The drawing reproduced as cover illustration represents Kristian Jeppesen's proposal for the restoration of the Maussolleion, in particular of the colonnade (PTERON) in which portrait statues of members of the Hecatomnid dynasty said to have been carved by the famous artists Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheos, and Leochares were exhibited. Drawing by the author, see p. 173, Abb. 5, C.
Hans Christian Andersen’s Visit to the Acropolis on 27th March 1841

In 1841, Hans Christian Andersen, the world famous Danish fairy-tale writer, visited Athens from 24th March until 20th April, on a tour of Italy, Greece, and Turkey, with a return journey up the Danube. He painstakingly kept a diary, to serve as a memorandum for his travel book “En Digerers Bazar”, published the following year. Supplementary sources for his stay in Athens are letters to his friends and an amusing diary by Christiane Lüth, Danish wife of A.H.F. Lüth, the Holstein Protestant court chaplain of Queen Amalia.

All in all, Christiane Lüth gives a charming picture of this still young author who on the second of April celebrated his thirty-sixth birthday. Here in Athens, he for once appears relaxed and harmonious. She describes him lying down halfway up Pentelicum, lazily refusing to go to the top unless his friends guarantee that he can see Marathon from there; talking volubly in his bad German, while in every other sentence throwing a Danish word to Christiane Lüth for her to translate; admiring himself in the mirror wearing his newly bought fez (Fig. 1); running after camels like a child; and making his famous paper cuttings for the eldest Lüth child, Damaris, not yet two years old.

In Athens, H.C. Andersen had the rare opportunity of being introduced to the Classical monuments, not only by the Lüth family, but also by such experts as the Danish, Holstein and German architects and scholars, Christian and Theophilus Hansen, Ludwig Ross, Eduard Schaubert and Heinrich Nicolaos Ulrichs, as well as by the Greek professor of philology, Philippos Joannou, several of whom were engaged in excavating and restoring the Classical monuments of Athens, in particular those of the Acropolis. In spite of such expert guidance, often mentioned in his diary, H.C. Andersen’s curiosity about the ancient buildings of Athens appears strictly limited, at least if one may judge from his drawings.

In 1831 on his first journey abroad, H.C. Andersen had started sketching the sights which impressed him most. Especially his many drawings from Italy in 1833 – 1834 are very detailed, showing his interest in landscapes, architectural and sculptural...
highlights, and above all scenes of everyday life. In comparison, his drawings from Greece, including those of his diary, are disappointing; they are few, carelessly drawn in outline and apart from a few shepherds and the small houses of an ordinary street of Athens, illustrate chiefly either modern buildings such as the new University in Athens built by Christian Hansen or are of a romantic character, such as the so-called Socrates’ prison. His only sketch of a Classical building is the Hephaisteion, (at that time identified with the Theseion), and its raison d’être is that it happened to form the background for a camel (Fig. 2).6

H.C. Andersen’s letters to his friends give a more vivid description of Athens at his time, as e.g. one to the Danish author Carsten Hauch:

“One can almost say that Athens grows hour by hour; houses and streets shoot up from the gravel; several streets look exactly like the booth we see on a fair-ground: tents are put up, all sorts of goods are displayed, and the selling is done by handsome, squatting Greek boys. Some parts of the city are no more than heaps of gravel, and in the middle of them one sees a hole; that is the entrance to a dwelling. One must look where one goes all the time, for suddenly one is standing on the edge of a well without the slightest kind of railing; scattered around are capitals, broken marble bas-reliefs, and all round ruined churches with gaily coloured pictures of saints on the walls…. I walk up the Acropolis every day. The view is marvellous and the place itself a ruined fairy world; wild cucumbers grow over the steps of the Parthenon; scattered round are unburied skulls of Turks and Greeks; here and there are whole bombs from the time of the Venetians. I have been to Socrates’ prison: two small holes in a rock near Athens; at the entrance grew lovely red flowers, I picked one of them, thinking of Oehlenschläger – will you give him this flower from me?”

As he says in his letter, H.C. Andersen visited the Acropolis, almost daily, often accompanied by one or other of the above-mentioned experts on ancient Athens. On his first two visits, however, he was alone. His first visit took place on 26th March and he returned immediately the following day, noting in his diary: “…I went up the Acropolis; I did not feel well; was in doubt whether to go back; a lot of excavated things were placed in the Propylaia; today two soldiers followed me, dogging my foot-steps; one of them had the keys for the Parthenon. I went into the mosque placed inside the Parthenon; it is white washed, quadrangular with a dome; just below the altar was a sort of niche where objects which had been found were placed; in the altar there now stood a torso of an Apollo statue. We went to some large cisterns from the time of the Venetians. Antiquities were also placed here. I saw a beautiful vase; it was decorated with many “snirkler”…” (“Snirkler” is a Danish slang word for all kinds of curvilinear and spiralliform ornaments drawn freehand).

In his diary is a sketch of “the beautiful vase”, drawn first in pencil with corrections of the height and outline of the vase and then touched up in ink (Fig. 3). The sketch is exceptional in being the only ancient monument from the Acropolis – or for that matter from Athens – which H.C.
Andersen felt inclined to draw as a main subject. The vase must have thrilled him and for the understanding of his aesthetic standards it is of some interest to know what it actually looked like. Fortunately, his few rapid strokes leave no doubt as to the identification of the vase. It is the griffin jug now in the British Museum and produced in the 7th Cent. B.C. on one of the Cycladic islands.  

The griffin jug was found on the island of Aigina about 1830. In January 1837 a pencil drawing of it was made on Aigina by Christian Hansen (Fig. 4) and later in the same year it was transferred to the Acropolis of Athens by Kyriakos Pittakis, the first director of the Acropolis. As late as 1860 Alexander Conze and Edouard Michealis saw the vase in a small house near the Erechtheion; but shortly afterwards it must have been stolen, for in 1867/1868 it formed part of the Castellani collection in Naples. In 1873 it was acquired by the British Museum (Figs. 5 - 6).  

The griffin jug, without its restored ears, measures 40.5 cm. in height. It is made of micaceous, orange brown clay and possibly has a very fine slip in the colour of the clay; it is decorated in a fine chestnut glaze. Its exceptional form owes its inspiration to two Near Eastern types of metal vessels, the North Syrian bronze cauldrons with cast siren attachments and hammered griffin protomes and the Phoenician silver or bronze jugs with a palmette terminal to the handle. Both features are seen in H.C. Andersen’s sketch, the griffin’s head quite accurately rendered, the palmette below the handle just indicated in the pencil drawing and not clearly transferred in ink.

The figure decoration of the jug is confined to three shoulder panels, in the central one a lion is attacking and biting the throat of a deer and in each of the two side panels a grazing horse is antithetically placed; both motives are frequent in early Cycladic vase-painting. Apart from the meander and the rays on the body of the vase, the vertical divisions of the panels and their filling ornaments, all other ornaments may well in Danish be described as “snirkler”: The scales of the griffin’s neck, U-formed as well as circular; the palmettes at the end of the side locks and of the central lock decorating the handle; the two guilloche patterns and the row of palmette-volute ornaments.

The classification of Cycladic vases is often difficult because of their technical homogeneity, the micaceous clay and brownish-yellowish slip in particular, and because of the many reciprocal influences of shapes, motives and ornaments, in some cases even of deliberate imitations. Some of the more ordinary vases seem to have been produced on several islands. Also there is a considerable exchange of vases between the islands, most vase groups having been found on several Cycladic islands.  

However, with a few exceptions, most scholars agree that the griffin jug belongs to the so-called “Linear Island” vases, the known representatives of which are chiefly amphorae used as burial urns. In general, their production period covers the last quarter of the 8th Cent. and the first half
of the 7th Cent. B.C. The “Linear Island” vases may be divided into three subgroups, the earliest with Subgeometric decoration, the latest with large diachrome figure painting. The Aigina griffin jug must be placed in an advanced phase of the intermediary, second group, characterized by an early Orientalizing style, observable in its animal figures as well as its ornaments. This subgroup of “Linear Island” vases is contemporary with and reciprocally influencing the early Orientalizing vases of Naxos, while also showing relations to other Greek vase schools as e.g. the East Greek vases, especially those of Miletos and of the island of Samos. On the other hand, several Orientalizing traits in the second group of “Linear Island” vases must be due to independent contacts with Near Eastern countries, especially to Mesopotamian/North Syrian works of art and to Phrygia, presumably via Phrygian textiles.

Four find contexts of Protocorinthian pottery with a “Linear Island” vase of the early Orientalizing second group (two from old and two from recent excavations) indicate an absolute chronology for the beginning of the Orientalizing style in the late 8th Cent. B.C. and for a more advanced phase in the early 7th Cent. B.C. The griffin jug representing the end phase of this subgroup is thus presumably to be dated to around 675 B.C. or shortly afterwards.22

The location of the production of the “Linear Island” vases is still an open question. Unlike most Cycladic vase groups, the “Linear Island” vases are only sporadically represented on Delos/Rheneia, their main provenance being the southern Cycladic island of Thera. Besides the griffin jug from Aigina only a few “Linear Island” vase fragments are published from excavations elsewhere in Greece, on the Cycladic islands of Amorgos, Delos/Rheneia and Naxos.

Of the many hypotheses for the centre of production of the “Linear Island” vases, most were gradually ruled out as studies of Cycladic vases extended and deepened. This happened early to the suggestions of Euboean or Boiotian production. Theran Geometric vases with a corresponding absolute chronology differ in so many respects from the “Linear Island” vases that I find it extremely unlikely that the same small Cycladic island could hold two so dissimilar ceramic workshops at the same time. As regards an origin on the island of Melos, proposed only for the griffin jug and the third subgroup of “Linear Island” vases which are without secure provenances, actually no argument has been provided for the theory and these “Linear Island” vases cannot be separated from the other subgroups of “Linear Island” pottery.

Lambrinoudakis sees the “Linear Island” vases as the second group of Naxian Subgeometric/Orientalizing pottery. The Naxian, Delos XVII Ba – Bc vases and the “Linear Island” vases of early Orientalizing
style are contemporary and show close decorative interconnections, although their amphora forms differ. However, the immediately preceding phases of the two schools, Delos XV, Bb and the Subgeometric “Linear Island” vases, respectively, are dissimilar, as are the immediately succeeding phases of both schools, the developed Archaic vases with polychrome monumental figure painting. Another argument against locating the “Linear Island” vase production on Naxos is the very limited representation of such vases on Delos/Rheneia, compared with the large number of definitely Naxian Geometric and Archaic vases. If both vase groups were produced on Naxos, it does not make sense that one only should be continuously transferred to nearby Delos. The Naxian and the “Linear Island” vases are, in my opinion, two separate vase schools of early Orientalizing style, the correspondences of which I see in the light of reciprocal stylistic influences.

Since Buschor’s article on Cycladic pottery in 1929, Paros has been the island most seriously advocated as production centre of the “Linear Island” vases, especially because of their relations to the vase group, Delos XV, Ab (identical with Pfuhl’s “Besondere Gruppe” from Thera). According to both Rhomaios and Buschor, Delos XV Ab formed a normal stage of development of the Geometric vases, Delos XV A, technically distinguishable from the Naxian Geometric Delos XV B vases by their complete lack of slip. Both scholars attributed the Delos XV A vases to Paros. An amphora from the Peressi necropolis of Thera, published in 1967 by A. Lembessis, combines features of both “Linear Island” vases and the Delos XV Ab Group: in its general shape and the shoulder metope decoration of birds on one of its sides it represents the characteristics of the former group, in form and decoration of its neck those of the latter, while its antithetically placed grazing horses on the other shoulder is a more general Cycladic motif. However, in its technical features, with a lack of slip and with decoration in a dull black glaze painted in broad strokes, it is a typical Delos XV Ab vase; an almost
lustreless glaze characterizes only the earliest subgroup of "Linear Island" vases which, on the other hand, have a thick yellow slip. Actually the Peressis amphora fits in well with several other Delos XV Ab vases, imitating the "Linear Island" school. In my opinion, the Peressis amphora stresses the known relations between Paros and the island which produced the "Linear Island" vases, but it does not present any decisive new arguments for connecting Delos XV Ab and the "Linear Island" vases nor for locating the latter group of vases to Paros.

On the contrary, Rhomaios' old theory that the so-called "Melian" vases were the Orientalizing successors to Geometric Delos XV A and likewise produced on Paros seems recently to have been confirmed. In the late 1950's and early 1960's the idea was taken up by several scholars. Their arguments were based partly on the many finds of "Melian" (and "Melian" imitating) pottery on the island of Thasos, colonized by Paros in the early 7th Cent. B.C.; partly they saw the subgeometric phase of Delos XV A, Delos XV Ad vases, (dated mainly to the first quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C., although lasting into the second quarter) as the immediate predecessors to the earliest "Melian" vases, from the second quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C. The many recent finds of "Melian" pottery on Paros appear to have convinced the sceptics; so that there seems no longer any reason for questioning Rhomaioi's theory that the two main groups of Cycladic vases from the Delos/Rheneia excavations, Delos XV B/ Delos XVII B and Delos XV A/ "Melian" vases, respectively, were products of the two neighbouring islands of Naxos and Paros. This conclusion, however, leaves the question of the place of production of the "Linear Island" vases unsolved.

As known today, the production of the "Linear Island" vases both begins and ends abruptly, a phenomenon which, in my opinion, suggests that the vases were produced on a still unexcavated Cycladic island or, at any rate, on an island where excavations are still so recent that they are not adequately published. The provenance of the Aigina griffin jug may point to a Cycladic island with northern contacts, while its very form and several of its stylistic elements are signs of direct Near Eastern contacts. From the provenances of the "Linear Island" amphorae, a Cycladic island situated in the southern part of the Cyclades seems more likely than one in the neighbourhood of Delos and one should expect the island to have close relations to Naxos and Paros as well as to Miletos and Samos.

Because of the geographical situation of Amorgos, midway between Thera, where by far the majority of the "Linear Island" vases were found, and East Greece, to some of whose vase groups the "Linear Island" vases show stylistic correspondence, and because of traditional early ties between Amorgos and the islands of Naxos and Samos, I long ago suggested Amorgos as a likely candidate for the production of the "Linear Island" vases, although admittedly I had no archaeological evidence for my theory. However, since my article was published in 1962, many scholars have made Amorgos the subject of their studies and there have also been recent excavations there.

One scholar found indications that already in the Protogeometric Period Amorgos functioned as a station on the line of communication between the Near Eastern countries and a Greek island north of the Cyclades, in that case Euboea, just as in the 7th Cent. B.C. the griffin jug offers evidence for the pottery workshop in question having contacts with both Near Eastern countries and an island north of the Cyclades, in this case Aigina. Amorgos had early ties with both Naxos and Samos: e.g. the early inscriptions of Amorgos are in the alphabet of one or other of these islands. Moreover, the excavations of Amorgos have established the existence of 7th Cent. pottery workshops there, at least of relief pithoi, which show close stylistic affinities to contemporary relief vases of
Paros, Siphnos, and Thasos on the one hand, and on the other Samos and Miletos. The excavations which have taken place at different sites on the island of Amorgos are still only preliminarily published, but among the few published painted vase sherds are one or two fragments of "Linear Island" vases. Until the early vases of Amorgos are properly studied and published, the above hypothesis cannot be proved; but even more than in 1962, it seems to me an idea worth keeping in mind.

H.C. Andersen's sketch of the Aigina griffin jug does not throw any new light on the many problems connected with the vase group to which it belongs. The conclusion that the jug was produced around 675 B.C., towards the end of the early Orientalizing style of the so-called "Linear Island" vases, the production of which is still not securely located within the Cyclades, was reached long ago. On the other hand, H.C. Andersen's choice of subject for his drawing once more calls for admiration of this very strange person, of his originality and independent approach to all aspects of life — keeping an open mind even to ancient Greek art. Surrounded on all sides by learned scholars instructing him in the highlights of the Classical monuments of Athens, he — and on the Acropolis of all places — fell for the beauty of an Orientalizing vase, a stylistic phase seldom appreciated by his contemporaries. As a vase of fantastic appearance in form as well as in decoration, the griffin jug must have appealed to his imagination. In Hans Christian Andersen's fascination for the Aigina griffin jug the fairy-tale writer reveals himself.


NOTE 3

NOTE 4
Cf. references above notes 1 - 3; Engberg 1965 and Haugsted 1996, 236 - 238.

Christian Hansen (1803 - 1883) and Theophilus Hansen (1813 - 1891) Danish architects working in Athens, 1833 - 1851 and 1838 - 1846, respectively. Christian Hansen continued his career in Trieste and Copenhagen, Theophilus Hansen his in Vienna.


Ludwig Ross (1806 - 1859) Holstein archaeologist; in Greece 1832 - 1843.

Eduard Schaubert (1804 - 1860) German architect; in Greece 1829 - 1850.

Ross, Chr. Hansen and Schaubert excavated in the Propylaea and at the Parthenon and re-erected the Temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis, 1835 - 1836. Cf. Ross, Hansen and Schaubert 1839.

Heinrich Nikolaus Ulrichs (1807 - 1843) German philologist; died in Athens.

Philippos Ioannou (1796 - 1880) Professor of philology, the University of Athens.

H.C. Andersen's friendly relations with all the above-mentioned are evident from the entries in his diary; one remembrance is kept in a small Attic black-figured lekythos with an ink-written inscription on its foot: Herrn H.C. Andersen von L. Ross. Andersen received it on 16th April (cf. Andersen 1973, 184) and in 1859/60 he gave it to the National Museum of Denmark. Copenhagen. (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Inv. No. ABc 968, cf. CVA Copenhagen III, 91, No. 13, pl. 111). I thank mag. art. John Lund for this information.

NOTE 5

NOTE 6

NOTE 7
E. Bredsdorff's translation, Bredsdorff 1975, 149.

Carsten Hauch (1790 - 1872) was a Danish natural scientist and author, succeeding Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger (1779 - 1850) as professor of aesthetics at the University of Copenhagen. Oehlenschläger was the first Danish romantic poet and dramatist, whose early works, "Digte 1803", in particular, are inspired poetry and still of impressive freshness and originality. In 1835 Oehlenschläger wrote a tragedy with the title: "Sokrates". Thus, H.C. Andersen's gift to him is very apt; he was always a master of these small, thoughtful remembrances.

NOTE 8

The Parthenon at the time of H.C. Andersen's visit, cf. Papanicolaou-Christensen 1985, 40 - 41, fig. 13; Papanicolaou-Christensen 1994, 29, fig. 32; Bendtsen 1993, 90, fig. 22. Chr. Hansen. Watercolour 1836. (The Library of the Royal Academy of fine Arts. Copenhagen.) or Haugsted 1996, 140.

M. Rørbye. Drawing. (Copenhagen. The National Museum. Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.).

NOTE 9
Mr. Jørgen Skjer, Copenhagen, has informed me of an unpublished note-book of H.C. Andersen's, containing the rough draught of his diary 1840 - 1841. (The Royal Library. Copenhagen. Department of Manuscripts. Collomske Samling 11 (4)). Among the drawings is one of the griffin vase, presumably the original sketch made on the Acropolis and later copied in his diary entry. The drawing is at the bottom of a page, cut off just below the widest part of the body of the vase, which may explain H.C. Andersen's difficulties in rendering the lower part of the vase which finally becomes incorrect. I thank Mr. Skjer very much for this information which I received too late for including it in the text.

NOTE 10

Loeschke 1897, 259 - 261 (discussing the provenance and later history of the vase). Payne 1926, 204 - 205 and pl. VIII (with earlier references).

Christian Hansen's drawing, fig. 4, cf. Papa-
nicolau- Christensen 1994, 21, fig. 17. The
drawing was made together with two other
vase studies and is dated: “Egina 13 Januar
1837”; below the griffin vase is written:
“Kjødførte med brunrøde Ornamentet”,
i.e. flesh-coloured with reddish-brown or-
naments.

Cf. also below note 48.

The small house at the Erechtheion where
the griffin jug was on exhibition in 1860
may perhaps be identical with the house SE
of the Erechtheion seen on H.C. Stilling's
watercolour from 1853, cf. Bendtsen 1993,
105, fig. 4.

For technical details, cf. Strom 1962, 240,
note 61.

The measurements of the vase vary in
different publications. I thank Dr. Lucilla
Burn, The British Museum, for the follow-
ing information: “...the height to the top
of the original part of the left ear, slightly
more of which survives than of the right
ear, is about 40.5 cm.”

For the Phoenician jugs with palmette
handles, also produced in ivory, one of
which was found on Samos, cf. also Strom
1971, 127 - 129 and Grau-Zimmermann
1978.

For the lion-and-deer group in the so-
called “Linear Island” vase-painting, cf.
Strom 1962, 242, note 65 and for a grazing
horse of the same vase group, cf. Zapheire-
poulos 1983 a, 157, fig. 6. The former motif
is now also found on a Naxian vase, cf.
Zapheirepoulos 1983 b, 134 - 135, fig. 34.
Grazing horses are common motives in se-
veral Cycladic vase groups, e.g. Delos XV
Ab and Ad and Naxian vases; for Cycladic
horse renderings in general, cf. Lembesis
1967, 129 - 130.

For difficulties in classification, cf. Cook
1972, 343, and for reciprocal influences be-
tween different Cycladic vase schools, cf.
e.g. Strom 1962, 221, 232 - 235, 245, 254 -
256 and 275 - 276; for imitations, cf. e.g.
Strom 1962, 247, note 89 and AA 1964,
582, No. 58, fig. 37, Walter-Karydi 1972,
413 - 416 and Zapheirepoulos 1983 a, 168,
noté 9, a Naxian vase imitating “Linear Is-
land” style, found on Samos.

The Archaic Cycladic skyphoi, cf. Strom
1962, 277, note 235, were produced on
Paros, probably also on Naxos, cf. Lam-
brinoudakis 1983 a and Zapheirepoulos
1983 c (with a greatly increased number of
“Linear Island” vases found on Thera). The
Stockholm vase is now republished, Gillis
et. al. 1995, 30 - 31, pls. 17 - 18; however,
without a full up-dating of references.

For scholars not referring the griffin jug to
the “Linear Island” vases, cf. references
Strom 1962, 240, note 64 (Pfuhl and Brock)
and Walter-Karydi 1972, 415, cf. below note
27.

Strom 1962, 224 - 226, for the earliest
Subgeometric group, and pp. 237 - 240, for
the third group with diachrome figure-
painting.

For the second group, cf. below note 19.

Lembesis 1967 has a different grouping in
workshops A, B and C, in which I do not
follow her. In my opinion, the material is
too limited and especially as regards my ear-
ciest group too simple for a distinguishing of
workshops. Each of her workshops cover a
long period of time, workshop A, e.g., am-
phorae of all three of the above groups,
from the earliest to the latest known exam-
ple of “Linear Island” vases.

Strom 1962, 243, cf. 227 - 236 for the se-
cond, early Orientalizing subgroup; here
also references to Naxian and East Greek, in
particular, Samian contacts. Since then a
connection also with Milesian vase-painting
has been observed, Graeve 1971, 110 - 113.

Cf. in particular, Strom 1962, 230 - 231 for
the Mesopotamian/North Syrian models of
the lion-deer group. The guilloche pattern
and the palmettes of the griffin jug are like-
ly to be imitated directly from the above-
mentioned Near Eastern metal vessels ser-
ving as models for the jug, cf. above p. 201
and note 13.

Apart from the handle termination in a pal-
mette, there is no other definitely Phoeni-
cian trait in the griffin jug or the known “Linear Island” vases.

For my references to Phrygian connections, Phrygian textiles, in particular, in which I follow Akurgal, cf. Strom 1962, 228, 232 and 234; these observations, although re-
cognized by Coldstream 1968, 379 and Graeve 1971, 111 - 112, note 12, have not been generally accepted, cf. e.g. Zapheiro-

However, since this suggestion was made, several studies of Phrygian textiles have
been published which, in my opinion, ex-
tend the decorative correspondence to
comprise also some ornaments; compare
e.g. Boehmer, 1973, 153, fig. 4 (The Ivriz
relief; the double volutes) with Strom 1962,
pi. I b, 37 - 38 and the lozenge patterns,
Boehmer 1973, fig. 12 and Young 1981, 194
- 210, fig. 147 A - B (textiles from Gordion,
Tumulus P and Tumulus W) with Strom
1962, pl. I b, 26. For the Gordian textiles in
general, cf. Young 1981, 294 - 310 (R. El-
is). The Gordian find contexts in question
are pre-Kimmerian and thus dated to be
fore 700 B.C.; cf. Sams 1994, 1 and 194
- 196 for the date of the Kimmerian de-
struction of Gordion and the Pre-Kimme-
rian tumuli.

NOTE 21
Strom 1962, 236, and Zapheiropoulos 1983 a, 154 - 156, figs. 1 - 3, and 158 - 159, figs. 6 - 8.

NOTE 22
Zapheiropoulos 1983 a, 161, note 37, is
wrong in stating that I dated the griffin jug
around 650 B.C. I see her observations as a
confirmation of the very date I gave to the
griffin jug, Strom 1962, 243: “shortly after
675 B.C. or about that date”; further my re-
ferences, 243, note 73, to Middle Protoattic
pottery are the same as given by Zaphei-

NOTE 23
Strom 1962, 222 (Aigina, Delos, Naxos,
Thera).

Among
Prakt. 1991, 299, pl. 194 a. (Cf. Strom 1962,
pl. I a, 20 - 21 and pl. I b, 28 - 30) and pos-
sibly Prakt. 1987, 261, pl. 183 a, an Archaic
sherd, the outline animals of which seem
related with “Linear Island” lions.

For later finds from Naxos, cf. Lambrinoud-
akis 1983 a, 174 and fig. 29 and Lam-
brinoudakis 1983 b, 115, note 27 and fig.
15, with references also to Prakt. 1960, 259
-260, pl. 196 b and Prakt. 1972, 155, pl.
149 a and cf. Walter-Karydi 1972, 411
-412, figs. 42 - 44, Nos. 36 and 60 - 61,
(I do not find it possible to decide whether
the fragment of a griffin’s head from Naxos,
cf. above note 13, is Naxian or “Linear Is-
land”).

For later finds from Thera, cf. Zapheiropou-
los 1983 a.

Of the published sherds found outside
Greece, only one, in my opinion, may pos-
sibly be “Linear Island”, Ploug 1973, 14
-16, No. 42, pl. II, from Tel Sukas, a sherd
from a large, closed vase with circular deco-
ration in panels.

NOTE 24
Strom 1962, 243 - 246 and Cook 1972,
343.

NOTE 25
Buschor 1929, 142 - 143. Although the
term “Euboecian” is still sometimes used tra-
ditionally, cf. e.g. Zapheiropoulos 1983 a,
this does not signify a theoretical proven-
ance.

NOTE 26
The early theory of Thera origin, cf. refer-
ences from Buschor 1929, 142, was revived
by Boardman 1952, 16, note 79 and later
supported by Walter-Karydi 1972, 415 -
416, for the greater part of the group. I
maintain my arguments against this theory,
Strom 1962, 235 and 246.

For Theran Geometric/Orientalizing vases,
cf. Coldstream 1968, 185 - 189. Recent ex-
cavations have added to this list, cf. Reports of excavations in Sellada, Prakt. 1969

NOTE 27
Walter-Karydi 1972, 415; against the theory,
Strom 1962, 246.

NOTE 28
Lambrinoudakis 1977, 116 - 121; Lam-
brinoudakis 1983 a, 167 - 174 and Lam-
brinoudakis 1983 b, who regards also most
Geometric vases, Delos XV A as Naxian,
because of many recent finds of more ordi-
ary Delos XV A vases on the island. I
maintain my arguments, based on technical and decorative criteria, against this theory
originally advanced by Karouzos and Kon-
toleon for Delos XV Ac in particular, cf.
Strom 1962, 271 - 272. Also I am sceptical
wards using the quantity of vase finds as a
conclusive argument for location, taking
into account the considerable exchange of
vases (Zapheiropoulos 1994b, 134 supports
Lambrinoudakis’ views) among the Cycla-
dic islands.

NOTE 29
For comparisons with Naxian Orientalizing
vases and the contemporary “Linear Island”
style, cf. Strom 1962, 235 - 236, 242 and
247 - 256.

NOTE 30
For references to Delos XV Bb, cf. Strom
1962, 247, and for the Naxian monumental
figure-painting, 256 - 260; for the Subgeo-
metric “Linear Island” vases and for the end
phase of “Linear Island” style, cf. references
above note 18.

NOTE 31
Delos XV, Bb = Delos XV, 71 - 83 and pls
XXXIV - XLI; Delos XVII, Ba - Bb - Bc, cf. Strom 1962, 247. On Delos/Rheneia only fragments of two "Linear Island" vases were found, cf. Strom 1962, 222.

NOTE 32
For Delos XV Ac, cf. references above note 27 and for Delos XV Ad, p. 388 and note 37.

NOTE 33
Lembesis 1967, 112 - 114, pls. 78 and 86 b, cf. Zapheiropoulos 1983 a, 164 and figs. 16 - 17.
For grazing horses in Cycladic vase-painting, cf. above note 14.

NOTE 34
Cf. Lembesis 112 and pl. 78 for the technical appearance of the Peressis amphora; for that of the "Linear Island" vases, cf. Strom 1962, 224 - 225.

NOTE 35
For other Delos XV Ab vases, showing details characteristic of "Linear Island" cf. references, Strom 1962, 245, to Delos XV, Ab 19 and the Siphnos fragment, Brock - Mackworth Young 1949, 35, No. 25, pl. 12; for Delos XV, Ab 12 and 13, cf. Lembesis 1967, 121 and 124.

NOTE 36

NOTE 37
Sheedy 1985. (Some of the arguments and results of the above scholars Sheedy repeats, however, without giving references).
Also Zapheiropoulos now advocates the development Delos XV Ad/"Melian" vases, Zapheiropoulos 1985, 5 - 10 and Zapheiropoulos 1994b, with reference also to archaeometric analyses.

NOTE 38

NOTE 39

NOTE 40
Cf. references above notes 28, 32 and 37 for the central subgroups of Delos XV A, Delos XV Ab, Ac and Ad.

NOTE 41
Strom 1962, 246 - 247, note 86.

NOTE 42

NOTE 43

NOTE 44
The tradition of an early Samian and Naxian colonization of Amorgos has been questioned by Rougemont 1983; however, the fact that all early inscriptions of Amorgos are in either Samian or Naxian alphabet, at least offers evidence of close relations between the three islands, Jeffery 1961, 293.

NOTE 45
Marangou 1982 and Marangou 1983, 121 - 122 and 126.

NOTE 46
Cf. above note 42.

NOTE 47
Cf. above note 23.

NOTE 48
I know of no other artist's drawings of the griffin jug from the period of about thirty years when it was exhibited on the Acropolis. Christian Hansen's drawing from Aigina was one of several studies of Greek vases and other antiquities, cf. Papanicolaou-Christensen 1994, 20 - 21 from Aigina and 32 - 40, 43 - 49, 84, 103 and 106 - 109 from Athens and other Greek sites.


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Zapheiropoulos, Ph. 1994 b

**Abbreviations**

Cyclades.

Delos.

Delos XV.

Delos XVII.

EAA.

East and West.

Ergon.
To Ergon tes Archaiologikes Etaireias, 1954 - .

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