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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. S. Benton. Excavations in Ithaca, III; The Cave at Polis, II . 1
2. S. Benton. The Date of the Cretan Shields . . . . 52
3. H. Thomas. The Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae . . 65
5. L. H. Jeffery. A Sixth-Century Poros Inscription from Attica. 90
LIST OF PLATES

EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III.
1. Rough Bronze-Age Pottery.
2. Early and Middle Bronze-Age Pottery.
3. Middle Helladic Pottery.
8. Mycenaean Kylikes.
9. Transitional (Mycenaean to Protogeometric) and Protogeometric Pottery.
12. Corinthian Vases and Ivory Figurine.
15. Fragments of 'West Slope' Ware.
18. Geometric and Archaic Terracottas.
19. Archaic and Classical Terracottas.
22. Archaic and Classical Terracottas.
23. Lamps, Coins and Seals.

THE DATE OF THE CRETAN SHIELDS.
25. 1 and 2, Bronze Lion from Palaikastro; 3, Protocorinthian Ring-Vase.

THE ACROPOLIS TREASURE FROM MYCENAE.
26. a, Gold Goblet, Athens 957.
    b, Clay Goblet from Attica.
27. a, Gold Cup, Athens 961.
    b, Detail of 26, a.
28. Gold Spiral Coils, Beads, Lion and Signet Rings.
LIST OF PLATES

A SIXTH-CENTURY POROS INSCRIPTION FROM ATTICA.
29. The Inscription.

UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS FROM BEROEA.
30. Inscriptions 1, 2 and 4–7.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

Excavations in Ithaca, III.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1.</td>
<td>Rough Bronze-Age Pottery</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 2.</td>
<td>Rough Bronze-Age Pottery</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs. 3-5.</td>
<td>Early and Middle Helladic Pottery</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs. 6-9.</td>
<td>Sections of Mycenaean, Geometric, East Greek and Rhodian Pottery</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 10.</td>
<td>Protogeometric Pottery</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 11.</td>
<td>Fragment of an Attic Cup</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 12.</td>
<td>Drawings from Corinthian Vases</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 13.</td>
<td>Sections of Corinthian Vases</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 14.</td>
<td>Sections of Attic Vases</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 15.</td>
<td>Sections of Plastic Bowls</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 16.</td>
<td>Sections of Red and Grey Ware</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs. 17, 18.</td>
<td>Hellenistic Pottery</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 19.</td>
<td>Inscribed Sherd</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 20.</td>
<td>Terracotta Reliefs</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 21.</td>
<td>Section of a Lamp</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 22.</td>
<td>Ivory Figurine</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 23.</td>
<td>Inscribed Sherd</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Date of the Cretan Shields.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1.</td>
<td>Detail of a Shield from Palaikastro</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 2.</td>
<td>Ivory Fibulae from Psychro</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1.</td>
<td>The Warrior Vase from Mycenae</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 2.</td>
<td>Gold Lion, Athens 991</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III
(PLATES 1–24).
THE CAVE AT POLIS, II.
3. CATALOGUE OF POTTERY.

I. BRONZE-AGE.

In the sites excavated by me in West Greece at Polis, at Graves near Astakos, at Halikais in Zakynthos, I cannot differentiate the rough pithoi of the Early and Late Bronze-Age. Lug forms ¹ which occur in Macedonia and Thessaly in the Early Bronze-Age appear to be still in use in the Late Bronze-Age. At Graves and at Halikais the specific forms of the Early Bronze-Age, levigated pottery, such as sauce-boats and handles with triangular section are not in common use in Mycenaean deposits. (Middle Bronze-Age forms and decoration do overlap into and influence the Mycenaean period.) I have therefore catalogued together all the rough pottery found at Polis, except a few vases which are definitely Mycenaean in shape, and then ascribed the remaining vases to their categories.² There is very little levigated EH pottery at Polis and it seems likely that much of the rest of the EH pottery is late or transitional to the Middle Bronze-Age. The only pure (or nearly pure) Middle Bronze-Age deposit yet found in Ithaca is the small one at ‘P., First hole’,³ but the presence of the Middle Bronze-Age people in West Greece is proved by graves in Kephallenia ⁴ and Leukas,⁵ and no doubt their settlements will eventually be discovered.

Contacts with Macedonia are noticed when they occur.

(a) Rough Pottery (Early–Late Bronze-Age).

Pithoi with straight, thick rims and flat bases.⁶

¹ (Fig. 1 and Pl. 1). Dia. of base 0·14 m., of rim 0·248 m. Dark, coarse clay, gritty surface. Band of low finger-marking and four rudimentary lugs. C 1, 1·25–1·40 m. below datum.

² E.g. Nos. 5, 6 below, p. 2. Fig. 1 and Pl. 1.

³ I note that Valmin Céramique Primitive Messénienne (B. de Lund. 1937) has not been able to attribute the rough pre-historic pottery at Malthi to different periods. Otherwise it is strikingly different from the rough pottery found at Polis.

⁴ See below p. 7.

⁵ Excavated by Kabbadias and unpublished. See Benton BSA XXXII Pl. 40c p. 222.

⁶ The F. graves Dörpfeld All-Ithaka Pl. 73.

⁷ These vases bear a general resemblance to the pithoi of the R. graves at Leukas (All-Ithaka beil 67).
2 (Fig. 1). Dia. of base 0·16 m. Raised plastic band of finger-marking at the horizontal handles. C 1, 0·60–1·25 m. below datum.

3. Rim with a plain ledge instead of finger-marking. Clay similar, E 3, 1–1·50 m. above datum.

4. Large portions of a large red jar of this type. C 1, 1·10–1·40 below datum.

5 (Fig. 1 and Pl. 1). Dia. of base 0·176 m., of rim 0·448 m. Part of base with the body, and part of the rim of a red jar. It had four arcades forming lugs.¹

---

6. Two ‘arcaded’ lugs of another jar exist (shape of rim uncertain), parts of it polished inside. Above and below datum.

7. Base like No. 1, but lighter clay. There are two others.

8 (Fig. 1). Dia. 0·378 m. Rim, some polish. D 3, 0–0·50 above datum. Another similar.

9. Dia. 0·248 m. Rim, mark of an oblong horizontal lug with a peg-hole.² C and D 2, 0–0·90 m. below datum.

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¹ Cf. Tsoundas and Manatt Dimini and Sesklo p. 262 Fig. 169. Similar vases were found in an early Bronze-Age layer at Armenochori in Macedonia (to be published). Common at Malthi (Valmin op. cit. Pls. 1 and 2).

² Contrast No. 28 (Pl. 1), which is inserted through the wall.
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III

10 (Fig. 1). Dia. 0·39 m. Rim of a jar. C and D 2, 0·0–0·90 m. below datum. A lug does not join, but belongs. C 1, 0·60–0·90 m. below datum.

11 (Fig. 1). Dia. 0·11 m. Base probably belongs to No. 10.

12 (Fig. 1). Dia. 0·196 m. Rim and part of the body. C 1, 0·1 m. below datum. The Mycenaean layer.

13 (Pl. 1). Frilly, plastic arch and part of another. Similar colouring and fabric to No. 11. Two other vases with this decoration. C and D 2, 0·0–0·90 m. below datum.

14 (Fig. 1 and Pl. 1). Red, well-polished, much-everted rim with an incipient forked lug 2 below. C 1, 0·50 m. below datum.

15 (Fig. 1 and Pl. 1). Rim with finger-marking below, well polished inside. Below, an arcaded lug. For similar lugs see Nos. 5 and 6. Thick walls and a thin rim D 1, 0·0–0·50 m. above datum.

16 (Fig. 1 and Pl. 1). Dia. 0·164 m. Orange-and-grey rim, well polished inside. Below, a necklace of punctures, above and below datum.

Out-curving bases.

17 (Fig. 1). Dia. 0·128 m. Base C 1, 0·0–0·50 m. below datum. Six other similar bases.

‘Pellet’ ware.

This ware did not reach East Greece, though it is common in the Northern Balkans. Single sherds have been found at Zakynthos, Astakos, Leukas. A good deal was found at Dodona, and Mr. Hammond reports it from many Epirot sites. Sherds of this ware from the Neolithic site at Molfetta are in the Bari Museum. It has been found in a pure Mycenaean deposit at Tris Langadas, Ithaca.

Amphora.

18 (Pl. 1). H. 0·324 m., dia. of rim 0·205 m., of base 0·10 m. Restored a third of the rim, half the base, and half the body. Marks of two vertical handles on the rim and body. The neck is straight and plain as far as the spring of the handles. Then a necklace has been scooped out with a gouge. Below little blobs of clay have been thrown on to the body, so that it is as it were harled. Badly made, lop-sided: brown clay. Rim slightly polished C 1, 0·1 m. below datum, in the Mycenaean deposit.

---

1 Similarly decorated vases were found in an early Bronze-Age stratum at Armenochori in Macedonia.
2 For a real forked lug see No. 28 (Pl. 1). For one knob below a rim of this nature, cf. Kunze *Ochomenos* II Pl. XI 2, e.
3 See *Alt-Ithaka* beil 67, 68a R. 13b. Common at Malthi (Valmin Pls. 1 and 2).
4 Cf. *Alt-Ithaka* beil 84a.
5 *CVA, Zagreb* I Pls. 36, 15 and 37, 7 from Vučedol: V. Dumitrescu, *Dacia* II p. 68 Fig. 36, 17; *ibid.* p. 69 Fig. 39, 5 and 7 all from Gulmenita.
6 To be published in the *BSA*.
7 *BSA* XXXII p. 134 Fig. 3. His ‘Mammiform Ware’ seems to include (a) single, semi-functional knobs (pp. 135, 137, c 1), (b) black ware with rows of knobs (p. 138 note 2), *BSA* XXIX, Fig. 43 besides (c) the rough, unpolished pottery which I wish to call Pellet ware.
8 Cf. *Alt-Ithaka*, R graves, beil 83b, from Choiropilia; for shape cf. beil 67 R. 13c.
Small 'Pellet' vases.

Badly baked, no polish and little smoothness. Colours vary from red to black.
19 (Fig. 2). Dia. 0.122 m. Rim grey. C 1, 0.60-0.90 m. below datum.
20-21 (Pl. i). Widish necks, with plastic necklaces. Both C 1, 0.60-0.90 m. below datum.
22 (Fig. 2). Dia. 0.074. Red base, part of body. D 1, 0-0.80 m. below datum.

Similar rims.

23 (Fig. 2 and Pl. i). Rim like No. 22 in fabric, with plastic moulding, B 1, 1.20-1.40 m. below datum.
24 (Pl. 1). Similar.

![Diagram of vases and rims]

**Fig. 2.—ROUGH BRONZE-AGE POTTERY.**

Scale, 1:2.

25 (Fig. 2 and Pl 1). Rim grey with plastic adjunct; inside orange, smoother than the foregoing. C and D 2, 0-0.90 m. below datum.

Some flat bases belong to the 'Pellet' group, perhaps also the following.

26 (Fig. 2). Base, dia. 0.05 m. Large sherd showing signs of polish inside, traces of handle. D 2, 1-1.60 m. above datum.

27 (Fig. 2). H. 0.086 m. Bowl with rim and base just showing. Red clay, traces of white paint.

Unattached lugs.

28 (Pl. 1). Forked lug,¹ made to go through the wall of the pot. Outside orange, inside black. D. 1, 0.60-1.15 m. below datum.

---

¹ Cf. Wace and Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* p. 156 i (γ ware at Zerelia).
30, 31. Two fragmentary rectangular lugs.

Top (?)

32 (Fig. 1). Object like a mushroom with two stalks, one each side; red ware, traces of polish. C 1, below sea-level.

Bowl with a straight rim and a flat base.

33 (Pl. 1). H. 0-133 m., dia. of rim 0-29 m., of base 0-15 m. About two-thirds missing. A swelling below the rim may indicate an "arcaded" lug.¹ Colour varies from yellow to black. Upper part slightly polished. Bottom red and gritty. Above and below datum.

(b) Early Helladic.

Unlevigated, polished.

Bows with incurving rims.

1 (Fig. 3). H. 0-126 m., dia. of rim 0-212 m., of base 0-11 m. Section only.² Well-polished, pink rim shading to black. Clay, hard, dark, coarse. Above and below datum.
2 (Fig. 3). Dia. of base 0-066 m., of rim 0-288 m. Section not complete, but nearly so, and the base belongs. Fine, black polish; near base, criss-cross tooling. Clay as before. C 1, 0-40-0-60 m. below datum.
3 (Fig. 3). Dia. 0-38. Rim with a smooth polish. Good workmanship. E, 1-1-50 m. above datum.

Tankards and cups with everted rims.

There are a few rims and handles with a very high polish, which must belong to the beginning of the Early Bronze-Age, but they are fragmentary. The following have a less good polish and belong to the end of this period.

4. Dia. 0-162 m. Rim and high vertical handle. Perhaps to be reconstructed with an omphalos base. There are eight other similar rims.

5 (Fig. 3). Dia. of rim 0-07 m., of base 0-033 m. Flattish handle below the rim, inside orange and grey, outside pink and grey. Remains of polish on the rim, plastic finger-marking, below, triangular cuts, C 1, 0-1 m. below datum. An omphalos base may belong. D 1, 0-60-1-15 m. below datum.³

6 (Pl. 2). Dia. of rim 0-164 m., of base 0-068 m. Similar. Pink and grey: closer cuts: no finger-marking. C and D 2, 0-0-90 m. below datum.

7. Similar but undecorated. Slightly wider and shorter handle. C and D 2, 0-0-90 m. below datum. Top of another.

8 (Pl. 2). This handle, which is black, rough and worn, is exactly like the Pelikata handles, but it has a low rim. Black, gritty ware. C and D 2, 0-0-90 m. below datum.

9 (Fig. 4). Dia. 0-046 m. Base: red polish, must belong to a recurving rim.
10. Dia. 0-025 m. Dark, omphalos base.

¹ I have not found an exact parallel, but cf. the rough cooking-pot found at Aetos, Heurtley BSA XXXIII p. 57, Fig. 37.
² This shape is not unlike that of Neolithic bowls from Dimini. Tsoundas Dimini and Seskelo Pl. 20; but shapes not unlike are also found in Bronze-Age layers, Goldman, Eutresis fig. 132; Kunze Orchomenos III abb. 25, p. 63a.
³ The general shape of these handles is like those found in Macedonia, Heurtley BSA XXIX p. 167, Fig. 44.
⁴ Heurtley BSA XXXV No. 92 pp. 26, 28, Fig. 23.
Levigated.

Spouted vases.

11, 12 (Fig. 4). Parts of spouts, probably belonging to sauce-boats.
13 (Fig. 4). Rim not at the spout. Red glaze paint, red clay.

Incurving rim.

14. Part of a rim like No. 3 (Fig. 3 above).

Painted Vases.

a. Light on Dark.

15 (Fig. 4). Part of the neck of beaked jug. Well-fired, levigated, grey clay; hard, rough to the touch. Outside, thin, black glaze-paint, with three matt white lines. C 1, 0·050–0·05 m. below datum.

Dark on Light.

16. Flaring lip of coarse vessel. Dia. 0·182 m. Thin line of paint on the neck. I have found similar ware at Astakos in an Early Helladic context.
17. (Pl. 2). Part of a base, dia. 0·098 m. Partly levigated (some white bits in it), soft, reddish clay. Unslipped, matt, red paint on buff. The inside is like that of Neolithic pottery. The sherds have a general resemblance to Neolithic pottery from Astakos (unpublished). C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

Incised pottery. 3

18 (Fig. 4 and Pl. 2). Tankard or bowl handle. 4 Soft, levigated, orange clay. On the handle five circles above an inscribed circle. Drawing irregular and surface bad. The rim is everted. Stratified in D 1, in the pre-Mycenaean layer.
19 (Pl. 2). Vertical handle. Rough, incised lines, 5 clay coarse; outside light, inside dark, polished. Uncertain category.
20 (Fig. 4). Thickness 0·012 m. Part of a rounded lug ornamented with low raised lines that cross. 6

(c) Middle Helladic.

Minyan.

1 (Fig. 5). Blue Minyan; handle of a keeled bowl. Several bits of other bowls. D 1, 0–1 m. below datum.
2 (Fig. 5). Grey Minyan; sharply everted rim, probably also of a keeled bowl. Other fragments. 7

1 Cf. Orchomenos III Pl. XXXII 4a. The Orchomenos material makes it probable that this vase is Early Helladic, and not connected with Crete, though the technique of the paint is extremely like that of M.M.I. vases. Cf. also light on dark painted vases in Leukas. See ref. given Orchomenos III p. 94 notes 3 and 4 and on p. 88, 2.
2 See Kunze Orchomenos II pp. 32, 33.
3 Contrast the large quantity found at Malthi (Valmin Pl. II) but how singularly unfortunate the excavator has been to find this pottery in 260 places (p. 11) and not to be able to suggest a single shape. It is difficult to discuss an abstract fabric, sine forma.
5 Cf. Blegen Zygouries Pl. VI.
6 Cf. Alt. Ithaka bell 56d.
7 Cf. Eutresis p. 137, 2.
3 (Fig. 5). Dia. 0·24 m. Similar. Rather clumsy, sharply everted rim. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.
4. Small, vertical handle. There is also larger, vertical handle, in quality more like the Northern version of Minyan found in Macedonia.
5 (Pl. 2). Dia. 0·072 m. Two handles of a kantharos.² It is hand-made with a good surface, most like red Minyan. Above and below datum.
6. Rim. Similar fabric, but paler. The angles are sharp. Spring of a horizontal handle below the rim. There are a few fragments of cream-coloured, Minyan-like ware resembling Middle Bronze-Age at Astakos.

Painted Pottery.

Most of this pottery is like the ware from the Aphrodite temple at Aegina.
7 (Pl. 3). Fragments from the body of a pithos. Matt-black paint on an undressed surface: usual soft clay. C and D 1, 0–0·50 m. below datum.
8 (Pl. 3). Similar, with a reddish tinge. Clay has grey particles: black paint. B, above datum.
9 (Pl. 3). Dia. 0·204 m. Rim and upper part of a large bowl with horizontal handles.³ The clay is greenish, the paint black. In parts the surface is slightly polished, like wheel-made LH IIIC. D, 0·50 m. below datum.
10. Vertical handle. Like MH ware under Mycenaean influence found at Aegina. D, 0–1 m. below datum.
11 (Fig. 5). Bowl with a horizontal handle, polished surface. The fabric is like that of little bowls found at Graves Astakos, and three wavy lines hanging down is a common decoration on jugs found there with Mycenaean pottery, and under Mycenaean influence. D, 0·40–0·70 m. below datum.⁴
12 (Fig. 5 and Pl. 3). Neck of a jug. There are similar patterns on a jug of Mycenaean shape at Argostoli.⁵

Fluted bowl.

13 (Pl. 2). H. 0·10 m. Dia. of rim 0·098 m. Round base. Restored vertical handles above the thin, everted rim; keeled and fluted. Grey, lightly polished, levigated. Northern type, but it is not certain whether it belongs to the earlier or to the later Danubian invasion,⁶ probably, from its quality, it belongs to the later invasion. C 1, 0–0·50 m. below datum.

Middle Helladic deposit at a site called P., first hole.

Near the corner of the bay there was a hole in the ground. At the mouth of this the following sherds were found. Within the hole was a network of passages in the conglomerate, too small to penetrate. About two square metres was opened up and carried down to sea-level without result.

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¹ Such rims are rather popular in Western Minyan; there are a good many in Kephallenia. Cf. BSA XXXII Pl. 40c.
² Heurtley, Saratse (BSA XXX) p. 131, Fig. 16b.
³ Clay, paint and patterns are those of Actos No. 106 from the Cairns (BSA XXXIII p. 57). Like that of No. 106, the shape is derived from the Early Bronze-Age. Cf. Kunze Orchomenos II Pl. XVII 2.
⁶ Heurtley Vardino (LAAA XII) Pl. X, 9.
The levigated sherds resemble C3 Macedonian ware, particularly Nos. 11–13. They are also like MH pottery found at Graves Astakos and No. 10 above, p. 7. There is a little rough pottery.

Levigated.
Monochrome.
Soft, reddish clay, slightly polished, whitish surface.
P. 1. Much-everted rim; may belong to No. 6.
P. 2. Vertical handle of a low bowl, easily to be reconstructed with a flat base.
P. 3. Part of the side of a low-keeled bowl.
P. 4. Horizontal handle of a Mycenaean shape.
P. 5, 6 (Pl. 3). Two flat, vertical handles.
P. 7 (Pl. 3). Wish-bone handle.1 Another similar.

Painted2 (same ware).
P. 8 (Fig. 5 and Pl. 3). Handle like No. 5, but thinner. Thin, matt-black paint; horizontal bars on the handle bounded by two vertical lines; bars at the foot of the handle. Very neat work; cf. Bouboushté ware.3
P. 9 (Fig. 5 and Pl. 3). Dia. 0.066 m. Flat base with lines4 trailing down on to it. Like Bouboushté ware.
P. 10 (Pl. 3). Parts of the body of a large vase. Wavy, red lines between black, straight ones.5
P. 11 (Pl. 3). Fragment like Nos. 7 and 8 (Pl. 3).

(d) Mycenaean.

There is very little Mycenaean pottery at Polis which could have been imported from the Argolid.6 A certain amount closely resembles pottery found at Mycenae, but may very well be home-made.7 These two varieties I have called LH IIIb. There is a great deal which bears the stamp of Mycenaean culture along with marked peculiarities of shape and decoration which I believe to be local. This class of pottery I have called LH IIIc. Finally I have isolated a small group of vases under the name Transition.8 On grounds of decoration and technique, supported by recent stratigraphic evidence from the Kerameikos,9 I place these10 at the end of the period, perhaps about 1050 B.C.

The clay is red, often very red. It nearly always has a white slip, which

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1 See Heurtley BSA XXVII Pl. III b, 5.
2 Some of the plain ware may have originally been painted.
3 Heurtley BSA XXVIII p. 178 Fig. 26, 3; jug handle with similar pattern.
4 For undistal trailing triangles cf. Heurtley BSA XXVIII p. 175c; Aetos ibid., XXXIII p. 56 No. 105.
5 Cf. Blegen, Korakou p. 29.
6 Nos. 17, 40–43a, 54, 55.
7 E.g. No. 5.
8 Below p. 16.
9 Below p. 16.
10 Perhaps the following should also be placed with them—8, 66. I shall not be surprised if later evidence shows that much of the pottery I have called LH IIIc is really proto-Geometric, especially the kantharoi on high feet.
often has a green tinge. The paint has suffered from sea water and the general effect is dingy. There are no naturalistic patterns.¹

**Large Jugs.**

Large jugs with a vertical handle on the rim, two horizontal handles at the side, and a cut-away neck. No example is complete, and the shape is not found elsewhere.² Nos. 2, 3 could not have been lifted by the neck alone, and though trumpet mouths are scarce, there are many cut-away necks and many horizontal handles. Bases are flat, except one high base.³

All light on dark. Nos. 1–8 represent fragments of about thirty vases. They are generally of soft clay with a white wash which is susceptible to salt water. Except for the spirals on Nos. 9 and 10 and an occasional loop at the neck, their decoration consists of broad bands of paint. Sometimes (e.g. Nos. 4, 5) the paint is good. The shape is a modification of hydria and jug, but the date must be uncertain.

As nearly all of them have been mended, they seem to have survived as dedications after their period of usefulness was over. Are they the amphorae which Homer places in the cellars of Odysseus?⁴ They have two handles on their sides, and how else was Homer to characterise them?

Most of the jugs were found in a Mycenaean deposit 0·50–1 metre below sea level. The conditions of excavation in 1931 were such that it was impossible to observe differences of stratification, and none were visible in 1932, when much of the deposit had gone. These large light on dark vases were probably below the cups and kylizes of class c, some of which were found in this deposit.

The lip of these jugs is the forerunner of the trefoil mouth, and the descendant of the Anatolian jugs with cut-away necks.

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¹ (Pl. 4). Restored part of the neck and a large part of the body. Section incomplete. Buff-coloured clay, greenish surface. Decoration below the neck. The lip has been cut near the handle before firing. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

² Dia. of neck 0·18 m., thickness 0·015 m. It must have been over 1 m. high: bevel round the neck. Reddish clay, greenish slip, no decoration, much mended. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

³ (Pl. 4). Dia. of neck 0·15 m., at the rim 0·14 m. Another large neck, fairly complete lip; traces of loops on the neck and chest. Buff clay and paint. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

⁴ Part of the body near the foot. The vase was at least 0·70 m. high. Warm red clay, unslipt: two sets of streaky red stripes. Much mended: inside there are deep grooves. LH IIIb? C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

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¹ No. 19 is too uncertain to count as an exception.

² Large trumpet-mouthed hydriae have been found at Zakynthos and Astakos. For large store vases cf. the stirrup vases found at Thebes (Ἀρχ. Ἑπ. 1909 p. 98 Fig. 16). Cf. also a jug in Kephallenia (Ἀρχ. Ἑπ. 1932 Pl. 5 No. 22) from Lakkithra.

³ High bases probably belonging to hydriae were found at Astakos and Zakynthos.

⁴ Od. II 290.
5 (Pl. 4). Part of a smaller jug with thick walls. Clay bright red, surface white, three thick black bands shading to red. Random fluting. Cf. krater No. 14 (Fig. 12). Much mended in antiquity. LH IIIb? C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

6, 7 (Pl. 5). Two sherds from the same or similar vases below the neck. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

8 (Pl. 5). Handle of a classical shape. Metallic paint. This vase may be later than the others. C 3, 0·0–0·70 m. below datum.

8a–d (Pl. 5). Four vertical jug-handles, three twisted, one grooved.

8e. Fragments of trumpet-mouthed hydria.

Small jugs.

9. The base and neck of a thin jug. Above the base, three brown bands; round the neck, a band with a loop. Thin buff clay. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

10. (Pl. 7). Handle, neck, and shoulders of a small late jug, LH IIIc. Below bulge, three bands: in front, a bisected triangle. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

11. Sherd from the neck of a jug showing a spiral. Perhaps LH IIIb. C 3, 0·20–0·70 m. below datum.

12. Tip of a jug with the point of a cross-hatched triangle or lozenge like those on kantharoi. LH IIIc. D 2, 1·50–1 m. above datum.

Three-handled Jar.

13 (Pl. 4). H. 0·363 m., dia. 0·30 m. Clay, buff. Three vertical loop handles. Black paint, reserved space between the handles. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

Krater.

14. (Pl. 4). H. 0·27 m., dia. 0·338 m. Buff clay, brown paint. On the back two lines of cuts. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

15 (Fig. 6 and Pl. 5). Dia. 0·236 m. Krater rim with leaves on it. Streaky like No. 21 below.

15a (Fig. 6). High base.

Bowls, mugs, kantharoi.

a. Bowls with low feet, handles along the rim. All LH IIIb.

16. H. 0·135–0·148 m., dia. 0·30–0·33 m. Bowl with incurring rim. Ground buff; inside brown paint. LH IIIb. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum. Another similar, better made.

17. Lip and base of another example, perhaps imported.

18 (Fig. 6). Overhanging rim (several found at Astakos).

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1 Wace BSA XXV Pl. IXb.
2 There are three examples of this shape in the Ashmolean Museum, the earliest of the Tel-el-Amarna period, the latest contemporary with this.
3 Cf. pottery in the tholos tomb at Zakynthos (to be published).
4 Cf. No. 26 Pl. 6.
5 Wace Chamber Tombs at Mycenae Pl. XII 13, is an earlier version of this shape; Daniels AJA 41 Pl. III, 43 is later: the centre of gravity is lower (see Payne BSA XXIX p. 274). For the date of Mr. Daniels' vases see below, p. 14.
6 This decoration appears on two cup rims; common on Geometric pottery.
8 Fig. 6 gives a section of a low (No. 19) and a high base (No. 26).
9 See Blegen Korakou p. 63 Fig. 88.
b. *Bowls on low feet with horizontal handles.*

Monochrome except No. 19.

19 (Fig. 6 and Pl. 6). H. 0·16 m. Much restored. Lip curves sharply out. Dis-integrated flower (?). C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

20 (Pl. 6). H. 0·108 m., dia. of rim 0·15 m. Black shading to red, inside and out. LH IIIb. C 1, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

Three others similar and several sherds.

21. H. 0·12 m. Rim bends decidedly out, handle very upright; paint streaky red and black with a metallic lustre; in good condition. Probably a late bowl.

c. *Bowls with horizontal handles on high feet.*

No section has been completed.

22. Scrap of rim missing from the section. Low ridge round the stem, handle very upright. Black paint, shading to red.

23 (Pl. 4). Dia. 0·163 m. Foot uncertain. 'Running dogs'. In poor condition, but LH IIIb. C 1, 0·70–1 m. below datum.

24 (Pl. 6). Dia. 0·101 m. Part of a bowl with traces of bright paint. C 1, 0–0·50 m. below datum.

24a (Pl. 5). Another similar.

d. *Kantharoi on high feet* (Pl. 6).

This shape is peculiar to Ithaca. There are one hundred and fifty unattached vertical handles, some of which may belong to mugs and kylikes. The ancestor of this shape is the LH II 'Ephyraean' bowl. The nearest parallel comes from Messenia. The decoration is light on dark, the patterns are sometimes 'Granary style', but often of local style. A reserved line inside the lip is common. They were found together between D and E. LH IIIc. A similar shape is found in early Attic Geometric kantharoi.

25 (Pl. 6). H. 0·098 m., dia. 0·09 m. 'Granary style' of decoration. D, 0·1 m. above datum.

26 (Fig. 6 and Pl. 6). H. 0·093 m., dia. 0·094 m. Local style. E and D, 0·1 m. above datum.

27. Dia. 0·08 m. Like no. 26. The base belongs, but does not join. Paint reddish, cream slip. E, 0·1 m. above datum.

28. No slip, and the inside unpainted. Like No. 26. E, 0·1 m. above datum.

29. Dia. 0·086 m. Like No. 26. Base missing, cream slip. E, 0·50–1 m. above datum. Sherd of another; three examples are monochrome.

30. H. 0·093 m., dia. 0·096 m. Monochrome, light greenish clay. D and E, 0·1 m. above datum.

31. Plain, shiny black. Two rather drooping handles, base lost. Rather a sharp curve at the middle.

There are pieces of seven or eight more vases decorated with cross-hatched lozenges; also upwards of twenty high bases and at least a hundred plain rims.

*Decorated sherds belonging to bowls of uncertain shape.*

32 (Pl. 7). Bowl with horizontal handles, white slip. D 1, 1·50–1 m. above datum.

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1 Cf. *BSA* XXV Fig. 96, 'Granary' class from Mycenae.

2 Valmin *Arsberatelse* 1927–1928 Pl. VII 3 from children's graves in Malthi, Messenia. See also the big kraters in *Kephallenia* 'Ἀρχ. Ἔφ. 1932 Pl. 4 Nos. 1, 3, 9.

3 D. Burr *Hesperia* II p. 553, also from a child's grave. See also Geometric Nos. 18–20 below, and the proto-Geometric kantharos (?)
33 (Pl. 6). Dia. 0.14 m. Sherds of a red bowl of good quality, white slip. Spirals attached to an ornament like a five-barred gate. Above and below datum.

34 (Pl. 6). Part of a small red bowl; unslipt, inside unpainted. Hand-drawn concentric loops with thick, clumsy lines. B, above datum.

There are other fragments of bowls with this pattern.

35 (Pl. 7). Unslipt, darkish clay. A frieze of wheels joined by tangents. B, 0-0.50 m. above datum.

36 (Pl. 7). Dia. 0.09 m. Greenish clay, unslipt. This is an early Mycenaean pattern, but the bowl is certainly to be dated LH IIIb with the others. The pattern is found in a similar context at Coppa Navigata 2 in Italy. B, above datum.

37 (Pl. 7). Dia. 0.116 m. Rim with a vertical handle and part of the body of a cup. Slit light clay, silvery paint; probably eight hatched triangles. B, above datum.

There are two other cups with hatched triangles.

38 (Pl. 5). Rim and vertical handle. White slip, pale clay; hatched lozenge in reddish paint. D 1, 0-1 m. above datum.

39. A scrap about the foot of the reserved space; ' crossing concentric loops.

39a (Pl. 5). Everted rim and vertical handle; greenish clay, zig-zag. 3

Fragments of five bowls, LH IIIb.

These may be imported.

40 (Pl. 7). Fragment of rim. 4 Fine, creamy clay, slipt; black paint, inside bright red. B, above datum LH IIIb.

41 (Pl. 7). Two fragments. Pink clay, concentric loops in red paint, on a white slip, arranged in Wace's ' close style '. D 1, 0-0.50 m. below datum.

42 (Pl. 7). Slitp, brown paint shading to red. Spirals, white paint 5 added. D 1, 0-0.50 m. below datum.

43 (Pl. 7). Similar. The clay is reminiscent of Minyan clay. D 1, 0-0.50 m. below datum.

43a (Pl. 7). Good white slip and red paint. Spirals.

e. Kantharoi on low feet.

Generally plain, sometimes one or two bands are reserved or decorated with zig-zags. Lips slightly everted. Pairs of handles have been found, but only two kantharoi with two handles have been reconstructed. Some have decoration of ' Granary style ', 6 but, judging by their fabric, most of them are probably later.

With two handles.

44 (Pl. 6). H. 0.092 m., dia. 0.113 m. Plain black cup with two sloping vertical handles. 7 C 1, 0-0.50-1 m. below datum.

45. Another similar.

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1 Cf. a favourite Kephallenian ornament, a triangle between spirals. The band on the rim is also typical of Kephallenia (e.g. 'Aρχ. 'Εφ. 1932 Pl. 5, 14).

2 A Mosso Mon. Ant. XIX Pl. IV 9.

3 Sherds found at Astakos are indistinguishable from these.

4 This bowl probably belongs to the class which were nearly plain. Cf. BM Vases Fig. 287. The pattern is derived from those of Vaphio cups Korakou Fig. 54, p. 40.

5 White occurs on early Mycenaean Vases but also on late vases. Wace Chamber Tombs pp. 148, 180. Schuchardt Schliemann's Excavations Fig. 132; and on the Warrior Vase id. Fig. 284. The quality of this fragment is like that of Astakos MH ware.

6 Cf. BSA XXV Pl. XI g.

7 Cf. the shape of an East Greek cup, CVA Oxford II d Pl. 1, 18.
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III

With one handle.

46 (Pl. 6). H. 0·088 m., dia. 0·103 m. A few patches restored. Pleasant orange paint, zig-zag below the handle. C, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

47. H. 0·09 m., dia. 0·103 m. Similar, streaky, black paint. C, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

48. Dia. 0·09 m. Base and much of the body missing. Zig-zags on rim and middle, red paint. D, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

49 (Pl. 6). Dia. 0·11 m. Base, half one side, most of the handle missing. Outside dark paint, inside light; variegated. D, above datum.

50 (Pl. 6). Dia. 0·10 m. Base, half one side, handle missing. Reserved band in the middle, 'Granary' style decoration. C, 1·1–1·20 m. above datum.

51. H. 0·088 m., dia. 0·095 m. Nearly complete. Monochrome, yellowish clay. C, 0·50–1 m. below datum.

51a. Similar. There are three others.

Mugs with flat bases.

52 (Pl. 6). H. 0·052 m., dia. 0·047. Small mug, with one rounded handle. Most of the handle and base missing. Unslipped, rough; reserved band round the middle. D, above datum. Several fragments of similar bases, and rims. Some may be Hellenic.

Feeding-cup.

53 (Pl. 6). H. 0·078 m., dia. 0·086 m. Child's feeding-cup on a low foot, vertical handle below the rim. Spout restored. Dark paint on the rim; five running spirals; bands on the handle. LH IIIb. It may be an import from Kephallenia.1

Kylikes.

This is a popular shape at Polis. It is the shape of the earliest Mycenaean sherd, No. 54, and there is one kylix whose decoration is post-Mycenaean.2 The extant vases are all definitely triangular in shape (as Miss Lorimer pointed out to me), and therefore late, but earlier kylikes existed. Two (Nos. 55, 57) seem LH IIIb from their pattern. A large number of undecorated kylikes resemble Zygouries shapes,3 and these I suppose to be LH IIIb (No. 56). I attribute the freakish shape with three rings on the stem to LH IIIc. Six of these have been reconstructed, and there are fragments of thirteen others. A late feature in the decoration of some of these is the application of regular lines at the base of the bowl, applied not in a Mycenaean, but in a Geometric manner. The rings themselves are generally sharp and definite,4 which is not a characteristic of normal Mycenaean pottery. The shape may have arisen independently in Cyprus and in West Greece.5

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1 Cf. Marinatos, 'ApX. 'Eph. 1932 Pl. 7 Nos. 31a, 32a from Lakkitrea. Also an almost identical cup in Neuchâtel from Livatho (Dessoulay Rev. Arch. XXXVII, p. 141 Fig. 23).

2 The 'Transition' kylix (below p. 16).

3 Enough of the surface remains to show that it, too, was of a Mycenaean character. Shape alone is sometimes a dangerous guide—e.g. the tomb group Clara Rhodos VI Fig. 232.

4 It has been found in a Geometric context in Cyprus. See below.

5 Contrast the irregular bulge on the stem of No. 61. If I am right in thinking that this shape is a late development of the Mycenaean kylix, it is difficult to derive it directly from Minyan kylix stems, which are rare in West Greece.

6 For a list of sites see Heurtley BSA 1933 p. 63, 14. Add another sherd at Olympia, Benton JHS 1936 p. 81 and a stem at Astakos. Two examples in Cyprus are of the Ithacan type (Myres Cesnola Collection in New York No. 458). Prof. Myres has pointed
54. (Pl. 5). Small sherd from a kylix. Pale clay, fine white ground and black paint; part of a spiral. LH IIIa. From the Mycenaean layer. D 1, 0.50–1 m. below datum.

55. (Pl. 8). Dia. 0.164 m. Half the bowl of a kylix has been reconstructed by the lines of the pattern. Wace's 'close style',1 perhaps imported. LH IIIb. Above and below datum.

56. Part of the bowl of a plain kylix, with good finish and of Zygouries2 type. LH IIIb. C 1, 0.0–0.50 m. below datum. Fragments of at least a dozen others from above and below datum.


58. Part of kylix near the handle. Straight rim, and triangular shape. Swathes round handle, rings round the foot. Reddish clay. C 1, 0.50–1 m. below datum.

59. (Pl. 8). H. 0.168 m., dia. 0.148 m. Dull brown clay, brown paint round the foot: unslipt. Straight rim, triangular shape. End of LH IIIb? C 1, 0.0–0.50 m. below datum.

60. (Pl. 8). H. 0.172 m., dia. 0.120 m. Clumsily made, drooping handles, incipient bulge on the stem: white slip, red paint of a fair quality: a bud. C 1, 0.50 m. below datum.

61. (Pl. 7). Rim of good quality. Local patterns.

**Ringed kylizes.**

Triangular body, incurving rims, and drooping handles a little below the rims; three rings; the bases are flattish underneath. Slipt.

62. (Pl. 8). H. 0.166 m., dia. 0.134 m. Only a section. Good red paint inside and out. LH IIIc. C 1, 0.50–1 m. below datum.

63. (Pl. 8). H. 0.145 m., dia. 0.12 m. Traces of dark paint, five thin lines at the base of the cup. The foot of a similar kylix is said to have been found at Polis earlier. LH IIIc. C 1, 0.50–1 m. below datum.

64. (Pl. 8). H. 0.17 m., dia. 0.11 m. Similar. LH IIIc. C 1, 0.50–1 m. below datum.

65. (Pl. 8). H. 0.20 m., dia. 0.187 m. Section incomplete. Three broad bands of paint, swathes round the handle: base quite flat below. LH IIIc. C 1, 0.50–1 m. below datum.

66. (Pl. 8). H. 0.137 m., dia. 0.110 m. Greenish clay. Dark metallic paint on the foot, and inside; fine lines above the last ring. Probably late. Above and below datum.

67. (Pl. 8). Pedestalled base.3 Slipt, rather rough.

68. (Pl. 8). Another pedestalled base, characteristic Mycenaean stem. C 1, 0.0–0.50 m. below datum.

There are eight other examples of ringed stems and one other bowl of a kylix ends in narrow lines.

out to me that this is only one phase of a tendency common in Cyprus and in other places to put one or more rings on footed vessels of various types. Cf. also loc. cit. pp. 517, 518: 'ApX. 'Es. 1932 Pl. 9 No. 138. For a Geometric example of the Ithacan type in Cyprus, see Gjerstad Swedish Cyprus Expedition II Pl. XC M. 65, 4. See also J. F. Daniel AThA XLI pp. 56 ff. Pl. IV, 54. The author dates these tombs too high. All the vases look proto-Geometric, including the two 'imported Mycenaean' vases. There are no good parallels to these shapes from the Argolid. Massow AM 1927 beil VI 10 looks like a ringed kylix-stem (from Amyklai).

1 Cf. BM Vases 1.1, A 709 from Palaikastro.
2 Cf. Blegen Zygouries Fig. 141.
3 Cf. Kinch Vroulia Pl. 15, for a later development of this kind of tendency.
Fig. 3.—Sections of Early Helladic Pottery.
Scale, 1:4.

Fig. 4.—Early Helladic Pottery.
Scale, 1:2.

Fig. 5.—Middle Helladic Pottery (P numbers from P. First Hole).
Scale, 1:2.
Stirrup Vases.

A rare shape in Ithaca, though common in Kephallenia. 69 (Pl. 4). H. 0.102 m. Spout and half the stirrup missing. Greenish clay. 1 C 1, 0.75 m. below datum.

70. H. 0.089 m. Stirrup missing. Top, in front, a hairy inscribed circle; dark base. C 1, about 1 m. below datum.

Dippers.

71 (Pl. 5). Handle of a dipper. Several fragments.

72 (Pl. 5). H. c. 0.09 m. Rough dipper of local unlevigated clay. Cf. a one-handled mug at Aetos and vases in Kephallenia 2 for the fabric.

(e) Transitional.

A tomb at the Kerameikos 3 contained vases with hand-drawn and compass-drawn concentric loops, and of identical technique. At Polis cups of thin fabric are decorated with concentric loops in thin lines of metallic paint. They look as if they are influenced by the welders of the multiple brush, so I have isolated them at the extreme end of the Mycenaean period. They are descended from the vases of Mycenaean technique with thick loops (like Mycenaean No. 34 above), but there is a considerable difference between them. Hand-drawn concentric loops continued to be used at Athens in the proto-Geometric 4 period, and at Aetos they are found on Geometric vases. 5 I have added a kylix because its neat and architectonic design of ruled triangles is more in accordance with Geometric than with Mycenaean principles of decoration. The clay of these vases is pale, rather like Corinthian clay.

Kyliz.

1 (Pl. 9, a). H. 0.175 m., dia. 0.114 m. Kylix on a stem with three rings. Restored, the handles and a large part of the rim. Greenish clay, dark, metallic paint. Two zig-zags below the triangles, which are all neatly spaced out with ruled lines. 6 C 1, 0.50–1 m. below datum.

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1 May have been imported from Kephallenia. There is a similar stirrup vase in the Argostoli museum. If it is to be dated at 1200 B.C., the fine lines must be regarded as a chance anticipation of Geometric practice.

2 Cf. Marinatos 'Aρχ. 'Εφ. 1932 p. 13 Fig. 14.

3 Kraiker, AZ 1932 pp. 196, 202 abb. 8 and 9.

4 AZ 1935 p. 286 abb. 15.

5 To be published by M. Robertson in a later volume.

6 Cf. the decoration of a hydria found at Vrokastro in a bone enclosure (Vrokastro, Fig. 103). The kylix shape has not been identified in a post-Mycenaean context in West or Central Greece. A ringed Kylix occurs in a grave with a single burial in Cyprus which the excavator ascribed to the Geometric period (Swedish Cyprus Expedition Pl. XC M. 65, 4, from Marion). An earlier shape of kylix is found in a Geometric grave in Rhodes (Clara Rhodos VI, VII Fig. 232).
**EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III**

**Bowls.**

2 (Pl. 9, b). Dia. 0·10 m. Bowl with horizontal handles. Restored one handle and about half the body. Handles are set very upright, and so is the rim. Pale clay, metallic paint, painted inside. Mended in antiquity. Above and below datum.

3. Fragment of the rim. Inscribed semicircles hang from the rim, and rise from the middle: dark paint inside. C 3 0–1 m. below datum.

4. Another fragment. The inscribed semicircles (or circles) towards the rim: pale paint inside. E, 0·70–1 m. above datum. There are fragments of a few more examples.

**Kantharoi.**

5 (Pl. 9, e). Part of the rim and handle. On each side of handle, broad bands; then narrow transverse lines. Paint fairly dark, matt, purplish. Thin fabric. Rim upright, carinated below the pattern. E 1, 1·40 m. below datum.

6 (Pl. 9, d). Similar to the last. Two vertical handles.

**II. PROTO-GEOMETRIC.**

**Kantharos.**

1 (Fig. 10 and Pl. 9, e). Completed with the aid of the pattern. Rim slightly out-curving, drooping vertical handle. Pale, pink clay, rather like Attic; white slip, dark paint. Round the top a broad, dark band; base dark. The design is executed with the precision of proto-Corinthian vase-painting. Above and below datum.

2, 3. Fragments of two others with the same pattern. Thin fabric, excellent finish. C 1, 0–0·50 m. below datum.

**Mug.**

4 (Fig. 10). H. 0·065 m., dia. 0·07 m. Monochrome; flat base and clumsy shape.

**Jug.**

5 (Pl. 9, f). Part of the neck of a jug with strongly everted lip. Thick, whitish clay; scarlet paint on a white slip. The technique of this vase is closer to Mycenaean, but the use of the ruler is clear. Above and below datum.

**III. GEOMETRIC.**

(a) Ithacan.

This fabric has been isolated by Mr. Robertson’s researches on the pottery from Aetos. At Polis the clay is generally soft and muddy pink and the paint is dull. There are also two-handled mugs with thin brittle walls, red clay and metallic paint. They have slightly everted rims and flat bases, a clumsy but Hellenic shape though evidently descended from the Mycenaean kantharoi on high feet. The number found at Polis made it probable that these mugs were made in Ithaca. This supposition

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1 Kantharoi on high feet continued to be found in Ithaca in the proto-Geometric (e.g., No. 1) and the Geometric period (e.g., Nos. 18–20).
2 Cf. Heurtley *Aetos (BSA XXXIII)* p. 45 Fig. 19.
3 Cf. ibid., Pl. 3 No. 29 for the pattern.
4 Excluding Geometric pottery from Corinth and East Greece.
5 Cf. Robertson *Aetos*, to appear in a later volume of the *Annual*.
6 The biscuit is darker than in most Ithacan local geometric pottery.
Fig. 6.—Sections of Mycenaean Pottery.
Scale, 1:2.

Fig. 7.—Sections of Geometric Pottery.
Scale, 2:3.

Fig. 8.—Sections of East Greek Pottery.
Fig. 9.—Sections of Rhodian Pottery
Scale, 2:3.
has now been confirmed by the discovery of others in an early Geometric layer during the 1938 excavations at Aetos. Decoration and shape show that these vases are a link between the Ithacan Geometric and proto-Geometric. It is possible however that the fabric and some of the decoration show foreign influence not from Corinth but possibly from the Peloponnese.\(^1\) Most of the geometric vases were found below datum.

**Two-handled Mugs.**

Red clay, thin fabric.


2. Dia. 0·104 m. Similar zig-zag below two spots.\(^2\) Above datum.

3 (Pl. 10). Dia. of rim 0·082 m., of base 0·05. Low base ring and mark of a handle.

Three reserved lines (perhaps a clay slip). Above and below datum.


5 (Fig. 7 and Pl. 10). Dia. of rim 0·102 m. Reserved line inside and outside rim (as often). Above datum. Base dia. 0·05 m. may belong.

Rim and handle of another. There are about twenty plain rims of this type.

**The remaining vases are of the ordinary Ithacan fabric** (see above).

6. Dia. 0·11 m. Rim with marks of two handles; monochrome. Above datum.

7, 8. Two other rims with zig-zags \(^3\) (7), and lines \(^4\) (8). Above datum.

**Mugs with one handle.**

9 (Pl. 10). H. 0·05 m., dia. of rim 0·09 m., of base 0·05 m. Transverse strokes from rim to the sharp angle. Above datum.

10 (Pl. 10). Dia. 0·09 m. Part of rim with one handle. Untidy horizontal lines, with a large spot at the handle, much too big for the vase; dark below. Characteristic Ithacan style. C 3, below datum.

**Large Vases.**

**Dinoi.**

11 (Fig. 7). Dia. 0·104 m. Rim of a dinos; \(^5\) plain brown paint, clay rather dark. C 3, 0·20–0·70 m. below datum.

**Krateres.**

12. Part of a large, upright, horizontal handle. Good brown paint inside and out; some narrow lines. Below datum.

13. Rim and parts of the body. Broad bands, strokes below the rim.\(^4\) Owing to a

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\(^1\) A mug with a similar shape and decoration but clumsier fabric was found in Sparta. See Lane BSA XXXIV Fig. 20c. (It is not a miniature, is wider than the drawing shows and is not really off-set.) Cf. also bowls of 'Granary' style at Mycenae. _BSA_ XXV Pl. VIIIic, d. Some of the Polis vases may be one-handed, but there are several pairs of handles. For the decoration, cf. a kantharos found in an early Geometric grave in the Agora (see _Hesperia_ II, p. 553, Fig. 11). Cf. the shape of no. 20 below.

\(^2\) Mr. Robertson's 'Sausage' style. The spot of no. 10 is another variant.

\(^3\) Cf. Aetos _BSA_ XXXIII p. 45 Fig. 19. These may be proto-Geometric.

\(^4\) Decoration also found at Aetos.

\(^5\) The shape is found at Aetos.
disintegration sometimes seen on local Mycenaean pottery the biscuit is purple and the
slip greenish. From the shape of the rim and the strokes this vase cannot be Mycenaean.
The shape is directly descended from local Mycenaean rims (cf. Fig. 6 and Pl. 5 No. 15).
C 3, 0·0-0·40 m. below datum.

Oinochoai.
Perhaps not local.
15, 16. Fragments of two heavy brown trefoil lips and a handle.
17 (Pl. 10). Parts of a large neck with broad bands of greyish paint between narrow
white lines. Hard grey clay.

Torch-holder.
18 (Pl. 10). H. 0·12 m., at the top 0·01 m. thick. Bottom of a torch-holder. Fabric
like the last. It is like torch-holders from Palaikastro¹ and Praisos in its thickness, in
its diminishing size and stripes. The lower end is not preserved at these sites. Mixed
area below datum.

(b) Uncertain Fabric.

Kantharoi with off-set lip.
19–21. Dark red clay, red and white bands inside the rim and on the
body; white lines sometimes elsewhere. The shape can only be deduced
from the three vases: No. 19 had the marks of two vertical handles, No.
20 (Fig. 7 and Pl. 10: dia. of rim 0·088 m.) has the remains of a high base,²
No. 21 (Pl. 10) has a handle ³ with white lines. All below datum.

This shape with one handle is early Geometric, but the polychrome
decoration suggests the end of the seventh century.³ It is a descendant of
the kantharoi on high feet, but also from bigger krateres popular in Rhodes⁴
and Cyprus.

IV. POTTERY OF CORINTH.

(a) Geometric and Proto-Corinthian.

Cups.
1 (Pl. 13i). Piece of rim and part of the body. After 750 B.C. Above datum.
2. Dia. 0·144 m. Part of the body has a reserved stripe inside and out. C 3, 0·0-0·40
m. below datum. Another.

¹ See Bosanquet BSA XI 307 Fig. 23. There are torch-holders of a different type from
Aetos. E.g. the Καλυκάδες vase, ILN Jan. 14th, 1933, p. 46, Fig. 9. Cf. also a holder
in Palermo from Selinus. It is thick like the Polis vase and is of early orientalising date
(key-pattern and plaiting: probably Italiot).
² Cf. CVA Cambridge III G Pl. 15, 5.
³ Cf. the bronze Kantharos from Olympia with a horse (Olympia IV No. 671 Pl.
XXXV) to be dated about 700 B.C., and another from the Argive Heraeum with archaic
sphinxes. Argive Heraeum, II Pl. CXVIII No. 2034.
⁴ The shape is not entirely unlike that of the vase from the Agora mentioned above,
p. 19. Mr. Robertson kindly called my attention to the resemblance between these vases
3. Dia. 0·122 m. C I, 0–1 m. below datum. There are about a dozen more.
4. Dia. 0·198 m. Above datum. Another.
5. Dia. 0·102 m. Similar but monochrome, leaves on the rim. C 3, 0·0·40 m. below datum. Three others.
6. Dia. 0·16 m. Darker clay perhaps not Corinthian. Above datum.
7 (Pl. 13k). Very thin. There is also a graffito on a vase at Aetos. Early proto-Corinthian.
Rim of another with reserved spaces like the ‘ Ionian bowls’. Several high feet.

Kotylai.
8. Dia. 0·134 m. An early example of the shape in a thick fabric. Reserved space between the handles.
9. Dia. of rim 0·148 m., of base 0·05 m. A normal example, there are at least thirty others. End of the eighth century.
10 (Pl. 11, g). Rim of fine example. Late eighth century. Above datum.
11 (Pl. 11, 8). Rim with a heron. Third quarter of the eighth century. C 3, 0·0·40 m. below datum.

Fig. 10.—Proto-Geometric Pottery.
Scale, 1, 2: 3; 4, 1: 3.

Fig. 11.—Fragment of an Attic Cup.
Scale, 1: 1.

12 (Pl. 11, f). Rim with a row of birds. Unstratified.
13. Base with rays and paws of an animal. Late proto-Corinthian, sub-Geometric.

Aryballoi.
16 (Pl. 11c). Pointed. Mouth missing. Curls on the shoulder, stag-hunt,1 divided by single lines. End of the second quarter of the seventh century. C 3, 0·0·40 m. below datum.
17. Pointed. Top missing. Long tongues: scales with white, yellow, red centres. Third quarter of the seventh century. C 3, 0·0·40 m. below datum.
18 (Pl. 11, h). Base lost: stepped neck, thin mouth. On mouth circles, cross on

and some Laconian kantharoi (Lane BSA XXXIV p. 154 Fig. 20 D, M). It is too close to be accidental, but the sharper handles, different angle of the lips, different clay do not suggest that the Ithaca kantharoi are Laconian imports but that the Laconian vases are influenced by the same source. A similar fabric has been found at Olympia (quoted by permission of Dr. Kunze). See also nos. 1–5 above, with Laconian connections.

1 Cf. a slightly earlier aryballos, Johansen Les Vases Sicyoniens p. 93 No. 18 Pl. XXI 5.
handle, two sets of leaves, thin lines, rays. Middle proto-Corinthian. Payne thought the thin lip unusual.

*Kalathoi.*

19 (Pl. 13h). H. 0.033 m. dia. of rim 0.05 m. Lines 1 inside and out. C 2, 0.0-0.9 m. below datum.

20. Another similar.

*Closed Vases.*


22. Shoulder of another with rays.

23. A lid of a trefoil-mouthed oinochoe may belong.

(b) *Corinthian (Seventh–Fourth Century B.C.)*

After the large supply of early Geometric cups, dedications at Polis continue sparingly but steadily until about 600 B.C., when there is an influx of cheap Middle Corinthian aryballoi and kotylai. They continue until after the middle of the century, and Corinthian kotylai are found at Polis in black glaze and other wares until Hellenistic times. Corinthian vases have been found in a cemetery at Stavros and at two other sites in this region. This wide dispersion suggests a Corinthian colonisation of North Ithaca.  

Corinthian pottery was found above datum in A and B and below datum in B and C.

*Alabastra.*

Nine alabastra dating from 625–600 B.C.

1. Cf. *Necrocorinthia* No. 376 Fig. 121b. Another similar.

2. Cf. *ibid.* No. 377 Fig. 121 bis.


4. Base showing bird between lions’ paws.

5 (Fig. 12). Bearded boread chasing a bird.

6. Partially painted with streaky red paint.

7 (Pl. 12, a). Panther with paw raised. Fragment of a larger vase with another fine beast.

8. Goat, red on neck.


10. One complete later alabastron, surface gone, probably a panther or bird. Fragments of others.

*Round Aryballoi.*

I have numbered 26, and there is a box full of fragments.

*Shape A.*

11. Quatre-foil of the type *NC* No. 485 (Fig. 54d) c. 600 B.C. Similar fragments of two or three others.

\[\text{1} \text{ Cf. *Argive Heraeum* II p. 124 Fig. 45.}\]

\[\text{2} \text{ Besides the deposit at the shrine on Aetos, I have found Corinthian pottery in the foundations of the tower there, on the summit and on the slopes below the summit.}\]

\[\text{3} \text{ *NC* No. 234; Oxford 155 *CVA* III c Pl. 1, 60.}\]
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III

12. Fragment of a large aryballos. Quatre-foil and a bird creature. Late Corinthian.
14. Three marching hoplites. Late Corinthian, over twenty examples (shape often uncertain).

Shape B.

15. Marching hoplites. Early Corinthian. About four other examples with fine drawing, two (not such good drawing) have shields charged with a face.
16 (Pl. 11a). A lion roaring at a bull, a panther, a stag; whirligig on base. The panther has red eyes.
17 (Fig. 12). Boread on a whirligig; White Dot style. Early Corinthian. Belongs to the 'lion group'. Another similar.

![Images of Corinthian vases]

FIG. 12.—DRAWINGS FROM CORINTHIAN VASES.
Scale, 1:2.

18. Four padded dancers following each other. Middle Corinthian.
19. Three padded dancers, two facing. Middle Corinthian.

The following without boundary lines:

20. Hare between lion and swan. Middle Corinthian. Fragments of several other lions.
21 (Fig. 6). Large panther’s head. Incision only left. Middle Corinthian.
22. Swan flying.
23. Two swans, facing. Late Corinthian. Fragments of several other vases.
24. Eagle flying. c. 600 B.C. Fragment of another.
25. Crouching sphinx.
26. Sitting sphinx. Late Corinthian.

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1 Cf. Oxford No. V. 136, CVA III c Pl. 2, 45; NC No. 1255 Pl. 36, 2 in Würzburg.
2 Cf. NC No. 1244 Fig. 160.
3 Cf. ibid., No. 527 Pl. 26, 6.
5 See NC Fig. 125.
27. Two sphinxes on a medallion. Late Corinthian.
29. Sphinx with outstretched wings. Late Corinthian.
30. Artemis between two swans. Middle Corinthian.
31 (Pl. 11, b). Large female head in profile outline, red on hair, no incision. Middle Corinthian.
32. Four leaves and eight palmettes. Early sixth century. There are numberless examples of these.
33. 'Football' (cf. NC No 638, Fig. 126). There are bits of twelve others.
34. Dots between pairs of broad lines (cf. NC No. 641, Fig. 127). Another similar, seventh century.
35. Red and black broad bands (cf. NC No. 642).

Monochrome (perhaps local imitations).

36. Covered with rose-coloured paint.
37. Back reserved, on front red paint.
38. Almost rectangular and unpainted.

Pointed Aryballoi.


Flat-bottomed Aryballoi.

Fragments of five or six.

Kotylai.

40. Fragments of a large kotyle just below the rim. At the rim, palmette and lotos pattern like that on the plate No. 67 below. Feline and cock moving apart. In the pattern, red dots. First quarter of the sixth century. C 3, o-20 m. below datum.
41. H. 0·06 m., dia. of rim 0·09 m., of base 0·03 m. Handles missing. At rim, wavy lines, at base, thin tongues; deer hunt, paint gone. About 600 B.C. C 2, 0·0-0·90 m. below datum.

Five or six kotylai, reserved above, thin tongues below.

42–51. Ten small striped kotylai restored out of perhaps fifty. Nos. 42–44 purple and brown paint, straight sides. 45–51 orange and black and yellow, rounded sides. Late Corinthian. Those with purple paint have steeper sides and are earlier, the colouring of the others resembles the late oinochoe, No. 63.


56. Part of a kotyle; on rim, black strokes, black buds hanging from black and red lines: good condition. Late Corinthian. Below datum.

Bowls.

57 (Fig. 13). H. 0·045 m., dia. of rim 0·09 m., of base 0·045 m. Irregularly glazed. On the base a cross. C 2 and C 3, 0–1 m. below datum.

1 Cf. NC No. 526; Dugas, Delos, X Pl. 25 No. 307.
2 Cf. a helmeted head, in bf technique with much incision in a private collection in Ithaca. Also cf. the goddess watching animals on a ring vase. CVA Oxford III c, Pl. 2 No. 24.
3 Cf. NC 941 Pl. 31, 10.
4 Cf. ibid. No. 1517 Fig. 181 B (see Atkinson, Papers of the BSR XIV, Pls. XVII c, XVIII 2. All the Corinthian vases of tombs 27 and 55 at Selinus are Late Corinthian, not Early Corinthian as the author states. No reason to doubt either Payne or Thucydides.
5 Cf. ibid., 1516 and Δς. 1923–1925 Πρ. p. 37 Fig. 3. Pattern even more disintegrated.
58. H. 0·037 m. Inside, bands; outside, bands separated by dots. Handles uncertain. C 3, 0·20–0·70 m. below datum.

59. Base of a shallower bowl; outside, sets of three leaves between bands, a row of dots. C 3, 0·040 m. below datum.

60. Base of a flat polychrome bowl. Outside rays, above red, white, black lines; inside red and white lines on a black ground. End of the seventh century. (There are also several polychrome kotylai of the same period.)

61. Another bowl with red and black lines inside, has a bird outside.

Conical Oinochoe.

62. H. 0·093 m., dia. 0·07 m. Black polychrome.\(^1\) Restored, tip of lip. Incised vertical lines on the shoulder; below, at the base, red and white lines. About 600. C 3, 0·30 m. below datum. Neck of another.

Broad-bottomed Oinochoe.

63. H. 0·055, dia. 0·048 m. Part of the bottom missing, restored tip of the handle and part of the base. Red, black and yellow: in centre, black blobs; above and below tongues.\(^2\) Late Corinthian. C 2, 0·090 m. below datum. Part of another.

Ring Vases.

64. On the side of the vase a panther;\(^3\) above and below, incised lines. A, above sea-level. Remains of five others.

Lekanides.

65 (Fig. 13).\(^4\) H. 0·047 m., dia. of rim 0·08 m., of base 0·064 m. Dark paint; bands on the rim and body, inside and out. C 2, 0·070 m. below datum. Rim of a similar lekanis covered with dark paint.

Pyxides.

66 (Fig. 13). Dia. 0·10 m. Much-worn pyxis lid with a big round nob; creamy clay. Traces of black, white and purple paint. Incised crosses at intervals. C 2, 0·090 m. below datum. There are bases of pyxides with straight sides.

Plate.

67 (Pls. 11 and 12). H. 0·018 m., dia. of rim 0·22 m. Nearly complete. Careful incision, free use of red. Unusual features are the whirligig\(^5\) of wings in the centre, and the careful arrangement of the animal frieze round the heraldic cocks. The best picture is on the back, and the suspension holes show that the plate hung with the back exposed. Local taste may have directed the selection of this import, and no doubt the earlier local plate with a big animal on each side was still visible at Aetos. B, above datum.

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\(^1\) Cf. \textit{NC} No. 758 Fig. 136.


\(^3\) Cf. \textit{Oxford CVA} II Pl. 2 No. 24.

\(^4\) Cf. \textit{NC} Late Corinthian II No. 1529 Fig. 186.

\(^5\) For the garland, cf. \textit{Argive Heraeum} II Pl. LXI No. 23. For the centre cf. the Attic Cup from the Acropolis, No. 606 (Graef, Pl. 32). Cf. also the centre of a Middle Corinthian plate from Selinus in Palermo \textit{NC} No. 1052. See Beazley \textit{CVA Oxford} p. 97 III \textit{h} Pl. 3, 28 for references to similar designs on shields. Miss Roes (\textit{Geometric Art} p. 37) claims it as a sun sign (provenance not given) and figures it (Fig. 30), omitting the centre star, which seems a pity in a discussion of the heavenly bodies.
Amphoriskos.

68. Base. Rays and a bird's feet. Middle Corinthian. Mixed deposit in C i below datum.

Later Corinthian.

Three small black glaze vases are neither Attic nor local. Their bases seem to derive easily from No. 55, which is certainly Corinthian, and the whole shape to be a continuation of the 'late Corinthian' Kotyle. These and an amphoriskos handle may be imports from Corinth in the fifth century. In the fourth century there are a few possible imports. The connection continued in the Hellenistic age, a 'West Slope' plate and a few scraps of the ware known as 'Pergamene', but possibly made at Corinth. Other probable imports are mentioned in the catalogue of Hellenistic pottery.

Black glaze, Fifth century 1 B.C.

Kotylai.

69 (Fig. 13). H. 0·03 m., dia. of rim 0·072 m., of base 0·032 m. Marks of both handles. B 1, 1·40 m. below datum.

Little Bowls.

70 (Fig. 13). H. 0·03 m., dia. of rim 0·064, of base 0·038. Handles uncertain. C 3, 1·30 m. below datum.

71 (Fig. 13). H. 0·019 m., dia. of rim 0·052 m. C 3, 1·20 m. below datum.

Fourth Century B.C.

Kotylai.

72 (Fig. 13). Rim of a kotyle, of Shape 3. 2 Good glaze.

Little Bowl.

73 (Fig. 13). 3 H. 0·03 m., dia. of rim 0·092, of base 0·044 m. Glaze less good. B 1, 1·40 m. below datum (wall foundation). Another similar.

1 An oinochoe like Attic No. 18 below may be Corinthian. Inscribed N.
2 See below p. 29, Fig. 148. Vases like this and like No. 73 have been found at Perachora.
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III

Plastic vases.

74. Parts of a hare, red clay and bright red paint. Below datum.
There is the head of a ram, part of a human figure and several other fragments.

V. EAST GREEK POTTERY.

Protogeometric or Geometric.

1 (Fig. 8). Dia. c 0.24 m. Sharply everted rim of a bowl. The shape is exceptional in Ithaca, the paint resembles Rhodian; clay buff; inscribed triangles. Below datum.
2 (Fig. 8). Dia. 0.104 m. Rim and handle of a bowl. White slip, red clay, red paint. Leaves on rim and handle. Above datum.
3. Straight rim, similar clay and slip, darker paint. Outside, strokes; inside, brown lines. C 3, 0.20–0.70 m. below datum.
4 (Fig. 8). Rim with offset lip, same clay and slip. Surface bad.

Rhodian.

Cup.

1 (Fig. 9). Dia. 0.124 m. ‘Ionian Bowl.’ Clay burnt grey. Inside, white line, red, dark-greenish paint on which is another white line: outside, red paint on rim, and below, reserved band, red, dark paint. Later seventh century B.C. Fragment of another. The following are to be dated after 600 B.C.

Fruit-Dish.

2 (Pl. 13b). Dia. c 0.34 m. Rim of a fruit-stand. Red clay with mica; inside and out, red lines on a white slip. Above datum.

Plate.

3 (Fig. 9 and Pl. 13f). Dia. 0.16 m. Red clay, white slip, brown paint near the inner end, added white, black, red, black, white. C 3, 1.40 m. below datum.

Lid.

4 (Fig. 9 and Pl. 13a). Dia. 0.174 m. Shallow; red clay, white slip, colours red, black, added white, brown; slanting lines on the rim. Inside rough. Above datum.

Aryballoi.

5–8 (Pl. 13c). Fragments of four bucchero aryballoi. Above and below datum.
9 (Pl. 13g). Fluted aryballos. Rough, red clay. Below datum, mixed area in Cr.

Oinochoe.

10 (Pl. 13e). H. 0.076 m. Red clay, brown paint, reserved below.

1 Payne, CVA Oxford IIIc Pl. VIII 5.
2 Cf. Blinkenberg Lindos Pl. 36, 844.
3 For the shape cf. Kirch Vroulia Pl. 9, 2a and Pl. 18, 2.
4 For the pattern cf. ibid. Pl. 27, 13.
5 Cf. (pattern) ibid. Pl. 8, 1a: (shape) Lamb BSA XXXII Pl. 23, 27 from Antissa.
6 It is too shallow to belong to the usual Rhodian pyxis with a small steep lid, e.g. Clara Rhodos VIII Fig. 171. There are several late East Greek lekanides in the British Museum, notably 73, 10, 12, 3 with a meander on the lid. See also a large late Naukrattite lekanis lid in the B.M. 88, 6–1, 547, published Price JHS 1924 Pl. XII, 5, with a centre rosette, from Naukratis.
7 Cf. B.M. 50, 5, 30, 3 from Camiros.
8 Cf. Clara Rhodos IV p. 367 Fig. 413, found with a Middle Corinthian oinochoe.
VI. Laconian.

Aryballos.
(Pl. 13d). H. 0'07 m. Red clay, dark shiny surface; white, red, white lines. C 3, 0-0'70 m. below datum.

VII. Uncertain Origin.
Top of a faience oinochoe; yellow and brown. Ray on the neck.

VIII. Attic (Sixth to the Fourth Century, B.C.).

Cups.
1 (Fig. 11). Fragment of a cup, probably a 'Siana' cup. Inside, the foot of a man in violent motion on a border of myrtle 1 leaves. Second quarter of the sixth century B.C. Fragments of about six black glaze cups dating from the sixth century were found in the foundations of the wall.
2 (Pl. 14f). H. 0'07 m., dia. 0'156 m. The handles are restored. Sharply offset rim, low thick stem. The glaze has in places been fired red. C 3, 0'20-0'90 m. below datum.
3. Base similar to No. 1, inscribed καλία (of Kallias). C 3, 1'20 m. below datum.
4. Base and part of a cup. C 2, 0-0'90 m. below datum.

Amphoriskoi.
5-7 (Pl. 14a, b). Fragments of three amphoriskoi. 2 Thin red lines, good black glaze. First half of the sixth century.

Kotylai.
Shape 1 (Fig. 14 Pl. 14d, No. 8). The Corinthian shape of kotyle with incurving rim was in use in Attica early in the sixth century 3 B.C. and continued with little variety throughout the fifth 4 and fourth 5 centuries; while a 'West Slope' kotyle with a slightly

1 Cf. Clara Rhodos VIII Figs. 192, 193. Grave 83, 2. A 'Siana' cup. Prof. Beazley compares a running youth inside a cup figured Baur Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection p. 84 Fig. 125. Also a 'Siana' cup. Cf. also the dinos Acropolis 606 (Graef Pl. 32).
2 Cf. Delos X Pl. XLIII 557: for the shape Mingazini Vasi della Collezione Castellani Pl. 58, 3 No. 459. See the list to be published Beazley and Magi La Raccolta Gugliemi pp. 38 ff., which Prof. Beazley most kindly showed me. A good date can be obtained from grave 50 at Rhitsona Nos. 13-15 (Ure BSA 1907-1908 p. 258), which are exactly like our nos. 5-7. See vases op. cit. Pl. X, a Naukratie chalice (JHS XXIX p. 332) and a Corinthian alabastron (Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona Pl. IX)—all second quarter of the sixth century B.C. Miss Haspels (Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi p. 5) wishes to date this grave 540 B.C. on the strength of the lekythos 50, 269 (BSA 1907-1908 Pl. Xb). Even so, we need not date any other vase in the grave 540 B.C., most of those dateable being certainly earlier. (To mention tomb 49 in this discussion, and to attempt to date a group of tombs by its latest member, is sheer anarchy.) Prof. Ure tells me he dates the amphoriskoi middle to third quarter, and that they also occur 110 Nos. 88, 89; 126 Nos. 80, 81; 103 No. 9. None of these tombs is easily dateable from the publication.
5 E.g. Breccia Necropoli di Sciatbi Pl. LVII 127. This cemetery is dated to the end of the fourth century B.C.
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III

plumper outline and a Hellenistic foot, found at Pelikata, cannot be earlier than the third century B.C.

Shape 2, Fig. 14, No. 11; the 'heavy' kotyle, derived from Shape 1. This form arose in Attica in the second half of the sixth century 1 and lasted until the fourth 2 century B.C.

Shape 3, Fig. 14S (bronze kotyle from Stavros): the 'bulgy' kotyle, also derived from Shape 1. It superseded Shape 2 in the fourth century, 3 and continued into the third century. It occurs in a tomb at Delphi 4 which should not be attributed to the fifth century (as in the publication), for it contains a Hellenistic unguent vase (Fig. 698) 5 and a lagonas-like, 'West Slope' oinochoe 6 (Fig. 699) which are nearer 300 than 400 B.C. Still less should Shape 3 be called mid-fifth century (Robinson p. 243 Pl. 184, 962). Hundreds of these kotylai were found in graves at Spina, and Miss Mei confirmed my observation in the Ferrara Museum that none were found in a fifth-century context. It was a popular shape at Ithaca, for besides the bronze (Fig. 14S), several clay examples were found at Stavros, others at H. Athanasios and several in the foundations of the 'Tower' at Aetos. 7

8 (Pl. 14d, fig. 14). H. 0'099 m., dia. of rim 0'108 m., of base 0'06 m. Shape 1. Restored most of the rim and one handle. Fine black shading to brown. Sixth or fifth century. B 1, 0'80-1'30 m. below datum, near the wall.

9 (Pl. 14e). H. 0'077 m., dia. of rim 0'04 m., of base 0'056 m. Shape 1. Restored, one handle and half the rim. Slender, fired red and black; reserved ring above the base, on base two reserved rings. Fifth century. C 3, 1'30 m. below datum near the wall.

10. Dia. 0'087 m. Shape 1: excellent glaze There are fragments of three others.

11 (Fig. 14). H. 0'092 m., dia. of rim 0'104 m., of base 0'07 m. Shape 2. Most of the rim restored; the second handle does not join. Heavier example with thicker walls, base reserved. Scratched on base, Fifth century, C 3, 0'80-1 m. below datum near the wall.

12. Dia. 0'112 m. Shape 3. Handle and fragment of rim of kotyle.


Krateres.

14. Dia. 0'096 m. Base of a krater. C 3, 0'20-0'20 m. below datum.

15. Dia. 0'072. Base of a bell-krater. Fine glaze, well-stamped 'labyrinth meander': fifth century. C 3, 0'20-0'70 m. below datum. Another example has well-stamped palmettes.

Oinochoai.

Three black glaze oinochoai, showing mildos under the glaze, dated by Professor Beazley from the late sixth to the end of the fifth century.

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1 Ure Sixth and Fifth-century Pottery from Rhitsona Large Skyphoi B-K pp. 59-69.
2 Oxford V, 262; Gardner Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum Pl. 26, 1; Robinson Olynthus V Pl. 99.
3 E.g. Spina Pls. LXI, LXIV. See also Ure Black Glaze Pottery at Rhitsona p. 23 Grave 30 No. 4. Pl. XVII, 'probably in the second half of the fourth century'. Thompson Hesperia III A. 26 p. 319 Fig. 5. This deposit is attributed to 'the turn of the fourth and third centuries' (p. 315). Breccia op. cit. Pl. LVI 120.
4 Fouilles de Delphes V p. 164 Fig. 687.
5 For the date of these see Thompson p. 473.
7 See Heurtley BSA XXXIII p. 25.
16 (Pl. 14g). H. 0.087 m., dia. of rim 0.084 m., of base 0.065 m. Shape VIIIb 1 (Beazley Vases in Poland). Restored, handle (traces remain), part of lip and side. Good glaze inside. C 3, o.30 m. below datum.

17 (Pl. 14h). H. 0.065 m., dia. of rim 0.054 m., of base 0.038 m. Glazed inside. Scratched line shows militos. See No. 24, C 3, 1.20 m. below datum.

18 (Pl. 14i). H. 0.10 o.07 m., dia. of rim 0.038 m., of base 0.031 m. Thin-necked oinochoe. 2 Rough inside. C 3, 0.070 o.090 m. below datum.

Three more examples with poorer glaze and more dumpy appearance.

Necked oinochoai.

19 (Pl. 14f). 3 H. 0.079 m., dia. of rim 0.088 m., of base 0.084 m. Handle missing. The lip does not join the body, but the height is certain from the fluting; round the neck, a beading. Metallic appearance, heightened by greyish clay. Finish underneath looks Corinthian. B 1, 1.30–1.40 m. below datum.

There are fragments of eight others, fluted and plain. All have good glaze and are glazed inside. One has the same grey clay and glaze which probably imitate silver.

Lekythoi.

20 (Pl. 14c). Part of the body of a large white lekythos showing the upper part of a charioteer and heads of four horses. By the ‘Beldam’ Painter. 4 After 570 B.C. C 3, 0.0.40 m. below datum.

21. Handle and mouth missing. Three incised and linked Palmettes separated by tongues. On the shoulder, tongues. B. 0.85–1.30 m. below datum.

22. Dia. of base 0.052 m. Neck and handle missing, also part of the foot and of the body. Black, criss-cross relief-lines between bands. D. 1, 0.50–1 m. above datum. Part of the body of another.

23. Rf. missing, neck, handle and part of the body. On the left a female attendant with bent head stretches out her arms, offering some garment, a figure sitting above her, Aphrodite or a bride. A little tree. Fourth century. A. 1, 0.050 m. above datum.

24. Dia. of base, 0.05 m. Rf. Missing neck, handle and part of the body. A woman wearing a peplos, sandals and a necklace is running between two trees, carrying a jewel box. Fourth century B.C. C 1, 0.050 m. below datum, mixed layer.

25. H. 0.082 m., dia. of base 0.045 m. Squat rf. lekythos. Missing the mouth and neck. Palmette in a medallion. 5

26 (Pl. 14k). Dia. of base 0.032 m. Missing, mouth and handle. Good brown glaze, fluted, like Hellenistic ware. B. 0.80–1.30 m., below datum from below the wall. Perhaps c. 300 B.C.

Bowls.

27 (Fig. 14). H. 0.051 m., dia. of rim 0.15 m., of base 0.09 m. Good glaze. Shallow bowl with incurving rim: inside £; rouletting and stamped palmettes. Scribbled on inside, below, a monogram. Early fourth century. Above datum.

28 (Fig. 14). H. 0.04 m., dia. of rim 0.114 m., of base 0.062 m. Part of rim restored. Straighter rim. Glaze good. Still fourth century. On bed-rock, below the wall. B. 1, 1.40 m. below datum.

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1 CVA Oxford III 1 Pl. 48 No. 14.
2 Cf. B.M. black numbers 1045 from Camiros, found with female plastic head F. 165 (64.10.7), about 490 B.C. Beazley Charinos (JHS 1929) p. 61, 7.
5 Cf. CVA Oxford I Pl. 40 No. 12.
Miniature bowls.

29 (Fig. 14). H. 0·032 m., dia. of rim 0·08 m., of base 0·05 m. Section only. Small keeled bowl. Good glaze outside. Inside, unglazed and rough. Fifth century.¹ C 2, 1·30 m. below datum.

![Diagram of miniatures bowls](image)

Fig. 14.—Sections of Attic Vases.
($S$ is bronze.) Scale, 1 : 4.

IX. Hellenistic.

(a) Black Glaze.

Lekythoi.

1. Coarse, fluted, brown lekythos, neck missing. Heavy Hellenistic base. Light clay, probably not Attic or Corinthian. Mr. Kyparisses informs me that there are a great many of this type in Olympia and other parts of Elis. Early third century. Above datum.

2. Dia. 0·036 m. Base of another similar.

Bowls.

3 (Fig. 17). H. 0·045 m., dia. of rim 0·09 m., of base 0·05 m. Hemispherical bowl, good glaze, early third century.² Probably Attic.

4. Dia. of rim c. 0·122 m., of base 0·056 m. The rim does not touch, but belongs. Dark red clay, metallic glaze, perhaps Attic. Medallion rosette inside. Below the base is scratched NV. Above datum.

5 (Fig. 17). H. 0·85 m., dia. of base 0·031 m. Bowl. Light clay, good finish. Probably third century ³ B.C.

Saucers.

6 (Fig. 17). H. 0·09 m., dia. of rim 0·12 m., of base 0·062 m. Clay like No. 57. Six others have Corinthian clay. One is inscribed.

¡KNEIA

¹ I have no evidence of this kind of base after the fifth century.
² See Thompson Fig. 117. The shape is between A 20 and E 46.
³ For the shape cf. Thompson No. A 20 Fig. 117 p. 436.
Plates.

7 (Fig. 17). H. 0'035 m., dia. of rim 0'020 m., of base 0'086 m. Light-grey clay. There are four other plates; this and two more may be Corinthian. Not earlier than the end of the second century B.C.¹

8 (Fig. 17). Dia. c. 0'30 m. Rim of a plate; red clay and metallic black glaze. Such plates have been found in Athens ² dating from 150 to 85 B.C.

Kantharoi.

9 (Pl. 14n). Dia. of rim 0'108 m., of base 0'043 m. Rim does not touch, but belongs, marks of both handles. Clay and glaze like No. 4. Above datum.

10. Vertical handle below the rim, Attic (?) .
Rims of several other vases with one or two vertical handles may be Attic; a fluted one looks Corinthian. One rim (perhaps 'West Slope' ware) is inscribed.

Kotylai.

11. H. 0'039, dia. of rim 0'086 m., of base 0'047. Shape 1.³ Red clay. Several others of Corinthian clay.

12. Dia. of rim 0'102 m., of base 0'046. Shape 1. Probably Corinthian.

Oinochoe.

13 (Fig. 17). H. 0'085 m., dia. of rim 0'072, of base 0'043 m. Red clay, brown paint, white slip.

(b) 'West-slope' Ware.

Most of this ware is probably Attic; exceptions are noted.

Oinochoe.

14 (Pl. 15). Fragment of neck with yellow zig-zag. Above datum.

Hydriae.

15 (Pl. 15). Part of a shoulder; white flowers on an incised ⁴ stem. The glaze is so good that the vase must be early in the third century,⁵ if it does not belong to the fourth. The two fragments were found in the foundations of the wall. The rest of the 'West Slope' ware was found above datum.

15a (Pl. 15). Similar. White flowers, miltos in the incision. Above datum.

16 (Pl. 15). Part near the handle.

Bowls.

17 (Pl. 15). Dia. 0'136. Rim. Bright red clay. Inside white flowers on incised stems between white lines. Shape like a 'Megarian' bowl. Second century B.C.

17a Rim. Same shape, probably same fabric, inscribed [N]

¹ Cf. Thompson No. E21 p. 395 Fig. 116.
² See Thompson No. D1 pp. 370, 371 Figs. 55, 116; No. E22 pp. 395, 396 Fig. 83.
³ See p. 31 Fig. 14, 8.
⁴ All the stems of this flower or ivy-leaf pattern in Polis are incised.
⁵ Cf. Thompson No. B23 pp. 338–9 Fig. 19.
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III

Plates.

18 (Fig. 17 and Pl. 15). Dia. 0.210 m. Rim and part of the body. The incised squares on the rim are diced with red. On the body there are white flowers on incised stems. Traces of millets. Inscribed AI (Nωμαν) (part of the N. visible).

19 (Pl. 15). Dia. of rim 0.210 m. Rim. Yellow flowers, incised stems.

20 (Pl. 15). Yellow lines crossing. Perhaps red inside.

21 (Pl. 15). Rim. Flowers and dots; yellow, incised stems. A more ornate example.

22 (Pl. 15). Dia. of base 0.068 m. White ivy-leaves and dark rosettes; flowers in centre had red petals. Shape like No. 23.

23 (Fig. 17). Dia. 0.06 m. Plain base. Several others.

Kantharoi.

24 (Pl. 15). Dia. 0.110 m. Rim and one bevilled, round handle. Spray of leaves in white paint.

25. Dia. 0.088 m. Similar rim.

25a (Pl. 14m). Dia. of rim 0.112. Base missing, probably high; marks of both handles. An incised zig-zag in festoons and a reserved line. Sprays of leaves and rosettes in white paint. Early third century. Above datum.

Fragments of two others exist and a bit of a twisted handle.

26 (Pl. 15). Dia. 0.112 m. Pattern in white. Reddish-grey clay.

Kotyle.

27 (Pl. 15). Fragment of rim, flower pattern. Shape I (Fig. 14, no. 9). The clay seems Corinthian.

(c) Plastic Bowls.

With trifling exceptions, all fragments were found above datum. They were most frequent in D 0.50–1.50 m. above datum. Six bowls have been restored. Nearly all have dark-red or grey clay, indistinguishable from Delian clay, and nearly all are of the Delian shape. Exceptions will be noted. Most of them belong to the second century B.C., a few to the end of the third century or to the first century B.C. None are as early as Thompson A 74 dated c. 300 B.C.

Purely Vegetable Designs (Courby 6 class III, p. 334).

28 (Fig. 15 and Pl. 16). H. 0.068 m., dia. 0.11 m. Rim and centre do not touch, but

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1 There is a scrap from another plate with similar decoration; cf. CVA Oxford Pl. 47 No. 16.
2 Cf. Thompson No. A 32 p. 320 Fig. 5.
3 Cf. Shape of No. 25a, Pl. 14m above. No handle-mark.
4 For late Corinthian vases in Ithaca, cf. the Corinthian bowl No. 71 and a kotyle found at H. Athanasios. Also cf. a 'West Slope' kotyle found at Pelikata. Many sherds of Corinthian black glaze vases were found at Aetos in 1938.
5 I am unable to follow Courby Vases Grecs à Reliefs chaps. XX and XXI in making a distinction between Bôls à Glacière and Bôls à Vernis Mat. Brightness depends on accidents of firing and preservation. Besides, where is the line to be drawn?
6 Op. cit., p. 328. This grouping is a matter of convenience. Courby includes some fauna among his vegetables, and there may have been fauna on lost parts of Polis bowls.
the frieze can be reconstructed by the spirals. Base, plain. Not an early example of the class, the leaves are rather conventional.\footnote{1}

29 (Pl. 17). A frieze of acanthus and daisies. Flat section. Earlier than the last.

30 (Pl. 17). Much worn. Leaves and tendrils.

31 (Pl. 17). Note the tip of an acanthus leaf turned downwards.\footnote{2}

32 (Pl. 17). Leaves.\footnote{3}

33 (Pl. 17). Palmettes.

34 (Fig. 15 and Pl. 16). H. 0·072 m., dia. 0·122 m. Attic shape, but Delian clay. On base, rosette. The leaves have now coalesced.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig15.png}
\caption{Sections of Plastic Bowls. Scale, 1:2.}
\end{figure}

Bows with Mixed Subjects (Courby Class IV).

35 (Fig. 15 and Pls. 16 and 17). H. 0·08 m., dia. 0·129 m. The clay, but not the shape, is Delian. Centaurs\footnote{4} among olive trees.

36 (Pl. 16). H. c. 0·058 m. The end of the rim is lost; the shape may be Attic. Clay buff and smooth. Butting goats in a frame.\footnote{5}

\footnote{1} Contrast Thompson \textit{Hesperia} III 1934 No. A74 p. 328 Fig. 11a. I am much indebted to him for his help throughout the section on Hellenistic pottery.

\footnote{2} Cf. Courby Pl. XII Nos. 12 and 15; Pl. XIII No. 29.

\footnote{3} Cf. Thompson C27 p. 360, dated to the beginning of the second century B.C.

\footnote{4} For the centaurs cf. Courby Fig. 78 No. 27.

\footnote{5} Cf. \textit{ibid}. Fig. 91 No. 22 (Italian).
37 (Pl. 17). Dia. 0·128 m. Battle of Amazons and Greeks.  
38 (Pl. 17). Fine, buff clay. Female figure standing, perhaps with a shield in her left hand; ² above, a row of flowers.  

Bowls with long leaves.

40 (Fig. 15 and Pl. 16). ⁴ H. 0·059. Surface of the border lost. Buff smooth clay, the shape is not quite the ordinary Delian shape, and not Attic.  
41 (Fig. 15 and Pl. 16). Base lost. The shape is Atticising, but the clay is Delian, and Mr. Thompson considers it an imitation. ⁵ Leaves farther apart, ⁶ sprays between them. On the rim ΦΑΙΣ the end of the iota and the tail of the sigma are visible just below the plaster. Restore [ΝΥΜ]ΦΑΙΣ.

42. Dia. 0·12 m. Delian shape and clay, two borders, 'egg, tongue' ⁷ and scrolls.  
43. Dia. 0·13 m. Section like the last. Perhaps an earlier stage in the development of long petals. ⁸

44. Thinner in section than the last, but may belong. C 1, 0·50–1 m. Below datum. ⁹

45. Thick; finer clay. Jewelling between petals. ¹⁰

Inscribed Semi-circles.

46 (Pl. 17). ¹¹ Thick, rough finish. Swastika in the circles.

Imbricate Leaves (Courby, p. 328 II).

47 (Pl. 17). ¹² Clay buff, and fairly fine, the base is an Attic shape. Gorgoneion base. ¹³

48. Base ¹⁴ stamped ΑΙ[Ν] NI (Anni). The number was below and ended in V. There are two examples of the 'labyrinth border,' ¹⁵ popular at Η. Athanasios. ¹⁶

Bowl with straighter sides.

49 (Fig. 15). H. c. 0·072, dia. 0·108. Buff, refined clay. Imbricate leaves, set horizontally, and swags. For the shape cf. a wider bowl found at Pelikata ¹⁶ but not in an excavation.

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¹ Cf. Courby Fig. 78 No. 29.
² Cf. ibid. Fig. 70 No. 13b.
³ Cf. Oswald, Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata Pl. LXXXVIII 2398.
⁴ For the leaves cf. Thompson No. D39 p. 383 Fig. 70, dated to the middle of the second century B.C. See Courby Fig. 91 No. 26 (Italian).
⁵ This is interesting in view of Mr. Thompson's account of the origin of this kind of bowl, op. cit. p. 459. There are also traces of militos and the scraped lines mentioned by Mr. Thompson.
⁶ Cf. Courby p. 387 Fig. 80 No. 4. It is easy to derive this decoration from early Attic bowls (e.g. Thompson No. A74 p. 328 Fig. 74).
⁷ Thompson No. D48 p. 386 Fig. 74.
⁸ Thompson A74 p. 328 is earlier still.
⁹ Perhaps an earlier stage of Thompson No. D38 p. 381 Figs. 69a, b.
¹⁰ Cf. ibid. No. E74 pp. 404–405 Figs. 93a, b.
¹¹ Cf. Thompson No. E78 p. 406 Fig. 95; Courby p. 387 Fig. 80 No. 2; Wiegand Priene p. 404 No. 34.
¹² Cf. Courby Fig. 74 No. 1 or Fig. 67 and Fig. 80 No. 8.
¹³ Cf. Thompson No. C18 pp. 352–353 Figs. 36a, b. Better the mould ibid. Fig. 119.
¹⁴ Cf. ibid. No. C28 p. 362 Fig. 46. Third century.
¹⁵ Cf. Courby Pl. 12 No. 2.
¹⁶ To be published.
(d) **Red Ware.**

(No. 53 from the mixed area, the rest from above datum.)

*Bowls.*

50-52 (Figs. 16 and 18). Mr. Radford thinks that small fragments of three bowls resemble Arretine ware, but have not come from Arezzo. Fine red clay, good glaze, with a yellowish tint. Shape Dragendorf. 26.1

53 (Fig. 16). Dia. 0.20 m. Rougher clay, poorer glaze: horizontal handle.

54 (Fig. 16). Dia. 0.184 m. Good glaze, rough clay.

*Plates.*

55 (Fig. 18). Dia. 0.22 m. Base. Stamped pattern.2 Very red clay and glaze.

56. Rim3 and part of body. Attic clay.

57 (Fig. 16). Rim, bluish clay; rouletting on the rim. A similar fragment has Attic clay.

*Oinochoai.*

58 (Fig. 16). Dia. 0.124 m. Rim with a vertical handle.

59. Similar. Rim4 and handle. Attic clay. There are fragments of four others. The clay of some of this ware resembles Corinthian, in particular the rim of a small bowl with yellow clay.

(e) **Grey Ware.**

The consistency of the clay is like blue Minyan: it is covered with a bluish glaze. All found above datum. This ware may be imported from Corinth.5

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1 *Bonner Jahrbuch* LXXXXVI Pl. II.

2 Mrs. Homer Thompson tells me that she dates this sherd to the third century.

3 Cf. Thompson D28 p. 376 Figs. 62, 118.

4 For the shape cf. No. 13 above.

5 See the evidence from H. Athanasios to be published by Mr. J. M. Cook.
Fig. 17.—Sections of Hellenistic Pottery.
Scale, 1:2.

Fig. 18.—Hellenistic Pottery.
Scale, 55, 4:5; the rest, 3:4.
Oinochoe.

60 (Fig. 16). Dia. of rim 0·098 m. Fragments of an oinochoe with narrow neck and flaring rim.\(^1\) Part of neck and part of body: fluted handle, with fluting continuing on the body.

61. Dia. 0·10 m. Rim of a wide-mouthed oinochoe.

Bowl.

62 (Fig. 18). Dia. 0·22: base of a small bowl\(^2\) (or plate). Middle of the second century.

Plate.

63. Dia. 0·12 m. Incurving rim.\(^3\)

A good deal of rough Hellenic pottery has had to be omitted for lack of space.

4 Catalogue of Inscriptions.

Graffiti on vases have been dealt with in the catalogue\(^4\) of vases. Two on fragments of pithoi must be mentioned here.

\(^1\) (Figs. 19 and 23). D. 154 m. Complete on a pithos fragment. Epaphroditus Novi, ungentarius de Sacra Via, hic fuit k. oct. quo anno L. Cornuficius Sex. Pompeius cos. fuerunt. Epaphroditus son (or slave) of Novus, seller of perfumes in the Via Sacra, was here\(^4\) on the first of October in the year when Lucius Cornuficius and Sextus Pompeius were consuls.

A dated graffito is welcome (35 B.C.). I should like to think that it was a business visit, that Epaphroditus was seeking a distillation of the sweetness that scents the summer slope of Ithaca. More probably he had been farther East for his wares, and was now returning to Rome for the autumn season.

2. Among a lot of scribbles on a similar sherd Eros Libonis. This is a dark saying and would bear several interpretations.

5. Catalogue of Terracottas.

(a) Geometric.

\(^1\) (Pl. 18). H. 0·295 m., W. of shoulders 0·145 m. Head, bust and part of the fore-legs of a sphinx. The clay is soft buff and there is little surface left. The sphinx was hand-made and built up in parts, to the shoulders; perhaps wings, large eyes, and a polos are lost. The slope of the body in front shows that she was sitting. The face is up-turned and divided into sharply defined areas. A remarkable sharpness of contours has been achieved in this soft material which places the sphinx well in the Geometric period.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) Cf. the rim of a fourth-century oinochoe found in a grave at Stavros.

\(^2\) See Thompson No. D28 p. 376 Fig. 62; p. 437 Fig. 118.

\(^3\) See Ibid. No. E151 Fig. 116. End of the second century B.C.

\(^4\) See pp. 31, 32, 33, 35; also Terracottas p. 43.

\(^5\) For the matter see J. Franzius Elementa Epigraphica Graeca p. 336, 10.

\(^6\) Cf. Geometric bronzes like No. 15 of the Catalogue of Bronzes (BSA 1935 p. 62, see list p. 86, 1). See also a bronze sphinx Olympia IV No. 949. Early terracottas of this size can be paralleled from Crete; indeed, the figure in the Ashmolean Museum from Episkopi has much the same cast of feature. Cf. also the large figurines of late Mycenaean style lately found by Mr. Marinatos in Crete BCH LX p. 488 Fig. 30; and others nearer the Ithaca sphinx in style, found by Mr. Pendlebury at Karphi JHS 1937 p. 141 Fig. 12.
There is a decided turn of head and shoulders which suggests that she belonged to a group. C 2 and 3, 0-0.90 m. below datum.

(b) Primitive.


![Fig. 19.—Inscribed Sherd (Cf. Fig. 23). Scale, 2:3.](image)

(c) Archaic.\(^2\)

Standing Figures.

14. (Pl. 18). H. 0.115 m. Standing female figure. Sharply grooved behind by being forced into a mould. Reddish, muddy clay. Mantle evenly over both shoulders,

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\(^1\) Cf. Dörpfeld *Alt-Ithaka*, Beil 76 1-3, and 5. Such figurines have been found at Rhodes with sixth-century terracottas *Clara Rhodos* IV Fig. 203.

\(^2\) Mr. Jenkins has seen these terracottas and kindly revised this section for me.
down to the feet over a featureless chiton. Stripe of red paint across the skirt. A bird in each hand lightly grasped against the waist. Poor local work under Corinthian influence,¹ less primitive than it looks, about 530 B.C. C 3, 0-50—1 m. below datum.

15—23. Parts of 8 others.

24 (Pl. 18). Head of similar clay, grooved behind, but made from a good mould of Corinthian origin. Hair ripples back from the face, and hangs to the shoulders. Small, peaky features. D 1, 1-50—2 m. above datum.

25 (Pl. 18). H. 0-04 m. Head: White clay. Same groove behind. The hair does not hang down, and there is a polos. Similar features. Corinthian style. E, 0-0-50 m. above datum.

26 (Pl. 18). H. 0-04 m. Small head.² Pink clay. Hollow and rounded behind: high polos: the hair is waved over the forehead. Corinthian. Late sixth century.

27 (Pl. 18). Head with a tall polos. Yellow clay. Large features. Argive type. Condition of the face bad. Probably belongs to the feet and shoulders of a woman³ standing evenly, carrying a fruit or flower (No. 27a, Pl. 18). The sleeve of her chiton is turned back. Low folds, good finish, traces of paint. Late sixth century. C 2, 0-0-70 m. below datum.

28 (Pl. 18). Female torso. Missing head, right shoulder and foot. Brownish clay. Bird in right hand, fruit in left. Long, thin arms. The overfall hangs down low in two even points.⁴ Like No. 27. Local, from a copy of a Corinthian mould. Late sixth century. B 1, 0-85—1 m. below datum.

29 (Pl. 19). Female torso. Pale clay. White slip. Left arm down, right arm across holding wand or distaff. End of a lock of hair on right shoulder. Folds of drapery slightly indicated. Corinthian. Late sixth century.


Sitting Figures.

32—34. Fragments of three sitting figures.⁵ They sit stiffly and evenly, clasping a bird to their breasts. Traces of white slip on one Corinthian. Above datum.

Relief.

35 (Pl. 18). Head of a gorgon from a relief. Pink clay. Bad preservation. Lower part of the face gone, only one tusk left. Pearl hair. Middle of the sixth century. C 3, 1-20 below datum.

Masks.


37 (Pl. 19). Similar, a little later.

38. Mask end attached, but the face gone. Same clay. Pig’s snout above the face; its eyes are suspension holes. Style and date uncertain. B 1, 1-1-30 m. below datum.

¹ See Jenkins BSA XXXII pp. 33 and 40 Class G Pl. 16. Dörpfeld Alt. Ithaka Beil 78.
² Centre foot and Nos. 1 and 2 foot. Mr. Jenkins has given me much help.
³ Dörpfeld Beil 78 No. 2 top.
⁴ Cf. Trygns I Pl. VIII 8; Lindos 2180 Pl. 100; Winter Pl. 59, 6.
⁵ Cf. Romaios Δήλη 1920—1921 p. 70 Fig. 4, also Fig. 5. This is rougher work than No. 27.
⁶ Winter I 50, 7. See Payne, NC 245, 3 (4).
⁷ Cf. Acropolis Kore 651. Payne and Young Pl. 90.
Standing Statuettes.


40 (Pl. 19). H. 0·048 m. Head from a statuette, broken at the neck. Brown clay, fairly good condition. Long face; hair parted in front, bushy, shell-like behind. Some early classical severity still lingers. About 460 B.C. 0·85–1 m. below datum.


Male Athlete.


Sitting Figures.

43 (Pl. 19). H. 0·15 m. Missing top of the chair, right hand and foot. Traces of red and white paint. Reddish clay. Plain, high-backed chair. Left arm across the breast, legs uneven. Long, thin chiton hanging unevenly. Features soft and rubbed. End of the fifth century. B 1, 0·85–1 m. below datum.

44–45. Torsos of sitting figures, holding birds. Bad condition.

Reclining Figures.

46 (Pl. 20). Naked male torso. Reddish clay. Right arm raised, left arm down. Below datum.


48. Leg of a couch and part of the figure upon it. Yellowish clay. Below datum.

Crouching Figure.


Group.

50. H. 0·05 m. Headless female figure, standing on the edge of a podium. Red clay, traces of white paint. Undergirt peplos; right knee bent; left hand holds a patera, right hand perhaps a shield. All the edges on her right are broken. Above 460 B.C. Corinthian style. D 2, 1·1–1·5 m. above datum.

Masks.

The bases instead of plain cones become human. There are a large number of fragments belonging to masks of the fifth century.

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1 Cf. Winter Pl. 80 7, better Köster *Die Griechischen Terrakotten* Pl. 37. For the head Winter 81 1. I have once more to acknowledge the help of Professor Beazley in this section.

2 There is the same contrast between back and front hair in the Aegina sphinx. For the face and front hair cf. Köster Pl. 36 (Artemis). Cf. a terracotta head found at the Agora 1886—T 138. Similar clay and style, less pleasant work.

3 Winter 203, 4 and 11: from Italy. Romaios, *Arx. Δαλ. 1920* p. 84, from Aetolia. Mr. Jenkins pointed out to me that this figure reclines.

4 Winter 216 1. Blinkenberg *Lindos* Pl. 108 No. 2324. See also the tomb group *Clara Rhodos* IV Fig. 110, which contains Attic vases of rf. style of about 460 B.C.

5 For the drapery cf. Langlotz 17; Winter 144, 7. For a group Winter 155, 2.
51 (Pl. 20). H. 0·104 m. No hole for suspension. Female mask and bust. Missing part of right side. Whitish clay condition good. Face severe, big nose, sulky mouth; hair caught under a veil. The breasts are too high, no drapery. Early classical period. C 1, 0–0·50 m. below datum.

52. Similar, rather later. Damaged.

53 (Pl. 19). Head only. Hair waved from the parting and bunched out. Late fifth century B.C. D and E, above datum.

54. Part of head and bust of a kalathiskos dancer; Polycleitan hair. Over-girt tunic. 2

55 (Pl. 20). H. 0·105 m. Missing part of the hair and the right side of the face. Red clay, white paint. Peplos. Golden hair flying away from the face. Arethusa 3 type. End of the fifth century B.C. Above datum.

56 (Pl. 20). Larger head in good condition. Red clay. She has a wide polos and a stephan. Hair in scallops on the forehead and hanging down the side; broad, fleshy features. Traces of red and white paint. Perhaps Rhodian. 4 Early fifth century. D, 0·050 m. above datum.

57 (Pl. 19). Head with a big neck and fleshy features. Ear-ring, hair featureless. East Greek.

58 (Pl. 20). H. 0·09 m. Slighter type. Yellow clay, traces of dark paint. Polos, hair piled above the forehead and hanging to the shoulder. Well-modelled bust; simple peplos folds; sweeter mouth. Late fourth century. E, above datum. There are a good many fragments of this type.

Cuts out.

59 (Pl. 22). H. 0·094 m. Sphinx. Whitish clay, no paint. Missing, the head, front legs, tip of the wing. Seated, body in profile, head facing. Very carefully worked. Corinthian. 5 First half of the fifth century. B 2, above datum.

60 (Pl. 22). H. 0·084 m. Cock. Light yellow clay. Surface lost except the tail-feathers. It does not appear to have had feet. C 1, 0·050 m. below datum.

Reliefs.

61 (Pl. 22). H. 0·16 m. Paris, Hermes, and two goddesses. Complete, the top, part of the left side and of the foot. Coarse whitish clay, badly baked, whitewash. Paris is sitting on a rock, left leg down, right leg crossed over it; beneath the right foot his lagobolos; left shoulder bare, drapery on his left knee. Left elbow on knee, chin on his left hand. Behind him, his hut.

Hermes is partly hidden by Paris’ rock. He wears petasos, chlamis, short tunic. Right hand outstretched holding a rod, left hand on hip. He looks back to Hera, who is coming up, making the bridal gesture. Behind her is Athena, wearing the Aegis, shield in right hand. Both goddesses wear the peplos with overfall. The spaces between the goddesses are in deep relief, the drapery and inner-markings faint, as from an old mould.

It is in the style of the Melian reliefs, and to be dated about the middle of the fifth century B.C. 6 C 3, 0·20 m. below datum.

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1 Cf. Winter p. 238 No. 8 from Thebes.
2 Cf. Dygeve and others Das Heroon von Kalydon p. 367, 82: a plaque from Praisoi A 741901 Pl. XII No. 5. Both these are much later types. A small bronze in the Ashmolean Museum is nearer (1929, 115).
3 Head. Principal coins of the Greeks, Pl. 17, 68.
4 Cf. a terracotta from Olynthos in London 1912–1913 27 2; Robinson Excavations at Olynthos IV Pl. 11, 63 p. 18, made locally.
5 See Winter 229, 9: cf. a Sphinx, Ath. N.M. from Perachora.
6 Cf. Jacobsthal Melian Reliefs Pls. 1 and 55.
(e) Hellenistic.

Artemis

There was mass production of small female masks in Ithaca in the Hellenistic age. Each is enclosed in a frame, so a kind of relief. Of these there are three main variations.

62. The Artemis type.
63. The 'Ear-ring' type.
64. The 'Circlet' type.

The clay is generally pink, but sometimes, by bad firing, becomes grey. Most of them were found in D or E, two fragments in B and none below datum. They have been found in our excavations at Aetos, and I have found one in the cave above Vathy. I picked up one in a cave in Kephallenia, the only one known from outside the island. Their immediate purpose was to be nailed up inside the cave. It is possible that all represent Artemis. They begin in the ripe Hellenistic period, and they may have lasted a long time.2

62 (Pl. 21). The Artemis type.

About fifty examples. Crescent above hair tied in a knot. Long ringlets down the side: necklace, quiver and quiver-strap. Peplos caught on both shoulders. The type has a long history3—cf. the Artemis Colonna4—but these small, vague features are Hellenistic.6 This is probably the earliest of the three.

63 (Pl. 21). The 'Ear-ring' type.

There are about fifty examples, but, as none is complete, I show one said to come from Ithaca (Ath. N.M.). Hair dressed over a fillet and tied in a knot. It hangs in a swag along the shoulders. The ear-rings are rosettes with a pendant below. In one case a bird pecks at it (63a, Pl. 21). In some examples the folds of the peplos are given, in others the bust is plain. The earlier faces are oval and pleasant, the later fat and severe.

The inscribed fragment 6 shows peplos folds. It has been badly fired and the clay is grey—cf. that of a lamp (No. 12 below). The inscription was discovered when the sherd was washed. It was found in B, about 150 above datum in disturbed earth.

Εὐχήν Οἴοσσει is written outside the swag of hair,7 [Δεῦτε αὐτῷ] across the neck. It is scratched lightly.8

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1 Vollgraff BCH 1905 p. 148, 149, BSA XXXV, p. 54.
2 Cf. Romaios loc. cit. p. 97 Fig. 31.
3 See Bruns Die Jägerin Artemis.
4 Winter Kunstgeschichte in Bildern p. 267, 2.
5 Cf. Head of Artemis on the Pergamon frieze Schuchart Der Grossen Friezes zu Pergamon Pl. 20, Allerüner von Pergamon III, II Pl. XXV.
6 See Benton BSA XXXV Fig. 7, and p. 54.
7 For the form of the inscription cf. CIG 2663, 'Ευχήν, a votive offering by a successful gladiator in fulfillment of a vow to the Nemeses (two cloaks and ear-rings); σύνεργοις, a thank offering (a pig); καθήμενα, an additional faring (a belt with two tassels, for the pig); also BM Marbles IX Pl. 41, on which see Thompson Hesperia 1 p. 195.
8 For the change of direction cf. an inscription written along a hare cf. B.M. Guide to Greek and Roman Life pp. 44 Fig. 32. For graffiti on terracottas cf. S. Reinach BCH VII p. 223 (at Myrina).
FIG. 20.—TERRACOTTA RELIEFS.
Scale, 65, 2:3; 66, 1:1.
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III

64 (Pl. 21). The 'Circlet' type, height about 0·09 m.

About twenty examples, three have been completed. A pleasant face deriving from Praxiteles. All have a dent at the inside corner of the eye, and the noses are rather bulbous. Later faces grow broader and severer. Only one has a painted tunic. None shows the breasts. Ear-rings are a prominent feature. The hair is parted and combed from the face. Only one has been given hair down her shoulders. All wear a circlet, in one case jewelled.

Nymph Reliefs.

Cape Relief.

65 (Fig. 20). H. 0·105 m., conjectured W. 0·19 m. Edge at the top and on the left. Pink clay, like that of local Geometric vases. There is a scrap from the left-hand top corner. Probably five figures in a low, wide cave with the unusual feature of a wall in front.¹

Three female figures, with 'melon' hair, wrapped in heavy mantles. The right-hand figure, originally central, sits reflecting near a cone-shaped altar. She is taller than the others, though sitting. The two others are standing, and greet one another. Above datum.

66 (Fig. 20). Dia. 0·16 m. Round, flat relief. Three² fragments from this relief were not found in the excavation. Nymphs are dancing in a circle round a flutist, one seems to be stopping. Long garments girt high, with long overfall. The mould is worn, and it is difficult to be certain as to the style. Still, the triangular shape of the figures and the tightness of the upper part of the drapery seem Hellenistic.

67. Fragment from another similar relief³ part of a nymph dancing.

68, 69 (Pl. 21). Two portrait heads on rectangular reliefs. Earlier than the masks. Above datum. No. 68 seems to have 'melon hair,' No. 69 to wear a stephane and has an ear-ring so female.

B (Pl. 21). Not found in the excavation, said to come from the inlet West of Polis. Head draped with vines.

6. CATALOGUE OF LAMPS.

There are fragments of only about twenty lamps. The cave was shallow, and probably not very dark.

![Fig. 21.—Section of a Lamp.](image)

Scale, 1 : 4.

Wheel-Made.

1 (Fig. 21). Dia. 0·05 m. Good black glaze. Open, on a base ring: reserved circle below. Attic. Fourth century B.C.? Lamps with this kind of base are generally classed as Roman, but the fabric here is Classical Greek.

¹ Cf. the Washermen's Relief. CIG 455; Berlin No. 70. Is ours a picture of the Polis cave? Cf. also Svoronos National Museum Pl. XCVI ff. Cf. an example in terracotta found at Myrina Reinauch BCH VII Pl. XVI.

² They have been given to Stavros Museum by Miss Maria Louisou.

³ Cf. Alt. Ithaka Beil 76c 4. I have found other fragments in a large cave at Meganisi (mentioned BSA XXXII p. 230).
2 (Pl. 23). H. 0·03 m., L. 0·08 m. Rough. High, vertical handle, short, expanding nozzle. Bronner 1 Type XVI, No. 198. Middle of the second century. C 1, 0·0·50 m. below datum.

Plastic.

3 (Pl. 23). H. 0·025 m. Grey ware. Vertical handle, long nozzle. Same date. Hole in the cliff.


5 (Pl. 23). Unpainted, pale clay. Perhaps a Corinthian 4 version of the last.

6 (Pl. 23). H. 0·03 m., dia. of base 0·04 m. Unpainted, rough red and grey clay. The decoration is derived from designs of the second century B.C., 5 but both design and fabric seem much later. Above datum.


8 (Pl. 23). Similar. B. above datum.

9 (Pl. 23). Red ware, light clay probably Corinthian; fair glaze. Herakles struggling 7 for the tripod. His foot, two tripod legs, bits of the lion's skin, tail behind. Same date. Above datum.

10 (Pl. 23). Fragment of a similar lamp. Corinthian clay. Also part of a nozzle Loeschke, Type IV.

11 (Pl. 23). Bevelled handle. Corinthian clay, same type.

12 (Pl. 23). Unpainted, pale-greenish clay (cf. the clay of the inscribed terracotta). 8 Erotic symplegma, 9 a favourite subject on lamps. 10 Lamp-hole below the bed, another above. Same type, same date. Above datum.


1 (Pl. 23) (No. 1a is a cast) 'Melian.' Steatite. Two stiff palmettes with a scroll below. 11 Very rough work; perhaps of about 700 B.C. C 1 in mixed area below datum.

2. Blue Faience. 12 Small Egyptianising pattern, poor condition. B 1, c. 0·50 m. below datum.

3 (Pl. 23). Similar. Herakles strangling snakes Greco-Egyptian. C 3, 0·50 m. below datum.

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1 Bronner Corinth IV II (Lamps) Pl. V Fig. 14 Profile 50.
2 For the fabric cf. Thompson Ei13 Fig. 98. Bronner Type XVIII.
4 Bronner Pl. VI No. 301.
5 Cf. the leaves on Megarian bowls, Hellenistic pottery above No. 28 (p. 33 Pl. 16).
6 Bronner p. 80 Fig. 38, 23; No. 570 Pl. XI Type XXVII. The pattern continues into the third and fourth centuries No. 927 Pl. XIV Type XXVIII.
7 Cf. Loeschke Lampen aus Vindinossa Type IV, Pl. VII 71. (Herakles and the Hydra.)
8 See above, p. 36.
10 Bronner Pl. XXVIII Type XXVII; Loeschke Type IV Pl. VIII. For the style cf. bid. Pl. VII 399 where the hair of Polyphemos is similarly treated.
12 Artemis Orthia p. 385. Such scarabs were found stratified with pottery round about 700 B.C.
4. Similar. Perhaps an animal. C 3, 0·50 m. below datum.

5 (Pl. 23). Agate. Pegasos; his wing is visible in the upper half, his head at the crack. C 3, 0·80–1·10 m.

A. (Pl. 23). Sard. Five worshippers holding torches walking to a female draped statue on a pedestal. She holds a shield and a spear. They are in a cave, and the feet of the front three seem to be behind a wall.¹ Roman work. Probably from Polis.

8. IVORY FIGURINE.

Pl. 12, Fig. 22. Ivory figurine, perhaps bearded, stands on a pedestal; feet not indicated; head turned to the right. The right arm is broken, but held an object which

![Ivory Figurine Image]

FIG. 22.—IVORY FIGURINE.

Scale, 5:1.

appears on the pedestal—a club for the left arm holds the lion's skin (claws above the pedestal), and there may be a lion's skin cap—so Herakles. It is a pendant, for a hole

¹ Cf. B.M. Gems No. 2235a. The statue is Athena. (a) The scene takes place beyond a rustic porch or a cave entrance; (b) as stated in the publication. Cf. the terracotta relief No. 65 Fig. 20 above.
has been bored for suspension.¹ The bronze wire was very likely added when the left arm broke; an untidy muffer obscuring the features cannot have been part of the original composition, and a bound Herakles with his club ready for action would be an absurdity. In any case, prisoners are apt to have their hands bound, in Greek art generally bound behind their backs.²

It is a rough work, but not without charm when left its natural size; it is then difficult to see what it is, hence the drastic enlargement in Fig. 22. The turn of the head shows that is not archaic,³ and it seems to be reminiscent of Myron's Herakles. It may be Hellenistic or Roman.⁴ C I, 0-0·50 m. below datum.

(Pls. 23 and 24.)

All the coins of the excavation were found above datum in disturbed earth.

(a) Greek.

Silver.

Corinth (2 and 4 possibly colonial).

1. Pl. 24: stater.  (a) Pegasos with curled wing,⁵ flying l; beneath φ.
   (b) Incuse square, swastika. Sixth century.

2. Pl. 24: stater. (a) Pegasos, flying l.
   (b) Helmeted head of Athena.

3. Pl. 24: stater. (a) Pegasos with straight wing, flying l; beneath φ.
   (b) Helmeted head of Athena.⁶ Owl.

4. Pl. 24: drachma. (a) Pegasos with straight wing, flying l.
   (b) Head of Aphrodite,⁷ hair in a bag. Fourth century.

Sicyon.

5. Pl. 24: drachma. (a) Dove flying l.⁸
   (b) ΣΙ in olive wreath.

¹ Cf. Artemis Orthia Pl. CLXX 5. Very badly illustrated; see the photographs of the Institute. Early seventh century.
² Cf. The works of the 'Beldam' Painter, Haspels Attic b.f. Lekythoi Pls. 49b, 50 1b (in the water); Furtwängler, Antiike Gemmen Pl. V 37; bronze figurine Mariani Ausonia 1909 p. 43 Fig. 12.
³ Contrast an ivory figurine from Sparta Artemis Orthia, which in truth might be any date from its style, Pl. CLXX 1 and Pl. CLXXXVIII 5 (archaic). See the Institute photograph.
⁴ Cf. the ivory figurine lately found in the Agora. JHS 1936 Pl. IX.
⁵ BM Coins of Corinth, etc. No. 23 (p. 2 Pl. I, 1). The coin placed earliest by Head, Pl. I, 1, is certainly later than No. 3 despite the incuse. The type of wing in No. 3 dates from the Middle proto-Corinthian period (Johansen Pl. XXVIIb) with big feathers well fluffed out. No. 1 has narrow straight-edged feathers of an Early Corinthian type (Payne NC Pl. 24). The earliest Corinthian coin known to me is Ravel, Les Poulains de Corinth Pl. I p. 6, cf. Pegasos on the Axos helmet (Levi, Mon. Ant. 1933). I agree with Dr. D. Levi that this helmet belongs to the middle of the seventh century B.C.
⁶ Cf. BM Coins of Corinth No. 180 (Pl. V 6).
⁷ Cf. ibid. No. 185 (Pl. V 9).
⁸ Cf. BM Coins of the Peloponnesus No. 220 p. 54 (Pl. IX 14).
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III

Bronze.

Sikyon.

6. Pl. 24: (a) Dove feeding.\(^1\)
(b) Tripod in olive wreath.
7. (b) Ζι in olive wreath.

Patrai.

8. Pl. 24: (a) Head of Athena.
(b) Poseidon thrusting with trident,\(^2\) dolphin on l. hand: behind him Σ; ΛΥΚΩΝ Δ[A] M[ΟΤΙΑΜΟΥ] ΠΑΤΡ[ΕΩΝ].
9. Pl. 24: (a) Head of bearded Herakles.
(b) Athena\(^3\) holding shield and spear: in front owl: behind, Κ; around, ΜΗΤΡΟΔ Ω[ΠΟΣ] ΠΕΙΚΛΕΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ.
10. Another. Inscription illegible.

Epiros.

11. Pl. 24: (a) Head of Zeus.
(b) Thunderbolt\(^4\) in olive wreath; above Α; below Π.

Athens.

12. Pl. 24: (a) Obliterated.
(b) Poppy-head,\(^5\) between ears of wheat and barley. ΑΘΩ.
13. Pl. 24: (a) Head of Athena\(^6\) wearing Attic helmet.
(b) Owl in olive wreath.

Amphilochian Argos.

14. Pl. 24: (a) Head of Athena wearing helmet with high peak.
(b) Owl. ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ.\(^7\)
15. Another similar.

Vibo Valentia.

16. Pl. 24: (a) Head of Zeus.\(^8\)
(b) Winged thunderbolt; LENTIA; Victory with wreath: owl.

Kranaea.

17. Pl. 24: (a) A head overstruck \(^9\) Κ and a dolphin.
18. Pl. 24: (a) Ram standing.\(^10\)
(b) A bow. About 400 B.C.

Melos.

19. Pl. 24: (a) Pomegranate.\(^11\)
(b) Phrygian helmet with cheek-pieces.

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\(^1\) Cf. *ibid* 176 (Pl. IX 11).
\(^2\) *BM Peloponnesus* p. 22 6 Pl. V 7.
\(^3\) *Ibid* p. 23, 8 Pl. V 8.
\(^4\) Cf. *BM Thessaly to Aetolia* p. 88, 5 Pl. XVII 3. Ours has an olive-wreath, not an oak-wreath.
\(^5\) *BM Attica* No. 656. Svoronos *Trésor des Monnaies d’Athènes*, Pl. 104. 38–45.
\(^6\) Cf. *BM Attica* p. 21 No. 220 Pl. VI 5.
\(^7\) Cf. *BM Thessaly and Aetolia* p. 172 no. 9.
\(^8\) Cf. *BM Italy* p. 360 No. 8.
\(^9\) Cf. *BM Peloponnesus* p. 82, 62.
\(^11\) *BM Crete and Aegean Islands* p. 103, 6 Pl. XXIII 21.
Rhegion.

20. Pl. 24: (a) Heads of the Dioscuri \(^1\) below stars. (b) Naked male figure leaning on staff \(\text{ΦΙΗΩΝ}\).

Corcyra.

21. Pl. 24: (a) Head of Poseidon,\(^2\) trident behind. (b) Forepart of galley \(\text{ΚΟΠΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ}\).

22. Pl. 24: (a) Heads of young Herakles and Corcyra. (b) Forepart of galley. Inscription \(^3\) above galley, [\(\text{ΚΟΠΚΥ}\) On galley, \(\text{ΝΙΚΑ}^4\).

Akarnania.

23. Pl. 24: (a) Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet,\(^4\) (b) Head of Acheloos, trident above. c. 200 B.C.

(b) Roman.

24. Pl. 23. Uncia. (a) Head of Athena with Attic helmet.\(^5\) (b) Prow of a galley: \(\text{ΡΟΜΑ}^6\). Second century B.C.

25. Pl. 23. As. (a) Janus-head. (b) Prow of a galley \(\text{ΣΑΦΡΑ}^6\). c. 160 B.C.

26. Pl. 24: (a) Heads of Antony and Octavia \(^7\) [M. ANT. IMP.] COS. DES. ITER ET TERT. (b) Galley in full sail; below, A. Grüber\(^8\) gives reasons for thinking that these coins may have been struck at Zakynthos.

27. Another.

28. Pl. 24: (a) Head of Constantius,\(^9\) fillet of dots. (b) Emperor holding patera, left-hand on the head of a captive.

29. Pl. 24: (a) Head of Constantius, fillet of dots.

These two coins of the fourth century are the latest objects found in the excavation. A large and valuable hoard of coins was said to have been found by Louisos. About fifteen more or less identifiable coins were shown to me as having belonged to it. I give a list of the silver coins:

Aegina, cf. \(\text{BM Attica} \) Pl. XXIII 2.
Sikyon, cf. \(\text{BM Peloponnesos} \) Pl. VII 16.
Phokis, cf. \(\text{BM Central Greece} \) Pl. III 8, p. 16 No. 23.
Thebes, cf. \(\text{ibid.} \) p. 83 No. 154.

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\(^1\) Giesecke \(\text{Italica Numismatica} \) p. 137 Pl. 18 K. 14.
\(^2\) \(\text{BM Thessaly to Aetolia} \) p. 151, 549 Pl. XXV 2.
\(^3\) Cf. \(\text{ibid.} \) pp. 146, 492 and \(\text{Grose Greek Coins} \) (Fitzwilliam Museum) 5257 Pl. 191, 10.
\(^4\) \(\text{BM Thessaly to Aetolia} \) p. 170 No. 21 Pl. XVII 8.
\(^5\) Mattingly \(\text{Roman Coins} \) Pl. II 15.
\(^6\) Grüber \(\text{Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum} \) No. 676 Pl. XXI 4.
\(^7\) \(\text{ibid.} \) p. 151, p. 516.
\(^8\) \(\text{Ibid.} \) p. 514 foot. See also two others found in Ithaca, below p. 51.
\(^9\) Cf. Cohen \(\text{Medailles Imperiales} \) VI p. 318 No. 261. Constantius. I have to thank Dr. Schwalbacher for identifying this coin.
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III

The following bronze coins were said to have been found in the sea opposite the cave, at the mouth of a water-channel.

Patrai, Like Nos. 9, 10 above.
Dyrrachion, (a) Head of Zeus (b) tripod in oak-wreath ΔYP.
Damastion (a) Head, (b) tripod.
Chios, (a) Sphinx, (b) amphora (cf. Grose III Pl. 291 No. 27).

Two other late Chiot coins are said to have been found in Ithaca. A fine silver one is said to have been found near Aetos (cf. Grose III Pl. 291 No. 13).

Roman Coins, Two more coins of Antony, see No. 26 above.

Sylvia Benton.

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FIG. 23.—INSCRIBED SHERD (Cf. Fig. 19). REPRODUCED FROM ILN, DEC. 16, 1931.
Scale, 1:1.

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1 No bronze coins of Damastion are otherwise known.
THE DATE OF THE CRETRAN SHIELDS

Dr. Kunze’s splendid presentation alone makes possible the study of Cretan shields, many of which he put together with his own hands. Even where I differ from his conclusions I have to start from the premises he laid down from his careful and scholarly analysis, and his magnificent illustrations.

Dr. Kunze dated the beginning of the Cretan shields by the date of certain gold bands (op. cit. pp. 247, 266) found with Attic vases, from the end of the ninth to the beginning of the seventh century B.C. He has subsequently lowered the date of at least some other Attic vases by some fifty years, and he has told me that he is now disposed to date the shields also later than he did.

Dr. Kunze was naturally looking for an early date, since Johansen had affirmed the dependence of Protocorinthian vase-painting on Crete, particularly on Cretan metal-work, in which he was firmly supported by Payne. But when Johansen’s evidence is examined in detail, the works of Cretan art quoted to prove the connection are generally either the Prinias reliefs or the Cretan shields. I think the Prinias reliefs should be dated near the middle, and not near the end of the seventh century, as is the fashion of late years, but at any rate they can have had no influence on Protocorinthian vase-painting of the early seventh century. Can the Cretan shields? When dating his shields in the eighth century B.C., Dr.

1 Kretische Bronzereliefs. He has read this paper and corrected some errors. I have not convinced Dr. Kunze.
2 I omit the discussion of the date of the Afrati shield, as it now appears that tomb L (see Kunze p. 40) contains vases belonging to the second half of the seventh century (Levi, Annuario X–XII figs. 462–464).
4 Les Vases Sicyoniens, passim.
5 Necrocorinthia p. 53. Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei p. 11.
6 p. 54. It is impossible to derive the patterns of Early Protocorinthian like those of floral chains (Johansen p. 119 figs. 72, 74–7) from the Cretan chain of fig. 89 (as Johansen does, p. 122), even though fig. 89 may be more organic. The influence must have gone the other way: equally organic and earlier chains exist in Protocorinthian painting, e.g., Payne PV pl. 9, 5.
7 Dr. Kunze tells me that he thinks the frieze may belong to the first half of the seventh century.
THE DATE OF THE CRETAN SHIELDS

Kunze faced the difficulty that there was so little contact between them and contemporary Cretan vase-painting. I have added that the shields were equally unconnected with the Cretan metal-workers who made bronze tripod cauldrons in the eighth century B.C. Dr. Kunze has been able to divide the shields into groups, but he has not been able to show a coherent development from one group to another. A static self-contained school of metal-workers, preserving their oriental flavour intact for something like 150 years, is a difficult conception—more difficult still if we are asked to regard any links with the seventh century B.C. as seeds of archaic art lying dormant within. Surely the industry is more easily explained as supplying a short-lived fashion arising from direct imports, which indeed are present. Most easily of all if it can be regarded not as shut up in a self-contained matrix, but as a separate organism, influenced by and influencing the art of its time, in Crete and in Corinth. Dr. Kunze's fine study of the Eastern motives absolves me from further inquiry in that direction, but the East is too unchanging to give evidence for close dating; the Greek elements offer a more promising field of inquiry, and to these I shall devote myself. Dr. Kunze says, indeed proves, that the industry is Greek, so it should have a beginning, a middle, and an end. Its achievement is that it combines two techniques, embossing and engraving, both of which were practised separately in the eighth century. Embossing was the technique of the gold bands, and the use of incision in them is negligible.

Nicks appear as ornaments on legs and handles of tripod-cauldrons throughout the Geometric age, and it was usual to nick the manes of horses. On the mainland at the end of the Geometric age flat surfaces were engraved with Geometric designs, and it was a small innovation to extend the technique to other designs—hence the Boeotian brooches. Unfor-

1 pp. 90 ff.
2 BSA XXXV 117. See below p. 59 for shield patterns.
3 See Payne Necrocorinthia p. 68 on the dates of the Hittite prototypes of Proto-corinthian lions.
4 Mr. Pendlebury (Archaeology of Crete, p. 336) apparently attempts to resuscitate the 'hotchpotch' legend: in my view, Dr. Kunze's analysis killed it.
5 I.e., it should have a style of its own which develops; otherwise it is un-Greek and unimportant.
6 'The designs are hammered out—more rarely incised,' (Pendlebury loc. cit.). They are all incised. Dr. Kunze says that the shields were beaten up without a matrix and then engraved (pp. 70 ff.), but surely the engraving would spoil the shape. The outline sketch at least must have been done first, for on one shield (Kunze no. 43 pl. 39) we seem to have an abandoned sketch of a stag's head intruding between a bull's legs. The question of technique has a dating value, for a matrix may continue long in use. In the shields free-hand engraving ensured variety and progress, though some kind of block was no doubt used.
7 Kunze p. 73, 5.
8 Hammered tripods, Furtwänglers Class II. Olympia iv p. 81 pl. XXXI.
9 See Hampe Sagenbilder.
fortunately the style of these is so bad that it is difficult to date them and impossible to date anything else from them. They are probably influenced by the shape of the horses on stands made of hammered metal, which are thinner and more stick-like than the cast or embossed horses of the real Geometric period, for technical reasons. In Aetos, Ithaca, these horses on stands probably belong to the seventh century B.C. The fact that the favourite pattern of the Boeotian brooches, even the earliest of them, is a simple chain argues against their being early in the seventh century B.C.\footnote{Cf. the outline of lions on the Olympian corselets Olympia iv pls. LVIII (no. 980) and LIX: also the border of the frieze at Prinias Annuario. I. fig. 19.}

The shields are consistent in their use of engraving for outline; they have already achieved a system towards which early Protocorinthian vases proceed by trial and error. If, as is generally agreed, the incision of Protocorinthian vase-painting is derived from metal-work, the early Protocorinthian vases which use it in an experimental fashion (Johansen pls. XXII 2 and XXI 2) are presumably copying metal-work where the use is still experimental, e.g., a plastic lion (my pl. 25, 1 and 2) from Palaikastro; incision on the top of the head, the eyes, the ankles. There may well be a connection between this type of bronze and vases like the aryballos Johansen pl. XX 3 c, on which we see the first frontal Protocorinthian panther; note the big head and the pricked ears. Large feline heads are a characteristic of early Cretan works, and the head of the Palaikastro lion is outsize even in Crete. Note also the eye of the next lion on the vase, and the way his jaw hangs down. The Cretan lion’s tongue hangs down; the vase lion’s tongue is out, but the jaw hangs down, all the same. The resemblance is close enough to warrant a similar date. It follows, then, that the shields which have attained a system of outline incision are later—are near to or in the second quarter of the seventh century. The shields, however, achieve inner marking by definite degrees, so that incision for inner markings may be used to date them among themselves, and tentatively to correlate them with the vases which are making a similar experiment. Four stages may be distinguished:—

\begin{enumerate}
\item A fragment of a shield (Kunze No. 59 (pl. 45)) has stags with heavy bodies and no inner markings, except for the eyes, and heavy clumsy incision for the lower contours. Embossing does not produce such slender bodies as some other techniques,\footnote{Payne PV pl. 5, 3. Johansen Les Vases Siconiens pl. XIV 1.} and from the days of the gold bands, stags’ bodies are not so slender as those of other animals. This corpulence might at first sight suggest that the shields and bands must be contemporary. There is, however, a real difference in drawing between these stags and the stags of the gold bands, which are still shakey in the legs.
\end{enumerate}
THE DATE OF THE CRETAN SHIELDS

55

Cf. sub-Geometric Protocorinthian painting—stags on early Protocorinthian vases are heavy, and have heavy simple incision. Stags become lighter and have more incision in the late Protocorinthian period (2) Kunze nos. 60, 62 (pl. 44). Stags are nearly as heavy, one incised line on the shoulder. (3) Kunze no. 46 (pl. 41) no. 44 (pl. 40), double line at the shoulder, line at the ear. (4) Kunze no. 26 (pls. 33 and 36). The stags fly lightly along; necks incised; tentative belly-stripe—these stripes first occur on middle Protocorinthian vases; bumps, another technique, are used with great effect for musculature. There are olive trees with much light incision. The olive trees can be paralleled by those on a matrix in the Ashmolean Museum, and on it too bumps denote muscles: Payne dated it late Protocorinthian. As light or lighter stags are on Kunze shield no. 54 (pl. 42). Here they are beside lions which have the neat, short bodies of some late Protocorinthian animals (cf. the body of the bronze goat on a spout found at Aetos in Ithaca), but the net manes and the pointed noses of Early Corinthian lions; bumps for eye and nose. The light but elaborate incision recalls the inside of the shields on the Chigi olpe. On my system the elaboration of incised detail and scenes will bring the ‘Hunter’ shield (Kunze no. 6) to the middle of the century, to the climax of the style, near the Chigi olpe where similar scenes are depicted. Notice how much stronger the oriental flavour has grown.

To take the stags’ partners, the lions:
(1) Those on Kunze no. 46 (pl. 41) are simple with long bodies, bumps for eye, ears, nose: they only snap at the deer. (2) Lions on the shield Kunze no. 44 (pl. 40) are heavier, more ornamental, and bite; so later. (3) The lion on Kunze no. 45a (pl. 40) is a shade more ornamental. (4) The lions on Kunze no. 29 (pl. 35) have overdone it: heavy, mis-shapen bodies overloaded with ornament, absurdly small heads and, as I shall show elsewhere, the front lions are engaged in a riotous symplegma. The acme of the style is past, and, strangely enough, the creatures look much more oriental than they did.

Other lions on the shields seem to develop on parallel lines. (2) Lions on Kunze no. 3 (pl. 4) and no. 4 (pl. 6) are shaped like Kunze no. 44 (pl. 40), they are tame and dull and spotted all over. (3) Lions on Kunze no. 8 (pls. 21 and 22) are beautifully balanced and vigorous, close in drawing to those of the Axos mitra. Those of Kunze no. 54 (pl. 42) are more com-

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1 PV, pl. 10, 3.
2 Id., pl. 26, 3 and 6.
3 E.g. PV pl. 16, 2. They are not common until the late Protocorinthian period (Johansen pl. XXXVI).
4 NC pl. 45 p. 225.
5 Surely the stag on a broken fragment above does not belong to this shield. It is in a different style, and has only one antler.
6 JHS 1938 p. 226 fig. 6: also Johansen pl. XXXVII 5: PV pl. 30, 7.
7 NC pl. 25 p. 68.
pact and very fine. The little lions of the 'Bird' shield (Kunze no. 1 (pl. 1)) are less fine, but still admirable animals. Those of the 'Hunter' shield (Kunze no. 6 (pl. 10)) are almost too violent, but perhaps we should include them among the still vigorous members of the style. (4) The panthers of Kunze no. 2 (pl. 5) cannot be included. Their heads and shoulders are too big (just as the female between them is much too fat).

Look again at the lions on Kunze nos. 44, 45a (pl. 40), and then look at an Early Corinthian kotyle (Payne NC pl. 22, 4). The painter of this vase has gone beyond imitation of type and general style: he has taken the Cretan feline and put him on his vase. He must have seen duplicate shields extant in his time, and shields of thin hammered bronze do not last for ever like cast tripods. The use of this convention for lions' manes at

![Fig. 1.—Detail of a Shield from Palaikastro. Scale, 1:1.](image)

Corinth is commonest in the last quarter of the seventh century B.C., but it appears a little earlier. The lions on Kunze no. 54 (pl. 42) have the Corinthian mane exactly, but their bodies are at latest those of Payne's Transition period.

The incised equivalent of bumpy nets is to be seen on the Crowe corselet,¹ to be dated to the middle of the century, where the convention represents woven patterns.² If I have dated the shields too early, the engraving of outline may be derived from this kind of work, the shoulder-mark Kunze no. 46a (pl. 41) might have been taken but half understood from this corselet. The bodies of the corselet-lions seem, however, more developed than those of Kunze no. 46a. Note the big heads of the felines and the Cretan curls of the men.

¹ *Olympia* iv pl. LIX.

² I underline 'woven', for Professor Wace tells me that the term 'Embroidery Style' is misleading (Kunze p. 96). See Wace 'Veil of Despoina' (*AJA* 1934) p. 107.
The shield Kunze no. 29 (pl. 35), my fig. 1, represents a real group, and other shield creatures get to closer grips than do any Geometric combatants. The sphinx on Kunze no. 1 (pl. 2) is gripped tightly round the body, the sphinxes on Kunze shield no. 4 (pl. 6) are quite adequately held, and a fallen man on the ‘Hunter’ shield Kunze no. 6 (pl. 19 top) is seized closer than the man in the lion hunt on the Chigi olpe. Note the lion biting the bull’s neck (Kunze no. 43 (pl. 39)) perfectly paralleled by the scene on a Late Protocorinthian olpe. The shield scene and the vase scene must be nearly contemporary, and shield no. 43 does not differ in technique and general style from the others.

Dr. Kunze remarked that the flatness of Daedalid heads was anticipated by shield no. 76, and by it only (p. 229), but if we look through the Cretan shields we shall find that while pot-helmets are allowed to be pointed, most other heads have low, flat brows and are either flat or have a flat head-dress. Most heads have the high cheek-bones of Cretan Daedalid sculpture, and the bust on Kunze no. 40 (pl. 38) has the irregular triangular shape of face proper to Crete: cf. the head of Apollo on the Axos mitra, and the plastic head on an aryballos in Berlin. Flat heads are present, but not invariable, in the earliest Protocorinthian figure drawing, by the late period they are invariable. These flat heads are best appreciated in sculpture, a feature then of plastic art and probably of Cretan origin. It is accompanied in sculpture and once at least in the shields (Kunze

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1 The top creature is a deer, with a deer’s ear incised above the eye. Where Dr. Kunze draws a cat’s ear (p. 170) there is a modern nail. The beast below has a cat’s ear—it is a lion roaring over a dead deer. The standing lion does not threaten the top deer, it bites it in the mouth and claws its shoulder.

2 Johansen pl. XL.

3 PV pl. 26, 5.

4 The head of the goddess Kunze no. 2 pl. 5 is round; post-Daedalic? See below, p. 62.

5 Levi Annuario 1933 pl. XIII fig. 15. The drawing is very close to Late Protocorinthian drawing, but some features point to Crete: (1) It portrays a revelation. (2) Apollo’s irregular chin, i.e. high cheek-bones. (3) The sphinxes are wingless: cf. a Geometric bronze sphinx from Crete in the British Museum (1930, 6.17.2). (4) The dragons below the legs, cf. the dragon’s head on the helmet from Axos BCH 1936 p. 272 fig. 36. This beast is not a lion, look at its ears (Lamb Greek and Roman Bronzes p. 64). Cf. AD I pl. 7, 26, where a sea-monster has such a head. (5) The ramping lions: cf. the lions on Kunze no. 8 (pls. 21–3). In any case, it is to be dated 650–40 B.C.

6 Neugebauer Führer (Vasen) p 10 above. See Payne BSA XXIX 254.

7 The evidence for a Cretan origin of ‘Daedalic’ sculpture may be summarised as follows. The best Daedalid figure in the round is the statue once in Auxerre, which is close to the statue found at Eleutherna in Crete. The Auxerre statue is also close to the best Daedalid bronze (at Delphi), which is of the same school as a bronze said to have been found at Knossos (Neugebauer, Die Minoischen und Archaish Griechischen Bronzen (Berlin), No. 158, pl. 19). For references to the other monuments mentioned see Jenkins Daedalica p. 19 ff., also Hartley, BSA XXXI 107.

8 Winter Kunstgeschichte in Bildern p. 197. Korai found at Dreros BCH 1936 pl. LXIII Goddess on a Cretan vase, Levi Annuario x–xii fig. 431.
nos. 70a, b, 71, pl. 48) by the 'peplos cape', not a fashion that could last for ever.

The term 'omphalos' (Kunze, p. 18) is misleading. The centre of these shields is a large boss, not at all like an omphalos. Other shields too should be restored with a rising in the middle, and should not be ironed out flat.

I formerly attributed an 'omphalos' shield (Kunze, no. 27, pl. 34) to an earlier period, because it is the only shield which uses patterns found on metal-work in the Geometric period (750–25 B.C.): but the patterns are simple and a simple ornament may live on; Dr. Kunze rightly compares the centre of this shield to that of a clay lid of the seventh century found at Knossos, the vase, however, has leaves where the shield has a zig-zag. This shield is in a different tradition from most of the shields, but it best accords with the Late Protocorinthian period, when there are vases with thin, but still well finished simple animals, perfectly paralleled by animals on bronzes that resemble the shield animals. Geometric horses have haggled manes decorated with incision: there is a fine one from Crete on a tripod-handle in Oxford. The mane is retained on the robuster horses of the Hunter shield (Kunze, no. 6 pl. 17) and on a bronze relief from Knossos. Horses on a relief pithos at Candia give an excellent parallel: the goddess wears a Daedalid 'cape'. Shield no. 46 (pl. 41) is nearest to this 'omphalos shield' (no. 27 pl. 34).

A dinos, 18a from tomb L at Arkades, has a griffin-bird whose neck is a spout, partly painted and partly plastic, which recalls the bird of Kunze shield (pls. 1, 2), partly plastic and partly in relief. From the advanced character of its palmette and roundel, the dinos should be in the second half of the seventh century B.C. The griffin-bird's wings and those of the

1 E.g. shields Kunze no. 29 (pl. 35) and no. 40 (pl. 38), both from Palaikastro. I shall deal with this question more fully elsewhere.
2 BSA 1935 p. 117.
3 Payne BSA XXIX no. 60 bis p. 246 fig. 34, 41, pl. VIII, 9.
4 E.g. Payne PV pl. 31. Compare the panther and sphinx (loc. cit. no. 5) with those on a bronze crown in Athens (ApX 1892 pl. XII 5): then compare the horse on the crown with the horses on the shield.
5 BSA 1935 p. 84 pl. 20, 1. Companion horse, op. cit. pl. 21, 6, in Candia, found in the excavation of the Idœcan cave.
6 Payne JHS 1933 p. 291 fig. 16.
7 Pernier Annuario i figs. 37, 38, p. 69.
8 Levi Annuario x–xii pp. 323–5 fig. 420.
9 Cf. the similar decoration on the Rhodian plate in London with a bull, to be dated about 600 B.C. (see below, p. 61). The plastic bronze goat mentioned above, p. 55, is probably also from a spouted dinos.
10 The griffin-bird's wings are straight like the shield wings. Other straight wings on a Cretan aryballos (JHS 1933 p. 293) to be dated just before the middle of the seventh century. The body of the sphinx on this vase is like the body of the sphinx on the shield (Kunze no. 40 pl. 38).
sphinx are stylised like those of the late lions on the shield Kunze no. 54 (pl. 42), the lion has a net mane (cf. N.C pl. 25, 3). The bird on the shield is just a shield-charge, like the charges on Protocorinthian shields. The commonest pattern of the shields is the cable, a pattern which appears sporadically in the eighth century but is characteristic of the seventh century B.C. The earliest shields have no floral ornaments. Sporadic flowers appear only among the highly ornamental animals no. 4 (pl. 6), and simple floral chains generally later still. The bowl Kunze no. 69, pl. 47 with a simple lotus chain is an exception. Johansen and Kunze have pointed out an occasional analogy in the eighth century, B.C., many many and close parallels in the seventh century, to which I add the following. The rosettes on Kunze no. 1 (pl. 1) are most closely paralleled by the Early Corinthian aryballoi of Payne's Lion group (N.C. p. 289 fig. 125).

![Ivory Fibulae from Psychro](image)

Half-rosettes of a similar type Kunze no. 5 (pl. 8) are found in the Late Protocorinthian period (Johansen, pl. XXXVI). Contrast the earlier rosettes on the ivory fibulae from Psychro (fig. 2). The short fat petals of no. 80 are close to those on the mouth of an early Protocorinthian aryballos (Johansen, pl. XXII. 2c.). The little palmette growing out below the sphinx of Kunze no. 2 (pl. 3) is closely paralleled by the flower supporting a sphinx on an Olympia corselet. Dr. Kunze has devoted much time to tracing the history of the spirals of no. 8 (pl. 21) while still an ornament. It also has a companion on the Cretan aryballos with a

1 There is a charge very like this on an aryballos in Berlin (Johansen pl. XXXII, 1, d). The vase is to be dated about the middle of the seventh century. See also N.C pl. 1, 10.

2 Published Bosanquet BSA VI 113. Better drawing of no. 79 (not 81 as stated by Blinkenberg) Blinkenberg, Fibules Grecques et Orientales p. 266 fig. 312.

3 Olympia IV no. 980 pl. LVIII.

4 See p. 57 above AM XXII 1897 pl. VI. Dated Jenkins Daedalica pl. VI, 6, 640–30 B.C. The chain reappears on an ivory disc found in a tomb at Enkomi, which is thus identified as Cretan. Gjerstad Swedish Cyprus Expedition I Tomb 18 No. 41 pl. CLII.
plastic head in Berlin which belongs to the middle of the seventh century. Another close parallel is given by a Middle Protocorinthian ring-vase in the British Museum. The pattern affords an interesting contrast between the looseness of the Cretan ornament and the strength and crispness of Protocorinthian painting. It is interesting that the pattern on the back of the base which corresponds to the chain is a cable pattern with incision, very like the shield cables.

Dr. Kunze compares the tree on his no. 8, pl. 22 to a stiff tree on a ‘black and white’ vase at Knossos published by Payne (BSA XXIX pl. XVIII). It is more like the ornament on a Cretan oinochoe of the second quarter of the seventh century (id. pl. XI, 7) in its freedom of treatment. Most like a band at Olympia (no. 748, pl. XLII).

Turning to the shields charged with a lion’s head, the earlier simpler ones seem to be the Protocorinthian type of the middle of the century, Kunze no. 11 (pl. 28), nearly plain like Late Protocorinthian shields on vases. Kunze no. 4 (pl. 6) simple stylisation of the muzzle. Rather a dull shield; the lions are stiff and tame; contrast the swing and variety of Kunze no. 8 (pl. 23). Kunze no. 10 (pls. 26, 27) same type, but more incision and deeper moulding, naturalistic mane. A much more lively shield. Kunze no. 14 (pl. 29) has added dots on the nose, a common Protocorinthian feature.

(4) Kunze no. 13 (pl. 23) probably not from a shield) is a complete change. Besides spots and deep moulding, there are scales and the elaborate face of Early Corinthian felines.

The characteristics of (4) are to be found on the lion protomes of the Barberini cauldron, coupled with a greater roughness of treatment. The stand of this cauldron has a clumsy man-bull whose body is stylised like that of the bull on the tambourine Kunze no. 74 (pl. 49), a treatment which has much in common with the Early Corinthian ‘White dot’ style (NC p. 47) used on lions, (id. pl. 19, 2), on wings (id. pl. 18, 2) and on garments (id. pl. 18): cf. the tunic of Zeus on the tambourine. Look too at the displayed wings of Transition vases (NC, pl. 16, 13), and the Early Corinthian wings (id. pl. 25, 1). Add the other monument adduced by Kunze (Beil. 44), the bowl from Capena: the same style a little more developed: cf. that winged lion with NC 25, 1 and that lion’s lock with id. pl. 25, 3. Look at all these feathered wings. It is beyond doubt that

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1 74, 7, 15, 1. I owe the photograph to the authorities. The vase is figured Kinch Vroullia p. 46 fig. 20, a, b, quoted by Kunze p. 122, 176.
2 I.e. Hittite (see NC p. 68), though an occasional Assyrian lion is found. Cf. the lion’s head from tomb L at Arkades (Levi, Annuario X–XII p. 355 no. 55).
3 For dots on the faces and bodies of lions see NC 170 ff.
4 See NC pls. 170 ff and cf. the panther pl. 23, 2.
5 Kunze, Beil. 7; Mühlestein Der Kunst der Etrusker pls. 104, 105. Note especially the deep-cut palmettes on the front and the deep wrinkles on the top of the nose.
6 Cf. the feathering on the bronzes from Eleutherna (NC fig. 104, A, B): second half of the seventh century.
THE DATE OF THE CRETAN SHIELDS

all these monuments are connected and must be dated together in the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. (two hundred years after Kunze’s date for the tambourine). A bronze dinos stand lately found at Olympia is in the same style ¹ as the Barberini stand and the Capena bowl.

The kind of bull seen on the tambourine is not found in Corinthian art; mainland pastures are too poor to breed this spirit; but it is common in Rhodes ² at about this date. Bulls on the shields had been moving in this direction, growing more lively. (1) Dull bulls of Kunze no. 69 (pl. 47) no incision for inner details. (2) Livelier bulls, walking fast; genitals and some inner markings, Kunze no. 10 (pl. 27): these with the bolting goats. (3) Galloping bulls, neck and dew-lap fully incised, Kunze no. 72 (pl. 47).

On the tambourine ³ Crete has at last brought herself to incise human muscles, and she incises them all too generously. She is not experimenting with a convention, she is borrowing it complete from Assyria. The Corinthians too had been slower to incise the muscles of men than those of animals. At the end of the First Protocorinthian style, on the aryballos at Boston (PV, pl. II. 2), where incision is freely used for the muscles of animals (Johansen no. 8 pl. XXII. 2), human knees ⁴ in silhouette are still indicated by a point, exactly as on the Hunter shield (Kunze no. 6 (pl. 17)), which is in other respects at an advanced stage of engraved technique. Dr. Kunze has not clearly stated that the tambourine is an exception to his rule of no incision on knees (p. 228). Is it logical to suppose that the Cretans had the complete version to start with and then went back to representing knees by points? It is logical to suppose that Crete, like Corinth, borrowed more and more freely from the East in the seventh century.

Though new life and new inspiration are obvious in the tambourine, we can trace the steps in the development of the shields which led up to it. The profiles and the beards of the tambourine ⁵ are foreshadowed in the conventional curly beards of Kunze no. 18 (pl. 30). The Hathor curls have gone, but they had already disappeared from many of the later shields

¹ J.D.I., Olympia Bericht, 1937, pl. 20.
² See a bronze heifer 64.10.7 and a Rhodian plate, both from Kamiros and in the British Museum. Cf. also a ‘Naukratite’ (Chiot) chalice in Delos (E. Price JHS 1924 pl. 9X 11).
³ Kunze no. 75 pl. 49 p. 50. Prof. Beazley points out to me a rather obscure reference to this bronze, as ‘Thierschs Tymanon’ (Ippal Winkelmannsprogramm 1937 p. 41, note 149). The note should have been on Kunze’s case, not on Thiersch’s errors.
⁴ The knee of the right-hand figure on the tambourine is exactly like a knee on the gates of Shalmaneser (King Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser pl. XXVI). Such borrowing does not prove that the tambourine is contemporary with the Gates. See above p. 56, on Assyrian lions; also p. 63 below.
⁵ For the rosettes on the tunic cf. (1) The Crowe corselet (Olympia IV pl. LIX). (2) The dress of the goddess of the temple at Prinias (Pernier Annuario I fig. 21). (3) Boeotian plastic pithoi, Hampe op. cit. pls. 37 and 38.
which have naturalistic hair like the hair on the Olympia corselets and the Axos mitra. No more friezes—a chain of lotus-buds bounds the picture; the animals stand free—and the animals of the ‘Bird’ (Kunze no. 1) and the ‘Hunter’ (no. 6 pl. 10) shields have already escaped from their friezes. We have seen that the bull on the tambourine is a climax towards which all the bulls of the shields had been progressing.

The stylisation of underbody of the lion held upside down cannot be paralleled from the shields. Corinth had thought of something of the kind long before, e.g. on the belly of a hare on a Protocorinthian aryballos of class A in Stamboul (Johansen, no. 6, pp. 91–2, fig. 53), see also inverted hares on the Chigi olpe (id., pl. XL. 1. d), the spotted belly of the sphinx (id., I. c.), and the hares and dogs of the Corfu matrix (NC pl. 45. 3).

The naked female figures, like those on the shields, are not so far common¹ at Corinth, though they are common² in Crete. That on Kunze no. 5 (pl. 8) is pleasant, and most like a Daedalic terracotta figure found at Lato (BCH 1929 pl. 25. 4), quoted by Dr. Kunze (p. 201). Contrast the higher brow, the differently shaped face, the constricted though ungirt waist of the Kerameikos ivory (Kunze AM, 1930 pl. V). Note incision to represent the hair on the mons Veneris of this shield-goddess (Kunze no. 5 pl. 8), and compare a bronze male figure at Delphi, to be dated in the second quarter of the seventh century B.C. (Fouilles de Delphes V pl. 1. 7). All the terracotta figurines shown by Mrs. Dohan, Met. Mus. Studies III figs. 22–25, are post-Daedalic.

Are the claws of the great beast on this shield (and on some others too) fat and short beside those of the sphinxes because they are frontal and fore-shortened? Difficult to believe, but I think true.

Suggested dates (Dr. Kunze’s numbers):—

1. 685 B.C. Simple animals.
   46, 59, 60, 62.
2. 675 B.C. Thin tame lions, sometimes spotted, plain lions’ masks.
   3, 4, 11, 15, 27, 40, 44, 45, 45a, 69.
3. 650 B.C. Well-made, vigorous animals, flowers, spotted lions’ masks.
   1, 5, 6, 8, 10, 14, 18, 20, 21, 26, 39, 43, 52, 54, 71, 72.
4. 640 B.C. Some are fat and decadent; others new and vigorous.
   2, 12, 13, 16, 29, 74.

The conclusion is that the shields should be dated from the end of the

¹ Mr. Dunbabin calls my attention to a terracotta at Athens (‘draped’ Robinson AJA 1906 p. 160 pl. X 2, ‘nude’ Jenkins Daedalicas p. 28 pl. 2, 10) and tells me there is another earlier terracotta from Perachora.
² To the terracottas published by Mrs. Dohan (see below) add the following bronze: female figure from a support found at Praisos (to be published); early seventh century.
first to the beginning of the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. They are a Greek industry, and at first carry on the tradition of the gold bands. They fall more and more under the influence of foreign models. This result can now be used to date many other monuments of the seventh century.

The base of a lion protome (Kunze no. 16, pl. 29) probably later in date than the protomes of the Barberini cauldron (Kunze Beil. 7) was found in Crete. It is a surprise to find the Barberini lion protomes dating so late; and yet reassuring, for it removes the absurdity that the best artists of the mainland should be making lions like the one on a tripod-handle at Olympia, when their Cretan contemporaries knew so much better. It is hard to believe that even with the best model before him, a Cretan bronze-worker with no tradition behind him, could begin Cretan toreutic art with such an achievement as the lions' heads on the shields, at a time when the contemporary plastic school produced heads like the clay head on Kunze pl. 52. It is easier to contemplate such a production at a time when sphyrelaton statues were common, and when lions of a Hittite type were being made in clay: for instance the lion vase from Arkades. Moreover, we know that about the middle of the seventh century Cretan vase-painters were imitating proto-Corinthian aryballoi so closely that only technical details separate the Cretan vases from the imports. Why should not the Cretans have imitated oriental models with a similar fidelity at just this period? Moreover, if Dr. Kunze is right in classifying the Tambourine no. 74 (pl. 49) as a direct but sporadic imitation by a Cretan of an Assyrian work, if it is undateable in style and might have recurred at any time after the ninth century, the Early Corinthian period when the whole Greek world was dabbling in Assyrian motives seems not ill-chosen for its appearance.

If the new date for the Barberini lion protomes is a surprise, it is a greater surprise to have to set with the lion protomes, the griffin protomes on the same cauldron, for these are of the early type; cats' ears, low knobs, broad necks. Dr. Kunze points out to me that metal griffins are represented on much earlier vases, and that if I place almost the earliest metal

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1 Dr. Kunze (p. 279) dated these in the second half of the eighth century, but perhaps he dates them later now, since he dates a lion protome found at Olympia in the first half of the seventh century (ILN 31 Dec. 1938 p. 1233 fig. 10). In my view it comes nearer to the lions NC pl. 17 than to those on pl. 16—Early Corinthian, not Transitional.

2 Olympia IV no. 641: Benton BSA XXXV pl. 24, 4.

3 One was found at Praisos another at Palaikastro (to be published).

4 Levi Annuario X—XII fig. 281 p. 240.

5 Kunze Beil 7. Mühlestein pl. 102.

6 The aryballos in Berlin, Payne PV pl. 9, 4. He might add also the dinos on a stand in Athens, AM 1892 pl. X, dated by Mr. J. M. Cook to the last quarter of the eighth century.
griffins known to us in the third quarter of the seventh century, I push almost the whole development of cast griffins into the last quarter of the seventh century. Moreover, the griffin jug from Aegina in the British Museum is of a more advanced type than the Barberini griffins, and according to Dr. Kunze, it cannot be dated after the middle of the seventh century.

The representations on the early vases do not give us the style of the earlier griffins, but they do suggest that these prototypes do not resemble the Barberini griffins. No doubt cast griffins continued to be made in the sixth century, we cannot yet say which or how many. The advanced appearance of the Aegina griffin is largely due to the way its ears have been restored. Little is known about the dating of Cycladic vases; from the style of the palmette on its neck I am disposed to date this jug in the second half of the seventh century.

There are snakes near to the Barberini griffins on a cauldron from Vetulonia (Mühllestein pl. 107), taking with them a bearded ‘siren’ (pl. 108) which takes us back to the tambourine. On the same cauldron with griffins of the Barberini type in the Bernardini tomb are ‘siren attachments’ with oriental features. Dr. Kunze believes that such ‘sirens,’ direct imitations of oriental types, are prototypes of ‘sirens’ which both he and I date in the first half of the seventh century (e.g. Kunze, pl. 56 c). If this is so, the prototypes continued to be made in, or imported to, Italy after the type had been modified in Greece.

I have to thank Prof. Jacobsthal for discussing this paper with me and Prof. Beazley for his continued help and encouragement.

SYLVIA BENTON.

1 See JHS 1926 pl. VIII.
2 Papers of the American School at Rome, Vol. III, pl. 54.
THE ACROPOLIS TREASURE FROM MYCENAE*

Towards the end of Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae in 1877 a small group of gold objects was found, in the region just south of the Grave Circle, by his engineer Drosinos and the Greek archaeologist Stamatakis. Owing to the circumstances of its discovery, this find received less mention than its importance deserved, and, while individual objects from it have been frequently referred to and illustrated, its existence as a closed group has been obscured, and is not even recognised in the inventory or arrangement of the Athens National Museum. Consequently its exact nature and chronological place at Mycenae have never been defined; Schliemann himself, Tsountas and Wace thought it the remains of a Shaft Grave that was partially plundered and destroyed when a drain was built across it in LH III (see BSA XXV p. 119 and plan, Pl. I). Schuchhardt, followed by Stais in the Museum Catalogue, thought it a hoard, and Karo considers it a parallel to the Tiryns Treasure.¹ It has been suggested to me by Professor Wace² that a further study and more adequate illustration of these objects might decide this point and also discover some grounds for assigning them to a definite place in the chronological order of Mycenae finds.

Schliemann³ gives a very detailed account of the place of discovery, and an excellent plan, which should be compared with the B.S.A. Plan. Just west of the southward extension of the supporting wall of the Grave Circle a drain runs parallel to it; when this was laid down it broke into and partially destroyed a trapezoidal enclosure (inside measurements, north side 20 feet, east 13 feet 4 inches, south 17 feet 4 inches, west 12 feet) whose north and east walls were built directly against cuttings in the rock.⁴ Here in the small space between the drain and the east wall were found the objects enumerated below; it is not recorded that any pottery or other objects were found with them except a few animal bones. I shall

* This article was written about four years ago, but through no fault of the author's its publication was delayed.—Editor.
¹ Arch. Anz. 1916 pp. 143 ff.
² May I here record my gratitude and constant indebtedness to Professor Wace for suggestions, criticism and advice. I should also like to thank Professor Karo and Professor Myres for their help and criticism, and Dr. R. J. Hopper, Macmillan Student of the British School, for his painstaking assistance in verifying references and correcting errors.
³ Mycenae pp. 351 ff.
⁴ The original walls have been destroyed. The walls now visible at Mycenae are modern reconstructions.
discuss the objects as far as possible in the order of their numbers in the National Museum.

1. a. Nat. Mus. 957. Gold two-handled goblet on a high stem. Pls. 26a and 27b. Height 14·3 cm., diameter 13·7 cm. Base, height with stem 7·2 cm., diameter 6·6 cm. Stais, Nat. Mus. Catalogue pp. 65, 66; Schliemann op. cit. pp. 352 ff., Fig. 528.
b. Nat. Mus. 958. Similar goblet. Height 15·3 cm., diameter 15·3 cm. Base, height with stem 7·2 cm., diameter 7·1 cm.
c. Nat. Mus. 959. Similar goblet. Height 13·6 cm., diameter 13·1 cm. Base, height with stem 6·2 cm., diameter 6·5 cm.
d. Nat. Mus. 960. Similar goblet. Height 16·2 cm., diameter 15·6 cm. Base, height with stem 7·7 cm., diameter 7·3 cm.

These four goblets clearly make up a set, and may be considered together, in spite of one or two very slight differences between them.¹ They are solidly made of fairly thick gold plate, each goblet being made in two pieces with separately attached handles. The body is all in one piece, and is joined to the stem by very small gold nails, whose heads are flush with the inner surface; these vary in number from 15 in 957 to 19 in 960. The base and stem are hollow. The body has a sharply offset rim, but is otherwise quite plain; there is a simple engraved line running round the top of the base, but apart from this the whole decoration is concentrated on the handles. These are rounded and set vertically, their lower ends being flattened out circularly and attached to the body by one round-headed nail driven in from the inside and broken off without.² The upper end of each handle terminates in a dog’s head with ears laid back and open mouth gripping the rim of the cup; the actual attachment is made by a very small nail driven in through the dog’s nose and coming out under its chin. The dogs have leashes tied round their necks (in relief on 957–9, incised on 960), and can with great probability be identified as greyhounds, which were apparently favourite dogs with Minoan and Mycenaean princes.³ The heads are simply engraved and modelled with comparatively few lines, but the effect is wonderfully life-like.

It may with justice be said that these goblets are the finest of all the gold and silver vessels (except rhyta) of their period. The whole cup has a fine swinging curve to which I can find no rival in Crete or on the Mainland. At Mycenae the vessel most resembling them is the one-handled goblet no. 427 from Grave IV (Karo op. cit. Pl. CVII), which is also comparable in the thickness of its gold and the excellence of its workmanship. Here, however, the foot is smaller, the stem shorter, the profile of the body straighter, and the result not nearly so pleasing. Of the other pedestalled gold cups, 351 (op. cit. Pl. CXI) and 656 (Pl. CXXVI), are of a more ornate type with complicated profiling, and, though their stems are tall, they are less curved and the foot is smaller; 390 (Pl. CXII) is more squat and solid in appearance, but, in spite of its low stem, the broader foot and the lower curve of the body give it a shape not unlike the dogs’-head cups. The silver vessel no. 864 (Pl. CXXXV) resembles these in the profile of

¹ Their preservation varies considerably.
² For this technique see Karo, Schachtgräber p. 312.
³ See Evans P of M IV p. 580 and Figs. 566–9.
its body, but it has almost no stem, and should perhaps be called a bowl rather than a goblet.

Of Cretan finds the most comparable are the silver goblet from the Royal Tomb at Isopata and the bronze one from the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth; 1 these, however, are both of a later type, with shallower bowl and less unity between body and stem, and of too advanced a date for the comparison to have much value.

In pottery the parallels are closer and the comparative material is greater, and, if allowance be made for the modifications of shape due to a less elastic material, the resemblance of the gold goblets to Ephyræan 2 and contemporary unpainted ware becomes quite clear. This type of pottery has been found in Crete, 3 where it is an imitation of the Mainland shape, at Korakou, Tiryns, Orchomenos, and Mycenæ itself, and indeed on most sites where the LH II period is represented. 4 In this class the offset rim and full and spreading curve of the body are very similar, but the stem is shorter and thicker, 5 though a few examples, notably Number 184 6 from Tomb II at the Argive Heraion (American Excavations 1925), have stems nearly as long and shapes nearly as graceful as the golden goblets. 7 In later LH III and LM III goblets, if the whole pot is not thickened and the shape coarsened, the stems are long and slender, 8 but they do not curve out to meet the foot, and in many cases are sharply articulated from the body, which also becomes angular; 9 in other cases 10 the junction of bowl and stem remains unaltered, but the bowl is flattened and widened out into a single curve.

It would perhaps be as well to consider the antecedents of this shape. In the early Bronze Age, in Crete, the Cyclades, and on the Mainland, there existed a kind of stemmed cup, but it was invariably handleless, 11 and the body was either straight or had one very rounded curve. This type and another similar in character persisted into MC and MM times, 12 but on the Mainland an entirely new type was introduced with the coming

1 Evans 'Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos' Archaeologia LIX p. 155 Fig. 139 and Pl. LXXXIX.  P of M IV p. 365 Fig. 305 a and b.
2 See Blegen Korakou pp. 54 ff., Prosymna, Figs. 675–6.
3 P of M IV p. 366 Fig. 306.
4 Also at Phylakopi, Zygouries and Eutresis.
5 Blegen, Zygouries Pl. XV, Korakou Pl. VII and p. 41 Fig. 56.
6 Prosymna Fig. 435.
7 Excellent examples also from Ialysos B.M. Catalogue of Aegean Pottery p. 153 and Pls. X, XIV.
8 P of M IV Fig. 309. Korakou Figs. 94–5; Zygouries Pls. XVI–XVIII.
9 E.g. Wace Chamber Tombs Pl. XII 15 XXXI 52.
10 Zygouries loc. cit.
11 Goldman, Eutresis, Pl. VI, P of M I Figs. 19, 46 (Vasiliki ware). Palaikastro, Unpublished Objects Fig. 3 Cycladic, Nat. Mus. 11,988 and BSA XXII Pl. VIII.
12 P of M I p. 185 Fig. 134c. BSA IX 303 Fig. 2. Palaikastro op. cit. Fig. 6.
of Minyan ware. Here, in angular form, are all the elements of the later shape, which became gradually softened in Yellow Minyan (rings in stem disappear, the carination of the body softened to a curve), probably under the influence of Minoan pottery shapes, until by LH I and LM I goblets with one or two handles, curved bowls, and stems of varying heights become numerous at all sites. In the LM I period a kind of stemmed cup with one handle appears in Crete, but this shape has a different origin from the Mainland one. It is a slender, developed form of the LM Ia handled bowl or deep cup on a high foot, and differs from the Mainland form in having a hollow foot and stem. Ephyrean ware, on the other hand, though its decoration shews Minoan influence, is not a Minoan product at all, but its technique is the same as that of Yellow Minyan, its shape is purely MH.

It is only in this ware, which flourished almost exclusively in late LH I and in LH II, that the goblet takes on its finest shape, and consequently the gold cups should be dated somewhere within these two periods.

Undoubtedly the most remarkable thing about these gold cups is the dog’s-head handle; such goblets usually have flat ribbon handles, except the later ones, which are occasionally rounded, and in any case detached animal heads, except as rhyta, are very rare in Minoan–Mycenean art. Vases in the shape of whole animals, like the Cycladic duck vases, are not uncommon, and more rarely whole animals or birds are attached to vessels as ornaments—for example the doves on the famous ‘Cup of Nestor’ (no. 412 from Shaft Grave IV). On the other hand, this use of only the head as an ornamental and structural part of a vessel seems rather to belong to another age or another part of the world. In their own period

1 Korakou Fig. 20.
2 For some of the stages see Eutresis Figs. 183, 238, 259. Korakou pp. 18–19. Chamber Tombs Pl. XXXIV 16, 17. Vaphio Εφ. Αρχ. 1889 p. 154 Pl. VII 19. A very good series in Mylonas Προϊστορική Ελλάσις, p. 76 Fig. 51 (ΜΗ); p. 109 Fig. 85 (LH I); p. 114 Fig. 92 (LH II).
3 P of M IV p. 364 Fig. 304; p. 184 Fig. 145. Ζγουρίας p. 136 Fig. 128, 8; Korakou Figs. 56–8. Wace Chamber Tombs Pl. XXXIV.
4 Possibly Underdyke B.M. Catalogue p. 152. But contrast his last statement with the quotation from Mylonas below.
5 Possibly under the influence of the MM tankard on a high foot, e.g. B.M. Cat. A 466 Pl. VII.
6 E.g. Palaikastro, Unpublished Objects Fig. 22 and Pl. XVIIb; B.M. A 644 and Cat. p. 104.
7 See P of M IV pp. 363–4 and Fig. 304. Also BSA XXV p. 307 note 3.
8 Mylonas, Προϊστορική Ελλάσις p. 128. In this connection it is interesting to note the reversion to Minyan features shown by the LH III kylikes with ringed stems found in Ithaca.
9 For example, to Cyprus, where it is common on the native wares all through the Bronze Age (see Myres Handbook to the Cernoles Collection pp. 25 no. 172, 28 no. 218, middle Bronze Age, and p. 38 no. 323, late Bronze Age) and appears on the local Mycenaean ware
and locality these goblet handles are unique, though a few distantly related examples can be adduced to suggest that this may be due in part to the accidents of survival.

Earliest in date are the two EH sauceboats from Zygouries (op. cit. Pl. X), whose spouts terminate in rams' heads, and the handle of a vase with a horse (?) protome from Orchomenos; these, however, are too stylised and too separated in time from the goblets for there to be any connection. In an MH grave at Aphidna in Attica, Wide found the clay head of a bull with a hole pierced through the mouth; clearly this once served as the spout of some vessel now lost. Another such seems to have been found by Furtwängler at Amyklae. These are important as showing an EH fashion carried on into MH times and give some ground for the supposition that animal heads on vases were part of the indigenous fashions of the Mainland. On the other hand, more nearly contemporary with the gold cups is a rhyton of unusual form from Palaikastro dated in LM Ia, which has a goat's head on the side opposite the handle, whose horns, now missing, have been restored as another handle over the top; such a handle would appear to be not only unnecessary, but out of place, but there seems to be nowhere else for the horns to go. Here, then, there is a detached animal head serving a structural purpose on a vase, and, further, it is a fairly life-like head, though not equal in this respect to the Mycenae dogs' heads. This is as near a parallel as the Aegean can provide, since the very schematic bulls' heads on vase handles found at Troy and Mycenae are not really comparable.

There are, however, indications that other and more similar handles did exist. Schliemann's Mycenae notebook for September 1876 records that he found in one chamber of the House of the Warrior Vase 'a vase handle running out in a crocodile's head'; this must be one of the handles of the Warrior Vase which is LH III, and very late in this period there is another piece of evidence for the use of animal heads as handle decoration. There is in the National Museum a four-handled vase of extraordinary 

(loc. cit. p. 51 nos. 400 et seq.). I am indebted to Prof. Myres for calling my attention to the Cypriote examples. And cp. Cairo Museum no. 53262 for an Egyptian example of approximately the same date.

1 Kunze Orchomenos III, Keramik der frühen Bronzezeit Pl. XXIX 15.
2 Ath. Mitt. 1896 p. 389 and Pl. XV I.
4 BSA X p. 206 Fig. 4.
5 Schliemann Ilios p. 599 no. 1405. Dörpfeld Troja und IIion Beilage 40 nos. IV, V, VI, IX and p. 296.
6 BSA XXV p. 43.
7 Quoted in BSA XXV p. 86.
8 Fig. 1. I am indebted for this identification to Professor Wace. With it may be compared a clay head of a bull in the Museum of the British School at Athens, said to come from Crete, which was clearly once part of such a handle.
form, found in a chamber tomb at Aliki on the Attic coast, the handles of which, at the top of their circumference, have two ear-shaped projections and a painted eye on either side, faint reminiscences of earlier plastic heads. Furthermore, also in the National Museum, there is an LH III goblet from Nauplia on the handles of which there are two curious ear-like lumps about one inch from the lip of the cup, which may be the last vestiges of such heads, and there is another like it from Ialysos. These latter examples are particularly interesting because the shape of the cups is approximately the same as, a later coarser version of, the golden goblets.

II. Nat. Mus. 961. Small gold cup of teacup shape, with one handle. Pl. 27a. Height 3.5 cm. Diameter 10.45 cm. Diameter of base 3.8 cm.

The cup is made of fairly thick gold, and has no raised base; its body curves out towards a sharply offset rim, and it has a flat loop handle, attached at the rim by two round-headed nails and at the lower end by one, all with their heads inside. The handle has two incised lines running parallel to its edges, but otherwise the cup is quite undecorated.

1 Illustrated in Furtwängler and Loeschcke Mykenische Vasen Pl. XIX no. 137.
2 Furtwängler and Loeschcke ibid. Pl. XI 70 B.M. Cat. A 870 Pl. XIV.
Handles of this shape 1 are common in Crete on various kinds of cups and metalwork from the MM period, and occur at Mycenae on several of the objects from the Shaft Graves.2 The cup itself, however, is not of the normal Minoan shape; most noticeable is the absence of a raised base, a most unusual feature for a small vase at any time after the early MM period. All Minoan teacups,3 except a few of deeper shape,4 have raised bases, high or low, and this is also the rule for the metal phialae5 from Crete and Mycenae. It is also noteworthy that it is those cups with the highest bases whose profiles correspond most closely with that of the cup under discussion. At Korakou was found part of a cup of LH I date,6 which resembles the gold one fairly closely in shape, but not enough is preserved to shew if it has a base or not; other clay examples from Mycenae7 shew a similar profiling, but they have bases and different handles. The gold cup found at Marathon in 19348 has a raised base and no offset rim, and its sides are straighter.

Another unusual point is the sharply offset rim which is found, covered with decoration, in the Minoan bronze phialae, but not in the clay cups (this may be due to difference in material). Here it is interesting to observe how very much this gold cup resembles the upper part of the four goblets 957–60; it has the same flat, plain rim, the same swelling curve of the body, but coarsened and made less effective by being abruptly cut short and flattened off at the base. It seems highly probable that it is the work of some Mycenean goldsmith who knew and admired the Minoan teacups and phialae and tried to imitate them in his own products; he faithfully copied the handle, but shaped the body in the form with which he was most familiar, a form native to the Helladic Mainland, and transformed it into a cup by simply flattening the base. In no other way can the absence of raised base be explained, for after the MH period bases were universally made on all smaller vessels in clay or metal except for straight-sided cups9 and alabastra. This cup would then illustrate that fusion of Minoan and Mainland elements noted in BSA XXV p. 308; "... even by the end of LH I the native tradition of the Mainland as exemplified in the shapes and patterns derived from the earlier Minyan and matt-painted wares had

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1 See notes 2 and 5 below for references.
2 E.g. 469 Grave IV, Karo Pl. CXXXIII, 627 V, Pl. CXXXIII, 629 VI, Pl. CXXV.
3 See Montelius Grèce Preclassique Pl. 63 nos. 2–4, Pl. 64, 4, Pl. 65, 3, Pl. 68, 8, Pl. 74, 8 (all MM II except the last, which is LM I). B.M. Cat. A 514 ff. and A 634.
4 E.g. P of M IV 132 Fig. 100a.
5 P of M II p. 631 Fig. 395; pp. 638–44 Figs. 402–9. Seager Mochlos Fig. 23A.
Karo Schachtgräber Pl. CXXVII. Bossert Altkreta Fig. 283.
Korakou Fig. 51 no. 2 p. 37.
Korakou Tombs Pls. I and II.
7 E.g. Karo Pl. CXXIII. And cf. Prosymna No. 1143, Fig. 167 p. 81.
already begun to influence the imported Minoan style, and was tending to create a distinctive Mycenaean type.’ It would indeed be one of the earlier examples of this fusion, for the shape, so popular in MM times and in LM–LH I, becomes rare early in LH II, and soon dies out altogether.¹

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<td>975–979-994.</td>
<td>Plain gold rings.</td>
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<td>994.</td>
<td>Plain silver ring.</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Coils of quadrangular wire.</td>
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<td>962. 4 cm.</td>
<td>0·3 cm.</td>
<td>2–3</td>
<td>36·5 grs.</td>
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<td>963. 2·7 cm.</td>
<td>0·25 cm.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43 grs.</td>
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<td>964. 4·2 cm.</td>
<td>0·32 cm.</td>
<td>2–3</td>
<td>49·5 grs.</td>
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<td>965. 2·9 cm.</td>
<td>0·25 cm.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23 grs.</td>
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<td>966. 2 cm.</td>
<td>0·2 cm.</td>
<td>5–6</td>
<td>22 grs.</td>
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<td>967. 1·8 cm.</td>
<td>0·2 cm.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7 grs.</td>
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<td>968. 3·1 cm.</td>
<td>0·3 cm.</td>
<td>3–4</td>
<td>41 grs.</td>
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<td>(much bent)</td>
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<td>969. approx. 2·5 cm.</td>
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<td>(straightened fragments)</td>
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<td>970.</td>
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<th>Diameter of wire.</th>
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<td>b. Coils of round wire.</td>
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<td>971. 3·4 cm.</td>
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<td>972. 3 cm.</td>
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<td>973. 3·55 cm.</td>
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<td>974. 1·6 cm.</td>
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<th>Outside diameter of ring.</th>
<th>Thickness of ring.</th>
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<td>c. Plain gold rings.</td>
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<td>975. 2·5 cm.</td>
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<td>976. 2·5 cm.</td>
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<td>977. 2·55 cm.</td>
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<td>978. 2·5 cm.</td>
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<td>979. 2·5 cm.</td>
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<th>d. Plain silver ring.</th>
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<td>994. 2·5 cm.</td>
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The rings and spirals have some connection with each other, so it is permissible to consider them all together. This is by far the largest number of either rings or coils found together in any one place. Schliemann actually gives the number as four spirals of quadrangular and seven of round wire, which must be a mistake, but even with the numbers transposed they do not correspond with the Museum collection, which has nine coils of

¹ Occasionally teacups are found even in LH III times, e.g., a cup from Mycenae, tomb 820, Wace Chamber Tombs Pl. XVII 26. There are also several examples from Cyprus, but there they may well have lasted on at a time when they had entirely gone out of fashion on the Mainland. See Myres Handbook to the Cenosa Collection p. 47 n. 434, p. 50 no. 450, and Gjerstad Swedish Cyprus Expedition 1st Volume of Plates Pl. LXXXIII, three cups from Enkomi, and Pl. XC, a similar cup.
quadrangular wire; two must have been included from another find, probably from Tsountas’ excavations at Mycenae. Several others in the collection, round and quadrangular, were found by him in various parts of the Acropolis there, and another in the British School excavations in the Granary. There is one very large thick coil in the Tiryns Treasure (no. 6221), and another is recorded from a tomb at Phaistos. Other plain gold rings have been found, but I do not know of another silver one.

What was the use of these rings and spirals? The rings are the wrong shape to be worn, and the coils are surely too unwieldy for ornaments. Tsountas calls a similar coil of round wire a ‘σφηκωτήρ κόμης,’ presumably in reference to some such Homeric passage as Iliad XVII, 52:

‘πλοκμόι θ’, δι χρυσό τε και ἀργυρό ἰσφήκωντο,’

but it is clear from the representations of Minoan–Mycenean women, and of men too, that they wore their hair in loose curls, not in tight braids, except for a few tight curls across the forehead, and in any case nearly all these rings would be far too heavy for hair ornaments. There are, however, other smaller spirals of very thin gold wire that may have served some such purpose—for example Nat. Mus. 2588, from Mycenae, and another thin coil which is still embedded in the earth encrusted at the base of a skull, also from Mycenae, now in Case 60 of the same collection. There are also still thinner spirals linked one within the other, possibly from Argos, which were probably ear-rings; neither of these classes, however, can really shed any light on the problem of the Acropolis Treasure rings and coils.

Stais suggests that both rings and spirals were goldsmiths’ raw material in a convenient form. This is, of course, possible; it seems, however, improbable that gold in this form—i.e., goldsmiths’ raw material—would so frequently be included with burial gifts, and some of the spirals from Cyprus and the one from Phaistos were certainly found in tombs.

There remains to be considered the explanation of Sir William Ridgeway, who long ago suggested that both rings and spirals were an early

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1 Nat. Mus. nos. 3183, 3009, 2499, 2576, 2857.
2 BSA XXV p. 54. Diameter 2.5 cm., weight 9.5 grammes.
3 Savignone Necropole di Phaistos Fig. 57, Monumenti Antichi Vol. XIV 1905. Many also from Cyprus, e.g., Gjerstad op. cit. Pls. Vol. I, Pl. LXVII, no. 6, 7, 10, and also on Pls. LXXVIII and LXXXVIII, all LH III.
4 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888 on Pl. IX 14 and p. 167. From Tomb 25.
5 The Swedish excavators, however, describe nearly all the coils they found as hair-rings.
6 They are among the gold objects from there, but have no number, and there is no mention of them in Vollgraff’s publication in BCH 1904. In the same case are a few objects from Leukas, and the spirals may come from there.
7 In the Nat. Mus. Catalogue p. 65.
form of currency.\textsuperscript{1} Certainly several of them fall into groups of approximately the same weight, which cannot be entirely accidental, particularly as nearly all the rings weigh 21–22 grs., and this is approximately half the weight of the other group, weighing between 41 and 43 grs. There seems, however, to be no possible ratio between these groups and the weights of the remaining rings and spirals. It might at first be supposed that a unit of seven was employed, but two at least, 974 weighing 12 grs. and 976 weighing 17 grs., cannot be made to fit in with such a unit.

Further study has not been able to confirm his hypothesis that they are related to the later Euboic standard or indeed to any other; 'Ebensowenig ist für goldene Ringe und Spiralen aus der Schachtgräber von Mykenä irgendwie allgemeingültige Wertung gesichert.'\textsuperscript{2} The possibility, however, that they were indeed used as a medium of exchange should not be altogether ignored, since such media did exist in the heavy copper ingots,\textsuperscript{3} and at a later date gold rings were used, like circular pellets, as currency units.\textsuperscript{4} Schliemann observed that similar rings and spirals of thick gold wire occur in the wall-paintings of Egyptian tombs; he gives no references, and it is almost impossible to find which wall-paintings he had in mind; but piles of circular objects which may perhaps be intended for such rings and spirals are shown among the offerings brought by Keftiu and Men of the Isles in the tomb frescoes of Rekhmere.\textsuperscript{5} Furthermore, it is recorded that large rings of commercial gold were weighed and offered to Ammon by Queen Hatshepsut\textsuperscript{6} at a date little earlier than the Mycenae Shaft Graves. It seems probable, then, that, as the annular form was common in the Aegean regions during the later Bronze Age for the handling of gold, these rings and spirals should be recognised as currency media or, more accurately, bullion in portable form from which pieces could be cut or broken as occasion arose, and it is to be hoped that an increased knowledge of Minoan–Mycenean weight standards will in time help to define their use more exactly.

\textsuperscript{1} See also A. J. Evans "Minoan Weights and Mediums of Currency" etc. in \textit{Corolla Numismatica} pp. 336 \textit{et seq.}, for a discussion of Minoan–Mycenean weight standards, particularly pp. 354 ff.

\textsuperscript{2} Fimmen \textit{Kretisch-Myenische Kultur} p. 121.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{P of M} II pp. 535, 624; IV pp. 652 f. Svoronos \textit{Revue Belge de Numismatique} 1908–10 pp. 14 ff. See also \textit{Corolla Numismatica} \textit{loc. cit.} p. 363, for a silver pellet from Knossos.

\textsuperscript{4} Selman \textit{Greek Coins} p. 5 and Pl. I 1 and 2.

\textsuperscript{5} Bossert \textit{op. cit.} Fig. 336. The circular form is very convenient for transport to a distance, as the units may either be tied together or carried round a stick or tally; the bar form is more unwieldy.

\textsuperscript{6} \textit{CAH} II p. 63.
IV. Nat. Mus. 980. 17 gold beads from a necklace. Pl. 28c.
Schliemann, Mycenae p. 361, Figs. 533–8.

Schliemann mentions only fourteen beads in this find, so three of these must come from some other excavation. The beads are made of cylindrical tubes of fairly thin gold covered with rows of very large granulations and are quite heavy (the largest weighs 4.5 grs.). The greater number of them have four rows of granulations on the long axis, but six of them have only three. These are the only differences in the patterns, except that the size of the grains varies considerably, the largest being, on the whole, on those beads with only three rows of granulation, and there is one plain bead which is clearly one of the intruders. The largest (Schliemann, Fig. 535) is 0.7 cm. long and has a diameter of 1 cm., the hole for threading being 0.3 cm. in diameter.

There are seventeen very similar beads in the Tiryns Treasure which differ chiefly in that the central hole for threading is considerably larger; the granulations are on the whole smaller and more numerous, so the size of the beads is much the same as that of the Mycenae ones. These are the only other large beads of this type, but quite a number of very small ones were found by Tsountas at Mycenae, and are in the National Museum; these latter, however, may not all have been complete beads in themselves, for the American excavators at the Argive Heraion found, in Tomb XLI, two beads, one of stone and one of crystal, the perforated ends of which were covered with thin gold and finished off with small cylindrical projections of granulated work. Tsountas' small beads may then have formed part of some such ornament, though some of them are definitely separate beads.

This extensive use of granulation is typical of LH II goldsmiths' work; it is found on beads from the Vaphio tomb, from Thebes, on objects from Kakovatos, and on beads from Tsountas' Mycenae excavations (Nat. Mus. 2845) and Chamber Tomb 515 excavated by Wace. A rather different use of it is seen on other Vaphio beads (loc. cit. nos. 10 and 11), some from Kakovatos, Dendra, and from Argos, which consist of four or more small grains soldered together to form a rosette-like bead; only the Vaphio examples have a central core of thin gold. It seems highly probable that granulation was one of the many purely Cretan features adopted by the Mainland, and this would account for its prevalence at a

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1 Nat. Mus. 6213.
2 Nos. 3185, Myc. Tomb found 1895, 3373 from Dimini, 4932 from Myc. Tomb, in 1899.
4 BSA XXV p. 400.
6 Nat. Mus. 5638. 'Eph. 'Aρχ. 1910 pp. 219-20 Fig. 12.
7 Ath. Mitt. 1909 Pl. XII 8, a gold frog, and XIV 1.
8 Chamber Tombs Pl. XXIX 24.
9 Pl. XIII 98-41.
10 A. W. Persson Royal Tombs at Dendra Pl. XXVII top.
11 BCH 1904, p. 388 Fig. 29.
time when Minoan fashions were paramount. It flourished in Crete in the MM III period, when it was used to adorn such excellent examples of the goldsmith’s art as the Mallia pendant and the gold duck and lion from Knossos, and its use may be presumed at a still earlier period, for appliqué work in spiral gold wire appears on a bead from an early interment in the Kalathiana ossuary and on another from Tholos A at Platanos. The Acropolis Treasure beads should be placed early rather than late in the Mainland series, as they are of relatively coarse workmanship and the grains are very large; the finer and more minute work seems to belong rather late in LH II.

The solidity of these Mycenaean beads is also remarkable. Smaller gold beads were not infrequently solid, but from quite early times larger ones were always made of thin gold leaf, either covering cores of bone or paste or actually hollow. There are three necklaces of plain beads from the Tiryns Treasure (Nat. Mus. 6212) of quite large size which have all the appearance of solidity, but I can find no others except the granulated ones above mentioned. Hollow gold beads of any and every size, on the other hand, are common both in Crete and on the Mainland, which is quite understandable, as most of them were found in tombs, and the more solid jewellery was reserved for the living. Also, by far the greater number of Minoan–Mycenean gold necklaces were flat, and so would naturally not be solid, for large flat beads in the shape of rosettes, ivy-leaf pattern, buds, nautili, lily and papyrus flowers need several perforations for satisfactory stringing. More rounded gold beads were usually strung with beads of other materials, stone, amber, and crystal and, later, glass paste, thus giving a polychrome effect which was already in favour in EM times at Mochlos, where Seager records that necklaces were ‘made up of beads of rock-crystal, gold, shell, cornelian, amethyst, steatite, breccia, clay and porcelain’; such necklaces were probably also deposited in the Shaft Graves (see Karo, pp. 188–9). It is probable then that the fourteen Mycenaean gold beads were once strung with beads of other less valuable...

1 It is interesting in this connection to note the almost total absence of granulation in the Shaft Graves.
2 *P of M IV* pp. 75–6 and Fig. 48.
3 *Ibid. III* p. 412 and Fig. 275A.
4 Xanthoudides *Vaulted Tombs of the Mesara* Pl. VIII no. 391.
7 Phaistos, Bessert *Op. cit.* Pl. 190; *Dendra* Pl. XVIII; Evans *Prehistoric Tombs* p. 130 Fig. 119.
8 *Dendra* Pl. XVIII.
9 H. Triada, Bessert Pl. 190.
10 *Prehistoric Tombs loc. cit.*; Phaistos, Bessert *loc. cit.*
11 *P of M IV* p. 962 and Pl. XXXIV; *BSA* XXV p. 365 Fig. 79n; *Prehistoric Tombs loc. cit.*; Phaistos Bessert *loc. cit.*
materials the total disappearance of which has some bearing on the question of the nature of the find and will be discussed later.

V. Nat. Mus. 991. Pl. 28d, and fig. 2.1

Small couchant lion of solid gold, mounted on a thick gold base with flat upper and rounded lower surface; this base is curved and the ends have been roughly broken off, so that it is impossible to tell whether it was once a complete circle or not. Because of this curve, the lion does not quite fit on to the base, but overlaps it a good deal on the inner side. This overlapping portion is quite flat underneath, which gives some ground for supposing that the figure and the base were cast separately. The lion is 3'1 cm. long, and 1'2 cm. high without the base; the base is 0'3 cm. thick and the length of a chord drawn from its broken ends is 4'8 cm. The weight of the whole is 45 grs. Schliemann, p. 361 and Fig. 532. Nat. Mus. Catalogue p. 65. Perrot-Chipiez, Fig. 402.

The lion lies in an alert position, head up and turned to the right, and, for all its smallness, gives an impression of vigorous life and muscular solidarity. The tail is curled up over the haunches in an ornamental twist (fig. 2), the claws of all four feet are clearly marked, and also the muscles of the right foreleg. The fine engraving of the mane is comparable with that of the lion’s-head rhyton from the IVth Shaft Grave 2 or the forelocks of the fragmentary steatite bulls’ heads found at Mycenae by the British School,3 except that these are in low relief, whereas the locks of the small lion are simply incised. There is a row of fine lines down the backbone, and on the right side the ribs are engraved with thicker lines; curiously enough, they are not marked at all on the left side, perhaps because the figure was meant to be seen chiefly from the right.4 Particularly admirable are the modelling of the facial planes and the delicate lines of eye and ear. Karo published

1 From a drawing by M. Gilliéron.
2 Karo Schachtgräber Pls. CXVII–CXVIII.
3 BSA XXIV Pl. XIII.
4 Professor Myres suggests that these thicker lines are not meant to mark the ribs at all, but rather folds in the lion’s loose skin occasioned by his bending to the right.
the lion in an article in the *Jahrbuch* for 1911 \(^1\) and describes it thus: ‘... der realistischste von allen minoisch-mykenischen Löwen, ein voll gegossenes, gelagertes Figürchen von verblüffender Lebenswahrheit, das den Henkel eines jetzt verlorenen Gefässes zierte; hier zeigt sich keine Spur von konventioneller Stilisierung, dieser Löwe ist trotz seiner Kleinheit dem silbernen Stierkopf an Naturalismus ebenbürtig.’

To realise the excellence of this lion it is only necessary to look at the other small gold lions of the time. First there are four pendants from the IIIrd Shaft Grave, \(^2\) poor schematic representations made of thin gold leaf, which give no impression at all of the bony structure of the animal; their tails are spirals and their backbones ridges. A little better is no. 275 from Grave IV, \(^3\) a pendant, which has some feeling for underlying structure, but the modelling is weak and the spirit is entirely lost; ‘Der Lowe hat hier den friedlich geschlaffenen Ausdruck einer guten Hauskatze’ (Karo). The two later examples from the Hagia Triada tomb are equally spiritless. \(^4\) Also from Mycenae is Nat. Mus. 2949, \(^5\) a still smaller couchant lion with its head between its paws; its tail resembles that of the Acropolis Treasure lion, but it has less modelling, though rather more feeling for form than the Shaft Grave ones. For a comparable technical and artistic excellence, however, it is necessary to go to Egypt and the jewellery of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Two small solid gold lions \(^6\) of the VIth Dynasty have the same attitude, and two sets from Dashur, one of four lions and one of six, the property of the Middle Kingdom Princess Sihathor, have their heads turned straight forward; these are all of still smaller size than the Mycenae lion, and consequently less minutely modelled, but of a spirit and muscular reality equal to its own.

Neither the underside nor the inside of the base shows any signs of having been attached to anything, which would seem to prove that it was never part of the rim of a cup or other vessel. This is made still more unlikely by its very considerable thickness and the rounding of the underside. It is possible that it was a handle, though it is difficult to understand why in this case it was broken off short, when in all other cases, in the Shaft Graves at least, where a handle has survived the vessel to which it was attached, the whole handle has come off at once. However, horizontal handles such as this would have been do exist, notably on a shallow bronze bowl from Mycenae \(^7\) which has one round handle a little way below the rim, ornamented on its upper side with a vertical spiral of bronze wire. This

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1 P. 258 and Fig. 10.
2 No. 32, Karo *Schachtgräber* p. 49 Pl. XXVII.
4 Candia Museum nos. 1140, and Bossert *op. cit.* Pl. 191.
5 From a Mycenae tomb, found by Tsountas in 1893.
6 Cairo Museum nos. 4017–18.
7 Tsountas ’Εφ. ’Αρχ. 1888 p. 153 and Pl. IX 28, from Tomb 47; Nat. Mus. 2370.
would provide a very exact parallel for the lion handle were it not that the very considerable weight of the latter, being all solid gold, would destroy the balance of any vessel to which it was attached, unless of course it were counterweighted on the other side by a similar one.

Other examples of decorated horizontal handles are on three tall bronze bowls from the same find (Nat. Mus. 2367–9), on a similar one from Dendra,\(^1\) and on the famous gold-and-silver bulls' head cup from the same place.\(^2\) These, however, all belong to a different type, as may plainly be seen from the gold cup; they are all in essentials wishbone handles, and the rounding of the handles on the bronze vessels is due only to a rough and careless interpretation of their angular prototype. The lion handle, on the other hand, is truly round, and so is that of Nat. Mus. 2370.

Other kinds of horizontal handles are represented only in pottery—a deep concave-sided jar from Vasiliki\(^3\) and a bowl from Zakro,\(^4\)—both of which have two handles attached to the rim. Certainly so beautifully decorated a handle should be attached to the rim, where it could be seen most plainly, rather than to the body of a vase, but hitherto no metal vessel with handles so set has come to light. No vessel of gold large and solid enough for such a handle is known, the most massive being the electrum goblet from Shaft Grave IV (no. 390), but the objects from this find are on the whole finer and more solid products than the corresponding ones from the Shaft Graves, and indeed from most other sites, so it cannot be said that such vessels did not exist. Moreover, there is no other, more acceptable, explanation of the original purpose of the lion and its base; the latter is the wrong shape for a bracelet or a fibula, and the diameter of the completed circle would be far too small to admit of its being a diadem or crown. It seems also probable that the difference in modelling between the left and right sides of the lion indicates that originally it was in a position where the left side was relatively little seen;\(^5\) this condition would be fulfilled if it were a handle, particularly when set as that on Nat. Mus. 2370. That the presumed vessel when complete would be without parallel among Minoan-Mycenean objects need cause no difficulty, for gold naturally survives but rarely, and many of the Shaft Grave vessels are also unique.

VI. Nat. Mus. 992. Large gold ring with intaglio design. Pl. 28e. Length of bezel 3.4 cm., breadth 2.5 cm. Diameter of hoop 2 cm. Weight 31 grs. Catalogue pp. 66–7; Schliemann pp. 354 ff. and Fig. 530; Furtwängler Antike Gemmen Pl. II, 20. Evans 'Tree and Pillar Cult' JHS XXI, Nilsson Minoan-Mycenean Religion.

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\(^1\) *Dendra* Pl. XXX.


\(^3\) MM I; *Montelius op. cit.* Pl. 60 I.

\(^4\) LM I; *JHS* XXIII p. 252 Fig. 15.

\(^5\) If Professor Myres is right, this consideration must naturally be left out of account.
The back of the bezel is grooved to fit the finger 1 and the hoop set at right angles to its long axis, in accordance with Minoan custom. The hoop is undecorated, but instead of having one curve its outer surface is divided into two, set at a slight angle to each other. The ring is very heavy, and seems to be made of solid gold; the bezel is hardly thick enough for the insertion of a lead filling 2 and the intaglio work is very deep and astonishingly well preserved in all its sharpness of detail. It is one of the largest of all Minoan–Mycenean signet rings, only the great Tiryns ring 3 and the Ring of Minos 4 being larger. The engraving is very fine and delicate, and may be presumed, on the analogy of the Shaft Grave rings, to have been done with graving and chasing tools only. 5 Some Minoan sealings show definite signs of a small drill, but it seems not to have been used here.

The ring has been so often illustrated and described since its discovery that any attempt at minute description or interpretation is unnecessary here. Schliemann’s own detailed description may be considered to have been quite superseded by the studies of Sir Arthur Evans 6 and Professor M. P. Nilsson, 7 to name only two, since the comparative material at their disposal was necessarily unknown to him. All are agreed on the main features of the ring: the goddess seated beneath her sacred tree with her small handmaidens 8 on either side of her, engaged in her service, and approached by two female votaries with offerings; the sun and moon at the upper edge cut off from the rest of the scene by the rainbow or the Milky Way, 9 the double axe in the field, the descending shield-covered divinity, and the animal heads round the left-hand edge.

The goddess is, according to Nilsson, a Nature goddess connected with tree cult (op. cit. p. 348); Sir Arthur Evans does not recognise a multiplicity of goddesses in Minoan–Mycenean religion, but one great goddess with many functions (P of M II p. 277), and consequently he sees here the Minoan goddess (ibid. III p. 136) whose poppy capsules show her to be also an earth goddess (ibid. p. 458) beneath a tree sacred to her. The species of tree is difficult to determine, but Sir Arthur is probably right in calling it a vine. 10 No final interpretation of the small descending figure with shield and spear has yet been reached by either scholar; in Tree and

1 Cf. Evans Ring of Nestor p. 47 Fig. 42; P of M IV 510 f.
2 For this practice see Karo p. 311.
3 Arch. Anz. 1916 p. 147 and Fig. 5.
4 P of M IV pp. 947 f.
5 See Karo loc. cit.
6 Tree and Pillar Cult Fig. 4, pp. 107–8; P of M II pp. 340, 832; III pp. 136 f., 458.
8 Ring of Nestor pp. 12 ff.
9 Nilsson p. 300. A. B. Cook Zeus II pp. 48 ff.; cf. Schliemann, who called it the sea.
10 Earlier Religion of Greece in the Light of Cretan Discoveries p. 15.
THE ACROPOLIS TREASURE FROM MYCENAE

Pillar Cult, and also in the second volume of the Palace of Minos, p. 832, and in III, p. 140, Sir Arthur refers to it as the Warrior God descending to join his consort; later (P of M III p. 466), however, he remarks that 'the matriarchal stage of society . . . was itself incompatible with the idea of a male consort,' and (in II p. 50) compares the figure to the certainly female shield-bearing deity on the painted limestone plaque from Mycenae.\(^1\) Nilsson also does not finally decide whether it is a god or a goddess, though he states definitely that if male, it is neither a war god (op. cit. p. 353) nor the consort of the seated goddess (p. 348). He considers it possible that, like the figure on the plaque, it is a war goddess (p. 354), whose presence on the ring in a scene of tree-cult may be due merely to the desire of its owner that several deities should be there represented.

The double axe is a cult symbol of the goddess and, like the animal heads round the left-hand edge, helps to indicate the sacred character of the scene. Both Sir Arthur Evans \(^2\) and Professor Nilsson \(^3\) agree that this, the most conspicuous of all Minoan religious signs, is not connected with a warrior god, but with a goddess. Sir Arthur considers it to be the special aniconic form of the great goddess—that is, a cult object—whereas Nilsson would regard it rather as a cult symbol whose sacredness is probably due to its use as a sacrificial weapon. In either case its presence on the ring is sufficiently explained.

The sun and moon appear also on the great Tiryns ring, and may in both cases indicate, as Sir Arthur suggests,\(^4\) that 'the scene itself lay in some Elysian field.' Nilsson's views \(^5\) are less definite, and suggest an interesting possibility; in the Minoan world there are no certain traces of a cult of the heavenly bodies, but it is possible that they were, in Minoan as in later Greek times, deities of myth to whom little or no worship was paid, but who had a place in the religious beliefs of the people. This supports his view that this ring is a kind of Minoan Pantheon (p. 300), executed at the order of some prince of Mycenae to ensure for himself the protection of as many deities as possible.

Karo \(^6\) has remarked on the late appearance on the Mainland of rings and gems bearing religious scenes. They are conspicuously absent in the Shaft Graves at a time when they were already very common in Crete, but a few years later, when the Vaphio interment was made, the change had taken place, and the dead man there was buried with no less than eleven gems and one gold ring engraved with scenes of religious

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\(^1\) Following Rodenwaldt Ath. Mitt. 1912 pp. 134 ff.
\(^2\) BSA VIII p. 101; P of M II p. 277.
\(^3\) Minoan–Mycenean Religion pp. 191 ff.
\(^4\) P of M III p. 137.
\(^6\) Schachtgräber p. 332, and Religion des aegäischen Kreises p. x.
import.  

This is another argument for dating the Acropolis Treasure later than the Shaft Graves, though not much later.  

Again, as Karo points out, in all the wealth of representation on the Shaft Grave objects, women are portrayed only four times, in striking contrast with contemporary Minoan practice, whereas on this ring they once more predominate. This difference cannot be used as an argument against the theory that the find was part of a Shaft Grave as, as Sir Arthur has observed, religious signets have usually been found in graves and, though they were not specifically made for sepulchral purposes, they seem to have been considered especially the peculium of the owner, to guard him in life and to continue in his possession in the world beyond. Curiously enough, the Shaft Grave gold rings seem to have belonged not to the men, but to the women buried there, and at Dendra the one gold ring found came from the Princess' grave, but it should not therefore be assumed absolutely that the Acropolis Treasure rings also came from a female interment. The hoop of the larger ring is sufficiently large for it to have been worn by a man, nor did all small-hooped rings necessarily belong to women; they were often worn suspended as ornaments. Further, not all engraved rings were used as signets, as Tsountas pointed out, for the one man buried at Vaphio, for example, had three engraved rings, and more than one is superfluous for actual use.

VII. Nat. Mus. 993. Smaller gold ring with intaglio design. Pl. 28f. Length of bezel 2.9 cm., breadth 1.8 cm. Diameter of hoop 1.5 cm. Weight 20 grs. Catalogue p. 67; Schliemann p. 360 and Fig. 531; Nilsson p. 198.

The shape and setting of the hoop are the same as in Nat. Mus. 992 above, but the edges of both hoop and bezel are blurred and blunted, either through long wear or less careful workmanship. Similarly the engraving of the design is less clear, and it is difficult to determine the exact nature of some of the objects on it. There is no reason to suppose, however, that it differs in technique from the large ring; the bezel is still thinner than that of the latter, and consequently the blunted outlines of the intaglio can hardly be due to a soft filling of lead beneath the gold.

The design consists of six objects arranged in two rows separated by a row of eleven dot-like marks, with a seventh and larger object to the left side, occupying space in both upper and lower rows; at the right end of

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1 'ΕΦ. Αν. 1889 Pl. X nos. 5, 7, 12, 13, 25-6, 32-6, ring, 39.
2 Karo S.-G. p. 181.
3 Nor for it, as not all such rings have been found in graves.
4 P of M III p. 144.
5 Karo Schachtgräber pp. 180, 193.
7 See Evans Ring of Nestor pp. 47 ff.
the top row there is also some rather indeterminate engraving, and there is a row of still smaller dots along the lower right-hand edge. Three of the objects, two at the bottom and one at the top, are clearly bulls' heads; the other three were not unjustly compared by Schliemann with the so-called Palladia he found at Troy, and there certainly is a resemblance, but the Trojan objects have the 'eyes' on the narrower part, which is uppermost, whereas on the ring the broader part is uppermost and bears the markings. The comparison should not be finally dismissed from consideration, but perhaps it is better to regard the objects as the 'heads of an animal without horns which cannot be determined with certainty' (Nilsson). The heads strongly resemble the six heads at the left-hand edge of the large ring, which Evans calls lions' heads. Nilsson considers the heads in both cases to be the remains of sacrifices nailed up in the holy grove, but does not attempt to determine their species. It would seem unlikely, if not impossible, that lions were ever represented as sacrificial animals; they were, however, certainly connected with the cult of the Minoan goddess equivalent to the Asiatic Cybele, as may be seen from many representations on gems and sealings.

The remaining objects are still more difficult to make out. The dots may be eyes, as Schliemann suggests, or shells such as were frequently placed in Minoan sanctuaries. The object to the left may simply be another animal head, but it is surmounted by three ears of corn, which are difficult to explain. If it is assumed to be a head, it is possible to regard these as a sacrificial garland, on the analogy of later Greek practice, but although the lines are now very faint, the shape of the object cannot be said to be the same as that of the supposed lion heads, and the dots are hardly in the right place for eyes. Schliemann thought the small object in the upper right-hand corner might be a bird, but it seems to me to have a more vegetable character—a sacred branch, perhaps, or flowers. From the context it seems likely that all the objects on the ring have to do with cult, and, if Nilsson is correct in suggesting that animal heads were nailed up in groves, probably with tree-cult and the worship of some such goddess as the one seated beneath the tree on the great gold ring.

1 Nilsson loc. cit.
2 Troy and its Remains p. 36.
3 P of M II p. 832, and compare Tree and Pillar Cult p. 165 Fig. 45.
5 See Wace Chamber Tombs pp. 200 f.
6 E.g. P of M II p. 831 Fig. 546.
7 I add for comparison some Minoan seals with animal heads

(1) Monumenti Antichi XIII 1903 p. 35 Fig. 26. An MM III sealing with heads of a bull and of an indeterminate animal said to be a wolf or dog. Here also a bird is represented.

(2) Antike Gemmen Vol. III p. 52 Fig. 37. Agate Lentoid from Mycenae, with
It is now necessary to consider the nature of the find as a whole and to try to assign a date to it. The two problems are intimately connected, for if it is part of a plundered Shaft Grave, it must be fairly close in time to the six graves in the Grave Circle, since this form of sepulture fell into disuse towards the end of LH I and was superseded by tholos and chamber tombs,\(^1\) whereas a closed deposit like the Tiryns Treasure may be laid down at any time. Considerable weight should, I think, be laid on the fact that Schliemann himself thought the enclosure in which the objects were found was a Shaft Grave. It differs slightly in form from the other six, in that the rock-cuttings are larger than necessary, and it is even more pronouncedly trapezoidal than Graves II and III, but in size and proportions it is fairly normal, being larger than II and III, but not as long as I or V or as broad as IV.\(^2\) That the masonry of the walls was apparently exactly the same as that of the Shaft Graves\(^3\) and the north and east walls were built directly against the rock-face were the two reasons that led to the discovery of the Treasure.

In the supposed tomb bones were found which were stated to be animal bones, a feature unparalleled in a Shaft Grave (though animal bones were found in the Grave Circle above the graves, *op. cit.* p. 88), but these may have percolated in from above when the tomb was opened and robbed.

This would probably have occurred when the drain was laid down early in LH III (when the South House was built),\(^4\) and it is difficult to understand why the robbers did not carry away all the precious objects, instead of leaving such a considerable number of very solid and valuable ones in the tomb.\(^5\) It is, of course, possible that sufficient earth and debris

heads of a lion, a goat, and a boar (?), together with a water bird and a whole animal, perhaps a dog.

Also *Fig. 36*, two bulls' heads.

\(^{(1)}\) *P of M IV* p. 491 *Fig. 425*. MM III Lentoid with a calf's head.

\(^{(2)}\) *Ibid.* p. 587 *Fig. 561*. Lentoid with ram's and goats' heads.

\(^{(3)}\) BSA XXV p. 391.

\(^{(4)}\) These are Schliemann's measurements for the graves he found (his numbers for the graves are those in brackets).

\(^{(1)}\) I. 11 ft. 8 ins. broad, 21 ft. 3 ins. longer side, 19 ft. 8 ins. the other.

\(^{(2)}\) II. 9 ft. 8 ins. broad, 11 ft. 6 ins. long.

\(^{(3)}\) III. 10 ft. 2 ins. broad, 16 ft. 8 ins. long.

\(^{(4)}\) IV. 18 ft. 6 ins. broad, 24 ft. long.

\(^{(5)}\) V. 10 ft. 4 ins. broad, 21 ft. 5 ins. long.

For the measurements of the Treasure walls see p. 65 above.

\(^{(3)}\) Schliemann *Mycenae* p. 352.

\(^{(4)}\) BSA XXV p. 95.

\(^{(5)}\) Some gold was found in the Shaft Grave under the Granary (*BSA XXV* pp. 55 ff.), although the tomb was opened and robbed in LH III. Flat rosettes of gold leaf, however, would more easily escape notice than rings and cups.
had accumulated between the closing of the tomb and its discovery to conceal many of the funeral gifts, and the robbers did not have the opportunity of making a prolonged search. Against this it must be urged that no amount of accumulated earth would be enough to break through so solid a handle as the lion and its base must have been; such pressure might be sufficient to separate a handle from its vessel by breaking the thin gold nails used to join them, but not enough to sever solid gold 0.3 cm. thick. In any case, it may have been a particularly rich tomb if so many objects, preserved by chance, are almost all of greater solidity and finer quality than most of those from the six Circle Graves. This leads up to the main difficulty involved in accepting the theory that we have here to deal with a shaft grave at all. A person whose funeral gifts were of such a quality must surely have been equal in rank to those others buried in the Shaft Graves; why, then, was his tomb left outside when the Grave Circle was built, or, to put the question in another way, why was it allowed to sink into such oblivion that it could be plundered and built over at a time when such elaborate honour was being paid to the other six graves? The grave found by Wace under the Granary is considerably smaller than any of the others, and not enough of its contents are preserved to give any idea of the importance of its former inhabitant, and it seems probable that this was not, like the others, a royal tomb.

Moreover, what makes the neglect of this supposed Shaft Grave the more striking is the fact that it should be placed late rather than early in the series of royal tombs. Karo remarks that the gold lion is slightly later in style than the Shaft Grave finds, and gold rings with religious scenes, as has been remarked above, appear late in Mainland burials and not one was found in the Shaft Graves. Again, the gold beads are almost entirely composed of granulation, which is a typical feature of LH II goldsmiths work, and round as opposed to flattened gold beads also appear to be a later development; at least none were found in the Shaft Graves, but several were found in the Mycenae Tholoi and at Kakovatos. Furthermore, the goblets are not of the LH I type at all, but their whole shape is more developed, the stem taller and more slender, the curve of the body more delicate; here, to be sure, one can judge only by examples in pottery which, being of metallic shape, should certainly be later than the gold and silver ones they imitate (e.g., clay goblets of earlier type in the Vaphio tomb), but no parallel form can be shewn from the Shaft Graves. Only

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1 0.80-0.85 m. broad and 2.07 m. long.
2 *Jahrbuch* 1911 p. 258.
3 *BSA* XXV p. 400.
4 E.g. *BSA* XXV p. 380 and Fig. 88.
5 *Ath. Mitt.* 1909 Pils. XII-XIII.
6 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889 Pl. VII 19.
the phiale belongs rather to LH I, and this serves to show what would already be apparent on other grounds—that the find should be placed early in LH II, soon after the transition from LH I. Certainly the LH II character of the whole find seems unmistakable, and this adds yet another difficulty to its identification as tomb furniture; already by the end of LH I tholos tombs were being built at Mycenae, presumably by the ruling dynasty of kings, and chamber tombs were in use on the Kalkani hill,¹ and a shaft grave at such a date seems, to say the least of it, unusual.² A last serious objection is the total absence of objects of lesser value with the gold ones; pottery was found in all the graves in the Circle, even the richest, and bronze vessels in Graves III, IV and V; here there are no objects of clay or bronze and beads of stone or other materials necessary to complete the necklace to which the gold ones belonged are entirely missing.³ It seems incredible that robbers who were able to clear away such comparatively worthless booty should not have at the same time searched a little longer and discovered the valuables lying so near.

There are, however, difficulties involved in thinking this find a hoard like the Tiryns Treasure. In that case Mycenaean objects were inside a bronze Geometric cauldron, and the whole character of the deposit was very mixed; here it is entirely homogeneous, quite without admixture of later objects of any kind, which could happen, one would think, only if the treasures were buried very soon after their manufacture, even before the construction of the drain. Schuchhardt ⁴ suggested that, like the great treasure at Troy, these gold objects must have been stored in a chest in the cellar of a house. This view does not take into account the incomplete state of the necklace to which the beads belonged, nor the fact that the lion’s base has been forcibly broken at either end, and consequently it cannot be upheld. Moreover, the supposed cellar would have been disturbed when the drain was laid down, and the house to which it belonged destroyed when the Grave Circle supporting wall and its continuation were built.⁵

In any case, the incompleteness of the beads and the handle make it difficult to believe that, if a hoard, it was a legitimate one. It has more the appearance of a robber’s cache, buried in haste after the booty was shared out, the necklace broken up and the handle hacked off the gold vessel to which it belonged and which was allotted to another confederate. In

¹ Tombs 516, 517, 518, 529, 533; see Wace Chamber Tombs.
² The Shaft Grave under the Granary was probably LH II.
³ It is, of course, possible that the necklace was all of gold. Professor Wace has suggested to me that the absence of other objects might be due to the excavators’ excitement when the gold appeared, and their lack of Schliemann’s scientific interest in pottery. While admitting this possibility, I consider it invalidated by the fact that the presence of bones in the find was recorded.
⁴ Schliemann’s Excavations p. 275.
⁵ See plan, BSA XXV Pl. I.
this case the deposit was probably made after the laying down of the drain, and the unmixed character of the objects would seem to indicate that the plunder came from an earlier grave, probably the grave in which it was later found concealed.

There is a great difference between the suppositions that the objects are the undisturbed relics of a grave and that they are a deposit in it of plunder from it, though the result is seemingly the same. Most of the difficulties above mentioned against the Shaft Grave theory lose their weight,¹ although the most serious still remain—namely, the question of date and the implied neglect to the dead buried in the tomb. With regard to the latter objection, one might say that the negligence which allowed the robbery of the tomb may have been recompensed by the swift punishment of the violators—all this lies in the realm of mere conjecture. The question of date is a more serious one, for the construction may almost certainly be identified as a shaft grave, but it is one that further knowledge of the period may in time resolve; consequently the explanation that the Acropolis Treasure is part of the tomb furniture of a shaft grave, plundered by robbers and then temporarily concealed in its original resting-place, may be accepted until time and further study either establish or finally destroy it.

HELEN THOMAS.

¹ That of Schuchhardt (loc. cit.), that the cups and rings are all, in contrast with large numbers of the Shaft Grave objects, extremely solid and made for use in real life, and consequently cannot be grave furniture, is invalidated by the fact that many of the things from the Graves, particularly cups, were equally well made for use (see Karo Schachtgräber on 427, 391).
REPORT ON THE LESBOS CHARCOALS

The examination of the charcoals from the settlement at Thermi in Lesbos affords some information concerning the trees and plants which grew on the island during the third and second millennia, though it cannot, of course, tell us whether the specimens of vine and olive represented in the collection were cultivated or wild. The subject is, of course, botanical rather than archaeological, but it appears here in order to complete the account of the site. The excavation is deeply indebted to Miss Bancroft, of the Imperial Forestry Institute, Oxford, for investigating the material and writing the report which follows, to which I have only added notes on strata and periods. For the early cultivation of the vine, see Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, XIV, pp. 265 ff.; full particulars concerning the olive can be found in a lecture given by Professor Newberry to the Linnaean Society. The publication of this lecture\(^1\) includes copious references and a summary of the Cretan evidence by Sir Arthur Evans.

\[\text{Winifred Lamb.}\]

1. Oak

Eight varieties of Oak occur on the island of Lesbos at the present day; one or more of these are doubtless indigenous. Owing to lack of detailed data, it is impossible to say which of these varieties the charcoal represents. [Specimens from Town IV, 2700–2500 B.C.\(^2\) and from the Middle Bronze Age.]

2. A Dicotyledonous Wood

The wood possesses vessels arranged as in Oak and Sweet Chestnut. Owing to carbonization and impregnation with mineral matter, it is impossible to determine the character of the wood-rays, and thus to identify the material exactly. The Sweet Chestnut, as well as Oak, occurs on the island at the present day and is probably native. [Specimens from Town III, 2900–2700 B.C., and from the Middle Bronze Age.]

3. A Dicotyledonous Wood

A very fine-grained wood, with small vessels, which may quite possibly be Olive. The Olive occurs on the island at the present day, and is


\(^{2}\) The dating is approximate and provisional, see Lamb, Thermi, pp. 210–211.
probably native; it forms a very fine fuel, and would almost undoubtedly be used in prehistoric times if it were available, although it is not used by the native peasants of, for example, Palestine, at the present day, as it is considered to be a sacred tree. [From deposits outside settlement, belonging to Towns IV or V, 2700–2350 B.C.]

4. Evidently a Dicotyledonous Climbing Plant

This is a most interesting specimen. It shews an anomalous stem-structure, similar to that which occurs in members of the Family Hippocrateaceae (e.g., Salacia), with very soft wood, which appears to have undergone gummy metamorphosis, such as occurs in the South American liane Dilodendron (Sapindaceae). There is, I think, no reason why Salacia, or some allied type, should not have been a native type of Lesbos, but I have not yet been able to find out whether it occurs at the present day or not. [Town V, 2500–2350 B.C.]

5. Vine

The structure of this material suggests that of the Grape-Vine, which occurs on the island at the present day, and which is probably a native type, entering early into cultivation. [Specimens from Town III, 2900–2700 B.C. and Middle Bronze Age.]

6. A Coniferous Wood

This wood has many resin-canals, and is most probably a species of Pine, four species of which now occur on the island. (The other Conifers on Lesbos at the present time are five species of Juniper, which does not possess resin-canals.) [Town IV or V, 2700–2350 B.C.]

7. A Dicotyledonous Twig

The Twig is highly carbonized and powdery, but the arrangement of the vessels on a fractured surface suggests that it may be Buckthorn, two species of which occur on the island, and are probably native. [From same deposit as no. 3.]

Oak = *Quercus* spp.
Sweet Chestnut = *Castanea vulgaris* Lamk.
Olive = *Olea europea* L.
Vine = *Vitis vinifera* L.
Buckthorn = *Rhamnus* spp.
Pine = *Pinus* spp.

HELEN BANCREFT.
A SIXTH-CENTURY POROS INSCRIPTION FROM ATTICA

The following inscription was found in June 1939 outside the stable of a farmhouse which is situated in a field by two water-mills, on the east side of the main road about half-way between Anavysos and Phoinike, in the ancient deme of Anaphlystos in the south-west district of Attika. The stone is used for a seat, and lies by the stable door, with the wider inscribed face turned to the ground, the narrower to the wall, and the top covered with a cushion of sacking. It is a rectangular poros block, comparatively smoothly dressed, and inscribed on two adjacent faces (pl. 29c), the narrower of which (pl. 29a) is here referred to as A, the wider (pl. 29b) as B. There are no visible traces of any letters on the two corresponding faces, which are dressed in the same way. The two smallest, or end, faces are more roughly shaped and dressed. The stone is much pitted by the weather, and all the edges are worn smooth.

The measurements of the block are as follows, taken in the position shown in Pl. 29, c:—

Length, 0·62 m.; breadth, 0·39 m.; height, 0·185 m.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FACE A</th>
<th>FACE B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average height of letters</td>
<td>0·045</td>
<td>0·045–0·05 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical distance between top edge and first line</td>
<td>0·013–0·02</td>
<td>0·01 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average horizontal space between letters</td>
<td>0·01–0·02</td>
<td>0·02–0·025 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average vertical space between letters</td>
<td>0·03–0·04</td>
<td>0·01–0·15 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average space occupied by one letter</td>
<td>0·055–0·06</td>
<td>0·05 m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Face A contains a two-line dedication of some kind, apparently metrical, and written βουστροφηδόν, beginning left to right:—

[ο]ϊόνιχος μάνεθ[eke-----]ς ήιδρύσατο.

Face B appears to consist of a list of six names, all written from left to right:—

herakleiḍes | (χ) | ἅρισταρχος | (χ)σενοκλέ̣ς | σπινθέρ | (ε)στυχος
(Δεμοκλέ̣ς?)

1 During an excursion by members of the British School at Athens. I should like also to thank Professor A. J. B. Wace, Mr. M. N. Tod and Dr. A. Raubitschek, who read this article, for their kind and valuable help and criticism.

2 For the record of a late sixth-century epitaph also in this district, c.p. Arvanitopoulos, Polemon II, 1938, pp. 81 ff.
From the letter-forms, the date of the inscription seems to be c. 540 B.C. The following points may be noted:—

The alpha has a tendency to the position aptly called ‘standing on one leg’, which appears in its extreme form in inscriptions c. 520–10 B.C.¹ The epsilon has a sloping transverse bar, but no tail, which seems to preclude a very early date. The eta is still the closed form, which disappears from Attic inscriptions fairly soon after the middle of the sixth century, with one or two exceptions of later date (IG. I² 510 and 678; in the inscription Hesperia II, 1933, pp. 372 ff., no. 1, the closed eta may be explained as a stonemason’s mistake, EE corrected to □E, since the other letters are early fifth-century). The theta has a central cross, the normal type for any Attic inscription before the second decade of the fifth century. The omicron of face B is noticeably smaller than that of A (diam. 0·095–0·04 m.), though the theta of B is the same size as the omicron of A. The pi is in the curved form which is often found in Boiotian sixth-century inscriptions, but is not usual in Attika. The sigma of A is reversed, as often in βουστροφηδόν. The upsilon on A is the earlier form Y, which is common in early sixth-century inscriptions; that on B is the later type V. The chi is in the transverse form X, used in the mid-sixth and mid-fifth centuries, but not normally between c. 520 and 480, when the upright form was preferred.

The name on face A may be Ionichos or Oionichos; for Ionichos, cp. SGDI II, 2145 (Delphi, second century B.C.): for Oionichos, Kirchner, PA 11371. Of the names on face B, (i) Heracleides is common in Attika (PA 6440–90); cp. also the tentative restoration ἡρακλείδο in IG I² 577 (c. 540 B.C.?) by Lauffer, AM 62, 1937, p. 94, (ii) might possibly be Deiphontes, though both squeeze and photograph shew something like a upsilon and sigma. There is no recorded example of a historical Deiphontes. The reading chi instead of sigma suggests the tempting but doubtful restoration ἄρχοντες, the whole being then taken as part of an early archon-list; but, though there are still wide gaps in our knowledge of the sixth-century archons, it is not probable a priori that a country deme of Attika should have occasion at this date to set up a list of archons. (iii) Aristarchos is also common (PA 1649–70). (iv) For Xenokles, cp. two sixth-century examples, IG. I² 671 and ἹΗΣ LII, 1932, p. 197; also PA 11203–11237. (The photograph suggests the reading Demokles; but what appears there to be the final stroke of a μ seemed actually (though not certainly) to be a depression on the stone). (v) Spinther occurs in an epitaph attributed to Simonides,³ but we do not know if the Spinther of the epigram was

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¹ Hipparchos-herm, Kirchner-Dow AM 62, 1937, pp. 1–3, Pl. 1; Iphidike dedication, Kirchner, II A no. 13, Pl. 6.
² I owe this reference to Mr. Martin Robertson.
³ Anth. Pal. VII, 177.
an Athenian; it is, however, an unusual name, generally associated with slaves; so that there may possibly be a connection here. (vi) There are no recorded examples of an Astuchos, though it might be an error or contraction for Astychos (I owe this suggestion to Mr. Tod). The first visible letter appears to be a sigma; otherwise, it might be Eutychos or Epitychos.

The writing on both A and B comes right to the edges of the faces, and the question is whether the two narrowest (or end) faces are original, or whether the block was once considerably longer, and one, or both, edges were cut off later. From the inscription itself, there appears to be very little, or nothing at all, missing from the left-hand side of A; but the imperfect shaping suggests some sort of re-cutting. From the general appearance of the stone, it may be concluded that originally it stood upright like a stele, one inscription reading vertically upwards and the other vertically downwards. ¹ The dedication may be complete, if we can read [O]ιώνιχος μάνεθ[εκ] καὶ[ν] ηδρόωςτο; but this would mean considerable crowding of the bracketed letters at the point where the line curved round; and actually, the letter before ηδρόωςτο seems to be a reversed sigma. In any case, there must have been a blank space at the end for the bedding of the stone, either in a base or in the ground. The column of names on B is intact; but the first, Herakleides, is begun 0·13 m. farther to the right than the rest. The space thus left is too worn to shew anything. It is possible, therefore, that there was here either a short name, as Ion, or the final letters of a longer word.

The wording of A suggests that the stone might conceivably be a herm; the verb ηδρόωςτο occurs on an early fifth-century herm, IG I² 834, and may be restored on the early fifth-century herm-base IG I² 685; cp. also Liddell and Scott, s.v. ηδροω, ηδρωμα; Franz, El. Ep. Gr. pp. 332–3, n.†; Rouse, Gk. Vot. Off., p. 324; Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, Polemon A, 1929, p. 107. For early herms, see Lullies, Typ. d. greech. herm. pp. 34 ff.; against this, Crome, AM 60/61, 1935/6, pp. 300 ff. and 62, 1937, p. 149, suggests that the iconic herm was not introduced into Attika before Hipparchos. In any case, there is no record of a herm with a list of names running vertically up or down the front. If it was a herm, we should have to conclude that it was re-used for some reason very soon after its erection, and that we have here either a piece of the shaft used by itself for a list of names, or part of a longer inscription containing one, or possibly more columns of names.

A list of names suggests a public grave-stele—for what war or sea disaster, we cannot tell; or it may be a list of some local officials. If both inscriptions were cut at the same time, the possibility of its being a grave-stele becomes small, since the use of the normal dedicatory verb ἄνεθεκε ¹ Cp. Raubitschek, JdOI XXXI, 1938, Beibl. no. ix, fig. 6.
in an early Attic grave-inscription would be unique. Other possibilities for a fragment of this size are an altar\(^1\) or a small door-jamb.\(^2\)

It may be noted that face \(B\) is the earliest Attic example yet found of a separate name-list, and that it keeps to the general rule of archaic inscriptions during the βοστροφηδών period: that all lists of names, unless actually contained within a dedication, as \(IG I^2\ 463\), are normally written from left to right consistently.\(^3\)

It would be most satisfactory to regard the two inscriptions as contemporaneous, since the general appearance of both is similar, and the divergencies are no more than are sometimes found in an early Attic inscription; but they appear to have been deliberately placed so as to have no connection with each other (though a similar arrangement appears on the poros stele, Raubitschek, \(JdO\) XXXI, 1938, Beibl., no. ix: cp. also Guarducci, \(Inscr. Cret.\) I, p. 297, no. 7); and it is hard to see why a list of names should be made to run vertically, when it might equally well have been cut horizontally. It is hoped that more light will be thrown on this problem of interpretation.

L. H. Jeffery.

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\(^1\) Papagiannopoulos-Palaio, \textit{loc. cit.}  
\(^2\) Cp. \(IG I^2\ 467.\)  
\(^3\) In one instance, from right to left; cp. \(IG IV, 3, 348: IG IV, 7, 614\); Vollgraff, \(Mnemos.\) LVII, 1929, pp. 206-34: \(IG V, 1, 1133.\)
UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS FROM BEROEA 1

1. Beroea. In the Old Metropolis, headquarters of the local Boy Scouts, in a collection of miscellaneous marbles, a Hellenistic marble stele, broken at the bottom, damaged along the lower two-thirds of the left edge. H. 0·475 m.; w. (between preserved sides) 0·392 m.; th. ca. 0·10 m. Letters, ll. 1–2, 0·02 m. (o, 0·015 m.), l. 3, 0·015 m.; interspace, ll. 1–2, 0·005 m., ll. 2–3, 0·001 m.

Relief: r., tree along trunk and branch of which a serpent coils. In front of tree at foot, small boy with arms folded, head facing his r. Second from r., man clad in cloak, turned to his r. and shaking hands with similarly clad man in l. of relief area. Between the two men, another small boy facing his r. (Pl. 30, no. 1).

Γαυάνης
Παλαμάνδρως
γεμώσιν

L. 1. Γαυάνης. The name first appears in Herodotus, viii, 137, where Γαυάνης is mentioned as a brother of Perdiccas; cf. Russu, Onomasticon Macedonicum in Ephemeris Dacoromana, viii, 1938, 181–2 with the references given there. So far as I know, this is the first occurrence of the name in an inscription. Russu does not mark it as Macedonian, but Hoffmann, Die Makedonen, Göttingen, 1906, 129, thinks that it must have been ‘echt makedonisch’. L. 2. Παλαμάνδρος. This name occurs in Dittenberger, OGIS, 267.22.

2. Μπρανάτεσ. Outside the church, funeral stele with relief, moulding at top with incised gable; broken at bottom; damaged at top, foot-worn. H. 1·43 m.; w. (at top) 0·48 m.; w. (at bottom) 0·475 m.; th. 0·14 m. Letters 0·022 m., (≤ 0·025–0·03 m.); interspace, 0·022–0·025 m. Relief: l., standing male figure facing r., clad in short military tunic with cloak; Phrygian cap on head; r. arm by side, in l. hand two spears. Behind and to r., forepart of a horse. In front of horse to r., figure of a boy facing r. holding horse’s bridle with l. hand. Behind boy to r., forepart of a colt (Pl. 30, no. 2).

'Αμώτας
— τονος

1 These inscriptions are selected, chiefly for the interest of the proper names they contain, from a number examined during a visit to Beroea in the autumn of 1936 in the company of Mr. C. F. Edson of Harvard University.
3. Beroea. In the church of Παναγία Βαλτιστή, to the l. of entrance, upper part of marble Hellenistic stele, gable-topped over moulding, with acroteria and circle in pediment, now used as paving block. H. (max.) 0·545 m.; w. (at top) 0·455 m.; th. indeterminable. Letters 0·015 m.; interspace, ll. 1–3, 0·006 m., ll. 3–4, 0·01 m.

'Αδαίος  Φιλίππου
Φιλίννει  'Αδύμου
'Αδύμου  'Αδαίου
ήρως

L. 1. For 'Αδαίος see Russu, op. cit., 163–4 and add to the examples cited there L. Robert, Coll. Froehner, 96–7; Hoffmann, op. cit., 190–1.
For Φιλίππου see Russu, 219–20, and Hoffmann passim.
L. 2. For 'Αδύμου see Russu, 165, and Hoffmann, 143, the latter under the form 'Αδύμως, which Bechtel also gives.

4. In the house of 'Αλέξανδρος Φωτιάδης on the road from 'Ράχοβα to the Κοζάνη road, fragment of the top of a columnar grave monument, found by owner while ploughing. H. (max.) 0·20 m.; diameter, more than 0·18 m. Letters, 0·02–0·025 m.; interspace, ll. 1–2, 0·05 m., ll. 2–3, 0·03 m. (Pl. 30, no. 4).

Περδίκας
Λάου
ήρω[5]

For Περδίκας see Russu, op. cit., 209–10 and Hoffmann, 131.

5. Beroea. In the Old Metropolis, marble stele. H. 0·64 m.; w. (at top) 0·335 m.; w. (at bottom) 0·355 m.; th. ca. 0·065 m. Letters 0·01 m.; interspace 0·002 m. Relief: Apollo citharoedus facing front holding in l. hand cithara, r. hand hanging by side. To his l. almost under cithara in lower r. corner, small male figure facing god; r. hand lifted and extended. To god’s r., tree; below tree, dog in profile sitting on haunches facing god (Pl. 30, no. 5).

Φιλίππος  'Απολλωνίου
'Απόλλωνι  Λυκίω

Baege, De Macedonum Sacris, Diss. Phil. Hal. xxii, 1, 1913, makes no mention of Apollo Lycius.

6. Beroea. In the Metropolis, near the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Hellenistic grave stele, found in the Φρούριον (Κάστρο), damaged, bottom possibly broken away, upper l. corner, lower l. corner and upper portion of r. side damaged. H. 1·045 m.; w. (at top of relief) 0·62 m.;
w. (at bottom of relief) 0·67 m.; th. 0·09 m. Letters 0·015 m.; interspace 0·007 m.

Relief: 1. to r., veiled, draped female figure sitting on stool, facing r., chin on r. hand, l. hand laid across lap. In front of her a small female figure holds a pyxis, facing her. Third from l., small male figure clad only in a chiton, body facing front, head turned to r., legs crossed, r. hand resting on l. shoulder, l. hand on r. hip, l. leg crossed in front of r. Central figure, fully draped male, body facing front, head turned slightly to l., both hands resting on l. hip, wearing long cloak. Next to r., small figure of indeterminable sex, head and body turned half r., facing the last figure on r., which is a seated draped female figure facing l., both hands on lap. Above this figure, the trunk and branches of a tree. In upper l. portion of relief above second and third figures from l. appear the trunk and branches of a tree, along which a serpent coils (Pl. 30, no. 6).

Under figure to extreme l., the inscription:

'Αναίκη
[N]άνωρος

Under central figure, slightly to l.:

Ανείλας
*Οκκου

Under feet of seated female figure to r.:

*Οκκος
Ανείλου

Along the bottom, widely spaced:

[χ]αρέτε

'Αναίκη may be a grecized form of Anicia. *Οκκος seems to be new, but the form Οκκα occurs in MAMA, i, 33.

7. Beroea. In the courtyard of the Gymnasium (Ἀ' Δημοτικόν Σχολείον), Hellenistic grave stele. Inscription under gable; below inscription, relief; below relief, second inscription. H. 0·60 m.; w. (at top) 0·355 m.; w. (at bottom) 0·335 m.; th. 0·07 m. Letters: 1st inscription, 0·01 m., 2nd inscription, 0·015 m.

Relief: 1., standing draped female figure facing front, head turned r., r. hand on l. shoulder, l. hand on r. hip. Next, tree along which serpent coils. Below tree, a cock. To r., man in cloak turned half l. holding indeterminable object towards cock (Pl. 30, no. 7).

Διογένης Βαρναίου ἤρως
Δάδα Π – – – Ζ – – –
For Βαρναῖος cf. SEG, ii, 813.4. The name, a very common one at Dura-Europus (for a discussion of it see F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 447), is claimed as Macedonian by Crönert in a note in SEG ii, p. 135. For Δάδα see Russu, *op. cit.*, 182.

8. Beroea. In the Old Metropolis, flat marble plate, in three pieces, portion missing. Diameter 0.48 m.; th. (at margin) 0.045 m.; th. (towards centre) 0.02 m. Letters 0.025 m.; interspace 0.013 m.

\[ \text{ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ } \quad \text{Διονυσίς} \\
\text{ΑΧΙΛΛΩΤΩ } \quad \text{Ἀχιλλῆ τῷ} \\
\text{ΙΔΙΩΣΥΝΘ } \quad \text{Ιδίῳ συνβίω} \\
\text{ΟΜΕΙΑΣ } \quad \text{ὁ μνεῖας} \\
5 \text{ΧΑΡΙΝ } \quad 5 \text{χάριν} \]

9. Beroea. In the church of Ἄγ. Ἀνών, Ὑπ. Πρόφ. Ἡλίου, marble slab lying in the centre of the church to the l. of the r. entrance to the ἱερόν. The upper third of the surface has been worn away. The block appears to be the upper half of a ‘Macedonian’ grave monument; the upper moulding has been cut away to make the stone suitable for use as a paving block. Ἡ. 1.04 m.; w. 0.58 m.; th. indeterminable. Letters, l. 1, 0.04 m., ll. 2–5, 0.052 m.; interspace, ll. 1–2, 0.02 m., ll. 2–5, 0.03–0.035 m.

\[ \text{ΛΟΝΓΙ } \text{λονγῆς [α] or λονγῆς [α] } \\
\text{ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ } \text{Διονυσίας } \\
\text{ΕΥΓΑΜΩ } \text{Εὐγάμῳ } \\
\text{ΤΗΝΑΡΙ } \text{τῇ ἀνδρὶ} \\
5 \text{ΜΕΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ } \quad 5 \text{μνείας χάριν} \]

10. Beroea. In the courtyard of a private house in Ὑπ. Αλέξανδρου, Roman grave stele of high workmanship, incised gable with acroteria at top. Doric column on either side of relief; inscription below relief. Ἡ. 0.93 m.; w. (at top) 0.595 m.; th. 0.115 m. Letters 0.035 m.; interspace 0.01 m. Relief: l., seated woman, draped and veiled, turned half r. with head facing front. Centre, small boy fully draped, facing front. R., full-grown man, costume and posture identical with that of boy.

\[ \text{ΕΙΛΑΗΑΑΜ } \quad (Σ)ιλάνας ῥα? Ἀμ- \\
\text{ΧΙΑΝΤΩΕΙ ΔΙ } \quad \text{μίανῳ τῷ εἰδίῳ} \\
\text{ΑΝΔΡΙΧΕΙΑΣ } \quad \text{ἀνδρὶ μνείας} \\
\text{ΧΑΡΙΝ } \quad \text{χάριν} \]

11. Beroea. In the church of Παναγία Χασίας, a slab used as altar block, inscription on front edge, letters upside down in present position. Ἡ. (max.) 0.14 m.; w. (approx.) 0.755 m.; th. 0.765 m. Letters 0.03–0.035 m.; interspace 0.01 m. Letter forms: Ν, Ε, Σ.

Ποτάμῳ Πετρωνίῳ Βάσσῳ
ήρωι
A Λ. Πετρώνιος Βάσσος is mentioned in Demitsas, _op. cit._, 35 no. 3, from Edessa, in an inscription of which I could find no trace when I visited Edessa.

12. Beroea. In the Gymnasium, in the basement, Roman funerary plaque with relief, no gable, flat top. H. 0·715 m.; w. (at top) 0·485 m.; w. (at bottom) 0·465 m.; th. 0·065 m. Letters 0·025 m.; interspace, hardly any. Relief: l., male figure _togatus_ stands facing front. Centre, vine bearing grapes. R., seated female figure, body facing l., head front, side of head resting on r. hand.

εΠΠΟΝΟΟΧΡΑΚΛΕΩ
NΙΤΩΔΑΦΩΜΝΕΙΑC
ΧΑΡΙΝ

13. Beroea. _Ibid._, Roman grave stele fragment, broken away top and bottom. H. 0·395 m.; w. 0·40 m.; th. 0·085 m. Letters 0·025–0·03 m.; interspace 0·015 m. Relief: lower l. corner, altar with flame on top; centre, lower portion of nude male statue on base facing front; lower r. corner, dolphin.

ΑΙΛΙΟΣΛΥΚΟΣ
ΦΟΙΒΙΑΝΘΕΥΓΑ
ΤΡΙΝΕΙΑΙΕΧΑΡΙΝ

14. Τουρκωρόι, three kilometres N.W. of Beroea. In the E. wall of the church of 'Αγ. Παρασκευή, 2·60 m. from the ground, fragment of Roman grave stele with relief, embedded in the wall. _Cf._ Delacoulonche, _Mémoire sur le berceau de la puissance macédonienne_ in _Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires_, viii, 1859, 242, no. 25; Demitsas, _op. cit._, 81, no. 90, 85, no. 105. H. 0·415 m.; w. 0·235 m.; th. indeterminable. Letters 0·022 m.; interspace 0·01 m. Relief: l., draped standing female figure facing front, l. arm at side holding robe, r. arm across breast. To r., male figure, draped, same posture.

WNΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΗ
ΤΗΜΟΥΓΥΝΑΙ

Under no. 90 Demitsas gives Μινιόι Αλιάνη and under no. 105 . . . .

μινιόι Αλιάνη | τῇ μου . . . .

Delacoulonche prints the inscription thus

[MINIOY AILIANH
TH MOY TYNAK]

which shows that not all the numerous errors in Demitsas are his own, but that some go back to Delacoulonche.

J. M. R. Cormack.
NOTES ON SOME SCULPTURES IN THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM.

TO THE MEMORY OF HUMFRY PAYNE.

I. A RELIEF BY THE 'RAMPIN MASTER'.

Payne's work on the Acropolis has given us a new picture of early Attic sculpture—a fresh and dewy garland, one of the finest flowers of which is his revelation of the personality of a supreme artist, the creator of the peplos Kore 679, the Rampin rider, the head 654 (Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pls. 11, 11a–c, 29–33, 133) and—πρὸς δὲ τὸ δε μέγας ἱππόμας: the finest of all archaic Attic reliefs, the diskophoros Nat. Mus. 38. This last work is not included in Payne's list: and so, convinced though I am that the mere mention of this attribution is sufficient to establish it, I am bound to offer arguments in its support.

Let us compare it with the work which stands chronologically closest to it, the head 654. We must keep in mind that, at that period, a relief was not simply a projection on the slab of the side view of the body, but a free composition of the side and front view. We must therefore compare all the aspects of the head 654 in turn with the diskophoros. Then it will not surprise us that the cheek of the former is not as broad as that of the relief; nor that the eye of the figure in relief is rather larger and the curve of the lower lid deeper than that of the head, because of the need to conform with the other lines of the composition. These differences may indeed be due in some measure to the somewhat earlier date of the relief, which in these points is still reminiscent of the Berlin goddess and the Moschophoros. However, despite these differences, the resemblances are very striking. The line of the profile of the diskophoros, which, descending from the nose to the lips and straightening out after it reaches the lower lip, curves suddenly at the chin, the significant curve of the jaw, which reaches exactly to the middle of the ear-lobe, the hollows at eye and mouth, with their completely individual form, the lips themselves—all this we find identically in the head 654. But, above all, the diskophoros and the Acropolis head are closely united by two most important features: the first is 'the curiously flat receding surface of the cheeks'—precisely that feature which Payne stresses as closely uniting the head 654 and the Rampin head (and these two works only, apart from the relief), and which, with other corresponding points—such as the 'button' in light relief at the outer corner of the
hollow of the eye, the swelling on the bridge of the nose, the whole outline of the chin—testifies to the artist’s exceptional sensibility for the living structure. The second is the eye, not only its plastic form, but more particularly its living glance. Its meaning changes from the one work to the other—but its freshness, its power to see the world ever anew, and its marvellous vivacity do not weaken.

There are fewer points uniting the relief to the Rampin head. Apart from what has just been said, let us observe that the ear has the same basic form as that of the diskophoros (the ear of the head 654 is not perfectly worked), while the contemporary master of the Volomandra kouros chose to alter its traditional shape. In the case of the Kore 679 the difference in date is too great to allow a direct comparison: but the capacity which we see in the relief of mysteriously harmonising the lines of the head with the circle of the diskos, the living flesh of the one with the stone slab, so that the geometric shape appears without constraint to be the logical boundary of life, the same capacity has given growth to the vivid head of the Kore from the exceedingly simple lines of the body.

Let us return to the period of the relief. As a foil for the attribution to the artist of the head 654, we may use the similar and approximately contemporary head 617. The differences are enormous. The surface of the cheek, the eyes, the mouth and chin are all dissimilar, even the general shape of the head (squerer in 617, more triangular in 654 and in the relief). The resemblances, such as the lines of the eyelids and the lobes of the ears, are few and external, and are due to a common period and tradition. The artist of 654 could never have created 617, whose forms are not in the least animated from within. Archaic sculptures, says Payne quite rightly, are rarely dull—unless it be, one might add, in comparison with one another. Beside the diskophoros and the head 654, 617 is truly dull.

The diskophoros and the head 654 are more or less contemporary works of our artist. Their chronological correlation has often been handled since Lechat. From this persistent correlation we might even infer an unconscious apprehension of the substantial relationship between the two works. However, the diskophoros has occasionally been dated lower than it is possible to bring the head 654. It should therefore be stressed that the profile, chin and hair of the diskophoros are still very reminiscent of the forms of Klitias (Acropolis, Graef, pl. 24, 597 f.; François vase: Troilos and the Trojan at the spring, Achilles at the games for Patroklos) much more than of those of the early Amasis and Exekias. The relief must have been made not long before the middle of the century. If there is any

difference in date between it and the head 654, the relief is earlier. It is a little later than the relief of the spear-thrower ¹ from the Themistoclean Wall.

The tradition in which the 'Rampin master' learnt his craft can be clearly traced through the Berlin goddess. But it is not to her that he owes his incomparable power, the faculty of vitalising the flesh which is the surest sign of his hand; nor the unusual nobility of his figures, whose articulation is of such rare quality that although we have the head and part of the shoulder of the diskophoros it is almost impossible to imagine his body; nor lastly that ἀμφιγυμα λαμπρον προσώπω which makes all his works stand out from that of his colleagues in Attic sculpture like Anaktoria in the midst of the Milesian maidens. But it is still too early to give a characterisation worthy of the richness and greatness of his personality.

Nor can we yet calculate all the consequences that Payne’s discovery of so great an artist will have in our appreciation of early Attic sculpture. In the first place, students will undoubtedly perceive more clearly the extent of his influence in the workshops of ancient Athens. For instance, the Rayet head in Copenhagen, which is earlier than the peplos Kore, is closely connected with her, and the magnificent head Acr. 643 would be inconceivable without his work. His hand will perhaps be recognised also in other important works of the period. Secondly, the way is open to new correlations which may in time show us more clearly the essential moments in the growth of Attic sculpture.

II. THE MASTER OF THE SPHINX 632 (Payne, pls. 5, 6).

Of the two sphinxes 630 (Payne, pls. 7–9) and 632, the first is earlier than the second. The distance may not be greater than ten years; but it is sufficient to make the forms of the head of the latter less taut and softer, the expression less remote and more inward. On these points the sphinx 630 resembles the head of the Volomandra kouros, which belongs to the decade 560–50, that is to say, is contemporary. But the sphinx 632 resembles him also, though in another way. It is not only that the head has the same shape and structure; the eyes, the incised line separating the lid from the eye-brow, and, particularly, the ear, are the same. The ear is more deeply cut in the sphinx, and the curve of the lobe more marked, but its form is the same as that of the kouros, and does not recur in any other Attic work. I believe the two works to be by the same hand, or at least from the same

¹ The name doryphoros, which is sometimes given to it, expresses less than the work itself. The curious and original way in which the youth's fingers hold the spear (E. Noack, AM 1907), which we see again in the relief Nat. Mus., marks him clearly as a spear-thrower.
workshop. Their differences are unimportant, and are due either to the fact that the sphinx has, as is to be expected, a face of feminine type, fuller and more rounded, or to her later date. The cheek is less broad, the eye a little bigger and, like the mouth, more horizontal. The 'beads' at the back of the head are less clearly divided, so that the vertical fall of the locks is more marked than their horizontal division. (However, the ending of the hair on the back in small triangles is the same: cf. Payne and Young, pl. 6, i, with 'Ἀρχ' Ἐφ., pl. 3, 2.) But the way in which the artist feels and his means of expression have not changed.

It is an artist who loves fine forms and their perfect elaboration. Recently A. Raubitschek ¹ proposed an identification with the Parian Ariston, because of a Doric column from a funeral monument signed by him which was found in the same necropolis as the Volomandra kouros. To me it appears impossible that this most Attic of works should be from a Parian hand (there are enough Attic and Parian sculptures for us to know they were different)—unless the ethnic 'Parios' is a mere epithetum ornans, as in some Hellenistic signatures. An Attic head in New York ² resembles the head of the Volomandra kouros, and Raubitschek thought it might be from the hand of our artist. However, the two works are more or less contemporary, and therefore their differences, which are substantial, are more significant than their similarities. Their differences lie in the general shape of the head, particularly from the cheeks downward; in the 'flames' on the front part of the hair, which are rounder in the New York head, flatter in the kouros; in the position of the eyeball and lid (the New York head has the upper eyelid much further inward than the lower); and in the ear. It is improbable that two such different works should be by the same artist.

III. REHABILITATION OF THE KORE 683 (Payne, pl. 59).

Payne says of the kore 679: "One reads of its 'stiff, xoanon-like appearance,' which only shows how far the eye can be misled by the discovery in one context of forms which it imagines proper to another."

Similarly, we must acknowledge that the kore 683 has been doubly unfortunate; first because she was found on the Acropolis of Athens, secondly because she was found in 1882. If she had appeared outside Athens, in a place where marble korai are of rare occurrence; for instance, in the Peloponnese (where, if I am not mistaken, the only remains of a stone kore are the fragments from the Argive Heraeum described by F. Eichler in Ö.Jh. 1919, 145 sq.)—then she

¹ Ö.Jh.
² Langlotz, Bildhauerschule, pl. 94c; Br-Br., no. 721; Curtius, Die Antike Kunst, ii, fig. 226.
would surely have been observed with more attention. But on the Acropolis of Athens, how can 'that little creature' carry the weight of eternal comparison with so many other splendid or flashy sisters?

Again, even if she had been found outside Athens, she could not expect to be appreciated at a time when archaeological criticism in its impressionistic arrogance ignored objectivity and concerned itself only with what suited its own taste; when archaic art was considered gross (I refer to the colossal Apollo of Delos 1) and the archaic smile silly; when even serious archaeologists did not appear lacking in taste in comparing Cleobis and Biton to luggage porters; at such a time could there be any good will left over for this most bizarre maiden?

Forewarned by the example of those archaeologists, we in our turn shall avoid making fun of 'ce stupide xixe siècle', as has become customary in certain quarters. We do believe, however, that if this kore had been discovered some forty years later, she would have been better understood. It is interesting to see how opinions evolve. At first archaeologists found her a gross, unskilled, mediocre piece of work, and refused her a place among works of art; they betrayed their embarrassment before an uncomprehended work by saying that she is embarrassed or comparing her with a dwarf or an African. Then they began to find her a 'funny little baggage', or else accepted her as an amusing peasant. Others went further and stressed, beside her 'defects', her speaking liveliness, and saw (very impressionistically) in her execution an almost genial indolence, and in the artist a genial craftsman like the painters of red-figured cups. Finally Payne finds her better not only than many of the small korai but also than some of the large ones—for instance, 680 (Payne, pls. 54, 55). But he defines the artist who made her only in a negative way: 'the clumsy and confused scheme of the skirt folds betrays the hand of an artist who, whatever his other successes may have been, was not at home in making korai.' Payne's words are a hair's breadth from the truth, and if he had read nothing about the kore, her 'defects' would perhaps have betrayed where the artist who made her was 'at home'.

The fundamental difference between this and the other korai of the Acropolis, of the islands and of Ionia, is that, although she raises her chiton on the side, the heavy vertical fold between the legs remains in an immovable straight line (cf. Payne 29 n. 1). Such a fold may play an important rôle in expressing the inner structure of the figure; it loses this significance when it is drawn sideways by the hand. Its loss is often counter-

1 Against this judgement of 1908 it is always worth recalling to memory this astonishing phrase of Wheler's in 1675: 'The beauty of it is such that I am apt to believe, if Michaelangelo had seen it, he would have admired it as much as he did that trunk in the Vatican at Rome' (A Journey into Greece, by George Wheler, esq., London 1682, 56; cf. Deonna, Les Apollons archaïques, 197).
acted by the vertical hang of the himation from the opposite shoulder, which forms a definite, more or less straight frame standing off from the figure. Our artist did not follow this solution, which he saw generally round him. This means that it was impossible for him to do without the heavy vertical fold as an axis for the stability of the body. And another thing: the transference of this fold would have obscured, or even hidden the outline of the legs. But the whole work testifies to the artist’s effort to present clearly the outline of the body from every aspect (this was why he did away with the himation) an outline all of swellings and sinkings, with no softenings for the sake of pretty curves, but nervous and unbending. A comparison with korai similarly dressed (i.e., in chiton only) and of about the same date or a little later, such as 602, 611, and 670, (Payne, pls. 60, 65–70) shows this clearly. These three show another solution: the middle fold is held without leaving its central position. The vertical direction is more or less preserved, but its structural function is shaken because it is moved in relation to the horizontal line of the kolpos, breaking or altering both the horizontal and the vertical line. This device apparently did not please our artist either.

It is clear that his temperament is very different from that manifested by the other korai. And since they are Attic or Ionic, it is natural to conjecture that the artist of 683 is not Attic—still less Ionic. We shall then look for his country of origin in the place where we can find these striking features in a positive form: a non-complex architecture which still undoubtedly expresses the forces which give stability to the figure; and an elastic and nervous outline, due to a firm flesh, swelling only with muscle. There is still a third characteristic. The chiton worn by this small kore is alone sufficient to make the body appear short and squat; but underneath the dress we see clearly an elongated, long-legged body with an upward tendency. Only in one group of works do we meet these features again: in those works of the North Peloponnese which constitute for Langlotz—with a good deal of probability—the Sicyonian school. The most useful pieces for purposes of comparison are naturally those which are closest to it in time. 683 must belong to the years around 520 b.c. The bronze statuette in the Louvre (Langlotz, Bildhauerschulen, pl. 18a), is about a decade earlier, the Louvre mirror (Langlotz, pl. 18c) about so much later, the mirror from the Acropolis (Nat. Mus. 7464) is about 500 b.c., the Lyons mirror (Langlotz, pl. 15a) and Boston (ibid., pl. 16a) belong already to the two first decades of the fifth century. The relationship on the points noted above is unmistakable. But if we compare these pieces further, we find other elements of surprising similarity: the same type of head with the same arched eyebrows (all the Sicyonians are, like the beauties of our demotic songs, very κώμαροφρύδες), framed in the same way by the hair; the Schnabelschuhe, unique on marble korai. Particularly the likeness of this
kore to the Acropolis mirror (Nat. Mus. 7464) is so striking, notwithstanding the twenty years which separate them, that I have to confess that this first brought to my notice the differences which separate 683 from the marble korai.

It is noteworthy that the problem of the structural function of this immobile central fold long continued to occupy the Sicyanian artists, as we can see from the bronze statuettes. The solution is always similar, and is limited to Sicyanian and certain other Doric works. The vertical fold is repeated on the side but in such a way as not to disturb the shape of the leg and to help the raising of the figure (Langlotz, pl. 15a-c; 16a-b; 17a. Cf. pl. 23c, 47c, 54a). It is truly an essential tendency of Sicyanian bodies to rise upward, and this is obvious in 683 if we compare her to 602, 611 and 670. These stand firm on the ground like the Antenor kore: some weight draws them downwards.

The maker of 683 is Sicyanian, then, or at least from the North Peloponnesian, trained to produce works like the bronzes we have looked at. Surely not a great artist—if he were, knowing his own nature, and its limits, he would perhaps have avoided the theme of a marble kore. For this theme, in the form it took in Ionic and Attic workshops, deeply affected as it was by the problem of the complexity of the costume and its relation to the body, was not the subject for a bronze-worker for whom the traditional problem was how to present a figure capable of standing or moving. Still, we must appreciate the fact that, having to deal with a subject which was not his, he succeeded in creating a work in which he not only expressed his own problems, but also attacked in a logical and true way, without losing his head, others which were strange to him (for instance, the slanting folds to right and left of the central fold).

But who in Athens found pleasure in this Sicyanian work, and even thought of dedicating it on the Acropolis? It is true that Peloponnesian artists did work in Athens as we can see by the signatures preserved. Small Peloponnesian bronzes also were not rare on the Acropolis. However one might remark that throughout both these series of works the artist’s aim was infinitely better achieved than in our kore.

But it need not have been an Athenian who dedicated this kore to Athena; a Peloponnesian is as likely. As an example, the stele E.M. 6368 (IG I² 641), found on the Acropolis, has on one of its narrow sides the inscription . . . . θεός ἄνέθεκεν [ho Σε]κύνιος.

C. Karouzos.
RULES AND REGULATIONS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information may be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be maintained of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

1. Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

2. Persons not Corporate Bodies, who pay the sum of not less than £10 to the general funds of the School and are to be considered as compounding thereby for life for an Annual Subscription of £1.

3. Persons not Corporate Bodies, who pay the sum of not less than £20 to the general funds of the School and are to be considered as thereby compounding for life for an Annual Subscription of £2 entitling them to privileges of VI (b).

VI. (a) Subscribers of £1 annually, and persons who have compounded as prescribed in V (2) to the general funds shall be allowed to purchase the Annual at a reduced rate of £1.

(b) Subscribers of £2 or more annually, and persons who have compounded as prescribed in V (3) and upwards to the general funds of the School, shall receive the Annual free of charge.

(c) All Subscribers shall be entitled to receive the Annual Report and the Director's Annual Survey "Archaeology in Greece" and to attend public meetings of the School, and (when visiting Athens) to use the Library.

Subscribers resident in Athens who desire to make use of the Library shall pay a subscription of not less than £2 2s.

VII. A Corporate Body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VIII. A Meeting of Subscribers shall be held annually after the close of the School's financial year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing Corporate Body may send a representative. At this Meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this Meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Honorary Officers of the School, the Auditors, and two members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIV.

IX. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the Annual Meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two Annual Meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.
RULES AND REGULATIONS

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL.

XIII. There shall be an Advisory Council, unlimited in number and composed of:—

(1) The President and a number of Vice-Presidents elected or re-elected annually by the Subscribers.
(2) The Trustees and Honorary Officers of the School.
(3) Members appointed ex officio; viz., H.M. Minister at Athens, the Chairman of the British Council, and such others as the Subscribers shall from time to time determine.
(4) Members nominated by Corporate Bodies subscribing £50 a year or more, as in VII.
(5) Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings.
(6) Members co-opted by the Managing Committee subject to confirmation by the Subscribers at their next Annual Meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIV. There shall be a Managing Committee composed of:—

(1) The President and Vice-Presidents.
(2) The Trustees and Honorary Officers.
(3) The nominated members of the Council.
(4) Eight members of the Council appointed by the subscribers. Two of these members to retire each year and not to be eligible for reappointment to the Managing Committee in that year.

XV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the School premises.

XVI. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months during the School session; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVII. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVIII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XIX. In the event of vacancies occurring among the Officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS AND STUDENTS.

XX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

(1) Graduate Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the British Empire.
(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.
(3) Other persons who satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted as Students.

XXI. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome or the Florence Student of the Royal Institute of British Architects, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece. The Managing Committee may also grant the privileges of a Student to other persons for a shorter period.

XXII. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXIII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. The School Session shall be from November 1st to July 1st. Students shall only be granted admission for one session at a time. They shall be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIV. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction. Honorary Students enjoy all the privileges of Students without payment of admission charges, but pay the same rates as Students if they reside or mess in the Hostel.

XXV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates elected before 1936 shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.
XXVI. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel, except with the sanction of the Director. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.
See also under Rules XXVII-XL, XLIV-XLVI.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVII. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVIII. He shall have possession of the School-building as a dwelling-house.

XXIX. It shall be his duty (i) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXII, and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (ii) to edit the School Annual with such assistance, paid or unpaid, in London, as the Committee may provide from time to time.

XXX. Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School.

XXXI. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend the public meetings and lectures of the School.

XXXII. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research. He shall visit Knossos at least once in each session and shall report to the Committee as to the management of the property.

XXXIII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIV. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight’s notice shall be given.
See also under Rules VIII, XV, XXII, XXVI, XXXVI-XXXVII, XXXIX, XLIII-XLV, LI-LII.

THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR AND LIBRARIAN.

XXXV. The Assistant Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXXVI. It shall be his duty, subject to the Director’s approval and control, to take charge of the Library and to be responsible for the Hostel, and otherwise help in the management of the School.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXVII. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVIII. Every Student shall pay an admission charge of £3 3s. per session to the Secretary, 50 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1, before leaving for Greece, and no Student will be entitled to accommodation in the Hostel until this fee has been paid. The rent charges in the Hostel are:

3/- per single room per night.
2/6 " share in a double room per night.

These payments include light and servant’s wages. Students are also required to pay their mess ing.

XXXIX. Honorary Students, Associates, Members of the Committee, and ex-Directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XL. Persons granted Student privileges under Rule XXI shall pay an admission charge at the rate of £2 for the first month, or part of a month, of residence (payable before leaving for Greece), and £1 for each succeeding month. If admitted to the Hostel they shall pay, for rooms and other charges, the same rate as students.
See also under Rules XXI, XXVI, XLIV, XLV.
KNOSSES.

XLII. The Archaeological Curator at Knossos shall be appointed 1 by the Managing Committee for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XLII. It shall be his duty

(1) to reside generally at Knossos in quarters assigned to him by the Managing Committee, for eight months in each year, normally from November 1st to June 30th. Residence is deemed to include periods of travel in Crete, and occasional visits to other parts of Greece. The upper rooms and the kitchen of the Taverna are assigned to the Curator for his personal use.

(2) to undertake the care and management of the School's estate and archaeological area and be responsible for their maintenance in good repair.

XLIII. He shall hold, with regard to the Director of the School, the same position as the Assistant Director. The Director of the School has general authority in questions of policy, but the Curator is at all times responsible for administration.

XLIV. Students residing at the Villa Ariadne or Taverna, shall pay to the Villa Account the same charges as in the Hostel at Athens. Special arrangements may be made with regard to Students and others engaged in an excavation of the School.

The total number of Students, persons with Students' privileges and other persons admitted on recommendation of the Director, residing at the same time at Knossos, shall not exceed seven, of whom not more than five shall be admitted at the same time to residence in the Villa.

See also under Rule XLIX, LII.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XLV. The Director shall have power to make regulations for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like, subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK.

XLVI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee. The Committee of the School shall have the first claim upon any written work done by a Student from material collected during the tenure of a Studentship at the School or with the aid of a grant from the School, and also upon the reports of excavations conducted under an official permit obtained through the School. No such work may be published elsewhere than in the Annual of the School without the previous consent of the Committee; always provided that such consent shall not be unreasonably withheld.

XLVII. The Managing Committee incurs no financial liability of any kind, except by specific resolution, in regard to archaeological work under the auspices of the School (excavation and work resulting therefrom, publication, etc.) undertaken by an Officer or Student of the School or any other person.

THE FINANCES.

XLVIII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIX. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

L. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School premises in Athens and Knossos (Villa Ariadne and Taverna), and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

LI. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and other officials of the School, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

LII. The Director shall submit annually, together with his report to the Managing Committee, estimates of expenditure for the following Session showing under the appropriate heads the amounts needed for the maintenance and repair of the School premises at Athens and Knossos, for the Library, and for excavations. These estimates shall be examined and approved by the Committee, and the Director shall report on any excess of expenditure over these. No extraordinary expenditure shall be incurred without a special resolution of the Managing Committee.

Revised October 1938.

1 Subject to the approval of Sir Arthur Evans.
GENERAL INDEX

ACROPOLIS Treasure from Mycenae, 65 ff.; date and nature, 84 ff.
Aegina, griffin jug from, 64; silver coin of, 50
Aetos, objects from: Artemis mask, 43; bronze goat, 55; Chioti coin, 51; horses on stands, 54; pottery, 16, 17, 19, 25
Ailiki, vase from, 70
Anaphylastos, deme, inscription from, 90 ff.
Animal bones in Shaft Graves, 65, 84, 86 n.
Animal heads: on gold ring, Nat. Mus. 993, 83; on vases, 68 f.
Apollo, colossal, of Delos, 103 and n.
Apollo Lycius, 95
Archon-list?, new, 91
Argive Heraion: beads from, 75; goblets, 67; kore fr., 102
Argos, Amphilochian, coins of, 49
Ariston the Parian, 102
Arkades, tomb L, dinos from, 58, 63
Artemis masks, terracotta, 43 f.
Assyria, Cretan borrowing from, 61, 63
Athens, coins of, at Polis, 49
Athens, Museums:
  Acropolis. Sculpture. 602, 104, 105, 611, ib.; 617, 100; 630, 632, 101 f.; 643, 101; 654, 99, 100; 670, 104, 105; 679, 99, 100, 102; 680, 103; 683, 102 ff.
  Epigraphic. 6368, 105
National. Bronzes. 2367–70, 79; 7464, 104 f.
Gold objects. 957–60, 66 ff.; 961, 70 ff.; 962–79, 994, 72 ff.; 980, 75; 991, 77 f.; 992, 79 ff.; 993, 82 f.; 2588, 73; 2845, 75; 2949, 78; 6212, 76; 6221, 73
Sculpture. Diskophoros, 38, 99; spearthrower from Themistoclean wall, 101
Vases. 4-handled from Ailiki, 69 f.; 1426 (Warrior), ib.
Attica, inscription from, 90 ff.
Axos mitra, 55, 57, 62

BARBERINI cauldron, 60, 63
Beads, gold, 75 ff.
Beldam Painter, lekythos-fr. by, 30
Beroea, unpublished inscriptions from, 94 ff.
Brooches, Boeotian, 53 f.
Bulls on Cretan shields, 61 f.

CABLE ornament on shields, 59
Charcoals from Lesbos, report on, 88
Chigi olpe, 57, 62
Chios, coins of, in Ithaca, 51
Coins from Polis cave, 48 ff.
Corcyra, coins of, 50
Corinth, coins of, 48
Corinthian ware at Polis, 20 ff.
Cretan shields, date of, 52 ff.
Cups: gold, Nat. Mus. 961, 70, of tea-cup shape, 70 ff.; Minoan, 71; Siana, 28; stemmed, development of shape, 67 f.

Currency, annular forms of, 74

DAEDALIC sculpture, 57 and n.
Damast?i, bronze coin of, 51
Diskophoros, Nat. Mus. 38, 99 ff.
Dogs’ heads on gold cup-handles, 66, 68
Double axe, 81
Dyrrachion, coin of, 51

EGYPTIAN and Aegean currency media, 74
Embossing technique, 53, 54
Engraving technique, 53 f., 80
Epaphroditus Novi, seller of perfumes, 38
Ephyrean ware, 67
Epiros, coins of, 49
Eros Libonis (inscr.), 38

FEEDING-CUP, 13
Female figures on Cretan shields, 62
Figurine, ivory, 47
Floral ornaments on shields, 59

GEMS bearing Minoan religious scenes, 81 ff., 85
INDEX

Goat, bronze, 55; head of, on Palaikastro rhyton, 69.
Goblets, gold, from Mycenae, 66 ff., 85; pottery parallels, 67, 85.
Goddesses: on Cretan shields, 62; in Minoan-Mycenaean religion, 80 f.
Graffiti on vases, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35.
Granulation in LH II goldsmiths’ work, 85.
Graves, near Astakos, pottery forms at, 1.
Griffins, cast, 63 f.; griffin-bird, 58 f.

HALIKAIΣ, Zakynthos, pottery forms at, 1.
Handles: dogs’-head, 66; other animals, 68 ff.; flat loop, 70 f.; horizontal, 78 f.
Head, Acropolis 654, 99 ff.
Head-shape, Daedalic and other, 57.
Heads: animal, on handles, 68 ff.; large feline, in early Cretan work, 54, 56.
Herakles: figurine, ivory, 47; lamp, plastic, 46; scarab, 46.
Hermes, 92.
Horses, Geometric, 58; hammered, on stands, 54.

INCISION, in metal-work and vase-painting, 54, 61.
Inscriptions: Greek: on mask, 43; 6th century, from Attica, 90 ff.; unpublished, from Beroea, 94 ff. Latin, on sherd, 38.
Ithaca, excavations in, 1 ff.
Ithacan Geometric ware, 17 ff.
Ivory: figurine, 47 f.

KEPHAŁLENIΑ, Artemis mask from, 43.
Korai, 102 ff.; costume, 104. See Athens, Acropolis Museum.
Kranea, coins of, 49.

LAMPS from Polis cave, 45 f.; plastic, 46.
Lesbos, early trees and plants of, 88 f.
Letter-forms, 91.
Lions: gold, couchant, from Mycenae, 77 ff., 85; Egyptian, 78; on Cretan shields, 55 f., 60 f., 63; on Mycenaean gems, 83; proto-Corinthian, 53 n., 54.

MASKS, terracotta, 49, 41 f., 43 ff.
Mirrors, bronze: Louvre, 104; Lyons, 104; Nat. Mus. 7464, 104 f.

Mycenae, Acropolis treasure, 65 ff.

NAMES, in Attic inscription, 91, 92 f.; in Beroean inscriptions, 94 ff.
Necklaces, Minoan-Mycenaean, 76.
New York, Attic head in, 102.

OAK, varieties of, on Lesbos, 88.
Olive, charcoal, from Thermi, 88 f.

PALAIKASTRO, rhyton from, 69.
Panthers, on Corinthian vases, 22 f.; proto-Corinthian, 54.
Patrai, coins of, 49, 51.
‘Pellet’ ware, 3 f.
Peloponnese, rarity of korai in, 102; Northern, bronzes of, 104 f.
Phokis, coin of, 50.

Pols, cave at, coins from, 48 ff.; inscriptions, 38; ivory, 47 f.; lamps, 45; pottery, 1 ff.; scarabs, 46; terracottas, 38 ff.
Pottery from Polis cave: Attic, 28 ff.; Bronze Age, rough, 1–5; Corinthian, 20 ff.; E. Greek, 27; EH, 5 f.; Geometric, 17 ff.; Hellenistic, 31 ff.; Laconian, 28; MH, 6 ff.; Minyan, 6; Mycenaean, 8 ff.; proto-Geometric, 17; Transitional, 16.
Prinias reliefs, 52.

‘RAMPIN MASTER’, relief by, 99 ff.
Reliefs: by ‘Rampin Master’, 99 ff.; marble, on steleis, Beroea, 94 ff.; terracotta, 40, 42, 45.
Religion, Mycenaean, 80 f.
Rhegion, coin of, 50.
Rings, gold, 72; as currency, 73 f.; with intaglio design, 79 ff.
Roman coins from Polis cave, 50, 51.

SCARABS from Polis cave, 46 f.
Sculptures in Acropolis Museum, 99 ff.
Shaft Grave?, plundered, 65, 84 ff.
Shields, Cretan, date of, 52 ff.; ‘omphalos’, 58.
Sikyon, artists of, 104 f.; coins of, 48 f., 50.
Sirens of oriental type, 64.
Sphinx: Acrop. Mus. 630, 632, 101 f.; cut out, 42; t.c. geometric, 38 f.
Spirals of gold wire, 72 f.
Stags on Cretan shields, 54 f.
Stavros, 22.
### INDEX

Tambourine, Kunze no. 74, 60 ff.
Terracottas from Polis cave: archaic, 39 f.; classical, 41 f.; geometric, 38 f.; Hellenistic, 42 ff.; primitive, 39
Thebes, coin of, 50
Thermi, trees and plants of, 88 f.
Tiryns Treasure, 65, 75, 76, 84, 86
Trees of early Lesbos, 88 f.
Tripod cauldrons, 53

Valomandra kouros, 100, 101, 102

Vaphio tomb: beads from, 75; gems, 81; goblets, 85
Vases, inscribed, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35; plastic, 27, 33 ff.
Vibo Valentia, coin of, 49
Vine, early cultivation, 88; at Thermi III, 89

Warrior Vase, 69 f.
Wire, gold, coils of, 72; use, 71 f.
Women’s ownership of gold rings, 82

### INDEX OF GREEK AUTHORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Herodotus, VIII</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homer: Iliad xvii</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odyssey ii</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### INDEX OF GREEK NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Αδαίος, 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αδύμοι, 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αλίκος Λύκος, 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αλείας, 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αμιανός, 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αμύντας, 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ανείκα, 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Απόλλων Λίκιος, 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Απολλώνιος, 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αρίσταρχος, 90, 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αστυχος?, 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αχιλλέας, 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αρταίος, 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βάσσας, ν. Πότιλιος</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γαύδης, 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δάδα, 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δημοκλῆς?, 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Διογένης, 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Διουναία, 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Επτάγονος, 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐγαμός, 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ηρακλέαθς, 90, 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ηρακλέων, 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ισιλιανή, 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ιώνιος?, 90, 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λάου?, 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λουγ(ε)ίνα, 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λύκιος, ν. 'Απόλλιον</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λύκος, ν. Αλίκος</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Νικάνωρ, 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ξενοκλῆς, 90, 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Οίλωνιχος?, 90, 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Οκκος, 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Παλάμανδρος, 94</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Περδίκκας, 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πετρώνιος, ν. Πότιλιος</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πότιλιος Πετρώνιος Βάσσας, 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σιλάνα?, 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σπυνθήρ, 90, 91</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>...υσόντης?, 90, 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φιλίνας, 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φιλίππος, 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φιοβίανή, 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III: ROUGH BRONZE-AGE POTTERY.
Scale, 13, 33, 1, 1:4; 16, 2:5; rest, 1:2.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Early and (5 and 13) Middle Bronze-Age Pottery.

Scale: 19, 8, 18, 6; 3:5; 17, 2:3; 5, 13, 2:5.
ExCAVATIONS IN IThACA, III: MIDDLE HELLADIC POTTERY.

Scale, 1:2.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Mycenaean Pottery.

Scale: 1, 5, 1:7; 3, 2:7; 13, 14, 23, 67, 1:5.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Mycenaean Pottery.

Scale, 6, 7, 1:4; rest, 1:3.
EXPACATIONS IN ITHACA, III: MYCENAEAN POTTERY.

Scale, 33, just under 1:2; rest, just under 2:5.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Mycenaean Pottery.
Scale, 1:2.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Mycenaean Kylikes.

Scale, 1:4.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: a–d, Transitional (Mycenaean to Protogeometric) 
(a = 1, b = 2, c = 5, d = 6); e–f, Protogeometric Pottery (e = 1, f = 5).
Scale, a–d, 1:2; e, f, 4:3.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Geometric Pottery.
Scale 1:2.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: c and e–h, Protocorinthian Pottery (c = 16, e = 11, f = 12, g = 10, h = 18); a–b, Corinthian Pottery (a = 16, b = 31, d = 67).
Scale, a–c, 1:1; d, 1:2; e–h, 2:3.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: a, b, Corinthian Vases; c, Ivory Figurine.

Scale, a, 1:4; b, 1:2; c, 1:1.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: a-c, e-g, Rhodian Pottery ($a = 4, b = 2, c = 5, e = 10, f = 3, g = 9$); d, Laconian; h-k, Protocorinthian ($h = 19, i = 1, k = 7$).

Scale, $a, b, f, i$, 1:2; $c, 3:5$; $d, e, 2:5$; $g, h, 2:3$. 
Excavations in Ithaca, III: a-l, Attic Pottery \((a = 5, b = 6, c = 20, d = 8, e = 9, f = 2, g = 16, h = 17, i = 18, k = 26, l = 19)\); m, n, Hellenistic \((m = 25a, n = 9)\).

Scale, \(a-f, 1: 2; g-l, 2: 5; m, n, 1: 3\).
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Fragments of 'West Slope' Ware.
Scale, 14, 15, 21, 26, 3:4; 18, 19, 1:2; 16, 17, 27, 3:5; 22, 24, 2:3.

Scale, 1:2.

Scale, 30, 3:4; 35, 37, 1:1; 46, 4:5; FST, 2:3.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Geometric (1) and Archaic Terracottas.

Scale, 1, 1:4; rest, 2:3.

Scale, 36, 4:5; 37, 1:1; 43, 1:2; rest, 2:3.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Classical Terracottas.

Scale, 46, 51, 58, 2:3; 49, 4:5; 55, 56, 1:2.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Hellenistic Terracottas.
Scale, 2:3.
EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, III: ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL TERRACOTTA.

Scale, 60, 3:5; rest, 2:3.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Lamps, Coins, Seals.

Scale, 1:1, except lamps 2, 3, 6-8, 3:5; 9, 10, 2:3.
Excavations in Ithaca, III: Coins; 1-5 Silver; 6-29 Bronze.

Scale, 1:1.
DATE OF THE CRETAN SHIELDS.

1, 2, Bronze lion from Palaikastro. Scale 3:5.
3, Protocorinthian ring-vase in the British Museum. Scale, 1:1.
THE ACROPOLIS TREASURE FROM MYCENAE:  
a, Gold Goblet, Athens 957;  
b, Clay Goblet from Attica, Athens 3831.

Scale, 1:2.
The Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae: a, Gold Cup, Athens 961; b, see Pl. 26, a.

Scale, \( a, 1:1; \ b, 2:3 \).
The Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae: a and b, Gold Spiral Coils, Athens 954, 972; c, Gold Beads, Athens 980; d, Gold Lion, Athens 991; e, Gold Signet Ring, Athens 992; f, Gold Signet Ring, Athens 993 (reversed towards the light to give a better idea of the design: for a correct view of the surface turn upside down).

Scale, a-c, 1:1; d, 2:1; e and f, 5:3.
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