

**THE FINAL REVIVAL OF THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE
A CASE STUDY OF THE ARGOLID, CORINTHIA, ATTICA,
EUBOEA, THE CYCLADES AND THE DODECANESE DURING
LH IIIC MIDDLE**

Marina Thomatos



VOLUME 1

PhD

The University of Edinburgh

2005

Λίγο ακόμα,
θα ιδούμε τις αμυγδαλιές ν'ανθίζουν
τα μάρμαρα να λάμπουν στον ήλιο
τη θάλασσα να κυματίζει

Γ. ΣΕΦΕΡΗΣ

DECLARATION

I have composed this thesis in its entirety and any work included within it is my own. The work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Marina Thomatos

Marina Thomafos
THE FINAL REVIVAL OF THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE:
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ABSTRACT

My thesis examines the post palatial phase of Late Helladic IIIC Middle. The beginning of this period is marked with the collapse of the Mycenaean system dating roughly to 1200 B.C., while after its final phase the Early Iron Age communities of the Aegean begin to emerge.

The importance of this period has come to light in the past few decades with discoveries of new cemeteries and settlements as well as continuity of occupation at many Mycenaean sites such as Mycenae and Tiryns. Although current research examines various aspects of LH IIIC, there is a need of a more synthetic study of the whole period. My thesis examines the archaeological material from settlements and burials together with their associated finds of pottery, weapons, jewellery, and terracotta figurines. The areas which will be examined are the Argolid, Corinthia, Attica, Euboea, the Cyclades and the Dodecanese.

LH IIIC middle is characterised both as a period of continuity and change. In general, pottery production, burial customs and architectural traditions continue from LH IIIB, the Mycenaean palatial period. There are however new features introduced in this period such as new types of burial rites (introduction of cremation) and new patterns of exchange within and outside the Aegean. The most important phase of this period appears to be the middle phase. The evidence for this phase indicates a plethora of decorative pottery, richness in finds and what appears to be a complex social system

My aim is to demonstrate that LH IIIC was a period of contact and cross-influence, both within and outside the Aegean and marks the transition from the palace administrative system of the Mycenaean era to that of the city-states of the Early Greek period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to my PhD supervisor Dr. Irene S. Lemos whose support and guidance was crucial for completing this dissertation. I would like to thank her for patiently sharing with me my problems and supporting me through every step of my journey. Her presence was invaluable.

There are many scholars who made themselves available for discussion and to whom I am indebted to. I am much indebted to Dr. Don Evely for proof reading my entire dissertation and providing useful criticism as well as providing me with some unpublished information from the forthcoming Lefkandi volume. I would like to thank Dr. Maria Iacovou for our long discussions as well as providing off prints of her work. I am grateful to Prof. Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy for her useful insight into LH IIIc and her feedback on my queries as well as her kind invitation to the International Workshop on LH IIIc in Vienna. Dr. Robert Koehl was kind enough to invite me to take part in a study season at Paros on the Koukounaries material and provided me with my first hands on experience with LH IIIc pottery. Prof. Joseph Maran found time to share numerous discussions with me as well as permitting me to see the LH IIIc material from Tiryns. Special thanks are due to Dr. Alceste Papadimitriou who provided valuable support from the when the topic of this thesis was first shaped and who continued to do so throughout by generously sharing her knowledge with me. I am grateful to Dr. S. Sherratt for allowing me to use her unpublished doctoral thesis in this work. Finally, I would like to thank Elisabeth Spathari for her continued support all these years.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Leventis Foundation for financially supporting my final year of study. I am also indebted to Edinburgh University for their financial support; particularly for the Baldwin Brown Travel Scholarship and the Postgraduate Conference Expense Grant.

A number of colleagues and friends supported me throughout with useful conversations and most of all patience through my moments of disappointment. I would like to thank Aikaterina Kolotourou, Antonios Kotsonas, Antonia Livieratou, Zoi Moulinos, Danielle O'Donovan, Gerasimos Stergiopoulos and Areti Serkizis. I would also like to thank Maria Kalliri for assisting me in the creation of the maps include in this thesis.

Lastly, but surely not least, I would like to thank my parents and my dear brother for their continued encouragement and support all these years without which I could not have completed this dissertation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AAA</i>	<i>Archaiologika analekta ex Athenon (Athens Annals of Archaeology)</i>
<i>AD</i>	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>Archaiologiko Efhmeris</i>
<i>Aegaeum</i>	<i>Aegaeum: Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America</i>
<i>Annuario</i>	<i>Annuario della scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
<i>Anthro</i>	<i>Anthropoligika</i>
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>CIRh</i>	<i>Clara Rhodos</i>
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
<i>Hesperia</i>	<i>Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JFA</i>	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
<i>JRGZM</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz</i>
<i>Klio</i>	<i>Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte</i>
<i>Kret. Chr.</i>	<i>Krhtika Chronika</i>
<i>LAAA</i>	<i>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>OpArch</i>	<i>Opuscula archaeologica</i>
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensi</i>
<i>PAE</i>	<i>Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias</i>
<i>PPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society</i>
<i>PZ</i>	<i>Prähistorische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>WorldArch</i>	<i>World Archaeology</i>

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The aim of this doctoral thesis is to examine the post palatial phase of Late Helladic III C middle. During this phase in Greek prehistory, Greece undergoes important changes that will transfer the palace administrative system of the Mycenaean era to that of the city-states of the early Greek period. early studies which assessed the period in question as a whole included V.R. d'A. Desborough's 1964, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*. At the time of its publication much of the material evidence known today was still unpublished and although the material examined provided a most thorough account of what was known at the time it was still unfortunately very limited due to the lack of publications or as often was the case the lack of LH III C, or so defined, deposits. Oddly, although various scholars including Desborough¹ agree that LH III C did witness a revival which followed after the demise of Mycenaean administrative system, no one attempted to closer examine this period. This phase of the Bronze Age has been periodically examined either through the investigation of specific sites or in certain cases with the study of a particular type of material find such as pottery. What this thesis aims to provide is a more synthetic study of the middle phase in its entirety within the regions of the central and southern Aegean. By examining the archaeological material from settlements and burials of the middle phase, together with their associated finds of pottery, terracotta figurines, jewellery and weapons, it is hoped that they will provide valuable insight into this phase and provide information concerning the new social and economic structures that arose in response to the loss of the Mycenaean administrative centres.

The areas which have been selected are the Argolid (Mycenae, Chania, Gourtsoulia, Phychtia, Tiryns, Asine, Midea, Argos and P. Epidauros), Corinthia (Korakou and Corinth), Attica (Athens, Perati, Spata, Thorikos, Vourvatsi and Ligori), Euboea (Xeropolis-Lefkandi, Chalkis) Paros (Koukounaries), Melos (Phylakopi), Naxos (Grotta, Aplomata, Kamini)², Rhodes (Ialysos, Kalavarda, Vati and Pilonia), Kos (Serraglio, Eleona and Langada) and Kalymnos (Pothia). These areas have been chosen because of their interconnectivity during this period but also because they provide the most comprehensive evidence of events and conditions during LH III C middle. Other areas such as Achaia, for example, could have provided some interesting evidence for maritime interconnectivity in Western Greece, however because there is little published

¹ Desborough 1964; Desborough 1972.

² The temple at Ay. Irini on Kea has not been included within the study of the Cyclades because there is no clear indication that it was used during the middle phase. The most characteristic feature of its earliest III C phase is white ware and it is therefore seen as a LH III C late deposit. It should however be noted that a number of fragments from deep bowl rims with multiple reserved interior bands could make this deposit a very late III C middle one. See Caskey 1984.

material- the same can be said for northern Greece and in part the southern Peloponnese- these regions cannot be thoroughly evaluated. Although many new sites have been discovered in the past decade or so, the majority of the material examined in this thesis comes from excavations and publications conducted primarily from the 60s to the end of the 80s. This occurs for two reasons; newer excavations (and often earlier ones) have yet to be published and for certain sites the problems still exist with the relative chronology of LH IIIC ~~still exists~~. Section II which follows, tackles the latter and provides a number of suggestions which the author believes are crucial if we are to clarify the ceramic phases of LH IIIC. For now, I believe a thorough examination of the areas chosen can provide the most comprehensive information when challenged with trying to understand LH IIIC middle in its entirety.

Although quite a number of sites are examined in this thesis, not very many have been fully published with stratigraphical information. From the cemeteries examined the only ones which can be considered fully published are those of Perati, Aplomata on Naxos and the recently excavated tumulus at Argos. A number of cemeteries such as Ialysos on Rhodes and Eleona and Langada on Kos have been published in reports of the Italian School of Archaeology and examined by others later, however the nature of the early excavations unfortunately provides little information concerning stratigraphy. As for settlement remains, here too the main problem is lack of published material. Tiryns and Mycenae for example have been extensively excavated but only preliminary reports have been published for the LH IIIC remains. Other settlements with similar situations include Midea, Koukounaries on Paros and Grotta on Naxos. The best preserved stratified settlement remains come from a single house at Korakou, the sanctuary at Phylakopi on Melos and remains from just a few test trenches at Xeropolis-Lefkandi which interestingly provide some of the most valuable information for LH IIIC.

The thesis consists of seven chapters, of which chapters 1-6 each examine the archaeological evidence and include discussions on a number of related issues specific to each type of evidence. Chapter 1 examines the ceramic evidence since the dating of the pottery provides the main criteria for the dating of a site. The chapter includes an examination of all published decorated pottery, including Appendix 1 which provides a catalogue of the published material and Appendix 2 which examines the coarse ware and storage. Included is a discussion of regional characteristics, coarse ware, Pictorial pottery, patterns of contact and issues concerning the use of the term *koine*. Chapter 2 examines the IIIC middle burials and includes a discussion on a number of important features such as single burials and cremations as well as aspects of ritual within funerary contexts. Chapter 3 appraises the settlement remains and includes a discussion on classification and construction as well as criteria for defining the function of particular spaces, including

both secular and sacred usages. Chapter 4 looks at the figures and figurines of this phase including a discussion of their function. Chapter 5 presents the jewellery and assesses its distribution within the various regions. Chapter 6 examines weaponry and includes a discussion on iconography of weapons, on their function as well as possible changes in warfare tactics during this post palatial phase. The final chapter, chapter 7, assembles all the material examined in the previous chapters and raises important issues such as regionalism, interconnections, social and political organisation as well as elements of continuity and change. It should be noted here that due to the patchy state of the LH IIIC middle evidence it did not seem appropriate to apply the use of theoretical models since this type of approach in my opinion must rely on a solid body of archaeological evidence.

In our attempts to understand the transition between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age it is vital that we examine this post-palatial phase which can provide us with fundamental information. It is only once we understand the events occurring after the great demise of the Mycenaean palaces that we may better understand the conditions that will eventually lead to the establishment of the city-states of early Greece.

II. RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY - PREVIOUS STUDIES AND CURRENT PROBLEMS

Any study of the middle phase of the LH III C period will rapidly throw up a number of problems: a major one being the matter of the relative chronology. The best material in early work was derived from stratified settlement deposits at Mycenae,³ Tiryns,⁴ Korakou⁵ and Lefkandi,⁶ as well as from the cemetery of Perati.⁷ Many scholars have attempted to clarify the ceramic development of LH III C and to thus correlate the various local phases from each site with each other. In practice however, many problems have been encountered.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

From as early as the late 19th century a ceramic class was recognised and defined as the latest in the Mycenaean series. Furtwangler and Loeschke's publications *Mykenische Tongefässe* of 1879 and *Mykenische Vasen* of 1876 defined the so-called "Fourth Style".⁸ Such works were based solely on stylistic observations, but soon a number of excavations began to reveal stratified phases. The two best examples of these are Wace's excavations at Mycenae and Blegen's at Zygouries: although neither recognised specific phases, they did distinguish a common ceramic style within what they labelled as the Late Helladic period.⁹ Later, Mackeprang examined the stratified material from the Granary at Mycenae and material from Korakou and Asine to distinguish three successive phases in the pottery, namely LH III A, B, and C.¹⁰ Moreover, Mackeprang recognised that the *koine* visible in the earlier pottery is not apparent any more by the final phase, which he characterised as having "local styles".

The first systematic subdivision based on multiple stratigraphical sequences was undertaken by Furumark. In his 1941 publication, *The Mycenaean Pottery, Analysis and Classification*, he divided the last Mycenaean period into two main phases, III C:1 and III C:2. Within III C:1 he distinguished two sub-phases, while his III C:2 represented the Submycenaean phase. In a later work published in 1944, entitled *The Mycenaean III C Pottery and its Relation to Cypriote Fabrics*, he reconsidered the two-part division of III C:1, following the excavation of a number of new sites that included the cemetery of

³ Sherratt 1981.

⁴ Podzuweit 1978, 1979 and 1980 etc.

⁵ Rutter 1977.

⁶ Popham and Sackett 1968.

⁷ Iakovides 1970.

⁸ Sherratt 1981, 2.

⁹ Sherratt 1981, 4-5.

¹⁰ Sherratt 1981, 6-8; Mackeprang 1938.

Ialysos on Rhodes. This adjustment resulted in a tripartite division of III C:1 into three sub phases, namely III C:1a, 1b and 1c.¹¹

One major problem with Furumark's work was that it had geographical limitations. According to Sherratt "of all the deposits of Late Helladic III C pottery quoted by him in his 1944 article, 37% are drawn from the cemeteries of Ialysos and Kameiros, 46% from the Argolid and only 17% from other sites".¹² In 1964, Desborough attempted a synthesis which took into account the new excavations of Perati, Teichos Dymaion, Kea, Lefkandi, Chios, Volos and Naxos. In this, further emphasis was placed on the regional variations within LH III C, which had indeed been recognised earlier by Furumark.¹³

The publication of the excavations at Lefkandi-Xeropolis on Euboea conducted by Popham during 1964-1966 revealed the remains of an LH III C settlement with three distinct architectural phases - 1, 2 and 3.¹⁴ The material was examined in an article published in the *BSA* of 1971, entitled "The Late Helladic III C Pottery of Xeropolis (Lefkandi), A Summary": this gives a "provisional" account of the pottery in question.¹⁵ In this publication, Popham further divides the pottery to include a subdivision of the first two phases: 1a and 1b, followed by 2a and 2b. This made it one of the first publications to include ceramic subdivisions within LH III C based on a stratified III C settlement.

In his 1979 article entitled "Late Helladic III C Pottery and Some Historical Implications", Rutter defines five successive phases for LH III C based on his examination of the Korakou deposits and comparing these with the evidence from the settlements of Mycenae, Lefkandi, Tiryns, Iria, Athens and Tarsus.¹⁶ The main aim of the article was to elaborate on Desborough's 1964 observations by examining settlement evidence that was unavailable at the time of this earlier publication, and so to define the distinct features within LH III C.

Another very important publication was that of the cemetery of Perati, based most advantageously on stratified tomb deposits.¹⁷ This in fact is one of the few III C cemeteries with stratified deposits preserved to a degree that allows a comparison with settlements. Iakovides distinguished three successive phases, labelled I, II and III, which all fall within LH III C. Phase I is transitional between LH III B2 and LH III C early, Phase II is dated to LH III C early and LH III C middle, while phase III is LH III C late.

At Tiryns, Kilian and Podzuweit recognised four successive phases belonging to the LH III C period: Früh (early), Entwickelt (middle-developed), Fortgeschritten (middle-

¹¹ Furumark 1941a; Furumark 1944; Sherratt 1981, 8-13.

¹² Sherratt 1981, 14.

¹³ Desborough, 1964; Sherratt 1981, 14.

¹⁴ Popham and Sackett 1968.

¹⁵ Popham and Milburn 1971; Sherratt 1981, 14-17.

¹⁶ Rutter 1974; Rutter 1979.

¹⁷ Iakovides 1970.

advanced) and Spät (Late).¹⁸ Sherratt's examination of stratified deposits in the area of the Citadel House at Mycenae provided five successive LH III C phases: early, Tower, developed, advanced and Late.¹⁹ Even so, she concluded that the traditional tripartite division introduced by Furumark and Evans (rise, maturity and decay) still was the most valid one for studying pottery of LH III C throughout the Aegean.²⁰

From the island sites, only Phylakopi on Melos has been fully published. It too provides successive LH III C phases, involving 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b and 3c. Phase 2a corresponds to LH III C early, while the rest correspond to LH III C middle.²¹ The material from Grotta on Naxos remains to be published, as does that from Koukounaries on Paros.²²

Recent publications for Midea have revealed five phases: early, early-middle, middle-early, middle-Late and Late.²³ At Aegeira in Achaia stratified pottery deposits from the "acropolis" have been published and consist of the three habitation sequences of Ia, Ib and II.²⁴ Phase Ia belongs to LH III C early, Ib to LH III C middle developed, while Phase II equates with LH III C middle advanced.²⁵ At Kalapodi at the Sanctuary of Artemis, of the 23 layers documented 12 belong to the LH III C period. More specifically layer 1 is LH III C early, layers 2 and 3 LH III C middle developed, layer 4 transitional LH III C middle developed/advanced, layers 5-10 LH III C middle advanced and layers 11-12 LH III C late.²⁶

It is worth mentioning the stratified deposits from the settlement at Kynos (Kastraki) in Central Greece. Here, Dakoronia has distinguished five successive phases, 1-5. Phase 5 is dated to LH III C middle, while Phase 4 is dated to LH III C late.²⁷ Finally at the Toumba of Kastanas in Macedonia some 19 layers have been documented in the publications: four have been dated by Jung to LH III C. Layers 14a and 14b belong to LH III C early, layer 13 to LH III C developed and LH III C advanced and layer 12 to LH III C advanced/late and early PG.²⁸

¹⁸ Podzuweit 1978, 1979 and 1980.

¹⁹ Sherratt 1981, 50-91.

²⁰ Sherratt 1981, 475.

²¹ Renfrew 1985, 86.

²² See Vlachopoulos 2003 for the most recent publication on the settlement of Grotta. The evidence from Crete will not be examined in this thesis. For recent publications of stratified deposits from Crete see Kanta and Karetsou 2003; Kanta 2003; Dagata 2003; Hallager 2003.

²³ Walberg 1998. Specifically see Walberg 1998, 146-149.

²⁴ Deger-Jalkotzy and Stern 1985.

²⁵ Deger-Jalkotzy 2003. The chronology of these phases has created some discussion primarily due to the reassessment of Lefkandi 1b by Mountjoy. See Deger-Jalkotzy 2003, 71-73; Mountjoy 1999, 38-40.

²⁶ Felsch 1987.

²⁷ Preliminary reports include Dakoronia 1987. For a more detailed report on the pottery see Dakoronia 2003.

²⁸ Jung 2002; Jung 2003.

Most of the publications noted above for the most part take into account specific phases from a specific site. Although both Furumark and Desborough investigated multiple geographical locations, the excavations and publications were limited then. Rutter and Sherratt are perhaps the only authors who consider most of the LH IIIC settlements and cemeteries known when they were writing.

In more recent years Mountjoy has published a number of books on Mycenaean pottery. Mountjoy's publications, particularly *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery* published in 2001, have the advantage in that they entail for the most part a survey of material from nearly all the regions of Greece and thus can be useful in trying to understand similarities in styles and contacts between various areas of the Aegean. This fact has also proved useful in trying to see if a cross-Aegean chronology can be implemented during LH IIIC. In her two early publications she divides the period into three phases: early, middle and late, following for the most part the same line as scholars such as Furumark that preceded her. In her 2001 publication her division is slightly altered with the inclusion of a transitional IIIB2/IIIC early period (Argolid, Korinthia, Laconia, Attica, Achaea and Boeotia), of a IIIC early/IIIC middle developed phase (Paros and Rhodes), a IIIC middle developed phase (Euboea and Melos) and a IIIC middle advanced phase (Euboea, Melos and Rhodes).

CURRENT PROBLEMS

What becomes clear from the above is that the schemes, because of their varying number of sub-phases, give a distorted picture. It is first necessary to look at the reasons as to why such variety has arisen; and only then to seek to tackle the schemes themselves to achieve some sort of cohesive account.

One main contributing factor is that the clear regional styles exhibited by the pottery of this period make it difficult to define those common features upon which to hang a relative chronological scheme applicable to all areas. Usually an excavator or researcher defines their sequence based on specific deposits from a specific site. Such an approach works well in earlier periods where an artistic koine existed, but breaks down when regionalism begins to enter the picture. When one looks at Mountjoy's *Regional Decorated Pottery*, and in particular her reviews of characteristic shapes and motifs for each phase, one continuously comes across long descriptions: occasionally used to define wider geographical locations but more often employed to describe specific sites and their characteristics. For example, an excerpt from her description of characteristic shapes and motifs of IIIC middle *in general* reads as follows - 'Half-moon cups are found at Perati

and Tiryns; Athenian kylikes may be monochrome with a wide reserved stripe down the handles from rim to stem. Ray decoration is found in Laconia on one or two shapes and framed bands of net are found in Phocis'. It becomes evident from this just how difficult it is to define broader characteristic features of each phase, rather than listing specific trends at specific sites.

This fact is also noted by Renfrew in his publication of Phylakopi on Melos. He states that "the typological periodisation of the LH IIIC period in the Aegean on the basis of ceramic form and decoration is much less straightforward than that for LH IIIA and IIIB...It is no longer easy to correlate the finds in all the areas of the Aegean by reference to a single relatively standardised classification, and the terminology used must be more closely defined in relation to specific areas".²⁹

Another issue revolves around how one should deal with any stratigraphical divisions. In the case of Lefkandi in Euboea, for example, three architectural phases have been identified. Should these architectural phases be used in defining ceramic phases as well? In certain cases, as indeed seems to be the case for Lefkandi, stylistic differences can be observed, while in others these divisions mark historical events rather than a change in the ceramic style. A question addressed at the International Workshop in Vienna in 2001, entitled *Late Helladic IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms*, is this very one: "How should chronological subdivisions be decided upon? We would all agree that they must have some stratigraphic basis. But should they be defined principally in terms of architectural criteria or purely ceramic criteria, or is some mixture of both preferable?"³⁰ Subdivisions recognized at one site will inevitably be at variance with those at another site, because of the regional features existing within the pottery of this period. Popham who divided his three architectural phases at Lefkandi into five ceramic phases recognised the dangers of creating over-numerous ceramic phasing. He states:

"We recognize the dangers of over-classification, principally in that it may obscure the main differences between each phase. In this case, however, the danger seemed worth the risk in that Lefkandi has produced unusually deep and well-stratified deposits of IIIC pottery, such as are unlikely to have accumulated or to have survived on most sites of this period. This is not, of course, to say that the stages which we believe to be recognizable at our site are necessarily valid elsewhere."

Popham and Milburn 1971, 333.

In her doctorate, a great deal of material examined by Sherratt was drawn from the unpublished material in an area of the Citadel House at Mycenae. As she states in her conclusions her original aims when studying this material from Mycenae were to define "as many phases as possible" for the LH IIIC period, since similar subdivisions had already been obtained from other stratigraphically preserved sites such as Lefkandi and

²⁹ Renfrew 1985, 81.

Korakou.³¹ These would then allow for a chronological sequence to be devised which could be applied throughout the Aegean. However, she concluded that the creation of “a chronological system of minutely defined stylistic phases, each consisting of fewer and fewer diagnostic features and based on the evidence of a handful of sites, which could be applied successfully to the relatively uniform pottery of LH IIIA-B1, could only create confusion if imposed on the probably quite different conditions of LH IIIC.”³² She believes that Rutter’s five-phase scheme for Korakou proved useful for defining characteristics of that particular site but proved less useful when attempting to apply these characteristics to pottery throughout the Mycenaean world.³³ Thus, although Sherratt originally divided the Mycenae material into five successive phases (early, Tower, developed, advanced and late), she concluded that the traditional tripartite division introduced by Furumark and Evans had proved to be the most valid one for studying pottery of LH IIIC date throughout the Aegean.³⁴

Other scholars agree with this. Rupenstein writes, “for the definition of a stylistic group it seems best to begin with the evaluation of the entire available ceramic assemblage of a single site...in order to achieve more far-reaching results, of course, the pottery of diverse sites has to be compared. It is reasonable to conduct the comparative analysis first at a regional level, whenever possible, then to consider the more distant sites at an advanced stage of research”.³⁵ He strengthens his point by suggesting that a site should be labelled “first in a non-interpretive way, e.g. phase 1, 2, 3 etc.” while the terms of pottery style “should be applied to the regional level after comparison of different sites”.³⁶ Furthermore, Rutter believes that we must begin by constructing a series of “site-specific phasing systems”.³⁷ These multiple divisions are useful for looking up the particulars of an individual site, yet difficulties emerge when trying to compare those belonging to a series of numerous sites.

A third matter is whether, as earlier, major sites such as Mycenae can be used as standards in defining features of a particular phase. Certain scholars, such as Jung, do believe that the Argolid should still be used as a major reference point within LH IIIC.³⁸ He states that “one should take the centre(s) of innovation and production as a guideline for defining chronological phases”.³⁹ I would disagree with this proposal because I do not believe, first, that enough evidence exists to suggest that the pottery production in the

³⁰ Rutter 2003b, 249.

³¹ Sherratt 1981, 473.

³² Sherratt 1981, 475.

³³ Sherratt 1981, 473-474.

³⁴ Sherratt 1981, 475.

³⁵ Rupenstein 2003, 187.

³⁶ Rupenstein 2003b, 252.

³⁷ Rutter 2003b, 255.

³⁸ Jung 2003b, 254.

Argolid affected other areas in this period, and second that the Argolid can even necessarily be considered a “centre”. I am in agreement with Jung and Rutter however in believing that the destruction horizons at Mycenae and other palatial sites will allow definitions of the subsequent LH IIIc period, since the deposits following these horizons will inevitably be of that date.⁴⁰ However, in the matter of defining individual IIIc phases, I believe that while the Argolid can be used for comparative purposes, it is not a defining template.

A further and predictable problem is that the material from many settlements is still unpublished or comes from early excavations, where no stratigraphical references have survived. This is exacerbated by the fact that most tomb deposits are unstratified, thus making a comparison with the settlements very difficult; the deposits from tombs and settlements are usually fundamentally different. Is it indeed even good procedure to apply previously defined stylistic criteria to the pottery of these unstratified deposits? Whatever one’s reservations, at this stage, it seems the only logical way to engage with this material. In the case of LH IIIc, it is still too early to be able to clearly define those features that characterise its various phases. What are desperately needed are more published stratified deposits to more clearly define the various stages.

Thus, it becomes apparent from the number of different divisions employed by so many authors with regard to the pottery of this period just how problematic the creation of a relative chronology is. To summarise, three main schemes are used: the main distinctions between them concern the number of phases associated. The most common system is a tripartite one which can be agreed on for all the sites: this divides the pottery into three basic chronological sequences of early, middle and late. Although many areas share these common characteristics, a more detailed study of pottery from many regions has discerned sub-phases, particularly within the early and middle periods. It is these sub-phases which account for the multiple schemes employed and which tend to create a more blurred picture. In most cases, this is due to differing stratigraphical dividing lines, which lead to similarly disjointed stylistic ones. These sub-phases produce both four- and five-part approaches.

We have a tendency to try and categorise prehistoric pottery, and indeed pottery of all periods, into three-part schemes, based on human and natural evolution. Assumed in such thinking is that classes of objects are slowly introduced into a social system, gradually increase in popularity, but eventually decline and disappear. This is true, to a certain extent. But in many cases these divisions are not so clear-cut: development may be more subtle, thus creating more phases. In my opinion, transitional phases are just as

³⁹ Jung 2003b, 252.

likely to occur. In fact it is the identification and definition of these transitional phases which have caused the most problems in the schemes of relative chronology but which inevitably might be just those that clarify the ceramic repertoire of LH IIIC: they have been sought between LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC early; between LH IIIC early and LH IIIC middle; between LH IIIC middle advanced and LH IIIC late.

Table 1.1 shows all of these schemes as they have been outlined above and how they relate to each other.⁴¹ I have placed Mountjoy's and Furumark's divisions furthest left in bold since their divisions, and particularly that of Mountjoy with the early, middle and late partition, can be generally applied to all the sites included. Therefore, even though I have noted Tiryns' *Entwickelt* and *Forgeschritten* phases, they are both included within the general heading of LH IIIC middle. The same applies for most of the sites. The importance of the individual divisions and phases as they are noted under each site is that they are all based on stratigraphy. As was discussed above, the best approach to studying the pottery of this period is to first define the phases of each individual site as they are stratigraphically preserved, and only then to try and relate the various "local" phases to each other. Common features may be few and far between. I would like to believe that once more stratified settlements and tombs are published (or new ones discovered) we would be able to define more specific features. Bearing in mind that this table is a preliminary account based on how each excavator or scholar has defined the stratigraphical divisions of their specific site, what is desperately needed now is to compare what elements compose each local phase and to see if general cross-regional definitions could be made. In my opinion the best manner to go about doing this is not to focus on publishing clearly defined chronological phases but rather to publish material within their stratigraphical phases. Once this is done then scholars can get together and begin to compare the various local phases and then only perhaps can a definition of LH IIIC and its various sub phases be achieved.

⁴⁰ Rutter 2003b, 255; Jung 2003b, 254.

⁴¹ This table is based on the most recent excavation reports of the various sites and their dates are in many cases preliminary. This table is meant to provide a provisional account of the numerous phases or phasing schemes and how they might relate to each other.

Chapter 1 Pottery

1.1 Decorated Pottery

1.2 Summary of Regional Characteristics

1.3 Pictorial Pottery

1.4. Patterns of Contact and the term *koine* with reference to pottery styles

METHODOLOGY

The following section has been ordered first by the different shapes, and then within these by geographical areas. I have chosen to examine the material in this manner in order to better understand the treatment of specific shapes in every area, rather than looking specifically for local trends. Each shape will have some conclusions drawn, followed by a characterization by both the shape and decoration from each region.

For the most part a particular shape within a particular geographical region will receive comparable schemes of decoration, but variations do occur in the types of motif used. For this reason I have a separate heading for motifs, under which I specify, using an abbreviation, which sites have which particular motif. A catalogue (Appendix 1) will provide detailed information for all the examples, including zonal motifs, height (when available) and bibliographical references. Herein I have tried to include as many of the published examples as possible, though needless to say some will inevitably have been left out. Certain shapes, such as the stirrup jar or the deep bowl, possibly due to their popularity, provide superior information concerning local trends; wherever possible these will also be included in the description of a particular shape. The next section of this chapter will provide a summary of the characteristic features of each area.

Based on the published material available today, much unstratified, a three-part scheme seems to be the best way of arranging and discussing it. Moreover, this approach is one that can be applied to the majority of sites - to see how these relate to each other. What follows examines the decorated pottery of the middle phase, based primarily on the tripartite scheme of Mountjoy; for certain areas this is expanded to include transitional phases. The middle phase itself is separated into two sub-phases.⁴² Since the purpose of this thesis is to present a thorough examination of LH IIIC middle rather than to redefine its ceramic style, a new stylistic system will not be implemented, although all the pottery in question will be re-examined.

⁴² In her two early publications Mountjoy divides the period into three phases; early, middle and late, following for the most part the same line as scholars such as Furumark that preceded her. However, in her most recent publication her division is slightly altered with the inclusion of a transitional IIIB2/IIIC early period in the Argolid, Corinthia, Laconia, Attica, Achaea and Beotia, of a IIIC early/IIIC middle developed phase on Paros and Rhodes, a IIIC middle developed phase on Euboea and Melos and a IIIC middle advanced phase on Euboea, Melos and Rhodes. This joining of phases is undertaken because there is no internal development in the pottery of these areas to distinguish the various phases and because they contain features characteristic of both

CLOSED SHAPES

Amphora (FS 69, FS 70)

The amphora first appears in LH IIIA2.⁴³ The neck/rim amphora is a shape that is treated quite similarly in all areas where present in LH IIIC middle. Most of the examples come from funerary contexts, with only a few from settlements. (Chart 1.1)

During LH IIIC, the lip begins to develop a slight hollow to it; by LH IIIC late, this has become quite elongated and hollower still. One major difference within the shape is the location of the handle: one attached to the neck versus one to the rim. The more westerly areas (such as the Argolid, Attica and Euboea) have rim (to shoulder) handles, while the islands all seem to have neck to shoulder ones. By LH IIIC late, the latter sort has become more common. The handles are round in section in the Argolid, while the other areas mostly have flattened ones, with the exceptions of Attica which has a twisted sort and Kalymnos with a slightly grooved one. The base is most commonly ringed; a few raised and concave examples occur. Nearly all the vases are light-ground, with linear decoration. A number have zonal motifs on the shoulder: most common is the tassel and scroll, although on Rhodes and Kalymnos the shoulder has a wavy line. The decoration of the vessel is in most cases divided into four parts: the neck with one part and the shoulder and body with three. Exceptions are noted in Rhodes where are found only three sections (one on the neck and two on the body) and Kalymnos with five (one on the neck and four on the body).

Argolid- figs. 1-5

There are published examples from the settlements of Mycenae⁴⁴ (My) and Tiryns⁴⁵ (T) and the tumulus at Argos⁴⁶ (Ar).

Shape-

Large; ovoid; hollow lip; round handles extending from rim; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; zonal motif on shoulder; Granary style; double bands on body; reserved band on interior rim; vertical wavy line and hook on handle.

Motifs-

Scroll (T, Ar), tassel (T, Ar).

phases which have been included. The division of the middle phase is based primarily on distinct features which appear stratigraphically within IIIC middle deposits.

⁴³ Examples of the wide necked type, FS 68 see Mountjoy 1999, 1216; Examples of FS 69 first appear in LH IIIB see Mountjoy 1999, 1216.

⁴⁴ Wace 1921/1923, pl. 9a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 330.

⁴⁵ Podzuweit 1981, 213 fig. 61 and fig. 62.

Attica- figs. 6 and 7

There are a number of published examples dating to the early phase. They are more globular in shape and are light-ground with linear decoration.⁴⁷

There are published examples from tombs at Spata⁴⁸ (Sp) and Perati⁴⁹ (P).

Shape-

Large; ovoid; sloping rim; flattened or twisted handles extend from rim; raised concave or ring base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; triple bands; medium band on rim; zonal motif on shoulder; tail/hooks on handle.

Motifs-

Scroll (Sp).

Euboea- fig. 8

The one published example comes from Xeropolis-Lefkandi⁵⁰ (X).

Shape-

Globular; hollow rim; flattened handles extending from rim; ring base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; thick-thin-thick bands; zonal motif on shoulder; scroll on handle.

Motifs-

Scroll (X).

Naxos- figs. 9 and 10

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Kamini⁵¹ (K) and Aplomata⁵² (A).

Shape-

Large; ovoid or globular; rolled or long flaring rim; flattened handles extending from neck; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; double and triple band groups; rim may have medium band on exterior and a medium band or two thin bands on interior; zonal motif on shoulder cross and tails/hooks on handles.

⁴⁶ Piteros 2001, 110 fig. 24, 25 and 27.

⁴⁷ Mountjoy 1999, 567.

⁴⁸ Benzi 1975, No. 171; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 408.

⁴⁹ Iakovides 1970, Pl. 8β; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 409.

⁵⁰ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 66.

⁵¹ Kardara 1977, pls. 48-49a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 20.

Motifs-

Scroll (K, A).

Rhodes- fig. 11

The one published example dating to the early/middle phase comes from a tomb deposit at Ialysos⁵³ (I).

Shape-

Small; globular; wide short neck; flattened handles extending from the neck; ring base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; two thin lines flanked by medium bands; two medium bands on exterior rim; wide band on interior; zonal motif on shoulder.

Motifs-

Wavy line (I).

Kalymnos- fig. 12

The one published example comes from a tomb deposit at Pothia⁵⁴ (P).

Shape-

Large; globular-ovoid; deep hollow rim; grooved handles extending from neck; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; double and triple band groups; two bands on exterior rim; medium band on interior; zonal motif on neck and shoulder; vertical wavy line and tails/hooks on handle.

Motifs-

Wavy line (P).

Belly-Handled Amphora (FS 58)

This shape is introduced during LH I, with only one published example from Messenia. Later, examples re-appear during LH IIIB2.⁵⁵ During LH IIIC it is quite rare in much of Greece, but relatively popular in the Dodecanese and the Cyclades. Most of the examples come from funerary contexts. (Chart 1.1)

The shape is treated in the same fashion in all the areas. The handles are round in section; the base varies from a ring-form to a raised concave one. Like the rim- and neck-handled amphorae, they carry linear decoration with a zonal motif on the shoulder. The

⁵² Mountjoy 1999, fig. 21.

⁵³ Benzi 1992, pl. 108e; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 164.

⁵⁴ Forsdyke 1925, pl. 16; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 15.

⁵⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 1215.

island sites, such as Melos, Rhodes and Kalymnos, prefer to place their zonal decoration here rather than on the belly. The wavy line is the most common design, as can be seen on vessels from the Argolid, Naxos and Kalymnos. Other motifs, although rarer, include the spiral, antithetic loops and concentric arcs. An example with the Pictorial style can be seen from Melos: this is quite unusual. Another common feature is the monochrome neck: present in all regions except Melos, which chooses to decorate the neck with a linear decoration. Rim interiors are also decorated, either with multiple bands such as on the examples from the Argolid and Naxos or with a wide band such as on those from Melos, Rhodes and Kalymnos.

Argolid- figs. 13-15

The published examples come from tombs at Asine⁵⁶ (As) and Argos⁵⁷ (Ar) as well as the settlement of Tiryns⁵⁸ (T).

Shape-

Large; ovoid; tall neck; sloping rim; nipples on shoulder; raised base.

Decoration-

Light ground; Granary style; double and triple band groups; interior rim with double bands; monochrome upper neck; zonal motif on belly; long splash at base of handles.

Motifs-

Wavy line (As), antithetic loops (T).

Melos- fig. 16

The one published example is from Melos⁵⁹ (M).

Shape-

Globular; tall neck; flat sloping rim; handles low on shoulder; raised base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; monochrome upper neck; barring on rim; wide band on interior rim; zonal motif on shoulder and belly; Pictorial style.

Motifs-

Stemmed spiral (M).

Naxos-fig.17

⁵⁶ Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 260.8; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 323.

⁵⁷ Piteros 2001, 110 fig. 23.

⁵⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 159.

⁵⁹ Langotz pl. 2.42; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 187.

There is one complete published example from a tomb deposit at Aplomata⁶⁰ (A). It is believed to be an import from Attica⁶¹.

Shape-

Globular; flaring rim; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; double and triple band groups; dotting on interior and exterior rim; triple bands on interior and exterior of upper neck; zonal motif on belly; long splash on handles.

Motifs-

Wavy line (A).

Rhodes- figs. 18-20

During the early/middle developed phase there are published examples from Ialysos⁶² (I) and Vati⁶³ (V).

Shape-

Medium to large; ovoid or globular; tall neck; sloping rim; handles set high on shoulder; ringed or raised base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; double and triple band groups; monochrome neck; decorated rim; medium band on interior rim; zonal motifs on shoulder and belly; long splash on handles.

Motifs-

Triglyph concentric arcs (I), vertical wavy line (I), stemmed spiral (V).

Kalymnos- fig. 21

There is one published example from a tomb deposit at Pothia⁶⁴ (P).

Shape-

Medium; globular-ovoid; tall neck; down sloping flat rim; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; double, triple and multiple line groups; monochrome neck; barring on rim; medium band on interior rim; zonal motif on belly; barred handles; tail/hooks on handles.

Motifs-

Wavy line.

⁶⁰ Kardara 1977, pl. 468; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 3.

⁶¹ Mountjoy 1999, 942.

⁶² Benzi 1992, pl. 97e-f, Mountjoy 1999, fig. 132; Forsdyke 1925, pl. 11; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 133.

⁶³ Copenhagen I, pl. 43.8; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 131.

Hydria (FS 128)

The hydria first appears in LH IIA on Kea.⁶⁵ In general the shape is not very common in LH IIIC middle, with the exception of Attica, with most coming from Athens. The hydria is equally present in both settlement and funerary contexts. (**Chart 1.1**)

The shape does not go through much change until LH IIIC, when the lip becomes longer and hollowed. By LH IIIC middle the handle has extended to run from the neck to the shoulder: previously it linked rim to shoulder. Most of the examples come from Attica and the majority of these are but fragments. The items from the Argolid and Naxos are more ovoid in body profile than those from Attica. The handles are mainly flattened in section, although one example from Attica is round. The base varies from ring to a raised concave. They are all light-ground, with linear decoration, often with a shoulder motif. Motifs include the tassel, antithetic loops, necklace, spiral, wavy line, horizontal bars, and horizontal chevrons. The handles are also decorated with zonal motifs including scrolls, wavy lines and long double hooks at the base. The complete examples are divided into four decorative zones: like the amphora, with one part on the neck and three on the shoulder and body area.

Argolid-figs. 22-23

There are published examples from tombs at Asine⁶⁶ (As) and Argos⁶⁷ (Ar) and the settlement of Tiryns⁶⁸ (T).

Shape-

Ovoid; tall neck; slightly flaring hollow rim; flattened handles extending from rim; side handles on belly area; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; Granary style; linear decoration; triple bands; double interior rim bands; wavy line and tail/hook on vertical handles; long splash on horizontal handle; zonal motifs on shoulder.

Motifs-

Tassel (Ar, T), antithetic loops (Ar).

Attica- figs. 24-27.

The published examples come from tombs at Ligori⁶⁹ (L) and Perati⁷⁰ (P) and settlement deposit from the Athens Fountain House⁷¹ (A).

⁶⁴ Forsdyke 1925, pl. 15; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 13.

⁶⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 873 fig. 28; Later examples appear from LH IIIA1, Mountjoy 1999, 1221.

⁶⁶ Frödin and Persson 1938, fig.260.1; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 337.

⁶⁷ Piteros 2001, 112 fig. 32.

Shape-

Depressed-globular; tall or short neck; flaring rim; vertical handle extending from rim; horizontal handles on belly; high ring base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; double or medium band on interior rim; zonal motif on shoulder and belly zone; Vertical handle with horizontal bars, framed wavy line or scroll; tails/hooks at base of handles; unusual example with linear lower body.

Motifs-

Necklace (P), stemless spiral (P), wavy line (P), horizontal bars (L).

Naxos- figs. 28-30.

The two published examples come from tomb deposits at Aplomata⁷² (A) and Kamini⁷³ (K).

Shape-

Depressed-globular; flaring rim; flattened vertical handles extending from rim; horizontal handles on belly; raised concave or ring base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double or triple band groups; double or triple interior rim bands; zonal motifs on shoulder extending in certain cases into belly zone; vertical wavy line or banding on vertical handle; banding and long splash on horizontal handles.

Motifs-

Vertical wavy line (A), horizontal chevrons (K).

Collar-Necked Jar (FS 63, 64)

This shape first appears in LH IIIB.⁷⁴ It remains rare until LH IIIC. The distinct feature of these vessels in comparison to other jars is the collar-neck. The majority come from tomb deposits; the only known pieces from settlement contexts come from the Argolid. (**Chart 1.1**)

They are all quite similar in shape, their differences limited to tall or short necks, as well as straight or slightly flaring rims. Handles are round in section, bases ring in all the areas. All are light-ground with a monochrome neck. The shoulder of the Mainland examples often has a zonal motif, including panels, necklace, bivalve flowers, wavy line

⁶⁸ Podzuweit 1983, 382 fig. 7.

⁶⁹ Benzi 1975, no. 518; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 429.

⁷⁰ Iakovides 1970, pl. 61γ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 428.

⁷¹ Broneer 1939, 394, fig. 75g, 75j, 75h, 79e, 79f, 79b; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 430-435.

⁷² Kardara 1977, pls. 57-58; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 31.

⁷³ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 32.

and framed zigzag. They are decorated with a four-part division, with both the shoulder area and that directly below having zonal motifs. Only the example from Pothia has a six-part decorative division, as well as a long hook tail at the base of the handles. An uncommon motif that appears on pieces from Rhodes and Asine is the running spiral. Other local features that can be identified are the use of triple banding in examples from Attica. Pictorial examples come from the Argolid and Kalymnos: those from Mycenae and Pothia are quite similar in style.

Argolid-figs.31-35

There are published examples from tombs at Asine⁷⁵ (As) and Argos⁷⁶ (Ar) as well as the settlements of Mycenae⁷⁷ (M) and Tiryns⁷⁸ (T).

Shape-

Globular; collar-necked; may have nipples or lugs in centre of shoulder⁷⁹; narrow raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; monochrome neck with reserved banding; banding on neck (M); zonal motif on belly and shoulder; Pictorial style⁸⁰; long splash and tail/hook on handle.

Motifs-

Antithetic loops (As, T), running spiral with open centre (As), necklace (T), scroll (T), wavy line (Ar), bivalve (Ar), framed zigzag (Ar), concentric pendant semi-circles (Ar), Pictorial (M).

Attica-figs.36-37

All the published examples come from tomb deposits at Perati⁸¹.

Shape-

Globular; short collar-necked; may have lug or nipple on shoulder; ring base often quite high.

Decoration-

⁷⁴ Mountjoy 1999, 1216.

⁷⁵ Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 233.3; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 329.

⁷⁶ Piteros 2001; 112 figs. 35 and 36.

⁷⁷ French 2002, fig. 66.

⁷⁸ Podzuweit 1981, 210, fig. 59.3; Podzuweit 1983, 363 fig. 1.4; Podzuweit 1983, 391 fig. 12.2; Gercke and Hiesel 1985, Pl. 37; Kilian 1980, fig. 1.

⁷⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 161.

⁸⁰ Mountjoy 1999, 161.

⁸¹ Iakovides 1970, pl. 76γ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 405; Iakovides 1970, pl. 88δ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 406; Iakovides 1970, pl. 88δ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 407.

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of triple band groups, medium bands and thin-thick-thin bands; monochrome neck; zonal motif on shoulder and belly zone; splash and tail on handles.

Motifs-

Panel, triple wavy line, necklace, bivalve flower.

Naxos- figs.38-39

The examples from Naxos all come from tomb deposits at Kamini⁸² (K)

Shape-

Globular; slightly flaring; short and tall necks; may have third handle; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double, triple and thin-thick-thin band groups; dotting on top of rim; medium band, wide band or multiple bands on interior rim; zonal motifs on shoulder and belly; banding and splash on handles.

Motifs-

Triangle, semi-circles, wavy line.

Rhodes-figs. 40-41

During the early/middle developed phase, collar-necked jars are found in tomb deposits at Ialysos⁸³ (I) and elsewhere on the island but with an uncertain provenience⁸⁴ (S).

Shape-

Globular/ovoid; slight flaring rim; nipple or lug on shoulder; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double and triple band groups; monochrome neck with wide band on interior; zonal motif on shoulder and belly; splash on handles.

Motifs-

Concentric arcs (S), running spiral (S).

Kalymnos- fig. 42

The one published example comes from a tomb deposit at Pothia⁸⁵ (P).

Shape-

Globular; short neck; twisted handles on belly; ringed base.

Decoration-

⁸² Mountjoy 1999, figs, 17, 18 and 19.

⁸³ Benzi 1992, pl. 647; Jones and Mee 1978, 463 Sample 21; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 163.

⁸⁴ Benzi 1992, pl. 155h H/1; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 162.

⁸⁵ Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, XII.24; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 14.

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double and triple band groups; monochrome neck; zonal motif on shoulder and belly; Pictorial style; tails/hooks on handles.

Motifs-

Horizontal chevrons, semi-circles, Pictorial (P).

Piriform Jar (FS 19-23, 27-28, 30-31, 34-35, 38-40, 44-45 and 48)

The jar that takes its name from its piriform shape first appears in LH I as a small-sized vessel. By LH IIIA larger examples have become more common.⁸⁶ During LH IIIC the small examples die out completely, leaving only large types. During LH IIIC middle they appear in settlement as well as tomb deposits. (Chart 1.1)

Piriform jars are only found on the Dodecanese during this phase, with the majority of examples coming from Rhodes. Generally ovoid in shape, they have a tall neck and a broad sloping lip; three vertical handles with ridges and a torus base. They are light-ground, with zonal motifs on the shoulder. Triple banding as well as fine-line groups flanked by wider bands are commonly found. Typically they are decorated in four-part divisions, with a monochrome neck and zonal motifs on the shoulder, including spirals, scale pattern, zigzag, tricurve arch (with fill of stemmed spirals and semi-circles) and stacked triangles.

Rhodes- figs. 43-46

During the early/middle developed phase piriform jars are found at Vati⁸⁷ (V) and tomb deposits at Ialysos⁸⁸ (I) and Rhodes⁸⁹ (R).

Shape-

Tall; ovoid; tall neck; down sloping rim; triple vertical ridged handles or double horizontal handles; ringed or torus base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of triple, quadruple band groups or multiple thin bands flanked by medium bands; monochrome neck; rim may be decorated; interior rim with medium or wide band; zonal motif on shoulder; long tail/hooks on handles; base monochrome often with linear decoration.

Motifs-

Panel (V), quirk (V), stacked triangle (I), chevrons (R), rosettes (R), tricurved arch (R), stemmed spirals (R), semi-circles (R, I), scale pattern (I), stacked zigzag (I).

⁸⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 1214.

⁸⁷ Copenhagen I pl.43.1; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 123.

⁸⁸ Benzi 1992, pl. 20g; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 124; Benzi 1992, pl. 94f; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 128; Benzi 1992, pl. 68i; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 129.

⁸⁹ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 125; Morricone 1979-1980, 234, fig. 19; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 126; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 127.

Kos- figs. 47-48

Fragmentary examples come from Serraglio⁹⁰ (S).

Decoration-

Zonal motif on shoulder.

Motifs-

Stemmed spiral, bivalve fill, antithetic spiral, lozenge (S).

Four-handled Jar

The four-handled jar appears for the first time during LH IIIC middle. Only two published examples of this shape are known, one from a settlement and one from a tomb.

(Chart 1.1)

Not much can be said concerning the shape as a whole since very few examples exist. That from Naxos uses the wavy-line motif; that from Kos is quite unusual in that it has a series of thin zonal areas on the shoulder and belly zone with a chequered motif running down from the handle. It is also decorated with concentric pendant semi-circles.

Naxos- fig. 49

The one published example comes from tomb deposits at Kamini⁹¹ (K).

Shape-

Globular; tall straight-sided neck; squared rim; two vertical handles on shoulder; two twisted handles on belly; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double bands and thin-thick-thin band groups; monochrome neck; concentric circles on rim; double bands on interior rim; zonal motifs on belly.

Motifs-

Wavy line (K).

Kos- fig. 50

The single published fragmentary example comes from Serraglio⁹² (S).

Shape-

Biconical; very sloping shoulders; horizontal handles on shoulder; possible vertical handles on shoulder.

⁹⁰ Morricone 1972-73, 357 figs. 352b-c; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 99; Morricone 1972-73, 375 fig. 375e; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 100.

⁹¹ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 2.

⁹² Morricone 1972-73, 290, figs. 257-8; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 119.

Decoration-

Monochrome upper body with elaborate dense zonal motif in reserve on shoulder consisting of at least eight different motifs; linear decoration on lower body; zonal motif below handles.

Motifs-

Panel, chequer, running spiral, triangle, chevrons, bivalve foliate band, netting, semi-circles. (S)

Stirrup Jars (FS 166-167)

The stirrup jar first appears in LH IIA.⁹³ They are the most common closed shape in LH IIIC middle; most examples come from tomb deposits. (Chart 1.1)

Mainly quite globular in shape, those with flattened handles are the most common, although Rhodes and Kos have a few examples of the rounded types. During early IIIC, the false mouth tends to be flat as before; but by the middle phase the conical type predominates. In some cases, the false mouth and the top of the spout may touch. Both features get taller by the late phase. Bases are generally ringed, although the raised and concave types still continue.

In terms of decoration, a linear scheme accompanied with zonal motifs is the most common everywhere. The shoulder zone is always decorated, many times with the spout area treated differently. Exceptions to this type of decoration are a considerable number of vessels executed in the Close, Octopus and Pictorial styles. By the late phase, monochrome areas become more common, as do reserved lower bodies with a band at the base.

Attica and the Argolid have differences in their decorative approaches; but they also have quite close affinities. Both areas have Pictorial and Close style examples. Another trait in common is the habit of leaving the lower body reserved. Similar motifs are reported, such as the bivalve flower, elaborate triangles, semi-circles and rosettes, usually placed in the shoulder area.

Unfortunately, the lack of funerary deposits on Euboea, Melos and Paros means conclusions on the treatment of this shape in these areas are hard to make. The few examples from Koukounaries on Paros show a simple decoration, consisting mainly of banding on the body and simple motifs such as foliate bands, simple flowers and bivalve chain on the shoulder.

Naxos has a number of larger examples. In terms of decoration, Naxian examples prefer to fill in more of the vessel than other areas, and do not choose to leave the lower body reserved. They also have an array of zonal motifs that in many cases are not limited

⁹³ Mountjoy 1999, 1222-1224.

to just the shoulder zone; these include tongue and semi-circle, starfish, flowers, semi-circles and triangles, panels with tongues, triangular patch, almond and semi-circles, running spiral as well as zigzag. Minoan motifs are also quite common, as are Octopus style stirrup jars.

The earlier examples from Rhodes share similarities with those from Naxos in that they also choose to fill most of the body with decoration. Zonal motifs are also found both on the shoulder area and the body; they comprise isolated semi-circles, elaborate triangles, semi-circles, stacked triangles, flower, papyrus, lozenge and horns to name but a few. In terms of the shape, Rhodian examples do not prefer the conical false mouth as other areas do. A number of examples of the Octopus style occur. Later examples recall the Close style of the Argolid and are much more elaborate. Examples turn up which may be imports from Kos or Kalymnos, particularly an example with Pictorial decoration.

The specimens from Kos are similar to those from Rhodes both in the application of zonal motifs on shoulder and body, and also in the lack of those with a conical false mouth. They are more often treated to a light-ground than the other areas. Motifs used on Koan examples are also more elaborate; they take in semi-circles, stemmed spirals, triangular patch, horizontal chevrons, diagonal pattern, fringed and filled bivalve, barred almonds and dotted semi-circles. The Octopus style pieces show close affinities to those from the Argolid. The examples from Kalymnos appear to be the most innovative and extravagantly decorated; motifs include horns, chequers, stemmed spiral with quirk, fringed semi-circles and elaborate triangles with chevrons. The Octopus stirrup jars here also include Pictorial scenes with birds, goats and other animals as well as motifs used as fillers.

In general, the island examples look to be better in quality and technique than the the Mainland ones. They can be said to have more elaborate decoration too with many examples of the Pictorial style. Asine and Perati seem to have close ties, as does Kos with Rhodes. The Naxian examples, however, appear to be different than the other areas although here too some similarities can be seen with Perati and Rhodes. Some similarities can be detected between the examples from Kos, Rhodes and Kalymnos – with occasional echoes of the Argolid.

Argolid-figs. 51-61

Published examples from the Argolid come from P. Epidauros⁹⁴ (PE), the settlement and Kalkani cemetery at Mycenae⁹⁵ (M), tomb deposits at Asine⁹⁶ (As) and the tombs and settlement of Tiryns⁹⁷ (T).

⁹⁴ Aravantinos 1974, Pl.45; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 341.

⁹⁵ Wace 1932, pl. 53; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 349; Wace 1921/1923, Pl. 62.1b; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 356; Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, XI. 118.

Shape-

Globular; belly area may be quite high; greatest diameter often on upper part of body; false mouth frequently coned; rim of the spout may nearly touch rim of false mouth; tall necks; tall handles; ring base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; fine-linear groups flanked by medium to wide bands; disc with flower motifs or concentric circles; shoulder zone is decorated with elaborate zonal motifs; Octopus style; Close style, U frame, X and vertical wavy line on handles; reserved lower body common occasionally with band at base.

Motifs-

Lozenge (As, M), triangular patch (T, As, M), semi-circles (T, As, M), zigzag (As, M), quirk (As, T), papyrus (As), octopus (As, T), chevron fill (As, M), stacked triangles (As), hatched triangles (As), stemmed spiral (As), framed zigzag (As, M), bivalve flower (As), dotted semi-circles (As), elaborate triangles (As, T, M), concentric arcs (T), rosettes (T), birds (M, T), wavy line (M).

Corinth- fig. 62

One fragmentary example comes from the Julian Basilica at Ancient Corinth⁹⁸ (C).

Shape-

Globular; flat false mouth.

Decoration-

Light ground; disc with spiral motif; zonal motif on shoulder; stripes down sides of handle.

Motifs-

Spiral.

Attica- figs. 63-69

The published examples were found in Athens at the Agora⁹⁹ (A) and the Fountain House¹⁰⁰, from Troy¹⁰¹ (T), Keratea¹⁰² (K) and tomb deposits at Perati¹⁰³ (P).

Shape-

⁹⁶ Frödin and Persson 1938, 395-396, 403-404, figs. 260.3, 260.4, 265.1, 265.2, 269.8, 249.8, 265.3; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 340, 342-348, 351-355.

⁹⁷ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 357; Podzuweit 1981, 211 fig. 60; Podzuweit 1983, 384 fig. 12.4; Podzuweit 1979, 433 fig. 49.

⁹⁸ Weinberg 1949, Pl. 22.35; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 207.

⁹⁹ Immerwahr 1971, pl. 64.503; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 441.

¹⁰⁰ Broneer 1939, 390, fig. 71e; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 442.

¹⁰¹ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 440.

¹⁰² *CVA Deutschland 7 Karlsruhe* 1 pl. 1; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 452.

¹⁰³ Iakovides 1970, Pls. II and 73a. Pl. 121a, Pl. 62e, Pl. 88d, Pl. 9a, Pl. 90a, Pl. 44a, Pl. 21b, Pl. 43a; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 439, 443-451.

Globular or biconical; conical lower body; stout shoulders; false mouth primarily coned; examples with air holes at base of false mouth;¹⁰⁴ tall neck; tall handles; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; linear decoration often consisting of fine-line groups flanked by wider bands; disc with spiral concentric circles, spirals, or elaborate flower motifs; often false mouth and disc linked by loop; variety of zonal motifs on shoulder and belly; often different motif on area flanking spout; Pictorial style; Octopus styles; U frame or net pattern on handles; lower body often reserved with band at base.

Motifs-

Rosettes (P, K) , elaborate triangles (P), zigzag (P), Octopus (P, A, T), bird (P), fish (P, T), bivalve flower (P), stacked triangles (P), almonds (P), semi-circles (P, K), spiral (P), apse with chevrons (P), joining semi-circles (P), cross-hatched triangles (P), running spiral (P), framed zigzag (P).

Euboea- fig. 70

The published examples come from the settlement of Xeropolis-Lefkandi.¹⁰⁵

Shape-

Small globular; large biconical.

Decoration-

Zonal motif on shoulder; disc with spiral; added white paint¹⁰⁶.

Motifs-

Tassel.

Paros- figs. 71-72

A number of examples come from the settlement of Koukounaries.

Shape-

Globular; flat or slightly coned false mouth; ring or raised concave base.

Decoration-

Linear decoration; zonal motif on shoulder and body.

Motifs-

Flower, panel, chevrons, bivalve chain, triglyph, horizontal foliate band, hatched triangle, semi-circles.

Naxos- figs.73-80

¹⁰⁴ Mountjoy 1999, 589.

¹⁰⁵ Popham and Milburn 1971, 336, pl. 51.3.

¹⁰⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 714, 716.

They come from tomb deposits at Kamini¹⁰⁷ (K) and Aplomata¹⁰⁸ (A).

Shape-

Large; globular or ovoid; tall spout; broad and high coned false mouth or flat false mouths ring or raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; thin-thick-thin bands; fine-line groups flanked by medium to wide bands; spiral, concentric circle and rosette motifs on disc; loop may join base of neck with shoulder zone; various zonal motifs on shoulder and belly; Octopus style; shoulder and body zones often separated by three triple bands; U, X, bars or vertical wavy lines on handles; some with large monochrome zones specifically on lower body; imports from Crete, Attica and the Peloponnese.¹⁰⁹

Motifs-

Semi-circle (A, K), octopus (A), dolphins (A), triangles (A), dotted semi-circles (A), elaborate triangles (A), joining semi-circles (A), starfish (K), panel (A, K), tongue (A), triangular patch (A), almond (A), horns (K), double stemmed spiral (K), bivalve flower (A), half rosette (K), running spiral (K).

Rhodes-figs.81-101.

During the early/middle developed phase the stirrup jars come from tomb deposits at Ialysos¹¹⁰ (I), Vati¹¹¹, (V) and Pilona¹¹² (P) as well as Rhodes¹¹³ (R).

Shape-

Generally small; large Octopus style jars; globular or globular/ovoid; flat and slightly coned false mouths; spout may have outward angle; ring base often quite high.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of fine-line groups flanked by broad bands; spiral or thick outline on disc; various zonal motifs on shoulder including 'Rhodian horns' and Minoan motifs; Pictorial style; Octopus style; base often with decorative band; few examples with concentric circles under base.

Motifs-

¹⁰⁷ Zaphiropoulos 1966, Pl. 274b; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 43, 46-50.

¹⁰⁸ Kardara 1977, Pls.8-9, Pl. 24, Pls. 30-31, Pl. 37a, fig. 17.5; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 41, 42, 44, 45 and 51.

¹⁰⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 951-955.

¹¹⁰ Benzi 1992, Pl. 111a-e, Pl. 23 3-f, Pl. 21a-b, Pl. 10, Pl. 9d-e; Pl. 16c-d, Pl. 107d-i, Pl. 69e, h, Pl. 81c, Pl. 99f-g, Pl. 114h-i, Pl. 12f, h, Pl. 36e-g, Pl. 98a-b, Pl. 13a, b; Jones and Mee 1978, 463 Sample 53; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 189, 190-191, 193, 195-208, 210-211, 213-217; Forsdyke 1925, fig. 227-229, Pl. 13.

¹¹¹ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 194.

¹¹² Benzi 1992, pl. 145e-h; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 209, 212.

¹¹³ Copenhagen 2 pl. 60.12; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 218.

Isolated semi-circles (I) , horns (I), birds (I), fish (I), elaborate triangles (I), triangular patch (I), octopus (I), flower (I, V), semi-circles (I, V), papyrus (I) , stacked triangles (I, P), multiple stem (I), lozenge (I), antithetic flower (I), stemmed spiral (I), hatched triangle (I, P), tree (I), diagonal pattern (I), arcs (R), dotting (R), bivalve (I).

middle advanced-

During the middle advanced phase the published examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos¹¹⁴ (I), Kalavarda¹¹⁵ (K), Tzitzzi¹¹⁶ (Tz) and Phanes¹¹⁷ (Ph).

Shape-

Globular/ovoid in shape; flat or slightly coned false mouth; ring base.

Decoration-

Dark and light-ground; linear decoration; concentric circles, spiral, or other circle/arc motifs on disc; zonal motifs on shoulder and belly; Pictorial; bivalve, zigzag, bars, or reserved triangle on handles; lower body may be reserved; often band at base; imports from Kos or Kalymnos.¹¹⁸

Motifs-

Octopus (I), birds (I), fish (I), scorpion (I), crab (I), elaborate semi-circles (I, Tz) elaborate triangle (I, Ph) , quirk (I), triangular patch (Tz), zigzag (Tz), lozenge (K), joining semi-circles (K), apse (I), streamers (I), chequer (I), vertical zigzag (I), panel (I), stemmed spiral (I), chevron (I).

Kos- figs.102-112

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Langada¹¹⁹ (L) and Eleona¹²⁰ (E).

Shape-

Small; globular or broader with greatest diameter at middle of the vessel; flat or slightly coned false mouth; spout may be trumpet shaped with flaring lip; ringed base; few raised concave examples.

Decoration-

Light ground; concentric circles or spiral on disc; zonal motifs on shoulder and belly; Pictorial; Octopus; U, barring and vertical wavy line on handles; lower body often

¹¹⁴ Benzi 1992, Pl. 106f, Pl. 73a-b, Pl. 112e, Pl. 111f-I, Pl. 112a-b, 114a-b ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 267-268, 273, 275-277.

¹¹⁵ Jacopi 1932-33, 146 figs. 171-172, 139 fig. 160, 149 fig. 178; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 271, 272 and 274.

¹¹⁶ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 270.

¹¹⁷ Copenhagen 2 pl. 61.2; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 269.

¹¹⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 1063.

¹¹⁹ Morricone 1965/1966, 188-192, fig. 196, 211, fig. 221, 184 fig. 194, 194 fig. 198, 199, 95-96 figs. 74-75, 290-91, fig. 335, 161 figs. 162-3, 118 fig. 100, 293 fig. 339, 206 fig. 217, 167 fig. 171, 130-31 figs. 113-114, 211 fig.221, 212 fig. 223, 221-222 figs. 235-236, 130 figs. 113 and 115, 203 fig. 214, 206 fig. 216, 225 fig. 242, 227 fig. 246, 104 fig. 85, 110 fig. 89; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 141, 143-158.

¹²⁰ Morricone 1965/1966, 50 fig. 21; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 159.

reserved with band around base; few examples with concentric circles under base;
Minoan imports

Motifs-

Elaborate circle, quatrefoil, dotted semi-circles, fish, double stemmed running spiral, bar, half rosette, vertical wavy lines, panel, horizontal chevrons, streamers, horns, chequer, birds, bivalve, goat, tree, double stemmed dot filled circle, barred almond, framed zigzag, dot fringed semi-circle, foliate band, hatched triangle, stemmed spiral, (L) triangular patch (E), fringed isolated spiral (E).

Kalymnos- figs. 113-117

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Pothia¹²¹ (P) and Kalymnos¹²² (K).

Shape-

Small, globular; few ovoid; flat or coned false mouth; some with trumpet shaped spout with pronounced lip; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; spiral or flower motif on disc; zonal motifs on shoulder and belly; Pictorial style, Octopus style; framed wavy line on handles; decorative band on base.

Motifs-

Octopus (K, P), bird (K, P), semi-circles (P, K), U pattern (K), rosettes (K), goat (P), crab (P), hedgehog (P), scorpion (P), cross filler (P), triangular patch (P), chequer (P), horns (P), fringed semi-circles (K), stemmed spiral (P), quirk (P), elaborate triangle (P), chevrons (P).

Amphoriskos (FS 59-62)

The amphoriskos originates in LH IIIB as a small shape in the Argolid.¹²³ By LH IIIC it is quite common all over Greece,¹²⁴ being the second most popular closed shape. As with the stirrup jar, it is most often found in tomb deposits. (Chart 1.1)

The most common type in LH IIIC middle is the two-handled sort. In the Cyclades and the Dodecanese examples of the three-handled type and of the vertical-handled are both present. The base is commonly a short ring, with only a few raised examples reported. Both light and dark-ground schemes are known: monochrome necks pretty much standard. By LH IIIC late the neck becomes taller, the shoulders more sloping, and the base gets quite high.

¹²¹ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 20-24; Langlotz 1932, pl. 2.30.

¹²² Demakopolou, Valakou, Astrom and Walberg 1997; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 18-19; Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, XII.23.

¹²³ Mountjoy 1999, 1215-1216.

¹²⁴ Mountjoy 1999, 1215-1216.

In terms of shape, the major variable is in the neck, from very short to long with an everted rim. The larger examples, which markedly stand out, recall in many cases a belly-handled amphora; they are also treated in a different fashion in their manner of decoration. In general they are the least decorated in terms of zonal motifs. The handles are horizontally-placed ones of round section, with the exception of an example from Euboea that has vertical lug handles and two examples from Rhodes that have vertical flattened handles.

The major differences to be seen on the smaller vases have to do with the amount of the vessel that is painted. In the Argolid and Attica many monochrome examples are known with reserved bands and/or lower body. Links between Attica, the Argolid, Naxos and Rhodes are noticeable in their use of monochrome vessels with reserved zonal motif areas. These zonal panels are usually set in the handle zone of the vessel, decorated with concentric circles and triangles; Rhodes has a slightly different range of motifs. Examples with more light-ground can be found both in Attica and Rhodes, where there is use of linear decoration and zonal motif on the handle zone. Wavy-line motifs can be seen on the handle zones in Naxos, Rhodes and Kos. Even so, many examples are unique in their choice of zonal motifs, such as the running spiral seen on examples from Attica and Rhodes. Large, amphora-like examples and smaller ones turn up in all the areas examined.

Argolid- figs. 118-124

Published examples come from Mycenae¹²⁵ (M) and Tiryns¹²⁶ (T) and tomb deposits at Asine¹²⁷ (As) and Argos¹²⁸ (Ar).

Shape-

Small and larger examples; globular or ovoid; flaring neck or flaring concave neck with lipless rim; handles set on bell; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; monochrome body or monochrome neck with linear body; zonal motifs between handles; Octopus style; medium band, multiple bands or band decoration with zonal motif on interior rim; often with reserved lower body.

Motifs-

Octopus (As), concentric arcs (M, As), zigzag (As), foliate band (As), scroll (Ar), wavy line (Ar).

¹²⁵ AD 16b (1960) pl. 69b; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 325.

¹²⁶ Podzuweit 1979, 431 fig. 6-8.

¹²⁷ Frödin and Persson 1938, 405; fig. 270.3; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 324, 326-328.

¹²⁸ Piteros 2001, 108 fig. 15-16.

Attica- figs. 125-132

All published examples come from tomb deposits at Perati¹²⁹.

Shape-

Mainly globular; few ovoid; wide neck with lipless flaring rim or rare wide flat rim; few three handled types; high ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; monochrome neck; medium to wide interior rim band; may also have reserved bands on interior rim; flat examples may have decoration on rim.

Light ground with linear decoration consisting of triple bands, fine-line groups flanked by wider bands; zonal motifs between handles; handles with splash; linear or solid painted base.

Dark ground with monochrome bodies; reserved bands or narrow zonal motif between handles; reserved base.

Motifs-

Joining circles, stemmed spiral, chevron fill, zigzag, lozenge, bivalve flower, panel, antithetic spiral, foliate band.

Euboea- figs. 133-134

Both published examples come from settlement deposits at Xeropolis-Lefkandi¹³⁰.

Shape-

early example biconical; outward slanting rim; horizontal lug handles; raised concave base.

Later example biconical; handles on belly area; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; monochrome neck; wide interior band.

early example with reserved zonal area between lugs; reserved lower body.

Later example with wide zonal motif between handles.

Motif-

Panel, streamers, semi-circle fill.

Naxos- figs. 135-143

Published examples come from tomb deposits at Kamini¹³¹ (K) and Aplomata¹³² (A).

Shape-

¹²⁹ Iakovides 1970, pl. 70β, pl. 123γ, pl. 9α, pl. 39β, pl. 123β, pl. 56δ, pl. 112β, pl. 41α, pl. 88δ, pl. 13β; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 394-404.

¹³⁰ Popham and Milburn 1971, 335 fig. 1.6, 343 fig. 6.2; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 65, 78.

¹³¹ Zaphiropoulos 1966, pl. 275γ right; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 6-13, 15-16.

Broad, globular or biconical; tall and short necks; rim usually lipless; may have outward flaring rim or long rim; two handled type most common; three handled type present; raised concave or high ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; wide interior band.

Light ground examples with linear decoration; zonal area usually between handles; may also be on shoulder; rim may have dotting with zonal areas.

Dark ground examples monochrome with reserved bands; reserved zonal area between handles; reserved lower body and base; two handled types all dark-ground; rim may have dotting.

Motifs-

Wavy line (A, K), semi-circles (K), stacked zigzag (K), panel (K), fish (K), streamers (K), horns (A).

Rhodes- figs. 144-160

early/middle developed-

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Apollakia¹³³(Ap), Rhodes¹³⁴ (R), Piona¹³⁵ (P) and Ialysos¹³⁶ (I).

Shape-

Most common shape on Rhodes;

Generally small; globular; larger examples three-handled and vertical handle types common; short neck with flaring neck or taller neck with almost vertical lip; Strap or round handles vertically placed or slanting outward; high ringed base conical or straight.

Decoration-

light and dark-ground; monochrome neck, medium to wide interior rim band; handles usually barred; three-handled type with long splash on top of handle.

Light ground examples with linear decoration; few examples with fine-line groups flanked by broad bands; narrow zonal motifs between handles¹³⁷.

Dark ground examples with wide reserved area between handles with zonal motifs; above zonal area commonly triple band groups.

Motifs-

¹³² Kardara 1977, pl. 46α-β, pl. 35; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 4-5, 14.

¹³³ Copenhagen 1 pl. 43.10; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 145.

¹³⁴ Copenhagen 1 pl. 43.3; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 161.

¹³⁵ Karantzali 2001, 62-63 fig. 41.16779, fig. 41.16786.

¹³⁶ Benzi 1992, pl. 97g, pl. 103c, pl. 100b, pl. 60g, pl. 94d, pl. 26i, pl. 26g, pl. 114l, pl. 60f, pl. 26f, pl. 95°, pl. 109d, pl. 108d, pl. 114c, pl. 94°, pl. 64m, pl. 96d, pl. 100c, and pl. 25g; Forsdyke 1925, fig. 241-243, pl. 10, 14; Jones and Mee 1978, 463 Sample 4, 32 and 36; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 134-138, 141-160, 241-242.

¹³⁷ Mountjoy 1999, 1034.

Wavy line (I), double papyrus (I), vertical foliate band (I), triangular patch (I), semi-circles (I, Ap), quirk (I), chevron (I), zigzag (I), stacked triangle (I), tricurved arch (Ap), foliate band (I), panel (I), half rosette (I), antithetic spiral (I), horns (I), half-moon stemmed spiral (I), droplet foliate band (I), lozenge (I), net pattern (I, P), stemmed spiral (I), scale pattern (I), running spiral (P), vertical wavy lines (R).

middle advanced-

During the middle advanced phase the published examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos¹³⁸ (I).

Shape-

Globular and ovoid; rare examples with dumpy bodies; wide neck; ringed or raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; wide interior band; may have dotted rim; linear decoration; zonal motif between handle zone.

Motifs-

Wavy line, necklace, panel. (I)

Kos- figs.161-162

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Langada¹³⁹.

Shape-

Semi globular; wide or narrow short neck; ringed base often high.

Decoration-

Light ground or dark-ground.

Light ground; linear decoration; medium band on interior rim; dotted rim .

Dark ground; monochrome with reserved medium band; wide interior rim band.

Motifs-

Wavy line (L).

Ring Vase (FS 196)

The ring vase first appears in LH IIIB.¹⁴⁰ It is quite rare. In shape, it is quite similar to the early and based examples of the askos.¹⁴¹ In IIIC, variation occurs in the types of handles as well as in the angle of the spout. The three published examples come from tomb deposits (**Chart 1.1**).

¹³⁸ Benzi 1992, pl. 73c, pl. 73e, pl. 113f and pl. 113p; Forsdyke 1925, pl. 14; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 256-260.

¹³⁹ Morricone 1965/1966, fig. 220 and 312; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 121-122.

¹⁴⁰ Mountjoy 1999, 1224.

¹⁴¹ Mountjoy 1999, 213 fig. 60.

They are all quite different in form. The two examples from Rhodes and Kos are more broadly comparable: that from Kos has a basket handle extending from the base of the spout to the back of the vessel, while the example from Rhodes has a small ring handle attached to the spout. That from Attica is larger in size, with a basket handle similar to the Koan, as well as two small handles on the sides of the spout similar to a stirrup jar. It also has a ring base. Those from Attica and Kos are dark-ground, either fully monochrome as in the example from Kos or with reserved banding as in that from Attica.

Attica-

The one published early example has handles attached to the body at base of spout. It is light-ground with scale pattern with dot fill on the shoulder and linear decoration on the body. The handle is decorated with bars across the handle culminating in an oval on top. The interior has corresponding decoration on the shoulder as the exterior and a band on lower body. ¹⁴²

The one example comes from a tomb deposit at Perati ¹⁴³.

Shape-

Basket handle attached at base of spout; ring base.

Decoration-

Dark ground; linear decoration including fine-line groups; zonal motif in reserve on shoulder; motif on basket handle; barring on handles.

Motifs-

Semi-circles, chevrons

Rhodes- fig. 163

The one published example comes from a tomb deposit at Vati ¹⁴⁴.

Shape-

Handle extends from neck spout to body.

Decoration-

Zonal motif on shoulder; band at base of spout, vertical bands on either side of handle.

Motifs-

Chevron.

Kos- fig. 164

The one example comes from a tomb deposit at Langada ¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴² Mountjoy 1999, 574 fig.356.

¹⁴³ Iakovides 1970, pl. 88d; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 455.

¹⁴⁴ Copenhagen 1 pl. 46.9; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 221.

¹⁴⁵ Morricone 1965/1966, 50 fig. 21; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 160.

Shape-

Handle extends from base of spout to shoulder.

Decoration-

Dark ground; monochrome exterior and interior.

Jug (FS 105-106, 110, 112-115)

The jug first appears in LH I.¹⁴⁶ They are quite similar in all areas: in general their shape resembles an amphora, with one handle instead of two. The smaller, more miniature pieces resemble something between a jug and lekythos, with a narrow neck that at times is quite short. Most examples come from tomb deposits. (Chart 1.1)

During LH IIIC the lip becomes longer and hollow. By LH IIIC late, the handles on the larger ones extend from the neck to the shoulder, as opposed to earlier when they run from the rim to the shoulder. A traditional shape, it does not vary much in its decoration. They are light-ground, with a linear decoration, quite often on the shoulder where they are divided in triple or quadruple zones, similar to the amphora. The use of triple banding can be seen in the Argolid, Attica, Naxos and Rhodes. Euboea has thin bands flanked by wider bands and Naxos has a wide band flanked by thin bands. Shoulder motifs include the scroll, tassel, necklace and wavy line in most areas, while a few unique motifs are seen such as a spiral derivative on an example from Asine, a panel with bivalve flower on an example from Perati, a stemless spiral on one from Kamini and stacked triangles on an instance from Ialysos.

Argolid- figs. 165-168

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Asine¹⁴⁷ (As) and Argos¹⁴⁸ (Ar) and the settlement of Tiryns¹⁴⁹ (Ti).

Shape-

Ovoid or biconical; hollow rim; handles extend from rim; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of single bands and triple band groups; simple zonal motif on shoulder; multiple bands on interior rim; hook/tail on end of handle.

Motifs-

Spiral (As), tassel (Ar, T), scroll (T), wavy line (As).

¹⁴⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 1219-1220.

¹⁴⁷ Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 249.4, fig. 260.4; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 332-333.

¹⁴⁸ Piteros 2001, 111 fig. 28.

¹⁴⁹ Podzuweit 1979, 428 fig. 44.2, fig. 44.6.

Attica- figs. 169-173

The published examples come from the Fountain House at Athens¹⁵⁰ (A) and tomb deposits at Spata¹⁵¹ (S) and Perati¹⁵² (P).

Shape-

Globular or perked up; tall narrow neck or short wide neck; rounded or hollowed rim; handles extend from rim; raised concave, raised or ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of single bands, triple band groups, multiple bands and thick-thin-thick bands; medium band and multiple bands on interior rim; simple zonal motifs on shoulder; handles with vertical banding, scroll, wavy line; stripe down sides of handle with hook at base; and antithetic hooks below handle.

Motifs-

Tassel (S, P), antithetic spiral with hourglass fill (A), necklace (P), wavy line (P), panel (P), bivalve flower (P).

Euboea- fig.174

The published example comes from the settlement deposits at Xeropolis-Lefkandi¹⁵³.

Shape

Globular; hollow rim; handles extend from rim; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground with linear decoration; thick-thin-thick bands; double bands on interior rim; zonal motif on shoulder and belly area; handle with vertical wavy line.

Motifs-

Tassel.

Naxos- figs. 175-177

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Kamini¹⁵⁴ (K) and Aplomata¹⁵⁵ (A).

Shape-

Ovoid, globular or perked up globular; round or hollowed rim; handles extend from rim or neck; raised concave or ringed base.

Decoration-

¹⁵⁰ Broneer 1939, 397, fig. 78e; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 417.

¹⁵¹ Benzi 1975, no. 167; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 414.

¹⁵² Iakovides 1970, pl. 44d, pl. 26a, pl. 42a, pl. 112a, pl. 134d, pl. 109a, pl. 123γ and pl.90a ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 415-416, 418-423.

¹⁵³ Popham and Milburn 1971, 335, fig. 1.7; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 67.

¹⁵⁴ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 28-29.

¹⁵⁵ Kardara 1977, pl. 54; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 27.

Light ground; linear decoration; Multiple or medium interior rim bands; zonal motif on shoulder; vertical wavy line and hook at base or barred handles

Motifs-

Necklace (K, A), spiral (A), stemless spiral (K).

Rhodes- figs. 178-181

early-middle developed-

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos¹⁵⁶ (I) and Piona¹⁵⁷ (P).

Shape-

Ovoid or globular; hollowed or rounded rim; handles extend from rim; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; may have fine-line groups flanked by broad bands; zonal motif on shoulder; handles may have wavy line and long hook/tail.

Motifs-

Stacked triangle (I), tassel (P).

Kos- figs. 182-183

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Langada¹⁵⁸ (L) and Eleona¹⁵⁹ (E).

Shape-

Globular; perked up globular or large ovoid¹⁶⁰; round rim; few hollowed examples¹⁶¹; handles extend from rim; raised or high ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration including wide bands flanked by narrow bands; interior rim may have single interior band or multiple fine-lines; zonal motif on shoulder; handles may have wavy line and long hook/tail.

Motifs-

Necklace (E).

Narrow-necked Jug (FS 120-124)

The shape first appears in LH IIB, but by LH IIIC has become quite rare.¹⁶² Some diminish by IIIC early and thereafter become known as lekythoi. The distinctive feature

¹⁵⁶ Benzi 1992, pl. 25a, pl. 57e, pl. 109f and pl. 14g; Jones and Mee 1978, 463 Samples 6; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 174-177.

¹⁵⁷ Karantzali 2001, 58 fig. 40.16774 and fig. 40.16793.

¹⁵⁸ Morricone 1965/1966, 203 fig. 214; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 128.

¹⁵⁹ Morricone 1965/1966, 51 fig. 22; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 129.

¹⁶⁰ Mountjoy 1999, 1112.

¹⁶¹ Mountjoy 1999, 1112.

¹⁶² Mountjoy 1999, 1220.

of the LH III C versions is a very sloping shoulder. All of the examples come from tomb deposits. (Chart 1.1)

Not many narrow-necked jugs date to LH III C middle; the majority come from Kos. They generally have a band on the rim; the zonal motif lies on the shoulder area, although decorative divisions are not as standardized on this shape as on the jug or the amphora. Variations in decoration seem to be dictated by the size of the vessel. Those resembling lekythoi are treated to the lekythos fashion of decoration – namely with a linear ornamentation and zonal motifs on shoulder, often elaborate, and which include tassel, wavy line, necklace, semi-circles and chevrons.

Attica- fig. 184

The published example comes from a tomb deposit at Perati¹⁶³.

Shape-

Globular; hollow lip; handle extends from neck; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground with linear decoration; thin interior rim band; zonal motif on shoulder.

Motifs-

Necklace.

Rhodes- fig. 185

The published example comes from a tomb deposit at Ialysos¹⁶⁴.

Shape-

Globular; flaring rim; handle extends from neck; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of thin-thick-thin bands; wide rim band; zonal motif on shoulder; barring on handles.

Motifs-

Semi-circles.

Kos- figs. 186-188

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Langada¹⁶⁵.

Shape-

Globular; flaring rim; may be hollow; handles extend from neck; ringed base.

Decoration-

¹⁶³ Iakovides 1970, pl. 68γ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 424.

¹⁶⁴ Benzi 1992, pl. 59a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 178.

¹⁶⁵ Morricone 1965/1966, 203 fig. 214, 97 fig. 77, 135 fig. 120; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 130-132.

Light ground with linear decoration consisting of bands of different widths; wide exterior and interior rim band; zonal motif on shoulder; handles with vertical bands; framed wavy line or double wavy lines with long hook/tails.

Motifs-

Semi-circles, chevrons, tassel, wavy line.

Jug with Cut-Away Neck (FS 131-133, 135-136)

This shape first appears in LH I.¹⁶⁶ It has virtually died out by LH III C: only one published example is extant, from a tomb deposit at Rhodes dating to the middle phase. It has typical decoration for the island, namely 'Rhodian horns' on the shoulder area, in a typical four-part division.

Rhodes- fig. 189

early/middle developed phase

The published example comes from a tomb deposit at Vati.¹⁶⁷

Shape-

Perked up/ globular; hollow lip; handle extends from rim; slightly raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground with linear decoration consisting of double band groups; simple motif on neck; zonal motif on shoulder; two vertical bands on handles.

Motifs-

'Rhodian horns'.

Strainer-Jug (FS 155)

This shape first appears during LH II B.¹⁶⁸ During LH III C it is the most common form in the Dodecanese. All of the examples come from tomb deposits. (Chart 1.1)

The strainer-jug has its strainer attachment in the form either of a simple spout or in certain cases as an attached cup or bowl. The last sort can be found in Naxos, Rhodes and Kos. They range in shape from globular as found in Attica, Naxos, and Rhodes to biconical as on Naxos, to a short dumpy form as from Kos. One piece from Kos stands out: narrower with a tall narrow neck and slightly flaring rim. The biconical example from Naxos has a straighter rim; it appears to have been made in two parts. Handles are generally of the vertical flat type, although Attica and Kos have twisted ones. The bases vary from raised concave to ring. Zonal motifs are set on the part whence the spout springs, as well as on the shoulder area with some from Attica and Rhodes. Motifs vary in

¹⁶⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 1221.

¹⁶⁷ Copenhagen 1 pl. 44.2; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 180.

¹⁶⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 1222.

all the areas: zigzag, dotted semi-circles, fish, 'Rhodian horns', half-moon, stemmed spirals and lozenge with droplet foliate band, to name just a few. Those from Rhodes are the most elaborately decorated. A snake flanking the spout is found all over. Pieces from Rhodes and Kos have a wide zonal motif on the shoulder area, reminiscent of the stirrup jar zonal decorations.

Attica- fig. 190

The one published example comes from a tomb deposit at Perati¹⁶⁹.

Shape-

Globular/conical; rounded rim; handles extend from rim; may be twisted; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground with linear decoration; zonal motif on shoulder; plastic snake on belly area drinking from spout.

Motifs-

Panel, spiral, zigzag, snake.

Naxos- figs.191-192

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Kamini¹⁷⁰.

Shape-

Flat globular or globular/biconical; miniature examples present; wide neck; typical long spout type or with conical cup with two side handles flanking spout; handles extend from rim; raised concave or ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; Linear decoration; zonal motif on shoulder area; dark-ground examples with monochrome lower body; handles may be decorated with vertical wavy line.

Motifs-

Dotted semi-circles, fish, snake.

Rhodes- figs. 193-199

early/middle developed phase

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos¹⁷¹ and Pilona¹⁷².

Shape-

¹⁶⁹ Iakovides 1970, pl. 102γ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 437.

¹⁷⁰ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 37-38.

¹⁷¹ Forsdyke 1925, pl. 13; Benzi 1992, pl. 29c-d, pl. 107 a-b, pl. 29e and pl. 29 g-h; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 182-186.

¹⁷² Karantzali 2001, 58 fig. 40.16773.

globular/conical; narrow neck; spout long type or composed of deep bowl; handles extend from rim; ringed or raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double and triple band groups; thin, medium or multiple interior rim bands; zonal motif on shoulder and belly often flanking spout; two vertical bands with long hook/tail on handles.

Motifs-

Chevron (I, P), Rhodian horns (I), half-moon stemmed spirals (I, P), lozenge with droplet foliate band (I); Pictorial (I), semi-circle (I), snake (I), antithetic foliate band (I), cross hatched lozenge (P), half rosettes (P).

middle advanced phase

The published examples come from a tomb deposit at Ialysos¹⁷³ (I) and Piona¹⁷⁴ (P).

Shape-

Biconical; narrow neck; long spout; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of medium bands and triple band groups; dotting on exterior rim; dotting and medium band on interior rim, dense zonal motif on shoulder.

Motifs-

Panel (I, P), stacked triangle (I), joining circle (I), flower (I), elaborate triangle (P).

Kos- figs. 200-201

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Langada¹⁷⁵.

Shape-

globular/conical or flat globular; long open spout or deep bowl spout; side handles flanking spout ; handles may be twisted, raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of medium bands or triple band groups; thin or wide band on interior rim; neck may be monochrome; zonal motif on shoulder; plastic snakes may also be placed on the shoulder; handles with vertical lines and hook/tail.

Motifs-

Dots, snake, fish.

¹⁷³ Benzi 1992, pl. 35c; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 187.

¹⁷⁴ Karantzali 2001, 58 fig. 40. 18647.

¹⁷⁵ Morricone 1965/1966, 237 fig. 259, 184-187 figs. 194-5; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 136-137.

Trefoil-Mouthed Jug (FS 137)

The trefoil-mouthed jug first appears, on Rhodes, during the transitional phase LH IIIC early/middle developed.¹⁷⁶ More familiar on the islands and particularly in tomb deposits, yet a few examples come from settlements, largely in the Argolid. (Chart 1.1).

The shape varies, from very globular examples such as those from Naxos or slightly more biconical types from Attica and Rhodes. Others may have wide shoulders with a conical lower body. Handles vary from round-sectioned types to strap ones, as seen on Naxos and Rhodes, to twisted types found in the Argolid, Attica and Naxos. A small example from Rhodes is different both in its globular shape as well as for its high-slung handle. The light-ground examples have simple zonal motifs on the shoulder, while a few have wide monochrome ones. Shoulder motifs include the necklace, wavy line, zigzag and triangles. The dark-ground examples are monochrome, with reserved necks and lower body; these seem common at Tiryns. Naxos masters the form with an almost perfect trefoil mouth.

Argolid- figs. 202-203

The published example comes from Mycenae¹⁷⁷ and Tiryns¹⁷⁸.

Shape-

Globular; narrow neck; twisted handle.

Decoration-

Light ground (M), multiple bands on interior rim; monochrome neck; zonal motif on shoulder; dark-ground (T).

Motifs-

Spiral (M).

Attica- fig. 204

The published example comes from a tomb deposit at Perati¹⁷⁹.

Shape-

Biconical; tall narrow neck; rounded spout; twisted handle extending from rim; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of thick-thin-thick band groups; zonal motif on shoulder; hook/tail on base of handles.

Motifs-

¹⁷⁶ See fig. 269 below.

¹⁷⁷ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 338.

¹⁷⁸ Podzuweit 1983, 373 fig. 4.1.

¹⁷⁹ Iakovides 1970, pl. 78e; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 436.

Necklace.

Naxos- figs. 205-208

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Kamini¹⁸⁰ (K) and Aplomata¹⁸¹ (A).

Shape-

Globular or conical lower body with wide shoulders; neck may be tall and narrow or short and wide; round or very pinched spout; round or deep hollow rim; handles extending from rim; may be twisted; shoulder may have nipple; raised concave or ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; Handles with horizontal banding and hook/tail.

Light ground examples with linear decoration consisting of double and triple band groups; zonal motif on shoulder.

Dark ground examples with wide monochrome zones; linear decoration consisting wide bands flanked by groups of fine-lines; monochrome neck; zonal motif on shoulder; lower body often reserved.

Motifs-

Wavy line (K), necklace (A), panel, (A) antithetic loop (A), stacked triangle (A), semi-circles with solid centres (A).

Rhodes- figs. 209-210

early/middle developed phase

The published example comes from a tomb deposit at Ialysos¹⁸².

Shape-

Globular; narrow neck; high swung handles extending from rim; spout slightly perked; short ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground, linear decoration consisting of triple band groups; medium band on exterior and interior rim; zonal motif on shoulder; handles with bands on either side.

Motifs-

Zigzag, triangle.

middle advanced phase

During the middle advanced phase, the published example comes from a tomb deposit at Kalavarda¹⁸³.

Shape-

¹⁸⁰ Mountjoy 1999, figs. 33-34.

¹⁸¹ Kardara 1977, pl. 52a, pl. 38; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 35-36.

¹⁸² Forsdyke 1925, pl. 13; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 181.

¹⁸³ Jacopi 1932-33, 138 fig. 158; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 265.

Biconical; tall narrow neck; rim long with slight hollow; spout slightly pinched; handle extending from rim; ringed base.

Decoration-

Dark ground; wide monochrome zones.

Kos- fig. 211

The published example comes from a tomb deposit at Eleona¹⁸⁴.

Shape-

Biconical; tall narrow neck; tall and flaring rim; pinched spout; handle extending from rim; ringed base.

Decoration-

Dark ground with linear decoration consisting of bands of different widths; medium band on exterior rim; double bands on interior rim; zonal motif on shoulder; Pictorial; horizontal banding on shoulder.

Motifs-

Elaborate triangle, fish fill, almond.

Lekythos (FS 122)

The lekythos first appears in a minor way in LH IIIC early.¹⁸⁵ This shape derives from the smaller, later version of the narrow-necked jug. Its earlier rarity is perhaps attributable to the fact that the narrow-necked jug, its prototype, has not yet gone out of use. All the published examples come from tomb deposits (Chart 1.1).

All the light-ground examples have a typical linear pattern of decoration consisting of linear decoration with zonal motifs on the shoulder area including bivalve, semi-circles, elaborate triangles and running spiral. The dark-ground examples have a reserved lower body.

Attica- figs. 212-214

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Perati¹⁸⁶.

Shape-

Globular or with wide shoulders and conical base; tall and narrow neck; handles extending from rim; shoulder zone may have air hole; raised concave or ringed base.

Decoration-

¹⁸⁴ Morricone 1965/1966, 52 fig. 23; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 135.

¹⁸⁵ See Mountjoy 1999, 353 fig. 120 and 570 fig. 342-343.

¹⁸⁶ Iakovides 1970, pl. 115a, pl. 64a, pl. 52γ; Mountjoy 1999, fig 425-427.

Light ground; linear decoration that could include fine-line groups flanked by wide bands; zonal motif on shoulder zone; barring or bands on either side of handle.

Motifs-

Bivalve, joining semi-circles, elaborate triangle.

Naxos- fig. 215.

The published example comes from a tomb deposit at Aplomata¹⁸⁷.

Shape-

Globular/biconical; tall narrow neck; handles extending from neck; low ringed base.

Decoration-

Dark ground; monochrome upper body; reserved lower body.

Rhodes- fig. 216

early/middle developed phase

The published example comes from a tomb deposit at Ialysos¹⁸⁸.

Shape-

Globular; handle extending from neck; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; three medium bands on belly; barring on handles.

Kos- figs. 217-218

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Eleona¹⁸⁹ (E) and Langada¹⁹⁰ (L).

Shape-

Wide and globular; handles extending from neck; shoulder may have air hole.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of thick-thin-thick or thin-thick-thin band groups; zonal motif on shoulder; may have wavy line on neck; barring on handles.

Motifs-

Semi-circles (E), running spiral with bar fill (L).

Alabastron (FS 80, FS90)

The rounded alabastron first appears in LHI;¹⁹¹ the straight-sided type a little later in LH IIA.¹⁹² All the numerous published examples in LH IIIC middle are of the straight-sided

¹⁸⁷ Kardara 1977, pl. 52b; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 30.

¹⁸⁸ Benzi 1992, pl. 72g; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 179.

¹⁸⁹ Morricone 1965/1966, 58 fig. 30; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 133.

¹⁹⁰ Morricone 1965/1966, 260 fig. 291; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 134.

type, making it the third most popular closed shape (see Chart 1.1). Most come from tomb deposits. (Chart 1.1)

Legged types appear in Attica, Naxos, Rhodes and Kalymnos. Handles are round in section: one odd example from Rhodes has its handles attached with a plastic ridge. Zonal motifs are placed on a medium panel on the shoulder, where the handle also extends from, and on a wide area on the sides of the vessel. Such motifs include zigzag, netting, semi-circles, stemmed spiral, stacked triangle, necklace, wavy line, panel, chevrons and bivalves. Necks, always monochrome, vary from long everted ones as seen from all areas, to shorter, straight types as seen on examples from Attica and Naxos. One from Naxos has a short collar-neck. Euboea has a unique example, monochrome with added white paint done in the Pictorial style. The only fully monochrome example comes from Kos, though Rhodes has examples with reserved zones, only on the shoulder.

Argolid- fig. 218

The only published example comes from a tomb deposit at Tiryns¹⁹³.

Shape-

Straight-sided; long rim; two vertical handles; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of thick-thin-thick band groups; monochrome neck; dotting on top of rim; medium band on interior; zonal motif on shoulder.

Motifs-

Wavy line.

Attica- figs. 219-220

The published examples come from the Fountain House in Athens¹⁹⁴ (A) and tomb deposits at Perati¹⁹⁵, (P).

Shape-

Straight-sided; two handled, three handled and two handled types with legs.

Two-handled type with short wide neck; long lipless rim.

Three-handled type with short wide neck; lipless rim.

Two-handled type with three legs with short collar-necked; oval legs.

Decoration-

Two-handled type dark-ground; monochrome neck; linear decoration.

¹⁹¹ Mountjoy 1999, 1217.

¹⁹² Mountjoy 1999, 1218-1219.

¹⁹³ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 331.

¹⁹⁴ Broneer 1939, 386 fig. 67a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 412.

¹⁹⁵ Iakovides 1970, pl. 115a, pl. 44a, pl. 115b; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 410-411 and 412.

Three-handled type dark-ground; linear decoration consisting of heavy medium banding; zonal motif on shoulder.

Two-handled type with legs light-ground; monochrome neck; linear decoration including thin-thick-thin banding; zonal motif on shoulder and body; legs reserved.

Motifs-

Panel (P), half rosette (P), joining semi-circles (P), semi-circles (A, P), chevrons (P), bivalve flowers (P), zigzag (P).

Euboea- fig. 221.

middle advanced phase

The single published example comes from settlement deposits at Xeropolis-Lefkandi¹⁹⁶.

Shape-

Straight sided; three handled type; tall neck; long, down sloping rim; handles overlapping onto sides¹⁹⁷.

Decoration-

Dark ground; monochrome body; barred rim; added white paint on shoulder and body; Pictorial.

Motifs-

Horns, Pictorial.

Melos- fig. 222

The one published example comes from a sanctuary deposit at Phylakopi¹⁹⁸.

Shape-

Small; cylindrical; two handles.

Decoration-

Light ground; zonal motif on shoulder and body.

Motifs-

Necklace, zigzag.

Paros- fig. 223

There are a few published examples from the settlement of Koukounaries¹⁹⁹.

Shape-

Small and large, straight sided; may have convex sides.

Decoration-

¹⁹⁶ Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 54.2; Karageorghis and Vermeule 1982, XI.9.1; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 79.

¹⁹⁷ Mountjoy 1999, 716.

¹⁹⁸ Mountjoy 1999, fig 190.

Light ground; linear decoration including fine-line groups; zonal motif on shoulder.

Motifs-

Net pattern.

Naxos- figs. 224-225

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Aplomata²⁰⁰ (A) and Kamini²⁰¹ (A).

Shape-

Cylindrical, based, or three-legged.

Cylindrical type with short collar-necked.

Based type with flaring neck or collar-necked; long two handled and three handled; pronounced ledge at shoulder; ring base.

Three-legged type with short almost straight neck; shoulder may have lug on each side; three short legs.

Decoration-

Light ground.

Cylindrical type with linear decoration; zonal motif on body.

Based type with linear decoration; monochrome neck; zonal motif on shoulder and body; may have spiral under base.

Legged types with linear decoration; monochrome neck; dotted rim; zonal motif on shoulder or upper body; horizontal banding on legs.

Motifs-

Pendant (K), semi-circles (K), stemmed spirals (K), necklace (A), double wavy line (A), stacked triangles (K), wavy line (K).

Rhodes- figs. 226-233

early/middle developed phase

The published examples come from a deposit at Lindos²⁰² (L) and tomb deposits at Ialysos²⁰³ (I).

Shape-

Small cylindrical types, based types, side handled types and three legged types.

Cylindrical types with short flaring neck; may have bulge below handles.

¹⁹⁹ Koehl 1984, 218 figs. 5.8, 5.9; Mountjoy 1999, 932.

²⁰⁰ Kardara 1977, pl. 52d; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 24.

²⁰¹ Mountjoy 1999, figs. 22-23, 25-26; Zapheiroopoulos 1966, pl. 275γ left.

²⁰² Copenhagen 1 pl. 46.5; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 170.

²⁰³ Benzi 1992, pl. 94m, pl. 94l, pl. 14e, pl. 60b, pl. 27g, pl. 60a, pl. 1093; Forsdyke 1925, pl. 14; Jones and Mee 1978, 463 Sample 41; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 165-169, 171-173.

Based types with tall flaring neck; may have side handles; may have lug between handles; raised concave, ringed or disc base; peculiar example with two large handles attached at carination each with plastic ridge along top.

Three-legged types with tall straight neck; handles may be double roll; may have lug between handles; short legs.

Decoration-

Cylindrical type light and dark-ground; light-ground with fine-line groups; monochrome neck; zonal motif on shoulder/upper body; dark-ground with monochrome neck and lower body, reserved zonal panel on shoulder; base may have circular band.

Based types light and dark-ground; light-ground types with linear decoration consisting of double and triple band groups; monochrome neck; rim with fine-line groups on top; zonal motif on shoulder; dark-ground types with linear decoration consisting of thick-thin-thick line groups; monochrome neck; dotted or banded rim; zonal motif on shoulder and body.

Large handled type light-ground; linear decoration consisting of thick-thin-thick line groups; zonal motif on upper body.

Three-legged type light-ground; monochrome neck; zonal motif on shoulder and body; legs with barring or cross motif.

Motifs-

Horizontal chevrons (I), bivalve (I), panel (I, L), necklace (I), joining semi-circles (I), netting (I), semi-circles (I), concentric arcs (I), zigzag (L), 'Rhodian horns' (I), stacked triangles (I).

middle advanced phase

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos²⁰⁴ and Pilona²⁰⁵.

Shape-

Small cylindrical types; triple-legged types. Cylindrical type with tall flaring neck. Three-legged type with tall narrow neck; long almost horizontal handles.

Decoration-

Cylindrical type light-ground; linear decoration; monochrome neck; zonal motif on shoulder and body; concentric circle under base.

Three-legged type; light-ground; linear decoration; monochrome neck with reserved band on rim; dotted rim; zonal motif on shoulder and body; vertical stripes down legs extending from upper body; concentric circles under base.

Motifs-

Stacked triangles (I), horizontal chevrons (I), foliate band (I), wavy line (I), zigzag (P).

²⁰⁴ Benzi 1992, pl. 66a and pl. 73d; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 261-262.

Kos- figs. 234-237

All the published examples come from tomb deposits at Langada²⁰⁶.

Shape-

Straight-sided and cylindrical types; may have wide, flaring neck; convex, concave and ringed bases.

Decoration-

Cylindrical types light-ground and dark-ground; light-ground with linear decoration consisting of thick-thin-thick band groups; monochrome necks; dotted rim; zonal motif on shoulder extending from handle; dark-ground with wide monochrome zones; zonal motifs on shoulder and body.

Ring-based monochrome.

Motifs-

Double stemmed running spiral, wavy line.

Kalymnos-figs 238-239

The two published examples come from settlement deposits at Kalymnos²⁰⁷ (K) and Pothia²⁰⁸ (P).

Shape-

Straight-sided type. Cylindrical and three-legged types. Cylindrical type with flaring neck; may have broad strap handles. Three-legged type with short almost straight collar-necked; may have nipple on shoulder; short legs.

Decoration-

Cylindrical type light-ground; linear decoration; monochrome neck.

Three-legged type light-ground; linear decoration; monochrome neck; zonal motifs all along body including shoulder, handle zone and lower body; legs outlined with medium band.

Motifs-

Zigzag (P), foliate band (P), antithetic semi-circles (P).

Multiple Vase (FS 325, FS 330)

The multiple vase first appears in LH IIIB.²⁰⁹ Published examples include amphoriskoi as well as alabastron types. The IIIC middle pieces come from tomb deposits. (Chart 1.1)

²⁰⁵ Karantzali 2001, 61 fig. 41.16789.

²⁰⁶ Morricone 1965/1966, 104 fig. 85, 89 fig. 67, 104 fig. 85, 203 fig. 214, 184 fig. 194; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 123-127.

²⁰⁷ Langlotz 1932, pl. 2.33; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 16.

²⁰⁸ Forsdyke 1925, pl. 15; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 17.

²⁰⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 1231.

The amphoriskos forms come from Attica and Rhodes, the alabastron only from Attica. They generally have monochrome necks with zonal motifs on the handle zone. The alabastron type has decoration along its sides. Zonal motifs include triangular patch, spirals and barring on the examples from Attica, and 'Rhodian horns' on that from Rhodes.

Attica-figs. 240-241

The two published examples come from tomb deposits at Perati²¹⁰.

Shape-

Triple or quadruple; odd sextuple example²¹¹; arranged in two rows with basket handle connecting them lengthwise; consisting of amphoriskoi or straight sided alabastra; short flaring neck; ringed base.

Decoration-

Straight sided light-ground; linear decoration; amphoriskos type may have monochrome neck and dotted rim; barred handle and zonal motif on shoulder; alabastron type with wide zonal motif along body; barring on handles.

Motifs-

Triangular patch, spirals, barring.

Rhodes-fig. 242

early/middle developed phase

The one published example comes from a tomb deposit at Ialysos²¹².

Shape-

Double, triple and quadruple vessels; consisting of straight-sided alabastra and amphoriskoi²¹³; flaring neck; connected by basket handle; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; monochrome neck; dotted rim; zonal motif on shoulder; barring on handles.

Motifs-

'Rhodian horns'.

²¹⁰ Iakovides 1970, pl. 76γ, pl. 84b; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 456-457.

²¹¹ Mountjoy 1999, 596.

²¹² Benzi 1992, pl. 39a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 222.

²¹³ Mountjoy 1999, 1059.

Flask (FS 186)

The flask first appears in LH IIIA1.²¹⁴ All the IIC middle examples are of the vertical types, with concentric circles or spiral decoration. Most of the published pieces come from tomb deposits, although there are a few from settlements. (Chart 1.1)

One from Rhodes is more horizontal in shape, resembling a lekythos both in this and its decoration of a zonal motif on the shoulder. A wavy line down the sides is common on Naxos and Kalymnos.

Argolid- fig. 243

The one published example comes from Tiryns²¹⁵.

Shape-

Large; vertical type.

Motifs-

Concentric circles.

Attica-fig. 244

The one published example comes from a tomb deposit at Perati²¹⁶.

Shape-

Vertical type; one handle.

Decoration-

Vertical concentric circles; wavy lines on sides; medium exterior rim band; double band on interior rim; zonal motif on neck and shoulder.

Melos- fig. 245

The one published example comes from a sanctuary deposit at Phylakopi²¹⁷.

Decoration-

Vertical concentric circles.

Naxos- figs. 246-247

The two published examples come from tomb deposits at Kamini²¹⁸ and Aplomata²¹⁹.

Shape-

Large vertical flasks; one handle; may be twisted.

Decoration-

²¹⁴ See Mountjoy 1999, 110-111 fig. 125. For later examples see Ibid 1224.

²¹⁵ Podzuweit 1983, 387 fig. 10.1

²¹⁶ Iakovides 1970, pl. 39γ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 454.

²¹⁷ Renfrew 1985, no.125; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 200.

²¹⁸ Zappeiropoulos 1966, pl. 275b; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 52.

²¹⁹ Kardara 1977, pl. 56; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 53.

Vertical concentric circles; wavy lines on sides.

Rhodes- fig. 248

early/ middle developed phase

The one published example comes from a tomb deposit at Ialysos²²⁰.

Shape-

Horizontal type; double handles.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of thick-thin-thick line groups; zonal motif on shoulder.

Kalymnos- fig. 249

The one published example comes from a deposit at Kalymnos²²¹.

Shape-

Small vertical flask; one handle; nipples on shoulder flanking handle.

Decoration-

Vertical concentric circles, wavy lines on side; wide band on neck; dotted rim; wavy line round neck and down handle.

Feeding Bottle (FS 160)

The feeding bottle first appears in LH IIA.²²² All the IIC middle published ones come from tomb deposits (Chart 1.1).

This shape is most popular on the island sites, such as Naxos, Rhodes and Kos: probably due to the fact that the feeding bottle is a shape often found in tombs. Its treatment is similar in all regions. Both light- and dark-ground examples occur, with linear decoration and zonal motifs typically on the shoulder. Naxos and Kos have examples of the wavy-line motif. Other motifs include semi-circles, stacked triangles and zigzag. The lower body is usually undecorated. The dark-ground examples have wide monochrome zones with reserved bands.

Argolid- fig. 250

The one published example comes from a tomb deposit at Asine²²³.

Shape-

²²⁰ Benzi 1992, pl. 66e; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 219.

²²¹ Langlotz 1932, pl. 2.44; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 25.

²²² Mountjoy 1999, 1222.

²²³ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 339.

Globular; tall concave neck; short basket handle; ringed base.

Decoration-

Dark ground; linear decoration; monochrome neck; rays down spout; zonal motif on shoulder; barred handle.

Motifs-

Stacked semi-circles.

Attica- fig. 251

The one published example comes from a tomb deposit at Perati²²⁴.

Shape-

Squat; ring base.

Decoration-

Linear decoration consisting of thick-thin-thick line groups; monochrome neck; zonal motif on body; rays down spout; barred handle.

Motifs-

Joining semi-circles.

Naxos-figs. 252-253

The two published examples come from tomb deposits at Kamini²²⁵.

Shape-

Globular; may have hollow rim; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; light-ground with linear decoration; wide band on neck; zonal motif on upper body; rays down spout; barred handle; dark-ground with monochrome neck, linear decoration consisting of thin-thick-thin line groups; zonal motif on shoulder and upper body.

Motifs-

Rock pattern, zigzag, wavy line.

Rhodes- figs. 254-256

early/middle developed phase

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos²²⁶ (I) and Piona²²⁷ (P).

Shape-

Globular or squat body; upward turning spout; ringed base.

²²⁴ Iakovides 1970, pl. 114e; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 438.

²²⁵ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 39-40.

²²⁶ Benzi 1992, pl. 61a, pl. 68f; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 187-188.

²²⁷ Karantzali 2001, 60, fig. 40.16781.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; may consist of thick-thin-thick line groups; may have monochrome neck; zonal motif on shoulder; rays or vertical bands down spout.

Motifs-

Stacked triangles (I), wavy line (P).

Kos- figs. 257-259

All the published examples come from tomb deposits at Langada²²⁸.

Shape-

Globular; upward pointing spout; handle may be at right angle to spout; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; light-ground with linear decoration; monochrome neck, zonal motif on shoulder/upper body; rays down spout; dark-ground with monochrome neck with a reserved band; wide monochrome zones; zonal motif on shoulder/upper body; reserved lower body; monochrome under base.

Motifs-

Wavy line, zigzag.

OPEN SHAPES

Krater, with Ring Base and Stem (FS 9, FS 282)

This shape first appears in LH IIIB,²²⁹ when it has a deep, semi-globular profile with a fat, everted or rounded rim. By LH IIIC, particularly during the middle phase, its most characteristic acquired feature is a flat or squared rim. The upper body has become more incurving by then, some having a pronounced carinated form. This vase is widely used to carry Pictorial scenes, as its shape is that with the greatest flattened and most flattened surface area. Nearly all of the published examples come from settlement deposits, with only one or two exceptions. (Chart 2)

After the deep bowl it is the second most popular open shape. Most published are fragmentary; thus it is difficult to make conclusive remarks concerning the treatment of the shape as a whole. Rims are generally everted or flat. The body form varies from globular or deep heavy types, to the occasional carinated one. It is difficult to trace connections among the various geographical areas. All appear to be divided into two major decorative zones (a few exceptions have triple zones). Triple bands below the zonal motif are another standard in all the areas. Pictorial examples are reported from the Argolid, Attica, Melos, Paros and Kos. Thematically, a difference in the Pictorial examples may be observed between those from the Mainland and Euboea on the one hand

²²⁸ Morricone 1965/1966, 133 fig. 117, 184 fig. 194, 250 fig. 276 ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 138-140.

and those from the Aegean islands. Warrior or chariot scenes are most popular in the Argolid and Euboea, while the island sites have a preference for animals. Chequer motif is known from Attica, Melos and Kos, while the wavy line can be seen only in examples from Kos. Other motifs include filled triangle and semi-circles, antithetic spirals, net patterns, whorl shells, streamers, triglyph, panel, running spirals, stemmed spirals and chevrons. The only dark-ground pieces are those carinated examples from the Argolid, which are also treated differently from the other areas in terms of their shape.

Argolid-figs. 260-266

During the early phase the krater has an incurving upper body with a flat wide rim and a ring base. They are light-ground with double band on the exterior rim and panelling on the body with triple bands below the panel and a band around the base. The interior has a band on the rim and on belly area.²³⁰

The published examples come from settlement deposits at Tiryns²³¹ (T), Mycenae²³² (M) Midea (Mi) and Iria²³³ (I).

Shape-

Incurving upper body; squared rim; may be carinated; round horizontal handles; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; monochrome interior; may have reserved banding on interior rim.

Light ground with linear decoration consisting of double and triple bands; rim band; zonal motif between handles.

Dark ground with monochrome lower body; band on exterior rim; chevron on reserved interior band; zonal motif between handles; may be Pictorial²³⁴.

Motifs-

Panel (I), chevron (M), antithetic spiral (T), running spiral (T, Mi), stemmed spiral (T), Pictorial (M, T), Close style (Mi).

Corinthia-figs. 267-268

During the early phase, the vessels have an incurving upper body with a wide everted rim. They are light-ground with banding at rim, which at times could be double. The body is decorated in a wide panel with running spirals, rosette spiraliform design, flower,

²²⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 1225, 1229 and 1230.

²³⁰ Mountjoy 1999, 156 fig. 314.

²³¹ Podzuweit 1979, 432 fig. 48, 431 fig. 46.2; Kilian 1978, 460 fig. 16; Göntner 2000; 23-25; fig. 7, 1 a-d, 25-26; fig. 8, 1 a-b.

²³² Mountjoy 1999, fig. 362.

²³³ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 361.

²³⁴ Podzuweit 1982 fig. 26; Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, figs. XI. 7, 9 and 123-125.

reserved semi circles and triangular patch. Triple banding appears to be a standard below the decorative panel. The interior is monochrome.²³⁵

The two examples come from settlement deposits at Korakou²³⁶.

Shape-

Straight upper body; everted rim.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; single or double exterior rim band; thin or wide interior rim band; decoration on rim; zonal motif between handles.

Motifs-

Panel, stemmed spiral, running spiral.

Attica-figs. 269-275

In the early phase, there is one published stemmed example. It is light-ground with a wide band at the rim. The body is decorated with a panelling zone consisting of antithetic spirals. Below the panel is a series of banding. The stem is decorated with a medium band and wide band.²³⁷

Most of the IIC middle examples come from settlement deposits at the Fountain House in Athens²³⁸ (A) although there are a few examples from Perati²³⁹ (P).

Shape-

Incurving upper body; wide everted or flat squared rim; rim may have slashed ribs.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double and triple bands; medium band or double bands on exterior rim; single or double bands on interior rim and on body; may have reserved band on interior rim; quirk or semi-circle motif on top of rim; zonal motif between handles; Pictorial style.

Motifs-

Panel (A), stemmed spiral (A), cross hatched triangles (A), chequer (A), Pictorial (A); bivalve (P), spiraliform (P), pendant (I).

Euboea-fig. 276-279

The published examples come primarily from the settlement at Lefkandi: Xeropolis²⁴⁰ (X) although there is one example from Mistros²⁴¹ (M).

²³⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 230 figs. 19-31.

²³⁶ Rutter 209 fig. 87.6, 226 fig. 99.4; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 209-210.

²³⁷ Mountjoy 1999, 230 fig. 26.

²³⁸ Broneer 1939, 352 fig. 26k, 353 figs. 26h and 27a, 356 fig. 30, 357 figs. 31f and 32f, 358 figs. 33e and 34f, 359 fig. 36a and 360 figs. 37b, j and 38; Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, IX.36; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 468-479

²³⁹ Iakovides 1970, 255-258, fig. 111, pl. 16a.

middle advanced phase

Shape-

Deep semi-globular; broad rounded rim; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double and triple bands; medium exterior rim band; monochrome interior; zonal motif between handles; Pictorial style²⁴².

Motif-

Panel (X), streamers (X), triglyph (X), antithetic spiral (X), Pictorial (X), chequer (M), horns (M).

Melos-figs. 280-284

There are two published examples of the early phase. One is a stemmed type with three handles and a flaring lipless rim. It is light-ground with linear decoration on the exterior. The interior has double banding on the rim with a single band on the lower body²⁴³. The other example is a ring base type with semi-globular body and a long thin everted rim. It is light-ground with linear decoration and a thick wavy line on the upper body. The interior has a rim band and a band on the lower body.²⁴⁴

All of the examples come from settlement deposits at Phylakopi²⁴⁵.

middle developed phase

Shape-

Semi globular; incurving upper body; everted rim; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of triple bands; medium and double interior rim bands; multiple interior bands on body; zonal motif between handles; Pictorial style

middle advanced phase

The published example comes from Phylakopi²⁴⁶.

Shape-

Fragmentary; nearly straight sided.

Decoration -

Zonal motif between handles; Pictorial style.

Motifs-

Running spiral, chequer, Pictorial.

²⁴⁰ Popham and Milburn 1971, 343 fig. 6.1, pls. 54.1, 54.4, 54.6, 56.3, 56.4; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 81.

²⁴¹ Tsirivakos 1969 30, fig. 2; Mountjoy 1999, 718.

²⁴² Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 54.1, 54.4, 54.6.

²⁴³ Mountjoy 1999, 916 fig. 138.

²⁴⁴ Mountjoy 1999, 918 fig. 150.

²⁴⁵ Renfrew 1985, no. 135; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 193-197.

²⁴⁶ Renfrew 1985, no. 127; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 202.

Paros- figs.285-286

The examples come from settlement deposits at Koukounaries²⁴⁷.

early/middle phase

Shape-

Semi globular; everted or straight everted rim.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of triple bands; medium rim band on exterior and interior; zonal motifs between handles; Pictorial style.

Motifs-

Hybrid flower, whorl shell, Pictorial, antithetic spiral, net pattern.

Kos- figs. 287-294

All of the examples come from settlement deposits at Serraglio²⁴⁸.

Shape-

Long everted, short everted or fat rounded rims.

Decoration-

Light ground; medium exterior and interior rim band; monochrome interior; zonal motifs between handles; Pictorial style.

Motifs-

Wavy line, filled triangles, semi-circles, panel, antithetic spirals, dotted semi-circles, chequer, Pictorial.

Amphoroid Krater (FS 56)

The amphoroid krater first appears in LH IIIA2,²⁴⁹ but becomes most popular during LH IIIC. It is the third most popular open shape. Nearly all the published examples come from settlement deposits. (Chart 1.2)

The particular form found in LH IIIC appears to be a cross between the amphoroid and the stemmed kraters: the upper body and size resemble the first, whilst the base in many cases has a low stem. One example from Kalymnos carries this combination to extremes, in that it has a very large upper body with a thin stemmed base: the whole appears quite unstable. The fact that all the IIIC middle examples come from the Dodecanese could imply that this particular hybrid is a local feature. It is not surprising to find an early example from Attica which appears to have close relations with areas in the

²⁴⁷ Koehl 1984, 213 fig. 4.1-4.2; 196 fig. 6f, Mountjoy 1999, 934 figs. 1-2.

²⁴⁸ Morricone 1972-73, 353 figs. 361b-c, 360 fig. 357a, 361 fig. 359, 371 figs. 371a and 373g, and 379 figs. 377a and 377f; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 170-179

²⁴⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 1215.

eastern Aegean, such as Rhodes. Decoration is generally divided into either two or three parts, with the top panel containing the zonal decoration followed by triple bands below. Kos is the only area that has Pictorial representations, many of which include figurative scenes. The wavy line motif can be seen on examples from Rhodes and Kalymnos. Other motifs include panel, lozenge fill, bivalve fill, stemmed spiral and antithetic spiral.

Attica-

During the early phase, there is one published example. It has a short straight neck with an everted rim and strap handles. It is light-ground with double banding on the rim and a zonal motif on upper body consisting of a whorl shell.²⁵⁰

There are no published examples dating to the middle phase.

Rhodes- fig. 295

The one known example comes from an uncertain context²⁵¹.

early/middle developed phase

Shape-

Heavy globular; straight neck; flat rim; strap handles; torus base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of triple banding; monochrome neck with reserved zonal area; wavy line on rim; wide interior rim band; zonal motif on upper body and neck.

Motifs-

Panel with diagonals.

Kos- figs.296-305

The published examples of the early phase have a short straight neck, which slants outward and a flat everted rim. The handles are wide strap and the base is the torus type. They are light-ground with monochrome neck and a wide interior band. The body is decorated with triple banding with zonal motif above consisting of panelling, semi-circles or framed zigzag motif.²⁵²

All of the examples come from settlement deposits at Serraglio²⁵³.

Shape-

²⁵⁰ Mountjoy 1999, 565 fig. 308.

²⁵¹ Benzi 1992, pl. 150f B/1; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 130.

²⁵² Mountjoy 1999, 1097 and 1099 figs. 65-67.

²⁵³ Morricone 1972-73, 188 fig. 73, 288 fig. 255, 359 figs. 355a and 356, 360 figs. 357b and 358, 364 figs. 362 and 363b, 365 fig. 364g, 367 figs. 365a and f, 368 fig. 366, 371 fig. 371b, 372 fig. 372, 373 fig. 373h, 374 fig. 374, 375 fig. 375b and 377 fig. 376l; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 101-118; Karageorghis and Vermeule 1982, XII.30-33 and 35.

Short, straight, outward slanting neck; flattened or flattened everted rim; wide strap handles; small torus base (fig. 37).

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double and triple band groups; monochrome neck; may be decorated on rim with wavy line; zonal motif on upper body; Pictorial style.

Motifs-

Stemmed spiral, lozenge fill, bivalve fill, antithetic spiral, Pictorial, octopus.

Kalymnos- fig. 306

The one example comes from an uncertain context²⁵⁴.

Shape-

Miniature; kylix stem and base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double banding; monochrome neck; reserved exterior rim band with dotting; medium band just below interior rim; zonal motif on upper body

Motif-

Wavy line.

Spouted Krater- FS 298

This shape first appears in LH IIIA2²⁵⁵ but becomes more popular during LH IIIC. It is identical to the ring base krater with an attached spout on one side. The only published example comes from Euboea but other similar examples in this period include the spouted cup. The Euboean example is similar in shape and decoration to the ring based kraters from Euboea with the addition of the spout.

Attica-

There is only one published example dating to the early phase. It has a deep semi globular bowl with a wide rounded rim and short bridged spout. It is the triple legged type, which is ribbed with vertical slashes. The body of the vessel is light-ground with linear decoration consisting of multiple fine-line groups and vertical wavy line groups.²⁵⁶

Euboea- fig. 307

This example comes from a tomb deposit at Mistros²⁵⁷.

²⁵⁴ Langlotz 1932, pl. 2.40; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 12.

²⁵⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 1230.

²⁵⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 579 fig. 384.

²⁵⁷ Tsirivakos 1969, 31 fig. 3; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 82.

middle advanced phase

Shape-

Semi globular; short, up-pointing bridged spout; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double banding; medium exterior rim band; monochrome interior; zonal motif between handles.

Motifs-

Antithetic spiral.

Deep Bowl (FS 284, FS 285)

The deep bowl first appears in LH IIIA2.²⁵⁸ The type which is frequent in LH IIIC, FS 285, first appears during the middle phase. By then, the deep bowl is often bell-shaped, though examples of the more globular types still appear. The vessel is generally lipless, with high horizontal strap-handles and a ring base. Examples with two vertical handles do turn up, but they are rare. The form of bowl is the most popular open shape in IIIC middle. Most of the published examples come from settlements, although a great number are from tombs. (Chart 1.2).

The deep bowl varies in shape from bell to semi globular. Very deep examples can be seen in the Argolid, Attica, Euboea, Kos and Kalymnos. Types with vertical handles come from Euboea and Rhodes. The vessels may be both light- and dark-ground. Some may have monochrome exteriors while monochrome interiors are a standard in all areas except Rhodes. Fully monochrome pieces can be found at Tiryns, Xeropolis-Lefkandi and Langada. Monochrome examples with reserved zones come from the Argolid, Attica, Euboea, Melos, Naxos, Rhodes and Kos. In general, Attica, Euboea and Naxos seem to have a greater preference for dark-ground vases.

The most common decoration is a medium band on the rim. Those with monochrome interiors often have a reserved rim band, as is the case in the Argolid, Corinthia, Melos, Paros and Kos. Handles have a standard splash decoration and usually a 'tail' at the base that may extend onto the body of the bowl. The body can be decorated in linear groups, with zones filled with different motifs. Running spirals can be seen on vessels from the Argolid, Corinthia and Paros; the wavy line on bowls from the Argolid, Paros, Naxos, Kos and Kalymnos. Pictorial examples occur in the Argolid, Corinthia and Attica.

One general observation that can be made about vessels from the Argolid in LH IIIC is that the standard is bell-shaped. During the middle phase, monochrome zones are introduced on the exterior of the vessel, and in all areas the inside is so treated. The

²⁵⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 1229.

medium band that was the primary decoration in the earlier phase is still used, but now it is usually thicker and with monochrome zones. By the late phase, the vessels have become monochrome both inside and out: the narrow decorative zones are either simply reserved or with a wavy-line motif. The base, ring in all phases, rises to an almost foot-like form by the late phase. The wavy line and antithetic loop are common in Tiryns and Argos.

From LH IIIC early in Attica motifs and styles of decoration are in vogue which only turn up in the Argolid in the later phase. Such include the use of monochrome interiors and exteriors. A variant bowl with two vertical handles is also present in Attica, but never at any time in the Argolid. As in the Argolid in the middle phase, however, a more elaborate decoration is favoured, including the use of the Pictorial style, but IIIB motifs are also still present. Motifs included are antithetic spirals, streamers, elaborate circles and triangular patches.

In Euboea in LH IIIC the deep bowl maintains its semi-globular shape, whereas elsewhere they are generally by now bell-shaped. As in Attica, the deep bowl with two vertical handles is now introduced. Monochrome examples are more common than linear ones.

On Paros light-ground vases predominate. They have linear decoration with zonal motifs such as the isolated spiral, stemmed spiral, antithetic spiral, lozenge, quirk, triglyph and wavy line. In contrast, all the published examples from Naxos are dark-ground with large monochrome zones and reserved areas. The interiors are also entirely monochrome, with a reserved interior base as well as a reserved interior band.

Paucity of evidence prevents any conclusive observations concerning this shape in Rhodes. Like Attica and Euboea, examples of the vertical handle type exist. No vessels with monochrome interiors have been found. Motifs on the linear examples include bivalve, rosettes and antithetic spiral.

The deep bowls from Kos are quite elaborate now: the range of motifs is extensive; the Pictorial style appears too. Uniquely, Kos has bell-shaped bowls early in the period, but later goes back to the semi-globular form known from previous periods. Spiral motifs and the wavy line predominate.

Argolid-figs. 308-318

The published examples from the early phase are bell shaped with flaring rim with a few examples of more globular types. The base is a low ring. The vessels are light-ground with a medium band on the exterior rim and linear decoration or zonal motifs such as triglyphs and rosettes.

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Asine²⁵⁹ (As) and Argos²⁶⁰ (Ar) and the settlement of Mycenae²⁶¹, and Tiryns²⁶² (T).

Shape-

Bell shaped; globular and squat less frequent; horizontal strap handles; low ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; Linear decoration including thin-thick-thin line groups and multiple reserved bands; monochrome interior with reserved single and double bands below rim²⁶³ and reserved interior base. Light ground with medium or double exterior rim band; zonal motif between handles. Dark ground with large monochrome zones; may have reserved lower body, reserved rim band or multiple reserved fine-line groups.

Motifs-

Running spirals (As, M), antithetic loops (Ar, T), wavy line (T, M), large circles (T), Pictorial (M).

Corinthia-figs. 319-321

During the early phase, the bowls are bell shaped with the rim being quite flaring in certain examples. They have a ring base with some examples being quite high and strap handles. They usually have a medium band at the rim with certain examples having a double. They are light-ground and have a zonal motif on the upper part of the body framed below by linear decoration, usually consisting of one band, and at times reaching up to two. The zonal motifs consist of IIIB motifs such as running spirals, and triglyph decoration. Other examples may have reserved areas. Interiors are monochrome and examples of mono exteriors are present although rare.

All of the examples come from settlement deposits at Korakou²⁶⁴.

Shape-

Bell shaped; horizontal strap handles; ringed base.

Decoration-

Dark and light-ground; monochrome interior with reserved band below rim. Light ground with linear decoration; medium or double exterior rim band; zonal motif between handles. Dark ground with large monochrome areas; multiple reserved fine-line groups; zonal motif between handles; Close style.

²⁵⁹ Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 260.8; Mountjoy 1999, 174.

²⁶⁰ Piteros 2001, 110 fig. 26.

²⁶¹ Wace 1921/1923, Pl. 7b, 8d, 11n.; Mountjoy 1999, 174.

²⁶² Kilian 1978, 495 fig. 36.6 and 495 fig. 36.4; Podzuweit 1979, 432 fig. 47 and 427 fig. 43.12; Podzuweit 1982, 412 fig. 24.5; Podzuweit 1983, 365 fig. 2.13; Podzuweit 1978, figs 6, 8 and 12; Mountjoy 1999, 174.

²⁶³ Mountjoy 1999, 172.

²⁶⁴ Rutter 226 figs. 99.6, 99.7 and 99.12, 240, fig. 106.2; Blegen 1921, fig. 86; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 211-214.

Motifs-

Running spiral, antithetic loops, Pictorial.

Attica- figs. 322-332

In the early phase, the bowls are semi globular or bell shaped with a few examples showing straight sided renditions. They have a low ring base with horizontal strap handles although examples do exist in this phase of deep bowls with two vertical handles. They are light-ground with linear decoration consisting of both fine-line groups and wider bands and zonal motifs of triglyphs, spirals and chevrons.

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Perati²⁶⁵ (P), and settlement deposits from the Fountain House at Athens²⁶⁶ (A) and Thorikos²⁶⁷ (Th).

Shape-

Bell shaped; less frequently globular or straighter; horizontal strap handles; ringed base often high.

Decoration

Light or dark-ground; monochrome interior; light-ground with linear decoration; medium exterior rim band; may have dotting on exterior and interior rim; reserved band below interior rim; zonal motif between handles; Pictorial style; dark-ground with large monochrome area; may be fully monochrome or with reserved bands and reserved lower body; reserved band below interior rim.

Motifs-

Running spiral with open centre (A), running spiral (P), panel (P, A), antithetic spiral (P), streamers (A, P), triangular patch (A), elaborate circles (P).

Euboea- figs. 333-335

During LH IIIC early the deep bowls are deep semi-globular in shape with a ring base and a lipless flaring rim. The handles are horizontal strap in shape. They are light-ground with linear decoration and zonal motifs including triglyphs and antithetic spirals. Monochrome interiors are quite common.²⁶⁸ They have rim bands at times up to two narrow bands and the handles are decorated on the top and with a tail at the base.

All of the published examples come from settlement deposits at Lefkandi: Xeropolis²⁶⁹.
middle developed phase

Shape-

²⁶⁵ Iakovidis 1970, pls. 39β, 44d, 64a, 84b, 99γ, 114ε and 122β; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 481-482, 486-491, 493.

²⁶⁶ Broneer 1939, 368, figs. 45a, 46m, 369 figs. 47j, 47m and 48g, 370 figs. 49b and 49c; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 480, 483-485, 492 and 494-495.

²⁶⁷ Mountjoy 1995b, 215, fig. 11.116; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 496.

²⁶⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 713.

Semi globular shallower; horizontal strap handles and vertical handles; low ringed base

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground. Light ground with linear decoration; wide exterior rim band; monochrome interior. Dark ground fully monochrome exterior; monochrome interior may have reserved interior base.

Melos- fig. 336

During LH III C early the bowls are bell shaped with a very pronounced curving rim with a few examples having straighter sides. They have a low ring base and horizontal strap handles. The vessels are light and dark-ground. The light-ground examples have linear decoration and zonal motifs including stemmed spirals, antithetic spirals, triglyphs, semi-circles, jagged zigzag, hatched triangles, wavy lines, quirks, and foliate bands. The dark-ground examples are monochrome. Interiors are also generally monochrome. Mountjoy sees two types of bowls in this phase: one with a narrow or medium rim band, a medium belly band and a medium band below the rim on the interior, and the other with a very thin upper body which curves out sharply at the lip with a deep rim band reaching as low as the handles. The handles are decorated on the top half with a splash and a thick tail at the base.

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Phylakopi²⁷⁰.

Shape-

Bell shaped; horizontal strap handles.

Decoration-

Dark ground with monochrome exterior; monochrome interior with reserve rim band.

Paros- figs. 337-342

The published examples come from the settlement at Koukounaries²⁷¹
early/middle developed

Shape-

Bell shaped; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; zonal motif between handles; thin rim band or dotting on exterior; monochrome interior with reserved medium band below dotted rim and spiral motif on interior base.

Motifs-

²⁶⁹ Popham and Milburn 1971, 335, figs. 1.1 and 1.3; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 74-76.

²⁷⁰ Renfrew 1985, no. 266; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 203.

²⁷¹ Koehl 1984, 208, figs. 1.1 and 1.3; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 7-8.

Running spiral, stemmed spiral, panel, isolated spiral, antithetic spiral, lozenge, semi-circles, quirk, triglyph, wavy line.

Naxos- figs. 343-347

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Kamini²⁷² (K) and Aplomata²⁷³ (A).

Shape-

Bell shaped; flaring rim; raised concave and conical base.

Decoration-

Dark ground; monochrome exterior with reserved zonal area between handles, reserved lower body or reserved base; zonal motif between handles; monochrome interior with reserved band below rim and reserved interior base.

Motifs-

Wavy line (K).

Rhodes- figs. 348-352

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos²⁷⁴ and the rest are from unknown contexts.

early/middle developed phase

Shape-

Deep semi globular; flaring rim; horizontal strap handles and vertical handles; high ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground linear decoration consisting of single bands, triple bands and multiple fine-line groups; thin or medium rim band; zonal motif between handles; monochrome interior with reserved interior base or banding on interior; vertical handle type with dotting on exterior and interior rim.

Motifs-

Bivalve, rosette, half rosette, panel, antithetic spiral.

middle advanced-

Shape-

Bell shaped; low ring base.

Decoration-

Dark ground; monochrome exterior with reserved base; monochrome interior with reserved interior base.

²⁷² Mountjoy 1999, fig. 65-69.

²⁷³ Kardara 1977, pls. 45a and b; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 68 and 70.

²⁷⁴ Benzi 1992, pls. 30b, 37b, 102m, 102n and 113l; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 237, 240-242 and 279.

Kos- figs. 353-359

In the early phase, the bowls are bell shaped with some examples with straighter sides and a flaring lip. They have a low ring base and horizontal strap handles. The rim may be decorated with a band. The handles are decorated in a splash system with tail, with a vertical line or monochrome. The body is generally light-ground with linear decoration and zonal motifs. Motifs on the body include running spirals stemmed spirals, N pattern, U pattern, simple triglyph and individual spiral heads. Monochrome exteriors exist, as do interiors.

The published examples come from settlement deposits at Serraglio²⁷⁵ (S) and tomb deposits at Langada²⁷⁶ (L) and Eleona²⁷⁷ (E).

Shape-

Semi globular; less frequently straight sided types; flaring rims; horizontal strap handle; low ringed base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; light-ground with single or double banding; thin or medium exterior rim band; zonal motif between handles; Pictorial style; monochrome interior; may have reserved interior band below rim and reserved interior base; dark-ground; fully monochrome or monochrome with reserved lower body; monochrome interior; may have reserved interior band below rim.

Motifs-

Running spiral (S), bivalve fill (S), stemmed spiral (L), wavy line (E, S), panel (S), semi-circle (S), double stemmed spiral (S), fringe chevrons (S), Pictorial (S).

Kalymnos- fig. 360

The one example comes from a tomb deposit at Pothia²⁷⁸.

Shape-

Bell shaped; horizontal strap handles; high ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration including triple band groups; zonal motif between handles; reserved band at base; monochrome interior with reserved lower body.

Motifs-

Wavy line.

²⁷⁵ Morricone 1972-73, 354 fig. 346c and f; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 180 and 183-187.

²⁷⁶ Morricone 1965/1966, 166 fig. 170, 210 fig. 220, 282 fig. 322; Mountjoy 1999, 181-182 and 188-189.

²⁷⁷ Morricone 1965/1966, 58, fig. 30; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 182

²⁷⁸ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 294.

One-handed Conical Bowl (FS 242)

This shape first appears in LH IIIB2,²⁷⁹ and remains unaltered through to LH IIIC middle. By LH IIIC late, the base has become higher. The majority come from tomb deposits. (Chart 1.2)

This shape appears much the same in all areas. Differences can be detected in the treatment of the rim: straighter in Rhodes and slightly more curved in Kos. Another variation is the location of the handles, springing from the rim in examples from Melos and Naxos, while in the other areas they are attached below it. The two examples from Kos also differ: they are not truly conical but have up-curving sides, at times inwards. Linear decoration exists on both the exterior and interior; examples from Attica and Kos have fully monochrome interiors, whilst those from Tiryns have monochrome interiors with a reserved central base.

Attica- figs. 361-362

The two examples come from a settlement deposit at the Fountain House in Athens²⁸⁰ and a tomb deposit at Perati²⁸¹.

Shape-

Conical or slightly rounded; incurving rim; high ring base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration consisting of double bands on body; thin to medium rim band; monochrome interior with reserved interior base.

Melos-fig. 363

This example comes from a settlement deposit at Phylakopi²⁸², middle advanced phase

Shape-

Conical; slightly incurving rim; ringed or torus base.

Decoration

Light ground; linear decoration; medium rim band; monochrome interior with reserved band below rim and reserved interior base.

Naxos-figs. 364-366

The published examples come from tomb deposits at Aplomata²⁸³ and Kamini²⁸⁴.

²⁷⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 1227.

²⁸⁰ Broneer 1939, 378 fig. 59a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 464.

²⁸¹ Iakovides 1970, pl. 77b; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 465.

²⁸² Renfrew 1985, no. 161; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 201.

²⁸³ Kardara 1977, pl. 45γ-δ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 61.

²⁸⁴ Mountjoy 1999, figs. 62-63.

Shape-

Deep conical; incurving rim; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; thin to medium rim band; linear decoration on interior; decorated interior base.

Rhodes- fig. 367

The example comes from a tomb deposit at Ialysos²⁸⁵.

early/middle developed phase

Shape-

Conical; high ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; medium rim band; monochrome interior with reserved interior base.

Kos- figs. 368-369

One example comes from a settlement deposit at Serraglio²⁸⁶ and the other from an unknown context²⁸⁷.

Shape-

Rounded type with flaring sides or straight upper body with out turning rim; high ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration including double bands; thin rim band; monochrome interior.

Shallow Angular Bowl (FS 295)

This shape first appears in LH IIIA2.²⁸⁸ It remains the same throughout its history, with only a slight difference in IIC in that the carination becomes more apparent. It is generally undecorated or but minimally so. The published examples come from settlements and tombs. (Chart 1.2)

They turn up in the Argolid, Attica and Rhodes. In shape, the example from Rhodes has a more pronounced carination. In the Argolid and Attica, the interior base sports a spiral. Otherwise, all the examples are light-ground with minimal decoration.

²⁸⁵ Benzi 1992, pl. 96m.

²⁸⁶ Morricone 1972-73, 292 fig. 260; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 165.

²⁸⁷ CVA Deutschland 40 Bonn 2 pl. 35.1; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 166.

²⁸⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 1230.

Argolid-figs. 370-371

There are a few published examples dating to the early phase. They are the carinated types A with two strap handles below everted rim or the rounded bowl type B with rounded handles and thickened rim. They are light-ground with linear decoration and a rim band. The interior may also have linear decoration as well as a decorated base with spiral motif on reserved concentric circles.²⁸⁹

The published examples come from a settlement deposit at Mycenae²⁹⁰ and the tumulus at Argos²⁹¹.

Shape-

Concave upper body; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; fine band on rim; interior fine-line groups; spiral motif on interior base.

Corinthia-

The one published example dating to the early phase is the rounded bowl type B with an everted rim and strap handles on the belly area. It is light-ground with linear decoration on the exterior and interior. The interior base is also decorated with spiral motif.²⁹²

Attica-fig. 372

The one published example comes from a settlement deposit from the Fountain House at Athens²⁹³.

Shape-

Conical; high ringed base.

Decoration-

light-ground; thin rim band; medium interior band below rim; line groups on interior; spiral motif on interior base.

Rhodes-fig. 373

This example comes from a tomb deposit from Ialysos²⁹⁴.
early/middle developed phase

Shape-

Conical with carination; high ringed base.

Decoration-

²⁸⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 159 figs. 320-322.

²⁹⁰ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 371.

²⁹¹ Piteros 2001, 111 fig. 29.

²⁹² Mountjoy 1999, 236 fig. 204.

²⁹³ Broneer 1939, 384 fig. 65g; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 501.

²⁹⁴ Benzi 1992, pl. 72i; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 245.

Light ground; dotted rim and carination; linear decoration on interior.

Kos-

The one published example dated to the early phase is conical in shape with a ring base. It is dark-ground with a monochrome exterior and interior.²⁹⁵

Stemmed Bowl (FS 304, FS 305, FS 306)

This shape first appears in LH IIIA1.²⁹⁶ It consists of a deep bowl with a stem base, at times quite narrow. All the published III C middle examples come from Rhodes, mainly from tomb deposits. (Chart 1.2). They have linear decoration with zonal motifs on the upper body.

Corinthia-

The only published example of the early phase is fragmentary with a preserved stem with linear decoration and a monochrome interior.²⁹⁷

Attica-

The published examples of the early phase vary in shape from rounded conical examples to examples with conical lower body and straight upper body to deep semi globular examples. They have a rounded or everted rim. They are light-ground with linear decoration and zonal motif consisting of semi-circles, concentric arcs and running spirals. The interiors have linear decoration or may be monochrome.²⁹⁸

Melos-

The one published example of the early phase is lipless with a narrow stem. It is light-ground with linear decoration and antithetic spiral motif. The interior is monochrome.²⁹⁹

Paros-

There is an example mentioned from the settlement of Koukounaries. It has triglyph motif and vertical lines.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 1105 fig. 98.

²⁹⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 1231.

²⁹⁷ Mountjoy 1999, 236 fig. 205.

²⁹⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 579 figs. 387-389.

²⁹⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 922 fig. 184.

³⁰⁰ Mountjoy 1999, 935.

Rhodes- figs. 374-379

Most of these examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos³⁰¹. The rest come from unknown contexts³⁰².

early/middle developed phase-

Shape-

Knobbed or flaring lipless rim; high hollowed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration including double bands, fine-line groups and thick-thin-thick line groups; zonal motif between handles; thin to medium rim band; monochrome interior; may have reserved band below rim and reserved interior base.

Motifs-

Panel, antithetic spiral, 'Rhodian horns', stacked triangles, half-moon.

middle advanced phase

Shape-

Lipless rim; kylix base.

Decoration-

Dark ground; monochrome with reserved fine-line groups and lower body; monochrome interior with reserved interior base.

Cup (FS 211, FS 215)

This shape first appears in LHI.³⁰³ By LH IIIC, the most common form is the deep, semi-globular type with a ring base, apparently replacing the shallower version common in IIIB. The published examples come from settlement and tomb deposits. (Chart 1.2)

The majority are semi-globular in shape. The exceptions are from Attica, more conical in shape, and from Naxos, at times quite narrow with a conical lower body. They are decorated with linear decoration; the only zonal motif used being the wavy line, as in examples from the Argolid and Naxos. A unique type now encountered in Attica and Tiryns has a reserved half-moon motif on the exterior and the interior. Interiors generally have linear decoration: a few exceptions, such as those from Attica, are fully monochrome.

Argolid- figs. 380-384

³⁰¹ Benzi 1992, pls. 30a, 36p, 36s and 60p; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 248-251 and 280.

³⁰² Copenhagen 2 pl. 54.7; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 246-247.

³⁰³ Mountjoy 1999, 1225.

The early published examples are deep semi globular or may have a conical lower body. They have a slightly flaring rim and a raised concave base. They are light-ground and may have decoration on the rim. The interiors are monochrome with a reserved base.³⁰⁴

There are examples from Mycenae³⁰⁵, Midea³⁰⁶ and Tiryns³⁰⁷.

Shape-

Deep semi-globular; flaring rim; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; zonal motif on handle zone; monochrome interior with reserved interior base.

Motifs-

Wavy line (M, T), half-moon (T).

Corinthia-

The two published examples dating to the early phase are deep semi-globular with a flaring rim and a ring base. They are light-ground with a medium band on the rim and a monochrome interior.³⁰⁸

Attica- figs. 385-387

The published examples of the early phase are deep semi globular with a conical lower body or a shallow upper body. They have a flaring rim or a flaring lipless rim. They are light-ground with a rim band or bands, linear decoration and zonal motifs consisting of a quirk or stemmed spiral on the body. The interior is monochrome or decorated with banding.³⁰⁹

These examples come from tomb deposits at Perati.³¹⁰

Shape-

Semi globular; may also be conical; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground and dark-ground; varied decoration; unpainted and linear with monochrome interior; half-moon exterior and interior.

Motifs-

Half moon.

³⁰⁴ Mountjoy 1999, 156 figs. 312-313.

³⁰⁵ Wace 1921-23, pl. 11f; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 358.

³⁰⁶ Walberg 1998, fig. 741.

³⁰⁷ Podzuweit 1979, 427 fig. 43.7; Podzuweit 1981, 213 fig. 58.4; Podzuweit 1983, 375 fig. 3.8; Podzuweit 1978, fig. 16.

³⁰⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 230 figs. 180-181.

³⁰⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 576 figs. 359-366.

³¹⁰ Iakovides 1970, pls. 35γ, 61δ, 112γ and 121a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 458-461.

Euboea-fig. 388

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Lefkandi: Xeropolis³¹¹

Shape-

Deep semi-globular; ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; medium rim band; linear decoration on interior; decorated interior base.

Melos-

The one published example of the early phase is deep semi-globular with a raised concave base. It is unpainted with a monochrome interior.³¹²

Paros-fig. 390

There are a number of examples from Koukounaries³¹³. A few examples are mentioned although no illustrations are provided. They include an example with a panel pattern and flower as well as a monochrome example.³¹⁴

early/middle phase

Shape-

Semi-globular; handle placed below rim; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; linear decoration; panelled, rim band on interior; decorated base.

Motifs-

Half moon, panel, flower.

Naxos-figs. 391-394

All of the published examples come from tomb deposits at Kamini³¹⁵.

Shape-

Deep semi globular, carinated and narrow; raised concave or flat base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; zonal motif on handle zone; medium interior rim band; linear decoration on interior; decorated interior base.

Motifs-

Wavy line.

Rhodes-figs. 395-397

³¹¹ Popham and Milburn 1971, 335 fig. 1.4; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 69.

³¹² Mountjoy 1999, 916 fig. 139.

³¹³ Koehl 1984, 215 fig. 5.1; Schilardi 1984, fig. 6i; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 3.

³¹⁴ Mountjoy 1999, 934.

Two of these examples come from tomb deposits at Kalavarda³¹⁶ (figs. 146 and 147). The other example comes from an unknown context at Apollakia³¹⁷, early/middle developed phase

Shape-

Semi globular; ringed or raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; wide rim band; monochrome interior or with wide rim band and decorated base.

Carinated Cup (FS 240)

This shape first appears in the early phase of LH IIIC.³¹⁸ It has a very pronounced carination and high-swung handle. It could have replaced the dipper, found in the previous periods.

The published examples come from the Argolid and Euboea. They are dark-ground: either fully monochrome or monochrome with reserved zonal area or reserved rim band.

Argolid- figs. 398-399

The published examples come from a tomb at Asine³¹⁹ (As) and the settlement of Tiryns³²⁰ (T).

Shape-

Carinated body; strap handles; attached protome; high ringed base.

Decoration-

Dark ground; zonal motif on upper body; monochrome lower body; dotted interior rim; monochrome interior with reserved interior base, handle with bivalve (T).

Motifs-

Concentric arcs (As).

Corinthia-

The published examples of the early phase have a pronounced carination with a flaring upper body, strap handles and a ring base. They are monochrome with a reserved base or lower body. The interior is also monochrome.³²¹

³¹⁵ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 55-58.

³¹⁶ Jacopi 1932-33, 137 fig. 159; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 224-225.

³¹⁷ Copenhagen 2 pl. 55.2; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 223.

³¹⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 1227.

³¹⁹ Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 260.8; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 359.

³²⁰ Podzuweit 1981, 214; Podzuweit 1982, 413 fig. 24.6.

Euboea-fig. 400

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Lefkandi: Xeropolis³²².

Shape-

Flaring concave upper body; conical lower body; strap handles; low ringed base.

Decoration-

Dark ground; monochrome exterior and interior.

Spouted Cup (FS 249)

This shape first appears in LH IIIA2³²³. The examples from LH IIIC resemble the spouted krater: the only real difference being that these are slightly smaller and generally have a bridged spout. One could easily classify this type as a spouted, conical bowl: such are known in previous periods, but not in LH IIIC. Of the three examples examined here, two come from tomb deposits and one from a settlement deposit. (Chart 1.2)

The main problem with this shape is its classification as a spouted cup, rather than a spouted bowl or even a spouted krater. Size in this case should not really be used to classify these examples as cups: at an average of 33cm. in height, they are surely too large to be called a cup? The only published examples come from the island sites of Paros, Naxos and Rhodes. They are light-ground with linear decoration and zonal motifs: these last consist of a wavy line on those from Naxos and N-pattern on those from Rhodes.

Euboea-

The one published example of the early phase is large with handles opposite a bridged spout and a low ring base. It is light-ground with linear decoration and a monochrome interior.³²⁴

Melos-

The only published example of the early phase is fragmentary with a preserved upper body. The handle extends opposite the spout. It is light-ground with linear decoration and a wavy line motif. The interior has linear decoration corresponding to the exterior.³²⁵

Paros- fig. 401

³²¹ Mountjoy 1999, 230 figs. 182-184.

³²² Mountjoy 1999, fig. 71.

³²³ Mountjoy 1999, 1227.

³²⁴ Mountjoy 1999, 713 fig. 63.

Only one example is illustrated from Koukounaries³²⁶.

Shape-

Small; handle opposite spout; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; may have zonal motif³²⁷; thin rim band on exterior and interior.

Motifs-

Triglyph.

Naxos- fig. 402

The one example comes from a tomb deposit at Kamini³²⁸.

Shape-

Large; spout opposite handle; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration, zonal motif on upper body; wide rim band on interior; linear decoration on interior and concentric circles on interior base.

Motifs-

Wavy line.

Rhodes-fig. 403

The one example comes from a tomb deposit at Kalavarda³²⁹.
early/middle developed phase

Shape-

Large; spout opposite handle; high ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; zonal motif on upper body; thin rim band on exterior and interior; linear decoration on interior.

Motifs-

N-pattern.

³²⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 918 fig. 144.

³²⁶ Koehl 1984, 213 fig. 4.3; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 4.

³²⁷ Mountjoy 1999, 935.

³²⁸ Zappeiropoulos 1966, pl. 274δ; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 64.

³²⁹ Jacopi 1932-33, 137 fig. 157; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 230.

Carinated Spouted Cup (FS 252)

This shape first appears in the early phase of LH IIIc.³³⁰ It differs from the spouted cup in its pronounced carination and smaller size. The only example comes from a tomb deposit at Rhodes. (Chart 1.2)

In its carinated shape the vase resembles a spouted mug rather than a cup, although its size is more that of a cup. It has linear decoration with a zonal motif on the upper body.

Rhodes-fig. 404

The one example comes from a tomb deposit at Ialysos³³¹.

early/middle developed phase

Shape-

Carination on lower body; flaring sides; low ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; zonal motif on upper body; medium exterior rim band; monochrome interior.

Motifs-

Semi-circles.

Kylix (FS 267, FS 274, FS 275)

The kylix, FS 267, first appears in LH IIIA2.³³² The other types, FS 274 and FS 275, originate in the early phase of LH IIIc. The characteristics of the IIIc examples are the lipless, slightly incurving rim and the stem that by IIIc middle and IIIc late may have a bulge. Most of the examples come from settlement deposits. (Chart 1.2)

The most common type is the tall, two-handled kylix. Paros and Rhodes differ in having shorter examples and one-handled forms. Bulging stems are visible in the examples from Corinthia, Euboea and Melos. Most are dark-ground, nearly all having fully monochrome stems or monochrome stems with reserved banding. The only fully monochrome example is from Euboea. The use of zonal motifs, including stemmed spiral, elaborate spiral and chevron can be seen on the examples from the Argolid, Corinthia, Melos and Kos. Kos alone employs the wavy-line motif.

Argolid-fig. 405

The one illustrated example comes from the settlement deposit at Mycenae³³³.

³³⁰ Mountjoy 1999, 1227, see below.

³³¹ Benzi 1992, pl. 70e; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 232.

³³² Mountjoy 1999, 1228.

³³³ Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, XI.74; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 360.

Shape-

Lipless rim.

Decoration-

Light ground; motif on bowl; monochrome interior; white paint on interior; Pictorial style.

Motif-

Pictorial?

Corinthia- fig. 406

The published examples of the early phase have a wide and shallow bowl with a lipless rim and may have a slightly swollen stem. They are monochrome with a reserved decorative zone. The stem may be monochrome or have barring.³³⁴

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Korakou³³⁵.

Shape-

Swollen stem; narrow body.

Decoration-

Light ground; zonal motif on bowl; spiral running up stem; fine-line groups on base of stem; monochrome interior.

Motifs-

Elaborate spiral.

Attica- figs. 407-408

Both examples come from settlement deposits at the Fountain House in Athens³³⁶.

Shape-

Wide shallow or deep conical bowl; lipless rim.

Decoration-

Dark ground; monochrome with wide reserved vertical stripe extending down side and reserved bands on stem or monochrome with reserved zone on bowl; monochrome interior.

Euboea- figs. 409-411

All of the examples come from settlement deposits at Lefkandi: Xeropolis³³⁷.

middle developed phase

Shape-

³³⁴ Mountjoy 1999, 230 figs. 185-186.

³³⁵ Rutter 182 fig. 60.2; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 208.

³³⁶ Bronceer 1939, 376 fig. 571.l, m and 378 fig. 57f; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 466-467.

³³⁷ Popham and Milburn 1971, 335 fig. 1.2, 341 fig. 5.1; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 72-73 and 80.

Deep conical bowl; turning in lipless rim; stem may be long and narrow.

middle advanced phase

Decoration-

Dark ground; monochrome or monochrome with reserved zonal area on upper bowl; thin rim band; monochrome interiors.

Shape-

Narrow bowl; turning in lipless rim; swollen stem.

Decoration-

Dark ground; monochrome with reserved zonal area on upper bowl; reserved banding on stem; monochrome interiors.

Melos- fig. 412

The published examples of the early phase are carinated, conical or slightly rounded with a slightly swollen stem. They are monochrome and have a reserved zonal area or reserved band. The interior is monochrome.³³⁸

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Phylakopi³³⁹.

Shape-

Deep conical bowl; slightly incurving lipless rim; swollen stem; high base.

Decoration-

Light ground; zonal motif on bowl; monochrome stem with reserved edge at base; monochrome interior.

Motifs-

Panel, hatched diamond.

Paros figs. 413-414

Both examples come from settlement deposits at Koukounaries³⁴⁰.

Shape-

Conical or slightly rounded bowl; rounded type short with wide stem.

Decoration-

Light ground; unpainted thin rim band; band at base of stem; monochrome interior.

Rhodes- figs. 415-417

All of the examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos³⁴¹.

Shape-

³³⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 918 figs. 145-149.

³³⁹ Phylakopi II no.453; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 191.

³⁴⁰ Koehl 1984, 212 figs. 3.5 and 3.8; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 5-6.

³⁴¹ Benzi 1992, pl. 60n, 162b and 175d; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 233-235.

Carinated and conical; short, wide stem or tall and narrow stem.

Decoration-

Light ground; dotting on exterior and interior rim or thin exterior rim band; may have monochrome stem or monochrome with reserved bands and reserved base.

Kos- figs. 418-420

One example comes from a tomb deposit at Langada³⁴² (L). The other two examples come from settlement deposits at Serraglio³⁴³ (S).

Shape-

Deep conical bowl; lipless rim.

Decoration-

Light and dark-ground; light-ground with zonal motif on bowl; thin rim band; monochrome stem with reserved banding; monochrome interior; dark-ground monochrome with reserved zonal area on upper bowl; zonal motif on upper bowl; thin to medium rim band; monochrome interior.

Motifs-

Stemmed spiral (L), chevron fill (L), wavy line (S).

Mug (FS 226)

This type, FS 226, first appears in LH IIIA2.³⁴⁴ The major change that this shape undergoes by IIIC is the disappearance of the ridged waist.³⁴⁵ The published examples come from settlement and tomb deposits. (**Chart 1.2**)

All are quite similar in shape, with concave sides and handles projecting from the middle of the vessel. One example from Naxos is spouted – so resembling the spouted cup, wavy-line motif and all. They have linear decoration with zonal motifs including stemmed spiral, running spiral, chevrons, triglyph and panelling. Only one from Kalymnos is monochrome, with a reserved zone. A decorated base is seen on one example from Attica. The single Pictorial example comes from Melos, with a depiction of a boat.

Attica- figs. 421-422

The published examples of the early phase are small and large with concave sides. Decoration is both light-ground and dark-ground and extends from rim to lower body.

³⁴² Morricone 1965/1966, 281 fig. 321; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 167.

³⁴³ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 168-169.

³⁴⁴ Mountjoy 1999, 1226.

³⁴⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 126 fig. 199.

They have linear decoration, panelled patterning, and whorl shell with lozenge motif or are monochrome. All examples have monochrome interiors.³⁴⁶

The published examples come from settlement deposits at the Fountain House in Athens³⁴⁷.

Shape-

Concave sides.

Decoration-

Light ground; medium rim band; zonal motif on upper body; linear decoration on lower body; monochrome interior; spiral on underside of base.

Motifs-

Stemmed spiral, vertical wavy line.

Euboea- fig. 423

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Lefkandi Xeropolis³⁴⁸.

Shape-

Concave sides; less exaggerated base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; monochrome interior.

Melos-fig. 424

The published examples of the early phase are small. One example has a spout. They are light-ground with linear decoration or rosette and dotted semi-circle motif. They have an interior rim band or may also have a second wide band.³⁴⁹

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Phylakopi³⁵⁰.

Shape-

Slightly concave; slight flare on upper body.

Decoration-

Light ground; thin rim band; zonal motif on upper body; Pictorial style; monochrome interior.

Motifs-

Pictorial.

Paros-

There is an example with panel pattern mentioned from Koukounaries.³⁵¹

³⁴⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 576 figs. 367-370.

³⁴⁷ Broneer 1939, 374 fig. 56b and 56m; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 462-463.

³⁴⁸ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 70.

³⁴⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 916 figs. 140-141.

Naxos-figs. 425-426

These examples come from tomb deposits at Kamini³⁵².

Shape-

Large; concave sides; flat rim; smaller example with a spout.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration wide band below rim; dotted rim; wide zonal motif; monochrome interior with reserved lower body.

Motifs-

Triglyph, wavy line.

Rhodes- figs. 427-429

Two of the examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos³⁵³ (I) The other example comes from an unknown context at Lardos³⁵⁴ (La).

Shape-

Concave sides; may be quite tall and narrow (possible imports from Kos)³⁵⁵.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; thin or medium rim band; zonal motif; medium band, thin band and medium band just below rim or thin band just below rim on interior; interior may also have linear decoration and painted base; may have concentric circles on exterior base.

Motifs-

Horizontal chevrons (I), triglyph (I), panel (La), zigzag (La).

Kos-fig. 430

The two published examples of the early phase are the typical Dodecanesian based type.

They are light-ground and have linear decoration or multiple stem motifs.³⁵⁶

The one published example from Kos has no provenance.³⁵⁷

Shape-

Tall and narrow concave sides; slightly convex base.

Decoration-

³⁵⁰ Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, XI 96; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 191.

³⁵¹ Mountjoy 1999, 935.

³⁵² Mountjoy 1999, fig. 59-60.

³⁵³ Benzi 1992, pls. 14d and 38o; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 226-227.

³⁵⁴ Benzi 1992, pl. 143a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 228.

³⁵⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 1059.

³⁵⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 1103 figs. 87-88.

³⁵⁷ CVA Deutschland 44 Tübingen 2 pl. 6.6; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 164.

light-ground; linear decoration; zonal motif; double rim band just below interior rim; concentric circles on underside of base.

Motifs-

Triple stemmed spiral, semi-circles.

Kalymnos-fig. 431

The one example comes from a tomb deposit at Pothia³⁵⁸.

Shape-

Concave sides; triple roll handle.

Decoration-

Monochrome; reserved medium band on body; decorated rim; monochrome interior with reserved lower body.

Kalathos (FS 291)

The kalathos first appears in the early phase of LH IIIC.³⁵⁹ It is a shape of great frequency in this period, being quite similar to the earlier, deep conical bowl found in IIIB1.³⁶⁰ Most of the published examples come from tomb deposits. (**Chart 1.2**)

Profiles are generally conical or biconical, with minor variations in shape including slightly more flaring upper body. That from Melos is taller and narrower, similar to one from Rhodes. Those with a base can be found at Rhodes and Kos. They are decorated with banding and zonal motifs, including the wavy line, as can be seen on examples from Naxos, Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos. Pictorial ones occur in the Argolid, Attica, Kos and Kalymnos. One unique feature of this shape is the use of Pictorial scenes on the interior of a vessel, as on Melos and Kalymnos. Those pieces from Attica, Naxos and Rhodes have simple linear interior decoration.

Argolid-figs. 432-434

The one published early example has a flaring upper body with a rounded rim and a cylindrical lower body. It is undecorated with the exception of dotting on the rim and splash decoration on handles.³⁶¹

Published examples come from settlement deposits at Mycenae³⁶² (M) and Tiryns³⁶³ (T).

Shape-

³⁵⁸ Forsdyke 1925, pl.15; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 28.

³⁵⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 1230.

³⁶⁰ Mountjoy 1999, 551 fig. 252.

³⁶¹ Mountjoy 1999, 158 fig. 319.

³⁶² Mountjoy 1999, fig. 169-170

³⁶³ Podzuweit 1981, 210 fig. 59.1.

Cylindrical lower body and convex upper body; pronounced down sloping or rounded rim

Decoration-

Cross bars and chevron motifs on rim; thin band below exterior rim; may be monochrome with reserved banding including reserved fine-line groups on base; medium interior rim band; interior may be monochrome or with zonal motif; Pictorial style; concentric circles on underside of base.

Motifs-

Cross bar (M), chevron (M), Pictorial (M).

Attica-figs. 435-437

The one published example of the early phase is cylindrical in shape. It has linear decoration on the upper body and a monochrome lower body. The interior has linear decoration and concentric circles on the base.³⁶⁴

The published examples come from a tomb deposit in the Agora of Athens³⁶⁵ and settlement deposits from the Fountain House at Athens³⁶⁶.

Shape-

Cylindrical and conical; flaring upper body; flattened rim.

Decoration-

Linear decoration including double and triple band groups; thin and medium or medium rim band; wavy line, bars or zigzag on rim; monochrome, linear with zonal motif or zonal motif in added white paint on interior; Pictorial style; monochrome base.

Motifs-

Pictorial.

Melos-fig. 438

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Phylakopi³⁶⁷.

Shape-

Convex upper body; long everted rim; cylindrical lower body.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration and zonal motif all along exterior and interior; Pictorial style; medium band just below exterior and interior rim.

Motifs-

Pictorial, wavy line.

³⁶⁴ Mountjoy 1999, 578-578 fig. 382.

³⁶⁵ Immerwahr 1971, pl. 40, Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, X.100; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 497.

³⁶⁶ Bronceer 1939, 372 fig. 53 and 373 figs. 54s,t,u,v; Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, X.99; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 498-499.

Naxos-figs. 439-441

These examples come from tomb deposits at Aplomata³⁶⁸ (A) and Kamini³⁶⁹ (K).

Shape-

Biconical with flat rim with hollow below on interior; or conical with a slight hollow below rim.

Decoration-

Linear decoration; zonal motif on handle zone; wavy line; may have dotted rim; medium exterior rim band; interior with linear decoration, zonal motif on upper body and linear decoration below all in added coloured paint or monochrome upper body and reserve lower body.

Motifs-

Cross hatched triangles (A), wavy line (A, K).

Rhodes- figs.442-443

Both examples come from tomb deposits at Ialysos³⁷⁰.

Shape-

Cylindrical; convex upper body; flat rim; may have ringed base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; zonal motif on upper body or within wide zonal area; dotted rim; medium band on exterior rim or just below rim; linear decoration on lower body; thin or medium interior rim band; linear decoration on interior; concentric circles on interior base.

Motifs-

Wavy line.

Kos- fig. 444

The one example comes from a tomb deposit at Langada³⁷¹.

Shape-

Conical; three nipples on interior; low ring base.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; zonal motif between handles; dotted rim; medium band just below exterior rim; medium band on interior rim; linear decoration with zonal motif on interior; concentric circles on exterior and interior base.

³⁶⁷ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 198.

³⁶⁸ Kardara 1977, pl.44; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 71.

³⁶⁹ Mountjoy 1999, figs. 72-73.

³⁷⁰ Benzi 1992, pl. 59f; Forsdyke 1925, pl. 14; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 243-244.

³⁷¹ Morricone 1965/1966, 118-119 fig. 100-101; Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, XII.41; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 190.

Motifs-

Wavy line, Pictorial.

Kalymnos- figs. 445-446

Both examples come from tomb deposits at Pothia³⁷².

Shape-

Conical upper body; down sloping rim; nipples on interior; cylindrical lower body.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration and zonal motif between handles; wavy line; medium band on rim or dotting; linear decoration on interior with zonal motif between handles; Pictorial style; may have concentric circles on interior base.

Motifs-

Wavy line, spiraliform, chevron fill, semi-circles, bars, stemmed spirals, Pictorial.

Basin (FS 294)

The basin first appears in LH IIIA2,³⁷³ but is not common at any period. It resembles a conical bowl in shape. Published examples come from the settlements of Athens, Xeropolis-Lefkandi and Tiryns. (Chart 1.2)

Argolid- fig. 447

There is a published example from Tiryns³⁷⁴.

Shape-

Rounded, hanging over rim.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; monochrome interior.

Corinthia-

The one published example of the early phase is rounded in shape with an over-hanging rim, three strap handles and a ring base. It is light-ground with linear decoration.³⁷⁵

Euboea-

There is one example published from Xeropolis-Lefkandi.

Shape-

Rounded, heavy rounded rim.

³⁷² Forsdyke 1925, fig. 277, pl. 15; Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, XII.22; Mountjoy 1999, figs. 30-31.

³⁷³ Mountjoy 1999, 1230.

³⁷⁴ Podzuweit 1983, 365, fig. 2.12.

Decoration-

Linear decoration.

Attica-fig. 448

The one published example of the early phase is conical in shape with a flat rim and two strap handles. It is light-ground with a barred rim and linear decoration on the body.³⁷⁶

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at the Fountain House in Athens³⁷⁷.

Shape-

Rounded; flat rim; high ring base.

Decoration-

Thin rim band; monochrome interior with reserved band on body.

Tray (FS 322)

The tray first appears in the early phase of LH IIIC.³⁷⁸ Flat-bottomed with straight or concave sides, it usually has basket handles set on the rim. Nearly all the published examples come from settlement deposits. (Chart 1.2).

This is a vase that is treated differently in both shape and decoration in all the areas where it is found during LH IIIC middle. They may be straight-sided as in the example from Rhodes, shallow with concave sides as in the examples from Euboea and Melos or with a simple, flat base as in Kos. Handles may be built up from a double roll, as on Melos and Kos, or a triple roll as on Rhodes. That from Kos is unique, as it has Pictorial decoration on the interior.

Argolid- figs. 449-450

The published examples come from the settlements of Tiryns³⁷⁹ and Mycenae³⁸⁰.

Shapes-

Double roll handles (T), concave sides (M).

Motifs-

Dotted rim (T), joining semi-circles (T), added white paint (T), fish (M), chevrons (M).

³⁷⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 234 fig. 203.

³⁷⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 579 fig. 383.

³⁷⁷ Broneer 1939, 370 fig. 51a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 500.

³⁷⁸ Mountjoy 1999, 1231.

³⁷⁹ Podzuweit 1983, 389 fig. 11.5.

³⁸⁰ Crouwel 1991, fig. 6 F2.

Motifs-

Joining semi-circles, chevrons, Pictorial.

Euboea- fig. 451

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Lefkandi: Xeropolis³⁸¹.

Shape-

Shallow; concave sides; lipless flaring rim; two or three double roll handles placed on rim; flat base.

Decoration-

Light ground; exterior and interior with linear decoration and zonal motif.

Motifs-

Bivalve, running spiral.

Melos- fig. 452

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Phylakopi³⁸².

Shape-

Concave sides; double roll handles; flat base.

Decoration-

Dark ground; linear decoration in added white paint on exterior; linear decoration and zonal motif on interior in added white paint; semi circles on interior base in added white paint; dotted rim in added white paint.

Motifs-

Semi-circles.

Rhodes- fig. 453

The one example comes from a tomb deposit at Ialysos³⁸³.

Shape-

Straight-sided; triple roll handles.

Decoration-

Vertical and horizontal lines on exterior; dotted rim; interior with zonal motif; wavy line; concentric circles on interior base; zonal motifs on underside of base.

Motifs-

Hatched triangle, spiral, wavy line.

Kos- fig. 454

³⁸¹ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 83.

³⁸² Renfrew 1985, no. 315; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 204.

³⁸³ Benzi 1992, pl. 38 p.

The one example comes from a settlement deposit at Serraglio³⁸⁴.

Shape-

Shallow; double roll handles; flat base.

Decoration-

Linear decoration on exterior; blobbing on rim; interior with medium rim band; zonal motif; Pictorial style; monochrome interior base with reserved concentric circles.

Motifs-

Double stemmed spiral, Pictorial.

Askos (FS 194)

The askos, FS 194, first appears in LH IIB.³⁸⁵ This is a rare shape. The only apparent difference found in IIIC is that it lacks the bases some of the earlier examples had.³⁸⁶ The only example is found on Rhodes.

Rhodes- fig. 455

The one example comes from an unknown context³⁸⁷.

Shape-

Rounded lower body; ring handle across top.

Decoration-

Light ground; linear decoration; zonal motif on shoulder and body; barring on handle.

Motifs-

Joining semi-circles, quirk.

Box (FS 12)

The box first appears during LH IIIC middle. All three published examples come from tomb deposits. (Chart 1.2)

The example from Naxos has a most pronounced, beehive lid. All the lids are pierced. The examples from Attica and Rhodes have pierced holes also in the base and are more elaborately decorated on the lid; the piece from Naxos has simple linear decoration.

Attica- fig. 456

This example comes from a tomb deposit at Perati³⁸⁸.

Shape-

³⁸⁴ Morricone 1972/1973, 382 fig. 380a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 191.

³⁸⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 1224.

³⁸⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 213 fig. 60.

³⁸⁷ Copenhagen I pl. 46.12

Single hole in centre of lid; four holes pierced round base.

Decoration-

Lid with elaborate panelled zonal motifs; linear base including fine-line groups; concentric circles on base of base; interior unpainted.

Motifs-

Concentric arcs, panel, rosettes, circles, semi-circle fill.

Naxos-fig. 457

The one example comes from a tomb deposit at Kamini³⁸⁹.

Shape-

Beehive lid with pierced centre; straight sided base with pronounced ledge near base and two holes on either side; raised concave base.

Decoration-

Lid and base with linear decoration on exterior; interior of base with concentric circles.

Rhodes- fig. 458

This example comes from a tomb deposit at Ialysos³⁹⁰.

Shape-

Beehive lid with hole in centre; straight sided base with two holes on either side; flaring base.

Decoration-

Lid with linear decoration and elaborate zonal motifs; Close style; base with linear decoration on base and concentric circles on underside.

Motifs-

Flower, concentric arcs, apse, lozenge.

³⁸⁸ Iakovides 1970, pl. 38a; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 393.

³⁸⁹ Mountjoy 1999, fig. 1.

³⁹⁰ Benzi 1992, pl. 27c-d; Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982, XII.21; Mountjoy 1999, fig. 254.

To conclude, the ceramic features are here summarized. Although each shape has already been looked at in detail, it is important too to understand the ceramic regional styles. However, not many general characteristic features exist for each area. Thus the descriptions below will inevitably deal with many of the shapes individually. This nonetheless has its uses, since it provides a summary of features from each.

ARGOLID

Much of the IIC material of the Argolid is only available in preliminary publications, if at all. This restriction does not permit a full understanding. Included in the IIC middle material from the settlements are vessels from Mycenae, Tiryns, Asine and Midea as well as in tombs from Prophites Elias, Asine, Kalkani, Phychthia, Gourtsoulia, Palaia Epidauros and the tumulus at Argos.

The belly-handled amphorae, jugs and hydriae are given a simple linear decoration, often accompanied by a tassel or scroll on the shoulder. This is seen specifically on those from Tiryns and Argos. They may also have motifs on the upper body of the vessel such as a wavy line, spiral, or antithetic loops, although these are rarer. At Mycenae in the so-called advanced phase, the scroll and whisker pattern may also be used. The rim is generally hollowed, although examples from Tiryns show a preference for a thickened one. A number of published amphoriskoi are known, most of which come from tomb deposits of Asine, although we also have a few examples from the tumulus at Argos and one from Mycenae.³⁹¹ Many of these from Asine are dark-ground, with a reserved zone between the handles or on the upper body. This may be filled with concentric arc patterns; on one it also includes a depiction of an Octopus. The lower body may also be reserved. On the pieces from Argos are found the scroll and the wavy line.

Other closed shapes are less frequent: they include a few collar-necked jars which either may be decorated with zonal motifs between the handles such as antithetic loops or may also be Pictorial, one example from Mycenae being with added white paint. The straight-sided alabastron is rare. One example from Prophites Elias has a wavy line, others from Midea and Asine have Close style motifs. Few lekythoi are published. They have linear decoration, maybe also a motif on the shoulder area including semi-circles and stemmed spirals with chevron fill. The trefoil-mouthed jug appears in this phase, with twisted handles. It may be monochrome such as examples from Tiryns, decorated in the Close style or have zonal motifs on the shoulder such as semi-circles as on examples at Mycenae. Stirrup jars are the most elaborately decorated: quite common from Asine, with

a few examples from Prophites Elias and Mycenae. Much variation in their treatment is reported, but a few general characteristics are known. The Close style is very common and includes zonal motifs such as birds, concentric semi-circle, dot fringes, zigzag, quirk, chevrons, hatched and cross hatched triangles. Others have multiple bands including fine-line groups flanked by wider bands, with zonal motifs on the shoulder. These last often have a different treatment in the quadrants and semicircular area opposite the spout. These shoulder motifs may include dotted semi-circles and cross hatched or elaborate triangles flanking the spout; elaborate semi-circles, bivalve flowers and cross hatched or elaborate triangles turn up opposite the spout. Octopus-style stirrup jars occur at Asine, Palaia Epidauros and Tiryns; the Tiryns example has fillings of concentric arcs and birds, while the Asine and Palaia Epidauros examples do not have filler motifs. The handles are most often decorated with U-pattern, although the cross may also be used. The false neck is usually decorated with spiral motif, although the rosette is also common.

Open shapes are less common: this is primarily due to the fact that the settlements of Tiryns and Mycenae for the most part still remain unpublished. Deep bowls and kraters are the most common forms. The deep bowls are characterised by their monochrome interior, which quite often has a reserved or multiple reserved banding on the interior rim and a reserved centre base. The handle zone may be decorated with running spirals (often with an open centre), antithetic loops, antithetic streamers and wavy lines – particularly on examples from Tiryns. A number of Close style examples are documented from Mycenae. Monochrome deep bowls are also common: they carry reserved fine-line groups, reserved handle zone or reserved lower body. Certain from Mycenae may also have a dotted rim. Kraters generally have an incurving upper body with a squared rim, although rounded rim types are still common. Examples with slashed ribs appear in this phase particularly at Tiryns, while at Mycenae the rope ridge appears occasionally accompanied by double handles in the form of animal heads. Decoration usually consists of banding, accompanied by zonal motifs in the handle zone. These include panels with antithetic spirals, triglyphs and streamers. Examples from Tiryns include negative decoration while a few from Mycenae are decorated in the bichrome technique. A number of more elaborately decorated kraters with Pictorial scenes appear at Mycenae, Tiryns, Asine and Midea. Cups are less common: mainly decorated with banding, although a few may also have zonal motifs like wavy bands (as found at Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea). Tiryns also has examples of the half-moon motif similar to those from Perati, although in those from Tiryns the interiors are monochrome. A few carinated cups are documented from Asine, Tiryns and Mycenae. They are mainly monochrome and may have a reserved or dotted rim. The examples from Mycenae bear a

³⁹¹ Mountjoy notes that many of the cremations at Chania were in amphoriskoi. Mountjoy 1999,

patterned decoration above the carination, consisting mainly of concentric arcs. Over the handle may be an animal protome, as seen at Asine and Tiryns. Kylikes are rare, usually with linear decoration. One from Mycenae has Pictorial scenes in and out, using white paint on a dark background. The wavy line appears in a narrow reserved decorative zone on examples from Tiryns. One from Mycenae is decorated in the Close style. One-handed conical bowls appear at Midea and Tiryns: the first has a horizontal band on both the interior and exterior, while the last has linear decoration on the exterior and a monochrome interior with reserved centre base. Shallow angular bowls appear at Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea. All have linear decoration on the interior and exterior, while a few examples from Tiryns also have a wavy line on the upper body. Some, particularly those at Mycenae, may have a spiral on the centre of interior base. Kalathoi appear at Mycenae and Tiryns. Usually they have linear decoration and possibly a zonal motif on the rim such as cross bars, chevrons or semi-circles. A piece from Mycenae has fish depicted on the interior. A number from Mycenae and Tiryns have birds depicted inside, while at Mycenae they turn up on the exterior too. Trays appear in this phase at Mycenae and Tiryns. An example from Mycenae is decorated in the Pictorial style on the exterior and has chevrons on the interior, while a piece from Tiryns with double-rolled handle is monochrome with a dotted rim and joining semi-circles in added white paint. Lids appear at Tiryns. They carry the typical linear decoration and are beehive-shaped. Only a few motifs are unique to the Argolid: the concentric pendant semi-circles, stacked semi-circles and the cross bar motif.

ATTICA-

The majority of the material from Attica comes from the cemetery of Perati with its 250 vessels or so. Others come from the fill at the Fountain House in Athens and from scattered tombs within Attica.

Closed vessels predominate, as is to be expected since most of the evidence comes from tombs. They include some 70 stirrup jars, 38 jugs and 30 amphoriskoi. It is worth noting the appearance of the lekythos, the trefoil-mouth jug, the lidded box, as well as the amphoriskos type of multiple vase. The large pouring vessels are characterised by their hollow lips and their light-ground appearance, usually with simple linear decoration – often of triple bands including thin-thick-thin group bands, and the occasional motif on the shoulder. The necklace pattern predominates on these. It is found on collar-necked jars, jugs, narrow-necked jugs, and the trefoil-mouthed jug. Other popular motifs on such vessels include the scroll and the tassel. The few dark-ground pieces are amphoriskoi, which in this phase may be fully monochrome with a few reserved bands and a reserved

lower body. Motifs common on the amphoriskoi include circles, semi-circles, stemmed spiral with chevron fill, net pattern, zigzag, lozenge, antithetic spirals and foliate bands. Stirrup jars at Perati may be decorated in the Octopus style, with Close style decoration on the shoulder of many. The area flanking the spout is often given a different design. Motifs appearing on the stirrup jars include elaborate triangle with zigzag, bivalve flower, bivalve chain and zigzag, stacked triangles, almonds, semi-circles, framed zigzag, joining semi-circles and running spirals. The handles are mainly decorated with the U-pattern.

Of the open shapes, the most popular are the deep bowls and the cup. These are generally light-ground with linear decoration. The deep bowls often have a high ringed base. A number of dark-ground pieces appear both in Athens as well as Perati. They are monochrome with a reserved band in the handle zone and often with a reserved base. A reserved interior band is seen on examples from Perati, Athens and at the Thorikos mine. Motifs included on deep bowls are antithetic spirals, streamers, elaborate circles, and triangular patches. Characteristic of a number of cups from Perati are the half-moon decoration, both on the interior and the exterior. The one-handled conical bowl appears in this phase. The krater fragments preserved from Attica all come from the Athens Fountain House. A number of Pictorial pieces are preserved, others carry the chequer motif. Examples of the slashed rib turn up too. A few motifs characteristic of Attica are the antithetic spiral with hourglass fill, apse with chevron and horizontal bars.

CORINTHIA

Pottery from Corinthia comes mainly from Korakou. Open vessels here are most common: mainly kraters, deep bowls and kylikes. The kraters have a straight upper body and an everted rim. The deep bowls are light-ground with a simple decoration. The interiors are monochrome and may have a reserved interior rim. One Close-style example is probably an import from the Argolid. The kylikes have swollen stems, with perhaps a spiral running up it. The spiral motif is very common on all the vessels. The trefoil-mouthed jug appears in this phase, decorated with a necklace motif on the shoulder.

EUBOEA

The pottery from Euboea comes mainly from the settlement of Lefkandi-Xeropolis, with a number of finds from the tombs at Mistros St. in Chalkis. The amount of pottery recovered from the few test trenches conducted on the hill of Xeropolis is indeed impressive. This is one of the few sites anywhere that has stratified deposits which indicate at least two LH IIIC middle phases. The closed shapes of the developed phase (1b) are light-ground, primarily decorated with linear decoration, including thick-thin-thick line groups. The amphorae and jugs have a slightly hollowed lip; their shoulders

may be decorated with tassel or scroll motif. The wavy line appears both on handles of jugs, but also enlivens the shoulder zone. Open shapes include deep bowls, some with vertical handles, kylikes, cups, mugs and a spouted basin. They are generally dark-ground: mainly fully monochrome deep bowls, carinated cups and kylikes, then deep bowls with monochrome body and reserved base and finally kylikes with a monochrome stem and lower bowl, and a reserved handle zone. Linear decoration is found on deep bowls, mugs and cups.

In the advanced phase (2a) at Xeropolis, the repertoire of shapes increases to now include the trefoil-mouthed jug, one-handled conical bowl and the tray. All vessels are now more elaborately decorated. The amphora may carry a scroll on the shoulder or have twisted handles. The amphoriskos is elaborately treated with streamers. A straight-sided, three-handled alabastron with a down-sloping rim is decorated with a Pictorial scene including a stag and griffins applied in added white paint. This last enhancement is also found on stirrup jars in this phase. Open shapes include the deep bowl, kylix, cup, spouted krater, ring-based krater, basin and tray. Kraters are often decorated with panelled patterns, including streamers and spiral motifs. Many have Pictorial scenes including both animals such as birds, sphinxes, goats and lions and human, such as warriors, hunters or chariots. Some of these depictions are in added white paint. An example from Mistros has a chequer motif. The deep bowls may be light- or dark-ground and lack zonal motifs. Kylikes are for the most part linear patterned, although they may have a decorative zone with semi-circles, panelled patterns or other motifs such as streamers, spirals and triangular patch. The stem is often swollen in this phase. The kalathos now too is elaborately decorated and may even have a Pictorial scene. The tray which makes its appearance in this phase is decorated on the interior and exterior with bivalve and running spiral motifs. A characteristic decoration found only on Euboea is the single thin band flanked by wide bands.

MELOS

Similar to Xeropolis, Phylakopi on Melos also has both a IIC middle developed and an advanced phase. The developed phase does not have many closed shapes, but does include a piriform jar, a straight-sided alabastron, a belly-handled amphora as well as a possible collar-necked jar. The piriform jar which has a torus base and a down-sloping rim is decorated on the shoulder with running spirals and zigzag on the rim. The belly-handled amphora with bars decorating the down-sloping rim has stemmed spirals on the shoulder and birds on the handle zone. Two sherds, also with Pictorial decoration of a bird and a bull, could belong to this shape or the collar-necked jar. A small, straight-sided

alabastron is decorated with a necklace motif on the shoulder and a zigzag motif on the body.

Of the open shapes, though deep bowls are surprisingly missing from the repertoire, present are a kylix, kraters, a kalathos and a mug. The kylix with its slightly incurving rim and swollen stem has a panelled pattern on the bowl and a monochrome stem. The kraters with incurving upper body and everted rim are decorated with linear decoration: numerous patterns in the handle zone include running spirals and rosettes. Pictorial scenes are found too: birds, fish, and animals, as well as men including a figure throwing a spear, and a possible genius. The mug is decorated with a boat, as is the kalathos which depicts ships both on the exterior and interior.

To the advanced phase are dated a number of vessels. A fragmentary jug or hydria with a deep hollowed rim has a hunting scene in added white paint on the shoulder area. A baseless flask is decorated with concentric circles. The open shapes include a one-handled conical bowl, a krater, deep bowls and a tray. The one-handled conical bowl has linear decoration, with a reserved interior rim band and reserved interior circle at the base. The deep bowl is monochrome with a reserved interior rim band. The krater which appears to have a straight upper body is decorated with the chequer motif and a bird. The tray is dark-ground, with linear decoration and semi-circle in added white paint.

PAROS

Most of the published pottery from the settlement of Koukounaries falls into the early/middle developed phase of LH IIIC. The documented closed vessels include collar-necked jars, alabastra, jugs, narrow-necked jugs, stirrup jars, lids and multiple vases. The collar-necked jar may be decorated with running spirals or a zigzag motif. The alabastra are numerous and include monochrome examples, others with antithetic spirals, net motif, fine-line groups, wavy line and semi-circles. Examples of the legged type are mentioned, with running spirals, bivalves, semi-circle pendent, foliate bands and quirks. The jug may have a hollowed rim and have linear decoration; the narrow-necked version a lozenge motif, large semi-circles with filled centres or thick-thin-thick band groups. One vase resembles a lekythos, with linear decoration. The stirrup jar is more common than other settlement sites, here many IIIB motifs hang on. They are decorated with flowers, chevrons, bivalve, triglyphs of horizontal foliate band and hatched triangles with semi-circles. The lids are decorated with the typical concentric banding. One IIIC middle characteristic is the use of different motifs on the shoulder and the area flanking the spout. The multiple vase is of the straight-sided alabastron type.

Many open shapes have been published: numerous deep bowls, kylikes, cups, kraters, spouted cups, stemmed bowls, semi-globular cups, dippers, shallow angular

bowls and a mug. The deep bowls mainly have a medium belly band and a narrow exterior rim band. They may have monochrome interiors, monochrome with reserved interior rim band or linear with a medium band below the rim and a spiral base. Motifs include spirals, wavy-line triglyph, half rosette, lozenges, fringed triangles, antithetic streamers, bivalves, arcs. Kylikes include rounded, carinated and conical types. They can be monochrome in and out, or carry a simple band on the stem and monochrome interior. The stemmed bowls, with a monochrome interior and the exterior, may be decorated with simple bands and a patterned handle zone on the upper body and a monochrome lower body. The handle zone bears parallel chevrons or parallel lines with concentric arcs and concentric semi-circle pendants. The kraters are light-ground with linear decoration; motifs on the handle zone include antithetic spirals, whorl shells, net pattern, hybrid flowers and an example with an odd two-legged animal. A Pictorial sherd depicting a figure playing a lyre could be from a krater. Cups can have simple linear decoration, including a medium band on belly and narrow rim band or may be decorated with panelled pattern and flower. A monochrome example is also documented, as is a half-moon type such as those at Perati. Fragmentary examples of the shallow angular bowl and dippers were documented, all being undecorated. The few characteristic motifs of Paros are the hybrid flower, the bivalve chain and the isolated spiral.

NAXOS

The documented pottery here comes from the two cemeteries of Aplomata and Kamini. It makes up some of the most impressive IIC middle ceramics examined in this thesis. The closed shapes are numerous: a lidded box, a four-handled jar, a belly-handled amphora, neck-handled amphorae, amphoriskoi, collar-necked jars, straight-sided alabstra including the legged type, jugs, strainer-jugs, hydriae, trefoil-mouthed jugs, lekythoi, feeding bottles, stirrup jars, flasks including an example of the horizontal type and multiple vases. The belly-handled amphorae may have a slight hollow rim, with linear decoration on the body; a wavy line in the handle zone and a dotted rim. One rare example has four handles: two vertical ones on the shoulder and two twisted ones at the belly. Its linear decoration includes thin-thick-thin line groups and a wavy line in the handle zone. The neck-handled amphorae have a deep, rolled rim or a long, flaring one. The decoration consists of bands, scroll motifs on the shoulder, cross on the handles and long antithetic hooks below the handles. The amphoriskoi are mainly dark-ground with wide bands as well as fine-line groups; large monochrome areas are seen with reserved banding and lower body, or a monochrome body will have a reserved area on the shoulder with zonal motifs (some have two zones of decoration – one on the shoulder and one on the handle) of wavy lines, horns, semi-circles and streamers. The straight-sided

alabastra are light-ground, with linear decoration often with motifs such as necklace or semi-circles on the shoulder and wavy lines, double wavy lines or spirals on the body.

Closed pouring vessels all have a hollowed lip and may be decorated on the shoulder with necklace motif or stemless spirals. The single lekythos has a monochrome upper and reserved lower body. The trefoil-mouthed jug is popular and includes examples with a twisted handles. They may be either light-ground with linear decoration and a wavy line on the shoulder or dark-ground with multiple, wide bands and necklace motif or panelling with antithetic loops, stacked triangles and semi-circles with solid centres. A typical linear pattern on many of these closed shapes is a triple band group on the upper body and a double band group on the lower body. The strainer-jugs have either Pictorial decoration such as fish or a monochrome lower body with snakes flanking the spout. Stirrup jars are numerous and are decorated in a number of styles. They include Octopus stirrup jars with fish and other motifs used as fillers, others with linear decoration on the body and zonal motifs on the shoulder and the upper body such as dotted semi-circles, bivalve flower with foliate band, joining semi-circles, horns and double stemmed spirals. Some are dark-ground either with a monochrome lower body with reserved bands and zonal motifs on the belly and shoulder or with a fully monochrome lower body with zonal motifs on the upper body and shoulder.

The few flasks are of the typical Cycladic sort – namely with vertically-stacked concentric circles and wavy lines in the panels; the one example of the horizontal flask has linear decoration and a wavy line on the handle. The feeding bottles may have wide bands with zonal motif on the upper body, including rock pattern and zigzag, or may have simple linear decoration with a wavy line on the body.

Open vessels are not very common. They consist of a number of cups, deep bowls, mugs, one-handled conical bowls, spouted cups, kraters and kalathoi. The deep bowls are dark-ground, either monochrome with reserved base or lower body, or monochrome with reserved lower body and handle zone which may be decorated with a wavy line or even monochrome with a reserved lower body and a band at the base. They can have a single reserved interior band; all have a reserved circle at the interior base. The kraters are mainly fragmentary; motifs include triple wavy lines, antithetic spirals, horns filled with dots and a number of Pictorial style examples. The cups generally have linear decoration, although the wavy line is also used on the upper body. The interiors are interesting in that all except one have linear decoration. The one-handled conical bowls have linear decoration on the interior and exterior. Finally, the kalathoi have linear decoration with wavy lines, single or double, on the handle zone. They may have a monochrome interior with reserved lower body or banding or coloured motifs such as cross-hatched triangles with wavy line in white and purple paint. Characteristic motifs of

Naxos include the dolphin, the starfish, rock pattern, semi-circles with solid fill, stemless spiral and tongue pattern.

RHODES

The cemetery of Ialysos on Rhodes as well as the smaller funerary sites of Kalavarda, Vati and Piona offer a great number of vessels dated to the LH IIIC early/IIIC middle developed and IIIC middle advanced phases. During the first phase are attributed many closed shapes such as piriform jars, belly-handled amphorae, neck-handled amphorae, amphoriskoi, straight-sided alabastra, collar-necked jars, jugs, narrow-necked jugs, lekythoi, jugs with cutaway neck, strainer-jugs, trefoil-mouthed jugs, stirrup jars, flasks, ring vases and multiple vases. The piriform jars have linear decoration consisting of triple bands or fine-line groups flanked by medium bands, with zonal motifs on the shoulder including panelling, quirk, stacked triangles, semi-circles, stemmed spirals, chevrons, rosettes, tricurved arch, scaled pattern and stacked zigzags. All have a monochrome neck with reserved bands and a stripe down the sides of the handles often extending into long hooks. All from Ialysos are three-handled, while a piece from Vati has two handles. Almost all are of a tall ovoid profile. The belly-handled amphorae have zonal motifs on the shoulder and linear decoration on the body. The zonal motifs include the stemmed spirals or panelling with concentric arcs or vertical zigzags. The neck-handled sort is rare and has fine-line groups flanked by medium bands and a scroll on the shoulder. The amphoriskos is the most popular shape on Rhodes. Most are fairly globular, with variations in the placement of the handles; the neck may be short and flaring, tall and flaring or at times less flaring. Most are light-ground with linear decoration and with zonal motifs in the handle zone. These include 'Rhodian horns' together with lozenge or half-moon stemmed spirals, stacked triangles, antithetic spirals, netting, quirk, wavy line, chevrons, zigzag, foliate band, rosettes, semi-circles and triangular patch. The 'Rhodian horns' motif is characteristic of the three-handled version. A few dark-ground examples have monochrome bodies with a reserved handle zone or upper body containing semi-circles, quirk pattern or a thick wavy line. The vertical-handled type also occurs and may be decorated with vertical foliate band panelling or be dark-ground with wide monochrome bands and zonal motifs such as multiple, framed vertical wavy lines. There are only a couple of examples of the collar-necked jar. One is typical – with nipples on the shoulder and linear decoration, stacked concentric arcs on the shoulder, and running spiral in the handle zone. The other example has two lugs on each side and is decorated with linear decoration as well as paint around the lugs. The straight-sided alabastra have linear decoration, often of fine-line groups flanked by medium bands. They have zonal motifs on the shoulder as well as in the handle zone, including bivalves, horizontal

chevrons, necklace, semi-circles, net pattern and panelling. There is one example with two large handles attached at the carination with a plastic ridge, resembling a snake. Other pieces are of the legged variety, decorated with 'Rhodian horns', stacked triangles as well as tricurved arch with fill of semi-circles. The various jug shapes mainly have linear decoration, although a few motifs appear on the shoulder such as stacked triangles or concentric arcs on a narrow-necked jug. Some can have hollowed lips, although most are rounded. A jug with cutaway neck has the 'Rhodian horns' on the shoulder. A small example of the trefoil-mouthed jug with a strap handle is known, decorated with triangles and vertical zigzag. Another is decorated with quirk. Strainer-jugs come in the trough-spout version as well as the spouted, deep bowl one. The trough-spout types are decorated with triple banding on the body and zonal motifs on the shoulder including 'Rhodian horns', antithetic spirals with barring and panelling with triangles, spirals and birds. The deep-bowl sort has concentric semi-circles, stacked triangles, running spirals, fringed apse, wavy lines and antithetic spirals. They may have plastic or painted snakes. Feeding bottles can have linear decoration including thin bands flanked by medium ones, as well as motifs on the shoulder such as stacked triangle. A vast variety of stirrup jars appear in Rhodes, particularly from Ialysos. Many with single or double octopuses – some indeed are imported from Crete or other island sites such as Kos.

Open shapes are less numerous though wide-ranging enough in shape – amphoroid kraters, deep bowls, one-handed conical bowls, shallow angular bowls, spouted conical bowls, stemmed bowls, cups, mugs, spouted cups, carinated cups, kylikes, kalathoi, trays and lids. The most popular shapes are the deep bowl and the stemmed bowl. They are light-ground with zonal motifs between the handles consisting of bivalves, rosettes, half rosettes, panel, antithetic spirals, 'Rhodian horns', stacked triangles and half-moons. The linear decoration may be fine-line groups flanked by wider bands. Interiors are generally monochrome but can also have a dotted rim or a reserved interior band. Other shapes such as the cup and kylix have linear decoration. The spouted cup may have a zonal motif such as an example with an N-pattern. Mugs are often decorated with zonal motifs including horizontal chevrons, triglyphs, panel and zigzag. The kalathoi have linear decoration in combination with a wavy line motif and may have a dotted or barred rim. A tray from this phase is elaborately decorated with hatched triangles, spirals and wavy lines. Finally, a box is highly decorated in the Close style with flowers, concentric arcs, apse and lozenge motifs.

Fewer pieces belong to the so-called advanced phase. Here too stirrup jars are the most common shape: many imports are recognized, including examples from Attica and Kos. The imported pieces are done in the Close and Octopus styles, as well as sporting

elaborate Pictorial scenes including goats, birds, fish and hedgehogs, as well as motifs such as double stemmed spirals with fill, chequer and scale pattern. Motifs on the local examples include semi-circles, panelled patterns, chevrons and elaborate triangles. Common too are the amphoriskoi. They have linear decoration and zonal motifs between the handles including the wavy line and panelled pattern as well as a dotted rim. The legged alabastron turns up, with wavy line and foliate band decoration, as well as a dotted rim similar to the amphoriskoi. Other closed vessels include jugs with a hollowed lip and characteristic long tails extending from the handles, and a strainer-jug with panelled decoration on the shoulder and dotted rim. A box decorated in the Close style may be an Argive import; a piriform jar with double stemmed spirals and birds may be a Koan one.

Very few open vessels are assigned to this phase. They include a deep bowl with reserved centre base, a monochrome stemmed bowl with reserved bands and reserved circle in centre of base and finally two possible linear cups from Kalavarda. Motifs unique to Rhodes are quite numerous: they include the antithetic flower, antithetic foliate band, apse, arc, diagonal pattern, droplet foliate band, elaborate semi-circles, half-moon stemmed spiral, isolated semi-circle, multiple stem spiral, N-pattern, 'Rhodian horns', tree, triglyph concentric arcs, scale pattern, tricurve arch and the vertical foliate band.

KOS

The pottery from Kos comes from the settlement of Serraglio as well as the cemeteries of Langada and Eleona. Examples of both closed and open shapes are plentiful. Closed shapes include piriform jars, four-handed jars, belly-handled amphorae, neck-handled amphorae, amphoriskoi, jugs, narrow-necked jugs, lekythoi, a trefoil-mouthed jug, hydria, strainer-jugs, feeding bottles, straight-sided alabastra and stirrup jars. The wavy line is a very common motif and is found on belly-handled amphorae, amphoriskoi, straight-sided alabastra, narrow-necked jugs and feeding bottles.

The amphoriskoi have either linear decoration on the body and a wavy line on the shoulder or are fully monochrome with a reserved band at the handle zone. One four-handed jar is elaborately decorated on its upper body with chequer motif, running spirals, chevrons, bivalves, foliate bands, net pattern and semi-circles with added white paint. The straight-sided alabastra, one of the most popular shapes on Kos, have linear decoration of wide monochrome bands as well as a wavy-line motif usually on the handle zone, although they may also be on the body. One has a running spiral on the shoulder. Most of the pouring vessels have linear decoration with the occasional motif on the shoulder, such as a wavy line or a tassel. A narrow-necked jug has semi-circles with chevron fill on the shoulder as well as long hooks reaching the lower body of the vessel. The lekythoi have linear decoration on the body as well as semi-circles or running spirals on the shoulder.

The trefoil-mouthed jug has linear decoration and elaborate triangle motif with fish and almond on the shoulder. The strainer-jugs are of the types with the open spout and with the strainer cup. One has blobs with two plastic snakes, while the other has a snake with fill of fish. The latter has a twisted handle. The feeding bottles have linear decoration and a wavy line. Stirrup jars are common. Most have linear decoration and motifs on the shoulder and upper body including triangular patch, horizontal chevrons, semi-circles, fringed and filled bivalve, diagonal pattern, barred almonds, dotted semi-circles and stemmed spirals. One Octopus-style stirrup jar occurs with fillings of chevron, birds, fish and semi-circles. An interesting feature on stirrup jars from Kos is that a number have Pictorial scenes either on the shoulder or the upper body: representations of birds, fish, trees and goats.

Common open shapes include the amphoroid and ring-based kraters as well as the deep bowl. Most of the krater fragments are decorated with Pictorial motifs including goats, birds, fish, horses, warriors and oarsmen. Other motifs on this shape are the framed wavy line, multiple wavy lines, stemmed spiral with lozenge and bivalve fill, semi-circles, chequers and on a number antithetic spirals. Deep bowls are decorated mainly with simple motifs such as spirals and wavy line. One is fully monochrome, while another is monochrome with a reserved lower body. The latter has a reserved interior band. One carries a depiction of an animal, rare on deep bowls. Few cups have survived. Two are fully monochrome, while another has linear decoration on the exterior and interior, as well as a spiral on the interior base. A couple of one-handled conical bowls have linear decoration on the exterior and monochrome interiors. Kylikes can either have a wavy line between the handles and a monochrome lower body or have a stemmed spiral and chevron fill with a banded stem. A kalathos is decorated with banding on the exterior, a wavy line on the handle zone and on the interior fish with a stemmed spiral. A tray is decorated with banding on the exterior and fish with double stemmed spirals on the interior. Motifs characteristic of Kos include the bivalve foliate band, double stemmed running spiral, dotting, fringed chevron, fringed isolated spiral, quatrefoil and running spiral with bar fill.

KALYMNOS

Most of the material from Kalymnos comes from the settlement or the tombs at Pothia. Close vessels are predominately stirrup jars, although they also include a few examples of belly-handled amphorae, a collar-necked jar, a neck-handled amphora and straight-sided alabastra. The belly-handled amphora has linear decoration and a wavy line in the handle zone, while the neck-handled version is similar, but with a wavy line on the neck and shoulder zone. The single example of the collar-necked jar has linear decoration and three

decorated zones – one with horizontal chevrons, one with semi-circles and a handle zone with goats flanking a palm tree. Characteristic of all three of these closed shapes are the long hooks extending from the handles and reaching almost into the lower body of the vessels. The simple, straight-sided alabastron has linear decoration, while the legged sort has linear decoration as well as three areas with motifs including the zigzag and foliate band on the shoulder and antithetic semi-circles on the body. Stirrup jars are elaborately decorated. The most impressive are the Octopus stirrup jars which have birds, goats, hedgehogs, crabs, scorpions and other motifs such as semi-circles and rosettes used as fillers. The remaining stirrup jars have linear decoration and zonal motifs on the shoulder and upper body including horns, chequers, stemmed spiral with quirk, fringed semi-circles and elaborate triangles with chevrons. The single flask is of the type with vertical concentric circles and framed wavy lines on the sides. Cups are given a linear decoration and may have a wavy line. One has a vertical wavy line on the handle with two hooks extending down into the body – similar to those found on the closed vessels. The deep bowl has a high conical foot, is decorated with a rim band a framed wavy line in the handle zone and a monochrome lower body. The interior is monochrome with a reserved lower body. The mug is monochrome with a reserved wide band in the handle zone and a barred rim. The kalathoi, almost as elaborately decorated as the stirrup jars, carry on their exterior a linear decoration and a wavy line or framed wavy line and stemmed spiral with fill of chevrons and semi-circles or Pictorial with fish, birds and stemmed spirals on the interior. Characteristic motifs of Kalymnos include antithetic semi-circles, cross filler, fringed semi-circles, hedgehogs and U-pattern.

Over and above the regional decorative approaches, there exists a particular pottery style which requires special attention. This is the Pictorial style, particularly examples dated to the LH IIIC middle phase.

Unlike the palatial periods where representational art can be seen on numerous media (such as pottery, metalwork, fresco painting, gold work, ivory), during LH IIIC the main sources of such come from pottery.³⁹² During the palatial period “the Pictorial decoration most commonly takes the form of processions of men, either on foot or in chariots and often armed, or of processions or antithetic compositions featuring bulls, goats, deer and birds”.³⁹³ Most of these scenes continue during LH IIIC middle. The krater remains the shape of choice, although examples also appear on collar-necked jars, hydriai and kalathoi. The major change that takes place during LH IIIC, particularly during the middle phase, is that new types of scenes begin to be included on the pottery. Human figures are portrayed as engaged in a number of new activities including hunting, fishing, music playing, dancing, chariot racing and funerary scenes. With them are also many animal scenes, including mythological creatures such as griffins and sphinxes.

Some interesting points are worth making here with reference to the distribution of these Pictorial scenes. For the most part, the warrior scenes or scenes with chariots are limited to the Mainland and Euboea.³⁹⁴ This includes areas outside of the scope of this study such as Volos and Kynos³⁹⁵. A fragment from Tiryns depicts a chariot racing scene; no parallels are known either from the palatial or the post-palatial periods.³⁹⁶ The island sites including the Cyclades and the Dodecanese have primarily scenes with animals, including numerous examples of marine life – such as the many Octopus style stirrup jars or kalathoi with fish scenes. The few examples of scenes with men, and in particular those from Naxos, are very different in nature from those seen earlier on the Mainland. New themes seen on the pottery from Naxos include a fishing scene, where a group of six men reel in a net gathered into a spiral with six fish caught in it (fig. 1.30). Another depicts a circular dance with a smaller figure in the centre (fig. 1.29). There are a few examples from Kos, showing warriors; however, these are executed in a different style than the mainland examples.

³⁹² The only examples I know of with representational art not on pottery are a fresco fragment and a possible grave stele from Mycenae, and a few gold ornaments from Naxos.

³⁹³ Rutter 1992, 62-63.

³⁹⁴ From the settlement of Xeropolis come numerous Pictorial sherds: birds being the most common motif followed by chariot-scenes and horses, human figures, animals other than horses and fish.

Personal communication from Don Evely.

³⁹⁵ Dakoronia 1996; Dakoronia 1999.

³⁹⁶ Rutter 1992, 63.

Also new are boat scenes: some ships are without passengers, such as that from Asine, but others have oarsmen, as seen at Kos and Tiryns. Battle scenes on boats occur on numerous krater fragments from Kynos in Central Greece. Finally, the krater from Agia Triada in the Peloponnese portrays a prothesis scene.

What are the implications of such scenes on pottery? Rutter has examined the cultural novelties in the post-palatial Aegean, placing special emphasis on Pictorial pottery with respect to new approaches used for representational art.³⁹⁷ His argument, with which I concur, focuses mainly on the idea that “specially trained artisans in the form of wall-painters and jewellers evidently still existed in the 12th century Aegean, but they appear to have had relatively little opportunity to exercise their skills presumably for sheer lack of patronage. The palatial based elite who had once been the principal consumers of such specialized art forms and caused them to flourish no longer existed”.³⁹⁸ He believes that this decline was a gradual one, beginning before most Mycenaean palaces were destroyed and which reached its apex during LH IIIC middle. Thus, although pictorial representations existed during the palatial period, it was only in the post-palatial period that the Pictorial pottery came into its own – being the only medium remaining for such depictions. Rutter makes a strong case for believing that the decorators of the vessels were artisans trained in wall painting, in that some Pictorial scenes have elements of execution known previously from frescoes. Such include the “unusual employment of three colours” and the “overlapping of figures”.³⁹⁹ According to Rutter “as individuals, each brought not only his own skill but also his own particular specialization as an artisan and his own ideas of what could be successfully transferred from that speciality to vase painting”.⁴⁰⁰

One question posed by this idea is how to explain the overwhelming number of Pictorial scenes from the island sites which, as far as is known, did not have palatial centres and thus would not have had the trained artisans to deploy? One could postulate that many artists fled the disturbances raging on the mainland and moved to other areas such as the Cyclades and Dodecanese. Evidence exists after all for new settlements now at these sites. Even so, as I pointed out earlier, there is a clear distinction between the types of scenes depicted on pottery of the mainland (and particularly Mycenae and Tiryns) and Euboea and those of the islands such as Naxos, Kos and Kalymnos. I believe it is possible that the artists that remained on the mainland, and had been once trained in a different medium could have now adapted their skills to vase painting and for this reason

³⁹⁷ Rutter 1992.

³⁹⁸ Rutter 1992, 62. In agreement with Immerwahr 1989, 148.

³⁹⁹ Rutter 1992, 65.

⁴⁰⁰ Rutter 1992, 65.

many of the scenes depicted on these vases are related in many more ways to representational art in other media from the palatial period. Why might there be a difference in the Pictorial repertoire of the islands? One might suppose that these artists came from yet other areas to the islands, but since the ceramic repertoire in general is similar to that of the mainland, this is probably not the answer. One might argue that the artists now employed on the islands enjoyed a greater artistic licence, i.e. freed from the constraints of elite demands, they developed a Pictorial repertoire less related to Mycenaean palaces, one relating more to the lives and habits of the islanders. Finally, one must bear in mind the potential influence that might be exerted by sources such as Crete or from even further east by Cyprus and Asia Minor. Indeed if one compares the Pictorial pottery from the Dodecanese with that from Cyprus, Miletus or Tarsus, a greater similarity in repertoire is discernible than with the pottery of the Mainland.⁴⁰¹

Another question posed by the Pictorial pottery has to do with the shape on and the function for which it was practised.⁴⁰² The krater continues to be the most popular form for this, as was mentioned above, but collar-necked jars, hydria and kalathoi are also utilized, and if one includes the Octopus style, then we also have the stirrup jar and the occasional amphoriskos. Rutter believes that the octopus depicted on stirrup jars was a visual indicator of what these vessels contained, and that the various regional styles allowed the receiver to know both its content and its provenience: "Just as Linear B toponyms may have specified the sources of the contents of palatial stirrup jars...so the style of the octopi painted on more modestly-sized stirrup jars may have indicated the sources of the highly nourishing, tasty, and considerably more costly fish sauce which such vessels possibly carried in the post-palatial era."⁴⁰³ Whilst his idea concerning the content might be possible, I yet wonder how easily some customer would be able to identify the local styles and thus provenience.

What can be said about the other shapes, particularly the krater? One obvious practical observation is that the krater was the shape of choice because it had a greatest and flattest surface area onto which Pictorial scenes could be put.⁴⁰⁴ If we assume that many of these artists were used to working on large surfaces such as walls, then this choice of pot is quite logical. Something of the same could also be said about the kalathoi, which though tapered in profile yet lack the curves of other vessels such as jugs, or even the other smaller, open vessels such as deep bowls and cups.

What do we know about the function of these vessels? Recently, French has examined Pictorial pottery at Mycenae from this viewpoint. She concludes that even

⁴⁰¹ Karageorghis and Vermeule 1982, 166-167.

⁴⁰² In his discussion of representational art Rutter also examines the Octopus stirrup jars and I will also include these in this brief discussion of shape preference.

⁴⁰³ Rutter 1992, 64.

though we have a great number of Pictorial sherds from stratigraphically preserved contexts we still do not know how or why these vessels were used.⁴⁰⁵ The main problem with most of this material, particularly the mass of LH IIIc middle Pictorial pottery from the Citadel House area at Mycenae, is that it comes from wash levels backed up against the Citadel wall. Elsewhere she very rightly asks the questions “where were the buildings in which were used these handsome pots found in quantity by the citadel wall at the west?”⁴⁰⁶ If these pieces were washed down from the “central palace area”,⁴⁰⁷ then this could imply that this region of the Acropolis maintained its importance even during the post-palatial period.

One can at least observe that unlike other elaborately decorated vessels such as stirrup jars and amphoriskoi, kraters are for the most part found in settlement contexts. They were meant to be seen, and could have been so on a daily basis – in this respect then they would play a role very similar to that of the now vanished wall-paintings. It should also be noted that the Pictorial scenes occur on vessels associated with drinking sets; “the central element being the krater for mixing wine, and also a variety of pouring and drinking vessels”.⁴⁰⁸ There is also evidence that Pictorial style pottery had “some cultic or ceremonial function in Mycenaean society”.⁴⁰⁹ An example with such use can be suggested for a krater with a bird motif, the base of which was pierced before firing.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁴ Crouwel 1991, 32.

⁴⁰⁵ Personal Correspondence with E. French (forthcoming article entitled “The Functional Contexts of Pictorial Pottery at Mycenae” in Rystedt E. and Wells B. (eds.) *Pictorial Pursuits: Figurative painting on Mycenaean and Geometric Pottery*) E. Rystedt and B. Wells eds.).

⁴⁰⁶ French 2002, 136.

⁴⁰⁷ French points out the presence of structures immediately over the destruction debris in the Great Court suggesting a possible reoccupation during LH IIIc. See French 2002, 136-138.

⁴⁰⁸ Steel 1999, 805.

⁴⁰⁹ Steel 1999, 805.

⁴¹⁰ Crouwel 1991, 33 fig. 4.

1.4 PATTERNS OF CONTACT AND THE TERM *KOINE* WITH REFERENCE TO POTTERY STYLES

In his *Last Mycenaean and their Successors*, Desborough identifies a miniature Mycenaean *koine* during LH IIIC which encompasses the Central and South Aegean, embracing the Dodecanese, Naxos, Miletus and Perati. The importance of the identification of such a *koine* lies in the implications it provides for contacts during this post-palatial period, whose most characteristic feature is regionalism. This connection is expressed not only through the similarities of the pottery which will be discussed in this section, but also in other features such as the practice of cremation as seen at Ialysos, Langada and Perati. The four distinctive ceramic shapes which he points out as characterising this *koine* are the flask, the kalathos with interior decoration, the strainer-jug and the Octopus stirrup jar.⁴¹¹

Mee in his examination of the material evidence from Rhodes agrees with the existence and geographical positioning of Desborough's *koine*. He sees comparisons in the pottery of Perati, Ialysos, Aplomata, Eleona, Langada and Kalymnos.⁴¹² Other scholars however disagree. Mountjoy sees an East Aegean *koine* between Kos, Kalymnos, Chios and possibly Miletus. Characteristic shapes of this *koine* are the amphoroid kraters with large globular bodies and tiny bases, ovoid piriform jars and kalathoi. Characteristic motifs are horizontal wavy lines, double stemmed spirals, a lively Pictorial style and other elaborate decoration. She believes that Desborough's Aegean *koine* is "based on general ceramic features rather than on specific ones".⁴¹³

Deger-Jalkotzy also disagrees with Desborough. She believes that "despite the uniformity which can be observed in pottery of everyday use and unassuming objects, the artistic styles of LH IIIC middle of the islands should not be called an 'Aegean koine'. Nor is this term adequate for the culture of Mycenaean LH IIIC in general".⁴¹⁴ In agreement with this opinion is Vlachopoulos, based on his examination of the pottery from Naxos. He believes that "the multifarious, singular and heterogeneous picture of the central Aegean during LH IIIC is at variance with the picture of the 'Small Mycenaean koine', as elaborated by Desborough in the 1960's, a term that no longer applies to the diverse picture that emerges from each island in the Cyclades".⁴¹⁵

⁴¹¹ Desborough 1964. See pgs. 227-229 for summary.

⁴¹² Mee 1982, 90-91.

⁴¹³ Mountjoy 1999, 51. In her 1993 publication she is in agreement with Desborough's Mycenaean *koine*. See Mountjoy 1993, 100-103.

⁴¹⁴ Deger-Jalkotzy 1998, 115.

⁴¹⁵ Vlachopoulos 2003, 231.

According to Sherratt, in LH IIIC middle there is no uniformity of style in a “strict sense”.⁴¹⁶ During the early phase she attributes two regional groupings. The first includes the Argive plain, Corinthia, Attica, Euboea and Achaea, while the second incorporated the Dodecanese, Crete, Cyprus and to a lesser degree the Cyclades and Messenia. During the middle phase the links between these two groups become stronger, particularly between coastal sites of the Mainland and the islands. She writes “the distinction between a clear Mainland grouping, on the one hand, and an Aegean grouping on the other has been largely obliterated, and the links between these two groups are now as strong as the links within them”.⁴¹⁷ To this phase she attributes two small regional groupings but also a larger intermediate group. The first, Group A, includes the Argive plain and Corinthia: it is characterised by deep bowls with multiple reserved bands and the Close style. The second set, Group B, includes coastal and island sites: it is characterised by trays and amphoroid kraters. She identifies intensified connection between Attica and the Dodecanese, while at the same time seeing “enhanced links” between coastal sites, such as Asine, with Attica and Euboea rather than with other Argive sites like Mycenae and Tiryns. She also sees the Dodecanese, Attica and the Cyclades sharing the conical bowl, strainer-jugs and the high cylindrical pyxis, whilst the Dodecanese and Cyclades share the belly-handled amphora and the amphoroid krater. Furthermore, she points out that the combination of the decorated trays and the amphoroid kraters occurs only in the Dodecanese and Euboea, showing a relation between these two areas as well. Sub-groupings between Groups A and B unite the Dodecanese and the Cyclades; the Dodecanese and Crete; the Dodecanese, Cyclades and Attica; and finally the Argolid and Corinthia and more rarely Attica.⁴¹⁸ These types of groupings prove the most useful for understanding patterns of contact during LH IIIC middle. They will be examined below in more detail.

Perhaps the term *koine* has been interpreted too strictly in the past to be used safely in this post-palatial period. Even so, it is necessary to examine what patterns of contact can be seen since clear indications of similarities do exist, as well as influences, between the pottery of the various areas.

The four main shapes which Desborough uses as indicators for this *koine* should be re-examined: namely the octopus stirrup jars, strainer-jugs, very large flasks and kalathoi with elaborate decoration, often Pictorial, on the interior. Mountjoy rejects the evidence of the large flasks with concentric circles and wavy lines in the side panel

⁴¹⁶ Sherratt 1981, 507.

⁴¹⁷ Sherratt 1981, 508.

⁴¹⁸ Sherratt 1981, 507-510; figs. 205-208.

because only two examples of such vessels have been found at Perati.⁴¹⁹ She does however point out their presence in the Cyclades and the Dodecanese. But nowhere are they present in large numbers: in Naxos only three published examples exist; on Rhodes there are only two from Ialysos and singletons from Vati and Lardos; and just two pieces are known from Kalymnos. Thus, it is hard to see why she stresses the scarcity of the shape at Perati, when at other sites the examples are equally few. Nor is it necessary to have many examples of a particular shape for it to be significant. The simple fact of its existence in these areas should be significant enough.

The next form to be considered is the kalathos with its elaborate interior decoration. As Mountjoy rightly points out the kalathos is not limited to the geographical areas of Desborough's *koine*, but is found in the Argolid, Attica, Melos, Naxos, Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos.⁴²⁰ While the examples from Rhodes and Naxos are different in that they do not have Pictorial decoration on the interior, it should be noted that this shape is *most* frequent in Attica, Naxos, Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos. Which should be seen as an important indicator. The strainer-jug is present in Attica, Naxos, Rhodes and Kos. Although they may have different features – such as a narrower neck on the examples from Rhodes, or a deep bowl/cup spout on those from Naxos, Rhodes and Kos, let alone variations in decoration, the shape appears to be found only in these areas. Most of the published examples also have the snake feeding from the spout.

Finally there is the Octopus stirrup jar, pointed out by Mountjoy as being present in the Argolid, Laconia and Arcadia, and thereby indicating that this type of vessel was not limited to the geographical areas of Desborough's *koine*. It is also true that each area has its own Octopus style.⁴²¹ However, once again it should be pointed out that the majority of these vessels come from the Dodecanese, Naxos and Perati.

Thus, based on these four shapes, Desborough was not altogether wrong in identifying these features as being unique to these particular areas, but perhaps rather more features are necessary in order to be able to say with more certainty whether one can identify a shared ceramic repertoire, either in shape or decoration.

Going back to Sherratt's groupings, I believe much can be garnered from such an examination. Like Sherratt, I have taken a number of features, both shapes as well as decorative styles, and have tried to see what groupings can emerge. A few sites it should be noted from the start have been difficult to incorporate, due to the lack of published material; they include Mycenae, Tiryns and Koukounaries. Other areas which have problems include Attica, which for the most part is limited to material from Perati; the

⁴¹⁹ Mountjoy 1999, 50.

⁴²⁰ Mountjoy 1999, 50.

⁴²¹ Mountjoy 1999, 50-51.

vessels from other tombs of Attica as well as the Fountain House deposit in Athens are few in number. Below, I will examine shapes and motifs separately to see if groupings similar to Sherratt's can emerge.

Table 1.2 contains a summary of the distribution of shapes.⁴²² From this, seven geographical groups have been recognised: Group 1 (the Dodecanese), Group 2 (Perati and the Dodecanese), Group 3 (Perati, Naxos and the Dodecanese), Group 4 (Naxos and the Dodecanese), Group 5 (E. Mainland and Euboea), Group 6 (E. Mainland and Naxos) and Group 7 (Argolid, Attica, Naxos and/or Dodecanese).

Group 1 consists of the amphoroid krater which is found on Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos. Group 2 consists of the ring vase which is found at Perati, Rhodes and Kos and the multiple vase with amphoriskoi found in Perati and Rhodes. Group 3 consists of the box which is found in Perati, Naxos and Rhodes, the strainer-jug found at Perati, Naxos, Rhodes and Kos, the lekythos found at Perati, Naxos, Rhodes and Kos and the legged alabastron found at Perati, Naxos, Rhodes and Kalymnos. Group 4 consists of the neck-handled amphora which is found on Naxos, Rhodes and Kalymnos, the four-handled jar found on Naxos and Kos and the duck vase found on Naxos and Rhodes. Group 5 includes the carinated cup found in the Argolid and Euboea, the basin found in Attica and Euboea and the rim-handled amphora found in the Argolid, Attica and Euboea. Group 6 consists of the hydria which is found in the Argolid, Attica and Naxos. Finally, group 7 consists of the trefoil-mouthed jug and the feeding bottle found in Argolid, Attica, Naxos, Rhodes and Kos.

Table 1.3 summarizes the distribution of a number of motifs or decorative elements found on pottery of LH IIIC middle. Here seven general geographical groups have been recognised: Group 1 (the Dodecanese), Group 2 (Perati and the Dodecanese), Group 3 (Attica, Naxos and the Dodecanese), Group 4 (Naxos and the Dodecanese), Group 5 (E. Mainland and Naxos), Group 6 (Argolid, Attica, Naxos and/or Dodecanese) and Group 7 (Asine, Attica, Naxos and/or Dodecanese). One general difference in these groupings from those based on shapes is that, in terms of motifs used, Asine stands out from other areas of the Argolid. It is thus included in certain groups on its own, rather than as part of the Argolid.

Group 1 consists of two Pictorial motifs, the crab and the scorpion, seen on vessels from Rhodes and Kalymnos. Group 2 consists of the elaborated circle, found in Attica and Kos. Group 3 consists of the almond motif found in Perati, Naxos and Kos, the half rosette found in Perati, Naxos, Rhodes and Kos, and the snake found in Perati,

⁴²² It should be noted that frequency of occurrence is not indicated in these tables. This is due primarily to the fact that many of the vessels published from settlement sites are fragmentary and thus I believe that, if one took into account frequency, many times this would bring about an

Naxos, Rhodes and Kos. Group 4 consists of the double stemmed spiral found on Naxos and Kos, horizontal chevrons found on Naxos, Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos, the stacked zigzag found on Naxos and Rhodes and the simple triangle found on Naxos, Rhodes and Kos. Group 5 consists of the antithetic loop found in the Argolid, Corinthia and Naxos. Group 6 consists of the bivalve flower found at Asine, Attica, Naxos and Kos, the chevron fill found at Asine, Attica and Kos, fine bands flanked by wide bands found at Asine, Attica, Naxos, Rhodes and Kos, the foliate band found at Asine, Attica, Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos and a wide band flanked by single thin ones found at Asine, Attica and Naxos. Group 7 consists of concentric arcs found at Asine, Attica and Rhodes, elaborate triangles found in Asine, Attica, Naxos, Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos, framed zigzag found at Asine, Attica and Kos, the octopus found at Asine, Attica, Naxos, Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos, the stacked triangle found at Asine, Attica, Naxos and Rhodes and the triangular patch found at Asine, Attica, Naxos, Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos.

What is revealed from these groupings is that although each area has regional characteristics, many also share features. Shared characteristics emerge particularly between Perati, the Dodecanese and Naxos, between Euboea, the East Mainland and Naxos, and also between the Argolid, Attica, Naxos and the Dodecanese. Although there does not appear to be shared features between Melos and Paros with other areas here too are exhibited some common features which are shared with many areas. In the case of Phylakopi and Koukounaries, most of the pottery consists of a linear style similar to IIIC early, but with the occasional IIIC middle novelty – such as some Pictorial scenes or multiple interior reserved bands as seen on deep bowls. For the most part however the pottery from these two areas does not seem to exhibit the sort of rich IIIC middle style seen elsewhere. One possible reason for this could be the fact that both these areas are settlement sites and therefore lack the great repertoire of closed shapes often included in tombs. The same could apply to the material from Athens, which indeed can be seen as being similar to that of Phylakopi and Koukounaries. However, in this case more features are shared with other areas – such as Euboea or even some of the pottery of Corinthia and the Argolid.

Returning for a moment to Sherratt's common features and her feature matrix of the various shared characteristics, the following similarity coefficients appear between the areas examined in this thesis.⁴²³ Similarity coefficients between 0.5 and 0.74 are shared between Euboea and the Dodecanese, Euboea and Crete, the Dodecanese and the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and Attica, Attica and the Argolid and Asine and Crete.

inaccurate survey of the material. However, when including the presence of a shape or motif with a particular area it is usually with more than one occurrence.

⁴²³ Sherratt 1981, fig. 205-206.

Similarity coefficients between 0.25 and 0.49 are shared between Attica and the Cyclades, the Cyclades and Achaëa, the Cyclades and Messenia and between Euboea and Messenia. A comparison of her feature matrix, particularly those with similarity coefficients between 0.5 and 0.74, and my groupings set out above reveal that they have very similar results. It should be said that the greatest similarities are present within the areas included in Desborough's *koine* – including the Dodecanese, Naxos and Perati. Thus, although it is difficult to use the term *koine* in this phase, I do believe that the fact that certain areas share common ceramic features implies that these areas did have contact with each other and that they were influenced one by the other in their choice of pottery styles and preferences for shapes.

Chapter 2 Burial Practices

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Archaeological Evidence

2.3 Tomb Architecture

2.4 Treatment of the Dead and Grave Offerings

2.5 Single Burials

2.6 Cremations

2.7 Conclusions

The majority of LH IIIC middle evidence comes from burials. In fact, twenty out of the thirty sites that will be examined in this study belong to cemeteries or come from individual tombs. This chapter will review the burial remains from the geographical areas chosen: from the Argolid, Corinthia, Attica, Euboea, Melos, Paros, Naxos, Kos, Kalymnos and Rhodes. The opening section will look at the archaeological evidence. The next section will briefly examine tomb types in this period followed by a section on the treatment of the dead and their grave offerings. Sections 5 and 6 will examine the phenomena of single burials and cremations and the importance of their presence in the burial evidence of LH IIIC middle. The final section will present some concluding remarks on burial customs.

One of the main problems associated with the tomb remains involves the context information. As is well known, tomb stratigraphy is very difficult to make clear sense out of, especially when one deals with chamber tombs with their multiple burials dating to various phases. An attempt has been made to discuss all those tombs with enough information to assume their use in IIIC middle (based on the pottery associated). It is always difficult to tie in small finds with such burials since small finds are not as accurately dated, in stylistic terms, as pottery. One should therefore bear in mind that many of such described here and included in the tables may have been deposited with the IIIC interments or may equally be strays from earlier ones.

The most common tomb type is the chamber tomb. In all the areas where funerary evidence has been closely observed, the majority of these are re-used older chamber tombs that had either gone out of use in earlier periods or were cleared out and then re-used during LH IIIC rather than newly constructed ones. Other tomb-types are pit graves, pithos burials and tumuli. Specific grave goods for the larger cemeteries of Perati and Ialysos will be listed in tables rather than included in detail in this section.

THE ARGOLID- Map 1

In the Argolid tombs have been excavated in the vicinity of Mycenae, Argos, Tiryns, Asine and Palaia Epidauros.

MYCENAE- fig. 2.1

Among the many hills surrounding the citadel of Mycenae are documented at least 27 multi-tomb cemeteries. It is unfortunate however that so few tombs appear to contain burials of LH IIIC date.⁴²⁴ Even less are those of LH IIIC middle date.

Kalkani Cemetery

At the Kalkani cemetery, a large chamber tomb, 532, was re-used during LH IIIC middle; it measured approximately 2.50 by 3.30m. A pit in the centre contained the earliest burials, dating to LH IIB. At least 20 burials were made in this tomb and from the distribution of the skeletal remains, it appears that the secondary interments did not disturb the bones of the earlier burials.⁴²⁵ One stirrup jar of LH IIIC middle date was recovered; but it was in a disturbed layer.⁴²⁶ Other finds such as spindle whorls were found near the vase, but it is difficult to say whether these were given to the same burial.

Phychtia

NW of Mycenae at the modern town of Phychtia, a small chamber tomb, measuring 1.04-1.28 by 2.47m, was used in this period. The tomb also has use in the LH IIIA2 period. A child burial in the south end of the chamber is the last – it dates to LH IIIC middle and

⁴²⁴ According to Shelton tombs with use during LH IIIC were documented at Panagia, Third Kilometer, Alepotrypa, Asprokhoma East, Souleimani and Gourtsoulia. Shelton 2003, 35-37.

⁴²⁵ Wace 1932, 112.

⁴²⁶ Wace 1932, 111.

was accompanied by many clay figurines of the Tau and Psi types.⁴²⁷ Remains of two earlier burials are scattered throughout the tomb.

Gourtsoulia

Gourtsoulia, NE of Mycenae, had four chamber tombs with LH IIIC middle material. Unfortunately, the excavator gives no more information concerning the dating or the number of interments. A stirrup jar in tomb 2 is the only published LH IIIC middle vessel, though judging from the other finds, the tomb was first used as early as LH IIIB1.⁴²⁸ One burial, in a niche built in the dromos walls, contained shells, figurines, ivory jewellery, and bronze discs: it probably belongs to a child, since many child burials now were given shells, as well as figurines as offerings.⁴²⁹

Monastiraki-Chania

The Chania tumulus near Mycenae, which unfortunately still remains unpublished, apparently dates to LH IIIC middle⁴³⁰ According to Shelton's account the structure was "some 20m in diameter with an enclosing wall 1m thick with orthostat blocks of limestone/poros on the outside only; it was filled with rubble inside the wall and had a central fill of stones of all sizes though the whole was subdivided by internal walls to facilitate filling".⁴³¹ It consisted of a single primary cremation burial in an urn placed within a circular hole covered by a cup and a plaque. The remaining seven burials, were placed within the stone fill. Six of these were located in the SW corner. There is no evidence for a cremation pyre in the area and it appears that the two original openings "were later closed and a clay insulation against rain water sealed the outer layers".⁴³² Tiles found in the area could imply that the entire tumulus had been roofed although there is mention of possible cut porous blocks having been used as markers. No grave goods except pottery were included with the cremation urns.

Asprokhoma East

At least 13 tombs have been excavated at Asprokhoma East, 11 of which were excavated by Tsountas in 1887.⁴³³ One appears to have been used during LH IIIC middle, although no related pottery has been published.⁴³⁴

⁴²⁷ Verdhelis 1964, 120.

⁴²⁸ Mylonas 1966c, fig. 71a.

⁴²⁹ Mylonas 1966c, 68 fig. 70

⁴³⁰ Catling 1984-1985, 21; Demakopoulou 1988, 85; Iakovides 2003, 122 ; Shelton 2003.

⁴³¹ Shelton 2003, 59.

⁴³² Shelton 2003, 59.

⁴³³ Tsountas 1888, 136-138; Shelton 1995, 194-195.

⁴³⁴ Shelton 2003, 36, 38 and 40.

ARGOS (figs. 2.2 and 2.3)

Tripolis St.

The tumulus excavated at Tripolis St., Katsabelos Plot, contained 36 cremation urns placed at its centre of which 24 are in situ: 18 date to LH IIC middle.⁴³⁵ Other types of burials on the outer skirts of the mound include six pit graves of which one, pit 19, contained grave goods and is dated to LH IIC late, and also seven cist graves of which three had grave goods with two, cist 24 and 41a, being dated to LH IIC middle. Tomb 24 contained an LH IIC middle krater as well as a figurine. This burial was that of a small child.⁴³⁶ The central cremation burials were placed mainly in amphoras or jugs but also in hydrias, collar necked jars, trefoil mouthed jugs and amphoriskoi: all were usually placed in circular pits. It appears from the cremated bones found inside these vessels only a small portion of the total remains were included.⁴³⁷ Many of these cremation urns had lids made out of deep bowls, shallow angular bowls or cups. In certain rare cases, small finds such as bronze rings, pins and buttons were included as offerings.⁴³⁸

For the IIC middle cremation burials, amphoriskoi were the most numerous vessels employed – 14, 25 39 and 41. 25 had a shallow angular bowl as a lid, as well as yielding two stirrup jars, a ring vase and small finds including two conical buttons. No. 14 contained a shallow angular bowl as well as an arched fibula. Of the neck-handled amphorae, 22, 43 and 47, the last alone had a lid of a deep bowl. Jugs 21 and 29 both had shallow angular bowls for lids, whilst hydria 7 had a monochrome deep bowl with a reserved lower body. Two collar necked jars, 4 and 54, do not appear to have had lids.

An initial examination by the excavator of the human remains reveals that twenty⁴³⁹ cremation vessels appear to contain adult burials while eight⁴⁴⁰ had burials of children or young adults.⁴⁴¹ In contrast, it appears that infants were buried in pits rather than cremated.⁴⁴² Finally it should be noted that cremation pyres associated with these burials were not found.⁴⁴³

It should be noted here that other cremation urns have been found at Argos apparently dated to LH IIC; nine urns were found 80 m. south at the Barkaroli plot⁴⁴⁴ and other to the SW near the Gymnasium of Argos were found.⁴⁴⁵

⁴³⁵ Piteros 2001, 114.

⁴³⁶ Piteros 2001, 102.

⁴³⁷ Piteros 2001, 106.

⁴³⁸ Piteros 2001, 105 fnt. 21.

⁴³⁹ Urns 3, 6, 7, 14, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29, 31, 32, 37, 39, 44, 46, 47, 50 and 51.

⁴⁴⁰ Urns 2, 4, 5, 15, 27, 30, 33, 43, 48, 52 and 53.

⁴⁴¹ Piteros 2001, 114.

⁴⁴² Piteros 2001, 115.

⁴⁴³ Piteros 2001, 115.

⁴⁴⁴ Piteros 2001, 115.

⁴⁴⁵ Personal Correspondence with A. Banaka.

TIRYNS

Lower Citadel

In the Lower Citadel at Tiryns more than 65 burials have been found in simple pits or natural cavities. Unfortunately, barely any contained grave offerings. Based on their stratigraphical locations they are dated from LH IIIB2 through to LH IIIC middle developed.⁴⁴⁶ Unfortunately not much more information can be given for these tombs.

Prophites Elias- figs. 2.4 and 2.5

In the cemetery of Prophites Elias, chamber tombs 5 and 6 were re-used in this phase. Tomb 5, which measured 3.5 by 3.0m, contained at least seven burials and was first used in LH IIIB2, or the transitional phase of LH IIIB2/IIIC early. Most of the finds were located against the far wall of the tomb. In the SW corner a pit contained bones and skulls, as well as pottery. This indicates at least one cleaning of the tomb during which earlier interments and grave offerings were deposited. In addition, in the middle of the chamber and toward the west wall is another pit containing a skull and various grave goods, laid out east to west. In the SE corner an area of burnt bones was found, associated with pots. No burning was visible on the pots themselves, indicating either partial burning of the bones before burial or a fumigation of the tomb before these pots were deposited.⁴⁴⁷ According to the excavation report only these finds at the north side of the chamber⁴⁴⁸ could be in situ.⁴⁴⁹ These include a stirrup jar and a straight-sided alabastron, dating to LH IIIC middle. A shell and a bronze fragment, possibly a tool, may be associated with the IIIC middle vessels.

Tomb 6, which measured 4.0 by 3.5m, contained at least eight burials and had a continuous use from LH IIIA. It had at least three phases of burials on the chamber floor itself as well as two pits in the SW corner containing a destroyed skull and various grave goods. Five skulls, laid along the west side of the chamber, could be in situ although they have no accompanying skeletal remains, just grave goods.⁴⁵⁰ Only one stirrup jar found in the dromos fill is dated to LH IIIC middle with certainty.⁴⁵¹

ASINE- figs. 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9 and 2.10

In Necropolis I, five chamber tombs are re-used in this phase, Tombs 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7. Tomb 1 was in continuous use from LH IIB-LH IIIC late. The main chamber that measures 7.2 by 5.4m contained 6-7 disturbed burials. In addition, two niches were cut

⁴⁴⁶ Catling 1978-1979 16; Catling 1979-1980, 29. For LH IIIC examples see Kilian 1979, 386-387 and Kilian 1982, 396.

⁴⁴⁷ Siedentopf et al. 1973, 36.

⁴⁴⁸ Nos. 1, 3, 12, 13 and 15

⁴⁴⁹ Siedentopf et al. 1973, 38.

⁴⁵⁰ Siedentopf et al. 1973, 40-42

into the NW wall, containing at least one burial each. The presence of two dromoi leading to this chamber indicates two phases (and areas) of use: the northern dromos was used earlier in the tomb's history, whilst with the later southern dromos goes the IIC middle burial, Burial C, in the southern part of the chamber.⁴⁵² Thus, one is not surprised to find bones and grave goods all over the chamber floor on the northern half of the tomb, demonstrating that the older burials had not been pushed aside.

Burial C contained at least five vessels. These are a collar necked jar, a stirrup jar, a lekythos, a feeding bottle and a deep bowl. Four other stirrup jars are also possibly associated with this burial.⁴⁵³ Small finds were also found, but no further information is provided. The excavator mentions traces of burning all over the chamber which could indicate the practice of fumigation. However it is unclear with which phase of the tomb this practise is to be attributed.⁴⁵⁴

Tomb 2 was used since LH IIB. It measures 6.2 by 6.5m and contains at least two burials. As with chamber tomb 1, there are traces of burning throughout the chamber.⁴⁵⁵ The fact that most of the tomb was empty leads one to the conclusion that it must have been partially cleared at some point late in its history. This view is supported further by the fact that fragments of vessels dating from LH IIB through to LH IIC are scattered throughout the chamber, indicating continuous use. LH IIC middle vessels were also found in the dromos and the stomion. A three handled jar had fragments scattered in the dromos fill as well as the chamber itself, a jug was found in the stomion and a stirrup jar was found in the chamber near a grave pit close to the west wall. This pit contained one burial and numerous fragments of pots whose sherds are also found throughout the chamber. It was also given a hollow in its base in which lay a bronze mirror and beads. It cannot be ascertained whether this grave pit and its finds can be attributed to LH IIC middle, since the IIC stirrup jar was found *near* the pit rather than *inside* it.⁴⁵⁶

Chamber tomb 5 appears to date to LH IIC: it measures 2.1 by 3m and contains three burials. In the north and west of the chamber lie two burials that had been partially disturbed and to the east one still *in situ*, in the upper layer of a pit. In a niche, high up in the dromos near the stomion, were the remains of a possible offering made up of pots as well as burnt animal bones and an animal figurine. Eight vessels from this tomb date to IIC middle: four stirrup jars, one hydria, a jug, a deep bowl and a carinated cup. Of

⁴⁵¹ Siedentopf et al. 1973, 46 no.16.

⁴⁵² Mountjoy 1996, 49; Mountjoy points out the discrepancies between the arguments of Frödin and Persson concerning the uses of these two dromoi. The both agree that the northern dromos was cut first but Persson bases his argument on the fact that a stone bench was built stretching along the east wall of the chamber indicating that the northern dromos was built first and then later closed off by the bench.

⁴⁵³ 10, 14, 20 and 28, see Mountjoy 1996, 56.

⁴⁵⁴ Frödin and Persson 1938, 160.

⁴⁵⁵ Frödin and Persson 1938, 167.

these, the stirrup jar was found inside the dromos, whilst the deep bowl and carinated cup were found in a niche built into the side walls of the dromos.⁴⁵⁷

Chamber tomb 6 also seems to date to LH IIIC. It measures 2.3 by 2.1m and contains five burials along the sides of the chamber, which albeit somewhat scattered too throughout the chamber, yet are discrete enough to permit definition. Six of the vessels date to LH IIIC middle – five stirrup jars and an amphoriskos. All these were found with other small finds, including gold ornaments, gold beads, glass paste beads, faience beads, steatite buttons and a few bronze fragments.⁴⁵⁸ Once again, it is impossible to conclude which of these small finds can be attributed to LH IIIC burials because of the great disorder.⁴⁵⁹

Chamber tomb 7 dates from LH IIIA2: it measures 2.0 by 1.5m and contains at least seven burials. However these are in such disorder that it is impossible to make any informative conclusions. A cleaning of the tomb in which all the old burials were put to one side accounts for the concentration of bones in the NE area. Burnt clay matter found in the western part of the chamber looks to be the remains of wooden boxes or caskets. The custom of burying the dead in coffins is unknown in the Mycenaean period, yet these do seem to represent some wooden structure. Two vessels that date with certainty to IIIC middle are a stirrup jar and an amphoriskos.⁴⁶⁰

PALAI A EPIDAUROS

Excavated near the modern town of Palaia Epidauros were seven chamber tombs that contain finds from LH IIIA2. Because the excavation report lacks stratigraphical and deposit information, it is difficult to conclude which particular tomb(s) contained IIIC middle burials. At least one tomb did, to judge by a stirrup jar of the Octopus style so dated.⁴⁶¹

ATTICA Map 2

In Attica, tombs are known at Athens, Spata, Ligori, Vourvatsi and Perati. The types represented are, most commonly, the chamber tomb followed by the pit grave.

ATHENS

Agora

⁴⁵⁶ Frödin and Persson 1938, 162-170.

⁴⁵⁷ Frödin and Persson 1938, 175-179.

⁴⁵⁸ Frödin and Persson 1938, 182.

⁴⁵⁹ Frödin and Persson 1938, 179-182.

⁴⁶⁰ Frödin and Persson 1938, 182-188.

⁴⁶¹ Aravantinos 1974, fig. 45.

In the Agora, one chamber tomb, 7, under the foundations of the Temple of Ares was used from LH IIA through to LH IIIC middle. Its last interment in the dromos is of the Protogeometric period. Its chamber is quite small, measuring 2.0 by 2.85m, and constructed with two dromoi, one on the western side of the chamber and one at the northeast corner. Two levels of burial were recognized, containing eight bodies on the lower level and another six to seven on the upper level. The lower level, which occupies the entire chamber floor, was probably served from the original dromos to the west; while the upper level is concentrated in the northern half of the chamber. It is possible that the later Temple foundation had destroyed any remains in the southern half. Moreover, judging from finds that include a stirrup jar and kalathos, it is safe to assume that this upper level contained the LH IIIC middle burials, more specifically that of burial XIV. Near the remains of XIV, a kalathos was found with a steatite bead shaped like a figure-of-eight shield.⁴⁶²

Leophoros Syngrou

On Leophoros Syngrou, is a pit grave with an LH IIIC middle stirrup jar. The grave was 0.48m in width and of an unknown length. Disturbances in the area dating to historical times make it difficult to conclude whether the pit originally contained bones, now removed/destroyed, whether the pit contained a child burial and thus the bones had not been preserved or if this is simply a hole in the ground, like an offering pit with no burial associated.⁴⁶³

Dimitrakopoulou Street

At Dimitrakopoulou Street, two chamber tombs were discovered, 13 and 14, dated to the Mycenaean period. Tomb 13 dates from LH IIA through to LH IIIC middle; it measures 2.7 by 2.9m, and contains five pits concentrated in the eastern half of the tomb. Four of these pits appear to be acting as deposit areas for earlier burials, while 5, the final one, alone contains a burial. A stirrup jar of IIIC middle date was found near this pit.⁴⁶⁴

PERATI (Table 2.1; figs. 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, 2.16 and 2.17)

The greatest volume of evidence comes from this cemetery which has 90 chamber tombs and three pit graves dating to LH IIIC middle. There are 11 instances of the rite of cremation. The cemetery of Perati was first used in the transitional phase of IIIB2/IIIC early to IIIC early. Of the tombs dating to LH IIIC middle, 68 were first built and used in

⁴⁶² Immerwahr 1971, pl. 40.34.

⁴⁶³ Pantelidou 1975, 70.

⁴⁶⁴ Pantelidou 1975, 85-86, no. 38.

this phase, while only 25 were originally used in the earlier. Table 2.1 provides a detail summary of all tombs used during LH IIIC middle.

In brief the use of the cemetery during LH IIIC may be summed up as follows: seven contained niches in the dromos – 9, 33, 43, 46, 46a, S14 and S23. In size eight tombs measure 1msq, 25 1-2msq, 29 2-3 msq, 24 2-4msq, 20 4-5 msq, 14 between 5-6sqm, and nine are greater than 6sqm. Nearly all are four-sided, although rarely regular in shape, and equipped with one dromos, other than 1 and 131, which both had two. Tombs 62, 70, 84, 85 and 156 were pit graves.

Inhumation was the most common method of burial: most bodies were supine with knees drawn up and arms by sides, in laps or over their chests. Most were laid directly on the floor although 24 tombs had burial pits in the chambers. Of the chamber tombs, 97 contain multiple burials, 54 contain single burials and eight were found empty. Eight tombs contained the 11 cremations: 1, 46, 122, 131, 145, 146, 154 and 157. Of these, one was that of a child, (1), two were adolescents, (46 and 122) and eight were adult, (1, 36, 75, 122, 145, 146, 154 and 157). Five appear to have been put in a cremation urn, two in pits, three were set on the chamber floor and one has no certain details.⁴⁶⁵ It is interesting to note that at Perati more than often more than one burial was included within the cremation urns. An analysis of the cremated bones shows that the bones were crushed either while still on the funeral pyre or after the fires had been extinguished.⁴⁶⁶ Also from this analysis it appears that cremation was used without distinctions of age or gender.⁴⁶⁷

Inhumation and cremation were used for all ages and both genders. So, any distinction based on sex, age or wealth in terms of the type of burial, be it inhumation or cremation, does not appear to exist. One common treatment appears to be for children whose burials contain feeding bottles and shells, and often kalathoi, cups and figurines. Throughout the cemetery the most common closed vase-shapes are the stirrup jar, amphoriskos and jug, and for open ones deep bowls, cups and kalathoi. It should also be noted that kraters and kylikes are almost completely absent from the tombs at Perati.

SPATA

10 km NW of Perati, two chamber tombs at Spata both contain material from LH IIB/IIIA1 through to LH IIIC. The smaller of the two consists of one chamber and was probably looted some time in recent history. The second one is larger and consists of three consecutive chambers. Along with scattered finds there were many bones in the

⁴⁶⁵ Jakovides 1970, B 38.

⁴⁶⁶ Paidoussis and Sbarounis 1974, 130.

⁴⁶⁷ Cremations include those of small children, and females and males of various ages. See Paidoussis and Sbarounis 1974.

chamber, as well as traces of burning which Benzi attributes to the fumigation of the tombs during cleaning rather than to cremations.⁴⁶⁸ It is unclear how many burials there were in these two tombs. In the finds were an amphora, a jug and possibly a deep bowl, all of which date to the middle phase of IIC.⁴⁶⁹ No information is given as to where these vessels were found in the tombs or which tomb they belonged to.

LIGORI

Four km SW of Perati, near Porto Rapti, ten chamber tombs were excavated, of which three have LH IIC middle pottery and whose earliest material dates to LH IIIB.⁴⁷⁰ Little information has been published on these tombs, most comes from the publication of Benzi.⁴⁷¹ Stais also excavated two tombs: the smaller one contained at least two burials, while the larger one contained at least five.⁴⁷² Kyparissis' description provides no more information other than that it was a chamber tomb with a dromos.⁴⁷³ The first and smaller of Stais' tombs contained two burials, one believed to be of a male with a bronze razor and two vases and one believed to be of a female with bronze tweezers, a silver ring and two vases. The larger tomb contained five interments with a number of vases distributed throughout the tomb. From these two tombs come a deep bowl, an alabastron, a multiple vase, a hydria, stirrup jars, a kalathos, an amphoriskos and a lekythos that date to LH IIC middle. The excavation reports from this site make it impossible to deduce which vases accompanied which burial and in certain cases one cannot even work out from which tomb they came.

VOURVATSI

10 km SW of Ligori, seven chamber tombs were excavated that contained LH IIC middle material. However, none of the deposits were stratigraphically intact. From the funerary offerings, one can conclude that the tombs were used from LH IIIA. Dating to LH IIC middle are a feeding bottle, a jug and possibly an alabastron. The only conclusion one can attempt is that the presence of the feeding bottle could imply a child burial.⁴⁷⁴

EUBOEA Map 2

⁴⁶⁸ Benzi 1975, 218.

⁴⁶⁹ Benzi 1975, 222, no. 166.

⁴⁷⁰ Benzi 1975, 339-340.

⁴⁷¹ Benzi 1975, 326-327.

⁴⁷² Stais 1895, 202-210.

⁴⁷³ Benzi 1975, 326.

Funerary evidence is limited during LH IIIC middle since no cemetery has been excavated associated with the settlement of Xeropolis-Lefkandi. Fourteen intramural burials have been noted dated to phases 2a and 2b at Lefkandi; Burials 1, 2, 6, 7-9, 11-13 belong to Phase 2a, and Burials 3-5, 10 and 14 to Phase 2b. The anthropological study of these burials reveal that five were adults (1, 4-5 and 14), one was an adolescent (11), two were about 8-9 years old (2, 7), two between 3-6 years (6, 8) and two at 2-3 (9, 10), with another pair of unclear age (3, 12).⁴⁷⁵

CHALKIS

The only definite case of LH IIIC middle burials comes from a small chamber tomb cemetery at Mistros St. in Chalkis. This consisted of six chamber tombs. Only tomb A appears to be unlooted and contains IIIC middle – namely two kraters of LH IIIC middle date. One is a complete spouted krater and another is a partially intact krater with chequer design.⁴⁷⁶ The oldest pottery and thus the first use of the tomb is in LH IIIB. Otherwise, the only information provided concerning the tombs themselves is that they contained pits with bones and offerings of older burials.

THE CYCLADES- Map 3

PAROS

KOUKOUNARIES

At Koukounaries there is possible evidence of a burial dated to LH IIIC middle. The burial was found within a cave measuring 3.7 by 1.47m.⁴⁷⁷ A long pathway leading to a constructed staircase gives access to the cave from the Acropolis above. The cave contained a male burial along with fragments of pottery and a horse figurine. The date of the burial is postulated to be LH IIIC middle by Schilardi who cites an amphora fragment with a tassel pattern which was found within the stratum in which the deceased had been laid.⁴⁷⁸ Unfortunately, this fragment has not been published. A few interesting points concerning the skeletal analysis of the deceased are his “perfect teeth” and “fine bone structure” which indicate good nutrition, his robust skeleton indicating he was “obviously well exercised”, as well as the hypertrophy of the abductor tubercles of the femora which could be caused from “continued habitual horse back riding”.⁴⁷⁹ This is the only “proper”

⁴⁷⁴ Benzi 1975, 294.

⁴⁷⁵ Personal communication from Don Evely.

⁴⁷⁶ Tsirivakos 1969, 30, fig. 2.

⁴⁷⁷ Schilardi 1999.

⁴⁷⁸ Schilardi 1999, 752 and fn. 17.

⁴⁷⁹ Schilardi 1999, 752-753, quotes from Sara Biesel's report.

burial noted at Koukounaries.⁴⁸⁰ It is tempting to see the buried figure as being a prominent one in the III C society of Koukounaries, however, I do not believe there is sufficient evidence to take this theory further.

NAXOS

Tombs dating to III C middle come from two chamber tomb cemeteries at Aplomata and Kamini.

APLOMATA- figs. 2.18 and 2.19

The cemetery of Aplomata consisted of three chamber tombs with multiple interments, all with LH III C middle material. In fact, all the tombs seem to date to the LH III C period. Tomb A, measuring 3.0 by 3.5m, was partially destroyed due to erosion on the cliffside. No in situ burials were found – only scattered bones, skulls and grave goods. Though at least two skulls were found, the number of vessels in the tomb imply probably a greater number of burials: they include 11 stirrup jars, two strainer jugs, two deep bowls, two amphoriskoi, a trefoil jug, two amphorae, a lekythos, a flask and an alabastron. Found on the cliff side was a Naue II type sword and three gold-ornamented beads.⁴⁸¹

Tomb B, measuring 3.0 by 4.3, contained at least three burials. Traces of burning were found in certain parts of the chamber and near some bones. It is uncertain however, if this was due to a cremation or a fumigation of the chamber. One burial lay in situ south of the doorway, with at least two others pushed against the chamber walls or scattered throughout the tomb. Vessels found include two hydrias, a multiple vase, a strainer jug, two stirrup jars, an amphora, a belly-handled amphora, an amphoriskos, a jug, a trefoil jug and a kalathos. The excavator believes that some of the small finds were deposited as heirlooms: a marble basin, an obsidian fragment, as well as “flat cylinder” object with an image of a “prince”. Other small finds of uncertain lineage include 80 gold rosettes, some gold wire, three small gold plates, steatite beads, loom-weights, an ivory handle possibly from a mirror, yet more gold fragments and similar of ivory, bronze, lead and silver.⁴⁸²

The presence of a mirror and other decorative elements such as the beads and the rosette in tomb B and the presence of the sword in Tomb A leads the excavator to believe that the latter was the male burial and the former the female one of a royal family.⁴⁸³

Unfortunately, very little information is provided for Tomb C: it was badly destroyed by a later Roman building. Traces of at least three burials are present in the

⁴⁸⁰ Further skeletal remains were found crushed under the collapsed structures of the settlement.

⁴⁸¹ Kontoleon 1965, 229, pl. 170b.

⁴⁸² Kontoleon 1965b, 184.

⁴⁸³ Kontoleon 1965b, 185.

tomb and the finds include two stirrup jars, two gold rings, two iron bits and two small stone beads possibly from a necklace.⁴⁸⁴

KAMINI- figs. 2.20, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23 and 2.24

The cemetery here consisted of four chamber tombs, of which three were intact and contained multiple interments, as well as a child pit burial. All contained IIC middle material. Indeed the pottery of all four is dated exclusively to the LH IIC period.

Tomb A measured 3.65m in diameter and was blocked from the dromos with a built terrace wall outside of which was found a hydria. According to Vlachopoulos, the tomb contained four groups of finds: one in a pit in the south west corner, a second group of vessels in the east side of the chamber, a group of multiple vessels surrounded by a stone peribolos in the upper layer of the chamber containing at least one burial and finally the disturbed burial in the lower layer of the same area.⁴⁸⁵ It is believed that the burial in the upper layer which had amongst other finds gold fragments, a seal, three gold beads, a silver ring, a bronze fibulae, bronze pins, a dagger and a mirror to belong to a woman. The burial in the upper layer, with two Naue II type swords and seven bronze comb/scratchers for horses is assumed to be that of a male.⁴⁸⁶ In total, the tomb contained 42 vessels.⁴⁸⁷

Tomb B was four-sided and measured approximately 3.45m on each side. It also had two burial layers. Six skeletons were found along the chamber walls, particularly on the north side. Scattered all over the floor were pots, as well as a bronze ring and some stone beads. Toward the eastern wall were laid four slabs with at least 16 vessels scattered all around them. The slabs covered a pit in which were skeletal remains with two bronze rings, two gold rings, 14 gold beads, a seal and six semi-precious stones.⁴⁸⁸ This method of disposal is not a very common practice but examples are known in other LH IIC cemeteries, such as Tomb 2 at Asine and Tomb 20 at Ialysos.⁴⁸⁹ Among the finds are included 33 vessels, 14 gold beads, one gold ring, one silver ring, fragments of at least 2 more silver rings, a bronze ring, a lead band, stone beads, small stone plaques, an obsidian fragment, and a clay bead.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁴ Kontoleon 1960, 139.

⁴⁸⁵ Vlachopoulos 1995, 554.

⁴⁸⁶ Zafeiropoulou 1966, 330.

⁴⁸⁷ A detailed catalogue of these can be seen in Vlachopoulos 1995, 555-565. They include 12 stirrup jars, a pyxis, a multiple vase, three kalathoi, four deep bowls, five amphoriskoi, four hydria, three flasks, 1 jug, three trefoil-mouthed jugs and four amphorae.

⁴⁸⁸ Zafeiropoulou 1966, 332-333.

⁴⁸⁹ Vlachopoulos 1995, 282.

⁴⁹⁰ A detailed catalogue of all finds can be seen in Vlachopoulos 1995, 571-580. The vessels include nine stirrup jars, five amphoriskoi, two multiple vases, a cup, a spouted cup, four one handled conical bowls, two kalathoi, two deep bowls, two flasks, a jug, two trefoil mouthed jugs and two amphorae.

Tomb Γ, slightly smaller than the other two tombs, measuring 2.4 by 3m, contained at least two adults and possibly two child burials.⁴⁹¹ Though no bones remain, the presence first of figurines as well as a feeding bottle in the tomb, and a cup and feeding bottle in a niche in the dromos imply the probable burials of a child or infant. South of the entrance, a skeleton remains, probably *in situ*.⁴⁹² Throughout the chamber are scattered slab fragments, as well as numerous vessels (mostly in the northern half), two mourning figurines, shells and a feeding bottle, again implying the presence of a child's burial. The slab fragments could show that in this tomb too, pit graves with slab covers were used. Among the finds of the chamber were 25 vessels, gold beads, a gold pomegranate shaped bead, a bronze pin and ring, a stone amulet, two cylindrical seals and the figurines and shells mentioned above.⁴⁹³

Tomb Δ and the burnt area to the north were described together by the excavator under the heading Tomb Δ.⁴⁹⁴ However, I will follow Vlachopoulos who examines the pyre and the Tomb separately. The pyre covers an area 3.4 by 2.6 meters and is elliptical in shape. In its eastern side in the upper stratum were found human remains without traces of burning. Below this level was a darker burnt soil containing small burnt bones of small animals and vessels with traces of burning. It is believed that the burnt layer was covered with soil probably from Tomb Δ.⁴⁹⁵ Deposited with the burial was a bronze spear and a sauroteer, or spear butt, as well as nine bronze bull heads and ten lead weights.⁴⁹⁶ These finds lead Vlachopoulos to conclude that this was probably the burial of a male figure who was either a warrior, hunter or perhaps even fisherman.⁴⁹⁷ Other finds of the pyre not mentioned above include 34 vessels, three shell shaped gold plates, a circular button shaped gold ornament, four gold beads, two gold rings, one silver ring, an additional spear head, a bronze chain, an agate sealstone, stone beads, an agate pendant, three steatite spindles, stone weight, a clay spindle and a shell.⁴⁹⁸

Tomb Δ was partially destroyed from the collapse of the roof and the use of the area during the Hellenistic period. It also appears to have been levelled at some point in

⁴⁹¹ This tomb contained finds of the LH IIIC middle and early LH IIIC late period.

⁴⁹² Zafeiropoulou 1966, 335.

⁴⁹³ A detailed catalogue of all finds can be seen in Vlachopoulos 1995, 585-592. The vessels in the chamber include five stirrup jars and one fragmentary stirrup jar, two bird shaped askoi, a legged alabastron, a multiple vase, a lid, two deep bowls, seven amphoriskoi, a feeding bottle, a flask, two jugs and an amphora.

⁴⁹⁴ Zafeiropoulou 1966, 335-337.

⁴⁹⁵ Vlachopoulos 1996, 596.

⁴⁹⁶ Vlachopoulos 1996, 596.

⁴⁹⁷ Vlachopoulos 1996, 597.

⁴⁹⁸ A detailed catalogue of all finds can be seen in Vlachopoulos 1995, 598-608. The vessels in the pyre include nine stirrup jars, a legged alabastron, a kylix, a spouted cup, a cup, two kalathoi, four deep bowls, seven amphoriskoi, two hydrias, a miniature juglet, a lekythos, three amphorae and a lid.

its history probably when the soil was removed to cover the pyre to the north.⁴⁹⁹ Only a few scattered bones were found in the tomb. Nonetheless, the great number of vessels, 25 in total, implies that the tomb must have contained multiple burials at one time.⁵⁰⁰ Furthermore, the fact that no small finds were found, except six lead weights, which were probably seen as unvaluable, implies that the tomb was probably looted at some point in its history, perhaps when the soil was removed to cover the pyre, or even in the Hellenistic period when the area of the tomb was used.

Tomb E consisted of a niche, measuring 0.8 by 1.12m. The excavator describes it as a pit, but the fact that one side has been dug into the rock while the other has been closed off with stones leads me to conclude that it was a niche, possibly belonging to a largely destroyed dromos. A child's burial was found there, with six pots including three cups, a kalathos, an alabastron, and a feeding bottle. Other offerings include 15 gold beads, six beads of semi-precious stones, a stone amulet and four small gold plates with representations of a child figure.⁵⁰¹ These plates are unique in the Aegean and are believed to be similar to Eastern Mediterranean examples, though these usually have the female goddess Astarte.⁵⁰²

These two cemeteries are in close proximity to the settlement of Grotta so they were probably the burial grounds for that settlement. One would expect to find more such chamber tombs; their lack could be because they were located in the cliffs, and thus eroded away in antiquity.

THE DODECANESE- Map 4

RHODES

Rhodes has tombs dating to LH IIIC middle at the northern sites of Ialysos, Kalavarda-Tzitzo, and Kalavarda-Aniforos, and at the southern ones of Vati and Piona.⁵⁰³

IALYSOS (Table 2.2; figs. 2.25, 2.26, 2.27, 2.28, and 2.29)

Most evidence comes from the cemetery of Ialysos, which contained in total 129 tombs. Of these, 88 were excavated in 1914, 1921, 1927 and 1928 and were subsequently

⁴⁹⁹ Vlachopoulos 1995, 611.

⁵⁰⁰ A detailed catalogue of all finds can be seen in Vlachopoulos 1995, 612-617. The vessels included in the tomb were eight stirrup jars, a kylix, a spouted cup, three kalathoi, a one handled conical bowl, a deep bowl, three amphoriskoi, two hydrias, a jug, a trefoil mouthed jug, an amphora, a flask and a strainer jug.

⁵⁰¹ Zafeiropoulou 1966, 337-338; Vlachopoulos 1995, 618-622.

⁵⁰² Karagheorghis, 1998.

⁵⁰³ There are a few cemeteries on Rhodes with use during LH IIIC early and in certain cases possibly LH IIIC middle although their use in this phase is less clear. They include Apollakia-Chimaria, Archangelos, Koskinou, Lindos and Lardos. See Mee 1982, 61, 64-65, 72-73 and 75.

published by the excavators. Dating to LH IIIC middle developed and advanced are 34 chamber tombs.⁵⁰⁴ Of these, six contain cremation burials, tombs NT 15, 17, 32, 38, 71 and 87. Most of the tombs that contain LH IIIC interments and grave goods as well as grave goods dating LH IIIA1 or IIIA2 lack LH IIIB material. Mee believes that this absence implies an abandonment of the tombs in this phase followed with re-use in IIIC.⁵⁰⁵ In fact, only 15 tombs of the total 34 with IIIC material contain earlier pottery: of these 11 are from Moschou Vounara, while only four are from Macra Vounara. Moreover, most of the tombs that do contain IIIB material are in Macra Vounara while only five tombs of the total 34 dating to IIIC are in Macra Vounara. Thus, it appears that in IIIC there is a preference for burials in the area of Moschou Vounara, while in IIIB the preference was for Macra Vounara. This would go a long way to explain the lack of IIIB material in nearly all of the IIIC tombs. Finally, one should note that no new tombs were constructed during LH IIIC at Macra Vounara.

The size of the chambers used is difficult to comment on since most of the chamber tombs are re-used from earlier periods. Based on Benzi's examination of the tombs, the IIIC examples are either medium or large in size. According to Georgiadis "the tendency of tombs at Ialysos is to become larger from LH IIIB to LH IIIC, a reverse image from the one attested in mainland Greece".⁵⁰⁶

Table 2.2 shows the finds associated with the IIIC middle burials. As at Perati the majority of closed shapes comprise the stirrup jar, the amphoriskos and the jug; open shapes are less common here with the cup being the most frequent. Other objects such as jewellery are nearly always found in tombs at Ialysos however it is difficult to conclude which come from LH IIIC burials and which from earlier ones.

KALAVARDA TZITZO

Two chamber tombs were excavated, but no stratigraphical information was forthcoming. Both tombs contained pottery dating from LH IIIA2 through to LH IIIC middle.⁵⁰⁷

KALAVARDA ANIFORO

Five chamber tombs, 46-50, were excavated. All except 49 contain material dating to LH IIIC middle. Tomb 46 measures 2.35 X 1.85 X 1.15m. It held the remains of two adults with finds dating to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIC: the LH IIIC middle vessels include a trefoil-

Georgiadis has also noted a newly excavated cemetery at Vigli with LH IIIC burials. Georgiadis 2003, 39.

⁵⁰⁴ These are tombs NT 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 30, 32, 35, 38, 40, 42, 43, 47, 52, 61, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 78, 80, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88 and 89.

⁵⁰⁵ Mee 1982, 28.

⁵⁰⁶ Georgiades 2003, 69.

⁵⁰⁷ Mee 1982, 52.

mouthed jug, a jug, two cups and a spouted cup.⁵⁰⁸ Tomb 47 measured 1.9 by 2.1m, with two adults. It appears to have continuous use from IIIA2 to IIIC: only a stirrup jar dates to IIIC middle. Tomb 48 measures 2.1 by 1.95m and has but one burial extant, though the pottery dates from IIIA2 through to LH IIIC.⁵⁰⁹ it contained a IIIC middle stirrup jar imported from the Argolid.⁵¹⁰ Finally, tomb 50 measures 1 by 2.3m, with one skull. All its material dates to LH IIIC: this includes two jugs, a stirrup jar and two cups. Of these, only the stirrup jar and possibly the larger jug are IIIC middle in date.⁵¹¹

VATI

Twenty-four chamber tombs were excavated, from which no stratigraphical information is available. Judging from the very few LH IIIC middle pots attributed to these tombs, it seems probable that only one or two tombs had LH IIIC middle interments. The earliest pottery is from LH IIIA 2. Dated to LH IIIC middle are three piriform jars, two amphoriskoi, two stirrup jars, two jugs, a flask and a ring vase.⁵¹²

PILONA- fig. 2.30, 2.31

Several chamber tombs have been excavated here. Jacopi excavated a number in 1929 and published the pottery, but with only very vague indications as to the construction of the tombs, the number of interments or which tombs contained which pots. Apparently, only one chamber tomb was intact. It contained a number of interments and measured 2 X 2.1 X 2.2m.⁵¹³ Mee dates the pottery from this tomb from LH IIIA2-IIIC. The IIIC middle vessels include a piriform jar, three stirrup jars and a jug.

A further four tombs were excavated in 1993. Tomb 4, which dates solely to LH IIIC, measured 1.7 by 2.8 m. It contained four burials, two adult, one male and one female, and two children. Finds dating to IIIC early/middle developed and IIIC middle advanced include stirrup jars, flasks, a straight-sided alabastron, amphoriskoi, a strainer jug, a multiple vase and deep bowls. Other finds included beads of glass-paste, faience and semi-precious stones, a gold pendant and a bronze fibula.⁵¹⁴

KOS

Two cemeteries on Kos, Eleona and Langada, have IIIC middle tombs.

ELEONA

⁵⁰⁸ Mee 1982, 50.

⁵⁰⁹ Mee 1982, 51.

⁵¹⁰ Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 42

⁵¹¹ Mee 1982, 52; Jacopi 1932-33, 133-150.

⁵¹² Mee 1982, 70-71.

⁵¹³ Jacopi 1930-1931, 335.

The cemetery at Eleona consists of 32 chamber tombs of which tombs 1, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, and 20 include material from LH IIIC middle.⁵¹⁵ Almost all were utilized earlier: tombs 7, 11 and 12 in LH IIIA1; tombs 6, 15 and 20 in IIIB, and tomb 13 in IIIC early.⁵¹⁶ Thus, tomb 1 is the only tomb apparently first used during IIIC middle, with a stirrup jar and cup. Of the reused tombs, tomb 6 contained a lekythos, 7 a jug and stirrup jar, 11 a IIIC middle stirrup jar, 12 a jug and a trefoil-mouthed jug, 13 a stirrup jar dating to IIIC middle and 20 a stirrup jar and an amphoriskos dating to IIIC middle. Another notable find either in tomb 6 or 7 is a Naue II type sword.⁵¹⁷ Tomb 15 which had the most IIIC middle finds contained a lekythos, two stirrup jars, two jugs, a feeding bottle, a mug, a deep bowl, a cup and a carinated cup.⁵¹⁸ All these pots are identified through the photographs and descriptions included in the 1965 publication. It should be noted that they are all out of context.

LANGADA- fig. 2.32

The cemetery of Langada contained 56 chamber tombs of which 20 contain definite IIIC middle material.⁵¹⁹ Of these, five had been used from IIIB,⁵²⁰ while ten were from IIIC early.⁵²¹ All the tombs contained inhumations with the exception of tomb 44 with traces of cremated bones in a jug. The tombs are described quite generally and thus it is difficult to determine the contexts of the finds.

KALYMNOS

POTHIA

There is evidence for a cemetery near the Mycenaean town of Pothia, on the eastern slope towards the sea. No further information is given for this cemetery, but the pottery that apparently comes from these tombs dates to the LH IIIC middle period. This includes five stirrup jars, an alabastron, two amphorae, a collar-necked jar, a deep bowl, a mug and two kalathoi.⁵²²

⁵¹⁴ Karantzali 1999; Karantzali 2001.

⁵¹⁵ Mountjoy 1999, 1079. No excavation information is available from these tombs because the original excavation books were destroyed in the Archaeological offices on Kos during the war in October of 1943.

⁵¹⁶ Mountjoy 1999, 1078.

⁵¹⁷ Jacopi 1930-1931, 84-86, fig. 54.

⁵¹⁸ Jacopi 1930-1931, 58, fig. 30.

⁵¹⁹ These are tombs 1, 6, 8, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 32, 34, 35, 39, 44, 45, 50, 52, 57 and 61.

⁵²⁰ Tombs 10, 19, 20, 52 and 57; Mountjoy 1999, 1078.

⁵²¹ Tombs 1, 6, 10, 11, 17, 35, 44, 52, 57 and 61; Mountjoy 1999, 1078.

⁵²² Paton 1887.

The standard burial practice used during the LH IIIC middle period is extramural inhumation in a chamber tomb. Other types of burials include inhumation burials in pits, cists, pithoi, as well as inurned cremations (many of which are found in tumuli). No tholos tombs have been found with material dating to IIIC middle in the areas examined in this study.⁵²³

Chamber tombs

The majority of tombs dating to Late Helladic IIIC middle maintain the pattern established for the LH chamber tombs. A dromos leads to a chamber carved out of the rock. The chamber itself varies in size and shape – from oval/circular to roughly rectangular/square in shape. Variations include niches in the dromos with child burials, or in a very few cases a second dromos (such as tombs 1 and 131 at Perati).⁵²⁴ Iakovides, has noted that the chambers are quite small.⁵²⁵ Mee and Cavanagh point out that tombs “are generally smaller” during LH IIIC, in comparison to the preceding periods.⁵²⁶ Overall, the tombs constructed in IIIC, mainly those at Perati, Aplomata, and Kamini, reveal a range in tomb sizes from as small as 1m² to as large as 9m². In the case of Langada on Kos, Mee and Cavanagh note that the majority of the tombs are less than 4m² and only two of the larger ones were actually constructed during LH IIIC.⁵²⁷ In contrast, Georgiadis noted that although in Mainland Greece tombs have a tendency to become smaller, on Ialysos during LH IIIC tombs have a tendency to become larger from LH IIIB to LH IIIC.⁵²⁸ One other noteworthy change is that the entrances of chamber tombs are less clearly marked off than in previous periods.⁵²⁹ Iakovides notes that only 20 tombs have preserved double jambs while ten others have a single jamb preserved⁵³⁰.

Pit graves

Examples of pit graves come from Perati and Argos although the examples from Argos will not be considered here since they are part of a tumulus. The Perati ones consist of three different types: the simple pit grave, the double pit grave, and the pit grave with dromos. All are found interspersed among the chamber tombs. The simple pit grave is the

⁵²³ Examples in other areas come from Kephallonia, Aetolia, Phocis, Thessaly and Crete. See Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 98-99.

⁵²⁴ This can also be observed at Asine in tomb 1 which is earlier. Thus one cannot see this as an attribute associated with tombs of this period.

⁵²⁵ Iakovides 1970, B, 11.

⁵²⁶ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 97.

⁵²⁷ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 93.

⁵²⁸ Georgiadis 2003, 69.

⁵²⁹ Iakovides 1970, B, 6-7; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 92.

most common. They were almost exclusively used for single burials although there are two with double burials. Four of the twenty pit graves contained infant burials. Interestingly all were associated with an adjacent chamber tomb.⁵³¹ The double pit consisted of a pit divided by dry stone walling. There are two such examples within the cemetery.⁵³² They contain burials on one side while the other side appears to have acted as the “equivalent to the entrance shaft”.⁵³³ The third type, of which four examples occur at Perati, were simple pits with dromoi cut into one side that apparently had no real function.⁵³⁴ Finally, it is worth noting the possible LH IIIC middle burials in simple pits from the settlements of Lefkandi-Xeropolis and Tiryns.⁵³⁵

Cist graves

The only examples known from the areas examined come from the tumulus at Argos and will therefore be discussed below.

Tumuli

During LH IIIC, the tumulus is quite rare, particularly in the regions studied in this thesis.⁵³⁶ It is only found in the Argolid, at Chania near Mycenae and in Argos: thus implying that this custom of burial could be a local practice in this period. The most interesting feature of the two tumuli in the Argolid is that both contain inurned cremations; the Argos example has 36 cremation urns, six pit graves and seven cist graves, the Chania example has nine cremation urns. Most examples of tumuli with IIIC burials had been created earlier; only the two examples from the Argolid and two more from Exalophos and Palaio Pyrgos:Pogonio began in IIIC.⁵³⁷ All, however, contain inhumations as in the examples from earlier periods.⁵³⁸ Thus, one concludes that in the Argolid during LH IIIC a new practice of a tumulus with cremation burials is introduced or developed. Two factors lead one to suppose that those that were cremated in the tumulus at Argos were foreigners or at least not local. The first is the fact that these burials are located south of the area designated throughout the Mycenaean period as the burial ground of Argos; even the continued use of certain cemeteries such as Deiras during LH IIIC late is in the northern limits of the town. The second factor concerns the cremations themselves which as was mentioned earlier do not have a history in the

⁵³⁰ Iakovidis 1970, B, 7; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 92, fn. 28.

⁵³¹ Tombs 29, 44, 45 and 54. Iakovidis 1970, B, 23; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 91.

⁵³² Tombs 63 and 98. Iakovidis 1970, B, 24; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 91.

⁵³³ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 91.

⁵³⁴ Tombs 7, 67, 68 and 73; Iakovidis 1970, B, 25; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 91.

⁵³⁵ Kilian 1979, 386; Popham and Musgrave 1991.

⁵³⁶ Other examples come from West Thessaly and Epirus; see Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 98.

⁵³⁷ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 98.

⁵³⁸ For a catalogue of earlier tumuli see Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 38-39, 57-59 and 80-81.

Argolid and furthermore do not continue in later periods in the Argolid as they do in other areas where they are found in this period such as Attica. However, there is one crucial factor which must not be overlooked. These cremations appear within a tumulus mound; a burial tradition of the Argolid and in particular of Argos.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁹ Protonotariou-Deilaki, 1980.

There are many aspects of death which one can examine when looking at burial practices. It is unfortunate that only a small number of sites have burials solely dated to LH IIIC. A greater number would perhaps allow for a better understanding of customs in this period. Our best preserved examples are the cemeteries of Perati, Kamini, Aplomata, Tripolis St. Argos, and Chania near Mycenae. A few remarks can also be made concerning the tombs at Ialysos and Pilona. Most of the information provided below comes from an examination of the Perati material. Fortunately, it usually matches with the evidence from other sites. This section will focus on three general categories. The first will look at the treatment and presentation of the deceased. This will include some general discussions such as the posture, orientation, placement within the tomb, the clearing and re-use of earlier tombs, the use of pits and the practice of fumigation. The second will briefly consider the grave offerings of pottery, jewellery, weapons and figurines. The final category will look at the identity of the deceased and what distinctions can be seen based on gender, age and social status.

The treatment and presentation of the deceased

Overall, inhumation was the preference for burial during LH IIIC, with the exception of a few cases of cremation.⁵⁴⁰ Throughout most of the Mycenaean period, chamber tombs were used as the main type of tomb and for multiple burials. These collective tombs continue to predominate during LH IIIC although there are increased examples of single burials, particularly by the late phase.⁵⁴¹ As is the case with most tombs, the dead are laid on the floor or on a thin layer of pebbles with no apparent concern for orientation.⁵⁴² The most common position is to have the body laid on its back with the knees drawn up and the hands on the sides, in their laps or on their chests.⁵⁴³ Variations in the internal arrangement of tombs are often due to their re-use. Generally speaking when a tomb is reopened the burials are placed within the chamber in a similar manner as described above. If the chamber is small or the tomb begins to fill with too many interments the bones and associated offerings are often swept along the sides of the chambers.⁵⁴⁴ This can be witnessed at Perati, Tiryns, Asine, tomb 4 at Pilona and tombs A and Δ at Aplomata. Apparently this custom of moving earlier burials aside is uncommon at

⁵⁴⁰ Cremations will be examined in section 6 of this chapter.

⁵⁴¹ Single burials will be examined in the following section of this chapter.

⁵⁴² Georgiadis notes that in the case of Ialysos it appears that the head was facing north-east or north-west. I believe however that this orientation is based more so on the location of the tombs, that is the orientation in which it was convenient to carve the chambers, rather than a conscious choice of how to place the dead. See Georgiadis 2003, 79.

⁵⁴³ Iakovides 1970, B, 21.

⁵⁴⁴ Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 42.

Ialysos. In fact, according to Cavanagh and Mee, it was “normal to empty tombs” in the Dodecanese.⁵⁴⁵ It is unfortunate that so little information is available for the tombs of Langada and Eleona on Kos. Based on the pottery from the preliminary report it appears that numerous tombs were re-used in this period, but unfortunately little more information is available. One should note a unique occurrence in tomb Σ3 at Perati where apparently the bones had been moved before decomposition. A few sea shells were placed on charcoal as a secondary offering beside the burial. This indicates that in order for the burial to be removed from its original position that the flesh must be fully decomposed. “With the total decomposition of the body...all interest in the defunct ceased and all attempts at any form of tendance were abandoned”.⁵⁴⁶ Another custom seems to be the use of pits or niches within the chamber to deposit earlier burials. This custom is most common at Perati and Ialysos. It also appears at Tiryns and Dimitrakopoulou St. in Athens. It does not however occur on Naxos.⁵⁴⁷ Often niches are found empty or with few finds such as shells. These are presumed to be for the burial of children or infants and will be discussed below in more detail. There are traces of burning in some of the tombs-Tiryns, Spata, Asine, and Aplomata- indicating that fumigation rites could have been practiced before laying a new interment in the tomb. Cavanagh believes that cremation burials could have been a type of post burial rite or second funeral in which the older burials were cremated before a new burial was introduced into the tomb⁵⁴⁸, however I do not believe there is enough archaeological evidence to prove this. The traces of burning found in those tombs believed to have been fumigated vary greatly from the examples of cremations that are preserved. These fires “are purificatory...the flame consumes the corrupt flesh leaving the grave chamber clean and the bones white”.⁵⁴⁹

Grave Offerings

Important aspects of burial customs are the grave offerings which are included with the deceased. Although these will all be considered in more detail in their individual chapters, this section will briefly examine their presence within funerary contexts. Perati once again provides the best information since the publication includes context as well as plans of most of the tombs. Vases were placed near, on or around the body and do not appear to have followed a defined system. As a rule they were placed upright, sometimes inclined and rarely upside down. Interestingly most vessels were used, although in good condition. Occasionally, some were broken before deposition in the tomb.⁵⁵⁰ It is possible that these

⁵⁴⁵ Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 42.

⁵⁴⁶ Iakovides 1980, 23.

⁵⁴⁷ Vlachopoulos 1995, 12

⁵⁴⁸ Cavanagh 1977, 170-177.

⁵⁴⁹ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 112.

⁵⁵⁰ Iakovides 1980, 19.

held some special importance to their owners. In pottery, a general preference in closed shapes for stirrup jars or amphoriskoi is noted, followed by alabastra and jugs; for open shapes the deep bowl is most common. The choice of vessel deposited in the tombs is usually associated with drinking, pouring and eating as well as unguent containers. It is worth noting that kylikes which were often found in tombs of earlier periods, particularly in the dromoi of tombs, are no longer popular. This could perhaps be an indication of a change in ritual associated with tombs. Offerings of precious ornaments and weaponry occur in certain grave groups. Neck ornaments appear to be the most popular type of jewellery adorning the dead. This is followed by clothing ornaments such as buttons, cut out reliefs and fibulae which suggest that the dead were buried with fine clothing. Hand and head ornaments are less common although these too appear in certain graves, particularly at Perati and Ialysos. Ialysos seems to be very rich in gold finds in contrast to the rest of Rhodes. This could be an indication that those who were buried in this cemetery belonged to an elite group.

Identity of the Deceased

A few patterns are discernable with regard to gender or age of the deceased. For the most part as in previous periods the presence of weapons and tools leads to the assumption of a male burial while the presence of jewellery indicates the burial of a female. Vlachopoulos points out a few exceptions to this such as a male burial at Hala-Sultan-Tekke in Cyprus is given spears and a knife as well as numerous items of jewellery such as a necklace and earrings which are usually considered as offerings for a female burial.⁵⁵¹

One matter that seems high standard over all is the treatment of child burials: these frequently include feeding bottles, cups, shells and in many cases figurines although these may also be included in adult burials. The placement of children is also very standard. As was mentioned above child burials are often made within niches in dromoi. At Perati for example all nine chamber tombs with niches contained child burials.⁵⁵² Often, though no bones of children are preserved, their former presence can be assumed from the remains of shells or other finds. Such is the case for a pit in the dromos of tomb Σ49 at Perati which only contained remains of shells.⁵⁵³ Occasionally child burials may include ornaments such as beads or as in the case of Tomb E at Kamini rich offerings such as gold beads and the small gold plates with the child representations.⁵⁵⁴

One final question poses itself; can we see a connection between status and the treatment after death? Numerous scholars have focused on whether mortuary remains can

⁵⁵¹ Vlachopoulos 1995, 292. He also notes some of the tombs in Grave Circle A at Mycenae.

⁵⁵² Iakovides 1970, B 5. Tombs 33, 43, 46, 130, Σ14, Σ23, Σ50, Σ52, Σ57.

⁵⁵³ Iakovides 1970, B 5.

⁵⁵⁴ Vlachopoulos 1995, 618-622.

reveal aspects of social status. Saxe for example believes that "...an individual's treatment at death is a reflection of the position occupied in a status system in life",⁵⁵⁵ In contrast, others such as Ucko pointed out that burial practices are not necessarily indicative of beliefs of the contemporaries of the deceased. The presence or lack of grave goods does not necessarily imply wealth or lack of it, nor does the presence of monumental funerary tombs reflect the burial of rulers or aristocrats.⁵⁵⁶ The fact that precious objects such as jewellery or weaponry appear in the archaeological evidence of this period shows that such wealth did exist in these communities. Of course unless one is able to compare a settlement and its associated cemetery it is almost impossible to deduce whether the wealth displayed in the funerary evidence is actual evidence for the status held in life, or rather a perception of how one should be commemorated in death. In the cemeteries of Perati, Naxos, Langada, and Ialysos, there is evidence that the dead were buried with at least some of the wealth available to the living. Examples of imports in certain cemeteries, primarily at Ialysos and Perati, are also indicative of this social status. One could thus conclude based solely on the funerary evidence that these sites were especially well-off and thus important during IIIC.

⁵⁵⁵ Saxe 1971, 39.

⁵⁵⁶ Ucko 1969.

Many have argued that IIIC marks a change from customary multiple burials to single burials. Snodgrass believes that the practice is an indication of a revival of the middle Helladic culture and that people had gone back to practicing an old custom which had survived in the peripheral areas.⁵⁵⁷ Desborough believed that “the arrival of newcomers who fused with, and dominated, the surviving element” are to account for the increase and final preference of single burials.⁵⁵⁸ However, he also writes:

“Can we not suppose that the Sub-Mycenaean tombs represent a revival of practice which had never been altogether discarded, and a rejection of the normal Mycenaean system perhaps originally imposed by the ruling class, on the grounds that all had been finished with? Or could it be something simpler, just a feeling that multiple family burials, in the existing state of insecurity, no longer served any purpose—in which case the trench, stone-lined and possible stone-covered [tombs] as well, would be the natural alternative”.

Desborough 1972, 108.

Although he eventually favours the idea of newcomers as being the predominant reason, with this statement he touched upon elements of social and economic change which might have accounted for such a practice. I believe this is an important point in understanding the appearance of this burial practice. Mee and Cavanagh argue that a less certain future and insecurity led to smaller and often single tombs.⁵⁵⁹ With the removal of the social conformity imposed during the palatial period, as well as a degree of levelling out within the survivors, the element of choice can be expressed. Thus a standard of burial which might previously be dominant can break down: hence the appearance of more single burials in this period. In a society when there is less economic and political security than before, as one would expect was the case in Late Helladic IIIC, less time and expenditure might be spent on tombs; the digging of a pit would take less time than the carving of a new chamber tomb, perhaps even less time than the reopening of an earlier chamber tomb.

Another possible explanation, although there isn't archaeological evidence to prove this, is that there could have been an increase in the death rate during this period. A change from multiple burials to single burials would be practical since earlier burials would not have decomposed yet to allow for their removal or movement.

Lemos writes that “perhaps the decision as to the burial ground in which one was buried depended on membership of a particular kin group or lineage”.⁵⁶⁰ This can also be

⁵⁵⁷ Snodgrass 1971, 186; Lemos 2002, 185.

⁵⁵⁸ Desborough 1972, 109; Lemos 2002, 185.

⁵⁵⁹ Mee and Cavanagh 1984, 60; Lemos 2002, 185.

⁵⁶⁰ Lemos 2002, 190.

applied to the change from multiple to single burials. Perhaps, many of those that survived in the post palatial period no longer had connection to families of the past. This could be due to the fact that there was an increase in population movements and thus new comers were arriving in areas in which they had no links to earlier family chamber tombs.

A further point concerns elements of ritual which are inherent with certain tomb types. Perhaps a change from multiple to single burials can be related to changes in ritual. Throughout most of the Mycenaean period, chamber tombs were used as the main tomb type for multiple burials. Collective tombs thus, “lend themselves to an elaboration of the ritual to which tombs of other designs were not so amenable”.⁵⁶¹ The mere fact that they have a long dromos where rituals such as rites of passage are enacted differentiates them from the simpler graves where liminal rituals were not as important.⁵⁶² Moreover, a change in ritual is also seen in the fact that single burials were not reopened, in contrast to chamber tombs which were opened repeatedly, thus giving the buriers a direct confrontation with earlier interments. According to Mee and Cavanagh “second burial rites develop when such collective tombs were in use, and are not so apparent in single graves...these rites developed under the stimulus of the direct confrontation with the skeletal remains of earlier burials, which collective burials entails. In other words, there can indeed be an interplay between the architectural design of the tombs and developments in the ceremonial”⁵⁶³

Ultimately, it is difficult to find a satisfactory explanation for the increase of this funeral rite. It is most likely a combination of many things of which social and economic change were probably the most dominant factor. Having said this however it should be pointed out at this stage that the evidence available does not indicate such a drastic change in custom during LH IIIC. Lewartowski provides an accurate account of the chronology of the main types of “simple tombs”, which for the most part consists of tombs used for single burials. Her Table 3 shows that the major change occurs in the following Submycenaean period.⁵⁶⁴ In fact, it is interesting to note than in LH IIIC there is even a slight decrease in such tombs.

Before examining the evidence of single burials it is worth briefly examining what these may constitute. It can be agreed that a single interment placed in a cist, pit or urn can be considered a clear case of a single burial. Examples of chamber tombs which appear to only have one interment can also be seen as such, although one can never know for certainty whether these were cleared out leaving behind no evidence of earlier burials.

⁵⁶¹ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 118.

⁵⁶² Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 118.

⁵⁶³ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 118.

⁵⁶⁴ Lewartowski 2000.

For the purpose of this study chamber tombs containing pits or other types of single burials such as cremation urns as well as tumuli with the same will be considered multiple burials, although one could argue for them constituting multiple single burials.⁵⁶⁵

In the cemetery of Perati there are at least 26 pits with single burials. According to Iakovides however this frequency occurs because of the small amount of relatively flat ground making it more practical to use pits rather than carve chamber tombs.⁵⁶⁶ Moreover, of the tombs that were only used in LH IIIC middle 18 have single burials, of which eight are child or infant burials indicating a particular treatment for children not so much a new practice of single burials.

Other examples of chamber tombs with single interments have been found at Ialysos.⁵⁶⁷ Of these nine tombs, only four have pottery dating earlier than LH IIIC indicating that the earlier interments were being cleared out of the tombs. In this case there seems to be more importance in the fact that earlier tombs are re-used rather than that the presence of a single LH IIIC burial within a chamber tomb.

The burials referred to earlier within the settlement remains at Tiryns and Lefkandi fall under the category of single burials. Unfortunately the lack of grave offerings at both sites makes their dating difficult. In the case of Lefkandi they appear to be dated to LH III C middle or late while at Tiryns they apparently occur within levels dated from LHIIIB2 to LHIIIC middle developed.

I am hesitant to say that IIIC played a pivotal role in the adoption of such a custom. The evidence available does not indicate such a drastic change in custom from the previous period. I prefer to argue for a gradual change; in LH IIIC middle it appears along side multiple burials while by IIIC late and the Submycenaean periods it becomes more manifest. In Attica these increase in number during the SM period and continue into the PG period, while in the Argolid single inhumation “is almost the universal practice...from SM to the end of the Geometric period”.⁵⁶⁸ This change is also manifest on Euboea, Skyros, the Dodecanese, Boeotia and in some parts of central Greece.⁵⁶⁹ I believe therefore, that the SM period or at the very earliest the late phase of LH IIIC was the pivotal point of this change from multiple to single burials throughout Greece.

⁵⁶⁵ On their own each of these may be considered a single burial but when seen together as part of *one* burial mound they may also be considered as elements of a multiple burial context. It seems the underlying factor for defining a single burial as such concerns rites which would have been undertaken concerning mainly the construction of these tombs. If the chamber was constructed with the intention of only placing a single interment within it would then be classified as a single burial. Similarly, if a single burial within a tumulus mound was originally constructed or deposited on its own and was later enclosed within a mound this would be very different than if the original intention was to bury multiple interments within the mound. Unfortunately, I do not believe these questions can be answered from the archaeological evidence.

⁵⁶⁶ Iakovides 1970, B 26.

⁵⁶⁷ Tombs 9, 16, 47, 61, 62, 64, 66, 67 and 68.

⁵⁶⁸ Lemos 2002, 152, 157.

⁵⁶⁹ Lemos 2002, 185.

Cremation has no great presence in earlier periods and where it does occur it is usually as single examples.⁵⁷⁰ Maps 5 and 6 present the known examples of cremations predating LH IIIC. To summarise, before LH IIIC a number of cremation burials are recorded, but these are in general quite sporadic and in no sense can one argue for a tradition of such a burial practice. During LH IIIC the practice increases and marks the beginning of a burial rite that runs on throughout the following centuries. Map 7 presents the known LH IIIC examples, reported from Perati, Ialysos, Langada, Chania near Mycenae and Argos (from the areas studied in this thesis) as well as from Kallithea, Koukoura, Klaus and Lousika in Achaea, Agrapidochori in Elis and Kolonaki at Thebes.⁵⁷¹

Eleven cases of cremation occurred at Perati: ten dated to IIIC middle (fig. 2.33). A general analysis shows that six were in urns and four were in a pit or loose on the floor.⁵⁷² It is interesting to note that no distinction appears to be made in reference either to sex or age. There are examples of adults, children and infants as well as males and females. One other interesting point is the fact that multiple cremation burials occur at Perati with most of the urns containing traces of two skeletons, often a child or infant accompanied by a female.⁵⁷³ In total, “bones from one child, two youths, 11 adults (20-25 years old) and four individuals of advanced age (over 55 years) were found in the 12 graves”.⁵⁷⁴ At Ialysos, there is evidence for seven cremations in six of the tombs: five were inurned cremations while the remaining two were in pits cut into the floor of the chambers.⁵⁷⁵ At Langada on Kos one tomb, tomb 44, has cremated bones in a jug. Tomb D at Kamini on Naxos is reported to have burning, but it is not clear if this is associated with a cremation.⁵⁷⁶ The example from Chania is unpublished: the only information available is that the cremations were inurned and part of a tumulus. The example from Argos is quite well documented: it consists of a tumulus containing 36 cremations in urns

⁵⁷⁰ For a detailed account of earlier examples see Iakovides 1970, 45-46 and Melas 1984, 24-26.

⁵⁷¹ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 93;.

⁵⁷² Tomb 1 contained a collar-neck jar in a pit with remains of two adults, and another pit with remains of two adults and one child; Tomb 36 contained a jug with remains of one adult; Tomb 38 contained a jug with the remains of two adults; Tomb 46 contained the bones of an adolescent on the chamber floor; Tomb 75 contained a jug in a shallow pit with remains of three adults; Tomb 122 contained remains of two persons, one adult and one adolescent, on the chamber floor; Tomb 145 contained remains of an older adult in a jug; Tomb 146 contained remains of an older adult along the chamber floor; Tomb 154 contained three piles of bones belonging to two adults – it is uncertain whether they originally were in urns; Tomb 157 contained the remains of one adult in a large jug with twisted handle.

⁵⁷³ Iakovides 1979, 31-43; Lemos 2002, 186.

⁵⁷⁴ Paidoussis and Sbarounis 1974, 145.

⁵⁷⁵ Tomb 15 contained a jug with burnt bones; Tomb 17 had two pits: one had burnt bones while the other had a jug with burnt bones; Tomb 32 contained a jug with burnt bones deposited in a pit; Tomb 38 contained burnt bones in a pit; Tomb 71 contained bones in a jug; Tomb 87 contained bones in a jug deposited in a pit.

of which 18 date to IIC middle. An initial examination of the cremated bones indicates that adults as well as children, though apparently not infants, were cremated here. It is once again interesting to note the presence of these two tumuli in the Argolid. Most interesting is the fact that they appear in the Argolid, where cremation was not so much practiced in later periods as in other areas of Greece. One is tempted to link these cremations with specific family groups that decided to burn their dead rather than inhume them. In the section on tumuli I have briefly discussed why I believe that those that buried their dead in these tumuli were probably from a local population of the Argolid. To reiterate, the main factor is that they chose to place the cremation urns within tumuli which have a long tradition in the Argolid.

The practice of cremation becomes the rule rather than the exception in many parts of Greece during the Iron Age. In Attica, from as early as the Sub-Mycenaean period cremation becomes the most common practice; this continues through to the Protogeometric period when it becomes the norm for adult burials.⁵⁷⁷ Oddly, in the Argolid where cremations appear in LH IIC, they appear again with some frequency only in the Late Geometric period.⁵⁷⁸ In Boeotia, the practice is witnessed in the Protogeometric period through to the middle Geometric. In Euboea, cremations occur from the Submycenaean period, and continue in great numbers through the Protogeometric period alongside inhumations, while by the Sub-Geometric period inhumations begin to once again increase.⁵⁷⁹ In the Dodecanese, Rhodes appears to have some Late Protogeometric cremations⁵⁸⁰ while during the Geometric period both Rhodes and Kos have examples of cremation burials.⁵⁸¹ In the Cyclades only Naxos has evidence for cremation burials dated to the Proto Geometric period.⁵⁸²

What is unclear is how and from where this custom originally reached the Aegean during LH IIC. It is important here to look first at the evidence from Crete and Cyprus. These two areas could be possible sources or channels for the spread of the rite of cremation within the Aegean, since they had constant contacts with the East as well as Mainland Greece during the Bronze Age.

⁵⁷⁶ Vlachopoulos 1960, 335-336. See also Iakovides 1970, B, 46 fn. 6; Mee 1982, 28.

⁵⁷⁷ Lemos 2002, 152-157, 186-187.

⁵⁷⁸ Snodgrass 1971, 151-152.

⁵⁷⁹ Snodgrass 1971, 159.

⁵⁸⁰ Lemos 2002, 182.

⁵⁸¹ Lemos 2002, 180-182, 187.

⁵⁸² Lemos 2002, 178-180.

The earliest example from Crete dates to MM III, from tomb IX of Ailias near Knossos.⁵⁸³ The next example appears nearly 500 years later in LM IIIA2, from the cemetery of Olous in Eastern Crete: at least 16 pithoi cremations and three larnax cremations.⁵⁸⁴ Doubtful cases come from Melidoni-Gourgouthia, from Astipades-Rethymnon with 21 child pithos burials and from Vatolakos in Western Crete: all date from LM IIIB-Sub-Minoan.⁵⁸⁵

In LM IIIC, cremations become more numerous, occurring in many more sites, predominantly in Eastern Crete. At Praisos a cremation in a larnax was found in a tholos tomb;⁵⁸⁶ an inurned cremation was also found in a chamber tomb at Myrsini;⁵⁸⁷ two cremation urns were amongst the burials in a chamber tomb at Kritsa;⁵⁸⁸ a vessel in chamber tomb D from Liliانا contained the burnt remains of a child,⁵⁸⁹ and at Mouliana, tholos tomb A contained at least one cremation in a krater and possibly a second in a pyxis, dating to the LM IIIC-SubMinoan periods.⁵⁹⁰ By the Protogeometric period cremations become widespread and during the Geometric period there is again a mix of inhumations and cremations.⁵⁹¹ Thus, Crete can be said to follow closely the pattern discerned in Mainland Greece: sporadic examples of cremation until IIIC, when they increase in number. This should imply that Crete was probably not a source for the more frequent appearance of cremations on the Mainland during Late Helladic IIIC, but rather that both these areas were influenced from somewhere else.

Cyprus would have been a possible candidate since it has always had Near Eastern contacts but only one example is known from the cemetery of Kaloriziki near Kourion; a cremation of a female in a bronze urn dating to LC IIIB, roughly contemporary with LH/LM IIIC.⁵⁹²

Therefore the minimal evidence from Crete and Cyprus leads us to look to other areas for the inspiration of this rite; namely to modern Syria and Palestine as well as Asia Minor.⁵⁹³ Maps 8-11 provide an account of cremation burials in these areas. It seems quite clear from these maps that the custom of cremation was in practice in the East from as early as the 17th century B.C. and regularly occurred down to as late as the 11th century

⁵⁸³ Iakovides 1970, B, 47; Melas 1984, 30; *AR* 1955, 32; Hutchinson 1962, 230; Davaras 1973, 162.

⁵⁸⁴ Iakovides 1970, B 47; Melas 1984, 31; Hutchinson 1962, 231; Dickinson 1994, 188-189; Davaras 1973, 164, he dates these cremations later to LM IIIC-SubMinoan

⁵⁸⁵ Melas 1984, 31;

⁵⁸⁶ Iakovides 1970, B, 47.

⁵⁸⁷ Iakovides 1970, B, 47;

⁵⁸⁸ Iakovides 1970, B, 47; Melas 1984, 31.

⁵⁸⁹ Iakovides 1970, B, 47; Melas 1984, 31.

⁵⁹⁰ Iakovides 1970, B, 47; Melas 1984, 31; Snodgrass 1971, 168.

⁵⁹¹ Snodgrass 1971, 165-169.

⁵⁹² Iakovides 1970, B, 51; Melas 1984, 27.

⁵⁹³ For a summary account of cremation burials in the East see Iakovides 1970, 51-55 and Melas 1984, 27-28.

B.C. Thus, an eastern influence for the use of cremations in Greece during Late Helladic III C seems the most logical conclusion and one which is generally agreed on.⁵⁹⁴ Iakovides, in providing a very detailed account of cremation evidence from the East, sums the matter up:

“In Syria and Palestine, after one or two isolated early Bronze Age instances (Gezer, Jericho), cremation appears suddenly in the 13th-12th centuries, sporadically in the south of the country (Tell Beit Mirsim, Azor) but predominantly in the north (Alalakh, Tell Sukas, Hama, Karkhemish). In fact cremation had been known and practiced [*sic*] in several regions of Anatolia from the early Bronze Age to the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. (Gedikli Hüyük, Karahüyük, Ilica, Boğazköy, Sardis, Troy VII) and is even mentioned in written sources of the time (Boğazköy, Nuzi). It was then adopted by Mycenaean settlers in the cemetery at Müskebi and appears simultaneously on adjacent Kos and Rhodes.”

Iakovides 1980, 15

Iakovides' account is accurate in that cremations do appear in the archaeological record in the East much earlier than in Mainland Greece. The special relationship which Attica seems to have in this period both with the islands of the Dodecanese as well as the East could explain the appearance of cremations with such frequency at the site of Perati. It is however difficult to account for its presence in the Argolid since there is very little evidence for contact with the East in this period.

What specific occurrences, however, could have introduced a new type of burial such as cremation? One possible explanation is the appearance of a foreign group of people settling in the Aegean. The archaeological evidence does not bear witness to such, since the culture of III C is still predominantly Mycenaean in its underlying structure, both in terms of pottery style and in customs practised. Cross-cultural marriages are another route. But one would expect these to stand out in the archaeological record, with the presence of other foreign objects. However, this is not the case. Thus, in my opinion a direct influence or presence of a foreign element is unlikely to be the answer.

The prospect of dissemination through contacts seems to be the most logical explanation for the spread of the custom. This is in fact the most commonly argued explanation.⁵⁹⁵ One reason why cremations do not appear in the archaeological record with frequency before LH III C could be the fact that before the palatial economy collapsed, trade was limited to those who were drawn directly from or perhaps employed by the elite. The elite are obviously in a position to determine what types of burials were “allowed”. During LH IIIA-III B, the extensive contacts with the East, including trade, would have allowed ample opportunity for such customs to emerge. However, in these very periods there is the *least* evidence for such. A simple reason for this is probably that the elite chose to display their wealth conspicuously with large tombs such as the tholos,

⁵⁹⁴ Lemos 2002, 186; Melas 1984; Iakovides 1979.

⁵⁹⁵ Iakovides 1970, B, 56-57; Melas 1984, 33; Snodgrass 1971, 157-158; Mylonas 1948, 80.

rather than choosing to mimic a practice from the East. However, in LH IIIC when such central control had greatly diminished, 'freedom of trade' would have allowed for a greater percentage of the population to be involved, let alone giving a greater freedom of choice of tomb type. It may be no accident that we find cremation burials appearing in IIIC primarily at coastal sites – just those areas where one would expect trade to have been carried out from.

It should be noted too that the practice of cremation is neither economical nor time saving. The amount of wood that would have to be gathered to create a fire to reach at least 900 degrees celsius is considerable, nor necessarily would it be that easily available.⁵⁹⁶ Pearson points out that "the successful cremation of a human body normally requires the burning of about a ton of dry timber."⁵⁹⁷ Thus, one must bear in mind that the practice of cremation is in itself something that could be seen as an expression of wealth: a cremation burial with very few grave offerings might be as costly or even more so than a simpler burial with richer grave offerings. Can one take this line of thought even further: seeing in Late Helladic IIIC a new way of expressing wealth not in grave goods only but also in burial methods? Do those cremated in fact indicate the "elite" class?

Could there also be some change in ritual inherent in such a rite? According to Lemos, the rite of cremation "must have had a different symbolic or eschatological importance for those who chose to practice it".⁵⁹⁸ She goes on to point out that "the whole ritual might have been more distressing for those who participated: they had to watch and smell the burning of the corpse for hours and perhaps some or all of them had to take part in pounding the corpse whose cremated remains were then put in the urn and finally buried".⁵⁹⁹ Based on the examination of the cremated bones from Perati, it appears that "deliberate crushing had taken place while the bones still lay on the pyre".⁶⁰⁰ Furthermore, the choice to burn a body rather than inhume it implies different beliefs in how the body is perceived – another ideology comes into play. In the Hindu religion for example cremation is the main form of burial and is related directly to their religious beliefs: "The corpse is a sacrificial offering to Agni, god of sacrificial fire, who disperses its elements. The body becomes ashes, the eyes are directed to the sun and the breath is scattered to the winds. Through fire, the new body is reborn into the afterlife".⁶⁰¹ Again, if one is to assume that some new ideology existed for the perception of the body one may assume that this too was influenced from somewhere in the east.

⁵⁹⁶ Iakovidis notes that the fact that certain objects such as glass paste had begun to burn in the fires would mean a temperature of at least 900 degrees C. Iakovidis 1970, B 37, fn. 2.

⁵⁹⁷ Pearson 1999, 49.

⁵⁹⁸ Lemos 2002, 186.

⁵⁹⁹ Lemos 2002, 187.

⁶⁰⁰ It is possible to tell if a bone had been crushed before or during firing based on the fire impact visible on the bones. See Paidoussis and Sbarounis 1975, 143-144.

⁶⁰¹ Pearson 1999, 50.

Cavanagh believes that cremation burials could have been a type of post-burial rite or second funeral in which the older burials were cremated before a new burial was introduced into the tomb.⁶⁰² I do not believe such a theory can be proven for LH IIIc: we would expect to find more burning in the tombs themselves or at least outside where a pyre might have existed.⁶⁰³ Moreover, offerings in the vicinity do not appear to have been deliberately burned.

No single explanation can be brought forth to explain convincingly the appearance of cremation in IIIc. The presence of a foreign group of people or even cross-cultural marriages in my opinion can be ruled out as a major contributing factor. More important, I feel, is the new sense of social diversity that exists in LH IIIc, taking place moreover in a time of active trade, contacts and some clear movements of people that permits a growth of foreign influence. It also allows for a greater flexibility in burial practices, as well as a new way of expressing one's wealth.

⁶⁰² Cavanagh 1977, 170-177.

⁶⁰³ It is most likely that the traces of burning that are found in a number of tombs are for fumigation of the tomb. See section 2.2- Tiryns tomb 5, Asine tomb 1, Spata larger tomb and Aplomata tomb B.

The evidence available from these ten geographical areas shows both the re-use of older cemeteries and the opening of completely new ones – at Perati, Kamini and Aplomata on Naxos and the tumulus at Argos.⁶⁰⁴ New tombs are constructed during this phase, including both pit and chamber tombs, usually in earlier cemeteries but also as individual and isolated cases too.

The people of LH III C do not differ in this respect to any great degree from those of the previous periods, as the burial evidence clearly shows continuity. For example, the types of tombs used in this period, for the most part, consist of chamber tombs: ones constructed in previous periods and in use in III C, as well as newly built tombs. This is the case for the areas examined in this thesis but also others areas as well; chamber tombs predominate in Arcadia, Laconia, Messenia, Achaea, the Ionian Islands, Phocis, Locris and Phthiotis.⁶⁰⁵ One could conclude that the underlying foundations here remain the same in LH III C as in earlier periods. One major difference which appears in the funerary evidence of LH III C is the use of tholos tombs. Unlike in previous periods where tholoi were frequently found in the Argolid or Messenia, during LH III C, they are nearly completely lacking in these areas and rather appear in so called “peripheral” areas such as Kephallenia, Aetolia, Phocis and Thessaly.⁶⁰⁶

It is important to note the relative frequency of tomb types that were rarer or non-existent before: single burials, cremation burials in tumuli, and inurned cremation burials. I have put forward some suggestions as to how or why these practices could have been introduced alongside the established burial traditions in LH III C. It is important to comprehend that burial preferences are difficult to interpret in that they relate to social conditions – influenced subtly by matters cultural, economical or even environmental. The observations of the previous sections bring into sharp focus how hard, if not impossible, it is to comprehend the intangible from the evidence of objects alone.

The fact that precious objects such as jewellery or weaponry appear in the burials of this period shows that wealth did exist in these communities. However, this should not be over estimated; degrees of social ranking and distinction of the sort that could be seen in the preceding periods of Mycenaean palatial rule still do exist. Rich burials can be seen at Perati, Aplomata and Kamini on Naxos, in numerous tombs at Ialysos as well as Langada on Kos. For all these sites one must ask whether what we have as evidence belongs to the rich members of the communities or whether these communities were rich

⁶⁰⁴ The tumulus at Chania might also date exclusively to this period but until the excavation is published this remains unknown.

⁶⁰⁵ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, catalogue 98-102.

⁶⁰⁶ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 92.

ones. It is unfortunate that we do not have the associated settlements with which to compare the funerary evidence. Grotta with its impressive fortification wall and pottery workshop is perhaps the only such example. Can we assume a similar settlement associated with the communities of Perati and Ialysos? Could the continued use of tombs at Ialysos and the wealth displayed in these suggest perhaps that not all areas were so directly affected by the palatial destructions? It is also interesting to note that the cemeteries of Aplomata, Kamini and Perati which are among the wealthiest of the cemeteries examined in this thesis, are also those that did not have previous burials. In the case of Naxos, although there was settlement use at Grotta in earlier periods the cemeteries of Aplomata and Kamini are used for the first time in LH IIIC. This could indicate that a certain distinction is made in this period with only a select few, perhaps the richest families of the settlement, are buried in these cemeteries. In the case of Perati, what occurs here is very different. During the transitional phase LH IIIB2/IIIC early and LH IIIC early newcomers arrive and begin to bury their dead in this vast cemetery. From the material evidence we know that these newcomers were not poor but rather were members of a very well off community. It is tempting to suggest that some members of the upper class of the Mycenaean palaces could have inhabited this area after the destructions of LH IIIB2. Unfortunately, there is no solid evidence for such a suggestion. What can be said is that those buried in Perati came from a very well off community that could afford to deposit in tombs wealth in the form of jewellery, weapons or tools but also rare imports from the East.

Chapter 3 Settlement Evidence

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Archaeological Evidence

3.3 Construction

3.4 Function

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter examines the settlement remains, both those that were already occupied in previous periods and continue to be occupied and the newly founded ones. It is unfortunate that many of the settlements still remain unpublished—especially for the early excavations or excavations without complete publications. These include Serraglio on Kos, investigations of Tiryns and Mycenae, Koukounaries on Paros and Grotta on Naxos. Further, in the areas that had been previously occupied, the best example of which is Mycenae, it can be very difficult to make out which walls were built when, i.e. in this period or re-used from LH IIIB.

The chapter has been divided into three main sections, followed by conclusions. The first section focuses on the archaeological evidence: each site will be looked at in detail, embracing both the architecture and the associated finds. This is followed by a classification of house types and an examination of the construction of these. The final part will propose a number of criteria that will then be used to define the functions of the various spaces.

In this section will be examined the areas with settlement remains that were either constructed in IIC or those which were reused in IIC: namely Mycenae, Tiryns, Asine and Midea in the Argolid, Athens in Attica, Korakou and Corinth in Corinthia, Lefkandi-Xeropolis on Euboea, Phylakopi on Melos, Koukounaries on Paros, Grotta on Naxos and Serraglio on Kos.

THE ARGOLID- Map 12

Evidence dated to LH IIC middle comes from Mycenae, Midea, Tiryns and Asine.

MYCENAE (fig. 3.1)

LH IIC material has been retrieved from the Lion Gate, the Granary, the Citadel House Area,⁶⁰⁷ the House of Columns, the House of the Warrior Vase and Houses C, D, M, N and H. Discussion will proceed from the Lion Gate area moving eastward into the Citadel. The south area, the lower part of the Acropolis, is examined before the north and upper part. Each region will be considered first in terms of its function and construction in the previous period(s) and then with regard to IIC middle.

Only Mycenae will be treated in this manner because of the nature of the archaeological material and the associated publications. French writes in reference to the post-palatial evidence that, “the difficulties with the evidence results mainly from the actions of those building the Hellenistic township who dug down in the debris to find solid foundations for their new buildings but also from the extent of early excavations before, as we have seen, knowledge of the pottery sequence allowed running interpretation of the strata as they were cleared”.⁶⁰⁸ Even for the area of the Citadel House where reoccupation in IIC is certain, French writes that “an account of it has been delayed because of complex problems inherent in it that have yet to be resolved”.⁶⁰⁹ One major factor is the heavy erosion suffered by the site, made clear in the area of the Citadel House, for example, by the extensive terrace walls. Numerous wash levels are thereby created, but no true contexts. Even in the latest publication, *Archaeological Atlas of Mycenae*, no new information is provided concerning the settlement during LH IIC.⁶¹⁰

Lion Gate (figs. 3.1a- area A, 3.1b)

⁶⁰⁷ This consists of the South House, the South House Annex, the Ramp House, the Room with Frescoes, the Megaron, the Temple Complex and Tsountas' House.

⁶⁰⁸ French 2002, 138.

⁶⁰⁹ Taylour, French and Wardle 1981, 11.

In LH IIIB1, the Lion Gate was constructed on the west side of the Citadel. Between the west wing of the Lion Gate and the East wall of the Granary a stratified area of successive layers accumulated:⁶¹¹ stratum IX is dated to LH IIIC middle, implying that this area was in use during this phase.⁶¹²

The Granary (figs. 3.1a- area B, 3.1c)

The Granary, south of the Lion Gate and north of Grave Circle A, was also constructed in LH IIIB. It takes its name from carbonised barley and wheat stored in large jars in its basement: destroyed by fire some time during LH IIIC middle.⁶¹³ The Granary is of an unusual plan, consisting of a number of corridors and rooms on two levels, communicating with each other through small passageways and a stairwell. The ground floor, also referred to as the basement, consisted of two main rooms labelled the west and east basements. Most of the IIIC material comes from a destruction deposit from the floor levels of the east basement. The debris carried traces of wood ash and of floors of burnt clay; burnt masses of decomposed brick and rubble masonry are presumed to be fallen from the upper floor.⁶¹⁴ Here were found the broken storage jars with their carbonised grain. The floor proper consisted of a layer of whitish clay laid on a well-trodden packing of earth and stones.⁶¹⁵ The walls were plastered with smooth clay. Bands of rough clay appear to mark the area where the wooden floor beams of the upper story would have lain. Below the floor, an earlier and robbed shaft grave was discovered.

The fact that grain was found suggests that the area was used for storage. Wace also thought that the proximity of the Granary to the Lion Gate implies that it could have been an official storehouse, considering it as being possibly a “magazine for military stores for the royal bodyguard or as a store house for grain or other produce received by the king as taxes paid in kind by his subjects”.⁶¹⁶

The House of the Warrior Vase (figs. 3.1a area C, 3.1d)

To the south and east of Grave Circle A lies the house named after a krater found by Schliemann, known as the Warrior Vase. The building itself consists of two adjacent room complexes, separated by a narrow corridor. The northern apartment, G1, consists of three irregularly shaped rooms of unequal size: a large L-shaped room on the side nearest

⁶¹⁰ Iakovides and French 2003.

⁶¹¹ Wace 1921-23, 17-18.

⁶¹² Sherratt 1981. Sherratt dates stratum X to the advanced phase of IIIC. However, I believe Mountjoy is correct in assigning the vases found in strata X to IIIC late. Certain vessels could be IIIC middle advanced, but their context with other vessels clearly of IIIC late is a definite fact. See Wace 1921-23, fig. 9f, stratum X for a certain early IIIC late example.

⁶¹³ Wace 1921-23, 38-40.

⁶¹⁴ Wace 1921-23, 48.

⁶¹⁵ Wace 1921-23, 55.

to the fortification wall, and two much smaller rooms on the inner side. The south apartment, G2, is in the form of a megaron with a closed vestibule or possibly porch facing the fortification wall. Its construction dates to LH IIIB.⁶¹⁷ Access was by two entrances: one in the north to G1 and one in the southwest corner of the vestibule to G2. The rooms of both complexes had strong stone walls coated with clay. The thickness of the walls implies that they belonged to the basement and must have supported an upper story. Schliemann recovered from them a jar with carbonised olives and a number of bronze vases. The fragments of the Warrior Vase, as well as other LH IIIC middle vessels, were presumably from debris that had fallen from the upper story or stories.⁶¹⁸ Unfortunately, Schliemann's descriptions do not make clear the exact location of the finds: his records of their depths at 3m and 5m arguably show that these finds were from the basement rooms.⁶¹⁹

Citadel House Area (fig. 3.2)

The main issue associated with this area is that, although the evidence of LH IIIC activity is clear, the nature of it is not. This compels a descriptive analysis of the various houses, followed by an account both of walls dating to IIIC and of areas where IIIC activities can be deduced.⁶²⁰ Very little of the pottery from this area has been published, making the dating of these rooms/complexes more difficult. Though many new walls were built in this area during IIIC, it is yet very difficult to discern first how these relate to earlier walls and rooms and then how this area was actually utilised. As a useful introduction, I quote Taylour, French and Wardle's summary of activities, specifically of phases IX-XI believed to be the transitional period of IIIB/IIIC through to IIIC middle:

Phase IX- The first rebuildings which followed at an interval after the major catastrophe were less substantial. In places walls rested in the levels of debris or used the tops of earlier walls as foundations. Elsewhere clearance took place almost to the floor levels of the earlier buildings.

Phase X- After these attempts to reoccupy the area, a group of well-constructed buildings was laid out over most of the western part of the site in some cases reusing LH IIIB walls. After a period of use they were abandoned together with several deposits of pottery on the floors which should help define the character of this ceramic phase. Unusual features both in this phase -an altar- and in one immediately following -a stone structure on a pedestal of earth- may indicate the cult use of the Citadel House Area was to some extent continued.

Phase XI- Further alteration and building followed later in the LH IIIC period. The high percentage of earlier pottery in these levels again demonstrates the extensive terracing. Another destruction by fire, probably the same as that which brought the use of the Granary to its end, left several whole vessels on the floors of the rooms

⁶¹⁶ Wace 1921-23, 60.

⁶¹⁷ Hiesel 1990, 126.

⁶¹⁸ Iakovides 1983, 43.

⁶¹⁹ Wace 1921-23, 86.

⁶²⁰ Most of these latter descriptions come from the Taylour, French, Wardle 1981, *Well-Built Mycenae* Fascicule 1, which gives a summary of the excavations in this area from 1959-1969.

in the NE part of the Citadel House Area. In the lower part the West, however, the buildings may already have gone out of use since they are covered by a series of wash levels against the Citadel Wall.

Taylor, French Wardle 1981: 11.

South House (fig. 3.2)

The South House is located just south of the House of the Warrior Vase, constructed in LH IIIB.⁶²¹ At the west side was a long, undivided rectangular hall (I/55)⁶²² with three rooms off to the south (II/56-58), with two further rooms (III) south of those. The long room gave entrances to two of the adjacent eastern rooms (II/56 and 58), while the third (II/57) was entered from II/56. The two rooms furthest east (III) were entered from II/56 and 58. To the north and east of this complex of rooms was another square room (IV) separated off by a thick wall: this is also known as the South House Annex. In turn it was flanked, to the east and the south, by a series of long, narrow spaces used as either storage or staircases. The most extreme of these, a narrow room (V), was approached from an open courtyard to its north; it had ten jars arranged in two rows along its walls.⁶²³ The pottery of all these rooms was fragmentary. Only the most easterly room of group II (58), referred to as the East Room by Wace, appears to have contained IIC middle pottery on a thin layer of white clay spread over hard-trodden earth.⁶²⁴ An example of a Close style deep bowl is the only piece illustrated in the publication. Wace notes “there were some pieces of large jugs and deep bowls of the Granary class, and the presence of these together with the ordinary LH III vases... shows that this deposit also contains quite late elements”.⁶²⁵

House of the Frescoes (fig. 3.3)

Southwest of the South House is the House of the Frescoes. The main room, whence its name is derived, features frescoes depicting female figures, including the well known “Mycenaean Lady”.

The House of the Frescoes is linked to the South House by a number of transverse walls. The overall layout is quite complex, consisting of “an antechamber in the northwest corner with a large threshold at its entrance and four rectangular rooms to the south”.⁶²⁶ Along the southern and eastern walls of the main room (31) are benches; in the middle is a low rectangular stone base or table.

⁶²¹ Hiesel 1990, 85-86.

⁶²² The numbers 55-58 correspond to Wace's 1921-23 general plan of the area.

⁶²³ Iakovides 1983, 43.

⁶²⁴ Wace 1921-23, 90; Sjöberg 2001, 66.

⁶²⁵ Wace 1921-23, 96.

⁶²⁶ Iakovides 1983, 47.

The most important of the IIIC constructions seems to be an oblong room in the area of the earlier antechamber 38: a freestanding room, it was erected in IIIC early. It had a simple mud floor and on the inside of the north-west wall were remains of white plaster. In the north-west corner was a small rectangular platform made of stones surfaced with mud: probably an altar. In front of the southern wall was a hearth with traces of continuous use throughout IIIC. Near the northern entrance was a cist-like box dug into the floor. Outside the house, on its north side was a large rectangular pedestal or bench.⁶²⁷

The room to the north-east of the earlier antechamber 38, in the area of the earlier room 36, also looks to have been used in IIIC. Its hearth has clear indications of re-use; close to the north corner two round constructions had been placed in the floor, one containing three vessels dated to LH IIIC. Other finds in this room included ivory fragments, steatite beads, bronze fragments and gold leaf. These finds lead Albers to interpret the area as being either involved with luxury goods in a workshop or a locale with prestige objects used for cult purposes. A round altar, 3-4 courses high and 80cm in diameter, built on top of the earlier room 33 in the area of the "Tower", could indicate more cult activity dating to IIIC.⁶²⁸ Slightly to the east, an earlier LH IIIB room, 28, was reused in this period: it had a hearth, with an ash layer containing pottery sherds and animal bones, set in front of the entrance.⁶²⁹ The pottery from here has yet to be published. Thus little more can be deduced except that this complex was used in this period and continued to have a religious function, to judge by the numerous cultic installations, platforms, benches and similar.

The Tsountas House Area (figs. 3.2 and 3.4)

To the southeast of the Temple complex is the house excavated by Tsountas, and named after him. This area was divided into a number of different units. The south-east part consisted of three storage rooms which communicated with each other by a corridor to their east; the entrance was via a stairway to the northeast. East of them was a room, described as a megaron with two additional narrow rooms set between it and the corridor. The vestibule at its front had wooden antae set on square bases of poros limestone; outside that was an area paved with stones and surfaced with plaster.⁶³⁰

To the north-east of the "megaron" lies an area containing the Tsountas House Shrine and the Tsountas House Area. A processional way leading down to this area was

⁶²⁷ Albers 1994, 51.

⁶²⁸ Sherratt 1981, 60.

⁶²⁹ Albers 1994, 51-52.

⁶³⁰ Iakovides 1983, 47-48.

closed off at the end of LH IIIB; here, during IIIC, a house or room with a hearth and two column bases was constructed. The floor of the room was plastered.⁶³¹

Area East of Tsountas House

To the south and east of the Tsountas House and down the slope, three rooms were built in LH IIIC. Very little information is given: they had plesia floors, contained LH IIIC pottery and appear to have been destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIC.⁶³² Yet further east a number of rooms had walls described as IIIC in date, as well as pottery of this period. What kind of activities occurred here remains unclear.⁶³³

Hellenistic Tower Epichosis

A deep deposit of LH IIIC material from the so called epichosis to the south of the Citadel House accumulated against the so called Hellenistic Tower. In the northern part of the epichosis five successive layers were identified dated to LH IIIC; three belonging to LH IIIC middle. The floors of these levels were repaired repeatedly in all the IIIC phases. A circular hearth with a plesia ring and covered with sherds was preserved within the IIIC middle strata.⁶³⁴ In the southern area of the epichosis, where three floors dated to the LH IIIC middle phase were preserved, was found a fresco fragment depicting the head of a female figure.⁶³⁵ (fig. 3.5). According to French and Iakovides the presence of the fresco shows “that the art of wall painting continued to be practiced successfully to the very end of the Mycenaean period”.⁶³⁶ Layers of ash were found within this layer suggesting that the destruction of the last floor in the epichosis might actually be contemporary with the destructive fire at the Granary and the Citadel House Area at the end of LHIIIC-middle.

House M (fig.3.6)

House M is located at the west of the north side of the Acropolis, lying just inside the fortification wall:⁶³⁷ it consists of a vestibule, a central room and a rear chamber. The area to the south acted as a road that led to storage rooms to the north and east. Their roofs and much of their floors were destroyed when the upper section of the Cyclopean wall

⁶³¹ Mylonas 1966, 108-110, fig. 4, pl. 93b. This area was excavated by Mylonas in 1966 and is included in his description of Trench 2.

⁶³² Mylonas 1966, 107-109.

⁶³³ Mylonas 1975, 103-107.

⁶³⁴ Mylonas 1968b, 10-11.

⁶³⁵ Mylonas 1973, 146-147.

⁶³⁶ Iakovides and French 2003, 16.

⁶³⁷ Mylonas 1970, 17, 27-31.

collapsed in this area. To the north of the house and west of an upper courtyard were a number of corridors leading to storage rooms to the west.⁶³⁸

It appears that the main building, including the curving road below, was constructed some time after the fortification wall. At a later phase still the storage rooms to the north-east as well as those to the west were put up. Sometime even later, a corridor was constructed leading to three storage rooms incorporated into the fortification wall; their dating is unclear. However, from the ceramic evidence available from these areas it becomes evident that the storage rooms along with the various courtyards and corridors were in use during LH IIIC.⁶³⁹

Palace Area (fig. 3.7)

No hard evidence exists for what went on in the area of the central palace during IIIC. French speculates whether the pottery found in a group of buildings in the Great Court of the central palace and described by Tsountas as being Geometric might actually have been of IIIC middle date.⁶⁴⁰ These buildings, depicted in a plan drawn by Dörpfeld in 1898 show a “well laid out building of some sophistication and only poor in quality in relation to the palace beneath it.”⁶⁴¹ Until the pottery from this area is published one cannot know whether these later constructions are safely dated to IIIC. It is worth noting however, that if these constructions are IIIC in date that they are not built directly over the earlier megaron as in the case of Tiryns but rather use the open court area. According to Klein, “although the walls of the earlier palace were visible, the later building appears to have been opportunistically built within an open area, but was not a rebuilding or reoccupation of the palace itself”.⁶⁴² This seems to imply that the inhabitants of Mycenae at this time chose the open court not simply because it was in close proximity to the palatial megaron but because it was free of earlier buildings and thus made construction in the area easier than if they chose to rebuild directly above the palace remains, something very different to what occurs at Tiryns with the construction of Building T.

House of Columns (fig. 3.8)

East of the palace on the lower slopes of the citadel is a complex known as the House of Columns. It was built on an artificial terrace, measuring 20.5 by 27m, some time during the second half of LH IIIB, directly adjacent to an artisan’s workshop.⁶⁴³ The house was approached from an open square north of the building; a grand conglomerate threshold

⁶³⁸ Mylonas Shear 1968, 235-248.

⁶³⁹ Mylonas 1968c, 29, 31.

⁶⁴⁰ French 2002, 137-138.

⁶⁴¹ French 2002, 136.

⁶⁴² Klein 1997, 277

⁶⁴³ Iakovides 1983, 64; Hiesel 1990, 188.

was found in situ (8), flanked by the bases of two standing pillars set either side of the doorway. Beyond this porch area was an interior corridor with a cement floor which led to an interior courtyard to the south surrounded by columns. Five column bases defined the façade at the west, with two larger bases leading to a room to the north with a hearth (10). This room was originally believed to be the vestibule giving access to the main room of the house. This belief has subsequently been disproved, since the walls that appeared to divide the two rooms actually belong to a later construction, House Psi.⁶⁴⁴ Another series of walls to the west of Room 10 indicate yet another later construction, House Omega.

Houses Psi, Omega and N (fig. 3.9)

House Psi, north of room 10 in the House of Columns, measured 5.6 by 3.75m, being a megaron-shaped building, possibly with a portico. The floor was made of earth, plesia and lime. Inside the room was a fireplace paved with pottery, originally belonging to a chimney pipe of the LH IIIB2 megaron fireplace. Later than Psi, House Omega was constructed over the corridor, court and megaron of the LH IIIB House of Columns, replacing the central unit of the east wing of the palace. It consisted of a large room measuring 7 by 5.7m with a narrower one set on its west, measuring 8.25 by 3.5m. The entrance was not preserved, but probably lay on the south facing the open court. To the east of the main room, another room – termed N by Wace – was built, measuring 8.20 by 6.1m. In front of the room were two columns in antae, one of which was a reused IIIB threshold block. Among the stone foundations of this room, as well as in the stairwell area in room 11, was found LH IIIC pottery.⁶⁴⁵

House D (fig. 3.8 Area D)

House D is located to the north and east of the House of Columns. What is now visible was all constructed some time during LH IIIB. Measuring overall 19 by 16m, it consists of a series of rectangular basement rooms (at 3.25/3.5 by 4.5/5.5m) divided into two rows, with two more rooms to the east. The southernmost of this last pair contained a staircase communicating with an upper storey. The presence of an upper storey is made more evident first by the presence of a strong foundation and then by the fact that none of the basement rooms communicate with each other. Pottery dated to LH IIIC, in the drain areas as well as in the open area around the house, indicates that this house was in use during LH IIIC.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁴ Iakovidis 1983, 65. See Mylonas Shear 1968, 252-253 for earlier account of two rooms.

⁶⁴⁵ Mylonas 1968c, 33-38.

⁶⁴⁶ Iakovidis 1983, 66.

House C and the area to the West (fig. 3.8 Area C)

To the north and west of House D is another group of rooms known as House C; preserved again only at basement level, the house measures approximately 26.50m in length and between 7-11m in width. Two floor levels were distinguished in this house, one covered with a layer of ash that indicates the IIIB levels, and above this another for the IIIC levels. During LH IIIB, two retaining walls were built to the west of House C, supporting an artificial platform (25). A drain provided with a broken jar to act as an inlet was preserved in the IIIC level of the highest of the two walls. At this time the “passage between the retaining walls and the clearing was blocked by two contiguous rooms which had walls surfaced with clay and floors made of a mixture of earth, plesia and lime”.⁶⁴⁷

Outside the Citadel

Unfortunately, there is no clear indication of habitation outside the citadel during LH IIIC middle. Apparently, in the area of the Panagia House possible habitation continues into LH IIIC but only into the beginning of the period.⁶⁴⁸ Mylonas also speculates possible continuation of occupation in the area of the Plakes House, but this too is uncertain.⁶⁴⁹ Finally, one should note the LH IIIC farmhouse excavated at Chania along with the tumulus with cremation burials which although ^{they have not} ~~has~~ yet been published are believed to date to LH IIIC middle.⁶⁵⁰

Mycenae Summary-

What is at once obvious from the wide range of evidence for habitation in IIIC at Mycenae is that the site continues to be lived in after the great destructions of LH IIIB. The extent of this reoccupation and the number of people that it accommodated are unclear. The best evidence comes from the lower part of the Acropolis (Citadel House area etc.) The walls here are repaired and re-used earlier ones, as much as newly constructed. Avoiding earlier rooms (perhaps much obscured with collapsed rubble), new walls also created new rooms in areas that were previously external spaces. Such can be seen first during an early part of IIIC in square Γ22, where room 36 is created out of both earlier and newly constructed walls and again later in the area of squares Γ 31 and Γ 32, once more combining earlier walls with two new ones so as to create a new room whose southern limit is the fortification wall. During IIIC the slope of the hill in this area must have caused much erosion since a number of terrace walls are now constructed while nearly all the earlier ones continue in use.

⁶⁴⁷ Iakovides 1983, 67; Hiesel 1990, 188.

⁶⁴⁸ Mylonas Shear 1987, 157.

⁶⁴⁹ Mylonas 1977, 161.

⁶⁵⁰ Iakovides 2003, 122; Demakopoulou 1988, 85;

If the fresco found is to be dated to LH IIIC, this would be the only known example from this period. The importance of such a find lies not only in that it indicates continued cult activities in the area, but also that skilled artists such as were once employed by the ruling elite, still existed at Mycenae.

Other evidence is drawn from the northern areas, including the north-west slope near the Gates as well as around the eastern wings of the Palace area. In the last region the new-built constructions are clearly of a much poorer quality than the earlier buildings, thereby indicating a decline in importance of this area. The seeming lack of occupation now in the area of the central palace implies the existence of a different social set-up, with less focus on any central administration. Whether this is really so or whether evidence was destroyed by later building, by early excavations or even by the effects of immense flooding or erosion remains unknown. If the constructions in the area of the Great Court were indeed built at this time, their very presence shows that this one-time administrative and religious sector probably functioned now in a different manner. Probably, given that no major IIIC building activities have been recognized, one can reasonably assume that no central governing body existed at Mycenae in this period.

It is also worth noting the numerous destructions that occur at Mycenae throughout LH IIIC. The evidence available from the Granary and the Citadel House area shows a major destruction some time in the later half of IIIC middle. Eventually many of the houses in these areas were abandoned, with pockets of IIIC late material indicating that some areas were still in use. According to French “occupation continues probably into the full Iron Age without an actual break but at a very low level both of size and wealth.”⁶⁵¹

MIDEA (figs. 3.10 and 3.11)

Possible evidence of LH IIIC middle occupation from Midea comes primarily from the excavations of the Lower Terraces, specifically from Terraces 9 and 10. Work conducted from 1985 revealed a group of LH IIIB buildings re-used in IIIC. On terrace 9, room II and the area to its south were used in IIIC. Here in the main trenches, Ma and Mb, stratum 8 corresponded to a levelling of the LH IIIB destruction debris, while stratum 7 formed the LH IIIC floor, in turn covered by stratum 6 apparently an LH IIIC destruction layer.⁶⁵² Walberg attributes the rooms in this area, including room II, to an LH IIIB shrine

⁶⁵¹ French 2002, 140.

⁶⁵² Walberg 1998, 23-28.

area, but gives no information concerning its further use in IIC.⁶⁵³ It seems that the rooms are re-used without any structural alterations.⁶⁵⁴

The picture is slightly different further north on Terrace 10. The areas of occupation were associated with an LH IIB megaron where new walls are set on top of earlier ones, and retaining walls are built functioning as buttresses for the collapsing megaron walls. Thus in the area of Room IV, walls 111 and 118 were built above the foundations of the older walls 112 and 113 respectively. Wall 111, part of wall 1 on the main plan, consisted of large worked stones and ran east-west for 7.25m. Two courses, 0.60m wide, were preserved to a height of 0.15m. The stones were medium to large in size, at 0.3-0.4m in length, and had some horizontal bonding as well as a rubble fill between the outer and inner faces.⁶⁵⁵ Running perpendicular to wall 1 (111 and 112) and across its west end, was wall 2 made up of an LH IIB wall, 118, repaired in LH IIC, labelled wall 113. The average width of the wall is 0.45m and the maximum preserved height, three courses of small stones, is 0.37m. It is unclear from the excavation reports what part of this wall is dated to IIC and what is earlier. A large block at the junction of walls 1 and 2 could have been part either of the megaron wall 3, or of the citadel wall removed in IIC and its stones used for repairs and in the reoccupation of this area.⁶⁵⁶ The interior finishing of Room IV consisted of a paved area set into the earth accumulated directly above an LH IIB floor: the stones were 0.05-0.07m thick and 0.20-0.30 wide. Their upper surface was worked to a smooth finish.⁶⁵⁷ Wall 3 (106), once the northern wall of the megaron, now functioned as the southern wall of this room.

Some time after the IIB destruction a series of retaining walls were constructed along wall 3. The wall furthest to the east, 7 (108), was 2.9m long and some 0.47-0.52m wide; preserved to three courses, it reached a height of 0.33m. It consisted of small stones measuring 0.1-0.15m in length, with clay used as bonding between them.⁶⁵⁸ Further west, running perpendicular to megaron wall 3 (106) were walls 9 (109) and 10 (110). Both were probably built in LH IIB but were repaired sometime in LH IIC.⁶⁵⁹

Although they were not included in the 1998 publication (this included excavations up to 1991) it is apparent that a number of walls were excavated in the area of the IIB Megaron which were included in the 1999 plan published by Walberg. Indicated on this map are additional walls apparently constructed during LH IIC. To begin were two walls labelled here walls A and B that together form room XXV. Wall A

⁶⁵³ Walberg 1999, 890.

⁶⁵⁴ This re-use is documented throughout Terrace 9 with the IIC levels: including those in trenches Ma and Mb, Va, W and the East Baulk. See Walberg 1998, 22-33 for a summary.

⁶⁵⁵ Walberg 1998, 91.

⁶⁵⁶ Walberg 1998, 47-48.

⁶⁵⁷ Walberg 1998, 43-44, 91-92.

⁶⁵⁸ Walberg 1998, 90.

⁶⁵⁹ Walberg 1998, 90.

was constructed of small stones. It was parallel to wall 7 and perhaps also functioned as a support wall of the earlier megaron wall 3. Running parallel to wall A, although nearly 1m further north, was wall B. It was nearly 1 m wide and was built of large stones which supported the corner of the megaron and the steps leading to its entrance. The interior space created, room XXV, had a white plaster floor.⁶⁶⁰

In the area west of the megaron entrance was Room XVII. Outside this room to the east was a small niche which had been paved with flat stones during LH IIIB and again during LH IIIC. On the floor of the niche were pottery fragments including an LH IIIC lekythos indicating that this area was used in this period.⁶⁶¹ Further west, was Room XVIII which apparently contained an LH IIIB-C bench. From the description of the bench it appears that it was constructed in LH IIIB but was re-used again during LH IIIC.⁶⁶²

Finally, on the inside of the south side of the megaron a long wall was built, wall C, to support the southern wall of the megaron. Apparently, some time during IIIC a new interior arrangement was made: three columns on the east-west axis of the room divided it into two parts. That to the east, room XI, might have functioned as a food preparation area both during IIIB and IIIC.⁶⁶³ As a final point, similarly to terrace 9, there are preserved LH IIIC levels throughout terrace 10.⁶⁶⁴

Midea Summary-

The evidence from Midea at first glance seems deficient, with no IIIC occupation apparent on the Acropolis itself. However, there are indications of IIIC habitation and use in the areas surrounding the Acropolis, along the lower terraces: areas that had been occupied in the earlier periods with buildings, such as a megaron built on Terrace 10 in LH IIIB. The area and the megaron itself were re-used in IIIC, with the addition of new walls and rooms as well as a new layout in the megaron with the insertion of a central colonnade. Some of the walls constructed in this period show the work of skilled builders: impressive and made of large worked blocks, a characteristic lacking in most IIIC examples that are made of smaller stones. Unfortunately, it is unclear in many cases if the walls are IIIC early or IIIC middle in date, however the pottery in the area does suggest that there was at least a IIIC middle habitation here. A great destruction occurs at Midea during IIIC middle developed/advanced. Some occupation seems to occur on the Lower Terraces during IIIC late. However, according to the excavators, "Roman clearing and

⁶⁶⁰ Walberg 1999, 889.

⁶⁶¹ Walberg 1999, 889.

⁶⁶² Walberg 1999, 889.

⁶⁶³ Walberg 1999, 887.

⁶⁶⁴ Major IIIC deposits are noted in trenches Na, Nb, and Xw. See Walberg 1998, 35-38, 40-49, for summary

building activities extensively disturbed the last Bronze Age strata at the site... [leaving no] indication of what happened at the site in LH IIIC late”⁶⁶⁵

TIRYNS⁶⁶⁶ (fig. 3.12)

Tiryns is unusual: a palatial site that not only continues to be inhabited after LH IIIB but also witnesses an expansion unprecedented elsewhere. Areas of occupation or use during LH IIIC are found all over; the Upper Acropolis, the Lower Acropolis and the Lower Town.

Upper Acropolis (fig. 3.13)

During LH IIIB the Upper Acropolis housed the Great Megaron, Altar and Court as well as a number of smaller megara and the so-called “royal apartments”: an area where religious and political ceremonies were held and where the seat of the ruling figure and members of the upper class would have been. In LH IIIC, the structures and their usage are more ambiguous. However, one building is of great importance, particularly with reference to continuity after the fall of the palace system.

Building T

Building T evinces the only case of IIIC re-use of an earlier structure on the Upper Acropolis: originally called the “narrow megaron”, it is built over the eastern half of the ruins of the LH IIIB Megaron.⁶⁶⁷ At 20.90 in length by 6.90m in width, it consisted of two rooms: a square porch to the south and an elongated room to the north, connected by a doorway 0.50m in width. Incorporated into the IIIC design were a row of columns down the middle of the megaron.⁶⁶⁸ The most important element of this late construction, as Kilian believed, was the fact that it looks to have been intentionally built inside the eastern part of the IIIB megaron so as to incorporate the former throne. The west wall was built directly on the earlier floor level, while the east was set on top of the stump of the east wall of the Great Megaron. The walls were 0.56-0.60m thick. In front of this throne was found a smoothed limestone slab, set into the plaster floor of the Great Megaron. Further south along the same axis was another limestone slab treated in the same manner.

⁶⁶⁵ Walberg 1998, 149.

⁶⁶⁶ The dating terminology used for Tiryns will be the German subdivisions of Früh for IIIC early, Entwickelt for IIIC middle developed, Fortgeschrittenes for IIIC middle advanced and Spät for IIIC Late.

⁶⁶⁷ The date of this Building from the time of its discovery has been controversial since none of the pottery found by Dörpfeld and Schliemann was recorded, see Schliemann 1885, 320-322. Originally it was seen as a later construction. Blegen was one of the first to speculate it dated to end of the Bronze Age, see Blegen 1921, 130-134. Kilian also agreed with this probable dating, see Kilian 1981, 160. For further bibliography on dating see Mazarakis Ainiian 1997, 159 n.1130.

⁶⁶⁸ Maran 2001, 113-114; Mazarakis- Ainiian 1997, 159.

In the centre of the northern room, Kilian had discovered two postholes set next to each other, and again dug through the plaster floor of the Great Megaron. Maran discovered later that they still contained traces of wooden posts. These were analysed to obtain dates, first to establish the relation of Building T to the Great Megaron, and also to comprehend better when it was constructed. The results lay within the Late Bronze Age, no later than the 11th century BC. The supposed LH III C designation is thus quite probable. Along the interior of the north wall of the earlier Great Megaron, and thus outside the III C version, 12 storage vessels were found in a row – the area was thus used for storage in III C.⁶⁶⁹ Also dated to III C is a square platform to the south: this encloses the round platform of the IIIB altar in the Great Court in front of the Great Megaron.⁶⁷⁰

Though not very much evidence of activities from the Upper Acropolis remains for this late period, the fact that the Great Megaron and the Great Altar in front were remodelled shows a degree of continuation not so apparent at the other Mycenaean citadels. The fact that the throne area was incorporated into the new plans of Building T surely indicates a deliberate claim by an administrative order or of a religious figure to a connection with past glories. The presence of a storage facility consisting of at least 12 large pithoi further indicates that this area of the upper Acropolis could well have retained an administrative function during this post palatial period.

Lower Acropolis (figs. 3.14 and 3.15)

early excavation in the Lower Acropolis had revealed sporadic buildings and rooms dated to the early Helladic and Late Helladic IIIA1-IIIB1.⁶⁷¹ Between 1976-1986, new excavations carried out by Kilian revealed an extensive LH IIIB2 and LH III C settlement area.⁶⁷² The LH IIIB buildings discovered here include ten building complexes that appear to have functioned as residences and workshops and included a shrine area. In addition, a number of casemate chambers within the fortification wall were used for workshops and cult.

During III C, the evidence from the Lower Acropolis, in contrast to the relatively scanty finds on the Upper Acropolis, consists of over 30 newly constructed rooms and buildings: many were built over the destruction layers of LH IIIB levels and buildings. The entire western area was so utilised throughout LH III C. The sheer extent of it all is remarkable – as is the organized system of streets and courtyards in this area of the Acropolis.

⁶⁶⁹ Maran 2001, 118.

⁶⁷⁰ Maran 2001, 115.

⁶⁷¹ Schliemann 1885.

⁶⁷² Kilian 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1988bb.

To present the material of the Lower Acropolis in a coherent manner, it is organized under four different areas. Three main courtyard areas will be designated by the terms H1-H3, followed by a fourth area in the NE. The rooms and buildings will be presented in order of their importance in each region.

H1 and surrounding structures

H1 is located near the centre of the west side of the Lower Acropolis. The largest of the yards, it was accessible from the north, south and east. At its northern side was a road leading to the springs in the north west. The ground level was uneven, rising slightly in the southeast.⁶⁷³

Rooms 110/110a

This unit was built against the west fortification wall. Both phases, 110 and 110a, are dated to IIC middle developed, the remains of an earlier room, room 117, date to IIC early. The original construction at the beginning of IIC middle developed was rectangular in shape, measuring 3 by 1.28m. With its entrance to the east, it consisted of two long walls running out east from the fortification wall. Near the entrance, a clay floor was preserved, extending out into the courtyard beyond. Against the fortification wall itself was set a cult bench (stone foundation covered with clay), in front of the bench were two complete and five fragmentary figures as well as two open fineware vessels (a cup and a deep bowl). Higher up in the fill were four large wheel-made figures with raised hands, one smaller non-wheel-made figurine with raised hands, two large wheel made Psi figures, and parts of an animal figurine, as well as a steatite bead and a bone pin.⁶⁷⁴

Some time during IIC middle, this room was destroyed and immediately replaced by 110a. This re-used the western part of the stone foundations of the earlier room, adding long walls, extensions to the long ends of the middle room, as well as a new doorway, thereby creating a “megaron”-style house. Its floor was of clay; a bench was placed against the wall and a figure was found on the floor. A hearth was located near the south wall, beside which were found an amphora and a cup dating to IIC middle advanced.⁶⁷⁵

Room 112

Room 112 was built against the fortification wall to the south of room 110/110a. Its entrance was in the south-east corner. In the western part of the room was a hearth

⁶⁷³ Kilian 1978, 461, 463.

⁶⁷⁴ Kilian 1978, 463-465.

⁶⁷⁵ Kilian 1978, 460-461.

surrounded by clay. Between this room and room 110a was another hearth, lined with stones and containing three animal figurines.⁶⁷⁶

Room 115

Room 115 was located north of Room 110/110a against the fortification wall. Over 6 by 10m in size, its entrance lay to the east. Traces of roof beams (0.3m in diameter) running NW-SE were found, showing how at least four beams had been set in a row, off centre and approximately 2m out from the fortification wall. Fragments of stones from the wall as well as burnt clay floors indicate that the room was destroyed by a fire, sometime during IIC middle developed – at the same time as room 110. The present curvature in its east wall is held to mark destruction from a fire caused by an earthquake rather than by some human agency. In the south-east corner a stone slab lay on the floor with another standing beside it. On the prone one were faience and glass beads, with a Psi figurine. Near the wall were set two clay horses and a clay bird.⁶⁷⁷

Kilian suggested that this house was for habitation and domestic use.⁶⁷⁸ But both its close proximity to Room 110/110a and the presence of anthropomorphic as well as animal figurines leads one to conclude that it might have also had a ritual function. It is presumed that this room predates rooms 88 and 89. This fact in combination with the further assumption that it was destroyed at the same time as Room 110, and thus no longer in use at the same time as Room 110a, dates the construction of this room to IIC early and its destruction to the first half of IIC middle developed.

Rooms 107, 103 and 116 (Bau Via)

This complex of rooms was built during IIC early, set slightly east of the earlier IIB House VI: it is one of the few preserved houses located in the western side of the Lower Acropolis. Three main rooms, 107, 103 and 116, run sequentially north to south with its main entrance believed to have been from the north-west of room 107 through a small room out to courtyard H1. It was divided from area 105 by a badly constructed wall to the east. Inside the room was a hearth, near which was found a quern. Its south wall, which divides it from room 103, was well-constructed and thick, extending beyond the width of the room proper. Room 103 was entered through a door in its south wall from room 116. It also contained a hearth.⁶⁷⁹ Room 116 could have acted as an anteroom for 103, with an

⁶⁷⁶ Kilian 1978, 460.

⁶⁷⁷ Kilian 1978, 465-466.

⁶⁷⁸ Kilian 1978, 466.

⁶⁷⁹ Kilian 1978, 458-459.

entrance perhaps in its destroyed western wall. Its south wall is quite thin and was strengthened at the south-west corner by a vertically-set stone.⁶⁸⁰

KW 14 (Kammer 14) and Room 224

Kammer 14 is a room set further north in the fortification wall. At 6.80m high, it was a one storey room, built of mudbrick.⁶⁸¹ In the excavation reports ten stratigraphically preserved layers are described by Kilian. Of these eight date to Late Helladic IIIc: three layers to IIIc late, two of IIIc middle advanced, two of IIIc middle developed and one of IIIc early.⁶⁸² Below the earliest IIIc level were traces of an earlier IIIB phase with destruction debris a metre deep above.⁶⁸³ Finds in all the phases indicate both storage and domestic use. A staircase in this room provided access to the basement room 224. Hearths were preserved in the centre of the room, at the south wall and to the front of the room: all date to IIIc middle developed. Also belonging to this phase were a clay bench at the back wall, a stone bench against the north wall and a clay bin with traces of burnt organic matter (possibly hay) in the entrance of the room. Traces of multiple repairs were noted in the south wall. A burnt layer marks the end of the phase.⁶⁸⁴

A stone-built box in the south-east corner as well as a hearth in the back of the room are dated to IIIc middle advanced. The finds from this phase consisted of large storage vessels as well as many finewares, neither described in greater detail nor illustrated in the excavation reports.⁶⁸⁵ The finds and installations in the room indicate that it was probably used for storage and domestic uses.

KW 10 (Kamer 10)

Kammer 10 is located in the NW area of the fortification wall. A small room, it has a mudbrick wall on the interior side of the fortification wall dividing it from the main area of the Lower Acropolis to the east. A section of a floor, whose pottery is dated to LH IIIc, is preserved with a hearth inside.⁶⁸⁶

Rooms 88 and 89

These two narrow rooms are located against the fortification wall on the west side of the Acropolis. A wall dividing the rooms abuts against house 97 to the east. They are presumed to be part of a larger complex; traces of at least two more survive to the east.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁰ Kilian 1979, 385.

⁶⁸¹ Kilian 1982, 397.

⁶⁸² Kilian 1982, 399.

⁶⁸³ Kilian 1988, 114.

⁶⁸⁴ Kilian 1988, 111.

⁶⁸⁵ Kilian 1982, 399.

⁶⁸⁶ Kilian 1981, 160.

⁶⁸⁷ Kilian 1979, 383.

Most of the walls were destroyed by later construction to the north.⁶⁸⁸ The excavator noted two clay floors, a hearth made of pithos fragments with a layer of ash in the middle of room 88, as well as two querns. The pottery from both rooms is dated to IIC middle developed.⁶⁸⁹

Rooms 97, 99 and 100

Room 97 is located on a rise in the ground east of room 88/89, built on top of a LH IIB rubble terrace. It appears to have been constructed before rooms 88/89, as the wall dividing rooms 88/89 abutted against house 97. Kilian notes clay floors with all three LH IIC phases, but comments that there is no pottery material from these floors to accurately date the room.⁶⁹⁰ It seems most probable that the house was constructed at the end of LH IIB or during LH IIC early, had at least three phases of use and must have still been in use during IIC middle developed.

Room 99, sits on top of the rubble of house 97. Though its exact date is not given by the excavator, his observation that it postdates house 97 would place it some time within the range of LH IIC middle developed to middle advanced.⁶⁹¹

Room 100 was built on top of rooms 88/89. A section through the floor level preserved reveals a hearth constructed of krater fragments with clay laid on top. Again, though the exact date of this room is unknown, since it lies over rooms 88/89, it must be later than IIC middle developed.⁶⁹²

A group (8-10) of intramural burials was discovered in the area just north of LXII/37. Kilian dates these burials to LH IIC partly because of their location within IIC architectural remains but also because they were made within the grey layer he says follows the period of the major palatial destructions in IIB.⁶⁹³ It does seem probable that these belong to IIC: perhaps a practice similar to that seen in the LH IIC 2 settlement at Lefkandi.⁶⁹⁴

H2 and surrounding structures

Between building 106/106a to the north and 127 to the south is the area of H2. Some 10-20cm lower than H1, it slopes up by about *ca.* 60cm to the east.⁶⁹⁵ Unlike H1, which was surrounded by houses alone, H2 had at least two terrace walls built to its east to cope with

⁶⁸⁸ Kilian 1979, 381.

⁶⁸⁹ Kilian 1979, 383.

⁶⁹⁰ Kilian 1979, 383.

⁶⁹¹ Kilian 1979, 381.

⁶⁹² Kilian 1979, 381.

⁶⁹³ Kilian 1979, 386-387.

⁶⁹⁴ See Popham and Musgrave 1991.

⁶⁹⁵ Kilian 1981, 154.

this difference in heights. These two terrace walls, by limiting the circulation, functioned as a passageway from north to south. Only rooms 124 and 126 appear to have had direct access to the courtyard, while Room 106 was approached through a paved area leading north.

Rooms 106/106a

Room 106a was located against the fortification wall which forms its west limit; 106 is attached to this at the east, and was entered through its south wall. The two rooms combined measure 52 by 46 by 10m.⁶⁹⁶ A well-built foundation 46-48cm high carried a layer of sherds followed by the mudbrick of the superstructure.⁶⁹⁷ Constructed in the IIIC middle developed, they most likely continued to be used into IIIC middle advanced.⁶⁹⁸ Room 106, contained at least three pithoi of unbaked clay set in stone slabs in the ground, as well as two tapered circular pits lined with a thin layer of unbaked clay.⁶⁹⁹ By the party wall of the two rooms was a mudbrick, bath-like construction.⁷⁰⁰ Room 106a, contained a square oven in the north-west corner with melted lead fragments and an obsidian 'saw' and further a hearth near the entrance in front of which was set a pebbled layer.⁷⁰¹ Among other finds made in the rooms were a deep bowl, a trefoil jug, a stirrup jar, four kraters, many stirrup jar stoppers, one of which had had a seal with a goat impressed nine times on it.

To the south of these two rooms, a levelling process created the two terraces mentioned above: these were supported by an angled wall of medium-sized stones, later repaired with smaller ones. To the west of this terrace, another later one, dated to IIIC middle developed, was built with a double façade of small stones.

In the later half of LH IIIC, a stone foundation was laid on top of the reduced mudbrick walls of 106 as part of the creation of Room 124 to its south. This room contained a hearth near which was found a quern.⁷⁰² A road from the corner of Rooms 106/106a was constructed between the terrace wall and the later Room 124 leading south to courtyard H2 proper.⁷⁰³

Room 126 (labelled 124 and 126 on the plan)

⁶⁹⁶ Kilian 1978, 459-460.

⁶⁹⁷ Kilian 1978, 460.

⁶⁹⁸ Kilian 1979, 383.

⁶⁹⁹ Kilian 1978, 459; Kilian 1979, 383.

⁷⁰⁰ Kilian 1979, 384.

⁷⁰¹ Kilian 1978, 459; Kilian 1979, 383.

⁷⁰² Kilian 1979, 385.

⁷⁰³ Kilian 1979, 385-386.

This room, positioned along the fortification wall, measured 2.5m wide and under 10m long.⁷⁰⁴ The doorway was placed in the middle of the east wall. Both the east and the south wall have only a stone foundation one course high on top of which was constructed the mudbrick superstructure. Finds in the room included a large krater and a number of other vessels such as cups, a hydria as well as many steatite beads. The room was destroyed by fire and the remains levelled off during IIC middle developed.⁷⁰⁵ Animal figurines were found below this destruction layer.⁷⁰⁶

H3 and surrounding structures

The final courtyard at the very south is called H3. It also contained a number of terrace walls closing it off primarily to the east but also at its south.⁷⁰⁷

Room 127

This room constitutes the largest house erected in this period in the Lower Acropolis. Built so as to lie between the courts of H2 and H3 and making use of the fortification wall, it measured 12.6 by 6.8m. The south and south-east walls have what Kilian described as a typical foundation characteristic of IIC – here 36cm in width and not very strong.⁷⁰⁸ In its original form, dating to IIC middle advanced,⁷⁰⁹ the house consisted of a single room with an entrance in the south-east corner. In the middle of the room was a square hearth made of sherds and clay; near the entrance was a second circular hearth.

Some time during this phase, following a number of destructions by fire, the house was divided by a mudbrick wall running north-south with a small opening in the middle. The plan was further altered by an extension to the south-east. Along the south wall of the house was a ramp heading eastward made of small paving stones. The new room created in the west, Room a, has a doorway in its south-west corner leading to courtyard H3. Near the door was a hearth with a quern beside it. A small internal wall, the function of which is unclear, was built against the south wall of room a. The room created to the east has a doorway in its east wall.⁷¹⁰ Installations in this eastern room include a clay floor with a sunken stone structure indicating a possible area for the storage of wheat or barley and three oval hearths, set one next to the other, and all made of pot sherds and pithos fragments.⁷¹¹ Both rooms contained cups and many other drinking vessels, as well as pithoi with rope decoration. The decorated pottery in the rooms, including many sherds

⁷⁰⁴ During IIC middle developed rooms 124 and 126 were combined to make one large room.

⁷⁰⁵ Kilian 1981, 154.

⁷⁰⁶ Kilian 1981, 157.

⁷⁰⁷ Kilian 1981, 155.

⁷⁰⁸ Kilian 1981, 154.

⁷⁰⁹ Hiesel 1990, 23.

⁷¹⁰ Kilian 1981, 154-155.

⁷¹¹ Kilian 1983, 280.

of figurative pottery, show that the final phase of use of these rooms was IIC middle advanced.⁷¹²

Room 129

This small room was located just south of room 127. The south wall of 127 acts as a party wall with 129 and the fortification wall doubles as its the west one. In the north-west corner was a pithos.⁷¹³

Room 137

Only parts of the north wall of room 137 were found; once again its west limits make use of the fortification wall (it is not indicated in the site plan). Inside the room was a cupola shaped oven on top of a clay base made of sherds. West of this were three low platforms of clay, ringed about by stones. On top of one of these were five hydrias, krater fragments, kylikes, deep bowls and cups: some probably fell from a shelf after a fire. This pottery is dated to IIC middle developed.⁷¹⁴

East Sector

KO4 (Kammer 4)

Kammer 4 is a room in the fortification wall, located on the south-east side of the Lower Acropolis. A small room, containing at least four floor levels, its original construction dates to the end of LH IIIB or the beginning of LH IIC.⁷¹⁵ No finds associated with the room are dated to LH IIIB. Traces of beams indicate that the room was probably two stories high. Level 9 (with at least three other slighter levels below) is dated to the IIC middle developed phase: it showed traces of a fire, from a hearth, with a marble polishing stone and two stone weights to the south near the door. In the north-east of the room was an antler with saw marks, implying that the area could have been used as a work place too. On a lower floor, itself made of fallen and trampled mudbrick from an upper storey of an even earlier phase, was a hearth near which were found two unbaked clay spools and beads of steatite and clay. Below this in turn was a clay floor with a mudbrick box-like construction in the north and a pit to hold a storage vessel in the south. Near the entrance was a large hearth made of sherds and six more unbaked clay spools. Below this floor, yet another of the same ceramic phase was revealed: two pithoi were recovered on

⁷¹² Kilian 1983, 280-281 and 287.

⁷¹³ Kilian 1981, 153.

⁷¹⁴ Kilian 1981, 155.

⁷¹⁵ Kilian 1983, 293.

the south side, a bronze fragment and pieces of a human skull. This floor sat on top of IIB2 levelling.

The floor levels above 9, namely 6, 7 and 8, correspond to IIC middle advanced. To floor 6 are attributed two large bins found near the door and another one near the south wall with a quern beside it.⁷¹⁶ Thus, the finds associated with the various phases of this room suggest that it was used as a work area and storage for household goods such as loom-weights.

Lower Acropolis Summary

The evidence from the Lower Acropolis is clearly plentiful, although a few problems are encountered when trying to understand better the use of the area during IIC middle. Firstly, all the published material comes from preliminary excavation reports: these often provide no chronological information, thus making it difficult to conclude which rooms were used in which phase of Late Helladic IIC. This is further complicated because the excavator often makes chronological observations concerning the use of spaces without, however, providing any evidence for this decision. A further problem concerns the numerous destructions which occur throughout IIC in the Lower Acropolis. A number of houses are repaired and re-used, others are abandoned, while yet others still are newly constructed – all in IIC. Often it is difficult from the excavation reports to discern the particular use of the various houses/rooms in a particular phase. Even so an attempt will be made now to summarise the LH IIC middle evidence from the area of the Lower Acropolis and to create a clearer picture of the various functions of these rooms.

As was described above it appears that the Lower Acropolis was divided at the west into three main courts with houses surrounding each of these. During IIC middle developed these court areas did not really exist as separate entities, because it appears that only a few of the houses to the south of area H1 had been built at the time of this earlier phase. Houses KW 14, 224, 88, 89, 97, 115, 110, 106, 107/105/116, 126, 137 and KO4 all appear to date to IIC middle developed.⁷¹⁷ The majority of these structures seem to be for storage and domestic use: thus KW14, 224, 88, 89, 97 and possibly 107/103/116. A more religious character could be claimed for buildings 115 and 110 and possibly 126; 106 was more connected with storage and workshop activities and 137 was most probably a potter's workshop.

In the next phase of LHIIC middle advanced the Lower Acropolis becomes more organised: the three separate courtyard areas are now developed. The north-west area,

⁷¹⁶ Kilian 1983, 291-293.

⁷¹⁷ According to Kilian, H1 had its southern limits at house 126. However, the north wall of 126 is the southern wall of 124 and since 124 was built at the same time or after 106, it would appear that 126 should also be dated to IIC middle advanced. Kilian 1981, 154.

now consisting of rooms surrounding court H1, is still the most utilised: it involves rooms KW14, 224, 99, 100, 110a and 112, while 107/103/116 continues to be used in the north-east area. Rooms KW14, 99, 100, 112 and 107/103/116 appear to have been for domestic use, while room 110a maintained its earlier religious function. To the south of this area is H2, which has as its northern limits house 106. Rooms 124 and 126 appear to have enjoyed domestic use, while house 106 functioned as a storage and workshop area. A number of terrace walls were apparently constructed in this phase, one built against the southern wall of 106 and another just to its east, creating a small passageway leading north. To the south again lies court H3, associated with rooms 127 and 129. The potter's workshop 137 is apparently not used in this phase. Both 127 and 129 appear once again to be for storage and domestic usage. The majority of the walls preserved in this area are terrace walls, also apparently built in this phase.

The only remains dated to IIIC middle known on the eastern side of the Acropolis is the casemate room KO4: operational in IIIC middle developed and advanced as a storage and workshop area.

Lower Town (fig. 3.12)

On the plain below and outside the citadel wall, habitation is attested from the middle Helladic Period through to LH IIIC. Houses in the SE and the NE sectors belong to the IIIC period.

SE SECTOR

Megaron W

The original excavations of Megaron W were undertaken by Schliemann and Dörpfeld in 1884-5, followed by another set in 1927-9 by Schurfungen and Dörpfeld. Neither campaign was fully recorded. In 1975 Hiesel and Gercke attempted to summarise the earlier work done in the area.⁷¹⁸

Megaron W is located directly below the east galleries in an area where the rock begins to rise up. It has an almost rectangular form, oriented north-south, the entrance to which was probably in the north. The megaron consists of a long inner room measuring 11.7m long and 7m wide, with two ante rooms one at each end. The northern of this pair measures 3 by 7m, while the southern is 4.5 by 7m. As Hiesel points out the size of the main room is greater than that of the Narrow Megaron, Building T, on the Upper Acropolis – thus indicating that the Megaron in the Lower Town must have held great importance.⁷¹⁹ The walls are 0.5-0.8m in thickness. Along the long axis of the main room were three large stone blocks each set on a support of six courses of mudbrick. They were

⁷¹⁸ Gercke and Hiesel 1975.

almost equally spaced and probably served as column bases. Between the middle and south columns was a hearth made of sherds and pebbles, the dimensions of which cannot be ascertained. Along the west wall, two more stones could indicate further column bases, although the evidence for this is less clear.⁷²⁰ The foundations on three sides of the megaron are well preserved, but the west is but poorly preserved - probably due to the uneven terrain here. The eastern foundation is preserved to a height of 1.20m and was constructed using two different building techniques. The lower 4-6 courses, some 80 cm thick, consisted of large stones, some Cyclopean in size, with small stones and mortar/mud used as fillers: there was no indication of a worked façade, indicating that these courses were probably dug into the ground. The upper two courses (measuring 20cm high and 60cm thick) were made up from smaller stones. Here the outside face was worked; traces of a mudbrick wall lay on top.⁷²¹ The floor of the main room was probably of well-trodden earth since no clay was mentioned in the original reports. Painted plaster was found in the immediate area during the excavations of 1927, indicating that the walls may have been so treated.⁷²² Hiesel is uncertain if the two types of foundations observed at the east indicate two phases of use. He noted a layer of ash below the floor level of the room and recovered IIIB pottery in the earth dump from the earlier excavations. Together these may imply that the house was built after the major IIIB destruction. The pottery associated with the floor and that found in the area of the hearth indicates a LH IIIC date.⁷²³

House O

To the east of Megaron W was House O, which was connected to the megaron through a small chamber. Trapezoidal in shape, it measured 3.6 by 6.2m. A threshold at the east indicates the entrance. In the middle of the room was a flat stone base, probably a column base, close to which was an oven, probably of later use. The floor of the room was of trodden earth. Finds associated with the room include two stone tools and a Linear B tablet, believed to be out of context. The pottery found on the floor levels is dated to LH IIIC.⁷²⁴

NW Sector

In the north-west area of the Lower Town, Kilian excavated a number of houses with a common E-W orientation, organised around central courtyards and paved walkways.

⁷¹⁹ See Hiesel 1990, 64.

⁷²⁰ Gercke and Hiesel, 1975, 11; Hiesel 1990, 63.

⁷²¹ Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 12-13.

⁷²² Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 15.

⁷²³ Hiesel 1990, 64; Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 14.

⁷²⁴ Hiesel 1990, 24-25; Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 10-11.

Installations and finds in the rooms included hearths, pits, and box-like structures. These houses had three phases of use, all of which appear to belong to the LH IIIC early phase of Tiryns.⁷²⁵ They are mentioned in this section only because they appear to be part of a similar settlement planning witnessed in the NE sector of the Lower Town. Thus a continuation may be surmised from the early to the middle phase.

NE Sector

Recent excavations in the north-east area of the Lower Town have brought to light the extension of the Lower Town settlement further east of Kilian's earlier work in 1976. The material has not yet been published but preliminary reports of the excavations carried out during 1999-2000 revealed a number of rooms with the same E-W orientation as those documented by Kilian.⁷²⁶ Five phases of use have been determined, ranging from LH IIIC early through to LH IIIC middle. The second phase ends in a destructive fire, after which the area appears to have been re-organised around courtyards. An impressive building with a large room subdivided by rows of columns, the stone bases of which are preserved, opens onto a courtyard area. An east-west road connected this building and others around the same courtyard to structures in other parts of the settlement. Apparently this building was not re-established after its destruction, at which point the courtyard area in front was divided into smaller ones. The eastern of these contained numerous clay bins, presumably used as storage facilities. By the final phase this two part division has once again reverted to a single courtyard, surrounded by numerous houses.⁷²⁷ It is still too early to remark on the dating of this building, although based on the stratigraphical information given by the excavator it should be dated to some time between late in the early phase and early in the middle phase. A number of imported finds from Cyprus and Crete indicate this was a period of overseas contact: one best associated in character with the middle phase of LH IIIC.⁷²⁸ Furthermore, as pointed out by the excavator, a number of finds (including a large coarse Minoan stirrup jar) found in the large building have parallels in LH IIIC middle contexts of Grotta on Naxos. This ought to indicate a IIIC middle date here at Tiryns as well.⁷²⁹

Lower Town Summary

This scattered work in the Lower Town demonstrates the extent of occupation outside of the fortification wall during this post palatial period. In fact, Kilian believed that the northern limits of the settlement could have stretched up to 170m, giving a total area of

⁷²⁵ Kilian 1978, 450-455.

⁷²⁶ Maran 2002, 10-11.

⁷²⁷ Maran 2002b.

⁷²⁸ Maran 2002, 10.

25.4 hectares. As he concludes, it is in this period that Tiryns and particularly the area of the Lower Town witnesses its greatest expansion.⁷³⁰ The fact that all the houses so far examined in this area are constructed on a similar E-W orientation indicates an organised settlement and indeed a new approach to settlement planning on the site. Furthermore the presence of impressive buildings with central colonnades, such as Megaron W and the building in the NE sector, supports the idea proposed by Maran that those that inhabited this Lower Town were probably of the 'upper classes'.

Tiryns Summary-

The LH III C evidence from Tiryns is clearly most extensive when compared to other palatial sites in the Argolid such as Mycenae and Midea. This is partly due to the detailed information given by the excavators, Kilian and Maran, but primarily is a reflection of the plethora of evidence available. On the Upper Acropolis, the manner in which the Great Megaron was re-used in this period, with a new construction built within it and utilizing parts of it, shows a continuity lacking in the other acropoleis in the Argolid. The possibility that the throne area was incorporated into the new Building T perhaps indicates a continuation of an administrative order, as could the presence of a storage facility consisting of at least 12 pithoi. Unfortunately, much other information from the Upper Acropolis was lost with Schliemann's early excavations. Nonetheless, there is evidence in certain areas such as the western staircase and the Epichosis indicating that other areas were inhabited or used in this period.⁷³¹

A lot of important information for Tiryns in this period comes from the Lower Acropolis. The most important evidence consists of the new rooms and units of quite complex plan and including storage, workshops, living quarters and ritual areas, which in III C middle advanced are organised around courtyards and streets. Such a settlement layout is not witnessed in any other settlement on Mainland Greece in this period. These tendencies are further underlined by the habitation on the Lower Town: clearly organised on a planned layout, arranged around large courtyard areas and with impressive houses such as Megaron W and the large building with central colonnade in the north-east sector – all indicate a definite economic and/or political organisation. It is interesting to note that many of the major changes that take place in terms of the organisation and planning of the settlement occur in the middle phase of LH III C, and in the case of the Lower Acropolis during the III C middle advanced phase. If one assumes, as the evidence seems to indicate, that organized houses in the Lower Town were created as early as LH III C

⁷²⁹ Maran 2003.

⁷³⁰ No finds can be associated with these houses and therefore their date of construction and use is unknown. See Kilian 1978, 468-470.

⁷³¹ Personal communication from Dr. Alceste Papadimitriou.

early then we can speculate that major reconstruction activities occurred at Tiryns first on the Lower Town and then on the Lower Acropolis. It is important to note at this point that the efforts of the inhabitants of Tiryns in this period are more directed to the area of the Lower Town.

ASINE- (fig. 3.16)

The LH III C settlement evidence from Asine comes from the Lower Town where a number of houses appear to have been used, perhaps even built in LH III C. Unfortunately, it is difficult to conclude which houses were constructed in III C and which have an earlier date since the early excavation methods did not produce much in the way of stratigraphical information. According to Sjöberg, “the dating of the constructions unearthed during the early excavations meets with considerable problems...the pottery material from the latest period of the Late Bronze Age is not easy to classify, and the locations mentioned on the boxes of pottery are not easy to find on the excavation plan with the desired degree of precision”.⁷³²

Frodin and Persson in the original publication of the excavations in 1938 date the houses to between LH III A and LH III C. More specifically, House F is dated to III A, Houses G, I and K to III B with H and W to III C. Hiesel and Sjöberg, having examined the architectural remains, argue that houses F, G, H, I, K were occupied during LH III C.⁷³³ Hiesel dates Houses G, H, I and possibly House F to LH III C, yet gives no date for House K.⁷³⁴ Sjöberg agrees, but adds House K to the LH III C period.⁷³⁵ Mylonas Shear reverts to Frodin and Persson’s original datings – from LH III A to III C.⁷³⁶

Thus although all are agreed that some houses are dated to LH III C, there is no clear indication to which phase of this period they belong. Based on the few published vessels from Houses G, I and the immediate area of K, it looks certain that they were used during the late phase.⁷³⁷ Sherratt draws parallels between the majority of the published pottery with the “late-middle” stage at Perati (Phase III), the “late-middle or latest” stages at Mycenae (advanced-Late phases) and Lefkandi (Phases 2b and 3). Mountjoy and

⁷³² Sjöberg 2001, 37.

⁷³³ House W will not be discussed since the remains consist only of one room, the date of which is uncertain. Moreover, the fact that it is located on Terrace III where no other III C structure exists makes it probable that even if this construction postdates the other buildings (of the MH period) on this terrace, it probably yet has a date earlier than LH III C.

⁷³⁴ Hiesel 1990, 70-71, 84-85, 98, 176.

⁷³⁵ Sjöberg 2001, 40-52. She dates House F and W simply to “LH III C”, Houses G, I and K to “LH III C middle or late” and house H to “LH III C late”.

⁷³⁶ Mylonas Shear 1968, 278-295. She places House F in LH III A, later replaced in LH III B by House G. House H is a late construction postdating House G, possibly as late as the Submycenaean period. Both Houses I and K were constructed in LH III B period.

⁷³⁷ Frödin and Persson 1938, figs. 206-209.

Rutter seem to be in agreement that all the published vessels belong to the late phase.⁷³⁸ One final observation concerning the dating has to do with the ‘Lord of Asine’ clay head found in room 32 of House G. Based on stylistic characteristics, specifically the decoration of the polos and head, D’Agata has dated the head to LH IIIC middle, opening the possibility for occupation in this area of this earlier phase.⁷³⁹

On balance, then, little evidence exists to suggest occupation in the middle phase of LH IIIC. However, since the pottery from the early excavations has not been fully published, and since Sjöberg who has examined this unpublished pottery suggests a possible IIIC middle date for houses G, I and K and D’Agata who suggests a similar date for the Lord of Asine head from House G, then it is important that these houses should at least be discussed.⁷⁴⁰

House G (fig. 3.17)

House G consisted of rooms XXVIII-XXXVI, comprising according to Frodin and Persson walls 52-69. Room XXXII (32) was the central room, measuring *ca.* 7m in length and 5m in width. It had a lime-based floor with two column bases and a hearth; a bench of several layers of flat stones was placed in the north-east part of the room close to wall 58. On this were found the ‘Lord of Asine’ head along with various vessels including coarse-wares, two smaller Mycenaean figurines and a stone axe. These finds are dated to LH IIIC middle and LH IIIC late.⁷⁴¹ Presumably, a door in the north wall 58 connected this central room with XXXI (31), assumed to be its vestibule and measuring *ca.* 3.50 by 2.50m. Alternatively, a series of steps may have led from the higher level of the vestibule down into room 32.⁷⁴² Another doorway on the west in wall 56 connected this room with XXX (30): this last measured over 4m in length and *ca.* 4m in width, with a low-built ledge on its east wall. A wall running west-east from wall 52 possibly divided room XXX (30). From it in turn, access was had to room XXIX (29), at a higher level, by means of a stairwell comprising four steps, each made of a single ashlar block. Room 29 measured *ca.* 3.50 by 2.50m. The eastern wall, 56, of both rooms 29 and 30 was of a more “substantial construction” than the others indicating, in the opinion of Mylonas Shear, that this wall was originally an exterior one for rooms 31 and 32.⁷⁴³

⁷³⁸ See for example Mountjoy 1999 figs. 50.379, 56.422, 56.432, 59.450 and fnts. 960, 965 and 981; Rutter 1977, 4.

⁷³⁹ D’Agata 1996, 39-46.

⁷⁴⁰ One must note that none of this so called “middle” pottery has been illustrated in Sjöberg’s publication.

⁷⁴¹ Sjöberg 2001, 43-44.

⁷⁴² Mylonas Shear 1968, 282.

⁷⁴³ Mylonas Shear 1968, 281-282.

To the east of these were the smaller rooms XXXIII (33) and XXXIV (34), believed to have been used for storage, since they are too small for any other function. Room 33 measured 4 in length and *ca.* 1.50m in width, while room 34 at the same width was slightly shorter, measuring 3m in length.⁷⁴⁴ Further east, lies a large room XXXV (35) as well as a smaller room, XXXVI (36), described as a closet-like structure in the south-east corner.⁷⁴⁵ Mylonas Shear believes that these rooms actually make up two separate establishments, namely of two main rooms 30 and 32, with their respective vestibules 29 and 31.⁷⁴⁶ Sjöberg on the other hand believes room 30 to be a later extension to house G, pointing out that since room 30 was described as having a limestone pavement it could indicate that this area was originally an outdoor one.⁷⁴⁷ The earliest pottery from the floor of room XXXII is dated to LH IIIC middle, providing a probable date of construction to IIIC middle, with continuous use down to the Protogeometric. The various finds, including the figure head and figurines as well as installations such as the benches, suggest that this house could have had a religious function.

House I (fig. 3.18)

House I consists of rooms XL-XLVIII, walls 75-88. Room XLVI (46) is the central room, measuring 6 by 4.50m. Slightly off centre was a roughly circular stone column base and along the east wall (76) a ledge. Finds in this room include a deposit of spools. To the west of room 46 is a narrow corridor, XLVII (47), 1m wide and *ca.* 6m long with an opening to the north. It led perhaps into the two small rooms, XLIII and XLIV (43 and 44) at roughly 2 by 3m in size, lying to the south of 46. To the east of room 46 is another large room, XLV (45), which is quite irregular in shape at 1.5-3.5m wide and 7.10m long. A small narrow room to its south, XLII (42), measured 1.50 by 4m. Mylonas Shear suggested that this room could have functioned as a storeroom,⁷⁴⁸ while Sjöberg points out that a kiln was found in the south wall (80) of the room indicating a possible pottery workshop.⁷⁴⁹ The partly-destroyed kiln was made of clay, with a surround of a stone pavement on which was a large vessel with ash about it. It is unclear whether or not this kiln was a later addition to the room. To the west of the central room is another large room XLVIII (48), at 9 by 5m, but with most of its north and west walls missing.⁷⁵⁰ Two later additions were made to the south including rooms XL and XLI (40 and 41).

⁷⁴⁴ Mylonas Shear 1968, 284.

⁷⁴⁵ Frödin and Persson 1938, 75-76.

⁷⁴⁶ Mylonas Shear 1968, 284-285.

⁷⁴⁷ Sjöberg 2001, 43.

⁷⁴⁸ Mylonas Shear 1968, 290.

⁷⁴⁹ Sjöberg 2001, 49.

⁷⁵⁰ Mylonas Shear 1968, 290-291.

The interpretation given to this complex of rooms is that it consisted of three separate households. House 1 was made up primarily of room XLVI, while House 3 consisted of a lower level of XLVI. House 2 comprised room XLVIII. It is difficult to see how these various rooms interacted with each other through time because the stratigraphy in this area as well as the excavation publication are very confusing. It is argued that the two floor levels from room XLVI indicate at least two phases of use, with the pottery from them showing that House 3 is probably to be dated as early as IIC middle. The presence of a kiln as well as spools indicates both a production of pottery, along with textiles, although it should be noted that with the exception of the spools there is no other evidence for a possible textile industry. Whether this house complex also had a purely domestic function is unclear.⁷⁵¹

House K (fig. 3.18)

House K in its present state of preservation is a small house, consisting of rooms XLIX-LI and walls 89-96. Its eastern side was completely destroyed by the later Roman bath construction.⁷⁵² The plan of the architectural remains in fact shows at least two buildings in this area: one to the south of both room LI and a large room to the east encompassed by walls 94 and 94a. Frödin and Persson mention deposits in this area at a low level, perhaps indicating early Mycenaean ones,⁷⁵³ but as Sjöberg points out the only material published is LH IIC middle or late. Therefore, it is a natural conclusion that the construction is either IIC middle or late.⁷⁵⁴

Asine Summary

At Asine the evidence shows occupation of the Lower Town during Late Helladic IIC. A number of new houses are constructed, incorporating areas for storage, workshops, living and ritual. They take the form of room-complexes interacting with each other rather than single room dwellings or spaces: a quite complex house system, with rooms of varying functions incorporated under “one roof” as opposed to individual spaces, each with its own clear function. Such a pattern Mylonas Shear calls Type G, multiple dwellings.⁷⁵⁵

CORINTHIA- Map 12

KORAKOU (fig. 3.19)

The site of Korakou was excavated by Blegen between 1915 and 1918. The publication assigns a number of houses to the LH IIIB and LH IIC periods, while the settlement also

⁷⁵¹ Sjöberg 2001, 49.

⁷⁵² Sjöberg 2001, 51.

⁷⁵³ Frödin and Persson 1938, 80.

⁷⁵⁴ Sjöberg 2001, 51.

had remains from the early and middle Helladic periods.⁷⁵⁶ A later study of the ceramic evidence by Rutter suggests that a number of houses constructed in LH IIIB were abandoned either just before or during IIIC early. These include houses L, H and O.⁷⁵⁷

The IIIC middle material comes from the area of House P. Rutter has distinguished four phases in the deposits of this house, starting as early as the transition from LH IIIB- LH IIIC. In trench P, excavated in the area of House P, three floor levels of LH III date were located. The first two levels belong to the LH IIIB2/LH IIIC early transitional phase and the LH IIIC early phase respectively, while the last one, it has been argued, belongs to the LH IIIC middle advanced phase. The construction of House P thus appears to be associated with second floor deposit of Trench P, which is the early phase, followed by an advanced phase of LH IIIC.⁷⁵⁸ From Blegen's excavation, it is difficult to recognise which walls are of this advanced phase. Rutter speculates that "Blegen's plan of House P is a combination of the architecture to be associated with both floor 2 and floor 1".⁷⁵⁹ Blegen himself also notes that "the plan is further involved by the fact that at least two periods of occupation seem to be represented".⁷⁶⁰ I present here a detailed study of the architectural remains because the building appears to date exclusively to the LH IIIC period.

The main features of the house are a small vestibule leading into what has been described as a large-megaron shaped room, with two rooms side by side beyond this. The front entrance of the house is on the south side. The stone walls vary in thickness from 0.45-0.50m and project 0.15-0.20 above the floor. Little of the mudbrick superstructure was preserved. The floor was of trodden earth or clay with many layers of repair and renewal apparent in the stratigraphy.⁷⁶¹

Outside the vestibule to the south of the entrance was a shallow tub or watering trough cut out of a block of soft limestone: oval in shape, it measured 0.75m in width by 1.43m in length. The west end had a hole for emptying. A cobbled pavement occupied the area in front of the door.

The threshold of the door into the vestibule was not preserved but a depression 2.10m wide indicates the likely place where it would have been. The vestibule measured 4m wide by 3.10m long. The threshold of the doorway in the northern wall leading to the megaron room is again implied from a depression in the floor. A narrow north-south corridor with a room off its west side runs alongside the vestibule and projects into the south-west corner of the megaron room. Blegen believed that this room could have

⁷⁵⁵ Mylonas Shear 1968, 467.

⁷⁵⁶ Blegen 1921.

⁷⁵⁷ Rutter 1981, 547.

⁷⁵⁸ Rutter 1974, 546-547.

⁷⁵⁹ Rutter 1974, 547.

⁷⁶⁰ Blegen 1921, 83.

belonged to another building and gives no information as to its relation to House P. The narrow corridor to the west of the vestibule is believed to have functioned as a stairway leading to an upper storey.

The “megaron” is almost square, at 8.10 by 8m. In the centre of the room is a square hearth, 1.36m by 1.37m, made of a layer of pebbles and sherds set in clay, now with a covering of ashes. Approximately 1.20m north of the hearth is a cut column base, 0.45m in diameter and 0.33m in height. North of this again was a flat-topped, square platform at 1.10m. On the platform’s west side was a wall or frame built of three stone slabs set on edge. The platform itself was composed of reddish earth and ashes and included some pebbles and potsherds. On the top of the platform was a layer of loose sea pebbles. In the western area of the room were two lines on the floor, consisting of a layer of pebbles and potsherds some 0.30m in thickness. They met at right angles: the north strip is 1.50m long, while the larger one on the west is 3m long. Blegen interprets these two features as being a possible bench round “the pillar-base and the ‘altar’”. On all sides and at equidistant intervals from the walls are set at least five stone blocks, possibly supports for the wooden posts of a roof. Blegen surmises that either a colonnade ran round the sides of the megaron with the central area of the hearth being open to the air or that the whole area was roofed. The latter of the two seems more probable, allowing the hearth to be covered. But Blegen was concerned that the room was quite large to have been equipped with a complete roof. The northern wall of the megaron contained two doorways which led into the two northern chambers. The thresholds to these are not present but again an area lower by 0.30m in the wall implies their presence. The eastern room is 3.85m wide and from 6.15 to 6.75m in length. This discrepancy in length is due to the fact that the northern wall crosses both the east and west rooms at an angle. At the east side of the room, almost directly in line with the presumed doorway, is a circular hearth measuring approximately 1m in diameter. Around the hearth were scattered sherds from at least 24 vessels. Near the hearth was a small flat stone as well as a saddle quern. Against the east wall, as well as in the south-west corner, was a spread of large sea pebbles, possibly a paving of sorts. The west chamber was 4m in width and between 5.50 to 6.10m in length. Near the centre of the room, again directly in line with the doorway, was a hearth. In the southwest corner was an area paved with sea pebbles. Very few pots were found in this room. Blegen argues that the presence of the pottery in the eastern chamber implies that this room was used for cooking and eating while the western room was probably for sleeping. The hearth in the megaron he believes was used for ceremonial occasions.⁷⁶²

⁷⁶¹ Blegen 1921, 84 84-88.

Korakou Summary-

The evidence from Korakou is unfortunately limited to this one house. Even so, it does supply valuable information, indicating a house that had multiple functions including a possible ritual area. The main feature in this house is the importance given to the central room by its central hearth, possible altar and benches. Such may suggest a house with clear administrative/religious functions or, more likely, a house complex incorporating multiple functions including a household ritual area. This last is reminiscent of Mycenaean palatial centres, where the sacred space could be incorporated into the central rooms, often in the Great Megaron. In this later period, however, there does not appear to be a distinction between the dwelling of the central administrator and that of others in the community. Rather it is that certain households have their own sacred spaces within their home.

CORINTH

The only evidence from Corinth of LH IIIC middle material comes from two pits behind the Julian Basilica.⁷⁶³ Very little information could be ascertained from these deposits other than that they are definitely not burial pits and most likely imply the presence of IIIC middle occupation somewhere in the immediate vicinity.

EUBOEA- Map 13

XEROPOLIS-LEFKANDI (figs. 3.20 and 3.21)

The site of Xeropolis-Lefkandi has five major stratigraphically preserved phases: 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b and 3.⁷⁶⁴ Phase 1a corresponds to LH IIIC early, and marks the construction of the first building phase. Phase 1b corresponds to the end of LH IIIC early/the beginning of LH IIIC middle developed during which time a major destruction at the site occurs. Phase 2a and perhaps part of Phase 2b correspond to the LH IIIC middle advanced phase: the construction and duration of the second building phase, including a second smaller destruction of the site. Finally, Phase 3 corresponds to LH IIIC late, which is limited to a few rooms at the south. Until recently, it was believed that the area was deserted after this late phase.⁷⁶⁵ However new finds reveal that the site continues to be inhabited.⁷⁶⁶

Although phase 1a does not fall into the middle phase studied in this thesis, it is important to discuss the layout of the houses in this phase in order to better understand the changes which are implemented in the new building plan of Phase 2.

⁷⁶² Blegen 1921, 84-89.

⁷⁶³ Weinberg 1949, 154-157 pl. 22.35.

⁷⁶⁴ Popham and Milburn, 1971.

⁷⁶⁵ Popham and Milburn, 1971, 334; Mountjoy 1999, 694.

⁷⁶⁶ Personal correspondence with I. S. Lemos

Phase 1 construction consisted of two main buildings at the north, separated by an alleyway running roughly north-south to a back yard area; their frontage was on an east-west passage way with small parts of further houses on its south side. The excavators believe they are basement rooms, entered from above, since no doorways to the outside are present; an external stairway may have led from the alley to the upper storey of the eastern house. The existence of upper storeys is attested first by traces of floor timbers that collapsed at the time of the destruction of this building, and also by 26 courses of mudbrick wall preserved where they had fallen from the original destruction, suggesting a wall originally of at least 2.5 m high. The rooms are planned relatively haphazardly and vary both in layout and size. The walls are constructed of pisé or mud brick, set on a rough stone socle. Inside some have central wooden posts, with further postholes at regular intervals along some walls and even hints of timber cladding. Also against the walls are bins of unbaked clay as well as large storage pithoi.

The centres of several rooms – at least one in each house – have a hearth constructed of broken sherds held in clay. The presence of the bins and pithoi there as well as carbonised figs, olives and remains of spelt mixed with barley all suggest these basement areas were used for considerable volumes of storage. The hearth and cooking vessels argues that the rooms may also have served for cooking in, while the destroyed upper storeys were likely the living quarters.⁷⁶⁷

The next building phase, Phase 2a, was constructed differently from the previous phase with plentiful signs “of careful planning and regularity”.⁷⁶⁸ This building group was centered around a pair of main rooms, each measuring 5 m square, with smaller rooms off them to the east and west. The larger room to the east had a posthole in the centre as well as an unbaked clay bin in the northeast corner. North of these was a narrow internal corridor with further rooms containing more unbaked clay bins in the west room and a centrally placed, square hearth in the east. A back-yard with further provision (hearth/oven) for cooking lay to the west of these rooms. As in the previous phase, an open passageway was positioned to the south. The walls were well built, again of mudbrick on stone socles – in certain areas preserved to nearly one meter in height. At some point, probably at the end of Phase 2a, the buildings were partly destroyed.

After this, at the beginning of Phase 2b, reconstruction in the area was undertaken with the addition of a small room to the south of the western room as well as an extension to the west. More houses to the south of the passageway were constructed.⁷⁶⁹ In the second half of this phase, most likely late in 2b, a number of intramural burials of adults and children were made within the settlement area. These burials were made through the

⁷⁶⁷ Popham and Sackett 1968, 11.

⁷⁶⁸ Popham and Sackett 1968, 14.

⁷⁶⁹ Popham and Sackett 1968, 14.

earth floors of the rooms and were generally close to the walls. They were inhumations with only three containing grave offerings, thus making it difficult to date them more accurately; some may belong earlier in Phase 2. The two vessels recovered from two of these burials are dated stylistically to LH IIIC late. One of the burials had a bone that had been clearly severed, perhaps from a sword slash.⁷⁷⁰

Xeropolis-Lefkandi Summary

The evidence at Lefkandi is unusual in that it undergoes distinct changes in planning during IIIC as opposed to adaptation and tinkering. The IIIC early settlement was destroyed and followed by one that substantially differed in details within a retained broader use of space. As only a very small area of Xeropolis has been excavated, one can only speculate as to the extent of the change that occurred throughout IIIC. The number of clay bins in the rooms excavated indicates extensive storage areas: does this argue for a wealthy community with an extensive surplus of goods for storage, or one that kept its supplies close at home? The presence of intramural burials during Phase 2b can be compared to those at Tiryns on the Lower Acropolis. The cut mark on one of the skeletons might bear witness to a period of violence in this phase. The fact that the buildings that followed in Phase 3 were of a much poorer quality indicates a society that was slowly deteriorating, perhaps due to a violent destruction or attack, which took the lives and livelihoods of many of the settlers of Lefkandi.

ATTICA- Map 13

ATHENS (fig. 3.22)

No well-preserved rooms or buildings on the Acropolis date to LH IIIC. Some walls postdate the fortification wall, and so could belong to LH IIIB2 through to LH IIIC, but there is no associated pottery for these walls.⁷⁷¹ The only area of the Acropolis that contains a definite IIIC middle deposit is the shaft of the fountain on the North Slope. Since no architectural features are linked to this fill very little information can be gained from it beyond the fact that by LH IIIC the fountain was out of use and was instead used as a dumping ground from a presumed settlement up on the Acropolis.⁷⁷²

THORIKOS

Very little information is available for the activities conducted at Thorikos in Mine No. 3 during the Mycenaean period. From the pottery it seems likely that it was in use from LH IIIB2-IIIC early, perhaps as late as LH IIIC middle/late, although the pottery for this

⁷⁷⁰ Popham and Sackett 1968, 14.

⁷⁷¹ Mountjoy 1995, 55.

⁷⁷² Bronceer, 1939, 422.

phase is much less, arguably showing a definite decrease in the mine's use.⁷⁷³ We know that this mine was used in late Classical times for the mining of lead and silver ore. One assumes that it had a similar use during the Mycenaean period.

THE CYCLADES- Map 14

MELOS

PHYLAKOPI (fig. 3.23)

At the site of Phylakopi, LH III C material is known from the East and West Shrines. The West Shrine was constructed in LH IIIA2, the Fortification Wall and the East Shrine in LH IIIB1.⁷⁷⁴ LH III C material is found in Phylakopi Phases 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b and 3c. Phase 2a corresponds to LH III C early, while phases 2b, 3a, 3b and 3c correspond to LH III C middle.⁷⁷⁵

Phase 2b produced numerous assemblages both in the West and East Shrines. In the West Shrine destruction debris turned up around the floor of the northwest platform,⁷⁷⁶ in situ on the southwest platform,⁷⁷⁷ as well as in Rooms A (including in the niche⁷⁷⁸) and B.⁷⁷⁹ In the East Shrine destruction debris was recovered along the southern and western sides of the foot of the platform.⁷⁸⁰ Further debris was also found in the area north of the West Shrine,⁷⁸¹ in the street and courtyard⁷⁸² as well as the area east of the East Shrine which fell into disuse after the collapse.⁷⁸³ At the beginning of Phase 3, a blocking wall was constructed across the middle of the main room of the West Shrine, closing off its southern area. This wall had a neatly constructed face to the north and stones piled up irregularly behind to the south. This area was built of large round stones similar to and possibly from those in the Fortification Wall. During Phase 3b, a newly constructed platform was built in the north-east area of the West Shrine replacing the earlier south-west platform which had been closed off in 3a. The square platform measured 75cm square and was plastered. It continued to be used until Phase 3c, when a wall was built above the platform at the north-west corner, leaving a sort of shelf or platform still in use.⁷⁸⁴ In the East Shrine a small wall was constructed during Phase 3c; the platform in the north-east corner was no longer in use, as its top stood just below or

⁷⁷³ Mountjoy, 1995, 212-214.

⁷⁷⁴ Renfrew 1985, 80-81.

⁷⁷⁵ Renfrew 1985, 86.

⁷⁷⁶ Renfrew 1985, 105-107.

⁷⁷⁷ Renfrew 1985, 109.

⁷⁷⁸ Renfrew 1985, 112.

⁷⁷⁹ Renfrew 1985, 116.

⁷⁸⁰ Renfrew 1985, 117.

⁷⁸¹ Renfrew 1985, 124-125.

⁷⁸² Renfrew 1985, 121-123.

⁷⁸³ Renfrew 1985, 125-126.

⁷⁸⁴ Renfrew 1985, 131.

flush with the floor level.⁷⁸⁵ The areas of the courtyard and street were not repaved after the collapse of Phase 2b.

Phylakopi Summary

The exact relation between the sanctuary of Phylakopi and the settlement in LH IIIc remains unclear.⁷⁸⁶ According to Schallin LH IIIc sherds were found in the early excavations, “but there is hardly any evidence of buildings associated with it”.⁷⁸⁷ Nonetheless, the extensive use of the sanctuary throughout LH IIIc middle indicates the continued importance of cult then at the site. This is further illustrated by the repairs and alterations made to the sanctuary throughout IIIc until its destruction sometime at the end of IIIc middle. It should be noted here that, “many, perhaps even all, [of] the figures and figurines now in use had been salvaged from the preceding phase”.⁷⁸⁸ This perhaps indicates that the use of this sanctuary during IIIc was diminishing, since the only definitely newly made objects are the pottery. Furthermore, if French is correct in supposing that many of the figurines found at Phylakopi were imported from the Mainland, it would be interesting to examine whether the fact that no IIIc figurines are found in the sanctuary is related to the Mainland destructions and what relation, if any, the sanctuary held with the Mycenaean palaces on the mainland in the preceding phases.

PAROS

KOUKOUNARIES (fig. 3.24)

The settlement site of Koukounaries lies in the north-east part of the island of Paros, on the south-west side of the Naousa Bay. The settlement is on a plateau area some 26 by 33m located on the summit of a hill. It is surrounded by rock formations except on the south side which has a sloping descent. The settlement was built in the LH IIIc early phase.

In the southern limit of the structure, a “Cyclopean” fortification wall was built in this early phase: 1.66m wide, with a preserved height of 3m and a length exceeding 16.50m. It was constructed of granite blocks laid lengthwise in two rows with smaller stones used as fillings. The blocks varied from 0.29-0.55m in width on average, up to as large as 1.45m.⁷⁸⁹ To the north and behind this fortification wall was the so called “mansion” of Koukounaries, covering 22m in length and 16.5m in width. The basic plan consists of two main corridors leading to various rooms that are presumed to be two-storeys high as a number of schist slabs, as well as clay with rod or hay impressions,

⁷⁸⁵ Renfrew 1985, 138.

⁷⁸⁶ Renfrew 1985, 401.

⁷⁸⁷ Schallin 1993, 76.

⁷⁸⁸ Renfrew 1985, 381.

suggest the presence of a roofed upper story.⁷⁹⁰ The main gate is on the west side where a courtyard area led into an open portico facing west. From the portico a flight of stairs to the south ascended to the upper storey, while a door to the east gave onto a corridor (1) of basement rooms and joins up with another corridor (2) running to the north. Near the stairwell were found burnt animal bones.⁷⁹¹ To the north traces of a tower remain indicating another gate in this area.⁷⁹² The walls of these interior rooms and corridors are all constructed in a similar fashion, with two rows of worked stones with mud bonding.⁷⁹³ The room at the south end of the north-south corridor measured 3.9 by 2.95m. The thickness of its northern wall (0.90m) implies support for an upper storey, as does fallen material in it. Amongst the burnt debris was an ivory relief fragment with a spiral decoration, perhaps from an arm-rest or the back of an elaborate throne. This find led Schilardi to observe that “the cellar lay beneath the administrative room of the high magistrate”.⁷⁹⁴ Other items found were storage pithoi, decorated vessels, and items of bronze, lead, steatite, ivory, obsidian as well as unworked rock crystal fragments. To the east of this room, in the north-south corridor 2, were remains of a child’s skull aged approximately 22 months of age and the remains of at least two other children.⁷⁹⁵

The largest concentration of finds comes from the three rooms directly behind the fortification wall, believed to be the main basement cellars; they have been labelled A, B and C. The first storeroom (A), at 4 by 7m, is the largest; its walls were preserved to a height of 2.50m. Toward the east end of the room, a dividing wall had been inserted. Its doorway is to the north beside the stairwell, giving onto corridor 1, and quite near to the open courtyard area to the west.⁷⁹⁶ Here were over 40 circular schist lids, probably used to cover storage pithoi, whose presence is indicated by fragments with rope pattern decoration; over 400 other vessels were found.⁷⁹⁷ Other finds include bronze arrowheads, spears, razors, a ladle, crushed lead vessels, steatite beads, conical dress weights, spindle whorls, obsidian blades, ivory comb and pins, and whetstones. Human infant skeletal remains were found below a crushed pithos. Below the floor level were traces of a drain, indicated by a rectangular opening in the southern wall.⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁸⁹ Schilardi 1978, 290.

⁷⁹⁰ Schilardi 1982, 366; Schilardi 1984, 187

⁷⁹¹ Schilardi 1984, 200.

⁷⁹² Schilardi 1984, 188.

⁷⁹³ Schilardi 1982, 366.

⁷⁹⁴ Schilardi 1984, 188.

⁷⁹⁵ Schilardi 1984, 200.

⁷⁹⁶ Schilardi 1982, 366.

⁷⁹⁷ Schilardi 1984, 188. These include at least 129 deep bowls, 50 kylikes, at least 11 spouted cups, 12 semi-globular cups, four shallow angular bowls, an example of a tankard, one complete krater, at least 22 stirrup jars, nine straight-sided alabastra, and various other closed shapes in less frequency, such as the collar-necked jar, the globular jug, the lekythos, lids and legged alabastra; Schilardi 1984, 192-195 for details.

⁷⁹⁸ Schilardi 1984, 189.

The second storeroom (B) measures approximately 4 by 2.6m; its northern side is preserved to a height of 2m, in which the door is placed. Four large crushed pithoi came from the east side as well as one standing pithos near the west wall. Over 30 more circular schist lids were retrieved here as well as over 150 more fine-ware vessels.⁷⁹⁹ Other finds in this room included bronze arrowheads, a bronze pin, lead objects and steatite conical weights. Traces of ash as well as of white wall plaster were found in the centre of the room. Near the standing pithos was a skeleton of a female lying in a foetal position with a lentoid sealstone near her neck. On the side of her skull were traces of a wound.⁸⁰⁰ The third storeroom (C) contained three large fallen pithoi along the west wall. Other finds included a bronze double axe, unworked fragments of crystal, deer antlers and possible fragments of a clay drain. This room also contained fine ware vessels mentioned by the excavator but which remain unpublished.⁸⁰¹

The only other room mentioned by Schilardi was a small one, labelled in the plan as room D, approximately 1.5 by 3m, attached to the west wall of the alley to the north. Its north side was partly carved out of the rock, and here a bench-like structure was formed, possibly indicating the room was a sanctuary. Other notable features of this room are the well-constructed east wall with impressive masonry and the flagstone-paved floor covered with white lime.⁸⁰²

Finally, remains of both human and animal skeletons were found in the northern area of corridor 2 toward the main entrance to the north.⁸⁰³

The settlement is believed to have been destroyed some time during III C middle developed as the sealed deposits, particularly from the storage rooms, indicate. Some time after this new building activities were undertaken on the acropolis, consisting mainly of walls built across corridors and rooms of the original complex. Schilardi believes that these walls date to the advanced phase of III C middle and that the people that inhabited the hill during this time were probably squatters. Only a few vessels belong to this post-destruction phase: they include bell-shaped, monochrome deep bowls with flaring rims, an amphora handle with a cross decoration, amphorae with tassel decoration and a fabric resembling the "white ware" of Lefkandi.⁸⁰⁴ Submycenaean occupation too is suggested by a lekythos decorated with hand-drawn semi-circles on the shoulder zone.⁸⁰⁵ The last

⁷⁹⁹ Koehl, 1984. These include at least 155 deep bowls, two stemmed bowls, fourrounded kylikes, 22 conical kylikes, 16 carinated kylikes, two kraters, three spouted cups, two semi-globular cups, ten dippers, two shallow angular bowls, fourstirrup jars, 1 lekythos, 1 globular jug, 1 globular juglet, two straight-sided alabastra, one collar-necked jar and one lid.

⁸⁰⁰ Schilardi 1984, 189; Schilardi 1981, 242.

⁸⁰¹ Schilardi 1984, 190.

⁸⁰² Schilardi 1984, 190.

⁸⁰³ Schilardi 1984, 200.

⁸⁰⁴ Schilardi 1984, 204.

⁸⁰⁵ Schilardi 1984, 204, fig. 10c.

occupation on this hill, which includes an apsidal or oval house, occurs in the Proto-Geometric period, although this material still remains unpublished.⁸⁰⁶

Koukounaries Summary

The importance of the settlement at Koukounaries lies not only in the fact that it was constructed in the beginning of LH IIIC but also in the great number of fine ware vessels found in the storage rooms. Its architecture, embracing a Cyclopean fortification wall as well as series of rooms and corridors, indicates that this was an important IIIC site. The contents of the three storage rooms indicate a wealth of goods unparalleled in many other settlements of this period. The size of the settlement itself is slightly puzzling – it is not of a substantial size. Thus one is tempted to follow the excavator's belief that the site could have been a “mansion” or a “small provincial palace”.

The reason for the destruction of the site is unknown. The number of bodies, both human and animal, found in various places as well as the great number of vessels and valuable items that were found in situ in the storage areas indicate a violent destruction with little opportunity for looting. The fact that rebuilding occurred above these destruction levels, often closing off earlier rooms and corridors, and that areas such as the storage rooms in the south were left undisturbed all suggest that later settlers were perhaps unfamiliar with the complex in its earlier form and, as Schilardi suggests, were indeed squatters.

NAXOS

GROTTA (figs. 3.25 and 3.26)

The coastal settlement of Grotta, in the northern part of Naxos, was occupied from the early Helladic through to the Late Helladic periods. The modern town was built over much of the settlement. Though many areas have been uncovered, it is difficult to identify and make much sense of the LH IIIC phasing. The natural erosion operating in the area has also destroyed much of the remains, large sectors having fallen into the sea.⁸⁰⁷ Only preliminary reports have been published from most of the excavations, with few articles dealing more specifically with the dating of the material. The pottery of the settlement for the most part still remains unpublished.

It appears that the Late Helladic settlement was concentrated in an area stretching for *ca.* 250m along the coast. Two separate towns are involved: the first was supposedly destroyed by an earthquake during LH IIIB, after which the settlers covered the remains with a layer of sand; on top of this was built the late LH IIIB settlement which continued

⁸⁰⁶ Lemos 2002, 147 and 207; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 82-83.

⁸⁰⁷ Vlachopoulos 1995, 511.

to be inhabited during LH IIIC.⁸⁰⁸ A fortification wall was apparently built in IIIC which excluded much of the area of the earlier town, implying that the settlement was smaller in this phase.⁸⁰⁹ Houses of this period were placed in very close proximity to each other, often sharing walls. A large “megaron”-shaped building is discernible, as is a triangular complex of rooms beside a road that led to the shore.⁸¹⁰ The fortification wall ran in a NW-SE direction, for a length of at least 17.7m and was nearly 3m wide: its foundation was constructed of well cut worked blocks, while the superstructure consisted of several courses of baked mudbrick. Various streets are mentioned of this period, although it is not clear where they were located.⁸¹¹ One of the most important finds is a pottery kiln with remains of unfired pots. The work area contained oval-shaped bins of unbaked clay, with six dumps of broken vessels, both fine ware and cooking ware, all dated to IIIC middle. Raw clays of the kaolinite and montmorillonite groups were found amongst the unfinished pottery.⁸¹² Remains apparently dated to IIIC in other areas of the site were found overlaying earlier houses, although their dates are only preliminary.⁸¹³ For example, House Delta, excavated by Kontoleon, is described as having walls of unworked stone with larger blocks on the lower courses and mudbrick superstructure above. He also mentions an area of paved floor along with a circular hearth of hard-packed, burnt earth with small stones, sherds and animal bones.⁸¹⁴

Grotta Summary

The evidence from Grotta is still not fully published. The best preserved evidence is that from the area of the Mitropolis plot excavated in the last two decades and which provides information concerning the extent of the IIIC settlement. Of importance is the newly constructed fortification wall of LH IIIC, indicating not only the presence of skilled builders but also of a settlement concerned with protecting itself. It seems likely that the settlers, motivated by fear of attack, undertook this protective construction. The potter's workshop with its kiln and traces of imported minerals raises the possibility of contacts in this period, at least within the Cycladic islands. The importance of Naxos during LH IIIC is further strengthened when one takes into account the impressive finds from the nearby cemeteries of Aplomata and Kamini.

⁸⁰⁸ Vlachopoulos 1995, 511-512.

⁸⁰⁹ Schallin 1993, 77.

⁸¹⁰ Vlachopoulos 1995, 303.

⁸¹¹ Schallin 1993, 77; Lambrinouidakis and Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou, 2001.

⁸¹² Chalepa-Bikaki 1983, 309-310. Kaolinite is a mineral found on Melos used to polish pottery before it was placed in the kiln thus producing a glossy surface.

⁸¹³ Schallin 1993, 77.

⁸¹⁴ Kontoleon 1969, 115-119.

KOS

SERRAGLIO

The settlement of Serraglio was excavated in the modern town of Kos between 1935 and 1943; Morricone published the excavation in 1975. Very little remains of the LH IIIC settlement. According to Morricone, Serraglio had four levels of occupation comprising four cities: the first city he dates to middle Minoan III, whilst the fourth city appears to be LH IIIC. The only remains of definite IIIC date was an intact floor in Zone I mentioned by Morricone.⁸¹⁵ In Zone II traces of a wall running NW-SE form a corner, indicating the interior of a room: preserved to two courses high, it lay on top of other wall remains of the third city. From the pottery it was determined that ceramics of LH IIIB belonged to the third city, with a layer of destruction above, on top of which was the fourth city, dating to the LH IIIC period.⁸¹⁶ Morricone attributes the lack of architectural remains to the destruction that took place when the site was occupied in the Protogeometric period, as well as the tombs dating to the Protogeometric and Geometric periods dug into the last city's layers.⁸¹⁷ In general, the pottery that dates to LH IIIC comes from Zone II, although it is all out of context.

⁸¹⁵ Morricone 1972-3, 163-164, 393.

⁸¹⁶ Morricone 1972-3, 227-228, 394.

⁸¹⁷ Morricone 1972-3, 394.

3.3 BUILDING MATERIAL AND CONSTRUCTION

This section examines information concerning the construction and planning of the architectural remains dated to IIIC in order to better understand not only aspects of continuity but also instances of differentiation and innovation.

Just like the houses in the preceding Mycenaean periods, the characteristic feature of a house constructed in LH IIIC was “a stone foundation and socle supporting a mud-brick superstructure reinforced with wooden tie-beams, covered and sometimes held together with clay”.⁸¹⁸ In this examination, all categories discussed as relevant to the building and function of these IIIC houses are based on Mylonas Shear’s study of the construction of domestic architecture: namely foundations and socles, superstructures and walls, floors, doors, stairs, roofs, columns, hearths and furniture. Her definitions are followed by a few relevant examples, showing the similarities and differences found in IIIC.⁸¹⁹

Foundations and socles

Foundations of Mycenaean buildings were “made of rubble stone masonry sometimes laid with clay mortar”.⁸²⁰ They were usually constructed of larger stones held in place by smaller ones, resting either on bedrock or on earth fill. The choice of earth fill or bedrock usually depended on local conditions rather than any tradition. For example, if an area had a fairly level bedrock, little earth fill was used to support the foundation. Often the space between the two faces of a wall was filled with smaller stones. In certain examples, terrace walls were built as the foundations along one side of a building.⁸²¹

In many cases one cannot distinguish between the socle and the foundation; at best the socle may be less wide than the foundation or made of smaller stones. They also varied in thickness depending on the terrain below.⁸²² Most IIIC architectural descriptions lack information on any foundations. The little that does exist, implies a comparable

⁸¹⁸ See Mylonas- Shear 1968, 429.

⁸¹⁹ Detailed information can be found in the descriptions of each site in the first section of this chapter. For Mycenae only certain structures are involved here. Because the bulk of the IIIC areas are re-used earlier buildings, it is difficult, often impossible, to make out which construction/structural details are from IIIC.

⁸²⁰ Mylonas- Shear 1968, 436.

⁸²¹ Mylonas- Shear 1968, 435-438. Panagia House I is given as an example of a foundation placed directly on the surface of the bedrock, while Korakou is given as one on an earth fill. See also her fns. 801-813 for further examples of variations.

⁸²² See Mylonas- Shear 1968, 438-440. The South House is given as an example where the foundation is wider than the wall it supported. Examples of variations in height include the western side of the West House which is 1m high and stone socles from Korakou which are 0.2-0.25m high. See also her fns. 815-824 for further examples of variations.

building technique to the earlier examples described above, though not as impressively constructed as some of the palatial examples from Mycenae.

Kilian's description of some rooms excavated at Tiryns mentioned both a "well built foundation" reaching a height of 46-48cm for room 106⁸²³ and a "one course stone foundation" from room 126.⁸²⁴ He describes as a foundation typical of IIC that of room 127, which is not very robust at 36cm wide. Hiesel and Gercke also note that the foundations for Megaron W in the lower town reach a height of 1.20m. Two building techniques are employed: the lower courses (4-6 courses) used large stones with smaller stones, mortar and mud all used as fillers, reaching a thickness of 80cm. The upper two courses consisted of smaller stones, reaching a height of 20cm and a slighter width at 60.⁸²⁵ In essence this is a larger and broader foundation with a slighter socle set on it.

At Midea, on Terrace 10, the older foundations had what appears to be a socle superstructure built in IIC. This varied slightly: two courses of stones, 15cm high, with a rubble fill for wall 111 and three courses of stones, 37cm, high for wall 112. Wall 112, although higher, was built of smaller stones.⁸²⁶

On Naxos the foundations of the demarcation wall at Mitropolis Square are described as being constructed of large well cut worked blocks of stone,⁸²⁷ while the walls of house Delta in the Grotta area are described as having large blocks for the lower course.⁸²⁸

On Paros, the demarcation/fortification wall rests on the bedrock below and it has two faces of large stone blocks, on average measuring between 0.29 and 0.55m, up to 1.45m, filled with smaller stones.⁸²⁹ Other walls described include those of the second storeroom, which had a stone substructure preserved to 2m in height, of worked blocks with mud used as bonding.⁸³⁰

Finally, in the case of Lefkandi, no detailed description of the foundations is published. The description of walls "laid on a rough stone socle", however, indicates a similar construction to those above.⁸³¹

Superstructure and Wall Plaster

Above the foundations and socle, "the wall was continued in mud brick, pisé, or a combination of mud brick and rubble...and the superstructure was usually held together

⁸²³ Kilian 1978, 460.

⁸²⁴ Kilian 1981, 154.

⁸²⁵ Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 12-13.

⁸²⁶ Walberg 1998, 43-44, 91-92.

⁸²⁷ Schallin 1993, 77; Lambrinoudakis and Zapheiroupolou 1990, 163.

⁸²⁸ Schallin 1993, 78.

⁸²⁹ Schilardi 1978, 290.

⁸³⁰ Schilardi 1981, 240.

⁸³¹ Popham and Sackett 1968, 11.

by wooden beams".⁸³² All this was usually then covered with "plaster made of earth, clay, or clay mixed with lime and painted".⁸³³ Mudbrick superstructures are documented on nearly all III C sites.

One of the best preserved examples of this last comes from Lefkandi where remains of a fallen mudbrick wall (complete with window) is documented: at least 26 courses remain, suggesting an original height above the stone socle of at least a further 2.5 m.⁸³⁴ At Tiryns, such are present in many rooms including KW14,⁸³⁵ Room 106,⁸³⁶ and Room 126;⁸³⁷ at least six courses of a mudbrick superstructure are recorded for Megaron W.⁸³⁸ Other examples come from the Metropolis area of Grotta, where it was set on the large stone blocks of the socle/foundation of House Delta.⁸³⁹

Wall plasters are less well attested in the III C material. At Mycenae, it is unclear if plastered walls in rooms built in IIIB are still of this earlier phase or belong to some renewal in III C.⁸⁴⁰ It is assumed that at least the two rooms dating to III C with frescoes were then plastered.⁸⁴¹ A possible III C house, House H, had walls surfaced with clay.⁸⁴² Mud plasters are abundantly reported at Lefkandi, where there is also the possibility that some basement rooms were partly timber-clad.⁸⁴³

At Tiryns the picture seems to be different. Though traces of painted plaster are reported from Megaron W in the Lower Town by Hiesel and Gercke,⁸⁴⁴ Kilian makes no mention of plastered walls in any of the rooms in the Lower Acropolis.

Remains found in the second storeroom at Koukounaries indicate the possible presence of a white wall plaster (lime-based); the excavator notes that this could have been from an upper storey floor.⁸⁴⁵

Floors

Floors were made of trodden earth mixed with pebbles or clay, often intermixed with lime. In rarer cases, they may also have been of stone or part stone/part clay. Proper stone pavements were usually reserved for outside areas such as courtyards.⁸⁴⁶

⁸³² Mylonas- Shear 1968, 441.

⁸³³ Mylonas- Shear 1968, 443.

⁸³⁴ Popham and Sackett 1968, 13.

⁸³⁵ Kilian 1982, 397; Kilian 1988, 111.

⁸³⁶ Kilian 1978, 460.

⁸³⁷ Kilian 1981, 154.

⁸³⁸ Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 11.

⁸³⁹ Schallin 1993, 78.

⁸⁴⁰ These include the Granary, the Room with Frescoes and the House of Columns which all have wall-plaster remains.

⁸⁴¹ Albers 1994, 52; Mylonas 1973, 146-147.

⁸⁴² Iakovides 1983, 67; Hiesel 1990, 188.

⁸⁴³ Evely (pers. comm.), as are several of the remarks on Lefkandi.

⁸⁴⁴ Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 15.

⁸⁴⁵ Schilardi 1981, 242.

⁸⁴⁶ Mylonas- Shear 1968, 444-446.

At Mycenae, the floors that could be associated with IIIC levels are made either of a whitish clay laid on trodden fill of earth and stones,⁸⁴⁷ or are earth floors with plesia and lime.⁸⁴⁸ At Asine, Room 32 had a lime floor.⁸⁴⁹ At Tiryns there were four different types of floors: rooms KO4, 88/89, 97 and 110a all had clay floors,⁸⁵⁰ room 137 had a clay floor with sherds,⁸⁵¹ room 127 a clay floor with a stone substructure⁸⁵² while House O had a floor of trodden earth.⁸⁵³ At Korakou, House P both has a floor of trodden earth or clay and a cobblestone pavement in the area in front of the main entrance.⁸⁵⁴ On Naxos the floors have been described as “sometimes being paved”, although it is not clear where this is in reference to.⁸⁵⁵ Finally, a small room, room D in the northern area of Koukounaries, west of the main corridor had a flagstone-paved floor covered with white lime.⁸⁵⁶

Doorways

Doorframes were usually made of wood. Thresholds, on the other hand, could be of wood or stone. They were slightly raised above the floor level and often set back from the face of the wall. In terms of their location within a house layout, doors were most often placed in the centre of a wall of the “most important rooms”, while in the “less important rooms” they were set in the corners.⁸⁵⁷

Thresholds in IIIC houses can be found at Tiryns in House O in the Lower Town where the threshold was in the centre of the east wall.⁸⁵⁸ At Korakou in House P, no threshold was preserved but a depression 2.10m wide in the southern-most wall of the complex indicates where the door would have been.⁸⁵⁹ Quite often, such depressions where the threshold would have been are remarked upon, implying that most were probably of wood.

Hearths

Hearths inside a house are fairly uniform in character: of clay or clay covering or covered by sherds and pebbles, at times a mix of clay and earth. They may be circular or rectangular and vary in size. ‘Ovens’ of stone occur in external yards at Lefkandi.

⁸⁴⁷ Wace 1921-23, 55, describing the Granary.

⁸⁴⁸ Mylonas 1970, 35, describing House Psi; Iakovides 1983, 67, describing House H.

⁸⁴⁹ Sjöberg 2001, 43.

⁸⁵⁰ Kilian 1983, 293; Kilian 1979, 383 and 1978, 460-461.

⁸⁵¹ Kilian 1981, 155.

⁸⁵² Kilian 1983, 280.

⁸⁵³ Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 11.

⁸⁵⁴ Blegen 1921, 83 and 85.

⁸⁵⁵ Schallin 1993, 78.

⁸⁵⁶ Schilardi 1984, 190.

⁸⁵⁷ Mylonas- Shear 1968, 442.

⁸⁵⁸ Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 11.

⁸⁵⁹ Blegen 1921, 85.

From Tiryns a hearth of clay and sherds occurs in KO4,⁸⁶⁰ one of krater sherds with clay laid on top is known from room 100⁸⁶¹, another surrounded by clay from room 112⁸⁶² and a final one of sherds and pebbles from Megaron W.⁸⁶³ At Korakou a square hearth was made of a layer of pebbles and potsherds set in clay.⁸⁶⁴ At Lefkandi a burnt layer of clay capped a layer of sherds.⁸⁶⁵ Finally, from Naxos a hearth made of hard-packed burnt earth mixed with small stones, sherds and animal bones is reported.⁸⁶⁶

Columns

Wooden columns set on stone bases were often placed either side of the hearth or to form the porch in front of the house. Three types of column bases can be detected: a flat unworked stone, “occasionally cut into a roughly circular shape”; one where “a circular upper part ... projects from a large, more roughly worked plinth which can be either circular or rectangular” or finally, and most simply, a large circular stone.⁸⁶⁷ These types of columns are found in IIC contexts, such as one found at Korakou in House P, north of the hearth.⁸⁶⁸

A common enough IIC practice limited to the Argolid is to have a number of column bases set along the central axis of a room. An example exists at Asine in House G, where two column bases are placed along the central axis of room 32.⁸⁶⁹ This same phenomenon is evident at Tiryns in two houses: on the upper Acropolis in Building T, where three column bases were noted, and in the Lower Town in Megaron W, again with three such bases. The final possible example of this phenomenon comes from Midea: three columns were noted along the west-east axis of the megaron. Walberg believes that this new division of an interior space into two aisles represents an architectural concept new in the post-palatial Mycenaean period.⁸⁷⁰ Maran seems to agree with this, comparing the megaron at Midea with Building T at Tiryns.⁸⁷¹ At Lefkandi, single wooden columns can appear in a central position in a basement room; they may also be used in a regularly spaced series along a wall – perhaps supporting shelving?

Stairways and Upper storeys

⁸⁶⁰ Kilian 1983, 293.

⁸⁶¹ Kilian 1979, 381.

⁸⁶² Kilian 1978, 460.

⁸⁶³ Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 11.

⁸⁶⁴ Blegen 1921, 85.

⁸⁶⁵ Popham and Sacket 1968, 11.

⁸⁶⁶ Schallin 1993, 78.

⁸⁶⁷ Mylonas-Shear 1968, 448.

⁸⁶⁸ Blegen 1921, 86.

⁸⁶⁹ Frödin and Persson 1938, 75.

⁸⁷⁰ Walberg 1995, 87-91.

⁸⁷¹ Maran 2001, 117-118.

Houses often consisted of more than one storey, connected by a stone or wooden staircase.⁸⁷² A good example of evidence for the first can be seen at Xeropolis-Lefkandi, where the excavators note traces of a line of fallen floor timbers with vessels lying on top.⁸⁷³ The fallen mudbrick wall here is a further proof.

Sites with preserved stairways include Tiryns, where one such connected room KW14 with 224 below;⁸⁷⁴ Asine, where a stairway with four steps of single ashlar blocks is still preserved in room 30 of House G,⁸⁷⁵ and Koukounaries on Paros, where an almost complete stone staircase is preserved, leading from the main portico to an upper storey.⁸⁷⁶ Other instances where a stairway to an upper storey is implied by the architecture are Korakou, where a narrow corridor west of the main vestibule is believed to have housed a staircase,⁸⁷⁷ and Midea where a stairwell is mentioned near the corner of the megaron.⁸⁷⁸ The possibilities of external staircases have been mooted at Lefkandi, where the excavators also suggest that wooden ladders were used to gain access from an upper storey to otherwise closed basement rooms.

Ceilings and Roofs

Archaeological evidence of the Mycenaean period does not provide concrete evidence for the form of roofing. Scholarly opinion is split between those that believe in flat or pitched roofs.⁸⁷⁹

Based on evidence from the South House at Mycenae, Mylonas Shear described the construction of a Mycenaean roof as follows: “horizontal roof beams were laid running from wall to wall or wall to column; then a layer of reeds was placed over the roof beams and the whole was covered with a layer of clay; the clay packing was then coated with a layer of clay mixed with lime which could serve as either the floor of a higher storey or as a flat terrace roof”.⁸⁸⁰ Iakovides, on the other hand, describes the Mycenaean roof as “low pitched sloping roofs, covered with flat terracotta pan tiles and half-cylindrical cover tiles, most probably bedded in clay spread over a sheathing of reeds or some similar material laid on a simple timber saddle frame”. He then continues to argue that the possibility of flat roofs also existing is “highly improbable”.⁸⁸¹

For IIIC, it is difficult to take this debate further since in this period as in earlier ones there is very little evidence of tiles having been found. Though Room 115 at Tiryns

⁸⁷² Mylonas- Shear 1968, 448-449.

⁸⁷³ Popham and Sackett 1968, 11-13.

⁸⁷⁴ Kilian 1988, 111.

⁸⁷⁵ Frödin and Persson 1938, 76.

⁸⁷⁶ Schilardi 1984, 200.

⁸⁷⁷ Blegen 1921, 85.

⁸⁷⁸ Walberg 1999, 889.

⁸⁷⁹ See Iakovides 1990, 147-148, for list of who opts for which sort of roof.

⁸⁸⁰ Mylonas- Shear 1968, 451.

has traces of four parallel roof beams, there is nothing in the account as to whether they belong to a floor of an upper storey or a roof.⁸⁸² A similar case is attested in Koukounaries, where traces of clay with reeds or hay-impressions are said to belong to the make-up of a wooden roof. But the same difficulty in distinguishing between an upper storey floor and roof applies here too, especially since the excavator believes that the rooms were two storeys high.⁸⁸³

At Korakou, five blocks of stone equidistant from the walls and inside the room are believed to have been supports for the wooden posts for a roof. As Blegen himself points out, it is unclear whether this room had a colonnade round its sides and was open at the centre or whether these are supports for a complete roof. The great size of the room, measuring almost 8m square, makes a flat roof unlikely in this case.⁸⁸⁴ The role of columns and posts within rooms has otherwise been reviewed above.

Furniture

Most furniture would probably have been constructed of perishable materials such as wood and other vegetation, also animal products like leather. That which survives most obviously today in the record are benches or platforms made of stone and/or mudbrick, covered at times with clay.⁸⁸⁵ Many examples of such furnishings dating to IIC are reported. At Tiryns, a clay bench is set along the back wall of KW14, as well as a stone bench on its north wall.⁸⁸⁶ Room 110 has a stone 'foundation' covered with clay, functioning as a bench.⁸⁸⁷ On the Upper Acropolis, Building T had two stone slabs that may have functioned as working surfaces or platforms.⁸⁸⁸ At Asine, in the north-eastern area of room 32, House G, was a layer of flat stones, creating a bench.⁸⁸⁹ At Korakou, a complex arrangement is described: a platform made of reddish earth, ash, pebbles and potsherds supports a loose layer of sea pebbles, as well as two further strips of pebbles and potsherds interpreted as possible benches.⁸⁹⁰ At Phylakopi, both shrines have stone platforms.⁸⁹¹ At Koukounaries, room D, believed to be cult related also had a stone bench.⁸⁹²

⁸⁸¹ Iakovides 1990, 160.

⁸⁸² Kilian 1978, 465.

⁸⁸³ Schilardi 1981, 240

⁸⁸⁴ Blegen 1921, 87-88.

⁸⁸⁵ Mylonas- Shear 1968, 451-453.

⁸⁸⁶ Kilian 1988, 111.

⁸⁸⁷ Kilian 1977, 464.

⁸⁸⁸ Maran 2001, 114-115.

⁸⁸⁹ Sjöberg 2001, 44.

⁸⁹⁰ Blegen 1921, 85-86.

⁸⁹¹ Renfrew 1985,, 105, 107, 109, 117, 131 and 138.

⁸⁹² Schilardi 1984, 190.

The evidence for construction and building materials of LH IIC rooms and houses is essentially similar to those of the preceding periods. Such differences as are noted demonstrate a falling away of standards: a now limited evidence of lime-plastered walls and stone substructures flimsier than earlier. The one clear innovation, as both Maran and Walberg have pointed out, is the appearance of column bases set on the central axis in a number of IIC buildings in the Argolid.

One final issue must now be confronted in the analysis of these architectural remains: their function. Two matters present themselves: 1) can one accurately interpret architectural remains so as to reveal the role of a space and 2) what must one look for in architecture to define the same?

What becomes rapidly clear from the architectural evidence is that, with the exception of the “megaron”, no other house type carries an implicit meaning as to its use. Where then, must one look for an answer, if not in the form? Perhaps the matter can be approached in reverse? Starting with a room of known purpose – e.g. sanctuary, storage, work area, elucidating physical aspects of its contents and furnishings held in common and then extrapolating out from that. Two major categories, for example, that can be examined are those of ‘secular’ and ‘sacred’ and within these, sub-categories. Under *secular*, four subsidiary categories can be defined: living quarters, administrative areas, storage areas and work areas. Under *sacred* one may inquire first into what type of cult was associated, then its relation to the settlement or the local administration and finally whether circumstances denote domestic or official use.

Once some sort of overall framework has been established and characterisations defined, one may proceed in analysing spaces. The ultimate goal, in theory, of such functional definitions is to see how the various areas within a settlement interact with each other.

SECULAR

It seems logical to believe that areas not used for storage, administration, work or ritual should fall under the category of ‘living quarters’. However, this still leaves room for a large range of variable features – e.g. hearths, cooking, drinking and eating vessels, storage vessels, benches, beds. Many may be found in other contexts too: for example a hearth can be of use in a workshop, a kitchen or a ritual space. Thus, no overall framework can be worked up – one must proceed directly to the sub-categories.

ADMINISTRATION (Table 3.1)

Recognizing administrative areas in a period such as LH IIIC is difficult, since clearly defining items, like Linear B tablets, are no longer to be found. Size and construction could be indicators for a room or building of administrative function. Layout of a house may also be a factor if one considers the earlier megaron plan in the palatial contexts of LH IIIB. Furthermore, the re-use of an area that once related to administrative functions could also be indicative. The only other clues could be rich objects or administrative-

related finds such as seals and sealings. Only one rather ambiguous case of the last has been recovered – the stirrup jar stopper with nine sealing impressions from Room 106/106a at Tiryns.⁸⁹³ In the case of Building T at Tiryns one can assume that it continues to function in a similar fashion as in the palatial period. Can one see here a conscious continuation of an administrative seat drawing on old symbols, an attitude that has been interpreted as a claim for legitimacy?

In terms of ‘rich finds’, the evidence from Koukounaries is a good, if rare, example. The finds in the storerooms as well as those fallen from above are considerable in quantity and quality. They include an ivory relief fragment with a spiral decoration – the sort of thing that could come from an armrest or the back of a ‘throne’: the existence of such a piece of furniture should indicate wealth, perhaps also implying administration or the seat of some authority. It is all a little oblique, however.

One is left then with the size and layout of rooms as the only other possible avenue of approach. Very few rooms built in IIC are appropriate candidates. These are perhaps best seen at Tiryns: Building T on the Upper Acropolis, Rooms 115 and 127 on the Lower Acropolis and Megaron W in the Lower Town. Other houses of large size can be seen from both phases at Lefkandi, in House P at Korakou, Bau VIa at Tiryns, and Houses G and I at Asine. However all those latter consist of complexes with multiple rooms rather than a single large dwelling house.

So, it seems that no clear-cut criteria can be found to define an administrative area in LH IIC. The areas that have been proposed above should only be seen as possibilities. Rather it should be deduced that in this phase no real distinction marks out areas designated for administration or for the use or residence of a “wanax” as there had been before. Very few houses display the degree of wealth that might imply such a function, and even in the cases of larger houses (such as Megaron W or Room 115 at Tiryns) no unequivocal proofs of administration were recognized.

WORKSHOPS (Table 3.2)

Tournavitou and others⁸⁹⁴ have set out a number of criteria by which one can identify a space as a work area or workshop. Hers are based on a distinction between a *permanent workshop*, which is a space devoted to workshop activities, as opposed to a *domestic workshop*, which is within a private dwelling and “used as a workplace by the inhabitants of the building either at certain fixed times of the year or whenever the need arose to fulfil household requirements...”.⁸⁹⁵ The evidence for work areas used in IIC is limited to this second group: domestic workshops. The criteria for permanent workshops, however, can

⁸⁹³ Kilian 1978, 460.

⁸⁹⁴ Tournavitou 1988; Evely 1988; Evely 2000.

⁸⁹⁵ Tournavitou 1988, 447.

still be applied to some extent to domestic workshops. She lists six main aspects: *architecture* (including plan and construction), *pottery*, *facilities*, *tools*, *materials worked* (raw materials, half-worked pieces, waste, mistakes and finished objects) and *connection with the central administration*. The first aspect of architecture is not a useful criterion for this study since the plan and construction resemble spaces with other functions: it will not be dealt with here.⁸⁹⁶

Under the first aspect of *pottery* she creates a division between Group A workshops with mainly non-ceramic evidence and Group B workshops, which have pottery directly involved in the manufacture process as well as many closed storage type vessels.⁸⁹⁷ *Facilities* are again divided between Group A, which has no permanent fixtures, and Group B, which has permanent, built-in facilities including kilns, furnaces, hearths, pits and ramps. Often in these Group B areas, an open-air area exists – especially for metallurgy and pottery making.⁸⁹⁸ *Tools* are defined depending on the type of craft which is practised (certain crafts do not require tools). A further element to be considered here is the circumstances surrounding the end of the house, which will dictate if objects such as tools would be left behind. This group is important but it must be corroborated by other evidence as well.⁸⁹⁹ *Worked material* is amongst the most crucial evidence needed. The most important elements of this group are half-worked material, waste or mistakes. Raw materials and finished objects are less indicative by themselves. As with tools, this group of evidence is affected by the nature of the craft and by conditions operating at the time of its passing out of use.⁹⁰⁰ Finally, the category concerning *central administration* concerns the proximity of a workshop area to some central authority: demonstrated maybe by such as Linear B tablets and sealings.⁹⁰¹

Taking these criteria and applying it to the IIC material it becomes evident that only a few sites have indisputable evidence of work areas. The best are from Tiryns, Asine and Grotta; Xeropolis-Lefkandi and Koukounaries also has some.

At Tiryns, rooms 137, 106/106a and KO4 are concerned. Room 127 is a pottery workshop. Inside the room was a cupola oven and a platform with a series of pots, including hydrias, kraters, kylikes, deep bowls and cups, which possibly had fallen from a wooden shelf above the oven.⁹⁰² The platform could have functioned as a drying area for

⁸⁹⁶ Tournavitou herself notes that architecture is not a relevant factor in that both the plan and construction of workshops are similar to those of spaces with other functions. See Tournavitou 1988, 449-450 and 459.

⁸⁹⁷ Tournavitou 1988, 450 and 459.

⁸⁹⁸ Tournavitou 1988, 451 and 459.

⁸⁹⁹ Tournavitou 1988, 451 and 459.

⁹⁰⁰ Tournavitou 1988, 452-454 and 459.

⁹⁰¹ Tournavitou 1988, 449.

⁹⁰² Kilian 1981, 155.

the pottery and the shelf could have displayed the finished pieces. Room 106/106a has a workshop capacity represented by a square oven in the north-west corner, associated with melted lead fragments and an obsidian 'saw'. It also contained three pithoi of unbaked clay, set in stone slabs in the ground, and two circular tapering pits, with a thin lining of unbaked clay: both features may be seen as workshop-related.⁹⁰³ KO4 combines work with storage, the last probably for the material being worked rather than an independent storage area. Included in the finds of the room (on four different levels) are – from the top down – a marble polishing stone and an antler with saw marks; a hearth with a pair of unbaked clay spools, steatite and clay beads; a mudbrick box construction and a pit for a storage vessel, as well as a hearth with six more unbaked clay spools; and finally two pithoi and a bronze fragment.⁹⁰⁴ It thus appears that throughout all the phases of this room it was used as a workshop.

Although these rooms all have evidence for workshop activities, none show a connection to a central administration; none are located on the Upper Acropolis and no finds implying administration have been found in these areas.

Sjöberg has suggested that Bau VIa which comprises rooms 103, 107 and 116 continued to host metal-working activities in IIIC middle, as had its predecessor Bau VI in LH IIIB.⁹⁰⁵ However, the evidence presented by Kilian about the floor deposits dating to this period does not indicate such.⁹⁰⁶ Finally, House O in the Lower Town had an oven set roughly in the middle of the room. However, this is probably a later addition to the house, and not LH IIIC.⁹⁰⁷

House I at Asine had a number of facilities and finds which make its use as a workshop quite clear. In the central room of this complex was found a deposit of clay spools indicating a textile workshop. In room 42 a clay kiln was found surrounded by a stone pavement, in which was set a large storage vessel – all indicating a possible pottery workshop.⁹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the smaller rooms to the north and east of 42 could well be storage areas for the workshop, since their small size makes some other function unlikely.

A number of unpublished objects found at Lefkandi reveal possible small scale workshop activities at the settlement.⁹⁰⁹

⁹⁰³ Kilian 1978, 459; Kilian 1979, 383.

⁹⁰⁴ Kilian 1983, 291-293; see also Tournavitou 1988, fig. 5 for features which relate to those found in room 106/106a.

⁹⁰⁵ Sjöberg 2001, 84.

⁹⁰⁶ Kilian 1978, 458-459; Kilian 1979, 385; Kilian 1983, 278.

⁹⁰⁷ Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 10-11; Hiesel 1990, 24-25.

⁹⁰⁸ Sjöberg 2001, 49-50.

⁹⁰⁹ These include numerous clay spools for textile production, fragments of slag from a possible metal workshop, punches, drills, chisels for possible wood/ivory/soft stone working and awls/points which could be used for numerous purposes. (Personal communication from Don Evely).

In the north-east area of the Metropolis excavation at Grotta, a room with three oval-shaped bins of unbaked clay and six heaps of broken vessels, both fine ware and cooking ware, was found. In these piles of broken pottery was distinguished a hard whitish material. When analysed it proved to be a mix of kaolinite and montmorillonite, minerals extracted from Melos and used to coat the vessels to create a glossy surface.⁹¹⁰ In a smaller room next to this was a bench of unbaked clay on a stone foundation, with two vases of unbaked clay on it and two low rectangular basins in front of it, containing kaolinite.⁹¹¹ This two-room complex is clearly a potter's workshop, with unfinished pots and raw materials in position still. As Vlachopoulos points out, it is one of the few preserved potter's workshops known from the Mycenaean period.⁹¹²

The evidence from the storerooms at Koukounaries is less clear. The hypothesis that some type of workshops existed here is based solely on the sheer number of pots and storage pithoi found in these rooms.

The evidence for workshop areas is far from substantial. The little evidence we do have is mainly for small workshop activities in areas that presumably had other functions too. The evidence from Tiryns indicates multiple areas with possible workshop activities, but all have limited evidence and imply small-scale production. On the other hand Asine and Grotta do appear to have areas/houses specifically designated as workshops. Asine provides examples of both textile and pottery workshops, with no other functions apparent in House I. The Mitropolis Plot at Grotta too has substantial evidence for a single-purpose establishment – raw materials, unfired vessels and the potters kiln.

STORAGE (Table 3.3)

No theoretical framework has been created by other scholars to define storage areas. They ought to be identifiable first by the presence of *pottery*, *quantity/goods* and *installations*, though their *construction* and *size* may also be lesser points. In *pottery* are included large storage vessels such as pithoi, placed on or dug into the floor as a permanent facility. Under the category of *quantity/goods* are included materials held in bulk: pottery, grain and other foodstuffs or raw materials. In *installations* are included shelves, bins, barrels, boxes or pithoi set into the ground (these last may also be identified by pits once holding pithoi or that may be lined with clay). The final two categories are less definitive. Under *construction* are included spaces less well-built than other rooms in the house or areas with indications of special features such as stone superstructures or water-proof floors.

⁹¹⁰ Chalepa-Bikaki 1983, 309-310; Lambrinouidakis and Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001, 163.

⁹¹¹ Lambrinouidakis and Zapheirou 1984, 327-328; Lambrinouidakis and Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001, 163.

⁹¹² Vlachopoulos 1995, 303.

Size includes spaces of small dimensions. However, such small spaces can indicate a stairwell (cupboards may exist under the stairs): thus other criteria should also be present for safe identification. A final distinction should be made between a room which has other functions as well as storage, and that designed solely for storage.

Areas with storage facilities are great in number. Good evidence comes from Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, Asine, Xeropolis-Lefkandi and Koukounaries.

At Mycenae, the Granary has evidence for storage of foodstuffs in the preserved basement area. It is presumed that this room was used for storage from the time of its construction in IIIB. Amongst the IIIC material found on the basement floor were many broken storage jars and carbonised grains.⁹¹³ The use of the area north-east and west of House M, including rooms 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16 and 17, is less clear although there is said to be material from the floors of all these rooms with evidence for use in IIIC, including fragments from storage vessels.⁹¹⁴ It is assumed that this last set of rooms functioned solely as storage rooms, while the basement floor of the Granary, judging from the finds alone, most probably was also solely for storage.

The evidence from Midea is less clear: it consists only of a flat, stone-paved area in the south-west area of the megaron, in and around niche 2. Here were fragments of jugs, pithoi and other large storage vessels, indicating that this part was used for storage.⁹¹⁵

At Tiryns, in the area north of Building T and once part of the Great Megaron, were 12 storage vessels. This could indicate that, although in IIIC this part of the Great Megaron was not incorporated into Building T, it could have still been in use and functioning solely as a storage area.⁹¹⁶ Other rooms with definite storage facilities but other functions as well, include KO4, KW14, Room 106/106a and Room 127. In KO4 at least three different floor levels had installations implying use for storage. These included two large bins found near the door and another one near the south wall dating to the earliest IIIC middle phase, a mudbrick box-construction at the north and a pit for a storage vessel at the south in the next floor level of this phase, and finally two pithoi on the south side in the latest floor level.⁹¹⁷ Other finds including a partially sawn-through antler also indicate that workshop activities could have taken place in this room. Various floor levels in Room KW14 also attest to storage facilities, again based on a number of installations, including a clay larnax in the stomion of the room dating to IIIC middle advanced and a built stone box in the south-east corner dating to IIIC developed. Finds in

⁹¹³ Wace 1921-23, 38-40.

⁹¹⁴ Mylonas Shear 1968, 248; Mylonas 1968c, 29, 31.

⁹¹⁵ Walberg 1999, 889.

⁹¹⁶ Maran 2001, 118.

this room include large storage vessels as well as many finewares.⁹¹⁸ Less certain evidence for storage is documented from Rooms 106/106a and 127. In the west part of Room 106/106a were at least three pithoi of unbaked clay, set in stone slabs in the ground, and also two circular tapered pits with a thin lining of unbaked clay.⁹¹⁹ This room has been considered above as a possible workshop area and thus these storage vessels could be associated with storage related to the work being done. Room 127 had a clay floor with a stone substructure, indicating to Kilian an area of storage of wheat/barley; a number of drinking vessels and pithoi were also found.⁹²⁰ Room 129, to the south of 127, had a pithos in its north-west corner that could indicate an area used for storage.⁹²¹

Rooms 33 and 34 in House G of Asine have been included in this category simply because of their size.⁹²² The rooms are too small to have functioned in the normal manner: a stairwell (no traces of which are evident) or rooms used for storage remain possibilities.⁹²³

At Xeropolis-Lefkandi there is evidence for storage facilities both in Phase 1 and Phase 2. From Phase 1 come at least nine circular bins of unbaked clay, and other clay receptacles and large storage pithoi. Amongst the finds of this phase were carbonised figs, olives and remains of spelt mixed with barley.⁹²⁴ Phase 2 provided yet more of the unbaked clay bins.⁹²⁵ At this site storage areas were incorporated in house complexes alongside other functions – usually to do with food preparation.

The three storerooms at Koukounaries on Paros provide the best evidence of rooms dedicated to storage: built behind the fortification wall, they appear to have been basement rooms.⁹²⁶ The first and the largest contained at least 40 circular schist slabs that functioned as lids for storage vessels. Many pithoi fragments were recovered from this room, as well along with over 400 vessels, including over 100 deep bowls and 50 kylikes.⁹²⁷ In the second storeroom were four complete pithoi and 30 more circular schist lids. Here too, over 150 fine ware vessels were uncovered.⁹²⁸ The third storeroom's material has not been fully published as yet but it contained at least one complete pithos and fragments of unworked materials, such as crystal, and deer antlers. The nature of

⁹¹⁷ Kilian 1983, 291-293.

⁹¹⁸ Kilian 1988, 111; Kilian 1982, 399.

⁹¹⁹ Kilian 1978, 459; Kilian 1979, 383.

⁹²⁰ Kilian 1983, 280-281.

⁹²¹ Kilian 1981, 153.

⁹²² Mylonas Shear 1968, 284.

⁹²³ Unfortunately, no information is given concerning the finds that were associated with these two rooms. Some pithos fragments documented in the original publication could be from them. See Frödin and Persson 1938, 307, fig. 210.

⁹²⁴ Popham and Sackett 1968, 11-13.

⁹²⁵ Popham and Sackett 1968, 14.

⁹²⁶ The use of rooms near the fortification wall as storage can be also seen at Mycenae.

⁹²⁷ Schilardi 1984, 188-189.

⁹²⁸ Koehl, 1984; Schilardi 1984, 189.

these finds increases the possibility that a workshop existed somewhere, whilst raw materials or unfinished items were stored in these particular rooms.⁹²⁹

It is thus clear that in LH IIIC a mixed approach to storage existed, both in areas that are used solely for that purpose, the best example of which is the three storerooms at Koukounaries, and rooms with other functions incorporating facilities for storage, the best example of which is the rooms at Lefkandi. In this period regular pithoi and unbaked clay bins seem to be the standard methods of storage. However, none of these facilities in the re-used palatial sites such as Mycenae and Tiryns are comparable with the great galleries so used in LH IIIB. Now they imply storage of immediately required goods rather than the surpluses of earlier times. Evidence from other sites reinforces this assumption. The exception is Koukounaries: here there is clearly a surplus of pottery in store, alongside storage vessels that presumably contained organic goods. The picture on Paros could be different simply because of the nature of its context (i.e. sudden destruction).

SACRED (Tables 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6)

To identify spaces that are designated as sacred, a number of cult-related criteria must be established. As Renfrew points out, “the difficulties in identifying given contexts from the very outset as sacred or religious makes advantageous the recognition, from several sites if necessary, of a number of symbols as carrying a religious meaning”. He furthers this point by presenting three steps by which such identification can take place. “Step 1” he writes, “is therefore the identification of a cult assemblage, Step 2 is the recognition within it of certain specific symbols as carrying a religious meaning and Step 3 is the use of these symbols to identify as ritual or sacred other contexts where cult might not otherwise be evident”.⁹³⁰ Renfrew was one of the first to create a framework by which to establish whether a site is cult related.⁹³¹ Following on his framework, Pilafidis-Williams created a group of twelve revised correlates for defining a space as cult.⁹³² It is these latter which will be used here.⁹³³

The first set are *primary correlates*.

- 1) special facilities for ritual practice: altars, benches, pools or basins of water
- 2) special portable equipment employed in the cult practice: receptacles, lamps etc.

⁹²⁹ Schilardi 1984, 190.

⁹³⁰ Renfrew 1985, 24.

⁹³¹ Renfrew 1985, 18-21.

⁹³² Combining a number of Renfrew's 18 correlates she condensed them to 12.

⁹³³ Pilafidis-Williams, 1998. Mazarakis Ainian has also created six criteria identifying cult spaces of the early Iron Age. His categories are: architectural features, facilities, location, orientation, written sources and evidence for ritual and cult practice. See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 276-286.

- 3) attention-focusing devices reflected in the architecture or movable equipment (often of perishable material, therefore their apparent non-existence in a locale is “not really in the negative but simply open”⁹³⁴)
- 4) use of cult image or aniconic representations
- 5) special movements of prayer and adoration reflected in the images
- 6) votive offerings
- 7) repeated symbols having symbolism also used in funerary rites and iconographic relationship to the deity worshipped.

The second set are *secondary correlates*.

- 8) bones indicating cult sacrifice
- 9) offerings of prepared foodstuff
- 10) investment of wealth in the equipment and offerings
- 11) various devices including religious experience (music, dance, drugs; in the case of drugs, this could only be assumed from the presence of open vessels which could have contained drugs or drink⁹³⁵).

The final correlate relates to the *type of cult*:

- 12) type of cult: non-built or built
 - a. non-built/caves (negative evidence for tombs and settlements)
 - b. built
 - i. primary: reflection in the architecture of conspicuous display or hidden exclusive mysteries
 - ii. secondary: investment of wealth reflected in the architecture

The sites known to have rooms with cult affinities are Mycenae, Tiryns, Asine and Phylakopi. Other sites will also be examined to see if any traces of cult activities exist.

At Mycenae, the entire area of the Citadel House has evidence of religious activities. Unfortunately it is difficult to discern with accuracy which facilities are dated to III C and which are earlier. Albers, in her examination of sacred spaces in this area, focuses on the House of Frescoes, where the earlier rooms 28, 33, 36 and 38 have evidence for use in this period; she also reviews some of the surrounding spaces, including the area of Tsountas' House. Figurines, which are the main objects one looks for in cult areas, are not documented from anywhere in the Citadel House area. The evidence for food and drink is primarily based on the pottery found in these rooms, which include many open vessels such as kraters, basins, kalathoi, kylikes and deep bowls.

In the House of Frescoes area, the older antechamber 38 was equipped with a small rectangular platform made of stones in the north-west corner of the room; on the

⁹³⁴ Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 125.

exterior of the house on the north side was a large rectangular pedestal or bench, which could be connected functionally to the room. A box dug into the floor near the northern entrance could also indicate some ritually related installation. A round altar on top of the older room 33 in the area of the “Tower” was seemingly built in IIIC. Two barrels were set into the floor at the north corner, over the older room 36; they contained three vessels dated to LH IIIC. Also found in the area of the earlier room 36 were many fragments of undecorated pottery, probably from kylikes,⁹³⁶ and precious finds which include ivory fragments, steatite beads, bronze fragments and gold leaf. Finally, over the earlier room 28 was an ash layer containing pottery sherds and animal bones, indicating a possible sacrifice.

Other potential IIIC cult facilities are found in a series of rooms constructed in the Tsountas’ House area: a round, flat pedestal made of clay surrounded by a thick ring of plaster and a fresco depicting a female figure carrying gifts (found near the Hellenistic Tower, and believed to date to IIIC).⁹³⁷

The evidence from Tiryns indicates a number of areas with religious elements. On the Upper Acropolis, Building T was built over the eastern half of the earlier Great Megaron.⁹³⁸ The old throne appears to have been reused during IIIC. Other facilities include two stone slabs which could have functioned as platforms or pedestals. The great altar in the court in front of the megaron was also re-used: a square platform replacing the older round one. Included in the finds of this building were a number of figures and figurines. Twelve storage vessels against the north wall of the older Great Megaron are probably associated with the later Building T: a wealth of storage areas are related to this building. Although lacking the great hearth of the previous phase, it does have a series of columns dividing the room into two aisles, indicating some investment of wealth in the architecture.

On the Lower Acropolis, two buildings have religious features attributed to them – buildings 110/110a and 115. Along the back wall of 110 and the later 110a, there is evidence for a bench. A hearth can also be attributed to both phases of the building, as well as the use of an open-air altar to the south of the room in its early phase. In forming room 110a, two short walls were added giving it a megaron-like layout. Figures and figurines were found in both phases of building 110. Possible sacrifice is indicated by animal bones from cow, sheep, goat and pig attributed to the early phase of 110. The presence of many drinking vessels points to the sorts of activities which could also indicate ritual activity.

⁹³⁵ Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 127.

⁹³⁶ Albers 1994, 51.

⁹³⁷ Mylonas 1973, 146-147.

Room 115, in use at the same time as 110 (but out of use by the time 110a came into being), had a stone slab which could have served as an altar or bench. In the area of this slab were found both anthropomorphic and animal figurines. The size of the room, over 6 by 10m, indicates its importance.

House G at Asine was a six room complex: its central room, 32, contained furnishings and finds which can be seen as ritual in function. The room had a lime floor with two column bases, a hearth and a bench constructed of several layers of flat stones in the north-eastern part of the room. On this bench was found the 'Lord of Asine' clay head, two smaller figurines, various vessels and a stone axe. The pottery, the figure and figurines all date to LH III C middle and late. This is an example of a religious area contained within a larger building complex that includes areas for storage, such as rooms 33 and 34.

Both the West and East Shrines at Phylakopi had obvious religious facilities and finds. Table 3.6 summarizes these and the history of the sanctuary. The continuous religious use of the both shrines throughout III C is made clear. The most important installations were two platforms from the West and one platform from the East Shrine: on and around these platforms were many finds, most of which were figures and figurines of various types. They included female and male figures, various animals and inanimate objects such as furniture. As Renfrew points out there is a clear distinction between the type of figurines or figures associated with either shrine, and in the case of the West Shrine with either bench. The West Shrine had both animal and anthropomorphic representations: male figures were restricted to the NW platform, while female figures were found only on the SW one. Animals were found associated with both platforms, but a distinction is also present here with bovine figures appearing with both male and female ones, but chariot groups or driven oxen only with the males. In the East Shrine, no anthropomorphic figures are known.⁹³⁸ Thus at Phylakopi not only is a distinct sanctuary space obvious, but a clearer distinction is witnessed concerning the nature of the cult.

Another site that appears to have a house related to religious functions is Korakou, House P. This consisted of a vestibule, a central room and two back rooms. The central room contained a square hearth at its middle and to the north of this a cut column base as well and a stone slab platform. To the west of this platform, two strips made of pebbles and potsherds could indicate benches used in association with the pillar base and platform/altar. On the hill of Koukounaries room D, could have had religious functions. Its north side was partly carved out of the rock and in this area was a structure forming a bench suitable for to a sanctuary. The floor had a flagstone-paving, covered with white

⁹³⁸ Unfortunately, the early excavations left many voids in the physical make-up of this complex and so in its comprehension. This severely restricts the present investigation's scope.

⁹³⁹ Renfrew 1985, 370-371.

lime. All this, in conjunction with the well-constructed east wall, implies a room with an important function.⁹⁴⁰

The location of these areas within the larger settlement and its domestic areas can also prove illuminating. Mazarakis Ainian examines this matter: he recognizes “buildings detached from a settlement”, “prominent location”, “buildings located inside a necropolis” and “buildings located inside sanctuaries”.⁹⁴¹ The West and East Shrines at Phylakopi are the only areas located within a designated sanctuary space. The evidence from Mycenae shows an area that was used for cult close to but not linked directly to the earlier palace. Unfortunately the early excavations conducted at Mycenae in the area of the Great Megaron have left little information as to whether the megaron was re-used during III C. No continuation of cult directly associated with the megaron can be demonstrated, unlike the case for Tiryns.

The examples from Tiryns include both Building T, directly linked to the older palace megaron, and the area encompassing rooms 110a and 115 in the Lower Acropolis. The evidence from Building T is very important in that it shows a continuation of a cult associated with the earlier administrative centre. The use of this megaron during LH III C probably implies such a continuation of use. Nonetheless as Maran points out, “as a result of the simplification of the ground plan the described principle applied in the Great Megaron of enhancing the access to the main room by architectural means was clearly weakened... furthermore, the effect of the throne room must have been less mysterious, since it lacked the central hearth and the enthroned person was clearly visible when entering the room”.⁹⁴² One can assume for Building T, as Renfrew points out for the Phylakopi sanctuary, that “what was during a period of centralised administration an official cult place may continue subsequently as a popular shrine”.⁹⁴³ The presence of cult areas in the Lower Acropolis also show continuation; room 110a had as its predecessor room 117 and even before this room 119, with its cult functions going back at least to the end of LH III B. Perhaps the fact that room 110a too is of a megaron-form indicates the desire to use a standard type formerly associated with religion and administration.

At Tiryns we have two areas, the Upper and Lower Acropolis with cult functions. Given that the main living quarters at Tiryns in this period seem to be the Lower Acropolis and the Lower Town, it is arguable that they contained the main cult area and that the Upper Acropolis was reserved for special occasions.

⁹⁴⁰ Schilardi 1984, 190.

⁹⁴¹ Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 279-286.

⁹⁴² Maran 2001, 117-118.

⁹⁴³ Renfrew 1985, 402.

The evidence from Asine and Korakou is different. Asine has a room with cult functions within a larger building complex. It seems unlikely that this central room also functioned as living-quarters. More probable is that the surrounding rooms comprised the domestic area – perhaps of a priest. Hägg comments on its function saying that “it is still an open question whether this is a private house with a small domestic altar or complex of primarily religious functions”.⁹⁴⁴ Understanding the function of House P at Korakou is yet more difficult: there are no surrounding houses to allow an analysis of the relation between this house and the wider community. Blegen interprets the house as having both domestic and religious aspects – with the west and east chambers being for cooking and sleeping, while the central room was reserved only for the religious.⁹⁴⁵ The possible example from Koukounaries is incorporated inside the settlement plan, in close proximity to areas with other functions.

The evidence on ritual aspects is thus limited, although certain conclusions can be drawn if one takes all the material as a whole. Room 110/110a at Tiryns and the West and East Shrines at Phylakopi are the only definite examples of areas designated for ritual purposes and serving as “official” cult places. The other examples from Mycenae, Asine, Korakou and possibly Koukounaries appear to be more closely related to “popular” cult, and involved other functions as well.

⁹⁴⁴ Renfrew 1985, 410 quoting from Hägg 1981,

⁹⁴⁵ Blegen 1921, 89.

What can be said about LH IIIC settlements? Broadly one witnesses, as in many other cultural aspects such as pottery and burial rites, a continuation of the earlier LH IIIA and IIIB traditions. This holds true for all the areas examined above and all aspects, including construction, layout and attributes of space, whether these be secular or ritual.

It should be remembered that as with tombs, the impressive architecture of the palatial periods is not now paralleled. Where habitation of palatial sites continues, constructions are humble in comparison to those built in the earlier phases of the Mycenaean period. Having said this however, one must still bear in mind that the expansion and settlement planning observed in the Lower Acropolis of Tiryns is most impressive when one considers the destruction it underwent in IIIB. The Argolid is the area which appears to have the greatest activities in this post palatial period. This can be assumed from the numerous sites which continue to be inhabited in this area. It is unfortunate that the surveys conducted in the Argolid do not provide much more information concerning possible habitation of sites during LH IIIC middle.⁹⁴⁶ Neighbouring Corinthia appears to have had some inhabitants but unfortunately the only known evidence comes from a few strata at Korakou. It is unfortunate that we have so little information for Attica. If one bases some assumptions on the funerary evidence of Perati one expects that if a settlement is found associated with this cemetery that it could very well be the wealthiest known for this period. Having said this, the only evidence in Attica appears to be from the Acropolis in Athens and even that is very scanty in terms of actual remains. Euboea, on the other hand provides some of the most coherent evidence since the settlement of Xeropolis-Lefkandi underwent multiple destructions throughout LH IIIC leaving preserved destruction levels. Here one witnesses destruction in LH IIIC early, immediately followed by a new building phase with careful planning and a greater degree of regularity. Moreover, there is also evidence that the inhabitants of the site were concerned with storage of foodstuffs since multiple bins and pithoi are preserved within the floors of the houses.

The establishing of new settlements, e.g. in island areas such as Koukounaries, also brings up some important matters. The very fact that a new settlement is created in

⁹⁴⁶ To the east of Mycenae in the Berbait area, only a few LH IIIC sherds could be identified. See Wells and Runnels 1996, 173. The evidence from the S. Argolid appears to show some LH IIIC presence but here again there is only mention of a few LH IIIC sherds and nothing definitely LH IIIC middle. These include sherds from Profitis Ilias in the Fournoi area, Mases, Ermioni Magoula, Thermisi Kastro and Kotena Cave. See Runnels *et al* 1995, 290-295, 257-260, 279-283, 270 and 316-317 and Jameson *et al* 1994, 509, 466-467, 487-488, 480 and 521 respectively. On Methana also "although no LH IIIC sherds have been identified...this does not imply that the LH period ended in catastrophe since MS10, MS67 and MS124 have an EIA component". See Mee and Forbes 1997, 53.

most cases implies a movement of people, be it from an area close by or from further away. In the case of Koukounaries, those that settled this new hilltop site were not a group of poor settlers. Their construction techniques and richness of storage, apparently of pottery rather than foodstuffs, imply that in IIC movements of people also included those of an economic and cultural background comparable to those from the Mycenaean core areas of LH IIB. Another important point is the concern for defense – here expressed by the construction of the impressive fortification wall; Grotta provides another such example. The people who inhabited such settlements were clearly fearful – perhaps recalling the fate of many sites at the end of IIB, or maybe under a more direct threat. At Grotta on Naxos the fortification wall measuring at least 17m in length and 3 m wide built of well cut worked blocks is probably one of the most impressive structures preserved of the LH IIC period. Its presence on Naxos can indicate the presence of skilled builders. Moreover, the pottery kiln preserved within the fortified settlement with imported materials shows that contact between the islands takes place during this period. One cannot fail to mention the continued use at the Sanctuary of Phylakopi on Melos, the most important element of which is the continuation of cult practices after the fall of the palace system. It is interesting that no great rebuilding projects occur at the Sanctuary but that rather closing of doorways and some re-plastering mainly of earlier platforms are the only real building activities. This indicates that although cult practices continued, perhaps they did so without the direction of priest/priestess or a wanax figure. Finally, it is regrettable that there is so little evidence of occupation in the Dodecanese during LH IIC. The only scanty evidence comes from the settlement of Serraglio on Kos – this includes a floor level and traces of a wall. The fourth city which is thought to belong to LH IIC was unfortunately destroyed by later activities on the site. From the funerary evidence we assume inhabitants on Rhodes but no actual settlements have been found to date.

A few comments should also be made concerning the function of various spaces as they were analysed in the previous section. The first noteworthy point concerns the lack for the most part of areas designated for administrative purposes. The most convincing evidence comes from Tiryns with the use of Building T within the earlier megaron. From their size, a number of houses were mentioned as being possible candidates but none had proof of an administrative function. The evidence for workshops on the other hand was more fruitful and included multiple rooms in the Lower Acropolis at Tiryns, House I at Asine and the impressive pottery workshop at Grotta on Naxos, the most impressive being the latter with its preserved kiln, unfinished pots, raw materials, unbaked clay and rectangular basins containing various minerals used for pottery production. Although the evidence from Koukounaries does not include an area

designated as a workshop, the sheer number of pots found in the storage rooms, as well as the presence of unworked material such as crystal and deer antlers, implies a mass pottery production and perhaps production of luxury items somewhere in the area. Finally, in terms of secular spaces a few comments should be made concerning storage areas. As was described in the chapter 1, numerous pithoi as well as bins usually of unbaked clay were used for storage during LH IIIC. The sites with the most such evidence are Tiryns and Lefkandi. At Tiryns numerous rooms contain pithoi and unbaked clay bins but it is uncertain what these contained. It is only in certain cases where there are clear traces of organic materials such as barley or wheat. At Lefkandi, the picture is more clear with traces of small spelt mixed with barley in at least one of the clay bins and organic goods including figs and olives implying that here there is most likely evidence for increased storage areas within the houses. As a final point the pithoi from the storage rooms at Koukounaries should be mentioned which in this case do not appear to have been for the storage of organic goods.

Having commented on the secular evidence, a few remarks should be made here concerning the sacred. Firstly and most importantly one should stress the obvious elements of religious continuation as seen from the use of the Sanctuary at Phylakopi, Building T and shrine 110/110a in the Lower Acropolis at Tiryns and House G at Asine. Although there is little in terms of new construction at the sanctuary of Phylakopi, the continued use of the platforms as well as the use of earlier figures and figurines shows religious continuity. At Tiryns this is also evident with the construction of Building T within the earlier megaron, which in palatial times functioned as an administrative and religious centre. This is further exemplified with the repeated use and repair of shrine 110a whose predecessors 110 and 117 were also cult related. Finally, one should note the possible house cult in House G at Asine which, among other finds, contained a bench, similar to those at Phylakopi, on which were found the Lord of Asine and numerous figurines. As will be seen in the next chapter concentrating on the figures and figurines of the period, it becomes even clearer that although not all sites have areas designated as shrine areas, such as Tiryns, Asine and Phylakopi, the continued production and use of these figurines shows that beliefs continue well into the post-palatial period at numerous sites including Mycenae, Koukounaries, Midea and Korakou.

The multiple destructions reported at Mycenae, Tiryns, Lefkandi and Paros cause one to wonder about the conditions prevalent in this period. The circumstances at these sites and others create a picture of a period that was rich and productive on the one hand, but also filled with turbulences and instability too.

Chapter 4 Figures and Figurines

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Typology

1.3 Archaeological Evidence

1.4 Function

1.5 Comments

This chapter will examine the figures and figurines found in LH III C contexts. Figurines are defined as “the ordinary handmade Mycenaean terracottas” and figures as “those with coil or wheel made stems/bodies and of distinctly large size”⁹⁴⁷ Here the III C material is first reviewed according to the classification devised by French⁹⁴⁸ and then interpreted: all the relevant figurines, from tombs and settlements alike, are tabled. In certain cases, such as with the Phylakopi material, a differentiation can be observed between the types found in tombs and those found in settlement contexts: here two different sub-tables have been devised by which to present them. Those from settlement contexts are primarily classified based on French’s typology employed in her 1985 study of the Phylakopi material,⁹⁴⁹ while those from tomb contexts are classified based on her 1971 article on figurines.⁹⁵⁰ The main problem encountered in creating the last catalogue, as already outlined before, is in regard to the difficulty of associating a particular find with a specific burial. Accordingly, only objects found in definite III C contexts will here be considered, with sufficient scrutiny to reveal the degree of continuation or differentiation with the previous periods.

Initially it seemed appropriate to create a detailed catalogue of all the figurines found in III C contexts. However, since most have been described in excavation reports or studies of the various sites, such a catalogue would have proved superfluous. Instead general tables have been used to provide a complete picture of the types found in III C, including references wherever available. I will thus describe either only those pieces which vary from the norm, or those which are important in III C in providing a comparison with the use in previous periods, such as the large anthropomorphic and animal figures. The second aim of the chapter is to look at the function of these items, investigating any changes occurring in this period (including possible changes in function as well as changes in form) and what implication they could have had.

⁹⁴⁷ French 1981, 173.

⁹⁴⁸ French 1971.

⁹⁴⁹ French 1985.

⁹⁵⁰ French 1971.

Six main categories are involved: female figurines, female figures, male figures, animal figurines, animal figures and group figurines. Tables 4.1-4.4 provide a detailed account of the varying features attributed to the different types; they include earlier sorts no longer occurring by LH IIIC.

Female Figurines (fig. 4.1; Table 4.1)

In 1941, Furumark provided one of the first classifications of figurines.⁹⁵¹ His typology was centred on three types of *female figurines* which he identified with the Greek symbols Φ (Phi), Τ (Tau) and Ψ (Psi) based on the similarities between these letters and the appearance of the main types of figurines. This typology formed the foundation on which further classifications would be based. French, who included other types of figurines such as animals, further subdivided Furumark's original groupings: her work remains the most comprehensive to date.⁹⁵² Her typology includes the following categories: *Naturalistic*, *Proto-Phi*, *Phi A*, *Phi B*, *Phi Late*, *Phi Miniature 1*, *Phi Miniature 2*, *Transitional*, *Transitional 2*, *Transitional 3*, *Tau*, *Hollow Psi*, *Psi*, *High Waisted Psi*, *Late Psi A*, *Late Psi B*, *Late Psi C*, *Late Psi D* and *Kourotrophoi*. Rather than give a detailed account here of the various features attributed to them all, I have summarised them in Table 4.1. Most descriptions therein are taken from French's 1981 study.⁹⁵³ One final type of figurine not described by French is the so-called *mourning* type, which appears in IIIC contexts. From the evidence observed thus far it seems that this last type of figurine appears in LH IIIC, where there is evidence for it from Perati, Naxos and Rhodes. The mourning figurines are similar to the late Psi types in shape, with pellet breasts, a crescent-shaped body and polos, but have their arms curving upwards to touch the polos, in a "mourning position".⁹⁵⁴

Six different types of female figurines are found in the LH IIIC contexts examined in this thesis: the *Phi*, *Tau*, *High Waisted Psi*, *Psi*, *Late Psi* and *Mourning* types.⁹⁵⁵

⁹⁵¹ Furumark 1941b.

⁹⁵² French 1971.

⁹⁵³ French 1971.

⁹⁵⁴ Iakovides 1966.

⁹⁵⁵ A fragmentary naturalistic type figurine comes from a IIIC context at Phylakopi. This type of figurine dates to LH I-LH IIIA. Its presence here in a IIIC context probably simply indicates that it was still being used in the sanctuary during IIIC; no other area has this type of figurine in a IIIC context. French 1985, 231; SF 156.

Female Figures (Table 4.2)

The classification of *female figures* is based on French's study of the Phylakopi material. Here there are three main sub-categories (and one "unparalleled" example).⁹⁵⁶ female figures with the body made separately and mounted on a cylindrical base (*Type I*), pots on which arms are applied and a head and neck replace the neck of the pot (*Type II*), and figures with a tall cylindrical or conical stem topped by a round or pinched body and elaborate head (*Type III*). The "unparalleled" type was found in Room A of the West Shrine at Phylakopi and is made of poorly-baked, local fabric. The figure is female, wearing a polos and with an "unusual applied inverted 'U' on the front of the skirt which probably represents female genitalia".⁹⁵⁷ No known parallels of such a representation exist on any Mycenaean or Near Eastern figurines of this period.⁹⁵⁸ A summary of the features attributed to each type can be seen in Table 4.2. All types are found at the sites examined in this thesis.

Male Figures (Table 4.2)

Definition of a figure as male is based on the clear indication of male attributes such as dress (conical helmets) or genitalia. Leaving aside fragmentary arms or genitalia, the most complete examples consist of male figures with their genitalia represented, wearing helmets or hats and in certain cases with an indication of body dress, including a belt. Another characteristic feature is the clenched fist – probably that of a male figure, possibly of a charioteer.⁹⁵⁹ The only evidence for such figures within a IIIC context come from Phylakopi.

Animal Figurines (fig. 4.2; Table 4.3)

"The basic Mycenaean animal figurine is of an indeterminate species but is generally considered to be bovine...the sex is not shown".⁹⁶⁰ Under this category are ten sub-categories: *Wavy Type 1*, *Wavy Type 2*, *Linear Type 1*, *Linear Type 2*, *Spine Type 1*, *Spine Type 2*, *Ladder Type*, *Other Types of Decoration*, *Animals with Unusual Decoration*, and *Other Species*⁹⁶¹. Features of the various types are summarised in Table 4.3. All the bovine types are found in IIIC, as are a number of other animals including horses, ducks, birds, dogs and deer.

⁹⁵⁶ In her 1981 study of figures, French classifies two general groups of female ones: *type a* are small ones with painted decoration (such as the Phylakopi and Tiryns examples which will be discussed below) and *type b* are larger ones with monochrome bodies with hair and facial features being plastically rendered (only known from the Temple Complex at Mycenae). French 1981, 173.

⁹⁵⁷ French 1985, 211.

⁹⁵⁸ French 1985, 211.

⁹⁵⁹ French 1985, 223-227.

⁹⁶⁰ French 1971, 151.

Animal Figures

From the LH III C deposits of the Sanctuary at Phylakopi come six types of wheel-made *Bovine Figures*. The first is a tall, horned type. The second sort is a small, naturalistic figure with clover design. The third type has a large hole at the rear and knob like legs set onto the body at an angle. The fourth and fifth comprise bovine figures with attached vases. Finally, the sixth type is that of large, local wheel-made figures.⁹⁶² Under this general category of animal figures will also be included the bird vases and vases with miscellaneous animals such as horses.⁹⁶³

Group Figurines (Table 4.4)

Under this category are collected six kinds: *Horse and Riders*, *Driven Oxen*, *Ridden Oxen*, *Seated Figurines and Thrones*, *Furniture* and *Miscellaneous* types. Their individual features are summarised in Table 4.4. A chariot group, a driven oxen and a throne come from LH III C contexts.

⁹⁶¹ Including bears, birds, boars, bulls, cows, crested animals, dogs, double-ended animals, goats, hedgehogs, hornless quadrupeds, horses, lions, pigs, rams, sheep and stags.

⁹⁶² French 1985, 240.

⁹⁶³ I have chosen to include these in this chapter rather than the chapter on pottery because stylistically they are decorated in a manner more similar to figurines and figures rather than vases.

The following section will examine the distribution of figurines and figures during Late Helladic III C, based on French's types, described in the previous section and summarised in tables 4.1- 4.4.

ARGOLID

The examples from the Argolid come from Tiryns, Midea and Asine.⁹⁶⁴

TIRYNS

From the cemetery at Prophites Elias near Tiryns a number of figurines were found in tomb VI, in use from LH IIIA-LH III C. The types present, the High Waisted Psi and Proto-Phi, appear to be earlier than III C.⁹⁶⁵ The settlement, and particularly the Lower Acropolis, however is par excellence the area for figurines. Here were found fragmentary examples of the late Psi types as well as a number of animal figurines, both with Spinal and Linear motifs, and more elaborately decorated examples including lines around the neck and chevrons, blobs and joining semi-circles on the body (fig. 4.3).⁹⁶⁶ In the North-West area of the Lower Town both Phi and Psi type figurines were found, as were Linear 1 and Spine 1 animal figurines (fig. 4.4).⁹⁶⁷

Most characteristic of figures of this period are those found in the area of Room 110/110a of the Lower Acropolis. In the area of the cult bench of Room 110 were four large, wheel-made figures with raised arms, a Psi figurine, two large wheel-made Psi figures and a fragment of an animal figure.⁹⁶⁸ Amongst the published examples is a Type 3 wheel-made figure with raised arms (fig. 4.5): an elaborately decorated head having painted fringes, a short polos and long plaits at the back. The eyes are decorated with circles and the nose and mouth are etched. The neck carries an elaborate set of three necklaces: the uppermost consists of a framed series of circles with dots at their centre, the middle has framed dots and the lowest, in relief, comprises a circles with again dots in the centre. The breasts are pinched with a central dot and an outline, while the arms have triple bands on the wrists and a band at the base. The body has two bands, the outer of which has circular etchings down its middle, running from the base of the armband to the stem base, which also ends in a band decoration with etched circles.

Two arms and a head, possibly from a Type 3 figure, were also found in Room 110/110a (fig. 4.6). The head bears a small, rounded beret-like cap; the eyes and mouth

⁹⁶⁴ It is unfortunate that the III C figurines from Mycenae still remain unpublished.

⁹⁶⁵ Siedentopf et al. 1973, 116-117.

⁹⁶⁶ Kilian 1981, figs 11 and 12.

⁹⁶⁷ Kilian 1978, figs 6 and 7.

are outlined in paint. The arms have a band at the wrist and another at the elbow. A complete example, one of the two large wheel-made Psi figures, wears a low polos with a broad band as decoration at the rim (fig. 4.7). The eyes and mouth are painted in, as is the area below the ears which has been given concentric arcs for decoration. The neck has a triple necklace painted on, made up of dots and thin bands; the lowest strand is a band with a hanging “pendant” resembling an antithetic spiral or papyrus/ivy motif. Two vertical bands, which reach the base of the stem, extend from each arm. The breasts are pinched, outlined with a circle in the centre, in paint. From the shoulder area extend two vertical lines representing the borders of a simple garment covering the breasts and falling to the feet (i.e. the base of the stem). The other fragmentary example, missing its upper body, has a similar lower set of decoration (fig. 4.8).

On the bench of Room 110a was a large female figure with raised hands, probably a Type I female figure, with a cylindrical base and upper body attached (fig. 4.9).⁹⁶⁹ Its elaborately decorated head is quite elongated and rather ill-favoured, compared with the earlier examples from Room 110: it has a low polos and a plait of hair over the left shoulder down to the waist. The arms are decorated with lines and dotting. The breasts are slightly pinched; the upper body at the abdominal area carries a triangle ornamented with concentric arcs. Two lines run from its apex, outlining the breasts. The waistline is decorated with a zone of framed joining semi-circles; the stem or skirt has a region with fine lines flanked by wider ones, with another such at the base.

In the vicinity of room 117 was a fragmentary “rhyton” in the shape of a bull (fig. 4.10). French categorizes this figure as that of her Type 3 with a “large hole at the rear and the knob like legs”.⁹⁷⁰ It is probably dated to LH IIIC early.⁹⁷¹

At Tiryns, then, figures and figurines are obviously associated with areas arguably religious in character, see Chart 4.1. The Psi type appears to be the only female figurine type which continued into this phase. Animal figurines, however, still appear to be popular enough: a number of examples appearing now have a more elaborate decoration, differing from decorative elements seen from earlier examples. It is still unclear whether the number of animal figurines found throughout areas of the Lower Acropolis indicates the use of these figurines in other areas as yet unknown but designated for religious purposes, or for something quite different. The presence of the larger, wheel-made female figures impresses. Their concentration in the area of Room 110a stresses the ritual nature of this room, a feature paralleled in rooms of a similar function in other sites during

⁹⁶⁸ Kilian 1978, 465.

⁹⁶⁹ Kilian 1978, 461.

⁹⁷⁰ French 1985, 240.

⁹⁷¹ Kilian 1978, 465.

earlier periods (such as the Cult Centre at Mycenae). Their decoration is, interestingly, rather *sui generis* too. Their persistent use and manufacture even now shows continuity, both in religious practices and perhaps in some controlling organization too.

MIDEA

On Terraces 9 and 10, a number of fragmentary figurines were discovered (fig. 4.11). Their classification as of III C date comes from their context – the most certain III C ones at Midea. Some, however, may be dated earlier: they include types (such as the high waisted Psi) that do not appear elsewhere within a III C context. The fragments comprise three Phi fragments, five Psi fragments (including high-waisted Psi and Hollow Psi), three bovine fragments (one apiece of Wavy 2, Linear Type 2 and Ladder type), three miscellaneous animal fragments (one apiece of bird, horn and head with short horns) and a chariot group fragment.⁹⁷²

Chart 4.2 demonstrates no evidence for complete items: however female figurines of the Psi type predominate again, along with some animal ones. The fact that most of the figurines come from Terrace 9 may simply be due to the limited areas excavated. Terrace 10, as described in the section on domestic architecture, is the area where the so-called Megaron was sited: one would indeed expect to find more objects with religious affinities here. If this is not accidental then the presence of figurines on Terrace 9 could indicate an area dedicated for religious functions, with more administrative functions being limited to Terrace 10?

ASINE

In Room 32 of House G were retrieved three complete figurines of the Late Psi type, two fragmentary examples probably also of the Psi types and the well-known head of a figure, the 'Lord of Asine'.⁹⁷³ Two are long columnar types, crudely made. One has a band outlining the facial area, with further ones around its neck and wrists (fig. 4.12). An odd bulge on the neck can be made out. The breasts are pinched up and the stomach area carries an X, while the stem is decorated with haphazardly drawn vertical stripes.

The other figurine (fig. 4.13) has a horizontal stripe set above the eyes, perhaps indicating the hair-line, dots for eyes and the mouth area oddly composed of a horizontal line with three vertical lines below (perhaps tattooing?). The arms are decorated with horizontal banding, as is the chest area. The breasts are pinched and painted with circles. The lower-body decoration resembles that of the animal spine type – a central vertical band and a series of horizontal ones, all framed in two vertical stripes.

⁹⁷² Walberg 1998, 22-27, 80-85, 150-156.

⁹⁷³ Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 26 and figs. 211-212.

Another Psi type (fig. 4.14) is smaller than those described above: it has a pinched nose, and this time attached eyes and breasts. The neck carries a band from which extend two curved lines reaching the waist area, perhaps indicating the dress. The arms are rather long with more banding.

One of the fragmentary figurines also belonged to a more elaborately decorated and executed Psi type (fig. 4.15). Above each eye are semi-circles with small vertical dashes, indicating perhaps eyelashes or eyebrows. The pair of necklaces is represented by a band each, from which depend small 'dashes'; the lower also has a pendant in the shape of a drop. Below and framing each of the attached breasts, for the most part missing, are concentric arcs, overlapping at the centre. On the back six painted locks can be made out. The final, rather crude example, whose upper body is very badly preserved, has raised arms and traces of what appears to be a polos.

The most impressive find though is the 'Lord of Asine' head (fig. 4.16), presumably from a large figure, the lower body of which has not been preserved. Its shape is an elongated oval with a "projecting nose, large bulbous eyes, small mouth with thin lips, plastically indicated beard (and) ears strongly modelled sloping backwards".⁹⁷⁴ The top of the head is flat with what appears to be a small polos or crown. The hair is indicated on the backside by thick strands of clay. It should also be noted here that D'Agata has concluded that the decoration on the head of the figure is LH IIIC middle in style.⁹⁷⁵

These few examples from House G provide little information, although it is clear that here too the Psi figurine continues to be the type of choice, see Chart 4.3. The variant nature of the decoration and the crudeness of the forms however contrasts with that found in previous periods. Oddly, no animal figurines were found. The presence of the Lord of Asine head, however, echoing such as those found at the sanctuary of Phylakopi and from room 110/110a at Tiryns, confirms that House G must have had a religious character, for these figures have only been found in such contexts.

CORINTHIA

KORAKOU

A number of figurines, both anthropomorphic and of animals, have been found at Korakou (fig. 4.17). However, their exact contexts remain unknown: some may have come from House P, and so could be dated to IIIC. Such an assignation however is

⁹⁷⁴ Frödin and Persson 1938, 308.

⁹⁷⁵ D'Agata 1996.

uncertain, since they include late Psi and Phi types, as well as Ladder and Spine bovine types which could be earlier.⁹⁷⁶

EUBOEA

CHALKIS

In Chalkis, a figurine was found in the tomb at Mistros St. As it is of the early Phi type, it ought to be related to some earlier use of the tomb.⁹⁷⁷

XEROPOLIS-LEFKANDI

Figurines of IIC date have been found at Xeropolis-Lefkandi, but these remain unpublished. French, in personal correspondence with Popham, makes mention of at least one unpainted male figure,⁹⁷⁸ late Psi types of groups A, B and C,⁹⁷⁹ as well as Late Linear type 2 animal figurines⁹⁸⁰. Other examples include a unique type of horse with harness, fragments from chariot groups, two female figurines with evidence of being attached to a vessel (assumed to be a kalathos-they are not of the mourning types) and one wheel made animal figure fragment.⁹⁸¹

ATTICA

PERATI Chart 4.4

From the tombs at Perati in Attica come a number of figurines – human, animal and of other miscellaneous forms: seven Psi types, seven mourning figurines, ten bovine, six other animals, three bird-shaped vessels and a throne.

All of the Psi types (fig. 4.18) have a short conical stem, attached breasts, pinched nose and a polos. Various decorative elements typical of the Psi and Late Psi types enhance them: banding on the arms and at the waist line, outlined breasts, dots and vertical bands on the back. Some wear necklaces, shown by a line around the neck with thin blobs or dashes hanging down.⁹⁸² The mourning figurines (fig. 4.19) are decorated primarily with transverse and vertical bands on the upper body, while the lower part may be monochrome, plain or with vertical bands. They were presumably attached to rims of kalathoi, see fig. 4.20.⁹⁸³ The bovine examples are mostly of the Ladder and Linear 2

⁹⁷⁶ Blegen 1921, 107-109.

⁹⁷⁷ Tsirivakos 1969, 31.

⁹⁷⁸ Renfrew 1985, 223. This has a close parallel with a male figure from Phylakopi (Personal communication from Don Evely).

⁹⁷⁹ Renfrew 1985, 231.

⁹⁸⁰ Renfrew 1985, 262.

⁹⁸¹ Personal communication from Don Evely.

⁹⁸² Iakovides 1970 266-267.

⁹⁸³ Iakovides 1970, 267-268.

types, others have Spine decoration and other bands outlining the shape of the body: they lack the typical cross-lines. Some carry variant banded schemes, such as two transversal lines intersecting at the top, some are monochrome examples (fig. 4.21). The horns are almost always painted and nearly all have a band running down the head to the muzzle.

Other animal types include a dog with a curved tail, a deer with antlers, two figures which with their elongated heads and manes are assumed to be horses and another that appears to be a dog or pig (fig. 4.22). These types are painted primarily with Linear 2 type decoration.⁹⁸⁴

Two of the bird-vessels⁹⁸⁵ have an oval-shaped body, with the forked tail being indicated by two protrusions, the third also has 'feather decoration' on its side (fig. 4.23). All have horizontal and vertical bands, wavy bands or dotting. The final piece is a plain fragment of a throne with four legs (fig. 4.24); only half of the upper part is preserved.⁹⁸⁶

The evidence from Perati confirms, as in other areas, that the bovine and Psi types continue, although here their decoration is more standard than those from the Argolid. The continuation too of the Phi type is interesting, since only a couple of other possible fragments of IIC date have been found, at Midea and Phylakopi. Animals of different species can be identified: horses and/or deer which are rare elsewhere. It should be reiterated that unlike the Argolid, Corinthia and Euboea, Perati has examples of the mourning-type figurines similar to those which will be seen below from Naxos and Rhodes. A noteworthy occurrence is that all the tombs containing figurines had at least one child burial. This supports the idea posed in chapter 2, that figurines most often accompany child burials and should be seen as phylactic in such a context.

THE CYCLADES

MELOS Chart 4.5

As is to be expected, most examples of figures and figurines within a LH IIC context come from the sanctuary of Phylakopi on Melos. The female figurine types are represented by one complete figurine of an unusual type, six of the Late Psi type (all with missing fragments, including arms and head), one naturalistic type (body only), one Phi type (part of body only), three Psi types (very fragmentary), four polos heads and three stems.

The Psi types (Figs 4.25, 4.26) are painted mainly in a linear fashion, including horizontals, verticals and cross-banding; more elaborate decoration involves haphazard

⁹⁸⁴ Iakovides 1970, 268-270.

⁹⁸⁵ The bird vase is also referred to as a duck vase.

⁹⁸⁶ Iakovides 1970, 270-271.

ornamentation, including wavy lines. Nearly all have pellet breasts and a polos. One unusual piece (fig. 4.30 bottom) is painted solid from the base to above the breasts.⁹⁸⁷

A number of female figures were found at the sanctuary: they comprise three Type 1 figures, one Type 2 figure, seven Type 3 figures, one unusual type and two plait fragments. Of these, the most complete example is the Type 3 (fig. 4.27), the 'Lady of Phylakopi' (SF 2660). This figure will be described fully below to give a complete picture of its unique features. French gives a detailed catalogue entry of the shape and decoration of this figure. She concludes that it is most likely an Argive import, dated probably to LH IIIA2 early.⁹⁸⁸ The figure has:

"thick coil-made conical stem with slight base, bulbous wheel made body with small plastic breasts; arms attached plastically with no plug, rising like handles; thin neck inserted with plastic ridge to hide joint; head basically wheel made with applied features: pointed chin, well made nose, plastic eye, plastic ears; top of polos pinched with finger impressions showing and emphasised; plait starting from top of head and made of two twisted strands from base of neck to waist...Chin solid painted with outline line; reserved and incised mouth, solid painted nose; eyes solid centred with lashes above and below; eyebrows; solid painted curves on ears; waves of hair with dots outlining them; solid painted area of hair on back of head; lines on lower plait; inner edge of polos solid but not worn...Band above base; Rock Pattern I; monochrome broad band with, in white, "V" at centre and row of dots at top and bottom; zone of panelled vertical Zigzags using solid and reserved systems; three thin bands; further Zigzags similar but more extended horizontally; monochrome broad band topped by Rock Patterns with in white, Quirk in middle and rows of dots at top and bottom; zone of horizontal Zigzag; two thin bands; at base of body: Rock Pattern; zone of Zigzag at breast level with arms rising from it; row of red dots below neck ring; Rock Pattern above neck ring; row of dots, thin band, Quirk, Rock Pattern at top of neck."⁹⁸⁹

The other large Type 3 figures (fig. 4.28) consist of body fragments of similar shape as the Lady, but with varying decorative elements. The body and stem may have vertical lines (SF 768), wavy lines (SF 773), unpainted portions (SF 1083), irregular horizontal lines (SF 2274) or bars across the arms (SF 2679).

⁹⁸⁷ French 1985, 232-235.

⁹⁸⁸ French 1985, 215.

⁹⁸⁹ French 1985, 221.

The Type 1 figure fragments (Figs 4.29 and 4.30 top) include both examples with thick triangular bodies and applied breasts and also others with wheel-made cylindrical torsos and flattened bases, a pulled-in waist, applied plaits and arms. A number of plait fragments could be from Type 1 or Type 3 examples.⁹⁹⁰

The Type 2 example (fig. 4.32) has only the head surviving (SF 2691). The body appears to have been a vessel, to which was attached the neck and head. Traces of applied details are numerous: an arm, a band running up either side of the body behind the arms and over the head (perhaps indicating a halo), the pointed chin and nose, ears, eyes, and a plait. It is decorated haphazardly with spirals on the back, double-ladder on the arms, diagonals with central pendant at the front of the neck, curved lines on the chin, straight bands down the forehead and chevron/multiple stem and vertical line motif on the back of the head. Stylistically, French gives a possible date to this figure of LH IIIA1/2.⁹⁹¹

One of an unusual form (fig. 4.31) is poorly preserved, with arms totally missing (SF 2658). It has a cylindrical lower body, flared slightly at the base; the flattened upper body will have had applied arms and breasts. The head is well modelled with an incised mouth and nostrils, a sharply-pinched nose, applied eyes and a broad, flat polos. Of great interest is the applied inverted "U" of clay at the front, perhaps indicative of its sex.⁹⁹² This crudely-made figure is believed to be earlier than LH IIIA2.⁹⁹³ It would be of great worth to be able to independently date these figures: sadly the lack of decoration on some and the standardized decoration on others might assign them to a number of phases.

Male figures were also found: they comprise two complete examples, one example with its head missing, four examples that are more fragmentary, three hands presumably from male figures, as well as male genitalia. (figs. 4.33 bottom and 4.34-4.36) The variations in body-shape include elongated, flattened (SF 1544, SF 1550, SF 1553) or cylindrical ones (SF 2340). The characteristic features of all these types are their shaped buttocks, cylindrical legs, rendered genitals, extended or curved arms and inward-turning hands. Decoration on the body varies from piece to piece: solid polos, (SF 1550, SF 1554), painted locks or fringes (SF 1550, SF 2340, SF 1554), painted waist band (SF 1553, SF 2349), horizontal and vertical bands across chest and back (SF 1550, SF 1554), outlined genitalia (SF 1553, SF 1550) and in certain cases, representations of weaponry such as a dagger (SF 2340).

A great number of animal figures and figurines were also found at the sanctuary (Figs 4.37-4.52). These include nine bovine figures with fourteen other fragments, three driven oxen with three fragments, two Wavy Type 2 oxen, six Linear 1 oxen, four Linear

⁹⁹⁰ French 1985, 222.

⁹⁹¹ French 1985, 215.

⁹⁹² French 1985, 221.

⁹⁹³ French 1985, 216.

2 oxen, eight Spine 1 oxen, one Spine 2 oxen, ten Late Linear oxen, one unusual type, thirty-five worn oxen fragments and a number of chariot groups.

The bovine figures are made up from one Type 1 example (SF 1713), one Type 2 example (SF 2685), one Type 3 example (SF 1032), one Type 4 example (SF 2689), two Type 5 examples (SF 1561, SF 850) and five Type 6 examples (SF 2687, SF 2670, SF 836, SF 2690, SF 847).⁹⁹⁴ Decoration does not vary very much, in comparison with the anthropomorphic figures and figurines. It includes wavy lines, vertical and horizontal bands, ring bands on the legs, muzzles, edges and the occasional unusual motif such as semi-circles (SF 2689) and clovers (SF 1023).⁹⁹⁵ According to French, “there is no way of dating the manufacture of the figures from Phylakopi but the use of the clover design and naturalistic details suggest that for some a date contemporary with the building of the shrine [LH IIIA2] is possible”, while the stylistically latest figure (SF 2689), with its semi-circle motif, is probably dated to LH IIIB.⁹⁹⁶ She also points out that “none of the bovine figures from Phylakopi has designs in the LH IIIC style”.⁹⁹⁷

At Phylakopi, then, over 100 complete figures and figurines, as well as numerous fragments, were found in the West Shrine, the East Shrine and the Street and Courtyard, see Chart 4.5. The main distinctions between this site and others examined in this study lie in the limited evidence of female figurines, and the overwhelming number of female, male and animal figures. French points out a number of characteristic features of this sanctuary such as the pairing of particular types of figures in the two shrines, the presence of both bovine figures and male figures, as well as the combination of the large human and animal figures.⁹⁹⁸ Most of these have no parallels from either earlier Mycenaean contexts or other LH IIIC contexts. A number of figures and figurines are believed to be imported. These include an animal figurine (SF 767) probably from Kea,⁹⁹⁹ a female figure fragment (SF 2274), the Lady of Phylakopi (SF 2660) probably from the Argolid¹⁰⁰⁰ and a chariot group fragment (SF 1558).¹⁰⁰¹ As French notes in her study, although many of these figures were found in IIIC contexts, a good majority of them are dated, stylistically, to earlier periods of LH IIIA and LH IIIB. These postulated dates are based on motifs such as the rock pattern found on the Lady of Phylakopi.

⁹⁹⁴ French 1985, 240.

⁹⁹⁵ French 1985, 242-252.

⁹⁹⁶ French 1985, 238-239.

⁹⁹⁷ French 1985, 239.

⁹⁹⁸ French 1985, 277.

⁹⁹⁹ French 1985, 209, 262.

¹⁰⁰⁰ French 1985, 215.

¹⁰⁰¹ French 1985, 252.

It is important here in discussing the distribution of types to underline the fact that at Phylakopi earlier figures and figurines continued to be used and held similar affinities as they did in earlier periods. Although the presence of earlier types of figurines, such as the Linear I types, might at first appear to contradict French's original diachronic distribution of these types,¹⁰⁰² it is rather indicative of the difficulty attending attempts to allocate figurines found in IIC contexts to this actual date. This continued use of figurines and figures from previous periods stresses the cult significance of these objects: even where only fragments were preserved, these objects still continued to be used. What might these points tell us about the circumstances surrounding the Sanctuary in this period? It appears that for some reason very few figures or figurines (if any at all) were manufactured during IIC. This could imply on the one hand that skilled artisans capable of such productions no longer existed at Phylakopi, or perhaps that the ruling elite that once commissioned such items either from within Melos or from areas outside such as the Argolid no longer were able to maintain their status.

PAROS

The evidence from Koukounaries is limited to two fragments. One was a leg from a bovine figure found in the small area to the north, Room D, believed to be a small shrine.¹⁰⁰³ Though the material from this room still remains to be studied, the presence of such a figure as well as a possible bench in this room could well imply an area used for ritual purposes. The other fragment was found in the cave examined by Schilardi: a bovine figurine with diagonal bands across the body, whose date is uncertain.¹⁰⁰⁴

NAXOS

Very few figurines have been found: two mourning figurines from the cemetery at Kamini and two Psi figurines from the settlement area. The two mourning figurines are similar in shape (fig. 4.53): quite short with a stout columnar stem. The arms are raised to touch the head; they are decorated with vertical lines, extending down each arm to the base of the stem. Both also have attached breasts, outlined with a medium band; other bands begin at the neck and run down to the base of the stem. On the reverse, one has vertical wavy lines set in a frame, the other a central spine crossed by two horizontal

¹⁰⁰² French 1971.

¹⁰⁰³ Schilardi 1984, 190; Schallin 1993, 127.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Schilardi 1978, 289 pl. 190γ. The date of the burial is postulated to be LH IIC middle by Schilardi who cites an amphora fragment with a tassel pattern which was found within the stratum in which the deceased had been laid; see Schilardi 1999, 752 and *fn.* 17

bands.¹⁰⁰⁵ The duck vase from Tomb Γ has a wavy-line decoration and fish on the body, with a cross-hatched patchwork motif on the neck area.¹⁰⁰⁶ (fig. 4.54)

Whether the Psi figurines from Grotta date to LH IIIC middle (or even LH IIIC at all) is hard to know: but their non-standardised decoration and pellet breasts could indicate that they belong here.¹⁰⁰⁷

The evidence from Naxos, although limited, emphasizes a similarity with both Perati and, as will be seen below, with Rhodes – namely the presence of the mourning figurines, (notably limited in other areas of Mainland Greece).

THE DODECANESE

RHODES

The most common type of figurine here is the Late Psi type.¹⁰⁰⁸ Of interest are the kalathoi with attached figurines at the rim (fig. 4.55), similar to ones found at Perati and Naxos: Tau figurines appear here, as well as mourning types.¹⁰⁰⁹ The published examples of the mourning types are short and stout, with linear decoration on the front, back and sides, as well as on the arms; they have outlined breasts (fig. 4.56). The hands touch the top of the polos. The Tau types (fig. 4.57) found independent of those on the kalathoi also have vertical linear decoration.¹⁰¹⁰

Typical animal figurines are rare, with only one Spine type (fig. 4.58) found in Tomb 64 at Ialysos.¹⁰¹¹ A commoner feature though are vessels in the shape of animals such as ducks, horses or other quadrupeds. The duck vessel (fig. 4.59) from Tomb 15 is decorated with vertical bands on the body and transverse ones on the head.¹⁰¹² Three quadruped vessels represent horses or mules. The only complete example from Tomb 73 has a saddle and carries representations of closed vessels, probably flasks. The opening to fill the vase is in the shape of a deep bowl (fig. 4.60), set on the saddle. The animal is decorated on the front and back with isolated concentric semi-circles and medium bands. The mane is also elaborately decorated.¹⁰¹³

Another fragment from Tomb 12 has preserved the head of an animal with a discernible mane, probably representing a horse (fig. 4.61). The chest of the animal is decorated with a scale pattern.¹⁰¹⁴ From Tomb 20 comes another example, the head of which is missing (fig. 4.62). It too has a deep bowl to receive liquids. Horizontal lines

¹⁰⁰⁵ Zappeiropoulos 1966, pl. 279.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Zappeiropoulos 1966 pl. 275a.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Schallin 1993, 126

¹⁰⁰⁸ Mee 1982, 44.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Maiuri 1923-24, 174, 175

¹⁰¹⁰ Mee 1982, pl. 40

¹⁰¹¹ Jacopi 1930-31, 272

¹⁰¹² Maiuri 1923-24, 172-173

¹⁰¹³ Jacopi 1930-31, 293-295.

ornament the body, with a vertical zigzag motif on the chest.¹⁰¹⁵ The final example from Tomb 42 represents the head and neck of a horse, whose mane can be clearly made out (fig. 4.63). It is decorated with vertical lines at the neck, with two more running from the ears, between the eyes to the mouth where they join.¹⁰¹⁶

KOS

The limited evidence here confirms the preference for the Psi type figurine in this period. Examples (Figs 4.64-4.66) of the Hollow Psi are known – with linear decoration, pellet breast and dipping polos (Tombs 57 and 52);¹⁰¹⁷ likewise two Late Psi types (fig. 4.67) with attached breasts (Tomb 17).¹⁰¹⁸ Mee observed the fact that figurines appear for the first time on Kos during LH IIIC.¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁴ Maiuri 1923-24, 170, 171.

¹⁰¹⁵ Maiuri 1923-24, 135.

¹⁰¹⁶ Maiuri 1923-24, 197.

¹⁰¹⁷ Morricone 1965-66, 233, 235 and 249.

¹⁰¹⁸ Morricone 1965-66, 127-128.

¹⁰¹⁹ Mee 1982, 91.

As was discussed in the chapter on burials the interpretation of the function of figurines varies from scholar to scholar. Some see figurines as having a religious character, others view them as toys when accompanying child burials, while yet others believe them to have an apotropaic character when found in domestic households.

The heart of the debate is whether or not the function is ascribed from the context or whether the context assigns the function. French believes that figurines “take their function from their context and not vice-versa, i.e. the same type of figurine has a discrete (though possibly related) function when found in a tomb, an outdoor altar site or a domestic context”.¹⁰²⁰ Although, one finds no real problem with French’s interpretation concerning function and context, I believe her parenthetical comment concerning possible *related function* is actually the point of most importance. A religious quality *can* be attributed to all contexts where one finds figurines.

In IIIIC, as in the earlier periods, the presence of figures and figurines in sanctuaries or rooms with religious functions is a verifiable pattern. In fact, most scholars today define a domestic space as religious in character simply by the appearance of figurines. If one begins therefore from this premise, and applies it to other contexts, the argument fits and works in all cases. In tombs, it is true, we find fewer figurines in LH IIIIC than in the previous periods, but in almost all cases, particularly so from Perati, these objects accompany child burials.

Another argument worthy of consideration is the idea of figurines being toys. This too fits well with the evidence in that most figurines in funerary contexts accompany child burials. However, I do find it difficult to accept that an object which has clear religious affinities in one context can suddenly be so altered as to function as a toy in another.

The differentiation between figures and figurines is also significant. Before, only Mycenae, Midea and Phylakopi had evidence for figures. In LH IIIIC, the continuation of this practice in religious contexts is clear from the great number of figures at the Sanctuary of Phylakopi, House G at Asine, as well as Room 110/110a at Tiryns. Here, then, a clear differentiation exists in the evidence – figures are exclusive to sanctuaries or shrines.

The interpretation of animal figurines is more difficult. These have been interpreted as representing a substitute for animal sacrifices, which could be a valid interpretation in both cult and funerary contexts.¹⁰²¹ This argument of Nicholls is very convincing, particularly as there is little evidence of animals being sacrificed in tomb

¹⁰²⁰ French 1981, 173; Renfrew is in agreement with French, Renfrew 1985, 413.

contexts of III C middle. Another interpretation could be that the animals themselves have some religious connotation, as with the bull in Minoan Crete. Such an argument can only really be backed up with the evidence from Phylakopi, where a preference can be detected in the East Shrine for animal figurines. Could this imply the worship of an animal deity in this East Shrine? A final interpretation regarding the presence of animal figurines could relate to their function in daily life, their use in agriculture as well as a means of provisions. An animal that contributes to the survival of man could be offered as a votive in order to guarantee personal continued strength and prosperity. So it could be argued that a culture that bases its economy on agriculture and livestock relies heavily on the availability and strength of animals such as oxen – and that is why they so often appear. If, however, one applies this argument to the other species appearing in the archaeological evidence, one is left with puzzles in the main. Why represent a duck, a dog or other such animals?

What does the presence of figures and figurines reveal concerning cult practices in LH III C middle? With regard to tombs, I do not believe any new information can be gleaned. Similar to the previous periods, figurines were included in tombs, primarily with child burials. Perhaps the presence of more animal figurines, as seen in Perati, Naxos and Rhodes, could imply some change in cult. But what this change might be is obscure, if indeed even correctly identified.

The evidence from the settlements of Tiryns, Asine and Phylakopi does provide some information for the understanding of cult in LH III C (and perhaps even for the periods that preceded it since there appears to be a continuation in practice). A good starting point is the evidence from Tiryns and Asine, which is associated with several, smaller shrine areas.

It is unclear, as Hägg points out, whether in the case of House G at Asine we are looking at “a private house with a small domestic altar or a complex of primarily religious function”.¹⁰²² The presence of the ‘Lord of Asine’ head compels a comparison of function with the Cult room at Mycenae, with Room 110/110a at Tiryns and with the sanctuary at Phylakopi. One can postulate that since figures from other sites have been found in areas designated primarily as religious in function, this then is most probably the case too at Asine. One final interpretation for the presence of the ‘Lord’ head is that coming from a once complete figure, the head alone was re-used in LH III C in a smaller domestic shrine. However no other evidence exists to suggest figures were used in the smaller domestic shrines, so this is perhaps not likely after all.

¹⁰²¹ Nicholls 1970, 9-14.

¹⁰²² Hägg 1981, 94

The situation in the small shrine in the Lower Acropolis at Tiryns links this area to its past history. From LH IIIB this room had functioned as a shrine, continuing on through to the final phase of LH IIIC. As Maran points out, with reference both to room 110/110a and to Building T on the Upper Acropolis, “we can infer that the creation of the new forms of post-palatial religious and representative architecture was accompanied by the use of the past as a point of reference and as a means to emphasize continuity in spite of the demise of the palace”.¹⁰²³

The Phylakopi sanctuary is the most extensive in terms of finds. The possible presence of female, male *and* animal deities, as has been interpreted in this sanctuary, make it quite unique for the palatial period and even more so for the post-palatial. Indeed it differs equally from those preceding it, such as the Cult Centre at Mycenae. A unique differentiation in cult function can be seen from the placement of particular types of figure or figurines within the East and West Shrines. In the West Shrine, male figures are restricted to the northwest platform, with female figures only on the southwest platform, in Room A and the niche behind it. Bovine figures are found on both platforms; the chariot and other animal figurines are found only on the northwest platform, accompanying the male figures. In the East Shrine, there are “no human figures or figurines whatever”.¹⁰²⁴

Renfrew discusses in some detail whether or not a cult image representing the deity worshipped at the sanctuary can be inferred from the material available. He sees the Lady of Phylakopi in terms of scale and workmanship as “the best candidate for a cult image” in the West Shrine.¹⁰²⁵ He takes this argument further by postulating whether a second, male deity could have been venerated in the West Shrine – thus explaining the clear differentiation in cult paraphernalia. An alternative theory he poses is that the male figures may be votives, and that in this period we might see a differentiation in what was offered to the deity being worshiped. He goes on to postulate whether a third deity may have been worshipped in the East Shrine, where “animal figures but not male figures, are among the votive offerings”.¹⁰²⁶ These features are evidence for the sanctuary as it functioned in the 2b phase before the collapse.

What follows in phase 3 shows, as Renfrew rightly points out, “impoverished continuity”¹⁰²⁷ Most, if not all of the figures and figurines used in these phases, were in fact re-used from the previous ones. In phases 3a and 3b no large female figures exist, though male figures continue in use at the northwest platform and animals in the East

¹⁰²³ Maran 2001, 119.

¹⁰²⁴ Renfrew 1985, 370.

¹⁰²⁵ Renfrew 1985, 372.

¹⁰²⁶ Renfrew 1985, 373.

Shrine. While the sanctuary itself continues to function in this phase, there is a gradual change in the use of the various areas: perhaps this implies that those participating at the sanctuary were no longer aware of the previous uses of the various areas within the sanctuary. It is in these phases that Renfrew postulates as to whether the “old north/male versus south/female dichotomy may have been replaced by one of west/male versus east/female”.¹⁰²⁸ This however remains unclear. What is certain is that the previous relative roles of the West and East Shrines remain unchanged in phases 3a and 3b. It is only in phase 3c that the distinctions in function described above all but disappear.

¹⁰²⁷ Renfrew 1985, 381.

¹⁰²⁸ Renfrew 1985, 381.

From the above evidence it can be stated categorically that figurines still continue to be used during LH IIIC middle both in settlements and tombs. The main types that survive in the post-palatial phases are first the bovine animal figurines with Linear, Spine, Ladder and other more elaborate schemes of decoration, and then the Late Psi female figurines, often elaborately decorated with little realism being preserved. A preference for mourning figurines and non-bovine animal figurines and figures (such as horse or ducks) in LH IIIC contexts at Perati, Naxos, and Rhodes implies a connection between these areas. Finally, a very important feature is the large wheel-made figures found in IIIC contexts at Tiryns, Asine and Phylakopi. These objects are similar to those from the Cult Centre at Mycenae and Midea produced during the palatial period. Their presence both on the Mainland and on an island site is indicative of the basic continuation of Mycenaean customs and traditions across the Aegean, particularly in areas that provide strong LH IIIB evidence, such as Tiryns and Phylakopi.

Chart 4.6 – a summary of the evidence from settlements – reveals this preference for the Psi and bovine figurines in the three larger settlement areas of Tiryns, Midea and Phylakopi. Interesting occurrences are the male figures and figurines as well as large wheel-made bovine figures found at Phylakopi, and the wheel-made female figures found at Asine, Tiryns and Phylakopi. In the case of Tiryns and possibly even Asine there is enough evidence to assume that these could have been made in IIIC. This fact is extremely interesting because it shows that the knowledge of wheel made figures continued in this post palatial period. If one compares this chart with that summarising the tomb evidence, Chart 4.7, one can see a clear distinction in the contexts in which large wheel-made figures are found. The presence of these figures in settlement contexts, more specifically in presumed sanctuaries or shrines, shows a differentiation between these and the figurines. Such a differentiation was emphasised by French, but disputed by Kilian.¹⁰²⁹ The evidence seems to imply a common quality between figures and figurines in that they were both sacred objects, perhaps of a deity or their votaries, but that figures alone were in use in areas that were only religious in character. The fact that no figures have been found in tombs clearly supports this. From the tomb evidence we see a preference for Psi and mourning female figurines, as well as animal figurines.

It should be noted here that while female and male figures do not appear in funerary contexts, vessels in the shapes of animals, such as horses and ducks, do. This seems to imply that these wheel-made animal figurines/vessels functioned as vessels rather than votive figures. At this point a distinction should be made between the example

¹⁰²⁹ French 1981, 178.

from Perati, which is a duck figure, most likely without a spout (this is implied by the tall base on which it stands which is different to the spouted types) and those from Naxos and Rhodes which have a spout and a bird's head.¹⁰³⁰ Another variation worth noting is the location of the spout, which in the case of the example from Naxos is located on the back of the vessel. It is unclear exactly how these vessels functioned but it is most likely, since they were found primarily in tombs or in later examples also in areas associated with shrines or temples¹⁰³¹, that they are assumed to have been ritual vessels, possibly for pouring of water or wine.¹⁰³² I would agree with Lemos who suggests a Dodecanesian origin for the earlier types of duck vessels.¹⁰³³ As for the animal figures, such as the bovine examples from Phylakopi or the horse from Rhodes, it is unfortunately not clear whether any of these were made during LH IIIC.

If one compares the settlement and funerary evidence as it is summarised in Chart 4.8, figurines and figures are seen to occur primarily in settlement contexts – by a factor of four. A great number however, the majority in fact preserved from this period, come from Phylakopi – and here they are evidence mainly of re-use. This distorts the picture greatly. What can be said with certainty is that figures are deposited within ritual contexts (such as the West and East Shrines at Phylakopi or Room 110a at Tiryns) while figurines occur both in tombs and within settlement contexts.

¹⁰³⁰ A similar example is said to have been found at Xeropolis, dated to the 1b phase of the settlement. See Lemos 1994, 230 fn. 5.

¹⁰³¹ Lemos 1994, 232. An example on Crete was found within a shrine context while a second from Cyprus was found within a temple deposit.

¹⁰³² Lemos 1994, 232; Desborough 1972, 274.

¹⁰³³ Lemos favours a Dodecanesian origin in contrast to Desborough who favoured a Cypriote origin. Lemos 1994, 230-232; Desborough 1972, 268-273.

Chapter 5 Jewellery

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Typology

5.3 Archaeological Evidence

5.4 Comments

The study of jewellery and dress ornamentation can provide information both about a society – distribution of wealth, social classes, treatment of its dead, and also about its general economy. Scholars have so examined the jewellery of the Bronze Age, sometimes in general treatises concerning its form and production (e.g. Higgins 1980, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*), at others in specific monographs focussing on a set of objects (e.g. Sakellariou 1966, *Μυκηναϊκή Σφραγιδογλυφία*). This chapter does not reclassify jewellery found in IIIC middle contexts, but focuses rather on understanding the social and economic conditions that the presence of these objects implies. The material is broken down into four main categories, based on Konstantinidi's typology of Bronze Age jewellery:¹⁰³⁴ items that adorn the neck, the hair and head, the arm and hand and finally clothing.

Most of the jewellery in the Bronze Age comes from burial contexts: in Late Helladic IIIC, only a very small amount has been found in contexts such as settlements or sanctuaries. As Konstantinidi points out, one of the main problems encountered in dealing with such goods is that in most cases the dating is based on other items, generally and especially pottery.¹⁰³⁵ From Late Helladic IIIC, many of the tombs contain earlier burials too, thus making it difficult in many cases to assign a particular object (such as a small glass bead) to a specific and dated burial. Objects such as rings, which may be found near the hand of a skeleton, would make such identification easier if the burial is undisturbed, but such instances are rare.

In the following sections, I will examine all the jewellery believed to be associated with tombs that have their sole use in LH IIIC. The most convincing examples are primarily from the tombs at Perati in Attica, and from those at Kamini and Aplomata on Naxos as well as in certain from Ialysos on Rhodes. These tombs have either their exclusive use in IIIC or have unambiguous contexts permitting a distinction between IIIC burials and those of other periods. The methodology which will be implemented in the study of these finds therefore is different from that used in other chapters. Due to their nature, each piece will not be commented on separately, but rather the broader distribution of types will be examined.¹⁰³⁶

First comes a summary of the categories devised by Konstantinidi, followed by a look at the distribution of the relevant jewellery. Finally an interpretation of the body of evidence is given, attempting to draw out the inferences such items provide.

¹⁰³⁴ Konstantinidi 2001.

¹⁰³⁵ Konstantinidi 2001, 1.

¹⁰³⁶ More detailed information, including specific bibliographical references from excavation reports and Konstantinidi's study, can be found in Tables 5.5 and 5.6.

A summary of Konstantinidi's divisions follows; it underpins all the following discussion.

Neck Ornaments (Table 5.1)

Defined as “all items used as components of necklaces or worn singly as pendants”,¹⁰³⁷ beads and pendants are the most frequently encountered. They embrace simple beads of various shapes, relief ones and some of wire. Under the last set a further distinction can be made between necklaces and pendants (including granulated pendants and amulets).¹⁰³⁸

Hair and Head Ornaments (Table 5.2)

“All items used to decorate the hair or the head”,¹⁰³⁹ they cover combs (Types A-C), diadems (Types A-C), hair pins (Types A-C), hair spirals (Types A-C), earrings (Types A, B, B1, C and D) and even face masks.¹⁰⁴⁰

Arm and Hand Ornaments (Table 5.3)

These comprise bracelets (Types A-D), armllets, and finger rings.¹⁰⁴¹

Clothing Ornaments (Table 5.4)

Anything employed either to decorate clothing or to fasten it when worn. Included in this category are discs, cut-out reliefs, bands and belt ornaments (Types A-D) pins (Types A-D), fibulae (Types A1-A5 and B) and buttons.¹⁰⁴²

¹⁰³⁷ Konstantinidi 2001, 21.

¹⁰³⁸ Konstantinidi 2001, 21-23.

¹⁰³⁹ Konstantinidi 2001, 24.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Konstantinidi 2001, 24-26. Combs can perhaps be seen as not being ornaments *per se*, since they served a practical function; however it is clear, I believe, that when deposited in tombs they are meant as ornaments.

¹⁰⁴¹ Konstantinidi 2001, 29-30.

¹⁰⁴² Konstantinidi 2001, 29-30.

Whilst Tables 5.5 and 5.6 contain a detailed account of all the items of jewellery found within the tombs or settlements, a summary of the finds from each geographical area will be given below, drawing attention only to a number of important pieces. An overall interpretation concerning the types of ornaments, i.e. neck, hand etc., follows.

TOMBS (Table 5.5)

ARGOLID

Tomb 25 from Tripolis St. at Argos contained a bronze arched fibula within the cremation urn (fig. 5.1).¹⁰⁴³ So far as can be discerned from the published photograph, this fibula is different from all the other IIC middle examples here examined: it has a slight swelling in the middle of the bow which does not appear to be rhombus shaped (like M83 from Perati). It could perhaps be of Blinkenberg's Type II.10.¹⁰⁴⁴ It is worth stressing what a rare find this is – particularly because it is found with a cremation burial.

Tomb 5 at Tiryns also had a fragment of a bronze fibula, which could date to LH IIC, but any such association remains unclear since it was not found associated with a particular burial.¹⁰⁴⁵ Tomb 6 at Asine contained some small faience beads, bull-shaped gold beads and steatite buttons.¹⁰⁴⁶ The jewellery found in Tomb 5 at Asine, dated LH IIIB-LH IIC, could itself be dated to LH IIC, but this too is unclear since the publication does not associate any of the finds with a particular burial.

ATTICA¹⁰⁴⁷ (Chart 5.1)

Most evidence comes from the cemetery at Perati. Here, one witnesses a plethora of jewellery including neck, hair/head, arm/hand and clothing ornaments. The majority of tombs contain beads of various shapes and materials that presumably belonged to necklaces or other neck ornaments (fig. 5.2). The materials used are less various than before – glass being the most popular for child burials (Tombs 59, 77 and 141), while adult burials were adorned with gold, cornelian, agate, glass, steatite and in certain cases faience, hematite or amber beads. Other objects of interest include a number of faience scarabs (figs. 5.3-5.4; Tombs 13, 75 and 90), sealstones of varying materials (Tombs 1, 4, 24, 64/65 and 142) and Egyptian amulets or plaques (Tombs 1 and 30a). Hair and head ornaments (fig. 5.5) are the least in number, usually consisting of ivory combs, with the occasional hair spiral or earring (although these are very rare). Rings continue to be

¹⁰⁴³ Piteros 2001, 10.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Blinkenberg 1926, 67.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Siedentopf *et al.*, 1973, 36-40; Konstantinidi 2001, 92.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Frödin and Persson 1938, 179-182, 406-407.

popular and include examples in silver, gold and bronze (fig. 5.6). Most of these, with and without bezels, are simple in form; only one example (Tomb 1) has an engraved bezel. A further two burials contain arm bracelets (Tomb 38 and Tomb 80), as well as a bracelet of thick bronze wire and bronze plates possibly from a bracelet (fig. 5.7). Clothing ornaments are almost universally represented by steatite buttons (fig. 5.8), usually conical in shape, but also taking in a few decorative discs (Tombs 5/5a and 156/157), as well as a number of bronze fibulae (Tombs 36, 64/65, 74 and 155) of the bow and arched types (fig. 5.9).

The violin-bow types fall under Blinkenberg's Types I.8 and I.10, with a leaf-shaped bow.¹⁰⁴⁸ The arched-bow sorts are three in number. The first is assigned by Iakovides to Blinkenberg's Type II.3, with a rhombus-shaped section. However, one main difference can be distinguished between the Perati example (M83) and this type: Blinkenberg's does not have mouldings located at the ends of the arch of the bow as does the example from Perati.¹⁰⁴⁹ Perhaps we have cross type between the rhombus-shaped form and the slightly bulging, arch type with its small moulding (Blinkenberg's Type II.10 or II.11).¹⁰⁵⁰ The other arched-bow examples are of Type II.5 with a flat, wide section (M71)¹⁰⁵¹ and Type II.7 with rope-shaped arch (M116).¹⁰⁵² This final example (M116) may also belong to Blinkenberg's Type II.16, since its arch is slightly less curved than that of II.7.¹⁰⁵³

This material by itself reveals not only that, at least at Perati, the dead were still furnished with ornaments customary in the palatial periods, but also that new ones such as the arched fibula begin to be used. Furthermore, the number of gold, silver and ivory objects, and imports, all show that this area on the mainland had enough wealth to be displayed in burials.

NAXOS

The evidence comes from the tombs at Aplomata and Kamini. The ornaments from Aplomata differ between the three tombs dated to LH IIIC. Tomb A is the simplest: a gold ring and three gold clothing-ornament reliefs, as well as an unpublished arched fibula (fig. 5.10).¹⁰⁵⁴ A sword was also retrieved from here. Tomb B in contrast is very wealthy: an agate sealstone with the representation of a 'religious' figure (possibly a priest) (fig. 5.11), small gold plaques and a silver ring, as well as 17 gold relief rosettes

¹⁰⁴⁷ See Table 6.1 for bibliographical references of each tomb.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Blinkenberg 1926, 51-54; Iakovides 1970, B 276.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Blinkenberg 1926, 62-63; Iakovides 1970, B 276.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Blinkenberg 1926, 67.

¹⁰⁵¹ Blinkenberg 1926, 64-65; Iakovides 1970, B 276.

¹⁰⁵² Blinkenberg 1926, 65-66; Iakovides 1970, B 276.

¹⁰⁵³ Blinkenberg 1926, 72.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Vlachopoulos mentions this arched fibula; Vlachopoulos 1995, 189.

and 65 solid gold ones (fig. 5.12).¹⁰⁵⁵ The mass of clothing ornaments taken with the sealstone (with its possible cult significance) could imply that a religious figure, possibly a priest or priestess, was buried here. The excavator believed that tomb A with its far fewer decorative ornaments, but having a sword, indicated a male burial, whilst Tomb B with its rich finds of jewellery and dress ornaments indicated a female one.¹⁰⁵⁶

The evidence from Kamini is less clear and still awaits full publication. From the preliminary reports, however, one can distinguish a number of expensive items, including ornaments of types unattested anywhere else in Greece (fig. 5.13). Tomb A contained at least three gold beads, a sealstone with an animal representation, a gold diadem, a silver ring and an arched bronze fibulae.¹⁰⁵⁷ Tomb B had beads of semi-precious stones, another sealstone with an animal representation, 14 gold beads, two gold rings and two silver rings. Tomb Γ yielded seven gold bull's heads, four gold beads, one sealstone with an animal representation, one gold hair pin, two gold rings and one gold button. Finally, Tomb E, clearly that of a child, contained 15 gold beads, six semi-precious stone beads, a stone amulet and four gold plates each with a representation of what appears to be a child.¹⁰⁵⁸ The unique presence of the four gold plates in Tomb E, along with the gold beads (all other child burials are furnished with glass or cornelian beads), represent a different way of adorning a child. Whether this fashion is related to an Eastern influence or perhaps indicates some difference in religious expressions remains unknown. The steatite pendant in tomb Δ is similar to ones found in tombs at Elateia which here appear to be a local production.¹⁰⁵⁹ Could it have been imported from Elateia? Whatever the case, it can be said that these tombs, although few, are yet furnished with objects of a rich character.

RHODES¹⁰⁶⁰

The evidence from the tombs at Ialysos consists of some burials dated exclusively to LH IIIC, but a great number of tombs also occur with earlier interments in them. Only those with exclusive IIIC interments and those with but little evidence for earlier depositions are discussed here and analysed in the tables, so as not to create a confusing picture.¹⁰⁶¹ As at Perati, neck ornaments are the most common sort of jewellery found: glass, cornelian and gold beads make up the majority, with a few cornelian pendants (Tomb

¹⁰⁵⁵ Kardara 1977, 4-8.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Kontoleon 1965b, 185.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Vlachopoulos 1995, 189 and 1994, 304.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Schallin 1993, 126-128.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Dimaki 1999.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See Table 6.1 for bibliographical references of each tomb.

¹⁰⁶¹ Tombs in Table 6.1 that have an asterisk will be included in the analysis, since the finds of jewellery are most likely associated with the IIIC burials rather than the earlier ones.

NT87), a cornelian scarab (Tomb NT61) and an Egyptian faience disc (Tomb NT 83) for variety (fig. 5.14).

What seems quite popular on Rhodes (and is lacking at Perati and other sites) are hair ornaments such as rings and circlets (Tombs NT20, NT52, NT61 and NT87). Some tombs contained hair spirals (Tombs NT61, NT62 and NT83), also known at Perati.

Gold and silver rings are here less numerous than at Perati. Noteworthy examples are one with a bezel in the shape of a seated monkey (Tomb NT 20), and another with its bezel engraved with a scene of confronted sphinxes (Tomb NT61). Clothing ornaments are few in number: steatite and ivory buttons as well as a number of gold foil ornaments.

Tomb 4 at Pilona, exclusively III C in date, contains comparable neck ornaments of glass, faience and cornelian beads (fig. 5.15). Other items are few, including a bone comb, bronze rings and an arched fibula. The fibula is similar to M83 from Perati with its rhombus-shaped section and two small mouldings found on either side of the arch. It is of Blinkenberg's Type II.11; according to Karantzali it recalls unpublished examples from Kamini on Naxos and from Koukounaries on Paros.¹⁰⁶²

KOS¹⁰⁶³ (fig. 5.16)

The tombs here are generally uncertain in their dating: thus any observation based on associated finds of jewellery and dress ornamentation cannot be claimed as securely relevant to the LH III C period.

From Eleona, only tombs 1 and 3 are dated purely LH III C: neither contained any metal finds. From Langada, Tombs 11, 14, 17, 24, 34, 35 and 61 are germane but clearly less wealthy than the others mentioned above. Neck ornaments usually comprise one or two beads of cornelian, faience or amber. Oddly, beads of glass, the most common material found in other sites, appear only in Tombs 24 and 61. Fragments of amber beads such as those found in Tombs 34 and 35 are only paralleled at Perati (a single example comes from Tomb 147). Hair or head ornaments are almost completely absent, with but a single tomb containing five bronze rings (Tomb 35) and another with an ivory comb fragment (Tomb 61). Finger rings, again contrary to other sites, are equally rare with the exception of Tomb 34 with its two bronze rings. On the other hand, what does appear to be quite popular at Langada are bronze bracelets (Tombs 14, 17 and 24). Clothing ornaments comprise a very few steatite buttons (Tombs 24, 34 and 61) and an ivory one (Tomb 61).

SETTLEMENTS (Table 5.6)

EUBOEA

¹⁰⁶² Karantzali 2001, 70.

There are numerous unpublished examples of ornaments from Lefkandi-Xeropolis, particularly if one bears in mind the scarcity of such objects in settlement contexts. They include a pair of tweezers, a square sectioned fragment from a possible fibula arch or pin, numerous possible pin fragments, a bronze ring, a pendant possibly of Eastern origin similar in style to an example from Kos, an eye-shaped plaque, two simple gold rings and at least 14 bone hair pins.¹⁰⁶⁴

MELOS

The main finds (fig. 5.17) from the Sanctuary of Phylakopi are neck ornaments, mainly beads and pendants.¹⁰⁶⁵ It is unclear whether these objects were offerings or whether someone might have worn them, such as a priest or priestess. Other relevant objects from the West Shrine are two rings of lead and silver, three bone pins and a bronze pin. As was the case with the figurines it is unclear if any of these were produced in LH IIIc.

PAROS

Steatite beads, a lentoid sealstone, an ivory comb and pin, clay and stone buttons, and an example apiece of a violin bow and an arched fibula were all documented at Koukounaries.¹⁰⁶⁶

¹⁰⁶³ See Table 6.1 for bibliographical references of each tomb.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Personal communication from Don Evely.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Renfrew 1985, 311-322.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Schallin 1993, 127; Schilardi 1984, 202. No description or illustration of the fibula is provided in the publications; however, according to Karantzali (2001, 70), it is similar to the example from Pilonia.

The main problem encountered in assessing jewellery from LH IIC sites is the multiple number of burials per tomb. As ever the case with funerary contexts, one cannot always easily attribute a particular find to a specific burial: generalisations result concerning the degree of wealth of individual interments.

Obviously once secure information concerning the number of burials is provided, the interpretation of the evidence can be drastically improved. Unfortunately this is generally not the case. For Perati, I have noted the number of interments within each tomb wherever this information was available. Furthermore in Table 5.5, I have enumerated the particular finds associated with a particular interment: information provided by Iakovides' detailed publication as well as from Konstantinidi's catalogue (indicated in Table 5.5 with roman numerals *I, II, III* etc.)

Neck Ornaments

Neck ornaments, as in previous periods, remain the most popular type of jewellery with which the dead were adorned. This is best revealed in Chart 5.2 for the cemeteries of Perati, Ialysos and Langada. Beads are the chief components involved, but pendants and amulets also appear. At Perati, 42 tombs out of the 55 containing jewellery had some item of neck ornamentation. Within the entire cemetery (here embracing tombs from IIC early to late), 375 beads were recorded of over 20 different materials.¹⁰⁶⁷ There were 145 of gold, 103 of glass paste, 75 of cornelian, 11 of faience and ten of steatite; other materials present include stone, bronze, ivory, bone and amber.¹⁰⁶⁸ Also worth noting are the many imported items, such as amulets, that turned up there: nine faience scarabs, two faience cartouches; three amulets with god-like representations; three amulets in the form of crocodiles, and nine other fragmentary ones; an inscribed lentoid amulet of hematite and two cylindrical seals of the same; two gold crescents and two agate lentoid seals.

At Ialysos, all nine tombs contained some item of neck ornamentation. At least 109 beads were recorded: of which at least 66 are of gold and 33 of glass paste. At Naxos, within the eight tombs examined were a total of at least 44 beads, of which 41 are gold. At Langada, six out of the seven tombs contained neck ornamentations. Of at least 45 beads recorded from these tombs, 21 are of faience and 13 are of glass paste; none of gold was recorded. It is also worth noting that a number of amber beads were found at Langada. Tomb 4 at Piona contained 16 beads, eight of which were of faience, seven of glass paste and four of cornelian. A gold pendant, with its waz-lily style, suggests an

¹⁰⁶⁷ An analytical table of these can be seen in Iakovides 1970, *B* 302.

Egyptian origin as is suggested by the excavator.¹⁰⁶⁹ Almost identical to this piece is a gold pendant from chamber tomb 20 at Agia Triadha in Eleia.¹⁰⁷⁰

A clear preference looks to exist for gold and glass paste at Perati, Ialysos and Naxos, while at Langada and Pilona faience seems to be the norm.

One problem was encountered in creating Chart 5.2: the number of beads gives a false impression, inflating the apparent total number of neck ornaments. Even so, I have decided to keep matters as they are simply because beads are the most popular find in tombs: this fact has to be brought out. One should bear in mind of course when looking at these tables that many of these beads could have been part of but one necklace.

An interesting situation arises at Kamini on Naxos, where four of the five tombs (the last being a child burial) contained sealstones with animal representations. The relevance of this is not certain. However, it is observable that at Naxos there exists too an apparent popularity for animal figurines (other than oxen), which is only witnessed elsewhere at Perati and Rhodes. Could this show a new preference for animal representations in these particular areas during LH IIIC middle? A further observation witnessed both at Aplomata and Kamini is that the preference for beads or necklaces seen at other sites is not reproduced here.

Clothing Ornaments

Clothing ornaments are the second most numerous class: buttons being the most common type, as can be seen in Chart 5.3. At Perati, 31 out of the 55 sampled tombs are involved: 117 buttons from 28 tombs, all of steatite.¹⁰⁷¹ The next most popular items here, though far fewer, were fibulae, eight from four tombs. Three are of the violin-bow type, four of the arched-bow type and one is a fragmentary example. The examples of fibulae from other locales (including examples from Argos, Naxos, Rhodes and possibly Paros) are all of the arched types. Thus, the arched fibula which becomes popular later in the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods, can be seen to make its appearance in LH IIIC. The most common explanation for this occurrence is a change in fashion beginning in this period. Certain scholars believe that their appearance in “large numbers in northern and central parts of Greece” is due to colder weather in these areas.¹⁰⁷² Many are the theories concerning the origin of these newly introduced dress ornaments: Snodgrass

¹⁰⁶⁸ Iakovides 1970, B 455-456.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Karantzali 2001, 77.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Bikatou 1999, 248 fig. 20.

¹⁰⁷¹ Other tombs in the cemetery dated to LH IIIC early or late contained a few buttons of clay, one of ivory, one of rock crystal, one of glass-paste and four of various other stones. See Iakovides 1970, B 452.

¹⁰⁷² Konstantinidi 2001, 212.

favours a northern Italian origin,¹⁰⁷³ while Desborough originally supported a northern origin,¹⁰⁷⁴ but later seemed to favour a local development from the earlier Mycenaean violin-bow fibula.¹⁰⁷⁵ Their recovery from the sites I examine above does not shed any more light concerning their origin. However it does stress the importance of the change: this begins to occur in dress ornaments already within LH IIIC. During this period the fibulae already begin to display elements such as the mouldings on the ends of the arch, proving that they are being gradually adapted in form.

Other clothing attachments, such as cut-out reliefs, appear to be popular at Aplomata on Naxos: both tombs here contained cut-out reliefs – 86 items in total, including three pierced gold examples, in the form of seated lions. At Kamini as well, four unusual gold plates with representations of a child are a unique find in the Aegean: they clearly have similarities with gold plates of the Eastern Mediterranean and particularly Cyprus.¹⁰⁷⁶ Whether locally produced or imported still remains unknown. At Ialysos, clothing ornaments are less rare, only appearing in four of the nine tombs. All contain steatite buttons, one has a gold band and eight gold rosettes. On Kos four of the seven sampled tombs contained but one to two buttons for the most part.

Hand/Arm Ornaments

Hand ornaments are the third most popular item: mainly finger rings. The preference for these last can be seen clearly in Chart 5.4. At Perati, 31 of the 55 tombs involved contained some type of hand ornament (primarily finger rings): 68 finger rings were recorded, including simple gold and silver examples, but also ones with bezels. At least 38 silver examples were documented, seven of which are with bezels, and 16 gold ones, of which only one had a bezel. At Ialysos, four out of the nine sampled tombs contained hand/arm ornaments: all had finger rings of silver, gold or bronze. Of particular note are those in tombs NT61: one of gold with rows of granulation, two with round bezels and filigree spiral centres and another with a bezel depicting two confronted sphinxes. Tomb NT20 contained an armband.

At Kamini on Naxos, three out of the five tombs contained such ornaments: all were finger rings either in silver or gold; while at Aplomata all three tombs contained finger rings. At Langada, four out of the seven sampled tombs produced material, unusually all of bronze: three had bracelets and the fourth had two simple rings.

Head Ornaments

¹⁰⁷³ Snodgrass 2000, 317.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Desborough 1964, 57.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Desborough 1972, 108.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Vlachopoulos 1999, 308; Karagheorghis 2002, 133, figs 283-284.

Ornaments for the head are the least popular item of jewellery deposited in the LH III C tombs: even when present, they usually take the form of ivory combs, followed by hair spirals and then earrings. The small number of such ornaments can be seen in Chart 5.5. Of the 55 tombs at Perati with jewellery, only 15 contain any type of head ornament: 21 items in all, of which ten are ivory combs. The remaining pieces include numerous gold hair spirals as well as one bronze and one silver spiral. At Ialysos, seven out of the nine tombs contain at least one item of head ornamentation: a distinct increase. These include gold and silver hair spirals, as well as gold ringlets. In contrast at Langada on Kos, only two out of the nine tombs examined contained head ornaments. Kamini on Naxos provided something a little different: one bone hair pin and one diadem.

From all the above, it becomes clear that in the case of the head ornaments as well, a similarity between Perati and Ialysos can be witnessed, while Kos and Naxos rarely have head ornaments.

The evidence presented above and the information as shown in the tables and charts all reveal a continuation in the custom of depositing valuable items such as jewellery in tombs. However, what does appear to change are the quantities deposited in these tombs.

The main body of evidence examined here has been limited to cemeteries. A few examples of jewellery in settlements, however, indicate how certain ornaments may have been associated with religious activities, as can be seen from the Sanctuary of Phylakopi. Other settlement sites provide little evidence; thus one might conclude that jewellery for the most part in this period is associated with burial and religious contexts only. Be that as it may, the presence of numerous ornaments at Lefkandi is a rare occurrence indeed, almost unheard of in a simple settlement context. Does it imply a relative richness here in this post-palatial phase and the presence perhaps of something more than a “simple settlement”?

Konstantinidi writes that a “gradual decline in the quality and quantity of jewellery is seen in LH III C”.¹⁰⁷⁷ However, in her conclusions she observes:

“It is really unfortunate...that most of the extended cemeteries known belonged to the upper classes...it seems that people of the lower social classes were probably buried in the pit and smaller chamber tombs found ~~at~~ some distance from the centres; these tombs have hardly produced any valuable grave goods such as jewellery, armour or metal vessels in the early phases; it is only towards the end of the Bronze Age when the central ruling system broke into many smaller peripheral ones, that we find in such tombs jewellery, mainly of glass or semi-precious stones”. (2001, 252-253)

¹⁰⁷⁷ Konstantinidi 2001, 212.

This statement encapsulates the main problem encountered in LH III C, especially when comparing its associated finds with those of the previous periods. A broad statement that can be made when comparing the finds of LH III A-LH III B with those of the post-palatial period is that graves look to contain more valuable goods in the earlier period, and thus by contrast that the tombs in III C are poorer. However, such a statement would be somewhat skewed: it is mainly elite-class tombs of the earlier periods that are involved, whilst during III C a different set is concerned. It is generally presumed that the elite classes which existed and governed in the palatial periods grew weaker and perhaps even disappeared completely within LH III C. Relatively rich finds, though, are still seen in III C tombs, specifically at Perati and Kamini: it is probably incorrect to simplistically refer to the finds as “poorer” or “less in quality”, if one accepts that probably two different social classes are being compared. Moreover I would expect that if one examined closely tombs of earlier dates found at the periphery of the palatial centres, (i.e. those belonging to non-elite persons), and compared their contents with those of LH III C, one would actually find jewellery of greater quality and quantity in the III C tombs. Furthermore the statement that jewellery within III C tombs is “mainly of glass or semi-precious stones” is slightly inaccurate: it seems to ignore the numerous items of gold, silver and other precious materials which are found within tombs of III C middle.

Chapter 6 Weaponry

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Typology

6.3 Archaeological Evidence

6.4 Iconography

6.5 Function

6.6 Comment

The evidence for weaponry from the selected LH IIIc contexts is limited. A summary typology of swords and daggers, based primarily on research conducted by Sandars in the early 1960s and more recent work by Kilian-Dirlmeier published in early 1990s, will first be presented below. There follows a similar abbreviated typology of spears and lances, produced by Höckmann in 1980.

Next a closer examination of the relevant weapons will be made: the evidence is limited for the most part to burials, with a few knives/daggers from settlement contexts, but these last are more probably of everyday use. A consideration of iconography depicting warriors is undertaken to better understand the use of contemporary armour and weaponry. Finally, from all this, an interpretation of military conduct in LH IIIc will be attempted.

Before presenting the actual LH IIIC middle examples, the typological variations devised by scholars must be set forth. There are difficulties in deciding which typology is most applicable. For knives, the criteria are based on the shape and length of blade, the number and placing of rivets and the presence/absence of flanges on the haft/handle area. Sandars' typology for one-edged knives is here preferred: from her six classes of knives, the only IIIC examples come from Type 1.¹⁰⁷⁸ In the case of swords, typological distinctions are based on differences in the shoulder area, the riveting and flanging either on the handle or shoulder area, and in certain cases on aspects of blade shape and decoration. The typological studies of Sandars¹⁰⁷⁹ and Kilian-Dirlmeier¹⁰⁸⁰ seem to be the most coherent. Since few variations between them were encountered, a combination of the two systems seems the most practical way forward.

In the case of spears and lances the typologies are much more varied and harder to combine. Snodgrass' typology (embracing 21 variations) for early Greek weaponry is based on a combination of differences including socket length, blade shape, presence and shape of midrib and the shape of the shoulders. Regrettably, this very number of variables actually makes it difficult to place a particular example in a specific type. Therefore, reference will be made to his typology simply for comparative purposes. Höckmann's classification¹⁰⁸¹ on the other hand is slightly clearer (with 12 main types, and a number of sub-variations), though the criteria used to define a particular type are not uniformly applied throughout. Thus, he makes critical the socket shape (for Types A and B), the blade shape (for Types E, F and G) and the comparative lengths of spearhead and spear socket (for Types C and D). Despite these reservations, his typology is used here for the broad classification of spears and lances.

Sandars' knife typology

Sandars has six classes of knives: mostly single-edged, also including some with two. As observed above, the few Late Helladic IIIC examples relevant to this study are of the Type 1 class: they include both Types 1a with no flanges on the haft and 1b with flanges.¹⁰⁸²

¹⁰⁷⁸ Sandars 1955.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Sandars 1961; Sandars 1963.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993.

¹⁰⁸¹ Höckmann 1980.

¹⁰⁸² Sandars 1955, 175-179.

Kilian-Dirlmeier's and Sandars' sword typologies (Table 6.1)

Two articles – “The First Aegean Swords”¹⁰⁸³ and “Late Aegean Bronze Swords”¹⁰⁸⁴ – by Sandars in the 1960s laid the foundation on which all later typologies are based. She divided the weapons into 11 Types: A-H, with C, D and E each containing two sub-categories. The Late Bronze Age swords (Types C-H) are classified by criteria involving differences in riveting, flanging and the form of the shoulder.

Kilian-Dirlmeier has produced the most recent typological study in 1992.¹⁰⁸⁵ Her divisions share attributes presented by Sandars, by Karo for his early Types A and B, and even by Naue for European swords. Two main categories are proposed: swords with flat handles (*Griffplattenschwerter*) and those with rounded (tongue) handles (*Griffzungenschwerter*). Of interest in the Late Helladic IIIC period are the Horn-shaped swords (*Hörnerschwerter*), the Cruciform-shaped swords (*Kreuzschwerter*), swords of Sandars' Type F (*Schwerter der Klasse F nach Sandars*) and round-handled swords of the Naue II type (*Griffzungenschwerter vom Typ Naue II*). The variant features of these types can be seen in Table 6.1.

Höckmann spear/lance typology (Table 6.2)

Höckmann's typology is divided into 12 main categories (A-I, K-M) and further subdivided.¹⁰⁸⁶ Late Helladic IIIC examples exist for his Types C, D, F, K and L. A summary of these types and their variants can be seen in Table 6.2.¹⁰⁸⁷

¹⁰⁸³ Sandars 1961.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Sandars 1963.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Höckmann 1980.

¹⁰⁸⁷ The following text will refer indiscriminately to spears or spearheads, without considering whether these objects belonged to a spear or a javelin. Without knowing the length of the shafts it is almost impossible to say what type of weapon they belong to.

Weapons found in middle LH III C contexts here examined are so limited in number that any statements about general preferences are worthless. Rather the various types found will be discussed to see if any patterns are present, from which might be evaluated the continuation or not of Mycenaean military practices. The appearance of new types of weaponry is reviewed as well.

ATTICA

The evidence here comes from the cemetery of Perati: a number of swords, knives, pommels and spearheads are dated to LH III C.¹⁰⁸⁸ Thus, seven bronze knives, two iron knives, four pommels, one spearhead and two swords come from some 13 tombs: three of these (Tombs 12, 38 and 137) each contained a knife and sword, while the other tombs yielded but single objects.

Two bronze swords, M86 and M52, were found at Perati. M86, at 40.6 cm long, was found in Tomb 38 along with a small iron knife: it is of the Sandars and Kilian-Dirlmeier Type F (fig. 6.1). It has a “very deep flange and a narrow pommel...and the blade has four narrow ribs running down the middle in place of the midrib”.¹⁰⁸⁹ This type of blade decoration places the sword in Kilian’s F2B category. It has a characteristically T-shaped pommel and square shoulders; two rivet holes are found on the shoulder area, while four others are located on the handle, two of which are decorative. M52, at 58.2 cm in length, comes from Tomb 12, along with a bronze knife with a bird-head handle: it is of the Sandars’ Type G and Kilian-Dirlmeier Horn-shaped Type 2b (fig. 6.2). Its T-shaped pommel has a narrow base with traces of gold foil; the handle has fragments of three ivory plates on each side held together with four rivets; and the shoulder area has the characteristic horn-shaped extensions facing downward of Sandars’ Type G. The blade is leaf-shaped with a curved back, and decorated with triple bands running parallel with the sides of the blade, which narrows along the last third of its length.¹⁰⁹⁰

Of the nine knives, most appear to be utilitarian in function: the best examples are from M13 (Tomb 1), M72 (Tomb 21), M75 (Tomb 28) and M188 (Tomb 137). They have a narrow, slightly curved blade and a straight back (fig. 6.3). Iakovides believes a number of examples are based on foreign prototypes: M26 (Tomb Σ2), he considers to be

¹⁰⁸⁸ As is the case with many of the tombs, it is not certain if the metal finds belong definitely to III C middle. In the case of Perati we can assume that they all belong to LH III C. Some are definitely III C middle (Tomb 123 with spear and knife and Tomb 10 with a knife), although others may be III C early, middle or late.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Sandars 1963, 135.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Iakovides 1970, 359-360; Sandars 1963, 139; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 49.

Egyptian in form, and M176 (Tomb Σ49), is clearly Eastern with similar examples found in Palestine, Egypt and Syria (fig. 6.4). Both these knives are believed to be utilitarian in purpose rather than offensive: used perhaps for cutting leather and textiles.¹⁰⁹¹ Three other examples, M53 (Tomb 12), M75 and M85 (Tomb 38) (fig. 6.5), are believed to be imports from Syria.¹⁰⁹² M53 is noteworthy for its bird-head handle, so too is the iron knife M85 with its sharp-angled blade ending in a curve with the cutting-edge on the inside.¹⁰⁹³ Both these knives were found in tombs with swords. One final knife worth noting is M136, found outside Tomb 89 (fig. 6.6). It has a triangular curved blade with an unusual twisted-rope handle, ending in a loop.¹⁰⁹⁴ A similar type to this comes from a hoard found at Mycenae in 1890.¹⁰⁹⁵

Four pommel fragments were found, one each in Tombs 13, 24, 137 and 165 (fig. 6.7). Two, Λ151 (Tomb 165) and Λ265 (Tomb 137), hemispherical in shape, were made of a soft stone. Another, Δ40 (Tomb 13), believed to be from a knife, was made of ivory: slightly conical in shape, it carries circular and triangular zoned decoration. Iakovides cites similar examples from Mycenae and Dendra, but these are undecorated. Δ61 (Tomb 24) is cylindrical and made of bone.¹⁰⁹⁶

A spearhead, M153 (fig. 6.8), was found in Tomb 123. It has a conical-shaped socket and a leaf-shaped blade; it was probably used for hunting. Similar examples cited by Iakovides come from Crete, Kos and Rhodes and are mostly dated from MM II-LH IIIB.¹⁰⁹⁷ Höckmann has it as Type D, with a drop-shaped blade and a socket shorter than the head.¹⁰⁹⁸ One major difference between this example and his Type A is the rounded midrib of the actual item rather than the flat midrib as defined. In size and general shape, however, there is a correspondence. A similar piece can be found in Catling's study of a number of bronzes in the Ashmolean Museum: 7 in his catalogue is similar in shape and size to the Perati example.¹⁰⁹⁹

EUBOEA

¹⁰⁹¹ Iakovides 1970, 347.

¹⁰⁹² Iakovides 1970, 348.

¹⁰⁹³ Iakovides 1970, 343-345.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Iakovides 1970, 346.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Sandars 1963, 135-136, pl. 25.38.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Iakovides 1970, 349-350.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Iakovides 1970, 357-358.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Höckmann 1980, 33, 136 n. D44; For Sandars it is a Type H spear, from the Siana group, characterized by the "faceting of the socket and the marked splay of the facets at the base of the blade" see Sandars 1963, 140, pl. 27.55; Snodgrass includes it in his Type A spears, categorized by a "longish socket, leaf shaped blade, a wide flat midrib running right to the tip... and sloping shoulders" see Snodgrass 1964, 116.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Catling 1968, 92-93, fig. 2.7.

Two bronze knives and one of iron have been found at the relevant levels of the settlement at Lefkandi-Xeropolis¹¹⁰⁰. (fig. 6.9) Only one bronze knife is illustrated: it resembles Sandars' Type 1b, as it appears to have flanges down the handle/haft area.¹¹⁰¹ The iron knife recalls M85 from Perati and one from Kamini Tomb A. Characteristic is the upward-turned tip, although in the Lefkandi example this is less drastically so than that from Perati. A further distinguishing attribute is the bronze attachments, such as the riveting on the Lefkandi example.¹¹⁰²

MELOS

A bronze knife and a number of arrowheads were found in the Sanctuary at Phylakopi (fig. 6.10). The first, 828, was found in the East Shrine in the area of the Platform. Of Sandars' Type 1a, it has three rivet holes on the handle and but little differentiation between the handle and the blade.¹¹⁰³ Both arrowheads are of Büchholz's VIIc Type with tang, central rib and two barbs. 820 was found in the same context as the knife, while 1535 comes from the area of the North-west platform of the West Shrine.¹¹⁰⁴

PAROS

Two spearheads (fig. 6.11) were found at the settlement of Koukounaries.¹¹⁰⁵ They are of Höckmann's Type H with the blade continuing almost unnoticed into the socket.¹¹⁰⁶ A number of arrowheads are mentioned as well as a double axe. However there are no illustrations or descriptions of these.¹¹⁰⁷

NAXOS

From the cemeteries of Kamini and Aplomata come a number of weapons. From the Kamini tombs are two swords, three spearheads and three knives; from Aplomata, a sword and two ivory pommels.

All three swords recovered are of the Naue II type (fig. 6.12). One was a fragment found out of context at Kamini; the complete examples are from Tomb A at Aplomata and Tomb A at Kamini: both are of Kilian-Dirlmeier's Type C, Variant 2 – Naue II swords with a pommel-tang extension and a blade with parallel sides.¹¹⁰⁸

¹¹⁰⁰ Popham and Sackett 1968, 13. A plaque of bone to construct hafts for tools and knives has also been documented from the settlement. (Personal communication from Don Evely)

¹¹⁰¹ Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 19; Sandars 1955, 177-179.

¹¹⁰² Iakovides 1970, 348

¹¹⁰³ Renfrew 1985, 313, fig. 8.6.828; Sandars 1955, 175-177.

¹¹⁰⁴ Büchholz and Karagheorghis 1973, 48.

¹¹⁰⁵ Schilardi 1979, 160, figs 9, 11.

¹¹⁰⁶ Schallin 1993, 143; Höckmann 1980.

¹¹⁰⁷ Schilardi 1979, 160; Schallin 1993, 141-142.

¹¹⁰⁸ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 97, Tafel 36 nos. 242-243.

The two bronze knives from Kamini appear to be utilitarian. No images of these are supplied either in the early excavation reports or in Vlachopoulos' study of the Kamini material. Vlachopoulos compares them to M75 and M188 from Perati (with the triangular blade of Sandars' Type 1a).¹¹⁰⁹ The third example from tomb A at Kamini is an iron knife with bronze attachments. Again this is not illustrated, but based on the description given by the excavator one could argue that it belongs to the same sort as both Perati M85 and the iron example with bronze rivets from Euboea.¹¹¹⁰

The three spearheads from Kamini Tomb Δ are of three different types. None are pictured. 3570 is described by Vlachopoulos as having a conical socket with a small leaf-shaped blade with a relief midrib: it belongs to Höckmann's Type K.¹¹¹¹ 3571, found in an area of ash, also has a leaf-shaped spearhead, but a longer socket ending in a moulded ring. It is of Höckmann's Type C.¹¹¹² Finally 3572 is a conical sauroteer/butt-spike used to plant the spear in the ground: it is of Höckmann's Type L.¹¹¹³

RHODES

Two knives were recovered from Tomb 4 at Pilona. The first is a one-edged knife of Sandars Ib Type (fig. 6.13). This example departs a little from the norm in that it has three rivet holes on the haft/handle area. Another in the same tomb is believed to be a toilet knife, perhaps similar in function to the twisted-handle example from Perati, M136. It has a leaf-shaped blade with two edges and a rounded point. The haft, which is cylindrical, was probably inserted into a wooden or ivory handle. It is believed to have accompanied a female burial.¹¹¹⁴

Oddly, no swords are known from the LH IIIC tombs at Ialysos, although an ivory pommel could have been from one such. Two knives are documented from tombs XV and XXXII (fig. 6.14). Knife 26 from Tomb XV is of Sandars Ib Type, with a convex curved blade and a wooden grip on the handle/haft area.¹¹¹⁵ An odd feature here is that the haft ends in a riveted ring. The other knife, 62 from Tomb XXXII, is a double-edged knife of Sandars' Type 1a.¹¹¹⁶ A bronze double axe of Büchholz Type IV was found in Tomb 70.¹¹¹⁷

KOS

¹¹⁰⁹ Vlachopoulos 1995, 182.

¹¹¹⁰ Zapheiroopoulos 1966, 332.

¹¹¹¹ Vlachopoulos 1995, 174.

¹¹¹² Vlachopoulos 1995, 175.

¹¹¹³ Vlachopoulos 1995, 176-178.

¹¹¹⁴ Karantzali 2001, 71.

¹¹¹⁵ Maiuri 1923-24, 175, fig. 101; Mee 1982, 45; Sandars 1955, 193.

¹¹¹⁶ Maiuri 1923-24, 181, fig. 106; Sandars 1955, 190.

¹¹¹⁷ Maiuri 1923-24, 285; Mee 1982, 45; Büchholz 1959, 47.

Two spearheads and a bronze sword were excavated, either from Tomb 6 or 7, in the cemetery at Eleona.¹¹¹⁸ Both these tombs have interments from earlier periods and thus can be dated to LH IIIB-LH IIIC. The sword is of Kilian-Dirlmeier's Cruciform-shaped Type Ie (fig. 6.15). It has a pommel-tang extension with a rivet hole, and two further rivet holes in the shoulder area below the cross-piece of the hilt.

Both the spearheads are of Höckmann's Type F. One is more or less leaf-shaped with a flat midrib (fig. 6.16).¹¹¹⁹ The other spearhead is described by Iakovides as having a "similar shape and size" to the Perati one¹¹²⁰ (fig. 6.17). However, a closer look reveals a couple of features which differ between the two: the most obvious are the flat midrib, the rivet hole in the socket and also the slightly angled blade of the one from Kos – all characteristics of Höckmann's Type F. One other example from Tomb 4 or 5, of Höckmann's Type H, could be dated to LH IIIC, although the pottery in the tomb ranges from LH IIIA-LH IIIC. It is long in the blade, with almost parallel sides and a flat midrib.¹¹²¹

Tomb 15 at Langada has a spearhead of Höckmann's Type C. This tomb contains pottery from LH IIIA2, and moreover none of the LH IIIC pottery is dated to the middle phase. Even so this spear, according to Höckmann, is probably IIIC in date.¹¹²² Finally, Tomb 34 at Langada contains a number of bronze arrowheads probably dated to LH IIIC (fig. 6.18).¹¹²³ They are of Büchholz Type VII, similar to those from Phylakopi.

¹¹¹⁸ Jacopi 1930-1931, 183-187.

¹¹¹⁹ Its form corresponds to Snodgrass' Type A, and (unlike the Perati example) has the flat and wide midrib so characteristic of this type.

¹¹²⁰ Iakovides 1970, 358-359

¹¹²¹ Höckmann 1980, 144 H13.

¹¹²² Maiuri 1923-24, 120, fig. 102 right; Höckmann 1980, 133 C20.

¹¹²³ Morricone 1965-66, 165

Another good resource for understanding warfare and weapons in the Bronze Age is the iconography of combat scenes on pottery and some other classes of finds. Enough is extant to reach some sorts of conclusions concerning the manner of fighting in this period. It is worth pointing out that Karagheorghis' and Vermeule's 1982 publication *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* reveals an interesting chronological distribution for pottery decorated with chariot, horses or soldiers.¹¹²⁴ During the Late Helladic IIIB period there is little: four sherds with chariots and three with horses. But thenceforth the numbers steadily increase. Thus in the transitional period between Late Helladic IIIB and IIIC, nine sherds with chariots and soldiers are documented, three with horses and ten with soldiers. During Late Helladic IIIC there are 41 sherds with chariots and soldiers, and 22 sherds with soldiers.

A synopsis of these last sorts of representations follows. Two main sets are reviewed: armour such as helmets, greaves and shields, and weapons such as swords/daggers,¹¹²⁵ spears/lances and bows and arrows.

Defensive Armour

Most scenes include figures that are clearly soldiers of some kind: elements of warrior dress are visible, including greaves and short tunics, as well as more obvious accoutrements such as helmets and shields. All are valuable to this study because currently evidence is lacking for the more perishable of these types of armour.

Common to nearly all the soldier representations are the corselet, short tunic/skirt, greaves and travelling boots. The short tunic/skirts may vary in length: most examples being hip or upper thigh height such as in XI.18, XI.42 and XI.49, while others end just above the knee such as in XI.59 (fig. 6.19). The greaves are standard in their execution: two bands usually represent the greave ties, while the greaves themselves are usually painted solid. They can be seen on a number of examples including XI.3, XI.18, XI.38, XI.39, XI.42, XI.49 and XI.59 (fig. 6.20). Travelling boots are also usually rendered as either being of solid material such as on XI.16, decorated with hatching such as in XI.42 or left undecorated such as in XI.28 (fig. 6.21).

The majority of soldiers have clear indications of helmets. In the LH IIIC examples a number of different types are portrayed. The "hedgehog" type is the most common, with variations such as those with cheek pieces (fig. 6.22). Such helmets,

¹¹²⁴ Karagheorghis and Vermeule 1982.

¹¹²⁵ Swords, knives and daggers will not be distinguished here: often they differ in length by a mere 10-15 cm, which cannot be represented in a small-scale drawing. If anything, the iconographic representations of bladed weapons all appear to represent swords rather than knives.

according to Karageorghis and Vermeule, “began circulating in the thirteenth century”.¹¹²⁶ LH III C examples are seen in XI.1B, XI.42, XI.45, Kynos.1 and Tiryns.1. Another sort is a rounded helmet or cap (fig. 6.23). An LH III C example can be seen on XI.31. Then there are the occasional unique examples, such as those (fig. 6.24) on the Warrior Vase from Mycenae, XI.42, which are “peaked fore and aft-deerstalker caps...peaking into a triangular or cup-shaped socket, from the back of which a reserved plume with a central wavy line floats down to the back rim of the helmet or ear level”.¹¹²⁷ Another rare type is seen on XI.8 and Tiryns.2 – both representations of a figure wearing a plumed helmet (fig. 6.25). The example on sherd XI.8 appears to also have a protective collar.

Another common accompaniment in many scenes is the shield (fig. 6.26). Three types are shown in LH III C instances. The round, commoner type is seen on XI.1B, XI.28, XII.29 and Kynos.1 left. Another type, seen only on the Warrior Vase, XI.42, consists of round shields with an arc cut from the bottom edge. A rare type, of Hittite origin, can be seen on sherds and Kynos.1 right.¹¹²⁸ They are rectangular shields with arcs cut out at the sides for the arms.

Offensive Weaponry

The most commonly represented weapon on Late Helladic III C pottery is that of a long, hafted pole arm or staff weapon such as lances, javelins and spears (fig. 6.27). Examples of soldiers with such lances or javelins are seen either on chariots, such as on Tiryns.2, marching or stationary such as on XI.44, XI.42 and XII.29 (javelins or spears), or in action, such as on XI.42 left, and Kynos.1, where they are clearly meant to be spears.

Only a few cases have representations of swords (fig. 6.28): XI.39, XI.49, XI.59 and Kynos.2. XI.39 and XI.59 show soldiers bearing a short, tasselled sword at the waist; XI.40 represents a soldier with sword raised high in hand; while Kynos.2 represents a battle scene with swords and shields. Distinguishing between a sword and dagger is difficult: the scale of the drawing means that it is hard to tell apart a dagger of 35 cm in length and a sword of 50 cm.

The bow and arrow is the least represented weapons: only one documented example is known – an archer from Iolkos (fig. 6.29). A figure stands on what appears to be the back of a chariot, bow and arrow in hand. It is unclear whether this figure is a soldier, or whether he is hunting.

¹¹²⁶ Karageorghis and Vermeule 1982, 132.

¹¹²⁷ Karageorghis and Vermeule 1982, 131.

¹¹²⁸ Dakoronia 1999.

The above points have examined the iconography and the archaeological finds as weapons pure and simple. Can other functions be attributed to them? Three main contending viewpoints with regard to swords present themselves: as weapons, as prestige items and as ritual objects.¹¹²⁹ It is agreed that spears and the bow and arrow were used as weapons either for hunting or for battle. Knives, as discussed above, could be used as weapons or be utilitarian, but can also fall under the heading of prestige or ritual objects. The same applies to swords, which in addition to being functional weapons, may also have prestige and/or ritual affinities.

The most logical assumption here is that objects with elaborate decoration have the potential to be considered as prestige objects. Few examples, however, exist and none of them III C in date, where the decoration is such as to adversely affect the efficaciousness of the weapon.¹¹³⁰ Having said this of course, it should be noted that a number of knives and swords could fulfil both roles. A good example of such is the knife from Perati, M53 with its duck-head handle. This object, clearly influenced by eastern concepts, if not imported, could be seen as a prestige object, but yet maintaining its utilitarian function.¹¹³¹ So far as the swords are concerned, understanding is here impeded by the fact that only a few tombs contain them and for none do we have any anthropological data: as a result we cannot say whether the bearer of the sword was likely, or not, to have been an active warrior – or whether the association of them with swords is due to some other factor(s).¹¹³² We can conclude, however, that the presence of objects such as swords, which are few in number in this period, demonstrates some scale of prestige and wealth.

Swords and knives with clear cult affiliations are more difficult still to distinguish. Depictions of cult scenes from earlier periods quite often include renditions of swords and knives, either as votive offerings or as implements for sacrificing an animal.¹¹³³ Such can be seen on sealstone 980 found in Tomb B of Aplomata, where a figure holding a sword and spear is involved in some kind of sacrificial ritual.¹¹³⁴ Unfortunately, none of the representations on pottery depict such scenes. The only other possible evidence for cult use of weaponry in III C is a bronze knife found in the platform area of the East Shrine at the Sanctuary of Phylakopi. Accordingly, the evidence as we

¹¹²⁹ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 131-151.

¹¹³⁰ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 145.

¹¹³¹ Iakovides 1982, 226.

¹¹³² Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 146.

¹¹³³ Earlier representations of such scenes can be seen on many seal stones from Crete, as well as frescoes such as that from the Fresco Room at Mycenae. See Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 132-134, specifically pls 70.27 and 72.43.

¹¹³⁴ Kardara 1977, 6-7, pl. 6a-b.

have it indicates that for the most part the swords, knives and spears should be seen to have functioned primarily as weapons.

The distribution examined above shows a clear preference for the deposition of swords and spears in tombs, Ialysos being the one exception to this.¹¹³⁵ Settlements for the most part do not have many examples of weapons: what predominate here are knives, probably intended for utilitarian purposes, such as those found at Lefkandi and Phylakopi. A number of arrowheads came from Koukounaries and Phylakopi.

Perati has the most finds: knives are frequent, most examples serving practical purposes; it is odd that only one spearhead and no Naue II-type swords were found at Perati. The richness of weaponry from the few tombs at Kamini and Aplomata on Naxos could indicate either the importance of this island in this period and/or the presence of chief figures deemed to be warriors.

The Naue II-type sword (the so-called Griffzungenschwert) is the most popular sort – with three examples from Naxos and one from Kos. The blade and all the hilt were cast as one, making it stronger than other swords which were composites. The hilt has a flat tang and four flanges which curl over at the edges. This last feature permitted the better fitting of the hilt-pieces of bone or wood, attached too by rivets through the tang. With such a hilt “the warrior could be confident that his blade would not bend from the tang, nor his hilt-pieces loosen”.¹¹³⁶ All these features which strengthen the sword make it clear that it was intended for slashing rather than jabbing or stabbing.

Many scholars have discussed the origin of this sword-form, attempting to relate its appearance with the destructions which occur at the end of LH IIIB and with the arrival of foreigners. Cowen and Catling both agreed that the Naue II-type sword had a central and northern European origin; Dickinson seemed to favour an Italian origin.¹¹³⁷ Kilian-Dirlmeier rightly points out that there are differences between the European Naue II and the Aegean examples, and – most importantly – that the flange-hilted swords were known in the Aegean before the Naue II first appears. Accordingly, she believes that the Naue II swords are quite likely to be a local adaptation of the European cut-and-thrust swords.¹¹³⁸

What brought this type of sword to the Aegean in this period has also been discussed by many scholars. Catling suggests three possible sets of circumstances: they were traded, they were brought by barbarian invaders or they were brought by barbarian mercenaries enlisted by hard-pressed Mycenaean princes at a time of great

¹¹³⁵ This lack of evidence at Ialysos is odd considering the number of tombs that were used in this period and given the wealth of finds of LH IIIC date on Rhodes.

¹¹³⁶ Drews 1993, 194.

¹¹³⁷ Catling 1961, 118; Cowen 1966, 207-214; Dickinson 1994, 197.

¹¹³⁸ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 102-105.

disturbance.¹¹³⁹ It is this final possibility he favours in the end. Other scholars however prefer a local Aegean production, without necessarily ruling out an influence from Northern or Central Europe.¹¹⁴⁰ Within LH IIIC the Naue II sword becomes the most frequent sword type; by the Protogeometric period it is the only sword type.¹¹⁴¹ Moreover, “in the N. East, and Europe from Italy and the Balkans to Britain and the Scandinavia, the Naue II remained the standard sword until at least the 7th century”.¹¹⁴² Other types of swords are few in number: they include Kilian-Dirlmeier’s Type F, the Horn-shaped Type 2b and the Cruciform-shaped Type Ic, all of which are found in the earlier phases of LH IIIC.

Finally, it is worth noting the high number, 8, of spearheads recovered: Perati (1), Paros (2), Naxos (3) and Kos (2).¹¹⁴³ They are of Höckmann’s Types C, D, F, H, K and L: there does not seem to be a preference in the type of spear used in this period.

The iconography provides some analogous evidence, but some departures too. Spears are most frequently seen, which seems to basically agree with the physical evidence. Knives, which are most common in the graves, are anyway difficult to identify in drawings, and seem absent. This could simply be due to the fact that the knives found in tomb contexts are utilitarian in use rather than military. The sword, for which six examples exist (from Perati, Eleona, Kamini and Aplomata), is only shown on four sherds. Two have it (or a dagger) attached to the waist, with both soldiers in motion and engaged in some kind of activity, perhaps throwing or using a spear. Could this show the first phase of battle, as Kilian points out, during which time the spear is used, to be followed, if the exchange or duelling with the spears is unsuccessful, with closer combat, using swords and daggers? The example from Tiryns shows a soldier, in hedgehog helmet, about to use his sword, which is raised high in his hand. The sea-fight from Kynos (Kynos.2) is the only real example of a true battle-scene with swords.

The most obvious difference between the two sets of evidence is of course in the defensive armour such as shields and helmets. Almost always represented in the iconography, they but rarely, and in the case of LH IIIC never, appear in the archaeological record.

The combination of weapons throughout the Bronze Age is of interest too. Kilian-Dirlmeier discusses this aspect, specifically those of (i) the sword and knife, (ii) sword and spear and (iii) sword, knife and spear. From LH I-LH IIIB these combinations

¹¹³⁹ Catling 1964, 121; Desborough also finds this theory attractive, see 1972, 308.

¹¹⁴⁰ Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 264; Catling in an earlier article also seems to favour this idea, see Catling 1956, 125.

¹¹⁴¹ Lemos 2002, 117.

¹¹⁴² Drews 1993, 194.

¹¹⁴³ One more possible IIIC example comes from Tomb 15 at Langada on Kos.

predominate in the archaeological record.¹¹⁴⁴ In LH IIIC middle, only Perati and Naxos have evidence for such.¹¹⁴⁵ A further permutation is described by Höckmann: that of a pair of spears. This type of grouping is seen in Kamini Tomb Δ, with three blades, and possibly at Eleona in Tomb 6 or 7. Iconographic examples of this type of combination are rare, but are seen on two sherds from Tiryns: Tiryns.1 and Tiryns.2. Both examples depict warriors on chariots, implying that this pairing of two javelins is connected with chariot warfare.¹¹⁴⁶ Might one therefore consider that military tactics underwent a change in the periods following the destructions of the main palatial centres?

Swords characteristic of LH IIIC are primarily those used for slashing rather than stabbing. Only that from Kos, possibly earlier in date, is slender enough to have been used primarily as a stabbing sword. The other examples, including Sandars' Types F, G and the Naue II sword, are wider swords and so intended for slashing.¹¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, evidence of heavier and longer-hafted arms, such as lances, used mainly in chariot warfare, is completely missing from the archaeological record. Rather we have evidence of javelins and spears, employed both for throwing (combat at a distance) and for thrusting (close combat). Arrows are almost completely missing in the archaeological evidence. Basically speaking, close-combat weapons seem to predominate in this post-palatial period. Drews locates "the period of transition from chariot to infantry warfare precisely in the decades of the Catastrophe".¹¹⁴⁸ The evidence examined above appears to agree with this theory. The Pictorial pottery as well seems to agree with this as there are no representations of combat from afar. The exception of the Kynos examples may be due to the fact that they represent sea-battles.

Does this evidence tell us anything about the frequency of warfare in this post-palatial period? The definite increase in IIIC of Pictorial pottery with battle or warrior scenes could argue for more frequent conflict, occurring in this period following the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. This in turn could imply that a larger portion of the population was now involved in battle than before, and that such concerns were predominant in this period. The evidence of the tombs of LH IIIC however, does not bear this notion out – there are not many weapons interred with the dead. So – do these representations recall a historic past? Or do they represent current events – but in a time of such hardship that armour and weaponry were too valuable to be deposited in tombs?

¹¹⁴⁴ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 140-141, Tables 27-29.

¹¹⁴⁵ At Perati, Tombs 12 and 38 each contained a knife and sword. On Naxos, Tomb D at Kamini contained three spears. At Eleona on Kos there is a possible combination of a sword and two spears, although the find spots are uncertain (either tomb 6 or 7). Other possible examples of such can be inferred from the presence of pommels in tombs 13, 24, 137 and 165 at Perati, tombs A and B at Kamini on Naxos and tomb 32 at Ialysos on Rhodes.

¹¹⁴⁶ Iconographic examples include Tiryns.1 and Tiryns.2 with two spears.

¹¹⁴⁷ Drews 1993, 206.

¹¹⁴⁸ Drews 1993, 209.

Unfortunately these questions cannot be answered from the archaeological evidence available.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Summary of Regions

7.3 Interconnections

7.4 Economic and Social Changes

7.5 Continuity and Change

The following chapter will present some concluding remarks concerning all the material which has been examined in the above chapters. The first section will provide a summary of each region, taking into account all the archaeological evidence. The next section will examine what type of contacts and thus influences can be inferred from the material examined. The section that follows will present some remarks and interpretations on the social and economic conditions prevalent during LH IIIC middle. As was noted in the introduction of this thesis, theoretical models will not be used to interpret the social and economic structures of this period since I believe that a more solid body of evidence is necessary in order to apply such models successfully. The final section will address one of the main issues of this period; whether LH IIIC can be seen as being a continuation of the preceding periods or whether it marks the beginnings of something new.

The following section summarizes the settlement and funerary evidence to create a cohesive picture of Late Helladic IIIC middle.

ARGOLID- Map 16

BURIALS

Interestingly, the large centres such as Mycenae and Tiryns look to continue to use earlier-established cemeteries. More especially so for Mycenae, even though here IIIC middle burials are somewhat limited in number. Here, judging from the considerably reduced use of tombs in LH IIIC, one may conclude that a drop in the population had occurred. At Tiryns the situation is less clear: few of the published tombs of Pr. Ilias contained IIIC middle burials, but the few that do so are re-used ones.

What such a pattern in burial habits might imply is that those buried continued to have ties of some sort, perhaps only in terms of acknowledging their ancestors, with the inhabitants of the LH IIIB or palatial period. Any such connection of course relates to social ties rather than political ones, for those tombs that were re-used were chambered ones and not the wealthier tholoi. Indeed no new tholos tombs are built. The same picture occurs at Palaia Epidauros as well as at Asine, where only two of the chamber tombs used in this period belonged solely to it, although because of the multiple clearings that occurred there even this may be doubted. The pottery from the tombs at Asine however provides evidence that this community flourished in the post-palatial period and appears to have had contacts with areas such as eastern Attica and perhaps even the islands of Naxos, Rhodes and even Crete. These contacts are best illustrated from the numerous octopus stirrup jars found within the tombs at Asine. Another occurrence at Tiryns now, which should not be overlooked and could perhaps hold great importance for the new types of customs emerging at this time, are the numerous intramural burials within the Lower Acropolis.

Burials occupying new burial grounds appear to be only at Argos (on Tripolis St.) and at Chania on the outskirts of Mycenae, not within the great centres of palatial times. Furthermore they are of a new type: tumuli containing cremations. Could this fact indicate the arrival of a group of newcomers to the area, who choose not only to bury their dead in new locations but also to use a different type of burial rite? Both these features argue that these dead did not have relations or ancestral ties to the earlier inhabitants of the Argolid. Having said this, there is no clear indication, at least in terms of associated finds, that those buried in these two cemeteries originated outside of the

Argolid, let alone outside of Greece. Though one could speculate that those cremating their dead belong to a different social class than those inhuming within earlier cemeteries, this unfortunately cannot be further backed up by the archaeological evidence. The only noteworthy find alongside the pottery from Argos is the arched fibula, interestingly also found at Perati, Naxos and Rhodes. Perhaps the publication of the Chania tumulus and the nearby habitation area might shed better light on the origin and the social status of these people.

Therefore, in terms of the funerary evidence, in the Argolid those that still inhabited the areas of the former palatial strongholds continue for the most part to use the earlier chamber tomb cemeteries. Alongside this is some indication of the arrival now of a new group of people unrelated to those there in palatial times who establish new cemeteries. Those using the cemeteries in the Argolid do not seem to be of a higher social class; indeed distinctions in social or political status are in no way as obvious as was seen in earlier periods.

SETTLEMENTS

Numerous destructions occur throughout LH III C in the Argolid; these can be particularly observed at Tiryns and Mycenae. Thus hostilities still continued after the fall of the palaces, but not enough to interrupt habitation in most areas.

At Mycenae the evidence suggests continued habitation in a number of areas within the citadel walls: the Lion Gate, the Granary, the Citadel House Area, the House of Columns, the House of the Warrior Vase, Houses C, D, M, N and H and even some possible use of the megaron/palace area. There are, however, few completely new constructions: for the most part habitation and use occurs in re-used and repaired areas of the citadel. In contrast to this the settlement at Tiryns not only has new constructions during LH III C middle but also experiences the greatest expansion in the site's history in the post-palatial period. What is even more impressive is the use made of the Great Megaron and the construction of Building T which most likely occurs some time in LH III C. On the Lower Acropolis over 30 newly constructed rooms and buildings are erected, many are built over the destruction layers and buildings of LH III B. These comprise groups of household units with various functions such as workshop areas, storage facilities and an important shrine area, all constructed within a unique system of streets and courtyards. On the plain below, both to the north and south, an organized town of houses laid out on a uniform orientation, courtyards and paved areas grew up, covering over 25 hectares. This constitutes Tiryns' greatest expansion from the time of its foundation. The people in the immediate vicinity seemingly flock to the onetime stronghold of Tiryns and inhabit the Lower Town. In this area buildings such as Megaron W, House O and the recently found large building with central colonnade occur. Of

importance too is the apparent religious continuity witnessed at Tiryns, both in the use of Building T and shrine 110/110a in the Lower Acropolis. The wheel-made figures found in the Lower Acropolis shrine are some of the most impressive known in Mycenaean Greece and are indications of a continuation of Mycenaean cult practices.

It is unfortunate that so much less is known for Midea. Definitely some habitation occurs in the area, particularly on the Lower Terraces, where the emphasis appears to be placed on repair and support of the earlier megaron, but it is difficult to be sure about the extent of the overall habitation at the site. What can be said for Tiryns and possibly for Midea is that a new type of layout that includes a central colonnade appears for the re-used megara. Finally, at Asine evidence exists that the settlement was utilized during LH IIIC middle, although this is less clear than for the other sites mentioned above. The best verification is the head of the 'Lord of Asine', which is also important in itself since, as with the figures from Tiryns, its presence implies a continuation of Mycenaean cult practices.

CORINTHIA- Map 16

BURIALS

Corinthia offers no funerary evidence for the middle phase of LH IIIC.

SETTLEMENTS

Unfortunately from Corinthia the evidence is limited to House P at Korakou. Here a megaron-shaped house demonstrates continuous occupation from the transitional period LH IIIB2-IIIC early to the advanced phase of LH IIIC middle. Of particular note are the multiple functions the various rooms of the house arguably had: the possible altar area with benches in the main megaron room is the most significant. The lack of material from the rest of the site make this interpretation somewhat tenuous: we could in fact have here a house with administrative/religious functions, holding an important position within this community.

ATTICA- Map 17

BURIALS

With the exception of the large cemetery at Perati, the funerary evidence of Attica is quite limited. Tombs dating to LH IIIC middle are found scattered in various areas of the city, without any looking to belong to an organised cemetery. Rather, they are individual tombs of earlier date that are re-used now. The impressiveness of the cemetery at Perati cannot be disregarded: 279 tombs, from the transitional period LH IIIB2-IIIC early through to LH IIIC late. 90 chamber tombs and three pit graves date to LH IIIC middle, of which 68 appear to have been originally used in this period; 54 single burials occur as

well as 11 cremations. The evidence from Perati is of a well-off community, but about whose settlement nothing is known. The rich burials with imports, offerings of gold, silver and other precious objects as well as the quality of the pottery which has connections with other coastal areas, particularly the islands of Naxos and Rhodes, all lead to the conclusions that Perati was the cemetery of some of the most important and well off inhabitants of LH IIIC middle.

SETTLEMENTS

In Attica very little evidence for settlement activity remains. The only area on the Acropolis at Athens that contains a definite IIIC middle deposit is the shaft of the fountain on the North Slope and this can only indicate that the area was still being visited during this phase. As with the earlier Mycenaean material, the extent to which the Acropolis was inhabited or used is obscured by later archaic and classical activities. The same observation applies for Thorikos Mine No. 3: some LH IIIC middle pottery implies that the mine continued to be used during this period, but the extent of its habitation or use is unknown.

EUBOEA- Map 17

BURIALS

Very little funerary evidence from the island is dated to this period: the only tomb known comes from Chalkis, utilized from at least LH IIIB and containing some LH IIIC middle pottery. No cemetery is yet associated with the LH IIIC settlement of Xeropolis-Lefkandi, though some of the intramural burials from the site belong to this phase. Whether these represent a significant proportion of the population dying at that time is, of course, not known.

SETTLEMENTS

The settlement of Xeropolis-Lefkandi is large, nearly 500 metres in length and 120 metres broad: the excavated remains reveal three building phases (1, 2 and 3), during which time the settlement undergoes changes in planning and layout whilst maintaining an essential continuity. It is perhaps the best-preserved IIIC settlement excavated to date, and one that looks to cover the entire tell, to judge from the remains recovered wherever a trial trench has been sunk. The careful planning and regularity of Phase 2 at Lefkandi could well indicate both directed organisation and political authority. Whether this was exercised in the form of a ruling figure such as a *wanax* or perhaps *basileus* is less clear. The attributes by which one might hope to identify such a leader have surely changed by LH IIIC, with the earlier collapse of the palatial administrative system. New leaders could now be emerging. It should be noted that as with the Argolid, specifically both Mycenae and Tiryns, evidence exists at Lefkandi too for at least two destructions during LH IIIC.

The presence of many storage facilities in the houses containing foodstuffs such as cereals, figs and olives, could show as Popham states, that a “preoccupation of the inhabitants with storage areas and containers which might suggest hoarding in case of attack”¹¹⁴⁹.

CYCLADES- Map 18

MELOS

BURIALS

Melos offers no funerary evidence for the middle phase of LH IIIC.

SETTLEMENT

Little is known of the nature of the occupation of Phylakopi during the post-palatial period. Presumably at least a certain number of inhabitants continued to occupy the fortified settlement, since the sanctuary shows strong evidence for continued use. Should it turn out that there was but little occupation, then a new question is posed: who were the people that did use the sanctuary, and where did they live?

The evidence shows that the sanctuary not only continues to be used in this period but also contains figures and figurines from earlier times. Certain changes potentially alter to a small degree the function of the various areas of the two shrines – some doorways are closed and some areas fall into disuse. The sanctuary had close ties in the past with the Mainland, and in particular the Argolid, (many of the figures and figurines appear to have been imported from there). With the destruction of the palaces one might perhaps have expected the shrine too to be abandoned. This is not the immediate case, although an abrupt cessation did occur at the end of LH IIIC middle.

PAROS

BURIALS

The only possible burial is at the cave burial site at Koukounaries. The evidence – one unpublished sherd with a tassel – is rather meagre to support a definitely LH IIIC middle date.

SETTLEMENTS

The settlement of the same name is potentially one of the most important during LH IIIC middle: it was founded during LH IIIC. Built on the upper plateau of a large hill on the south-west side of the large Naousa Bay, it has an impressive fortification wall there and other parallel lines of fortification down hill to the south. North of this fortification wall lies the so-called “mansion” of Koukounaries, measuring 22m in length and 16.5 in width

¹¹⁴⁹ Popham and Sackett 1968, 23

(a total space of 363 sq. m). The main plan is based on two corridors, giving access to the various rooms of the basement. The material evidence reveals rooms with varying functions, including a small shrine to the north and a room believed to have functioned as the “administrative room of the high magistrate”.¹¹⁵⁰ The largest concentration of finds comes from the three storage rooms directly behind the fortification wall, which contained among other finds, over 400 fine ware vessels. The location of the site, the ascent of which is very difficult, indicates the clear desire on the part of its inhabitants to choose both an area difficult to get to and one in a strategic location providing a clear view of the harbour below. Could this settlement be a small provincial palace, as Schilardi believes? The richness of the storage facilities of Koukounaries surely indicates that the newcomers were of a high social standing. The finds of pottery and luxury items, as well as the Cyclopean-style fortification, suggest that the settlers at Koukounaries were of Mycenaean background and were “familiar with Mycenaean governmental structures and with a residential style of life”.¹¹⁵¹ Nonetheless destruction also found its way here during LH IIIC, as with other island and mainland sites: destructions so severe that the inhabitants abandoned the site, at least down to the PG period.

NAXOS

BURIALS

Although only seven tombs are dated to LH IIIC from Aplomata and Kamini, they have proven to be some of the wealthiest in all of the areas examined. The three from Aplomata contain multiple interments dated exclusively to LH IIIC. Along with the numerous vessels deposited within are many objects of ornamentation: these include many gold items, such as the 80 gold rosettes found in Tomb B of Aplomata and the four gold plates with the image of a child from Tomb E at Kamini. Other precious objects include silver and gold rings, gold beads and beads of semi-precious stones and numerous sealstones. One should also take note of the two Naue II type swords from Tomb A at Kamini, and the single example beside Tomb A at Aplomata, as well as the bronze spear and a sauroteer in the pyre of Tomb Δ at Kamini. Each and every piece from these two cemeteries is important in that they all show the wealth which this/these community/ies held. It is possible that those buried in the cemeteries of Aplomata and Kamini were an elite group from the settlement of Kamini. Further the pottery from both bears witness to a community that not only had impressive local workshops, but also contacts with other areas in the Aegean such as East Attica, the Argolid, Rhodes and Crete.

SETTLEMENTS

¹¹⁵⁰ Schilardi 1984, 188

¹¹⁵¹ Deger-Jalkotzy 1998, 108

The settlement of Grotta still remains for the most part unpublished. The little information available includes the impressive fortification wall traced for 17.7m (at nearly 3m wide), apparently constructed during LH IIIC. A pottery workshop, with imported kaolinite from Melos for the polishing of the vessels, enriches the picture of a flourishing community. Examination of material of earlier date from Grotta reveals that relations with the Mainland ceased during LH IIIB.¹¹⁵² Could this relaxation of ties have allowed Naxos to flourish more independently in this period?

DODECANESE- Map 19

RHODES

BURIALS

The greatest number of burials comes from the cemetery of Ialysos, where 34 tombs are used during IIIC middle. Just under half are re-used, with mainly LH IIIA burials and showing an interesting gap during LH IIIB. It is clear from the pottery and associated finds such as ornaments placed in the tombs that Ialysos, as with other islands like Naxos and coastal sites like Asine and Perati, enjoyed something of a local flourish during the post-palatial period. Other similarities with Perati are the presence of cremation burials at Ialysos. Other tombs occur both in the northern sites of Kalavarda-Tzitzo and Kalavarda-Aniforos, and at the southern ones of Vati and Piona. None have as many burials as Ialysos, but a few points are worth noting. At Kalavarda-Aniforos an imported stirrup jar from the Argolid was included in the offerings of Tomb 48. At Piona Tomb 4 contained an arched fibula similar to examples from Perati and Naxos, as well as a gold pendant of possible Egyptian origin. From the offerings deposited within the numerous tombs on Rhodes it becomes clear that this island played an important role during LH IIIC in the central and southern Aegean.

SETTLEMENTS

No settlements of this period have been identified on Rhodes. One would expect from the number of burials at Ialysos that the settlement whence the dead originated should be located somewhere to the north of the island.

KOS

BURIALS

The two cemeteries of Eleona and Langada on Kos provide much information now: both show an increase in the number of burials. At Eleona almost all the tombs were utilised earlier, mainly in LH IIIB but also in LH IIIA. Langada, on the other hand, sees more newly-made tombs during LH IIIC early, although here too a number of tombs are re-

¹¹⁵² Cosmopoulos 2004.

used from LH IIIB. The pottery from both proclaims close ties with the pottery from Rhodes, Perati, Naxos and Asine: this is in particularly true for the stirrup jars. The Naue II sword and the two spearheads recovered from possible IIIC contexts are also of interest.

SETTLEMENTS

The fourth city of Serraglio is dated to LH IIIC. Few architectural remains are preserved since the later PG presence played havoc with the IIIC levels. Pottery from this period, similar in style to that recovered from the cemeteries, includes a number of Pictorial vessels. One can detect differences in repertoire from those recovered at the mainland sites of the Argolid. Animals such as goats, birds and fish were favoured, while the human figures are not the warrior types seen from the mainland or even Euboea. Kos perhaps presents the clearest evidence for influence in its pottery style from the East.

KALYMNOS

BURIALS

Evidence for a cemetery at Pothia is limited to a few published vessels. They are comparable to those from Kos and here too a rich Pictorial style is witnessed.

A main point of enquiry for this work has been to establish whether the regions examined can be considered to have been independent of each other or to what extent they maintained contacts and were thus influenced by one another. The material culture examined in the previous chapters (on pottery, figurines, jewellery and weaponry) provides evidence that in this post-palatial phase of the Greek Bronze Age most areas have elements of regionalism but also of contact and interconnections. Similar trends can also be seen in the architecture and the burial customs of this period.

Pottery has been the most informative resource. As Popham states “the pottery... demonstrates that conditions were such as to allow a widespread dissemination of artistic developments of an interchange which, otherwise, would have remained largely unsuspected”.¹¹⁵³ In each region that has been examined certain local characteristics appear in the pottery styles. Simultaneously however, there are elements, quite many in fact, that stress the relations that these areas had during this time.

Section 1.2 provided a summary of the regional characteristics of the pottery, while section 1.5 examined the trends in pottery styles and the use of particular shapes, comparing one area to another. The clearest evidence for interconnections is embodied in items from Perati, Naxos and Rhodes. In these areas there is a preference for particular shapes and motifs that are less popular elsewhere: the box, legged alabastron, lekythos, strainer jug, almond-half rosette and plastic snakes to name the most obvious. The remaining body of material evidence reinforces this observation. The mourning figurines appearing during LH IIIC occur at Perati, Naxos and Rhodes. Here too is seen a preference for non-bovine animal figures. Naxos and Rhodes appear to have closer ties with each other than to East Attica: common features are the duck vase, neck-handled amphora, 4-handled jar, horizontal chevrons, stacked zigzag and double stemmed spiral.

Attica and the Dodecanese, including Kos and Kalymnos, also hold in common specific features: the multiple amphoriskos vase, ring vase and elaborate circles.

These very same areas of East Attica, Naxos and the Dodecanese are the wealthiest now: the tombs are the best endowed with ornaments and jewellery, as fact that indicates these societies were able to part with the wealth of the living by depositing it within tombs and thus taking it out of circulation. The Naue II sword, which one might have hoped to provide further links amongst the areas of this study, appears to be limited to Naxos and Kos only.

¹¹⁵³ Popham 1994, 298.

In providing good quality evidence that this was a period of contacts and exchange, these areas can still, as Desborough proposed, be viewed as a miniature *koine* during LH IIIC middle.

What can be said about other areas within the present study? Here too evidence exists of similarities in pottery styles and customs. Within the Argolid strong links remain between the various settlements. Although there are unique characteristics at each site, particularly if one considers the developments of pottery at Mycenae and Tiryns, all areas still share a common pottery style. The sole exception to this is Asine, which in all probability is due to its coastal location. This has evidence for connections with the miniature *koine* described above and in particular with the pottery of Perati, Naxos and Ialysos: the Octopus style, bivalve, chevron fill, foliate band, fine bands flanked by wide ones and a wide one flanked by thin, to name the most apparent shared characteristics. It seems clear that its location encouraged its inhabitants to have contacts with other areas of the Aegean through trade and activities conducted by sea.

Interestingly, similarities with the pottery style of the Argolid are also seen in the pottery of Euboea. These include simple motifs such as the tassel and scroll, but more obviously involve the Pictorial scenes of the period. In particular, as has been noted in section 1.4, the Euboean style of figurative pottery with the predominance of its warrior scenes has its closest parallels with that of the Argolid. And yet each area still has certain local characteristics – such as the shallow angular bowl found at Mycenae and Tiryns but lacking at Lefkandi, or the conical bowl which appears at Lefkandi and other coastal sites and islands but is lacking at Mycenae. Euboea also appears to have some links with the Dodecanese: such can be seen in the presence of trays and the amphoroid-type crater, and also the numerous animal Pictorial scenes. Finally one should note the iron knife found at the settlement of Xeropolis, which has parallels with the examples from Perati and Naxos. Indeed, if one takes into account the valuable objects and standards of living found at Lefkandi, many awaiting publication, one arguably has a site that could be included amongst the wealthiest known in IIIC, close to Perati, Rhodes and Naxos.

The same remarks can be made about Melos, Athens and Paros. All have local styles; sometimes similarities can be seen with the pottery from the Argolid or Euboea, while in other cases it is with pottery of the islands or Perati.

A few final and broader observations should be made with reference to settlement and burial evidence. The few architectural features shared between the Argolid and Euboea include the use of hearths made of clay, set over a sherd bedding and unbaked clay bins. Elsewhere one can note the impressive fortification walls at Grotta (Mitropolis St.) and

that at Koukounaries. Both these walls were surely constructed by masons or architects with the experience of working on ones similar to the Cyclopean walls of the Argolid. Such types of construction could imply movement of people out of the Argolid in this period to areas presumed to be safer.

The burial evidence provides some relevant data too. The relevance of the cremations within Desborough's miniature *koine*, in this case including Perati, Ialysos and Langada, must still be considered, even though new evidence has come to light elsewhere. As Mee points out "not only do Ialysos and Perati practice cremation but the method of cremation is exactly the same"¹¹⁵⁴. This practice is also found in numerous other areas in this period, such as Achaea and the Argolid. Consequently, whilst this custom can be used to show further parallels between Perati and the Dodecanese, yet it is not limited to these areas alone. An especial emphasis should be placed on the tumuli with cremations in the Argolid. Exactly what their presence might imply remains unclear: it is hoped that the publication of the Chania material will shed some more light on the communications between various areas of the Aegean, and perhaps even further afield, in this post-palatial period.

What becomes evident from the above synopsis is that this was a time when "freer communication allowed developments in one area to be reflected in others, sometimes far distant, though an underlying strong regionalism nevertheless prevails"¹¹⁵⁵. We therefore can say with certainty that although initially badly disturbed by the collapse of the palatial system, the areas that had the resources – access to the sea being the most prominent of these – were able to prosper through communication, contact and influence, with one another. It cannot be coincidence that the areas that have evidence of prosperity in this period, Asine, Xeropolis-Lefkandi, Perati, Naxos and Rhodes to name those examined in this thesis are all coastal sites.

¹¹⁵⁴ Mee 1982, 90.

¹¹⁵⁵ Popham 1994, 295.

The main factors that underlie what is seen in the burials as well as the settlements of Late Helladic IIIc are the economic and social changes that occurred after the fall of the palatial administrative economy. The evidence from the early phase of IIIc shows people still in a state of flux. Late Helladic IIIc middle marks the point at which this uncertainty begins to stabilize, and crystallizes into a new form of being. It is well documented that with the fall of the great palaces the administrative system characteristic of LH IIIa-B ceases to exist. This is best illustrated by the lack of any written texts in LH IIIc as well as limited evidence that perhaps some fine arts were practised, such as fresco painting. However, evidence is still to be found for social differentiation and for authority. Therefore some economic and social structure intrinsic to these societies can be guessed at. This is the point I would like to briefly examine here. The general assumption made for society in LH IIIc is that there was no longer a ruling elite, or at least not one on the palatial model of previous periods. How major were the cultural changes?

One cannot simply proclaim any more that the civilization that “depended on the system of monarchical rule for the whole and parts of its world”... “was now finished with”.¹¹⁵⁶ The evidence from Tiryns reveals the existence of many aspects of social differentiation and authority. The homogenous orientation of houses around the Citadel and that in the Lower Acropolis with their multiple units organised around courtyards and roads presuppose an economic and political organisation. Kilian points out that “the foundation and successful running of a town... makes it certain that...there should be some political power inherent”.¹¹⁵⁷ He goes on to point out that “neither should the persistence of bureaucracy to some extent, in order to back up the new system, be denied even if official recording seems to have stopped”.¹¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, as Maran notes, “the reutilization of official symbols of palatial times like the place of the throne and the altar in the Great Court” indicate that at least in some part, the inhabitants of the citadel linked themselves to their predecessors and in turn to the erstwhile palatial elite.¹¹⁵⁹ Likewise the architectural evidence from Phase II at Lefkandi with its careful planning and regularity could also be indicative of directed organisation and political authority. In fact in the case of Lefkandi it becomes apparent that the dependence which Lefkandi once had on Thebes completely changes during LH IIIc with the collapse of that Mycenaean palace.¹¹⁶⁰ It is this new independence which allows Xeropolis to flourish during LH IIIc. In both the cases of Tiryns and Lefkandi a new social structure must have emerged.

¹¹⁵⁶ Desborough 1964, 243.

¹¹⁵⁷ Kilian 1988, 135.

¹¹⁵⁸ Kilian 1988, 135.

¹¹⁵⁹ Maran 2001, 119.

Whether this was manifested in the form of a ruling figure such as a *wanax* is less clear; the identification of such a leader for LH IIIC is difficult if not altogether impossible.

When studying these post-palatial settlements one should attempt to infer or define the new attributes by which to judge the society behind the archaeological material. The evidence of Koukounaries can perhaps reveal such factors as differences in the size of the complex (certainly not to be compared with the palaces of LH IIIA and IIIB), and also in the material evidence that is lacking now, such as writing and many of the fine arts. On the other hand, objects such as the carved ivory handle believed to be from a throne, and other items such as the steatite fragments and the unworked obsidian cores reflect customs typical of Mycenaean palaces. If one accepts that this hilltop complex is that of a centralized authority, can one create a new model for how such an authority might appear? The same applies to the settlement of Grotta on Naxos. Here too, the presence of a pottery workshop, of an organised town layout and the impressive fortification wall also imply the presence of a centralised authority, but arguably one only locally so. No evidence is yet apparent for a particular ruler or a particular settlement, such as Mycenae might have been in the palatial period, which controls or strongly influences more than its immediate environs. Rather it appears that, in this period, those surviving the collapse of the palatial system are able to develop their own governance rather than relying on an outside ruling body.

What can all this reveal about the post-palatial period? In LH IIIC the distribution of wealth looks to alter: no longer limited to those involved in the large palatial centres, it spreads more widely, if more thinly, across the population base. The best candidates for areas now so flourishing are Perati in Attica, Kamini and Aplomata on Naxos as well as the numerous cemeteries in the Dodecanese and the settlement of Xeropolis-Lefkandi in Euboea. If one looks at the cemetery of Perati, for example, many burials are treated in the same manner – viz. with similar and rich finds of jewellery and ornamentation, showing that in this community more than a few members had the ability and need to so display their wealth. A further indicative feature of such prosperity is the numerous imports from the east (from Egypt, Syria and Cyprus).

The overall richness in the few tombs excavated at Aplomata and Kamini on Naxos arguably illustrates that this cemetery was used by a broad-based group in their society, since there does not seem to be any differentiation of rank within the tombs. This can be perchance seen more specifically with the precious objects of gold placed in the child burial of Tomb E at Kamini. Other sites still, such as Langada and Piona, appear to display a preference for faience, a material imported from Egypt: the tombs are further adorned with rare imported items. Finally, one should not leave out the cemetery of

¹¹⁶⁰ Lemos 2002, 218.

Ialysos which clearly belongs to a flourishing community with imports from areas within Greece but also Cyprus and Anatolia.

In all the above-mentioned cases, the fact that these items were deposited within the tombs indicates that the societies involved were able to part with, and thus remove from circulation, these valuable items. This in turn argues for a social order whose standard of living was fairly high, especially considering the often catastrophic events that preceded this phase in Bronze Age history.

The destructions at the end of Late Helladic IIIB, whether due to earthquakes, internal conflicts, climatic changes or attacks from foreigners, left the survivors in a state of fear and uncertainty, but not without organisation and authority. This uncertainty led not only to settlements concentrating in and around citadels of LH IIIB, but also to the building of new fortified settlements in once peripheral areas such as the Cyclades. The political authority and social differentiation revealed in the archaeological evidence of such sites is not indicative of the demise of a culture but rather of continuity in combination with aspects of change brought about by the collapse of the palatial system. Population movements to areas that were once palatial strongholds such as Tiryns, to those previously considered peripheral areas such as Lefkandi, or to new areas such as Koukounaries also indicate this alteration.

Evidence for prosperity and continuity in this period of the Mycenaean culture is seen in other settlements throughout Greece, such as Aigeira in Achaia and Kynos in Central Greece. In 1964 Desborough summed it up, even then, very appositely:

“The inhabitants of the islands...and indeed of coast sites on the Greek Mainland remote from the route of invasion, such as Perati, felt no apprehension for the future. The sea protected them, and they pursued their way in security and prosperity; closely united, they probably constituted one of the last strongholds of the Mycenaean way of life.”

Desborough 1964, 229.

The archaeological evidence gives a glimpse of the importance of this phase in history, as well as providing clear evidence that life continued to flourish in the Aegean.

What therefore is the dominant factor revealed through the archaeological evidence of LH III C middle? Is it that of continuation or that of change? Is this the end of an era or the beginning of another?

I believe that the present study has made it clear that III C middle was not the beginning of the so-called Dark Ages, but a period of recovery, and a reasonable degree of increased prosperity. Although many settlements had been destroyed, a period of resurgence begins to take place at the end of LH III C early and reaches its height during LH III C middle. The inhabitants of the settlements and those that buried their dead in the tombs and cemeteries of the period were consciously aware of their historic past and in many ways followed the traditions that had been laid down in the years before. However, one should not interpret this as a desire to return to what once was. The population now sought a new form of prosperity – the sea became the means for many by which this prosperity was achieved. Certain settlements continued to be inhabited – such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Grotta and Lefkandi, while new ones were set up in areas that would prove beneficial such as Koukounaries. But even in the settlements that continued, changes begin to take place. At Tiryns this takes form in the Lower Town, which no longer mimics a palatial settlement of the Mycenaean period but rather begins to take the form of a new urban layout. The same can perhaps be said about Lefkandi, now freed from the shadow of Thebes. Settlements become more centralised and layouts more organised. I believe these two settlements in particular herald the developments that will take place in the Protogeometric period, and which will eventually lead to the establishment of the city-states of early Greece.

Something similar can also be detected in the burial evidence of LH III C middle. Continuity is certainly the most obvious deduction: tomb types from the previous periods (such as chamber tombs) are the predominant burial choice, as are multiple burials within them. One cannot but observe the plethora of grave offerings, particularly within the cemeteries of Perati, Naxos, Rhodes and Kos. This is not indicative of a society that is deteriorating but rather of one reviving. Changes, however, do begin to occur now, indicating the beginning of a new tradition. With the presence of a number of pit and cist graves is associated the emergence of single burials that will become the standard in the following periods from Sub-Mycenaean to the early Iron Age. The other important modification is the appearance of cremation burials. Such a burial tradition did exist sporadically in previous periods, but never at the level reached during III C. Its adoption starts the process that will lead, particularly in the early Iron Age, to the point where cremation becomes the standard, and inhumation the exception in many parts of Greece.

This evolving change, both in funerary evidence as well as in settlement evidence, underlines the pivotal and transitional role that Late Helladic IIIC plays in the Post-Palatial history of Greece. Nonetheless one should not overlook the numerous destructions that take place throughout LH IIIC: although a recovery does take place, unrest is still a recurring feature. This unrest goes on to become a defining feature in the phase that follows.

During LH IIIC middle the memories of past glories were retained, even if the palatial system itself had failed. The communities of this period were able to independently and collectively develop – artistically, structurally and economically. It is these developments that mark the final revival of the Aegean Bronze Age known to us as Late Helladic IIIC middle.