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Edited by Søren Dietz & Signe Isager



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The drawing reproduced as cover illustration represents Kristian Jeppesen's proposal for the restoration of the Maussoleion, 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

Ingrid Strøm

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,¹ to serve as a memorandum for his travel book "En Digtters Bazar", published the following year.² 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.³

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 Pentelicon, 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



Fig. 1. Hans Christian Andersen with Fez. Drawing by Christian Hansen, April 1841. The Danish State Museum of Art, Copenhagen. Department of Prints and Drawings. Td 639, 12. Inv. No. 11553. Museum Photo No. 10641.

excavating and restoring the Classical monuments of Athens, in particular those of the Acropolis.⁴ 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.

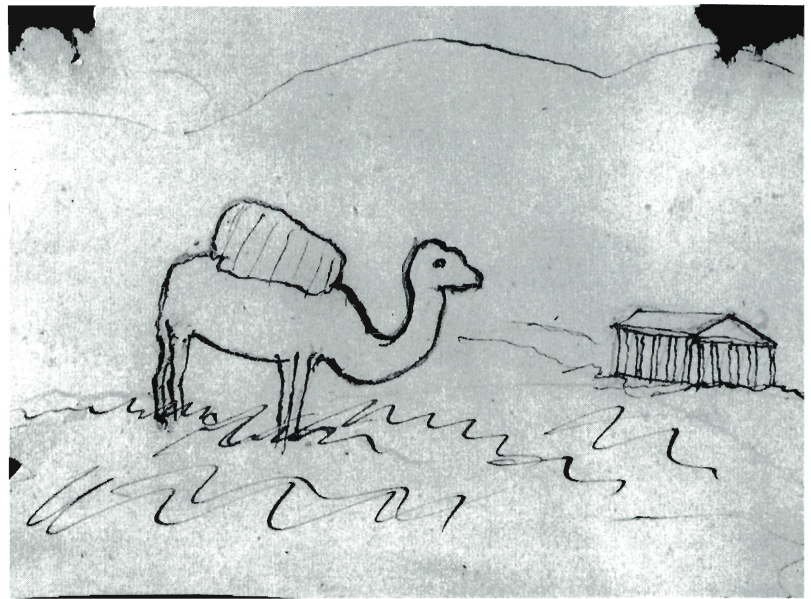
In 1831 on his first journey abroad, H.C. Andersen had started sketching the sights which impressed him most. Especially his many drawings from Italy in 1833 – 1834 are very detailed, showing his interest in landscapes, architectural and sculptural

highlights, and above all scenes of everyday life.⁵ 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 booths 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 Oehlen-schläger – will you give him this flower from me?"⁷

As he says in his letter, H.C. Andersen vi-



sited 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 spiralfiform ornaments drawn freehand).

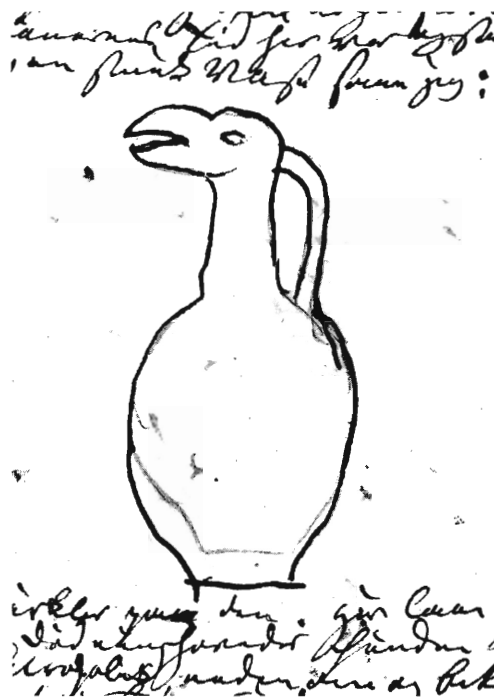
In his diary is a sketch of "the beautiful vase", drawn first in pencil with corrections of the height and outline of the vase and then touched up in ink (Fig. 3).⁹ The sketch is exceptional in being the only ancient monument from the Acropolis – or for that matter from Athens – which H.C.

Fig. 2. Camel in Front of the Hephaisteion (so-called "Theseion"), Athens. Drawing by H.C. Andersen. The Hans Andersen Museum, Odense. Museum Photo.

Fig. 3. Sketch of Vase Exhibited on the Acropolis Drawn by H.C. Andersen in his Diary, Entry of 27th March 1841.

The Royal Library. Copenhagen. Department of Manuscripts. Collinske Samling 7 (40). H.C. Andersens Dagbøger I, 18.

Photo The Royal Library.



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.¹⁰

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 Michaëlis 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).¹¹

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.¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ Apart from the maeander 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.¹⁵ Some of the more ordinary vases seem to have been produced on several islands.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ The “Linear Island” vases may be divided into three subgroups, the earliest with Subgeometric decoration, the latest with large diachrome figure painting.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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.²¹ 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.²³

Of the many hypotheses for the centre of production of the “Linear Island” vases,²⁴

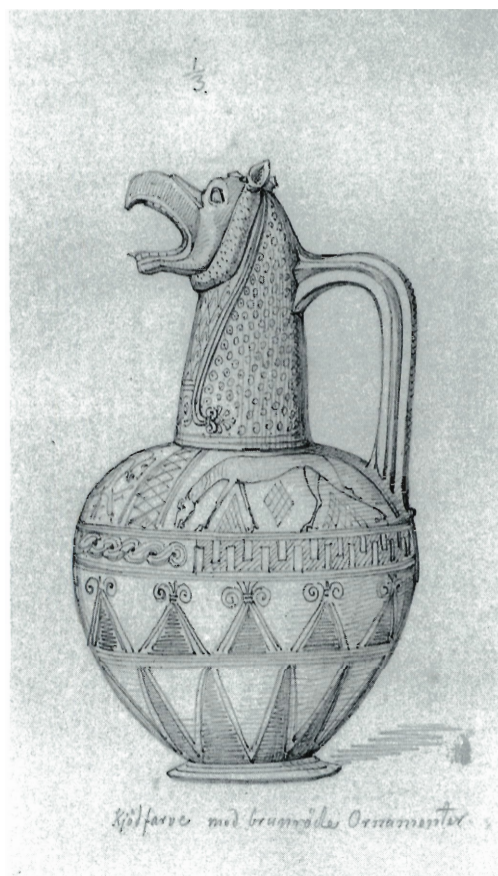
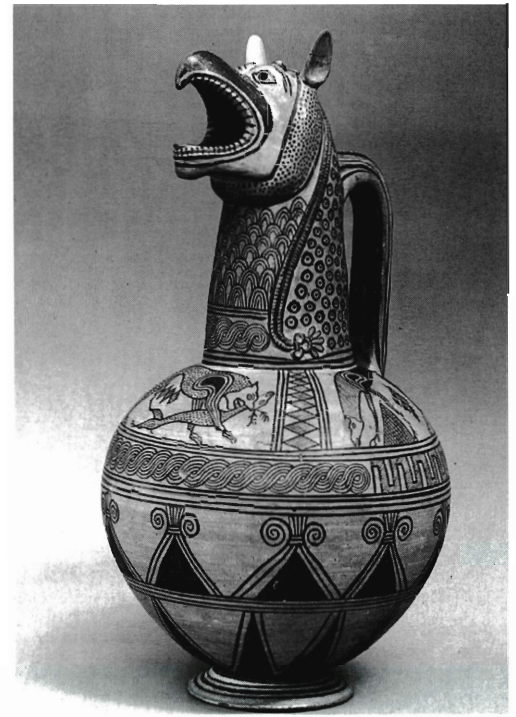
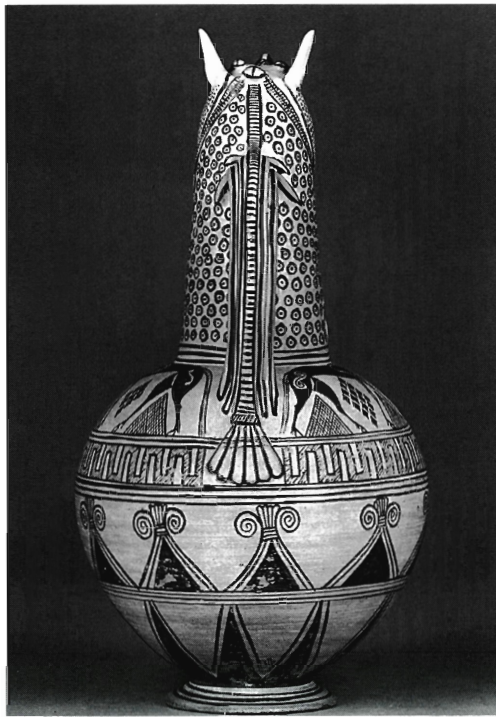


Fig. 4. *The Griffin Vase.*
Drawing January 1837 on
Aigina by Christian Hansen.
The Library of the Academy
of Fine Arts, Copenhagen.
Inv. No. K 1314733.
Photo The Academy of Fine
Arts, Copenhagen.

most were gradually ruled out as studies of Cycladic vases extended and deepened. This happened early to the suggestions of Euboean or Boiotian production.²⁵ Thera 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.²⁶ As regards an origin on the island of Melos, proposed only for the griffin jug and the third subgroup of “Linear Island” vases which all 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.²⁷

Lambrinouidakis sees the “Linear Island” vases as the second group of Naxian Subgeometric/Orientalizing pottery.²⁸ The Naxian, Delos XVII Ba - Bc vases and the “Linear Island” vases of early Orientalizing



Figs. 5 - 6. Br. Mus. GR 1873. 8 - 20. 385. The British Museum. Museum Photos.

style are contemporary and show close decorative interconnections, although their amphora forms differ.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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.³¹

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.³² 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.³³ 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.³⁴ Actually the Peressis amphora fits in well with several other Delos XV Ab vases, imitating the "Linear Island" school.³⁵ 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 Paros³⁶ 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.³⁷ The many recent finds of "Melian" pottery on Paros³⁸ appear to have convinced the sceptics;³⁹ so that there seems no longer any reason for questioning Rhomaios' 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.⁴⁰ 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 ex-

cavations 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.⁴¹ 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.⁴²

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,⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ The excavations which have taken place at different sites on the island of Amorgos are still only preliminarily published,⁴⁶ but among the few published painted vase sherds are one or two fragments of “Linear Island” vases.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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.

Notes

NOTE 1

Andersen 1973, 93 - 269; his stay in Athens, 154 - 187. Cf. note 9.

NOTE 2

Andersen 1842. Cf. Andersen 1846 and Andersen 1871.

NOTE 3

Lüth 1926, 91 - 94 and Lüth 1981, 51 - 55. (A.H.F.Lüth, 1806 - 1859. Lüth, C. née Fischer, 1817 - 1900).

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.

For their work in Athens, cf. Haugsted 1982 and Haugsted 1996; Bendtsen 1993; and Papanicolaou-Christensen 1994.

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

Heinrich Nicolaos 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

Andersen 1996; for Italy, in particular, cf. Norregård-Nielsen 1992.

NOTE 6

Cf. Engberg 1965, 356 - 357 and Papanicolaou-Christensen 1985, 186 - 188, figs. 218 - 225 (all H.C. Andersen's drawings from Greece except for those in his Athens diary, cf. Andersen 1973, 158 - 165).

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

Andersen 1973, 160 - 161. 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 Skjerk, 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. Collinske Samling 11 (4^o). 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. Skjerk very much for this information which I received too late for including it in the text.

NOTE 10

London. The British Museum. Inv. No. GR 1873, 8 - 20. 385.

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

Matz 1951, 271 and pl. 180.

Bocci 1961, 7, pls. IX 1, X and XI 1.

Strøm 1962, 222 and 240 - 243, fig. 8.

EAA V (1963), 749, fig. 910 (Bocci).

Akurgal 1966, 182 - 186, pls. 54 - 56.

Kontoleon 1969, 223, note 3.

Lembesis 1967, 130.

Graeve 1971, 112, pl. 34, 2.

Walter-Karydi 1972, 413 - 415, fig. 47.

Simon-Hirmer 1976, 44 - 45, fig. 21.

Lambrinouidakis 1977, 116 - 121.

Lambrinouidakis 1983 a, 167.

Zapheiropoulos 1983 a, 161.

Williams 1984, 22 - 23, fig. 259.

NOTE 11

Loeschke 1897, 259 - 260.

Christian Hansen's drawing, fig. 4, cf. Papanicolaou-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: "Kjödfarvet med brunröde Ornamenten", i.e. flesh-coloured with reddish-brown ornaments.

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 water colour from 1853, cf. Bendtsen 1993, 105, fig. 4.

NOTE 12

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

The measurements of the vase vary in different publications. I thank Dr. Lucilla Burn, The British Museum, for the following 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."

NOTE 13

Strøm 1962, 240.

For the North Syrian bronze cauldrons with siren attachments and hammered griffin protomes, cf. Jantzen 1955; Herrmann 1966; Strøm 1971, 131 - 134; Herrmann 1979; Herrmann 1984, 26 - 28 and Muscarella 1992, 35 - 36, who refers to the prevailing discussion whether the hammered griffin protomes were added in Greece or the North Syrian bronze vessels were imported as a whole complex including the hammered griffin protomes, to which latter theory I am still inclined, cf. Strøm 1992, 54.

A fragment of a terra-cotta griffin's head, possibly from a jug like the Aigina griffin vase, was found on Naxos, Buschor 1929, 156, fig. 9; Strøm 1962, note 67 and Walter-Karydi 1972, 413 - 414, fig. 45, and there is

a possible counterpart from Paros, Prakt. 1985, 138 and pl. 51 b, here identified with a serpent's head.

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

NOTE 14

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

NOTE 15

For difficulties in classification, cf. Cook 1972, 343, and for reciprocal influences between different Cycladic vase schools, cf. e.g. Strøm 1962, 221, 232 - 235, 245, 254 - 256 and 275 - 276; for imitations, cf. e.g. Strøm 1962, 247, note 89 and AA 1964, 582, No. 58, fig. 37, Walter-Karydi 1972, 413 - 416 and Zappeiropoulos 1983 a, 168, note 93, a Naxian vase imitating "Linear Island" style, found on Samos.

NOTE 16

The Archaic Cycladic skyphoi, cf. Strøm 1962, 277, note 235, were produced on Paros, probably also on Naxos, cf. Lambrinouidakis 1983, 113 - 115, figs. 10 - 12, and definitely on Thasos, where they are found in a potter's workshop, Blondé, Perreault and Peristeri 1992, 24 - 31.

NOTE 17

General studies of the "Linear Island" vases, Payne 1926, 204 - 208; Bocci 1961, 3 - 15; Strøm 1962, 222 - 246 (with earlier references, 222, note 5). Lembesis 1967; Lam-

brinouidakis 1983 a and Zappeiropoulos 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 Strøm 1962, 240, note 64 (Pfuhl and Brock) and Walter-Karydi 1972, 415, cf. below note 27.

NOTE 18

Cf. Strøm 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 earliest group too simple for a distinguishing of workshops. Each of her workshops cover a long period of time, workshop A, e.g., amphorae of all three of the above groups, from the earliest to the latest known examples of "Linear Island" vases.

NOTE 19

Strøm 1962, 243, cf. 227 - 236 for the second, 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.

NOTE 20

Cf. in particular, Strøm 1962, 230 - 231 for the Mesopotamian/North Syrian models of the lion-and-deer group. The guilloche pattern and the palmettes of the griffin jug are likely to be imitated directly from the above-mentioned Near Eastern metal vessels serving 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 Phoenician 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. Strøm 1962, 228, 232 and 234; these observations, although recognized by Coldstream 1968, 379 and Graeve 1971, 111 - 112, note 12, have not been generally accepted, cf. e.g. Zapheiropoulos 1983 c, 167, notes 88 - 89, and p. 170.

However, since this suggestion was made, several studies of Phrygian textiles have been published which, in my opinion, extend the decorative correspondence to comprise also some ornaments; compare e.g. Boehmer, 1973, 153, fig. 4 (The Ivriz relief, the double volutes) with Strøm 1962, pl. 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 Strøm 1962, pl. I b, 26. For the Gordion textiles in general, cf. Young 1981, 294 - 310 (R. Ellis). The Gordion find contexts in question are pre-Kimmerian and thus dated to before 700 B.C., cf. Sams 1994, 1 and 194 - 196 for the date of the Kimmerian destruction of Gordion and the Pre-Kimmerian tumuli.

NOTE 21
Strøm 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, Strøm 1962, 243: "shortly after 675 B.C. or about that date"; further my references, 243, note 73, to Middle Protoattic pottery are the same as given by Zapheiropoulos 1983, 161, note 41, cf. p. 170.

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

Amorgos
Prakt. 1991, 299, pl. 194 a. (Cf. Strøm 1962, pl. I a, 20 - 21 and pl. I b, 28 - 30) and possibly 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. Lambrinoudakis 1983 a, 174 and fig. 29 and Lambrinoudakis 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 Island").

For later finds from *Thera*, cf. Zapheiropoulos 1983 a.

Of the published sherds found outside Greece, only one, in my opinion, may possibly be "Linear Island", Ploug 1973, 14 - 16, No. 42, pl. II, from *Tell Sukas*, a sherd from a large, closed vase with circular decoration in panels.

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

NOTE 25
Buschor 1929, 142 - 143. Although the term "Euboean" is still sometimes used traditionally, cf. e.g. Zapheiropoulos 1983 a, this does not signify a theoretical provenance.

NOTE 26
The early theory of Thera origin, cf. references 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, Strøm 1962, 235 and 246.

For Thera Geometric/Orientalizing vases, cf. Coldstream 1968, 185 - 189. Recent excavations have added to this list, cf. Reports of excavations in Sellada, Prakt. 1969 - 1971, 1973 - 1974, 1976, 1978 and 1981 - 1982; Ergon 1969 - 1971, 1973 and 1981 - 1982 and ADelt. 43, B 2, 1988.

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

NOTE 28
Lambrinoudakis 1977, 116 - 121; Lambrinoudakis 1983 a, 167 - 174 and Lambrinoudakis 1983 b, who regards also most Geometric vases, Delos XV A as Naxian, because of many recent finds of more ordinary 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 Kontoleon for Delos XV Ac in particular, cf. Strøm 1962, 271 - 272. Also I am sceptical towards 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 Cycladic islands.

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

NOTE 30
For references to Delos XV Bb, cf. Strøm 1962, 247, and for the Naxian monumental figure-painting, 256 - 260; for the Subgeometric "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. Strøm 1962, 247. On Delos/Rheneia only fragments of two "Linear Island" vases were found, cf. Strøm 1962, 222,

NOTE 32

For Delos XV Ab, cf. Buschor 1929 and Rhomaios, Delos XV, 27 - 28 and 43 - 44; Strøm 1962, 243 - 246; Lembessis 1967 and Zapheiropoulos 1983 a.

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

NOTE 33

Lembessis 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. Lembessis 112 and pl. 78 for the technical appearance of the Peressis amphora; for that of the "Linear Island" vases, cf. Strøm 1962, 224 - 225.

NOTE 35

For other Delos XV Ab vases, showing details characteristic of "Linear Island" cf. references, Strøm 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. Lembessis 1967, 121 and 124.

NOTE 36

Rhomaios in Delos XV, 44, cf. Strøm 1962, 272.

NOTE 37

Kontoleon 1958, 133 - 135 (published 1962); Kontoleon 1962, 140; Kontoleon 1963, 58 - 60; Kontoleon 1970, 69 - 70. Salviat-Weil 1960, 385, note 3, cf. Salviat-Weil 1962, 110.

Salviat 1983 a, 190 and Salviat 1983 b, 215. Strøm 1962, 274 - 278, with reference note 236 to these results being reached in 1956. (Cf. pp. 268 - 269 for the absolute chronology of Delos XV Ad vases on the basis of their contacts with Protoattic pottery and pp. 270 - 275 for the development of Delos XV Ad/"Melian" vases).

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

Cf. ADelt. 38, B 2, 1983 (1989), 347 - 348, pl. 143 and ADelt. 39, B, 1984 (1989), 295, pl. 150 b; and cf. BCH 111, 1987, 565; BCH 114, 1990, 818; BCH 115, 1991, 926; BCH 116, 1992, 930 and BCH 1994, 787 - 788 and Zapheiropoulos 1994a, 138 - 139, figs. 20 - 22.

NOTE 39

In contrast with her earlier views, (Zapheiropoulos 1983 c and Zapheiropoulos 1985, 1 - 10) Zapheiropoulos now locates the production of "Melian" vases on Paros, cf. Zapheiropoulos 1994a, 138 - 139, and Zapheiropoulos 1994b.

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

Strøm 1962, 246 - 247, note 86.

NOTE 42

Excavations on Amorgos, cf. Marangou 1983 and current preliminary reports, Prakt. 1982 - 1992, Ergon 1981 - 1994 and BCH 1981 - 1994.

NOTE 43

Catling in Catling - Jones 1989, 184 - 185.

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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