

EXCAVATIONS IN KEOS, 1963

(PLATES 45-64)

TO MARTIN NILSSON

EXCAVATIONS at Ayia Irini and Kephala in Keos were resumed in the summer of 1963 by an expedition representing the University of Cincinnati.¹ As before, the enterprise was conducted in close collaboration with the American School of Classical Studies, which gave it formal sponsorship and provided many of the necessary facilities. Financial backing was supplied by the Classics Fund of the University, a bequest of Mrs. Louise Semple in memory of her father, Charles Phelps Taft. The Michalinos Company of Piraeus contributed generously by permitting free use of its land and buildings for the benefit of the archaeological investigation. The whole undertaking was authorized in the usual manner by the Greek Archaeological Service, to whose officers we would express thanks for support, encouragement, and friendly cooperation.

KEPHALA

The small cemetery on the southern flank of the headland, where some graves had been opened in 1960 and 1961, was thoroughly examined in 1963. T. W. Jacobson supervised the work for a period of four weeks, A. C. Renfrew and J. C. Overbeck each joining him for ten days. We believe that all the graves remaining in this plot have now been found and cleared. They were 31 altogether, some near the surface having been nearly obliterated by erosion but the greater number being intact.

Clearly the little village at Kephala had been a poor place, with small narrow houses clinging to the steep slopes of the promontory, harshly exposed to the elements. There is little or no ground in the vicinity that would attract a farmer; undoubtedly

¹ The regular staff comprised Mrs. E. G. Caskey, Mr. and Mrs. W. Kittredge, Mrs. A. H. Bikaki, Miss E. T. Blackburn, J. C. Overbeck, T. W. Jacobson, and L. E. Cotsen, architect. J. L. Caskey was Field Director. A. C. Renfrew and Miss E. B. Harrison took part in the work for shorter periods, and several colleagues who visited the excavations gave valuable information and advice: among them especially, A. R. Bellinger, M. Cameron, Mrs. M. Ervin, Miss V. Grace, Miss L. H. Jeffery, F. Matson, Mrs. E. L. Smithson, H. A. Thompson, E. Vanderpool, and Mrs. E. T. Vermeule. Our best thanks go to these and, particularly, to the Ephor Mr. Zapehiropoulos, the Epimelete Mr. Doulmas, and the Director of the American School, Mr. Robinson, for indispensable assistance. During the season D. Papaioannou was foreman and S. Maras was vasmender. About 25 workmen were employed. The digging itself began on June 3 and was concluded on July 24, some 30 more days being given to organization, recording, and study of the objects found.

In the following account these abbreviations are used: *Keos 1960-61* = J. L. Caskey, "Excavations in Keos, 1960-1961," *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 263-283; *M. & H.* = S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, *Crete and Mycenae*, London, 1960.

the people were fishermen and traders, especially in Melian obsidian, pieces of which are strewn over the whole site. Their pottery was of inferior quality. Few offerings were placed inside the graves. Nevertheless, the results of the investigation hold more than a little interest since this settlement is shown to be one of the most ancient yet discovered in the Cyclades.

A natural cleft in the rock of the headland, below the remains of the settlement on the southern slope, was chosen as a burial ground. The cleft runs roughly east and west, being about a meter wide at the bottom and opening to at least twice that width at the top. It is more than two meters deep in some places, and may be some ten or twelve meters long; the space is irregular in shape.

At the western end, the rock wall on the upper side was trimmed moderately flat and a pathway about 0.60 m. wide was cut into the floor of compacted clay at the bottom of the cleft, leading downward toward the east (Pl. 45, a, b). Evidently this *dromos* was designed as an approach to some structure, perhaps a tomb, that was being planned. But the scheme was abandoned; the entranceway ends abruptly, unfinished. Just here the clay bedding is fairly soft, but the whole enterprise was no doubt a weary work with the tools that were available, for these almost certainly were adzes and mattocks of stone.

Graves were built within the cleft, gradually filling it as generations passed and ultimately occupying some of the ground outside, a total space at least 16 m. long and 5 m. wide. In shape they were nearly round, or oval, or nearly rectangular, built usually with stone walls that were slightly corbelled, inclining toward the center (Pl. 45, c-f). Sometimes the grave was partly cut out of the rock, which formed one side. Often the floor was strewn with pebbles. A child's grave was made of four slabs set on edge; two other small skeletons lay in jars (e.g. Grave XVII, Pl. 45, d); still another was in a jar which had been placed in a stone cist. Covers, normally made up of three or four long narrow stones, closed the graves and in several instances were surmounted in turn by rounded or rectangular platforms. The wall of one grave (XIII, Pl. 45, f) may have contained a small symbolical doorway of the sort found in Syros and at Ayios Kosmas in Attica. No other example of this feature was seen in the Kephala cemetery, and even this single case was uncertain, most of the wall having fallen away on the side in question.

The skeletons were found in disintegrated condition. In some graves there were almost no bones; ten or more held one skeleton, some had two or three, one had four, and one had nine. A fairly common practice, evidently, was to use these graves repeatedly. Sometimes the latest body was laid directly upon the bones of those buried before, but successive floors could be distinguished in several of the graves. From time to time a wholly new grave was built above the earlier ones, yielding us an observable stratified sequence. In the course of time this process may have caused considerable disturbance. Certainly the earth around the graves contained fragments

of many pots, and a few other objects, that may have been placed in the region of the cemetery as offerings or memorials. This is a question that requires further study.

Most of the pottery is of coarse texture and is friable, although the firing was sufficient to yield red and brown colors. Traces of bright red surface coatings are found, and a number of pieces show rectilinear patterns produced by burnishing (Pl. 47, h, i).² Many of the vessels were large jars, either open or contracted to relatively narrow necks (Pl. 46, h, i).³ A few of the bases show mat-impressions (Pl. 46, g). Scoring of the sides is not uncommon (Pl. 47, g; note also the bored hole which shows that the pot was mended after cracking). Incised decoration occurs only rarely (Pl. 47, a). A characteristic form of lug, which we frivolously liken to the head of an elephant, is broad at the top and drawn downward into a long trunk, with a horizontal perforation that suggests eyes at either side (Pl. 47, a-e).⁴ Among the smaller vessels are bowls with plain upright or slightly everted rims. An open basin with a low pedestal, its rim projecting upward in a wide tab above the suspension-lug, is rather elegant in form (Pl. 47, f).⁵ The most bizarre shape is that of a scoop-like vessel that opens obliquely to the side and has a broad flat handle and two struts above the body (Pl. 46, e, f).⁶ A similar handle with incised decoration had been found in 1961,⁷ and fragments of several others have now been recognized at Kephala. There can be little doubt that these are related directly to the example found by Tsountas at Sesklo, and there are fragments of similar handles from the Agora excavations in Athens.

Two terracotta figurines, and possibly a third, were discovered in the cemetery. One is a grotesque little object, a standing ithyphallic figure with a cylindrical body and a roll of clay encircling it to represent the arms and shoulders (Pl. 46, a, b).⁸ The other is only a fragment, clearly the head of a much larger statuette (Pl. 46, c, d).⁹ The area of the face is triangular, coming to a point at the chin and having a knob at the top to represent the nose. At the rear there is another knob, perhaps suggesting the back of the cranium. The corners at the top are perforated vertically. At the base of the neck the clay spreads outwards where it has been detached from the shoulders.

² Similar pottery is found in Aegina (G. Welter, *Aegina*, p. 7, figs. 2-7) and in the Athenian Agora. The latter was shown me by Mrs. H. Immerwahr, who is preparing to publish it. Note that the light color on Kephala sherd Plate 47, i is from an incrustation, not white paint.

³ Plate 46, h, Inv. Kph.6, H. 0.447; found below Grave V. Plate 46, i, Inv. Kph.7, H. 0.562; burial urn, Grave II.

⁴ Cf. Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, fig. 79, 1, o. Lugs of the same form have also been found in the region of the Athenian Agora.

⁵ Inv. Kph.9, H. 0.116; from Grave V.

⁶ Inv. Kph.10, H. with handle 0.208; from Grave XX.

⁷ *Keos 1960-61*, pl. 92, f.

⁸ Inv. Kph.3.12, H. 0.072. Cf. Athenian Agora, P 25864, broken but very similar, and Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*, figs. 30, 110; for the arms, *ibid.* fig. 69, j.

⁹ Inv. Kph.3.13, H. pres. 0.051; found east of Grave XV. Cf. Tsountas, *Dimini and Sesklo*, cols. 297-298, pl. 35, 6a, 6b. This too is closely paralleled in the Agora collection (P 13926).

The plane of the face tilts backward, reminding one distinctly of the aspect of Early Cycladic marble statuettes.

Certain features of the material here collected point obviously to origins in the Neolithic period. Tsountas was almost surely right in assigning the scoop from Sesklo to his second Thessalian period, even though its finding-place was not stratigraphically secure. Four-legged vessels from Drachmani-Elateia¹⁰ and their parallels in Yugoslavia, as well as in Corinth, are presumably also related as ancestors of the Kephala type. The burnished patterns found at Kephala are paralleled in Aegina and in Attica and perhaps in the Troad (Kum Tepe Ia), while the ithyphallic figurine, a rarity, is at least reminiscent of crude seated male figures from Thessaly.

Other features appear rather to look forward toward the Bronze Age: the graves themselves, which resemble those of Chalandriani; the figurine with Early Cycladic affinities; the tapering vase in marble or alabaster that was found in 1961; and some of the pottery, which may be matched after a fashion in Troy I and in the first Early Helladic strata at Eutresis.¹¹

Until all the material from Kephala is examined, it will be prudent to reserve judgement about its relationships and chronology. The presence of late Neolithic cultural elements seems reasonably certain. Connections with the Bronze Age are less securely attested since the comparanda from the Cyclades are themselves not firmly dated. At Kephala there is none of the dark burnished ware with incised patterns (as seen e.g. on *Frying Pans*) that became abundant in Early Cycladic times, nor is there anything resembling the glazed ware (with sauceboats and askoi) of Early Helladic II.

AYIA IRINI

On the promontory of Ayia Irini in the great harbor excavations were continued in the areas opened previously. A comparison of the plan, Figure 1, with that of the first report (*Keos 1960-61*, p. 267) will show how much was done. Tracing of the fortifications, principally in Areas J, N, and M, was supervised by W. Kittredge; excavation of buildings in Area A was conducted by Mrs. Caskey, of the temple in Area B by Mrs. Bikaki, of remains in Area C by J. C. Overbeck, and of those in Area L by Miss Blackburn. For the first time it was ascertained that the site had been occupied in the Early Bronze Age. House walls of the Middle Bronze Age were found in several areas, and progress was made in uncovering the very extensive remains of Late Bronze Age buildings. The interior of the temple was wholly excavated, yielding a remarkable array of terracotta statues and indications that this building was used continuously for religious purposes from the fifteenth century to Hellenistic times.

¹⁰ S. S. Weinberg, "Excavations at Prehistoric Elateia, 1959," *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 190-195, fig. 12, pls. 63-65.

¹¹ *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pl. 45, II.30-32, II.40-42, pl. 46, II.28, 37.

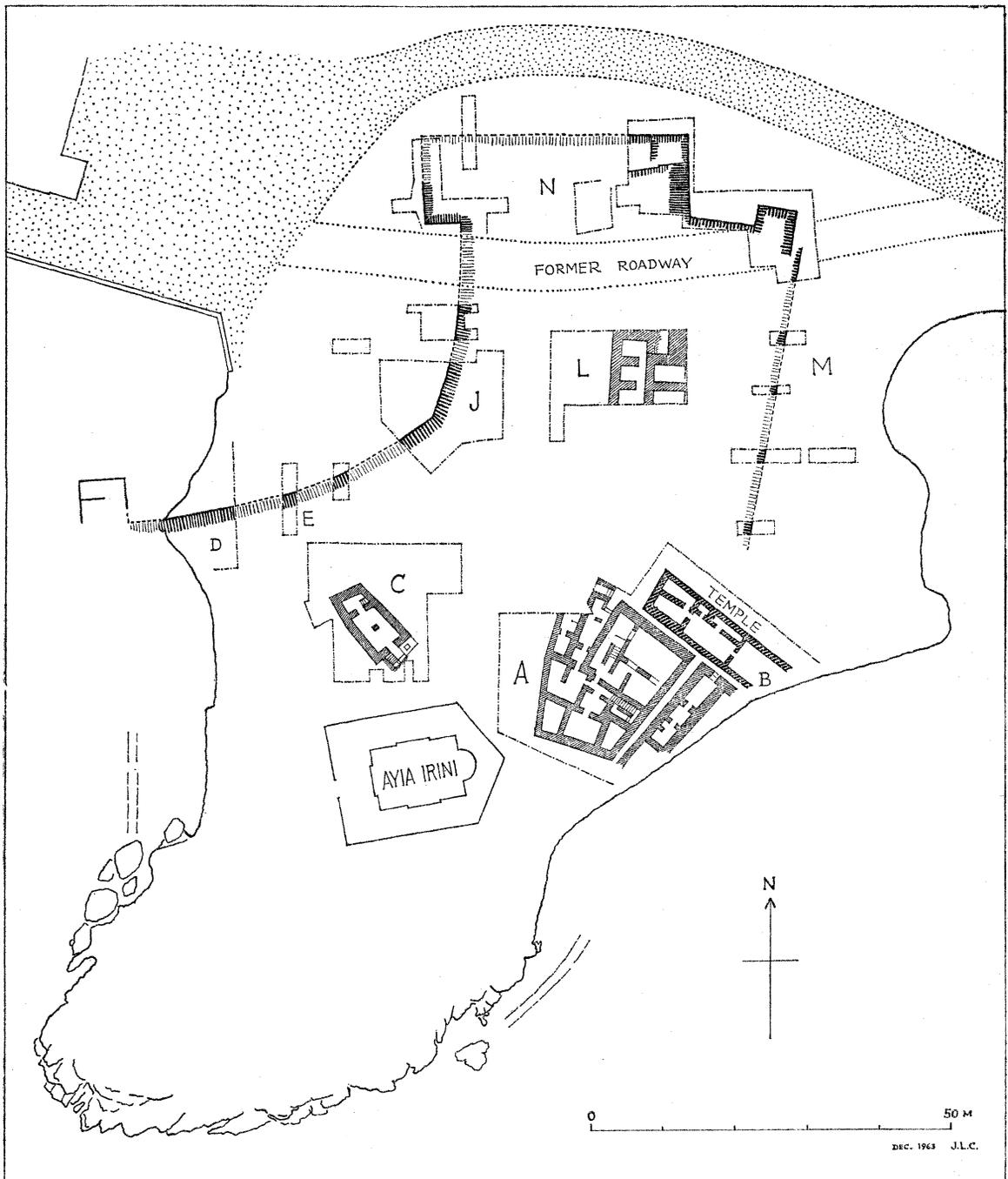


FIG. 1. Ayia Irini. Plan of Site, 1963 (After the survey by L. E. Cotsen).

THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

In Area C, along the northeastern side of the big building that appears on the plan and in the photograph, Plate 50, a (see also *Keos 1960-61*, pp. 274-276), late walls were removed to permit exploration of the earlier remains below. Here as elsewhere on the promontory this year, strata on the bedrock were found to contain pottery of known types assignable to Early Helladic II (Pl. 48, a-c).¹² On one of the earliest floors is a pan-hearth, rounded at the exposed end and with sides converging toward the other, where it is inaccessible at present (Pl. 50, c). The raised rim bears impressions of an oval stamp-seal (Pl. 48, k).¹³ This hearth lies within a space bordered by thin clay walls, and the whole complex is inside the room of a house. Walls very neatly built of flat stones are seen on the northwestern and northeastern sides, and in the latter there is a doorway with threshold blocks and pivot-stone (Pl. 50, b). Several periods of occupation are represented by these remains. The upper courses of the stone walls seem to have been exposed, and presumably to have been in use, in the Middle Bronze Age.

Traces of occupation in the Early Bronze Age were found in the western part of Area A (where the letter A appears on the plan, Fig. 1), below the walls of the later rooms. In more than one place the native rock itself had been shaped and dressed artificially, channels had been fashioned, and groups of small hollows drilled in the surfaces. No practical end seemed to be served by these cuttings; we wondered whether they might have some religious or magical significance. In any case, they were covered in time and walls and floors, of which remnants could be discerned, were installed. The associated debris contained fragments of sauceboats and related vessels, and great quantities of worked obsidian.

Many pieces of similar pots, especially sauceboats and small bowls or saucers, came to light in a thick deposit that was found in a deep sounding in the southern part of Area J, inside the line of the fortification wall. These, like the pan-hearth in Area C, belong very obviously to the same tradition as mainland pottery of Early Helladic II. Surprisingly, very little pottery of the corresponding Early Cycladic types has been discovered up to now; a small piece of a lid (Pl. 48, l)¹⁴ is exceptional. Fragments of marble figurines are found more frequently (e.g. Pl. 48, d-i)¹⁵ but scattered and generally out of context. A clay sealing from Area J (Pl. 48, j)¹⁶ was

¹² Plate 48, b, Inv. K. 2070, H. 0.04; c, Inv. K.2069, H. 0.07. Both from Area J.

¹³ Cf. stamp on handle of E.H. II jar from Lerna, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pl. 44,d (not in fact "contemporary with" but earlier than the House of the Tiles). The motif is common to many lands, over long periods.

¹⁴ Inv. K.1805, L. of sherd 0.029; from Area J.

¹⁵ Plate 48, d, Inv. K3.30, H. 0.028; e, Inv. K.3.218, H. 0.054; f, Inv. K3.297, H. 0.043; g, Inv. K3.212, H. 0.048; h, i, Inv. K3.1, H. 0.094.

¹⁶ Inv. K3.558, L. 0.07. Cf. Lerna sealing L5.730, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pl. 44, e.

found in disturbed earth but is probably to be dated in the Early Bronze Age. The button seal with a figure of a hound (Pl. 48, m)¹⁷ came from a Middle Bronze Age stratum but may perhaps be earlier.

It is a notable fact that no patterned ware of the kinds which occur plentifully in Early Helladic III (generally dark-on-light in northeastern Peloponnesos and light-on-dark in east-central Greece) has yet been found at Ayia Irini. Most reminiscent of the pottery of that period is an undecorated tankard (Pl. 49, a),¹⁸ but this was found in a small isolated sounding in the mud, below the floor of Room XII in the Late Bronze Age temple, and therefore cannot be assigned with certainty to a general layer.

THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

Observations in Area C particularly, but in almost all other parts of the site also, have shown that there was an extensive settlement in the Middle Bronze Age. Above the room with the hearth in Area C walls and floors in stratigraphical sequence gave evidence of long occupation, the houses being altered and replaced on many occasions. Gray Minyan (Pl. 49, b)¹⁹ and Matt-painted wares are found almost everywhere below the Late Bronze Age levels. Terracotta spoons of Middle Helladic type appear in this context (Pl. 52, a, b).²⁰ Deep in a trial trench, E, near the line of the fortification wall there was a fragment of Middle Minoan Kamares ware (Pl. 49, c, d),²¹ proving that contact with Crete had been established at least as early as the first Palace Period. Pots of Middle Cycladic types, imported as well as local, are not uncommon; the jug²² illustrated on Plate 49, e, from one of the rooms in Area L, belongs probably to the end of this period in the islands, when examples of comparable jugs appear in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. A cup in gray Minyan ware (Pl. 49, f)²³ from Area A may be ascribed to about the same period. In shape, color and fabric it reminds one strongly of the gray cups that continued to be made at Troy in the Middle and Late subperiods of the Sixth Settlement.

THE FORTIFICATIONS

The settlement on the promontory was guarded on the north, the landward side, by a heavy wall. Part of its course was determined in 1961, when we observed also

¹⁷ Inv. K3.457, D. 0.014. Cf. the graffito on a pithos from Askitarío, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1953-54 (3), p. 71, figs. 19a, 19b.

¹⁸ Inv. K.2038, H. 0.09.

¹⁹ Not inventoried; from Area B, deposits below Room XIII of the temple.

²⁰ Plate 52, a, Inv. K3.71, H. 0.064; from Area J. Plate 52, b, Inv. K3.322, H. 0.032; from Area C. Cf. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 147, fig. 3.

²¹ Inv. K.2067, L. of sherd 0.08, D. base 0.04; buff biscuit, lustrous black slip, dull white paint.

²² Inv. K.1601, H. 0.144; buff biscuit, dull orange-red paint.

²³ Inv. K.1680, H. 0.102.

that there were remnants under water, a few meters out from the shore of today (*Keos 1960-61*, pp. 277-278). That the banks have been eroded since ancient times is obvious.²⁴ The ends of house walls project conspicuously along either side, from top to bottom of the scarps.

In 1963 attention was directed chiefly to Area J and to the eastern part of Area N; deep tests were made in Trench E and new trenches were dug in Area M. It became increasingly evident that the wall was not all of one date but had been altered and reconstructed on several occasions.

A complex series of house walls was found in Area J just inside the fortifications. Preliminary inspection of the pottery suggested that most of the buildings belong to late phases of the Middle and early phases of the Late Bronze Age.²⁵ Some of the rooms are adjacent to the big wall; certain of them had clearly been cut when it was constructed, but in other cases it is not easy to determine whether the house wall was cut by, or built to abut against, the fortifications. Outside the latter there were no houses, but excavation yielded an extraordinary abundance of debris which indicated that rubbish was dumped there, probably in the course of reconstruction within the town after one or more earthquakes. In places the potsherds and small stones were of far greater bulk than the earth in which they were embedded. Most of the pottery is of coarse local fabric, conical cups, bowls, jars, and tripod vessels; among other objects found is the eye of a large animal figure (sheep?) in terracotta (Pl. 52, c).²⁶ The debris lies nearly two meters thick. A roughly-made pavement covers this, ascending from the outer side to the line of the great wall (Pl. 50,e). It seems unlikely that this pavement, almost a broad ramp, was there when the fortifications were still in serviceable condition; indeed one row of big blocks along the crest appears to have been laid casually as a retaining wall after the final destruction, when defenses were no longer erected.

At the present stage of the inquiry one may say only that the main wall was standing in the early years of the Late Bronze Age, that parts of it may have been constructed in the preceding period, and that we have as yet no conclusive proof that it survived even to the times of Late Helladic III.²⁷

²⁴ See photograph of western shore, *Archaeology*, XIII, 1960, p. 290.

How the erosion occurred in a place that appears to be calm and wholly protected from sea currents was a puzzle to us until the season of 1963 when, on June 17, there was a strong wind from the south and the water in the bay of Vourkari rose and fell nearly half a meter in its level every few minutes. As it ebbed, a very swift current brushed the shore, first on the southeast side of the peninsula (near Areas A and B; see Figure 1) and then on the west (from our Area D to the tip of the peninsula).

²⁵ See the Keftiu cup, *Keos 1960-61*, pl. 97, e.

²⁶ Inv. K3.265, L. of fragment 0.074.

²⁷ Mr. Kittredge observed that masonry with small flat stones stacked to fill the interstices, in the manner employed in archaic and classical Greek walls at Koressia and around Sounion, is found in some of the later construction.

Before continuing the excavation of the fortifications in the northeastern area it was necessary for us to close the section of the public road which had been cut straight through the site some 30 or 40 years ago and to build a by-pass around the edge of the hill (Fig. 1; Pl. 50, d). Considerable damage had been done here in recent years. As late as 1961 the local people had carted stones and earth away, destroying parts of the ancient masonry and habitation deposits, which are now very scanty in this region. Nevertheless, lines of the fortifications can be made out. There were massive works in the northern bastion, which clearly had been built in successive stages. Parts of the walls were more than three meters thick and may have been foundations for a tower. From there the wall runs slightly south of east to another rectangular projection and then turns southward. Observing a line of wall-face just beyond the eastern side of the rectangle, but parallel to it, Mr. Kittredge dug a series of trenches in Area M and southward, revealing bits of wall in close alignment, apparently all of one construction and running toward the temple in Area B. It is thinner, and made of smaller stones, than the parts of the fortifications hitherto exposed elsewhere. Further excavation may make its role more intelligible.

BUILDINGS OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE

Area L in the north-central part of the site was greatly extended during the season of 1963. Two years earlier, remains of what appeared to be a small metal-working establishment had come to light on the west side of this area. Sections of two buildings that were cleared this year also suggest industrial activity, although the evidence is still incomplete. One, in the space where the letter L appears on the plan (Fig. 1), had small neatly-laid walls and comprised three rooms in a row, communicating by doorways along the main central axis. East of this stood a second building, obviously much larger, with thick walls in which rough blocks of almost cyclopean size are seen (Pl. 51, b). In both cases the rooms are small; the heavy masonry of the eastern building must surely imply that it once had an upper storey, although not many fallen stones were found in the debris. The space between the two buildings is wedge-shaped, since their axes are not parallel, and is crossed by small walls which were put in at some time to form additional rooms.

Floors in parts of both buildings were covered with colored substances, red, brown, and yellow, and large quantities of white calcareous matter (as is visible in the far room in Plate 51, b). Also present in the eastern rooms were bits of bright pure-colored materials that we take to be pigments and some crushed murex shells which may have yielded purple dye. A number of bowls and basins contained a residue of white plaster, and there were objects, for example a small table or stand, made of stucco. All this suggests rather clearly that plaster workers had their quarters here. As has been observed, the main rooms of the larger houses in the town were decorated with frescoes, and the art seems to have been highly developed, undoubtedly after the

Minoan fashion. As the excavations proceed, ever more pieces are recovered; they are small and will require much study, but already illustrate a variety of patterns. In Area J, scarcely 20 m. west of the big building in L, fragments of a panel with representations of dolphins or fishes were found in 1963.

Bases of two large pithoi were discovered in place in Area L, one containing broken kylixes of Mycenaean type. Elsewhere also there were groups of broken pots on the floor, perhaps fallen from a bank of shelves. A collection of this kind is seen in Plate 51, c. It is made up of plain, moderately coarse, domestic wares of the sort found throughout the site in houses of the principal settlement. Although not independently datable, it conforms well with the chronological scheme that is indicated by imported objects, placing the *floruit* of the town in L.H./L.M. I-II. Some elements, like the ring-stemmed goblet in the lower left-hand corner of the photograph and a few pieces of Matt-painted pottery, show a survival of traditions from the Middle Bronze Age.

In Area A considerable progress was made in excavating the very large and complex building that had begun to emerge in previous campaigns. Some of the walls are shown schematically in the plan, Figure 1 (cf. *Keos 1960-61*, pp. 268-273, fig. 2). Other rooms, not indicated there, occupy the western side of the area, where the letter A appears. It seems probable that they were all parts of a single establishment which was built and remodelled in successive stages. Damage caused by earthquakes is evident almost everywhere.

The great building extends northeastward to the narrow lane that borders the temple, and on the southeast to the similar lane that runs past the "Long House"²⁸ of Area B. It is not clear where the main entrance was. This may still be discovered after more digging in the north and northwest, or we may find that it stood at a high level and has been lost altogether with the erosion of the mound. At least one new approach to the basement rooms was found in 1963. A staircase in the northernmost part of the excavated area leads down toward the east and then southward into a long cellar room, which communicates through a smaller chamber with Room XVIII (see *Keos 1960-61*, fig. 2). From here, it now becomes evident, one could pass through another door into Corridor XIX and thence into Rooms XV and XIII or up the stairway to the southeastern parts of the house. In 1961 the position of certain doorways, filled as they were with fallen stones, had not been observed and we had guessed that trap-doors and ladders might have given access to many of the subterranean storerooms, but as excavation proceeds we find that there was a clear, though labyrinthine, passage from most sections of the buildings to the others.

A great storage jar was discovered lying on its side in the western part of

²⁸ *Keos 1960-61*, p. 274, fig. 2. It should be observed that the "Long House" may be only part of a much larger building that extended southeastward where the sea has encroached upon the site.

Corridor XIX (Pl. 51, e). It is decorated with horizontal and wavy plastic bands and has small handles on the shoulder and near the foot. This jar had fallen from the floor above when the building was demolished by an earthquake. One must suppose that the walls buckled, dropping it and tons of debris into the lower passageway, and then closed over it, for it is now tightly wedged in the narrow space. A remarkably sturdy vessel, it was cracked but retained its shape, as may be seen in the photograph.

Just next to the fallen pithos there is a doorway leading north into another set of basement rooms. They are in ruinous condition and only one has been cleared. On its earthen floor were lying parts of a human skeleton, the remains no doubt of an unfortunate person who was in the cellar or in the room just above it when the earthquake struck with great violence. Seeing the state of the ruins, one is surprised that there were not more fatalities.

The northeastern section of the building (Pl. 51, a) presents many problems of interpretation. In the corner there is a large open space at a somewhat lower level than the main floor, possibly an unroofed courtyard, in which were found a large rectangular clay hearth and a podium built of big stones. Apparently there were no basement rooms just here. The court, if such it was, could be entered from the south and on the northwest a broad doorway with well-made stone threshold (Pl. 51, d) led from it into a paved anteroom, from which a flight of steps ascended gently southwestward toward the central part of the building. Only four of the stone steps were found in place, the foot of the stairway having been demolished in one of the many pits that have been dug all over the site in recent times when trees were set out. These stairs probably came to a landing and thence doubled back in the other direction to reach the upper storey.

In most of the basement rooms large quantities of pottery and numerous miscellaneous objects were found among the fallen debris, and in many cases it seems certain that they came from the upper floors when the building collapsed in the final great earthquake. In other rooms it appears probable that we have pottery from at least two stages of the occupation, but this fact can be determined only after further study. A small room, bearing the number I (it was the first to be recognized in the trial excavations of 1960), was cleared this year and yielded an exceptionally fine array of imported pottery along with the usual quantity of plain local wares. We believe the deposit to be homogeneous, i.e. buried at the same time. A selection of partially mended pots is shown on Plate 53.²⁹ The first two are fragments of alabastra, undoubtedly of Cretan origin: a has nautili and a pattern characteristic of the Marine Style (L.M. I B); b, a pattern of ferns and rosettes. The large jar, c, is unusual. Its contours suggest Minoan parallels but the shape is probably a more elegant version of the Mycenaean squat alabastron (cf. Pl. 53, f,³⁰ L.H. II, from the Long

²⁹ These have not yet been inventoried since other pieces may be found in adjoining rooms.

³⁰ Inv. K.1802, H. 0.103; buff-tan biscuit, black paint.

House in Area B). The fabric is very fine and light. It may well have been made in the Argolid. The fragmentary jug, d, and lower part of a stirrup-jar, e, are also of excellent workmanship, Minoan or Mycenaean. From Room II came fragments of other similar pots, a bowl decorated inside and out with marine motifs (Pl. 52, d) and the upper part of a Minoan jug (Pl. 52, e). Among the miscellaneous objects found in these rooms are rectangular plaques cut from boars' tusks, with two holes drilled at either end (Pl. 52, f),³¹ possibly but not necessarily from a Mycenaean helmet.

GRAFFITO IN LINEAR A SCRIPT

Among the sherds from Room I was one of moderately coarse ware, probably from the shoulder of a jar with contracted neck, bearing a graffito in Linear A script (Pl. 52, g).³² It is a monogram made up of two signs and is completely preserved, near one edge of the sherd. No other incisions appear on this fragment, and no other pieces of the pot have yet been found. The marks were neatly made with a sharp-pointed implement, before the clay was hardened, presumably therefore by a potter who was literate or at least thoroughly familiar with the signs that he copied. The fabric of the pot is not of the kind that occurs most commonly at Ayia Irini, and at present we cannot say whether it was made locally or imported. To the best of our knowledge this is the first example of Linear A script that has been found in Keos.

Dr. E. L. Bennett examined a photograph of the sherd and kindly provided notes on the document. The following brief comments are taken from the information that he supplied.

The two component signs are written one above the other, Linear A *L 82* below and *L 53* above, sharing a common line where they adjoin. The whole inscription may be assigned the number *II 27* in the series published by W. C. Brice³³ and the monogram, which is not elsewhere attested, may be listed as *Lc 89* in the numeration of G. Pugliese Carratelli which was continued by Brice.³⁴

Sign L 82, which occurs with slight variations in form at Ayia Triada, Phaistos and Knossos,³⁵ appears also in Linear B texts at Knossos, Mycenae, and Pylos as sign *131* (VINUM).³⁶ Bennett believes that it may stand specifically for a large unit of wine. Presumably the meaning is the same in both scripts. Sign *L 53*³⁷ is peculiar

³¹ Inv. K3.494, L. ca. 0.04. Ten whole or nearly whole, four fragments. From Room I.

³² Inv. K.2005, L. ca. 0.10; hard coarse sandy orange-brown biscuit, dark gray at core; wheelmade.

³³ *Inscriptions in the Minoan Linear Script of Class A*, Oxford, 1961, pp. 15-18, pls. XXIII, a-XXV and Appendix.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 32-33, Table 2.

³⁵ G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Le iscrizioni preelleniche di Haghia Triada in Creta e della Grecia peninsulare," *Mon. Ant.*, XL, 1945, col. 475, fig. 47, and *Lc 37*, fig. 52; Brice, *op. cit.*, Tables 1, 2.

³⁶ Ventris & Chadwick, *Documents*, p. 50.

³⁷ Pugliese Carratelli, *op. cit.*, col. 469, fig. 46; Brice, *op. cit.*, Table 1.

to Linear A and is written normally as here, with the taller upright stroke on the right, though occasionally it appears reversed and then somewhat resembles Linear B sign 60 (*ra* or *la*).⁸⁸ In the whole inscription *L 53* may plausibly be taken as an adjective of quality or quantity, modifying the noun *wine*; but even this partial interpretation is obviously uncertain.

Some lucky chance may give us parallels that will tell more about the pot and its size, shape, provenience, and date. At present one must assume that it is roughly contemporary with the other vessels that fell into the same basement room, among which are classic examples of Late Minoan I B styles.

THE TEMPLE

Excavation of the temple in Area B proceeded during the campaign of 1963. The building had been probed in one of the first trial trenches in 1960 and its unusual character had been recognized when larger parts were cleared and the main lines were determined in 1961. This year the rest of the interior was excavated, yielding a remarkable series of terracotta statues and numerous other objects of interest. The stratification of deposits within the rooms and many evidences of successive reconstructions make it clear that the building had a very long history, beginning not later than the fifteenth century B. C. and continuing with little if any interruption down to Graeco-Roman times.

Details of this long sequence are still imperfectly understood. The discoveries of 1963 illuminated some features and made it possible to correct certain earlier conjectures, but the present report also must be taken as preliminary and provisional in character.

The position of the temple may be seen in the general plan, Figure 1. It is separated from the big building in Area A by a narrow alley. Along the other side, on the northeast, there was a broader street. The space beyond the northwestern end of the temple was open. From it, at one period, a flight of steps led up to the house in A. The walls of the temple at this end stand more than two meters above the floor within. It is not clear how much higher they were originally, or whether the building had a second storey (see below). At the southeastern end, as reported previously, parts of the structure have been lost by encroachment of the sea. The length of the northeastern wall as now preserved is about 23 meters, the average width of the building being slightly more than six meters.

Figure 2 is a plan of the temple, somewhat simplified and regularized, in an early period of its use. One notices that the northwestern end is not square with the rest, Rooms XI and XII having a different orientation and suggesting that they were laid out before the main axis of the existing structure was established. The wall at the

⁸⁸ Ventris & Chadwick, *Documents*, p. 41.

inner end of Room IV, which in 1961 was exposed only at its top and appeared to be unbroken, is now seen to have contained a doorway giving access to the rear chambers. This, like several other openings, was filled with masonry in one of the periods of reconstruction. Corridor VII, partly excavated in 1961, ends at the northwest with a heavy crosswall, beyond which is a very small room or cupboard, XIII. The general scheme appears in the photographs on Plate 54.

The first floor of Room XI, a hard stratum of trodden earth, slopes downward from *ca.* 0.70 m. above sea level at the inner end to *ca.* 0.35 m. at the crosswall. Below it there are walls and deposits of Middle Bronze Age debris. On the floor lay most of the fragmentary terracotta sculpture, concentrated near the rear wall (Pl. 55, c). We conjecture that Room XI was the most sacred place, the *adyton*; it is possible,

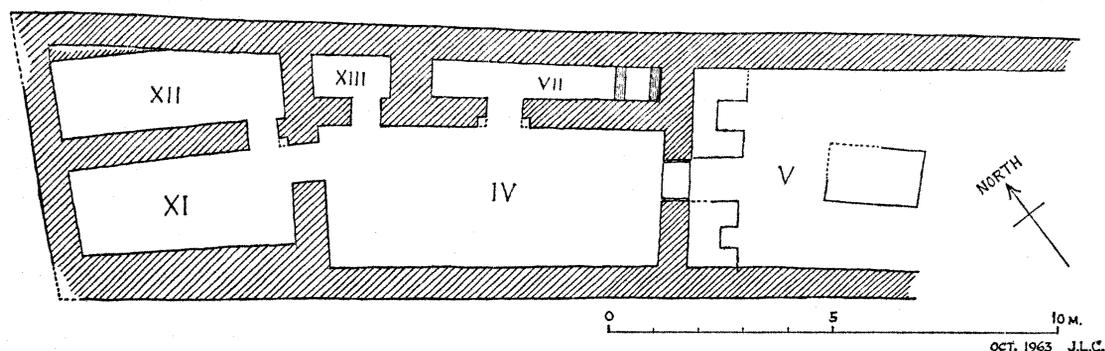


FIG. 2. Plan of the Temple.

however, in view of the shattered condition of the statues and the fact that many pieces were dispersed through other parts of the building, that the sacred repository was in an upper storey just above Room XI. Certainly this corner had a special significance. One may guess that Room XII was also important, but, unlike XI, it was found full of debris, perhaps deliberately packed solid after its destruction in the Late Bronze Age, without successive floor levels.

The earliest floor in the central part of the temple, Rooms IV, XIII and VII, seems to follow the slope observed in Room XI, soon running down below the present water level. This area has not been completely excavated. Presumably the early floor in Room IV is associated with the first threshold of the doorway into Room V (*Keos 1960-61*, p. 279) and with a submerged floor in the southeastern section of the building. Subsiding of the ground, due to some convulsion of nature, may have flooded these lower sections at an early stage of the occupation, making it necessary to fill them and raise the floors to a dry plane.

Soundings below water level in Corridor VII produced sherds and objects, among them part of a boat in bronze (Pl. 56, c).³⁹ From the same corridor, but somewhat

³⁹ Inv. K3.600, L. pres. (bent) 0.134; from Corridor VII, —0.30 m.

higher, came the upper part of a small solid bronze statuette of a youth saluting in the Minoan fashion (P. 56, a, b).⁴⁰ It is a very fine piece, not inferior to the well-known statuette from Tylissos,⁴¹ and surely was imported from Crete. This and the pottery from the corresponding deposits in the temple belong to the early stage of the Late Bronze Age, being not later than L.M. I B and L.H. II. From the floor deposits in Room XI came a small jug with double rim (Pl. 56, d),⁴² another of heavy coarse fabric with a long neck and strange handle (Pl. 56, e),⁴³ both probably for ceremonial use, and a solid two-handled goblet of a mainland shape that goes back to Middle Helladic prototypes (Pl. 56, f).⁴⁴ Since many of these pieces were votive offerings it is probable that they were accumulated over a considerable length of time, not all made or deposited at once. Therefore the upper chronological limit cannot be fixed exactly, but the absence of L.H. III pottery gives a valid *terminus ante quem*.

THE TERRACOTTA SCULPTURE

It is to this main period—early Mycenaean and Cretan Late Palatial—that all or most of the terracotta statues belong also. The large head (Kl.458)⁴⁵ and certain other fragments that came to light in 1961 were at first tentatively dated in the twelfth century, since they were found in Rooms IV and V at levels where there was pottery of Mycenaean III C styles, but it now seems unlikely that any of the figures were made so late. Some pieces were in fact discovered well below the III C level, as reported after the first campaigns (*Keos 1960-61*, p. 280, nos. 1-11), and in 1963 it became evident that the whole group had been broken and widely scattered at a relatively early stage in the history of the temple, quite possibly in the earthquake that destroyed the great houses of the town. Fairly conclusive proof of this fact was furnished by the discovery that a fragment of pig-tail braid from the floor deposit in Room XI joined the 1961 head from Room V. One wonders whether this head may have been salvaged from the debris and kept in later Mycenaean times as an object of reverence. That something of this sort happened here in a still later age will be shown below.

The broken statues in Room XI lay in confusion, one piece above another and all severely damaged. It is hard to imagine that they merely toppled over from their normal upright position; rather we must suppose that they fell heavily from a certain

⁴⁰ Inv. K3.563, H. pres. 0.07; from Corridor VII, +0.25 m.

⁴¹ *M. & H.*, pl. 108.

⁴² Inv. K.2061, H. to rim 0.091; buff biscuit, black paint. Parts of another double-rimmed jug, with small vessels on the shoulder, were found here too. Cf. F. Stubbings, "The Mycenaean Pottery of Attica," *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 57, pl. 14, 8; C. C. Edgar, *Phylakopi*, pl. XXVII, 8, 9; H. B. Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. VII, 37.

⁴³ Inv. K.2036, H. to rim 0.24.

⁴⁴ Inv. K.2034, H. 0.158; hard pink biscuit, red surface.

⁴⁵ *Keos 1960-61*, frontispiece; *Archaeology*, XV, 1962, p. 223.

height, e.g. from a wooden bench, all traces of which have dissolved, or else from the floor above. Another possibility, probably rather remote, is that they were wantonly destroyed. In any case, a good many of the fragments are missing entirely. It will be difficult to reconstruct more than a few whole figures unless other pieces are found outside the building.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it is already possible to form an accurate picture of their general appearance.

Not less than 15 are represented, and the total number may approach 20. Examples are illustrated on Plates 57-61. It seems that all are female. The structure of some of the faces might be thought appropriate to unbearded male heads, but no parts of male bodies have been recognized among the fragments. The figures stand erect or bend very slightly forward. They wear bouffant or flaring skirts which reach the ground and may be thought to cover the feet, which are not rendered. This makes the statues appear shorter than normal human proportions would require. Heavy bands at the top of the skirts surround narrow waists. The shoulders are very broad, the breasts generally large but in some instances small and high. The upper body may be clad in a tight short-sleeved jacket, open in front to expose the breasts, or may be bare from the waist up. Those with the jacket sometimes wear what appears to be a close-fitting collar, the others a long heavy garland. The arms are held not upward, as we had guessed earlier,⁴⁷ but downward, clear of the body, with elbows bent slightly and hands resting on the hips. Heads are erect, surmounted by thick coils, the hair gathered behind and hanging in a long braid down the back.

There is much variety in the faces, some of which are gently smiling, some grave. The ears are large and placed high, in a corner made by the horizontal and vertical lines of the coiffure (Pl. 58, a, b). The eyes, few of which are well preserved, are rendered in different ways; rarely, it seems, in the big round form of K1.458. Most remarkable of all, perhaps, is the modelling of cheeks, chins, and mouths, as seen in the fragments with surfaces surviving, e.g. Plate 60, a, c and d. The hand of the artist was deft and sure, trained by experience and heir to a tradition of which we have no real knowledge whatever.

The technical feat of constructing and firing these statues, some of which were undoubtedly 1.50 m. or more in height, was no small accomplishment. The wet clay was heavy; parts of the figures needed mechanical support until the firing was completed. As noted in 1961, wooden posts were built into the torsos and arms. Vertical and horizontal passages appear frequently (e.g. in torso K3.613, Pls. 58, d and 59, e). In one fragment of a forearm charred wood was still in place, and a sample that

⁴⁶ One fragment of K3.630 (Pl. 59,f) was found in the upper debris of the house in Area A.

⁴⁷ *Keos 1960-61*, pp. 279-280; *Archaeology*, XV, 1962, pp. 225-226. The fragment of an arm shown on plate 101, a, of the former report has now been joined to the left shoulder of statue K0.30 (Pl. 59, a).

could be removed was identified as an osier.⁴⁸ The skirts are hollow inside; the larger heads have vertical open shafts. A large right breast found in 1961⁴⁹ shows impressions of many wooden supports on the interior; in some of the smaller figures plain conical cups, of the sort that is found by the hundreds all over the site, were used as cores on which the breasts were formed (Pl. 59, c).

As appears clearly in the photographs, the clay is very coarse in texture, containing large particles of local quartz and schist. Obviously the statues were made locally, in the town or near it. A coating of finer clay originally covered them all and is still visible on some of the pieces (e.g. Pl. 59, a, b, d, f), whereas on the head of K3.613 (Pls. 57, 58) only a tiny bit of the surface is preserved, at the tip of the chin. Traces of a fine white substance still adhere to parts of two heads shown on Plate 60 (a, d), suggesting that all the exposed skin of the face and perhaps of other parts of the body may have been coated with white and the features painted in colors, though of this there is no certainty. On one of the skirts there are remains of a thick sugary white stucco.

Statue K3.611 has been restored more nearly complete than the others. Three views of it appear on Plate 61; much of the garland, which resembles that of K3.613, exists but had not been attached when the photographs were taken. The upper and lower parts of this figure, which is now nearly one meter tall, were made separately and then put together, stone wedges being used in the setting, after which the finishing coat may have been applied before the whole figure was fired. The tilting forward of the body at hips and waist is probably intended, being part of a dancing posture. Indications of the bodily forms beneath the skirt, separation of the legs, and slight bending of the knees are apparent.

The head of this statue is very badly worn and much smaller than when it was made. It was found by us not with the other fragments, on the floor of Room XI, but nearly a meter higher, on another floor which had been installed in the same space at a very much later date, probably in the eighth century B.C. Furthermore, it is quite certain that it came there not altogether by accident, for when found it was set up in a specially made ring base of terracotta and surrounded by flat stones (Pl. 60, e).⁵⁰ We were astonished twice by the discovery, first when the head appeared on July 3 and again on July 15 when the mender, S. Maras, found that it fitted securely upon the breaks in the torso which had meanwhile been recovered from the original floor deposit of the fifteenth-century room directly below.

What had happened to the head during the interval of seven centuries cannot be known. Clearly it had been found at some time during that period and had been

⁴⁸ By Professor H. Muegel of the University of Cincinnati.

⁴⁹ Kl.460, *Keos 1960-61*, p. 280, no. 6.

⁵⁰ H. A. Thompson reminded us of a Roman marble head, Agora S 1319, which was set up in a makeshift base (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 43,1; E. B. Harrison, *Portrait Sculpture*, p. 25).

treated with respect, perhaps being handed down from generation to generation, always in the same precinct, where there is other indubitable evidence of continuous cult practices (see below).

The nature of the early cult and the significance of the statues are subjects for further study hereafter. It is obvious that many of the forms here represented are derived from Crete; connections with the Peloponnesos are equally certain; and yet both the temple and the sculpture are, first and foremost, local. One or more of the statues—presumably the largest, which are attested by fragments only—may have been cult images. The others are so numerous that we must take them to represent attendants or votaries of the divinity.

The posture of dancing women with hands on hips goes back at least to the Early Palatial period in Crete, appearing in painted figures on pottery from Phaistos.⁵¹ It occurs on a clay sealing from Ayia Triada⁵² and on an engraved gold ring from Mycenae.⁵³ The "Mother of the Mountains" from Knossos (not dancing) holds her right hand to her waist.⁵⁴ In the ivory statuette from Tomb LI at Prosymna the left arm was held down while the right hand was raised to rest beside the breast.⁵⁵ A charming little terracotta figure,⁵⁶ Mycenaean (L. H. II?) and said to come from Sparta, portrays a village girl in a flounced skirt dancing with hands on her hips, in a posture like that of the ladies from Keos.

Parallels in the costumes need little comment. The Minoan bodice, adopted in Mycenaean courts, is represented in fresco, sculpture and engraving, and the bare torso also appears frequently. It is an interesting coincidence that a small seated figure in ivory from Mycenae⁵⁷ wears the bodice, whereas a related oriental relief from Ugarit,⁵⁸ with which the former is often compared, is nude from the waist up and wears only a necklace. The plain skirts of our statues may have borne painted or even applied decoration, which has all been lost, and some may possibly have been flounced; ridges are preserved below the usual girdle on the skirt of K3.630 (Pl. 59, f).

THE LATER MYCENAEAN PERIODS

Fragments of pottery in Mycenaean III A and III B styles are found in the temple just above the original floor deposits but not in recognizable strata. Further

⁵¹ D. Levi, *I.L.N.*, Jan. 19, 1952, p. 106; Chr. Zervos, *L'art de la Crète*, fig. 393.

⁵² M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd ed., Lund, 1950, fig. 134, pp. 276-277.

⁵³ *M. & H.*, pl. 206, upper right.

⁵⁴ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, p. 596, fig. 597A, e.

⁵⁵ C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, pp. 461-463, figs. 573, 729-731. Cf. a bronze from Ayia Triada, Zervos, *L'art de la Crète*, fig. 508.

⁵⁶ Formerly in the Antiquarium in Munich, now in the Prinz-Carl-Palais (no. 7635).

⁵⁷ *M. & H.*, pl. 217.

⁵⁸ C. F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica (Mission de Ras Shamra, III)*, frontispiece.

examination of the material may yield information about this period, when parts of the building were undoubtedly in use. The most striking piece seen in 1963 is part of a ritual vessel, made up from many minute sherds, with a band of warriors in procession on the side (Pl. 62, a).⁵⁹

About one meter above the first floors in the central and southeastern sections the walls show evidence of reconstruction, and at this level there were extensive deposits of pottery in the style of Mycenaean III C. Fragments of a krater-bowl (Pl. 62, b)⁶⁰ were found in Room IV. Corridor VII produced a number of whole pots, a selection of which is shown on Plate 62: c, a conical bowl with spout and two handles; ⁶¹ d, a small one-handled cup; ⁶² e, an amphora; ⁶³ f, a krater-bowl; ⁶⁴ g, a krater.⁶⁵ In most of these the biscuit is gritty, the surfaces light-colored, and the paint pale and fugitive. Their provenience remains in doubt, as does the more precise dating of the individual pieces. Judged by shape and style, the krater-bowl K.1700 might be somewhat later than the others, belonging to Mycenaean III C 2.

THE POST-MYCENAEAN PERIODS

Little or nothing of late Mycenaean date was found in Room XI, but it was here especially that the long series of occupations was continued from around 1000 B.C. down to Hellenistic times. Traces of these later re-uses of the building had been noted previously in the other sections, especially in the topmost deposits near the modern surface of the ground, but they were relatively meager.⁶⁶ Room XI, where the statues had been buried centuries before, seems to have been regarded as the most sacred place. By the sixth century it had become a shrine of Dionysos. There is indeed no conclusive proof that the stratified floors of the intervening ages belonged to a religious establishment, but one can scarcely imagine that this one small room—of all the area on the promontory—was chosen by chance as a solitary domestic house. Direct tradition dictated its function. "In antiquity . . . the reason for erecting a temple in a certain place was that this place was previously holy. The sacredness was inherent in the place"⁶⁷

⁵⁹ Inv. K.2071, H. of fragment 0.10. The shape (cf. Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XIX, 137) was recognized by Mrs. S. Immerwahr.

⁶⁰ Inv. K.2048, H. pres. 0.08. Cf. an example from Perati, S. Iakovides, *Πρακτικά*, 1955, pl. 33, b, no. 642; Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery*, Motive 50. This piece might be classed as late III B.

⁶¹ Inv. K.1698, H. 0.115.

⁶² Inv. K.1699, H. 0.074.

⁶³ Inv. K.1703, H. 0.31. Cf. an amphora with handles to the rim, from Perati, S. Iakovides, *op. cit.*, no. 413.

⁶⁴ Inv. K.1700, H. 0.098. The potter may first have painted wavy lines in a panel or zone on the side and then decided to cover the whole surface. Cf. V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*, Oxford, 1964, pp. 11-12, pl. 12, a, b, e, f.

⁶⁵ Inv. K.1833, H. 0.22.

⁶⁶ *Keos 1960-61*, p. 281.

⁶⁷ M. P. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

There was a hard stratum in Room XI, through which the tops of a few statue fragments projected slightly. Whether this was a floor or had merely become compacted during a period of disuse (presumably in Mycenaean III B-C) is uncertain. Above this, covering all the fragments, was another deposit in which Protogeometric pottery was present in considerable quantity (Pl. 63, a-c) : ⁶⁸ cups, skyphoi, and larger vessels, probably manufactured in Attica and spanning the tenth century, are adequately represented. After this, the sequence of floor levels continued, some being of beaten earth, others having rough cobble or flagstone pavements. The deposits were not perfectly sealed off from each other; inevitably some disturbance occurred as the room was cleaned and reorganized from time to time, but the development of styles in pottery follows the known chronological steps.

Not many pieces can be assigned to the ninth century but occupation in the eighth and seventh is well attested (e.g. Pl. 63, d, e).⁶⁹ During the eighth century there was a stone pavement in the room and some structure made of huge rough blocks stood in or above it. These fell, and evidently proved too heavy to be removed (Pl. 55, a). With difficulty we succeeded in taking them out, and at the far end of the room found the terracotta head which has been mentioned above (p. 330, Pl. 60, e-g) resting in its base, untouched by the great stones that had crashed around it.

The southeastern part of the room was perhaps less encumbered or easier for the people to clean out. It remained in use as a shrine and was gradually filled by successive deposits until the whole space was level again. Here we found a stratum containing burnt matter and many fragments of pottery, chiefly drinking cups of various types, datable in the sixth and early fifth centuries. Among them were a kantharos lacking one handle (Pl. 64, c)⁷⁰ and fragments of several Attic kylixes, one of which has on the interior a picture of a satyr sitting on an amphora (Pl. 64, f, g).⁷¹

The divinity worshipped here was Dionysos. With the other cups was the bottom of an Attic skyphos (Pl. 64, a, b)⁷² with graffiti on the under side:

ΕΥ+ΞΑΜΗΝΟΣ
ΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ
ΔΙΟΝ[Υ]ΞΟΙ
ΑΝΕΘ[Η]ΚΗΝ
ΤΗΝΚΥΓΙΚΑ
ΤΗΝΔΗ

⁶⁸ Plate 63, a, K.2047, H. pres. 0.12; cf. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 80-81, pl. 10, Ker. 547. Plate 63, b, K.2057, H. pres. 0.113; *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83, pl. 33, VI, 20 (from Knossos, probably Attic). Plate 63, c, not inventoried; *op. cit.*, pp. 98-101, pl. 11, Ker. 1104, 1082.

⁶⁹ Plate 63, d, K.2079, H. 0.058; Plate 63, e, K.2080, H. 0.061.

⁷⁰ Inv. K.2058, H. to rim 0.135.

⁷¹ Inv. K.2078, H. 0.081. Sir John Beazley, who has seen a photograph, kindly writes "the cup is to be put somewhere in the neighbourhood of *A.R.V.*², pp. 139-144 (Pithos Painter to Heraion Painter)."

⁷² Inv. K.2068, D. base 0.11.

Along one edge, written as an afterthought to identify the dedicant, are the words:

HOIOGIETHΞ

“Anthippos⁷³ of Ioulis prayed and dedicated this *kylix* to Dionysos.” The letter forms are suitable to the late archaic period in Keos where, as in Delos, the confusion between E and H is not uncommon.⁷⁴ H serves here also for the aspirate. The word *κύλιξ* for what we call a skyphos is surprising but is attested in the fourth century at Al Mina, where it appears as *κόλιξ*, again on a base.⁷⁵

Another inscription in small neat letters is scratched on the standing surface of the ring. Parts are missing and parts worn away. One of the words may be *Κορέσσιος*, followed almost certainly by *καυχόμενος*: “that boaster from Koressia.” If our reading is correct we may have here the echo of a local rivalry, heightened perhaps for the moment by a drinking party of the kind that Bacchylides had in mind:⁷⁶

⁷⁶ *Bacchylidis carmina* (Teubner ed. 7, B. Snell), Enkomia, 20 B, 3-9.

ὄρμαίω τι πέμπειν
 χρύσειον Μουσᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρω πτερόν
 καὶ συμποσίαισιν ἄγαλμ' ἐν εἰκάδεσιν
 εὔτε νέων ἀπαλὸν γλυκεῖ' ἀνάγκα
 σενομενᾶν κυλίκων θάλπησι θυμόν
 κύπριδος τ' ἐλπίς διαιθύσση φρένας,
 ἀμμειγνυμένα Διονυσίοισι δώροις·

Elsewhere⁷⁷ the poet says *Βιωτίοισιν ἐν σκύφοισιν οἶνος ἡδύς*. He was a fellow-townsmen of Anthippos's and quite possibly a contemporary.

Worship of Dionysos was carried on in the shrine at least into the fourth century, as attested by another graffito (Pl. 64, d). Of still another, only the letter Ξ is preserved (Pl. 64, e). A wine jar with a non-Greek stamp on the handle was found in a late context.⁷⁸ Above the standing tops of the temple walls there were remnants of a small rectangular structure which may also have been sacred to the god. Near the present surface of the ground, about three meters above sea level, were found a coin of Ptolemy (probably Soter), one of Antigonos (probably Gonatas), and one of Keos itself.

⁷³ Not otherwise known. Bechtel lists only one of this name, an Argive.

⁷⁴ L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, pp. 289 ff., especially pp. 296-298. Note that Anthippos changed his mind after writing the third letter of *ἀνέθηκεν*.

⁷⁵ J. D. Beazley, “Ten Inscribed Vases,” *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1953-1954, Part I, pp. 205-206. For other graffiti on bases see L. Talcott, “Vases and Kalos-names from an Agora Well,” *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 332-354, especially fig. 15.

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, Enkomia, 21.

⁷⁸ Inv. K.1830, H. pres. 0.51. Miss Grace examined it in Keos; see *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 332, *Addendum*.

A search for cemeteries was begun in 1963 on and just below the rocky slopes to the north of Ayia Irini. One structure, roughly circular in shape and built with many large stones, was encountered near the foot of the hills but at a level where water prevented a thorough investigation. Further exploration in this area, as well as in the settlement on the promontory, will be undertaken in 1964.

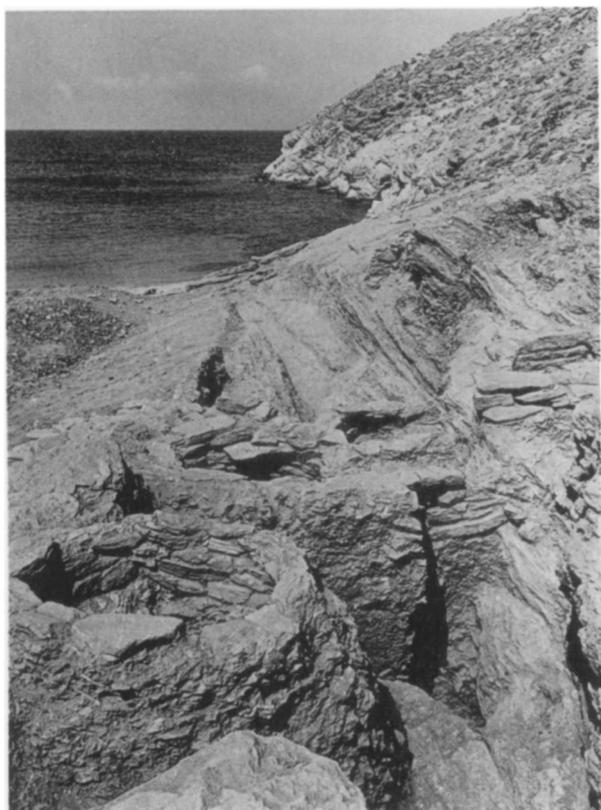
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Postscript:

From information gained in the campaign of 1964, when this report was in proof, certain additions and corrections may be made. Grave plots and remains of houses at Kephala are more extensive than we had supposed. Several more Linear A signs have been found at Ayia Irini. Walls of the temple, in part at least, were built in the Middle Bronze Age; what were called in 1963 the "first" or "earliest" or "original" floor deposits are those of L.M./L.H. I-II. The new evidence will be described in a subsequent report.

—J. L. C. September, 1964.



a. Kephala Cemetery from East.



b. The Dromos from West.



c. Grave XXVI.



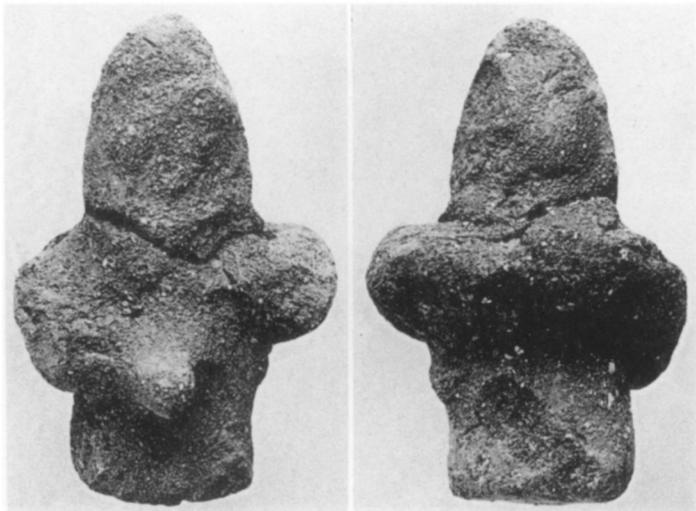
d. Grave XVII (jar burial).



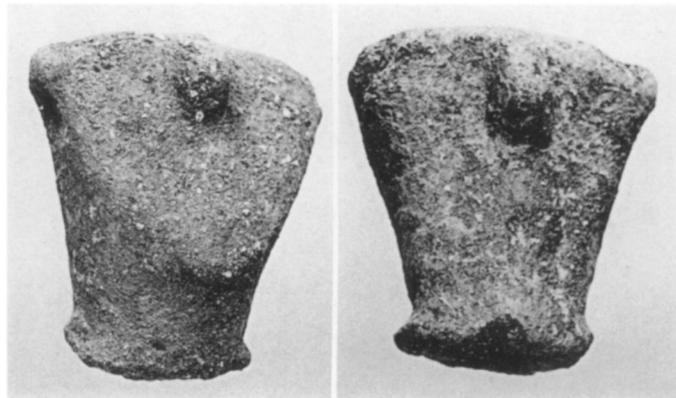
e. Grave XXII.



f. Grave XIII.



a, b. Figurine Kph.3.12, Front and Back.



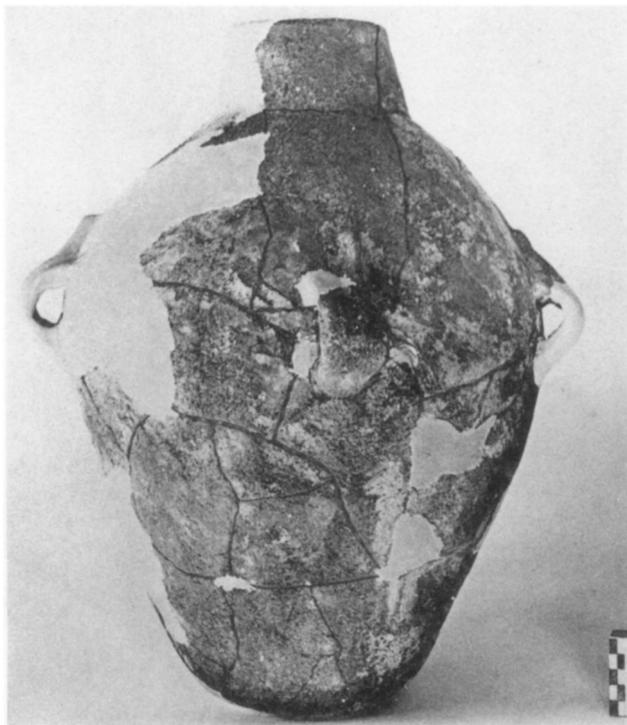
c, d. Head of Figurine Kph.3.13, Front and Back.



e, f. Scoop Kph.10.



g. Fragment of Base.



h. Jar Kph.6.



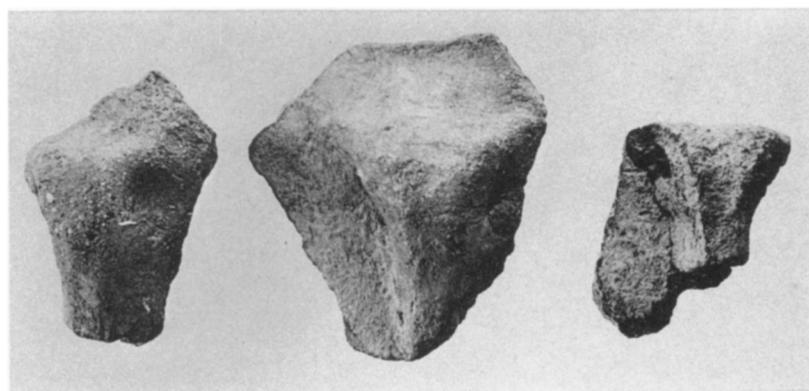
i. Burial jar Kph.7. Grave II.



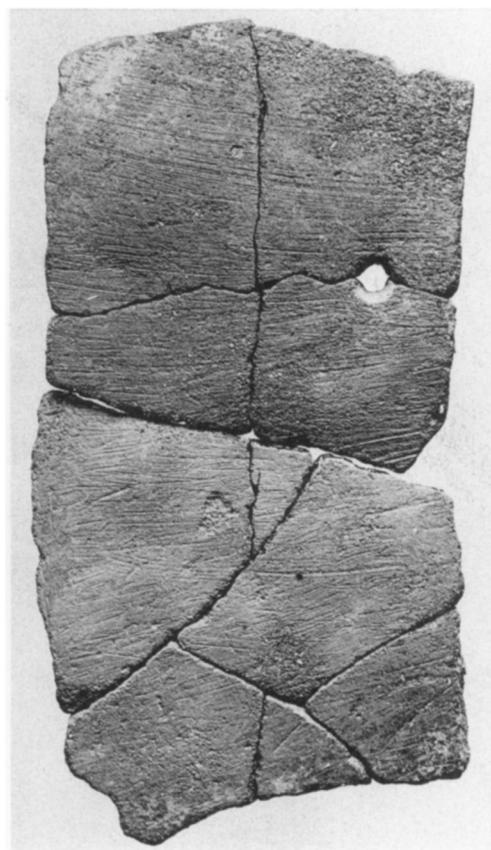
a. Fragment of Jar.



f. Bowl Kph.9.



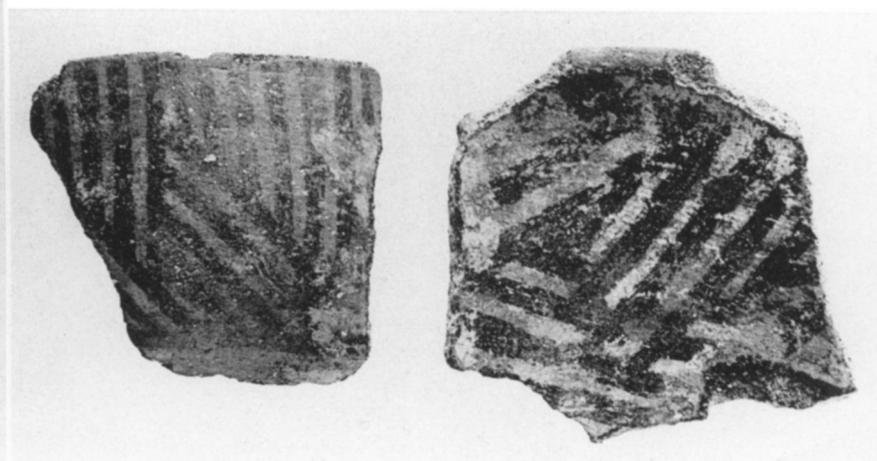
b-d. Elephant-head Lugs.



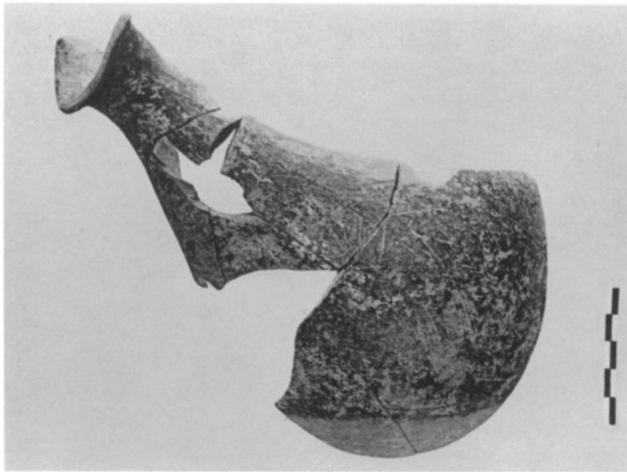
g. Scored Ware.



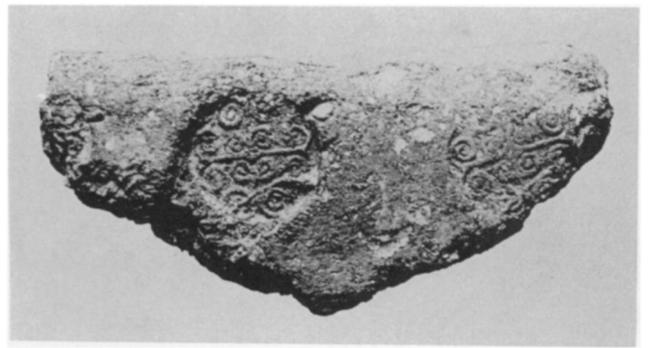
e. Lug.



h, i. Burnished Patterns.



a. Fragment of Sauceboat.



j. Clay Sealing K3.558.



b, c. Saucers K.2070, K.2069.



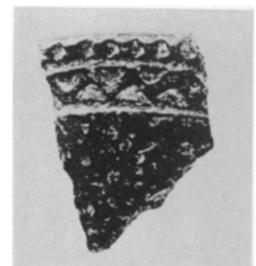
d-g. Heads and Leg of Marble Figurines.



k. Rim of Hearth.



h, i. Marble Figurine K3.1.



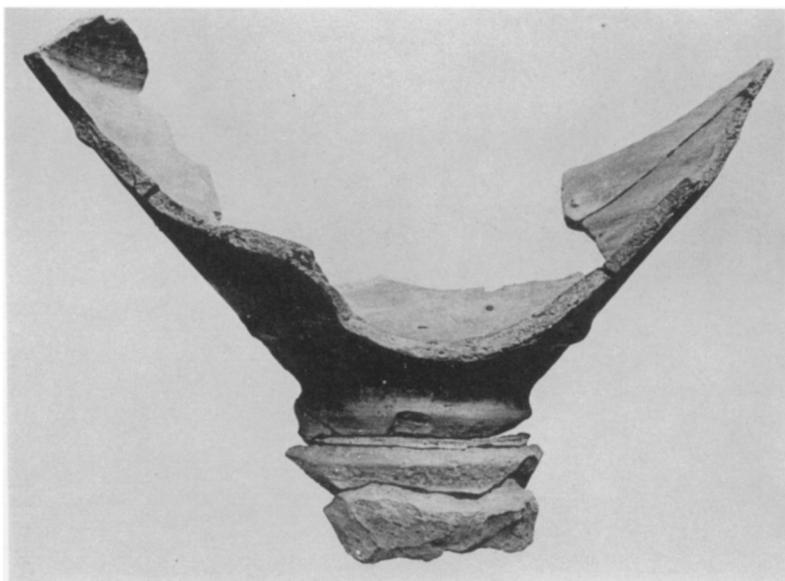
l. E.C. Sherd K.1805.



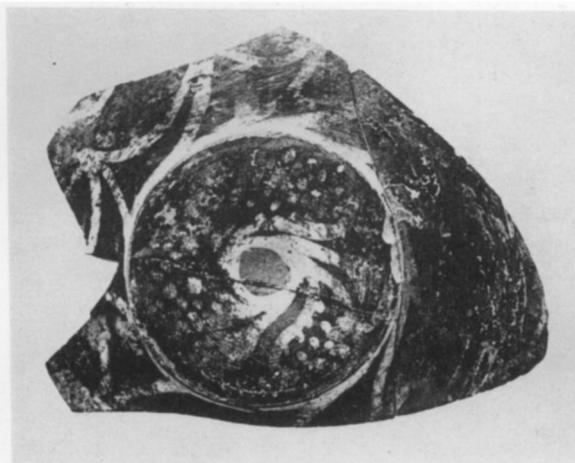
m. Sealstone K3.457. (2:1)



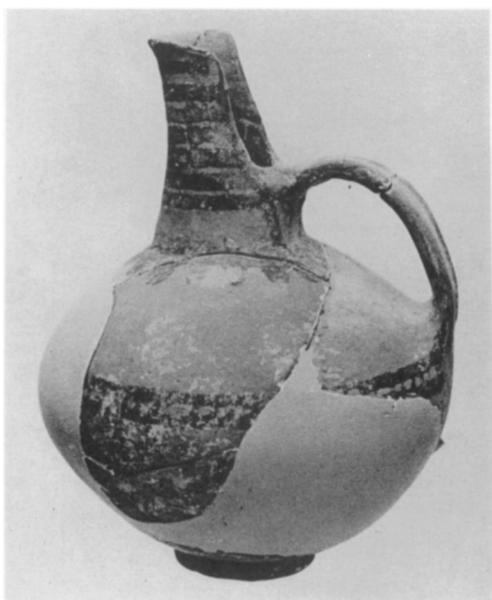
a. Tankard K.2038.



b. Gray Minyan ware.



c, d. Kamares Ware; Interior and Exterior.



e. Middle Cycladic Jug K.1601.



f. Gray Minyan Cup K.1680.



a. Area C from East.



c. Early Bronze Age Hearth.



b. Early Bronze Age House (foreground).



d. Fortifications; Northeast Tower, from West.



e. Fortifications in Area J.



a. Part of Area A from North.



d. Staircase in Area A.



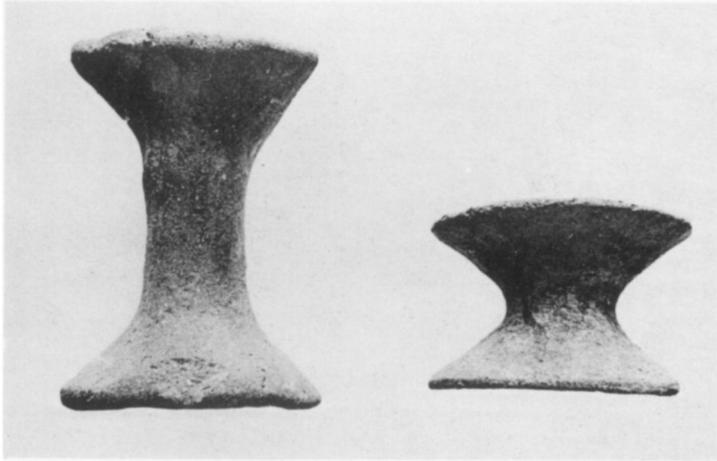
b. Rooms in Area L.



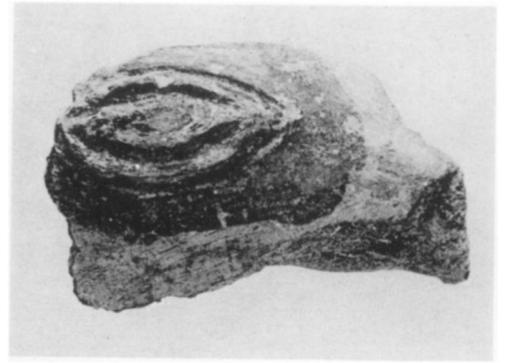
e. Fallen Pithos in Area A.



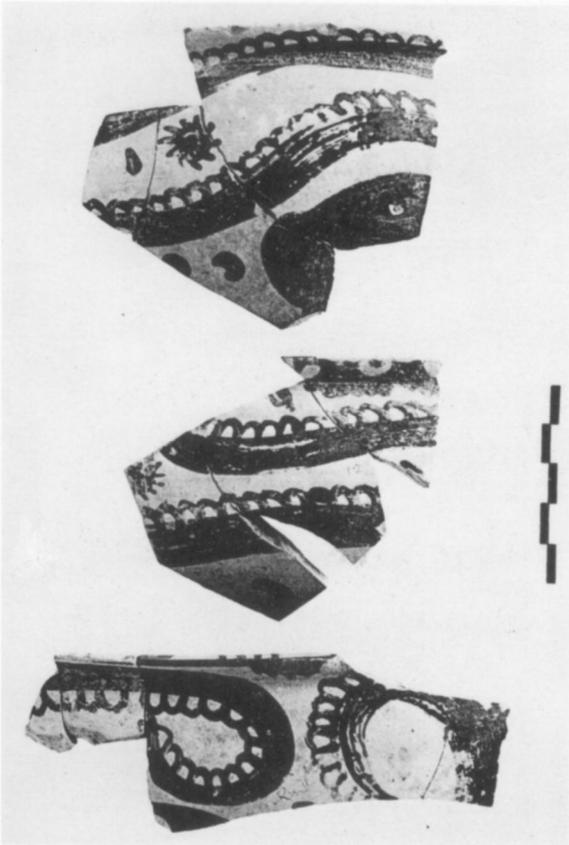
c. Pottery in Room IX, Area L.



a, b. Spools K3.71, K3.322.



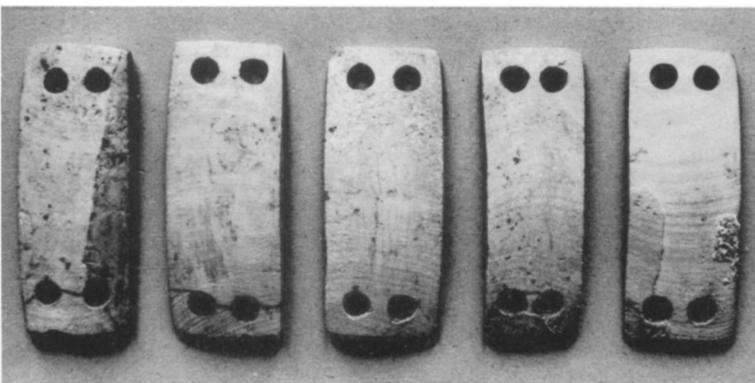
c. Eye of Animal Figure K3.265.



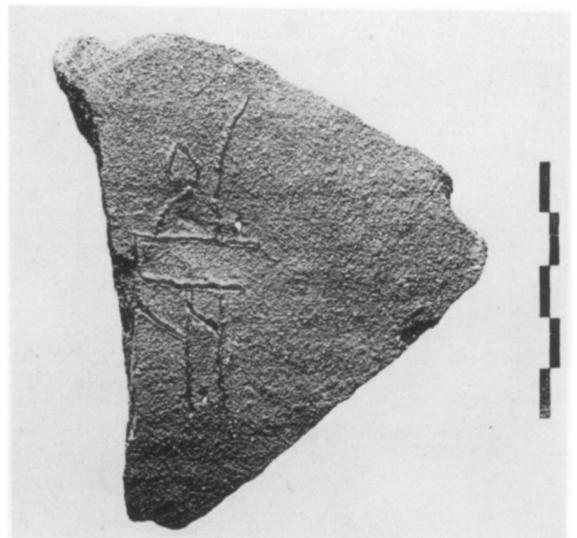
d. L.M.IB Sherds.



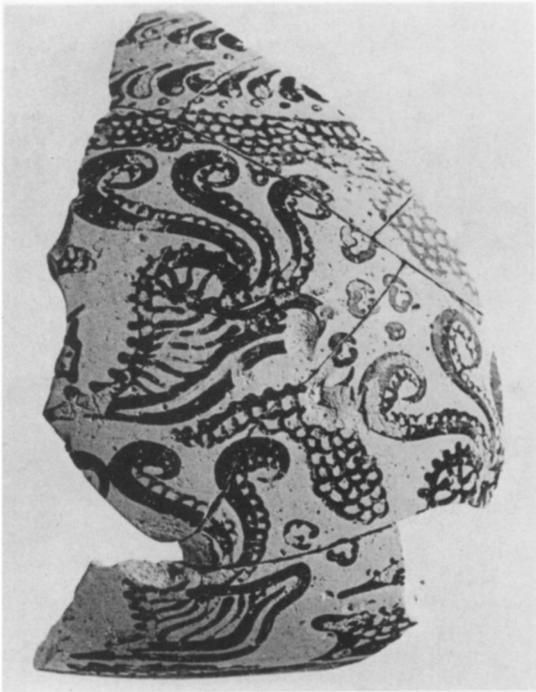
e. Fragment of Jug.



f. Boars' tusk Plaques K3.494.



g. Graffito in Linear A, K.2005.



a. Alabastron. L.M.IB.



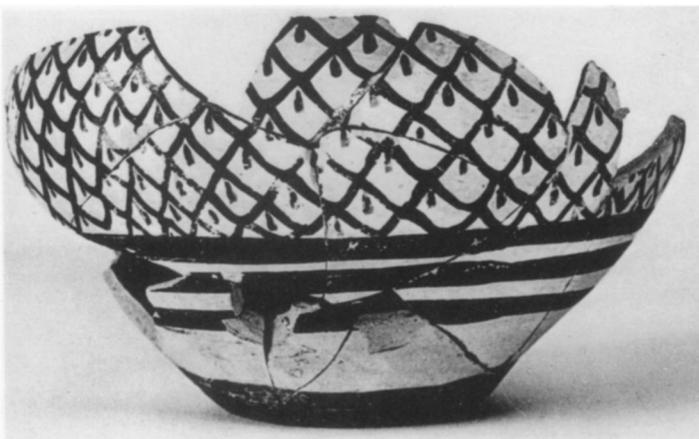
b. Alabastron.



c. Large Squat Jar.



d. Jug.



e. Stirrup-Jar



f. Squat Alabastron K.1802. L.H.II.



a. The Temple from the Northwest.



b. The Temple from the Southeast.



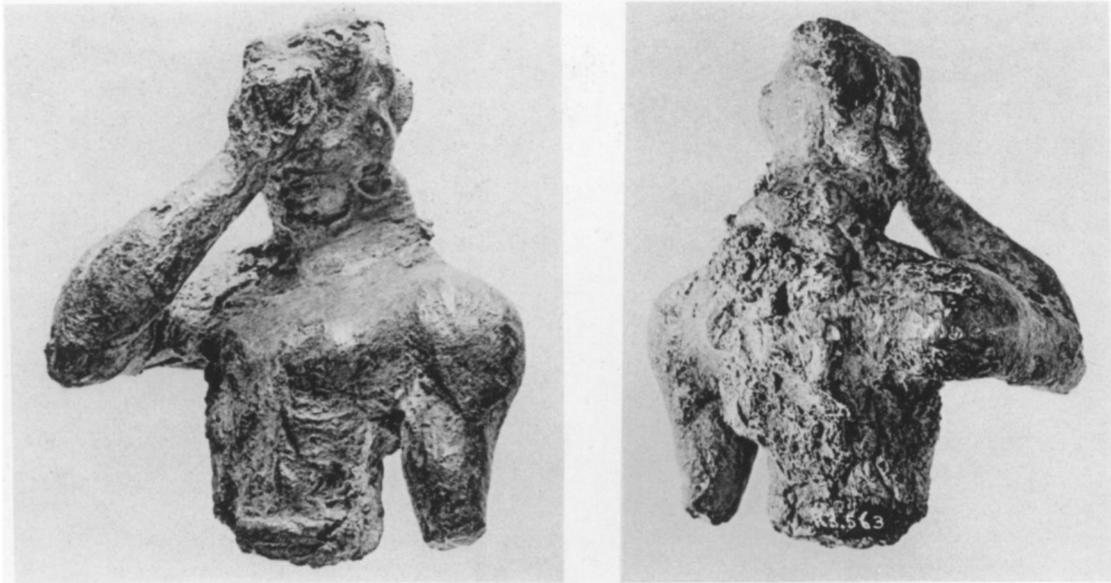
a. Fallen Blocks in Archaic Sanctuary (Room XI).



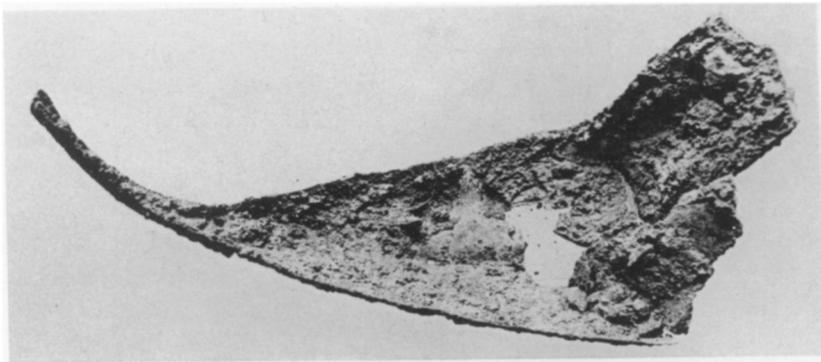
b. Stratified Debris in Room XI.



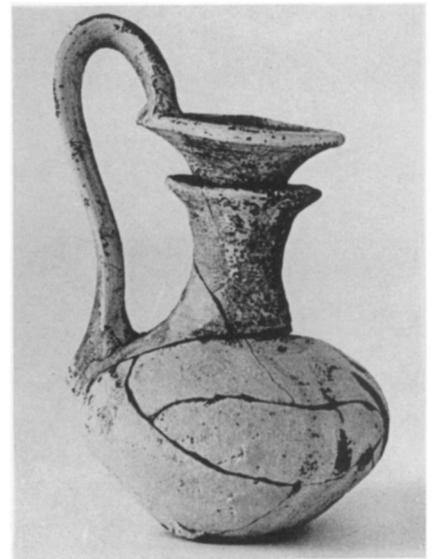
c. Broken Statues at inner end of Room XI.



a, b. Bronze Statuette K3.563, Front and Back.



c. Part of Bronze Boat K3.600.



d. Jug K.2061.



e. Jug K.2036.



f. Goblet K.2034.

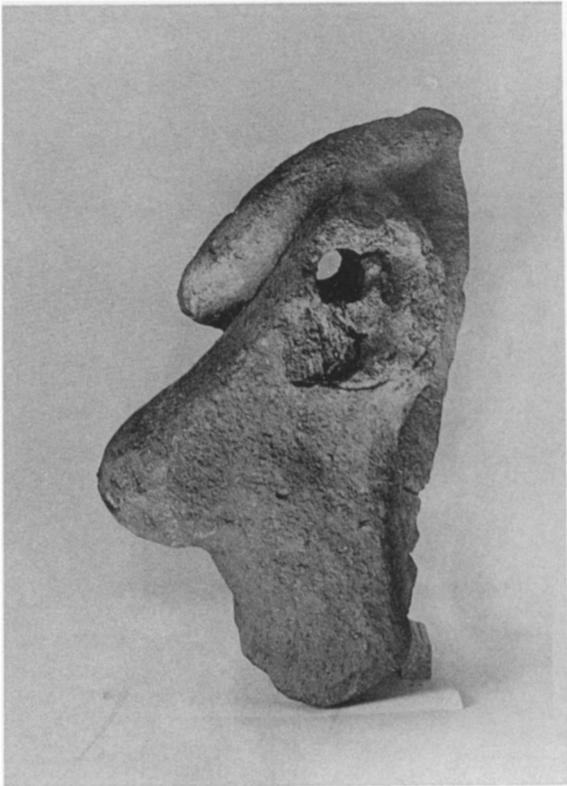


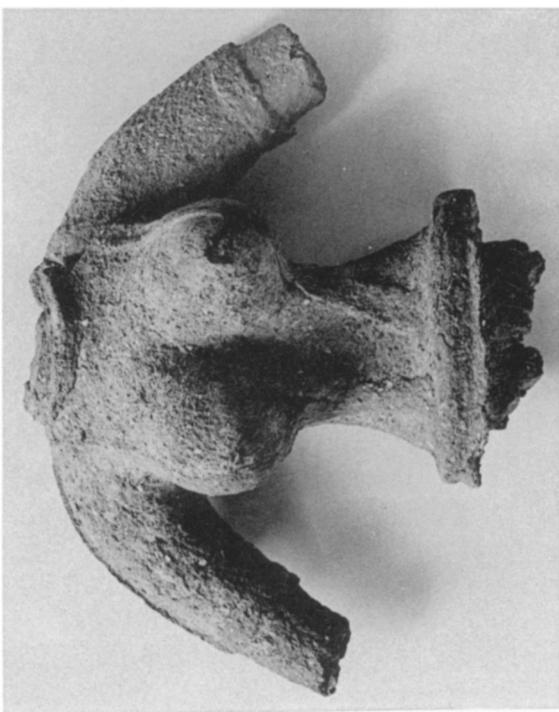
Terracotta Statue K3.613. Height of fragment 0.535 m.

JOHN L. CASKEY: EXCAVATIONS IN KEOS, 1963

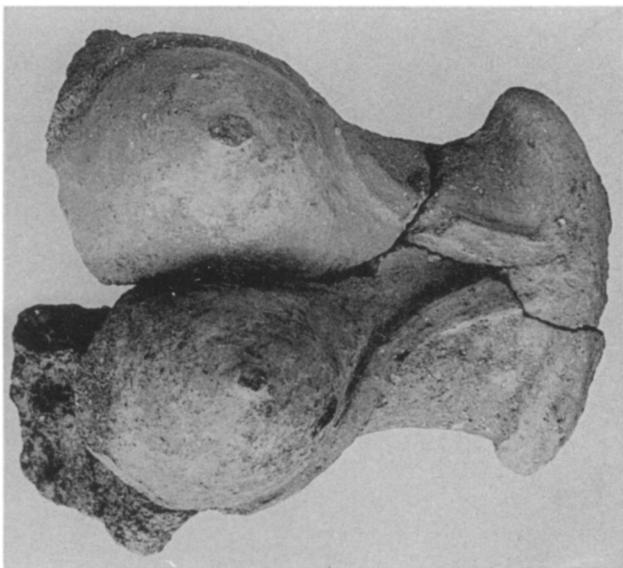


a, b, c, d. Statue K3.613.





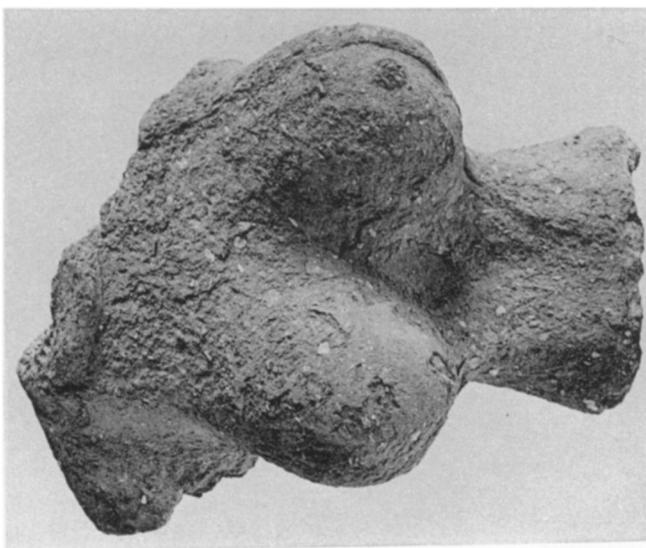
a. K0.30. Height 0.30 m.



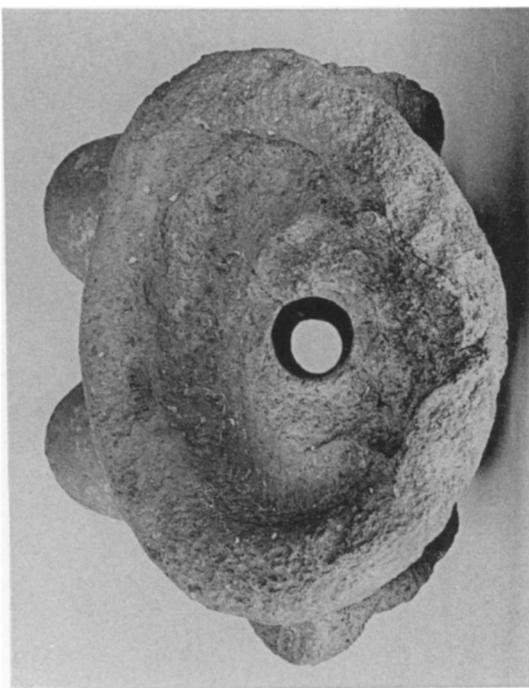
b. K3.618. Height 0.21 m.



c. K3.618, interior.



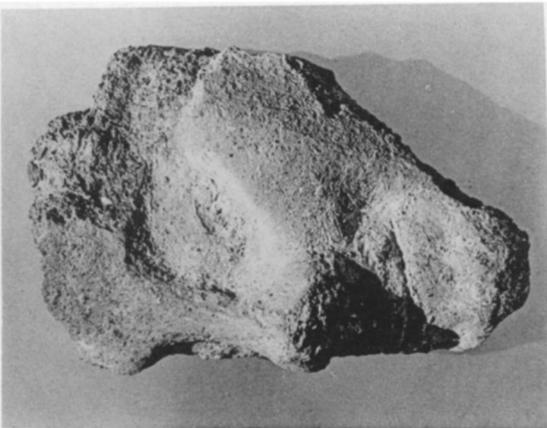
d. K3.617. Height 0.26 m.



e. K3.613 from above.



f. K3.630. Height 0.32 m.



a. K3.615 (part). Height 0.12 m.



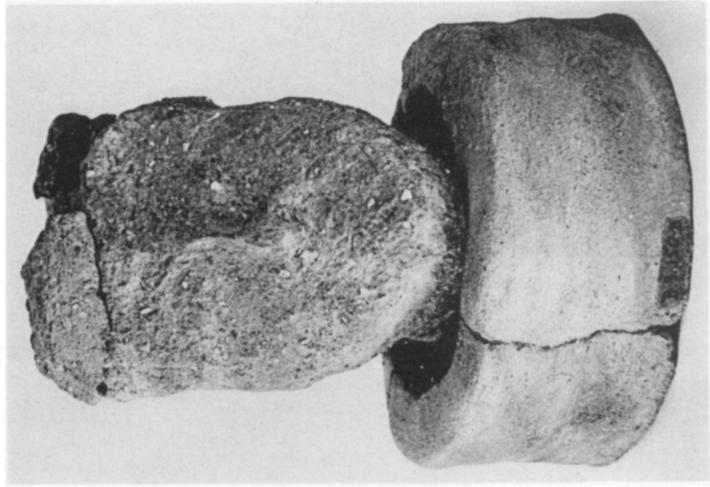
b. K3.614 (joins fragment below, d).



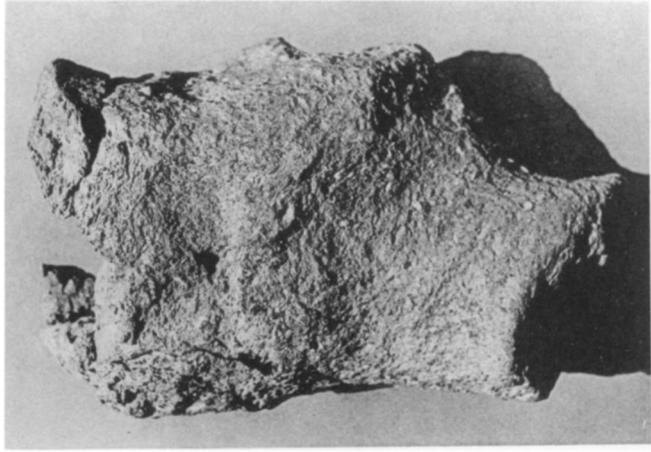
c. K3.611 as found.



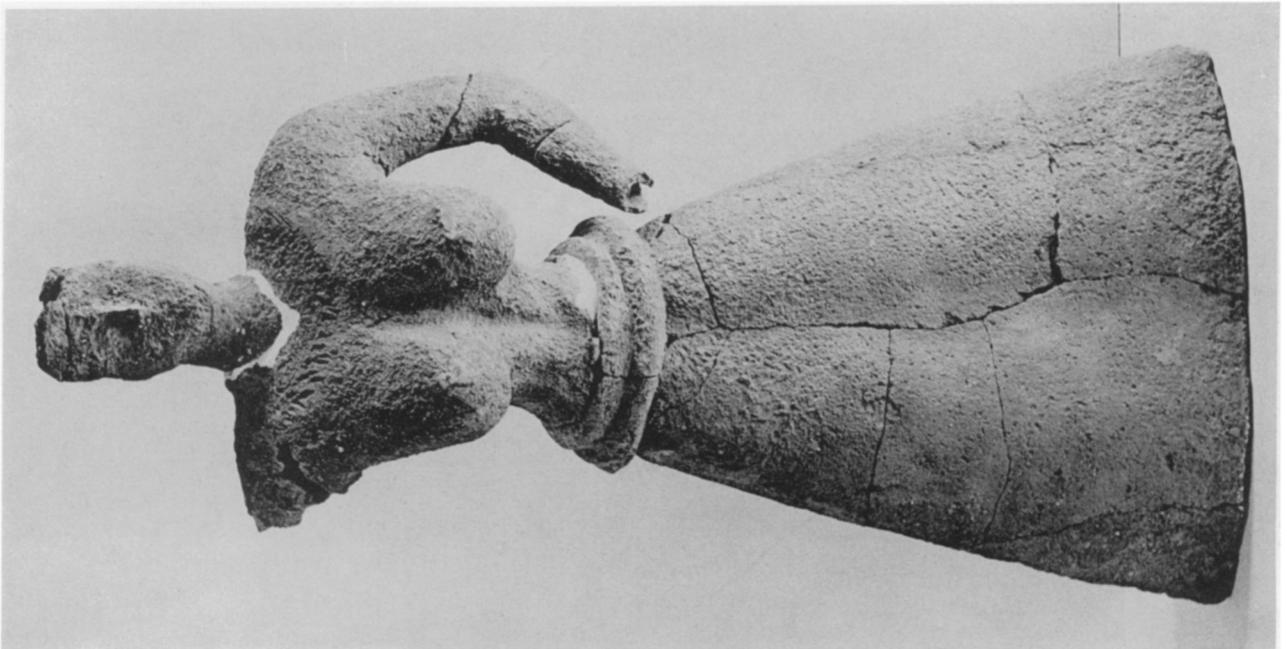
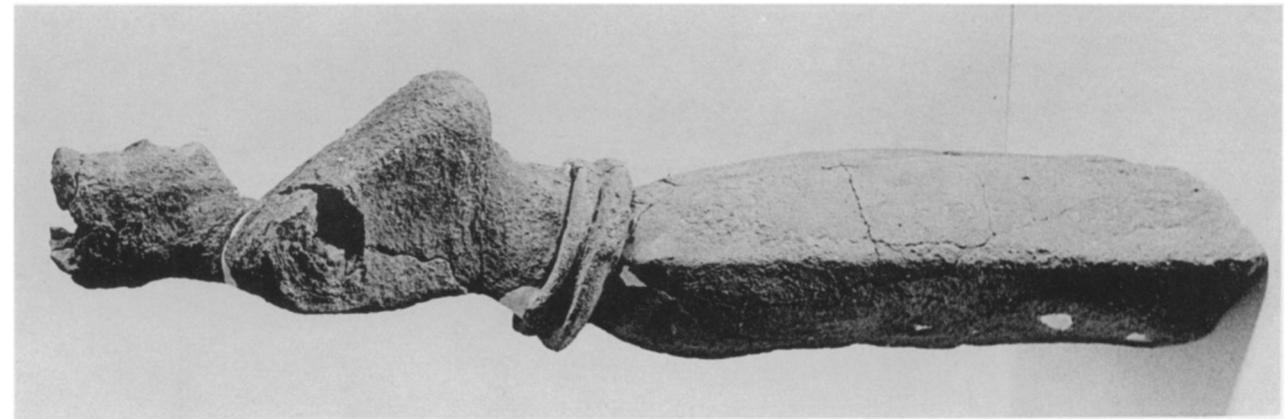
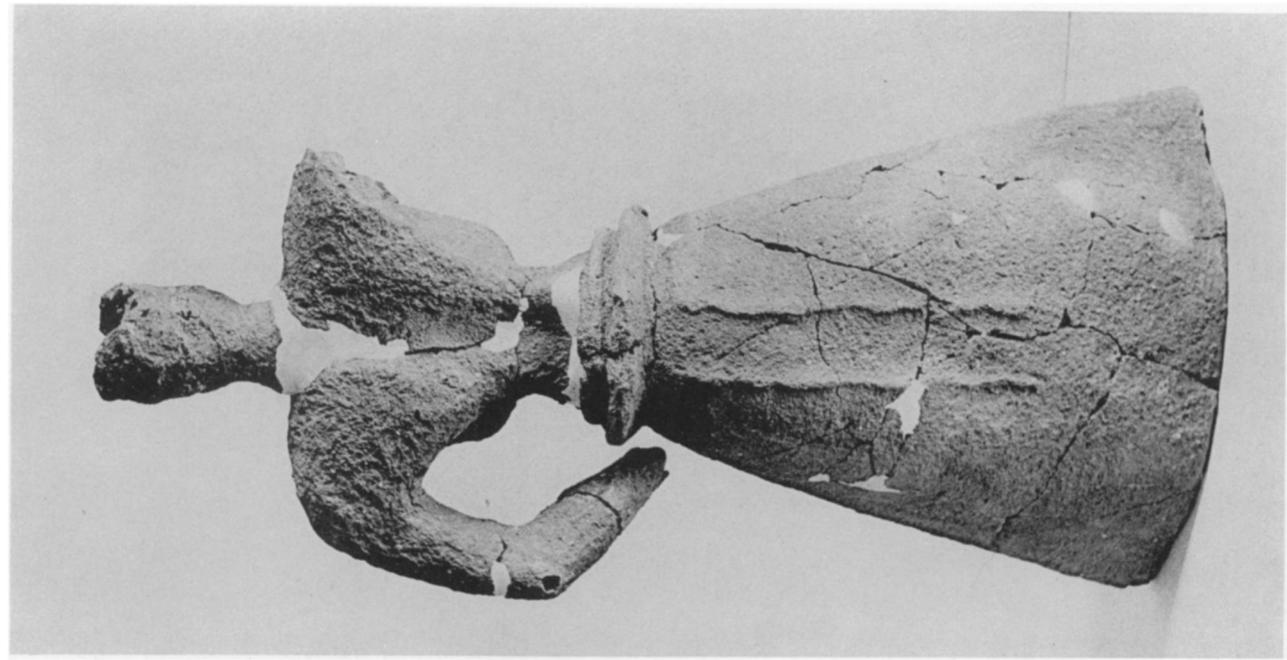
c, d. K3.616; Height 0.06 m. K3.614; Height with b, 0.15 m.



f. K3.611 in base.



g. K3.611. Height 0.19 m.

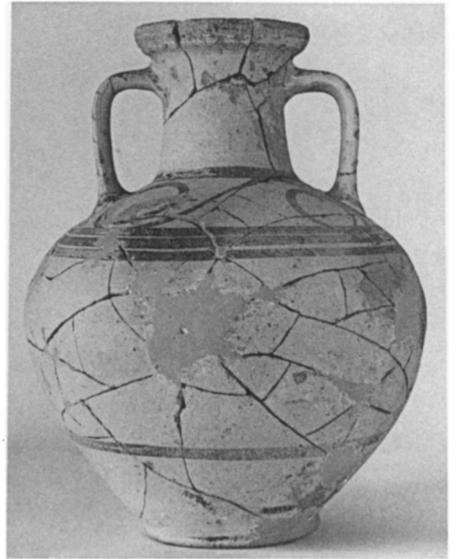


a, b, c. Statue K3.611. Height preserved 0.988 m.

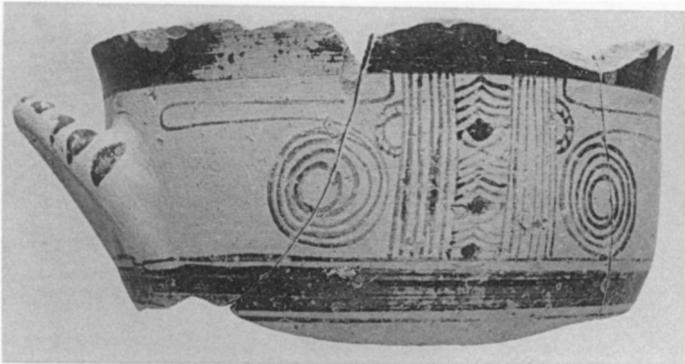
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a. K.2071.



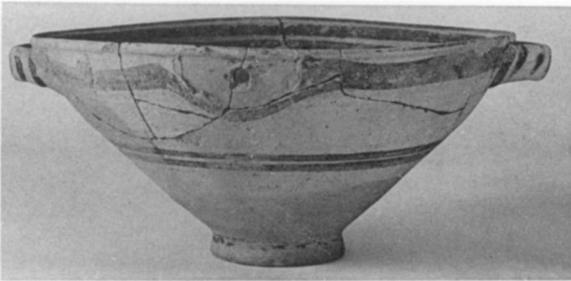
e. K.1703.



b. K.2048.



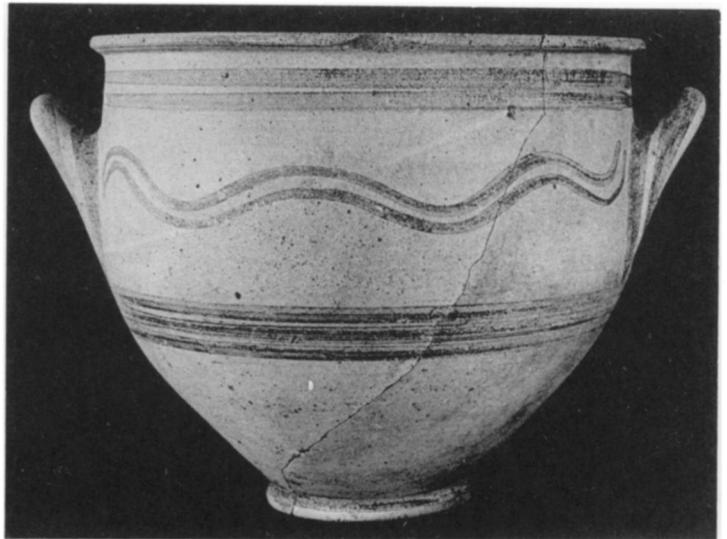
f. K.1700.



c. K.1698.



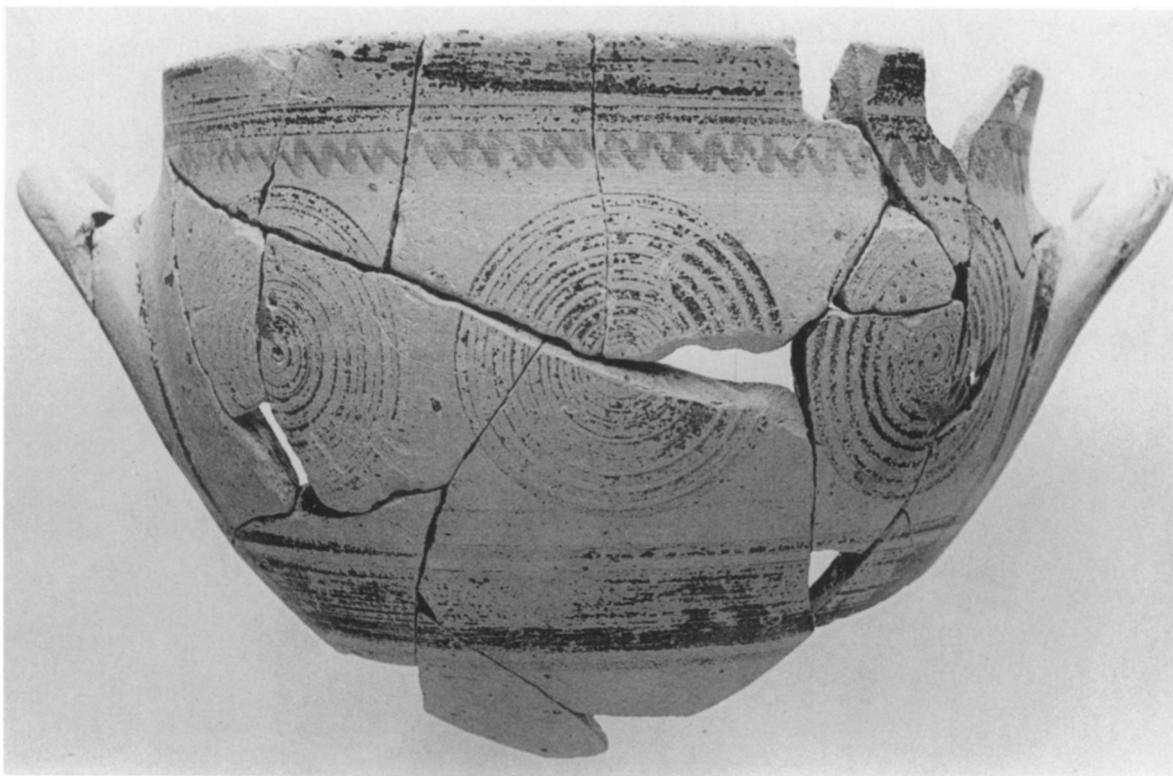
d. K.1699.



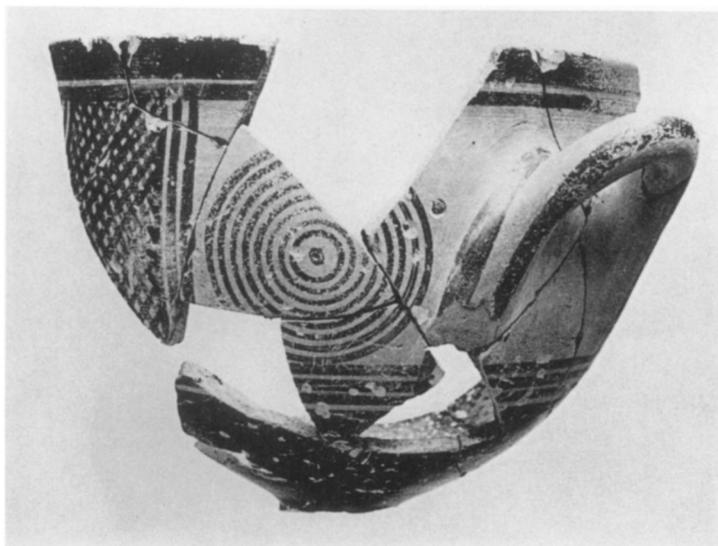
g. K.1833.

Pottery from the Temple.

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a. K.2047.



b. K.2057.



c. Base of Cup.



d. K.2079.



e. K.2080.

Pottery from Room XI.

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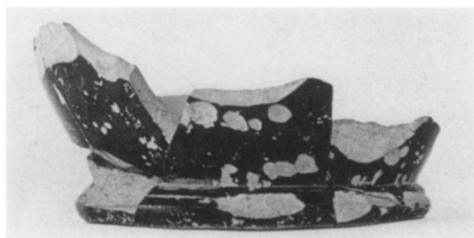
a. K.2068.



d. Graffito.



e. Graffito.



b. K.2068.



c. K.2058.



f. K.2078.



g. K.2078.

Pottery from the Shrine of Dionysos (Room XI).

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