

SVENSKA INSTITUTEN I ATHEN OCH ROM  
INSTITUTUM ATHENIENSE ATQUE INSTITUTUM ROMANUM REGNI SUECIAE

---

# Opuscula

Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome

8

2015

STOCKHOLM

**EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:**

Prof. Gunnel Ekroth, Uppsala, Chairman  
Prof. Arne Jönsson, Lund, Vice-chairman  
Ms Kristina Björksten Jersenius, Stockholm, Treasurer  
Dr Erika Weiberg, Uppsala, Secretary  
Prof. Peter M. Fischer, Göteborg  
MA Axel Frejman, Uppsala  
Dr Kristian Göransson, Rome  
Prof. Karin Blomqvist, Lund  
Prof. Arja Karivieri, Stockholm  
Dr Emilie Karlsmo, Uppsala  
Prof. Anne-Marie Leander Touati, Lund  
Dr Arto Penttinen, Athens

**EDITOR:**

Dr Jenni Hjohlman  
Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies  
Stockholm University  
SE-106 91 Stockholm  
[editor@ecsi.se](mailto:editor@ecsi.se)

**SECRETARY'S ADDRESS:**

Department of Archaeology and Ancient History  
Uppsala University  
Box 626  
SE-751 26 Uppsala  
[secretary@ecsi.se](mailto:secretary@ecsi.se)

**DISTRIBUTOR:**

eddy.se ab  
Box 1310  
SE-621 24 Visby

For general information, see [www.ecsi.se](http://www.ecsi.se)  
For subscriptions, prices and delivery, see <http://ecsi.bokorder.se>

Published with the aid of a grant from The Swedish Research Council  
The English text was revised by Rebecca Montague, Hindon, Salisbury, UK

*Opuscula* is a peer reviewed journal. Contributions to *Opuscula* should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Committee before 1 November every year. Contributors are requested to include an abstract summarizing the main points and principal conclusions of their article. For style of references to be adopted, see [www.ecsi.se/guides-contributors](http://www.ecsi.se/guides-contributors). Books for review should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Committee.

ISSN 2000-0898

ISBN 978-91-977798-7-6

© Svenska Institutet i Athen and Svenska Institutet i Rom

Printed by Elanders, Sverige AB, Mölnlycke 2015

Cover illustration from Fischer, this volume p. 73 & 75.

# The Charitonidis Class:

## A group of large Athenian Late Protogeometric skyphoi

*In memory of Serapheim Charitonidis*

### Abstract

This article assembles and publishes a group of distinctive large Athenian Late Protogeometric skyphoi. Aspects of shape and decoration are fully discussed, so too the evidence for establishing the date of the group, as well as their distribution. The group, if not the potter, is named after the man who published two complete examples of the class from the South Slope of the Athenian Acropolis: Serapheim Charitonidis.

**Keywords:** Athenian Acropolis, pottery, Late Protogeometric, skyphos

The starting point of this paper is the publication in 1973 of two magnificent large skyphoi from the Early Iron Age cemetery on the South Slope of the Athenian Acropolis (1, 2 below).<sup>1</sup> Anyone who has had the privilege to study and handle these two skyphoi will acknowledge that they are among the finest products of the Athenian potters' craft of any period. The precision, not to say quality, of the potting and painting is extraordinary. The decoration of both skyphoi is virtually identical and is characterized by an idiom firmly in the realm of the symmetry that is the hallmark of Athenian Protogeometric and Geometric pottery, but one that is purposefully asymmetrical, albeit ever so slightly. The asymmetry lies in the central panel and the fact that it is composed of two segments of uneven width. The central panel itself is symmetrically framed by one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles on

either side.<sup>2</sup> This small quirk in the decoration is limited to a relatively small group of skyphoi that are all of Late Protogeometric date, but ones that are remarkably far-flung in terms of their distribution. Most of the group consists of large vessels, with a rim diameter in the range of 0.200–0.300 m. In the case of the better preserved examples, the symmetry of the potting is unmistakable, in that the height of the vessel is virtually the same, or very similar to, the rim diameter.

This group of large Athenian Late Protogeometric skyphoi is so idiosyncratic that they must have been made in a single workshop by the same potter.<sup>3</sup> This is not an assertion based on a nebulous definition of style. As James Hill and Joel Gunn noted in their seminal overview of the individual in prehistory: "... individuals are always somewhat different from one another in their motor habits and motor performances; the artifacts they make or use will exhibit slight stylistic differences in execution or use-wear. We can use these differences to identify the works of different individuals. Much of this interindividual variation is almost certainly subconscious and hence cannot be easily taught or transmitted from person to person. This fact makes it ideal for identifying the works of individuals as opposed to works associated with small groups of some kind."<sup>4</sup> The differences in "motor habits and motor per-

<sup>1</sup> Charitonidis 1973, 30, pls. 19:β–γ (Tomb XXVIII, Taphos M). I am grateful to a good many friends and colleagues for assistance in procuring illustrations. For the photographs of 1 and 2 I am grateful to Sokrates Mavromatis, and for the drawings of 1 and 8, my thanks to Anne Hooton; I am also grateful to Eirini Manoli for facilitating my work in the Acropolis Museum. The photographs of 8 are the work of Craig Mauzy; I owe additional thanks to Sylvie Dumont and Jan Jordan for their many years of assistance in the Stoa of Attalos. The photograph of 17 was graciously supplied by Samuel Verdan. The sources of the remaining illustrations are credited in the figures. I am also grateful to Richard Catling for past discussions on Athenian Protogeometric pottery in the Cyclades.

<sup>2</sup> I use the term "mechanically-drawn" and not the more conventional "compass-drawn", as these circles are drawn with a pivoted multiple brush, not a compass, as outlined in Papadopoulos *et al.* 1998.

<sup>3</sup> I refer to these vessels as Athenian because they were made in Athens, in the original Kerameikos of Athens (for which see Papadopoulos 2003), and to distinguish them from pottery produced at other sites in Attica.

<sup>4</sup> Hill & Gunn 1977, 2; particularly useful are the following papers in this volume: Plog 1977; Muller 1977; Redman 1977; Hill 1977. For earlier studies, see especially Berenson 1948; Wollheim 1973. For further discussion on the individual in the Greek world, see, among many others, Kurtz 1985; Cherry 1992; Morris 1993; Whitley 1997; Snodgrass 2002, all with further references. For an anthropological discussion of "style", see Sackett 1982, 1986.

formance" that Hill and Gunn speak of are, in their essence, remarkably similar to the underpinnings of the Morellian method as outlined by Carlo Ginzburg: "The art connoisseur and the detective may well be compared, each discovering, from clues unnoticed by others, the author in one case of a crime, in the other of a painting."<sup>5</sup> Ginzburg goes on to cite Sigmund Freud, who was well acquainted with the work of Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891); what was significant for Freud was "... the proposal of an interpretative method based on taking marginal and irrelevant details as revealing clues. Here details generally considered trivial and unimportant, 'beneath notice,' furnish the key ..."<sup>6</sup> As Ginzburg elaborates: "... these marginal details were revealing, in Morelli's view, because in them the artist's subordination to cultural traditions gave way to a purely individual streak, details being repeated in a certain way 'by force of habit, almost unconsciously'."<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the Morellian method inspired John Davidson Beazley to apply this type of connoisseurship to the study of Athenian black- and red-figure pottery.<sup>8</sup>

Classical archaeology, however, was not the sole domain of the Morellian method, and the search for the individual has loomed large in Aegean prehistory.<sup>9</sup> With specific reference to attribution studies in the Aegean Bronze Age, John Cherry, in dealing with the feasibility of attribution, noted that there was at least one corpus of material whose attribution to hands was worked out, exhaustively, to virtually everyone's satisfaction: the hands of the scribes of Linear B tablets.<sup>10</sup> And he added that "techniques of attribution ought to be applicable to *any* graphic system, from a Renaissance easel-painting or an Attic vase, to very simple design elements or handwriting."<sup>11</sup> As Cherry cogently stated, "an artist's work is unlikely to be distinguishable, for example, by the fact that he/she has a particular predilection for cross-hatching, but rather *how* that cross-hatching has been executed".<sup>12</sup>

More to the point, my conclusion that the two South Slope skyphoi were made by the same potter was not reached solely on the basis of a repeated quirk—a motor habit—in the decoration noted above, which lies at the core of attribution studies, but to the very tools that the potter repeatedly used. In the case of the two South Slope skyphoi, where I was able to make detailed measurements, the outermost circle on each set of concentric circles has a diameter of 0.066–0.067 m on both skyphoi and is thus almost certainly made with the same piv-

<sup>5</sup> Ginzburg 1980, 8; Ginzburg 1983, 82.

<sup>6</sup> Ginzburg 1980, 11; Ginzburg 1983, 86.

<sup>7</sup> Ginzburg 1980, 11; Ginzburg 1983, 87; see further Wollheim 1973.

<sup>8</sup> Elsner 1990.

<sup>9</sup> See especially Cherry 1992; Morris 1993.

<sup>10</sup> Cherry 1992, 136.

<sup>11</sup> Cherry 1992, 136.

<sup>12</sup> Cherry 1992, 139.

oted multiple brush.<sup>13</sup> This by itself establishes that the same tool was used for at least two of the vessels in this group.

It is this combination of features—the repeated use of the same tool to execute the sets of concentric circles on some of the skyphoi, the standardization in the quality of the potting of these large open vessels, and the repeated manner in which the central panels were asymmetrically laid out—coupled, as we shall see, with the chronological homogeneity of the group, that indicates that the Charitonidis Class skyphoi were made in the same workshop, and almost certainly by the same potter (*κεραμεύς*).

It is the purpose of this paper to assemble as many examples of the group as possible, to establish their date, to track their distribution, and to give the group, if not the potter, a name, after the man who published the two South Slope examples.<sup>14</sup> Before assembling and discussing the Charitonidis Class, it is important to outline why I am referring to these large open vessels as skyphoi and to determine the nature of the decoration.

<sup>13</sup> For the pivoted multiple brush, see Papadopoulos *et al.* 1998. As for the central panels, 1 has an overall width of 0.083 and a height of 0.085; 2 is slightly narrower, but a little taller, with a width of 0.079–0.080 and a height of 0.088–0.089. Other examples of Athenian Protogeometric pots decorated with the same pivoted multiple brush are assembled in *Agora XXXVI*. An Early Iron Age potter would have had various sized pivoted multiple brushes to be used on different pots, depending on their size.

<sup>14</sup> Serapheim Charitonidis (1923–1966), died tragically at the age of 43 as a result of injuries sustained following a car accident in the Peloponnese. Having completed his doctoral dissertation at the University of Thessaloniki, it was expeditiously published as the first supplement of the *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς* of the Philosophical School at the Aristotle University in Thessaloniki (Charitonidis 1956); this was followed by a Fulbright Fellowship for 1958–1959 at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton. In the decade between the publication of the dissertation and his untimely death, he published a plethora of papers in English, French, and Modern Greek, in the pages of, among other journals, the *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Archaiologikon Deltion*, *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, and the *Deltion tes Hetaireias Lesbiakon Meleton*. Some of these publications, including his 1973 article on the Early Iron Age tombs on the South Slope of the Acropolis, were published posthumously, seen through the press by his wife (he took part on these excavations as Epimelete of the Acropolis Ephorate, under the direction of Ioannis Meliadis). Other papers were substantial pieces of scholarship, still extensively cited, such as his 1958 publication of the Classical tombs in Syntagma Square (Charitonidis 1958). His 1968 supplement to the inscriptions of Lesbos was also published posthumously (Charitonidis 1968), so too the co-authored monograph on the mosaics of the House of Menander in Mytilene (Charitonidis, Kahil & Ginouvès 1970). Most of these publications were written while he served first as Ephor of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Mytilene and later of the Argolid. In both positions he regularly presented the results of his fieldwork; that for Mytilene in various Greek journals, his work on Argos in annual reports in the *BCH*, together with several papers on the Corinthia in the *AJA*. As an archaeologist, Serapheim Charitonidis died before his prime. We can only imagine what he may have achieved had he lived a long and full life.

## The skyphos

The term *skyphos* (*σκύφος*) in Greek refers to a deep cup or bowl with two handles. Hesychios defines the *σκύφος* as a cup, *εἴδος ποτηρίου, ἥ ἔκπωμα*, and Euripides (*Cyc.* 390–391) describes the Cyclop's skyphos as three cubits wide and four cubits deep.<sup>15</sup> In Homer (*Od.* 9.346) the vessel which Odysseus gives Polyphemos full of wine is not a skyphos, but a *κισσύβιον*. For the Early Iron Age version, Vincent Desborough noted that this “is one of the commonest Protogeometric shapes, and has a wider distribution than any other, except perhaps the skyphos with pendent semicircles”<sup>16</sup> The shape is normally referred to as a bowl before PG, a skyphos thereafter.<sup>17</sup> The history of the shape can be traced back into the Mycenaean period—especially FS 284 (LH IIIA2–LH IIIC Early), FS 285 (LH IIIC Middle–Late), and FS 286 (SM)—at least as early as LH IIIA, with continuity through the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age.<sup>18</sup> In discussing the Mycenaean predecessors, Desborough wrote: “The workmanship is good in these early vases, both the potter’s and the painter’s work being careful: there are specimens bearing the delicate ‘close style’ of decoration.”<sup>19</sup> From the end of the Mycenaean period through Submycenaean, Desborough discussed a number of representative Attic skyphoi from the Kerameikos, Salamis, and the Agora, as well as at least six skyphoi he considered as transitional to Protogeometric.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Richter & Milne 1935, 26; as Richter and Milne (1935, 27) elaborate, the shape is often called a *kotyle* by modern scholars, but they go on to show that *κοτύλη* (*κότυλος, κοτύλιστος*) was probably a generic term for a cup. In modern usage, the term *kotyle* is normally reserved for the distinctive Corinthian version of a deep drinking cup with two horizontal handles. For further discussion, see Kanowski 1984, 136–139. It is ironic that one of the most common terms for a drinking vessel among the names inscribed on pots, *ποτήριον*, is never used in modern usage, see *Agora XII*, 3–9 (the most common name of a vessel shape inscribed on a pot, whether before or after firing, is *κύλιξ*).

<sup>16</sup> Desborough 1952, 77; for the pendent semicircle skyphos, see Kearsley 1989.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Desborough in *Lefkandi I*, 396, note 112.

<sup>18</sup> Furumark 1972, 634–635, FS (Furumark Shape) 284–286; also 49, fig. 14; Mountjoy 1986, 91, fig. 110, FS 284 (LH IIIA2); 129–131, figs. 160–162, FS 284 (LH IIIB2); 149–152, figs. 189–193, FS 284 (LH IIIC Early); 176–179, figs. 227–231, FS 285 (LH IIIC Middle); 190–192, fig. 254, FS 285 (LH IIIC Late); 200, fig. 269, FS 286 (SM).

<sup>19</sup> Desborough 1952, 77; for the Close Style, see Furumark 1944; Desborough 1964, 4–9, pls. 3:a, 4:a–d, including a skyphos (bowl) from Mycenae, pl. 4:c.

<sup>20</sup> For the immediate predecessors, see Desborough 1952, 77–78; *Kerameikos I*, pls. 22–23, one each from Tombs 1, 10, 17, 27, 35, 45, 46, 51, 72, 81, 94; Wide 1910, 27–28, fig. 6; Styrenius 1962, 114–115, pls. VII–VIII; Forsdyke 1925, 217, fig. 305, no. A 1122. The six skyphoi Desborough (1952, 78–79) considered transitional to mature Protogeometric are *Kerameikos I*, pl. 30, inv. 525, (Grave A); pl. 48, inv. 518 (grave-mound T 22); pl. 61, inv. 770 (Grave 13); pl. 63, inv. 532 (Grave

An alternative name for large Early Iron Age skyphoi sometimes found in the literature is “krater-bowl”.<sup>21</sup> The term is most often used by Irene Lemos, who writes: “The term crater-bowl is used to describe open vases of a size midway between a skyphos and a crater with a lip diameter of 20–30 cm. Though closer in detail of shape and decoration to the smaller skyphoi, their function might have been similar to that of craters.”<sup>22</sup> A related term, “skyphoid krater”, is used by Angelike Andreiomenou, Berit Wells, and Maria Sipsie-Eschbach to describe what is essentially a large skyphos.<sup>23</sup> The source of the term was Evelyn Lord Smithson in her 1961 publication of the Nea Ionia cemetery. Smithson, however, was more judicious in her nomenclature; in referring to two skyphoi from Nea Ionia, which had diameters of between 0.20 and 0.30 m, she was careful in using the term “large skyphos” in the catalogue, adding, in parentheses “(skyphoid) krater”, and she further noted that the common high-footed skyphos was made in a wide range of sizes, with diameters varying between 0.10 and 0.30 m.<sup>24</sup> Nikolaos Verdelis preferred the term “krateriskos” for the same shape, distinguishing it from the low-footed pendent semicircle skyphos.<sup>25</sup> J.K. Brock, among others, also referred to it as “krateriskos”.<sup>26</sup> The excavators of the Kerameikos sometimes use the German *Becher*, sometimes “krateriskos,” and sometimes “skyphos” to refer to the same shape.<sup>27</sup>

According to Desborough, the skyphos is an ordinary drinking vessel that may also have been used to eat out of;<sup>28</sup> larger examples could easily be used for mixing, which is the traditional function of the krater. I suspect that many Early Iron Age vessel forms were used for various functions, and some of the large skyphoi assembled here probably saw service as mixing vessels. But I prefer to avoid hybrid forms—such as krater-bowl, skyphoid krater, or krateriskos—and to stick to “skyphos” and “krater” to describe what are two very different shapes. I think that the distinction between skyphos and krater should not be primarily one of size—and, by extension, function, since they may have served multiple functions—but rather of rim form. There are various types of skyphoi, distinguished both by shape (high-footed, low-footed) and deco-

1), which I would call a krater; pl. 66, inv. 553 (Grave 4); pl. 67, inv. 597 (Grave 5).

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Lemos 2002, 46–48; *Lefkandi II.1*, 23–24, 108–110, pls. 14–16, 52–53, nos. 269–326.

<sup>22</sup> Lemos 2002, 46.

<sup>23</sup> See esp. Andreiomenou 1966, 251–252, no. 3, pl. XLV:b; Wells 1983a, 47–49, figs. 17–19; Sipsie-Eschbach 1991, 59–60, pl. 12:4 (73/67).

<sup>24</sup> Smithson 1961, 166–167, pl. 27, nos. 46–47; on 153 Smithson referred to the two examples as “skyphoid” krater”.

<sup>25</sup> Verdelis 1958, 26–27, pl. 8, no. 51.

<sup>26</sup> Brock 1957, 46, pl. 28, nos. 435–439.

<sup>27</sup> *Kerameikos I*, 70–72, 125–127; *Kerameikos IV*, 21, pls. 22–23.

<sup>28</sup> Desborough 1952, 77.

ration (Desborough's Types I–VI),<sup>29</sup> but all of these types or variants enjoy a form of rim that facilitates drinking. In contrast, the krater, which is often of similar proportions to some skyphoi and sometimes smaller, is characterized by a distinctly articulated, usually horizontal rim that would make drinking difficult.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, I prefer to call large skyphoi "skyphoi"—not krater-bowls, krateriskoi, or small kraters—as I do not consider size alone essential. As I have stated elsewhere: "Large, often very large, drinking vessels are attested in many periods—witness the size of the German *Bierstein* or *Bierkrug*, the English pint, or, better still, the yard glass."<sup>31</sup> In the Archaic and Classical period there are often massive sympotic kylikes, like the example attributed to Onesimos as painter and signed by Euphronios as potter, which has a rim diameter of just under half a meter.<sup>32</sup>

In Athenian Early Iron Age pottery, most high-footed open vessels are equipped with a well-formed conical base; in profile the outer face of the foot can be either straight or slightly convex. Splaying bases—with a profile that is either slightly concave or one with an increasing diameter toward the bottom—are rare in Athens, and it is only large skyphoi, such as those of the Charitonidis Class and related vessels, that are the exceptions.<sup>33</sup> Splaying bases are much more common on the contemporary pottery of other centers, including Lefkandi, Torone, and other northern sites, to mention only a few.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, many large but fragmentary conical feet of Athenian vessels with a splaying profile may well derive from Charitonidis Class skyphoi.

<sup>29</sup> Desborough 1952, 80.

<sup>30</sup> The fragmentary examples of the so-called "krater-bowls" from the Toumba Building are interesting in this respect: I would call examples such as *Lefkandi* II.1, pl. 52, nos. 293–294 skyphoi, whereas others, such as pls. 52–53, nos. 312–313, 315, I would classify as kraters.

<sup>31</sup> Papadopoulos 2005, 415.

<sup>32</sup> The vessel has a height of 0.191 and a rim diameter of 0.466 m; it was returned to Italy and is now in the Villa Giulia Museum, and is most fully published in Williams 1991. For further discussion of the names and uses of Archaic and Classical vessels, see various papers in Tsingarida 2009.

<sup>33</sup> For the Charitonidis Class, see the Catalogue below; cf. Kerameikos inv. 609 from grave-mound T 26, conveniently illustrated in Smithson 1961, pl. 27.

<sup>34</sup> See, among others, *Lefkandi* I, passim, esp. pls. 257:b, 258:f, 259:a–c, 263:b, 264:a–b; *Lefkandi* III, pl. 81, Tomb 80, nos. 5, 49; pl. 82, Tomb 80, nos. 1, 3–4, 6–8; for Torone, see Papadopoulos 2005, 444–445; see also Bessios 2010, 80, skyphos with pendent semi-circles from Makrygialos (Pydna, north cemetery), inv. 945.

## The decoration and chronology of Athenian circles skyphoi and the Charitonidis Class

In many ways, the skyphoi decorated with circles are one of the hallmarks of Athenian Protogeometric. In discussing the relatively numerous examples of circles skyphoi, Desborough distinguished three varieties, as follows:

I. Lip covered with paint. One narrow band below and, immediately below this, a running horizontal zigzag, the paint being more lightly applied than for other parts of the decoration. Main body motive: three sets of concentric circles unfilled. Below this, usually, but not always, three thin bands of paint, and the rest of the body and foot painted, the paint normally finishing a very short distance before the bottom of the foot. Two paint splashes go over, and continue below, the handles [i.e., standard arches and bows].

IIa. Lip covered with paint: one or two narrow bands below. Main body motive, two sets of concentric circles flanking a central panel formed by three vertical lines on each side enclosing a cross-hatched rectangle. The rest of the decoration as in Type I.

IIb. As in IIa, but the central panel is some other motive than the hatched rectangle, e.g., cross-hatched diamonds, chequers.<sup>35</sup>

In discussing the circles skyphoi that correspond to Desborough's Type I, Lemos writes: "The circle skyphos is one of the most distinctive PG vase types and is more frequently encountered in settlement deposits than in graves. According to present evidence, Athens provides the earliest example of the type in EPG, and goes on in MPG to develop the standard decorative scheme which remains in use until the end of the period."<sup>36</sup> The two EPG circles skyphoi listed by Lemos are predecessors to, not representatives of, Desborough's types: one has two sets of concentric circles connected by a St. Andrew's cross (X); the other, which should be earlier than PG, is decorated not with circles but with a row of running spirals, originally three.<sup>37</sup> The latter, together with LH IIIC deep bowls with running spirals, usually three, from Mycenae may well provide the inspiration for Desborough's Type I circles

<sup>35</sup> Desborough 1952, 80. For a more recent discussion of these types, see *Agora* XXXVI.

<sup>36</sup> Lemos 2002, 39.

<sup>37</sup> Lemos 2002, 36; *Kerameikos* I, pl. 30, inv. 525; pl. 48, inv. 518 (grave mound T 22).

skyphoi, a point which Christian Blinkenberg well appreciated.<sup>38</sup>

In any case, the important point is that circles skyphoi of whatever type are well established in the Athenian repertoire fairly early in the Protogeometric period, and this is significant for the date of the Charitonidis Class. As for the lower date range of circles skyphoi as a group, this is well defined by both shape and decoration. In the course of the Early Geometric period, the tall conical foot of skyphoi and one-handled cups gives way to similarly shaped open vessels that stand on a low foot. Moreover, as Nicolas Coldstream has noted, with the onset of Early Geometric, “skyphoi, so popular in PG, have become extremely rare”<sup>39</sup> Added to this is the fact that the circular designs of Protogeometric were largely abolished with the transition to the Early Geometric period.<sup>40</sup> Although a few circles skyphoi of Desborough’s Type I are found in some grave groups from the area of the Classical Athenian Agora that are transitional LPG/EG I, tall-footed skyphoi decorated with circles do not outlive the transition of Protogeometric to Early Geometric.<sup>41</sup>

Strictly speaking, the Charitonidis Class skyphoi do not conform to any of Desborough’s circles skyphoi. The addition of a vertical lozenge chain to a central crosshatched panel—whether symmetrical or asymmetrical—which is the defining feature of the Charitonidis Class, is neither consistent with Type IIa (which should only have a central panel of crosshatching), nor with Type IIb (which should have a central panel with a motif other than a crosshatched rectangle). Of the examples assembled below, only three (7, 9, 23) have the symmetrical arrangement, with a vertical lozenge chain on both sides of a central rectangle of crosshatching; 13 have the more typical asymmetrical decoration (1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 24), whereas in the case of seven fragmentary examples it is uncertain whether the decoration is symmetrical or asymmetrical (4, 5, 10, 11, 16, 17, 20). Only one of the vessels presented here (22) has symmetrical decoration on one side of the vessel, asymmetrical on the other. As for the circles mechanically-drawn on either side of the central panel, they can be unfilled or filled with Maltese cross or a reserved St. George’s cross, as follows (the number in brackets is the number of circles in each set):

*Unfilled circles:*

3 (13 or 14), 8 (13), 10 (10), 12 (13), 13 (10+), 19 (13?)

<sup>38</sup> Blinkenberg 1931, 235–236, fig. 28:a–e. For the Mycenaean predecessor of the circles skyphos, see examples of the deep bowl with running spirals, such as Furtwängler and Loeschke 1886, 28, no. 241, cf. also no. 242 (both from Mycenae).

<sup>39</sup> Coldstream 1968, 11.

<sup>40</sup> Coldstream 1968, 12.

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, *Agora* XXXVI, discussion associated with T55-1.

*Circles filled with Maltese cross:*

1 (8), 2 (8), 4 (7), 6 (5)

*Circles filled with reserved St. George’s cross:*

7 (7), 9 (7), 16 (9), 18 (8), 20 (7), 21 (7), 22 (7), 23 (7), 24 (6)

*Uncertain:*

5, 11, 14, 15, 17

The most common design for the mechanically-drawn circles is a central filling with reserved St. George’s cross (nine examples). Among the latter, the majority of sets of concentric circles comprise seven circles, although there were also solitary examples with six, eight, and nine circles. Unfilled circles were also relatively common (six examples); the majority of those where the circles could be counted were remarkably standard (13), only one example having ten concentric circles. It is possible that the majority of those skyphoi decorated with unfilled circles were all made with the same pivoted multiple brush, especially since they share similar dimensions. Sets of circles filled with Maltese crosses were the rarest, with only four examples: two with eight sets of circles, and one each with five and seven. The design of the remaining sets of concentric circles was uncertain. The number and size of the concentric circles is according to the size of the vessel, with larger skyphoi usually decorated with larger sets of concentric circles.

Chronologically, various strands of evidence combine to suggest that the Charitonidis Class skyphoi are all best dated to the Late Protogeometric period. In this respect, the evidence of context is crucial, as the two large skyphoi of the class from the South Slope of the Acropolis were found in Tomb XXVIII, which yielded some 15 vessels (an amphora, four lekythoi, five oinochoai, a handmade cooking pot, a kalathos, a skyphos of Desborough Type IIa, in addition to the two complete examples of the Charitonidis Class skyphoi catalogued below), as well as 37 terracotta beads of Attic Fine Handmade Incised Ware.<sup>42</sup> The tomb itself was a classic example of an Athenian trench-and-hole urn cremation. The lekythoi, oinochoai, kalathos and skyphoi are all canonically LPG. Interestingly, the latest vessel from the tomb is the cinerary urn, a neck-handled amphora, which is canonically EG I.<sup>43</sup> Particularly informative are some of the oinochoai from Tomb XXVIII, which are classic examples of “48-Type” oinochoai.<sup>44</sup> The term, “48-Type,” was coined by Smithson after Kerameikos PG Grave 48, in which 16 similar oinochoai were found.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Charitonidis 1973, 27–31, pls. 17–19.

<sup>43</sup> Charitonidis 1973, 28, pl. 17:3.

<sup>44</sup> Especially Charitonidis 1973, 29–30, pls. 18:δ, 18:ε, 18:στ.

<sup>45</sup> For the type, see Smithson 1961, 157–158; Smithson 1974, 382–383. For the contents of Kerameikos Grave PG 48, see *Kerameikos* IV, 44–46, and esp. pl. 16. For further discussion of the type, see Moore 2004, 34.

Additional examples are known from graves in the Athenian Agora and from Tsami on Salamis, among other sites.<sup>46</sup> This type of oinochoe is characterized by a good low conical foot, and a tall slender body, with a comparatively short and slender vertical neck, which flares toward the slightly thickened trefoil rim.<sup>47</sup> The shoulders of “48-Type” oinochoai can be decorated with concentric semicircles, with or without a solid hourglass core, as well as a zigzag-patterned girdle.<sup>48</sup> What sets them apart from other oinochoai is the characteristic shape, especially the short slender neck. In her discussion of the “48-Type” oinochoai Smithson established that the type was most common in LPG and especially in EG I contexts.<sup>49</sup>

The LPG/EG I date for “48-Type” oinochoai is in keeping with the date of Tomb XXVIII on the South Slope, particularly as the cinerary urn of the tomb is EG I. Consequently, an LPG/EG I can be established for at least the Charitonidis Class skyphoi from the Acropolis South Slope (nos. 1–2, and probably also 3–5 below). The skyphos from Nea Ionia (7), like all of the material from the tombs at the site, falls stylistically into LPG, as Smithson noted, as do the two examples from Mt. Hymettos and Thorikos (8–9), although their contexts were less informative. Similarly uninformative were the contexts of the examples catalogued from Aigina (13–16) and Eretria (17), and one of the examples from Asine (11).<sup>50</sup> In the case of the Charitonidis Class skyphoi assembled from Salamis (12) and the Cyclades (18–21, 23) we await details from the definitive publications of the sites in question. In the case of the solitary example said to be from Melos and now in Würzburg (22), we know nothing of its context. As for the skyphos from Tomb 207 in the North Cemetery at Knossos (24), context alone does not establish a date, since the grave was in use from Submycenaean/Early Protogeometric down to Late Protogeometric/Early Geometric I, but the date range of the tomb is in keeping with the date of the other Charitonidis Class skyphoi.<sup>51</sup> Somewhat more informative is the context of the fragment from the Karmaniola area at Asine

(10), which is assigned by Berit Wells to Phase IV, the latest of the Protogeometric phases, but the stratigraphy of the site, as reconstructed, is inherently problematic.<sup>52</sup> Taken together as a whole, the Charitonidis Class skyphoi cannot be later than EG I, nor can they be earlier than LPG.

Unfortunately, the evidence of context does not establish any clear patterning as to the use of these large skyphoi. The skyphoi are found in both funerary and non-funerary contexts, and although the known examples are primarily from tombs, it is impossible to determine, on the basis of the available evidence, even basic information, such as, were they associated with adult male or female graves, or with children? Or were they associated with cremation or inhumations tombs. As noted, Tomb XXVIII on the South Slope of the Acropolis was a typical Athenian trench-and-hole cremation, but determining the biological sex of the deceased is fraught with problems: the human remains were never analyzed and it is unlikely they were kept. On the basis of the material deposited in the grave, the neck-handled amphora that served as cinerary-urn would suggest a male cremation—if we follow the conventional notion that neck-handled amphorae are associated with males, belly-handled with females—whereas the 37 terracotta beads of Attic Fine Handmade Incised Ware would suggest a female.<sup>53</sup> Even determining any clear contextual patterns in Athens is not possible, as the examples of the class derive from very different contexts and types of tombs: 1–2 are from a trench-and-hole cremation, 6 was found in the fill of Grabhügel T25 in the Kerameikos, and 7 from the cemetery at Nea Ionia appears to have been more likely associated with one of the inhumations rather than a cremation.<sup>54</sup> A more robust patterning may emerge once the examples of the Charitonidis Class skyphoi from the Cyclades are more fully published.

In many respects the most idiosyncratic example of the Charitonidis Class skyphoi among those that I have been able to assemble is Kerameikos 606 (6). Among other things,

<sup>46</sup> The Agora examples include *Agora* XXXVI, T8-1, T76-1, and T48-2 is comparable. A good example of the type is in the Piraeus Museum, see Steinhauer 2001, 74, no. 68, from Salamis.

<sup>47</sup> The shape seems to have no consistent development; cf. Stavropoulos 1964, pl. 51:β (left and right).

<sup>48</sup> See esp. Smithson 1974, 382–384, pls. 78:d, NM 15315 (plain semicircles), 80:a, NM 15322 (semicircles with hourglass core), 80:a, NM 15325 (zigzag girdle).

<sup>49</sup> Smithson 1974, 382–384. She also noted the troublesome context of the two examples from Agiou Markou Street 6-8-10-12, for which see Stavropoulos 1964, pl. 51:β.

<sup>50</sup> The example from Eretria (17) may well be among the earliest, if not the earliest, of the Early Iron Age finds from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at the site; an interesting honor for an Athenian product.

<sup>51</sup> Coldstream & Catling 1996, 195–199. The tomb yielded 72 vases, the latest (no. 207.52) EG I. Consequently, 24 cannot be later than EG I.

<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the problems of stratifying the Karmaniola area at Asine are immense: Wells (1983a, 19) openly stated that there were no closed deposits at the site, while Søren Dietz (1982, 19), in his introduction to the definitive publication of the stratigraphy of Asine admitted that there was no true stratigraphy. For further discussion, see Lemos 2002, 5–8; Papadopoulos *et al.* 2011, 190.

<sup>53</sup> For the suggestion that neck-handled amphorae held the ashes of men and belly-handled amphorae the ashes of women, see Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 37. For the most recent overview of Athenian burial customs of the Early Iron Age, see *Agora* XXXVI, where the bioarchaeology is fully presented.

<sup>54</sup> There were two inhumation cist graves, three cremation tombs, and two pyres at the Nea Ionia cemetery; see Smithson 1961. In her description of the skyphos from the site, Smithson (1961, 166–167, under no. 46) noted “discoloring possibly from contents rather than heat”, and that this skyphos (or no. 47) was found on top of Cist Tomb II.

the vessel is the smallest of the entire group, and it is the only example of the class that I am aware of that has a reserved lower wall. Smithson considered the reserved lower bodies of otherwise decorated skyphoi of standard size as an early feature and one descended from the Granary tradition.<sup>55</sup> By LPG, painted lower bodies and feet are mandatory. Small size, however, rather than early date, may account for the reserved lower body of 6. Unfortunately, the context of the vessel does not assist in pinpointing its chronology more precisely, and wherever 6 is placed chronologically it cannot possibly be as early as the skyphoi with reserved lower bodies discussed by Smithson.

What is more telling is the fact that the Charitonidis Class is so consistent in terms of size, shape, and decoration. Even the solitary possible exception, 6, does not fall far beyond the group, for although small, the vessel still has a rim diameter of 0.202–0.217, larger than most standard Athenian Protogeometric skyphoi, and its only real idiosyncracy is the reserved lower wall. Moreover, the fact that there is no clearly discernible chronological development among the skyphoi assembled here, and the strong possibility that they are all the products of a single craftsman, suggests that the entire group is best placed in Late Protogeometric, extending for a short time into the phase that we have come to know as Early Geometric I.

## Catalogue and distribution

The following catalogue does not aim to be exhaustive. I assemble examples of the Charitonidis Class that I was able to find in the hope that more examples may be noted and published. I begin with the two skyphoi published from the Acropolis South Slope; as these are the prime examples of the type, my descriptions of the two are more detailed than those of the other pieces (I had occasion to study both pieces in the Acropolis Museum on July 15, 2013). Unless otherwise noted, all of the examples assembled below are Athenian and Late Protogeometric. Of the 24 examples of the class assembled below, only one, 24, had been confirmed to be Attic by chemical or petrographic analysis.<sup>56</sup> Those pieces marked with an asterisk (\*) are probable, not certain, Charitonidis Class skyphoi.

<sup>55</sup> See Smithson 1961, 176–177; and see further the following: *Kerameikos* IV, pl. 22, no. 1072 Grave PG 34, with painted lower foot, together with the Erechtheion Street skyphos published by Brouskari (1980, 19, fig. 3:b) were considered by Smithson as descendants of the Granary Class (cf. some of the material from Agora Well U 26:4; also *Kerameikos* hS-76, no. 2 [=Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, Beil. 10, 2]). This option still holds in *Kerameikos* Grave PG 40 (*Kerameikos* IV, pl. 22, inv. 2011, 2014).

<sup>56</sup> See Liddy 1996, 465–514, especially 490 (under Group C–Attic imports).

Their status as probable stems from the fact that both sides of the central panel are not preserved, hence it remains uncertain whether there are two segments to the central panel or three more symmetrical segments. Pieces marked with two asterisks (\*\*) are those where the decoration is symmetrical (i.e., cross-hatched panel framed on either side by a more narrow panel of vertical lozenge chain), but are still considered to be part of the same group and probably the work of the same potter. That the latter may be part of the more canonical asymmetrical Charitonidis Class skyphoi is suggested by the fact that the decoration of 22, now in Würzburg, but said to be from Melos, on one side of the vase is asymmetrical, but symmetrical on the other.<sup>57</sup>

Many of the Charitonidis Class skyphoi were found in various contexts in the Cyclades, and there has been quite a bit of discussion as to whether the examples found there are of Athenian or Cycladic manufacture. In her discussion of a large skyphos from the cemetery at Nea Ionia (7 below), Smithson noted that the decoration is exactly that of the large “Cycladic skyphoi”.<sup>58</sup> The examples of the Charitonidis Class skyphoi from the Cyclades listed below are all considered to be Athenian. Although Athenian circles skyphoi—not just those of the Charitonidis Class—are widespread throughout the Aegean, especially in the Cyclades, but also in east Greece, they are readily distinguished from various local products.<sup>59</sup> A comparison of Athenian Charitonidis Class skyphoi with Cycladic circles skyphoi, such as those from Andros, clearly shows how different the Athenian products are from their true Cycladic counterparts.<sup>60</sup> The broad distribution of the various different types of Athenian circles skyphoi throughout the Aegean has resulted in numerous fragments of such skyphoi, many decorated with concentric circles, whether filled or unfilled, flanking a central panel, which is often cross-hatched. Consequently, such fragments, which are fairly numerous, are not included here, even though it is conceivable that some may be of the Charitonidis Class.<sup>61</sup> In a similar vein,

<sup>57</sup> See Hölscher 1975, 11–12, pl. 4:1–3.

<sup>58</sup> Smithson 1961, 167; with reference to Desborough 1952, 82–84 and to nos. 22 and 23.

<sup>59</sup> For the distribution of Athenian circles skyphoi, see *Agora* XXXVI.

<sup>60</sup> For the Andros circles skyphoi, see Sauciuc 1914, 47, fig. 58; Desborough 1952, 82–84, pl. 16, nos. 45, 146.

<sup>61</sup> The following fragments are thus not included in this catalogue: Green 1979, 1, pl. 1, no. 3 (Athens); Croissant 1971, 748–749, figs. 19 (bottom left), 20 (published upside down) (Argos); Runnels *et al.* 1995, 206, figs. 52 and 130, no. 1016 (Sambriza, southern Argolid); Touchais 1988, 624–625, fig. 19 (middle) (Aigina, Kolonna); Caskey 1964, 333, pl. 63:b (K.2057) and Caskey 1981, 324, pl. 79:c (Keos, Agia Irini); Schilardi 1979, pl. 151:α (top row, second and third from left) (Paros, Koukounaries); Brock & Mackworth Young 1949, 40, nos. 2–3, pl. 13:7–8; also pl. 12:11 (Siphnos, Kastro); Gallet de Santerre 1958, pl. 29, fig. 66 (bottom left) (Delos); Coldstream 1972, 73, pl. 17, nos. 41–42;

large fragmentary conical feet with a splaying profile may well derive from Charitonidis Class skyphoi, as noted above, but these, too, are not included here.

One aspect of the distribution of the Charitonidis Class skyphoi is particularly interesting. Their occurrence in the Cyclades and in Knossos bears a remarkable similarity to that of the large belly-handled bi-metopal amphorae that have been studied by various scholars.<sup>62</sup> The amphorae, on the whole, are slightly later (EG I-II, many EG II going into MG I) than the Charitonidis Class skyphoi, so they cannot have been exported together as “sets” of Athenian pottery. What is notable, however, is the pattern of the export of large Athenian pots, beginning in Protogeometric and continuing through various phases of the Geometric period.<sup>63</sup>

## ATHENS

### Acropolis South Slope

The excavation of this important cemetery was undertaken between 1955 and 1959 and was overseen by Ioannis Meliadis, then Ephor of Antiquities of the Acropolis, but the material was ultimately published by one of the archaeologists who took part in the excavation, Serapheim I. Charitonidis, who was at the time Epimelete of the Acropolis.<sup>64</sup> Before his untimely death, Charitonidis had completed his manuscript of the Protogeometric and Geometric tombs south of the Acropolis, and it was this that was published posthumously in 1973.

#### 1. Acropolis South Slope, FM 86, 1957 – NAK 460 (Fig. 1)

Charitonidis 1973, 30, pl. 19:β (Tomb XXVIII, Taphos M). H: 0.249–0.255; D (rim): 0.253–0.275; D (base): 0.128. Referred to as krater.

Reconstructed from frr complete, except for small parts of body and rim, restored in plaster. Several of the joining frr on one side have been fire affected and thus discolored slightly gray, joining directly with frr not affected by fire. This secondary burning is limited to about one-third of the upper body on one side and is not very pronounced. The fact that some of the joining frr are burnt, while the remainder is not, indicates that the vessel broke up at some point during the funerary ritual. Condition otherwise excellent.



Fig. 1. One side of 1 (Acropolis South Slope, FM 86, 1957 – NAK 460). Photo Sokrates Mavromatis.

Tall conical foot, splaying slightly toward base, with outer profile very slightly concave. Lower body rising to vertical upper body; slightly flaring rim, with plain rounded lip; rim ovoid in plan. Two horizontal handles, circular in section, attached to upper body and rising at an angle of about 45°. Wheelmarks prominent on interior.

Standard Athenian fabric, with small to medium white inclusions (including a fairly massive white limestone blowout on interior, together with two slightly smaller ones) and occasional small darker (red) inclusions erupting onto surface; small quantity of fine silvery mica. Reserved surfaces on upper body and underside of foot fired closest to light brown 7.5YR 6/4, shading to light reddish brown 5YR 6/4 in places, especially at a chip on the foot where the clay body is visible.

Good quality black paint, thickly applied and very well adhering, with a good semi-lustrous sheen, among the best sheens that I have seen on any Athenian Early Iron Age vessel. In places on the lower body and foot the paint has a lustrous, almost silvery metallic sheen. On limited spots on the exterior, around the mid-point, and rather more so on the interior, the paint shades to a reddish color, with an almost maroon tinge. Lower foot reserved and decorated with three thin horizontal bands (underside reserved); upper foot and lower body painted solid. Three horizontal bands on lower part of upper wall, extending below the handles. Handles decorated with arches and bows, which extend over the three bands and onto the area painted solid below. Two thin horizontal bands on uppermost body, just at the point where the rim begins to

76, pl. 19, no. 43 (Knossos, town); Sackett 1992, 69, pl. 61, no. GB 43 (Knossos, Unexplored Mansion).

<sup>62</sup> See, among others, Walter-Karydi 1972; Zapheiropoulou 1983; Kourou 1997; cf. Kourou 2002; for a recent overview of Cycladic Geometric pottery, see Papadopoulos & Smithson 2002.

<sup>63</sup> See further Sheedy 1990.

<sup>64</sup> See Charitonidis 1973, 1 (foreword by I. Meliadis).



Fig. 2. One side of 2 (Acropolis South Slope, TM 86, 1957 – NAK 461).  
Photo Sokrates Mavromatis.

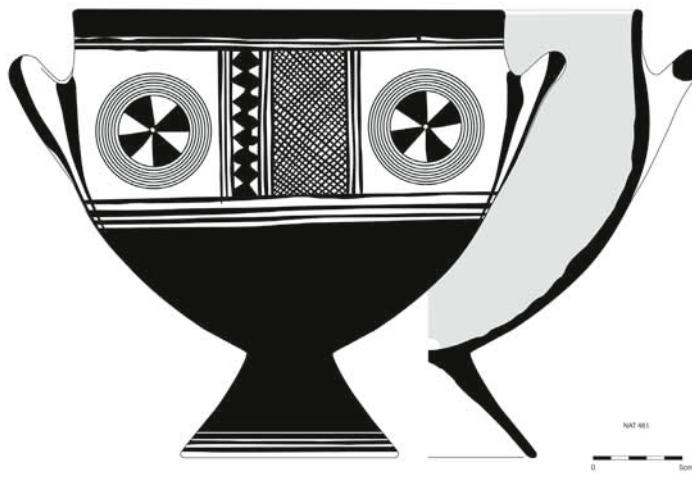


Fig. 3. Drawing of 2 (TM 86, 1957 – NAK 461). Drawing Anne Hooton.

flare; remainder of rim, including lip top, painted solid. The handle zone, thus defined, is decorated on either side, with the following: Central panel composed of two uneven segments, that to the right broader and crosshatched; that to the left decorated with a vertical row of seven lozenges (the lowest lozenge on one side curtailed, almost a triangle). Both

segments are framed on either side by groups of three vertical lines. On either side of the central panel one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, each set comprising eight circles with Maltese cross at center. The four pivot points of each set clearly visible, all four covered with paint. Tiny splotches of paint on various parts of upper body, especially on one side. A somewhat more substantial splotch of paint on the upper arch of both handles (although there are no such splotches of paint on the other skyphos, the paint on the upper handle arch is somewhat thicker, and this appears to be a trait of the potter, also seen on the skyphos from Knossos, 24 below). Interior painted solid except for reserved band on rim and small reserved dot at center of floor.

## 2. Acropolis South Slope, TM 87, 1957 – NAK 461

(*Figs. 2–3*)

Charitonidis 1973, 30, pl. 19:γ (Tomb XXVIII, Taphos M).

H: 0.253; D (rim): 0.247–0.254; D (base): 0.120–0.121.

Referred to as krater.

The twin of 1, but with some minor differences.

Reconstructed from frr almost complete, except for about one-fifth of foot, small portion of juncture of foot and lower wall and minor chips at body and rim, restored. One original fr (now composed of six joining frr) appears to have been at least partially fire affected, joining with frr unburned. Condition otherwise excellent.

Shape as 1, but with very slight groove at juncture of foot and lower wall.

Fabric as 1, but with rather more red inclusions. One large white limestone blowout near center of vessel on one side of exterior, and one or two smaller ones here and there. Reserved surfaces on underside of foot and on upper wall fired closest to light brown 7.5YR 6/4; in places a little paler, approaching pink 7.5YR 7/4. Clay body may be redder, but this is not visible.

Paint as 1, but with less of the reddish, maroon, tinge and less of the silvery metallic luster. Decoration the same as 1, except for the vertical lozenges in the central panel: eight on one side of the vessel, the lowermost slightly curtailed; seven on the other side, the lowermost also slightly curtailed, although not as much as that on the other side. Handles decorated with arches and bows, which are thickest at the top of the arch; although this is not the same as 1, the effect is similar. There are fewer splotches of paint than 1. Interior as 1.

**3. Acropolis South Slope, GM 129, 1960 NAK 407**

Charitonidis 1973, 44, pl. 27:β.

PH: 0.170; PW: 0.185.

Referred to as krater.

Three horizontal bands near mid-point, above lower wall painted solid. Thick band at rim, above two thinner bands. Central panel as on 1 and 2. The sets of concentric circles on either side of central panel seem to consist of 13 or 14 circles with small dot at center.

**4.\* Acropolis South Slope, GM 130, 1960 NAK 226 + 402**

Charitonidis 1973, 45, pls. 27:γ-δ.

PH: 0.087 and 0.090; PW: 0.176 and 0.130.

Referred to as krater.

Two frr, each preserving portion of central panel and one set of concentric circles; the right portion of the central panel is not preserved on either frr. At least two and probably originally three bands at mid-point; thick band at rim, with two thinner bands below. Each set of preserved circles consists of seven circles with Maltese cross at center (although similar to the mechanically-drawn circles on 1 and 2, the circles on 4 were made with a different pivoted multiple brush).

**5.\* Acropolis South Slope, GM 131, 1960 NAK 404**

Charitonidis 1973, 45, pl. 27:ε.

PH: 0.102 (H of foot: 0.061); D (base): 0.112.

Referred to as conical foot of krater.

Form and decoration of foot as 1 and 2, although a little smaller than both. The foot may belong to the same vessel as 4.

**Kerameikos****6. Kerameikos, inv. 606 (Fig. 4)**

Kerameikos I, 126, pl. 49, inv. 606 (T 25).

PH: 0.134 (published H of 0.200 includes restoration); D (rim): ovoid, between 0.202 and 0.217.

Referred to as Becher.

Lower wall reserved, which is most uncommon on Charitonidis Class skyphoi. Three horizontal bands near mid-point below belly zone. Three bands on rim, the uppermost slightly thicker. Although the handles themselves are not preserved, they were decorated with arches and bows, their tails clearly visible on body below one handle. Central panel composed of two uneven segments: left segment cross-hatched; right segment decorated with vertical lozenges (six on either side, the upper and lower lozenges curtailed). The panel segments are each framed by two (rather than three) vertical lines. On either side of central panel, one set of concentric circles, with Maltese cross core; each set comprises five circles.



Fig. 4a-b. Both sides of 6 (Kerameikos, inv. 606). Photo author.



Fig. 5. One side of 7 (Nea Ionia, no. 46, National Museum, inv. 18109 (the foot is a modern restoration). Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Athens).

Cf. Kerameikos, inv. 609 (*Kerameikos* I, 126; conveniently illustrated in Smithson 1961, pl. 27, middle right; Lemos 2002, pl. 79, no. 1). It is not clear, on account of the break, whether there ever was a smaller segment decorated with vertical lozenge chain to the left of the crosshatched panel.

## ATTICA

### Nea Ionia

#### 7.\*\* National Museum, inv. 18109 (Fig. 5)

Smithson 1961, 166–167, pl. 27, no. 46; Lemos 2002, pl. 79, no. 2.

PH: 0.210; restored H: 0.234; D (rim): 0.282.

Referred to as large skyphos (“skyphoid” krater).

Foot restored as a low flaring foot on the analogy of National Museum inv. 18094, but almost certainly to be restored with a large splaying conical foot. Preserved lower wall painted solid; three horizontal bands near mid-point; handles decorated with arches and bows. Thick band on rim, above a thinner band. Preserved side of vessel symmetrically decorated with crosshatched panel, framed on either side by thinner segments decorated with vertical lozenge chain; the segments are all framed by three vertical lines. On either side of central panel, one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, each set comprising seven circles, with reserved St. George’s cross at center.

Cf. National Museum, inv. 18110 (Smithson 1961, 167, no 47, not illustrated), compared to 7 and said to be “from the same hand”.

### Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos

#### 8. Mt. Hymettos, inv. H 254 (Figs. 6–7)

Langdon 1976, 55, pl. 17, no. 192.

Restored H: 0.220 (PH: 0.160); D (rim): 0.243.

Referred to as giant LPG skyphoid krater of Desborough Type IIa.

Foot completely restored. Preserved lower wall painted solid; three horizontal bands near mid-point. Thick band at rim, with two thinner bands below. Handles decorated with arches and bows. Central panel as on 1 and 2. The sets of concentric circles on either side of central panel consist of 13 circles with small dot at center. Decoration very similar to 3.

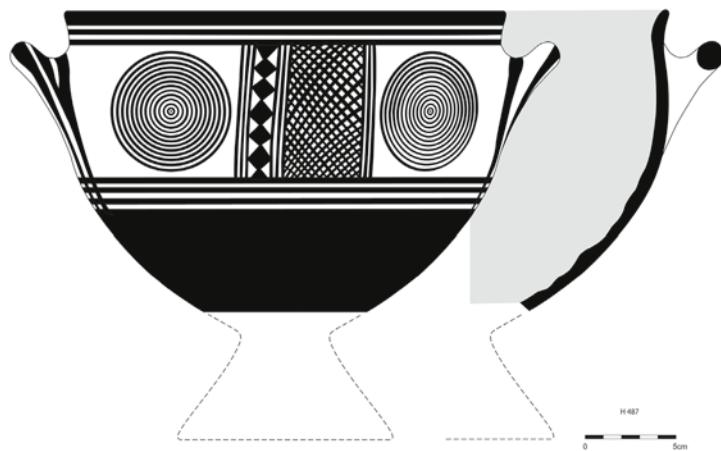


Fig. 6. Drawing of 8 (Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos). Drawing Anne Hooton.



Fig. 7a–b. Photos of both sides of 8 (Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos). Photo courtesy Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies at Athens (photo Craig Mauzy).

## Thorikos

### 9.\*\* Thorikos, Sector II, inv. TC 63.271

*Thorikos* I, 84–85, figs. 101–102; also published in Kallipolitis and Mussche 1964, 82, pl. 83:β; Mussche *et al.* 1965, 28, pl. 18, no. 1.

H: 0.206; D (rim): 0.218; D (base): 0.124.

Referred to as “grand skyphos à pied annelé”.

Vessel fragmentary. Tall splaying foot, with prominent molded ring just below juncture with body. Lower foot reserved and decorated with three horizontal bands; remainder of foot and lower wall painted solid. Three horizontal bands near mid-point. Handles decorated with arches and bows; thick horizontal band at rim, above two thinner bands. Decoration of preserved side consists of central crosshatched panel, symmetrically framed on either side with thinner segment of vertical lozenge chains (seven lozenges, the uppermost and lowermost curtailed); all segments framed by groups of three vertical lines. To one side of central panel, a set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, consisting of seven circles with reserved St. George’s cross at center.

Cf. similar ringed foot, with analogous decoration from Thorikos (*Thorikos* II, 32, fig. 20, inv. TC 64.473) may be from a similar vessel.

## ARGOLID

### Asine

I have not had occasion to inspect firsthand the Asine fragments assembled here, but Richard Catling confirms many of them as Attic imports, including the piece from the Barbouna area, 11 below.<sup>65</sup> All of the pieces mentioned below from Asine certainly look Athenian to judge from the illustrations alone.

### 10.\* Asine, Karmaniola area, east of the Acropolis, no. 786

Wells 1983a, 108; Wells 1983b, 260, 261, fig. 197, no. 786.

PH of fr: 0.068.

Referred to as skyphoid krater.

Small body fr, with three horizontal bands at lower break. Small surviving portion of body at handle zone decorated with portion of one preserved set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, set comprising ten circles with small dot at center. To right, lower preserved portion of segment of central panel decorated with vertical lozenge chain (parts of three lozenges preserved, the lowermost curtailed), framed by three thin lines.

The following fr from the excavations east of the Acropolis at Asine may be of Charitonidis Class skyphoi, but none are adequately preserved to make a determination:

Wells 1983a, 108, fig. 89, no. 785.

Wells 1983b, 206–262, figs. 197–198, nos. 784, 787–788 (note also no. 783, with the lozenges of the vertical lozenge chain individually decorated and no. 791, with crosshatched panel framed by vertical dogtooth).

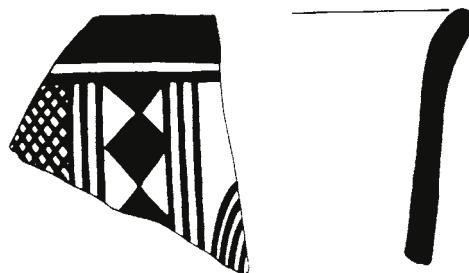


Fig. 8. Skyphos fragment, 11 (Asine, Barbouna area). After Hägg & Hägg 1978, 109, fig. 102, no. 59.

### 11.\* Asine, Barbouna area, no. 59 (Fig. 8)

Hägg & Hägg 1978, 107, 109, figs. 100 and 102, no. 59.  
Referred to as krater.

Fr preserving small portion of rim and upper body. Preserved portion of central panel decorated with crosshatched panel to left and panel decorated with vertical lozenge chain to right (parts of three lozenges reserved, the uppermost curtailed), the segments framed by groups of three vertical lines. To right, portion of one preserved set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, with only small portions of the outer four circles preserved.

In discussing parallels, comparison is made to Müller & Oelmann 1912, 154, fig. 18, which is not from Tiryns, but the Charitonidis Class skyphos in Würzburg, for which see below, no. 22.

## SARONIC GULF ISLANDS

### Salamis

The following skyphos, ostensibly unpublished except for an illustration in a volume on the Piraeus Museum, comes from one of the tombs in the area of Tsami on the island of Salamis,

<sup>65</sup> Catling 1998, 368–370.

excavated by Iphigenia Dekoulakou.<sup>66</sup> The vessel is on display in the Piraeus Museum, where I saw it in July 2009 and was able to confirm it as an Athenian import of LPG date.

**12. Salamis, area of Tsami (περιοχή Τσάμη)**

Steinhauer 2001, 75, no. 71.

Dimensions not recorded, but clearly large.

Referred to as skyphos.

Complete. Lower foot reserved and decorated with three horizontal bands; remainder of foot and lower wall painted solid. Three horizontal bands near mid-point; handles decorated with arches and bows; thick horizontal band at rim, above two thinner bands. Handle zone decorated with central panel composed of two uneven segments: that to the right crosshatched; that to the left decorated with vertical lozenge chain (six lozenges, the uppermost and lowermost curtailed); each segment framed by three vertical lines. On either side of central panel one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, each set comprising 13 circles, with small dot at center. Visible portion of interior painted solid, except for reserved band at rim.

**Aigina**

**13. Kolonna, ST 4345, ST 4349, inv. 2213**

Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 146, 211, 285, Beil. 21, pl. 45, no. 510.

PH (rim fr): 0.130; D (rim): 0.280.

Referred to as “Grosser Skyphos bzw. Skyphoskrater,” and designated Attic LPG.

Two non-joining frr of rim and upper body. At least two and probably originally three horizontal bands at lower break; thick horizontal band on rim, with two bands below. Handle zone decorated with central panel composed of two uneven segments: that to the right crosshatched; that to the left decorated with vertical lozenge chain (at least five lozenges preserved, the uppermost only slightly curtailed, and clearly originally more); each segment framed by three vertical lines. On either side of central panel one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, each set comprising at least ten circles.

**14. Kolonna, ST 4343**

Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 146, 211, 285, Beil. 21, pl. 45, no. 511.

D (rim): 0.260.

Referred to as “Grosser Skyphos bzw. Skyphoskrater,” and designated Attic LPG.

Thick horizontal band on rim, above two thinner bands. Handle zone decorated with central panel composed of two uneven segments: that to the right crosshatched; that to the left decorated with vertical lozenge chain (at least five lozenges preserved, the uppermost curtailed, and clearly originally more); each segment framed by three vertical lines. On one preserved side of central panel one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, but only small portion of outermost circle preserved.

**15. Kolonna, ST 4390, inv. 263**

Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 146, 285, pl. 45, no. 512.

PH: 0.075; D (rim): 0.200.

Referred to as skyphos.

Thick horizontal band on rim above two thinner bands. Handle zone decorated with central panel composed of two uneven segments: that to the left crosshatched; that to the right decorated with vertical lozenge chain (at least five lozenges preserved, the uppermost curtailed, and clearly originally more); each segment framed by three vertical lines. On one preserved side of central panel one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, but only small portion of outermost circle preserved.

Cf. 14, but with the lozenges to right instead of left.

**16.\* Kolonna, ST 4383 #?**

Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 147, 286, pl. 46, no. 532.

PW: 0.075.

Referred to as skyphos.

Fr preserving very small portion of upper body. What looks like three horizontal bands near mid-point at lower break. Handle zone decorated with central panel composed of two uneven segments: that to the right decorated with vertical lozenge chain (parts of at least four lozenges preserved, and clearly originally more); that to the left indicated by traces of crosshatching right at the break; each segment framed by three vertical lines. On one preserved side of central panel one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, set comprising nine circles, with reserved St. George’s cross at center.

Several additional frr of large open vessels from Kolonna may conceivably derive from Charitonidis Class skyphoi (e.g., Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 211, 285, Beil. 21–22, pls. 45–46, nos. 513, 520–521, 524, 526, 527a–c, 529, 531, 534) but with too little preserved to determine conclusively.

<sup>66</sup> For the excavations at Tsami, see Dekoulakou 1991; the skyphos is illustrated in Steinhauer 2001, 75, no. 71.



Fig. 9. *Skyphos fragment 17 (Eretria, Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, inv. 04704-3).* Photo courtesy Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.

## EUBOIA

### Eretria

I studied the following piece in July 2013 and it is clearly an Athenian import of LPG date.

#### 17.\* Eretria, Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, inv. K 64 (new inv. 04704-3) (Fig. 9)

Konstantinou 1952, 159, fig. 4, no. 2; *Eretria* XXII, 8, pl. 60, no. 19.

PH: 0.037; D (rim) est.: 0.260–0.270.

Referred to as “cratère”.

Two bands at rim. Although only partially preserved, the central panel is composed of two uneven segments: that to the right with vertical lozenge chain (at least five preserved, the uppermost curtailed); that to the left crosshatched. To right portion of one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, set comprises at least six circles. Preserved interior painted solid except for reserved band at rim.

## CYCLADES

### Naxos

Although claims have sometimes been made that Naxian Geometric potters can achieve products that are not only “Atticizing,” but vessels that in terms of fabric and gloss are very similar to Athenian, it remains fairly straightforward to distinguish Naxian products from Athenian by macroscopic

inspection, especially in the case of Protogeometric pottery.<sup>67</sup> And here I would concur with Richard Catling that the vessels he lists as Protogeometric imports to Naxos are Athenian.<sup>68</sup>

#### 18. Naxos, Chora, Plateia Mitropoleos

Lambrinoudakis & Zapheiropoulou 1983, 304, pl. 200:α (left).

Dimensions not recorded.

Simply referred to as good quality pottery.

Fr preserves portion of upper body. Three horizontal bands near mid-point, above area on lower wall painted solid. Rim decorated with thick horizontal band above two thinner bands. Handle zone decorated with central panel composed of two uneven segments: that to the right decorated with vertical lozenge chain (at least seven lozenges preserved and probably originally eight, the uppermost and lowermost curtailed); that to the left crosshatched; the segments are framed on either side by three vertical lines. To left of central panel one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, set comprising eight circles, with reserved St. George’s cross at center.

In addition to 18, Photini Zapheiropoulou publishes four Athenian circles skyphoi from Naxos, describing the group as “skyphoi and krateriskoi”.<sup>69</sup> Of these, one is a classic circles skyphos of Desborough’s Group I, with three circles, unfilled, on the body, and a tremulous line in dilute paint below rim (the tall foot also has a molded ring near the juncture with the lower body, similar to the skyphos from Thorikos, 9);<sup>70</sup> one is a good example of Desborough’s Group IIa, with central panel of crosshatching framed by vertical lines and one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles on either side.<sup>71</sup> A third, somewhat larger skyphos is also described by Zapheiropoulou as an example of Desborough’s Group II, but the piece is fragmentary, and the possibility of a vertical lozenge chain to the right of the crosshatching cannot be ruled out on the basis of the published photograph.<sup>72</sup> Although the latter may be of the Charitonidis Class, this cannot be confirmed, and the only clear example of the class is 19.

#### 19. Naxos, on the northern fringe of Chora, not far from Apolomata

Zapheiropoulou 1983, 123–124, fig. 9.

Dimensions not recorded.

<sup>67</sup> For useful discussion, see especially Kourou 1984; Kourou 1999, 90–92.

<sup>68</sup> Catling 1998, 378.

<sup>69</sup> Zapheiropoulou 1983, 123–124; two are illustrated on fig. 7 and one each on figs. 8 and 9.

<sup>70</sup> Zapheiropoulou 1983, 124, fig. 8.

<sup>71</sup> Zapheiropoulou 1983, 124, fig. 7 (right).

<sup>72</sup> Zapheiropoulou 1983, 124, fig. 7 (left).

One of four skyphoi generically referred to as “σκύφοι καὶ κρατηρίσκοι” (Zapheiropoulou 1983, 123) or as “σκύφοι” (124).

Fr preserves portion of upper body. Rim decorated with thick horizontal band above thinner band. Central panel composed of two uneven segments: that to the right decorated with vertical lozenge chain (nine in all, the uppermost slightly curtailed); that to the left crosshatched; the segments are framed on either side by three vertical lines. On either side of central panel one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, each set comprising 13(?) circles, with small dot at center.

### Paros

#### 20.\* Paros, Acropolis (Phrourion)

Rubensohn 1917, 76–77, fig. 83.

Dimensions not recorded.

Discussed generically under “Näpfe”.

Fr preserving small portion of upper body and rim. Three horizontal bands at lower break near mid-point. Thick horizontal band at rim, above a thinner band below. Although the handles are not preserved, they were clearly decorated with arches and bows, with the tails extending from the handle onto the body just visible at the right break. The handle zone was decorated with central panel composed of two evidently uneven segments: that to the right crosshatched; only a very small portion of the segment to the left is preserved at the break, but the decoration is clearly not a vertical lozenge chain, but one that includes a vertical zigzag; the crosshatched segment is framed on one side by three vertical lines. To right one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, set comprises seven circles, with reserved St. George’s cross at center.

### Siphnos

#### 21. Siphnos, Agios Andreas

Philippaki 1980, 287, pl. 172:8.

Dimensions not recorded.

Referred to as 10th-century krater.

Two frr, one preserving portion of lower body and mid-point of vessel, the other portion of upper body. Enough survives to establish the skyphos as an example of the Charitonidis Class. Lower wall painted solid; three horizontal bands at mid-point. Central panel comprises two uneven segments: that to the right decorated with vertical lozenge chain (portion of two lozenges preserved, the lowermost curtailed); that to the left crosshatched; the segments are framed on either side by three vertical lines. Although not preserved, the handles were decorated with arches and bows, attested by preserved tails on one of the frr. To left of central panel one set of mechanically-

drawn concentric circles, preserved set comprising seven circles, with reserved St. George’s cross at center.

### Melos

Known for some time, the skyphos in Würzburg, said to be from Melos, has vacillated between an Attic and a Cycladic provenance.<sup>73</sup> Wilhelm Kraiker considered it Attic, although Emil Kunze preferred to see it as Cycladic.<sup>74</sup> Although I have not had occasion to see the vessel, it certainly looks Athenian from the published photographs, and Coldstream also supports an Attic origin for 22.<sup>75</sup>

#### 22. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, inv. H 5393

(Fig. 10:a–c)

Said to be from Melos (?)

Langlotz 1932, 9–10, pl. 4, no. 76; Hölscher 1975, 11–12, pl. 4:1–3.

PH: 0.176; restored H: 0.209; D (rim): 0.218.

Referred to as krater with tall foot (Hölscher) and “Glockenkrater” (Langlotz).

Complete, except for lower foot, which has been restored. Molded ring on upper foot, at juncture with lower wall, similar to 9 and 23. Preserved foot and lower wall painted solid; three thin horizontal bands near mid-point; thick horizontal band at rim, above two thinner bands; handles decorated with arches and bows. On one side of the vessel, the handle zone is decorated with a central panel composed of two uneven segments: that to the right decorated with vertical lozenge chain (seven lozenges, the uppermost and lowermost curtailed); that to the left crosshatched; each segment framed by three vertical lines. On either side of central panel, one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, each set comprising seven circles, with reserved St. George’s cross at center. The decoration on the opposite side is the same, with the exception that the central crosshatched panel is framed on either side by a thinner segment of vertical lozenge chains (both segments comprise six lozenges, the uppermost only on the left is curtailed; both the uppermost and lowermost on the right are curtailed).

<sup>73</sup> Müller & Oelmann 1912, 154, fig. 18; Langlotz 1932, 9–10, pl. 4, no. 76; Hölscher 1975, 11–12, pl. 4:1–3. In earlier publications, the findspot of the vessel as Melos was stated as more or less a fact; a more cautious query was added by Hölscher in her 1975 publication of the skyphos.

<sup>74</sup> See *Kerameikos* I, 149, note 2 (with further discussion in Smithson 1961, 167, under no. 46); Kunze 1952, 55, note 10; for further discussion of the fabric and style, see Buschor 1929, 161; Kontoleon 1945–1947, esp. 8.

<sup>75</sup> Coldstream & Catling 1996, 398.



Fig. 10. Three views of 22 (Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, inv. H 5393, said to be from Melos). Photo courtesy Martin von Wagner Museum.

## Thera

### 23.\*\* Thera, Sellada Cemetery

Dragendorff 1903, 30, fig. 81, from Grave 17 E.

H: 0.240; D: 0.250.

Referred to as a “grosser, glockenformiger Krater”.

Complete, except for small portion of foot. Molded ring on upper foot, below juncture with lower body, similar to 9 and 22. Foot appears to be painted solid, except for the lowermost portion, which looks to be reserved and decorated with horizontal bands; lower wall evidently painted solid, but difficult to determine from the published illustration. Three horizontal bands near mid-point; thick horizontal band at rim, above two thinner bands; handles decorated with arches and bows. The handle zone is decorated with a central panel, composed of a broad central crosshatched segment, flanked on either side by vertical lozenge chain (probably six lozenges, the uppermost and lowermost variously curtailed); each segment is further framed by groups of three vertical lines. On either side of central panel, one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, each set comprising seven circles, with reserved St. George's cross at center.



## CRETE

### Knossos

In addition to the skyphos from the North Cemetery at Knossos, there are quite a number of skyphoi, especially circles skyphoi, variously classified as Attic or Cycladic, by Brock from the Fortetsa tombs at Knossos, all or most of which are Athenian.<sup>76</sup> Not all of these are illustrated by Brock, and there is a possibility that there are more examples of the Charitonidis Class at Knossos than I present here.

<sup>76</sup> See list in Brock 1957, 189–191.



Fig. 11. Drawing of 24 (Knossos, North Cemetery 207.7). Drawing courtesy British School at Athens.

**24. Knossos, North Cemetery 207.7 (Fig. 11)**  
 Coldstream & Catling 1996, 197, 398, fig. 124, Tomb 207, no. 7.  
 H: 0.216; D (rim): 0240.  
 Referred to as high-footed krater and elsewhere (p. 398) a "small skyphoid krater ... an enlargement of the high-footed LPG skyphos". Coldstream assigns the vessel to Attic LPG.

The following description is on the basis of the published drawing. Lower foot decorated with thin horizontal bands; remainder of foot and lower body painted solid. Two horizontal bands at mid-point, extending below the handles; thick band on rim exterior, with thinner band below. Handles decorated with arches and bows, with noticeable splotch of paint on upper handle arch (cf. 1 and 2). Belly zone decorated with central panel, composed of two uneven segments: that to the left cross-hatched; that to the right decorated with vertical lozenges (six on the side illustrated), each segment framed by three vertical lines. On either side of central panel, one set of mechanically-drawn concentric circles, each set comprising six circles, with reserved St. George's cross at center. Mention is made (Coldstream & Catling 1996, 197) of "reserved circle on floor".

JOHN K. PAPADOPOULOS  
 Department of Classics  
 Cotsen Institute of Archaeology  
 University of California, Los Angeles  
 Fowler Building A210  
 Los Angeles, CA 90095-1510  
 JKP@humnet.ucla.edu

## Bibliography

*Agora XII* = B.A. Sparkes & L. Talcott 1970. *The Athenian Agora. Results of the Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens XII. Black and Plain Pottery of the 6<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Centuries B.C.*, Princeton.

*Agora XXXVI* = J.K. Papadopoulos & E.L. Smithson 2016. *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens XXXVI. The Early Iron Age, Part 1. The Cemeteries*. Princeton.

Andreiomou, A.K. 1966. 'Πρωτογεωμετρικὰ ἀγγεῖα ἐκ Χαλκίδος', in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον* 2, Athens, 248–269.

Berenson, B. 1948. *Aesthetics and history*, New York.

Bessios, M. 2010. *Πιερίδων Στέφανος: Πίσδνα, Μεθώνη και οι αρχαιότητες της βόρειας Πιερίας*, Katerini.

Blinkenberg, C. 1931. *Lindos. Fouilles de l'Acropole, 1902–1914*, I. *Les petits objets*, Berlin.

Brock, J.K. 1957. *Fortetsa: Early Greek tombs near Knossos* (BSA Suppl., 2), Cambridge.

Brock, J.K. & G. Mackworth Young 1949. 'Excavations in Siphnos', *BSA* 44, 1–92.

Brouskari, M. 1980. 'A Dark Age cemetery in Erechtheion Street, Athens', *BSA* 75, 13–31.

Buschor, E. 1929. 'Kykladisches', *AM* 54, 142–163.

Caskey, J.L. 1964. 'Excavations in Keos, 1963', *Hesperia* 33, 314–335.

Caskey, J.L. 1981. 'Notes on Keos and Tzia', *Hesperia* 50, 320–326.

Catling, R.W.V. 1998. 'Exports of Attic Protogeometric pottery and their identification by non-analytical means', *BSA* 93, 365–378.

Charitonidis, S.I. 1956. *Μνημειακή διαμόρφωση τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν* (Epistemonike Epeteris Philosophikes Scholes, Aristoteleion Panepistemion Thessalonikis, Parartema, 1), Thessaloniki.

Charitonidis, S.I. 1958. 'Ἀνασκαφὴ κλασσικῶν τάφων παρὰ τὴν πλατείαν Συντάγματος', *ArchEph*, 1–152.

Charitonidis, S.I. 1968. *Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου. Συμπλήρωμα*, Athens.

Charitonidis, S.I. 1973 (pr. 1975). 'Εύριματα Πρωτογεωμετρικῆς καὶ γεμετρικῆς ἐποχῆς τῆς ἀνασκαφῆς νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως', *ArchDelt* 28, A, 1–63.

Charitonidis, S.I., L. Kahil & R. Ginouvès 1970. *Les mosaïques de la maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (AntKunst Beiheft, 6), Bern.

Cherry, J.F. 1992. 'Beazley in the Bronze Age? Reflections on attribution studies in Aegean prehistory', in *Eikon. Aegean Bronze Age iconography: Shaping a methodology* (Aegaeum, 8), eds. R. Laffineur & J.L. Crowley, Liège, 123–144.

Coldstream, J.N. 1968. *Greek Geometric pottery: A survey of ten local styles and their chronology*, London.

Coldstream, J.N. 1972. 'Knossos 1951–61: Protogeometric and Geometric pottery from the Town', *BSA* 67, 63–98.

Coldstream, J.N. & H.W. Catling, eds. 1996. *Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek tombs* (BSA Suppl., 28:1–4), London.

Croissant, F. 1971. 'Rapports sur les travaux de l'École française en 1970. Argos, II: Sondages', *BCH* 95, 748–770.

Dekoulakou, I.N. 1991. 'Σαλαμίνα', *ArchDelt* 46, B'1, 71.

Desborough, V.R.d'A. 1952. *Protopottery*, Oxford.

Desborough, V.R.d'A. 1964. *The last Mycenaeans and their successors: An archaeological survey c. 1200–c. 1000 B.C.*, Oxford.

Dietz, S. 1982. *Asine II. Results of the excavations east of the Acropolis, 1970–1974*, Fasc. 1. *General stratigraphical analysis and architectural remains*, Stockholm.

Dragendorff, H., ed. 1903. *Thera II. Theraische Gräber*, Berlin.

Elsner, J. 1990. 'Significant details: Systems, certainties and the art-historian as detective', *Antiquity* 64, 950–952.

Eretria XXII = S. Verdan 2013. *Eretria. Fouilles et recherches XXII. Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à l'époque géométrique*, Gollion.

Forsdyke, E.J. 1925. *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan vases in the British Museum*, vol. 1.1. *Prehistoric Aegean pottery*, London.

Furtwängler A. & G. Loeschcke 1886. *Mykenische Vasen*:

Vorhellenische Thongefäße aus dem Gebiete des Mittelmeeres, Berlin.

Furumark, A. 1944. 'The Mycenaean IIIC pottery and its relation to Cypriot fabrics', *OpArch* 3, 1944, 194–265.

Furumark, A. 1972. *Mycenaean pottery 1. Analysis and classification*, reprint of the 1941 ed., Stockholm & Lund.

Gallet de Santerre, H. 1958. *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris.

Ginzburg, C. 1980. 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and scientific method', *History Workshop* 9, 5–36, introduction by A. Davin.

Ginzburg, C. 1983. 'Clues: Morelli, Freud, and Sherlock Holmes', in *The sign of three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, eds. U. Eco & T.A. Sebeok, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 81–118.

Green, J.R. 1979. *CVA New Zealand*, Fasc. 1, Oxford.

Hägg, I. & R. Hägg 1978. *Excavations in the Barbouna area at Asine*, Fasc. 2. *Finds from the Levendis sector, 1970–72*, Uppsala.

Hill, J.N. 1977. 'Individual variability in ceramics and the study of prehistoric social organization', in *The individual in prehistory: Studies of variability in style in prehistoric technologies*, eds. J.N. Hill & J. Gunn, New York, 55–108.

Hill, J.N. & J. Gunn 1977. 'Introducing the individual in prehistory', in *The individual in prehistory: Studies of variability in style in prehistoric technologies*, eds. J.N. Hill & J. Gunn, New York, 1–12.

Hölscher, F. 1975. *CVA Deutschland*, Bd. 39. *Würzburg. Martin von Wagner Museum*, Bd. 1, München.

Jarosch-Reinholdt, V. 2009. *Die geometrische Keramik von Kap Kolonna* (Ägina-Kolonna Forschungen und Ergebnisse, 4), Wien.

Kallipolitis, V.G. & H.F. Mussche 1964. 'Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Θορικῷ', *ArchDelt* 19, Chr. B'1, 80–86.

Kanowski, M.G. 1984. *Containers of Classical Greece: A handbook of shapes*, St. Lucia.

Kearsley, R.A. 1989. *The pendent semi-circle skyphos: A study of its development and chronology and an examination of it as evidence for Euboean activity at Al Mina* (BICS Suppl., 44), London.

Kerameikos I = W. Kraiker & K. Kübler 1939. *Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen I. Die Nekropolen des 12. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin.

*Kerameikos* IV = K. Kübler 1943. *Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen IV. Neufunde aus der Nekropole des 11. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin.

Kontoleon, N.M. 1945–1947. ‘Τεωμετρικός ἀμφορεὺς ἐκ Νάξου’, *ArchEph*, 1–21.

Konstantinou, I.K. 1952. ‘Ἐκθεσις ἐργασιῶν ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ’, *Prakt*, 153–163.

Kourou, N. 1984. ‘Local Naxian workshops and the import-export pottery trade of the island in the Geometric period’, in *Ancient Greek and related pottery. Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam, 12–15 April 1984*, ed. H.A.J. Brijder, Amsterdam, 107–112.

Kourou, N. 1997. ‘A new Geometric amphora in the Benaki Museum: The internal dynamics of an Attic style’, in *Greek offerings: Essays in honour of John Boardman*, ed. O. Palagia, Athens, 43–53.

Kourou, N. 1999. *Ανασκαφές Νάξου. Το νότιο νεκροταφείο της Νάξου κάτια τη Γεωμετρική Περίοδο. Έρευνες των ετών 1931–1939*, Athens.

Kourou, N. 2002. *CVA Greece*, Fasc. 8. *Athens, National Museum*, Fasc. 5. *Attic and Atticizing amphorae of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods*, Athens.

Kunze, E. 1952. ‘Eine protogeometrischer Amphora aus Melos’, *ÖJh* 39, 53–57.

Kurtz, D.C. 1985. ‘Beazley and the connoisseurship of Greek vases’, in *Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 2*, Malibu, 237–250.

Kurtz, D.C. & J. Boardman 1971. *Greek burial customs*, London.

Lambrinoudakis, V.K. & Ph. Zapheiropoulou 1983. ‘Ἀνασκαφὴ Πλατείας Μητροπόλεως Νάξου’, *Prakt*, 299–304.

Langdon, M.K. 1976. *A sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos* (Hesperia Suppl., 16), Princeton.

Langlotz, E. 1932. *Griechische Vasen, Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg*, München.

*Lefkandi I* = M.R. Popham, L.H. Sackett & P.G. Themelis, eds. 1979–1980. *Lefkandi I. The Iron Age* (BSA Suppl., 11), Oxford.

*Lefkandi II.1* = R.W.V. Catling & I.S. Lemos 1990. *Lefkandi II. The Protogeometric building at Toumba, Part 1. The pottery* (BSA Suppl., 22), Oxford.

*Lefkandi III* = M.R. Popham & I.S. Lemos 1996. *Lefkandi III. The Toumba cemetery: The excavations of 1981, 1984, 1986, and 1992–4* (BSA Suppl., 29), Oxford.

Lemos, I.S. 2002. *The Protogeometric Aegean: The archaeology of the late eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.*, Oxford.

Liddy, D.J. 1996. ‘A chemical study of decorated Iron Age pottery from the Knossos North Cemetery’, in Coldstream & Catling, 465–514.

Moore, M.B. 2004. *CVA USA*, Fasc. 37. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, Fasc. 5. *Greek Geometric and Protoattic pottery*, Mainz.

Morris, C.E. 1993. ‘Hands up for the individual! The role of attribution studies in Aegean prehistory’, *CAJ* 3, 41–66.

Mountjoy, P.A. 1986. *Mycenaean decorated pottery: A guide to identification*, Göteborg.

Muller, J. 1977. ‘Individual variation in art styles’, in *The individual in prehistory: Studies of variability in style in prehistoric technologies*, ed. J.N. Hill & J. Gunn, New York, 23–39.

Müller, W. & F. Oelmann 1912. *Tiryns. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts I, ii. Die ‘geometrische’ Nekropole*, Athens, 127–164.

Mussche, H.F., J. Bingen, J. Servais & T. Hackens 1965. ‘Thorikos 1963: Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne de fouilles’, *AntCl* 34, 56.

Papadopoulos, J.K. 2003. *Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age potters’ field in the area of the Classical Athenian Agora* (Hesperia Suppl., 31), Princeton.

Papadopoulos, J.K. 2005. *The Early Iron Age cemetery at Torone*, Los Angeles.

Papadopoulos, J.K. & E.L. Smithson 2002. ‘The cultural biography of a Cycladic Geometric amphora: Islanders in Athens and the prehistory of metics’, *Hesperia* 71, 149–199.

Papadopoulos, J.K., J.F. Vedder & T. Schreiber 1998. ‘Drawing circles: Experimental archaeology and the pivoted multiple brush’, *AJA* 102, 507–529.

Papadopoulos, J.K., B.N. Damiata & J.M. Marston 2011. ‘Once more with feeling: Jeremy Rutter’s plea for the abandonment of the term Submycenaean revisited’, in *Our cups are full: Pottery and society in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. W. Gauss, M. Lindblom, A. Smith & J. Wright, Oxford, 187–202.

Philippaki, B. 1980. ‘Ἀνασκαφὴ ἀκροπόλεως Ἅγιου Ἀνδρέου Σίφουν’, *Prakt*, 287–288.

Plog, F. 1977. 'Archaeology and the individual', in *The individual in prehistory: Studies of variability in style in prehistoric technologies*, eds. J.N. Hill & J. Gunn, New York, 13–21.

Redman, C.L. 1977. 'The "analytical individual" and prehistoric style variability', in *The individual in prehistory: Studies of variability in style in prehistoric technologies*, eds. J.N. Hill & J. Gunn, New York, 41–53.

Richter, G.M.A. & M.J. Milne 1935. *Shapes and names of Athenian vases*, New York.

Rubensohn, O. 1917. 'Die prähistorischen und frühgeschichtlichen Funde auf dem Burghügel von Paros', *AM* 42, 1–96.

Runnels, C., D.J. Pullen & S. Langdon 1995. *Artifact and assemblage: The finds from a regional survey of the Southern Argolid, Greece*, Vol. 1. *The prehistoric and Early Iron Age pottery and lithic artifacts*, Stanford.

Sackett, J.R. 1982. 'Approaches to style in lithic archaeology', *JAA* 1, 59–112.

Sackett, J.R. 1986. 'Isochrestism and style: A clarification', *JAA* 5, 266–277.

Sackett, L.H. 1992. *Knossos: From Greek city to Roman colony. Excavations at the Unexplored Mansion II* (BSA Suppl., 21), Oxford.

Sauciuc, T. 1914. *Andros: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Topographie der Insel*, Wien.

Schilardi, D. 1979. 'Ανασκαφή στὴν Πάρο', *Prakt*, 236–248.

Schlörb-Vierneisel, B. 1966. 'Eridanos-Nekropole I: Gräber und Opferstellen hS 1-204', *AM* 81, 4–111.

Sheedy, K.A. 1990. 'Attic and Atticizing pottery in the Cyclades during the eighth century BC', in *EYMOΥΣΛΑ: Ceramic and iconographic studies in honour of Alexander Cambitoglou*, ed. J.-P. Descoeudres (MeditArch Suppl., 1), Sydney, 31–40.

Sipsie-Eschbach, M. 1991. *Protopgeometrische Keramik aus Iolkos in Thessalien*, Berlin.

Smithson, E.L. 1961. 'The Protogeometric cemetery at Nea Ionia, 1949', *Hesperia* 30, 147–178.

Smithson, E.L. 1974. 'A Geometric cemetery on the Areopagus: 1897, 1932, 1947, with appendices on the Geometric graves found in the Dörpfeld excavations on the Acropolis West Slope in 1895 and on Hadrian Street ("Phinopoulos' Lot") in 1898', *Hesperia* 43, 325–390.

Snodgrass, A.M. 2002. 'A paradigm shift in Classical Archaeology?', *CAJ* 12, 179–194.

Stavropoulos, Ph.D. 1964. 'Ανασκαφαὶ καὶ τυχαῖα εὑρήματα ἐντὸς τῆς περιμετρικῆς ζώνης τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν', *ArchDelt* 19, Chr. B'1, 46–64.

Steinhauer, G. 2001. *Το αρχαιολογικό μουσείο Πειραιώς*, Athens.

Styrenius, C.-G. 1962. 'The vases from the Submycenaean cemetery on Salamis', *OpAth* 4, 103–123.

*Thorikos I* = H.F. Mussche, J. Bingen, J. Servais, R. Paepe & T. Hackens 1968. *Thorikos 1963. Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne de fouilles*, Brussels.

*Thorikos II* = H.F. Mussche, J. Bingen, J. de Geyter, G. Donnay & T. Hackens 1967. *Thorikos 1964. Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne de fouilles*, Brussels.

Touchais, G. 1988. 'Chronique de fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1987', *BCH* 112, 611–696.

Tsingarida, A., ed. 2009. *Shapes and uses of Greek vases (7<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.). Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, 27–29 April 2006*, Brussels.

Verdelis, N.M. 1958. *Ο πρωτογεωμετρικὸς βύθμος τῆς Θεσσαλίας*, Athens.

Walter-Karydi E. 1972. 'Geometrische Keramik aus Naxos', *AA*, 386–421.

Wells, B. 1983a. *Asine II. Results of the excavations east of the Acropolis, 1970–1974. Fasc. 4. The Protogeometric period, Part 2. An analysis of the settlement*, Stockholm.

Wells, B. 1983b. *Asine II: Results of the excavations east of the Acropolis, 1970–1974. Fasc. 4: The Protogeometric period, Part 3. Catalogue of the pottery and other artefacts*, Stockholm.

Whitley, J. 1997. 'Beazley as theorist', *Antiquity* 71, 40–47.

Wide, S. 1910. 'Gräberfunde aus Salamis', *AM* 35, 17–36.

Williams, D. 1991. 'Onesimos and the Getty Iliupersis', in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 5 (Occasional Papers on Antiquities, 7), Malibu, 41–64.

Wollheim, R. 1973. 'Giovanni Morelli and the origins of scientific connoisseurship', in R. Wollheim, *On art and the mind: Essays and lectures*, London, 177–201.

Zapheiropoulou, Ph. 1983. 'Τεωμετρικὰ ἀγγεῖα ἀπὸ τὴν Νάξου', *ASAtene* 61 (n.s. 45), 121–136.