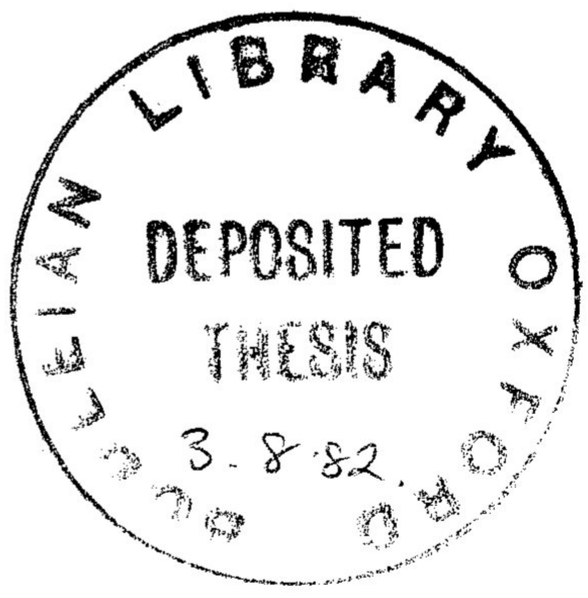
THE POTTERY OF LATE HELLADIC IIIC AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

ELIZABETH SUSAN SHERRATT

Somerville College

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The thesis is an attempt to view the pottery of the Late Helladic IIIC period as a whole, particularly in terms of the relationships between different regions of the Mycenaean world and of their effect on the processes of ceramic change. It begins with an historical introduction in which the role of pottery in general and of LH IIIC in particular in the study of the Aegean Late Bronze Age down to the early 1970s is discussed briefly. This is followed by a short resume of the LH IIIA-B background.

The main body of the work begins with a detailed look at material from sites or regions where stratigraphical evidence for the chronological development of LH IIIC pottery is available. From this it is concluded that the pottery of the period can most usefully be divided into three broad stages of development. There then follows a more general discussion of sites or regions without stratigraphical information, the aim of which is to gain some impression of the form taken by each of the broad developmental stages already outlined in the pottery of each region or site, and of its stylistic character and affiliations.

The thesis ends with a summary of the conclusions reached in the various regional chapters. The three main stages are discussed in terms of the rate of ceramic change in various parts of the Mycenaean world. A discussion of the extent and directions of contact between regions in the three main stages of LH IIIC, and of their effect on the spread of ceramic ideas, is accompanied by some comparative statistical analyses designed to illustrate the varying degrees and directions of inter-regional similarity during the three stages. Finally, the patterns of ceramic trade and influence which appear to obtain in LH IIIC are contrasted with those of earlier periods, and discussed briefly in terms of possible changes in the political and economic organisation of the Mycenaean world.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This thesis is an attempt to view the pottery of Late Helladic IIIC as a whole, particularly in terms of the relationships between various regions of the Mycenaean world and of their effect on the processes of ceramic change. It does not present a complete list of sites at which LH IIIC pottery is found, still less a catalogue of all known LH IIIC pottery. Although I have attempted to cover most of the main geographical regions of importance during the LH IIIC period, limitations of time or of published material have resulted in some regions receiving only brief mention. On the whole, material has been chosen for more detailed discussion because it is fully published or because it derives from sites which have produced important quantities of new evidence in recent years. At the same time, wherever possible, I have tried to strike a balance between cemetery and settlement pottery.

No study of the pottery of LH IIIC could possibly fail to acknowledge the great debt owed to Professor A. Furumark and the late Mr V.R.d'A. Desborough who, in their work on the Mycenaean pottery and on the LH IIIC period, laid the foundations for all subsequent synthetic accounts. Time and again, the discovery of new material or the reassessment of old has served to confirm their vision, or to facilitate the further investigation or development of problems and ideas originally presented by them.

I am indebted to the Mediterranean Archaeological

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Chapter 1

The development of Mycenaean pottery interpretation, with reference to LH IIIC.

A. Schliemann: the importance of pottery as an historical indicator. Furtwängler and Loeschke: early classification.

The crucial role of pottery in serious archaeological work, still unchallenged except insofar as it may at times have diverted too much attention away from other types of material remains, was already apparent to Schliemann. In his words it was "...the cornucopia of archaeological wisdom for those dark ages, which we, vaguely groping in the twilight of an unrecorded past, are wont to call pre-historic" (Schliemann 1880a, 213). Even in Schliemann's time, when Greek prehistory lay in such obscurity that the opinion of eminent critics varied as to whether the material he was unearthing at Mycenae should be dated as early as the Stone Age, as late as the third century A.D. or even the Middle Ages, or to assorted intermediate periods, pottery was already providing the first absolute chronological slots into which the Greek Bronze Age could be fitted. In 1866 Salzmann and Biliotti in their excavations at Ialysos had found a scarab of Amenhotep III in association with what later came to be called Mycenaean pottery. Some ten years later Schliemann was able to link the pottery he was finding at Mycenae with comparable material known for some time from Rhodes, Attica, Cyprus and even Egypt, some of which at least could provide direct synchronisms with the historical civilisation of the Nile (Schliemann

1878, 62f.)[1].

It was against this background that a series of works on the pottery of the prehistoric Aegean were published in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the most thorough of which were the two books of Furtwängler and Loeschke, "Mykenische Thongefässe" (1879) and "Mykenische Vasen" (1886). "Mykenische Vasen", which for long remained the authoritative account of Mycenaean pottery, provided a working classification of the material as it was known up to that time, incorporating the "types" of Thera, Ialysos, Mycenae and Spata[2] in a roughly chronological series which took account of the absolute dates so far provided by Egyptian synchronisms. In particular, Furtwängler's and Loeschke's claim that their "Fourth Style", which corresponds to what later became known as "Close Style", represented the latest class of Mycenaean ware was a remarkable example of foresight. It was not until the early 1920s that archaeological confirmation of this was obtained, during Wace's excavations at Mycenae.

B. <u>Evans: triple divisions for the Minoan period</u>.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century the term "Mycenaean" as a description of the entire culture and in particular the pottery of the Late Bronze Age throughout the Aegean had assumed widespread use (Schuchhardt 1891, 231)[3]. With the start of Evans' excavations at Knossos in 1900, however, the focus of attention

was shifted away from the Greek Mainland, and there appeared the first signs of a war of terminologies which was to overshadow much of the first thirty years of this century, and which was for long to divert attention from a truly objective appraisal of the development of Mainland Late Bronze Age pottery.

The prime importance of Evans' work at Knossos as far as the development of Aegean pottery interpretation was concerned, lay in his tripartite scheme of classification, definitively published in the first volume of "The Palace of Minos" in 1921. Based on the one hand on a careful observation of sequential strata, and on the other on a belief that the three major divisions of the Bronze Age (Early, Middle, Late Minoan), each in turn with three major sub-divisions (I, II, III), represented an approach that was "in its very essence logical and scientific...(since) in every characteristic phase of culture we note in fact the period of rise, maturity, and decay..." (Evans 1921, 25), his scheme has remained valid, unaltered in any major way, for Bronze Age Crete. At the same time, it has also had a profound effect on the basic approach to the classification of Mainland culture and pottery[4].

Evans and Mackenzie between them also formulated two major historical theories which were to have a less direct, though nonetheless profound effect on the approach to Mainland pottery studies right up until Evans' death in 1941 and beyond. The first of these was the belief, which for Evans at least became an article of dogma, that the culture of the Mainland, particularly before

1400, was entirely dependent, probably for political reasons, on that of Crete[5]. The second was the recognition that the latest pottery at Knossos "typical of a period when the palace is only partially inhabited...is found in a much wider context, embracing the whole of the East Mediterranean basin...The perfectly uniform character of style in the Aegean area at this period is at once apparent on the comparison of wares from different centres" (Mackenzie 1903, 199). This undisputed recognition of the uniform character of the latest Late Minoan/ Mycenaean pottery, together with the claim that Early Mycenaean was in fact Minoan, shaped the course of Mycenaean studies for the next few decades.

C. Wace and Blegen: Helladic series; emphasis on sherds and detailed stratification. The independence of Mycenaean pottery and the uniformity of the "Empire" style.

In the early 1920s the work of Blegen at Korakou and other sites in the North-East Peloponnese, and of Wace at Mycenae, brought them steadily into conflict with the first of these theories of Evans and his followers. Their work, with its emphasis on the minutiae of broken potsherds and detailed stratification, was revolutionary in technique as much as in its results. The publication of "The Pre-Mycenaean Pottery of the Mainland" in 1916-18 did for the Mainland what Evans had done for Bronze Age Knossos, and proposed what is still the basic stylistic and chronological framework of major pottery types

in Central and Southern Greece during the whole Bronze Age. In it, minimum attention was paid to the better known and latest "period of widest diffusion of Mycenaean pottery" (Wace and Blegen 1916-18, 187-8) the essential uniformity of which, in common with most archaeologists of the time, Wace and Blegen did not dispute (cf. Blegen 1921, 120)[6]. However, their introduction of the term "Helladic" and their recognition, through a close study of the fabric and shapes of the Middle Helladic period before the period of strong Minoan influence, that "...though Minoan in origin, the Mycenaean civilisation is not merely transplanted from Crete, but is the fruit of the cultivated Cretan graft set on the wild stock of the Mainland...(and that) the underlying Mainland element influenced the dominant Minoan art so as to make it Mycenaean as opposed to Cretan..." absorbed them straight away in a heated controversy which lasted throughout the rest of Evans' lifetime.

This controversy, which naturally centred on the early Mycenaean period and the beginnings of Late Helladic pottery, together with the almost total acceptance of a later koine, whatever its geographical centre, diverted the attention of Wace and Blegen away from more detailed typological analysis of the later period of Mycenaean pottery. As late as 1932 in "Chamber Tombs at Mycenae" Wace was still talking of Late Helladic III pottery, undifferentiated except by such general descriptions as an early "Amarna" or late "Granary" style. The formal subdivision of Late Helladic III was left, at this stage, to others, among whom Forsdyke (1925), and following him Mackeprang (1938) made significant

contributions.

D. Forsdyke and Mackeprang: Late Helladic IIIA, B, C. The Granary at Mycenae.

Forsdyke divided the Late Mycenaean vases outside Crete into two groups, A and B, of which Late Mycenaean A corresponded in time to the Amarna material and was characterised by certain "flower types". Late Mycenaean B bore a marked stylisation and geometricisation of the same flower types and the use of "panelled decoration" became general. He arranged the large collection of Mycenaean pottery in the British Museum chronologically according to this system, and went some way towards examining the history of the various vase types.

Mackeprang drew on, and elaborated Forsdyke's basic stylistic division, and used the results of Wace's excavations at Mycenae (Wace et al. 1921-23) and Blegen's excavations at Zygouries (Blegen 1928)[7] to distinguish three main phases: A (or Amarna phase), B (or intermediate phase) characterised by geometricised flowers, metope decoration and high-stemmed kylikes, and C (Granary and Close Style). In his treatment of Late Helladic IIIC Mackeprang took the first steps towards a consciousness of the regionalisation of styles at the end of the Mycenaean period. "...At this time there is a tendency towards the appearance of local styles, so that the Koine conception is no longer quite so justified as before..." (Mackeprang 1938, 546)[8]. The idea, however, of a koine in Late Helladic IIIB was still firmly entrenched.

Wace's publication (Wace et al. 1921-23) of the material from the Granary and the East Basement at Mycenae, and of the Lion Gate deposit, for which stratification of Late Helladic III pottery was claimed, had important effects on the development of Late Helladic III typological studies. The significance of the Granary material, which clearly showed that both the Close Style (Furtwängler's and Loeschke's "Fourth Style") and the Granary Style, a rather simplified kind of pottery described in detail by Wace in the publication, were the contemporary and latest styles of pottery in use at the time of the final destruction of Mycenae, was realised fairly quickly, as Mackeprang's definition of his Late Helladic IIIC subdivision shows. However, Wace himself did not immediately make use of the Lion Gate stratigraphy to draw any new typological conclusions about the sequence of Late Helladic III at Mycenae, merely noting that the upper strata contained pottery of the same type as that from the Granary (Wace et al. 1921-23, 30). Nor did Mackeprang, whose approach to Late Helladic III was admittedly, like that of Forsdyke, stylistic rather than stratigraphic, make any use of the Lion Gate stratigraphy in his description of Late Helladic IIIB.

So far, most of the advances made in the study of Late Helladic III pottery had been presented in terms of stylistic analysis rather than observation of stratigraphy. A general attitude towards Mycenaean pottery which saw in it a suitable subject for art history along the lines of Classical vase studies was partly responsible for this. The case for "the archaeology of art" had been put in forcible terms by Michaelis in 1908 (Michaelis

1908, xiii), and even Evans' tripartite scheme, though soundly based in his stratigraphic observations at Knossos, embodied, in its principle of "rise, maturity, and decay", a presupposition of certain stylistic laws which can be seen at work in the sequences of Forsdyke and Mackeprang. However, that was by no means all of the problem. Wace's and Blegen's early work had already emphasised the potential importance of the detailed observation of stratified sherd material. There was no reason why, given the appropriate evidence, a stratigraphically based sequence for Late Helladic III should not rapidly have been worked out. The reason why it was not was plainly the lack of representative settlement material - a lack bemoaned by Desborough as late as 1964 (Desborough 1964, 2).

E. Furumark: detailed subdivision.

The Lion Gate stratification was first seriously taken up by Furumark who in 1941 published his two massive volumes, "The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification", and "The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery". As the titles imply, his approach was twofold: typological and stylistic, and stratigraphical. His basic work for these publications was carried out not long after the publication of Blegen's excavations at Zygouries, and in 1933 of the preliminary report of Broneer's excavations on the North Slope of the Athenian Acropolis. As a result, he was able, as Mackeprang had already done, to draw on Blegen's conclusions to distinguish a phase of Mycenaean (or Late Helladic) III (IIIB)

which was stylistically intermediate between Myc. IIIA and the Myc. IIIC of the Granary and Close Styles. At the same time, taking account of Broneer's claim that his North Slope ware was "somewhat earlier than the bulk of the pottery from the Granary at Mycenae" (Broneer 1933, 372), he was able to distinguish a later phase of Myc. III (IIIC:1 early) which fell stylistically between Myc. IIIB and the Granary material. Furumark's stratigraphical justification for this chronological succession of Myc. IIIB and Myc. IIIC wares was based almost entirely on the Lion Gate deposit, with some further evidence drawn from the succession of Houses G and H at Asine (Furumark 1941b, 29-30)[9].

In 1944 in "The Mycenaean IIIC Pottery and its relation to Cypriote Fabrics" Furumark considered the question of the appearance of Mycenaean and Mycenaean derived pottery in Cyprus, and of the relative Minoan developments and their effect on both Cyprus and the Aegean, in an attempt to relate the three series (Mycenaean, Minoan and Cypriot) in a chronological and typological framework. In the course of this, he further refined his subdivision of Myc. IIIC:1 into Myc. IIIC:1a, 1b and 1c, 1a corresponding to his earlier Myc. IIIC:1 early, with Myc. IIIC:1 late, which he saw as of longer duration, split between 1b and 1c. The inspirations for this further subdivision were rooted in stylistic observations already noted by Furumark in 1941, but a firm chronological basis, for which he argued in his 1944 article, had seemed too elusive at that stage.

Before embarking on an examination of Furumark's

results and, more important, of the evidence available to him, it will be as well to summarise briefly the main stylistic features of his three Myc. IIIC:1 phases.

Myc. IIIC:1a is characterised as "a direct continuation of the Myc. IIIB style, differing...only in a certain conventionalisation of the designs and in a simplification of composition, together with a progressive faciality and, sometimes, a transformation of the linear body decoration. The general character of this class is one of stagnant survival." (Furumark 1944, 196). He lists as typical of this class pottery from Mycenae (Cyclopean Terrace Pithos Burial; Tomb 515, Burial XIV; Tomb 527, Burial VI), Iria (the Bothros), Athens (Acropolis, North Slope; at the bottom of the Fountain Deposit), Eutresis (House V), Ialysos (NT 66; NT 67)

and Kameiros (Tomb 48; Tomb 49) . In the same contexts, however, appear features which concurrently point the way forwards to the next stage of Myc. IIIC; features which he recognised as "incipient Mainland Close Style and its Rhodian equivalent".

Myc. IIIC:1b comprised the developed Close Style as typified by the Granary deposit at Mycenae which had now "reached full maturity" and "developed all its distinctive characteristics". It also included features of the so-called Granary Style: "coarse vessels, decorated in the simple style named after this context". Myc. IIIC:1b groups are listed from Mycenae (the Granary floor deposits; Tomb 515, Burial XXI), Asine (House G floor deposits; Tomb 5, last burial), Tragana, and from Ialysos in the Dodecanese (NT 61; NT 72; NT 85)

(Furumark 1944, 202).

Throughout, Furumark drew a clear distinction between the Mainland and Rhodian Myc. IIIC material "since they are very different from a stylistic point of view" (Furumark 1944, 198). In this, he pursued the regionalisation pointed out by Mackeprang to the extent of distinguishing an Eastern (Rhodian) and Western (Mainland) style. The differences between the Mainland and Rhodes, already apparent in Myc. IIIC:1a, became sharper than ever in Myc. IIIC:1b (Furumark 1944, 198)[11]. At the same time the "incipient Rhodian equivalent" to the Mainland Close Style was succeeded in the Dodecanese by the development of a class of false-necked jar with "cuttlefish" decoration, already singled out by Skeat as an important class of vases contemporary with the Close Style of Korakou and Mycenae. Skeat had already suggested that these vases were "perhaps the last examples of Minoan free-field painting" (Skeat 1934, 25-6)[12]. Furumark's comparative analysis of shape and decoration confirmed this, and he concluded that in Myc. IIIC:1b "the Cretan style was still influencing the Rhodian directly". Examples of the same "cuttlefish" decoration found on the Mainland, listed by both Skeat and Furumark, were "evidently derived from the same source, the LM IIIB style" (Furumark 1944, 204, 207).

Myc. IIIC:1c was the basic innovation in Furumark's 1944 article. The representative deposits were few in number: Mycenae (Lion Gate, Stratum XI, Larnax Burial; Tomb 502, Burial III), Asine (Tomb 1, last burial period; Tomb 5, Dromos niche; House H) and Kameiros (Tomb 50)

(Furumark 1944, 210). It was seen as "the great period of the Granary Style", distinguished by its spacious ornamental decoration of multiple wavy lines, the "degeneration and dissolution" of previous ornament, and by its "geometricisation and reorganisation" seen in monochrome vessels "having only a reserved stripe, containing a wavy or zigzag line, between the handles". It represented a process of evolution "from the elaborate decoration of IIIC:1b to the simple one of the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods". In Rhodes the cuttlefish had now "a very poor appearance, clearly later typologically than the Myc. IIIC:1b instances". The distinction between Rhodes and the Mainland was no longer so clearly maintained. Many of the peculiarities of the Mainland decoration of this phase, including some of the detailed motifs even on the "cuttlefish" vases, were also found on Rhodes. However, "the last offshoots of the old sub-IIIB tradition", long forgotten or changed beyond recognition at Mycenae and Asine, were still apparent on Rhodes (Furumark 1944, 218).

Furumark's new subdivisions, as well as his documentation of the separate development of Myc. IIIC in Rhodes, allowed him to reach certain important historical conclusions. In his 1944 article he was able to distinguish a strong "Hellado-Mycenaean" strain in his Myc. IIIC:1c phase on Rhodes and in his Late Minoan IIIB:2c phase on Crete which he derived from the Greek Mainland just after the fall of Mycenae (Furumark 1944, 264)[13]. On Cyprus the evidence among other things of Mycenaean pottery and Mycenaean influence on the local Proto-White-Painted ware (Late Cypriote IIIB) suggested renewed contact

between Cyprus and the Mycenaean world at about the same time (Myc. IIIC:1c). In this case, however, the "closest parallels (were) to be found in Crete and Rhodes". Both the Aegean elements in Cypriot Proto-White-Painted ware and the appearance of Aegean pottery in Late Cypriote IIIB contexts "must be regarded as a product of immigrants from both these islands" (Furumark 1944, 265; cf. also Gjerstad 1944a, 82)[14].

F. Geographical limitations up to 1944. Recent excavations in other areas.

Furumark's work on the pottery of the LH IIIC period, which among other things provided an invaluable set of standard terminology for shapes and motifs, has not been superseded in any major synthetic way since the publication of 1944. His minutely detailed work on the origins and developments of shapes and motifs and on the chronological and stylistic links with Crete was the result of a massive amount of detailed research and analysis and yielded important results. Nevertheless, there are grounds on which a further review of Late Helladic IIIC pottery as known to date may now be undertaken.

First, there are the geographical limitations of the evidence available to Furumark. Of all the deposits of Late Helladic (or Myc.) IIIC pottery quoted by him in his 1944 article[15], 37% are drawn from the cemeteries of Ialysos and Kameiros, 46% from the Argolid[16], and only 17% from four other sites[17]. As a result, though the dissolution of the Mycenaean koine during LH IIIC

was stressed, the documentation of this dissolution was confined essentially to a comparison between Rhodes and the Argolid[18]. Even so, Furumark was aware of several stylistic strains. In particular, the Close Style ("the Palace Style of Agamemnon") was recognised as of very limited distribution. "Outside Argolis it seems to have been manufactured only at a few Mainland centres" (Furumark 1944, 263). The lack of LH IIIC material, however, outside the well excavated areas of the Argolid and the Dodecanese, made any detailed regional documentation well nigh impossible[19].

Since then, excavations at Perati in Attica, at Teichos Dymaion in Achaea, at Lefkandi in Euboea, on Kea, on Cyprus, at Tarsus, on Chios, at Volos and on Naxos, as well as publication of material from Achaea and from Kos, have greatly added to our knowledge of Late Helladic IIIC pottery. A subsequent synthesis, investigating local styles in the hitherto unknown areas of LH IIIC thus opened up, was undertaken by Desborough in 1964. Desborough's work resulted in a further emphasis on the regional variations within LH IIIC, and on the apparent ceramic and other cultural links between certain specific regions, as for example East Attica and the Dodecanese on the one hand, Achaea and the Argolid on the other. No further chronological refinements were possible, however, within any of the areas not dealt with by Furumark, until the publication, in 1971, of an article by Popham and Milburn describing a stratified settlement sequence of three main LH IIIC phases excavated at Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971).

The Lefkandi sequence presented an Euboean development which, at first sight, differed considerably from that worked out by Furumark on the basis of the Argive and Rhodian material. Most striking, was the absence of the Close Style, already recognised by Furumark as of limited distribution, and by Desborough as an Argive development which had, however, more than local effect (cf. Desborough 1964, 8, 15). Instead, in Lefkandi phase 2 we see the appearance of a lively pictorial style, found mainly on kraters, and an elaborate abstract style which, though striking in their effect, nevertheless lack the detailed intricacy of the best Close Style. Phases 1 and 3 at Lefkandi also differed in certain respects from Furumark's earliest and latest Myc. IIIC in the Argolid. Phase 1, instead of combining a debasement of continuing LH IIIB motifs with incipient development towards the elaboration of the Close Style (Furumark 1944, 196f.; cf. Desborough 1964, 10), has very little ornamented pottery at all. Instead, solid painting and banding are the main features of vase decoration, and there is little to prepare one for the pictorial development which follows. Phase 3, with its "white ware" hydriae and kraters, and its wavy lines, certainly displays the "degeneration and dissolution" of Furumark's latest Myc. IIIC:1 phase, but the "geometricisation and reorganisation" seen, for instance, in the reserved handle panels on deep bowls from the Granary or the uniform rows of triangles or semicircle groups on stirrup-jars and jugs from Asine, is missing. Unlike Furumark's Myc. IIIC:1c which was envisaged as evolving ultimately through Submycenaean into Protogeometric,

the last phase of LH IIIC pottery at Lefkandi "seems to represent a dead end", showing "no obvious links with the Submycenaean pottery from the nearby cemetery - still less with the early Protogeometric style, either from Lefkandi or elsewhere" (Popham and Milburn 1971, 343-4).

At all three stages, however, there are a number of similarities with other local LH IIIC styles. In phase 1 the development of the shallow conical kylix with monochrome lower body and stem is paralleled in areas as far apart as the Argolid and Kephallenia. The appearance of a new shape, the carinated cup (Furumark Shape 240) occurs also in the Argolid and in Achaea. The pictorial style of phase 2 may well be represented at Volos in Thessaly, while the monochrome deep bowls with reserved bases and reserved lines are a somewhat less flamboyant version of the reserved line deep bowls of Mycenae, and are also found at many other sites. A type of one-handled conical bowl, singled out by Desborough as deserving of notice, apparently occurs at sites as far apart as Tarsus and Tragana (Desborough 1964, 117). Finally, the "white ware" of phase 3 bears a striking similarity to a comparable LH IIIC ware from Kea. Clearly, the pattern of regional LH IIIC styles interlinked only in certain specific directions by means of population movements of trading connections as envisaged by Desborough (1964, 225, 228) is far from simple. The likelihood that during different phases of LH IIIC different patterns of contact can be traced, as Furumark made clear in his discussion of the relations between Mainland LH IIIC

and the pottery of Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete and Palestine (Furumark 1944, 264f.), has the potential for making the picture more and more complicated.

A complete picture of the developments and inter-relationships of LH IIIC pottery styles will ultimately depend on the distinction of broad chronological sequences in different LH IIIC areas. This is inevitably easier in stratified settlement deposits, despite the difficulties of dealing with broken sherds rather than entire shapes and the problems of earlier upcast material, than in tomb groups. The latter, unfortunately, form the bulk of material for many areas of the Aegean and are, on the whole, the better published. Nevertheless, the Lefkandi material has gone a long way towards filling in at least part of the picture, and even preliminary reports on LH IIIC settlement material from other sites provide us now with a great deal more evidence than was available to Furumark.

G. Limitations of stratigraphic evidence for LH IIIB/C transition. New division of LH IIIB. Problems of discontinuity of settlement.

Secondly, there are the stratigraphic limitations of Furumark's evidence, particularly for the early stage of LH IIIC. For stratigraphical confirmation of the development from Myc. IIIB to the Myc. IIIC:1b of the Granary floor deposits he was entirely dependent on the Lion Gate strata VI-IX, sherds from which were so fragmentary and of such mixed nature that not only

Evans but also Wace cast doubt on their validity as the basis for firm subdivisions (Furumark 1941b, 29 note 4; Wace 1956, 128-30). Closely concerned with the rise and fall of the Close Style, Furumark's Myc. IIIC:1a phase was primarily a product of stylistic analysis. Most of the material came from tomb groups whose chronological homogeneity had often to be taken on trust.

Vitally important for the distinction of local pottery development in LH IIIC is a clear idea of the immediately preceding LH IIIB styles. Although recognising that some of his Myc. IIIB groups were stylistically later than others, Furumark, in his general scheme, left LH IIIB undivided.

With regard to geographical variants of LH IIIB, Furumark emphasised the degree of local development in certain parts of the Mycenaean world, particularly in Rhodes and in Cyprus[20]. To some extent he was able to relate the early Myc. IIIC of Rhodes to a preceding Rhodian Myc. IIIB style. On the Mainland, however, where publication of material from areas other than the Argolid was scarce, a blanket definition of Myc. IIIB drawn mainly from tombs, over half of which were Argive, had to suffice for the basis of those "sub-IIIB" features which distinguished Myc. IIIC:1a.

The possibility that the latest stage of LH IIIB on the Mainland might reveal clear chronological and geographical distinctions first arose in the 1950s

when excavations at Mycenae and Tiryns began to draw attention to a development of LH IIIB pottery differing in certain respects from that of the "Potter's Shop" at Zygouries which, for Furumark, had represented the typical settlement material for Myc. IIIB (Furumark 1941b, 101)[21]. Articles in 1965 by Verdelis and French and in 1969 by E. French laid out the main features of LH IIIB2[22] as found in the Epichosis at Tiryns and the Perseia Trench deposit at Mycenae. The historical implications of this subdivision of LH IIIB in the Argolid became clear as the realisation grew, with excavations at Mycenae in the 1960s, that Mycenae had suffered from two destructions during the course of the LH IIIB period: one in LH IIIB1 outside the walls, and one inside the Citadel in LH IIIB2, the latter apparently contemporary with a major destruction at Tiryns. So far, the type features of LH IIIB2 as described by Verdelis, French and Wardle (Verdelis and French 1965; E. French 1969a, 1977; Wardle 1973[23]) are not so easily found outside the Argolid (cf. Wardle 1973, 298, 305 note 31; also Schachermeyr 1976, 266)[24]. However, within the Argolid at least the isolation of LH IIIB2 as a separate phase has somewhat blurred Furumark's sequence of LH IIIB and LH IIIC development. Many of his "sub-IIIB" features (Furumark 1941a, 570, 591-631) of Myc. IIIC:1a can now be seen to fall in LH IIIB2, and at the same time a few of his Myc. IIIC:1a groups[25], placed in Myc. IIIC:1a on stylistic grounds, now present doubts as to whether they should be classified as LH IIIB2 or LH IIIC (cf. E. French 1974).

On the basis of further stratigraphic information from Mycenae, E. French (1969b) has set out a prelimina$_{ry}$

description of the earliest LH IIIC which follows the LH IIIB2 destruction at that site. This preliminary phase is not immediately abstractable from the material in Strata VI-IX of the Lion Gate as published, which Furumark claimed as transitional Myc. IIIB/C and Myc. IIIC:1 early (Furumark 1941b, 29-30)[26]. On the one hand it can be seen that there are similarities, for instance in the lip band deep bowls and the increased use of solid paint, with the North Slope pottery at Athens and with phase 1 at Lefkandi. On the other hand, the characteristics of Furumark's incipient Close Style are absent, suggesting perhaps that, as Desborough (1964, 6) cautiously predicted, Close Style in any form is not the earliest manifestation of LH IIIC in the Argolid, and that Furumark's Myc. IIIC:1a may either be further divisible or else modified, at least for Mycenae. With increasing doubt being thrown on the adequacy of the Lion Gate strata (cf. Desborough 1964, 76-7), the whole problem of early LH IIIC in the Argolid is wide open again.

The problems of linking LH IIIB directly with early LH IIIC are not helped by the change in settlement patterns which becomes apparent at the beginning of LH IIIC. Several LH IIIC sites (Perati, Tarsus, the Kephallenian cemeteries) are preceded by little or no evidence for LH IIIB occupation. Several LH IIIB sites (Zygouries, Berbati, Pylos) are left abandoned in the LH IIIC period. At other sites where we do have a reasonable amount of LH IIIB followed by LH IIIC apparently without a break, the evidence is still inadequately published[27].

Nevertheless, a closer examination of what terminal LH IIIB there is from as many areas of Greece as possible in the light of the new developments in the Argolid can only illuminate both inter-regional relationships at the end of LH IIIB and the measure of continuity or discontinuity into LH IIIC[28].

H. Submycenaean.

Although Submycenaean pottery is strictly speaking outside the limits of this study, its archaeological history is to some degree relevant, particularly as its definition and limits have in turn impinged on and receded from those of LH IIIC. When Wide in 1910 published the vases from some graves which had been excavated at Salamis in 1893 he hailed them as the "missing link" between the Mycenaean and Geometric styles and proposed for them the label "Protogeometric". By 1934, when Skeat wrote "The Dorians in Archaeology" more material of the latest Mycenaean period had been discovered and recognised as such, at Mycenae, Korakou, at Asine and elsewhere. Skeat, who emphasised the strongly Mycenaean character of the Salamis vases rejected Wide's classification of them as essentially non-Mycenaean, and proposed instead the term Submycenaean into which he threw not only the Salamis material and similar pottery newly emerging from the Kerameikos and Agora excavations at Athens, but also Wace's Granary Style. Four years later, however, Mackeprang, with his formulation of an LH IIIC which included both Close Style and Granary

narrowed the upper limits of Submycenaean, to which his LH IIIC was seen as a transitional stage between it and LH IIIB (cf. Wide 1910, 17)[29].

Furumark's Myc. IIIC:2 or Submycenaean (Furumark 1944, 220f.) immediately followed on his Myc. IIIC:1c stylistically. His relatively small number of "type" groups were drawn almost entirely from the Kerameikos graves at Athens, with a lesser number of "unqualified stylistic groups" from other sites, such as Asine, Delphi and Salamis. The main decorative features were "a continuation of the simple geometricised Myc. IIIC:1c category", combined with a "more elaborate decoration of the panelled type" which forms "an important connecting link between the Mycenaean and the Protogeometric styles". However it was in the shapes that Furumark drew the greatest contrast between Myc. IIIC:2 and Myc. IIIC:1c. Submycenaean shapes were heavier, often somewhat deformed and irregular. Globular and biconical shapes were "symptoms of that general tendency towards static symmetry which...gave as result the lifeless, anxiously restrained curves of Protogeometric and Geometric vases". His stylistic scheme followed the basic combined principles of rise towards the maturity of the Protogeometric and Geometric styles, and decay away from the maturity of Myc. IIIC:1b.

In 1964 Desborough propounded the theory that Submycenaean which as defined by Furumark was based on Attic material, was in fact initially an Attic phenomenon, overlapping in time with the latest LH IIIC in other areas. His reasons for this were varied. Chief among them was

a lack of clearly definable Submycenaean material (Desborough 1964, 18f.) outside Attica, and an apparent lack of the latest LH IIIC from the Acropolis at Athens. Clearly, if as Desborough suggested, the isolation of different areas of Greece increased towards the end of LH IIIC, the problem of Submycenaean had to be approached piecemeal, with an analysis of the individual developments of separate areas. So far, a shortage of non-Attic Submycenaean material had, on the one hand, prevented any such analysis and had, on the other, given weight to Desborough's argument that the development from LH IIIC to Protogeometric largely bypassed a Submycenaean phase outside Attica. Since 1964, however, material corresponding to Furumark's and Desborough's general definition of Submycenaean has been found sporadically elsewhere: in Argos, Elis, Corinthia, Thebes and Lefkandi. Work such as that of Styrenius (1967) and Deshayes (1966) has gone some way towards presenting and analysing the recent finds of Submycenaean as well as the earlier known material, and both Deshayes and Styrenius are convinced that Submycenaean remains a major chronological entity in the Argolid and elsewhere[30].

Further progress has also been made towards distinguishing the chronological, if not stylistic, progression from the latest LH IIIC to the earliest Submycenaean. Desborough's criteria for the distinction of Submycenaean were in practice twofold: Furumark's stylistic criteria (particularly of shape), but also, and of greater importance, the association of pottery classed by Furumark as Submycenaean (or Myc. IIIC:2) with cists rather than chamber tombs -

an association which itself prevented any sort of stratigraphical continuity from LH IIIC to Submycenaean. However, the discovery at Argos of some pots which correspond well with pottery from some of the Attic cist tombs, and which are stratified above LH IIIC material in a chamber tomb (XIV) has somewhat modified the picture; and the Deiras chamber tombs at Argos suggest that the chronological progression from Myc. IIIC:1c to Submycenaean (Myc. IIIC:2) drawn up by Furumark may thus be justified both contextually and stratigraphically[31]. More recently still the discovery of Submycenaean settlement pottery from the Karmaniola area at Asine (Frizell 1978a) has gone some way towards smoothing over the contextual break between LH IIIC settlement and Submycenaean burials encountered at many sites[32].

Stylistically, however, the basis for distinction of a Submycenaean style of pottery, except in the latest (immediately pre-Protogeometric) stages (Styrenius' Late Submycenaean B and transitional Submycenaean/Protogeometric) appears to remain overwhelmingly negative. Desborough's words (1972, 41) are hardly encouraging: "It will be clear how appropriate the term Submycenaean is:...even the word 'style' is hardly appropriate...So far, it must appear that the Submycenaean style of pottery was dull, drab, and degenerate, defying clear analysis." A brief glance at the heterogeneous collection of vases discussed by Styrenius (1967) shows clearly what he means. In addition, some are LH IIIC in terms of both vessel type and decoration, while others are Protogeometric; and even within the five phases of Submycenaean proposed by Styrenius there seems as little stylistic cohesion

as between them. The absence of a cohesive style, differing both from LH IIIC and from Protogeometric, and yet with distinctive innovations of shape or decoration of its own, remains one of the biggest problems of Submycenaean pottery, and it is one which has resulted, from Wide (1910) on, in periodic dismissal of the right of Submycenaean to be counted as a distinct ceramic period at all [33].

I. Summary.

In short, therefore, the LH IIIC period has, at least since Mackeprang wrote in 1938, been recognised as a distinct subdivision of LH III in which the pottery displays certain stylistic developments (in particular the so-called Granary and Close Styles) peculiar to the period. Since then, Furumark and others, most recently with the help of stratified settlement material, have subdivided LH IIIC further [34]. At the same time, Furumark and Desborough in particular have pointed to a complex pattern of regional LH IIIC styles which display varying degrees of contact between them during the course of LH IIIC. The processes, however, by which these regional styles evolved and inter-regional contacts were established or maintained remain unclear; while the trends which led to the development of LH IIIC pottery out of that of LH IIIB and to its eventual transformation into Submycenaean and/or Protogeometric have still to be explored. It is these processes and trends which recent excavation and research, by providing a much

greater body of material from different regions and in some cases a stratigraphical basis for LH IIIB and LH IIIC phases, may give us the opportunity to define.

While it is tempting merely to subdivide subdivisions and produce an endless series of artifically crystallised points in a developmental sequence for the pottery of any one site, what may prove more fruitful at this stage is a rather more comparative and at the same time dynamic approach. The observation of detailed chronological sequences at individual sites is important, but provides us with only part of the story. Equally important is the need for an overall if less detailed view of general patterns of development, of changing rhythms of uniformity and regionalism, of contact and isolation, which can only be obtained from an objective consideration of the pottery of many different areas.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. For other examples of early chronological links with Egypt, v. Myres 1933, 278.

2. Separately treated by Dumont 1884.

3. For Furtwängler and Loeschke this explicitly meant a cultural centre at Mycenae. However, in his posthumously published report on the 1890 campaign at Troy, Schliemann was already speaking of "Crete, where I had hoped to discover the original home of Mycenaean civilisation..." (Schuchhardt 1891, 323); and as early as 1883 Milchhöfer had inferred that to explain the discoveries at Mycenae one would have to follow the trail back through the Aegean islands (especially Melos) and eventually to Crete.

4. For an earlier formulation of the basic scheme, v. Mackenzie 1903, 190f.

5. By 1935, when he published Vol. IV of "The Palace of Minos", Evans' position on this had hardened so far that the use of the term "Late Helladic" drew ridicule from him, as "...the terminology - still in vogue among those who approach the Minoan world backwards, from the Mainland side - which describes the products of that unified culture, when found north of the Aegean as 'Late Helladic'. ..The Roman Wall itself becomes 'Late British' with equal reason." (Evans 1935, xiv).

6. Fimmen 1921, 143f. also talks of a Late Mycenaean "koine".

7. Blegen 1928 placed the pottery found in the "Potter's Shop" at Zygouries in an "intermediate phase"

of Late Helladic III.

8. Mackeprang's article does not elaborate, however, on the local differences which distinguished the LH IIIC pottery of other provinces from that of the Argolid, on which his definition is based.

9. Wace's final assessment of the Lion Gate evidence did not appear until 1956, when, rejecting Furumark's "excessive pigeonholing of Mycenaean pottery", he divided levels I-IX simply between LH IIIB and LH IIIC (Wace 1956, 128-30).

10. For references, v. Furumark 1944, 197.

11. The bulk of the pottery from the Ialysos groups belonging to this stage formed a debased continuation of the sub-IIIB class, characterised by a very poor decoration, quite different from the Granary vases of the Mainland which are stylistically distinct from sub-IIIB survivals (Furumark 1944, 206-7, 203).

12. Myres (1930, 499) had suggested that the arrangement of the tentacles on certain "octopus" stirrup-jars foreshadowed the introduction of Geometric panel painting. Skeat, who rejected Myres' arguments for the basically Aegean origins of Greek Geometric pottery (1934, 473f.), found this unconvincing (1934, 25).

13. Furumark also distinguished somewhat earlier (Myc. IIIC:1b) Mainland impulses in the regional style of Cilicia, which he described (1944, 264) as "the result of a fusion of the old Levanto-Mycenaean tradition with new impulses from Mainland Greece". This style in turn was seen as the immediate prototype for the quasi-Mycenaean pottery

of the Philistines.

14. The other strand of Furumark's work on Mycenaean pottery concerned a detailed review of all available evidence for the absolute chronology of successive phases. By his own admission (Furumark 1941b, 115) there is little or no direct evidence for much of Myc. IIIC. However, by exhaustive comparative work on the latest Late Bronze Age pottery of Crete and Cyprus as well as of the Mycenaean Aegean he was able to build up a much more substantial and elaborate framework than could ever have been constructed purely on the basis of synchronisms with the historical cultures of the Near East. The beginning of Myc. IIIC was given a <u>terminus post quem</u> by a number of finds of Myc. IIIB pottery dated to the reign of Rameses II (died 1232), and a <u>terminus ante quem</u> by the appearance in Palestine, sometime around 1200 or a little later, of Philistine pottery apparently derived from the developed phase of Myc. IIIC (Myc. IIIC:1b). On stylistic grounds Furumark concluded that Myc. IIIC:1b was at least in part contemporary with Late Cypriot IIIA for which Sjöqvist (1940, 196) suggested a lower limit of c. 1150 B.C.. Myc. IIIC:1c, as the small amount of material would suggest, was envisaged as a rather short phase, coinciding again on stylistic grounds with the appearance of the earliest Proto-White-Painted in Cyprus which took place sometime after the development of the ceramic types characteristic of Late Cypriot IIIB. A provisional date of c. 1125 was therefore suggested for its beginning,

with its lower limit coinciding with the border in Cyprus between the earlier and later Proto-White-Painted phase, some twenty five years later. Thus: 1a 1230-1200

1b 1200-1125

1c 1125-1100

(cf. Furumark 1944, 261-2).

15. Myc. IIIC:1a: 16 (11 closed); Myc. IIIC:1b: 8 closed, 4 stylistically homogeneous; Myc. IIIC:1c: 5 closed, 2 homogeneous.

16. 9 from Mycenae, 6 from Asine, 1 from Iria.

17. 1 from Eutresis, 2 from Thebes, 2 from Athens, 1 from Tragana. Even in "The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery" (1941b), where he was not perhaps so concerned with the Rhodian developments and their application to Cyprus, 29% of Furumark's groups are from Rhodes and Kameiros, 37% from the Argolid, and 34% from 10 other sites.

18. Rhodian - and Cypriot - pottery also played an important part in the overall schemes of both Forsdyke and Mackeprang, if only because, as a result of early interest in excavations on the island, both Copenhagen and the British Museum possessed a high proportion of Rhodian material.

19. Furumark did include "the local wares of North-Western Greece", in particular the Achaean and the Kephallenian cemeteries. However, he rather dismissed them as of "a derivative Mycenaean character".

20. Later a source of controversy as a result of clay analysis programmes which suggest that the LH IIIB pictorial kraters and other types found in Cyprus, and hitherto badly represented on the Mainland,

were in fact Peloponnesian products (e.g. Catling, Richards and Blin-Stoyle 1963).

21. The "Potter's Shop" material at Zygouries was actually included by Furumark within a later phase of Myc. IIIB.

22. A division into LH IIIB1 and LH IIIB2 had already been suggested by Schachermeyr on the basis of the Tiryns material (Schachermeyr 1962, 222).

23. Material from inside the Citadel at Mycenae preceding the destruction.

24. One result of the subdivision of the Argolid pottery has been to show that certain Argive sites were not occupied after LH IIIB1.

25. Notably the Iria Bothros and the earliest pottery from the Acropolis Fountain.

26. In retrospect, it is now possible to see that features of LH IIIB2 were in fact present in Strata I-VII of the Lion Gate. However there was so much admixture of earlier material in the Lion Gate strata (v. especially the number of painted kylikes) as to make it impossible for Furumark to observe a distinction between it and, for example, the LH IIIB (LH IIIB1) of the "Potter's Shop" at Zygouries. The validity of the stratification had been challenged by Evans (1935, 63f. note). The admixture of earlier wares is always a particular problem at Mycenae.

27. For example Volos, Teichos Dymaion. (Preliminary reports, Volos: Theochares 1956, 1958, 1960-61; Teichos Dymaion: Mastrokostas 1962-66).

28. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the persistence of the concept of an LH IIIB <u>koine</u>,

which Desborough still maintained in 1972 (Desborough 1972, 17), has very largely been reinforced by the geographical limitations of the material on which study has been concentrated. Most material has been available from the Argolid. As a result, the tendency has been to generalise broadly from the Argive material to that of lesser known areas. In 1960 (Blegen and Rawson 1960, 159) Blegen dated the destruction of Pylos "to a time when the style of Mycenaean IIIB was nearing its end, but had not yet been superseded by that of Mycenaean IIIC". Yet in fact it is now hard to reconcile much of the destruction material from Pylos with the latest phase of LH IIIB known from the Argolid. It clearly has a character and development of its own, largely independent from that of the Argive sequence.

29. Myres (1930, 526) also rejected Wide's description of the Salamis vases as "non-Mycenaean". One of the differences between LH IIIC and Submycenaean suggested by Mackeprang was the absence of kylikes in the latter period (Mackeprang 1938, 545).

30. Deshayes and Styrenius made a claim for the Argolid Submycenaean preceding that of Attica on the grounds of direct continuity with Argive LH IIIC. Cf. Styrenius 1967, 160; Deshayes 1966, 195, 247.

31. At the same time, confirmation of the development within Submycenaean has been sought through "horizontal stratigraphy" of the cist tomb cemeteries (cf.

Styrenius 1967, 24). The Deiras chamber tombs cover all phases of Submycenaean down to the latest according to Styrenius' scheme (cf. Styrenius 1967, 132).

32. All the Submycenaean burials from, for example, Mycenae and Asine are classified by Styrenius as Late Submycenaean (Styrenius 1967, 133-4).

33. For recent pleas for the abandonment of the term Submycenaean, see Smithson 1977 and Rutter 1978. Cf. also Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 24.

34. For recent subdivisions of LH IIIC in addition to those of Iakovides for Perati (Iakovides 1969) and Popham and Milburn for Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971), see also Rutter 1974 (Korakou), Kilian and Podzuweit 1978 (Tiryns), and Rutter 1977 (more general). For a very recent general view of LH and LM IIIC, see Schachermeyr 1979.

Chapter 2

The LH IIIA and LH IIIB background

A. LH IIIA1

By the LH IIIA1 period, or shortly before 1400 B.C., Mycenaean culture was well established in Southern and Central Greece: in the Peloponnese, Attica, Boeotia and Southern Thessaly (Fig. 1). Perhaps a generation before, at the end of LM IB, Knossos had succumbed to Mycenaean aggression, and the succeeding LM II pottery had absorbed a distinct Mycenaean tinge. The beginning of the fourteenth century saw the increasing appearance of LH IIIA1 pottery in other areas of the Aegean which had not previously been so clearly part of the Mycenaean world. In regions such as Northern and Central Thessaly and the Ionian Islands Mycenaean pottery increased both in quantity and distribution at this time. The same applies in the Dodecanese and the Cyclades where it largely supplanted Minoan pottery imports at those sites where these were previously found. On Kea and particularly Melos Mycenaean pottery also gradually ousted the local Cycladic decorated ware which, in its final stages, occasionally imitated LH IIIA1 decorative motifs.

As far as the evidence allows us to judge, it seems likely that much of the LH IIIA1 pottery found outside the already established Mycenaean core area, and possibly also within it, was exported directly from one or a few central producing sources. This is suggested partly by the fabric of LH IIIA1 pottery which is often of

uniformly excellent quality in many of the regions in which it is found. In Attica, for instance, Stubbings (1947, 10) noted that there was a distinct visual difference between the fabric of LH IIIA and that of the succeeding LH IIIB pottery: the former was of a much smoother, more even fabric, the painted decoration more evenly applied and glossier. A similar contrast has been noted in Euboea where it has been suggested that much of the LH IIIA pottery was not locally made (Sackett et al. 1966, 105). On Kos, Morricone (1965-66, 304ff.) concluded that imported LH IIIA vases constituted half of all pottery in use in the tombs of Eleona and Langada and the settlement at Serraglio, alongside locally manufactured pottery which continued the traditional shapes and technique of the island or imitated earlier Minoan imports. These LH IIIA imported vases could be distinguished by the colour of the clay, by the characteristic smooth and lustrous surface, and by the glossy brilliance of their painted decoration.

Very little analytical work has yet been done which is designed specifically to answer questions about the LH IIIA1 period. What there is seems to support the idea of import from the Peloponnese. Preliminary results of spectrographic analysis of LH IIIA1 pottery from Phylakopi on Melos suggest that its source of origin was the Peloponnese, possibly the North-East Peloponnese[1]; and this fits in with earlier results obtained by Catling and others which placed a number of samples from Phylakopi in the Peloponnesian clay group (Catling, Richards and Blin-Stoyle 1963, 113). The results of

analysis carried out on some LH IIIA2 samples from Ialysos on Rhodes[2] appear to show that over 80% were imported from the Argolid (Jones and Nee 1978).

However it is not only the fabric of LH IIIA1 pottery which suggests that much of it may have been produced in, and exported from, a central source area. The limited but well defined repertoire of LH IIIA1 shapes and motifs, and the extremely standardised relationship between shapes and their decoration produce a uniformity of style which is more striking than at any other stage of LH III. LH IIIA1 assemblages are extremely predictable and easy to identify and categorise, as is shown by a comparison between, for instance, the LH IIIA1 deposit from the Atreus Bothros at Mycenae (E. French 1964) and other LH IIIA1 groups such as those from the Menelaion (Catling 1977, 31) and Ialysos (cf. e.g. Stubbings 1951, pl. 1). On Kos too Morricone was struck by the relatively limited repertoire of the LH IIIA1 pottery and the uniform, almost "stereotyped" relationship between shapes and decorations.

While this degree of standardisation need not necessarily imply that there was a single centre of production, at least for those areas which had been using Mycenaean pottery since LH I, it does suggest that even within these areas a high degree of aesthetic influence was being exerted by some leading source, and that a few main centres of production, rather than a proliferation of local industries, were probably responsible for the manufacture of most LH IIIA1 decorated pottery.

B. LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1

In the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 periods (from around the second quarter of the fourteenth century to c. 1250 B.C.)[3] the indications are that much more localised production of Mycenaean pottery gradually became established in most areas of the Aegean. Again, the evidence for this comes mainly from observations of fabric changes, as in Attica and Euboea; but it is backed by the results of analytical work (Catling, Richards and Blin-Stoyle 1963). On Kos, Morricone noted that in the LH IIIB period there was more fabric variation both among pots that he considered to be imports and those of Koan manufacture. An analysis of seventeen LH IIIB vases from Ialysos (Jones and Mee 1978) showed that, while a small majority still consisted of Argive imports, the proportion of vases of Rhodian manufacture and imports from other sources had increased from the preceding period.

An increasing degree of localised production during these periods corresponded with some regional variation in ceramic styles, mainly of a minor sort. This can be seen, for instance, in the retention, in areas like the Ionian Islands, Achaea and Messenia, of vessel types no longer in use elsewhere; in a more widespread use of monochrome paint in Central and Northern Thessaly than in more southern regions of Mainland Greece; in variations in the relative popularity of certain shapes, as for instance the liking for one-handled bowls in Attica and Rhodes, and the apparent scarcity of deep bowls in Euboea as compared to the vast numbers found

in the Argolid (Sackett et al. 1966, 105; cf. Sherratt 1980). Nevertheless, an overall uniformity of stylistic development, consisting in the universal adoption of the main formal and decorative innovations which characterise these periods, remains the single most striking feature. The stylistic uniformity of LH IIIA2 was emphasised by Furumark (1941a, 521) who considered it to be "the Koine style par preference". That a similar uniformity continued in LH IIIB1 may be seen in the appearance, throughout the Mycenaean world, of its characteristic types such as the deep bowl and the Zygouries kylix and of its typical decorative motifs (E. French 1966, 1967; Wardle 1969; Mountjoy 1976). Even in areas where local peculiarities can be seen at this time these innovations, sometimes appearing in the form of probable imports, become firmly incorporated into the stylistic repertoire (cf. Sherratt 1980).

During the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 periods Mycenaean pottery began to appear in markedly increased quantities in non-Mycenaean areas of the East Mediterranean such as Cyprus, the Levant and Egypt. A great deal of analytical work has been done on this pottery, and the results seem consistently to indicate that much of it was probably manufactured in the North-East Peloponnese (Catling and Millett 1965; L. Courtois 1971; Asaro and Perlman 1973; Catling, Jones and Millett 1978). Initially, this came as a particularly surprising conclusion in view of the distinctive repertoire, particularly of shapes, found among the Mycenaean pottery in the East Mediterranean. While several of the vessel types (for example pictorial and amphoroid

kraters, one-handled bowls) are now known to be much less rare on the Greek Mainland than was once thought, others still seem particularly characteristic of the Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus and the Levant. A few may even, as Sjöqvist (1940), Stubbings (1951) and others have suggested, reflect the influence of local Cypriot or East Mediterranean shapes. At the same time, however, it is clear that the Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus and the Near East is strongly affected by the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 styles as known in the Peloponnese and other Mycenaean areas. This can be seen not only in the appearance of such characteristic types as the kylix, among them the distinctive Zygouries kylix, but also in the decorative motifs found on much of the pottery, even on shapes that are otherwise peculiar to the Mycenaean pottery of the East Mediterranean or overwhelmingly more at home there. The concept of a specific market-oriented Mainland export - the sign of a deliberately tailored and hard promoted trade with the East Mediterranean - is one that might run the risk of appearing anachronistic in the context of the second millennium Aegean; but it is a concept which gains increasing credence from the growing body of analytical results.

The indication that a relatively high proportion of the pottery found in Rhodes in LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 may also have been imported direct from the North-East Peloponnese has further implications. Among pottery which spectrographic analysis shows to have been manufactured in the Argolid are types which had long been thought of as particularly characteristic of Rhodes, although

not unknown on the Greek Mainland (Jones and Mee 1978). Some of these types have very close parallels in South Italy; so close that Taylour (1958) considered the Italian examples to be Rhodian imports. Indeed, Taylour observed that much of the Mycenaean pottery found in Italy in LH IIIA-B found its best stylistic parallels in either Rhodes or Cyprus.

While, so far as I know, none of the relevant Mycenaean pottery from Italy has yet been analysed, these similarities to pottery from Rhodes and Cyprus known to have been exported from the North-East Peloponnese strongly suggest that an organised export trade in this period may not have been aimed solely at the East Mediterranean. A chalice of so-called Levanto-Helladic type (FS 278), a shape not otherwise known on the Greek Mainland, is found in an LH IIIB tomb in Messenia - an obvious transit point for voyagers making their way round the Peloponnese to Italy (Blegen et al. 1973, pl. 174:1). It may provide further support for the idea of a specific pottery export trade based in the North-East Peloponnese and directed primarily at external markets (Fig. 2).

Rhodes, which at this period was fairly comfortably "Mycenaeanised", may not perhaps have been a principal target of this export trade. Its importance to the organisers of this trade probably lay rather in its position on the sea-route to Cyprus and the East, and Peloponnesian pottery exports may have dropped there on the way to their main destination. Both Cyprus and Italy, however, present a different case.

An export trade of this scale and organisation is unlikely to have been built up without a clear return in mind, and from Cyprus, which was probably the primary recipient of exported Mycenaean pottery, an obvious return would be supplies of copper. Though the western trade was probably something of a sideshow, it can be argued that the driving force behind it may also have been the constant search for adequate supplies of metal to maintain the ascendancy of the Mycenaean palaces (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 384).

Despite the growth of more localised pottery production the pattern during the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 periods in the fully Mycenaeanised areas of the Aegean seems to be one of unidirectional stylistic influence, accompanied by some actual export from an innovating source. Though modified to some extent by minor regional peculiarities and preferences, the degree of uniformity is strong and consistent enough to suggest that this influence was not the result of haphazard spread from area to area or of independent invention loosely linked by a network of diverse contacts. At the very least it suggests a single innovating source in a position to give a direct cultural lead to the rest of the Mycenaean world, whether by the persuasive influence of metropolitan fashion or by the desirable quality of its products. Outside the Mycenaean sphere the evidence for a highly organised export trade emanating from the North-East Peloponnese backs up the suggestion that this region was probably the most important centre of ceramic production and development, and perhaps even, as Furumark suggested, "the political and cultural centre of the Aegean world"

(Furumark 1941a, 540).

C. LH IIIB2

The development of the LH IIIB2 style in the Argolid, sometime around the middle of the thirteenth century, coincided with the beginning of a marked change in the pattern of the preceding periods. In the Argolid, where the division of LH IIIB into two phases was initially made (Verdelis and French 1965; E. French 1969a; Wardle 1973), positive stylistic innovation continued in the form of those features - the Rosette bowl, the Group B deep bowl, and the heavy "filled style" decoration of bowls and kraters - which are regarded as the type features of LH IIIB2 (E. French 1977). However, unlike the type features of LH IIIB1, these have a much more limited distribution in the Mycenaean world as a whole (Sherratt 1980)[4]. Besides the Argolid, these new stylistic developments occur at the Menelaion in Laconia and at the site of Teichos Dymaion in Western Achaea. Some influence of the LH IIIB2 style can also be seen in a surrounding zone which takes in Attica, Boeotia, Euboea and the Cyclades, with traces only in Messenia. Beyond this, however, in the Ionian Islands in the west, and the Dodecanese in the east, such traces are virtually non-existent (Sherratt 1980, fig. 10)[5]. Where the characteristic innovations of LH IIIB2 do occur, either in number or as isolated instances, it seems reasonable to attribute them to influence and/or imports from the innovating source, almost certainly the Argolid.

In those areas where Argive LH IIIB2 has little effect, certain common features can be found which, for the most part, can be explained in terms of local continuity from the widespread LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1 traditions. Even in the Argolid, alongside the innovations of LH IIIB2, a substratum of LH IIIB1 shapes and decorations can be seen to persist. Elsewhere, these shapes and decorations of late LH IIIA or early LH IIIB origin continue as the main characteristics of a late LH IIIB pottery horizon, often in simplified form. In particular, some of the simpler motifs such as spirals, triglyphs and horizontal patterns (quirk, zigzag, "U"-pattern, "N"-pattern) continue and become progressively more stylised. Other more naturalistic motifs characteristic of LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1, such as the whorl shell, disappear on certain shapes in some areas, but continue on different shapes in others. Alongside this, there is often an apparent deterioration in the quality of clay and paint, and sometimes of potting and draughtsmanship. Motifs are sometimes carelessly drawn and often unimaginative; while an increasing preference for coating the interiors and sometimes also the exteriors of pots with sometimes streaky monochrome paint can perhaps be interpreted as a convenient decorative solution to an aesthetic and functional problem. It seems likely that this deterioration, combined with the lack of stylistic innovation in areas little affected by LH IIIB2 developments and with greater variation in the range of fabric types at individual sites, reflects increasing fragmentation of production in many areas of the Mycenaean world (cf. Appendix II) and a decrease in the amount of contact between regions. This is consistent with the troubled and

uncertain character of the late LH IIIB period as indicated by the history of many important sites.

The first signs of trouble on the Greek Mainland - the abandonment of Zygouries and Berbati, the destruction of houses outside the Citadel at Mycenae, and a new programme of comprehensive fortification at Mycenae and Tiryns - coincide with the end of the LH IIIB1 phase (cf. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 28-34, 41-2, 66). So too may the construction of fortifications at Athens and the Corinthian Isthmus, and the abandonment of Gla and the destruction of buildings at Thebes. Probably not more than a few decades later, at the end of LH IIIB or the beginning of LH IIIC, there were large scale destructions at Mycenae, Pylos, Iria, and possibly at Tiryns, Volos (Iolkos) and Orchomenos. There is also evidence of abandonment at sites like Nichoria, Pylos, Eutresis, and probably also at Aghios Stephanos. By this stage the pottery has become stylistically less uniform in different areas of the Mainland.

Some evidence of unrest similar to that on the Mainland also occurs in the islands of the Aegean. At Grotta on Naxos there are signs of a destruction probably in the earlier part of LH IIIB (cf. Schachermeyr 1976, 185); at Phylakopi the city wall collapsed, though the exact date of this event is as yet uncertain[6]; at Koukounaries on Paros a destruction dated to the transition from LH IIIB to LH IIIC was associated with pottery which seems no earlier than that from Phylakopi (Ergon 1976, 146-53; 1977, 144-53); at Serraglio on Kos the third

city was destroyed sometime in late LH IIIB (Morricone 1972-73). The pottery shows that in this area also the end of the LH IIIB period or the transition from LH IIIB to LH IIIC was a time when local potters were no longer reliant on continued inspiration from the North-East Peloponnese, and for the most part produced a simplified and limited repertoire of shapes and motifs, most of them based ultimately on those of LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB1.

In Cyprus, destructions occurred at the end of the LC II period at sites such as Enkomi, Kition and Sinda. These destructions fell within a period during which the pottery of Mycenaean type on the island, derived ultimately from LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1 tradition, saw some measure of independent development in the absence of imports and influences from Mainland Greece.

Whatever the reason for all these events, they seem to have coincided with the end of the cultural and possibly political lead of the North-East Peloponnese which is reflected in the relative uniformity of the LH IIIA and LH IIIB1 styles and in the organised export trade to non-Mycenaean areas. The resulting diminution in contacts and trade is clearly reflected in the limited distribution of the LH IIIB2 style and in the stagnation of development, deterioration of quality and possibly also fragmentation of production to be seen in the pottery of some areas. In several areas these characteristics are typical of much of what is often regarded as early LH IIIC or transitional LH IIIB-C pottery. It is only once new developments have taken place, and LH IIIC

becomes easily recognisable as such, that new patterns of contact and influence can be seen.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. I am grateful to Dr R. E. Jones for this information.

2. Jones and Mee (1978) decided to concentrate on the LH IIIA2 and later pottery from Ialysos when carrying out their analyses since, although some tombs were in use in LH IIB-IIIA1, pottery of that period is not so well represented. It would be most surprising if analysis of LH IIIA1 pottery revealed a smaller proportion of Peloponnesian imports than in LH IIIA2.

3. For the absolute chronological framework used here, see e.g. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 431.

4. Schachermeyr (1976, 249-67) has concluded that the LH IIIB2 style is even more limited in its distribution, confined to the Argolid and at most Corinthia.

5. There is one Group B deep bowl known to me from Cyprus (Enkomi Swedish Tomb 6:52; cf. Stubbings 1951, pl. IX:1), and one from Crete (Knossos: Popham 1964, pl. 8:c-d). These, and one or two Rosette bowls from Troy and Tarsus (Dörpfeld 1902, 289; E. French 1975, fig. 9) suggest that isolated imports from the Argolid may have continued to reach the Eastern fringes of the Mycenaean world in LH IIIB2, though the large scale export trade of earlier periods had largely dried up. (Cf. Schachermeyr 1976, 266). The lack of Argive LH IIIB2 features in the Dodecanese and Anatolia has been noted by E. French (1978); there is a similar lack in the Near East and on Cyprus (apart from the single deep bowl cited above).

6. A date of c. 1120 has been suggested for the collapse of the City wall in the Shrine area at Phylakopi (Renfrew 1978). This seems surprisingly late. For some discussion of this material, see below, chapter 11.

PART I

The stratigraphical evidence for the development of LH IIIC pottery

Chapter 3

Mycenae

A. Citadel House material. Description of nature of material.

This chapter is based on a study of a quantity of sherd material from the area of the Citadel House at Mycenae which was excavated by a joint Hellenic-British enterprise between the years 1959 and 1969. The Citadel House is situated within the Mycenae Citadel, on the south-west side, to the south of Grave Circle A (Figs. 3-4)[1].

After a widespread destruction in LH IIIB2 which affected the whole of this part of the Citadel, the area was reoccupied. The remains of walls and floors belonging to several successive phases of occupation were found. The pottery in question comes from the westernmost part of the site against the inner face of the Cyclopean Citadel wall (Fig. 4)[2]. Although there is evidence for at least two phases of rebuilding in this sector of the site after the LH IIIB2 destruction, much of the pottery derives from deposits of drift material from occupation levels higher up the slope to the east and north-east which banked up against the Cyclopean wall in stratified form (Megaw 1965, 10-1; Taylour 1970, 270). A decision was made to concentrate on the sequence in this sector of the Citadel House since, unlike the higher sectors of the site which suffered badly from erosion in the long period preceding

reoccupation in Hellenistic times, it provides both a large total quantity of sherd material and a stratified ceramic sequence covering all phases of LH IIIC occupation known so far from the Mycenae Citadel. The various phases of the sequence it provides are comparable with deposits of pottery found elsewhere on the site.

Five phases in the stylistic development of the pottery which succeeds the LH IIIB2 destruction have been distinguished. Two of these (Earliest and Tower) are related to periods of building activity in this part of the site, and one (Advanced) is distinguishable as a clearly definable drift line covering the entire sector. Evidence for the other two stylistic phases (Developed and Latest) is smaller in quantity and rather more mixed in character. The terminology used to denote these phases is not intended to imply any relationship with other schemes for the subdivision of LH IIIC, either generally or at other sites. For this reason, descriptive names rather than numbers or letters are used.

The definition and description of the sequence of LH IIIC pottery at Mycenae presented here can, at this stage, be no more than provisional. Since 1969, Professors Mylonas and Iakovides have carried out further excavations in the Citadel at Mycenae, including excavations within and around the area of the Citadel House[3]. Much LH IIIC pottery, including stratified material, has been found. When fully published this will undoubtedly provide very much more information as to the sequence and characteristics of LH IIIC at Mycenae.

B. Earliest phase: stratigraphical description.

Elsewhere, Dr E. French has provided a brief summary of the overall nature of the remains from the Citadel House area (E. French, in Tamvaki 1973, 208). The first signs of extensive building occur during the LH IIIB1 period and are contemporary with, or slightly later than, the construction of the western stretch of the Cyclopean wall (Mylonas 1966, 21ff.; Taylour 1970, 270). These buildings consist of a Shrine complex and, between the Shrine and the Cyclopean wall, the so-called Room with the Fresco, with another room (Storeroom) opening on to it on the west side (Fig. 4). They were all destroyed by fire in LH IIIB2, leaving pottery of this phase on floors and, above the floors, an uneven destruction deposit consisting of charred beams and debris from walls and upper storeys destroyed in situ and marked by signs of intensive burning[4]. Much of the sherd material from this destruction debris, which rises in places to over 1m. above the floors of the buildings (Figs. 9-10), is of LH IIIB1 and LH IIIA date - the sort of material that one might expect to have been built into mudbrick walls of mid-LH IIIB construction (cf. Wardle 1973, 302, 324, 327f., fig. 16).

Immediately above the level clearly marked as destruction debris a wall (cb) was constructed from east to west across the area, running up to the Cyclopean wall (Figs. 6, 10). For the first part of its existence it seems to have abutted, at right angles, the upper part of

wall ce which was first built prior to the destruction. Wall cb continued the line of another post-destruction wall (b) which was built above the northern part of the Room with the Fresco. On a level with the top of the stone footing of wall cb traces of a floor were found. These consist of patches of a hard white surface lying to the south of walls cb and b, and running up to the walls in places. Towards the western end of wall cb two more walls of later construction were found: a short wall (cc) which lay to the south of, and ran parallel to, wall cb, overlying the traces of floor in this area; and a short north-south wall (cd) which connected wall cc to wall cb. The three-sided room or courtyard thus formed lay open at the east end. A further wall (j) was built at right angles to the western end of wall b, forming a gap between this corner and the eastern end of wall cb. These later walls are of relatively flimsy construction, and it is unlikely that any part of the area was roofed over at this time.

Several pots were found associated with the patches of floor to the south of walls cb and b (Catalogue of registered pots, nos. 66-482, 66-483, 69-421, 69-423, 69-429, 69-432, 69-1433, 69-1434, 69-1531). Apart from these, the pottery from the fill which overlies the destruction debris up to a level with the later walls, and below and above the floor traces, is scrappy in character. Wash or deliberate clearance of destruction debris from higher up the site to the north and east, perhaps partly connected with levelling prior to the construction of the three-sided courtyard, seems to have accounted for a great part of this fill (cf. Wardle

1973, 303)[5]. This is suggested not only by the heavy content of LH IIIB1 and earlier material in the fill, but also by the appearance of burnt mudbrick, loose stones and scatterings of reddened and carbonised material. These are not, however, nearly so concentrated or densely packed as in the destruction debris proper.

Stylistically, the pottery differs little from that of the LH IIIB2 found on the destroyed floors below. Deep bowls of both Groups A and B, for instance, undoubtedly continue. There are a few new features of a fairly minor nature, as well as some indication that preferences for certain shapes and decorations already known may have become more pronounced. Essentially, though, it is a phase which remains stylistically more closely tied to LH IIIB than to succeeding LH IIIC phases, which are marked by a greater degree of positive formal or decorative innovation.

C. <u>Earliest phase: description of pottery</u>[6].

The <u>deep bowl</u> (FS 284), as in LH IIIB2, is the main pattern-decorated shape, and deep bowls of both Group A (with a line at the exterior rim, and linear painted interior) and Group B (with a rim band of c. 2cm. or more in depth and monochrome interior) are found (Figs. 17-2, 17-8, 19b, 21b:1, 21c:5). There is little sign of any real change in the motifs used, although spirals (running (FM 46) and antithetic (FM 50)) and narrow horizontal patterns such as "N"-pattern (FM 50), quirk (FM 48) and "U"-pattern (FM 53) are rather more popular

than at the time of the LH IIIB2 destruction (Fig. 12)[7]. Several deep bowls have double banding at the rim (Fig. 17b). On the Rosette bowls which form one of the type features of LH IIIB2 the central rosette motif (FM 27 or FM 73) is now generally combined with linear decoration (a line at the rim and band round the belly) instead of a simple dotted rim (Fig. 21b:3-7). New features are represented by the presence of just a few deep bowls with a band of medium depth (less than 2cm.) at the exterior rim, and no other decoration apart from splashes on the handles and handle roots (Medium band deep bowls); these have monochrome interiors (Figs. 12, 22 (cf. Fig. 39). Also new is the occasional use of monochrome in the interiors of deep bowls of Group A, which hitherto at Mycenae have normally been linear painted inside (Fig. 12).

Monochrome interiors are also found occasionally in a range of <u>small open vessels</u>, cups and miscellaneous small bowls (Fig. 37a, b). A great many of these small open shapes were found, decorated inside and out with simple linear decoration (Fig. 23). Among them are some examples of deep cups (FS 215) with a band of medium depth at the rim, and a few probable fragments of rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles (FS 295) (Figs. 11, 24, 21c:3(cf. Figs. 41-2)). On the whole, the presence of these small open shapes represents an increasing preference for applying linear decoration to types that in earlier periods were usually left unpainted[8].

The same tendency can be seen in the treatment of

the larger closed vessels, amphorae (FS 69), jugs (FS 106) and hydriae (FS 128), which frequently have plain linear decoration (Figs. 13, 25). Several of them have vertical wavy bands on the handles (Fig. 21c:4). The rims of these vessels show a slight hollowing in the interior, just below the lip (Fig. 25). A number of these large closed vessels are made of a thick, generally heavily gritted fabric, with a fairly rough surface appearance. This fabric, which is usually pale buff or occasionally greenish in colour, has, because of its surface texture, been given the name "oatmeal" fabric (cf. E. French 1969b, 135; Rutter 1975, 18)[9].

A further feature of this phase is the presence of of a coarse handmade fabric, frequently containing grit inclusions, and with a roughly burnished surface which varies in colour from black to mottled brownish-orange[10]. This fabric forms about 0.3% of the total material of this phase (Fig. 16). No complete shapes were recovered, but the fragments suggest that a variety of vessel types were made in it. These include cooking pots or large jar-like vessels, large bowls, a lamp with pinched rim, and a holemouthed vessel (Fig. 26 (cf. Fig. 27a)). There are also two fragments of an open carinated shape, on one of which part of a vertical strap handle is preserved (Fig. 27b)[11]. Decoration, which is rare on these fragments, consists of one example of a raised ridge (cf. Fig. 28), and one or two examples of grooving at the rim.

Ordinary wheelmade coarse ware <u>cooking pots</u> (FS 66) and <u>tripod vessels</u> (FS 320) remain indistinguishable from those of LH IIIB (cf. e.g. Mountjoy 1976, fig. 10). There is one fragment, however, of a tripod vessel with square legs which are unknown in earlier periods (Fig. 29 (cf. Figs. 30, 48a:1))[12].

Shape (in particular rim profile) and decoration of deep bowl <u>kraters</u> (FS 281, FS 282) also remain much as in the preceding period, though there is now no evidence for the stemmed krater (FS 9)[13]. Patterns include running spiral (FM 46) and panel motifs (FM 75) (Fig. 31-2). A few have monochrome interiors. <u>Basins</u> (FS 294) with monochrome interiors also occur (cf. Fig. 33). <u>Stemmed bowls</u> (FS 305) are rare, and are probably less popular now than in earlier periods. The majority of them are monochrome, while the patterned examples that occur differ little from those of LH IIIB2[14]. There is no evidence whatsoever for painted <u>kylikes</u>.

Closed shapes, apart from the large vessels already mentioned, are poorly represented. <u>Stirrup-jars</u> (FS 171) are similar to those of LH IIIB. The most common decoration consists of circumcurrent flowers (FM 18C) on the shoulder, and a single decorated body zone of zigzag (FM 61) or quirk (FM 48) (Fig. 21a)[15]. There are a few <u>collar-necked jar</u> (FS 63, FS 64) fragments with spiral decoration, and a few fragments of <u>amphoriskoi</u> (FS 59) (Figs. 21b:2, 21c:1), a shape already known from the LH IIIB2 destruction level at Mycenae[16]. <u>Piriform jars</u> (FS 48) no longer appear, but there are still a few examples of <u>narrow-necked jugs</u> (FS 120) with patterned decoration on the

shoulders (Fig. 34, 35a). Finally, among the many pithos (FS 13) fragments, were found a few with relief decoration, including some with raised band and finger-mark ornament (Fig. 36).

Altogether, some 23% of the total sherds from this phase are painted, compared with 19% from the LH IIIB2 Causeway deposit (Fig. 14)[17]. Of the painted sherds, only 32% have patterned decoration, the rest (68%) having only linear or monochrome decoration. There is some increase in the number of linear decorated cups and miscellaneous small bowls as compared with LH IIIB2, and a slight increase in the percentage of open shapes with monochrome interiors (Fig. 15)[18]. Unpainted (buff) ware forms 57% of the total, and coarse ware 16%. This compares with figures of 73% and 8% obtained for the LH IIIB2 destruction period. Of the unpainted shapes, carinated kylikes (FS 267) are the most common. Also present are shallow angular bowls (FS 295), deep conical (FS 274) and rounded kylikes (FS 265), lipless bowls (FS 204), dippers (FS 236), and a few jugs, amphorae and hydriae (Fig. 35b, 37c). Particularly noticeable is the small number of unpainted cups.

Generally speaking, this phase shows a greater variation in both quality and range of fabrics than is apparent in earlier periods at Mycenae[19]. Among painted pieces, the incidence of finely finished fabrics with characteristic almost glossy buff or pinkish-buff surface is less frequent, and many sherds have a sandier or else softer and more friable surface. Particularly noticeable is the appearance of a crumbly fabric, often quite

green in colour, with minute grit inclusions (cf. Catalogue of registered pots, 69-423, 69-1531). The paint on this fabric is frequently matt in appearance, and of a thinnish brown colour. Also present are a large number of fragments in a soft, pink fabric on which both surface and paint are extremely fugitive. Like the painted wares, very few of the unpainted wares display the finely finished appearance of the best fabric of earlier periods. Instead, they are generally less well fired and finished, and have a softer or rougher surface. A few pieces show signs of actual misfiring, including the absence of oxidation which leaves both cores and surface dark in colour (cf. Fig. 49a:1). Some pieces also show signs of stick burnishing similar to that on the coarse handmade ware; others are rag smoothed. Coarse wares, apart from the handmade ware described above, fall into two main groups. The majority are of well levigated sandy clay, with the wheelmarks left clearly visible on the surface of the pot (cf. Fig. 30)[20]. However, compared with earlier periods, an increasing proportion of coarse fragments are of less well defined fabric types. These are often heavier, lumpier and more heavily gritted. Surface colours vary from brown to reddish-brown. Several are smoothed, almost to the extent of being very roughly burnished. A few exceptional sherds have a micaceous appearance.

One further feature is the extensive use of firing holes, particularly around the handles of the larger closed vessels and on pithoi. In at least one instance,

the proliferation of firing holes has been turned to advantage as a decorative feature (Fig. 36b). They occur particularly in circumstances where the thickness of the thrown or built up clay created a risk or cracking or exploding during drying or firing. The fact that in earlier periods potters seem to have managed without them on the whole suggests, as do the decline in uniformity of fabric and the frequent deterioration of both fabric and paint, that, during this period, pottery production and potters' techniques were not of such consistently high standard as they once were at Mycenae.

D. Tower phase: stratigraphical description.

Immediately above the level of the existing tops of walls cb, cc and cd, a circular stone structure, some three or four courses high and approximately 80cm. in diameter, was built [21]. This structure, called the Tower by the excavators, is of unknown purpose, though a very similar structure, also of LH IIIC date, has since been excavated by Mylonas to the south of the Citadel House, and interpreted by him as an altar (Mylonas 1972, 38, pl. VIII). A layer of stones on a level with the base of the Tower was found immediately to the east of it, extending about 1m. eastwards, and c. 1.5m. north-south (Figs.7, 9). This overlay the top of wall cb to the north-east of the Tower. At about the same time, two other walls (ca and a) were built. The former lies to the east of the layer of stones and runs north-south from the southern edge of the earlier wall (j),

directly above the fill associated with the earlier floor traces. It is of relatively flimsy construction. Wall a overlies a horizontal layer of mudbricks lying to the north of the line of wall cb, which presumably fell from wall cb at the time of its collapse. It runs roughly east-west, though at a slight angle to the line of wall cb, and extends from the Cyclopean wall to wall j.

The pottery built into the Tower and wall ca provides a terminus post quem for their construction. Stylistically, it is quite distinct from that of the preceding phase. Together with it goes pottery from immediately below the layer of stones and that immediately on top of and surrounding the upper courses of the earlier walls cc and cd. Drifted material containing similar pottery surrounds the base of the Tower, and slopes upwards from there to the east. Much of this drifted material was clearly deposited well after the Tower was built, and after wall ca had fallen out of use. It presumably originated from Tower phase occupation levels higher up the slope to the east[22].

No floor deposits were recovered, and no complete vases could be made up. Nevertheless, the pottery is stylistically very homogeneous. In many ways, it represents the first clear phase of LH IIIC at Mycenae, in which the characteristics of LH IIIB which survive in quantities in the Earliest phase no longer predominate. Those few features which were innovations in the Earliest phase become much better represented; other features appear for the first time.

E. Tower phase: description of pottery[23]

Deep bowls remain the main pattern decorated shape (Fig. 11). By far the most common motifs on these are running spiral and antithetic spiral, though others, such as narrow horizontal and panel patterns, also occur. These are now usually accompanied by a band of medium depth at the exterior rim, and almost all these deep bowls now have monochrome interiors (Figs. 12, 38, 49b:1-8). Medium band deep bowls without patterned decoration appear in much greater quantities than before (Figs. 12, 39, 48a:5-8, 48b:4, 49a:16-7). These divide into two groups according to size. The larger variety has an average rim diameter of 16cm.; a smaller one has a rim diameter of c. 11-12cm.. In addition, this phase also sees the first appearance, in significant quantities, of totally monochrome deep bowls. These are covered, inside and out, with monochrome paint, with, occasionally, a reserved patch left in the interior of the base and below the handles where access is difficult.

The number of linear painted cups and small bowls remains large (Figs. 40, 48a:2). Rather more of them now have monochrome interiors, and a few are completely coated in monochrome paint. One important class of these linear painted bowl shapes consists of rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles (FS 295) (Figs. 11, 41-2, 48a:10 48b:6-7). These have a line of paint along the rim, and some also have a band round the body. The profiles are typically shallow, and the rims outturned. On a few of them, the body turns in sharply about halfway down the bowl to form a slight carination. However,

these differ in both profile and decoration from the linear decorated shallow angular bowls which become popular at a later stage of LH IIIC, although they undoubtedly merge into them eventually. The later bowls have a sharply defined carination in the upper part of the body, and standardised decoration of a band at the exterior rim and body bands on the inside. Both types exist as unpainted shapes in LH IIIB and the Earliest phase of LH IIIC at Mycenae.

Painted kylikes (FS 274, FS 275) reappear for the first time in this phase (Figs. 11, 43, 48a:13, 49a:8). These are conical in shape, and form a continuation of the deep conical unpainted kylikes found in LH IIIB and the Earliest phase of LH IIIC. Decoration consists of a monochrome interior and a line on the exterior rim, or a coat of monochrome paint covering the entire vase. They are few in number, however, and it is probable that, by this stage, linear decorated cups and small bowls, together with some of the smaller deep bowls, have taken over from the kylix as the main painted drinking vessels at Mycenae.

Carinated cups (FS 240) also appear for the first time, though, as with the kylikes, not in any very great quantity (Figs. 11, 44a, 48b:1-3, 49a:2). Most are totally monochrome, but occasional examples have a reserved area near the foot or below the carination. Some of these have a high-flung strap handle; others may have been handleless[24].

Amphorae, jugs and hydriae remain much as in the preceding phase, with slightly hollowed rims, banded decoration, and vertical wavy bands on the handles (Figs. 45, 48a:12). In addition, there are a very few instances of tassel motif (FM 72), a decoration which becomes very much more common in later phases of LH IIIC. Most of these large closed vessels are now made of "oatmeal" fabric (Figs. 48a:9, 48b:10, 49a:3-6).

"Oatmeal" fabric is also used for some kraters in this phase (Figs. 46-7, 48b:8,12). Several examples of this shape have a horizontal squared rim, in contrast to the spreading, rounded rims of earlier kraters. Decoration consists mostly of spiraliform patterns, though a few retain the panelled patterns common in earlier periods. One fragment has an edged wave pattern (FM 65) along the top of the rim. Most have monochrome interiors.

There are a few mugs (FS 226) with monochrome interiors and linear decoration on the outside (Figs. 48a:4, 48b:11, 84). One final open shape which now appears, but rarely, is a semiglobular bowl with a single horizontal loop handle, decorated inside and out with a series of bands (FS 242) (Figs. 50, 40 bottom right). This shape appears to be an earlier forerunner of the conical bowl with standardised decoration of exterior lip band and two lines round the belly, which appears in a later phase. Neither version of the shape, however, is anything but very rare at Mycenae.

Closed shapes, apart from the large domestic vessels,

are, as before, poorly represented. There are a few fragments of amphoriskoi and collar-necked jars, with versions of panelled or spiraliform decoration (Figs. 52, 49b:11). The few stirrup-jar fragments display little change from the preceding phase: circumcurrent flowers on the shoulders, and body zones of simple horizontal motifs, in particular joined semicircles (FM 42:4-8).

Among the coarse wares, the handmade fabric forms a slightly greater proportion (0.6%) of the total material than before (Figs. 16, 48b:13, 49a:12-4, 53 (cf. Fig. 28)). Shapes represented remain similar, though, possibly by accident, there are no examples of the carinated shape found in the Earliest phase. Wheelmade coarse wares present much the same range of fabric and shapes as in the Earliest phase, though carinated tripod vessels are now definitely attested, and tripod vessels with square legs become more common (Figs. 29, 48a:1 (cf. Fig. 30)). One cooking pot fragment of standard wheelmade fabric has a raised decorative band with neat notching near the rim (Fig. 49a:15) (cf. Wardle 1973, 334 no. 266). Relief decoration on pithoi remains similar to that of the Earliest phase.

The Tower phase sees a continued increase in the proportion of painted to unpainted pottery, 31% now being painted (Fig. 14). The proportion of sherds with monochrome interiors has risen to 8.8% of the total painted pottery, compared with 3.3% in the Earliest phase (Fig. 15). Unpainted (buff ware) pottery now forms only 48% of the total, while the proportion of coarse wares remains much the same. Of the unpainted shapes, carinated

and conical kylikes, and shallow angular bowls are still the main types.

Variations in type and quality of fabric remain much as in the Earliest phase, with, if anything, even fewer finely finished pieces. In addition, the quality of some patterned decoration suffers a decline. Spirals are sometimes squiggly, and panels straggly and untidy; the draughtsmanship is often more careless than it has been in earlier periods and than it will be again in a later phase of LH IIIC (see also E. French 1969b, 135). There are few signs of the elaboration which is to characterise decoration in the succeeding phases: the only hints of this are a few isolated examples of rather more elaborate panel decoration, which dispense with the formal restrained symmetry of LH IIIB panel patterns .

F. Developed and Advanced phases: stratigraphical description.

Above the Tower, no more architectural features occur, until an irregular layer of stones is reached, well above the top of the Tower (Figs. 8-10). This layer covers a wide area over and to the north of the Tower, including the top of wall a. Above the level of the Tower phase material, up to a point just below the layer of stones, drift deposits, which included a large amount of pottery, were found sloping down fairly regularly from east to west above and around the Tower.

The material from these drift deposits is clearly later in style than that of the Tower phase. Stylistically, it is divisible into two phases, which are represented in the stratigraphy by faintly discernible drift lines. The earlier of these phases (Developed) is less well represented, and the pottery is very fragmentary. Only a sketchy outline of its characteristics could be obtained. The later (Advanced) phase, material from which was found in the thicker drift deposit covering the top of the Tower, is represented by many more examples of complete or almost complete vessels. From the nature of these, and from their stylistic character, which closely resembles that of pottery from the East Basement of the Granary, it may be suggested that this deposit is contemporary with the destruction of the Granary. It may represent a tumble level from a contemporary destruction higher up the slope to the east, though there is no sign of burnt debris in the drift material.

G. Developed phase: description of pottery[25]

Characteristic of this phase is the introduction of monochrome deep bowls with a single reserved line inside the rim, and a reserved base and lower body (Figs. 12, 54:1-2, 55a:12-4). Monochrome deep bowls without reserved lines continue to occur, however, in much larger quantities than before (Figs. 12, 54:3-10). The type of pattern decorated deep bowl typical of the Tower phase (with medium band at the rim and running or antithetic spiral motifs) continues as before, with the difference that running spiral decoration is now

almost as popular as antithetic spiral. Some of these spiral patterns are quite elaborate (Fig. 55b:6-8). As in the Tower phase, medium band deep bowls without patterned decoration remain the dominant type, and are probably now at the height of their popularity (Figs. 12, 54:11-3).

Linear decorated shallow angular bowls (FS 295) appear for the first time in the highly standardised form (with sharply defined carination relatively high up on the body, bands inside, and a single shallow band at the rim outside) in which they are to become immensely popular in the Advanced phase (Fig. 11 (cf. Figs. 81-2). These almost all have a spiral in the interior base. This shape is now clearly beginning to replace, though has not yet superseded, the linear decorated rounded bowl with horizontal strap handle. Together, they probably form a considerable proportion of the painted drinking vessels in use at this time, since the linear decorated cups and small bowls, which occur frequently in the Earliest and Tower phases, are now somewhat rarer. A few painted kylikes (Fig. 43) and carinated cups (Fig. 55a:9-11) are found, as in the Tower phase.

On amphorae, jugs and hydriae, linear decoration is frequently accompanied by tassel pattern (Figs. 13, 55:1-5), while handle decoration still normally consists of vertical wavy band[26]. The rims of these vessels are now more distinctly hollowed (Fig. 56)[27].

By far the most important innovation of this phase,

however, is the introduction of an elaborate style of decoration, particularly on kraters, but also on a number of other shapes, such as deep bowls (Fig. 55b:6), and small jugs and jars. Patterns on the elaborately decorated kraters are both abstract (based on spiraliform, panelled, and antithetic tongue (FM 19:42-8) motifs) and pictorial (men, birds, animals) (Figs. 57-9, 55b:11 (cf. Fig. 60-1a)). They often lack the symmetry of earlier decorations, and are highly individual in conception: no two compositions are exactly alike. Some of these kraters have additional ornamentation in the form of patterns along the top of the rim, or plastic ridge decoration below the rim (Fig. 57). They invariably have monochrome interiors, and, at this stage, the lower bodies are usually banded. The rim profiles of these kraters differ from the squared type of the Tower phase, in that they are generally incurving, with a folded lip similar to that found on contemporary jugs, amphorae and hydriae (Fig. 56). Several are made of "oatmeal" fabric.

The proportion of unpainted pottery (39%) has declined still further from the Tower phase (Fig. 14), and very little information is available about the shapes represented[28]. Of the painted pottery, there is a greater proportion of sherds with monochrome interiors than in the Tower phase (Fig. 15). The range of shapes produced in coarse wheelmade wares remains similar; while the coarse handmade fabric continues to occur (Fig. 16).

On the whole, the fabric of the painted pottery seems to improve somewhat in this phase. It is consistently

better fired, and generally free of impurities. Fabric colour is a more uniform buff. In this respect, it anticipates the generally excellent quality of many of the vessel types of the succeeding phase.

H. Advanced phase: description of pottery[29].

One of the main differences between this phase and the preceding Developed phase is the appearance of monochrome deep bowls with multiple reserved lines inside and outside the rim, and round the outer belly and lower body (Figs. 12, 62-3, 76a:1-7, 77a:2 (cf. Fig. 64b)). Several of these also have dotted rims. They are often smaller than the usual deep bowl size, with a rim diameter of only 12 or 13 cm.. Their fabric is frequently fine in finish and well fired; the monochrome paint dark and even. Together with these, are found deep bowls on which the decoration of monochrome with reserved lines is, as it were, reversed ("negative" deep bowls) (Figs. 12, 65). Inside, they are similar, with multiple reserved lines at the rim and sometimes covering the entire body as well. Outside, instead of monochrome paint with a series of reserved lines, they have fine lines of black or dark-brown painted on the creamy white background of the clay. They too often have dotted rims, and the handles are usually decorated with multiple splashes of paint. Like those of some of the deep bowls with multiple reserved lines, their rim diameters are generally small (c. 12-13cm.). Other types of deep bowl found in this phase include completely monochrome deep bowls, and monochrome deep bowls with reserved bases (Figs. 12, 64a, 76a:8).

Deep bowls decorated with spiral patterns also continue, running spiral motifs now being fractionally more popular than antithetic spirals (Figs. 12, 66). Medium band deep bowls without patterned decoration, however, are very much rarer than in preceding phases, and have clearly passed the height of their popularity.

In the Advanced phase, the elaborate forms of decoration typical of the preceding phase reach their apogee in the development of true Close Style (Figs. 68-75, 76c:5-9, 77b:8). The term Close Style, as used originally by Blegen and, following him, by Wace, Forsdyke and Mackeprang, had a very limited application. It referred specifically to a stylistically uniform group of vases, covering a limited range of shapes, found at Korakou, in Schliemann's excavations and in the destroyed Granary at Mycenae, and, very occasionally, elsewhere (Blegen 1921, 61ff.; Wace et al. 1921-23, 41f.; Forsdyke 1925, 207; Mackeprang 1938, 537; cf. also Furtwängler and Loeschke 1886, VIII ("Style IV"))[30]. Furumark used the term in a rather wider sense, though in general he identified it as a Mainland style with its home at Mycenae itself[31]. Since then, however, it has come to be used increasingly loosely to include other styles of elaborate decoration, both from the Argolid and other areas of Greece, which, until comparatively recently, were less well represented or recognised in the archaeological record (e.g. Vermeule 1964, 207; Mylonas 1966, 200). This wider use serves only to confuse the issue, and, at this stage, it has become clear that the term can be most usefully applied to only those vases which belong

to the original Close Style category of Blegen, Wace and others, and to any other vases which fulfil all the criteria by which this extremely homogeneous stylistic category is distinguished.

The term itself is unhelpful, and conveys nothing of the characteristics peculiar to true Close Style: decoration of a close type (that is, elaborate and with a mass of filling ornament) is found on many of the elaborate styles which appear in the pottery of almost all areas during LH IIIC, and of which true Close Style is merely one local variant. The style has been variously described as a "special kind of Mycenaean pottery, characterised by a carefully drawn, detailed, close net-pattern, covering the surface of the vessels" (Mackeprang 1938, 544), or as a style in which "the painter, inspired by horror vacui, has set himself to fill all available space with complicated geometric patterns, frequently built up of rosettes" (Blegen 1921, 61f.). That apart, it is still difficult to define in terms of motifs used and the spirit in which they are deployed. Many of the characteristic motifs - concave sided scale triangles (FM 42:28,29), elaborate rosettes (FM 17), concentric arcs (FM 44), antithetic tongues (FM 62:34-6), complicated spirals, birds and fish with closely filled bodies - and recurring features such as double outlining of motifs and dotted edging, are not confined exclusively to true Close Style (see also Forsdyke 1925, 207). Nor is the sort of highly imaginative design which turns spiral finials into birds' heads or panels into trees. What is peculiar to vases of the true Close Style class, however, is

a detailed delicacy of painting, by which each line and each dot is precisely picked out in the thinnest of brush strokes. It is, in many ways, a miniaturist style.

A distinctive feature of the style is the close decorative links it has with other pottery belonging to the Advanced phase at Mycenae. The interiors of Close Style deep bowls have the same multiple reserved lines as other deep bowls; the exteriors, above and below the patterned zone, have the fine painted lines of "negative" deep bowls (Fig. 76b:4); the rims are often dotted, and the handles decorated with multiple paint splashes. Furthermore, the fabric of Close Style vases is often very fine in quality: as on other contemporary pots, the even dark-brown or black of the paint contrasts most pleasingly with the uniform creamy white of the unpainted surfaces. In addition to deep bowls, only trefoil-lipped jugs and stirrup-jars are regularly included in the Close Style repertoire of shapes (cf. Mackeprang 1938, 545)[32]. With very few exceptions, true Close Style vases are found only in the Argolid and Corinthia, particularly at Mycenae, Korakou and, recently, Tiryns[33]. Their stylistic unity is such that they are almost certainly the product of one workshop.

Trefoil-lipped jugs (FS 137, 138) are probably a new feature in the Advanced phase (Fig. 11). Most of them belong to the Close Style class of vases, and it is probable that the version with elegant high-

flung handle is a particular speciality of this class at Mycenae. Decoration includes elaborate versions of an arcade pattern which is very well suited to the shape of the jug shoulder. Several of these trefoil-lipped jugs also have plastic bumps, or breasts, on the shoulder opposite the handle (Fig. 73).

Close Style <u>stirrup-jars</u> are decorated with birds, scale triangles, concentric semicircles (FM 43), dot fringes, and multiple body aones, consisting of most of these motifs, which cover almost the entire body of the vase (Figs. 74-5). A further feature is the differential treatment of the shoulder surface, whereby different decorative compositions are placed in the quadrants and semicircular area opposite the spout. Several of these stirrup-jars are much larger than earlier examples, and have an almost conical lower body (FS 175). The top disc is conical, and is usually decorated with an elaborate rosette (cf. Fig. 78b); on the handles, the usual decoration is a diagonal cross (Furumark 1941a, fig. 66C).

Highly elaborate and pictorial patterns continue to be found on <u>kraters</u> (Figs. 79-80, 76c:10, 77b:1, 2,4,7). Many of these designs are similar in conception to those of the Close Style, and some display a similar precision of draughtsmanship and delicacy of detail. However, the fabric of these kraters is quite different. Almost all of them are of "oatmeal" fabric. All have monochrome interiors, while, on the outside, the lower body is usually monochrome, often with a series of reserved lines. Plastic rope ridge decoration is sometimes

found below the rims (cf. Fig. 78c), and there are occasional double handles in the form of animal heads[34]. There are one or two examples of highly elaborate kraters decorated in an unusual bichrome technique (Figs. 79, 80a).

During this phase, linear decorated shallow angular bowls form almost 4% of the total painted pottery (Figs. 11, 81-2, 76b:1-2, 76c:4). These have now taken over completely from the earlier rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles. They have a well defined ring base, two horizontal strap handles at the rim, and a sharp carination lying fairly high up on the body. Decoration is confined to bands: one over the exterior rim (including the upper edges of the handles); and, on the inside, below the rim, at the carination and on the lower body. Just a few also have exterior bands at or below the carination. Several have a spiral inside the base. As on some of the deep bowl types, the fabric of these is uniformly good (cf. especially Catalogue of registered pots, 64-584). The clay is well refined and fired, the surface colour a uniform creamy white, and the paint evenly and neatly applied.

Other open shapes in this phase include carinated cups (Figs. 76b:3,6, 78d; cf. Fig. 44b), kylikes (Fig. 43), mugs (Fig. 84), kalathoi and cups (Fig. 83a). None of these, however, are present in any very great quantity. Pattern decorated carinated cups occur for the first time. The most common decoration on these, confined to the zone above the carination, is tightly packed concentric arcs (Fig. 76b:3; cf. Fig. 78d). Some have a dotted rim, and

there is evidence that several may have had an animal protome at the top of the handle (cf. Fig. 44b). Kylikes remain rare. One example is decorated with an antithetic tongue pattern (Fig. 43). The rest have a combination of linear and monochrome decoration similar to that of earlier phases. There are only a few fragments of mugs, most with bands outside and monochrome painting (Fig. 84)[35]. Kalathoi may be monochrome with reserved lines, or may have elaborate abstract or pictorial decoration in zones on either the exterior or interior (cf. Figs. 60-1) (cf. Wace et al. 1921-23, fig. 8a, pls. Xa, XIh)[36]. The tops of the rims are sometimes decorated with transverse lines or concentric semicircles. Decoration on cups remains much as before, with linear external decoration and monochrome interiors. Often, these have an irregular band just below, rather than at, the rim. On just a few, there is a horizontal wavy band in the handle zone (Fig. 85)[37]. A conical bowl (FS 242), with single horizontal loop handle and lines at the rim and round the middle of the body, found in another part of the site, probably belongs to this phase (Fig. 83b). The shape is extremely rare at Mycenae, however.

On the larger closed shapes, amphorae, jugs and hydriae, tassel decoration is still very common (Figs. 13, 76b:7,8; 77b:10). Scroll (FM 48:3) and whisker (FM 50:29, FM 51:27) patterns appear for the first time (Figs. 77b:9, 86), and the motifs are often found together on the same vase (Fig. 86b). Some handles continue to be decorated with vertical wavy bands, but crossed loop decoration (Furumark 1941a, fig. 66D),

or a diagonal cross like those on the handles of Close Style stirrup-jars is now more popular (Figs. 13, 76c:1-2, 77a:3, 87). Rope twisted handles are also found (Figs. 77a:1, 77b:11). There are a few examples of neck-handled amphorae (FS 70), an innovation which becomes popular in the succeeding phase (Fig. 87)[38]. These shapes are generally made of either "oatmeal" or of a finer pink, sandy fabric. On the latter the paint is often red in colour, and flaky.

There are a few fragments of legged pyxides or alabastra (FS 99) with elaborate decoration (Fig. 76b:9). Amphoriskoi and collar-necked jars are decorated in the same way, with elaborate abstract or pictorial motifs (Figs. 77b:5, 88a). There is a large example of the latter shape with a frieze consisting of birds and horses, details of which are picked out in added white paint (Megaw 1965, fig. 12)[39].

Unpainted (buff ware) pottery still forms only 36% of the total material (Fig. 14). However, there is some evidence for a few new shapes, including small kalathoi, and an unusual type of small cup with short stem and three vertical handles from the rim (Fig. 89)[40]. Conical kylikes are also found, but other shapes seem comparatively rare.

Little information is available for coarse ware shapes during this phase, though there is no indication that these can have differed much from those of earlier phases[41]. The coarse handmade fabric continues to be found, and there is a sizeable fragment of a large

jar in this fabric among the Advanced phase material (Figs. 90-1a).

Finally, certain innovations can be seen in the treatment of relief decorated pithoi, the decoration on which now becomes quite elaborate. It is often stamped rather than modelled or incised freehand, and includes versions of an elaborate rosette pattern similar to those found on some Close Style vases (Fig. 92). The surface of several of these stamp decorated pithoi fragments is often unusually smooth and well finished.

I. Latest phase: stratigraphical description.

About half a metre above the line of stones below which were found the drift deposits containing material of the Developed and Advanced phases, is a layer of stones and mudbrick. This layer, which lies over part of the lower layer of stones and extends eastwards above the line of the earlier wall j, seals off the uncontaminated Mycenaean material from the Hellenistic pottery which was found above it. West of it, Hellenistic sherds are found directly on top of the lower layer of stones (Figs. 8-10).

The pottery found between the two layers of stones, and immediately below the lower layer, differs somewhat in character from that of the Advanced phase. However, the total amount is small, and it is of a very fragmentary nature. The circumstances under which it was deposited are hard to reconstruct, but the deposit in which it

is found follows the sloping line of the drift deposits containing material of the Developed and Advanced phases[42]. It too probably resulted from gradual erosion of levels higher up the slope, which took place before the Hellenistic period.

J. Latest phase: description of pottery[43].

A new feature of this phase is a type of deep bowl which is totally covered in monochrome paint with only a narrow reserved panel between the handles (Figs. 12, 96b:13; cf. Fig. 95b). This reserved panel is sometimes left blank, and sometimes filled with a straggly horizontal wavy line (FM 53:18-20) or zigzag. Deep bowls with multiple reserved lines and "negative" deep bowls are very much rarer than in the Advanced phase, though totally monochrome deep bowls and deep bowls with a single reserved line inside the rim remain popular (Figs. 12, 96a:1-3, 96b:1-2). Fewer of these, however, now have their bases and lower bodies left reserved (Figs. 12, 93-4).

The Close Style is no longer a prominent feature, and on kraters the sort of elaborate decoration known from the preceding phase has suffered a marked decline. Elaborate panels and pictorial motifs still exist after a fashion, but the panels are untidy and unstructured, and filled with zigzag lines which run in all directions, while the birds or animals are scruffy and nondescript (Figs. 97-8a, 96a:7). Other kraters are decorated with

simple rows of horizontal wavy line (cf. Fig. 98b).

Horizontal wavy line also becomes a popular decoration on other shapes: on a few deep bowls, and on trefoil-lipped jugs, amphoriskoi, collar-necked jars and the very few remaining kylikes (Figs. 96b:14-5, 96c:1-2,6,8, 43). "Necklace"-pattern (FM 72:11-4), consisting of vertical lines or rays surrounding the bottom of the neck, is found on closed vessels (Fig. 96c:9), particularly on the trefoil-lipped jugs, which now often have barred handles. Most of these closed vessels have broad monochrome bands below the decorated shoulder or handle zones, but others have only a few bands above an unpainted lower body (Fig. 96c:1). The practice of leaving the lower bodies and bases of the smaller closed vessels, including stirrup-jars, completely blank is a noticeable feature of this phase (cf. Fig. 100b).

Stirrup-jars are, once again, poorly represented in this phase. However, it is clear that there has been some movement towards simpler shoulder and body decoration (Figs. 96a:6, 99-100a; cf. Fig. 100b). In place of the differential treatment of the various segments of the shoulder area, simpler circumcurrent decoration, consisting of concentric triangles (FM 61A:1) or semicircles and other simplified patterns, is sometimes found. Multiple body zones still occur, but in other cases much of the body is covered with broad belts of mohochrome paint. The handles are often barred.

On amphorae, jugs and hydriae, tassel, whisker and scroll patterns continue as before, as do the handle

decorations of the previous phase (Figs. 96a:8, 96c:3-5, 13). Neck-handled amphorae form a slightly greater proportion of the total. A large number of these shapes continue to be produced in "oatmeal" fabric.

Evidence for other shapes is sparse. Shallow angular bowls are no longer so popular (Fig. 11). As in the Advanced phase, some cups are decorated with wavy line (Fig. 85).

The proportion of unpainted to painted pottery rises slightly, though possibly not significantly, in this phase (Fig. 14). Conical kylikes and three-handled cups, now generally without a stem, continue to occur (cf. Fig. 101), but little other information is available[44].

On the whole, both the fabric and paint of this phase is markedly inferior to that found in the preceding Advanced phase. The paint, particularly on some of the monochrome deep bowls, is often thin and streaky, and haphazardly applied. Brushstrokes running diagonally across the walls of pots, and across, rather than round, the insides of bases, show that the paint was not always applied on a wheel. The colour is generally a thin, streaky black-brown, in contrast to the rich, even black or dark-brown of much of the Advanced phase pottery. The underlying fabric is now often pink in colour, and sandy in texture.

K. Summary of general trends (Figs. 11-6, 103).

The general trends throughout the five phases which follow the LH IIIB2 destruction can be summarised as follows. There is a steady increase, culminating in the latest phases, in the use of monochrome paint both for the exteriors and interiors of vases. This is combined with an equally steady decline in unpainted pottery, and an increasing tendency to put monochrome or linear decoration on shapes hitherto left plain. Patterns start off simply, with simple running or antithetic spirals or other motifs which continue from, or are based on, those of LH IIIB. Until the Developed phase, patterned decoration is confined almost exclusively to deep bowls and, to a lesser extent, kraters. The Developed and Advanced phases see a marked and fairly sudden change of spirit as far as decoration is concerned, and an increasing elaboration which culminates in the Close Style and contemporary deep bowls with flamboyant arrangements of multiple reserved lines. New motifs are introduced at this time, and new techniques of plastic and bichrome decoration. At the same time, elaborate patterned decoration spreads to a wider range of shapes. This is followed by a return to overwhelmingly monochrome decoration, enlivened only by a much more restrained use of the reserved line and by very simple patterns based on wavy lines and zigzags.

Throughout, by far the most common shape is the deep bowl which, from at least the Tower phase, falls into two distinct size ranges. Other shapes come and go. Painted kylikes and carinated cups, both introduced

in the Tower phase and continuing into succeeding phases with some variations of decoration, are never anything but rare. The same is true of the conical bowl, evidence for which is even more sparse. The plethora of linear decorated small open shapes, including cups, which is evident in the Earliest phase, gradually diminishes, and as it does so certain distinct types emerge: the linear decorated rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles of the Tower phase, which are succeeded by linear shallow angular bowls. The latter, in the Advanced phase, form a considerable proportion of the total painted pottery, and it is likely that, together with the smaller deep bowls and the few kylikes and cups, they take over the function of drinking vessels from an earlier combination of small miscellaneous bowls and cups.

The overall development of fabrics can be seen as, in many ways, parallel to that of patterned decoration. The first phases see a considerable variety of fabrics, many of them of rather poor quality, combined often with flaky and fugitive paint and careless painting. This is followed by a period, culminating in the Advanced phase, in which certain vessel types at least show a high degree of technical skill both in potting and painting, which coincides with a comparable level of mastery in decorative design. Finally, a nadir is reached in the Latest phase, when fabrics generally deteriorate, and the thin, washy paint is frequently applied streakily and clumsily. There is, throughout, an increasing use of "oatmeal" fabric, confined in the Earliest phase to hydriae, jugs and amphorae, but extended to kraters by the middle of the period. There is no reason to suppose that the coarse handmade

fabric, already evident in the Earliest phase and possibly earlier, does not continue to be produced throughout the period[45].

L. The Mycenae development and the rest of the Argolid and Corinthia.

1. Earliest phase

Elsewhere at Mycenae itself, some of the features of this phase, such as deep bowls with narrow horizontal and spiraliform patterns, and Rosette bowls with added linear decoration, occur in destruction debris and levelling material above the LH IIIB2 destruction floors from an area between the South House and the Ramp House[46]. Outside the Citadel, pottery from Perseia Trench L includes features not present in the above mentioned destruction debris and levelling material, but present in the Earliest phase described here (E. French 1969a)[47]. The area from which this pottery came was clearly used as a dump for debris of the period of the LH IIIB2 destruction and fractionally later, and in it crude walls were built at the same time. The pottery is described as material cleared out of the Citadel after the LH IIIB2 disaster, and that belonging to the building period of the crude walls which date from very soon after the disaster. Stylistically, it belongs indubitably to the Earliest phase.

Elsewhere in the Argolid, pottery of similar appearance has recently been republished from Iria (Döhl 1973), where

Medium band deep bowls, deep bowls with spiraliform decoration, and linear cups occur. At Tiryns, the first phase of LH IIIC as recently defined, mainly on the basis of excavations outside the north-west walls (Kilian and Podzuweit 1978), contains several features of the Earliest phase at Mycenae[48]. Others, however, are missing[49], while a few of the features assigned to this first phase at Tiryns do not appear at Mycenae until the Tower phase[50].

At Korakou, in Corinthia, a level before the first of a series of stratified floors assignable to LH IIIC (Rutter 1974, 1977) produced a little pottery among which are Medium band deep bowls (though in this case with an added band round the body) and linear cups. Here, as at Tiryns, totally monochrome deep bowls were also found.

ii. Tower phase

This first stylistically clearly definable and easily recognisable phase of LH IIIC corresponds very closely with a group of pottery which lay above the levelling material in the area between the South House and the Ramp House in the Citadel at Mycenae (Wardle 1973, 334f.). At Tiryns, similar pottery has been found both inside the Lower Citadel (Knell and Voigtländer 1981, Horizons I-II)[51], and in the excavations outside the north-west walls. Features characteristic of the Tower phase first occur variously in both phases 1 and 2 of the sequence from the latter area (cf. above).

Phase 2 also sees the appearance of deep bowls with medium band and running or antithetic spiral decoration (Kilian and Podzuweit 1978, figs. 28-9).

At Korakou, the first two stratified LH IIIC floors produce features similar to the Tower phase, including examples of carinated cups (Rutter 1974, 1977)[52].

iii. Developed phase

This phase, which is essentially a transitional phase between the first stylistically distinct LH IIIC (Tower phase) and the highly elaborate (Advanced) phase which follows, is not so easily identified as a distinct stage in its own right at other sites. At Tiryns, tassel decoration on closed vessels and linear shallow angular bowls are found among the latest pottery from the excavations outside the north-west walls, while elaborate and pictorial patterns, and deep bowls with a single reserved line and reserved foot are found inside the Lower City in a complex of buildings which first came into use in mid-LH IIIC[53].

At Korakou, tassels are known in phase 3, though the reserved line does not appear until the ensuing phase (Rutter 1977, 3).

iv. Advanced phase

At Mycenae, pottery found on the basement floor of the Granary, and from the upper strata of the Lion

Gate (Strata IX-X) belongs stylistically to this phase (Figs. 64b, 75, 86, 89, 44b) (Wace et al. 1921-23, 29-34, 38ff., pls. VIIa-b, VIIIc-d, IX-XI, figs. 7h, 8, 9c-f), while a great deal of Close Style and other elaborate pottery (including the Warrior Vase) was excavated by Schliemann in his exploration of the house immediately to the south of Grave Circle A (Figs. 61b, 73a, 78, 80c) (Schliemann 1880b, pls. VIII-XV; Furtwängler and Loeschke 1886, "Fourth Style"). At Tiryns, some Close Style, "negative" deep bowls, and deep bowls with multiple reserved lines have been recovered from various areas of the Citadel and Lower City[54]. So far, however, these features do not appear to be as plentiful as at Mycenae, and, at least in the case of the Lower City, their first appearance seems to mark the end of LH IIIC occupation (Podzuweit 1978).

At Korakou, the pottery assigned to phase 4 includes most of the features found in the Advanced phase at Mycenae, including Close Style (Rutter 1974, 1977)[55]. From the tombs at Asine come one true Close Style stirrup-jar, and a single carinated cup decorated with concentric arcs and an animal protome (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 260:3,8). The stylistic affiliations of this site, however, lie, for the most part, not with the rest of the Argolid at this stage, but with the coasts and islands of the Aegean, in particular with the site of Perati[56].

v. Latest phase

At Mycenae, pottery of this phase was found associated with the bath larnax grave from Stratum XI of the Lion Gate (Fig. 95b)[57], while in the upper debris above the floor of the Granary East Basement were several pots which belong stylistically to the same phase (Figs. 98b, 101, 102b) (Wace et al. 1921-23, fig. 12b, pl. XId)[58]. Vases from Tomb 502 of the Third Kilometre Chamber Tomb cemetery also probably belong to this phase (Fig. 100b)[59].

At Asine, pottery from Houses G and H of the settlement displays similarities to that of the Latest phase at Mycenae, in particular in the deep bowls with narrow reserved zones and in the wavy line kraters (Frödin and Persson 1938, figs. 206-8). Recently, excavations in the area east of the Asine Acropolis have produced pottery of still later date, assigned to Submycenaean, which nevertheless continues to display many of the features of the Latest phase at Mycenae (Frizell 1978a). However, along with deep bowls with narrow reserved zones, closed shapes with wavy line and scroll and tassel decoration, and kraters with straggly zigzag panels, are found cups with a zigzag pattern in a narrow reserved band underneath the rim. The presence of the latter provides a distinction between this material and that of the latest LH IIIC from Mycenae.

Some of the latest vases from the Asine chamber tombs also belong stylistically to this phase[60]. Likewise, in the Deiras cemetery at Argos, wavy lines, barred handles and unpainted lower bodies on jars and jugs,

and simple circumcurrent decoration on the shoulders of stirrup-jars, are found among the latest pottery assigned by the excavators to LH IIIC[61].

None of the pottery from the Lower City at Tiryns is stylistically as late as this phase at Mycenae, and it seems doubtful whether the site as a whole continued to be occupied at this late stage (Kilian and Podzuweit 1978; Podzuweit 1978)[62]. Similarly, at Korakou no pottery corresponding to this phase was found (Rutter 1977)[63].

vi. Concluding remarks

At the two settlement sites (Tiryns and Korakou) for which an independent LH IIIC sequence has been obtained, there are no gaps in occupation down to a period corresponding to the Advanced phase at Mycenae. Thereafter, both Tiryns and Korakou seem to have been abandoned, while, at Mycenae, some occupation, at least of a limited kind, continued for a while[64]. At Asine, though little is yet known of the settlement before a late stage of LH IIIC, the chamber tombs show an unbroken continuity of use from early LH IIIC, with signs of some expansion in the middle and at the end of the period[65]. The settlement itself flourished at the end of LH IIIC, and there is now at least ceramic evidence for an apparently unbroken continuity between this phase and the Protogeometric period (cf. Frizell 1978a). In the Deiras cemetery at Argos, evidence for the early and middle stages of LH IIIC is sparse, and

most of the pottery belongs to a late stage of LH IIIC[66]. Here too there is some evidence for continuity of use or re-use between LH IIIC and the end of Submycenaean (Styrenius 1967, 132).

It is clear that there is a high degree of stylistic and developmental unity throughout most of this region of the Argolid and possibly Corinthia (represented by Korakou). The occasional lack of detailed correspondence between the various phases worked out at Mycenae, Tiryns and Korakou can almost certainly be explained in terms either of accident of recovery, or of the inevitable fossilisation, in the archaeological record of different sites, of different chronological points on the same developmental continuum. Only in the unlikely event of series of simultaneous destructions or rebuildings at more than one site could the phasing be expected to correspond exactly. Asine, however, appears to be an exception. Even allowing for the difficulties inherent in comparing tomb with settlement pottery, this is particularly evident in the middle stages of LH IIIC, when, in place of the Close Style found at other Argive sites, Asine develops its own elaborate style which is at least partly dependent on influences from outside the Argolid, particularly Eastern Attica.

Throughout the LH IIIC period, what can perhaps be seen is a gradual shift in the relative importance of different sites in the Argolid, away from those centres that were traditionally important throughout most of the Mycenaean era, and towards those, such

as Argos and Asine, which seem to have gained in population and prosperity only after the destruction of the palaces in late LH IIIB, and to have carried this relative importance on into the post-Mycenaean period[67]. Mycenae, Tiryns and Korakou survived the great period of destruction in the late thirteenth or early twelfth centuries, but other Argive sites (including Prosymna, Berbati, Midea, Iria and Zygouries) did not. While those Central Argive sites which did survive prospered throughout most of the LH IIIC period and maintained their traditional ceramic unity, the coastal site of Asine, on the other hand, appears to have actually expanded in mid-LH IIIC, and to have turned its attention as much to developments in the Aegean as to those of the Central Argive plain. This is not to say that the sites of the Central Argolid and Korakou were cut off from developments elsewhere - they patently were not. Many of their ceramic innovations at all periods of LH IIIC, above all in mid-LH IIIC which saw a great upsurge in artistic activity almost everywhere, are shared with other areas of Greece, including the Aegean. However, their own particular brand of stylistic uniformity developed, and was confined to a large extent, within the area; and, just as their days as important settlement sites were numbered, so their days as leaders of ceramic fashion throughout the Mycenaean world were largely over.

M. Catalogue of registered pots from the Citadel House, Mycenae: Trench Gamma 32.

i. Earliest phase

1. 66-482. Deep bowl (FS 284). Parts of body and rim; roots of one handle. Surviving ht. 0.10m.; diam. (rim and max. body) 0.16m.. Well levigated pinkish-buff clay; lightly polished outside. Paint shaded dark-brown to black. Slightly flaring rim (lipless); horizontal loop handle. Group B decoration: broad band on rim; quirk (FM 48) in handle zone; splashes on roots of handles; two bands below handle. Inside: monochrome black. Fig. 18.

2. 66-483. Hydria or jug (FS 106, 128). Most of neck and rim; complete handle. Surviving ht. 0.107m., diam. (rim) 0.12m.. Pale buff clay; smoothed outside and inside neck. Wide, concave neck with rounded lip; one round vertical handle from rim to shoulder. No decoration. Fig. 35b.

3. 69-421. Deep bowl (FS 284). Large part from rim to near base; one handle and part of second. Surviving ht. 0.11m., diam. (rim) 0.16m.. Reddish-buff clay, well levigated; well smoothed surface, slipped buff (large part fired pink) and lightly polished. Lustrous paint varying from warm reddish-brown to red. Group A decoration: line on rim; running spirals (FM 46) in handle zone; three splashes on handle; band at belly. Inside: band

just below rim; concentric circles at base. Fig. 17a.

4. 69-423. Deep bowl (FS 284). Greater part, rim to base with slight gap; both handles. Surviving ht. 0.106m.; diam. (rim) 0.14m.; diam. (base) 0.048m.. Darkish brown-buff fabric, well levigated. Almost matt brown paint, dark to light according to thickness; streaky chocolate brown inside. Very flaring rim; handles not matching properly; high rather clumsy ring foot. Medium deep rim band; central triglyph of two pairs of vertical lines with inner fringes (FM 75:3), subsidiary triglyphs of framed vertical zigzag (FM 75:22); three paint splashes on one handle, continuous band of paint on other handle; three narrow bands, merging into two in places, on belly; band on foot. Inside: streaky monochrome paint. Fig. 19a.

5. 69-429. Dipper, small (FS 236). Most of bowl with start of handle at lower root. Approx. ht. of bowl 0.03m.; diam. (rim) 0.054m.. Pink-buff clay, well levigated; fairly well smoothed, with some irregularities. Fairly deep shape with spreading lipless rim; knob on base. No decoration. Fig. 37c.

6. 69-432. Small bowl (cf. FS 206). Two-thirds complete. Ht. 0.035m.; diam. (rim) 0.105m.; diam. (base) 0.045m.. Pink tinged buff fabric, well levigated; well smoothed inside, ridged out.

Red-brown lustrous paint, with darker brown parts inside. Conical with flat base, very thick, diminishing rapidly to rim; rim bevelled inside, almost lipless out; rather crude in shape. Outside: rough band at base; thick, untidy vertical lines from rim to base, with some additional straggling thin lines; thick horizontal band well below rim on one part only. Inside: monochrome paint. Fig. 37a.

7. 69-645. Jug (FS 120). Fragments of shoulder and lower body. Surviving ht. 0.19m. (approx.); diam. (max.) 0.245m.. Pinkish-buff fabric, smoothed surface. Paint glossy red to brown. Shape globular, probably FS 120. Shoulder decoration of circumcurrent sea anemones (FM 27:48); three bands below shoulder zone; two bands with fine line group between just above base. Figs. 34, 35a.

8. 69-1433. Deep bowl (FS 284). Large section; rim to base with one handle and start of second. Ht. 0.083m.; diam. (rim) 0.12m.; diam. (base) 0.046m.. Pink-buff clay fired warm buff at surfaces, well levigated; rather thick fabric for the small size. Red-brown paint, lustrous where not worn. Handles rather high; raised base, hollowed beneath. Rim overpainted, forming line outside with narrow band below; thick horizontal zigzag (FM 53:17) at centre of handle zone; three paint splashes on handle; four thick lines round belly; band on base. Inside: band below rim, concentric circles at base. Fig. 17b.

9. 69-1434. Deep bowl (FS 284). Great part, including one handle, from rim to low down bowl. Surviving ht. 0.107m.; diam. (rim) 0.14m.. Pinkish-buff clay, well levigated, lightly polished. Lustrous paint, ranging from dark brown to brown-red, applied thickly. Group A decoration: lip painted; central triglyph of horizontal wavy lines flanked by two vertical lines (cf. FM 75:4); subsidiary triglyphs of lines flanking double curves; three splashes on handle; one band round belly; band round base. Inside: narrow band at rim; line near base. Fig. 20.

10. 69-1531. Krater (FS 281). Large part from rim to base with one handle complete and start of second. Approx. ht. 0.245m.; diam. (rim) 0.33m.; diam. (base) 0.118m.. Buff core fired pinkish at surfaces; some impurities; poorly smoothed and lumpy; warmish buff rather powdery surface. Fairly lustrous paint, dark brown where thick, light brown where thin; fired red in parts. Flat rather thin rim; ring base. Paint on rim forming line outside; narrow band below rim; central triglyph of widely spaced horizontal wavy lines flanked by three verticals, triangular patches of scale net attached to the two outermost lines (cf. FM 75:5, FM 42:24); subsidiary triglyphs of vertical zigzag between six vertical lines; handle decorated with continuous line of streaky paint; three belly bands; band just above foot. Inside: band approx. halfway down; band around base. Figs. 31, 32a.

11. 69-1538. Krater (FS 7-9 or FS 281). Part of rim and upper body only. Surviving ht. 0.14m.; diam. (rim) 0.22m.; diam. (max.) 0.22m.. Pinkish-buff clay, well smoothed. Lustrous dark brown paint. Pronounced outturned rim with rounded edge; probably stemmed krater (FS 7-9). Band on rim; band below rim; decoration of flowers, "wings" with reserved wavy line centre at one side of each flower, broken lines running from spiraliform flower heads to sides of adjoining flowers (cf. FM 18B, FM 46). Inside: band near rim. Possibly of LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB date. Fig. 32b.

ii. Tower phase

12. 64-582. Collar-necked jar (FS 63). Many fragments of upper body; one only showing lower part of neck. Diam. (neck) 0.235m.. Coarsish "oatmeal" fabric, dark buff colour with many grits. Paint dark red to brown; watery in places. Band at base of neck; pattern of vertical curved bands with vertical rows of "V"- or "W"-shaped motifs between; band at bottom of decorated zone. Inside: band at base of neck. Figs. 51, 52b. Fragment of same pot in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1935.83g).

iii. Developed phase

13. 64-491. Kalathos (FS 291). Rim fragment only. Surviving ht. 0.055m.; diam. (rim) 0.38m.. Buff fabric with very fine grits, well smoothed surface. Brown paint, lustrous where thick. Rim has slightly convex profile. Chevrons (FM 58) alternating with transverse dashes on rim; band below rim. Inside: narrow band below rim; chain of fish with cross-hatched bodies below band. Fig. 60, 61a.

14. 64-583. Krater (FS 282). Large fragments of rim, upper body, root of one handle. Surviving ht. 0.137m.; diam. (rim) 0.50m.. "Oatmeal" fabric, pinkish-buff surface with grits. Red lustrous paint. Rim incurving, with folded lip; ridge below rim. Band over rim and ridge below; running spirals with subsidiary smaller spirals in gaps between main spirals, ending in triangular curve beside handle (cf. FM 46); paint on handle root. Inside: monochrome. Fig. 57.

iv. Advanced phase

15. 64-484. Deep bowl (FS 285). Large section from near rim to foot; one handle preserved. Surviving ht. 0.11m.; diam. (rim) 0.16m.; diam. (base) 0.048m.. Pink-tinged buff clay with polished surface. Metallic dark brown paint. Handles form pointed arch; high ring foot; ridged in.

Upper part of body monochrome except for reserved patch under handle; lower body and base reserved, except for accidental blob of paint. Inside: monochrome with reserved circle at base. Fig. 66.

16. 64-487. Krater (FS 282). Large sections including rim fragments and start of one handle. Surviving ht. 0.18m.; diam. (rim) 0.46m.. "Oatmeal" fabric, pink-tinged buff with fine grits, lightly polished surface. Lustrous paint, dark brown to rich orange; second colour of matt yellow, fugitive paint. Incurving rim with folded lip; body ridged in. Deep band over rim; central motif of vertical chain of bivalve shells (FM 25), each ending in a spiral at either side, five vertical lines, vertical zigzag, three vertical lines with joining semicircle fringe (cf. FM 75:39); these lines and zigzag almost certainly repeated on other side of bivalve shells; edged concave sided scale triangle (cf. FM 42:28) at central outer edge of panel, turning into horizontal bivalve shell chain with triple curved lines above and below, the outer edged with triangles filled with paint of the second colour; these lines extend to the handle where they become spirals which run back, at bottom and top of decorated zone, to central panel (cf. FM 50:17); handle root painted; lower body monochrome (as far as preserved) with three reserved lines underneath handle zone. Inside: monochrome. Fig. 79.

17. 64-489. Syrian amphora (FS 13a). Part of lower body only without base. Surviving ht. 0.19m.. Very heavy reddish buff fabric with much fine sandy grit; pale whitish-buff wash. No decoration. Fig. 91b.

18. 64-490A. Deep bowl (FS 285). Rim fragment only. Surviving ht. 0.07m.; diam. (rim) 0.14m.. Pinkish-buff fabric with polished surface. Dark brown lustrous paint. Close Style decoration: dotted rim; two lines below rim; joining semicircle fringe with scale triangles pendent from lower line (cf. FM 42:29); long-necked bird with concentric arc filled body (cf. FM 7:48ff.) beside rosette with solid inner petals surrounded by a circle (cf. FM 17:24). Inside: three reserved lines at rim; three reserved lines at and below maximum diameter. Figs. 70, 72a.

19. 64-490B. Deep bowl (FS 285). Rim fragment only. Surviving ht. 0.04m.; diam. (rim) 0.14m.. Fabric as 64-490A. Close Style decoration: dotted rim; two lines below rim; scale triangle pendent from lower line, between two rosettes with double outline and solid inner petals (FM 42:29, FM 17:24). Inside: three reserved lines at rim. Fig. 72a.

20. 64-492. Deep bowl (FS 285). Many small fragments. Approx. diam. (rim) 0.15m.. Greenish-buff fabric with lightly polished surface. Dark black-brown paint, lustrous, though flaking in places. Ridged

inside bowl. Close Style decoration: band at rim; joining semicircle fringe pendent from rim band with outlined scale triangles, outlined tongue pattern, also pendent from rim band, ending in spirals in centre, spirals at base of central panel (cf. FM 62:34); paint splash on handle root; three lines below decorated zone; two lines on lower body; start of line above base. Inside: monochrome. Figs. 71, 72b.

21. 64-497. Deep bowl (FS 285). Fragments only. Surviving ht. 0.05m.; diam. (rim) 0.10m.. Dark buff clay, with lightly polished surface. Lustrous red paint fired brown in parts. Close Style decoration: dots on rim; two lines below rim, with scale triangles pendent from lower line; antithetic outlined tongues with bivalve shell chain at centre, running spirals with single flower (cf. FM 18:154) horizontally from bottom of tongues (cf. FM 62:34); three reserved lines below decorated zone. Inside: monochrome; two reserved lines below rim. Fig. 69b.

22. 64-498A. Deep bowl (FS 285). Fragments of rim and upper body, with most of one handle. Surviving ht. 0.05m.; diam. (rim) 0.11m.. Pinkish-buff clay, lightly polished surface. Dark brown paint. Close Style decoration: dots on rim; joining semicircles and scale triangles pendent from rim; central triglyph with vertical zigzag, "branches" attached on either side, flanked by goats with

cross-hatched and solid bodies, scale triangles rising from groundline underneath goats, fish above backs of goats (cf. FM 6:8: Athens, NM 1303, probably from same pot); fine lines below decorated zone; handle decorated with multiple neat transverse splashes. Inside: multiple reserved lines. Fig. 68.

23. 64-498B. Deep bowl (FS 285). Fragment of upper body with start of handle only. Surviving ht. 0.04m.. Fabric as 64-498A. Rear of animal, possibly goat, with zigzag fill on body and legs, rear of kid at its feet; fine lines below decorated zone. Inside: monochrome. Possibly by same painter as 64-498A. Fig. 69a.

24. 64-500. Domestic jar. Section of rim, upper body and one handle. Surviving ht. 0.16m.; diam. (rim) 0.26m.; diam. (max.) 0.28m.. Coarse handmade fabric; grey gritty clay, fired mottled outside; burnished in and out. Rounded body, straight neck, flaring rim; large horizontal loop handle high on body. No decoration. Figs. 90, 91a.

25. 64-564. Collar-necked jar (FS 63). Base missing. Surviving ht. 0.475m.; ht. of neck 0.045m.; diam. (rim) 0.208m.; diam. (max.) 0.52m.. Buff clay with plentiful grit, well smoothed surface. Dull brown paint, dark except where thin; added matt white paint used for details. Globular conical body, straight neck; two fairly high set horizontal loop handles on belly, two smaller

horizontal loop handles on shoulder. Three bands on neck, starting just below rim; two bands immediately below neck and above smaller handles; running spirals (FM 46) between handles on shoulder; four bands below shoulder zone; main pattern zone: horses (cf. FM 2) and birds in two groups on either side between belly handles; horses mainly solid, birds, apart from two which are solid, in outline with line fill and heads turned back over body (cf. FM 7:39); added white paint used for eyes of horses, and dots on body of one horse; bands below main pattern zone; narrow band a little above base. For illustration, see Megaw 1965, fig. 12.

26. 64-581. Shallow angular bowl (FS 295). Two-thirds complete. Ht. 0.075m.; diam. (rim) 0.15m.. Buff clay with some grit, smoothed surface. Dark brown paint. Pronounced carination near top of body; horizontal strap handles at rim; well defined ring foot. Band on rim covering tops of handles. Inside: band below rim; two bands below carination; dot at centre of base. Fig. 82.

27. 64-584. Shallow angular bowl (FS 295). Approx. one-third preserved, including complete profile from rim to base, and root of one handle. Ht. 0.071m.; diam. (rim) 0.154m.; diam. (base) 0.041m.. Fine creamy buff fabric, very smooth surface. Paint glossy dark brown. Sharply defined carination high on body; pronounced ring foot. Line on

rim. Inside: line at rim; narrow band and line just below carination; spiral at base. Fig. 81.

28. 64-585. Deep bowl (FS 285). Fragments of rim and upper body, parts of one handle. Surviving ht. 0.068m.; diam. (rim) 0.12m.. Greenish crumbly fabric with black grit. Paint mattish brown. Two lines at rim; running spiral (FM 46); paint splashes at handle roots. Inside: monochrome with two reserved lines at rim. Fig. 67.

29. 66-464. Deep bowl (FS 285). A little under half complete; rim and one handle missing. Approx. ht. 0.076m.; diam. (rim) approx. 0.096m.; diam. (base) 0.033m.. Fine dark greenish-buff fabric. Dark brown paint, worn in places. High ring base. Monochrome as far as preserved, with reserved base. Inside: monochrome with reserved circle at base. Fig. 66.

30. 66-485. Deep bowl (FS 285). Large fragment from rim to just above base; handles missing. Surviving ht. 0.079m.; diam. (rim) 0.136m.. Fine creamy-buff fabric, well smoothed. Even dark brown to black paint. "Negative" decoration: two lines at rim; two lines just below maximum diameter; start of line just above base. Inside: monochrome with three reserved lines at rim; four reserved lines just below maximum diameter; start of reserved line or circle just above base. Fig. 65.

v. Latest phase

31. 64-485. Deep bowl (FS 286). Large section, from rim to foot, with one handle. Ht. 0.098m.; diam. (rim) 0.14m.; diam. (base) 0.045m.. Pink-tinged buff clay. Orange-brown paint, worn in places. Preserved handle forms high arch, and is attached to the body lower down at the right root than at the left; high ring base of uneven thickness. Monochrome from rim to low down on bowl; base and lower body reserved; reserved patch underneath handle. Inside: monochrome with reserved line at rim; reserved circle at base. Fig. 94.

32. 64-495. Stirrup-jar (FS 175). Part of upper body only, with start of false neck and one handle. Surviving ht. 0.08m.; diam. (max.) 0.20m.. Pink clay with buff surface. Streaky red-brown paint. Shape globular. Shoulder zone: concentric triangles (FM 61A) on either side of handle; upper body zone of quirk (FM 48:6), lower body zones of zigzag (FM 61:4) and quirk (FM 48:18); bars across handle. Figs. 99, 100a.

33. 64-496. Deep bowl (FS 286). Two large fragments, giving profile from rim to lower body, with most of one handle. Surviving ht. 0.102m.; diam. (rim) 0.18m.. Dark buff clay. Very mottled and streaky red paint. Handle rising almost to level of rim. Monochrome with reserved lower body. Inside: monochrome with reserved line at rim. Fig. 95a.

34. 64-499. Krater (FS 282). Large fragment of lower body, and part of decorated zone. Surviving ht. 0.195m.; diam. (max.) 0.50m.. Pink clay, roughish surface. Unattractive streaky metallic red-brown paint. Wheel ridges very clear inside. Central panel of vertical lines with zigzags (cf. FM 75:40), side panel of vertical lines and parallel chevrons running up and down (cf. FM 75:41), strange looking creature, possibly bird, between the panels; lower body monochrome with two groups of reserved lines. Inside: monochrome. Figs. 97, 98a.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. See Taylour 1969, for the general nature and scope of these excavations.
2. Trench Gamma 32, excavated in the years 1964, 1966 and 1969.
3. For references to reports see Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 28-36.
4. Evidence for this destruction occurs all over the Citadel House area (Taylour 1969, 260; Taylour 1970, 270).
5. The fill contains some 6% of LH IIIB1 and earlier material; cf. 3.4% from the LH IIIB2 Causeway Deposit, 6.9% from the Destruction debris, and 11.2% from the Levelling material (Wardle 1973, fig. 16).
6. The pottery described here is drawn from 46 bags of widely varying size, ranging from as many as 904 sherds to as few as 7 (average contents c. 200 sherds).

Total sherds:	10,301
Unpainted (buff ware):	5,898
Painted:	2,284
Patterned:	730
Coarse:	1,572
Patterned, earlier periods:	599
Pre-Mycenaean:	547.

7. Cf. the occurrence of similar deep bowls in Wardle's Destruction debris and Levelling material (Wardle 1973, 327, 332). Rosette bowls with added linear decoration first appear in his Levelling material.
8. Bands of medium depth (a convenient brushstroke's

width), and rim bands generally, serve a useful purpose on a drinking vessel - that of protecting the drinker from any roughness or tendency to flake in the fabric at the rim of the vase. These may have become particularly necessary in view of the frequent deterioration in fabrics during this phase. See below.

9. The Warrior Vase - of much later date - provides perhaps the best known example of this fabric. In LH IIIB a similar fabric was sometimes used for domestic stirrup-jars (cf. Mountjoy 1976, pl. 18a:8).

10. The presence of this fabric among destruction debris at the eastern end of Room 31 (the Room with the Fresco) suggests that it may have been in use before the LH IIIB2 destruction. Cf. Rutter 1975 for descriptions of similar fabric. Irregular burnishing marks made by a stick or similar tool are often visible. A terracotta burnishing tool was found in a similar post-destruction level in another part of the Citadel House (68-120 from Gamma 21/22, in an LH IIIB2 or early LH IIIC context).

11. Cf. Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 3:7) and Korakou (Rutter 1975, ills. 7, 12 (upside down)).

12. Cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 2:3 (Lefkandi); Döhl 1973, 177:H10 (Iria), pl. 75:1-2 (Kandia). At Kandia and Iria square legs are found on carinated tripod vessels; the Lefkandi example has a rounded body profile. A carinated tripod vessel from the Acropolis Fountain at Athens looks as though

it may have square legs (Broneer 1939, fig. 81a). No information is available on the shape to which the single square leg from this phase belongs. However, carinated tripod vessels are definitely attested in the succeeding Tower phase.

13. For LH IIIB2 kraters, see Wardle 1973, 310.

14. For percentages of stemmed bowls in LH IIIB deposits, see Wardle 1973, figs. 4-5; for LH IIIB2 patterns, ibid. 318.

15. For LH IIIB2 stirrup-jars, see Wardle 1973, 308.

16. Mycenae 68-405 (unpublished), from the Room with the Fresco. Cf. also a probable LH IIIB amphoriskos from Prosymna (Blegen 1937, fig. 457).

17. Causeway Deposit (LH IIIB2 destuction deposit), total sherds:

Unpainted:	3,257	73%
Painted:	854	19%
(Patterned):	(174)	(4%)
(Pre-LH IIIB patterned):	(29)	(0.6%)
Coarse:	347	8%
(Middle Helladic etc.):	(5)	(0.1%)

Figures taken from Wardle 1973, 304 note 25, figs. 14, 16.

18. 1.6% linear cups in the Earliest phase, as compared with 0.7% in the Causeway Deposit; 3.3% monochrome in only sherds, as compared with 1.9%. Figures from Wardle 1973, figs. 13a, 16.

19. Cf. for the unpainted fabrics of LH IIIB, Wardle 1969, 281; 1973, 322; also Mountjoy 1976, 94. For the painted fabrics, Wardle 1973, 307. For

variation and/or deterioration in fabrics in late LH IIIB or early LH IIIC, see Jantzen (ed.) 1975, 147, 149, and E. French 1969b, 135.

20. For description of this ware, see Döhl 1973, 186f. (sandige Ware I).

21. Taylour (forthcoming) has, since this chapter was written, concluded that the Tower was built on a podium of earth and may thus have co-existed, for a short time after its construction, with walls cb, cc and cd.

22. See Wardle 1973, 334f. for a small deposit of very similar pottery from elsewhere in the Citadel House area.

23. A total of 28 bags, ranging in size from 692 sherds to 15 (average contents: c. 250 sherds).

Total sherds:	7,607
Unpainted (buff ware):	3,687
Painted:	2,394
Patterned:	551
Coarse:	1,146
Patterned, pre-LH IIIC:	374
Pre-Mycenaean:	380.

24. Cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 3:5-6, and below, chapter 4, Figs. 105-6 (Lefkandi); Blegen 1921, fig. 93 (Korakou); Wace et al. 1921-23, fig. 12a (Mycenae, wrongly restored). A range of carinated shapes is found in the LH IIIB2 and early LH IIIC period, among them unpainted carinated cups and kylikes (Popham and Milburn 1971, 336; Kilian and Podzuweit 1978, fig. 41b; Broneer 1939, fig. 63a), and monochrome carinated

kylikes (Mastrokostas 1965a, a132). The latter may represent another example of the tendency towards the use of monochrome on previously unpainted shapes, which can be seen in many areas and on several shapes in late LH IIIB and early LH IIIC. There seem to be several varieties of painted carinated cup: some with high-flung strap handle, some with a simple vertical strap handle, and some possibly handleless (cf. Rutter 1974, 264; Blegen 1921, 64 (for handleless variety)). Popham and Milburn (1971, 338) have suggested that the type with high-flung handle, which generally seems to have a more exaggerated carination than other types, derives from the similar shape found in coarse handmade ware. Wace suggested a metallic prototype for the example he found at Mycenae (Wace et al. 1921-23, 47). However, both carinated shapes and strap handles can be found in most periods of Mycenaean pottery.

25. 7 bags, ranging in size from 982 sherds to 55 (average contents: c. 350 sherds).

Total sherds:	2,476
Unpainted (buff ware):	1,057
Painted:	940
Patterned:	177
Coarse:	401
Patterned, pre-LH IIIC:	88
Pre-Mycenaean:	78.

26. There are a very few examples of other handle patterns, such as crossed loop, in this phase. These, however, are still extremely rare, and form less than 0.1% of the painted sherds.

27. Hollowing at the rim seems to be a stylistic feature of technical or functional rather than aesthetic significance. In its more pronounced form, it probably results incidentally, from the potter running his fingers along the inside of the rim while working on the heavy folded lip which is usual on LH IIIC jugs and amphorae. The hollowing may also have facilitated pouring. Cf. Cardew 1969, 104.

28. Unfortunately, initial pruning of sherds recovered in the first season of excavation (1964) meant that not all of the unpainted pottery was kept. However, notes were made and all sherds counted before pruning, so that the proportion of unpainted to painted sherds is known. Only a few of the unpainted rim fragments were kept, and information about the shapes represented is thus very fragmentary.

29. 15 bags, ranging in size from 972 sherds to 97 (average contents: c. 500 sherds).

Total sherds:	7,323
Unpainted (buff ware):	2,629
Painted:	3,446
Patterned:	550
Coarse:	1,182
Patterned, pre-LH IIIC:	184
Pre-Mycenaean:	66

30. The excavators of Asine described one only of the elaborately decorated stirrup-jars from that site as an example of Close Style (Frödin and Persson 1938, 176). At Athens, Broneer mentions only one true Close Style fragment (Broneer 1939, fig. 46n). Most of the remainder

of the elaborately decorated pieces from the Acropolis Fountain are described as "imitations of Close Style" (e.g. Broneer 1939, fig. 71d-g).

31. Furumark (1941a, 571ff.) identifies the Close Style as a Mainland style, distinguishing it from the elaborate styles in Rhodes, and adds that it "evidently had its home in Mycenae itself; it may adequately be called 'the Palace Style of Agamemnon'". However, elsewhere (especially Furumark 1944, 1965) he extends it to include other types of non-Rhodian "close" decoration, including the elaborately decorated stirrup-jars from Asine which are quite distinct from the Close Style stirrup-jars of the Central Argolid (see below, chapter 7). Desborough (1964, 15ff.) however maintained a clear distinction between Argive Close Style and approximations or imitations of it in other areas.

32. Other shapes occasionally found in Close Style are mugs (cf. Fig. 76c:8) and kalathoi (below, note 36). The four-handled jar with Close Style decoration (Furtwängler and Loeschke 1886, pl. 37; Wace et al. 1921-23, pl. IXb) is a very unusual shape.

33. For the exceptions, see Desborough 1964, 15 note 1, and above note 30.

34. The Warrior Vase, found by Schliemann in a house just to the south of Grave Circle A, incorporates many of the characteristic features of these kraters. It is of "oatmeal" fabric, has a monochrome interior, and double handles in the form of bulls' heads. In addition, it is in bichrome technique.

See, e.g., Sakellarakis 1971, fig. 46.

35. There is a single Close Style mug fragment (Fig. 76c:6).

36. There are several elaborately decorated kalathos pieces shown on photographs of the Schliemann sherds belonging to the German Archaeological Institute in Athens. Some of them have Close Style decoration. I am grateful to Mr Popham for showing me copies of these photographs.

37. A few deep bowls also have decoration of a single broad wavy band (Fig. 76b:5). Cf. also Wace et al. 1921-23, fig. 7h.

38. These, which form less than 0.1% of the total painted pottery, do not appear in the Advanced phase column in Fig. 13.

39. Added white paint is also found on other vases of various shapes during this phase at Mycenae, including the Warrior Vase.

40. Evidence for these comes from the Granary, rather than from Trench Gamma 32. Cf. above, note 28.

41. Cf. above, note 28. Coarse wares continue to form roughly the same proportion (16%) of the total pottery as in earlier phases.

42. The lower layer of stones may represent tumble from a wall or walls further up the slope to the east, which fell down into this area at some point during or after the Latest phase.

43. 8 bags, ranging in size from 754 sherds to 80 (average contents: c. 500 sherds).

Total sherds:	4,167
Unpainted (buff ware):	1,855
Painted:	1,746

Patterned:	275
Coarse:	518
Patterned, pre-LH IIIC:	117
Pre-Mycenaean:	48.

44. Evidence for unpainted shapes in this phase comes from the upper levels of the Granary East Basement.

45. Contrast Rutter 1976, who suggests that this fabric does not continue long into the LH IIIC period. See also Deger-Jalkotzy 1977; and Appendix II.

46. Wardle 1973, 327 (deep bowls with spiraliform and narrow horizontal patterns in Destruction debris), 332 (Rosette bowls with linear decoration in Levelling material). This material has been assigned to LH IIIB2, though Wardle points out that these particular features are, in fact, very much rarer in the LH IIIB2 destruction deposit (Causeway Deposit) found on the immediately underlying floor.

47. These include jugs with slightly hollowed rims (E. French 1969a, fig. 1:4,6-7), vertical wavy bands on amphora or jug handles (ibid., 73), linear decorated hydriae (ibid., pl. 18b:2), Medium band deep bowls (ibid., fig. 11:3), deep bowls of Group A type with monochrome interiors (ibid., fig. 7:4, pl. 19a:1), and coarse handmade fabric (ibid., fig. 12:22).

48. Kilian and Podzuweit 1978, fig. 40a (Group A deep bowls with monochrome interiors), fig. 40b (Rosette bowls with added linear decoration), figs. 40a,c (deep bowls with double banding at the rim),

fig. 43 (vertical wavy bands on the handles of jugs etc.), fig. 42a (linear cups).

49. The narrow horizontal patterns on deep bowls (Kilian and Podzuweit 1978, fig. 27, cf. fig. 28 (Phase 2)) and Medium band deep bowls (fig. 41a) do not appear to start until the succeeding phase. Cf. however Verdelis and French 1965, fig. 1 for deep bowls with narrow horizontal patterns in the Tiryns Epichosis (LH IIIB2).

50. Kilian and Podzuweit 1978, fig. 41b (monochrome carinated cups), fig. 41a (monochrome deep bowls), fig. 41c (a hemispherical or conical bowl shape).

51. Knell's Horizon I contains Group A deep bowls with various spiral patterns and monochrome interiors, rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles, and amphorae with slightly hollowed rims and vertical wavy band handle decoration. Horizon II contains totally monochrome deep bowls and linear shallow angular bowls. I am extremely grateful to Dr Knell for the opportunity to see a typescript of his report.

52. Rutter's phase 2 includes a rounded bowl with horizontal strap handles (this piece (Rutter 1977, fig. 5) is only partially preserved; the carination is not sharp, and both this, and its decoration, make it much more likely to be similar to the rather more heterogeneous class of rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles at Mycenae; cf. also Blegen 1921, fig. 87), two Medium band deep bowls, and a monochrome carinated cup. His phase 3 includes Medium band deep bowls, monochrome deep bowls, and Group A deep bowls with monochrome

interiors; painted kylikes; linear cups; and monochrome carinated cups.

53. Kilian and Podzuweit 1978, fig. 41b (linear shallow angular bowls, apparently only represented in Phase 2), ibid., fig. 35 and 476 (elaborate patterns), fig. 36:4 (deep bowl with single reserved line). Cf. also Podzuweit 1978, for deep bowl types and other characteristics of mid-LH IIIC pottery from the Lower City. Tassels, linear decorated shallow angular bowls, and deep bowls with single reserved line and reserved foot, are features which straddle Horizons II-III of Knell's sequence from the Lower City (Knell and Voigtländer 1981).

54. Kilian and Podzuweit 1978, fig. 35:10 (Close Style), fig. 36:13 (deep bowl with multiple reserved lines, from the Citadel). Cf. also Podzuweit 1978, 3; Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 11-5 (House W); Gercke and Hiesel 1975, fig. 3, pls. 12-7 (House O); D. and E. French 1971, 39. "Negative" deep bowls, Close Style and a carinated cup with animal protome handle first appear in Knell's Horizon III (Knell and Voigtländer 1981).

55. Rutter's phase 4 contains monochrome deep bowls with multiple reserved lines and dotted rims, elaborate kraters, deep bowls with running spiral decoration, trefoil-lipped jugs, and stirrup-jars with conical tops and differential treatment of the decorated shoulder zone (Rutter 1977, figs. 15-6). "Necklace"-pattern also appears in this phase at Korakou.

56. There are difficulties involved in comparing settlement

with tomb pottery, and little of the published settlement material from Asine (Houses G and H) seems likely to predate a period contemporary with the Latest phase at Mycenae (cf. below). LH IIIC pottery from the tombs belongs mainly to mid and late LH IIIC, equivalent to the Developed-Late phases at Mycenae. There are close stylistic links between this pottery and that from phases II-III at Perati, particularly in the stirrup-jars with triangular flower patterns, the amphoriskoi with reserved lines, and in certain individual motifs (e.g. combined "whisker" and "necklace"-pattern (FM 72:11)). Asine has its own elaborate style of decoration which, with the exception of the single true Close Style stirrup-jar, is quite different from Argive Close Style. Even among the latest pottery from Asine, which may have had closer links with the Latest phase at Mycenae and with pottery from Argos, stylistic ties with Attica and Euboea remain evident.

57. Wace et al. 1921-23, 36, fig. 9a (deep bowl, monochrome with reserved base and lower body), fig. 9b (deep bowl, monochrome, with narrow reserved zone and wavy line, reserved base and lower body), pl. VIb (jug, tassel on shoulder, "S"-pattern on handle), pl. VIa (cooking pot, wheelmade, two-handled).

58. In addition to the pots shown here in Figs. 98b, 101, 102b, are two more stemless three-handled cups (Nauplia nos. 13913, 1056i) and a linear lid (no. 8342).

59. Wace 1932, 7:nos. 5-12; v. especially no. 10

(stirrup-jar), nos. 11-2 (amphoriskoi).

60. Frödin and Persson 1938, figs. 234:6,8-9,13, 15,17-8,20; 269:8 (stirrup-jars with simple circumcurrent decoration of concentric semicircles or triangles on the shoulder, most with barred handles); ibid., figs. 237:32, 238, 269:2 (lekythoi with shoulder patterns similar to those of the stirrup-jars and barred handles; jugs and jars with wavy line decoration and barred handles).

61. Deshayes 1966, DV 89,123,151,120 (stirrup-jars); DV 10 (amphoriskos); DV 48 (juglet); DV 26 (lekythos). These differ little in style from vases assigned to Submycenaean from the Deiras chamber tombs (cf. especially DV 59,32,62 (stirrup-jars)).

62. Although "a ceramic stage, corresponding to the Granary Style from Mycenae" is known from the Citadel at Tiryns (Podzuweit 1978, 176), this need mean no more than a stage corresponding to the Advanced phase (cf. Kilian and Podzuweit 1978, 497f., and above, note 54). On the other hand, a stirrup-jar from the Prophitis Elias chamber tombs, decorated with circumcurrent groups of concentric semicircles on the shoulder, and barred handles, may possibly be as late as the Latest phase at Mycenae (Rudolph 1973, pl. 20:1-2 (from Grave VI)).

63. Cf., however, Corinth where Rutter has recently published some pottery assigned to his phases 4 and 5, some of which is probably comparable to the Latest phase at Mycenae (Rutter 1979).

64. At Mycenae, there may be some slight evidence for Submycenaean settlement, and a few, probably

late Submycenaean, graves are found sunk into LH IIIC occupation levels in the Citadel. At Tiryns, likewise, graves of mid or late Submycenaean date overlie the LH IIIC settlement (Styrenius 1967, 134f., 157; Desborough 1972, 69f.).

65. In the Asine chamber tombs, only three out of the forty LH IIIC stirrup-jars can be assigned stylistically to early LH IIIC, equivalent to Perati phase I (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb 2:15, Tomb 5:8-9).

66. Only four vases (Deshayes 1966, DV 58,137,189-90) are assigned by the excavators to the beginning of LH IIIC, and only one (DV 34) to LH IIIC:1b. The late date of almost three-quarters of the vases assigned to LH IIIC may account for certain aspects noted by the excavators which appeared to them to distinguish this pottery from that of other Argive sites. There is, for instance, no Close Style. (Deshayes 1966, 194-5).

67. See also Desborough 1972, 20, 161-2, for the gradual growth in importance of Asine and Argos during this period.

Chapter 4

Lefkandi

A. Introduction

The site of Lefkandi (Xeropolis) lies on the south coast of Euboea opposite Boeotia, about ten kilometres south of Chalcis. It is situated on the edge of the Lelantine Plain. The site itself consists of a long narrow plateau rising abruptly from the sea with a gentler incline on the landward side. On either side of the plateau are small bays, one of which is still used as a harbourage.

Excavations were carried out on the plateau and in nearby cemeteries by Popham and Sackett between 1964 and 1966. Deep accumulations of LH IIIC settlement remains were found all over the plateau, as well as evidence for other earlier periods from EH to LH IIIB. Above the LH IIIC buildings Protogeometric pottery and Geometric structures were found. The cist tomb cemeteries yielded nothing earlier than the very end of the Submycenaean period.

In the main area of the excavations on the plateau (Trenches KK, LL, DD, EE, GG, AA, BB, CC, on the northern landward edge of the site), three distinct building phases of LH IIIC date were found. These were superimposed one above the other, each on a different alignment.

Associated with these three phases are certain distinct and recognisable differences in the pottery, though an underlying similarity persists. The three main building phases were accordingly adopted by the excavators as a basis for the initial subdivision of the pottery into three phases (1, 2, 3) (Popham and Sackett 1968, 11ff.). After detailed study of the excavation results and of the pottery itself they then found it possible to further subdivide these phases (Popham and Milburn 1971).

B. LH IIIB

There is a scarcity of LH IIIB material from the site, and few structures of this date were recovered. This is partly explained by the fact that, in the main excavated area, the earliest LH IIIC houses were terraced down into the LH IIIB level which was subject to deliberate levelling. However, even in the numerous and widely spread tests carried out elsewhere on the site little LH IIIB material was found.

LH IIIB pottery from Lefkandi and elsewhere in Euboea has been described elsewhere by others (Sackett et al. 1966; Popham and Milburn 1971, 346; cf. also some discussion in Sherratt 1980). There is no reason to assume a chronological break or any significance between it and the first phase of LH IIIC, and there are no signs of destruction. A few features appear to foreshadow later developments, including monochrome deep bowls, deep bowls with bands at the rim and monochrome interiors,

lip band cups and slightly hollowed amphora or jug rims (Sherratt 1980, fig. 7)[1]. However, decorated deep bowls, which are much more common than in the LH IIIC levels, are generally left unpainted inside (Popham and Milburn 1971, 346). Patterns on these include the usual range of LH IIIB motifs, including triglyphs, narrow horizontal patterns and spiraliform patterns (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 6:4-5, pl. 50:1-3)[2]. Unpainted shapes include shallow angular bowls and carinated kylikes (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 8:1-2). Rounded tripod vessels with oval legs occur in wheelmade coarse ware (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 8:3). On the whole, the fabric is finer and browner in colour than in succeeding levels.

C. <u>Phase 1 (Popham and Sackett 1968, 11-4)</u>.

The beginning of the LH IIIC period seems to have brought a considerable increase in the population of the site since, at this time, most of the hilltop was probably built over. In the main area of excavation the basement rooms of at least two buildings were found, separated from each other by an ascending alley. At the head of the alley was an open yard limited at its southern edge by the beginning of a further building. These basements were clearly storage areas. They contained bins of unbaked clay ranged against the walls, supplemented occasionally by pithoi. Near the centre of some of the rooms areas of burnt clay laid over a bedding of sherds may have been used as cooking hearths.

The main living rooms appear to have been on the first floor; and in the case of the eastern house an outer stairway led up to them from the alley. The presence of these upper floors is attested by a line of fallen floor timbers and a deposit of vases clearly resting above them. Some of the basements interconnect, but most were probably entered from an upper floor.

The house plans are somewhat haphazard. The walls were constructed of pise or mudbrick set on a rough stone socle, and the rooms vary in size and arrangement. There are signs of structural alterations, such as a dividing wall inserted between the rooms in the western house. Such alterations, plus the unusual thickness of the build up of floors, suggest that these buildings were occupied for a considerable length of time.

Phase 1 ends in catastrophe. The houses were burnt, and the basements filled with fallen debris. In the main area of excavation (Trench LL) a high mudbrick wall collapsed on to the upper yard. Elsewhere on the site (Trial IV-V on the top of the plateau, and Trial W a little to the east of the main trenches slightly lower down the slope) evidence was found of contemporary destruction. The debris (about a metre or more in depth) was left undisturbed, which accounts for the good state of preservation of the Phase 1 buildings. Subsequent buildings (Phase 2) were constructed after it had been levelled off. That this took place not long after the catastrophe is shown by the fact that the mudbricks of the collapsed wall in the upper yard

still preserved their original clearly defined shapes and sharp edges when the Phase 2 wall which rests immediately above them was built.

The Phase 1a pottery is that connected with the earlier use of these phase 1 buildings, and consists mainly of filling material from below remade floors or yard refuse. Much of it comes from Trench LL of the main area, where a cross wall and possible kitchen enclosure were found to have been buried below refuse long before the mudbrick wall collapsed on to the area during the destruction. In Trial IV-V, similarly, walls belonging to the early stages of Phase 1 were found to have fallen out of use and been covered by a floor before the destruction.

Phase 1b pottery consists of the material found in the destruction of the houses, both in the main area of excavation and in Trials IV-V and W where evidence of contemporary destruction was found. Much of it is in the form of whole pots recovered from floors or included in the debris from upper storeys.

D. Phase 1a[3]

Briefly, phase 1a is characterised by lip band cups, carinated cups (which appear to become very much rarer in succeeding phases (Fig. 154)), carinated tripod cooking pots with square legs, and a coarse handmade fabric which is used for both carinated cups and other shapes. Monochrome deep bowls occur, but are not so

common as in the subsequent Phase 1b, being outnumbered by deep bowls with linear decoration (cf. Fig. 152). Decorated deep bowls, on the other hand, are more numerous than in Phase 1b, though they nevertheless form a small proportion of the total number. Deep bowls almost without exception have monochrome interiors. Amphorae, hydriae and jugs most often have a slightly hollowed rim profile. The majority of conical kylikes are monochrome or left unpainted (cf. Fig. 153). Several vases, particularly some deep bowls, are covered with a thick cream slip, which contrasts with the dull brown, or even greyish surface colour of the Phase 1b pottery. The paint is often redder in colour than later.

Cups (FS 215) have a rather bell-shaped profile, a ring base, and an average rim diameter of 10-12cm.. They most frequently have rim decoration consisting of a band both inside and out. These generally have no other decoration on the exterior body, though some also have an interior circle or circles at the base (cf. Fig. 151). A few have monochrome interiors, sometimes with a reserved spot at the base (Fig. 104a). Examples of cups with extra bands round the body, and cups with no decoration at all, also occur, but are much rarer (cf. Fig. 104b) . (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 3:3).

Carinated cups (FS 240) have a high-flung strap handle and ring base. They mostly have a pronounced carination (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 3:5), although some are more rounded. Usual decoration is a monochrome

coat of paint applied both inside and out, although one or two examples have a reserved band or area at or below the carination (Fig. 105b)[5]. The paint on these cups sometimes has a metallic sheen. On the whole, the shape seems to become rarer in succeeding phases. (Figs. 105a, 106a; Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 3:6)[6].

The deep bowls (FS 284), like the cups, are rather bell-shaped in profile (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 1:1,3, pl. 51:1; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 27). They almost without exception have monochrome interiors. As far as exterior decoration is concerned, deep bowls with banding outnumber monochrome ones (cf. Fig. 152). Usual decoration consists of a band at the rim, and an additional band round the belly (Fig. 107b). A few have double banding at the rim (Fig. 107a)[7]. The handles on these deep bowls are generally covered with an unbroken band of paint. Monochrome deep bowls are covered in reddish or black paint, and usually have an irregular reserved patch under the handles. Occurrences of pattern decorated deep bowls are more frequent than in Phase Ib. Antithetic spiral is a favourite motif, though there are instances of other patterns (Figs. 108, 109a). Several of the pattern decorated examples, like deep bowls of Group A type, have no band at the rim (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 3:4, pl. 50:4)[8].

The large storage vessels for liquids, amphorae, hydriae and jugs (FS 69, FS 128, FS 106), mainly have

slightly hollowed rims. The fragments show that they are in general rather large, with a spherical body, flat base, round mouth with no pouring spout, and handles of round or oval section from rim to shoulder with, in the case of hydriae, the addition of two horizontal belly handles. Vertical wavy bands are the most frequent decoration on vertical handles, though there are a very few examples of a figure-of-eight motif (cf. Fig. 150). Patterned decoration is not found on these. Most have groups of two or three bands of even width round the body of the vase, but there are just one or two examples of an arrangement of thick and thin bands which anticipate a notable feature of Phase 1b. (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 3:2).

Kylikes (FS 274) are invariably conical. Almost all, at this stage, are monochrome or left unpainted (Figs. 153, 110, 111a).

There are a few pattern decorated krater (FS 281, FS 282) fragments. Motifs seem to consist mainly of running or antithetic spiral. The majority have plain interiors, though several are monochrome or banded (cf. Fig. 151).

Pieces of stirrup-jars (FS 173, FS 174) include a few monochrome handles with a reserved triangle at the top[9], and flat topped discs with spiral decoration. Otherwise, there is virtually no evidence.

There is not much evidence for amphoriskoi (FS 59),

apart from one or two completely linear decorated examples (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 3:1, pl. 50:5), and fragments of a few others[10].

There are examples of spouted one-handled bowls (FS 249) with exterior bands and monochrome or banded interiors (Figs. 112a, 113). There are also fragments of large basins (FS 294) with a somewhat shallower profile, and horizontal handles at the rim (cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 5:2). These too are banded.

Fragments of rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles (FS 295) are also found[11]. They usually have a band of paint along the rim with a further band in the interior.

Apart from the kylikes, unpainted shapes are poorly represented, but include pieces of probable shallow angular bowls, dippers, cups, plain handleless cups and lipless bowls. There are also examples of wide-mouthed jugs (cf. FS 111) (Figs. 111b, 112b).

The fabric of most cooking pots (FS 65, FS 66, FS 320) is the standard wheelmade sandy textured coarse ware found throughout the Mycenaean period. A new shape in this ware is a type of carinated tripod cooking pot with either oval or square legs. The other most common shape is a jar-like pot with either one or two vertical handles from the rim[12].

Several pieces of coarse handmade fabric, similar

in appearance to that found at other sites, were also found among the Phase 1a material[13]. The complete profile of a carinated cup with a crude footless base and a vertical strap handle could be reconstructed, and several more fragments of similar strap handles were recovered (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 3:7). Another carinated shape in this fabric has diagonal slashes on the (not very sharp) carination, and a knob, also on the line of the carination (cf. also Appendix II). The rim of a closed holemouthed vessel with a raised and impressed decorative band was also found. Fragments of this fabric frequently show signs of rough vertical burnishing on the exterior and horizontal burnishing, if any, in the interior. Pieces with no sign of internal burnishing probably belong to closed vessels.

E. Phase 1b[14].

In general, Phase 1b also appears dull and monotonous, though perhaps rather less so than Phase 1a. The range of shapes continues to be limited, and decoration likewise is confined to monochrome or bands, with a few simple ornaments such as figure-of-eight decoration on the handles of large closed vessels, and the new tassel and scroll motifs. Banding, particularly on jugs, amphorae and hydriae, takes on a characteristic thick-thin-thick arrangement. Deep bowls, as in Phase 1a, are the most numerous single shape (cf. Fig. 154), with monochrome examples now more common than both linear and pattern decorated ones. Kylikes with a

standard decoration of a narrow band at the rim and paint on the whole lower body including foot and stem, usually with a thin line placed immediately above this, make their appearance. The pottery is technically of good manufacture by the standards of Lefkandi: the fabric is of uniform quality, though surface colour is rather more drab in appearance than before. The paint, which is fairly lustrous, ranges in colour from warm reddish-brown to the more usual black.

Cups presumably represent the normal drinking vessel, as against kylikes which are rather rarer (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 1:4, pl. 51:2; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 25; cf. Fig. 154). The majority of them, as in Phase 1a, have standardised decoration of an exterior lip band only, with interior bands at the rim and round the belly (cf. Fig. 151). Several also have a circle or circles in the interior of the base, and some have a spiral (Fig. 116). A slightly increased number, however, have monochrome interiors. As in Phase 1a there is also some evidence for unpainted cups. These fall into two groups: a shallower cup, of different shape from the painted examples (cf. FS 220), which seems to occur only in this and the preceding phase (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 1:5); and a plain angular cup which is not, however, particularly common (cf. FS 222; Fig. 117b)[15].

Carinated cups are very much rarer than in Phase 1a, though fragments display the same characteristics as those of that phase (Fig. 106b).

Among deep bowls monochrome versions are now more numerous than both linear and pattern decorated ones (cf. Fig. 152). Many of these have a reserved spot in the interior base, and the outer edge of the ring foot is also sometimes reserved (Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 51:1). Linear versions normally have a band at the rim, and additional bands round the exterior of the body. They are monochrome inside. On the relatively few fragments of pattern decorated deep bowls, antithetic spiral continues to be the main motif. There are also a very few examples of deep bowls with vertical handles, which may represent the continuation of an infrequent LH IIIB shape (Fig. 118)[16].

Kylikes continue to be far outnumbered by both cups and deep bowls (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 1:2, pl. 51:5; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 26). Several are still monochrome or unpainted (Fig. 119), but on a shallower type (FS 275) standard decoration consists of a narrow band at the rim, and paint on the whole lower body including the foot and stem. Interiors of these are generally monochrome, with a reserved spot at the bottom of the bowl.

There are many amphorae, hydriae and jugs, which continue to have a hollowed lip. Decoration on the bodies of these is limited to banding with the addition of tassel motif (FM 72:7) on the shoulder, or a tassel or scroll (cf. FM 48:3) on the shoulder combined with a further tassel below the shoulder bands (Figs. 150, 120). These shoulder bands are generally found in a thick-thin-thick arrangement of three (Fig. 121;

Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 1:7, pl. 51:6; Popham and Sackett 1968, figs. 28-9). Vertical handles on these vessels are normally decorated with figure-of-eight loop or vertical wavy band.

As before, there are a few fragments of decorated <u>kraters</u>. An increased proportion appear to have monochrome interiors, although banded and plain interiors also occur (cf. Fig. 151).

There are a few fragments of <u>stirrup-jars</u>, most apparently belonging to the small globular type (FS 173, FS 174). Discs are flat topped, handles usually with monochrome paint down the outside surface (cf. Fig. 153). There are also one or two larger domestic examples (cf. FS 164) which were probably used for storage (Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 51:3).

<u>Amphoriskoi</u> remain rare (cf. Fig. 154). They have either horizontal loop or lug handles. Decoration consists of bands with the rare addition of a tassel or other simple motif on the shoulder (Fig. 122). (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 1:6, pl. 51:4; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 32).

There are a very few fragmentary examples of <u>semiglobular bowls</u> with a single horizontal loop handle (FS 242). These are probably the forerunners of the conical bowls which become popular in a later phase. They are, however, generally larger, and have a more rounded profile. Decoration mostly consists of series of bands both inside and out, in contrast to the standardised decoration

of the later conical bowls (see below) (cf. Fig. 123).

Basins with horizontal handles at the rim and a trough spout, feeding bottles (FS 161), straight-sided alabastra (FS 96), and mugs (FS 226) are found occasionally, but are not common (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 2:1).

There are examples of both ring and sack askoi (FS 194, FS 196). These too, however, are not common (Figs. 124-5; Megaw 1966, fig. 16).

Unpainted shapes are comparatively rare, but include, in addition to the kylikes and the two cup types already mentioned, jugs with high handles (Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 33) and dippers (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 2:4).

Complete examples of vessels in wheelmade cooking pot fabric are plentiful, but the range of shapes is restricted. It includes: i) a small one-handled jug with open mouth which, from the burning marks, it is suggested may have been used to warm liquids against the fire (Popham and Milburn 1971, 336, fig. 2:5); ii) tripod vessels for cooking or heating water. The latter are always shallow and fall into two groups: a rounded version with collared rim, and the carinated version which first appears in Phase 1a (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 2:2-3, pl. 52:1; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 30). In addition, there are: iii) larger jars with one or two vertical handles (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 2:6, pl. 52:2; Popham and Sackett 1968,

fig. 31)[17]; iv) a few deep spouted kraters (FS 298) (Fig. 126)[18]; and v) jars of various types, including some with collar necks and horizontal handles.

Some pieces of <u>coarse handmade</u> fabric were also found, although there is no evidence for the carinated shapes associated with Phase 1a. A complete cup of crude cylindrical/hemispherical shape with a flat base and a small vertical handle of irregular section at the rim was found on a Phase 1b destruction floor in Trial IV-V (Fig. 127; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 34). It has a rough decorative ridge round the body with diagonal slashes on it. The fabric is gritty in texture and reddish-brown in colour, and is only very roughly burnished. In this it resembles some of the pieces of coarse handmade fabric of Phase 1a, but not, on the whole, the carinated shapes, which generally have a higher burnish.

Large <u>pithoi</u> and <u>tubs</u> for food storage are also represented among the Phase 1b destruction deposits.

F. <u>Phase 2a (Popham and Sackett 1968, 14)</u>.

The Phase 2 buildings are quite different from those of Phase 1. They were laid out on a different alignment and provide evidence of a more spacious and impressive type of architecture. There are signs of careful planning and regularity. Two main rooms were constructed in the main excavated area, each initially five metres square, one of them with a central post hole. Divided

from these by a narrow lane to the north lay another block of rooms. To the south the old yard area remained in part an open space. The walls - stone base walls designed to carry a superstructure of mudbricks - were well built and in some cases preserved to nearly one metre in height.

These buildings were partly destroyed and a small deposit of smashed vases, apparently fallen from an upper floor, was found in one of the main rooms. Pottery associated with this destruction, and contemporary destructions found in Trial C (on the north-west edge of the site) and Trial W, has been assigned to Phase 2a. Like the architecture of the period, it represents a distinct change from the rather humdrum style of Phase 1. New vase shapes are introduced, and there is an obvious liking for pictorial and elaborate decoration. Altogether, Phase 2a seems to have been a time of prosperity, when interest in architectural and ceramic arts was able to flourish.

G. Phase 2a[19].

Phase 2a presents a strong contrast to the monotony and uniformity of phase 1, particularly in its feeling for patterned and pictorial decoration (consisting of human beings, mythical beasts, animals and birds). During this phase, elaborate abstract and pictorial patterns are found on a wide range of shapes including kraters, stirrup-jars, jugs, kylikes, and deep bowls.

Motifs such as concentric arcs, antithetic tongues, scale triangles, concentric semicircles, and elaborate antithetic spirals form part of this repertoire of elaborate decorations. Other decorative innovations include plastic rope ridges, animal head krater handles, animal protomes, added white paint, and the occasional use of bichrome. Among simpler features introduced in this phase are crosses on the vertical handles of large closed vessels, and "necklace"-pattern (FM 72:12-3) round the necks of jugs. Perhaps the most helpful innovation, however, from the point of view of identification, is the introduction of the reserved line, which appears inside the rims and on the lower bodies of deep bowls, and on the stems of kylikes. The arrangement of bands, which varies the thick-thin-thick sequence of Phase Ib, often by placing the thicker band on the inside, is frequently neater and generally more pleasing to the eye. Despite all these innovations, however, the mass of the pottery continues to be monochrome or decorated in a simple linear style.

The main vases differ from those of Phase 1 only in details of decoration. There is, however, an increase in the range of shapes represented. The presence of conical bowls is now definitely attested, and small deep bowls make their appearance. Trefoil-lipped jugs, trays, kalathoi and pyxides occur for the first time. Phase 2a is the last phase which produces large numbers of cups (cf. Fig. 154).

As before, the type of <u>cup</u> with lip band only predominates, though the number with monochrome interiors and a reserved spot at the base continues to increase (cf. Fig. 151). Very occasionally there is a reserved line inside the rim (Fig. 128a). The occasional cup is decorated with a wavy line (Fig. 128b), and a few have a solid semicircle of paint pendent from the rim on either side which may have been achieved by dipping rather than painting [20].

<u>Carinated cups</u>, of the type first encountered in Phase 1a are now rare, and it is doubtful whether they persist into this phase. There are, however, a few fragments of a larger carinated cup shape which, like the carinated kraters referred to below, are decorated with grooves at the carination. One large grooved and carinated cup has a high handle which was probably topped by an animal protome (Fig. 129; Popham and Milburn 1971, 342, pl. 52:6). At least two animal heads were found which seem to have broken off similar handles (Fig. 130) [21].

On <u>deep bowls</u> the most striking innovation of this phase is the introduction of monochrome examples with a reserved line inside the rim and sometimes another reserved line on the outside of the lower body (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 4:3). Several also have a reserved exterior base and lower body (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 4:1, pl. 52:3; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 47). These deep bowls are often shallower and less bell-shaped than those of Phase 1, and several are considerably smaller, with an average rim diameter of 10 or 12cm.. Linear decorated deep bowls appear

to become more numerous once more (cf. Fig. 152). Pattern decorated deep bowls are adorned with antithetic spirals, tongues and loops and other, often elaborate, abstract motifs (Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 57:1).

Kylikes are slightly less common than in Phase 1, though shape and decoration remains much the same (cf. Fig. 153). Several have a series of reserved lines on the stem, and sometimes on the foot (Popham and Sackett 1968, figs. 49-50; Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 5:1,4, pl. 52:5). Pattern decorated kylikes are also found, and motifs include tassels and more elaborate patterns (Fig. 131a; Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 55:3). One example of a kylix handle is decorated with concentric arcs. There are still several monochrome kylikes, on which the paint varies between black and red, and is sometimes streaky (Fig. 131b). Unpainted versions, however, are now very rare.

New features on amphorae, hydriae and jugs are the introduction of twisted handles (Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 53:1)[22], and of "necklace"-pattern round the base of the neck. Both tassel and scroll motifs continue, though the former is less common than before (cf. Fig. 150). On the vertical handles of these large closed vessels, a figure-of-eight loop continues to be the most frequent decoration, though vertical wavy bands and, less often, diagonal crosses, are also found.

Trefoil-lipped jugs (FS 137) are introduced for the first time in this phase, though the shape is not particularly common at Lefkandi (Fig. 133). "Necklace"-

pattern is found on these as well as on the larger jugs (FS 106), and the shoulders of jugs are sometimes decorated with much the same sorts of elaborate patterns (spiraliform, dotted semicircles) as occur on other shapes. Small juglets (cf. FS 115) are also found, one example at least with patterned decoration on the shoulder (Fig. 135)[23].

Kraters, with profiles which curve inwards towards the rim and rounded or folded lips, are rather more numerous than in Phase 1, and many of them are elaborately decorated with abstract or pictorial patterns. Among the former are spiraliform, antithetic and elaborate panel motifs, often quite complicated in composition and carefully executed[24]. Pictorial decoration includes human figures (warriors, men with horses, possibly chariot scenes), mythical beasts (especially griffins and sphinxes), goats, lions, a few fish, and frequent birds, particularly in antithetic arrangements on either side of a central panel (Popham and Milburn 1971, pls. 53:6, 54:1,4-6; Popham and Sackett 1968, figs. 37-46; Catling 1968). There is occasional use of added white paint on these elaborate kraters, and a very few instances of bichrome painting. The largest of them also sometimes have complicated mouldings below the rim in the form of rows of incised rope pattern; double handles in the form of a bull's head are also found. Handles are generally decorated with three splashes of paint along the back, or with a continuous band. Lower bodies are now sometimes given a coat of monochrome paint, with the occasional addition of reserved lines above the base. The interiors of these kraters are generally

monochrome, rather than banded.

This phase also sees the occasional appearance of a carinated krater shape, which may be related to large versions of the carinated cup. It seems generally to be monochrome, with ridges or grooves just below the carination. One fragment has a plastic knob on the line of the carination. A most interesting amphoroid krater fragment (cf. FS 57) (Fig. 139) has its best parallels in the East Aegean and Crete (cf. also J.-C. Courtois 1973). Its decoration, too, finds parallels in Crete and the Aegean islands (cf. Popham 1965, 331-2, fig. 7:47)[25].

The presence of <u>conical bowls</u> is now definitely attested. In shape, these are essentially a compromise between the kylix and the deep bowl: conical, with a rather small ring base, and a single horizontal loop handle near the rim. Some, however, like the rare examples belonging to Phase 1b, are unusually large and semiglobular in shape (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 4:10; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 20). Standard decoration consists of a monochrome interior, a band at the exterior rim, two thin bands halfway down the body, and a band at the junction of body and base. A very few also have a reserved line inside the rim.

<u>Trays</u> (FS 322) appear for the first time. The shape is basically that of a circular vessel with a shallow spreading body and vertical basket handles along the edge of the rim (cf. Fig. 140). They include examples with monochrome interiors and bands out, monochrome

examples with interior lines in added white paint, and some pattern decorated examples.

Phase 2a is the first phase in which decorated kalathoi (FS 291) appear. They are of spreading conical shape, with an outturned lip and two horizontal loop handles. Birds (Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 54:3), fish, or other interesting patterns (including spiraliform motifs, concentric arcs and semicircles) decorate the interiors, while the exteriors are generally banded, sometimes with the addition of a wavy line[26]. Bars, alternating solid semicircles, and other simple patterns are found on the tops of the rims.

Other open shapes represented in this phase are basins which remain much as before, with monochrome interiors and exterior bands, occasionally with the addition of a wavy band below the rim. There are a few fragments of mugs with banded or monochrome interiors, and banded or patterned decoration (including an elaborate panel pattern) on the outside. Fragments of miscellaneous bowls with linear or monochrome decoration, including some with a reserved line inside the rim, are also represented[27]; some of the shallower types have decoration of bars along the rim.

On stirrup-jars (cf. FS 175), conical top discs are now introduced, and outnumber flat discs (cf. Fig. 153); and airholes are occasionally found on the shoulder. Shoulder decorations include triangles (both concentric and scale triangles), concentric semicircles, spiraliform

motifs, antithetic tongues and loops (Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 56:1). The composition of these reflects the physical divisions of the shoulder zone, the semicircular area opposite the spout usually containing a different pattern from the quadrants. Multiple decorated body zones are occasionally found; motifs on these include horizontal quirk, zigzag and concentric semicircles. The disc, too, occasionally carries elaborate decoration. The lowest part of the body is sometimes monochrome with reserved lines near the base. The fabric of some of the stirrup-jars of this phase is an unusual creamy-white in colour, which may indicate import from elsewhere.

Linear decorated <u>amphoriskoi</u> continue to occur, but on some, which are often quite small, elaborate patterns are now found in the handle zone. These include antithetic tongues and spirals (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 6:2, pls. 55:4, 56:5; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 36), as well as simpler motifs including one of close-set horizontal chevrons (cf. FM 58:33) (cf. Fig. 132b)[28].

Other closed shapes represented are <u>squat pyxides</u>, both legged (FS 99) and legless (FS 98). Among the latter is a complete vase, covered in monochrome paint, and with decoration in applied white: round the body is a pictorial frieze of two griffins feeding their young in a nest, accompanied by a sphinx and a deer; on the shoulder are antithetic tongues and loops (Popham and Milburn 1971, pls. 54:2, 56:2; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 35). Fragments of a high cylindrical pyxis with high arching handles, a type usually associated with Crete (cf. Popham 1967, pl. 90b-c; Furumark 1941a, 102) (Fig.

143) were found among the Phase 2 pottery. There are also a few fragments of feeding bottles (FS 162), and of ring askoi.

Apart from a few kylikes and cups (cf. Figs. 151, 153), unpainted shapes now consist almost exclusively of dippers (FS 236). In wheelmade cooking pot fabric the shapes current in Phase 1 continue. In particular, the jar with one or two vertical handles is well represented. There is little evidence for the coarse handmade fabric among the pottery of this phase.

Among the pithos fragments associated with the destruction of the Phase 2a buildings are several with relief decoration. These include pieces with applied rope ridges, and raised bands with indented wavy lines and thumbprints[29].

H. Phase 2b (Popham and Sackett 1968, 14).

Considerable reconstruction followed the partial destruction of the Phase 2a buildings. The western room in the main area of excavation was lengthened, and a small bastion-like room added outside its south wall. At this time too another house, only a small part of which falls within the excavated area, was built to the south of the yard. Other walls were rebuilt and doorways blocked. Several relayings of floors and other modifications suggest that the reconstructed buildings remained in use for a considerable period of time.

During this period, some twelve intramural burials were made within the main excavated area. They were cut down through the earth floors of the rooms, in nearly all cases close to the walls. Both infant and adult skeletons were found. Most were crouched inhumations covered with pieces of large coarse pot, and few had any grave goods. One burial, in a small pre-existing pit, had a conical bowl placed over it (Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 20).

The final fate of these Phase 2 buildings is uncertain, since the upper levels were eroded and partly levelled for the Geometric buildings above them. Only to the south of the main area (Trenches KK, LL), at a distinctly higher level (more or less on the same level as the Geometric buildings to the north) was Mycenaean occupation of a later date found (Phase 3).

I. Phase 2b[30].

The pottery belonging to the occupation of the Phase 2 houses from the time of their partial destruction until their abandonment, and that from the intramural burials (Phase 2b), presents no major changes from that of Phase 2a, but is, on the whole, a rather dispirited version of it. Patterned decoration is rarer, and simpler in tone, with wavy line and simple spiral motifs beginning to appear on kraters and other shapes. It seems unlikely that the pictorial style survives to any great extent. A type of coarse, sandy fabric of

light pallid colour ranging from slightly grey to greenish-yellow or pink, termed white ware by the excavators, begins to be used for certain shapes. Compared with the brown or buff ware of the rest of the pottery, white ware is less well fired, with a frequently porous surface; the paint on these vases is usually orangey-red to light brown in colour, sometimes moderately lustrous but more often matt in appearance.

The number of cups in this phase is markedly reduced (cf. Fig. 154), and their function is probably taken over by conical bowls, which occur in increasing quantities, and perhaps partly by one-handled deep bowls. Kylikes die out almost completely by the end of the phase.

Most cups now have monochrome interiors, and many have a reserved line inside the rim (Fig. 151; Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 4:7). Linear, and some unpainted, examples still occur. The shape and decoration of the few remaining kylikes are the same as in Phase 2a (Fig. 153; Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 5:3).

Monochrome deep bowls continue to increase in number (Fig. 144), with a far greater proportion of them now having reserved lines (both inside the rim and near the base) and reserved feet (cf. Fig. 152). Linear deep bowls decline markedly, and there are practically no pattern decorated examples. In addition, a one-handled shallower version is introduced, probably for the first time. It generally has linear decoration on the outside (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 4:4-5, pl. 53:3; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 48).

The conical bowls, of which there are many more than before (cf. Fig. 154), are decorated in much the same way as those of Phase 2a. Most of them have monochrome interiors and, usually, a reserved line inside the rim (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 4:11, pl. 53:4).

Kraters are generally less common than in Phase 2a, particularly in the case of those with elaborate or pictorial decoration (cf. Fig. 151). Several kraters are made of white ware, and these differ in a number of ways from the kraters of the preceding phase. The rim profile no longer curves inwards towards the top, and, in place of the rounded or folded lip of the earlier kraters, these have a flatter, more squared lip. The most usual decorations on these white ware kraters are simple spirals or wavy lines (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 5:5, pl. 57:4-5; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 51). Inside, they are frequently banded.

A new shape in this phase is the neck-handled amphora (FS 70), of which there are a few examples (cf. Fig. 150). These seem usually to have flat strap-like handles rather than the more rounded type found on amphorae with handles from the rim. Some of them occur in white ware.

On amphorae, hydriae and jugs generally, "necklace"-pattern is found round the base of necks. Scroll and tassel patterns both continue, but are relatively rare. Handles continue to be decorated with figure-of-eight loop, vertical wavy band, and cross, the latter now finding more favour than before, particularly on neck-handled amphorae. Twisted handles are found on both amphorae and jugs. A small, but significant, proportion of these

large closed vessels are produced in white ware.

On the few trefoil-lipped jugs, "necklace"-pattern and horizontal wavy line in the shoulder zone are the usual decorations. A small globular juglet with simple decoration of a wide band round the body was found with one of the intramural burials. Fragments of others with similar decoration also occur (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 5:6, pl. 53:2).

Other shapes represented among the pottery of this phase are trays (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 5:7), and a few stirrup-jar fragments. Among the latter are examples of conical discs and of barred handles (cf. Fig. 153). Some of these fragments are of white ware.

Few shapes could be reconstructed from among the fragments of wheelmade cooking pot fabric, but the tripod vessels and jars seem to continue as before. Also found were flat coarse tray-like objects with squared corners, which probably acted as pot-stands or baking trays. There are occasional sherds of coarse handmade fabric, sometimes with a very rough burnish, which contrasts with the usual cooking ware. No shapes could be reconstructed[31].

J. Phase 3 (Popham and Sackett 1968, 14).

The Phase 3 architecture is poorly preserved, but seems to have consisted of small isolated rooms built up against a transverse wall, with yard areas between and in front of them. These yards were strewn with sea pebbles, and had been relaid many times; among the pebbles was a great quantity of bones and sherds, clearly refuse from the houses. The houses were probably finally deserted: there is no sign of destruction, at least in the area excavated. Before that happened, however, there are signs of a slow deterioration: some walls fell into disuse, and others, of more flimsy construction, were built at a higher level.

The pottery associated with the constructions of this third building phase, both before and at the time of abandonment, belongs to Phase 3. A series of intermediate levels, associated with deposits overlying the abandoned Phase 2 walls and with the bottom levels of the Phase 3 occupation, produce pottery which demonstrates the progression from Phase 2b to Phase 3 (Popham and Milburn 1971, 345-6). Some of the features present in Phase 2b, which have died out by the end of Phase 3 are still to be found, and as a result there is a somewhat greater range of shapes than in the latter phase. Cups and kylikes, however, are clearly becoming rarer, but are otherwise similar to those of Phase 2b. More cups than before have a reserved line inside the rim; and several are decorated with wavy lines[32]. A greater number of deep bowls also have a reserved line or lines (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 4:2, pl. 52:4). Neck-handled

amphorae become more common. Scroll and tassel decorations continue as before, but tassels become more spindly, and scrolls more spiraliform. A cross is now the chief handle decoration on amphorae; on jugs a vertical wavy band seems to be preferred. In general, the bands on these large closed vessels are placed further apart than in Phase 2b, a tendency which becomes more pronounced towards the end of Phase 3. Kraters remain much as in Phase 2b, and decoration is not yet entirely limited to the spirals and wavy lines of Phase 3. A few remnants of the pictorial style remain. Conical bowls become much more common, and now outnumber cups. Decoration on these is much as in Phase 2b.

Altogether there is about 30% white ware, slightly less than in Phase 3, but more than in Phase 2b. A small number of deep bowls are produced in this ware; and a greater number of amphorae, hydriae, jugs, kraters and stirrup-jars (Fig. 146). Even these shapes, however, are still quite frequently made of the buff or brown ware typical of earlier phases[33].

K. Phase 3[34]

Phase 3 is a generally unattractive phase, with a range of shapes and decorations limited even when compared with those of Phase 2b. Patterned decoration generally is very rare. About 40-50% of pots, particularly kraters and large closed vessels, are made in white ware, and both paint and fabric of this, as well as of the contemporary buff or brown ware, are frequently of poor quality.

The paint, in particular, is often streaky in application, and mottled in firing. The phase seems to represent a dead end, and has no obvious links with the Protogeometric which succeeds it on the site.

Cups are now more or less non-existent, though a few examples in white ware do occur, mostly with a reserved line inside the rim. There is little firm evidence for the survival of kylikes, though a few fragments may be contemporary with this phase.

On the other hand, conical bowls are even more numerous than before, and these have presumably usurped the function of the cup and kylix. Decoration is much the same as in the preceding phase, though there is a tendency for the foot to be high[35]. Examples of conical bowls in white ware are rare. (Fig. 147; Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 7:3; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 52).

Deep bowls of this phase are mostly monochrome with reserved lines both inside the rim and round the body, and reserved feet. Pattern decorated deep bowls are often in a finer variety of white ware than the kraters and large closed vessels; decoration on these is more or less confined to antithetic loops (FM 50:29-32) and running spirals (Fig. 148; Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 57:2)[36].

Most of the kraters are now made of white ware. The range of decoration on these is even more limited than in Phase 2b, the chief motifs being stiff spirals

or two or three horizontal wavy lines (Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 57:5). There are no longer any pictorial examples.

The vast majority of <u>amphorae, hydriae and jugs</u> are now in white ware (cf. Fig. 150; Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 7:2). Amphorae are mostly neck-handled (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 7:4). "Necklace"-pattern is the main decoration on these shapes. There is no evidence for the continued use of tassel and scroll motifs, though other curvilinear patterns (including a simple wheel pattern (cf. FM 17:28)) are sometimes painted on the shoulders. The usual handle decoration is now a cross, though figure-of-eight loop is still found. Body bands are even and thin, and often widely separated.

Other shapes include a few <u>trays</u>, and fragments of <u>stirrup-jars</u> and <u>amphoriskoi</u>. The decoration of trays differs little from that of Phase 2b: they may be banded or monochrome, with the occasional addition of a wavy line. At least one has an interior tondo with a simple design (Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 7:5). Fragments of stirrup-jars occur in both white and buff ware. There is little information on shoulder and body decoration, but conical tops and barred handles do seem to be characteristic features of this phase. The very few fragments of amphoriskoi all have linear decoration.

Tripod cooking pots seem to have fallen out of use by Phase 3. Otherwise, the shapes represented in wheelmade

cooking pot ware are similar to those current in Phases 1 and 2.

L. Summary of general trends.

The most general trends of development in the LH IIIC pottery at Lefkandi can be summarised as follows. There is an initial phase containing little patterned material which, when it does occur, consists of spiraliform or other motifs which continue those of LH IIIB supplemented slightly later by the addition of a very few new ornaments of simple type such as tassel and scroll. The middle phase sees a period of exuberant decoration, particularly on kraters, but also on other shapes such as stirrup-jars, jugs and deep bowls. This takes the form of lively pictorial and imaginative abstract styles of decoration, and is accompanied by the introduction of reserved lines and reserved areas which enliven the sombre appearance of monochrome vases. In the final stages, this period of effusive decoration is followed by something of a come-down, in a return to monochrome decoration and the simplest of patterns. There is, throughout all the phases, an increasing use of monochrome coating and monochrome interiors.

As far as shapes are concerned, several trends are apparent. Phase 1 sees the introduction of one or two new shapes not known in LH IIIB, in particular the carinated cup, the painted conical kylix (especially FS 275), and the carinated tripod cooking pot. Other

shapes, such as cups and the large closed vessels, which before were normally left unpainted, now commonly have linear decoration. Phase 2 brings a distinct increase in the range of shapes in use, with conical bowls, trefoil-lipped jugs, trays and decorated kalathoi being added to the repertoire for the first time. Phase 3, on the other hand, produces only a limited number of shapes. None of these are new, and several of the old ones appear to have dropped out of use altogether.

One of the most consistent trends can be seen in the development of those shapes which were presumably used as drinking vessels. Cups, which in Phases 1 and 2a represent some 19% of the total pottery, are already fast declining in number in Phase 2b, and are practically non-existent in Phase 3. Kylikes, too, decline steadily in number from Phase 1 on. Conversely, conical bowls start in Phase 2a, and are particularly numerous in Phase 3. By this stage they have almost certainly taken over the function of the earlier cups and kylikes.

In fabrics, the most obvious trend can be seen in the increasing use of white ware, which begins to occur as a fabric for certain shapes at the end of Phase 2, and is most characteristic of Phase 3 during which some 40-50% of vessels are produced in it. The period of its maximum use, in the latest stage of LH IIIC at Lefkandi, coincides with a more general decline in the quality of fabric and paint.

M. <u>The pottery in a wider context: Euboea, Boeotia, Southern Thessaly and Kea</u>.

Although Lefkandi is the only settlement site of LH IIIC date to have been excavated in Euboea, other contemporary sites are known on the island. Chief among these are Amarynthos, which also lies on the south coast of Euboea, just east of Eretria, and Psakhna in Central Euboea, in the wide plain which lies to the north of Chalcis. Pottery collected from these sites is, as far as can be seen, identical in every way to that of Lefkandi. At Amarynthos and Psakhna it appears to cover the phases of LH IIIC at least down to Phase 2. Lip band cups, linear and monochrome deep bowls and kylikes, and large closed vessels are represented; and there is evidence for the innovations of Phase 2, such as reserved lines, twisted handles, and elaborately decorated kraters. It is not clear whether either of these sites continue into Phase 3, since this phase is not easily distinguishable in surface sherding. However, both sites do produce some white ware (cf. Sackett et al. 1966)[37]. The sherd material from both Amarynthos and Psakhna suggests that, though there was occupation here in both LH IIIA and B, the real importance of the sites, as at Lefkandi, belongs to the LH IIIC period.

Several of the main Mycenaean sites of Central Boeotia seem to be abandoned sometime towards the end of the LH IIIB period. This is true of Gla, Eutresis, and possibly Orchomenos. At Thebes, while some of the

tombs of the Kolonaki cemetery produce LH IIIC pottery which has similarities to that of both Euboea and Attica and which probably continues down to the end of LH IIIC, so far no material of this date has been found on the acropolis itself. In contrast, however, to the apparent scarcity of LH IIIC settlement in the interior of Boeotia[38], there is a group of sites clustered on or near the coast opposite Euboea at the point where the Euboean Gulf narrows between Chalcis and the Mainland, surveys of which have yielded LH IIIC pottery of a type indistinguishable from that of Lefkandi. A small selection of sherds collected by D. French (1972), and now in the collection of the British School at Athens shows that at Eleon, Aulis (Vlicha) and Dramesi pottery similar to that of all the Lefkandi phases, including some white ware, is present, while at Anthedon and Khalia are features characteristic of at least Lefkandi Phase 1 (Figs. 158). As at the Euboean sites, there is some evidence to suggest that, while there was LH IIIB, and sometimes LH IIIA, occupation at most of these sites, their period of greatest importance may have been in LH IIIC (cf. D. French 1972).

At Volos, on the head of the Gulf of Pagasae, extensive excavations took place in the 1950s and 1960s. So far, only a small amount of pottery from this site has been illustrated in preliminary reports, and the history of its occupation is still unclear. However, there is every indication that it was an important centre in the LH IIIC period. A large building there, built in LH II and rebuilt in LH IIIB, was destroyed

by fire probably sometime around the end of LH IIIB. The illustrated pottery from its floors consists mainly of unpainted kylikes (Theochares 1956, figs. 48-9). However, quantities of LH IIIC pottery have been found on the site, and this seems almost identical with that from Lefkandi Phases 1 and 2 (Popham and Milburn 1971, 348). It includes lip band cups, monochrome deep bowls, painted conical kylikes, carinated tripod cooking pots, and large closed vessels with tassel decoration. Also present are conical bowls, and kraters decorated in a pictorial style very like that of Lefkandi, with warriors, goats and fish, and with applied rope ridges below the rim. A high cylindrical pyxis with high loop handles and legs, decorated in an elaborate abstract style, is paralleled by a large fragment from Lefkandi Phase 2 (Fig. 160). The fabric of this pottery seems virtually indistinguishable from that of Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, 348)[39].

So far at Volos there is no suggestion of white ware; the LH IIIC buildings are said to lie immediately below a Protogeometric stratum. The excavator found no evidence for a break in occupation at the site, and suggested that the latest LH IIIC pottery there evolves straight into the local Protogeometric style. However, the possibility remains that there was in fact a gap in occupation.

At nearby Pevkakia, which also lies on the small coastal plain at the head of the Gulf of Pagasae, there are reports of LH IIIC pottery similar to that of Lefkandi.

At Pherai, about 15km. inland from Volos, some LH IIIC pottery has recently been found. It too appears to have similarities to that of Lefkandi (cf. Kakavogiannis 1977, fig. 5).

At Aghia Irini on the island of Kea, which lies off the Attic coast to the south of Euboea, pottery all but indistinguishable from that of Lefkandi Phases 2b-3 is associated with the last use of the Late Bronze Age temple. This pottery includes several pieces of white ware, almost identical in fabric and decoration to those of Lefkandi (Caskey 1972)[40]. Neck-handled. amphorae and conical bowls are among the shapes which the island shares with the later stages of Lefkandi. Although the temple had a long complicated history which continued throughout the LH IIIC period, little has as yet been illustrated which belongs to a stage of LH IIIC earlier than the final use of the building. However, a deep bowl with elaborate panel and antithetic spiral decoration, and kylikes with multiple reserved lines show that here too the characteristics of the elaborate 2a phase at Lefkandi were adopted. The linear cups and monochrome deep bowls still found among the latest pottery from the temple presumably, as at Lefkandi, have a long history on the island, going back to the beginning of LH IIIC or the final stages of LH IIIB[41].

It thus appears that, in the LH IIIC period, there was a thriving community of sites, dotted along the shores of the Euboean Gulf and the Gulf of Pagasae and on the nearby island of Kea, which shared a common style of pottery, and at which common changes in the

development of that pottery took place. The appearance of white ware, at least at the Euboean and Boeotian sites and on Kea, may suggest that the same clay sources or even the same workshops served a fairly wide area.

As we shall see, the sites of Perati in Eastern Attica and to a lesser extent Asine in the Southern Argolid also shared in many of the characteristics of the LH IIIC pottery of these coastal sites. The evidence of Perati in particular will reveal further flung affinities, with the islands of the Central and East Aegean, which may already be apparent in such features of mid-LH IIIC at Lefkandi as the conical bowl, the tray and the high cylindrical pyxis.

N. Comparison between the LH IIIC pottery of Lefkandi and Mycenae.

Since Lefkandi and Mycenae are the only settlement sites for which detailed statistical information on the LH IIIC pottery is so far available, it is worthwhile pausing here to consider those aspects of the pottery which are similar or different at the two sites. Such a comparison may offer some clue as to the sorts of variation which may be expected to occur at other sites where less detailed information is available, while at the same time suggesting certain general trends which may well have much wider validity.

On the whole, the general trends at both sites are remarkably similar. At both there is an initial stage

in which patterned decoration is restricted to a small number of shapes, and in which patterns, when they do occur, consist mainly of simple motifs, or motifs which continue those of LH IIIB. Both sites then go through a middle stage of exuberant decoration which develops quite rapidly and is found on a much wider range of shapes than before, and which is based on some completely new motifs and new decorative ideas. At the same time, the total range of shapes is widened by the introduction of new vessel types. Finally, in the last stages of LH IIIC at both Mycenae and Lefkandi, there is something of a recession, seen in a more limited range of shapes, and in a return to the simplest of patterns. At both sites there is an increasing use of monochrome coating and monochrome interiors which progresses steadily throughout LH IIIC; and at both a similar trend can be seen in the gradual disappearance of unpainted shapes.

Many of the innovations in shape and decoration which occur in the LH IIIC of Lefkandi correlate approximately, though not always in detail, with successive developments at Mycenae. This is particularly true of the early phases when, it seems, the Argolid and Euboea may have maintained the ceramic links which still existed, at least to some extent in late LH IIIB (cf. Sherratt 1980, fig. 10). Roughly speaking, Phase 1a covers the sequence represented at Mycenae by the Earliest and Tower phases, with features such as lip band cups, linear or Medium band deep bowls, large closed vessels with slightly hollowed rims, carinated and square-

legged tripod cooking pots, and coarse handmade ware already present in the first of these phases at Mycenae, and others, such as carinated cups, and monochrome deep bowls and conical kylikes, not attested until the Tower phase.

Phase 1b has similarities with both the Tower and Developed phases at Mycenae. The monochrome deep bowls and linear kylikes cover both of these phases, although innovations such as tassel and scroll patterns and crossed loops on the handles of large closed vessels appear somewhat later there. Indeed, the latter two forms of decoration do not become popular at Mycenae until the Advanced phase.

Phase 2a which brings the introduction of elaborate decoration, reserved lines, and new shapes such as the trefoil-lipped jug and decorated kalathos, has obvious parallels in the Developed and Advanced phases at Mycenae. "Necklace"-pattern, however, which first appears round the necks of jugs and amphorae in Phase 2a at Lefkandi, do not occur at Mycenae until the Latest phase, and then only rarely.

The wavy line decorations on kraters, jugs and jars which belong to Phases 2b and 3 at Lefkandi find some parallels in the Latest phase at Mycenae.

While the similarities, both in overall trends and the introduction of common features at both sites, are impressive, there are certain differences. These consist partly in the absence of certain shapes and

decorative schemes between one site and the other, and partly in the relative emphasis placed on different vessel types. The differences become particularly apparent in the final stage of LH IIIC at each site.

As far as shapes are concerned, one of the most conspicuous features which Mycenae produces and Lefkandi lacks is the linear decorated shallow angular bowl. This shape, which is one of the main features of the Advanced phase at Mycenae, is totally absent at Lefkandi, although its forerunners, the rounded bowl with horizontal strap handles and linear decoration, and the unpainted shallow angular bowl which is found at many sites in LH IIIB, occur in Phase 1a contexts. On the other hand, Lefkandi's conical bowls, which start in Phase 2 and are particularly numerous in Phase 3, are very rare at Mycenae. The two shapes may well have been used for much the same purposes. The conical bowls, together with other shapes such as the rare amphoroid krater and high cylindrical pyxis shapes which appear to be absent at Mycenae, may, as we shall see, reflect Lefkandi's rather closer links in mid-LH IIIC with the islands of the East and Central Aegean.

While cups with linear decoration are known at both sites, their relative popularity clearly differs (cf. Fig. 155). In Phases 1 and 2a at Lefkandi, lip band cups represent some 19% of the total pottery, even allowing for possible confusion between fragments of these and of deep bowls. There is little sign that they were ever so important at Mycenae, even in the Earliest phase which produces the greatest number of

cup fragments. Instead, in the early phases at Mycenae, small deep bowls and other small bowl shapes, including rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles, probably served as the main decorated drinking vessels. In Phase 2a at Lefkandi, which is the last phase to produce large numbers of cups, small deep bowls first make their appearance; and in Phase 2b, when the number of cups has declined significantly, one-handled deep bowls and conical bowls become prominent features. By the time Phase 3 is reached, the conical bowls have clearly taken over the function of cups. A similar pattern, but with different results, can be seen at Mycenae, where, in the Developed and Advanced phases, shallow angular bowls and small deep bowls, particularly "negative" deep bowls, displace the earlier small bowl shapes. Kylikes, like cups, die out at Lefkandi by the end of Phase 2b. Although never so numerous as cups, they do seem to be more popular there than at Mycenae.

There are similarities in decoration between the two sites throughout most of the period. Tassels and scrolls on the shoulders and vertical wavy bands and crosses on the handles of large closed vessels, reserved lines and bases, elaborate decoration consisting of a similar range of individual motifs, experiments with plastic decoration, and several other features are common to both, though the sequence of their appearance is not always directly comparable. Nevertheless, there are some differences, particularly in the varying deployment of a common stock of decorative elements, which reflect differing tastes and possibly differing degrees and directions of external contact. This can perhaps be

seen most clearly in Lefkandi Phase 2 and the Developed and Advanced phases at Mycenae, phases which in some sense also see perhaps the greatest similarities. These similarities apply not only to the general proliferation of elaborate and pictorial decoration and of new shapes, but also to details of ornament. Plastic rope ridges, animal head krater handles, animal protomes[42], added white paint, the occasional use of bichrome, individual motifs such as antithetic tongues, scale triangles, concentric semicircles, elaborately filled antithetic spirals, concentric arc birds and goats occur at both sites. However, despite the existence of many of the same elements and of the same imaginative approach to composition, there is, for instance, no true Close Style at Lefkandi, and much greater emphasis is placed on the somewhat cruder but nonetheless lively, open pictorial style found on kraters, and, to a lesser extent also on the use of reserved pattern elements which will assume greater importance below in the discussion of the LH IIIC of other regions (e.g. Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 55:3, middle). Even in its "closest" decorative schemes Lefkandi never quite matches the detailed, almost finicky precision of Close Style vases, and there is generally less patience for covering the entire decorated area of a pot with zigzags, scale triangles, arcs rosettes and whirls of one sort or another. Symptomatic of this, is Lefkandi's penchant for short squiggly lines (Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 36; Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 55:1,3-4), which are always, somehow, much more untidy looking than the precise zigzags characteristic of the Close Style.

Equally striking, is the absence at Lefkandi of the exuberant use of multiple reserved lines on deep bowls, often combined with dotted rims, and of the "negative" deep bowls which are found in the Advanced phase at Mycenae. At Lefkandi the use of reserved lines is limited to at most one inside the rim and perhaps a couple on the lower bodies of deep bowls. At Mycenae, the use of multiple reserved lines, dotted rims and "negative" decoration extends to deep bowls decorated in the contemporary Close Style, and the same workshops are probably responsible for both.

A comparison between Lefkandi Phase I and the early phases at Mycenae also shows varying emphasis on some minor features rather than a fundamentally different range of shapes and decorations. The stronger preference of the Lefkandiots for cups and kylikes in Phase 1 has already been mentioned; but there are also some minor differences in the decoration of deep bowls. On the whole, pattern decorated deep bowls are more common at Mycenae; and the decoration of linear deep bowls also differs slightly. The majority of linear deep bowls at Lefkandi are provided with a band or bands round the belly and the base as well as at the rim, while at Mycenae simpler decoration of a single band at the rim is clearly more popular[43]. On jugs, amphorae and hydriae, the characteristic thick-thin-thick banding of Lefkandi's Phase 1b is not apparent at Mycenae.

Phase 3 at Lefkandi and the Latest phase at Mycenae

are characterised by fewer innovations which can be used as a measure of similarity. Each resembles the other in that it is basically a limited continuation of what has gone before, characterised by a circumscribed range of shapes and by simple decoration. A major difference arises in the decoration of deep bowls. Lefkandi, so far, has produced no sign of deep bowls with a narrow reserved zone between the handles, sometimes filled with a horizontal wavy line or zigzag. These are particularly important in the Argolid as a type which persists right through from the Latest phase at Mycenae to the Protogeometric period. At Lefkandi too they are a characteristic of the early Protogeometric pottery (Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 53).

Since it is clear that we are dealing throughout with entirely separate production centres, it is not surprising that there should be differences in the fabric from the two sites. The Lefkandi pottery, though generally of reasonably good manufacture, rarely reaches the superb quality of some of the mid-LH IIIC and much of the LH IIIA and B pottery of Mycenae. It is distinguished from that of Mycenae by its consistently darker surface colour. While in this respect the fabric of the Phase 1 pottery at Lefkandi also differs somewhat from the LH IIIB found at the site, there is less evidence for the deterioration and variation in fabric quality which marks the earliest phases at Mycenae. On the other hand, the great improvement in some fabric and paint which characterises the Advanced phase pottery at Mycenae has no parallel in Lefkandi

Phase 2, during which fabrics remain of much the same quality as in Phase 1. The final phases at both sites, however, do reveal a comparable deterioration in the treatment and firing of fabric and the quality and application of paint.

Both sites produce small quantities of coarse handmade fabric, one of the more notable features of the early LH IIIC period. This fabric itself varies, in texture, degree of firing, surface treatment, and the shapes for which it is used; and it is possible that more than one phenomenon is contained within this category, with correspondingly different explanations for their presence (cf. Appendix II). Whereas at Lefkandi coarse handmade fabric seems to be found principally, though probably not entirely, in the Phase 1 levels, at Mycenae it appears to occur as a constantly small proportion of the total pottery throughout the LH IIIC period.

Lefkandi's white ware, on the other hand, is not known from Mycenae, although it finds a certain parallel in the "oatmeal" fabric which is used there, like white ware at Lefkandi, primarily for kraters and large closed vessels. At Mycenae, however, hydriae, jugs and amphorae in this fabric are found throughout the LH IIIC levels (although rather more frequently in the later phases), and by the Developed phase kraters too are generally made in the same fabric. The reasons for the choice of these fabrics for the larger, heavier shapes are probably at least partly technical, and one may doubt whether the increasing use of white ware in the final phases at Lefkandi is entirely due to deliberate

preference. Neither fabric nor paint of most white ware vessels has much to recommend it, and the impression given is one of bad firing and often thin washy paint.

The accompanying diagrams (Figs. 161-4) help to summarise the main points which arise from this comparison. The sequence of development at each site is very similar, even though the separate phases of each do not always correlate exactly. Differences in terms of the complete absence at one site of features well represented at the other exist, but are few; most of the other dissimilarities are ones of emphasis, as in the case of cups, or of differing use of elements known to both, as in the case of reserved lines. Only in the final phases (Phase 3 at Lefkandi, the Latest phase at Mycenae) does the pottery of the two sites diverge to any great extent.

Thus the pottery at both Lefkandi and Mycenae can conveniently be divided into three main stages of development, during which the general pattern at each is remarkably similar. As will be seen, this basic three stage pattern, with modifications, is repeated in the pottery of other regions of the Mycenaean world during the LH IIIC period. There is a first stage when LH IIIC can be seen emerging, under varying influences, from the LH IIIB pottery which precedes it. In the case of Mycenae and Lefkandi the similarities during this stage can, in many respects, be explained in terms of a somewhat debased continuation of LH IIIB, but with the addition of some innovations common to both. There is a second stage of fundamental change, during which the main tendency to

innovation and elaboration, if not the details are shared. Finally, there is a third stage, during which the pottery of different regions goes more and more its own way. In the case of Mycenae and Lefkandi in particular this is a time when the pottery of each site sinks gradually into its own reduced version of what precedes it.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. See note 2 below, however, on the rim profile of the monochrome deep bowl (Sherratt 1980, fig. 7).
2. The rim profile of Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 8:4, and of the monochrome deep bowl (Sherratt 1980, fig. 7) differs from LH IIIC deep bowl profiles, however.
3. The figures for Phase 1a are drawn from a total of 358 registered pots and fragments recorded on feature charts designed by Popham and Milburn (1971, cf. 334 and figs. 9-14). As a result it represents only a proportion of the total sherds recovered. The pots and fragments consist of 76 amphorae, 1 amphoriskos, 75 cups, 132 deep bowls, 15 hydriae, 2 jugs, 21 kraters, 34 kylikes, 2 stirrup-jars. Since jugs, amphorae and hydriae are not readily distinguishable unless the position of their handles is known, ambiguous fragments were included with amphorae; the cups include 14 carinated. Other information comes from batches which were not considered worth recording on feature charts.
4. Plain cups include one or two examples only of the angular variety shown in Fig. 104b.
5. Cf. Mycenae (Tower phase) and Korakou (Rutter 1974, 64 no. 7) where there are also handleless examples.
6. For similar examples, cf. Mycenae, Tiryns, Korakou, Teichos Dymaion, Athens.

7. Cf. Mycenae.

8. Cf. deep bowls from the Earliest rather than the Tower phase at Mycenae.

9. The handles of cups and kylikes of Phase 1 date are also similarly decorated.

10. Some of these fragments may come from collar-necked jars (FS 63, FS 64): there is at least one collar-necked rim preserved.

11. Cf. similar fragments from the early phases of LH IIIC at Mycenae.

12. Cf. similar cooking pots from both Iria and Athens. For a description of the standard wheelmade cooking pot ware, cf. Döhl 1973.

13. For a description of this fabric, cf. above, chapter 3, and Rutter 1975.

14. Figures for Phase 1b based on 702 registered pots and recorded fragments: 91 amphorae, 5 semiglobular bowls (some possibly from contaminated contexts), 133 cups (10 carinated), 297 deep bowls, 39 hydriae, 20 jugs, 48 kraters, 62 kylikes, 7 stirrup-jars.

15. Cf. also Athens for this type of unpainted cup in LH IIIC.

16. There are unpainted LH IIIB examples from Mycenae and other Argive sites (cf. Wardle 1969, FS 288). In LH IIIC this shape is also found at Perati, and on Rhodes (FS 289).

17. For similar examples cf. e.g. Mycenae, Iria and Athens.

18. Cf. Iria and Athens.

19. Figures for Phase 2a based on 1,229 registered pots and recorded fragments: 179 amphorae, 28 conical bowls, 243 cups (11 carinated), 423 deep bowls, 49

hydriae, 38 jugs, 184 kraters, 66 kylikes, 19 stirrup-jars.

20. Cf. Perati, the Dodecanese and Crete. This style of decoration (but painted rather than dipped) also occurs on kylikes: cf. Fig. 131a; also Athens and Asine.

21. Cf. Wace et al. 1921-23, fig. 11d; Mylonas 1966, pl. 38 (from a decorated carinated cup).

22. These handles are often accompanied by firing holes at top and bottom. Hydria belly handles and krater handles of all phases at Lefkandi often also have firing holes.

23. Cf. Phase 2b.

24. Antithetic motifs include particularly antithetic tongues (cf. FM 62:32ff.) and spirals, also found on deep bowls and other shapes. Elaborate panels consist, for example, of zigzags, concentric arcs and semicircles, bivalve shells and fringes.

25. This fragment may be unique at Lefkandi. However, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, direct links between Lefkandi and the Eastern and Central Aegean (including Kos) can probably also be seen in other aspects of the Lefkandi pottery.

26. Cf. especially kalathoi in the Dodecanese, at Miletus, on Chios and on Naxos.

27. Cf. similar examples from Athens.

28. Similar close packed horizontal chevron decoration is also a notable feature of closed vases from Perati.

29. For the rope decoration, cf. contemporary kraters; both rope ridges and relief bands with indented thumbprints occur on pithoi at Mycenae and other

sites from LH IIIB onwards (cf. also Appendix II).

30. Figures for Phase 2b based on 822 registered pots and recorded fragments: 137 amphorae, 35 conical bowls, 108 cups (1 carinated), 325 deep bowls, 26 hydriae, 41 jugs, 106 kraters, 20 kylikes, 14 stirrup-jars.

31. Mr Popham has expressed doubts as to whether these are contemporary with the rest of the Phase 2b pottery. However, there seems little reason to doubt it, particularly as Lefkandi produces remarkably little upcast material in successive LH IIIC levels. Cf. also Rutter 1979; and Appendix II.

32. Cf. e.g. Asine.

33. Figures drawn from 564 pots and recorded fragments: 96 amphorae, 2 amphoriskoi, 71 conical bowls, 59 cups, 207 deep bowls, 26 hydriae, 29 jugs, 63 kraters, 5 kylikes, 6 stirrup-jars.

34. Figures for Phase 3 based on 686 pots and sherds: 109 amphorae, 4 amphoriskoi, 91 conical bowls, 11 cups, 257 deep bowls, 33 hydriae, 33 jugs, 81 kraters, 8 kylikes, 9 stirrup-jars.

35. The norm is simple linear decoration of a band at the foot, two on the body, and sometimes one on the lip; monochrome in with reserved spot at the base.

36. These also have a reserved line inside the rim.

37. In sherd collection or British School at Athens: white ware krater sherd with spiral decoration in matt red paint from Psakhna (Fig. 157b); white ware amphora sherd from Amarynthos (Fig. 156c).

38. An exception to this appears to be Kalami, to the

north-west of Thebes (Hope Simpson 1965, no. 411). Sherds from this site may belong to an early stage of LH IIIC (D. French 1972; sherds in the British School at Athens).

39. Lip band cup with monochrome interior on display in Volos Museum; fragments of similar cups with linear and monochrome interiors in sherd collection of British School at Athens (Fig. 159b). Monochrome deep bowl fragments in sherd collection, British School (Fig. 159a). Painted conical kylix fragment in British School sherd collection; unpainted conical kylikes on display in Volos Museum. Carinated cooking pot fragment in British School sherd collection (Fig. 159a). Pictorial kraters (Theochares 1960, figs. 4-5); other fragments on display in Volos Museum; cf. also Fig. 160 for abstract patterns. High cylindrical pyxis (Fig. 160b), on display in Volos Museum; cf. Fig. 143 from Lefkandi.

40. Cf. especially Caskey 1972, pl. 98:M5 (conical bowl), pl. 98:M12 (white ware neck-handled amphora), pl. 98:M15-7 (white ware kraters). With the exception of M17, which comes from Room V of the Temple and which may have been deposited slightly earlier than the others, these all come from Corridor VII where a group of pots shattered by the final collapse of the structure was found.

41. Caskey 1964, pl. 62b (deep bowl from Room IV); Caskey 1972, pl. 98:M1-2 (kylikes from small shrine BB). For monochrome deep bowls among LH IIIB pottery from the island, cf. Caskey 1972,

pl. 97:234.

42. Animal protomes have not, so far, been found at Lefkandi on the elaborately decorated carinated cups which occur only in the Argolid and Corinthia (examples from Mycenae, Tiryns, Asine and Korakou).

43. At each site the preferred form of decoration on these linear deep bowls continues into the middle phases of LH IIIC.

Chapter 5

Perati

A. Introduction.

The 219 tombs of the Perati cemetery, excavated and fully published by Professor Iakovides, provide a formidable amount of information about the nature and development of LH IIIC tomb pottery in Eastern Attica (Iakovides 1969). The value of the site lies not only in the quantity of pottery produced, and in its chronological range within the LH IIIC period, but also in the relative chronological scheme which Iakovides was able to construct, based on the sequence of building of some tombs and on evidence for superimposed burial strata in others (Iakovides 1969; cf. also 1979). Such stratigraphical or quasi-stratigraphical evidence from the cemetery is far from comprehensive, and stylistic considerations also played a large part in Iakovides' chronological divisions. Vases were assumed to be contemporary if they were either found together in one burial or stylistically similar although found in different tombs. Nevertheless, it was possible to arrange 224 vases from 39 groups into three phases covering the entire duration of the cemetery and based on stratigraphical evidence (cf. Iakovides 1969, III, pls. 187-90). This independent evidence that the site provides for the development of LH IIIC tomb pottery is of great value, particularly as the closed vessels

which make up over 77% of the total pots from the tombs are less well represented in stratified settlement sites.

The cemetery covers a period from the end of LH IIIB to an advanced stage of LH IIIC, though, as is suggested below, probably does not extend much into the latest stage of LH IIIC as known from certain other sites. Three phases are distinguished by Iakovides. The first two, judged by the number of tombs which were constructed during them, seem to have covered a considerable period of time. During Phase I 45 tombs, including 4 pit graves were built, 25 of which were still in use in the succeeding phase. During Phase II 63 new chamber tombs and 4 new pit graves were constructed. In Phase III only 8 new chamber tombs were built, while 6 of those constructed in Phase I, and 13 from Phase II, continued in use (Iakovides 1969)[1].

Iakovides has calculated that the entire cemetery probably covered some three or four generations, based on a figure of between 13 and 20 burials for each family in a population of around 30-40 families (Iakovides 1969, II). The period of a little more than a century which these calculations suggests is placed by Iakovides between c. 1190 and c. 1075 B.C. on the basis of comparisons with pottery and other objects with parallels elsewhere. There is little if anything from the cemetery itself which provides independent evidence for the absolute chronology of LH IIIC (cf. also Iakovides 1979)[2].

B. <u>The pottery (Iakovides 1969, II)</u>.

Stirrup-jars and amphoriskoi, which Iakovides considers may have served the purpose of perfume and unguent containers at the time of burial, together make up nearly 50% of all the vases from the tombs. Stirrup-jars are by far the more numerous; and these Iakovides divides into three groups on the basis of their decorative treatment. Other closed shapes include jugs, juglets, lekythoi, feeding bottles and straight-sided alabastra, with types such as hydriae, collar-necked jars, pyxides, askoi and flasks rather less well represented. Among open shapes, which are much less numerous, cups (8% of the total), deep bowls (6%) and conical kraters and kalathoi (4%) are the main types, while others such as mugs, conical bowls, kylikes and kraters are rarer. Almost all the pottery is painted: of this roughly half has patterned decoration, the rest, with linear or monochrome decoration, comprises mainly cups, jugs and deep bowls. The fabric is variable in appearance, though mostly carefully worked and well fired. There is only one vase in a coarse handmade fabric which resembles that found at Mycenae and Lefkandi (Iakovides 1969, III, pl. 45g)[3]. Clay colour varies from red or buff to greenish or yellow-white; many vases have a whitish or yellow slip. The paint is usually lustrous, though sometimes matt in appearance, and varies between brown, red and black in colour. There is only one vase with added white paint (Iakovides 1969, III, pl. 51b)[4], and no evidence for bichrome technique. A few vases, mainly large household vessels,

bear a resemblance to the white ware known from Lefkandi and Kea. On many of these, however, the white appearance is obtained by the use of a thickish slip, which is not the case at the other two sites (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, colour pl. Ib:611,635)[5]. Iakovides was in little doubt that the bulk of the pottery was produced in local workshops.

C. Phase I (Iakovides 1969, II).

The main shapes assigned by Iakovides to the first phase of tomb building are stirrup-jars, amphoriskoi, alabastra, jugs, juglets, lekythoi, cups and deep bowls. Decoration is generally fairly simple: monochrome, linear, or sparse patterned decoration consisting of motifs such as triglyphs (FM 75), flowers (FM 18C), diaper net (FM 57), and narrow horizontal patterns ("U"-pattern (FM 45), "V"-pattern (FM 59), "N"-pattern (FM 60), quirk (FM 48)) all of which have their roots firmly in LH IIIB.

Stirrup-jars belonging to this phase (Iakovides' Group I) are mainly globular in shape (FS 173, FS 174), though a few, probably towards the end of the phase, have a profile which slopes in more sharply towards the bottom. In addition, there are two examples of a piriform shape (FS 167) which are likely to be among the earliest vases in the cemetery[6]. Decoration on the handles usually consists of a monochrome coat with a reserved triangular patch at the top, or lines of paint down the edges; the top discs are flat and ornamented

with concentric circles or spirals. Sometimes a painted loop connects the false neck and spout. The shoulder area is treated as one single field, and decorated with simple circumcurrent patterns such as flowers (FM 18C), multiple stems (FM 19) or sea anemones (FM 27) (cf. Fig. 165). The bodies have arrangements of bands and fine line groups, with a single decorated body zone at the maximum diameter consisting, for example, of groups of vertical lines or vertical wavy lines. There is a band round the base, and occasionally linear decoration on the underside of the base. Many of these stirrup-jars are virtually indistinguishable from those of LH IIIB.

Amphoriskoi of this phase are mostly globular, with two or occasionally three horizontal loop handles and a short spreading neck (FS 59, FS 61). In addition there are a very few of more piriform shape (cf. FS 49) (Fig. 165), which have a stemmed foot like the piriform jars of LH IIIB[7]. Most have monochrome decoration, but some are decorated with simple patterns of an LH IIIB type: simple scale triangles (FM 42:21), "N"- or "V"-pattern (FM 59, FM 60), or foliate band (FM 64)[8].

The alabastra assigned to this phase are mostly of straight-sided type (FS 94, FS 96). However, also included are three of rounded type (FS 85, FS 86), rare in LH IIIC (Fig. 165) and six of a rare type with cylindrical body and stepped in base (FS 97). The latter is known mainly from the Dodecanese (Iakovides 1969, II, 209). Decoration on all these is simple, similar to that of

the amphoriskoi.

Most of the <u>jugs</u> assigned to this phase are of the usual domestic type. Few, however, have hollowed rims, but instead have a small rolled lip like those of LH IIIB and earlier periods (FS 105). In addition, there are four jugs of more globular shape (FS 110) which resemble a fairly common LH IIIB decorated type (Fig. 165). Most of the jugs have simple linear decoration, with a vertical wavy band on the handle, though the few globular ones have simple patterns on the shoulder.

A short-necked type of small jug or <u>juglet</u> (FS 114) occurs in this phase, as well as a few examples with a taller narrower neck (FS 115), a type which becomes more popular in the succeeding phase. These have simple linear decoration (Fig. 166).

<u>Lekythoi</u> are in use during the first phase of the cemetery, contrary to an earlier belief that this shape constituted one of the innovations of a late stage of LH IIIC (Desborough 1964, 11)[9]. The earlier are of a somewhat depressed globular shape (cf. FS 123) with maximum diameter halfway down the vase or below. The decoration on these is similar to that found on contemporary stirrup-jars and amphoriskoi; and consists of simple patterns (triglyphs (FM 75), joining semicircles (FM 42), or sea anemones (FM 27)) (Fig. 166).

<u>Cups</u> are mainly semiglobular of a type similar in shape to deep bowls (FS 215). Most are simply decorated with a monochrome interior, a band at the rim with

occasionally additional bands round the body (Fig. 166). Phase I also produces a few examples of a shallower cup type (FS 222) usual in LH IIIB. Like many of the LH IIIB cup types, these are unpainted. A very few cylindrical spouted cups (FS 252), unpainted or with linear decoration, occur in this and the succeeding phase[10].

Deep bowls (FS 284) assigned to this phase are monochrome (Fig. 165); a few only, probably among the latest, have a reserved base and lower body.

The bell-shaped conical kraters (FS 290) are mostly linear, some with simple patterns on the rim.

Only four kraters were found in the entire cemetery. Of these, one stemmed krater (FS 9, FS 10) with decoration of extremely degenerate circumcurrent whorls, and one deep bowl krater (FS 282) with circumcurrent flowers probably belong to this phase. Their decoration, though in a rather more degraded form, is typical of LH IIIB.

There is a single example of a semiglobular bowl with one handle (FS 242), a shape which in its conical version becomes slightly more popular in the succeeding phase. Like the early examples of this type from Lefkandi, this one is more semiglobular in profile than the later ones, and lacks their standardised decoration (Fig. 166).

In addition to these are a few rarities which are of interest for the light they appear to throw on the overseas connections of the cemetery at this early stage of its

history. Among them are an octopus stirrup-jar of early type which is almost certainly an import, possibly from the Dodecanese or Crete (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 67:300[11]; cf. Iacopi 1933, fig. 69; Popham 1967, pl. 80a-c), and a stirrup-jar with decoration of an eastern looking landscape scene which includes relatively realistic representations of ibex, palm tree, thickets and flocks of birds and covers almost the entire body of the vase (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 67:892)[12]. Both decoration and clay suggest that this vase may have come from west Crete. A kalathos (FS 291) with mourning figures on the rim, and with two excrescent cups, has closest parallels in the Dodecanese, on Naxos, and possibly also in Crete (Iakovides 1969, I, Tomb 5:65; cf. e.g. Desborough 1964, pl. 7a; Furumark 1941a, 70 note 8). A high cylindrical pyxis (Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 81-2:1114) from a tomb (no. 147) assigned to Phase I may also provide evidence for Cretan connections[13]. A feeding-bottle, squat in shape with narrow base and wide mouth and a handle at right angles to the spout (Iakovides 1969, III, pl. 68a:976) is considered by Iakovides to be an import, and is almost certainly of local Cypriot manufacture. Finally, a "candelabrum" of a type known in the Middle Cycladic culture, may be an heirloom imported originally from the Cyclades (Iakovides 1969, fig. 114:866).

In addition to these vases, a handful of other objects are listed by Iakovides as possible evidence of overseas contact during the first phase at Perati. These are a single amber bead, a Cretan sealstone, and amulets,

cartouches, scarabs, a cylinder seal, a sealstone and a weight, all of which may have come from Cyprus or, perhaps indirectly, from Egypt and the Near East.

D. Phase II (Iakovides 1969, II).

Phase II brings an extension of the range of shapes as compared with Phase I and includes almost all the vessel types represented in the cemetery. Trefoil-lipped jugs (FS 137, FS 138), legged pyxides (FS 99 or similar), lidded boxes (FS 12), and conical bowls (FS 242) make their first regular appearance, while other shapes, such as feeding bottles (FS 161, FS 162), ring askoi (FS 196) and multiple vases (FS 325-31), which are poorly represented in the first phase, are found rather more frequently. The predominantly globular profiles of Phase I stirrup-jars, amphoriskoi and lekythoi become more ovoid or biconical. Decoration, as in the middle phases of LH IIIC at Mycenae and Lefkandi, becomes elaborate; patterns include the highly stylised triangular flowers which are a speciality of Perati (cf. FM 18C:146f., FM 25:21-2), elaborate triangles (FM 71), concentric arcs (FM 44), triangles (FM 61A) and semicircles (FM 43), and pictorial motifs such as birds and fish. Wavy lines (FM 53) and "necklace"-pattern (FM 72:11-4) are first introduced during this phase, though they become more common in Phase III. Patterns which make use of reserved elements are, like the triangular flowers, especially characteristic of Perati in this phase, while reserved lines, mainly on amphoriskoi and deep bowls, are also found.

Stirrup-jars of Iakovides' second group mainly have their maximum diameter well above the midpoint of the body (FS 175) (Fig. 165). Handle decoration now usually consists of crosses or crossed loops, or more elaborate patterns; the top discs are conical and bear elaborate rosettes or groups of concentric semicircles as well as the simpler spirals or concentric circles found in Phase I. There is invariably a painted loop connecting the false neck with the spout. Decoration on the shoulders is rich, and makes use of the natural divisions between the handle and spout bases to form a tripartite scheme of ornamentation. The semicircular area opposite the spout carries the main decoration (for example of a central panel between antithetic flowers of triangular type (cf. e.g. FM 43:28)), while the quadrants between spout and handles are filled with secondary decoration, usually the same in each (for example flowers, cf. Fig. 165). Spirals, elaborate triangles, concentric semicircles, tongues, and pictorial designs occur, and several of the decorations are achieved by means of a reserving technique; motifs are often outlined by means of dot fringes. Bodies are decorated with arrangements of thick and thin bands (typical is two or three thin bands between two thick ones); decorated body zones are rarer, and are found just below the shoulder. These too consist of more elaborate patterns than before, often done in a reserving technique.

Most of the twenty or so octopus stirrup-jars from the Perati tombs are assigned to this phase. There is great diversity of style among them, and some may well be imports. A few of them have close parallels in Crete,

the Dodecanese[14], and Naxos. However, most of them are so similar to other stirrup-jars from Perati, in the general style of filling motifs between the octopus tentacles and in their shoulder decoration, that local manufacture is almost assured. Reserved versions of concentric arcs, or elaborate triangles are found on some[15], triangular flowers very similar to those of many other Perati stirrup-jars on the shoulders of others[16]. One in particular (Iakovides 1969, I, Tomb 15b:261) has often been remarked as typical of the fusion of Argive and Aegean elements to be seen in the pottery of Perati (cf. Desborough 1964, 13). The arrangement of Close Style elements on the shoulder of this vase is probably unique at the site, where true Close Style vases are unknown. However, it was almost certainly an Attic potter who was responsible for this fusion of styles[17].

Amphoriskoi of this phase are mostly monochrome, enlivened by reserved lines, though some have shoulder decoration which is rather more elaborate than that of Phase I (Fig. 165). Elaborate decoration is also found on juglets, lekythoi, and some straight-sided alabastra, though the latter shape is generally less popular than in the preceding phase. Jugs now have distinctly hollowed rims, and a few shoulder decorations of scroll (FM 48:3), "necklace"- (FM 72:12-3), or tassel (FM 72) patterns occur (Fig. 165)[18]. A few jugs also have twisted handles, as does one of the three strainer jugs (FS 155) from the cemetery which, from its shoulder decoration, probably belongs in this phase (Iakovides 1969, III, pl. 102g:280)[19]. Patterned decoration on

the new trefoil-lipped jugs is more frequent and more elaborate than on the domestic jugs, and two of them have an elegant high-swung handle like examples from Mycenae (FS 138) (Iakovides 1969, I, Tomb 13:218, Tomb 36:417). "Necklace"-pattern and wavy lines are found on several of these (Fig. 165), as on some juglets, alabastra, and lekythoi.

Three of the four or five lentoid flasks (FS 186) are from tombs assigned to Phases II or III, though the type may have appeared at Perati during Phase I (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, 249). Most of these are decorated simply, with concentric circles, wavy bands down the edges, and barred handles. Flasks of similar shape in LH IIIC are known from the Cyclades, Chios, Tarsus, and the Dodecanese.

The eight boxes (FS 12) with shallow cylindrical body and convex topped lid, which first appear in Phase II, are of a type virtually unknown except here and in the Dodecanese[20]. They are richly decorated, with elaborate reserved patterns, flowers and concentric arcs.

A new class of cup decorated with large solid semicircles which cover most of both the exterior and interior first appears during this phase. This decoration was probably produced by dipping each side of the rim in the paint, then swirling the paint round the curved surfaces. A similar technique was often employed by Minoan potters, and is found at Karphi on a jug as well as on cups (Seiradaki 1960, 20). It is also found in the Dodecanese (Iacopi 1932-33, fig. 159). On the

Greek Mainland it is so far peculiar to Perati and Lefkandi, though solid semicircles of similar appearance, but produced by painting rather than dipping, are also found on the exteriors only of kylikes from Lefkandi, Athens (Broneer 1939, fig. 57h), and Asine (Furumark 1944, fig. 4:2A).

A very few <u>deep bowls</u> have patterned decoration, such as antithetic tongue (FM 19:42ff.) or elaborate spiral motifs. Some with reserved lines are also found, though these become rather more popular in the succeeding phase (Fig. 165). Reserved lines are also found on the very few <u>kylikes</u> (FS 275) which the cemetery has produced.

In this phase <u>kalathoi</u> (FS 291), with a more conical or concave body profile, take the place of the bell-shaped conical kraters (Fig. 166). These mostly have monochrome interiors and bands outside, with a range of elaborate patterns on the rim. A single <u>stemmed krater</u> (FS 9) (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 111:875) with antithetic spiral decoration is assigned to this phase. The continuation of this shape beyond the end of LH IIIB is unusual on the Greek Mainland, though not in the Dodecanese[21].

Finally, there are the <u>conical bowls</u> which in this phase are distinctly conical in shape, and have fairly standardised decoration of a monochrome interior and a lip and sometimes body band on the outside.

Objects assigned to Phase II and probably imported from across the Aegean include faience scarabs, amulets, weights, earrings, a glass vase, an iron pin, a knife with duck's head, and a cylinder seal, for which origins in Cyprus, Syria or Egypt seem likely. An octopus stirrup-jar (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 66:198)[22] may be an import from the Dodecanese or Crete; a Fringed Style stirrup-jar (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 75) seems most likely to be a Cretan import; while Iakovides has suggested a Naxian origin for yet another stirrup-jar (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 76). At the same time, evidence of export of vases from Eastern Attica contemporary with Perati Phases II and III can be seen in the Dodecanese (see below, chapter 8) and possibly also on Naxos.

E. Phase III (Iakovides 1969, II).

Pottery assigned to Phase III consists of a limited amount of material, often hard to distinguish from that of the preceding phase. During this phase both lekythoi and trefoil-lipped jugs appear to become more popular than before, while new shapes include a small collar-necked amphoriskos (cf. FS 64) with a high base and often with plastic knobs on the shoulder, and a single belly-handled amphora. Shapes of stirrup-jars, amphoriskoi, and lekythoi are almost all biconical, often with high feet. Decoration on some vases, particularly stirrup-jars, is denser, covering a greater part of the total surface area: bands become broader, some almost qualifying to be called areas of monochrome

(cf. Furumark 1941a, 427-8). Motifs are generally more angular and highly stylised, while backgrounds tend to be densely filled. Other vases, particularly amphoriskoi and lekythoi, have more frugal decorative schemes, consisting of such simple patterns as wavy lines and "necklace"-pattern already introduced in the preceding phase.

Stirrup-jars assigned to this phase (Iakovides' Group III) continue to have handle decoration that is similar to that of the preceding phase, though a new pattern of framed vertical wavy lines now also appears; top discs are often sharply pointed. The painted loop between the spout and false neck remains. The decoration on the shoulder area is divided up in the same way as on stirrup-jars of Group II; but the ornament tends to be more closely packed and more elaborate with a variety of accessory motifs. Concentric semicircles, triangular flowers, and outlined scale triangles (FM 42:28ff.) remain very popular (Fig. 165). On a very few stirrup-jars, however, simpler circumcurrent shoulder decoration, of concentric semicircles, cross-hatched or concentric triangles is found; and these are almost certainly among the latest from the cemetery. Decorated body zones are, on the whole, more frequent than in the preceding phase, though only rarely is there more than one on a vase. Banding covers more of the body than previously, and some stirrup-jars have large areas of monochrome from shoulder to base.

On amphoriskoi, including the new collar-necked variety,

barred handles and simple decoration such as "necklace"-pattern, wavy lines or concentric semicircles are found (Fig. 165), though the most common decoration continues to be monochrome with reserved lines. The same patterns are found on lekythoi, juglets and jugs (both domestic and trefoil-lipped). Particularly on the latter, a decoration which combines "necklace"-pattern with antithetic spirals or "whiskers" is found (FM 72:11) (Fig. 165). Straight-sided alabastra are very much rarer than before, and their function has presumably been taken over by the various types of amphoriskoi.

The single belly-handled amphora (cf. FS 58:2) (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 114:590), decorated with "necklace"-pattern and wavy lines, is remarkably similar to one from Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 260). Apart from Achaea where a similar shape is found among the idiosyncratic pottery from some of the tombs, this shape is usually assigned to the Submycenaean period on the Greek Mainland (as in the Deiras cemetery at Argos or the Kerameikos graves, cf. Desborough 1972, fig. 3). In some of the Aegean islands, however, as we shall see, its development from a relatively early stage of LH IIIC can probably be traced (below, chapters 8 and 11).

The cups with solid semicircle decoration continue in this phase, as do cups with linear decoration. On deep bowls, the main decoration remains monochrome with reserved lines (generally one at the rim inside, and one round the exterior body), though several have linear decoration on the outside combined with a dotted

rim (Fig. 165). These resemble the "negative" deep bowls found at Mycenae, though they are without multiple reserved lines in the interior. The decoration of conical bowls continues as in the previous phase.

Vases and other objects assigned to Phase III suggest that the overseas contacts of the cemetery, seen particularly strongly in Phase II, continue in this phase. Iakovides suggests that a legged pyxis (Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 81-2:961) decorated with horizontal wavy lines may have been imported from Rhodes, and some vases very similar to ones from Perati Phase III were probably imported to the Dodecanese (below, chapter 8). An iron knife is suggested to be of ultimate Syrian origin; while a double spiralled ring is attributed to Central Europe (cf. also Desborough 1972, 82).

F. Discussion

i. Particular characteristics of Perati

Many of the shapes and decorative elements of the Perati pottery have much in common with those from other LH IIIC sites. However, there are certain characteristics distinctive of the site, particularly in the style of decoration. Several individual motifs are found only at Perati. These, which normally appear on a very limited number of vases, are presumably the short lived inventions of local potters[23].

In addition to these there are certain distinct styles of decoration characteristic of the site which occur particularly in Phases II and III. Chief among these is an elaborate reserved style in which the Perati potters made use of a reserving or quasi-reserving technique in order to transform motifs and compositions common to many areas during the elaborate period of mid-LH IIIC into a decorative style that is especially characteristic of the site (Fig. 167). This style of decoration appears on countless richly decorated vases, including many of the octopus stirrup-jars. Motifs so treated include semicircles, concentric arcs, elaborate triangles, rosettes, panels, fish and birds, most of which form part of the common stock of mid-LH IIIC elaborate styles, including the true Close Style.

The other main characteristic of decoration at Perati is the very extensive use of the flower motif which here continues down to an advanced stage of LH IIIC (Phase III) by which time most other regions seem to have abandoned it. Starting with the circumcurrent flowers on the shoulders of stirrup-jars of Phase I, which are in many cases virtually indistinguishable from those of LH IIIB, the Perati potters went on to develop the motif into a stylised and elaborate triangular version which is found as an element of some of the most elaborate decorative schemes, often in antithetic arrangements. These flowers, sometimes even executed in a reserving technique, are found on over 100 vases, mainly stirrup-jars, but also on lekythoi, amphoriskoi, alabastra, composite vessels, pyxides etc.

Use of a reserving technique in LH IIIC pottery is also found in Cyprus (Dikaios 1969, pl. 309) and, occasionally, in the Dodecanese (Iacopi 1932-33, Tomb 47:5b; Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 60). It is also a fairly frequent feature of LM IIIC pottery (cf. Furumark 1944, figs. 7:6, 9:2; Seiradaki 1960, figs. 22, 24, 26). On the Greek Mainland it is most typical of Eastern Attica and of the unpublished chamber tombs on the island of Salamis (Davaris 1965) where the pottery is virtually indistinguishable from that of Perati[24], though it is also found at Athens (Graef and Langlotz 1909, pls. 7:212, 9:273; Kraiker and Kübler 1939, pl. 5:5649) and occasionally at Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 250:1) and Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 55:3)[25]. The triangular flowers found on stirrup-jars in Phases II and III of the Perati cemetery are also found on Naxos, Salamis, at Athens and Asine.

ii. <u>The relationship of the pottery to that of other sites and regions</u>.

Attempts to compare the pottery from the cemetery of Perati with that of Lefkandi are considerably hampered by the fundamental differences between the types of pots placed in tombs and those used in settlements in the LH IIIC period. Compared with the wealth of deep bowls and kraters recovered from Lefkandi for example, Perati has produced only 72 of the former and 4 of the latter; while in contrast to the 362 stirrup-jars and 223 amphoriskoi from Perati, Lefkandi can offer only a handful of examples of these shapes.

Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, parallels between Perati and Lefkandi can be seen both in the shapes and decorations found at the two sites and in the relative chronology of their introduction. Many of these parallels are common to a much wider area of the Mycenaean world, and cannot be taken in isolation as evidence of a specially close similarity between the two sites. The burgeoning of elaborate decoration in the middle of the period is a widespread phenomenon, as is the introduction at this time of new features such as the kalathos, the treroil-lipped jug, the pyxis and the reserved line. Many of the motifs which are found at both sites also have a widespread distribution. However, some particularly close similarities can also be seen in certain features which appear to have a rather more limited geographical distribution, as for instance in the conical bowl and high cylindrical pyxis shapes, in kylikes decorated with reserved lines, and in the cups with dipped solid semicircle decoration which are either of little importance or not so far attested at Mycenae. In addition, Perati has some vases which bear at least a superficial resemblance to Lefkandi's white ware. At the same time, however, there also appear to be differences which are difficult to account for purely in terms of the special nature of Perati's funerary repertoire as distinct from the more domestic one of Lefkandi. Neither the triangular flower motifs nor the reserved patterns typical of Perati are a prominent feature of the Lefkandi pottery which, if anything, seems to prefer the use of added white paint as a substitute for the latter[26].

Until the cemetery belonging to the LH IIIC settlement of Lefkandi is found and excavated, the precise degree of similarity between the pottery of the two sites must remain largely unassessable. So far, no settlement site in the area of Perati has been excavated or published, though LH IIIC pottery is known from the steep island which dominates the Porto Raphti bay (cf. Hood 1966)[27]. The few sherds recovered add little to what is already known from the cemetery, although a krater fragment with elaborate panel decoration suggests that decorated kraters probably played a greater part in the pottery of the area than the cemetery evidence admits.

Along with the parallels with Lefkandi go those with Kea which cover many of the same range of features[28]. The Acropolis Fountain deposit and other LH IIIC pottery from Athens also provides similarities, in the conical bowls, reserved line deep bowls and kylikes, and in some examples of the typical flower and reserved patterns. Most striking of all, however, are the similarities with the Salamis chamber tombs, where pottery from Tombs E and TH is so similar in the range of shapes and decorations to that of Perati Phases II and III that production in the same workshops seems a distinct possibility[29]. In Eastern and Central Attica sites such as Vourvatsi, Kopreza, Ligori and Markopoulo produce pottery with a close degree of similarity to that of Perati[30].

Further afield, there are general similarities to developments in the main area of the Argolid, in the introduction in mid-LH IIIC of such new shapes

as the trefoil-lipped jug, the kalathos and the pyxis, and of decorative elements associated with the blossoming of the mid-LH IIIC elaborate styles, including the use of reserved lines. There are also some more detailed similarities between Perati and Mycenae in, for instance, the two trefoil-lipped jugs with high handles of Phase II, the ten deep bowls of Phases II-III which resemble "negative" deep bowls, and in a single unpainted cup with three handles and short stem from a tomb assigned to Phase II (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 87:502) (cf. Mycenae Advanced phase). It is however in the pottery of Asine on the Argive coast that a particularly close similarity to that of Perati can be seen. This site which, as will be seen, stands stylistically somewhat apart from the sites of the Central Argive plain through much of LH IIIC, is the only other place in which stirrup-jars decorated with the triangular flower motifs typical of Perati have been found in any quantity. At Asine too elaborate triangles are a popular stirrup-jar decoration. More detailed parallels between the two sites can be seen in such features as the unusual combined "necklace"- and "whisker" pattern (cf. Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 263:1), a particular filled semicircle motif (FM 43:q-s) (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 10:26; cf. e.g. Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 260:4)[31], and a distinctive practice of placing groups of small semicircles under the handle roots of stirrup-jars (Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 56:215, 73:746; cf. e.g. Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 265:1). Undoubtedly the fact that both sites produce tomb pottery tends to enhance the similarities in a way that might lead to undue importance being given to them; and there

are also differences, not least in the proportions of different vessel types found, and in the shortage of octopus stirrup-jars and reserved motifs at Asine. Nevertheless, the similarities between Perati and Asine continue to appear more impressive, particularly in the elaborate middle stage of LH IIIC, than those between Asine and other Argive sites.

Across the Aegean there are parallels with LH IIIC pottery from the Cyclades (particularly Naxos) and from the Dodecanese. The most obvious are the octopus stirrup-jars which have a distribution almost entirely confined to the islands and coasts of the Aegean[32]. Other distinctive vase types found at Perati - the three strainer jugs, the four lentoid flasks (Iakovides 1969, III, pls. 81b:431, 88d:370, 93b:205, 99g:389), and the two kalathoi with figurines perched on the rim (one also with excrescent cups), all somewhat in the nature of curiosities among the pottery from the site - have their only parallels in the Central and East Aegean area, and we may here in some cases be dealing with direct imports (cf. Iakovides 1969, II)[33]. There are also some detailed similarities of decoration, particularly between Perati and Naxos[34].

There are, in addition, similarities of a more general kind between the pottery of Perati and that of the Aegean islands. The survival of such shapes as the stemmed krater and the cylindrical spouted cup into LH IIIC is best attested also in the Dodecanese and the Cyclades; while the development from LH IIIB conical

krater to LH IIIC kalathos, which probably first occurred in the Dodecanese (see below, chapters 8 and 10), can also be seen, though perhaps more abruptly, at Perati[35]. Finally, Perati lies within the main area of distribution of the conical bowl shape, an area roughly bounded by Euboea and Southern Thessaly in the north, Attica in the west, and the Dodecanese and Tarsus in the south-east. The possibility of the development of this shape in the eastern Mycenaean world, ultimately from one-handled bowl shapes of LH IIIA and early LH IIIB date, is discussed in later chapters (chapters 6 and 8-9).

Several of the similarities between the pottery of Perati and that of the Cyclades and Dodecanese also extend to Crete and Cyprus, both of which were, as we shall see, participants in many of the ceramic developments which took place around the islands and coasts of the Aegean particularly in the elaborate stage of mid-LH IIIC. As with the Cyclades and the Dodecanese, signs of contact between Perati and these islands can also be seen in the presence of imports of pottery and other objects[36].

The exact relationship of Perati to these regions in terms of ceramic trade or influences is as yet hard to determine. To speak of an Aegean <u>koine</u> (cf. Jones and Mee 1978, 469) is misleading, since while there are strong similarities in the use of certain vessel types, in the decorative treatment of some vases and in some individual motifs, there is no true uniformity of style; and each region displays certain distinctive stylistic "hallmarks" of its own. What seems more likely is that Perati, particularly

from the end of Phase I onwards, participated in a network of trans-Aegean contacts by means of which ceramic products and ideas were transmitted all round the coasts and islands of the Aegean. Perati's own production of a version of the octopus stirrup-jar, its development of reserved decoration and triangular flower motifs, and its possible invention of the lidded box shape, suggest that the Perati potters, far from working merely on the fringes of a ceramic <u>koine</u> which had its main innovative centre elsewhere, may themselves have been responsible for at least some of the innovations which are found among the pottery of these regions after an early stage of LH IIIC.

The people who buried their dead in the Perati cemetery lived by the sea and probably mainly from it. As their pottery suggests, their closest contacts lay across it: with the coastal sites of Attica, Euboea and the Argolid and with the islands of the Eastern and Central Aegean. They were part of a coastal community of linked sites which looked as much eastward across the Aegean as westward into the Greek hinterland[37]. At the same time, however, the broad pattern of development which the pottery reveals, especially in the introduction of new shapes and new elaborate motifs in the middle of LH IIIC, can be seen as part of a much wider phenomenon apparent in almost every area in which LH IIIC pottery was produced.

iii. Relative chronology.

Perati Phase I appears to cover a period stretching from the end of LH IIIB to what, in terms of the two sites already considered, is the beginning of the middle stage of LH IIIC. Among pottery assigned to it, most of the shapes and many of the motifs are pure LH IIIB or sub-LH IIIB in style, and appear to have continued as such throughout most of the phase. These are reflected particularly closely in the late LH IIIB and early LH IIIC of nearby sites in Central and Eastern Attica[38]. Towards the end of the phase, one or two features such as the few deep bowls with reserved base, the more ovoid profiles of some stirrup-jars and amphoriskoi, the single semiglobular one-handled bowl, and the possible importation of vases such as the kalathos with figures on the rim and the high cylindrical pyxis, not only indicate that the site was beginning to share in developments taking place over a wider area, but also in some cases suggest a relative date for the latter part of the phase[39].

Phase II, which sees an extension of the range of shapes, with the introduction of trefoil-lipped jugs, conical bowls, reserved lines, and an outburst of elaborate decoration, is the phase during which the greatest similarity to the pottery of other sites can be found, in general trends if not in detail. This middle stage of LH IIIC seems at Mycenae, Lefkandi and Perati to have been one of great activity, both in ceramic innovation and experimentation and in inter-regional contact.

While Perati created its own individual decorative styles within this framework, in particular its preference for reserved motifs, triangular flowers, and elaborate triangles, the most general developments which took place there at this time are mirrored at Mycenae and Lefkandi, and there seems no reason for supposing that these developments are not at least roughly contemporary. Thus, the phase should correspond roughly to Phase 2a at Lefkandi, for example, and to much of the period covered by the Developed and Advanced phases at Mycenae.

Phase III, as we have seen, consists only of a limited amount of material, often hard to distinguish from that assigned to the preceding phase. From the small number of tombs built in this phase, one might suppose that its duration was short; but there are also stylistic reasons for suggesting that the cemetery does not endure quite so long as, for instance, Lefkandi or some of the sites of the Argolid. Although a very few were found, the type of stirrup-jar with simple circumcurrent decoration of cross-hatched or concentric triangles or concentric semicircles on a shoulder surface which is once more treated as a single area, is extremely rare. This type, which is found among the latest pottery from settlement and tombs at Mycenae, in the LH IIIC and Submycenaean burials of the Argos tombs, and is well represented among the latest stirrup-jars from Asine, becomes the typical stirrup-jar of the latest LH IIIC and/or Submycenaean period in Attica as well as several other regions. With it at Asine and Argos,

as well as in other regions, go lekythoi with precisely parallel decorations. Only a very few of the latest lekythoi from Perati have such decoration.[40] Furthermore, the pottery of Phase III with its tendency towards intensified elaboration, particularly on stirrup-jars, nowhere approaches the dreary monotony and deterioration of fabric and paint which characterises Lefkandi Phase 3, the Latest phase at Mycenae or even the late pottery from Asine. Not only is Perati still innovating to some extent, in the introduction of such features as the collar-necked amphoriskos and the deep bowls of "negative" type (which have their nearest parallels in the Advanced phase at Mycenae), but other features first introduced in Phase II (reserved line deep bowls, and possibly the cups with solid semicircle decoration) appear to reach the height of their popularity in Phase III.

It is here that developments on the island of Salamis are of particular interest. The chamber tombs near the modern town of Salamis, as far as one can tell, are in use down to a period which corresponds almost exactly with Perati Phase III in the style of their pottery, but no further. The Arsenal cist tomb cemetery, a few kilometres to the east, contains among what must be its earliest vases some which are stylistically very close to the Phase III pottery of Perati and its exact counterpart in the Salamis chamber tombs. Though the entire cist tomb cemetery has generally been assigned to Submycenaean, there are sufficient links between a few of its pots and those of both Perati and the Salamis

chamber tombs to show that the transition from chamber to cist tombs on Salamis was a smooth one (cf. Wide 1910)[41]. The Salamis cist tombs also go on, however, to produce the simply decorated stirrup-jars and related lekythoi which Perati, on the whole, lacks. It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that, had the Perati cemetery survived long enough, it too would have produced pottery similar to that of the Salamis cist tombs, and also perhaps more akin to the latest LH IIIC from sites such as Asine or Lefkandi[42].

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Phase I, tombs constructed: 1, 4-5, 6, 8-9, 11-2, 16, 21, 24-5, 31, 33, 35, 39, 46, 51, 65, 69, 73, 75-6, 78, 82, 90, 97-8, 103-4, 111-111b, 122, 124, 127, 134, 137, 144, 147, 149, 151-2, 154-7. Of these Tombs 1, 4, 8-9, 11-2, 21, 25, 33, 35, 46, 65, 75-6, 111-111b, 122, 127, 134, 149, 152, 154-7 continue into Phase II; Tombs 12, 21, 46, 65, 75, 156 also continue into Phase III.

Phase II, tombs constructed: 3, 5a, 7, 10, 13, 15b, 18, 22, 27, 30-30a, 33a, 34, 36, 43, 43b, 46a, 48, 55, 57, 59, 62, 66, 70, 74, 77, 84-5, 87-8, 91-6, 100-1, 105-6, 108, 110, 112-5, 119, 121, 123-123a, 125-6, 128, 131-3, 136, 141-3, 145-6, 148, 150, 153, S14a, S23a. Of these Tombs 5a, 13, 15b, 27, 30a, 36, 74, 92, 101, 108, 143, 145 continue into Phase III.

Phase III, tombs constructed: 17, 38, 44, 56, 122a, 129-30a. (Iakovides 1969, II).

2. Two faience cartouches of Rameses II (c. 1304-1224 (at latest)) were found in Tombs 1 and 104, both assigned to Phase I. However, Iakovides (1969, II, 467) considers these to have been heirlooms.

3. Coarse handmade jug, Tomb 4:35 (assigned to Phases I-II). There are three other small handmade vases, all of normal (buff ware) fabric, two with painted decoration. These are a mug (Tomb 149:1154 (Phases I-II)), a cup with solid semicircle decoration (Tomb 94:726 (Phase II)), and a small monochrome bowl (Tomb 13:257 (Phases II-III)). (Iakovides 1969, III, pls. 38g, 61d, 84a).

4. Tomb 5:65 (assigned to Phase I): kalathos with excrescent cups on the rim.

5. From Tombs 74 (assigned to Phases II-III) and 75 (Phases I-III). No. 611 has a thick slip.

6. Stirrup-jars of this shape are generally of LH IIIA-B date, and are rare even in the latter part of LH IIIB. They do seem to survive, however, in the LH IIIC of the Dodecanese.

7. This type is also found in the Dodecanese in LH IIIC where it probably constitutes another survival of the predominantly LH IIIA-B piriform shapes.

8. The closely packed horizontal chevron motif on one of the piriform examples (Fig. 165) is a favourite at Perati, particularly in Phase II. It is also found in the Dodecanese on amphoriskoi, alabastra, jugs, stirrup-jars, askoi, collar-necked jars etc. from apparently quite an early stage of LH IIIC onwards. It is also found at Lefkandi (Fig. 132b) and Asine. It almost certainly derives from a common LH IIIA2-B1 motif (FM 58:32) which may have been more persistent in the Dodecanese than elsewhere.

9. The shape is now also known from a comparably early date in the Argolid: Rudolph 1973, 125 (Prophitis Elias chamber tombs).

10. These are found particularly in LH IIIC in the Dodecanese and on Naxos; also on Kephallenia where the majority may be very late. They have a long history in Crete where they persist well into LM IIIC (cf. Popham 1965, 1967).

11. From Tomb 24 (assigned to Phase I).

12. From Tomb 124 (assigned to Phase I).

13. Cf. Tzedakis 1969b, pl. 443g; 1970, pl. 410a-b for LM IIIB examples from Chania. The decoration on Perati no. 1114 is similar to that of a deep bowl from Ugarit (Schaeffer 1949, fig. 58:17) which was probably exported or re-exported from Cyprus. For similar decoration in sub-LM IIIB or early LM IIIC, cf. Popham 1965.

14. Iakovides points out that Tomb 12:198 (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 66) is decorated with an octopus type known only from Monemvasia and Knossos, and suggests that it may come from Crete. Certainly the rest of its decoration, with its papyrus motif and fringed chequerboard pattern has a distinctly exotic flavour which finds its best parallels in Crete (cf. Popham 1967, fig. 7:10, pl. 89e) or the Dodecanese (cf. e.g. Maiuri 1923-24, pl. II, which seems, however, to have been an import from Crete (Jones and Mee 1978, 469)). Tombs 65:569 and 100:746 (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 73) have close parallels in Kos and Naxos, and Iakovides suggests that all may be the work of the same artist (cf. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 4-5; Naxos Museum no. A934). However, Morricone considers the Kos example to be an import, and from their decorative treatment it seems likely that all may have originated in Eastern Attica.

15. Reserved versions of concentric arcs are found between the tentacles of Tombs 13:248, 15b:261, 27:319 (Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 70-1); reserved elaborate triangles on the shoulder of Tomb 75:614 (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 68).

16. Antithetic arrangements of triangular flowers on Tombs 12:200, 13:248, 27:319, 75:617 (Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 70-2; cf. figs. 49-51).

17. Cf. below, chapter 13 for imitations of true Close Style from the Acropolis at Athens.

18. Tassel is found only on one jug and one hydria. It is also rare (in some cases apparently non-existent) at Athens, on Naxos, in the Dodecanese and Cyprus; nor does it seem to be found in Crete.

19. The other strainer jugs (Iakovides 1969, III, pls. 21b:553, 78e:474) both come from tombs which span Phases I-III. All three have painted snake decoration, also found on strainer jugs in the Dodecanese and Naxos.

20. There is one example from a Mycenae tomb (cf. Furumark 1941a, 586), and a lid from Karphi in Crete (Seiradaki 1960, fig. 24ai) may also belong to one. One from Ialysos (Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 43) has been shown to have an Eastern Attic clay composition (Jones and Mee 1978). All are similarly decorated, with reserved patterns playing an important part. This suggests that all may have originated in Eastern Attica.

21. A unique example of a shape which resembles a stemmed krater, but with splayed foot rather than stem (FS 10) comes from Korakou (Blegen 1921, fig. 91). It is decorated with antithetic tongue and spiral motif (FM 51:18); and may be related to some of the kantharoid krater types found in Kephallenia.

22. See above, note 14.

23. Motifs apparently peculiar to Perati include

hooks or spirals arranged as a version of "necklace"-pattern (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 8:12), antithetic spirals running from the semicircular area to the qudrants on the shoulders of stirrup-jars (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 38, on nine stirrup-jars), a concentric or spiraliform rectangular motif (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 8:19, on the shoulders of two stirrup-jars), an amygdaloid (Paisley pattern) motif (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 12:29, on the shoulders of three stirrup-jars), dotted columns, probably very degenerate versions of whorl tails (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 14:36, on a mug), a grid pattern which looks like a very schematic bird (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 14:37, on the shoulder of a stirrup-jar), and a comet-like motif made up of a circle with triple stem (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 14:38, on the shoulder of an amphoriskos). The leaf pattern (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 12:30, on the shoulders of three stirrup-jars and one lekythos) is also found on Naxos (Kardara 1977, pl. 37b; Kondoleon 1959, pl. 15'f) and at Delphi (Perdrizet 1908, fig. 26). These belong mainly to Phases II-III.

24. The pottery from the chamber tombs near the modern town is on display in the Museum of Salamis. Cf. also note 29 below.

25. An example of a reserved pattern particularly similar to some of those from Crete comes from the Tragana tholos in Messenia (Kourouniotis 1914, figs. 13-4, on a high cylindrical pyxis), the pottery from which displays other resemblances to that of Aegean island and coastal regions (e.g.

in the presence of a conical bowl).

26. Cf. above, note 4 for the only vase with added white paint from the Perati cemetery.

27. Sherds from here in the collection of the British School at Athens. The steep sided island seems an unlikely location for any sort of substantial settlement (cf. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 213).

28. These include the conical bowls, reserved line kylikes, and white ware domestic vessels. Cf. especially krater Tomb 52:97 (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 111) with Caskey 1972, pl. 98:M17.

29. Among pottery on display in the Salamis Museum from Tombs E and TH are: a legged pyxis with decoration of alternating upright and pendent semicircles in one zone and panels and parallel chevrons in another (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 81-2); an amphoriskos with horizontal wavy line and barred handles (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 78:491,30); a high-necked amphoriskos (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, colour pl. Ib:590); lekythoi with "necklace"- and whisker pattern and barred handles (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 104:324); an amphora with scroll on the shoulder (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 93:1); stirrup-jars with reserved decoration, concentric semicircles, antithetic triangular flowers, dotted scale pattern (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 8:14, 64:26,29); a trefoil-lipped jug with "necklace"-pattern and running spiral (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 100:10); a monochrome amphoriskos with reserved line groups; a collar-

necked amphoriskos (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 77G, 78:169); and a mug.

30. For vases similar to Perati Phase I from these cemetery sites, cf. Stubbings 1947, e.g. pl. 11:10-1,13. Vourvatsi and Ligori also have some pottery of Perati Phases II-III type, including some octopus stirrup-jars (cf. e.g. Stubbings 1947, pls. 10:2, 17:9). For pottery from these sites generally see also Benzi 1975.

31. This motif is also common in the Dodecanese.

32. For a list of octopus stirrup-jars, see Desborough 1964, 271-2.

33. Strainer jugs: cf. e.g. Desborough 1964, pl. 7c-d (with plastic snakes from Ialysos and Naxos);; Morricone 1965-66, fig. 259 (from Langada); other decorated examples of this shape in LH IIIC come from Cyprus and Athens. It was one of the shapes taken over by the Philistine potters. Lentoid flasks are known from LH IIIC contexts in the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, Chios, and at Tarsus (cf. E. French 1975, 56).
For kalathoi with mourning figures or excrescent cups, cf. e.g. Desborough 1964, pl. 7a (from Ialysos), and Naxos Museum. For a related type in Crete, see Seiradaki 1960, pl. 4a.

34. The unusual leaf pattern and reversed antithetic tongue pattern (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 12:30-1) are both found on Naxos (Kardara 1977, pl. 37b; Kondoleon 1959, pl. 157f; Kondoleon 1950, fig. 11). The flower and reserved patterns typical of Perati are also found on Naxos and occasionally

in the Dodecanese, while the elaborate triangles are popular throughout the Central and East Aegean. For vases considered by Iakovides to be imports from Naxos and the Dodecanese, see above.

35. One of the two (possibly imported, cf. Iakovides 1969, II, 253f.) kalathoi from Perati with mourning figures or excrescent cups (Iakovides 1969, I, Tomb 5:65) is the earliest example of a kalathos (FS 291) from the cemetery. The other (Tomb 111a:820) is assigned to Phase II. The shape, which develops from the LH IIIA2-B conical krater (FS 290) is first found regularly at Perati during Phase II. It has a widespread distribution from mid-LH IIIC on.

36. For pots and other objects probably imported from Cyprus and Crete, see above; also for Eastern Attic exports to the Dodecanese (cf. also Jones and Mee 1978). Iakovides (1969, II) also suggests that some of the solid semicircle cups may perhaps be actual Cretan imports.

37. At several of these sites representations of ships have been found on LH IIIC pottery (cf. Gray 1974, G20). There is also one on a mug from the Salamis chamber tombs (Salamis Museum).

38. Cf. above, note 30.

39. Deep bowls with reserved bases first appear in Phase 1b at Lefkandi, and in the Developed phase at Mycenae; at Lefkandi the very few semiglobular bowls or conical bowls of early type belong to Phase 1b, at Mycenae to the Tower phase.

40. For a stirrup-jar with simple circumcurrent decoration

of this type, cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 45:43 (from the last burial group of Tomb 5a). Lekythos no. 804 (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 104, no context) has a similar type of decoration.

41. Particularly close in appearance to Perati Phase III are Wide 1910, pls. V:4, VI:3,6-7. Cf. e.g. Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 42, 54:547, 100:10. For the dating of the Arsenal cist tombs to LH IIIC as well as Submycenaean, cf. also Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 204. A very few of the Kerameikos cist tombs (e.g. Tombs 33, 106: Kraiker and Kübler 1939, pls. 11:503, 21) also produce vases very similar to those of Perati Phase III, and presumably also immediately post-date or overlap with the last stages of the Perati cemetery.

42. It is thus difficult to agree with Desborough's conclusion (1972, 41f.) that in Attica the connection between Submycenaean and the preceding LH IIIC is not clearly visible. It is difficult, too, to accept his theory that Perati continued in use during much of the time when cist tombs had replaced chamber tombs in Western Attica (Desborough 1964, 116; 1972, 81f.), the differences in most of the pottery being explained by a lack of contact between Eastern Attica and the community on Salamis. There clearly was contact between Perati and Salamis during the last phase of the Perati cemetery, as the contents of the Salamis chamber tombs show. It seems unlikely that the Salamis chamber tombs too should have continued for long in use alongside the cist tombs but with an earlier style of pottery. The possibility of some overlap, however, between

much of the Salamis cist tomb cemetery and the latest LH IIIC from sites such as Asine and Lefkandi which probably continued to be occupied after the last burials at Perati, still seems strong (cf. Desborough 1964). The Salamis cemetery does not display the continuous sequence from Submycenaean to Protogeometric that is seen, for instance, in the Kerameikos at Athens, and it is probable that its period of use did not extend very far down into Submycenaean (cf. Styrenius 1967, 34-5).

Chapter 6

Cyprus

A. Introduction

This chapter also deals with a region for which there is stratified evidence for the development of LH IIIC pottery: above all at Enkomi (published by Dikaios 1969), Sinda (published by Furumark 1965), Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström, Bailey and Karageorghis 1976), Kition (preliminary publication, Karageorghis 1976) and Palaepaphos (Maier 1972, 1973 preliminary reports). However, I have chosen not to present it in the same phase by phase "catalogue" format used in the previous three chapters. Instead, more general interpretation and discussion take the place of straightforward description, though these are based on a synthesis of the stratigraphical information offered by the Cypriot LC III settlements.

One of the reasons for this change of format has been the need to synthesise information from several sites. I have drawn most heavily on the information from Enkomi, the most fully published of the LC III settlements, but have also made use of evidence from Kition, Sinda and, to some extent, Palaepaphos. More important, however, was the realisation, which dawned on me gradually while preparing this chapter, of the number of interesting and probably important questions Cyprus raises in this period. It seemed more important

to concentrate on discussing the pottery of LH IIIC type found in Cyprus in its context vis à vis the rest of the LH IIIC world than to trace its evolution in any very great detail, particularly as some variation between the east and west of the island is probable. To do both would have been out of the question in the limits of one chapter.

A final reason for treating Cyprus in a different way is the special position of the island. For most of its Late Bronze Age history Cyprus lay completely outside the Mycenaean world. It had a distinct material culture of its own, and belonged, if anything, to the Near Eastern sphere of influence both politically and culturally (Karageorghis 1968, 1). As a result the appearance and development of Mycenaean pottery on the island took place against a background which differed radically from that of the Mycenaean regions of Greece.

Pottery of Mycenaean type in Cyprus has often been seized on as the main - and sometimes sole - evidence for such wide "historical" changes as colonisation, migration and the like. This is particularly true of the Late Cypriot III period for which at least two successive waves of refugees from the Peloponnese settling in Cyprus have been postulated on the basis of pottery (Karageorghis 1976, 58, 89; Desborough 1964, 199-203). Even in the LC II period there are still some who see the presence on the island of Mycenaean pottery as evidence for Mycenaean colonists (Nicolaou 1973; cf. Karageorghis 1968, 2). In spite of this,

the extreme complexity of the process by which Cypriot, Aegean and Near Eastern cultural elements were amalgamated into a compound Cypriot culture during the twelfth and eleventh centuries has been underlined by Catling and others, and is by now widely accepted (Catling 1973; Sandars 1978, 144-8). It seems to me that the pottery of Mycenaean type found on Cyprus in LC III confirms this impression of complexity to the point where the view of straightforward waves of migration from the Mycenaean heartland (that is the Greek Mainland) subsides into insignificance. This is particularly clear when it is seen against the background of the history of Mycenaean pottery on the island in LC II.

B. <u>LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB</u>.

In the LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB periods we are faced with the continuing controversy of whether there were a) Mainland exports to Cyprus, b) a Mainland export trade catering specifically for an eastern market (cf. Gjerstad 1926, 218-20), or c) Eastern (especially Cypriot) production of a Levanto-Helladic ware (cf. Sjöqvist 1940). The results of analytical work on fabrics, originally initiated by Catling, seem to provide a very powerful argument for export from the Peloponnese to Cyprus (Catling, Richards and Blin-Stoyle 1963; Catling and Millett 1965; Catling, Jones and Millett 1978; L. Courtois 1971; Asaro and Perlman 1973). This is supported by some very close stylistic, even workshop, resemblances between pottery from Cyprus and the growing body of similar vases from the Greek

Mainland, particularly the North-East Peloponnese[1]. Deep bowl, amphoroid and stemmed kraters with very similar styles and details of pictorial decoration to those from Cyprus can no longer be regarded as rare in the North-East Peloponnese, and there is some reason for supposing that they were also exported to other areas[2].

The picture of almost certain Peloponnesian export to Cyprus in the late fourteenth and early thirteenth centuries suggested by much of the analytical work on fabrics is complicated by the distinctive repertoire of shapes and decorations characteristic of the Mycenaean pottery found on the island at this time. The term Levanto-Helladic, first coined by Sjöqvist (1940, 30) to describe pottery which he considered to have originated in Helladic emporia in the Levant, and the term Cypro-Mycenaean used by Myres (1914) to denote what he regarded as the product of Mycenaean colonists on Cyprus, both lose much of their force in the face of the evidence for large scale export from the Greek Mainland. However, it remains the case that several of the so-called Levanto-Helladic specific shapes are either peculiar to Cyprus and the Levant or overwhelmingly more at home there[3]. Near Eastern or native Cypriot prototypes for some of them were pointed out long ago (Sjöqvist 1940; Stubbings 1951), and for at least some still remain the most convincing answer. The most recent results of clay analysis, which tend more and more to support the idea that much of this pottery was in fact imported from the Greek Mainland, may thus lend support to the concept of a specific market-oriented Mainland production

(cf. Gjerstad 1926, 218-20) for which a term such as Levanto-Helladic might still usefully be employed. However, while there is still room for the possibility that a little pottery of Aegean type may have been produced in Cyprus in the early thirteenth century (L. Courtois 1971, 155; Catling, Jones and Millett 1978, 81), it is likely to have been the exception rather than the rule.

What we do find, however, even on the so-called Levanto-Helladic specific shapes, is the evidence of stylistic influence from LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 - styles which were probably created in the Argolid at a time when the North-East Peloponnese was still leading the Mycenaean world in terms of ceramic fashion (above, chapter 2)[4]. Mainland or Argive LH IIIB1 influences and/or imports can also be seen in the kylikes from the Kition tombs published by Karageorghis, among them the distinctive Zygouries kylix with its single central motif (Karageorghis 1974, pl. XXV:119) - a decorative device of which the North-East Peloponnese seems to have been particularly fond at various points in the history of Mycenaean pottery (cf. Sherratt 1980, note 33).

In this respect the Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus in the early thirteenth century seems to fall in with that of other areas of the Mycenaean world or the regions with which it had contact. The influence of the LH IIIB1 style is extremely widespread, apparent even in regions where in the thirteenth century the pottery shows some peculiarities not found in contemporary Argive pottery.

Elsewhere too there may be evidence for Argive LH IIIB1 imports, particularly in the Dodecanese which might be thought of as a staging-post on the route to Cyprus (Jones and Mee 1978).

C. Later LH IIIB

In the later thirteenth century the position in Cyprus can also be compared with that of other outliers of the Mycenaean world. Unlike the LH IIIB1 style, the LH IIIB2 style of the Argolid has a more limited distribution, covering mainly the Argolid and adjacent regions such as Attica, Laconia, Achaea, and falling off from there as the circle widens (above, chapter 2). From Cyprus there is a single Group B deep bowl (Stubbings 1951, pl. IX:1, from Enkomi Swedish Tomb 6), but no sign of the other distinctive innovations of Argive LH IIIB2, above all of the heavy filled style patterns found not only on bowls but also on kraters.

So what happens in Cyprus? It is probable that here, where over the last century or so there had developed a taste for, and possibly also an economic need for, pottery of Aegean type (cf. Yannai-James 1980)[5], the withdrawal of imports from the Greek Mainland had a considerable effect. In the first place, imports from Crete, which are particularly well documented in the Kition tombs, may for a while at least have increased in number (Popham 1978)[6]. More important,

however, we see the beginning of a process in which production of an Aegean type of pottery on the island became well established, either as a new venture or resulting from a vastly increased and expanded output from any existing producers on the island. This production filled the gap left by a decline in imports from the Greek Mainland, and at the same time produced substitutes for some of the useful small open decorated shapes formerly made mainly in local wares (such as the handmade White Slip milk bowls) which were now declining in production, possibly because of changes in Cypriot taste and/or competition from wheelmade wares[7]. The whole process must have been extremely complex, but the potter's wheel, which had steadily increased in use from LC I onwards (Sjöqvist 1940, 108, 124), and the large scale organisation it could both facilitate and encourage, may have had something to do with it in the long run. This is quite another and vast problem in itself; but it seems in any case likely that wheel using pottery producers enjoyed certain advantages in large scale organisation of production and distribution. Another newly established or greatly expanded Cypriot wheelmade pottery industry, particularly one producing decorated pottery of an Aegean type for which a demand already existed, would be ideally placed not only to supply such demand but also even to expand its market, at a time when exports from the Greek Mainland were no longer so readily available or reliable.

In answer to the decline in stylistic inspiration and influence from the Greek Mainland at this time,

Cypriot producers of a Mycenaean type of pottery threw themselves back on Cyprus' own considerable artistic resources and traditions which, with characteristic skill, they blended with stylistic elements already introduced to the island in the imported pottery of LH IIIA-B1 and LM IIIB. Throughout much of the Bronze Age, including the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, Cypriot potters could make a fair claim to being among the best and most versatile in the whole Mediterranean.

Probably the first result of this was the Rude Style - not merely a degenerate copy of the earlier pictorial krater style, but with a strength and inspiration of its own as has often been pointed out (Karageorghis 1965, 231f.). The beginning of this style is put by

Karageorghis at c. 1250-40 B.C. , almost exactly following on the heels of the abandonment of Argive sites such as Berbati and Zygouries and of the destruction outside the walls at Mycenae at the end of LH IIIB1.

D. <u>The Kouklia-Mantissa cemetery and related tomb groups</u>.

By the end of LC II, just before the destructions which hit several Cypriot centres, some well known tomb groups (the Kouklia-Mantissa cemetery, the upper level of Kition Tomb 9, Enkomi Swedish Tomb 18) suggest that the processes outlined above were already well advanced. The preponderance of open bowl shapes in a Mycenaean type of ware is something new in these

tomb groups; yet the answer (cf. Karageorghis 1976, 51; E. French 1979) that they represent a renewal of inspiration from contemporary developments on the Greek Mainland seems unsatisfactory[9]. Several of the bowl shapes are peculiar to this part of the world; and for practically all of them Karageorghis was able to point to prototypes or inspirations in either the earlier "Levanto-Helladic" repertoire or Cypriot wares such as White Slip (Karageorghis 1965, 156-84; 1974, 86-7). Most of these bowls are simply decorated with bands, often in a bichrome technique (Karageorghis 1974, 87). A few patterned shallow bowls have, in place of the neat bucrania, birds' heads, dot rosettes etc. of the earlier ones, a type of decoration which is both more crudely conceived and executed: one or two roughly drawn fish or birds, some of which may possibly be reflections of LM types[10]. Cross-hatched lozenges, hatched triangles and other distinctly geometric motifs, which are not a feature of mainstream (Mainland) Mycenaean pottery at this time occasionally occur on this type of shallow bowl and other shapes (Karageorghis 1974, pls. LXXIII: 90,174, LXXVI:148, CLIV:143). These geometrical motifs have a long ancestry in Cypriot wares (particularly White Slip) and, along with the fish and especially the birds (also found on the Rude Style kraters), they go on to play an important part in the pottery of Mycenaean type on the island right through LC IIIA. A few deep bowls from these tomb groups have fairly simple decoration of a type found in many areas of the Mycenaean world in late LH IIIB and early LH IIIC, including the Dodecanese, and which derive ultimately from widespread LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB1 motifs of more or less universal occurrence (Karageorghis 1965; 1974, pl.

LXXII)[11].

Since we are by now on the verge of LC III, or LH IIIC, it is perhaps worth looking more closely at one of the bowl shapes found in these tomb groups. It is a type of one-handled semiglobular bowl (Karageorghis 1965, fig. 38:Type A4) which Karageorghis derived from a "Levanto-Helladic" shape. Examples from Kouklia-Mantissa with their high-set handles are particularly good illustrations of the connection with this earlier prototype (cf. for instance Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, no. 1637). A very similar version (especially in its handle disposition) and probably of much the same date comes from Tarsus in nearby Cilicia (E. French 1975, fig. 15:top). This type of bowl, eventually becoming more conical in shape and with a standardised arrangement of linear decoration, becomes one of the more characteristic features of mid-LH IIIC when it has a widespread, though not universal, distribution throughout the Aegean where it is particularly popular in the coastal sites of Euboea, Attica and the islands (above, chapters 4 and 5; below, chapters 11 and 12). At Lefkandi, where there is good stratigraphical evidence, the type does not appear until LH IIIC is well established and does not become popular in its canonical form until an advanced stage of LH IIIC[12]. Strangely enough, on Cyprus the type does not develop into its late standard conical version (Popham and Milburn 1971, 349). In the Dodecanese too, though the standard conical version is found (cf. Mee 1975, 100), semiglobular examples predominate and generally have earlier looking linear decoration (below, chapter 8). What I would like to suggest is that the earlier

(pre-standardised conical) version of this type - far from being inspired by developments on the Greek Mainland - may have been an independent development from LH IIIA2-B1 survivals in the Dodecanese and/or Cyprus and may actually have spread back from east to west to the Aegean coasts and islands during the course of LH IIIC. A strong case, at least for independent evolution, may also be argued for a shallow strap-handled bowl shape found on Cyprus, at Tarsus and possibly Miletus, which on Cyprus Karageorghis derived from "Levanto-Helladic" or Plain Wheelmade prototypes (Karageorghis 1965, fig. 42:Type A9; E. French 1975, fig. 16)[13].

E. Early LC III: the first levels of reconstruction

Very shortly after the deposition of these tomb groups certain Cypriot cities (Sinda, Enkomi, Kition) were destroyed or temporarily abandoned. The rebuilt LC III cities produced a great deal more pottery of Mycenaean type than had been known before from settlement contexts on the island (as much as 46% in Level IIIa at Enkomi as compared with a maximum of 9% in Level IIb: Dikaios 1969, 451, 458)[14], an indication, it could be argued, of the constantly increasing share of the everyday market captured by the enterprising and well organised mass producers of this ware. This is the point where the Mainland refugee question has to be faced. I would argue that from the point of view of the pottery there is no positive evidence for it, and possibly some against it (cf. above, preceding section). The least one can say is that those areas most heavily influenced by

the distinctive innovations of Argive LH IIIB2 in use at the time of the Argive destructions can have had little to do with it; and this of course includes the Argolid whence the refugees have long been supposed to come. There is no trace of LH IIIB2, however residual, in the Cypriot pottery, which is not the case in the early stages of LH IIIC in areas which did receive LH IIIB2 developments (Sherratt 1980). On the other hand, the close similarities with Rhodes noted by both Furumark and Dikaios in Sinda II and Enkomi Level IIIa (Furumark 1965; Dikaios 1969, 271, ch. II passim), and the generalised resemblances between the Rude Style and other pictorial styles which gradually developed in the East Aegean and East Mediterranean around this time (J.-C. Courtois 1973, 165), suggest that if we should be looking anywhere in the Aegean for an area of cultural contact or cross-influence with Cyprus at this time it is to the Mycenaean islands of the Dodecanese and their adjacent coasts.

F. Cyprus and the Near East towards the end of LC II and the beginning of LC III

The marked liking for simple banded decoration in the pottery from the end of LC II and the first levels of the reconstructed cities, found not only on bowl shapes but also on jugs, stirrup-jars and piriform jars (Karageorghis 1974, 62-83; Stubbings 1951, 41-2; Maier 1972, pl. XIV:1) recalls Furumark's Simple Style of Syria and Palestine which he characterised as "essentially a simpler version of the late Levanto-Mycenaean IIIB

ware" (Furumark 1941b, 116). In other respects too the close relationship which existed between Cyprus and the Levantine coast (above all with Ugarit) before the mid-thirteenth century (cf. Yannai-James 1980) can be seen to continue in the latter part of that century. From Ugarit (Level III, usually thought to have been destroyed c. 1200) and its port of Minet-el-Beida come several vases which are so similar to the pottery of Mycenaean type produced in Cyprus just before and around the time of the Cypriot destructions that the possibility of their being Cypriot imports seems very strong. These include not only a number of Rude Style kraters, but also some of the shallow bowl types and stirrup-jars with simple banded decoration (Schaeffer 1949, figs. 122, 124, 126). The combination, on a krater fragment from Minet-el-Beida, of a vertical whorl motif of ultimate LH IIIB1 origin with cross-hatched lozenge chains which seem clearly attributable to the White Slip tradition is a particularly good illustration of the influences and traditions underlying the pottery of Mycenaean type produced in Cyprus after the mid-thirteenth century (Schaeffer 1949, fig. 124:1; cf. also fig. 124:2). The evidence of ashlar masonry and the religious practices found at Kition provide further close links after the reconstruction of the LC III cities - links so strong that an exodus from Ugarit to Cyprus around 1200 B.C. becomes at least a plausible proposition (Sandars 1978, 152-3).

G. LC IIIA early stage: Enkomi Level IIIa, Sinda Level II, Kition Floor III (Cf. Fig. 168).

Little more need be said about the first part of LC IIIA except to note that close stylistic links between Cyprus, the Dodecanese and Tarsus have long been observed [15]. At Sinda, Furumark distinguished two "beautiful" vases, an amphoriskos and an amphoroid krater (FS 57), as probable imports from Rhodes (Furumark 1965, pl. I). Affinities with the Dodecanese in Enkomi Level IIIa were also noted by Dikaios (1969, 271, ch. II passim). The links between the pottery from Tarsus and Cyprus are close enough to suggest the possibility that the Tarsus pottery of Mycenaean type was manufactured on Cyprus, or at least by potters with close Cypriot ties (Goldman 1956, 206; E. French 1975, 74). There are also continuing links with the Levant (see below) [16].

The links with the Dodecanese in particular may have been responsible for the presence of such shapes as the strainer jug [17] and the stirrup-jar version (FS 176) found in Level IIIa at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969). They may also have been responsible for the new found popularity of the deep bowl shape, though the gradual expansion of pottery of Mycenaean type into everyday domestic use may also have had something to do with the frequency with which this shape is found in the LC III cities. Other shapes found in Level IIIa at Enkomi include several already known from the "Levanto-Helladic" pottery and/or the later locally produced pottery of Mycenaean type of LC II: kraters, bowls of various types (including one-handled

semiglobular and angular varieties: Karageorghis 1965, figs. 38:Type A4, 42:Type A9), feeding bottles (cf. Karageorghis 1974, pl. LXVIII:143,233,314,318), and kylikes (FS 265 or FS 274: cf. especially locally made LC II examples, Karageorghis 1974, pl. 53:61,70)(Dikaios 1969, 458).

Decorations on deep bowls are often simplified versions of motifs current in LH IIIA2 or early LH IIIB, in Cyprus as elsewhere, and include antithetic, running and stemmed spirals, tongues or simplified versions of multiple stems, simple tricurved arch patterns, and narrow horizontal patterns (quirk, zigzag, joining semicircles) (Furumark 1965, pl. I; Karageorghis 1976, figs. 20-1, 37-8; Dikaios 1969, 263f., pls. 71, 74, 306; Schachermeyr 1976, figs. 65-6, pls. 67-9a). At the same time, there is a strong element of Cypriot tradition and improvisation. Rude Style kraters and other vases with the type of ornamentation which developed on the island towards the end of LC II continue to be found, and, with their pictorial decoration and geometrical motifs, form a continuous link with the more elaborate pictorial and abstract ornamentations which gradually emerge as the pottery develops towards the next stage (Dikaios 1969, 264). Cypriot improvisation can be seen particularly in the original and rather charming disintegrated treatment of spiral patterns at Enkomi, which as time goes on often lose all cohesion and symmetry and become increasingly fanciful (cf. e.g. Schachermeyr 1976, fig. 71)[18].

H. LC IIIA elaborate stage

The gradual development of an elaborate style, similar in general aspect to the sorts of elaborate decoration encountered all over the Aegean in mid-LH IIIC, can be traced particularly clearly at Enkomi where increasing elaboration can be seen before the end of Level IIIa (Dikaios 1969, pl. 307). At first this takes the form of increasingly complicated fills in the angles and loops of spiral motifs, and of a dense but highly geometricised form of decoration, found mainly on kraters and consisting of complicated panels made up of closely packed geometrical elements (Dikaios 1969, pls. 75:20-4, 306:150, 307:160-2,204-6). The bodies of birds and occasional animals also become more elaborate in their treatment. In the subsequent level (Level IIIb) at Enkomi much of this elaboration has intensified, and become highly elegant in the process. Symmetrical panels, arcades and antithetic spirals are filled with neatly executed reserved elements, tidy spiral finials curve daintily round each other, concentric semicircles and arches have an abundance of precise dot finials.

This elaborate decoration, which combines several stylistic facets, was almost certainly the product of diverse artistic influences. The continuity from earlier decorative devices used by the Cypriot producers of pottery of Mycenaean type seems very strong, and one of the particular specialities is the incorporation of typically Cypriot geometrical motifs into these elaborate compositions. Inspiration from the Aegean,

however, undoubtedly played an important part. Geographically, these influences are difficult to pin down, but certain elements point consistently to the Central and East Aegean area (which includes within its stylistic ambit the Greek coastal sites of Perati, Asine and, to a lesser extent, Lerkandi). Elements which link the Cypriot material specifically with Mycenae and the Central Argolid, on the other hand, are not strong; and there is no Close Style from Cyprus[19].

These external influences can be seen partly in new shapes which are incorporated into the Cypriot repertoire during the course of development of the elaborate stage. In addition to the strainer jug (see also Dikaios 1969, 845, pl. 306:148), these include the kalathos (Dikaios 1969, 845, pl. 74:2) and the high cylindrical pyxis (Dikaios 1969, 845, pl. 82:27). From Enkomi there are also a very few examples of hydriae decorated with tassels or "necklace"-pattern. While some of these are of widespread occurrence in the Aegean and on the Greek Mainland, others, such as the strainer jugs, have a more limited distribution (see below).

At the height of the elaborate stage (in Sinda III, Enkomi Level IIIb; cf. Fig. 168) Cypriot potters develop some distinct "hallmarks" of their own, and on some vases it is possible to distinguish the work of a particular painter or group of painters (e.g. Dikaios 1969, pl. 81:13-4,18; Furumark 1965, pl. II bottom right, with Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, no. 1646; cf. also Schachermeyr 1978). Apart from the use of geometrical

motifs, Cypriot potters are also particularly fond of using reserved elements in their compositions and of strikingly neat multiple outlines and certain grass-like or floral motifs (Schaeffer 1952, fig. 91; Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, no. 1646). In these decorative schemes some of the typical motifs of the Aegean elaborate styles also play an important part. Elaborate triangles and concentric semicircles in particular become strong Cypriot favourites.

Stylistic links with the Dodecanese, both general and specific, seem particularly close. The kalathos and the high cylindrical pyxis, like the strainer jug, may well have come from the Dodecanese to Cyprus[20]. Some motifs, such as concentric semicircles and elaborate triangles probably also reached Cyprus through the Dodecanese; so too may the particular use of reserved elements found at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969, pl. 309) though on the whole reserved decoration is less widely used in the Dodecanese than on Cyprus[21]. Cretan elements, however, which probably had an ultimate effect on the mid-LH IIIC pottery of many regions, above all perhaps the Dodecanese, seem less direct on Cyprus. Shapes such as the pyxis and motifs such as the palm tree and double axe (Dikaios 1969, pls. 75:32, 81:12, 309:305) which appear occasionally on Cypriot pottery, are also sometimes found on the pottery of the Aegean regions (cf. e.g. Forsdyke 1925, A1022; Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 60, both from the Dodecanese). The Cypriot birds, like those of the Dodecanese, bear a close resemblance to the bulky duck-like Cretan ones of LM IIIB and LM IIIC, but birds of this type had been known on Cyprus since before the end of LC II when Cretan imports may well have

inspired their adoption by Cypriot potters (cf. e.g. Smith 1925, pl. 9:4; Karageorghis 1963, pl. 3:5).

As our knowledge of mid-LH IIIC increases, it becomes steadily clearer that it was a time of great contact and cross-influence centred in and across the Aegean Sea. That these contacts were essentially of a multidirectional nature can be shown by the distribution of imports (cf. Fig. 197), which suggest that there is no one area to which any sort of consistent cultural lead can be ascribed at this time. That stylistic links, in the case of Cyprus in particular, probably came about by two way contact rather than a unilateral movement of either pottery or inspiration from west to east is further indicated by finds of Cypriot origin, for instance at Perati[22]. It was a time of great artistic innovation, seen particularly clearly in the pottery. There was a renewal of interest in both formal and decorative experimentation; new shapes and motifs were widely adopted, and almost everywhere the range of shapes in use was extended. It was not, however, a time of uniformity, or of a <u>koine</u> in the strict sense. While many of the innovations in both shape and decoration occurred in many regions, each region adopted an eclectic approach to the range of stylistic ideas and novelties to which, through overseas contact, it was exposed. By picking out those which suited the traditions and temperaments of its artists, and by developing its own particular "hallmarks", each region maintained a style of its own. Both the degree of artistic activity, and the range and nature of the influences which criss-crossed the Aegean suggest that the contacts were predominantly

peaceful, while the measure of stylistic autonomy which was maintained indicates the probable lack of any centralised political, economic or even military force behind these contacts. It is against this background that the cultural (and particularly ceramic) developments in Cyprus at this stage can probably best be seen. The lack of any very close correlation, particularly at Enkomi, between the series of destructions and rebuildings and the successive stages in the development of the pottery suggest that, while these destructions may have had something to do with the marine mobility of various Aegean and East Mediterranean peoples at this time, and with the lack of political cohesion which might have acted as a stabilising force throughout the area (cf. Sandars 1978), they were no more than incidental as far as the development of pottery on the island is concerned.

I. Philistine pottery

The influence of Cypriot developments on the locally made "Proto-Philistine" pottery of Ashdod XIIIb (M. Dothan 1980), and ultimately on Philistine ware, seems indubitable (T. Dothan 1967; Desborough 1964)[23]. The Aegean shapes adopted by the Philistine potters represent a limited, but very revealing, selection of the range of vase types current in the Minoan-Mycenaean world in LH/LM IIIC. Deep bowls, kraters, stirrup-jars and strainer jugs are the main ones, and of these the strainer jugs have only a limited distribution within the Minoan-Mycenaean world. Of the two types of strainer jug known in the

Dodecanese, the one adopted by the Philistines is the open spout type (FS 155), the one also adopted by the Cypriots who produced perhaps the best decorated examples of this shape. The Aegean-derived motifs found on Philistine pottery are also those most typical of Cyprus. On deep bowls, the antithetic spiral is by far the most frequent decoration and, as on Cyprus, is often found in a disintegrated form. On kraters, panel patterns often with pronounced geometrical elements such as cross-hatched lozenges or solid triangles are found along with birds whose large, boldly filled bodies, raised wings and long, sometimes back turned necks most closely resemble those of LC IIIA Cyprus and some of their Rude Style predecessors. The most frequent decoration on stirrup-jar shoulders is concentric semicircles, while the ornate decoration of the strainer jugs is most closely matched by that on some of their Cypriot counterparts (T. Dothan 1967)[24]. Stylistic resemblances between the Philistine pottery and that from certain regions of the Aegean, particularly the Dodecanese and Crete, can indeed also be seen, but in no case is there any evidence that these reached the Philistines other than through Cyprus (cf. Desborough 1964, 211).

J. Wavy lines

The so-called wavy line decoration which at Enkomi and Kition[25] comes to predominate towards the end of the elaborate stage provides continuing evidence of links between Cyprus and the Aegean. It is a widespread phenomenon

of LH IIIC, occurring not only in the Central Argolid and at Asine where examples of this type of decoration have long been compared with those from Cypriot sites (Desborough 1964, 23-4; Karageorghis 1976), but also on the islands and coasts of the Aegean - in the Dodecanese, on Naxos, Chios and Kea, in Eastern Attica and Euboea, and in Crete (cf. chapters 4-5, 8, 11-2)[26]. The origin of its popularity remains obscure, and it may have developed gradually in several regions, ultimately perhaps from the sorts of LH IIIA or early LH IIIB derived narrow horizontal patterns common in very many areas at the end of LH IIIB or in early LH IIIC (E. French 1975, 70). The developmental contexts in which it becomes popular in different regions vary, and, if anything, it has an appearance of moving from east to west rather than vice-versa. At Perati for instance it appears towards the end of Iakovides' Phase II and becomes increasingly popular in the succeeding phase which, both in its range of shapes and types of decoration, still belongs stylistically with the mature elaborate stage of LH IIIC (above, chapter 5). At Mycenae, on the other hand, its popularity is confined to a final, somewhat dispirited stage of LH IIIC in which both the range of shapes and decorations have become extremely limited.

In both Cyprus and the Dodecanese (including Miletus: see below, chapters 8 and 10) it does seem possible that the gradual rise to popularity of wavy line decoration can be traced earlier and more consistently in the stylistic or stratigraphical development of LH IIIC

than in other regions. At Enkomi Dikaios (1969, pl. 310) noted its use in Level IIIa, and in Level IIIb pottery decorated with single or multiple wavy lines is not at all uncommon. Whether or not its popularity originated on Cyprus, it does seem clear that it is unlikely to have been introduced as a novelty to the island by a wave of "refugees" from the Argolid driven out by the destruction of the Granary at Mycenae (Karageorghis 1976, 90). Rather, the greater part of its spread throughout the islands and coasts of the Aegean (including Cyprus) must have taken place while the trans-Aegean contacts and cultural interaction apparent in the various elaborate styles of mid-LH IIIC were still in operation. What we see in Cyprus is not so much a wave of desperate invasion or migration emanating from the Argolid after the final destruction of sites such as Mycenae and in the latest stages of LH IIIC there, but a further manifestation of the island's probably mainly peaceful contacts with the Aegean coasts and islands which took place in mid-LH IIIC. It is in association with decoration of this sort that the reserved line is first found at Enkomi at the end of Level IIIb and in Level IIIc, particularly on the outer bodies of closed vases and in the interiors of deep bowls and other open shapes which are now more frequently monochrome coated (Dikaios 1969, pl. 124; cf. Schachermeyr 1976, 291)[27]. At the same time, one or two new shapes, the neck-handled amphora and the semiglobular cup, enter the repertoire at Enkomi. While these may be of Mainland origin, they are of such widespread occurrence by the latter part of mid-LH IIIC throughout the Aegean area that a specific region of

inspiration for their adoption on Cyprus would be difficult to pinpoint (cf. Appendix I).

K. Proto-White-Painted

The popularity of the wavy line style, however, marked the end of the period in which pottery of Mycenaean type on Cyprus can be seen as a direct product of the trans-Aegean contacts and influences in which Cyprus shared particularly in a middle stage of LH IIIC. Sinda seems to have been deserted even before its popularity on the island reached predominance, while Enkomi, after Level IIIc, was abandoned for at least a generation (Dikaios 1969, 438, 534f.)[28]. At Kition there was no abandonment, but the wavy line style marked the last pottery of real Mycenaean type to be found on the site (Karageorghis 1976, 90f.)[29]. The Proto-White-Painted pottery, now generally regarded as a development which took place towards the end of the so-called wavy line style (Desborough 1972, 51), marks the beginning of the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age on the island (see note for detailed discussion of this)[30].

While it is during the period of use of Proto-White-Painted that the best archaeological evidence (above all in the form of chamber tombs) for the arrival of Aegean settlers first appears[31], it seems less likely that the rather depressed products of the material culture found in many areas of the Aegean at this time could have had very much effect in Cyprus, at least on the pottery. Proto-White-Painted as a cohesive style seems to be a

truly Cypriot creation, Aegean derived to the extent that it incorporated and modified several of the elements of the elaborate and wavy line repertoire, from the point of view of both shapes and decorations, which had already been absorbed by Cypriot potters. Most of the main shapes produced in this ware were those already adopted on the island during the course of LC IIIA or earlier from the Aegean repertoire: the amphoriskos, the stirrup-jar, the neck-handled amphora, the deep bowl, the kylix and the kalathos. Others, such as the belly-handled amphora and the lekythos may have been, since these shapes were known in the Aegean during the main period of contact in the middle stages of LH IIIC, and in the case of the former there is some reason to believe that it was in the Dodecanese that it may first have developed (below, chapter 8). Their absence in Cyprus prior to the appearance of Proto-White-Painted may be due to the lack of tomb pottery datable to LC IIIA, since, in the Aegean, these shapes are most frequently found in tombs. Other shapes - the trefoil-lipped jug, the ring vase, the duck vase and the kantharos - have no antecedents in the pottery of Mycenaean type found in Cypriot cities in LC IIIA[32], but prototypes may be found in other Cypriot wares of that period. The trefoil-lipped jug occurs among the Plain Wheelmade shapes of Enkomi Levels IIIb and IIIc, and may have been borrowed at that time from the Aegean[33]. The kantharos shape is also found in the Plain Wheelmade ware of Enkomi Levels IIIb and IIIc[34]. Cyprus, which had a long tradition of theromorphic vases, also produces both bird and ring vases in the

local decorated wares of LC IIIA (Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, nos. 1649-50). For a few shapes, such as the bottle, one may perhaps look to Syro-Palestinian inspiration[35].

Both formally and decoratively the Proto-White-Painted potters imposed their own innate ingenuity and love of form on their products. Shapes often become angular rather than curved, giving the impression of an art with the sort of skeuomorphic leanings which the Cypriots had periodically evolved to a high degree in some of their earlier local wares. Feet often become deliberately conical, kylix stems sharply ridged, and extraneous struts and handles sometimes complete the sculptured or even metallic effect (cf. e.g. Karageorghis 1975).

For decoration, Proto-White-Painted draws on both the simpler wavy line motifs and on the heritage of more elaborate elements found on the island in LC IIIA. These it neatens, formalises and geometricises in various ways. Motifs and fills become predominantly angular and rectilinear. Elements such as the geometrical cross-hatched lozenges and solid triangles which can be traced throughout the development of the LC III pottery of Mycenaean type come once more to the fore (Pieridou 1973, 60). Stylistically, Proto-White-Painted is a new creation which rises out of all the heterogeneous influences supplied by the entire range of wares and styles used and produced in Cyprus in LC III down to the point of its appearance (cf. Karageorghis 1960, 5). Ceramically, it marks a positive and energetic period in the island's history (cf. Desborough 1964, 203),

all the more striking when it is compared with the contracted and dispirited styles of pottery which marked the end of the Late Bronze Age particularly in some regions of the Greek Mainland.

The conditions under which the Proto-White-Painted pottery evolved probably, in some respects, represent a repetition of the pattern discernible towards the end of LC II. The external Aegean influences which had contributed to the LC IIIA pottery of Mycenaean type were withdrawn and, as before, Cypriot potters were thrown back on their own ingenuity and artistic resources. The evidence for this withdrawal of contact and influences which seems to have resulted in the fading out of pottery of recognisable Mycenaean type on the island can probably already be seen in the final LC III levels of Enkomi (Level IIIc) and Kition (Floor II). At Enkomi in particular there is a marked rise in the proportions of wheelmade wares of other than Mycenaean type as compared with earlier LC III levels (Dikaios 1969, 471).

The results of Cypriot inventiveness, particularly towards the end of the Proto-White-Painted period, may ultimately, as Desborough so convincingly argued (1972, 54-5; 1973, 82-3), have had a considerable effect in the Aegean and on the Greek Mainland. Shortly before the start of Protogeometric pottery in Attica and Euboea some innovations were introduced which saw the beginning of a movement away from the relative impoverishment of the final Mycenaean pottery into the dynamism of the new style. Many of these, Desborough has argued, were probably

directly inspired by Cypriot pottery. Elsewhere in Greece the picture is hazier, but both on Naxos and in the Western Peloponnese there may also be some argument for Cypriot influence on the pottery around this time (cf. below, chapter 14)[36].

It is, however, the relationship between Proto-White-Painted and contemporary pottery in the Dodecanese and Crete which has commanded perhaps the most attention (Furumark 1944, 265; Gjerstad 1944a, 82; Desborough 1972, 55f.). On Rhodes in particular the type of geometricised decoration which Furumark (1941a, 574; 1944, 220, 222) suggested may have been the only type produced on the island in the period corresponding to his Myc. IIIC:2 on the Greek Mainland, does bear at least a generic resemblance to that of Proto-White-Painted, especially as a sculptured effect may also be achieved by the use of struts and handles (cf. e.g. Blinkenberg and Johansen 1924, 63:3-4). Here too there may be some argument for links with the Western Peloponnese towards the end of the Mycenaean period.

On Crete the similarities are greater, but problems arise from the variety of classifications used in the past not only for Cypriot pottery but also for Minoan[37]. In general it may be argued that two distinct stages of influence, direct or indirect, may be adduced to account for stylistic similarities between Minoan pottery and Proto-White-Painted. The first, and possibly less direct of these, can be traced back to the inheritance of a common pool - the flow of trans-Aegean contacts and ceramic influences which reached their height in the elaborate

stage of LH IIIC and within which both Cyprus and Crete played a part. It is to this stage that much of the pottery from Karphi must belong; and much of this pottery, with its stylistic similarities to that of LH IIIC sites such as Perati, is better labelled LM IIIC than Subminoan[37, 38]. On the other hand, some features usually attributed to the Subminoan style in Crete - the duck vase, the bottle, the kantharos, and some motifs (Desborough 1972, 61f.) - may well have passed directly to Crete from Cyprus after the establishment of the Proto-White-Painted style. Whatever the ins and outs of it, however, it seems clear that from the time when Proto-White-Painted had become established on Cyprus and Subminoan on Crete, the two islands maintained a regular contact which was to last well down into succeeding centuries (Desborough 1972, 231; Boardman 1964, 58-60). Together they may have been responsible for probing the possibilities of a westwards connection at the very end of the Late Bronze Age (below, chapters 14-5) which may in some ways foreshadow the Phoenician expansion of the eighth century or earlier.

L. Summary

Between the fourteenth and mid-eleventh centuries pottery of Aegean type or derivation on Cyprus reveals a series of changing patterns which reflect the altering relationships between the island and the Minoan-Mycenaean world. A period of well organised import of pottery from the Greek Mainland, albeit possibly catering for a taste which was modified by local and Near Eastern

traditions and preferences, came to an end in the latter part of LC II/LH IIIB. It was followed by the growth of a local production of a Mycenaean type of pottery based largely on a combination of elements already introduced by means of the imported LH IIIA and early LH IIIB pottery with some native Cypriot ceramic ideas and traditions. Pottery imported from LM IIIB Crete may also have exerted some influence at this time. During the LC IIIA period a pattern of trans-Aegean multidirectional contacts and influences gradually developed; and Cyprus participated in this possibly from the start, its closest and earliest links being probably with the Dodecanese. When regular contacts again began to fail after the end of LC IIIA, at a time when the final stages of Mycenaean pottery in several regions show signs of contraction and isolation, the renewed impetus of local skill and invention working on and modifying the shapes and decorations already absorbed by the island's potters during the period of active contact produced the Proto-White-Painted pottery in which many formal and decorative refinements typical of Cypriot ingenuity were introduced. The effects of this positive and energetic development eventually made themselves felt in the Aegean and on the Greek Mainland at the start of a new period or contact as Mycenaean pottery gave way to Protogeometric.

A number of conclusions, of some importance for a general view of the development and spread of LH IIIC pottery, emerge from this interpretation of the pottery sequence in Cyprus. One is that the contribution of Cypriot ceramic traditions and improvisations to pottery of Mycenaean type on the island in LC III was probably

consistently greater than has sometimes been thought. Apart from the fluctuating undercurrent of Cypriot adaptation and tradition visible in this pottery, there are other reasons for supposing that Cyprus was not merely a passive recipient of ceramic repertoires brought or produced by successive arrivals from overseas during this period. In the first place, there is the lack of any very close correlation, particularly at Enkomi, between the series of destructions and rebuildings and the successive stages in the development of the pottery (cf. Fig. 168)[39]. Indeed, the stratigraphy of Enkomi provides ample evidence for the gradual development of each stage out of its predecessor with the continual introduction and adaptation of new shapes and decorative ideas. In many ways this gradual development is seen much more clearly at Enkomi than at stratified sites on the Greek Mainland, where the middle elaborate stage of LH IIIC is marked by a relatively sudden irruption of new motifs and elaborate decorations and expansion of the range of shapes (above, chapters 3-5). Such evidence for more gradual development might lead one to suppose that Cyprus itself may have been fairly closely associated in the development of LH IIIC pottery as a whole. As I shall attempt to show later (see especially below, chapters 8 and 15), there is indeed some evidence to suggest that after the decline of the Greek Mainland (particularly the North-East Peloponnese) as a major source of ceramic export and influence in late LH IIIB the focus of dynamic development in the creation of a new pottery style shifted to the East Aegean with which Cyprus, from around 1200 B.C., was probably in closest contact. At any rate, the

Cypriot evidence at least calls into question any assumption that the Greek Mainland necessarily always took priority over other areas of the Mycenaean world in the field of stylistic innovation. For a few widespread features of LH IIIC - some types of one-handled bowl, certain bird and fish motifs, and the popularity of wavy line decoration - for which convincing prototypes or a relatively early appearance in the sequence of development on the island may be argued, there may even be some case for a Cypriot origin.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. Cf. for example Smith 1925, pl. 10:7 from Enkomi with a krater from Berbati in Nauplia Museum (illustrated: Stubbings 1973, pl. XXVII:3). Stubbings' contention that the pictorial style found on Cyprus in LH IIIA-B is "hardly to be found at all in Greece" (1973, 208-9) can no longer be maintained, as numerous comparisons between vases from Cyprus and Peloponnesian sites such as Corinth, Berbati, Mycenae and Tiryns now show (see especially Slenczka 1974).

2. For Dodecanesian examples, see e.g. Furumark 1941a, 593 (FS 54). See also Vermeule 1964, pl. XXXII:D for a krater from Suda Bay in West Crete which is almost certainly an import.

3. Gjerstad (1926, 218-20), who consistently maintained that the Mycenaean ware found on Cyprus was imported from the Greek Mainland and from Rhodes, explained these peculiarities as the result of the exporters following the specific taste of the importers.

4. Cf. for example Karageorghis 1976, pl. 32 for a chalice (FS 278) with composition whorl decoration (FM 23) from Kition.

5. Yannai-James (1980) has produced a number of convincing arguments in support of the view that the Cypriots were almost entirely responsible for the spread of exported Mainland pottery around the Near East in LH IIIA and early LH IIIB. Her argument is that Cypriot potters, who had successfully created and satisfied a demand for their own useful and imaginative pottery among the peoples of the Levantine

coast in the Late Bronze Age, also gained from extending that market by the addition of export-quality pottery originating in the Greek Mainland and secondarily exported from Cyprus. In this case, the importance of Mainland imports to the Cypriot economy in the LH IIIA and early LH IIIB periods may well have been considerable.

6. That this increase may have lasted only a relatively short time at Kition, however, is perhaps indicated by Tomb 9 where the lower burial level contained several LM IIIB vases, while the upper level had none at all: Karageorghis 1974, 57, 84.

7. Cf. Sjöqvist 1940, 124 for a table which shows the rise in proportion of Mycenaean or a Mycenaean type of pottery in the thirteenth century (Sjöqvist's LC IIC) at the expense not only of Cypriot handmade wares but also of undecorated Cypriot wheelmade which itself had increased steadily in production down to the beginning of the thirteenth century (cf. Sjöqvist 1940, 195). See also Sjöqvist 1940, 47, 56 for the types of small bowls produced in White Slip and Plain Wheelmade which were displaced by similar shapes in a Mycenaean type of pottery.

8. Karageorghis' date of c. 1250-40 depends partly on his date of c. 1230 for the end of LC II, in which he follows Furumark (1944). The date could easily be adjusted downwards to accomodate the alternative date of c. 1200 for the end of LC II (see below, chapter 15). The important point, however, which is not at issue, is that the Rude Style develops after the end of LH IIIB1 in the Aegean and before the end of LC II.

9. There is no question but that this pottery was produced in Cyprus by Cypriot potters (cf. Karageorghis 1974, 39). See also the results of Asaro and Perlman (1973, 221).

10. Karageorghis 1976, colour pl. II, for a good illustration of the contrasts: the earlier (belonging to Karageorghis' "Mycenaean IIIB" category) from Tombs 4-5 at Kition, the later (belonging to his "Late Mycenaean IIIB" category) from the upper level of Tomb 9.

11. For similar deep bowls from the earliest reconstructed level of Kition, see Schachermeyr 1976, pls. 68-9.

12. The earliest (rare) examples from Lefkandi are semiglobular rather than conical in shape and have not yet acquired their standardised linear decoration. These can be dated to Phase 2a, or possibly Phase 1b at the very earliest. Cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 4:10, and above chapter 4. At Perati too the development of the shape can be traced from a semiglobular version (at the end of Phase 1) to the standardised conical version in Phases II-III: Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 86.

13. These too do not reach the height of their popularity on the Greek Mainland (particularly the Central Argolid) until a middle stage of LH IIIC (above, chapter 3). However, the canonical Mainland version (with sharp, high-set carination and standardised linear decoration mainly in the interior) may have developed from a combination of its unpainted counterpart current in LH IIIA-C with the more

rounded version of earlier LH IIIC, itself a decorated version of an unpainted shape found throughout LH IIIA-C.

14. Cf. Furumark (1965, 105), however, who found "Mycenaean pottery in the IIIB style" occurring "in great quantities" in the LC II city at Sinda.

15. As for instance in the bird bowls: cf. Karageorghis 1976, pl. 39; Goldman 1956, pl. 335:1323-6,1328-33; Morricone 1972-73, fig. 361b.

16. Cf. for instance a stirrup-jar from Beth Shan (Hankey 1967, pl. 29c-d), itself with a close parallel from Tarsus, with similar pieces with cross-hatched lozenge decoration from Kouklia (TE III 119), Hala Sultan Tekke (Area 8 F1307), and Enkomi Level IIIa (Dikaios 1969, pls. 71:30, 72:1). I am grateful to Mrs Hankey for details of the pieces from Kouklia and Hala Sultan Tekke.

17. For a Rude Style strainer jug from Kouklia, see Maier 1973, pl. XIII:1. See below, chapter 8 for the suggestion that the Dodecanese was the main region responsible for the development of LH IIIC versions of the strainer jug.

18. Strictly comparable disintegrated spiral patterns are elsewhere found only at Tarsus: Goldman 1956, pls. 330:1256,1288-9,1295, 334:1306-7,1310-2. Cf. also below on Philistine pottery.

19. Contrast Furumark 1965, and following him Desborough 1964, 199. Furumark's use of the term Close Style to describe pottery from Sinda III reflects his wider use of the term (cf. above, chapter 3 note 31). Though the "closeness" of the decoration resembles that of the true Argive Close Style, both motifs

used and their arrangement differ. The decoration of the Sinda pottery contains elements, such as the row of solid triangles at the top of the centre panel, which are foreign to the Close Style but well known in Cyprus (cf. e.g. Dikaios 1969, pl. 75:3,20-1,23,30; Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, no. 1646). Moreover, the strainer jug is not a shape found in the Argive Close Style repertoire. Altogether, the true Close Style as originally defined in the Argolid (cf. above, chapter 3), with its most characteristic motifs (the concave sided scale triangle, FM 42:28; and the bird of Furumark's Late Mainland type, FM 7:48-52), seems to have little if any effect on Cyprus.

When Furumark published the excavations at Sinda much less was known about the proliferation of elaborate styles, some of them also "close" in appearance, which sprung up in various regions of the Mycenaean world in LH IIIC. As a result, the Argive Close Style, as the only elaborate style about which much was known apart from the Rhodian octopus style, naturally provided the main focus of comparison for similar elaborate pottery elsewhere. This led eventually to the idea that many of the developments which took place in the pottery of Cyprus in LC III were directly attributable to influence or even migration from the Argolid, a view which is now much more difficult to sustain.

20. The Dodecanese was almost certainly the region in which LH IIIC versions of the kalathos and the strainer jug originated (see below, chapter 8 and Appendix I). The high cylindrical pyxis can ultimately

be traced back to an LM IIIB shape, but it seems likely that it and various versions of it were adopted by the Dodecanese fairly early on (cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 276, 85, 220, 310).

21. For some particularly close parallels to the Enkomi pottery from Kos, see Morricone 1972-73, figs. 355a, 366, 373h, 374.

22. A feeding bottle, a sealstone, a cylinder seal, a weight and amulets from before the end of Perati Phase I, and a cylinder seal, several earrings of various designs, and possibly also a pin, a knife and weights (of probable Syrian origin) from Phase II (Iakovides 1969).

23. Albright (1954) also noted that pottery from Enkomi and Sinda was "almost identical with the earliest Philistine pottery of Palestine". However, he further believed that the Cypriot pottery resembled the Mycenaean ware of Argos so closely that it itself must have come from the Argolid. This view seems now untenable.

24. For Philistine pottery from Ashdod, M. Dothan 1971, pls. IX, XII, LXXXVII-LXXXVIII. For a particularly close resemblance to some of the geometrically decorated kraters from Enkomi, cf. M. Dothan 1971, pl. IX:3. Cf. also the striking resemblance between a Philistine strainer jug from Tell Eitun (e.g. Gonen 1973, 60), which has both the multiple outlined "grass-like" (or reversed tongue) pattern and bird and fish types familiar at Enkomi, with Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, no. 1646.

25. At Enkomi this style of decoration becomes increasingly

popular in Level IIIb, but is most characteristic of the succeeding Level IIIc (Dikaios 1969). For evidence of its gradual development even as early as Level IIIa at Enkomi, however, see below. At Kition it is common on Floor II and in a well deposit of the same date (Karageorghis 1976, 90; 1960). At Sinda, where the town was deserted soon after the establishment of the developed elaborate style (Sinda III), no such pottery has been reported. However, it is also known from unstratified settlement contexts at Palaepaphos (Maier 1973, 74).

26. For Crete see Seiradaki 1960; Desborough 1964, ch. VII.

27. The seeming coincidence between the appearance of reserved lines and the popularity of wavy line motifs at Enkomi in late Level IIIb and Level IIIc provides another argument for the view that the wavy line style spread throughout the coasts and islands of the Aegean (including Cyprus) sometime during the period of maximum contacts of the middle stages of LH IIIC, rather than that it reached Cyprus direct from the Argolid in a very late stage of LH IIIC. By the time wavy line decoration became popular in the final (Latest) phase of LH IIIC at Mycenae (perhaps slightly earlier at Asine and Lerkandi, though still probably later than at Perati), the reserved line had already long been known, and in many cases was reduced to a more subdued role than it had played in earlier phases at Mycenae or even than it does at Enkomi. At Perati, however, as

at Enkomi, reserved lines and wavy line decoration seem to appear at much the same time, occurring first in Phase II and becoming increasingly popular in the succeeding phase.

28. There is no Proto-White-Painted in Enkomi Level IIIc, though Dikaios described a few pieces as "foreshadowing" the Proto-White-Painted style. The earliest pottery recovered from the surface layers above Level IIIc is of Cypro-Geometric I date.

29. Proto-White-Painted was found on Floor II at Kition, the same long-lived level which produced the wavy line style. After the destruction of Floor II at the end of the Proto-White-Painted period, perhaps by an earthquake, there was a reconstruction associated with Cypro-Geometric I pottery (Karageorghis 1976, 90f.).

30. I have followed Desborough's later (1972) view of the relative position of the development of Proto-White-Painted in the Cypriot sequence, a view also shared by Karageorghis (1976, 90) who likewise dates it to the "end of the twelfth-beginning of the eleventh century B.C.". Desborough's earlier (1964, 201) view reflected that of Furumark (1944) who proposed an overlap between Proto-White-Painted and his Myc. IIIC:1b and 1c styles, though Desborough modified this to take account of the "wavy line" pottery at Enkomi and Kition and suggested that the start of Proto-White-Painted was indebted to, and coincided with, the arrival of Granary Style pottery from the Argolid. His later view which reflected that originally proposed

by Gjerstad (1944a) took into account the fuller evidence from Enkomi (Dikaios 1969) which strongly suggested that Proto-White-Painted developed after the stage which saw the popularity of the wavy line decoration (cf. above, note 28).

Recently, another view which seeks to return to that of Furumark has been put forward by Yannai-James. This is based on the premise that Proto-White-Painted was designed primarily only for tomb or religious use (it is argued that its context at Kition is religious), and suggests that the style may well have been used in tombs as early as a time contemporary with Enkomi Level IIIb or even IIIa. This would certainly account for the disturbing shortage of tombs on Cyprus with pottery of LH IIIC type (though there are some from Palaepaphos: Maier 1973, 72; cf. also Desborough 1964, 24 from Idalion). On the other hand, the evidence from Enkomi at least (above, note 28) would seem to count against this view. (I am grateful to Mrs Yannai-James for countless discussions of this problem).

Where I disagree with Desborough's later (1972) view is on the question of the need for a new wave of external (Cretan) influence to account for the development of Proto-White-Painted pottery at the end of the twelfth century. I would argue that, since both Enkomi and Kition demonstrate that almost all of the Aegean features of Proto-White-Painted emphasised by Furumark and Desborough can be shown to have been already absorbed on the island by the producers of a Mycenaean type of pottery

before the appearance of Proto-White-Painted, there is no need, at least on the grounds of the pottery, to postulate a fresh influx of Aegean influence at the time of its development. This is not to deny that there are links between Crete and Cyprus in the Proto-white-Painted and Subminoan periods, but these can also be explained in a number of different ways, including that of contacts initiated by Cypriots.

Furumark's desire to push the date of Proto-White-Painted back to coincide with the first appearance in the Aegean of some of the features which ultimately influenced it, which was rejected by Desborough (1972), arose from the absence of published stratified settlement material down to 1944 which carried pottery of Mycenaean type on the island down beyond the elaborate stage of Sinda III. This meant that, as far as Furumark was concerned, Proto-White-Painted, which provided the only evidence for the appearance of several of these features, was the next stage after the pottery of Sinda III which he dated to his Myc. IIIC:1b.

The whole problem of Proto-White-Painted has been further complicated by changes and differences in the terminology of the Cypriot sequence.

The "sub-Mycenaean" ware of Walters (1912) and Gjerstad (1926) consisted of decorated LC III pottery assigned to the period immediately succeeding that of the Levanto-Helladic or Cypro-Mycenaean ware (Furumark 1941b, 122). Furumark took the view (cf. Sjöqvist in Gjerstad et al. 1934-35) that this ware was absent for a period immediately

following the last Levanto-Mycenaean pottery and assigned it to a subsequent period which he originally (1941b) called Cypro-Geometric. Later (1944), he reverted to the terminology proposed by Gjerstad (1926) and Sjöqvist (1940) of LC IIIA and B, and introduced the term Proto-White-Painted (also used by Gjerstad (1944a)), the earlier stage of which fell in LC IIIB(1) the later in LC IIIB(2). Part of the confusion in these earlier studies arises from the lack of any distinct line (cf. Gjerstad et al. 1934-35, II, 624), such as has now been drawn by Dikaios (1969) and Desborough (1964) between the local decorated wares of LC IIIA and Proto-white-Painted, assigned by everyone from Furumark on to LC IIIB. Since, as I believe, Proto-White-Painted was as much indebted for its techniques and inspiration to these wares as to the pottery of Mycenaean type which was produced in parallel with them in the LC III settlements (and possibly perhaps by the same potters), this is not surprising (cf. also Karageorghis 1968, 5).

The divisions of LC III are still in some disarray. Furumark (1944, 1965) assigned Sinda II and III to LC IIIA (= his Myc. IIIC:1a-1b) and followed this with his LC IIIB which he divided into two stages of Earlier and Later Proto-White-Painted pottery. Desborough (1964) assigned both the wavy line style and Proto-White-Painted to LC IIIB, but later (1972) shifted the wavy line style to the end of LC IIIA and characterised LC IIIB as the period of Proto-White-Painted which he dated from c. 1100 to c. 1050. This is the division which I

have preferred to follow (cf. also Catling 1966). Karageorghis (1976), however, reverts to a scheme originally proposed by Gjerstad (Gjerstad et al. 1934-35, II) which divides LC III into three periods A, B and C. Gjerstad's LC IIIB and C presented few differences, however, and were amalgamated into LC IIIB by Sjöqvist (1940, 125). Karageorghis' scheme differs from that of Desborough and others by assigning the Proto-White-Painted period (the latter part of Floor II at Kition) to LC IIIC (cf. also Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, 138). For Karageorghis' views on the absolute chronology of the various LC III periods, which differ from those of others in dating the sequence rather earlier, see below chapter 15.

31. Desborough 1964, 203 at Lapithos and Kourion (Kaloriziki); Maier 1973, 77 at Kouklia. These tombs belong to a late stage of Proto-White-Painted (cf. Catling 1966, 68-9) and their architecture alone forms the most concrete archaeological evidence so far for the presence of Aegean settlers on the island. The emergence of Cyprus in the early historical era as a Greek-speaking island provides overwhelming evidence for Aegean colonisation sometime before the end of the Cypro-Geometric period.

Figurines of goddesses with upraised arms have also been adduced as evidence for (Cretan) settlers on Cyprus during the Proto-White-Painted period (Karageorghis 1966, 1977; cf. Desborough 1964, 27; 1973, 82; Yon-Calvet 1973, 301). Some from Limassol in particular (cf. Karageorghis 1977, 28-9) are considered to be the earliest and most like those

of Crete. Although these are wheelmade and have upraised arms their resemblance to Cretan or other Aegean figures seems no closer than their resemblance to earlier Cypriot figurines: this latter resemblance is particularly striking in their flat triangular heads and beaky noses (cf. Åström 1967). An iconographical link between these and the Base Ring female figurines of LC II may exist in the as yet shadowy Astarte figurines of the twelfth century (so far known only in bronze: Karageorghis 1973; Masson 1973).

32. Cf. however Desborough 1964, 24 for a ring vase (and possibly also lekythoi) from a tomb containing pottery of Mycenaean type at Idalion.

33. Trefoil lips were already known on the island in LC II, particularly on the cylindrical jug of Levanto-Helladic type and on jugs of Plain Wheelmade ware (Sjöqvist 1940, 59, 94). Sjöqvist linked it with Syrian shapes.

34. Cf. Daniel 1937 for the derivation of this shape from amphoroid kraters of LC II and early LC IIIA date.

35. Cf. T. Dothan 1967, 142f. for the bottle shape in Philistine ware. Dothan suggests that the shape may have been borrowed by Philistine potters from Cypriot Proto-White-Painted. However, some of the elongated jug shapes present in the Palestinian pottery of the immediately preceding LB II period are not totally dissimilar from the Philistine version (cf. e.g. Gonen 1973, 57).

36. Among the vases from the Aplomata pit tombs on Naxos (dated by Desborough (1964, 151) to Submycenaean/ Protogeometric) is a feeding bottle with handle

at right angles to the spout. This is a feature of decorated LC IIIA ware which also continues into Proto-White-Painted (cf. Sjöqvist 1940, fig. 18; Furumark 1944, fig. 10:23). Cf. above, chapter 5 for an imported LC IIIA feeding bottle at Perati.

37. See Desborough 1964, 167 for a discussion of the classifications of LM IIIB-C pottery. Desborough was a little ambiguous about the date of material from Karphi. At one point (1964, 27) he followed Seiradaki (1960) in suggesting that the site was "certainly founded after the beginning of the Cretan Subminoan period". Elsewhere, however (1964, 175; 1972, 120f.) he suggested a foundation in LM IIIC.

38. Further evidence of Karphi's contemporaneity with LH IIIC (cf. Desborough 1964, 175) can be seen in some of the strong stylistic links with Perati Phases II-III: e.g. the large number of cups decorated with dipped solid semicircle ornament. The lid of a box with reserved decoration from Karphi (Seiradaki 1960, fig. 24a:1), which is described as unique at the site, may well be an Eastern Attic import (cf. above, chapter 5 note 20).

39. At Enkomi there was a destruction at the end of Level IIIa while the pottery of Mycenaean type was becoming more elaborate but had not yet reached the full height of the elaborate stage; there was another destruction at the end of Level IIIb during the course of the rise to popularity of wavy line decoration; Level IIIc appears to have

ended in a temporary abandonment of the site before the development of the Proto-White-Painted style. Despite the differences in classification of the pottery as between Dikaios at Enkomi and Karageorghis at Kition, the pattern at Kition seems very similar to that of Enkomi. At Kition a destruction, perhaps roughly contemporary with that of Enkomi Level IIIa, is associated with the end of Floor III (Karageorghis 1976, 80f., 89; Dikaios 1969, 522f.). Very much later, a more widespread destruction, perhaps the result of an earthquake, put an end to Kition Floor II. This event seems to have occurred rather later than the end of Level IIIc at Enkomi.

At Sinda, there was only one LC III destruction, at the end of Sinda II which, judging from the published pottery, ought to have taken place a little before the destructions of Enkomi Level IIIa and Kition Floor III; the third period (roughly contemporary with Enkomi Level IIIb) ended in gradual desertion of the site. For destructions at Kition and their relationship to destructions at Enkomi, see Karageorghis 1976, 81f.; Dikaios 1969, 438. See also Furumark 1965, 115; Karageorghis 1976, 173; Schachermeyr 1976, 304.

PART II

Introduction

The preceding chapters (3-6) have dealt with sites which provide independent stratigraphical evidence for the development of LH IIIC pottery. From these a few useful generalisations may be made. In the first place, at both Mycenae and Lefkandi, notwithstanding the distinction of as many as five or more phases (also at Korakou), LH IIIC pottery can be conveniently divided into three broad stages of development: a first, relatively simple stage which is largely dependent on shapes and motifs already current in the LH IIIB repertoires which precede it, with the addition of a few formal and decorative innovations; a second stage of noticeable ceramic expansion and great artistic activity (a "renaissance" stage), during which there is considerable innovation in both shapes and decorations to include a widening of the range of shapes in use and the introduction of highly elaborate forms of decoration; and a third stage, which sees a reduction to a limited repertoire of shapes and motifs, with little in the way of continued innovation[1]. Much the same pattern applies at Perati where, however, the third stage is not clearly represented and where, as has been argued above (chapter 5), the cemetery may have fallen out of use sometime around the end of the second stage. On Cyprus, while the general pattern of development remains much the same in broad terms, there are also some modifications. To start with, Cyprus occupies a special position in that its own production of a Mycenaean type of

pottery seems to have been established, with all the energy and skill which such an establishment presupposes, not much more than a generation before the beginning of LC III. As with the pattern of the early stages at Mainland sites, characteristics which became current in this earlier period on Cyprus were also carried forward particularly into the early stage of LC III. On Cyprus, however, the development of an elaborate stage seems to take place more gradually, and in some cases to evolve more closely out of these earlier characteristics than is the case at the Mainland sites. On Cyprus moreover the dispirited final stage which marks the latest pottery at both Mycenae and Lefkandi seems to have no equivalent; and instead we see in the emergence of Proto-White-Painted the development of an energetic and positive pottery style which was to carry the ceramic industry of the island right through into that of the Iron Age.

In the second place, though the broad trends of development are generally similar in the regions already dealt with, there are differences which can be seen in preferences for certain shapes or motifs and in various stylistic "hallmarks". Paradoxically, these differences become most evident in the second mid-LH IIIC stage, which also sees the greatest number of innovations common to several regions. Many of the common features of the first and final stages can probably be attributed to a shared heritage from LH IIIB and mid-LH IIIC respectively, but even here some patterns of similarity or difference between regions may be traced to a certain extent.

The following chapters (7-14) deal with sites and regions of the Mycenaean world where, because of lack of stratigraphical information, there is no independent evidence for the development of LH IIIC pottery. The pottery from each of these sites or regions is presented as a stylistic whole, though, in the light of the main stages discussed above, some attempt will be made wherever possible to suggest probable stages of development within it. The main purpose of these chapters, however, will be to assess the stylistic affinities of the LH IIIC pottery from the sites or regions concerned.

Note

1. First stage: Mycenae Earliest[+] and Tower phases; Lefkandi Phase 1a and Phase 1b[+]; Perati Phase I; Sinda II; part of Enkomi Level IIIa; part of Kition Floor III.

Second stage: Mycenae Developed[+] and Advanced phases; Lefkandi Phases 2a and 2b; Perati Phases II-III; Sinda III; Enkomi late Level IIIa to Level IIIc; Kition late Floor III to early Floor II.

Third stage: Mycenae Latest phase; Lefkandi phase 3; Salamis cist tombs; Kition later part of Floor II

+ Much of Mycenae Earliest phase more sensibly classified as LH IIIB; probability of some overlap between Lefkandi Phase 1b and Mycenae Developed phase (cf. Fig. 161).

Chapter 7

Asine

A. The Settlement

Published LH IIIC material from the settlement at Asine ought to provide some stratigraphical evidence for development, in that some of it at least originates from a series of superimposed structures: Houses G and H which were built on top of each other (Frödin and Persson 1938, 74f., 298f.). However, its value is severely limited by the lack of anything belonging to an early stage of LH IIIC. The material in question falls into two main groups: the stratified finds from Houses G and H (including the "closed" finds from Square H14 (Room XXXII) of House G); and fragmentary pieces from various other places. This material was further published and discussed in detail by Furumark, who presented it as part of the evidence for his LH IIIC chronological sequence (Furumark 1941b, 72, 76; 1944, 231)[1].

The pottery from Room XXXII of House G was found on and near a bench which clearly served some religious purpose, to judge by the small finds associated with it (Frödin and Persson 1938, 309f., figs. 206, 211-2)[2]. For this reason, it might be suspected that the vase types it contains are not strictly representative of a normal household or funereal collection. Nevertheless, its general similarity to the later phases of LH IIIC from some of the sites already discussed is immediately

striking.

The deposit consists of eight vases: a neck-handled jug (FS 106), a multiple vase (FS 330), a kalathos (FS 291), a conical kylix (FS 174), a three handled cup (FS 233), two miscellaneous bowls (FS 295:9 and FS 246), and a cooking pot (FS 66) (Frödin and Persson 1938, 298f. nos. 1-8, fig. 206; Furumark 1944, fig. 3:1-9). All but the jug, multiple vase and kalathos are unpainted. The neck-handled jug is of reddish clay covered by a thin, light yellow surface slip. Its rim is distinctly hollowed, and it has "necklace"-pattern decoration (FM 72:12) at the base of the neck. The multiple vase consists of three straight-sided alabastra joined by their bodies, and decorated with simple bands; the handle of each element is barred. The kalathos has a monochrome lower body with three reserved lines at the top and bars on the rim and handles; inside, the lower body is also moncohrome with reserved lines above.

Of the unpainted pottery, perhaps the most interesting is the three handled cup which, like those assigned to the Latest phase of LH IIIC at Mycenae, has a small ring foot rather than a short stem. The fabric of this vase, like that of the other unpainted vases, is rough in texture and grey in appearance; while some of the shapes themselves are carelessly modelled[3].

The other pots or fragments from Houses G and H and from other parts of the settlement confirm this generally late date for the material. On the floor of various parts

of House G were found a cup (FS 216) with wavy line decoration (FM 53:20), a trefoil-lipped jug (FS 137) and another jug fragment, a tray (FS 322), a legged pyxis (FS 99), a collar-necked jar (FS 63), an amphoriskos (FS 59), and a stirrup-jar (FS 175) (Frödin and Persson 1938, 298f. nos. 2-3,14,23-5, figs. 207:2-3, 209:3; Furumark 1944, fig. 3:10-2,14-7)[4]. The jug fragments have wavy lines on the shoulder, and a barred handle; the tray is simply decorated in monochrome with reserved lines, with the remains of three double-fluted handles decorated with bars along the rim. The legged pyxis is elaborately decorated with close set chevrons (FM 58:33), zigzags (FM 61), and concentric arcs (FM 44:10). The amphoriskos and the jar both have double wavy lines on the shoulder. The stirrup-jar is unusual, being relatively small and lacking the normal zoned decoration of most stirrup-jars. It has a trumpet-like flaring spout, clumsily modelled handles, and its body is decorated on one side with a ship (FM 40:3), and on the other with an untidy crowded panel made up of concentric arcs and zigzag lines.

Two vases, a kylix (FS 275) decorated with three wavy lines, and a tray decorated on the inside with untidy transverse lines and a wheel motif (FM 17:29), were built into the walls of House H, constructed above House G (Frödin and Persson 1938, 298f. nos. 19,26, fig. 209:4; Furumark 1944, fig. 4:1A)[5]. Another undecorated three handled cup without a stem, and a kylix with solid semicircle decoration painted on either side between the handles and reserved lines on the stem, were found on the floor of House H (Frödin and Persson

1938, 298f. nos. 11,18, fig. 208:4; Furumark 1944, fig. 4:2A-B)[6]. Other pots recovered from the site, but without stratigraphical significance, include two kraters (FS 282), four deep bowls (FS 284, FS 285), a trefoil-lipped jug, a stirrup-jar, a kylix and three cups (Frödin and Persson 1938, 298f. nos. 5-9,12,12b, 13,16-7,22, figs. 207:5-6, 208:1,5-6, 209:2)[7]. The two kraters are particularly interesting in that one, and possibly both are made of a greyish clay similar to the white ware of Lefkandi and Kea[8]. One has the square rim profile found on many white ware kraters at Lefkandi, and is decorated with a simple antithetic loop or "whisker" pattern (FM 50:29); the other is rather more elaborate, with antithetic tongues on either side of a panel (FM 62:35) and a plastic rope ridge below the rim. Both, like most of the Lefkandi white ware kraters, have linear decorated interiors.

Of the deep bowls, one is monochrome with a narrow reserved panel between the handles filled with two horizontal wavy lines, two are completely covered in monochrome paint, and the other is monochrome with a reserved line inside the rim and reserved foot. Of the cups, one has an irregular band below the rim, a dotted rim and a barred handle; while the others, like that from the floor of House G, are decorated with wavy lines. The kylix too has wavy line decoration. The trefoil-lipped jug has a combination of "necklace"-pattern and wavy line decoration on the shoulder, and a barred handle; while the stirrup-jar, also with barred handles, has unusual decoration of a large hatched zigzag pattern

(FM 61:6) on both shoulder and upper body.

Although the stratigraphical evidence is slight in terms of the number of published pots, it does not seem that, stylistically, there is any very great interval between the pottery found on the floor of House G and that from the floor of House H. In terms of the Mainland sites already discussed, most of it belongs relatively late in the LH IIIC sequence, and corresponds well with the late-middle or latest stage of LH IIIC at Lefkandi (Phases 2b-3), Mycenae (Advanced-Latest phases) or the late-middle stage at Perati (Phase III) (cf. above, chapters 3-5)[9].

As far as stylistic affiliations with other sites or regions are concerned, the pottery from the settlement indicates a diversity of links. Similarities to the Latest phase of LH IIIC at Mycenae - in the wavy line motifs, the barred handles, the stemless three handled cups, and above all in the deep bowl with narrow reserved zone between the handles - are quite strong, and one or two Close Style deep bowl fragments also suggest links with Mycenae during the Advanced phase. On the other hand, there are also similarities to the pottery of Attica and Euboea, seen particularly in the tray shape, the white ware kraters, and the kylix with solid semicircle decoration; while the wavy lines, barred handles, and three handled cups are also found in these regions. The representation of a ship on the stirrup-jar from House G at least suggests that the inhabitants of Asine may have had some interest in maritime contacts with other coastal or island sites such as those of Attica

or Euboea [10].

That Asine continued to be inhabited in the period following that to which the latest pottery from Houses G and H belongs has now been established by recent Swedish excavations in the area east of the acropolis (Frizell 1978a). Pottery from occupation levels there continues to display many of the features found in Houses G and H: deep bowls with narrow reserved zones, jugs and jars with wavy line decoration, simply decorated kalathoi, untidy zizag panels on kraters and other shapes, and some white ware. New among this pottery are cups with a zigzag decoration in a narrow reserved zone immediately below the rim, and these, along with the deep bowls and some of the decorations found on closed shapes, continue in an unbroken sequence into the Protogeometric repertoire of the site.

B. <u>The cemetery</u>

Of the eight chamber tombs excavated at Asine between 1922 and 1930, six (all but Tomb I:3 and Tomb II:1) produced LH IIIC pottery. In four of these tombs (Tombs I:1,2,5,7) the excavators distinguished, on the basis of locational groupings, a sequence of burials with their associated vases (Frödin and Persson 1938, 356f., 377, 391, 400, 421). A few years later, as a result of his stylistic analysis of the pottery, Furumark rearranged the groupings and distributed the vases between his three phases of Myc. IIIC (Furumark 1944). Since then, however, the excavation of the cemetery at Perati, where some independent evidence for the development

of LH IIIC pottery was produced, has greatly increased our understanding of LH IIIC tomb pottery on the Eastern Mainland. In the light of this, and given the evident similarities which exist between much of the Asine tomb pottery and that from Perati, it has seemed desirable to modify slightly some of Furumark's groupings. Figs. 171-6 show the original groupings and those suggested by Furumark, as well as some new suggestions for the subdivision of the tomb pottery based on stylistic comparison with Perati and with other sites at which there is stratigraphical evidence for the development of LH IIIC.

Altogether some fifteen different shapes are represented among the painted LH IIIC pottery. The 40 stirrup-jars form approximately half of the total, and other shapes are very much rarer[11]. Since stirrup-jars also form a large proportion of the vases from the Perati cemetery, a comparison of this type at the two sites proves to be a useful basis for both a chronological and stylistic assessment of the LH IIIC pottery from the Asine tombs.

The Asine stirrup-jars (FS 174, mainly FS 175) can be conveniently grouped, as at Perati, Mycenae and possibly Lefkandi, according to the decorative treatment of their shoulder areas. The main distinction is between those with circumcurrent decoration, on which the same motif is repeated round both the semicircular area opposite the spout and the quadrants between spout and handles; and those on which, for the purposes of decoration, the semicircular area and the quadrants are treated differently (Furumark 1941a, 546-7, 560-2).

Of the former group, the majority are decorated with concentric semicircle groups (FM 43) or cross-hatched triangles (FM 61A). Two only of these are likely to be early LH IIIC in date (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 nos. 8-9). Both have globular bodies with flat top discs, and band and fine line group decoration below their shoulders. Both are decorated with groups of dot fringed concentric semicircles[12]. (Asine SJ I).

Of the remaining stirrup-jars with shoulder decoration of simple circumcurrent type, nine almost certainly belong to a late stage of LH IIIC (Asine SJ III). Two are decorated with cross-hatched triangles, six with groups of concentric semicircles, and one with groups of intersecting lozenges. These are generally ovoid or biconical in shape, with a pronounced conical disc. Handles are often barred, and the bodies decorated with broad bands of paint or areas of monochrome. On some of them, the foot and lower body is left unpainted (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 nos. 6,8-9,13,15,17-8,20, Tomb I:7 no. 18, figs. 234, 269:8)[13]. Another stirrup-jar, on which the shoulder decoration is partly differentiated as between the semicircular area and the quadrants, probably belongs with this late group. This combines groups of concentric semicircles with cross-hatched triangles and is, in other respects, similar to those described above (Fig. 179). Two more stirrup-jars, one with simple decoration of cross-hatched triangles on the shoulder but with more elaborate body decoration, the other with differentiated decoration of linked concentric semicircles, may belong to an intermediate stage between this group and that described

below (Asine SJ II) (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 5, Tomb I:6 no. 11, Tomb I:7 no. 20, figs. 233:5, 270:1).

The second main group of stirrup-jars, those with different compositions in the separate areas of the shoulder surface, consist of twenty four vases, more than half the total number from the cemetery. Ten, or possibly eleven, of these are decorated with the triangular flower motifs (FM 18C:144f.) typical of Perati, of which one, with antithetic flowers in the semicircular area and single flowers in the quadrants, is comparable with some belonging to the end of Perati Phase I or early Phase II (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:2 no. 15, fig. 249:8; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 33:67, 48:1062, 49:142,1069; III, pls. 41a, 51g, 77b). It has a globular body, flat top disc, and body decoration of bands and fine line groups (Asine SJ I). The remainder have decoration of a more elaborate nature which often combines antithetic flowers with motifs such as concentric semicircles, elaborate triangles (FM 71) or scale triangles (FM 42:26ff.). Most have conical top discs. The handles are decorated in a variety of different ways, some monochrome, some edged with paint, some with more elaborate decoration of parallel chevrons or diagonal crosses. Some have broad bands of monochrome paint on the body, and almost all have banding which differs in appearance from the band and fine line group arrangements of the earliest stirrup-jars (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:2 nos. 16?,17,19, Tomb I:4 no. 1, Tomb I:5 nos. 4,6-7, Tomb I:6 nos. 7,9-10, figs. 234, 250:1, 256, 265:3; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 74:II-III; Furumark 1941a, FM 43:28 with examples

mainly from Asine, Attica and the Dodecanese, one from Thebes and one from Aigina). Three of them have patterned body zones, one with a floral or bivalve shell motif (FM 25:22) of a kind also commonly found at Perati (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:4 no. 1, fig. 256; cf. for the body zone decoration, Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 64:33).

The remaining stirrup-jars have a variety of decoration, all of an elaborate type. There is one true Close Style stirrup-jar, the fabric of which was noted by the excavators as being very fine, with a yellow surface finish and glossy blackish brown paint. Its decoration consists of an elaborate lozenge with spiral finials (FM 73:af) and concave sided scale triangles (FM 42:28) on the shoulder. It has four body zones of zigzag and one of concentric semicircles, a rosette (FM 17:30) on the conical top disc, and crosses on the handles. In the detailed precision of its decoration, and the quality of its fabric and paint, it is closely comparable with the narrow class of true Close Style vases from the Argolid (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 3, fig. 260:3; cf. above, chapter 3)[14].

There is also one octopus stirrup-jar which, unlike the majority of such vases from Perati, has no division between shoulder and body, the octopus motif itself taking up the whole area of the vase. In this it most closely resembles the octopus stirrup-jars found in the Dodecanese and Crete. The flower motif (FM 18B:49) which lies between the outer tentacles on the back of the vase is particularly closely paralleled by stirrup-jars from Rhodes,

Kos and Crete (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:6 no. 4, fig. 263:2; cf. Mairi 1923-24, pl. II from Ialysos, a probable Cretan import (Jones and Mee 1978); Morricone 1972-73, fig. 262 from Serraglio; cf. also Pinsent 1978 for "ghost" octopuses in Crete).

The remaining elaborately decorated stirrup-jars do not belong to the true Close Style, though many include some of the most typical Close Style motifs in their decoration. These include rosettes on the top discs, crosses on the handles, and multiple body zones of zigzag or concentric semicircles[15]. Elaborate triangles are particularly favoured as a shoulder decoration (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 nos. 12,14, Tomb I:6 nos. 5-6, Tomb I:7 nos. 15-7, figs. 234, 236:3, 269:1-2, 269:5-7)[16]. These are not a feature of the Argive Close Style, but are very common at Perati and in the Dodecanese as well as on Crete. Two stirrup-jars, moreover, have shoulder motifs of reserved type, similar to those found in the reserved style most typical of Perati (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 14, Tomb I:7 no. 16, figs. 234, 269:6 (FM 43:w); cf. Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 39:570, 46:421, 51:791, 71:617). The shape of these stirrup-jars is generally ovoid or biconical; most have conical top discs, and three have airholes pierced through the shoulder. Stylistically, they compare closely with those of Perati Phases II-III, the later ones having more closely packed and sometimes clumsier decoration (Fig. 178c), and generally broader bands of monochrome paint on the body (cf. Iakovides 1969,II, fig. 74:II-III)[17].

Since other vase types are much less well represented in

the Asine chamber tombs it is more difficult to divide them into stylistic groups. Of the seven amphoriskoi (FS 59), a smallish globular example with groups of vertical lines on the shoulder (FM 64:22) and body decoration of three narrow bands is probably the earliest (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:6 no. 16; cf. e.g. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 70:1199, III, pl. 13b, from a tomb assigned to Phases I-II). Another, ovoid in shape and decorated in monochrome with reserved lines and a reserved base, has particularly close parallels in Perati Phases II-III (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:7 no. 21, fig. 270:3; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, 200, III, pl. 88d:375). Two others, one with unusual decoration of an octopus against a background of concentric arcs (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 4, fig. 233:4 (FM 21:24); cf. especially the octopus types on Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 72 from Perati), and the other with concentric arcs on the shoulder above body decoration of monochrome with reserved lines (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 28, fig. 237; cf. e.g. Fig. 88a from Mycenae), must be of much the same date. The latest in the series is probably one with a baggy globular body shape, decorated with a wavy line on the shoulder, barred handles, and a broad monochrome band on the lower body (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 29, fig. 238).

All the domestic jugs (FS 106) have distinctly hollowed rim profiles and three even bands below the shoulder. Three of them also have handle decoration of a vertical wavy band. In addition, three of them have a single "whisker"-like curl below the handle, while one also has "whisker"-pattern (FM 51:27) on the shoulder

opposite the handle (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:2 no. 11, Tomb I:5 nos. 2,10, Tomb I:7 no. 7, figs. 249:4, 260:2,7, 268:7). At Mycenae such "whisker"-patterns belong mainly to the Advanced and Latest phases of LH IIIC; at Lefkandi to Phases 2b-3.

Two of the collar-necked jars (FS 63), one with suspension knobs on the shoulder, are of ovoid or biconical shape and decorated in a style unlikely to date much earlier than the mid-late stages of LH IIIC (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 nos. 2-3, fig. 233:2-3)[19]. The third, which is more globular in shape, has decoration of an earlier appearance (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:7 no. 6, fig. 268:6 (FM 53:15))[20].

Elsewhere the trefoil-lipped jug (FS 137) appears to be an innovation of mid-LH IIIC[21]. Of the three examples from the Asine tombs one, with its decoration of combined "necklace"- and antithetic spirals or "whisker"-pattern (FM 72:11), is almost identical to examples from Perati Phase IiI (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:6 no. 1, fig. 263:1; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 100:7-8). The other two, one with a barred handle and the other with a wavy line on the shoulder, are likely to be no earlier in date (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 nos. 30-1, fig. 238)[22]. All have broad areas of monochrome on the body.

One of the three lekythoi (FS 122) from the tombs has shoulder decoration of concentric semicircle groups which mirrors that of the latest simply decorated stirrup-jars (Asine SJ III) (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb

I:7 no. 12, fig. 269:2)[23]. Like the other two, one of which also has simple circumcurrent decoration of broad arcs on the shoulder, it is of ovoid or biconical shape, and has a broad area of monochrome on the body above a large reserved area towards the base. Two of these lekythoi also have barred handles.

A deep bowl (FS 285), decorated with a deep band at the rim and a broad band round the body, has perhaps its closest and most numerous parallels in Lefkandi Phase 2a (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 12, fig. 260:5; cf. above, chapter 4)[24]. Another, decorated with running spirals (rM 46:58) similar to those on one of the collar-necked jars, also has parallels in the decorative repertoire of Mycenae, Lefkandi Phases 2b-3, Perati Phases II-III and Kea (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 15, fig. 260:8)[25]. The third deep bowl is covered with monochrome paint with a reserved area on the foot and lower body (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 36, fig. 237)[26]. It belongs to a type which first appears elsewhere at the beginning of mid-LH IIIC and continues without a break to the end of the Mycenaean period[27].

Of the two cups (FS 216) from the cemetery, one with wavy line decoration and a spiral inside the base is similar to cups found on the floor of House G and other parts of the Asine settlement (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 37, fig. 237; cf. ibid., 298f. nos. 12,14, fig. 208:5; Furumark 1944, fig. 3:11). The other, with an irregular band below the rim and a linear interior and barred handle, is also similar to one from the settlement.

Both resemble later LH IIIC types elsewhere (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 13, fig. 260:6; cf. ibid., 298f. no. 13, fig. 208:6; for similar cups at Mycenae, cf. Fig. 85; cf. also Morricone 1965-66, figs. 4, 14, 22 from Kos).

The decoration of the single feeding bottle (FS 162) from the tombs is comparable to that on the latest stirrup-jars and lekythoi (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 34, fig. 237). It has a zone of concentric semicircles round the upper body and a barred handle, while the shape itself is ovoid or biconical rather than globular. The hydria (FS 128), like the domestic jugs, has a distinctly hollowed rim, and handle decoration of a vertical wavy band with a single "whisker"-like loop at the bottom (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 1, fig. 260:1). The belly-handled amphora (FS 58), with plastic knobs on each shoulder and horizontal wavy line decoration between the handles, is an unusual shape for LH IIIC on the Greek Mainland, though it is well represented in later repertoires (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 14, fig. 260:8; cf. Desborough 1972, 33 (third variety), fig. 3). A similar amphora, though much smaller, was found in one of the Phase III tombs at Perati, and another in the Deiras cemetery at Argos (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 114:590; Deshayes 1966, pl. XCI:1). The wide range of closed vessels from the LH IIIC chamber tombs on the island of Naxos includes forms which come very close in shape to these belly-handled amphorae, and the origin of the type can probably be traced back further across the Aegean to the Dodecanese

where, particularly on Kos, there are numerous examples with decoration which appears to range stylistically over the whole LH IIIC period (cf. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 46, 73, 143, 245, 312[28]).

The belly-handled amphora from Asine was found in association with one of the deep bowls described above (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 15)[29], and with a carinated cup (FS 240) which has by far its closest parallels in the Advanced phase at Mycenae. It is decorated with concentric arcs and a barred handle. At the top of the handle the break where an animal protome probably once existed can still be seen (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 16, fig. 260:8; cf. Fig. 181b).

C. Relative chronology

Only a handful of the eighty or so LH IIIC vases from the Asine tombs can be attributed with any confidence to an early stage of LH IIIC (Asine I: cf. Figs. 169-76)[30]. Of the remainder, most belong stylistically to the elaborate middle stages of LH IIIC, represented at Perati by Phases II-III, at Mycenae by the Developed and Advanced phases, and at Lefkandi by Phase 2 (Asine II). In addition to these, however, there are several vases, mainly stirrup-jars with decoration of a late simple circumcurrent type, which seem scarcely represented at Perati (Asine SJ III)[31]. These have parallels in the Argolid, particularly in the Deiras cemetery at Argos, and at Salamis on the Attic coast; and both in shape and

decoration they present little difference from types generally assigned to Submycenaean in both these regions. It seems highly likely that they represent a stage of occupation at Asine which at least briefly outlasted the latest burials at Perati (cf. above, chapter 5).

Although, because of differences in the vase types represented, it is difficult to make a direct comparison between the pottery from the Asine tombs and that published from the settlement, there are sufficient links to suggest that most of the latter belongs to the later part of Asine II or to Asine III[32]. This is confirmed by a comparison with pottery from other stratified sites where most of the parallels for the Asine settlement material fall into the later phases of LH IIIC. Moreover, it now appears that stylistically the pottery recovered from subsequent occupation levels at Asine and assigned to Submycenaean presents little or no break from many of the formal and decorative traditions established among the later vases from the chamber tombs and from the LH IIIC settlement (cf. Frizell 1978a).

Altogether, the evidence so far available from Asine suggests that its greatest importance in the LH IIIC period lies in the middle and later stages of the period, when some expansion of population may even have taken place[33]. This is of particular interest in view of the stylistic affiliations of Asine's pottery at this time. As will be seen, it was probably then that the inhabitants of the site established especially close links with the Aegean coasts and islands.

D. Stylistic affiliations

The Asine tombs provide the largest, and certainly the best published collection of LH IIIC funerary pottery from the Argolid. For this reason an assessment of the relationship between the Asine pottery and that of other Argive sites is difficult. Nevertheless it seems that, for the majority of pottery from Asine, closer and more numerous parallels can be found outside the Argolid, particularly at those coastal and island sites with which Asine, itself a coastal site, appears to have established contacts during the mid-LH IIIC period.

The pottery of Asine I provides little on which to comment. For the few pots assignable to this stage parallels can be found in the earliest LH IIIC pottery of most of the sites already discussed. The presence of two stirrup-jars with concentric semicircle decoration, however, which are found in the early or early-mid LH IIIC of both the Dodecanese and Attica, may indicate that even at this stage Asine was establishing links with overseas regions rather than with the rest of the Argolid[34].

Pottery assigned to Asine II shows strong and unmistakable links with sites lying across the sea. Perati provides some of the most obvious parallels, particularly for the stirrup-jars decorated with triangular flower motifs or elaborate triangles, and for the instances of reserved style decoration. Individual parallels with Perati can be seen in the trefoil-lipped jug with combined "necklace"- and antithetic spiral or "whisker"-pattern,

the amphoriskos with reserved lines, and in the belly-handled amphora[35]. Minor parallels include spirals on the underside of stirrup-jar feet, a particular version of a filled semicircle motif, and the practice of placing small concentric semicircle groups under the handle roots of stirrup-jars[36]. The unusual leaf motif noted at Perati is also found at Asine (Furumark 1944, fig. 6:1-2; cf. above, chapter 5 and Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 12:30). More generally, parallels with Attica and Euboea can be seen in the kylikes with reserved lines on the stem and with solid semicircle decoration from the Asine settlement[10,37]. The decorated tray shape, of which there are two examples from the settlement at Asine, is best paralleled so far on the Mainland at Lerkandi[10,38].

Further across the Aegean the Dodecanese and Crete provide the closest parallels for the octopus stirrup-jar from Asine; while a motif of linked semicircles (FM 43:32-4) on two of the stirrup-jars is also found in the Dodecanese (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 265:1, 270:1; cf. Forsdyke 1925, figs. 225-6, pl. XIV:A952). The belly-handled amphora shape probably originated in the Dodecanese, and may have reached Asine either directly or via the Cyclades or Attica.

Specific stylistic links with the rest of the Argolid are fewer and, when they do occur, can be seen mainly in the later pottery from Asine, towards the end of Asine II and in Asine III. The single Close Style stirrup-jar from the tombs and possibly one or two

Close Style sherds from the settlement (Furumark 1944, figs. 3:19-20, 6:4, one in added white paint), and the carinated cup with its concentric arc decoration and animal protome handle, have good parallels in the Advanced phase of LH IIIC at Mycenae. Specific parallels with the Latest phase at Mycenae can be seen in the deep bowl with narrow reserved zone between the handles and in the two three handled stemless cups, all from the Asine settlement. The simply decorated stirrup-jars (Asine SJ III) and the lekythoi with related decoration also have good parallels among the latest LH IIIC from elsewhere in the Argolid, particularly at Argos which, like Asine, continues an apparently unbroken ceramic sequence right on into Protogeometric.

It appears then that, at least during the middle stages of LH IIIC, Asine, which certainly prospered and perhaps enjoyed an expansion of population at this time, turned outwards towards the sea to establish some strong ceramic and presumably other types of contact with the communities of the Aegean coasts and islands. As the impetus of this mid-LH IIIC activity gradually declined, however, accompanied perhaps by a decrease in frequent and free movement of seaborne traffic, the pottery of Asine may have begun to re-establish closer links with that of the Central Argolid, its natural source of inspiration throughout most of the Mycenaean era. At the same time, however, the links already established with other sites on the Aegean coast of the Mainland were not completely lost, and the pottery of Asine continued to show closer connections

with other coastal regions, particularly with the latest pottery from Attica and Euboea, than did the inland sites of the Argive plain at this time.

Finally, there is the question of the relationship between the LH IIIC pottery of Asine and that of Cyprus in LC III. In 1964 Desborough emphasised the similarities between pottery decorated with wavy lines from Asine and that from the upper levels of the LC III towns of Enkomi and Kition in Cyprus; and suggested that at that time (Myc. IIIC:1c) refugees from the Argolid settled in Cyprus and brought their pottery with them (Desborough 1964, 231.; cf. Furumark 1944, 248; Gjerstad 1944a, 75; 1944b, 123; Karageorghis 1976, 90). Although a resemblance between the wavy line decorated pottery from Asine and that from Cyprus is undeniable, it seems no longer possible to draw a direct connecting link between the two areas to the exclusion of other regions of the Aegean in which wavy line decoration has a widespread distribution (cf. above, chapter 6). Both Cyprus and Asine, as we have seen, shared in many of the ceramic developments of this general area particularly in the middle stages of LH IIIC. Wherever it may originally have risen to popularity (and Cyprus itself is a possibility: cf. above, chapter 6), wavy line decoration is present at Perati in the later stages of Phase II and in Phase III (above, chapter 5). In view of the fairly close stylistic relationship between Perati and Asine it seems reasonable to suppose that it may have been adopted at Asine at much the same time to become current in the

later stages of Asine II and in Asine III[31]. Its seemingly slightly later appearance in the Central Argolid, in the Latest phase of LH IIIC at Mycenae and among the very late LH IIIC pottery from the Deiras cemetery, may even reflect the strengthening of links between Asine and the Central Argolid at this time.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. Furumark concluded that, in all, four phases of pottery development were represented in the area covered by Houses G and H: Myc. IIIB underneath House G; Myc. IIIC:1b on the floor of Room XXXII (House G); Myc. IIIC:1c in the walls and on the floor of House H; and Myc. IIIC:2 above House H. The eight vases found on and near the bench in Room XXXII were assigned more specifically to Myc. IIIC:1b or the transition to Myc. IIIC:1c. The Myc. IIIC:2 (Submycenaean) consisted of one cup (Furumark 1944, fig. 4:3; Frödin and Persson 1938, 312 no. 3, fig. 210:4) originally dated by the excavators to the Geometric period. Furumark's Myc. IIIC:2 date was reached through a comparison with a "deep bell-shaped bowl" of Subminoan date from Liliana (Savignoni 1904, fig. 107). The shape of the cup corresponds best to cups from the cist tombs at Asine, which were termed Submycenaean by the excavators, but firmly dated by Desborough to the Protogeometric period (Frödin and Persson 1938, 435f. Tomb nos. 26-7, figs. 270-9; Desborough 1952, 205ff., pl. 27).

2. Six female figurines and a large terracotta head (the "Lord of Asine") were found on or near the bench in Room XXXII. A painted necklace round the neck of one of the figurines is very similar to the "necklace"-pattern on the neck-handled jug also from Room XXXII. For the typology of these figurines, see Furumark 1941b, 88 and E. French

1971, 139.

3. This is particularly true of the kylix (Frödin and Persson 1938, 290f. no. 4, fig. 206; Furumark 1944, fig. 3:6), the stem of which is slightly swollen as a result of being rolled between the potter's hands. Similar stems occur sporadically at a number of sites in the LH IIIC period, including Lefkandi (cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 5:1,4), and it is unlikely that the swollen effect is deliberate. A direct link between these and the deliberately ribbed stems of Cypriot Proto-White-Painted and the very late pottery of western Greece (cf. below, chapter 14) is improbable (contrast Furumark 1941a, 63). For a kylix with deliberately ribbed stem from Asine cf. Furumark 1941a, 632 FS 276 (unpublished), suggested to be Myc. IIIC:2 (ibid., 63) but possibly Protogeometric (cf. above, note 1).

A rough surface texture, greyish colour and careless modelling are also frequent features of the unpainted pottery from the Granary at Mycenae, both from the floor of the East Basement and in the upper debris.

4. The cup, the trefoil-lipped jug and the tray are classed by Furumark as Myc. IIIC:1b. The legged pyxis, the amphoriskos, the collar-necked jar and the stirrup-jar are assigned by him to the transition from Myc. IIIC:1b to Myc. IIIC:1c, that is roughly contemporary with the Room XXXII deposit.

5. These are classed by Furumark as Myc. IIIC:1c (cf. also above, note 1).

6. These too are assigned by Furumark to Myc. IIIC:1c.

7. Nos. 5-9,13 also classed as Myc. IIIC:1c by Furumark.

8. The fabric descriptions of these two kraters given in the published account are ambiguous. One (no. 5) is described as "greyish-red clay with slip", the other (no. 6) as "grey clay, blackish-green varnish". Since white ware vases at Lefkandi do not normally have a pale surface slip on a darker fabric, the description of at least no. 5 may indicate a type of imitation white ware only. However, Dr Rutter has assured me that he considers one at least of these kraters to be white ware. Cf. above, chapter 5, for a light coloured slip on vases from Perati. The neck-handled jug from Room XXXII of House G at Asine is also of reddish clay with a thin light yellow slip. Cf. also Rutter 1974, 564f., who, however, draws no distinction between slipped and unslipped white ware.

9. At Mycenae monochrome kalathoi and legged pyxides first appear in the Advanced phase, while neck-handled jugs and amphorae, stemless three handled cups, wavy line decoration and barred handles on jugs and jars, "necklace"-pattern and disintegrated zigzag panels (especially on kraters) belong primarily to the Latest phase. At Lefkandi neck-handled jugs and amphorae first start to appear in Phase 2b but are most typical of Phase 3; "necklace"-pattern is also most commonly found in Phases 2b-3, as are barred handles, at least on stirrup-jars. At Perati these features are most typical of Phase III, though some also occur before the end of Phase II.

For a particularly close parallel to the jug (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 209:2), cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 96:1250 (from a tomb assigned to Phases I and II).

10. The tray shape, which is so far unknown from the rest or the Argolid, is found at Lefkandi in Phases 2 and 3 (cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, figs. 5:7 (also with fluted handles), 7:5). The wheel pattern on the tray from the walls of House H is also found in Phase 3 at Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, 344). For white ware kraters in Lefkandi Phases 2b-3, cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 5:5 (especially rim profile and interior decoration), pl. 57:4-5. For a close parallel for the decoration of one of the Asine kraters, see Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 57:2 (Phase III); cf. also white ware kraters from Kea. For parallels to the kylix with painted solid semicircle decoration (Furumark 1944, fig. 4:1A), cf. four from the Acropolis Fountain at Athens (Broneer 1939, fig. 57e-g), and Fig. 131a (Lefkandi Phase 2). Cf. above, chapter 5 for a possible connection between this decoration and the dipped solid semicircles found on cups at Perati, Lefkandi, in the Dodecanese and on Crete. The stirrup-jar with the representation of a ship (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 207:2) has a vertical wavy line down the back of each handle, a feature also found in the Dodecanese, on Naxos and in Perati Phase III (cf. e.g. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 27:12-3; Forsdyke 1925, fig. 275).

11. In addition to the stirrup-jars, there are seven amphoriskoi, four domestic jugs, three lekythoi, three collar-necked jars, three trefoil-lipped jugs, three deep bowls, two cups, two rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles, two kalathoi, and one

hydria, belly-handled amphora, carinated cup, feeding bottle, juglet, krater and small bowl. Cf. Furumark 1941b, 73f.

12. Cf. Perati Phase I: e.g. Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 34:54, 45:1211, 74:I; III, pls. 11a, 51g.

13. For the scarcity of this type of decoration on stirrup-jars at Perati, cf. above chapter 5. Cf. also Furumark 1941a, FM 43:31.

14. This is the only vase from the cemetery which the excavators themselves classed as Close Style, using for comparison the definitions of Blegen, Wace and Forsdyke (see above, chapter 3). A stirrup-jar from Kameiros in Rhodes is so similar to this one that both Furumark and Desborough noted the likelihood of both having been produced in the same workshop (Iacopi 1932-33, figs. 171-2 from Kameiros Tomb 48; cf. Furumark 1944, 198; Desborough 1964, 6). It seems probable that both were made in the Central Argolid and exported from there, the Kameiros one possibly even through the coastal site of Asine.

15. Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 19, Tomb I:6 no. 5, Tomb I:7 nos. 15-6, figs. 236:4, 265:1, 269:5-6 (rosettes on top discs). Ibid., Tomb I:1 no. 16, Tomb I:7 no. 17, figs. 234, 269:7 (crosses on handles). Ibid., Tomb I:1 no. 12, Tomb I:5 no. 5, Tomb I:6 no. 6, Tomb I:7 nos. 15,17, figs. 236:3, 260:4, 265:2, 269:5,7 (multiple body zones). These features are also found on some of the stirrup-jars with flower decoration: Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 4 (rosette

on top disc and multiple body zones), Tomb I:5 no. 6 (crosses on handles). The octopus stirrup-jar (Ibid., Tomb I:6 no. 4) also has a rosette on the disc.

16. Elaborate triangles are also found on four of the stirrup-jars with flower decoration (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:2 no. 19, Tomb I:4 no. 1, Tomb I:5 no. 6, Tomb I:6 no. 9, figs. 250:1, 256, 265:3). Other shoulder motifs on these elaborately decorated stirrup-jars include antithetic spirals (FM 51:26) (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 19, Tomb I:2 no. 18, Tomb I:5 no. 5, figs. 236:4, 260:4). A few have a single decorated body zone, usually of zigzag just below the shoulder (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:6 no. 5, Tomb I:7 no. 16, figs. 265:1, 269:6). Handle decoration of chevrons (Ibid., Tomb I:1 no. 19, Tomb I:7 no. 16, figs. 236:4, 269:6) and cross-hatching (Ibid., Tomb I:7 no. 15, fig. 269:5) is also found on these stirrup-jars. Cf. also Figs. 169-70.

For elaborate triangles at Perati (Phases II-III), cf. Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 39, 42, 44; also Forsdyke 1925, pl. XVI:A1095 (Attica); for the Dodecanese: Blinkenberg and Johansen 1924, 62:2; Forsdyke 1925, figs. 226, 274, pl. XV:A1013; and below, chapter 8. This motif is almost certainly of Cretan origin (cf. Furumark 1941a, 407-8), and may have been first adopted in the Dodecanese.

17. The later Asine SJ II stirrup-jars include several which include typical Close Style motifs in their decoration and multiple decorated body zones, though these are not treated in a true Close Style way

(e.g. Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 nos. 12,19, Tomb I:5 no. 4, Tomb I:6 nos. 5-6,9, Tomb I:7 no. 15, figs. 234, 236:3-4, 265:1-3, 269:5). It seems reasonable to suppose that they may be roughly contemporary with the single true Close Style stirrup-jar (Ibid., Tomb I:5 no. 3, fig. 260:3).

18. Two other amphoriskoi, one large with decoration of cross-hatching, zigzag and a broad wavy line, dashes on the lip and barred handles (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:6 no. 15), and one with linear decoration and a dotted rim (Tomb I:6 no. 17), are not illustrated in the original publication. Neither, however, is likely to be particularly early in the series.

19. For the decoration of the latter (FM 46:56), cf. especially Iakovides 1969, III, pls. 3g:94-5, 8a:355.

20. Furumark (1941b, 76) describes this collar-necked jar as being of "early type". The other two he assigns to Myc. IIIC:1c.

21. Trefoil-lipped jugs first appear at Perati in Phase II, at Lefkandi in Phase 2a, and at Mycenae in the Advanced phase.

22. For the relative dating of barred handles and wavy lines at Asine, see below note 31.

23. Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:1 no. 32, Tomb I:7 no. 12, figs. 237, 269:2, have barred handles. The other lekythos is Ibid., Tomb I:1 no. 33, fig. 237.

24. This and the monochrome deep bowl with reserved foot are both small (rim diameters only 9-10cm.);

cf. the middle stages of LH IIIC at both Mycenae and Lefkandi.

25. Cf. the open centred spiral motif on Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:2 no. 3 (collar-necked jar). For similar open-centred spirals, cf. above note 19 (Perati); Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 57:5 (Lefkandi Phase 2b); Caskey 1972, pl. 98:M17 (Kea); also Furumark 1941a, FM 46:58.

26. The paint is very worn, and it is impossible to tell whether or not this deep bowl had a reserved line below the interior rim.

27. Reserved feet and lower bodies are first found on deep bowls at the end of Phase I at Perati, in Phase IIb at Lefkandi, and in the Developed phase at Mycenae (see above, chapters 3-5).

28. The decoration of Morricone 1965-66, figs. 73, 143 is particularly likely to be early in date.

29. Cf. note 25 above.

30. These are: stirrup-jars (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:2 no. 15, Tomb I:5 nos. 8-9); amphoriskos (Tomb I:2 no. 11); collar-necked jar (Tomb I:7 no. 6); and possibly the rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles (Tomb I:1 nos. 63-4).

31. See above note 13. The lekythos (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:7 no. 12, and possibly also Tomb I:1 no. 32) probably belongs with this group of vases, since its decoration is similar to that of the stirrup-jars. It is difficult to assess how many of the representatives of other vase types belong with this latest group rather than with the Asine II stirrup-jars.

The correspondence between stirrup-jars with barred handles at Asine and those with simple circumcurrent decoration of a late type (only one - Tomb I:6 no. 9 - combines differentiated shoulder decoration with barred handles) might suggest that barred decoration on vertical handles generally is characteristic of Asine III. In this case, the following vases might perhaps also be included in this group: trefoil-lipped jugs (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:6 no. 1, Tomb I:1 no. 30); cup (Tomb I:5 no. 13). On the other hand, barred handles are first found at Perati before the end of Phase II. At Lefkandi they first appear on stirrup-jars in Phase 2b; while at Mycenae they are most characteristic of the Latest phase. A similar pattern is followed by the introduction of "necklace"-pattern (Perati Phase II-III, Lefkandi Phase 2a-b, Mycenae Latest phase) and wavy line decoration (Perati towards the end of Phase II, Lefkandi Phases 2b-3, Mycenae Latest phase). Since, for other reasons, some degree of contemporaneity between the later stirrup-jars belonging to Asine SJ II and Perati Phase III is likely (cf. above), it is possible that Asine first adopted these three features during Asine SJ II. On the other hand, at Mycenae these features belong mainly to the Latest phase which in other respects seems to correspond best to Asine SJ III. A possible solution may lie in the suggestion that these features originated somewhere among the coasts and islands of the Aegean and as such were adopted slightly

earlier at coastal sites like Perati and Asine than in the inland region of the Argive plain (cf. above, chapter 6, and below section D).

32. Cf., for instance, the trefoil-lipped jugs (Frödin and Persson 1938, 298f. nos. 22-3, fig. 209:2; Furumark 1944, fig. 3:14) with those from the chamber tombs (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 238:30-1). For amphoriskoi, cf. Furumark 1944, fig. 3:10, with Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 238:29. For cups, cf. Furumark 1944, fig. 3:11, with Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 237:37. For kalathoi, cf. Furumark 1944, fig. 3:2, with Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 265:6. The deep bowl with narrow reserved zone (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 208:1) from Square G7 of the settlement is not matched by any from the tombs. The deep bowl with similar reserved zone from Tomb I:1 (no. 35, cf. Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 237) has a completely different body profile and a high conical foot. Both Furumark and Desborough concluded that it probably came from a Protogeometric cist tomb in the upper part of the filling of the northern dromos of Tomb I:1 (Furumark 1944, 210; Desborough 1952, 207; 1964, 83).

33. Cf. also above, chapter 3, and Desborough 1972, 20 where it is suggested that the inhabitants of the Argolid may actually have fled to the coast during the LH IIIC period.

34. For the amphoriskos cf. above, chapter 3 (Mycenae Earliest phase) and chapter 4 (Lefkandi Phase 1) as well as Perati and numerous other sites. For the collar-necked jar cf. Döhl 1973, 155

(Iria). The linear decorated rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles are found at Mycenae (Earliest and Tower phases), Lefkandi (Phase 1a), Korakou (Blegen 1921, fig. 87) and Athens (Broneer 1939, fig. 51).
The stirrup-jars have closest parallels in Attica (Broneer 1935, fig. 43a from the North Slope houses, cf. below chapter 33; Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 34:54, 45:1211, III, pls. 11a, 51g (Perati Phase I)) and the Dodecanese (Iacopi 1933, fig. 61; Morricone 1965-66, fig. 221). During both phases of the LH IIIB period a close relationship between the pottery of Asine and that of the rest of the Argolid seems to have been maintained (see E. French 1977, 136, based on assessment of the unpublished material from the Asine settlement in the University collection at Uppsala).

35. The rim of a kalathos (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:6 no. 14, fig. 265:6) also has decoration of a reserved type. It is decorated partly with concentric semicircles arranged in alternating pendent and upright groups, and partly with opposed groups of reserved concentric semicircles against a monochrome background. According to the excavators it gives an appearance of "Red Figure technique" (FM 43:25: cf. especially Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 110:244,916).

36. Spirals on the underside of stirrup-jar feet: Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 7 (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, 179). Filled semicircle motif (FM 43:s): Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb

I:5 no. 5, fig. 260:4 (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 10:26). Concentric semicircle groups under the handle roots of stirrup-jars: Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 no. 4, Tomb I:6 no. 5, fig. 265:1 (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 56:215).

37. For kylikes with reserved lines on the stem, cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 5:1 (Lefkandi Phase 2); Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 87:435 (Perati Phase III); Caskey 1972, pl. 98:M1-2 (Kea); Broneer 1939, fig. 57e (Athens).

38. The shape is also known from the Dodecanese and Crete: Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 63; Morricone 1972-73, 382; Seiradaki 1960, fig. 6.

Chapter 8

The Dodecanese

A. Introduction

In discussing the LH IIIC pottery of the Dodecanese I propose to treat the islands as a unit and to concentrate on the special regional characteristics and stylistic links with other areas. The bulk of the published LH IIIC material comes from Rhodes and Kos, though there is also some from Kalymnos[1]. Apart from the settlement at Serraglio on Kos, all of the pottery comes from tombs and thus provides no independent stratigraphical evidence for the development of LH IIIC. Even at Serraglio it is no longer known how the pottery relates to the detailed stratigraphy of the site, since the records were destroyed during the last war (Morricone 1972-73)[2].

Though there appear to be some differences in the pottery of the islands, particularly between Rhodes and Kos, these seem insufficient to justify separate treatment, at least for present purposes. The differences may lie partly in stronger preferences for certain shapes, and in the relative strength of some external contacts. The two types of strainer jug well known on Rhodes, for example, are less well represented in the Koan cemeteries; and there is some indication that Kos may have had closer direct links with Attica than are so far apparent from the Rhodian material[3]. Nevertheless, it seems clear that most elements of both the formal and stylistic repertoire

or each of these islands were also present on the other.

The LH IIIC pottery from the Rhodian tombs was studied in great detail by Furumark who, on the basis of his stylistic analyses, divided it among his three phases of Myc. IIIC (Furumark 1944). His conclusions as to the stylistic character and chronological development of LH IIIC pottery on Rhodes have been summarised above (chapter 1), and after forty years there is little new evidence to change at least his picture of the chronological development. However, Furumark's view of a parallel development, in his Myc. IIIC:1a phase, of an early form of the Mainland Close Style and its Rhodian equivalent now needs some modification, since stratigraphical evidence from Mainland sites now shows that there was an early stage of LH IIIC on the Mainland in which the Close Style and other elaborate styles played no part whatsoever[4]. As a result, it now appears that some of the greatest differences in the pattern of development of LH IIIC pottery in the Dodecanese and the Greek Mainland may be seen in an early stage of the period, when Dodecanesian invention, stimulated at least in part by contacts with Crete, did produce some innovations which to some extent formed the direct antecedents of later developments there. Some of these innovations were ultimately transmitted to other regions of the Mycenaean world and played a part in the general "renaissance" of mid-LH IIIC throughout the Aegean area.

B. Shapes: LH IIIA-B survivals

The total range of shapes in use during LH IIIC in the Dodecanese is fairly well known (cf. Furumark 1941a, 585-643; 1941b, 71-7; Morricone 1965-66; 1972-73; Mee 1975)[5]. However, because of the lack of stratified material, their relative order of appearance has had to depend on the careful stylistic analyses of Furumark and Morricone. The results of these analyses, nevertheless, do suggest that the role of the Dodecanese in the development and dissemination of some characteristic LH IIIC features may have been an important one.

The existence of some regional peculiarities in the pottery of the Dodecanese during the LH IIIB period was noted by Furumark (cf. also Sherratt 1980). Mostly, these consisted in the persistence of some shapes and motifs more typical of LH IIIA2 on the Greek Mainland; and, in the light of recent spectrographic analysis, may perhaps best be accounted for by the deliberate tailoring of a Mainland export trade to overseas (particularly perhaps Cypriot) tastes (cf. above, chapter 2; Jones and Mee 1978, 469)[6]. The drying up of organised pottery exports from the Greek Mainland to Cyprus at the end of LH IIIB1 also seems to have affected the Dodecanese. Although the innovations typical of LH IIIB1 (including the Group A deep bowl and the Zygouries kylix) seem to have reached the islands there is, as on Cyprus, little or no sign of the type features of Argive LH IIIB2 (cf. E. French 1977; 1978, 168). What little we know about Dodecanesian pottery in the later LH IIIB period mainly comes from

Kos where in the tombs of Eleona and Langada Morricone distinguished a class of vases of local fabric which he considered represented a local tradition on the island during LH IIIB, and which led smoothly into the pottery of LH IIIC (Morricone 1965-66). Shapes belonging to this class represent a continuation of most of those known in the Dodecanese in LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB, including some of those noted by Furumark as peculiar to Rhodes in the LH IIIB period.

The smooth transition which Morricone saw on Kos between locally produced vases of the LH IIIB and LH IIIC periods was also emphasised by Furumark (cf. above, chapter I). Not only did some of the types which he regarded as particularly typical of Rhodes in LH IIIB persist, at least for a short time, into LH IIIC (e.g. FS 17/1R, FS 29/R; for LH IIIC examples from Rhodes, see Furumark 1941a, 612, 628); but a similar persistence applied to other shapes of more widespread LH IIIB occurrence which did not, however, continue into LH IIIC in most other regions of the Mycenaean world. Chief among these were the piriform jars and other closely related shapes which persist more or less throughout LH IIIC on the islands. The LH IIIC examples (FS 39R, FS 37, FS 38, FS 42, FS 49: see Furumark 1941a, 590-2; Morricone 1965-66, figs. 30, 458; 1972-73, figs. 56, 453) are generally somewhat baggy in appearance, a tendency which Morricone noted in connection with several of the shapes in his class of local LH IIIB pottery from Kos (Morricone 1965-66; cf. also Sherratt 1980). Some of these survivals of the piriform jar shape appear to be closely related to certain versions of the amphoriskos which are found mainly in the Dodecanese, and these versions

may indeed be derived directly from them[7].

Other shapes which persist into the LH IIIC of the Dodecanese but which generally do not outlast LH IIIB in other regions of the Mycenaean world are stemmed bowls, stemmed kraters and amphoroid kraters (FS 305-6, FS 9, FS 56-7; cf. Furumark 1941a; Morricone 1972-73, figs. 73, 176, 254-6, 352b-c). The latter particularly seem closely related to LM IIIB amphoroid kraters which may continue into LM IIIC (cf. Furumark 1941a, 26; Popham 1967, 345ff.). In the Dodecanese they often take on a baggy appearance similar to that of some of the piriform jars and amphoriskoi.

Lentoid flasks (FS 186) and spouted cylindrical cups (FS 251-2) are also shapes which appear to have a continuous history on the islands from LH IIIA2 to LH IIIC; and in the case of the latter at least a similar continuous history can also be traced on Crete (cf. above chapter 5 note 10; and Popham 1965, 320). Another is the one-handled semiglobular bowl (FS 242, FS 283, FS 284:39a,44a,47) of which there are numerous examples dated to both LH IIIB and LH IIIC[8].

Other shapes which seem particularly characteristic of the Dodecanese in LH IIIC probably also represent a continuation or adaptation of ones found on the islands in LH IIIB. The kalathos (FS 291) is a direct development from the earlier conical krater (FS 290) which is found both in the Dodecanese and on the Greek Mainland in LH IIIA2-B[9]. In the Dodecanese, however, the kalathos shape not only seems more common than at most sites on the Greek Mainland, but there is also some evidence for its development in a stylistically early stage of LH IIIC, which is not the

case at Mycenae, Lefkandi or even Perati[10]. The juglet (FS 114) may be another shape which can be traced back to the LH IIIB of the islands. These are particularly well represented among the local LH IIIB pottery of the Koan tombs where they continue at least into an early stage of LH IIIC (Morricone 1965-66)[11].

Yet other shapes particularly characteristic of LH IIIC in the Dodecanese probably have their origins on the islands. A particularly interesting type is the belly-handled amphora (FS 58). This shape, which is rare in the rest of the Mycenaean world between LH IIIB1 and a late stage of LH IIIC[12], is relatively common in the Dodecanese where, to judge by their decoration, several examples probably belong to quite an early stage of LH IIIC (cf. e.g. Forsdyke 1925, A970 with triglyph decoration (FM 75:22); Blinkenberg and Johansen 1924, 43:8 with stemmed spirals (FM 51:25); Morricone 1965-66, figs. 73, 143 with triglyphs (FM 75:22) and net patches (cf. FM 42:21-2)). As a shape it has similarities with LH IIIC versions of both amphoriskoi and piriform jars found in the Dodecanese, seen particularly in the baggy appearance of some examples especially from Kos (Morricone 1965-66, figs. 46, 76, 143, 245). The gradual emergence of the late type with tall neck and sharply outturned lip (cf. Desborough 1972, 33 third variety) which is found in the Dodecanese and eventually appears at Perati and Asine in a late-middle stage of LH IIIC (above, chapters 5 and 7) can probably be seen in some Dodecanesian examples which seem intermediate between these shapes and the fully developed type (cf. especially Morricone 1965-66, figs. 46-7, 143, 312 and compare 147 (an amphoriskos); for the fully developed type, cf.

Forsdyke 1925, pl. XV:A1023; Iacopi 1933, fig. 22).

Another shape characteristic of the Dodecanese in LH IIIC, though in this case perhaps more commonly found on Rhodes than on Kos, is the strainer jug. There are two versions of this type: one with an open spout rising from the broadest part of the body (FS 155); and one with a spout in the form of a miniature cup (FS 157). The origin of both types is obscure (cf. Furumark 1941a, 85), though a few LH IIIB examples of the former version are known from the Greek Mainland[13], and it is this type of strainer jug which finds its way into the Cypriot repertoire during the period of production of the Rude Style (above, chapter 6 note 17), and eventually into Philistine ware. The excrescent cups of the latter version, which is so far peculiar to the Dodecanese and Naxos, are also found on a few other vase types in the Dodecanese and Cyprus during LH IIIC or LC III, and in Crete during LM IIIB, and may have been borrowed from the Minoans (cf. Furumark 1941a, 70 note 8)[14].

Most of the above LH IIIC shapes, which either seem most typical of the Dodecanese or for which prolonged survival or early development in the Dodecanese seems probable, also find their way to some other regions during the course of LH IIIC though some continue to be found only rarely outside the Dodecanese. What is most interesting is that when they do appear at Mainland sites for which stratigraphical information is available it seems generally to be towards the middle rather than in the earliest stages of LH IIIC: strainer jugs in

Perati Phase II; lentoid flasks in Perati Phases II-III, though possibly also before the end of Phase I; kalathoi in the Developed phase at Mycenae, Lefkandi Phase 2, Perati Phase II[15]; an amphoroid krater in Lefkandi Phase 2; belly-handled amphorae in Perati Phase III and at Asine. It also seems likely that the one-handled bowls of more semiglobular type which appear rarely at Mainland sites towards the end of the early stage of LH IIIC (at the end of Perati Phase I, in Lefkandi Phase 2a or possibly 1b, in the Tower phase at Mycenae) were the forerunners of the later more conical type which, like several of the other shapes, has a primarily Aegean distribution and is also found, though less frequently than its semiglobular predecessor, in the Dodecanese[16].

On the other hand, there are some shapes which appear only rarely in the Dodecanese in LH IIIC and which, from their decoration, seem to belong mainly to the middle or later stages of LH IIIC there. Among these are trefoil-lipped jugs, lidded boxes, trays, collar-necked jars, lekythoi and neck-handled amphorae. For some at least of these a Mainland origin seems probable. Collar-necked jars and lekythoi, for instance, are found at Mainland sites from an early stage onwards in LH IIIC[17]; while a lidded box from Ialysos (Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 43) seems to be an Attic import (Jones and Mee 1978, 469), and a trefoil-lipped jug from Eleona may also have been imported from Attica (Morricone 1965-66 and figs. 22-3)[18]. The decorated trays, which make their first appearance in a middle stage of LH IIIC, seem confined to the Dodecanese, Euboea

and the Mainland coastal site of Asine. They are also known from Crete (Seiradaki 1960, fig. 6). It seems likely that they originated somewhere within this Aegean area, though so far no evidence of an earlier appearance in one region or another can be produced.

C. Style and decoration: Cretan and other contacts.

The decorative styles of Dodecanesian LH IIIC pottery are less easily categorised than those of some other regions of the Mycenaean world since, on the whole, they present something of a "hotch-potch" which probably testifies to the variety of ceramic influences and contacts to which the islands were exposed at different stages of the period. Many of Furumark's Myc. IIIC:1 early vases (1941a, 585-643) continue to form a convenient basis for a definition of the early LH IIIC style of Rhodes, though the stylistic homogeneity of some of the groups he later assigned to his Myc. IIIC:1a category (1944, 197) seems highly questionable[19]. Of his Myc. IIIC:1b groups (Furumark 1944, 202), Ialysos New Tombs 61 and 72 (Iacopi 1933, figs. 4, 34) seem stylistically closer to Tombs 66 and 67 (Iacopi 1933, figs. 20, 22, assigned by Furumark to Myc. IIIC:1a) than to Tomb 85 some of whose vases seem rather more developed in style. Most of the other tombs are probably very mixed, containing vases not only from more than one major period of LH III (cf. Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 36f.) but also probably from different stages of LH IIIC. On the whole, however, using Furumark's individual vase attributions combined with the general stages or development to be seen on the Mainland and Cyprus as guidelines, it seems possible to list Ialysos New Tombs

35-6, 61, 66, 70, 72, 83 (Maiuri 1923-24, figs. 107, 111, 113-7; Iacopi 1933, figs. 4-5, 20, 28, 34, 61-3) as containing vases which are mainly earlier in style than those of Tombs 23 and 85, for instance (Iacopi 1933, figs. 35-41, 72-4), or Kameiros Tomb 50 (Iacopi 1932-33, fig. 178). Ialysos New Tombs 17 and 21, the ones with the greatest number of LH IIIC vases, appear to provide a mixture in which both vases with fairly elaborate decoration (e.g. Maiuri 1923-24, figs. 39, 44, 65:38) and ones with a more sub-LH IIIB appearance (Ibid., figs. 41-3) are found.

The lack of stratification or of reliable groupings within the tombs makes the distinction of stylistic progression extremely difficult. It is clear, however, from both Rhodian and Koan material as well as from material published from Kalymnos, that both a relatively simple (sub-LH IIIB) and a more elaborate style are found on the islands, each on a wide variety of shapes. While, unlike on the Greek Mainland and Cyprus, we have no independent proof that this represents a chronological progression from an early to a later stage of LH IIIC, whether sudden (as at Mycenae or Lefkandi) or gradual (as at Enkomi), it does seem probable that the progression from sub-LH IIIB to elaborate LH IIIC seen in these regions and on Crete (for which see Popham 1965, especially 334), was also replicated in the Dodecanese [20]. The difficulties of distinction, not only between successive stages of LH IIIC, but also between LH IIIB and LH IIIC, are complicated by the sort of conservatism which led to the continued production of earlier shapes and motifs which died out in other regions before or at the start of LH IIIC. There is much in the

stylistic, as well as formal, repertoire of Furumark's early Rhodian LH IIIC and of Morricone's late LH IIIB and early LH IIIC on Kos which continues directly from from shapes and decorations of the LH IIIB1 and even LH IIIA2 pottery found on the islands. Triglyphs and spiraliform motifs, and horizontal patterns such as wavy bands, "N"-pattern, quirk, close-set chevrons, persist through from early LH IIIB to LH IIIC, sometimes in simplified form, and are often incorporated finally into the more elaborate patterns which eventually emerge. This direct link from LH IIIC to the pottery of LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB which seems particularly marked on Rhodes may account not only for the relative scarcity of tomb material assigned to the LH IIIB period on the island (cf. Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 42), but also for a degree of curvilinearity in the decorative style of early LH IIIC which is far more apparent than in the early LH IIIC or the Mainland sites[21]. What is of particular interest, however, is the additional appearance on this pottery of simpler sub-LH IIIB style of motifs such as concentric semicircles, antithetic tongues, elaborate triangles, hatched loops, cross-hatched lozenges (cf. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 13, 34, 73, 76 from Morricone's late LH IIIB-early LH IIIC category; also Ibid., figs. 72, 74, 76, 85, 221, 317 mostly assigned by Morricone to early LH IIIC; and Maiuri 1923-24, figs. 43:39-42, 107, 115-6; Iacopi 1933, figs. 20, 63; Forsdyke 1925, figs. 227, 274). Many of these motifs, generally neatened, formalised and often outlined, also appear in more elaborate compositions on the islands (cf. Maiuri 1923-24, figs. 44, 65:38, 105; Iacopi 1933, figs. 5, 39, 73-4; Forsdyke 1925, fig. 226). Their appearance at stratified sites on the Greek Mainland, with few

exceptions, coincides with the onset of elaborate decoration in the middle stages of LH IIIC there.

The part played by contacts with Crete in the development of both the earlier and later pottery of LH IIIC in the Dodecanese was noted by Furumark (1941a, 570f.; 1944) and has since been given still greater credence by the recognition of what are almost certainly Cretan imports to the islands (Jones and Mee 1978; Popham 1978, 190)[22]. In the earlier period, the most obvious Minoan contribution is the early type of octopus stirrup-jar, closely related to LM IIIB prototypes which found their way to Rhodes in the form of imports[23]. Probable contributions of Minoan traditions to early LH IIIC developments in the Dodecanese can also be seen in other elements, many of them listed by Furumark (1941a, 102, 105, 548-69f.; 1941b, 109). The version of the stirrup-jar shape typical of the islands in LH IIIC (FS 176), with its sloping shoulder profile and distinctive modelling of the spout rim, was considered by him to have derived directly from a closely similar LM IIIB prototype (Furumark 1941a, 29, 33, 82f.). The practice of treating the various segments of the shoulder area of stirrup-jars with different motifs, which seems to appear relatively early on in Dodecanesian LH IIIC, may also be due to Cretan influence. Though decoration of this type on stirrup-jar shoulders was known in LH IIIA, and appeared sporadically in LH IIIB particularly on vases found in Cyprus (cf. Furumark 1941a, 509-10, 527), it is only in Crete that the consistent use of this type of decoration can be seen throughout LM IIIB and into LM IIIC[24].

Some other shapes and motifs found in a relatively early stage of LH IIIC in the Dodecanese may also have origins in LM IIIB. Amphoroid kraters, spouted cylindrical cups and the small excrescent cups found on some shapes have already been mentioned as having LM IIIB parallels. The high cylindrical and legged pyxides (FS 98, FS 99), which may be related types, may both owe their origins to LM pottery[25]. Among motifs, the concentric semicircles and stemmed, and isolated spirals which appear frequently on Dodecanesian pottery were widely used on Cretan pottery of LM IIIB date[26]. So too were some of the more naturalistic floral motifs and bivalve shell motifs also found in the Dodecanese (cf. Furumark 1941a, 313).

The main stylistic "hallmarks" which distinguish the height of LH IIIC pottery development in the Dodecanese are the developed octopus stirrup-jar style, and what Furumark termed the Late Eastern Style. The developed octopus stirrup-jar can, like its plainer predecessor, be closely linked to Minoan developments particularly to its LM IIIC Fringed Style counterpart, and it was this observation, together with other evidence for continuing links between the two regions, which led Furumark to conclude that, in his Myc. IIIC:1b phase, the influence of Crete was still strong and direct in the Dodecanese (Furumark 1941a, 566; 1944)[27]. Many of the Dodecanesian octopus stirrup-jars, including those which spectrographic analysis has shown to be local (Jones and Mee 1978), resemble their LM IIIC counterparts in not having a separate shoulder zone with decoration which differs from the main composition on the body of the vase (cf. e.g. Iacopi 1933, fig. 38; Maiuri 1923-24, figs. 64, 99, 102,

113; Forsdyke 1925, pl. XIV:1015). Nevertheless they represent for the most part a specific Dodecanesian treatment of the type. This is seen particularly clearly in the rather more spacious way in which the areas between the tentacles are filled often with birds, fish and other animal motifs (cf. Furumark 1944, 208). In their frequent lack of a separate shoulder zone, as well as in the boldness and full curvilinearity of the motifs which surround the octopus, the Dodecanesian octopus stirrup-jars differ from most of those found at Perati which have shoulder zones decorated in designs typical of the site and a thinner, more precise rectilinear treatment of the spaces between the tentacles. The latter were arguably produced in Eastern Attica, as may some have been from the LH IIIC tombs of Naxos where close links with Perati are evident (cf. above, chapter 5 and below, chapter 11). Nevertheless examples with a very close resemblance to the developed Dodecanesian octopus stirrup-jars are also found in the Central and West Aegean, and these suggest that contact with the Dodecanese may have been just as responsible for the spread of this type in mid-LH IIIC as contact with Crete[28].

Furumark included some of the Rhodian octopus stirrup-jars within his Late Eastern Style, a term which he otherwise applied to a type of highly structured abstract decoration, generally of a spacious appearance, which often incorporated pictorial elements. The examples of this style listed by Furumark were drawn mainly from the Dodecanese, but related types of decoration are also found in other parts of the East Mediterranean, in Cyprus and in the Philistine pottery

(Furumark 1941a, 456f.)[29]. Furumark himself drew no conclusions as to the original home of the style, and the increasing evidence of close interconnections between the pottery of the Dodecanese and Cyprus (and hence, ultimately, of the Philistines), particularly in their fondness for certain pictorial elements, may make its origins yet more difficult to unravel. However, in the Dodecanese most of its best examples are found on stirrup-jars, often in a broad zone round the body, which seem stylistically unlikely to be among the earliest LH IIIC vases (cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 163, 217, 335, 339), and on which the motifs are given a neat and spacious appearance which differs somewhat from their Cypriot or Philistine counterparts[30]. The decoration of a strainer jar from Ialysos (Iacopi 1933, fig. 62) which seems very close to Cypriot Rude Style and early LC IIIA compositions, and a bird bowl fragment from Serraglio (Morricone 1972-73, fig. 361b; cf. Karageorghis 1976, pl. 39) might suggest that some of the elements of the style first reached the Dodecanese from Cyprus before being transformed eventually into something particularly characteristic of the islands.

More recently, since the publication of settlement pottery from Kos, attention has been drawn to a class of vases, in some ways relatable to Furumark's Late Eastern Style, which appear not only in Kos, but also at Miletus, at Ugarit, and elsewhere in the East Mediterranean (J.-C. Courtois, 1973). The vases are amphoroid kraters, and the shape itself is the single unifying element of the class. The decoration varies and includes purely abstract compositions, though pictorial elements, particularly fish,

birds and goats, generally in fairly stylised arrangements, also play a part. As far as their origin is concerned, they are almost certainly descended in some way from the pictorial amphoroid kraters which are found in many parts of the Mycenaean world, including Cyprus and the East Mediterranean, in LH IIIA and early LH IIIB, though the influence or LM IIIB amphoroid kraters may also have played a part[31]. Their date range seems long. J.-C. Courtois (1973) sets their initial development at the transition from LH IIIB-LH IIIC in the East Mediterranean, and some of the motifs and designs are indeed similar to those found on the Cypriot Rude Style vases (cf. e.g. J.-C. Courtois 1973, figs. 3-4, 11 with Karageorghis 1963, pls. 12-5). However, at Miletus, on Kos and on Chios (below, chapter 12) both their contexts and decorative treatment vary sufficiently to suggest the probability of a long period of production lasting well into the middle stages of LH IIIC.

Apart from these major groups, several individual motifs are found time and again on the LH IIIC pottery of the Dodecanese, and may be regarded as particularly characteristic of the islands, though not necessarily confined to them. The stemmed and isolated spirals and concentric semicircles which are already found on some of the stylistically earliest LH IIIC pottery have already been mentioned, and it is possible that their popularity on the islands may have derived from the influence of LM IIIB[32]. Another early favourite, the antithetic tongue motif (cf. Mauri 1923-24, fig. 43:39-42), may represent a formalisation of multiple stem motifs already present in the Dodecanese in LH IIIA and B (cf. FM 19:49-57) and on Crete in LM IIIB (Popham 1967,

fig. 6:6)[33]. Later on, during the more elaborate mid-LH IIIC period, motifs such as elaborate triangles, certain versions of a linked semicircle pattern, large rosettes, and spiral terminals filled with solid arcs, have parallels in other regions known to have been in contact with the Dodecanese at this time, particularly on the east coast of the Greek Mainland, on Cyprus and on Crete[34]. It seems probable that some at least of these motifs - above all the rosettes and elaborate triangles - derive ultimately from Minoan prototypes, and bear witness to the Cretan influences which affected the pottery of the Dodecanese both in early and later stages of LH IIIC[35].

A final characteristic of Dodecanesian, and particularly Rhodian, decoration are the snake representations found mainly on strainer jugs. These, which are sometimes painted and sometimes applied in a plastic technique, are extremely realistic and contribute to the general impression given by the two types of strainer jug that their main purpose may have been one of religious ritual (cf. Furumark 1941a, 69; Nilsson 1927, 274).

Other styles and motifs, found particularly among the developed LH IIIC pottery of the Dodecanese, cannot so much be regarded as especially characteristic of the islands as indicative of the close contacts they enjoyed at this time with other regions of the Mycenaean world. In particular, the publication of pottery from Kos has contributed greatly to an appreciation of that island's overseas connections with regions other than Crete. Vases from the cemeteries of Eleona and Langada which Morricone distinguished as imports

on grounds of differences in shape, clay quality and appearance, are almost all so similar to vases from Perati that their probable Attic origin is hardly in doubt (Morricone 1965-66, 302, 310, especially figs. 4-5, 20-3, 32-3). Vases of very similar appearance to those from Perati are also occasionally found on Rhodes (cf. Gardner 1897, no. 9, pl. I; Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 43:2740; cf. also Jones and Mee 1978). The reserved styles characteristic of Perati, but also found on Cyprus and Crete, also occasionally occur in the Dodecanese[36]. In the other direction, it seems probable that the Dodecanese may have been responsible for the appearance or adoption in Eastern Attica of types such as the strainer jug, the lentoid flask, the hemispherical predecessor of the one-handled conical bowl, and possibly the octopus stirrup-jar, the kalathos, some versions of the straight-sided alabastron and legged pyxis[25] (cf. above, chapter 5). Cups with dipped semicircle decoration, which are also found in the Dodecanese (Iacopi 1932-33, figs. 159, 178; Morricone 1972-73, figs. 59, 81), may also have been transmitted to the Greek Mainland via the Dodecanese rather than direct from Crete.

Evidence of contacts between the Dodecanese on the one hand and Naxos and Chios on the other is also strong (cf. below, chapters 11-2). Amphoroid kraters and kalathoi from Chios and kalathoi from Naxos are very similar to ones from the Dodecanese; and though most of the octopus stirrup-jars from the Naxos tombs have a separate shoulder zone, some with decoration similar to those from Perati, some of the filling motifs found between the tentacles

most closely resemble Dodecanesian versions[37]. Other shapes found on Naxos in LH IIIC, such as the lentoid flasks, strainer jugs with excrescent cups and the cylindrical spouted cups, also suggest Dodecanesian contacts, while Naxos also produces a series of large jars which seem closely related in shape to the belly-handled amphorae and connected shapes found in the Dodecanese. Some of the individual motifs found in Naxos also appear to have particular connections with the Dodecanese: a type of elaborate pattern with lozenges as its main motif finds especially close parallels in pottery from Serraglio on Kos (Kardara 1977, fig. 18:4; cf. Morricone 1972-73, fig. 375).

The settlement pottery from Serraglio has also produced evidence of a type of pictorial decoration hitherto unknown in the LH IIIC of the islands. This is found mainly on amphoroid or deep bowl kraters and consists of complete pictorial scenes often including human figures, rather than of the artificially stylised arrangements which merely include pictorial elements to be found on vases of Furumark's Late Eastern Style (Morricone 1972-73, figs. 356-8). These, which may be related to the tradition of kraters with pictorial scenes dating back to LH IIIA-B and which may partly at least have survived in the Rude Style and some of the amphoroid kraters described by J.-C. Courtois (1973, cf. especially figs. 2, 9-10), are nevertheless, with their robust and lively draughtsmanship, strongly reminiscent of the mid-LH IIIC pictorial kraters of the Greek Mainland, especially those of Lefkandi. A bichrome technique is also occasionally found on these, as on some of the Mainland examples[38].

Pottery from the settlement at Serraglio also provides further signs of links with Cyprus already seen in such features as the strainer jugs, some pictorial elements (especially the duck-like birds[39]) and other individual motifs (cf. also chapter 6). Furumark emphasised particularly the evidence for links between the two regions at the beginning of LH IIIC/LC IIIA (Furumark 1965). The presence at Serraglio of a number of kraters, and possibly other vases, decorated with the elegant, finely drawn and close set curvilinear patterns with multiple outlining and often reserved elements which are very similar to some found at Enkomi and Sinda clearly confirms the existence of such links also in later stages of LC IIIA, in particular with Level IIIb at Enkomi and Sinda III (Morricone 1972-73, figs. 355a, 366, 373h, 374; cf. Dikaios 1969, pls. 307:195, 309:263ff.; Furumark 1965, pl. II).

Features which the Dodecanese has in common with the Central Argolid in this developed LH IIIC stage are mostly ones shared with most other regions of the Mycenaean world, and more specific links, such as those seen for instance between the Dodecanese on the one hand and Eastern Attica, the Cyclades and Crete on the other, are not immediately apparent. Despite the "closeness" of some Dodecanesian decoration in this period, true Close Style can be seen on only one stirrup-jar from Kameiros (Iacopi 1932-33, figs. 171-2). This is so similar to the single Close Style stirrup-jar from the Asine tombs (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 260:3) that it seems possible that the two may originally even have formed a pair. In this case, the Rhodian one

may have been channelled through Asine where the LH IIIC pottery also in other respects reveals some specific links with that of the Dodecanese (above, chapter 7)[40].

In addition, there are certain "international" features, like reserved and wavy lines, which also occur in the Dodecanese but for which a precise region of origin is more difficult to pinpoint. The reserved line is not particularly common on the islands, and seems to occur mainly on the bodies of closed vases which are either considered to be relatively late in date (e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 13, 170-1) or possibly imported (e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 22-3)[41]. Wavy line decoration, however, which also appears in several Aegean regions during the middle elaborate stages of LH IIIC, is well represented. Its exact point of appearance in the Dodecanese, as in other regions where stratigraphical information is not available, is problematic; but several of the examples listed by both Furumark and Morricone are placed by them in an early stage of LH IIIC (cf. especially Morricone 1965-66, figs. 67, 85, 87, 94 on straight-sided alabastra assigned by Morricone to late LH IIIB-early LH IIIC[42]; cf. also Ibid., figs. 112:642, 315:290 also considered to belong to an initial phase of LH IIIC; and Forsdyke 1925, pl. XIV:A949, considered early by Furumark (1941a, 635) because of the vase shape). This recalls the position at Enkomi (above, chapter 6), and it may well be that in both the Dodecanese and Cyprus this type of decoration began its rise to popularity fairly early on in the course of LH IIIC. The Serraglio settlement produces some particularly

good evidence for this type of decoration, mainly on deep bowls and basins and often with the wavy lines separated or framed by straight horizontal bands or lines (Morricone 1972-73, figs. 347-8; 1965-66, figs. 46, 117, 312; cf. also Forsdyke 1925, 196:A1021). This particular characteristic of Dodecanesian LH IIIC is elsewhere found only on Chios (below, chapter 12).

D. The latest stage

The latest stage of LH IIIC in the Dodecanese presents some problems: given the lack of stratigraphy, the amount and character of any pottery which should be assigned to it are almost impossible to assess, particularly in view of the diminution in extensive inter-regional contacts which may have taken place towards the end of the period (cf. chapter 4, section N). Furumark assigned two of the Rhodian tombs (Kameiros Tomb 50 and Ialysos New Tomb 20), as well as a few other individual vases, to his Myc. IIIC:1c phase (Furumark 1944, 210ff.). These groups include vases which in both style and spirit still belong with the elaborate stages of mid-LH IIIC, some with particularly close resemblances to pottery from Perati Phases II-III[43]. Similarly, among what Morricone considers to be the latest vases from the cemeteries of Kos are several decorated in an extremely elaborate style, many of them showing close connections with other regions of the Aegean. Among these are several which are regarded as imports, several of them with very close parallels in Perati Phases II-III (Morricone 1965-66, figs. 4-5, 20-3, 32).

Although Furumark placed his Rhodian Myc. IIIC:1c groups in the same category as certain groups from the Mainland which do appear to belong to the latest stage of LH IIIC there (the Larnax burial from Lion Gate Stratum XI and Tomb 502 burial III at Mycenae; the last burial period of Tomb I:1 and House H at Asine: see above, chapters 3 and 7), the elaborate nature of many of these "late" vases from both Rhodes and Kos contrasts strongly with the rather dispirited pottery from the Mainland groups[44]. This contrast, and the similarities which several of them display with pottery from Perati Phases II-III, suggest rather that they should be included in a mid-LH IIIC stage, characterised chiefly by its elaborate styles of decoration, when many regions experienced a high degree of artistic invention and innovation and when stylistic influences, particularly in and around the Aegean area, seem to have been both diverse and widespread.

A further feature of Dodecanesian pottery, however, which is particularly characteristic of the islands, is a type of geometrical decoration which may appear sporadically from LH IIIA onwards, and which Furumark considered to be the result of a provincial tradition based, ultimately, on a sub-LH IIIA style. Though pottery decorated in this fashion is, to an even greater extent than other styles of pottery from the unstratified contexts of the Dodecanese, difficult to date exactly, Furumark considered that much of it belonged to a late stage of LH IIIC (his Myc. IIIC:1c) and that, indeed, it may have been the only type of pottery produced on Rhodes in the period corresponding to his Myc. IIIC:2

on the Greek Mainland (Furumark 1941a, 574; 1944, 220-2)[45]. His reasons for thinking so were partly the stylistic resemblances between it and the Rhodian Protogeometric which succeeds LH IIIC which led him to suggest that it might have formed the immediate antecedent of Rhodian Protogeometric; and partly the apparently late contexts in which some at least of the vases decorated in this style were found (cf. Furumark 1944, 220 note 2; 1941a, 274)[46]. The shapes concerned are mainly those either peculiar to or most characteristic of the Dodecanese in LH IIIC, such as the special Dodecanesian forms of stirrup-jars, piriform jars and related shapes, amphoroid kraters, amphoriskoi and spouted cylindrical cups. Decoration is predominantly rectilinear, consisting of boldly hatched triangles, panels and zigzags and, occasionally, isolated spirals (cf. Maiuri 1923-24, figs. 40, 56, 60; Iacopi 1933, figs. 4, 22-3, 35; Forsdyke 1925, pl. XIV:A853; Blinkenberg and Jonansen 1924, 42:5-6, 44:3-4, 45:2, 46:7-8, 49:2, 54:7, 63:3-4; Morricone 1965-66, figs. 65, 89, 160-1, 171, 204; 1972-73, figs. 56, 253)[47]. It is frequently associated with areas of monochrome or very broad even bands which cover most of the body of the vase. The use of monochrome and such broad banding are probably features of a Dodecanesian provincial tradition which can be traced back as far as the end of LH IIIB (cf. Morricone 1965-66, 299ff.), though their popularity may doubtless have been enhanced in the late-mid LH IIIC period when the use of monochrome or monochrome areas on the lower bodies of vases became a common feature in most of the regions with which the

Dodecanese was in contact.

The general style of this geometrical type of decoration bears some similarity to certain pottery usually assigned to late LH IIIC on the Greek Mainland, particularly in the Ionian Islands, Achaea and Messenia, where, too, reminiscences of the Protogeometric style in the decoration have led to suggestions that its date may be very late indeed, possibly even contemporary with early Protogeometric in other regions such as Attica (see below, chapter 14). While it is not impossible that the eastern and western fringes of the Mycenaean world, both of which retained at least something of their own provincial traditions in pottery manufacture and decoration during much of the Mycenaean era, may have produced some decoration of a "primitive geometrical" character (Furumark 1941a, 574) quite independently during a period of relative isolation at the end of the Bronze Age, there are signs, often no more than hints, that these eastern and western fringes were in direct contact with each other during part at least of LH IIIC. Though any direct contact between the Dodecanese in particular and the Western Peloponnese at the very end of the Mycenaean period is extremely hard to prove, it remains a possibility that some such connection may have persisted.

E. Summary

The role of the Dodecanese, both in the development of some of the shapes and motifs found over a wide area in LH IIIC and as a melting-pot, so to speak, for the reception and transmission of artistic ideas originating in other regions of the Mycenaean world, would seem to have been an important one. Early contacts with Crete, combined with an unusual persistence on the islands of ceramic traditions inherited from the LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB periods, appear to have resulted in the establishment of an early LH IIIC repertoire which already had within it the seeds of some later developments. Unlike at most Mainland sites, where there is little in the early stages of LH IIIC to prepare one for the flood of innovation which follows in the succeeding stages, the Dodecanese was already building the foundations for the developed, more elaborate styles of pottery which were to follow: in its retention of the one-handled semiglobular bowl and several LH IIIA2-IIIB1 motifs, and in its early adoption or development of, for instance, the octopus stirrup-jar type, the kalathos, the pyxis[25], and such motifs as concentric semicircles and antithetic tongues. The Dodecanese also seems to have made a relatively early start in the establishment and maintenance of overseas contacts with other regions in and bordering the Aegean. These contacts can be seen not only in the influence of Crete and possibly also Cyprus on the islands, but also in signs of Dodecanesian influence elsewhere: on Cyprus where Dodecanesian imports and influence can probably be traced in the earliest stages

of LC IIIA (above, chapter 6), on Melos (below, chapter 11), possibly on Crete (Popham 1978, 190), and at Perati where already before the end of Phase I a few vases provide signs of imports or influence from the Dodecanese (above, chapter 5).

In a subsequent stage of LH IIIC, when decoration of a more elaborate nature is found in the Dodecanese as in other regions of the Aegean, evidence of the islands' overseas contacts becomes both more impressive and diverse. That the links with Crete established earlier continued is shown both by the influence of LM IIIC's own elaborate styles of decoration, particularly on the developed octopus stirrup-jars, and by probable imports of LM IIIC vases. Links with Cyprus also remained close, as is seen particularly in some of the elaborately decorated krater and jar fragments from Serraglio on Kos. Contacts with Perati are indicated not only by the appearance of the octopus stirrup-jar type and other shapes and decorations of probable Dodecanesian inspiration in Phases II and III, but also by the presence on Kos, and to a lesser extent on Rhodes, of vases which were most probably imported from Attica. Similar close links can be seen on Naxos and Chios. At both Asine and Monemvasia on the Peloponnesian coast there are some signs of close stylistic links with the Dodecanese (above, chapter 7)[28]; while at Lefkandi on Euboea good parallels for at least a few features, such as the tray shape and the amphoroid krater, can also be found in the Dodecanese (above, chapter 4). Contact even with the Close Style of the Central Argolid, probably channelled through the coastal site of Asine,

can be seen in at least one vase from Rhodes.

More generally, the Dodecanese may have played some part, as yet hard to assess or define, in the transmission of certain elements thought by Furumark to have been of Cretan origin which appear in almost all the elaborate styles of mid-LH IIIC even in regions, such as the Central Argolid, where evidence of direct Aegean contacts is less apparent. Elements such as concentric semicircles, rosettes, concentric arc fillings, the outlining of motifs, and octopus decoration of one sort or another become very widespread in this period[48], as does the differential treatment of the shoulder areas of stirrup-jars; others, such as elaborate triangles and hatched loops, are less widespread but have a strong distribution among the coastal and island sites of the Aegean. For all of these a background in the pottery of LM IIIB can be found (cf. Furumark 1941a, 102, 105, 548-70)[49]; and for several at least some case can be made for their direct transmission from Crete to the Dodecanese in either an early or middle stage of LH IIIC. Although direct Cretan contacts with some regions of the Aegean at this time, particularly perhaps with Eastern Attica and the Cyclades, can also be traced (chapters 5 and 11), connections between the Dodecanese and these as well as other regions in or bordering the Aegean seem just as strong and generally more pervasive. The evidence of these connections, to be seen in the exchange of imports and ideas between the Dodecanese and various island and coastal regions or the Aegean including Cyprus and Crete, suggests

that features of Minoan or Minoan-Dodecanesian origin may also have been diffused among these regions in much the same way. Once they had reached the Western Aegean their spread to more inland regions of the Greek Mainland would have presented few problems.

Most of what has usually been considered to be the latest pottery from the Dodecanese also seems to have been produced at a time when contacts with other regions of the Aegean and with Cyprus were still closely maintained. Wavy line decoration, which first begins to become popular in several regions of the Aegean area, including Eastern Attica and Cyprus, while the elaborate styles of mid-LH IIIC are still being produced, is also found in the Dodecanese where too, particularly as at Enkomi, some of its occurrences may be really quite early. In other respects, much of what appears to be the latest pottery from the Dodecanesian tombs compares well with a late-mid, but not final stage of LH IIIC at sites on the Greek Mainland, for instance Perati Phase III during which elaborately decorated pottery was still being produced. There is very little evidence for either the latest, simply decorated types of stirrup-jar to be found among the late LH IIIC pottery from some Mainland sites and from Naxos, or for what are usually regarded as characteristic features of Submycenaean in this area[50].

The problem of the provincial, geometrical style of decoration to be found on some shapes in the Dodecanese has yet to be resolved, but if Furumark is right pottery decorated in this manner may have formed the immediate antecedent of the Dodecanesian Protogeometric style, and

may thus have predominated in a final stage of the Late Bronze Age on the islands. If this is the case, the Dodecanese may then have experienced at least a short period of relative isolation from some of the regions with which it was in close contact during much of LH IIIC. The problems of the relationship, if any, between the Dodecanese and the far western fringes of the Mycenaean world at a very late stage of the Bronze Age remain unresolved. However, in the case of Cyprus it seems likely that, despite a generic resemblance between some of the geometrically decorated vases from the Dodecanese and the Proto-White-Painted style (above, chapter 6), most of the Dodecanesian elements which Furumark (1944, 265) recognised in Proto-White-Painted may be derived from the contacts which took place between the Dodecanese and Cyprus during LH IIIC and LC IIIA.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. LH IIIC pottery from Rhodes comes from the cemeteries of Ialysos excavated at various times between 1868 and 1928 by Biliotti, Maiuri and Iacopi (Furtwängler and Loeschke 1886, 1-18; Forsdyke 1925, 139ff.; Maiuri 1923-24; Iacopi 1933), from Kameiros (Iacopi 1932-33), and from cemeteries near Vatoi in the south-east of the island material from which is now in the museums of Copenhagen and Rhodes (Blinkenberg and Jonansen 1924; Iacopi 1934). For the cemeteries of Eleona and Langada on Kos, see Morricone 1965-66, and for the settlement at Serraglio, Morricone 1972-73. For pottery from Kalymnos see Forsdyke 1925. Mee (1975) discusses a great deal of hitherto unillustrated material, particularly from Ialysos.

2. The LH IIIC pottery comes from the fourth city to be built on the site.
The problems of relative chronology in the Dodecanesian tombs are further complicated not only by the re-use of earlier tombs in the LH IIIC period but also by the practice of re-using earlier vases in later burials, which seems to have been particularly prevalent in this region. Cf. Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 37; and for the same practice in the Protogeometric period, Desborough 1972, 224.

3. There are only three strainer-jugs from Langada on Kos as compared with over twenty from Ialysos. Morricone (1965-66) considers that this is a type which has its origins on Rhodes.
For Koan links with Attica, see below, and Iakovides 1969, II.

For differences within Rhodes, between Ialysos and the cemeteries to the south of the island, see Furumark 1944 and Mee 1975.

4. It is now difficult to tell whence Furumark's idea of the early appearance of the Mainland Close Style arose, but the contents of Kameiros Tomb 48 probably formed an important part of his original evidence. Here a stirrup-jar decorated in the true Close Style of the Argolid was found along with vases of much earlier (LH IIIB or even LH IIIA) appearance (cf. Cavanagh and Mee 1978, 39); and the entire group was assigned by Furumark (1944) to Myc. IIIC:1a. Cf. also Desborough 1964, 6 who reiterates the view that closeness of decoration is an early characteristic of LH IIIC; but contrast Morricone 1965-66, 310f.

5. In the cemeteries of Eleona and Langada on Kos the shapes assigned by Morricone to LH IIIC are stirrup-jars, juglets, straight-sided alabastra, amphoriskoi, jugs and cups of various types, deep bowls, feeding bottles, belly-handled amphorae and related shapes, pyxides, piriform jars, kalathoi, two types of strainer jug, multiple vases, lekythoi, trefoil-lipped jugs, mugs, ring vases, one-handled bowls, flasks, kylikes, shallow bowls and hydriae. From the settlement at Serraglio by far the greatest number of fragments belong to kraters (mainly the amphoroid type) and basins and bowls of various sorts, though there are also stemmed kraters, one-handled bowls, kalathoi, piriform jars, cups, pyxides, stirrup-jars, collar-necked jars, flasks and trays. Cf. Morricone

1965-66; 1972-73. Cf. Idem 1965-66, 304ff. for differences in tomb and settlement repertoires.

6. For example, FS 166R and FS 171R (stirrup-jar and kylix shapes based on LH IIIA2 versions and assigned by Furumark to LH IIIB in the Dodecanese). For LH IIIB examples of these shapes also from Cyprus, see Stubbings 1951, pl. XIII:16 (FS 166); Karageorghis 1963, pl. 22 (FS 171); Karageorghis 1974, pl. CXXVI:182 (FS 257).

7. Cf. especially FS 62 (Furumark 1941a, fig. 8), with long neck and vertical handles on the shoulder, which is found only in the Dodecanese (cf. also Morricone 1965-66, fig. 74). FS 61 (with three horizontal handles), of which the Dodecanese produces several examples, also bears a certain resemblance to some piriform jar types.
The number and variety of amphoriskos shapes to be found in the Dodecanese led Desborough (1964, 8) to suggest that the type as a whole may have originated there. However, it now seems more likely that some versions at least had developed from smaller types of piriform jar by LH IIIB (cf. Sackett and Popham 1965, 284 note 77; Furumark 1972, 662; for two-handled piriform jars of LH IIIB or even LH IIIA2 date, see Furumark 1941a, 591-2). Some of the examples from Rhodes (e.g. Forsdyke 1925, pl. XIV: A960) assigned by Furumark to Myc. IIIC:1a might well be of early LH IIIB date.
For an LH IIIB1 example of a collar-necked jar, another shape previously thought to have been exclusively LH IIIC in date, see E. French 1967, pl. 38c.

8. For LH IIIB examples from the Dodecanese, see Furumark 1941a, 625, 634; Stubbings 1951, 13, 18; Morricone 1965-66, figs. 202, 239. The type seems to begin in LH IIIA2. For examples assigned to LH IIIC: Morricone 1965-66, fig. 320; 1972-73, fig. 260a; Forsdyke 1925, pl. XIV:A953; Blinkenberg and Johansen 1924, 55:14,15, 56:1.

9. For LH IIIA2-B examples of conical kraters (FS 290, also spouted version FS 300), see Furumark 1941a, 591-2; Stubbings 1951, 17; Morricone 1965-66, figs. 98 (considered to be an import), 323.

10. Furumark dates one from Kalymnos (Forsdyke 1925, pl. XIV:A949) to his Myc. IIIC:1 early, mainly on account of its shape which he considered to be intermediate between the concave-convex FS 290 and the more conical FS 291. One from Langada (Morricone 1965-66, fig. 257) has a similar shape. Cf. also Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 43 on which the decoration seems distinctly earlier than many other examples from Rhodes and Kos. For further indications that the shape may first have developed in the Eastern Aegean, see below chapters 10, 12. At both Lefkandi and Mycenae the shape does not appear until mid-LH IIIC; at Perati the earliest example of a kalathos is one with mourning figures on the rim from a Phase I tomb, which Iakovides suggests may be of Dodecanesian origin. The shape does not appear regularly at Perati until Phase II, although its predecessor, the LH IIIA2-B conical krater, is still produced in Perati Phase I.

Special forms of the kalathos found in the Dodecanese are those with mourning figures or excrescent cups on

the rim (e.g. Maiuri 1923-24, 125, figs. 65, 101; Forsdyke 1925, pl. XIV:A950), also found on Naxos and at Perati; and those with "bumps" on the interior surface (e.g. Ashmolean Museum 1910.411 and Forsdyke 1925, fig. 277, pl. XV:A1016 all from Kalymnos) also found on Chios.

11. Morricone (1965-66, 303) has suggested that these do not outlast early LH IIIC at Eleona and Langada. The Koan ones which he assigns to LH IIIB and early LH IIIC are similar in shape to those from Perati Phase I.

12. LH IIIB1: E. French 1967, 172, fig. 14. One from Eutresis is probably also of LH IIIB date (cf. D. French 1972, 39).

13. There is one from an LH IIIB1 context at Mycenae (Chadwick 1962, fig. 21; cf. E. French 1967, 165 no. 83) whose decoration is strangely reminiscent of the Eastern Aegean, and one from Prosymna (Blegen 1937, fig. 292). One from Iria is probably of late LH IIIB/transitional to LH IIIC date (Döhl 1973, fig. 11:B14).

14. Excrescent cups in the Dodecanese: e.g. Iacopi 1933, pl. XXII (zoomorphic vase), Maiuri 1923-24, 125, figs. 57, 100 (kalathos, zoomorphic and bird vases). On decorated LC III vases: e.g. Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, no. 1649-50 (bird and ring vases); they also continue into Proto-White-Painted (Gjerstad 1944a, fig. 1:19,21).
For examples of both types of strainer jug from the Dodecanese, see Furumark 1941a, 609 and Morricone 1965-66, figs. 170, 195, 259.

15. For the single (possibly imported) kalathos from Perati Phase I, see above note 10.

16. For conical versions from the Dodecanese, see Mee 1975, 100. There is also one from the Ialysos cemetery in the sherd collection of the British School at Athens (Box V 44, 3). See also above, chapter 6 for the probable continuation on Cyprus of LH IIIA2-B one-handled semiglobular bowls into LC II-IIIA locally produced versions.

17. See above, chapters 3 and 4 note 10, for collar-necked jars in the Earliest phase at Mycenae and Phase 1a at Lefkandi; above, chapter 5 and note 9, for early LH IIIC lekythoi at Perati and in the Argolid. For collar-necked jars from the Dodecanese, see Forsdyke 1925, pl. XVI:A1022; Morricone 1972-73, fig. 374a. Two lekythoi from Eleona (Morricone 1965-66, figs. 13, 30) are among the vases considered by Morricone to be imports, probably from Eastern Attica.

18. Cf. above, chapter 5 note 20, for the possibility that the lidded box shape originated in Eastern Attica.

Another trefoil-lipped jug (Morricone 1965-66, fig. 13) is also stylistically among the latest vases from Eleona. It seems possible that this type may derive ultimately from the trefoil-lipped cylindrical jugs of "Levanto-Helladic" type (FS 139) which were probably produced in the Peloponnese in early LH IIIB mainly for the Cypriot market. On Cyprus trefoil lips appear to have a more or less continuous history from LC II through the Plain wheelmade of LC IIIA to Proto-white-Painted

(cf. above, chapter 6 note 33). Whether the mid-LH IIIC forms (FS 137, FS 138), which do seem most representative of the Greek Mainland, can be in any way related to the LC III types it is impossible to say. Furumark dated two trefoil-lipped jugs from Rhodes (Iacopi 1932-33, Tomb 46:6; Forsdyke 1925, A883) to his Myc. IIIC:1e. Neither is decorated, however, and both differ from the usual mid-LH IIIC type one in being somewhat larger and the other baggier.

19. Cf. especially Kameiros Tomb 48 which includes a Close Style stirrup-jar together with other vases of LH IIIB or even LH IIIA appearance (above, note 4).

20. This contrasts with Furumark's view (1944) that in Myc. IIIC:1b the bulk of the pottery from the Ialysos groups formed a debased continuation of the sub-IIIB class, though undoubtedly some of the more elaborate pottery from Ialysos, above all vases which can be shown to be locally made (cf. especially Jones and Mee 1978, 463-4 samples 4-5, 34, 36, 41), do show a greater element of continuity with sub-LH IIIB or even sub-LH IIIA forms of decoration found on the island than is the case with the elaborate pottery of Mainland sites.

See also above for the suggestion that Ialysos New Tombs 61 and 72 seem, with few exceptions (e.g. Iacopi 1933, fig. 5), consistently earlier in style than New Tomb 85.

21. Cf. especially Iacopi 1933, fig. 61 (Ialysos New Tomb 83) and Forsdyke 1925, fig. 227.

22. Cf. also, for example, Furumark 1944, 201 (Forsdyke

1925, pl. XIII:A931). Morricone 1965-66, figs. 194, 196, noted by the author as a possible (Rhodian) import at Langada, may be of Cretan origin particularly in view of the treatment of the shoulder (Ibid., fig. 196e); Morricone 1972-73, fig. 226 from Iapili is almost certainly Cretan.

23. For these early types, see Furumark 1944, 201f. with references; Morricone 1965-66, fig. 219a-b; Iacopi 1933, fig. 69 (a Cretan import: cf. Jones and Mee 1978). For LM IIIB prototypes , cf. Popham 1967, pl. 86a-c.

By LM IIIB is meant the pottery style which is assumed to be roughly contemporary with LH IIIB in the Mycenaean world, and which incorporates some features of and displays certain parallel developments to LH IIIB (Furumark's LM IIIB:1). Furumark's LM IIIB:2 has been discarded in favour of the less confusing LM IIIC (cf. Furumark 1944, 222f.; Desborough 1964, 106f.). For recent outlines of LM IIIB and LM IIIC, see Popham 1964, 1965, 1967, 1970; Sackett and Popham 1965.

24. Cf. Furumark 1941a, 502 for its appearance in LH IIIC. For LM IIIB examples, of which there are many, cf. Davaris 1971, pls. 525g, 527a; Popham 1964, pl. 6; Popham 1978, fig. 1. For early LH IIIC examples of this from the Dodecanese, cf. Forsdyke 1925, fig. 227; Iacopi 1933, figs. 61, 63; Morricone 1965-66, figs. 76, 79. Stirrup-jars with circumcurrent decoration of the shoulder zone are also still found, however, in early LH IIIC in the Dodecanese (cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 24-5, 170:116,121, 221:171; Iacopi 1933, fig. 63).

Another feature of stirrup-jar decoration found occasionally in the Dodecanese in LH IIIC, which may be related to an LM IIIB style of decoration, is the practice of putting a large transverse pattern across the semicircular area (e.g. Iacopi 1933, fig. 26; Morricone 1972-73, fig. 263 on a lentoid flask; cf. e.g. Tzedakis 1970, pl. 410a). There is one example of this type of decoration from Perati (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 63:1117 from a tomb assigned to Phase II).

25. For a tripod pyxis dated by Morricone to late LH IIIB or early LH IIIC, see Morricone 1969-00, fig. 310:277. For another one of apparently early date, see Morricone 1972-73, fig. 178. At least some versions of this shape, with collar neck, may be a Dodecanesian adaptation of the tall cylindrical pyxis of Cretan origin also found in the Dodecanese where some examples (cf. especially Morricone 1969-00, fig. 310:293) are likely to be early. An alternative derivation for the smaller legged pyxis is the straight-sided alabastron which survives at least for a while into LH IIIC in the Dodecanese and elsewhere (cf. Morricone 1969-66, 309).

For the Cretan background to the LH IIIC pyxis shapes, see Furumark 1941a, 43-5, 102.

26. Dodecanese: e.g. Forsdyke 1925, fig. 227, pl. XV:A1003; Iacopi 1933, figs. 61, 63; Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 115; Morricone 1969-66, figs. 73, 76, 317 (early concentric semicircles). Forsdyke 1925, fig. 273, pl. XIV:A968; Iacopi 1933, figs. 61-2; Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 41; Morricone 1972-73, fig. 255;

1965-66, figs. 79, 199, 221 (early stemmed spirals). Cf. LM IIIB: e.g. Popham 1970, figs. 1:4, 2:17,22, 3:36-8,49.

The persistence in both the Dodecanese and Crete throughout LH/LM IIIB of a liking for some of the curvilinear motifs most typical of LH IIIA2 on the Mainland might account for some of the apparent similarities between these regions in early LH IIIC. In particular, the preference for curved rather than angular stemmed motifs (e.g. FM 18, FM 19) may have led to some versions of the early concentric semicircle patterns developing (or surviving) independently in both regions. As a result it is not always easy to decide how many and which elements were the result of contacts between the two regions, and which the result of independent survivals. However, that contacts did exist seems clear, particularly from the appearance in the Dodecanese of the early octopus stirrup-jar.

27. For fringed style elements in the Dodecanese see, for example, Iacopi 1933, fig. 31; Maiuri 1923-24, pl. II; Morricone 1972-73, figs. 226, 261; Morricone 1965-66, fig. 196. Some of these vases appear to be Cretan imports (cf. Jones and Mee 1978; and above, note 22).

28. Cf. especially Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 263:2 (Asine); Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 69 (Perati); Kondoleon 1959, pl. 157d (Naxos). At Monemvasia on the coast of Laconia (Chamber Tomb A at Aghia Triada) an octopus stirrup-jar without a separate shoulder zone and with an octopus very similar in type to Iacopi 1933, fig. 38 (Ialysos) was

found together with another stirrup-jar of equally non-Mainland appearance. The latter has bold unzoned decoration on the body, including a large rosette in the centre of each side (Hood 1957, fig. 14) which finds some parallels in the Dodecanese (cf. e.g. Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 99), and is almost exactly matched by a stirrup-jar from Kamini Tomb A on Naxos (Zafeiropoulos 1960b, pl. 274b).

29. Cf., for instance, such antithetic bird designs as Schachermeyr 1976, fig. 72:236 (Enkomi); Karageorghis 1976, pl. 39 (Kition); Desborough 1964, pl. 19b (Philistine).

30. Furumark ascribes the Late Eastern Style in Rhodes to his Myc. IIIC:1c phase (1944, 219). Cf. also Forsdyke 1925, fig. 280, pl. XV:A1016.

31. I find it hard to agree with J.-C. Courtois' suggestion that the shape itself is an adaptation of a "Carian Minyan" shape, rather than a survival of the old Mycenaean amphoroid krater or its Minoan counterpart. It differs in some respects, particularly in its generally "dumpy" shape, but dumpiness or bagginess does seem to have been a fairly common characteristic of the locally produced pottery of late LH IIIB and LH IIIC, at least on Kos (cf. Morricone 1965-66, 1972-73). Although in Cyprus the shape does not seem to have been favoured by the producers of the Rude Style kraters (cf., however, one listed by Karageorghis (1965)), there is no reason to assume that it disappeared altogether in the eastern fringes of the Mycenaean world after early LH IIIB.

For decorative links between the earlier amphoroid

kraters and some of Courtois' Aegeo-Carian class cf. especially e.g. Nicolaou 1976, fig. 11 (an LH IIIB amphoroid krater from a tomb at Kazaphani on Cyprus, on which the decoration of grazing goats below a zone of linked spirals is particularly reminiscent of some of the vases described by Courtois).

32. Another continuing favourite, which seems to appear quite early on in the Dodecanese, is a distinctive triangle or chevron motif (cf. FM 61A:1-2), which may also be compared with LM IIIB patterns: Iacopi 1933, figs. 28, 39, pl. XXII; Maiuri 1923-24, figs. 39:2709, 44; Morricone 1965-66, fig. 224; Morricone 1972-73, fig. 349; also Ashmolean Museum AE 291 from Ialysos and 1953.734f from Kos (both of which seem particularly early). Cf. Tzedakis 1969a, fig. 19, pl. IV (LM IIIB).

33. An alternative derivation is a degeneration of the types of flowers found, for instance, on some of the LH IIIB1 Zygouries kylikes (Popham 1965, 330). The beginnings of this formalisation process may already have been taking place in the latter part of LH IIIB particularly in the Dodecanese (cf. Morricone 1965-66, fig. 13 dated late LH IIIB or early LH IIIC); cf. also Cyprus (above, chapter 6), Crete (Popham 1965, fig. 4) and one from Pylos (Blegen and Rawson 1966, fig. 385:677). Both Furumark (1941a, 300-1) and Popham (1978, 190) have suggested that it was initially a Rhodian development.

34. Elaborate triangles: Forsdyke 1925, figs. 226, 274, pl. XV:A1013; Morricone 1965-66, figs. 113-4, 224; Iacopi 1933, fig. 40; Iacopi 1932-33, Tomb

47:5b; Blinkenberg and Johansen 1924, 62:2. Linked semicircles: Iacopi 1933, fig. 39, pl. XXII; Forsdyke 1925, figs. 225-6, pl. XV:A952; Morricone 1965-66, fig. 214. Large rosettes: Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 99; Iacopi 1933, fig. 38; Iacopi 1932-33, fig. 178; Morricone 1965-66, fig. 15. Spirals with solid arcs: Maiuri 1923-24, figs. 39, 65:N.38; Iacopi 1933, figs. 35, 41, 62, 73; Morricone 1965-66, fig. 15.

Elaborate triangles are particularly common on Crete, Naxos, at Perati and Asine (cf. above, chapters 5 and 7). The linked semicircle pattern is also found at Asine (cf. Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 265:1, 270:1). Rosettes are found on stirrup-jars from Crete, Perati, Monemvasia, and are incorporated into the Close Style of the Argolid. The spiral terminals with solid arcs are also found on Cyprus (cf. Dikaios 1969, pl. 308).

35. Cf. Davaris 1971, pls. 524a, 525g, 526b-g for LM IIIB elaborate triangles. See also Furumark 1941a, 407, 282f. (rosettes). Another motif which the Dodecanese may have adopted from Crete at this time is the hatched loop (FM 63:15-6): cf. Forsdyke 1925, fig. 274; Maiuri 1923-24, pl. II; cf. for Cretan antecedents, Furumark 1941a, 395.

More generally, the practices of filling motifs with concentric arcs and outlining them, which are very common in the more elaborate compositions of LH IIIC in the Dodecanese as elsewhere, may also owe something to long standing Cretan traditions (cf. below, note 49).

36. E.g. Iacopi 1932-33, fig. 167 (with particular

similarities to the Perati style); Morricone 1972-73, fig. 257 and Ashmolean Museum 1910.411 from Kalymnos (with particular similarities at Enkomi); Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 60:5 (with particular similarities on Crete: cf. especially Seiradaki 1960, fig. 24 (Karphi) and Furumark 1944, fig. 6:6 (Mouliana)). Also: Iacopi 1933, fig. 74; Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 103.

37. Cf., e.g., Kondoleon 1959, pl. 157d; Zafeiropoulos 1960a, pl. 219b-c. Cf. Jones and Mee 1978 for a possible Naxian import at Ialysos.

38. It seems likely that the use of bichrome paint in LH IIIC came originally from the East which has a long history of bichrome wares starting with the Early Bronze Age (cf. LC I and Palestinian Bichrome). For a bichrome technique in the pottery of the Kouklia-Mantissa tombs on Cyprus, see above chapter 6. Later Philistine pottery is often in bichrome technique, and the technique becomes particularly popular in both the Syrian and Cypriot Iron Age.

39. Duck-like birds: e.g. Morricone 1972-73, fig. 361b; cf. also Morricone 1965-66, figs. 194, 196, 217, 335; Forsdyke 1925, fig. 276, pl. XV:A1016; Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 39; Iacopi 1933, figs. 38, 62. Furumark (1941a, 254) pointed out that the bird types found on Dodecanesian examples of his Late Eastern Style might be derived from Minoan prototypes. For the possibility of a similar origin for some of the Cypriot Rude Style and LC IIIA birds (and ultimately also some of the Philistine versions) cf. above, chapter 6 and Popham 1978, 190. For LM IIIB birds, see Popham 1967, fig. 6:15, pl. 87b;

Tzedakis 1969b, pl. 443g; 1970, pl. 410a-b.

40. Another stirrup-jar from Ialysos (Iacopi 1933, fig. 40) may well imitate some aspects of Close Style (cf. Desborough 1964, 155). However, the shape differs from those of usual Close Style type, and the decoration of elaborate triangles on the shoulder is not normally found in true Close Style.

41. There is a reserved line inside the rim of a deep bowl from Serraglio in the collection of the British School at Athens.

42. See Morricone 1965-66, 309 for the suggestion that most of the straight-sided alabastra from Kos belong to a relatively early stage of LH IIIC.

43. Vases from Kameiros Tomb 50 - a stirrup-jar with elaborate decoration of concentric semicircles and rosettes on the shoulder and a framed vertical wavy line down the handles, and two cups with dipped solid semicircle decoration (Iacopi 1932-33, fig. 178) - are particularly reminiscent of Perati Phases II-III. A strainer jug from Ialysos New Tomb 20 (Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 60:N.5) has decoration in a reserved style very similar to that of a pyxis from Karphi in Crete where connections with Perati Phases II-III can also clearly be seen (cf. also above, note 36). See above, chapters 5 and 7 for the argument that Perati largely predates the final stage of LH IIIC at Mycenae, Lefkandi, Asine and some other Attic sites.

44. Several of Furumark's main criteria for distinguishing his Myc. IIIC:1c phase, which are applicable to his Myc. IIIC:1c groups from Rhodes, are not

at all apparent in the latest Mainland groups, viz.: "the continued evolution of the Mainland Close Style", the "tendency to extend the linear fillings to areas outside the ornaments proper", and "an extensive use of black filling" (Furumark 1944, 211f.).

The other main ingredient of Furumark's Myc. IIIC:1c, the so-called Granary Style, presents a more complicated problem. Properly speaking, the term was originally applied to the plainer pottery found in the Granary at Mycenae, in particular to the series of deep bowls with linear or monochrome decoration and the large closed vessels with simple patterns. It is now clear, however, that such features have a wide chronological range within LH IIIC. Also included in the Granary Style as meant by Furumark were wavy line decorations which, as we have seen, may have already been present in some regions at least well before the latest stage of LH IIIC. A very few lekythoi or stirrup-jars from the Dodecanese with simple circumcurrent decoration of a late type (e.g. Morricone 1965-66, fig. 30; Iacopi 1934, 405:2) may possibly be related to late LH IIIC lekythoi and stirrup-jars from some Mainland sites and from Naxos. These apart, however, there is little sign of a late LH IIIC stage equivalent to that of the Mainland sites (which is not the case on Naxos).

45. Contrast, however, Desborough (1964, 156) who doubts this possibility.

For problems concerning the relationship of the LH IIIC pottery from Kos to that of the earliest Protogeometric,

see Morricone 1972-73, 395f.

46. See especially Furumark 1941a, 370 for the resemblance between some of these isolated spiral motifs and concentric circle patterns of Rhodian Protogeometric.

47. Three piriform jars from Langada are dated to LH IIIA2 by Morricone (1965-66, figs. 142, 190, 248). However, their decoration is very similar to piriform jars from Serraglio to which he assigns an LH IIIC date (Morricone 1972-73, figs. 56, 253) and to Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 40 which is in a predominantly LH IIIC context.

48. For occasional octopus decoration even in the Central Argolid, see Wace et al. 1921-23, pl. IXb (on a Close Style jar from Mycenae), and Kilian and Podzuweit 1978, fig. 16 (on an elaborate krater from Tiryns).

49. For the use of concentric arc fills and outlining particularly in LM IIIB, cf. also Popham 1967, pls. 67-8.

50. See also Furumark 1941a, 574 note 6 for the absence of Rhodian vases assignable with certainty to his Myc. IIIC:2 phase.

Chapter 9

Tarsus

The site of Tarsus, which was under Hittite domination for much of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, lay more or less completely outside the Mycenaean sphere of influence during most of the Late Bronze Age[1]. The Hittite town was destroyed at the end of Period IIa of the Late Bronze Age; and the presence of Mycenaean pottery in the succeeding period IIb has, since its discovery, aroused some interest, not least as an additional argument for the settlement of Mainland refugees in the East Mediterranean at the time of the Sea People disturbances and the Mainland destructions towards the end of the LH IIIB period (Goldman 1956, 350; Desborough 1964, 222).

The proportion of Mycenaean to native wares at Tarsus in LB IIb is no longer known, but seems likely to have been not much more than a third of the total[2]. Despite earlier claims, it now seems unlikely that much, if any, of it was imported from the Greek Mainland, though whether it was all produced in Southern Cilicia remains very much an open question[3]. For some of it Cypriot manufacture is not beyond the bounds of possibility, not only because of close stylistic links but also since imports of native Cypriot wares are also known from the LB II settlement (Goldman 1956, 205)[4]. The results of samples taken for neutron activation analysis may eventually provide some clue as to whether it was all locally made and, if not, where it may have come from (cf. E. French 1975, 55).

Since its publication, assessments of the relative date of the Mycenaean pottery found at Tarsus have varied: from the rather vague "Granary Style" (Goldman 1956, 205f.)[5], to "Mycenaean of the transition from LH IIIB to C, with the accent rather on LH IIIB" (Desborough 1964, 206), and finally to "almost without exception LH IIIC" (E. French 1975; Mee 1978). After a detailed reassessment of the material in 1975, E. French concluded that although true early material (LH IIIB and earlier) was scarce, the knowledge of such material - particularly the patterns - was latent. On the other hand, reflections of several phases of LH IIIC could be seen, with a single "Granary Class" piece providing a lower limit (E. French 1975, 74).

The pottery was not related to any stratification, and assessments of its date range are based purely on stylistic comparison. It all derives from settlement use, and the shapes represented, in particular the relatively large proportion of bowls, reflect this. At the upper end stylistically deep bowls with simple triglyphs, antithetic spiral and triglyph patterns, running spiral and some narrow horizontal patterns such as quirk and zigzag reflect motifs common in the widespread repertoire of early LH IIIB which also persist into later LH IIIB and early LH IIIC in very many regions of the Mycenaean world (Goldman 1956, 205-6, pls. 330:1255B,1257,1293, 334:1314,1320-2a,1322a, 335:1258; E. French 1975, figs. 10A, 12:4, 13:2)[6]. Apart possibly from four Rosette bowl fragments, none of which match the normal LH IIIB2 type (E. French 1975, 62-7) and one at least of which is probably of developed LH IIIC date[7],

there is no sign of the type features of Argive LH IIIB2 - above all of the Group B deep bowls and of the heavy "filled style" patterns found on these, stemmed bowls and kraters - which continued in use in the Argolid for at least a short time after the main destructions (cf. above, chapter 3; Kilian and Podzuweit 1978). On the other hand, motifs such as simple tongues, flowers, and early forms of concentric semicircles find particularly close parallels in the pottery of LH IIIB-early LH IIIC in the Dodecanese and LM IIIB Crete[8]; while a variety of bowls with simple linear decoration (E. French 1975, figs. 14-9) also find parallels in Cyprus from the end of LC II onwards as well as in the Dodecanese[9].

Stylistically more developed spiraliform motifs on deep bowls, in which the links disintegrate and the compositions become less symmetrical and increasingly fanciful bear more than a passing resemblance to the sorts of changes these patterns undergo during the first phase of the rebuilt LC III city of Enkomi (Level IIIa) (Goldman 1956, pls. 330:1256,1288-9,1295, 334:1306-7,1310-2; cf. e.g. Schachermeyr 1976, fig. 71). Bowls or kraters with pictorial decoration of fish and duck-like birds are also paralleled in Cyprus and to some extent in the Dodecanese (Goldman 1956, pl. 335:1323-6,1328-33; cf. Dikaios 1969, 286f., pls. 307-9 (Enkomi); Karageorghis 1976, pl. 39 (Kition); Maier 1973, 75, pl. XV:3 (Palaepaphos); Morricone 1972-73, fig. 361b (Kos)). A third, or less, of the deep bowls have monochrome interiors, and among them are those whose decoration links them particularly with the Dodecanese or Crete[10].

Among more elaborately decorated pottery are kraters with elaborate spiral or lozenge patterns and complex panels, stirrup-jars with concentric semicircle and bivalve shell or triangular flower motifs, and fragments of at least one octopus stirrup-jar (Goldman 1956, pl. 333:1278,1282,1338,1341; E. French 1975, figs. 4, 6)[11]. There is a little wavy line decoration on one or two deep bowls and a fragmentary amphoriskos (Goldman 1956, pls. 332:1277, 334:1322c-d; E. French 1975, 70). Two deep bowls with a reserved line inside the rim were also found (E. French 1975, figs. 9:1315b, 19:16).

Though any conclusions as to the date range of the Tarsus pottery must be heavily dependent on the choice of regions with which stylistic comparison is made, a comparison with pottery from Enkomi, the nearest site for which good stratigraphical evidence is available and a site where several similarities to the Tarsus pottery can be seen, does suggest that much of it may be placed broadly between the latter part of LC II and somewhere in the more elaborate stage of the Enkomi pottery of LH IIIC type, though not as late as the fully developed height of this stage (perhaps the end of Enkomi Level IIIa or the beginning of Level IIIb). The lack of the elegant curvilinear patterns with reserved elements and multiple fine outlining which mark the culmination of the elaborate stage at Enkomi (Level IIIb) and Sinda (III), plus the comparative shortage of wavy line decoration and of reserved lines in the interiors of open shapes which begin to become really popular only in Enkomi Level IIIb, would be consistent with such a range (cf. above, chapter 6).

Remarking briefly on its stylistic links with pottery from other sites, E. French has concluded that while the overall character of the Tarsus Mycenaean pottery is internally consistent and affords an impression of a region with its own development a close relationship with Cyprus is also certain (E. French 1975, 73-4; cf. also Mee 1978, 145, 150). Particular links with Cyprus from the end of LC II down to perhaps the middle of the Cypriot elaborate stage (cf. Fig. 168) can be seen not only in the range of linear bowls, the duck-like birds and fish, and the disintegrated spiraliform patterns, but also in the frequent use of geometrical motifs such as cross-hatched lozenges and solid triangles which, as at Enkomi, are often incorporated into complicated panels and other fairly elaborate decoration (Goldman 1956, pl. 333:1281-3,1341,1347; cf. Dikaios 1969, pls. 307-8; Pieridou 1973, 80).

Closely bound, in several cases, with the links with Cyprus are links with pottery from the Dodecanese which seems to have maintained a fairly close connection with Cyprus from an early stage of LH IIIC onwards (above, chapters 6 and 8). That direct links between Tarsus and the Dodecanese may also have taken place independently of links between the Dodecanese and Cyprus, however, may also be suggested by some features which are not apparent on Cyprus but which link both Tarsus and the Dodecanese with regions such as Crete, the Central Aegean and Eastern Attica with which the Dodecanese also seems to have established contact from before the middle of LH IIIC (above, chapter 8). Motifs such as the early concentric semicircles and

bivalve shells (Goldman 1956, pls. 334:1318, 335:1339; cf. E. French 1975, 62, 69) link Tarsus with the Dodecanese and Crete[8]; the elaborate lozenge patterns with the Dodecanese and Naxos (Goldman 1956, pl. 335:1297; E. French 1975, fig. 6:3; cf. Morricone 1972-73, fig. 375). It seems likely that the octopus stirrup-jar also reached Tarsus from this area[12]; while lentoid flasks and a single strainer jug provide further links with the repertoire of the Dodecanese (E. French 1975, 56)[13].

Of the shapes and motifs listed by Furumark (1941b, 118-22) as adopted by the derivative pottery of the Philistines, almost all are represented at Tarsus. One bowl in particular (Goldman 1956, pl. 336:1354) may be of Philistine manufacture[14]; and a handful of fragments in a bichrome technique (E. French 1975, 62, fig. 8:1336a) may also be related to Philistine practice[15]. A further instance of stylistic links Between Tarsus and the area reached by Philistine ware may be seen in a stirrup-jar (Goldman 1956, pl. 333:1282) which is very similar to one from Beth Shan (Hankey 1966, 169, pl. 45)[16].

Further afield, while there are some general similarities between the Tarsus pottery and pottery of the early to middle stages of LH IIIC in the Argolid and other regions of the Greek Mainland, just how far these similarities can be regarded as the result of continuous active contact between Tarsus and the Greek Mainland (E. French 1975, 74; Mee 1978, 145) is less certain. There are few, if any, features which link the Tarsus

pottery specifically with that of the Mainland to the exclusion of other regions closer to Cilicia; and the absence of the distinctive innovations of Argive LH IIIB2 suggests that in the latter part of LH IIIB and the earliest stage of LH IIIC at least there was little direct contact with the Argolid. Several of the similarities may be traced back to features, particularly motifs, which were widespread in early LH IIIB and survived, sometimes in simplified forms, into early LH IIIC in very many regions. Simple linear decoration, particularly on bowls of various types, was also a widespread phenomenon of this late LH IIIB-early LH IIIC horizon, and the best and most chronologically homogeneous parallels for the Tarsus range come not from the Mainland but from Cyprus[17]. Among more elaborate types of pottery in which, in one form or another, almost every region of the Mycenaean world came to share, there is little to connect the Tarsus material specifically with that of the Mainland, but much which links it with Cyprus, the Dodecanese and more generally with other island and coastal regions of the Aegean among which close but not always consistent links, particularly towards the middle stages of LH IIIC, suggest wide multi-directional contacts rather than a sustained stylistic lead from any single source.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. Cf. Stubbings 1951, 88-9 and Mee 1978 for a little Mycenaean pottery, mainly of LH IIIA2-early LH IIIB date, from nearby Mersin and Kazanli.
2. Cf. Mee 1978, 145 where it is noted that, though the Mycenaean constitutes some 40% of the registered pottery from the LB IIb levels, a smaller proportion of the local monochrome ware was doubtless published.
3. The excavators maintained that the fabric was strikingly similar to that of the Argolid (Goldman 1956, 206). E. French, however (1975, 55), considers that this is not the case, the Tarsus fabric being "sandier", the surface finish less fine, and the paint more matt in appearance than is normal in the Argolid even in LH IIIC. Cf. also Mee (1978, 145) who concludes that this sandy fabric must be local.
4. See also Goldman 1956, 206 for the suggestion that the pottery of fabric which the excavators did not consider to have been imported from Greece might have come from the same centre which supplied Enkomi.
5. The close stylistic relationship to LH IIIB was also noted by the excavators however.
6. At least one fragment (Goldman 1956, 227, pl. 333:1345) seems in its fabric, as well as in its shape and decoration, to be comparable to Peloponnesian pottery of early LH IIIB or even LH IIIA, and may well be a Mainland import of that date (cf. E. French 1975, 56).
7. See especially E. French 1975, fig. 9:1315b with its interior reserved line. For a deep bowl with Rosette

decoration of mid-LH IIIC date from Perati, cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 85:239 (from a tomb assigned to Phases II-III); cf. also Iacopi 1933, fig. 34, assigned by Furumark to his Myc. IIIC:1b phase.

8. For fragments whose decoration has particularly close parallels in the Dodecanese and Crete, see Goldman 1956, pls. 334:1318, 335:1339,1344; cf. Dodecanese: Maiuri 1923-24, figs. 43, 111, 115; Forsdyke 1925, fig. 266; Blinkenberg and Johansen 1924, pls. 51:12, 52:6-8,11, 54:10-1; Morricone 1965-66, figs. 13:319, 205; Morricone 1972-73, fig. 346e; cf. LM IIIB: Popham 1965, pl. 82a; Popham 1967, figs. 6:11, 7:2, pls. 86f, 88a; Popham 1970, fig. 3:36-8.
The profile of Tarsus no. 1318 (E. French 1975, fig. 13) is unusual for a deep bowl, but compares well with those of LM IIIB cups (cf. e.g. Popham 1970, fig. 1:3-4). Tarsus no. 1339 (Goldman 1956, pl. 335) is described by the excavators as a "fragment of an excellent imported bowl". For stylistic links between LM IIIB and the Dodecanese, see above, chapter 8. For Cretan imports in Cyprus in LC II above, chapter 6.

9. Cf. Karageorghis 1965, 157ff., 180; 1974, 86-7, pls. CLV-CLXII for similar bowls from Kouklia-Mantissa and Kition Tomb 9 (upper level) where, in most cases, the shapes can be related to types already known on Cyprus. Cf. also Mee 1975, 98f. for linear bowls from the Dodecanese; and E. French 1975, 74 for similar linear shapes at Miletus.

10. Goldman 1956, pls. 334:1318, 335:1339, 1344 have monochrome interiors (cf. above, note 8 for the Cretan or Dodecanesian connections of these pieces), as do several of those with fish or bird motifs (Goldman 1956, pl. 335:1323-4,1328, 1332). On deep bowls with other types of decoration, and on other open shapes, the use of monochrome interiors seems a great deal more sporadic. They are found on some with simple vertical or horizontal patterns (E. French 1975, figs. 10:1290,1299, 13:1322b,1322f) and on a few with simple linear decoration (E. French 1975, figs. 1?-9).

Monochrome interiors are a standard feature of cups and bowls throughout Late Minoan. For the use of monochrome in the interiors of bowls from the Dodecanese in late LH IIIB and LH IIIC, see Morricone 1965-66 (especially vases assigned to a local LH IIIB class) and Mee 1975, 99. It seems to have been fairly regular from late LH IIIB onwards. At Enkomi, on the other hand, deep bowls with linear interiors are the rule rather than the exception until a fairly advanced stage of LH IIIC (cf. Dikaios 1969, pl. 124 (end of Enkomi Level IIIb and Level IIIc); and Schachermeyr 1976, 291).

11. Though there are no complete profiles, the krater fragments are presumed to belong to deep bowl kraters (FS 282) (cf. E. French 1975, 61).

12. Tarsus no. 1338 (Goldman 1956, pl. 333) is classed by the excavators among fragments which, on the grounds of both fabric and design, they considered might be Cretan in origin (cf. Ibid., 207). Mee (1975, 76) however, suggests that it might be

an import from Rhodes. For a similar octopus type, cf. Iacopi 1933, fig. 31 from Ialysos.

13. Another strainer jug (Goldman 1956, pl. 337:1363) is listed among the transitional ware with patterns showing Mycenaean survivals, Late Bronze IIb to Iron Age.

See above, chapter 6 for the early LC III adoption of strainer jugs in Cyprus, and by the Philistine potters.

14. Tarsus no. 1354 is unstratified. See, however, Goldman 1956, 208 for a discussion of links between the transitional LB IIb-Iron Age pottery from Tarsus and Philistine ware.

15. Cf. above, chapter 8 note 38.

16. For links between the Beth Shan stirrup-jar and LC IIIA stirrup-jars (particularly in the body zone of cross-hatched straight-sided lozenges), cf. above, chapter 6 note 16. Cf. also (for the shoulder decoration) Morricone 1965-66, figs. 113, 115 (from Kos).

17. Cf. above, note 9 and chapter 6. E. French 1975, fig. 15 rows 1-2, with their high-set handles, are particularly similar to Cypriot bowls (cf. Karageorgnis 1965; 1974, pl. CLVII). Only a very few of the linear bowls from Tarsus replicate any of the standardised Mainland types whose introduction at stratified Mainland sites is in any case spread over quite a long chronological span within LH IIIC (cf. above, chapters 3-5). On the other hand, the lack of standardisation in the linear decoration accords well with the Cypriot range (cf. Karageorghis 1965, 1974), while the scarcity

of monochrome interiors, particularly on linear deep bowls, tends to count against any direct connection between them and the Medium band deep bowls of Mycenae and the linear bowls of Lefkandi.

The use of simple linear decoration (cf. Furumark's Simple Style) should perhaps be seen less as a deliberate stylistic innovation which might be consciously adopted by one region from another than as a result of the interruption in contacts between regions (particularly between the North-East Peloponnese and the eastern Mycenaean world) brought by the disruptions of the late thirteenth century. Its simplicity may also be compared with the often simplified versions of LH IIIA2-B1 patterns which continue into a late LH IIIB-early LH IIIC horizon in many regions and which probably result from the lack of continued inspiration from the traditional centres of ceramic innovation. (Cf. Karageorghis 1965, 181 on the impression conveyed by much of the pottery from the Kouklia-Mantissa tombs, "que nous sommes tout à fait à la fin d'une culture, dont le style céramique notamment apparaît caractérisé par une certaine monotonie, un certain immobilisme").

The increase in fabric variation and the general deterioration in fabric quality which characterises the pottery of several regions in late LH IIIB or early LH IIIC led to the use of monochrome or linear paint (particularly on the rims of drinking vessels) probably for functional rather than aesthetic reasons, and the sandy texture of the Tarsus pottery, as well as the porousness of much of the Kouklia-Mantissa

pottery, may well have made rim bands necessary. Even the Argolid eventually became affected by such fabric variations and deteriorations in an early stage of LH IIIC (cf. above, chapter 3 Earliest phase), and the greater use there of monochrome and linear decoration on shapes which were previously normally left unpainted is probably a direct result of this. There is as yet, however, no convincing evidence that the use of simple linear decoration was a deliberate fashion which first originated in the Argolid at this time.

Chapter 10

Miletus

Miletus, near the mouth of the Maeander on the Anatolian coast, has produced Mycenaean pottery which ranges in date from early LH to LH IIIC and is, in many respects, similar to that from Kos[1]. The site, which is of particular historical interest because of its position on the western fringes of the Hittite empire and its possible mention in Hittite documents (cf. e.g. Huxley 1956, 24 note 84), acquired an impressive fortification wall, designed to protect it as much from coastal as land attack, possibly sometime around 1200 after a destruction or series of destructions in the LH IIIA2-B period (Desborough 1964, 162)[2]. After the construction of the wall the city continued to flourish for a while, with an impressive layout of large buildings within the walls and a thriving pottery workshop without. The pottery suggests that the site continued in occupation until some point, probably relatively early, in the middle stages of LH IIIC when the wall seems finally to have been destroyed (Desborough 1964, 162)[3].

Little of the pottery has as yet been illustrated, and it is not always easy to relate that from different sectors of the site to the latest assessments of the history of the site as a whole. The end of Period II and Period III, however, which cover the time from before the construction of the fortification wall to the final abandonment of the LH IIIC site, produce pottery which shows a very similar line of development to that seen on Kos from the latter part of LH IIIB onwards (cf. Morricone 1965-66, 1972-73).

Deep bowls with horizontal patterns such as quirk, simple tongues, zigzag and wavy band (Weickert et al. 1959-60, pls. 47:2[4], 4[5], 72:2[6]; Weickert 1957, pl. 32:3[7]) represent the sort of simplified continuations of earlier patterns found in many regions, including Kos, in late LH IIIB and early LH IIIC (cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 13, 30, 126); while a deep conical kylix (FS 274) with monochrome interior and band and fine line groups on the outer body suggests something of a stylistic mixture between early LH IIIB and the late LH IIIB-early LH IIIC period (Weickert et al. 1959-60, pl. 14:3)[8]. Motifs such as stemmed spirals (Weickert et al. 1959-60, pl. 14:3 left[9]; Weickert 1957, pl. 32:2[10]) and simple tongues are particularly reminiscent of the sort of patterns found in the Dodecanese in LH IIIC. Conical kraters (FS 290) with LH IIIA2-B1 derived patterns of quirk, wavy band and rock pattern (FM 33) on rims and bodies (Weickert et al. 1959-60, pl. 43[11]) appear as direct antece dents of decorated kalathoi (cf. Weickert 1957, pl. 34:2[12]), and may provide further evidence for the relatively early development of the kalathos (FS 291) from decorated versions of the earlier shape, here and in the Dodecanese (cf. above, chapter 8).

Other pieces, such as kraters and other shapes with more elaborate pictorial or abstract decoration, including linked lozenge patterns of a type found also at Serraglio and Tarsus, seem rather later in style and suggest that the settlement survived long enough to participate in at least the beginnings of an elaborate mid-LH IIIC stage (Weickert 1957, pl. 32:1[13]; Weickert et al. 1959-60, pls.

48:1[14], 2-3[15], 49:2[16], 72:1[17]). As at Tarsus, there is little sign among the material so far illustrated of wavy line decoration, though a stirrup-jar (Weickert et al. 1959-60, pl. 14:3 right) with decoration of a wavy line framed by narrow bands recalls a motif which seems particularly characteristic of Kos (above, chapter 8). Its context, in the destruction level of Period III where it was found together with the deep conical kylix already mentioned and a stirrup-jar with circumcurrent stemmed spirals on the shoulder, suggests that at least this version of wavy line decoration is not a particularly late manifestation of LH IIIC at Miletus or, probably, on Kos.

Among the most interesting vases are the amphoroid kraters of which several belonging to Period III of the town have been found. They display the same "dumpy" outline with relatively short neck as those found on Kos and elsewhere in the Eastern Aegean and East Mediterranean (cf. above, chapter 8; J.-C. Courtois 1973; Mee 1978, 136)[18]. Decoration varies, from a relatively simple row of stemmed spirals (Weickert 1957, pl. 32:2[19]), to more elaborate panels and disjointed spiraliform motifs (Weickert 1957, pls. 33-4[20]; Weickert et al. 1959-60, pl. 14:1[21]) which still, nevertheless, retain clear LH IIIB or even LH IIIA survivals in the motifs which form part of their composition[22]. The often illustrated mug with fluted tripod legs (Weickert et al. 1959-60, pls. 16-7), which has an elaborate, typically Dodecanesian decoration of duck-like birds, fish and concentric semicircles, probably belongs stylistically with the latest of these kraters (cf. Weickert et al. 1959-60,

24; J.-C. Courtois 1973, 162; Mee 1976, 136). It too, like much even of the more elaborate pottery from the Dodecanese, preserves clear reminiscences of early LH IIIB motifs in some of its accessorial decoration[23].

Above the destruction debris (level 6) of Period III there appears to be a gap in occupation, until pottery of a type which resembles that of the transition from Submycenaean to Protogeometric at Athens is found (cf. Desborough 1964, 163). Only one fragment which could possibly fill such a gap has been illustrated (Mallwitz and Schiering 1971, pl. 34:3a). It comes from a jar or amphoriskos with "necklace"-pattern round the neck and groups of almost triangular concentric semicircles round the shoulder, and was found above the remains of Mycenaean buildings in the destruction debris of level 6. Even it, however, need not be much earlier in date than the bulk of the reoccupation material which overlies the destroyed LH IIIC settlement[3].

Notes to Chapter 10

1. For the relationship between the Anatolian coast and the Dodecanese in the Late Bronze Age in general, and in LH IIIC in particular, see Mee 1978. For illustrations of the pottery from Miletus, see especially Weickert 1957 and Weickert et al. 1959-60.

2. For more recent resumes of the history of the site, see Mee 1978, 133f.; Schachermeyr 1976, 191f.; Schachermeyr 1979. There is some confusion as to the date of the construction of the fortification wall. Desborough (1964, 162), following Weickert et al. (1959-60, 2-3, 36), concluded that the wall was built "not before the beginning of LH IIIB". Others prefer a date nearer the transition from LH IIIA to LH IIIB (cf. Schachermeyr 1976, 192; Mee 1978, 137 with references). Some of the pottery illustrated from the destruction level of Period IIb and from below the fortification wall does seem as though it might be fairly well on in LH IIIB, possibly even transitional to LH IIIC (cf. especially Weickert et al. 1959-60, pls. 42:2 (Ostabschnitt: Brandschicht zu Haus II unter der Südschale der Befestigungsmauer), 43:1-4 (Ostabschnitt: Brandschicht zu Haus IIa unter der Befestigungsmauer), 47:2 (Ostabschnitt: zu Haus II gehörig); Weickert 1957, pl. 39:1-2 (gefunden am Fuss der Nordschale der grossen Mauer unter einem gegen diese anlaufenden Mauerchen)). Schachermeyr (1976, 192) suggests the possibility of two destructions, one around 1300 and another around 1200. Destructions on more than one occasion during Period II, with the latest one perhaps confined to the Ostabschnitt,

might explain the apparent stylistic disparities between, for instance, Weickert et al. 1959-60, pl. 13:5 (a kylix of LH IIIA2 appearance from the Südabschnitt: Zerstörung Bauperiode II) and the deep bowls, stirrup-jars and conical kraters from the Ostabschnitt.

3. Cf. also J.-C. Courtois (1973, 164, fig. 12) who dates the kraters and the tripod mug to around 1200 B.C. (cf. below, note 22). However, Mallwitz and Schiering (1971, 123) have more recently dated the final destruction of the Mycenaean settlement, including the wall and the house under the Temple, to c. 1100 on the basis of the jar or amphoriskos fragment mentioned below (Ibid., pl. 34:3a). The fragment seems to be unrelated to any floors or building levels.

4. Ostabschnitt: zu Haus II gehörig (cf. above, note 2).

5. Ostabschnitt: Schicht zu Haus III.

6. Westabschnitt: no exact provenance.

7. Schicht von Haus III und dem obersten Abhub.

8. Südabschnitt: aus der jüngsten mykenischen Benutzungszeit.

The shape is one well known throughout LH IIIB.

In the Argolid it remains predominantly an unpainted shape until after the end of LH IIIB2. In some other regions, however, together with other shapes such as rounded kylikes and deep bowls, it seems to have sometimes acquired a monochrome coating probably in the later stages of LH IIIB: cf. Morricone 1965-66, fig. 321 (assigned to a local Koan LH IIIB class); Blegen and Rawson 1966, 397 (Pylos); below, chapters

11 and 12 (the Cyclades and Chios).

The decoration of bands and fine line groups (particularly on the foot of the kylix) is more akin to normal LH IIIA-B practice than to that of LH IIIC when simple bands or a different type of thick and thin banding is more usual (contrast, for instance, Weickert et al. 1959-60, pl. 44 (Ostabschnitt: unmittelbar unter der Brandschicht zu Haus IIa) with the two stirrup-jars also illustrated in Weickert et al. 1959-60, pl. 14:3, one of which at least comes from the "Zerstorungsschicht der Bauperiode III").

In both shape and decoration this kylix is quite different from the shallower lip band kylikes (FS 275) of Mainland LH IIIC (cf. Lefkandi Phase 1b onwards: Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 1:2) which are, however, found in the Dodecanese.

9. Südabschnitt: Zerstorungsschicht der Bauperiode III.

10. Aus dem obersten gestörten Abhub südlich des Tempels.

11. Ostabschnitt: Brandschicht zu Haus IIa unter der Befestigungsmauer.

12. Aus der Schicht von Haus 3 und dem obersten Abhub.

13. Gefunden über dem Fussboden von Haus 3.

14. Ostabschnitt: unter dem geometrischen Haus. This, though there is no mention of it in the report, looks as though it may be decorated in a bichrome technique; cf. Morricone 1972-73, fig. 357b from Serraglio.

15. Ostabschnitt: südlich der Befestigungsmauer; Schicht

zu Haus II. These are dated to LH IIIA2, but cf. Morricone 1965-66, fig. 339 for a very close parallel from Langada dated to LH IIIC.

16. Ostabschnitt: aus dem Zerstörungsschicht der Befestigungsmauer unter dem geometrischen Haus.

17. Westabschnitt: aus unreiner Schicht.

Weickert et al. 1959-60, pls. 51 (Ostabschnitt: über der Südschale der Befestigungsmauer; aus dem Zerstörungsschicht der mykenischen Befestigungsmauer unter dem geometrischen Haus), 60 (gefunden bei Entfernung des Schutts über der mykenischen Befestigungsmauer östlich des Athenatempels; in geometrisch-protogeometrisch Scherbenschicht) are likely to belong to the Protogeometric or Geometric periods (cf. especially Desborough 1952, pl. 12; Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 58).

18. The reconstruction of Weickert 1957, pl. 33, with its high stemmed foot, seems suspect. Contrast Ibid., pl. 32:2 and J.-C. Courtois 1973.

19. Aus dem obersten Abhub südlich des Tempels.

20. Gefunden unter der Südkante des Fundaments der Freitreppe des Tempels.

21. Bauperiode III.

22. Cf. especially the LH IIIB1 derived vertical whorls on Weickert 1957, pls. 33-4. J.-C. Courtois (1973, 164) comments on these kraters: "Les cratères amphoroïdes et les vases peints à décor qui nous intéressent tout particulièrement proviennent de la couche finale (Abhub), que les fouilleurs attribuent volontiers à l'Helladique Récent IIIC. Cette datation nous paraît tout à fait justifiée, même si l'aspect externe de tel vase peint continue la technique et la

tradition de l'Helladique Récent IIIB de l'Argolide".

23. Particularly in the triglyph and isolated semicircle decoration on the lower body (cf. Mountjoy 1976, fig. 8:70 (LH IIIB1)) and in the quirk motif on the rim.

Chapter 11

The Cyclades

Apart from pottery from the settlement of Aghia Irini on Kea which, both geographically and stylistically, lies very close to Euboea and the Attic coast (above, chapter 4), LH IIIC material is also known from Naxos, Melos and Paros. The publication of excavations on these islands will eventually provide valuable information about the pottery of the Cyclades which, until quite recently, remained relatively unknown in the LH IIIC period (cf. Desborough 1964, 147; Scholes 1956, 40 also for LH IIIC from Amorgos and Delos).

A. Naxos

On Naxos, the settlement at Grotta and chamber tombs at Aplomata and Kamini were excavated between 1949 and 1971 by Kondoleon and Zafeiropoulos. Apart, however, from the two tombs at Aplomata (Kardara 1977), these excavations remain unpublished, though series of preliminary reports (e.g. Kondoleon 1949, 1950, 1961, 1963, 1965a, 1965b, 1967 (Grotta settlement); Kondoleon 1958, 1959 (Aplomata chamber tombs); Zafeiropoulos 1960a, 1960b (Kamini chamber tombs); Doumas 1968) and pottery on display in the Naxos Museum provide some idea of the probable date range and stylistic links of the LH IIIC pottery from the island. As far as the date range is concerned, little can be said until the full range of LH IIIC pottery from the settlement is published; but among the pottery

illustrated or exhibited from both settlement and tombs there is so far little evidence to be seen of a stage of LH IIIC which would correlate well with the first phases (I and 1) at either Perati or Lerkandi, or with an early stage of LH IIIC in the Argolid or the Dodecanese. There is little sign of the sub-LH IIIB survivals, either in shape or decoration, found in these regions or among pottery of late LH IIIB and early LH IIIC style from Melos and Paros[1]. On the other hand, there are distinct and positive similarities with later stages of LH IIIC at sites on the eastern coast of the Greek Mainland (particularly Perati, Asine and Lefkandi), on Kea, Chios and in the Dodecanese. At the lower end of the date range some of the pottery, particularly from the tombs, seems stylistically comparable with the latest LH IIIC from Attica, Euboea and the Argolid, and possibly with the transition from LH IIIC or Submycenaean to Protogeometric[2].

Stylistic links between Naxos, Perati, Asine and the Dodecanese in the middle elaborate stages of LH IIIC have been mentioned in earlier chapters (5, 7 and 8), and it does seem the case that, during this time, Naxos lay stylistically (as geographically) at the centre of contacts which criss-crossed the Aegean in several directions. While, so far, it remains difficult to define a distinct and characteristic Naxian style comparable, for instance, to the Close Style of the Argolid, the reserved style of Perati, or the Late Eastern Style found on Rhodes and Kos, the pottery displays the results of strong and apparently separately channelled influences from both the Dodecanese and the east coast of the Greek Mainland (particularly Perati[3]),

combined with some development of its own which is seen especially in the adaptation of certain shapes. Crete, too, may have had some direct influence on Naxian LH IIIC[4], though the possibility that Cretan influence was channelled primarily through the Dodecanese remains strong. So far, however, while there are clear links with pottery from Kea and possibly from Amorgos, Delos and Kimolos (Desborough 1964, 147-9), stylistic links with Melos and Paros are not at all obvious. A possible explanation of this may be one of date (see below).

The following comments on shapes and decorations are drawn from the published pottery from the Aplomata tombs, and from that illustrated in preliminary reports or on display in the Naxos Museum. They are thus far from comprehensive, particularly as rather more of the pottery from the tombs than from the settlement has been illustrated. Nevertheless, while this might throw doubt on the validity of any conclusions based on the absence of certain features, there is sufficient positive evidence for the occupation of the island in mid-late LH IIIC and for stylistic contacts with regions such as Eastern Attica and the Dodecanese to be assured. The absence of a clear early LH IIIC horizon and of certain shapes and decorations may be apparent rather than real, and cannot be proved until the pottery is fully published.

Stirrup-jars fall into two main types: those with octopus decoration which are reported as being particularly numerous (there are ten from the Aplomata tombs alone), and those with other types of generally elaborate decoration. Links with Eastern Attica, the Dodecanese, and possibly

also directly with Crete can be seen in the octopus stirrup-jars, and there is sufficient variation in the treatment of the octopus theme to suggest a diversity of inspiration as well as, possibly, of date. Some of them show a very strong resemblance to types found at Perati which probably evolved in Eastern Attica (Zafeiropoulos 1960a, pl. 219d; Kardara 1977, pls. 22-3; Kondoleon 1958, pl. 171a; cf. e.g. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 73:569 and above, chapter 5). On most the decoration of the shoulder zone is quite distinct from that of the octopus theme on the body of the vase, being composed of elaborate triangles, concentric semicircles and other abstract or pictorial motifs arranged formally within the various areas of the shoulder surface. The closely packed and highly formalised treatment of the tentacles and tentacle fills typical of Perati is also found, with concentric arcs and other neat patterns, sometimes with reserved elements, filling the spaces between the tentacles (e.g. Kondoleon 1959, pl. 198a-b; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 70). On some octopus stirrup-jars, however, the decoration of the shoulder zone, as in the Dodecanese and Crete, is less clearly distinguished from that of the body of the vase, and in a few cases there is no separate shoulder zone at all (Kardara 1977, 18, pls. 6, 14, 20 (possibly a Cretan import); Kondoleon 1959, pl. 197d; Zafeiropoulos 1960a, pl. 219b-c; 1960b, pl. 277a). Often, these have a looser, more curvilinear type of tentacle fill which sometimes includes more naturalistic arrangements of fish or duck-like birds and resembles those of Rhodes and Kos (e.g. Kardara 1977, figs. 1-5;

Kondoleon 1959, pl. 157d-e)[5]. On one from the Aplomata tombs a bold motif of fish and duck-like birds arranged antithetically on either side of a broad chequered panel is particularly reminiscent of Furumark's Late Eastern style of decoration as found especially on stirrup-jars from the Dodecanese (Kardara 1977, pls. 18-9; cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 217, 335).

Of the other stirrup-jars none are particularly early looking, and almost all seem to have the differentiated shoulder decoration which at Perati at least does not appear much before the beginning of Phase II. Particular links with Perati can be seen in, for instance, the use of a reserving technique, elaborate triangle and triangular flower motifs (Kondoleon 1965a, pl. 215a; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 33:1040), the use of triangular flowers or bivalve chains as a body zone ornament (Kondoleon 1965b, fig. 4; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 64:33-5), and in some individual motifs such as a reversed tongue pattern flanking a central panel (Kondoleon 1950, fig. 11; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 12:31) and a leaf-like ornament (Kardara 1977, pls. 10, 23c, 37b; Kondoleon 1959, pl. 157f; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 76)[6]. On one, from the Kamini tombs, which has an elaborate fringed triangle composition on the shoulder and multiple body zones of alternating upright and pendent scale triangles, the draughtsmanship is so notably precise and delicate as to resemble the stirrup-jar from Perati in which Close Style influence has been recognised (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 70). There are, however, no examples of true Close Style among the pottery so far either illustrated or on display in the Naxos Museum.

On other stirrup-jars there are unusually broad body zones which are filled with panels and various highly curvilinear floral motifs similar to those found on the octopus stirrup-jars which most resemble Dodecanesian types (Kardara 1977, pls. 24, 26-8, 31-2; cf. pl. 18). These broad zones, and the panels, are also reminiscent of Dodecanesian practice (cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 113-4, 194, 198, 217, 221-2, 335). The lotus-flower motifs found on some of them (Kardara 1977, pls. 24-5, 31-2) seem particularly characteristic of Naxos, but may be related to similar types of floral motif found both in the Dodecanese and on Cyprus (cf. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 235-6; Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, no. 1646)[7]. Another stirrup-jar, from Kamini Tomb A, with bold decoration of a panel and large flanking side triangles which covers the entire body below the shoulder, is also of Dodecanesian appearance and has a very close parallel at Monemvasia on the Laconian coast (Zafeiropoulos 1960b, pl. 274b; cf. Hood 1957, fig. 14; see also above, chapter 8 note 28). Most of the stirrup-jars from Aplomata with these broad body zones, unlike those with a greater resemblance to ones from Perati, are assigned by Kardara (1977, 17, 28) to FS 176, the version typical of the Dodecanese and Cyprus in LH IIIC (Kardara 1977, pls. 16-9, 24-30).

Many of the stirrup-jars have conical top discs, though these tend to be less marked on those with particularly strong Dodecanesian affinities. Handles may be crossed, barred or decorated with more elaborate patterns, while a further link with both Perati and the Dodecanese can be seen in the motif of a framed vertical wavy line.

Top discs may be decorated with rosettes or concentric semicircles, as well as more simply with spirals or concentric circles. Linear body decoration consists mainly of pleasing and extremely well planned arrangements of thick and thin bands, though larger areas of monochrome, often with reserved lines, are also found.

Several stirrup-jars with simple circumcurrent decoration on the shoulder (groups of concentric semicircles or cross-hatched triangles) above bodies with large areas of monochrome or monochrome with reserved lines or areas are likely to be among the latest stylistically (cf. e.g. Kardara 1977, 29f. (Category C), pl. 37; Kondoleon 1958, pl. 171b). These are later in appearance than almost anything found so far in the Dodecanese, and probably later than most of the stirrup-jars assigned to Perati Phase III (above, chapters 5 and 8). They compare well, however, with the latest LH IIIC stirrup-jars from Asine and elsewhere in the Argolid and with stirrup-jars from the Salamis cist tombs in Attica.

Jugs, amphorae and hydriae include a variety of types with a wide range of handle arrangements and neck formations which make precise classification often difficult. Experimentation with handle treatment seems particularly characteristic of the Naxos pottery and accounts for some versions of these shapes which seem, so far, peculiar to the island.

Jugs include types with both rim- and neck-handles and trefoil-lipped versions. Twisted handles are frequent.

Decoration is mainly simple and includes "necklace"-pattern, wavy lines and "whiskers", all of which can be paralleled at Perati and in the Dodecanese, as well as in the Argolid and Euboea. A trefoil-lipped jug from the Aplomata tombs, decorated with "necklace"-pattern, has plastic "breasts" on the shoulder (Kardara 1977, pl. 52a); two jugs from the same tombs have a combination of "necklace"- and antithetic spiral or "whisker"-pattern (FM 72:11) otherwise known only from Perati and Asine (Kardara 1977, pls. 53-4).

In addition to the more usual jug forms there are three or four strainer jugs, all of the type with excrescent cup spout found elsewhere only in the Dodecanese (cf. FS 157). Unlike the Dodecanesian examples, however, these have additional horizontal loop handles on the body. Their decoration is fairly elaborate and includes plastic snakes, fish, elaborate triangles, dot fringed concentric semicircles, and a concentric triangle motif (cf. FM 61A:1-2) which is a favourite motif in the Dodecanese also found on some of the Naxos stirrup-jars (Kondoleon 1959, pl. 157a; Kardara 1977, pls. 39-42; cf. e.g. Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 44 and above, chapter 8 note 32). A strainer jug from the Kamini tombs has a most unusual decoration of silhouette "cut-out" human figures (Zafeiropoulos 1960a, pl. 219e)[8].

Both neck-handled and rim-handled amphorae (FS 69, FS 70) are found, as well as a type of belly-handled amphora which seems peculiar to Naxos. These, of which there are several, have a high flaring neck, and are in profile very similar to corresponding types found in the Dodecanese where the evolution of the developed belly-handled amphorae found at Perati and Asine can best be traced (above, chapter

8). Unlike the Dodecanesian, Perati and Asine examples, however, most of the Naxos ones have three rather than two horizontal loop handles on the belly. The usual decoration on these, as on several from the Dodecanese and the ones from Perati and Asine, is of horizontal wavy lines. On other types of amphorae, including the neck-handled versions, scrolls, "whiskers" and "necklace"-pattern are frequent decorations.

On hydriae, as on jugs and amphorae, a fairly wide variety of handle arrangements can be found. An unusual example in the Naxos Museum has, in addition to the two regular horizontal belly handles, two extremely stunted vertical handles from the lower part of the neck to the shoulder which recall some of the flask forms (cf. FS 185-193) which seem most typical of the Dodecanese and the Eastern Mycenaean world in LH IIIB and LH IIIC. A type of miniature hydria finds parallels both at Perati and in the Dodecanese (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, 237f.; Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 60). The main decorations on hydriae, as on the other large closed vessels, are scrolls, "whiskers" and wavy lines (e.g. Kondoleon 1959, pl. 158c).

Amphoriskoi, too, are found in a number of versions: both three- and two-handled, and with necks which vary both in shape and height. In some versions, the close relationship to some of the belly-handled amphorae from Naxos is clearly apparent (e.g. Kardara 1977, pl. 46c). Patterns such as concentric semicircles or arcs (sometimes with reserved elements), or horizontal wavy lines compare well with decorations found on amphoriskoi in Phases II and III at Perati (e.g. Zafeiropoulos 1960b,

pl. 275c); and an amphoriskos from the Aplomata tombs, with a series of reserved lines on a monochrome body, is particularly reminiscent of ones from Perati and Asine (Kardara 1977, pl. 46a). On the other hand, no amphoriskoi which can be compared stylistically with Phase I examples from Perati or earlier versions from the Dodecanese have yet been illustrated or displayed in the Naxos Museum.

A fragment of a tall cylindrical pyxis with tripod feet, similar in shape to those known from Perati, Lefkandi, Volos and the Dodecanese and presumably derived from the tall cylindrical pyxides of LM IIIB-C, is decorated simply with wavy lines on the body and bars on the feet. Small pyxides are also decorated with wavy lines or with more elaborate patterns and with neat thick and thin banding (e.g. Kardara 1977, pl. 52d; Zafeiropoulos 1960b, pl. 275c; for the shapes of these, cf. especially Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 81:961 and Forsdyke 1925, pl. XV:A1003). A composite vessel, composed of three miniature straight-sided alabastra (cf. FS 330) is decorated with a leaf pattern reminiscent of some from Perati. There are also several examples of fragments of large lentoid flasks (FS 180) with linear and wavy line decoration similar to ones from other island and coastal sites of the Aegean (e.g. Kardara 1977, pls. 43, 56; Kondoleon 1959, pl. 157c). Feeding bottles decorated with wavy lines are also present[9]. Lekythoi, as in the Dodecanese, seem rare; though this contrasts with the large numbers found at Perati. A monochrome example from the Aplomata tombs is the only one yet illustrated or displayed in the Museum (Kardara 1977, pl. 52b; Kondoleon 1958, pl. 171b). Two duck vases, both from

the Kamini tombs, were taken by Desborough (1972, 82) as a possible sign of overlap between the LH IIIC of Naxos and a very late stage of Attic Submycenaean. However, the presence of bird vases of not dissimilar type in both Cyprus and the Dodecanese in LC IIIA and LH IIIC, does suggest that the Naxos ones need not be as late as those from Athens, Lefkandi, and possibly some from Achaea (cf. below, chapter 14) which are more directly relatable to Proto-White-Painted versions from Cyprus and to some found in Subminoan contexts on Crete (cf. Desborough 1972, fig. 11, pl. 4)[10]. The decoration of one of them, which consists of simple stripes along the body, finds parallels both in bird figurines of various periods and in ornithoid askoi (cf. e.g. Wace 1932, pl. XXIII:1,14 (dated to LH IIIA2-B by Furumark); Iakovides 1969, III, pl. 115b). The other (Zafeiropoulos 1960b, pl. 275a) is decorated with fish swimming along the side; and these closely resemble the fish found on strainer jugs, amphoriskoi and octopus stirrup-jars from Naxos and on various shapes from the Dodecanese.

Deep bowls include completely monochrome versions, versions with reserved foot and lower body, and versions with a single reserved line inside the rim (e.g. Kardara 1977, 37). Several deep bowls with a narrow reserved zone between the handles which may sometimes contain a horizontal wavy line (cf. Scholes 1956, 34), find parallels among the latest LH IIIC from the Argolid, including Asine, though the type is missing from Lefkandi and the Dodecanesian sites[11]. On pattern decorated deep bowls various forms of spiraliform decoration of an elaborate

type are found.

There are many conical bowls, both from tombs and settlement, with the standardised shape and linear decoration which characterise examples from Perati Phases II-III and Lefkandi Phases 2-3 (e.g. Kardara 1977, pl. 45c-d). Spouted cylindrical cups (FS 252), similar to examples from the Dodecanese, are often decorated with wavy lines. Cups too may have wavy line decoration, while others with linear decoration are also similar to types found both on the Mainland and in the Dodecanese (cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 4, 13-4, 22).

There are several kalathoi with wavy lines on the outer body, similar to ones from the Dodecanese and Asine. One from Aplomata Tomb B combines this decoration with a series of cross-hatched triangles of distinctly geometrical appearance, executed in added white paint, in the interior of the vase (Kardara 1977, pl. 44).

Kraters with elaborate decoration, both abstract and pictorial, which bear a marked similarity to the series of Phase 2 kraters from Lefkandi, are known from the Grotta settlement. Identifiable fragments seem to belong to kraters of deep bowl type, though on others the shape is uncertain. On those with abstract decoration motifs include birds, outlined tongues, large rosettes, elaborate panels and spiraliform motifs (cf. Kondoleon 1967, pl. 100; Kondoleon 1965a, pl. 220c; Kondoleon 1950, fig. 11; cf. Figs. 136-8 from Lefkandi). A fragment with the outlined legs of a human figure (Kondoleon 1965a, pl. 215b) may be related to kraters with complete pictorial scenes

found at Lefkandi and on Kos[12].

There are some mug fragments decorated with concentric triangles topped by spiral finials (British School at Athens collection; Kondoleon 1963, pl. 129b). A conical kylix with wavy line decoration was reported by Scholes from the area of the Grotta settlement (Scholes 1956, 34). From one of the Kamini tombs comes an unpainted carinated kylix.

The main types of decoration thus seem to be wavy lines found on closed shapes such as jugs, pyxides, amphoriskoi and feeding bottles and on open shapes such as deep bowls, spouted cups, cups and kalathoi, and a wide range of elaborate ornamental schemes found mainly on stirrup-jars, kraters, amphoriskoi and kalathoi but also on other shapes. On the larger closed vessels scroll, "necklace"- and "whisker"-patterns are common, though tassels, perhaps surprisingly, do not appear to be[13]. Among the more elaborate motifs, pictorial elements such as fish, octopuses, duck-like birds and plastic snakes have links with either the Dodecanese or Eastern Attica, and in some cases with both. Several of the abstract designs have very close parallels at Perati, others, including a series of linked lozenge patterns (e.g. Kardara 1977, fig. 18:4), with the Dodecanese; while some motifs, such as the leaf and lotus-flower patterns, seem to have been particular favourites, and possibly most characteristic, of the Naxian potters. A few examples of a geometrical type of decoration, some at least of which are probably quite late in date, also echo those of the Dodecanese (e.g. Kardara 1977, pl. 44; Kondoleon 1963, pl. 128a; Zafeiropoulos 1960b, pl. 274c[14]). Finally, the reserved line is also known, both on the interiors of deep

bowls and on closed vases[15].

Linear decoration on the bodies of the smaller closed vases consists mainly of pleasing arrangements of thick and thin bands similar to those found in Lefkandi Phase 2, Perati Phases II-III, at Asine and in the Dodecanese. Several vases, particularly stirrup-jars and amphoriskoi, have broad areas of monochrome on the lower bodies. On the large closed vessels (domestic jugs, amphorae and hydriae) a system of sparse banding combined with a few simple motifs is, as elsewhere in LH IIIC, the rule.

The fabric of the Naxos LH IIIC pottery is generally light in colour and of good appearance, and the decoration, like that on much of the pottery from Perati Phases II-III, is extremely well conceived and neatly applied. Several vases, including some of the large closed vessels, seem whiter than others and, as at Perati, this effect may often have been achieved by the use of a light coloured slip (cf. Kardara 1977, 44). Though this feature is not consistently confined to any particular shapes there may nevertheless be some connection with the white ware or imitation white ware vases found at Lefkandi from Phase 2b, on Kea and in Attica.

B. Melos and Paros

The site of Phylakopi, on the north coast of Melos, was first excavated at the end of the last century (Atkinson *et al.* 1904), again briefly in 1910 (Dawkins and Droop 1910-11), and most recently in 1974-77 when a shrine complex of considerable interest for the history and character of Late Bronze Age Aegean religion was uncovered (preliminary reports: Catling 1975, 23-5; Renfrew 1978; cf. also Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 314; Barber 1974).

Very little of the pottery from the topmost levels of the final city (the late phase of the palace) was illustrated or described in detail in the two original excavation reports. However, both Edgar (in Atkinson *et al.* 1904, 160) and Dawkins and Droop (1910-11, 19) were in no doubt that the settlement continued in existence down to an advanced stage, perhaps the final stage of the Mycenaean period, with a possible terminal date of 1000 B.C.. A similar conclusion has been reached in preliminary reports of the new excavations, with a major collapse of buildings in the shrine area dated to 1120 and a final cessation of occupation placed around 1090 (Renfrew 1978).

In his brief description of the pottery which characterised the final city of Phylakopi (Period IV), Edgar (Atkinson *et al.* 1904, 145-8, 160) compared it to Furtwängler and Loeschke's third and fourth styles and noted the predominance, in the top settlement as a whole, of "globular pseudamphorae with bands round the body and debased flowers on the shoulder, long-footed kylikes, and all the other familiar types". The pottery from a well

in the palace courtyard, however, some of which "was painted in a debased and presumably late style" (Atkinson et al. 1904, 160) was regarded as the latest from the entire site and placed in the final stage of the Mycenaean period. This pottery included a collar-necked jar or rounded alabastron[16] (Atkinson et al. 1904, fig. 125) and a fragment of a bowl showing a rather straggly version of what is taken to be a ship (Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. XXXII:12). The latter is matched by some other fragments, the shapes of which are far from certain[17], which bear equally scruffy pictorial decoration (Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. XXXII:11A-C,14-8).

In 1911 Dawkins and Droop, concentrating more narrowly on "the mass of very late and much debased Mycenaean pottery, which formed almost everywhere the uppermost stratum", listed small vessels, bowls and the usual Mycenaean kylikes with high stems and handles rising above the lip, jugs and pithoi. "Fragments of Bügelkannen were recognised, but this shape was not frequent and was even perhaps dying out. The patterns, confined after the usual Mycenaean manner to the upper part of the vase, are executed with the greatest carelessness. There were also many fragments of small vases covered with a thin, bad, and sometimes irregularly streaky black glaze" (Dawkins and Droop 1910-11, 18-9). Pottery illustrated consists of deep bowls (monochrome, and with decorations of triglyphs (cf. FM 74:5, FM 75:22) and antithetic spirals (cf. FM 50:4,8)), a pyxis decorated with sea anemones (FM 27:18) and early concentric semicircles (FM 43:26), a deep conical and a carinated kylix (FS 274, FS 276: possibly

both unpainted), a krater with vertical whorl pattern (FM 25:21), a jar with running spirals (cf. FM 40:52), and a jug with spirals flanking a central triglyph (cf. FM 75:26) (Dawkins and Droop 1910-11, pls. XII, XIV:39-44).

Furumark (1941b, 77) assigned almost all the pottery ascribed to the top stratum, including the pieces illustrated by Dawkins and Droop and the alabastron or collar-necked jar from the well, to his Myc. IIIC:1 early stage. Of the pottery illustrated, he described only one deep bowl (with antithetic spiral, FM 50:13) and some krater sherds as being of later type (Atkinson et al. 1904, fig. 124, pl. XXXII).

There seems little reason to alter Furumark's conclusion about the relative date of most of the latest pottery illustrated in the early excavation reports or in the National Museum at Athens (cf. also Desborough 1964, 148). Shapes and patterns of LH IIIB origin are very much in evidence, and little of the decoration progresses much beyond sub-LH IIIB type. Most versions of the antithetic spiral motif differ little from those of LH IIIB (cf. e.g. Mountjoy 1976, fig. 6:47; E. French 1966, pl. 49c; Verdelis and French 1965, fig. 2:9-10); and the kylikes are exclusively types which have their origins in LH IIIB or earlier (Dawkins and Droop 1910-11, pl. XII; cf. also Barber 1974, pl. 6e)[18]. A stirrup-jar with flowers on the shoulder may have parallels in Perati Phase I, but no later than that (Fig. 184: NM 5795, cf. FM 18C:119; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 15, 33:67; also Morricone 1965-66, fig. 90 which is assigned to the local

LH IIIB class on Kos); a jug with antithetic spirals is matched by LH IIIB specimens from Mycenae (Fig. 164: NM 5793, cf. FM 50:15; cf. e.g. E. French 1969a, 73-4, 79). The pyxis may perhaps be compared with some early adaptations of the Cretan shape found in the Dodecanese (Dawkins and Droop 1910-11, pl. XII:73; cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, fig. 310 assigned to late LH IIIB-early LH IIIC). Its decoration, which includes concentric semicircles similar to some early versions in the Dodecanese, is distinctly sub-LH IIIB in appearance (cf. Scholes 1956, 34).

There are also, however, a few fragments from the early excavations at Phylakopi with more elaborate spiraliform motifs which seem later in style and might well be assigned to a middle stage of LH IIIC. These appear to have affinities with Dodecanesian pottery (e.g. Ashmolean Museum AE 2092, AE 2097; cf. e.g. Maiuri 1923-24, figs. 65:36, 103). A few examples of wavy line decoration - one of them a horizontal wavy line framed by straight lines (Ashmolean Museum AE 2085; cf. also AE 2061) - can also be paralleled in the Dodecanese and at Miletus, though the evidence from Miletus at least suggests that these need not be a particularly late feature of LH IIIC in these regions (cf. above, chapters 8 and 10). The pottery from the well and the similar fragments (Atkinson et al. 1904, fig. 125, pl. XXXII), on the other hand, present greater problems for relative dating. Furumark dated the alabastron or collar-necked jar to Myc. IIIC:1 early; and Scholes (1956, 34) also concluded that "its general date is fixed by the decoration which combines LH IIIB and C motifs". For this and the other fragments, however, parallels from other sites or regions are difficult to find (cf. Scholes 1956, 35).

The arc-filled triglyph on one fragment (Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. XXXII:16) has some parallels in the Dodecanese (cf. e.g. Iacopi 1933, fig. 23 which Furumark dates to Myc. IIIC:1a), and J.-C. Courtois (1973, 154-5) has linked them to his series of Aegeo-Carian kraters from Miletus which he considers to have evolved in the Eastern Aegean during the transition from LH IIIB to LH IIIC[19]. Nevertheless, the parallels with Miletus are not immediately striking; while for some at least of the fragments (e.g. Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. XXXII:11-2) the closest resemblances can perhaps be seen in some of the equally scruffy, and equally undatable, pottery of Mycenaean type from Troy VIh and VIIa (cf. Blegen, Caskey and Rawson 1953; Blegen et al. 1958). So far, then, they remain to a large extent stylistically unrelatable, and therefore undatable in terms of a clear LH IIIC sequence.

The recent excavations in the shrine area will provide useful new evidence for the stratigraphical development of Phylakopi's Mycenaean pottery, though the evidence on which the absolute dates for the duration of the shrine are based has still to be published[20]. The shrine area seems first to have developed as such in the early LH IIIA period, when construction of the West shrine was begun. The East shrine and adjacent fortification wall were built during LH IIIB1, as is shown by pottery of this date built into the wall (Renfrew 1978, 10). According to the preliminary account, both shrines then continued in use for some 150 years until c. 1120 B.C. when the entire area was seriously damaged in a major collapse, with large stones from the fortification wall falling

and crushing pottery in the street to the north. Some patchy reconstruction and modification then took place, and part of the shrine area continued in use apparently for some 30 years more, mainly, it seems, relying on cult objects salvaged from an earlier period (cf. Renfrew 1978, 11-2)[21].

In 1975 a group of pots which appeared to have been smashed by stones falling in the collapse of the fortification wall was found to the south of and inside the East shrine[22]. If this group is to be related to the collapse described in the report (Renfrew 1978, 10), then, at first sight, there seems little which accounts for the very low date of c. 1120 B.C. suggested for this event. The group in question consists of a collar-necked jar (FS 64) with a direct, if somewhat untidy derivative of an LH IIIB pattern (cf. FM 43:21; Mountjoy 1976, fig. 8:73 (LH IIIB1); Morricone 1965-66, fig. 310 (late LH IIIB-early LH IIIC); Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 18:6 (Perati Phase I); cf. Ashmolean Museum AE 2143 also from Phylakopi); a large piriform jar (cf. FS 37-8) with running spirals on the shoulder (cf. Dawkins and Droop 1910-11, pl. XIV:39); a monochrome deep conical kylix (FS 274) (cf. Barber 1974, pl. 6e); a monochrome deep bowl (FS 284) (cf. Dawkins and Droop 1910-11, pl. XII:132); and a large banded lentoid flask (FS 186) (Figs. 182-3; Sherratt 1980, pl. 18c). Fragments found in the same level as this group include many pieces of monochrome deep bowls and kylikes, a few deep bowls decorated with patterns such as triglyphs, stemmed and antithetic spirals and horizontal zigzag, linear cups, and some unpainted pottery, particularly carinated kylikes (cf.

Sherratt 1980, pl. 18b).

In an adjoining trench to the east of the East shrine (cf. Renfrew 1978, fig. 1) a stemmed bowl found in 1974 above the tops of the highest walls and street level is decorated with an antithetic spiral pattern and band and fine line groups on the stem which, while likely to be LH IIIC in date, still preserves clear reminiscences of LH IIIB (Catling 1975, fig. 45)[23]. The shape itself (FS 305), like that of the piriform jar, is <u>par excellence</u> an LH IIIB one, and though it survives into LH IIIC in the Dodecanese, it seems unlikely that it continues as late as the end of the twelfth century even there (cf. Mee 1975, 100)[24]. From the same level there are a few hollowed amphora rims and an amphora handle with a vertical wavy band. A second bowl found at a lower level, and presumably somewhat earlier, has panel and isolated semicircle decoration which seems typical of Argive LH IIIB2 (Sherratt 1980, pl. 18a; cf. e.g. Verdelis and French 1965, fig. 4:8)[25].

The pottery associated with the collapse of the wall appears to correspond well with much of that illustrated and described in early reports and assigned by Furumark to his Myc. IIIC:1 early; and it seems difficult to date it much later than an early stage of LH IIIC (that is, c. 1230-1200 on Furumark's chronology, or c. 1190-1170 on the chronology of others (cf. Iakovides 1979)). The nature and date of the pottery associated with the subsequent period of modifications and re-use of the shrine area will become clear when it is published, but a preliminary

impression suggests that the evidence for its continuation down to an advanced, let alone a very late stage of LH IIIC is slight. Sherds found in 1974 associated with the uppermost floor of the East shrine[26] do not appear to differ radically from those from lower levels. There is perhaps less unpainted material, and some of the triglyph patterns found on deep bowls look rather more "degenerate" than in earlier levels. There are some hollowed amphora rims; and a sign of mid-LH IIIC may perhaps be seen in a krater fragment, found above the latest floor level[27], which appears to have some sort of pictorial decoration. An LH IIIC kalathos is reported from the final period of use of the West shrine (Renfrew 1978, 12). There appears to be a high proportion of upcast material, and even cult objects salvaged from an earlier period seem to have been re-used (cf. Renfrew 1978, 11-2).

Dodecanesian contacts, or influences, are discernible in pottery from both the early and more recent excavations, and can be seen in such features as the lentoid flask and the continuation of the piriform jar and stemmed bowl beyond the limits of LH IIIB[28]. Some motifs, such as stemmed spirals[29], reflect the sort of patterns which continue from early LH IIIB into LH IIIC in the Dodecanese; others, such as early types of concentric semicircles, a few triglyph and wavy line motifs, and a distinctive variant of a multiple stem-like pattern, may also show links with the Dodecanese and in some cases possibly also with Crete[30]. The version of the pyxis found at Phylakopi may also have reached Melos from the Dodecanese in an early stage of LH IIIC (cf. above, chapter 8). A belly-handled amphora (FS 58) from Melos, but of unknown

provenance (Langlotz 1932, pl. ii:42)[31], resembles the series of shapes found in the Dodecanese which seem intermediate between amphoriskoi and piriform jars on the one hand and the developed belly-handled amphora on the other (cf. above, chapter 8)[32]. Its decoration, of a duck-like bird with raised wing in the handle zone (FM 7:44) and panels and stemmed spirals on the shoulder, has close affinities with the Dodecanese and Cyprus (cf. e.g. Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 103; Iacopi 1933, fig. 62; Dikaios 1969, pls. 307-9).

If the very late date suggested for the collapse deposit is substantiated, the pottery associated with it does seem to present certain problems not encountered at other sites in the Cyclades or the Aegean area generally which are considered to have continued down into an advanced or late stage of LH IIIC. These problems lie in the apparent absence of almost all the features which characterise an advanced stage of LH IIIC at most of those sites. Negative evidence may be misleading, but the cumulative effect of the list of apparently absent features is puzzling in the extreme. One might expect to see signs of at least some features such as shallow conical kylikes of lip band type (FS 275), conical bowls, neck-handled amphorae, trefoil-lipped jugs and kalathoi (the only one reported comes from the final period of use of the West shrine). One might also expect some sign of reserved lines or reserved feet, and of the distinctive thick and thin banding or broad monochrome bands which enliven the bodies of mid-LH IIIC vases from Euboea, Attica, Naxos and the Dodecanese; of the elaborate patterning, on both closed and open shapes, which is found on mid-LH IIIC pottery in both the Eastern and Western

Aegean, and of motifs such as outlined tongues, rosettes, elaborate triangles, concentric arcs, "necklace"-pattern, scrolls, "whiskers", and of decorative devices such as twisted handles. Even the birds and fish which form such a notable feature of Dodecanesian pottery, and which find their way to Naxos and to the Greek Mainland, appear to be missing except on the vase of unknown provenance referred to above[31]. These apparent absences become all the more puzzling in view of the presence in the Melos Museum of krater fragments from nearby Kimolos which would look perfectly at home among the elaborately decorated kraters of the Grotta settlement on Naxos or Lefkandi Phase 2[33].

Some further light may be thrown on the comparative date of the collapse deposits by preliminary reports of recent excavations at the settlement of Koukounaries on Paros (Ergon 1976, 1977). Here a destruction dated by the excavator to the transition from LH IIIB to LH IIIC left deposits of pottery which is similar, in several ways, to that associated with the collapse of the Phylakopi wall. A collar-necked jar with running spirals between the handles is decorated in a very similar way to the piriform jar from Phylakopi (Ergon 1977, 147 fig. 95; cf. Fig. 182 and Dawkins and Droop 1910-11, pl. XIV:39); and there are deep bowl fragments with antithetic spiral and narrow horizontal patterns, and fragments of monochrome deep bowls and kylikes as well as unpainted kylikes (Ergon 1976, 150 fig. 127). Links with late LH IIIB-early LH IIIC in the Dodecanese are also clear at Koukounaries. Deep bowls with stemmed and isolated spiral decoration

are closely matched by similar bowls from Kos (Ergon 1977, 148 fig. 96; cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 129, 170), and a "dumpy" monochrome straight-sided alabastron also finds parallels among the late LH IIIB-early LH IIIC pottery from Eleona and Langada (Ergon 1976, 151 fig. 128; cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 67, 113). Two more bowls are almost certainly LM IIIB imports (Ergon 1976, 151 fig. 128; cf. e.g. Popham 1970, figs. 2-3). A stemmed krater (cf. FS 8) with a fairly elaborate antithetic spiral decoration on one side and "sea shells" (FM 25?) on the other, is the latest looking vase so far illustrated (Ergon 1977, 149 fig. 97). Certain elements of its decoration, in particular the solid triangles in the spiral loops, are similar to the more elaborate geometricised decoration found on pottery of Mycenaean type at Enkomi before the end of Level IIIa (cf. Dikaios 1969, pl. 307, and above, chapter 6). On the other hand, it also preserves clear echoes of LH IIIB or even LH IIIA, especially in the flower or papyrus motif (cf. FM 18A, FM 11) beside the central panel. This particular vase is hard to place stylistically, and may provide yet another illustration of the strong strain of artistic continuity between LH IIIA2-B1 and LH IIIC which is especially evident in the eastern fringes of the Mycenaean world and on Crete (cf. also E. French 1977, 138). Despite this, the overall impression gained from the Koukounaries pottery suggests that the excavator's date - that is no later than a fairly early stage of LH IIIC (cf. also Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 322) - would be hard to contradict, particularly in view of the links with the Dodecanese and LM IIIB Crete. Its similarity to pottery associated with

the collapse of the fortification wall at Phylakopi suggests that there cannot have been much chronological difference between the two.

Notes to Chapter 11

1. It is however probable that some of the settlement sherds illustrated in preliminary reports (e.g. Kondoleon 1963, pl. 128b top right) belong to such a sub-LH IIIB/early LH IIIC stage. Although signs of LH IIIB1 are clear (e.g. Kondoleon 1963, pl. 128b), so far none of the characteristic features of Argive LH IIIB2 have been illustrated or exhibited from the Naxos excavations. Cf., however, Sherratt 1980, 191 note 55 for fragments catalogued Melos/Paros/Naxos in the British School at Athens Museum.

2. Cf. Desborough (1972, 62) for similarities between some objects from the Naxos chamber tombs and those from the Kerameikos; and for a group of vases combining features of late LH IIIC/Submycenaean decoration with early Protogeometric elements from one of the earliest graves in the pit and cist tomb cemetery which seems to have replaced the LH IIIC chamber tombs (Ergon 1960, 187 fig. 209).

The question of a Submycenaean occupation of the settlement, and the character of any pottery assignable to such a phase remains unresolved. In 1971 Kondoleon claimed continuity of occupation at the settlement from Mycenaean to Geometric, though he noted the probability of fairly marked hiatuses between the different periods (Kondoleon 1971, 219ff.). At that time three building phases were recognised, the second of which (an extension of part of the first) was dated to the Submycenaean period, apparently on the evidence of a sealstone (Kondoleon 1971, 214f.). Above this, and on a completely different axis,

lay a building associated with Geometric and Protogeometric pottery (Kondoleon 1950, 279). However, the character of the Submycenaean (none of which was illustrated) remains far from clear. (Cf. Kondoleon 1950, 279: "In the western sector of the excavation one layer of black earth of a few centimetres' depth, lying 30-40 cm. above the floor of Room A and resulting from a widespread conflagration of organic material, characterised the transition from the Mycenaean to Geometric levels. In the term Mycenaean are included also the Submycenaean sherds, and in Geometric the Protogeometric."). See also Desborough 1972, 82-3 for the lack of information about pottery from the settlement assigned to Submycenaean.

In later reports, two Mycenaean building phases, the earlier separated from the later by a destruction level, are distinguished (Ergon 1971, 175). The later building phase seems to have ignored the layout of the earlier, and its spacious regular plan is reminiscent of the Phase 2 houses at Lefkandi (Kondoleon 1971, fig. 1). It is difficult to tell from the reports precisely what dates are assigned to these building phases, though the later one presumably belongs predominantly to LH IIIC (in one part of the site a Protogeometric tomb was found directly above its walls: Kondoleon 1971, 172ff.). The relationship of the destruction of the earlier building phase to an earthquake thought to have occurred sometime in the early part of the thirteenth century (Ergon 1967, 82ff.; Schachermeyr 1976, 185) is not clear.

A pictorial krater fragment from the earlier building phase (Kondoleon 1971, pl. 208b) is undatable within the period LH IIIA to LH IIIC.

3. For the idea that Naxos may have been part of an Attic maritime "empire", see Kardara 1977, 90f..

4. See e.g. Kardara 1977, 18, pl. 20 for a probable Cretan import.

5. A good example of the contrast between the two types of tentacle fill can be seen in Zafeiropoulos 1960a, pl. 219b-d.

6. Some of the leaf-like motifs may well be related to the lotus-flower patterns which seem to be a speciality of Naxos (Kardara 1977, fig. 14; cf. also below, note 7).

7. These motifs may also be related to palm-derived patterns (FM 14-5) which are revived in, or survive into, the twelfth century in Cyprus, Crete and Rhodes (cf. e.g. Popham 1965, 331).

8. For the general style of this decoration, cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, fig. 339.

9. For a much later feeding bottle with handle at right angles to the spout, cf. above, chapter 6 note 36. This is from a pit tomb dated by Desborough to the transition from Submycenaean to Protogeometric, and may be evidence of Proto-White-Painted influence in the Aegean at this time (Desborough 1964, 151).

10. For a Decorated LC III bird vase from Cyprus, see Karageorghis 1963, pl. 34:1. Cf. also Maiuri 1923-24, 173-4, fig. 100 from an LH IIIC tomb at Ialysos which is considered to be a Cypriot import.

11. In Attica, deep bowls with this type of decoration

are first found in the cist tombs of the Kerameikos and Agora (e.g. Kraiker and Kübler 1939, pl. 23).

12. Cf. also Kondoleon 1963, pl. 129b which is probably from a pictorial krater.

13. This could be a reflection of date, since at Lefkandi, for instance, tassels first appear and are most popular in Phase 1b (cf. above, chapter 4 and Fig. 150). On the other hand, only a very few examples of tassel pattern are found in the Dodecanese and Cyprus (e.g. Morricone 1965-66, fig. 112 (which may be imported); Dikaios 1969, pl. 83:13a). Surprisingly, too, there is very little trace of tassel pattern among LH IIIC material from either the Athenian Acropolis or Perati.

14. This last - a composite vessel - comes from Kamini Tomb C, which Zafeiropoulos (1960b, 338) considers to be among the latest of the Kamini tombs. Its high central handle crowned with an acorn-like knob is most unusual.

For a discussion of geometrical decoration in the Dodecanese, see above, chapter 8.

15. The flamboyant use to which reserved lines are put on deep bowls in the Central Argolid, however, is not apparent on deep bowls from Naxos.

16. Furumark (1941b, 77) assigns it tentatively to FS 86, though it seems possible that it may bear a greater resemblance to a "suspension vase" from an apparently early LH IIIC tomb at Ialysos (New Tomb 35: cf. Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 107) which is classed as FS 64.

17. Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. XXXII:11A-C is particularly puzzling. It cannot be from a krater, since fragment 11C shows the interior surface (cf. Ibid., 174); nor

does it look as though it can belong to a kalathos, one of the few shapes which regularly have patterned interior decoration.

18. For FS 274, cf. above, chapter 10 note 8. There appears to be no sign at Phylakopi of the shallower conical kylix (FS 275) which first appears in Phase Ib at Lefkandi, and is also found on Kea and in the Dodecanese (cf. e.g. Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 1:2; Caskey 1972, pl. 98:M1-2; Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 104).

19. The bird on Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. XXXII:15 does seem to bear a close resemblance to LH IIIB types, particularly some of those found on Cyprus (cf. e.g. Smith 1925, pls. 9:10, 10:7).

20. It will shortly be published by Miss P.A. Mountjoy in the forthcoming publication of Professor Renfrew's excavations.

I am grateful to Professor Renfrew for the opportunity to see the material from his first three seasons of excavation (1974-76), and for permission to discuss the pottery.

21. "Although pottery imports to Phylakopi become exceedingly rare from the later LH IIIB period, there are just one or two clear Late Helladic IIIC pieces. These, together with the evidence of the figurines securely document that the collapse occurred in a developed phase of the LH IIIC period, perhaps around 1120 B.C." (Renfrew 1978, 11).

One of the female figurines from the collapse phase, found in a room to the west of the West shrine, is regarded as a product of the LH IIIA2 period (Renfrew 1978, 12, frontispiece). She must thus be assumed

to have been in use for something approaching 200 years by the time of the collapse.

22. NLe space c, level 74-5 and NLd space 4, level 73 (south of East shrine). Pieces of the collar-necked jar were particularly widely scattered, one fragment coming from the interior of the shrine (NLd space 1, level 56).

23. From PLa levels 7, 17, 20 (east of East Shrine).

24. See above, chapter 10 note 8 on the band and fine line group decoration.

Among the latest stemmed bowls from the Dodecanese is probably Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 65 which is also decorated with antithetic spirals, though the shape (FS 306) and the decoration of stem and handles are quite different. Rather more similar to the Melos one is Sieveking and Hackl 1912, no. 39 (FM 50:10), of unknown provenance, which Furumark dates to Myc. IIIC:1 early.

25. From PLa levels 17, 19, 21.

26. OLc 1974, levels 23, 26 and above (postdating the construction of wall 105); cf. Catling 1975, 25 and Renfrew 1978, 11-2.

27. OLc 1974, level 22.

28. For lentoid flasks (FS 186) cf. above, chapter 8 and Furumark (1941a, 616) who gives them a range of LH IIIA2-C:2, above all in the Dodecanese. Unlike ones from Perati and Naxos, the Phylakopi example does not seem to have a wavy line down the sides.

29. Cf. e.g. fragments from OLc level 29; cf. also Ashmolean Museum AE 576e, AE 2005.

30. For the multiple stem-like pattern, cf. a fragment from PLa level 11. This pattern is almost certainly

of Cretan origin, and the fragment in question may originally have been an LM IIIB import to Phylakopi (cf. e.g. Popham 1970, fig. 3:41).

31. This vase might conceivably have come from one of the ruined and plundered tombs found in the area of Phylakopi by the early excavators (cf. Scholes 1956, 12).

32. The neck and rim profile of the Melos jar are identical to those of piriform jars, which is not the case with the developed version of the belly-handled amphora (cf. Desborough 1972, 33).

33. These may possibly have come from the site of Ellinika, from which LH IIIC pottery has been reported (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 313 with references).

Chapter 12

Chios[1]

LH IIIC pottery from the settlement of Emporio on Chios presents few surprises in view of the island's geographical position, more or less equidistant by sea from the Dodecanese, the Central and Northern Cyclades, and Euboea.

The stratification of the Late Bronze Age site has proved disappointing, but it is clear from the Mycenaean pottery that a fairly long sequence is represented, starting sometime in LH IIIB1, and continuing well on into LH IIIC[2]. At one end there are kylikes of clear LH IIIB1 style[3]. At the other, a series of complete or nearly complete or nearly complete pots seems to form a fairly consistent assemblage datable to perhaps the later middle stages of LH IIIC (cf. Desborough 1964, 159). Between them, odd vases and fragments provide a few glimpses of the intervening periods of late LH IIIB and earlier LH IIIC. Apart from monochrome deep bowls, there are a number of monochrome rounded (FS 265-6) or deep conical kylikes (FS 274) which the excavator concludes belong mainly to the earlier part of the LH IIIC or LH IIIB-C span[4]. These resemble kylikes from Paros and Phylakopi (above, chapter 11) and monochrome kylikes from the Dodecanese which Furumark and Morricone (1905-06, 299f.) include among pottery of late LH IIIB or early LH IIIC. There is no evidence for the shallower conical kylix (FS 275), the more usual kylix of established LH IIIC type, and the excavator suggests that by the time of the latest occupation at Emporio, as at Lefkandi after Phase 2a, kylikes may have been largely replaced by

conical bowls.

The latest pottery from the site includes neck-handled amphorae (FS 70, with both scroll and tassel decoration), conical bowls with the standardised linear decoration found on Naxos, Kea, Euboea, Rhodes and the Mainland, and deep bowls with the rather restrained type of reserved line decoration (both inside and out) found at Perati in Phases II-III and at Lefkandi from Phase 2[5]. Along with these go some wavy line motifs and plenty of fairly elaborate patterning.

Stylistically, this pottery displays evident similarities to that of Euboea, Attica, Kea and Naxos on the one hand, and that of the Dodecanese and Miletus on the other. As on Naxos, a few vases (mainly conical and deep bowls) have a whitish appearance, though it is unclear whether this effect is achieved in the fabric of the pottery or by means of a slip[6].

Stylistic links between Chios and the Dodecanese are particularly striking, and can be seen in the range of kalathoi with exterior decoration of a wavy line, elaborate or pictorial decoration in the interior, painted snakes and plastic "bumps" (cf. above, chapters 8 and note 10, 11). The motif of a wavy line between two straight ones has its best parallels on Kos and at Miletus (cf. Morricone 1972-73, figs. 347-8). Amphoroid kraters also provide evidence of links with the Dodecanese, and the range of decorations on these may well reflect various stages of their development (cf. above, chapter 10): from simple running

spirals, to a two-tier decoration of wavy line and more elaborate running spirals, to yet more elaborate compositions[7]. The decoration of one of these amphoroid kraters, which consists of a panel and elaborate antithetic spiral composition with lozenges in the spiral loops, is almost identical in its style of draughtsmanship to examples from Kos[8]. Perforated stands (cf. FS 336) may also indicate Dodecanesian connections. A lentoid flask, which is unlikely to be among the latest LH IIIC vases, extends the distribution of this shape which is also found in the Dodecanese, the Cyclades, at Perati and Tarsus.

So close is the Emporio pottery to that of both Kos and Naxos that the lack of such features as octopus stirrup-jars and strainer jugs, noted by the excavator[9], can almost certainly be explained by the domestic nature of the remains. It would be most surprising if the as yet undiscovered tombs which accompanied the LH IIIC settlement did not produce examples of these types.

Notes to Chapter 12

1. I am greatly indebted to Mr M.S.F. Hood for the opportunity to make use of his typescript on the Emporio Mycenaean pottery, due to be published soon. The pot numbers referred to here are those which will appear in the publication.

2. Cf. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 383 for an expansion of Mycenaean activity in the North Aegean in LH IIIA2-B1. There seems little reason to believe that Emporio was especially a post-LH IIIB "colony" (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 381), particularly in view of the earlier Mycenaean material not only from the site but also from other sites on Chios and on neighbouring islands (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 368-71).

3. Hood MS., nos. 2774, 2785-6, 2789, 2792.

4. Hood MS., page 1063; cf. Ashmolean Museum 1962.310k.

5. Mostly from stage 7, from above a house floor. Hood MS., nos. 2704-5, 2709, also Ashmolean Museum 1962.310 (conical bowls); Hood MS., nos. 2712, 2714, Ashmolean Museum 1962.310f (deep bowls with reserved lines). The presence of the tassel motif is interesting, as it is not found on Naxos, and is rare both in the Dodecanese and on Cyprus. At Lefkandi it first appears in Phase 1b and thereafter becomes progressively less popular, disappearing altogether by Phase 3 (above, chapter 4 and Fig. 150).

6. Hood MS., page 1039 for the mention of white clay, though in the catalogue entries there is more reference to the use of a white slip (cf. also above, chapters 5 and 11). The usual fabric of the LH IIIC pottery

at Emporio is sandy and pinkish in colour (cf. also sherds in the Ashmolean Museum and in the British School at Athens). However, a few pieces (e.g. Ashmolean Museum 1962.310f, a deep bowl with reserved line) are of fabric which is of sufficiently different appearance to at least suggest the possibility of import.

7. Hood MS., no. 2758 (kalathos with elaborate pictorial decoration on the inside); photo 387 (framed wavy line motif); nos. 2742-3, 2746 (amphoroid kraters).

8. Hood MS., no. 2743. Cf. e.g. Morricone 1972-73, fig. 375.

9. Hood MS., page 1106.

Chapter 13

Athens

The Athenian settlement deposits (the houses on the North Slope of the Acropolis, the Acropolis Fountain, and some of the Agora wells) fill in many of the gaps left by the shortage of LH IIIC settlement pottery from other Attic sites. Between them, they appear to represent the entire span of the LH IIIC period.

A. The Acropolis Fountain

There is little in the way of stratigraphical information to be gained from the Acropolis Fountain, though an argument for some sort of reverse stratigraphy, with the stairway gradually filling up with the debris of earlier periods which slipped down from the top of the Acropolis, has been suggested[1]. It is clear that fragments recovered from the Fountain go back at least to LH IIIB1 (including a Zygouries kylix). Group A deep bowls are well represented (Broneer 1939, figs. 42a-d,f,h, 44b, 45d, 46a-j, 47a-e; Agora Museum AP19, AP61), as are the Group B deep bowls of Argive LH IIIB2 (Broneer 1939, figs. 40a-b, 41b,h,j, 43). Group A deep bowls with monochrome interiors and deep bowls with bands of medium depth at the rim, both with LH IIIB-derived patterns such as triglyphs, spirals and narrow horizontal motifs, recall those of the Earliest and Tower phases at Mycenae (Broneer 1939, figs. 41g, 44a, 45b,e,h, 47j,n,p-q; Agora Museum AP790, AP1407; cf. above, chapter 3)[2]; while a series of deep bowls with simple linear decoration reflect those found in several regions, including Euboea and

the Argolid, from a late stage of LH IIIB onwards. The gradual transition to bowls with elaborate forms of decoration can probably be seen in a few examples with a reserved line inside the rim on which the first hints of elaboration appear (e.g. Broneer 1939, fig. 45a; cf. above, chapter 3 section G). Finally, deep bowl fragments which appear to imitate the decoration of Argive Close Style, and deep bowls with motifs such as outlined antithetic tongues, seem to represent the height of an elaborate stage, comparable to the Advanced phase at Mycenae or Lefkandi Phase 2.

Kraters too are represented by a range of types which probably span LH IIIB to an advanced stage of LH IIIC. At the earlier end are a few which seem likely, from both profiles and decorations, to be of LH IIIB date. Others, sometimes with monochrome interiors, have decoration of a sub-LH IIIB type (e.g. Broneer 1939, figs. 29, 32a, 35, 36a). Some have patterns along the rim (Broneer 1939, fig. 26k; cf. above, chapter 3 section G). Finally, there are pictorial and elaborately decorated fragments which form the majority of krater pieces from the Fountain.

The probable chronological development of other shapes less well represented among the Fountain material is less clear. The stirrup-jars are generally disappointing. Most differ little in their shape and decoration from LH IIIB or early LH IIIC types, being globular (or in some cases even piriform) with circumcurrent shoulder decoration of sea anemones or flowers (Broneer 1939, figs. 69a-b, 71q, 72a-c; Graef and Langlotz 1909, pl. 4:82,106,113; Agora

Museum AP211; cf. e.g. Perati Phase I). However, some conical disc fragments (Broneer 1939, fig. 70), and a few pieces with imitation Close Style decoration (Broneer 1939, fig. 71) demonstrate the existence of later types within the Fountain material. On jugs, amphorae and hydriae the main decorative features are twisted handles and scroll and "whisker" motifs which generally suggest a middle stage of LH IIIC. Their handles are mainly decorated with vertical wavy bands or crossed loops. Since these are vessels which are likely to have been used and perhaps broken in situ in the Fountain shaft, they may suggest a terminus ante quem for the main period of use of the Fountain.

Stylistically, the pottery from the Acropolis Fountain appears to relate quite closely to that from Perati and other tomb sites in Attica despite the difficulties of comparing settlement with funerary material. Both the triangular flowers and the reserved patterns characteristic of Perati Phases II-III are present (e.g. Broneer 1939, figs. 30, 31c-d,f; cf. also Graef and Langlotz 1909, 18 no. 184, pls. 6:191, 7:212, 9:273)[3]; while vases from elsewhere in Athens, including octopus stirrup-jars, also bear a close resemblance to material from Perati (cf. Kraiker and Kübler 1939, pls. 5:649, 11:503, 21; Immerwahr 1971, 266 no. 503). LH IIIC sherds from Porto Raphti Island (Hood 1966, 171f.; cf. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 212) also suggest that stylistic links between Eastern Attica and Athens may have been quite strong[4].

Other features with more general Eastern or Central Aegean connections may also have reached Athens by way of the coastal sites or Attica, among them perhaps the tall

cylindrical pyxis of probable Cretan origin (Broneer 1939, fig. 66a)[5] and a strainer jug with a snake-like pattern on the shoulder (Broneer 1939, fig. 66c; cf. e.g. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 94:553; Maiuri 1923-24, 125). A large piriform jar, with the rim and neck of a piriform jar and three vertical handles on the shoulder (cf. FS 37), but with the addition of two horizontal belly handles, most closely resembles similar "hybrid" types from the Dodecanese which seem intermediate between the piriform jar and the fully developed belly-handled amphora (Broneer 1939, fig. 66b; cf. above, chapter 8 and Furumark 1972, 662). A cup with solid semicircle decoration provides a link with the numerous examples of this type from Perati which may ultimately have derived from Crete though they are also found in the Dodecanese and on Euboea (Broneer 1939, fig. 57h; cf. above, chapters 4, 5 and 8)[6]. Several kylikes from the Acropolis Fountain have a related type of (painted) decoration, also known from Lefkandi and Asine (Broneer 1939, fig. 57e-g, plus one other in the Agora Museum; cf. Fig. 131a).

In addition to its similarities to pottery from Eastern Attica, and its connections with the Aegean area, the Athens material also displays links with that of adjacent regions of the Greek Mainland. As at Perati, an amalgam of features characteristic of Euboea on the one hand and the North-East Peloponnese on the other can probably be seen at Athens; though the Athenian pottery seems to show closer links with the Central Argolid and Corinthia than is the case at Perati where the overseas Aegean connections form perhaps the most striking characteristic of the LH IIIC material.

This Mainland stylistic community seems particularly true of the earlier stages of LH IIIC and late LH IIIB and can be seen not only in the presence of features of the Argive LH IIIB2 style on the Acropolis (cf. Sherratt 1980, fig. 10) but also in some of the early-mid LH IIIC deep bowl types which are particularly reminiscent of those from the Earliest and Tower phases at Mycenae (cf. above) and in the monochrome carinated cups which Athens shares with Euboea, the Argolid, Corinthia and Achaea (Agora Museum AP3010, AP3017-8). A type of plain angular cup similar to ones from Lefkandi Phase 1 is also found (Broneer 1939, fig. 63a; cf. Fig. 117b); and a carinated tripod cooking pot, possibly with square legs, resembles those found at both Mycenae and Lefkandi from an early stage of LH IIIC (Broneer 1939, fig. 81a; cf. above, chapter 3 note 12).

Later on when the detailed features which characterise the mid-LH IIIC pottery of Euboea on the one hand and the Central Argolid and Corinthia on the other begin to diverge to some extent, Athens appears to fall stylistically somewhere between the two. On the one hand, for instance, conical bowls with the standardised shape and linear decoration typical of Lefkandi Phases 2-3, which are rare in the Argolid, seem to have been fairly popular at Athens (Broneer 1939, figs. 59a, 60j-k; cf. e.g. Popham and Milburn 1971, figs. 4:11, 7:3). At the same time, however, shallow angular bowls with the standardised profiles and linear decoration typical of the Developed and Advanced phases at Mycenae but unknown at Lefkandi are also well represented among the Fountain material (Broneer 1939, figs. 61a-b, 62d; cf. above, chapter 3 and Figs. 82-3). The rather restrained use to which reserved lines are put on monochrome

deep bowls from Athens resembles Euboean practice rather than that of the Advanced phase at Mycenae (Broneer 1939, fig. 49b; cf. also Agora Museum P17318/OA 1134; cf. Immerwahr 1971, 261), though a few bowls which imitate Argive Close style have multiple reserved lines inside the rim (Broneer 1939, figs. 45a, 47r).

There are only one or two possible fragments of true Close Style (e.g. Broneer 1939, fig. 46n; cf. Desborough 1964, 117), but several apparent imitations of this style executed on a different fabric, with different paint, a much thicker brush and a technique of draughtsmanship visibly inferior to that found on Close Style vases in the Argolid (Broneer 1939, figs. 47r, 71d-p)[7]. At the same time, a great deal of pictorial and elaborate abstract decoration, generally rather roughly drawn, on kraters, deep bowls and kalathoi, is strongly reminiscent of Lefkandi Phase 2 (Broneer 1939, figs. 27, 30-3, 37j, 38c, 78p; cf. also Townsend 1955, pl. 75:24[8]). Many of the kraters have decorated rims, and a large number have plastic rope-ridges (Broneer 1939, fig. 27). Plastic forms of decoration generally seem to have been particularly popular at Athens (cf. also Broneer 1939, figs. 27g, 74b), and there is perhaps some slight evidence for the appearance at least of rope-ridges in what may be stylistically a relatively early stage of LH IIIC[9]. None of the Athenian kraters is in the "oatmeal" fabric typical of Mycenae (cf. above, chapter 3); but most are in the normal Athenian LH IIIC fabric which is generally rather soft and sandy with a strong pinkish tinge, the paint mattish rather than glossy and often looking as though it had been applied to blotting paper. The fabric of some kraters, however, is whitish

in appearance, and these, like the Lefkandi white ware kraters, often have squared rims (cf. above, chapter 4 section I; also Rutter 1979, 366 from Corinth). Others have a deliberate white slip (cf. above, chapters 5, 7 note 8, 11, 12). Only a minority of kraters have monochrome interiors, and in this there is perhaps a greater resemblance to the position at Lefkandi (cf. Fig. 151) than at Mycenae where, by the Developed phase, almost all kraters have a monochrome coating inside (cf. above, chapter 3 section G).

Other shapes and types of decoration found among the LH IIIC pottery from the Acropolis Fountain also correspond to features found in Euboea and the Argolid, as well as further afield. There are shallow conical kylikes (FS 275) with combinations of linear and monochrome decoration similar to those found on the Mainland and in the Dodecanese; and kalathoi with pictorial or abstract patterns in the interior seem particularly numerous as they are, for instance, in the Dodecanese and to a lesser extent at Lefkandi. The apparent absence of deep bowls with reserved bases is puzzling (cf. Perati from Phase II, Lefkandi from Phase 2a, Mycenae from the Developed phase), but may be accidental since such bowls are known from elsewhere at Athens (cf. Agora Museum P17321/OA 1121, P17317/OA 1117 from the Agora). More puzzling, particularly in view of the amphorae, jugs and hydriae of which there are a considerable number (Broneer 1939, figs. 74-5, 78-9), is the apparent absence of the tassel motif. This again could be accidental, or, on the other hand, it might reflect the rarity of this motif at Perati and in the Central and

Eastern Aegean (cf. also above, chapter 12 note 5).

Desborough (1964, 117f.) inclined to the opinion that the final stages of LH IIIC were not represented among the pottery from the fill of the Fountain. In support of this he cited the absence of late (simple circumcurrent) decoration on the shoulders of stirrup-jars and of deep bowls with a narrow reserved zone which are found among the latest LH IIIC from Mycenae, Asine and on Naxos. Similarly, there are only a few examples of wavy line decoration: on a spouted krater, a shallow angular bowl, two amphoriskoi, a large closed vessel and a few deep bowls (Broneer 1939, figs. 28a, 41c, 62d, 67d,k; Agora Museum AP3080).

Desborough's argument that the cist tombs of Salamis and Athens represent a stage of pottery development which is comparable to that of the latest LH IIIC in other regions (cf. also above, chapter 5) continues to be supported by material from the Agora wells which have produced settlement pottery considered to be contemporary with much of the cist tomb material (cf. Desborough 1964, 117; 1972, 64). Pottery from Well U26:4 includes a kylix with wavy line decoration similar to one from the walls of House H at Asine, and a hydria with wavy line on the neck (Agora Museum P17328/OA 1128, P17323/OA 1123; Immerwahr 1971, 261; Smithson 1977; cf. Furumark 1944, fig. 4A; Rutter 1979, 379, 383 (Rutter's LH IIIC Phase 5 from Corinth)). Other pieces from the wells include monochrome deep bowls, some with reserved bases, and hydriae with wavy line decoration. The paint, particularly on the monochrome vases, has an unpleasant streaky quality which is not apparent on pottery from the Fountain fill. Though this

material has been conventionally assigned to Submycenaean and regarded as contemporary with that from the Salamis and Athenian cist tombs (cf. Desborough 1964, 117), its basic "Mycenaean" character has been stressed by Smithson (1977) who thus uses it as a compelling argument for the abandonment of the term Submycenaean not only for domestic deposits at Athens but also for some of the cist tombs both at Athens and on Salamis (Smithson 1977, 79, 89; cf. also Rutter 1978; 1979, 383-4; above, chapters I and 5).

B. The North Slope Houses

The pottery from the floors of the abandoned houses on the North Slope of the Acropolis which Broneer (1933, 372) concluded should be dated somewhat earlier than the bulk of the pottery from the Granary at Mycenae was placed by Furumark (1944) in Myc. IIIC:1a. Desborough (1964, 113), mainly on account of the stirrup-jars some of which seemed virtually indistinguishable from those of LH IIIB[10], preferred to date it to the transition from LH IIIB to LH IIIC; while more recently Rutter (1977, 2) has suggested that it predates the earliest LH IIIC phase (Phase Ia) at Lefkandi, mainly on account of the supposed association of Group A deep bowls with linear deep bowl and cup types and the absence of painted kylikes.

The latest pottery from this area was found on three house floors (A, B and C) which lay at different levels near a stairway descending the North Slope of the Acropolis (cf. Broneer 1933, pl. I). Beneath these floors pottery

of early LH IIIB to early LH IIIC appearance was found (Broneer 1933, figs. 37-8)[11]. The pottery from the floors themselves was described by Broneer as characterised by simple decorations, mainly plain banding with few patterns which often show a marked decline in execution (Broneer 1933, 366). This monotony and lack of patterned decoration is particularly similar to that of Lefkandi Phase 1b (cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, 334), and contrasts with the more decorative nature of the fragments found below the house floors. In addition to the deep bowls with simple linear decoration (Broneer 1933, 368-70, fig. 41) which are similar to those from Mycenae (particularly Tower and Developed phases) and Lefkandi (Phases 1-2a), a particular link with Lefkandi Phase Ib may be seen in the thick-thin-thick banding on a jug from one of the North Slope floors (Broneer 1933, fig. 40b; cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, 336).

The most interesting vases from the North Slope Houses are the stirrup-jars with groups of roughly drawn concentric semicircles on the shoulder (Broneer 1933, 367, fig. 43a; cf. fig. 37f) and a pyxis with high handles (Broneer 1933, fig. 39a). The decoration of the latter consists of a sacral ivy motif (FM 12:36), an LH IIIA2-B1 pattern which may have survived into late LH IIIB or early LH IIIC particularly in the eastern part of the Mycenaean world (cf. e.g. J.-C. Courtois 1973, fig. 6; Weickert et al. 1959-60, pl. 14:2) and which reappears in more elaborate form on the Greek Mainland in mid-LH IIIC (cf. Furtwängler and Loeschke 1886, 36:305-7). The shape itself is an adaptation of the Cretan pyxis, and can probably be related to other adaptations of the Cretan shape found in the Aegean islands, particularly the Dodecanese, from a relatively early stage of LH IIIC

(cf. above, chapters 6 and 11)[12]. The concentric semicircles are similar to early LH IIIC versions of this motif from the Dodecanese (cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 34, 221) which also appear on a few Phase I stirrup-jars from Perati (Iakovides 1969, II, figs. 8:16, 31:29, 34:54) and on two stirrup-jars from Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, Tomb I:5 nos. 8-9)[13]. Both these and the pyxis may provide further evidence of the start of contacts between Attica and the East and Central Aegean area before the middle elaborate stages of LH IIIC. Such contacts also begin to appear at Perati and possibly Asine before the end of an early stage of LH IIIC (Perati Phase I) (cf. above, chapters 5 and 7).

Notes to Chapter 13

1. By, for example, Dr Rutter. This suggestion may be supported by the amphora with twisted handles (Broneer 1939, fig. 74b) which was found at the bottom of the Fountain and which seems unlikely to be the earliest pot from the Fountain fill. Since this is a shape which is likely to have been used for drawing water it was probably abandoned while the Fountain was still in use and before the shaft began to be filled in by the deliberate deposition of rubbish or the accidental accumulation of residual material from the surface.
2. Among the material from the Fountain the distinction between deep bowls with bands of medium depth and Group B deep bowls is not always easy, as the rim band depths are extremely variable.
3. These are mainly found on kraters which are very poorly represented in the Perati cemetery.
4. Among fragments from Porto Raphti Island in the sherd collection of the British School (Box A11) are a conical bowl (cf. Broneer 1939, fig. 60j-k), a kalathos with concentric semicircles on the rim (cf. Broneer 1939, fig. 54s-v), some deep bowls (cf. Broneer 1939, figs. 48, 49b), a large closed vessel with scroll pattern (Broneer 1939, fig. 79a-b), and a krater with an elaborate panel decoration (cf. Broneer 1939, figs. 29-33).
5. See also Agora Museum AP1769 for the leg of a cylindrical pyxis probably similar to those from Perati (Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 81:1114) and Volos (Fig. 160).
6. In this case, however, the paint may have been applied with a brush rather than dipped.

7. Broneer (1939, 390) concluded that these were imitations of Close Style rather than the genuine article.

8. A kalathos from an LH IIIC chamber tomb under the Temple of Ares.

9. Cf. especially a krater fragment with rope-ridge (Broneer 1939, fig. 36b) which is decorated with a floral motif very close to LH IIIB types (cf. e.g. FM 18:20-1) and which also seems to have an early type of rim profile. At Lefkandi plastic rope-ridges first appear in Phase 2a, at Mycenae in the Developed-Advanced phases. Plastic ridges became one of the more distinctive features of Attic Protogeometric (cf. Desborough 1952, 95f., pl. 12).

10. See especially Broneer 1933, fig. 43b; cf. also Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 74:I (Perati Phase I).

11. Early LH IIIB: Broneer 1933, figs. 37b-e, 38b-h,j-k. Possibly later LH IIIB or early LH IIIC: Broneer 1933, figs. 37a,f, 38a,i,l.

12. The pyxis from the North Slope is almost identical to an example from the Acropolis Fountain (Broneer 1939, fig. 66a).

13. The Asine examples have dot fringes, however, which may suggest a slightly later stage of development.

Chapter 14

The Western Provinces

A. Achaea

Evidence for the LH IIIC period in Achaea comes from both tomb and settlement material, the latter from excavations at Teichos Dymaion on the north-west tip of the province and at Aigeira in the east close to the border with Corinthia. There are preliminary reports of these excavations and their finds, but so far they have not been fully published[1].

i. The settlements, early LH IIIC

Both settlements appear to suffer some interruption in occupation during the course of LH IIIC. At Teichos Dymaion a deep pre-destruction fill containing mainly LH IIIB pottery (including Argive LH IIIB2) also produced some features characteristic of early LH IIIC in the Argolid, including monochrome carinated cups and deep bowls with medium bands and monochrome interiors (Mastrokostas 1965a, 132 no. P787, pl. 171:788; cf. Mycenae Tower phase)[2]. The building level containing this pottery was destroyed by fire, and above it another building level (also eventually destroyed by fire) produced pottery of a distinctly later LH IIIC style. How long this final occupation lasted is difficult to judge, since much of this pottery is difficult to relate stylistically either to the Argive LH IIIC sequence or to sequences from elsewhere in Greece (cf. Desborough 1972, 94).

At Aigeira there are only stray finds of LH IIIB material and no clear continuity of occupation between LH IIIB and LH IIIC (Schachermeyr 1976, 156-7)[3]. The first excavated settlement on the acropolis (Levels I and II) belongs to an early stage of LH IIIC and its pottery, like that from Teichos Dymaion, resembles early LH IIIC in the other Mainland regions of the Argolid, Attica and Euboea. Among types found are monochrome carinated cups, linear rounded or rounded-carinated bowls with horizontal strap handles[4], Medium band deep bowls and cups and deep bowls with spiral patterns as well as coarse handmade ware (Alzinger 1976, 162f.; Schachermeyr 1976, 156-7, fig. 40). The settlement was twice destroyed by fire (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 9-10). By the time of the final Mycenaean occupation, sometime well on in LH IIIC, the pottery used seems no longer similar to that known from most other regions but very like that from the final settlement at Teichos Dymaion (cf. Schachermeyr 1976, fig. 40).

ii. <u>The settlements, later LH IIIC</u>

The later LH IIIC pottery from both Teichos Dymaion and Aigeira seems to display certain characteristics not so far encountered in other regions. While some types, such as the shallow conical kylix (FS 275) with monochrome stem and lower body, are of fairly widespread occurrence probably from an early-middle stage of LH IIIC on (cf. Lefkandi Phase 1b), even these have some decorative details, such as the curved line linking rim and handle root, which are peculiar to Achaea and the tombs of Kephallenia (cf. Mastrokostas 1964a,

pl. 63d; Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 179f-i; Desborough 1972, pl. 16). A busy, heavily decorated style found on kraters and closed vases shows that in Achaea too an elaborate LH IIIC style was developed, probably originally under the influence of contemporary elaborate styles elsewhere (e.g. Mastrokostas 1962, pl. 138; Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 61c). However, the use of heavy fringing and such "geometrical" motifs as unusually heavy-handed multiple concentric lozenges and triangles give much of the pottery a strikingly effective but distinctive character of its own (cf. especially Mastrokostas 1964a, pl. 65; Schachermeyr 1976, fig. 40). These stylistic peculiarities are difficult either to relate to developments in other regions, or to place chronologically. The presence of some wavy line decoration (e.g. Mastrokostas 1964a, pl. 65a), like the very existence of an elaborate style, probably provides a rough <u>terminus post quem</u> in terms of other Mainland regions such as Attica and the Argolid, but little more can be said. The range of shapes represented remains unclear, though it seems likely that, as in the Achaean cemeteries, many of those of widespread occurrence in LH IIIC are present. In addition, however, there may be some shapes, on which the decoration is often most characteristic of Achaea, which are not generally found elsewhere in LH IIIC[5].

iii. <u>The tombs</u>

The Achaean cemeteries, while being of little help for the stratigraphical development of LH IIIC pottery, nevertheless provide a much better idea than is yet available from the settlements of the full chronological range of the LH IIIC

produced in Achaea and of some of the stylistic characteristics of the region[6].

Broadly speaking, the tomb pottery, like that from the settlements of Teichos Dymaion and Aigeira, suggests that in the early stages of LH IIIC there were fairly close links with other Mainland regions, particularly perhaps with the adjacent provinces of the Argolid, Corinthia and Attica, but also with Euboea. Thereafter, Achaean LH IIIC pottery may have developed for a while at least along much the same broad developmental lines as in other regions as the adoption of at least some shapes and decorative elements found elsewhere in an elaborate mid-LH IIIC stage suggests. This parallel development may be seen particularly in the range of stirrup-jars from the tombs which display much the same series of decorative stages which can be found elsewhere (cf. especially above, chapters 3, 5 and 7): from simple circumcurrent shoulder decoration of LH IIIB-derived motifs (e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 71e-f, 104g-h)[7]; to more elaborate patterns arranged differentially on the different areas of the shoulder (e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 67a-f, 68b, 72b, 73f, 75d) and often accompanied by elaborate body zones and disc and handle decorations (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 207a:25-8, 207b:15ff., 226); and finally to simple circumcurrent groups of concentric semicircles or hatched triangles (also found on lekythoi) which form probably the greater proportion of stirrup-jars from the tombs (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 66c,g, 69a, 76c-f, 77, 84d-f, 85g-h, 86a-c, 87, 88g-i, 89, 92g-h, 93; cf. also Ibid., fig. 149). Amphoriskoi too, some at least of which resemble types found in the various phases of the Perati cemetery, probably followed much

the same course of general development as those of other regions down to a middle stage of LH IIIC (cf. Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 156c, 157b). The same probably also applies to some other shapes and decorative elements which seem most characteristic of a middle stage of LH IIIC. There are a few kalathoi decorated with monochrome and reserved areas (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 170a-b), a little plastic decoration particularly in the form of twisted handles (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 95a-b), and various forms of elaborate decoration with motifs which can be well paralleled in the elaborate styles of other regions among which concentric arcs, elaborate spiraliform patterns and elaborate triangles seem to be particular favourites. At some point, perhaps towards the end of this elaborate stage, wavy line decoration is also adopted.

Within the pottery which seems to fall stylistically into a middle stage of LH IIIC some specific links with other regions can be seen. Perhaps surprisingly, however, except possibly in the tombs of North-East Achaea (cf. Papadopoulos 1978, 132), similarities to the mid-LH IIIC of the Argolid are not great. A single Close Style stirrup-jar from Aigion (Åström 1964, fig. 1:4-6) and a very few other vases which might be described as imitations of Close Style (e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 146b-c from the Klauss cemetery) provide some evidence for contact with the Argolid during this stage, but other signs of specific similarity to pottery from the Central Argolid are not apparent (cf. Desborough 1964, 100)[8]. On the other hand, there are some specific resemblances to pottery from Attica and further afield in the Central and Eastern Aegean islands

which, individually, may not amount to much but taken together suggest that some contact between Achaea and the coasts and islands of the Aegean may have existed in mid-LH IIIC. These similarities can mostly be seen in individual vases or certain specific motifs. A few spouted cylindrical cups (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 176c-e) have parallels at Perati, in the Dodecanese, at Naxos and on Crete; a tall cylindrical pyxis with reserved elements in its decoration and a cylindrical stirrup-jar have particular parallels on Crete (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 119, 146a; cf. Seiradaki 1960, fig. 24; Popham 1967, 349 note 50)[9]; an amphoriskos with lid and pierced foot stand resembles, more than anything, the perforated stands and standed vessels encountered on Rhodes and which may themselves derive from Minoan prototypes (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 251d; cf. Blinkenberg and Johansen 1924, pl. 62:2-3; Furumark 1941a, 71)[10]. Links with Perati, Asine or the Dodecanese can also be seen in such decorative elements as elaborate triangles (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 67), linked semicircle motifs (FM 43:32-4) (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 150d, 163, 213b, 214c-d, 235:17), the solid concentric semicircles of some stirrup-jar body zones (cf. FM 43:24,27) (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 226:6,8). The triangular flowers characteristic of Perati Phases II-III are also occasionally found in Achaea (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 73f), as is a framed vertical wavy line on the handles of stirrup-jars (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 207; cf. above, chapters 5, 8 note 43, 11). Finally, there is a krater decorated with the duck-like birds typical of the Eastern Aegean and Cyprus in LH IIIC (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 174c; cf. FM 7:40-5); while the eastern appearance of the fish which decorate a shallow spouted cup (FS 253) was also noted by Vermeule (1960, 11, pl. 4:28)[11].

Despite broad similarities in its development to mid-LHIIIC

elsewhere and the possibility of some detailed links with regions such as Attica and the Aegean islands, the Achaean pottery displays some peculiarities which suggest that even in mid-LH IIIC it was developing along its own individual lines. Some of the individuality may be seen in the apparent absence or rarity of certain features found elsewhere, particularly on the Mainland: of reserved line deep bowls, trefoil-lipped jugs [12], and motifs such as tassel, "necklace"-pattern and scroll [13]. More positively, however, a degree of individuality may be seen in the survival of some earlier shapes well into the LH IIIC period. The survival of the piriform jar (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 123g, 230:13-5) is shared with the Dodecanese, and may possibly be related to developments in that region [14]; straight-sided alabastra with various elaborate patterns (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 141g, 241) echo those of Perati Phase II (cf. Fig. 165) and may be related to Attic survivals. However, the survival of the rounded alabastron well on into LH IIIC does seem peculiar to Achaea (cf. Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 135e, 235:13-7, 236:31).

However, Achaea also produces some pottery which is even more idiosyncratic in both shape and decoration. In this class can be included most of the large four-handled jars (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 52-62) and several belly-handled amphorae with tall flaring necks and unusually squat bodies (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 63-5). These are often decorated with regular striped banding and close-set "geometrical" and sometimes heavily fringed ornamentation: concentric semicircles, cross-hatched triangles and concentric lozenges. Some stirrup-jars and amphoriskoi

also display features which place them in this individual category. The stirrup-jars become unusually squat, and their frequent striped decoration and "geometrical" patterns link them with the decoration of the four-handled jars and belly-handled amphorae as well as with that of vases from the latest occupations at Teichos Dymaion and Aigeira (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 76-7; cf. Mastrokostas 1964a, pl. 65b; Schachermeyr 1976, fig. 40). A high-necked baggy type of amphoriskos, often with similar types of "geometrical" patterns and large areas of monochrome, shows some formal resemblances to both the four-handled jars and belly-handled amphorae to which it is clearly related (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 158-9). The decoration of some of the bird vases, of which there are six from Achaea, may also associate them with this class (cf., however, below).

The origins of these shapes are obscure, but from the decoration of some examples it seems likely that they began to develop in Achaea at least as early as the middle elaborate stages of LH IIIC, in some cases possibly even earlier. Some of the four-handled jars have elaborate antithetic spiral patterns typical of mid-LH IIIC elsewhere (cf. Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 57b, 59a) or even patterns which might be derived from those of LH IIIB (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 60b). The shape itself is unknown outside Achaea and may have been an entirely local development (cf. Papadopoulos 1978, 70; Vermeule 1960, 5). The belly-handled amphorae, on the other hand, may be relatable to those found in the Dodecanese and Naxos in LH IIIC, or to the two examples from Perati and Asine. Only one (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 65b) is decorated with an

elaborate pattern of typical mid-LH IIIC appearance, but a few others (e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 64c, 65a) seem quite close in appearance to a belly-handled amphora from Argos, assigned by Styrenius (1967, 132) to Late Submycenaean[15]. Most, however, like the majority of four-handled jars, are given a formal and decorative treatment which represents a distinctly Achaean adaptation of the type.

The bird vases, too, probably derive ultimately from the Aegean area. One of them (Vermeule 1960, pl. 4:45) is decorated with a linked concentric semicircle pattern (FM 43:32) which seems particularly characteristic of the Dodecanese and some other Aegean island and coastal sites in mid-LH IIIC, and the possibility that this type of vase was in use as early as mid-LH IIIC in Cyprus and some Aegean islands has been discussed above (chapter 11). However, for at least some of them, a link with the later bird vases of late Submycenaean/early Protogeometric Attica and Euboea, Subminoan Crete and Proto-White-Painted Cyprus is also possible (cf. Desborough 1964, 99; 1972, 93).
For the high-necked amphoriskoi a few parallels may be found at Perati (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 248i; cf. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 77E), though Iakovides (1969, II, 205) has rejected any connection between these and the Achaean series. The quirk motif found on one of the Achaean examples (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 159a) seems quite early in appearance. Finally, the association, on some vases, of the regular striped banding characteristic of Achaea with patterned decoration typical of mid-LH IIIC in other regions suggests that this feature too may have developed gradually, possibly over a longish period[16].

The relative chronological span of the most distinctively Achaean vases poses tremendous problems. At the one end, as we have seen, some features such as the striped banding and some of the most characteristic shapes may date back at least to a stage roughly comparable with the elaborate middle stages of LH IIIC in other regions. Some links between the more idiosyncratic styles of decoration to be found in Achaea and a late stage of LH IIIC in the Argolid can also be seen, particularly in the disintegrated zigzag panels on kraters from Teichos Dymaion and Aigeira and in some of the concentric triangle motifs on closed vessels (Schachermeyr 1976, fig. 40; cf. e.g. Figs. 97, 99). Such links may provide some sort of key to the relative chronology of some of the more distinctive Achaean material, and may also suggest that at this time, as in early LH IIIC, contacts with the adjacent region of the Argolid may have been more important than in the intervening stage[17]. Links with Kephallenia, with some late LH IIIC pottery from Messenia, and with Aetolia can also be seen (cf. Desborough 1972, 92).

At the lower end of the scale, hints of chronological links with the latest Submycenaean/Protogeometric of Attica were noted and discussed by Vermeule (1960, 17f.) and Desborough (1964, 100; 1972, 93), while Snodgrass, too (1971, 86, 134), based an argument for the very late date of at least some of the Achaean pottery on these stylistic reminiscences. While several of the apparent decorative links (cf. especially Desborough 1964, 100) are no more than suggestive, and while the origins of at least some shapes (such as the belly-handled amphora and the bird vase) may as well be attributed to LH IIIC contact with the Aegean area as to influence from Attica at the transition to

Protogeometric, there are a few features, in particular the kantharos (Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 1/4a, 1/6c) and a feeding bottle with handle at right angles to the spout (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 16la), which may lend support to the idea of a date perhaps contemporary with Protogeometric on the eastern Mainland[18]. Perhaps the most cogent reason of all, however, for suggesting a very late date (possibly as late as the tenth century, cf. Snodgrass 1971, 86, 134) for some of the most idiosyncratic Achaean pottery is the strong stylistic continuity shown between it and the rare Protogeometric finds from this region (cf. especially Desborough 1972, 248f., pl. 5/ (assigned to the ninth or tenth century)).

The part - if any - played by the Aegean area (including Cyprus, Crete, and possibly the Cyclades and Dodecanese) in the continued inspiration of the latest, and perhaps most idiosyncratic, Achaean pottery is extremely hard to assess. There is a generalised similarity between the "geometrical" decoration of much of the Achaean pottery and that found on some of the vases from the Dodecanese which Furumark in general considered might belong to a very late stage of LH IIIC. These similarities extend to certain individual motifs, such as a form of isolated spiral and a hatched zigzag pattern, which Furumark took as indications that the Protogeometric style was already foreshadowed on Rhodes (e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 54a; Vermeule 1960, pl. 1:5,6; cf. Blinkenberg and Johansen 1924, pl. 62:3-4; Furumark 1944, 220; above, chapter 6), and there is perhaps a possibility that some direct connection between the Dodecanese and the Western Peloponnese may have persisted

down to a late date. The role of Proto-White-Painted Cyprus, and possibly Subminoan Crete, is equally elusive. However, the appearance of both the kantharos shape and the feeding bottle with handle at right angles to the spout may owe something to Cypriot pottery; while there are also hints from both Messenia and the Ionian Islands of Cypriot and/or Cretan contacts towards the end of the Mycenaean period.

Although the problems of its relative chronology and sources of inspiration remain virtually insurmountable, the development of Achaean pottery, culminating in the highly individual but often strikingly effective shapes and decorations regarded as most typical of the region, is worth taking on its own terms. Its development, at least from a middle stage of LH IIIC, seems, as far as one can tell without the benefit of stratigraphy, internally consistent, and there is little suggestion thereafter of any major break in stylistic continuity. It runs into what is known of Achaean Protogeometric as smoothly as it appears to emerge from earlier Mycenaean pottery. It is precisely this type of smooth continuity which is lacking in regions such as Attica, Euboea and the Argolid where a decidedly depressed pottery style characterises the "Dark Age" gap between the end of a middle stage of LH IIIC and the emergence of the Protogeometric style.

Thus, in several ways some of the most individually Achaean pottery from the province bridges what is elsewhere a stylistic gap between, on the one hand, mid-LH IIIC when patterns become elaborate, plastic decoration of various types becomes popular and a fondness for new shapes becomes

apparent, and, on the other hand, the Protogeometric period when the potter's art again regains its self respect and innovation and experimentation with form become once more important. To some extent the free elaboration of the earlier period (including some pictorial elaboration (cf. e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 59b)) still exists in this pottery, but in a more restrained form which approaches, though far from precisely parallels, the neatness, symmetry and regularity of Attic Protogeometric. The fondness for experimentation with shape characteristic both of mid-LH IIIC and Protogeometric in the eastern Mainland, is also apparent in such features as zoomorphic vases, twisted handles, unusual foot arrangements and the combination of elements belonging to several different vessel types (cf. Desborough 1964, 100); but the reason such features are often so hard to date in Achaea is that they are mostly treated in a way peculiar to the region. Unlike the latest LH IIIC and/or Submycenaean of regions such as Attica, Euboea and the Argolid this pottery shows little sign of demoralisation. Instead, it may be one of the few positive final Late Bronze Age styles which, like that of the Ionian Islands, carry their momentum well down into a new Iron Age era.

B. Messenia

An assessment of the LH IIIC pottery of Messenia is severely restricted not only by the scarcity of published settlement material but also by the small number of sites, whether excavated or not, which have yielded material assignable to this period[19]. Despite this, however, it is possible to single out two aspects in particular in which Messenian LH IIIC appears to resemble that of Achaea. One of these is the unusual "provincial" appearance of some of the pottery (cf. below, section ii). The other is the possibility of direct contacts with the East and Central Aegean area which in Messenia, however, seem stronger and possibly more consistent than is the case in Achaea.

i. The Aegean connection

While the precise nature of the development of LH IIIC in Messenia, particularly in its early and middle stages, remains virtually unknown, there is some indication, particularly from the Pylos area, that contact with the Aegean rather than with the rest of the Greek Mainland may have provided a major impulse. The first signs of this may perhaps be seen in three vases (a jug and two kraters) from a tomb at Koukounara whose decoration, including duck-like birds with long necks, has clear affinities with Cretan LM IIIB or even LM IIIC (Daux 1964, 749-50, figs. 9-12)[20].

Chamber Tomb K-2 at Pisaskion, to the south of the Pylos palace, in which at least thirteen burials ranging in date from LH IIIB to a late stage of LH IIIC were found, also appears to provide some evidence of contact with the Aegean area in early or mid-LH IIIC as well as of features which might be regarded as typical of a later local stage of development (cf. Blegen et al. 1973, 224f.)[21]. A group of five vases (Groups I and Ia: Blegen et al. 1973, 232-3) includes a stemmed bowl with an antithetic spiral pattern which finds parallels in the LH IIIC of the Dodecanese (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 292:10; cf. e.g. Blinkenberg and Johansen 1924, 55:7). Another vase from the same group is a globular flask (FS 193) also paralleled in an early LH IIIC tomb on Rhodes (Blegen et al. 1973, figs. 292:16, 293:4; cf. Maiuri 1923-24, fig. 107:4). Its shoulder decoration, of concentric semicircles with a hatched fill, is based on an LH IIIA2 motif (cf. FM 43:4) variations of which appear to continue into the LH IIIC of the Dodecanese and are found occasionally in mid-LH IIIC at Perati and Asine (cf. e.g. Forsdyke 1925, pl. XIII:A908; Morricone 1965-66, fig. 221; Iakovides 1969, III, pl. 84d:235 from Perati Phase II or III; Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 236:2). The group as a whole, which also contains a jug with lozenge pattern, a stirrup-jar with scale pattern entirely covering the body, and a juglet with wavy line, is dated by the excavator to LH IIIB-C. The unusual nature of the vases, particularly the stirrup-jar, make dating very difficult, but the shapes represented (particularly the stemmed bowl, the flask and the juglet (cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, fig. 112)), together with the LH IIIB or even LH IIIA flavour of some of the patterning, are generally

reminiscent of an early stage of LH IIIC in the Dodecanese.

Another group from the same tomb which appears to contain vases of exclusively LH IIIC date (Group III: Blegen et al. 1973, 234) produces a kalathos which, with its wavy line pattern on the outside and its decoration of hatched triangles in added white paint on the interior, is very similar to one from Naxos (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 292:9; cf. Kardara 1977, pl. 44, and above, chapter 11). A narrow-necked jug (cf. FS 121) from the same group, with a pattern of alternating concentric semicircles on the shoulder, resembles similar jugs from the Dodecanese (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 292:2; cf. e.g. Morricone 1965-66, fig. 214:166; Maiuri 1923-24, 178). Finally, some krater fragments from the dromos of the same tomb are decorated with typically eastern-looking duck-like birds (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 290:3b-c).

The similarities to LH IIIC pottery from the Aegean regions to be seen in some of the vases from Tomb K-2 are mirrored in the contents of the nearby Tragana tholos (Kourouniotis 1914). Among the most interesting vases from this tomb are a tall cylindrical pyxis of Cretan type, a conical bowl (from pit a) and two or three piriform jars (Kourouniotis 1914, 110, figs. 9, 13, 18). The decoration of the pyxis, in which a reserving technique is used, is particularly reminiscent of LM IIIC examples (cf. e.g. Popham 1967, pl. 90b-c from Kritsa; Seiradaki 1960, figs. 12, 23-4 from Karphi; cf. also Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 146a and above, note 9 from Achaea). The conical bowl (Kourouniotis 1914, fig. 6) is also of interest from a site quite so far to the west, since the type seems to have a primarily Aegean distribution with Attica and Euboea as its normal western

limits; while the decorations on some of the lekythoi also from pit a likewise have close connections among the coasts and islands of the Aegean (Kourouniotis 1914, fig. 6; cf. Furumark 1941a, FM 43:34; Forsdyke 1925, fig. 225, pl. XIV:A952). The piriform jars, one at least of which has decoration which almost certainly indicates a mid-LH IIIC date (Kourouniotis 1914, 110, cf. FM 44:12), provide yet another sign of links with the Aegean, in this case with the Dodecanese. Several similar piriform jars from chamber tombs at Olympia in the adjoining province of Elis have both shapes and decorations which connect them firmly with Dodecanesian LH IIIC (cf. Taylour 1958, 178f., pl. 16:2-3), and the same may well apply to LH IIIC piriform jars from Achaea (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 230:5,15; cf. above, section A and note 14). Finally, with regard to the apparent Aegean connections of pottery from the Tragana tholos, it is perhaps not too fanciful to suggest that the representation of a ship on one of the vases (the cylindrical pyxis) may testify to the possible maritime interests of the tomb's users (cf. also above, chapter 5 note 37).

ii. <u>"Provincial" developments and links with other western provinces</u>

Evidence for a more distinctly local Messenian development of LH IIIC pottery in which the closest links seem to lie with Achaea and the Ionian Islands appears to belong mainly to a late stage of the period. The best evidence again comes from Chamber Tomb K-2 from a group of vases associated with what the excavator considered to be the latest burial in the tomb (Group VIII: Blegen et al. 1973, 236). Three vases - a large belly-handled amphora with dot-fringed cross-hatched triangles

on the shoulder, a straight-sided alabastron with high flaring neck and decoration identical to that of the belly-handled amphora, and another smaller straight-sided alabastron with a distinctive baggy, squat shape - would not seem out of place in the Achaean tombs (Blegen et al. 1973, figs. 292:4,15, 293:8; cf. e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 63b). In both shape and decoration these vases (in particular the belly-handled amphora) seem very close in style to the contents of another nearby tomb, dated by the excavators to the Protogeometric period (Blegen et al. 1973, 237f., fig. 298).

Sherds from the dromos of Tomb K-2 also show similarities to pottery from both Achaea and the Ionian Islands, probably likewise at a relatively late stage of LH IIIC. A kylix decorated with a hectic type of panelled composition which includes a hatched zigzag motif (cf. FM 61:18) finds similarities both in the unusual patterned kylikes from Kephallenia and in some of the krater designs from Kephallenia and Achaea (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 290:1; cf. e.g. Marinatos 1933, fig. 23 from Metaxata; Kyparisses 1919-22, fig. 17 from Diakata; Mastrokostas 1962, pl. 138a from Teichos Dymaion). Similar patterns are found on a krater with high flaring foot, also from the dromos (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 290:2), the shape of which likewise finds parallels in Kephallenia (cf. e.g. Marinatos 1932, pl. 5). Perhaps most interesting of all, however, is a large almost complete krater which the excavators suggest may date from the last opening of the dromos (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 289). Its decoration, of a crude but lively hunting scene done in a pure silhouette technique, which is quite different from anything known so

far from Achaea or Kephallenia, and at the same time sketchier and simpler than that of pictorial kraters from the Eastern Mainland where a pure silhouette technique which dispenses with all internal detail is not normally used. While there is some resemblance to a few vases from Kos decorated in a similar silhouette technique (cf. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 222, 339; also Zafeiropoulos 1960a, pl. 219e from Naxos), the closest parallels may perhaps be found in late Subminoan Crete where a similar pictorial technique is found on kraters from Knossos and Mouliana (Xanthoudides 1904, pl. 3; Desborough 1972, fig. 23; cf. Snodgrass 1971, 401).

Settlement pottery from Messenia of LH IIIC date is very little known. The site of the palace at Ano Englianos seems to have remained uninhabited after its destruction sometime towards the end of the LH IIIB period, though there are possibly one or two vases from the site which may belong to a later period (cf. e.g. Vermeule 1964, fig. 51; see also Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 129, and Schachermeyr 1976, 151). At Nichoria, too, there seems to have been a break in occupation after a late stage of LH IIIB (cf. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 152). LH IIIC pottery from Koukounara, Mila and Malthi remains largely unpublished (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 139, 174-5 with references).

Preliminary reports of the Dark Age I pottery from Nichoria, currently dated to the second half of the eleventh century, suggest that not only did it still retain some LH IIIC features but that it also showed affinities with pottery from the Ionian Islands (Coulson 1978; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 152). Perhaps the most interesting and distinctive feature of this pottery is the kylix with

deliberately ridged stem, a feature which also appears at Malthi (cf. Desborough 1964, 94). Similar ridged stems occur once or twice on kylikes from Kephallenia (Marinatos 1932, pl. 8:44 from Lakkithra A; and in the Argostoli Museum, from Metaxata: see below, section C), and ridged stemmed kylikes are found at Polis on Ithaca among pottery which appears to be the direct stylistic successor of the Kephallenian series. The deliberate ridging of stems, which also appears occasionally on kraters and skyphoi in the Protogeometric and Geometric of several regions including the Dodecanese and the Eastern Mainland (cf. e.g. Snodgrass 1971, figs. 24, 34, 37), is found in Cypriot Proto-White-Painted and may originally have been a Cypriot invention (cf. Karageorghis 1975; above, chapter 6). It may also be of some significance that, like Cyprus (and Crete: cf. Desborough 1972, 61), the western provinces of Messenia and the Ionian Islands are among the very few regions which retain the kylix shape down into the eleventh century to a time which, in the case of the Nichoria Dark Age I pottery, almost certainly overlaps with the beginning of Protogeometric in eastern regions of the Mainland (cf. Snodgrass 1971, 87)[22].

C. Kephallenia

The Kephallenian cemeteries have been the subject of a detailed study by Wardle (1972) who, on the basis of tomb architecture as well as of their contents, has succeeded in dividing them into five groups of which two (Wardle stages b and c) are assigned to the LH IIIC period[23].

The character of much of the Mycenaean pottery from the Kephallenian cemeteries at all periods has long been recognised as distinctly individual; and it seems likely that some of the peculiarities, including unusual shapes and the long persistence of some early ceramic traditions, which characterise even the LH IIIA and LH IIIB pottery of the island partly at least reflect its relative isolation from other centres of the Mycenaean world. These peculiarities, which also include a generally poor quality of clay and paint and a limited range of vessel types, were regarded by Marinatos and others as an indication of the very late date of several of the cemeteries.

Nowadays, some of the peculiarities of the Kephallenian material originally noted by Marinatos and other early excavators, such as the use of white paint and the presence of askoi, pyxides, juglets and cups (cf. Marinatos 1933), seem less unusual. Others, however, remain worthy of note. Among these is the unusually large number of decorated open shapes (kraters, kylikes and bowls of various sorts) found above all in the cemeteries which Wardle assigns to his latest stage (stage c).

Wardle's architectural groupings of the Kephallenian tombs into stage a (LH IIIB) and stages b and c (LH IIIC)[24], also reveal certain differences in the pottery, particularly in the range of shapes most characteristic of each stage. On the whole, footless squat jars (cf. FS 87)[25], piriform jars and rounded and straight-sided alabastra belong almost exclusively to stage a (Fig. 185a-b). Juglets, amphoriskoi and lekythoi begin in stage b and continue into stage c; while kylikes, kraters and the various types of bowls belong mainly to stage c (Wardle 1972, fig. 8). Only the stirrup-jar and a few other less well represented types seem to continue steadily throughout.

There is little doubt that, at least among the pottery of stages b and c, almost all the vases were locally produced with virtually no imports. The fabric of this pottery was regarded with a certain amount of distaste by the excavators. It does not seem to have been fired at a very high temperature; and the paint used seems of poor quality and is usually matt in appearance[26]. Though the normal range of vessel types is fairly limited there are wide variations in shape between individual vases of the same type. Rims, handles and feet are diverse and erratic in form, and vessel walls are often unusually thick.

i. <u>Shapes introduced in Wardle stage b</u>

The difference between stages a and b lies mainly in the introduction of the juglet, the amphoriskos and the lekythos, shapes usually considered as above all typical of the LH IIIC

period (cf., however above, chapter 8 notes 7 and 11). Juglets (cf. FS 111, FS 114) are the single most common shape in the tombs of both stages b and c (cf. Wardle 1972). Some are found in the tombs of stage a (Wardle 1972, fig. 8), but by stage b they seem to have replaced the squat jars. Like the squat jars, out of which Wardle suggests they may have developed, some from the earlier tombs are footless (cf. Fig. 185c), though most have ring feet. A majority are decorated, like the squat jars and alabastra of the stage a tombs, with a coat of monochrome paint, though a few have reserved bands (cf. Wardle 1972, fig. 99) and one has banding in added white paint. Very few have patterned decoration and, on these, the motifs are generally fairly late in appearance and include concentric semicircles, isolated spirals, wavy line, zigzag and cross-hatched triangles. In shape the juglets broadly resemble those found in several regions of the Mycenaean world: on Kos in LH IIIB-LH IIIC where many of them, particularly the earlier ones, are also monochrome (cf. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 45, 157, 185, 245, 258; and above, chapter 8); at Perati from Phase I, at Lefkandi in Phase 2, and in Messenia (cf. above, chapters 4 and 5). If anything, however, their often squat bodies and often short, stunted and flaring necks seem closest to some from the Achaean tombs (cf. Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 247a-b).

The amphoriskoi vary considerably in shape. Most have two horizontal handles (cf. FS 59, FS 60; Fig. 186a), but a few, which particularly resemble types found in the Dodecanese, have two or three vertical handles (Marinatos 1932, pl. 7:65; Kyparisses 1919-22, fig. 26:2; Dessoulay 1900, fig. 7; cf. FS 62, and above, chapter 8 note 7). There are also a few

examples of the high-necked type found in the Achaean tombs (Marinatos 1932, pl. 7:85; cf. Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 157d). Some amphoriskoi, like the juglets, are covered in monochrome paint, though most have patterned decoration, often combined with large areas of monochrome. Some motifs, such as diaper net (FM 57:2), multiple stem, running spiral, chevrons and foliate band (cf. FM 64:20-1) which are found mainly on the two-handled amphoriskoi (cf. FS 59), are of LH IIIB origin. By far the majority of patterned amphoriskoi, however, are decorated with the isolated spirals, hatched zigzags, concentric triangles, hatched triangles, and combinations of triangle and spiral or lozenge and spiral which seem particularly characteristic of the Kephallenian repertoire. A legged amphoriskos from Lakkithra Tomb D seems peculiar to Kephallenia (Fig. 186b).

Lekythoi are particularly common in the Mavrata tomb which Wardle (1972, fig. 7) confines to stage b, though they also occur in other tombs of both stages b and c. Nearly all are of depressed globular shape (cf. FS 124). The usual decoration is linear combined with such motifs as concentric semicircles, isolated spirals or hatched triangles, though a few are completely monochrome (Figs. 186c, 187a). The handles are often barred.

ii. <u>Shapes most typical of Wardle stage c</u>

The most striking feature of the large complex tombs with their multiplicity of burial pits which belong mainly to Wardle's stages b and c (cf. especially Mazarakata Tombs Eta, TH, X, P: Cavvadias 1909b, fig. 449) is the unusually

high proportion of decorated open shapes (cf. Marinatos 1932, pls. 4-6, 9-12 (Lakkithra A, D); Marinatos 1933 (Metaxata A, B)). Several of the shapes themselves are unusual and particularly characteristic of Kephallenia, and for this reason both their relative date and external stylistic affinities are extremely hard to assess. There are, however, one or two features which suggest not only that they may be very late in date but also that their main connections may lie with two main areas: the other western provinces including Achaea, Messenia and perhaps some regions of the North-West Mainland; and possibly also with the Aegean, particularly perhaps with Cyprus and Crete.

The kylikes from the LH IIIC tombs are of shallow conical type (FS 275) first introduced in other regions after the beginning of LH IIIC. Several have swollen and bumpy stems, but on only one or two at most can the deliberate ridging of the Messenian and Ithacan kylikes be seen (possibly Marinatos 1932, pl. 6:44; and especially one from a sixth tomb at Metaxata in the Argostoli Museum[27]). The majority of kylikes are simply decorated, like those of other Mainland regions and like some from the Dodecanese, with a monochrome stem and lower body, sometimes with additional lines above (Fig. 187b-c; cf. e.g. Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 51:5). A few, however, are decorated with motifs found on other Kephallenian shapes, in particular the cross-hatched triangles and panels also found on a kylix from Messenia (Fig. 186a; cf. Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 290:1). The practice of outlining the area round the handles also occurs at Teichos Dymaion in Achaea (Marinatos 1932, pl. 6:29a,54; cf. Desborough 1972, pl. 16).

The range of shapes which, from their size, can be described as kraters is extremely varied, and the boundaries between the types are not always clear cut. Spouted kraters normally have horizontal loop handles, and seem generally to be bridge-spouted versions of the usual LH IIIB-C deep bowl krater (Fig. 188b; cf. FS 298), though the wide upward-slanting spouts of several of them are unusual and perhaps particularly reminiscent of some Minoan pottery (Kyparisses 1919-22, fig. 19; Marinatos 1932, pls. 4:2,11, 5:20; cf. e.g. LM IIIB and LM IIIC mugs (Popham 1967, pls. 87f, 89e)). Other krater types may have horizontal loop or vertical handles (Fig. 189b (cf. FS 282); Fig. 189a). Those with vertical handles are similar in shape to some much earlier stemmed kraters (cf. especially FS 7) and might possibly represent a local retention and adaptation of the earlier type (cf. Wardle 1972; cf. also an LH IIIA-B stemmed krater from Gephyri: Kyparisses 1919-22, fig. 29 (FS 9)). On the other hand, the exaggerated lips, conical bodies and high flaring feet of several of them lend them a kantharoid appearance which has some similarity to an amphoroid/kantharoid krater from Karphi (Seiradaki 1960, fig. 16:4 (cf. FS 57?)) and to kantharoid shapes found in Achaea and the Protogeometric of the Eastern Mainland, and which quite closely resembles that of some kraters of possibly as late as tenth century date from West Crete (Fig. 189a; Marinatos 1932, pls. 4:8, 10:151; cf. e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, pl. 187c; Desborough 1952, pl. 12; Platon 1953). A stemmed krater from Lakkithra D is similar both in its shape and general style of decoration (which seems earlier than that of several other kraters from the same tomb) to an otherwise unique krater from Korakou (Blegen 1921, fig. 91 (FS 10); cf. above, chapter 5 note 21).

On the spouted and kantharoid kraters running and isolated

spirals (cf. FM 52:1) are the most common motifs though other characteristic Kephallenian patterns, such as concentric triangles, hatched triangles and spiral combined with lozenge also occur (Figs. 188b, 189a). Panel patterns are also found on the deep bowl kraters (Fig. 189b).

This unusual range of krater types is particularly characteristic of Kephallenia and may, as Wardle (1972) suggests, be mainly due to local invention. However, the possible parallels for some of their features are intriguing. While some of the more elaborately decorated deep bowl kraters present certain similarities to the mid-LH IIIC pottery of the Eastern Mainland[28], more consistent similarities can perhaps be seen in the apparently late pottery of Messenia and Achaea, particularly in such features as the kantharoid forms, the flared feet, and some styles of decoration (Papadopoulos 1978, pl. 178c; Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 290:2 (see above, section B); Vermeule 1960, pl. 1:3 (cf. Marinatos 1932, pl. 4:5)). Further afield, some parallels can be seen in Crete, not only in the LM IIIC period but also in the pottery of distinctly later periods. There are Cretan parallels for the high flared feet (cf. e.g. Seiradaki 1960, figs. 15-7); while the relatively tall thin profiles of some of the deep bowl kraters are also reminiscent of some LM IIIC and later Cretan kraters (e.g. Marinatos 1932, pl. 5:13; cf. Seiradaki 1960, fig. 15:2; Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, no. 1029; Platon 1953 (possibly tenth century date); Catling 1977b, figs. 33-4 (probably ninth century)). The double axe motifs on a kantharoid krater also have a Cretan flavour (Marinatos 1932, pl. 10:149; cf. e.g. Seiradaki 1960, figs. 21g, 22b, and Sackett and Popham 1965, fig. 6r); and the fluted handles of some kantharoid kraters are likewise found

on Crete (Marinatos 1932, fig. 35; cf. Seiradaki 1960, fig. 16:4). Most intriguing of all, however, are the surprisingly good parallels for both shape and decoration to be found on some vases of probable Protogeometric date from West Crete (cf. Desborough 1964, 268; 1972, 234-5), and the elusive but tantalising echoes of Attic Protogeometric. Though the similarities may be misleading, there is something strangely reminiscent of compass-drawn circle decorations in the isolated spiral and spiral and lozenge motifs on Kephallenian kraters (cf. Desborough 1952, pls. 9:2022, 11:2102; 1972, fig. 9G), reminiscences which may be strengthened a little by such features as arched outlines round handles and imitation rope zones at the rim (Marinatos 1932, pls. 4:9, 5:12,16-7; cf. e.g. Desborough 1952, pls. 12, 23).

The unusual range of bowl types, like that of the kraters, is also a peculiarity of Kephallenia. It includes deep bowls (cf. FS 284-6, Fig. 189c), stemmed bowls (cf. FS 305) and kantharoid bowls with vertical handles and often high flaring feet which differ from the kantharoid kraters only in size. The range of motifs is much the same as on the kraters with running and isolated spirals being the most common, particularly on the stemmed and kantharoid bowls, followed by hatched triangles and combinations of spiral and triangle or spiral and lozenge. On deep bowls, a few decorations, such as the more elaborate stemmed spirals on one from Mazarakata Eta (Fig. 190a; cf. FM 43:46 and FM 51:9), seem earlier in style. A few bowls of all types are coated in monochrome, though there is no sign of the reserved line on these[29].

As with the kraters, many of these bowl types may represent local survivals and adaptations, particularly perhaps the stemmed

bowl which elsewhere survives into LH IIIC only in the Dodecanese (cf. also Messenia, above, section B). Though some connection between the two is not impossible, most of the Kephallenian stemmed bowls have a decidedly deeper more rounded body and a shorter stem than those of the Dodecanese. Some are also much larger, and their decorative styles is quite different and generally later in appearance. On the other hand, there are some resemblances, both in body shape and decoration, to the conical footed skyphoi of Attic Protogeometric (cf. e.g. Desborough 1972, fig. 9G-H), and to a pedestal bowl of possibly as late as ninth century date from Derveni in Achaea (Desborough 1972, pl. 58).

Like the kantharoid kraters, the kantharoid bowls find some parallels among the late pottery from Teichos Dymaion in Achaea and possibly also on Crete (cf. Papadopoulos 1978, pl. 174d; Seiradaki 1960, fig. 14:5), though for both general shape and some styles of decoration resemblances can also be found in the long period which extends down to sub-Protogeometric not only in Ithaca and Achaea but also on Crete (cf. Desborough 1972, 234-5, pl. 58). Bowls decorated with isolated spirals find particular parallels in LM IIIC Crete (cf. Seiradaki 1960, pl. 10a; Sackett and Popham 1965, fig. 8e-f).

iii. <u>Stirrup-jars</u>

The stirrup-jars from Wardle's stage b and c tombs are predominantly ovoid or depressed globular in shape (cf. FS 177), though a few are of the more "perked-up" or biconical form found from mid-LH IIIC in more eastern regions of the Greek

Mainland (cf. FS 175). Decoration varies from some quite elaborate differentiated arrangements on the shoulder areas which include such motifs as antithetic spiral and elaborate triangles with reserved elements very similar to ones from Perati Phases II-III (Marinatos 1932, pls. 6:41, 7:41a), to the more frequent simple circumcurrent arrangements of hatched triangles and concentric semicircles also found on late stirrup-jars in the Eastern Mainland. Other motifs, such as isolated spirals and combinations of spiral and triangle or spiral and lozenge, are also found. A crudely drawn pictorial figure is found on a single stirrup-jar from Mavrata (Fig. 191a (Wardle stage b)).

Patterned body zones are relatively rare and seem to occur mainly on those stirrup-jars with more elaborate differentiated shoulder decoration (Figs. 190b, 191a). Otherwise, body decoration consists either of groups of bands or of broad areas of monochrome (Fig. 190c), though occasionally the whole lower body is covered with regular stripes similar to those of many Achaean vases (cf. Kyparisses 1919-22, fig. 23:4; Marinatos 1933, pl. 2:G8)[30]. The practice of placing the decorative zone of some stirrup-jars a little below the level of the shoulder is also found on a stirrup-jar from Submycenaean/Protogeometric Tomb XXVIII at Tiryns (Marinatos 1933, pl. 2:G3; cf. Styrenius 1967, fig. 57).

iv. Other shapes

Spouted cylindrical cups, most of which are found in Wardle's stage c tombs, resemble those found in the LH IIIC of the Dodecanese and Naxos (cf. FS 252: Marinatos 1932, pl. 6:31-2) and, in some cases, the spouted mugs of

LM IIIC (Marinatos 1932, pl. 12:205; cf. e.g. Seiradaki 1960, pl. 8c). There are also a few mugs and hemispherical cups (Fig. 191b).

Additional closed shapes include multiple vessels (Figs. 191c, 192a) and collar-necked jars (Marinatos 1932, pl. 9:142). More interesting, however, are a large belly-handled amphora from Mavrata (Fig. 192c) and a four-handled jar from Lakkithra D (Marinatos 1932, pl. 10:150) which, in both shape and decoration, recall examples from Achaea and Messenia (cf. e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, pl. 63b; Blegen et al 1973, fig. 292:15). A few straight-sided alabastra with tripod feet and the occasional presence of strutted feet on other vases also recall some of the more distinctive Achaean pottery (Dessoulay 1900, figs. 10-1; cf. Papadopoulos 1978, pl. 146b). More interesting still is the presence of a few bottles, a shape otherwise found in Cypriot Proto-White-Painted and Subminoan and one which Desborough considers may have been transmitted from Cyprus to the Eastern Greek Mainland at the transition from Submycenaean to Protogeometric (Desborough 1972, 54)[31].

v. <u>Handmade ware</u>

Coarse handmade pottery is a feature of the Kephallenian tombs which has a long and apparently continuous history on the island. It is found, for instance, in the Kokkolata cist graves together with Middle Helladic pottery, and continues to be found, without much obvious variation, in the tombs assigned by Wardle to his stages b and c[32]. The

fabric is crude and heavy with a high grit content, and most vessels have a roughly smoothed surface, though true burnishing is not found. The mottled appearance suggests that firing techniques were not particularly sophisticated.

The shapes produced in this ware are very varied and hard to categorise, and Wardle (1972) was unable to suggest any very obvious changes over the entire span from the Middle Bronze Age onwards. A few are evident imitations of the wheelmade vases, and of these a few cups, juglets and dippers, a multiple vessel and a deep bowl come from Wardle's stage b and c tombs (Figs. 193, 194a-b; Marinatos 1932, pls. 8:95, 13:249-50; Marinatos 1933, fig. 34:3,5,11). Other shapes include a kantharoid jar (Fig. 194c), and various cups, bowls, jars and jugs of fairly simple shape sometimes with suspension holes, pierced lugs or rudimentary handles (Marinatos 1932, pls. 8:97, 13; 1933, figs. 34:4,9, 35-7). A small oval bowl with three legs and two prong-like handles from Metaxata B is particularly attractive (Fig. 196c). Decoration is simple and confined mainly to rows of impressed marks or slashes and applied pellets and ribs (Figs. 193a, 194c, 195a-b, 196a). Incised decoration is found on one or two small lidded boxes of cylindrical or rectangular shape, one of which is adorned with an imitation of an LH IIIB whorl shell motif (Marinatos 1932, fig. 34; 1933, fig. 37:1-2; Dessoulay 1900, figs. 3-4).

Such handmade pottery is a fairly common feature in settlement contexts in North-West Greece during all Bronze Age periods. It is also found in association with Mycenaean pottery at Tris Langadas on Ithaca and at sites in Epirus and Aetolia (Wardle 1975; Daskaris 1967; Romaios 1915, 1916).

Its long and continuous history in these regions reflects their position on the periphery of, or outside, the economic organisation of the Mycenaean world where, for most of the Late Bronze Age at least, industrially-produced kiln-fired pottery fulfilled almost all the needs, including the most domestic, of the population. Its status as home-made primarily domestic ware, probably fired in the ashes of an open fire (cf. Wardle 1972), seems more significant than any idea that its producers and users possessed a separate cultural identity from the producers and users of wheelmade Mycenaean pottery. The coarse handmade pottery which appears in much smaller proportions at "mainstream" Mycenaean sites in the late LH IIIB and early LH IIIC periods when the organisation of pottery production and distribution may have suffered some disruption, might usefully be seen in the same light (cf. Walberg 1976; Sandars 1978, 83, 192).

vi. Chronology and contacts

The pottery from the Kephallenian tombs assigned by Wardle to his stages b and c is so individual in character that assessments both of the sources of possible inspiration and of the chronological range are beset by difficulties. Similarities to an early stage of LH IIIC in other regions are by no means numerous, and are confined mainly to some amphoriskoi with LH IIIB-derived patterns and possibly some monochrome juglets (above, section i). Neither of these can easily be tied down to any particular region, though similarities both with nearby Achaea and, perhaps more surprisingly, with the Dodecanese may be suggested.

Features characteristic of a middle elaborate stage of LH IIIC in other regions are perhaps slightly more in evidence, particularly in the kylikes with monochrome stems and lower bodies, and in some of the more elaborately decorated stirrup-jars, deep bowls and deep bowl kraters. As before, specific comparisons with other regions are hard to make, but as in Achaea and Messenia there is virtually no sign of Argive influence and, instead, what few hints there are (in the form of such features as elaborate triangles (section iii) and some other aspects of decoration [28]) seem to point rather to Attica and possibly some other coastal or island regions of the Aegean.

It is, however, with the idiosyncratic pottery which forms by far the majority of vases from the Kephallenian tombs of Wardle's stages b and c that the greatest problems arise. There seems little doubt that it is late in date, but just how late is a different matter; and here the picture is clouded not only by the idiosyncrasy of the pottery itself but also by the puzzling range of regions and periods in which some surprisingly good similarities can be found.

At their earliest, these similarities cover the equally individual and equally undatable late pottery of Achaea and Messenia, pottery of the latest LH IIIC and/or Submycenaean in the Eastern Mainland and on Naxos (seen particularly in the forms and decorations of some of the lekythoi and stirrup-jars (FS 124, FS 177): above, sections i and iii), LM IIIC and/or Subminoan pottery from Karphi, Cypriot Proto-white-Painted (particularly the bottle shape), and possibly also some of Furumark's late "primitive geometrical"

pottery from the Dodecanese (cf. above, chapter 8). This alone ought to extend it happily beyond the limits of the twelfth century into at least the first half of the eleventh, a date suggested originally by Kyparisses (1919-22), and more recently by Desborough (1972, 379). At the same time, however, there are certain similarities which appear to link the Kephallenian material with pottery of much later date: not only (in an admittedly elusive manner) to the Protogeometric of the Eastern Mainland, but also to the decidedly provincial Protogeometric styles of Ithaca, Achaea, Messenia and even Crete (above, section ii) some of which may date as late as the tenth century. Such similarities, which were also noted by Marinatos (1932)[33], led Snodgrass, among others, to conclude that the Kephallenian cemeteries lasted well down into the lifetime of the Protogeometric style, possibly as late as the mid-tenth century (Snodgrass 1971, 135, 170, 242).

What seems most likely, however, is that although there may have been some overlap between the Kephallenian material and Attic Protogeometric (cf. above, section B ii), the similarities to the provincial Protogeometric of other western provinces are more an indication of the unbroken traditions which carried the largely independent styles of these regions through from late LH IIIC down to the Geometric period than of any inordinately late date for the Kephallenian cemeteries themselves. In the Ionian Islands the persistence of these traditions and the course their development took can best be seen on Ithaca where pottery first from Polis and then from Aetos shows a development towards more exaggeratedly conical lower bodies and higher more conical feet than are

apparent even in the Kephallenian material, and towards the unmistakably deliberate ridging of kylix stems and some slightly different rim formations (Benton 1938-39, pls. 6, 8; cf. Desborough 1964, 109; Desborough 1972, 88). At Polis much of the pottery remains extremely close to that of Kephallenia, particularly as some curvilinear decoration is still found. At Aetos, however, this development culminates in a somewhat "busier" rectilinear style similar in many ways to the idiosyncratic Protogeometric of Laconia and Achaea usually assigned to the late tenth century (cf. Desborough 1972, 247-8, pls. 55, 56C, 57). This pottery is accompanied by compass-drawn circles (completely absent in the Kephallenian cemeteries) and by one or two probable Attic imports which link it with the tenth century Protogeometric of Attica (Benton 1953, 267, 270; Heurtley and Lorimer 1932-33, G73, I84; cf. Desborough 1964, 110; 1972, 246).

The tenth century setting of the Aetos Protogeometric suggests that the "transitional" pottery from Polis (Benton 1938-39; cf. Desborough 1964, 109) belongs rather to the period around 1000, with its predecessor in Kephallenia ending perhaps sometime within the second half of the eleventh century. Such a date would fit with that assigned to the Dark Age I pottery at Nichoria in Messenia (above, section B) with its ridged kylix stems which are only just beginning to appear in the Kephallenian cemeteries and its other similarities to both Kephallenia and Ithaca. It would also accomodate the links that can be seen in the Kephallenian pottery with some features of Cypriot Proto-White-Painted and possibly also Subminoan Crete currently dated from

c. 1100 (above, chapter 6), and, too, the somewhat more elusive reminiscences of Attic Protogeometric for which a starting date of c. 1050 is now widely accepted (Desborough 1964, 241; 1972, 55; Snodgrass 1971, 123; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 26).

D. The Western Provinces: Summary

From the above discussions of the LH IIIC pottery of Achaea, Messenia and Kephallenia two aspects in particular which seem especially worthy of note seem to emerge. One is the strikingly individual nature of much of the pottery of all three provinces, particularly when it is compared with that of more eastern regions of the Greek Mainland. This individuality seems particularly marked towards the end of the LH IIIC period, and without doubt it continues on down into the Geometric era.

On top of this, however, is the overlay of somewhat variable evidence - in some cases no more than the merest hints - for the part which may have been played by contacts with other regions at various stages in the development of LH IIIC and possibly later pottery in these western provinces. In Achaea the earliest LH IIIC, particularly from the stratified sites of Teichos Dymaion and Aigeira, appears to differ little from that of the other Mainland regions of the Argolid, Attica and Euboea, though a detailed comparison must await the publication of material from these sites. In a middle more elaborate stage of Achaean LH IIIC the picture seems rather different, and, while some pottery from sites in Eastern Achaea may continue to show sporadic signs of contact with the Argolid, there are indications, especially in some individual vase forms and motifs, that links with the Aegean area, including perhaps the Dodecanese and Crete, may have been of more importance. It was probably during this stage that Achaean pottery began to adopt some of the more distinctive features regarded as typical of the most

idiosyncratic pottery of the region; and for some of these features, such as the belly-handled amphora and the bird vase, an Aegean origin seems likely.

In Messenia the early stages of LH IIIC are more of a mystery. However, pottery from the Pylos area suggests that some sort of contact with the Aegean regions may have taken place quite early on. In a more elaborate stage of LH IIIC the contents of Tomb K-2 and the Tragana tholos provide evidence of links with the Aegean coasts and islands, including the Dodecanese and possibly also Crete. Similar Aegean links may also be seen in Elis.

In Kephallenia evidence for an early stage of LH IIIC as found elsewhere in the Mycenaean world is sparse, and evidence for a middle stage of LH IIIC is not a great deal more impressive. Such comparisons as are possible, however, seem to point mainly to Achaea and Attica and possibly some other coastal or island regions of the Aegean, including perhaps the Dodecanese.

Among the most individual pottery of all three regions, which the Messenian evidence at least suggests belongs predominantly to a late stage of LH IIIC, perhaps the strongest links can be seen between the provinces. This western network of connected, but yet individual, styles persists long enough to be visible still in the provincial Protogeometric pottery of Achaea, Messenia, Ithaca and probably also Laconia which, if anything, show even greater affinities to one another. That this network also extended across the Corinthian Gulf and the Gulf of Patras into

Northern Greece may be seen in a few vases of Achaean appearance from regions such as Phocis (Desborough 1972, 92), in the ridge-stemmed kylikes and other vases with Kephallenian and Ithacan similarities from Hexalophos in Western Thessaly (Theochares 1968), and even possibly in the curiously heterogeneous Protogeometric pottery of Marmariani and other Northern Thessalian sites (Desborough 1972, 102-4; Wardle 1975).

The part played by contacts between the western provinces and other regions during this late stage is extremely hard to assess. In Achaea some similarity between a few of the more idiosyncratic styles of decoration and features found in a late stage of LH IIIC in the Argolid might suggest that at this time the geographical proximity of the two regions was to some extent reflected in the pottery as it had been in LH IIIB and early LH IIIC. In Kephallenia there is a more generalised similarity to late LH IIIC and/or Submycenaean in the Eastern Mainland which can be seen particularly in the forms and decorations of several lekythoi and stirrup-jars. There are, however, other features which suggest that, during this stage too, some form of contact with the Aegean area existed. In the first place, there is the generalised similarity between the "geometric" styles of decoration of the western provinces and that of some Dodecanesian pottery - a similarity which also extends to some individual motifs. Though this similarity might be coincidental or at best reflect two opposite ends of a chain of contacts, the presence of other features does seem to point more directly to the east. Among features which link the western provinces with Proto-White-Painted Cyprus and/or late LM IIIC-Subminoan Crete, the

bottles of Kephallenia and the kantharoid shapes of Kephallenia and Achaea also appear in Attica and some other regions of the Eastern Mainland during or after the transition to Protogeometric (cf. Desborough 1972, 54). Their presence there is attributed by Desborough to Cypriot influence and, given the late date of much of the Kephallenian and Achaean pottery, it is not impossible that they reached these regions via Attica. On the other hand, the persistence of kylikes down to such a late date in Messenia and the Ionian Islands is shared only with Cyprus and Crete, while the deliberately ridged stems of some of these kylikes link them particularly with Cyprus. Other features which appear to suggest some sort of direct link with Cyprus or Crete - one which possibly bypassed more eastern regions of the Greek Mainland - are the Achaean feeding bottle with handle at right angles to the spout and the various Cretan elements, including perhaps the isolated spirals, which may be detected in some of the open vases from Wardle's stage c tombs on Kephallenia. That the Cretan connection in particular may have persisted well on into the tenth century, to the extent that West Crete at least might even be regarded as part of the western network of related provincial Protogeometric styles, may be suggested by pottery from Modi (Platon 1953; cf. Desborough 1972, 234-5)[34].

The key to this evident Aegean connection of the western provinces, which ranges at fluctuating levels in the three regions from early LH IIIC (particularly perhaps in Messenia) through to a very late period, and which appears to cover the Dodecanese, Crete and Cyprus as well as possibly some

other coastal and island regions of the Aegean, may well lie in Italy. In his study of the Mycenaean pottery of Italy Taylour (1958, 131f., 184f.) noted that, at Scoglio del Tonno at least, Rhodes and possibly Cyprus were most likely to have supplied the origins of much of the LH IIIC pottery down at least to the middle of the period[35]. In a later stage the pottery of Mycenaean type found at Scoglio del Tonno became more idiosyncratic in style and Taylour (1958, 184) concluded that much of it stemmed from purely local invention. At this point, however, he also noted certain similarities to the pottery of Kephallenia, including a fragment of a kantharoid krater and motifs such as isolated spirals (Taylour 1958, 132, fig. 13). A stirrup-jar from Campania has a spiral and triangle motif particularly characteristic of Kephallenia (Taylour 1958, pl. 17:3; cf. e.g. Kyparisses 1919-22, figs. 24-5). That contact between Scoglio del Tonno and the Ionian Islands at least may have persisted on into the tenth century might be suggested by the Ithacan parallel for an imported Protogeometric fragment from the site (Taylour 1958, 119).

Evidence of Mycenaean interest in the west Mediterranean dates back to LH I-II, though the greatest activity belongs to the LH IIIA-early LH IIIB period when it seems likely that Apulia and possibly some other regions were the targets for an organised North-East Peloponnesian export trade more or less identical, though perhaps on a smaller scale, to that which can be seen in the East Mediterranean and on Rhodes (see above, chapter 2). Why this happened can only be a subject for speculation, but supplies of western

metal, particularly perhaps from Sardinia where LH IIIB pottery has been found (cf. Ferrarese Ceruti 1979[36]), might be a possible answer. There is no sign of Argive LH IIIB2 at Scoglio del Tonno, and the Dodecanesian affinities of much of the LH IIIC pottery from this site suggest that its main contacts with the Mycenaean world in the LH IIIC period may have been with the Aegean area rather than with the North-East Peloponnese. On Sardinia the presence among LH IIIC pottery of conical bowls also points to the same general area (Ferrarese Ceruti 1979, pl. I).

That the trail of Aegean contacts to be seen in LH IIIC in Messenia, Elis, Achaea and finally the Ionian Islands led eventually to Italy and the west thus seems very likely. The same trail can be traced back through the distribution of such objects as lanceolate spearheads and multiple-loop fibulae which are found in the Ionian Islands, Achaea and Crete (Desborough 1964), and in the amber which occurs from LH IIIC on predominantly in Kephallenia, Achaea, the Dodecanese, Attica, Euboea, Cyprus and Crete (Harding and Hughes-Brock 1974, 159-69). The ceramic evidence is not sufficiently consistent to suggest that any single Aegean region lay behind it, though it seems possible that in early and mid-LH IIIC the Dodecanese may have played a more important part (particularly in Messenia and at Scoglio del Tonno), to be followed, especially from c. 1100 on, by Cyprus and Crete[37]. Why such a western interest should have been taken up by the more easterly regions of the Mycenaean world is even less certain, though it seems clear that some of these regions were among the most culturally dynamic and possibly commercially active in LH IIIC. The motives

may have been much the same as those which led to the later Phoenician penetration of the west which, if Homer (Odyssey xiii. 256-77) is to be believed, followed similar routes[38].

Notes to Chapter 14

1. Teichos Dymaion, preliminary reports: Mastrokostas 1962; 1963a; 1963b; 1964a; 1964b, 187; 1965a; 1965b, 225; Ergon 1963, 60ff.; 1965, 121ff.; 1966, 156-65; Archaeology 1962, 133-4; Schachermeyr 1971, 413; Daux 1963, 767; 1964, 760; 1966, 833; 1967, 666; Åström 1964, 102, 110.

   Aigeira, preliminary reports: Alzinger 1973; 1974; 1976; Schachermeyr 1976, 156f.; Deger-Jalkotzy 1977.

2. For possible fragments of coarse handmade pottery (listed as EH in the report) see Mastrokostas 1965a, 121f., pl. 156a-b. See also Deger-Jalkotzy 1977 for coarse handmade pottery from Aigeira.

3. The LH IIIB material illustrated seems to be of LH IIIB1 type, and there seems little sign of Argive LH IIIB2 (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 13). The gap might possibly be partially filled by isolated deposits of coarse handmade sherds found in cracks in the rock below the level of the first LH IIIC settlement (Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 10f.). However, no traces of structures were found to be associated with these, and their chronological position relative to LH IIIB and LH IIIC cannot be established.

4. From examples illustrated it seems that these bowls correspond rather to the rounded or slightly carinated strap-handled bowls of the Earliest and Tower phases at Mycenae and Lefkandi Phase 1a (cf. above, chapters 3 and 4, and Rutter 1977, fig. 7 (Korakou Phase 2)) rather than to the more sharply carinated type with

standardised linear decoration found at Mycenae in the Developed and Advanced phases and also at Athens.

5. Cf. e.g. an alabastron (Mastrokostas 1962, pl. 138b) and a four-handled jar (Mastrokostas 1964a, pl. 63a) from Teichos Dymaion.

6. For LH IIIC pottery from chamber tombs in Achaea, see Vermeule 1960; Åström 1964; Papadopoulos 1978; and other references in Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 84ff..

7. As at Mycenae and Perati (above, chapters 3 and 5) it is difficult to distinguish between stirrup-jars of LH IIIB and early LH IIIC in Achaea. Some of those listed by Papadopoulos as of LH IIIB date might equally well be assigned to an early stage of LH IIIC (e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 101h-i, 102g-h, 104d-f, 106i-j), particularly as these lack the band and fine line group linear decoration characteristic of LH IIIA-B stirrup-jars (cf. e.g. Ibid., figs. 101e, 103c, 108d-e).

8. Åström (1964, 91) notes that the style of the Close Style stirrup-jar from Aigion is not local Achaean. It seems difficult to agree wholeheartedly with Papadopoulos' conclusion (1978, 129) that knowledge of both the Close Style and the "Granary Class" is clearly demonstrable among the Achaean pottery (cf. also Vermeule 1960). The examples of "Granary Class" features which he lists are no more convincing than those rejected by Desborough (1964, 100), and several seem likely to be earlier in date than the material from the East Basement of the Granary at Mycenae (e.g. Papadopoulos 1978, 129 PM 786, PM 788).

9. The cylindrical pyxis is also decoratively close to one from the Tragana tholos in Messenia (cf. below,

section B; also Papadopoulos 1978, 178 for links between Achaea and pottery from the Tragana tholos. The cylindrical stirrup-jar has tripod feet and decoration of an elaborate mid-LH IIIC appearance. For one of LH IIIB or early LH IIIC style from Achaea, see Åström 1964, fig. 1:1-3 (cf. FS 184).

10. Vermeule (1960, 17) rejects any connection with the Dodecanese for the Achaean use of stands and tripod feet. Papadopoulos (1978, 132 and note 63), however, does see links with the Dodecanese in several aspects of the Achaean pottery.

11. The date of this vase is uncertain, and it may be somewhat earlier (cf. Furumark 1941a, 627, where the latest examples of this shape are assigned to LH IIIB). However, both the exterior and interior decoration of the cup bears a striking resemblance to that of vases from Miletus and Kos (Weickert et al. 1959-60, pl. 48; Morricone 1972-73, fig. 365).

12. Cf. Papadopoulos 1978, 129 for the mention of a single trefoil-lipped jug from Teichos Dymaion.

13. There is one example of tassel pattern on an amphoriskos (Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 253:30).

14. Papadopoulos 1978, fig. 123g is particularly reminiscent of some Dodecanesian types (cf. Morricone 1965-66, figs. 31, 54, 236).

15. Papadopoulos (1978, 177 note 32) suggests that the belly-handled amphora from Argos may be an Achaean import. He also suggests this for the belly-handled amphora from Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 260:8) which, however, is almost certainly earlier in date than that from Argos. It seems to me much more likely

that the Asine example, like that from Perati, reached the east coast of the Mainland from the Aegean and was the result of direct influence from this area in late-mid LH IIIC (cf. above, chapter 7).

16. See especially several stirrup-jars with striped banding which also have the elaborate differentiated shoulder decoration (including elaborate triangles and concentric semicircles combined with other motifs) which recalls that of Perati Phases II-III: Papadopoulos 1978, figs. 74, 78.

17. Cf. also Papadopoulos 1978, 177 note 32 for the suggestion that a very late LH IIIC stirrup-jar from Argos (Deshayes 1966, pl. LX:8-9) may be an Achaean import (see also above, note 15).

18. Both the kantharos and the feeding bottle with handle at right angles to the spout are Cypriot features (cf. above, chapter 6). For Desborough's argument that certain features of Cypriot origin were transmitted westwards across the Aegean towards the end of the Proto-White-Painted period, eventually to help bring about the stylistic transition to Protogeometric in regions like Attica and Euboea, see especially Desborough 1972.

19. Out of 246 sites listed in Messenia by Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979, 126-80) only seven (known from excavation or survey) have produced certain LH IIIC pottery.

20. Estimates of the date of these vases vary (cf. Vermeule (1964, 204) who dates them to "shortly after 1400"), but LH IIIB pottery seems to have been reported from the same tomb. I am grateful to Mr Popham for pointing

out their decorative resemblances to LM IIIB pottery from Chania and possibly even to some LM IIIC vases.

21. The suggested sequence of burials in this tomb was based on a stylistic analysis of the pottery and is therefore open to some question. Some of the groups recognised (e.g. Groups IV and V) are virtually undatable. However, although they may not be stylistically homogeneous, some four groups (Groups I-III, VIII) do at least contain LH IIIC pottery whose stylistic variety is such that a considerable time span within the period may be assumed.

22. Kylikes have died out at Lefkandi, for instance, by LH IIIC Phase 3 (Popham and Milburn 1971); and at Asine there appear to be none among the pottery from the Karmaniola area where a cup with a zigzag-filled narrow reserved zone at the rim (a forerunner of a common Protogeometric cup type) seems to be the main drinking vessel (Frizell 1978a). Cf. also Desborough 1972, 54.
The single ridge-stemmed kylix from Asine mentioned by Furumark (1941a, 032 (unpublished)) may be Protogeometric (cf. above, chapter 7 notes 1 and 3).

23. Those tombs which fall mainly or entirely within Wardle's LH IIIC stages are Mavrata, Mazarakata D, Metaxata G, D, E (stage b); Diakata, Lakkithra A, B, D, Mazarakata Eta, TH, Metaxata A, B (stages b and c). Lakkithra D and Metaxata B may start during the earlier stage a (LH IIIB), though both continue on until the end of stage c. Sites which are assigned

by Wardle mainly or wholly to LH IIIA or LH IIIB are the settlement at Oikopeda, the Kokkolata tholoi, the Gephyri tomb, and Mazarakata A, B, G and E (Wardle 1972, fig. 7). See also Benton and Waterhouse 1973 for the rejection of the old idea that the Ionian Islands were only sparsely populated and largely ignored before the LH IIIC period.

24. Wardle's architectural scheme involves a more detailed analysis of individual tombs within each cemetery than has been attempted before. However, it reinforces the earlier observations of Kyparisses (1919-22) and Marinatos (1932) that the use of burial pits cut in the tomb floor to form large regular "dormitory" chambers seemed particularly characteristic of the later cemeteries. Thus, Mazarakata Tombs A, B, G, E and Lakkithra Tomb G, which are smaller less regularly shaped tombs, are assigned to Wardle's stage a, while the larger squarer tombs with regular rows of burial pits, such as Lakkithra Tombs A and B, Metaxata Tomb A, and the two Diakata tombs, fall into his stages b and c.

25. These are almost certainly survivals in Kephallenia from a shape which dies out elsewhere at the end of LH II (cf. Furumark 1941a, 42).

26. The fabric is soft with a distinct pinkish core lying within a cream to buff surface. A whitish fabric was nicknamed "Protocorinthian" by Marinatos (1932). This fabric seems to have been used mainly for kylikes, juglets, dippers and a few kraters, bowls, amphoriskoi and piriform jars. Marinatos (1932) was in no doubt

that this clay was of local origin since "it is of the same white argillaceous earth still used today for the manufacture of bricks and tiles" at various places on the island.

27. For a report on the 1973 excavation of the additional tomb at Metaxata, see Calligas 1974.

28. Desborough (1964, 106) suggested that some influence of Argive Close Style might be seen in the comparatively careful painting of Kyparisses 1919-22, figs. 17-8, though, if anything, there is perhaps a closer resemblance to mid-LH IIIC krater fragments from Athens (cf. e.g. Broneer 1939, fig. 30).

29. Reserved lines are found, however, on some kylikes and closed vessels.

30. Desborough (1964, 106) considered that the stirrup-jar from Lakkithra D illustrated in Fig. 190c might also show a connection with Achaea in its fringed concentric semicircle decoration.

31. Perhaps surprisingly, the bottles are regarded by Wardle (1972) as a normal, though infrequent, Mycenaean shape. He suggests that one bottle (with added white decoration) from Metaxata (Marinatos 1933, fig. 33) may be a post-Mycenaean offering in a Mycenaean tomb, though according to Marinatos post-Mycenaean activity in the Metaxata tombs did not predate the seventh century. For other bottles, cf. Marinatos 1932, pls. 7:59, 11:172 (also with added white decoration, but with small tripod feet); also the cylindrical footed askos: Marinatos 1932, pl. 8:120.

32. Kyparisses (1919-22) and others believed, however, that the numerous handmade vases (c. 11% of the total in several Kephallenian tombs) were in general

indicative of an earlier date than the latest wheelmade pottery, although their persistent use over many centuries was not denied. At Diakata it was reported that the handmade vases were found in the lower levels of the burial pits (Kyparisses 1919-22, 114).

33. See especially Marinatos 1932, pls. 5:12-3, 6:35 which he compares with Cretan Protogeometric material illustrated by Payne (1927-28, pls. 5:2, 6:14).

34. Cf. also the similarity in shape between kylikes with carinated rims from Polis (Benton 1938-39, pl. 8) and those of LM IIIC-Subminoan Crete (cf. e.g. Seiradaki 1960, fig. 18; Hall 1914, fig. 89; see also Popham 1965, 320).

35. The Dodecanesian links with Scoglio del Tonno are seen most convincingly in the octopus stirrup-jar fragments (Taylour 1958, cover and pl. 14:12-4) and in the fragments of braziers (Ibid., pl. 13:16-21; cf. FS 316). Some motifs, particularly the fish and certain types of curvilinear patterns also have a Dodecanesian flavour (Ibid., pls. 12:19-20, 13:7-15). Belly-handled amphorae similar to the Dodecanesian series are also found (Ibid., 106-7); while the survival into LH IIIC of such shapes as the piriform jar (Ibid., pl. 13:13) and the stemmed bowl (Ibid.,pl. 14:3) also points to the Dodecanese.

The Cypriot links noted by Taylour are less conclusive, though at least one stirrup-jar (Ibid., fig. 11) has good parallels in Enkomi Level IIIb (cf. e.g. Dikaios 1969, pl. 309:261).

36. I am grateful to Mr J. Lewthwaite for this reference.

37. Cf. also Ferrarese Ceruti 1979 for a Cypriot bronze tripod from Sardinia; and Sandars 1978, 199 for the suggestion that "Shardana" reached Sardinia from Cyprus possibly as early as the eleventh century. See also Taylour 1958, 78, 184 for Cypriot and Cretan interest in Sicily in the Geometric period, and for Sicilian fibulae in Crete.

38. See e.g. Boardman 1964, 216 on Phoenician interest in western metal supplies; and Sandars 1978, 199 on Cypro-Phoenician mining interests in Sardinia.

Chapter 15

Review and Conclusions

A. The Chronological Progression

When I first embarked on this study of LH IIIC pottery the problem which was receiving most attention was that of defining successive stages of chronological development, from the evolution of LH IIIC out of LH IIIB to its disappearance in the sub- or post-Mycenaean period. Furumark's tripartite chronological scheme (1944) was beginning to be modified and refined with the help of new stratified settlement material. Popham and Milburn (1971) had already defined three main chronological phases (and five sub-phases[1]) in the LH IIIC pottery from Lefkandi. Iakovides (1969) had also divided the pottery from the cemetery at Perati into three phases, based not only on stylistic analysis but also to some extent on observed sequences of burial and tomb construction. Later, Rutter (1974, 1977) was to reanalyse the LH IIIC material from Korakou, divide it into several phases, and expand it into a five-phase chronology in which he included selected material from the Argolid, Attica, Euboea, the Aegean islands and Tarsus.

At Mycenae, E. French (1969b) had outlined briefly the main characteristics of an early phase of LH IIIC, and expressed the belief that at least four phases could be defined prior to the destruction of the Granary. It was originally intended, therefore, that I should extract at least four phases from a body of fairly well stratified LH IIIC material which had accumulated close to the Cyclopean wall

in the Citadel House area of Mycenae. The intention was that I should then match and interweave these phases with the subdivisions already obtained from other stratified sites (particularly Lefkandi), and finally with other groups of LH IIIC material. In this way, it was thought that it should be possible to construct a detailed chronological sequence of LH IIIC pottery development which would provide a secure framework for the events and changes of the period.

The work of analysing the pottery from Mycenae and dividing it into five successive phases (above, chapter 3) took several years, during which well over 30,000 sherds were examined, counted and described, most of them drawn and many of them photographed. The statistical information gathered on the direction and rate of the ceramic changes which took place at Mycenae during LH IIIC - the adoption or abandonment of certain shapes and decorative techniques, the gradual decline in proportions of unpainted pottery, the increased use of monochrome coating - proved both illustrative and absorbing. The detailed scheme of chronological development which resulted enabled some inferences about the history of the site to be drawn, particularly about the relative date of the Granary destruction and the probability of continued occupation after that event. A brief comparison with the stratified sequences from Tiryns (Podzuweit 1978; Kilian and Podzuweit 1978; Knell and Voigtländer 1981) and Korakou (Rutter 1974, 1977) suggested that there was a high degree of stylistic and developmental unity between Mycenae and the rest of the Argolid and, probably, Corinthia. At that point, the only disquieting element was the discovery that at coastal Asine the pottery seemed to show signs that its development was not always strictly in accord with that of Mycenae and the

Argive plain.

The application of a similar detailed approach to the five sub-phases distinguished by Popham and Milburn at Lefkandi confirmed the usefulness of the statistical information, which they had advocated and collected, in revealing and demonstrating certain trends in the development of the pottery. By this time, however, it was gradually becoming clear that the two original aims of the work at Mycenae - the subdivision of LH IIIC into as many phases as possible, and the construction of a chronological sequence which could be used to date and interpret changes and events throughout the Mycenaean world - were largely incompatible. Rutter's attempt to expand his Korakou divisions into a five-phase scheme which could be applied to LH IIIC pottery as a whole raised certain difficulties which suggested that, while ever more detailed subdivision might be useful for the history of a single site or even region, it was of less use in providing an effective chronological framework for LH IIIC pottery throughout the Mycenaean world.

One difficulty of Rutter's scheme was that most of his tightly defined phases were represented by material from only one or two sites, thus raising the question of whether they still awaited discovery elsewhere or whether the individual features and the particular combinations of each phase might be purely local phenomena. The wider implications of the regionalism which Rutter noted as characteristic of certain of his phases remained to be discussed, particularly in terms of the possible origins of some widespread features and the directions, rates

and mechanisms of their spread. Instead, it was suggested that the key to LH IIIC chronology and the ability to draw sound inferences about the broader aspects of the period's political events lay in further study and a more detailed breakdown of material from sites such as Mycenae and Lefkandi (Rutter 1977, 5).

The idea that the ever more detailed subdivision of LH IIIC pottery from sites on the Eastern Mainland would naturally provide a more secure chronology for LH IIIC as a whole was an understandable one. Since the early 1960s chronological subdivisions based on groups of pottery from Mycenae (cf. E. French 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1969a; Wardle 1969, 1973; Mountjoy 1976) had provided almost the only "yardsticks" for those wishing to classify and date pottery in other parts of the Mycenaean world. It had often been assumed that the minutely traced succession of ceramic phases from Mycenae itself, from LH IIIA1 to the end of LH IIIB, afforded the evidence on which chronological conclusions for the whole of the Mycenaean world could be based (cf. Hankey and Warren 1974). This may well have been the case in the LH IIIA and early LH IIIB periods when Mycenaean pottery displayed a type of uniformity strong and consistent enough to suggest widespread unidirectional influence from one innovating source, and when the North-East Peloponnese was almost certainly the centre of an organised export trade directed at external markets (cf. above, chapter 2). By the end of LH IIIB, however, the role of the Argolid as a centre of production for export outside the Mycenaean sphere and as an important leader of ceramic fashion within it was clearly in decline (cf. Sherratt 1980). In the LH IIIC period the evidence

for increasing regionalism, noted by Mackeprang (1930), Furumark (1944), Desborough (1964) and others, as well as by Rutter, suggest not only that the earlier pattern of export and influence had broken down, but that a new pattern had taken its place. This new pattern, moreover, might well involve regions other than the Argolid as important centres of innovation, and a more gradual or even haphazard spread of individual ceramic ideas from one region to another. Thus, a chronological system of minutely defined stylistic phases, each consisting of fewer and fewer diagnostic features and based on the evidence of a handful of sites, which could be applied successfully to the relatively uniform pottery of LH IIIA-B1, could only create confusion if imposed on the probably quite different conditions of LH IIIC. Not only would it prove unwieldy to use, but its very rigidity would run the risk of undervaluing local tendencies and so masking the evidence for these different conditions.

What emerged, therefore, from the tedious detail of a phase-by-phase comparison of the LH IIIC pottery from Mycenae and Lefkandi was the evident validity and overriding practicality of Evans' (and Furumark's) traditional tripartite pattern of "rise, maturity and decay" (Evans 1921, 25; cf. above, chapter 1): three stages of development which marked, at both sites, the progress of LH IIIC pottery through an early period of evolution away from the forms and style of LH IIIB, to a middle stage which saw an expanded repertoire of new forms and exuberant decorative techniques (the easily recognisable "mature" LH IIIC of Mackeprang, and of Furtwängler and Loeschke's

"Fourth Style"), and finally to a decline into a contracted repertoire and progressively simpler decoration which characterised the latest Mycenaean pottery from these sites. These three stages, which marked a clear chronological progression, were broad enough to allow parallels in general ceramic development between different sites or regions to be recognised, without the need to worry about the presence or absence of individual features crucial to the definition or recognition of the more tightly defined phases of a multi-phase chronology. In this way, while retaining divisions which would be broad enough to allow some assumption of approximate contemporaneity, the pottery of different regions could perhaps be approached with a rather more flexible framework within which problems of regional development and inter-regional influence could be examined.

The application of this three-stage framework to other sites and regions has proved quite successful. Most striking of all is the virtually universal applicability of a more or less elaborate "mature" mid-LH IIIC stage which, though differing in detail from region to region, displays a common artistic spirit of innovation and experimentation which reaches almost all areas of the Mycenaean world. The main differences which emerge and which necessitate some modification of the three-stage framework abstracted initially from Mycenae and Lefkandi seem to lie mainly in the early and, particularly, the late stages of LH IIIC. Most of these regional differences can thus be seen to have some bearing on the emergence of LH IIIC out of LH IIIB and, above all, on its development into later pottery styles. They provide some important clues as to which regions may have been at the forefront of ceramic

developments during those crucial stages of transition.

i. Early LH IIIC

One of the greatest outstanding problems of early LH IIIC is that of producing a satisfactory definition of the distinction between it and late LH IIIB in terms which a) are valid over as wide an area as possible, b) provide a sufficiently wide range of new features for the distinction to be immediately obvious, and c) can command general agreement. Sadly, such a satisfactory definition seems no nearer now than it ever has been; but perhaps at least the reasons why it has proved so elusive for so long are a little clearer (cf. Sherratt 1980, note 92).

The diminution in contacts and trade, which is reflected in the limited distribution of the Argive LH IIIB2 style, seems to have coincided in several regions with a period of stylistic stagnation, sometimes deterioration in quality, and possibly also a greater variation in the clay sources used and the way in which they were treated (cf. e.g. Jantzen (ed.) 1975, 147, 149; Asaro and Perlman 1973, 215). This stagnation and deterioration, which seems likely to have been a result of some disruption in the organisation of pottery production and distribution, may have made itself felt first of all in some of those regions where the LH IIIB2 style had no or only limited effect and where the pottery continued to be based on the common traditions inherited from LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB; but by the end of LH IIIB2

even the Argolid appears to have been affected by it (see above, chapter 3 sections C (and note 19) and K; cf. also Walberg 1976). Some of its symptoms are features which are often regarded as indications of early LH IIIC: a simplified range of patterns derived from LH IIIA2-B1, a greater use of rim bands and monochrome coating (cf. above, chapter 3 note 8), and possibly also the coarse handmade domestic pottery found at some Mainland sites.

At Mycenae a stratigraphical rather than stylistic dividing line has been drawn between the two periods, with the destruction within the Citadel in LH IIIB2 being chosen to mark the end of the LH IIIB period (cf. Rutter 1977, 1). While this distinction is convenient in terms of the history of the site, it is essentially arbitrary as far as stylistic change is concerned, as the pottery which immediately follows the destruction, though differing in some details, remains stylistically very closely related to that which precedes it, and still includes characteristic features of LH IIIB2 (cf. above, chapter 3 section B; Wardle 1973, 327-33; E. French 1969a, 72). Only in later strata at Mycenae (the Tower phase) do sufficiently distinct, particularly formal, innovations appear to enable a more clear cut distinction between the pottery of LH IIIB and LH IIIC to be made. Rutter's use of this stratigraphical dividing line at Mycenae for the basis of a wider definition of the earliest LH IIIC has resulted in his Phase 1 being distinguished from LH IIIB solely on the grounds of two decorative innovations which are admitted to be of a minor nature (Rutter 1977).

Among other stratified sites on the Greek Mainland, the

earliest pottery from Perati is assigned on stylistic grounds to the transition from LH IIIB to LH IIIC precisely because it retains so many features characteristic of the former period (Iakovides 1969, II). However, the foundation of the cemetery in this "transitional" period and its continuous use thereafter well down into LH IIIC suggest that, in terms of the site's history, the construction of the first Perati tombs might be as good a point as any with which to mark the beginning of LH IIIC there.

On the Mainland, it is at Lefkandi that perhaps the most felicitous conjunction of stylistic and stratigraphical considerations occurs to mark the beginning of LH IIIC. The first phase (Phase 1a) is associated with a completely new building pattern which seems to have obliterated almost all traces of previous occupation. The pottery presents at least one genuine innovation in the form of the carinated cup, which has the advantage of being both distinctive and easy to recognise. It occurs alongside other minor decorative changes, some of which probably appeared at Lefkandi before the Phase 1 building took place (above, chapter 4 section B); but by the time it appears the pottery has lost much of its LH IIIB appearance. Similar carinated cups are also found at Mycenae (Tower phase), Korakou and Corinth (Rutter's Phase 2: cf. Rutter 1977, 2 and 1979, 365), at Athens (above, chapter 13), in Achaea (Mastrokostas 1965a, pl. 171; Schachermeyr 1976, fig. 40) and probably Laconia[2]. Where stratigraphy is available, as at Mycenae, these cups seem to coincide with other features which are to remain particularly characteristic of LH IIIC and with a diminution in LH IIIB "flavour"; and their appearance seems a particularly good point

at which to signal the stylistic start of LH IIIC in these regions. What is especially interesting is that these are all regions which seem to have preserved relatively close connections with the Argolid in late LH IIIB (cf. Sherratt 1980, fig. 10).

In Cyprus - the other region for which stratified information is available - there are perhaps two points when change, in terms either of pottery of Mycenaean type or of events, is significant enough to warrant a shift in period nomenclature. The first comes with the establishment or expansion of a local Cypriot production of pottery of Mycenaean type, with the appearance of the Rude Style after the end of LH IIIB1 and eventually of the simple linear bowl types of the Kouklia-Mantissa and related tombs (above, chapter 6). The second comes with the rebuilt settlements of LC III when the pottery of Mycenaean type forms a continuation of the developments already begun before the destructions of the LC II cities, but when it appears in increased quantities in settlement contexts and probably also shows some sign of influence from the Dodecanese. The latter coincides with the change, in Cypriot chronology, from LC II to III and, from the historical point of view at least, would seem a good point at which to set the beginning of Cyprus's own version of LH IIIC which nevertheless had roots in late LC II developments on the island.

Finally, the impossibility of choosing clear and generally valid stylistic criteria for the distinction between LH IIIB and the earliest LH IIIC is affected by the quite different conditions under which LH IIIC styles emerged in different regions of the Mycenaean world. As we have seen, on the

Mainland in regions such as the Argolid, Corinthia, Euboea, Attica, Achaea and Laconia the process of development from late LH IIIB to an early LH IIIC style was gradual and probably quite prolonged. Those regions which had adopted the type features of Argive LH IIIB2 probably continued to produce or adapt them for a while; and this was accompanied by a wider use, perhaps for technical reasons, of linear or monochrome decoration on shapes which had previously been left unpainted. In time, a few innovations of shape or decoration were introduced, such as the carinated cup and the lip band shallow conical kylix (FS 275); and the distribution of some of these innovations suggests that links between these regions may have remained quite close. The process ended, however (particularly in the Tower phase at Mycenae and in Lefkandi Phase 1b), in a relatively plain and depleted stage which gives little hint of the sudden and fundamental changes which follow.

In other regions, particularly the Dodecanese and Cyprus, the processes and conditions of early LH IIIC development seem to have been rather different. In the Dodecanese the persistence of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 traditions into the LH IIIC period seems particularly marked, and probably led to the early development of LH IIIC versions of such shapes as the decorated kalathos, the lentoid flask, the strainer jug and possibly some one-handled bowl types on the islands. At the same time, however, there is the influence of Cretan LM IIIB, imports of which probably began to reach the Dodecanese in the later part of the thirteenth century, possibly on their way to Cyprus where, for a short while before the end of LC II, Cretan imports may have gone some way towards filling the gap left by the drying up of Peloponnesian

imports after LH IIIB1. Such Cretan influence may have been responsible for the early adaptation of the LM IIIB cylindrical pyxis and the octopus stirrup-jar in the Dodecanese, and for the adoption of such motifs as concentric semicircles and some spiraliform patterns and eventually for features such as rosettes, concentric arc fillings and the outlining of motifs (cf. above, chapter 8). Though stratigraphical confirmation is missing in the Dodecanese, the stylistic analyses of Furumark and Morricone suggest that development towards a more elaborate stage of LH IIIC may have been steadier and less abrupt than at the Mainland sites of Mycenae and Lefkandi.

Some influence of early pottery developments and adaptations in the Dodecanese can perhaps be traced at Perati where such features as the LH IIIC kalathos and the octopus stirrup-jar begin to appear before the end of Phase I (above, chapter 5). Here too, however, there may be some argument for direct Cretan contacts in an early stage of LH IIIC. Likewise in the Cyclades, particularly on Melos and Paros, there are signs of contact with the Dodecanese and Crete in a relatively early stage of LH IIIC. Pottery from Miletus, which generally differs little from that of the Dodecanese, may provide some additional evidence for the early development of the decorated LH IIIC kalathos in the Eastern Mycenaean world.

On Cyprus stylistic links with the Dodecanese can be seen in the pottery of Mycenaean type from the end of LC II or the beginning of LC III. At the same time, however, elements attributable to earlier Cypriot ceramic traditions and ideas and, at one step removed, to some features of the imported "Levanto-Helladic" repertoire can be seen to continue from

the end of LC II into the early stages of LC IIIA and beyond. In Enkomi Level IIIa in particular there is evidence of further improvisation by Cypriot potters, and the continued incorporation of certain geometrical motifs with a long history on the island gives the pottery of Mycenaean type some distinct characteristics of its own. The gradual development of an elaborate stage of LH IIIC can be traced especially clearly in this level at Enkomi in the rather fanciful treatment of some spiral motifs and in the continuing evolution of pictorial decoration and abstract ornamentations made up of closely packed geometrical elements (cf. above, chapter 6).

At Tarsus in Cilicia there are strong similarities to the pottery produced in Cyprus at the end of LC II and the early stages of LC IIIA, and it seems likely that Cyprus, rather than the Greek Mainland, may have been the main source of contact and inspiration. There is also, however, some sign that direct connections between Tarsus and the Dodecanese, and possibly LM IIIB or early LM IIIC Crete, may have existed (above, chapter 9).

At Asine the application of the broad pattern of development abstracted from the stratified Mainland sites, together with more detailed information gleaned from Perati above all on the chronological development of stirrup-jars, seems to suggest that a reduction may be made in the amount of material which can be considered to belong to an early stage of LH IIIC (cf. Furumark's Myc. IIIC:1a). Here too, as in Attica, there may be a few signs that even at this stage Asine was establishing links with other coastal and island

regions of the Aegean (above, chapter 7; cf. chapters 5 and 13 section B).

In the western provinces, the evidence from Achaea suggests that in an early stage of LH IIIC the pottery maintained the links shown in LH IIIB with the Argolid and to a great extent also with Attica, Euboea and Laconia (cf. above). Evidence from Messenia and the Ionian Islands is a great deal scarcer, but in Messenia at least it seems likely that some sort of contact with the Aegean area, particularly perhaps the Dodecanese and Crete, took place quite early on (above, chapter 14 section B). That this had something to do with a specifically Aegean interest in Italy and the west seems probable.

ii. Mid-LH IIIC

The middle stage of LH IIIC at Mycenae (Developed and Advanced phases) and Lefkandi (Phase 2) presents a distinct contrast to the stage which precedes it. At both sites it is marked by something of a "renaissance" with the rapid expansion of the range of shapes in use and the introduction of highly elaborate forms of decoration. Much the same can be seen at Perati from the beginning of Phase II.

While there are general similarities, particularly in the degree of artistic activity and innovation and in the generally flamboyant spirit which characterises much of the decoration, between the mid-LH IIIC pottery of these sites, there are differences which can be seen in preferences

for certain shapes or motifs and in various stylistic "hallmarks" which reflect differing regional tastes and different treatment of a common stock of formal and decorative innovations. The Close Style of Mycenae and the robust pictorial style of Lefkandi may be singled out as outstanding examples of such stylistic "hallmarks". At Perati, a penchant for decorative schemes making great use of reserved elements and a continuing interest in floral motifs to be seen on a wide range of shapes seem sufficiently pervasive and distinctive to merit consideration as outstanding characteristics of a middle stage of LH IIIC at the site.

That much of the innovation which characterises mid-LH IIIC at these sites, and possibly also some of the more detailed differences, reflect varying degrees and directions in external contact seems likely. At Perati in particular the evident overseas connections of the Phase II-III pottery are especially striking. Close links in both formal and decorative repertoire with the islands of the East and Central Aegean were emphasised by Iakovides (1969, II) and Desborough (1964, 115), and are more immediately apparent at Perati than at Mycenae or even Lefkandi. The octopus stirrup-jars, of which all but a single one of early type belong to Phases II-III, provide the best known and most obvious evidence for these links; but the distinctive treatment which many of the Perati examples are given belies the notion that they formed part of the evidence for a strictly uniform Aegean koine (Jones and Mee 1978, 469). There are strong similarities in certain vessel types, in the decorative treatment of some vases, and in some individual motifs between Perati on the one hand and the Dodecanese, Naxos, Crete, Cyprus and the

Mainland coastal sites of Lefkandi and Asine on the other, but no consistent uniformity with any one of these. That direct contacts did exist, however, between Perati and several of these regions is confirmed by the range of ceramic and other artefacts which appear to have been imported to and exported from Eastern Attica in mid-LH IIIC (cf. above, chapters 5 and 8).

The appearance in Perati Phases II and III of motifs such as wavy lines and "necklace"-pattern which become popular at Mycenae only in a late stage of LH IIIC (Latest phase) is particularly interesting. At Lefkandi "necklace"-pattern also appears firmly in a middle stage of LH IIIC (Phase 2a); but wavy line decoration becomes popular only during the transition from the middle stage and in the final stage (Phases 2b-3). In the case of wavy line decoration at least there is some evidence that its gradual rise to popularity on Cyprus, and possibly also in the Dodecanese, can be traced earlier and more consistently in the stratigraphical or stylistic development of LH IIIC than on the Eastern Mainland. Its appearance at Perati, Lefkandi and Mycenae at apparently different stages of LH IIIC development suggests, if anything, an east-west movement and the possibility that in mid-LH IIIC, as in an earlier stage, there might be some features which Perati received and adopted before other regions of the Eastern Mainland (cf. above, chapters 6 section J; 7 section D and note 31; 8 section C; and chapter 10).

On Cyprus the gradual development of an elaborate stage which can be seen already to have been taking place in

Enkomi Level IIIa reaches its height in the pottery of Enkomi Level IIIb and Sinda III. Although it is similar in general aspect to the elaborate styles of other regions in mid-LH IIIC, there is continued evidence for Cypriot adaptation and the imposition of some distinctly Cypriot characteristics (above, chapter 6 section H). Inspiration from the Aegean coasts and islands in mid-LH IIIC undoubtedly played some part and, as in an earlier stage of LC IIIA, links with the Dodecanese seem particularly strong. Cypriot exports to Perati from before the end of Phase I (cf. above, chapter 5) and probably also to the Dodecanese (cf. above, chapter 8 section C and chapter 11 note 10) suggest that Cyprus itself may have played an active part in establishing and maintaining contacts with the Aegean area. The gradual rise to popularity of the wavy line style of decoration, which at Enkomi and Kition comes to predominate towards the end of the elaborate stage, may be traced at Enkomi through successive LC III levels; and it too may provide additional evidence of contacts between Cyprus and the Aegean coasts and islands in a middle stage of LH IIIC (above, chapter 6 section J).

In the Dodecanese some close links with Crete seem to have been maintained as the pottery became more elaborate in style. Cretan imports continued to reach the islands (Jones and Mee 1978), and some aspects of Cretan pottery probably continued to influence Dodecanesian developments (cf. above, section i). In turn, some influence from the Dodecanese may well have affected Crete from an early stage of LM IIIC onwards (cf. Popham 1978, 190; also Desborough 1964, 171, 177, 180 for LM IIIC examples of lentoid flasks

and belly-handled amphorae which may reflect Dodecanesian influence).

The close stylistic links with Cyprus also continue into a middle stage of LH IIIC, and the Dodecanese was probably responsible for the introduction on that island, from the beginning of LC III on, of shapes such as the strainer jug, the kalathos and the cylindrical pyxis, and of such motifs as the concentric semicircle (above chapter 6 section H). In some cases there is perhaps some argument for Cypriot influence on the Dodecanese. In particular, some aspects of pictorial decoration may have reached the islands from Cyprus in a relatively early stage of LH IIIC before being transformed into a more individual Dodecanesian style (above, chapter 8 section C); while wavy lines, which also probably appear quite early in the Dodecanesian stylistic sequence and of which Kos especially developed its own versions, may likewise have their immediate origins in Cypriot developments.

By the height of the mature elaborate stage of LH IIIC in the Dodecanese, evidence of the islands' overseas ceramic connections is both strong and diverse. Features of stylistic similarity can be traced, to a greater or lesser extent, over a wide area of the Aegean, and Dodecanesian imports may have reached various places on the coast of the Greek Mainland including Perati, Asine, Monemvasia and possibly Lefkandi, and as far afield as Messenia and Achaea. Pottery from other regions also reached the Dodecanese; and in addition to those from Crete and Cyprus there are probable imports from the Cyclades, Attica and even the Central Argolid (possibly channelled through Asine). By this time the Dodecanesian

islands may be seen as important participants in the network of multidirectional contacts and influences which characterises mature LH IIIC, particularly in the coasts and islands of the Aegean.

The gradual evolution of the Cypriot and Dodecanesian elaborate styles out of elements developed or adopted on these islands from an early stage of LH IIIC on contrasts with the somewhat abrupt appearance of new shapes and new elaborate motifs in the middle stages of LH IIIC on the Mainland. Features such as the kalathos, pyxis and tray shapes, the occasional use of a bichrome technique, pictorial birds and fish, the outlining of motifs, concentric arc filling, and patterns like antithetic tongues, concentric semicircles and ornate rosettes appear quite suddenly at Mycenae, Lefkandi or Perati in the mid-LH IIIC phases or (in the case of Perati) perhaps shortly before. Several of these features are among elements noted by Furumark as being of ultimate Cretan origin, and their more gradual incorporation and development from LM IIIB-C traditions into the Dodecanesian repertoire suggests that, for some at least, their westward dissemination to the Greek Mainland may have come about as a result of Dodecanesian contact (above, chapter 8 section E).

At Miletus the pottery continues to differ little from that of the nearby Dodecanesian islands down to perhaps an early-middle stage of LH IIIC (above, chapter 10). It produces further evidence for the stylistic development of the characteristically eastern Mycenaean amphoroid kraters and for the important role of bird and fish motifs in the eastern Mycenaean world. At Tarsus similarities with pottery of Mycenaean type from Cyprus continue to be seen down to

a stage equivalent perhaps to the beginning of Enkomi Level IIIb and Sinda III (above, chapter 9), though continuing Dodecanesian contacts may also be seen in such features as the octopus stirrup-jar and possibly some of the more conical one-handled bowls (E. Fronch 1975, fig. 14; cf. Mee 1975, 100, and above chapter 8 note 16).

On Chios, where the latest pottery probably belongs to the later middle stages of LH IIIC, there are also signs of connection with the Dodecanese from early LH IIIC onwards (above, chapter 12). However, the island's position, more or less equidistant by sea from the Dodecanese, the Central and Northern Cyclades and Euboea, is also reflected in similarities to the mid-LH IIIC pottery of these other regions, particularly to that of Naxos.

In the Cyclades, Naxos provides valuable information for the existence of a mid-LH IIIC stage which, while displaying certain formal and decorative peculiarities of its own, also owes much to developments both in the Dodecanese (and possibly Crete) and on the eastern coast of the Greek Mainland. Melos, however, poses a serious problem. The very late date assigned to the collapse of the shrine (Renfrew 1978) suggests, if correct, that the island was completely bypassed by developments characteristic of mature LH IIIC in other regions of the Aegean (including probably nearby Kimolos). A possible explanation is that the dates assigned to the Phylakopi sequence are unacceptably low - a suggestion which receives some support from a comparison with material from Paros (above, chapter 11). However, until the pottery from the recent excavations at Phylakopi is fully published, this must remain no more than a personal, tentative view.

At Asine the pottery assignable to a middle elaborate stage of LH IIIC (Asine II) shows some distinct links with that of overseas sites, particularly with the coastal regions of the Eastern Greek Mainland (Euboea and Attica) and with the islands of the Aegean (above, chapter 7). Some specific links with the Argive plain do exist, but these seem to have had less effect on the overall appearance of the pottery than might be expected. Aegean links may also be seen at Monemvasia on the Laconian coast (above, chapter 8 note 28); though at the Amyklaion in inland Laconia a few Close Style sherds suggest that the links with the Argolid which existed in late LH IIIB and early LH IIIC had not been entirely cut (cf. Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 76; Buschor and von Massow 1927, Beilage VI:13; see also Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961, 236).

In addition to the Aegean links, which are particularly evident at Perati, the mid-LH IIIC pottery of Attica shows similarities to both Euboea and the Argolid as well as revealing some characteristics which are rather more typical of Attica itself. In the western provinces, Aegean links continue to be felt in Messenia in mid-LH IIIC (above, chapter 14 section Bi); and in Achaea, too, connections with the Aegean area, including perhaps the Dodecanese and Crete, may have assumed greater importance during this stage. The roots of later, more idiosyncratic developments in Achaea probably extend back to the middle elaborate stages of LH IIIC, and some features of this development may derive from Aegean contacts during this time (above, chapter 14 sections A and D).

iii. Late LH IIIC/Submycenaean

The late stages of LH IIIC pottery at Mycenae and Lefkandi, which are characterised by a contracted repertoire of shapes and motifs, progressively simpler decoration, and something of a decline in the quality of both fabric and draughtsmanship, present few innovations. The widespread adoption of wavy line decoration at Mycenae during this stage, and the appearance at that site of "necklace"-pattern, probably reflect the final inland spread of these features which begin to appear in some coastal regions (including Attica and Euboea) before the end of a middle stage of LH IIIC. What innovations there are, however, such as the deep bowls with narrow reserved zones and the untidy zigzag panels on kraters, which are found at Mycenae but not at Lefkandi, suggest that the pottery of each of the two sites may have gone its own way during this stage, with very little connection between them (above, chapters 3 and 4).

At Perati there is little sign of this third, simplified, contracted and generally uninspired stage which can be found at Mycenae and Lefkandi (above, chapter 5); and most of the latest pottery (Perati Phase III), both in its range of shapes and decorations, still conveys much of the expansive, exuberant atmosphere of a mid-LH IIIC stage rather than of a stage of decline. That the cemetery at Perati thus ceased to be used not long after the beginning of a late stage of LH IIIC at other Eastern Mainland sites may be suggested by a comparison with pottery from both Salamis and Athens. Here, in the Arsenal cemetery, in some of the Kerameikos and Agora cist tombs, and in some domestic deposits from wells in the Agora, is found pottery of a

stage which seems comparable in development to the final stages at Mycenae and Lefkandi and which yet has clear evolutionary links with pottery from Perati and the Salamis chamber tombs (above, chapters 5 and 13). Stirrup-jars and lekythoi with simple circumcurrent shoulder decoration of a late type (which are hardly represented at Perati) resemble those of Mycenae, the Deiras cemetery and Asine in the Argolid; and some other features are also reminiscent of a late stage of LH IIIC in the Argolid and Corinthia (cf. above, chapter 11 note 11 and chapter 13).

At Asine, where both tomb and settlement pottery reveal a stage of development (Asine III) largely missing at Perati, there are also signs of links with Attica and the rest of the Argolid - links which suggest that the wider seaborne contacts to be seen at Asine in a middle stage of LH IIIC may have given way to contacts based rather on overland routes and geographical proximity (above, chapter 7). That some maritime contact persisted, however, at least between some regions in the western half of the Aegean, may be seen in some pottery from Naxos where deep bowls with narrow reserved zones and stirrup-jars with late simple circumcurrent decoration also find parallels in the late LH IIIC of the Argolid and Attica (above, chapter 11).

In the western provinces, some pottery from Kephallenia and, above all, Achaea also shows signs of similarity to that of a late stage of LH IIIC and/or Submycenaean in the Eastern Mainland, particularly the Argolid (above, chapter 14 and notes 15 and 17). In the eastern fringes of the Mycenaean world, however, the picture is rather different.

In the Dodecanese the picture is very unclear. A very few lekythoi or stirrup-jars with simple circumcurrent decoration of a late type may be related to late LH IIIC vases from the Mainland and Naxos (above, chapter 8 note 44). These apart, however, there is little sign of a late LH IIIC stage equivalent to that of the Eastern Mainland. What may have taken its place is the extension of a type of geometrical decoration, probably already having a long if sporadic history on the islands, in which Furumark considered that the immediate antecedents of Rhodian Protogeometric could be seen. A few similarities between some of this pottery and aspects of the late idiosyncratic pottery of the western provinces may support the idea that it extends well down towards the end of the Bronze Age, but any more direct connection between the Dodecanese and the western provinces at this stage remain very hard to prove (above, chapter 8 section D).

Cyprus, however, is a great deal more interesting. Here, the simpler wavy line decoration which became particularly popular towards the end of the elaborate stage does not appear to mark the stage of stagnation and contraction encountered in Euboea, Attica and the Argolid in the last stages of LH IIIC. Its period of popularity at Enkomi was accompanied by the introduction of some new features which, along with the widespread distribution throughout the Aegean area of wavy line decoration itself, connect it rather with the multidirectional trans-Aegean contacts of mid-LH IIIC (above, chapter 6 section J). The next stage on Cyprus was the pottery of Proto-White-Painted in which the inheritance of the elaborate and wavy line styles was combined with a reassertion of native Cypriot decorative traditions and

the introduction of some formal and decorative refinements typical of Cypriot ingenuity (above, chapter 6 section K). This pottery is dynamic and forward looking (cf. Desborough 1972, 55) and leads directly into the succeeding White-Painted ware of Cypro-Geometric.

The contrast between Cyprus, where there is, in effect, no stage of "decay" but a rapid movement into the beginnings of a new ceramic era, and the Eastern Mainland where a progressive decline after the middle stages of LH IIIC was halted only by the relatively sudden appearance of new features which heralded the dawn of a Protogeometric style, is particularly striking. The probable Cypriot origins of several of these features were pointed out by Desborough (1972, 54-5) who associated them particularly with a late stage of Proto-White-Painted. These features are found especially in Attica and Euboea; and in the Cyclades Naxos, too, may have felt the effects of Cypriot influence around this time (above, chapter 6 note 36).

Elsewhere, there is evidence of contact between Cyprus and Crete in the Subminoan/Proto-White-Painted period. Exactly how and when this started is less clear since the progression on Crete from an elaborate stage of LM IIIC to Subminoan is still uncertain (cf. Kanta 1980, 326). Desborough (1972, 58, 114) described it as a process of detericration and simplification similar to that which characterises the final stages of LH IIIC on the Eastern Mainland. There is a strong element of continuity, particularly in many of the shapes, from LM IIIC; and it is probable that most of the features ascribed to Mycenaean influence had already reached Crete

rather earlier in the LM IIIC sequence, particularly perhaps at a time contemporary with the elaborate middle stages of LH IIIC (cf. Desborough 1972, 61-3)[3]. Links with Cypriot Proto-White-Painted seem more immediate and may have begun to affect Crete towards the beginning of the change from LM IIIC to Subminoan (perhaps c. 1100; cf. above, chapter 6 note 30), without the relatively long hiatus which seems to have occurred on the Eastern Greek Mainland between the end of the middle stages of LH IIIC and the appearance of Cypriot influence in the immediate pre-Protogeometric period. The Cypriot links with Crete can probably be seen not only in the eventual introduction of the bottle shape (cf. Seiradaki 1960, pl. 11b) and in certain kantharoid shapes (e.g. Seiradaki 1960, pls. 9b, 11b), but also in the decoration of many stirrup-jars (cf. Desborough 1972, 60, fig. 5B-D) and in some other features which the Eastern Mainland does not share[4].

In the western provinces of Achaea, Messenia and the Ionian Islands, pottery of an increasingly idiosyncratic Mycenaean type appears to continue to possibly as late as the first half of the tenth century (cf. above, chapter 14 sections A and C). Much of its idiosyncrasy is probably due to the continued individual adaptation of an earlier inheritance in each region; but there are links between the regions which seem to increase in strength as time goes on, culminating in the western network of provincial Protogeometric styles which is probably datable to no earlier than the tenth century. There are, however, additional links. The evidence for some connection between Kephallenia and, more particularly, Achaea and a late stage of LH IIIC/Submycenaean in the Eastern Mainland has already been mentioned; and the somewhat elusive similarities

to Attic Protogeometric suggest at least some chronological overlap if not direct stylistic connection. More interesting, however, is the possibility of direct links with Crete and Cyprus, which continue the connections between the western provinces and the Aegean to be seen in earlier stages of LH IIIC. Some features, such as the bottle, may have reached the western provinces through regions like Attica and Euboea; but others seem more likely to be evidence of direct contact with Proto-white-Painted Cyprus and Subminoan Crete (above, chapter 14 section D). The subsequent persistence of this east-west line of connections, of which Italy and the West Mediterranean was probably the ultimate goal, may be seen not only in the probable inclusion of West Crete in the network of related western Protogeometric styles in the tenth and ninth centuries, but also eventually in Cypriot and Cretan interests in the West Mediterranean in the Geometric period and perhaps even in the activities of the Phoenicians.

iv. Absolute chronology

Discussion of the absolute chronological framework for LH IIIC pottery has played little part in preceding chapters, though a chronology which places much of it between c. 1200 and the first part of the eleventh century has been assumed.

The LH IIIC period is one in which there is virtually no evidence for direct Egyptian synchronisms in the form of closely datable Egyptian objects found in Mycenaean contexts. Existing absolute chronologies have relied mainly on Near Eastern evidence and, in particular, on stylistic comparisons which have used Cypriot material as a stepping-stone to

connect the pottery of the Greek Mainland and the Aegean with the Philistine culture and supposedly historical events in the Near East (Sjöqvist 1940; Gjerstad 1944a; Furumark 1944). More recently, alterations to Furumark's absolute chronology for LH IIIC have come about mainly as a result of further work on Near Eastern evidence. Furumark's date of c.1230 for the beginning of LH IIIC, which rested on the finding of an inscription of Seti II in the lowest Philistine layer at Tell Farah, was later lowered by Desborough (1964, 237f.) to c. 1200, mainly on the grounds that the Philistines were unlikely to have settled in Southern Palestine before Rameses III's victory in 1191[5] and on the absence of LH IIIC pottery at Ugarit which he considered to have been destroyed by Egypt's attackers during the same campaign. Hankey and Warren (1974) later concluded, on the basis of evidence from Beth Shan and Lachish, that not only was Desborough's later date of c. 1200 for the appearance of LH IIIC pottery in the Near East to be preferred to that of Furumark, but that it might be lowered even further to c. 1190. Iakovides (1979) also arrived at an initial date of c. 1190, mainly on evidence from Deir Allah (which was, however, dismissed by Hankey and Warren). Finally, Sandars (1978, 170-4), in discussing the evidence from Ashdod, Beth Shan and Deir Allah, concluded that at Ashdod at least the local Cypriot-inspired LH IIIC pottery of Level XIIIb and the true Philistine ware which followed it in Level XIIIa could be most convincingly dated to no earlier than the reign of Rameses III. Like Desborough, she also suggested c. 1200 as a convenient date for the beginning of LH IIIC (Sandars 1978, 12).

Even in the Near East the allocation of absolute dates is

beset by problems. Not only is there controversy over a high or low chronology for the reigns of Rameses III and his successors[5], but the attribution of destruction levels to historical events is often no more than a matter of conjecture. Frequently, too, the arguments are circular: thus the Philistines are identified largely by pottery, yet the pottery itself is used as an argument for an interval between their settlement in Palestine and the emergence of their characteristic ware. Even greater problems have arisen over the terminology applied to Mycenaean pottery in this period. This is especially so on Cyprus where different excavators and scholars have followed either one chronology or another and disagreed over the stylistic attribution of the Mycenaean type of pottery concerned[6]. Much of this confusion arises from the continuing and unavoidable lack of a set of well defined criteria which can be used generally to distinguish LH IIIB from LH IIIC, and reflects the rather different conditions under which an LH IIIC style emerged in various parts of the Mycenaean world and the different rates at which this emergence proceeded (cf. above, section i).

For the beginning of the LH IIIC period generally, the choice of c. 1200, give or take a decade or so on either side, seems perhaps the happiest compromise. A deliberately rounded figure emphasises the essential roughness of the estimate, and misleads no one into thinking that it is based on any very firm or incontrovertible historical synchronisms. Moreover, it fits satisfactorily enough with some of the <u>stratigraphical</u> divisions chosen to mark the beginning of LH IIIC at sites on the Mainland

and on Cyprus (above, section i). On Cyprus we are thrown back largely on the evidence from Ugarit where pottery very similar to the pottery of Mycenaean type produced in Cyprus immediately before and around the time of the LC II destructions is found before the destruction in Level III (above, chapter 6). The approximate maximum date range of c. 1236-c. 1175 generally given to the Ugarit destruction (Desborough 1964, 207; Sandars 1978, 203), though itself not totally free from controversy, suggests that the change from LC II to LC III on Cyprus may average out at around 1200.

For the Mainland, our only independent evidence comes from radiocarbon dates which, even if not themselves the subject of dispute, can provide only the most approximate dating averages. A series of dates obtained from the LH IIIB destruction level in the Citadel House at Mycenae (Lawn 1970, 584 P-1455-7), when calibrated (cf. Clark 1975), cluster around the middle of the twelfth century. When allowance is made for the fact that some at least of the samples are taken from large beams, then a date for the destruction of c. 1200 is well within their range. The same is true of some dates from the destruction of the Pylos palace (cf. Snodgrass 1975, 36-8) which seems likely to have occurred at much the same time.

The time allotted to the various stages of LH IIIC development in different regions of the Mycenaean world is almost entirely a matter of conjecture. However, although the rate at which development towards an elaborate middle stage of LH IIIC took place may have varied, particularly perhaps from east to west (cf. above, sections i and ii),

a certain amount of concurrence may be assumed for this stage in the cross-connections or imports and influences which are apparent in many regions. The rough starting date of c. 1200 for the early stages of LH IIIC, together with the circumstantial evidence from sites like Asndod, suggest that the middle stages of LH IIIC could well straddle the middle decades of the twelfth century, possibly extending down to quite near 1100 (cf. e.g. Sandars 1978, 204).

When it comes to absolute dates for the final stages of LH IIIC, the problems are intensified by the renewed degree of regional ceramic difference. Here, it seems more important to construct a relative chronological framework, and let the absolute dating hang, without serious questioning, on one or two widely accepted "fixes". The rough contemporaneity of late LH IIIC/Submycenaean on the Eastern Mainland with Proto-white-Painted on Cyprus, Subminoan on Crete, and part, at least, of the late idiosyncratic pottery of the western provinces, has been discussed above (section iii, chapters 6 and 14). Taking c. 1100 as a conveniently rounded figure for the beginning of this stage, the next point we reach is c. 1050, the date suggested by Desborough for the end of Proto-white-Painted and the beginning of the evolution of Attic Protogeometric, though itself dependent on the continuing uncertainties of Cypriot Early Iron Age chronology (cf. above, chapter 6 note 30; and Snodgrass 1971, 117-8). Thereafter, on Cyprus and in Attica at least we are outside the Mycenaean era and no longer concerned. In the western provinces, however, where the appearance of Protogeometric styles directly relatable to that of Attica seems to have been delayed until sometime

in the tenth century (cf. above, chapter 14 section Cvi), we may be justified in adding as much as another century to the era of Mycenaean pottery at least.

B. Patterns of contact

This section examines the geographical and chronological distributions of some individual features of LH IIIC pottery. Throughout LH IIIC there are some features which are of more or less universal distribution either because, like the deep bowl shape, they were inherited from a common LH IIIA or LH IIIB stock, or because, like the reserved line, they spread to all regions during the course of LH IIIC. What is more interesting is the existence of features which have a more limited distribution, either throughout LH IIIC as a whole or in any of the three stages. The aim of this section is to plot the distribution of some of these features for each of the LH IIIC stages, and thus to illustrate the general pattern of inter-regional similarity and feature association which characterises each stage. This in turn may provide a rough guide of the extent of inter-regional contact at different stages of LH IIIC, and may also, less directly, help to offer some illustration of the main directions in which ceramic ideas may have spread at various times during the period[7].

i. Early LH IIIC

Fig. 198 shows a table of ten features characteristic of an early stage of LH IIIC in one or more of nine regions[8]. By counting the number of matches between each pair of regions and dividing this by the number of features present in each pair, a matrix of regional similarity coefficients is obtained (Fig. 199)[9]. A diagram showing the two highest similarity coefficients obtained for each region (above a minimum of .25),

and the relative strengths of these similarity coefficients, can be seen in Fig. 200.

From this it appears that two distinct regional groupings emerge. One consists of the Argive plain and Corinthia, Attica, Euboea and Achaea, which are linked together by high similarity coefficients. The other group, slightly less tightly linked than the first, consists of the Dodecanese, Crete and Cyprus, to which the Cyclades and Messenia are also linked. This group may be linked to the first, though at very low levels of similarity (.25), through the Dodecanese, Crete and Attica (Fig. 199).

A similar treatment of the features in question (Figs. 201-2) also produces two distinct groups (A and B) which have no connection (that is, a similarity coefficient of nil) between them. Group A, which consists of the carinated cup (FS 240) and the shallow conical kylix (FS 275), has an exclusively Mainland distribution. The two features are found in combination in the Argolid and Corinthia, Attica, Euboea and Achaea, and presumably originated within this general area. Group B consists of antithetic tongues, flasks and stemmed bowls. These features are not found on the Mainland (with the exception of Messenia) in an early stage of LH IIIC, but, in combination, they are particularly characteristic of the Dodecanese.

Between groups A and B is a series of Intermediate features which have relatively close links with each other and with group B, though there is also a very weak connection with group A. These Intermediate features - birds and fish, concentric semicircles, early octopus stirrup-jars, kalathoi,

and semiglobular one-handled bowls - are found in combination only in the Dodecanese. The Intermediate features can also be grouped according to the highest similarity coefficient of each one to produce two sub-groupings. One, consisting of birds and fish, concentric semicircles, and semiglobular one-handled bowls, forms a continuous network with group B; and these six features are also found in combination only in the Dodecanese. The other, consisting of kalathoi and flasks, is found in combination in the Dodecanese, Crete, and (as rarities) in Attica.

These feature groupings may be compared with the pattern formed by the regional links in which a Mainland group (the Argive plain and Corinthia, Attica, Euboea and Achaea) is quite distinct from an Aegean group (the Dodecanese, Crete, Cyprus, the Cyclades and Messenia), joined to it only by relatively weak links through Attica, the Dodecanese and Crete. Two further points of interest emerge from the feature groupings. The first is the much greater correlation which the Intermediate features have with group B (the Aegean group) than group A (the Mainland group); and this suggests that developments which took place within the Aegean area had rather more effect on the Mainland than <u>vice versa</u>. The second point is the dominant role played by the Dodecanese both as a focus for group B and Intermediate features (Fig. 202) and as a link with the Mainland through the medium of Attica. This suggests that the Dodecanese may, in this early stage of LH IIIC, have acted both as a co-ordinating focus for pottery development in the Aegean regions, and as a transmittor, by way of Attica, for such features of Aegean origin as reached the Greek Mainland in this stage.

These clear distinctions in early LH IIIC between the Mainland

regions on the one hand and the Dodecanese, Cyprus, Crete, the Cyclades and Messenia on the other, lend some illustrative support to the argument that the development of LH IIIC pottery from preceding LH IIIB styles took place separately, and under different conditions, in these two main divisions of the Mycenaean world. The relatively few innovations which characterise this stage on the Greek Mainland suggest that development from LH IIIB in this area was a gradual process. The prominent position of the Dodecanese as a focus for features with an Aegean distribution further suggests that it may have been an important centre for the retention and development of some LH IIIB features which survive into LH IIIC only in certain regions; and for the invention or adaptation of some new features. The strong link between Crete and the Dodecanese may well reflect the effects of Cretan influence on the development of a Dodecanesian early LH IIIC style, as well as the reciprocal influence of the Dodecanese on the formation of early LM IIIC. The rather closer link between Cyprus and the Dodecanese than between Cyprus and Crete may support the idea (above, chapter 6) that, while direct Cretan influence may have played some part in the development of pottery of Mycenaean type on Cyprus before the end of LC II, after the beginning of LC IIIA a more significant contribution may have come from the Dodecanese.

Attica (and in particular the Eastern Attic site of Perati) is the only Mainland region in early LH IIIC where features whose origin can be attributed to the Mainland are combined with a significant number of features of probable Aegean origin, such as the concentric semicircle motif and the rare octopus stirrup-jar, kalathos and semiglobular one-handled bowl. It seems likely that these reached Attica from the Dodecanese or Crete.

Of the western provinces, Achaea remains closely tied to the adjacent regions of the Argive plain and Corinthia, and also to Attica and Euboea - regions with which it retained quite close connections in the latter part of LH IIIB. Messenia, on the other hand, belongs unequivocally to the Aegean group. This forms some illustration of a suggestion already made (above, chapter 14) that evidence of direct contact with the Aegean area can be seen in Messenia from a relatively early stage of LH IIIC.

ii. Mid-LH IIIC

The middle stages of LH IIIC present something of a "renaissance", the effects of which can be seen in almost every region of the Mycenaean world. There was an evident interest in artistic invention and experimentation, and new shapes and motifs were widely adopted. Several features, which in early LH IIIC seem to have had a more limited distribution (such as the kalathos, the shallow conical kylix, and antithetic tongue, concentric semicircle, and bird and fish motifs), now become very much more widespread. There is, however, no uniformity of style in a strict sense. In addition to the development at this time of regional stylistic "hallmarks" (cf. above, section Aii), there is a large body of features which have widespread, but less than universal, patterns of distribution. It is with a selection of such features of shape and decoration that this section is concerned (Fig. 203).

It is immediately apparent from Figs. 204-5 that the regional pattern for mid-LH IIIC is quite different from that of the earlier stage. There is a more even level of similarity coefficient values, and a much greater diversity of inter-

regional links. The distinction between a clear Mainland grouping, on the one hand, and an Aegean grouping on the other has been largely obliterated, and the links between these two groups are now as strong as the links within them.

The most striking feature of this mid-LH IIIC regional pattern is the apparent importance of the maritime links which cross and encircle the Aegean. No longer is the Eastern Mainland (including Achaea) linked to the Aegean islands primarily through Attica. Instead a network of new or enhanced links unites the coastal regions of the Mainland with a wide range of islands. On the Mainland itself, the much higher similarity coefficients which exist, for instance, between Asine, Attica and Euboea than between Asine and the Argive plain (Fig. 204) may indicate a greater emphasis on coastal links.

The mid-LH IIIC feature matrix (Fig. 206) also reveals a completely different pattern from that of early LH IIIC. Two small groups (A and B) with no mutual connection may still be recognised (Fig. 207), but these are far outnumbered by the large group of Intermediate features. Group A consists solely of deep bowls with the flamboyant multiple reserved line decoration which is found in the Argive plain and Corinthia and (rarely) in Attica. Group B consists of decorated trays (FS 322) and amphoroid kraters which occur separately at a number of coastal and island sites but in combination only in the Dodecanese and Euboea where, however, only one example of an amphoroid krater is so far known.

The seven Intermediate features are found in combination (though a few of them only as rareties or possible imports) in both the Dodecanese and Attica, suggesting not only that the connection between these two regions has now intensified, but also

that the trans-Aegean links in general are now much more important than in the early stage. The majority of these Intermediate features, as in early LH IIIC, continue to have most frequent or strongest links with group B, and seem likely to have originated somewhere within the Aegean area, particularly perhaps in the Dodecanese or Crete. Two Intermediate features, however - the lidded box and the Close Style - are linked directly to group A; and for these a Mainland origin is more than probable.

Groups A and B and the Intermediate group of features can be further arranged in four sub-groupings according to the highest single similarity coefficient for each feature. Two of the sub-groupings divide group B between them; and these unite the Dodecanese and the Cyclades and the Dodecanese and Crete respectively. A third grouping, consisting of conical bowls, strainer jugs and high cylindrical pyxides, unites the Dodecanese, the Cyclades and Attica. The fourth grouping, which consists of Close Style and multiple reserved line deep bowls (themselves stylistically closely related (cf. above, chapter 3 section H and chapter 13 section A)), is found in combination only in the Argolid and Corinthia and (rarely) in Attica.

The artistic expansion and fondness for innovation to be seen in the middle stages of LH IIIC pottery thus appears to have its basis in a much greater spread of individual features which probably result from extended maritime contacts around and across the Aegean. If a greater number, or a different selection, of mid-LH IIIC features is used, the intensity of links between individual regions may vary; but the overall pattern remains the same. There is a distinct merging of the two early LH IIIC regional groupings, and a much greater emphasis, on the Mainland, or maritime connections at the expense of overland links with

adjacent regions; though the Argive plain still appears to remain isolated, to some extent, from these maritime links. As in early LH IIIC, the Dodecanese retains a prominent position in this network (cf. Fig. 207), suggesting that it was still an important region for the reception and transmission of ceramic products and ideas. However, the appearance of new or strengthened trans-Aegean links, which bypass the Dodecanese, suggests that features may also have spread by means of more direct contacts between the various coastal and island regions of the Aegean, including Cyprus. The position of Crete in particular suggests that direct Cretan contacts with the Eastern Mainland may have been responsible for the spread of some features: the lidded box from Attica to Crete, for example (cf. above, chapter 5 note 20), and the dipped solid semicircle decoration from Crete to the Eastern Mainland coasts.

In the western provinces the withdrawal of Achaea from the adjacent Mainland region of the Argolid and Corinthia, and the establishment instead of links with the Aegean islands, illustrates the suggestion (above, chapter 14) of some direct connection between Achaea and the Aegean area during this stage of LH IIIC.

iii. <u>Late LH IIIC/Submycenaean; Proto-White-Painted; Subminoan; and the prelude to Protogeometric</u>

The construction of a table of features for the final stages of LH IIIC, from the end of mid-LH IIIC down to the appearance of the Protogeometric styles, proves rather more complicated. As we have seen (cf. above, section Aiii), the final stages of LH IIIC and the transition to Protogeometric present a far from

homogeneous pattern of development in different regions of the Mycenaean world, which may in itself be some indication of a degree of isolation between areas at this time. One the one hand, there is a process of decline in which the predominant characteristics are a contraction of the repertoire and simplified decoration. This process is particularly evident in the late LH IIIC/Submycenaean of the Eastern Mainland right down to a point immediately preceding the appearance of Protogeometric. Most of its shapes and motifs are ones which made their first appearance in earlier stages of LH IIIC and spread almost to their maximum extent before the end of the widespread contacts of mid-LH IIIC. They are therefore of little value for illustrating inter-regional connections during this final stage. There are, however, a few new decorative features particularly characteristic of this stage, and the distribution of three of these - deep bowls with narrow reserved zones, late simple circumcurrent decoration on the shoulders of stirrup-jars and lekythoi, and untidy zigzag panel decoration particularly on kraters (cf. FM 75:40) - is shown in Fig. 208.

While a parallel process of deterioration and simplification may also have characterised much of Subminoan (cf. Desborough 1972, 58, 114), contemporary Cyprus shows no sign of a comparable stage of decline, but instead moves rapidly into the beginnings of a new ceramic era which can be seen in the development of Proto-White-Painted. A further six features shown in Fig. 208 - the bottle and kantharoid shapes, the feeding bottle with handle at right angles to the spout, the spouted amphoriskos, the deliberate ridging of stems, and the survival of the elaborate triangle motif (particularly a semicircle within a triangle: cf. Desborough 1972, 51-2) - are characteristics of Proto-White-Painted. Some of these are also

found in Subminoan; and a few eventually appear in some other regions of the Mycenaean world before or at the time of the emergence of the various Protogeometric styles. A final feature is the isolated spiral decoration particularly characteristic of the late idiosyncratic pottery of Kephallenia (especially Wardle's stage c: cf. above, chapter 14 section Cii). Very similar versions of this motif are also found on Crete (particularly at Karphi) where they have a long history dating back to LM IIIA (cf. Furumark 1941a, 370; Sackett and Popham 1965, 290), and in the pottery of a few other regions including Achaea and some of the geometrically decorated pottery of the Dodecanese (cf. above, chapters 8 and 14).

The pattern produced by plotting the similarity coefficients of the regions concerned is interesting (Figs. 209-10). In contrast to the much more integrated regional similarity pattern of mid-LH IIIC, the regions now form something resembling a chain linked mainly by relatively low similarity coefficients (of below .50), though Cyprus and Crete form a more tightly linked group of their own. The main emphasis seems to be on similarities between adjacent regions, which suggests that, on the whole, geographical proximity may have been an important factor in inter-regional contacts. Attica, the Argolid, and Euboea form a fairly close-knit group in which the Cyclades (particularly Naxos) and Achaea also appear to join. The western provinces of Kephallenia and Achaea also draw more closely together. The exception to this pattern of adjacent (mainly overland) connections lies in the positions of Crete and Cyprus. By contrast with the mid-LH IIIC stage, when these islands were most closely linked with other coastal and island regions of the Aegean and the Eastern Greek Mainland, both Crete and Cyprus, apart from their mutual link, now have by far their strongest links with the western

provinces. It thus appears that, in this stage, the main focus of inter-regional similarities and contacts has shifted away from the maritime routes which cross and surround the Aegean, and may instead be concentrated on the overland routes of the Mainland on the one hand and, on the other, on an east-west axis which links Crete and Cyprus with the western provinces.

To some extent it seems likely that what we have here is the superimposition of two chronologically distinct patterns. The similarities to be seen between Crete and Cyprus on the one hand and, on the other, the western provinces and also, to some extent, Attica (with which Crete has a similarity coefficient of .37 - only slightly lower than that between Crete and Kephallenia (Fig. 209)) may well reflect a stage of contact which should perhaps be dated no earlier than the middle of the eleventh century (cf. above, section Aiv). The strength of the links between the western provinces and Attica may also at least partly be accounted for by developments at that time. The appearance of the bottle and kantharos shapes in Attica at the transition to Protogeometric postdates the introduction of such features as the deep bowl with narrow reserved zone and the late simple circumcurrent decoration on stirrup-jars which are features of the late LH IIIC/Submycenaean process of decline (cf. Desborough 1972, 43); and there is no particular reason to suppose that the appearance of these shapes in Kephallenia or Achaea need be any earlier than this. This probably means that most of the similarities between Cyprus or Crete and the Mainland regions, and the long distance maritime connections which these imply, should be ascribed to the later part of the

period between c. 1100 and 1050; while the strong internal Mainland links (which include the Cyclades) may be the product of greater Mainland introspection in the earlier part.

Despite this chronological distinction, however, what is particularly interesting is the relative strength of the similarities between the far east and the far west of the Mycenaean world. This link, which to a large extent bypasses the Central Aegean and the Eastern Mainland, appears to illustrate the intensification of the phenomenon already seen in earlier stages of LH IIIC when first Messenia, and later Achaea, seem to have formed direct connections with the Aegean area.

The pattern formed by the coefficients of association between features (Figs. 211-2) appears to underline the dual nature of the regional pattern. Again there are two groups: group A, found in combination in Attica, the Argolid and Achaea; group B found in Crete and Cyprus; and an Intermediate group which in this case is not found in combination in any single region. Since five out of seven of the Intermediate features are, however, found in Cyprus, this suggests that it is mainly in Cyprus that the key to the connection between the two groups may be sought. Within the Intermediate features there are also three fairly well defined sub-groupings. The deep bowls with narrow reserved zone form a group with the late simple circumcurrent decoration and the untidy zigzag panel decoration of group A; and these have only fairly weak connections with the remaining features. In another sub-grouping the survival of the

elaborate triangle is linked to the spouted amphoriskos; and these are particularly characteristic of Crete and Cyprus. The third sub-group consists of the bottle and kantharoid shapes, the feeding bottle with handle at right angles to the spout, the ridge-stemmed kylix, and the isolated spiral motif. Since four out of five of these features are found on Cyprus and Kephallenia, this suggests the possibility of a strong link between these two islands. With the exception of the isolated spiral motif, all are features of Cypriot Proto-White-Painted which, as Desborough (1972) suggested, may have exerted some influence on the pottery of the Mainland from c. 1050. The isolated spiral motif is a particular feature of Crete and the western provinces, and its close connection with some other features in this grouping (particularly with the kantharoid shapes) suggests that Crete may have had some independent role to play in maintaining contacts with the far west at this time, and possibly even in acting as a medium for the transmission of some features of ultimate Cypriot derivation to the Mainland.

iv. <u>Funerary shape preferences: an independent illustration of inter-regional similarity in LH IIIC as a whole</u>

The patterns of regional similarity and feature association drawn up in the preceding sections (i-iii) should be regarded mainly as illustrations of the intuitive conclusions reached in the various regional chapters and summarised above (section A). Their chief value is as a guide to the changes in the patterns of inter-

regional contact and general directions of ceramic influence which take place during the three main stages of LH IIIC. The detailed levels of similarity between individual regions and features are dependent partly on subjective judgments about the attribution of a feature to one stage or another in regions without stratigraphy, and partly also on negative evidence which may sometimes be the result of ignorance. Prolonged experimentation shows that the use of additional features or a different range of features for each stage may produce some alterations in the detailed levels of similarity between regions. Despite this, however, the overall pattern for each stage and, above all, the differences in general pattern which distinguish each of the three stages remain remarkably persistent.

So far as concerns the more outstanding instances of inter-regional similarity in LH IIIC as a whole, an additional quite independent illustration may be gained from an analysis of the percentages of certain vessel types found in the tombs of Rhodes (Ialysos and Kameiros), Attica (Perati), the Argolid (Mycenae and Asine), Achaea and Kephallenia. Desborough (1964, 10) collected the percentage figures for six different shapes in each of these regions, and used the resultant widely varying figures as a demonstration of the degree of regional diversity in LH IIIC pottery. However, the same figures, altered slightly to take account of the fuller evidence now available for Achaea (Papadopoulos 1978), Perati (Iakovides 1969) and the Kephallenian cemeteries (Wardle 1972), can also be used to demonstrate the varying degrees of similarity between these regions,

and thus perhaps some of the main directions in which contact and communication took place. Since the figures take no account of any divisions within LH IIIC, the picture which results is a composite one. It is likely to represent only some of the strongest underlying patterns of similarity which emerge from LH IIIC as a whole. Nevertheless, the confirmation of some of the regional similarities already suggested, by the analysis of a completely different set of data, is reassuring.

The method used is very simply that of summing the differences between the regions. For each pair of regions a series of six figures (one for each vessel type) is obtained from the difference between the percentages formed by each shape in the regions in question. These six figures are then totalled, and the resulting sum may be used as an indication of similarity: the lower the total, the greater the similarity between each pair of regions (Fig. 213). From this it appears (Fig. 214) that the two regions with by far the strongest similarity in proportions of the different vessel types are Rhodes and Attica. Achaea and the Argolid are also paired together, though the differences between Achaea and Attica, the Argolid and Attica, and Achaea and Rhodes are not much greater. Kephallenia produces much higher totals than any of the other regions; though the region most similar to it appears to be Achaea.

The particularly strong similarity between Attica and Rhodes recalls the close link between these regions to be seen particularly in the middle stage of LH IIIC

(cf. Fig. 205). Since neither Perati nor the Rhodian cemeteries of Ialysos and Kameiros produce much in the way of pottery which can safely be assigned to a late stage of LH IIIC (cf. above, chapters 5 and 8), the strength of this similarity may reflect a basis in the early and middle stages of the period only. The Achaea/Argolid similarity, though markedly less strong than that of Attica/Rhodes, recalls the patterns of early and late LH IIIC (cf. Figs. 200, 210); while the link between Achaea and Rhodes recalls the connections with the Aegean area which Achaea seems to have established in mid-LH IIIC (cf. above, chapter 14). The relative isolation of Kephallenia during most of LH IIIC also appears to be indicated by these comparisons. However, its links with Achaea, tenuous though it is, is one which seems perhaps best reflected in the pattern for the final stages of LH IIIC.

C. Conclusion. The pottery of Late Helladic IIIC: the significance in its setting.

Some of the most interesting problems raised by a study of LH IIIC pottery concern, not its chronological development nor even geographical differences, but the ways in which various general aspects of its development and spread differ from those of earlier LH III periods. As we have seen, the extent and directions of the similarities between different regions at various stages of LH IIIC appear to reveal certain patterns of contact and influence. These in turn may reflect something of the organisation or operation of pottery manufacture and trade, itself perhaps a clue to the economic or political conditions which affected the producers and users of LH IIIC pottery.

The middle stages of LH IIIC, which represent the mature floruit of the period's pottery, saw a "renaissance": a revival of material culture, which may also be seen in some other aspects of the archaeological record, and which in a sense marked the final flowering of Mycenaean civilisation. It may be argued that the clue to why and how this came about lies in the pottery - the most abundant archaeological relic. A comparison between the extent and nature of stylistic similarity in this and earlier LH III periods, with the clues to the patterns of contact and influence which these provide, may also offer some guide as to how LH IIIC differed from LH IIIA and LH IIIB, and perhaps even why it marked the end of the Mycenaean era. It is above all in this sense that the pottery of Late Helladic IIIC might truly be said to have some significance, above and beyond its own typological

problems and the chronological framework it can provide.

Around 1400 B.C. the LH IIIA1 period saw increasing Mycenaean expansion into regions which were only then beginning to become fully Mycenaeanised. In the Cyclades Mycenaean pottery was now in the process of replacing both Minoan pottery and the local Cycladic ware which, in its final stages, occasionally imitated the LH IIIA1 style. It had also begun to supplant Minoan pottery at sites such as Trianda and Serraglio in the Dodecanese. In other regions, such as Northern and Central Thessaly and the Ionian Islands, Mycenaean pottery increases both in quantity and distribution at this time (cf. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979). The very high degree of uniformity in fabric (often of excellent quality), shape and decoration of LH IIIA1 pottery, and the extremely standardised relationship between the limited number of shapes and their decoration, suggest that much of it was exported from a few central producing sources. Analytical work suggests that for Melos at least the source of origin was the North-East Peloponnese (Catling, Richards and Blin-Stoyle 1963, 113; Catling 1975, 24).

In the subsequent LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 periods local production of Mycenaean pottery gradually became established in most regions of the Mycenaean world. While this led to some local peculiarities, particularly in regions such as the Ionian Islands and Central Thessaly, there remained an overall uniformity of style characterised by the almost universal adoption of the formal and decorative innovations typical of these periods. Analysis of the fabrics of the Mycenaean pottery which appears at this time in

non-Mycenaean areas such as Cyprus and the Near East indicates that much of it was probably imported from the North-East Peloponnese (Catling and Millett 1965; L. Courtois 1971; Asaro and Perlman 1973; Catling, Jones and Millett 1978). Perhaps surprisingly, it seems likely that a high proportion of the pottery of these periods found in Rhodes was also imported from the Peloponnese (Jones and Mee 1978). The distinctive repertoires, particularly of preferred shapes, found among the pottery exported to these areas, and also to Italy (Taylour 1958, 184), further suggests the existence of a specific export-oriented Mainland production.

Thus, despite the growth of local production of Mycenaean pottery in the fully Mycenaeanised regions of the Aegean, the pattern during these periods, both in the Aegean and in the non-Mycenaean areas, seems to be one of unidirectional stylistic influence accompanied by actual export from a central innovating area - almost certainly the North-East Peloponnese. This in turn may reflect some measure of centralised political control in the Mycenaean world, and almost certainly a high degree of economic organisation and stability (cf. above, chapter 2).

From the end of LH IIIB1 a marked drop in the level of uniformity in pottery can be seen throughout the Mycenaean world. Positive stylistic innovations continue to be found in the North-East Peloponnese, but these have a much more limited distribution elsewhere, falling off as distance from this area increases. Where they do occur, it seems reasonable to attribute them to continuing unidirectional influence and imports from the innovating source. In some other regions

the common stylistic origins of the pottery give it a superficial uniformity, but the lack of real innovation at this time shows that it is a uniformity of inertia rather than of contact and influence (cf. Sherratt 1980; and above, chapter 2). On Cyprus the decline in imports and stylistic influence from Mainland Greece after the end of LH IIIB1 seems to have had some quite important effects, and to have resulted, probably for a variety of complex reasons, in the establishment of a local Cypriot production of pottery of Mycenaean type whose more positive developments owed little or nothing directly to contemporary pottery in the North-East Peloponnese (cf. above, chapter 6).

The end of LH IIIB1 saw the start of a spate of troubles and uncertainties in both the Aegean and the Near East. On the Greek Mainland, destructions took place at Mycenae and possibly Gla and Thebes; some Argive sites, such as Berbati and Zygouries, were abandoned; at Tiryns, Mycenae and Athens a new comprehensive system of fortifications was begun. In the islands there may have been a destruction on Naxos [10]. In the East Mediterranean the Sea Peoples were already figuring in the records of the Egyptians and Hittites, and had taken part in the battle of Kadesh in the early years of Rameses II. In such a context communications across the Aegean and East Mediterranean are likely to have been subject to disruption, with a consequent effect on the organisation of Mycenaean external trade. If, as is possible, the political status of a Mycenaean centre or centres in the North-East Peloponnese was at least partly supported by such trade, the effect on the political and economic status quo of the Mycenaean world must have been considerable. Though it is hard to disentangle cause

and effect, the pattern for late LH IIIB, which coincides with this time of trouble and uncertainty, almost certainly reflects the disintegration of the stable conditions and/or strong political or economic control which gave rise to the uniformity of the preceding periods.

Further troubles followed towards the end of the thirteenth century. At the end of LH IIIB or in the early stages of LH IIIC there were large scale destructions at Mycenae and Pylos, and possibly at Tiryns, Teichos Dymaion, Volos and Orchomenos. Sites were abandoned in Boeotia, the Argolid, Laconia, Attica and Messenia. In the islands, destructions took place on Kos and, probably a little later, on Paros and possibly Melos. During this time there was little real ceramic innovation on the Greek Mainland. A sub-LH IIIB type of pottery continued, relying heavily on a simplified range of shapes and motifs inherited from LH IIIB. Innovations mostly took the form of adding linear decoration to already existing shapes which had previously been left unpainted. The general quality of fabrics seems to have deteriorated even in the Argolid, and the use of monochrome coating to have become more predominant practically everywhere. This is the main period of the controversial coarse handmade fabric (cf. Popham and Milburn 1971; Rutter 1975, 1976; Walberg 1976; Deger-Jalkotzy 1977). For much - though perhaps not all - of it a good case can be made for seeing it as a result of more fragmented pottery production and a breakdown in the organisation of large scale distribution at this time (cf. Appendix II). In time, a few genuine innovations of shape or decoration, such as the carinated cup, the shallow conical kylix (FS 275) and the tassel motif, appeared. The

distribution of most of these innovations in the early stages of LH IIIC - particularly in the Argolid and Corinthia, Attica, Euboea and Achaea - suggests that these Mainland regions, which preserved relatively close connections in the latter part of LH IIIB, still maintained their main contacts with each other (cf. above, section Ai).

Meanwhile, in the East Aegean a process of more active ceramic development seems to have been taking place. This can be seen both in Cyprus and the Dodecanese. In the Dodecanese some Cretan imports datable to before the end of LM IIIB may possibly have acted as partial substitutes for the Peloponnesian imports which faded out after the end of LH IIIB1 (cf. above, chapter 8 note 23). In any case, it seems likely that a certain amount of influence from LM IIIB pottery was absorbed and consolidated by Dodecanesian potters at the end of the LH IIIB period. Together with contributions from the islands' existing traditions, particularly the persistence of some LH IIIA2-B1 shapes and motifs, this influence was developed into an early LH IIIC style in which the foundations for the more elaborate stage of mid-LH IIIC were already apparent.

On Cyprus, too, for a short time before the end of the thirteenth century, imported LM IIIB pottery may have gone a little way towards filling the gap left by the withdrawal of Peloponnesian imports (cf. above, chapter 6). However, the main factors in the subsequent development of a Cypriot LH IIIC style seem to have been, on the one hand, influence from developments

in the Dodecanese which can be traced already in the earliest stages of LC IIIA, and, on the other, the contribution of the island's own traditions and improvisations. From the Rude Style on, Cyprus' own growing production of a Mycenaean type of pottery displays a considerable degree of continuity; and, particularly at Enkomi, a steady development towards a more elaborate style can be traced from quite early in LC III. There is also a possibility that, for a few fairly widespread features of LH IIIC, Cyprus may have been a contributor in its own right.

It thus seems probable that, from c. 1200, the focus of dynamic ceramic development had shifted to the East Aegean, and that the area which included Crete, Cyprus, and above all, at the centre, the Dodecanese, was quite closely associated in the evolution of mature LH IIIC styles of pottery. Before the middle of LH IIIC it is possible to trace some of the innovations or characteristics of these developments in the East Aegean spreading northwards and westwards to the Cyclades and eventually to the east coast of the Mainland (particularly Attica). This can probably be seen, for instance, at Perati, in the appearance before the end of Perati Phase I, of such features as the kalathos, the high cylindrical pyxis, the early form of octopus stirrup-jar, and the semiglobular prototype of the conical bowl (cf. above, chapters 5 and 8). In the western provinces, the close link which appears to exist between Messenia and the East Aegean provides a somewhat surprising foretaste of the extensive maritime inter-connections which follow.

By mid-LH IIIC, which marks the spread of a distinct ceramic "renaissance" to almost every region of the Mycenaean world, there has emerged a pattern of links which differs markedly from that of the unidirectional contacts and influences of the LH IIIA and early LH IIIB periods. During this stage new shapes and motifs were widely adopted, and the range of shapes in use was extended almost everywhere. At the same time, there was no uniformity in the strict sense of the word. While many of the characteristic features of shape or decoration are found in almost every region of the Mycenaean world, individual regions developed their own stylistic specialities or "hallmarks" which incorporated selected aspects of a common stock of artistic innovations but treated them in different ways. This resulted in such distinct styles as the Argive Close Style, various forms of octopus stirrup-jars (of which Crete, the islands, and Eastern Attica developed their own characteristic versions), the reserved style of Perati, the Cretan Fringed Style, and the robust pictorial style of which Lefkandi, in particular, produces such good examples. In addition to this, several of the shapes and motifs most characteristic of this stage have a widespread, but less than universal, distribution. While several of these may be ascribed to an East Aegean (often ultimately Cretan) origin, this is not so in all cases. Rather, the links they reveal (cf. Fig. 205) indicate a pattern of diversified, mainly maritime contacts which appear to concentrate on the sea-routes which cross and encircle the Aegean area. The multidirectional nature of the influences which spread by means of these contacts may be suggested by the pattern to be seen in imported artefacts, both ceramic and of other materials: Cypriot

seals and earrings in Attica; Attic, Cretan, Cycladic, and probably Argive and Cypriot pottery in the Dodecanese (cf. Jones and Mee 1978; and above, chapters 8 and 11 note 10); Attic and probably Dodecanesian pottery in Cyprus (cf. Asaro and Perlman 1973, 221-2); possibly Cretan, Dodecanesian and Cycladic pottery in Attica (above, chapter 5), Cretan pottery on Naxos (above, chapter 11 note 4), and Dodecanesian or Cycladic pottery in the Peloponnese (cf. above, chapters 7 and 8 note 28) (fig. 197)[7].

This mid-LH IIIC stage was clearly one which saw a proliferation of inter-regional contact. That it was also a time of relative prosperity may be indicated by the standard, not only of ceramic products, but also of architecture (as at Lefkandi and possibly Grotta on Naxos: cf. above, chapters 4 and 11 note 2), and by the presence of a fair amount of gold particularly in the cemeteries of regions in and bordering the Aegean (cf. Desborough 1964, 228). The lack of consistent direction in imports and probably also ceramic influences suggests the interaction of individual autonomous communities whose trading and other contacts ranged widely, but independently, over the sea routes of the Mycenaean world. Pottery may have been traded widely, but probably on a small scale; and such trade may perhaps have been an end in itself rather than, on the one hand, a symptom of the deliberate exercise of political or cultural influence or, on the other, an essential part of a large scale organised trade designed to secure extensive supplies of copper, as was probably the case in the LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB periods. A certain resemblance to this mid-LH IIIC pattern may perhaps be seen in the Aegean pottery trade which existed

in the early part of this century, when producing centres such as Chalcis or Samos exported their pottery partly to large centres of population with an assured market, partly to non-producing areas in exchange for such commodities as wine, and partly also to areas with pottery industries of their own (Casson 1938) (Fig. 215). The trade of many of these was limited in scale, though not in distance covered, the usual means of transport being small caiques.

The contrast between independent, small scale trade of this sort and the more consistent, uniform pattern of the LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB periods suggests that any form of centralised political or commercial control, such as may have accounted for the earlier pattern, had gone completely with the disturbances of the late thirteenth century. A period of renewed contacts and prosperity had developed along quite different lines, when individual communities in the Mycenaean world could no longer be said to form part of anything resembling an organised empire. The long term stability of the earlier pattern was probably missing, however, as it seems to have been only a temporary revival. In the long run, the independence of individual communities may have made them particularly susceptible to further disruption or attack by various agencies such as earthquake, drought, piracy or inter-regional strife. In any case, from the end of the twelfth century the lines of communication seem once again to have been closed down to a large extent; and for a while the pottery of separate areas, basing itself on what had gone before, went its own ways. In the

Eastern Mainland there was a decline into a restricted and depressing repertoire of simple shapes and decorations; in the Dodecanese there may have been a revival of the geometrical decorations which occur sporadically, as part of a provincial tradition, from LH IIIA onwards; in regions like Achaea, Messenia and Kephallenia the pottery became increasingly idiosyncratic. Only on Cyprus was there any sort of dynamic and forward-looking ceramic activity between c. 1100 and 1050, in the form of Proto-White-Painted. The effects of this activity were also felt in the pottery of Subminoan Crete, and eventually too in the western provinces and the Eastern Mainland. The resumption of communications which these effects indicate mark the beginning of a development towards a new period. The involvement of Crete and Cyprus in contacts with the far west of the Mycenaean world may provide a foretaste of the interest of these islands in Italy and the West Mediterranean in the Geometric period, and possibly even of the activities and interests of the Phoenicians. In Attica particularly the influence of Proto-White-Painted, and the contact with Cyprus (either direct or indirect) which it implies, helped give the impetus needed towards the development of Protogeometric pottery - a new style at the dawn of a new, post-Mycenaean era.

Notes to Chapter 15

1. In the introduction to their article, Popham and Milburn (1971, 333) quite clearly stated their view on the limited usefulness of continued subdivision: "we have attempted below to define three main phases in the development of the Late Helladic IIIC pottery of Lefkandi. The first two phases we have further subdivided into an early and late stage. We recognise the dangers of over-classification, principally in that it may obscure the main differences between each phase. In this case, however, the danger seemed worth the risk in that Lefkandi has produced unusually deep and well-stratified deposits of IIIC pottery, such as are unlikely to have accumulated or to have survived on most sites of this period. This is not, of course, to say that the stages which we believe to be recognizable at our site are necessarily valid elsewhere."

2. For an early stage of LH IIIC at the Menelaion in Laconia, which seems to compare well with similar pottery in the Argolid, see Catling 1979, 31. I am grateful to Dr Catling for information about the character of this pottery.

3. Features such as the belly-handled amphora may have reached Crete from the Dodecanese (cf. above, section ii). Others, such as wavy line decoration, neck-handled amphorae and trefoil-lipped jugs were present in various regions of the Aegean with which Crete was in touch before the end of the middle stages of LH IIIC. For a neck-handled amphora with twisted handles from Karphi, see Seiradaki 1960, fig. 8:4.

For wavy line decoration, cf. Popham 1965, fig. 5:24, and Seiradaki 1960, passim. A trefoil-lipped jug from Gypsades Tomb VII (listed by Desborough (1972, fig. 8H) as Subminoan) is very similar to jugs from Perati Phase III (cf. Iakovides 1969, II, 239) and is associated with other pottery which seems more likely to have closest connections with the middle stages of LH IIIC (cf. Desborough 1964, 180; and Snodgrass (1971, 118, 217) who assigns the tomb to LM IIIC or the transition to Subminoan at the latest). For at least partial contemporaneity between Karphi and the middle stages of LH IIIC, cf. above, chapter 6 notes 37-8; and Sackett and Popham 1965, 281-2. A monochrome deep bowl with narrow reserved zone from the Kephala tholos (cf. Desborough 1964, 179: not published with the LM IIIC vases belonging to the secondary use of the tomb, and therefore perhaps unconnected, and possibly somewhat later than them) may provide a link between the Eastern Mainland (including Naxos) and Crete in a late stage of LH IIIC and/or Submycenaean, but this seems to be a unique example (cf. Desborough 1972, 60).

See also Desborough 1972, 60 for the lack of similarity between the decoration of Subminoan stirrup-jars and that of late LH IIIC/Submycenaean stirrup-jars on the Eastern Mainland.

4. Cf. e.g. the spouted amphoriskos: Desborough 1972, 60, fig. 4E. A similarity between Crete and Cyprus may also perhaps be seen in the retention of the kylix shape, though the Cretan examples are not close in shape to those of Proto-White-Painted and are perhaps more likely to represent the continuation

into Subminoan of a kylix version adopted and modified by Cretan potters as a result of their Aegean contacts in mid-LH IIIC/LM IIIC (cf. e.g. Seiradaki 1960, fig. 18, pl. 10b for elaborately decorated (Fringed Style) kylikes from Karphi).

5. This is on a high chronology. For the additional problems caused by continuing controversy even over the exact dates of accessions and events in Egypt at this time, see Hankey and Warren 1974; and Snodgrass 1971, 107-9.

6. Karageorghis (1968a; 1976; Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973), who follows Furumark's absolute date for the beginning of LH IIIC, dates the end of the LC II town of Kition to c. 1230, and the first LC III level of rebuilding there, after an interval of less than twenty years, to Furumark's Myc. IIIC:1b phase which he places somewhere in the period between c. 1210 and 1190 (Karageorghis 1976, 58-9, 173). Dikaios (1969) sets the first LC III level of reconstruction at Enkomi also at c. 1200 or a little later; but he assigns its pottery of Mycenaean type to Furumark's Myc. IIIC:1a style. Schachermeyr (1976, 304) prefers to regard the pottery from the first LC III rebuilding levels at Kition, Enkomi and Sinda as LH IIIB rather than LH IIIC in style and to date it between 1230 and 1200; while he sees the beginning of LH IIIC, which he dates to c. 1200, only in subsequent phases at these cities. For the varying chronologies suggested by Sjöqvist, Schaeffer, Furumark and Åström, see also Dikaios 1969, 438.

7. The interpretation of the regional similarities illustrated in this section is couched rather generally in terms of contact, on the assumption that the presence of a feature in more than one region has some meaning in terms of a relationship or some sort (either direct or through the medium or other regions) between the regions. In principle, in interpreting such patterns of similarity and association the idea is to look for one or several general factors affecting either of the variables, with which the similarity patterns correlate and which may reasonably be used to account for them. In the case of this particular exercise (the distribution of individual ceramic features over a geographical area within which regional interaction is known to have existed), the factors which might seem most likely to have a bearing on the patterns of regional similarity and feature association are, on the one hand, geographical proximity and, on the other, population movements and trading networks (which may themselves be dependent on geographical proximity).

The patterns produced suggest that geographical proximity may be of some relevance, particularly in the early and late stages of LH IIIC when adjacent Mainland regions appear to show a high level of similarity. Geographical proximity, however, cannot explain the whole pattern for these stages, and, in particular, it correlates very poorly with the pattern of similarity for mid-LH IIIC. Movements of populations, though they cannot totally be dismissed, seem an unlikely explanation for the patterns of

similarity as a whole. In the first place, anything approaching large-scale population movements can hardly be fitted to the converging pattern of regional similarity and feature association of mid-LH IIIC, unless one assumes that populations were constantly on the move all over the Mycenaean world. In the second place, the pattern obtained for early LH IIIC (the time when most of the major population movements are traditionally supposed to have taken place) correlates badly with the directions which such movements are assumed to have taken. One would expect, for instance, a much greater degree of similarity between the Mainland on the one hand and, on the other, regions like Cyprus, the Dodecanese and Kephallenia to which Mainland refugees are assumed to have fled after the disturbances at the end of the thirteenth century (cf. e.g. Desborough 1964, 222; Mee 1975, 220, 395).

Trading connections of some sort or another (whether redistributive, reciprocal, or possibly (particularly at an inter-regional level) a combination of both) are known to have existed in LH IIIC - if only from the distribution of such commodities as metals and certain objets d'art, the sources of which are limited. That some trade in pottery also took place in this period may be demonstrated by the results of clay analysis (cf. especially Jones and Mee 1978; Asaro and Perlman 1973). In mid-LH IIIC the diverse flow of such goods (of which the origin is either known or can be conjectured with a fair amount of confidence) appears to show a good correlation with the general criss-cross pattern of regional similarity

obtained for this stage (Fig. 197); and there may be some justification for concluding that, in mid-LH IIIC at least, the distribution of certain pottery features may have accompanied inter-regional trade of this wide-ranging type. In the early stages of LH IIIC the appearance of almost certainly imported objects (including pots) at sites such as Perati and the Dodecanesian cemeteries also testifies to the existence of trading contacts of one sort or another; and the general pattern of links for early LH IIIC may also reflect the extent of trading networks at that time. For the late stages, too, some of the main links visible might be interpreted in terms of trading networks (for instance the appearance of objects of probable Adriatic origin, such as lanceolate spearheads and multiple-loop fibulae, in the western provinces and Crete, probably mainly towards the end of LH IIIC).

8. For the allocation of phases or levels at stratified sites to the three main LH IIIC stages, see above, Part II Introduction note 1, and Fig. 168. In regions where no stratigraphy exists the attribution of features to various stages of LH IIIC is discussed in the relevant chapters. (See also Fig. 216; and Appendix I). Certain regions, such as Chios, Kea and Kephallenia, where the evidence for an early stage of LH IIIC is slight, have been omitted. Messenia, however, has been included because its links, in view of its geographical position, seem particularly interesting. Similarly for the middle and later stages of LH IIIC regions for which evidence is slight or in which none of the relevant

features occur have been left out of the distribution tables.

9. The similarity coefficient or coefficient of association used here is that described by Sokal and Sneath (1963, 125ff.) as the coefficient of Jaccard (Sneath):

$$S_J = \frac{nJK}{nJK + u}$$

where S_J = the coefficient of similarity or association

nJK = the number of features shared by regions J and K (or the number of regions in which features J and K occur together)

u = the number of additional (unmatched) features in each pair of regions being compared (or the number of additional (unmatched) regions in which either of a pair of features is found).

It is a simple coefficient which excludes negative matches (i.e. the shared absence of a particular feature); and it has been used, for instance, by Leblanc and Watson (1973) to illustrate the similarities between a series of Halaf sites based on the presence of certain decorative motifs. The decision to discount negative matches has been based on much the same grounds as those set out by Leblanc and Watson (1973, 124), with the additional consideration that, particularly for mid-LH IIIC, the features used here are only a selection of a much larger range of

possible features.

As used here, however, the coefficient also takes account of partial matches (i.e. matches in which a certain feature is either rare or uncertain in one or both of a pair of regions). A match between a definite presence and a rare or uncertain presence counts as ½; between two rare or uncertain presences as ¼.

10. This destruction is, however, attributed to an earthquake by the excavator (Ergon 1967, 82ff.; Schachermeyr 1976, 185; cf. also above, chapter 11 note 2).

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Appendix I

LH IIIC Features

A. Shapes[1]

1. Amphoriskos, varied forms (cf. FS 59-62). Date range: throughout. Distribution: universal; certain forms particularly characteristic of the Dodecanese (cf. FS 61-2) and Kephallenia (cf. FS 62). Origin: LH IIIB (cf. chapter 8 note 7); development from piriform jar/alabastron types continues particularly in Dodecanese.

2. Amphoroid krater (cf. FS 57, FS 287). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Crete (LM IIIB); Cyprus (Early); Dodecanese (Early to "geometrical"?); Miletus, Chios (Early to Mid); Euboea (rare, Mid). Origin: ?Dodecanese, from LM IIIB types or LH IIIA-B survivals (cf. chapter 8 and note 31).

3. Beaked jug (cf. FS 148). Date range: Early to Early/Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese. Origin: Dodecanese from LH IIIA-B survivals.

4. Belly-handled amphora and related types (cf. FS 58). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Dodecanese (from Early); Cyclades (from Early/Mid?); Attica, Asine, Crete, Achaea (Mid to Late); Argive plain, Messenia (Late or Late Western); Kephallenia (rare, Late western); Cyprus (by Proto-white-Painted, cf. chapter 6). Origin: Dodecanese, survival from LH IIIB type (cf. chapter 8 note 12), with further development from piriform jar and amphoriskos types.

5. Bottle (cf. e.g. Desborough 1972, pl. 2). Date range: Late (Proto-White-Painted, Subminoan, Prelude to Protogeometric, Late Western). Distribution: Cyprus, Crete, Attica, Euboea, Kephallenia; Philistine. Origin: Proto-White-Painted, from ?Philistine (cf. chapter 6 note 35).

6. Carinated cup (cf. FS 240). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Argolid, Corinthia, Attica, Euboea, ?Laconia (Early); Argolid, Corinthia and possibly related large version in Euboea (Mid). Origin: Mainland, from range of LH IIIA-B unpainted carinated shapes (cf. chapter 3 note 24). (For derivation from a coarse handmade shape, see e.g. Popham and Milburn 1971.)

7. Collar-necked jar (cf. FS 63-4). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Argolid, Corinthia, Euboea, Cyclades (from Early); most other regions by Mid. Origin: LH IIIB shape (cf. chapter 6 note 7), particularly persistent on Mainland?

8. Conical bowl, standardised version (cf. FS 242:3, chapter 4). Date range: Mid to Late. Distribution: Dodecanese, Tarsus, Euboea, Cyclades (Naxos), Kea, Volos, Chios, Attica, Messenia; Argolid (rare); also Sardinia. Origin: Aegean island or east coast Mainland, out of semiglobular one-handled bowl types (no. 37).

9. Cup (cf. FS 215-7). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Argolid, Corinthia, Euboea, Attica, Boeotia, Volos, Cyclades, Achaea (from Early); Dodecanese, Cyprus (from Mid); Crete (continuation of own types); Kephallenia. Origin: Mainland, from unpainted LH IIIA-B shape.

10. Deep bowl (cf. FS 284-6). Date range: throughout. Distribution: universal, including Philistine. Origin: universal LH IIIB (though rare on Cyprus. Cypriot introduction from Dodecanese? (cf. chapter 6)).

11. Deep bowl krater (cf. FS 282). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: universal, including Philistine. Origin: universal LH IIIB.

12. Deep conical kylix (cf. FS 274). Date range: Early to Proto-White-Painted. Distribution: Euboea, Dodecanese, Cyclades, Chios, Miletus, Kephallenia, Argolid, Corinthia, ?Messenia (mainly monochrome versions, Early); Cyprus (patterned versions, Early to Proto-White-Painted). Origin: continuation of widespread LH IIIB (unpainted) shape.

13. Domestic amphora (cf. FS 69). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: mainly settlement contexts, probably quite widespread. Origin: LH IIIB unpainted shape.

14. Domestic hydria (cf. FS 128). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: cf. no. 13. Origin: LH IIIB unpainted shape.

15. Domestic jug (cf. FS 106). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: cf. no. 13. Origin: LH IIIB unpainted shape (cf. especially FS 105).

16. Duck or bird vase (cf. e.g. Desborough 1972, pl. 4). Date range: Mid to Late Western, Proto-White-Painted, Subminoan, Prelude to Protogeometric. Distribution: Cyprus (local Decorated LC III to Proto-White-Painted); Dodecanese (LC III import, Mid; plus other forms of theromorphic vases:

e.g. Iacopi 1933, pl. XXII); Naxos (Mid, cf. chapter 11); Achaea (Mid to Late Western, cf. chapter 14); Crete (by Subminoan); Euboea, Attica (Prelude to Protogeometric). Origin: East Aegean, probably ultimately Cypriot; possible additional connection with ornithoid askoi (cf. FS 194) and bird figurines of LH IIIA-C (cf. chapter 11, and Fig. 125).

17. Feeding bottle (cf. FS 161-2). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: mainly tombs, probably more or less universal with the exception of Kephallenia. Origin: Widespread LH IIIA-B types.

18. Feeding bottle with handle at right angles to spout (cf. e.g. Furumark 1944, fig. 10). Date range: mainly Late Western, Proto-White-Painted, Prelude to Protogeometric. Distribution: Cyprus (local LC III to Proto-White-Painted); Attica (single Cypriot LC IIIA import at Perati, Early/Mid); Achaea (Late Western); Naxos (Prelude to Protogeometric). Origin: Cyprus.

19. High cylindrical pyxis (Cretan type) (cf. FS 98:4,6; Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 81:1114). Date range: mainly Early to Mid. Distribution: Crete (LM IIIB-C); Dodecanese (Early to Mid); Attica (Early (rare, Perati) to Mid); Euboea, Volos, Cyclades (Naxos), Messenia, Achaea (Mid); Cyprus (Mid to Proto-White-Painted). Origin: LM IIIB (cf. chapter 5 note 13). Other (squatter) pyxis types (cf. FS 98-9): Dodecanese, Cyclades (Early to Mid); Attica (Early/Mid to Mid); become widespread in Mid. These may stem from early Dodecanesian adaptations of the Cretan type, possibly with some influence from the straight-sided alabastron (cf. chapter 8 note 25).

20. Jug with cutaway neck (cf. FS 136). Date range: Early to Late Western. Distribution: Dodecanese (Early); Kephallenia (to Late Western). Origin: LH IIIA-B survival, possibly unrelated in far east and far west.

21. Juglet (cf. FS 111, FS 114-5). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: mainly tombs, probably more or less universal; may not survive much beyond Early on Kos (cf. chapter 8 note 11). Origin: widespread LH IIIA-B shape.

22. Kalathos (cf. FS 291). Date range: Early to Proto-White-Painted, Subminoan. Distribution: Dodecanese, Miletus (Early to Mid); Attica (Perati, probable import, Early); Cyprus (Early/Mid to Proto-White-Painted); Crete (Early to Subminoan); Attica (regular feature, Mid); Cyclades, Chios, Euboea, Argolid, Messenia (Mid); Achaea (rare, Mid). Origin: probably Dodecanese, development from decorated versions of conical krater (cf. FS 290) (cf. chapters 8 and 10); possibly also some influence from LM IIIB types.

23. Kantharoid shapes (cf. e.g. chapter 14). Date range: Proto-White-Painted, Subminoan, Late Western, Prelude to Protogeometric. Distribution: Cyprus (LC III plain wheelmade to Proto-White-Painted); Crete (Subminoan); Achaea, Kephallenia (Late Western); Attica (Prelude to Protogeometric). Origin: Cyprus, from local LC III plain wheelmade shape (cf. chapter 6); possibility of some residual influence from earlier stemmed kraters on Kephallenia (cf. chapter 14).

24. Lekythos (cf. FS 122-4). Date range: Early to

Late. Distribution: Attica, Argolid (from Early); Delphi, Boeotia, Messenia (from Mid); Dodecanese, Cyclades (Naxos), Crete (rare, from Mid); Cyprus (by Proto-White-Painted; possibly Mid: cf. chapter 6 note 32); Achaea, Kephallenia (?predominantly Late Western). Origin: Mainland (mainly tomb type).

25. Lentoid flask and related types (cf. FS 186, FS 193). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Dodecanese (from Early); Cyprus (Early ?to Proto-White-Painted); Tarsus, Chios, Messenia (Early); Cyclades (Early to Mid); Crete (rare, ?from Early); Attica, Delphi (?Early/Mid to Late). Origin: Dodecanese, LH IIIA-B survival.

26. Lidded box (cf. FS 12). Date range: Mid. Distribution: Attica (Perati); Argolid, Dodecanese, Crete (rare, imports). Origin: Eastern Attica (cf. chapter 5 note 20).

27. Mug (cf. FS 226). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: widespread, but not very common; legged version from Miletus. Origin: LH IIIA-B survival; similar continuity on Crete.

28. Multiple vase (cf. FS 324-5, FS 328, FS 330-1). Date range: Early to Mid/Late. Distribution (mainly tombs): widespread. Origin: widespread LH IIIB types.

29. Narrow-necked jug (full size) (cf. FS 118, FS 120-1). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese, Cyclades, Attica, Boeotia, Argolid, Messenia. Origin: LH IIIB survival, particularly persistent in Dodecanese.

30. Neck-handled amphora (cf. FS 70) (with neck-handled domestic jug). Date range: Mid to Late. Distribution: Euboea, Argolid, Attica, Cyclades (Naxos), Kea,

Chios, Dodecanese, Cyprus, Crete. Origin: probably Eastern Mainland.

31. Piriform jar (cf. FS 35, FS 37-8, FS 42). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese (to "geometrical"?); Messenia, Achaea (to Mid); Cyclades, Cyprus (Early). Origin: Survival from LH IIIA-B in Dodecanese.

32. Ridge-stemmed kylix (cf. FS 276). Date range: Proto-White-Painted, Late Western. Distribution: Cyprus (Proto-White-Painted); Messenia (Nichoria Dark Age I), Ionian Islands, Hexalophos (Late Western); Asine (rare, unpublished, probably Protogeometric). Origin: Cyprus.

33. Ring vase (cf. FS 196-7). Date range: ?Early to Late. Distribution: Dodecanese (?Early to Mid); Cyprus (local Decorated LC III to Proto-White-Painted: cf. also chapter 6 note 32); Attica, Euboea (from Early/Mid); Boeotia, Delphi (Mid); Argolid (Mid/Late). Origin: ?Cyprus/Dodecanese, development of LH IIIA-B type.

34. Rounded alabastron (cf. FS 85-6). Date range: Early to Late Western. Distribution: Attica, Boeotia, ?Cyclades (Early); Achaea (to Late Western). Origin: survival of LH IIIA-B type.

35. Rounded bowl with horizontal strap handles, variety of non-standardised types (cf. FS 295). Date range: Early. Distribution: Argolid, Corinthia, Attica, Euboea, Achaea, Cyprus, Tarsus, ?Miletus, Dodecanese. Origin: From unpainted LH IIIA-B shapes. Probably separate development in Eastern Mycenaean world from "Levanto-Helladic" and Plain Wheelmade prototypes (cf. chapter 6 and note 13).

36. Rounded kylix (cf. FS 257, FS 259, FS 265). Date range: mainly Early. Distribution: Dodecanese, Cyprus (Early); Crete (related type survives to Mid). Origin: survival of LH IIIA-B and LM IIIB types.

37. Semiglobular one-handled bowl, variety of non-standardised types (cf. FS 242, FS 244, FS 284:47). Date range: Early. Distribution: Cyprus, Tarsus, Dodecanese; Attica, Euboea, Argolid (rare). Origin: Cyprus and/or Dodecanese, survival and adaptations of LH IIIA-B types (cf. chapter 6).

38. Shallow angular bowl (cf. FS 295). Date range: Mid. Distribution: Argolid, Attica (standardised version, cf. chapter 3); Cyprus, Tarsus, ?Miletus (predominantly Early: non-standardised variants of no. 35). Origin: standardised version, Mainland, development of no. 35 (cf. chapter 3) or linear continuation of LH IIIA-C unpainted shape.

39. Shallow conical kylix (cf. FS 275). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Euboea, Volos, Attica, Argolid, Corinthia (from Early); Dodecanese, Cyclades (Naxos) (rare, from Mid); Messenia, Achaea, Kea, Kephallenia (from Mid); Crete (possible influence in Mid). Origin: Mainland, development of no. 12.

40. Spouted amphoriskos (cf. e.g. Desborough 1972, fig. 4D-E). Date range: Subminoan, Proto-White-Painted. Distribution: Crete (Subminoan); Cyprus (Proto-White-Painted). Origin: probably Cyprus (cf. Kanta 1979, 286).

41. Spouted cylindrical cup (cf. FS 252). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese (to "geometrical"?);

Cyclades (Naxos), Attica, Achaea, Crete; Kephallenia (?persist into Late western). Origin: survival of LH IIIA-B type; particularly persistent in East and Central Aegean, possibly under influence from LM types.

42. Stand (cf. FS 336). Date range: throughout, but sporadic. Distribution: Dodecanese, Chios, Crete; related types in Achaea. Origin: Dodecanese/Crete.

43. Stemmed bowl (cf. FS 305-6). Date range: Early to Late Western. Distribution: Dodecanese, Cyclades, Messenia (Early or Early to Mid); Kephallenia (?predominantly Late western). Origin: Dodecanese, from LH IIIB survivals; ?separate survival in Kephallenia.

44. Stemmed krater (cf. FS 8-10). Date range: mainly Early to Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese, Attica (Perati), Cyclades (Paros) (Early to Mid); Kephallenia (to Mid and Late western?); Corinthia (rare, ?Kephallenian product, Mid/Late: cf. chapter 5 note 21). Origin: LH IIIB survival, particularly in the Dodecanese.

45. Stirrup-jar (cf. FS 175:1). Date range: Mid to Late. Distribution: Argolid, Corinthia, Attica, Euboea, Achaea, Messenia, Cyclades (Naxos); Kephallenia (rare); Dodecanese (rare, probably imports). Origin: Mainland.

46. Stirrup-jar (cf. FS 176). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Dodecanese, Crete, Cyprus, Cyclades (from Early); Philistine. Origin: LM IIIB type.

47. Straight-sided alabastron (cf. FS 94-7). Date range: Early to Late western. Distribution: Dodecanese, Cyclades (mainly Early, cf. chapter 8 note 42); Attica, Corinthia, Boeotia, Argolid,

Euboea (Early or Early to Mid); Achaea, Messenia (to Late Western). Origin: widespread LH IIIB types; some Mid versions affected by no. 19.

48. Strainer jug, excrescent cup (cf. FS 157). Date range: Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese, Cyclades (Naxos). Origin: Dodecanese, development of no. 49 under influence from LM excrescent cups.

49. Strainer jug, straightforward (cf. FS 155). Date range: Early to Proto-White-Painted. Distribution: Dodecanese (Early to Mid); Cyprus (Early to Proto-White-Painted); Tarsus (Early); Philistine; Attica (Mid). Origin: Dodecanese, survival of LH IIIB shape.

50. Three-handled cup, unpainted (cf. FS 233). Date range: Mid to Late. Distribution: Argolid, Attica. Origin: Mainland.

51. Tray (cf. FS 322). Date range: Mid to Late. Distribution: Dodecanese, Crete, Euboea, Boeotia, Asine. Origin: Eastern Mainland, Crete or Dodecanese (cf. chapter 8).

52. Trefoil-lipped jug (cf. FS 137-8). Date range: Mid to Late. Distribution: Argolid, Corinthia, Attica, Euboea, Cyclades (Naxos), Dodecanese, Crete, Cyprus; Achaea (rare). Origin: ?Eastern Mainland (cf. chapter 8 note 18).

53. Tripod cooking pot with square legs (cf. FS 320 (nearest)). Date range: Early. Distribution: Argolid, Euboea, ?Attica. Origin: Mainland.

B. Decorations

1. Animal head krater handles. Date range: Mid. Distribution: Argolid, Euboea, Attica. Origin: Mainland.
2. Animal head protomes. Date range: Mid. Distribution: Argolid, Euboea, Attica. Origin: Mainland.
3. Antithetic spirals (cf. FM 50:8-19,21-32, FM 74:6). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: universal. Origin: universal LH IIIB motifs.
4. Antithetic tongues (cf. FM 19:42-8, FM 62:32,34-6). Date range: Early to Mid/Late. Distribution: Dodecanese, Miletus, Crete, Cyprus, Messenia (Early versions); universal by Mid (?except Kephallenia). Origin: Dodecanese/Crete, from LH/LM IIIA-B curved stem patterns (cf. e.g. FM 19:26-34), or from stylised flowers (cf. e.g. FM 18:43f.) (cf. chapter 8 note 33).
5. Bichrome decoration. Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Cyprus (Early); Dodecanese, Tarsus, Argolid, Euboea, ?Attica (Mid); Philistine. Origin: East Mediterranean (cf. chapter 8 note 38).
6. Bird, Close Style (Late Mainland) type (cf. FM 7:48-52). Date range: Mid. Distribution: Argolid, Corinthia, Euboea, Achaea, Attica. Origin: Mainland, development of no. 7.
7. Bird, duck-like (Late Eastern) type (cf. FM 7:39-46). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Cyprus, Tarsus, Dodecanese, Crete, Miletus, Cyclades, Messenia (from Early or Early/Mid); Attica (Perati, rare, import, Early/Mid); Eastern Mainland, Achaea (Mid). Origin: Eastern Mycenaean world (probably Cyprus), development of LH IIIA-B types, with perhaps additional

influence from LM IIIB types (cf. chapter 8 note 39).

8. Bivalve chain (cf. FM 25:18,21-2,26,28). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Crete, Dodecanese, Tarsus, Attica, Cyclades, Euboea, Argolid (Early or Early/Mid to Mid); widespread by Mid (except possibly Kephallenia). Origin: ?Dodecanese, from LM IIIA-B motifs (cf. chapter 8); or more general development of LH IIIA-B motif.

9. Chequers (cf. FM 56:2). Date range: Early/Mid to Mid. Distribution: Cyprus (Early to Mid); Philistine; Crete, Dodecanese, Cyclades (Naxos), Attica, Euboea, Argolid (Mid). Origin: Cypriot development of LH IIIB motif.

10. Close Style. Date range: Mid. Distribution: Argolid, Corinthia; some influence on Attica (and Naxos via Attica?); Dodecanese, Achaea (rare, imports). Origin: Argive plain.

11. Concentric arcs (cf. FM 44:8-16). Date range: Early/Mid to Mid. Distribution: Crete (from Early); Dodecanese, Cyclades (from Early/Mid); more or less universal in Mid, except Kephallenia. Origin: Dodecanese/Crete, from LM IIIA-B fill motif (cf. chapter 8 note 49).

12. Concentric semicircles (cf. FM 43:a-z,24-44). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Dodecanese, Cyclades, Tarsus, Crete, Messenia (early versions, from Early or Early/Mid); Attica (rare, from Early/Mid); universal by Mid, including Philistine. Origin: Dodecanese/Crete, from LM IIIB motifs.

13. Conical discs on stirrup-jars. Date range: Early/Mid to Late. Distribution: most consistent and

most pronounced on Mainland and Cyclades (FS 175, FS 177) (Mid to Late); less pronounced versions found (much more erratically) in Dodecanese, Cyclades, Attica, Asine Cyprus (FS 176, from Early or Early/Mid). Origin: pronounced versions probably Mainland (especially associated with FS 175).

14. Differential treatment of stirrup-jar shoulder zones. Date range: Early to Mid (continues in Proto-White-Painted and Subminoan). Distribution: Dodecanese, Crete (from Early, cf. chapter 8); Attica (Perati, from Early/Mid); universal in Mid. Origin: common LM IIIA-B practice, probably first adopted in Dodecanese.

15. Dipped solid semicircle decoration, and painted imitations. Date range: Mid to Mid/Late. Distribution: Crete, Euboea, Attica, Dodecanese, Asine. Origin: long-standing Cretan practice.

16. Elaborate triangles (cf. FM 71:1-12). Date range: Early/Mid to Late. Distribution: Crete, Dodecanese (from Early or Early/Mid); Attica, Cyclades (Naxos), Asine, Achaea, Cyprus (Mid); Kephallenia (rare, Mid); continue into Proto-White-Painted and Subminoan. Origin: LM IIIA-B motifs.

17. Excrescent cups (on kalathoi, strainer jugs, ring vases, spouted amphoriskoi, duck and animal vases). Date range: Early to Subminoan, Proto-White-Painted. Distribution: Crete, Cyprus, Dodecanese, Cyclades (Naxos); Attica (Perati, rare). Origin: ultimately Cretan, cf. chapter 8; adopted particularly in Cyprus (from local Decorated LC III) and Dodecanese (from Early or Early/Mid).

18. Fish (cf. FM 20:9-13). Date range: Early to Mid.

Distribution: Cyprus, Tarsus, Crete (from Early); Philistine; Dodecanese, Miletus (from Early/Mid); Achaea (from ?Early/Mid, cf. chapter 14 note 11); Cyclades, Argolid, Attica, Euboea (Mid). Origin: LH IIIB and/or LM IIIB motifs, particularly favoured in Cyprus (cf. no. 7).

19. Flowers, early type (cf. FM 18:142-3,154-5). Date range: Early. Distribution: very widespread. Origin: universal LH IIIA-B motifs; Dodecanesian versions also reflect LM IIIB influence.

20. Flowers, triangular ("Perati") type (cf. FM 18:144-53, 156-8). Date range: Early/Mid to Mid. Distribution: Attica, Asine; Cyclades (Naxos), Dodecanese, Tarsus, Achaea, Euboea (less common). Origin: probably Eastern Attica, development of no. 19; possibly some influence from no. 8.

21. Fringed Style. Date range: Mid. Distribution: Crete; possible exports to Dodecanese, Cyclades, Attica. Origin: Crete.

22. Hatched loop (cf. FM 63:15-6). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Crete; Dodecanese (from Early/Mid); Cyclades (Naxos) (Mid). Origin: LM III motifs.

23. Hatched zigzag (cf. FM 61:16-9). Date range: predominantly Mid/Late to Late. Distribution: Dodecanese, Messenia, Attica, Asine (Mid/Late to Late); Argive plain (Late); Achaea, Kephallenia (Late Western). Origin: simplified version of no. 11.

24. Isolated spirals (cf. FM 52:1). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Crete (from Early); Cyclades (Early); Dodecanese (Early and "geometrical");

Achaea, Kephallenia (Late Western); Messenia (Nichoria Dark Age I, Late Western). Origin: ultimately LM IIIA-B motif.

25. Ivy chain (cf. FM 12:36-7). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Miletus (Early); Attica (Early/Mid); Argolid (Mid) (cf. chapter 13). Origin: continuation of LH IIIA-B motif, surviving particularly in East Aegean.

26. Kalathoi with figures on rim. Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese, Cyclades (Naxos); Attica (Perati, rare). Origin: ?Dodecanese.

27. Late simple circumcurrent decoration on shoulders of stirrup-jars and lekythoi. Date range: Late. Distribution: Mainland universal; Cyclades (Naxos); Dodecanese (rare). Origin: Mainland.

28. Leaf-shaped motif (cf. FM 72:9, FM 43:z). Date range: Mid. Distribution: Attica (Perati, Salamis), Cyclades (Naxos), Asine, Delphi; Dodecanese (not common, associated with probable imports). Origin: ?Eastern Attica or ?Naxos.

29. Lotus-flower patterns (cf. chapter 11). Date range: Mid. Distribution: Cyclades (Naxos). Origin: Naxos, related to no. 28, or to certain floral or palm motifs found in the Dodecanese, Crete and Cyprus (cf. chapter 11 notes 6-7).

30. Lozenge chain, cross-hatched (cf. e.g. FM 73:5, FM 75:27). Date range: Early to Proto-White-Painted. Distribution: Cyprus, Tarsus (from Early, straight-sided type); Dodecanese (not so common, from Early); Crete (not usually cross-hatched, from Early); Philistine (cf. especially Cypriot versions); more widespread in Mid (more elaborate versions, usually with

concave sides). Origin: a) Cyprus, from White Slip traditions (continues into Proto-White-Painted; cf. chapter 6); b) LM IIIB motif (responsible for early Cretan and Dodecanesian versions).

31. Lozenges, isolated and as components of elaborate compositions (cf. e.g. FM 73:o-af,10-2,15-7). Date range: Early to Late Western. Distribution: widespread, particularly as Early fill motif (isolated: cf. e.g. FM 73:o-aa,15-6); more elaborate versions widespread in Mid; characteristic elaborate types (cf. chapters 8 and 11) in Dodecanese, Cyclades (Naxos), Cyprus, Miletus, Tarsus, Perati (rare) (Mid) (cf. e.g. Kardara 1977, fig. 18:4); lozenge combined with [illegible] spirals in Kephallenia (Late Western: cf. chapter 14). Origin: universal LH IIIB type (isolated); development of more elaborate types in East and Central Aegean influenced by no. 30?

32. Multiple reserved lines on deep bowls (cf. chapter 3). Date range: Mid. Distribution: Argolid, Corinthia; Attica (rare). Origin: Argive development of no. 43.

33. Narrow reserved zone on deep bowls. Date range: Late. Distribution: Argolid, Attica, Cyclades (Naxos); Crete (rare); Euboea (by Prelude to Protogeometric); Messenia (Nichoria Dark Age I); continues into Protogeometric (Attica, Euboea, Corinthia, Argolid; cf. Desborough 1972, 152; Rutter 1979, 383 note 28).

34. "Necklace"-pattern (cf. FM 72:11-4). Date range: Mid to Late. Distribution: Attica, Cyclades (Naxos), Argolid, Euboea, Corinthia; Cyprus, Achaea (rare). "Necklace" and antithetic spiral or "whisker" (cf. FM 72:11): Attica (Perati, Salamis), Cyclades (Naxos), Asine (Mid). Origin: ?Eastern Mainland.

35. "Negative" deep bowls (cf. chapter 3). Date range: Mid. Distribution: Argolid; similar type in Attica. Origin: Argolid, parallel development to no. 32.

36. Octopus stirrup-jars (cf. e.g. FM 21:5 or similar, FM 21:22-9). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Crete, Dodecanese (early type, Early); Attica (Perati, rare, early type, probably import, Early); Dodecanese, Crete, Cyclades (Naxos), Attica (developed types, Mid); Asine, Tarsus, Monemvasia (rare, developed types); octopus motif (not on stirrup-jars) also occasionally found in Argive plain and Thessaly. Origin: Crete (LM IIIB). Note different treatments of developed octopus stirrup-jars in Crete, Dodecanese, Attica and Cyclades (Naxos).

37. Palm (cf. FM 14, FM 15:22). Date range: predominantly Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese, Cyclades (Naxos), Cyprus, Crete; Attica (Perati), Euboea (rare). Origin: Crete (FM 14 or similar continues from LM IIIA-B: cf. e.g. Popham 1965, 331).

38. Panels (cf. FM 75:15-26,28-39). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: universal from LH IIIB motifs; elaborate usage in Mid.

39. Parallel chevrons, close-set as horizontal zone (cf. FM 58:33-4,37). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese, Attica (Perati) (from Early); Asine, Cyclades (Naxos), Euboea (Mid). Origin: survival of LH IIIA-B motif, probably particularly persistent in Dodecanese (cf. chapter 8).

40. Pictorial scenes. Date range: predominantly Mid. Distribution: Cyprus (from Early); Dodecanese (Kos), Cyclades, Euboea, Attica, Argolid, Volos (mainly Mid);

Messenia (?Mid or Late Western, cf. chapter 14); possibly sporadic in Crete through LM IIIC and Subminoan? (cf. chapter 14). Origin: continuity from LH IIIB pictorial scenes ?preserved particularly on Cyprus through Rude Style; characteristic robust treatment in Euboea (Mid, cf. chapter 4).

41. Plastic knobs/nipples (on trefoil-lipped jugs, collar-necked jars, kalathoi). Date range: mainly Mid. Distribution: Attica, Argolid, Cyclades (Naxos), Euboea, Thessaly, Crete (trefoil-lipped jugs or [illegible]; collar-necked jars); Dodecanese, Chios (kalathoi). Origin: part of general revival of interest in plastic decoration (Mid); kalathos versions particularly similar to knobbed piriform jars of LH IIIA2 (?persist in Dodecanese).

42. Quirk (cf. FM 48:5-7,21-2,26). Date range: predominantly Early (as main motif). Distribution: more or less universal. Origin: univeral LH IIIA-B motif.

43. Reserved line. Date range: Mid to Late. Distribution: universal by end of Mid. Origin: Uncertain; possibly Crete? (cf. e.g. Kanta 1980, 259).

44. Reserved patterned decoration (cf. e.g. FM 17:26, FM 21:29, FM 29:25, FM 43:q,24-5, FM 44:15-6, FM 51:24, FM 71:2-3,5,11). Date range: Mid. Distribution: Crete, Attica, Cyprus; Dodecanese, Cyclades (Naxos), Achaea, Asine, Messenia, Euboea (rarer); Kephallenia (rare). Origin: ?outcome of general interest in "closer", more elaborate decoration; particularly favoured (in different forms) in Attica, Cyprus and Crete.

45. Reversed tongues (cf. e.g. Iakovides 1969, II, fig. 12:31).

Date range: Mid. Distribution: Attica (Perati), Cyclades (Naxos); Cyprus, Philistine (similar types). Origin: variants of no. 4?

46. Rope ridging (on kraters). Date range: mainly Mid. Distribution: Euboea, Volos, Attica, Argolid; imitation in Kephallenia (?to Late Western). Origin: Mainland, possibly Attica (cf. chapter 13 note 9).

47. Rosettes (cf. FM 17:24-36). Date range: predominantly Mid. Distribution: Crete, Dodecanese, Crete (cf. e.g. FM 17:27, from Early or Early/Mid); more elaborate forms widespread in Aegean and Eastern Mainland (Mid); adopted by Close Style mainly for stirrup-jar discs; "wheel" forms (cf. FM 17:28-9) persist into Late (e.g. Euboea, Attica, Asine). Origin: LM III motifs, particularly favoured for octopus stirrup-jars.

48. Running spiral (cf. FM 46). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: universal; elaborate forms in Mid. Origin: universal LH IIIA-B motif.

49. Scale pattern with dots (cf. e.g. FM 70:2). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Cyprus, Dodecanese (Early); Attica (Perati) (Early to Mid). Origin: LH IIIA-B survival, ? particularly persistent in Dodecanese.

50. Scale triangles, concave-sided (cf. FM 42:27-9,31-2). Date range: Mid. Distribution: mainly Mainland (Argolid, Attica, Euboea; Cyclades (Naxos)); particularly favoured on Close Style vases. Origin: Mainland development of fairly widespread scale patches (cf. e.g. FM 42:21-2).

51. Scroll (cf. FM 47:3, FM 48:3). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Euboea (from Early or Early/Mid); Kea; Argolid, Attica, Cyclades (Naxos), Chios (Mid);

Achaea, Dodecanese (rare); Hexalophos (Late Western). Origin: Mainland.

52. Ships (cf. FM 40:2-3). Date range: Mainly Mid. Distribution: Asine, Messenia, Attica (Salamis); Cyclades (Melos, cf. chapter 11). Origin: maritime interests of relevant regions, particularly important in Mid.

53. Snakes, plastic and painted (cf. e.g. FM 8:8-9, FM 53:26). Date range: predominantly Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese, Cyclades (Naxos), Attica (on strainer jugs); Argolid (rare, part of general pictorial). Origin: ?Dodecanese.

54. Stemmed spirals (cf. e.g. FM 51:8-9,11-4,16-26). Date range: Early to Mid. Distribution: Dodecanese, Miletus, Cyclades, Cyprus (early versions (cf. e.g. FM 51:8-9,13-4,19,23,25), Early); more elaborate versions (cf. e.g. FM 51:16-8,20,22,24,26) very widespread. Origin: widespread LH IIIA-B motifs, surviving particularly in Dodecanese; elaborate versions merge with elaborate versions of no. 3.

55. Tassels (cf. FM 72:6-8). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Euboea, Corinthia, Argolid, Volos, Kea (from Early or Early/Mid); Chios (Mid); Attica, Dodecanese, Cyprus, Achaea, Crete (rare, Mid). Origin: Eastern Mainland.

56. Triangles (cf. e.g. FM 61A:1-5). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: Cyprus (Early to Proto-White-Painted); Philistine; Tarsus, Dodecanese (from Early); Cyclades, Messenia, Attica, Euboea, Argolid (Mid to Late); Achaea, Kephallenia (?predominantly Late Western). Origin: a) (cf. e.g. FM 61A:3,6)

Cyprus, ?from local LC II motifs (cf. chapter 6);
b) (cf. e.g. FM 61A:1-2) Dodecanese?, from LH IIIA-B angular stem motifs (cf. FM 19:8-25) and/or influence from similar LM IIIB motifs (cf. chapter 8 note 32).

57. Twisted handles. Date range: Mid. Distribution: Euboea, Boeotia, Argolid, Attica, Cyclades (Naxos), Dodecanese, Crete, Achaea. Origin: ?Eastern Mainland, part of general interest in plastic decoration.

58. Untidy zigzag panels (usually on kraters) (cf. e.g. FM 75:40). Date range: Late. Distribution: Argolid, Achaea, Attica. Origin: Mainland, degenerate continuation of no. 38.

59. wavy lines (cf. e.g. FM 53:18-24). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: found sporadically in Early, as part of series of narrow horizontal patterns inherited from LH IIIA-B (cf. e.g. nos. 42, 63); rise to universal popularity (by Late) most consistent in Cyprus (from Early/Mid, reaching height in Mid/Late); Dodecanese, Tarsus, Cyclades, Messenia (from Early or Early/Mid); Attica (especially Perati), Crete, Chios, Euboea, ?Asine (Mid or Mid/Late); Argive plain (Late); Achaea, Kephallenia (?Mid or Late Western). Origin: cf. chapters 6 and 7. Note: version framed by straight lines characteristic of Dodecanese, Miletus, Chios, Cyclades (from Early/Mid, cf. especially chapter 10).

60. "Whiskers" (cf. e.g. FM 50:29-30,32, FM 51:27, FM 72:11). Date range: Mid to Late. Distribution: Euboea, Attica, Argolid, Cyclades (Naxos). Origin: Mainland.

61. White paint (added). Date range: mainly Mid. Distribution: Argolid, Euboea; Attica (less common); Cyclades (Naxos), Messenia; Kephallenia (to Late

Western); Crete. Origin: revival of LH IIIB technique; in some cases perhaps as a substitute for no. 44 (cf. e.g. chapter 5 note 26).

62. White ware and possible imitations (cf. chapters 4, 5, 7, 11, 12). Date range: Mid/Late to Late. Distribution: Euboea, Boeotia, Kea; Attica (cf. chapter 5); Asine (cf. chapter 7); Cyclades (Naxos) (cf. chapter 11); Chios (cf. chapter 12); Corinthia. Origin: a) Euboean clay source and probable exports (e.g. Boeotia, Kea and possibly also elsewhere); b) deliberate imitations of a)?, or c) use of lighter slip in "pink fabric" regions to achieve something closer to paler finishes of e.g. best Argive?

63. Zigzag (cf. FM 61:2-5). Date range: Early to Late. Distribution: widespread. Origin: simple motif with widespread LH IIIA-B background.

Note

1. Unless otherwise stated, the shapes refer to painted shapes.

The following lists summarise the main chronological and geographical distributions of certain features of LH IIIC pottery, as discussed in the various regional chapters. They do not form a comprehensive catalogue, either of shapes or motifs in use during LH IIIC, or of all individual occurrences of the features listed.

Appendix II

Coarse handmade pottery

Over the last fifteen years or so a type of coarse handmade fabric, which has been recognised in small quantities at an increasing number of Mycenaean sites in Mainland Greece, has generated some controversy. This fabric (see above, chapters 3 and 4) was first noted in the early LH IIIC levels (Phase 1a) at Lerkandi where the excavators described it as of "obviously foreign character" in the context of the usual Mycenaean wheelmade pottery, and suggested parallels for it in Southern Italy (Popham and Sackett 1968, 18; Popham and Milburn 1971, 338). Pottery of similar fabric was also recognised at Mycenae, where it had previously been regarded as Middle Helladic upcast material; and in this case attention was drawn to similarities to the Coarse Ware of Troy VIIB1 (E. French 1969b, 130; French and Rutter 1977). Since then, it has been recognised from a growing number of sites: in the Argolid, Corinthia, Achaea, Laconia, Attica, Euboea, Phocis and probably Boeotia and Southern Thessaly (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 141.)[1].

After re-examining the LH IIIC pottery from Korakou in Corinthia, Rutter (1975) published an article in which he presented sixteen fragments of coarse handmade ware as evidence for non-Mycenaean intruders in Southern Greece at the beginning of the LH IIIC period. This provoked a short note from Walberg (1976) who doubted the necessity for Rutter's conclusions and proposed an alternative interpretation of this ware as the result of indigenous small scale

production of coarse kitchenware at a time when the organisation of pottery manufacture and distribution was disrupted by destructions at the end of the thirteenth century. Rutter (1976) swiftly replied, reiterating his view that the ware represented a short-lived intrusive element in Mycenaean society. Not long afterwards, Deger-Jalkotzy (1977) published eleven sherds of coarse handmade pottery from Aigeira in North-East Achaea and, in a lengthy discussion, pointed out parallels between some aspects of it and those of early Urnfield pottery in Central Europe and possibly related pottery in the Italian peninsula. In order to account more precisely for the presence of this ware at Aigeira and other Greek sites Deger-Jalkotzy postulated an Adriatic koine which included Urnfield culture elements and which, in the late thirteenth century, reached the height of its expansion to the south and east .

It seems likely, from what has already been written about the nature and affinities of this ware, that both the evidence and its possible interpretations will prove far from simple. Few would deny that there are elements of non-Mycenaean (and specifically northern or north-western) origin or inspiration to be found among the material culture of the Mycenaean world in the late thirteenth and twelfth centuries (cf. Desborough 1964; Snodgrass 1971; Sandars 1963, 1964, 1978; Harding 1975; Harding and Hughes-Brock 1974)[3]. However, that such elements necessarily provide evidence for the permanent settlement of non-Mycenaean groups within the Mycenaean world at this time is far from proven (cf. Snodgrass 1973; Sandars 1978). While northern traders, pirates

or mercenary soldiers may well have found their way into Greek lands at this time, the hypothesis of permanent settlement of alien groups, with the accompanying transference of an entire range of cultural traditions, is one which requires very careful examination of the evidence.

Problems in those views which see the presence of coarse handmade pottery at Mycenaean sites as evidence for the widespread settlement of non-Mycenaean intrusive groups arise partly from the geographical and chronological diversity of the pottery's suggested origins. The wide-ranging search for parallels outside the Mycenaean world, from Italy in the west to Troy in the east, has so far failed to produce any single ceramic culture which agrees in more than at most one or two respects with features of the coarse handmade pottery found at Mycenaean sites. This has resulted in a curious selectivity in singling out features from various alien assemblages. Rutter (1975), for instance, sees parallels for individual features of the Korakou pottery in a variety of different regions and periods in Italy, the Balkans and Troy[4]; and concludes that its immediate origins probably lay in a so far undefined Late Bronze Age culture somewhere to the north-east. Similar problems of selectivity apply when comparisons are made with Trojan pottery (cf. Walberg 1976) and with pottery from Italy and Central Europe (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1977); and in all cases the problem arises of relative European and Anatolian chronologies, so far lacking a satisfactory solution (cf. Sandars 1978, 12). To date, the very wide area in which parallels for various aspects of the coarse handmade fabric can be found, and the chronological range of these parallels, have made agreement on the

origins of any intrusive settlers virtually impossible.

An hypothesis, not so much of intrusive sub-culture as of contact by one means or another with non-Mycenaean ceramic traditions, may receive some support from the result of clay analysis of two carinated cups from Lefkandi which suggests that, unlike a much cruder handmade cup from the same site (Popham and Sackett 1968, fig. 34), they were not made of local Lefkandiot clays[5]. These cups (with pronounced carination, broad strap handle with ridged edges, and one with a well moulded knob between neat symmetrical incisions) are undoubtedly more distinctive in appearance and of less obvious domestic type than other shapes produced in a coarse handmade ware; and on the whole they have a much higher burnish than other coarse handmade material (cf. also Rutter 1975, pls. 1:fig. 7, 2:fig. 14). The technical superiority of these cups over the general run of coarse handmade vases (cf. Rutter 1975, 30), together with the apparently non-local composition of their clay, might well suggest possible importation from areas where similar vases were regularly produced; but that such casual importation could apply to the entire range of coarse handmade vessels seems much less likely (cf. Rutter 1975, 30)[6]. A very close parallel to the Lefkandi cups comes from Thessaly (Theochares 1958, 15)[7], and further study of Thessalian material, in particular of the rarely published local dark burnished wares which seem to have persisted throughout the Late Bronze Age and which were themselves influenced by Macedonian types (cf. Wardle 1975), might well throw more light on the appearance of such vases in more southerly regions.

Although it becomes increasingly clear that the whole problem of coarse handmade pottery is almost certainly a complex one,

Walberg's view (1976) seems to have received little sympathy, except from Sandars (1978, 192). There are, however, certain aspects of the nature and contexts of much of this pottery which tend to support the idea that technical conditions, rather than a separate cultural sub-strate, may account both for its appearance and for its generalised similarity to various European Bronze Age wares (Walberg 1976; Sandars 1978, 83). Despite the evidence of the few sherds from Korakou and Aigeira there is little to support the idea that coarse handmade fabric is confined only to early LH IIIC at Mycenaean sites (cf. Rutter 1977; Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 15). The evidence from the Citadel House at Mycenae suggests that it persists well into the middle and later stages of LH IIIC, though continuing to form less than 1% of the total pottery (cf. chapter 3, Fig. 16a)[8]. It is also found in the middle and later stages of LH IIIC at Corinth (Rutter 1979: Rutter Phases 4-5)[9]; and in the late LH IIIC/ Submycenaean occupation levels of the Karmaniola area at Asine coarse handmade pottery frequently outnumbers coarse wheelmade (Frizell 1978a). It is also becoming increasingly likely that the upper limits for the appearance of coarse handmade pottery at Mycenaean sites may be less easily defined than was once thought. At Mycenae its presence among destruction debris in Room 31 of the Citadel House may provide some evidence for its use before the destruction of the Citadel[10]. At the Menelaion in Laconia large coarse handmade cooking pots (including tripod cooking pots) and some other large domestic vessels, such as hydriae and basins, in the same fabric are a feature of the late LH IIIB rubbish tips associated with the final occupation of Dawkins' House[11]. Most of these are undecorated, but a few have incised lines or "piecrust" bands like those of contemporary pithoi. At

Aigeira there is also some evidence for a habitation level characterised by coarse handmade sherds which predates the early LH IIIC level at the site (Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 10f.)[12].

Walberg's argument (1976) is that the vessels in question are in most cases domestic, that some are so undistinctive as to be hardly classifiable at all according to distinct types, and that others have a long history in the Mycenaean world before the LH IIIC period. Indeed, far more striking than the individual peculiarities of some of the shapes found at Korakou and Aigeira is the evident domestic nature of the large jars and other storage or cooking vessels which form by far the majority of shapes occurring in coarse handmade fabric (cf. Rutter 1975, figs. 1-6, 8-9, 13-5; Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, figs. 3, 7-10, 12-4). At Mycenae too these seem much more frequent than the smaller carinated cups which, arguably, have a less obvious domestic function. Certain shapes in this ware, moreover, are clearly replicas of Mycenaean wheelmade shapes of contemporary or immediately earlier date. A coarse handmade jar from Iria (Döhl 1973, pl. 66:5) is very similar to a wheelmade jar shape (FS 67) of which there are numerous examples of LH IIIB date (cf. Furumark 1941a, 595; E. French 1967, fig. 13:2-3,5-7; Wardle 1969, fig. 8; Mountjoy 1976, fig. 10); and there are good wheelmade parallels for a jug from Perati (Iakovides 1969, III, pl. 45g:35), an alabastroid jar from Aigeira (Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, fig. 9), and cooking pots from Mycenae, the Menelaion and Aigeira (Figs. 27a, 90-1; Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, fig. 13)[13]. The same may indeed be argued for some of the

carinated cups from Lefkandi (cf. e.g. Popham and Milburn 1971, fig. 3:7) which are contemporary with the very similar wheelmade carinated cup (FS 240)[14]. The copying, in a coarse handmade fabric, of normal Mycenaean shapes also occurs in Kephallenia where there are examples of alabastra, piriform jars, dippers, juglets and even of a stirrup-jar (cf. chapter 14)[15].

As far as the various forms of plastic decoration are concerned, it seems likely that, for a fabric of this sort, there is little alternative than to make use of applied lugs and ridges, fingerprint marks, and stick incisions. The marked lack of success with which the potter attempted to paint decoration on one of the Korakou vessels (Rutter 1975, pl. 1:fig. 4) speaks for itself. None of the plastic decoration from either Korakou or Aigeira is other than very simple in conception and execution; and, moreover, there is already a tradition of much the same type of plastic decoration on large handmade pithoi of the LH IIIB period (cf. e.g. Wace et al. 1955, pl. 28d; Bennett 1958, fig. 65; Verdelis 1962, fig. 33; Frizell 1978b, fig. 75).

Walberg (1976) also discussed the general nature and technique of burnishing as found on the coarse handmade ware from Korakou. As she pointed out, it is a very widespread technique for use on vessels designed to hold liquids; it improves the strength of the fabric; and it serves the purpose of making the surface of the vessel slightly less unattractive than the clay and modelling techniques used would otherwise allow (cf. Cardew

1969, 77-8). With the possible exception of some of the carinated cup shapes, there is no evidence of burnishing being used as a deliberate decorative rather than functional feature. Very few pieces have anything other than a fairly rudimentary burnish, and on several from Mycenae, Lerkandi, Aigeira and Korakou there is practically no sign of burnishing at all. The roughness of the burnish, combined with a frequently mottled surface colour, convey a distinct impression that it is primarily utilitarian rather than decorative[16]. The suggestion that burnishing is a technique better suited to small scale "back-yard" production of pottery (cf. Walberg 1976) is also of some relevance. Since it is very difficult to maintain a burnish with a high firing temperature, burnishing is a process which goes hand in hand with low firing temperatures (cf. also Cardew 1969, 77-8). It is suggested below that there may be some circumstantial evidence that the high firing temperatures (of up to or over 1000° C.: cf. e.g. Kelso and Thorley 1943, 109) which seem likely to have been associated with much LH IIIA-B pottery may no longer have been so consistently achieved in the period during which much of the coarse handmade pottery is found.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the entire problem is that the first appearance of the handmade fabric in late LH IIIB or early LH IIIC coincides not only with the more obvious signs of disturbance on the Greek Mainland (Rutter 1975, 31), but also with signs to be seen in the wheelmade pottery itself that the organisation of production or distribution (or both) suffered some disruption at this time. A number of observations suggest this. In the first place, the

LH IIIB2 style, as defined in the Argolid, has a limited distribution elsewhere; and there is reason to believe that the centralised production which can be seen in the North-East Peloponnesian export trade of LH IIIA2-B1, and the high level of inter-regional uniformity within the Mycenaean world which accompanied it, was no longer operating (cf. chapter 2, and Sherratt 1980). In the second place, some recent clay analysis has produced results which suggest that, in the Argolid at least, a greater variety of clay sources may have been utilised in the LH IIIC period than previously (Asaro and Perlman 1973, 214-5). This might suggest that in some regions, or even at individual sites, the manufacture of pottery was becoming decentralised at this time.

There are other signs in the pottery of the LH IIIB/C period, visible to the eye, of anomalies in pottery production[17]. At Mycenae these include bad or uneven firing and sometimes actual lack of oxidation in the firing of wheelmade shapes; the much more frequent use of firing holes, particularly on the handles of amphorae and other large vessels where the thickness of the clay leads to hazards in drying and firing; and a much greater variety of fabric types (above, chapter 3 section C). Mycenaean potters before this period seem to have coped quite well without a prolific use of firing holes, which are presumably a reflection of a decrease in confidence such as might well be associated with the fragmentation of pottery manufacture. Firing holes are also found on pithoi, there being at least one example of a pithos rim where the potter has made a virtue of necessity and arranged the holes decoratively along the rim (Fig.

36). Variations in fabric include the occasional appearance of a crumbly greenish fabric which absorbs the paint to the point of giving it a distinctly matt appearance. This is presumably a result of firing, and not an intended effect (cf. Cardew 1969, 211). There are also a considerable number of sherds with a soft "halvas"-like fabric consistency which flakes very easily and on which the paint is liable to peel. This too is likely to be the result of a firing fault, particularly of underfiring. In addition, there are sporadic instances of experimentation with plastic decoration on wheelmade cooking ware (cf. e.g. Wardle 1973, fig. 21:266) and of burnishing on wheelmade shapes (chapter 3 section C). All these features represent a small proportion of the total material at Mycenae, but the anomalies are distinctly more noticeable than in earlier periods (cf. also Döhl 1973, 194; Jantzen 1975, 147, 149). Against the probable background of small scale, fragmented manufacture, which would account for such inequalities in standards and levels of skill, it is not impossible to imagine the occasional domestic production, by hand, of vessels for everyday kitchen use.

The normal wheelmade, well purified, well fired and very standardised Mycenaean cooking pot (Döhl's sandige Ware I: Döhl 1973, 186f.) is the product of an extremely high level of potting skill, especially in view of the fact that it had to withstand successfully the dangers of thermal expansion[18]. Up until now very little analytical work has been carried out on Mycenaean cooking wares, but preliminary results of a thin-sectioning programme undertaken by Riley (Riley, Peacock and Renfrew 1980) suggest that at least some cooking pots found at Mycenae

were imported to the Argolid. While there is still no analytical information available on the degree of standardisation and centralisation of production of wheelmade cooking wares - if any - either before the introduction of the handmade wares or during the time in which they were used, it is not impossible that, given the degree of skill needed for their production and the apparent standardisation of fabric and shape, there may have been just one or two main centres producing and distributing wheelmade cooking pots at the height of the period of Mycenaean mass production in LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB. This seems to have been the case with the painted wheelmade pottery exported to the Dodecanese and Cyprus in the LH IIIA-B1 period; and it is also interesting to note that in the early part of this century cooking pots made on Siphnos were widely exported in the Aegean, some travelling as far as Salonica (Casson 1938). Any disruption in the organisation of either the manufacturing or distributive system would affect the ready availability of these cooking pots. In the absence of continuous plentiful supplies of vessels which must have been subject to much harder wear and a higher breakage rate than the finer and painted pottery designed more particularly for the table, a natural answer would be for each household or village to provide its own [19].

The whole problem of coarse handmade ware is, like most of the problems which surround the Mycenaean world in the comparatively "dark" period of late LH IIIB and early LH IIIC, unlikely to be susceptible to any clear-cut solution (cf. Sandars 1978, 197). As we have seen, for some of it import from the fringes of the Mycenaean world or beyond is a possibility, whether by means of reciprocal

exchange, the wanderings of mercenaries, or the abduction of wives or slaves (cf. e.g. E. French (quoted in Sandars 1978, 213 note 17)). The idea, however, that it was the permanent settlement of culturally distinct bands of aliens which was responsible for the appearance and continued production of coarse handmade pottery at otherwise purely Mycenaean sites (and only at those sites) is one which still leaves too many loose ends (cf. Sandars 1978, 83)[20]. At the same time, the coincidence of this ware, all but a tiny fraction of which is ill-made, undistinguished and evidently for everyday domestic use, with a period when the production and distribution of Mycenaean pottery had almost certainly suffered some disruption in its previously highly organised pattern, suggests that there may at least be some grounds for the controversy to continue.

Notes to Appendix II

1. For Boeotia, cf. e.g. possibly Deger-Jalkotzy 38; for Volos in Southern Thessaly, cf. Theochares 1961, 51, fig. 3.

2. Kilian (1978) takes a similar view of some coarse handmade fragments from Tiryns, connecting them with a Sub-Appenine cultural community in Italy, Albania and Epirus.

3. The main elements are metalwork and amber (cf. e.g. Sandars 1978, 91ff.; Harding and Hughes-Brock 1974).

4. Rutter (1975) divides the sixteen pieces into four groups, mainly on the basis of fabric colour and texture. For Group I parallels are cited in Troy VIIB1-2, Porto Perone Late BA 2 and Final BA, Saturo Final BA last stage, Maliq in Albania, Epirus, Ithaca, Romania and the Ukraine (Noua, Sabatinovka and Coslogeni cultures). For Group II parallels are found in Troy VIIB2, on Thasos, at Babadag in Romania, and at Porto Perone. Group III is described as unparalleled but foreign; while Group IV, it is suggested, may have a parallel in Troy VIIB2. For a suggested date range for some of these, cf. Sandars 1978, 206-7, as well as Rutter 1975, 30-1.

5. I am grateful to Mr Popham for this information.

6. Cf. e.g. Sandars 1978, fig. 50 and caption. Note however the distinction which Sandars draws between the technically superior highly burnished wares of the European Late Bronze Age in which parallels for a few of the carinated cups may be found, and the "Kummerkeramik" coarse ware which is practically

indistinguishable in all regions and periods from the Neolithic on (Sandars 1978, 86, 191). It is in this undistinguished and technically basic "Kümmerkeramik" that the greatest similarities to the bulk of the Mycenaean coarse handmade can be found (cf. also Walberg 1976). Rutter (1975, 29-30) himself points out that the majority of coarse handmade from Korakou is unlikely to have been imported as ceramic objets d'art.

7. It is described as Middle Helladic, but its context is not made clear in the report.

8. Similarly, at Lefkandi sherds of coarse handmade pottery do occur among material from post-Phase 1 levels, although the excavators considered most of them to be earlier upcasts. There are, unfortunately, no figures for its incidence in these later levels.

9. Rutter's argument (1979, 391) that the coarse handmade pottery from Corinth (for which he offers no explanation) has nothing to do with the earlier LH IIIC ware seems a little strange. Only one of the pieces from Corinth appears in a photograph (Rutter 1979, pl. 92:78), but from this, and from the fabric descriptions (including the Munsell soil chart codes), there seems little difference between these and the Korakou and Aigeira pottery. The statement (ibid., 391 note 40) that "the jug and amphora shapes ...are thus far not attested among published examples of the earlier LH IIIC handmade and burnished wares" is odd in view of the description of Korakou no. 5 (Rutter 1975, 28) as probably belonging to a jug or amphora. In any case, a jar of LH IIIB-C date from Athens, which appears to differ little in

profile from the fragmentary Corinth examples (Rutter 1979, figs. 2:70, 7:110-4) was already known to him (Rutter 1975, 29). A jug from Perati (Iakovides 1969, III, pl. 45g:35 (Tomb 4, Phases I-II)) was published in 1969. For a jug from Volos, see above, note 1. Pieces from Aigeira (e.g. Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, figs. 9, 13) also need not, on the face of it, differ much from the very fragmentary rim profiles illustrated from Corinth. At Mycenae (chapter 3) there is no evidence whatsoever that two chronologically distinct types of coarse handmade ware are represented, and domestic cooking vessels are represented among the earliest pieces.

10. I am grateful to Dr E. French for this information.

11. I am grateful to Dr Catling for the opportunity to study his records of this material. Cf. Catling 1975, 15; 1977a, 33 for the context.

12. These sherds were found in rock crevices rather than associated with any floor levels. However, the excavators believe that they represent a pure deposit between the natural rock and the LH IIIC levels (Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 13). There are stray finds of LH IIIB1 pottery from the terraces below the acropolis, but no obvious continuity of building levels between this period and early LH IIIC (Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 9 note 4; Schachermeyr 1976, fig. 40).

13. There is also a coarse handmade lamp fragment from Mycenae (chapter 3), for which compare FS 321. For an apparently wheelmade holemouthed jar of LH IIIB2 date, see Wardle 1973, fig. 15:111.

14. Cf. Walberg 1976 on the possible pre-LH IIIC origins of this shape. Several carinated open shapes (e.g. FS 267, FS 295) were in use among the unpainted pottery of LH IIIB.

15. Kephallenia presents a rather different picture, since it never lost its tradition of handmade pottery from the Middle Bronze Age on. It forms as much as 10% of the whole pottery in the Kephallenian tombs of LH IIIA-C (cf. Wardle 1972). On the other hand, it is difficult to agree with Rutter (1975, 26) that the fabric of the handmade pottery from Kephallenia differs significantly from that of the Mainland. Despite the funerary nature of the evidence, several of the shapes are of an evident domestic nature; and others include copies of Mycenaean wheelmade shapes (cf. chapter 14).

16. It is for this reason that the term coarse handmade seems preferable to handmade burnished (the term used by French and Rutter (1977)). The burnishing is often extremely rudimentary and irregular, whereas the coarseness of most of the fabric seems to me to be one of its most outstanding characteristics (cf. also Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 15-6).

17. Information drawn mainly from the Citadel House at Mycenae (cf. chapter 3; and Wardle 1973, 322 for the greater frequency of rougher greenish fabrics in the LH IIIB2 Causeway Deposit than in LH IIIB1 deposits). Cf. also Döhl 1973, 194 and note 142, for the lack of technical uniformity among pottery from Iria; and Jantzen 1975, 147, 149 for variation and deterioration in fabrics of late LH IIIB or early LH IIIC at Tiryns.

18. See Cardew 1969, 70f. for a description of west African cooking wares which "owe their remarkable thermal-shock resistance to two things: the texture of the body and the extremely low temperature of firing." The body texture is extremely coarse, much too coarse to be successfully wheel-thrown. Quartz and mica grains are often added to maintain the loose and open texture of the fired clay. (Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 15 and Rutter 1975, 18 for similar inclusions in the coarse handmade pottery from Aigeira and Korakou.) Kitchen wares of the Protogeometric and later periods were invariably handmade (cf. Popham and Sackett 1968, 27; Snodgrass 1971, 94), presumably for similar reasons of thermal-shock resistance. Indeed, what seems remarkable in the Mycenaean period is not that some kitchen vessels were of a coarse handmade fabric, but that so many were successfully produced in material that could easily be thrown on the wheel.

19. Shortage rather than complete unavailability would have to be envisaged as the result of such disruption, since wheelmade cooking pots continue to be made throughout the LH IIIC period. The repertoire of these wheelmade shapes does show certain differences, however, which might be indicative of changes in production centres (cf. chapters 3 and 4).

20. An additional point which may be of significance is that, apart from pottery on Kephallenia, the jug from Perati, and one handmade vase from Delphi, coarse handmade fabric does not seem to occur in tombs. This might suggest that its presence at Mycenaean sites is not an indication of separate

cultural preferences within the populations of those sites, since it is above all in tomb furnishings that evidence of conscious cultural identity might be expected.