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**After the palace and before the polis: study cases
from the centre and the periphery**

**The transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age
in the Argolid and Central Greece (Phokis-East Lokris)**

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Appendices

I-XI

Appendix I: The Argive Akte

I.1 Southern Argolid

LBA

Extensive survey has been undertaken in the area of the Southern Argolid, i.e. the modern eparchy of Ermionis (fig.I.1), by the University of Stanford. According to the results of the survey, a LH increase in site numbers (thirty-seven, of which twenty-seven are certain) has been noted: "the dispersal of settlement across the landscape can be attributed to a period of population increase and intensive land use that may have begun in MH."⁶⁴⁵ Specifically, nineteen sites have produced LHIIB sherds, while thirteen other sites have yielded kylix stems or bases, mostly unpainted, dating to LHIIIA2 or LHIIB, and just possibly to LHIIC.⁶⁴⁶ "By 1400-1200 BC (LHIIIA, B) a widely dispersed, hierarchical settlement pattern with two or three tiers has once more evolved".

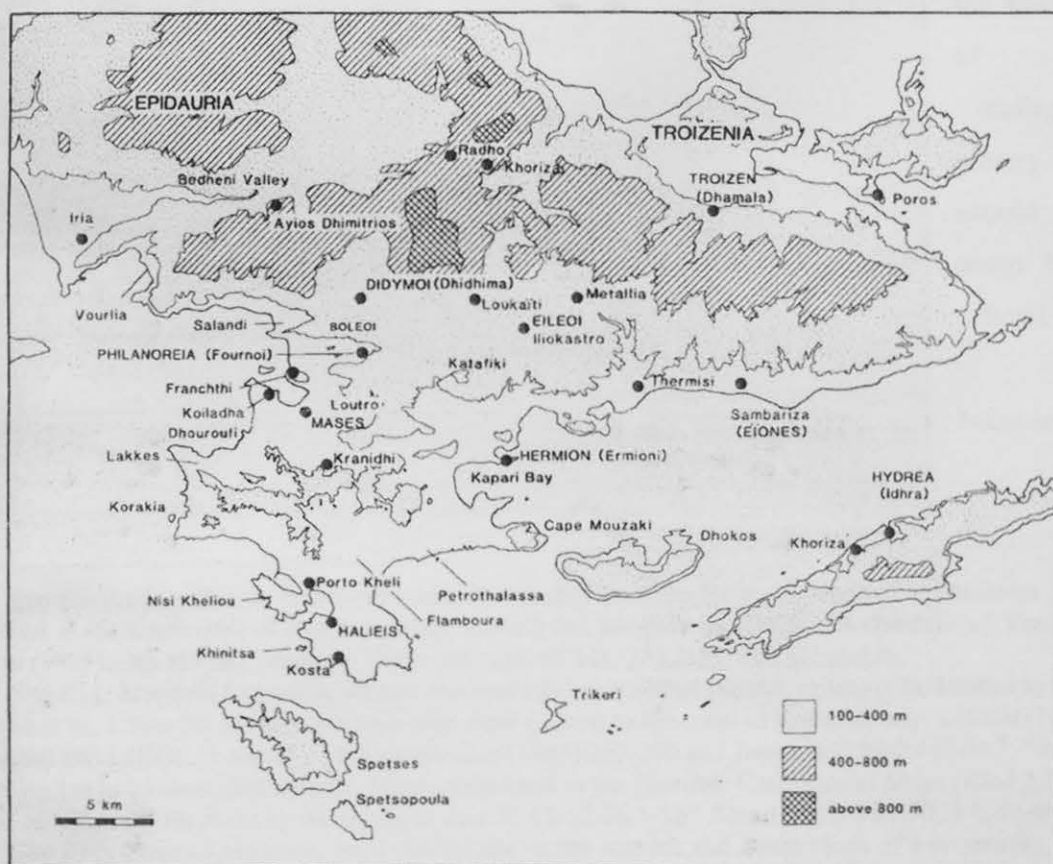


Fig.I.1
Modern map of Southern
Argolid (Ancient names
in capitals)

⁶⁴⁵ Runnels- Van Andel (1987) 315

⁶⁴⁶ Mountjoy (1995) 54-55, 200-203

The tiers are the sites of Profitis Ilias (F5) in the Fournoi area,⁶⁴⁷ Mases (C11) quite close to the coast of the Koiladha bay⁶⁴⁸ and Ermioni Magoula (E13),⁶⁴⁹ a coastal site West of the promontory of the classical city of Ermioni (fig.2). The latter has produced the largest number of high-quality Mycenaean sherds and other artefacts, as well as many walls. It appears though to have flourished in the Early Mycenaean times rather than in LHIIIB, since only one sherd from the site has been securely dated to this period, and in particular to LHIIIB2.⁶⁵⁰ In LHIIIB, it seems that the site of Profitis Ilias in the Fournoi area was the most

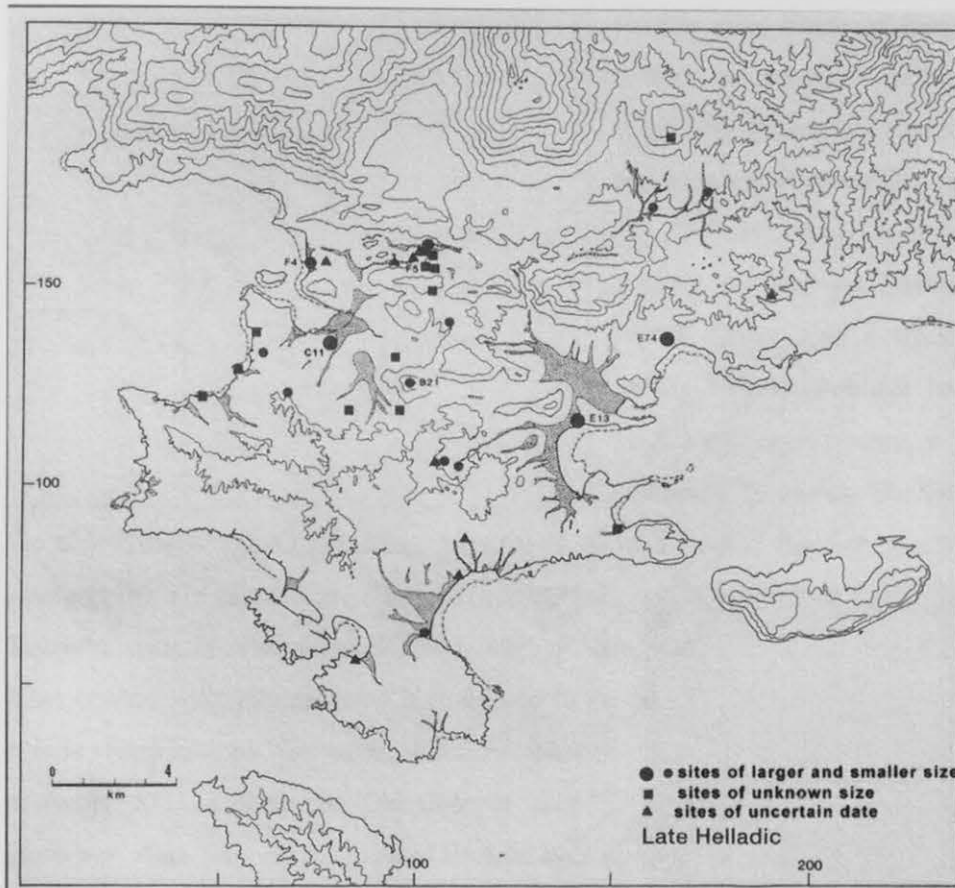


Fig.I.2
Southern
Argolid
survey sites
of the LH
period: dot-
and-dash line
shows the
shoreline ca.
1000 BC

flourishing
one of the
three main
habitation
centres, if
we could
judge by
the amount
of the
collected
pottery. It
should be
noted here
however,
that
because of
the

⁶⁴⁷ Site F5: Profitis Ilias, in the Fournoi area, on terraced fields on the North slope of a prominent hillock at the South edge of Fournoi village: LHIIIB (63 sherds) and LHIIIC (14 sherds) – cf. Runnels *et al* (1995) 290-295 and Jameson (1994) 509; also 93 LH, 37 LHIII, 21 LH? sherds.

⁶⁴⁸ Site C11: Magoula Efstratiou/ Mases, medium site, an artificial mound, or magoula, located in the *kambos* ca. 1.5km SE of Koiladha and quite close (500m) to the coast of Koiladha bay: LHIIIB (10 sherds) and LHIIIC (1 sherd) – cf. Runnels *et al* (1995) 257-260 and Jameson (1994) 466-467: “this site [...] is to be identified with the Mases mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.562) and as a port for Hermion by Pausanias in cent. II AD (2.36.1-3).” Also 14 LH, 5 LHIII, 1 LH? sherd.

⁶⁴⁹ Site E13: Ermioni Magoula, large coastal site on the summit and South slope of a prominent, flat-topped and terraced hill ca. 1km W of the promontory of Ermioni: LHIIIB2 (1 sherd) and LHIIIC (-6 sherds) – cf. Runnels *et al* (1995) 279-283 and Jameson (1994) 487-488. Also 15 LH, 13 LHIII, 8 LH? sherds.

⁶⁵⁰ In Papadimitriou (1994) 149, it is reported that the results of the field research were confirmed by the rescue excavation that was undertaken at the site (in the field of P. Papailiou) and revealed remains of prehistoric houses and in particular of MH and Early Mycenaean periods.

difficulties in dating pottery that has not been found in stratified deposits but on the surface, and which has been exposed to and worn by the weather conditions, there is always some quantity of sherds collected, which cannot be dated precisely but only roughly to LH or to LHIII. Therefore, there is always some level of uncertainty regarding the conclusions that we can draw based on the quantity of the dated pottery that has been collected during field surveys.

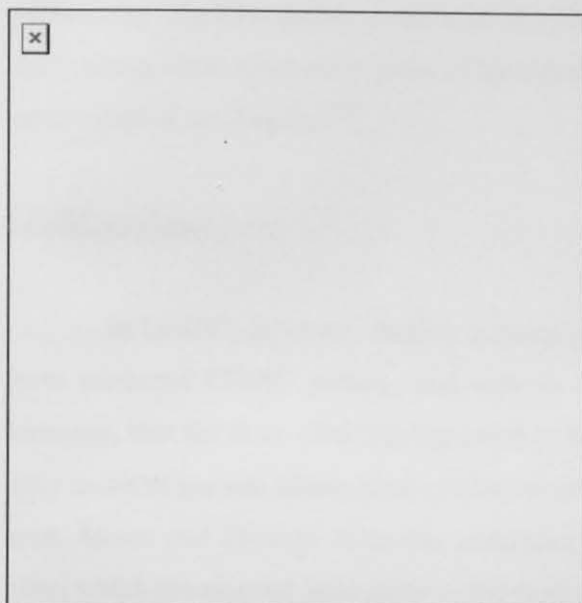


Fig.I.3
Site B21
(Contour
interval is
5m)

Another very interesting site (B21) is found on the peak of Mount Profitis Ilias North of Kranidhi⁶⁵¹: “here, within a massive rubble fortification (fig.I.3-4), there are traces of structures and substantial quantities of sherds: some are LHIIB; many apparently LHIIC. Steatite buttons or beads, an andesite tripod mortar, and a figurine were also found. This assemblage has suggested a peak sanctuary to some, a LHIIC refuge settlement to others. The fact that some of

the sherds show signs of burning, along with the mortar and figurine, would incline us to interpret the site as a shrine. The fortification wall, however, causes difficulties.” Its dating to the LBA could be put into question if compared to the rubble fortifications on other hills, which are probably LG, Archaic or Classical in date.⁶⁵² However, if the wall on the peak of Profitis Ilias is indeed Mycenaean, it belongs to LHIIC in all probability, and the site appears to have hosted a refuge settlement.⁶⁵³



Fig.I.4
Site B21.
Wall on
north-east
of the peak
of Profitis
Ilias

The rise in the number and size of settlements in the Southern Argolid in the Mycenaean period has been thought to relate to the general prosperity between 1600 and *ca.* 1200 BC. In response to increased demand for agricultural surpluses from “more populated and economically specialized areas nearby, in the first instance the Argeia”, the area of the

⁶⁵¹ Site B21: Profitis Ilias Peak, North-east of Kranidhi: LHIIB (9 sherds) and IIC (3 sherds) – cf. Runnels *et al* (1995) 242-243 and Jameson (1994) 444-445; also 36 simple LH, 9 LHIII and 22 LH? sherds.

⁶⁵² Jameson *et al* (1994) 368-369

⁶⁵³ Jameson *et al* (1994) 370

Southern Argolid was apparently led to more thorough exploitation of its agricultural resources, as seen in the scatter of smaller sites. At the same time, the area would have also got involved into trading via the sea routes, since it is located “on the main seaways used by the most trade-oriented part of the Mycenaean world”. The engagement of the inhabitants in this kind of activity is probably reflected in the flourishing of coastal sites.⁶⁵⁴ The recovery of the Point Iria shipwreck just off the homonymous point to the West of the small promontory (fig.I.1), dating to the end of LHIIB2 or to the transitional LHIIB2/LHIIC-early phase, is the most vivid proof of the existence of a significant sea-trade route along the south coast of the Argolid.⁶⁵⁵

LHIIC evidence

In LHIIC, however, there is a sharp contraction in site numbers. Only a few sites have produced LHIIC pottery, and only in small quantities.⁶⁵⁶ It is interesting to note, however, that the three sites that appeared to have been more important than the rest of the sites in the dispersed, hierarchical settlement pattern of LBA, i.e. Profitis Ilias in the Fournoi area, Mases and Ermioni Magoula, continued to be inhabited in LHIIC too. Three other sites, which are situated quite close to the three tiers, have also provided evidence for LHIIC activity. The site of Fournoi Field was located very close to Profitis Ilias in a field, and the LBA sherds found in this area could be interpreted as finds deposited there randomly during the cultivation of the fields by the inhabitants of Profitis Ilias⁶⁵⁷. Pandeika is a coastal site not too far from Mases, and it was occupied in LHIIB and possibly in LHIIC too⁶⁵⁸, while Pikrodafni was an inland site in the area of Ermioni Magoula and it has produced pottery

⁶⁵⁴ Jameson *et al* (1994) 370-371

⁶⁵⁵ Lolos (1999) esp.47-48

⁶⁵⁶ Runnels- van Andel (1987) 316

Jameson *et al* (1994) 371

According to Mountjoy (1995) 54-55, 200-203, only six sites have produced LHIIC-early pottery.

However, one can count eight certain sites and one uncertain that have given LHIIC pottery.

⁶⁵⁷ Although there seems to have been a medium-sized village at the site of Fournoi Field in EHII, the LH sherds that were collected form too small a percentage in the assemblage to be interpreted with security as the remains of a habitation site.

Site F17: Fournoi Field, ca. 500m North-west of Fournoi village in a field with cereals: no LHIIB but LHIIIA2 (1 sherd) and LHIIC (1 sherd) – cf. Runnels *et al* (1995) 299 and Jameson (1994) 511; also 2 LHIII sherds. At the neighbouring site F32 at least one sherd dated to LHIIB – the use of the area (-cultivation of the fields?) must have not been interrupted throughout the LBA. Cf. Jameson (1994) 510, 511 and 513 and Runnels *et al* (1995) 298, 299 and 304-313.

⁶⁵⁸ Site B41: Pandeika, coastal site – on a small coastal promontory – South of Dhouroufi – in the bay S of Koiladha bay – 4km SW of Koiladha: LHIIB (8 sherds) and IIC? (1 sherd) in Runnels *et al* (1995) 247-250 and Jameson (1994) 450; also 33 simple LH, 17 LHIII, 3 LH? sherds.

dating to LHIIIB as well as the transition from LHIIIB to LHIIC.⁶⁵⁹ The remaining three sites, which have produced LHIIC pottery, are all upland sites. One of them is the Profitis Ilias peak, North-east of Kranidhi, which might have been a refuge site, as it was discussed earlier. The other two, Thermisi Kastro⁶⁶⁰ and Kotena Cave⁶⁶¹, were both in the same area, close to Iliokastro.

On the basis of the above distribution of sites in LHIIC in the Southern Argolid, it seems that the smaller LHIIIB sites that were scattered all over the area were apparently deserted at this stage; this most probably relates to the reduced exploitation of the agricultural resources, which must have been linked to the fall of the power centres in the Argive plain. The area of the Southern Argolid was in all probability dependent on one or more of its powerful neighbours, as it has been suggested on the basis of its location as well as the lack in the area of the typical characteristics that are usually related to palace-sites, such as the tholos tombs or the fortifications.⁶⁶² It has also been suggested that the use of the land in the Southern Argolid in Mycenaean times was carried out by means of extensive terracing, which aimed to stop erosion and to bring the land into full production.⁶⁶³

Therefore, it could easily be assumed that the collapse of the palace system brought about the lack of centralized control in the land use as well as the withdrawal of demand for great agricultural surpluses and consequently of the increased need for labour that existed before. The population reduction in the countryside and especially in the areas that were not very productive or easily accessible would have been a natural outcome in this chain of events. It could also be suggested that there was a shift of the population to the main habitation centres and to places close to them in search for support and possibly safety in those troublesome times. The LHIIC occupation of the upland sites that were mentioned above might seem to contradict the above line of argument, but it could be interpreted as a need for refuge sites in the context of a potential threat and search for security. It should be

⁶⁵⁹ Site B98: Pikrodafni, small inland site, on the summit of a low terraced hill West of Potokia bay – c. 5.3km South-west of Ermioni – a farmstead: LHIIIB (2 sherds) and LHIIIB-IIIC (1 sherd) in Runnels *et al* (1995) 254-255 and Jameson (1994) 462; also 6 LH, 1 LHIII sherd.

⁶⁶⁰ Site E3: Thermisi Kastro, upland site – a high limestone crag (ca. 240 masl.), together with terraced fields immediately to its North, close to Iliokastro, ca. 2km North-west of Thermisi village: no LHIIIB but LHIIIA2 (1 sherd) and LHIIC (1 sherd) – cf. Runnels *et al* (1995) 270 and Jameson (1994) 480; also 1 LH sherd.

⁶⁶¹ Site G9: Kotena Cave, upland site – high (ca.460 masl.) on the S slope of Mt.Kotena ca. 2.5km North of Iliokastro village: LHIIIB and LHIIC in Runnels *et al* (1995) 316-317 and Jameson (1994) 521: 4 LH sherds, including 2 LHIIC deep bowls – animal fold; habitation?

⁶⁶² Jameson *et al* (1994) 370

⁶⁶³ This suggestion has been made on the basis of the study of the landscape, which has shown that the expansion of settlement and land use during the Mycenaean period did not affect the stability of the landscape, in contrast to the widespread soil erosion in the EBA. The stability achieved in the LBA was most probably made possible through the improvement in land-management technology (i.e. the construction of terrace walls and gully check-dams). Cf. Jameson *et al* (1994) 371.

noted here, however, that the above suggestions are quite tentative, since the amount of evidence collected at each site during the field survey and dating to the period that is of interest here, i.e. the transition from LHIIB to LHIIC, is really small – apart from exceptional cases (-like the Profitis Ilias site in the Fournoi area) – and can only be considered indicative and not conclusive.

It seems, however, that in spite of any potential efforts, such as the shifting of population, the attempt to survive the crisis was not successful in most cases. Not only had the agriculture of the area been severely affected, but also the access to the sea and to external commercial markets was sooner or later interrupted too. Trade must have played a very significant role in the economic growth of the area and especially of the coastal sites in the LBA,⁶⁶⁴ and its interruption might have eventually been the decisive stroke for at least two of the leading centres that survived in LHIIC, i.e. for Mases and Ermioni Magoula and their surrounding areas, since they were both coastal sites. The latter was no longer inhabited in the EIA, while Mases appears to have been deserted and re-inhabited in the LG period. The upland sites that were inhabited in LHIIC seem to have been abandoned by the end of the LBA too.

EIA

Nevertheless, in the EIA the Southern Argolid was not completely deserted. There is evidence of activity at two at least new sites (fig.I.4). One of them, which was registered by the field survey conducted by the University of Stanford, is located at Sambariza Magoula, a coastal low mound, partly artificial, c. 4km East of Thermisi village.⁶⁶⁵ An important LH settlement existed here, but it seems to have gradually died out by the end of the LBA, since only seven sherds datable to LHIIB were collected during the survey, and “LHIIC is not represented among the numerous LH wares (kylikes, deep bowls, stemmed bowls, cooking ware, and jugs).”⁶⁶⁶ In the EIA, however, the site reaches a new peak in the PG period, since “[it] is primarily PG, with light but apparently continuous representation through the LG period. The PG pottery fabric looks distinctly different from that which typifies the Southern

⁶⁶⁴ Runnels- vanAndel (1987) 326-327

⁶⁶⁵ Site E9: Sambariza Magoula, coastal site; ca. 4km East of Thermisi village on a low rounded hill, perhaps in part artificial, ca. 500m from the sea: LHIIB (7 sherds) and PG (28 sherds) and PG to EG (17 sherds) and EG (3 sherds) and MG (2 sherds) and MG to LG (2 sherds) and LG (6 sherds) and G (27 sherds) and G to A (-7 sherds) – cf. Runnels *et al* (1995) 275-279 and Jameson (1994) 484-485 – identification of this site with Homeric Eïones. Also 18 LH, 10 LH, 1 LH? sherd.

⁶⁶⁶ Jameson (1994) 485

It should be noted, however, that in her discussion on the PG pottery from the site, Langdon suggests the possibility that one sherd may date to LHIIC. Cf. Langdon (1995) 60.

Argolid in later Geometric. [...] In general, the pottery in both fabric and form is reminiscent of Attic PG, and this isolated coastal site on the southeast shore of the Argolid might have originated as a settlement from Attica.⁶⁶⁷ Another simpler interpretation would be that the influence from Attica was quite strong at this time, since the Attic imports could easily reach the southern Argolid through the sea. Contact with Attica was actually easier to establish than with the Argive plain, although the cultural influence of “the new centre of power in the Argive plain, i.e. Argos” had apparently also reached Sambariza, since common elements in pottery decoration are shared with Argos too. Connections with Laconia were apparently active as well.⁶⁶⁸

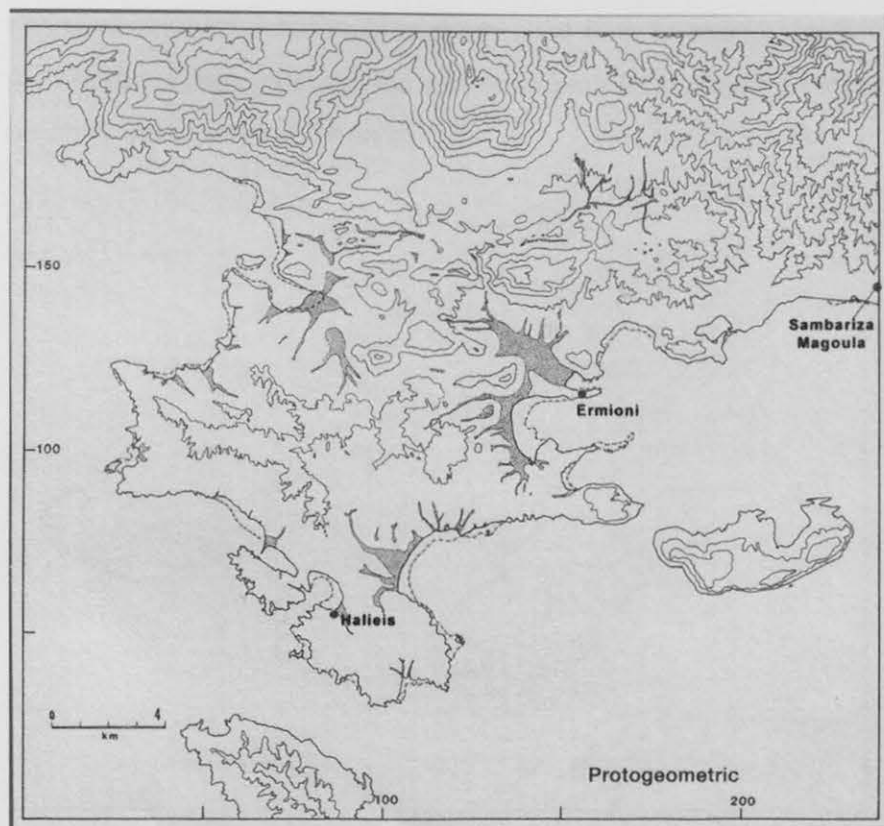


Fig.1.5
Southern
Argolid:
sites of PG
date

The other site in the Southern Argolid that has produced certain PG evidence is Ermioni. Its PG occupation was not discovered through the field survey project, but through rescue excavations.⁶⁶⁹ In particular, tombs of PG and G period were

found at a location used extensively as a cemetery from the Archaic period till the 4th/5th century AD. Inside a later peribolos, at a lower level, four cist tombs made of limestone plaques were found following the same orientation (East-West). Each one had been used for a single burial. The excavator believes that the sample is too small to lead us to any

⁶⁶⁷ Langdon (1995) 58: as at all sites and phases of G, open shapes are the most fully represented, and in specifics of design these PG sherds show great affinity with Attic wares.

⁶⁶⁸ Langdon (1995) 58-59

Runnels *et al.* (1995) 142: imports from the Cyclades are also mentioned here, but these do not appear in the detailed discussion on the PG pottery in Langdon (1995) 58-60

⁶⁶⁹ In Jameson (1994) 488-489 it is suggested: “this site (E19) has probably been occupied since the EIA more or less continuously to the present day”.

conclusions about the organization of the cemetery on the basis of the common orientation.⁶⁷⁰

Finally, it is possible that PG evidence was also found at Halieis. In particular, PG and G sherds were reported to have been found unstratified on the acropolis. They haven't been published however, nor did any picture of them appear in the preliminary report.⁶⁷¹ Thus, doubts were cast over the site's PG occupation.⁶⁷² Gill and Foxhall, however, believe that the acropolis was occupied in the PG period.⁶⁷³

What should be pointed out here is that all three PG sites are coastal sites, lying right by or very close to the shore. Their distribution, in combination with the pottery influences that were observed in the study of the material from Sambariza, leads to the conclusion that the external relations through the sea routes must have played a very significant role in the recovery and upsurge of the area.

⁶⁷⁰ Papadimitriou (1994) 149

In Spathari-Papadimitriou (1991) 105, it is reported that inside peribolos A, under its foundations, three cist tombs made of limestone plaques were found partly covered by the peribolos walls. Although the tombs were not excavated, their type should date them to the G period. These tombs might be three of the four cists that were reported in 1994, but this is not made clear in the preliminary reports.

⁶⁷¹ G sherds have also been found outside the East tower of the city wall, and at the entrance of a large building in the sea, along the Hermione road. Cf. Jameson (1969) 318.

⁶⁷² Van Andels – Runnels (1987) 101.

Jameson *et al* (1994) 435-436 also avoided to mention PG pottery from Halieis.

⁶⁷³ Gill – Foxhall (1997) 59

I.2 Methana peninsula

LBA

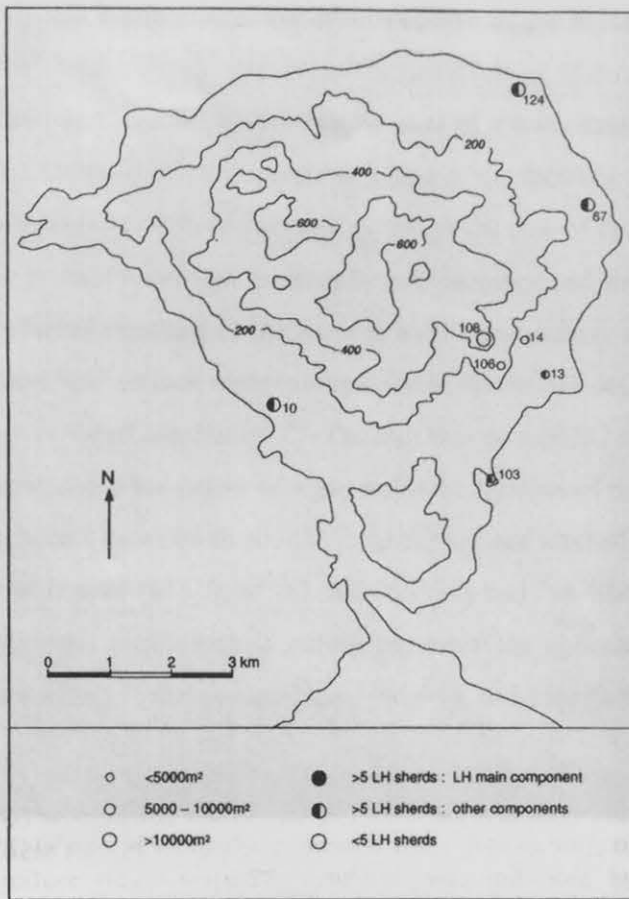


Fig.I.6
LH
Methana

Extensive survey has been carried out on the Methana peninsula by the British School at Athens and the University of Liverpool. As was the case in the southern Argolid, at Methana too “the Mycenaean period witnesses a modest, but nevertheless significant increase in the number of sites” – as compared to the MH period. Here also there are three sites, which appear to be larger in extent and more significant than the rest of the LH sites on the peninsula (fig.I.6). These are: MS10, the site of Palaiokastros on the west coast, which was going to become the site of the ancient polis of Methana, and

was located on a low hill easily approachable from the sea;⁶⁷⁴ MS67, the site of Oga on the east coast of the peninsula, also upon a low hill by the coast, but with no good harbour nearby;⁶⁷⁵ and MS124, Agios Georgios, a low promontory on the North top of the east coast.⁶⁷⁶ Although it was often impossible to date precisely the Mycenaean sherds that were collected during the survey, most of them could at least be classified as LHIII. “There is certainly LHIIIA and LHIIIB pottery but it is not clear whether LHIIIC is also represented.”

⁶⁷⁴ MS10: Palaiokastros, SW of Megalochori, on a low but prominent hill (30masl, 11000m²): at least 1 LHI-LHII sherd but most of the Mycenaean pottery is LHIII; large number of EIA sherds, 2 might be PG – cf. Mee-Forbes (1997) 122-126

⁶⁷⁵ MS67: Oga, North-east of Kypseli, on a low but prominent hill (67masl, 11200m²): at least 2 of the Mycenaean sherds are LHI-II; the LHIII pottery includes 10 kylikes; a large number of EIA sherds, among which one from a PG-EG1 amphora and one from a PG high-footed cup – cf. Mee-Forbes (1997) 146-147

⁶⁷⁶ MS124: Ay. Georgios, East of Kounoupitsa, a low plateau (8masl, 15000m²): most of the Mycenaean sherds are unpainted and not datable, but the 12 kylikes are LHIII; linear and matt-painted EIA sherds, some of which might be Attic – cf. Mee-Forbes (1997) 162

Whatsoever, it has been concluded “in LHIII there is no upsurge in the number of sites, MS13, the sanctuary of Ag. Konstantinos, and possibly MS106 being the only additions.”⁶⁷⁷ However, an increase in settlement size is attested, at least in the case of MS67 and MS124, which rival MS10 and can presumably be interpreted as villages”.⁶⁷⁸

The political and economic rise of the Mycenaean centres in the Argive plain must have had a certain impact on the peninsula of Methana as well, as it did for example on the Southern Argolid. In the latter’s case, as it was examined earlier, this impact was reflected in the increase of the number and size of settlements. “On Methana, however, the number of settlements remains constant although the size of the sites does indicate a larger population. It is likely that the peninsula was incorporated in one of the Mycenaean states but the political structure of the Saronic seems particularly complex. The Mycenaean collapse must have had serious repercussions for Methana but despite the lack of LHIIC pottery there is evidence of continuity”.⁶⁷⁹ The fact that no LHIIC sherds were identified on Methana is not considered indicative of a gap in the occupation of the area according to Mee and Forbes, the scholars who conducted the field survey and studied the material. The fact that the three LH major sites (MS10, MS67 and MS124) had “an EIA component”, probably in combination with the difficulties in dating precisely the collected sherds, has led them to support the continuity in the occupation of the area, and especially of the three above sites.

EIA

Regarding the EIA occupation of the Methana peninsula, four of the sites that were occupied in the LBA, have produced PG evidence too (fig.I.7). The three of them are the main habitation centres, and the fourth is MS68⁶⁸⁰, which was probably dependent on MS67, the settlement at the site of Oga. MS68 was later going to be the site of the Archaic sanctuary

⁶⁷⁷ MS13: Ay.Konstantinos, North-east of Loutra, on a rocky knoll and terraces (114masl, 6365m²): a Mycenaean settlement and sanctuary “with an impressive range of votive LHIIIA-B terracottas” has been excavated here by Konsolaki – cf. Mee-Taylor (1997) 53, Mee-Forbes (1997) 128 and Konsolaki (2002) 25-36, esp. 32: the material from the cult room dates to LHIIIA-B periods, with the majority of the finds ascribed to LHIIB. Some sudden destruction must have taken place, possibly near the end of LHIIB2, and it was followed by abandonment of the building. “Distinctive LHIIC pottery is missing, but other rooms have yielded types suggesting a transitional phase.”

MS106: ridge North-east of Vromolimni, on broad terraces (254masl, 707m²): a number of sherds might be Mycenaean, 3 are certainly LH; 2 LH-EIA matt-painted sherds; the scatter is extremely limited in extent and could derive from MS108, a site on a nearby, higher ridge – cf. Mee-Forbes (1997) 154.

⁶⁷⁸ Mee-Taylor (1997) 52-53

⁶⁷⁹ Mee-Taylor (1997) 54

⁶⁸⁰ MS68: North-east of Kypseli, on terraces (78masl, 284m²): 4 EIA sherds; it was a sanctuary site in the Archaic period – cf. Mee-Forbes (1997) 148.

of Oga, but it remains uncertain whether it had this role already since the EIA. In case it did, however, “the emergence of a possible sanctuary at Oga from at least the PG period may show that cult sites outside settlements appeared much earlier in the Argolid than previously allowed.”⁶⁸¹

Whatsoever, it is interesting to point out that if compared with the EIA occupation of the Southern Argolid, that of Methana forms a distinctly different pattern. Whereas in the Southern Argolid all the LBA sites were abandoned and new ones appeared on the EIA settlement map, on Methana the three major LBA sites are apparently occupied in the EIA too, and most probably with no interruption, as Mee and Forbes believe. Of course it should be noted that a significant factor in the continuing occupation of these three sites must have been the access to agricultural land and the sea, although the latter might have played a secondary role in the case of MS67, which was on a coastal location that did not permit access to any harbour nearby, but offered the advantage of the fertile plain that stretched to

the South. The other two major sites, however, were flanked by bays, and so in addition to agriculture, external contacts must have been important for those early societies, as it is also reflected in the pottery, which includes Attic examples. Beside, however, the “occasional imports from Attica”, “the EIA pottery from the Methana peninsula is dominated by products made in the Argolid. This might indicate that, despite its contacts with other areas bordering the Saronic, it was culturally part of the Argolid.”⁶⁸² This remark differs too from the remarks made before when examining the Southern

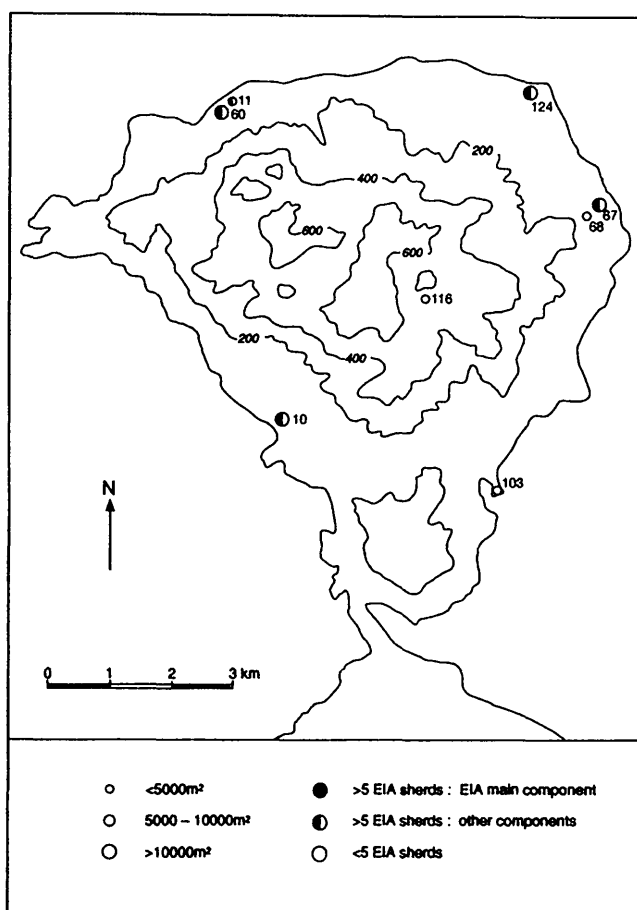


Fig.I.7
EIA
Methana

Argolid and in particular Sambariza, in which case the contacts with Attica had appeared to be very strong, besides of course those with Argos or Laconia.

⁶⁸¹ Gill-Foxhall (1997) 57, 59

⁶⁸² Gill-Foxhall (1997) 57

Therefore, the case of Methana is different from that of the Southern Argolid in two main points: the same settlements that were inhabited already since the LBA carried on in the EIA as well, and the EIA pottery is culturally orientated not towards Attica, but towards the Argolid. Being more distant from the Argolid, Methana would have probably been less politically and economically dependent on the major Mycenaean centres than the Southern Argolid, and therefore the impact of their fall must have been smaller in scale for the population of Methana. As Lin Foxhall has suggested, the communities in a marginal to the palaces area like Methana would have been self-contained to a certain extent, and thus they could carry on “internally intact” after the palatial collapse, and they could even benefit from it. Foxhall has pointed out that “though we cannot pinpoint exactly when in the EIA the sites reached their maximum size, it is significant that on the two sites where we can determine site size in different periods (MS10 and MS67) they are larger in the EIA than in the LBA”. She suggests that this might have happened because of the arrival of refugees or immigrants from politically troubled areas or simply because the life on Methana had not suffered any serious disruption with the collapse of central administration.⁶⁸³ As for Methana’s cultural orientation towards the Argolid, it could be tentatively interpreted as a sign of traditionalism and conservatism, provided that the area had been attached to the Argolid in the LBA, which however is not absolutely clear from the currently available material.⁶⁸⁴ If it had been so however, then the local communities surviving in the EIA might have preferred to retain close contacts with an area to which they felt attached since the LBA. The newly founded communities in the Southern Argolid, on the other hand, might have chosen to try new sea-routes and to establish new contacts.

⁶⁸³ Foxhall (1995) 246-248

⁶⁸⁴ Foxhall (1995) 246: “Methana is nowhere near a major palace: the closest would probably have been Athens, by sea, though the pottery finds suggest LBA connections with the Argolid and Aegina as well.”

1.3 Other sites beyond the Argive plain

LHIIC evidence has also been found at the following sites of the Argolid, not far away from the Argive plain (cf. chapter I, fig.19). At Kazarma, situated 14km from Nauplion on the route to Epidauros, a 15th cent. tholos was re-visited in LHIIC: a large pyre has been found, around which organic remains, animal and human bones (-the last interments) lay. A calf was apparently sacrificed on a low stone altar inside the tomb before it was closed.⁶⁸⁵ At Palaia Epidauros, one of the seven chamber tombs found on the south-west outskirts of the town, on a slope to the West of the road, contained a Close Style stirrup jar.⁶⁸⁶ At Kandia, a site very close to the east coast of the Argive bay, a few kilometres South-east of Asine, a fortified settlement lying on a small acropolis hill was apparently inhabited continuously from EHII to advanced LHIIC, as indicated by trial excavations. Despite the fortification, it is not believed that this was a large or important settlement, because of its rather remote location.⁶⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it might have had some special significance as a settlement on the road connecting the Argive plain with the Southern Argolid. In addition, it is not far off the coast. Finally, further to South, on the same road leading to the Southern Argolid, remains have been found at Iria, a site by the sea, characterized by a low double hill. On the west side of the west hill, excavations have revealed a LH building and an associated cistern, partly filled with debris from a fire-destruction. "Close analysis of the pottery suggests that this took place at the very beginning of LHIIC." The site appears to have been abandoned shortly afterwards.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁵ Deilaki (1968) 236-238; (1969) 104-105

⁶⁸⁶ Aravantinos (1974) esp.79-83, fig.1, pl.45a-c

Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1979) 52-53

⁶⁸⁷ Gebauer (1939) 288-291

Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1979) 49-50

⁶⁸⁸ Döhl (1973) 126-194

Hope Simpson-Dickinson (1979) 50

Appendix II: Mycenae

LHIIC evidence

Settlement inside the walls

In the following brief presentation of the LHIIC remains within the citadel, the area South of the Lion Gate, all along the south-west fortification wall will be presented first, then the palace area and the buildings to the East, including those in the north-east extension, will follow and will lead on to the structures in the northern part of the citadel, East of the Lion Gate.

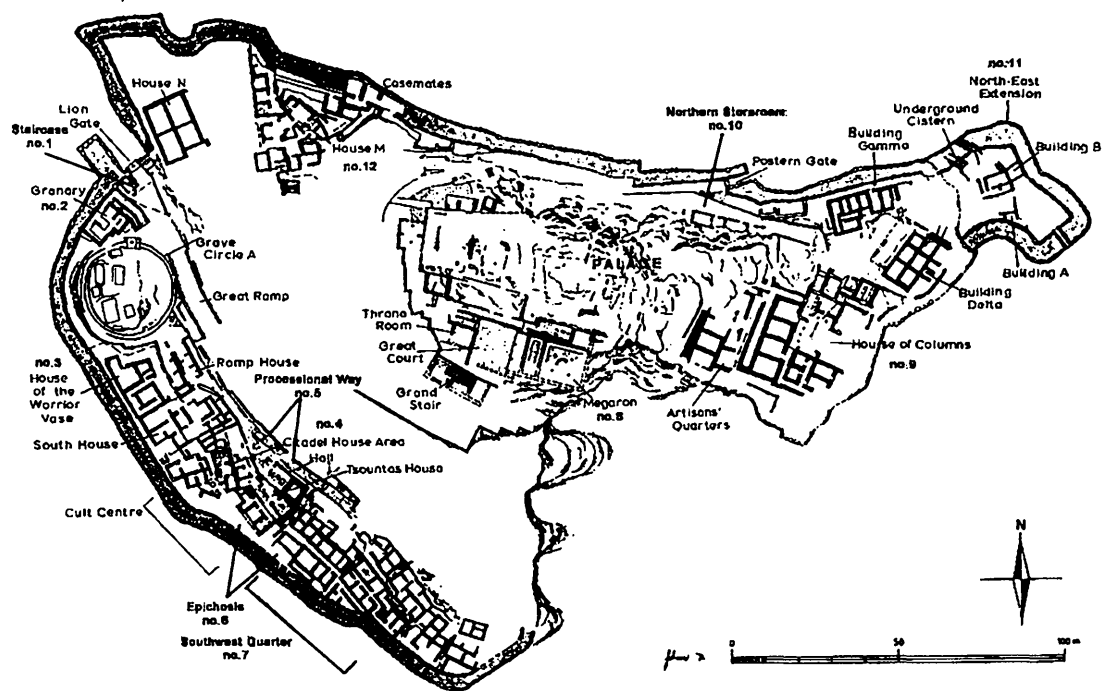


Fig.II.1
Plan of the Mycenae citadel

II.1 Staircase

The so-called Staircase fill, lying “in the angle formed by the west flanking wall of the Lion Gate and the inner face of the circuit wall”, had started accumulating in LHIIB on top of a ruined staircase that used to give access to the top of the fortification wall (fig.II.1: no.1). In LHIIC the fill continued to accumulate (fig.II.2). Its second layer (strata VI-IX) corresponds to the early and middle phases of LHIIC. Strata VIII and IX in particular

contained “burnt matter and decomposed mud-brick,” constituting part of the evidence for the fire destruction that befell the area of the Staircase and the Granary next to it during LHIIC. The third layer (strata X-XI) that was deposited in the Staircase fill was dated to the advanced/late phase of LHIIC and consisted of debris amassed after this destruction.⁶⁸⁹

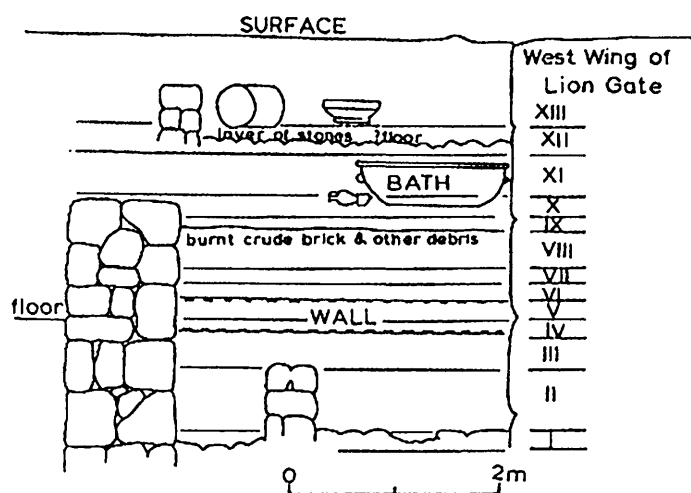


Fig.II.2
Section of the
Staircase fill

II.2 Granary

More evidence for the destruction that occurred in this area in LHIIC-middle comes from the Granary (fig.II.1: no.2) itself. Debris from the first floor, including storage jars and pithoi, had collapsed into the East Basement. In this deposit were also found small tub-like vessels of unbaked clay containing carbonised grain, after which the building was actually named. The pottery found in the East Basement of the Granary, either fallen from the upper floor or forming a floor deposit on the basement floor itself, belongs to the second half of LHIIC-middle and dates the destruction to this phase. The debris that accumulated over the central part of the building after the destruction is dated to LHIIC-late.⁶⁹⁰

II.3 Warrior Vase House

Further to the South of Grave Circle A, the House of the Warrior Vase (fig.II.1: no.3) produced the well-known Warrior Vase, which stylistically dates to LHIIC-middle. It is doubtful, however, whether the vase can be attributed to the house's assemblage with

⁶⁸⁹ Wace (1921-23) 17, 20-38

Iakovidis (1986) 240-241: he dates the third layer to the advanced phase

Mountjoy (1993) 144-145: Strata X, XI belong to LHIIC-late

According to Sherratt, the pottery from strata IX-X belongs stylistically to the advanced phase of LHIIC-middle, and stratum XI belongs to the latest phase of LHIIC – cf. Sherratt (1981) 86, 88.

⁶⁹⁰ Wace (1921-23) 38-61

Mountjoy (1993) 145-146

safety and can be taken to mean that the house was still in use. As French points out, it “may have originated in the house itself [...] or in the wash above it or even be associated with a later burial”. Schliemann, who excavated the House, unfortunately did not leave a detailed record of his excavation here. With the vase were also found a Naue II type sword and two large bronze vessels.⁶⁹¹

II.4 Citadel House Area (fig.II.1: no.4)

Before launching into the examination of the LHIIC remains in this area, it should be mentioned that it is quite difficult to give a clear, straightforward picture of the LHIIC occupation here because of the lack of a complete and detailed publication of the relevant material and due to the extensive reoccupation in Hellenistic times, which has caused disturbance of earlier layers.⁶⁹²

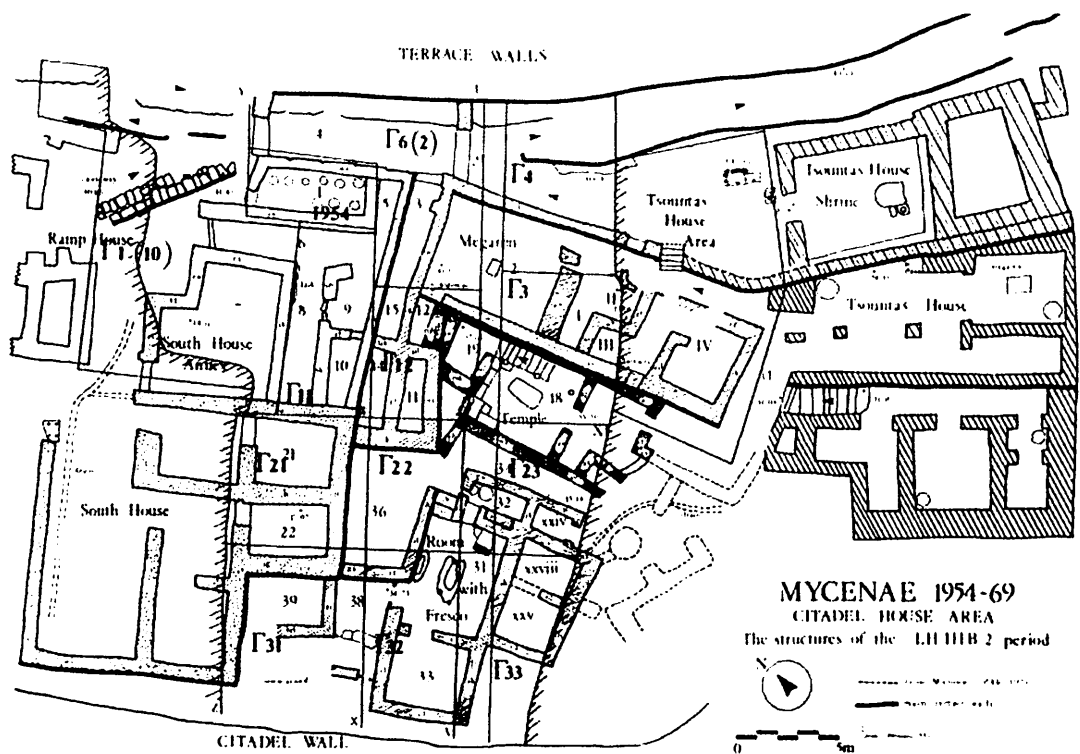


Fig.II.3

According to Taylour’s synoptic report on the 1959-1969 excavations in the Citadel House Area, a short period of time elapsed before new constructions were built up again after the destruction at the end of LHIIB, as indicated by rubble and washed-down earth

⁶⁹¹ French (2002) 82, 140

⁶⁹² For an example of the confusion occasionally occurring between Hellenistic and LHIIC remains cf. Taylour (1981) 23.

deposited above the debris.⁶⁹³ After that, four phases of reoccupation followed: phases IX-XII. Although Tylour himself characterized this account provisional,⁶⁹⁴ an attempt will be made here to reconstruct the re-occupation of the area on the basis of his description of the four phases and of the LHIIC finds, in combination with the stratigraphical description that Susan Sherratt has provided in her PhD dissertation for the deposits that accumulated next to the cyclopean wall, over the South part of room 33 of the Room with the Fresco complex.⁶⁹⁵ A significant problem regarding the reconstruction of the phase-series is the exact dating of each phase in the LHIIC period. Tylour's initial dating as suggested in the diagram of the site's history cannot be accepted, because it appears to have been later revised in scholarly literature.⁶⁹⁶ Thus, on the basis of Sherratt's PhD thesis, in which the material is subdivided in a five-phased scheme,⁶⁹⁷ and Crouwel's publication of the Mycenaean pictorial pottery, in which Sherratt's scheme is correlated to the current tripartite division of LHIIC,⁶⁹⁸ it is now possible to suggest the following datings for Tylour's four phases: phase IX should date to the very beginning of LHIIC-early, phase X to LHIIC-early, phase XI should last from the end of LHIIC-early to the end of LHIIC-middle, and phase XII equals LHIIC-late.

In the first phase after the destruction (– phase IX), i.e. in the very beginning of LHIIC-early, levelling, clearance and some first rebuildings took place.⁶⁹⁹ In the next two phases, i.e. in LHIIC-early and -middle (X and XI – cf. fig.II.4-5), a quite significant complex of buildings appears to have occupied the area.⁷⁰⁰ Thanks to the corresponding drawings that have been published, it is possible to give a short description of the structures.

South of the South House, a rectangular, one-room structure – which is called here Room A for the convenience of description – has been found lying more or less where the anteroom 38 of the Room with the Fresco complex was situated in LHIIB (fig.II.4). This structure apparently went through two stages: the first one in phase X and the second in the beginning of phase XI. In phase X, i.e. in LHIIC-early it seems to be delimited by three walls (hc, cb and jj) and part of the fortification wall (fig.II.4). Judging by the plan, there seem to have been two entrances to this room: one in the north-eastern and the other in the south-eastern corner.⁷⁰¹ On the basis of the room's position and the related finds, which are

⁶⁹³ Tylour (1981) 10
Cf. also Wardle (1973) 297-348, esp. 303 for the 'Causeway Deposit'.

⁶⁹⁴ Tylour (1981) 10

⁶⁹⁵ Sherratt (1981) 52-53, 60-61, 66-67, 78-79

⁶⁹⁶ Tylour (1981) 12-13

⁶⁹⁷ Sherratt (1981) 51

⁶⁹⁸ Crouwel (1991) 47-48

⁶⁹⁹ Tylour (1981) 11

⁷⁰⁰ Tylour (1981) 11 and 12-13: diagram of the history of the site

⁷⁰¹ Tylour (1981) 43

discussed in detail in the section on cult activities at Mycenae, it could be suggested that this room served cult purposes, taking over probably the role from one of the buildings of the LHIIIB cult centre.⁷⁰²

Room A seems to have been connected with another room to the East, which will be called here Room B (cf. fig.II.4). This second room was partly built by re-used walls of LHIIIB period.⁷⁰³

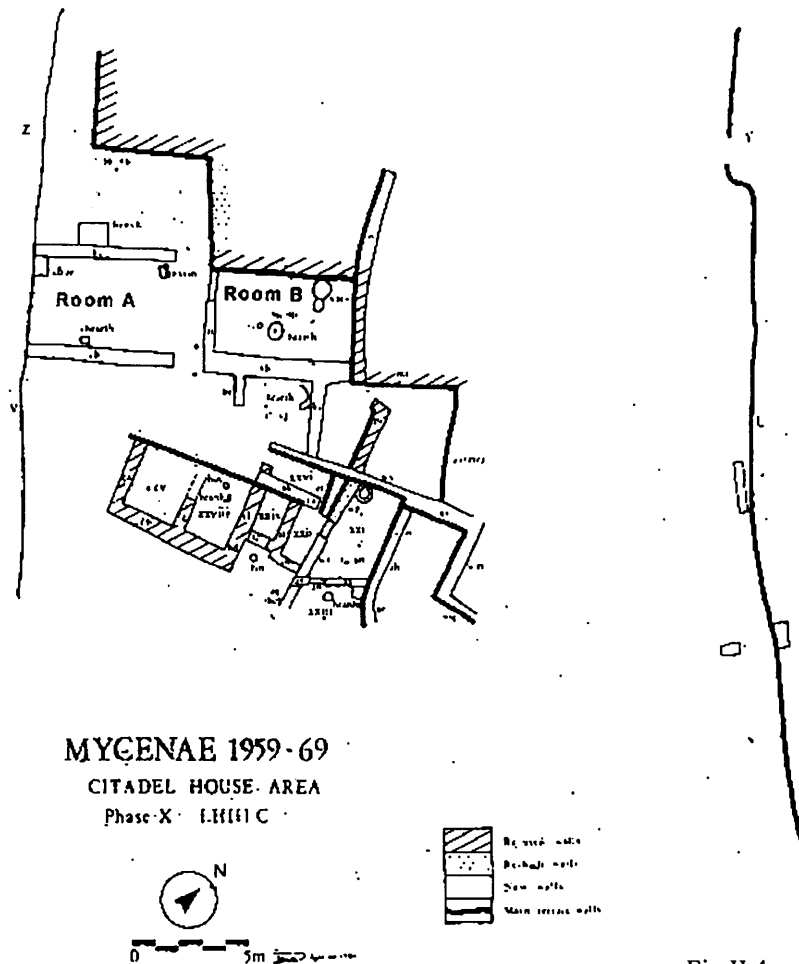


Fig.II.4

Its entrance was situated in the north-west corner and so room B was in direct communication with room A. Room B was apparently abandoned at the end of phase X, i.e. before the end of LHIIIC-early as indicated by a rich deposit that was left lying on the floor.⁷⁰⁴ This deposit has been interpreted as belonging to a

workshop or a storeroom of prestigious objects, implements and vases used in cult.⁷⁰⁵

Further to the South - South-east of Rooms A-B, three of the rooms that existed here already in LHIIIB were re-used in phase X. These are rooms xxv, xxviii and xxiv of the Room with the Fresco complex (fig.II.4). In LHIIIC, the previous walls of LHIIIB period were re-used as foundations. In room xxviii, a hearth and part of a bin of unbaked clay were uncovered in the north-eastern corner.⁷⁰⁶ Four more rooms (rooms xxi, xxii, xxiii and xxvi)

⁷⁰² Albers (1994) 51

⁷⁰³ Taylour (1981) 35-36

⁷⁰⁴ Taylour (1981) 36 and 40

⁷⁰⁵ Albers (1994) 51

⁷⁰⁶ Taylour (1981) 46

appear to have been in use further to the East in phase X (fig.II.4). Room xxi was constructed more or less above the southern part of the LHIIB Temple.⁷⁰⁷ No walls from the previous period appear to have been re-used in this case, but one of the new walls (wz, a pisé wall patched with stone) was built on top of the west wall of the LHIIB2 Temple. On the floor of the room, in the north-west corner there was a tall, almost biconical-shaped bin of unbaked clay. It is interesting that a layer of ash, sloping down from N to S, was associated with the topmost courses of the north wall (wt). Perhaps this relates to the destruction of the room.⁷⁰⁸ Room xxi apparently communicated with room xxiii to the S (fig.II.4). This had a pisé floor and two hearths, one square, the other round. An interesting find from this room was a long bone pin with a very sharp point. It has been interpreted as a stylus that could have been used on papyrus but would have been ill-adapted for writing on clay tablets.⁷⁰⁹

To sum up, two basic units of rooms with somewhat different alignment were built in LHIIC-early. The one to the North followed more or less the same alignment as the South House, i.e. a North-east – South-west direction, while the one to the South followed an East – West direction, which is more similar to the alignment of the Megaron, Temple and House of Frescoes. This difference was probably dictated by the re-use of earlier walls and also possibly by the ground formation. It seems that the area between the two units was also used and probably occupied by structures, but apparently they were badly preserved and so the current state of publication cannot offer us a clear picture.⁷¹⁰ At the end of phase X, before the end of LHIIC-early, the one of the two main rooms, room B was abandoned.

In the next phase XI, i.e. towards the end of LHIIC-early and in LHIIC-middle, “further alteration and buildings followed”.⁷¹¹ The South House was partially restored and re-occupied probably during this phase, as testified by LHIIC pottery that was found in its upper layers and in association with partly preserved earthen floors.⁷¹² Further to the South, room A went through a second phase of rebuilding and re-use lasting until the beginning of LHIIC-middle. It seems to have preserved more or less the same shape, but its size appears to have been reduced (fig.II.5). The only entrance of the room was now close to its north-eastern corner. Another change of the room’s structure in this phase was a wall (hb) dividing

⁷⁰⁷ Moore-Taylor (1999) 2

⁷⁰⁸ Taylor (1981) 36

⁷⁰⁹ Taylor (1981) 41-42

⁷¹⁰ Cf. Taylor (1981) 32, 36, 50

⁷¹¹ Taylor (1981) 11

⁷¹² Mountjoy (1976) 79-80 does not specify which LHIIC phase is represented here

Iakovidis (1986) 242

Taylor (1981) 35-36: a fragment of a wall (jh), built on top of the south wall of room 22 of the South House, and two successive mud floors belong to upper LHIIC.

Mountjoy (1993) 147: the date of its final destruction is unknown.

the room in two spaces. It seems to have gone out of use before the abandonment of the room, as it does not survive as high as the floor to the West.⁷¹³ As for room B to the East of room A, it had been abandoned at the end of the previous phase X, i.e. before the end of LHIIC-early, as already mentioned. In phase XI, wash is reported to have been deposited in the area of this room.⁷¹⁴

To the beginning probably of phase XI (end of LHIIC-early – beginning of LHIIC-middle) belongs also a round structure built to the South of room A and in relation to its former south wall (wall cb of phase X, whose stone foundation continued to be standing in this phase too⁷¹⁵ – fig.II.5). This round structure, referred to as the “tower”, apparently

possessed “an earth podium, which is touched on the North by wall cb”. A small enclosure was formed for a brief period to the West of the “tower,” allowing for a narrow entrance to it just to the South-west of the “tower”. It has been suggested that the “tower” had a cult function.⁷¹⁶ It must have gone out of use soon after the beginning of phase XI, i.e. early in LHIIC-middle, since wash is reported to have drifted above it in the same phase.⁷¹⁷

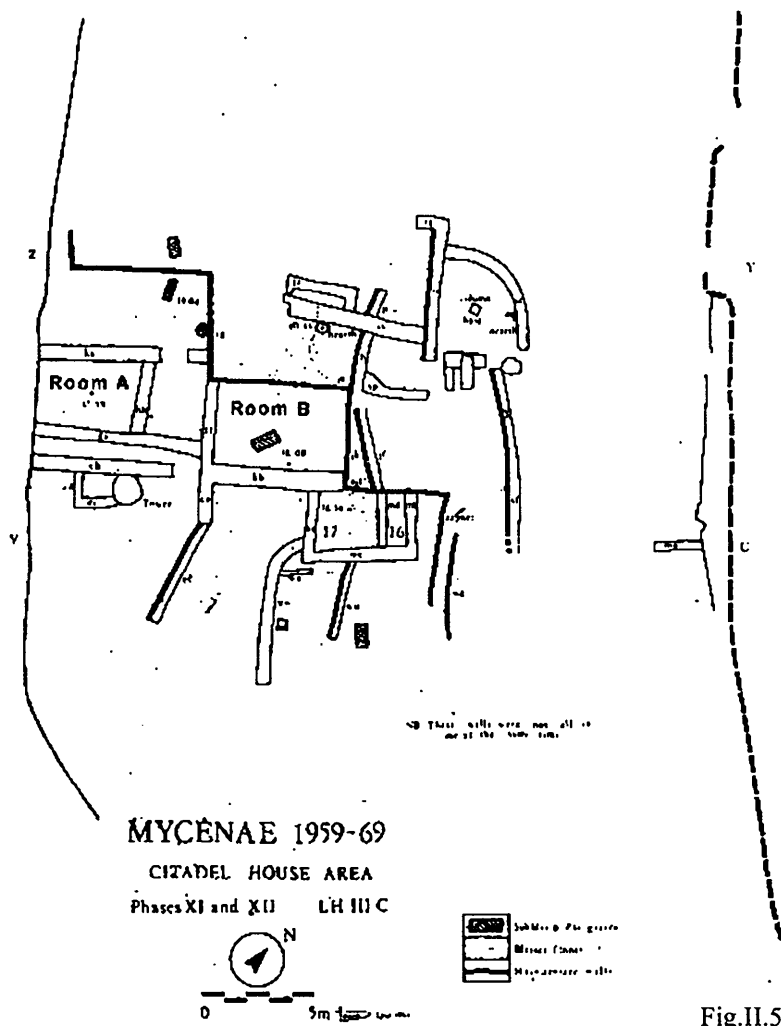


Fig.II.5

⁷¹³ Tylour (1981) 37-38

⁷¹⁴ Tylour (1981) 12-13: phase XI

⁷¹⁵ The mudbrick superstructure of the wall had apparently collapsed at the time of the second building phase of Room A - cf. Sherratt (1981) 61.

⁷¹⁶ Tylour (1981) 43

⁷¹⁷ Tylour (1981) 12-13: phase XI and 38

In phase XI, instead of rooms xxi-xxviii to the South-east, there were two other rooms (16, 17) lying a bit further to the North. Their walls were of poor construction, and the flimsiest of all was the one separating room 16 from 17 (md), probably added later to divide the original room.⁷¹⁸ During this phase (XI), many terrace walls were also built in the Citadel House Area, and in some cases structures were found in relation with them (fig.II.5).⁷¹⁹

Overall, in phase XI, i.e. in LHIIC-middle, it seems that it is more difficult to discern some organization in the use of the area. Room A and the tower were soon abandoned, and new, scattered structures were built in the area, while it is interesting to note that the walls appear to be of flimsier structure.

The end of phase XI was marked with a burnt destruction.⁷²⁰ In the drift deposits that accumulated over the “tower”, which had been abandoned since the beginning of LHIIC-middle, pottery dating to LHIIC-developed and advanced has been found. The latter phase in particular is represented by many more examples, whose style is reported to closely resemble that of pottery from the East Basement of the Granary. Therefore the deposit must be contemporary with the destruction of the Granary and it might represent “a tumble level from a contemporary destruction higher up the slope to the East, although there was no sign of burnt debris in the drift material”.⁷²¹ Evidence of a contemporary destruction has also come up in the north-eastern part of the Citadel House Area, where Granary-style vases were found in floor deposits, occasionally in association with traces of fire.⁷²² Another indication of such a destruction has been found further West, where one “floor”, overlain with a black, ashy layer was found on a level higher than Room A.⁷²³ The room itself must have been abandoned at some point before the destruction, since it is reported that in phase XI, “in the lower part to the West [...] the buildings may already have gone out of use since they are covered by a series of wash levels against the Citadel Wall.”⁷²⁴

Finally, in phase XII, i.e. in LHIIC-late, the Citadel House Area was abandoned, but wash levels indicate “the occupation or use of the higher parts of the Citadel in the final phase of LHIIC and in the SM period [...]. A series of insubstantial terrace walls running North-South may also belong to this period”.⁷²⁵

⁷¹⁸ Tylour (1981) 48

⁷¹⁹ Tylour (1981) 30

⁷²⁰ French (1998) 3

⁷²¹ Sherratt (1981) 67

⁷²² Tylour (1981) 26 and 30

⁷²³ Tylour (1981) 37-38

⁷²⁴ Tylour (1981) 11

⁷²⁵ Tylour (1981) 11 and 12-13: diagram of the history of the site

To recap: LHIIC-early (phase X) seems to have been a phase of revival for the area. The rich deposit of Floor 1 in the “workshop” testifies to this. The fact, however, that it was deposited and left there also shows the abandonment that came about before the end of that same phase. From then onwards, decline followed in LHIIC-middle (phase XI), and the fire destruction that occurred led to the total desertion of the area in LHIIC-late (phase XII).

II.5 Processional Way (fig.II.1: no.5)

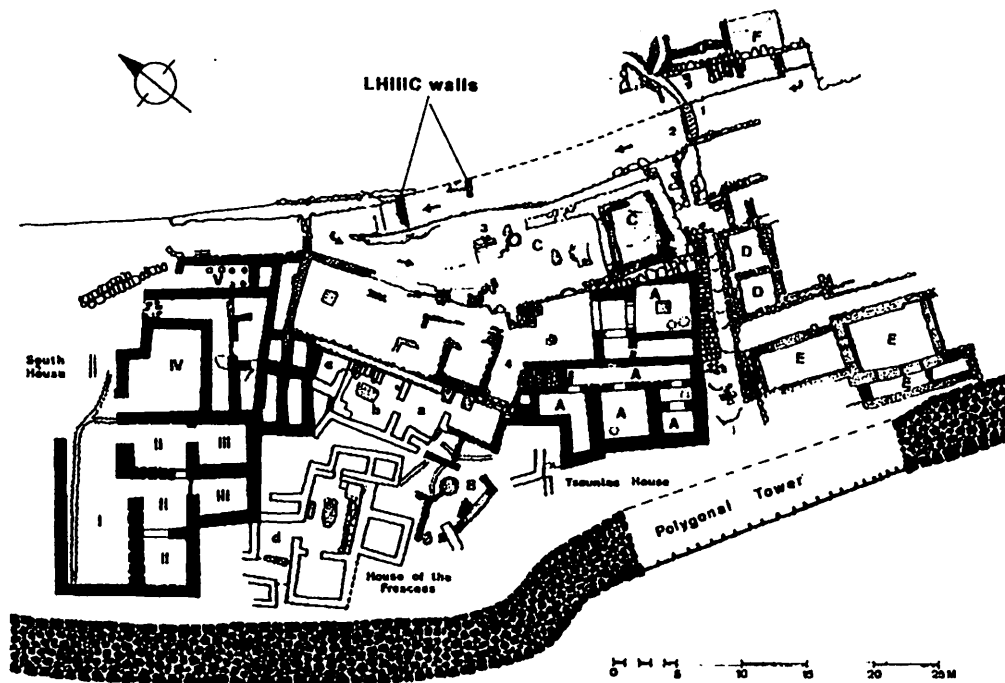


Fig.II.6
The Citadel
House Area

The Corridor of the Processional Way that led to the Cult Centre from higher up the slope and the Palace itself also formed part of the Citadel House Area (- it is marked with arrows on fig.II.6).⁷²⁶ This area was apparently not used in the same way in LHIIC. On the lower step of the Processional Way's staircase, a porus column base was found and was

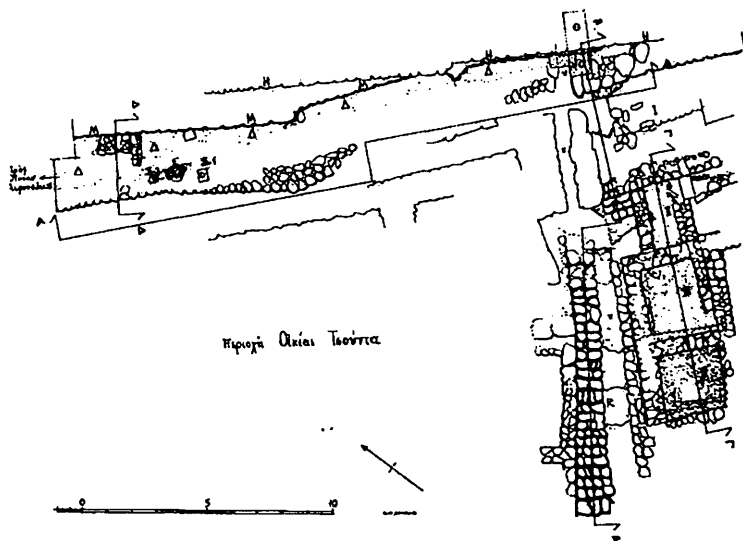


Fig.II.7
The Corridor
of the
Processional
Way

⁷²⁶ The idea of a “Processional Way” was put forward by Mylonas – cf. Mylonas (1981) 315.

thought to date to LHIIC.⁷²⁷ Over the area of the Corridor lay a building that contained a large clay hearth embedded in a thick layer of plesia. On each side of the hearth stood two stone rectangular column bases (fig.II.7: Σ1, Σ2, E). In still later times in the LHIIC period, another building was constructed over the area of the hearth. Two parallel walls built vertically to the corridor (fig.II.6 and wall a on fig.II.8), a stretch of cobblestone pavement strewn with sherds of the LHIIC period and two column bases survived from this later building. It was destroyed at the end of the LHIIC period.⁷²⁸ A child was also buried at the end of LHIIC under the slab of the second upper step of the staircase (fig.II.9).⁷²⁹



Fig.II.8
LHIIC
remains on
the
Corridor
from North-
west



Fig.II.9

Child burial under the staircase

II.6 *Epichosis*

Further South of the Citadel House Area, a deep accumulation of LHIIC layers forms the so-called *epichosis*, i.e. the fill that gradually mounted up against the east face of the so-called Hellenistic Tower (fig.II.1: no.6 and fig.II.6). The LHIIC layers from this area reach the depth of *ca.* 3m. The fill was

excavated in two parts: first was excavated the northern part, which had accumulated on top of the burnt remains of Tsountas' House, and two years later followed the excavation of the south part that lay on top of the ruins of House A (- Building E on fig.II.6).

In both parts, at least three different building phases were identified on the basis of successive walls and floors made of beaten earth and gravel. The earliest phase was dated to LHIIC-early on the basis of pottery. During the middle building phase, the respective floor was renewed three times. A circular hearth, bordered by a plesia ring and covered with

⁷²⁷ Mylonas (1970) 119-120; (1981) 309

⁷²⁸ Mylonas (1966) 109-110

Mylonas (1971) 152-153

Mylonas (1981) 309-310

⁷²⁹ Mylonas (1971) 151-152: the child was buried with one vase, two bronze fibulae and a bronze ring.

sherds, was also found on this floor in the northern part of the *epichosis*. The last, upper floor in the southern part produced fragments of frescoes, one of them depicting the head of a woman, the 'Lady with the Lily'.⁷³⁰

In both parts of the *epichosis*, evidence of fire – ashes and burnt wood – was found on the upper floor.⁷³¹ Among the pottery from the upper layer a Granary Class skyphos is also included, which could perhaps lead to the suggestion that this destruction of the last floor might actually be contemporary with and related to the conflagration that hit the Granary and the Citadel House Area at the end of LHIIC-middle.⁷³² Until the very significant material from the *epichosis* is published, however, there can only be speculations about the exact dating of the successive habitation layers in this area.

II.7 South-west Quarter

Evidence of LHIIC habitation has also been revealed further to the East of the *epichosis*, in the so-called South-west Quarter (fig.II.1: no.7 and fig.II.10). A group of LHIIC buildings was excavated here. They consist of irregular rooms, divided into blocks by covered drains leading out to the west Cyclopean wall. Small pits and rock cavities underneath the floor of the buildings were found to contain bones of infants.⁷³³

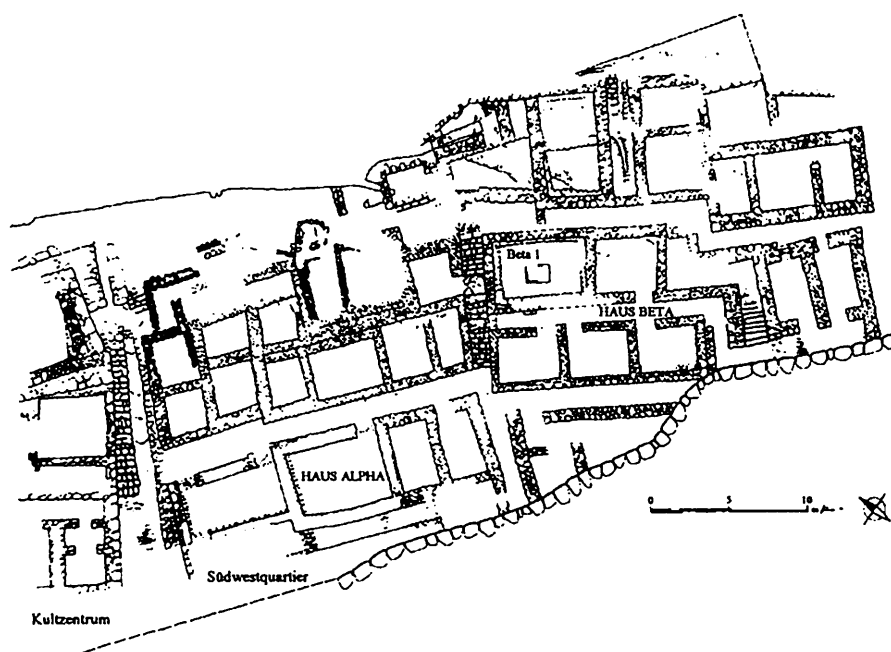


Fig.II.10
The South-west
Quarter

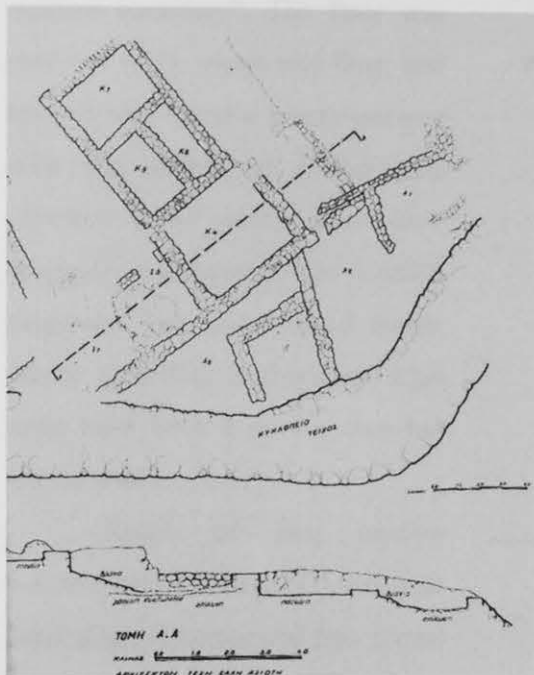
⁷³⁰ Mylonas (1968a) 10-11; (1970) 120-121; (1971) 146-147

⁷³¹ In the north part, the floor was heavily burnt, while the south part was simply covered with a layer of ash and carbonised wood – Mylonas (1970) 121. As Iakovidis (1986) 247 notes, “the conflagrations were obviously local and limited.”

⁷³² Iakovidis (1986) 247

⁷³³ Mylonas (1974) 89

More detailed information has been provided on three of these rooms that were discovered lying the one next to the other on a West-East axis, on three different, superimposed levels, parallel to the staircase that runs along the south wall of Tsountas' House (fig.II.7: II, III, IV). Two phases of habitation have been identified in relation to these structures on the basis of successive walls and floors, while the evidence testifies to fire destruction towards the end of LHIIC. A small road, leading from the staircase towards South was also re-used in LHIIC.⁷³⁴



LHIIB and LHIIC foundations have also been revealed in the most southern area along the west Cyclopean wall, i.e. along the curve of the enceinte above the Chavos ravine (fig.II.11). The buildings here were organized in three blocks of rooms. They were inhabited for a short period of time, from the second half of the 13th century until the beginning of the 12th century, and then they were abandoned without being burnt or violently destroyed.⁷³⁵

Fig.II.11
Plan and section of buildings in
the most southern area along
the west Cyclopean wall

II.8 Palace megaron (fig.II.1: no.8)

In the Palace area, the potential evidence of LHIIC occupation is quite dubious. An analytical discussion on the possibly LHIIC-middle remains in the megaron court is included in the main text, in chapter I: 2.1.2.

II.9 Palace East Wing

In the Palace East Wing, remains securely dating to LHIIC have been found in the area of the House of Columns (fig.II.1: no.9). Two LHIIC structures were found on top of the western of the two “megara”, i.e. the two large rooms that composed the northern part of

⁷³⁴ Mylonas (1966) 107

⁷³⁵ Iakovidis (1989) 38-39

the House of Columns, and one more structure was found above the east room (fig.II.12).⁷³⁶ These structures were dated to the early part of LHIIC on the basis of pottery.⁷³⁷

In particular, a small room, the so-called building Psi (Ψ) was built “along the east wall of the corridor of the LHIIB2 building, using that repaired wall for its western boundary”. The floor was made of earth, plesia and lime, and upon it was found a hearth covered with the sherds of a terracotta chimney pipe, which must have originally belonged to the LHIIB megaron. The room faced North, where according to Mylonas there must have been a portico that has not survived.

South of Psi, another building called Omega (Ω) was built soon after. It comprised two rooms lying over the corridor, the court and the west room of the LHIIB

building and it probably opened to the South. Preserved or repaired walls of the House of Columns were re-used in its construction.⁷³⁸ Another LHIIC building called N was built to the East of the other two, re-using again the preserved LHIIB walls as well as a threshold block that was now thought to serve as a column base: “among the wedging stones of its foundation, sherds were found belonging to the LHIIC period.” It was consequently suggested that this building would have had an entrance with two columns *in antis* facing South to the court.⁷³⁹ The LHIIC structures are reported to have been inhabited until the end

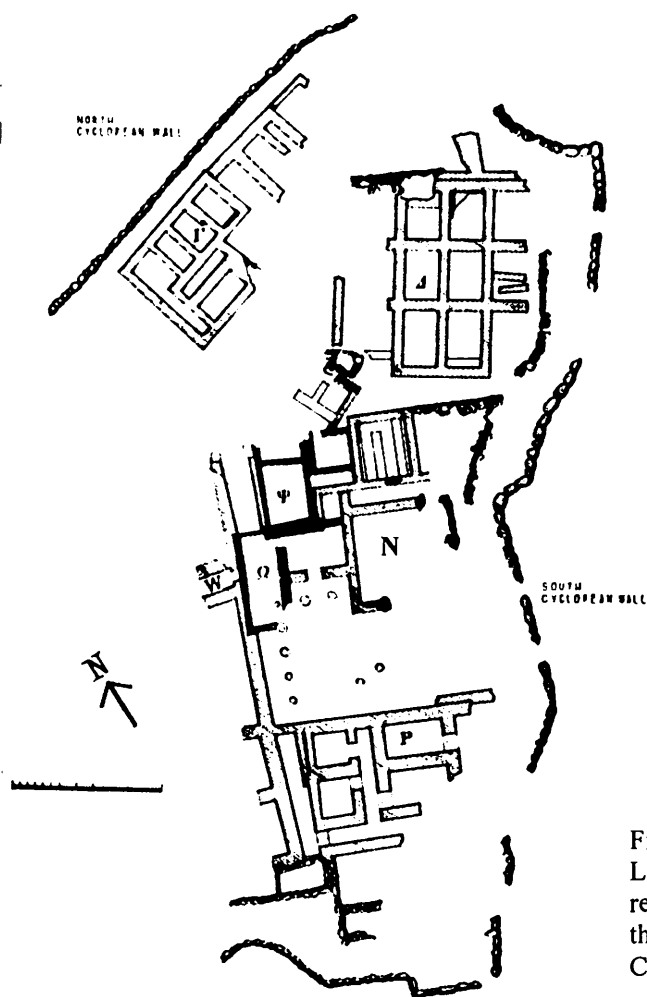


Fig.II.12
LHIIC
remains over
the House of
Columns

⁷³⁶ According to French, there was only a simple building constructed at an angle over the western of the two megara. This, however, is not mentioned in any of the preliminary reports; such a building can be seen in Wace (1949) fig.II. 32, but it is of Hellenistic date. Cf. French (2002) 138.

⁷³⁷ Mylonas (1967) 12-13; (1968b) 32-38

Cf. also Iakovidis (1977) 121-122

⁷³⁸ Mylonas (1968b) 37

⁷³⁹ Mylonas (1968b) 38

of LHIIC. The reoccupied part was eventually abandoned without showing any signs of burning.⁷⁴⁰

Further to the North-east of the House of Columns (fig.II.13), Building Delta must have still been in use in LHIIC, as indicated by pottery found in its court. The walls of Building Gamma were also re-used for the construction of a LHIIC building.⁷⁴¹ However, one sherd illustrated in the preliminary report as an example of the LHIIC reuse of one of the rooms, has been recently re-dated to LHIIB2.⁷⁴² Thus, until the full publication of the material comes out, doubts are cast over the LHIIC re-use of this building and the area in general.

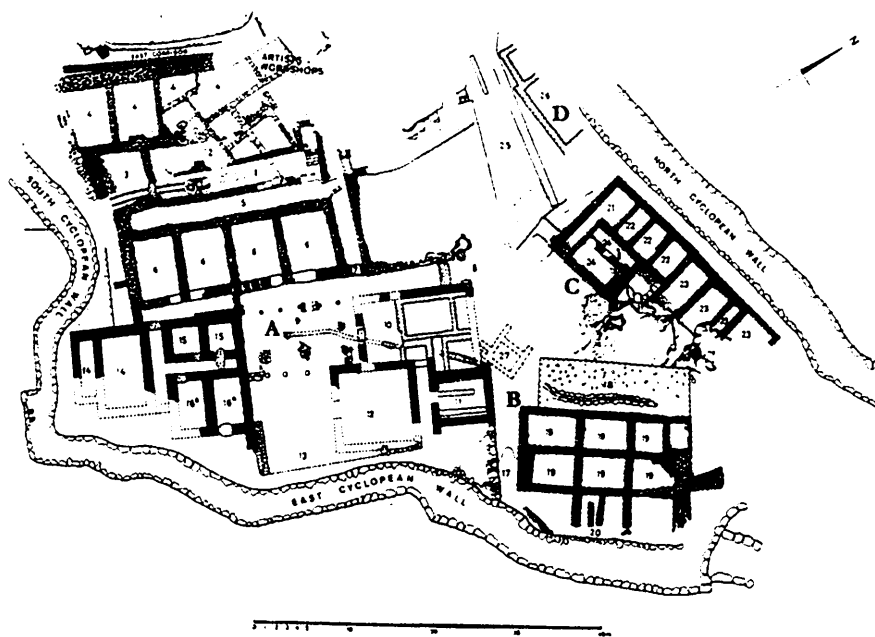


Fig.II.13
A: House of Columns
B: Building Delta
C: Building Gamma
D: LHIIC building

II.10 Northern Storeroom

A LHIIC fill was found above the remains of the northern storeroom (fig.II.1: no.10). Moreover, a LHIIB road that ran to the North, along the Cyclopean Wall, and led from the North Gate to the North-east extension was blocked in LHIIC-early by a building (D on fig.II.13).⁷⁴³ After this was built, the level of the road was artificially raised upon a c. 0.50m deep fill, which contained LHIIC pottery and was amassed above LHIIB ruins.⁷⁴⁴

⁷⁴⁰ Mylonas (1967) 13

Iakovidis (1986) 238

⁷⁴¹ Mylonas (1967) 16-17

Iakovidis (1986) 239

⁷⁴² For the sherd cf. Mylonas (1967) 17 and pl.7d. According to Mountjoy (1999) 60, the sherd dates to LHIIB2.

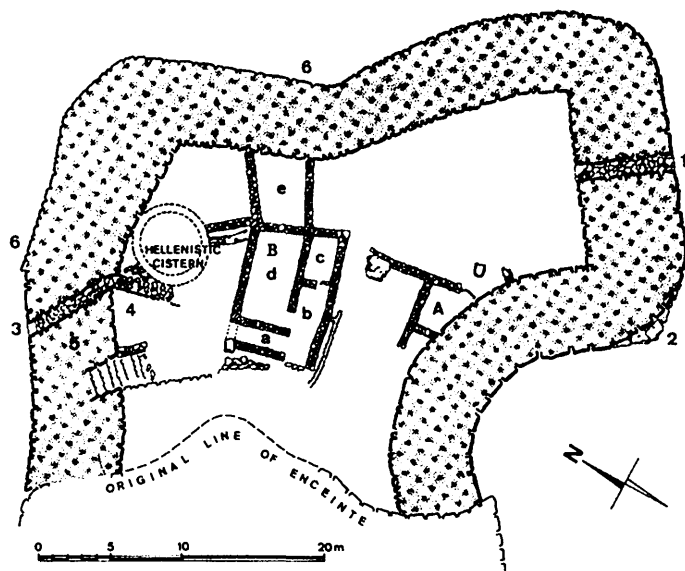
⁷⁴³ Mylonas (1967) 17-19, fig. 2 (- here the compass points to a wrong direction – West instead of North)

⁷⁴⁴ Mylonas (1968a) 5-9

II.11 North-east Extension

The area of the North-east Extension was still in use in LHIIC (fig.II.1: no.11 and fig.II.14). Late LHIIIB and LHIIC-early pottery was found on the floor of room 4 of House B, while more LHIIC pottery came from the road that ran along the south wall of the house. In the reports there is no reference to LHIIC pottery found in House A.⁷⁴⁵

Fig.II.14
North-east
extension



II.12 Area of House M (fig.II.1:
no.12)

Corridor Γ, stretching between House M and the fortification wall, yielded some LHIIC pottery, and so did the casemates as well as the fill of the complex of rooms to the South of corridor Γ (fig.II.15). It seems that this area in general continued to be used in

LHIIC.⁷⁴⁶ According to Mountjoy, the pottery dates to LHIIC-early and –middle.⁷⁴⁷

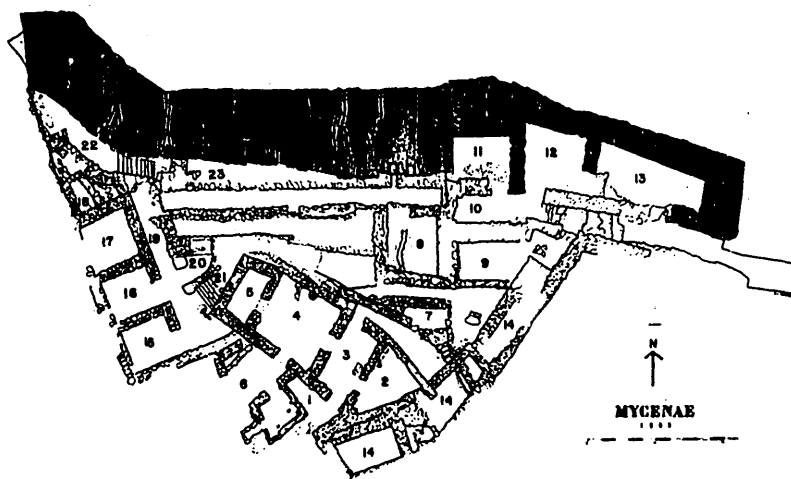


Fig.II.15
Area of House M
(rooms 3-4-5)

Iakovidis (1977) 122-123; (1986) 239

⁷⁴⁵ Mylonas (1964b) 74-76, pl.78b: only late LHIIIB pottery is illustrated here – no LHIIC-early – cf. also Mountjoy (1999) 60.

Mylonas (1965) 85-87

Iakovidis (1986) 239-240

⁷⁴⁶ Mylonas (1962b) 61-64, pl.62: LHIIC sherds from the fill of the rooms in this area

Iakovidis (1977) 115; (1983) 53; (1986) 240

⁷⁴⁷ Mountjoy (1999) 60

Iakovides and French (2003) 13 note that the casemates remained in use until the end of LHIIC.

Outer settlement (fig.II.16)

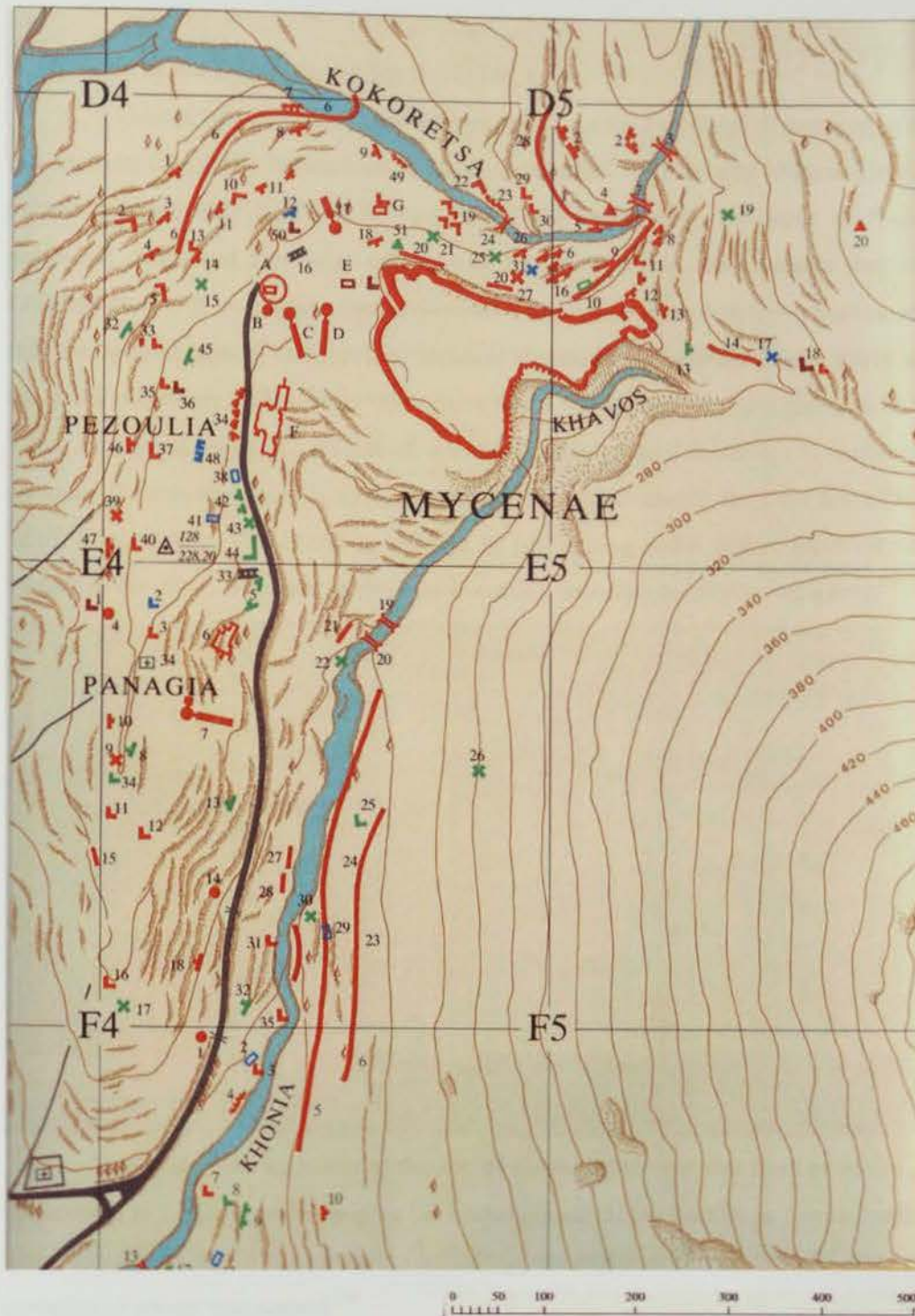


Fig.II.16
The area of the
citadel of
Mycenae

II.13 *Klytemnestra tholos* (fig.II.16: D4, C)

LHIIC building remains have been reportedly found East of *Klytemnestra tholos*, but no more details have been provided. It has only been mentioned that in one of these

buildings' walls, a blue stone block decorated with a carved spiral was found: it must come from the decoration of the front of Klytemnestra tholos, and therefore the entrance to the tomb appears to have been disturbed already since LHIIC times.⁷⁴⁸

II.14 House of the Tripod Burial (fig.II. 16: D4, G)

Evidence of partial reuse has been reported for the buildings discovered at the site of the museum (fig.II.17). Isolated attempts of rehabilitation were clearly observed in two rooms (7 and 1a) and only hinted at in two others (18 and 16) on the basis of fragmentarily preserved walls and carelessly constructed floors overlying the deposits that sealed the LHIIB2 floors. It is possible that earlier walls were also reused in this phase, and it seems that the general plan of the previous phase is repeated. The pottery found above and under the walls and floors of this phase dates them to the transition from LHIIB2 to LHIIC-early. These structures appear to go out of use by the end of LHIIC-early, as indicated by the absence of close-style sherds in the deposits.⁷⁴⁹ Sparse evidence for later use of the area in LHIIC-middle/late was found in relation to two strong walls with East-West orientation further to the West. This part of the area, however, was only hastily investigated.⁷⁵⁰



Fig.II.17
House of the
Tripod Burial

The area of the buildings at the site of the museum was also used as burial ground at some point in LHIIC, probably after the abandonment of the buildings. Seven burials (I-VII) were found in total in the remains, including the burial with the tripods after which the complex of rooms was named.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁸ Papadimitriou (1954) 268

Iakovidis, French *et al.* (2003) 52

⁷⁴⁹ Onassoglou (1995) 145

⁷⁵⁰ Onassoglou (1995) 134-138 and 147

⁷⁵¹ Cf. further on II.20, p.319-21

II.15 Panagia Houses (fig.II.16: E4, 6)

In the area of the Panagia Houses, on the southern slope of the Panagia Hill, scattered sherds and vases found in the fill washed down from the hill slope above indicate that some sort of habitation continued to exist in this area until the very end of the LHIIIB period and into the LHIIC period.⁷⁵² Moreover, some of the latest pottery from the excavation, dating to LHIIC, came from the area of rooms 22-26 to the North-west of the three houses, which were apparently constructed later than Houses I-III, as also indicated by the architectural sequence of the walls (fig.II.18).⁷⁵³ However, no sherds of the Close Style have been found, and therefore it has been suggested that "the hill slope was abandoned before the end of the Mycenaean era and the complete collapse within the citadel itself".⁷⁵⁴

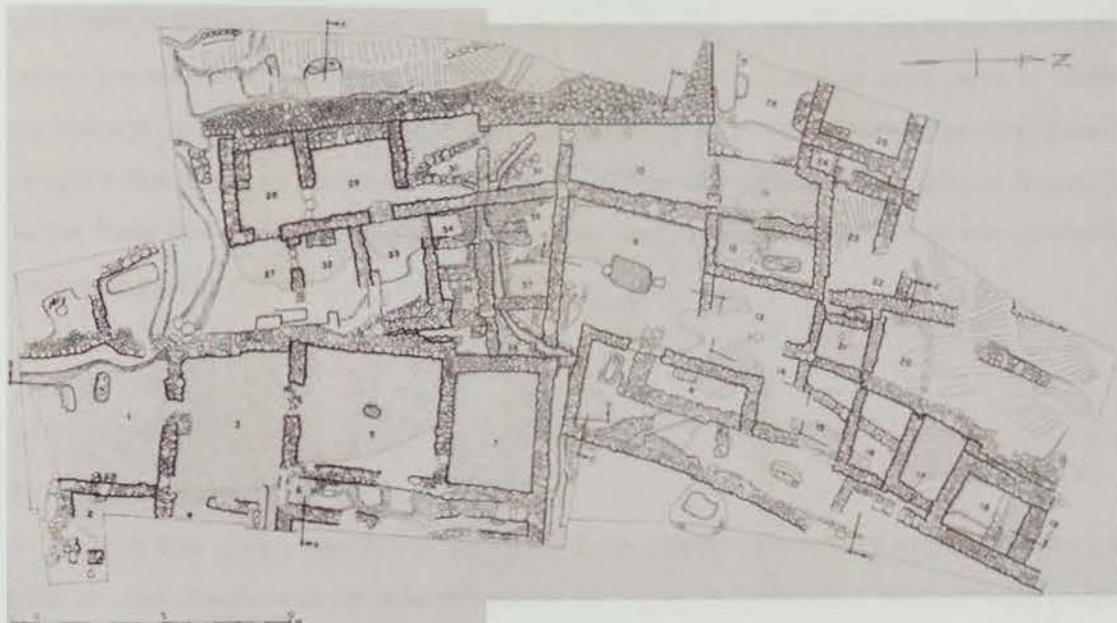


Fig.II.18
The Panagia
Houses



Fig.II.19
LHIIC-late
amphoriskoi

Nevertheless, one of the vases coming from the fill that was washed down the slope, i.e. the amphoriskos n.132 (fig.II.19a) should probably date to LHIIC-late.⁷⁵⁵ Besides, the parallel that Mylonas-Shear herself gives for this amphoriskos (fig.II.19b) comes

⁷⁵² Mylonas Shear (1987) 156-157

⁷⁵³ Mylonas Shear (1987) 64-66

⁷⁵⁴ Mylonas Shear (1987) 3

⁷⁵⁵ Mylonas Shear (1987) 107 n.132, pl. 30, fig.18. Compare with Mountjoy (1986) fig.II.236 (*FS* 59).

from the burial under the second step of the staircase leading to the Corridor of the Processional Way, which has been dated to LHIIC-late or even the SM period.⁷⁵⁶

II.16 *Plakes House* (fig.II.16: D4, 29)

Another indication of LHIIC habitation outside the citadel is probably the wall that was built along the west side of the Plakes House after its destruction at the end of LHIIB2. The construction of this wall aimed to hold back the ruins from falling down the slope, where there might have been LHIIC structures, as Mylonas speculated.⁷⁵⁷

II.17 *Khania*

Finally, further away to the South-west of the citadel, a LHIIC house has been excavated at Khania. Unfortunately, it has not been published yet.⁷⁵⁸ It lies to the South of a cremation tumulus (fig.II.20: sq.J1). Storage rooms with pithoi and an entry ramp to enable agricultural produce to be brought into the building easily have been reported. French suggests that due to its position on the direct route from the citadel of Mycenae to Argos, “it might have had a mixed function as rural site and stopping point”.⁷⁵⁹ It was probably destroyed by fire at the end of LHIIC.⁷⁶⁰

Burials

II.18 *Clytemnestra tholos*

“A few pieces, possibly of the Close Style, mostly of bowls of varying shapes”, as well as other sherds with pictorial decoration belonging to kraters “of Warrior Vase shape” were reportedly found in the tholos tomb of Clytemnestra. They were recovered during the excavations in this tomb by Sophia Schliemann, and “there is no proof that any of them belong to the original sepulchral deposits of the tomb”.⁷⁶¹ It should be reminded here that

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. further on II.21, p.321, n.102

⁷⁵⁷ Mylonas (1975) 161

Kilian (1980) 171

⁷⁵⁸ Iakovidis (2003) 122: personal communication with the excavator, Mrs. E. Palaiologou

Iakovidis, French *et al.* (2003) 59: map 9, square J1:01

Cf. also Catling (1984-85) 21: he draws his information from the Greek press (*Eleftherotypia* 12.12.84); he does not give a precise dating to the building remains. He refers to a cooking installation identified beside the hearth of one of the larger rooms.

⁷⁵⁹ French (2002) 69

⁷⁶⁰ Iakovidis, French *et al.* (2003) 59 refer to personal communication with the excavator.

⁷⁶¹ Wace (1921-23) 363-366, esp. 365 and 366, no.74

For the pictorial style sherds, cf. also Sakellarakis (1992) nos. 23 (LHIIC-early), 33,175 and 220 (LHIIC-middle)

Iakovidis (2003) 122

according to Papadimitriou, the tomb must have been disturbed by LHIIC, as indicated by a block probably coming from its façade and found built in a LHIIC wall to the East.⁷⁶² The lack of precise details on the provenance of this pottery does not allow us to consider it as evidence for use of the tomb in LHIIC.

II.19 Chamber tomb cemeteries

In the Kalkani Cemetery, i.e. on the north slope of the Kalkani hill rising to the South-west of the citadel, further West of the Panagia ridge (fig.II.20: sq.E3), five of the chamber tombs that Wace excavated contained LHIIC burials.⁷⁶³ Tombs 524 and 527 apparently continued to be in use in LHIIC-early, while tomb 515 was probably re-used in this phase after not being visited for some time.⁷⁶⁴ In the next phase of LHIIC-middle, only one tomb (532) was re-used.⁷⁶⁵ In LHIIC-late, tomb 515 was put back into use, and one more tomb (517) was also revisited.⁷⁶⁶ The two last burials in tomb 527 might also date to this period. They were not accompanied by any offerings, and they took place some time after the tomb had been used in LHIIC-early, as indicated by the accumulation of earth and stones over the layer of earlier burials.⁷⁶⁷ As for burial offerings in these tombs, they mostly consist of pottery. In one case, a pair of bronze tweezers were found with a LHIIC-early burial (XIII) in tomb 515, while the presence of a gold rosette and a faience bead near the bones of another one (XVIII) was thought to be probably accidental.⁷⁶⁸ A glass bead was also found with a LHIIC-late vase in tomb 517.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶² Papadimitriou (1954) 268

Iakovidis, French *et al.* (2003) 52

⁷⁶³ Alden (1981) 128 and 141-147: she argues that six tombs contained LHIIC burials, adding T.533 on the basis of a vase (no.16). It does not seem to be certain, however, that this vase should date to LHIIC. It is worth noting Wace's observation on the pottery of the tomb: "The character of the later LHIII pottery which, though poor in fabric, is not of the Granary Class, shows that the tomb ceased to be used before the end of that period." – cf. Wace (1932) 117 and pl. LVII, no.16. Cf. also Shelton (2003) 36.

⁷⁶⁴ For tomb 524 cf. Wace (1932) 38-43; pl. XXII, no.19: the LHIIC-early jug; Alden (1981) 142, 149: she also assigns two bird-vases, nos. 1 and 14 to LHIIC; and Mountjoy (1999) 75.

For tomb 527 cf. Wace (1932) 94-98; pl. XLVII, no. 13 and XLVIII, no.11; Alden (1981) 146, 151; Mountjoy (1999) 75, 155-156.

Tomb 515 contained six LHIIC-early vases – cf. Mountjoy (1999) 75, 154-6. Only one vase could be dated to LHIIB – cf. Cavanagh-Mee (1978) 43, n. 54.

⁷⁶⁵ Wace (1932) 110-113 ; pl. LHII, no.9

Alden (1981) 147 assigns one more vase, no.14 to LHIIC

Mountjoy (1999) 76, 169

⁷⁶⁶ Tomb 515 contained two LHIIC-late vases – cf. Mountjoy (1999) 78, 188.

For the vase in tomb 517 cf. Wace (1932) 67-74; pl.XXXIV, no. 49; Alden (1981) 144, 150;

Mountjoy (1999) 78, 177.

⁷⁶⁷ Wace (1932) 94-98

⁷⁶⁸ Wace (1932) 50-63, esp. 55-56 for the LHIIC burials

Alden (1981) 143, 149

⁷⁶⁹ Wace (1932) 67-74; pl.XXXIV, no. 49

Another LHIIC-late vase comes from a tomb dug by Tsountas, about which however we do not really know anything regarding its location or its contents. The vase was kept with several other kinds of finds labelled as “from Tombs of Mycenae 1887/1888”.⁷⁷⁰

In the Third Kilometre cemetery, stretching along the east hillside of the Panagia Ridge (fig.II.20: sq.E4), one tomb, n.502, was apparently re-used in LHIIC-late as indicated by a group of eight vases found deposited within a stone enclosure in the South corner of the tomb. They must have belonged to the last interment in the tomb.⁷⁷¹

One more tomb (n.70) at the location Kato Pigadi, to the South of the Kalkani hill, excavated by Tsountas in 1893 and occasionally considered to belong to the Alepotrypa Cemetery (fig.II.20: sq.F3), most probably contained LHIIC burials: two vases could be dated – according to French’s opinion – to LHIIC.⁷⁷² Besides, it was in this tomb that was found the ‘Warriors Stele’, which has been attributed to the painter of the Warrior Vase. It was found with other poros plaques blocking the entrance of a niche of the chamber.⁷⁷³ It originally carried carved decoration and would have served “as a marker during the Shaft Grave era, and perhaps again as a stele after it was stuccoed and painted.”⁷⁷⁴

LHIIC evidence has also occurred in another of the tombs of the Alepotrypa Cemetery. The tomb contained many bones in disorder, among which there were at least eighteen skulls and five broken vases, all probably dating to LHIIC.⁷⁷⁵ More specifically, two of the vases date to LHIIC-middle, and another one to LHIIC-late.⁷⁷⁶ Two burials found undisturbed in the west side of the chamber should be the last interments. They had not received any offerings.

⁷⁷⁰ Xenaki-Sakellariou (1985) 133 n.2258, 160, 317 n.22 and pl. 59

Mountjoy (1999) 64, 186: she includes this tomb among the Kalkani cemetery tombs

⁷⁷¹ Wace (1932) 3-10, esp. 5; pl. XI, nos.6-12 and pl. XII, n.5

Mountjoy (1999) 78, 175, 179, 184, 186

Shelton (2003) 36

⁷⁷² Apparently, however, she was not sure for the exact dating of either of them. Cf. Xenaki-Sakellariou (1985) 317, n.22, where she recites French’s opinion on the following vases: n. 3061 from tomb 70: LHII or LHIIC, and n. 3062 from tomb 70: LHIIB-LHIIC – cf. Xenaki-Sakellariou (1985) 203 and pl.90.

Xenaki Sakellariou (1985) 201 catalogues the tomb as belonging to the Kalkani Cemetery; Shelton (2003) 36 however regards its location as part of the Alepotrypa cemetery.

⁷⁷³ Xenaki-Sakellariou (1985) 203-204: Λ3256

⁷⁷⁴ Immerwahr (1990) 151

⁷⁷⁵ Verdelis (1962a) 101-102; Verdelis (1962b) 76-78: tomb Γ

Alden (1981) 126-127

Shelton (2003) 36

⁷⁷⁶ Mountjoy (1999) 163, 165, 192: she regards the tomb as part of the Alepotrypa cemetery

Evidence for LHIIC use has also occurred at the Gortsoulia Cemetery (fig.II.20: sq.C7). This was situated around 2 km North-east of the citadel, on either side of the pass between Profitis Ilias and Mt Szara, and comprised four tombs.⁷⁷⁷ A LHIIC-middle stirrup jar was found in the fill of one of the tombs. It is the latest offering in the tomb, but it is

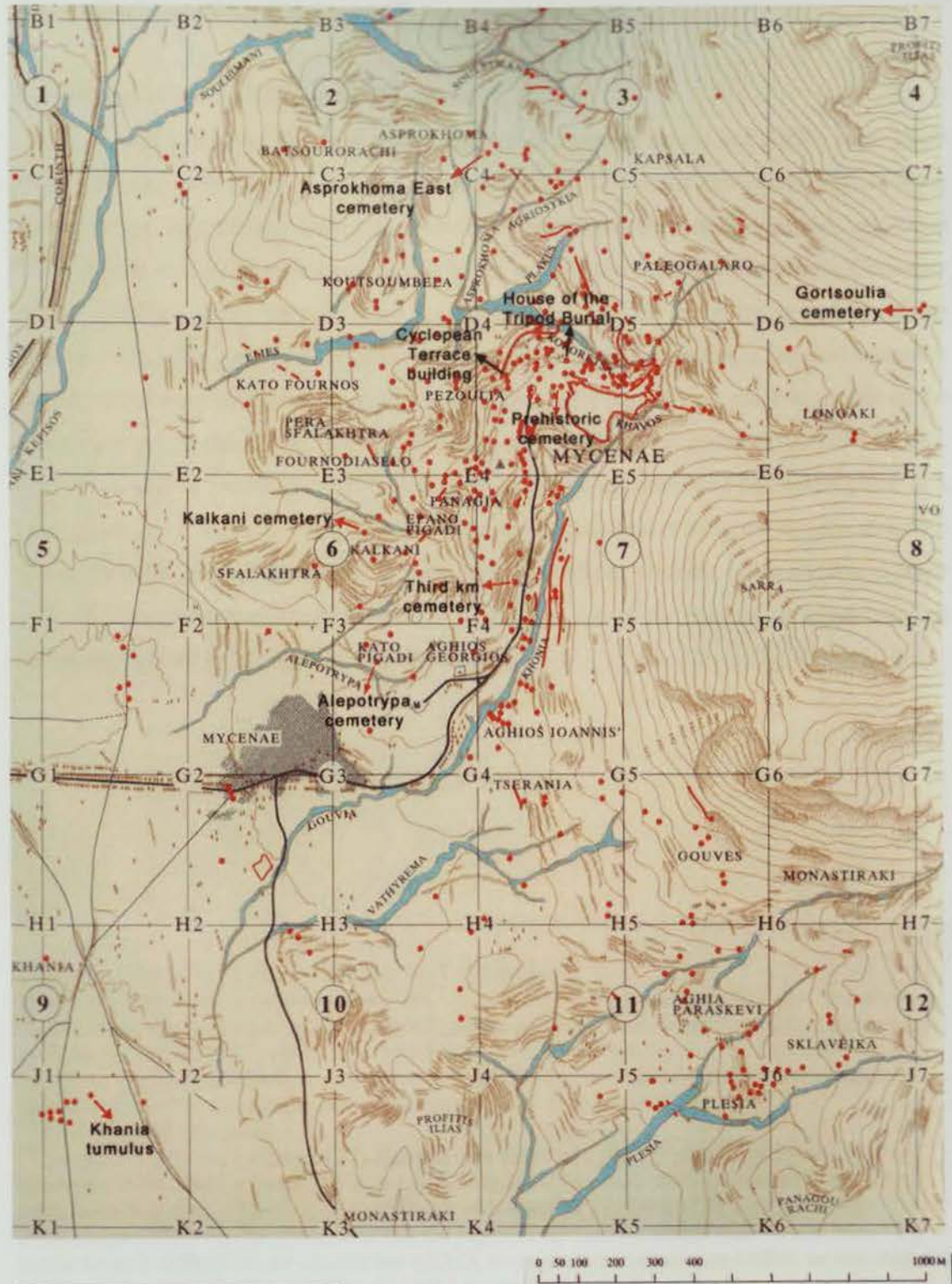


Fig.II.20
The wider area
of the citadel of
Mycenae

⁷⁷⁷ Mylonas (1964) 68
Alden (1981) 136-137

possible that it did not belong to the last burial, since “its broken and apparently scattered condition suggests that even this ‘last’ burial had been disturbed”.⁷⁷⁸

Another tomb was reportedly in use “as late as LHIIC-middle” in the Asprochoma East Cemetery, further to the North of the citadel (fig.II.20: sq.B4). However, no more information is available on this tomb.⁷⁷⁹

II.20 *Other kinds of burials outside the citadel*

In addition to the re-use or continuous use of chamber tombs in LHIIC, other kinds of burials also took place in this period, both inside and outside the citadel. These were mostly single inhumations buried in abandoned buildings. Outside the citadel, an infant burial placed in a stone casket was found in the area of the so-called Prehistoric Cemetery (Grave XXXIX), lying partially over a wall presumed to be the north boundary of the cemetery (fig.II.20: sq.D4). It appears to date to LHIIC-late. A bowl, a jug and a steatite spindle whorl were offered to the dead child.⁷⁸⁰ Two other burials took place in the fill of the south room of the Cyclopean Terrace Building, not far below the surface (fig.II.20: sq.D4). One was a simple interment lying by the west wall, and the other one had taken place in a large pithos with elaborate incised and plastic decoration, found lying on its side and with stones carefully packed around it. It contained the skeletal remains of an adult and three vases.⁷⁸¹ The inhumation has been dated to LHIIC-middle on the basis of an accompanying stirrup jar, and the pithos burial to LHIIC-late.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁸ Shelton (2000) 36-41: tomb G-III; esp. 39, V520, fig.II. 7f

In Mylonas (1964) the cemetery was wrongly reported to be of exclusively LHIIC date. In reference to that, Shelton stresses that “no cemetery at Mycenae excavated thus far dates (construction and use) exclusively to the LHIIC period. This includes the cemetery at Gortsoulia... the use of this distant cemetery, whether continuous or reused during LHIIC, reinforces the continuity of the community at Mycenae rather than being indicative of new trends” – cf. Shelton (2000) 64.

⁷⁷⁹ Shelton (2003) 36 and 40

⁷⁸⁰ Hägg (1974) 65 has considered this burial to date to SM, but Desborough identified the bowl as belonging to the Granary Class - Desborough (1954) 258-259 and pl. 43d. He referred to this tomb again when he compared the jug from this tomb with a similar one from a SM tomb (Γ31- cf. Desborough (1973) 97): he commented that the jug from this tomb is earlier than the one from Γ31, but he found it difficult to say whether the XXXIX burial should be classed as LHIIC or SM. Alden (2000) 43 also considers this tomb as of LHIIC dating.

⁷⁸¹ Wace (1921-23) 406

⁷⁸² Mountjoy (1993) 149; (1999) 63

An impressive burial found in the most northern of the LHIIIB rooms (room 22) of the House of the Tripod Burial also dates to the LHIIIC period (fig.II.20: sq.D4). At some point after the abandonment of the room at the end of LHIIIB2, a man of around 30 years of age was buried in a pit, apparently covered with wooden plaques, upon which two bronze tripods were placed upside-down (fig.II.21, 23). A stepped border was formed at the upper edge of the pit to receive the wooden cover, while schist plaques found partly fallen in the tomb might have also been laid on top of it. The pit was dug in such close proximity to the western wall of room 22 that a few stones of the wall's inner side had to be removed for its construction. Twenty unused bronze double axes and a rare bronze wedge-like tool,

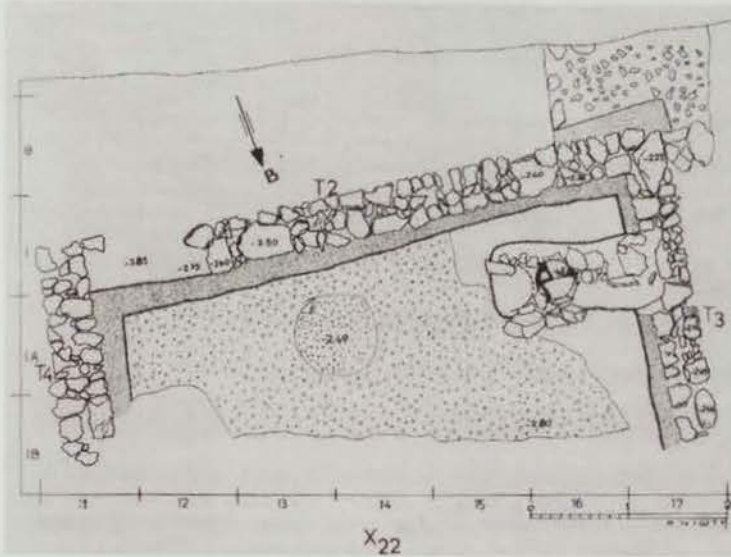


Fig.II.22
Photo of the
interment in the
Tripod Burial

whose prototype should come from North-Central Europe, were also buried in the tomb (fig.II.22). The sherds found in the fill of the tomb gave a terminus post quem of LHIIIB2 or rather LHIIIB2/LHIIIC-early, and coupled with the study of the bronzes, and especially of the tripods, which are stylistically closer to the Mycenaean than the PG types, date the burial to the LHIIIC period. It is interesting to note that according to lead isotope analysis, all the bronzes from this tomb were made of bronze coming from Laurion. It has been suggested that the tomb might have belonged to a bronze smith, buried with the stock of his workshop.⁷⁸³



Fig.II.21
The Tripod
Burial

⁷⁸³ Onassoglou (1995) 25-51. It should be noted that according to the explanatory signs at the Museum of Mycenae, where the finds from this tomb are exhibited, it should be dated to the later phases of LHIIIC (1150-1050 BC).

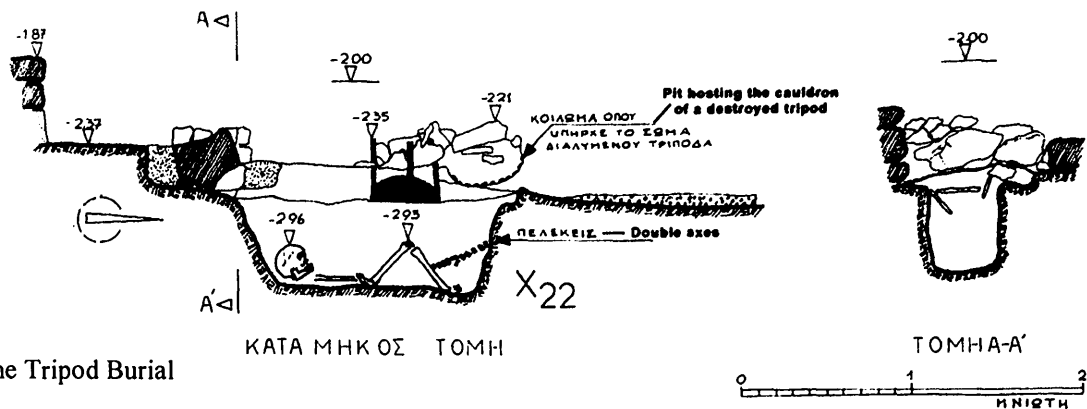


Fig.II.23
Sections of the Tripod Burial

Six other burials of adults and children were found dug in the rooms of the buildings to the South. They contained no offerings, and most of them were buried in shallow pits, delineated in two cases by a series of stones, except for an infant burial placed in an unpainted, pithoid vase, and an adult burial (IV in room 17) buried in a pit resembling that of the burial with the tripods (fig.II.17).⁷⁸⁴ It had the same orientation, was likewise attached to a wall, and also had the same stepped construction along its upper border, destined probably to receive some kind of cover. A clay plaque, originally belonging to a larnax, was found fallen at an angle inside the tomb.⁷⁸⁵ Although it is not made clear in the publication, it seems that the plaque lay on a cover possibly of wood, which decayed and thus caused the plaque to fall inside the tomb in this way. The similarities of this tomb to the one with the tripods lying 2.5m further to the South-east makes it sound quite possible that these two should probably belong to the same period, as suggested by the excavator. It should be noted, however, that this burial lay in an intensively crouched position, while the other one was supine with legs somewhat contracted, and thus the tomb with the tripods was of larger size.⁷⁸⁶

Quite exceptional is the burial tumulus found further away from the citadel, at *Khania*, between Mycenae-Phichtia and Monastiraki (fig.II.20: sq.J1). It contained nine cremation urns of LHIIC-middle date.⁷⁸⁷

II.21 *Inside the citadel*

Inside the citadel, the bones of infants buried underneath the floor of LHIIC buildings in the South-west Quarter are the only indications for LHIIC burials taking place

⁷⁸⁴ Onassoglou (1995) 62, 66, 76-77, 83, 103, 105

⁷⁸⁵ Onassoglou (1995) 76-77

⁷⁸⁶ Onassoglou (1995) 78

⁷⁸⁷ Dimakopoulou (1981) 85

Catling (1984-85) 21

Iakovidis, French *et al* (2003) 59

while the area was still inhabited.⁷⁸⁸ In the Staircase fill (fig.II.2), the Bath Grave was dug at the time of Stratum XI, i.e. in LHIIC-late, after the area had been abandoned. A large terracotta bath or larnax was inserted down into Stratum X. One vase was found in the bath and three more beside it. Broken bones were found by the bath, presumably tipped out from it by looters.⁷⁸⁹ Another similar case is the child burial under the Staircase leading to the Processional Way. As it has already been mentioned, the burial must have taken place when this particular area was no longer in use, either in LHIIC-late or even in the SM period (fig.II.9). It had been offered one finger ring and two arch fibulae.⁷⁹⁰

II.22 Cult

After the devastating destruction at the end of LHIIB2, a short period of time appears to have elapsed until activity was resumed in the area of the Cult Centre. After this interval, rebuildings were undertaken hesitantly at first and more actively later on.

In particular, Room A was built more or less above the anteroom 38 of the Room with the Fresco complex, but judging by the available facilities in room A, the latter must have adopted a totally different function (fig.II.3-4). An oblong construction like a bench built of earth and rubble and covered with plesia was found to the North of the room.⁷⁹¹ To the South of the northern wall (hc) – whose south face was plastered, i.e. in the inside of the room, there was a clay bin of unusual construction, the base being “of pithos-type fabric embedded in the plesia”.⁷⁹² Another interesting feature of the room was a strange structure situated in the north-eastern corner (-characterized as basin on the plan – cf. fig.II.4). The structure “was roughly square in plan (c. 90x76cms) with a slight convex curve on its east side. It stood about 50 cms high. The surface was partly of stone with plesia covering a large part of the surface area.” A kylix was found at the base of the structure, which has been interpreted as an altar.⁷⁹³ A hearth must have also existed inside the room, in its southern part

⁷⁸⁸ Mylonas (1974) 89

⁷⁸⁹ Wace (1921-3) 36

Desborough (1973) 99-100: “certainly very late in LHIIC, possibly even within the eleventh century.”

Hagg (1974) 66: maybe it should date to the SM period

Mountjoy (1993) 145

⁷⁹⁰ Mylonas (1971) 151-152

Hagg (1974) 65, n. 232 dates it to the SM period

Desborough (1973) 100: it should date to very late LHIIC

⁷⁹¹ Taylour (1981) 38

⁷⁹² Taylour (1981) 37-38

⁷⁹³ Taylour (1981) 42

(fig.II.4). It was refurbished four times.⁷⁹⁴ It could be suggested that this room served a cult function, taking over probably the role from one of the buildings of the LHIIB cult centre.⁷⁹⁵

Room B, which was built above area 36, to the East of Room A and apparently in direct contact with it, must have had some special function too, as indicated by the rich deposit that was left lying on the floor at the end of phase X. In addition to mostly undecorated pottery, there were “fragments of an undecorated ivory casket, disc beads, steatite ‘spindle whorls’, some bronze tools and a hemispherical cap of gold leaf with embossed decoration, probably from a dagger pommel.”⁷⁹⁶ Two hearths, one a little later than the other, also belonged to this floor.⁷⁹⁷ The rich deposit of the LHIIC floor has been interpreted as belonging to a workshop or a storeroom of prestigious objects, implements and vases used in cult.⁷⁹⁸

It is interesting to note that this deposit presents significant analogies to the contents of the deposit sealed in this same area after a destruction at around 1230 BC.⁷⁹⁹ Although the room in LHIIC appears to have been roofed and not to be an open-air space, as it used to be in LHIIB, it constitutes a quite probable case of function continuity in the Cult Centre from palatial to post-palatial times (cf. discussion in chapter I: 2.1.1, p.15-6).

Rooms xxv, xxviii and xxiv of the Room with the Fresco complex were also re-used in LHIIC, but on a higher level (fig.II.4). Apart from a hearth and part of a bin of unbaked clay that were uncovered in room xxviii, however, no more details about the contents or the character of these rooms are known.⁸⁰⁰ Even so, one should take into consideration that there was a courtyard to the South of xxiv, where according to the plan (fig.II.4) there seems to have been a bin. According to Mylonas, this open-air area was still used for religious purposes in LHIIC, as it was already used in LHIIB. In the period before the sealing-off and abandonment of the LHIIB altar that was situated here, there was a deep pit in the area to the South of room T7/xxv, filled up with multiple layers of ashes, animal bones and sherds – remains of sacrifices (fig.II.24). In the same area, but in higher levels, ash layers containing unburnt bones of small animals and sherds accumulated during the LHIIC period

⁷⁹⁴ Tylour (1981) 53

⁷⁹⁵ Albers (1994) 51

⁷⁹⁶ Megaw (1966/67) 9

Tylour (1981) 36 and 40

⁷⁹⁷ Tylour (1981) 42

⁷⁹⁸ Albers (1994) 51

⁷⁹⁹ The LHIIB floor deposit in this area contained pottery as well as precious items, such as tools of bronze and antler, numerous tiny disc beads, steatite spindle whorls, little strips of ivory, and a steatite mould for jewellery, “one of the finest and best preserved of its kind” – cf. Tylour (1981) 40: floor 2 and Megaw (1966/67) 9

⁸⁰⁰ Tylour (1981) 46

as well.⁸⁰¹ Therefore it should be at least considered possible that in case this open-air area retained its cult function in LHIIC, the three rooms right next to it might still be somehow related to cult activities.

Finally, some kind of cult function has been suggested for the ‘tower’, a round structure built to the South of Room A during its second phase of use, with an enclosure to its W (fig.II.5). According to Taylour, “the whole layout is a little reminiscent of the curious plan of the walls associated with the altar uncovered by Mylonas to the South of the vestibule to the Temple” (fig.II.24).⁸⁰² It could therefore be suggested that the “tower” had a cult function too. Objections have been raised, however, since no remains have been found

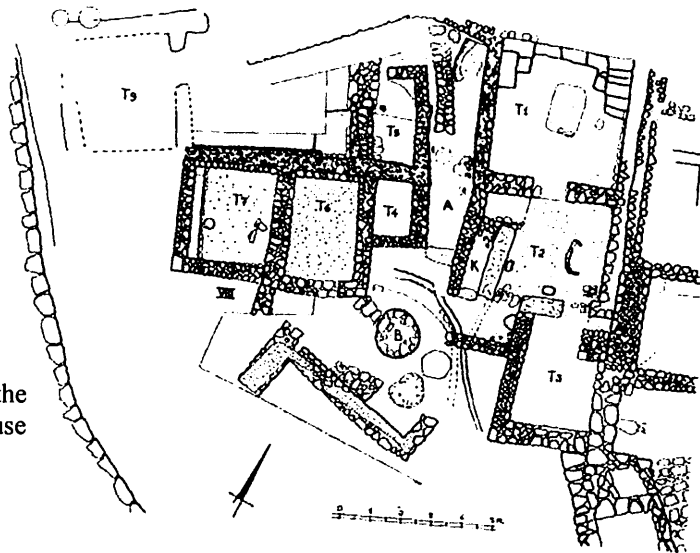


Fig.II.24
The cult area to the South of the House with the Fresco complex and the Temple

that would testify to such a use of the “tower”, while the structure and function of the buildings around it have not been clarified yet so as to help us reach such a conclusion with safety.⁸⁰³ Nevertheless, if Room A indeed served some kind of cult function, then the possibilities of a similar purpose for the curious structure of the ‘tower’ would

be increased. No other rooms in the area appear to have had any relation to cult activities in LHIIC.

⁸⁰¹ Mylonas (1973) 102-103

⁸⁰² Taylour (1981) 43

⁸⁰³ Albers (1994) 52

II.23 Burials



Fig.II.25
Area of the
citadel of
Mycenae with
EIA finds

Two SM cist graves have been found dug in the ruins of the Citadel House Area (fig.II.25: no.13). One of them dates to late SM and was dug into a LHIIC retaining wall built upon the southern wall of the South House. It was the grave of a child (8/9 years old) buried with seven complete pots as well as a few bronze items: three arch fibulae, two dress pins and a spiral ring.⁸⁰⁴ Two fragments of human skull were discovered W of a neighbouring wall and may have come from a

similar type of grave.⁸⁰⁵ After the burial, the retaining wall was partly rebuilt. Desborough characterizes the grave as “sub-mural, rather than intramural,” since the South House had been deserted at the time of the burial.⁸⁰⁶ The other tomb was another cist grave of a child dug into the debris of the South House.⁸⁰⁷ Although no offerings accompanied this burial, the constructional similarity to the first tomb probably indicates that the second one too could

⁸⁰⁴ Desborough (1973) 94-96: he dates it to the transition from SM to PG
Mountjoy (1993) 147

⁸⁰⁵ Taylour (1981) 37

⁸⁰⁶ Desborough (1973) 91, 100

⁸⁰⁷ Wace (1921-23) 88-90

Desborough (1973) 99: he dates it “to the period succeeding the destruction of the city”.

Hägg (1974) 66: SM or PG

date to the SM period. Besides being located close to each other, both cists were carefully constructed: they were both covered with slabs and had pebble floors.

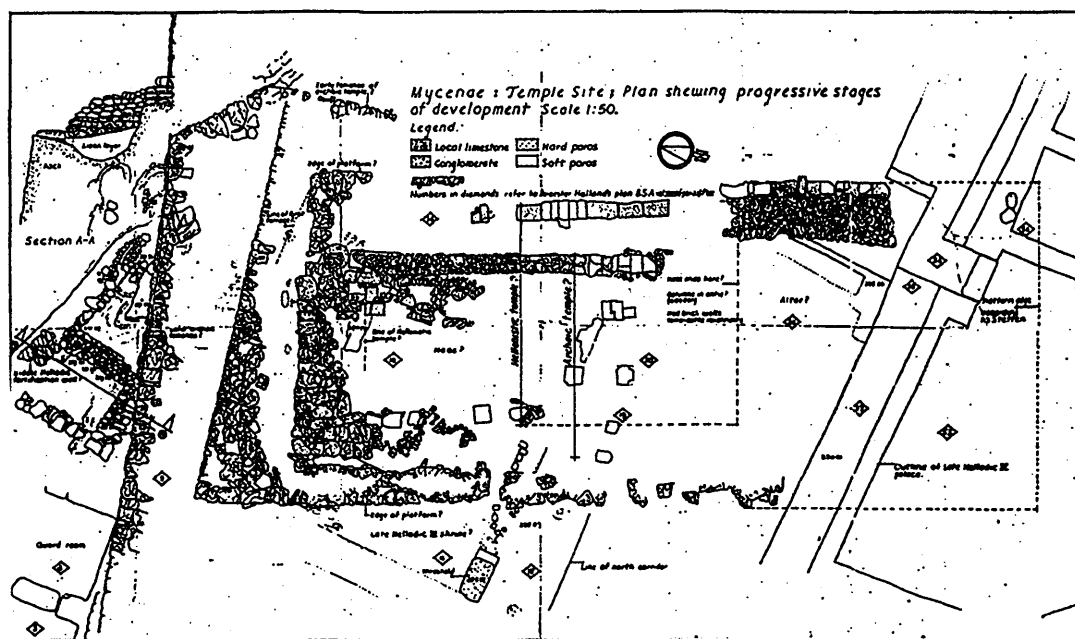
Tsountas excavated in 1890 six child graves (all cist tombs) in the ruins of Late Mycenaean houses North-east of the Lion Gate (fig.II.25: no.1), and compared them with the SM child graves on the Acropolis of Athens. He described the offerings from two of the tombs, but he did not specify which ones. According to Desborough, four of these tombs should belong together, since they were dug in the floor of a room after it ceased to be occupied but before the collapse of the upper storey of the house. Therefore, these burials should date within the range from LHIIIC to PG.⁸⁰⁸ According to Hägg, however, the offerings' description in combination with the fact that they took place soon after the destruction of the citadel should lead to a PG dating.⁸⁰⁹ Finally, there is also a small amount of well-preserved SM vases, which most possibly come from unknown graves.⁸¹⁰

PG period

Settlement

II.24 *Inside the citadel*

There are no clear settlement remains on the acropolis. However, PG pottery has



⁸⁰⁸ Desborough (1973) 98-99

⁸⁰⁹ Hägg (1974) 65-66, 114

Cf. Tsountas (1891) 27, pl. 3:1

⁸¹⁰ Styrenius (1967) 129, 133-134

Fig.II.26

been found in the upper terrace fill to the North of the temple that was built on the summit of the citadel following a North-South orientation (fig.II.26). The temple – probably of Hera – was built in the Hellenistic period, possibly as part of the renovation of the sanctuary that had been established in this area in earlier times. The only monumental structures of the sanctuary that have survived from before the Hellenistic period are the two terraces to the North of the temple, for which the LG pottery from the fill gives a *terminus post quem*.⁸¹¹ The fill of the upper, earlier terrace also produced PG pottery, which together with EG sherds and metal objects have been thought to indicate cult activity dating back to the PG period.⁸¹² As Klein has very cautiously pointed out, however, “the majority of pottery and finds indicate that the greatest activity initiated in the late 8th century. The fact that the early remains were found in late-8th-century levels suggests that they could have been “heirlooms”

which were brought to the sanctuary at a later date or some of them may have come from graves on the citadel which were cleared when the sanctuary was established.”⁸¹³

Regarding the PG pottery in particular (fig.II.27), it is perhaps difficult to imagine that it was dedicated as heirloom, but it could easily be thought to

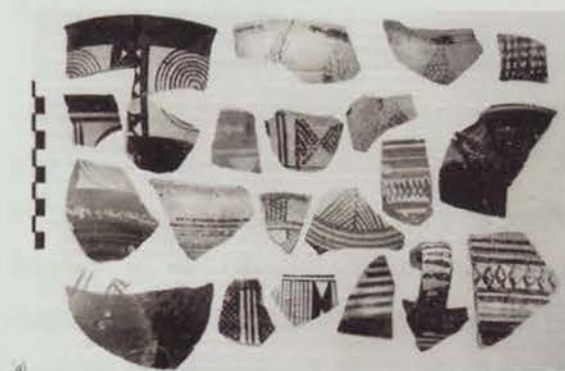


Fig.II.27
PG and G
pottery from
the Temple
North Terrace

originate from a burial context or rather a domestic one – since it mostly comprises open vases.⁸¹⁴ When the area was levelled and the terrace wall was constructed, the fill that contained the PG pottery and the rest of early material was brought and deposited there. This fill must come from somewhere in the area, but there is no reason to believe that the material found in it was of homogeneous character. Even if we wanted to regard the metal objects as votives, this could not lead us to attribute a cult function to the PG pottery as well. It is of course very difficult to tell when the cult on the summit was established, but the fact remains that the PG pottery from the fill of the terrace testifies to EIA activity in the citadel. In addition, scattered PG sherds have been found in the Citadel House Area, and they have been

Hagg (1974) 66

⁸¹¹ Klein (1997) 265-268, 277-298

Klein (2002) 99-105

⁸¹² For the metal objects cf. Klein (1997) 291, 319

Hall (1995) 599: “The preliminary evidence, then, might suggest that the citadel sanctuary at Mycenae, like the Heraion, dates back to the PG period.”

⁸¹³ Klein (1997) 279

⁸¹⁴ Klein (1997) 312-315: n.84-89, 100 from the upper terrace fill and also 300-301: n.12, a small handmade bowl from inside the temple

thought to indicate occupation higher up on the slope of the citadel, in the same way as the SM pottery found in the area was interpreted as well.⁸¹⁵

II.25 *Outside the citadel*

Verdelis excavated an apsidal G building East of the House of the Oil Merchant and dated its establishment to the PG period.⁸¹⁶ Hägg and Mazarakis Ainian, however, doubt whether the two PG sherds that were found in it are enough to give such an early dating to this house.⁸¹⁷ Besides, Verdelis himself noted that the fill within and around the building was very much disturbed.⁸¹⁸

Burials

II.26 *Inside the citadel*

Two PG tombs have been found in the Citadel House Area (fig.II.25: no.13). The one was a cist grave of a young woman accompanied by an iron pin. A fine PG sherd was also found in this sector at the same level.⁸¹⁹ The other tomb was an earth-cut grave, covered by two large worked slabs, again of a woman, accompanied by an amphora, in which a lekythos, an iron pin with a bronze bulb and a bronze ring were placed. The lekythos should date around the middle of the PG period.⁸²⁰ At least one or more of the child burials that Tsountas had excavated to the North-east of the Lion Gate (fig.II.25: no.1) should also date to the PG period.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁵ Desborough (1973) 91

⁸¹⁶ Verdelis (1962b) 85-87, fig.II. 9-10 and pl. 75, 91

Verdelis (1963) 110ff

⁸¹⁷ Hägg (1974) 66-68

Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 67-68

⁸¹⁸ Verdelis (1962a) 107

⁸¹⁹ Desborough (1973) 91-92

Hägg (1974) 114-115: he thinks that this tomb should rather date to the G period, since iron pins are often found in G graves in the Argolid and because of the type of the cist – its walls built of small and medium-sized stones – which is not typically PG.

Taylor (1981) 36, 40

Eder (1998) 57: she refers to this grave as SM

Cf. also Hägg (1987) 210-211 and esp. n. 28: he examines here this burial in relation to doubtful examples of EIA cremations in the Argolid and he is led to reject such a possibility in this case, since there were no signs of cremation or other signs of burning on the bones. He notes, however, that this grave remains an enigmatic case, because of signs of burning on the walls of the cist and the lower side of the cover slabs.

⁸²⁰ Desborough (1973) 92-93

Taylor (1981) 37: p.170d

⁸²¹ Cf. above II.23, p.326

II.27 Outside the citadel

Two PG burials (PG 601 and PG 602) have been found in the ruins of the House of Shields, inside the west room (fig.II.28 and fig.II.25: no.9). PG 601 was the burial of an adult

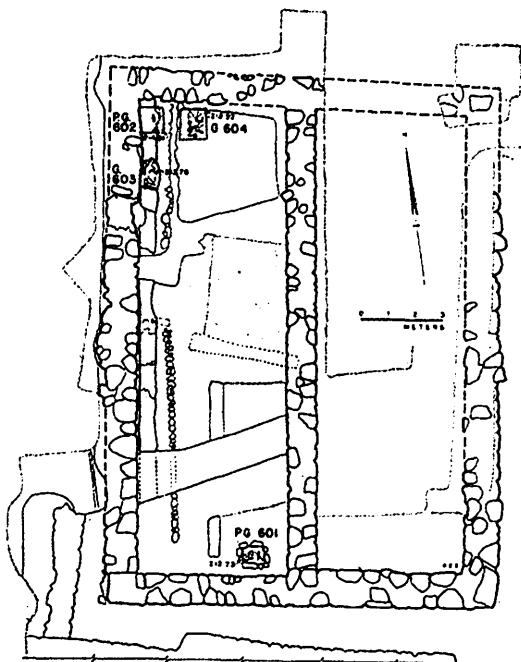


Fig.II.28
EIA burials in
west room of
House of
Sheilds

dug into the floor and covered by poros blocks and stones. It was accompanied by a belly-handled amphora, a three-legged askos, an iron pin and a spindle whorl. The amphora dates to the 2nd half of the 10th century. The askos, which mostly appears in Crete, Kos and Cyprus, probably shows some connection between the Argolid and one or more of these areas in PG times. It could also be regarded as a reflection of Mycenaean tradition.⁸²²

PG 602 was described together with another, EG tomb, as “placed under the shelter of the west wall” of the room. It contained the burials of a young woman and

two children accompanied by two vases: a probably LPG or possibly EG pyxis and a handmade jug.⁸²³ It has been pointed out that it is not clear whether all burials within the tomb took place at the same time.⁸²⁴

Another grave (PG 606) was found in the ruins of the House of Sphinxes (fig.II.25: no.11): it is a cist tomb dug down into the corner of the south wall of room 10. It contained a child burial accompanied by a small LPG jug and two bronze rings. Two pie-ware vases, two handmade vases and a set of twenty-four pebbles found on top of the stones covering the tomb are probably contemporary with the burial.⁸²⁵

Three more graves have been found in the complex of the Panagia Houses (fig.II.18 and fig.II.25: no.12). In the courtyard in front of Panagia House I (area 1) two PG tombs were found. In the one of the tombs were two iron pins, bronze earrings and a small PG jug. In the other one were found two rings, one of iron and the other of bronze, and an iron pin. Another tomb that did not contain any offerings and was found under the floor of room 8 of

⁸²² Desborough (1954) 259-260

Hägg (1974) 103

⁸²³ Desborough (1955) 240-241: in this article two other EG tombs (G 603 and G 604) found in the same room of the House of Shields are published; they too contained handmade pottery.

⁸²⁴ Hägg (1974) 103

Lemos (2002) 160

⁸²⁵ Desborough (1956) 129-130

Hägg (1974) 114

House II was also considered by the excavator to date to the PG period.⁸²⁶ Mylonas-Shear, who published the houses, agreed that the lack of funeral gifts might be taken to indicate a post-Mycenaean date. This could be applied to other graves too that were found in the area of the Panagia houses and could be shown on the basis of stratigraphy to have been dug after the houses were destroyed and abandoned and after wash layers had started filling the rooms: such are the grave in room 12 and the grave in area 26.⁸²⁷ Although it is not possible to date these tombs precisely, an EIA dating is quite possible. It could be suggested that a group of people living close to the area had chosen the ruins of the Panagia Houses as their burial ground.

Three other PG graves have been found South of Grave Circle B and West of the Klytemnestra Tomb (fig.II.25: no.10). One of them contained a crouched skeleton and a small PG jar.⁸²⁸ Two child graves were found close to it, one of which contained a bronze pin. The excavator noted that all three tombs were covered with a deep layer of ash and many stones, and supposed that there was a small tumulus and a stone grave mark above them. He also noted, however, that the area here was very much disturbed.⁸²⁹

Finally, there might have been more tombs in the area of the Prehistoric Cemetery (fig.II.25: no.8), as indicated by the PG vases found by Wace in 1920, when he was digging through Schliemann's dump South of the Cyclopean wall, which abuts on the old Shaft Graves. A few more isolated pieces have been found elsewhere.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁶ Mylonas (1963) 104 -106

Orlandos (1963) 70-71

Mylonas (1964a) 133

Mylonas-Shear (1987) 70 gives a different account on the offerings of the two first tombs: "the South grave contained the shaft of an iron pin and two stone buttons. The North grave had two more elaborate pins and two bronze hair rings. The iron pins hint at a SM or PG date for the burials."

⁸²⁷ Mylonas-Shear (1987) 70, n.12; there were more graves along the West side of the excavation, W of the West terrace wall, but these might have been even later, since they were dug after considerable erosion had taken place.

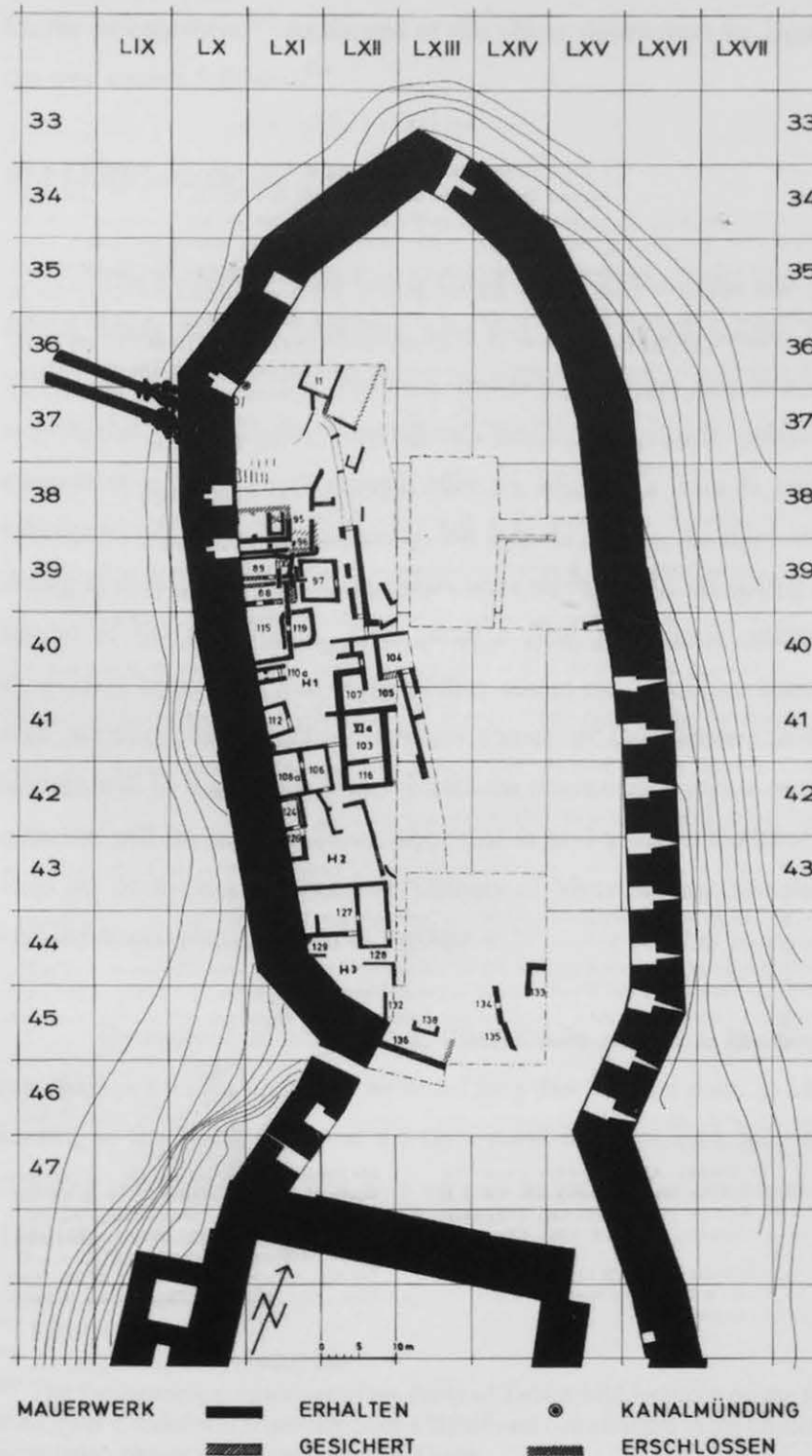
⁸²⁸ Papadimitriou (1953) 209

⁸²⁹ Papadimitriou (1954) 265

⁸³⁰ Cf. Desborough (1954) 265 with references.

Appendix III: Tiryns

LHIIC evidence



Lower Citadel

III.1 LHIIC-early

In LHIIC-early, after the levelling of ruins, new buildings were built around a court (H1) on the west terrace, which was bordered to the East by a terraced slope, ascending a little towards East.⁸³¹ These were the complex of rooms 93-96, including the fortification-wall chamber Kw 11, room 97, building VIa (rooms 107, 103 and 116) built on the foundations of its LHIIB2 predecessor, Building VI, and the new cult room 117 with its altar.⁸³²

Fig.III.1
The Lower
Citadel in
LHIIC

⁸³¹ Kilian (1982) 392-395

⁸³² Kilian (1979) 385-391; (1981a) 162, 166; (1983a) 279

From this court one could proceed through a passageway to the area further to the North. Here stood room 11, and a passage led to the syringes, i.e. the two passages leading through the fortification wall to the underground springs outside the citadel, which were still in use. Some walls of the LHIIB buildings were not levelled off but were reused as retaining walls for the passageways.⁸³³ At the end of this phase, destruction hit Tiryns, and new levelling of the west terrace followed.⁸³⁴

III.2 LHIIC-middle and -late

The evolution of the Lower Citadel in LHIIC-middle and -late is quite difficult to follow. Many phases of rebuilding have been documented, usually separated by destruction layers. The bulk of the material, however, remains unpublished, and the available information mostly comes from Kilian's preliminary reports, published at the end of every excavation season. These reports offer us significant help in understanding the several subsequent phases of the settlement, but they do not always allow us to determine the exact dating of each phase, since new phases were revealed and the dating was often revised in the course of the excavations. Thus, until a final publication combining the study of the excavation layers with that of the pottery comes out, it will be almost impossible to follow with accuracy the several occupation phases of the Lower Citadel.⁸³⁵ Nevertheless, an attempt will be made here to reconstruct the phase-series, and to suggest a dating. Our main criterion will be the destruction layer that is said to have produced pottery similar to that from the destruction layers of the Granary of Mycenae and thus should date to the second half (advanced phase) of LHIIC-middle.

Throughout all phases of LHIIC-middle and -late, Building VIa appears to have remained in use. It should also be noted here that at some point in LHIIC-middle, the street leading to the North Gate and the Gate itself were put back into use, and a new building flanking the Gate on its east side appears to have been constructed over the ruins of its LHIIB2 predecessor, Building XV.⁸³⁶

⁸³³ Kilian (1979) 394-397

⁸³⁴ Kilian (1978) 466; (1980) 186

⁸³⁵ The forthcoming publication of the study of Tobias Mühlenbruch on the architectural remains from the Lower Citadel will hopefully offer a significant contribution in the understanding of the LHIIC occupation phases and development at Tiryns.

⁸³⁶ Jahresbericht (2002) 147-148

According to the latest reports on the excavations in this area, the construction of Building XV and of the North Gate dates to the very end of LHIIB, to the phase named LHIIB-end – cf. Jahresbericht (2003) 184 and (2004) 272-273.

In the first phase of LHIIC-middle, the previous cult room 117 was replaced by a new one, room 110, and new buildings were built to its North and South around court H1: the complex 88/89 and room 126.⁸³⁷ The latter opened to a second court, H2, lying 10-20 cm deeper than court H1 and sloping up to the East by about 60cm. This difference in heights was accommodated through the construction of two terrace walls.⁸³⁸ Thus, the ground was levelled, and it was possible to use the area stretching to the South of Building VIa and from there to the West until room 126 for everyday activities, as indicated by the finds recovered here.⁸³⁹

The south border of court H2 was defined by the northern wall of room 127, which

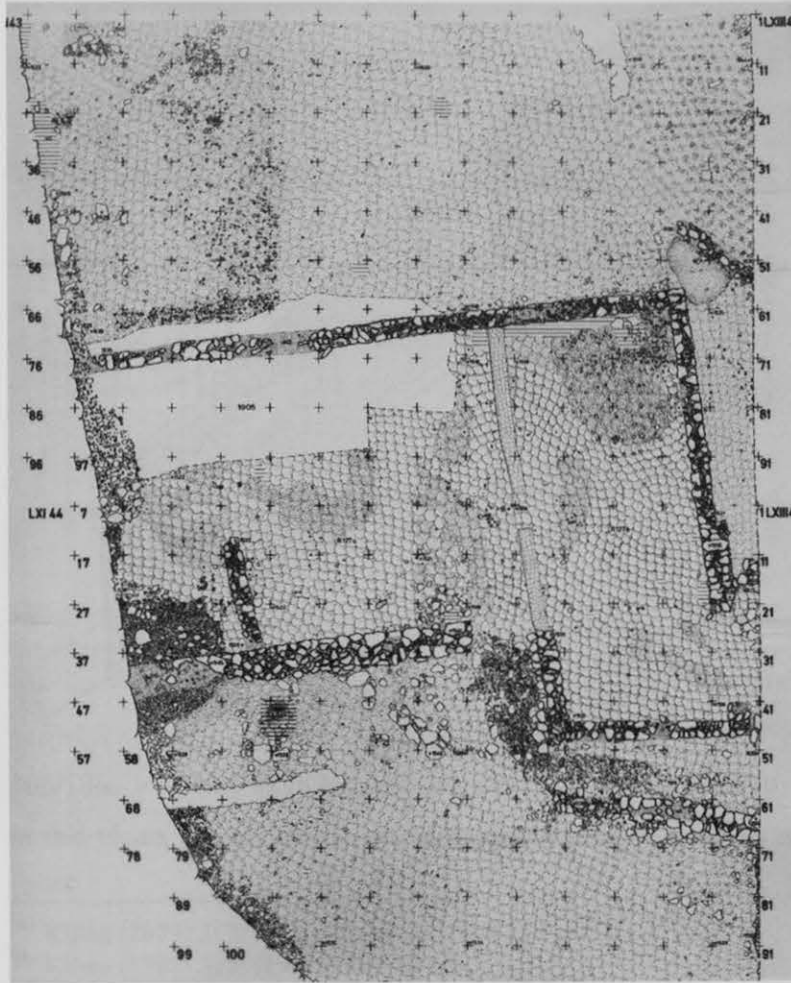


Fig.III.2
Plan of
room 127

apparently went through at least three building phases in LHIIC-middle (fig.III.2).⁸⁴⁰ Its entrance led out to a third court (H3), bordered to the East by a terrace-wall. The court hosted one more room (129), right to the South of room 127. Further to the East of court H3, the area was in general free of buildings apart from room 133.⁸⁴¹ A terrace wall supported a road connecting the court with this area, and another wall secured the road leading to the West

Gate.⁸⁴²

⁸³⁷ Kilian (1979) 381-383; (1981a) 154

⁸³⁸ Kilian (1981a) 154

⁸³⁹ Kilian (1979) 386

⁸⁴⁰ Kilian (1983a) 280-281

The fourth, upper floor of the building dates to LHIIC-late – cf. further on in the LHIIC-late section.

⁸⁴¹ Kilian (1981a) 154-156: room 137 is reported to date to LHIIC-developed.

⁸⁴² Kilian (1981a) 153-154; (1982) 395

In the next phase of LHIIC-middle, the arrangement of buildings on the west terrace remained more or less the same (fig.III.3). Only to the North of room 110 were there some changes, most important being the construction of the big rectangular room 115 with the double internal colonnade.⁸⁴³ Room 127 also went through internal rearrangements, and it was once rebuilt after being burnt down during this phase. This room was always equipped with a number of hearths, and a stone pavement, used probably for grating corn was also added to its furnishings at some point. The building was burnt down again at the end of this phase.⁸⁴⁴ Rooms 110, 115 and 126 were also destroyed and levelled off.⁸⁴⁵ It is believed that

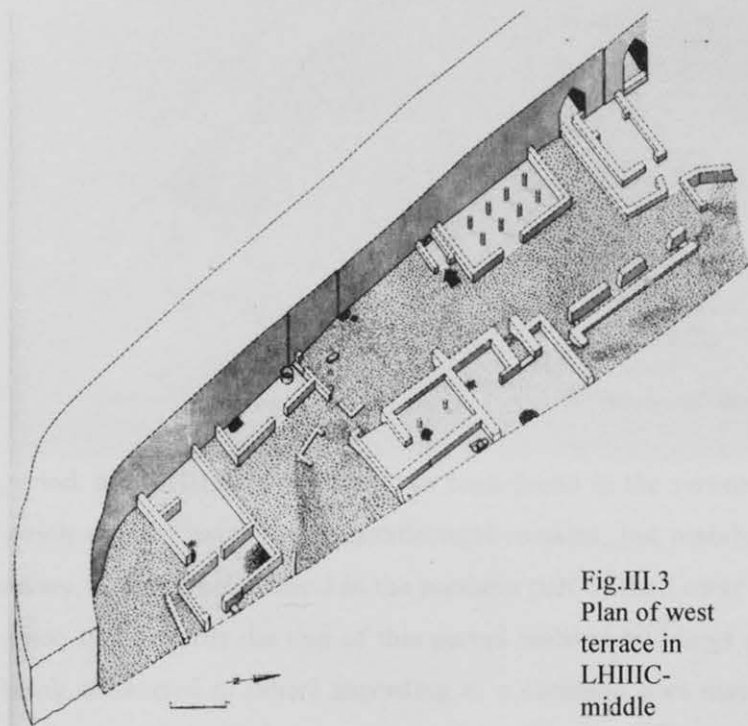


Fig.III.3
Plan of west
terrace in
LHIIC-
middle

an earthquake contemporary to that of the Granary at Mycenae was the cause for this destruction.⁸⁴⁶

After the destruction, one more phase probably dating to LHIIC-advanced/late followed.⁸⁴⁷ In this phase, a new cult room 110a was built in the place of the previous one. Other buildings of this phase in court H1 are rooms 100,

106/106a – serving as living quarters, storeroom and workshop – and 112.⁸⁴⁸ At some point in this phase, room 124 was added to rooms 106/106a and served as a storage room with a

⁸⁴³ Kilian (1979) 383; room 99 was also built above room 97

⁸⁴⁴ Kilian (1982) 395; (1983a) 280-281

In the study of the pottery by Podzuweit, sherds from floors X and IX (-the two upper LHIIC-middle layers) are presented as examples dating to the advanced phase – cf. Podzuweit (1983) 361-401 and esp. 401-402.

⁸⁴⁵ Kilian (1978) 465; (1981a) 154

⁸⁴⁶ Kilian (1978) 466; (1980) 186; (1981a) 193; (1981b) 53-54

⁸⁴⁷ Although this phase succeeds the destruction that is contemporary to that of the Granary (end of LHIIC-middle) and should therefore date to LHIIC-late, it is mostly characterized as LHIIC-advanced in the preliminary reports, while sometimes it is even referred to as late LHIIC-developed, as it will be commented in the following discussion regarding the buildings of this phase.

⁸⁴⁸ Kilian (1978) 458-461: room 110a is characterized here on the basis of finds as dated to LHIIC-advanced. In Kilian (1979) 381-383, however, it is described as part of the latest court-level of LHIIC-developed, and so is room 100 too. Elsewhere – in Kilian (1981a) 153, they are described as

hearth (fig.III.4).⁸⁴⁹ To the South of Building VIa and rooms 106/106a, the problem of level difference between the two courts H1 and H2 that has already been discussed, was dealt again with the construction of one more terrace wall.⁸⁵⁰

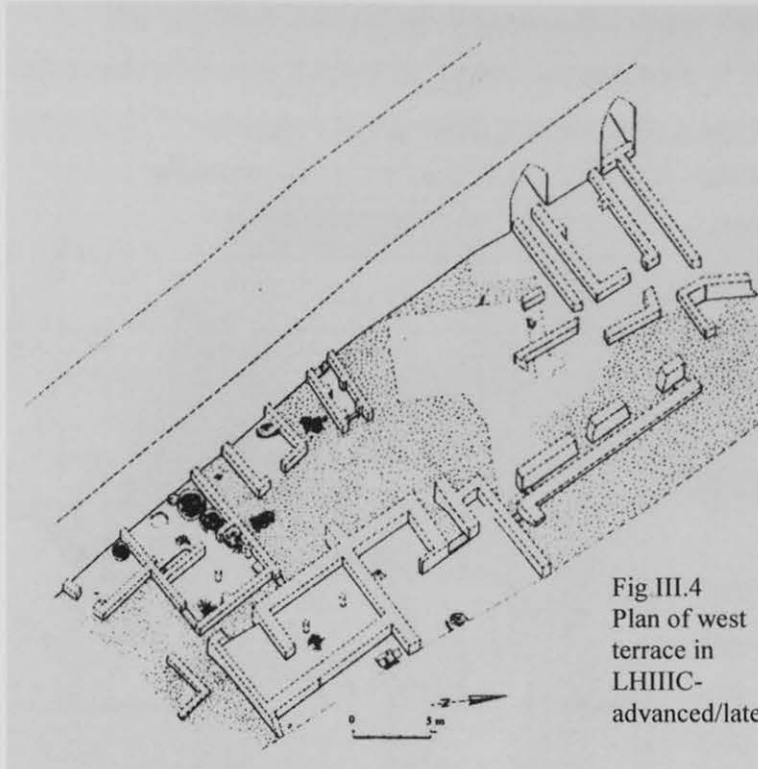


Fig III.4
Plan of west
terrace in
LHIIIC-
advanced/late

Room 127 was also re-built after its last destruction. It still contained two hearths as well as a quern. There was also a larnax buried in the floor of the building, which contained house-refuse, as well as a sawed antler piece and a LHIIIC-late skyphos. The building was destroyed at the end of this phase.⁸⁵¹

Layers in casemates Ko 4 and Kw 14 have also been dated to this

period, and LHIIIC-late pottery has been found in the *syringes* too.⁸⁵² A LHIIIC-late layer, which did not contain any architectural remains, but mainly consisted of grey settlement refuse, has also been found in the northern part of the Lower Citadel.⁸⁵³ Finally, it has been noted that towards the end of this period isolated buildings standing on their own without being connected to others according to a common plan make their appearance. Such was room 104, which was built over part of Building VIa.⁸⁵⁴

belonging to the last Mycenaean *Bebauung*, together with other buildings: rooms 104, 106, 124. In Kilian (1981b) 55, building 110a dates to LHIIIC-late.

⁸⁴⁹ Kilian (1979) 385 dates rooms 106/106a to the 'late, developed phase of LHIIIC' – "typisch für die SHIIIC Zeit, deren später, entwickelter Phase es nach dem Keramikspektrum angehört". Elsewhere it is noted that building 106/106a was in use, and room 124 was added to it, during the last settlement phase of the Lower Citadel – "in der letzten Siedlungsphase" – cf. Kilian (1981a) 154.

⁸⁵⁰ Kilian (1979) 385-386

⁸⁵¹ Kilian (1981a) 154-156 reports the excavation of the upper floor of the building, and he includes it among the LHIIIC-developed buildings, at the same time-period with room 126. It seems, however, that later on the pottery from the building was more thoroughly studied and correlated to its complex stratigraphy. In Kilian (1982) 395, the dating of the building is re-evaluated and all its phases of use are dated to LHIIIC-advanced, but in 1981 the larnax that contained the LHIIIC-late skyphos is reported to have been excavated (Kilian (1983a) 280), and so eventually the upper floor – to which the larnax belonged – is dated to LHIIIC-late – cf. Podzuweit (1988) 223.

⁸⁵² Podzuweit (1988) 223

⁸⁵³ Kilian (1983a) 279, 281: LXI.LXII 36

⁸⁵⁴ Kilian (1978) 459 and 466: LXII-III 40

Upper Citadel (fig.III.5)

The available information regarding the Upper Citadel in the LHIIC period is unfortunately not very detailed due to the extended work of Schliemann in this area in years 1884-1885.⁸⁵⁵ Although it is impossible to reconstruct today the remains that were removed

before the recovery of the palace, LHIIC pottery has been fortunately found in some of the undisturbed parts in the Upper and the Middle Citadel.⁸⁵⁶

III.3 *Epichosis*

LHIIC pottery has also been found in the non-stratified deposit – the so-called *epichosis* – to the West of the Upper Citadel.⁸⁵⁷

This *epichosis* was apparently deposited there when part of the west fortification wall – between the West Staircase and the South-west Bastion – collapsed and thus dragged along the building remains

of the westernmost rooms of the Upper Citadel together with the damp deposits that had been buried against the wall, under the latest floors. The collapse of the wall – which Verdélis restored in the '50s – cannot be precisely dated, but it apparently took place after the use of the Upper Citadel in LHIIC.⁸⁵⁸

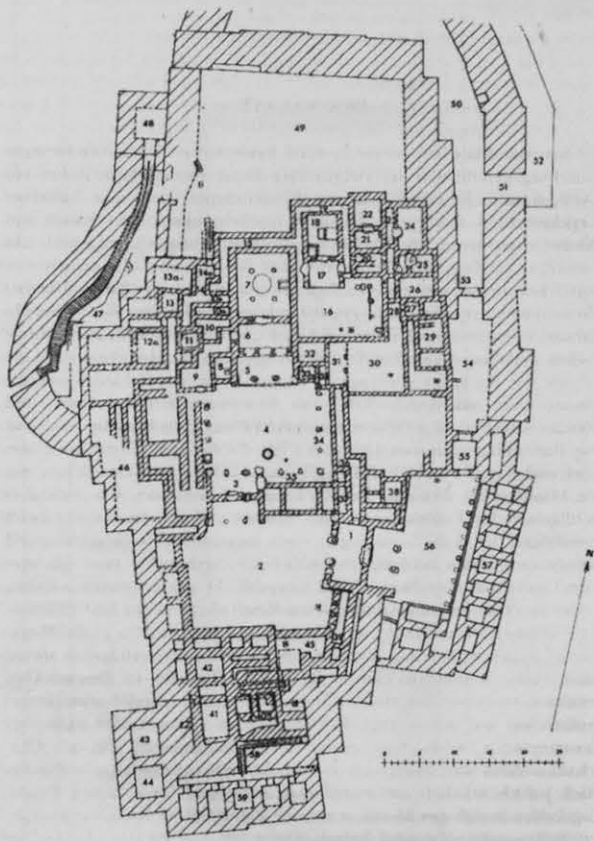


Fig.III.5
The
Upper
Citadel in
LHIIB2

⁸⁵⁵ For the history of excavations at Tiryns, cf. Hiesel (1975) 112-113 and Kilian (1990b) 122-126.

⁸⁵⁶ In the Middle Citadel, LHIIC sherds were found at site 'α', i.e. in the north-west corner of the Middle Citadel, as well in the 'Late Mycenaean hole', which was probably situated close to the West Staircase – cf. Slenczka (1974) 7-8 and 14. In the Upper Citadel they have been found at the west edge of the great pre-court – cf. Slenczka (1974) 19ff, and in the east part of the great court North of the *propylon* – cf. Müller (1930) 210ff. For the difficulties in publishing in the 1970s the material that was excavated in the beginning of the 20th century, cf. Slenczka (1974) 7.

Cf. also Podzuweit (1988) 223 for stray LHIIC-late sherds.

⁸⁵⁷ Verdélis and Protonotariou excavated this *epichosis* in 1957 to the West of the west wall of the Upper Citadel, between the West Staircase and the south-west projection of the wall – cf. Voigtländer (1975) 148-150.

⁸⁵⁸ Voigtländer (2003) esp. 10-11

III.4 Building T

New evidence has come up recently and has quite convincingly shown that this

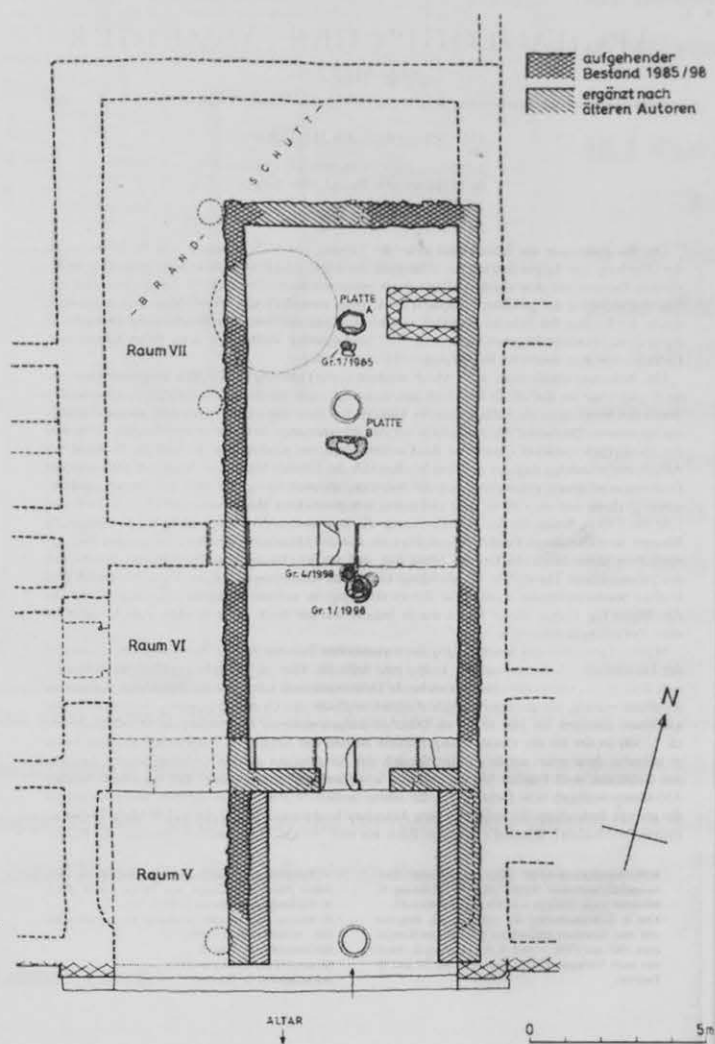


Fig.III.6
Building T
overlying
the Great
Megaron

building should be dated to LHIIIC. The analysis of pieces of wooden posts preserved in two holes lying on the longitudinal axis of Building T with the C14 method has showed that both post-holes were dug at some point in the LBA and earlier than the 11th century BC (fig.III.6). Since the Great Megaron was destroyed at around 1200 BC, the post-holes and therefore also Building T should date to the 12th century BC. Apparently, some kind of renovation was undertaken during its use, since the second post-hole replaced the first one at some point, possibly after

the occurrence of one of the destructions that have been archaeologically testified in the LHIIIC Lower Citadel debris.⁸⁵⁹

Another construction on the Upper Citadel that has been supposed to date to LHIIIC is the square structure, which enclosed the LHIIIB circular altar that lay in the court in front of the Megaron (fig.III.7).⁸⁶⁰ LHIIIC dating should also be attributed to the twelve storage

⁸⁵⁹ Maran (2000) 1-12; (2001) 113-114

⁸⁶⁰ No post-Mycenaean pottery has been found in relation either to Building T or to the square enclosure of the altar – cf. Kilian (1981b) 53, Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 160 and Maran (2000) 15. Moreover, the conclusion that Building T and the square enclosure of the altar must have been contemporary is based on the evidence of “two slightly curved cut blocks which were removed in the

vessels that would have stood along the interior of the north wall of the Great Megaron, as indicated by their impressions in the coarse mortar covering the floor. Although there is no evidence for their dating, Maran finds it “more likely that they were installed after the destruction of the palace [...] in a sort of backyard”⁸⁶¹

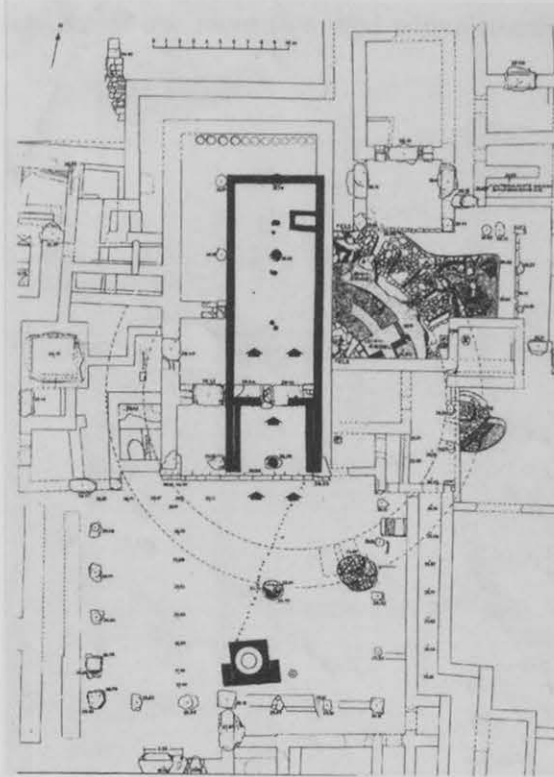


Fig.III.7
Building T
and the
altar

III.5 West Staircase

It is also possible that the repairs of the West Staircase (fig.III.5) also took place after the great destruction at the end of LHIIIB2, and not after an earlier destruction, as it was initially thought.⁸⁶² The excavation of an undisturbed part of the debris deposit, recently discovered by the Greek Archaeological Service in the upper part of the staircase, will hopefully elucidate this problem. This excavation

has also shown that the staircase linking the Middle Citadel with the Upper Citadel had also undergone a phase of repair, which according to Maran should date to the LHIIIC period. He supports that “in this way the representative approach linking directly the western part of the Lower Town and the harbor with the palace was restored”.⁸⁶³

Lower Town

III.6 Remains to the South-east of the citadel

At the foot of the acropolis’ hill, under the East Gallery (-trench H), a couple of LHIIIC buildings have been excavated (chapter 1: fig.9 and fig.III.8). The most impressive is Megaron W, which was furnished with a row of three stone bases for roof supports and a hearth between the middle and the southern base. The main period of use of the Megaron

course of the partial dismantling of the altar and used as building material in the narrow megaron”. Cf. Maran (2001) 115 and n.15 with all the related bibliography.

⁸⁶¹ Maran (2001) 118

⁸⁶² Maran (2001) 115-116 and n.21

⁸⁶³ Maran (2006)

should be dated to LHIIC-middle – most probably to its second phase.⁸⁶⁴ The Megaron was probably abandoned by the end of LHIIC.⁸⁶⁵ Another LHIIC house has been revealed to the East of Megaron W, situated almost vertically to the latter's east foundation wall. House O consists of one room furnished with a hearth and a column base in its middle. It has been dated to LHIIC-late.⁸⁶⁶

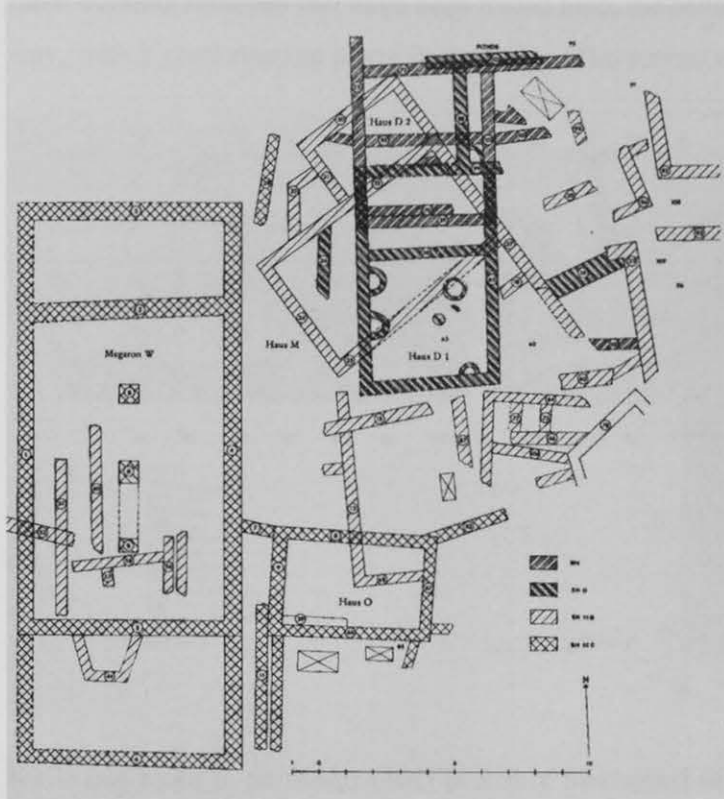


Fig.III.8
Plan of
structures
in trench H

Further to the South-east of Megaron W and House O, in trench G1, an assemblage of precious raw material and objects dating to several periods from the Early Mycenaean period to LHIIC and known as ‘the Tiryns treasure’ was buried at the end of LHIIC or even in the SM period in the ruins of an old Mycenaean house.⁸⁶⁷ The assemblage itself has been interpreted in several ways, as being for example the loot of

grave robbers who had plundered the Prophitis Ilias chamber tomb cemetery, which was found to be poor in burial offerings, and especially metal objects.⁸⁶⁸ According to the most recent suggestion, however, the treasure represents “the unique case of the whole variety of *keimilia* in the possession of one of the ruling families of Tiryns in the 12th century BC” either hidden or even buried at this spot as dedication.⁸⁶⁹

⁸⁶⁴ Podzuweit (1979) 435: he characterizes the pottery found underneath the floor as of a type appearing first in LHIIC-developed and mainly in LHIIC-late, and he concludes that the period of use of Megaron W should mainly fall into LHIIC-late. In Podzuweit (1988) 223, however, he dates only House O to LHIIC-late.

⁸⁶⁵ Gercke *et al* (1975) 8

⁸⁶⁶ Gercke *et al* (1975) 10-11

Podzuweit (1979) 435-436

⁸⁶⁷ Gercke-Hiesel (1971) 2: the hoard was excavated in 1916 in trench G1.

Eder (1998) 43

⁸⁶⁸ Karo (1930) 139

Döhl (1975) 66-69

⁸⁶⁹ Maran (2006)

III.7 Remains to the North-west of the citadel

To the North-west of the citadel (trenches LIII-LIV 30/LIV 31), a house complex was excavated in 1976. It was founded on top of the alluvial deposits of a stream that used to run along the north side of the citadel towards West (chapter 1: fig.9 and fig.III.9). In all three building horizons that have been traced here, the settlement was orientated in the same way, with a road running along its east side. The rooms were grouped around a courtyard



Fig.III.9
Remains to
the North-
west of the
citadel

used for
everyday
activities
as
indicated
by a well,
refuse-pits
and ash-
layers.
Hearths
were found
inside the
rooms,

while one room in particular (304) probably functioned as a workshop, as indicated by the recovery of stone tools next to a heap of ashes lying over a clay plaque that was embedded in the floor. Some kind of box-like installation found in the room might have also been related to workshop activities. Other interesting finds are the animal and human (phi- and psi-) figurines found close to the walls or inside most of the rooms, a wall-bracket of Cypriot type, bronze vases and implements, jewellery (e.g. a fibula and faience beads), and two ivory pieces: a comb of elephant ivory and the fragment of a knob/pommel made of hippopotamus ivory, the latter found in the room with workshop activity.⁸⁷⁰ All three building horizons

⁸⁷⁰ Cf. Krzyszkowska (2005b) 188 and 206, n.29 for the knob; 184 and 201, n.9 for the comb; and 194, where she notes that most ivory fragments found in Tiryns in LHIIC contexts should probably be interpreted as secondarily deposited; there is “no firm proof that ivory was being worked at Tiryns in LHIIC”. The pieces found in the rooms in the north-west sector, however, could not have been secondarily deposited, since the LHIIC layers were separated from the LHIIB layers through the stream’s alluvial deposits. Besides, Krzyszkowska (2005b) 184 notes about the comb: “if it is a local product, its peculiarities could be explained by its late date”. As for the knob fragment, it might have been kept as a precious object because of the rarity of its material.

have been dated to LHIIC-early.⁸⁷¹ There has also been stray pottery found here, which could be dated to LHIIC-advanced/late.⁸⁷²

More building remains of LHIIC were found in another trench situated 150m to the North-west of the citadel and excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service. According to the excavators' preliminary report, there was also evidence of LHIIB2 habitation, which ended in conflagration, while the next two phases of the settlement that followed were dated to LHIIC. The first phase of LHIIC appeared to end in a fire-destruction.⁸⁷³ It is possible that habitation here too did not continue after LHIIC-early.⁸⁷⁴

III.8 Remains to the North-east of the citadel

Building remains of LHIIC date were recently discovered in a trench to the North-east of the citadel – 130m to the East of the house complex that was just mentioned above

(chapter 1: fig.9 and figs.III.10-11). Here, five settlement horizons succeeded each other and lasted throughout the whole 12th century, i.e. until ca.1100 BC. The earliest of these settlement-phases was founded in LHIIC-early on top of stream sediments. The latest phase dates to LHIIC-advanced. Similarities in terms of structure and alignment occur between these building remains and those found by Kilian to the North-west of the

Fig.III.10
View of
remains to
the North-
east of the
citadel



citadel. The familiar arrangement of buildings around a courtyard appears in this area since the second settlement phase, which dates to the latest part of LHIIC-early and ended in conflagration at around 1150 BC. Nevertheless, the same organization of the settlement was preserved until the end of LHIIC occupation here.

Special mention should be made of

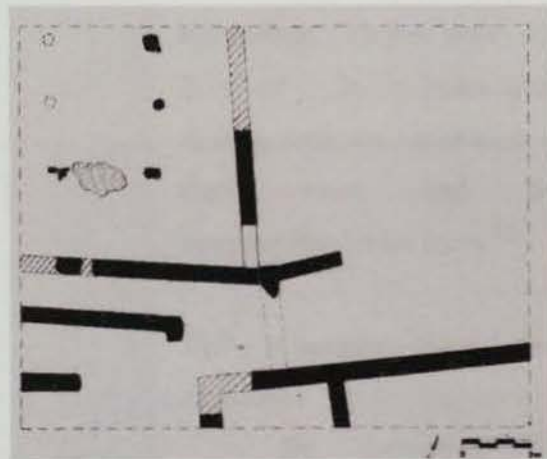


Fig.III.11
Plan of
remains to the
North-east of
the citadel

⁸⁷¹ Kilian (1978) 449-452

⁸⁷² Podzuweit (1988) 223

⁸⁷³ Dimakopoulou-Valakou (1982) 85

⁸⁷⁴ Cf. Kilian (1985) 91, n.70: he draws his information from personal communication with the excavator, K. Demakopolou

one of the buildings (room 8/00) standing to the West of one of the courts: it dates to the second settlement-phase and is one of the largest post-palatial rooms we know. It is furthermore distinguishable through its parallel rows of columns standing on stone bases. Its entrance opened to the court, to the South of which stood another building with at least two rooms (room 1-2/00). An East-West running road connected these structures with other parts of the settlement. After room 8/00 was burnt down in the conflagration at the end of this phase, it was not rebuilt.⁸⁷⁵

Many objects were found *in situ* in the destruction layer on the floor of this room. “Exactly at the entrance of the building with the rows of columns a large Minoan coarse ware stirrup jar with ovoid-piriform body and a decoration with deep wavy lines was found.” Fragments of other such stirrup jars were also found in other contexts of the same phase of habitation in this area, as well as in the previous and following phases. The occurrence of these vases in the closed contexts of this area helps to confirm that sherds of similar Minoan vases coming from the Lower Citadel should not be regarded as earlier cast-ups, but “should be accepted as signifying the use of such Minoan jars in the 12th century BC”, and especially

in LHIIC-early. It has been noted that in the course of LHIIC-middle they seem to disappear. Thus, the discovery of Minoan coarse-ware stirrup jars in the North-east sector of the Lower Town shows that even after the palatial destruction, Tiryns was still involved in transactions dealing with the circulation of these vases and the commodities inside them.⁸⁷⁶

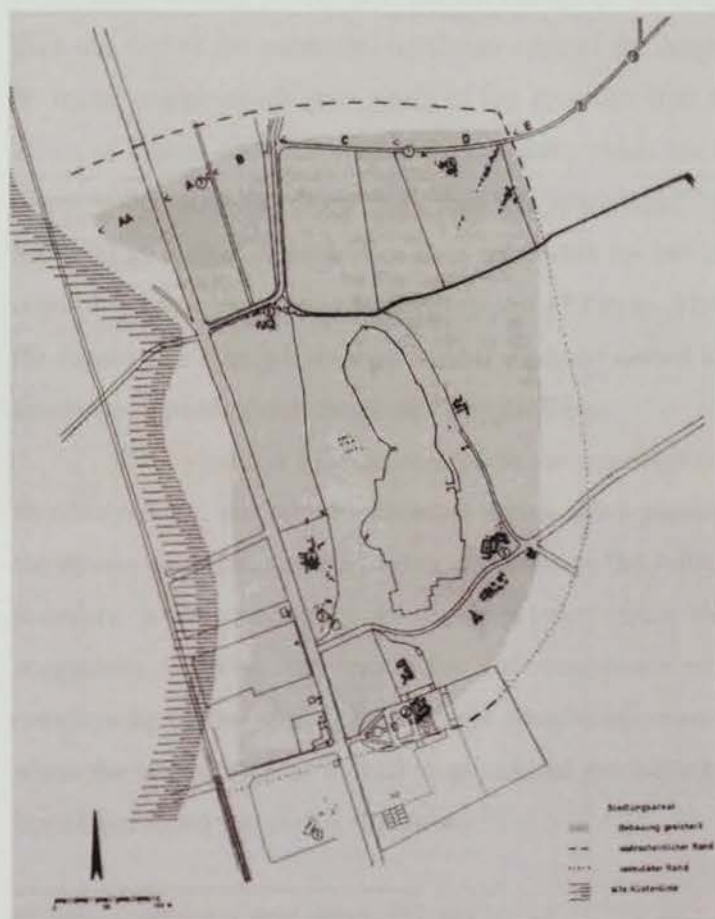


Fig.III.12
Reconstruction
of the Lower
Town's extent
in LHIIC-early

III.9 Common plan and expansion

By comparing the buildings found to the North-

⁸⁷⁵ Maran (2002a) 9-10; (2005) 420

⁸⁷⁶ Maran (2005) 420-425

west of the citadel with building remains that had been uncovered during the old excavations in trenches E, F and H to the South, Kilian was led to the suggestion that all the buildings followed the same alignment in LHIIC. Similarly aligned buildings found during the old excavations in trenches O.L.M.N could now be dated with enough certainty to the LHIIC period as well. In general, a certain settlement type following a single plan was discerned. In total, the area covered by the settlement in LHIIC-early was estimated at over 24.5 hectares, and it was therefore suggested that the settlement reached at that time its greatest expansion (fig.III.12).⁸⁷⁷ Kilian's view that the Lower Town was rebuilt after the destruction according to a carefully planned layout is today corroborated by the new finds to the North-east of the citadel. Furthermore, a geophysical research carried out in 2002 indicated that LHIIC quarters following the same orientation could also be traced in the Western Lower Town.⁸⁷⁸ The recently initiated excavation in this area will hopefully bring rewarding results.

III.10 *The expansion of the Lower Town and the construction of the dam*

It has been observed that a major project was undertaken at some point in the course of the Late Helladic period: this was the change of the course of a stream which used to flow from the feet of the eastern mountainous edge of the Argive plain towards West (fig.III.13). Its initial course would pass North of the Prophitis Ilias mountain and South of the Lower Town of Tiryns, and then head to the seacoast, which has been estimated to have been much closer to the citadel in those times than it is nowadays.⁸⁷⁹ At some point in the course of the Mycenaean period, a protective dam supported by two walls of Cyclopean masonry was constructed at a site 3.5 km East-North-east of Tiryns. Through the construction of this dam, the stream was diverted from its normal western channel and was re-directed towards South-South-west, passing now South of Prophitis Ilias.

Two questions arise in relation to the construction of this dam: first, the reason for its construction, and second, its exact dating. As a plausible reason, one could assume that the stream must have caused many problems to the settlement whenever it overflowed and therefore it was necessary to divert it away from the citadel. According to another suggestion, however, the reason for the construction of the dam was not the occasional overflowing of the stream, but a single devastating event of a flash flood, probably caused when the stream shifted its bed to go around the hillock on its northern side, where there have been found traces of a streambed.

⁸⁷⁷ Kilian (1978) 468-470; (1980) 171-172

⁸⁷⁸ Maran (2005) 420

⁸⁷⁹ The seacoast was located in the Late Bronze Age about 1Km West of the citadel – cf. Zannger (1994) 195-196.

This suggestion has been put forward by Zannger, who conducted the Argive Plain

Project, i.e. the geoaerchaeological investigation of the Argive Plain from 1984 to 1988. As part of this project, the stratigraphical analysis of the deposits around the Tiryns hillock confirmed that a stream used to run South of the citadel during all periods until LHIIB (fig.III.14:1), and that another stream passed North of the citadel at least temporarily in the transition from

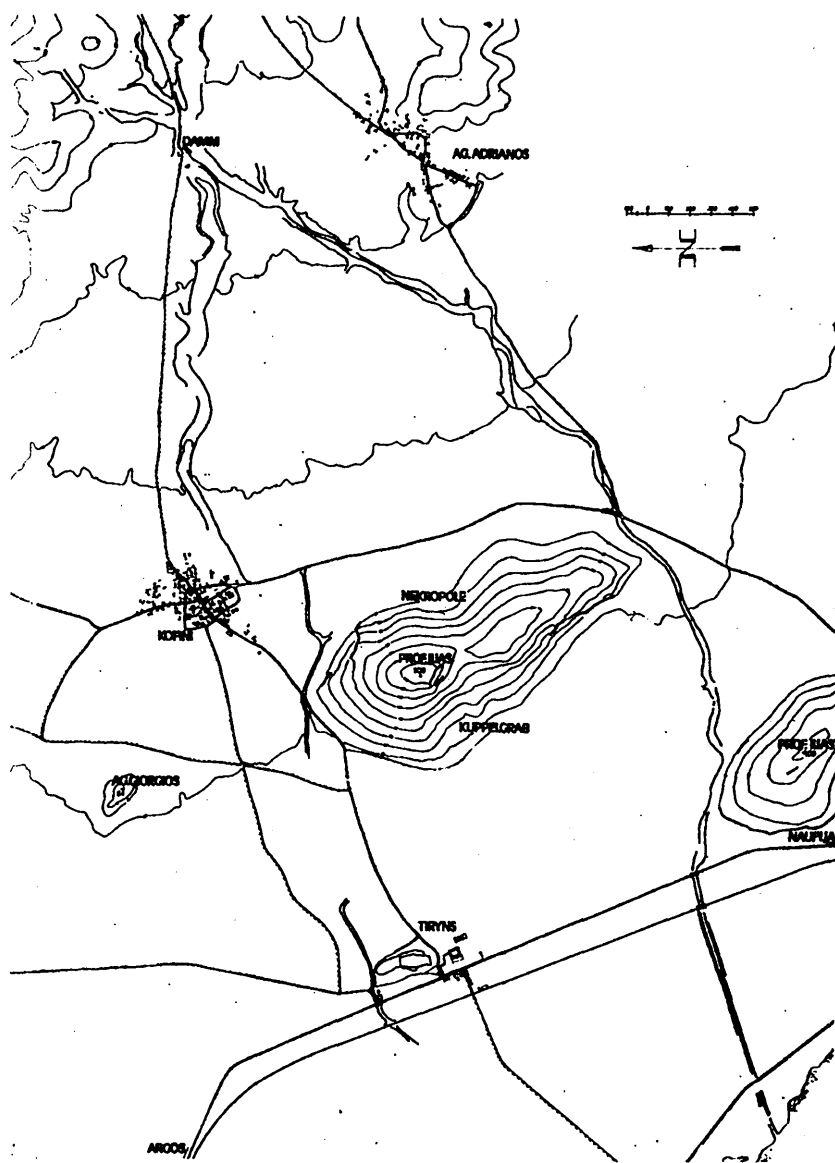


Fig.III.13
Map of the
area of
Tiryns

LHIIB to LHIIC (fig.III.14:2).

According to Zannger's interpretation of these results, it was the same stream that was identified both South and North of the citadel and that presumably shifted its bed to go around the hillock on its northern side.⁸⁸⁰ "This initial change in streambeds was accompanied by a catastrophic flash flood which discharged large amounts of sediment

⁸⁸⁰ This shift of the stream's course is explained geologically: it shifted North "possibly because the alluvial cone South of the citadel had become topographically higher than the northern area" – cf. Zannger (1993) 80. Elsewhere Zannger has discussed that such shifts of stream-courses occur as a result of earthquakes, "[...] since collapsing river banks tend to dam and redirect the streams away from their usual courses." – cf. Zannger (1992) 83-84, and (1994) 210.

especially in the East, but also North and South of the citadel”.⁸⁸¹ After this event, sediment accumulation at Tiryns came to a sudden end, which must be related to the construction of the Mycenaean dam and the redirection of the stream away from the settlement (fig.III.14:3). This is how it could also be explained that LHIIC houses were built over the former streambed, as it has been discovered to the North-west of the citadel (-trenches LIII-LIV 30/LIV 31) as well as in the more recently excavated trenches to the North-east.⁸⁸²

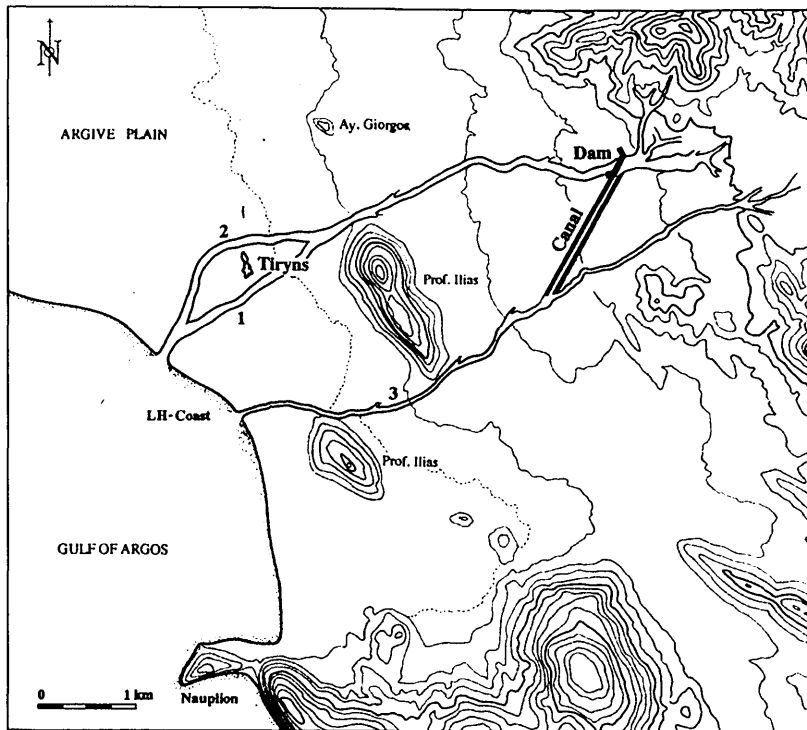


Fig.III.14
Map showing the
course of the
stream according
to Zangger's
interpretation

The dating of the dam's construction is of special importance. On the basis of its structural features, it is definitely Mycenaean⁸⁸³, and the results of the Argive Plain Project have shown that it should date to the end of LHIIB or the beginning of LHIIC: "the river must have been diverted at some point in LHIIB2 or LHIIC, evidently as a reaction to the massive deposition of alluvium in the lower town of Tiryns".⁸⁸⁴ On this basis, it sounds fairly possible that the flooding caused destruction to the LHIIB settlement and was followed by re-settling according to a different orientation scheme in LHIIC.

However, in order to make this connection, we first need to gain a better understanding of the process that resulted to the deposition of the thick levels of coarse alluvium to the East and North of the citadel. The main question is whether it occurred as a single event or if it was a long-lasting process. As it has already been discussed, Zangger

⁸⁸¹ Zangger (1993) 80

⁸⁸² Zangger (1994) 189-212, esp. 203-207

Maran (2002a) 10

⁸⁸³ Balcer (1974) 148-149

⁸⁸⁴ Zangger (1994) 207

supports that one single event occurred, that of a catastrophic flood, probably caused at the same time with/as the result of an earthquake. He bases this theory on the lack of stratification in the levels of alluvium East of the citadel, which indicates deposition in one, single occasion.⁸⁸⁵ He himself, however, has also expressed doubts about this single event theory: “Considering the geological and archaeological evidence, the alluvium should have formed within a period of no more than a century”. “There is no conclusive evidence that the thick alluvial deposits East of Tiryns were deposited during one event”.⁸⁸⁶ Other scholars have also expressed doubts about the occurrence of a single devastating flooding, as well as about the shifting of the stream from South to North.⁸⁸⁷ If this deposition of alluvium strata had not been a single event caused by the stream’s shifting, but a gradual process lasting as long as one century, then it could not have caused a sudden and extensive destruction to the LHIIB outer settlement of Tiryns, leading to the construction of the dam and the founding of a new settlement according to a new plan.

Another point should also be made. In relation to the results of the geoarchaeological investigation, Zangger has raised doubts regarding Kilian’s reconstruction of the LHIIC settlement as being more extensive than the LHIIB one. He has actually suggested that the LHIIB Lower Town was larger than what Kilian thought – even larger than the LHIIC settlement – and that our current picture of it is distorted by the fact that it has not been revealed in all its size, because parts of it are “now buried under flash flood deposits – so deeply that they were not discovered in the trial excavations”.⁸⁸⁸ This suggestion is indeed very interesting, and it is true that the full reconstruction of both outer cities of LHIIB and LHIIC is rather problematic, due mainly to the lack of information as far as the old excavation trenches are concerned. It would also be tempting to accept this suggestion, since it addresses the following question that naturally springs to one’s mind: could it actually be true that the settlement’s expansion was larger in post-palatial than in palatial times?

If we take, however, into consideration that LHIIC-early houses were built over the former streambed to the North of the citadel and that this happened after the construction of

⁸⁸⁵ Zangger (1992) 82; Zangger (1993) 80

⁸⁸⁶ Zangger (1994) 201-202 and 210 respectively

⁸⁸⁷ Knaus, who has studied the constructional details of the dam, supports that several flooding events occurred repeatedly. She also believes that the experience of such periodical destructions is more possible to have led the population to the construction of the dam than a single devastating event that could have soon be forgotten – cf. Knaus (1996) 95-96. Knaus has also expressed doubts regarding the natural shift of the stream from South to North, because of the somewhat higher land-level to the N of the citadel. She has suggested that maybe both streams run to the North and South of the Tiryns hillock at the same time – cf. Knaus (1996) 95.

Maran too believes that this would have been a gradual process lasting for several decades since *ca.* the middle of the 13th century BC – cf. Maran (2002a) 10 and (2002-03) 223.

⁸⁸⁸ Zangger (1994) 211-212

the dam and the termination of sediment deposits around the citadel, then we can conclude that the alluvial strata had already accumulated before the beginning of LHIIC. Moreover, if these alluvial strata corresponded chronologically to a long period of several decades – possibly even a century – as it was mentioned before, then they would also correspond to no less than the LHIIB2 phase. In this case, it is not difficult to imagine that the area to the East and North of the citadel would not have been favoured for habitation during this period, but it would have been avoided, since it was occasionally being flooded and sediment was accumulating. The settlement would have been restricted mainly to the South and West of the citadel, and not expanded much to the East and North. In that case, we should not really expect to find the alleged “lost suburb”⁸⁸⁹ under the thick alluvial strata. After the construction of the dam, however, the area could be inhabited more extensively.

According to Maran’s suggestion, the dam was probably one of the impressive architectural and technical projects, which were undertaken in Tiryns between 1250 and 1200 BC. Because of the recurrent overflowing of the stream, which according to Maran must have lasted for about the second half of the 13th century, the ruling power of Tiryns decided to construct the dam and handle the problem. Besides dealing with the flooding, another reason for this drastic measure would have been the wish to gain more habitation land in the area of the Lower Town. In the end, however, the plans for the expansion of the settlement area were fulfilled after the fall of the palace, and the beneficiaries of this measure were in the end the inhabitants of post-palatial Tiryns.⁸⁹⁰

This is indeed a very plausible scenario. Considering the dam to be one of the ambitious projects of the LHIIB2 ruler of Tiryns fits well with the political and economic conditions of that time. What seems, however, to be somewhat problematic is the suggestion to ascribe the need for more land for habitation to the period of LHIIB2. Such a wish would have been connected with population increase, which has not been attested at Tiryns earlier than LHIIC. Besides, this increase and the resulting expansion of the settlement have been quite convincingly related to the destruction of the palaces and its socio-political implications. No matter whether it was the result of a *synoikismos* or of a change in social structure, which resulted in the rise of a new upper class seeking for a new area other than the acropolis to settle down, it was in any case a post-palatial, post-destruction development.

By following the same argumentation line, we reach the following conclusion. If there was no population increase in LHIIB2, and people coped with the flooding until the end of the period by avoiding the “dangerous” area, then it might not seem very convincing

⁸⁸⁹ Zangger (1994) 196

⁸⁹⁰ Maran (2002a) 10-11; (2002-03) 223-224

that it was suddenly all that important towards the end of LHIIIB to construct the dam and thereby solve the problem. It is perhaps more convincing to suggest that they only constructed the dam and secured the east and north areas around the citadel from flooding, when they mostly needed these areas for habitation. If this is combined with the idea of a *synoikismos*, of people arriving at Tiryns in a general atmosphere of danger and insecurity, in order to seek refuge and protection, and of the population rising to an unprecedented extent, then we might find here a historical reason for the need to construct the dam at a certain chronological moment. Alternatively, if the reason for the expansion of the Lower Town is thought to be the socio-political change that occurred after the palatial collapse and drove the families of the new, upper class to claim areas outside the citadel for themselves, then within this reason is hidden the political will that would have made the construction of the dam possible.

Burials

III.11 Chamber and tholos tombs

The inhabitants of Late Mycenaean Tiryns most probably buried their dead in the two tholos tombs and the chamber tomb cemetery lying on the slopes of the mountain Prophitis Elias to the East of the citadel (fig.III.13). The tholoi are situated on the west slope of Prophitis Elias. The tholos that has been excavated was found empty of finds, and only some Late Mycenaean pottery was found in the dromos. All the Mycenaean remains were apparently removed from the tomb when an oil-mill was erected inside it in Roman times. According to its architectural features, nevertheless, the tomb can be dated with certainty to the Late Mycenaean period.⁸⁹¹

The chamber-tomb cemetery is situated on the east slope of Prophitis Ilias. It was used from the late 16th until into the 12th century BC. Out of fifty tombs, only fifteen were investigated. Six of the tombs produced evidence of LHIIIC use, as reported in the publication. Because of later disturbances and also partly due to the brief reports in the excavation notebooks, it was not always possible to correlate the vases with specific burials. One burial that was possible to reconstruct was in tomb V. An adult was buried with three vases, two of them dating to LHIIIC-middle, a pierced shell and half of a bronze knife. This tomb had apparently been used in LHIIIC-early too, because it also contained two LHIIIC-early vases, whose find-spots, however, are not known. Three vases possibly dating to SM and an iron pin fragment were also found in this tomb, the latter in a pit containing

⁸⁹¹ Döhl (1975) 62-65

secondarily deposited burial remains and offerings.⁸⁹² Tomb VI contained a LHIIC-middle stirrup-jar and another one of possibly SM date found in the upper layer of burials.⁸⁹³ Four other tombs also possibly contained LHIIC pottery: the dromos of tomb VII contained a possibly LHIIC-early amphoriskos,⁸⁹⁴ the chamber of tomb VIII produced a possibly LHIIC-middle amphoriskos under the debris of the collapsed roof;⁸⁹⁵ tomb XV might have also contained a LHIIC-middle stirrup-jar, reportedly found in the chamber close to the entrance;⁸⁹⁶ and finally three cups found broken in sherds in tomb XVI have also been dated to LHIIC.⁸⁹⁷

III.12 *Burials in the Lower Citadel*

More than seventy burials have been discovered inside the Lower Citadel. Adults – men and women – and children were buried without any grave offerings, in simple pits or natural cavities of the rocky ground. Three exceptions should be noted, the burial of a woman accompanied by pottery,⁸⁹⁸ a burial enclosed by a wall,⁸⁹⁹

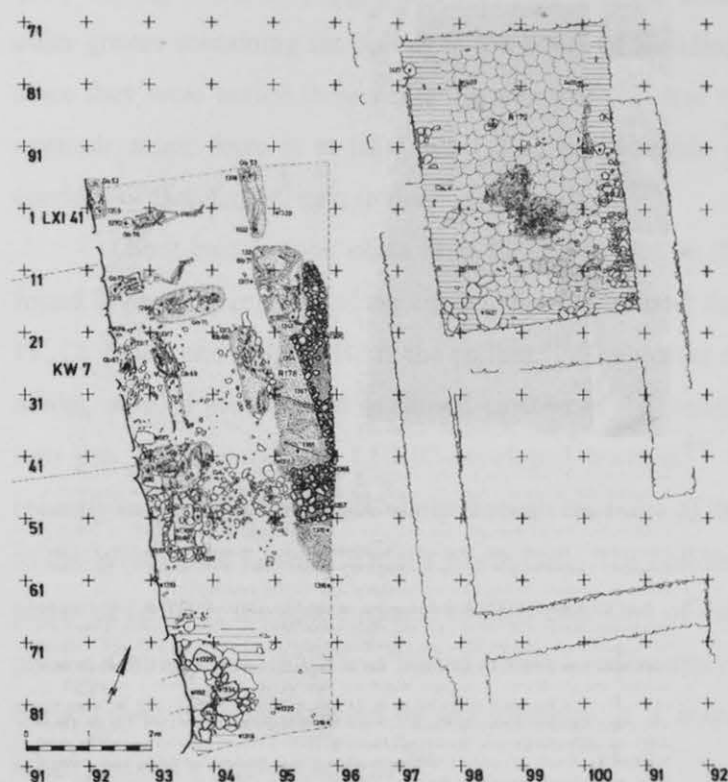


Fig.III.15
Plan of
interments
in the
LHIIB2
court

⁸⁹² Rudolph (1973) 36-40; vases no.4-5 (LHIIC-early), 1, 3 (LHIIC-middle) and 6-8 (SM); iron pin no.22; for the dating of the vases cf. also Mountjoy (1999) 155, 161, 169, 190, 192. Regarding vase no.8, Podzuweit (1988) 223 dates it to LHIIC-late, while Mountjoy (1999) 190 dates it to the SM period; she gives its description but accidentally refers to it as no.5, which dates to LHIIC-early.

⁸⁹³ Rudolph (1973) 40-49, vases nos. 16 (LHIIC-middle) and 4 (SM); for their dating cf. also Mountjoy (1999) 169 and 194.

⁸⁹⁴ Rudolph (1973) 49-54, no. 1

⁸⁹⁵ Rudolph (1973) 55-59, no.8; for its dating cf. parallels from the citadel of Tiryns in Mountjoy (1999) 161: "monochrome amphoriskoi from Tiryns have zonal decoration in a narrow band at the base of the neck ...". Podzuweit (1988) 223 dates this vase to LHIIC-advanced.

⁸⁹⁶ Rudolph (1973) 63-67, no.8

⁸⁹⁷ Rudolph (1973) 67-78, esp. 76 a-c and 114-115, fig.III. 28

⁸⁹⁸ Kilian (1988a) 121: burial Gb 16 in LXII 44: it was accompanied by a hydria, a stirrup-jar (fig.III. 23,1), a cup and the upper part of a large vase

⁸⁹⁹ Kilian (1982) 396 and n.6: LXIII 42

and another one surrounded by a stone construction.⁹⁰⁰

Stratigraphical observations have led to their dating throughout the whole period from LHIIB2 to LHIIC-developed. Burials found for example East of Building II should date to LHIIB or later, since the clearance of the area to the ground in LHIIB gives a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the burials.⁹⁰¹ In the open-air court to the West of Building VI (fig.III.15), thirteen persons were buried, four of which were apparently interred while the west city-wall curtain was being built, since they were covered by stone chips, which must have fallen down while work was being done on the wall's façade.⁹⁰² Similar is the case of two burials in a large, shallow cavity below the LHIIB Building X. They belong to the levelling phase that preceded the construction of the building.⁹⁰³ Four other graves containing six burials to the South of Building VI should also date to LHIIB, since they were buried there while the area was still free of buildings.⁹⁰⁴ Besides burials in open-air areas, there is at least one burial found within a building: it was placed in the corridor of Building V, next to the door of room 90.⁹⁰⁵

Other burials took place after the destruction at the end of LHIIB2. Nine burials found in the northern part of the citadel should date later than the destruction of Buildings I-IV, i.e. to the end of LHIIB2 at the earliest.⁹⁰⁶ Eight other skeletons – four children and four adults, most of them buried in natural cavities of the rocky ground, had been brought down into pits dug through the LHIIC-developed horizon.⁹⁰⁷ Six more skeletons were found recently in a pit dug in LHIIC-early through the ruins of the recently recovered Building XI to the West of the Lower Citadel's North Gate. The building has been dated to the very last phase of LHIIB, the phase named LHIIB-end. One of the skeletons belonging to a young person or thinly built adult was buried within a rudimentary stone construction. Although the burials were not accompanied by any offerings, it is noted that they do not seem to have taken place in a careless manner.⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁰ Jahresbericht (2004) 273, fig.16

⁹⁰¹ Verdelis (1964) 116-118: LXI 37/38

Kilian (1979) 386, n.31.

⁹⁰² Kilian (1981a) 174: LXI 41

⁹⁰³ Kilian (1982) 411 and n.28

⁹⁰⁴ Kilian (1988a) 121: trenches LXII 43-44

⁹⁰⁵ Kilian (1981a) 180: LXII 39/45

⁹⁰⁶ Grossmann-Schäfer (1971) 75: LXII 36

⁹⁰⁷ Kilian (1979) 386: LXII 37

⁹⁰⁸ Jahresbericht (2003) 184 and (2004) 273

III.13 Cult

After the great destruction at the end of LHIIIB2, Casemate 7 in the western circuit wall of the Lower Citadel (-pointed out by arrow on fig.III.16), which had been used for religious activities in palatial times, was cleared of its contents, was filled-in and consequently went out of use.⁹⁰⁹ From that point onwards, cult activities took place in small buildings inside the Lower Citadel. The first post-palatial building of religious character was the provisional cult room 119 (LXI 40 – fig.III.17), which contained a hearth on its lowest floor, as

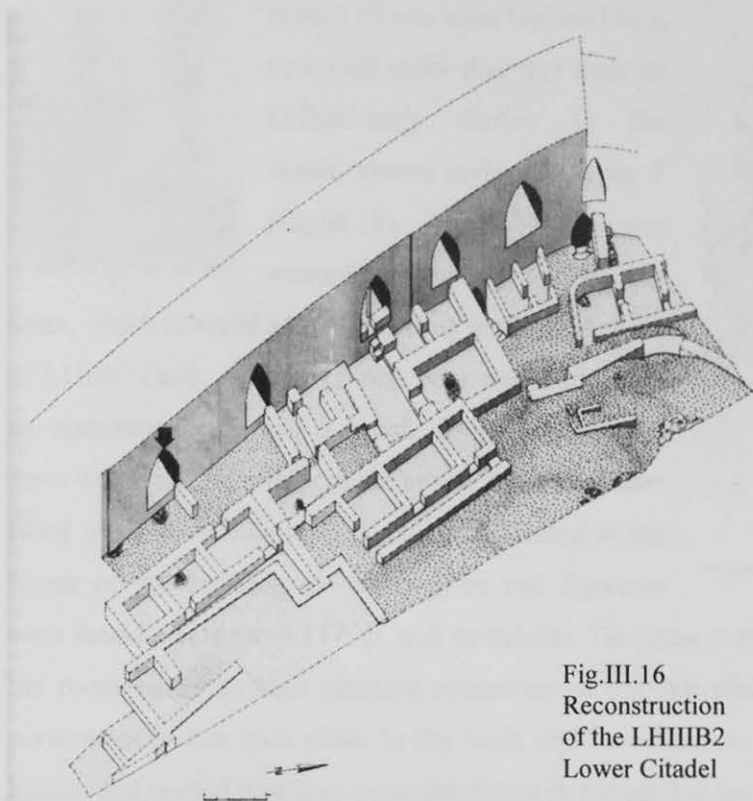


Fig.III.16
Reconstruction
of the LHIIIB2
Lower Citadel

well as fragments of two normal-sized human figures and a small animal figurine. More figurines and the hand of a large figure with upraised arms were found on a later, LHIIIC-early floor, while other figurines found in front of the entrance to the West were probably deposited there through cleaning operations

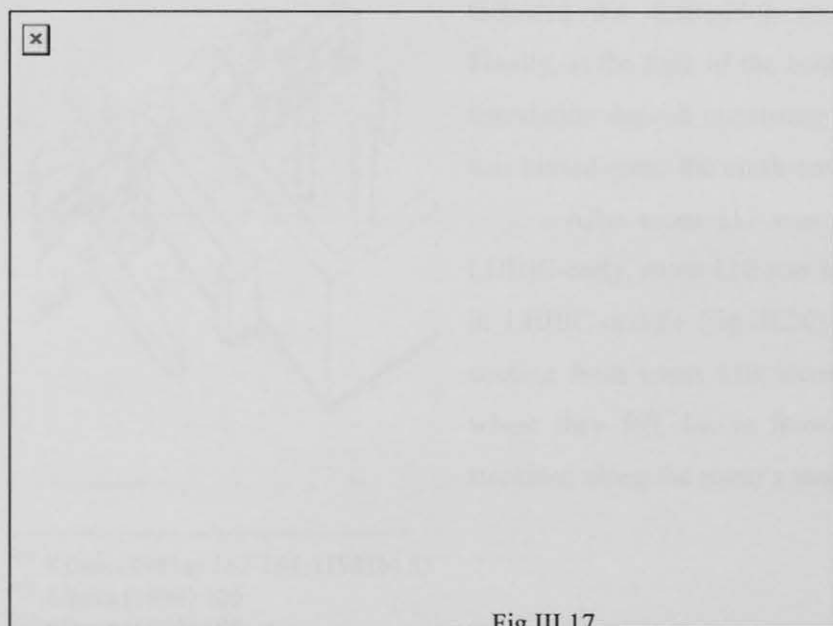


Fig.III.17
R.119 to the right

⁹⁰⁹ Cf. Kilian (1981b) 49-53; (1988a) 142-145 for the cult nature of casemate 7.

(fig.III.18).⁹¹⁰ A large stone-block that was situated South of the entrance might have also been used in relation to the cult ceremonies that took place in the room during its last phase – perhaps as a podium for laying down the idols.⁹¹¹

Fig.III.18
Cult idols
from
room 119



The provisional cult room 119 was soon replaced by a new cult room that was built in LHIIC-early further to the South, almost under Casemate 7 (fig.III.19). Room 117 was erected on top of a levelling

layer, which covered a grey pit dating to the first phase of LHIIC-early. Room 117 was very well built, with an elaborate façade and a bench along its rear wall; there was a niche initially in the bench, but it was later filled in. A horseshoe-shaped altar was located to the North of the building. A few figures and figurines were found inside room 117, as well as outside. The latter must have found their way outside the room either through cleaning operations of the cult place or after being used in cult performances that took place in the court and in relation to the hypaethral altar.⁹¹² Many human and animal figurines were also found in the pit that predated the construction of room

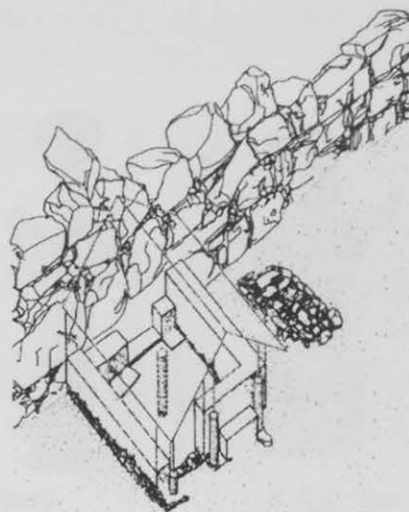
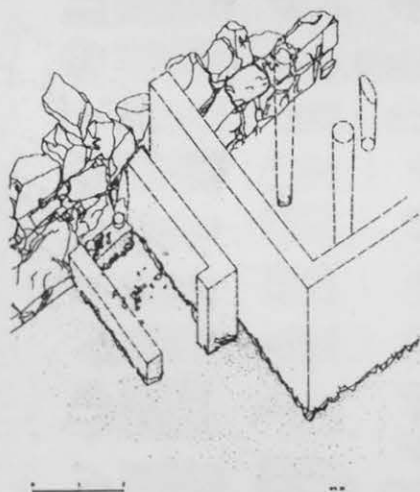


Fig.III.19
Reconstruction
of cult room
117

117. These are related to the first habitation layer that followed the destruction at the end of LHIIB.⁹¹³ Finally, at the time of the construction of room 117, a foundation deposit consisting of four miniature vases was buried under the north-eastern corner.⁹¹⁴

After room 117 was destroyed at the end of LHIIC-early, room 110 was built at the same location in LHIIC-middle (fig.III.20). The figures and vases coming from room 110 were found right at the site where they fell, i.e. in front of the cult bench that stretched along the room's rear wall (fig.III.22a). After

Fig.III.20
Reconstruction
of cult room
110



⁹¹⁰ Kilian (1981a) 162-164; (1981b) 53

⁹¹¹ Albers (1994) 106

⁹¹² Albers (1994) 108

⁹¹³ Albers (1994) 108

⁹¹⁴ Kilian (1979) 389-394

Kilian (1981b) 53 – here the foundation deposit is said to consist of three pairs of kylikes.

the conflagration that damaged the settlement of the Lower Citadel – including room 110 – in the second half of LHIIC-middle, room 110a was built in LHIIC-advanced/late and remained in use until the end of LHIIC. A hypaethral altar lay to its South (fig.III.21 and 22b).⁹¹⁵

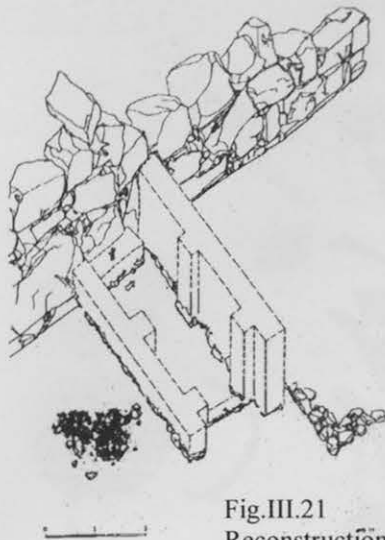


Fig.III.21
Reconstruction of
cult room 110a



a. Cult figures
from room 110



b. Cult figure
from room 110a
Fig.III.22

SM period

III.14 Citadel

The SM occupation remains at Tiryns are meagre but significant. First, it must be pointed out that a SM pottery- and habitation-phase has been identified both stratigraphically and stylistically inside the Lower Citadel. It is represented in layers that might have not appeared all over the Lower Citadel, but they have been well documented in the south-west part (LXI-LXIII 41-45 – fig.III.23). They lay over the LHIIC-late layers and form a closed context, since they are distinguished from the former layers through Horizon 22 (the grey deposit). The grey layer and the layers that follow on top of it have also appeared

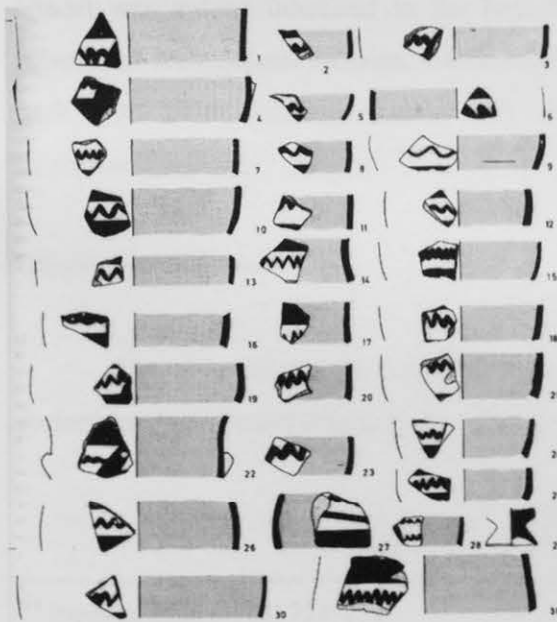


Fig.III.23
SM pottery
found in the
south-west part
of the Lower
Citadel

⁹¹⁵ Kilian (1978) 460-465; (1981b) 53-56
Iakovidis (1993) 20

in the north part of the Lower Citadel (LXI-LXII 35-36 – fig.III.24), but they are not as well preserved nor is the reconstruction of the stratigraphy so clear in this area.⁹¹⁶

A SM layer has been found, for example, in LXI 36/49-69, upon which there were twenty-one clay loom-weights, but it could not be ascribed with certainty to a built room, since its limits had been lost because of erosion. In LXII 36/63,74, however, the remains of a house with stone foundations and clay walls were preserved lying immediately above Horizon 22 and should therefore belong to the SM phase.⁹¹⁷ The remains of another room (102a), which were found further South in the Lower Citadel, in LXII 42.43, have too been

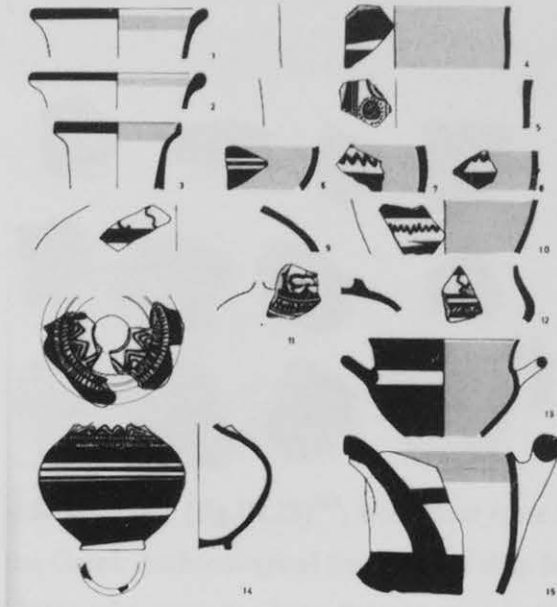


Fig.III.24
SM pottery
from the
north part
of the
Lower
Citadel

thought to date to the SM period: they were dug into the grey destruction layer and were much more oriented towards the West than the G houses. In addition, the discovery of SM sherds has indicated the use of open spaces next to certain wall-chambers.⁹¹⁸ Finally, SM sherds have been found in the *syringes*⁹¹⁹ and the *bothros* of the Upper Citadel, but they are not related to any buildings.⁹²⁰ This kind of evidence leads us to the conclusion that the citadel was indeed inhabited in the beginning of the EIA, in spite of the lack of any substantial architectural remains, which might have not survived because of several reasons, such as the flimsy building materials, the removal of layers in Hellenistic and Roman times or problems related to research.⁹²¹

III.15 Lower Town

The area outside the citadel has provided us with less SM habitation traces. Only pottery has been found dating to this period and coming from two areas, i.e. trench W to the

⁹¹⁶ Papadimitriou (1988) 228, 238

⁹¹⁷ Kilian (1988a) 107

⁹¹⁸ Kilian (1981a) 151-153

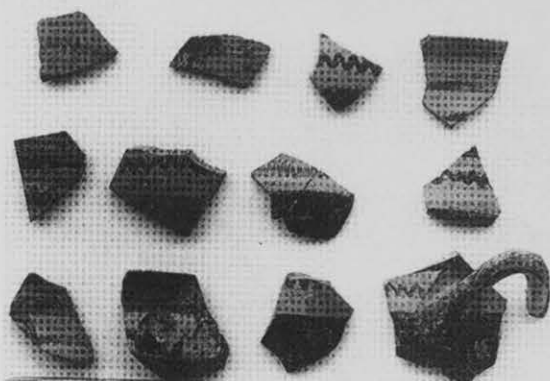
⁹¹⁹ Papadimitriou (1988) 242 and fig.III. 6

⁹²⁰ Papadimitriou (1998) 119

⁹²¹ Papadimitriou (1988) 240 and n.55

West of the Upper Citadel (site Stadt-West: L50-LI57 – fig.III.25) and trench E, which was excavated South of the acropolis and North of the modern agricultural prison (fig.III.26).⁹²²

Fig.III.25
SM pottery
from site
Stadt/West



It is outside the citadel, nevertheless, that eight SM tombs have been found at three different sites to the South and South-east (fig.III.26). Two pits were found lying side by side and following the same orientation in the area of the prison (fig.III.27).⁹²³ One child burial in a cist grave was discovered during the old excavations at site A, in the so-called south-

west cemetery (fig.III.28)⁹²⁴, while four more SM burials were found later at the same site by the Greek Archaeological Service, but they have not been published yet.⁹²⁵ Finally, another child's cist grave has been found in trench H, East of the citadel.⁹²⁶ These SM burials were reported either to be lying on top of Mycenaean habitation layers or to be dug into the ruins of Mycenaean buildings.⁹²⁷

Finally, there is a possibility that SM burials were interred in the Mycenaean chamber-tomb cemetery of Prophitis Ilias. SM vases have actually been found in two or three chamber tombs, but since it is not possible to reconstruct the related burial groups, it is difficult to draw any secure conclusions. There is also a dispute regarding the dating of the pottery that is presumed to be SM.⁹²⁸

⁹²² Papadimitriou (1998) 119; (2003) 718, n. 25 for site Stadt/West

⁹²³ Verdalis excavated these graves in 1957 – cf. Verdalis (1963) 6-24: tombs XIIIa-b For later accounts cf.: Hägg (1974) 80 and fig.III.13; Papadimitriou (1998) 119, fig.III. 1b; (2003) 721-722: XIIIa contained one vase and two bronze rings, and XIIIb contained three vases, four bronze rings and one bronze fibula.

⁹²⁴ This tomb, n.3 on the plan, was published in Müller-Oelmann (1912) 128, 138, pl. 16:8. It contained only one vase.

⁹²⁵ Papadimitriou (1998) 119, fig.III. 1b, where she includes all five burials in her plan of the cemetery.

Papadimitriou (2003) 720, n.35

Cf. also the short reference to the discovery of SM tombs at site A in Chatzipouliou (1980) 124.

⁹²⁶ This was first published in Gercke-Naumann (1974) 16-17, fig.III.4 and then in Gercke *et al* (1975) 11. It contained a cup and two bronze rings.

⁹²⁷ Müller-Oelmann (1912) 127

Verdalis (1963) 1

Gercke *et al* (1975) 11, pl. 19.2

⁹²⁸ Hägg (1974) 80-81: vases V6, V7, VI 4, VIII 8 and the cups XVI a.b.c.; they were published in Rudolph (1973) 39 and pl. 18,2-3, 44 and pl. 20,1-2, 58 and pl. 30,2, 76-77 and fig.III.28 respectively.

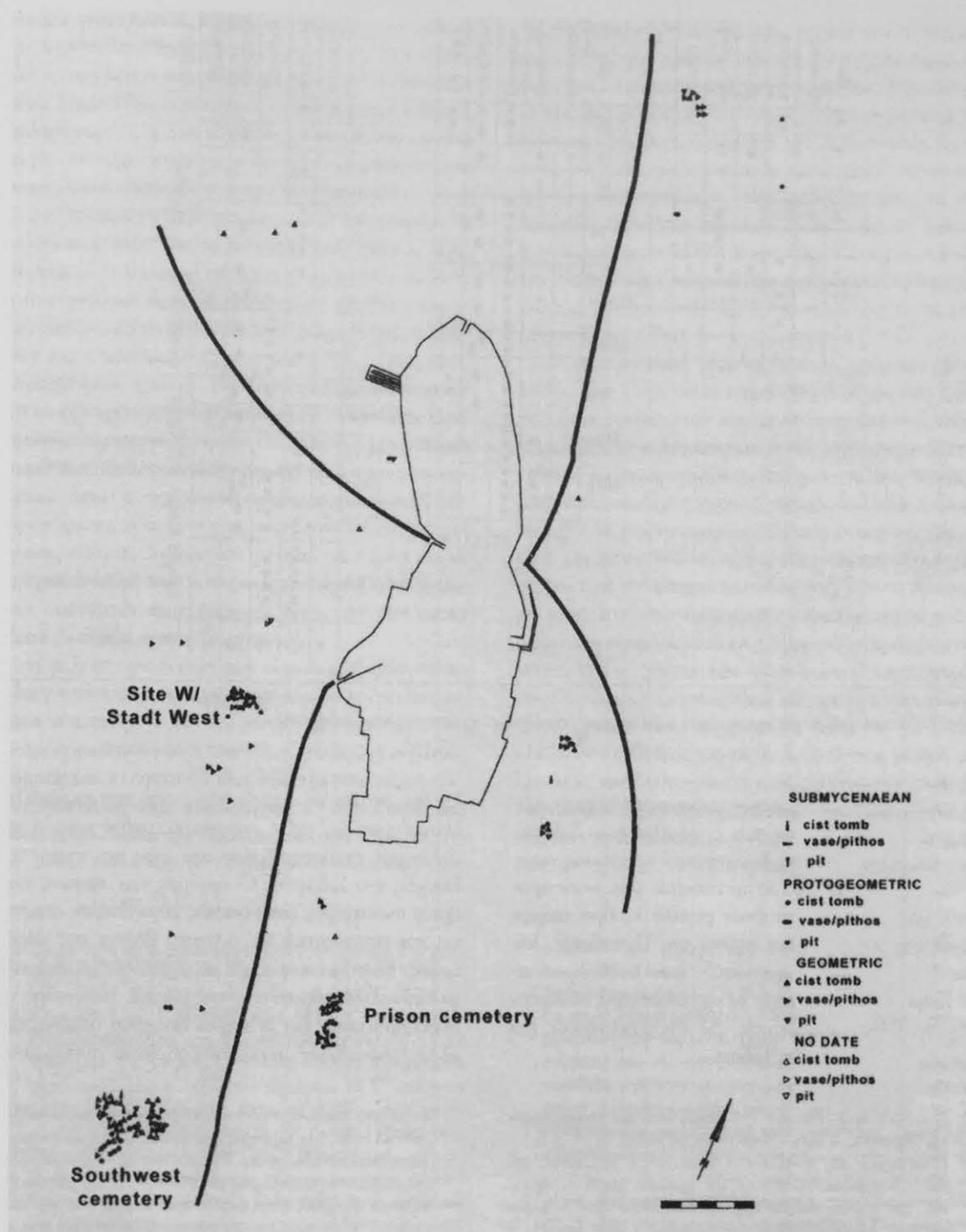


Fig.III.26
Distribution of EIA
tombs around the
citadel of Tiryns

Papadimitriou (2003) 724, n.48: she recognizes as SM only the vases VI 27, V6 and V7; for VI 27, cf. Rudolph (1973) 48 and pl. 22,3. In Papadimitriou (1988) 236, n. 27, however, she includes among SM pottery the vase VI 4, which is also thought to be SM by Mountjoy (1999) 194. Regarding vases VIII 8 and XVI a-c, a LHIIIC date seems more probable – cf. above p.349.

Fig.III.27
Prison
cemetery

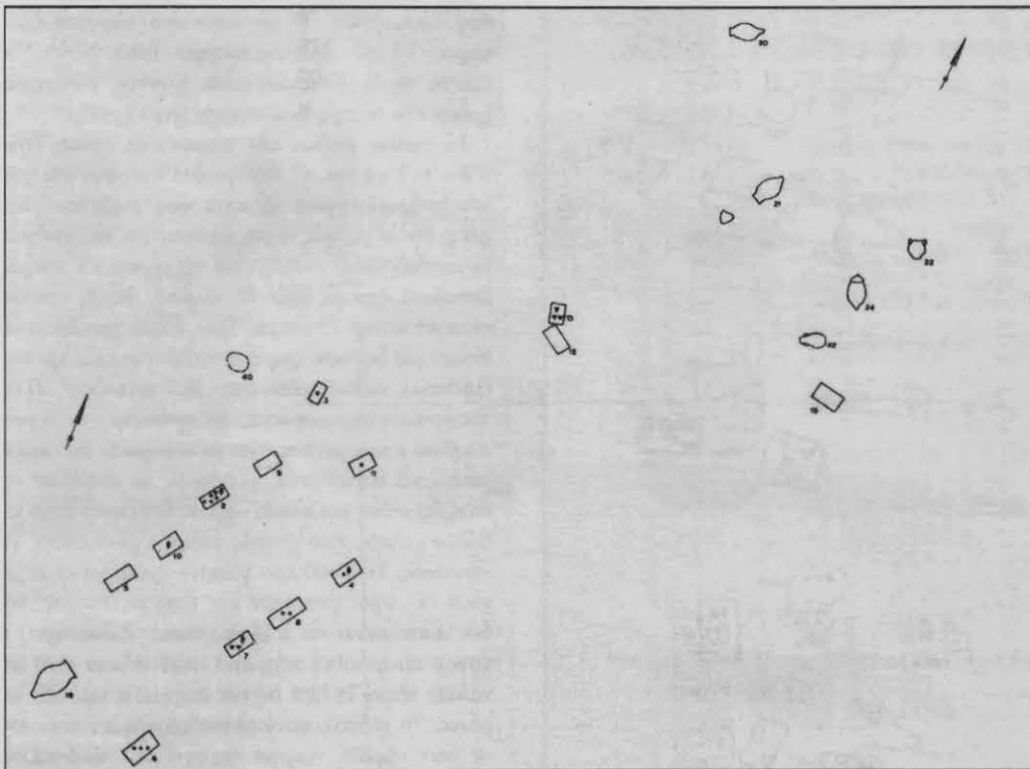
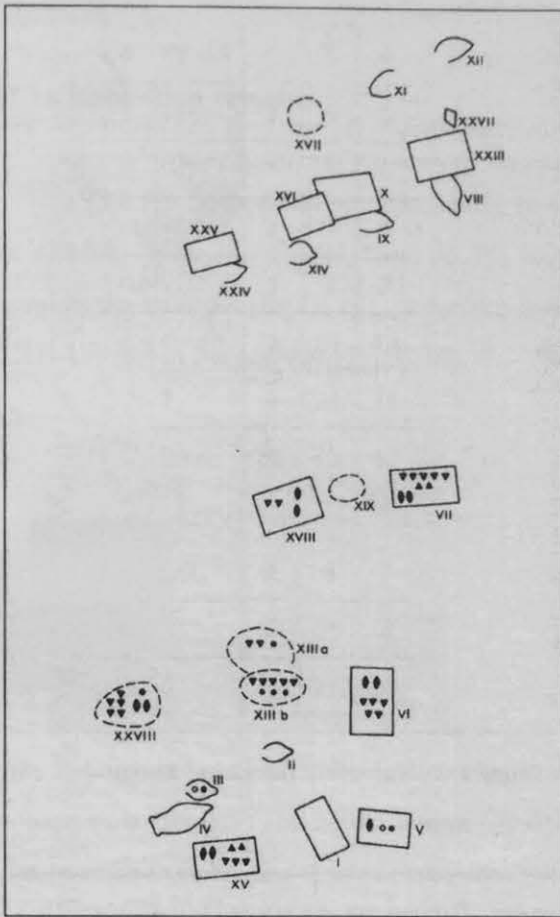


Fig.III.28
South-west
cemetery

III.16 Habitation remains

The PG occupation remains testify to continuous habitation both inside and outside the citadel. Inside the citadel, first, no PG layer has been preserved, but pottery has been found in the *syringes* (fig.III.29), in surface layers, in a deposit close to the fortification wall (LXII 45) and in the *bothros* (fig.III.30).⁹²⁹

Fig.III.29
EIA
pottery
from the
Syringes

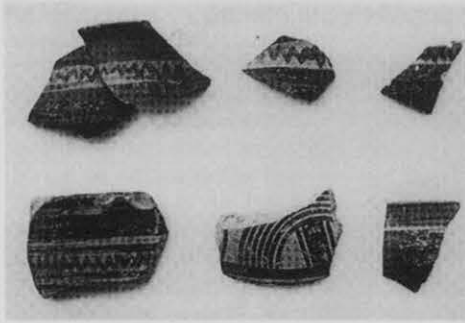
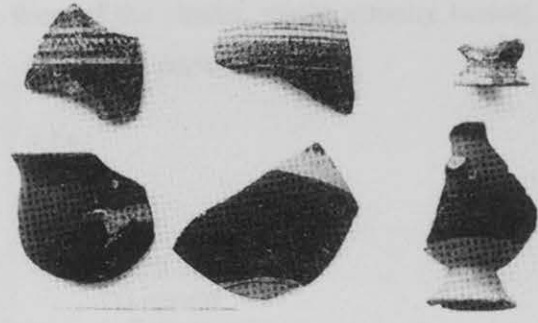


Fig.III.30
EIA
pottery
from the
Bothros



Outside the citadel, the finds are more substantial. They have been mainly recovered at three sites. To the West of the Upper Citadel, at the site Stadt-West/trench W, North and

South of the respective group of tombs, conflagration layers, remains of floors, a roughly preserved wall and a few wells testify to the existence of houses, which were apparently burnt down in LPG times (fig.III.31).⁹³⁰ To the West of the Lower Citadel, in LVIII 41/37-48, a 4-6m wide apsidal

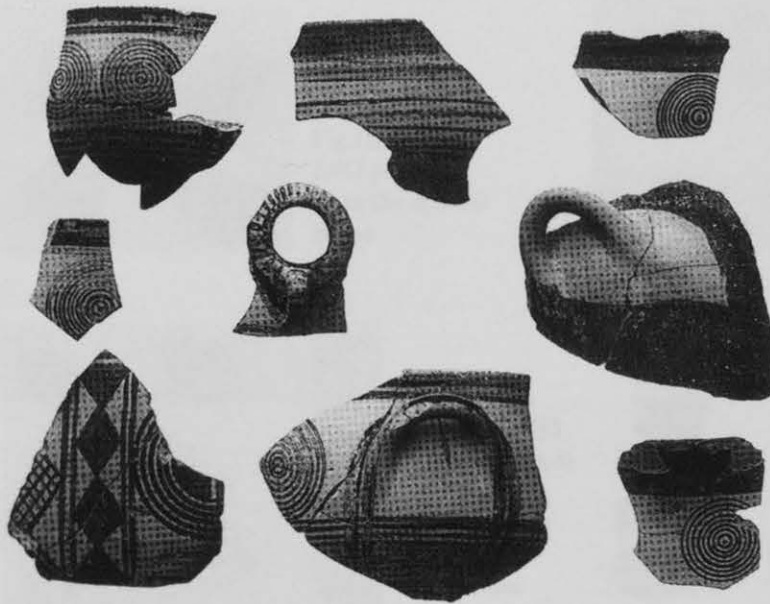


Fig.III.31
PG pottery from
site Stadt West

⁹²⁹ Papadimitriou (1988) 240-242; (1998) 120

Sherds of a skyphos of possibly PG date were found in the *epichosis* to the West of the upper citadel – cf. Voitgländer (2003) 94 and pl.67 Si 127.

⁹³⁰ Gercke-Naumann (1974) 22

Hägg (1974) 82

Eder (1998) 61

Papadimitriou (1998) 120; (2003) 718

building with earth foundations and clay walls was found (fig.III.32). The pottery found in and under the disturbance layer has been dated to the EPG period (fig.III.33), while LPG and SPG pottery came from the layer that covered the building (fig.III.34). Handmade pottery was also recovered in this house (fig.III.35).⁹³¹ Building remains and EPG pottery have also been found in trench E, i.e. to the North of the prison cemetery (fig.III.36).⁹³² PG settlement-pits were also recently found to the North-east of the citadel, in the north-eastern sector. It was noted that due to great soil erosion the post-Mycenaean layers had mostly vanished from this area.⁹³³ Finally, it has been suggested that some circular and apsidal structures that can be discerned in the old air-photograph to the West of the citadel, might actually belong to

this period.⁹³⁴

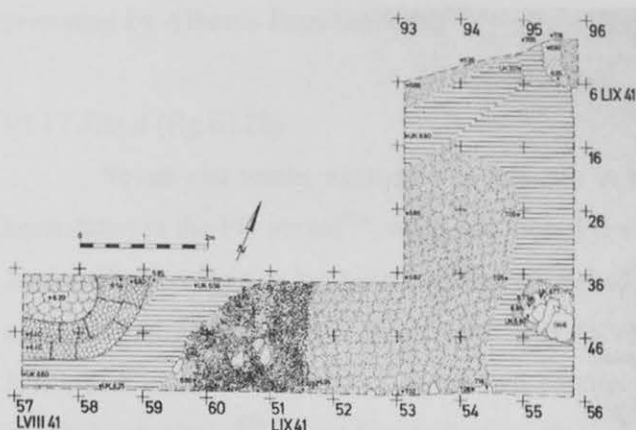


Fig.III.32
PG apsidal
building to the
West of the citadel

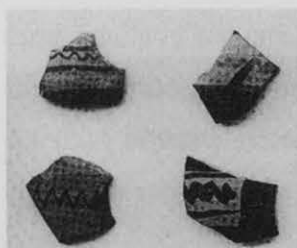


Fig.III.33
EPG pottery
from the apsidal
house

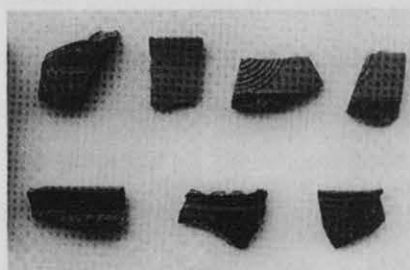


Fig.III.34
LPG pottery
from the apsidal
house

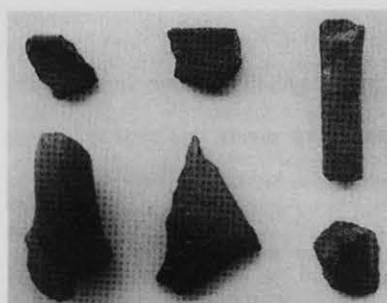


Fig.III.35
Handmade
pottery
from the
apsidal
house

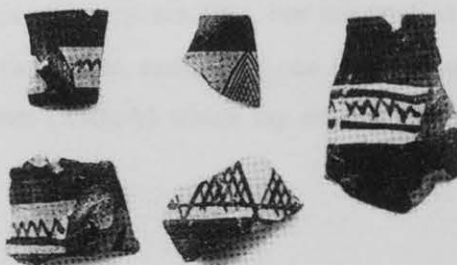


Fig.III.36
EIA
pottery
from
trench E

⁹³¹ Kilian (1988a) 106-108

Eder (1998) 59

Papadimitriou (1998) 120; (2003) 718-720

⁹³² Papadimitriou (1998) 120; (2003) 720, n.32

⁹³³ Jahresbericht (1999) 574

⁹³⁴ Papadimitriou (1998) 120 and n.21, where she refers to Jantzen (1975) fig.III.1

Burials

Around forty tombs dating to PG period have been recovered at seven different sites around the citadel (fig.III.26). Two of these sites were already used for burials in the SM period. At each of these sites, namely site A (-the so-called south-west cemetery) and the prison-site, an organized burial group seems to have developed in the PG period and is also going to continue receiving burials in the G period as well. Another important group of graves that seem to form an organized cemetery is situated at the site W/Stadt-West. The distribution of these tombs as well as their contents have been thoroughly studied and presented by Alkestis Papadimitriou.⁹³⁵

III.17 *Site A* (fig.III.28)

Seven cist tombs excavated at this site in the beginning of the 20th century have been dated to the PG period⁹³⁶, while six more PG tombs have been excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service but have not been published yet.⁹³⁷ To judge by the published tombs of this burial group, it could be said that they follow the same orientation, i.e. South-west-North-east, and moreover, they lay in two parallel rows, while only one of them, n.11, is situated separately.⁹³⁸ According to Lemos, this might indicate that the burials were of the same family or kin group.⁹³⁹ In general, these tombs were not rich in offerings, containing a couple of vases, combined in four cases with one or two metal offerings, including a golden spiral. A separate reference should be made to the presence of handmade pottery, which appears to substitute the closed wheel-made and decorated vases.⁹⁴⁰

III.18 *Prison cemetery* (fig.III.27)

Eight PG tombs have been excavated in this cemetery, six cists, one inhumation in a pithos and one pit.⁹⁴¹ As Hägg has noted, all of the tombs, except for one (VI), followed more or less the same orientation with the SM ones (XIIIa-b) which lay among them, i.e.

⁹³⁵ Cf. Papadimitriou (2003) 713-728

⁹³⁶ Müller-Oelmann (1912) 127-164

Hägg (1974) 82

Papadimitriou (2003) 720, n.35: nos. 7, 8, 4, 11, 2, 6, 10

⁹³⁷ It is possible to count them on Papadimitriou's plan of the EIA burials – cf. Papadimitriou (1998) 119, fig.III.1b; and also the short reference to the discovery of PG tombs at site A in Chatzipouliou (1980) 124.

⁹³⁸ Müller-Oelmann (1912) fig.III.2

Hägg (1974) 83, fig.III.14

⁹³⁹ Lemos (2002) 220

⁹⁴⁰ Papadimitriou (2003) 720-721

⁹⁴¹ These are tombs V, VII, XV, XVIII, VI, XXIII, III and XXVIII – cf. Verdalis (1963) 6-24; Hägg (1974) 82-83; Papadimitriou (2003) 721-722

West-South-west – East-North-east, which he interpreted as an indication of continuity. It is noteworthy that the first use of the pithos has been re-dated from EG, to which it was initially dated⁹⁴², to the LPG period, and the use of pit XXVIII from SM to EPG. The latter was a double burial of one male person and another one of undefined gender, and it was accompanied by a stirrup-jar, a spearhead, a shield-boss and a helmet, all made of bronze, as well as two iron daggers.⁹⁴³ It has been pointed out that the helmet betrays foreign influences.⁹⁴⁴ In total, it is possible to count nine certain PG burials in the prison cemetery, since two of the tombs were used twice in the PG period (VII and XXVII). In general, these burials were richer in metal objects than in pottery, and they actually contained a rather large number of bronze and iron items, as well as four golden spirals, while there has been no hand-made pottery found here.⁹⁴⁵ The tombs were dug into the ruins of Mycenaean houses and all cists had stone walls.⁹⁴⁶

III.19 *Site W/Stadt-West* (fig.III.37)

Twelve PG tombs containing fifteen burials have been excavated here, all of them cists apart from one pit.⁹⁴⁷ In general, they all follow a similar orientation, i.e. East-North-east – West-South-west to North-east – South-west, except for three of them, which are dated to the EPG period and follow an orientation of North-North-west – South-South-east. On the basis of the anthropological study of the bone-remains, it has been observed that there is a concentration of child-graves in the centre of the group. Most of the burials here were rich in pottery and metal (bronze and iron) offerings, while none of them contained handmade pottery. Only one golden spiral was found in one of the tombs.⁹⁴⁸ Special reference has been made to an Attic belly-handled amphora possibly found outside one of the cists and used either as a marker or rather as a receiver for libations. It is possible that the person buried in this tomb was a distinguished member of the community. It contained six more vases, two bronze rings and two bronze pins.⁹⁴⁹

⁹⁴² Verdelis (1963) 48-50

⁹⁴³ Several scholars have discussed the dating of this burial. Papadimitriou dates the warrior's grave to the EPG period on the basis of pottery evidence, while Desborough had dated this tomb to the period of transition in Athens to PG – cf. Desborough (1972) 72. Eder notes that according to pottery, the tomb should be dated to the SM period, but because of the iron daggers, it rather belongs to the transition to the PG period – cf. Eder (1998) 61. Lemos (2002) 13 also dates it to the transitional phase from SM to PG. She notes that this tomb is roughly contemporary with the warriors' tombs from Athens and Lefkandi.

⁹⁴⁴ Papadimitriou (2006)

⁹⁴⁵ Papadimitriou (2003) 721-722

⁹⁴⁶ Lemos (2002) 159

⁹⁴⁷ Gercke-Naumann (1974) 23-24; Hägg (1974) 82-84; Aupert (1975) 613

⁹⁴⁸ Papadimitriou (2003) 722-724

⁹⁴⁹ Tomb 1974/3. For the contents cf. Papadimitriou (2003) tables 1-2 and also p.718

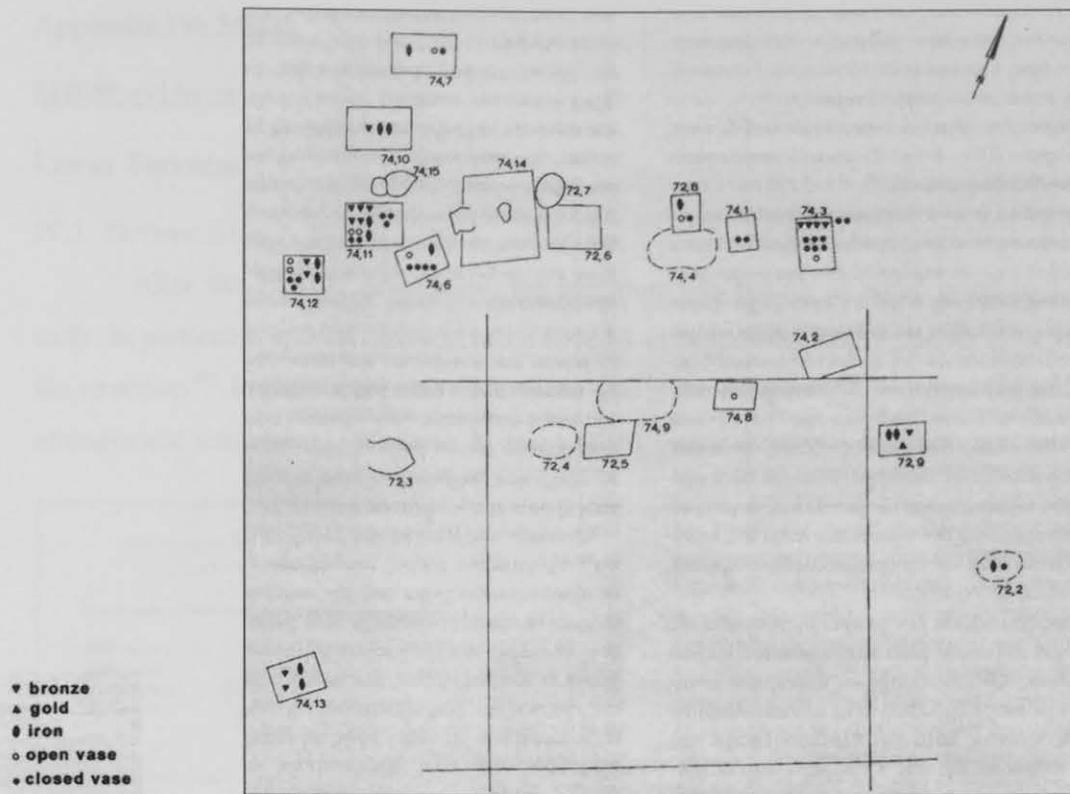


Fig.III.37
Stadt West cemetery

III.20 *Isolated burials*

Another significant discovery is that of a LPG pit that was found to the West of the Upper Citadel and very close to the walls, in trench LVIII-LIX 41, to the East of the apsidal house that was also discovered there. This burial is actually contemporary to the last phase of the pottery that was found at the site.⁹⁵⁰ Finally, a few other PG cist burials have been found scattered at several sites: one close to the road to the South-west of the Acropolis, another one at some unknown position, the third one to the North-east of the acropolis (trench M),⁹⁵¹ and the fourth, a child's burial, on the road South-west of the Acropolis, exactly opposite the prison's entrance.⁹⁵² The latter, containing a large number of pots, iron and bronze rings and a pin, has been characterized as "rich for the standards of the region".⁹⁵³ One more cist tomb of PG period was recently found to the North-east of the citadel, together with PG settlement-pits (LXVIII-LXIX 28-31).⁹⁵⁴

⁹⁵⁰ Papadimitriou (2003) 720

⁹⁵¹ They were published in Müller-Oelmann (1912) 128:1, 129: 17, 18 respectively. Cf. also Hägg (1974) 83.

⁹⁵² This was excavated and published by Deilaki – cf. Deilaki (1969) 104.

⁹⁵³ Lemos (2002) 159, 160 n.113

⁹⁵⁴ Jahresbericht (2000) 574

Appendix IV: Midea

LHIIIC evidence

Lower Terraces

IV.1. Terrace 10

After the LHIIIB destruction, the megaron was rebuilt at some point in LHIIIC-early. In particular, special care was taken in order to support its long walls, so as to preserve the structure.⁹⁵⁵ Repairs were also undertaken inside the megaron,⁹⁵⁶ and the internal spatial arrangement was altered. While in its last LHIIIB phase there was a hearth surrounded by

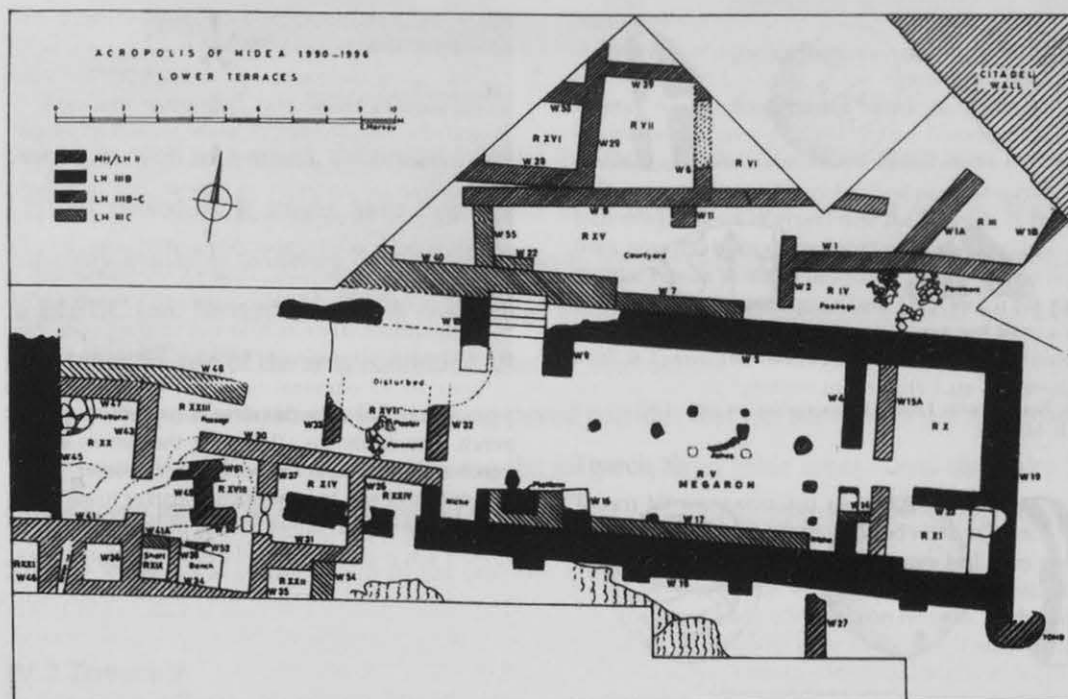


Fig.IV.1
The megaron
area

four columns (fig.IV.1), in LHIIIC this was replaced by a row of three columns dividing the main room into two parts (fig.IV.2).⁹⁵⁷ There was also a rectangular niche in the megaron in this phase, which contained a deposit of objects: three unusually large – ceremonial – sword pommels, one of ivory, another of alabaster and the third of a dark green stone, a glass plaque, a necklace of faience beads, a ladle, a kylix, a fragment of LHIIIC bowl, bones, teeth and a piece of chert.⁹⁵⁸ The rear room of the megaron must have been used for food

⁹⁵⁵ Walberg (1996) 29 and fig.64

Tzonou (1998) 90

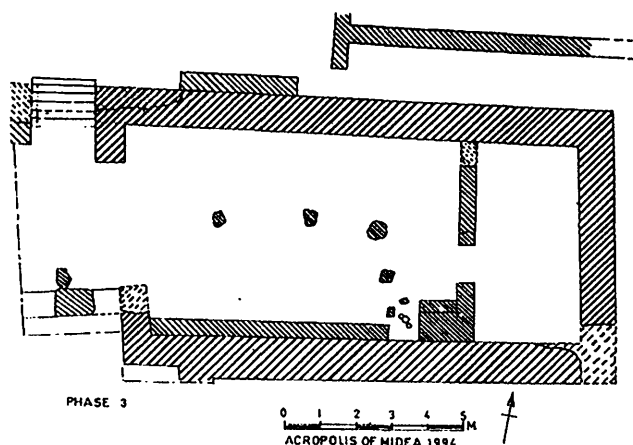
⁹⁵⁶ Walberg (1996) 31

⁹⁵⁷ Walberg (1996) 25-28

⁹⁵⁸ Walberg (1996) 30

preparation in LHIIC, as it had been in LHIIB too. Three stone pounders were found on the corresponding floor.⁹⁵⁹

Fig.IV.2
The LHIIC
phase of the
megaron



Outside the megaron, a second niche was found to the West of the platform that existed since LHIIB near the entrance, on a landing between two sets of stairs (fig.IV.2). The niche contained a number of objects, including several pithos fragments and a coarse ware

vessel, as well as a small, decorated LHIIC lekythos. Under this floor there was a layer of LHIIB period.⁹⁶⁰ It might have been used as a storage space. Further to the West, the currently available evidence does not allow us to specify which rooms might have been used in LHIIC too. Nevertheless, it is made clear through the superimposed LHIIB and LHIIC floors that the use of the area continued after the destruction.⁹⁶¹

To the North, Room IV, the long paved corridor that ran parallel to the megaron and was probably used as a way of accessing the megaron from other areas – and therefore “had sufficient traffic to warrant paving” – continued to be used in LHIIC too, as also were the Rooms VI and VII to the North of the corridor (fig.IV.1).⁹⁶²

IV.2 Terrace 9

LHIIC occupation has also been noted on Terrace 9 (fig.IV.3). In the area of Room II in particular, two LHIIC layers, a fill and a floor were laid out above the LHIIB destruction debris at a late stage of LHIIC-early and remained in use through an early stage of LHIIC middle.⁹⁶³ There was no architecture associated with the LHIIC layers, however, due to later Roman activity of levelling and rebuilding that most likely removed any building remains. The finds included figurines and jewellery, which may suggest that the cult activities that took place in the area in LHIIB continued in LHIIC too.⁹⁶⁴ In Room VIII, a

⁹⁵⁹ Walberg (1997-1998) 75 and 82

⁹⁶⁰ Walberg (1997-1998) 78-79

⁹⁶¹ Walberg (1997-1998) 85: trench Ne North, strata 3-5 and 85-86: trench Nf, strata 4-5

⁹⁶² Walberg (1997-1998) 83

Walberg and Giering (1998) 84-85

⁹⁶³ Walberg (1998) 138

⁹⁶⁴ Walberg and Giering (1998) 82

similar sequence of LHIIIB and LHIIC layers was found, and two of the walls were reused. Room IX also had a LHIIC phase.⁹⁶⁵

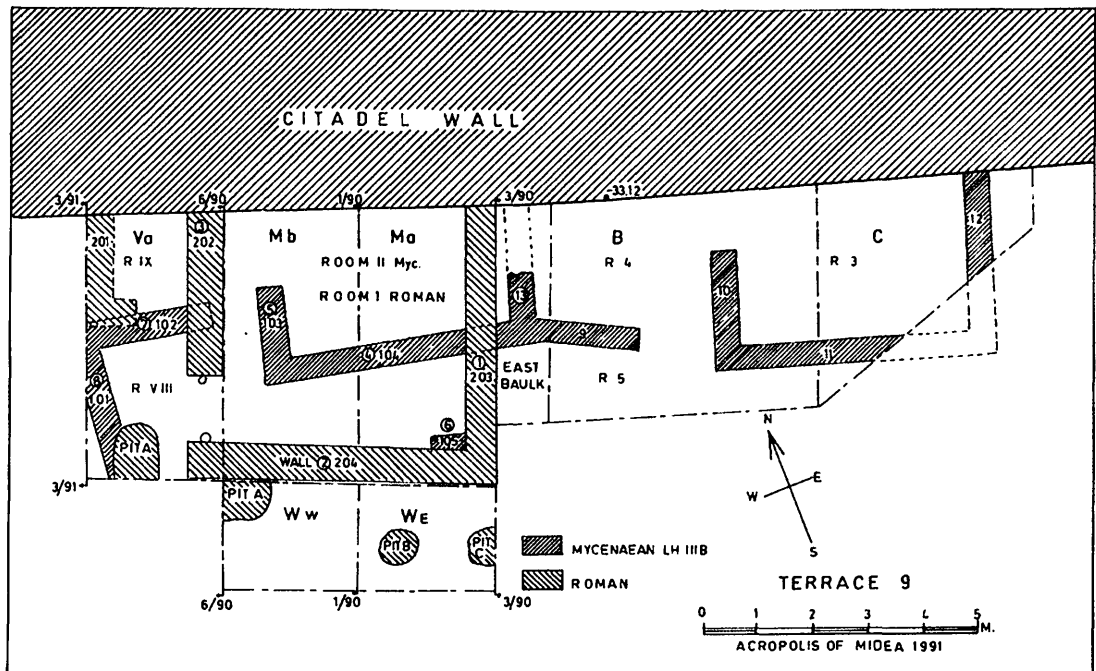


Fig.IV.3
Plan of structures
on Terrace 9

⁹⁶⁵ Walberg and Giering (1998) 82-83

Regarding the pottery found in the LHIIC layer, which appears to date mainly to LHIIC-middle, cf. Walberg (1998) 139.

Appendix Va: Argos

LHIIIC evidence

Settlement remains

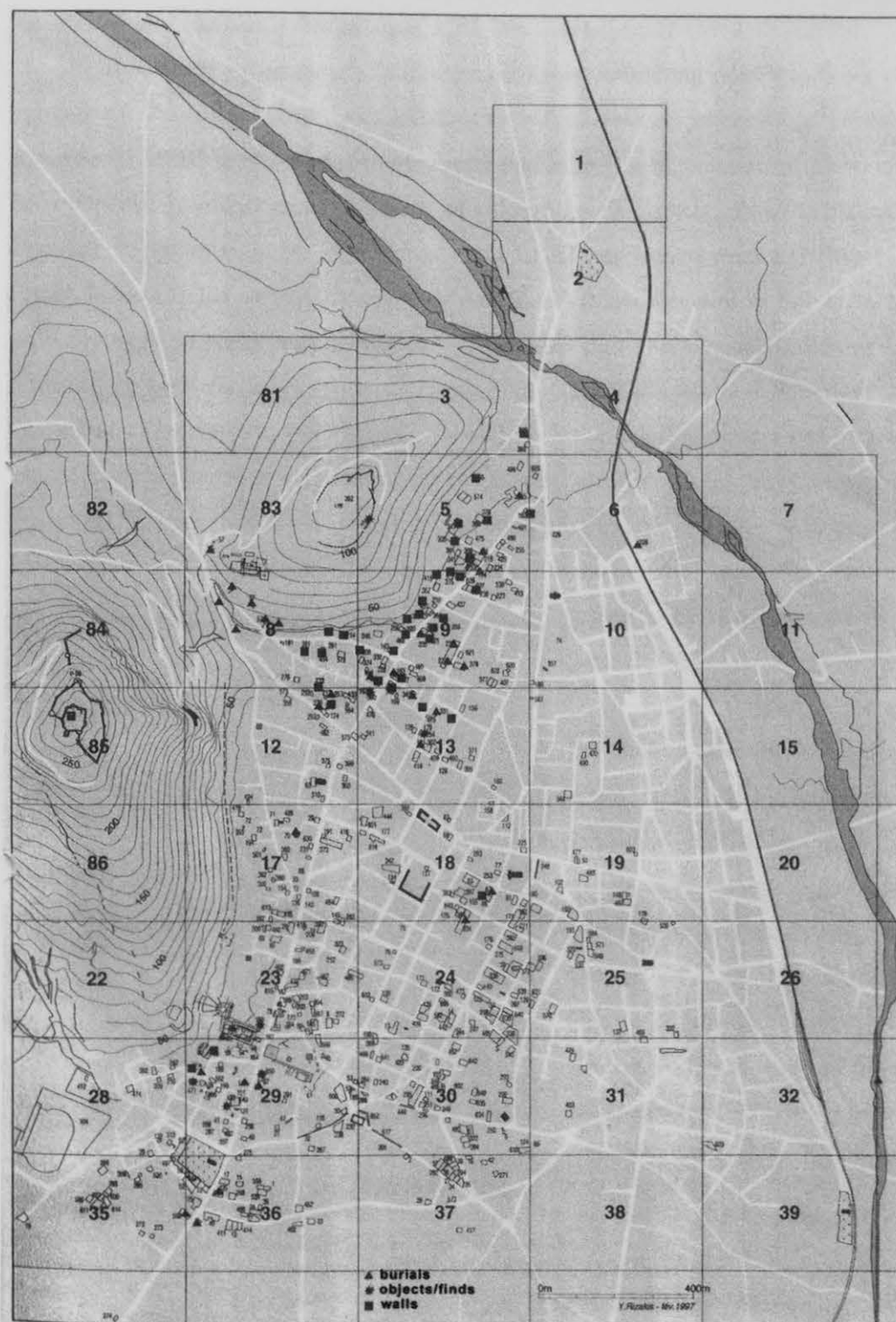


Fig. Va.1
Map of Argos:
distribution of LBA finds

Va.1 Larissa

First, it is interesting to note that the Mycenaean walls on top of Larissa could have still been in use in the LHIIC period, since part of them at least still stood to a considerable height until into Late Archaic times. Part of a LHIIC vase has also been found on Larissa.⁹⁶⁶

Va.2 South and south-east foot of Aspis

In the area to the South-South-east of Aspis, habitation seems to have continued uninterruptedly from LHIIB to LHIIC. One of the rescue excavations revealed three successive LHIIC floors, made of bitten earth and stones, in association with two walls. The floor deposits produced small fragments of colourful wall-plasters, obsidian blades and two figurines. In the layers under these floors, many LHIIB as well as some LHIIA sherds were found. More LHIIB and LHIIC pottery was found in another plot in this area, testifying probably again to continuous habitation.⁹⁶⁷ In another plot, the revealed buildings and walls represent at least six building phases, lasting throughout the whole LH period, while the deepest layer belonged to the MH: LHI-II, LHIIA-B and LHIIC pottery has been reported. The Mycenaean layers also contained several small finds, such as figurines, as well as fresco fragments.⁹⁶⁸ There is also one possible indication of destruction occurring in the area in the transition from LHIIB to LHIIC: an ash layer found on the floor of a storeroom was

followed by two floors of the LHIIC period.⁹⁶⁹

A bit further to the South of the main centre of habitation at the south foot of Aspis, one more habitation unit of the LHIIC period has recently come to light. A house, of which only one room was preserved, was revealed in a rescue excavation (fig.Va.2). Inside it were found two successive floors made of bitten earth, which were both covered by

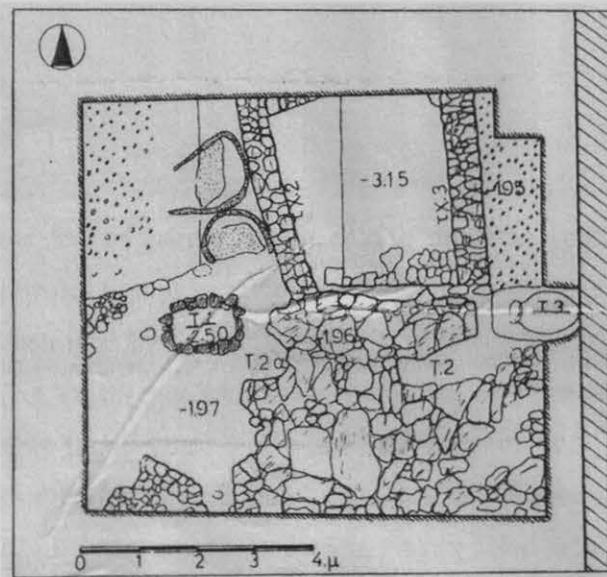


Fig.Va.2
Plan of
remains in
Kabaniari
plot,
Papalexo-
poulou St.

⁹⁶⁶ Piteros (2003) 372, 375, 378 and pl.28 lower right

⁹⁶⁷ Kritzas (1973-74) 227: N.Dourou plot, parodos Herakleous St.; fig.Va.1: no.255; and 228: A.Kalogeropoulou plot, Kolokotroni St. 10; fig.Va.1: no.254

⁹⁶⁸ Deilaki (1973) 95-96: Kapetanou plot (Herakleous St.); fig.Va.1: no.215

⁹⁶⁹ Deilaki (1973) 103: 6th Elementary School plot, Herakleous St.; fig.Va.1: no.217

Eder (1998) 46

destruction layers testifying to conflagration. To the West of the room was a courtyard with a floor of hard, bitten earth and gravel, in which stood two storage vases of unbaked clay. The pottery assemblage from this unit was dated to LHIIC and especially to its late phases. The house must have consisted of more than one rooms, as indicated by the remains of destroyed walls in the area. The intensive re-use of the area in later times has caused great disturbance of earlier remains, and thus the habitation phases before the LHIIC period remain unclear. It is reported that late MH and early Mycenaean pottery was found in all earlier layers. No LHIIB pottery is mentioned, and thus it seems logical to assume that the area was re-inhabited in LHIIC after some period of abandonment. To make this statement with certainty, however, we would need to have a full publication of the material.⁹⁷⁰

Va.3 South quarter

Finally, LHIIC evidence has been found in the south quarter of the modern city, at

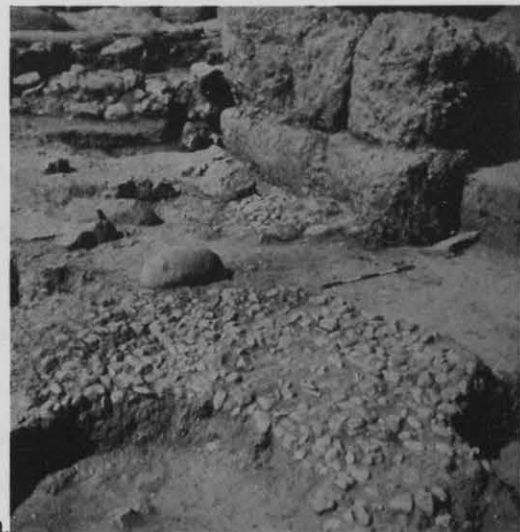


Fig. Va.3
Mycenaean
remains in
south
quarter

the foot of Larissa, in the area of the later Aphrodision (to the South of the odeion), and testifies to reoccupation of a two-room Mycenaean habitation unit (fig.Va.3a) that had been destroyed in conflagration. Inside the better-preserved room, a new floor of large pebbles (fig.Va.3b) was laid, and a hearth was installed. Stone tools, such as a grinding stone, were also found here.⁹⁷¹ The LHIIC layer of occupation was also followed by a layer of destruction, whose exact date was not cleared out in the preliminary report.⁹⁷² Another LHIIC room, poor in contents, was revealed to the East of this small habitation unit.⁹⁷³

⁹⁷⁰ Papadimitriou (1997) 135-138, esp. 137: M.Kampaniari plot, Papalexopoulou St.

⁹⁷¹ Daux (1969) 992

⁹⁷² Daux (1969) 991-992

Touchais and Divari-Valakou (1998) 12

⁹⁷³ Croissant (1974) 761: North of the Portico zone, a room measuring c. 6x4m

Burials

The main cemetery of the Mycenaean settlement of Argos was situated at Deiras, the ravine between the hills of Larissa and Aspis. The dead were buried here not only in chamber tombs, but also in single burials: about forty chamber tombs and thirty pits have been excavated.⁹⁷⁴ LH burials have also been found in the area to the South and South-east of Aspis, but in most cases their exact dating is not known, and thus it is not clear whether the custom of burying dead within the settlement area was still applied in Late Mycenaean times, and especially in the LHIIB and LHIIC periods, as it was in earlier MH and LH periods.⁹⁷⁵ One or two child burials might date to LHIIB⁹⁷⁶, while one exceptional case is that of eighteen people buried together with all sorts of animals in a Mycenaean well at the south-east foot of Aspis. These were probably victims of some natural disaster – probably flooding – and were therefore massively and not properly buried.⁹⁷⁷

Va.4 Deiras cemetery

The cemetery of Deiras remained in use until the end of LHIIC and even in the SM and PG periods, but the number of burials in LHIIC was reduced as compared to that of LHIIB. This probably indicates some reduction of population.⁹⁷⁸ It should also be noted that most of the tombs appear to be re-used and not to be continuously used from LHIIB to LHIIC. There are a couple of tombs that have produced LHIIC-early pottery, but none of them is a confirmed case of continuous use. Because of the collapsed roof, one of these tombs was in great disorder, and thus “it is uncertain if this tomb was re-used or had continued in use from LHIIB”.⁹⁷⁹ Another tomb excavated by Vollgraff also appears to have produced a continuous pottery sequence from LHIIIA2 to LHIIC-early, but the excavation details are missing and thus it is not possible to discuss the burial sequence.⁹⁸⁰ Continuous

⁹⁷⁴ Deshayes (1966) 23-112, 238-242

Touchais and Divari-Valakou (1998) 11-12

⁹⁷⁵ Cf. for example two cists and a built chamber tomb at the east foot of Aspis in Deilaki (1964) 122-126 and Catling (1978-79) 14. According to Touchais and Divari-Valakou, there are no tombs later than LHI-II in the area at the east foot of Aspis – cf. Touchais and Divari-Valakou (1998) 11.

⁹⁷⁶ Kritzas (1973-74) 227: N.Dourou plot, Parodos Herakleous St

Psychogiou (1992) 87-89: P.Georgopoulou plot, Xenofontos and Ath. Diakou St.

⁹⁷⁷ Kritzas (1972) 198-200: Piligkikou-Xenaki-Rikou plot, Herakleous St. 50, 51, 54 – no offerings accompanied the dead – some Mycenaean sherds and items were found in the filling of the well, but no precise dating has been suggested.

⁹⁷⁸ Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979) 44

Eder (1998) 47

⁹⁷⁹ For the LHIIC-early burial in T. XXX cf. Deshayes (1966) 94-95, 97, pl. LXXXIX, 4 and 6; and Mountjoy (1999) 76

⁹⁸⁰ Deshayes (1969) 580, fig.V.13: LHIIC-early vase from tomb II

use from the end of LHIIB to the beginning and the middle stages of LHIIC or even the end of LHIIC and the beginning of the SM period was initially claimed for two other tombs, but the LHIIC pottery from both of them has been re-dated to LHIIC-late.⁹⁸¹

Most cases of LHIIC re-use of chamber tombs at Deiras (six in total) fall in fact in LHIIC-late. Moreover, it is at this chronological stage that a couple of new tombs come into use.⁹⁸² Regarding one of these tombs, it cannot be ascertained that it was constructed in LHIIC-late, because some of the offerings found in its floor deposit (two large conuli of blue steatite, two bronze rings, a bronze bead in shape of a votive wheel) might derive from earlier burials, whose accompanying vases were later cleared off the tomb. They did not all necessarily belong to the burial with the LHIIC-late vase that was also found on the floor.⁹⁸³ Anyway, this tomb is most interesting because it contained two LHIIC-late imported vases. The one vase is a miniature, collar-neck jar possibly imported from Epidauros Limera or Perati, according to its fabric and parallel examples found at these two sites; and the other is a stirrup jar probably imported from Achaia.⁹⁸⁴ As regards other kinds of burial offerings, the tombs were so disturbed that it was impossible to reconstruct the burial assemblages in most cases.⁹⁸⁵

Va.5 Other burials

In the area to the South of Aspis, a child burial was found next to the wall of a LHIIC building.⁹⁸⁶ Four cist tombs, dated to LHIIC according to the offerings they contained (small vases), have also been found in the South quarter of the modern city, in the

Cf. Mountjoy (1999) 158, no.317 for the dating of the vase to LHIIC-early.

⁹⁸¹ Tomb XVI and tomb XVII – cf. Deshayes (1966) 46-54.

Cf. Mountjoy (1999) 78 for the dating of the vases from T. XVI (Deshayes (1966) pl. LVI, 3) and XVII (Deshayes (1966) pl. LVIII 1, 7) to LHIIC-late. T. XVII might have also received a SM burial – cf. onwards p.375, n.1001.

⁹⁸² According to Deshayes (1966) 247, the two newly built tombs of the LHIIC-late period are tombs XXII and XXXI. The latter is the only certain case, upon which all scholars agree. In addition to three vases, a bronze spoon-handle and a ring had been deposited in this tomb – cf. Deshayes (1966) 61-62. Mountjoy (1999) 78-80 suggests that tomb XVIII was also founded in LHIIC-late, and not in the beginning of the SM period, as Deshayes thought – cf. Deshayes (1966) pl. LIX 1 for the vase in question, and cf. forward Va.7, p.375, n.1002.

⁹⁸³ Tomb XXII – cf. Deshayes (1966) 59-60

⁹⁸⁴ Deshayes (1966) pl. LX 7-8 and Mountjoy (1999) 175, no 376 for the jar, and 179, 412 for the stirrup-jar.

⁹⁸⁵ Deshayes (1966) 247 claims that only two tombs are re-visited in the LHIIC-late period - T. XXIX (- first used in LHIIB) and T. XXXIII (-before used in LHIIA1 and 2).

According to Mountjoy (1999) 78-80, the burial of T. XXXIII dates to the SM and not the LHIIC-late period; the same is probably true for the burial in T. XXIX – cf. onwards Va.5, p.376, n.1005; other tombs re-used in LHIIC-late, in addition to the ones discussed above, are tombs XIV (Deshayes (1966) pl. LII 8, LIII 1, 8) and XX (Deshayes (1966) pl. LX 1).

⁹⁸⁶ Kritzas (1973-74) 227: Dourou plot, parodos Herakleous St.: the burial did not contain any offerings, but it was found at the same depth with the middle of the three LHIIC floors that were found here; fig.Va.1: no.255.

area of the later Aphrodision (fig.Va.4). These tombs seem to have been rather isolated from the cemetery of Deiras or the settlement at the foot of Aspis, but they must have been related to the small habitation unit that was located in the area of Aphrodision.⁹⁸⁷



Fig.Va.4
LHIIC cist
tomb in the
area of the
Aphrodision

In the south area of the modern city, thirty-six cremations and fifteen pit/cist burials dating to LHIIC-middle and -late were found inside a tumulus on Tripoleos St (fig.Va.5).⁹⁸⁸ More specifically, half of the cremations, three adult burials in pits and three infant burials – one in a cist and two in pits – were dated to LHIIC-middle. The other eighteen cremations, four adult burials, of which three were in

pits and one in a cist, four child tombs in cists and one infant burial in a pit were dated to LHIIC-late. On the basis of the pottery sherds found stray in the tumulus, it has been estimated that initially there must have been forty urns buried in the tumulus, but some of them were disturbed since the area was re-used in Hellenistic and Roman times.⁹⁸⁹ It has also been observed that the direct and close relationship in four cases of urns and burials of adults as well as infants denotes close family relations among the dead persons.⁹⁹⁰ Nine more cremation urns of the same period have been found 80m further to the South. They must have belonged to another, smaller tumulus, which was, however, only partly investigated.⁹⁹¹

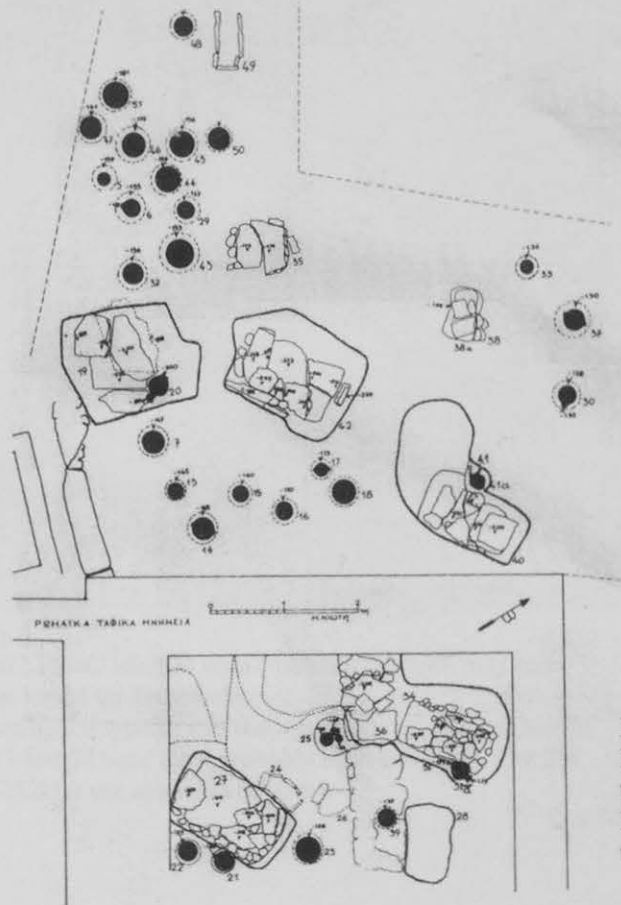


Fig.Va.5
Burials in
the
LHIIC
tumulus

⁹⁸⁷ Croissant (1972) 885 fig.V.4, 886

⁹⁸⁸ Piteros (2001) 99: D.Kantzavelou plot

⁹⁸⁹ The overall number of cremations and burials in the tumulus is estimated at more than double than what was preserved – cf. Piteros (2001) 114-115, n.72

⁹⁹⁰ Piteros (2001) 99-115

⁹⁹¹ Piteros (2001) 115: E.Barkalori plot

Finally, on Tripolis St., close to the ancient agora, a group of seven cist tombs has been excavated, three of which possibly date to the end of LHIIC-late (Ts.36, 37, 39; fig.Va.1: no.82); they have alternatively been dated to the transition to and the beginning of the SM period. The other four tombs (nos.33, 35, 38 and 41) should date later in the SM period. All of the tombs followed the same orientation from North to South – except for tomb 35 following an East-West orientation. Tomb 36 contained two bronze, long dress pins found *in situ* on the shoulders of the body and a small jug.⁹⁹² Two lekythoi, two bronze earrings, one bronze coil finger ring, two glass beads and one stone bead accompanied the burial in tomb 37. And tomb 39 contained one stirrup-jar probably imported from Achaëa, one jug and two rock-crystal pin-heads.⁹⁹³

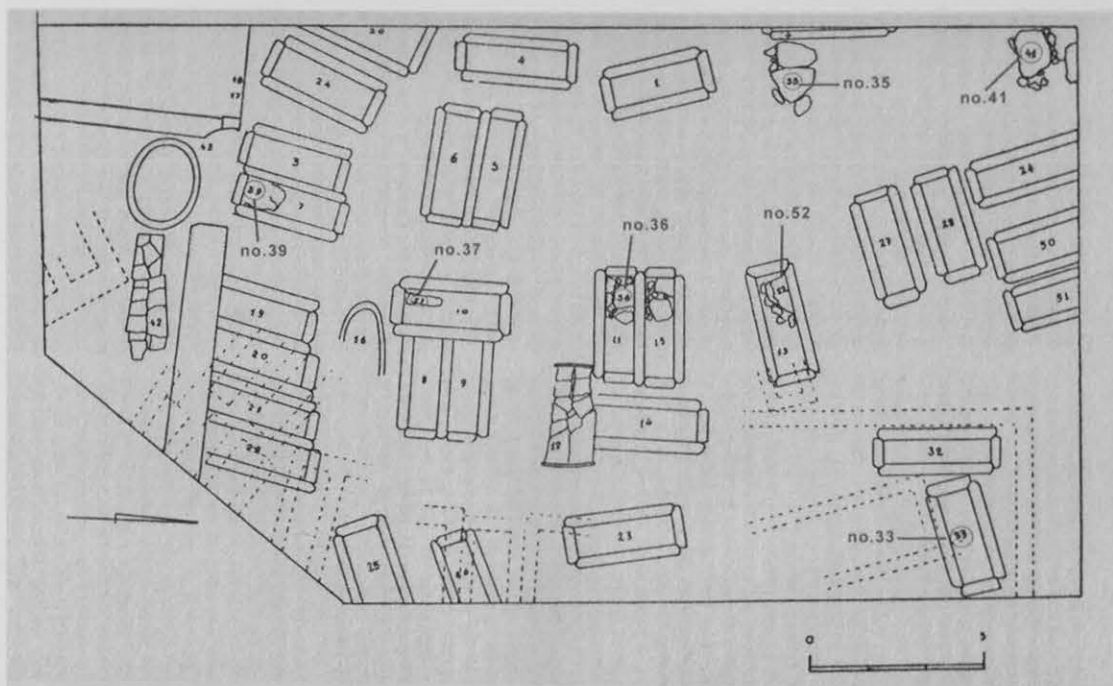


Fig.Va.6
Plan of LHIIC-late/SM cists (-marked out with red) and Roman tombs on Tripolis St.
Judging by the typology of the tombs, the numbers of tombs nos. 33 and 52 have most probably been confused. The SM tomb 38 does not appear in the plan.

⁹⁹² For the pins cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 70, no.193.194 – she dates the tomb to SM period.

⁹⁹³ Kanta (1975) 259-274, esp. 268 for dating of tomb 39 to the beginning of the SM period; 269 for dating of tomb 36 to early SM and 270, for dating of tomb 37 to a transitional stage.

Mountjoy (1999) 78 dates all three tombs to LHIIC-late.

Cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 73, no.271.272 for the pinheads – dating to SM

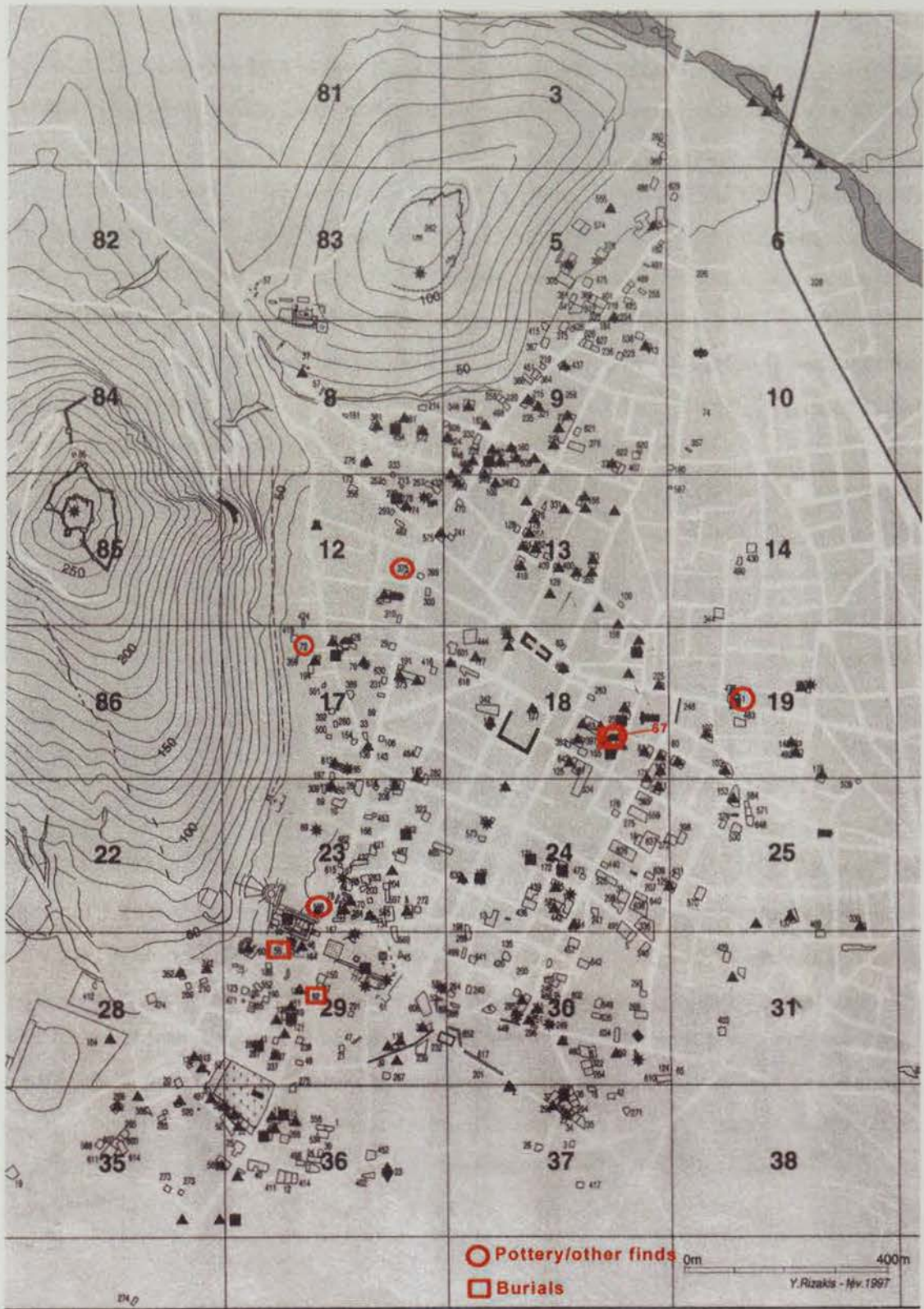


Fig. Va.7
Map of Argos:
distribution of
EIA finds. Find-
spots with SM
remains are
marked with red

Va.6 Settlement

SM habitation remains have been found scattered at five locations of the modern city of Argos. In the eastern area of the city, a SM skyphos was found in relation to a mud-brick structure destroyed by fire. Only mudbricks were found in the small excavated area, as well as possible remains of a thatched roof (fig.Va.7: no.51).⁹⁹⁴ A SM skyphos was also found in PG settlement-layers at the south-east foot of Larissa, North-east of the Roman baths (fig.Va.7: no.168).⁹⁹⁵ Also at the foot of Larissa, but further North than the previous find-spot, a strong wall preserved to over 1m height, presumably belonged to the SM period (fig.Va.7: no.72). However, no SM pottery is reported in relation to this wall.⁹⁹⁶

To the East of the Museum-area, in the central part of the city, an important installation was excavated – a silver cupellation workshop, which started being used at the end of the SM period and continued in part of the PG period too (fig.Va.7: no.67). The



Fig. Va.8
The kiln
to the E
of the
Museum-
area

workshop possibly comprised two kilns. The one kiln was preserved in a very good state (fig.Va.8) and was dated on the basis of sherds found inside it: the neck of an amphora decorated with a thick zigzag line and a sherd of a PG or SM small bowl. A

cavity of 1.80m depth, in which there was a hearth as well as PG pottery, might have been somehow used in relation to the kilns. Another hearth was found further South. Initially the workshop was thought to have been used for pottery production.⁹⁹⁷ Later on, however, the structure of the well-preserved kiln was studied more carefully and it was suggested that it must have belonged to a metallurgical workshop. Furthermore, the analysis of clay samples taken from inside the kiln showed that the samples were rich in lead, which in turn was rich in silver. So it was concluded that the kiln must have been used for the extraction of silver

⁹⁹⁴ Bertzeletos plot: Charitonidis (1952) 421-423, 425, 426; Hägg (1982) 305, no.16

⁹⁹⁵ Granias plot: Courbin (1957) 677, 681 fig.V. 32; Hägg (1982) 304, no.9

⁹⁹⁶ Daux (1959) 757, 759 fig.V. 11; Hägg (1982) 305, no.13

⁹⁹⁷ Daux (1959) 768

from lead. Viewed from this perspective the structure of the kiln was better understood and even characterized as ingenious.⁹⁹⁸

Finally, SM sherds are reported to have appeared sporadically in the area to the South of the main area of the Mycenaean settlement at the foot of Aspis, where a LHIIC house was recently discovered during a rescue excavation (fig.Va.7: close to no.375). The presence of SM pottery, as well as that of PG and G pottery types usually found in domestic context, was thought to signify the existence of EIA houses in the area, which however were not preserved.⁹⁹⁹ SM pottery found mixed with Mycenaean pottery in a disturbed deposit was reported from one more rescue excavation in the same area.¹⁰⁰⁰

Burials

Va.7 Deiras

The chamber tomb cemetery of Deiras appears to be used in the SM period, but it is not absolutely clear which and how many tombs actually received SM burials, since their identification inevitably depends on the somewhat subjective criterion of pottery style. Thus, whereas at least five tombs were thought to contain SM burials in the initial publication of the cemetery, according to the more recently revised dating criteria, the pottery from all of them has been re-dated.¹⁰⁰¹ Another tomb that was initially thought to be constructed in the SM period has been re-dated to LHIIC-late on the basis of a stirrup-jar, which was however found with a pin of possibly SM date. Although it is difficult to decide on the exact dating of the respective burial, the three or more skeletons found dispersed in the tomb show that it had anyway been constructed prior to that burial.¹⁰⁰² Three other tombs seem to be re-used in the SM period. One of them appears to receive a SM burial after a gap of use lasting throughout the LHIIB and LHIIC periods. In this tomb “a belly-handled amphora belonging to this phase lay on disturbed human bones; a bronze pin and finger ring lay at the

⁹⁹⁸ Courbin (1963) 71; Hägg (1982) 305, no.14

⁹⁹⁹ Papadimitriou (1997) 138: M.Kampaniari plot, Papalexopoulou St.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Banaka-Dimaki (1998) 117

¹⁰⁰¹ Deshayes reports SM material from 5 tombs: XIV, XVII, XVIII, XX and XXIV – cf. Deshayes (1966) 24-112. The pottery from almost all of them has been re-dated to LHIIC-late – cf. Cavanagh and Mee (1978) 32-33 and Mountjoy (1999) 78-80. The last burial in tomb XXIV has been re-dated to the EPG period – cf. ff. Va.10, p.379 and n.1017. T.XIV and T. XVII, however, might have been used in the SM period too, as indicated by EIA pins – cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 66, no.182 and 78, no.293.

¹⁰⁰² Tomb XVIII – cf. Deshayes (1966) 54; Hägg (1974) 26. According to Mountjoy (1999) 78, n. 213, T. XVIII was probably founded in LHIIC-late. Cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 66, no.177 for the pin.

same level a metre away".¹⁰⁰³ Attention should also be paid to the last burial in another tomb found *in situ* on top of earlier burial remains and accompanied by a long bronze pin. It is possible that this burial dated to the SM period, since it post-dated burials accompanied by LHIIC-late pottery.¹⁰⁰⁴ Finally, a burial accompanied by a LHIIC-late/Subminoan stirrup jar, two bronze pins, an arched pin with rolled fibula and two rings should also probably date to the SM period.¹⁰⁰⁵

Va.8 Other burials

Around fifteen SM burials have been excavated inside the modern city of Argos.¹⁰⁰⁶ Most of them lay in the south quarter of the city (app.Vb.ns.1-11). Among them are four – or all – of the seven cist tombs found on Tripolis St. (app.Vb.ns.3-9; cf. fig.Va.6 and fig.Va.7: no.82). It should be reminded that three of these cists might date to the LHIIC-late period – or alternatively to the transition to the SM – and that they were all dug rather close to one to the other and with the same more or less orientation. Thus, this seems to be an organized burial ground that stayed in use for a couple of generations' time throughout the transition from the LB to the EIA. It is interesting to point out that the tumulus with the LHIIC cremations and burials in this part of the city might have also been used in the SM period, as it has been observed on the basis of pottery found around the burials (app.Vb.n.10). Since the area was later re-used, some of the burials inside the tumulus were disturbed, and as a result only the offerings were found stray among the preserved burials.

In the central part of the city, two cist tombs have been found in the area of the Museum (app.Vb.ns.12-13, fig.Va.7: no.67), most probably dug earlier than the construction of the silver cupellation workshop, which was installed nearby. Three other tombs have been found in the northern part of the city, South of Aspis (app.Vb.ns.14-16), while only short reference has been made of other SM cist tombs in passing.¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰³ Mountjoy (1999) 79-80 and n.228: tomb XXXIII; Hägg had also thought that this tomb should date to the SM period – cf. Hägg (1974) 26. For the amphora cf. Deshayes (1966) pl. XCI 1.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Tomb XVII – cf. Deshayes (1966) 50-54 and Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 78, no.293 for the rare form of the pin. As seen earlier, the supposedly SM vases from this tomb (DV 60-62) have been re-dated to LHIIC-late – cf. Mountjoy (1999) 78.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Tomb XXIX, first used in LHIIB – cf. Deshayes (1966) 90-93, esp. 91, pl. LXXXVI 4, LXXXVII, 6. Cf. Mountjoy (1999) 179, no 423 for the stirrup-jar and Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 70-71, no.203.204 for the pins and the dating to the SM period.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Hägg (1974) 26-27

¹⁰⁰⁷ Piteros (2001) 117, n.93: excavations of plots of G. Nikolitsa in 1980 and of the Nursing Home of Argos in 1986

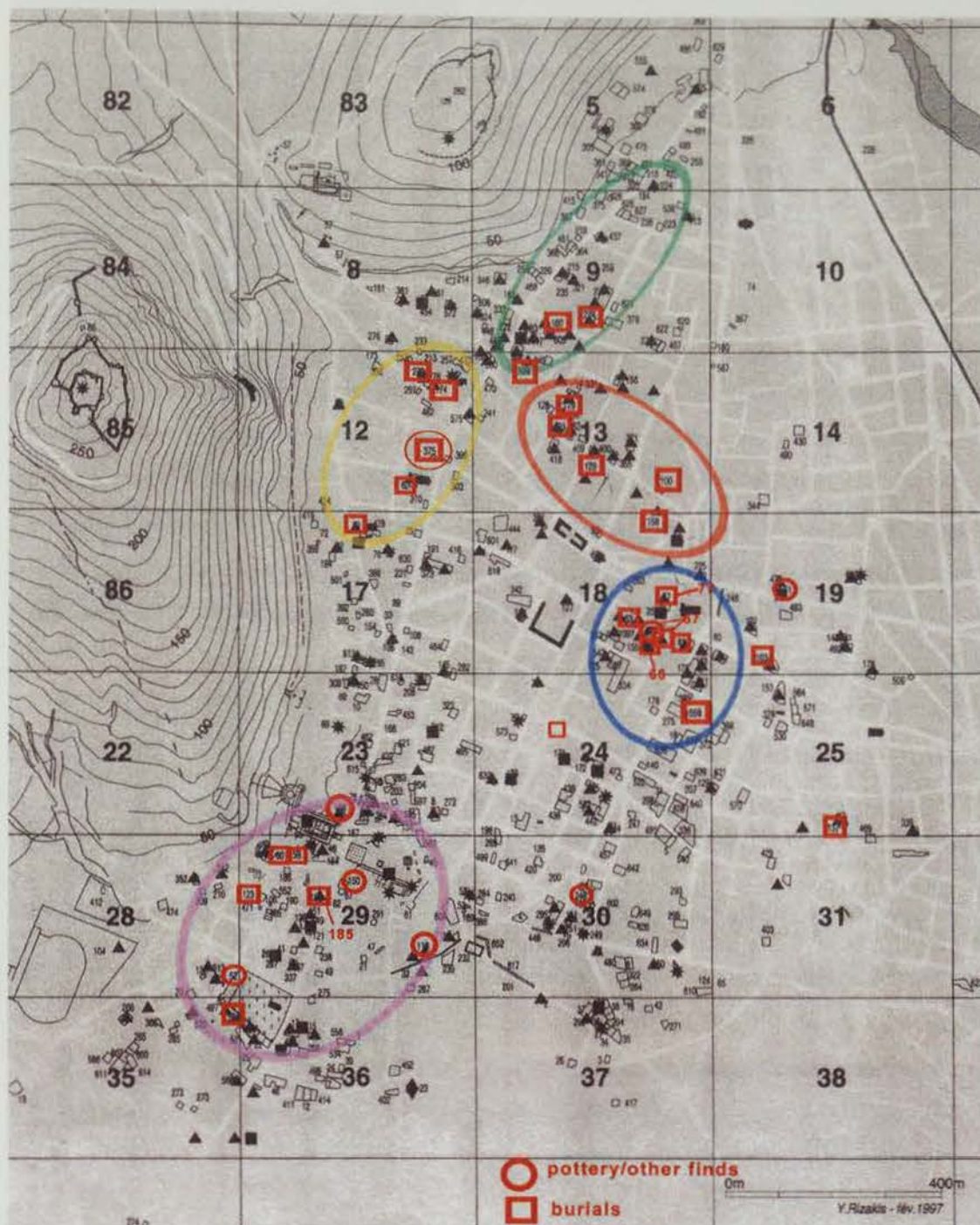


Fig. Va.9
Map of
Argos:
distribution of
EIA finds.
PG find-spots
are marked
out with red

Va.9 Settlement

First, PG settlement remains have been found at the same sites, where the SM remains were located. Such are the remains of a burnt-down mud-brick building in the eastern area of the modern city (fig. Va.9: no.51), the settlement layers, containing remains of

Fig. Va.10
PG kiln
found at the
South-east
foot of
Larissa



Fig. Va.11
PG kiln
found
further to
the SE of
the Agora



walls, hearths and a kiln (fig. Va.10), in relation to several earth- and pebble floors – in which a SM skyphos was also found – at the south-east foot of Larissa (fig. Va.9: no.168), and also the silver cupellation workshop, which continued to be in use in the EPG period; the site was later overtaken by LPG graves (fig. Va.9: no.67).¹⁰⁰⁸

Further to the South of the main area of the Mycenaean settlement at the south foot of Aspis, in the same plot where a LHIIC house was recently uncovered during a rescue excavation (fig. Va.9: close to loc.n.375), there has also been found great quantity of PG and G pottery, of those types usually found in domestic contexts, together with sporadic SM sherds. As it has been already discussed, these stray finds are considered to be indications of habitation in the area. There must have been EIA houses here, in close proximity to contemporary graves, which will be presented later on (app. Vb.ns.56-57). No architectural remains of the houses apparently survived.¹⁰⁰⁹

There are more sites with PG settlement remains, which have not produced any SM evidence. Most of them are located in the south area of Argos. Two PG layers have been excavated in the area of the ancient Agora (fig. Va.9: no.150),¹⁰¹⁰ five floors and a kiln (fig. Va.11) further to the South-east (fig. Va.9: no.118),¹⁰¹¹ and five layers – mainly containing mudbricks – next to the south cemetery of Argos (fig. Va.9: no.52).¹⁰¹² PG deposits have also been found in the south-east quarter of the modern city (fig. Va.9: no.246),¹⁰¹³ and PG

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¹⁰⁰⁸ Bertzeletos plot: Charitonidis (1952) 421-423, 425, 426; Hägg (1982) 305, no.16

Graniias plot: Courbin (1957) 677, 681 fig.V. 32; Hägg (1982) 304, no.9

Daux (1959) 768; Courbin (1963) 71; Hägg (1982) 305, no.14

¹⁰⁰⁹ Papadimitriou (1997) 138

¹⁰¹⁰ Anagnostopoulos plot: Croissant (1971) 748; Hägg (1982) 303, no.6

¹⁰¹¹ Papaparaskevas plot: Daux (1967) 844; Hägg (1982) 303, no.4

¹⁰¹² Courbin (1953) 260; (1955) 314; Hägg (1982) 303, no.1

For all the above cf. Hägg (1974) 27-28 and Hägg (1982) 298-300

¹⁰¹³ Kritzas (1973-74) 222: Kotsiandis plot, parodos Danaou St.: pottery

Piteros (1991) 102: Kavafi St., Dim.Foustoukou plot: pottery, part of a wall and mud-bricks of PG and EG date

dump deposits were recently excavated in the eastern part.¹⁰¹⁴ In total, there are about ten sites scattered around the modern city, which have produced PG settlement layers.

Burials

The number of burials in the PG period has risen remarkably in comparison with the previous period.¹⁰¹⁵ It could be estimated at more than one hundred tombs, but not with accuracy, because of the incomplete information that we often get from the preliminary reports regarding the rescue excavations inside the modern town. Nevertheless, the following picture could be restored on the basis of the available information.

Va.10 Deiras

First, there is one cist grave at Deiras, which has been claimed to be PG, but not with certainty. It only contained a spear-head.¹⁰¹⁶ A chamber tomb appears to be re-used in the EPG period, according to the re-dating of two amphorae, which were initially thought to date to the transition from the SM to the PG period.¹⁰¹⁷ The two amphorae and a bronze ring were found 0.90m higher than the floor of the tomb (– upon which two inhumations were placed in LHIIIA1), without being associated to any burial. None of the amphorae held any bones either, and so it was suggested that they were cremation urns, although no traces of cremated bones or ashes were found.¹⁰¹⁸ Alternatively, one of them might have carried the body of an infant, of which no remains were preserved, while the other one would be an offering to the burial.¹⁰¹⁹ A hole that had been dug through the roof was attributed in the publication to the re-opening of the tomb on the occasion of this EPG burial. It could, however, be interpreted as a later disturbance, which shattered the one of the two amphorae and caused the disappearance of the human remains of the last burial, which the amphorae would accompany.¹⁰²⁰

-Other burials

¹⁰¹⁴ Piteros (1999) 137-138: Kalmouchou St., A. and I. Boulmeti plot

¹⁰¹⁵ Hägg (1974) 28-30 reported about 50 tombs at the time of his research

¹⁰¹⁶ Daux (1967) 840: Su 82c

¹⁰¹⁷ T. XXIV: Deshayes (1966) 64-69, pl. LXVII 3-4 (: the two amphoras), LXIX 3 (: bronze ring)

Mountjoy (1999) 79-80; Lemos (2002) 56

¹⁰¹⁸ Deshayes (1966) 68-69 and 246

¹⁰¹⁹ Hägg (1974) 26

¹⁰²⁰ Cavanagh and Mee (1978) 33

The PG burials found within the modern city of Argos will be examined by following a course from North to South. The tombs are grouped on the basis of their distribution in relation to significant landmarks of the city for reasons of convenience.¹⁰²¹

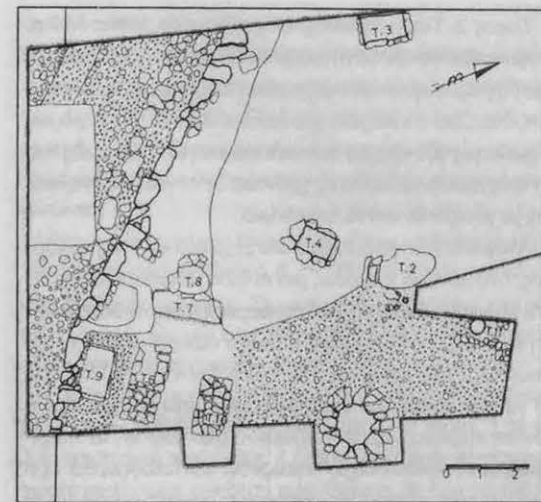
Va.11 *South and South-east foot of Aspis* (-green circle on fig.Va.9)

The north area of the modern city, around Herakleous St., at the South and South-east foot of Aspis, where the main Mycenaean settlement remains have been found, received many burials in PG period. Around twenty tombs of all types, mostly cists but also pits and occasionally pithos burials have been found scattered in this area (app.Vb.ns.17-35). The EIA tombs are said to spread even further to the South and North of the prehistoric settlement.

Va.12 *North of the market place* (-red circle on fig.Va.9)

Further to the South, North of the modern market place, at least fifteen burials have been found according to the preliminary reports (app.Vb.ns.36-51). They were found in plots

lying quite close to each other (loc.ns.14, 15, 17, 28, 179), and all of them are cists, apart from two inhumations of children in pots and a burial in a pithos. Special mention should probably be made of a burial which has been dated to the beginning of MPG period and is thought to be “of the richest female burials” found at Argos (app.Vb.n.38; fig.Va.9: no.101).¹⁰²² Three LPG cists were also found in the same plot (app.Vb.ns.39-41), and four other



burials (three cists and one pithos) also of LPG date, were excavated in a nearby plot (app.Vb.ns.47-50; fig.Va.12). It seems quite possible that this was in fact an organized burial ground.¹⁰²³

¹⁰²¹ For references for the burials consult Appendix Vb, p.384-395.

¹⁰²² Lemos (2002) 158

¹⁰²³ Charitonidis (1966) 126 reports the orientation of only two tombs, tomb I of early MPG date and LPG tomb III, which both follow a North-South orientation. Pappi (1996) 86-87 underlines that most of the PG and G tombs in Manou plot (T.1, 2, 3, 4 and 8/ app. ns. 46, 47, 49) had the same North-east-South-west orientation, with the exception of T.9 (app.n. 48) that had an East-West orientation. She also suggests that their common orientation might have been related to an East-West road passing to their South, later covered by a Hellenistic road.

Va.13 *West and North-west of the market place* (-yellow circle on fig.Va.9)

Around fifteen tombs lying in the area to the West and North-west of the modern market place have been published in preliminary reports. Six cists and one pithos burial (which did not contain any offerings and could potentially date to the G period) appear to lie in neighbouring plots (app.Vb.ns.55-61, fig.Va.9: ns.62, 375 and next to 375). Two of them were reported to follow the same more or less orientation (app.Vb.ns.59-60). Another of these cists, dating to LPG, and the pithos (app.Vb.ns.57-58) were situated on either side of a carefully constructed pavement, which must have been used in relation to the burials, probably in order to ease the access to them (cf. T1 and T3 on fig.Va.3). It should be stressed that in this area a LHIIC house as well as SM and PG-G pottery indicating habitation were found. Somewhat further to the East lay two cists and a pit (app.Vb.ns.52-54; fig.Va.9: no.71), and further to the North (fig.Va.9: 174 and 279), two cists, one pit and a pithos burial (app.Vb.ns.62-66). One of the cists (app.Vb.n.62) contained a very rich burial, probably of a woman.¹⁰²⁴ Two other cists found in this area could not be located more precisely on the basis of the available information (app.Vb.ns.67-68).

Va.14 *St Peter's square* (-blue circle on fig.Va.9)

Other PG graves have been found further to the East, around St Peter's square. In addition to two cists found to the West and South of the square (app.Vb.ns.69-70, fig.Va.9: ns.77 and 81), many cists have come to light in the area of the Museum, at the south-west corner of the square. Around eleven LPG burials took place in this area, where the silver cupellation workshop used to function in SM and EPG times (app.Vb.ns.71-81, fig.Va.9: ns.63 and 67). Seven more LPG graves lay right next to the Museum plot (app.Vb.ns.82-88, fig.Va.9: no.66), and three more cists have been more recently found nearby (app.Vb.ns.89-91). This was obviously the site of a big cemetery, which partly continued to be in use until the Archaic times. In this burial group, six PG burials were in pits, while all the rest were in cists. It should also be noted that some of them seem to have formed smaller groups of graves, potentially on the basis of family or kinship ties (fig.Va.13).¹⁰²⁵ The richest of all the burials around St Peter's square seems to be the one found to the South (fig.Va.9: no.77), possibly belonging to a woman (app.Vb.n.69).¹⁰²⁶ One more burial in a pit covered with plaques was found somewhat further South of the square (app.Vb.n.92, fig.Va.9: no.559).

¹⁰²⁴ Lemos (2002) 158, n.74

¹⁰²⁵ Hägg (1974) 29-30

¹⁰²⁶ Lemos (2002) 158, n.74

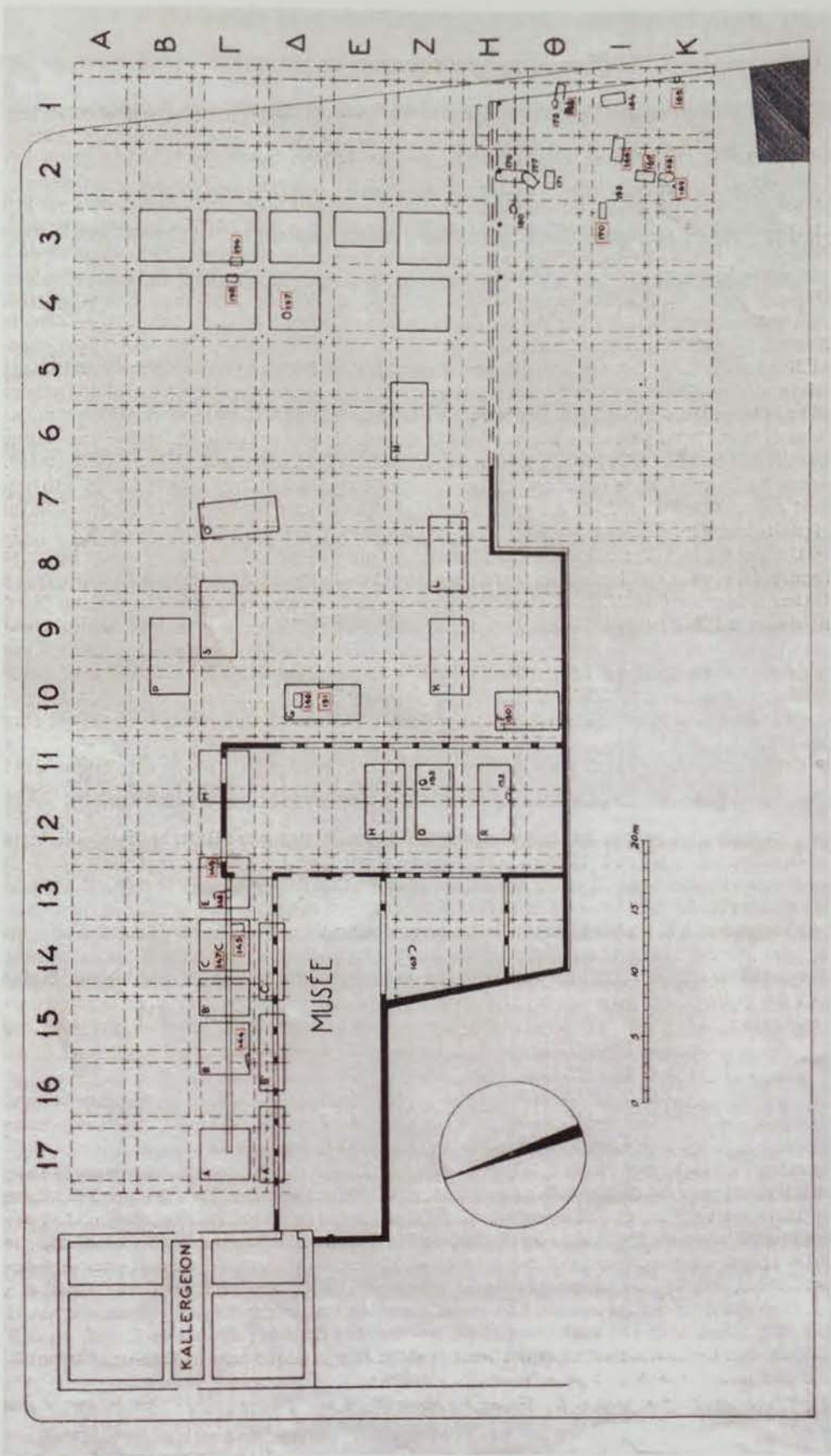


Fig. Va. 13
 Plan of excavation in the area of the museum: the PG
 tombs are marked with red rectangles

Va.15 *East part of Argos*

A few PG burials have also been found in the east part of Argos. Pairs of golden spirals were found in two out of three cists lying in one plot (app.Vb.ns.93-95; fig.Va.9: no.103), while in another plot in this area two cremations dating probably to the beginning of the PG period were found – the latest cases of cremations found at Argos – as well as one pit containing a triple burial (two adults and an infant), and three cists dating to PG period (app.Vb.ns.96-101).¹⁰²⁷ One more cist tomb, also containing two golden spirals, has been found somewhat further S of the above tombs (app.Vb.n.102, fig.Va.9: no.137).

Va.16 *South-west area of Argos* (-purple circle on fig.Va.9)

Finally, around fifteen PG graves have been found in the south-west area of the city, at the foot of Larissa. Most of them were dug at places, which had already been used for burials in the SM period. Moving from North to South, one cist burial of a child (app.Vb.n.103) was found in the Theatre area, in the same plot (fig.Va.9: no.60) where another child had been buried in a pit in the SM period (app.Vb.n.10). Further to the South, West of the Agora (fig.Va.9: no.59), five or six cists (app.Vb.ns.104-109) were found in the same plot with a SM child inhumation in an amphora (app.Vb.n.2). In the area of the Agora, a PG child inhumation in a handmade amphora was also found (app.Vb.n.110). A few other PG cists have been found around Kypseli Square (app.Vb.ns.111-113, fig.Va.9: 123 and 185). In one of the plots, a child inhumation in an amphora had probably taken place in the SM period (app.Vb.n.1). Further to the South, close to the south-west corner of the modern south cemetery, “one of the richest female PG burials of Argos” was found (app.Vb.n.114, fig.Va.9: no.52).¹⁰²⁸ Another PG cist burial in this area is very interesting, because it was found inside the tumulus that was used for cremations and cist/pit burials in the LHIIC period (Tripoleos St – app.Vb.n.115).¹⁰²⁹

Va.17 *Central area of Argos*

Only recently was a burial ground excavated in this part of Argos, which had not produced any other PG burials until now, according at least to the preliminary reports. Ten burials of LPG and G date of all three main types (cists, pits and pithoi) were recovered (app.Vb.ns.117-126, fig.Va.9: North of no.171).

¹⁰²⁷ Piteros (1998) 112-114: he notes that the rite of cremation, practiced at Argos in LHIIC-middle and -late, is replaced by single inhumations since PG period onwards.

¹⁰²⁸ Lemos (2002) 158, n.74

¹⁰²⁹ Piteros (2001) 103

Appendix Vb: Catalogue of EIA burials at Argos

SM burials

South Quarter

Tomb no.	Type	Age of dead	Offerings	Location	References and comments
1	Inhumation in amphora	Child		In the refugees' quarters	Courbin (1955b) 312 Hägg (1974) 26-7
2	Inhumation in amphora	Child	3 vases and many sherds	Bakaloianis plot Fig. Va. 7: no. 59	Courbin (1956a) 376 Hägg (1974) 26-7
3-9	4 cist tombs + 3 others dating to LHIIIC-late or transition to SM		Tomb 33: no finds; tomb 35: a jug; tomb 38: a cup; nothing inside tomb 41 but a spearhead above it. The cup and the jug date to the end of SM/transition to PG period.	Kouros plot, Tripolis St. Fig. Va. 7: no. 82	Alexandri (1963) 62 Hägg (1974) 26: same orientation – cemetery Kanta (1975) esp. 272-273
10	Possible inhumation in tumulus	Child	2 small vases	Tripolis St.	Piteros (2001) 114, n. 72: the burial possibly disturbed by later re-use of the area – no bones to go with the vases
11	Pit covered with slabs	Child	1 vase, 2 fibulae and 2 finger-rings	In the area of the theatre	Courbin (1954) 177 Hägg (1974) 26, no. 38

Museum area

12	Cist		Skyphos with foot	In the area of the museum's entrance	Courbin (1963) 63, 70, 72-73 Hägg (1974) 26
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13	Cist	Adult	No offerings	Fig. Va. 7: no.67	Courbin (1963) 70, 73: buried so deep that it was not affected by later constructions; also different in construction, dimensions and orientation from the LPG tombs in the area Hägg (1974) 26, site no.26
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North area of Argos

14	Cist covered with schist slabs	Young person	1 pyxis	Gounari St., 20m South of the Karatza, Herakleous and Tsokri St. crossroad	Psychogiou (1995) 96
15	Cist		Amphoriskos, a trefoil mouthed jug and a lekythos	Vlachos-Flokos plot, Tsokri St. Xintaropoulou bros. plot- Herakleous St., 15m North of Perrouka St.	Papadimitriou (2006): it dates to the end of SM period – beginning of transition to EPG
16	Pit with covering plaques	Adult	Oinochoe and amphoriskos		Piteros (1998) 111, fig. 63a

PG burials

North part of Argos

17	Type not specified (I)		Trefoil-lipped oinochoe and skyphos		Papachristodoulou (1967) 177-178, pl.128a Hägg (1974) 28 Cf. Lemos (2002) 43 for LPG dating of illustrated skyphos
18	Type not specified (II)		Small lekythos		Desminis plot Fig.Va.9: no.109
19	Type not specified (III)		Trefoil-lipped oinochoe, skyphos and bronze ring		Perseos St. – Theodoropoulou plot Fig.Va.9: no.224
20	Unspecified number of PG and G cists, pits and pithos burials		Many of them used repeatedly for two or three burials; rich in finds and good quality pottery – no specific information. One iron pin was found outside one of the tombs.		Deilaki (1973) 97-99 Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 71, no.218
21	Cist (I)	Small child	Trefoil-lipped oinochoe, bronze pin with flattened edge		
22	Cist (II)	Young person	Skyphos, trefoil-lipped oinochoe lidded with cup; inside the skyphos was some kind of sponge-like substance of light brown colour; some seed also found outside		Onassoglou (1985) 86-88
23	Cist (III)	Young person	Oinochoe lidded with cup, bronze ring and pieces of an off-white substance		
24	A number of child burials		Among other finds, the most interesting are a scarab and a pilgrim flask		
25	Cist		A stirrup-jar from Crete		Maroussis plot, Diomidous St. Dagres plot, at Diomidous Street
26	Cist	Adult	2 vases		Papadimitriou (2006)
27	Cist	Adult	2 vases and an iron pin		
28	Cist	Adult	2 vases and a bronze ring		
29	Cist		Not used – no skeleton, no offerings		
30	Cist		Oinochoe		Papadimitriou (2006): EPG Piteros-Papadimitriou (1991) 98-99 Pappi (1996) 88-89: LPG

		Oinochoe, cup with conical foot and cup with flat base	Passia plot	
31	Cist		Along Herakleous St., South of the prehistoric settlement	Psychogiou (1992) 90-91: fourteen tombs in total dating from PG until the end of the G period
32	6 cists and 5 inhumations in craters – unspecified number of PG burials	One was looted, another one contained no finds, two contained vases and two others metal offerings.	Along Herakleous St., 40m North of Niobis St.	
33	Pithos burial		Within walls of upper Mycenaean layers	
34	2 inhumations in small pots	Apparently children/infants	48 Diomidous St., X. and E. Dagle plot	Pappi (1999) 145
35	3 pits	Adults	Fig. Va.9: North of no.160	

North of the modern market place

36	Cist	Two feeding bottles and a vase reminiscent of an amphoriskos but with just one handle	Papadimitriou plot, Perouka St.	Papadimitriou (2006): EPG date
37	Cist	Stirrup-jar from Crete		

38	Cist	A woman according to the offerings	Trefoil-lipped oinochoe, hand-made hydria, 3 lekythoi, jug, bird-shaped askos (-unique in the Argolid), tripod askos (-same at Mycenae, T.601), 2 bronze pins, clay bead, 2 iron twisted rings, three more iron rings, bronze twisted ring		Charitonidis (1966) 126 Kokkou-Vyridi (1977) 171-194, tomb I: beginning of MPG Hägg (1974) 28-30 Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 71, no.212.213 Lemos (2002) 158: of the richest female burials (-by mistake she characterizes as such tomb III instead of I)
39	Cist	A woman according to the offerings	Amphora, 2 iron pins with ivory heads, iron ring, bronze ring	Konstantopoulos plot Fig.Va.9: no.101	Charitonidis (1966) 126 Kokkou-Vyridi (1977) 171-194, tomb II: LPG Hägg (1974) 28-30 Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 74, no.285.286
40	Cist		Only one hydria – small charcoal pieces were found close to the feet of the dead		Charitonidis (1966) 126 Kokkou-Vyridi (1977) 171-194, tomb III: LPG Hägg (1974) 28-30
41	Cist		Trefoil-lipped oinochoe, 3 cups, iron ring, 2 iron pins with bronze bulbs		Charitonidis (1966) 126 Kokkou-Vyridi (1977) 171-194, tomb IV: LPG Hägg (1974) 28-30 Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 72, no.237.238
42	Cist		Small oinochoe and iron pin with bronze bulb	Kympouropoulos plot -Perouka St. Fig.Va.9: no.129	Papachristodoulou (1969b) 159: V Hägg (1974) 28-30, site no. 17
43	Cist	No offerings		Kavouzis plot - Perouka/Kolokotro-	Deilaki (1970) 155 Hägg (1974) 28-30

					ni St.	Pariente-Touchais (1998) no.147: not depicted on map IX
44	Cist		No offerings		Tsakiropoulos plot Fig. Va.9: no.100	Charitonidis (1966) 126 Hägg (1974) 28-30
45	Inhumation in pot	Child	The burial in a crater with the bottom of a pithos as a lid		Kolokotroni St. - Kosma bros. plot Fig. Va.9: no.179	Kritzas (1972) 197
46	Inhumation in pot	Infant	The burial in a coarse-ware, undecorated vase			
47	Cist		Handmade trefoil-lipped oinochoe, cup, 2 iron pins with bronze bulbs, bronze ring		Perouka St. - A. Manou plot Fig. Va.9: very close to site no.101	Pappi (1996) 87-88: LPG-EG- T.1
48	Cist		Oinochoe and skyphos			Pappi (1996) 87-88 - T.3
49	Cist		Bronze pin, skyphos and amphora			Pappi (1996) 87-88: LPG-T.9
50	Pithos		Skyphos and bronze ring			Pappi (1996) 87-88: LPG-T.8
51	Cist		Amphoriskos, amphora, high-footed skyphos, kantharos		Hephaistou St. - modern Work Centre Fig. Va.9: no.158	Deilaki (1971) 79

West-North-west of the modern market place

52	Pit		Oinochoe, bowl and iron knife with the remains of its wooden case		Next to the Panagitsa chapel Fig.Va.9: no.71	Daux (1959) 755: T 184 Hägg (1974) 28-30
53	Cist	Child	Trefoil-lipped oinochoe, lekythos, a skyphos with conical foot and a bracelet of bone beads			Daux (1959) 755: T 192 Hägg (1974) 28-30
54	Cist	Child	Hand-made oinochoe containing the bones of a small animal			Daux (1959) 755: T 187 Hägg (1974) 28-30
55	Cist		5 vases: 3 oinochoes, a hydriskos and a cup with conical foot; the cup, which is illustrated, dates to LPG		Next to St John's church Fig.Va.9: no.62	Courbin (1954) 177, fig. 34 Hägg (1974) 28-30 Cf. Lemos (2002) 32 for the cup
56	Cist		5 bronze rings and an oinochoe with a skyphos for lid			Roux (1957) 663 Hägg (1974) 28-30

57	Cist		Trefoil-lipped oinochoe with a cup in its mouth, pyxis, hand-made prochous, bronze ring	Papalexopoulou St., Kambaniari plot	Papadimitriou (1997) 136-138: LPG
58	Pithos burial		No offerings	Fig. Va.9: next to no.375	Papadimitriou (1997) 136-138: it could be dated either to PG or to G
59	2 cists built of and covered with plaques of grey limestone; very close to each other; their floor covered with river pebbles and filled with sand; more or less same orientation West-East	2 adults	Amphora lidded with a handleless vase, trefoil-lipped oinochoe, skyphos, three bronze pins	Papalexopoulou St., Kliasou plot, very close to the corner of Karatza, Tsokri and Gounari Sfs.	Banaka-Dimaki (1998) 117-119
60			Amphora, oinochoe lidded with a skyphos	Fig. Va.9: no.62	
61	Cist		Trefoil-lipped lekythos, bronze pin, a bronze ring in each finger of both hands	Gounari St.-Nikolopouloi plot	Spathari (1991) 90-92
62	Cist		Trefoil-lipped oinochoe, pyxis, skyphos, trefoil-lipped small oinochoe, 2 footed skyphoi, amphoriskos, skyphos without foot, one loom-weight of white and one of black stone, one bronze, spiral ring at each finger of both hands, iron pin with bronze head, 200 faience beads set in double row	Karatza St. - Bozonelos plot	Kritzias (1972) 205 Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 72, no.244 Cf. Lemos (2002) 35, 37, 40, 42 for pottery and 158, n.74: she includes the first of these tombs among the rich tombs with pins assigned to female burials at Argos; it dates to LPG
63	Pithos		No offerings	Fig. Va.9: no.174	
64	Cist		Crater, cup, phiale, pyxis		
65	Pit		No offerings		

66			An amphoriskos closely resembling two SM vases from cist-cemetery on Tripolis St, a jug and a miniature hand-made amphora	Marlangutsos plot – 22 Karatza St. Fig. Va.9: no.279	Kanta (1975) 273: the tomb can be dated to a transitional SM/PG stage; the plot also contained Mycenaean graves
67	Cist		Trefoil-lipped oinochoe	Parodos Gounari – Antonopoul-ou plot	Banaka-Dimaki (1994) 140
68	Cist		Sherds, a bronze ring and an oinochoe		

Around St Peter's Square

69	Cist		Pottery (4 lekythoi, amphoriskos, amphora), two iron pins ca. 0.60m long with ivory heads, two golden spirals and a gold ring, six bronze rings, one iron ring, a glass bead	Phlessas plot Fig. Va.9: no.77	Alexandri (1960) 93 Hägg (1974) 29: LPG Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 74, no.277.278 Lemos (2002) 158 n.74: one of the richest female burials with pins at Argos
70	Cist		2 long iron pins with bronze bulbs and a ring	Alexopoulos plot Fig. Va.9: no.81	Verdelis (1961/62) 55-57 Hägg (1974) 30: it follows the same orientation as two MG cist tombs also dug here Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 72, no.224.225
71	Cist (B5/T.144)	Adolescent	No finds	Museum plot Fig. Va.9: no.63, 67	Roux (1957) 647-657 Daux (1959) 766-768 Courbin (1963) 83-91 Hägg (1974) 29: he dates them to LPG
72	Cist (C1/T.145)		Destroyed by Hellenistic activity		
73	Pit (C2/T.147)		Spiral bronze ring, a pyxis dating to the end of 10 th -early 9 th cent. BC, 2 oinochoes, 2 restored pots		
74	Pit (E3/T.148)		Amphora		
75	Cist (E4/T.149)		Oinochoe – disturbed in LG times		
76	Cist (F5/T.150)	Child	Oinochoe lying on a pile of seeds with a small flat stone as a lid; it contained the same kind of seeds		

77	Cist (T. 196)	A man 45 years old	Oinochoe, skyphos with conical foot and an iron pin			
78	Pit (T. 197)	Child	Oinochoe and skyphos with conical foot			
79	Cist (T. 198)	Child of 3-5 years old	2 oinochoes and skyphos with conical foot			
80	Cist (T. 151/G7)		2 iron pins with bronze bulbs			Roux (1957) 647-657 Daux (1959) 766-768 Courbin (1963) 86-91: dated according to stratigraphy, but the levels in the area are not clear-cut Hägg (1974) 29: he re-dated it from EG to LPG
81	Cist (T. 146/G6)		No offerings - half-destroyed in Hellenistic times			Roux (1957) 647-657 Daux (1959) 766-768 Courbin (1963) 86-91: dated according to stratigraphy, but the levels in the area are not clear-cut Hägg (1974) 29: he re-dated it from 7 th cent. to LPG
82-88	6 cists (T. 165-167, 169-170 and 186) and 1 pit (T. 168)		2 amphoras, a bowl, a plate with foot and 3 handles, an oinochoe; one of the cists (169) contained only one handmade vase, not precisely datable; T.167 contained two fragmentary iron pins with bronze bulbs		Right next to the Museum plot, in Saidin plot Fig. Va.9: no.66	Daux (1959) 762-764 Hägg (1974) 29: he dates them all to LPG judging by finds and/or stratigraphical details Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984) 72, no.245.246
89-91	3 cist tombs (T.1, 4 and 5)		No information on offerings		Kallergi St., Vlogiari bros. plot - close to the museum	Banaka-Dimaki (1998) 117

92	Pit covered with non-worked limestone plaques		Pyxis with two handles found outside the tomb	27 Danaou St. – G.Plati, G.Zisi, I.Diamanti and D. Xixi plot Fig. Va.9: no.559	Onassoglou (1985) 88
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East part of Argos

93	Cist (III)		Cup, 2 iron pins with ivory heads, 2 golden spirals, 2 bronze rings	c.200m East-South-east of St Peter's square, OTE plot Fig. Va.9: no.103	Charitonidis (1966) 126ff. Hägg (1974) 30 Kilian-Dilrmeier (1984) 74, no.283.284: T.III
94	Cist (V)		Iron object		
95	Cist (VI)		Part of a close vase, bronze pin, iron object, 2 golden spirals		
96	Cist tomb 5	Adult	4 iron pins and 4 vases: pyxis, skyphos, oinochoe and handmade open vase	27 Kophiniotou St., Petropoulou-Xabla plot	Piteros (1998) 112-114, pl.64 Piteros (2001) 117-118 for the cremations
97	Cist tomb 6	Adult	Oinochoe and skyphos		
98	Cist tomb 8	Girl	Oinochoe, bronze spiral and fibula		
99	Pit tomb 4 with covering plaque	Two adults and one infant – the upper adult skeleton disturbed	No offerings		
100	Cremation	No ashes found – disturbed from pit 4	PG amphora urn 10 standing upright in a circular pit under pit 4. A SM stirrup jar in the pit as offering – burial dating to transitional SM-PG phase		
101	Cremation	Ashes inside the amphora	PG Attic amphora-urn in a circular pit covered with plaques. A SM lekythos in the pit as offering – burial dating to transitional SM-PG phase		

102	Cist		A vase, 2 gold spirals, a bronze ring and 2 bronze pins		Karabelas plot Fig. Va.9: no.137	Papachristodoulou (1969a) 107 Hägg (1974) 30: re-dated from EG to PG
South part of Argos						
103	Cist	Child	No offerings		Theatre area Fig. Va.9: no.60	Roux (1957) 638ff.: he dates it to EG Hägg (1974) 30, site 38: he dates it to PG on the basis of structure
104-109	5 (or 6) cists		Several vases; in one of the tombs, a big handmade oinochoe, one bowl and two rings; another significant find is a tissue fragment, still attached to a bronze pin		Bakaloianis plot Fig. Va.9: no.59	Courbin (1955b) 314 Courbin (1955a) 136 Courbin (1956a) 376 Hägg (1974) 30
110	Inhumation	Infant	Burial in a handmade amphora		Area of the ancient Agora	Roux (1953) 253 Hägg (1974) 30
111			No information		Chatzixenophon plot Fig. Va.9: no.123	Daux (1968) 1040 Hägg (1974) 30
112			Cists – no more information available		10 Tripoleos St. – Theophanopoulou plot Fig. Va.9: no.185	Deilaki (1973) 115
113	Cist	Adolescent	Oinochoe, cup, cup of unbaked clay, some jewellery and a small, fragmentary, female, marble statuette		In the refugees' quarters	Courbin (1955b) 312: LPG or EG Hägg (1974) 30
114	T 37		Handmade amphora and amphoriskos, wheel-made basin, 2 bronze spirals, bronze ring, 2 flattened bronze rings, bronze pin with bone bulb, 2 gold spirals		Close to the South-west corner of the contemporary south cemetery Fig. Va.9: no.52	It is included among the richest female PG burials of Argos according to Lemos (2002) 158, n. 74. She follows the PG dating of the pin by Kilian –Dirlmeier (1984) 73, no.273. In Courbin (1974) 38, the tomb was dated to the G period.

115	Cist with two limestone plaques along its short sides and clay lining along the long ones	Child	2 vases	Tripolis St. – inside the tumulus	Piteros (2001) 103
116	Cist tomb covered with irregular limestone plaques	Adult	Amphora, bronze bracelet, bronze ring and two iron pins with bone heads	Tripolis St., 300m South-west of ancient agora, on the road to Lerna	Kolia (1998) 121

Central part of Argos

117-126	10 tombs of LPG-G period: 5 cists, 4 pits and 2 pithoi	An infant buried in a smaller pit dug within one of the pits	Reference only to bronze pins, rings and three typical SM-PG bow-fibulae from three of the pits; one of the pithoi used repeatedly throughout the G period	Kallergi and Seferi St., A.Kazantzi plot Fig. Va.9: North of no.171	Pappi (1999) 142-144
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Appendix VI: Asine

LHIIC evidence

Settlement remains

VI.1 Lower Town

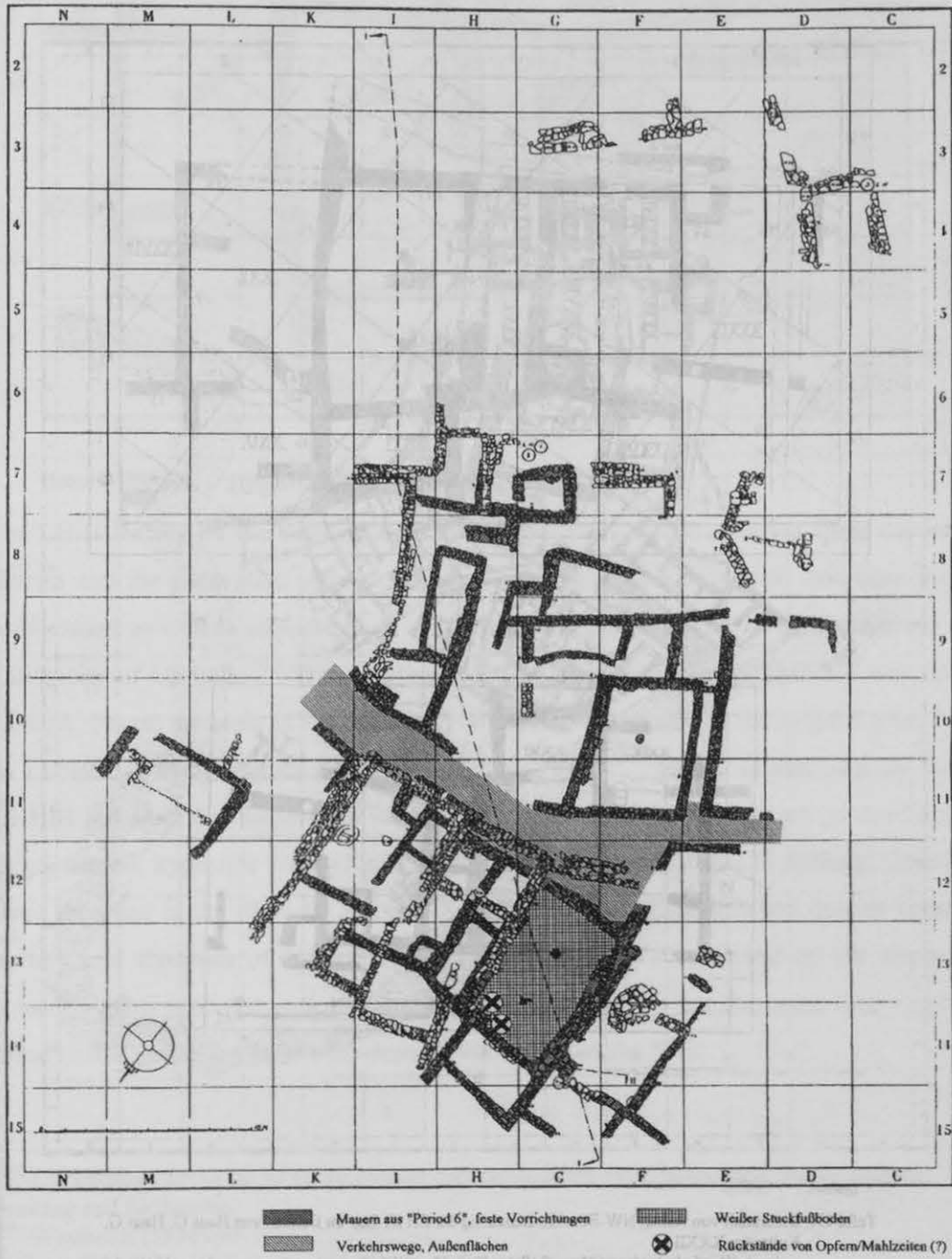


Fig.VI.1
Plan of the large trench of the Lower
Town, as adapted by G. Albers

Several houses excavated in the 1920s in the Lower Town of Asine (fig.VI.1) have been eventually dated to LHIIC after later studies of the stratigraphical, architectural and pottery evidence. Most recent is the study of Birgitta Sjöberg, who has re-tried to reconstruct

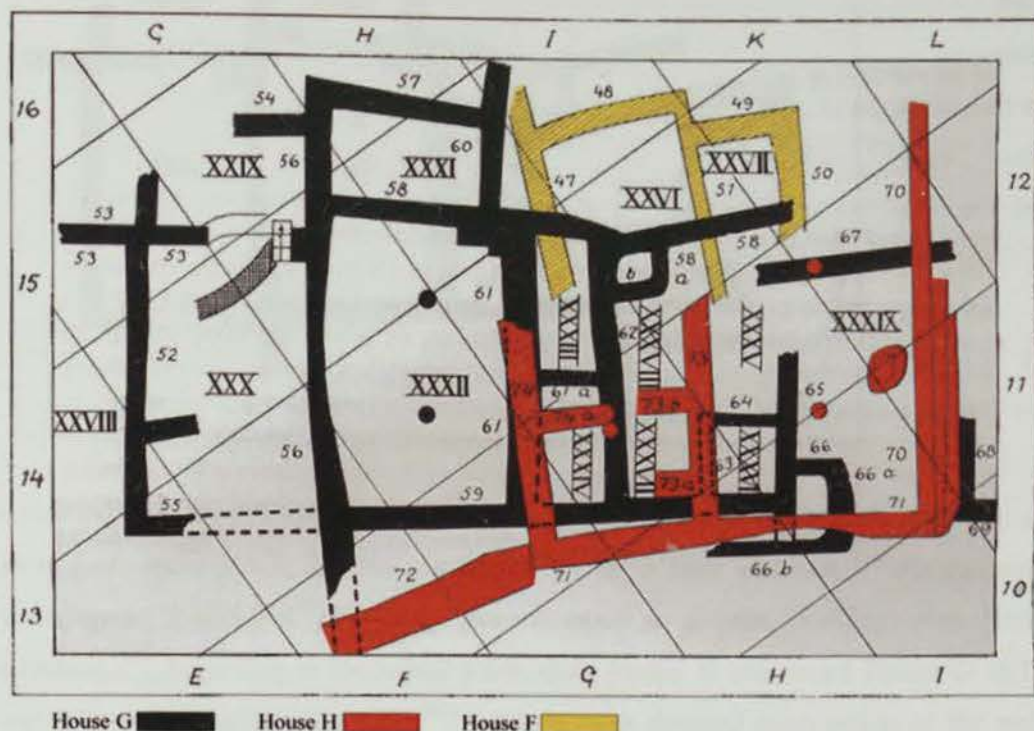


Fig.VI.2
Plan of
Houses G,
H and F
(the top of
the picture
corresponds
to the North)

the LHIIC history of the settlement by using the available information from the original diaries and the excavation plans, in comparison and combination with that from the final publication, as well as published and unpublished pottery, now kept in the storerooms of the University of Uppsala.¹⁰³⁰ Thus, according to the initial publication, House F was dated to LHIIIA, but on the basis of the top levels of walls as mentioned in the original plan, “a date in LHIIC, or even later, is more plausible” (fig.VI.2).¹⁰³¹ House G was initially dated to LHIIIB and described as having a very complicated plan with minor rooms grouped around a large, central, hypostyle room (XXXII – figs.VI.2-3).¹⁰³² According to Sjöberg, three floors were recorded in the diary for Room XXXII, and a LHIIC-middle/late deposit containing pottery and figurines of “mixed chronological character” was found on the upper, lime floor.¹⁰³³ This probably indicates that the room had been in use for some time – probably since LHIIC-middle – before the deposit was buried on the floor.

¹⁰³⁰ Cf. Sjöberg (2004) 29-30 for inconsistencies between the final publication and the original drawing and field-notes.

¹⁰³¹ Westholm (1938) 90

Sjöberg (2004) 31: it was not possible to trace the related pottery material.

¹⁰³² Westholm (1938) 74-76, 90

¹⁰³³ Sjöberg (2004) 33, n.20, 34

There are also problems with the plan of the house in the way it was outlined in the

publication.¹⁰³⁴

According to Sjöberg's reconstruction, its layout was not static, but "part of a building program in progress during the LHIIC period". It could not have

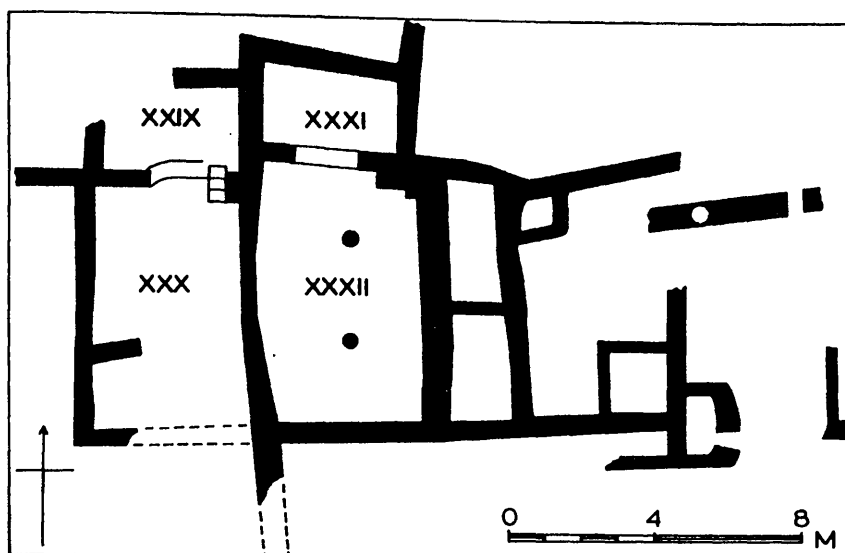


Fig. VI.3
Plan of
House G as
adapted by
Hägg

consisted of room XXXII with an extension to the East right from the beginning, and the west part, room XXX, is also considered to be a later addition.¹⁰³⁵ Furthermore, the westernmost room, XXVIII, must have belonged to a later, possibly even Hellenistic structure.¹⁰³⁶ According to the initial publication, House H succeeded House G in LHIIC and followed its outline (fig. VI.2).¹⁰³⁷ After "a more detailed examination of the walls and the floor levels", however, Sjöberg explains that not all of the walls that are assigned to House H could fit in one single phase of its use. Its easternmost part, in particular, must have belonged to a later construction, which was probably part of the Geometric settlement. According to her reconstruction, wall 65 should be the eastern limit of House H. As for the kiln, which according to the publication stood in room XXXIX, it should rather be regarded as located outside walls, which besides sounds more logical in functional terms. This kiln might have been used for pottery production, judging by the wasters found in this part of the excavation. Sjöberg concludes, "the complex may be divided into several building phases following very close on each other and with walls re-used and re-modelled". We should

Cf. Frödin and Persson (1938) 298-300 and 308-310 for the deposit. Furumark dated it to LHIIC:1b, i.e. to the middle phase of LHIIC – cf. Furumark (1944) 202 – but Mountjoy dates it to LHIIC-late – cf. Mountjoy (1986) 181.

¹⁰³⁴ Sjöberg (2004) 32

¹⁰³⁵ According to the description in Wetholm (1938) 63-64, the eastern walls 63-66 lay on a lower height than the others, they were flimsily constructed and did not bond with any other system of walls. As for the western walls 52-55, they too were flimsy and abutted on wall 56. The walls of room XXXII were on the contrary comparatively well constructed. According to another suggestion, walls 61 and 61a, i.e. the walls dividing rooms XXXII, XXXIII and XXXIV might have also been a later addition – cf. Albers (1994) 112. In that case, the three rooms would have composed a single, very spacious room.

¹⁰³⁶ Sjöberg (2004) 33

¹⁰³⁷ Westholm (1938) 89, 90

rather regard complex H “as an extension of House G, which was in continuous use from the LHIIC-middle and onwards”.¹⁰³⁸ However, it should be noted that according to the initial publication, the floor of House G “was covered with grey earth up to the level [...] on which House H rested”.¹⁰³⁹ One wonders whether this should be taken to mean that House G was destroyed before the construction of House H on top of its eastern part. The problem about the latter’s exact dating remains unresolved.

Houses I, K and L were dated to LHIIB in the publication, but they too should

probably be re-dated
(fig.VI.4).¹⁰⁴⁰

According to the wall-levels and the pottery, House I should rather date to LHIIC-middle/late. The complex of rooms that constitutes House I must have also developed gradually, as walls were apparently being added over a long period of time. It is also interesting that it must have had a “multifunctional

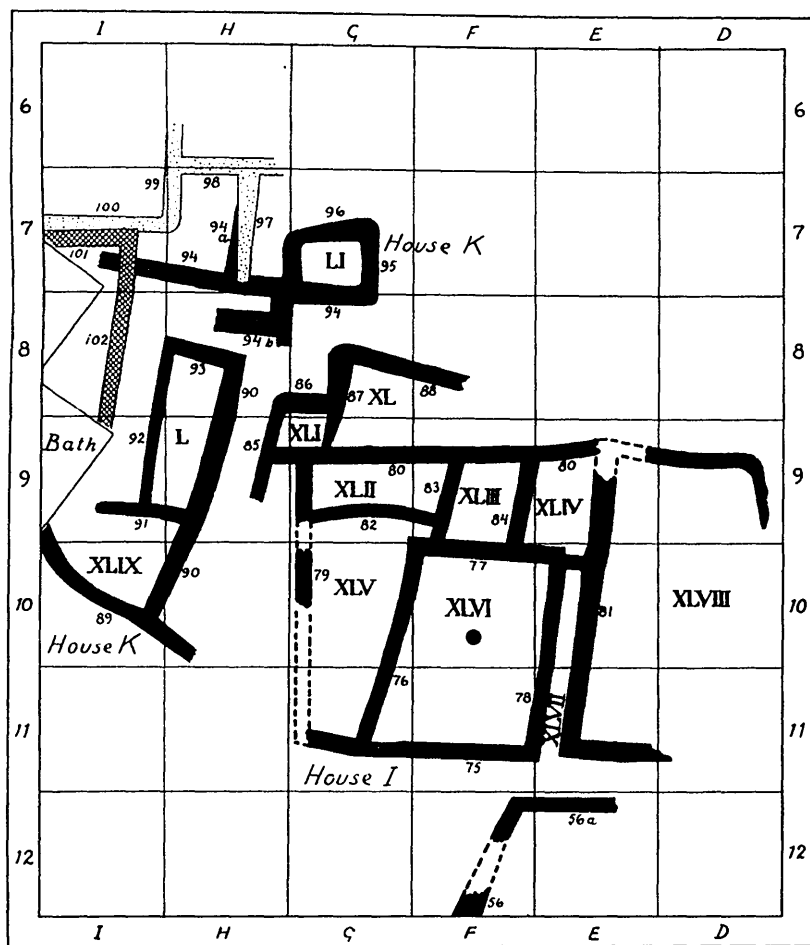


Fig.VI.4
Plan of
Houses I
and K
(the base of
the picture
corresponds
to the
North)

character, both domestic and industrial”, as indicated by the kiln that was found in room XLII and the deposit of bobbins used for textile production from room XLVI.¹⁰⁴¹

House K is another problematic case: it could potentially date to LHIIB, as the excavators had suggested, but in fact there are only LHIIC-late vessels published from this area. House L (in trenches L-N 10-12 – cf.fig.VI.1) probably dates to an earlier period than LHIIB, according to the wall-levels, which were much lower than those of other LH walls,

¹⁰³⁸ Sjöberg (2004) 35-36

¹⁰³⁹ Westholm (1938) 98

¹⁰⁴⁰ Westholm (1938) 90

¹⁰⁴¹ Sjöberg (2004) 37-38

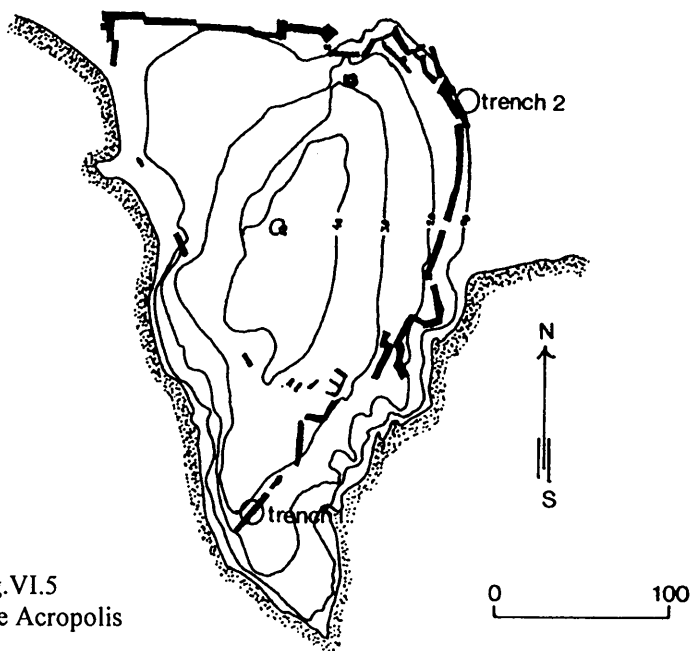


Fig. VI.5
The Acropolis
hill

but it was unfortunately impossible to associate any pottery with it. There is another building on terrace III, House W, which has also been dated to LHIIC.¹⁰⁴² Finally, the settlement debris found between the great tower and the east side of the Acropolis (-trench 2 on fig. VI.5) has provided additional evidence for LHIIC-late habitation in the area.¹⁰⁴³

VI.2 *Levendis sector*

Some kind of activity must have also taken place during LHIIC in the Levendis sector, at the south-east foot of Barbouna Hill. Initially, it was thought that the settlement in this area ceased to exist at the end of LHIIB and that it was not reoccupied in LH times.¹⁰⁴⁴ However, after the resumption of the excavation in 1989 and the extension of the central trench, LHIIC pottery was found in this area too and in particular in the west part of the extension, mixed with lots of PG and G sherds and refuse, such as animal bones, shells etc.¹⁰⁴⁵

VI.3 *Karmaniola sector*

Evidence for LHIIC activity found in the sector East of the Acropolis (fig. VI.6) dates to the very end of the period, which is defined in the publication as LHIIC/Final Mycenaean. Mixed excavation material of LHIIC and Final Mycenaean (-i.e. SM) date was found all over the area. The rectangular building 70Q-T in the Main Area was probably built

¹⁰⁴² Sjöberg (2004) 38-39

¹⁰⁴³ Wells (1992) 137-139

Pentinnen (1996) 165-166

¹⁰⁴⁴ Frizell (1978) 91

¹⁰⁴⁵ Hägg and Nordquist (1992) 60, 66

in this period (fig.VI.7). Other architectural remains dating to LHIIIC are the foundation wall 71C in the Main Area and the wall 2C with the associated hearths 2D in the East Area (fig.VI.8).¹⁰⁴⁶

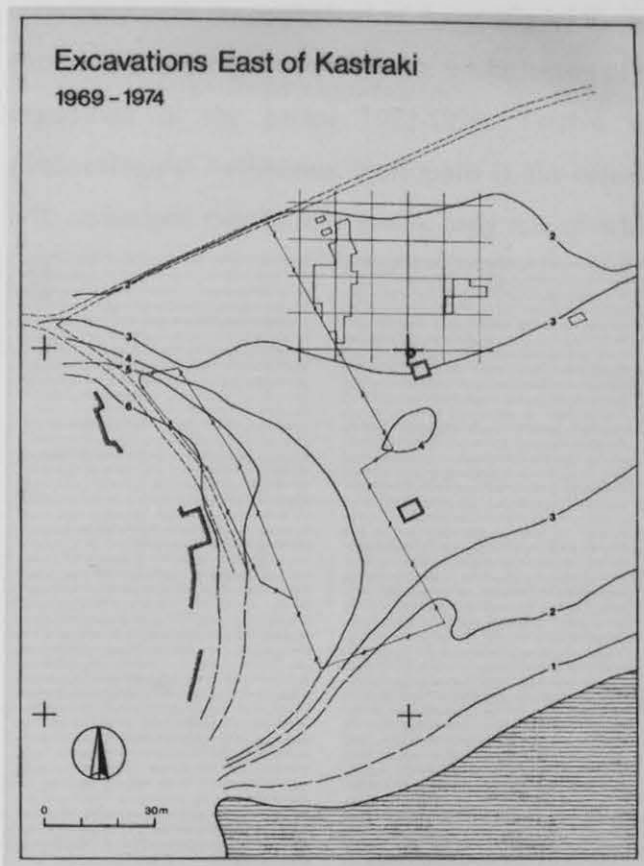


Fig.VI.6
Main and East
excavation Areas to
the East of the
Acropolis

Fig.VI.7
Building
70Q-T and
surrounding
structures
in the Main
Area of the
Karmaniola
sector

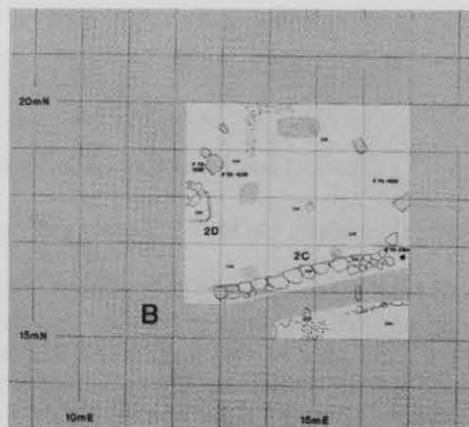
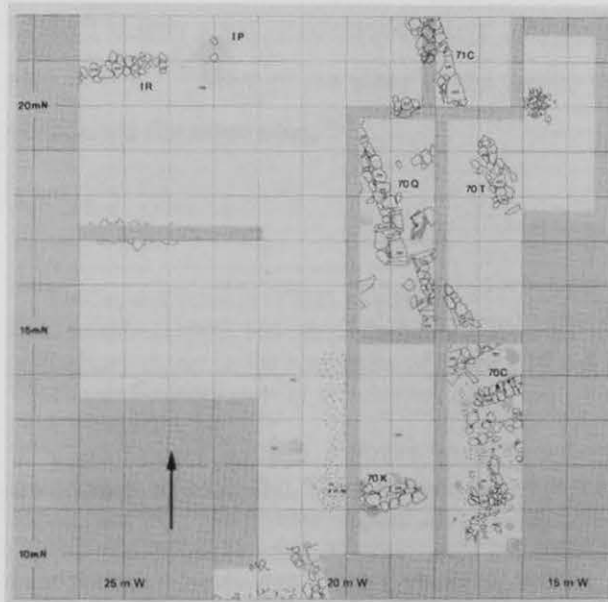


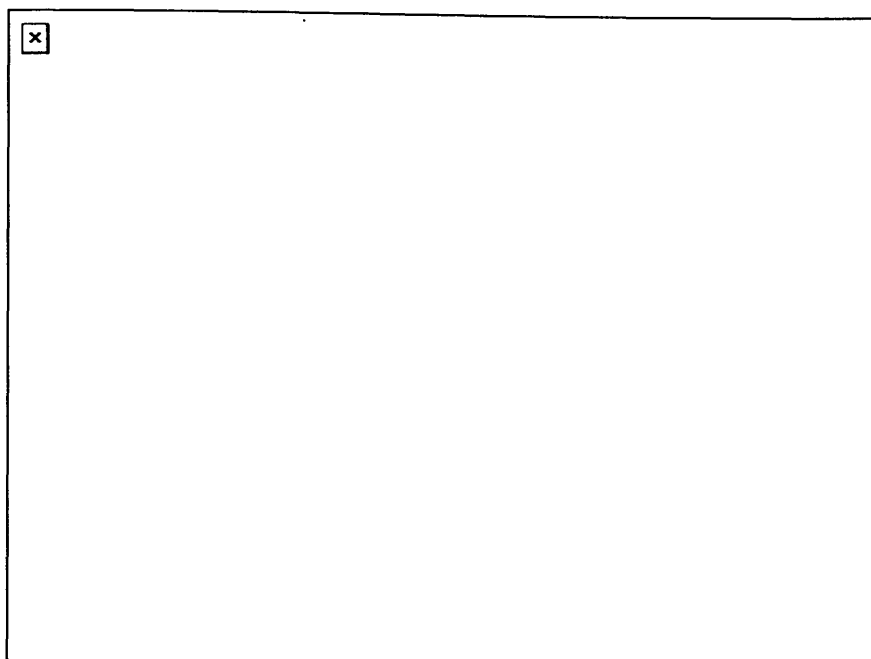
Fig.VI.8
Wall 2C
and hearths
2D in the
East Area
of the
Karmaniola
sector

¹⁰⁴⁶ Dietz (1982) 60-62, 74-77

Frizell (1986) 14, 15, 84-85 – it should be noted here that Frizell prefers to use the term Final Mycenaean instead of Submycenaean, for reasons related to the quality and style of the pottery.

VI.4 Burials

Two cemeteries with chamber tombs on the slopes of Barbouna Hill have been associated with the settlement of Asine (fig.VI.9). Necropolis I, the cemetery on the north-eastern slope, comprised twenty-six tombs, seven of which were investigated by the Swedish expedition in the period 1922-1930. Twelve more were excavated by the Greek Archaeological Authorities. Necropolis II, the cemetery on the northern slope of Barbouna hill, comprised twenty-four tombs, only one of which was excavated by the Swedish and



another one by the Greek Archaeological Service.¹⁰⁴⁷ The burials covered the period from LHIIA to LHIIC-late – or even SM/PG in at least one case, but the number of burials that could be dated to

Fig.VI.9
Map of Asine
with the
excavation
areas marked

LHIIB is very small. Such burials have only been attested in tombs I:1 and 7, and possibly also in II:2.¹⁰⁴⁸ Most of the other tombs appear to have been re-used in LHIIC after being abandoned for some time.¹⁰⁴⁹

¹⁰⁴⁷ Frödin and Persson (1938) 151-192

Aslamatzidou (1995) 103: she only refers to the total number of tombs excavated and gives a preliminary report on the excavation of tombs I:19 and II:2.

¹⁰⁴⁸ The preliminary state of information that is available regarding tomb II:2 does not allow any more certain remarks.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Tomb I:1 used in LHIIB, LHIIIA1, LHIIIA2, LHIIB and re-used in LHIIC-middle and –late (10 and 14 vases respectively). Tomb I:2 used in LHIIB, LHIIIA1, LHIIIA2 and re-used in LHIIC-early, middle, late (5, 1 and 5 vases respectively). Tomb I:3 used in LHIIIA1 only. Tomb I:4 used in LHIIC-middle/late (1 vase). Tomb I:5 used in LHIIIA2 and re-used in LHIIC-early, middle, late (3, 8 and 5 vases respectively). Tomb I:6 used in LHIIIA1, LHIIIA2 and re-used in LHIIC-early, middle, late (1, 8 and 4 vases respectively). Tomb I:7 used in LHIIA, LHIIB, LHIIIA1, LHIIIA2, LHIIB and continuously in LHIIC-early, middle, late (3, 4 and 5 vases respectively). Cf. Sjöberg (2004) 92-103. Tomb I:19 used in LHII, LHIIIA1, LHIIIA2 and re-used in LHIIC – cf. Aslamatzidou (1995) 103. Tomb II:1 used in LHIIIA1 only – cf. Sjöberg (2004) 103-104. Tomb II:2 produced vases dated to LHII-LHIIIA, LHIIIA1, LHIIIA-B and LHIIC – cf. Aslamatzidou (1995) 103.

The quality of pottery found in the LHIIC burials in the Mycenaean necropolis on the north-eastern side of the Barbouna Hill is one more indication of the settlement's prosperity in this period.¹⁰⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the available information on other kinds of burial offerings accompanying LHIIC burials is not satisfying. Due to the longevity of the tombs it is unfortunately difficult to correlate burials with offerings, and the occasionally synoptic recording of the excavations has created further problems in understanding the stratigraphy of the tombs and in reconstructing the burial sequences.

To give a few examples, a number of small finds, mostly conical buttons, a bead and possibly a pendant, which may be an Egyptian carnelian amulet, were found in the vicinity of and on the same more or less level with the LHIIC-middle/advanced burial C in tomb I:1, and thus may be connected with it. It has alternatively been speculated, however, that they might have belonged to another burial (B), which lies in equal distance from the objects. Nothing excludes, on the other hand, that these objects were earlier offerings pushed aside and heaped at their findspot on the occasion of new burials. Sjöberg suggests that such objects, as the Egyptian amulet, might have been heirlooms placed in the tomb generations ago and re-used as offerings to later burials. The last burial inside the chamber of I:1 was laid in the middle of the tomb and accompanied with LHIIC-late vases. A gaming board probably made of ivory was found in its vicinity: it either lay there accidentally or was also an heirloom.¹⁰⁵¹

The situation regarding the LHIIC burials in tomb I:2 is even more puzzling, not only because pottery of many periods had accumulated in the tomb, but also because not enough information is available as regards the find-spots of the pottery and the small finds.¹⁰⁵² Tomb I:4, which only consisted of a dromos with two niches, did not contain any other offerings than a LHIIC-middle/late stirrup jar and a lot of Mycenaean sherds.¹⁰⁵³ In tomb I:5, a gold ring, a couple of ivory ornaments and a glass bead were found in the same context as the remains of re-deposited LHIIC burials, but due to the disarrangement of the bones it is not certain that these burial goods should be associated with the LHIIC burials.¹⁰⁵⁴ A similar question arises in reference to gold objects, glass beads and other small offerings found in tomb I:6 in connection with bones and vases of the LHIIC period.¹⁰⁵⁵ Finally, tomb I:7 was found in such a disordered state apparently due to its repeated use and

¹⁰⁵⁰ Mountjoy (1993) 129

¹⁰⁵¹ Sjöberg (2004) 93, 95

For the dating of the pottery cf. Mountjoy (1996) 56-62.

¹⁰⁵² Sjöberg (2004) 98

¹⁰⁵³ Sjöberg (2004) 100

¹⁰⁵⁴ Sjöberg (2004) 100-101

¹⁰⁵⁵ Sjöberg (2004) 101

the relocation of earlier burial remains on the occasion of new burials, that it was not possible to correlate specific finds with the LHIIIC burials.¹⁰⁵⁶

Another interesting aspect of the Mycenaean burial customs at Asine is possibly reflected in the discovery of nine earth-cut tombs among the buildings of the Lower Town, seven (or eight) of which contained children's burials. It should be noted that they did not contain any burial gifts and they were dated in general to the LH period according to the layers in which they were found or on basis of their position in connection with some datable part of the architecture. Therefore, their dating is rather relative and uncertain. Only the cist tomb of a child contained pottery offerings that were dated by the excavator to LHIII.¹⁰⁵⁷

VI.5 Cult

Very important finds testifying to cult activities have been recovered in Room XXXII of House G (fig.VI.3). This room is of rather conspicuous architectural structure. It is one of the largest Mycenaean rooms excavated, with two stone columns along its North-South axis, as well as stone benches along the long walls 56 and 61. In addition, it had a floor of lime stucco, which was occasionally repaired. Of great interest with regard to its cult character is the assemblage that was recovered in the north-eastern corner. Here, a stone



Fig.VI.10
Detail of
excavation
photograph
showing
bench and jug
in Room
XXXII

platform (0.60m long, 0.56m wide and 0.30m high) was found lying along the north wall, while in the small gap left between the platform and the east wall there was a large jug with

¹⁰⁵⁶ Sjöberg (2004) 102-103

¹⁰⁵⁷ Frödin and Persson (1938) 128-129 and 354-356

broken bottom found *in situ*. This vase, which was deposited upside down, must have served for libations (fig.VI.10). To the West of the platform, a deposit containing vases and figurines, including the head of a large figure, the famous ‘Lord of Asine’ (fig.VI.11), was found lying in a fill of ashes, charcoal and pebbles, framed on its south side by a few stones and to the West by pebbles. A 0.06m thick layer of ashes and charcoal, containing also bones, sherds and fired mud-bricks, was found stretching on the floor some 1.30m to the South of the platform, along the east wall. “The excavator interpreted this as refuse from a hearth or a kitchen stove that had been successively swept down from the bench, which is called here a simple hearth”.¹⁰⁵⁸



Fig.VI.11
Finds coming
from Room
XXXII of
House G



On the basis of the above finds, R. XXXII has been interpreted as a room for domestic cult, and House G has been regarded as a private house with a small domestic altar.¹⁰⁵⁹ Its domestic function seems to be supported by the large number of

kitchen and coarse-ware vessels found in R. XXXII. In addition, a mould for pins that was found in this room could enhance the house’s domestic aspect, since it probably indicates that some kind of workshop activities may have taken place in this area. Moreover, the presence of the two small rooms XXXIII and XXXIV to the West, which were probably added later and used as storage areas, “further indicates the household and everyday aspect of the building”.¹⁰⁶⁰

According to Albers’s suggestion, however, House G was a complex of primarily religious function. The assemblage of figurines has been considered to be a strong indication

¹⁰⁵⁸ Cf. Hägg (1981b) 91-94: here the author reconstructed the cult assemblage on the basis of the excavator’s diary, the original photographs and drawing, plus the catalogue of finds and the sherd assemblage in the collections of the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Uppsala. The 1938 publication had treated the whole issue quite cursorily – cf. Frödin and Persson (1938) 63, 66, 74-76, 89, 98, 298-305, 308-310.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Nilsson (1950) 110-114

¹⁰⁶⁰ Sjöberg (2004) 34: regarding the mould, however, she points out that it “may be out of context and need not be associated with workshop activity in this specific building”.

of the cult use of the room. It has also been suggested that R. XXXII has important similarities in its architectural layout and furnishings with several Late Mycenaean cult rooms, such as the West Shrine in Phylakopi, the Temple at Mycenae and the cult rooms 117, 110 and 110a in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns. Regarding the “Lord” of Asine

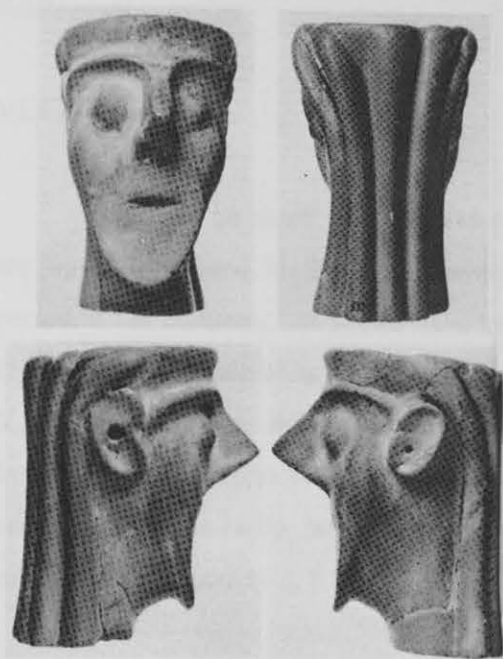


Fig. VI.12
The ‘Lord’
of Asine

(fig. VI.12), in particular, it has been suggested that the head resembles the “goddess” from the contemporary cult room 110a in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns.¹⁰⁶¹ According to a more recent study, however, this head must have belonged to the figure of a fantastic animal, such as those currently known only on Crete and Cyprus.¹⁰⁶² Nevertheless, this identification has also been considered indicative of the “official” character of the shrine, since “both on Crete and on Cyprus, figures of this kind come only from areas that are assumed to have been public or which in any case do not display the characteristics of domestic shrines”.¹⁰⁶³

The fact that only the head of the figure was found in R. XXXII most probably indicates that it was in some kind of secondary use, which besides fits with its dating to LHIIC-middle, i.e. slightly earlier than most of the room’s contents. It could be thought that it was initially used in its complete form – possibly in the same room, if it were indeed built in LHIIC-middle, as suggested earlier – and that after accidentally losing its body, it “retained sufficient character to be recognizable” and thus was re-used.¹⁰⁶⁴ Instead, it could be thought that the head had actually lost its original character and was re-assigned a different role by the time it made its way to R. XXXII in LHIIC-late. Such an interpretation could then point in exactly the opposite direction, namely the unofficial character of this cult

¹⁰⁶¹ Albers (1994) 114-115

Wright (1994) 64 also believes that House G would have been a cult building with a similar function with those of Tiryns and Mycenae, i.e. as “a cult facility within a citadel that embraces the religious traditions of the wider territory.”

¹⁰⁶² Cf. D’Agata (1996) 41-45 for discussion on the technique, type and decoration of the ‘Lord of Asine’ and its similarities to composite figures from Crete and Cyprus.

¹⁰⁶³ D’ Agata (1996) 46

¹⁰⁶⁴ D’ Agata (1996) 46

room. As Hägg noted back in 1981, the issue of this building's primarily cult or domestic function still remains open.¹⁰⁶⁵

SM period

Settlement remains

VI.6 Lower Town

It should be noted first that SM pottery has been found in the Lower Town. There are vases illustrated in the old excavations' publication, which could be dated to this period.¹⁰⁶⁶ In addition, SM sherds have been spotted in the storerooms of the University of Uppsala, and in particular among material coming from the upper, lime floor of Room XXXII in House G as well as from Houses H and I. It has been therefore suggested that these buildings were continuously inhabited from LHIIC-middle/late to the SM period.¹⁰⁶⁷ This conclusion seems to be, however, too tentative on the basis of the available evidence, as discussed in chapter I (cf. 6.2.1, p.58-9).

VI. 7 Karmaniola sector

The reconstruction of habitation in this sector has not been an easy task, because of complex stratigraphical problems and "the fact that the area initially was not satisfactorily excavated [...] due to various factors, especially to the character of the excavation, which started as a salvage operation".¹⁰⁶⁸ Thus, it was first considered impossible to separate LHIIC and SM material.¹⁰⁶⁹ However, after an analysis of the pottery in combination with the study of the excavation strata, it was possible to distinguish a SM habitation layer in the northern and central parts of the Main Area of the excavation, while it might have initially extended to the southern part as well. Building 70Q-T, as well as the wall 2C with the associated hearths 2D in the East Area of the excavation have been shown to continue being

¹⁰⁶⁵ Hägg (1981b) 94: "It is still an open question, whether this is a private house with a small domestic altar or a complex of primarily religious function."

¹⁰⁶⁶ Frödin and Persson (1938) fig. 207:7, 216:4, 220:4

Hägg (1974) 51

¹⁰⁶⁷ Sjöberg (2004) 33, 36, 37

¹⁰⁶⁸ Frizell (1986) 85

¹⁰⁶⁹ Dietz (1982) 59

in use into this period. Two other socles (70DA and IR) in the Main Area have also been dated to this period (figs.VI.7-8).¹⁰⁷⁰

PG period

Settlement remains

VI.8 Lower Town

In the Lower Town, PG pottery was noticed already since the time of the old excavations, and a couple of PG pots were illustrated in the publication.¹⁰⁷¹ They have not been considered, however, as certain indications of PG habitation in the area; they could also

be interpreted as offerings coming from destroyed burials, since there were also PG tombs on the terraces of the Lower Town (fig.VI.13).¹⁰⁷²

Nevertheless, more PG pottery has been spotted in the storerooms of the University of Uppsala and in particular in the assemblages from the lime floor of Room XXXII in House G as well as Houses H and I. Hence, it has been

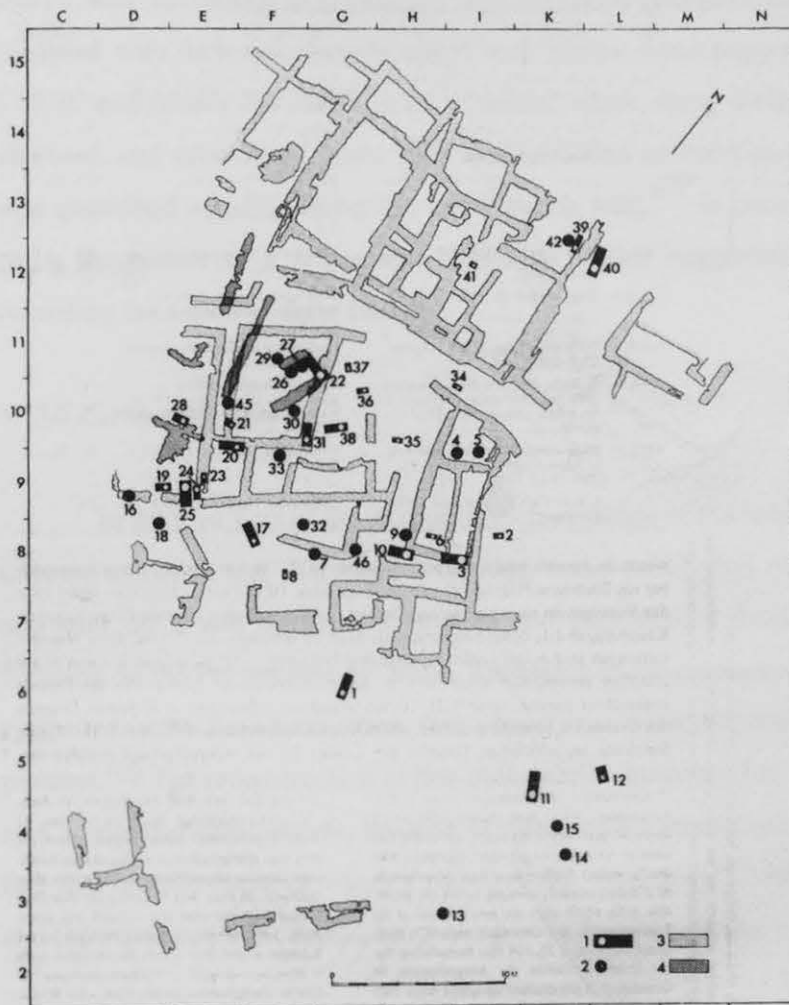


Fig. VI.13
Plan of the PG
tombs among the
ruins of the Lower
Town
1. Cists or pits with
the head position
pointed out by a
circle
2. Burials with
unknown orientation
3. Mycenaean walls
4. Geometric walls

¹⁰⁷⁰ Frizell (1986) 12-15
¹⁰⁷¹ Frödin and Persson (1938) 313, fig. 216, n.3, 5
¹⁰⁷² Hägg (1974) 53

suggested that these buildings were still in use in the PG period.¹⁰⁷³ This suggestion is indeed very interesting, but as already noted with regard to respective SM material, not entirely convincing.

VI.9 *Levendis sector*

Plentiful PG pottery and certain constructions have been revealed in the west extension of the main trench dug in this area. One construction of uncertain function was described as “pieces of limestone in one or two layers in a roughly built wall-like construction”, bordering a bothros to the North. To the South, there was a layer of soft, very fine-textured, sooty, dark-grey soil, while in addition to pottery (-not only PG, but also of MH, LH, and G periods), shells, animal bones, pieces of mud-brick and some pieces of clay stucco were also found in association with the above structure. The bothros was an irregular pit filled with dark soil, densely mixed with stones, some exposed to fire, as well as some LHIIC and mainly PG sherds, a lot of animal bones, some shells, pieces of mud-brick and charcoal, and other small finds, such as a terracotta animal figurine. Finally, a pithos base was unearthed standing along the south trench wall.¹⁰⁷⁴ In general, this kind of evidence gives the picture of a refuse area, while no further suggestions have been put forward regarding the nature of these finds.

VI.10 *Karmaniola area*

In the area East of the Acropolis, rich evidence of PG habitation has been found. The relevant evidence was first presented in the initial publication of the excavations by Dietz, and later on it was furthermore studied and presented in details in the final publication focusing on the PG remains by Wells. According to the reconstruction of habitation that was suggested in the final publication, four phases have been discerned in the PG archaeological remains.¹⁰⁷⁵ The reconstruction of this phase-series, however, has unfortunately not come out of a straightforward process, because of the complex stratigraphy of the site as well as the fact that initially the area was not satisfactorily excavated.¹⁰⁷⁶ As a result, the methodology and the results of this process have come to be questioned. As it has been pointed out, “the

¹⁰⁷³ Sjöberg (2004) 33, 36, 37

¹⁰⁷⁴ Hägg-Nordquist (1992) 65-66

¹⁰⁷⁵ Cf. Dietz (1982) 41-51 for the initial publication of PG evidence and Wells (1983) 25-32 for the final publication’

¹⁰⁷⁶ Wells (1983) 19-25

site was not dug stratigraphically and [Wells's] attempt to reconstruct the stratigraphy has little basis."¹⁰⁷⁷ Another factor that increases the doubts regarding the reconstruction of the stratigraphy by Wells is the divergence of opinions between the initial and the final publication. Among many points of divergence regarding stratigraphical details, the most unsettling and confusing is the disagreement on the actual dating of the succeeding phases and structures. While Dietz followed the traditional dating to SM, Early, Middle and Late PG periods, Wells introduced a four-phased scheme (Asine PG phases 1-4) and preferred to avoid completely the term SM, arguing that the PG period at Asine started right after the end of the Late Mycenaean period.¹⁰⁷⁸ This conclusion of hers, however, has come under scrutiny.¹⁰⁷⁹ Here an attempt will be made to correlate her phase-series to the traditional EIA phases.

In the first phase, which should probably be dated to the transitional SM/EPG period, the rectangular building (70 Q-T), which was erected in the end of LHIIC-late, continued to be inhabited.¹⁰⁸⁰ A shallow pit (IP) to the North-west of the building was probably used as a watering hole for animals or for preparing clays used in pottery/mud-brick production or even for roasting meat (fig.VI.7). When it stopped being used, it was filled with refuse.¹⁰⁸¹ In the northernmost part of the Main Area (trench 12), a pithos containing pottery and bones of animals might have been used in relation to religious activities such as sacrifices and ritual meals (fig.VI.14a-b).¹⁰⁸² It should be noted here,

¹⁰⁷⁷ Lemos (2002) 5-6

¹⁰⁷⁸ One of her main arguments for this is that the first Attic PG elements appear in Asinean PG pottery towards the end of Phase 1, while Argive influence appears for the first time in an Attic SM/PG context, therefore "PG seems to have been well on its way at Asine, and in the Argolid, while Athens was nearing the end of SM" – cf. Wells (1983) 123-124.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Langdon (1985) 532 has pointed out that this line of argumentation is based on the "supposition that a borrowed style or decoration reflects usage contemporaneous with that of the model", while it could simply be the case that the potters at Asine adopted the Attic features later than when they appeared in Athens. Coldstream (1985) 235 too appears to be in favour of an "at least contemporary PG development in the two regions" on the basis of certain pottery correlations that he has pointed out.

Cf. also Lemos (2002) 6: "...that the PG style appears earlier at Asine than in other regions and particularly in Athens has no real foundation."

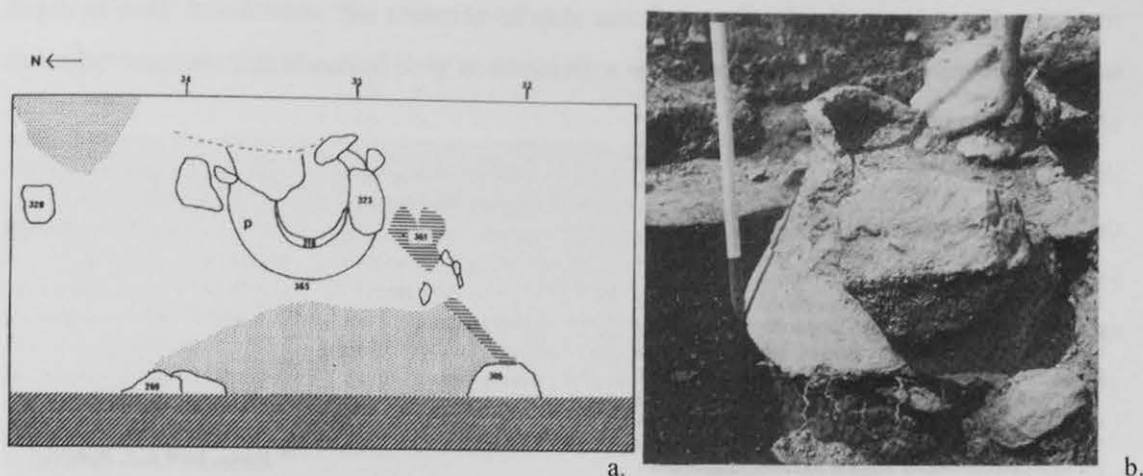
¹⁰⁸⁰ Dietz (1982) 61-62 clearly referred to SM material mixed in the layers that are assigned by Wells to PG Phase 1, and he thereby dated building 70Q-T to the transitional SM/EPG period.

¹⁰⁸¹ Dietz hesitates to give a precise dating to pit IP, which he describes as containing mixed material and which he cannot therefore consider as a chronologically pure context – cf. Dietz (1982) 59-60. Wells disagrees with Dietz about the mixed character of the material. She states: "even though some of the sherds from pit IP may have been manufactured prior to PG, there can be no question of a significant time difference. [...] Rather it consists of a homogeneous group of pottery datable to the very beginning of Asine phase 1 by the distinct PG features in combination with clearly somewhat earlier traits." – Wells (1983) 26

¹⁰⁸² Wells (1983) 34

however, that the dating of the pithos fill to PG phase 1 has been questioned, since the pithos “lacked bottom and lid and had G sherds in the fill around it”.¹⁰⁸³

Fig. VI.14
Plan and
photograph of
the pithos
found in
trench 12 of
the Main
Area East of
the Acropolis



In the second phase, a rectangular or oval – according to another interpretation¹⁰⁸⁴ – building (71I-IJ) seems to have replaced the previous building 70Q-T, but its exact date of construction cannot be determined (fig. VI.15).¹⁰⁸⁵ It was probably in use since EPG and into the MPG period.¹⁰⁸⁶ Further to the North, an enclosure (IO) was probably used as a well (fig. VI.15). According to Wells, it was in use since the first phase, while Dietz dated it to the LPG period, when Building 71I-IJ was no longer in use, and after its north end had been demolished.¹⁰⁸⁷

In phase 3, an apsidal building (74L) was built to the South of the second rectangular building (71I-IJ), with its apse overlying the latter’s south-west corner (fig. VI.15). It was built on a raised stone socle with internal supports to carry the pitched roof. Soon after, a second apsidal building (74N-IM) supposedly succeeded it. The foundation socle of the second building runs parallel to and along the inner side of the first socle (74L).¹⁰⁸⁸ A third interpretation has been put forward by Mazarakis Ainian, who suggested that the two parallel

¹⁰⁸³ Langdon (1985) 533: the pithos also contained a very controversial sherd from a Laconian trefoil oinochoe, whose closest parallel from Sparta has been described by Desborough as “a rather bad imitation of the very late Attic PG type with zigzag around the belly” (-cf. Desborough (1952) 289). This is of course contrary to Wells’s dating of the pithos fill to PG phase 1 and to her subsequent conclusion that the Laconian PG pottery should be updated early in the 11th century BC. If, on the other hand, it were accepted that the pithos fill was not a closed deposit, then the unsettling occurrence of this sherd in it would be more convincingly interpreted.

¹⁰⁸⁴ It has been suggested that because of its rounded corners and slightly convex short sides it should be “ranked among other contemporary oval buildings” – cf. Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 98.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Wells (1983) 30

¹⁰⁸⁶ Dietz (1982) 50

¹⁰⁸⁷ Dietz (1982) 50

Wells (1983) 28

¹⁰⁸⁸ Dietz (1982) 43-45, 51: superstructure built in wattle-and-daub

Wells (1986) 88-89: mud-brick structure

socles do not represent two different apsidal buildings, but only one with a bench set along the inner face of the wall. He was led to this reconstruction by “the exact alignment and depth of both foundations, the presence of only one floor, plus the fact that mudbrick from the superstructure was observed only in association with the outer foundation”, as well as the

fact “that while the outer wall presents two faces, the inner one seems to present only one.”¹⁰⁸⁹

A jug of the early 10th cent. BC was found under the outer socle.¹⁰⁹⁰ It has been suggested that it was built intentionally into the foundation of the building after being used for a libation ceremony when the foundations were laid. This could probably indicate that the building had some special significance – perhaps that of

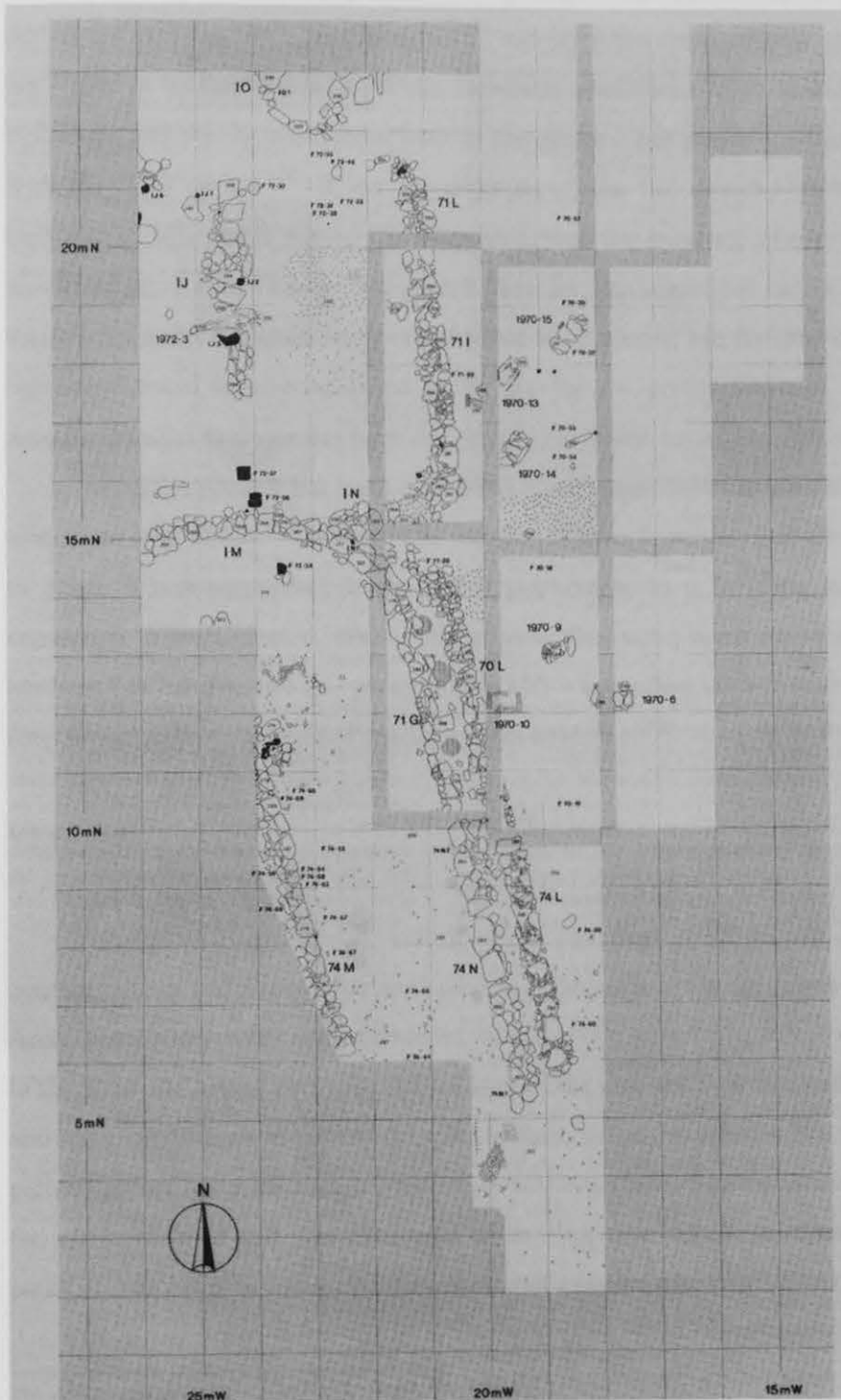


Fig. VI.15
Building 711-
IJ to the
North and the
apsidal
building/s to
the South in
the Main
Area to the
East of the
Acropolis

¹⁰⁸⁹ Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 69

¹⁰⁹⁰ Dietz (1982) 49, fig.48: F71-28

the chieftain's dwelling.¹⁰⁹¹ The inhabitants of this building probably installed and used the hearth that was found South of the east walls of the apsidal complex, in trench 20/2.

According to Dietz, who supported the idea that the two socles represented two successive buildings, the later building should date to LPG on the basis of the material found in level 6a, which is considered to be its floor, while the earlier building should date to the period before LPG and after the early 10th century – the *terminus post quem* provided by the jug found in its foundation.¹⁰⁹² Wells, however, considered level 6a to be the floor of both buildings, and she included them both in one phase – her phase 3, which roughly coincides with the LPG period.¹⁰⁹³ If, on the other hand, the two parallel socles belonged to one building, as Mazarakis Ainian has suggested, then the presence of one floor dating to LPG would be more convincingly interpreted. Besides, the somewhat earlier date of the jug that was buried under the outer socle might relate to its special use for libations, meaning that its 'ancestry' could have contributed to its use for the performance of a foundation ritual. Another parallel example has been documented at Asine, as will be discussed soon.

Finally, phase 4 has been defined as a settlement layer, to which wall 74M should be associated (fig.VI.15).¹⁰⁹⁴ It should be mentioned here, however, that the layer corresponding to phase 4 was interpreted in the initial publication as a levelling layer, upon which G constructions were erected. Wall 74M, in particular, was placed chronologically somewhere between LPG and early LG – preferably in MG – according to LPG finds recovered under its foundation and on the basis of stratigraphical evidence.¹⁰⁹⁵

VI.11 Cult

As already mentioned, cult function has been attributed to the pithos found to contain pottery and bones of several species of animals in the northernmost part of the Main Area. The pottery was characterized as "suspiciously unworn as if it had been little exposed to the wear and tear of everyday use". Many of the pots were broken and not fully restorable, and in general there were many drinking vessels, among which the foot of a skyphoid krater, pierced probably for libation. Moreover, bones came from the area around the pithos too, and fat, charcoal-filled soil was excavated to its West and North, bordered to the South by a patch of unburnt clay and a 10-20cm high wall of burnt clay (fig.VI.14a). Sourvinou-Inwood

¹⁰⁹¹ Wells (1988) 265

¹⁰⁹² Dietz (1982) 49

¹⁰⁹³ Wells (1983) 31, 88-90

¹⁰⁹⁴ Wells (1983) 102

¹⁰⁹⁵ Dietz (1982) 41-43

suggests that the burnt clay wall could be “the lining of a sacrificial area burnt during the cult practices”.¹⁰⁹⁶ Kernoi and kalathoi that were found in trenches 11 and 12 were also considered to relate to the assemblage of the pithos. On the basis of this kind of evidence, it was suggested that certain religious activities such as sacrifices were taking place in the vicinity of the pithos, maybe followed by sacrificial meals, while the pithos probably received what was discarded after the accomplishment of religious activities – “bones of the sacrificial animals and pottery already broken or possibly smashed at the time of discarding”. There might have also been some sort of a permanent construction in this area, as many burnt clay fragments from the contemporary layer in trenches 11 and 12 testify – provided that they were not remains of earlier habitation.¹⁰⁹⁷ The exact dating of the pithos is problematic. Wells dated it to her PG phase 1, but it has been pointed out that the pithos was not a closed deposit, while G sherds were also found in the fill around it.¹⁰⁹⁸ According to Mazarakis Ainian, “it cannot be excluded that at some point, the apsidal building and the cult area were simultaneously in use”.¹⁰⁹⁹

Burials

VI.12 Chamber tombs

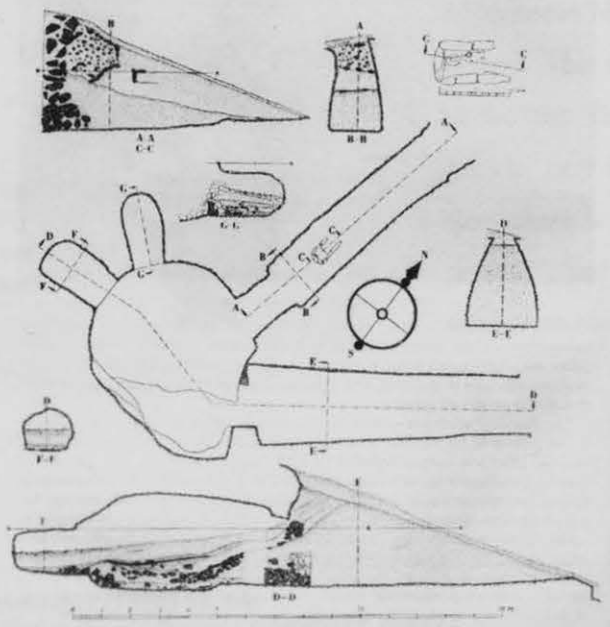


Fig.VI.16
Plan and
sections of
chamber tomb
I:1

It should be noted first that chamber tomb I:1 was possibly still in use in the EIA (fig.VI.16). The relevant evidence consists of one SM stirrup-jar and two PG vases that were published among the finds coming from this tomb. Regarding the SM vase (fig.VI.17a), it probably accompanied a burial that took place in the chamber. Mountjoy, however, believes that it must have come from a cist tomb in the north dromos of the tomb.¹¹⁰⁰ According to the

¹⁰⁹⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood (1993) 7

¹⁰⁹⁷ Wells (1983) 34

¹⁰⁹⁸ Langdon (1985) 533

¹⁰⁹⁹ Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 70

¹¹⁰⁰ Frödin and Persson (1938) fig. 234.17 and 363, where by mistake the SM stirrup jar was labelled as no.15 (-instead of n.17, as it was labelled in the catalogue of finds).

publication, however, this tomb in the dromos contained – along with skeletal remains, a bronze ring and a stone button – a jug of “coarse, brownish clay, blackened by fire”,¹¹⁰¹ which was identified by Hägg with a handmade vase in the Museum of Nauplion, similar to the ones found in the PG cist tombs of the Lower Town. Hägg therefore dated the cist to the PG period.¹¹⁰²

Another PG vase (fig.VI.17b) that was published among the finds coming from the chamber of Tomb I:1, and an iron ring catalogued among the miscellaneous finds, most probably testify to the use of the chamber in PG times as well, while another skeleton found near the door of the southern dromos might have too been buried there in that phase of re-use.¹¹⁰³ Mountjoy suggests that the PG vase found in the tomb actually goes with this last burial, which was found “across the door into the chamber at a height of 1.4m above the dromos floor”.¹¹⁰⁴ It is possible that the PG skyphos ended up in the chamber when the roof and the blocking of the entrance collapsed inwards and dragged along the body of this burial.

It cannot be ruled out, however, that the skyphos might have belonged to a PG burial that took place inside the chamber, while the burial across the door into the chamber took place even later.

Another burial in chamber tomb 1 in Mycenaean Necropolis II might also belong to the PG period. The skeleton was found at a height of 1m above the floor, with “an almost round iron belt buckle” near the waist.¹¹⁰⁵ Sjöberg, however, believes, that “there is nothing to indicate that this is not a LH deposit”, and this is therefore one of the rare cases when iron objects appear in LBA context.¹¹⁰⁶

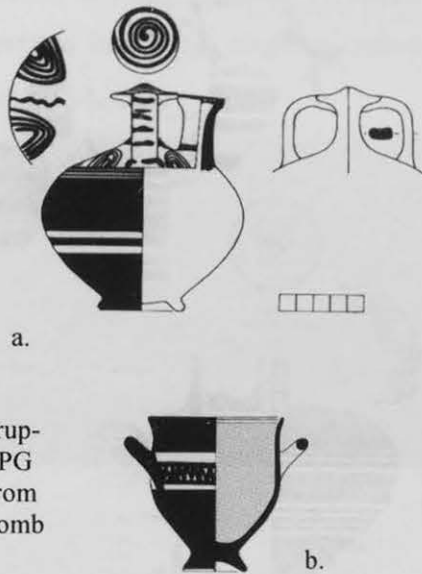


Fig.VI.17
a. SM stirrup-
jar and b. PG
skyphos from
chamber tomb
I:1

Mountjoy (1996) 62, 64

¹¹⁰¹ Frödin and Persson (1938) 158 and 355

¹¹⁰² Hägg (1974) 49-51, n.140: the vase has the catalogue number 3811, 4734

¹¹⁰³ Frödin and Persson (1938) 367, no 35, fig. 237, and 373

Hägg (1974) 49, n. 138

Antonaccio (1995) 24

¹¹⁰⁴ Mountjoy (1996) 48 and 64

¹¹⁰⁵ Frödin and Persson (1938) 193-194

Hägg (1974) 51

¹¹⁰⁶ Sjöberg (2004) 104

VI.13 Burials in the Lower Town

The most popular custom of the PG population of Asine was the single burial in a cist or pit dug among the Mycenaean ruins of the Lower Town (fig.VI.13). Forty-six tombs have been found (forty-four on terraces IV-VI and two on terrace II), eight of which were simple earth-cut tombs. The rest were cists. Most of them did not contain any burial gifts and have been dated on a layer basis.¹¹⁰⁷ Hägg believes that the thirty-four tombs that lie very close together on terraces IV-VI must have belonged to an organized necropolis, dating mainly to the LPG period.¹¹⁰⁸

What is rather exceptional and should be pointed out is the discovery of three tomb-altars among the tombs. One of them, a large flat stone beside a thick layer of ashes, was related by Hägg to the group of four neighbouring cists (22, 26, 27 and 29) with the same orientation.¹¹⁰⁹ The two other tomb-altars were found in relation to another group of three cist tombs (n.23, 24, 25 – cf. fig.VI.18a-b): the burial space of a family, two adults and a child, as Hägg suggests.¹¹¹⁰ These altars consisted of slabs set within stone enclosures. A related find was a staghorn embedded in a layer of ashes, possibly resulting from a burial sacrifice.¹¹¹¹



Fig.VI.18
The two
tomb-altars
found in
relation to
tombs 23-25
in the Lower
Town

¹¹⁰⁷ Frödin and Persson (1938) 129-139

Decorated PG pottery was found in five tombs, two iron pins with bronze bulbs in two others, and only handmade pottery, possibly of PG date, in three tombs. There is also reference in the initial publication to more pins of iron and bronze, bronze finger-rings and an iron knife. Hägg has noted the case of one bronze ring with tremolo decoration that should date to the G period. therefore it cannot be excluded that some of the tombs might be of earlier or later date.

¹¹⁰⁸ Hägg (1974) 52, n.147: Decorated PG pottery was found in five tombs, two iron pins with bronze bulbs in two others, and only handmade pottery, possibly of PG date, in three tombs. There is also reference in the initial publication to more pins of iron and bronze, bronze finger-rings and an iron knife, whose exact date remains unknown. Hägg has noted the case of one bronze ring with tremolo decoration that should date to the G period. Therefore it cannot be excluded that some of the tombs might be of earlier or later date. Cf. Westholm (1938) 425.

¹¹⁰⁹ Tomb 29 did not contain any skeletal remains. It was either a cenotaph, as the excavators supposed, or contained the burial of an infant or a small child, whose bones have completely decomposed.

¹¹¹⁰ Hägg (1974) 51-52

¹¹¹¹ Frödin and Persson (1938) 133-135

VI.14 Burials in the Levendis sector

At least two or probably three PG tombs were excavated in the Levendis sector. Only one of them, the cist tomb of an infant, contained two vases, one wheel-made and the other hand-made.¹¹¹²

VI.15 Burials in the Karmaniola area

In the area to the East of the acropolis, five children tombs lay very close to the buildings (fig.VI.19). Four of them have been classified as cists, while one (1970-10) was a pit built of mudbricks. In the first publication that came out regarding these tombs, they were divided into two groups and dated on the basis of burial offerings. After the excavations in the area had been completed, however, Wells revised her previous statements and re-dated the tombs on the basis of her stratigraphical reconstruction.¹¹¹³

Because of the problems relating to this reconstruction, however, as discussed earlier, it would probably be preferable to preserve the initial dating of the tombs.

Thus, the earlier, south group (1970-6, 1970-9, and 1970-10) mainly dates to MPG period, while one of the tombs that belonged to it (1970-6) was dated earlier than the other two, i.e. to the EPG period. The two other tombs that belonged to the north, later group, i.e. 1970-14 and

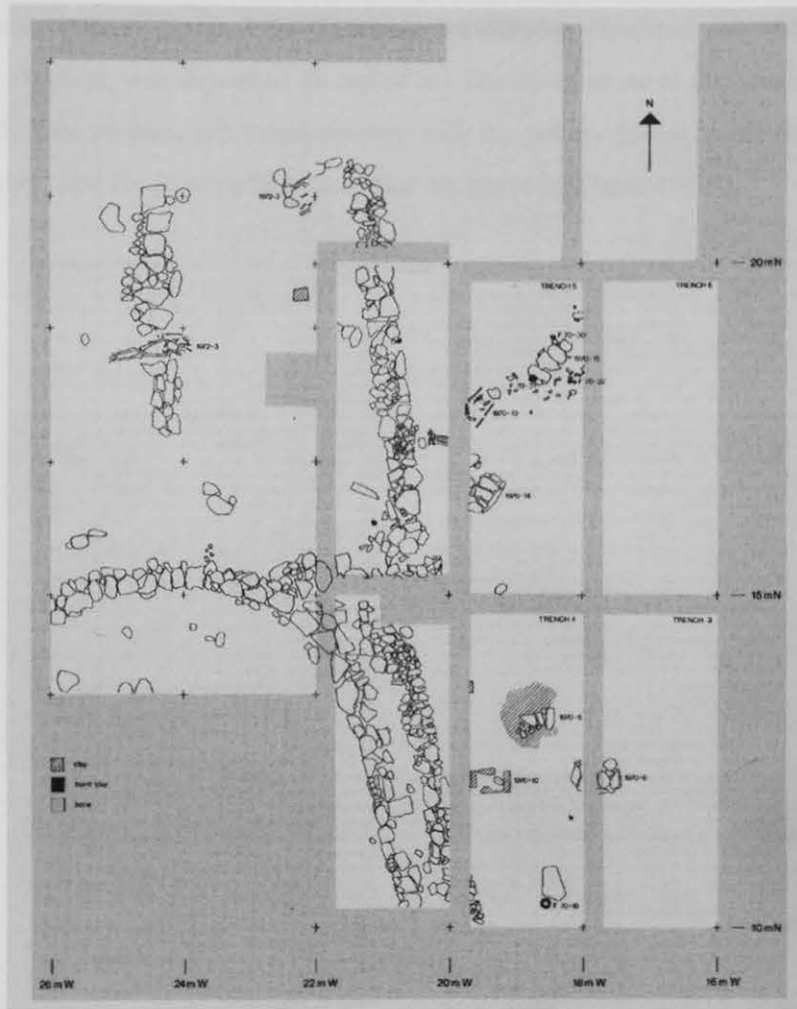


Fig.VI.19 Tombs found next to the PG buildings in the Main Area East of the Acropolis

¹¹¹² Hägg (1973) 38-39, 72-74, 79-80

¹¹¹³ Wells (1983) 30-31

1970-15, date to late MPG and LPG period respectively.¹¹¹⁴ Two miniature vessels found in a perfect state of preservation with scattered human bones very close to tomb 1970-15 might actually come from another disturbed tomb, which due to its location should have been dug after building 70Q-T had gone out of use and before the construction of tomb 1970-15, i.e. in E/MPG.¹¹¹⁵ Finally, three adult burials in pit tombs (1970-13, 1972-2 and 1972-3) were also found in this area, but since they were not accompanied by any offerings, it is rather difficult to decide whether they should be dated to the PG or G period.¹¹¹⁶

It should be pointed out that very interesting burial practices have been attested in this area. In a distance of 1.65m to the South of the south group of tombs, a wheel-made coarse-ware jug was discovered. It seems that the jug, which probably dated to the LH period and had a circular hole in its base made after firing, was originally used as a cooking vessel and later adapted to funerary purposes, apparently serving for pouring libations. Another vase, an almost complete skyphos, was deposited on top of the flat cover stone at the southwest end of tomb 1970-15. This skyphos was contemporary with the pottery found inside the tomb and was most probably used for pouring libations after the grave had been closed.¹¹¹⁷

¹¹¹⁴ Wells (1976) 9-16, 26-31

¹¹¹⁵ Wells (1983) 30-31

¹¹¹⁶ Wells initially published them as PG tombs – cf. Wells (1976) 20, 30 – but she did not include them in the final publication of the PG evidence from the area to the East of the acropolis. Dietz included them in his list of all tombs from the area as either PG or G – cf. Dietz (1982) 85.

¹¹¹⁷ Wells (1976) 24-25

Appendix VII: Elateia-Alonaki

VII.1 Introduction

In total, eighty-five tombs of LBA and EIA date have been systematically excavated at Alonaki. Most of them were chamber tombs of regular size, while there were also ten chamber tombs of much smaller dimensions, three pits and five trenches/ditches without dromoi dating to the period from LHIIIC-late to PG.¹¹¹⁸ The regular-sized chamber tombs were of the usual Mycenaean type, with the typical form of dromos, entrance and chamber.¹¹¹⁹ The tombs are organized in rows, following a more or less North-South orientation, with the dromos to the South, as dictated by the ground morphology.¹¹²⁰ The cemetery remained in use for a long period of time, from LHIIIA to the end of the 9th century BC.

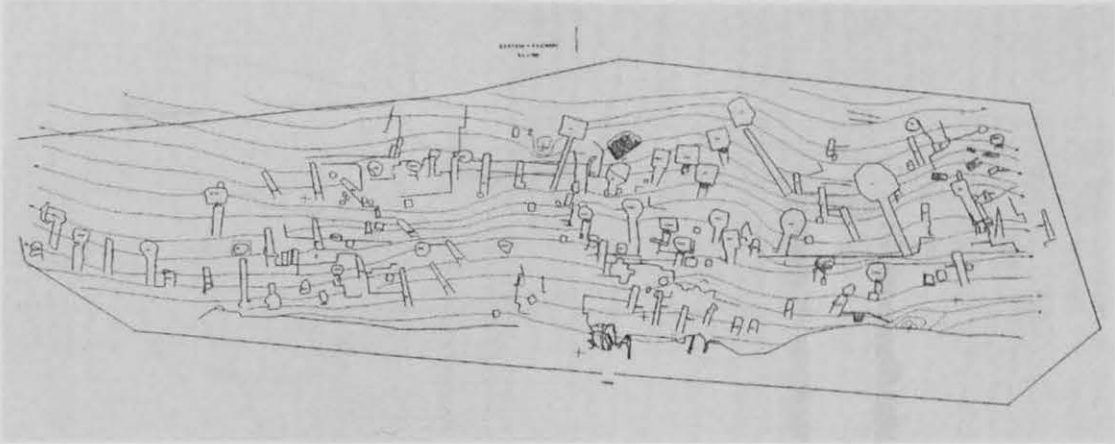


Fig.VII.1
Plan of the
cemetery of
Elateia

The first tombs were constructed in the LHIIIA1 period,¹¹²¹ and their number increased in the next phases of LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB-early. Around thirty tombs appear to have been in use in the course of the 13th century BC.¹¹²² The excavators of the cemetery believe that the construction of the first chamber tombs might relate to the foundation of the

¹¹¹⁸ Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1996) x
Dakoronia, Deger-Jalkotzy and Fabrizii-Reuer (2000-2001) 137
Dimaki (2003) 322

It should be stressed that the cemetery has not been exhaustively excavated. Two more tombs were recovered recently, for example, due to looting – cf. Dakoronia and Dimaki (1999) 368-369. The burials were preserved under the fallen roof in one of them; they date from LHIIIC-middle to the SM period.

¹¹¹⁹ Dakoronia (1988) 229; (2004b) 185
Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1996) xi
Dimaki (2003) 322-323

¹¹²⁰ Dakoronia (1985) 171; Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1989) 175-176

Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1996) xi

¹¹²¹ Bächle (2000) 191

¹¹²² Deger-Jalkotzy (2004) 187

palaces of Thebes and Orchomenos in neighbouring Boeotia and to their cultural radiation. Although they exclude the possibility of a palace in the area of Elateia, they think that the Mycenaean palatial culture still had a strong effect on the community living there. As a result, some of the prosperous families of the Mycenaean society of Elateia appear to have followed the fashion of their contemporary ‘upper class’, as indicated by the size and careful architectural layout of the biggest and richest tombs (fig.VII.2), which also happen to be among the earliest built tombs of the cemetery, as well as by the finds.¹¹²³ The occurrence of soft-stone seals in the tombs, especially in combination with hard-stone seals (a hundred and twenty-one in total number)¹¹²⁴, is also thought to point to some special relationship with a palatial centre – whether this is interpreted as evidence for administrative control on behalf of the palace or simply as an attempt on behalf of the local elite to imitate “the representational forms of the Mycenaean centres”.¹¹²⁵

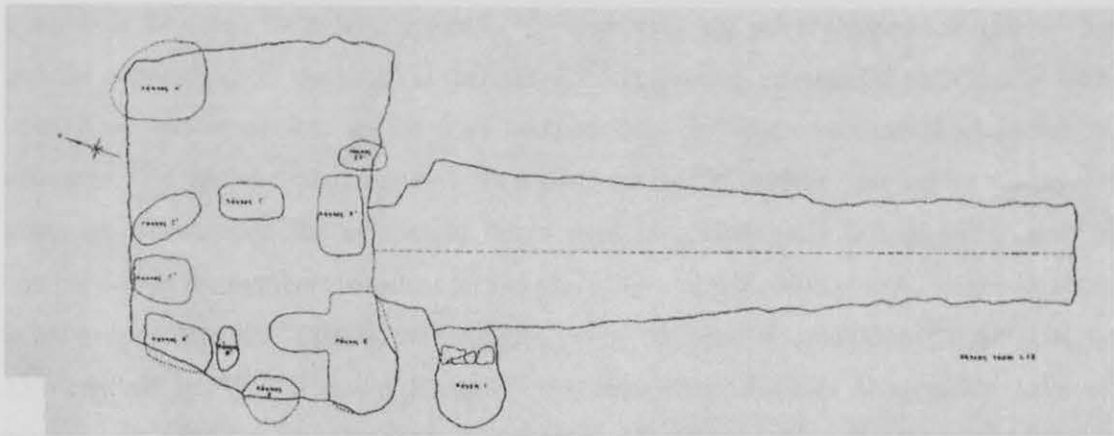


Fig.VII.2
Plan of
chamber tomb
T. LXII

¹¹²³ Deger-Jalkotzy and Dakoronia (1992) 68-70

Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1996) xi

Tomb LXII, for example, which is one of the two biggest and richest tombs of the cemetery, was apparently continuously used since LHIIIA1 until the early SM period – cf. Dakoronia, Deger-Jalkotzy and Fabrizii-Reuer (2000-2001) 142. The other big tomb of the cemetery was T.VI (6m dm, 9m length of dromos), in use until into the SM period - cf. Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1996) xiii. These two contained the richest offerings of the cemetery, including a golden seal ring, bukranon-shaped golden beads, many bronze weapons, boar-tusk helmets, golden pendants, engraved steatite, crystal, glass, amber and corneal beads – Dimaki (2003) 324. Ninety-seven and one hundred and twenty-eight burials were found in T.VI and T.LXII respectively – Dimaki (2003) 325.

Cf. also Deger-Jalkotzy (2004) 187 for LHIIIA and LHIIB pottery.

¹¹²⁴ Pini (1996) xxi-xxv

¹¹²⁵ Eder (forthcoming b)

Dickers (2001) 109-120

LHIIC evidence

A decrease in the number of tombs in LHIIC-early and -developed has been reported – only eleven or twelve tombs have produced pottery of such dating – while in the time-period from LHIIC-middle/advanced to SM, many new tombs were cut and many of the old ones re-used. “Until the EPG period the majority of the ninety-one tombs excavated so far were in use”.¹¹²⁶

VII.2 *LHIIC-early*

As it is easily explained by the longevity of the cemetery, most of the LHIIC-early remains were found in secondary contexts, after being relocated in pits or pushed aside at the edges of the chambers on the occasion of later burials, and thus, the LHIIC-early offerings could only be dated on stylistic grounds.¹¹²⁷ Fortunately, the pottery appears to follow ‘the general conventions of the time’ in that phase.¹¹²⁸ In general, not many LHIIC-early finds have been recovered due to the later re-deposition and even occasional clearance of offerings.¹¹²⁹ Even allowing, however, for a potential loss of evidence caused by the several kinds of disturbances, the number of tombs used in LHIIC-early is still quite small in comparison to the numbers recorded for the preceding and following phases. Deger-Jalkotzy is led to speculate that “Elateia, too, was affected by the general turbulence at the end of the 13th century BC”.¹¹³⁰ It could be speculated that some families temporarily or even permanently left Elateia at that time. However, “in the absence of settlement evidence” it is difficult to reconstruct with certainty the potential impact of the palatial collapse on LHIIC-early Elateia.¹¹³¹

VII.3 *LHIIC-middle*

The number of tombs in use increased in LHIIC-middle/advanced, as it was mentioned earlier, but their exact number cannot be estimated on the current state of evidence. In addition, finds in LHIIC-middle contexts point to the beginning of a flourishing

¹¹²⁶ Deger-Jalkotzy (2004) 187

¹¹²⁷ Bächle (2000) 191

¹¹²⁸ Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 195; in Deger-Jalkotzy (2004) 187 it is noted that “stylistically the local LHIIB tradition was continued in LHIIC-early, but influences from Perati, Euboea, Thessaly and Skyros make themselves felt”.

¹¹²⁹ Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) 79

¹¹³⁰ Deger-Jalkotzy (2004) 187

¹¹³¹ Deger-Jalkotzy (2004) 187

period. It has been stated: “by LHIIC-middle, the Mycenaean pottery production at Elateia reached its pinnacle of achievement, thereby reflecting the general prosperity of the community during that period. Imported vases attest to a first-hand knowledge of foreign pottery styles, like, e.g. of the Argolid, of Achaea (fig.VII.3a) and of Crete (possibly fig.VII.3b). However, the classification and stylistic dating of the Elateian pottery finds of LHIIC-middle and –late is often rendered difficult by a progressive tendency towards an idiosyncratic development.”¹¹³² Contacts are also reconstructed with Thessaly, Attica and the Cyclades on the basis of pottery imports and other finds.¹¹³³ Other goods of ‘exotic’ origin found in the tombs, such as amber, also point to contacts with areas of the Adriatic.¹¹³⁴

Fig. VII.3
Imported
LHIIC-
middle
pottery
from
Elateia



Another point that should be underlined here is that the LHIIC-middle pottery of Elateia is closer stylistically to the LHIIC-advanced phase of the Argolid than to its LHIIC-developed phase.¹¹³⁵ This

seems to be a significant observation, and it might actually signify that the community of Elateia did not start overcoming its LHIIC-early declining phase (-if it could be described as such) until late in LHIIC-middle, at which point it also caught up with the developments of pottery in other areas of the Greek Mainland. More detailed reports on pottery are required, however, in order to fully appreciate the significance of this observation. Besides pottery, there are many other kinds of finds re-deposited in the pits of the chambers and the dromoi that could be dated to LHIIC-middle on the basis of their context, such as jewellery made of glass, fayence, semi-precious stones or gold, and bronzes (fibulae, rings, and tools).¹¹³⁶

¹¹³² Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 195

¹¹³³ Deger-Jalkotzy (2004) 187-188

¹¹³⁴ Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) 81

Cf. Eder (2003) 47, n.83 for amber found in LHIIC contexts in the tombs of Elateia.

¹¹³⁵ Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) 80-81 and fn.10

¹¹³⁶ Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) 80

The flourishing period that started at Elateia in LHIIC-middle appears to continue in LHIIC-late too. More new tombs were constructed in this phase.¹¹³⁷ Additionally, the earliest burials that have been found *in situ* in the cemetery of Elateia date to this period.¹¹³⁸ Not surprisingly, however, these are not many, since most of the tombs used in LHIIC-late continued to receive burials in the SM period too, and as a result most of the burial remains were re-deposited either in pits or at the edges of the chambers. As a result of the context conditions, the bulk of LHIIC-late offerings should rather be dated by stylistic criteria than on the basis of stratigraphical observations. As it was observed with regard to LHIIC-middle pottery too, however, this is not an easy task, because of “a surprisingly tenacious adherence to the earlier traditions” by the potters of Elateia.¹¹³⁹ Nevertheless, contemporary pottery developments in other areas also reached Elateia, as indicated by the fragments of white-ware kraters decorated with spirals, which find good parallels at Lefkandi.¹¹⁴⁰

As for other kinds of offerings, apart from pottery, a rich accumulation of bronzes – rings, pins, fibulae, tweezers, knives etc – is recorded for this phase too.¹¹⁴¹ These offerings show connections with the areas of the so-called “*koine metallurgica*”, i.e. the wider region of Middle Europe, North-west Balkans and Italy, throughout which certain types of metals commonly appeared since the 13th century BC.¹¹⁴²

Special mention should be made of the steatite pendants. Two such pendants have

been dated from their context to

LHIIC-

middle/advanced (e.g. fig.VII.4a),

while five others should most probably date to

LHIIC-late (e.g.

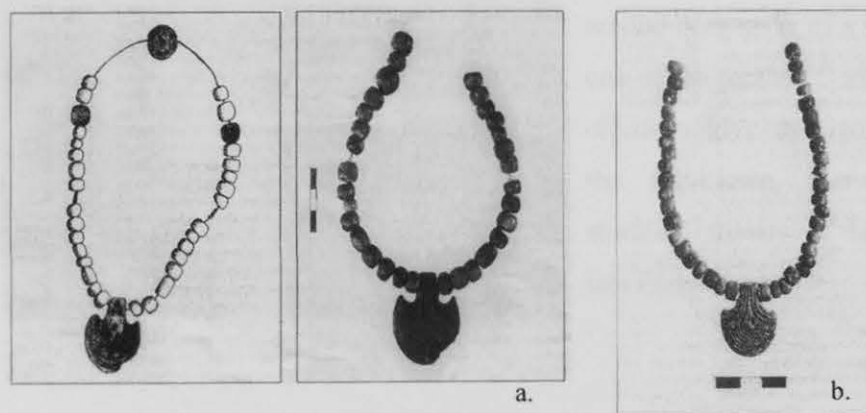


Fig. VII.4
Steatite
necklaces
a. from T.LXII
(drawing and
photo)
b. from T.XC
(photo)

¹¹³⁷ E.g. T.II and XXXVII – cf. Dimaki (1999) 203 and Dakoronia, Deger-Jalkotzy and Fabrizio-Reuer (2000-2001) 138 respectively.

¹¹³⁸ Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 195

Bächle (2000) 191

¹¹³⁹ Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 195

¹¹⁴⁰ Bächle (1996) 16

¹¹⁴¹ Dakoronia (2004b) 185-186

¹¹⁴² Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (2002) 56-57, esp. n. 57 for *koine metallurgica* and 63 for the bronzes of Elateia.

fig.VII.4b).¹¹⁴³ Their technique indicates that they were all made in the same workshop/s and shows relations to the techniques of seal-stone engraving. It has been suggested that both seals and steatite pendants might have been locally produced in specialized workshops of Elateia. The idea of local workshops is further supported by the great number (-more than 700) of steatite objects (beads etc) found in the cemetery, an apparently popular commodity of special social and economic significance. This kind of offerings also serves as an additional indication of the interregional contacts of Elateia. The steatite pendants find many parallels as regards their carved decoration with circles – a very popular motif in the LBA Aegean, while their linear decoration is more rare, but still has parallels in the Cyclades.¹¹⁴⁴

The small total number of steatite necklaces from the cemetery of Elateia might signify that these jewels possibly served as symbols of social status, although only two of the tombs in which they were found actually belonged to people of high social rank, as indicated by the tomb size and the offerings.¹¹⁴⁵ The amber and the bronzes might have also served as status symbols, pointing to the social stratification of Elateia's LBA community. This impression is further enhanced by the quantity and variety of other kinds of jewellery (gold, silver etc) found in the tombs. Besides, many of these status symbols were "*keimilia*", i.e. valuables with an added ancestral quality, either actual heirlooms passed down to members of the same family or in some other way acquired: by removing earlier contents from other tombs or through the exchange of prestige goods among the elites of LHIIC communities –

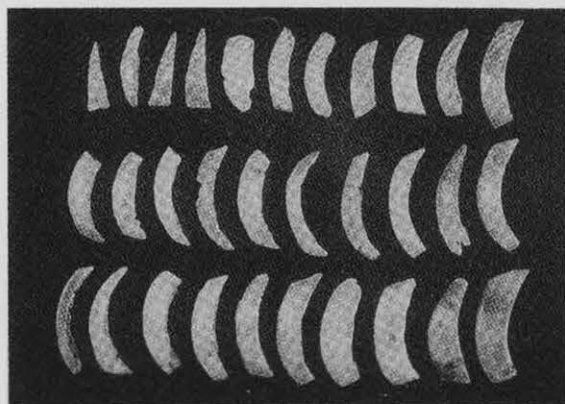


Fig.VII.5
Boar tusks
from T. VI

or even with other, less peaceful means. A characteristic example of such a *keimilion* are the boar tusks of a helmet coming from one of the tombs.¹¹⁴⁶ All in all, such burial offerings give us significant insights into the full-blown, active and productive, stratified society of LHIIC-middle and -late Elateia.

¹¹⁴³ Dimaki (1999) 203-209: two pendants from tombs T. LVIII and T. LXII date to LHIIC-middle/advanced and five pendants from T. II, LIII, LVI, LXII, XC to LHIIC-late. Cf. also Deger-Jalkotzy (2000) 199, 204.

¹¹⁴⁴ Dimaki (1999) 210-211 and 212, fn. 23

¹¹⁴⁵ Dimaki (1999) 210-211: T.LVIII and LXII

¹¹⁴⁶ Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) 80-81, fig. 7 and (2002) 62, n. 105; also 58-59 for the need of LHIIC elites to confirm their status through exoticas and *keimilia*.

VII.5 *Transitional period from the end of LHIIC-late to the beginning of EPG*

The flourishing period of Elateia starting after 1200 BC and especially in LHIIC-middle carries on uninterruptedly to the end of LHIIC and further on in the SM period and the beginning of EPG period too. Fortunately, many burials of this period were found *in situ* and thus it has been possible to combine the stylistic analysis of the pottery series with the study of burial sequences in the process of dating the finds of this period. Otherwise, the stylistic idiosyncrasy of the pottery would not allow its dating on stylistic grounds alone. In



Fig. VII.6
Handmade
vases

particular, it has been noted: “during this crucial period of the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age the people of Elateia apparently followed out a regional development of pottery making”. Overall, the pottery production of this period is characterized by “a remarkably persevering Mycenaean tradition particularly of

LHIIC-late character”, combined with “the innovations of post-Mycenaean pottery making”.¹¹⁴⁷ One such innovation that should be highlighted is the appearance of handmade pottery (fig. VII.6).¹¹⁴⁸ Influences from other regions, such as Thessaly, are also present, while some details show that the potters of Elateia were well aware of the SM style of Attica too (fig. VII.7).¹¹⁴⁹ Therefore, a rich, local pottery production is ascertained. In addition, the numerous and exceptional bronzes of this period have led to the assumption that a metallurgical centre must have existed in the region. In general, the material finds dating to the transition from LHIIC-late to the 10th century BC are equally rich as the LHIIC-middle material.¹¹⁵⁰



Fig. VII.7
SM vase

¹¹⁴⁷ Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 196 and 197

¹¹⁴⁸ Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1988) 232

Deger-Jalkotzy and Dakoronia (1992) 68-70

Dakoronia (1993c) 37

¹¹⁴⁹ Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) 82

¹¹⁵⁰ Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) 83

VII.6 Population increase

Demographic changes are also attested in this transitional period. First, a large percentage of burials in each tomb are to be dated to the transitional phase LHIIC-late/SM/EPG. This might of course relate to the fact that most of the tombs did not remain in use for a long time after this period, and thus the burials of this phase were neither seriously disturbed nor had their accompanying offerings relocated or even cleared from the tombs. There are, however, other indications of intensified use for this period too. A new custom of piling up bodies in an exceptionally crouched position, instead of the usual Mycenaean way with somewhat crouched feet, probably betrays haste as well as the wish to economize on space. At the same time, dromos pits were dug not for the remains of earlier burials but for the primary deposition of interments, possibly because the chambers would have too recently received their last burials to be re-opened as yet. Moreover, the number of tombs increased throughout this period, while some of the chamber tombs that were constructed in the SM period were of a new, different type, consisting of a very small, cave-like chamber, big enough for only one or two diagonally placed dead bodies, and a very short, irregularly carved dromos (fig.VII.8).¹¹⁵¹ In a relatively short time-period, the burial frequency at Elateia was radically increased. Anthropological study of the skeletal remains has shown that this development does not relate to the strike of some epidemic disease. Therefore, a population increase must have taken place at Elateia towards the end of LHIIC-late and in the transition through the SM period, until the beginning of

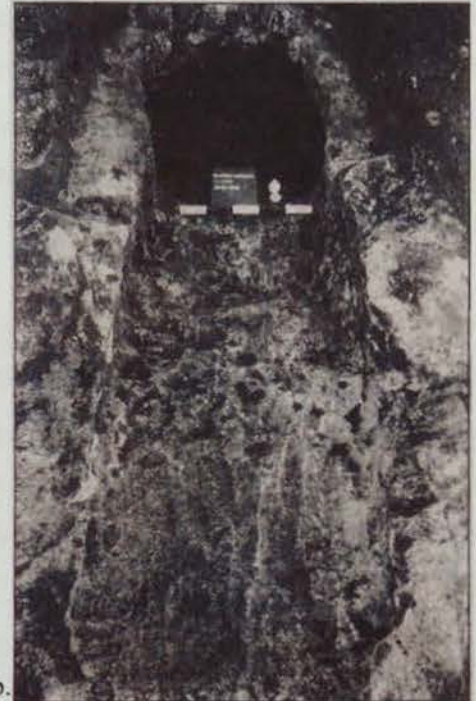
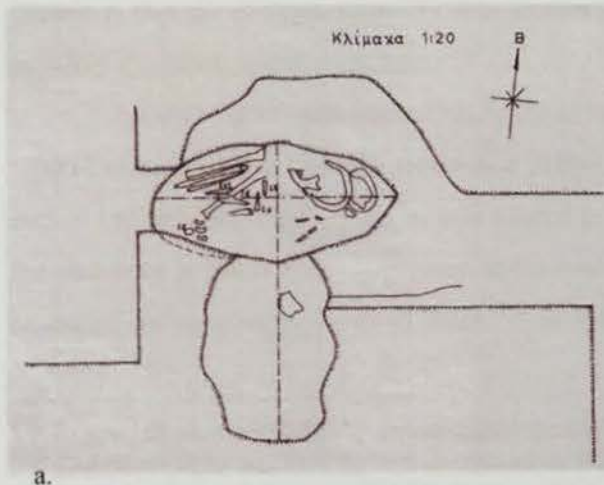


Fig.VII.8
Chamber tombs
of the small
type
a. plan of tomb
LIV
b. photo of
tomb LXV

¹¹⁵¹ Dimaki (2003) 324: the dromoi are short and wide, of about 0.70-2m length and 1.20-1.50m width; the chambers were of small dimensions, 1.3x1.5m and no more than 0.50m high; sometimes they had no dromoi at all.

VII.7 *Cultural innovations*

Beside the increase of burials, new cultural elements are also attested at the cemetery of Elateia from the end of LHIIC-late onwards. One such element is the practice of cremations. In total, twenty-two or twenty-three cremations (of eleven women, two men, three young persons and six to seven children) were found in fifteen tombs, a number representing a very small percentage in the context of the two thousand burials, whose anthropological remains were possible to retrieve from forty-eight tombs during the excavations.¹¹⁵³ The cremations were not found isolated but were deposited in the same chamber tombs that received inhumations too, and in fact in close connection with inhumation remains. They were either found on the chamber floor – at the spot where they were laid in the first place or pushed aside at the edge – or in pits, most probably in primary position. In general, it has been remarked that in spite of being an innovative and diverse burial custom, cremations were treated at Elateia in the same way as inhumations: they were deposited in similar fashion and were also accompanied by the same kind of offerings.¹¹⁵⁴

Nevertheless, there are certain idiosyncrasies regarding the practice of cremation at Elateia. First, the custom appears to be used more for women than for men and also rather for children/young people than for adults. Considering that the age-range of burials at Elateia is characterized as normal for the period (- i.e. more adults are buried than youngsters), more adults would also be expected to be cremated if this custom were applied equally to all ages with no special preferences. Another idiosyncrasy of the performance of cremations at Elateia is that six of them were found in groups of two, each group consisting of a woman, possibly a mother, and a small child.¹¹⁵⁵

Another significant innovation in the cultural horizon of Elateia is of course the new type of chamber tomb that was mentioned before. Such tombs started appearing towards the end of LHIIC-late, but they are mostly treated as a characteristic feature of the SM phase of the cemetery in the reports. In general, these new, small tombs contained poor offerings; for example, no seals were found in them.¹¹⁵⁶ In the latest report on the burial architecture of

¹¹⁵² Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) 83-85; Deger-Jalkotzy and Dakoronia (1992) 68-70

¹¹⁵³ The other tombs were too disturbed in antiquity to produce any anthropological remains of burials – Dakoronia, Deger-Jalkotzy and Fabrizii-Reuer (2000-2001) 137.

¹¹⁵⁴ This situation appears to change in the PG period, as will be discussed in due course. Cf. Dakoronia, Deger-Jalkotzy and Fabrizii-Reuer (2000-2001) 148-149.

¹¹⁵⁵ Dakoronia, Deger-Jalkotzy and Fabrizii-Reuer (2000-2001) 147-148

¹¹⁵⁶ Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1996) xi

Elateia, a total of ten such tombs is recorded. They were found among the 'proper' chamber tombs, mostly in the west part of the cemetery. It is also reported that two more types of tombs appear in this period: three pits of rectangular or ellipsoid shape (fig.VII.9), about 0.18-0.5m deep and around 0.50x0.80m big, covered with soil or in one case with a plaque

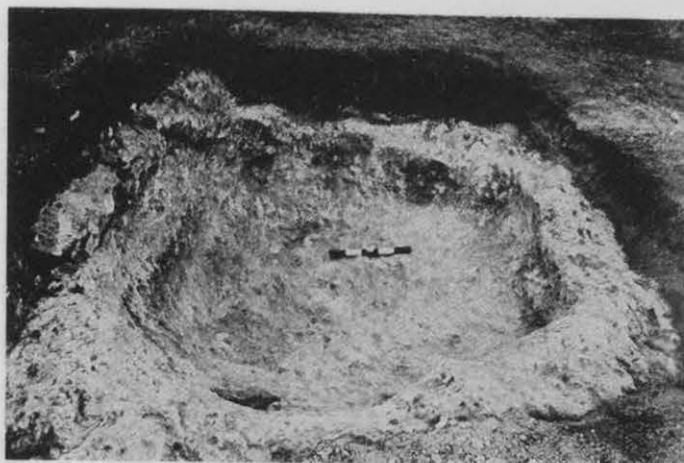


Fig.VII.9
Tomb of pit
type: photo of
T.XXIX

and containing one or two dead; and five trenches/ditches of irregular shape, with no dromos or entrance: they were about 2-2.3m large in diameter and 0.40-1m deep, and they contained few offerings and disturbed bones.¹¹⁵⁷

VII.8 *Newcomers*

It has been suggested that newcomers, who arrived and settled at Elateia in the transitional period from LBA to EIA, introduced the distinctive new features appearing in this phase in the cultural horizon of the community. The arrival of newcomers also possibly resulted to the marked population increase.¹¹⁵⁸ Besides, since the origin of handmade pottery is usually ascribed to the region of Central Greek mountains, the excavators suggest that the newcomers of Elateia might have actually begun their trip to the South from that area, possibly forming part of the tide of people – the “Greek tribes” – who moved from North to South according to tradition. The excavators do not see them coming as invaders but as peaceful wanderers who when passing by Elateia on their route to the South, chose to settle down in the area due to its fruitfulness.¹¹⁵⁹

However, it might be wrong to attribute all the novelties to a group of newcomers. The archaeological record presents us with a more complex situation. Other factors, such as economic and social criteria also seem to have affected the preference for and practice of certain customs. The choice of the small-sized type of tomb for example appears to be related to economic conditions, since it has been clearly reported that these tombs are very

¹¹⁵⁷ Dimaki (2003) 324

For the second type (ditches) cf. also Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1989) 175 and Dakoronia (1991a) 196.

¹¹⁵⁸ Deger-Jalkotzy and Dakoronia (1992) 68-70

Dakoronia (1993c) 37

¹¹⁵⁹ Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) 86

Dakoronia (1993c) 37

poor in offerings as compared to the proper ones. Besides, they seem to be a local, internal development of the proper type of chamber tomb, as is also possibly indicated by at least one tomb of SM period which seems to be a hybrid of the two types: it combines an impressive, carefully built and long dromos with a small, irregular, cave-like chamber.¹¹⁶⁰ The practice of cremations, on the other hand, is not only very rare, but also seems to relate to gender or age specifications. Moreover, although being a distinctively different burial custom, it still abides by the usual practices that people of Elateia followed on the occasion of inhumations too. It should also be noted that none of the very few cremations of Elateia took place in any of the small-sized chamber tombs, as it would perhaps be expected if these two features were introduced by a new population group. The appearance of handmade pottery also shows no exclusive association with either of the two other novelties, except for later in its use, i.e. in the PG period.¹¹⁶¹ Newcomers most possibly did arrive at Elateia in this period of intense population movements, but not all the changes of the transitional period from LBA to EIA at Elateia should be attributed to them, and other interpretations of the evidence should be considered too.

VII.9 PG period

The flourishing period that started at Elateia in LHIIC-middle and reached its climax in the transitional period from the end of LHIIC-late to the beginning of PG period seems to have died off in the course of the 10th century BC. The early phase of PG seems to have been the final stage of this flourishing period. Several tombs of either the proper or the small type apparently received their last burials in the EPG period according to the dating of accompanying pottery and bronzes (bow-shaped and leaf-shaped fibulae as well as pins).¹¹⁶² Thus it has been concluded that many tombs were abandoned after that phase, while some tombs were abandoned even earlier, at the end of the SM period/beginning of PG. Although no exact figures are available yet, the overall number of tombs in use gradually decreased in the PG period.¹¹⁶³

¹¹⁶⁰ Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) 183

¹¹⁶¹ A PG handmade jug was used as an urn for the cremated remains of a child in T. LXIV (-cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 197-199 and fig.7: 11c (-the urn); Dakoronia, Deger-Jalkotzy and Fabrizii-Reuer (2000-2001) 146 and fig.4-right). Wheel-made vases were also used as urns in the PG period, an amphora for a man and an oinochoe for a woman (T.XXXVIII – cf. Dakoronia, Deger-Jalkotzy and Fabrizii-Reuer (2000-2001) 140). The deposition of cremation remains in a handmade or wheel-made urn is a novelty introduced in PG times, as will be discussed later on, and does not seem to relate to the origin of the cremated people.

¹¹⁶² Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1988) 232

¹¹⁶³ Deger-Jalkotzy (2004) 188

Nevertheless, some tombs remained in use throughout the PG period until SubPG. In addition, new tombs of the second type, i.e. with small, cave-like chambers and short dromoi were still constructed.¹¹⁶⁴ Such small tombs were sometimes built right next to chamber tombs of the standard type (fig.VII.10).¹¹⁶⁵ Similarly to their SM predecessors, they too were very poor in offerings.

Although the number of tombs in use decreased in the PG period, the finds appear to be very interesting. The pottery has been characterized similarly to the SM pottery, i.e. as “of a distinctive regional character which only occasionally betrays an acquaintance with the [...] PG developments of Attic and Euboean ceramics.”

Moreover, it

equally conveys the power of surviving Mycenaean tradition (fig.VII.11-12).

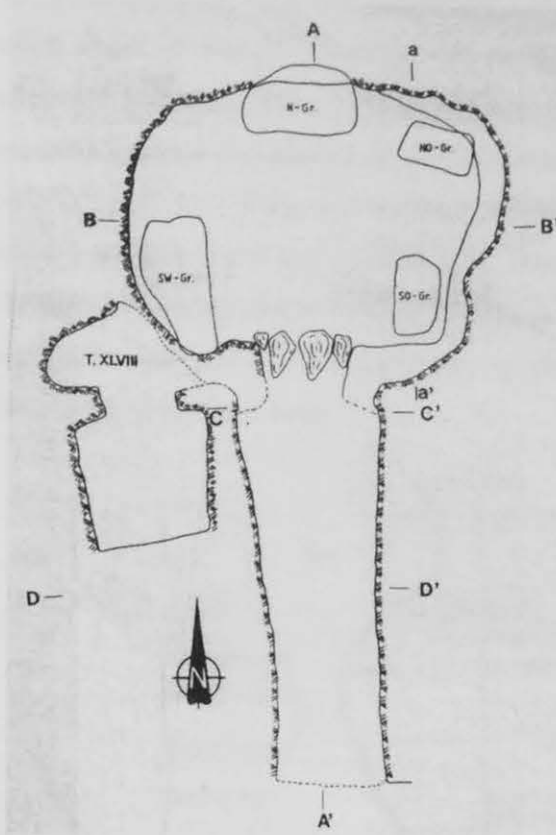


Fig.VII.10
Plan of ‘twin tombs’
T.XLVIII
and T. L

Fig.VII.12
EPG juglets of type popular in Euboean *koine*
but with decoration of Mycenaean origin
(e.g. decoration of the back of handle)

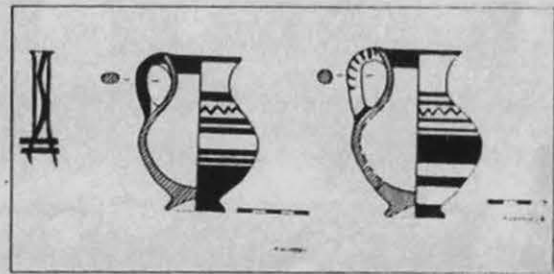


Fig.VII.11
MPG oinochoe
with LHIIC-
late features in
decoration
(languette
necklace on the
shoulder)

¹¹⁶⁴ Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1988) 232

Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1996) xi

Deger-Jalkotzy (2004) 188: “The last tombs of Elateia were abandoned at the end of the 9th century BC.”

¹¹⁶⁵ Deger-Jalkotzy and Dakoronia (1992) 70-71

Most interesting is the case of T. XLVIII, which was built in LPG period, it belongs to the second, small-sized type and forms a twin construction with T.L. Their dromoi are situated very close to each other and their chambers are inter-connected. T. L belongs to the first type and was in use until the G period – cf. Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1989) 175; (1996) xvii; Dimaki (2003) 322, n.10.

Nevertheless, “from MPG and particularly LPG onwards, an increasing influence of the so-called *koiné* of Euboeia, Thessaly and some islands makes itself felt.”¹¹⁶⁶ A group of amphorae decorated with compass-drawn concentric circles that have been found in the cemetery enhance the general picture of contacts of Elateians with other areas in the PG period (fig.VII.13). “They rank among a remarkably widespread group of comparable vases which have been found in Central Greece, Thessaly, Macedonia and recently even at Troy”. The ones at Elateia dated to MPG or EPG, at the earliest. “The centre of their production and distribution may have been at Athens, or else at some major place of the Thessalian-Euboean-Archipelagos *koiné*.”¹¹⁶⁷

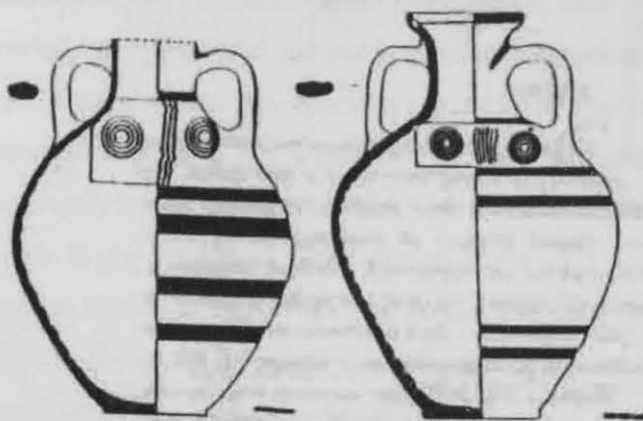


Fig.VII.13
Amphorae
decorated with
concentric
circles

VII.10 Cremations

It is also interesting to note that the practice of cremation carried on in the PG period too. Four cremations have actually been dated to the PG period on the basis of their context. Three of them were placed in urns (cf. fig.VII.11) while the fourth cremation lay on the chamber floor (T.LVIII).¹¹⁶⁸ The use of the urn for the deposition of cremated remains might have been introduced to Elateia through the contacts with other areas where the burial of inurned cremations was customary. Such a typical example of PG period is of course Athens: the custom here, however, was mostly practiced in a very particular, different way, that of the ‘trench-and-hole’ type.¹¹⁶⁹ In fact, the best documented, closest parallel to the inurned cremations of Elateia can be seen in the LHIIIC chamber tomb cemetery of Perati. Here, urns were found lying on the floor of four chamber tombs, while other urns were placed in pits

¹¹⁶⁶ Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 196-199

¹¹⁶⁷ Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 199-201

Deger-Jalkotzy (2004) 188

¹¹⁶⁸ Dimaki (1999) 206

Dakoronia, Deger-Jalkotzy and Fabrizii-Reuer (2000-2001) 140, 146

¹¹⁶⁹ Lemos (2002) 152-154

dug in the floor of two tombs.¹¹⁷⁰ These inurned cremations, however, predate those of Elateia for at least one century, thus they cannot have served as an inspirational source for the latter. It should be noted though that at Perati, cremation remains were also found not in urns but in pits dug in the floor of two tombs as well as possibly lying on the floor of three others, i.e. in just the same way as cremations dating from the end of LHIIIC-late to the PG period were found at Elateia (-except for the case of the three PG urns).¹¹⁷¹

The common elements observed with regard to cremations in the chamber tomb cemeteries of Elateia and Perati could perhaps be interpreted as similar responses to the introduction of a new custom into the same environment of an existing type of tomb. The adoption of this rite, however, in other places, such as Athens or Lefkandi, was done on a revolutionary basis and did not require its adaptation to a certain, already-existing tomb type. Thus, new and very special ways could develop for the performance of the rite and the remains' deposition.¹¹⁷² When the urn was adopted in Athens, it was inevitably and expectedly buried in totally different manner than at Perati, since the chamber tombs were no longer in use at the time. The radiation of the urn's popularity in Athens might have indeed reached Elateia in PG period, but we can imagine that the way to bury an urn here had to adapt to the continuous use of the chamber tombs, and thus ended up being similar to that practiced about a century earlier at Perati.

VII.11 Tomb LVIII



Fig. VII.14
Steatite
necklace from
T. LVIII

Special reference should be made of the PG cremation lying on the chamber floor of tomb LVIII and the accompanying burial gift, a golden necklace with a boukranion-shaped pendant found mostly in between the cremated bones.¹¹⁷³ The necklace must be of Mycenaean origin (LHIIIA-B), a relic probably re-used as offering at the time of the cremation.¹¹⁷⁴ A similar story seems to apply to another necklace that was found

¹¹⁷⁰ Iakovidis (1970) 32-35: tombs 36, 38, 145, 157 – urns on the floor; tombs 1 and 75 – urns in pits

¹¹⁷¹ Iakovidis (1970) 32-35: tombs 1 and 122 – in pits; tombs 46, 146 and 154 – possibly on the floor; it is suggested that the remains of these last three cremations might have also been originally deposited in urns, but because of later disturbance of the tombs they were accidentally thrown onto the floor.

¹¹⁷² Cf. Lemos (2002) 161-168, esp. 163-164, and 186-187 for Lefkandi cremation rites and discussion

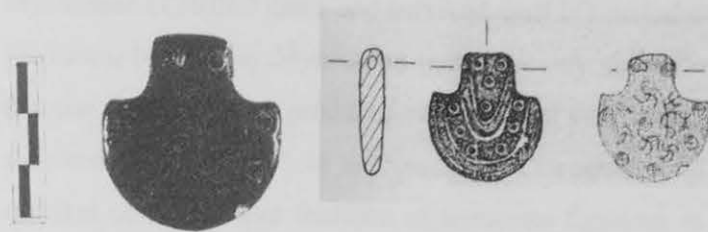
¹¹⁷³ Dimaki (1999) 206

Dakoronia, Deger-Jakotzy and Fabrizii-Reuer (2000-2001) 146, 148

¹¹⁷⁴ Deger-Jakotzy (2000) 206-207

in the same tomb, consisting of steatite beads, a pendant and a seal (fig.VII.14).¹¹⁷⁵ It was

Fig.VII.15
Photo and
drawing of
steatite pendant
with secondary
incisions
(swastikas)



apparently re-used in the PG period, since it was offered together with a bone pin and a bronze ring to a child burial, which was found *in situ* in a pit,

and on stratigraphical grounds should date to this period.¹¹⁷⁶ The necklace's pendant has on its rear side a series of secondary incisions, four of which seem to be swastikas, a motif that did not exist in Mycenaean times (fig.VII.15). It is thus believed that these incisions were applied on the pendant in post-Mycenaean times, when it was re-used as an offering for the PG burial. Whether it was found during the clearing of the tomb and was re-used or if it has some other provenance is not known.¹¹⁷⁷

Three figurines that were found in the same tomb, T.LVIII, also appear to be quite exceptional (fig.VII.16). These were offered to the burial of a young man of MPG or LPG



Fig.VII.16
Three figurines
from T.LVIII

date together with a handmade jug.¹¹⁷⁸

Thus, on the basis of their burial context, the three figurines should date to MPG or LPG period too. On stylistic grounds, however, it has been observed that the three figurines “display a number of features which compare well with statuettes and figurines of the Mycenaean LHIIIC period”. On the

other hand, they are characterized by “some features which are divergent from the Mycenaean style”, in relation to body decoration, hair dress and diadems. “Furthermore, the face is crude and in some way similar to the head of the centaur of Lefkandi”. As for their primary use, they must have been originally attached to a vessel like the *lekanai* from Perati, judging by the deep, narrow holes in their bases. A post-Mycenaean kernos with similar figurines from Crete (Kourtes) shows that “in some parts of the Aegean there was a

¹¹⁷⁵ Dimaki believes that the so-called seal actually functioned as one of the necklace's beads or rather tied the necklace at the back of the neck. Cf. Dimaki (1999) 207, fn.13 and 17, fig. 13-15.

¹¹⁷⁶ No pottery was found in the pit. For detailed discussion of the burial sequence in T. LVIII cf.

Deger-Jalkotzy (2000) 200-204.

¹¹⁷⁷ Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy (1996) xviii

Dimaki (1999) 206: she believes it was found when the tomb was emptied

Deger-Jalkotzy (2000) 205, 206

¹¹⁷⁸ Deger-Jalkotzy (2000) 200-203

continuity in attaching such figurines to vessels". Therefore, they were either produced in Mycenaean (LHIIIC) times and survived until PG period or else they were produced later, in PG times, but display Mycenaean traits in a very simplified way. "Yet another possibility is that our figurines were produced with a vessel very late in LHIIIC or even in SM times and survived till PG times". In any case, "their occurrence in a PG burial-complex indicates a survival of Mycenaean tradition of terracotta figurines in the periphery of the Mycenaean world".¹¹⁷⁹

VII.12 *Signs of respect to the Mycenaean past*

In general, it could be said that although decline appears to have gradually befallen on Elateia in the PG period, this still constitutes a very interesting phase of the cemetery's use, producing exceptional finds and offering significant information for the EIA community of the area. Most interesting is in particular the attachment of people of Elateia to their past, as this is reflected in burial offerings. The survival of Mycenaean tradition in the realm of pottery has already been pointed out, as well as in the case of the three figurines from tomb T. LVIII. Additionally, it can also be discerned in the choice of people in PG period to re-use Mycenaean offerings and re-deposit them with their burials, as in the case of the two jewels in T. LVIII, which actually proves to have received quite exceptional burials in PG times.

Whether the two jewels were actually found during the tomb's clearance or were kept as heirlooms over the years and deposited for the first time as burial offerings in the PG period, they must have anyway been highly appreciated in the EIA. It could of course be argued that they were simply appreciated for their beauty and craftsmanship or in the case of the golden necklace for its precious material. These factors must have indeed played some role in the jewels' reuse. However, the fact that a steatite necklace was treated in the same way as the golden one shows that the value of the material was apparently not a decisive factor for the jewel's re-use.

It could be quite convincingly argued that it was the jewels' ancestral value that made them so important that instead of being kept or even sold as beautiful or valuable objects, they were instead deposited as burial gifts. Besides, the practice of emptying a tomb from its earlier contents, which has been documented in more than one occasion at the cemetery of Elateia, would have brought the EIA inhabitants in direct contact with artefacts of the past generations. This practice most probably relates to the wish to make space for new interments rather than to any desire for looting, since it has been at least twice

¹¹⁷⁹ Alram-Stern (1999) 219-220

documented for LHIIC-late, a period in which the society of Elateia was quite rich and with no apparent need to profit from the ancestral valuables.¹¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that the people clearing the tombs would not have appreciated any valuable old burial offerings that they would come across.¹¹⁸¹ Thus, the re-use of such an item as burial offering might have been perceived as a way to claim direct descent from the past generations that used the same tomb and so to strengthen their links with the past and their ancestors. This might have constituted an immediate need for the decreasing PG population of Elateia, and especially for those of its members who wanted to secure their potentially higher social rank in the midst of a declining and dissolving society.¹¹⁸²

¹¹⁸⁰ Tombs XXXI and LV were both in use since LHIIIA1 and emptied in LHIIC-late – cf. Bächle (2000) 193.

¹¹⁸¹ Cf. Iakovidis (1970) 70-75 for similar practice at Perati.

¹¹⁸² Deger-Jakotzy (2000) 206-207 has also suggested that both pieces could be interpreted as priced burial gifts related to the past, through which a social group of higher status honoured two of its members who died in childhood and adolescence respectively. She thus sees them as further indications of the existence of a stratified society in Greece during the 'Dark Ages'.

Appendix VIII: Kynos

VIII.1 Introduction



Fig.VIII.1
The hill of
Kynos from
North –
North-west

The site of Pyrgos has been identified with the Homeric town of Kynos since the 19th

century BC,¹¹⁸³ and the excavations conducted by the local archaeological authorities under the direction of Phanouria Dakoronia since 1985 to 1993 on the north-west part of the hill revealed that the site was inhabited from as early as the EH period until Byzantine times. As regards the Mycenaean period, a complex of storerooms has been excavated.

Before embarking upon the examination of the settlement remains at Pyrgos, it should be mentioned first that because of the centuries of habitation on the hill, great disturbances have been caused to the remains and have rendered the stratigraphy of the site very complex and difficult to reconstruct. In addition, the material from the excavations is still under study, and thus the exact

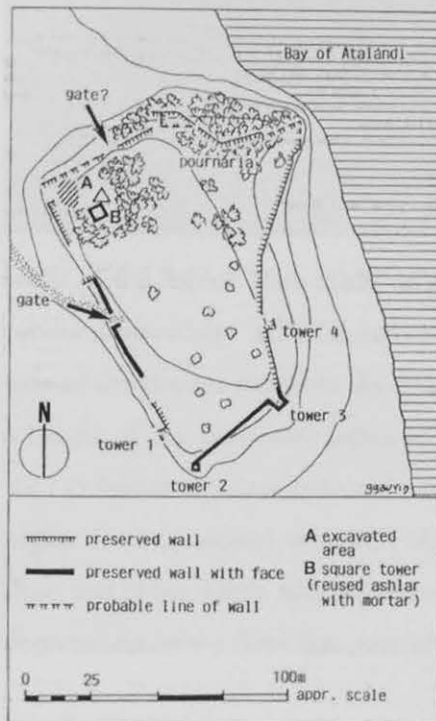


Fig.VIII.2
Plan of the
Hellenistic
fortification
of Kynos

date of remains and the sequence of habitation phases remain open to revision. Nevertheless, an attempt will be made here to present the LBA and EIA phases of the settlement on the basis of the available information, with the hope that it will not prove to be too far from the results of the final publication. Unfortunately, no plan of the site has appeared yet to help us visualize the settlement throughout its many phases.

¹¹⁸³ Fossey (1990) 81
Dakoronia (1993b) 125

VIII.2 LHIIIC-early/middle

After the destruction of the LHIIIB storerooms, which was probably caused by an

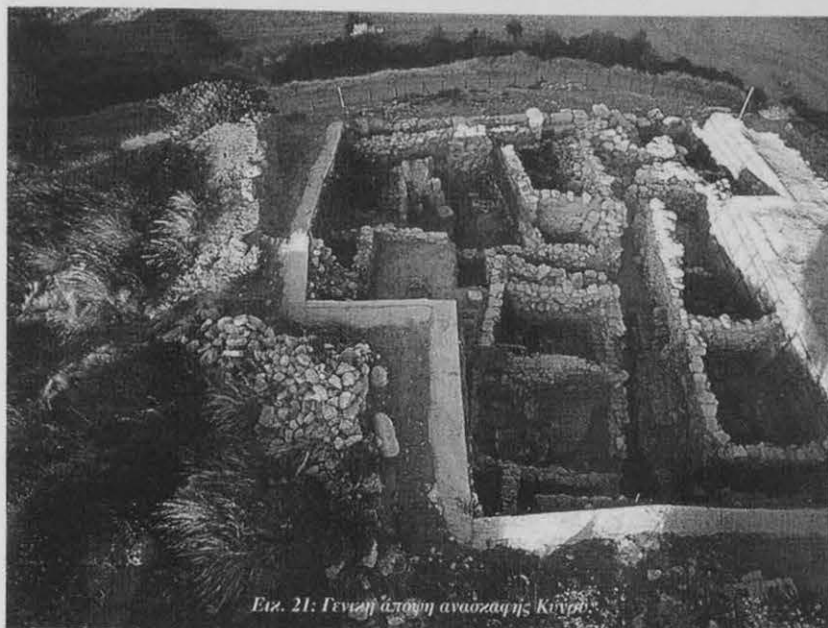


Fig. VIII.3
General
view of the
excavation
from East

earthquake, a new complex of storerooms was built on the hill of Pyrgos (fig. VIII.3).¹¹⁸⁴

Several such excavated rooms contained round storage spaces (silos) with inner lime coating, dug into the earth floor (fig. VIII.4a).¹¹⁸⁵ The

walls of the rooms were made of mudbricks on dry-stone foundation. Various agricultural products were kept in the storerooms as indicated by seeds collected during excavation.¹¹⁸⁶

One of the storage rooms in the south-eastern part of the excavation, with walls preserved to a height of 2m, contained pithoi of unbaked clay (-clay bins) placed close to each other, as well as fine-ware vases apparently fallen into the bins and in the spaces between them from a higher level (a second store or a shelf) and many heavily burnt spools in piles, both on the floor and in the debris filling the room. Handmade pithoi were also found, as well as circular depressions on the floor that possibly contained clay bins or baskets (fig. VIII.4b).¹¹⁸⁷

¹¹⁸⁴ Dakoronia (1990) 178 and (1991a) 194: trench B – here the floors and destruction layers are dated to LHIIIB2, while in Dakoronia (1992a) 210 (: trench A and E as well as in the East-West corridor), only a general dating to LHIIIB is mentioned. Until a more detailed report on the material comes out, it would probably suffice to talk more generally about LHIIIB.

¹¹⁸⁵ Dakoronia (1986) 69: trench A and Dakoronia (1989) 171: trench H, North of trench Γ – “θήκες, σιφοί”. These storerooms are reported here to have been destroyed in LHIIIC-early. Cf. however discussion further on in VIII.3.

¹¹⁸⁶ Dakoronia (2003a) 38

¹¹⁸⁷ Dakoronia (1989) 171: trench E and extension K
Dakoronia (2003a) 45-47

Fig.VIII.4
Storerooms
with silos
and pithoi



Apart from storerooms, workshops also formed part of the same complex of buildings. A metallurgical kiln (fig.VIII.5a)¹¹⁸⁸ and mineral slag have been reported as evidence of the “industrial activities of the inhabitants”.¹¹⁸⁹ Another structure in the same area has been interpreted as a pit used for the deposition of clay for pottery production.¹¹⁹⁰ Further to the North-east, part of the floor of a pottery kiln was also revealed (fig.VIII.5b). On either side of the kiln and at the same level with its floor, handmade pithoi, piles of heavily burnt spools (-perhaps used as supports for the vases while baking them) and misfired sherds were also found – indications of a well-organized workshop.¹¹⁹¹ Besides, due to the great number of sherds with pictorial decoration found at Kynos (fig.VIII.6), it is assumed that a workshop must have specialized in the production of pictorial kraters.¹¹⁹² Finally, a 1m-wide corridor ran in between the rooms and storerooms on an East-West axis.¹¹⁹³

Fig.VIII.5
Workshops
a. Metallurgical
kiln
b. Pottery kiln



¹¹⁸⁸ Dakoronia (1988) 224: trench B and Dakoronia (1993a) 218

¹¹⁸⁹ Dakoronia (2003a) 38

¹¹⁹⁰ Dakoronia (1989) 172: trench B

¹¹⁹¹ Dakoronia (1993a) 218-219: trench H

¹¹⁹² Dakoronia (2002a) 43

¹¹⁹³ Dakoronia (1992a) 210

Fig.VIII.6
Sherds of
kraters with
naval
scenes



Fig.VIII.7
Section
showing
mudbricks
fallen into
storage
space



The end of this complex of storerooms and workshops came by conflagration, as documented in many ways. Fire apparently caused the mudbrick walls of the buildings to burn down and collapse, as indicated by burnt mudbricks found inside the storage spaces and deposited in burnt layers above (fig.VIII.7).¹¹⁹⁴ At the same time the shelf or upper store on

which the fine-ware pottery was located in the storeroom described above, in the south-east corner of the excavated area, was caused to collapse.¹¹⁹⁵ An extended, very thick layer of destruction was actually found in this room.¹¹⁹⁶

Thanks to joining sherds from various depths within this layer, it was proven that the debris belonged to the same phase and was all deposited at one occasion. This was dated on the basis of pottery to LHIIC-middle.¹¹⁹⁷ A large concentration of debris was also found in the corridor that ran in between the storerooms and workshops. The pottery found here also included pictorial sherds decorated with naval scenes.¹¹⁹⁸ This debris layer too was uniform in nature, and thus it was proven again that the debris was all deposited at one occasion, dating to LHIIC-middle.¹¹⁹⁹ The conflagration that destroyed the complex of storerooms is thought to have been caused by an earthquake, as indicated by a lateral shift of the walls in relation to their foundations, by dislocation of certain mudbricks and by mudbricks fallen into clay bins.¹²⁰⁰

¹¹⁹⁴ Dakoronia (1986) 69: trench A

¹¹⁹⁵ Dakoronia (2003a) 45

¹¹⁹⁶ Dakoronia (1988) 223: the destruction layer was initially thought to relate to the function of the kiln.

Dakoronia (1989) 171

¹¹⁹⁷ Dakoronia (2003a) 45-47

¹¹⁹⁸ Dakoronia (1992a) 210

¹¹⁹⁹ Dakoronia (1993a) 219

¹²⁰⁰ Dakoronia (1996a) 41

VIII.3 Dating of destructions

It should be noted here that some of the storerooms, i.e. those with the round storage spaces, were initially reported to have been destroyed in LHIIC-early.¹²⁰¹ In another, later article by the excavator, there was again reference to a destruction occurring at the end of LHIIC-early – the first of two in total destructions that hit the site throughout LHIIC. The second was dated according to the same article “less than 100 years later”, to LHIIC-advanced/late.¹²⁰²

Although this has not been clearly corrected at any point, the dating of the first destruction to LHIIC-early appears to have been re-evaluated and abandoned by the excavator. The storerooms that were allegedly destroyed in LHIIC-early should actually belong to the same phase with the storeroom in the south-eastern part of the excavated area, whose destruction has been firmly dated to LHIIC-middle¹²⁰³, as well as with the workshops, which formed part of the same complex.

This conclusion is based on the following observations: first, Dakoronia has noted in her latest paper that because of her policy to avoid removing the remains of previous phases while digging, it was not possible “to obtain a clear plan of the site preceding the LHIIC-middle buildings.” Although “the existence of the preceding phases, back at least to the MH period, was ascertained both by structural remains and the stratigraphy”, it seems that no particular phase of building remains (-or a destruction layer) could be attributed to LHIIC-early. The summary of the site’s history in the same paper mentions two destructions dating to LHIIC-middle and to the end of LHIIC-late respectively.¹²⁰⁴ If there had been an LHIIC-early destruction too, a total of three LHIIC destructions should have been reported.

Second, the kilns were found according to the preliminary reports at the same stage of excavation and seemingly at the same more or less depth as the silos-storerooms,¹²⁰⁵ and as it has been noted, the ‘industrial’ activity coincided with the use of the storerooms that were destroyed in LHIIC-middle.¹²⁰⁶ Therefore, the silos-storerooms should belong to the same phase too. Unfortunately, only one fragmentary vase allegedly dating the first destruction that hit the site to LHIIC-early has ever been illustrated.¹²⁰⁷ It is, however, very

¹²⁰¹ Dakoronia (1989) 171

¹²⁰² Dakoronia (1996a) 41-42

¹²⁰³ Dakoronia (2003a) 45-47

¹²⁰⁴ Dakoronia (2003a) 38-39

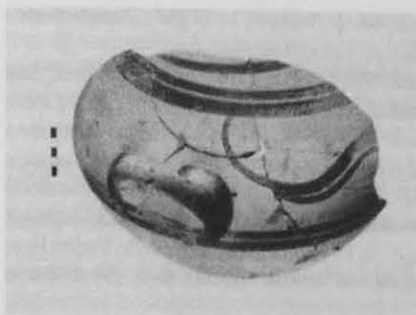
¹²⁰⁵ Compare Dakoronia (1989) 171 with Dakoronia (2003a) 45.

¹²⁰⁶ Dakoronia (2003a) 38

¹²⁰⁷ Dakoronia (1996a) fig.5, The excavator suggests an LHIIC-early hydria from Korakou as its parallel – cf. Mountjoy (1986) 143, fig. 178. The parallel, however, is not entirely convincing, and a

difficult to judge on one piece alone. On the basis of the current state of evidence, the LHIIC-early phase at Kynos seems to be elusive and cannot really be satisfactorily

Fig.VIII.8
Hydria
allegedly
dating the
first
destruction
to LHIIC-
early



reconstructed.

VIII.4 *Comments*

Therefore, it is difficult to talk about the first phase of reoccupation of the site after the destruction of the LHIIB storerooms. It is only known that a sterile layer with no sherds or finds was found under the LHIIC-middle debris in the East-West running corridor, overlying in turn the differently orientated wall remains of LHIIB.¹²⁰⁸ The report on this sterile layer gives the impression that there might have been a gap of activity in the beginning of LHIIC at Kynos, but according to Phanouria Dakoronia the LHIIC-early phase is not absent from the site.¹²⁰⁹ Thus, it is impossible to discuss this issue any further until more specific data is published.

It is certain, on the other hand, that the period of LHIIC-middle was marked with prosperity. The carefully laid out complex of storerooms and workshops with a corridor running across them testifies to an organized, active and productive society. The many storerooms with all kinds of storage spaces containing seeds and other organic remains of grain, olives and grapes point to the rich agricultural production of the area. The abundance of loom weights and clay spools indicates that textile production might have also been part of the local economy. Fishing must have been another activity, as indicated by many lead weights for the nets, bronze fishing hooks, fish bones and shells found at the site.¹²¹⁰ Local production of pottery and bronzes has also been ascertained on the basis of the kilns. Regarding pottery in particular, scientific analysis further supports the idea of local ceramic production.¹²¹¹ Special mention should be made of the vases with pictorial decoration, which have been attributed to a local workshop. Besides, the depiction of pictorial scenes on locally produced vases most probably shows that the potters of Kynos were in contact with other important centres, such as Lefkandi, Tiryns, Mycenae, Volos and followed the pottery trends

later date could also be considered possible - compare for example with Mounjoy (1986) 187, fig. 243.

¹²⁰⁸ Dakoronia (1993a) 219

¹²⁰⁹ Personal communication with Ph.Dakoronia at Volos (2nd Archaeological Meeting of Thessaly and Central Greece 2003-2005) on 16.03.06.

¹²¹⁰ Dakoronia (2002a) 41-42 and (2002b) 286-287 and fig.11: representation of a fishing-boat

¹²¹¹ Dakoronia (2003a) 41, fn.6

that prevailed in that period.¹²¹² The general impression of LHIIC-middle prosperity is further enhanced by the quantity and quality of the several kinds of finds recovered in the destruction layers of this phase: not only pottery and spools, but also obsidian blades, grinding stones, jewellery, animal and human figurines, bronze weapons, tools etc.

Furthermore, only part of the site of Kynos has been excavated, while it has been noted that the LHIIC buildings also extended on the hill slopes, down to the foot of the hill, built on terraces.¹²¹³ It could be assumed that a significant part of the hilltop and the hill slopes were actually occupied in LHIIC, not only by storerooms and workshops but also by houses, as it fits the political landscape of that period, characterized by small, self-sufficient and autonomous settlements. Thus, the up-to-now excavated area probably gives us only a glimpse of the settlement of Kynos and of its richness in LHIIC-middle.

In addition to the agricultural and 'industrial' activities attested at Kynos, the site's location in such a proximity to the seashore invites us to think that the population might have also been involved in sea-related activities in LHIIC. As indicated by the pictorial decoration of the kraters, Kynos participated in a network of sites that developed in the LHIIC-middle Aegean and helped them flourish. Besides, the metallurgical kiln that functioned in LHIIC-middle at Kynos implies an interest in metal supplies, which would have probably been acquired through the sea routes.

VIII.5 LHIIC-late

After the conflagration that broke out in LHIIC-middle and caused the destruction of the complex of storerooms and workshops, the site was not abandoned. The debris was levelled and the buildings were rebuilt "to the same plan with minor alterations such as the blocking in a window, the reuse of old material to repair the walls etc".¹²¹⁴ At least two storage rooms have been excavated. Storage pithoi containing seeds were found *in situ* in the rooms (fig.VIII.9: 4).¹²¹⁵ The industrial activities of the previous phase, however, did not continue in LHIIC-late.¹²¹⁶ The people of Kynos apparently did not manage to resume all

¹²¹² Cf. for example warrior sherds from Lefkandi (Popham and Sackett (1968) 20, fig.39) and Volos (Theocharis (1960) 57-58, fig. 4-5); warrior vase from Mycenae (French (2002) 82, 140 with references); also Mountjoy (1999) 811 on pictorial style from Central Greece and similarities to pottery from other areas.

¹²¹³ Dakoronia (1990) 178 and Dakoronia (1992a) 209: the buildings on the hill slopes went through the same phases of destruction as those on the hilltop did too. Overall, seven trenches measuring 5x5m have been excavated on the hilltop (-one trench extended for another 2m to the South), while the whole surface of the hill measures 17 acres (-Dakoronia (1993b) 125).

¹²¹⁴ Dakoronia (2003a) 38

¹²¹⁵ Dakoronia (1985) 173: trench B and Dakoronia (1986) 69: trench A and Δ

¹²¹⁶ Dakoronia (2003a) 38

their previous activities after restoring their buildings. Another possibility could simply be that the kilns were moved to another area of the site. Besides, clay analysis has indicated that the pottery of this phase too is locally produced. Dakoronia suggests that there might have been some other local workshop functioning somewhere in the area of Kynos, but not at the site itself.¹²¹⁷

Fig.VIII.9
 1. Earlier wall
 2. Base of clay bin destroyed and filled with fallen mudbricks (3)
 4. Base of a pithos on the floor just above the destruction layer of the previous building phase
 5. Layer containing burials, just above the postulated tsunami deposits that cover the second destruction layer



At the end of this phase, fire broke out again and destroyed the new buildings.¹²¹⁸

In the LHIIC-late destruction layer, numerous pebbles, rounded marine fossils and pottery fragments have been found spread all over the site in no functional relationship with the buildings. They have not

been used for pavements, filling or other building material, nor is there any local industry at the site making use of the marine fossils. It is suggested that they have been rounded by wave action and maybe swept in by a tsunami following an earthquake, which caused the destruction of the buildings.¹²¹⁹

VIII.6 LHIIC-late/SM

After the destruction that took place in LHIIC-late, the debris was levelled off again and the area was re-used for habitation. The structures built in this phase have been described as “humble dwellings using in part the older material”.¹²²⁰ Their walls were flimsy and the floor consisted of clay laid on the thick destruction layer of burnt mudbricks, resulting from the last destruction. In this floor, small cist tombs were dug to receive burials of infants (fig.VIII.9: 5).¹²²¹

¹²¹⁷ Dakoronia (2002a) 42

¹²¹⁸ Cf. Dakoronia (2003a) 43-45, 47 for destruction layer deposited in the south-eastern part of the excavated area.

¹²¹⁹ Dakoronia (1996a) 42

¹²²⁰ Dakoronia (2003a) 38; cf. also Dakoronia (1992a) 209-210: trench A

¹²²¹ Dakoronia (1985) 173: trenches A-B

Dakoronia (1986) 68-69: trenches Γ-Δ

Dakoronia (1988) 224, pl. 125a: trench H

Dakoronia (1989) 171: baulk between trenches EK/ΓΔ and trench Θ (North of trench E)

The dating of this phase of reoccupation is not absolutely straightforward. It is supposed to date to the SM period,¹²²² but the illustrated material from a floor of this phase

also contains some sherds that could be dated earlier, possibly to LHIIC-late, and others later, to the PG period (fig.VIII.10).¹²²³

Although earlier features could perhaps be attributed to conservative

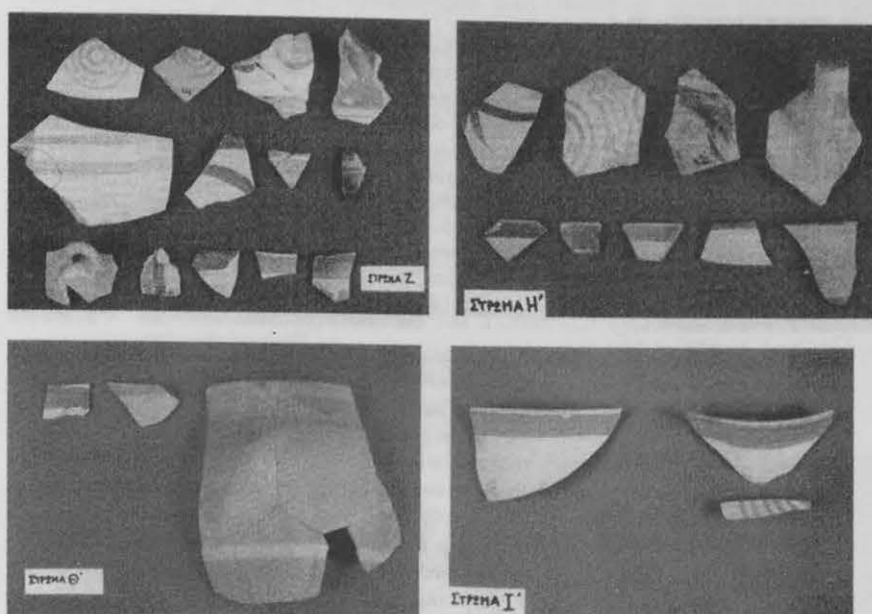


Fig.VIII.10
Sherds of
postulated
SM floor
deposit

workshops and are more or less expected to occur in a later context, the PG decoration of concentric circles is rather difficult to accept in a SM layer. Dakoronia explains its presence by dating its appearance at Kynos to an earlier stage than what is usually thought, “to the very end of SM”. In that she follows Jacob-Felsch’s initial suggestions for the dating of similar sherds from Kalapodi.¹²²⁴

It should be noted, however, that the dating of layers at Kalapodi was later revised, and thus concentric circles can no longer prove to appear at the sanctuary earlier than the EPG phase.¹²²⁵ It seems, therefore, that the layer from which the material from Kynos comes, might have not constituted a closed, SM context, which sounds very probable at a site with such a long and troubled history of occupation. Alternatively, it could be suggested that the floor of this house remained in use throughout the SM and PG periods; or that levelling undertaken in later periods led to the creation of such a mixed context; or even (-more improbably) that LHIIC-late and SM features were still in circulation in the PG period, to which the floor should be dated. It should be noted that this layer also contained handmade burnished pottery, and thus marked the appearance of this ware at Kynos.

¹²²² Dakoronia (2003a) 41-43, 47

¹²²³ Dakoronia (2003a) 44: fig. 14-15, 46: fig. 16-17

¹²²⁴ Dakoronia (2003a) 41, n. 6

¹²²⁵ According to the preliminary reports, the pottery coming from layers 16-18 at Kalapodi was considered to be SM – cf. Jacob-Felsch (1987) 31-35. According to the final publication, however, this pottery should belong to the beginning of the PG period – cf. Jacob-Felsch (1996) 100-101. It was in the first two layers 16-17 that compass-drawn concentric circles and conical feet made their first appearance.

On the other hand, the report on the burials that took place in the floors of this phase suggests a LHIIC-late dating (fig.VIII.11). The burials were mostly placed in cist tombs, while two were in simple, rectangular pits. Most of them did not contain any offerings. Where found, the burial offerings were very poor: a piritolithos flint, a fish-bone bead or a small pebble. These tombs were apparently dug into the floors while the buildings were still in use. Under the floors, i.e. in the destruction layer covering the storeroom complex of the previous phase, LHIIC-late sherds were found, while pottery of the same date was also found in the sub-layer/foundation of the floors – within which the burials took place, as well as in the deposits above the floors. It is obvious that not much time passed from the destruction of the storerooms until the re-use of the area and the burials.¹²²⁶

Fig.VIII.11
Cist tombs dug
in the floors of
LHIIC-late/SM
phase



The floors of this ambiguous LHIIC-late/SM phase were reportedly covered by a debris layer, consisting mostly of broken mudbricks and dark brown soil. In this layer, a pit was apparently later dug, in which a few vases were deposited – including a belly-handled amphora, a skyphos, and handmade, burnished cooking pots (fig.VIII.12 a-c) – and then covered carefully. The excavator suggests that the amphora, which she dates to the latest

Fig.VIII.12
Vases from
pit dug into
LHIIC-
late/SM
debris layer



¹²²⁶ Nikolaou (1999) 153-154: she dates the construction and use of the tombs to the very end of LHIIC-late.

stage of the SM period, might have been used as an urn.¹²²⁷ Considering, however, the good quality of its decoration, as well as the shape of the skyphos that was reportedly found with the amphora in the pit, a date within PG period should probably be preferred.

Overall, it seems that decline befell on the site of Kynos at the end of LHIIC-late and in the transition to the SM period. Although the site was not abandoned, the flimsiness of the new structures points to poverty, as also does the lack of any attempt to rebuild the storerooms. Another significant change that seems to have occurred is the new habit of burying infants in small cists or pits dug through the floor of the houses, while the lack or humbleness of the burial offerings enhance the general impression of poverty. In addition, handmade ware was introduced in this phase, and it is possible that cremation also occurred for the first time at Kynos towards the end of the SM period or rather in the beginning of the PG period. Thus, it seems that the transitional phase from the LBA to the EIA was marked with decline and cultural changes.

EIA evidence

VIII.7 *SM-PG period*

In the south-eastern part of the excavated area, a layer of flat stones resembling a floor was found on top of the layer of broken mudbricks deposited after the destruction of the LHIIC-late/SM room that was located here. Due to the disturbance of this area in Late Roman times, it is quite difficult to date the floor's use. The excavator notes, "the sherds close to the Roman foundations were, as it is natural, mixed, ranging from LHIIC to the Late Roman period. On the contrary the sherds far from the Roman ruins belong to vase types ranging in date from LHIIC-late to PG."¹²²⁸ She therefore concludes that this phase should date to a transitional stage between SM and PG. It should be noted, however, that this layer does not seem to have formed a closed context, thus its precise dating remains problematic.

In addition to the abundant handmade sherds that were recovered in the SM-PG layer, a handmade amphora decorated with incised dots was also found lying on its belly on top of the floor of stones. It was broken and "among its sherds burnt bones and sherds of a skyphos were collected. It is probable that this is an urn".¹²²⁹ Further to the North-west, there

¹²²⁷ Dakoronia (2003a) 41-43, 47

¹²²⁸ Dakoronia (2003a) 39-41

¹²²⁹ Dakoronia (2003a) 39-41, 47

were flimsy walls and a clay floor, in which a small cist tomb containing a jug was found (fig.VIII.13).¹²³⁰ This burial has also been dated to the SM-PG period.¹²³¹

It seems that poor conditions as well as the cultural innovations of handmade pottery, cremations and single burials of children under the floors were characteristic of EIA Kynos. It should be noted, however, that the poor impression we are getting from the SM-PG finds might be misleading and largely due to the disturbance caused in Roman times, when the area was systematically levelled down to the LH deposits, upon which the Roman buildings were mostly founded. It is indicative that the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods are only represented by scattered pottery sherds found out of context, while the Hellenistic wall that surrounds the hill and is visible to this day leaves no doubt that Kynos was a significant site in those times.¹²³²

A more recent confirmation of the serious disturbance caused to EIA remains by later structures and of the consequent problems in the reconstruction of the PG occupation of Kynos comes with the paper on PG Kynos that was presented in the 2nd Archaeological Meeting of Thessaly and Central Greece 2003-2005 at the University of Thessaly, Volos, on 17th of March 2006. In this paper, seven PG walls with stone foundation and mudbrick superstructure were presented. Due to their fragmentary preservation, it was difficult for the excavator to confirm whether they all belonged to a single building or to neighbouring structures. The base of a wooden post was possibly preserved in one of the rooms, while next to it there was a handmade amphora that might have been used as an urn. Loom-weights, fishing weights and grinders were reportedly found in the rooms, and handmade pottery was also included in the pottery assemblage, for which an EPG date was suggested. As the excavator, Ph. Dakoronia commented in the discussion following the paper's presentation by her research assistant P. Kounouklas, the PG building structures were only fragmentarily preserved, while sherds belonging to the same vases were found scattered in different rooms. It seems to be quite possible that later occupation, clearing, levelling and rebuilding on the hill caused serious destruction to the PG remains. The future publication of the conference proceedings will hopefully help us gain a more accurate picture of the PG phase at Kynos.



Fig.VIII.13

■ Jug from
PG cist
■ tomb

¹²³⁰ Dakoronia (1988) 224, pl. 125a: trench H

¹²³¹ Nikolaou (1999) 155

¹²³² Nikolaou (1999) 153

Dakoronia (2003a) 39

Appendix IX: The sanctuary of Kalapodi

IX.1 Introduction

Excavations carried out at the location of Kalapodi since 1973 to 1982 recovered the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos and Apollo of the city Hyampolis, identified through an inscription found at the site.¹²³³ A new series of excavations was resumed at the site in 2004, but no results have come to light as yet.

Cult activities started taking place at Kalapodi since LHIIIC-early and continued into the EIA and onwards to Classical and Roman times. The general plan of the sanctuary (fig.IX.1) shows a large Classical temple in the northern part of the excavated area and a smaller Archaic temple in the southern part. Each temple has its own predecessors, which are also discernible on the plan. The two initial cult centres of the sanctuary, dating to LHIIIC, are situated in the sloping area to the East of the temples and beneath the south temple. Both areas retained their importance in the performance of cult until into the historical era.

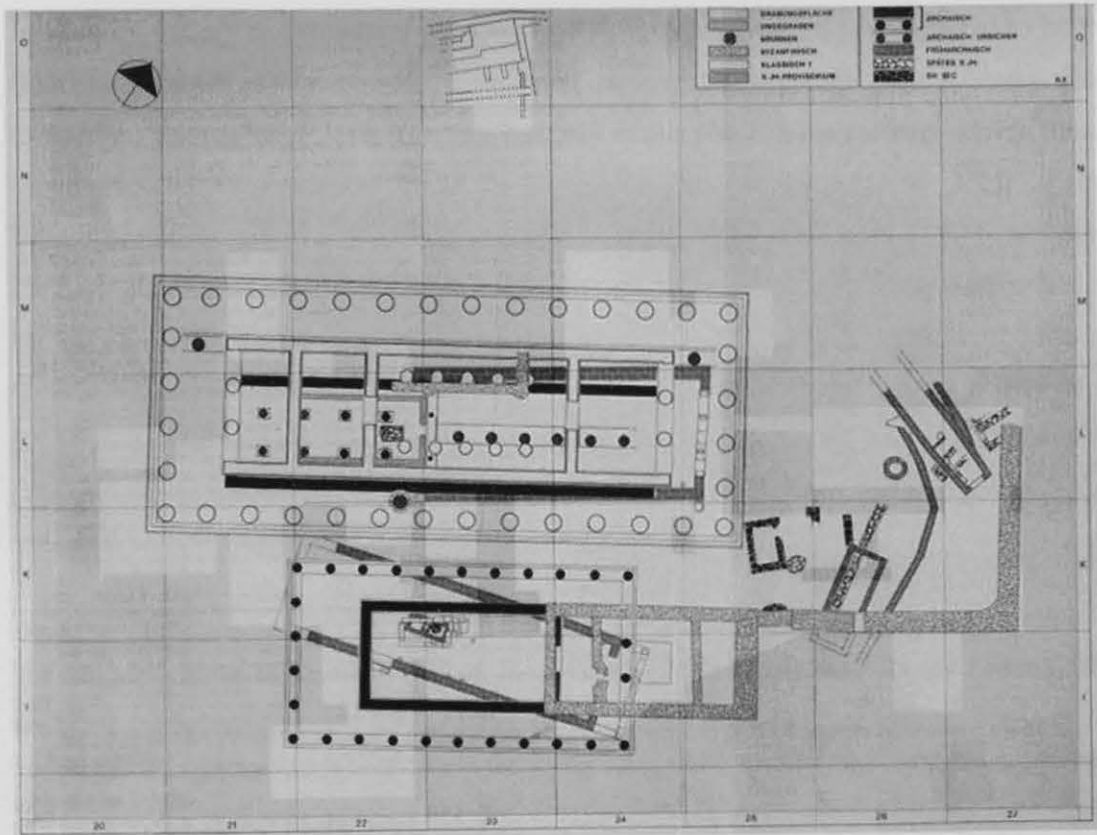


Fig.IX.1
Plan of the sanctuary of
Kalapodi

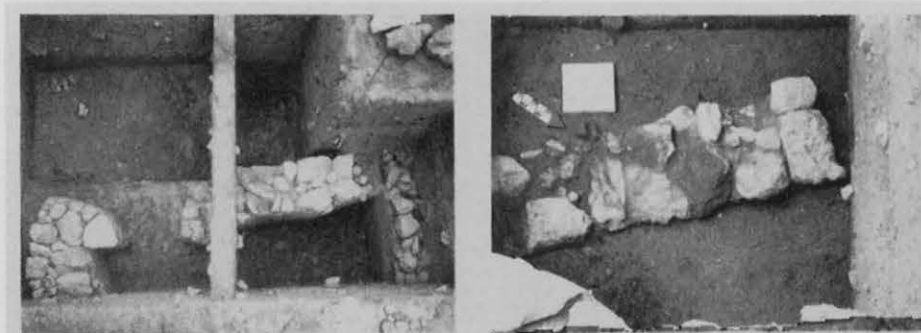
¹²³³ Felsch and Siewert (1987) 681-684

LHIIC evidence

IX.2 Eastern area, trenches K 25-27 and L26

One centre of LHIIC activity was revealed in the eastern part of the excavated area, in front of the south-east corner of the Classical temple, and in particular in trenches K25-27 and L26 (fig.IX.1). Twelve at least stratified layers were dated to all phases of LHIIC period on the basis of pottery. They consisted of deep, full of pottery deposits alternating with thin layers of red, burnt clay and ash.¹²³⁴ These layers were not evenly distributed all over the area of the trenches, because of the differences in terrain formation caused by the sloping ground.¹²³⁵

Activity was initiated at a quite advanced stage of LHIIC-early, which is represented by only one stratigraphical layer that contains relatively little pottery.¹²³⁶ It seems that not much activity took place during LHIIC-early, and only with the second layer, which marked the beginning of LHIIC-middle, did the essential use of the site begin.¹²³⁷ Judging by pottery and structural remains, LHIIC-middle/advanced is considered to be the flourishing phase of the period.¹²³⁸ A small rectangular structure with a stone socle (3.9×2.7m) and mudbrick superstructure was built in this phase in the northern area of trench



K25: it has been interpreted as a shrine (fig.IX.1-2).¹²³⁹ A stretch of

Fig.IX.2
Northern part of
trench K25 from
West. Foundation
of Mycenaean
shrine

¹²³⁴ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 5

For the dating of the Mycenaean layers cf. Jacob-Felsch (1996) 91-102, table 24 and Felsch (2001) 193, n.3

¹²³⁵ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 5, 11: only in the more sloping, southern part of trench K25 were all of the twelve LHIIC layers possible to discern in the stratigraphy, while the flatter northern area produced only three layers.

¹²³⁶ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 91-92

¹²³⁷ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 93-97, esp. 93

¹²³⁸ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 96

¹²³⁹ The excavators had first interpreted it as an altar, judging by a mound of ashes and heavily burnt bones that was found over it – cf. Felsch (1987) 4 and Jacob-Felsch (1987) 29, 35. It was eventually concluded, however, that the ashes and bones were deposited there in the PG period, after the abandonment of the structure, which was thus proven not to be an altar but a shrine – cf. Jacob-Felsch (1996) 11-13 and Felsch (2001) 194.

wall has been found further to the East in K26. Additionally, a hearth was installed to the West of the shrine.¹²⁴⁰ Most of the cult offerings were found in the area between the shrine and the hearth.¹²⁴¹

Another hearth was installed in the southern area of trench K25 in LHIIC-late. The shrine was probably no longer in use at this time. It had been at some point covered by a layer of burnt mudbricks.¹²⁴² The hearth in the southern part was also covered by layers consisting of clay from destroyed mudbricks, potentially belonging to structures, of which nothing else survived.¹²⁴³

IX.3 Area of the southern temple

In addition to the layers of Late Mycenaean activity in the eastern part of the sanctuary, LBA evidence was also found in the area beneath the south temple. The sequence of cult activity in this part has not been fully restored mainly due to the overlying structures, which have limited the excavation to a very small part in the interior of the temple. Nevertheless, a deep sounding inside the Classical cult structure – characterized as *bothros*, “*Cultschacht*” (- in K23) – reached bedrock and revealed a round, shallow tub of unbaked clay (fig.IX.1 and 3). It was dated to LHIIC on the basis of sparse pottery and the fragment of a hollow animal figure, which also points to religious activity.

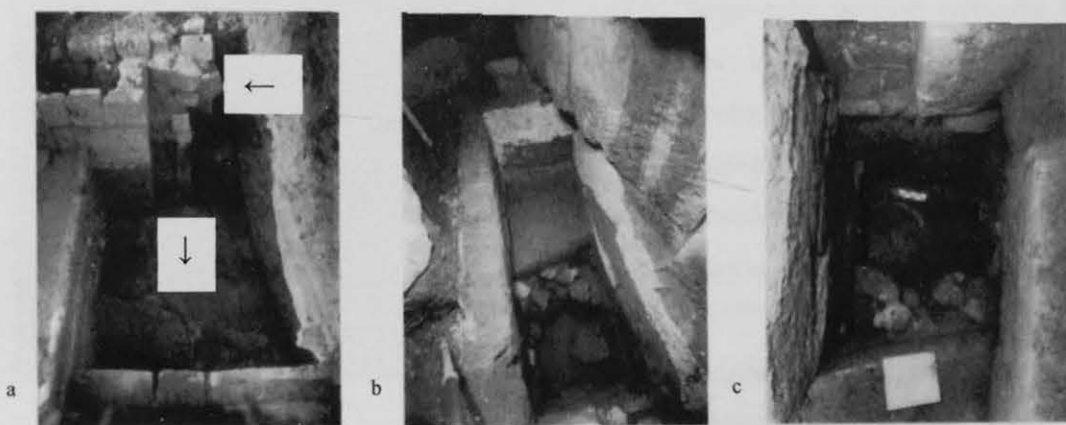


Fig.IX.3

- a. Trench I 23 from South. In the front, the oblique wall of the Early Archaic temple. In the back, the Classical cult structure – “*Cultschacht*”.
- b. Excavation inside the Classical “*Cultschacht*” from East: the white-painted mud-brick walls on the poros base of the 7th century BC.
- c. The earlier layers beneath the Early Archaic structure.

¹²⁴⁰ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 11-13

¹²⁴¹ Felsch (2001) 194-195

¹²⁴² As mentioned above, it is difficult to correlate the stratigraphy of the southern part of trench K25 to that of the northern part due to the different terrain. The layer of burnt mudbricks over the shrine could correspond either to layer 7, layer 9 or layer 11/12 of the southern part of the trench. Thus, it is not clear if it should date before or after the construction of the hearth in this part, i.e. before the end of LHIIC-middle or in LHIIC-late – cf. Jacob-Felsch (1987) 29 and (1996) 13.

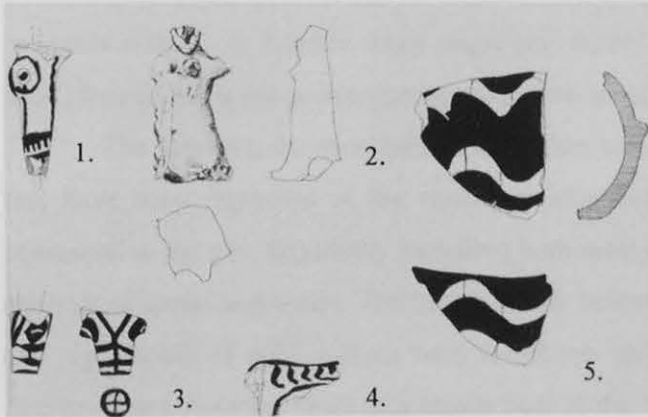
¹²⁴³ Jacob-Felsch (1987) 35; (1996) 13: layers 11/12

The excavators believe that this is the area where the main centre of LBA cult must have been located. They think that the eastern area, in front of the south-eastern corner of the classical temple, could not have been the centre of the sanctuary, but a kind of a forecourt, mainly because of the sloping ground of the area.¹²⁴⁴ It is assumed that the overall area used in Mycenaean times would have extended further to the South of the south temple, where deep ploughing has disturbed the archaeological layers, and to the East.¹²⁴⁵ The excavations under the northern temple and to the West of the southern temple reached bedrock without revealing any Mycenaean layers.¹²⁴⁶

IX.4 Offerings and cult activities

The cult nature of Mycenaean activities at Kalapodi has been established on the basis of several kinds of offerings mainly found in the area between the shrine and the hearth to its West. Most characteristic of all are the thirty-two fragments of terracotta figurines (fig.IX.4), half of which belonged to hollow, wheel-made bull figures (-possibly rhyta – cf. fig.IX.4: 5) and the other half to the usual types of animal and female psi figurines. Noteworthy are a fragmentary complex of female figurines in long dresses and with plastically rendered jewellery around their necks (fig.IX.4: 2), for which Minoan parallels

Fig.IX.4
 1. Head of a figure
 2. Fragment of a figure group
 3. Head of a wheel-made bull figure
 4. Fragment of an animal figurine
 5. Fragment of the back of a wheel-made bull figure



have been suggested, as well as a large head, pierced vertically from the inside before firing, which could have belonged to a figure similar – in smaller scale – to the wheel-made ones from Phylakopi, Tiryns and Mycenae (fig.IX.4: 1).¹²⁴⁷ In particular, the stratification indicates a concentration of the wheel-made

bull figures in layers corresponding to the use of the shrine and the open-air hearth to its West.¹²⁴⁸ Jewellery (Fig.IX.5: 5-8) made of bronze, stone, bone, glass and gold forms another substantial group of offerings.¹²⁴⁹ The fragments of gold sheets/attachments in

¹²⁴⁴ Felsch (1981) 84; (1987) 5; (1991) 86

Jacob-Felsch (1996) 4-5, 11, 93

¹²⁴⁵ Felsch (2001) 194

¹²⁴⁶ Felsch (1987) 5

¹²⁴⁷ Felsch (1999) 165-166

¹²⁴⁸ Felsch (1981) 87-88

¹²⁴⁹ Felsch (1999) 165

particular are thought to underline the special nature of the assemblage of finds, differentiating it from that of a regular habitation site.¹²⁵⁰ Special mention should be made of

an abraded seal stone of the Mainland Popular Group.¹²⁵¹

A very interesting and large group of finds consists of practical implements and workshop tools (fig.IX.5: 1-4). Many of them are made of

bronze, such as tools and hunting weapons, mainly arrowheads. Mineral slag and remains of moulds testify to bronze production at the site itself. There were also many stone tools, such as axes, grinders, mortars and pestles. Workshop tools related to spinning and weaving (loom weights and spindle whorls) were also found in great quantity. A few implements made of bone have been reported; most exceptional is the fragment of a rein made of antler. Iron reins were offered at the sanctuary in later times.¹²⁵² Many of these finds could be considered as personal offerings of visitors with corresponding professions – bronze smiths or textile weavers or hunters. They might also testify to activities that took place at the site itself, thus showing the connection of production units with the sanctuary.¹²⁵³

The grinders, mortars, pestles and other tools, such as the bronze knives, might in fact have been deposited at the sanctuary after being used for the preparation of food consumed at the site, apparently including both meat and grain products, as indicated by the analysis of seeds and bones. The bones mostly belonged to sheep and goats, but also cattle and pigs. Bones of wild animals were found too, mostly belonging to red deer. There was also one bone from the skull of a brown bear in the LHIIC layers, most probably showing that a hunter had offered the fur of his prey to the sanctuary. A rather peculiar custom should be noted: many fragments of around fifty tortoise shells were found in both LHIIC and PG layers, while four young ones were found lying on their backs between the Mycenaean shrine and the hearth. The fact that all the bones belonged to young animals further shows that these were not the remains of a regular habitation site.

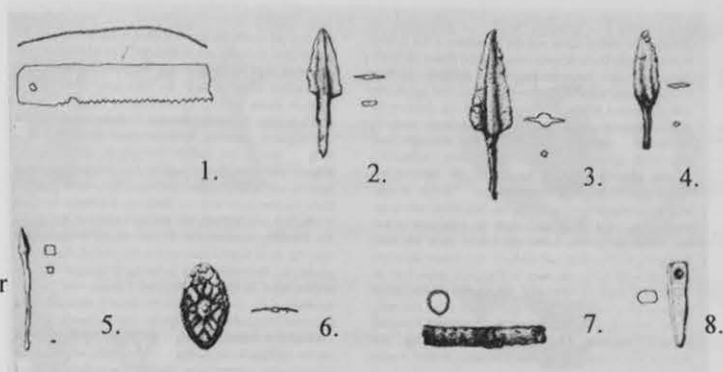
¹²⁵⁰ Felsch (1981) 87-88; (2001) 195: *Goldblechfragmente*

¹²⁵¹ Krzyszkowska (2005) 278: she notes that it comes from a level dated from LHIIC-late to SM

¹²⁵² Felsch (1981) 87-88; (1999) 165

¹²⁵³ Felsch (1999) 169 and n.28; (2001) 195

Fig.IX.5
1. Bronze saw
2-4. Bronze arrowheads
5. Bronze pin
6. Ring
7. Bronze cylinder
8. Pendant, marble(?)



It should also be noted that the well-known Greek custom of dedicating a portion of the sacrificed animal to the deity by burning it on the pyre has been attested at Kalapodi already since LHIIC, as the lack of pelvic bones and tails from the bone-assemblages of all species – including the wild animals – testifies. The complete skull of a young goat found together with the bones from the two front legs and one hind leg in the layer of LHIIC-advanced, probably represents an alternative way of dedicating a portion of the sacrificed animal to the deity.¹²⁵⁴ Overall, it is concluded that animal sacrifices took place at the sanctuary in LHIIC, and were followed by drinking and dining.

The plentiful pottery assemblages of the LHIIC layers also testify to such activities as ceremonial drinking and dining.¹²⁵⁵ The assemblages mostly contain open vases, while the plenitude of decorated fine ware differentiates the pottery from Kalapodi from that of regular settlement or even palace contexts, and points to its special use. Drinking vases are represented by skyphoi, deep cups and many kylikes (fig.IX.6: 2-4), and also kraters for mixing wine and water, often with pictorial decoration.¹²⁵⁶ One krater of LHIIC-advanced date in particular depicts a scene interpreted as the departure of warriors (fig.IX.6: 5).¹²⁵⁷

There are also vases for storing and serving liquids, such as amphorae and jugs. Additionally, there are vases related to the storage of provisions and the preparation of food, such as pithoi and coarse-ware vases, including hand-made examples, which appear already since the first layer onwards.¹²⁵⁸ Overall, however, fine pottery forms a larger percentage of the whole assemblage than coarse ware.¹²⁵⁹

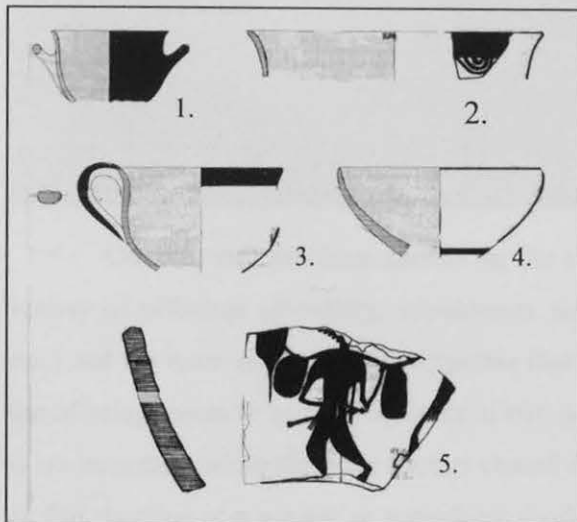


Fig.IX.6
1. Miniature skyphos, layer 3-5
2. Skyphos with a pendant semicircle, layer 6
3. Cup with a band on the rim, layer 6
4. Kylix, layer 6
5. Fragment of the krater with the warriors, layer 10

Finally, some of the vases might have been of cult nature, either dedicated as votive offerings or used as implements in rituals. Such are for instance the miniature vessels (fig.IX.6: 1), the kalathoi and the conical bowls with handles on the rim. It is thought that the kalathos was used for the deposition of blood of the sacrificed animals, judging by the ritual

¹²⁵⁴ Felsch (1999) 166-168; (2001) 195-197

¹²⁵⁵ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 102-103. For more details about fine pottery cf. Felsch (1996) 17-72 and about coarse ware cf. Jacob-Felsch (1996) 73-82. These references apply not only to the LHIIC pottery, but also to the SM and EPG pottery.

¹²⁵⁶ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 35 and pl.7.25.

¹²⁵⁷ Jacob-Felsch (1987) 26-35

¹²⁵⁸ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 16, 73

¹²⁵⁹ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 15, 96

depicted on the sarcophagus of Agia Triadha. The conical bowl is interpreted as a representation of a basket, which would have been used for the offering of fruits to the deity.¹²⁶⁰

SM period

IX.5 Eastern area, trench K25

In the beginning of the SM period the eastern cult area was enlarged.¹²⁶¹ A round stone structure was laid out in the southern part of trench K25 and probably functioned as oven or hearth (fig.IX.1 and 7: 1). The LHIIC shrine had been abandoned by now, and a

heap of 1m height consisting of partly burnt, red clay layers and thin ashy layers, the deposits of sacrifices, started building up over it in the SM period (fig.IX.1).¹²⁶² The offerings dating to this period were mostly deposited in the area over the shrine.



Fig.IX.7
Trench K25 from North. At the southern side of the trench (-in the background of the picture), the hearth (1) on layer 14. In the front of the picture, in the middle, the hearth (2) on layer 28. To the left, the hearth (3) of the layers 33-35

Overall, cult practices carried on the same from LHIIC to SM, as reflected in the variety of offerings (jewellery, implements and tools of stone and bronze, ceramic spools etc.) and the tame and wild animal species that were sacrificed.¹²⁶³ Quite exceptional among the offerings seem to be the fragments of two golden foils found in SM context. One of them is undecorated, while the other carries chased decoration in bands, and has been interpreted as foil sheeting of a sceptre or something similar.¹²⁶⁴ It is not made clear, however, whether any terracotta figures or figurines were found in SM layers. It is also interesting to note that the SM pottery assemblage consists of less fine-ware vases than coarse ware, and of less

¹²⁶⁰ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 103

¹²⁶¹ Some kind of terracing of the eastern area seems to be undertaken during the deposition of Layer 13, which is laid in a different angle than the previous ones – cf. Jacob-Felsch (1987) 35; (1996) 13, 98.

¹²⁶² Felsch (1999) 164; (2001) 194

Cf. also Jacob-Felsch (1996) 13 and 98-99 for analytical description of SM layers 13-15.

¹²⁶³ Felsch (1999) 166-168; (2001) 194-195

¹²⁶⁴ Felsch (1999) 166

wheel-made than handmade pottery, and thus it is in total contrast with that from the Mycenaean layers.¹²⁶⁵

PG period

IX.6 Eastern area, trenches K25-26

The altar-like heap that started building over the LHIIC shrine in the SM period continued to do so in the PG period. Burnt, red clayish and thin, ashy layers gradually deposited at this spot testify to a series of hearths successively installed on top of each other throughout the EPG and the MPG periods.¹²⁶⁶ Votive offerings were found in the centre of these layers, as well as over the abandoned SM hearth on the slope to the South. It is interesting that several grinding stones were found next to the altar-like heap of hearths, either deposited there as cult offerings or simply laid down at the spot until the next ritual.¹²⁶⁷

In general, the patterns in votive and sacrificial offerings seem to carry on the same in the PG period, albeit with some changes: the terracotta figurines almost disappear from PG onwards, while iron knives make their appearance. Quite exceptional among the bone remains are two lion bones found in EPG layers, probably from the fur of a lion which was devoted at the sanctuary by a hunter.¹²⁶⁸ Regarding pottery, handmade ware continues to dominate over wheel-made in the PG assemblages, with wheel-made coarse ware disappearing in the MPG period.¹²⁶⁹

Conflagration apparently occurred at the sanctuary in the transition from MPG to LPG and interrupted the sequence of hearths. The last PG layer (-28) is actually a massive destruction layer, which contained numerous pithos fragments and a great quantity of burnt seeds.¹²⁷⁰ The seeds belonged to several kinds of grains and fruits, which must have been kept stored in pithoi, possibly to be cooked for ceremonial purposes.¹²⁷¹ The destruction

¹²⁶⁵ Felsch (1987) 31, 35

Jacob-Felsch (1996) 98-99, 104

¹²⁶⁶ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 13

Felsch (1999) 164; (2001) 194

According to the preliminary reports, the pottery coming from Layers 16-18 was considered to be SM – cf. Jacob-Felsch (1987) 31-35. According to the final publication, this pottery should better belong to the very beginning of the PG period – cf. Jacob-Felsch (1996) 100-101. According to the revised dating published in Felsch (2001) 193, n.3, however, the idea of layers 16-17 as belonging to a transitional phase has been abandoned. Thus, layers 16-23 date to the EPG period, and layers 24-27 to MPG.

¹²⁶⁷ Felsch (2001) 195

¹²⁶⁸ Felsch (2001) 195-196

¹²⁶⁹ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 99-102: layers 16-23

¹²⁷⁰ Nitsche (1987) 36

¹²⁷¹ Felsch (1999) 166

layer is securely dated to the transition to the LPG period on the basis of a skyphos decorated with two sets of concentric circles (fig.IX.8) – a close parallel with a skyphos from the Toumba building at Lefkandi.¹²⁷² It appears that a gap followed in the activities at Kalapodi after the destruction, lasting during the LPG period. Only a few sherds found in later layers have been possible to date to this phase.¹²⁷³



Fig.IX.8
Skyphos with
concentric circles

IX.7 Southern area, trench K23

The excavation inside the Classical cult structure – “*Cultschacht*” – in the southern temple revealed above the LHIIC tub a burnt floor, covered by a fill containing a LPG – SPG skyphos rim.¹²⁷⁴

Discussion

IX.8 Later development and religious continuity

After the short gap of the LPG period cult activities were resumed, and the two cult centres in the eastern and southern parts of the sanctuary continued to be revered, as indicated by the installation of a SubPG hearth and then of a G altar in the eastern area (fig.IX.7: 2-3), and a building probably built in the G period in the southern part.¹²⁷⁵ A significant change occurred at the sanctuary in the middle or second half of the 9th century BC with the installation of a new hearth in the northern area of the sanctuary and thus the establishment of a new cult centre, followed by the construction of a G cult building.¹²⁷⁶ A series of Early Archaic and Archaic temples succeeded the two G cult buildings, while in the Classical period, after the destruction by the Persians, only the northern temple was rebuilt. In the southern area of the sanctuary, on the other hand, a rectangular cult structure, the so-

Felsch (2001) 194

¹²⁷² Nitsche (1987) 41

¹²⁷³ Nitsche (1987) 41

¹²⁷⁴ Catling (1982-83) 34

Felsch (2001) 193-194

¹²⁷⁵ Felsch (1980) 50-52; (1987) 11-12

Nitsche (1987) 48-49

¹²⁷⁶ Felsch (1987) 5, 11; (1991) 87

called *Cultshacht* or *bothros* was erected above the former adyton.¹²⁷⁷ Thus, the spot of the Late Mycenaean tub was continuously revered throughout the centuries. As for the eastern area of the sanctuary, it hosted an ash deposit in Early Archaic times, but no votives were deposited here any longer. Nothing else was preserved in this area from Archaic times onwards.¹²⁷⁸

Another indication of religious continuity from the LB to the EIA and onwards at Kalapodi might be a provisional cult room that was built after the destruction of the sanctuary by the Persians and before the erection of the new northern temple. This small shrine was built above the earlier hearth of the destroyed northern temple, and contained an altar in front of a cult bench used for the deposition of cult images and votive offerings. It has been noted that such cult benches have been found in the Mycenaean cult rooms of Knossos, Mycenae and Tiryns, while an exact parallel of the shrine of Kalapodi is the temple of Dreros, which comprises both the bench and the hearth (pl.31).¹²⁷⁹ It is true that an uninterrupted continuity of this type of cult room has not yet been established for the Greek Mainland, while this tradition survives much more evidently in Crete. According to the excavator of Kalapodi, however, the Cretan examples and the provisional cult room in the northern temple of Kalapodi should lead us to assume that this type somehow survived in the Mainland as well. He suggests that this might have happened in the adyta of the temples, about which we know very little.¹²⁸⁰

The above evidence indicates that the continuity at Kalapodi does not only regard to the uninterrupted use of a cult place, but also possibly to the survival of cult practices, in spite of any changes occurring in the field of votive offerings and material culture, such as the disappearance of clay figurines from PG layers and the prevalence of handmade over wheelmade ware. The question therefore emerges whether the cult beliefs should be expected to remain the same as well. According to James Wright, “within any religion belief tends to be an unchanging stage upon which practice and structure play”.¹²⁸¹

However, an important change in the structure of beliefs is archaeologically testified at Kalapodi. A new cult centre is added in the middle or the second half of the 9th century BC, and it is probably related to the introduction of a new cult in the sanctuary, which is going to survive and continue to be performed side by side with the older cult. According to

¹²⁷⁷ Felsch (1991) 86

¹²⁷⁸ Felsch (1980) 63-67

¹²⁷⁹ Felsch (1981) 88; (1991) 88-90

¹²⁸⁰ Felsch (1991) 90-91, n.57

¹²⁸¹ Wright (1995) 341-342

the excavator, it is Artemis that was worshiped from LHIIC onwards, while it was the cult of Apollo that was introduced later on. Artemis was the initial deity in the sanctuary and therefore remained the main goddess, taking the form of Artemis Laphria, the protector of the Phokian League. Apollo, her brother, appears later in Central Greece and must have been the master of the new cult.¹²⁸² According to this interpretation, the southern cult centre at Kalapodi, which has its origins in the LBA, was always dedicated to Artemis, while the northern centre, installed in the second half of the 9th century BC for the first time, was dedicated to Apollo.¹²⁸³

The assumption that Artemis was the LBA deity that survived in later years at Kalapodi – although it cannot be proven – seems temptingly logical, especially if we take under account that her name has been read on the Linear B tablets from Pylos.¹²⁸⁴ Moreover, her characterisation in Classical times as *Elaphebolos* – the hunter of deer – reminds us of the prehistoric *Potnia theron*, i.e. the Mistress of the wild animals. Deer hunting also appears to play a significant role in the Late Mycenaean sanctuary, probably being already since then one of the deity's characteristic activities, as indicated by the analysis of bones.¹²⁸⁵ Apart from being *Potnia theron*, however, the Mycenaean deity of the sanctuary at Kalapodi must have also had a more female aspect of personality, as the spindle whorls, cotton reels and loom weights found at the site testify.¹²⁸⁶ The deity's personality should not be expected to survive unaltered throughout the centuries.¹²⁸⁷

IX.9 *The palatial collapse and the religious role of Kalapodi*

Another logical question to ask in relation to Kalapodi is the reason why a sanctuary was established in that particular period at that particular place. The socio-political factors that led to its 'birth' and the apparently communal role that it was called to play in the area are discussed separately in chapters 2 (p.179-81) and 3 (p.227-8). At this point emphasis

¹²⁸² Felsch (1998) 219-224 notes similarities between the modest G building with a hearth built in the northern part of the sanctuary and Apollo's first cult building in Eretria, dating to the early 8th century BC; and between the appearance of tripods at Kalapodi a few years after the introduction of the new cult and the dedication of tripods at Delphi, where Apollo is believed to be worshipped since the second half of the 9th century BC.

¹²⁸³ This interpretation, however, contradicts that of Mazarakis Ainian, who suggested that "the northern temples would have been dedicated to the main deity of the site, Artemis, while the smaller southern temples would have been devoted to the subsidiary divinity, Apollo". Cf. Mazarakis (1997) 140.

¹²⁸⁴ On the tablet Un 219,5 – cf. Vermeule (1974) 63.

¹²⁸⁵ It has also been suggested that "the cult itself may reflect local hunting practice, perhaps linked to status" – cf. Morgan (1997) 179.

¹²⁸⁶ Felsch (1996) 104-105

¹²⁸⁷ Besides, it has been noted that the prehistoric *Potnia theron* differs from the Greek Artemis in that the former has power over animals without using violence, while the latter controls the wild forcefully – cf. Marinatos (2000) 117.

should be placed upon its religious role. After the palatial collapse, any potential links between the area of Kalapodi and a palatial or other important Mycenaean centre would have dissolved. Besides other socio-political and economic implications, the loss of contact with a palatial centre might have also meant the loss of religious ‘guidance’, which would have consequently generated the need to establish a new cult place. It should be admitted of course that there is no straightforward evidence to support such a scenario. Since we lack any evidence for religious activity in the area in palatial times, we can only make speculations about the pre-Kalapodi period.

In the absence of sufficient settlement evidence it is impossible to know whether the several communities of the area served their religious needs on a local basis and in what way or if they perhaps somehow participated in religious activities that took place in the palatial centre. Either of the two options, a combination of both or even a third possibility of a communal cult place existing somewhere in the area already since palatial times could all be considered plausible. Indications exist for all the above situations in peripheral areas. A local sanctuary attached to a settlement outside the immediate palatial sphere might have existed at Delphi already since LHIIIA2.¹²⁸⁸ The livestock (particularly pigs) that Amarynthos and Karystos sent to Thebes in small numbers according to Linear B sealings was apparently destined for sacrifices in religious ceremonies.¹²⁸⁹ Finally, the Mycenaean sanctuary of Agios Konstantinos on Methana does not appear to be serve only the settlement to which it belongs, but also the wider area of the Argolid peninsula and the Saronic Gulf, thanks to its key location on significant sea routes leading from the islands to the mainland.¹²⁹⁰

Whatever the case may have been for the cult scene of the Kalapodi area in LHIIIB, it was anyway necessary to establish a new cult place in LHIIIC at that location, most possibly in order to fulfil certain new religious needs that sprung up at that particular moment in time – apart from the socio-political role that it was also called to play. I think that the most plausible suggestion one could make for the sudden emergence of this need for a new cult place is that it came as a reaction to the palatial collapse, possibly as a result of

¹²⁸⁸ Cf. app.XI.8, esp.p.484.

¹²⁸⁹ Piteros, Olivier and Melena (1990) esp. 176-181

Hägg (1995) 388 presents these nodules as evidence for the existence of a ‘state cult’ and the way it functioned. He underlines that according to a tablet from Pylos (Un 138) recording a group of the same number of animals and almost exactly the same composition of species, sex and age, two very similar or even the same festivals took place at Thebes and Pylos.

Sherratt (2001) 231-232 comments that this “underlines the importance of clientage” in the relationships between the palace at Thebes and these sites, which the palace would have controlled so as to monitor the traffic travelling up the Southern Euboean Gulf. She suggests that such contributions to the palace – and consequently, I would add, participation in the palatial cult – were one of the ways in which “this sort of monitoring was effected”.

¹²⁹⁰ Konsolaki (2002) 36

the gap left in the local religious scene after the loss of the palace's religious 'guidance'— whether this means the interruption of local communities' participation in cult rituals at the palace, or the sudden lack of palatial interference and authority in local sanctuaries. Assuming that the palace exercised a strong influence – if not control – over the religious world of the area of Kalapodi (-which has to remain a hypothesis until new evidence illuminates the LHIIB cult activities in the area), we could imagine that its sudden absence would have severely upset this domain of life too. The establishment of a new sanctuary at a new location might have thus been a spontaneous reaction in such a chain of events. In this case, the core of religion would be expected to remain the same, and the founders of the new sanctuary would follow the same tradition of beliefs and rituals that would have dictated their cult life before the palatial collapse too, without however transferring to the new cult place all those elements that were in the past identified with the palace, its authority and officials. They would only retain the core, basic elements with which they – the population at large – identified.

In this suggestion I am following the division proposed by Hägg and supported by Kilian of Mycenaean religion into several different levels, the two extremes of which are the official, 'state' cult at one end and the popular cult at the other. Official cult is that in which the ruler or the elite intervenes; official cult places are identified by the occurrence of a variety of cult paraphernalia and offerings: human and animal figurines, chariot models, miniature furniture, miniature vessels, large animal figures, rhyta and large-size terracotta figures, and even possibly frescoes. Popular cult is that which only involves the people, with no interference by rulers or elites. "At cult places ascribed to the popular level only the ordinary terracotta figurines occur together with a limited repertoire of pot shapes for eating and drinking".¹²⁹¹ According to another, parallel definition, Mycenaean official cult consists of the same core of Helladic beliefs and rituals as the popular cult, with the extra embellishment of complex religious officials, authority and symbolism, which draw heavily on Minoan paradigms.¹²⁹²

¹²⁹¹ Hägg (1995) 387, 389

¹²⁹² Hägg (1981a) 36-38

Wright (1995) 341-348, esp. 345-346 discusses the several social stages of the evolution of religion and in his example from the Mycenaean culture separates the core beliefs of Helladic culture from those with which it was embellished when the society reached the complex stage of palatial states: "there must have been local beliefs and rituals that were incorporated into the emerging state religion centered at the Mycenaean palaces". He has elsewhere made clear, however, that he does not approve of the terms official and popular because they create "a false opposition between different aspects of an evolving Mycenaean religion" – cf. Wright (1994) 63. As it will be explained below, however, these terms are eligible to use if we first acknowledge that there was a whole range of intermediate stages between the two extremes.

If the establishment of a new sanctuary at Kalapodi were indeed a spontaneous reaction by the local population to the sudden collapse of state religion, and possibly of official cult places too, as I suggested earlier, then Kalapodi should belong to the category of popular cult places. Does the evidence however adhere to this scenario? Although the typical elements of popular cult do occur at the sanctuary – i.e. the ordinary terracotta figurines and pottery testifying to eating and drinking, there are also other elements that according to the above categorization of votives should point to official cult. Such are the head of a large figure wearing a polos, pierced vertically in the inside before being fired (-the figure might have been similar to the hollow, wheel-made figures found at Mycenae, Tiryns and Phylakopi); a group of women in long dresses that have Minoan parallels; several hollow and partly wheel-made fragments of bull-figures; and also the miniature vessels, and possibly the kalathoi, if they were indeed used for the deposition of blood of the sacrificed animals, as depicted on the Sarcophagus of Agia Triadha, thus providing one more link with Minoan prototypes.¹²⁹³ Should then Kalapodi be considered as an official cult place?

Two points should be underlined before addressing this question. First, Kilian and especially Hägg have both pointed out that apart from the popular and the official levels of Mycenaean cult, there should have been several others in between, which are however more difficult to pinpoint. The two scholars chose to concentrate on “these two levels, situated at the extreme ends of the scale, as it were”, as “the ones most easily singled out and characterized on the basis of the evidence available”.¹²⁹⁴ Additionally, Kilian’s examples of popular cult show us that the two different categories of finds presented above should not be used as a checklist that leads us blindfolded to the characterization of a cult place as official or popular, but instead each assemblage should be examined in its own context. The popular cult assemblage of Agia Triada, on the range of Klenies, for example, includes a massive asymmetrical foot of an animal rhyton among a large number of phi-type figurines. Kilian’s example of a ‘backdoor’ popular cult place in the palace of Tiryns itself also included the leg of a larger animal-shaped, wheel-made rhyton (bull?) as well as miniature furniture.¹²⁹⁵ Thus,

¹²⁹³ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 45-46 and 103

¹²⁹⁴ Hägg (1995) 387 and 391: he points out in the discussion that “we should not speak of a dichotomy of official and popular... The first step in distinguishing different levels would be to divide the upper level into one centralised in the palaces, in the megaron especially, and another one which is the official cult of the elite and is much more decentralised and can occur in the smaller sites also.” Cf. also Hägg (1981a) 36 and Kilian (1990a) 196: “... the highly elaborate cult aspects in the palaces themselves at Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos offer quite a variety of find classes, or perhaps one could say, examples ranging from popular beliefs to the rather sophisticated exhibitionism of the upper classes of the Mycenaean society.”

¹²⁹⁵ Kilian (1990a) 189-190 and 193-196

the matter of popular versus official cult is not as straightforward as it might seem at first sight.

In the case of Kalapodi, it is important to point out that most of the figures and figurines were reportedly found in the area between the shrine and the hearth to the West, which started to function in LHIIC-middle/advanced.¹²⁹⁶ The bull-figures, in particular, were concentrated in layers 4-7, which correspond to a relatively short time-span in LHIIC-middle.¹²⁹⁷ No other information is available as yet regarding the find-spots of the figures. Nevertheless, the detailed publication of Mycenaean pottery shows that seven of the twelve stratified kalathos fragments were found in layers 4-10, while none was found in earlier layers.¹²⁹⁸ On the basis of this distribution, it seems that the attributes of official cult did not appear at the sanctuary right from the beginning, but after some time. Thus it could be tentatively suggested that cult activity at Kalapodi was indeed initiated in 'popular' terms, but soon after took a more official form, as defined by local elite members, who introduced practices and symbols connected in people's mentality with the upper classes.

¹²⁹⁶ Felsch (2001) 195

¹²⁹⁷ Felsch (1981) 87-88

¹²⁹⁸ Jacob-Felsch (1996) 45

Appendix X: Medeon

X.1 Introduction

The fortified settlement on the hill of Ag. Theodoroi on the east coast of Antikyra Bay has been identified with the ancient city of Medeon.¹²⁹⁹ Sotiriadis first excavated part of a Mycenaean cemetery to the North-east of the circuit wall in 1907.¹³⁰⁰ The Greek Archaeological Service and the French School carried on his work during a rescue excavation in 1962-1963. The hill itself was not investigated, but the cemetery and several trenches close to the fortification wall have produced significant information.¹³⁰¹ First, a wall section built in Cyclopean style has been identified on top of the hill, very close to the Hellenistic wall, and it has been suggested that it belonged to the Mycenaean fortification.¹³⁰² It could be assumed that the acropolis hosted the Mycenaean settlement, but it has been noted that none of the numerous surface sherds dated to the Mycenaean period. In addition, a



Fig.X.1
Plan of the
fortified city
of Medeon

¹²⁹⁹ Amandry (1940) 272-4

¹³⁰⁰ Sotiriadis (1907) 111

¹³⁰¹ Constantinou (1964) 223-225

Vatin (1969) 1-5

Müller (1995) 21

¹³⁰² Müller (1995) 21

Papadimitriou (2001) 120

tholos tomb located near the summit was built directly on a MH layer, without any Mycenaean layer in between.¹³⁰³ On the other hand, construction remains are rare in the area of the tombs in the saddle between the mountain slopes and the hill.¹³⁰⁴ Thus, the location of the Mycenaean settlement remains enigmatic.

The Mycenaean tombs were located on the slopes of the saddle that separated the

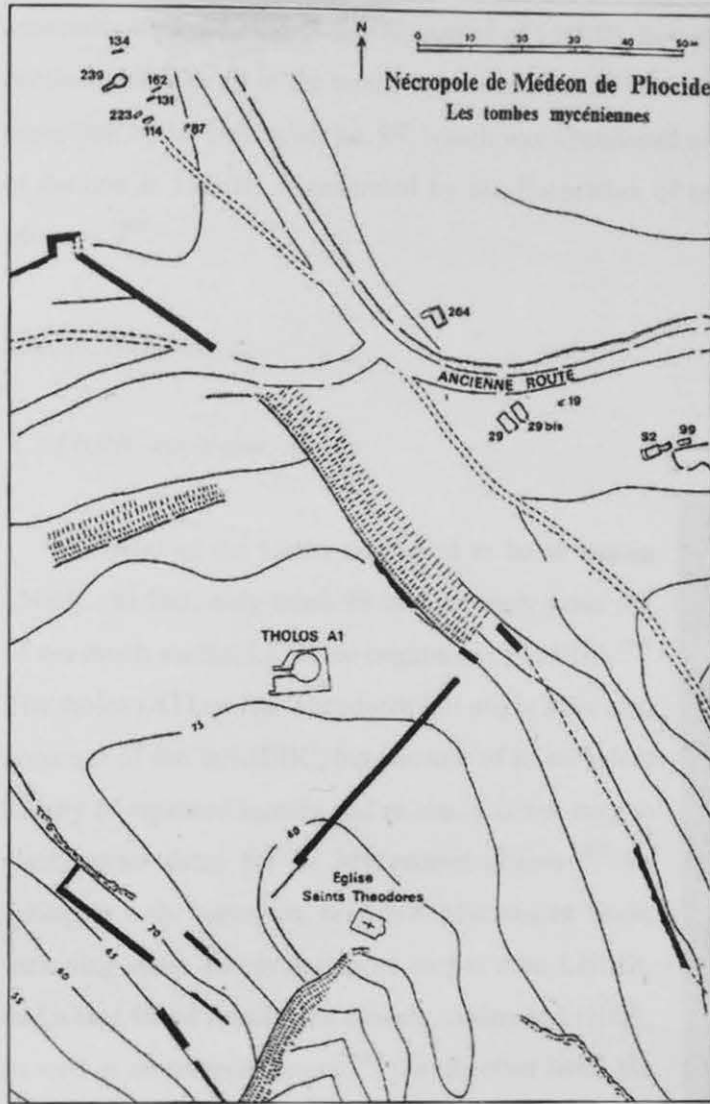


Fig.X.2
Distribution of
Mycenaean
tombs at
Medeon

hill of Ag. Theodoroi from the mountain to the North-east, and on the northern slope of the acropolis.¹³⁰⁵ The tombs appear to be distributed into three sectors. The first sector is on the south-east slope of the saddle, at the foot of the acropolis, and comprised cists with multiple burials and built chamber tombs (tombs 99, S2, 19, 29bis, 29, 264). The second sector is located on the other side of the saddle, on the north-west slope. This sector comprised the small tholos tomb 239, five pit tombs around tomb 239 (-tomb 134 to the North and tombs 162, 131, 223 and 114 to the East), and a sixth pit, tomb 87, about 10m

South-east of the others. Finally, a medium-sized tholos tomb was located on the northern slope of the acropolis. It occupied an exceptional position, possibly in a close distance from the world of the living.¹³⁰⁶

¹³⁰³ Müller (1995) 21-24

¹³⁰⁴ Vatin (1969) 21: area II, 26-29: area of tomb 264, 44

¹³⁰⁵ Müller (1995) 62

¹³⁰⁶ Müller (1995) 62-65

Although the settlement of Medeon has not been excavated, and the partial exploration of the cemetery does not allow the reconstruction of its overall extent and organization, the available information still points to the existence of a significant settlement at this particular site.¹³⁰⁷ The surviving contents of the tombs are very rich (gold jewellery, including a golden seal-ring, amber, cornelian and glass beads, ivory items and a high number of seals – a hundred and fifteen in total) and point to a great period of prosperity especially during LHIIIA1-2. The period of LHIIIB, however, is supposed to be marked by decline, although all of the tombs appear to be used into and throughout this period, with the exception of the built ‘cist’ no. 99, which was abandoned after early LHIIIB. The impression of decline in LHIIIB is generated by the fluctuation of pottery frequency in the tombs of Medeon.¹³⁰⁸

LHIIIC evidence

X.2 LHIIIC-early and -middle

Most of the tombs continued to be in use in LHIIIC. In fact, only tomb 99 had certainly gone out of use much earlier, i.e. in the beginning of LHIIIB.¹³⁰⁹ The tholos (A1) on Ag. Theodoros hill might have also gone out of use in LHIIIC, but because of its turbulent history of repeated looting and re-use, it is not easy to claim exact dates for its Mycenaean phases.¹³¹⁰ Its dating is only based on very few Mycenaean finds, including some sherds dating no earlier than LHIIIB, and a seal found outside the dromos, dating to LHIIIA, as well as on its architecture.¹³¹¹ On the other hand, the



Fig.X.3
Built
chamber
tomb S2

¹³⁰⁷ Müller (1995) 26 notes that the LBA cemetery might have included many more tombs than those excavated, as indicated by the distance between tomb 264 and the others. It might have also been the case that the excavated tombs only constituted one of many cemetery-subgroups scattered around the settlement. If, on the other hand, the fifteen excavated tombs were thought to be representative of the original number of tombs, then we would have to reconstruct a settlement of quite modest size.

¹³⁰⁸ Müller (1995) 66, 68, 71, 481

¹³⁰⁹ Vatin (1969) 18

Müller (1999) 228 describes it as a built cist-grave.

Papadimitriou (2001) 115-116: he thinks it is a built chamber tomb and not a cist tomb

¹³¹⁰ Pelon (1967) 862-870

¹³¹¹ Pelon (1976) 238-239

Papadimitriou (2001) 119

built chamber tomb that Sotiriadis had excavated (S2), has been claimed to remain in use throughout all phases of LHIIIC, until its end, but not with absolute safety, since the finds of Sotiriadis' excavations at Medeon, now kept in the Museum of Chaironeia, have been attributed to this tomb only on circumstantial evidence.¹³¹²

Tombs 29 and 29*bis* constitute the most secure cases of tombs being used continuously into LHIIIC – until LHIIIC-middle the first, until the end of LHIIIC the latter.



Fig.X.4
Built
chamber
tombs 29
and 29*bis*

They fortunately escaped looting, although they were disturbed by later activities in the area. They lay further to the West of tombs S2 and 99.¹³¹³

They are of similar dimensions (1.9m x 4m and 1.9m x 3.45m respectively) and construction to each other and to tomb S2, and might have been built simultaneously as a monumental complex.¹³¹⁴ Although the skeletal

remains were found in great disorder in tombs 29 and 29*bis*, making it very difficult to associate burials with finds, it was still possible according to Vatin to associate golden jewellery with LHIIIC pottery. He describes it, however, as less in quantity than the gold items of earlier dating, and he also points out that they might have in fact belonged to earlier burials. Crystal beads and steatite and cornelian seals are also reported as accompanying LHIIIC burials in tombs 29, 29*bis* and the tholos 239.¹³¹⁵

¹³¹² Müller points out that Sotiriadis' report does not record the exact number of excavated Mycenaean tombs. In the excavations in the 1960s, only one (S2) was identified and re-uncovered – cf. Vatin (1969) 13-18, fig.12. The finds in the Museum of Chaironeia, forty Mycenaean vases and some small finds, could have not come from more than one or two of these built tombs, which are characterized by a long period of use and abundant material. Müller believes that it is quite possible that Sotiriadis only identified, but did not excavate the many undisturbed Mycenaean tombs that he mentions – cf. Müller (1995) 24-25, 48-49 and (1999) 226 and 232, n.3.

Cf. also Papadimitriou (2001) 114-115

¹³¹³ This is area III in Vatin (1969) fig.4.

¹³¹⁴ Müller (1995) 50, 69

¹³¹⁵ Vatin (1969) 54-55

The built chamber tomb 264, distinguished by its lateral entrance and lying about 20m to the North-west from tombs 29/29bis, and the small tholos 239 lying in the area of the so-called West Cemetery, to the North-North-west of the acropolis, c.80m North-west of tomb 264, were unfortunately both looted, but at least produced evidence for being used throughout LHIIC.¹³¹⁶ No LHIIC-early vases were found in tomb 264, but its looted state does not allow us to take their absence as certain indication of a gap in the use sequence of the tomb.¹³¹⁷ On the other hand, accentuated frequentation in LHIIC-middle has been observed for the tholos tomb 239.¹³¹⁸



Fig.X.5
Built
chamber
tomb 264

Finally, cist tomb 19 lying a few metres to the East of tomb 29bis, was apparently not used after LHIIC-early. It contained two or three skeletons and was probably in use since LHIIIA1. The tomb was in such a bad state of preservation that it is



Fig.X.6
Tholos
tombs
239

difficult to date its use precisely.¹³¹⁹ Müller notes that its long period of use (-more than two and a half centuries) is anyway surprising in view of its modest dimensions (1.80x0.55m).¹³²⁰

¹³¹⁶ For tomb 264 cf. Vatin (1969) 31, 45.

For tholos 239 cf. Vatin (1969) 29-30, 45, fig.26 and 27; Müller (1995) 71; (1999) 227-228; Papadimitriou (2001) 118-119. This tomb was still visible and accessible in the 8th century BC, and probably used for heroic cult, thus the upper layer of inhumations was very disturbed – cf. Vatin (1969) 30.

¹³¹⁷ Vatin (1969) 48

Müller (1995) 71

¹³¹⁸ Müller (1995) 70-71

Cf also Müller (1995) 54-56 for the contents of tomb 239: pit 1: LHIIIA2 and LHIIC-early; pit 2: LHIIC-middle/late; lateral niche: LHIIIA2 and LHIIC-late.

Papadimitriou (2001) 119

¹³¹⁹ Vatin (1969) 45

Müller (1995) 57, pl. 6

Papadimitriou (2001) 119-120

¹³²⁰ Müller (1995) 70

In general, the fluctuation in the frequency of vases of LHIIC-early and -middle date found in the tombs of Medeon shows that there was a general drop in numbers in LHIIC-early, followed by increase in LHIIC-middle.¹³²¹ This change in numbers is most evident in the case of tomb 29*bis*.¹³²² It could of course be argued that such figures are misleading in view of the long periods of use of the tombs, characterized by periodical clearings of contents, and given the later disturbances and looting. Since, however, all tombs seem to follow the same general tendency of decreasing numbers in LHIIC-early, this could probably be considered representative of the true pattern of deposition of vases. What conclusions can be drawn from this remark is of course another issue. This tendency could indicate either a drop in the number of burials – and thus possibly a decrease of population – or simply a change in funerary customs. Müller believes that it echoes the impact on the site of the LHIIB turbulences experienced at the palatial centres.¹³²³ It is, however, difficult to draw firm conclusions with no matching settlement evidence in hand. Nevertheless, LHIIC-middle does see an increase in the number of vases, which testify to contacts with Attica, Thessaly and Achaea as well as the appearance of a local style, similar to the ‘close style’ of the Argolid, but with certain peculiarities attributed to local production.¹³²⁴



Fig.X.7
LHIIC-
middle
stirrup jars
of local
style

It has been noted that the LHIIC-middle pottery from Medeon is stylistically closer to the advanced than the developed phase of LHIIC-middle pottery from the Argolid. Müller has very cautiously pointed out that it might be wrong to apply the stylistic divisions of the Argolid to other areas of the Mycenaean world. Doing so in the case of Medeon in particular, leads us to conclude on a gap in the use of the cemetery during LHIIC-developed, which is however difficult to accept with no support from stratigraphical evidence. She thus suggests that we should consider the pottery of LHIIC-middle/advanced style from Medeon as representing the local style in the period between LHIIC-early and

¹³²¹ Müller (1995) 73

¹³²² Müller (1995) 68

¹³²³ Müller (1995) 73, 481

¹³²⁴ Müller (1997) 84

According to Mountjoy, the two illustrated stirrup jars (fig.X.7) have the typical feature that characterizes the local style, the stemmed spiral on the false mouth and the base – cf. Mountjoy (1999) 783, no.252 and 254.

LHIIC-late.¹³²⁵ Similar problems have occurred also with the dating of pottery from Elateia and Delphi.

X.3 LHIIC-late

Finally, a new type of tomb was apparently introduced in LHIIC-late. In the West Mycenaean Cemetery, six rectangular pits (87, 114, 131, 134, 162, 223) have been found, five of them dating to LHIIC-late, and one (87) possibly to the SM period. They contained single burials, apart from tomb 131, which contained a double burial, possibly interred simultaneously, as indicated by the lack of earth in between the two superimposed bodies.¹³²⁶

The LHIIC-late pits are very elongated, cut in the soft bedrock, covered by blocks of stones and with the same features: North-South orientation, vertical position to the slope of the

terrain, the skeleton placed in supine position. In general, they contained rather poor offerings: humble



Fig.X.8
LHIIC-late
pit tomb
134

jewellery, a small vase, occasionally nothing. Two of them (131 and 162) contained one steatite seal each among other offerings. Exceptional seems to be one tomb (no. 162) of a girl adorned with gold ornaments.¹³²⁷

The greatest novelty about these tombs is of course the introduction of single burials. It should also be stressed that all the new pit-tombs were dug in the same area, very close to the small tholos. Müller believes that the location was chosen deliberately, possibly because of the attraction exercised by the antiquity and monumentality of the tholos. In her attempt to interpret the new burial custom, Müller suggests two scenarios: it was either introduced by newcomers or emerged out of an indigenous evolution of burial customs adopted by a newly developed social group. The newcomers' scenario is corroborated by the strongly heterogeneous character of LHIIC-late pottery, most of which is imported from Western

¹³²⁵ Müller (1995) 18

¹³²⁶ Müller (1995) 59-60

¹³²⁷ Vatin (1969) 29, 45, fig.25: no 134: he reports five tombs. Müller (1999) 223 adds one more, no. 87, which Vatin dates to the SM period. Cf. Müller (1995) 59: here she dates its period of use to LHIIC-late or SM.

Greece, i.e. Achaea, Elis, Cephallonia. The alternative scenario is supported by the unique primary burial found in a pit (2) of tholos 239, which differs from the secondary burials deposited in pits in all the other tombs of Medeon. It probably dates to LHIIC-late and received quite rich offerings (two seals, four bronze rings, a bone pin and an amber bead), as compared to the other pit burials outside the tholos. According to Müller, this burial might show that the introduction of single burials in pits took place within the framework of the usual Mycenaean architectural types, thus indicating same population identity.¹³²⁸

It is truly difficult to decide on either of the two scenarios. In any case, the way in which the new custom of single burials was introduced at Medeon, either by newcomers or as a reaction to social changes, shows respect to old traditions. The alignment of the tombs and their concentration around the tholos indicate that this was probably an organized burial ground belonging to a certain group – possibly of a family – which expressed a certain attachment to the past by their choice of location, but at the same time broke free of tradition. It could even be tentatively suggested that it was a leading member of this group who was buried in the pit inside the tholos. In general, this was a period of cultural changes for Medeon, while at the same time traditional features were still preserved. It is relevant to underline that most of the LHIIC-late pottery from Medeon, a corpus of twenty-three vases in total, was imported from areas of Western Greece: Achaea, Elis, Cephallonia, thus pointing to interregional contacts and external influences.¹³²⁹ It should also be stressed again that three of the built chamber tombs (S2, 29*bis* and 264) and the small tholos (239) were probably still in use in this period, as noted above.

EIA evidence

As in the case of the LBA settlement, only burials and no structural remains of SM or PG date have been recovered at Medeon.

X.4 SM period

One of the pit tombs found in the West Cemetery (no 87) should be dated to the SM period according to Vatin, who thought that the small dimensions and elliptical shape of the tomb, in which the body was necessarily placed in contracted position, differentiate it from

¹³²⁸ Müller (1995) 147-149, 152-154: the exact dating of this burial depends on a fragmentary stirrup-jar, which could be dated to LHIIC-late on the basis of its strongly biconical shape, but in terms of decoration reminds us of the close style of LHIIC-middle.

¹³²⁹ Müller (1995) 152-154

the other pits in the area and date it to this phase rather than the end of LHIIC.¹³³⁰ Tomb 87 is the only pit that produced handmade pottery, i.e. three vases of the so-called 'leather ware'.¹³³¹ Müller, however, has pointed out that it also contained a degenerated example of "Medeon style" stirrup-jar, which goes up to LHIIC-middle/advanced, and thus should be the earliest of all pits. Regarding its small size, she suggested that it might have been used for infant or child burials.¹³³² She has also noted that the bad state of preservation of the tomb does not allow us to confirm that it only contained one skeleton.¹³³³ If it had been used repeatedly, that would also explain the different styles of pottery that it contained.

If, on the other hand, tomb 87 dated to the SM period, it would point to continuity in the use of the same burial custom and the same burial ground after the end of LHIIC-late, while the handmade pottery of 'leather-ware' that it contained indicates a change in the local tradition of pottery making. Without any other SM evidence in hand, however, it is not possible to draw any conclusions on the cultural continuity or/and changes in this period.

X.5 PG period

In this period, the burial practices appear to change quite radically. The new custom that is now practiced is primary cremation, which is described in the preliminary report as follows: an elliptical hole of around 0.80m diameter is dug in the ground, an oinochoe is broken at the spot after libation, big fire logs are placed on top and the body is cremated in contracted position. The body was never completely burnt, and the remains were left in place and covered by soil. These cremations were always single. The rite of cremation continued concurrently with inhumation in small elliptical cists during the EG period.¹³³⁴ It



Fig.X.9
Remains of
primary cremation

¹³³⁰ Vatin (1969) 56-59

¹³³¹ Müller (1995) 283-284

¹³³² Müller (1995) 63-65

¹³³³ Müller (1995) 58-59

¹³³⁴ Vatin (1969) 59

has been rightly pointed out that “as the excavation is still unpublished, it remains unclear whether cremation was the only rite which replaced inhumation during PG or whether inhumation was also practiced as it was later in the G period.”¹³³⁵

Several tens of cremation pits of PG and G date were reportedly found in the area of Sotiriadis’ excavation, to the North-North-east of the acropolis. They were apparently recovered in the area around the Mycenaean built chamber tombs S2 and 99, on a terrace defined to the North by a Mycenaean retaining wall, while some of them lay right to the North of the Mycenaean tombs (fig.X.11).¹³³⁶ Many cremation pits were also excavated on the slopes of the mountain that dominates the acropolis to the North, but they are in general characterized as later than the PG-EG cremations found near tombs S2 and 99. The cremated remains in this area were deposited in urns, while inhumation in pithoi also took place here.¹³³⁷ As regards the pottery from the PG burials, Desborough has noted parallels with Derveni (Achaea) and Ithaca for one of the three reported and datable vases (fig.X.10a), while another one, an oinochoe (fig.X.10b), is “typically Athenian LPG, but could have come from Corinth”.¹³³⁸



Fig.X.10
PG vases
broken at
the spot
after
libation



Fig.X.11
View of the
cremation pits
to the North of
tombs S2 and
99 from West-
South-west.
The remains to
the East-North-
east of the
tombs belong to
the Alkidamos
monument

Finally, as compared to the later burials, the location of the PG cremations around the Mycenaean built chamber tombs S2 and 99 seems quite significant, possibly betraying a tendency to show respect to and to retain some

¹³³⁵ Lemos (2002) 171

¹³³⁶ Vatin (1969) 13, 18, 21

¹³³⁷ Vatin (1969) 31

¹³³⁸ Desborough (1974) 206

Cf. also Morgan (1990) 248-249 for an analysis of the illustrated pottery.

kind of attachment with the past and the ancestors. It is also interesting that this choice of location is different from that of the LHIIC-late pits. Nevertheless, the fragmentary evidence does not allow us to say whether that was in fact accidental or for some reason deliberate.

course with the information from primary sources.

The occupation of the site of Delphi started in the beginning of the LH period, and continued with no interruption throughout.¹³⁴⁰ Several parts of the site have produced Mycenaean vestiges, but three main areas of construction remains could be distinguished. These are in the north-eastern corner of the sanctuary – in the so-called ‘Mycenaean village’ (fig.XI.1: area of nos.511, 507, 502; fig.XI.2: no.9); in between the terrace of the temple of Apollo and the eastern part of the sanctuary’s circuit wall; and outside the sanctuary, to the East of the Roman baths (fig.XI.2: no.21).¹³⁴¹

The extension of the Mycenaean settlement could be estimated at around 16.000m² on the current state of evidence. The south limit of the village is not known with precision; it is assumed to be a bit further to the South of the treasury of Cyrenaeans (fig.XI.1: no.302). It has been suggested that the west boundary of the settlement was defined by a ravine carved by the Kerna stream that flows in that area (marked with a cross North of the sanctuary on fig.XI.2). A substantial wall has been discovered in the depths of the cella of the temple of Apollo, orientated North-west/South-east and with a single façade towards West (fig.XI.2: no.1). According to the excavator’s suggestion, it might have been a retaining wall aligned with the east flank of the ravine, built in order to isolate the habitation area from the stream flowing at its West, but also possibly for defensive purposes. The construction of the wall is dated to the end of LHIIIA2 or the beginning of LHIIIB.¹³⁴² Finally, the east boundary remains the most uncertain. It has been shown that the settlement reached to the East of the Roman baths, and it has been suggested that the settlement might have extended even further East.¹³⁴³ In general, rich and abundant pottery of LHIIIB2 was found at Delphi.¹³⁴⁴ Additionally, published pottery with specified provenance seems to indicate that the phases prior to LHIIIB2 are only scarcely represented in the east part of the Mycenaean settlement. This might indicate that the site expanded to the East from LHIIIB2 onwards.¹³⁴⁵

¹³⁴⁰ Müller (1992) 458

¹³⁴¹ Müller (1992) 455

¹³⁴² Darcque (1991) 689: he also notes that the wall was covered by a layer of white-greenish soil containing material of LHIIIC date. He stresses that because of the wall’s orientation, it could not have been an ordinary terrace wall.

According to Müller, the wall was constructed in LHIIIA1, but she gives no explanation for this different dating – cf. Müller (1992) 457.

¹³⁴³ Lerat (1961) 357-362

Müller (1992) 458

The deep trenches that were initially excavated to the E of the Baths, however, had led to the conclusion that the Mycenaean habitation did not continue further to the direction of Castalia – cf. Bousquet and Lerat (1957) 707. Thus, the situation seems to be somewhat confusing.

¹³⁴⁴ Müller (1992) 461

¹³⁴⁵ Lerat (1961) 357-360, fig. 43-47

Müller (1992) 470-471

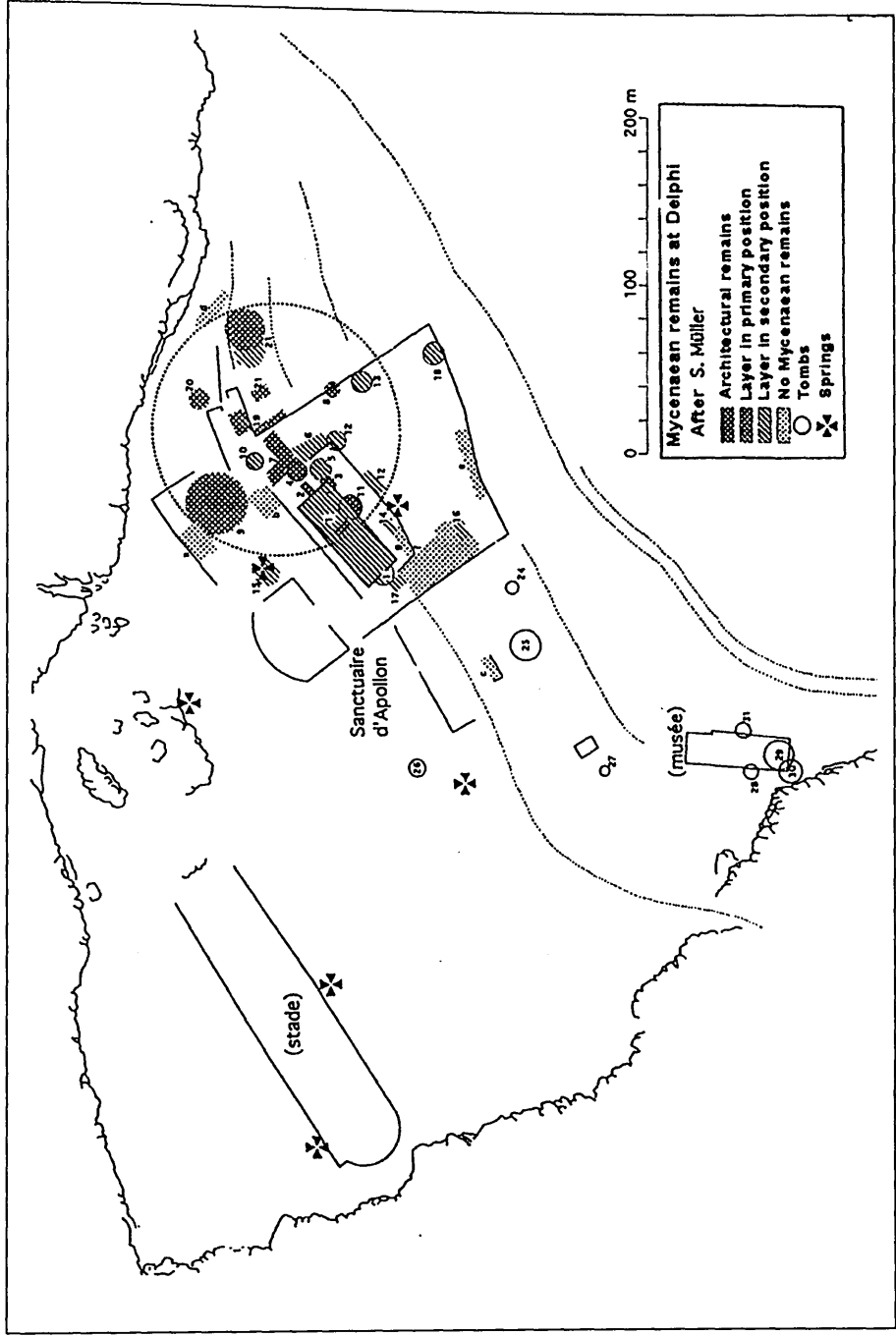


Fig. XI.2
Plan of the sanctuary area at Delphi

LHIIIC evidence

Settlement remains

XI.2 LHIIIC-early

Due to the fragmentary and scarce nature of the available information, it is unfortunately not possible to follow in details the transition from LHIIIB2 to LHIIIC-early. Nevertheless, it has been noted that the best-represented phases in the pottery assemblages from the site are LHIIIB2 and LHIIIC-early,¹³⁴⁶ thus showing that the transition was most probably smooth and that no event serious enough to interrupt the progress of the settlement appears to have occurred.

The preliminary state of the reports does not allow us to reconstruct a general picture of the settlement in any of its phases. Judging by pottery, however, LHIIIC-early appears to have been a quite flourishing phase in the settlement's history. As for architectural remains, it is possible to date at least one three-room building, the so-called House C5, to this phase. Three pithoi, one of which was full of grain, as well as five other vases were found *in situ* in

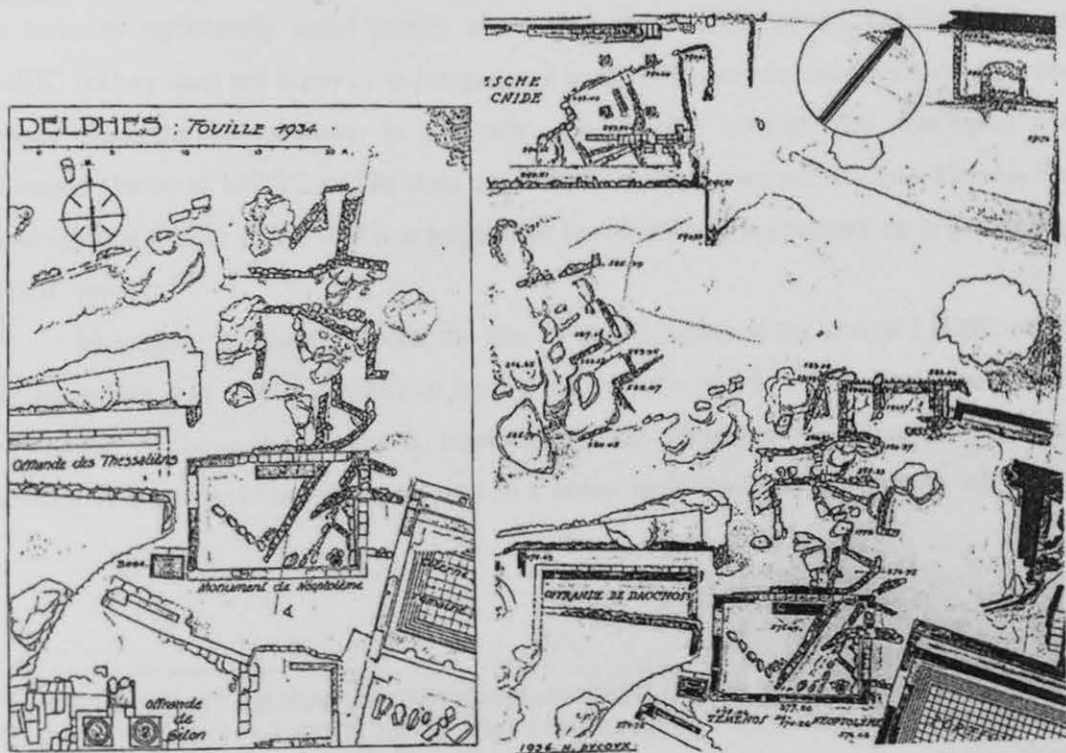


Fig.XI.3
Plan of
remains in
Mycenaean
village

¹³⁴⁶ Müller (1992) 461, 463

the middle room.¹³⁴⁷ Another pithos filled with bones, sherds and ash – probably used as rubbish bin – was found in a room of House B2, under the later Neoptolemos Sanctuary. Mountjoy has dated an illustrated vase coming from this room to LHIIC-early (fig.XI.4).¹³⁴⁸ Both houses are located in the area of the ‘Mycenaean village’ (fig.XI.1: no.9).

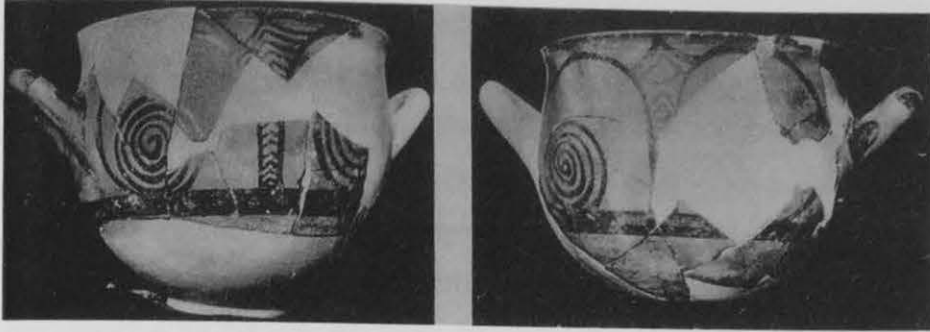


Fig.XI.4
LHIIC-early
vase from
House B2

XI.3 LHIIC-early/middle

It has been suggested that the presence of abandoned LHIIC-early vases on the house floors points to a disturbance in this phase.¹³⁴⁹ Müller also notes that the pottery of the following phase, LHIIC-middle, is thinly represented at the site and in the tombs. She points out, however, that due to the lack of stratified evidence, no firm conclusions can be drawn on the basis of stylistically dated pottery alone. The individuality of the locally produced LHIIC pottery does not allow us to categorize it in the same way as that established for the pottery from the Peloponnese. In particular, the division between the developed and advanced phases of LHIIC-middle does not seem to apply to the material from Delphi. For these reasons Müller thinks that it is impossible to conclude with certainty on a gap during LHIIC-middle.¹³⁵⁰

Mountjoy, however, supports the idea of abandonment at the end of LHIIC-early, and associates it to a burnt destruction layer lying over the middle of the three strata of the settlement.¹³⁵¹ The available reports, however, are too preliminary to allow such general remarks. A burnt layer is only mentioned in a report recording two LBA strata, which are

¹³⁴⁷ Müller (1992) 471 and Mountjoy (1999) 741; Lerat (1938) 198-200, fig. 7

¹³⁴⁸ Lerat (1935) pl. 21: 1-2; (1938) 200-201, fig.8 (:the pithos)

Mountjoy (1999) 741

Müller (1992) 478 discusses and rejects the idea suggested by the excavator Lerat that the pithos might have functioned as a bothros used in cult.

¹³⁴⁹ Mountjoy (1999) 741

¹³⁵⁰ Müller (1992) 471-472

¹³⁵¹ Mountjoy (1999) 741

actually supposed to date to LHIIIB, and not in the report referring to three strata, while the burnt layer itself might simply relate to the function of a nearby kiln¹³⁵².

Müller, on the other hand, makes notice of a thin, black, ashy and full of sherds layer that has come up at several places, as for example under the Apollo temple or around the altar, but she points out that it could not be securely associated with an LHIIIC-early disturbance, because it was neither found in a primary deposit, nor observed in the two sectors with groups of Mycenaean buildings. Besides, she could only locate four burnt sherds in the museum of Delphi, which she does not regard as strong enough evidence for a conflagration occurring during the Mycenaean period.¹³⁵³

Thus, the transition from LHIIIC-early to LHIIIC-middle at Delphi cannot be clearly reconstructed for the moment. Some disruption of occupation might have occurred, but it is difficult to decide whether it happened on a small or large scale and if it was related to some destructive event. Besides, activity at the site seems to have increased again at a later stage of LHIIIC-middle, “since there are LHIIIC-middle (advanced) Attic and Argive imports” (fig.XI.5).¹³⁵⁴ It should be repeated here, however, that this impression of a gap and subsequent resurgence might simply be generated by the special, local character of the pottery, which does not appear to follow faithfully the mainstream Mycenaean developments.



Fig.XI.5
LHIIIC-middle stirrup jar from Delphi chamber tomb: possible Attic import

XI.4 LHIIIC-late

Finally, the community of Delphi must have been thriving again in LHIIIC-late, as indicated by the amount of pottery.¹³⁵⁵ This phase is well represented to the East of the Roman baths (fig.XI.1: no.21), where both LHIIIB and LHIIIC pottery is reported to occur;

¹³⁵² Amandry *et al.* (1950) 324: two layers

Amandry (1947-48) 454: three layers

Müller (1992) 471

¹³⁵³ According to Müller, it is not safe to suppose that the great quantities of burnt sherds allegedly coming from this layer were all thrown away after the excavation, in order to interpret their absence from the Museum storerooms – cf. Müller (1992) 472. The initial reports, however, which note that the numerous sherds in this layer were burnt, are also difficult to dismiss altogether as completely untrustworthy. Cf. for example Lerat (1938) 202. It should be stressed, however, that according to Lerat's description, it indeed sounds as if these layers were in secondary position.

¹³⁵⁴ Mountjoy (1999) 739

According to Müller (1992) 468: a close-style stirrup jar from the large chamber tomb with dromos is an Attic import – cf. Perdrizet (1908) 9, fig. 27.

¹³⁵⁵ Mountjoy (1999) 739

in particular a fragmentary krater with pictorial style decoration (fig.XI.6a) and a pithos with relief decoration are illustrated in the preliminary report, both dating to LHIIC-late.¹³⁵⁶

Especially the krater that is decorated with a bird in pictorial style is considered to be very important, since it exemplifies the vitality of the site of Delphi at this very last phase of LBA, at a time when the pictorial style had become a rarity in the Mycenaean world. The bird kraters are securely dated to LHIIC-late on

the basis of their foot with the swelling part in the middle (*à bourrelet*), known from Cephallonia, and their degenerated drawing.¹³⁵⁷ There are also a couple of LHIIC-late imports from Achaea (fig.XI.7: 2; fig.XI.8), as well as vases testifying to contacts with Arcadia (Palaiokastro – fig.XI.7: 3) and Thessaly.¹³⁵⁸

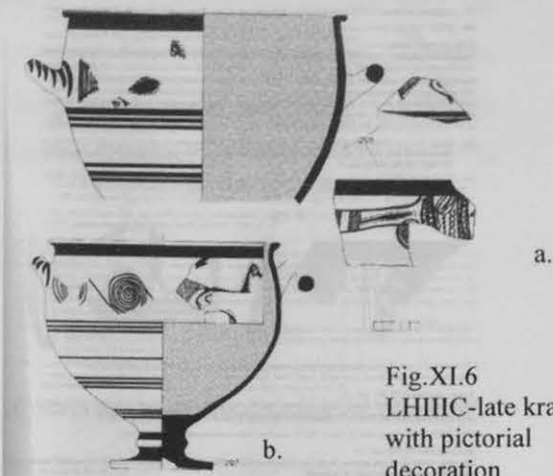


Fig.XI.6
LHIIC-late kraters
with pictorial
decoration

Fig.XI.7
1. Fragment of
stirrup jar possibly
from Palaiokastro
2. Fragment of
stirrup jar from
Achaea
3. Deep bowls
with parallels
from Cephallonia

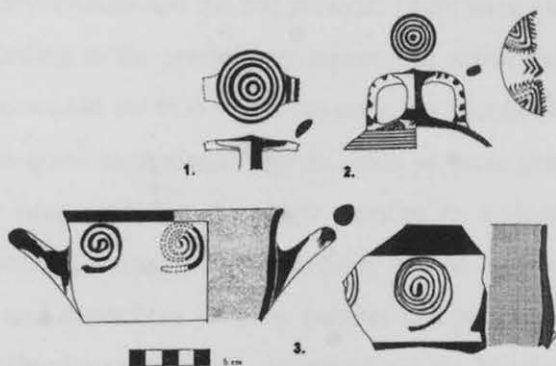


Fig.XI.8
Achaean
stirrup jar
from the large
chamber tomb
of Delphi

During or at the end of LHIIC-late, a rock avalanche must have caused great destruction to the Mycenaean settlement, as indicated by rocks fallen upon houses in the area of the Mycenaean village. A characteristic LHIIC-late vase that was found in a layer covered by avalanche rocks was another bird krater (fig.XI.6b).¹³⁵⁹ It is not certain, however, that the destruction affected the whole site: there is no such evidence reported for the area to

¹³⁵⁶ Lerat (1961) 357-366, fig. 45-47 and fig.48

¹³⁵⁷ Müller (1992) 466; sherds of local clay decorated with isolated spirals also show a common style with Cephallonia – cf. Müller (1992) 468-470, fig. 13.4

¹³⁵⁸ Müller (1992) 468

Mountjoy (1999) 746-747

¹³⁵⁹ Lerat (1935) 343 and 356, fig. 14 and pl. XXI, 5

More sherds found in the same layer are illustrated in Lerat (1935) 344-345, figs.4-5.

Cf. also Lerat (1935) 276 and (1938) 207-208 for the destruction by falling rocks.

Müller (1992) 472

the East of the Roman baths.¹³⁶⁰ Regarding the area of the Mycenaean village, a sterile layer of stones and soil, the so-called *savoura* is reported to have covered the houses after the destruction, clearly demarcating the Mycenaean occupation from the G structures that were built here later. As it will be discussed further on, however, G walls were also found built over the Mycenaean structures with no transitional, distinctive layer deposited in between.¹³⁶¹

XI.5 LHIIC-late/SM

It has been suggested that habitation at Delphi might have continued in a reduced form until the final end of the BA, when a new avalanche or mudslide appears to have destroyed the village.¹³⁶² An indication for this is a 2m thick layer discovered inside the treasure of Potidaea, to the South-west of the temple of Apollo (fig.XI.1: no.227; fig.XI.2: no.16). This layer was reported to consist almost entirely of pebbles, and to be different from the layer of “*savoura*” that was found over the Mycenaean buildings in the eastern region of the sanctuary. It also contained many sherds, dating according to the report to the very end of the Mycenaean and the SM periods. There were also sherds of G style, of the phase – always according to the preliminary report – in which the skyphos appears (-one wonders whether these would be PG). Unfortunately, no sherds were illustrated. This layer also contained some quite exceptional objects, such as bone plaques and an Archaic terracotta sphinx. It was suggested that this layer testifies to a destruction that came upon this part of the sanctuary: a mudslide was possibly caused by flooding and resulted into carrying away the soil and depositing all these pebbles and pottery sherds here. The excavator concluded that this flooding apparently destroyed a Late Mycenaean installation – the houses of a poor village ‘with no doubt’ – at the initial phase of G style.¹³⁶³

However, this interpretation contradicts the occurrence of later, Archaic finds in this same layer, and especially in great depth, as it was pointed out in the report. It could perhaps be suggested that this layer was indeed initially caused by a mudslide, but it was eventually deposited at this location under the Potidaea treasury in a secondary phase, probably at the time of levelling this area for the building of the Archaic poros wall that was also found under the treasury. In that case, it could still be considered possible that this was originally a

¹³⁶⁰ Müller (1992) 472

¹³⁶¹ Lerat (1938) 208

¹³⁶² Müller (1992) 472, n.100

¹³⁶³ Amandry (1940-41) 258-259: he mentions that the same layer was also identified while digging in 1938 in between the Etruscan treasury and the peribolos wall, i.e. a bit further to the N of the Treasury of Potidea.

homogeneous layer testifying to some destruction in the SM (or PG?) period. With no sherds illustrated, however, it is very difficult to discuss and even more to date such an event with safety.

Another indication for habitation carrying on after the LHIIC-late destruction has been discerned in the 'Mycenaean village', to the North-east of the temple of Apollo. Here, according to the preliminary reports, the G layers were either deposited directly upon the Mycenaean layers or were separated from them by a thick, sterile layer of soil and stones, the so-called *savoura*. In particular, the report on the excavations of 1934-35 informs us that a sterile layer of stones and soil constitutes the most certain demarcation between the Mycenaean and the G layer in sector C, but also that in that same area the northern wall of one of the Mycenaean houses (C5 – the three-room building) was found to function as a base for a later, G wall, and a new partition wall was built against the one which previously separated rooms 2 and 3 of this house. The walls were reported to date to the Geometric period on the basis of handmade (*vulgaire*) pottery found at their level, over room 3. Another G house was built on top of the Mycenaean house C6. A layer of hard soil – the G floor – made it possible to distinguish here between Mycenaean and Geometric levels. In these two cases, the G floor level reached the top surface of the avalanche rocks that had destroyed the Mycenaean houses. Elsewhere, the rocks were incorporated in the new buildings.¹³⁶⁴ This report has led Müller to point out that the removal of debris of certain Mycenaean houses apparently took place soon after the destruction, by people who still knew their position. Thus, it seems quite possible that the population who survived the destruction partly re-occupied the village and re-used some of the walls as foundations for new houses.¹³⁶⁵

Burials

Two groups of LBA tombs have been found at Delphi. One is located to the South-west of the sanctuary's western circuit wall, and the other group is further to the East of the sanctuary of Athena at Marmaria.

XI.6 *West Cemetery*

In the so-called West Cemetery, three chamber tombs with dromoi have been found, two of them quite large in dimensions, as well as eleven small chamber tombs, without

¹³⁶⁴ Lerat (1938) 209-215

¹³⁶⁵ Müller (1992) 473

dromoi, and two pits. The most impressive chamber tomb was found to the West of the south-west corner of the sanctuary (fig.XI.2: no.25). Its chamber has been described as a tholos, and it had a long proper dromos and entrance. Its contents had fortunately been preserved intact until its excavation in 1894. It contained fifty-eight fully preserved or restorable vases, dating from LHIIIB to LHIIIC-late and SM; Mountjoy notes that all phases of LHIIIC seem to be represented.¹³⁶⁶ It also contained a few bronze weapons and implements (a fibula, a razor, a broken pair of tweezers, a fragmentary knife blade) as well as a stone pendant and a few serpentine and clay beads.¹³⁶⁷

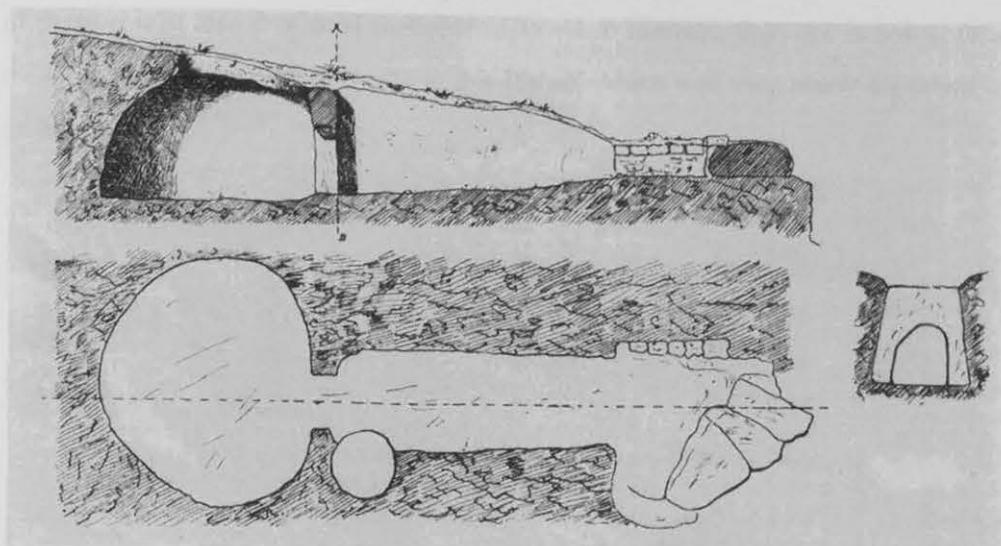


Fig.XI.9
Plan and
section of the
large chamber
tomb of
Delphi

Our information on the two other tombs with dromoi is unfortunately not as detailed. One of them does not even appear in the reports, but it has been recorded by Müller, who describes it as probably large with an abruptly sloping dromos, based on the excavation journals. It was found about 100m to the North-North-west of the previous tomb (fig.XI.2: no.26).¹³⁶⁸ In the area called Pylaea, between the stadium and the museum (-about 100m to the West of the first tomb), another chamber tomb was excavated in 1895 (fig.XI.2: no.27). No mention of a dromos is made in the preliminary report, but Müller, who has also examined the excavation journals, considers it possible that this tomb had a dromos too. Although it had been looted, a large number of unpainted kylix bases and fragments of a large krater and a goblet were recovered.¹³⁶⁹ Mountjoy interprets this pottery assemblage as “a rubbish deposit tipped into the already abandoned tomb”.¹³⁷⁰

¹³⁶⁶ Mountjoy (1999) 741

¹³⁶⁷ Perdrizet (1908) 6-10

Müller (1992) 493, no.25

¹³⁶⁸ Müller (1992) 493, no. 26

¹³⁶⁹ Perdrizet (1908) 10-12, figs. 43-44

Müller (1992) 493, no. 27

¹³⁷⁰ Mountjoy (1999) 741-742

The other chamber tombs of the West Cemetery are described as having small, beehive-shaped chambers and no dromoi. Four of them were found close to the impressive chamber tomb with dromos that was discussed first (fig.XI.10). They did not produce any finds, apart from some Mycenaean sherds and an amber pendant.¹³⁷¹ Two other small chamber tombs were found in the area of the old museum (fig.XI.2: no.28). One of them was badly preserved while the other could be dated to LHIII B.¹³⁷² Five more chamber tombs were found in the area of the museum (fig.XI.2: no.30), but they will be discussed later on, in the section of EIA burials. Müller notes that according to the excavation journal, the area of these tombs also produced scattered Mycenaean remains; thus she is led to suppose that there must have been more tombs in this region, which was very much disturbed by burials of later periods.¹³⁷³

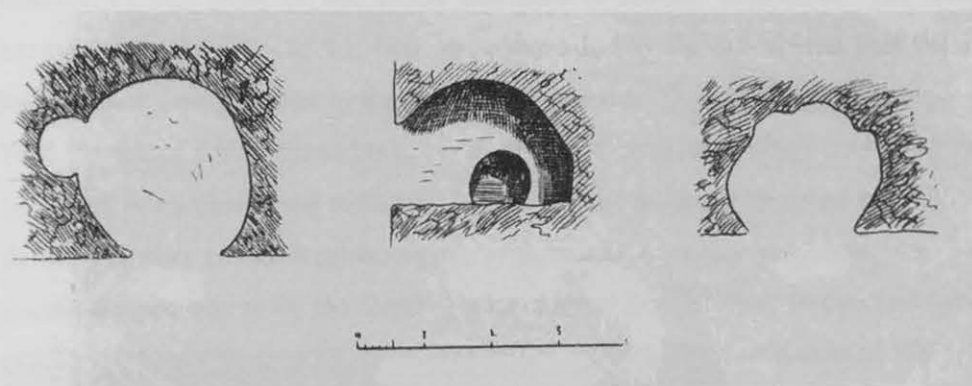


Fig.XI.10
Plan and section
of two of the
small chamber
tombs

A tomb must have also existed in the area of the later portico of the museum (fig.XI.2: no.31). No remains of the tomb itself were possible to discern, but twenty-one vases were found here together with bones mixed with Classical sherds, most probably originating from a tomb deposit. Mountjoy has dated the vases to the period from LHIII A2 to SM.¹³⁷⁴ Finally, two pits were also found in the West Cemetery: one under the southern porch of the museum, characterized by Perdrizet as Mycenaean (fig.XI.2: no.29),¹³⁷⁵ and the other one under the Heniochos room, containing among others a Mycenaean kylix base as well as black-figured pottery.¹³⁷⁶

¹³⁷¹ Perdrizet (1908) 6-10

¹³⁷² Perdrizet (1908) 12-13, figs. 42-56

Mountjoy (1999) 741: the Museum tomb

Cf. also Müller (1992) 493, no.28.

¹³⁷³ Müller (1992) 493, no.30

¹³⁷⁴ Amandry (1938) 305-317, pl. XXXIII

Müller (1992) 493, no.31

Mountjoy (1999) 742

¹³⁷⁵ Perdrizet (1908) 13-14 – no vases are illustrated, but three stirrup jars, three small jugs, a small cup with vertical handle and some sherds are reported.

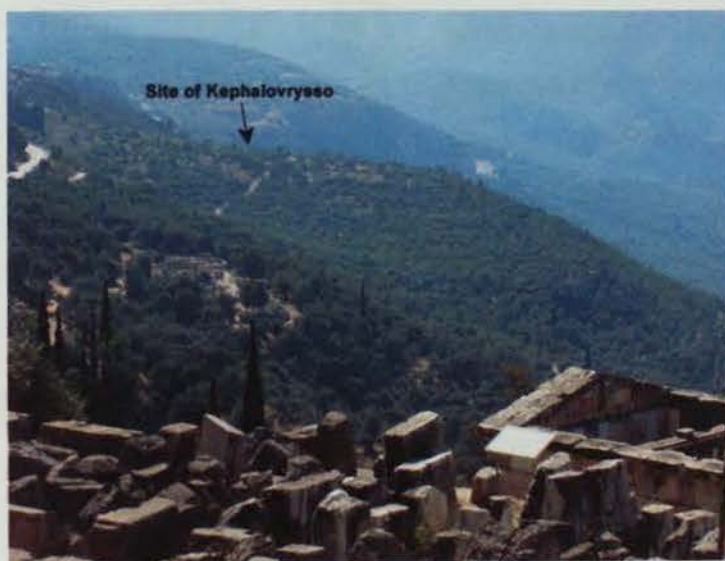
Müller (1992) 493, no.29

¹³⁷⁶ Lerat (1937) 44-52

XI.7 East Cemetery

The East Cemetery was explored in 1901 and 1902 by Brizemur, whose diary is unpublished and cannot be located any more according to Müller.¹³⁷⁷ This group of tombs is situated on the east side of the Castalia ravine, on the slopes over the Gymnasium and the sanctuary of Athena at Marmaria. It received burials from the Mycenaean times until late antiquity. Several tombs have been occasionally excavated since the first exploration.¹³⁷⁸ Müller, drawing additional information from the excavation journals, counts all together seven tombs of conical form and with a short dromos.¹³⁷⁹

The existence of tombs in this area raises the question whether the area of habitation reached to this point or the tombs belonged to another settlement. The deep trenches excavated to the East of the East Baths have led to the conclusion that the Mycenaean habitation did not continue to the direction of Castalia.¹³⁸⁰ According to Mountjoy, "since the East Cemetery lies a kilometre or so from the Mycenaean Village it is most likely that it belonged to another small settlement".¹³⁸¹ It should probably be noted here that a naturally defensible site, called Kephlovryso, with access to water resources, has been located during surface survey by the Greek Archaeological Service close to the East Cemetery, in a



distance of 900m to the East of the sanctuary at Marmaria (fig.XI.11-12). The site was apparently used for occupation at some later point in antiquity, as indicated by a 'polygonal' retaining wall of East-West orientation. Although no evidence for Mycenaean occupation has been

recorded, it is worth keeping in mind that such a site close to the East Cemetery could have fulfilled the necessary requirements to host a settlement.¹³⁸²

¹³⁷⁷ Müller (1992) 493, n.189

¹³⁷⁸ Amandry (1944-45) 51-52 and Amandry (1981) 721-722

¹³⁷⁹ Müller (1992) 458, n.39 and 493, no.23

¹³⁸⁰ Bousquet and Lerat (1957) 707

¹³⁸¹ Mountjoy (1999) 742

¹³⁸² Skorda (1992b) 48: no 46, fig. 1, G

Fig.XI.11
View of
sanctuary of
Athena Pronaia
and plateau to
the East (site of
Kephlovryso)
from Apollo
temple

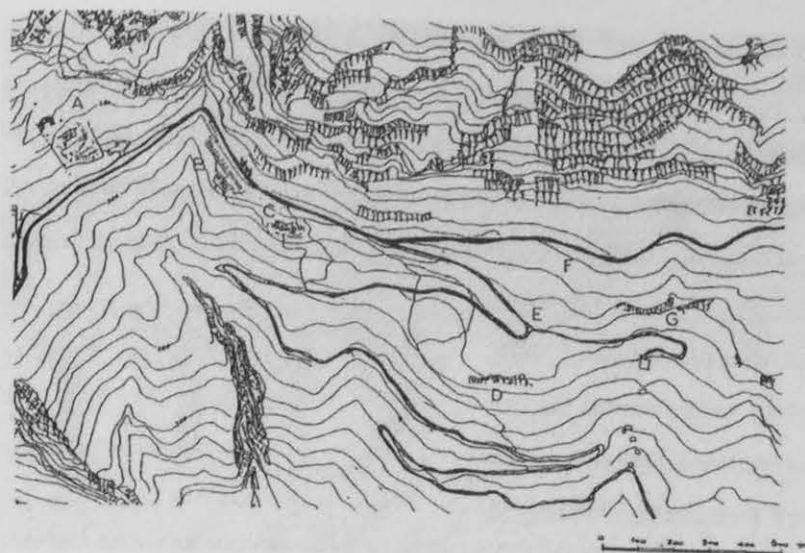
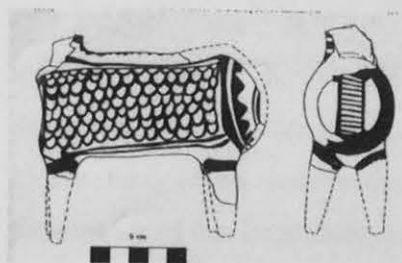


Fig.XI.12
The area to the East of Delphi
A. Apollon sanctuary
B. Gymnasium
C. Sanctuary of Athena (Marmaria)
E. East cemetery
G. Site of Kephalovryssos
D and F. Other fortified sites

XI.8 Cult

At Delphi, possible indications of LBA cult have been found in two areas, in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo and in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Marmaria. In the

Fig.XI.13
Bull figurine from the sanctuary of Apollo



sanctuary of Apollo, the Mycenaean habitation area to the North-east of the temple and the disturbed layers under the temple of Apollo have produced around sixty fragments of clay figurines, of which a great proportion (more than half) consists of animal figurines (fig.XI.13-14). The female figurines belong to the Phi and Psi

types. In addition, half a dozen of conical rhyta dating to LHIIIA and LHIIIB as well as two fragmentary stone rhyta have been found. There are also a few more figurines that have not appeared in the reports, including a bull figurine, the fragmentary head of a female statuette apparently wearing a polos, and three other fragments from bovines. Although

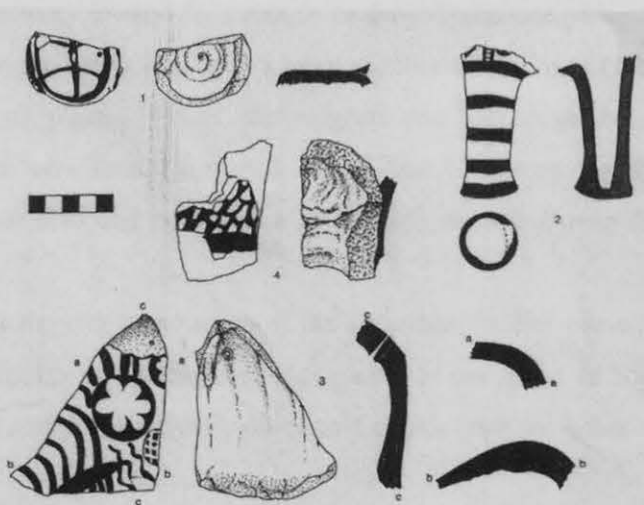


Fig.XI.14
1. Upper part of the hairdress of a female figurine
2-4. Fragments of bovines from the sanctuary of Apollo

their exact provenance remains unknown, Müller believes that all these fragments could confirm the existence of a cult place at Delphi, possibly of an open-air sanctuary, dating from LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB until LHIIIC-middle at least. She also notes that even if there had

ever been a cult building at Delphi, the great disturbances of the area caused by later constructions might have not allowed it to survive.¹³⁸³

Another LBA cult place was initially thought to exist under the temple of Athena Pronaia at Marmaria after the publication in 1926 of a deposit of a hundred and seventy-five complete and fragmentary Mycenaean figurines, thirty of which were found placed on a

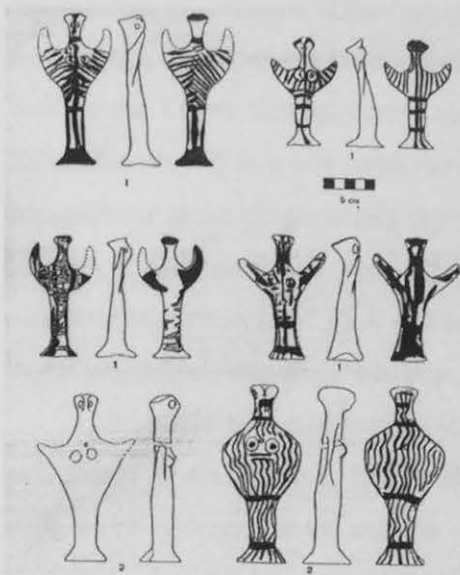


Fig. XI.15
Female
figurines
from
Marmaria

large flat stone (fig. XI.15). Later excavations in 1956, however, showed that the deposit should date to Late Geometric or Early Archaic period, since it also contained Geometric pottery in addition to Mycenaean. Besides, it was shown that Mycenaean pottery only occurred in this very specific area of the deposit, in between the calcareous temple and the line of altars, and the Mycenaean layer that was initially thought to exist was nowhere to be found.¹³⁸⁴ Thus, it should be excluded that there was a LBA cult place at Marmaria, either at the place of the deposit itself or in the area around the

temple of Athena. The assemblage of figurines should rather be regarded as a foundation deposit of the 8th century BC, buried in the foundations of the temple in order to consecrate it at the time of its construction.¹³⁸⁵ There still remains the question, however, of the provenance of this large number of figurines.

Müller examines and rejects the possibility that the large assemblage of figurines found at Marmaria comes from a sanctuary located for example in the 'Mycenaean village'. Her main argument against this interpretation is that such a great number of figurines (175) is not characteristic of Mycenaean cult places. Instead, she suggests that they might come from the seven chamber tombs that were found disturbed in the East Cemetery, nearby Marmaria, and that they were reassembled and buried as a foundation deposit during the construction of the temple of Athena.¹³⁸⁶

In her argumentation against the cult provenance of the figurines, Müller presents two other examples of such a great number of figurines being deposited at one place. In both cases, one at Agia Triada (127 Phi and Psi figurines), close to Corinth, and the other at

¹³⁸³ Müller (1992) 475-481 and n.148

¹³⁸⁴ Lerat (1957) 708-710

¹³⁸⁵ Burkert (1996) 49

¹³⁸⁶ Müller (1992) 481-488. She notes that the suggestion that the figurines originally came from a tomb context was first put forward by P. Darque – cf. Bommelaer (1991) 48.

Tiryns (239 mainly Psi figurines), some kind of cult usage of the area where the figurines were found has been suggested as interpretation for the deposits.¹³⁸⁷ Müller discards this interpretation. Mainly because only the lower part is preserved of most of the figurines of Agia Triada, she suggests that they were deposited there at a secondary phase – although she herself notes that this might be accidentally caused by the way the fragments were stored in the museum of Nauplion at the time of the deposit's discovery in 1913. Regarding the Tiryns assemblage, she does not believe that the figurines were deposited outside the fortification wall of the Lower Citadel during cleaning operations of Casemate 7, which according to Kilian functioned as a cult room during LHIIIB. She argues instead that the figurines were accumulated there progressively through time, without however explaining why that would happen at that particular spot. She concludes that we should not treat this case as a characteristic example of LBA cult and instead we should simply admit that the conditions under which the assemblage was deposited remain enigmatic.¹³⁸⁸

It should be noted here, however, that Kilian has made a quite strong case for the cult nature of Casemate 7. Beside the accumulation of cult items outside the fortification wall, more evidence for the cult use of the area was found inside the wall, to the East of the casemate: several human and animal figurines, two oxcart models, some handmade miniature vases and parts of a zoomorphic rhyton were also thought to have been deposited there after cleaning operations of the wall-chamber.¹³⁸⁹ In addition, a series of three successive hearths were installed in the open-air area to the East of the casemate throughout LHIIIB, and it has been suggested that they might too have been related to the performance of cult practices – especially the one placed right under the casemate.¹³⁹⁰

It is true of course that Kilian's suggestions could not be verified, since the chamber was filled-in after the great destruction of the citadel at the end of LHIIIB2. Nevertheless, the assemblage of figurines outside the fortification wall seems indeed to result from the clearance of a cult place, and Casemate 7 constitutes the best candidate for it. Besides, Müller's argument that the figurines were progressively accumulated at that spot does not have to mean that they did not form an artificial deposit, as she claims.¹³⁹¹ Kilian also spoke

¹³⁸⁷ Hägg (1968) 52 agrees with the excavator of the deposit, Karo, that the figurines were deposited at Agia Triada, on the road from Corinth to Cleonai, as votives by passing-by travellers. Kilian (1990) 185-190 sees here an example of popular, open-air cult. The case of Tiryns will be discussed further on in more detail.

¹³⁸⁸ Müller (1992) 482, n.153

¹³⁸⁹ Kilian (1981b) 49-53; (1988a) 142-145; (1979) 394

¹³⁹⁰ Kilian (1981a) 166-171

Albers (1994) 106

¹³⁹¹ It should also be noted that Müller does not provide the correct dates for the layers in which cult items were found outside the fortification wall, as these are recorded in Kilian's reports. According to the latter (cf. above n.55), three layers with cult items were found, dating to LHIIIB-developed,

of periodical cleaning of the cult place, which was however done at least once on a large scale, i.e. on the occasion of fortification repairs towards the end of LHIIB2 (- so-called 'LHIIB end' phase), and thus resulted to such a large number of figurines being deposited at one time. All in all, the cult origins of the deposit at Tiryns cannot be persuasively discarded, and thus it could be considered as a rather good parallel for the great number of assembled figurines at Marmaria – not, however, for the very nature of the assemblage.

Müller goes on to argue that the lack of bovine figurines from the Marmaria assemblage also stands against its alleged cult origin, while it confirms her interpretation that the figurines were actually taken from tomb contexts, where animal figurines do not often appear. However, if the figurines were amassed deliberately in the LG/EA period in order to be used as a foundation deposit for the temple of Athena Pronaia, it would perhaps be the founders' deliberate choice to assemble and dedicate to the goddess a group of female figurines, accompanied by some other precious-looking heirlooms that they found with them, and to leave any animal figurines behind. As for the other offerings, i.e. steatite and clay conuli, seals and glass beads, Müller herself has pointed out that they could occur in either cult or tomb contexts.¹³⁹²

To conclude, the suggestion that the figurines of Marmaria might derive from the East cemetery tombs is indeed very interesting, but it should be stressed that it cannot be proven and the potential of a cult origin cannot be convincingly rejected. In fact, if we entertained the possibility that the evidence from the area of the Apollo sanctuary indicates the existence of a LBA cult place somewhere in the region of the 'Mycenaean village', we could perhaps then assume that this is where the figurines originally belonged to and from where the founders of the temple of Athena Pronaia brought them to Marmaria. Besides, the date of the Marmaria deposit ranging from LHIIB to probably LHIIC-advanced corresponds nicely with the period of use of the alleged cult place, which as was noted earlier might have lasted from LHIIIA2 to at least LHIIC-middle.¹³⁹³

LHIIB-end and LHIIC-early respectively, with the 239 figurines found in the middle layer, while according to Müller the figurines were found in a layer dating to LHIIB-developed and –final and LHIIC-late, and other cult items were found deposited in layers of LHIIIA2 and LHIIC-developed-advanced/late. On the basis of her mistaken recording of these datings, it makes sense why she cannot accept Kilian's interpretation of the stratigraphy.

¹³⁹² Müller (1992) 484-485, esp. 484, n.160: she herself points out that the assemblage of female figurines at Marmaria could have resulted from a deliberate choice made by the 'composers' of the votive deposit.

¹³⁹³ Müller (1992) 484, n.159

Cf. also Pilafidis-Williams (1998) 141-142 and n.359 for the remark that "figurines never occur in such great numbers in sepulchral contexts, even if the tombs had been used over a long period of time". She also argues that bovine figurines are not necessarily found in cult places 'dominated' by a female deity, as the case at the Bronze Age sanctuary on Aigina appears to have been. However, if that had been the case at the hypothetical cult place, to which the Marmaria figurines would have

EIA evidence

XI.9 Settlement remains

Quite recent excavations in the area of the 'Pillar of the Rhodians' have brought to light very significant EIA remains. In particular, a strong retaining wall built to protect an 8th century BC house (*Maison Noire*) from the earth drifting down from the upper terrace was excavated under the Pillar. This wall helped to preserve the layers of habitation in that upper terrace intact, and so it was possible to find there a succession of floors, destruction layers and debris dating approximately to the 10th-9th centuries BC. Two characteristic skyphos fragments, one decorated with pendent semicircles and another with a wavy line, are illustrated in the preliminary report (fig.XI.16). A

small, round, clay hearth, full of ashes, bone fragments, grain seeds and olive stones was also uncovered (fig.XI.17). Part of a bitten earth floor,



Fig.XI.16
PG sherds

upon which lay the remains of a grinding stone, was preserved next to the hearth. Charcoal pieces from the hearth were dated with the method of C14, and in combination with a single sherd found in the hearth provided a date of the mid-10th century BC. Lower layers reportedly date to the 12th-11th centuries BC.¹³⁹⁴ The



Fig.XI.17
PG hearth

forthcoming publication of this area's excavation will certainly shed significant light on the transition from the LBA to the EIA at Delphi.

Unfortunately, no other PG settlement remains have been found or reported in such precise stratigraphical contexts. Instead, they are usually either incidentally mentioned in the reports or simply implied by the presence of PG pottery in illustrated assemblages. Thus, it

belonged, then this would not have been the same with the cult place in the 'Mycenaean village', where bull figures have also been found. The artificial nature of the assemblage at Marmaria, however, does not allow us to make such suggestions for the nature of the original cult place.

¹³⁹⁴ Luce (1993) 626-629

Cf. Rolley (2002) 276: he notes that the kiln dates to the 11th or early 10th century, and that another one of Mycenaean date was found a few metres further to the South; also that there appears to be a gap in pottery sequence dating to the final decades of the 11th century BC. The discrepancy between his report and the preliminary report by Luce will hopefully be resolved in the forthcoming publication of the excavation.

has only been noted in passing that “the exploration of the region to the South of the polygonal wall [i.e. the south terrace wall of the temple of Apollo], which was completed in 1939, did not uncover any remains earlier than the PG period in between the south-west corner of the polygonal wall and the rocks of Sibylle (fig.XI.1: no.326) and the Sphinx of the Naxians (fig.XI.1: no.328)”.¹³⁹⁵ Relatively dense remains dating from the end of the



Fig.XI.18
PG sherds
from the
area to the
North-east
of Roman
Baths

Mycenaean period until LG have also been reportedly found in a limited zone to the East of the sanctuary, right to the North-east of the Roman Baths. Although this dating is admittedly quite broad, some PG sherds are also included in the illustrations of pottery from this area (fig.XI.18).¹³⁹⁶ A cup with

quite a convex shoulder line, covered with black paint and with reserved lines on its rim, in

particular finds a parallel at Kapakli, near Volos.¹³⁹⁷ A cutaway-neck jug illustrated in the

guide of the Museum of Delphi, without however specified provenance, also has parallels from Kapakli.¹³⁹⁸ Another such jug has been found in the area of the Geometric houses built over the ‘Mycenaean village’ to the North-east of the temple of Apollo.¹³⁹⁹ Thus, connections with Thessaly appear to be quite prominent in PG pottery of Delphi. More PG pottery is



Fig.XI.19
PG vases
in the
Museum
of Delphi

reported in the guide of the Museum of Delphi: half a dozen of conical feet and other body fragments, decorated with pendent semicircles filled with the hour-glass motif and others

¹³⁹⁵ Amandry (1950) 204

¹³⁹⁶ Lerat (1961) 352-357, fig. 40-41: the illustrations show both PG and SPG pottery, including characteristic sherds of skyphoi with pendent semicircles or a wavy line in a reserved zone. Luce (1993) 630, n.24 notes that the period of production of such skyphoi at Delphi seems to begin at the end of 10th century BC and to end at some point in the 9th century, probably in its second half.

¹³⁹⁷ Compare Lerat (1961) 355, fig. 40a and 356, fig.41b (-upper left) with Lemos (2002) pl. 63.7

¹³⁹⁸ Lerat (1991) 20, fig.18

¹³⁹⁹ Compare Lerat (1961) fig.41c upper left with Lerat (1938) fig. 13: right end of bottom line

with hatched triangles and belonging to a PG series which is well known at Ithaca, but also in Achaea and in Phokis, at Medeon (fig.XI.19).¹⁴⁰⁰

It is worth noting that among the supposedly G pottery from the area of the ‘Mycenaean village’ North-east of the temple, Lerat also listed two kinds of handmade ware, unfortunately none of them illustrated. His second handmade ware resembles, he tells us, his Mycenaean group b: handmade pottery, which recalls the bucchero or rather the impasto ware, burnished with care: it is mainly found in black jugs of round shape, with no base.¹⁴⁰¹ His description could actually recall the “Leather Ware”, which is typical in the region of Delphi in the beginning of PG period. Two such vases have been found among the handmade pottery from an EPG chamber tomb at Delphi, one of which is a baseless jug “of the dark burnished fabric more usual for this shape” (fig.XI.20: lower line, right corner).¹⁴⁰² Thus, having also in mind at least one example of a PG cutaway-jug from this area, it could perhaps be suggested that the pottery found in the ‘Geometric layers’ over the ‘Mycenaean village’ might have also included PG wheel-made and handmade vases that were not possible to identify as such in those early times of the area’s excavation. Such a suggestion could lead us to imagine that there might have been more stratified PG layers in this area, similar to those recently found under the Pillar of the Rhodians further to the South-east.

XI.10 *Burials*

SM vases have been found in the large chamber tomb of the West Cemetery and in the portico tomb (West of the sanctuary’s south-west corner – fig.XI.2: no.25).¹⁴⁰³

¹⁴⁰⁰ Lerat (1991) 20-21, fig. 19-21: one vase with cross-hatched triangles, illustrated here (fig.20-21), was found in the area between the temple and the altar in secondary position – cf. Amandry *et al.* (1950) 320-322, fig. 30 and pl. XXXIX, 1.

¹⁴⁰¹ Lerat (1938) 215-217 and 209

¹⁴⁰² Cf. Lemos (2002) 86, 96-97 and pl.16.4 for Leather Ware

¹⁴⁰³ Cf. Perdrizet (1908) 10-11

Amandry (1938) 305-317, pl. XXXIII

Mountjoy (1999) 793-796

Lemos (1998) 48, n.22: “SM pots in the museum at Delphi strongly suggest that there were burials dated to this period.” Cf. for example vases illustrated in Lerat (1991) 19, fig.16 and 17.

Lemos (2002) 86, n.269

A group of four aligned, small chamber tombs were found a bit further to the North of the museum (cf. fig.XI.2: no.30). They were all disturbed and re-used in later times, and thus almost completely emptied from their contents. They only produced a few, mainly Geometric sherds, a pair of bronze fibulae and an Archaic clay figurine. A fifth small chamber tomb found under the Heniochos room was similar to the other four tombs in its beehive-like shape, its small dimensions (length: 0.95m; width: 0.7m; height: 0.65m), and also in its lack of dromos. Used in several periods and looted later, it contained the incomplete remains of two skeletons, nineteen vases, both wheel-made and hand-made, and some bronze objects. It had received a first burial in the EPG period, accompanied by most of the vases (fig.XI.20) and a bronze spearhead, and then it was reused in the 8th century BC.¹⁴⁰⁴ Desborough has observed common elements of the PG pottery to that from Lefkandi.¹⁴⁰⁵ Lemos points out that “the handmade pottery is similar to vases from Paralimni and Kalapodi, while the wheelmade pottery, consisting mainly of small closed vases, finds parallels with vases from Lefkandi, Chalkis, and Nea Ionia in Thessaly [...]. One of the amphoriskoi, however, bears a decoration of hatched triangles on the shoulder and resembles

a vase from an EPG tomb in Argos.”¹⁴⁰⁶

Parallels with vases from Lamia are also suggested by Morgan.¹⁴⁰⁷ It should be noted that the



Fig.XI.20
Pottery from
the chamber
tomb under
the Heniochos
room

spearhead found in this tomb was of Mycenaean date.¹⁴⁰⁸

¹⁴⁰⁴ Lerat (1937) 44-52, pl. V and VI: he had dated the first burial of this tomb to the SM period.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Desborough (1972) 203-204, pl. 47-48

¹⁴⁰⁶ Lemos (2002) 11-12

¹⁴⁰⁷ Morgan (1990) 251-252

¹⁴⁰⁸ Lemos (2002) 171

Morgan (1990) 252 notes: “...the inclusion of early-looking metalwork in later tombs is paralleled at Ancient Elis”.

Another PG tomb was a pit found close to the south-eastern corner of the museum (fig.XI.1: no.30). No bones were found in the tomb, which contained a ring, a bronze pin, a jug decorated with dense horizontal lines, and a belly-handled amphora (fig.XI.21).¹⁴⁰⁹ It has been suggested that “the shape of the amphora with its tall neck and ovoid body resembles an example found in the MPG deposit from the building at Toumba; both vases also have nipples on the shoulder. The monochrome-painted body, however, and the decoration of the neck with multiple triangles and panels filled with wavy lines suggest an earlier date, within EPG, for the vase from Delphi.” The amphora might have been used as an urn.¹⁴¹⁰ Overall, it can be concluded that in spite of the fragmentary evidence, the settlement of Delphi appears to be occupied uninterruptedly from the LB to the EIA, and also to carry on its interregional contacts with areas such as Euboea, Thessaly and Western Greece.



Fig.XI.21
Amphora
from the
museum
tomb

¹⁴⁰⁹ Perdrizet (1908) 133, 1, fig. 500

¹⁴¹⁰ Lemos (2002) 12

List of Figures

Chapter I

- Fig. 1 Jameson *et al* (1994) 14, fig.1.1
Fig. 2 Downloaded from Perseus web-site of the Tufts University (USA)
Fig. 3 Jameson *et al* (1994) 15, fig.1.2
Fig. 4 Eder (1998) 26, fig.3
Fig. 5 Mylonas (1983) 92, fig.72
Fig. 6 Mountjoy (1993) 143, fig.371
Fig. 7 French (2002) 137, pl.65
Fig. 8 Klein (1997) pl.49b
Fig. 9 Wace (1964) pl.95a
Fig. 10 Maran (2002) 5, top figure
Fig. 11 a. Kilian (1982) 410, fig.23
b. Kilian (1981a) 155, fig.1
Fig. 12 Demakopoulou *et al* (2004) 10, fig.1
Fig. 13 a. Persson (1942) 4, fig.1
b. Persson (1942) 8, fig.4
Fig. 14 Walberg (1998) pl.2
Fig. 15 Pariente and Touchais (1998) pl.V
Fig. 16 Hägg and Hägg (1975) 25, fig.1
Fig. 17 Westholm (1938) 45, fig.27
Fig. 18 Hägg (1974) 73, fig.11
Fig. 19 French (2002) 15, fig.3
Fig. 20 Wells (1996) 10, fig.1

Chapter II

- Fig. 21 Downloaded from Perseus web-site of the Tufts University (USA)
Fig. 22 Fossey (1990) 6, fig.1
Fig. 23 McInerney (1999) 42, map 1
Fig. 24 Hope Simpson (1981) 58, map C
Fig. 25 Satellite photo (Google earth)
Fig. 26 Map of Kephissos valley in the LBA
Fig.27-47 Photographs taken by the author
Fig.48 Map of Kephissos valley in the SM period

- Fig.49 Map of Kephissos valley in the PG period
- Fig.50 Photograph taken by the author
- Fig.51 Map of Atalante plain in the LBA
- Fig.52-53 Photographs taken by the author
- Fig.54 Adapted from Fossey (1990) 10, fig.2
- Fig.55-63 Photographs taken by the author
- Fig.64 Map of Atalante plain in the SM period
- Fig.65 Map of Atalante plain in the PG period
- Fig.66-67 Photographs taken by the author
- Fig.68 Dakoronia (1987) pl.132b
- Fig.69 Map of Kalapodi area in LBA
- Fig.70-76 Photographs taken by the author
- Fig.77 Map of Kalapodi area in the SM period
- Fig.78 Map of Kalapodi area in the PG period
- Fig.79 Map of bay of Antikyra in the LBA
- Fig.80-83 Photographs taken by the author
- Fig.84 Map of bay of Antikyra in the EIA
- Fig.85 Map of passage from Kephissos valley to bay of Antikyra
- Fig.86-95 Photographs taken by the author
- Fig.96 Map of gulf of Itea in the LBA
- Fig.97-99 Photographs taken by the author
- Fig.100 Themelis (1993) 22-23, fig.2
- Fig.101-102 Photographs taken by the author
- Fig.103 Lerat (1952) 163-166, pl. LI and LII
- Fig.104-109 Photographs taken by the author
- Fig.110 Skorda (1992) photos 6-7
- Fig.111 Map of Gulf of Itea in the EIA
- Fig.112 Map of passage area between Kephissos valley and the Gulf of Itea in the LBA
- Fig.113-119 Photographs taken by the author
- Fig.120 Map of passage area between the valley of Kephissos and the Gulf of Itea in the EIA

- Fig.121 Satellite photo (Google earth)
 Fig.122 Pritchett (1982) 126, fig.6
 Fig.123 Satellite photo (Google earth)
 Fig.124 Kase *et al* (1991) fig.1-4
 Fig.125 Adapted from Kase *et al* (1991) fig.3-2 and 3-4
 Fig.126-127 Satellite photos (Google earth)
 Fig.128-130 Photos taken by the author
 Fig.131-140 Satellite photos (Google earth)
 Fig.141 Adapted from Kase *et al* (1991) fig. 3-4 and 3-6

Appendix I

- Fig.I.1 Jameson *et al.* (1994) 25, fig.1.7
 Fig.I.2 Adapted from Jameson *et al.* (1994) 236, fig.4.16
 Fig.I.3 Jameson *et al.* (1994) 446, fig.A.12
 Fig.I.4 Jameson *et al.* (1994) 446, fig.A.11
 Fig.I.5 Adapted from Jameson *et al.* (1994) 236, fig.4.17
 Fig.I.6 Mee-Forbes (1997) 52, fig.4.5
 Fig.I.7 Mee-Forbes (1997) 58, fig.5.1

Appendix II

- Fig.II.1 Mountjoy (1993) 144, fig.372
 Fig.II.2 Mountjoy (1993) 145, fig.373
 Fig.II.3 Tylour (1981) plan 2
 Fig.II.4 Tylour (1981), as reproduced by Albers (1994) pl.17
 Fig.II.5 Tylour (1981), as reproduced by Albers (1994) pl.18
 Fig.II.6 Iakovidis (1983) 46, plan 7
 Fig.II.7 Mylonas (1966) 108, fig.4
 Fig.II.8 Mylonas (1971) pl.187
 Fig.II.9 Mylonas (1971) pl.186a
 Fig.II.10 Albers (1994) pl.15
 Fig.II.11 Iakovidis (1989) 39, fig.1
 Fig.II.12 Adapted from Mylonas (1968) 21, fig.9

- Fig.II.13 Iakovidis (1983) 53, pl.13
 Fig.II.14 Iakovidis (1983) 53, pl.10
 Fig.II.15 Iakovidis (1983) 51, pl.9
 Fig.II.16 Adapted from Iakovidis, French *et al.* (2003) map 7
 Fig.II.17 Onassoglou (1995) pl.A
 Fig.II.18 Mylonas Shear (1987) folded plan at the end of the book
 Fig.II.19 Mylonas Shear (1987) pl.52D
 Fig.II.20 Adapted from Iakovidis, French *et al.* (2003) plan next to p.70
 Fig.II.21 Onassoglou (1995) 25, fig.VII
 Fig.II.22 Onassoglou (1995) pl.10 top
 Fig.II.23 Onassoglou (1995) 27, fig.IX
 Fig.II.24 Iakovidis (1986) 245, fig.1
 Fig.II.25 Hägg (1974) 67, fig.10
 Fig.II.26 Klein (1997) 275, fig.14
 Fig.II.27 Klein (1997) pl.51a

Appendix III

- Fig.III.1 Kilian (1981a) 155, fig.1
 Fig.III.2 Kilian (1981a) fig.7
 Fig.III.3 Kilian (1981b) 55, fig.8
 Fig.III.4 Kilian (1980) 180, fig.6
 Fig.III.5 Jantzen (1975a) 24, fig.6
 Fig.III.6 Maran (2000) 2, fig.1
 Fig.III.7 Maran (2001) pl.XXXIII
 Fig.III.8 Jantzen (1975b) supplementary plate 4
 Fig.III.9 Kilian (1978) fig.2
 Fig.III.10 Maran (2002) 9 top
 Fig.III.11 Maran (2002) 8 top
 Fig.III.12 Kilian (1978) 469, fig.26
 Fig.III.13 Jantzen (1975a) fig.96
 Fig.III.14 Zannger (1994) 209, fig.13
 Fig.III.15 Kilian (1981a) 173, fig.25
 Fig.III.16 Kilian (1981b) 51, fig.2
 Fig.III.17 Adapted from Kilian (1981a) fig.14
 Fig.III.18 Kilian (1981a) 64, fig.17

- Fig.III.19 Kilian (1981b) 52, fig.4
 Fig.III.20 Kilian (1981b) 52, fig.5
 Fig.III.21 Kilian (1981b) 56, fig.9
 Fig.III.22 a. Kilian (1978) 461, fig.17
 b. Kilian (1978) 464, fig.20-21
 Fig.III.23 Papadimitriou (1988) 229, fig.1
 Fig.III.24 Papadimitriou (1988) 237, fig.5
 Fig.III.25 Papadimitriou (1998) 128, fig.1
 Fig.III.26 Adapted from Papadimitriou (2003) 715, fig.1
 Fig.III.27 Papadimitriou (2003) 722, fig.3
 Fig.III.28 Papadimitriou (2003) 721, fig.2
 Fig.III.29 Papadimitriou (1998) 129, fig.7
 Fig.III.30 Papadimitriou (1998) 128, fig.3
 Fig.III.31 Papadimitriou (1998) 128, fig.4
 Fig.III.32 Kilian (1988) fig.5
 Fig.III.33 Papadimitriou (1998) 129, fig.5
 Fig.III.34 Papadimitriou (1998) 129, fig.6
 Fig.III.35 Papadimitriou (1998) 129, fig.8
 Fig.III.36 Papadimitriou (1998) 128, fig.2
 Fig.III.37 Papadimitriou (2003) 723, fig.4

Appendix IV

- Fig.IV.1 Walberg (1997-1998) 83, fig.95
 Fig.IV.2 Walberg (1996) 27, fig.57
 Fig.IV.3 Walberg (1998) pl.56

Appendix V

- Fig.V.1 Adapted from Pariente and Touchais (1998) pl.VIII
 Fig.V.2 Papadimitriou (1997) 135, fig.3
 Fig.V.3 a. Daux (1969) 992, fig.9
 b. Daux (1969) 993, fig.10
 Fig.V.4 Croissant (1972) 885, fig.4
 Fig.V.5 Piteros (2001) 100, fig.A
 Fig.V.6 Adapted from Alexandri (1963) 61, fig.1
 Fig.V.7 Adapted from Pariente and Touchais (1998) pl.IX

- Fig.V.8 Daux (1959) 767, fig.24
 Fig.V.9 Adapted from Pariente and Touchais (1998) pl.IX
 Fig.V.10 Courbin (1957) 680, fig.31
 Fig.V.11 Daux (1967) 843, fig.22
 Fig.V.12 Pappi (1996) 87, fig.1
 Fig.V.13 Adapted from Daux (1959) 765, fig.22

Appendix VI

- Fig.VI.1 Albers (1994) pl.46
 Fig.VI.2 Adapted from Westholm (1938) 75, fig.53
 Fig.VI.3 Hägg (1981) 92, fig.1
 Fig.VI.4 Westholm (1938) 79, fig.58
 Fig.VI.5 Wells (1992) 136, fig.2
 Fig.VI.6 Dietz (1982) 20, fig.3
 Fig.VI.7 Wells (1983) 26, fig.7
 Fig.VI.8 Dietz (1982) plan VIIB
 Fig.VI.9 Dietz (1982) 10, fig.2
 Fig.VI.10 Hägg (1981) 94, fig.4
 Fig.VI.11 Hägg (1981) 92, fig.2
 Fig.VI.12 D'Agata (1996) 42, fig.1
 Fig.VI.13 Hägg (1974) 50, fig.8
 Fig.VI.14 a. Wells (1983) 29, fig.11
 b. Wells (1983) 29, fig.10
 Fig.VI.15 Wells (1983) 27, fig.8
 Fig.VI.16 Westholm (1938) 156
 Fig.VI.17 Mountjoy (1996) 62, fig.13-14
 Fig.VI.18 a. Westholm (1938) 134, fig.118
 b. Westholm (1938) 135, fig.118A
 Fig.VI.19 Wells (1976) 8, fig.1

Appendix VII

- Fig.VII.1 Dimaki (2003) 330, fig.2
 Fig.VII.2 Dakoronia, Deger-Jalkotzy and Fabrizii-Reuer (2000-2001) 143, fig.5
 Fig.VII.3 a. Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) pl. V, fig.8
 b. Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) pl. III, fig.5

- Fig.VII.4 a. Dimaki (1999) 208, fig.19-20
 b. Dimaki (1999) 210, fig.27
- Fig.VII.5 Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) pl. VI, fig.10
- Fig.VII.6 Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) pl. V, fig.9
- Fig.VII.7 Deger-Jalkotzy (1990) pl. VI, fig.10
- Fig.VII.8 a. Dimaki (2003) 336, fig.14
 b. Dakoronia (1993c) 36, fig.13
- Fig.VII.9 Dimaki (2003) 336, fig.14
- Fig.VII.10 Dimaki (2003) 329, fig.4
- Fig.VII.11 Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 198, fig.6
- Fig.VII.12 Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 199, fig.10
- Fig.VII.13 Deger-Jalkotzy (1999) 200, fig.11a-b
- Fig.VII.14 Dimaki (1999) 207, fig.14
- Fig.VII.15 Dimaki (1999) 207, fig.13 and 15
- Fig.VII.16 Alram-Stern (1999) 218, fig.13

Appendix VIII

- Fig.VIII.1 Hope Simpson (1981) pl.16
- Fig.VIII.2 Fossey (1990) 83, fig.15
- Fig.VIII.3 Dakoronia (2002a) 43, fig.21
- Fig.VIII.4 a. Dakoronia (1989) pl. 103b
 b. Dakoronia (1989) pl. 102d
- Fig.VIII.5 a. Dakoronia (1988) pl. 125c
 b. Dakoronia (1993a) pl. 70c
- Fig.VIII.6 a. Dakoronia (1999) 128, fig.3
 b. Dakoronia (1996c) 171, fig.9
- Fig.VIII.7 Dakoronia (1986) pl.69c
- Fig.VIII.8 Dakoronia (1996a) 43, fig.5
- Fig.VIII.9 Dakoronia (1996a) 42, fig.2
- Fig.VIII.10 Dakoronia (2003a) 44, fig.14-15, 46, fig.16-17
- Fig.VIII.11 Nikolaou (1999) 152, fig.1-2
- Fig.VIII.12 Dakoronia (2003a) 44, 10-13
- Fig.VIII.13 Dakoronia (1988) 224, pl. 125a

Appendix IX

- Fig.IX.1 Felsch (1987) fig.3
- Fig.IX.2 Felsch (1987) 10, fig.10-11
- Fig.IX.3 Adapted from Felsch (1987) 16, fig.26-28
- Fig.IX.4 Felsch (1981) 89, fig.18-22
- Fig.IX.5 Felsch (1981) 87, fig.10-17
- Fig.IX.6 Felsch (1981) 85, fig.3
- Fig.IX.7 Felsch (1987) 9, fig.9
- Fig.IX.8 Nitsche (1987) 43, fig.61:2

Appendix X

- Fig.X.1 Vatin (1969) fig.4
- Fig.X.2 Müller (1999) 224, fig.2
- Fig.X.3 Müller (1999) 226, fig.10
- Fig.X.4 Müller (1999) 227, fig.12
- Fig.X.5 Müller (1999) 227, fig.12
- Fig.X.6 Vatin (1969) 27, fig.26
- Fig.X.7 a. Vatin (1969) 49, fig.45
b. Vatin (1969) 47, fig.44
- Fig.X.8 Vatin (1969) 27, fig.25
- Fig.X.9 Vatin (1969) 58, fig.57
- Fig.X.10 a. Vatin (1969) 58, fig.58
b. Vatin (1969) 60, fig.59
- Fig.X.11 Vatin (1969) 12, fig.11

Appendix XI

- Fig.XI.1 Bommelaer (1991) pl.V
- Fig.XI.2 Adapted from Müller (1992) 456, fig.5
- Fig.XI.3 Müller (1992) 474, fig.15
- Fig.XI.4 Lerat (1935) pl.21, 1-2
- Fig.XI.5 Perdrizet (1908) 9, fig.26
- Fig.XI.6 Mountjoy (1999) 791, no.296-297
- Fig.XI.7 Müller (1992) 469, fig.13
- Fig.XI.8 Müller (1992) 470, fig.14
- Fig.XI.9 Perdrizet (1908) 6, fig.15

- Fig.XI.10 Perdrizet (1908) 7, fig.16-17
Fig.XI.11 Photograph taken by the author
Fig.XI.12 Skorda (1992) 49, fig.1
Fig.XI.13 Müller (1992) 479, fig.17
Fig.XI.14 Müller (1992) 477, fig.16
Fig.XI.15 Müller (1992) 483, fig.18
Fig.XI.16 Luce (1993) 628, fig.10
Fig.XI.17 Luce (1993) 628, fig.11
Fig.XI.18 Lerat (1961) 353, fig.40
Fig.XI.19 Lerat (1991) 21, fig.20-21
Fig.XI.20 Desborough (1972) 203-204, pl.48-48
Fig.XI.21 Lerat (1991) 19, fig.15

List of Abbreviations

Periodicals

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AAA</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εἰς Ἀθηνῶν</i>
<i>AAustr</i>	<i>Archaeologia Austriaca</i>
<i>ADelt</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο</i>
<i>AEphem</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίδα</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>AnzWien</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch – Historische Klasse</i>
<i>Archaeology</i>	<i>Archaeology. A Magazine Dealing with the Antiquity of the World</i>
<i>ArepLond</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>ASAtene</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin. Institute of Classical Studies, University of London</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>ClPhil</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>ClR</i>	<i>The Classical Review</i>
<i>CMS</i>	<i>Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel</i>
<i>Ergon</i>	<i>Το Ἔργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
<i>DossAParis</i>	<i>Dossiers d'archéologie</i>
<i>FA</i>	<i>Fasti archaeologici</i>
<i>Gnomon</i>	<i>Gnomon. Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte Klassische Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>Helios</i>	<i>Helios. A Journal Devoted to Critical and Methodological Studies of Classical Culture, Literature, and Society</i>
<i>Hesperia</i>	<i>Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>JbZMusMainz</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>Kadmos</i>	<i>Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik</i>
<i>Minos</i>	<i>Minos. Revista de filología egea</i>
<i>Mnemosyne</i>	<i>Mnemosyne. A Journal of Classical Studies</i>
<i>OpArch</i>	<i>Opuscula archaeologica</i>
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula atheniensi</i>
<i>OxfJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>Prakt</i>	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Ἀθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real Enzyklopaedie</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>Ruperto Carola</i>	<i>Ruperto Carola. Forschungsmagazin der Universität Heidelberg</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
<i>SymbOslo</i>	<i>Symbolae osloenses</i>

Others

EG	Early Geometric
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EIA	Early Iron Age
EPG	Early Protogeometric
G	Geometric
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LG	Late Geometric
LH	Late Helladic
LPG	Late Protogeometric
MG	Middle Geometric
MPG	Middle Protogeometric
PG	Protogeometric
SM	Submycenaean
SPG	Sub-Protogeometric

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