

# A GEOMETRIC CEMETERY ON THE AREOPAGUS: 1897, 1932, 1947\*

with Appendices on the Geometric Graves found in the Dörpfeld  
Excavations on the Acropolis West Slope in 1895 and  
on Hadrian Street ("Phinopoulos' Lot") in 1898  
(PLATES 65-80)

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## I. INTRODUCTION AND THE PROBLEM<sup>1</sup>

### A. THE DÖRPFELD EXCAVATIONS

For seven seasons between 1892 and 1899 the German Archaeological Institute, under the general supervision of Wilhelm Dörpfeld, carried out regular excavations in

\* Professor Penuel P. Kahane died suddenly on February 13, 1974 in Basel. This paper is dedicated to his memory.

<sup>1</sup> I am deeply grateful to Professor Homer A. Thompson and to the American School of Classical Studies for the opportunity to study the Agora material; to the German Archaeological Institute in Athens and to Professor Emil Kunze for permission to use the Daybook material; to Dr. Ulf Jantzen for permission to publish the vases in the Institute, and to reproduce the photographs from the Photoabteilung; and to Dr. Eberhardt Slenczka for assistance in the archives.

Dr. Barbara Philippaki, Ephor of Pottery in the Athens National Museum, facilitated re-examination and rephotographing of the vases in her charge. Dr. Klaus Vierneisel generously turned over to me the Dörpfeld material in the Antikenabteilung in Berlin-Charlottenberg for study and publication; the keen eyes and patience of his assistants, Mr. Berthold Kaeser and Mrs. Helge Kammerer, made the task of sorting and mending vastly lighter and more enjoyable. Drs. Margarete Bieber, Ulrich Gehrig, J. Walter Graham, Roland Hampe, Gerald Heres and Elisabeth Rodhe have provided valuable, if sometimes negative, information. The extent of my debt to Professor P. P. Kahane is apparent throughout.

The photographs, Pls. 67; 68, a; 75, a, are from the Photoabteilung of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens; those of the objects in Berlin (Pls. 70, a-d, f-h; 71, a-c, e; 72; 73, a, c; 74, b, g-i) were



the broad open areas of the Acropolis slopes, the Areopagus and the easternmost slopes of the Pnyx. During this time also soundings were made in the densely settled area to the north that 40 years later began to be cleared systematically in the American Excavations of the Athenian Agora.<sup>2</sup> These early soundings were conducted as free space permitted, in churchyards, courtyards, utilities trenches, rarely in a vacant lot. The consecutive areas opened up were small and the full importance even of the most conspicuous architectural remains could not be appreciated until much later. One group of finds, however, gained immediate and lasting fame: the Geometric vases said to have been found in a cluster of graves on the north slope of the Areopagus and in two graves on the Acropolis West Slope (Appendix B). In a short lecture presented at a fortnightly meeting of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens in January of 1898, Otto Rubensohn and Robert Zahn introduced the Areopagus graves to the scholarly community, briefly mentioning the contents as they had bearing on ritual practices and date. Notices of this

taken by Mrs. Ute Jung. Plates 73, b and 75, c and d are from the Zahn-Kahane papers. Miss M. A. Frantz photographed Plates 65; 66; 76; 77, b, c; 78, a-d; 80, b. Plate 75, b was photographed at the time of excavation by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool; all other photographs are the work of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. Mrs. Helen Besi made the drawing, Plate 77, a.

The photographs, Appendix A 9, g and h, reached me only after the text and plates were in final form. Necessary revisions have been inserted where they would least disturb the existing manuscript. In Catalogue, photographs from Zahn papers cited as A 9 followed by letter.

Most frequent references: W. Kraiker and K. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, Berlin, 1939; K. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, IV, Berlin, 1943; V, 1, Berlin, 1954, abbreviated, *Ker.*, I; IV; V, 1. Individual pieces from the Kerameikos are cited by inventory number, volume number, plate and grave number, e.g. Ker. 896 (V, 1, pl. 154, Gr. G 12). To keep the several series of Kerameikos grave numbers distinct, I have prefixed S (= Submycenaean), PG (= Protogeometric) and G (= Geometric); the series designations do not always correspond to the actual date of the grave (e.g. Grave PG 41 is surely Geometric in date). Graves from the new excavations at the Kerameikos follow the published designations with prefixes indicating provenience rather than date, e.g. hS (= heilige Strasse).

J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London, 1968, cited as *G.G.P.* I am in basic agreement with his Attic subdivisions and dating and follow them throughout.

EG I 900-875 B.C.	MG II 800-760 B.C.
EG II 875-850	LG I 760-735
MG I 850-800	LG II 735-700

Wide, Poulsen, Schweitzer, see Appendices A 5 d, 6 a-c.

Abbreviations: *A.D.* = *Antike Denkmäler*, II, 1899-1901, Berlin, 1908 (see Appendix A 3); D.A.I.A. = Deutsches Arch. Institut—Athen; NM = Athens National Museum; R.S.Y. = R. S. Young, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora, Hesperia*, Suppl. II, 1939; *Verzeichnis* = M. Bieber, *Verzeichnis der käuflichen Photographien des (K.) Deutschen Arch. Instituts in Athens*, Athens, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> The objective of these excavations was “eines der Pausanias an der athenischen Agora erwähnten Bauwerke zufinden” (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVI, 1891, p. 443). It is ironical that the Basileios Stoa was found 80 years later, exactly where Dörpfeld had reckoned it should be, “zunächst östlich vom sogenannten Theseion und nördlich von der neuen Eisenbahn.” The owner of the property refused him permission to excavate. Cf. *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 243-255.

lecture, appearing in the popular press and in scholarly resumés, aroused interest in these graves abroad (Appendix A 5 a–c). Meanwhile, Dr. Zahn was to prepare the full publication of the finds. The importance of the pottery as representative of an early—though we now know not the earliest—phase of the Geometric style was appreciated at once in scholarly literature.<sup>3</sup> Although a selection of vases was placed on exhibit in the Athens National Museum not long after (Appendix A 6 and p. 375), and sketches of four pieces published (Appendix A 5 d and 6 a–c), Zahn's work elsewhere caused the final publication to languish. In time, too, the Daybooks and other pertinent notes made at the time of excavation dropped from sight, transported within a few years to Berlin, where they were carefully filed away in Zahn's archives. In 1930, K. Rhomaios, re-examining the exhibited vases for publication in the first fascicule of the Athens *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (Appendix A 7), separated out two context groups on the basis of the few published notices and penciled numbers which he found on some of the pots; economically, he equated these with two graves found on the West Slope of the Acropolis. The unmarked Dörpfeld vases he could only describe as "either from the West Slope or the Areopagus." Although the "West Slope groups" found few champions among students of the Geometric style, for the next 30 years nothing appeared, either to vindicate or disprove their authenticity.

## B. THE AGORA EXCAVATIONS AND THE SEARCH

The Dörpfeld graves have had more than an antiquarian interest for the Agora Excavations. Their location had long been known and their position had been plotted with reference to three other Geometric graves found less than a meter away on adjoining properties in 1932 and 1947.<sup>4</sup> The old graves and the new clearly formed part of a small family cemetery, and the Agora graves suggested that it was an unusual one. I first began to search for records of the German excavations in order to gain a clearer understanding of the Agora graves. The trail has had many dead ends, but even partial success has been due to happy coincidence and to generous colleagues.

Resifting the published accounts yielded nothing new, but it was disturbingly clear that if the objects mentioned by Poulsen, Wide and Schweitzer (Appendix A 6 a, 5 d, 6 b, c) were in fact from the Dörpfeld Excavations, the original corpus of vases and small finds had diminished considerably in the intervening years.<sup>5</sup> When enquiries left little hope that any unpublished records had survived the destruction of Zahn's house in Berlin, I wrote up a disappointing summary in the form of a note for the eventual Agora publication. Then, in the early 1960's the Daybooks of the Dörpfeld Excavations were found during the sorting and cataloguing of papers stored in the German Archaeological

<sup>3</sup> Especially Appendix A 5 d; and see A 6 a–c.

<sup>4</sup> Part II, I 18:2 and 3; I 18:1.

<sup>5</sup> This had also been noted by Kahane (Appendix A 8), and still earlier by S. Wide (Appendix A 9 d), and, I would imagine, by every student who has worked seriously with the vases.

Institute in Athens, where, providentially, they had been returned by Zahn in 1937 (Appendix A 8 a).

The Daybooks (Appendix A 1) cleared up such questions as the total number of graves in the Areopagus Lot and some problems of ritual, but the situation with the pottery was even more confusing than before. A number of pieces were sketched in the Daybooks, some in Zahn's exquisite hand, but they did not match any of the surviving vases. Furthermore, the Daybooks were quite explicit that the West Slope graves were children's inhumations, whereas some of the pots ascribed to them by Rhomaios were very fragmentary, like pyre pottery, and a few were smoke damaged as well; the implications for the ritual of children's burials as previously observed were disastrous. Still, there seemed enough new information to warrant a short paper, which I presented at the Annual Meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in San Francisco in December of 1969.<sup>6</sup> Professor P. P. Kahane, in America on a visiting appointment at the University of Missouri, happened to be in the audience. We had discussed Geometric matters off and on for some years, but the problem of the Dörpfeld graves had not come up. This time he greeted me with excitement and told me that he had Zahn's Geometric papers and that he would gladly share them with me. Another year passed before he was able to retrieve them from Israel, and at the Annual Meetings the following December he surprised me with photocopies of everything he had, originals with which to compare them, and some photographs which he lent me to copy (Appendix A 8, 9). The papers were the key to the enigma, one that Kahane, who never saw the Daybooks, could not fully appreciate or have hoped to solve. The present paper has been almost totally re-written and a wholly new chapter, that on the Phinopoulos Lot, added (Appendix C).

### C. *DISIECTA MEMBRA*

Zahn returned to Athens, for the last time as it proved, after an absence of four years and worked as he could on the finds during the winter of 1902/3 (Appendix A 9 a). During that time, if not earlier, the selection of Dörpfeld vases reached the Athens National Museum.<sup>7</sup> Others remained in storage at the German Archaeological Institute in Athens awaiting his return. Zahn's papers led me to the Institute in the summer of 1971, where three of the vases, mended and plastered, were readily identified. Still other fragmentary pieces, little more than handfuls of sherds, were released in 1903 for study collections in Germany by the Ephor of the National Museum, V. Staës (Appendix A 8 a). Zahn gave one piece to Heidelberg in 1903.<sup>8</sup> Other packets of sherds he took to Berlin, where they remained, still carefully labeled in 1937 (Appendix A 8). During the general evacuation of the Antiken Sammlung in the summer of 1944 they were sent to a depot, which at the end of the War lay in the Western Sector of Germany, and ultimately they

<sup>6</sup> Abstract, *A.J.A.*, LXXIV, 1970, pp. 203–204.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 366 and Appendices B and C 1.

<sup>8</sup> AR I-2.

came to rest in the storerooms of the Antikenabteilung of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin-Charlottenberg.<sup>9</sup> Most of the labels survived the trip and, in the summer of 1973, four objects already known from written sources were identified among these sherds, and an additional 17 items added to the Areopagus inventory to help satisfy such Daybook entries as "sherds from seven or eight Geometric vases" (cf. Grave AR I). Four other pots are known from written sources; all of the metal and the clay beads still elude us.

Many of the finds have now been restored to their context groups, and, thanks to the Daybooks and the Zahn papers, we are wiser about most. Perhaps most startling has been the discovery that none of the vases in the National Museum is from the Areopagus, and the possibility is slim that any is from the West Slope. Instead, they are certainly, or with varying degrees of probability, from the lot that belonged to Mr. Phinopoulos at No. 3, Hadrian Street. Despite the questions that remain, it has seemed best to complete this paper now, not least in the hope that it may elicit more finds, more information. I may truly say that its completion this far has been possible only thanks to the conscientiousness and sympathetic attention of Zahn toward his younger colleague, Kahane, and because of the care and generosity of Kahane.

#### GRAVE NUMBERS

In view of the bewildering array of numbers, it has seemed imprudent to introduce any new ones. I have, therefore, retained the Daybook designations for the Areopagus and the West Slope graves; the Phinopoulos numbers are from Rubensohn's notes. The Agora numbers are the official deposit numbers. We have, then:

*Areopagus, 1897:* AR I, AR II, AR III/IV, AR V, AR: Disturbed Cremation,  
AR: Robbed Cremation

*West Slope, 1895:* W. Sl. I, W. Sl. II

*Phinopoulos' Lot, 1898:* Ph. I, Ph. II

*Agora:* I 18:1, I 18:2, I 18:3

Three additional prefixes designate objects certainly or probably from these areas which could not be localized more precisely: AR I-II:—(Area of Areopagus Graves AR I and II, p. 339), AR:—(from the Areopagus Lot, p. 350), "Ph."—(probably from the Phinopoulos Lot, see Appendix C).

## II. THE AREOPAGUS CEMETERY

### A. GENERAL REMARKS AND CONCLUSIONS

The little cemetery lay midway along the north slope of the Areopagus, just north of the age-old thoroughfare that led from the Peiraieus Gate of Classical times up the Areopagus toward the Acropolis saddle (Pls. 65, 66). The slope stretches some 250 meters from west to east and rises steadily but easily toward the saddle; from north to

<sup>9</sup> E. Rodhe, *Griechische und römische Kunst in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 1968, pp. 22–23.

south the terrain is steep, rising sharply from the southern limits of the Classical Agora and ending abruptly some 40 meters to the south against the sheer cliffs of the north face of the Areopagus. The area was used for burial in Mycenaean times, but there are few indications of a systematic or continuous use for this purpose. It is virtually impossible, though, to form a clear picture of the slope as it appeared at any one time, for the subsoil and rising bedrock have been cut back at many places by Classical, medieval and modern foundations. At least 16 other graves have survived along the slope, and cemetery debris, particularly thick in some places, suggests that there were many more, though some of the debris was brought in from elsewhere as terrace filling.<sup>10</sup> The graves range from Submycenaean through Middle Geometric II, but no area that may be thought of as a lot seems to have been used for more than three generations without a break. There is no suggestion, either, of a vast field of family lots as at the Kerameikos. On the contrary, in the Protogeometric period, three wells, evenly spaced along the slope, attest habitation or industrial use<sup>11</sup> at a time when burials were being made nearby. Although wells of the Early and Middle Geometric periods have not yet been found on the north slopes of the Areopagus, a continued mixed use is likely—small family burial lots here and there on the hillside, interspersed among houses and small industrial establishments. At least two other lots on the slope are contemporary, wholly or in part, with the Areopagus Geometric cemetery. Some parcels of land may have changed hands from the dead to the living and back again several times.<sup>12</sup> The Areopagus Lot itself reverted at least once, though it may have lain fallow for a time in between: Middle Geometric I Grave I 18:1 cuts deeply into the mouth of a Protogeometric well. There are no Late Geometric graves on these slopes; this fact, together with an increase in the number of wells, indicates that by about the middle of the eighth century B.C. the area had passed once and for all to the living.<sup>13</sup>

The nine graves of the Areopagus Geometric Lot form part of a small family cemetery, *ca.* 6 × 6 meters of which has survived.<sup>14</sup> Two graves had been virtually

<sup>10</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 78–79.

<sup>11</sup> Potters' activities in the Agora itself are well documented at this time. Cf. E. Brann, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 374–375; Well R 17:5 at the extreme eastern end of this area was filled with debris from a potters' shop in the second quarter of the seventh century.

<sup>12</sup> One of the Protogeometric wells (M 17:5) was dug in a cemetery; later, after its closing, a grave was set down into the abandonment filling. Cf. Grave N 11:1 in the Agora proper, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 413.

<sup>13</sup> The only Late Geometric graves are on the extreme northwest fringes of the Areopagus slopes, Brann, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 402–412. Coldstream is surely correct in believing that Grave N 21:6, cut apparently by accident into the dromos of one of the Mycenaean chamber tombs, is Middle Geometric II (*G.G.P.*, p. 22).

<sup>14</sup> The German graves were in a trench cut through a lot on the north side of Apollodoros Street (City Lot 634/8) that belonged to K. Kalliphronas, then Demarch of Athens; it is called the "Grundstück des Demarchen" throughout the Daybooks. The 1932 graves lay one just to the east of this trench, one just to the west of it; the 1947 grave lay immediately to the south under the street.

emptied in antiquity and are of little more than topographical interest: one is surely Geometric and a cremation, the other seems to have been a cremation and probably, as one of the complex, Geometric as well. The other seven range from EG I/II to MG I. One of the Middle Geometric graves is an urn cremation, another an inhumation; the rest are simple cremations, in which the burned bones and human ash lay scattered among the offerings in the pyre trench. Four are women's graves, two are men's; the sex of the seventh is uncertain.

The steep slope north of the road afforded good natural drainage for the lot, which in its situation recalls somewhat the contemporary cemetery south of the Eridanos in the Kerameikos.<sup>15</sup> No trace of a retaining wall for a terrace was found and the considerable difference in depth of the grave floors suggests that they were set into the hillside without formal architectural setting. Their orientation, all more or less east-west, made the most efficient use of the terrain.<sup>16</sup> The graves were cut through earth into bedrock or partly in bedrock, partly in earth, with field-stones lining the soft earth-sides; two were unlined trenches cut in earth. The inhumation was closed along its entire length with cover slabs. A paving of small field-stones sealed the better preserved of the two Agora cremations (I 18:3).<sup>17</sup>

The inhumation, I 18:1, poses no problems. In the Kerameikos, at Eleusis and elsewhere in Attica, inhumation, restricted to children<sup>18</sup> for 200 years, is suddenly reintroduced in Middle Geometric I as a rite for grown men and women. Funeral gifts are identical with those in cremation burials and no explanation for the revival of inhumation is apparent. From this time on it is an alternative form of burial, preferred by some families or individuals, never wholly replacing cremation in Attica until the Christian period. Less than half the length of I 18:1 was preserved, and surely, in its original state, it must have been one of the richest burials of the period. The builders of the Byzantine wall that excised the skeleton just above the finger tips would have looted any gold finger rings, earrings or pins that may have adorned the young lady.

The urn cremation, AR I, is contemporary with it and strengthens Kübler's suggestion that the reappearance of inhumation as a burial rite for adults resulted in the breakdown of some of the fixed conventions of the cremation ritual.<sup>19</sup> As in a

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also the Protogeometric cemetery at Nea Ionia, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 154. It is hard to see the attraction of the waterlogged field next to the Dipylon.

<sup>16</sup> As elsewhere in the Agora area, terrain was the most important consideration in the orientation of graves.

<sup>17</sup> One of the Protogeometric simple cremations on Kolonos Agoraios was also paved over with field-stones (C 9:4).

<sup>18</sup> A single exception was found in the Agora in the summer of 1972. Grave T 15:1, an inhumation burial of the developed Protogeometric period (contemporary with Kerameikos Graves PG 15 and 34), contained the skeleton of an arthritic adult female about 33 years of age (J. L. Angel, AA 305); see T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 399.

<sup>19</sup> *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 8.

very few Middle Geometric I and later cremations, no attempt was made to separate off the urn and intact food vessels in a hole or compartment away from the pyre debris. In the Kerameikos, the earliest example of an urn standing in pyre debris, Grave G 76, is contemporary with AR I.<sup>20</sup> The urn in AR I is a Banded neck-amphora, a form normally reserved for men, although the offerings include a large ball of Attic Fine Handmade Incised Ware, a fabric otherwise known exclusively from the graves of women and children.<sup>21</sup> The sex of the deceased is uncertain.

The remaining five graves are simple cremations; the sheer number in a single cluster is unparalleled. The form is known but not common in Protogeometric times,<sup>22</sup> but these are among the few clear examples from the Geometric period.<sup>23</sup> Bone was found in all of them, and that in one trench has been analyzed. The graves are of both men and women. One is Early Geometric II at the latest, possibly still Early Geometric I (AR II), and one is not earlier than Early Geometric II, probably already Middle Geometric I (AR V); the other four are Middle Geometric I (AR I, AR III/IV, I 18:2 and 3). The persistence of this peculiar ritual over two, perhaps three, generations in this lot is one of the reasons for believing that it was used by a single family.

Simple cremation differs from ordinary urn cremation only in that the bones and human ash were not gathered up and deposited in an urn, and that the trench in which the pyre debris was deposited had not been modified in any way to accommodate an urn. Otherwise the ritual was the same and the furnishings identical. The burning was done *in situ*.<sup>24</sup> Some of the trenches were dug before the ceremony and served

<sup>20</sup> Four others cited by Kübler (V, 1, p. 8) are MG II, and a fifth LG II a/b (Grave G 59, *G.G.P.*, p. 83). Kerameikos Grave PG 41 (IV, p. 3) seems to be an accidental result of hasty building, rather than a genuine forerunner of these.

<sup>21</sup> *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 151, 171.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Ker.*, IV, p. 3. The full list: PG E, 1, 8, 9, 10, 42, 3-N. Agora Graves J 9:1, C 9:4, D 6:6.

<sup>23</sup> Others, Agora H 17:8, Kerameikos hS 56 and 55 (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, pp. 9–10) and possibly several from the older excavations at the Kerameikos, all of them disturbed. Kerameikos Grave G 3 (EG I) is said to be a child's cremation. The tiny vases are appropriate to a child's burial, but there were no bones in the deposit, and there were no fragmentary vases. All eighteen were intact and untouched by smoke, a circumstance unknown in a cremation. The deposit is a curiosity and in need of comparative material. Besides Grave G 3, Kübler lists (*Ker.*, V, 1, p. 11) four graves as simple cremations. Three are LG I a to LG II b (G 5, 49, 73). One, G 77, is surely a Middle Geometric I cremation, but so mutilated that one hesitates to classify it further. Still others may have been found in the old excavations at Eleusis, but the descriptions of the pyres, which are carefully distinguished from urn cremations, are difficult to evaluate (*Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1898, p. 77; 1912, p. 38). Sherds in them are said to be "Geometric," "Protocorinthian," and some to belong to "*lydika* such as were found at Aphidna." Whether any is earlier than Late Geometric or even the Archaic period is uncertain from the brief accounts.

The human bones in the cremation burials at Myrrhinous (Merenda) were found either in the remains of the pyre itself or in amphorae ("Epyov, 1960, p. 32); Geometric burials there go back to Middle Geometric, perhaps to Early Geometric II, but most appear to be Late Geometric.

<sup>24</sup> No burned areas were noted around any of the Protogeometric or Geometric cremations at the Kerameikos (*Ker.*, V, 1, p. 11, with references), a fact which led Hampe to speculate that prior to the *Opferrinnen* of the late eighth century the burning was done in a place away from the trench (*Ein frühattischer*

as a focal point for the fire, which was laid above and around it; the walls and floors of these trenches are reddened and baked hard. All are too short to have held a corpse outstretched.<sup>25</sup> The quantities of fire-hardened and scorched crude brick found in most cremation trenches probably came from supports for the corpse itself or for a bier spanning the trench or set alongside it. The fresh, unburned walls of other trenches show that they were dug only after the fire had subsided. All of the simple cremations in the Areopagus Lot are of this type. The cooled pyre debris was heaped for the moment to one side and the trench cut through the heavily burned earth. The debris was then swept down into the trench, the human remains, ash and charcoal from the fuel, together with the objects from the funeral display that had fallen into the pyre. Any burned earth that remained around the mouth of the trench was scraped more or less clean and into the trench, the mouth of which was finally sealed over with field-stones. The funeral setting and any pollution attached to it was thus totally erased. For this reason, evidence of burning *in situ* is rarely preserved around post-pyre trenches. The heavily burned area alongside the robbed cremation is an exception. Loose lumps of hard burned earth are common in trench fillings; the quantities of it in I 18:2 and 3 are scrapings from a thoroughly cleaned cremation spot.

As in contemporary urn burials, unburned food dishes were frequently placed in simple cremations, bedded in the upper layer of ash (I 18:3, AR II, AR V). These were set upright, containers for liquids capped to keep out dirt, and a cup set alongside ready for use. Traces of food and drink have been reported in similar vases at other sites,<sup>26</sup> but none was preserved at the Agora.

Other personal effects or tools of the trade or customary tasks of the deceased were sometimes deposited in the trench: swords lying outstretched near the bottom of two of them (AR II, AR V), the spearhead (**AR II-2**), the knife from one of the graves

*Grabfund*, Mainz, 1960, p. 71). This was definitely not the case at the Agora, where there is ample evidence for burning over Protogeometric and Geometric pre-cut trenches. Well-preserved examples of burning *in situ* were found in the new excavations at Eleusis, the best: Grave Θ 52, *Практика*, 1956, p. 61 (MG I).

<sup>25</sup> L. 0.80–1.25 m. Contrast the much larger trenches of the sixth century, in which the corpse lay fully outstretched on a bed of fuel, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 81–82.

<sup>26</sup> Meat, sometimes in substantial portions, was put in graves, cf. Kerameikos Graves G 86 and 89 (MG II), each with a shank propped against a skyphos, and Grave hS 109 (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, p. 7, a Middle Geometric I inhumation). Other pieces of burned animal bones, found with sherds in pyre debris, must be the remains of food in vessels of the funeral display. It is hard to imagine that vases were set out gaping empty on trestle tables or racks alongside the pyre (cf. Hampe, *Ein frühattischer Grabfund*, pp. 71–72, late eighth century). All vases not closed with lids or otherwise exempt from prying eyes, must have contained something. The false-bottomed white lekythoi of the Classical period underscore the importance of appearances. Only a “ping” against the body would have revealed the fraud, a test that the corpse, for whom the oil was intended, was unable to make. A few bits of animal bones found in urns must have been mistakenly gathered up in haste with human bone from the same pile of cooled pyre debris; see *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 25.

(AR:-5), the quantities of "loomweights" (AR III/IV-10), and the cooking pot (I 18:2-9). These are the same kinds of things that are found in contemporary urn burials. Apart from the "gold" and perhaps also the "bronze fragments" in Phinopoulos Grave Ph. II (Appendix C), no jewelry has yet been found in a simple cremation, but surely this is accidental, for it is common in urn cremations, and one of the Protogeometric simple cremations at the Agora contained pins and fibulae. These small personal ornaments were removed from the dead before the fire was lit, then returned to their remains when the heat had died down.

While animal bones, the remains of meat placed in the tomb, are not uncommon, the dog bones in I 18:3 are unusual.<sup>27</sup> If not accidental in the filling earth, they may be connected somehow with purification ceremonies for the deceased or performed for the protection of the survivors. The dog is regularly offered to the Birth Goddesses for purification of women after childbirth.<sup>28</sup> The deceased, a woman approaching middle age, may well have died in such circumstances.

#### B. CATALOGUE OF GRAVES AND FINDS<sup>29</sup>

*Areopagus Grave AR I:* Cremation with urn.

Pls. 68, a; 69, a.

Daybook, VII, pp. 95-96 with plan and section (Pl. 69, a) and sketches of three objects. Cleared November 12, 1897.

Nearly square trench cut in bedrock, ca. 0.90 m. to the side, D. below ancient

<sup>27</sup> Apart from odd bits of food, animal bones are rare, and only two animals are represented, dog and pig. The dog bones in I 18:3 are not remains of food. "The dog is a worthless and despicable animal" (M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I<sup>3</sup>, Munich, 1967, p. 104); it was never sacrificed except for purification and its remains were thrown away (*ibid.*, p. 105, note 1). Kübler says that the two dogs in Kerameikos Grave G 94 (LG II b) are chthonic sacrifices (*Ker.*, V, 1, p. 25, with references to dog bones in Mycenaean tombs). Others, finding the number excessive, have preferred to regard them as pets. Burned dog bones were found among those of two cremated adults and a cremated infant in a *lakkos* at Perati (*Περάτη*, I, Athens, 1969, p. 159, Tomb 1); it may be easier to see this as a family pet. The only other animals even tolerably well preserved in Geometric tombs are the pig in Kerameikos Grave G 10 (LG II b), the piglet in the Early Geometric I boy's grave in the Agora (H 17:2, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 552), and the pig bones found in the urn of a cremated woman about thirty years old in the Agora (N 16:3, MG I). Piglets were the cheapest and commonest animals offered in purification sacrifices and in this use were not eaten but thrown away. As food, in any case, piglets, though highly prized in Periklean Athens, were scorned by Homeric gourmets (Orth, *R.E.*, s.v. Schwein, col. 806 [1921]). Nor are piglets known as pets. Pigs and piglets are virtually non-existent in art: the charming scene with pig and piglet by the Pig Painter (*C.V.A.*, Gr. Br. 6, Cambridge 1, pl. 33[271], 2) is surely Odysseus and Eumaios, not genre. And literary passages which describe frisky and delightful piglets are transparently metaphorical. Food, possibly also dead dogs, are shown in a Late Geometric prothesis scene, J. Boardman, *J.H.S.*, LXXXVI, 1966, pp. 1-3.

<sup>28</sup> Nilsson, *ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>29</sup> Some years ago, before the reappearance of the Daybooks and the Zahn papers, the Dörpfeld Areopagus Graves were plotted on the Agora General plan and collectively given the Deposit Number I 18:5 (Section ΣΤ': Graves at 62-67/ΛΕ-Μ). Coldstream, *G.G.P.*, pp. 13, 16, uses this number and the Areopagus provenience in error when referring to the "West Slope" graves. I 18:5 serves no useful purpose now that the Daybook designations are known; it is best discarded as a source of confusion.

ground level 1.05 m. The urn, its mouth stopped by a skyphos, stood upright, counter-sunk 0.02–0.03 m. into strata of ash and earth heavily streaked with burned matter; D. deposit, *ca.* 0.10 m. Around the foot of the amphora were sherds from Geometric vases. Somewhat to one side lay a large clay bead. Besides **AR I-1, 2, 7, 9** and **10**, which are identified in it, the Daybook records that “sherds from seven or eight Geometric vases” were found in this grave; these will include **AR I-3, 4, 5, 6** and **8**, and lesser fragments noted in Appendix A 11. The two pieces grouped separately as from the “Area of Graves AR I and II” are contemporary with Grave I and almost certainly from it (see p. 340). The sherd **AR I-II:-2** may well come from a large belly-handled amphora that served as an *epitymbion*, if this is in fact a woman’s grave; see below.

The datable objects in Grave AR I are consistently Middle Geometric I; Kerameikos Grave G 20, which falls in the middle of the phase, provides many parallels. In Middle Geometric I, too, are the earliest instances of carelessness in or indifference to partitioning off the urn from the pyre debris; see p. 332.

The sex of the deceased is uncertain. A neck-amphora is the usual form of urn for men,<sup>30</sup> but Handmade Incised Ware from undisturbed contexts has come only from graves of women and children.<sup>31</sup> Otherwise the furnishings in this grave are appropriate to either sex. It is perhaps coincidental that the sex of the deceased in the two small neck-amphorae from the Agora Excavations (see under **AR I-1**) was also uncertain. The bones in one (F 16:4) could not be analyzed more precisely than “adolescent”; no grave furnishings were preserved. The other urn (C 8:6) contained bones and an iron pin; pins are very rare in neck-amphorae (see *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 151), and in only one did a spear in the urn with the pins leave no doubt that the burial was a man’s (*A.A.A.*, I, 1968, p. 21, ‘Οδὸς Κριεζῆ, opposite No. 24, Tomb X: EG I).

Banded amphorae of standard size are used as urns in later Protogeometric and Early Geometric I; weapons and skeletal analysis make it certain that one, at least, Agora Grave N 16:4 (*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 48–49), is a man’s. After that time Banded amphorae are properly domestic forms and rarely used as urns. Besides **AR I-1**, another comes from a Middle Geometric I context, in Palaia Kokkinia near Peiraieus (*Πρακτικά*, 1951, p. 119, fig. 36); the bones have not been analyzed and there is nothing among the offerings peculiar to either sex (kalathos, oinochoe, oinochoe-lekythos, cup, three low pyxides). At present no Banded amphora of standard size or smaller one of that shape comes from a domestic or funeral deposit between Middle Geometric I and the end of Late Geometric. An urn recently found southwest of the

<sup>30</sup> *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 151, where two Protogeometric and one Early Geometric I exception are listed. Otherwise no Geometric exceptions have been established, but few skeletal remains have been analyzed. Neck-amphorae, not urns, in women’s graves, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 81, note 19<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Exceptions, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 171, note 17.

Hill of the Muses on the east side of the road to Phaleron (*Δημητρακοπούλου* 110: *A.A.A.*, III, 1970, pp. 177–178, fig. 13) has been dated in the late eighth century. Hitherto the large late Banded amphorae have been known only as sarcophagi for babies and small children.

Medium-sized Banded amphorae (H. *ca.* 0.30 m.; see under **AR I-1**), usually with rim handles, are found sporadically as furnishings in graves, all women's apparently, except Kerameikos Grave 22; though the bones in that grave were not analyzed, the *epitymbion*, a huge krater, could hardly have marked a woman's grave, where giant belly-handled amphorae (*Grabamphoren*) were regularly used. In the Geometric period, Banded utility ware may have come to be associated especially with women because of its domestic role. Drawing water, then probably as in the Classical period, was women's work, and the medium-sized amphora, the well-bucket *par excellence*,<sup>32</sup> would have had in the grave something of the professional implications that a spindle whorl or loomweight might. In any case, these smaller pots are associated with water, whether to quench the thirst of the deceased in the grave, or as mementos of a customary task. The possibility exists, then, that this was the grave of a woman, whose remains were deposited in a common domestic pot.

#### FINDS:

**AR I-1.** Banded amphora. Urn. Pl. 69, c. Poulsen 29. Zahn (1903), p. 4, no. 10: H. 0.325 m.

Whereabouts unknown.

The section, Plate 69, c (Daybook, VII, facing p. 95), shows three bands on the body. Poulsen, *Dipylongräber*, p. 82, remarks that there was only one amphora from these excavations, but noted only "ein paar" of black bands on the body.

The drawing is quite explicit, showing the shape of a standard large (H. *ca.* 0.40 m.) Banded amphora, the neck sharply offset from the body, tall and narrow (cf. *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 24, no. 1: H. 0.455 m., which shows the type in a somewhat earlier form), as opposed to the smaller (H. *ca.* 0.30 m.) broad-mouthed variety that begins in Early Geometric II. Those have a low neck, little or not at all offset from the body, more commonly with rim handles (e.g. Ker. 1250, V, 1, pl. 41, Gr. G 43: EG II). The amphora **AR I-1** is smaller by almost 0.10 m. than other Banded amphorae of standard shape, though glazed neck-

amphorae of this shape are occasionally made in smaller sizes (e.g. Ker. 926, V, 1, pl. 25, an offering in Grave G 2; H. 0.357 m.) and very occasionally they were used as urns (Agora P 364, Grave F 16:4, H. 0.325 m., LPG; P 6827, Grave C 8:6, damaged, but about the same size, probably EG I).

Two bands, which is the usual number on the bodies of earlier examples, reflect the Protogeometric division of the body by groups of bands at the base of the shoulder and below the greatest diameter. With the changing proportions of neck and body, the number is raised to three, occasionally four. This had begun already in latest Protogeometric, as Ker. 910 (IV, pl. 6, Gr. PG 28, perhaps EG I in date). Three is the commonest number in Early Geometric II and Middle Geometric I domestic deposits; none comes from a pure context later than Middle Geometric I: e.g. Agora P 19037 (Well B 18:9, mixed containing some MG II). Several in mixed MG I/MG II contexts have two narrow bands at the base of the neck.

<sup>32</sup> See P 12119, lavishly laced with rope, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 118, L 6 (Well L 18:2, "Transition LG I b/LG II a," *G.G.P.*, p. 47).

**AR I-2.** Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 69, d-f.

Daybook, VII, sketch by Rubensohn facing p. 96 (here, Pl. 69, e). Poulsen 24. Zahn (1903), p. 4, no. 5, "ohne sichere Fundangabe;" it is listed as "photographed" (A 9 g, right). Zahn's dimensions agree with this piece. Given to the Archäologisches Institut, Heidelberg, by R. Zahn between June 2 and September 10, 1903 (R. Hampe, letter of August 12, 1969). *C.V.A.*, Deutschland 27, Heidelberg 3, pl. 112 (1306), 4-5 (= here, Pl. 69, d, f), p. 48.

Heidelberg inv. G 49. H. 0.054; H. with lid 0.10; diam. bottom 0.093; diam. lid 0.103 m.

With **AR I-3**, the smaller of a pair of pyxides with identical decoration. The knob of the lid is preserved here as in the Daybook sketch.

"Ton braun, schwach glimmerhaltig, mit weniger Kalkeinsprengungen. Dunkelbrauner Firnis" (*C.V.A.*, p. 48).

Zones of chevrons begin to be used at the end of Early Geometric I; see *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 91, under no. 14. They are found, very carefully executed, on pots from two other graves in this lot, the pointed pyxis, **I 18:2-8** and the oinochoe-lekythos **I 18:3-6**. Both chevron and gear, though not in the same order, on a sherd from a low pyxis, **I 18:2-6**. Shape, **I 18:3-7**.

**AR I-3.** Low pyxis with lid. Pl. 69, g, h.

Poulsen 25. Zahn (1903), p. 3, no. 1, "Grab I," listed as "photographed" (A 9 g, left). The dimensions agree with this pot.

German Archaeological Institute in Athens. Most of the bottom and the lower sides reaching into the gear are in Berlin-Charlottenberg, Packet Ü 182a, labeled by Rubensohn, "Grab I 13/XI 97. Scherben einer Vase. Unbestimmte Form."

Parts of two pairs of opposite tie-holes preserved on the box, matching the one preserved pair on the lid. Reference marks: a short gash on the flange between one pair of holes matching a longer gash on the underside of the lid between the preserved pair of tie-holes.

Excellent, hard, dark pinkish buff clay, firm brown-black glaze, lighter where thin. Some discoloration from smoke. Exceptionally careful work.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.062; diam. bottom 0.111; max. diam. 0.17 m. Nearly complete.

Low base, flat beneath.

Glaze on the vertical face of the flange and the horizontal, except for two reserved stripes, carried over in a band on the shoulder.

b) Lid. P.H. 0.015; diam. 0.135 m. Flat on top, lightly convex underneath. The knob, restored after **AR III/IV-1**, should have a plain stem beneath the simple conical finial, like **AR I-2**.

Slightly larger, but surely one of a pair with **AR I-2**. Cf. similar pairs of pyxides, differing slightly in measurements, **I 18:1-9** and **10, 11** and **12, 3** and **4**. Shape **I 18:3-7**.

**AR I-4.** Pyxis with lid.

Pl. 75, c.

Poulsen 28. Zahn (1903), p. 4, no. 6, "Grab I." "H. 0.075, with lid 0.14; Gr. diam. 0.175"; it is listed as "photographed" (A 9 g, middle = Pl. 75, c). Whereabouts unknown.

**AR I-5.** Fragmentary low pyxis. Pls. 70, a; 72, d.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; from Packet Ü 184, labeled by Rubensohn, "Grab I. No. 8. 13/XI-97. Fragmente einer Pyxis wie No. 1. Deckel in No. 5 (no packet so labeled survives; see **AR III/IV-1**) oder 6 (= Ü 202 = **AR I-6**, which does not fit this pot)"; joining sherds from Ü 183 (unlabeled).

Four major fragments, non-joining, and two sherds preserve about a third of the box, the profile complete, with about two-thirds of the circumference. H. 0.05; diam. at top ca. 0.10 m.

Half of two tie-holes; two puncture marks on the inside of a non-joining sherd give the spacing of 0.011 m. for one pair. No reference marks preserved.

Low base, rounded on the outside, crisply turned beneath and beveled back to a somewhat deeper bottom.

Flange reserved. The hatching does not change directions.

Very delicate thin fabric of high quality, hard but slightly brittle. Pinkish buff clay, dull porous surface; dull black glaze, thinning to orange. A little smoke-darkening.

Meander not separated from framing lines, cf.

**I 18:1-13.** The banding of the lower body, broad alternating with groups of narrow, is exceptional on a pyxis, but fairly common on oinochoai of all sizes, e.g. Ker. 2149 (V, 1, pl. 72, Gr. G 41, EG II/MG I), Agora P 18365, Well C 18:9, MG II.

**AR I-6.** Fragmentary pyxis lid. Pl. 70, b.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; the entire contents of Packet Ü 202, labeled by Rubensohn, "Grab I. 1 Deckel von einer Pyxis wie No. 1. No. 6. 13/XI 97"; two joining sherds from Ü 179. The lid is much too large for **AR I-5**.

About two-thirds of the body and part of the stem; all of the knob is missing. P.H. 0.035; diam. 0.14 m.

Two tie-holes and part of a third survive; no reference marks preserved. Stem ringed and glazed.

Sherds variously discolored from smoke, burning and incrustation; glaze peeled in places, but a fairly firm, bluish black, dull glaze is probably original.

Cf. Ker. 265 (V, 1, pl. 66, Gr. G 20, MG I).

**AR I-7.** Fragmentary skyphos. Pl. 70, c, d.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; base from Packet Ü 193, upper part from one of the general packets (Ü 177).

More than a third, the profile complete and parts of the panels front and back preserved. Handles lost; one handle and mastoi are precluded by the position of the panels. H. 0.07; diam. mouth est. ca. 0.10; diam. base 0.075 m.

Crisp low ring foot, lightly offset outside. Low, strongly everted lip.

Canonical reserved stripe on the inner face of the lip; any reserved dot at the center of the floor has refilled. Meander left, front and back. Bold, fairly neat drawing.

Good, hard, pinkish buff clay; black glaze, in places with a greenish metallic cast, peeled extensively, but of high quality where best preserved. Some incrustation.

Meander not separated from framing lines, cf. **AR I-5** and **I 18:1-13**. Meander skyphoi, see **Ph. I-NM 15312** and **Ph. II-3**.

**AR I-8.** Skyphos. Closing the mouth of the urn.

Pl. 69, b, c.

What seems to be this pot is visible in the section, Daybook, VII, facing p. 95 (= here, Plate 69, c, detail); the decoration is not indicated. Poulsen 20. Zahn (1903), p. 4, no. 8, "12.XI.1897," with sketch, here Plate 69, b, "H. 0.06; Dm. 0.10." Whereabouts unknown.

Angle rosettes are commoner in Middle Geometric II, but begin in Middle Geometric I; cf. **AR I-9** and the dot-rosettes on a meander skyphos, Ker. 261 (V, 1, pl. 92, Gr. G 20, MG I). The stroke star is first found in Early Geometric I contexts, but only rarely used before Middle Geometric; Agora P 730 (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 552, fig. 11, no. 1) may be the earliest. Chevrons are common on skyphoi in Middle Geometric II, where they are drawn with increasing haste, finally with a multiple brush. There are now no other chevron skyphoi from a Middle Geometric I context, but in view of the popularity of the pattern on other forms at this time, this seems an accident of survival. Middle Geometric II skyphoi with the same combination of patterns, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XXI, 1 (Eleusis inv. 740, Grave 11) and 2 (Grave "Aus Attika," *G.G.P.*, p. 21, no. 5), which have a later straight lip, and coarse draftmanship that contrasts strongly with the preserved pieces from this tomb; so also Kraiker, *Aigina*, Berlin, 1951, pl. 2, 31 and 32, from a MG II/LG I context.

**AR I-9.** Deep bowl with plain lip and two horizontal rolled handles. Pl. 70, e-h.

Sketch, Daybook, VII, facing p. 96, upper middle, labeled "Napf aus Grab I, Nr. 3," both in Rubensohn's hand, but the curve of the sides has been plumped up by Zahn (Pl. 70, e). A ticket in Zahn's hand reading "Grab I, No. 3" was found in **AR II-1** in June 1971 (see entry).

Berlin-Charlottenberg; all pieces are from Packet Ü 193, the handles, joining, among them. H. 0.078; diam. est. ca. 0.15 m. Many fragments from both sides preserve the profile complete and about two-thirds of the circumference of the base. About a quarter survives, with all four handle stumps and half of one handle.

Low, lightly profiled base, flat beneath. Plain lip, beveled inward.

Groups of strokes on the inner face of the lip. Front and back, horizontal chevrons framed by vertical chevrons. Handles reserved, with two arcs crossing them and bows at the sides; in the angles between them and the vertical frames, a stroke star.

Excellent thin hard fabric with a matt surface, deep buff in color; firm, glossy black glaze, brownish where thin. One sherd badly burned, a few others smoke darkened.

Though it is tempting to think that Zahn may have combined a skyphos lip and the stroke-star sherd to create a non-existent vase, the missing **AR I-8**, the dimensions cited in the 1903 inventory are too small for this vase and are quite right for a standard skyphos. These two, with **AR I-2** and 3, will have formed a set of the same high quality and probably by the same painter, designed or selected for this grave.

The shape is unique and apparently a potter's whim. It calls to mind the earliest of the Corinthian kotylai, the reverse curve of which is, however, shorter and the form is first attested somewhat later; cf. Corinthianizing Attic at Aegina (Kraiker, *Aigina*, pl. 2, no. 30) in a MG II/LG I context that includes very late chevron skyphoi.

**AR I-10.** Large clay bead: Attic Fine Handmade Incised Ware. Pls. 70, i; 73, b.

A "spindlewhorl", H. 0.05 m., with incised Geometric decoration is among the finds enumerated "im Grab" (Daybook, VII, p. 96) and sketched (VII, facing p. 96, "Grab I, Nr. 2"). A clay "loomweight" found a little apart from the sherds around the amphora (VII, p. 95) is doubtless the same object. Shown with **AR III/IV-10** in the photograph formerly in the possession of Zahn (A 9 e). The object itself went to Berlin with Zahn in 1903 (Appendix A 8 a); present whereabouts unknown. This must be the "Steilmäander" noted by Schweitzer, 1918, p. 54, as one of the patterns on the "Spinnwirtel",

from the "Akropolisgräbern" (see Appendix A 6 c). He probably saw this photograph and had no reason to question the provenience noted on the back (see A 9 e).

Fabric, see *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 103–105.

One of the 16 clay beads in Marathon Tomb 5 (MG I), decorated with meanders and circles, was said to be larger than the others (*Практика*, 1939, pp. 34–35), and was believed by the excavator to have been the center bead of a necklace; the size is not given. An incised battlement meander with herringbone filling is in the zone above the ringed tip of an Early Geometric II pointed pyxis from Eleusis Grave XLI (the pattern is barely visible in the photograph, *Ἄρχ.* 'Εφ., 1912, p. 35, fig. 15, 2) and on the shoulder of a high-collared jar on three toes from Middle Geometric I tomb at Eleusis (Tomb a, *'Εφ. Άρχ.*, 1898, pl. 2, 14). The line around the cap is stroke-edged below only, cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pl. 30, no. 56 (end of EG II).

The descriptions "loomweight" and "spindle whorl" make it clear that the object is solid and heavy and pierced along the axis, which the photograph also supports. (It cannot be a hollow ball with transverse holes for suspension, as *Hesperia*, *ibid.*, p. 104, which the distorted perspective of the hole in Rubensohn's drawing might imply.)

The usual diameter of "clay beads" is around 0.025 m., rarely as much as 0.04 m. I have suggested that the "clay beads" in graves are real or model loomweights, *Hesperia*, *ibid.*, and under **AR III/IV-10. AR I-10** (and perhaps also the large Marathon bead) need not have been a "model," for it is large enough and heavy enough to have performed practical service at a substantial loom. The fact that loomweights of this period have not been identified in domestic deposits (wells) is not a serious objection, for whorls, whose identity is unmistakable, are known now only from graves or as stray finds in earth containing other debris from cemeteries.

*Area of Graves AR I and II:* In each of the following, one sherd comes from a packet labeled by Rubensohn, "Scherben aus Gräber I und II und in Umgebung. 13/XI–

97" (Appendix A 11, Ü 179). Grave AR II is too early for these pieces, and if they are not stray finds, they should be from Grave AR I.

**AR I-II:-1.** Fragment of a large oinochoe.

Pl. 71, a, c, e.

Zahn (1903), p. 4, no. 4, "Oberes Teil einer Kanne (Phot.). Höhe 23,5 cm. (des Erhaltenen). Grab?" The photograph is among the Zahn-Kahane papers (Appendix A 9 f). Zahn wrote in pencil on the inside of the fragment, "Gräber beim Areopag." Poulsen 7. The fragment was mended up long ago, probably at the time of excavation; a single joining sherd, added in 1973, comes from Ü 179.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. P.H. 0.22; L. trefoil, back to front 0.11; W. handle 0.034 m. From a pot very slightly larger than **I 18:3-5**.

Nearly a third of the pot, from just below the greatest diameter to lip.

Neck panel, paired meander linked by a narrow battlement. No banding on the body, and, in view of the depth of preservation, none is likely.

Good, hard, pinkish buff clay, a lighter buff on the surface; slightly glossy black glaze, mostly adherent. (The glaze, struck through with tiny

pin points of red, is quite different from that on the large base in Ü 193.)

Rather bulbous body, probably like **I 18:3-5**. Paired meanders, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 86; add to the list, the Middle Geometric I neck-amphora from the Acropolis South Slope, *Μητροίων καὶ Ζήτρου, Δελτ.*, XXII, 1967, *Xρυσικά*, pl. 94β, **AR I-II:-2**, and the back of "**Ph.**"-NM 15321. Herringbone handle, *Hesperia*, *ibid.*

**AR I-II:-2.** Sherd from a very large closed vase.

Pl. 71, b.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. Max. dim. 0.092; Th. 0.011 m. Probably from the neck of a very large belly-handled amphora; no vertical curvature. Very probably a paired meander, but the left unit is broken just at the point where the upper part, facing right, would have begun the return.

Fabric as **AR I-II:-1**; the buff surface is pinker in the few places where the glaze has peeled.

Paired meander and shape, see Ker. 1256 (V, 1, pls. 47-48, an isolated find, EG II/MG I).

*Areopagus Grave AR II:* Simple trench cremation.

Pls. 68, a; 69, a.

Daybook, VII, pp. 95-96, with plan and section (Pl. 69, a) and sketches of two objects. Cleared November 12-13, 1897.

Trench cut in bedrock, L. 1.10; W. 0.58; max. D. below ancient ground level, 1.05 m. The wall of one side was pieced out with small stones. A layer of ash and earth filled with burned matter, ca. 0.15 m. deep, covered the floor. In the southeast corner, at F, were several fire-hardened crude bricks, and beneath them burned pieces of others. A deep skyphos rested on the ash at B, and beneath it in the ash a bronze spearhead, and, to the south of that, pieces of an iron sword. Burned bones were found throughout the ash layer together with charred bits and isolated sherds with Geometric ornament.

The sherds are almost certainly those preserved in a packet in Charlottenberg (see Appendix A 11, Ü 181). It contained a Classical loomweight, a glazed twisted handle from a medium-sized pot (rather smaller than the oinochoe **I 18:3-5**, with which it is probably contemporary; see entry), and fourteen Protogeometric sherds. The fabric is excellent and late, probably already Early Geometric I in date. Characteristic pieces come from circle skyphoi (as Ker. 2032, IV, pl. 23, Gr. PG 48) and

black skyphoi (as Ker. 905, IV, pl. 22, Gr. PG 29), large belly-handled amphorae with circles across the belly (as Ker. 1089, IV, pl. 9, Gr. PG 38), large shoulders with semicircles with hourglass cores, lip fragments from neck-amphorae, one light ground, one with glazed neck (as Ker. 2024, IV, pl. 7, Gr. PG 44). Since amphorae have no role in a simple cremation and the sherds, unlike the contents of the rest of the filling, show no signs of burning, they are best regarded as incidental in earth near destroyed Protogeometric graves. Protogeometric sherds from the other graves support this. Significant numbers were found in the "Area of Graves I and II and Environs" (see above) and in the filling earth of Graves III/IV and V; the sherds from below Grave III/IV were almost entirely Late Protogeometric. Chronological limits for the grave must still depend on the skyphos **AR II-1**. A date as early as Late Protogeometric is not impossible, but the fabric is commoner in Early Geometric II than earlier; neither the fabric nor the foot is found in pure Middle Geometric deposits. The twisted handle is probably Middle Geometric, but like the loomweight should be intrusive.

Close to twenty iron swords have been found in graves ranging from earliest Protogeometric to Late Geometric. While no phase is unrepresented, the practice of arming dead warriors is commonest during the prosperous years of the ninth century. After 800 B.C. swords are fewer, but continue into the second half of the eighth century. Less than half were deformed or intentionally broken; all of these happen to be from urn cremations that range from fairly early Protogeometric through Middle Geometric I. An equal or slightly larger number were unharmed; these run from earliest Protogeometric through Late Geometric I. They come from inhumation burials at both ends of the scale, simple cremations and urn cremations. The remains of a sheath (3 were "wooden") were noted on four of these. The state of at least three other swords is uncertain owing either to the condition of the remains or the brevity of recording. The sketch in the Daybook suggests that **AR II-2**, though damaged by time, was complete and probably intact at the time of deposit. Cf. Kerameikos Grave PG E, an early Protogeometric simple cremation, where the remains of a sheath (*Ker.*, I, p. 106) indicate that the blade had been deposited intact onto the floor of the trench. A sword with remains of its sheath was found intact in the very early Protogeometric inhumation burial, Kerameikos Grave PG 2-N, as also in the Middle Geometric I inhumation Kerameikos hS 109 (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, p. 7) and Agora Grave R 20:1, an Early Geometric II cremation (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 196–197, fig. 1). The fact of mutilation, the kind of deformation or lack of it, is of no help in dating these graves. Why some swords and not others contemporary with them were bent or broken is beyond the limits of present evidence. The fact that all swords that had been certainly mutilated come from urn-holes suggests the obvious, that only by breaking or bending a meter-long sword could it be fitted into such cramped quarters. Still, there was no need for it to go there, as Agora N 16:4 shows; there the sword lay fully outstretched in the pyre trench, the hilt tangent to the urn-hole (*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 48–49).

The fuller evidence now available fails to support suggestions that a ritual maiming or "killing" of the sword was necessary to insure that it follow its dead master, an explanation proposed for deformed weapons in Northern European warrior burials (see G. S. Dontas, *Ἄρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1953–54, I', p. 94).

The bronze spearhead had been salvaged, probably from a nearby late Mycenaean burial; see under **AR II-3**.

#### FINDS:

##### **AR II-1.** Deep skyphos on low conical foot.

Pl. 71, d, h, i, k.

Schweitzer, 1917 (Appendix A 6 b), p. 68 and profile drawing, pl. III, b, far right (here, Pl. 71, d); Schweitzer, 1918 (Appendix A 6 c), p. 63. Daybook, VII, facing p. 96, a meticulous drawing by Zahn (Pl. 71, h). Poulsen 21. Zahn (1903), p. 3, no. 3 "Grab I, No. 3," listed as "photographed" (A 9 h, middle). On the underside of the foot Zahn had written in pencil "Grab I, No. 3". The loose ticket found inside the skyphos in June 1971 reads "Grab I, No. 3" (Pl. 71, k). The drawing in the Daybook was made by Zahn, but labeled by Rubensohn, "Oberhalb Grab II in Scherben gefunden. VI" (The "VI" refers to numbered packets of sherds and small objects, but nothing so labeled has survived; see below.) The caption identifying the bowl sketched alongside it by Rubensohn (**AR I-9**: "Napf aus Grab I, No. 3"; see Pl. 70, e) was close to the skyphos and apparently misled Zahn, who placed the ticket in this pot and penciled the notation beneath the foot. The sherds are piled on the paper in the lower right side of the photograph, D.A.I.A. Neg. AB 131 (Pl. 68, a). Removed in 1903 or earlier from sherd Packet Ü 181 in Berlin-Charlottenberg (see Appendix A 11); if "VI" ever appeared on that packet, it was trimmed from the original wrapping and not transferred to the later tickets.

German Archaeological Institute in Athens.

H. 0.114; diam. 0.153 m. Largely complete. Lip lightly inset. Foot, low conical beneath.

Glazed inside and out, except for two reserved stripes on the outer face and the canonical one on the inner face of the lip.

Hard, pinkish buff clay; excellent black glaze with a silvery luster. First class work.

The form, with offset lip and relatively high foot, has no exact parallel. Foot and decoration, but with smooth lip, cf. a late Protogeometric skyphos from Nea Ionia (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 27, no. 45: H. 0.118; diam. 0.149 m.). A similar deep body with offset lip is found with a high pedestaled foot in Marathon Tomb 2 (*Πρακτικά*, 1939, p. 30, fig. 3γ; EG II context). Another fragment of a bowl like this comes from a mixed context in the Agora (P 20610) in which the latest material is Early Geometric II; the foot is missing. The date is surely Early Geometric and the fabric is more common in EG II than EG I; it is different from and better than Middle Geometric I fabrics.

##### **AR II-2.** Iron sword.

Pl. 69, a.

Indicated on the sketch plan, Plate 69, a. S. Wide apparently drew from the text of Rubensohn's lecture when he wrote that its "nächste typologische Verwandte sich den Bronzeschwertern von Mykene finden" (p. 209). See Appendix A 5 d.

##### **AR II-3.** Bronze spearhead.

Pl. 71, g.

There are erasures on the drawing in the Daybook (VII, p. 95), where the proportions were corrected in Zahn's hand. Both the form and the material are unknown for spears of the earlier Geometric phases in Athens, yet the Daybook is explicit about the place of finding. There are no good parallels that would make it a contemporary import. It is more likely to have been an antique, salvaged from a disturbed Mycenaean burial. It has a general affinity with Catling's Class "e) Socketed Spearheads with Narrow Elliptical or Sub-elliptical Blades" (H. W. Catling, *Cypriote Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*, Oxford, 1964, pp. 120–121, e.g. pl. 14, 4–5); these are small, L. ca. 0.20 m., and not

earlier than Late Cypriote II. The socket of the Areopagus spearhead, if not damaged by corrosion, seems very short and the blade a bit wide, though still elliptical; there is no indication in the Daybook of its size. Cf. A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, Edinburgh, 1964, fig. 7, a, from

Kallithea Achaias, Late Helladic III C; the socket is somewhat longer than ours. If the Areopagus spearhead is in fact Mycenaean and Late Helladic III C in date, it would be of special interest in view of the paucity of burials of that period in Athens.<sup>33</sup>

*Areopagus Grave AR III/IV:* Simple trench cremation. Pls. 67, b; 68, b.

Daybook, VIII, pp. 2–3, 9, with sketch plan (= Pl. 68, b). Originally numbered as two graves, then found to be a single deposit, which Rubensohn designated "III/IV." Cleared November 17, 1897.

Unlined trench cut in earth, L. ca. 1.25 m.; W. ca. 0.55 m. The mouth of the trench lay ca. 0.90 m. above Grave AR II just to the north, and 1.40 m. below the modern surface. A deposit at the bottom of the trench, 0.15 m. deep, consisted of scorched crude brick, abundant sherds, some "mit geometrischen Figuren," and 21 "Spinnwirtel," one of them "viereckiger." Everywhere were remains of heavy burning. A layer of field-stones (see Pl. 67, b) sealed off this deposit from the filling above it, which also contained sherds with Geometric decoration, some of them joining fragments below the packing, and four "Spinnwirtel." Uninventoried material, see Appendix A 11, page 370. The pottery is consistently Middle Geometric I, and the quantity of Handmade Incised Ware can only have been in a woman's or girl's grave.

One flat water-washed pebble certainly comes from this grave; another packaged with sherds which join fragments from Grave III/IV may belong as well, as also a battered conch shell. Pebbles and shells are known from inhumation burials. The Protogeometric children's burial C 11:4 (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 23–24) contained a handful of pebbles nearly identical with these and a Subgeometric child's burial at the Kerameikos (Grave G 100) contained a single pebble. These are probably game-pieces as contrasted with the "pebble carpets" on which some inhumed bodies were placed and the bedding beneath the hollow foot of a grave-marking krater (Kerameikos Grave G 42) on which birds had been placed. A cockle shell was found on the breast of a middle-aged man in Agora Middle Geometric I Grave C 8:7. Shells and pebbles are almost unknown in cremations; cf. Kerameikos Grave G 3, which contained a conch (but see note 23).

#### FINDS:

**AR III/IV-1.** Low pyxis with lid. Pl. 71, j, l, m.

Poulsen 26. Zahn (1903), p. 3, no. 2, "Büchse ohne Deckel ... Grab III/IV"; it is listed as

"photographed" (A 9 h, right; box only). The dimensions agree with this piece and one of Zahn's visiting cards found in it in June 1971 is inscribed "Grab III/IV" (Pl. 71, j).

<sup>33</sup> The only others now are Agora Grave J 7:2 (*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 200, 214, no. 24, pl. 75, burial XIV; Agora Grave A 18:4 (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 215, pl. 39, 1; *Agora*, XIII, p. 171, pl. 38, VI-1); and probably also a disturbed burial opposite Συγγροῦ 24 (Δελτ., XXIV, 1969, *Xρονικά*, p. 73, pl. 59δ), with what appears to be a coarsened Close Style net-triangle on the shoulder.

German Archaeological Institute in Athens. H. with lid 0.112 m. About half survives with the profile complete. Tie-holes on the box lost; parts of one pair preserved on the lid. No reference marks preserved. The lid does not fit tightly, and seems not to belong; it may be the missing lid, Grave I "No. 5," see under AR I-5.

Smoke-darkened clay; black glaze of excellent quality.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.06; diam. 0.172 m.

Low ring foot, rounding up to bottom beneath. Vertical and horizontal face of flange glazed. On the body, three rows of dots.

b) Lid. H. 0.05; diam. 0.123 m. Flat beneath.

Stem glazed with narrow reserved bands on the ribs; knob ringed.

Pyxides decorated only with zones of dots are relatively common and apparently limited to Middle Geometric I; cf. I 18:1-11 and 12, I 18:2-5 in the same lot, and Ker. 869 and 882 (V, 1, pl. 55, Graves G 37 and 25, disturbed contexts in which most of the pottery was Middle Geometric I; see under I 18:2-1) and a fragment in Kerameikos Grave G 20 (V, 1, pl. 53; MG I). Shape, I 18:3-7.

#### AR III/IV-2. Fragmentary low pyxis. Pl. 72, a, b.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; from Packet Ü 198 and one of the general packets.

H. est. ca. 0.085; diam. mouth est. ca. 0.14 m. A number of non-joining sherds preserve the full profile: a) lip with flange, through mid-meander; b) from near the top of the zigzag well into the glazed area; c) top of dogtooth through the base, with a bit of the floor. Some sherds not illustrated.

Part of one tie-hole; no reference marks preserved.

Crisp, low, fairly wide ring foot.

Flange glazed all over. Outside, multiple zigzags (3), the apices joined to the border above and below with strokes (Pl. 72, b), meander left (the hatching changes directions), dogtooth. The two hatched verticals at the right on sherd d belong to a space-filling battlement that links the beginning and end of the pattern.

All sherds darkened from smoke; most are gray throughout, some heavily burned and the glaze lost.

Strokes connecting the apices of multiple zigzags to the borders, see I 18:1-1; the mannerism is not Attic, but this piece is. Meander with dogtooth is common, cf. I 18:2-7, but the combination with multiple zigzags is rarer and normally Middle Geometric II; a Middle Geometric I example, Ker. 1189 (V, 1, pl. 53, Gr. G 13).

#### AR III/IV-3. Fragmentary low pyxis. Pl. 72, c.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; joining sherds from Packets Ü 199, 180, 198, 186 and one of the general packets.

H. est. ca. 0.09; diam. mouth est. ca. 0.16; diam. base 0.10 m. Many sherds and substantial fragments; the body and base fragments do not join, but their position is certain and the profile complete.

One tie-hole is preserved on a non-joining sherd. No reference marks survive. Low ring foot, crisply turned beneath.

Flange reserved except for a band of glaze along the inner vertical face and at mid-width. Outside: zigzag, meander left (the hatching changes directions), dogtooth, then bands to just above the base, which is glazed.

All sherds darkened from smoke, some heavily, three severely burned, peeled and encrusted.

Three sherds from another pyxis of about this size, also with zigzag at the top of the wall, are in Ü 183, an unlabeled packet that contained some sherds joining AR I-5. The flange is solidly glazed. Two of the sherds are heavily burned.

Cf. I 18:2-7, slightly taller and wider, but with the same patterns.

#### AR III/IV-4. Fragmentary low pyxis. Pl. 72, d, e.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; from Ü 180, 186 and one of the general packets.

H. 0.045; diam. mouth est. ca. 0.11 m. Four pieces preserve about a quarter of the pot, the profile complete.

Most of one pair of tie-holes preserved; no reference marks survive. Small crisp ring foot; beneath, the bottom is rilled, and the tops of the rills glazed (three are preserved in addition to the ring foot; see Pl. 72, e: d).

Flange reserved except for a band of glaze along the inner vertical face. A heavy band lines

the flange at the top of the wall, then two lighter bands and a hatched meander left, two bands, then glaze onto the base. The keys are not separated from the border and the hatching does not change directions.

Very hard clay, overfired and porous. All sherds are discolored from smoke, some a dirty gray-buff.

Two other rilled bottoms are known to me: the oinochoe, Ker. 2149 (V, 1, pls. 72 and 109; the dimensions in the text, p. 235, should read, H. 0.275; D. 0.166; D. base 0.133), EG II/MG I; the Areopagus pot is smaller and finer. A fragmentary base, Agora P 30450, is from an open vase, probably a large cup or skyphoid. The latest material from its context, Well D 12:3, was Middle Geometric II, with some pieces looking toward Late Geometric I a, but there was also a fair amount of earlier material, among it the pointed pyxis P 7204 (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 18, I 24), roughly contemporary with **AR III/IV-4**. See **I 18:1-13**.

#### **AR III/IV-5.** Fragmentary low pyxis.

Pls. 72, d; 73, a.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; most of the sherds came from Packet Ü 198, with a few from Ü 186.

H. 0.055; diam. base est. *ca.* 0.08; diam. mouth est. *ca.* 0.07 m. Less than a quarter survives, with about a third of the circle of the base and a small arc of the rim; the profile joins complete.

Parts of one set of tie-holes survive; no reference marks preserved. Crisp ring foot.

Flange reserved except for a band on the inner edge of the horizontal face. Band on the top edge of the wall; multiple zigzags (3), six bands, then glaze onto the resting surface.

Delicate, fine fabric. Clay smoked gray on most of the sherds; black adherent glaze with a faint gloss.

See **I 18:3-7**.

#### **AR III/IV-6.** Two fragments from a large low pyxis.

Pl. 73, a.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; from Ü 198 and one of the general packets.

P.H. 0.047; diam. est. *ca.* 0.19 m. Two fragments extending from the mouth, with the full flange, to well below the greatest diameter.

Part of one tie-hole; no reference marks preserved.

Flange glazed all over. Multiple zigzags (3) with "V's" in the upper angles.

Both pieces smoke darkened, one gray; glaze on one is damaged, on the other, adherent, rich glossy black. Hard clay; excellent fabric.

See **I 18:3-7**. "V's" in angles, cf. **Ph. I-NM 15313**.

#### **AR III/IV-7.** Three sherds from a lid that fits **AR III/IV-3**.

Pl. 73, a.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; from Ü 199, Ü 186, and one of the general packets. (Only two are illustrated.)

From the periphery; center lost. Diam. *ca.* 0.14 m.

Part of one tie-hole.

Hard clay, smoke darkened; adherent black glaze.

Cf. **I 18:1-6**.

#### **AR III/IV-7bis.** Piece from a finial of a low pyxis lid.

Pl. 73, a.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix 11; from Packet Ü 180.

P.H. 0.03; diam. est. *ca.* 0.04; max. dim. 0.033 m. Part of a finial in the shape of a miniature pyxis; cf. **I 18:3-9 b**. This is a chip from the "body"; no trace of the "lid." The "body" is taller and the profile more ovoid than **I 18:3-9 b**.

Three bands above and below triple zigzags, then glaze below.

Good hard fabric, lightly smoke darkened.

See **I 18:3-9 b** and **I 18:1-9 b**.

#### **AR III/IV-8.** Sherd from a pointed pyxis.

Pl. 73, a.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; from Packet Ü 198.

Max. dim. 0.055 m. From the lower half, thickening toward the point.

Parts of four zones: dogtooth, slanting bars, dotted double dogtooth, zigzag.

Good hard fabric, smoke darkened to a dirty tan color; thick black glaze, peeling.

Zigzags, dogtooth and dotted double dogtooth are common patterns on pointed pyxides, and are found in combination with slanting bars on the earliest example of the shape, Agora P 19239 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 68, no. 4). Bars are relatively rare, e.g. Agora P 213 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pl. 22, no. 10, EG II/MG I) and Ph. II-NM 15317 (MG I); the other three in combination, e.g. Berlin in *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. I, 6, EG II/MG I. All are found on the large granary, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pl. 23, no. 22.

**AR III/IV-9.** Sherds from a low skyphos.

Pl. 73, a.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; from Ü 198 and one of the general packets.

P.H. 0.037; diam. mouth est. ca. 0.15 m. Three sherds (two illustrated) from rim to frame below handle zone.

Substantial lip, markedly flaring.

Plain reserved stripe on inner face of lip. Outside, two stripes, then a panel of multiple zigzags (6), two bands below, then glaze; two verticals at the right from the frame beside one handle.

All sherds discolored, one brownish, one gray-black with good adherent black glaze, one burned gray with the glaze peeled from the outside.

Cf. I 18:3-3 and Ker. 886 (V, 1, pl. 89, Gr. G 13; MG I).

Ü 198 includes three sherds from a second skyphos, with slightly deeper flaring lip. The pattern in the panel is not legible. All sherds are badly burned and the glaze mostly lost outside.

**AR III/IV-10.** Twenty-five clay beads, two of them bi-pyramidal: Attic Fine Handmade Incised Ware.

Pl. 73, b.

Whereabouts unknown. Schweitzer, 1918 (Appendix A 6 c), p. 54. In the photograph (Appendix A 9 e = here, Pl. 73, b), AR I-10 (H. 0.05 m.) gives the scale for these smaller beads, which are of normal size, diam. ca. 0.025-0.03 m. There are five basic incised patterns, and one bead is plain or badly corroded.

a) *Narrow melon-ribbing.* Two beads. The type is known in Late Protogeometric (e.g.

Ker. 2117, IV, pl. 32, Gr. PG 39) and EG I (Agora MC 760, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 72, no. 4). Beyond the observation that the grooving on the earliest specimen (Ker. 764, I, pl. 74, Gr. PG 5) is widely spaced, they are not closely datable.

b) *Impressed double circles with a stroke-line above and below.* Two beads. A Late Protogeometric type, e.g. Ker. 2118 (IV, pl. 32, Gr. PG 39) and Nea Ionia (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 30, no. 55 b). None has come from a good intermediate context. They could be durable heirlooms.

c) *Impressed circles with stroke wave.* Five beads. This was the commonest type in the Late Protogeometric cemetery at Nea Ionia (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 30, no. 55 a). One of the larger hollow clay balls from the rich Early Geometric II grave on the lower Areopagus has this pattern around the greatest diameter (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pl. 30, no. 57). Like a and b above, not closely datable within the Late Protogeometric-Middle Geometric I range.

d) *Stroke-filled zigzags.* Three beads. Apparently a purely Geometric pattern in this fabric. The earliest example from a good context is Ker. 2154 (IV, pl. 32, Gr. PG 41: EG I in date). There were several pieces in the rich Early Geometric II burial on the lower slopes of the Areopagus (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pl. 30, nos. 60, 61, 63). A whorl and a hollow clay ball in that tomb also carried this pattern.

e) *Impressed circles in metopes.* Twelve beads. Metope beads begin in Late Protogeometric contexts (Ker. 2090, IV, pl. 32, Gr. PG 48, with herringbone instead of circles in the metopes; whorl, Nea Ionia, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 30, no. 56 c) and continue into Early Geometric I and II. Dividers: i) *group of straight lines* (four beads), cf. Ker. 2090 (IV, pl. 32, Gr. PG 48); ii) *group of straight lines alternating with stroke-lines* (three beads), now without parallel; iii) *stroke-edged straight lines* (four beads), cf. Ker. 2062 (IV, pl. 32, Gr. PG 48), Nea Ionia (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 30, no. 56 c), Ker. 901 (V, 1, pl. 157, Gr. G 7; EG I); iv) *herringbone enclosed by straight lines* (one bead), cf. Agora

whorl, MC 679 and bead, MC 795, both from disturbed contexts.

f) *Plain* or corroded. One bead.

See AR I-10; they are probably loomweights, model or real. Despite this, large numbers in tombs are not common; few tombs have produced more than a handful, seldom more than one. Most come from the cremation graves of adult women, where they must have been tokens of an important daily task; see p. 336. Two sets come from graves identified by such furnishings as faience necklaces of inhumed young girls, who may already have attained some skill at weaving, or the loomweights may have been deposited as reminders of the marriage and domestic responsibilities they did not live to see. Larger numbers of beads are now commonest in Early Geometric I: in Kerameikos Grave PG 48 (LPG/EG I), and the girls' graves at Ἀγίου Δημητρίου 20 (Δελτ., XIX, 1964, Χρονικά, p. 54, πολυάριθμοι ψῆφοι πήλινοι) and Ποντοπούλου 20 (Δελτ., XXII, 1967, Χρονικά, p. 110, nine beads). A cremation grave at Ἀγίου Μάρκου 6-8-10-12 (Δελτ., XIX, 1964, Χρονικά, p. 55)

contained πλῆθος ψῆφων πηλίνων, ἐκ διαλειμμένων ὅρμων; the date of the context is not clear: a nearby belly-handled urn is Protogeometric in style, but a whole oinochoe illustrated as from the same grave should not be earlier than Early Geometric II, see under Ph. II-NM 15315. The earliest set, the nine in Kerameikos Grave PG 39, are from a pure Protogeometric context. Only one group, the 16 in Marathon Tomb 5 (*Πρακτικά*, 1939, pp. 34-35), decorated with meanders and circles, is from a Middle Geometric I context like these.

Four undecorated bi-pyramidal beads with four to five sides were found in Kerameikos Grave PG 48 (Ker. 2047-2050, IV, pl. 32; EG I in date). The largest group of bi-pyramidal beads, 11 with four or five sides, is included in a set of 27 in the Athens National Museum (NM 17460, confiscated on the Athens market, 1941); all of the polygonal beads in the set are decorated with stroke-edged circles in metopes. The round beads in the set all have metopes or are melon-ribbed, except for one plain one. The set must be Geometric in date, possibly as late as AR III/IV-10.

*Areopagus Grave AR V:* Simple trench cremation.

Pl. 68, c.

Daybook, VIII, pp. 5-7, with an isometric sketch of the grave and drawings of three pots. The number "V" appears on the sketch and in Zahn (1903), but the grave is not numbered in the text. Cleared November 18-19, 1897.

It lay just to the south and a little to the east of Grave AR I, somewhat higher and at an angle of about 45° to it. Trench cut in earth, L. ca. 1.0 m.; W. 0.55 m.; the depth could not be determined exactly. At a depth of 1.55 m. below the modern surface a well-preserved oinochoe (AR V-1) was found beside a layer of burned crude brick. The layer seems to have been irregular, not covering the entire trench and spilling over on one side beyond the mouth. At one end of it fragments of two cups (AR V-3 and 4) lay baked into the brick along with a few other Geometric sherds. Beneath the brick was a thin layer of earth and small stones, and below it earth mixed with ash. In the ash layer were many sherds, among them those from another oinochoe and from several pyxides, and a sword. Isolated small stones lay on the floor of the trench. The grave is early in Middle Geometric I.

FINDS:

**AR V-1.** Broad-bottomed oinochoe. Pl. 74, a, b, f.  
Sketch, Daybook, VIII, p. 6, top (Pl. 74, f).  
Zahn (1903), p. 4, no. 9, "mit gebr. Mündung."

18.XI.1897... Über Grab V." Hasty sketch by Zahn on notecard to Kahane, 1937 (A 8 b), labeled "aus Grab V. 18.XI.97" (Pl. 74, a). Poulsen 8; his choice of the Copenhagen oinochoe

for pl. II of the 1905 edition must have been inspired by this pot (see Appendix A 6 a). On the bottom, written large in ink and in Rubensohn's hand, "Über Grab V 18/XI 97." Packer's annotation on the bottom, Ü 205.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. H. 0.23; diam. 0.15 m. One piece through neck to the upper border of the zigzag panel, with the stump of the handle; a joining sherd comes from one of the general packets, Ü 177. A second sherd, found "Im Schutt oberhalb vom Grab V und aus der Umgegend" (Ü 182), extends from the zigzags to the rim; although it no longer joins securely, its position is certain and it completes the full height.

Low ring foot, barely offset outside, crisper on the underside.

Three groups of reserved lines on the body. Quadruple zigzags in the neck panel; three framing lines below and probably above, two at the sides. Handle laddered.

Dirty buff, hard clay; glaze peeling in front, elsewhere firm, glossy black-brown glaze of excellent quality.

Shape and decoration, see I 18:3-1.

#### **AR V-2.** Fragments from a very large oinochoe.

Probably to be identified with Daybook, VIII, p. 7, "Vasenscherben... (darunter solche von einer Kanne wie I....)"; see AR?:-6.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. Mended from Ü 192, labeled by Rubensohn "Scherben aus Grab V. 18/19.Nov.1897." Several joining and many non-joining sherds in one of the general packets (Ü 177), among them a substantial base (diam. 0.13), which seems to belong.

Crisp ring foot, neatly offset from the body, somewhat higher than is usual on medium-sized pieces and very similar to I 18:3-1.

P.H. 0.20; H. handle 0.13; W. handle 0.034; Th. handle 0.014 m. About the same size as AR I-II:-1 and I 18:3-1 (H. handle 0.13; W. handle 0.037; diam. base 0.137 m.). From greatest diameter to lower neck and all of the handle with the back of the mouth. No trace of burning.

One set of three narrow reserved bands preserved on the body. Handle laddered.

Excellent hard, pinkish buff clay, more buff on the surface; glossy, adherent black glaze.

Almost identical with I 18:3-1, and like it perhaps deposited intact as a food vessel in the tomb.

**AR V-3.** Simple black-glazed "Schale" with one "(?)" vertical handle. Pl. 74, e.

Daybook, VIII, p. 7, with sketch of the back of the handle with triple-spined herringbone. Groups of strokes on the inner face of the lip. Whereabouts unknown.

Since mastoi, characteristic of large cups, are not mentioned, one might naturally think this a teacup of normal size (diam. ca. 0.08 m.). But groups of strokes on the lip, though very rare on small cups (one, Ker. 2138, V, 1, pl. 105, Gr. G 38, end of EG II), are regular on kantharoi and low skyphoi, and are found on about half of the large cups with mastoi. The herringbone, too, especially with the heavier spine, belongs to larger forms, beginning in EG I on kantharoi (e.g. Agora P 20179, P 20180, *Hesperia*, XXI, pl. 75, nos. 18, 19, single spine, Grave D 16:4). The kantharos with simple teacup handles is properly an Early Geometric form; the latest complete piece is Ker. 1251 (V, 1, pl. 99, Gr. G 43, with godrooned body, end of EG II). A fragmentary piece comes from a contemporary grave in the Agora (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 97, no. 24, Grave H 16:6). Another fragmentary piece comes from the dumped filling of a well in the Agora that contained some early Middle Geometric II; it had been cut in half and used as a potter's test piece and may be earlier than the latest material in the filling. Middle Geometric II kantharoi have high-swung handles and are not necessarily a development from the earlier form. But it now seems that the pieces (AR V-3) are from a second large cup (probably with vanished mastoi) with zigzag panel; see AR V-4. Their date, in any case, is not later than the beginning of Middle Geometric I, and possibly still Early Geometric II.

**AR V-4.** Large cup with one vertical handle and mastoi. Pls. 74, c, d; 75, d.

Daybook, VIII, p. 7 and sketch by Rubensohn, p. 6 (Pl. 74, c). Poulsen 12. Schweitzer, *Ath.*

*Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 59, fig. 11, "Ein Napf der Akropolismalerei" = Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, Munich, 1923, fig. 5 (Pl. 74, d). Zahn (1903), p. 4, no. 7, "Grab V. 18.XI.1897," "H. 0.075; Upper D. 0.15"; it is listed as "photographed" (A 9 h, left = Pl. 75, d.) Whereabouts unknown.

Panel of multiple zigzags across the front (5 in the photograph; 4 in front, 5 at the sides in Rubensohn's drawing), framed at the bottom and the sides. Mastoi glazed over, and beyond them sets of reserved lines, as if forming the frames of side panels. The photograph A 9 h and Schweitzer's drawing, which must be based on it with slightly altered proportions, show glaze beyond them, unlike the Rubensohn sketch. The photograph is clear and the glaze firm; there were never any side panels on this pot. The floating side frames, though extraordinary, are no longer unique, for a close twin, recently brought to my attention, suggests that there may have been other cups like this. Dr. Fernanda Scheid Hoelscher has most kindly shown me photographs of a fragmentary cup from Orchomenos now in the Martin v. Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg, inv. H 5248 (formerly in the collection of Prof. H. Bulle); she assures me that it is Attic. It will be published in the *C.V.A.*, Würzburg 1, which she is now preparing. The two fragments come from a vase slightly smaller than ours (diam. ca. 0.135 m.), but in decoration differing only in the number (4) and length of the multiple zigzags. It cannot, then, be AR V-4, nor, since the provenience is firm, any other of the missing Areopagus vases. Another vase with zigzags would provide the only explanation for Rubensohn's strange but explicit creation (for he is not careless): the sketch was made before mending and incorporates pieces from two vases; the breaks at the side of a mastos were paired with an alien zigzag panel, deriving possibly from a skyphos (with the same profile and stroke-decorated lip), or more likely from still another cup with mastoi

that formed a pair with AR V-4, the one, AR V-4, with five multiple zigzags, the other, like the Würzburg piece, with only four. The handle of AR V-4 is not described; that on the Würzburg cup matches that sketched for AR V-3 and suggests that that entry may have been another large cup with mastoi and the source of the zigzag panel that misled Rubensohn. Robbed of the panel and mastoi, AR V-3 became the "simple black cup with herringbone handle" Rubensohn describes.

AR V-4 is much broader than the other large cups with mastoi (diam. usually ca. 0.12 m.). See *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 97–98, under nos. 25, 26, for characteristics and list (which includes this piece), to which add: *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. 1, 2, with leg-handle and mastoi covered by meander, as commonly on oinochoai-lekythoi, rarely on cups ("Berlin-Munich Group," EG II, see *G.G.P.*, p. 13); a fragment, Agora P 30397 (diam. est. ca. 0.13 m.), from mixed cemetery debris on Kolonos Agoraios; Lefkandi, Skoubbris Cemetery, Pyre 4 (*A.A.A.*, I, 1969, p. 98, fig. 2; V. Desborough informs me that the piece is Attic); Athens NM 15310 = here, Ph. I-3; and now, Würzburg inv. H 5248. Coldstream (*G.G.P.*, p. 197) mentions still another cup from Orchomenos "with a panel of multiple zigzag between mastoi," by implication of local fabric; I have not seen it. This is perhaps the cup D.A.I.A. Neg. Orchomenos 128 (I owe this reference to Dr. Hoelscher). The other large cups are Early Geometric II, except for the piece in Eleusis (*Hesperia, ibid.*), which is from a context which appears to be Middle Geometric I. It, too, departs from the standard meander decoration of the EG II pieces (latticed lozenges with dots in the angles). Multiple zigzags, see I 18:1-1.

AR V-5. Sherds from "several pyxides."

AR V-6. Sword. Mentioned in the Daybook, but the material, iron, is supplied in the report, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 478 (Appendix A 2).

### *Areopagus Grave AR: Disturbed cremation burial.*

Daybook, VIII, pp. 14–15, with a sketch showing the grave south of AR II and east of AR III/IV. The grave is not numbered. Cleared November 26, 1897.

Damaged and the original outlines lost. An area, apparently slightly larger than grave AR II, was covered with sherds and burned matter. In the earth under the burned area were some sherds from a "very large Geometric" vase.

*Areopagus Grave AR: Robbed cremation burial.*

Daybook, VIII, pp. 14–15, 17, with a sketch showing this grave a little further south and west of AR: Disturbed burial. The grave is unnumbered. Cleared November 26, 1897.

A heavily burned area alongside a trench, which was cut in the rising bedrock. Trench, L. 0.75; W. 0.40; D. 0.25 m. A few "late sherds" and a piece of glass in the trench suggest that it had been emptied in later antiquity. The dimensions of the trench are roughly those of I 18:3 and the burned stretch alongside it probably lay beneath the pyre. See p. 333.

The following pieces are known only to have come from "the Areopagus Graves":

**AR:-1.** Fragments from a low pyxis. Pl. 74, g.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. Appendix A 11; all sherds come from Ü 177 (one of the general packets).

P.H. *ca.* 0.06; diam. est. *ca.* 0.10 m. Nearly one-quarter of the pot, from the rim, with full flange, into the lower body, but not yet thickening toward the base. The height of the meander zone is certain.

No remains of tie-holes or reference marks.

Flange reserved, except for a narrow glaze band on the inner face continuing over onto the horizontal face. Outside, a broad band of glaze, three bands, then a hatched battlement meander with a solid bar from the border above and below in each "crenelation," three bands, then solid glaze. The hatching does not change directions.

Smoke damaged, brittle, mostly a dirty gray-buff; glaze mostly peeled, but here and there a patch of good black glaze, lightly glossy.

Filling the crenelations of battlement meanders is an embellishment that occurs from time to time to individual painters, good and bad; there is no continuous tradition. Line battlement with glazed bars, on the giant globular pyxis Ker. 657 (V, 1, pl. 51, Isolated Find), EG I; line of dots in hatched battlement, on the stand Ker. 931 (V, 1, pl. 68, Gr. G 2), EG II; bar fillers in battlements linking

paired meanders, on the pointed pyxis Agora P 27639 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 90, fig. 3, no. 12); dots in line battlement, on low pyxis Agora P 5054 (*Agora*, VIII, pl. 15, no. 256 = Grave G 12:17, R.S.Y. Grave XVII), LG I a; checkerboard columns in hatched meanders, neck-amphora Agora P 4886 (*Agora*, VIII, pl. 19, no. 334 = Grave G 12:13, R.S.Y. Grave XIII) and the pitcher Ker. 393 (V, 1, pl. 115, Grave G 33), both LG II a; see *G.G.P.*, pp. 66–67, the "Workshop of the Hooked Swastikas."

**AR:-2.** Fragment of a low pyxis lid. Pl. 74, i.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; all sherds come from Ü 177 (one of the general packets).

Diam. est. *ca.* 0.125 m. Fits **AR III/IV-2**, and may belong to it. Center and handle lost.

Part of one tie-hole; no reference marks survive.

Smoke darkened and discolored from the pyre. Excellent hard clay, lustrous adherent glaze.

Cf. **I 18:3-8 b.** The bars are more nearly perpendicular than others in Middle Geometric contexts, but perhaps only at this point, because the inclination increases toward the right.

**AR:-3.** Fragment from a flat pyxis lid. Pl. 74, i.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A 11; from Ü 178 (one of the general packets).

P.H. 0.038; max. dim. 0.064 m. One piece, broken all around; the tip of the finial worn, possibly broken, but if so, evenly.

Parts of two reserved stripes (diam. innermost, under 0.06 m.), then glaze to the base of the finial. Underside of finial glazed, rings on outer face, with a row of dots about two-thirds of the way up.

Hard, pinkish buff clay, darkened from smoke; thin adherent black glaze. Fabric like AR III/IV-5.

Any pattern is unusual on conical finials.

**AR:-4.** Fragment of a lid. Pl. 74, i.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. See Appendix A; from Ü 177 (one of the general packets).

P.H. 0.038; diam. est. *ca.* 0.08 m. About half, with the stem, perhaps to the base of the finial. Part of one tie-hole; no reference marks preserved.

Domed above and below. P.H. stem 0.018;

diam. stem 0.016 m. Four ribs, perhaps all, preserved.

About a third of the way in from the perimeter, three reserved bands.

Very hard clay, discolored from smoke; thin black glaze, mostly peeled.

From a pointed pyxis like I 18:2-8; the diameter is the same, but the stem is exceptionally thin (diam. 0.013 m.). Or, possibly, from a small low pyxis, such as Ker. 1202 (V, 1, pl. 51, Gr. G 13); the stem is about the same size, but the diameter of the lid is larger.

**AR:-5.** Iron knife.

Whereabouts unknown. Mentioned, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 478. See Appendix A 2. It could be from any of the graves, for knives are found in graves of either sex.

The following objects in Berlin-Charlottenberg are of the right types and date for the Areopagus graves, but their documentation is Acropolis West Slope. There are, however,<sup>1</sup> complications. The date of finding, faint, but still legible, appears on the bottom of the oinochoe AR?:-6 below, written large and in Rubensohn's hand, "19/XII 97." The very soft clay has absorbed most of the ink, but the strokes of the "XII" are firm and certain. The inscription is so like that on the bottom of AR V-1 as to seem to have been made at the same sitting. It is tempting to assume dittography, "XII" for "XI", that both pots were found on November 19, and that both are from Grave AR V, for the Daybook records that in addition to the securely documented AR V-1, there were found on that day "Vasenscherben (darunter solche von einer Kanne wie I...)." I have yet to find Rubensohn in error, and since the sherds of AR V-2 will satisfy the Daybook entry, this substantial fragment is probably to be placed elsewhere. A well was found on the Acropolis West Slope on the east side of the modern street (Apostolou Pavlou) "gegenüber der Enneakrunos" (probably that on the plan, *A.D.*, II, pl. 38, B 7/8); it was cleared on December 17-23, 24 and 27-28. Rubensohn records "geometrischen Gefäß-scherben" and sherds from cooking pots, noting that the Geometric comes "besonders von der schwarz-gefirnißten Gattung," to which this oinochoe belongs. The complication is a wide-mouthed pitcher, also in Berlin, which is listed in Zahn (1903), p. 6, as "17/24 XII 1897. Brunnen bei der Enneakrunos." The pitcher is Late Geometric I a (decoration and shape comparable with the wide-mouthed oinochoai at the Kerameikos, Ker. 874 and 811, V, 1, pl. 82, Gr. G 9 and 88), close to a half century later than the "black group." A second Geometric well by the "Enneakrounos" was not opened until December 29-31.

The four clay beads, AR?:-7, would fit well with the Areopagus finds, but they

come from a packet (Ü 200) labeled by Zahn "Westabhang 1897. 198. 4 Tönkügeln. 1 Spinnwirzel." The whorl is fifth century; the beads are contemporary with **AR III/IV-10**, but the 25 mentioned in the Daybook are all accounted for. We have not been able to learn the significance of "198"; it has no connection with the Ü numbers, for the label was made very likely in 1903. Packet Ü 197 is also labeled "Westabhang 1897/198." Zahn, less familiar with the material than the excavator, Rubensohn, was more prone to error, and confirmation of his tickets is desirable (see Appendix A 11). The beads surely came from a grave originally, and the oinochoe, probably, for it is small for a working water-jar, but whether or not they were found as debris in a well-filling on the West Slope or elsewhere is unknown. I record them here for convenience.

## FINDS:

**AR?:-6.** Small broad-bottomed oinochoe.

Pl. 74, a, h.

Hasty sketch by Zahn on notecard to Kahane, 1937 (Appendix A 8 b), labeled by him "Auf der ein steht 19.XII.97" (Pl. 74, a). "Ü 203" penciled on the bottom, and the date of finding in ink, see above. Poulsen 9.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. P.H. 0.146; diam. 0.11 m. One piece, from base into the neck with the stump of the handle.

Low ring foot, fairly crisp outside.

On the body, from the shoulder down, four groups of three reserved bands, a fifth group of two, then glaze onto the base. Panel of triple zigzags on the neck, three lines above and below, two as side frames. Glaze on the handle, the laddering not yet begun at 0.01 m.

Soft, orangey clay. Thin, brownish red glaze, mostly peeled.

*Areopagus Grave I 18:1.<sup>34</sup>* Inhumed adult.

Pl. 75, b.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 158–159, pl. XLI, 1.

Rectangular trench, cut partly in bedrock, partly in the filling of a Protogeometric pit-well (I 18:4). A late Byzantine wall bedded below the floor of the grave destroyed its eastern half; in the west lay the well-preserved lower half of the skeleton of a fourteen-year-old girl,<sup>35</sup> outstretched on her back, fingers and pelvis through the toes. Trench, P.L. ca. 1.0; W. ca. 0.80; P.D. ca. 0.30 m. The earth-cut sides were lined with field-stones and a single large cover slab protected the offerings and the

<sup>34</sup> Section AR: Grave at 38–39/I. Cleared March 15, 1947 by E. Vanderpool.

<sup>35</sup> Bones, AA 52. Analyzed by J. L. Angel, 1949.

**AR ?:-7.** Four clay beads.

Pl. 73, c.

Berlin-Charlottenberg. In Packet Ü 200, see above. Mentioned, Zahn to Kahane, March 1, 1937 (Appendix A 8 b).

a) with *Impressed double circles in metopes*. H. 0.03; diam. 0.032 m. The herringbone is repeated below the metopes. Type, see **AR III/IV-10 e, iv** (Pl. 73, b). Same metopes and double circles with strokes, on a bead (Agora MC 795, Area D 17:-) and whorl (MC 679, Area D 15:-), both stray finds.

b) with *Impressed single circles in metopes*. H. 0.019; diam. 0.022 m. The "triglyphs" have a stroke-herringbone like a above; the circles are stroke filled; simple strokes encircle the hole as c and d below. Type, **AR III/IV-10 e, iv** (Pl. 73, b).

c) with *Enclosed stroke-zigzag*. H. 0.023; diam. 0.025 m. See **AR III/IV-10 d** (Pl. 73, b).

d) with *Stroke-edged line encircling top and bottom*. H. 0.021; diam. 0.027 m. Cf. Ker. 257 (V, 1, pl. 157, Gr. G 77; MG I).

body. Eighteen pots lay on and around the legs, together with a pierced stone plaque, and three pieces of iron. The filling consisted of dug bedrock with a little carbonized matter and small stones in no order. Originally the entire body would have been covered with slabs, for when slabs cover only part of a body, it is normally the head.

Middle Geometric I.

## FINDS:

**I 18:1-1.** Large oinochoe-lekythos. Pl. 76, a.  
*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1, j.  
 P 17481. H. 0.222; diam. 0.165 m.

Very low ring foot rounding up to bottom beneath. On either side of the shoulder, a conical mastoï about 120° from the handle.

Decoration as Plate 77, a; the hatched meander fans out from the base of the neck and passes over the mastoï as if they weren't there.

Hard, pinkish buff clay, darker where the glaze has peeled. Dark-brown to black glaze, mostly glossy, but peeled over large areas.

Shape, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 85; G.G.P., pp. 17, 19. For the small size, see **I 18:1-2**; intermediate size, H 16:6-3 (*Hesperia*, *ibid.*). There are rather more of large size than the published pieces suggest; all with a good context are Middle Geometric I. The others: Marathon Tomb 5 (*Πρακτικά*, 1939, p. 32, fig. 5β); Eleusis, from the "Grave with the Large Oinochoe-Lekythos" (*Eph. Αρχ.*, 1898, pl. 3, 10<sup>36</sup>); Cambridge GR 2-1943 (G.G.P., pl. 3, m, without context). They have in common a tall narrow neck and full rounded body with mastoï on the shoulder on either side about 120° from the handle. Instead of the conventional triangles that decorate the shoulders of smaller pieces, all large oinochoai-lekythoi have a hatched meander flaring out from the base of the neck wholly disregarding the mastoï, passing over or just missing them as the keys happen to fall. Two or more zones span the greatest diameter, usually a broad motive between narrow motives. The lower body, usually about a third of the whole, retains the severe black glaze and provides a solid basement for the patterned

superstructure. On the pot from Marathon Tomb 5, the most elaborate of them, the pattern extends over the whole body, and only a black band encircling the foot recalls the black substructure. A broad motive with one or two narrow motives extends about three-quarters of the way around the tall neck. The glaze at the back beneath the handle extends down over the shoulder to the lower handle attachment. Contrast the special treatment of mastoï on large cups, Appendix C, **Ph. I-3**. Two very squat oinochoai-lekythoi of smaller size also have mastoï masked by meanders, see **I 18:3-6**.

Multiple zigzags appear as a broad motive well along in Early Geometric II; it is usually a Middle Geometric I pattern. The skyphos Ker. 247 (V, 1, pl. 89, Gr. G 75a) may be the earliest (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 84); the panel is barely larger than the Early Geometric I windows (e.g. Agora P 20180, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 75: Grave D 16:4), and like those begins directly from the lip stripe and is framed only at the bottom. The zigzags of Ker. 247 are extraordinary in the Attic series. They are bold, widely spaced and the angle relaxed; the effect is of having been drawn with greater care and precision, whether or not they were in fact. The same bold, sprawling zigzags appear on the shoulder of an Early Geometric II amphora, Ker. 412 (V, 1, pl. 42, Gr. G 14). The only other pot in that grave (the skyphos Ker. 413, V, 1, pl. 89) has the usual tighter, compressed zigzags. **Ph. I-NM 15313** (Appendix C) is particularly close to the amphora. Although these pieces stand out among Attic works, this is the usual way of drawing zigzags at Corinth, e.g. Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, i, *Geometric and Orientalizing*

<sup>36</sup> Subsidiary decoration, virtually invisible in that illustration: multiple zigzag at the greatest diameter with simple zigzag above and below, then dogtooth; the lower third is glazed. Neck, multiple zigzags with a simple zigzag below.

*Pottery*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1943, pl. 4, nos. 29, 30, 36 (mixed context, PG-EG), but these pots are of Attic fabric. Our chronology is not yet precise enough to be sure where the pattern originated.<sup>37</sup> In any case, if the first Attic multiple-zigzag painters painted like Corinthians, they very soon developed their own style and stuck to it—compressed and neat, or scribbly—but always with a greater emphasis on the vertical than in Corinth. Zigzags on oinochoai, see I 18:3-1.

Connecting apices of the multiple zigzags, top and bottom, to the borders by vertical strokes is a purely Corinthian mannerism and appears there more commonly than not on Early Geometric zigzags, more rarely later. (Another example, AR III/IV-2.) This pot does not belong to the age of the early Corinthian-looking multiple zigzags, but like the other large oinochoai-lekythoi is Middle Geometric I, a phase which overlaps the later years of Corinthian Early Geometric. The shape is not Corinthian, nor is the fabric, but I think the painter knew Corinthian pots and applied those painstaking little connecting bars to his own Attic zigzags, the more numerous here because of the compressed Attic zigzag. Quite possibly, too, he took still another step. With only a slight leap of the imagination, he left out the zigzags and created the gear pattern. The gear does not occur in Corinth or Argos until later. I am quite willing to believe that its creator was the painter of this pot. Plain bars, vertical, then slanting, had been in the Attic repertory since Late Protogeometric, but the gear is hardly an offshoot. Handle, see AR V-3.

I 18:1-2. Small oinochoe-lekythos. Pl. 76, a. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 g; XXXVII, 1968, p. 86 under no. 4.

P 17480. H. 0.088; diam. 0.077 m. Intact.

Low disc base, flat beneath.

On shoulder, three latticed triangles, doubly outlined; a single-line meander runs vertically as a space filler on one side next to the handle.

<sup>37</sup> Mr. Coldstream is surely correct in sending the Attic Early Geometric I window panel to Corinth for use in the local Early Geometric, a phase which he finds contemporary with Attic Early Geometric II and as much as half of Middle Geometric I (*G.G.P.*, pp. 92, 330).

Lower half of neck ringed, then glaze to the rim. Handle laddered.

Fabric like I 18:1-1, but the unglazed areas are creamier; dark-brown glaze, mostly dull.

See *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 68 under no. 4. Poorly spaced triangles or semicircles were a problem from Protogeometric onward; sometimes an attempt was made to fill an awkward gap, sometimes not. See *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 158 under no. 8. Single-line meanders are found from time to time on small vases, e.g. Isis Grave, C.V.A., Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pls. 4-5 (4, 5), MG II context.

I 18:1-3. Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 76, a.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 b; V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford, 1952, p. 109.

P 17484.

Two pairs of matching opposite tie-holes on flange and lid. Reference marks: a short gash on the flange between one set of tie-holes matches exactly a longer one between the tie-holes on the lid; both were made at the same time with a single cut.

Light pinkish buff clay; dull, firm, dark-brown glaze.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.046; diam. 0.123 m.

Low ring foot rounding up to bottom beneath.

Flange glazed. On body, triple zigzag, four bands above and below, then solid glaze to the base.

b) Lid. H. 0.051; diam. 0.104 m.

Nearly flat beneath.

Glazed except for three narrow reserved bands about halfway in. Traces of glaze on the underside from the wet flange.

A pair with I 18:1-4, from the same hand. See I 18:2-1. Shape, I 18:3-7.

I 18:1-4. Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 76, a.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 c; *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17483.

Tie-holes and reference marks like I 18:1-3: shallow gash on the flange, a long and deep one on the lid, made at the same time with a single cut.

Fabric like I 18:1-3.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.042; diam. 0.125 m.

Low base rounding up to bottom beneath.

Flange glazed. On body, quadruple zigzags, three bands above and below, then glaze.

b) Lid. H. 0.045; diam. 0.099 m.

Stem lightly ringed, perhaps unintentionally.

Traces of glaze on the underside from the wet flange.

See I 18:1-3. Shape I 18:3-7.

**I 18:1-5.** Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 76, a.  
*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 f; *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17482.

Two pairs of matching opposite tie-holes on lid and flange. A short trough on the underside of the lid, centered on one tie-hole, and another diametrically opposite look more like string impressions than a cut reference mark.

Fabric like I 18:1-2, but peeling.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.06; diam. 0.114 m.

Low foot rounding up to bottom beneath.

Flange glazed. On body, triple zigzags, three bands above and below, then solid glaze to base.

b) Lid. H. 0.042; diam. 0.083 m.

Lightly hollowed beneath; the knob is barely offset from the body. The lid fits the body, but may have been paired with it by mistake or as a replacement, for only three of the tie-holes match those on the flange, and only one of each pair could be used. Cf. I 18:2-3, with a useless extra tie-hole.

Glazed except for two reserved bands near the perimeter.

See I 18:1-3; this is a less careful painter. Shape, I 18:3-7.

**I 18:1-6.** Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 76, a.  
*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 a; *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17472.

Two pairs of matching opposite tie-holes, unusually tiny. No reference marks.

Fine, hard, thin fabric. Light pinkish buff clay; firm, brown glaze.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.036; diam. 0.127 m.

Lightly profiled base, flat beneath.

Broad band of glaze near the inner edge of flange. On body, quadruple zigzags, becoming triple for about a third of the circumference, three bands above, four below, then glaze to the base.

b) Lid. H. 0.045; diam. 0.105 m.

Knob barely offset from body; tip worn, possibly broken. Smear of glaze on the underside from the wet flange.

Near the perimeter, three bands, a row of dots, two bands, then solid glaze.

See I 18:1-3. Shape, I 18:3-7.

**I 18:1-7.** Miniature low pyxis with lid.

Pl. 76, b.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 u; *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17470.

Two pairs of opposite matching tie-holes on lid and flange. No reference marks.

Fabric like I 18:1-2, but the glaze has mostly peeled.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.034; diam. 0.067 m. Intact.

Low disc base, flat beneath.

Glaze on the inner vertical face of the flange. On body, triple zigzag, three bands above, four below, then glaze to the base.

b) Lid. H. 0.026; diam. 0.046 m. Intact.

Finial barely offset from the body.

Two bands at the perimeter, then glaze; finial ringed.

See I 18:1-3. Shape, I 18:3-7.

**I 18:1-8.** Low pyxis with lid.

Pl. 76, b.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 g; *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17474.

Single opposite matching tie-holes on lid and flange. No reference marks.

Hard, deep pinkish buff clay of excellent quality; firm, dull, dark-brown glaze.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.05; diam. 0.104 m. Intact.

Foot barely offset from the body, rounding deeply beneath to bottom.

Flange reserved. On body, triple zigzag, four bands above, three below, a row of dots, then three bands.

b) Lid. H. 0.041; diam. 0.081 m. Intact.

Lightly concave beneath. Traces of glaze on the underside from the wet flange.

Near the perimeter, three bands, a broad band, two bands near the handle, then glaze to the base of the finial.

Cf. I 18:3-7.

**I 18:1-9.** Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 76, b.  
*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 k; *Protagometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17479.

Two pairs of matching opposite tie-holes on lid and flange. Reference marks: a small incised "X" on the shoulder of the box between one set of tie-holes; a large matching "X" on the underside of the lid above one set of tie-holes aligns with that on the body.

Hard, deep pinkish buff clay; black to dark-brown dull glaze, a rich orange where thin.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.064; diam. 0.174 m.

Low ring foot, rounding to bottom beneath.

Band of glaze around the inner vertical face of the flange. On body, four bands, then zigzag, triple zigzag, three bands separating each, then dogtooth, and foot glazed.

b) Lid. H. 0.065; diam. 0.141 m.

The finial is a tiny replica of a pyxis and lid.

Double row of dots near the perimeter, four bands below, three above, then solid glaze up to the finial. A row of dots with a pair of bands above and below on the "body" of the miniature pyxis, the "lid" of which is glazed and the little cone ringed.

A pair with I 18:1-10, from the same hand. Decoration like Toronto C 1040 (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI, 10; MG I context). Finial, see *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 90-91; this is a replica of a pyxis like I 18:1-11. Shape, I 18:3-7.

**I 18:1-10.** Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 76, b.  
*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 i; *Protagometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17473.

Two pairs of matching opposite tie-holes on lid and flange. Apparently no reference marks. A gash, made before glazing, runs the long way on

the flange midway between the sets of tie-holes; it bears no relation to anything on the lid and is difficult to read as a reference mark. String marks on the lid, see below.

Hard, deep pinkish buff clay; light orange to greenish black lustrous glaze. Fabric of excellent quality.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.051; diam. 0.186 m. Intact.

Low ring foot rounding deeply up to bottom beneath.

Flange glazed. Decoration like I 18:1-9, except three bands below the dogtooth, then solid glaze.

b) Lid. H. 0.085; diam. 0.137 m.

Flat beneath. Smeary ring of glaze underneath from the wet flange. Two opposite pairs of string marks on the underside midway between the two sets of tie-holes; cf. I 18:1-11. They have no counterpart on the box.

Decoration like I 18:1-9, but with a single row of dots. Shape, I 18:3-7.

**I 18:1-11.** Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 76, b.  
*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 e; *Protagometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17476.

Two pairs of opposite matching tie-holes on lid and flange. Reference marks: short gash on the flange, a long one on the lid, between one set of tie-holes.

Fabric like I 18:1-10, except that the glaze is mostly dark brown.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.053; diam. 0.116 m. Intact.

Low base rounding up to bottom beneath.

Narrow band along the inner edge of the horizontal face of the flange. On body, three rows of dots, three bands separating them, then four bands and solid glaze to the base.

b) Lid. H. 0.046; diam. 0.091 m. Intact.

Nearly flat beneath. Single opposite string marks on the underside, about 30° from the tie-holes; cf. I 18:1-10.

At the perimeter, three narrow bands, then solid glaze to the finial.

Same decoration and mottled glaze as I 18:1-12, but less carefully finished. Dots on pyxides, see AR III/IV-1. Shape, I 18:3-7.

**I 18:1-12.** Low pyxis. Pl. 76, b.  
*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 o; *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17477. H. 0.053; diam. 0.128 m. Intact. Lid missing. Two pairs of matching opposite tie-holes on flange.

Very low base, barely offset from the body, flat beneath.

Decoration like **I 18:1-11**, except that there are only two bands of dots, three bands above them and four below.

Paler clay than **I 18:1-11**; dull, brown glaze, red-struck, with some wear.

**I 18:1-13.** Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 76, c.  
*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 s; *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17468.

Two pairs of opposite matching tie-holes on lid and flange. No reference marks.

Pale clay; firm dark-brown glaze.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.053; diam. 0.17 m. Intact.

Low base, barely offset, rounding to deep bottom beneath.

Vertical inner face of flange glazed. On body, hatched meander, left, three bands above and below, then solid glaze.

b) Lid. H. 0.052; diam. 0.097 m.

Near the perimeter, triple zigzags, three bands above and below, then glaze to the finial.

Crudely turned and poorly smoothed; the box is dented on one side, the flange is lumpy and the lid fits poorly.

Meander, see **I 18:2-7**; tops and bottoms of keys not separated from framing bands is a rare economy, cf. **I 18:1-14**, AR I-5 and 7, AR III/IV-4, and Toronto C 1032 and C 1029 (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI, 9 and 5, MG I context). Shape **I 18:3-7**.

**I 18:1-14.** Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 76, c.  
*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 l; *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17469.

Two pairs of matching opposite tie-holes on lid and flange. No reference marks.

Pinkish buff clay; firm glaze with body, mostly

light red, in places an egg-shell buff, rarely dark brown.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.067; diam. 0.151 m.

Low ring foot, beveled up to bottom beneath.

Flange reserved. On body, hatched meander, left, the bottom not separated from the lower frame; three bands above and below, then a row of dots, two bands below.

b) Lid. P.H. 0.04; diam. 0.114 m.

Finial, see **I 18:1-9**; the tiny ringed tip is lost. The tie-holes match those on the body and the lid surely belongs, but it is small, probably a mismatch from the beginning, so that it had to be shifted in order to be pierced a safe distance in from the rims of the lid and flange; the lid would have been set first against the walls of the flange on one side, then moved against the opposite wall to pierce the second set. When the lid is centered, its tie-holes lie *ca.* 0.005 m. in from those on the flange; though it is unattractive, the holes work and are safe for suspension.

Near the perimeter, gear, three bands above and below, then glaze to the base of the finial. Finial ringed except for a single zigzag band around the "belly" of the tiny pyxis.

Cf: **I 18:1-13** and **15**. Gear, see **I 18:1-1**. Shape, **I 18:3-7**.

**I 18:1-15.** Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 76, c.  
*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 h; *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 109.

P 17485.

Two pairs of opposite matching tie-holes on lid and flange. Reference marks: gash between one set of tie-holes on the flange and lid.

Fabric like **I 18:1-14**, the glaze about equally light red and brown.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.061; diam. 0.189 m.

Low ring foot, rounding up deeply to bottom beneath.

Two bands on the horizontal face of the flange, the vertical edge glazed. On body, hatched meander, a single zigzag above and below, three bands between them.

b) Lid. H. 0.06; diam. 0.151 m.

Near the perimeter, a row of dots, three bands above and below, then glaze to the base of the

finial. Finial ringed except for a zone of chevrons around the "belly" of the tiny "pyxis."

The fabric is very similar to I 18:1-14, but the painting is more careful and the hand probably not the same.

Although the patterns on the body are common in Middle Geometric I, the only pyxides on which they are combined are late with decorated bottoms, e.g. Agora P 4883 (R.S.Y. Grave XVI-2, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, *Late Geometric Graves and A Seventh Century Well in the Agora*, Athens, 1939, p. 75, fig. 49; MG II context); the lack of other early pieces must be accidental. Chevrons, see AR I-2. Shape, I 18:3-7.

**I 18:1-16.** Pointed pyxis with lid. Pl. 76, c.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 d; *Protopottery*, p. 109; *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 66 ("Nachzügler").

P 17475.

Single matching opposite tie-holes on lid and flange. Reference marks: a short gash on the body below one of the tie-holes and another on the underside of the lid.

Warm pinkish buff clay; light to dark-brown glaze, with some wear, mostly dull.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.134; diam. 0.085 m.

Band of medium width on the horizontal face of the flange continuing over the edge onto the vertical face. On body, hatched meander key with one battlement to adjust the spacing (cf. I 18:2-7); above it a single zigzag with three narrow bands above and below, then glaze to the lip; below, the same repeated once to the tip.

b) Lid. H. 0.031; diam. 0.068 m. The tie-holes match those on the body only when the lid is moved off center. On the rim next to one of the tie-holes are three deliberate short incisions made before glazing; there are no corresponding marks on the box.

Glazed through the lower half of the stem, with four narrow reserved bands about halfway in; cone ringed.

Pointed pyxides, see *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 87-88. This is one of the latest pieces. Two very late pieces were found in excavations on the Acropolis South Slope (*Δελτ.*, XVII, 1961/62,

*Xρονικά*, pl. 34β: Grave III, quite late MG II context); one of them is almost biconical.

**I 18:1-17.** Handmade aryballos. Pl. 76, c. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 n; *Ker.*, V, 1, pp. 140-141, note 108.

P 17471. H. 0.058; diam. 0.055 m. Intact.

Lightly flattened resting surface.

At the base of the neck, a row of punched dots forming at one end a triangle that extends under the handle; one side of the triangle is prolonged as a "streamer" down the shoulder. At the base of the shoulder, an incised zigzag is interrupted by the handle attachment.

Light-yellow clay, somewhat gritty; a light pink blush on one side. The fabric is identical with I 18:1-18, but better preserved; any original "skin" has been lost.

This, with I 18:1-18 and another from a Middle Geometric I inhumation at the Agora (C 8:7, P 6834), are alike in the full round body, narrow low neck and flaring round mouth. The fabric is thin, carefully worked and neatly finished. The clay of P 6834 is a pinkish Attic; I 18:1-17 and 18 are paler, more like Corinthian, but I find it hard to separate them off as imports. There is another from Grave α at Eleusis, which is Middle Geometric I ('Εφ. Αρχ., 1898, p. 102, fig. 25). These pieces recall the shapely Gritty Handmade small lekythos from the Late Protopottery cemetery at Nea Ionia (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 169-170, pl. 30, no. 52), but there are no intermediate pieces in Attica, and, while that piece mirrors a fine-ware form, these roly-poly bodies belong to a handmade tradition. Corinth seems to have a continuous tradition in these little pots, ranging from Late Protopottery (*Corinth*, VII, i, p. 7, under no. 16, pl. 2) through Late Geometric. Their shape does not seem to change much, although there seems to be less uniformity among the pieces from later contexts, and the taller necks are all late in Corinth as well as in Athens, e.g. Ker. 358 (V, 1, pl. 156, Gr. G 97, LG II a/b context). In both places the trefoil mouth with high-swung handle appears in Middle Geometric II, e.g. Athens: Ker. 297 (V, 1, pl. 156) and one from Grave 3, Οἰκόπεδον Ἀγγελοπούλου (at Παρθενώνος καὶ

*Καλλισπέρας*, Δελτ., XVII, 1961/62, Χρονικά, pl. 34α); Corinth: North Cemetery, Gr. 18, nos. 3–5 (*Corinth*, XIII, *The North Cemetery*, Princeton, 1964, pl. 8). This new form may be a little commoner than the older type. Further remarks, *Ker.*, V, 1, pp. 140–141. The possibility is strong that some, at any rate, of the pieces found in Attica are of Corinthian manufacture, but it is difficult now to single them out. It is very likely that, as R. S. Young observed, “they were probably produced locally at many sites” (*Corinth*, XIII, p. 43). They are usually undecorated; cf. *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 7, no. 18, pl. 2 (late LPG) and p. 31, no. 91, pl. 14 (LG).

**I 18:1-18.** Handmade aryballos. Pl. 76, c.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 t; *Ker.*, V, 1, pp. 140–141, note 108.

P 17478. H. 0.066; diam. 0.075 m. Front and one side of the mouth missing. Surface largely eroded. No traces of decoration.

See **I 18:1-17.**

**I 18:1-19.** Piece of iron. Pl. 76, d.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 r.

IL 849. Max. dim. 0.075; Th. ca. 0.01 m.

Heavy piece of iron, badly corroded, shaped like a right triangle, the hypotenuse slightly bowed.

This could be part of the catch-plate of a large fibula, although none on such a large scale has been reported from a Middle Geometric context; later, cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 104, fig. 73, XVII–28 (LG I a context).

**I 18:1-20.** Fragment from an iron pin (?). Pl. 76, d.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 p, left.

IL 850. P.L. of four joining pieces, ca. 0.165, of a fifth possible piece, 0.02; diam. ca. 0.006 m.

*Areopagus Grave I 18:2:*<sup>38</sup> Simple trench cremation.

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 159, one of “two other graves...found in 1932.”

Rectangular trench cut through earth into bedrock, east-west. L. 1.10; W. 0.70; P.D. under 0.30 m. A thin layer of hard burned clay mixed with charcoal and ash rested on the bedrock floor; above it was a deposit, largely charcoal, ash and charred

Fragment from a pointed shaft, probably part of a pin.

**I 18:1-21.** Fragmentary iron pin(?). Pl. 76, d. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 p, right.

IL 851. Lying on the left ankle. P.L. ca. 0.08; diam. ca. 0.007 m.

Four joining fragments of a badly corroded shaft, now pointed at both ends; the shaft at one end tapering to a point is crisply rectangular in section and surely original.

**I 18:1-22.** Small sandstone plaque. Pl. 76, d. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 m.

ST 376. Near the feet. L. 0.061; W. 0.043; Th. 0.015 m.

A neatly cut rectangle; at the center of one short side, a neatly bored round hole.

Use unknown.

A few early Geometric sherds were found to the east in the highest preserved filling of the pit-well (I 18:4), among them the complete lid P 17465, which lay about 0.80 m. above the level of the grave. It comes surely from this grave or another in the Areopagus lot, but fits none of the preserved boxes or fragments.

**(I 18:1)-P 17465.** Lid. Pl. 76, e.

H. 0.067; diam. 0.111 m. Two pairs of opposite tie-holes. Reference marks: a short gash between one pair of tie-holes. Iron stains all over the top and bottom, and some lime incrustation.

Very lightly hollowed beneath. Stem ringed.

A row of dots between pairs of lines, well in from the edge; finial ringed.

Hard, pinkish buff clay; dull brown-black glaze, mostly firm, but completely peeled from the fine lines.

Cf. AR I-2 and AR III/IV-1.

<sup>38</sup> Section ΣΤ': Geometric Grave at 61–62/MA. Cleared April 11, 1932 by H. A. Thompson.

human bones, *ca.* 0.20 m. deep. Poorly burned skull fragments lay at the east end of the trench, leg bones near the west end. Burned and unburned sherds were found throughout the trench. The inclusion of the fragmentary cooking pot, I 18:2-9, makes it likely that the deceased was a woman. The preserved pieces are fairly early Middle Geometric I.

FINDS:

I 18:2-1. Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 77, b, c.  
P 541. H. with lid 0.12 m.

Tie-holes lost; the edges of a single stroke on the flange seem too irregular for a reference mark.

Burned and smoke-darkened sherds; gray-black to rich brown, glossy glaze.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.044; diam. 0.131 m. About half preserved.

Low ring foot, shallow beneath.

Flange reserved. On the body, multiple zigzags, three bands above and below, then glaze to the base.

The decoration is identical with I 18:1-3 to 7, Ker. 1204 and 264 (V, 1, pl. 52, Graves G 13 and G 20; both contexts are early in MG I). Multiple zigzags, alone or in combination with one or more narrow motives, are by far the commonest pattern on Middle Geometric I low pyxides; it is rare in Middle Geometric II, when it is all but eliminated by the hatched meander key. Only one plain zigzag pyxis may come from a context later than Middle Geometric I: Ker. 883 (V, 1, pl. 55, Gr. G 25); but apart from the amphora (Ker. 1214, pl. 49), there is nothing in Grave G 25 that need be later than Middle Geometric I. It is easier to see the amphora as belonging with the Late Geometric grave, G 26, which cut through G 25 and in the filling of which it was found (see under AR III/IV-1). Shape, I 18:3-7.

This grave and Kerameikos Grave G 20 are the earliest contexts containing pyxides with decorated bottoms; cf. Ker. 265 (V, 1, pls. 52, 62), which has a quatrefoil with stroke-stars in the angles. Decorated bottoms (Pl. 77, b) are usual in Middle Geometric II and Late Geometric. Apart from these pyxides, which were probably suspended, decoration of bottoms of vases is extremely rare. Cf. the plastic concentric rills on the bottoms of the handsome

oinochoe, Ker. 2149 (V, 1, pl. 72, Gr. G 41; end of EG II) and the pyxis AR III/IV-4, and the painted bottom of the oinochoe-lekythos, Eleusis inv. 557 ('Εφ. Αρχ., 1898, pl. 2, 10), with stroke-star and rosettes.

A sherd from another pyxis bottom from this grave, decorated with a quatrefoil, is uninventoried.

b) Lid. H. 0.077; diam. 0.116 m. About a third is preserved.

Conical finial on tall grooved stem. At the edge, a row of dots, then three narrow bands and a broad band; two bands near the base of the handle, then solid glaze up the stem to the ringed finial.

I 18:2-2. Flat pyxis with lid. Pl. 77, c.  
P 540.

Parts of two opposite pairs of tie-holes preserved on the box; part of one matching tie-hole survives on the lid. Reference marks: an oblique gash on the flange between one set of tie-holes; the corresponding part of the lid is lost.

Some darkening from smoke; fabric, see I 18:2-1.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.06; diam. 0.137 m. About two-thirds of the body survives.

Low ring foot rounding up to bottom beneath.

Flange glazed all over. Bottom clear.

See I 18:2-1.

b) Lid. Diam. est. *ca.* 0.10 m. One sherd is preserved from the perimeter of a lid that seems to belong.

Three reserved narrow bands a little in from the tie-hole.

Shape, I 18:3-7.

I 18:2-3. Low pyxis. Pl. 77, c.  
P 542. H. 0.046; diam. 0.106 m. Lid missing. On the flange, a pair of tie-holes and diametrically opposite them, three tie-holes, one of which would have been useless. Cf. I 18:1-5.

Flange glazed all over; bottom clear. Triple zigzags, see **I 18:2-1**.

Fabric, see **I 18:2-1**.

Shape, see **I 18:3-7**.

**I 18:2-4.** Sherd from a low pyxis. Pl. 77, d.

P 27926. Max. dim. 0.048; P.H. 0.036 m.

Lip to mid-body from a pyxis of average size.

Inner vertical face of flange glazed. Below the triple zigzags, the start of another group of bands.

Hard clay, darkened to a dull buff from smoke; firm glaze.

The combination of patterns is fairly common; cf. **I 18:3-7**. See **I 18:2-1**.

**I 18:2-5.** Sherd from a low pyxis. Pl. 77, d.

P 27927. Max dim. 0.04; P.H. 0.034 m. Lip to mid-body from a pyxis of average size with part of one tie-hole. There are vertical striations in the hole, as if it were made with a reed that disintegrated in the firing.

Flange glazed all over.

Hard clay, gray throughout from smoke.

Cf. **I 18:1-11** and **12**. See **I 18:2-1**. Shape, see **I 18:3-7**.

**I 18:2-6.** Sherd from a large low pyxis.

Pl. 77, d.

P 27928. Max. dim. 0.066; P.H. 0.044 m.

Lip to mid-body. No holes or marks preserved.

Horizontal face of flange glazed except for a reserved band about halfway in.

On the body, chevrons, gear, and the start of a band of hatched meander, three narrow bands above and separating the zones. Meanders, see **I 18:2-7**. Chevrons and gear, **AR I-2**. See **I 18:2-1**. Shape, **I 18:3-7**.

Hard, pinkish buff clay; brown to black glaze, lighter walnut where thin. Excellent quality.

**I 18:2-7.** Fragmentary large low pyxis.

Pl. 77, e.

P 28007. H. 0.103; diam. 0.191 m. Six non-joining fragments, set in plaster, preserve about a quarter of the pot, the profile complete. Parts of one pair of tie-holes; no reference marks preserved.

Low ring foot rounding to bottom beneath.

Vertical face of flange glazed. Hatched meander

key, left, a zigzag above it and a dogtooth below, each group separated by three bands, then glaze to the base. On one sherd two keys, left, are linked by a battlement (cf. **I 18:1-16**).

All sherds discolored from smoke, some heavily burned. The fabric appears to have been of high quality; some of the glaze is still lustrous.

Same patterns, but later, Ker. 257 (V, 1, pls. 54, 61, Gr. G 69; MG II context); there is a horse on the lid and the bottom is decorated. Cf. **AR III/IV-3**. Meanders are the usual wide motive on Middle Geometric II pyxides, but there are a few from Middle Geometric I contexts, e.g. **I 18:1-13**, **14**, **15**, Toronto C 1032 (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI, 9, with decorated bottom).

Shape, **I 18:3-7**.

**I 18:2-8.** Pointed pyxis with lid. Pl. 77, c.

P 543. Rest. H. with lid 0.186; P.H. with lid 0.148 m. Single opposite tie-holes, matching lid and lip. No reference marks preserved.

Pinkish buff clay; glossy chocolate-brown to light-red glaze, a few sherds darkened from smoke.

a) Pyxis. Rest. H. 0.137; diam. 0.106 m. Tip restored.

Inner vertical face of flange glazed. On the body, broad band of glaze, zigzag, file of chevrons, quadruple zigzag (in places triple), each separated by three bands, then the beginning of a broad glazed area.

b) Lid. H. 0.05; diam. 0.08 m. Handle, a tall grooved stem ending in a narrow truncated cone.

Ringed except for a broad band next to the handle.

See **I 18:1-16**; the work here is more careful and looks earlier.

**I 18:2-9.** Fragment from a small one-handled cooking pot. Pl. 77, d.

P 27929. P.H. 0.05; diam. mouth 0.084 m. Rim into upper body; more than half the circumference is preserved and two handles are not possible.

Plain rounded lip; short neck passing through a smooth reverse curve to a full high shoulder.

Handmade. Hard, micaceous, cooking fabric, light and thin walled; deep warm tan on the surface

inside and out, gray at the core. The lip is neatly finished and the surface smooth with the long vertical striations from a finishing tool. Some black stains on the front, not clearly from smoke.

Cf. Agora P 6204, a pitcher of normal size (H. 0.22 m.), carefully made from this same fabric; it comes from the lower filling of Well L 6:2,

a deposit containing some Early Geometric II, with some early Middle Geometric I. From time to time small or miniature cooking pots were placed in women's graves, e.g. Ker. 896 (V, 1, pl. 154, Gr. G 12; context MG I), H. 0.10 m. Like the loomweights, **AR III/IV-10**, and perhaps the Banded amphora **AR I-1**, the cooking pots were mementos from the daily life of the deceased.

*Areopagus Grave I 18:3.<sup>39</sup>* Simple trench cremation.

*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 470; XVII, 1948, p. 159, one of the "two other graves... found in 1932." *G.G.P.*, p. 16.

Rectangular trench cut partly through earth, partly into irregular outcroppings of bedrock, northwest-southeast. L. ca. 0.80; W. ca. 0.40; P.D. ca. 0.20 m. Field-stone paving closing the mouth of the trench and lining the sides cut in earth. The floor was bedrock at one end, hard clay at the other. The filling consisted of hard-packed burned earth with scattered field-stones, crude brick, ash, charcoal, the burned bones of an arthritic woman about 45 to 50 years old,<sup>40</sup> and a few unburned bones of a dog (see above, p. 334). Burned and unburned sherds mending to six vases (**I 18:3-5** to **10**) were concentrated mainly in the western half of the grave near the floor; in the southeast corner, unburned and upright, stood the large oinochoe (**I 18:3-1**), its mouth closed by a small oinochoe (**I 18:3-2**), a skyphos against its shoulder (**I 18:3-3**), a pierced disc cut from a Geometric sherd nearby,<sup>41</sup> and a toy oinochoe lying on its side near them at the same level (**I 18:3-4**). The mouth of the large oinochoe reached to the level of the stone paving over the mouth of the trench. The furnishings are consistently Middle Geometric I.

FINDS:

**I 18:3-1.** Trefoil-mouthed oinochoe. Pl. 78, a.

*Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, fig. p. 23.

P 552. H. 0.31; diam. 0.204 m. Mouth mended, otherwise intact.

Low ring foot, beveling up to bottom beneath. Handle laddered.

Very hard, deep pinkish buff clay. Black to light-red glaze, in places an olive green, very metallic, thinning on the zigzag to watery light brown and pale orange.

Broad-bottomed oinochoai begin fairly early in Early Geometric II, e.g. Ker. 927 (V, 1, pl. 71,

Gr. G 2), but become the standard form of oinochae only in Middle Geometric I, when the old ovoid oinochae disappears from the repertory. The earliest oinochoai with plain multiple zigzags on the neck belong to the end of Early Geometric II, e.g. Ker. 2137 (V, 1, pl. 70, Gr. G 38); the body is a tall ovoid; the foot is missing, but the taper of the lower body suggests a broad ring; the neck is modest and the contours still supple. Ker. 1253 (V, 1, pl. 74, Gr. G 43) is contemporary; the body is fuller, very nearly as wide as it is tall. The profiles and proportions of these oinochoai vary, and are hardly an infallible guide to date,

<sup>39</sup> Section ΣΤ': Geometric Grave at 66/MA. Cleared April 11, 1932 by H. A. Thompson.

<sup>40</sup> Bones, AA 286, analyzed by J. L. Angel, 1957.

<sup>41</sup> Such discs, pierced and unpierced, are common in domestic deposits from earliest times, e.g. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave XVII-23. They were probably stoppers.

but stiffer contours combined with a negligible foot and tall, often straight-sided neck are usually Middle Geometric II. Multiple zigzag is one of the most popular patterns on Middle Geometric oinochoai of all sizes; see **I 18:1-1**. Another fine example of this shape (with meander), **Ph. II-1**. Cf. **AR I-II:-1** and **AR V-2**.

**I 18:3-2.** Miniature trefoil-mouthed oinochoe.

Pl. 78, a.

P 550. Found in the mouth of **I 18:3-1**. H. 0.085; diam. 0.062 m. The handle does not join, but its position is certain; the wings of the trefoil are mostly restored.

Tiny foot, beveled to bottom beneath.

Handle laddered.

Deep pinkish buff clay, a deeper shade on the surface; brown-black metallic glaze of excellent quality, in places with a slightly greenish tinge and thinning to orange on the zigzags and lines. Fabric identical with **I 18:3-3**.

Miniature oinochoai with squat bodies are fairly common, especially in Middle Geometric. Very careful work: Ker. 2148 (V, 1, pl. 72, Gr. G 41; end of EG II) and several pieces that were discards in Agora Middle Geometric wells. The miniatures in the Isis Grave at Eleusis are much sloppier (*C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pls. 3-4 [3, 4], MG II). Cf. “**Ph.**”-NM 15327 below.

**I 18:3-3.** Skyphos.

Pl. 78, a.

Mentioned, *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 64; *Jahrb.*, LXXIV, 1959, p. 70.

P 551. H. 0.058; diam. 0.103 m. Intact.

Foot like **I 18:3-2**, but flat beneath.

Fabric identical with **I 18:3-2** and surely made with it as a pair.

Barred handles are rare on skyphoi: with zigzag panel, Ker. 2142 (V, 1, pl. 90, Gr. G 42; end of EG II), and at least four from Marathon Tomb 5 (*Πρακτικά*, 1939, p. 20, fig. 3; MG I). The flat bottom begins in Middle Geometric I, e.g. Ker. 893 (V, 1, pl. 90, Gr. G 12), but is commoner in Middle Geometric II.

**I 18:3-4.** Miniature neckless trefoil-mouthed oinochoe.

Pl. 78, a.

P 549. H. 0.05, to top of handle 0.074; diam. 0.049 m.

Flat bottom with no base.

Ribbon panel across the front of the shoulder, containing a row of dots and a single framing line below them.

Very hard, light pinkish buff clay; dull gray-black glaze worn and peeled. Angular profile, poorly smoothed.

Neckless oinochoai of varying proportions are fairly common in Late Geometric children's graves, but there seems to be no continuous tradition to link them with this piece.

**I 18:3-5.** Trefoil-mouthed oinochoe with twisted handle.

Pl. 78, d.

P 553. H. 0.285; diam. 0.183 m. Profile complete, pieces missing.

Ring foot.

Hard, pinkish buff clay; thick black glaze, cracked and peeled in places, speckling red in others. Poorly smoothed and crudely painted with a very thick brush.

An ambitious piece, miserably executed. The bulbous body with relatively narrow foot is individual. Twisted handles occur sporadically in Middle Geometric for the first time since the Mycenaean period. Two oinochoai with twisted handles, possibly from the same hand, certainly from the same meticulous workshop, Ker. 2149 (V, 1, pl. 72, Gr. G 41; end of EG II) and Agora P 6418 (rubbish in the dumped filling of Well L 6:2, mixed into earlier MG II); a more casual painter, Ker. 300 (V, 1, pl. 73, Gr. G 22; MG II).

**I 18:3-6.** Oinochoe-lekythos.

Pl. 78, b.

P 548. H. restored 0.117; diam. 0.105 m. Mouth and upper part of handle restored.

Very low base, beveled beneath to very shallow bottom. On either side on the shoulder, a conical mastos, 90° from the handle.

Broad panel on the shoulder: hatched meander key passing over the mastoi as if they weren't there; three lines form the side frames, then glaze around the handle. In the supporting band, chevrons. Deep neck panel divided into a broad strip above, narrow band below: quadruple zigzags, chevrons; the neck beneath the handle is

glazed. Handle, laddered below, then superimposed horizontal zigzags along most of the shaft; edges glazed.

Firm dark-brown glaze of excellent quality. Very careful painting; the hatching changes direction with the turn of each arm.

Shape, shoulder panel, and multiple zigzag, see **I 18:1-1**; chevrons, see **AR I-2**. Handle, see **AR V-3**; zigzags are rare on handles. Another small, more squat oinochoe-lekythos, from Eleusis ('*Eph. Arpx.*, 1898, pl. 2, 10, context not known to me) appears to have zigzags on the neck, mastoi smothered by zigzags, and two rows of dots on the body; it looks later than this.

**I 18:3-7.** Low pyxis and lid. Pl. 78, d.

*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 470, fig. 19; *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 65.

P 544. H. with lid 0.113 m.

Burned and smoke-darkened sherds. Two pairs of opposite tie-holes on the box; a single matching pair preserved on the lid. Reference marks: a gash on the flange between one set of tie-holes; the corresponding part of the lid is lost. A short incision on the underside of the lid about midway toward the center is probably accidental.

Hard clay; glaze largely lost on the box and much of the lid.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.062; diam. 0.136 m. Virtually complete.

Low ring foot rounding up to bottom beneath.

Band of glaze along the inner edge of the horizontal surface of the flange. Body, quadruple zigzags, four bands above, three below, a row of dots, three bands, then solid glaze to the base.

Decoration, cf. **I 18:1-8** and *Ker.* 244 (V, 1, pl. 53, Gr. G 77; MG I context).

b) Lid. H. 0.052; diam. 0.105 m. About half preserved with the handle complete.

Two ribs on the low stem.

Glazed except for three narrow reserved bands near the perimeter; cone ringed.

Shape and reference marks, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 87; pyxis lids and finials, *ibid.*, pp. 90-91. The shape begins only toward the end of Early Geometric II and is properly a Middle Geometric form. Multiple zigzags, see **I 18:2-1**.

**I 18:3-8.** Low pyxis and lid.

Pl. 78, d.

*Illustrated London News*, 25 June 1932, p. 1062, fig. 9.

P 545. H. with lid 0.115 m.

Sherds variously discolored from smoke. Two pairs of matching opposite tie-holes on body and lid. Reference marks: a gash between one set of tie-holes on flange and lid; the one on the lid is very deeply cut, that on the flange, a shallow scratch.

Hard clay; adherent glaze dark brown where best preserved.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.064; diam. 0.156 m. Largely complete.

Low flaring ring foot, beveled to deep bottom beneath.

Glaze on the vertical edge of the flange. Triple zigzags framed by three bands; above and below them a cramped zigzag, then four bands.

b) Lid. H. 0.054; diam. 0.12 m.

Nearly flat beneath. Finial in the form of a miniature pyxis with lid.

Near the edge, a zone of slanting bars framed by three narrow bands, then solid glaze to the base of the stem. Vertical face of the handle ringed; on the flat "lid" of the miniature pyxis, bars radiating from the "handle."

See **I 18:3-7**. Slanting bars, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 89, under no. 10.

**I 18:3-9.** Flat pyxis and lid.

Pl. 78, d.

P 546. H. with lid 0.158 m.

A few burned sherds; elsewhere deep pinkish buff clay; black to dark-brown glaze, thinning to lighter brown, lustrous where best preserved.

Two pairs of opposite tie-holes on the lid; one of each matching set preserved on the box. No reference marks preserved.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.051; diam. 0.177 m. A few pieces missing.

Low foot, beveled up to bottom beneath.

Flange glazed. Quadruple zigzags; above them a cramped zigzag with two bands above, three below; below, two bands, a row of dots, four bands, then glaze to the base.

Excellent work. Decoration, cf. *Ker.* 262 (V, 1, pl. 52, Gr. G 20; MG I context).

b) Lid. H. 0.105; diam. 0.157 m. About two-thirds preserved. Lightly domed beneath. Finial in the form of a miniature pyxis.

Near the middle, a row of dots, three bands above and below, then solid glaze; near the handle, three reserved bands, then glaze to the base of the finial; triple zigzags between bands on the belly of the "miniature pyxis"; its "lid" is glazed and the conical finial ringed.

The finial is a miniature of a pyxis like I 18:1-3. See I 18:3-7.

**I 18:3-10.** Cup.

Pl. 78, c.

P 547. H. 0.06; diam. 0.101 m. Lower half of handle lost.

Flaring everted lip, not offset.

Glazed except for the usual reserved stripe on the inner face of the lip and dot in the center of the floor.

Handle barred.

A few sherds darkened from smoke. Pinkish buff clay; thick, adherent, dense and very glossy black glaze. The painting is sloppy and the reserved dot has nearly refilled with glaze. The excellent glaze and crude painting are exactly like I 18:3-5 above; the two were doubtless made as a pair. The relatively broad, shallow cup with high shoulder lasts into Middle Geometric II contexts, but by Late Geometric has given way to a variety of teacups, taller or flaring, cf. *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 20 (I 51 is from a context that is still MG II).

## APPENDIX A

### SOURCES FOR THE DÖRPFELD GEOMETRIC GRAVES

The following published and unpublished sources have provided some useful information; they are not all equally reliable.

1. *The Daybooks.* These, the fullest and most trustworthy source, survived two wars and today are in the archives of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens. There are no indications that anyone writing about burial customs or the contents of these graves between 1898 and the present used them; see pp. 327, 328 and Appendix A 8 a. Entries in the Daybooks were made by a number of individuals; they vary in fulness, but all are skimpy by present-day standards. The First Secretary of the Institute, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, normally wrote only the program and summary of each season's work. Otto Rubensohn supervised the trench in which the Areopagus graves were found in 1897. His entries are brief, but invaluable, and, though not a skilled draftsman, his sketches are quite intelligible. Supplementary sketches of finds and an occasional correction were entered in the truly exquisite hand of Robert Zahn, whose work, when compared with surviving objects, has an almost photographic accuracy. The accounts in the Daybooks are clearly not complete and sometimes too general to permit identification of individual finds (e.g. "Sherds of seven or eight Geometric vases"). But see Appendix A 11; Rubensohn's carefully labeled sherd lots follow and supplement the Daybooks. Plans are few, confined to small areas or individual structures, and usually rudimentary. Very brief descriptions by A. Schiff and C. Friedrich provide the only detailed information about the two graves found on the Acropolis West Slope in 1895 (Appendix B). The Phinopoulos graves of 1898 are mentioned in a single sentence by Paul V. C. Baur (see Appendix C).

2. The Annual Report of the First Secretary of the German Institute in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 478, a brief notice, adds one object not in the Daybooks. "Ein eisernes Messer" was among the metal objects from the Areopagus graves (AR:-5); which grave is unknown. For the report on the West Slope graves, see Appendix B. The Phinopoulos graves are not mentioned in any published report.

3. *Antike Denkmäler*, II (1899-1901), Berlin, 1908, plan, pl. 37 (= here, Pl. 66 with additional notations) shows graves at the places mentioned in the *Athenische Mitteilungen* reports, four on the Areopagus (six

in *Ath. Mitt.* and the Daybooks), one on the West Slope north of the Amyneion (two in *Ath. Mitt.* and Daybooks). The Phinopoulos graves are not indicated. The plan appears to be a reproduction of the master plan kept by Dörpfeld himself, independent of the Daybooks. While plate 37 gives the location of the Areopagus graves, their exact position must be calculated from photographs and sketches in the Daybooks. The plan agrees with the Daybooks in showing three graves oriented roughly east-west; the Daybooks show Grave AR III/IV more nearly northwest-southeast. Plan 38 is a detail at larger scale of the central part of plan 37 and like it shows only one of the 1895 graves on the West Slope.

4. Excavation Photographs, German Archaeological Institute (D.A.I.A.) Negatives, AB 129, 131, 132. These provide a little additional information about the graves, but are especially valuable in pinpointing the exact location of two of the Areopagus graves, from which the others have been calculated by reference to a house that was demolished in 1957 (part of the complex at Asteroskopeiou 25 that served as workrooms and temporary museum for the Agora Excavations) and the line of Apollodoros Street, beneath which the 1947 grave was found. The Phinopoulos graves may be the rectangular trenches in the foreground of the photograph, Negative AB 158. West Slope photographs show no graves.

Negatives NM 1064–1069, taken prior to 1912, show vases from the Dörpfeld excavations. They are assembled by shape and are of no use in separating out context groups. In the absence of other documentation these photographs helped keep these vases, at least, together. These are the same 19 vases on exhibit today and the same ones published in the C.V.A. Bieber, *Verzeichnis*, nos. 2972–2977, lists all of the vases as “vom Nordwestabhang des Areopags.” Most if not all are from the Phinopoulos Lot; see Appendix C. For another set of photographs, all of Areopagus pieces, see Appendix A 9 e–h.

5. O. Rubensohn and R. Zahn presented a paper on “Die Dipylongräber” from the Areopagus excavations at the fortnightly open meeting of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens on January 5, 1898 (notice only, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, p. 166). The lecture was before the Phinopoulos graves were found on March 18, 1898, so that anything mentioned in it must be from the Areopagus, for the lecture was concerned with cremation ritual and the West Slope children did not enter into consideration. The following briefly summarize that paper:

- a. *Tò Ἀστυ* (no. 2556), December 27, 1897 (o.s.), p. 3, and
- b. *Vossische Zeitung*, January 20, 1898 (no. 31, p. 4, cols. 2–3). The one apparently an abstract, the other a translation of it, add no details not found in the Daybooks.
- c. *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, XVIII, 1898, p. 317, is a trifling condensation of A 5 a and b above (*ibid.*, p. 285). The popularity of this reference with later writers attests only its accessibility.
- d. S. Wide, *Opuscula O. Montelio dicata* (1913), pp. 205–214, drew from the text of this lecture, which had been placed at his disposal by Rubensohn. He thanks Zahn for permission to illustrate one of the vases from the Areopagus (p. 206); the “48-Type” oinochoe, p. 209, fig. 4, is a composite of “Ph.”—NM 15322 and Ph. II—NM 15315. The provenience, “beim Areopag,” need not come from the Rubensohn text, for Wide knew the Phinopoulos material included in Zahn’s papers (see Appendix A 9 d). He says that there are four graves, presumably following the lecture, which must have considered only the unpilfered graves. The lecture seems to have retained the Daybook designations for the graves, for Wide says that a sword (AR II-2) came from “Grab II.”

6. Some of the Dörpfeld vases were placed on exhibit in the Athens National Museum in 1903, if not earlier (see p. 328, with note 7). Poulsen’s description of them gained wide circulation; much of Schweitzer’s account seems to be based on it (see below).

- a. F. Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 79–82, describes more Dörpfeld vases than any other published account. He observed them in the vitrines of the Museum, he says,

during his stay in Athens from March to September of 1903. The importance of this source to later scholars prompts the more detailed examination of it in Appendix D. Poulsen's plate I shows an explicit drawing of **Ph. I-3**, and two isolated motives from other vases: semicircles with hourglass filling (as on “**Ph.**”—**NM 15322**) and dogtooth (as on **Ph. II-NM 15314**). His plate II shows an oinochoe with zigzags on the neck, itself an isolated find in Copenhagen (acquired in 1846; *C.V.A.*, Denmark 2, Copenhagen 2, pl. 69[70], no. 6, p. 51), but a choice apparently inspired by **AR V-1** (which could not have been in the Museum case, see entry and Appendix D). Helpful drawings in the text define precisely the meaning of his terms for gear pattern and horizontal chevrons. His dissertation, published in Copenhagen in 1904, *Dipylongravene og Dipyylonvaserne*, contains essentially the same information, together with some other details, largely erroneous, most of which were removed from the extensively revised classic of 1905. A bulgy but undeniable drawing of **Ph. II-1** on plate II (1904) was replaced in the 1905 edition by the photograph of the Copenhagen oinochoe. A large, misunderstood dogtooth (looking very like a row of lotus petals) was removed from plate I of the 1905 edition. In neither edition do the author's words state clearly that these are in fact illustrations of the pots he saw, not merely of vases like them, and nowhere is Zahn or his undertaking mentioned.

He locates the excavations first “am Abhang zwischen der Akropolis und dem Areopag”<sup>42</sup> (an impossible position for any of the graves), soon contracted to “Akropolis.”<sup>43</sup> The popularity of his work may be measured by the virtual disappearance of the Areopagus as a provenience.<sup>44</sup> He seems not to have known of the West Slope graves, and could not have known, from printed sources anyhow, of Phinopoulos' Lot. (It must be remembered that Zahn, too, had sometimes referred to these vases, though not in print, collectively and loosely, as from the Acropolis West Slope. Poulsen must surely have seen Zahn in Athens—for their stays overlapped—and may through conversations with him have drifted into this same phrasing.)

Two statements about the graves themselves must be mentioned, for neither has anything to do with the Dörpfeld excavations and they remain a potential snare for anyone who would search out early accounts; both are quite bizarre in terms of what we know of ritual. A statement (1904, p. 49) that Zahn found a Mycenaean child's burial in a pithos “paa Akropolis i Athen” was dropped from the 1905 edition. A (Sub)mycenaean child's burial was found in the German excavations of 1892 on the West Slope (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 445; see Appendix F); it was a normal inhumation, not in a pot. “Pittakys' Grave of 1858” found near the Odeion seems to have intruded: *στάμνος πλατύστομος πλήρης ὀστῶν βρεφῶν*, quoted in *Πρακτικά*, 1900, p. 92, note 2, from *'Εφ. Αρχ.*, 1858, p. 1708, in a footnote continued from the preceding page.

<sup>42</sup> P. 16; *B.Ph.W.*, XVIII, 1898, col. 317 (not “318”), which he cites in note 3, gave the location specifically as “am Areios Pagos.” See Appendix A 5 c.

<sup>43</sup> “Altesten Dipylongräber von Akropolis von Athen,” p. 20; “alten Akropolisräber,” p. 39 *et passim*. But see below; “Akropolisräber” sometimes includes graves that are not Geometric.

<sup>44</sup> For the next 30 years with three exceptions the Acropolis was given as the provenience for the Dörpfeld vases and was the name by which this early phase came to be known. Wide (see Appendix A 5 d) uses the Areopagus provenience correctly; Rhomaios (see Appendix A 7) and Kraiker (*Ker.*, I, p. 156) distinguish correctly between Areopagus and West Slope. Otherwise, even major studies such as Schweitzer's (Appendix A 6 b-c), Pfuhl (*Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, 1923, pp. 66–67), and Kahane (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 469; but note that he possessed additional documents that led him to believe that all of the vases were from the West Slope, see Appendix A 9 a and e) speak only of Acropolis vases. Then, in 1939 the situation was reversed and “Areopagusvasen” became the regular designation for all, including the “West Slope” graves: R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, 1939, p. 4, note 1; Kübler, *Ker.*, V, 1, 1954, *passim*; Coldstream, *G.G.P.*, 1968, pp. 13, 16. The point is important, for remarks concerning “Akropolisvasen” may refer to vases found on the Areopagus, or even as we now know, in Phinopoulos' Lot on Hadrian Street, and conversely “Areopagusvasen” may include vases from Dörpfeld excavations elsewhere; most remarks refer only to the Phinopoulos vases in the Athens National Museum.

Another statement suffered in the transition to German (1905, p. 20): "Ebenso stand über einem der Akropolisgräber eine kleine undekorierte Amphora." The critical word, which he never uses of the German graves, dropped out of the 1905 edition: "Dipylongrave fra Akropolis' *Vestskraaning*" (1904, p. 41). None of the German graves had a vase in such a position; again, another excavation has intruded without warning. This can only be "Skias' Tomb of 1900" near the Odeion, *Πρακτικά*, 1900, pp. 92–93. A shattered *Grabamphora* was found above that grave; an undecorated cooking pot—a pitcher to judge from parallels cited—was found inside next to the urn. This marker may be eliminated from any consideration of the German graves.

Finally, Poulsen's erroneous statement (1905, p. 39) that, apart from a single iron sword, all the weapons in these graves were of bronze was unfortunately repeated in later studies.

b. B. Schweitzer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der geometrischen Stile in Griechenland*, I, Heidelberg Diss., 1917. This fascicule treats Submycenaean and Protogeometric finds, but there are some general remarks about the "Akropolisgräber", their location within the ancient city, the burial ritual and their contents, which indicate that the vases from these graves are the oldest "Dipylonvasen", more recent than the Salamis vases, but older than the Eleusis cemetery, which in turn is older than the graves outside the Dipylon (p. 6). He repeats Poulsen's statement about the bronze weapons (p. 68). The skyphos **AR II-1** is described on p. 68, and its profile sketched on Tafel III, far right, under "krateriskoi"; the caption reads "Akropolis (W. Abh.)" (see Pl. 71, d). Whereas most of his information could have been derived from Poulsen, 1905, the profile of the "krateriskos" cannot; he probably knew it from a photograph (see below A 6 c), for there are no indications that he spent time in Athens while working on his dissertation.

c. B. Schweitzer, "Untersuchungen. II," *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pp. 50–51, 53, 54, 58, 62, mentions several of the vases. Some are readily identifiable and his number of pyxides agrees with Poulsen's (see Appendix D). Schweitzer states that a great number of spherical and biconical spindle whorls came from the "Akropolisgräber" (p. 54), a fact not found in other published accounts. Among the patterns on them which he enumerates is a "Steilmäander" (only on **AR I-10**). The bead **AR I-10** had been in Berlin since 1903 (see entry), but if he saw it there there is no mention of the fact. It is more likely that his source was the photograph A 9 e, perhaps the very copy now in the Zahn-Kahane papers, giving the provenience as "Westabh. d. Akrop.", though there are no acknowledgments or other indications that he had used Zahn's papers; other copies may have existed (but see A 9 e). The photograph A 9 h, also labeled "Westabhang," supports this, for it shows both the skyphos **AR II-1** and the cup **AR V-4**. The drawing of "ein Napf der Akropolisgattung", p. 59, fig. 11, is a misconstruction of this cup (see entry). The skyphos is described again on page 62.

7. K. Rhomaios, *C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1 [1930], pp. 3–4, pls. 1–2.6(1, 2), published all of the Dörpfeld pots then on exhibit in the National Museum, a total of 19 (see pp. 327, 366); the same number is on exhibit today. "Les marques inscrites sur les vases mêmes" which led him to separate out eleven of the surviving vases into two grave groups are large Roman numerals, "I" and "II", penciled on the bottom of pots or the underside of lids. Most of these numbers, with vertical strokes slanted strongly to the right, seem to be in Rubensohn's hand. The bottoms of three of the pots which Rhomaios included in the groups are clean, with no signs of erasure. If they have not been worn away (and this seems unlikely), a ticket like those found in two of the Areopagus vases (see Appendix A 10) probably gave the grave number, for two of them we now know do in fact come from "Grave II" as he indicated, but in the Phinopoulos Lot on Hadrian Street, not on the West Slope. I have suggested (pp. 327, 366) that an economical pairing of evidence (two graves rather than six, the number he gives for the Areopagus) led to his preference of West Slope over Areopagus for their location; without the Daybooks he could not have guessed that fire-stained pots such as **Ph. II-NM 15318** were totally unsuited to the inhumed children. The pencil marks were probably put on by Rubensohn at the time of excavation, though some may have been freshened since. It is also reasonable

that Rubensohn's marks all refer to the same excavation—Phinopoulos' Lot. The only preserved pot in Grave AR II cannot be later than Early Geometric II, and may still be Early Geometric I. Only **Ph. II-NM 15315** of the pots with penciled "II's" could be as early as Early Geometric II, and the rest are Middle Geometric I. The date of the "II" pots as well supports their attribution to the Phinopoulos lot. Two of the three "I" pots also agree with what we know of Phinopoulos I; **Ph. I-3** is clear on the plan. The "II" on the lid of the pyxis **Ph. II-NM 15318** is more upright than the others, but even if added in a different hand, the notation seems based on reliable information (such as a vanished ticket), for it is difficult to separate it from the pointed pyxis **Ph. II-NM 15317** with a penciled "II" in Rubensohn's hand. The "I" on the juglet **NM 15311** is also different, due in all likelihood to the cramped space beneath the little foot (see p. 378).

8. *The Zahn-Kahane Correspondence.* In the spring of 1936, P. P. Kahane was in Athens gathering material for his classic study, "Die Entwicklungsphasen der attisch-geometrischen Keramik" (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 464–484). He wrote to Robert Zahn in Berlin asking about the find-groups from "die Areopagusgräber," remarking on the discrepancy between Poulsen's list of finds (Appendix D) and the objects actually on display in the National Museum in Athens. Two communications from Zahn are critical for the history of the collection, for it was these that led me to enquire of the Berlin museums in 1971–1972.

a. Letter, Zahn to Kahane, February 9, 1937. Zahn wrote to Kahane that on the preceding day he had forwarded to him in Athens a packet containing: 1) Six photographs (five of which have some bearing on the Geometric Graves, A 9 c, e–h, below). 2) Notes made in the spring of 1903 (A 9 a). 3) Four loose sheets of notes made by Rubensohn (A 9 b). 4) A letter from S. Wide (A 9 d): He states that he is sending the Daybooks (A 1) back to Athens with the next "Olympiakurier." He also notes that in 1903 V. Staïs had granted him permission to take to Germany for study purposes certain items in the inventory (A 9 a); he mentions specifically objects listed above in the Areopagus catalogue under **AR I-4**, **AR I-10**, and **AR V-2**, and that he gave at least one pyxis to Heidelberg (**AR I-2**), the rest going to the Museum in Berlin.

b. Postcard, Zahn to Kahane, March 1, 1937 (the reverse here, Pl. 74, a). Kahane received the packet, acknowledged it, and asked for clarification of a few points. Zahn, about to leave for a visit to the United States, sent off a brief reply, noting that the Dörpfeld finds in Berlin were mostly packets of sherds, labeled, but not yet mended up, that there were some clay beads and a whorl (= Ü 200 = **AR?:-7**), and what are recorded here as **AR V-1** and **AR?:-6**.

9. *The Zahn Papers*, dispatched to Kahane in Athens, February 8, 1937.

a. "Eilige Notizen im Frühjahr 1903 geschrieben," here abbreviated "Zahn (1903)." During Zahn's second and last stay in Athens, most of his time was taken up with his duties as Second Secretary of the German Institute, so that he was able to make only "ganz eilige Aufzeichnungen" of the vases in Athens. The six pages of this annotated inventory, which he says are an accurate copy from his notebook, contain some sketches, some dates of finding of specific objects, some grave numbers, and some dimensions. This is the key to the identification of some of the pots from the Phinopoulos Lot and for some of the Areopagus vases known otherwise only through Poulsen. The inventory is arranged under three headings:

1) "Im Museum (...Nationalmuseum, Athen)," 12 vases, all of which are still there; some pots among them are assigned to graves, some have dates of finding (all from the Phinopoulos Lot), some with neither indicated.

2) "Im archäol. Institut (s. Photographien)," 10 vases, three of which are still in the Institute, one is in Heidelberg, two went to Berlin, four have not been located. Among these are some with grave numbers, some with dates of finding (all from Areopagus), some with neither indicated. Two are listed as "noch zu photographieren," seven as "Phot."; these appear on the photographs A 9 f–h.

3) "Im National Museum," seven vases, all still there; four of the pots are listed as from "Grab II," and a fifth gives the date as well (Phinopoulos Lot). After each is written "gezeichnet," and prefixed letters a-g refer to the drawing "Inv. 698" (see A 9 c). There is no duplication between lists 1 and 3, and the only difference between them is "drawn" and "not drawn"; there is nothing to suggest that the pots in the two lists are from different places.

b. Four loose sheets partially filled with field notes made by Paul V. C. Baur and O. Rubensohn of excavations at No. 3 Hadrian Street (Phinopoulos' Lot; see Appendix C). The date here, March 18, 1898, agrees with that given in the 1903 inventory, not March 23 as in the Daybook. (The entries for this lot were widely spaced in time and this was probably entered from memory a week later.)

c. Photograph of a drawing which bears the seal of the German Institute in Athens and the inventory number 698; the drawings appear to be by Zahn. The original drawing has not been found, nor has any record of it or the negative survived at the Institute in Athens. It contains drawings of seven pots: a) Ph. II-NM 15318, b) Ph. II-NM 15314, c) "Ph."-NM 15324, d) Ph. II-1, e) Ph. II-NM 15317, f) the composite Ph. II-NM 15315 and "Ph."-NM 15322 (= Wide, *Opuscula*, p. 209, fig. 4), g) Ph. I-NM 15311.

d. Letter from S. Wide to Zahn, February 9, 1913. Wide returned to Zahn five photographs, among them apparently A 9 c, and Rubensohn's notes on the Phinopoulos Lot. He thanks Zahn for permission to illustrate the small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe. He, too, notes that the photographs he is returning do not include all of the vases enumerated by Poulsen and stresses that he is, however, returning all of the photographs he received.

e. Full-plate photograph of AR I-10 and AR III/IV-10. If there ever was a copy of this photograph either in the German Institute in Athens or in Heidelberg, there is no record of it now and the negative has not been located. An unidentified hand has written on the back in pencil "Westabh. d. Akrop." Zahn's cartouche is stamped on the back in the lower right-hand corner.

f. Full-plate photograph of AR I-II:-1, a Late Geometric striped olpe from a well on the Acropolis West Slope (now in Berlin, see p. 351), and one of the cups from Heidelberg Protogeometric Grave B. Copies and negative as A 9 e.

g. Full-plate photograph of AR I-3, 4, 2 (left to right); Zahn's numbers on the photograph are those of the 1903 inventory. Copies, negative, pencil notation and cartouche as on A 9 e. This is the only record of the decoration on the missing AR I-4.

h. Full-plate photograph of AR V-4, AR II-1 and AR III/IV-1 (left to right); Zahn's numbers on the photograph are those of the 1903 inventory. Copies, negative, pencil notation and cartouche as on A 9 e. This is the only photographic record of the missing AR V-4.

10. Tickets were found in two of the vases in the German Institute in June 1971 (AR II-1 and AR III/IV-1). The notations are in ink and in Zahn's hand on the back of his visiting cards (Pl. 71, f, j, k). The notation "Grave III/IV," which agrees with the 1903 inventory, was based on something other than the Daybook, which lists no pyxides among the finds from that grave. Although it would be tempting to suppose that the card "Grab I, No. 3" had originally been in the pyxis numbered here, by coincidence, AR I-3, it is more likely that Zahn made it in error as a label for AR II-1 (see entry). Because of the ink, these cannot be field tickets, though they may have been made at the time Zahn made the Daybook drawing of AR II-1, which has to be 1897/98, for the caption is in Rubensohn's hand. See A 11; Rubensohn labeled the wrappers of the sherd packets in ink.

11. *The sherds in Berlin-Charlottenberg.* See p. 329. The sherds were done up in paper packets, probably on the site (see Pl. 68, a, lower right), and most were labeled in ink by Rubensohn. A few were labeled by Zahn, probably in 1903 and presumably because any earlier labels had been lost. His are less specific and there are some errors (e.g. "Aus dem Gräber am Areopag. 1898"). The total amount of pottery is

small; one packet contained only four sherds, as many as 25 was exceptional. The packets were transferred to a variety of small boxes at some time prior to their evacuation from Berlin in 1944. Each was numbered as it was packed in cases for transport and the information on the labels transferred to new cardboard tickets. These together with the old labels (Rubensohn's inscriptions were neatly trimmed from the wrapping paper) were placed in the boxes, some of which had as many as three. The numbers ( $\dot{U}$  = Übergangsnummer) running from  $\dot{U}$  177–206 are arbitrary and bear no relation to the sequence of deposits in the Daybook; the last four numbers were assigned to objects, rather than packets of sherds. The packets had been opened, most of them at least twice, before they were unpacked in Charlottenberg, and the possibility of a strayed ticket can not be excluded; three lacked tickets when I saw them (but contained nothing potentially useful). There are some anomalies.  $\dot{U}$  193 preserved Rubensohn's label, "Grab I, No. 1. 13/Nov. 1897," which pot was a pyxis (cf. label of  $\dot{U}$  184 = AR I-5).  $\dot{U}$  193 contained most of the bowl AR I-9, the bottom of the skyphos fragment AR I-7, the bottom of a large broad-bottomed oinochoe and a neck fragment from another, but not one sherd from a pyxis. "Grab I, No. 1" must be the pyxis here numbered AR I-3, which had been mended up and remains in Athens. The presence of AR I-9, a piece documented in the Daybooks, assures us that the rest of the sherds are from Grave I.

Packet  $\dot{U}$  181 contained three tickets, Rubensohn's, Zahn's and the one made by the packer in 1944, each bearing the same information, "12/XI. 1897. I/Grab II." The one surviving vase from Grave II, our AR II-1, is nowhere designated by a Roman numeral I, but, resting in the top filling of the grave, it was in fact removed on November 12, whereas the rest of the deposit was cleared on the following day. That vase, too, was mended up and survives in Athens. There is no corroboratory evidence that the remaining sherds are from Grave II, but the situation with  $\dot{U}$  193 makes it likely and there is nothing among them inconsistent with the Daybooks; see page 340.

Nine small packets are from Grave III/IV. Three, said to be from beneath Grave IV, are wholly or mostly Protogeometric. The sherds in two other packets, coming from the disturbed filling above and on the stone packing, are almost all earlier (Protogeometric) or later (Classical) than the grave. Another packet ( $\dot{U}$  199), labeled by Rubensohn, "Scherben aus Grab III," i.e. from above the stone packing, contained nothing but pyxis and lid fragments, all of which were incorporated into AR III/IV-3 and 7. The two remaining packets contained the bulk of the sherds. Only the packer's label is preserved in  $\dot{U}$  198: "Areopag-Gräber. Gräber (sic) III/IV." Nearly all the sherds were incorporated into AR III/IV-3, 6, 7 and 8. Some very badly burned, peeled and incrusted sherds belong to AR III/IV-3 and a fragment, probably from a small oinochoe with groups of reserved stripes. Since AR III/IV-3 contains sherds from  $\dot{U}$  199, there is no reason to doubt the label on this packet. Three labels accompanied  $\dot{U}$  180. Rubensohn's, hastily and exceptionally in pencil on the wrapper, reads "III/IV" (the two right strokes of the "III" converge to look very like a "IV"). Zahn somehow translated this on his label as "Gräber am Areopag. VII/III 1897," and this was repeated on the packer's ticket. Some of these sherds were incorporated into AR III/IV-3 and 4, and the knob 7bis is from this lot. Again, AR III/IV-3 confirms the label "III/IV." The packet contained sherds from another pyxis like AR III/IV-3, the neck of a small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe, two bases, one from a small pyxis, the other probably from a skyphos, neither to be associated with inventoried fragments, a plain skyphos or cup lip, and wall sherds with Geometric glaze. There were also intrusions, a few Classical and Roman sherds, a handful of Protogeometric, including cooking ware, and Minyan; this material may have seeped in from the unlined earth-cut sides of the grave. Finally, it included a water-washed pebble (see p. 343) and a short length of burned long-bone. What is surprising about these lots is not the quantity of sherds (for they were "abundant"), but the predominance of pyxis sherds, of which there is no mention in the Daybook.

Three packets are preserved from Grave V, all of them clearly labeled by Rubensohn in ink. Compared with the Daybook, their contents are disappointing. Sherds from the upper filling and the immediate area

were Protogeometric, Classical and Hellenistic, with a very few Geometric, among them a non-joining sherd surely from **AR V-1**. A few of the sherds found among the pieces of crude brick (Ü 196) were black glazed and apparently of Geometric date, among them the lower handle attachment from a cup or kantharos; the rest were nondescript and undatable. The lot may have looked healthier before **AR V-3** and **4** were removed (but when?). The largest lot (Ü 192), "Scherben aus Grab V. 18/19 Nov. 1897," produced most of the fragments of **AR V-2**, but otherwise only Protogeometric and a handsome piece of Argive Minyan. Where are the "several pyxides"? One might suppose that they had wandered to **AR III/IV**, but the joins in **AR III/IV-3** confirm that provenience for the other pyxides. Nor will the two packets of sherds labeled by Zahn simply as from the Areopagus Graves provide the missing pyxides; all the pyxis sherds from them joined with fragments from **III/IV**, with the single exception of **AR-1**. Clearly packets are missing, or the pyxides, like **AR V-3** and **4**, were removed from the packets long ago and are still to be located. Assuming some subtractions, then, the packets and the Daybooks are in substantial agreement.

## APPENDIX B

### THE TWO GEOMETRIC GRAVES ON THE ACROPOLIS WEST SLOPE: 1895

Among the finds reported from the excavations on the Acropolis West Slope during the season 1895/1896 were "unmittelbar nördlich vom Amyneion in der Nähe der alten Fahrstrasse zwei Gräber mit Vasen geometrischen Stils" (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 106–107). One grave is indicated in this location on the plan, *A.D.*, II, pl. 38, D 6; pl. 37, C 8 (= here, Pl. 66); *Ath. Mitt.*, XXX, 1905, pl. I (detail of the same plan at a much larger scale); Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1931, plan I, D 5. Much later, in 1930, Rhomaios assigned 11 of the Dörpfeld vases then on exhibit in the Athens National Museum to these graves, which he believed were cremations like the Areopagus graves; the fuller documentation now available has proved both assumptions incorrect, though the groups appear to be valid (see Appendix A 7 and Appendix C).

Only two graves are noted in the Daybooks for the season 1895/6, and none is mentioned for the season 1896/7. The two are described briefly in the entries of December 13 and 14, 1895, and one is indicated on a sketch plan in the same location north of the Amyneion as the grave shown on the *Antike Denkmäler* plans. These must be the graves of the *Athenische Mitteilungen* summary, which is dated May 28, 1896 (the next earlier summary of November 12, 1895 antedates their discovery). None of the finds has been located. Whereas it cannot be proved that none of Rhomaios' "West Slope" pots is from these graves, I think the evidence stronger—virtually certain—that all of the National Museum pots are from the Phinopoulos Lot and have listed them there (see Appendix C).

The combination of low pyxis and pointed pyxis, found in both the West Slope graves, is possible only in Middle Geometric, or the very end of Early Geometric II. It is fairly common in Middle Geometric I, but only a single grave with this combination appears to be Middle Geometric II, though not very late in it (*Δελτ.*, XVII, 1961/62,

pl. 34 α–γ, p. 86, 90–91, *Xρονικά*, pl. 5β: *Oἰκόπεδον Αγγελοπούλου* at *Παρθενώνος* and *Καλλισπέρας*, Grave 3).

These are now the only documented children's burials which may come from Early Geometric II or Middle Geometric I Athens, a period of two or three generations covering most of the ninth century. The Berlin–Munich Group “Aus Attika” is contemporary and very likely from an Athenian child's grave, too. The gap is disturbing alongside the many children's burials in Athens from the earlier phases of the Dark Age; and they are common again in the Late Geometric period. Upwards of seventy children's graves are known from Dark Age Athens. The bulk is Submycenaean, followed closely by Protogeometric; the series extends just into Early Geometric I,<sup>45</sup> then breaks off. A smaller, but substantial number cover the phases of Late Geometric and the transition to Protoattic; two Middle Geometric II<sup>46</sup> graves at the Kerameikos may be the earliest in this second series.

A variety of explanations for this gap has been proposed, none quite satisfactory. The juxtaposition of children and adults at the Agora in Submycenaean through Early Geometric I times and in the Kerameikos in Submycenaean-Protogeometric<sup>47</sup> and again Late Geometric suggests that the absence of children's burials in EG II–MG I is fortuitous. I am wary of proposals of “children's cemeteries,” “intramural burial under houses,” or bizarre rites that would dispose of children elsewhere; surely, positive evidence is required. Perhaps a clue may lie in what we know of EG II–MG I: it was a period of unusual prosperity, the culmination of the post-Mycenaean development, and an environment in which we might reasonably expect more children to have survived infancy and graduated through puberty to adulthood. Pressures may well have mounted again in Late Geometric, economic, with social consequences and probably military as well. The rise in preserved children's burials in the second half of the eighth century may be an index of such conditions. I would expect some such simple explanation for the rarity of burials in the ninth century, rather than a temporary lapse or change in ritual for the burial of children.

#### *West Slope Grave W.Sl. I:* Child's inhumation grave.

Daybook, VI, p. 36 and “Grab I” on the sketch plan facing p. 46; recorded on December 13, 1895 by A. Schiff.

<sup>45</sup> Agora H 17:2 (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 552–554, figs. 10–11, p. 561), but note that the grave is at least a century earlier than the house, and is not, as has often been stated, an “intramural burial under a house”; *Ἄγιον Δημητρίου* 20 (Δελτ., XIX, 1964, *Xρονικά*, pp. 54–55, pls. 49–50); *Πουλοπούλου* 20 (Δελτ., XXII, 1967, *Xρονικά*, p. 110, pls. 96 β, γ, δ); and possibly the disturbed remains of Agora M 23:1bis.

<sup>46</sup> Graves G 27 and G 87.

<sup>47</sup> The first child's burial of Protogeometric date, which appeared there only in 1962 (Grave S 114, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXVIII, 1963, pp. 148–153, Beil. 54, a double burial), and a second one in 1964/65 (Grave hS 130, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, p. 6, pl. 10) hold promise that this area, too, served all ages at this time, as earlier and later.

The grave, oriented east-west, contained bones, the smallness of which suggested a child's grave. In it were small Geometric vases and sherds from others.

**W.SI. I-1.** "Eine kleine Kanne...intakt."

**W.SI. I-2.** Low pyxis ("Napf mit Deckel"), mended from sherds.

**W.SI. I-3.** Pointed pyxis ("einem unten Spitz zulaufenden Gefäß"), mended from sherds.

**W.SI. I-4.** A fourth ("und ein fünfter?") vase is preserved only in small fragments.

#### *West Slope Grave W.SI. II:* Child's inhumation burial.

Daybook, VI, pp. 38-39. Cleared December 14, 1895 by C. Friedrich.

A second "(Kinder?)" grave lay just west of the pavements shown on the plan facing p. 46. It was probably less than 2-3 meters from Grave I, but is not indicated on the plan. It was oriented east-west, and contained sherds and the following vases, all with Geometric decoration:

**W.SI. II-1.** Small pyxis ("ein kleines Gefäß mit Deckel...H. 11 cm.").

**W.SI. II-2.** Pointed pyxis ("ein etwas höheres, unten Spitz zulaufendes Gefäß...H. 12 cm.").

## APPENDIX C

### TWO GEOMETRIC GRAVES IN PHINOPoulos' LOT AT HADRIAN STREET, No. 3: 1898

In *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 478-479, Dörpfeld mentions permission to excavate the lot and his topographical expectations; the graves are nowhere mentioned in published reports. Daybook, VIII, p. 40; the entry by Paul V. C. Baur states only that two "Dipylongräber" were found. Field notes and sketches on four loose sheets by O. Rubensohn are preserved among the Zahn papers (Appendix A 9 b). The graves may be the rectangular trenches in the foreground of the excavation photograph, D.A.I.A. Neg. AB 158. Both graves were cleared on March 18, 1898.

Two graves lay side by side at a depth of 7.5 meters beneath the modern surface. They were oriented northeast-southwest, 0.39 m. apart. Both were cremations, one without urn, the other with. The furnishings suggest that Grave Ph. I is that of a man (neck-amphora), Grave Ph. II of a woman (spindle whorl). Grave Ph. I is Early Geometric II at the earliest, probably Middle Geometric I; Grave Ph. II is Middle Geometric I. I suspect that they are a pair, set down within a short time of one another.

The two graves in the Phinopoulos Lot lie almost due north of the Hephaisteion. Several graves on either side of that building suggest the course of an ancient street,

branching off from the main road through the Areopagus Valley toward the Dipylon;<sup>48</sup> the Phinopoulos graves, some 100 m. further north, suggest the line of its continuation toward the Eridanos.<sup>49</sup>

### I. THE NATIONAL MUSEUM VASES AND THEIR RELATION TO THE PHINOPPOULOS LOT

Four of the Dörpfeld vases in the National Museum certainly come from this lot: **Ph. II-1, 2, 3** (Zahn, 1903, "II" with date; Rubensohn's field notes); **Ph. I-3** (Zahn, 1903, "I"; Rubensohn's field notes; "I" on the bottom). Zahn, clearly, in preparing the 1903 inventory drew on sources other than the penciled numbers (see Appendix A 7), for the bottoms of the three vases with the fullest entries in the field notes are clean.

Tickets (now vanished) in these vases must have given both the grave number and probably also the date of finding. Three of these tickets must have remained when Rhomaios studied these vases and were the basis for three of his attributions; the fourth (**Ph. II-1**) must have been lost before his time, for he does not assign it to a grave. Seven other vases are with the highest probability from the Phinopoulos Lot: **Ph. I-NM 15311–NM 15313, Ph. II-NM 15314, –NM 15315, –NM 15317, –NM 15318**; all have grave numbers in Zahn's inventory and penciled numbers on their bottoms. An eighth, **Ph. II-NM 15320**, was included by Rhomaios in his "Grave 2"; the bottom is clean and there is no grave given in Zahn, 1903. Still, the seven unattributed Dörpfeld vases ("Ph.") attest Rhomaios' restraint; we must suppose another ticket giving this information, which Zahn's transcript somehow omitted. The technical information now available seems to vindicate Rhomaios' two grave groups, but their provenience should be moved to Hadrian Street. I think that we shall have to regard them as closed-find groups, and hope that finds from future excavation will dispel any misgivings that may linger about their stylistic homogeneity or the appropriateness of some of the offerings to their context.

<sup>48</sup> This course, as commonly with major ancient roads, was preserved in a modern street, the former 'Οδὸς Θησείου (cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 335, fig. 2; it formed the western boundary of Sections ΠΘ, KK, ΛΛ, MM); it was closed to vehicular traffic in 1955 with the landscaping around the temple (*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 65) and survives in part today in a footpath along the east side of *Κήπος Θησείου*. The modern 'Οδὸς Αποστόλου Παύλου follows the line of the main north-south street through the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs that connects southwest Athens with the Dipylon (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 168–169, 150); R. S. Young named it Melite Street, from the deme it served, and suggested that the northeast branch took off from it just north of its intersection with the east-west road to the Peiraeus Gate (his "Peiraeus Street"), i.e. at some point under the modern Plateia Theseiou.

<sup>49</sup> The name of Theseion Street survives still in a short block at its northern end. The line of this extension north of Hadrian Street was jogged somewhat to the east, so that it formed the eastern boundary of No. 5 Hadrian Street, whereas the closed street entered Hadrian Street from the south opposite the Phinopoulos Lot at No. 3 (cf. the drawing, German Archaeological Institute, Athens, inv. 887).

The remaining seven vases are in the same section of Zahn's 1903 inventory as the attributed Phinopoulos vases. His heading for the entire inventory on the copy he sent to Kahane is "Zu den frühen Gräber, Frühjahr 1898. 'Westabhang.'" He may have prefixed the title hastily in 1937, forgetting for the moment the significance of 1897 dates he noted beside some of the entries, for, as we now know, the list definitely contains some vases not from the West Slope. He noted beside two skyphoi, NM 15320 and NM 15328, "Westabhang," information that could have been on lost tickets; the barest possibility cannot be excluded that they are in fact from the West Slope, but I think not. Both of the skyphoi are free of smoke, but they are virtually complete and mended from large pieces, and their shapes do not match any of the more complete pieces enumerated for the West Slope graves in the Daybook; they can hardly be equated with the "sherds" or "vases preserved only in small fragments" mentioned there. But see p. 351; they might not be from a grave. I think it more likely that they, and the rest of the Dörpfeld pots in the National Museum, are from the Phinopoulos Lot. Areopagus, too, is unlikely, for what we know of the Areopagus vases indicates that the finds from that excavation were stored in the German Institute.

Three categories of descending certainty are indicated in the catalogues below as follows, e.g.: **Ph. I-3** (certain); **Ph. I-NM 15312** (not certainly equitable with anything in Rubensohn's inventories for these graves); "**Ph.**"-NM 15325 (probably Phinopoulos, but no indication in the testimonia as to which grave).

## II. CATALOGUE

### *Phinopoulos Grave Ph. I: Cremation with urn.*

Rectangular trench, L. 1.26; W. 0.70; D. 0.30 m. below bedrock surface, deepened at the southwest end to accommodate an urn countersunk to half its height. The mouth of the urn reached to the preserved rim of the trench at the natural bedrock surface. A thick deposit containing much burned debris, but few sherds, lay in the pyre trench to the northeast. Small "Dipylonvasen" were grouped in this area at the level of the neck of the amphora, one of them an oinochae with the trefoil pointed toward the urn. A large crude brick lay horizontally beneath them. It is not clear whether this and many other fragments of brick found alongside the neck and body of the urn are structural remains of the tomb (from a barrier separating off the urn from the pyre debris, or from a covering of some kind) or were associated with a bier laid over the pyre. Rubensohn's hastily sketched section shows something, a vase or a stone, closing the mouth of the urn. In his more neatly drawn plan the cup **Ph. I-3** may be clearly identified next to the oinochae **Ph. I-2**; two other vases appear to be of the shapes listed as **Ph. I-4** and **5** below.

**Ph. I-3**, the only pot certainly preserved from this grave, is EG II/MG I, with most examples of the type coming from transitional contexts. The two other pots

probably from this grave, **Ph. I-NM 15312** and **-NM 15313**, are contemporary with **Ph. I-3**. The decoration of **Ph. I-NM 15311** has not yet appeared in contexts later than Early Geometric I; it follows a formula that is properly Protogeometric. I have given some reasons under the entry below why this pot might be Early Geometric II; but it is an anomaly and possibly earlier in date than the rest of the context. The shape, too, is unknown in an adult's grave, and its inclusion here among funeral goods accompanying a neck-amphora, normally a form for men, is exceptional. Still, miniatures are surely present in some other adult cremations (as e.g. **Ph. II-2, I 18:3-2** and **4**, to cite conspicuous examples ready to hand; the one appears to be a woman's grave, the other is certainly). I retain **Ph. I-NM 15311** in the group, but solid confirmation from other deposits is needed.

## FINDS:

**Ph. I-1.** Large neck-amphora. Urn.

**Ph. I-2.** Trefoil-mouthed oinochoe.

**Ph. I-3.** Large cup with mastoi. Pl. 78, e.

*C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1 (1), 1; Poulsen (1905), pl. I, D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1068 (front). Zahn (1903), p. 3, third entry: "I"; the dimensions are those of this piece. On the bottom, a large penciled "I" apparently in Rubensohn's hand. Shown on Rubensohn's plan (see above). Poulsen 11.

Athens NM 15310. H. 0.081; diam. 0.13 m. Mended from large pieces, virtually complete; no traces of burning.

The following with very high probability come from this grave; they could be the same as **Ph. I-4** and **5** above:

**Ph. I-NM 15312.** Low skyphos. Pl. 78, e.

*C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 3. D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1068. Zahn (1903), p. 2, next to bottom entry, "I"; the dimensions agree with this pot. On the bottom, a large penciled "I", apparently in Rubensohn's hand. Poulsen 18.

Athens NM 15312. H. 0.074; diam. 0.147 m. Mended from four large pieces; one small piece is missing in the rear. No burning.

Low, crisply turned ring foot.

Groups of strokes on the inner face of the lip. Two meander keys left; the ends terminate short of the border. The hatching does not change directions.

Low ring foot, more deeply turned beneath.

Reserved panel in front, with a tall conical mastos on either side within it. Two turns of hatched meander key, right, skirting the mastoi and terminating against the upper border in two symmetrical arms. A spiral runs up the mastoi. There are no framing lines at the sides or below the panel; cf. **Ph. I-NM 15312**.

Light pinkish buff clay with a slight orange cast; brown to orange glaze misfired to bluish in some places, lightly lustrous in places.

See **AR V-4**.

**Ph. I-4.** Skyphos.

**Ph. I-5.** Bowl (?).

Pinkish buff clay; brown-black glaze, peeling in places, but mostly firm.

Like **Ph. I-3**, peculiar in lacking framing lines below the panel. The hatched meander is introduced onto skyphoi at the same time that it spreads to other shapes in advanced Early Geometric II contexts. While never as common as zigzag skyphoi, they are usually Middle Geometric I. Cf. "**Ph.**"-NM 15321 and **AR I-7**.

**Ph. I-NM 15313.** Low skyphos. Pl. 78, e.

*C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 4. D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1068. Zahn (1903), p. 2, second entry, "I"; the description, more detailed than usual,

and the dimensions agree with this pot. On the bottom, a large penciled "I" in Rubensohn's hand. Poulsen 13.

Athens NM 15313. H. 0.045; diam. 0.114 m. Mended from four large pieces; one tiny sherd missing. No signs of burning.

Short panel, in front, multiple zigzags (3) with "V's" in the angles; in back simple multiple zigzags (5). Groups of strokes on the inner face of the lip.

Low, crisply turned ring foot, quite deep beneath.

Warm pinkish buff clay; dull brown to orange-brown glaze.

The lip is more upright than on the other Dörpfeld skyphoi, but the decoration looks early; the piece may well be Early Geometric II. For the short panel, cf. Ker. 247 (G. G75a, V, 1, pl. 89; EG II); the zigzags are loose, but deeper than these. For multiple zigzags, particularly those with relaxed, widely spaced angles, see under **I 18:1-1** above.

I am less confident about the next piece, but see no technical reason for excluding it from the group:

**Ph. I-NM 15311.** Miniature oinochoe with high-swung handle. Pl. 78, e.

C.V.A., Grèce 1, Athènes 1, Pl. 1(1), 2. D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1065. Zahn (1903), p. 5 g, "Gezeichnet"; the description and dimensions agree with the pot. Drawing, "Inv. 698," g. The "I" on the underside of the foot does not slant like those which seem to be in Rubensohn's hand, and the cross-strokes are slightly bowed, differences easily attributable to the cramped space and strongly curved surface within the little cone.

Athens NM 15311. H. 0.12; diam. 0.075 m. Complete in one piece, except for the upper loop

of the handle, a bit of the front and one wing of the mouth, which are lost. No traces of burning.

Foot, a low cone beneath. The lower shaft of the handle curves over to join the rim; the stumps of the upper loop are preserved. The restored loop is too low; cf. Agora P 5868 (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 24, fig. 22).

Patterned girdle with zigzag in thinned glaze. No neck panel.

Very deep orangey, pinkish buff clay; lustrous black glaze, thinned to brownish yellow for the zigzag; faintly greenish and metallic where best preserved.

Miniature oinochoai with high-swung handles are found sporadically in developed and later Protogeometric children's graves: Agora P 5868 (see above; Grave C 11:4), Kerameikos Grave hS 130, no. 2 (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, Beil. 10, 3); Cambridge 10/27d (C.V.A., Gr. Br. 6, Cambridge 1, pl. 1 [239], 12). All have a simple band handle, barely touching the lip in its upward course. The handle of **Ph. I-NM 15311** is formed differently: a second loop rises on top of a normal band handle with rim attachment; the top of the band handle gives the appearance of a strut. Two other miniature oinochoai have handles like this; Karlsruhe B 2326 (C.V.A., Deutschl. 8, Karlsruhe 2, pl. 46[346], 1 and p. 12: Rhodian Protogeometric from Siana); American School of Classical Studies at Athens, ASP 20,<sup>50</sup> provenience unknown (Pl. 80, b). The high-swung handle on the jug, Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, Stockholm, 1938, p. 429, fig. 278 (PG Tomb 26) is formed in the same way. All with known contexts are Protogeometric in style, and probably in date as well.

The decoration, "black" without neck panel,

<sup>50</sup> H. to lip 0.106, to top of handle 0.133; diam. 0.07 m. Mended complete except for chips.

Foot, deeply turned, approaching a cone beneath. Handle made in one piece like P 5868, with a strut from the lip to the upright.

Six sets of latticed triangles. Handle barred.

Heavy fabric, poorly finished; the surface is lumpy and the handle crude. Fairly deep pinkish buff clay, the shoulder lightly smoothed and more buff. Good glaze, thick where best preserved, mostly light red, mottling or shading through greenish brown to a few patches of gray-black. Probably Attic, possibly not Athenian.

we would call Protogeometric without hesitation, admissible without question in contexts no later than Early Geometric I. The same may be said of “**Ph.**”-NM 15325. (These two, followed closely by **Ph. II-NM 15315** and “**Ph.**”-NM 15322, are unexpected in the Phinopoulos contexts.) The shape of these little pots varies, and, though I would hesitate to press it (even if we had more of them), the proportions here are different from the Protogeometric examples: the body has nothing of the roundness of those, nor the narrow foot; the whole lower body is less pointed. Here

the foot is quite broad and low outside. The conical foot is not an obstacle. The latest ovoid oinochoai of standard size are in Early Geometric II contexts (*G.G.P.*, p. 14, and pl. 2 g, illustrating Kerameikos G 2, Ker. 252; two more and some fragments are in EG II Agora Well C 18:6, and there are others). They are “black with zigzag girdle” retaining the decoration of the ancestral Protogeometric shape, but have hatched meanders on the neck. I cannot comfortably excise this piece, but would be happier with additional confirmation. See above, p. 366.

### *Phinopoulos Grave Ph. II:* Simple trench cremation.

Rectangular trench, L. 1.15; W. 0.77; D. 0.36 m. Hard-burned red earth with thick burned matter above it, together with sherds and the bones, lay in the southern part of the trench. There were some burned remains and a quantity of ash further north. A number of unburned vessels had been deposited in the grave, mostly to the south, among them the large intact oinochoe, **Ph. II-1**, which stood in the southeast corner, its mouth at a considerably lower depth than the mouth of the urn in the adjacent grave and below the other vases and sherds in this grave, some of which lay directly above it. Cf. Areopagus Grave I 18:3.

The three vases surely from this grave in the National Museum, **Ph. II-1, 2 and 3**, are Middle Geometric I. Of the pots very probably from the grave, the exceptionally fine pointed pyxis, **Ph. II-NM 15317**, suggests very early Middle Geometric I or the transition EG II/MG I. The “48-Type” oinochoe, **Ph. II-NM 15315**, is Early Geometric I in shape; whether it was salvaged from a disturbed grave, or still manufactured as a fossilized form, we cannot be sure. Like **Ph. I-NM 15311**, there are no reasonable technical grounds for excluding it, but without solid confirmation from new deposits, it is best not used to date other finds. The grave, then, like the preceding one, is Early Geometric II/Middle Geometric I, or early in Middle Geometric I.

#### FINDS:

**Ph. II-1.** Broad-bottomed oinochoe. Pl. 79, a. *C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 2(2), 2. D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1064. *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 61; Kahane, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 469; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, p. 67. Illustrated, Poulsen (1904), pl. II (not 1905, as Bieber, *Verzeichnis*, no. 2972). Poulsen 5. Zahn (1903), p. 5 d, “Grab II. 18. III. 98,...gezeichnet”; the dimensions agree with this pot. Drawing “Inv.

698,” d. “II u” on Rubensohn’s plan. No penciled numbers or erasures.

Athens NM 15323. H. 0.29; diam. 0.18 m. Intact. No traces of smoke.

Low ring foot, deeply turned beneath.

Two units of hatched key, left; the hatching changes direction. Handle laddered.

Pinkish buff clay; predominantly brown-black glaze with flecks of red, mottling here and there to red. Fabric of excellent quality; the parts of the glaze that have fired black have a good metallic

luster; worn in a few places. The painting is careless; cf. **Ph. II-NM 15317.**

This is one of the finest examples of the shape; see **I 18:3-1** above.

**Ph. II-2.** Miniature low pyxis with lid.

Pl. 79, c.

*C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 7; Rhomaios, "Grave 2"; D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1069. Zahn (1903), p. 1, bottom, "II, k, 18. III. 98;" the sketch and dimensions agree with this pot. "II k" on Rubensohn's plan. No penciled numbers or erasures. Poulsen 23.

Athens NM 15316. Total P.H. 0.058 m. Two pairs of tiny matching tie-holes on lid and flange. No reference marks. Light pinkish buff clay; dull black-brown glaze, mostly firm.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.04; diam. 0.072 m. Intact.

Foot barely offset, rounding somewhat more deeply up to bottom beneath.

Horizontal and vertical face of the flange solidly glazed.

b) Lid. P.H. 0.017; diam. 0.06 m. Knob broken off and lost.

Zone of slanting bars at the perimeter.

Another slightly smaller miniature with the same decoration on the box, **I 18:1-7**. The type with zigzags is standard in Middle Geometric I; see **I 18:3-7** and **I 18:2-1**. Slanting bars on the lid, cf. **I 18:3-8**. The tiny finial may have been like **I 18:1-7**, or perhaps more crisply formed like **I 18:3-7**; size is against a more complicated form. Shape, **I 18:3-7**.

**Ph. II-3.** Low skyphos. Pl. 79, c.

*C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 10; Rhomaios, "Grave 2." D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1069. Zahn (1903), p. 2, top, "18. III. 98. II. n"; the dimensions agree with this piece. "II n" on Rubensohn's plan. No traces of numbers or erasures. Poulsen 14.

The following are with very high probability from this grave:

**Ph. II-NM 15314.** Small oinochoe with five superimposed bodies. Pl. 79, d.

*C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 5;

Athens NM 15319. H. 0.068; diam. 0.139 m. In a single piece, with a small hole in the bottom. No traces of smoke.

Low ring foot.

Groups of strokes on the inner face of the lip.

Warm light pinkish buff clay, the surface dull; very good, adherent brown-black glaze. Excellent fabric.

Multiple zigzags (4); see **I 18:1-1** above. The low skyphos appears full blown early in Early Geometric II, when the kantharos is still the popular drinking cup; see *G.G.P.*, p. 14 and pl. 2 b (showing Ker. 413, Grave G 14; EG II). An early one, the body glazed solid without panel, Agora P 3966 (Well K 12:2, dumped filling, where the latest pieces are early in EG II). See **Ph. I-NM 15313**. By Middle Geometric I this has become the usual drinking cup.

**Ph. II-4.** "Napf." Rubensohn's plan, "II p."

**Ph. II-5.** Two-handled "Napf."

Rubensohn's plan, "II b."

**Ph. II-6.** Lid.

Rubensohn's plan, "II a."

**Ph. II-7.** Fragments of other vases were heavily concentrated in the southwest corner (marked "II l" on Rubensohn's plan), north of the large oinochoe (in the area marked "II m" on the plan) and further north ("II s" on the plan), where fragments of bronze were also noted (**Ph. II-9** below). Shapes represented among the fragments are not listed.

**Ph. II-8.** Spindle whorl. Rubensohn's plan, "II c."

**Ph. II-9.** Bronze fragments (perhaps from pins?).

Rubensohn's plan, "II x."

**Ph. II-10.** Gold, under the lid, **Ph. II-6** above.

Rhomaios, "Grave 2." *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 51. D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1064. Zahn (1903), p. 5 b, "II...gezeichnet," with sketch and the

same dimensions as this pot; drawing "Inv. 698," b. On the bottom, "II" in Rubensohn's hand. Poulsen 10.

Athens NM 15314. Rest. H. 0.25; max. diam. 0.082 m. There is a gap of *ca.* 0.01 m. between the neck and mouth fragments, which do not join; a slightly lower placing of the lip fragment would have made a more pleasing pot, but cf. "**Ph.**"-NM 15327, which may have inspired the restoration. The fragments are large and a relatively small amount is missing, mostly from the back of the neck and the mouth, with the handle; the lower body is preserved in a single piece through the third bulge. Some darkening from smoke.

Foot, a low ring, barely offset outside, beveled up very deeply beneath.

Neck panel, multiple zigzags. The number of banks is uncertain; the neck fragment preserves parts of three, the lip fragment parts of two. Since the position of each fragment is certain and the zigzags do not seem to align, there should have been five or more banks.

Warm pinkish buff clay; glossy brown to orange glaze. Excellent fabric.

Other vases with stacked multiple bodies: a fragment probably from an oinochoe with plain banding only slightly smaller than this, Agora P 17275 (Area K-N 9-12:-, stray find); skyphoi, Würzburg, inv. 48 (Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen*, Martin v. Wagner-Museum der Universität, Würzburg/Munich, 1931, pl. 4; cited by Schweitzer and illustrated, *ibid.*, p. 51, fig. 3), Middle Geometric II at the earliest; Heidelberg, inv. G 14 (*C.V.A.*, Deutschl. 27, Heidelberg 3, pl. 110[1304], 5), Late Geometric. A double tankard, one superimposed on the rim of the other, found in the 1968 excavations at Merenda, is of local fabric, though the drawing is not; it too is Late Geometric. The patterns and fabric here are good Middle Geometric I.

**Ph. II-NM 15318.** Low pyxis with boukraniion on the lid.

Pl. 79, b, c.

*C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 9; Rhomaios, "Grave 2." D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1067. Zahn (1930), p. 5 a, "II...gezeichnet," described and with the same dimensions as this pot; drawing

"Inv. 698," a. On the underside of the lid, "II"; the verticals slant less than usual, but the hand seems to be Rubensohn's. Possibly the same piece as **Ph. II-4** and **6**, or **6** alone (note that for **Ph. II-2**, Rubensohn had written first "Napf," then crossed it out, writing "Büchse" above it). Poulsen 27.

Athens NM 15318. Total H. 0.125 m. Mended from many pieces, with a fair amount missing, including the muzzle, the ears and part of one horn of the boukraniion, which are restored in plaster. Some pieces damaged by smoke. One tie-hole on each side survives on the body and the lid; no reference marks preserved.

Where smoke-free, good warm pinkish buff clay; black-brown lustrous glaze, thinning to deep orange. Very fine fabric.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.081; diam. 0.167 m.

Low ring foot, crisply turned.

b) Lid. H. 0.045; diam. 0.122 m. The head is nicely modeled, with a slight depression between the eyes at the "bridge" of the muzzle. The irises of the eyes are deeply incised circles, with a dot of glaze in the center of each. The lozenge "hairstar" is so like the lozenges in the chain on **Ph. II-NM 15317** as to have been made by the same man at the same sitting; and note the lozenges in the *Hesperia* reference below.

The handle is in the form of a miniature pyxis; on the "body", bands enclosing a zigzag; the "finial" is ringed, with four crossed diameters on top.

Pyxis type, see **Ph. II-2**. Lids, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 90-91; boukraniion, p. 96, where the plaster restorations were not properly noted.

**Ph. II-NM 15317.** Pointed pyxis with lid.

Pl. 79, d.

*C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 8; Rhomaios, "Grave 2." D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1065. Zahn (1903), p. 5, e, "II...gezeichnet," with sketch and almost the same dimensions; drawing "Inv. 698," e. On the underside of the lid, "II" in Rubensohn's hand. Poulsen 22.

Athens NM 15317. Total H. 0.16 m. Matching opposite single tie-holes on body and lid. Reference marks: a short gash above one tie-hole

on the underside of the lid; on the body, a gash on the flange, crossing one tie-hole and continuing over onto the shoulder.

Pinkish buff clay; dark-brown glaze, lustrous where best preserved. The painting is less careful than on **Ph. II-NM 15318**.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.132; diam. 0.098 m. Many large pieces, but a fair amount missing. No sure traces of smoke.

The following has not the full *testimonia* of the vases above, but a ticket presumably led Rhomaios to place it in "Grave 2" (see p. 375).

**Ph. II-NM 15320.** Low skyphos. Pl. 79, c.

C.V.A., Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 11; Rhomaios, "Grave 2." D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1068. Zahn (1903), p. 2, third entry, "Westabh.;" the dimensions agree with this pot. Possibly the same as **Ph. II-5**. No penciled numbers or erasures. Poulsen 15.

Athens NM 15320. H. 0.058; diam. 0.12 m.

The following, though well documented, poses stylistic problems, but there is no good reason to exclude it while admitting **NM 15314**, **NM 15317**, and **NM 15318**, on the same evidence:

**Ph. II-NM 15315.** Small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe ("48-Type"). Pl. 79, d.

C.V.A., Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 6; Rhomaios, "Grave 2." D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1064. Zahn (1903), p. 5, f, "II...gezeichnet"; the description, "mit Halbkreisen auf dem Schulter" and the dimensions agree with this vase. (Note that for "**Ph.**"-NM 15322, Zahn has sketched the circles with the hourglass filling.) The drawing "Inv. 698", f, is a composite; it shows the hourglass filling (outlined, but not glaze filled) and the solidly glazed body of "**Ph.**"-NM 15322, but the svelte neck is shown intact (he had indicated the plaster restoration on **Ph. II-NM 15314**), surely drawn with this pot as a model. The entry is this vase, though the drawing is mostly "**Ph.**"-NM 15322 (which see). On the bottom "II" in Rubensohn's hand. Poulsen 2.

Athens NM 15315. H. 0.194; diam. 0.122 m. Virtually complete; no signs of burning.

Narrow band of glaze on the inner edge of the flange, then a broad reserved band. Glaze at the top of the shoulder. The hatching does not change direction.

b) Lid. H. 0.022; diam. 0.067 m. Intact.

Glazed, with four reserved bands midway to the knob; knob ringed.

See under **I 18:1-16**. This is one the most imaginative and carefully executed pieces.

Mended from large pieces, one sherd missing; some rot on the lip. No traces of smoke.

Low base, flat beneath.

Groups of strokes on the inner face of the lip. Multiple zigzag (4).

Pinkish buff clay; brown-black to brown glaze, peeling in places, but mostly firm.

See **Ph. II-3**. Flat bottom, see **I 18:3-3**.

Foot, a fairly deep cone beneath.

Shoulder, three sets of semicircles (11) and ca. 120° of a fourth, which, unable to clear the handle attachment, was terminated against a radius drawn from the attachment to the ground line. Handle laddered; lower attachment ringed.

Pinkish buff clay; good, adherent, brown to orange glaze.

Curtailed semicircles on another "48-Type" oinochoe:

Agora P 23700 (Well P 8:3, a pure EG I context; the pot is overfired, nearly a *Fehlbrand*); the shape is virtually identical with this. The standard number of sets of semicircles on "48-Types" is four; poor spacing, now perhaps commoner as circles were being dropped from the repertory, produced these fractions. For the type, see *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 157; add Agora P 27109, found in 1963 (Grave M 23: 1 bis; EG I),

with thin neck like this, but slightly broader foot, deeply rounded beneath. Two more, from *Aγίου Μάρκου* 6-8-10-12,<sup>51</sup> are shown in the same photograph with a broad-bottomed oinochoe said to be from the same “double burial;” (*Δελτ.*, XX, 1964, *Xρονικά*, pl. 51β); it has a meander panel on the neck, and is of the classic EG II/MG I form. None of the pieces illustrated from this “double burial” would be out of place in an Early Geometric I context except the broad-bottomed oinochoe; the belly-handled urn (visible

in the section, p. 55, fig. 5) looks like a pure Protogeometric form, possible in Early Geometric I, but not later. The brief notice raises questions, and it is to be hoped that the final publication will clarify the context of the “48-Types”, for it suggests the possibility that they may continue down into Middle Geometric I.

The possibility of salvage remains attractive: cf. Ker. 891, a fine Late Protogeometric high-footed cup in a MG I/MG II context (Grave G 12, pl. 109); there are others.

### The following are probably from the Phinopoulos Lot:

The happy inclusion of **Ph. II-1**, without marks or attribution by Rhomaios that might suggest a ticket (we can assume one that had strayed before his time), opens the floodgate to the remaining Dörpfeld pots in the National Museum, all of which appear side-by-side in Zahn’s lists with known Phinopoulos pots. In style they are consistent with what we know of the Phinopoulos Lot: EG II/MG I. Two more “48-Type” oinochoai demand (but will not get) satisfactory explanation: “**Ph.**”—NM 15322 and—NM 15325; the decoration of NM 15325 would pass for Protogeometric, but the shape may not (see entry). I have suggested that they are fossil forms or salvage items (p. 372). The shape of “**Ph.**”—NM 15324 has parallels in Early Geometric I, but the meander, with its gross hatching, is more suited to a Middle Geometric context. The similarity in shape is perhaps coincidence, for without the Early Geometric I examples, we would say that the form had been influenced by the emerging squat bodies as e.g. “**Ph.**”—NM 15327, a clear Middle Geometric I type. The relatively narrow panel on “**Ph.**”—NM 15328 also has an early cast about it; the zigzags are carefully drawn, but not impossible in EG II/MG I context.

“**Ph.**”—NM 15322. Small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe (“48-Type”).

Pl. 80, a.

C.V.A., Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 2(2), 1; D.A.I.A.

Neg. NM 1066. *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 48, 51, 53, 55. Zahn (1903), p. 2, bottom, “fragmentiert”; the semicircles with solid hourglass are sketched and the dimensions agree with this pot. See **Ph. II-NM 15315**; the drawing, “Inv. 698,” f, is mostly of this pot: hourglass core (outlined, but not filled with solid glaze) and the solid glaze of the body below the shoulder; the drawing was reproduced, *Opuscula*, p. 209, fig. 4 (here Pl. 80, c). Wide (p. 210) was struck by the fact that the body of the hourglass was not filled in; this is surely an oversight, for the glaze is well preserved at that point. Poulsen 1.

Athens NM 15322. H. 0.197; diam. 0.122 m. Much of the neck and the front of the mouth are missing; the restored trefoil is too stubby and the neck probably too fat, cf. **Ph. II-NM 15315**. Smoke damage.

Ring foot, crisp and deep beneath.

No reserved bands on the body. Four sets of semicircles (8). Handle laddered.

Dull, dark pinkish buff clay; dull, brown glaze, lustrous in a few places, but peeled over large areas.

See under **Ph. II-NM 15315**.

“**Ph.**”—NM 15325. Small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe (“48-Type”).

Pl. 80, a.

C.V.A., Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 2(2), 4. D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1066. *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 48,

<sup>51</sup> G.G.P., p. 11, “Latest Protogeometric into EG II.” EG I/II seems better, since the “48-Type” oinochoe comes mostly from contexts that are Early Geometric I in date.

54, 55. Zahn (1903), p. 3, top; the description and dimensions agree with this pot. Poulsen 3.

Athens NM 15325. H. 0.193; diam. 0.127 m. A substantial amount missing; only about a quarter of the mouth and neck survive; back of the wings and the handle restored above the stump; the neck may have been thinner, cf. **Ph. II-NM 15315**. Some light smoke-darkening.

Low foot, deeply rounded beneath.

Black with zigzag-patterned girdle; pair of reserved bands on the lower body; no neck panel.

Hard, pinkish buff clay; black to maroon glaze, much of it chocolatey, thinned to light brown for the zigzag, peeled over large areas.

Shape, see **Ph. II-NM 15315**. The broad foot and heavy lower body are more like Early Geometric II oinochoai than Early Geometric I, and quite out of place in Protogeometric contexts. The decoration follows the “black format,” common on Late Protogeometric oinochoai, e.g. Ker. 2070 (IV, pl. 15, Grave PG 48); it is very rare on the “48-Type.” Black oinochoai without neck panels are rare in Early Geometric I and not found later. The reserved bands on the lower body are exceptional in the “black format,” apparently a contamination from the commoner “48-Type” with semicircles.

**“Ph.”-NM 15324.** Small baggy oinochoe.

Pl. 80, d.

C.V.A., Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 2(2), 3. D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1065. *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 61. Kahane, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 469. Zahn (1903), p. 5, c, “gezeichnet”; the description and dimensions agree with this pot. Drawing “Inv. 698”, c. Poulsen 6.

Athens NM 15324. H. 0.158; diam. 0.11 m. Mended from large pieces; no sure traces of smoke.

Foot offset from body only by a shallow groove; very low ring beneath.

Glazed except for a deep neck panel with two units of hatched meander key; the hatching is sloppy, and does not change directions. The panel has no framing lines; cf. **Ph. I-3** and **Ph. I-NM 15312**.

Deep pinkish buff clay; lustrous black glaze, mostly firm.

Two other oinochoai have a similar baggy shape: Agora P 20183 (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 74, d; Grave D 16:4, EG I) and Eleusis, inv. no. 812 (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XVII, 2; Grave XLI, EG II). An equation with **Ph. I-2** is tempting.

**“Ph.”-NM 15327.** Small squat oinochae.

Pl. 80, d.

C.V.A., Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 2(2), 6; D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1065. Zahn (1903), p. 3, second entry; description and dimensions agree with this piece. Poulsen 4.

Athens NM 15327. H. 0.14; diam. 0.097 m. Mended from large pieces. The mouth is preserved only at the back against the handle. Some darkening, possibly from smoke.

Foot offset from the body only by a shallow groove; beveled back fairly deeply beneath.

On the body, three pairs of narrow bands alternating with slightly broader bands, then glaze to the resting surface. Neck, tall hatched meander, left; there are two keys, one of them compressed to two-thirds the width of the other; the hatching changes directions. Handle laddered.

Creamy, pale pinkish buff clay; good metallic glaze, mostly a chocolatey color.

See under **I 18:3-2:** Early Geometric II at the earliest, probably Middle Geometric I.

**“Ph.”-NM 15321.** Low skyphos.

Pl. 80, e.

C.V.A., Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 12. D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1067. *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 63. Poulsen (1905), pl. I is not this skyphos (as Bieber, *Verzeichnis*, no. 2975), but **Ph. I-1**. Zahn (1903), p. 2, fourth entry, “Ohne Bezeichnung”; the description and dimensions agree with this pot. Poulsen 19.

Athens NM 15321. H. 0.082; diam. 0.165 m. Intact, except for one mended handle.

Low, crisply turned ring foot.

Groups of strokes on the inner face of the lip. Front, four keys; the hatching does not change directions. Back, a paired meander with battlement at the right, linked directly to a single key, left, which terminates in a vertical against the upper border. Handles glazed.

Rather lifeless pinkish buff clay; black glaze, peeling where thin.

Shape, see under **Ph. II-3**. Cf. the meander skyphos, Marathon Tomb 5, *Практика*, 1939, p. 30, fig. 3ζ: the panel is shorter with only two keys, and the handle is barred, but the distinctive framing on the sides as well as below the panel is the same; the zigzag skyphoi in that tomb have the same frame; the context is Middle Geometric I. Paired meanders, see **AR I-II:-1**.

**"Ph."-NM 15326.** Low skyphos. Pl. 80, e. *C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 2(2), 5. D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1068. *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 63. Kahane, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 470. Zahn (1903), p. 1, second entry, "Ohne Angabe des Fundortes"; the description (with sketch of the shape of the plaster inset) and dimensions agree with this vase. Poulsen 16.

Athens NM 15326. H. 0.056; diam. 0.128 m. Mended from two large pieces; a triangular sherd missing front and back. No sure smoke darkening.

Very low base, flat beneath.

Groups of strokes on the inner face of the lip. Zigzags (4).

Pinkish buff clay; black to brown-black glaze, with a good luster, peeling in places, thinning to a lighter brown on the zigzags.

See under **Ph. II-3** above; flat base, cf. **I 18:3-3**.

**"Ph."-NM 15328.** Low skyphos. Pl. 80, e.

*C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1(1), 13. D.A.I.A. Neg. NM 1068. *Ker.*, V, 1, pp. 63, 110. Zahn (1903), p. 1, first entry, "Westabhang"; description and dimensions agree with this pot. Poulsen 17.

Athens NM 15328. H. 0.059; diam. 0.116 m. Mended from two large pieces, a small sherd missing at the lip.

Low base, barely offset, flat beneath.

Groups of strokes on the inner face of the lip.

Hard, warm pinkish buff clay; brown-black glaze, thinning to orange on the zigzags; slight greenish cast to the brown inside. Fabric of excellent quality, but a bit worn on one side.

See previous entry; for the short panel, see **Ph. I-NM 15313**.

## APPENDIX D

### A NOTE ON POULSEN'S "AKROPOLISVASEN"

Poulsen's descriptions (see Appendix A 6 a) of the vases he saw in the vitrines of the National Museum include more vases than were on exhibit a generation later or today.<sup>52</sup> The list below was begun in an attempt to determine the minimum number of missing vases (duplicates or near duplicates could multiply the actual number indefinitely) and to gain some idea of what they might look like in the hope of finding some of them. The Daybooks filled in many gaps, and it is now certain that Poulsen included some pots then stored in the German Institute. One piece known to Zahn and in the National Museum today was inexplicably omitted by Poulsen (**Ph. I-NM 15311**).

Poulsen divides the vases (pp. 80–81) into *Kannen, Näpfe oder Schalen, Pyxides*, and *Amphoren*. The descriptions below are his, translated and sometimes shortened; the comments in brackets are mine. \* = not located, but known from a drawing or fairly full description in the Daybooks or Zahn's papers.

<sup>52</sup> See p. 327 with note 5.

*Kannen:*

*Two have a more slender shape than the other "Akropolis" jugs, a narrower, more sharply offset neck, and a full belly, which curves in below to a sharply offset foot. There are concentric semicircles on the shoulder, one with an hourglass core. [These are ordinary "48-Type" oinochoai.]*

1. **"Ph."-NM 15322**

2. **Ph. I -NM 15315**

*One with full body and small foot provides a transition to the other jugs; it has a zigzag around the belly.*

3. **"Ph."-NM 15325**

*The other jugs are plumper and simpler in profile, and the foot is not offset. All have a reserved field on a heavier neck. The neck panel usually ("regelmässig") contains a hatched meander.*

4. **"Ph."-NM 15237.** [This resembles most closely his more detailed description of one of the jugs, which he says has a long black neck above a low paunchy body; he regards it as the beginning of a later baroque form, citing as examples the mugs, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 207 (not "47"), figs. 78-80.]

5. **Ph. II-1**

6. **"Ph."-NM 15324**

7. **AR I-II:-1.** [This must have been included in the count, since it was mended up and photographed before the collection was dispersed; four examples reinforce "regelmässig."]

*Occasionally ("bisweilen") the neck panel has sharp zigzags in three or four banks.*

8. **AR V-1** (four banks)

9. **AR ?:6** (three banks)

The following he says is *peculiar* and describes it in full. He seems not to have reckoned it with the jugs having multiple zigzags above, for he states that it has "eine schmale Borte" of zigzag lines [a conception quite different from the "ausgesparte Feld" on the jugs above].

10. **Ph. II-NM 15314** (at least four banks, more likely 5 or more, see entry)

*Näpfe oder Schalen are low, with sharply offset lip and broad flat bottom.*

*Two Näpfe have a vertical handle and a pair of mastoi in front.*

11. **Ph. I-3**

\*12. **AR V-4**

**Skyphoi:** Poulsen says that he saw *a total of nine with two horizontal handles, close-set against the body of the vase. There is a reserved panel always on one side only.* [This is impossible.] *The patterns in the reserved panel are:*

*Zigzag is the commonest, either very tight or more relaxed, and in three or four banks.*

13. **Ph. I-NM 15313** (three banks)

14. **Ph. II-3** (four banks)

15. **Ph. II-NM 15320** (four banks)

16. **"Ph."-NM 15326** (four banks)

17. **"Ph."-NM 15328** (four banks)

*The meander is also found.*

18. **Ph. I-NM 15312**

19. **"Ph."-NM 15321**

On one is *a row of chevrons* (drawn p. 81), *and in the angles, a pair of black rosettes.*

\*20. **AR I-8**

Decoration not mentioned.

21. **AR II-1**

*Pyxides: One is pointed, with tie-holes on lid and lip, and a high conical finial on the lid.*

22. **Ph. II-MN 15317.** A lozenge chain is mentioned as one of the patterns on it.

Poulsen says that he saw *five other pyxides with low bodies, inset lip and flat lids with conical finials; another, apparently a sixth, is mentioned separately as having a bull's head on the lid* (p. 80). Schweitzer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 51, gives a total of six. Poulsen then lists the patterns in the zones on the pyxides. I have included both the pointed pyxis and the lids in the enumeration below; Poulsen must have included one or the other to account for the "diagonal bars."

*Diagonal lines:*

[22.] On body.

23. **Ph. II-2.** On lid.

*Chevrons:*

24. **AR I-2.** On body.

25. **AR I-3.** On body.

*Row of dots:*

26. **AR III/IV-1.** On body and lid.

[24.] On lid.

[25.] On lid.

[\*28.] On lid.

*One with dogtooth in the lowest zone:*

27. **Ph. II-NM 15318**

[22.] On body.

*Zigzags:*

[22.] On body (single).

[23.] On body (two banks).

[26.] On body (five banks) and handle (single).

\*28. **AR I-4.** On body (single and four banks).

*Gear:*

[24.] On body.

[25.] On body.

[\*28.] On body.

*Amphoren:*

\*29. **AR I-1**

## APPENDIX E

### KNOWN FINDS FROM THE DÖRPFELD GEOMETRIC GRAVES

\* = Not located

1. Neck amphora	<b>AR I-1</b>	*
2. Neck amphora	<b>Ph. I-1</b>	*
3. Sherd from a large amphora	<b>AR I-II:-2</b>	Berlin
4. "48-Type" oinochoe	<b>Ph. II-NM 15315</b>	NM 15315
5. "48-Type" oinochoe	<b>"Ph." -NM 15322</b>	NM 15322
6. "48-Type" oinochoe	<b>"Ph." -NM 15325</b>	NM 15325
7. Broad-bottomed oinochoe	<b>AR V-1</b>	Berlin
8. Broad-bottomed oinochoe fragment	<b>AR V-2</b>	Berlin
9. Broad-bottomed oinochoe fragment	<b>AR I-II:-1</b>	Berlin
10. Broad-bottomed oinochoe	<b>Ph. II-1</b>	NM 15323
11. Small baggy oinochoe	<b>"Ph." -NM 15324</b>	NM 15324
12. Small squat oinochoe	<b>"Ph." -NM 15327</b>	NM 15327
13. Oinochoe with five superimposed bodies	<b>Ph. II-NM 15314</b>	NM 15314
14. Miniature oinochoe with high-swung handle	<b>Ph. I-NM 15311</b>	NM 15311

15. "Eine kleine Kanne...intakt"	<b>W.SI. I-1</b>	*
16. Pointed pyxis	<b>Ph. II-NM 15317</b>	NM 15317
17. Pointed pyxis	<b>W.SI. I-3</b>	*
18. Pointed pyxis	<b>W.SI. II-2</b>	*
19. Pointed pyxis sherd	<b>AR III/IV-8</b>	Berlin
20. Low pyxis	<b>AR I-2</b>	Heidelberg G 49
21. Low pyxis	<b>AR I-3</b>	German Inst. Athens
22. Low pyxis	<b>AR I-4</b>	*
23. Low pyxis	<b>AR I-5</b>	Berlin
24. Low pyxis	<b>AR I-6</b>	Berlin
25. Low pyxis	<b>AR III/IV-1</b>	German Inst. Athens
26. Low pyxis	<b>AR III/IV-2</b>	Berlin
27. Low pyxis	<b>AR III/IV-3</b>	Berlin
28. Low pyxis	<b>AR III/IV-4</b>	Berlin
29. Low pyxis	<b>AR III/IV-5</b>	Berlin
30. Low pyxis	<b>AR III/IV-6</b>	Berlin
31. Low pyxis	<b>AR:-1</b>	Berlin
32. Low pyxis	<b>W.SI. I-2</b>	*
33. Low pyxis	<b>W.SI. II-1</b>	*
34. Low pyxis	<b>Ph. II-2</b>	NM 15316
35. Low pyxis	<b>Ph. II-NM 15318</b>	NM 15318
36. Pyxis lid	<b>AR III/IV-7</b>	Berlin
37. Pyxis lid finial	<b>AR III/IV-7 bis</b>	Berlin
38. Pyxis lid	<b>AR:-2</b>	Berlin
39. Pyxis lid	<b>AR:-3</b>	Berlin
40. Pyxis lid	<b>AR:-4</b>	Berlin
41. Pyxis lid	<b>Ph. II-6</b>	?
42. "Sherds from several pyxides"	<b>AR V-6</b>	*
43. High-footed skyphos	<b>AR II-1</b>	German Inst. Athens
44. Low skyphos	<b>AR I-7</b>	Berlin
45. Low skyphos	<b>AR I-8</b>	*
46. Low skyphos	<b>Ph. I-NM 15312</b>	NM 15312
47. Low skyphos	<b>Ph. I-NM 15313</b>	NM 15313
48. Low skyphos	<b>Ph. II-3</b>	NM 15319
49. Low skyphos	<b>Ph. II-NM 15320</b>	NM 15320
50. Low skyphos	<b>"Ph."-NM 15326</b>	NM 15326
51. Low skyphos	<b>"Ph."-NM 15328</b>	NM 15328
52. Low skyphos	<b>"Ph."-NM 15321</b>	NM 15321
53. Large cup with mastoi	<b>AR V-4</b>	*
54. Large cup with mastoi	<b>Ph. I-3</b>	NM 15310

55. "Schale" with one (or two?) handles	<b>AR V-3</b>	*
56. Bowl	<b>AR I-9</b>	Berlin
57. One (or two) vases in fragments	<b>W.SI. I-4</b>	*
58. "Fragments of...vases"	<b>Ph. II-7</b>	*
59. Large clay bead	<b>AR I-10</b>	*
60. Quantities of spindle whorls	<b>AR III/IV-10</b>	*
61. Spindle whorl	<b>Ph. II-8</b>	*
62. Iron sword	<b>AR II-2</b>	*
63. Iron sword	<b>AR V-6</b>	*
64. Iron knife	<b>AR:-5</b>	*
65. Bronze spearhead	<b>AR II-3</b>	*
66. Bronze fragments [pins?]	<b>Ph. II-9</b>	*
67. "Gold"	<b>Ph. II-10</b>	*

## DÖRPFELD GEOMETRIC OF UNCERTAIN PROVENIENCE

Broad-bottomed oinochoe	<b>AR?:-6</b>	Berlin
Four clay beads	<b>AR?:-7</b>	Berlin

## APPENDIX F

## SUBMYCENAEN CHILD'S GRAVE SOUTH OF THE AMYNEION: 1892

Three other Dark Age burials were found in the Dörpfeld Excavations. The furnishings of two, the early Protogeometric Graves A and B in Heidelberg, were exported by Zahn in 1903 under the same permission with some of the Areopagus finds (p. 328 and Appendix A 8 a). The two graves lay further along the ancient road through the valley on the southwest slopes of the Acropolis. Fullest and most recent publication: F. Canciani, *C.V.A.*, Deutschland 27, Heidelberg 3 (1966), pp. 33–36 (with circumstances of finding), pls. 101–102; they were cleared by R. Zahn. The third grave, a Submycenaean inhumation, is published below to complete the record of the Dörpfeld early graves. Of the other datable graves found in the Dörpfeld campaigns, none was earlier than the Submycenaean burial below; apart from the Geometric graves above, the rest of the burials appear to be Archaic.

*Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 445; *A.D.*, II, pl. 38, southernmost grave in square C 8. Daybook, I, pp. 75–76, 86, and on plan p. 78; "Fundenlisten der Ausgrabungen am Westfusse der Akropolis, 1892–97," pottery, pp. 32–33 (in Archives, German Institute in Athens). Vases, D.A.I.A. Neg. AV 46, left (= here, Pl. 75, a); Bieber,

*Verzeichnis*, 1988, "c) Zwei geometrische Kannchen aus einem Grab."<sup>53</sup> Cleared December 7, 1892 by A. Körte.

The grave, a shallow cist in bedrock, east-west, lay about 4 meters east of the road through the valley between the Acropolis west slopes and the Pnyx (see Pl. 66, *ca.* 30 m. south of the Amyneion). L. 1.30 m. It contained the well-preserved bones of an eight-year-old child and two lekythoi belonging to the transition from Submycenaean to Early Protogeometric. The vases were photographed probably soon after excavation, and described in the Daybook and the "Fundlisten"; their whereabouts is unknown. The descriptions below are translations, condensed and edited, from the "Fundlisten."

FINDS:

1. Lekythos. Pl. 75, a.  
H. 0.13 m. ("Fundlisten"; 0.14 m. Daybook).

Lip broken.

Airhole near handle.

Shoulder, three sets of hand-drawn semicircles (5), a wavy line between them; three bands at the base of the shoulder; lower third of the vase glazed. Handle barred.

Red glaze.

2. Lekythos. Pl. 75, a.  
H. 0.10 m. ("Fundlisten"; 0.11 m. Daybook).

Handle lost.

Decoration as above, but one set of semicircles is compressed to triangular form.

Brown-black glaze, almost wholly peeled.

Both lekythoi are advanced beyond anything from pure Submycenaean contexts. The fully

developed shapely trumpet mouth flares gracefully from the slender neck (2), but it is not yet flattened or hollowed as on the more developed Protogeometric types. The loops of the handles are still full, but the upper attachment clears the mouth and tucks down cleanly against the neck; the feet are broad and tall like Early Protogeometric examples. The closest parallels for these vases come from Transitional groups, where the use of the compass on other vases or the inclusion of frivolities in the "Wild Style" designates them as Early Protogeometric in style and in date. Despite the hand-drawing the grave is Early Protogeometric in date, along with nearby Heidelberg Grave B (and Grave A, I think) and Kerameikos Grave PG A. The closest parallel in decoration (with 1) and in the formation of the accessories is from another Early Protogeometric grave, Kerameikos hS 74 (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, Beil. 10, 4).

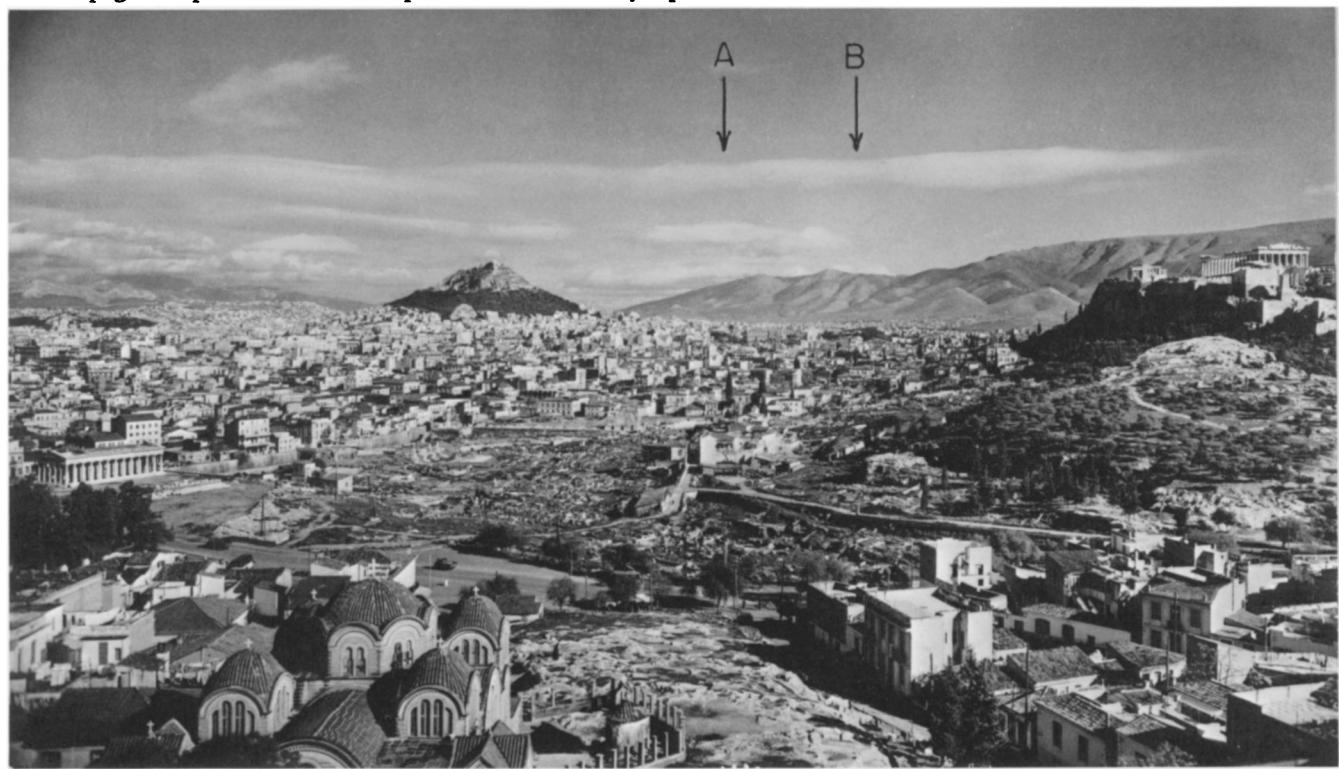
EVELYN LORD SMITHSON

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO

<sup>53</sup> Though useless for decoration, this photograph, showing the shape clearly, is critical for dating the grave. This grouping with the sculpture—clearly "significant finds of the season"—testifies to the high esteem which Dörpfeld and his team held for the two "bauchige Kannen" from the "mykenische Grab" at the close of their first season of excavation in Athens.

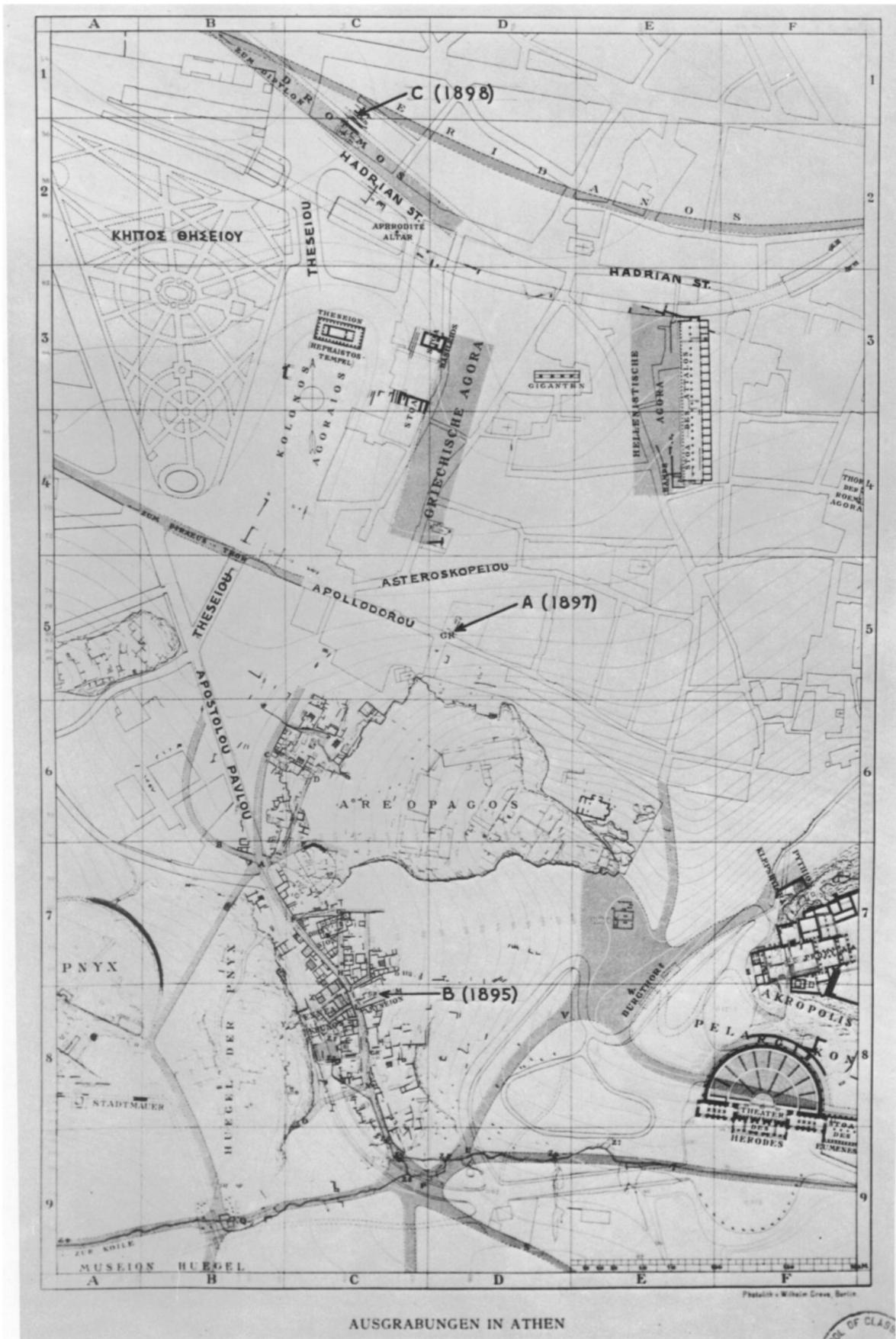


a. General view of the Agora and the Areopagus, looking E, 1964. The E-W road in the center (formerly Asteroskopeiou) runs along the south side of the Agora. The Areopagus Cemetery lay just S of the road branching off from it up the Areopagus slope toward the Acropolis saddle (formerly Apollodorou).



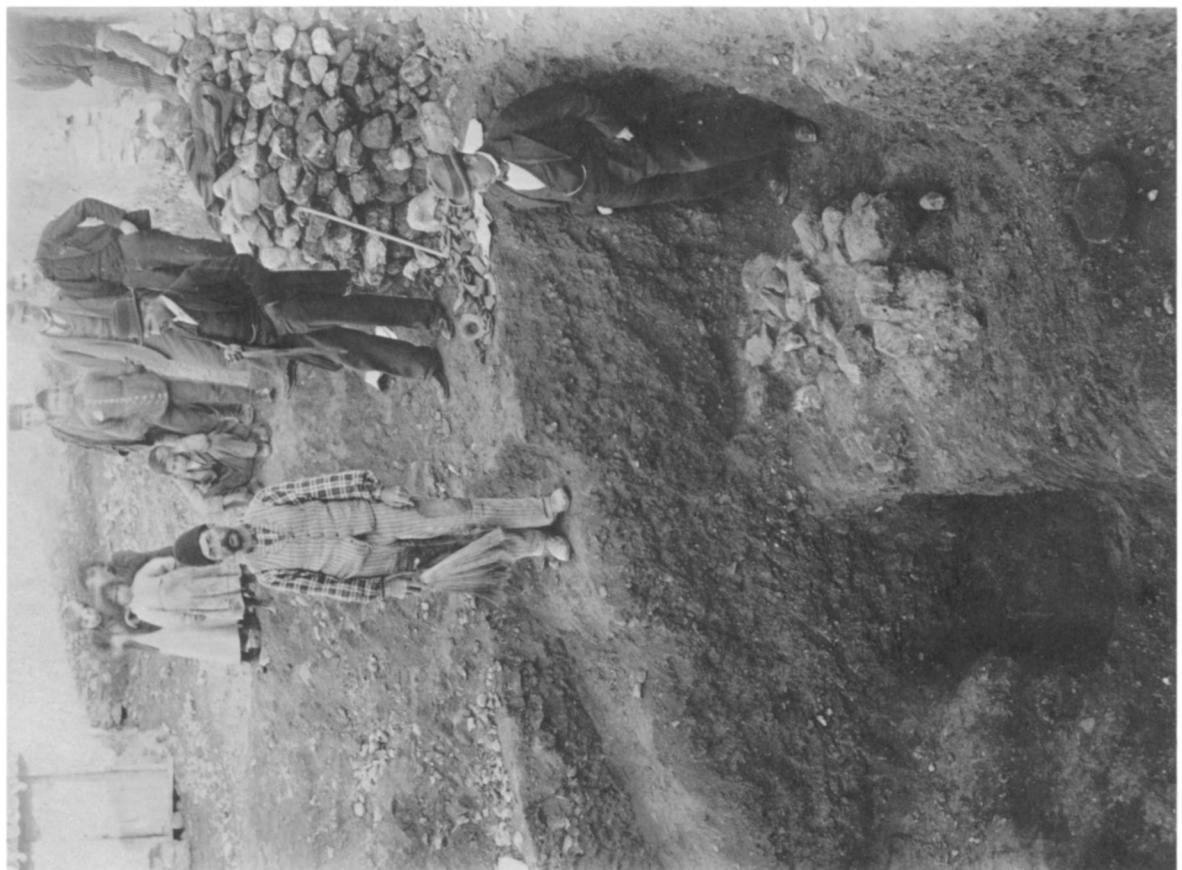
b. As above, 1952. The westernmost house in the angle between the roads is Asteroskopeiou 25 (A). The 1897 trench ran from the back of that house to the western end of the wall along Apollodorou (B).

PLATE 66



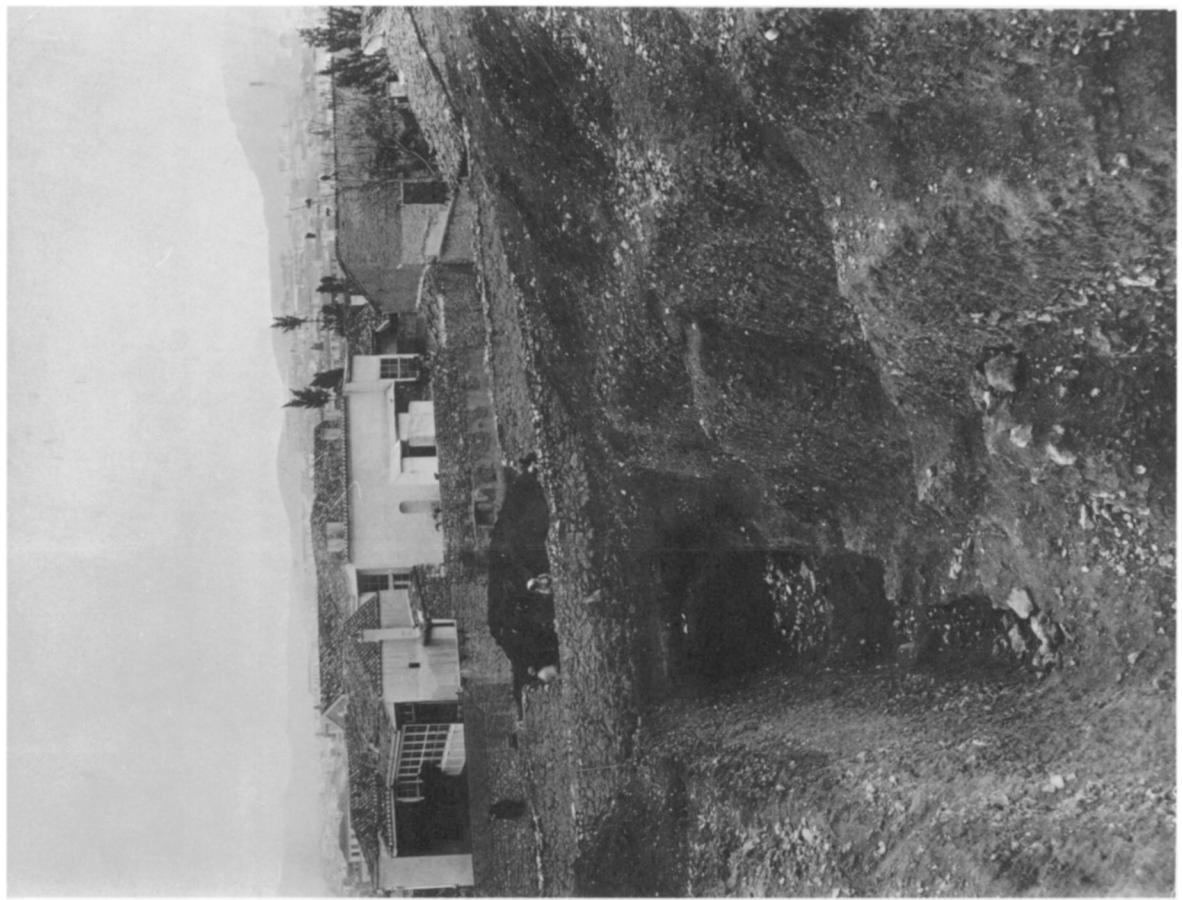
General Plan, Dörpfeld Excavations, 1892-1899. A. Areopagus Graves, 1897. B. West Slope Graves, 1895. C. Phinopoulos' Lot, 1898. *Antike Denkmäler*, II., Pl. 37 (with additional notations).

EVELYN L. SMITHSON: A GEOMETRIC CEMETERY ON THE AREOPAGUS: 1897, 1932, 1947



a. Dörpfeld Areopagus Trench, looking north toward Asteroskopioiu 25.

b. Dörpfeld Areopagus Trench, looking east. Stone packing of Grave AR III/IV on right; Grave AR II to left at a lower level.

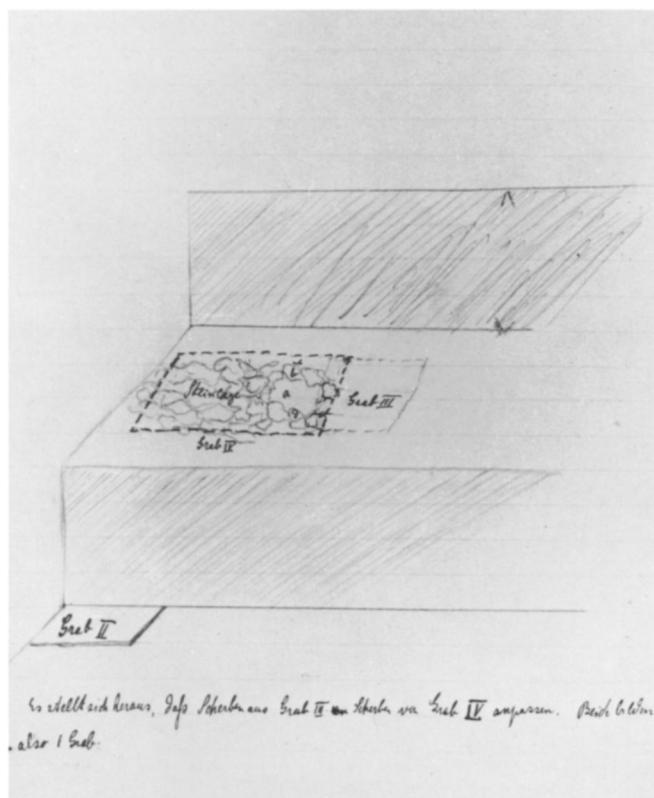


EVELYN L. SMITHSON: A GEOMETRIC CEMETERY ON THE AREOPAGUS: 1897, 1932, 1947

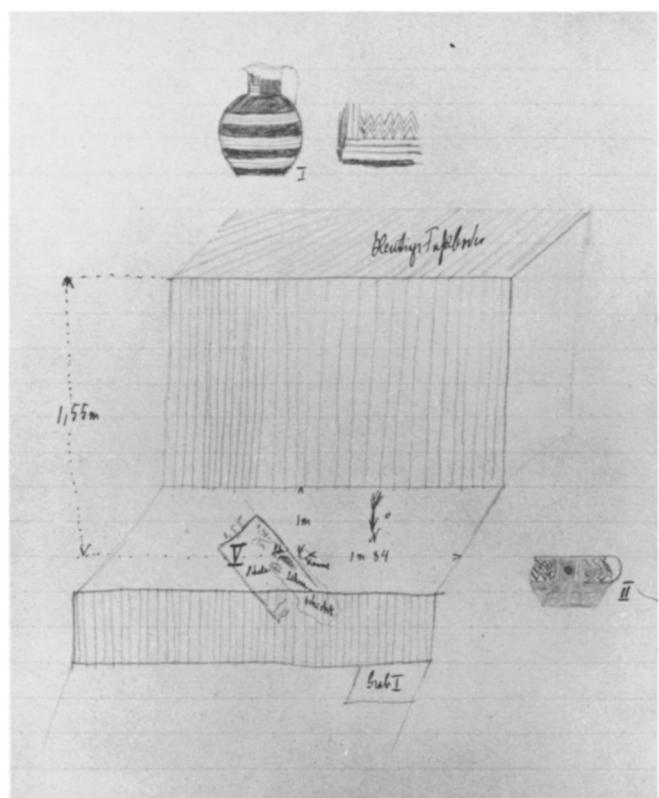
PLATE 68



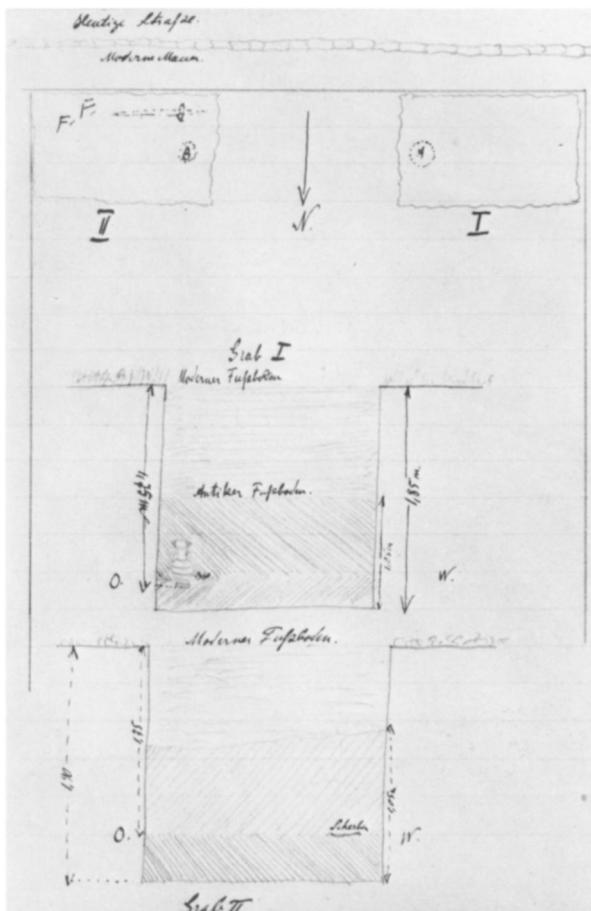
a. Dörpfeld Areopagus Trench, looking south to wall along Apollodorou. Grave AR I in upper right corner of trench (not yet cleared); Grave AR II in upper left. The sherds in the paper at the right are AR II-1.



b. Grave AR III/IV (Daybook sketch)



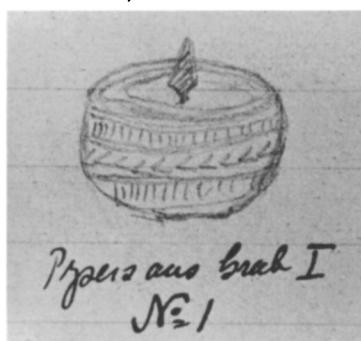
c. Grave AR V, with drawings of AR V-1 and 4 (Daybook sketch)



a. Graves AR I and AR II (Daybook sketch)



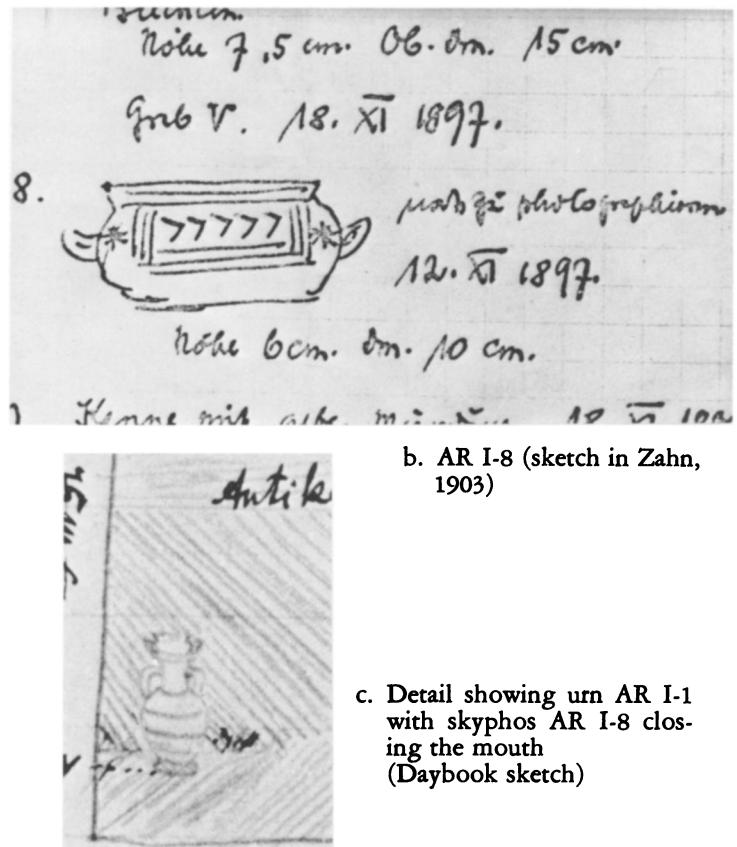
d. AR I-2, lid



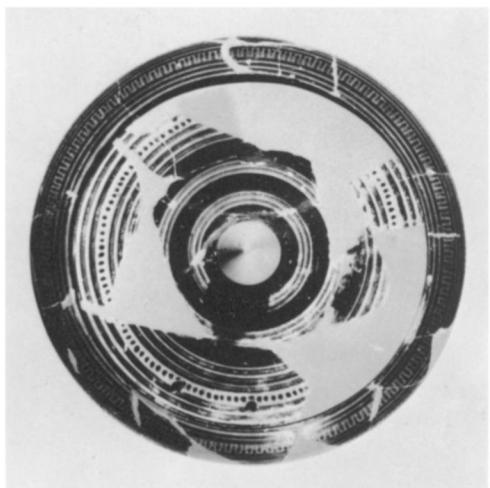
e. AR I-2 (Daybook sketch)



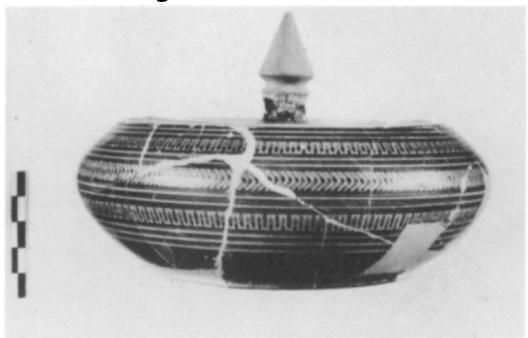
f. AR I-2



c. Detail showing urn AR I-1 with skyphos AR I-8 closing the mouth (Daybook sketch)



g. AR I-3, from above



h. AR I-3

PLATE 70



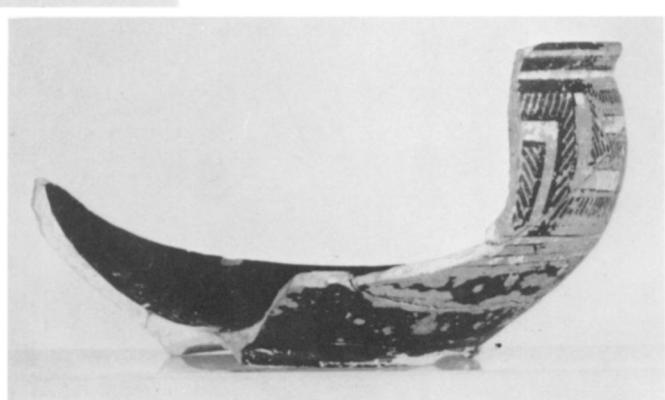
a. AR I-5



c. AR I-7, front



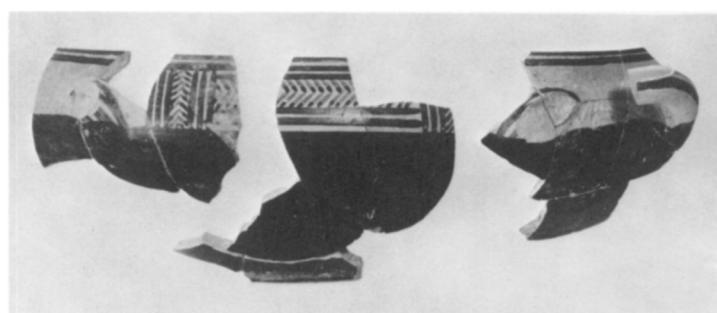
b. AR I-6



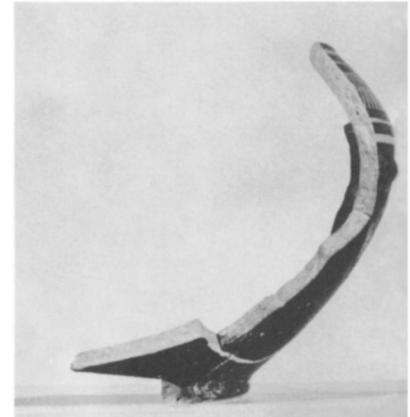
d. AR I-7, profile



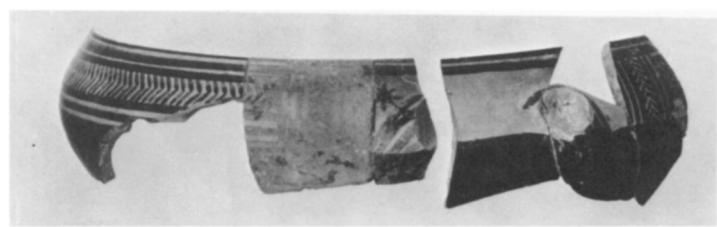
e. AR I-9 (Daybook sketch)



f. AR I-9



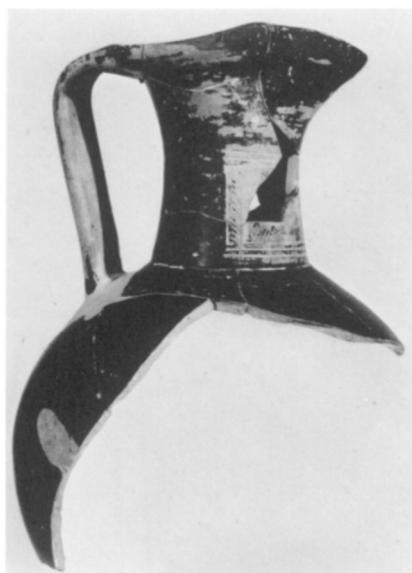
g. AR I-9, profile



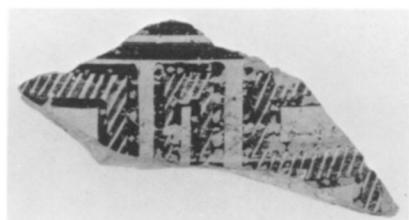
h. AR I-9



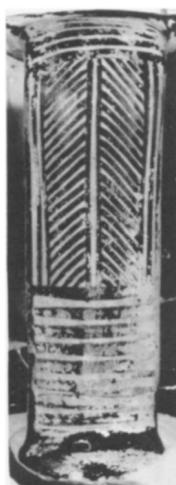
i. AR I-10 (Daybook sketch)



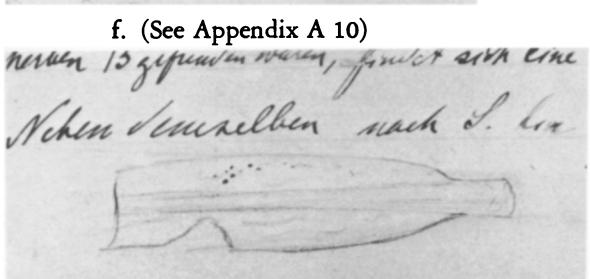
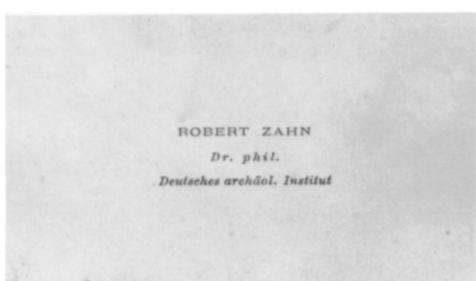
a. AR I-II:-1



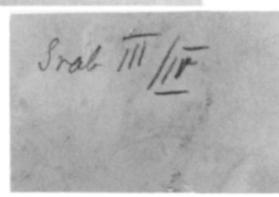
b. AR I-II:-2

c. AR I-II:1,  
detail of handle

e. AR I-II:-1, detail of neck



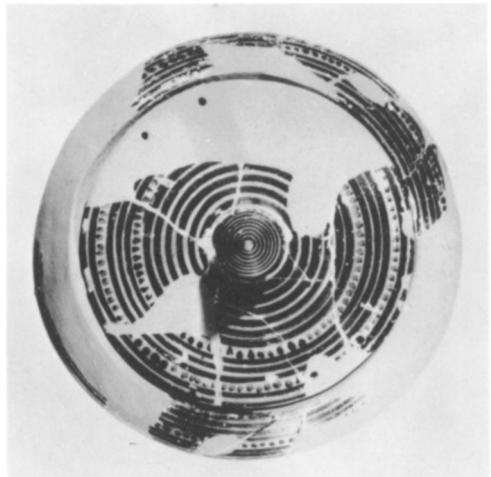
g. AR II-3 (Daybook sketch)

k. (See Appendix A 10  
and AR II-1)j. (See Appendix A 10  
and AR III/IV-1)

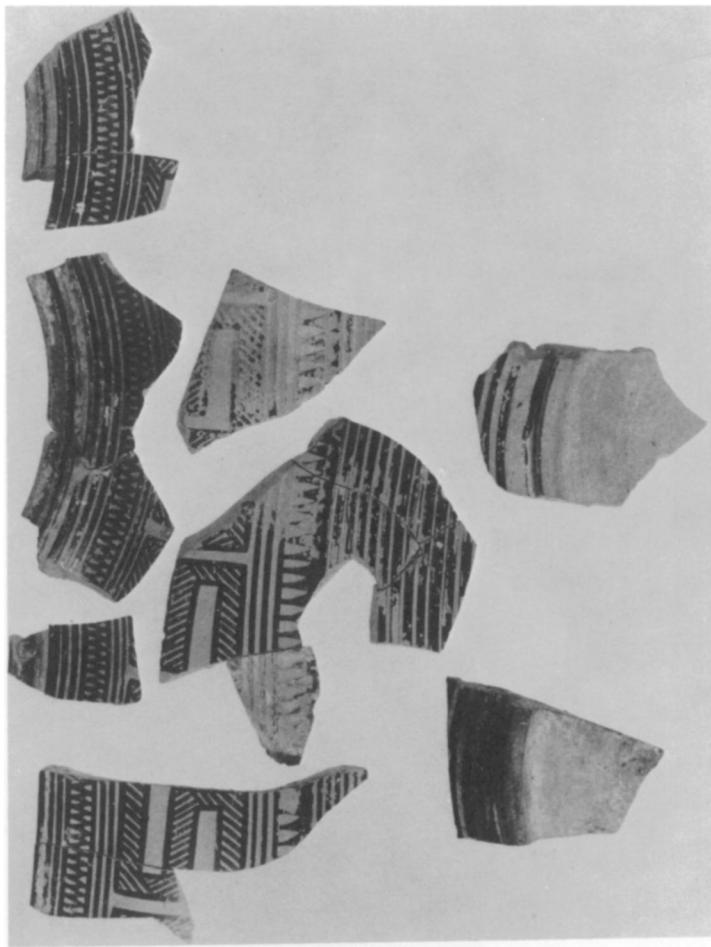
l. AR III/IV-1



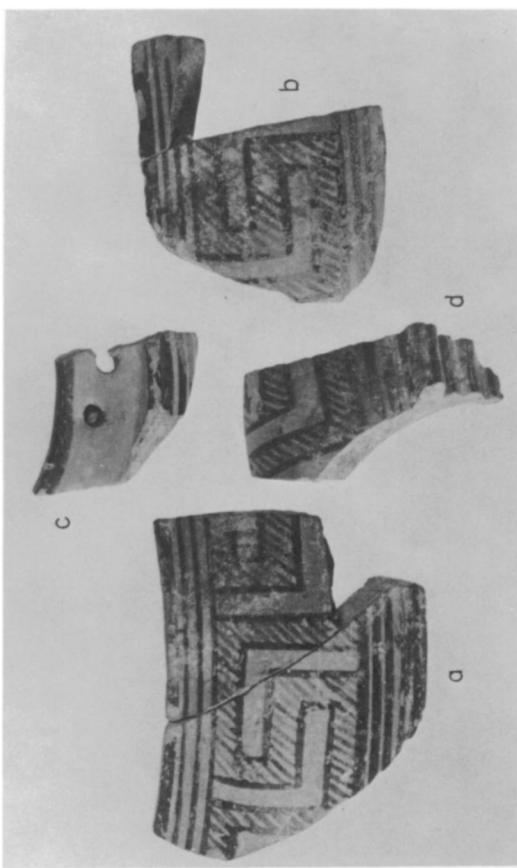
i. AR II-1



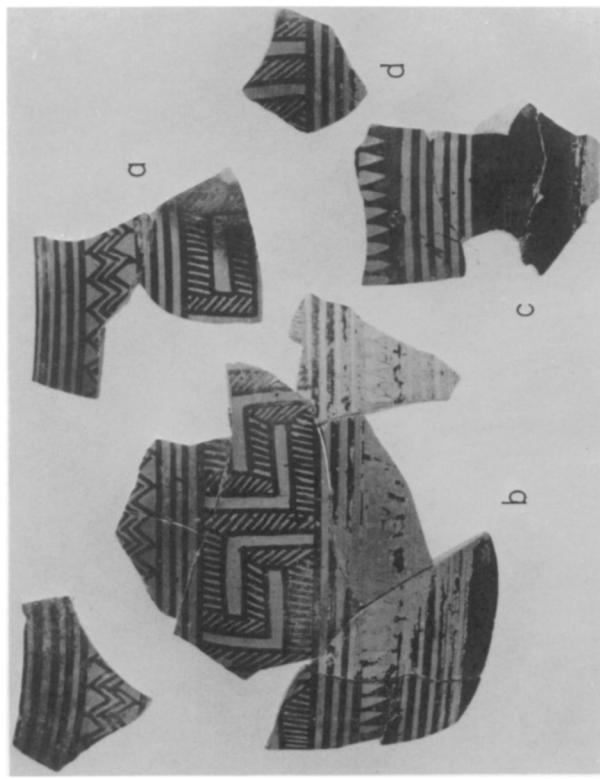
m. AR III/IV-1 from above



a. AR III/IV-2



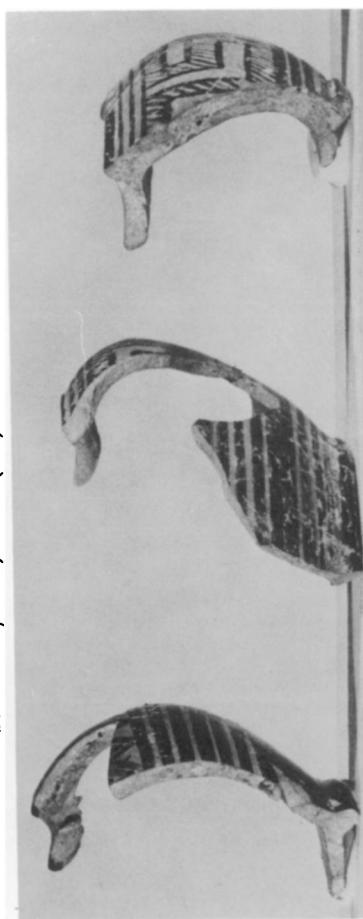
c. AR III/IV-3



d. AR III/IV-5

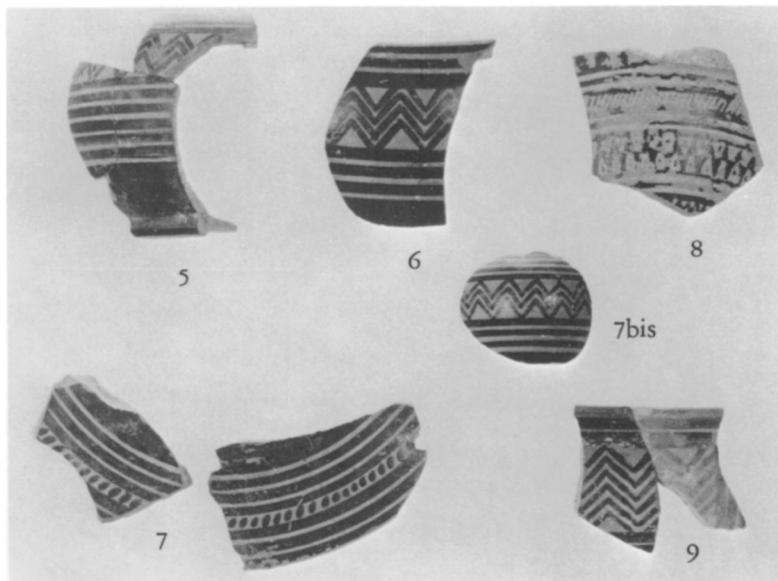


b. AR III/IV-2, detail (1:1)

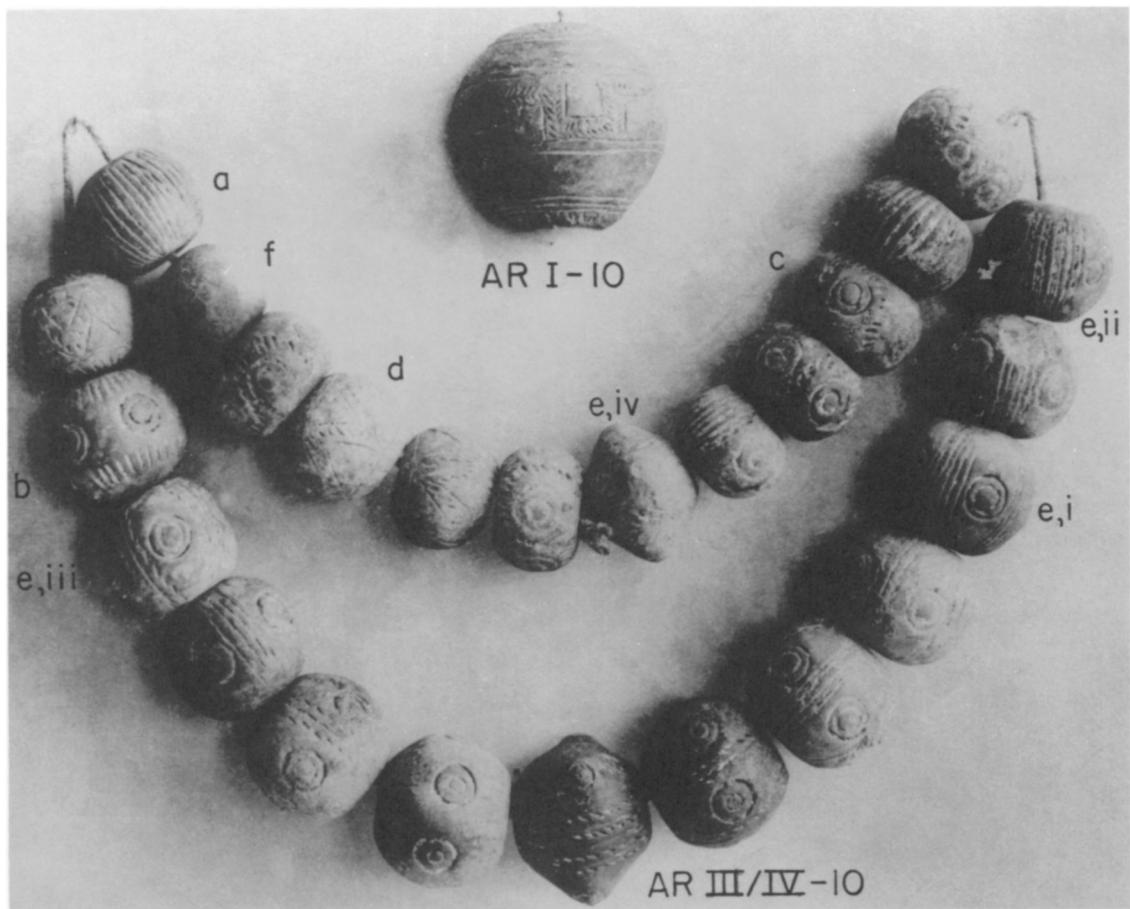


e. AR III/IV-4

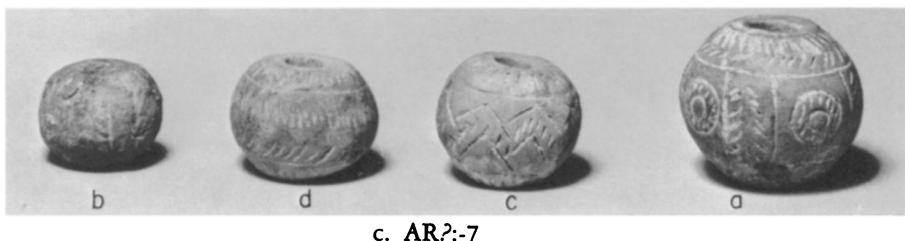
d. AR III/IV-4



a. Fragments from Grave AR III/IV



b. Attic Fine Handmade Incised Ware



c. AR?:-7

mit parallelen Rillen nach vorne  
eleg. abgeflacht. Auf der ein Stell  
der andere (b) aus Grab V.  
18 XI. 97.



Ich habe die Platte Dr. Leichner und dem Antiquarium  
als Helferwürde eingeworben, gebeten. Bitte auf Wunsch Kahane unterzuteilen.  
Ich habe Ihnen die Reste, d.h. die Aufbewahrungsort und Schrank genau und  
genau. Meinen Wisszen ist es nicht zu möglich zu behalten, so lange  
sie Ihnen nicht mit. Wenn Sie sie gewünscht wollen. Bitte ich an einige  
Provinzialen zu - antiken.

Meine Adresse in New York ist Endicott Hotel,  
81st St. and Columbus Avenue. New York, N.Y.  
Ich muss hoffentlich ab mit kommen 13. VII. 1937.

Und Gott sei Gruss Ihr gehorsame R. Falck

a. AR V-1 and AR?:-6. Zahn to Kahane, 1 March 1937, reverse.



b. AR V-1



c. AR V-4 (Daybook sketch)



e. AR V-3 (Daybook sketch)



f. AR V-1 (Daybook sketch)

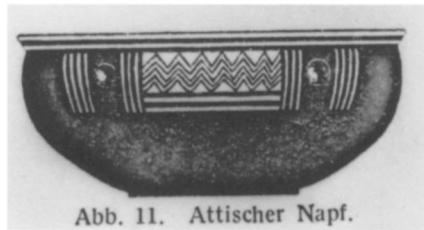


Abb. 11. Attischer Napf.

d. AR V-4. *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 59.



g. AR:-1



h. AR?:-6



i. Lids from grave area



a. Vases from Submycenaean Grave South of Amyneion: 1892



c. AR I-4



d. AR V-4

b. Grave I 18:1

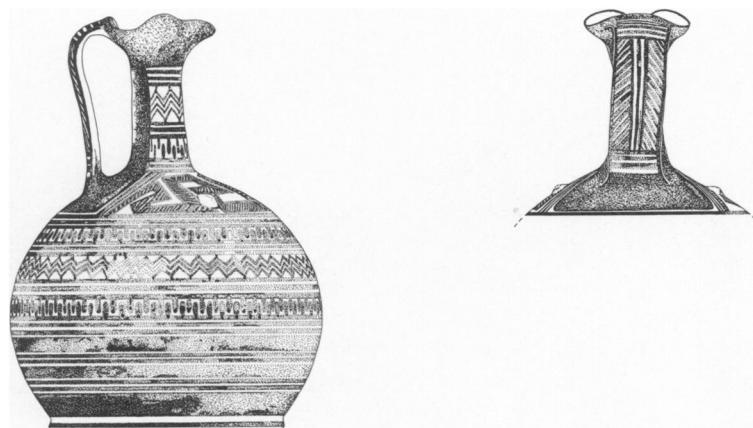
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PLATE 76



a-d. Grave I 18:1

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a. I 18:1-1



b. 1, bottom

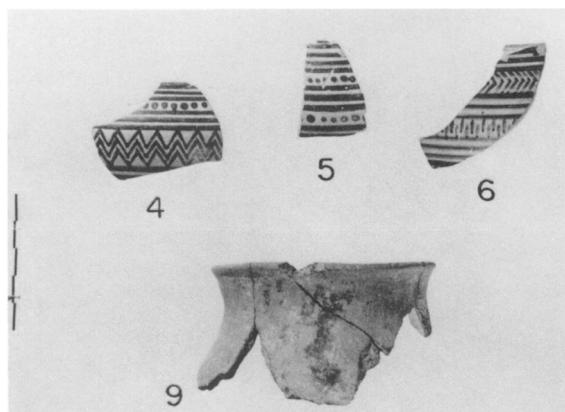


c. 2

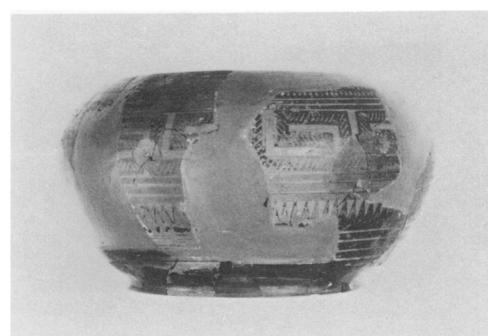
3

1

8



d.

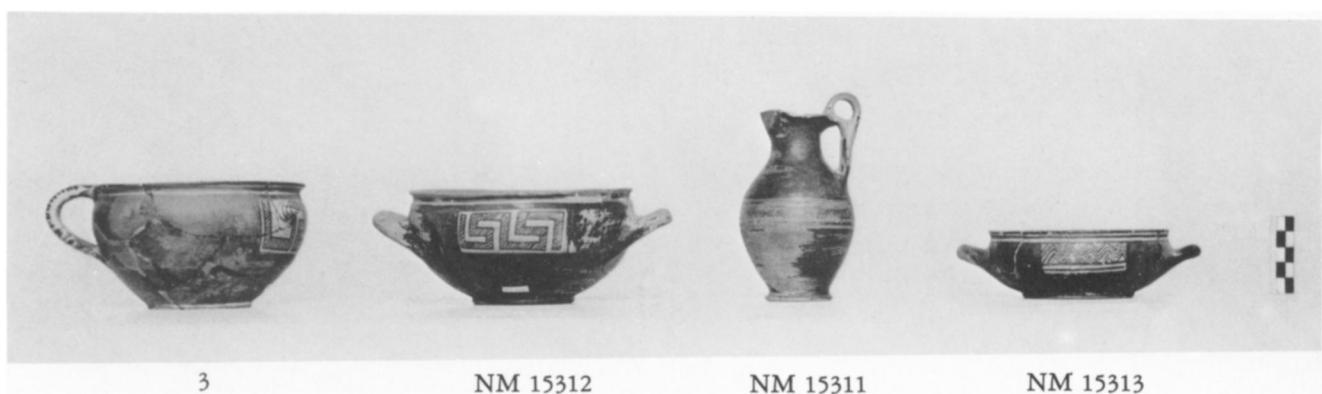
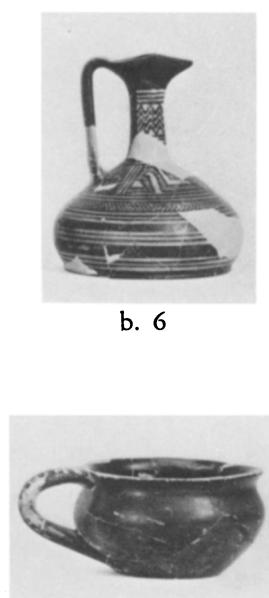
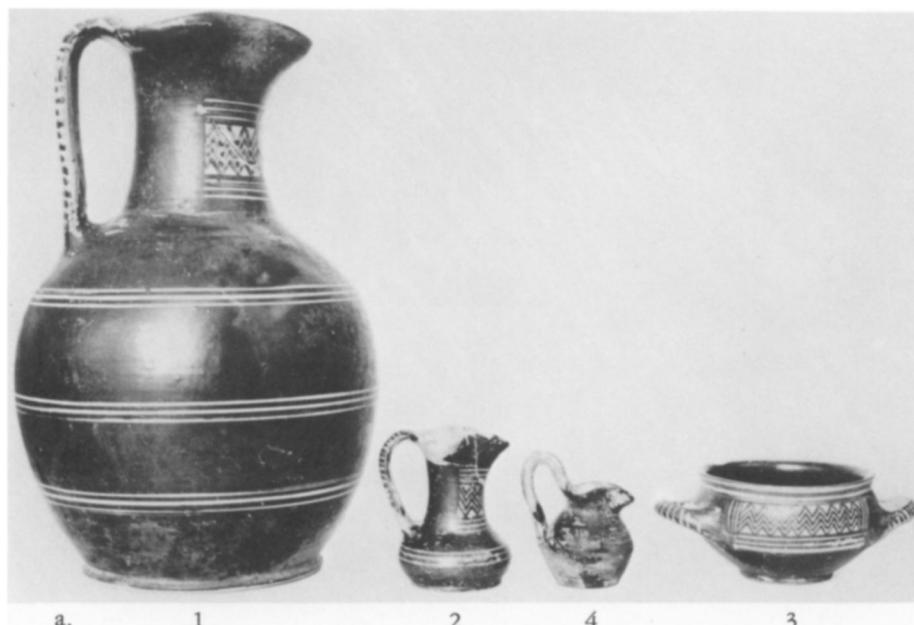


e. 7

b-e. Grave I 18:2

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PLATE 78

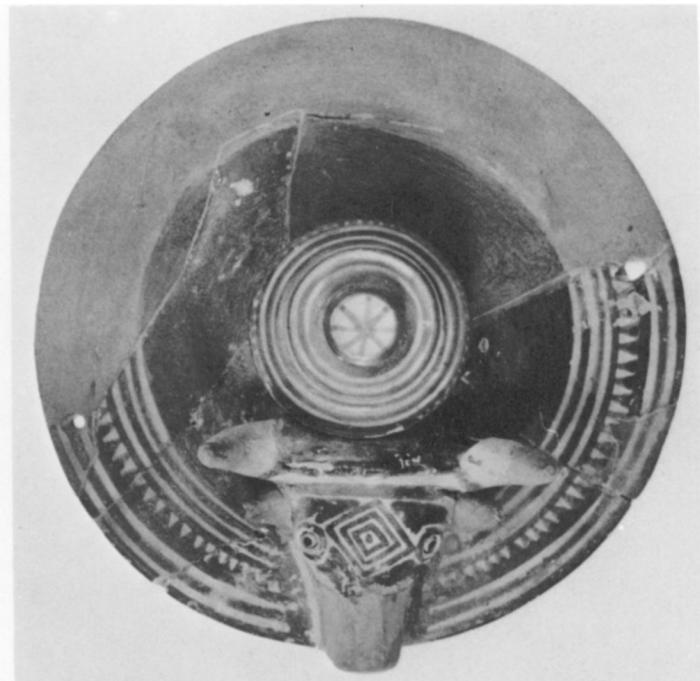


e. Grave Ph. I

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a. 1



b. NM 15318, lid

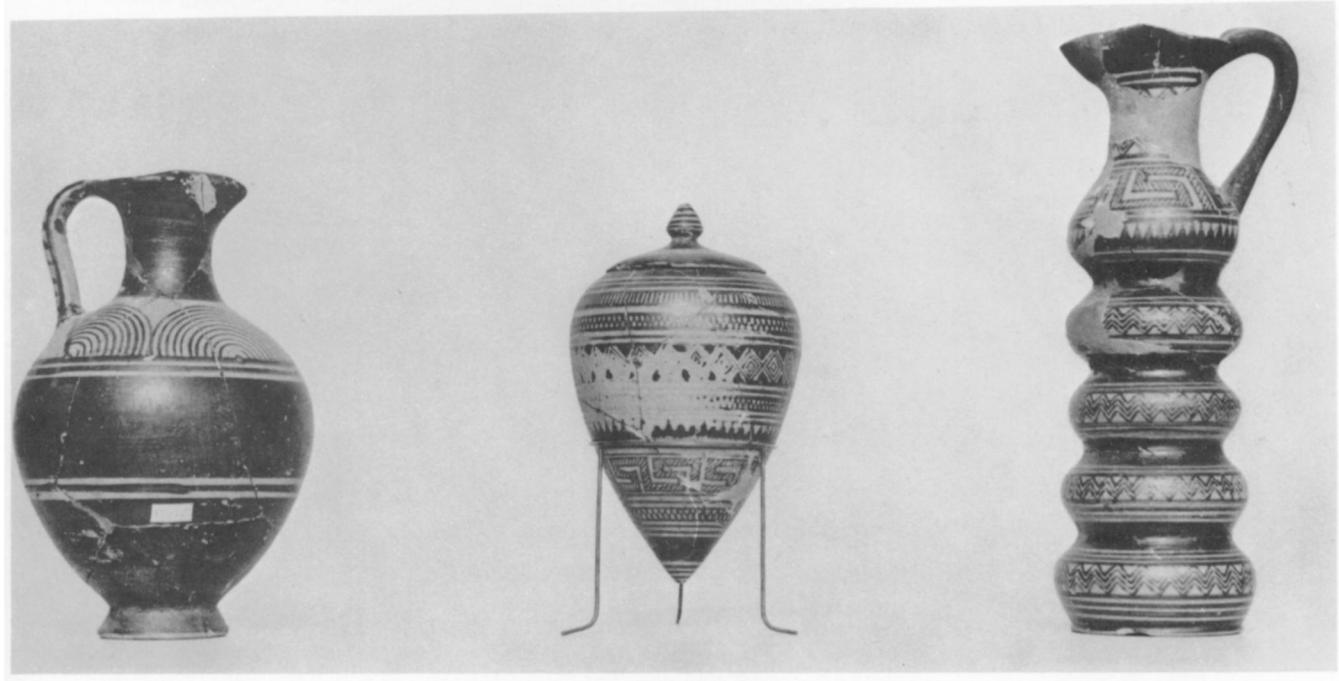


c. NM 15320

2

NM 15318

3



d. NM 15315

NM 15317

NM 15314

Grave Ph. II

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PLATE 80



a. NM 15322

NM 15325



b. ASP 20, provenience unknown



4. Aus einem Grab beim Areopag, Athen.

c. *Opuscula O. Montelio dictata*, p. 209



d. NM 15324

NM 15327



e. NM 15321

NM 15326

NM 15328

Vases probably from the Phinopoulos Lot ("Ph.")

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