with bodies fired red. Traces of burning. For pecking birds cf. No. **199**, the New York Nessos amphora and von Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. IX, 1, on a Phaleron jug; an unknown motive in Corinth (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 76 f., note). It comes apparently from Ionia (cf. Pfuhl, fig. 144).

159–160. (P 1727–1728) Figs. 40–41

Fragments from lids; Subgeometric style.

161. (P 1729) Figs. 36 and 41

Fragment of a convex lid with an opening (for the insertion of a spoon?), decorated with bands and zigzags. Glazed inside with bands. From Area A–C. H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.057 m. Possibly from a bowl, but in that case the opening cannot be explained. Subgeometric style.

Miscellaneous Large Fragments

162. (P 1730) Figs. 41–42

Fragment from the neck of a hydria (?) decorated with a zone of dancing figures holding hands with branches in them; below, a chain pattern with spiral-hooks. From Area A–C, lower deposit. H. 0.11 m.; W. 0.042 m. Glaze almost entirely peeled off. Cf. the neck of the Analatos hydria which may be by the same hand; cf. Berlin No. 31312, Neugebauer, *Vasenführer*, pl. 7; Waldstein, *Arg. Her.*, II, pl. LVII, 15–19. Early Orientalizing style.

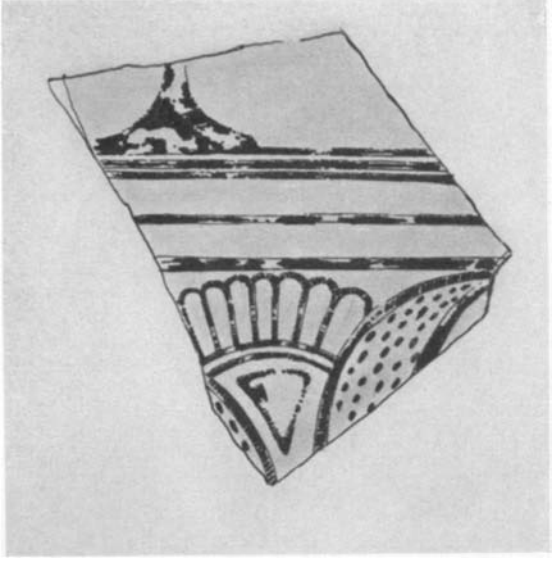

Fig. 38. Proto-attic Sherd, No. **146**. From a Drawing by P. de Jong. Full size

163–167. (P 1721–1735) Figs. 41 and 43

Fragments of the Orientalizing style showing designs with animals.

168. (P 1736) Fig. 43

Fragment from the shoulder of a sizable vase, glazed outside, showing part of an octopus in thinned yellow clay. From the surface filling. H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.09 m. (cf. No. **137**). Light on Dark style. Date, last half of the seventh century?

169. (P 1737) Fig. 43

(A) Fragment from the shoulder of an amphora (?), decorated with curling tendrils ending in palmettes. From Area A–C, lower deposit. H. 0.077 m.; W. 0.07 m.

(B) Fragment from the body below A, decorated with a palmette above and step-pattern in a zone below. Same provenience, a little lower. H. 0.098 m.; W. 0.07 m. Orientalizing style.

170. (P 1738) Figs. 43–44

Rim fragment from a small amphora (?) decorated with bars on the lip and a chain-pattern with spiral-hooks below. From the votive deposit. H. 0.037 m.; W. 0.057 m. Red glaze. Cf. *C. V. A.*, Pays-Bas, 2, III Hb, pl. 4; 3, and Analatos hydria. Subgeometric style.

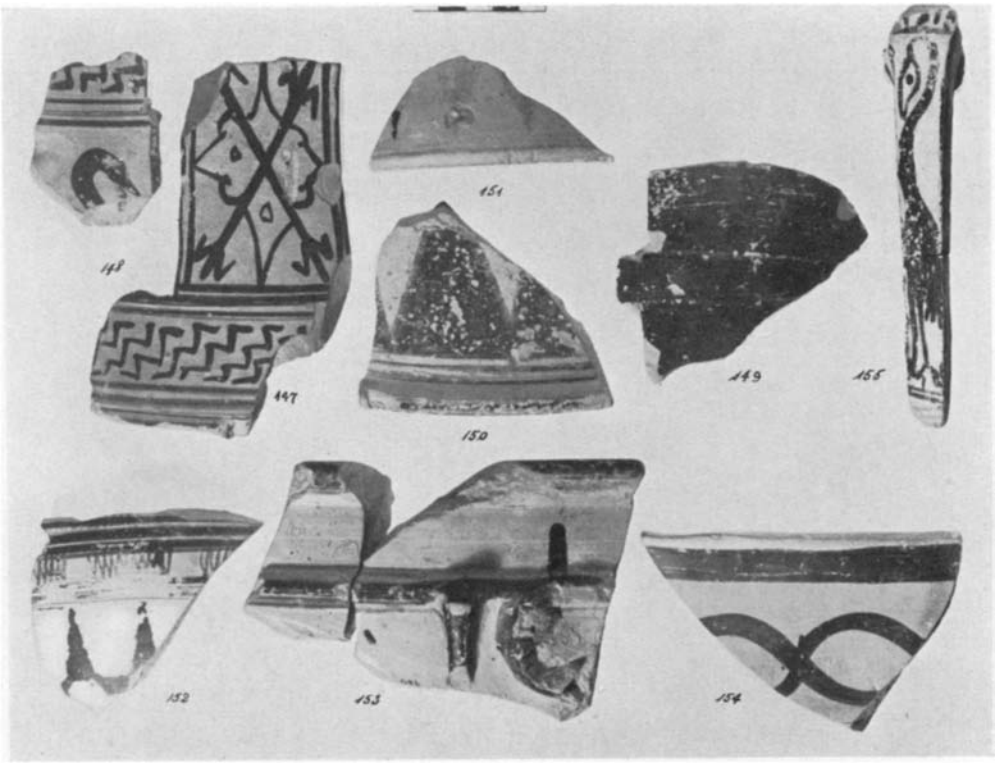

Fig. 39. Sherds from Proto-attic Kraters and a Tripod

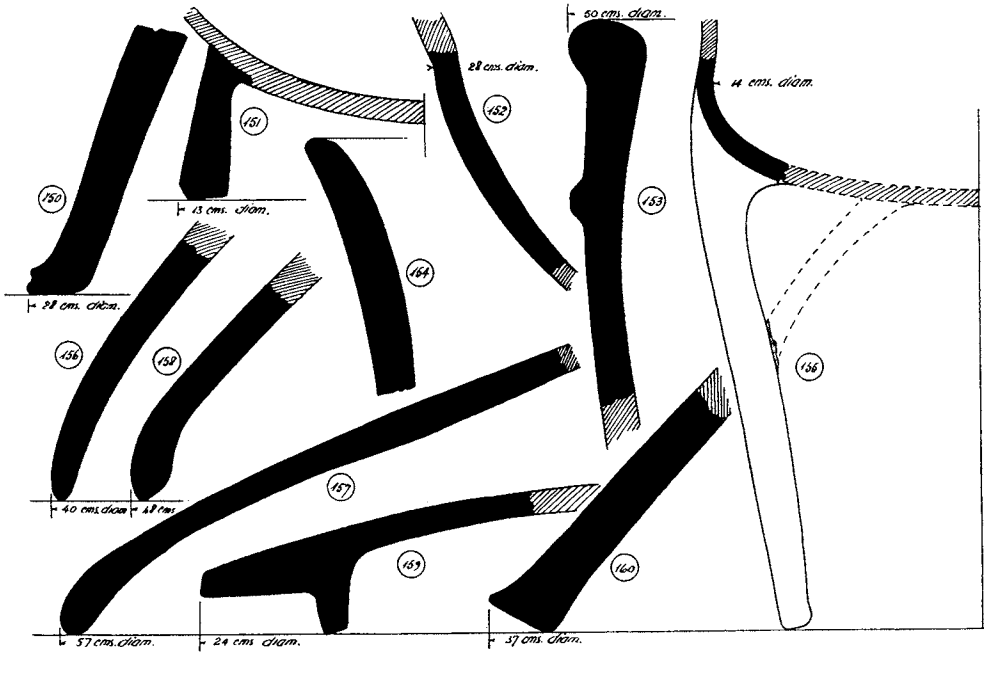

Fig. 40. Profiles of Proto-attic Kraters, a Tripod, and Lids. Scale 1:2

Fig. 41. Sherds from Proto-attic Lids and Miscellaneous Vases

171. (P 1739) Fig. 43

Fragment from the neck of an amphora (?) decorated with a water bird right, and beyond, the wings of an animal (another water bird?) decorated with purple paint and incisions; a solid circle surrounded by dots as a filling ornament. From the surface filling. H. 0.075 m.; W. 0.095 m. Light red clay; lustrous black glaze with purple applied on it (cf. for the wings, Benndorf, *Gr. u. sic. Vasenbilder*, pl. LIV, 1). It is one of the latest Proto-attic sherds from this area, dating probably *ca.* 630–620 B.C.

Fig. 42. Fragment from a Hydria, No. **162**. From a Water-color by P. de Jong. Scale 1:2

Bowls and Dishes

Deep bowls and small shallow dishes decorated with simple lines, bands, or wavy lines are most abundant in this deposit. They are clearly the descendants of the Geometric bowls with loop handles ending in projecting tips (*C. V. A.*, Pays-Bas, 1, III Hb, pl. 2, Nos. 4, 5). They have also contemporary parallels from Boeotia, Crete, and the islands (cf. Pfuhl, fig. 96; Levi, *Annuario*, X–XII, 1927–1929, pp. 328 f., figs. 426–427). Simple

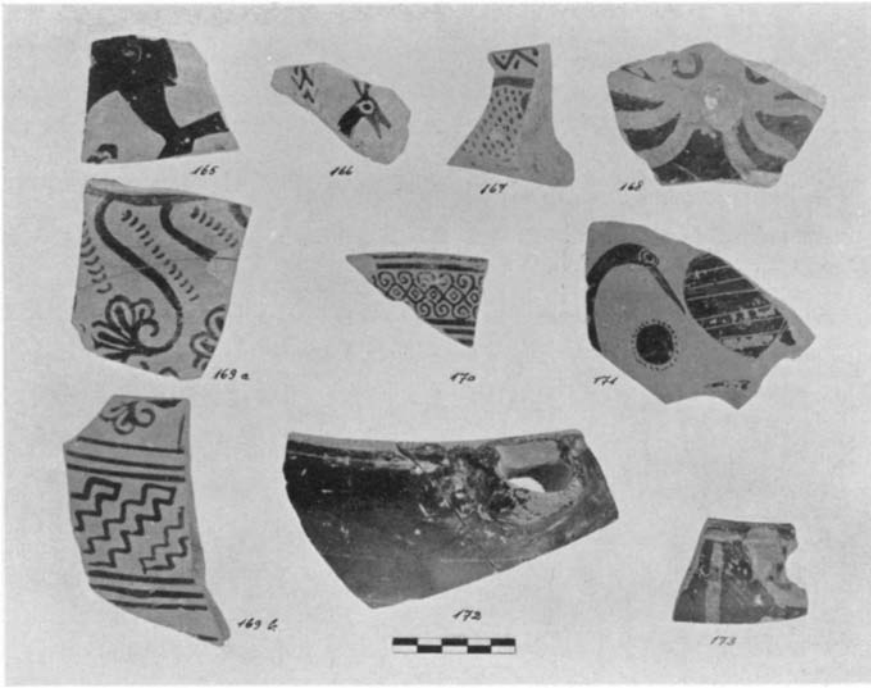

Fig. 43. Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds

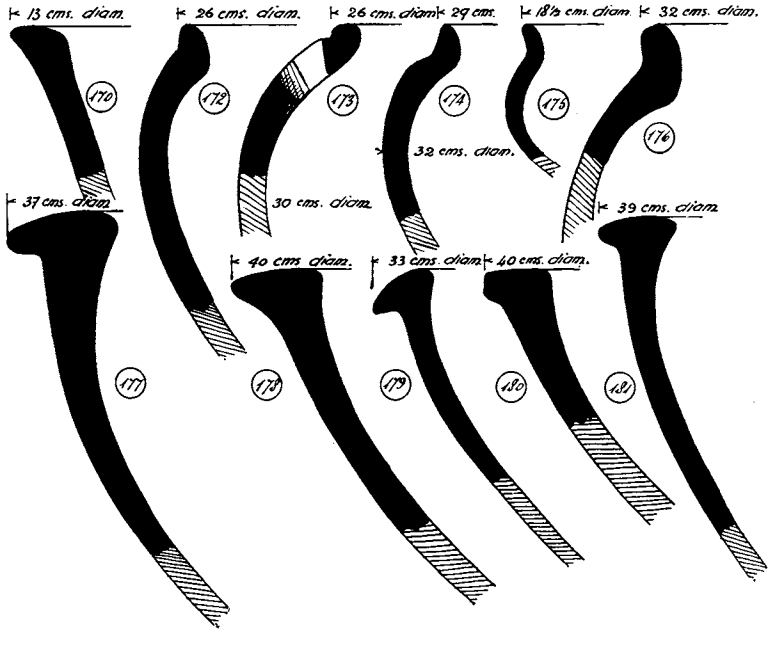

Fig. 44. Sherds from a Proto-attic Amphora and Bowls. Scale 1:2

and small examples like those from the Agora were found also at Phaleron and Eleusis and one, very possibly an Attic importation, was found in Rhodes (Kinch, *Vroulia,* p. 106, pl. 21, 4). An excellent example comes from the excavations of 1933 (No. **336**).

172–182. (P 856; P 1740–1750) Figs. 43–45

Fragments from bowls. Nos. **172–173** Light on Dark style; Nos. **174–177** Subgeometric; Nos. **178–182** Early Orientalizing.

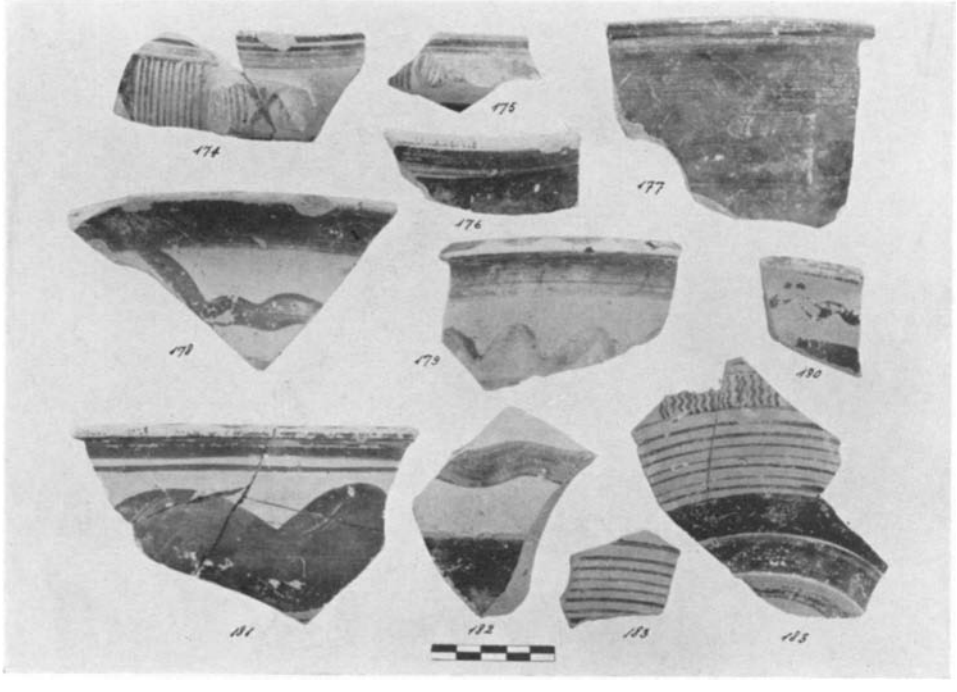

Fig. 45. Sherds from Proto-attic Bowls

183. (P 1750) Figs. 45–46

Fragmentary bowl decorated with lines and with a panel of vertical wavy lines at the top; two solid bands above the flat base. From the filling packed against wall A–A. A. H. 0.072 m.; W. 0.106 m. B. H. 0.042 m.; W. 0.044 m. Glazed inside. Much worn. An Attic version of a Protocorinthian skyphos.

184–193. (P 1751; P 857; P 1752–1756; P 836; P 1757–1758) Figs. 46–48

Fragments from small bowls of the Subgeometric and Early Orientalizing styles.

194. (P 1759) Figs. 48–49

Fragments of a large bowl decorated with deer (?) moving right; diamonds, swastikas, circles of dots, and elaborate palmette patterns as filling ornaments; lines above; glazed inside with reserved bands. From the filling over wall A–A. H. of largest fragment 0.08 m.; W. 0.10 m. Glaze dark

red inside. The restoration is fairly certain except for the exact arrangement and division of the panels. It may be compared with a Cycladic piece of which the design is heraldic (*Délos*, X, pl. IV, 26). For the palmettes cf. *C. V. A.*, Cambridge, 1, p. 4, fig. 1. Orientalizing style.

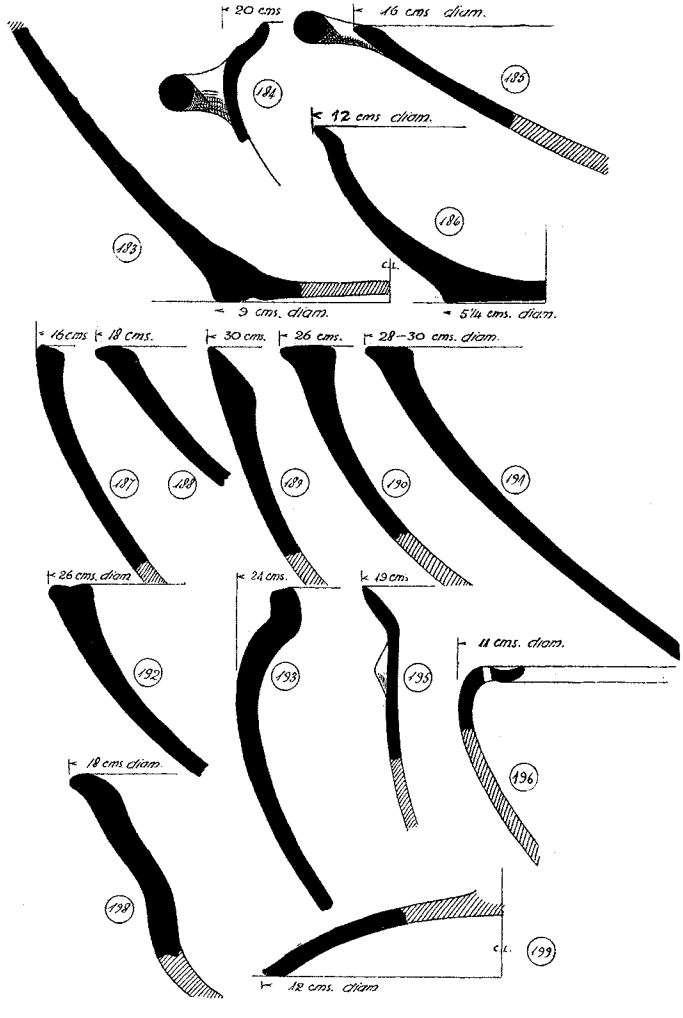

Fig. 46. Profiles of Proto-attic Bowls. Scale 1:2

195–199. (P 1760–1764) Figs. 46 and 50

Fragments of various shapes: No. **195** a Cup; No. **196** a Pyxis; Nos. **197–198** Kalathoi (?); No. **199** a Lid. Subgeometric; No. **199** is Orientalizing.

Kantharoi

Fragments of more than ten kantharoi were found in the votive deposit. They are evidently descended from the Geometric kantharoi, but hitherto the shape in Orient-

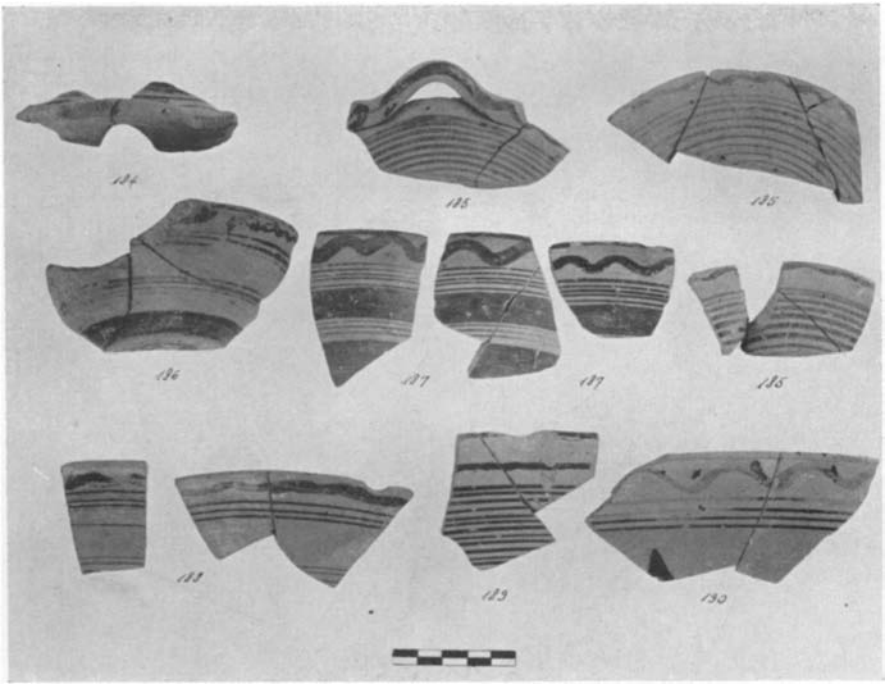

Fig. 47. Sherds from Proto-attic Bowls

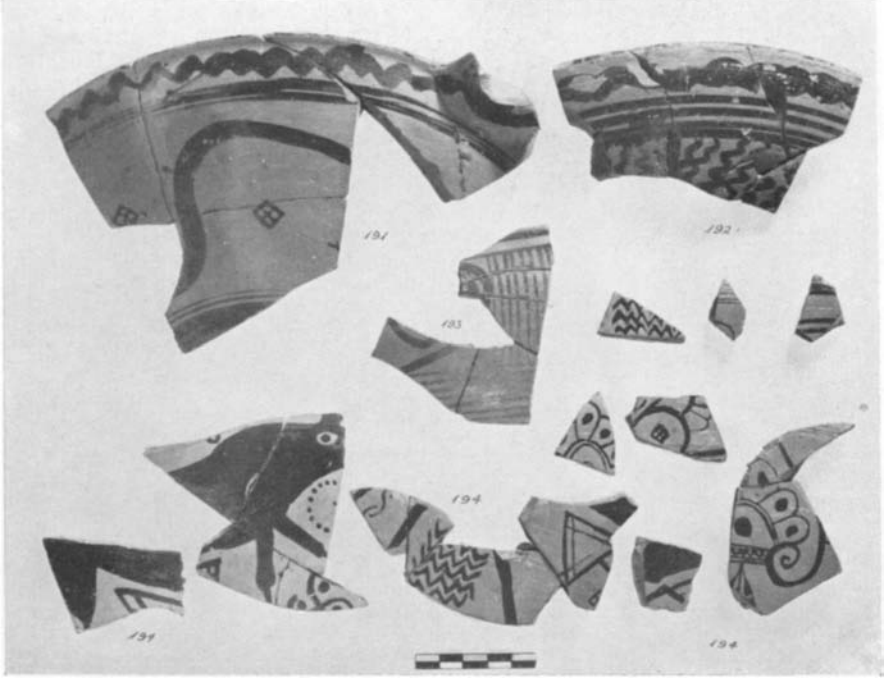

Fig. 48. Sherds from Proto-attic Bowls

alizing ware seems to have been discovered only in Boeotia (Collignon-Couve, pl. XVIII, No. 454; *C. V. A.*, Pays-Bas, 1, III G, pl. 2, No. 3; Burrows and Ure, *B. S. A.*, XIV, 1907–1908, p. 257). The technique of the examples from the Agora, however, with

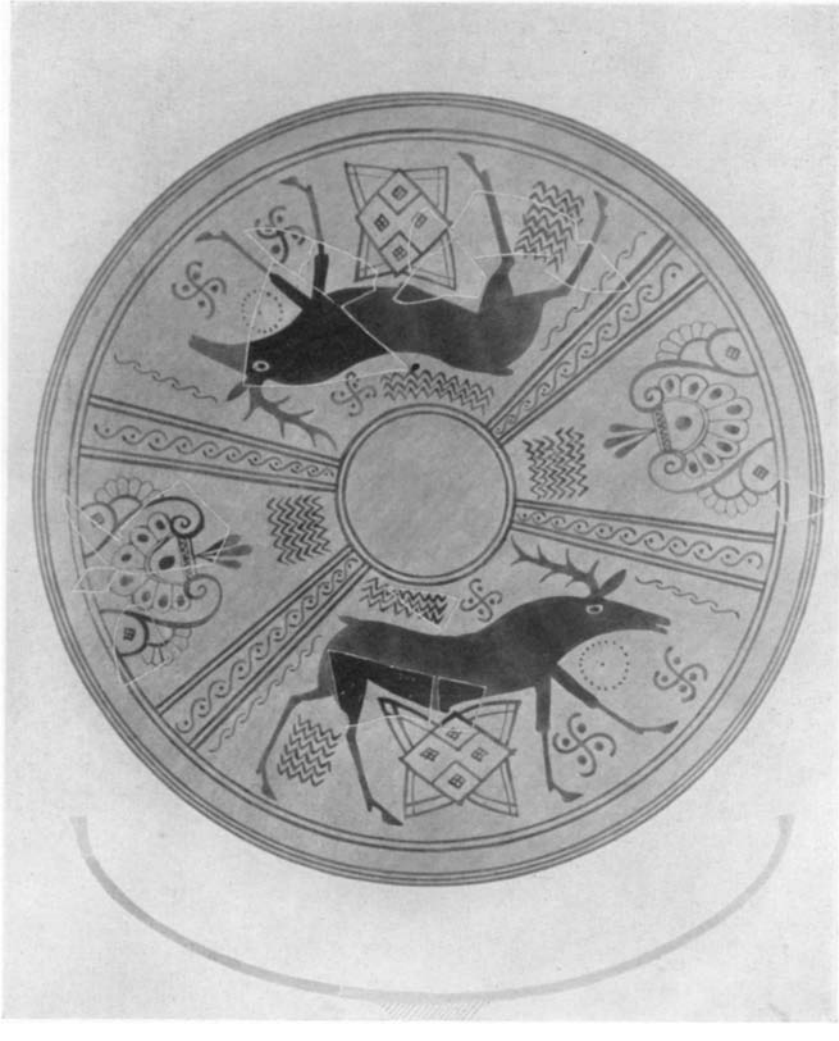

Fig. 49. Restoration of a Proto-attic Bowl, No. **194**. From a Water-color by P. de Jong. Scale *ca.* 1:5

a hard buff clay and lustrous glaze, is not Boeotian. Since none came to light in Phaleron, we may consider these as characteristic Athenian products of the early seventh century (cf. earlier parallels from Aegina, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 288, fig. 14, and from Attica, *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 54, fig. 17; and a tiny cup from Athens, *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905–1906, p. 89, fig. 11). A later example was found in 1933 (No. **331**).

Fig. 50. Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds

Fig. 51. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. **200**

200. (P 530) Fig. 51. *Anz.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 118, fig. 8

Deep kantharos with a low ring-base and ribbon handles. Two bands: double vertical zigzags and maeander, in reserved position on opposite sides; at the bottom, rays; on the handles, interlocking spirals. Glazed inside. From the votive deposit, together with Nos. **133–134, 197–198, 201, 304** B, **329** (see Fig. 2). H. 0.089 m.; with handles 0.113 m.; d. at rim 0.193 m.; at base 0.046 m. Glaze reddish brown. For the motives cf. Pfuhl, I, p. 71. The shape and patterns show close relations with Geometric. Early Orientalizing style.

201. (P 531) Fig. 52

Deep kantharos with ribbon handles. Five bands in a thick matt red paint on one side, six on the other; three inside. Found together with No. **200**; inside it, the bronze tripod No. **329** (see Fig. 2). H. 0.066 m.; with handles 0.078 m.; d. at rim 0.083 m.; at bottom 0.041 m. The unusual shape is somewhat related to a cup which Boehlau derives from a Geometric shape (*Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 51, fig. 11). The paint, which is unusual on a vase, is that of the technique of the shields and terracottas with which the vase was found. Subgeometric style.

Fig. 52. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. **201**. Scale 1:2

202. (P 214) Fig. 53

Fragmentary kantharos. Side A: a zone of water birds left in panels divided by a running dog pattern; three lines around the body, rays below; Side B: a zone of elongated rays pointing downward with dotted circles as filling ornaments in the upper zone; below as on side A; a line on the handle; glazed inside. H. 0.074 m.; long axis 0.084 m. Paler clay than that of the other kantharoi. In technique this cup differs from the others from the deposit, but there seems no reason to question its Attic origin. (Cf. *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 52, fig. 13. For the rays, cf. *J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, p. 51, fig. 4. Island style.) Early Orientalizing style.

203. (P 832) Fig. 54

Fragmentary kantharos. On the upper part, a zone of zigzags in panels; around the body, a chain of diamonds, and above the ring-base spirals; glazed inside. From the votive deposit. H. 0.103 m.; d. 0.143 m. Glaze reddish-brown. For the motives, cf. Protocorinthian vases; e.g. Johansen, pl. XIX, 3 and an Island Geometric kantharos (*B.C.H.*, XXXV, 1911, p. 381, fig. 43). Early Orientalizing style.

204. (P 579) Figs. 55–56

Fragmentary kantharos decorated in two zones over rays above the ring-base: Side A: above, crosses with filling triangles and below, birds' necks and heads in a row; Side B: above, heraldic spurred spirals with a filling triangle and below, alternate double zigzags and dot-rosettes; double spirals on the handle. Glazed inside with reserved ring band and a dot under the foot. One sherd, missing in the photograph, has been added for the water-color. From the votive deposit (see Fig. 2). H. 0.144 m.; without handle 0.116 m.; d. base 0.057 m. Cf. No. **213** and the Vourvá skyphos (*Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, pl. X), on which the same theme is developed. Early Orientalizing style.

Fig. 53. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. **202**

205. (P 1765) Fig. 57

Fragmentary kantharos decorated above with a zone of disks pierced by vertical lines; filling outline triangles; below, three lines and rays; glazed inside. From beside wall A–A. H. *ca.* 0.113 m.; restored long axis: 0.122 m. In technique like No. **203**, possibly by the same hand. (Cf. for the disk motive, Johansen, pl. XXI, 1.) Early Orientalizing style.

206. (P 1766) Fig. 50

Fragment from the upper part. Above, a zone of false spirals; below, a zone of crosses between three wavy lines; glazed inside. From the votive deposit. H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.095 m. Red glaze. By the same hand as Nos. **203** and **205**? Early Orientalizing style.

207. (P 1767) Fig. 50

Rim fragment decorated with birds moving to right and a geometric pattern below; glazed inside. From the votive deposit. H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.047 m. By the same hand as No. **204**? Early Orientalizing style.

208. (P 1768) Fig. 50

Ring-base, decorated with rays; a band and dot under the foot; glazed inside. From the disturbed filling. H. 0.018 m.; W. 0.065 m. Perhaps from the same vase as No. **207**. (Cf. No. **204**, possibly by the same hand.)

Fig. 54. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. **203**. Scale *ca.* 1:2½

209. (P 1769) Fig. 50

Rim fragment decorated above with zigzags and filling dots; below, a black band and a purple band below that; glazed inside. From the edge of Pit F. H. 0.035 m.; W. 0.038 m. The applied purple seems to indicate that this sherd is not to be dated before the middle of the seventh century; it is probably the latest kantharos fragment.

Oinochoai

In Geometric oinochoai, the neck, usually high, is always set off sharply from the shoulder. In Proto-attic oinochoai, the neck is either much reduced in height or merged with the body in a curve on the same principle as that employed on certain of the amphorae (see above, p. 575). These squat oinochoai are clearly influenced by Corinthian shapes, but they maintain simpler and less sophisticated lines. Variants have been found in Phaleron (*Arch. Delt.*, 1916, pp. 40f., figs. 40–42).

Fig. 55. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. **204**

210. (P 754) Fig. 58

Fragmentary oinochoe with a slender neck offset sharply from the shoulder; a double handle. In the shoulder panel: a rider on a horse walking left, holding a short club in his right hand in front of him and a long flail or whip(?) in his left behind; his head and body in outline. Projecting forward below the head of the horse a protruding object decorated with loops.

From the trench for wall D–D against the apsidal wall at its eastern end (see Plan, Fig. 2). H. (as restored) 0.23 m.; d. 0.125 m. Glaze much peeled and surface damaged.

Fig. 56. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. **204**. From a Water-color by P. de Jong

The condition of this vase makes interpretation difficult. The rider carries objects which are so crudely drawn that they cannot be identified with certainty, but on analogy with contemporary drawings, it seems to me that the object in the left hand may be interpreted as a whip. The object in front of the horse may be explained as the head of a second horse, grazing, although the type of mane is quite different from that of the first horse. Grazing animals are a common Proto-attic motive. This interpretation is suggested by the resemblance of the loops to the drawing of horses' manes on the Munich krater (*Jahrb.*, XXII, 1907, pl. 1) and on a pyxis in Athens (*Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 55, fig. 20) where the other type of mane also appears. On the pyxis also a second horse is indicated by drawing the head alone, no attempt being made to show the second set of legs. The subject of a rider, often accompanied by a second horse, occurs on contemporary vases elsewhere (Pfuhl, fig. 105; *Jahrb.*, XXII, 1907, p. 80, fig. 3; cf. *J.H.S.*, XIX, 1899, pl. VIII, for the Geometric antecedent). The style is Subgeometric and the date lies in the late eighth century.

211. (P 837) Fig. 59

Fragmentary oinochoe with trefoil mouth and a double handle. Glazed all over except on one side of the handle. Decorated with yellowish white lines running around the neck and above and below the base of the handle. On either side of the handle a vertical white line between the horizontal lines makes a panel. In the panel on one side a rosette, and on the other a swastika painted in yellowish-white. From the votive deposit, southern end, scattered. H. (as restored) 0.283 m.; d. 0.178 m. Brownish-black glaze of rather poor quality. Light on Dark style.

Fig. 57. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. **205**. Scale *ca.* 1 : 2½

212. (P 1770) Fig. 50

Similar handle and bits of the body glazed solid with one white line around the neck and two below the handle. From a Pit. H. 0.13 m.; W. 0.074 m. Black glaze much peeled. Light on Dark style.

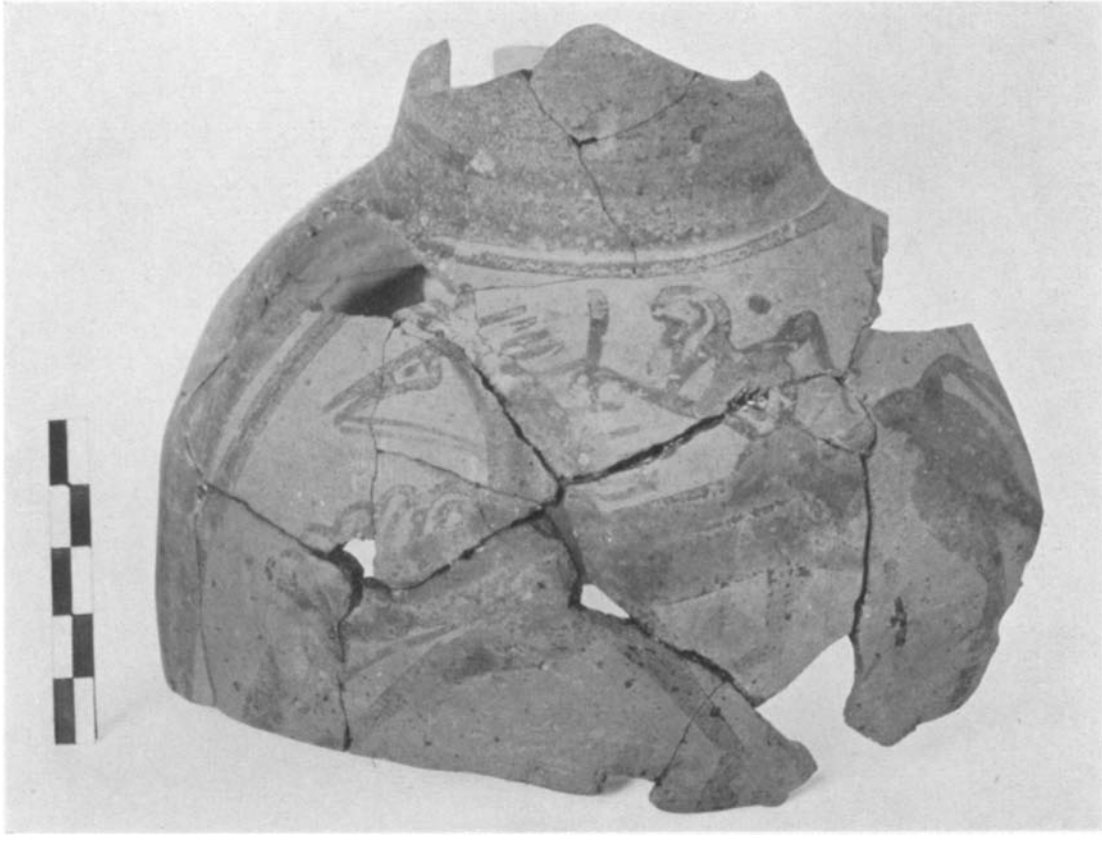

Fig. 58. Shoulder of Proto-attic Oinochoe, No. **210**

213. (P 894) Fig. 60

Fragmentary squat oinochoe with a trefoil mouth and a double handle. In a panel on the neck bordered by zigzags, a palmette design between spurred volutes; below, lines covering the rest of the body; base missing. Scattered over the whole area. H. (as restored) with handle 0.265 m.; d. 0.175 m. Glaze black fired to red on one side, much peeled.

The common elements of palmette and spurred volute are here skilfully disposed into a panel on a surface of marked curvature. The spiral with spurred ends occurs also on No. **204** and on a krater in Cambridge (*C.V.A.*, Cambridge, 1, pl. II, 7; p. 4). A somewhat similar example is in the Aegina Museum. The shape and the lines around the lower

part indicate an early date, probably the late eighth century (cf. *Arch. Delt.*, 1916, p. 41, fig. 41, No. 3). Early Orientalizing style.

214. (P 912) Fig. 61

Fragmentary oinochoe. Around the ring-base, lines; above, rays. Glazed solid behind. Set off by two lines in a panel of uncertain width, a lion's head right; mouth open; paw uplifted below.

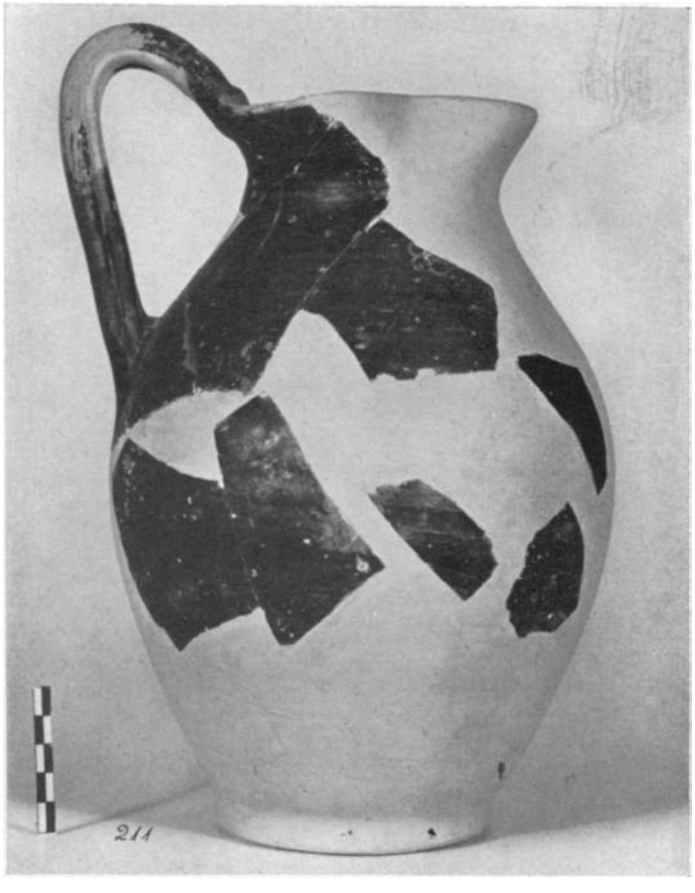

Fig. 59. Proto-attic Oinochoe, No. 211

Traces of a filling ornament above, probably a solid triangle ending in a spiral-hook; below, traces of the paw of another lion (?); behind, parallel ornaments. From Area A–C, scattered. H. (as restored) 0.21 m.; d. 0.175 m. Black glaze with dilute brown for lines and details.

The evidence is insufficient for certain restoration. It seems probable that two lion protomes faced each other with uplifted paws as on the Burgon lebes (Fig. 91; cf. Lamb, *C.V.A.*, Cambridge, pl. II, 7). The style, however, is not that of the lebes nor of the jug from Phaleron (Pfuhl, fig. 83, Athens National Museum No. 322), which may be by one hand. Lion protomes occur frequently on Island vases (*J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, p. 206; for the drawing of the profile, with its rounded muzzle, cf. pl. X). Orientalizing style probably *ca.* 660 B.C.

215. (P 835) Fig. 50

Fragments (4) from the body; in a panel bordered by lines the body and legs of a lion walking right, with diamond and spiral-hook filling ornaments. From beside wall A–A. A: H. 0.079 m.; W. 0.091 m. B: H. 0.087 m.; W. 0.118 m. C: H. 0.054 m.; W. 0.089 m.

Fig. 60. Proto-attic Oinochoe, No. **213**, Restored. From a Water-color by P. de Jong. Scale 1:2

The style of drawing is like that of the Burgon lebes and the filling ornaments belong to that cycle. The finish, however, is more like that of No. **214** than like that of the Phaleron jug, which is much coarser. Early Orientalizing style.

Fig. 61. Proto-attic Oinochoe, No. **214**

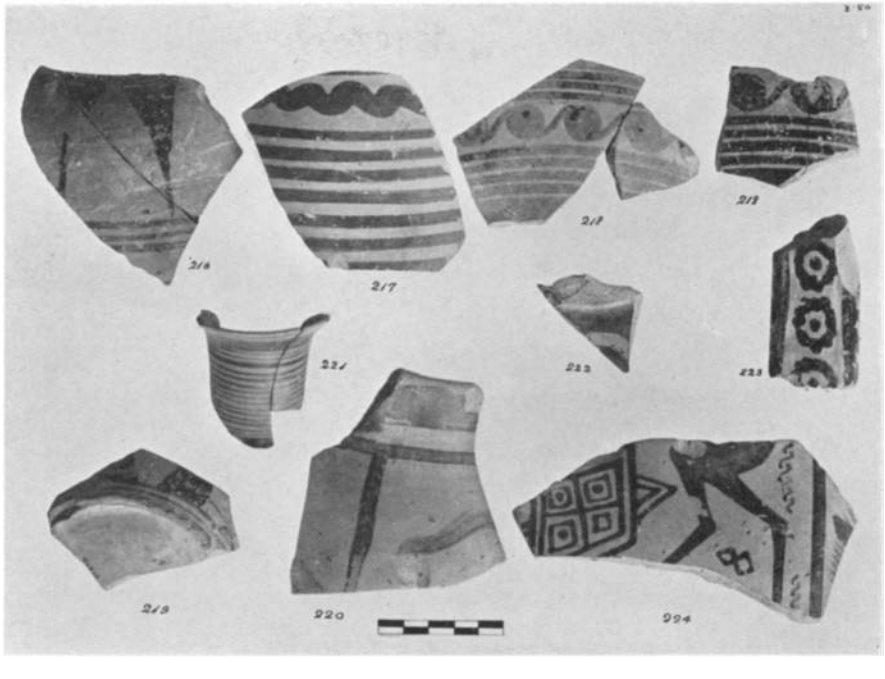

Fig. 62. Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds

216–222. (P 1771–1777) Figs. 62–63

Fragments of Subgeometric and Early Orientalizing styles.

Miscellaneous

223. (P 1225) Fig. 62

Fragmentary handle from an amphora, decorated on the sides with bars, on the front with large rosettes between bands. From Section Delta of the excavation. H. 0.07 m.; W. 0.035 m. An interesting forerunner of the usual late seventh and sixth century type of handle with rosettes. Compare the Kynosarges amphora and the Vourvá loutrophoros (*Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, pl. XI; cf. Nilsson, *Jahrb.*, XVIII, 1903, p. 141). Orientalizing style.

224. (P 221) Fig. 62

Fragment from the body of an amphora showing in a panel the hind-quarters of a horse with diamond and running-dog filling-ornaments; a bit of a grazing horse's ear and mane at the right. H. 0.073 m.; W. 0.135 m. Glaze burned red on the horse's body. A good example of the style a little earlier than that of the New York Nessos amphora and therefore included, although it came from an area far from the deposit. Early Orientalizing style.

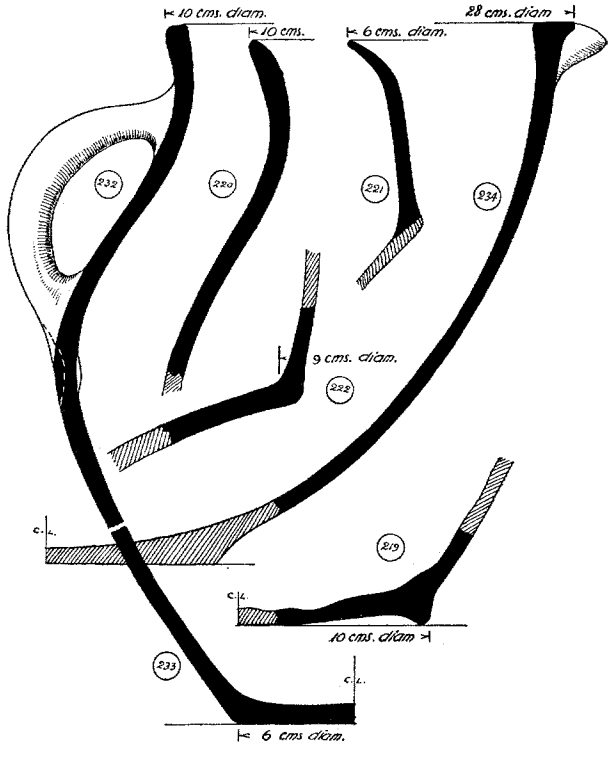

Fig. 63. Profiles of Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds (Nos. **219–222**), and of Sherds of Household Ware (Nos. **232–234**). Scale 1:2

Household Ware

Together with the painted ware, a great deal of coarse household pottery was found, especially in Area A–C. It is made by hand of highly micaceous clay and fired brown to reddish in color. This clay resembles that used for household ware in later periods; it may come from Aegina. Although some of this ware probably belongs to the Geometric period (cf. the specimen found in the house-floor, No. **20**, see above, p. 555), the major part is assignable from the context to the seventh century. It differs entirely in the size of the pots, in their shapes and in their hard surfaces from the polished incised Geometric ware. But it closely resembles household ware of the sixth century. In smooth surface and thinness of fabric, it is finer than any similar prehistoric wares, as well as those of the fifth century and later. The shapes are few: wide-mouthed jars

with one or two handles, deep bowls, and pitchers. Decoration in incision is simple, but not uncommon.

Similar incised household wares have been found in various places, notably at Anavyssos in Attica (*Prakt.*, 1911, pp. 124–125) of the Geometric period, and in Phaleron (*Arch. Delt.*, 1916, p. 26, fig. 8). Similar ware has also been found at Corinth (*A. J. A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 414 ff., fig. 8).

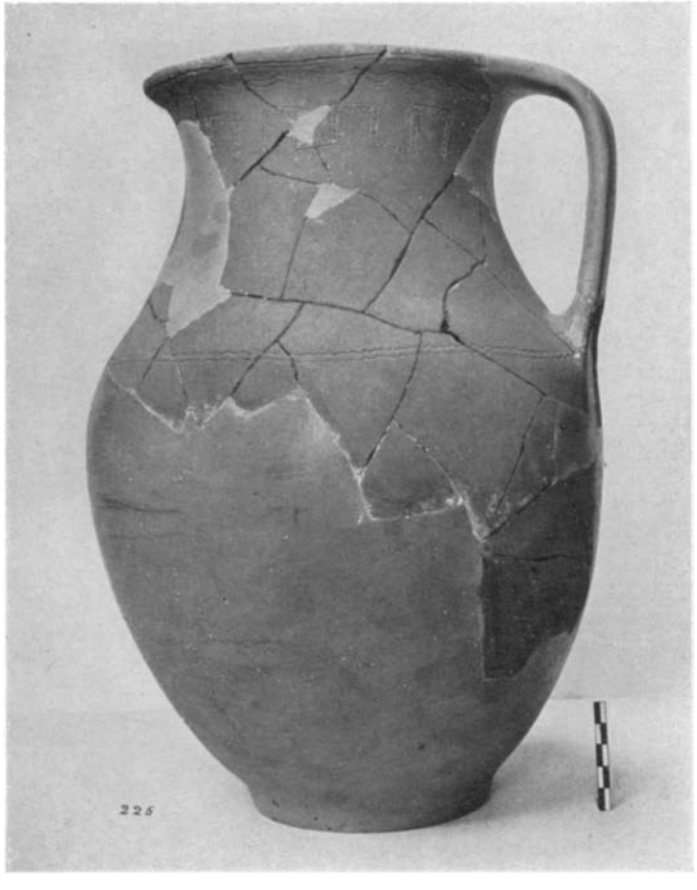

Fig. 64. Household Jar, No. **225**

225. (P 890) Fig. 64

Wide-mouthed jar, with one band handle, decorated with incised pairs of wavy lines around the lip, neck, and body from the base of the handle; also along the edges of the handle. On the neck, maeander dotted; on the handle, chevron dotted. Pieces scattered throughout the area. H. (as restored) 0.36 m.; d. of mouth 0.188 m.; greatest d. 0.252 m. Two thumb marks at the base of the handle. The band handle is not so common as the round vertical handle.

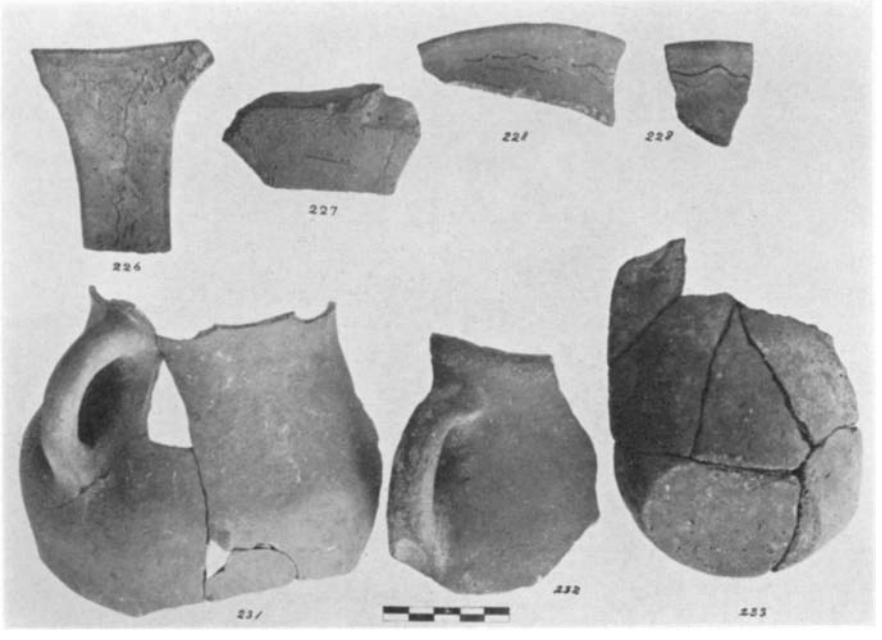

Fig. 65. Sherds from Household Ware

226–228. (P 1778–1780) Figs. 65–66

Fragments from household jars with incised decoration.

229. (P 891) Fig. 67

Wide-mouthed jar with a low ring-base. From Area A–C. H. (as restored) 0.335 m.; greatest d. 0.245 m.; base d. 0.092 m. Second handle and side restored in plaster. This type of handle and of base is very common.

230. (P 533) Fig. 68

Small pitcher with a narrow neck and one handle; high ring-base. Handle missing. From above stratum 2 between walls A–A and C–C (see Fig. 8). H. 0.125 m.; d. 0.10 m. A common type.

231–243. (P 534; P 1781–1792) Figs. 63, 65, 66, 69

Fragments from household jugs, bowls, and amphorae, in some cases decorated with incisions.

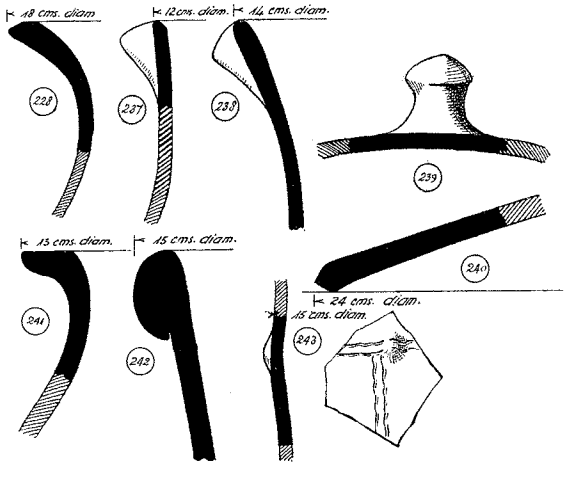

Fig. 66. Sherds from Household Ware. Scale 1:2

Household Objects

Although loom weights were not found in absolutely undisturbed Geometric deposits,

it is possible that some of those from the upper levels belong to that period. They have, therefore, been arranged according to shape, ranging from the almost rectangular examples with the hole near the centre to the common pyramidal type. The former are taken to be the earlier on the ground of the discovery of two upon the Geometric floors and of another in a Geometric deposit elsewhere in the Agora. They also resemble

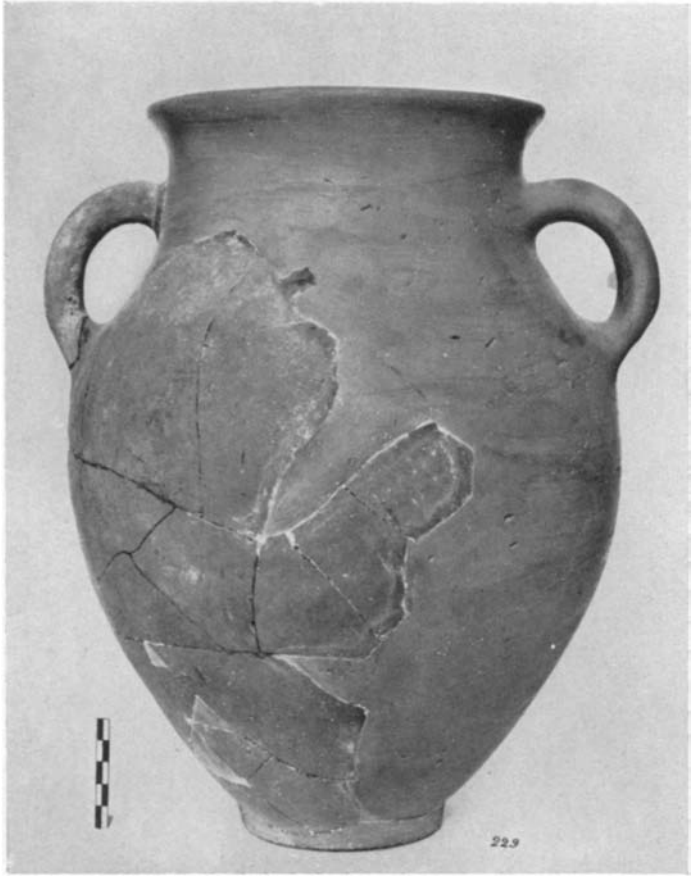

Fig. 67. Household Jar, No. **229**

those which were found in a Geometric deposit in Crete (Hall, *Vrokastro*, p. 122, fig. 73; Levi, *Annuario*, X–XII, 1927–1929, p. 479, fig. 591). From the context, the pyramidal examples can be assigned to the seventh century. These are usually decorated with a stamped rosette or two. The spindle whorls are of insignificant number and shape. Two lamp fragments were found in the upper deposit, which are of very early type, with an open bowl and unbridged nozzle. They will be published later with the other lamps from the Agora.

Fig. 68. Household Jug, No. **230.** Scale 3 : 5

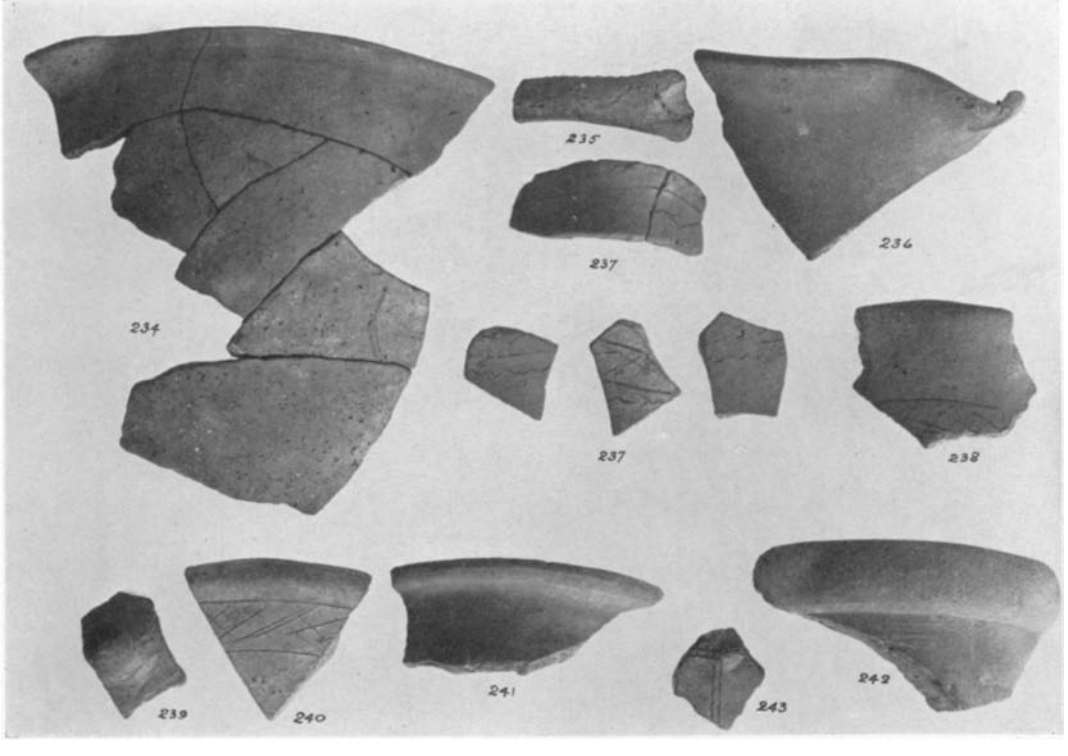

Fig. 69. Sherds from Household Ware. Scale *ca.* 1 : $2^1/_2$

The clay of the following objects is buff, with the exception of No. **250**, which is made of gray clay with a hard surface.

Loom Weights

Geometric

244–245. (MC 24–25) Fig. 70

Three other almost identical examples were found.

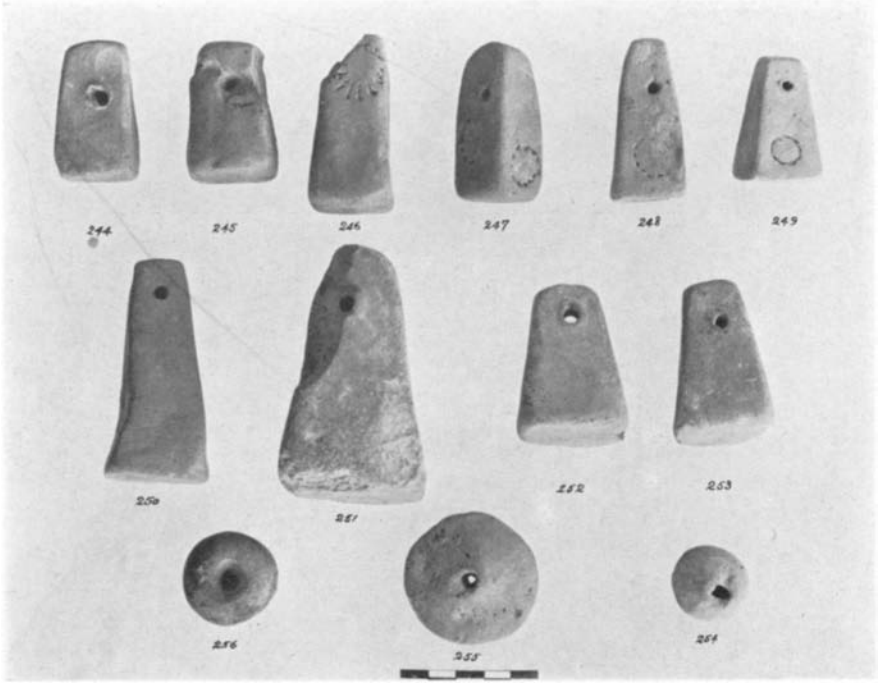

Fig. 70. Loom Weights and Spindle Whorls

Proto-attic

246–253. (MC 26; MC 1; T 320; SS 340; MC 27–30) Fig. 70

Spindle Whorls

254–256. (T 229; T 238; MC 31) Fig. 70

Five other similar examples were found, as well as the certainly Geometric example listed above, No. **96.**

Disks

As we have noted above (p. 564), 119 disks cut out of pottery were found scattered throughout the votive deposit and the Area A–C. Two others are cut out of soft stone, one of which is marked with a rough cross (No. **275**). A mark also seems to be incised on the back of another (No. **260**). The surface is often much scratched and worn. The shape and size vary considerably (largest: d. 0.083 m.; smallest 0.028 m.). None is bored

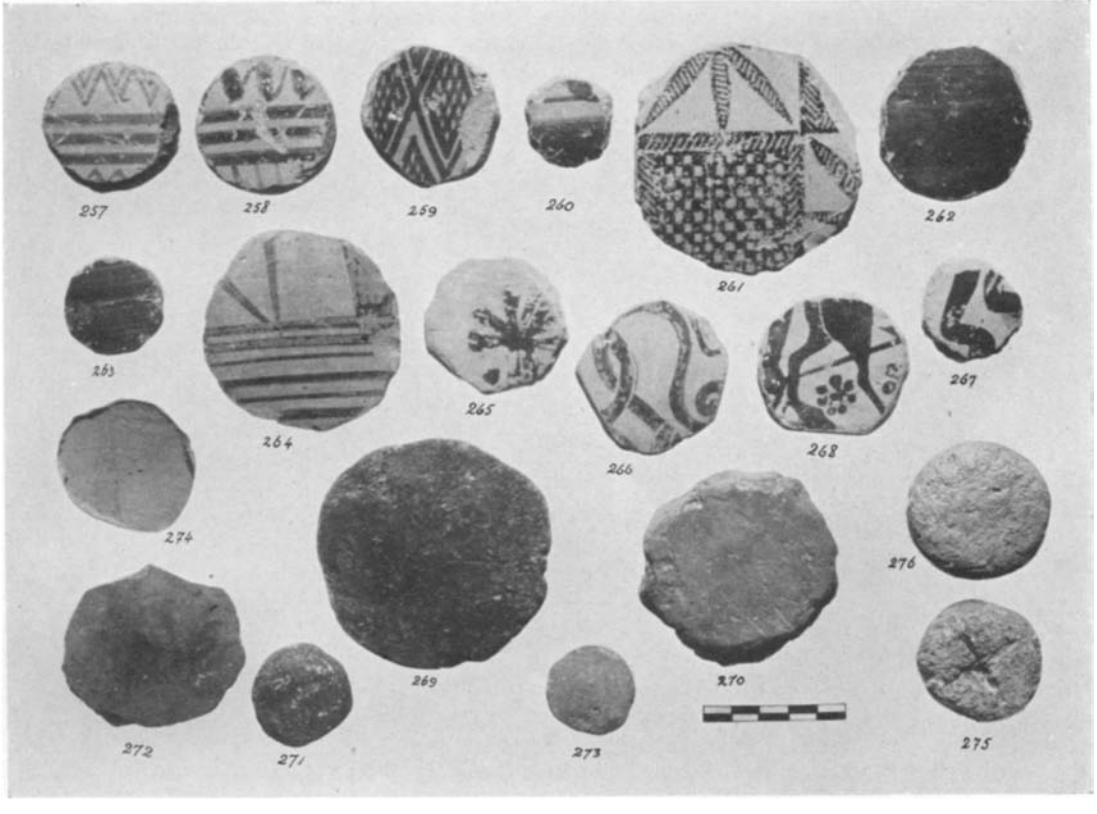

Fig. 71. Disks Cut from Geometric and Proto-attic Pottery

(cf. similar examples mostly bored, Schmidt, *Troj. Altertümer*, p. 223). These disks may be interpreted as stoppers for dedicatory vases or possibly as counters for a game. Several other examples, usually of Geometric pottery, come from other areas. Classical specimens are not unknown. Characteristic samples of each class are listed below.

Clay

Geometric

257–263. (P 538; P 1793–1795; P 471; P 1796–1797) Fig. 71

There are in addition thirty-four disks covered with a solid glaze, most of which are probably Geometric but some may be Proto-attic.

Proto-attic

264–267. (P 1798–1799; P 537; P 1800) Fig. 71

268. (P 539) Fig. 71

Cut from a plaque of which the bottom surface is preserved, showing the hindquarters of a horse, part of a chariot, wheel, and pole, with joined dot-rosettes as filling ornaments. Supplementary purple and incisions. H. 0.05 m.; W. 0.052 m.; T. 0.01 m. Black glaze laid directly on the clay. Cf. the earlier votive plaques Nos. **277** ff. This resembles more closely well-known Corinthian and Black-figured plaques and a relief piece (cf. Waldstein, *Arg. Her.*, II, pl. XLIX, 6; p. 53). Cf. the New York Nessos amphora for the drawing of the feet. This probably dates *ca.* 625 B.C.

There are twenty-five other examples decorated with straight or curving lines, which are probably Proto-attic and six, undecorated, of Proto-attic fabric.

Miscellaneous

269–274. (P 1801–1806) Fig. 71

Nos. **269—273** are of coarse household pottery of which thirty-three other examples were found; No. **274** is of Corinthian ware.

Stone

275–276. (ST 55–56) Fig. 71

Cut from soft poros.

TERRACOTTA PLAQUES

277. (T 175) Figs. 72–73. *Illustrated London News,* Sept. 3, 1932, p. 345 (color); *A. J. A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 388, fig. 7

A complete plaque with holes in the upper corners; the surface damaged at the lower left hand side. Buff, slightly gritty clay covered by a thick white slip, front and back. On the front over the white, a thin red wash covers the entire surface. In the centre stands a female figure with her arms bent upward and her hands palm out with the fingers spread. Her costume is girded at the waist. It apparently represents an outer and an inner garment. Above the waist, the outer garment, which is on the left side, is painted red, the inner, on the right, yellow. This arrangement of the garments is reversed below the waist. On the red garment: above, horizontal divisions by three bluish-green lines; below, bluish-green circles and dots in three rows of eight. On the yellow garment: above, two diagonal rows of four red dot-rosettes; below, a spiral-hook and rosettes in red. The head down to the root of the neck is in mould-made relief. The hair, painted red, is arranged in short curls on the forehead and long wavy locks down to the shoulders; around the head a diadem, painted bluish-green, with dots. The arms, eyebrows, and eyes (but not the lips) are painted red: bluish-green on the irises of the eyes; red pupils.

On either side a snake rears upward. The one on the left is enclosed in a red border, which has a triple bud pattern, red with bluish-green touches, as a filling ornament. The snake, which is horned, is painted red with bluish-green dots. The one on the right extends its fangs; it is painted bluish-green with red dots, and has bluish-green dot-rosettes as filling ornaments.

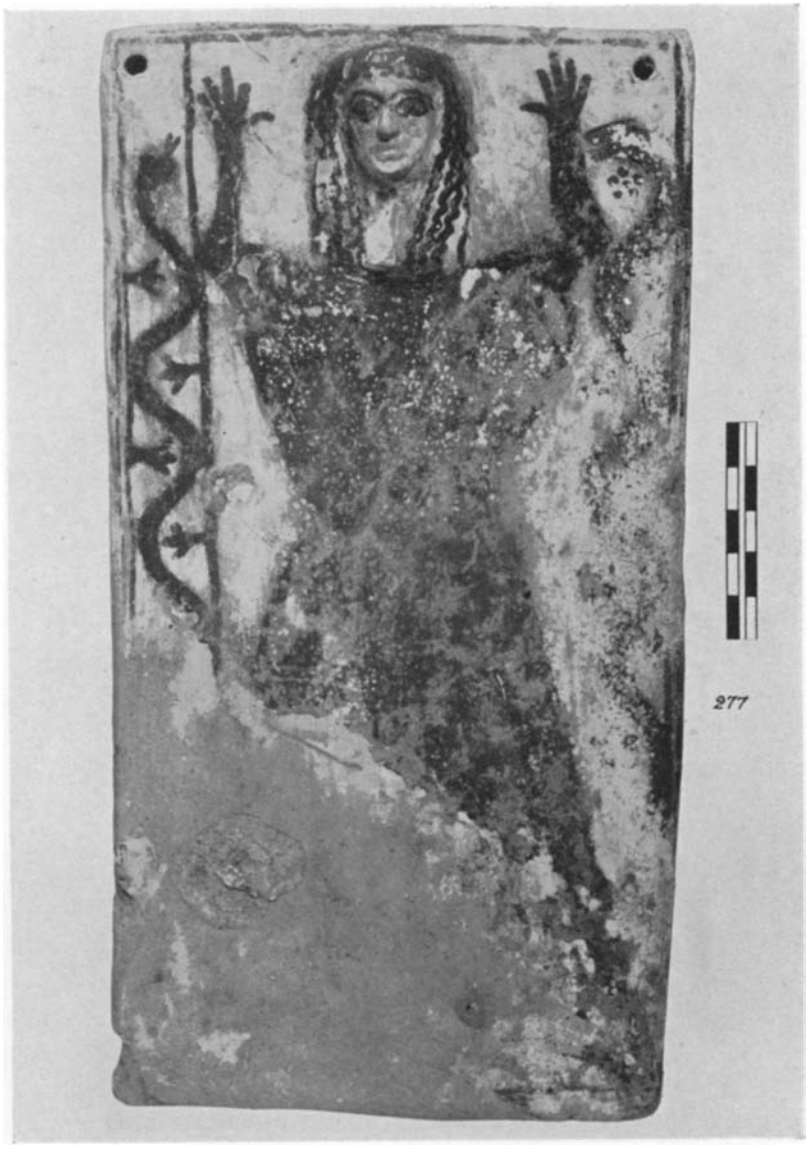

Fig. 72. Terracotta Plaque, No. 277

From above the stone platform at the southeastern end of the house (see Plan, Fig. 2) near the surface of the votive deposit. H. 0.248 m.; W. at top 0.133 m.; at bottom 0.125 m.; T. 0.011 m.

278. (T 184) Fig. 74

Fragment from the side of a similar plaque. A border of red lines, containing bluish-green curves; within, part of a twisting snake, red, edged by bluish-green dots. H. 0.026 m.; W. 0.032 m.; T. 0.0055 m.

279. (T 412) Fig. 74

Pierced corner fragment from a similar plaque. On the side a narrow border of red lines with bluish-green between; above: a broad red band; within: part of a twisting snake (?) with a bit of applied bluish-green. H. 0.052 m.; W. 0.029 m.; T. 0.005 m.

There are two other fragments from similar plaques, with traces of a red border.

280. (T 413) Fig. 74

Pierced corner fragment from a plaque of fairly coarse reddish clay without a slip; traces of red paint down the side. H. 0.05 m.; W. 0.021 m.; T. 0.006 m.

The technique of these plaques makes them important documents in the history of Greek painting. The complete plaque (No. **277**) is the earliest Athenian painting in polychromy that we possess; indeed, nothing so elaborate in color survives until the white-ground lekythoi of the fifth century.[1] Instead of the traditional black, white, and red, we have white, red, green, and yellow. This painting has little relation to the neat, colored drawings of the Thermon metopes or of the usual terracotta plaques.[2] The color is varied within the outline. Complementary colors are superimposed—the red snake has green dots and the green snake red dots. The chiton is gay with contrasting patterns. Moreover, gradation of tone is attempted in the dilute reddish white of the background and the face. The fact, however, that the arms are painted in solid red shows that the silhouette tradition is still strong and that not yet had Greek painters adopted the convention of differentiating in color the flesh of the sexes.[3] Indeed, the appeal of the picture lies in its barbaric color. The drawing is clumsy and careless; neither sense of line nor of form has yet been developed even in Athens.

For there can be no doubt that this plaque is Athenian. The technique is that employed on the numerous figurines and shields from the deposit. This technique of polychromy in matt color is clearly an innovation in Attica where figurines of the Geometric period were painted with glaze. It presumably comes from the east. Cyprus seems to be the home of polychromy, and relief plaques were painted there in color. Thence the technique spread to Crete. The polychromy of Cretan Orientalizing vases, which includes matt black in various shades, red, and yellow, closely resembles that of the mainland.[4] The same technique appears on a set of small unpublished plaques from Eleusis. It was apparently abandoned for plaques when the black-figured technique was developed, as we know from the funeral pinakes. For a later example from the deposit painted in vase technique, see No. **268**.

Another curious technical point is the use on this plaque of a mould for the head and of paint for the body. It is found on the small plaques from Eleusis and on others

[1] Cf. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, 1929, p. 155.

[2] Skias, *Arch. Eph.*, 1917, pp. 208 f.; fig. 19. The plaque in the lower left-hand corner should be turned around; actually it shows the bottom of the dress and the feet of a woman. P. Wolters, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 121.

[3] Cf. *J. H. S.*, XXII, 1902, p. 34; Swindler, *Anc. Ptg.*, p. 135.

[4] Payne, *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927–1928, p. 281.

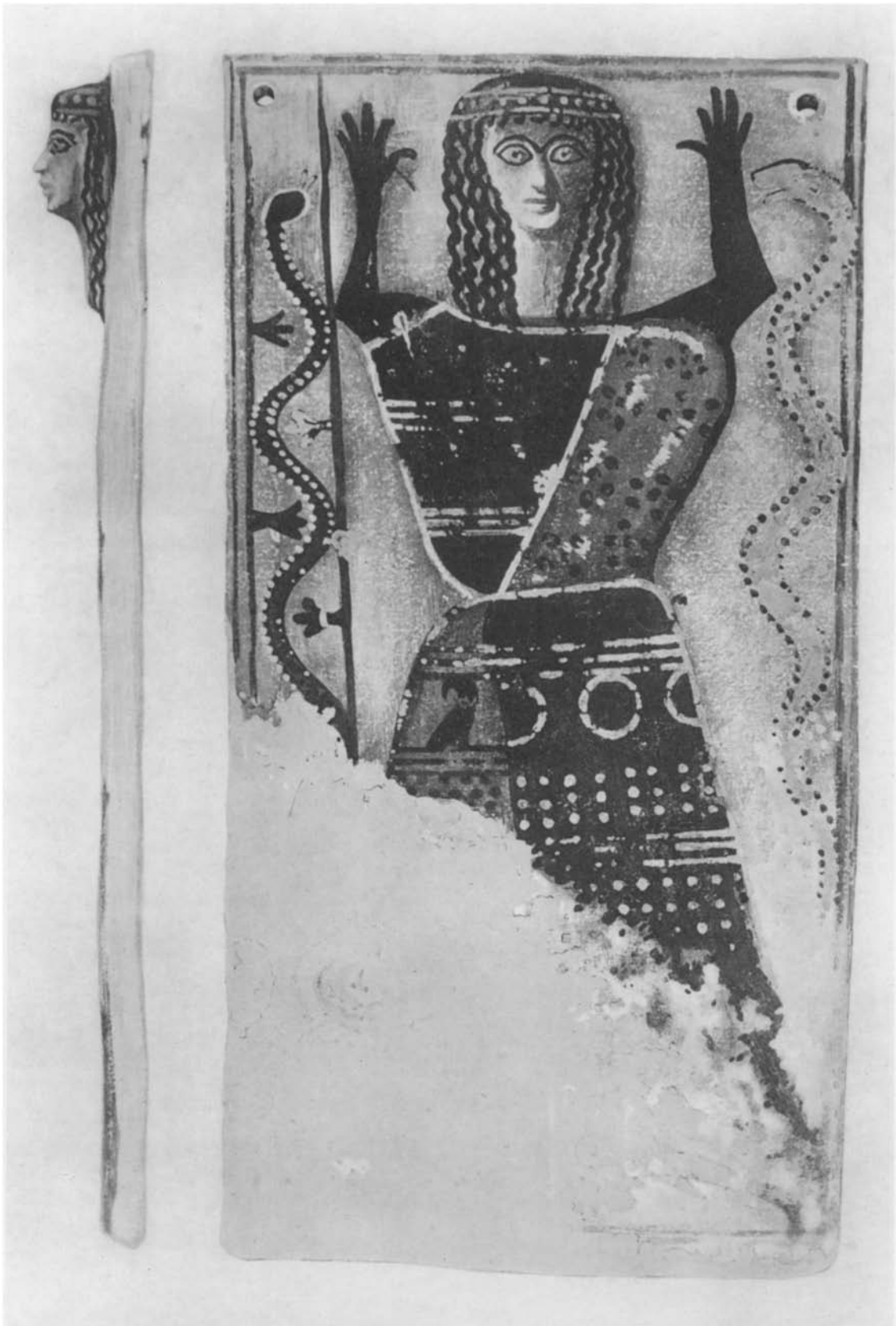

Fig. 73. Terracotta Plaque, No. 277. From a Water-color by P. de Jong; the Profile by M. Simpkin. Slightly under Actual Size

from the Acropolis. On these, of which the style is later, only part of the body appears; they form the transition between our type and simple protomes.[1] A large moulded terracotta head from Sparta seems also to have had a flat, painted body of the same sort.[2] Again we find the technique on a terracotta situla from Crete.[3]

From the style, our plaque is to be dated a little before the middle of the seventh century. The head has the flat skull, with hair arranged in long locks and snail-shell curls over the forehead, that appears on Cretan and Protocorinthian heads of that period.[4]

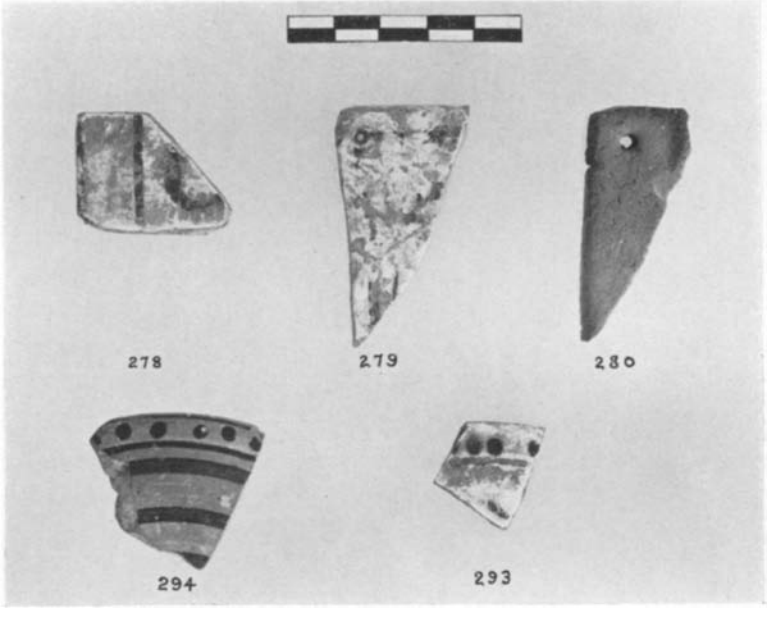

Fig. 74. Fragments from Terracotta Plaques (Nos. **278–280**), and Shields (Nos. **293–294**)

Characteristic also are the high set eyes, the pointed chin, the long neck, and the profile with its sharp nose and pursed mouth. The Spartan head just mentioned is similar, if a little broader, and its modelling is more careful. It is to be dated a little after the middle of the century with early Laconian II pottery. The style of our plaque is also a little earlier than that of the Thermon metopes which Payne dates 650–630 B.C.[5] On these metopes also appear the curious divisions of the chiton into red and yellow sections which do not represent with accuracy any known costume.[6] It is probably a decorative

[1] S. Casson and D. Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, Pt. II, pp. 334 f.; pp. 397 ff.
[2] Woodward, *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927–1928, p. 86, No. 32, pl. I a–b.
[3] D. Levi, *Annuario*, X–XII, 1927–1929, p. 330, fig. 441.
[4] Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 47; Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5; p. 234.
[5] *B. S. A.*, XXVII, 1925–1926, p. 132.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

scheme like that on a jug from Arkades in Crete and on the Spartan ivories.[1] The designs, particularly the spiral-hook, are those of the Proto-attic repertory.

The significance of the gesture of raising the hands palm outward has been much debated. It is common in pre-Greek art, both in Mycenaean figurines and in Cretan terracottas, bronzes and gems.[2] It is usually interpreted as a gesture of adoration, which survived from Mycenaean times, apparently through Cyprus and the East, down into the Greek period.[3] The parallels nearest to our example are both from Crete: one on a relief plaque from Mathià and on vases from Arkades and Knossos.[4] On the former no attribute of divinity is indicated. The similar figure on the famous Boeotian relief pithos is, however, clearly a goddess.[5] The diadem and aspect of our figure also seem to indicate that she is no mortal woman. But early terracottas show that in the confusion of primitive thought no sharp distinction was made between the mortal and the divine being. The worshipper could acquire merit by identifying herself with the goddess.

One of the difficulties in the interpretation of our plaque is the uncertainty regarding the significance of the snakes in the design. Rearing snakes are often painted on late Geometric vases merely as a decorative motive.[6] On an unpublished early Boeotian oinochoe in the Louvre, however, a snake rears up between two women who raise their hands in astonishment or in adoration. This instance and the fact that the snakes appear on our other fragments of plaques suggest that the scene had originally a significance as a whole. Possibly the significance was sufficiently forgotten when our plaque was painted for the snakes to be relegated to side panels. We may perhaps interpret this scene as showing awe or worship of the snake, either as a supernatural creature itself or as a representative of a supernatural being or dead hero.[7] It seems safe at least to say that the plaque was dedicated in a chthonic sanctuary. Moreover, the type, as we have seen, has its closest contemporary parallels in Crete, which are undoubtedly of Minoan origin. We may suppose, therefore, that the cult was some form of the Cretan cult of the Earth-mother, transported to Attica. But what would be her Athenian name and character?

Nilsson traces Minoan elements in the creation of the Greek Athena and Artemis.[8] Certainly our figure gives no known type of Athena, nor were similar plaques found on the Acropolis. Moreover, the position of the deposit is highly unlikely for a dump from the Acropolis. The type of Artemis as *πότνια θηρῶν* is but seldom associated with the

[1] Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 338, fig. 443 a; *Artemis Orthia*, pls. XCV ff.

[2] M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, Lund, 1927, pp. 240 f.

[3] M. Collignon, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XVI, 1903, pp. 306 ff.

[4] Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 622, fig. 654; p. 330, fig. 431. *Anz.* XLVIII, 1933, p. 307, fig. 19.

[5] P. Wolters, *Arch. Eph.*, 1892, pp. 213 ff., pl. 9.

[6] Cf. K. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst*, p. 26, however, for insistence on religious symbolism.

[7] Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 278 f.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 428, 432 ff.

snake[1] and in no other way resembles ours. The same arguments hold in regard to Demeter, whose early cult is well known from the discoveries at Eleusis. Again, the Gorgon type, familiar to us from very early times, though usually represented with snakes, is clearly not in any way connected with the figure on our plaque. By the process of elimination, then, we are driven to consider the possibility that we have here a type from a sanctuary hitherto little known, of a deity presumably obscure. Further evidence in this matter will be discussed in regard to the votive deposit as a whole (see below, p. 638).

Terracotta Shields

Fragments of about thirty-three terracotta shields were found in the votive deposit, in large part east of Pit I. In general they are wheel-made of pinkish-buff clay, decorated in thick matt colors: white, red, yellow, and bluish-green. In a few, lustrous paint is employed. The profiles and convexity vary somewhat. They range from 0.09 m. to 0.27 m. in diameter. The hand and arm straps (*ὄχανος* or *ὀχάνη*) are usually like those of No. **281**. The designs are geometric, except in one case (No. **283**) on which a horse and rider appear.

Similar dedicatory shields have been found only occasionally elsewhere.[2] Since the round shield was introduced into Greece in late Geometric times under Oriental influence, it is interesting to note the parallels in Cyprus.[3] In Greece proper, terracotta shields of a later date come from Corinth,[4] Boeotia,[5] and Sparta.[6] The Boeotian are dated by Helbig at the end of the seventh century. They are decorated in rather elaborate patterns in red, yellow, and black paint. Similar shields also came to light in the cemetery at Eleusis[7] and in the dromos of the tomb at Menidi.[8] Several examples are also listed from the Athenian Acropolis.[9] It would seem, therefore, that our group, which dates from the first half of the seventh century, is among the earliest. In general character, it resembles most closely that from Menidi, but the Agora examples are more carefully made and are better preserved. This group differs from all

[1] Cf. *Artemis Orthia*, pl. XCIII, 2; p. 207, an example dated before the middle of the eighth century. Wolters, *Arch. Eph.*, 1892, pl. 10, 1.

[2] In general see: W. Helbig, *Öst. Jahresh.*, XII, 1909, pp. 45 ff.; E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart, 1931, pp. 44 f. G. Lippold, "Griechische Schilde," *Münchner archäologische Studien dem Andenken A. Furtwänglers gewidmet*, München, 1909, pp. 401 ff.

[3] J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, New York, 1914, p. 71, Nos. 554–555. H. B. Walters, *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*, I, pt. II, 1912, p. 207, C 1005–1006.

[4] A. E. Newhall, *A. J. A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 27 f. Recent excavations have produced Hellenistic examples.

[5] Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 47, fig. 35; P. V. C. Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection*, New Haven, 1922, p. 116 f.; Nos. 180–181; fig. 16.

[6] Woodward, *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927–1928, p. 99, No. 56, fig. 9.

[7] Wolters, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 120; Skias, *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, p. 69.

[8] Wolters, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 118.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 120; *Jahrb.*, XII, 1897, p. 8, note 24.

contemporary examples in the absence of black and in the use of bluish-green paint. The significance of the dedication will be discussed in relation to the deposit as a whole (see below, p. 637).

281. (T 176) Figs. 75–76

Low convex shape. Blue, white, and red concentric bands around a white centre. Found to the east of Pit I. d. 0.167 m. Blue paint almost disappeared. Arm and hand straps preserved.

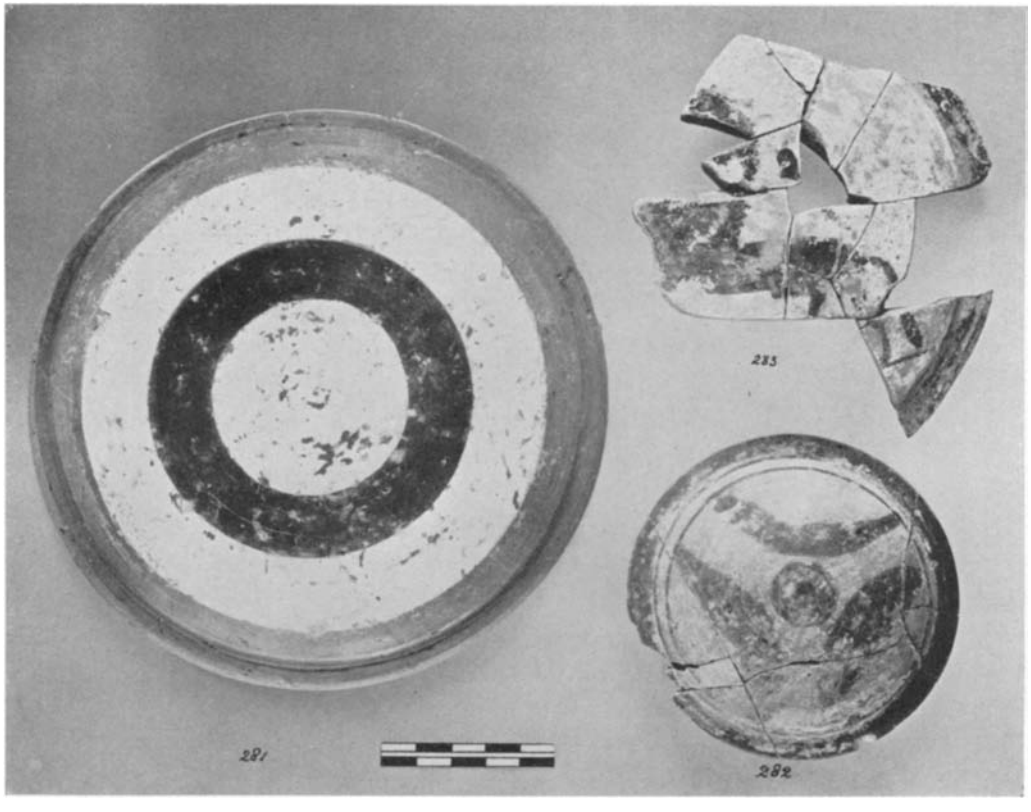

Fig. 75. Terracotta Votive Shields

282. (T 177) Fig. 75

High convex shape. Red rim with two red lines inside; red centre with three red crescents on a cream ground. Found with No. **281.** d. 0.095 m. Arm strap preserved, hand strap missing.

283. (T 183) Fig. 75

Fragmentary. High convex shape with sharply offset rim. Red rim; white surface with blue touches, on which a winged horse in red moves left on an exergue. A rider in blue wears a red crested helmet. From the southern part of the votive deposit. Estimated d. 0.164 m. Part of arm strap preserved. The horseman is a popular device on black-figured shields. (Cf. Chase, *Harvard Stud.*, XIII, 1902, p. 110). The winged horse is a common subject on Proto-attic vases.

284. (T 245) Fig. 77

Red outside, with splotches of spilt black lustrous glaze; inside, a thin pale clay slip. Arm and hand straps preserved. From the edge of Pit F. d. 0.13 m.

Fig. 76. Interior of Terracotta Shield, No. **281**

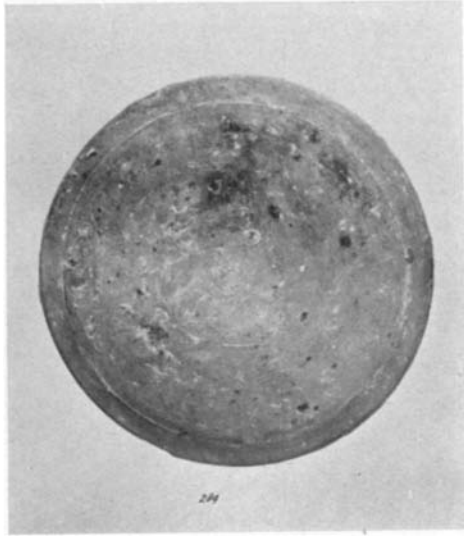

Fig. 77. Terracotta Votive Shield, No. **284**. Scale 1 : 2 1/2

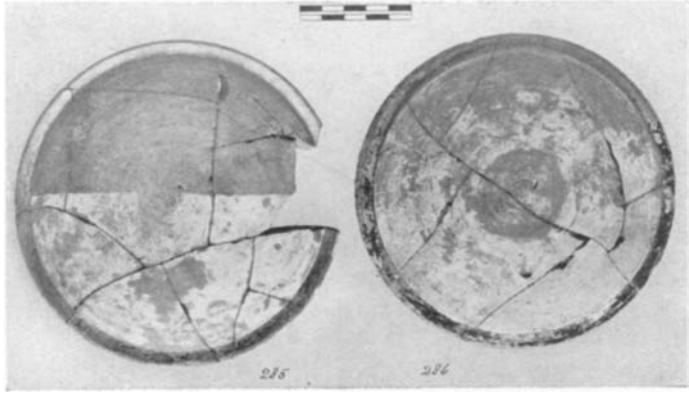

Fig. 78. Terracotta Votive Shields

285. (T 178) Fig. 78

Almost complete. Low convex shape. One half red with white rim; the other white with red rim. Found with No. **281**. d. 0.144 m. Only an arm strap inside.

286. (T 179) Fig. 78

Low convex shape. Red rim, white surface; centre another color (blue?). Found with No. **281**. d. 0.139 m. Slight traces of burning inside. Arm and hand straps preserved.

287. (T 181) Fig. 79

Fragmentary. Low convex shape. On the rim, alternating groups of red and green triangles. Inside: a six-petal ornament in alternating red and bluish-green with alternating arcs between. Red inside. Found with No. **281**. Estimated d. 0.275 m. Broken arm and hand straps. Corrected or earlier drawing visible. For the design cf. the shield device on a Geometric sherd, Athens, National Museum No. 283.

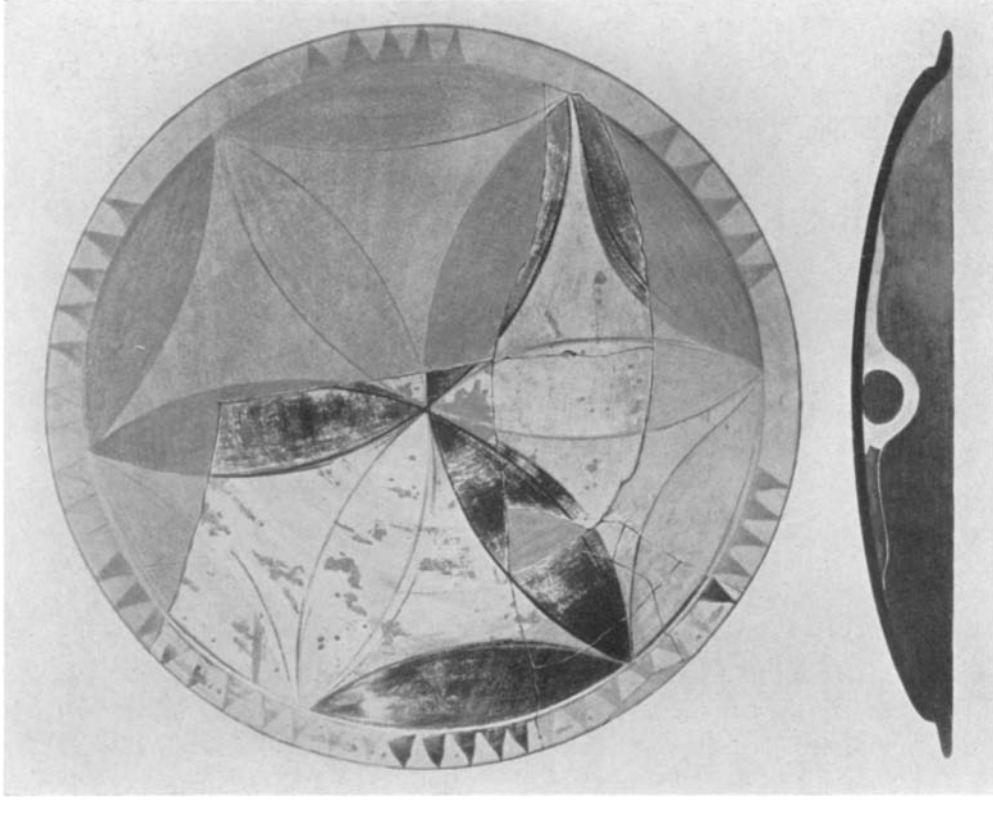

Fig. 79. Terracotta Votive Shield, No. **287**, Restored. From a Water-color by P. de Jong. Scale 1 : $2^3/_4$

288. (T 278) Fig. 80

Low convex shape sloping gradually into the rim. Concentric bands of lustrous brownish-black glaze; on the rim inside and across the centre, uneven bands. From the votive deposit area, scattered. Estimated d. 0.135 m. Broken arm strap. Fragments from a similar shield with matt red bands were found.

289. (T 277) Fig. 80

Fragmentary. Low convex shape. Yellow rim. On the surface white with traces of a red centre. From the votive deposit area. d. 0.18 m. Slight traces of burning. Arm and hand straps preserved.

Fig. 80. Fragmentary Votive Shields

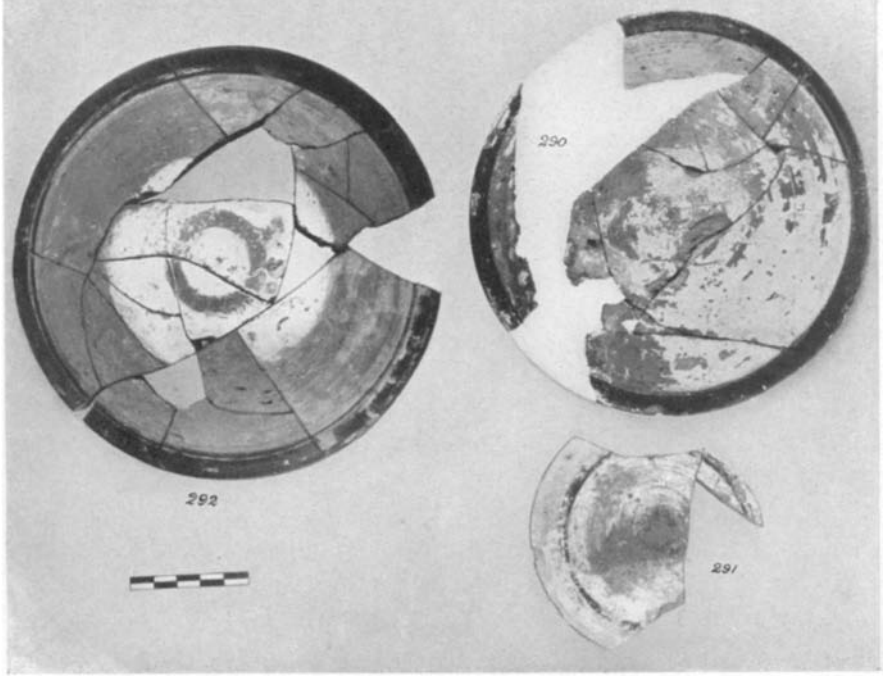

Fig. 81. Fragmentary Votive Shields

290. (T 182) Fig. 81

Fragmentary. Low convex shape. Red rim, white surface. d. 0.167 m.

291. (T 202) Fig. 81

Somewhat high convex shape gradually sloping into the rim. White slip, over which a blue rim with a red inner line; white band round a red centre with a red triangle (?) on it. From the votive deposit. Estimated d. 0.108 m. Single strap at right angles to the rim.

292. (T 180) Fig. 81

Fragmentary. High convex shape. Red rim, concentric bands of blue, white, and yellow round a white centre. Found with No. **281**. d. 0.18 m. Traces of burning after breakage. The yellow paint over the white. Hand strap and traces of arm strap inside.

293. (T 414) Fig. 74

Rim fragment. High convex shape. White slip; on the rim dots; inside traces of green and red. From the votive deposit area. W. 0.022 m.; D. 0.023 m.

In addition there are nine sizable fragments from similar shields, similarly decorated in matt paint, and many small ones giving twenty to twenty-five more shields.

294. (T 415) Fig. 74

Rim fragment. High convex shape sloping into the rim. On the rim, dots, on the surface concentric bands in lustrous red to black glaze. From the votive deposit area. W. 0.037 m.; D. 0.033 m.

Terracotta Figurines

Figurines, mostly in small fragments, are numerous in the votive deposit. They form a consistent group. With the possible exceptions of Nos. **304** and **308**, they are crudely hand-made from buff clay like that of Proto-attic pottery. Only a few show a lustrous glaze (Nos. **294, 306, 310–315, 318**). The rest are painted with the matt colors that are also used on the shields, white, red, blue, and yellow, sometimes painted on a white slip, sometimes laid directly on the clay. They resemble Boeotian figurines of the same period, but the colors are harder.

The types are those most common everywhere at this period. Figures of horses and horsemen, four-horse teams, and warriors, have parallels in most museums of Greece and in many of Europe. The origin appears to be oriental.[1] This group is especially significant in the limited dating of its context. None appears to be Geometric[2] and probably few are later than the middle of the seventh century. But in such crude work, it is difficult to define peculiarities which may not be found on survivals of these early types into far later times.[3] We may perhaps consider the following details as characteristic

[1] Cf. A. Roes, *De Oorsprung der geometrische Kunst*, Haarlem, 1931, pp. 120ff.

[2] Cf. *Artemis Orthia*, pp. 157f. Geometric figurines are also rare in Sparta.

[3] Cf. Newhall, *A. J. A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 26.

of this period: of the men: the pointed nose and beard; of the horses: the short blunt muzzle with incised mouth and nostrils; the harness in relief; the very short body with a thick neck; and the tail modelled flat and small hanging down against one leg. The tails of Geometric horses and of late hand-made copies are usually thicker and project markedly from the body. But even in our group, there is considerable variation. Before the mould had set types, the coroplast indulged his fancy in proportions and in shapes as well as in details.

In general, these terracottas resemble closely those found at Eleusis, on the Acropolis, and at Menidi.[1] They are no less grotesquely primitive than the hand-made figurines of the same period at Sparta.[2]

295. (T 416) Fig. 82

Lower part of an elongated columnar figure; at the top, traces of a girdle; below, wavy bands of lustrous black glaze. From a Pit. H. 0.084 m.; T. *ca.* 0.031 m. Brownish clay. The shape appears to be a descendant of the Mycenaean standing goddess type, but the technique is Subgeometric.

296. (T 193) Fig. 82

Standing bearded man with columnar body, broad shoulders, and spreading base; his right arm is bent at the elbow, his left was extended farther from his body. Traces of white slip and red paint. Broken from a base. From the deposit east of Pit I. H. 0.097 m.; W. 0.041 m. The figure leans forward a little and may well have been driving horses. The usual Subgeometric type (cf. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, pl. 87, No. 1962).

297. (T 194) Fig. 82

Standing helmeted bearded man, his right arm raised as for a spear; a shield probably hung on his left arm. White slip and red paint on top of the helmet and on the lower part of the body and under spreading base. Found with No. **298**. H. 0.081 m.; T. above base 0.019 m. The bit of shield restored in the photograph as hanging on the arm may have come from this figure. Cf. the Cypriote type (Myres, *Cesnola Coll.*, p. 344, No. 2099).

298. (T 208) Figs. 82 and 85

Standing male figure with a pinched face; his arms, now broken, extended sideways; the figure is broken off on the bottom at the back. White slip and red lines on the head and body; blue on the face. From under the late wall of Pit G. H. 0.071 m.; T. at lower part 0.016 m. Very irregular; possibly from a horse group as No. **328** with which it is restored on Fig. 85.

299. (T 186) Fig. 82

Four horse-team. The driver stands on a narrow bar against the hindlegs of the horses, his hands resting on their backs. He and the horses are decorated with alternating red and blue lines laid directly on the clay, with traces of white on one side; on the necks of the inner horse, blue lines only. From the southern part of the votive deposit area. Estimated H. 0.113 m.; W. 0.054 m. The front legs of the horses are missing. This is evidently a stenographic representation of a chariot

[1] Wolters, *op. cit.*, pp. 121f.
[2] *Artemis Orthia*, pls. XL–XLI.

such as appears on the MacMillan lekythos (Pfuhl, fig. 58). Similar pieces have been found in Eleusis, of which seven are exhibited in the Museum (Winter, *Typenkatalog*, I, p. 25, 2), and on the Athenian Acropolis (*Acrop. Mus. Cat.*, II, p. 430, No. 1211), and at Menidi (*Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 122, fig. 26). Another is in the Munich Pinakothek (No. 5602).

300. (T 249) Fig. 82

Fragmentary similar group. White slip with horizontal and vertical bands of alternate red and blue. From Pit I at a depth 2.20 m. below the votive deposit level. H. 0.09 m.; W. 0.055 m. Most of the upper part and the forelegs missing. Seven sizable fragments from similar groups were also found, as well as many small ones.

Fig. 82. Terracotta Figurines from the Votive Deposit

301. (T 206) Fig. 82

Driver from a similar group. He has a pinched face; his arms are extended sideways. He wears a helmet. From the centre of the votive deposit. H. 0.079 m.; W. at shoulders 0.025 m.

302. (T 195) Fig. 83

Bearded rider, his legs bent back, both arms extended forward. He wears a red belt and cross straps of red and yellow. Found with No. **281**. H. 0.09 m.; span of legs 0.047 m. No trace of attachment beneath. For the position of the legs, cf. Cypriote riders (Myres, *Cesnola Coll.*, p. 344, No. 2093). Cf. a Spartan example, *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927–1928, p. 81, fig. 3, No. 26.

303. (T 199) Fig. 83

Fragmentary similar figure, with his right arm bent up to hold a spear and his left bent forward, wearing cross-straps of red and yellow (?). From the southern part of the area. H. 0.064 m.; greatest T. 0.018 m.

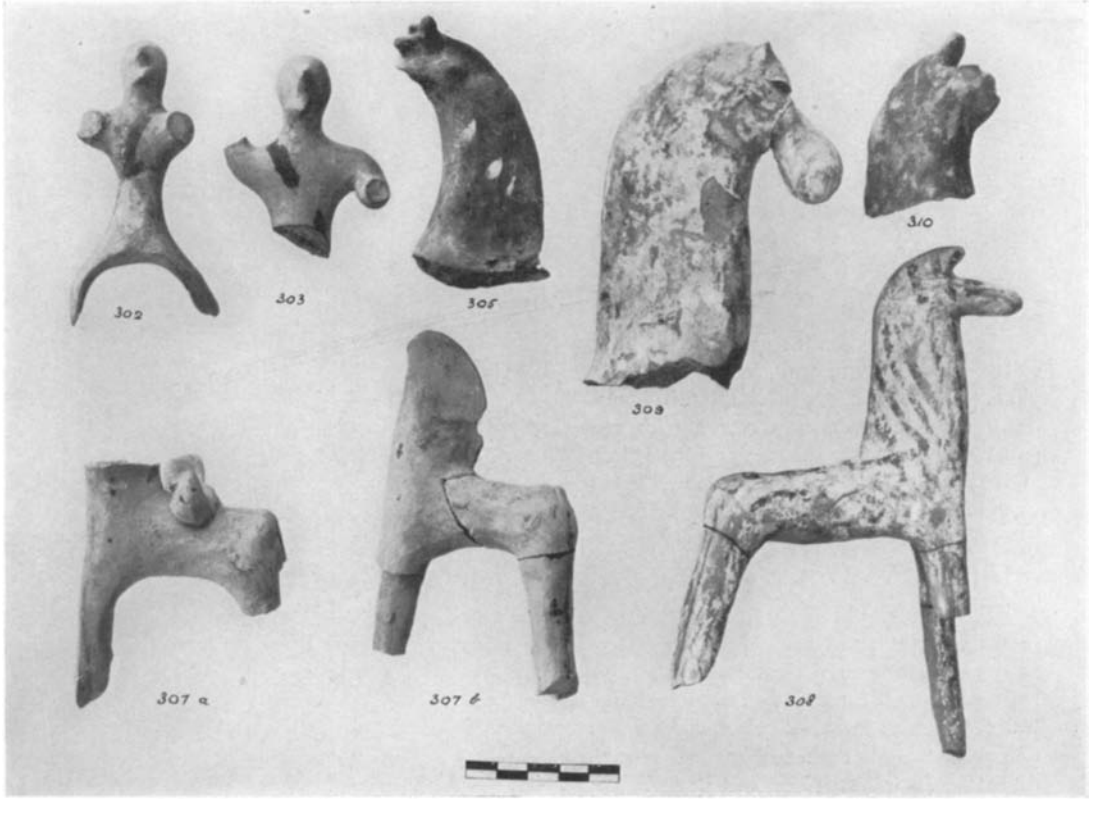

Fig. 83. Proto-attic Figurines from the Votive Deposit

Horses

Group of Four Horses

304 A. (T 196) Fig. 84

Horse, wearing a collar and the bosses of a bridle at the side of the head; traces of a yoke on the back; no tail. The nostrils and mouth are incised. Blue paint with touches of a red bridle. From the votive deposit area, southern end. H. 0.155 m.; L. 0.082 m. The absence of tail and the dash of red paint at the back suggest that there was a chariot at the back of the irregular base which shows traces of attachment for four horses (L. 0.147 m.; W. 0.102 m.; T. 0.015 m.; traces underneath of its having rested, when the clay was soft, upon a roughly planed wooden surface).

B. (T 200) Fig. 84

Similar fragmentary horse. Bridle, collar, and yoke broken. Unpainted, except for splashed flecks of red paint. Found near No. **304**, together with the kantharos No. **200**, and Nos. **97–98**, **133–134**, **329**. H. 0.10 m.; L. 0.073 m.

305. (T 192) Fig. 83

Fragmentary neck and head of a horse. Traces of a collar. Touches of red and white paint on the neck. From east of Pit I. H. 0 085 m.; T. at bottom 0.03 m. The breakage at the bottom of the neck indicates that the body may have been hollow. In size and in technique this differs slightly from No. **304**.

306. (T 224) Fig. 85

Horse from a similar group, wearing a collar, bridle-bosses, and girth; traces of a yoke. Mouth incised; a small tail hangs down the left hindleg. Covered with red paint except under the body; blue bridle and a blue splotch on the left side. From west of Pit I. H. 0 09 m.; L. 0.081 m.

307 A. (T 223) Fig. 83

Fragmentary horse from a similar group, with a yoke preserved, turned up at the end; part of a bar against the left foreleg; the tail hangs down the right leg. Painted in lustrous black glaze with traces of red on the left side. From the votive deposit, centre (see Fig. 2). H. 0.079 m.; L. 0.059 m.

Fig. 84. Fragmentary Terracotta Group of four Horses, No. **304**. Scale *ca.* 1:2

B. (T 219) Fig. 83

Similar horse. No trace of a yoke. The tail hangs down the left leg. Covered with traces of black lustrous glaze. From beside Pit I. H. 0.116 m.; L. 0.063 m. Despite the absence of a trace of a yoke, this horse is identical in size and type with A and probably comes from the same group.

308. (T 204) Fig. 83

Horse standing, with the tail hanging down the right leg. White slip with red stripes; red dots and bars across the chest and forelegs. From beside Pit I. H. 0.165 m.; L. 0.082 m.

309. (T 198) Fig. 83

Large head with modelled ears, forelock, and nostril. White slip, with yellow paint and red lines for the mane on the right side and for the eye (?). From the votive deposit, southern part.

H. 0.112 m.; W. at bottom 0.051 m. The breakage indicates that the body may have been hollow. Inasmuch as only one side is painted, possibly it comes from a group.

310. (T 197) Fig. 83

Fragmentary head. Painted red on the right side only. From the votive deposit, southern end. H. 0.055 m.; W. at bottom 0.035 m. Probably from a group.

311. (T 205) Fig. 86

Body with traces of a projecting tail. Painted with black lustrous glaze. From Pit E. H. 0.038 m.; L. 0.084 m. The thin body and clumsy modelling seem to be indications of an early date.

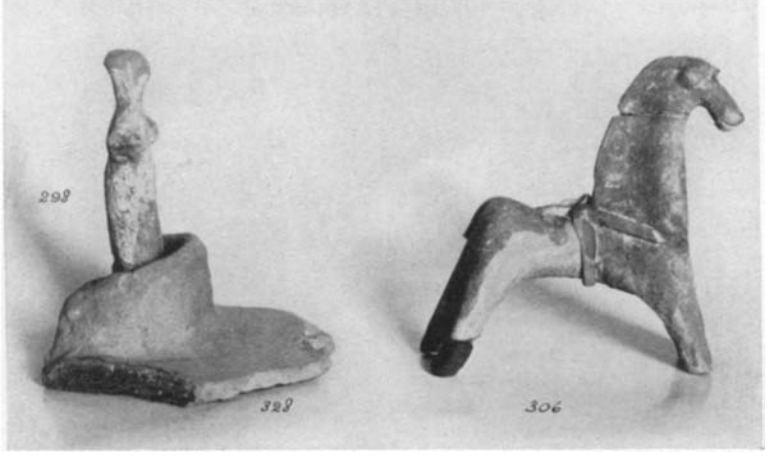

Fig. 85. Restored Terracotta Chariot Group. Scale 1:2

312. (T 417) Fig. 86

Fragmentary forepart. Bands and lines of lustrous red glaze on the left side and splotches on the right. From the general area. H. 0.081 m.; W. 0.049 m.

313. (T 418) Fig. 86

Fragmentary hindquarters with the tail hanging down right leg. Lustrous brownish-black glaze over the rear. From the votive deposit, centre. H. 0.06 m.; W. 0.042 m.

314–324. (T 218; T 189; T 220; T 209; T 188; T 203; T 268; T 190; T 201; T 207; T 191) Fig. 86

Small horses painted with matt white and red except Nos. **314–315, 318** which have touches of lustrous glaze.

325. (T 187) Fig. 86

Bird with a long neck and tail, on a spreading base. White slip with alternate red and blue stripes. From the votive deposit, southern end. H. 0.057 m.; L. 0.05 m. The species is not easily identifiable; probably some form of water-bird. Cf. Roes, *De Oorsprung der geometrische Kunst*, p. 122, fig. 127.

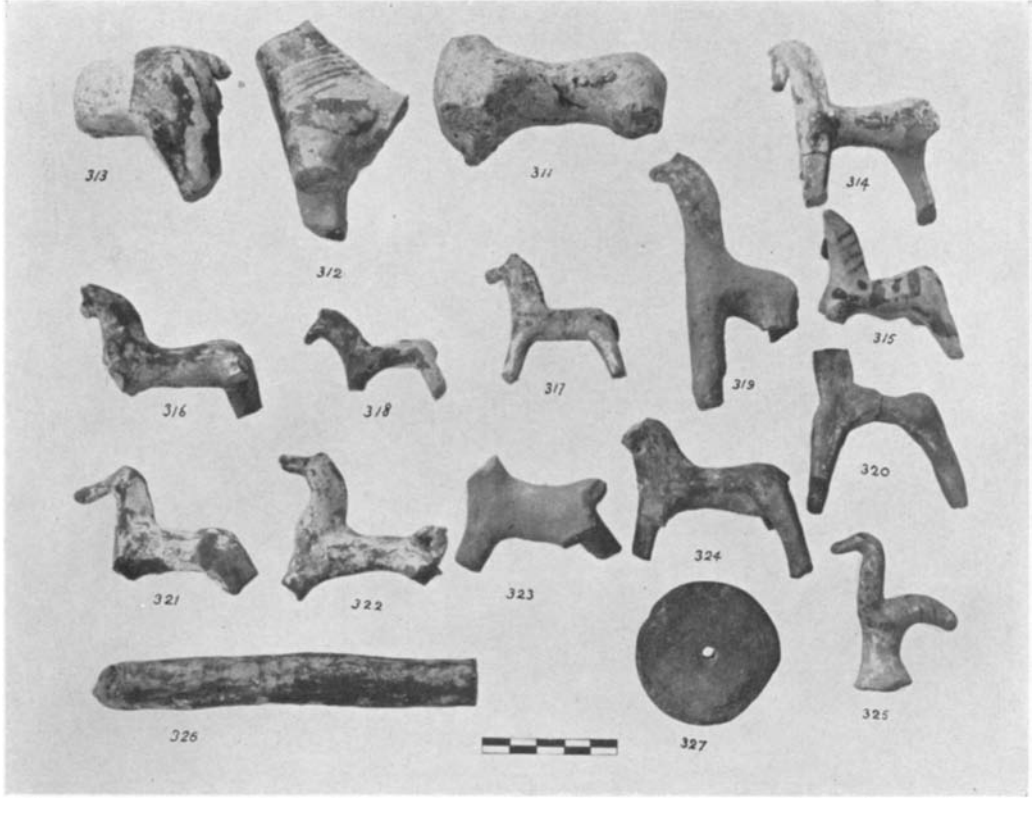

Fig. 86. Miscellaneous Terracottas from the Votive Deposit

326. (T 419) Fig. 86

Fragmentary snake (?) covered with a white slip and red paint except for a narrow reserved band underneath. From the votive deposit area. L. 0.014 m.; d. 0.012 m. The most plausible interpretation of this object is that it represents a snake.

327. (T 321) Fig. 86

Wheel, with a smooth rim, bored through the centre. From the votive deposit area, southern end. d. 0.054 m.; T. 0.008 m. Light reddish-brown highly micaceous clay, like that of Proto-attic household ware. Probably from a chariot, possibly merely a disk.

There are also several bases for horses and one for a figure standing in front of some object, like a Boeotian group, and numerous small fragments of horses of the types listed.

328. (T 420) Fig. 85

Fragment of a base upon which the body of a chariot is preserved, showing traces of the driver who stood inside. Traces of pinkish paint on the chariot; red on the sides and a bit on the top. From the filling over the votive deposit. H. 0.038 m.; W. 0.08 m. From a group like No. **304**, possibly with the horse No. **306**, which is on the same scale and covered with the same paint. To illustrate the type, this piece has been photographed with Nos. **306** and **298** (which is on slightly too small a scale).

Bronze

329. (B 87) Fig. 87

Fragmentary votive tripod; legs riveted at the rim; shallow bowl. Found inside the Proto-attic kantharos No. **201** in the central part of the votive deposit area. d. of the bowl *ca.* 0.055 m. Thin and poorly made. Similar votive tripods of the same period were found at Sounion (*Arch. Eph.*, 1917, pp. 207–208, fig. 18; National Museum), and at Olympia (*Olymp.*, IV, pl. XXVII, Nos. 536 ff.).

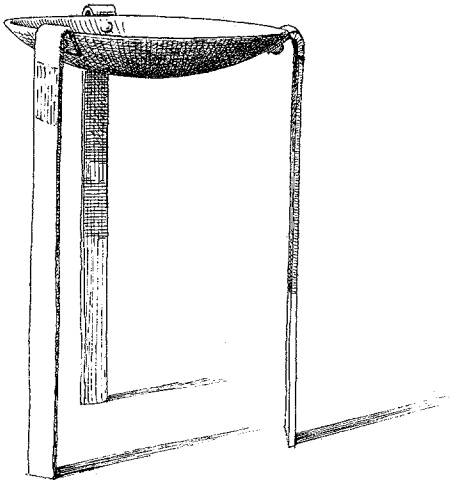

Fig. 87. Restoration of a Bronze Votive Tripod, No. **329**. Scale 2 : 3

APPENDIX

After the foregoing catalogue had been made, the excavations of 1933 produced a number of sherds that seemed worthy of publication in connection with it. In no case was the place of discovery of great significance. The deposit in the foundations of the stoa in Section Epsilon was in general consistently Proto-attic, though thrown in not earlier than the late sixth century. These sherds are listed here for their intrinsic value and it must be noted that, with the exception of No. **330**, they can bear no relation to the previous group.

330. (P 811) Fig. 88

A plastic griffin's head protome from a large bowl that was glazed inside. The pointed ears are broken; a horn springs from the forehead. It is covered with a creamy slip; on the neck is a dotted scale pattern in dilute glaze; black glaze on the tongue, ears, and a band down the back of the neck. Found in 1932 in a cistern not far from the votive deposit. H. 0.123 m.; W. 0.043 m. Pinkish clay. The knob on the forehead, often rendered as an ornament in bronze, seems in this case to represent a horn. Clay versions of the great bronze kraters with griffin protomes are not uncommon (*Arg. Heraeum*, II, p. 41, No. 262, pl. XLVIII, 15; *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927–1928, p. 78, fig. 2, No. 13; Levi, *Annuario*, X–XII, 1927–1929, p. 323, fig. 420 a; there are some new examples from the Kerameikos). It is interesting to note that the legendary prototype of this kind of bowl was dedicated by the Samians in honor of their discovery of Tartessos at just about the time that our votive deposit was discarded (Herod. IV, 152; Boehlau, *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 64, note 26). This example is a simplification of the bronze originals of the later type (cf. *Olymp.*, IV, pp. 119 ff., pl. XLV–VII, XLIX; *Clara Rhodos*, VI–VII, p. 330, figs. 76–77, Nos. IX, 1–2). Orientalizing style.

331. (P 1936) Fig. 88

Fragment of the lower part of a large kantharos. Above the ring-foot alternating black and white rays, with swastika filling ornaments. Above the rays a zone of coursing white hounds and black hares, with spiral hooks, zigzags, and trefoil filling ornaments; above, portion of a zone showing a chariot race. The upper zones are divided by a groove. Black ring underneath.

From the filling in the foundations of the stoa in Section Epsilon. H. 0.105 m.; d. base 0.67 m. The white is applied directly on the clay for the rays and on black paint for the hound. This kantharos is more elaborate and later than any from the deposit (Nos. **200** ff.). The chariot occurs

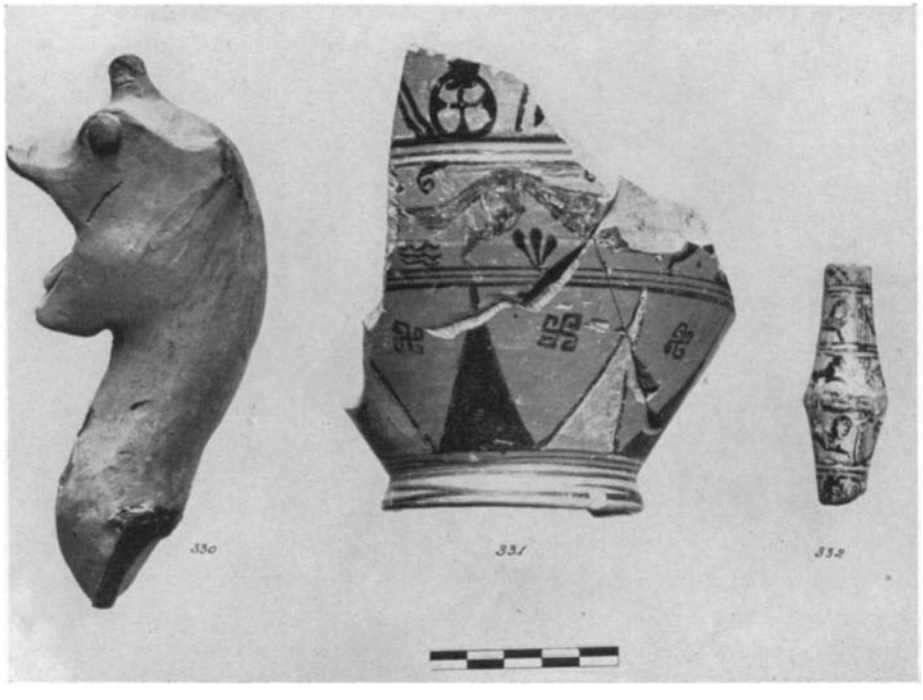

Fig. 88. Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds

frequently on Proto-attic vases, though usually in solemn procession, not so often racing as the position of the feet of the horse on this piece suggests (cf. the Hymettos amphora, New York Nessos amphora, and Graef-Langlotz, *Akrop.-Vasen*, I, pl. 13, Nos. 364, 368 b). The coursing hound motive is far more popular on Protocorinthian vases than on Proto-attic, of which only two examples are known to me (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 13, No. 370; Richter, *Handbk. of the Metropolitan Mus.*, p. 61, fig. 36). For rays of alternating dark and light color, cf. the Burgon lebes, Karlsruhe krater, and *Anz.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 202, fig. 7. Orientalizing style.

332. (P 1423) Figs. 88–89

Fragment from the stem of the high handle of a lid, broken at both ends. Decoration in five zones heraldically placed about a central line of alternating guilloches and zigzags. In the upper zone, horses' feet; below, sphinxes with uplifted paws; below, horses with hanging bridles; below, crouching sphinxes; below, horses. From the surface of Section Theta. H. 0.064 m.; d. at centre 0.022 m. Buff clay with lustrous brownish-black glaze. An unpainted rib down the back.

This probably is the stem of the handle of the lid of a large amphora or krater. The design is unusual, but the details are in good Proto-attic style. Sphinxes with uplifted paws occur on the Theban krater, which is similar in style (cf. also *Arch. Eph.*, 1912, p. 5, fig. 2), more so than the jug in Munich (*Jahrb.*, XXII, 1907, p. 100, figs. 13–14). The scaly wings, however, are closer to those on the Munich jug than to those on later fragments (*Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, pl. III, 2). The drawing of the horses is more advanced than that on the pyxis in Athens (*Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 55, fig. 20). It is in the spirit of the kothon with lions in the Acropolis Museum (*ibid.*, figs. 21–22). Early Orientalizing style.

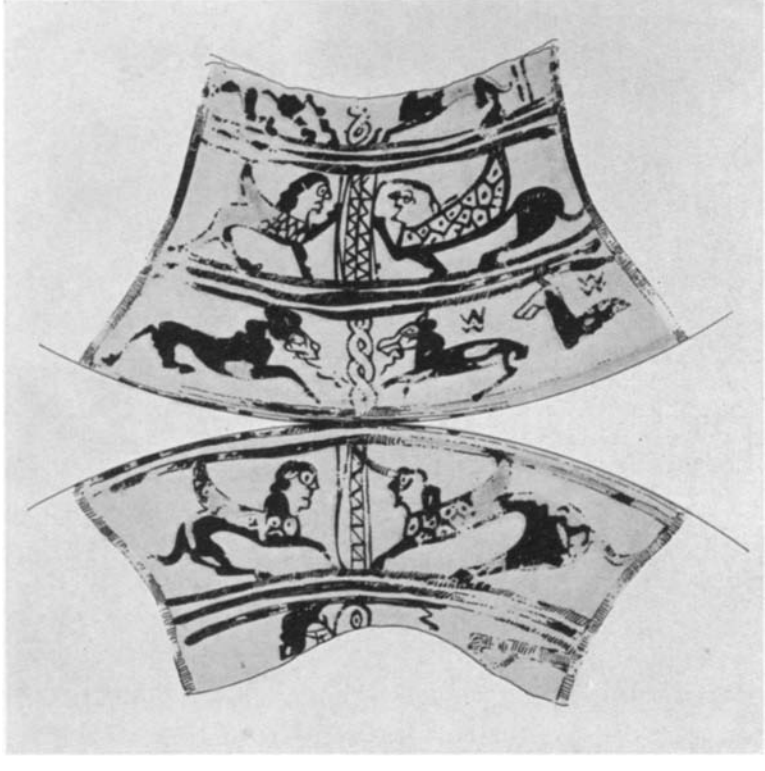

Fig. 89. Proto-attic Sherd, No. **332**. Projection drawn by P. de Jong.
Scale 5 : 4

333. (P 2435) Fig. 90

Fragment from the lower part of a conical stand, decorated with a broad band at the bottom and panels of careless geometric designs. From the foundations of the stoa in Section Epsilon. H. 0.096 m.; W. 0.178 m. A typical stand for a large krater, of Subgeometric style. The designs are unusual.

334. (P 3400) Fig. 90

Fragment from a krater decorated on the rim with bars; below, horizontal lines of varying width, the upper two with subordinate vertical lines. Glazed inside. Same provenience. H. 0.083 m.; W. 0.16 m. Glaze brown outside, black inside. The profile and type of this wide-mouthed krater are common. Subgeometric style.

335. (P 2403) Fig. 90

Fragment from a krater decorated with horizontal lines and concentric circles, their centres joined by a line; glazed inside. Same provenience. H. 0.057 m.; W. 0.053 m. The design is unusual. The wheels on Theran vases are never so joined. On one sherd from Delos (*B.C.H.*, XXXV, 1911, p. 382, fig. 46) two circles are joined by a bar which does not penetrate them. Subgeometric style.

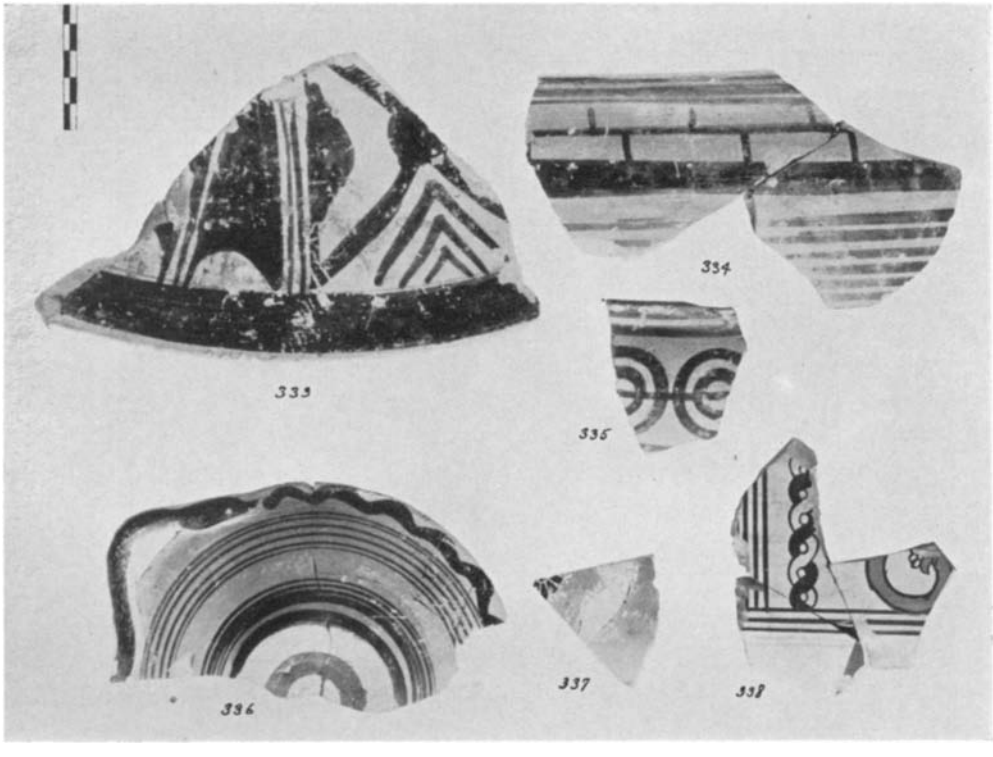

Fig. 90. Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds, Nos. **333**–**337**, and one Protocorinthian, No. **338**

336. (P 2401) Fig. 90

Half a small dish with a loop handle; bars on the flat rim; a wavy line below it; groups of fine lines below and a band around and under the foot. Glazed inside with a reserved band. Same provenience. H. 0.031 m.; W. 0.148 m. Black glaze inside; black to red outside. This is our best example of the type of dish that was extremely popular in the seventh century (see Nos. **185** ff.). Subgeometric style.

337. (P 2394) Fig. 90

Fragment from an amphora (?) decorated below with a purple band, showing a human left leg and part of the other leg, advancing to the right, painted in white, with an incised rosette as filling ornament behind. From a miscellaneous filling. H. 0.049 m.; W. 0.047 m. Buff slightly lustrous surface as No. **133**; lustrous black paint. The drawing of the leg is not unlike that on the Kynosarges amphora, though on a much smaller scale. The use of white, purple, and incised details are characteristic also of this period, about the middle of the seventh century. Orientalizing style.

338. (P 2396) Fig. 90

Fragment from an oinochoe (?). Rays below and a panel above, bordered by horizontal and vertical lines enclosing a guilloche and a tendril ending in a palmette. From the foundations of the stoa in Section Epsilon. H. 0.096 m.; W. 0.082 m. Clay pinkish with a fine creamy slip inside and out. Paint red, dilute for the interior of the tendril. The technique of this extraordinary piece is certainly Protocorinthian, but the wide disposal of the decoration is curious. In addition, the guilloche of dark and light strands is not the usual Protocorinthian type (cf. Johansen, pl. IV, 4; V, 2), but it often occurs on Proto-attic (cf. No. **144**). Similarly, Protocorinthian technique does not to my knowledge fill a dark outline with dilute wash as on our Proto-attic sherd No. **133**. Again, the usual Protocorinthian tendril ornament ends in a much conventionalized palmette like a tassel, whereas this example resembles that on Nos. **136** and **169**. In fact this piece could be said to show Proto-attic influence.

Discussion of the Proto-attic material

This survey of the Proto-attic material from the Agora has indicated interesting additions to our previous knowledge of the field.[1] In the first place, it has shown the suitability of the term Proto-attic for the pottery made in Attica after Geometric and before Black-figured vases. Geometric ware, although varying somewhat locally, has a consistent character throughout Greece. The individuality of the towns is not so clearly impressed upon it as upon the more complex and differentiated orientalizing wares. Geometric ware may be called Panhellenic in character. Proto-attic is, however, like Protocorinthian, the first product of the city-state. It is significant also that we must call this product Attic and not Athenian. Our excavations have shown that Phaleron ware is really a subdivision of this class; it is not found in Athens. The Athenian product is individual and recognizable, distinct in shapes, technique, and style.

It must be remembered, however, that the Agora deposit is definitely limited both in date and in character. The excavations at the Kerameikos[2] have produced contemporary material of another character which shows the versatility of the Proto-attic potter. When all this material is available, a revision of the old and a comparative study of the new will be most fruitful and informative for an interesting period in Athenian history. But since this paper must restrict itself to the presentation of the material from the Agora alone, no complete study will be attempted of foreign influences, chronology, or artistic value of the ware as a whole. Looking upon the pottery, figurines, and plaques as the product of one craft, we shall consider the technique, form, and style.

On the accompanying table (Fig. 91), the discussion is summarized in convenient form for reference, but no rigid divisions or categories are intended. Well-known examples of

[1] The most important studies on Proto-attic pottery are: J. Boehlau, "Frühattische Vasen," *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, pp. 33ff.; G. M. A. Richter, "A New Early Attic Vase," *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pp. 370ff.; R. Hackl, "Zwei frühattische Gefäße der Münchner Vasensammlung," *Jahrb.*, XXII, 1907, pp. 78ff.; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, pp. 121ff., with full bibliography; cf. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, London, 1928, pp. 8ff., and *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, IV, p. 588. There is important unpublished material in the British Museum, Athens Museum (chiefly Phaleron ware), Aegina Museum (from the recent excavations by Welter), at the Kerameikos, in Eleusis, and in private collections in Berlin and Athens.

[2] See *Anz.* XLVIII, 1933, pp. 262 ff.

CLASS	VASE (Provenience, Museum No.)	REFERENCE	AGORA EXAMPLES
SUB-GEOMETRIC *ca.* 725–640 B.C.	Krater, Kerameikos Athens 467	*Ath. Mitt.*, 1892, pl. 10	Degeneration of Geometric technique; many amphorae and dishes.
	Fragment, Athens Athens	*Ibid.*, 1895, pl. III, 1	
	Amphorae, Phaleron Athens 14488–14489	*Eph.*, 1911, p. 248, figs. 6–7; *Delt.*, 1916, p. 27, figs. 11–12	Nos. **40**, **126–131**, **138**, **148**, **161**, **170**, **174–177**, **183–184**, **196–197**, **201**, **210**, **218**, **221**, **333–335**
	Miniature Vases, Phaleron		
EARLY ORIENTALIZING *ca.* 725–675 B.C.	Amphora, Phaleron Athens	*Ibid.*, figs. 15–16	First appearance of Orientalizing motives; many oinochoai and kantharoi.
	Amphora, Hymettos Berlin 56	*Jahrb.*, 1887, pl. 5	Nos. **139**, **142**, **144**, **150**, **152**, **154**, **156–157**, **162**, **166–167**, **178–182**, **185–193**, **198**, **200**, **202–208**, **213**, **216–217**, **220**, **332**, **336**
	Amphora, Pikrodaphni Athens 469	*B.C.H.*, 1893, pl. 2–3	
	Hydria, Analatos Athens 468	*Jahrb.*, 1887, pl. 3–4	
	Fragment, Eleusis Eleusis	*Eph.*, 1912, p. 5, fig. 2	
	Amphora, Athens Berlin 31312	Neugebauer, *Vasenführer*, pl. 7	
	Fragments, Phaleron Athens?	*Eph.*, 1911, pp. 249 f., figs. 11 to 15	
	Krater, Thebes Athens 464	*Jahrb.*, 1887, pl. 4	
	Krater, Athens Munich	*Jahrb.*, 1907, pl. 1	
	Jug, Phaleron Munich J 221	*Ibid.*, p. 100, figs. 13–14	
	Krater, Athens Karlsruhe C 2678	*Ibid.*, p. 99, fig. 12	
	Krater, Athens Cambridge 7/25	*C.V.A.*, Cambridge, 1, pl. II, 7	
	Fragments, Athens, Acropolis Athens 344–364	Graef-Langlotz, *Akrop.-Vas.*, I, pls. 12–13	

Fig. 91. Table of the Chronology of Proto-attic

CLASS	VASE (Provenience, Museum No.)	REFERENCE	AGORA EXAMPLES
ORIENTALIZING *ca.* 675–640 B.C.	"Burgon Lebes," Athens Brit. Mus.	Pfuhl, fig. 82; *J. H. S.*, 1926, p. 207, fig. 1	Development of Orientalizing motives; many amphorae and oinochoai. Nos. **132–134, 136, 143, 145–146, 155, 158, 163–165, 169, 171, 194, 199, 209, 214–215, 223–224, 330–331**
	Jug, Phaleron Athens 1085	*Jahrb.*, 1887, p. 52, fig. 14	
	Fragment, Athens Athens	*Ath. Mitt.*, 1895, pl. III, 2	
	Amphora, Athens Metrop. Mus., New York	*J. H. S.*, 1912, pp. 370ff., pl. X to XII	
	Lebes fragment Athens, Kerameikos	*Anz.*, 1932, p. 199, figs. 6–7	
	Lebes fragment, West of Acropolis The Hague (?)	*C. V. A.*, Pays-Bas, 2, III Hc, pl. 4, 4	
	Amphora, Athens, Kynosarges { Brit. School, Nat. Mus.	*J. H. S.*, 1902, pp. 29ff., pls. II to IV	
	Fragments, Athens Athens 364ff.	Graef-Langlotz, *Akrop.-Vas.*, I, pl. 13	
LIGHT ON DARK *ca.* 725–640 B.C.	Skyphos, Attica Nat. Mus. case 5, No. 14437	A red-glazed skyphos decorated with a bird in yellowish-white paint	Geometric, Orientalizing, and naturalistic designs light on a dark ground. Nos. **32, 137, 159, 168, 172–173, 195, 211–212, 222**
HOUSEHOLD	Jar, Phaleron Athens?	*Delt.*, 1916, p. 26, fig. 8	Highly micaceous clay; Geometric decorations in incision. Nos. **20, 26–27, 225–243**

Pottery Covering the Period of the Agora Deposit

Proto-attic ware are listed for comparison, stylistically grouped in a general chronological order. No attempt is made to place the fragmentary Agora material in such order within the large classes. Since no vase is listed for comparison that does not bear some reference to this material, examples of the Phaleron and Vourvá styles and all the latest phase of Proto-attic have in general been omitted. For any thorough study of the chronology and character of Proto-attic, the contents of over thirty-five boxes of sherds from our deposit which were not in themselves worthy of publication, should be reconsidered, as well as sherds from other parts of the Agora.

Technique

In the Proto-attic material we have observed two techniques which are generally kept rigidly distinct, the use of lustrous glaze for pottery and of polychromy in matt colors for terracottas. This Athenian differentiation of techniques lies midway between the contemporary Corinthian use of glaze in both classes and the Boeotian predilection for matt polychromy in both. The colors on the Agora plaques, shields, and terracottas are painted usually on a hard white slip, very occasionally on the clay itself. The colors are remarkably firm and well preserved. We have noted how they differ from other colors used during the same period in Attica and Boeotia in the absence of black paint and in the presence of greenish-blue. Red and blue are the usual colors; yellow is fairly common.[1] This technique presumably came from Cyprus through Crete together with the Orientalizing motives (see above, p. 606).

The technique of the vases is surprisingly varied. As Miss Richter has pointed out, the potter is trying experiments which will lead to the consistent and successful technique of Black-figured ware.[2] Throughout the early part of the seventh century, he follows the Geometric tradition of a glaze varying from brown to black on a buff ground. This glaze is often poor and from careless firing, often turns red in part. The red varies from scarlet to purplish. The variation in color between red and black was put to decorative advantage and therefore presumably the potter had some means of controlling it (e.g. No. **336**). In many cases the clay is poorly washed, the surface brownish, and the glaze dull and unevenly streaked, tending to coagulate into patches (Nos. **150**, **158**, **333**). Again it has a metallic sheen not at all unlike that of Hellenistic glaze (Nos. **177**, **203**, **205**, **206**). In only one case is the thick matt-red paint of figurine technique found on a vase (No. **201**). These variations in quality are probably due to carelessness rather than to conscious effort, for the Proto-attic potter is capable of an excellent technical product. His best work is made of well-levigated buff clay with a slightly lustrous surface, a little less hard than that of Geometric. On it he uses a good black glaze more inclined, however, to crack and peel than that of Attic Geometric. This technique,

[1] Cf. *Acrop. Cat.*, II, pp. 336f.
[2] *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, p. 380.

which occurs chiefly on work of the Orientalizing style (Nos. **145–146, 214–215, 331**), often also includes the use of subsidiary white and purple colors, and of incision. The white is usually laid on the clay, but in one case (No. **331**) over thick black glaze. White, of course, was used on black continuously from late Geometric times onward.[1] Our unique polychrome example (No. **133**) is peculiar even in the surface of the clay, which has a warm lustre, nearer to that of the Polychrome Matt-painted ware of the Middle Helladic period than to that of Geometric. The heavy outline filled with color is more in the technique of major painting than in that of vases (cf. also No. **338**).

The material from the Agora includes a few pieces of a Light on Dark technique to my knowledge not hitherto recognized as Proto-attic. It is a parallel to the Black Polychrome style of Protocorinthian, which begins about the middle of the seventh century.[2] The Protocorinthian style is more elaborate, however, in the use of incision and applied purple as well as white. Our ware appears rather to resemble the Cretan Light on Dark style in which white details are painted on a brownish-black glaze as in late Geometric from Laconia and elsewhere on the mainland. This style has been considered a Minoan survival.[3] Presumably it spread from Crete to Greece and also to the islands, to judge from its occasional occurrence in Delos.[4] The use of red in addition to white in Delos is paralleled on one piece from the Agora (No. **159**). It is a difficult ware to date, but the Agora examples include Subgeometric and early Orientalizing shapes (Nos. **32, 211–212**) and in addition the well developed shape and design of the specimens with the octopus (Nos. **137, 168**). Presumably, then, the Proto-attic style started before the Protocorinthian but never attained the same development and popularity. It is another example of Cretan influence in Attica at the very beginning of the Orientalizing period. But, what is even more interesting, it preserves a Geometric tradition which later becomes typically Athenian—namely, the covering of the body of the amphora with solid glaze. When the Athenian potter takes over the horse protome from the islands[5] he sets it on an amphora of shape not unlike that of No. **137**, in a panel on the solid black body which he inherited from this older tradition (cf. also the glazed amphorae Nos. **126–130**).

Shapes. Figs. 30, 34, 36, 40, 44, 46, 63, 66

At first Proto-attic shapes are mere degenerations of their Geometric prototypes. Degeneration tends naturally toward slurring transitions so that the sharp differentiation of the parts of the vase, which is characteristic of the best Geometric work, gradually weakens. This weakness may be seen, for instance, in the tall vases such as amphorae,

[1] Cf. Rumpf, *Anz.*, XXXVIII–IX, 1923–1924, pp. 48–49; Payne, *Necrocor.*, p. 347, note 1.
[2] Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[3] Payne, *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927–1928, p. 276.
[4] Poulsen and Dugas, *B. C. H.*, XXXV, 1911, p. 402, Nos. 72–74 and p. 404.
[5] Dugas, *La Céramique des Cyclades*, Paris, 1925, p. 262.

hydriai, and oinochoai on which the differentiation between neck and shoulder is still marked (Nos. **126–127, 129, 132, 133**(?), **136, 162, 210, 221**). The tendency toward flattening out transitions develops curves. In amphorae and oinochoai (Nos. **137–139, 211–214, 220, 225, 228–232, 241**) the neck is merged with the body. Kraters become ovoid on tall conical bases. Bowls and dishes develop flaring curves in following the same law of least resistance. Thus even the kantharos, which is essentially a rather subtle shape, with its contrast between the vertical upper part and the curve of the swelling body which projects itself upward into the handles, loses its significant proportions and degenerates into an elongated bowl with clumsy ears.

The profiles of the details on Proto-attic vases are similarly weak and unimaginative. Lip profiles are based on a curve which varies from a well rounded to a bulbous or tongue-like projection. On large vases the curve is rounded (Nos. **127, 140, 242**) or a somewhat flattened round (Nos. **137–139**). On smaller vases the moulding usually is sharp, sometimes projected horizontally with a flat or slightly curved top, sometimes revolved through 90° so that the tongue turns upward. The horizontal form appears in general on sizable vessels (Nos. **135, 144, 177–181, 188, 190–192, 198, 228, 241**). The vertical form occurs on bowls and dishes or on kraters with very small openings (Nos. **142–143, 172–176, 189, 193, 195**). The curve varies somewhat but except for the elaboration of a secondary projection on No. **141**, it is usually fundamentally the same. In fact the lip profile may be inverted for the base of vase or lid (Nos. **130, 161, 151, 156–160**) with one example of the double projection (No. **150**). The outline of flaring rim and conical base ending in a simple rounded curve is in accordance with Proto-attic simplicity.

This morphology has as its basic principle expression in mass. By allowing centrifugal force to shape the clay most economically the potter attains capacious and sturdy shapes that develop into the powerful vases of the late seventh century, the typically Attic *Bauchamphorae* decorated with lions, sphinxes, or horse protomes. Their rotund surfaces offer a suitable field for flowing designs and silhouettes contrasted with empty spaces.

Now this interest in mass is in direct antithesis to the interest in contour which is exemplified in Protocorinthian, Rhodian, and Ionian wares generally. Presumably the richer east drew its inspiration for pottery from metal-work. Nicety of detail and refinements of turning preoccupy the metal worker and challenge the potter to follow him. In one other large class of contemporary vases, however, the interest in mass is the directing principle to a far greater degree than in Attica. This is the Greek Island ware, from its Geometric beginnings straight through its ripest Orientalizing phases. The great bulbous or ovoid bodies, the flaring rims, the splaying conical feet build up massive vases to which the casual contours are unimportant.[1] It is interesting to trace the development of the amphora, for instance, from its Geometric prototypes to the form in

[1] Cf. Pfuhl, figs. 99ff.; Dugas, *Cér. des Cyc.*, pls. IIIff.; Payne, *J. H. S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 203ff.

which the neck merges into the body, a characteristic Proto-attic shape.[1] The late occurrence and the small size of the Island examples of this type indicate that it was the Attic potter who appreciated the possibilities of the shape and developed it fully. But he, like the Boeotian potter, undoubtedly owed much to Island influence for the underlying principle and even for details. For instance, Island influence is apparent not only in the shape and rim but in the elaborate handles with openwork on the Kynosarges amphora. These handles occur as early as Geometric times in Thera.[2]

Style

As with the Geometric ware, we have given three descriptive terms to three classes of Proto-attic pottery which were apparent in the deposit. In actual fact, the phases represented are but two, Subgeometric and Orientalizing. For convenience we have divided the latter class into early and ripe Orientalizing styles. Since our deposit gives no evidence for even the relative chronology of these classes, it seems wise not to insist severely upon any temporal sequence. Stylistic sequence, however, can be traced, and the evidence for its dating is discussed after its analysis (see p. 635).

A. Subgeometric Style

The simplest class shows in glaze, shapes, and style a degeneration of Geometric types. It may be said to differ from Geometric in the relaxation of drawing, which no longer has the appearance of stencilling. To it belong the amphorae, jugs, stands, dishes, and bowls that are decorated with careless Geometric designs in poor glaze. Much Phaleron ware belongs to this category. It has, as Payne says, "a chaotic looseness, the result of disintegration."[3] Yet in it we can perceive a quickening even before the stimulating influence from the east. That most interesting oinochoe with the panel on the shoulder (No. **210**) shows no oriental influence, but it has more life than any Geometric drawing. Though the paint is poor and the style primitive, the picture is not mere decoration. According to the usual formula, the rider should sit more quietly and pay more attention to his reins. But this rider is exuberant. The artist gives a sense of action cleverly controlled to balance through the diagonals formed by the legs and arms of the rider, the whip and the projecting head of the horse. In this swing of legs and arms, in the touch of realistic contrast between the streaming and the tumbled manes, in all the stenographic detail, we see vitality and promise.

B. Early Orientalizing Style

Into this world of chaotic energy comes a fresh stimulus from the east. At first new motives are added superficially without realization of their value. Geometric

[1] Dugas, *Cér. des Cyc.*, pp. 233–234, fig. 118.
[2] *Ibid.*, pl. VI, 3; *Thera*, II, figs. 144, 336, 341.
[3] *J. H. S.*, XLVI, 1926, p. 205.

tradition keeps the patterns close and neat, as on the early kantharoi and oinochoai (Nos. **202–208**; **216–217**). The sober light-on-dark tradition of late Geometric times also holds for the black oinochoai and bowls with sparse decoration in white (Nos. **172–173**; **211–212**). Then the artist begins to appreciate the possibilities inherent in the flexibility of the new motives. In floral designs the rigidity is first relaxed, as in palmettes and volutes, cunningly combined (Nos. **204**, **213**) or later, in sprawling tendrils ending in palmettes like small blossoms (Nos. **136**, **169**). Human figures are rare, merely lean silhouettes as on the fragment like the Analatos hydria (No. **162**), a very early example. The artist gives new life to animals, to the restrained Geometric horses (No. **224**), to the stalking lions and deer (Nos. **215**, **194**), and to the animated birds upon his vases (Nos. **157**, **158**, **199**). In clay, his animals are still clumsy, but he gives certain examples character in the stockiness of proportion or in the inquiring turn of the head (Nos. **299**, **304**, **309**). In one small piece (No. **322**) the animal tosses up his chin and lifts his tail with a spirit that has nothing of the Geometric in it. Color lends gaiety to the figurines and shields, the modelling of which, however, is childish and inept.

C. Orientalizing Style

Thus to the hieratic mood of Geometric comes a complete reaction in the "great gay vases of the seventh century."[1] The artist suddenly released from old formulae explores the world for new ones. He adds to the richness of his vases by the use of incision and of purple and white paint. He adopts many new ideas, but he develops them more naturalistically than any of his contemporaries.

Characteristic of this period are the complicated floral designs. The Agora examples are fragmentary, but the restoration of No. **145** gives us some conception of the style, better examples of which are preserved at the Kerameikos. Not only is the flowing design admirably woven on the curved surfaces of the vase, but the bits broken off for insertions fit the panels with the elasticity of a living flower. Thus the vase is made vivacious and not heavy with intricate embroidery. This Attic nimbleness in the handling of floral design becomes vividly apparent if we compare this solution with the stereotyped complexities on the Island pottery to which it probably owes its inspiration.[2]

We find the same quality in renderings of animals. Even in the old light-on-dark technique we find an octopus as naturalistic as those of Mycenaean conception (Nos. **137**, **168**). An excellent instance is the lion oinochoe (No. **214**). This is not the silhouetted lion of the Subgeometric style; it is at once bolder and simpler. The artist has discarded the dotted muzzle, the wrinkled nose, and the teeth of alternate color which give the Burgon beasts a fabulous ferocity. The round eye, the more realistic teeth, and above all the ear playfully laid back to show the furry interior are refinements in the direction of naturalism. Although the type resembles the Island formula, as has been noted, rather

[1] Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, p. 9.
[2] Pfuhl, figs. 104 ff.

than the earlier Attic, it is actually closer to the oriental prototype than to any of these Greek examples. In fact details such as the line over the eye and the shape of the eye and of the ear are remarkably close to those on an Assyrian relief of the ninth century.[1] It is significant in this connection that also in Corinth, as Payne has pointed out,[2] Assyrian formulae displaced the older Hittite tradition for the drawing of lions some time about the middle of the seventh century. Not to the invention of the Athenian artist, then, but to his talent for adapting the oriental models do we owe the new style.

But the Athenian potter develops at this time a style of drawing the human figure which may be called his own. The sturdy legs of the wrestlers on the Kynosarges vase and of Herakles on the New York Nessos amphora have previously indicated to us the new skill in drawing the human body. Neither of them, however, equals our fragment of a similar amphora (No. **133**). The artist who, as we see from his erasures, had to struggle over his lines, persevered until he produced a masterpiece of swinging contours, surprisingly simple. Even the knee-cap is rendered without elaboration. This is the style of fresco-painting. We may perhaps regret that vase-painting so soon abandoned this manner for the compact and dainty spirit of Black-figured ware. Its final expression may be seen in the bold style of the Athens Nessos amphora and in the great lion and sphinx amphorae,[3] the last products that may be called Proto-attic. In actual painting, however, as on the plaque (No. **277**), the drawing of this period is sketchy. Interest is concentrated on the arrangement of color and of pattern rather than in nicety of line. The excavations at the Kerameikos have revealed better than those in the Agora what the coroplast of this period could accomplish.

Summary

The Proto-attic style, then, as we see its development, is a style of reactionism. It shakes off the restraint of Geometric tradition, expands toward freedom and exuberance, and finally tempers itself into the restraint of the Black-figured style. It is one of the freest periods in Athenian art. If this freedom has necessarily the awkwardness of immaturity, it has a vitality greater than that of any contemporary expression. Not only is the Attic potter free to choose what he will from the repertory of other styles, but he is free to re-observe the subjects, making them somewhat his own. With strange independence he avoids copying pattern for its own sake. This tendency toward naturalism is what carried the Athenian artist through the decorative period of his art, in which the Rhodian and Corinthian far excelled him, to the peculiarly Attic creations of the Black-figured and Red-figured styles.

[1] Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1912, p. 10, fig. 7.
[2] *Necrocor.*, pp. 67 ff.
[3] *B.C.H.*, XXII, 1898, pp. 282 ff., figs. 4–5.

Our material is not sufficient for a full analysis of the various influences which contributed to the creation of this Attic style.[1] We may only indicate briefly the general course of foreign influence and the particular contributions that are clearly visible. The motives found on the Subgeometric style, the rectilinear inheritance from Geometric, are well-known and easily recognizable. The first orientalizing motives to appear are rays and curvilinear designs: wavy lines, volutes, the guilloche, tendrils ending in palmettes, spiral-hooks, and similar S curls. Since these filling ornaments are, in general, common to Orientalizing art, it is impossible to attribute them to any special origin. The presence, however, of much Middle Protocorinthian in our deposit, and particularly of Attic imitations of it, shows that Attic potters were familiar with Protocorinthian and presumably learned much from it. This influence is perhaps apparent in the oinochoe with bands around the body (No. **213**) and in the coursing hare and hound on No. **331**, but it does not appear in shapes nor in the typically Protocorinthian arrangement of designs in fine zones completely encircling the body. Nor is there in Attica anything comparable to the Protocorinthian Black Polychrome or elaborate "Black-figure" style. The relation seems to have been closest at the beginning of the seventh century, at about the time of the Theban krater the Centaurs of which have a younger brother on a Protocorinthian pyxis dated *ca.* 675–650 B.C.[2] But the outline heads of Attic men and animals show another influence.

The technique of outline heads is, of course, eastern—Rhodian and Island. From the islands also come many other details observable on early Orientalizing Proto-attic vases. Not only certain filling ornaments, such as dotted circles between rays (No. **202**), but far more important elements are close to those of the Island Linear Orientalizing style. We have shown the influence on shapes (see above, p. 630). In design the principle of asymmetry, of deliberate differences between back and front or between zones, is characteristic of Island vases.[3] This principle, visible early on our kantharoi (Nos. **200**, **202**, **204**) is carried down to the New York Nessos amphora. The placing of the design earlier in the period on the neck and shoulder and later as a large scene on the body also follows the Island development. Finally, the subjects, such as lion protomes, grazing horses and deer, and lions with uplifted paws arranged heraldically rather than in zones, are definitely in the Island tradition.

We have also noted the Island type of polychromy among our sherds (see above, p. 629). Most of this influence seems to have come from the Linear Orientalizing style, but elements in what Payne calls the Melian style[4] also clearly appear in our ripe Orientalizing phase. It has been noted that the Kynosarges vase shows Island influence, in shape and form, as well as in the typical large scene with a chariot.[5] These more complex pieces of

[1] See in general Pfuhl, I, p. 125 for bibliography.
[2] Payne, *Protokor. Vasenmalerei*, pl. 16, No. 3.
[3] Dugas, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, VIII, 2; p. 262.
[4] *J. H. S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 208ff.
[5] See above, p. 631, and Dugas, *op. cit.*, p. 256; Pfuhl, I, p. 123.

Proto-attic style show by their "delight in sharp contrasts of colour, their thickly woven decoration and heavy, obvious rhythms," a relation to the Melian style.[1] In later Proto-attic this influence continues, even down to the horse and human head protomes of the amphorae dating at the end of the seventh century. It is curious, in view of this close relation with the islands that only a few actual importations from the east were found in our deposit – the East Greek bowl (No. **125**) and probably another East Greek piece (No. **139**). Other East Greek wares, however, have been found elsewhere in the excavation. It is worthy of mention that a flake of obsidian, presumably Melian,[2] came from the deposit.

From one other direction foreign elements seem to have penetrated into Attica, namely, from Crete. We have suggested that polychromy spread from Cyprus through Crete to the mainland and our best example, the plaque (No. **277**), shows Cretan relations also in the type. The Light on Dark ware can be attributed to Cretan sources. It is probable that this influence came through the islands, not directly from Crete. For though simple Subgeometric or Early Orientalizing bowls and dishes are common in both places, no Attic vase-shape or motive can be directly traced to Cretan prototypes. In view of the so-called Daedalid sculptural tradition and to judge from the Cretan facial type on our plaque this influence appears to have been plastic rather than ceramic.

In return for all this, Athens seems to have given little in exportation. Her pottery is found only near-by, in Eleusis, Menidi, Thebes, and Aegina, with one possible sherd in Marseilles.[3] Her first exports seem to have been amphorae filled with oil or wine (see p. 571). Later, toward the end of the seventh century, her relations with Ionia and Corinth were to mutual advantage. Before that Athens was learning, and if she learned her craft more slowly than her contemporaries, yet she learned so well that ultimately she drove them all from the field. In this conservatism, which adapts rather than adopts foreign styles, lay her strength. Her reserved energy transformed what it learned to a brusque and spirited artistic expression. This expression is at once sensitive and robust, the work of youth not too quickly forced to maturity.

Chronology

The evidence for the absolute chronology of the Proto-attic pottery in our deposit is not sufficient for more than the large groupings indicated on the table (Fig. 91). The upper limit is set by the beginnings of Orientalizing styles towards the end of the eighth century, as derived from the dating of graves in the western colonies.[4] Parallels in Protocorinthian and Island Linear Orientalizing wares place the beginning of the riper Orientalizing style in the second quarter of the seventh century. The lower limit of

[1] Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
[2] Cf. R. C. Bosanquet, *Phylakopi*, pp. 232 f.
[3] Vasseur, *L'Origine de Marseille*, pl. 10, 13.
[4] See the most recent discussion, Karo, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLV, 1920, pp. 106 ff.

our deposit is set by the latest Protocorinthian pieces in the Black Polychrome style of the mid-seventh century and the aryballoi (Nos. **97–98**), which seem to fall just after the middle of the century, *ca.* 650–640 B.C. This evidence would place the actual dumping of the deposit around 640 B.C.; possibly as late as *ca.* 640–630 B.C. The contents of the deposit, however, cannot be dated later than *ca.* 640 B.C. The valuable evidence from the Kerameikos bears out this chronology. It is significant that the beginnings of genuine Black-figured ware, as on the Vourvá vases and the Peiraeus amphora, are not found in our deposit.[1] These styles, therefore, are to be dated in the period following that of our deposit, *ca.* 640–625 B.C., the late Orientalizing period.

The chronology indicated on the table (Fig. 91) is that suggested by Miss Richter, with some rearrangement in the order of her list.[2] In general it has been hitherto accepted, except by Buschor[3] and Rumpf[4] whose late dating is difficult to reconcile with our evidence. Payne's list of Attic pottery from about 625 B.C. onward[5] falls fairly well in line. It leaves, however, rather a long period, that is 640–620 B.C., for the development from the Kynosarges to the Peiraeus amphora. Our evidence, which dates the New York amphora somewhat before the middle of the century and the Kynosarges amphora somewhat after it, suggests that Payne's dating is perhaps a little late.

Conclusion

In this small space on the slope of the Areiopagos, then, we may read the dim traces of human activity. In obscure prehistory the people who made Middle Helladic pottery lived there or were buried there; of them we learn nothing more. Next we find that the people who made Geometric pottery—whoever they were—buried their dead upon the slope and practised the cult of the dead in the cemetery[6] (see above, p. 554). The presence of inscribed sherds also suggests a dedication to a supernatural power. Later when the houses superseded the graves, or perhaps intruded among them, it is probable that the living continued to pay respect to the dead. Finally, a mass of offerings, partially burned, mixed with ashes and the bones of sacrificed animals, votive pots and plaques, shields, figurines, and bronzes was discarded from some near-by place. Then the whole spot was covered and forgotten.

We must not overlook one possibility. This votive deposit was thrown in part at least upon the remains of an earlier building. Perhaps this was not by chance; perhaps

[1] Except No. 171, dating about 630–620 B.C., found on the surface.

[2] *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pp. 383–384.

[3] *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, p. 211; he places the New York Nessos amphora in his second period for the century, 650–550 B.C.

[4] In Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, II 3, Griechische und römische Kunst, p. 19. Kunze, *Kret. Bronzereliefs*, p. 254, note 23 follows the earlier dating. I owe these references to Mr. Payne.

[5] *Necrocor.*, p. 344.

[6] Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, Oxford, 1921, pp. 4ff.; cf. H. J. Rose, *Primitive Culture in Greece*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 89ff.

the building was sacred—a very primitive temple—and the sanctity of the spot was not forgotten. The evidence, however, is to the contrary. The building evidently was once lived in, to judge from the hearth, pot, and quern upon the floor. Then the walls collapsed, covering the floor with a layer of clay. No figurines or any cult object was found below that layer of clay. The votive deposit above was mixed with stones and gravel, as though used as a filling and not thrown directly in a soft mound of sacrificial offerings above the house. The extremely fragmentary condition of a vast number of different objects argues that the deposit was but part of a much larger dump elsewhere. Finally, the absence of a later shrine in connection with these offerings can scarcely be fortuitous. It seems impossible therefore that there was a sanctuary in this exact spot.

But the cult of the dead which we have noted may well have continued from Geometric into Proto-attic times. Now the votive deposit as a whole exactly resembles that of the cult of the dead, probably of a hero, at Menidi. There and here the offerings consisted of exactly the same objects: the same type of shields and of horses, both fitting dedications to the hero, and of cauldron-shaped vases for the libation.[1] Plaques and pottery were also offered at Menidi. In addition, our plaque seems to point to some sort of chthonic worship. Let us consider the evidence for such a cult on the north slope of the Areiopagos.

Three possibilities offer themselves. The Metroon, sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, lay on the way up to the Acropolis in this general region.[2] The Mother of the Gods was apparently chthonic in origin, identified according to some authorities with Demeter. It is conceivable that our deposit belongs to an early chthonic sanctuary later called the Metroon. Somewhere near, below the Acropolis, also lay the Eleusinion.[3] We have noted that objects similar to ours were found at Eleusis. But in our present knowledge the topographical evidence seems unsuitable.

If, however, we glance upward to the rocky hill which overhangs this area (Fig. 92), a more tempting solution suggests itself. At the northeastern corner of the Areiopagos lay the sanctuary of the Semnai.[4] Of these ancient goddesses only late representations survive. Actually, we think of them as the Furies, the Erinyes, because Aeschylus paints them as unforgettably horrible, like the Gorgons and Harpies.[5] But other literary evidence indicates that the Semnai, whom he identifies with the Erinyes, were originally different. They seem to have been chthonic goddesses whose cult was definitely local, as opposed to that of the Panhellenic Erinyes and Eumenides.[6] One tradition connected the founding of the sanctuary with Crete; another associated its purification with that island. This

[1] Cf. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 526.
[2] Cf. in general Judeich, *Topographie*[2], pp. 343 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 287 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 300 ff.; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 364 ff.
[5] *Eumenides*, ll. 46 ff.
[6] J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 239 ff.

is interesting in view of the Cretan connections of our plaque (No. **277**). In contrast with the horrible appearance of the Erinyes, the aspect of the Semnai was not terrible. Nor has our plaque any of the grotesqueness of the Gorgon or the Harpy. The priestesses of the Semnai wore red, the color of the Underworld. The cult-offerings were those due chthonic deities, animal sacrifices, burned honey cakes, and milk. These goddesses may well have been a survival in multiple form of the pre-Greek earth-goddess, who had a chthonic aspect, according to some scholars, in Crete and even more probably on the mainland.[1] It is curious how well our plaques suit such a cult; the type is chthonic, the artistic form is hitherto unknown, and the characteristic attribute is the snake. It must be remembered that a terracotta snake was also found (No. **326**).

We have pointed out that most of the offerings in the votive deposit are like those in the cult of the dead, which would seem to suit the Semnai. But this sanctuary was not limited only to female deities. There were in addition altars of Hermes, Gaia, and Ploutos, also of the Underworld, and a shrine of Hesychos, the Silent One, a name suitable to a dead hero.[2] He was supposed to be the ancestor of the priestesses of the Semnai. In the precinct also, according to one tradition, was the grave of Oedipus, "the ghostly protector of the soil of Attica."[3] In other words, on a hill of which the slopes were once covered with graves, the cult of heroes and of chthonic deities was practised near a cleft which led to the Underworld. On the analogy of the cult at Menidi, we may suggest that the cult of the dead here also never died. Ghosts, particularly of the heroes who can give virtue and of the murdered who can avenge themselves, must be tended and appeased.

Actually, no such sanctuary has been excavated. From the ancient references, the centre of the cult of the Semnai appears to have been near the deep cleft at the northeastern extremity of the Areiopagos. Very possibly it was situated in the level space later occupied by the early Byzantine church of Dionysios, the Areopagite. From this place to the spot where the votive deposit was found is about three minutes' walk. The region near the cleft is more or less separated from the votive deposit, however, by a tongue of rock which projects northward (visible in Fig. 92 at the left). But just above the area of the deposit the rock was cut back in different periods to form a roughly rectangular space which may well have been a precinct. Had one wished to dump anything down the hill from this region, it would have fallen exactly where our votive material was found. Possibly the general precinct of the Semnai covered this whole north slope. Presumably the other altars and especially that of the hero were not clustered in one small spot, but each had its limited area, representing family or tribal cults, which later were assimilated into the one precinct of which the name has

[1] L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 5, note c; cf. *Cults of the Greek States*, III, p. 296. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 284, opposes this view.

[2] Cf. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 352.

[3] Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

come down to us. The varied character of the offerings, with their obvious relations to a hero as well as to a chthonic goddess, tends to support this theory.

If we assume for a moment that the deposit came from the near-by sanctuary of the Semnai, we may perhaps explain its presence by consulting contemporary Athenian history. It is well-known how Kylon, who had seized the Acropolis in an attempt to

Fig. 92. The General Area in its Relation to the Areiopagos and Acropolis. A, B, Geometric graves; X X, Area Shown in Fig. 6

set up a tyranny like that at Megara, was finally forced to descend by Megakles of the Alkmaeonid family. The conspirators tried to protect themselves by a cord which they attached to the statue of Athena, but they were set upon and murdered at the sanctuary of the Semnai where some took refuge at the altars. After this terrible pollution legend has it that Epimenides of Crete was summoned to purify the whole sanctuary. At this time the Kyloneion was probably erected.[1] However much truth there be in the story of Epimenides, nothing is more probable than the purification of the polluted sanctuary.[2]

[1] Thucydides, I, 126; Plutarch, Solon, 12; Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 365.
[2] Cf. Adcock, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, IV, pp. 27 f.

The evidence for the date of this episode is not absolutely definite.[1] It occurred after 640 B.C. when Kylon won an Olympic victory. Reference to an amnesty in relation to the conspiracy gives as a probable lower limit the archonship of Solon in 594 B.C. Scholars tend to consider that the codification of the laws of homicide by Draco owed its inspiration to the episode of the conspiracy. It would date therefore between 640 and 621 B.C. Bury suggests *ca.* 632 B.C.[2]

As we have seen, the archaeological evidence from the pottery and plaques indicates that the votive deposit as a whole is to be dated before 640 B.C. A few late seventh century or very early sixth century sherds were found in the upper layer, but not in the votive deposit. The date of the filling appears, therefore, to fall about 630 B.C., possibly as late as the last quarter of the seventh century. This coincidence in dates is striking. For if our deposit came, as we have suggested, from the sanctuary of the Semnai, at what more likely moment than at the time of the purification would this mass of material be discarded? In ordinary clearance of deposits from temples, the objects belong to a fairly long range of time, as is natural in the accumulation of dedications. But in the votive deposit proper, as distinguished from the miscellaneous filling of Proto-attic pottery in Area A–C, the mass of material belongs to the second quarter of the seventh century. Moreover, although a few of the objects had been burned as if for sacrifice, several were complete as though they had been preserved in a sanctuary, not merely broken and burned as offerings at a grave. All the evidence points to the use of discarded material from a near-by sanctuary as a filling. Such a filling would probably have been dumped from above, not brought up the hill from below. The objects in this filling may well have come from the sanctuary just above, on the slope of the Areiopagos. They may indeed be thank-offerings dedicated by those acquitted by the court of the Areiopagos of homicide or murder. It is tempting to suggest that they were carried to the place where we found them, if not by Epimenides himself, then by some energetic priest or priestess of the polluted shrine of the Semnai.

[1] See *ibid.*, Chronological Note on the date of the Cylonian Conspiracy, pp. 661 f.

[2] *History of Greece*, London, 1902, I, p. 188. Beloch, *Griech. Geschich.*, I², pp. 302 ff. argues for a date in the mid-sixth century. This view does not appear to have met acceptance.

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