DPhil Thesis Classical Archaeology

THE AEGEAN INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF ITALIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

Angela Falezza

Merton College, University of Oxford

Supervisors: Dr L. M. Bendall; Professor F. Iacono

Volume II: Figures and Appendix

FIGURES



Figure 1.1—Map of the study area with sites and regions mentioned in Chapter 1 (Author with QGIS; map data ©2015 Google).

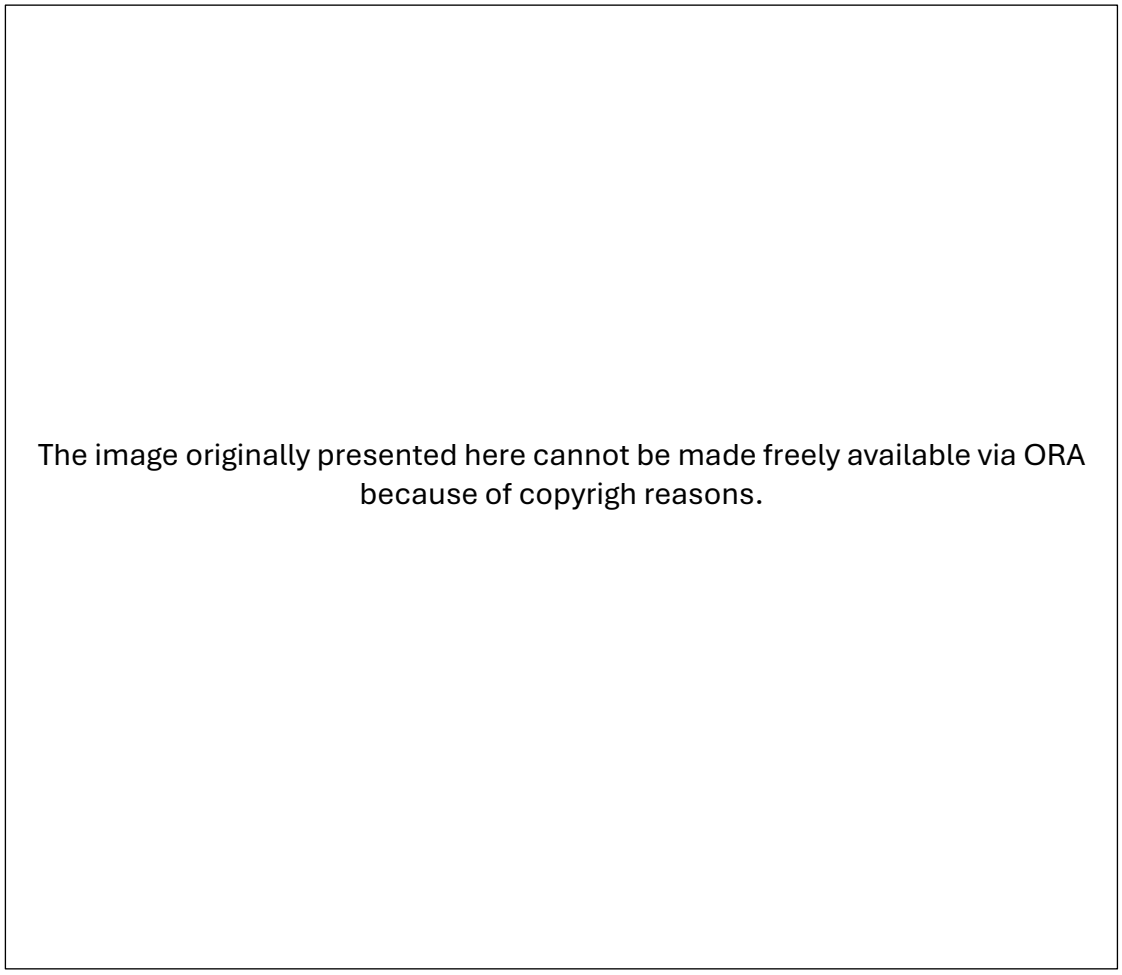

Figure 1.2—Italian sites with LH I–II Aegean-type finds and their quantity: 1. Vivara; 2. Lipari (Iacono 2019: 98, Fig. 3.15).

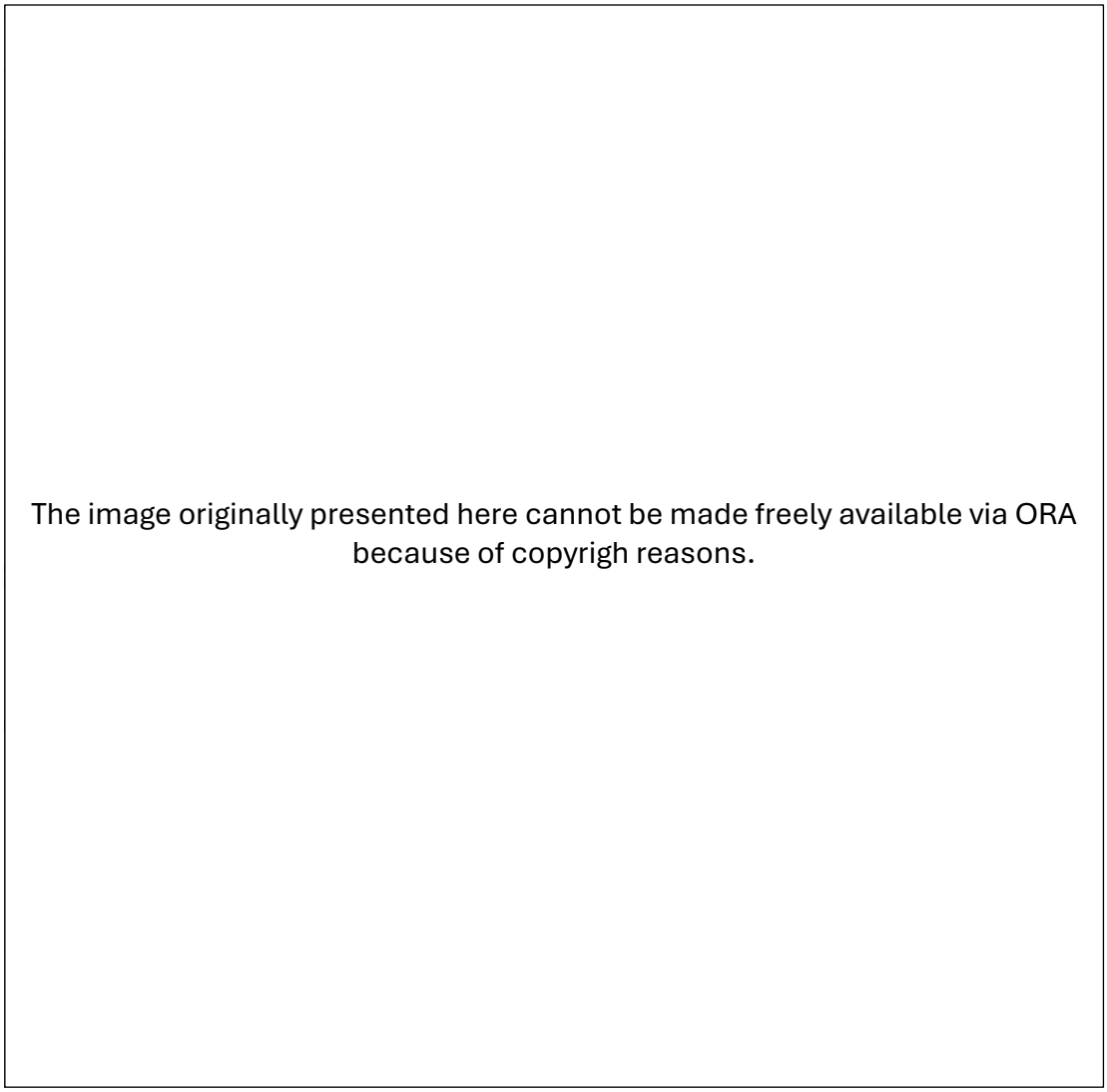

Figure 1.3—Italian sites with Aegean-type finds and their quantity during RBA: 1. Cisterna di Tolentino; 2. Roca Vecchia; 3. Scoglio del Tonno/San Domenico; 4. Termitito; 5. Broglio di Trebisacce (Iacono 2019: 150, Fig. 4.16).

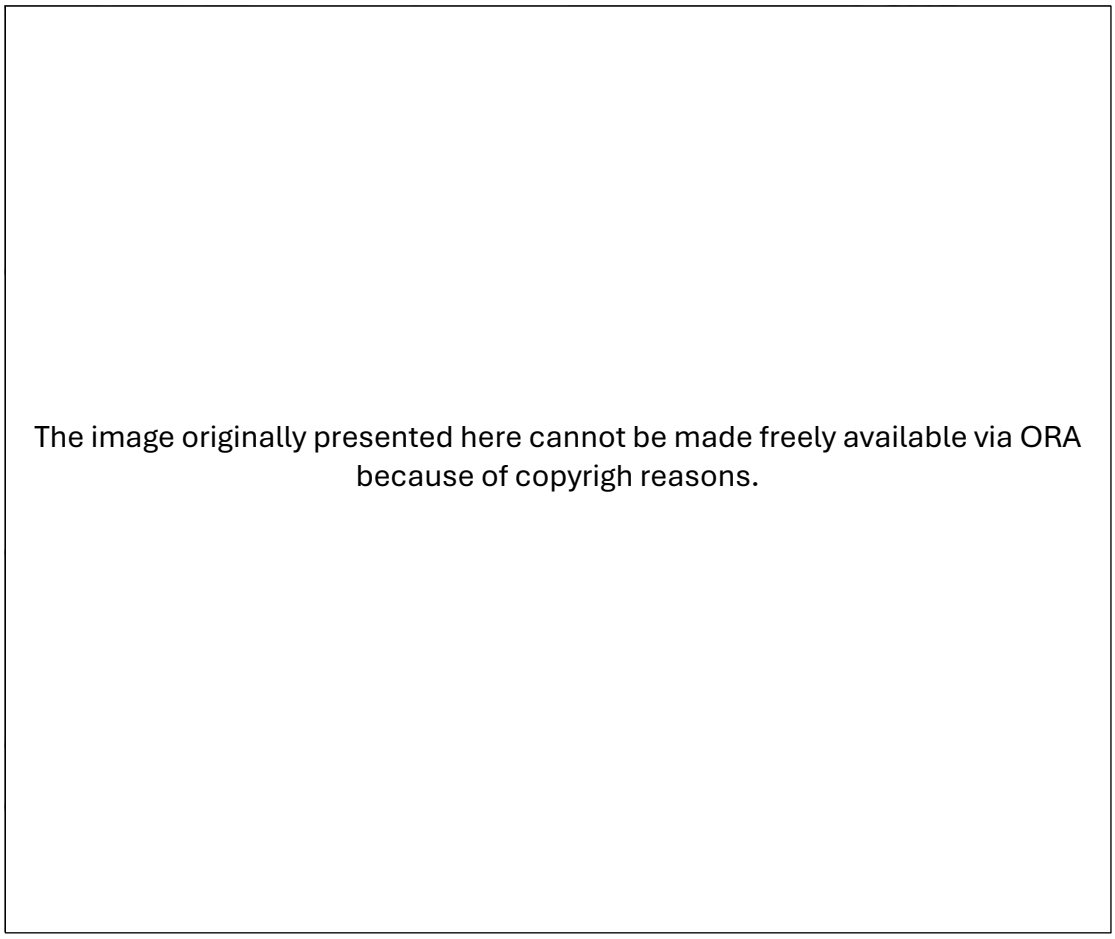

Figure 1.4—Italian sites with LH IIIC Aegean-type finds and their quantity (Iacono 2019: 186, Fig. 5.13).



Figure 1.5—Model showing increasing and decreasing interactions in a centre-periphery model (Feuer 2011: 518).

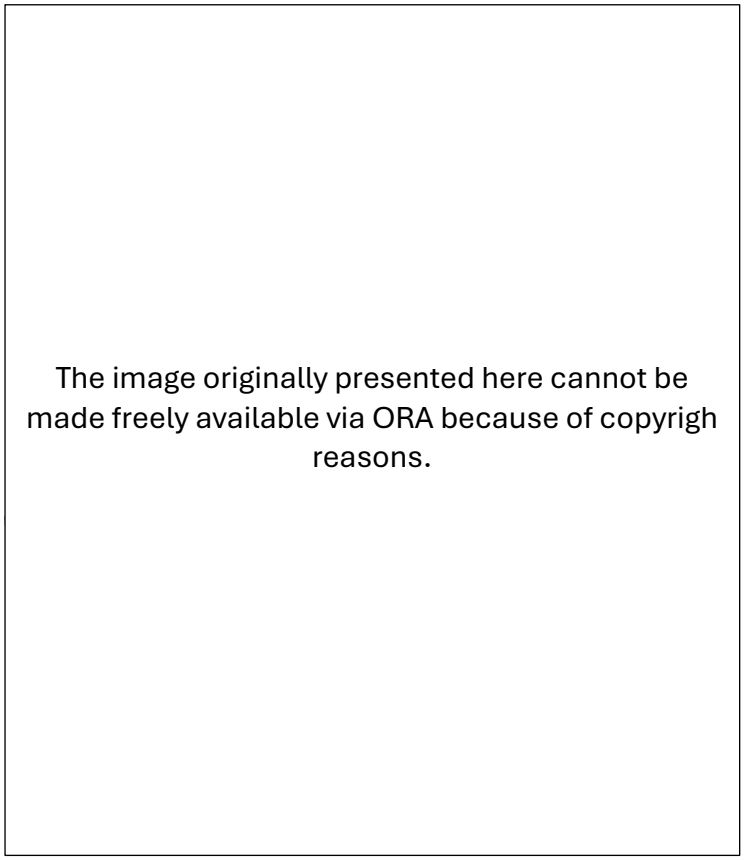

Figure 1.6—SNA representation of the distribution of Sub-Apennine Impasto pottery. The bigger the site, the more connected it is (Iacono 2019: 131, Fig. 134.138).

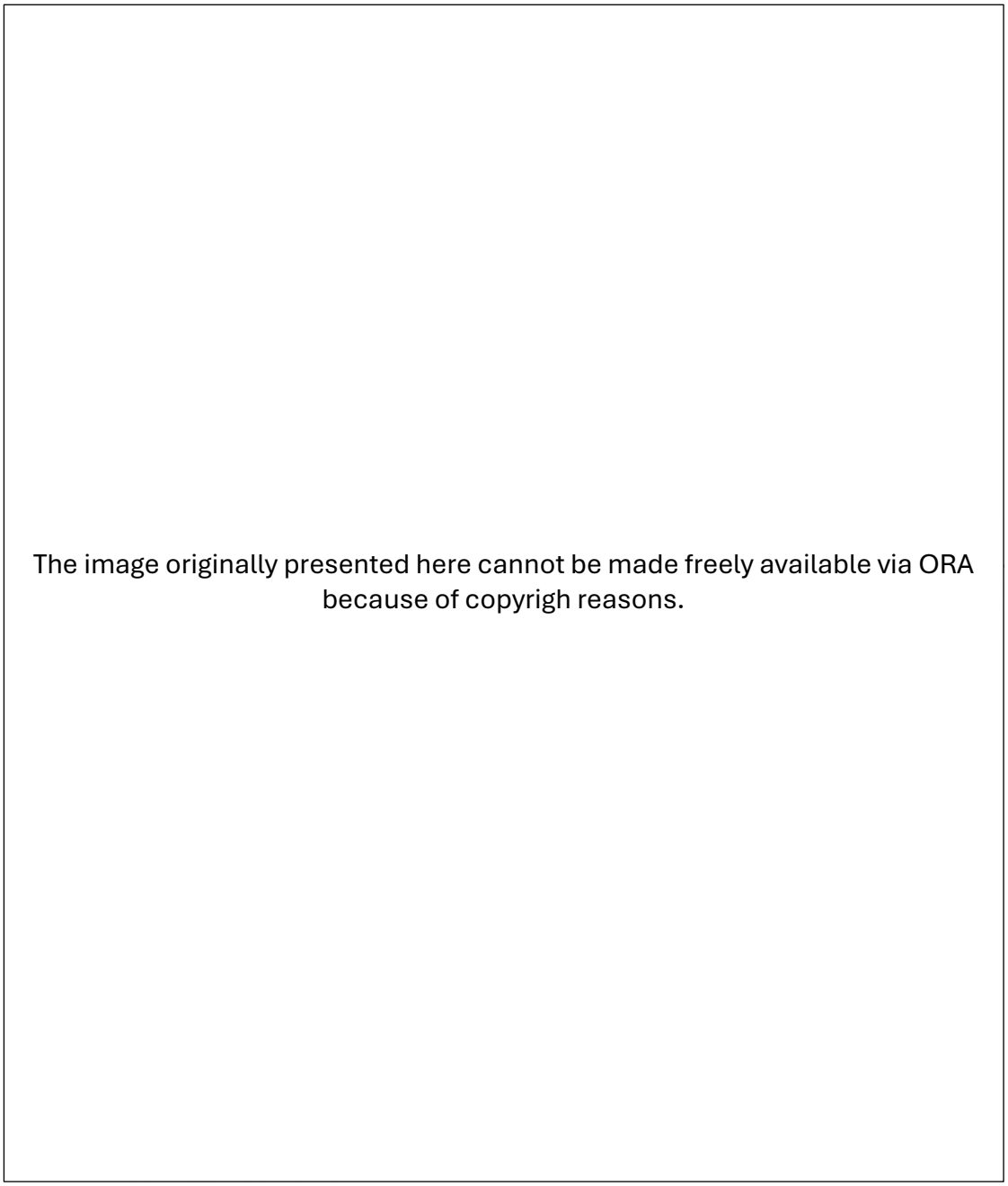

Figure 1.7–Different types of high-energy coasts (Tartaron 2013: 172, Figure 5.13).

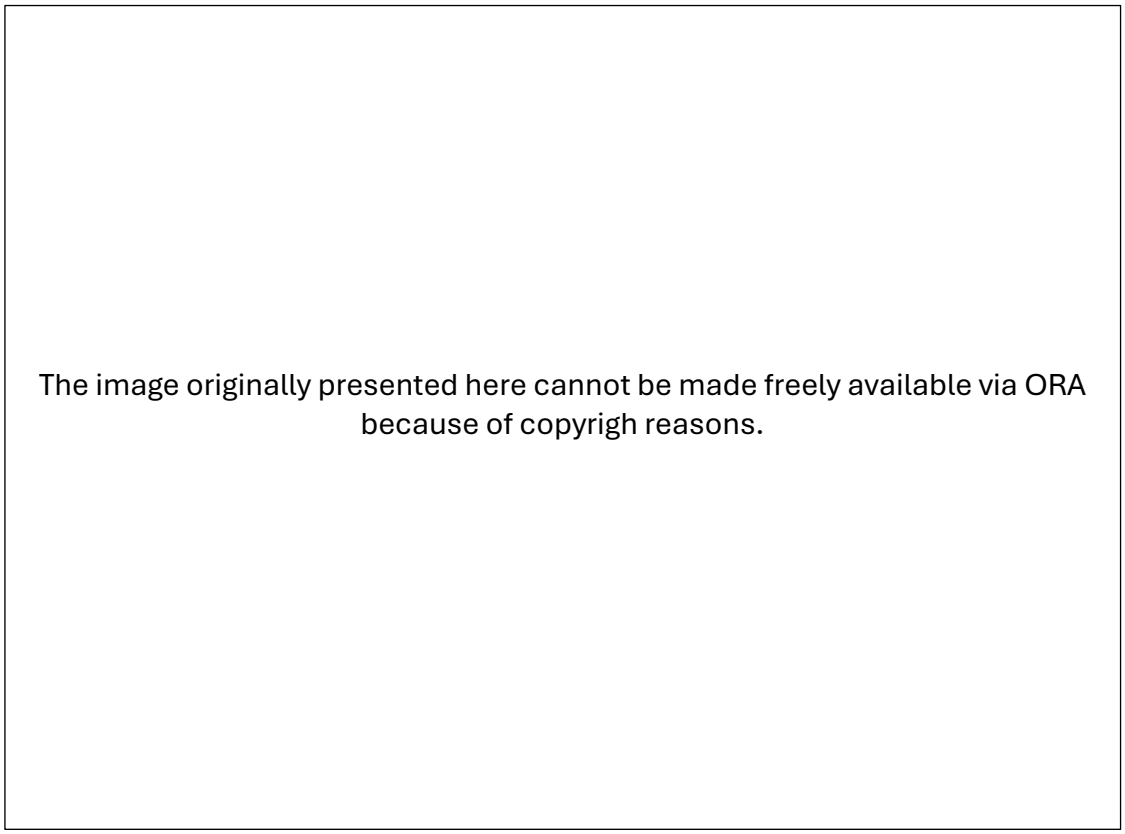

Figure 1.8— LH IIIB—LH IIIC distribution of Aegean and Italian artefacts across the Aegean. Key: 1. Frattesina; 2. Moscosi di Cingoli; 3. Cisterna di Tollentino; 4. Roca Vecchia; 5. Tiryns; 6. Chania; 7. Koubarà; 8. Pellana; 9. Perati; 10. Kommos (Iacono 2013b: 64, Fig. 65.62).

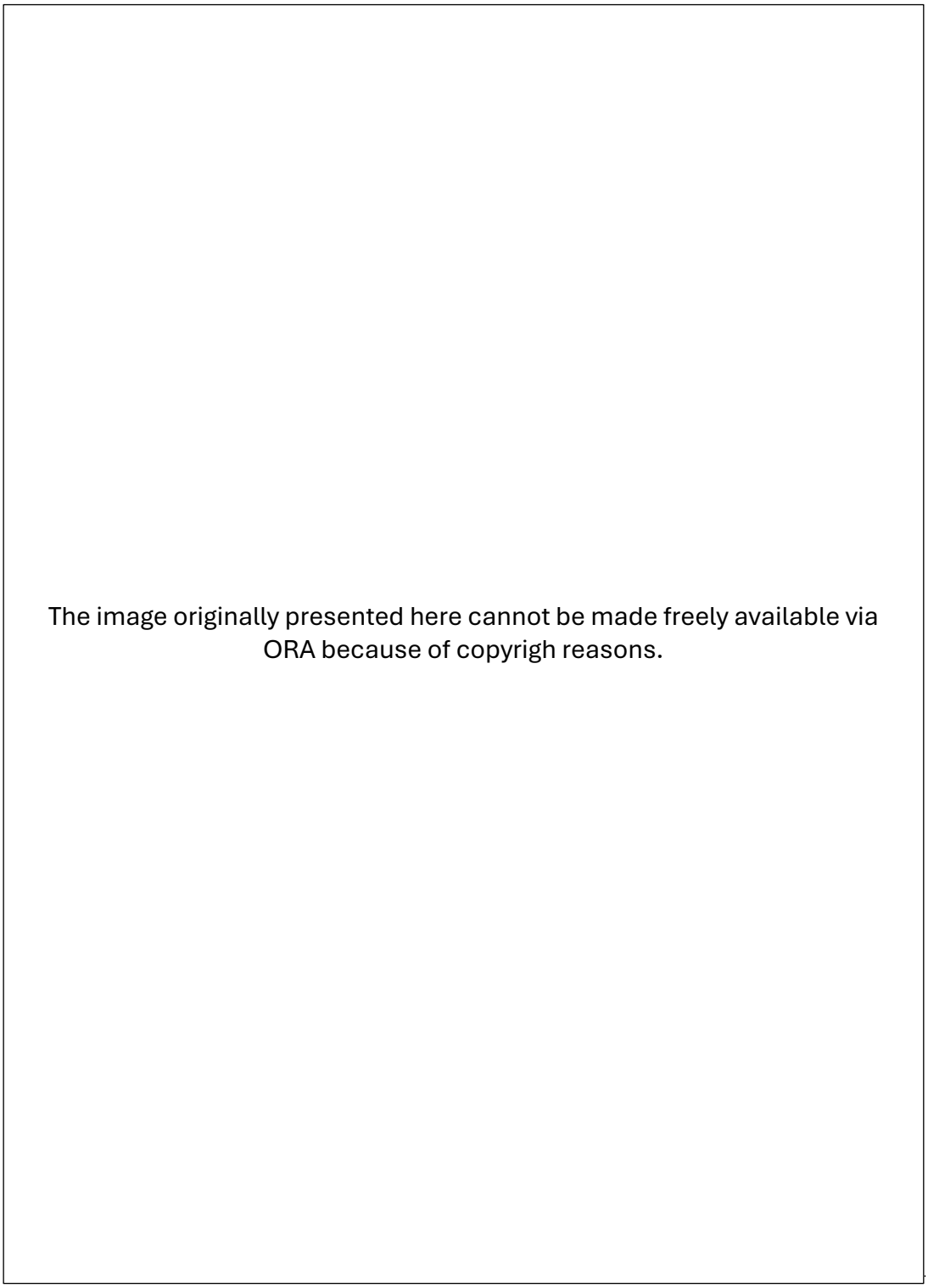

Figure 1.9—Different trading models articulated by Renfrew (1975: 42, fig. 10), where "circles a and b indicate respectively the point of origin and the place of receipt of the commodity, squares A and B the person at the source and the recipient. Circle p is a central place, square P a central person. Exchange transactions are indicated by a cross, and territorial boundaries by a broken line".



Figure 1.10— Possible directions and connections of trading networks during the 14th–13th century BC (Cazzella and Recchia 2009: 33, Fig. 33).



Figure 2.1 Map with the sites mentioned in the Chapter (image by Author with QGIS; map data ©2015 Google).

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Figure 2.2—North-facing aerial view: 1. promontory of Roca Vecchia; 2. 16th century tower; 3. Poesia Grande cave; 4. Poesia Piccola cave; 5. Torre dell'Orso bay (modified after Dinielli 2016: 7, Figure 2).

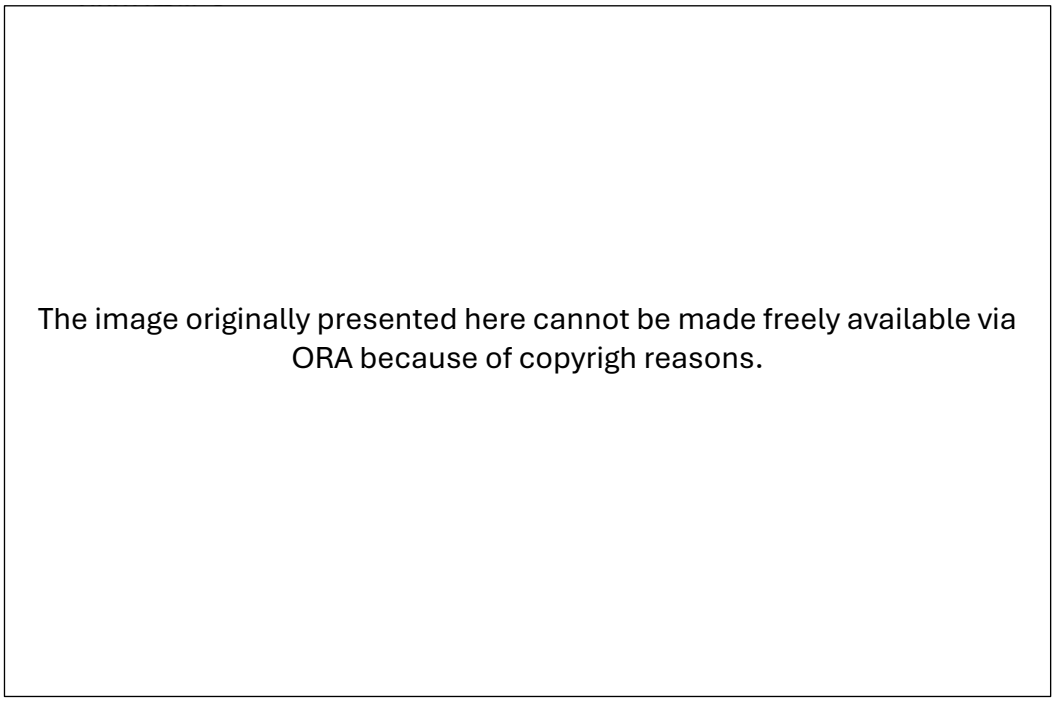

Figure 2.3—Possible changes in the coastline (Pagliara 1987a: Table XXXVI).

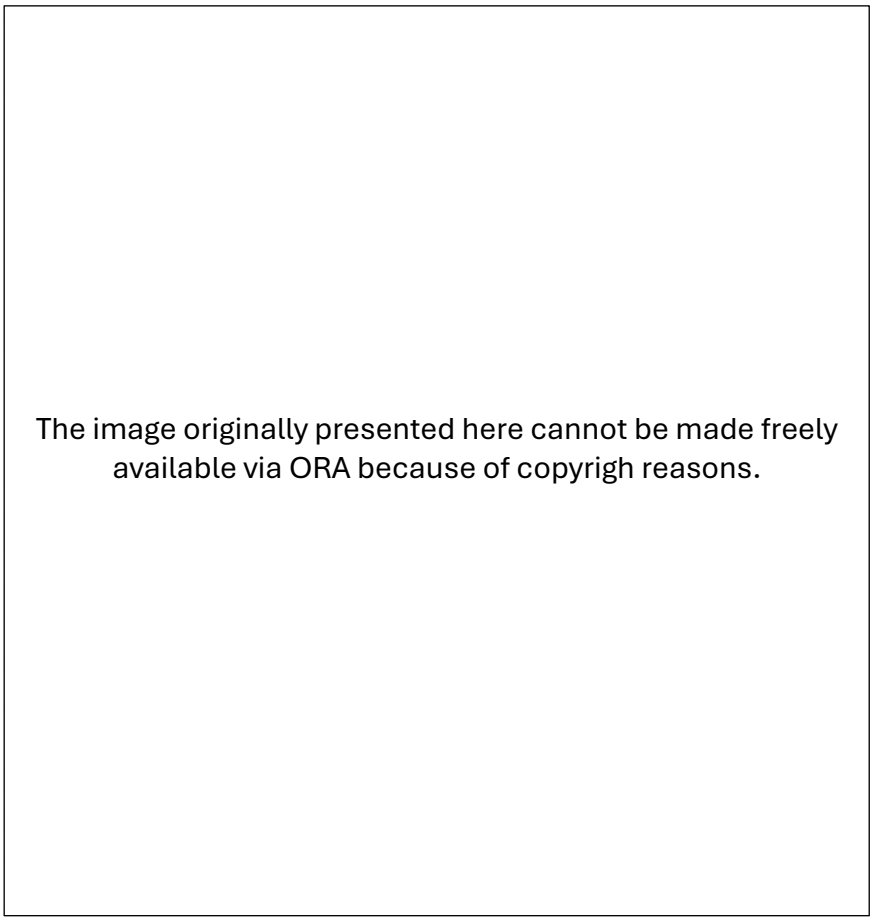

Figure 2.4—Double axes and bucrania engraved on the walls of Grotta Poesia (Guglielmino and Pagliara 2004, Figure 279).

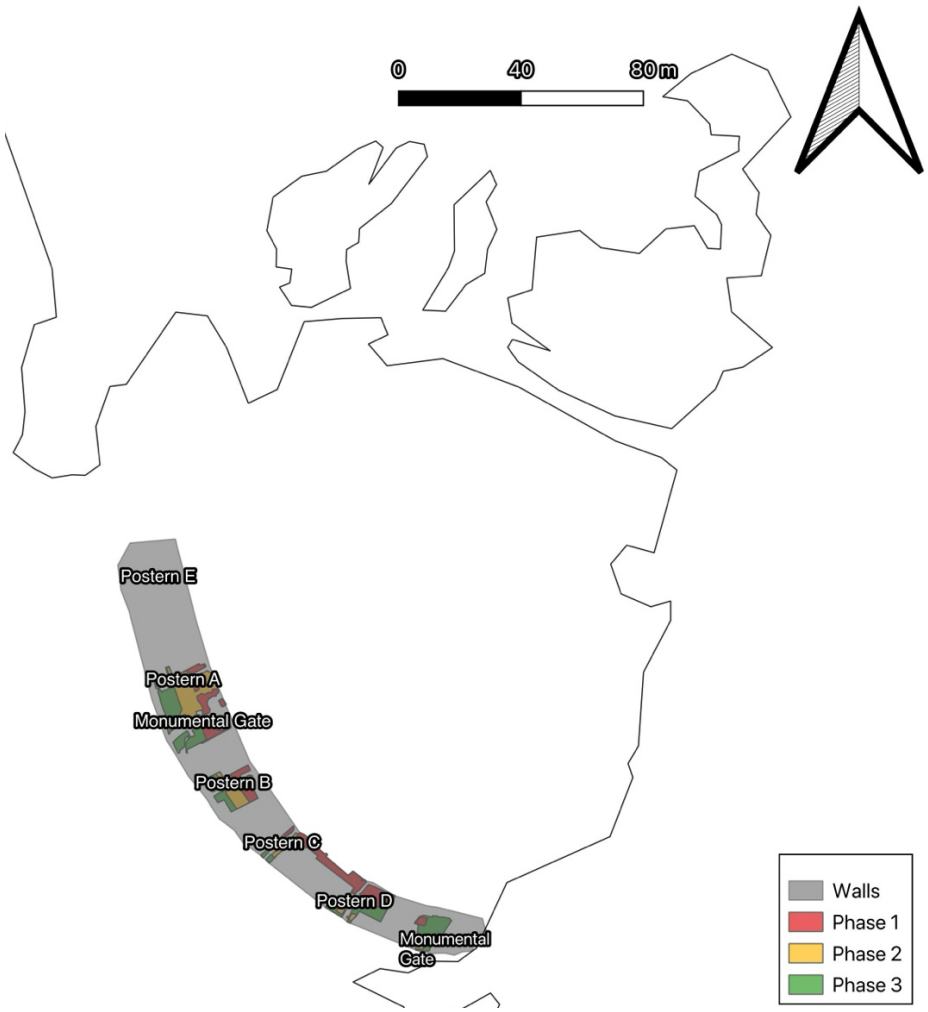

Figure 2.5—Overview of the MBA fortification walls (image by Author with QGIS based on OpenStreetMap contributors 2015; Scarano 2012a: 52–61 figs 2.22, 2.34, and 2.47).

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Figure 2.6—First phase of MBA fortification walls in red (based on Scarano 2012a: 52, Figure 2.22).

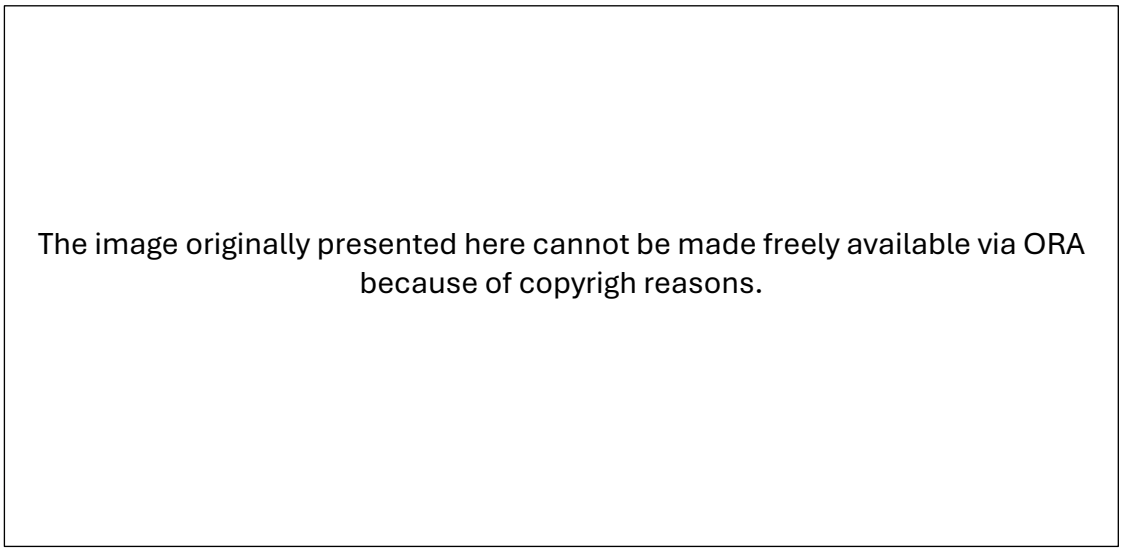

Figure 2.7—Second phase of MBA fortification walls in yellow (based on Scarano 2012a: 56, Figure 2.34).



Figure 2.8—Third phase of MBA fortification walls in green (based on Scarano 2012a: 61, Figure 2.47).

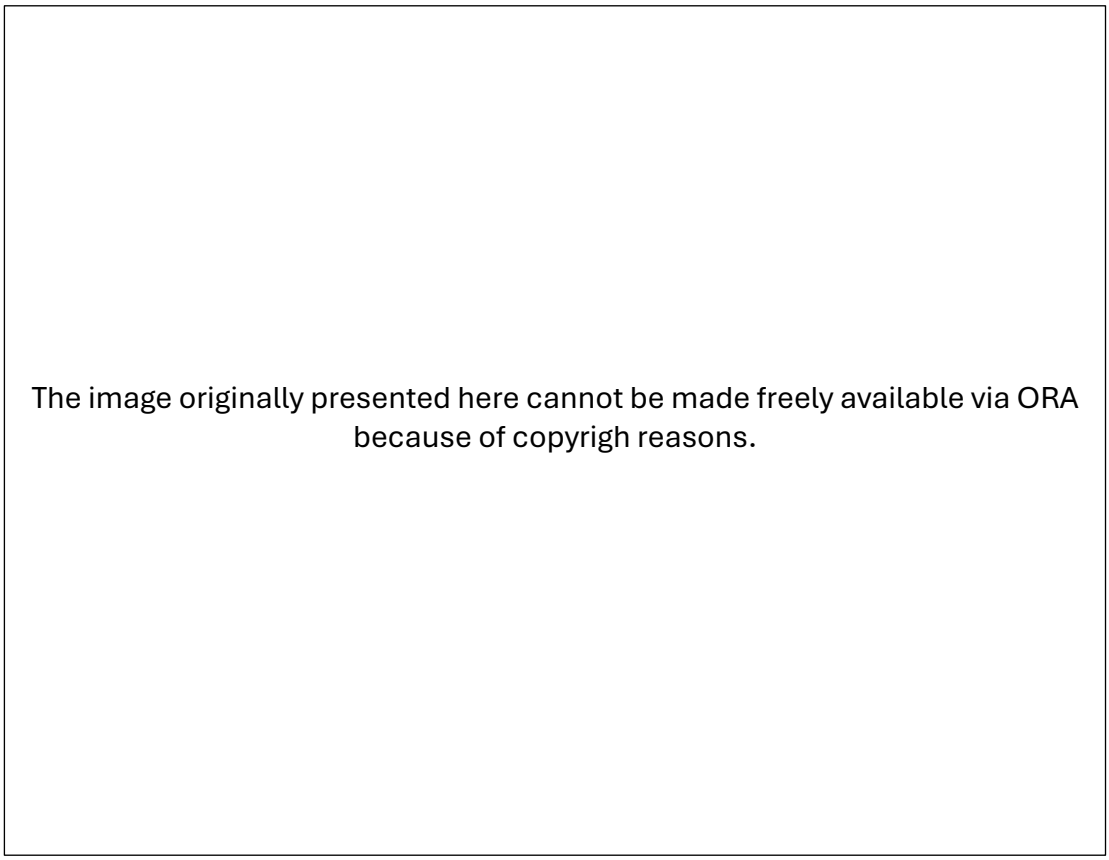

Figure 2.9—Monumental Gate (Scarano 2012a: 112, Figure 3.127).

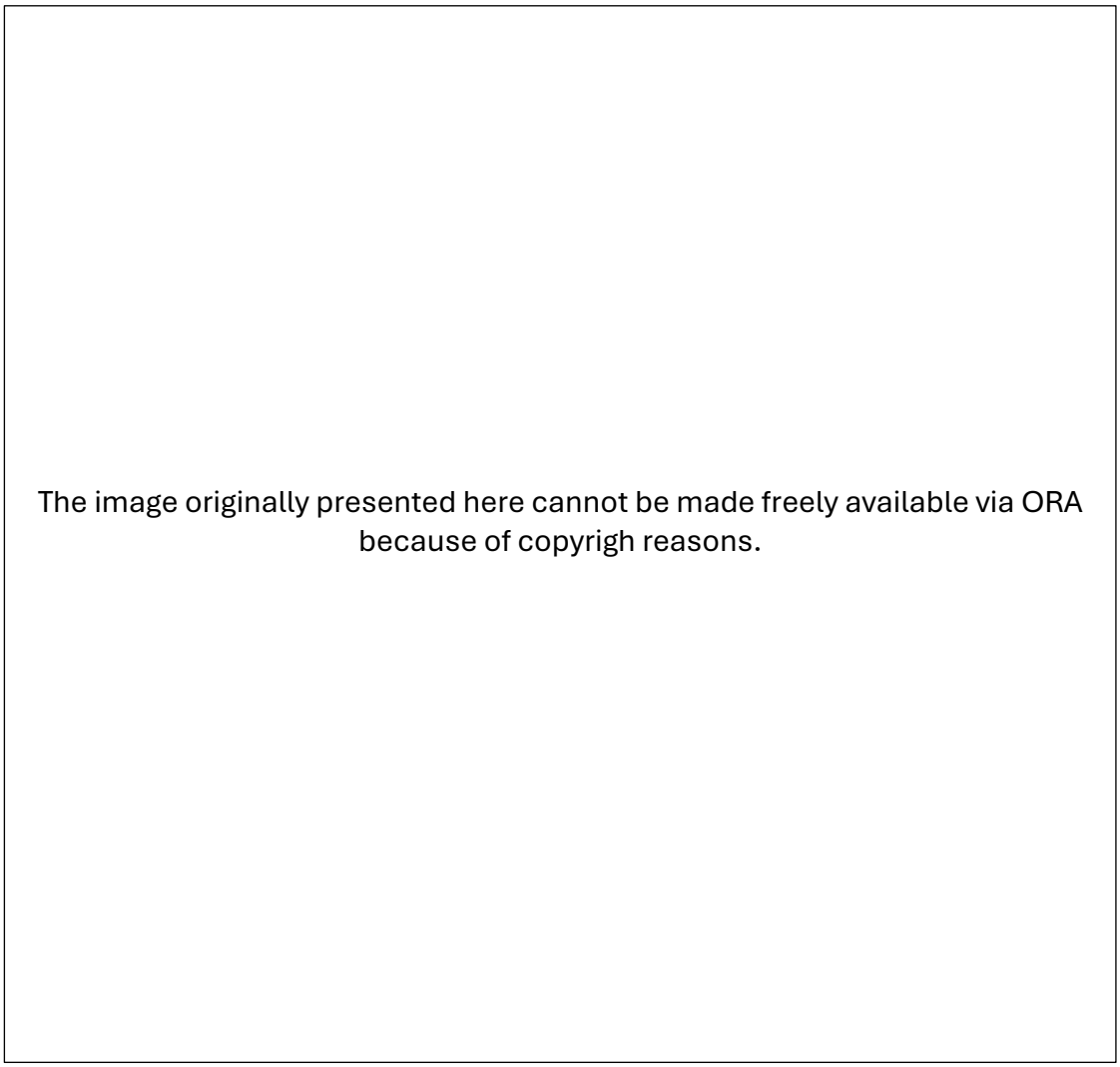

Figure 2.10—Chamber S, Monumental Gate, Roca Vecchia (based on Guglielmino 2005b, Table CLXVIIg; Scarano 2012a: 105, 116, Figure 3.100).

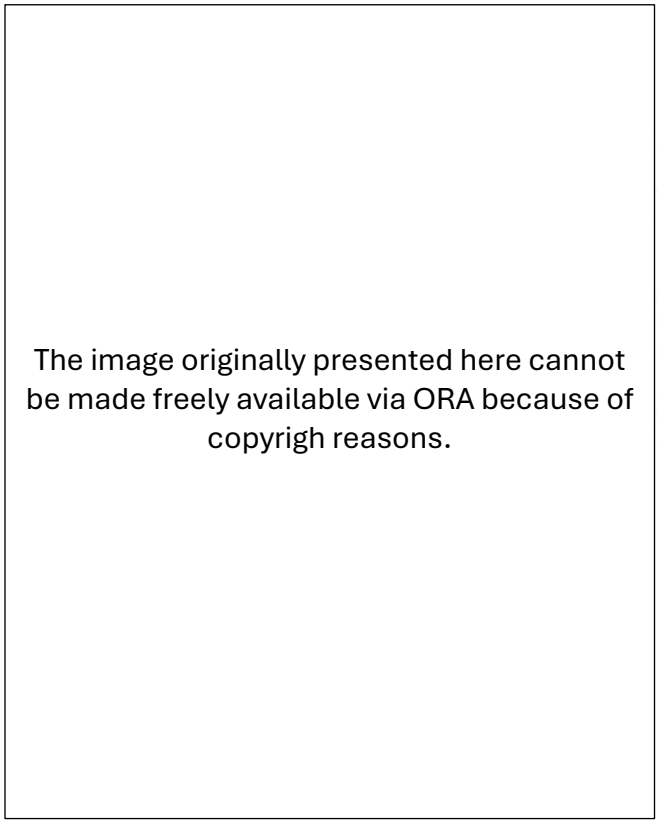

Figure 2.11—Duck pyxis from Chamber S, Main Gate, Roca Vecchia (left, Guglielmino *et al*. 2011: 176, Fig. 15.1a) and duck pyxis from Phourni, Crete (right, Sakellarakis 1971, Table 50β. Scale not available).

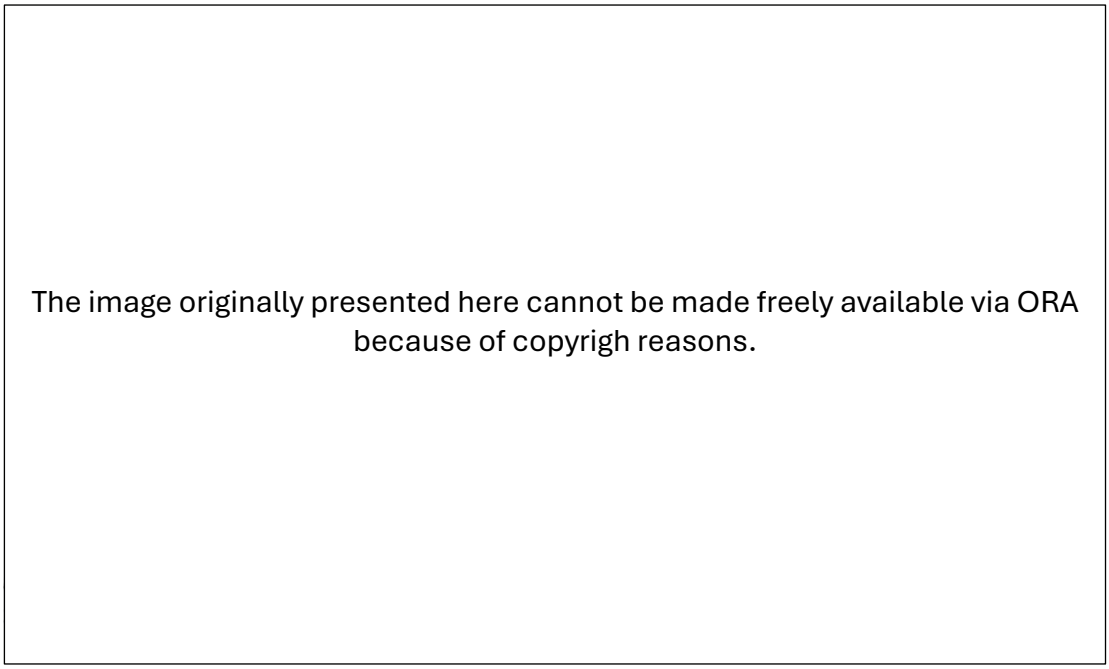

Figure 2.12—MBA fortifications at Roca Vecchia with Main Gate (P) and posterns labelled A–D, postern E is not visible as located at the northern edge (modified after Cazzella and Recchia 2013a: 49, Figure 4).

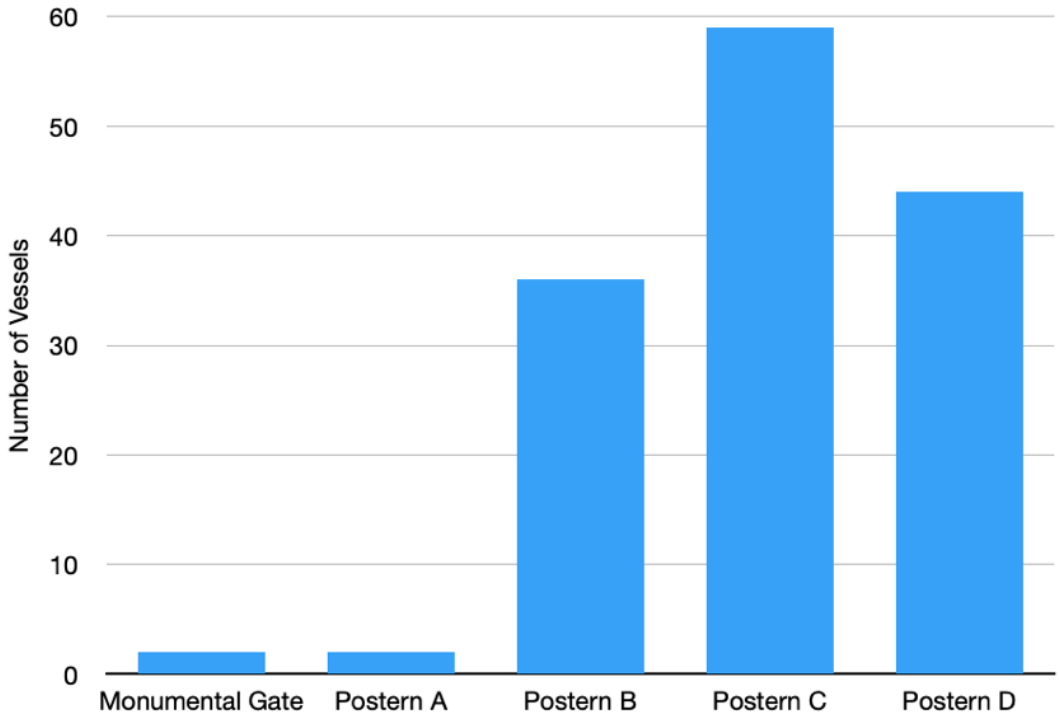

Figure 2.13—Intact and reconstructed pottery from the MBA Phase 3 fortification walls according to their archaeological context (based on Scarano 2011b: 117, Fig. 13A).

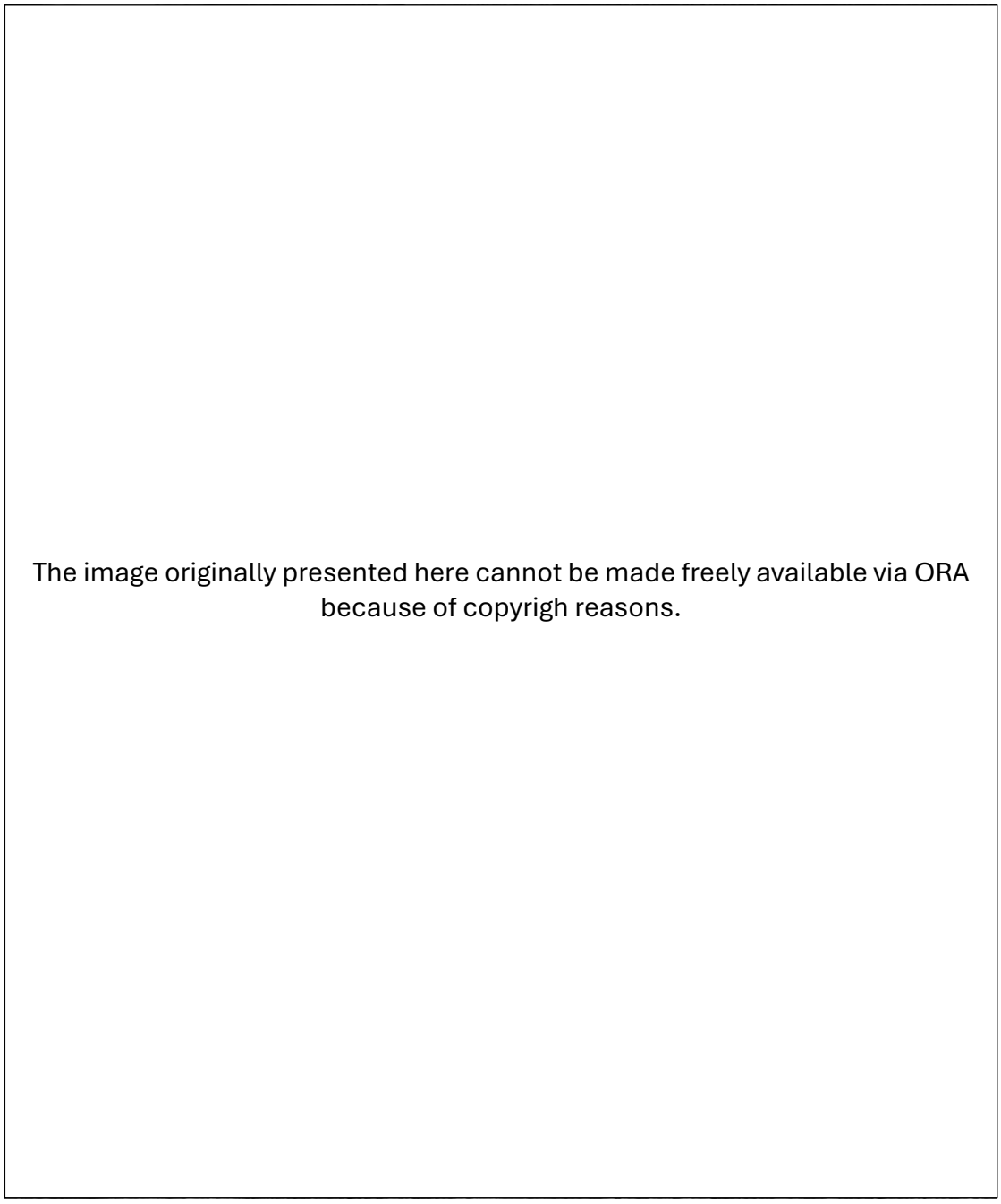

Figure 2.14—MBA stone slab masonry (above) and RBA pseudo-ashlar masonry (below) on the inner front of the fortification walls (Scarano 2011b: 99, Figure 2C–D).

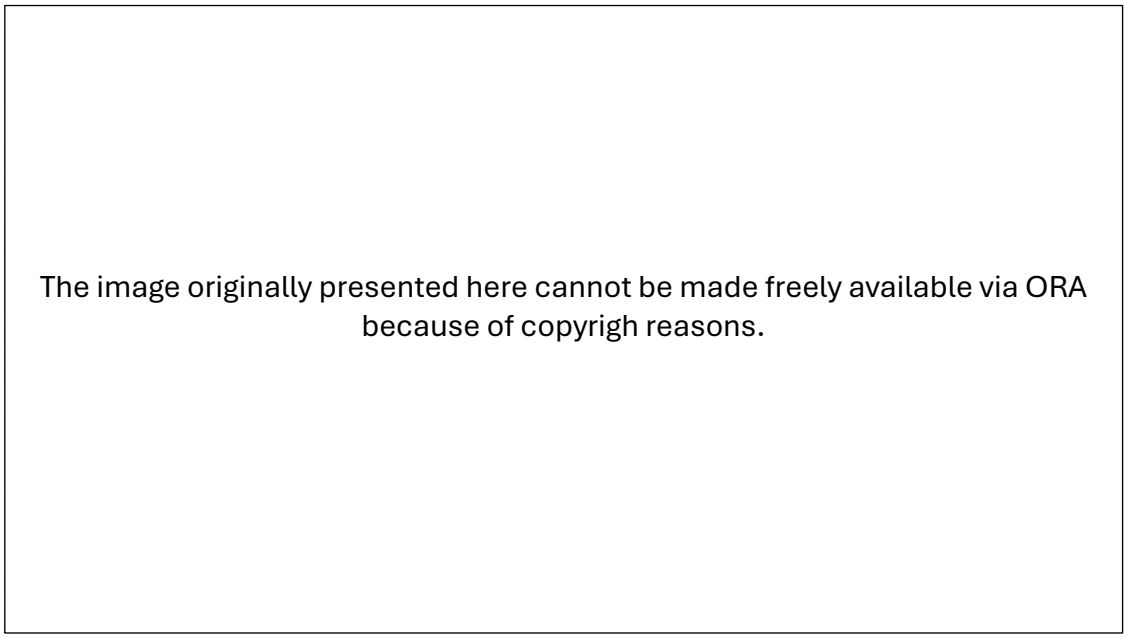

Figure 2.15—Plan of Roca Vecchia with distribution of MBA evidence (Iacono 2013b: 447, Figure 4.1.11).

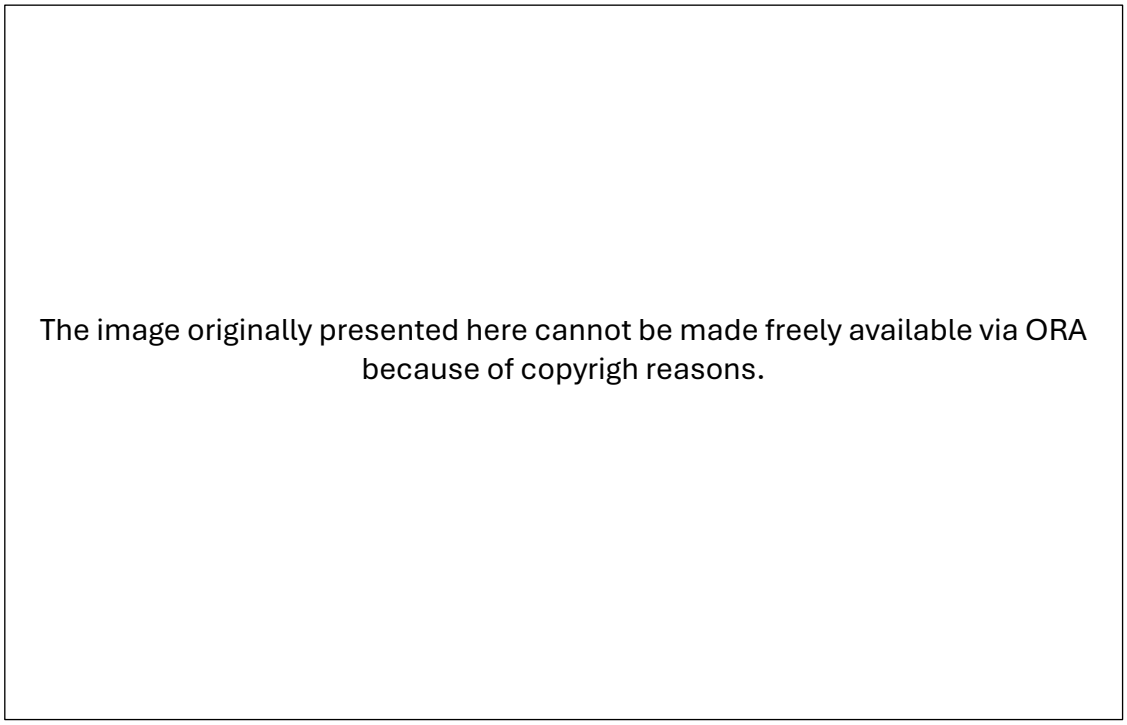

Figure 2.16—Excavation of a hypogeum located on the cliff of the promontory (Guglielmino 2014: 201, Figure 109).

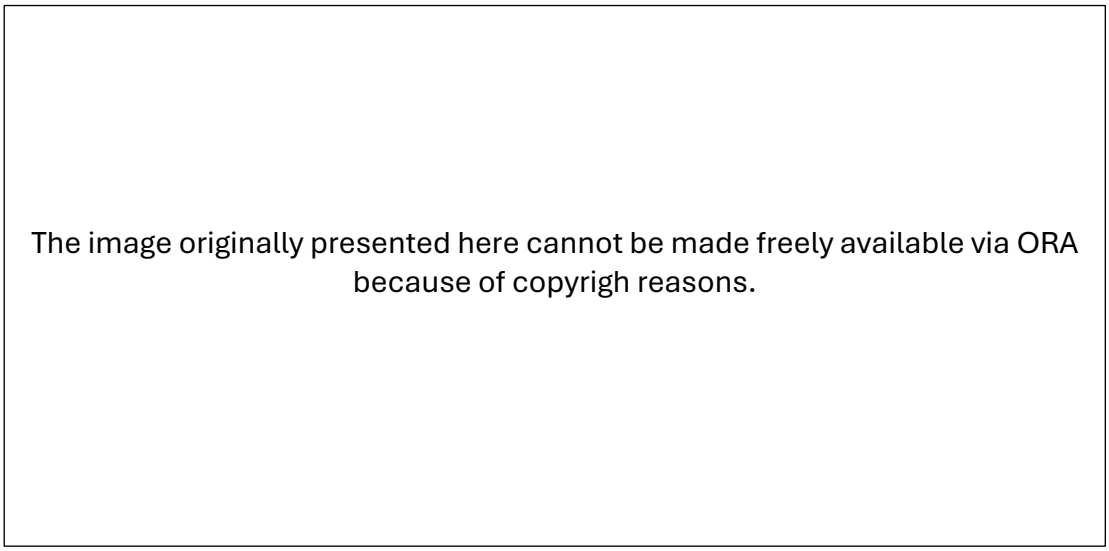

Figure 2.17—Plan and section of a MBA hypogeum structure (Guglielmino 2014: 202, Figure 111).

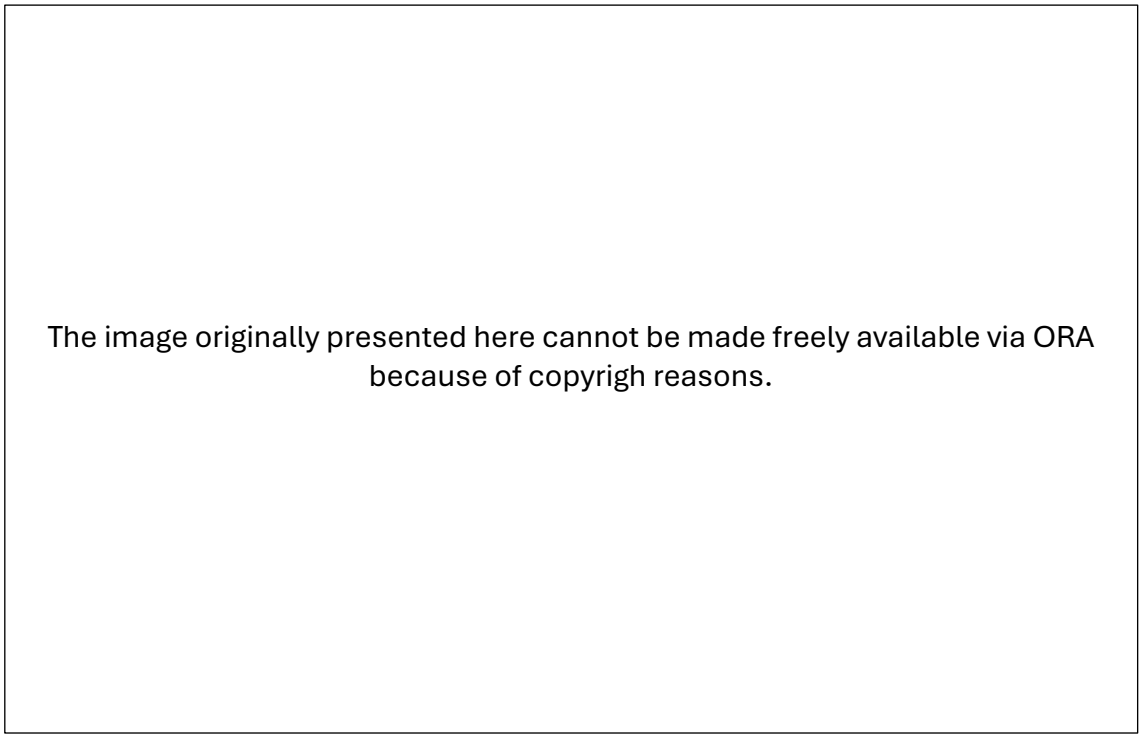

Figure 2.18—Italo-Mycenaean fragment of rim and wall of a MBA cup, Roca Vecchia (Guglielmino *et al.* 2010a: 276, Figure 10).

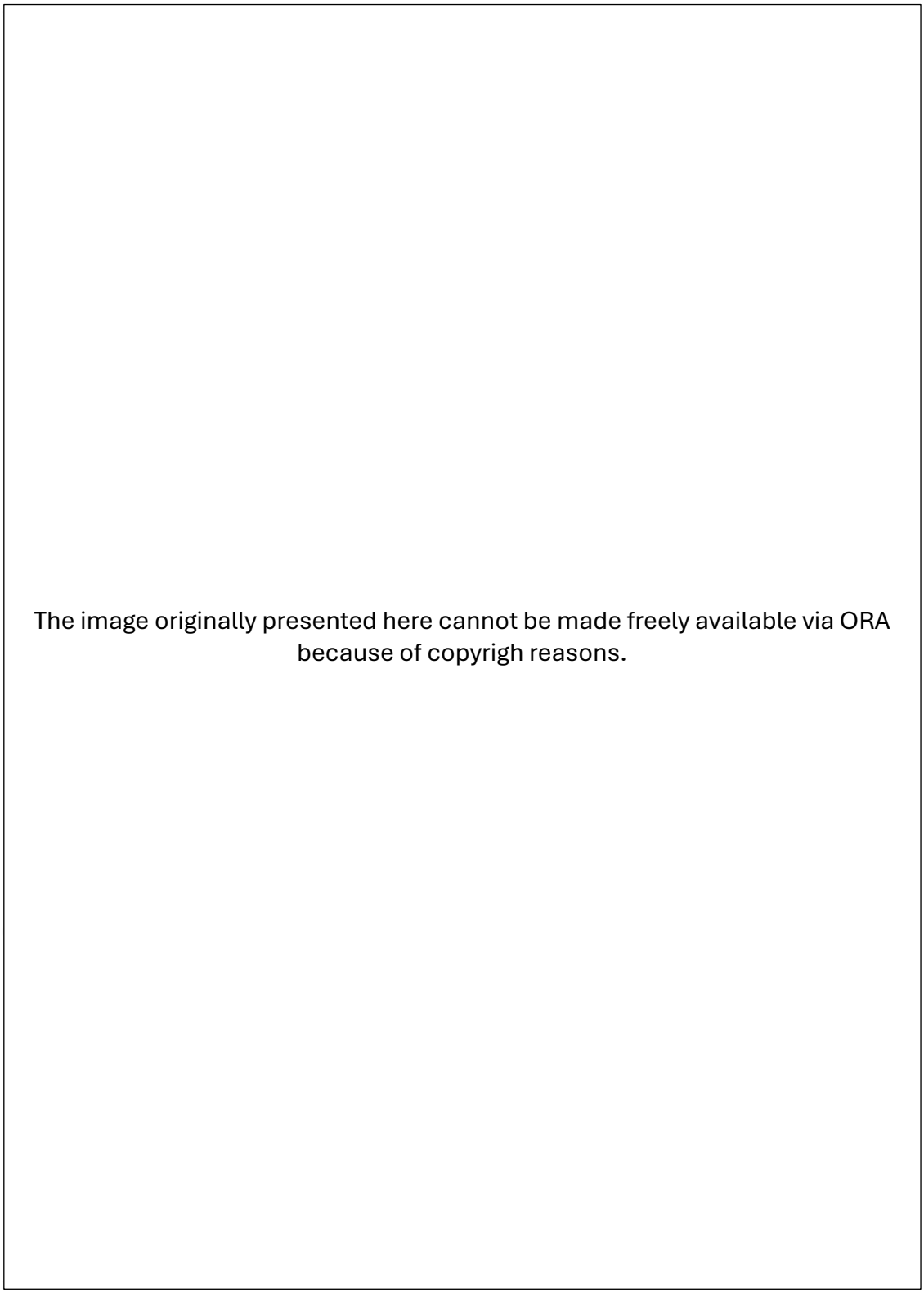

Figure 2.19—Excavation plan of MBA hut, SAS X (modified after Pagliara *et al*. 2007: 325, Figure 7).

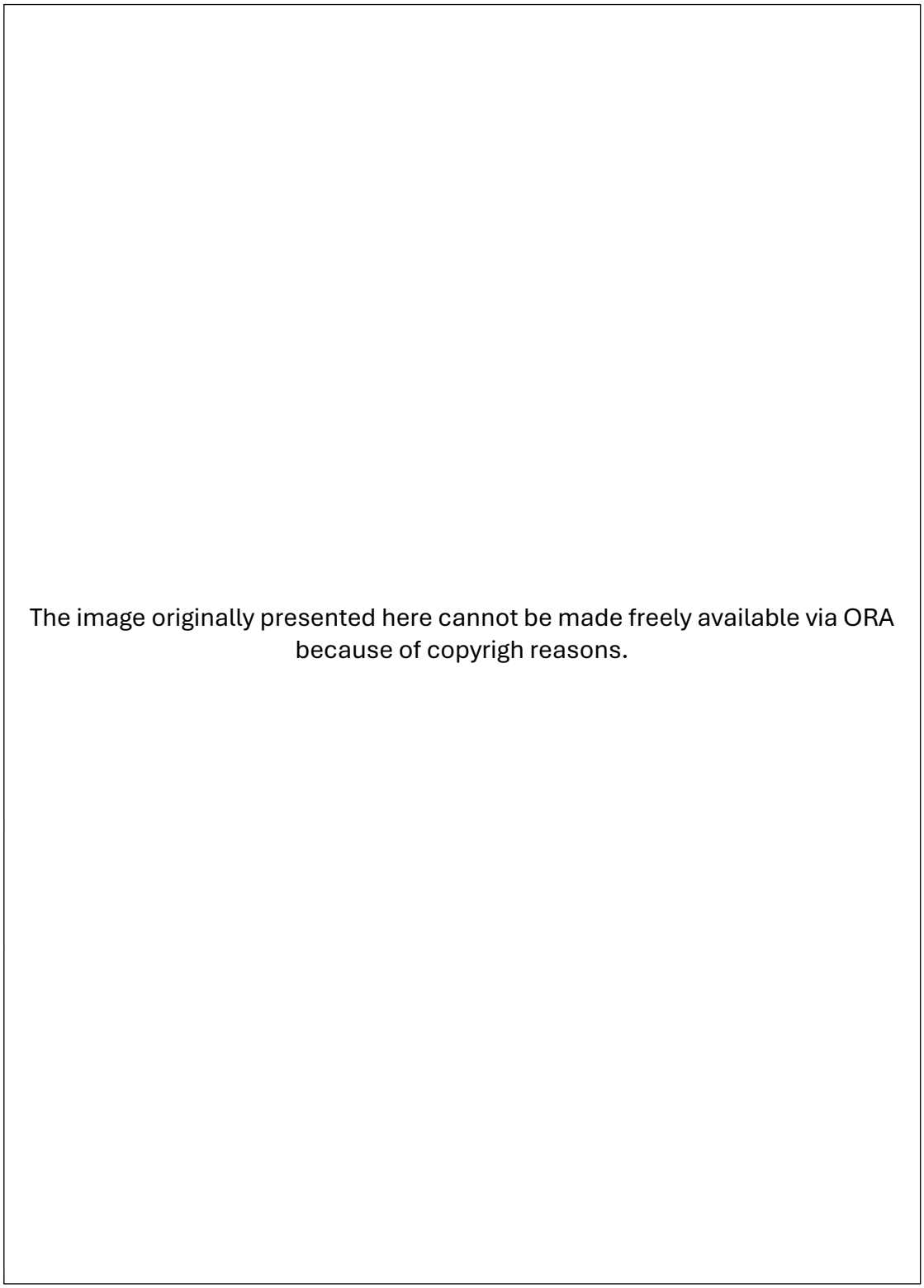

Figure 2.20—Excavation plan of RBA 2 hut, SAS X (modified after Pagliara *et al*. 2007: 321, Figure 5).

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Figure 2.21—Copper-alloy violin-bow fibula (left) and ring (right) recovered from the RBA 2 hut, SAS X (Pagliara *et al*. 2007: 349).

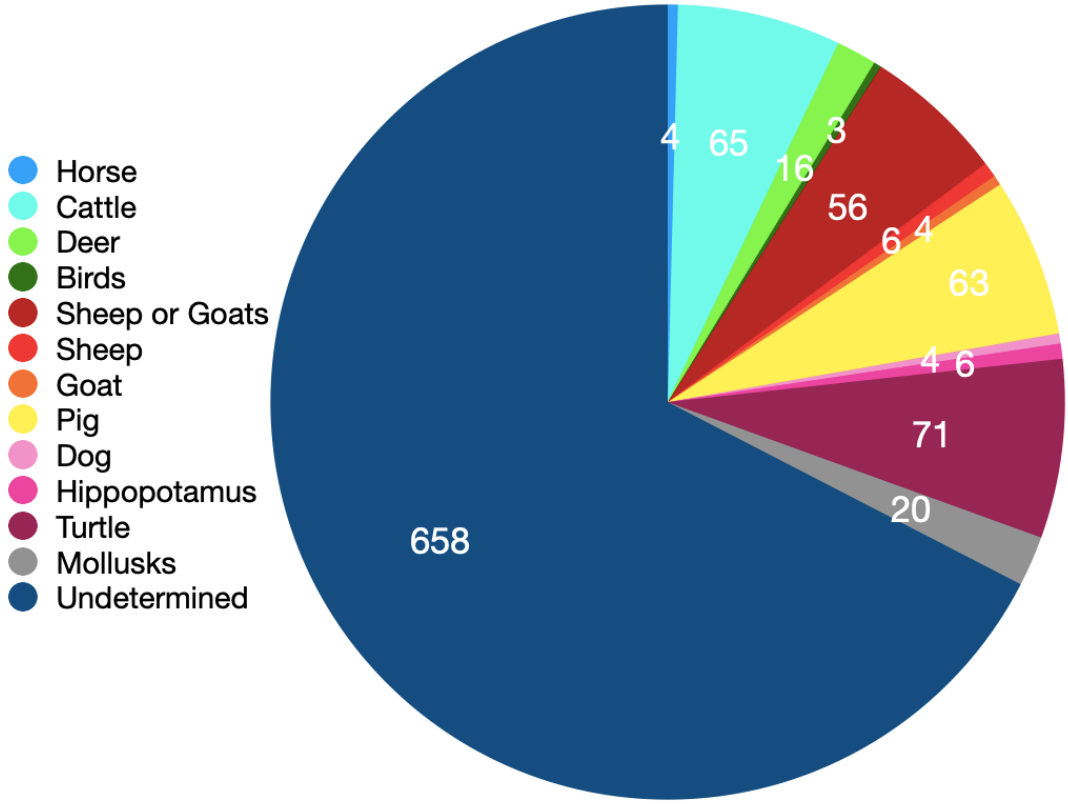

Figure 2.22—Number of faunal remains identified from RBA 2 structure, SAS X (graph by Author based on Pagliara *et al.* 2007: 350, Table I)

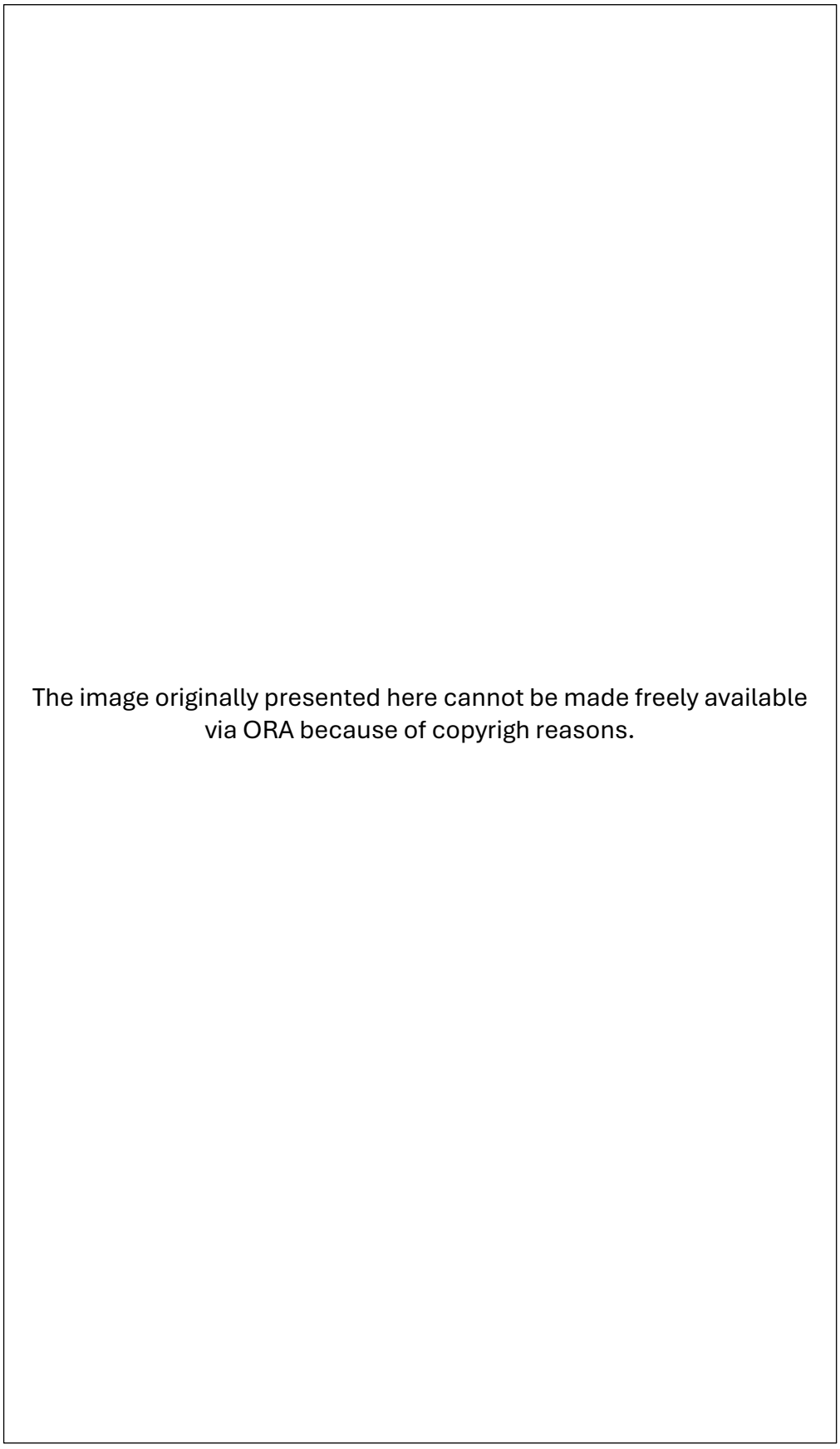

Figure 2.23—Excavation plan of RBA 2 structure, SAS IX (based on Pagliara *et al.* 2008: 250, Figure 8).

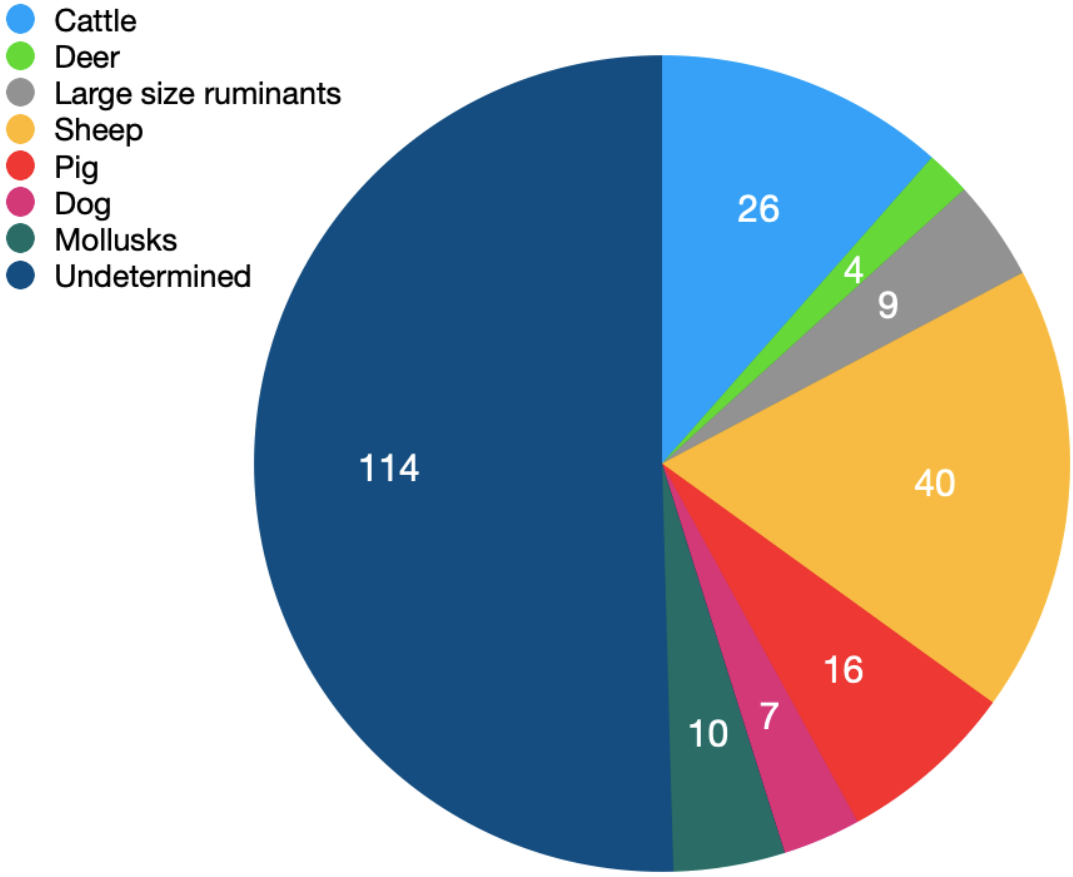

Figure 2.24—Number of faunal remains identified from RBA 2 structure, SAS IX (graph by Author based on Pagliara *et al.* 2008: 269, Table V).

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Figure 2.25—Red steatite lentoid seal from Roca Vecchia (Pagliara *et al.* 2008: 264, Fig. 15B).

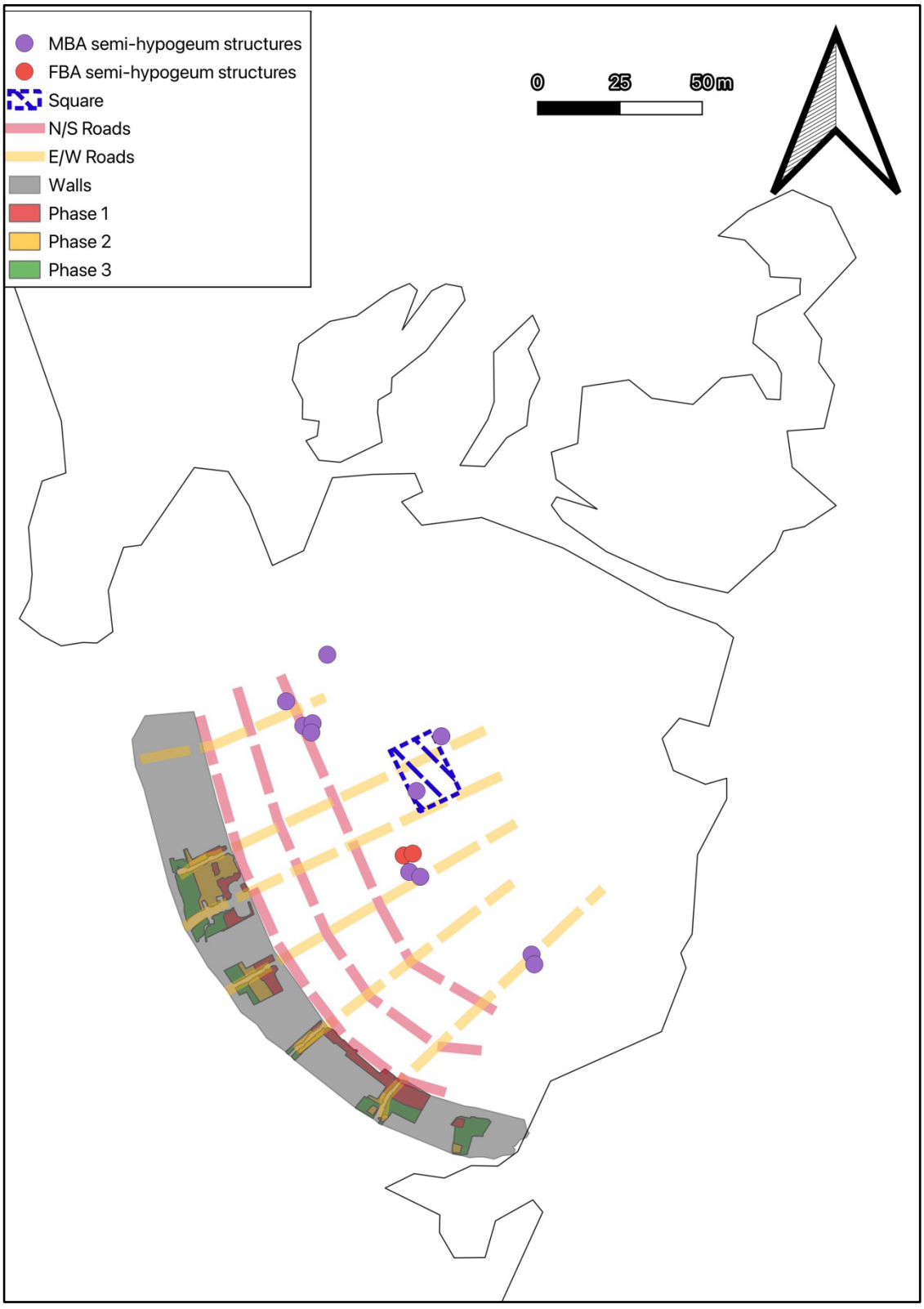

Figure 2.26—Possible reconstruction of FBA road system in Roca Vecchia (image by Author with QGIS based on OpenStreetMap contributors 2015; Scarano 2012a: 52–61 figs 2.22, 2.34, and 2.47; Iacono 2013b, figs. 4.1.11 and 6.1.11).

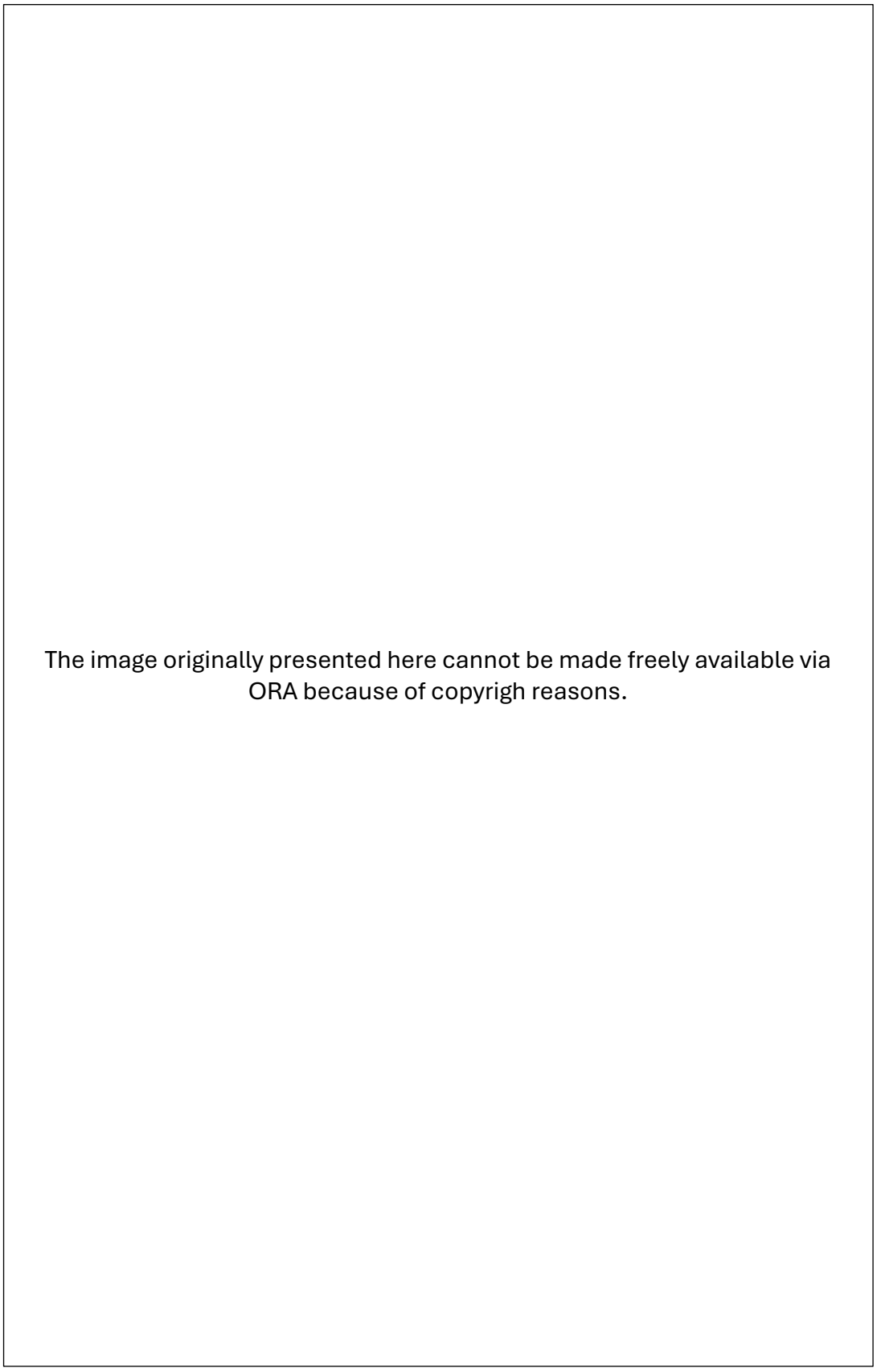

Figure 2.27—Excavation plan of FBA 1 structure with indications of the three different occupation areas, SAS X (based on Pagliara *et al.* 2007: 319, Figure 4).

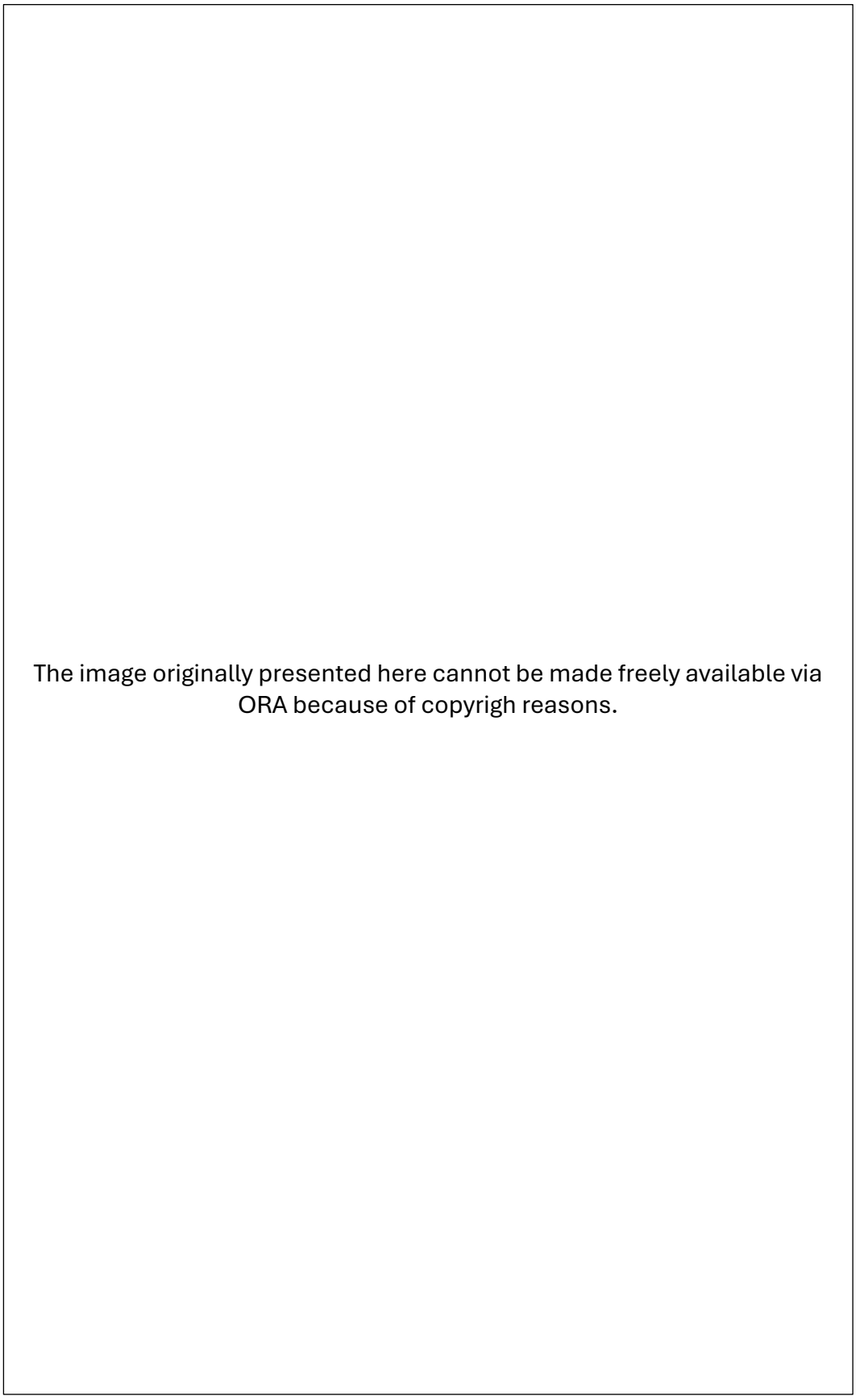

Figure 2.28— Excavation plan of FBA 2 structure, SAS X (based on Pagliara *et al.* 2007: 317, Figure 3).

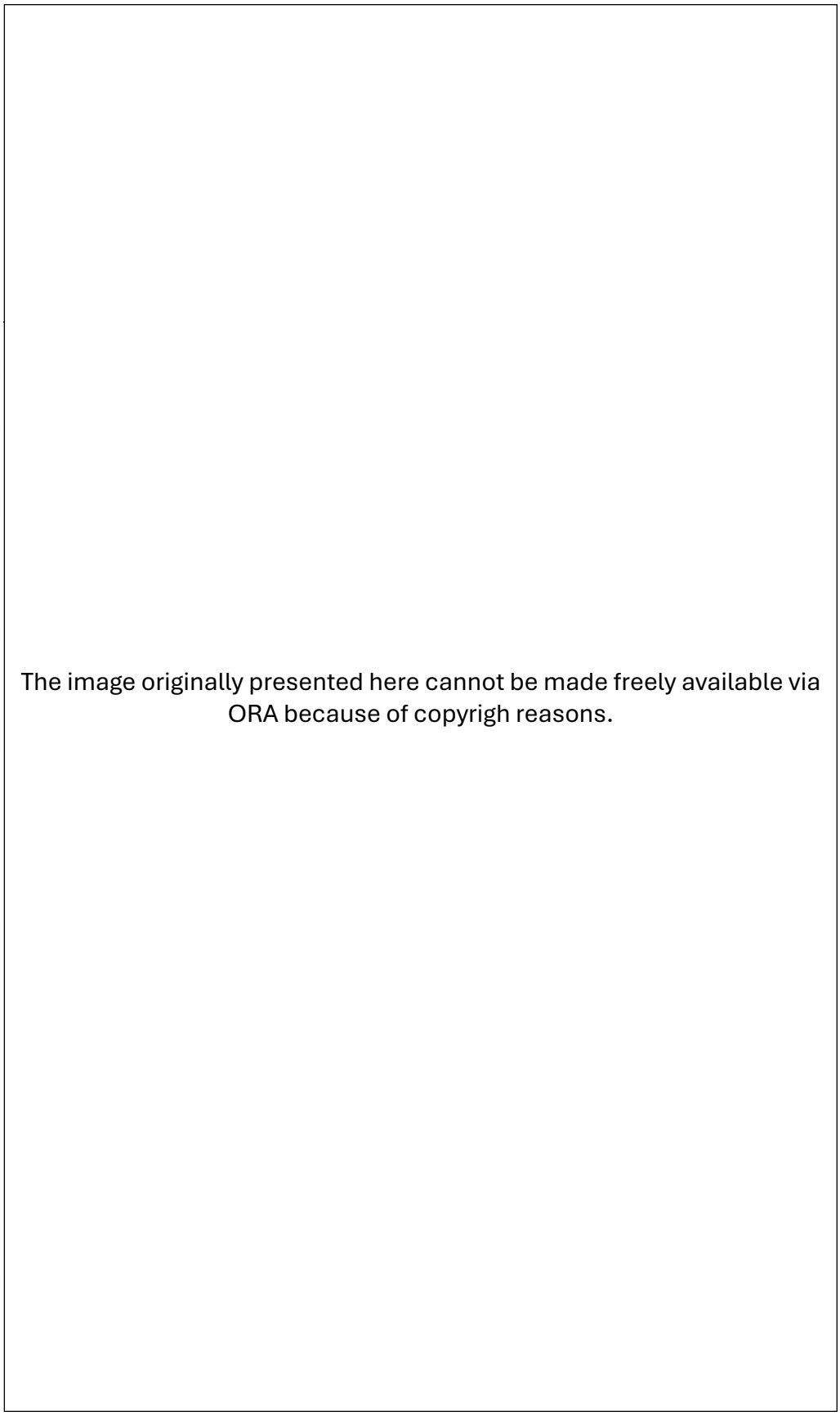

Figure 2.29—Excavation plan of FBA 1 structure, SAS IX (based on Pagliara *et al.* 2008: 246, Figure 5).



Figure 2.30—Plant and reconstruction of Temple-Hut (Coluccia 2017: 558, Figure 1).

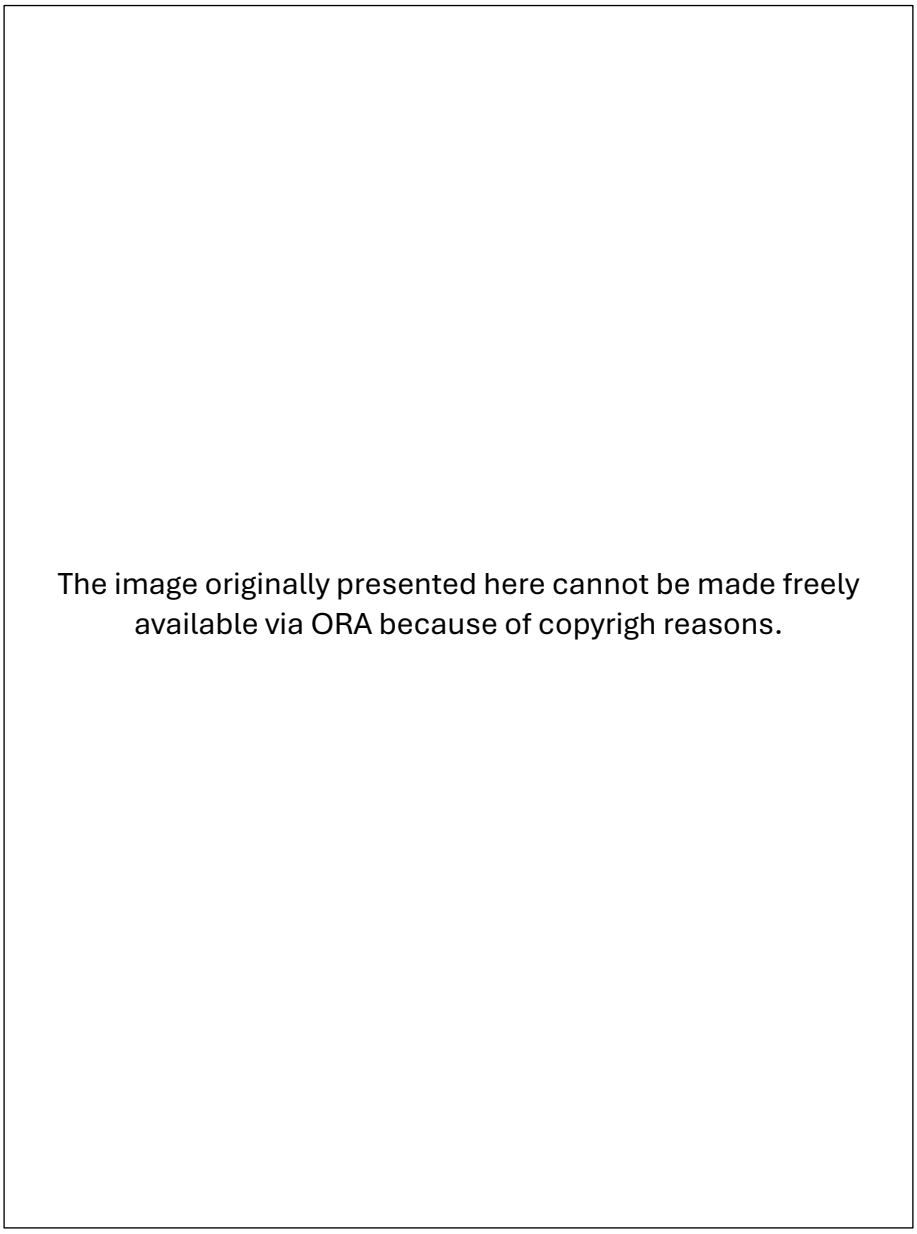

Figure 2.31—Excavation plan of FBA 2 structure, SAS IX (based on Malorgio and Maggiulli 2011: 127, Figure 2; Iacono 2013a: 529).

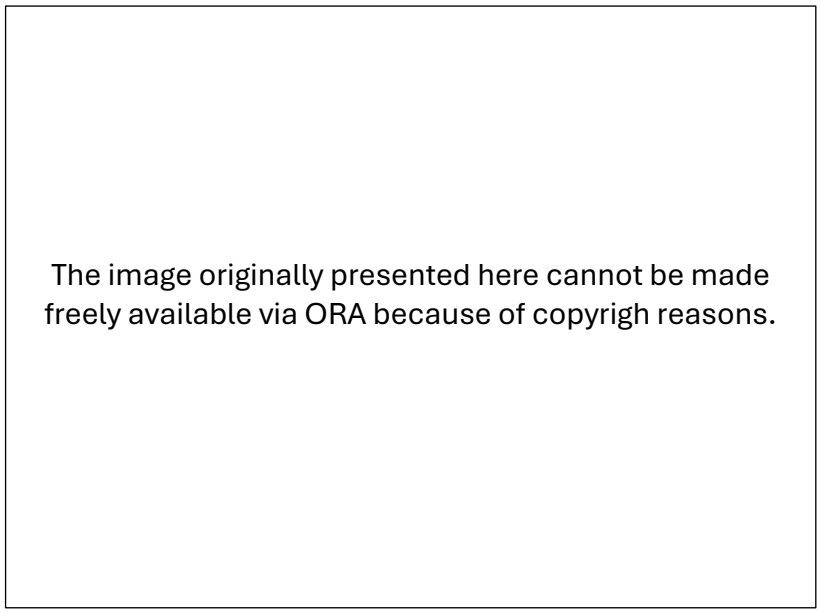

Figure 2.32—Terracotta anthropomorphic figurines (Guglielmino 2005b).

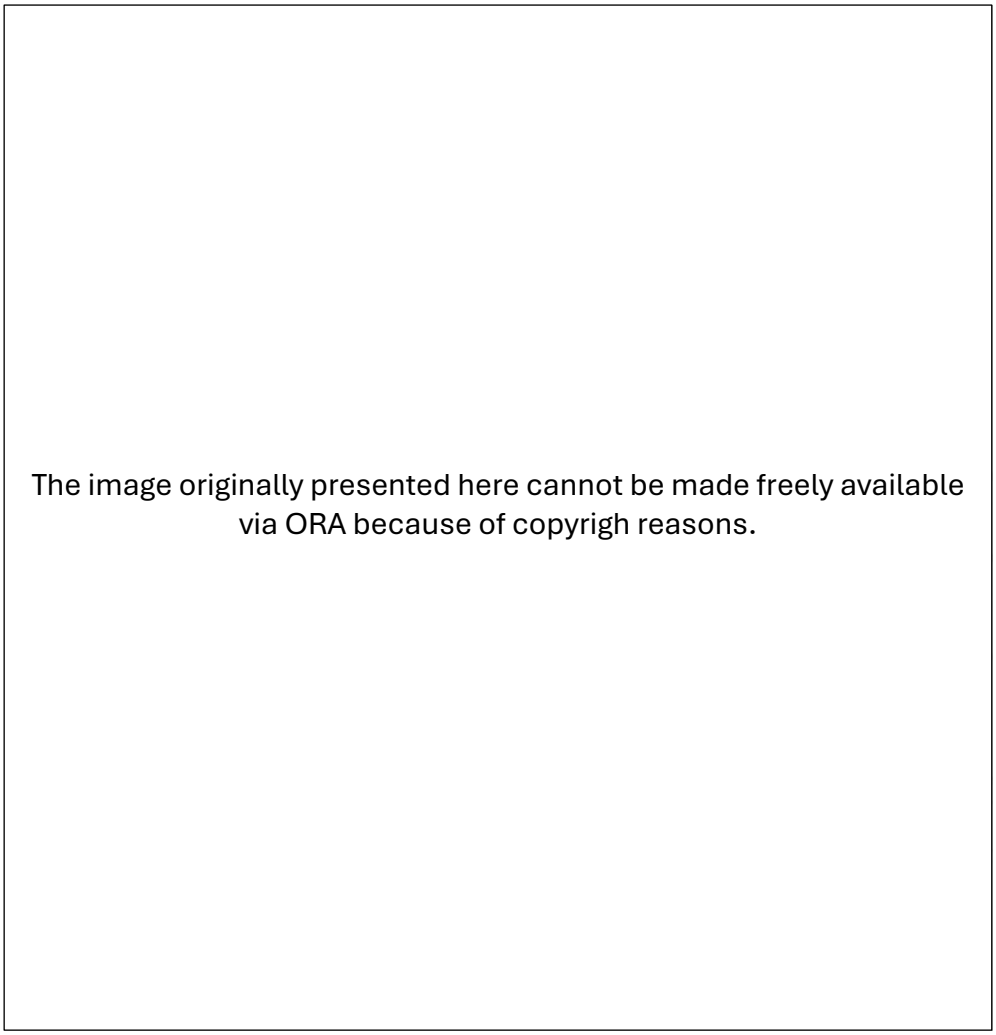

Figure 2.33—Northeast sector of the Temple-Hut. Key: 1. Gold artefacts; 2. Figurine; 3. Bench; 4. Antlers; 5. Urn; 6. Platform; R. Hoard of Gold; S. Pig remains (Maggiulli and Malorgio 2017: 545, Fig. 4).



Figure 2.34—Bronze double axe from the Temple-Hut at Roca Vecchia (Guglielmino 2003: 112, Figure 33).

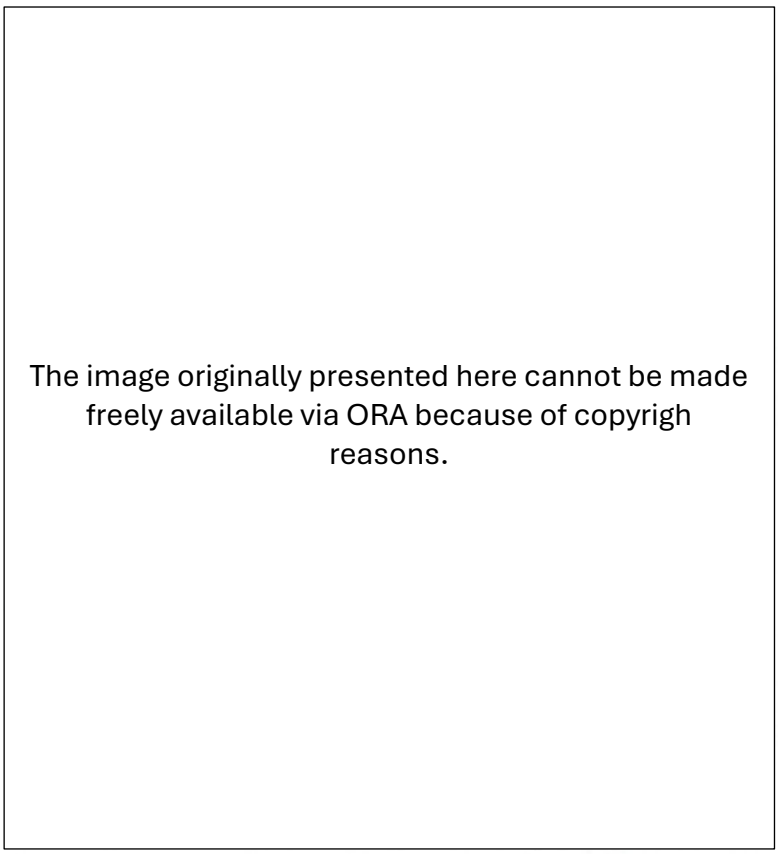

Figure 2.35—Drawing of the calcarenite and clay platform, Temple-Hut, Roca Vecchia (Guglielmino 2003: 110, Figure 27).

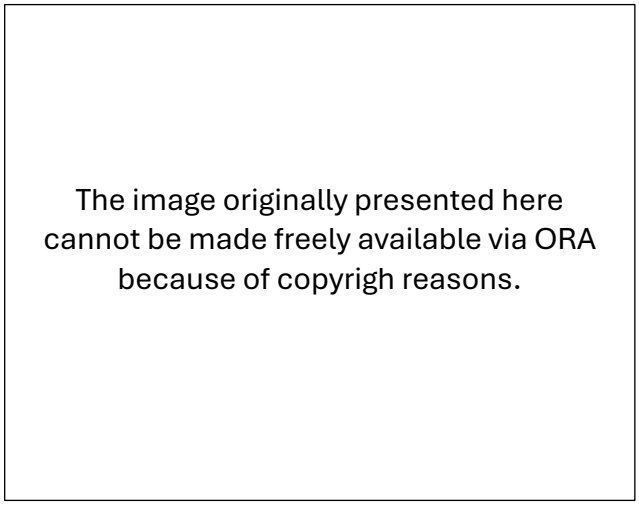

Figure 2.36—Horseshoe shaped altar, Shrine Γ, Mycenae (Mylonas 1977, Plate IV).

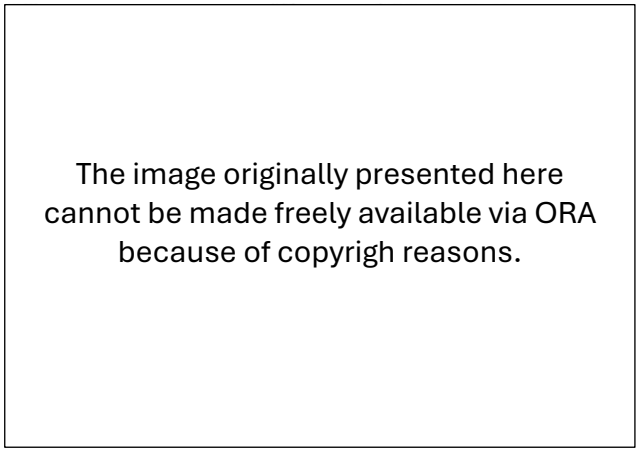

Figure 2.37—Double-axe decorated cooking stand (Guglielmino and Pagliara 2004, Figure 264).



Figure 2.38—Drawing of tripod tray (Guglielmino 2008: 32, Figure 1.2).



Figure 2.39—Clay tripod tray from Roca Vecchia (left) and offering altar from Akrotiri (right; Guglielmino 2003: 112, Figures 31 and 32).

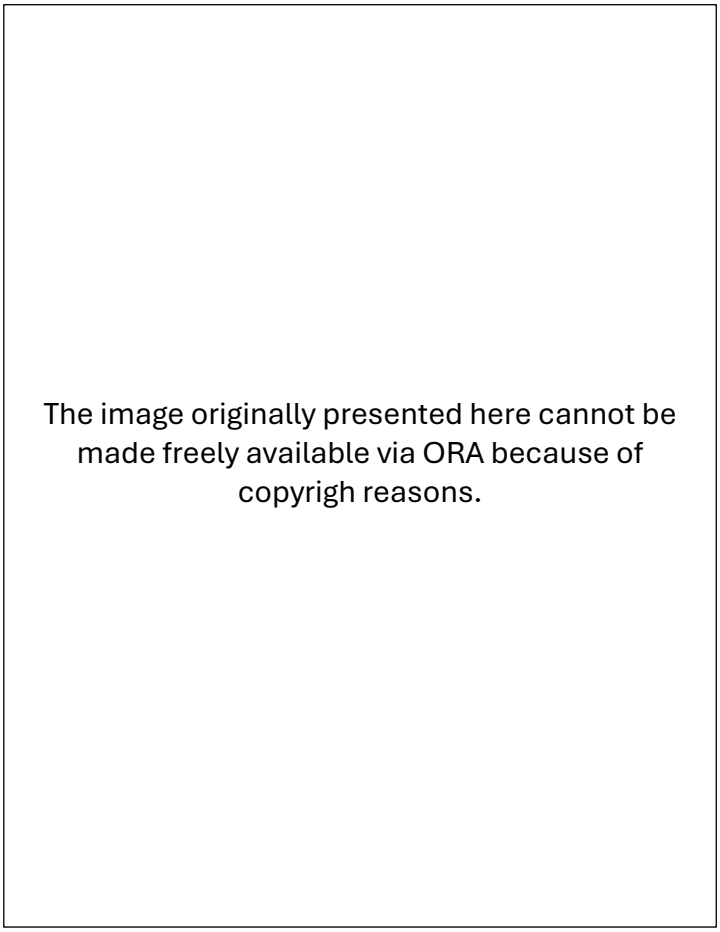

Figure 2.40—Some of the items recovered from the Hoard of Gold (Maggiulli 2009a: 310, Figure 2).



Figure 2.41—Sun discs from the Hoard of Gold (Maggiulli 2006: 127).

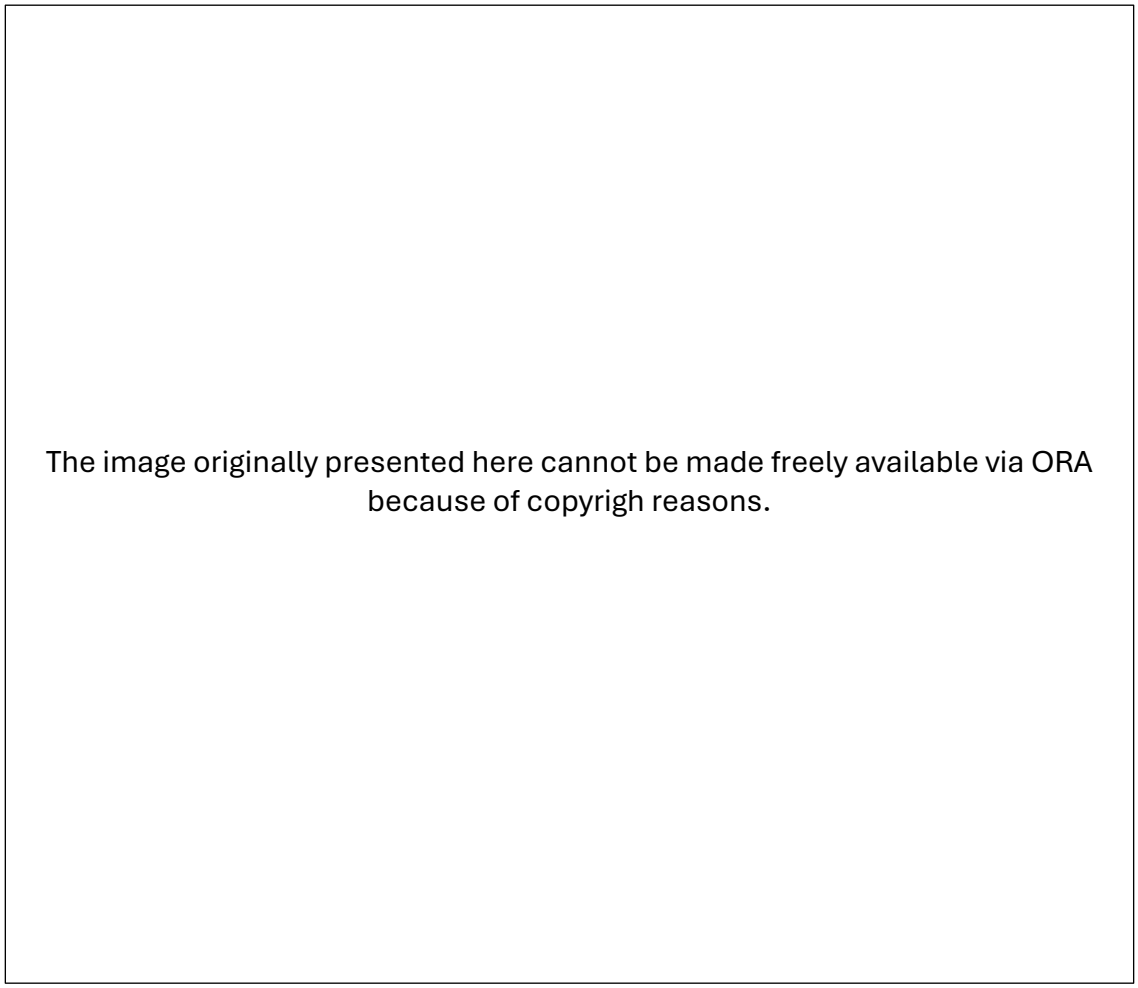

Figure 2.42—Sun discs recovered from the floor of the Temple-Hut next to the Hoard of Gold. A. folded gold foils; B–C. open foils reconstructing the two discs (Maggiulli 2006: 128).



Figure 2.43—Embossed gold foil sun discs from A. Redù; B. Gualdo Tadino; C. Delos (Càssola Guida 2014: 35, Figure 1).

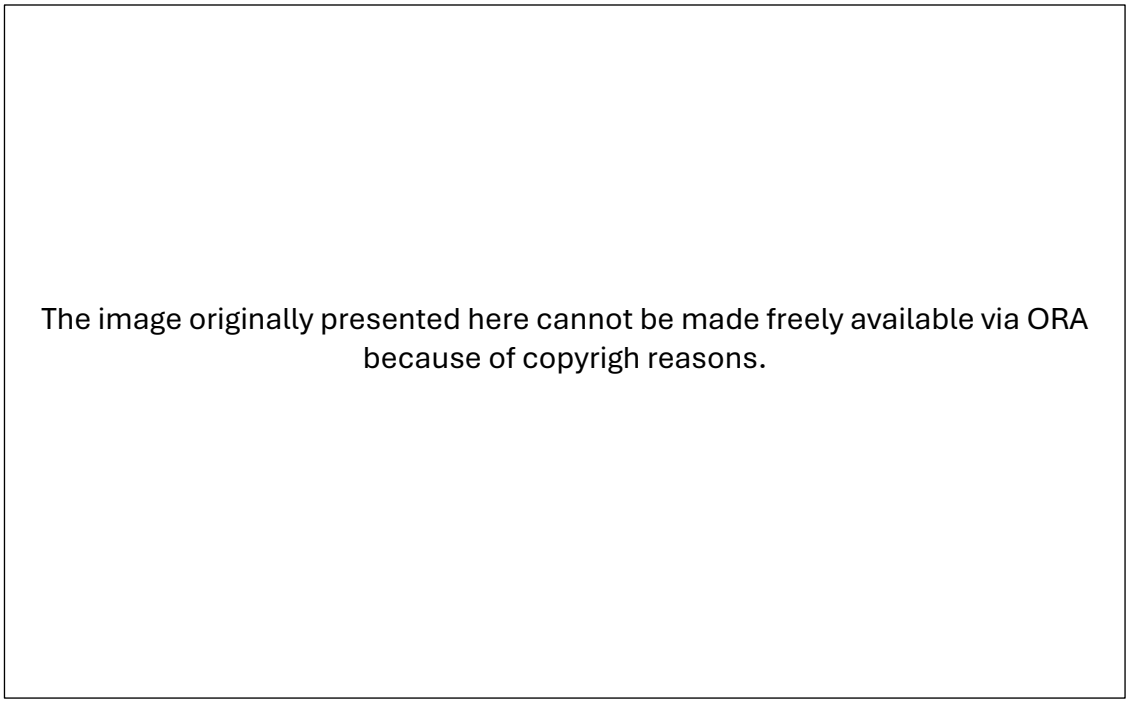

Figure 2.44—Sickles (left) and axes (right) from the Hoard of the Bronzes (Maggiulli 2009a: 320–321, Figures 4–5).

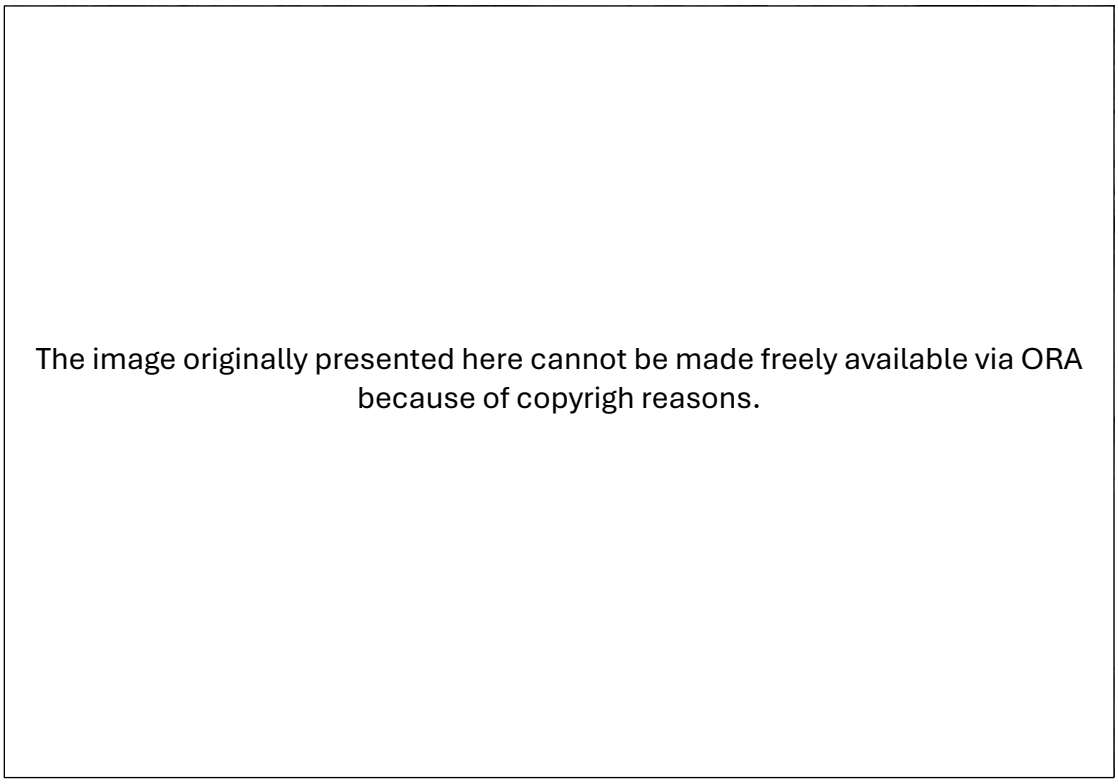

Figure 2.45—Partially buried *dolia* in the Store-Hut (Guglielmino 2014: 206, Figure 119).



Figure 2.46—*Dolium* number 1 from the Store-Hut: reconstruction (left) and drawing (right; Guglielmino 1999: 476, Figures 2 and 3).

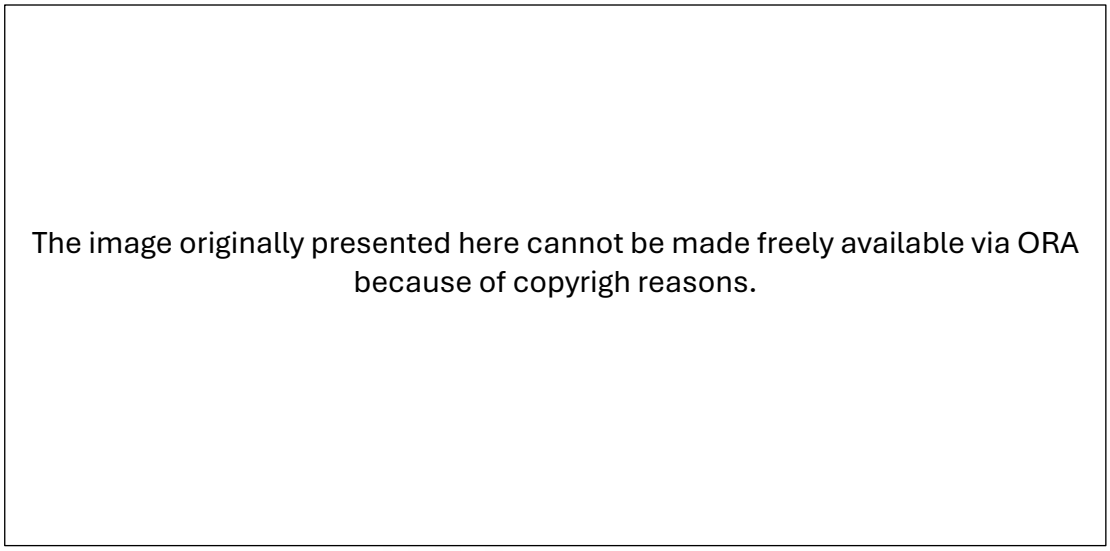

Figure 2.47—Inscribed X on the rim of one of the *dolia* from the Store-Hut (Guglielmino 1999: 484, Figure 8).

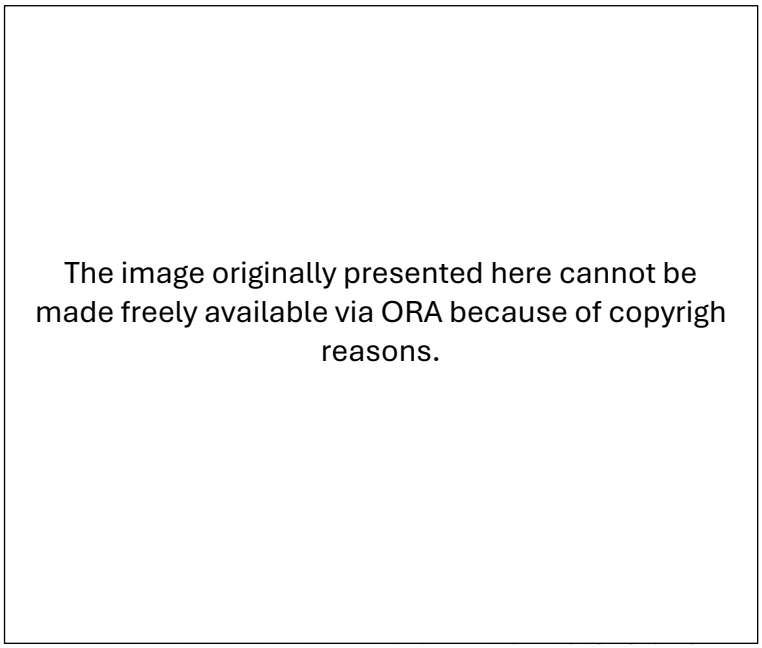

Figure 2.48—*Olla* decorated with a snake relief (Guglielmino 2006a: 100, Figure 15).

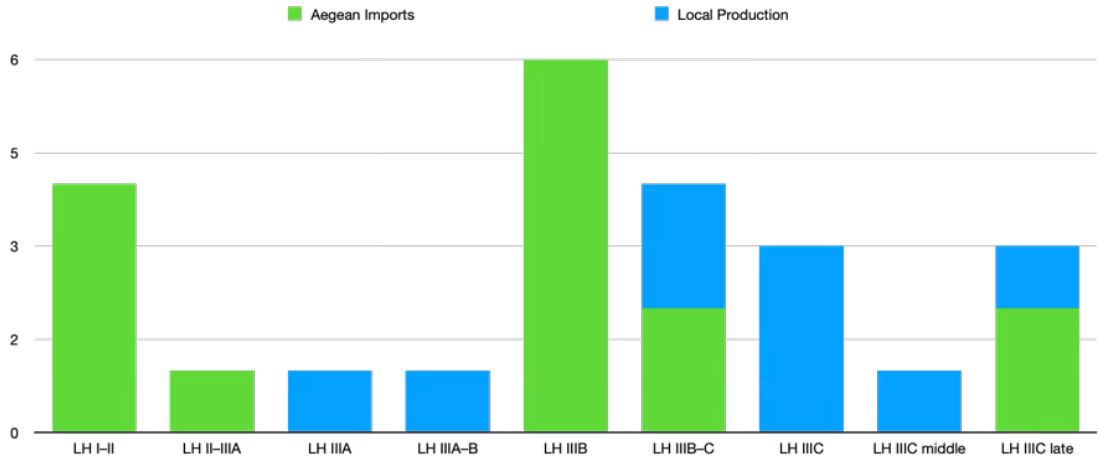

Figure 2.49—Chronological distribution of Aegean imports and Italo-Mycenaean local productions at Roca Vecchia (graph by Author based on Guglielmino *et al.* 2010a; Jones *et al.* 2014: 146–147).

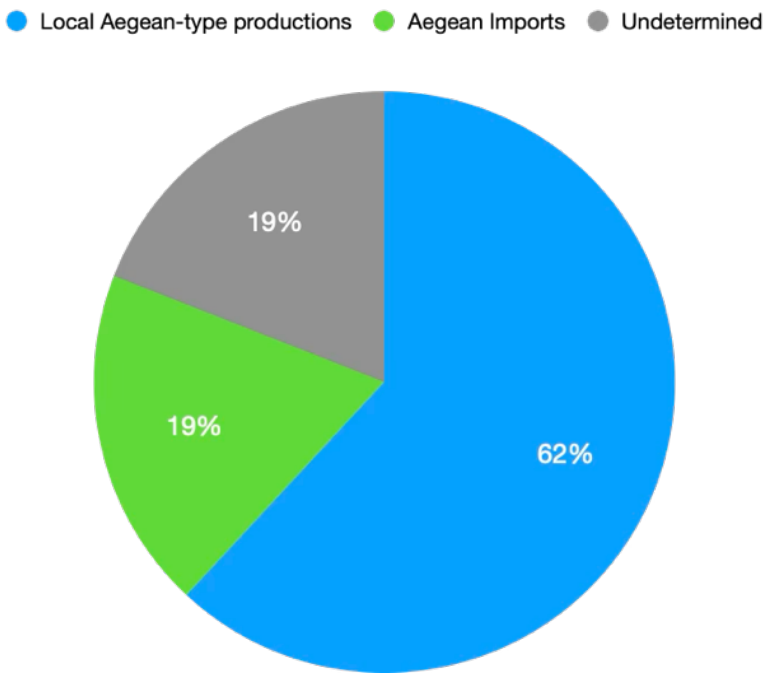

Figure 2.50—Comparison of Aegean imports and Italo-Mycenaean local products recovered from RBA contexts at Roca Vecchia (graph by Author based on Jung *et al.* 2021).

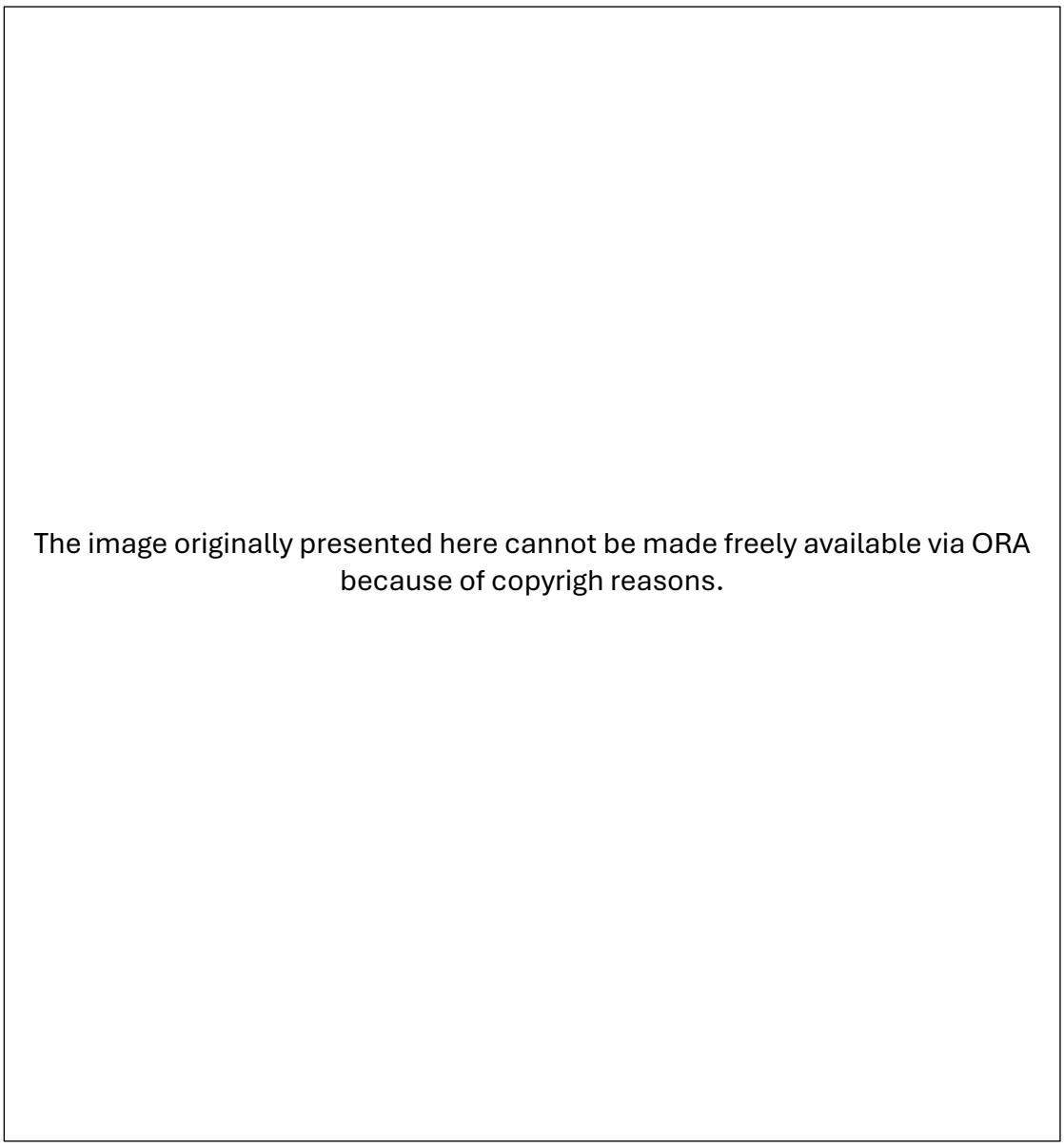

Figure 2.51—Drawing of some locally-produced RBA Italo-Mycenaean pottery recovered from Roca Vecchia which has undergone NAA analysis (Jung *et al.* 2021: 476, Figure 2).

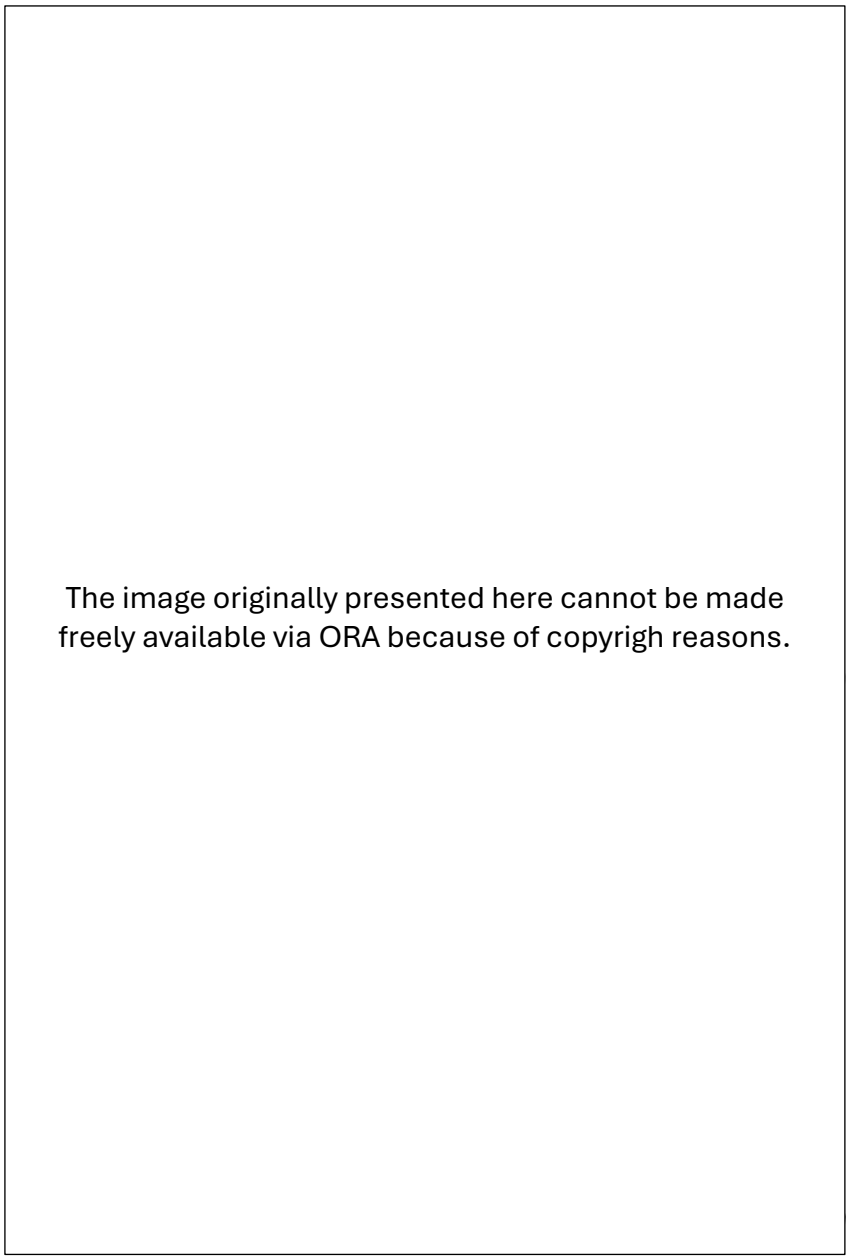

Figure 2.52—SIP (a–c, e) and Protovillanovan (d, f) pottery from Roca Vecchia (Iacono 2019: 171, Fig. 5.7).

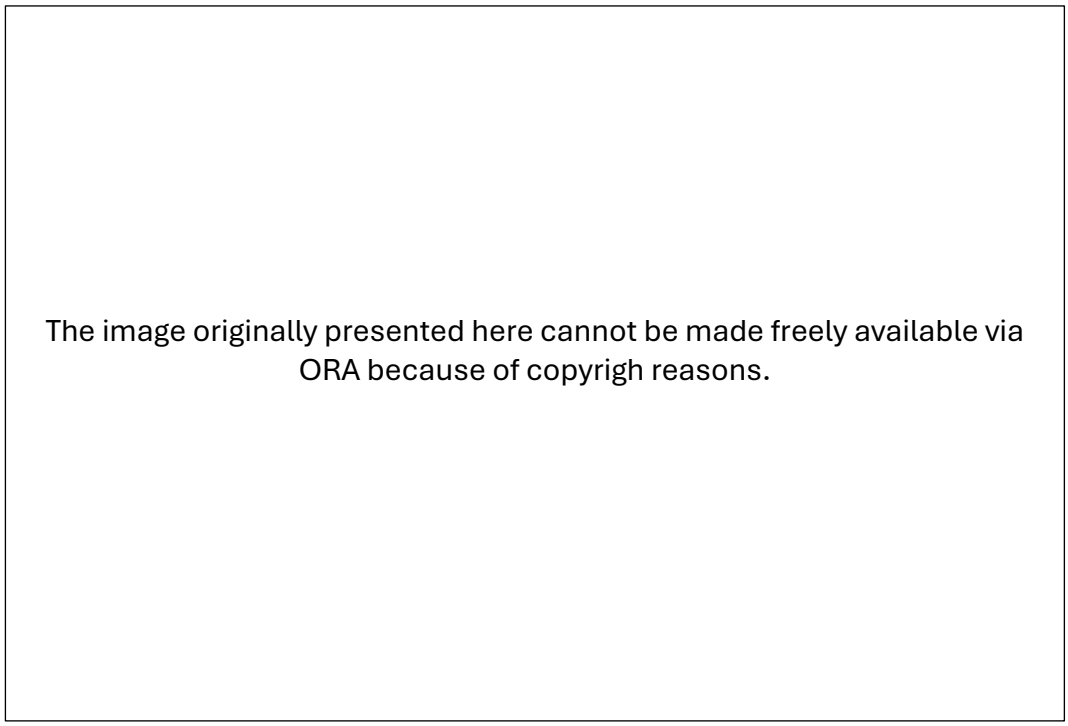

Figure 2.53—Mould from Roca Vecchia, SAS XII, displaying two hammer heads (including the "raising hammer") and an arrowhead on one face, and a curved blade on the other face (Guglielmino 2006b: 35).

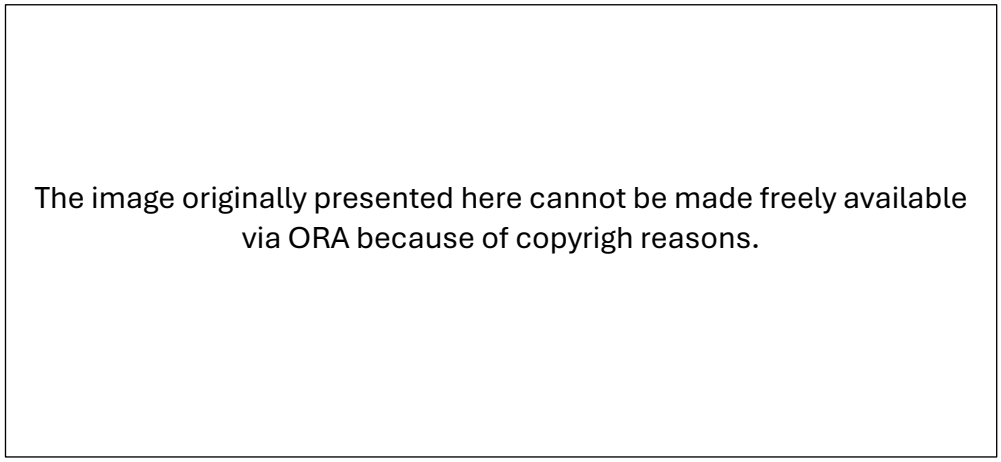

Figure 2.54—Terracotta tuyere from Roca Vecchia (Guglielmino 2006b: 42).

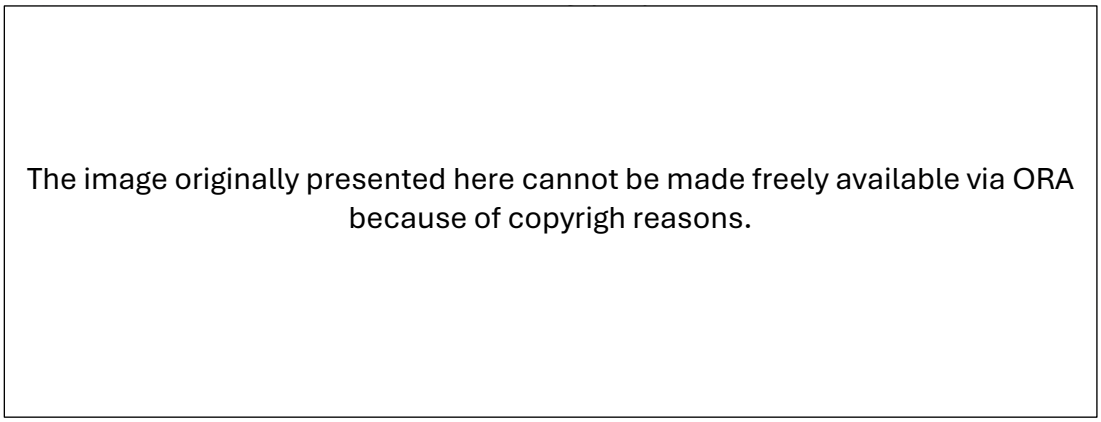

Figure 2.55—Ivory pin head from Roca Vecchia (Guglielmino *et al.* 2011: 179, Figure 15.7).



Figure 3.1—Location of the island of Lipari and of the sites mentioned in this Chapter (image by Author with QGIS; map data ©2015 Google after Levi *et al.* 2020: 7, Fig. 1).

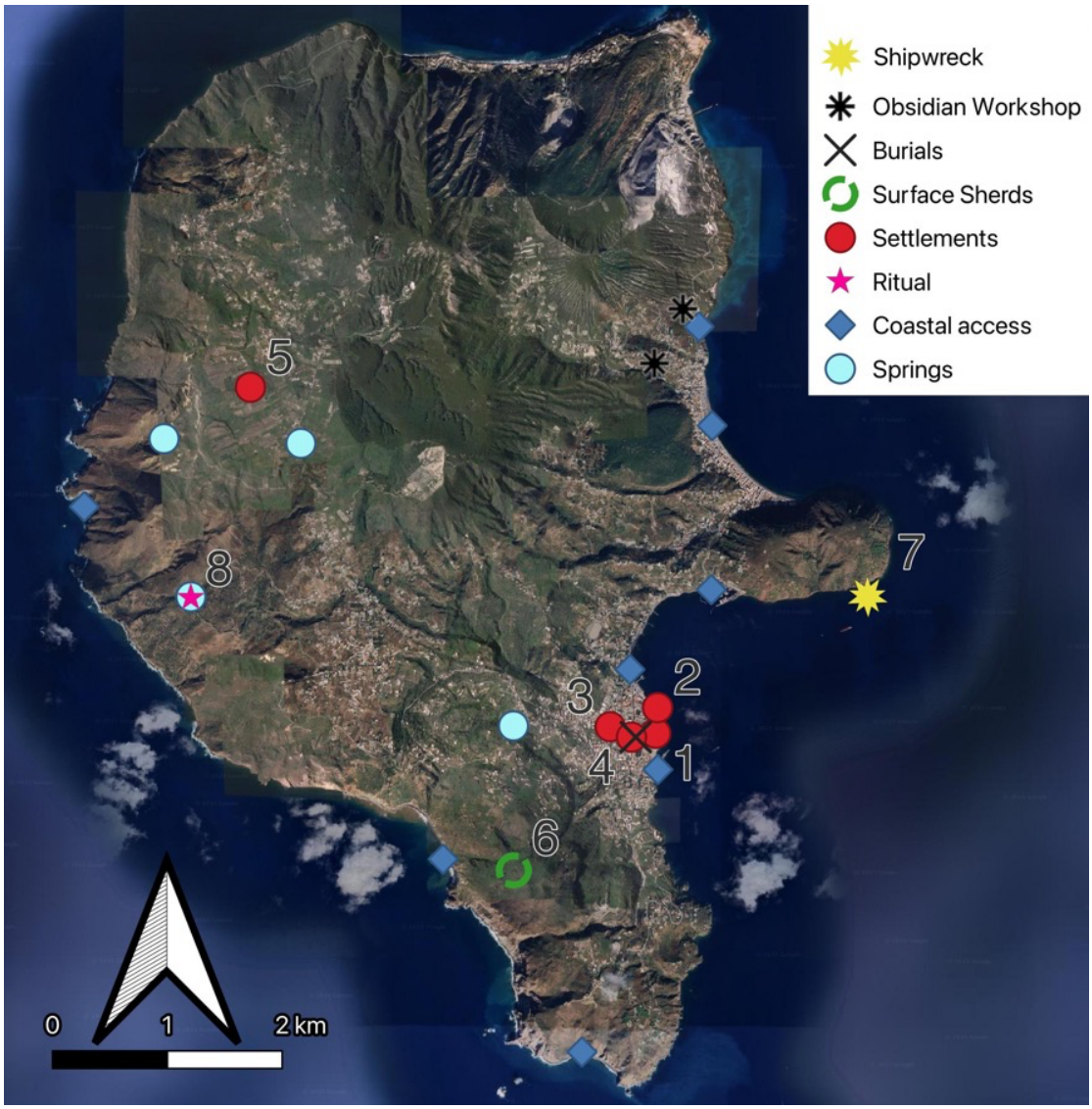

Figure 3.2—Bronze Age sites on Lipari: 1. Acropolis; 2. Civita; 3. Contrada Diana; 4. Piazza Monfalcone; 5. Quattropani; 6. Monte Guardia; 7. Pignataro di Fuori; 8. Pianoconte, San Calogero Tholos (image by Author with QGIS; map data ©2015 Google after Martinelli *et al.* 2021: 40, Figure 6.).

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyrigh reasons.

Figure 3.3—San Calogero Tholos: a. modern entrance to the tholos; b. tholos plan; c. tholos section (composited by Author. b–c. Bernabò Brea et al. 1991, Fig. D2, Fig. H; a. Dawson and Nikolakopoulou 2020: 174, Fig. 14).



Figure 3.4—View of the Lipari acropolis (image by Author with QGIS; map data ©2015 Google based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980; Martinelli and Giordano 2017: 257, Figure 1.4).

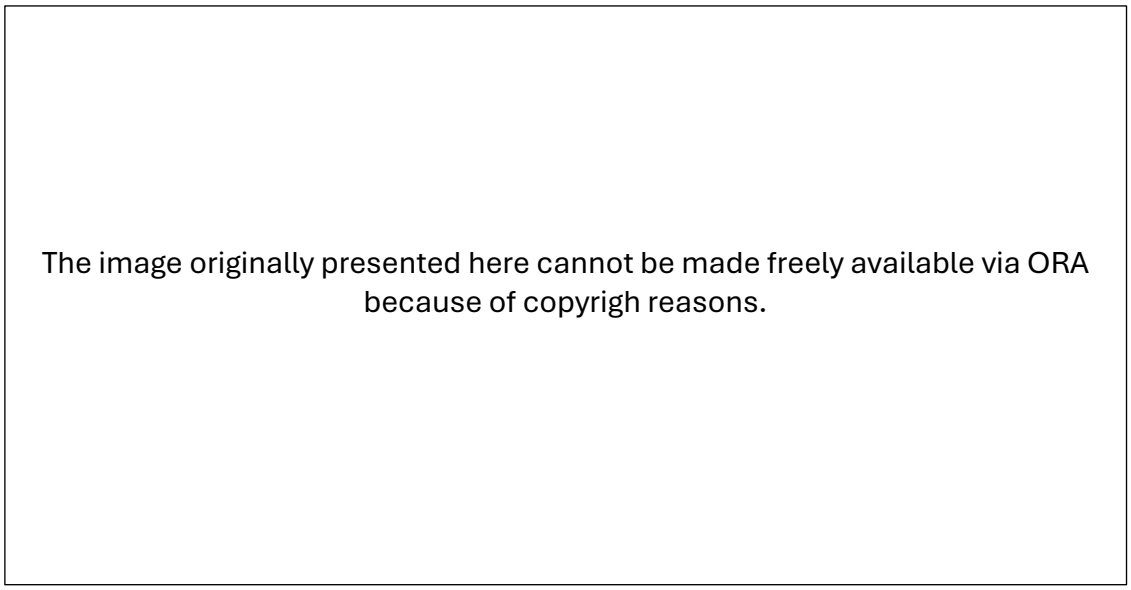

Figure 3.5—Stratigraphy of the Acropolis (Trench AG) showing the different Neolithic and BA *facies* (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980: 300, Fig. 20).

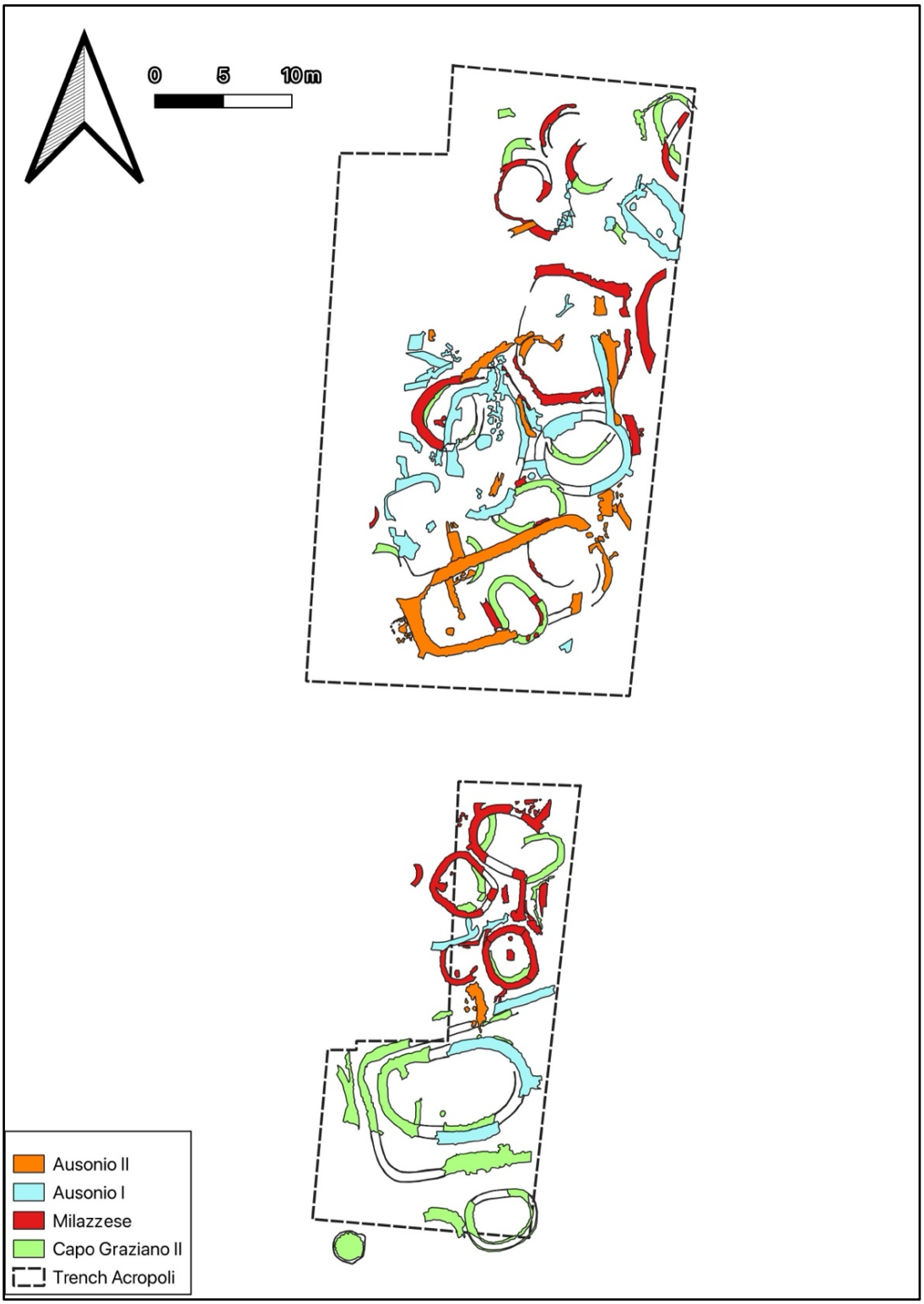

Figure 3.6—Map of the LBA structures excavated on the acropolis showing the four different periods discussed in this thesis (image by Author with QGIS; based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).



Figure 3.7—Structures belonging to the Capo Graziano II culture on the Lipari acropolis (image by Author with QGIS; based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).

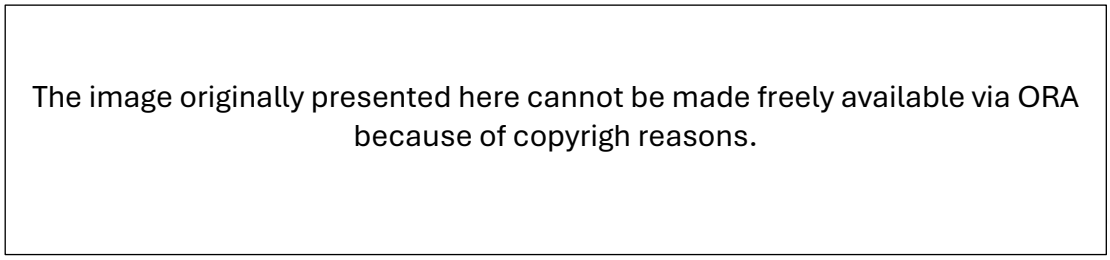

Figure 3.8—LH IIIA kylix base (a) and drawing (b) recovered from hut δ III (a. photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari; b. Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980, Tav. CLXI, a).

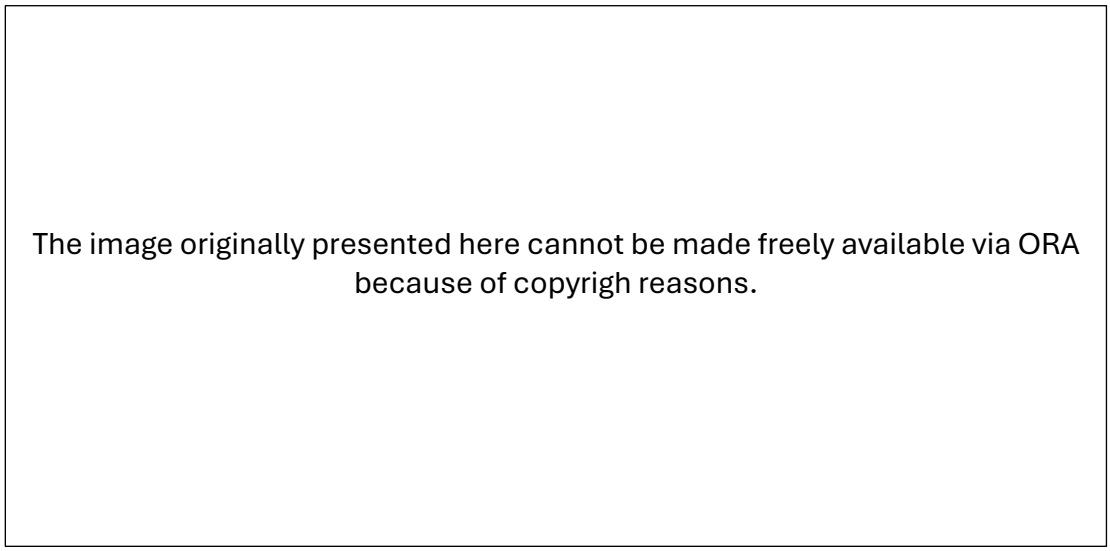

Figure 3.9—Locally made Mycenaean-type ware (a) and drawing (b) (a. photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari; b. Wardle 2004, Fig. 5.17).



Figure 3.10—Pottery recovered from the first occupation layer of structure δ VII: a.–b.: carinated bowl decorated with zigzag patterns around the bottom; c.–d.: large fragments spheric jar with hourglass shaped rim; e.–h. fragments or reconstructed *ollae*; i.: rim fragment of spheric bowl; l.: carinated bowl decorated with zigzag patterns around the bottom; m.–o.: decorated bowl fragments; p. LM II–III bowl fragment (composited after Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980, Tables CXIV, 1, 2; CXXI, 1g, 3e,n; CXXII, 1, 2, 5; CXXIV, 2; CXXV, 4; CXXVIII, 4b; CXXIX, 2d; CXXXIII, 4; CXLVIII, 18).



Figure 3.11—Structures belonging to the Milazzese culture on the Lipari acropolis (image by Author with QGIS based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).

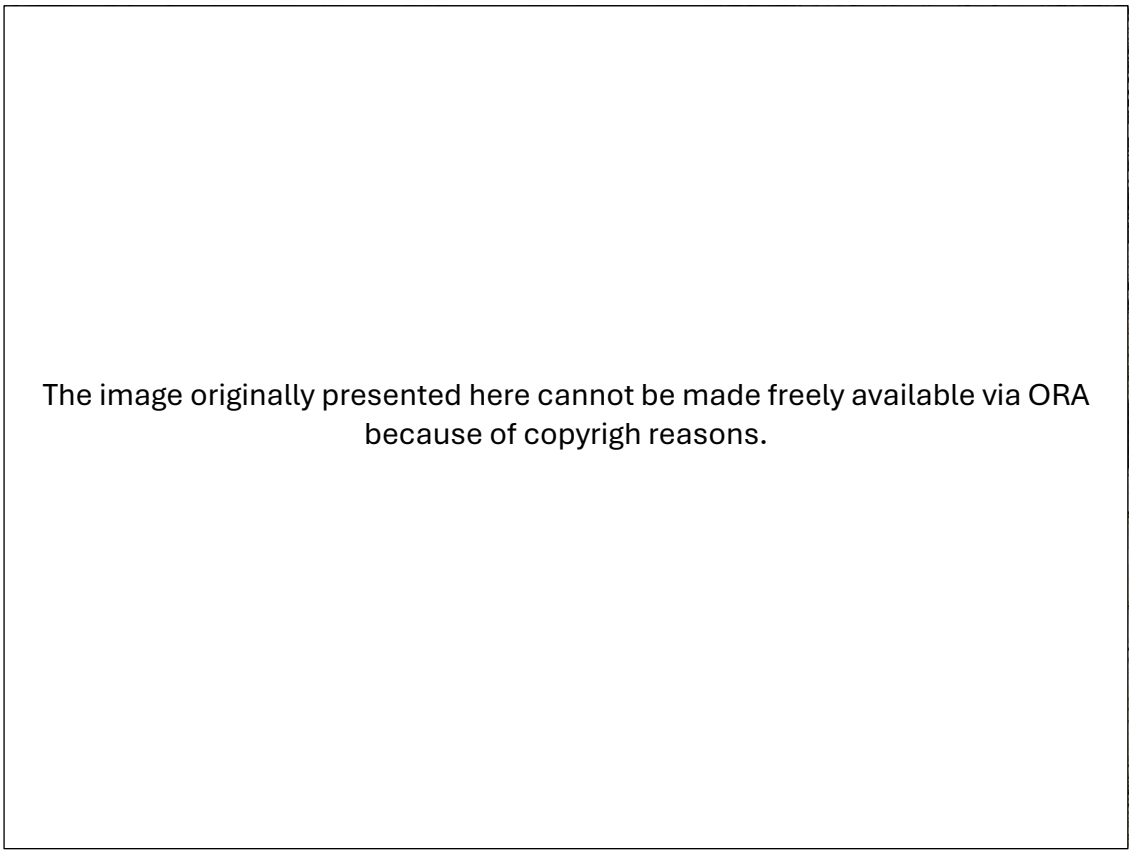

Figure 3.12—Architectural remains of structure γ III on top of structure δ VIII, showing the *in situ* grinder and stone slab (photo by Author).

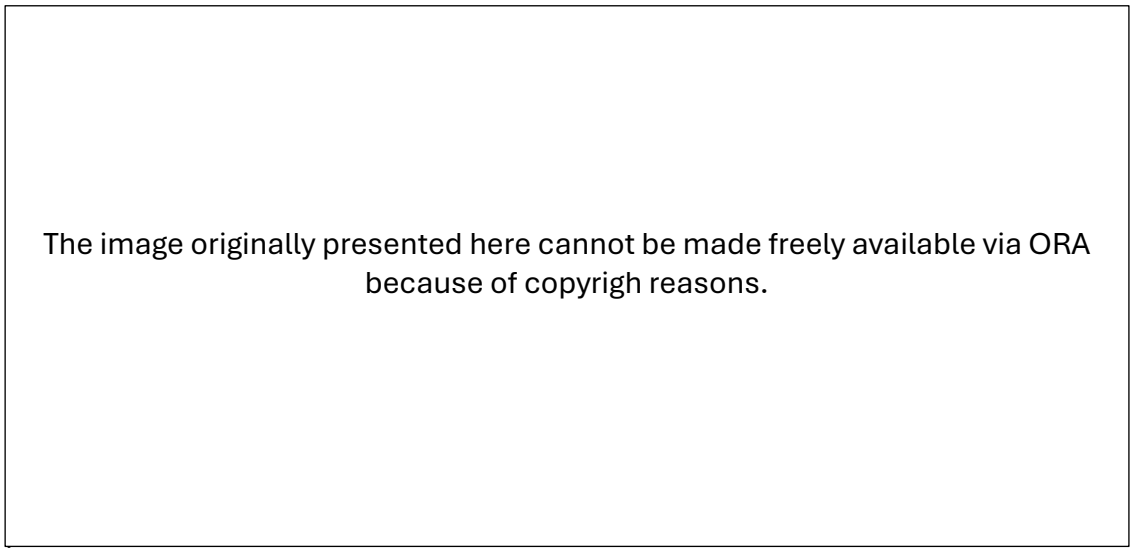

Figure 3.13—LH IIIA Mycenaean proto-φ figurine: a. front picture; b. front drawing; c. back drawing (a. photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari; b–c. Wardle 2004: Fig. 5.10).

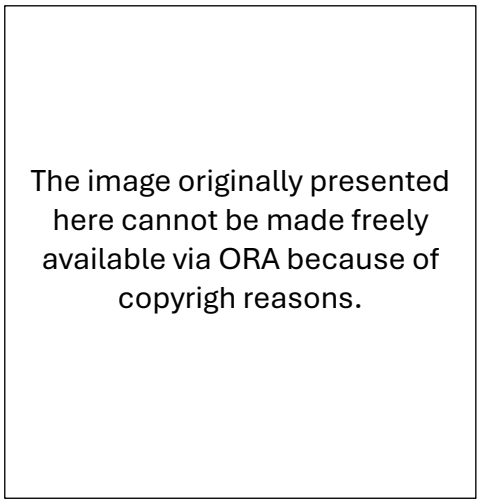

Figure 3.14—Clay anthropomorphic figurine (photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari).

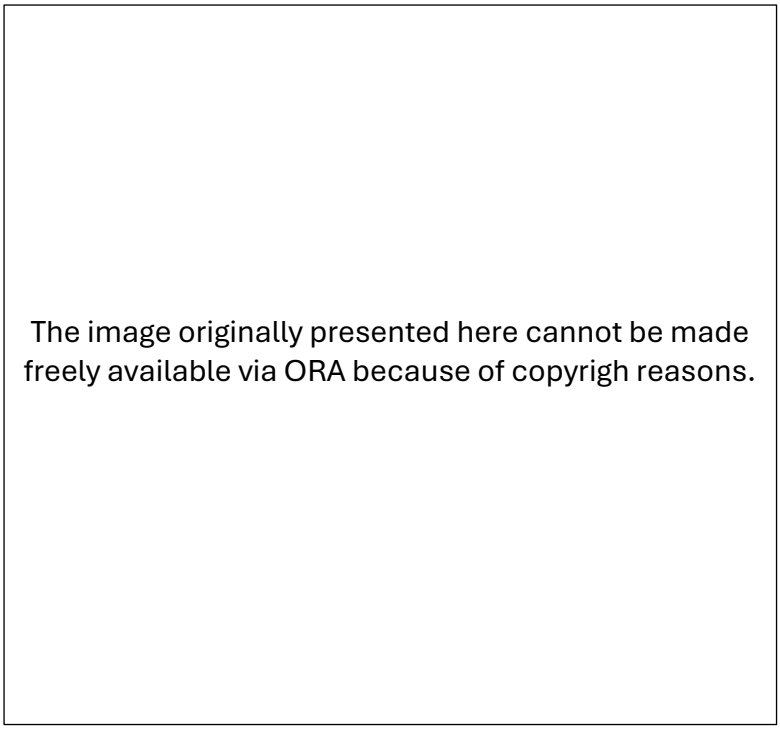

Figure 3.15—Pottery finds from the northern annex of hut γ VI: a. High stand cup decorated with relieves opposing spirals and engraved potter's seal; b. large ovoid *olla* made of reddish clay with two horizontal handles and notches around the slightly everted rim; c. large sherd of a truncated-cone basin with horizontal strong cordon handle on the shoulder; d. rim fragment decorated with fishtail pattern engraved and filled with white paste; e. flattened spindle whorl of coarse reddish impasto; f. bottle neck shaped tureen with veining forming a large angle; g. LH II–III large fragment of a globular vase, Cycladic origin; h. LH IIIA fragment; i. LH II–III carinated cup fragment, Cycladic origin (composited after Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980, Tables CXLI, e–f; CLX, 11; CLXIV, 2; CLXXIX, 4 d; CLXXII, 2; CLXXXII, 5; CLXXXIV, 1; CLXXXVII, 1 h. g–i. photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari).

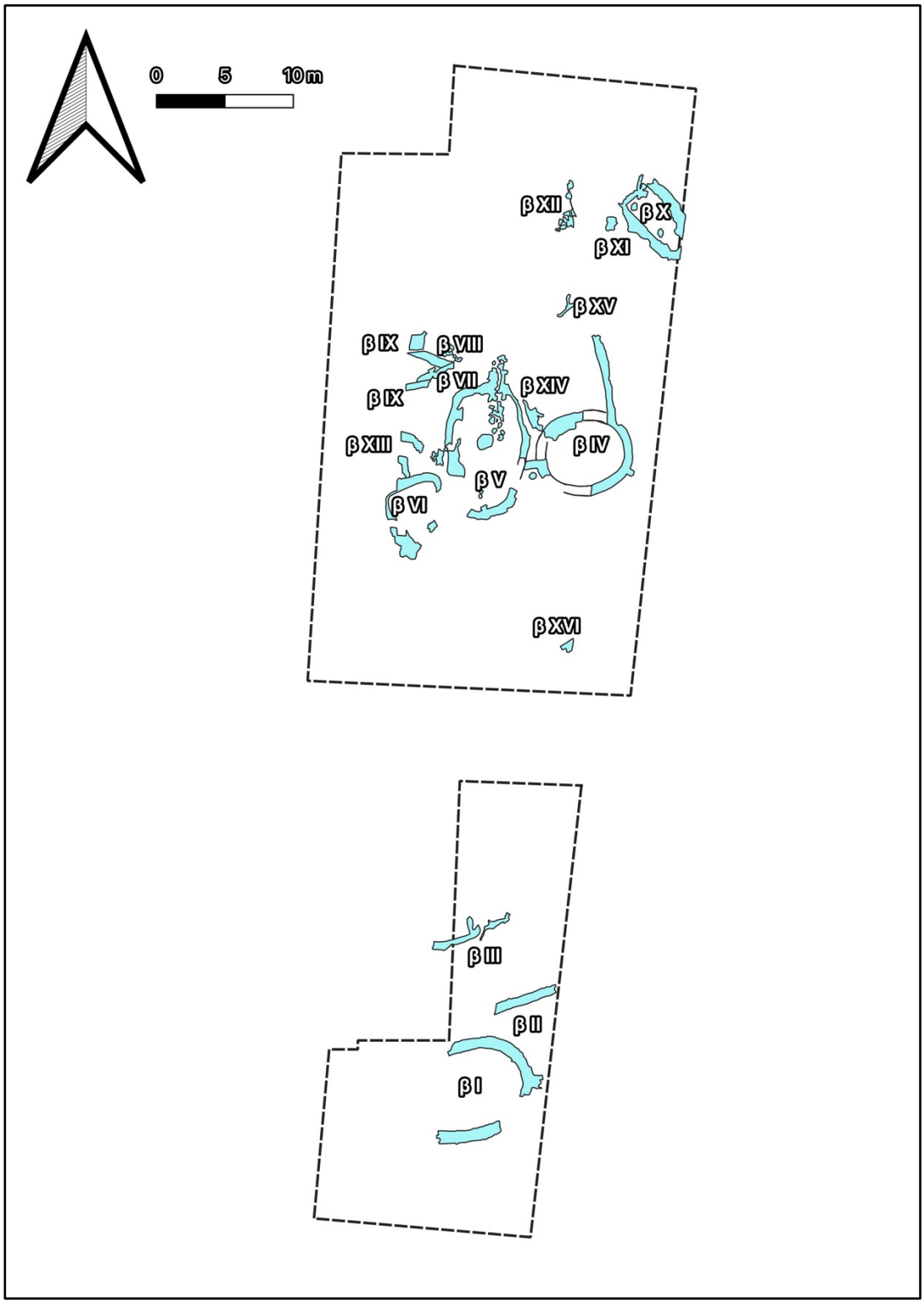

Figure 3.16—Structures belonging to the Ausonian I culture on the Lipari acropolis (image by Author with QGIS based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).



Figure 3.17—Structures belonging to the Ausonian II culture on the Lipari acropolis (image by Author with QGIS based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).

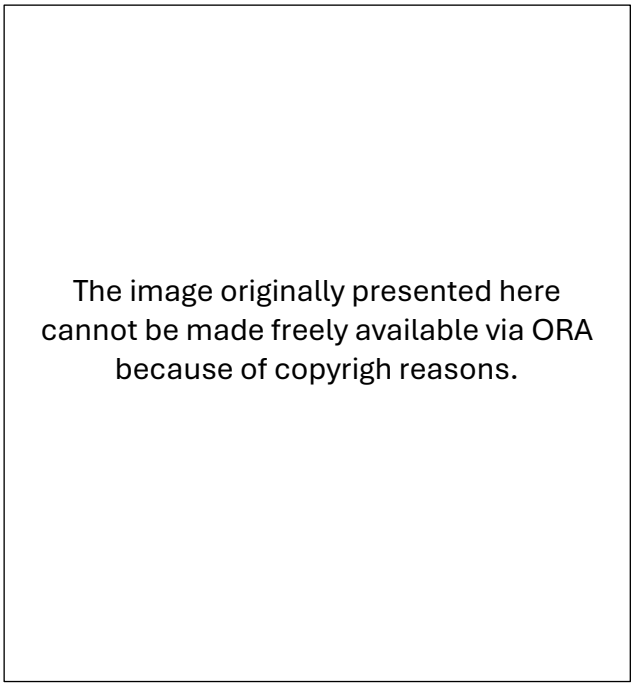

Figure 3.18—Hut α I, plan and section of the wall showing the location of the timber structure (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980: 25, Fig. 1).

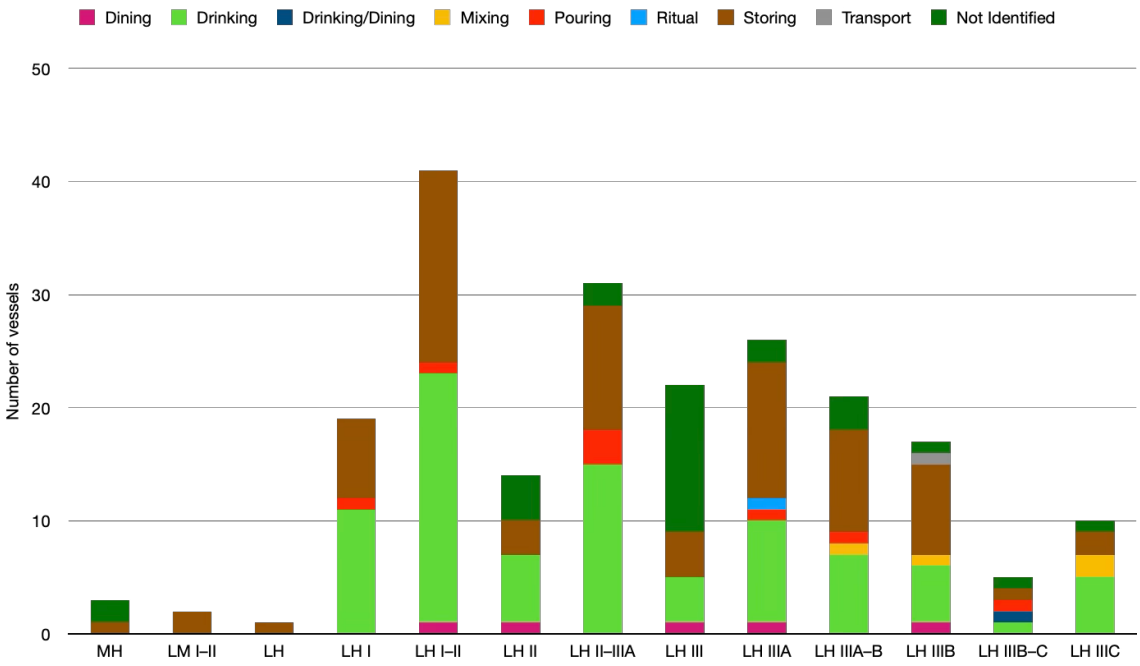

Figure 3.19—Graph showing the chronological changes of Aegean-type pottery recovered at Lipari (graph by Author based on Taylour 1958; 1980; Cavalier and Vagnetti 1984). The columns are not necessarily in chronological order as they report the date as indicated on the publications.

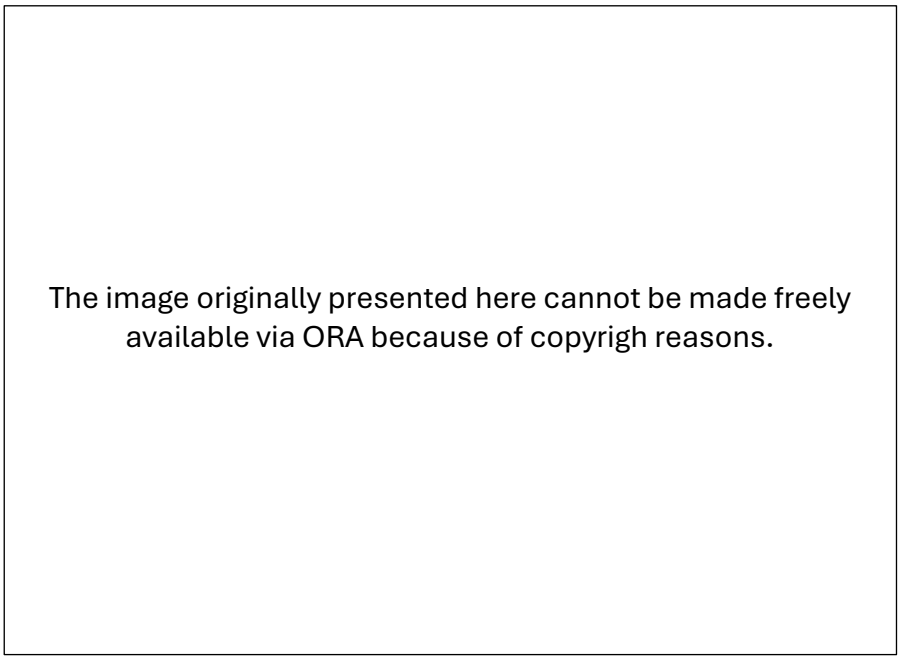

Figure 3.20—Bowl containing local clay, hut δ XII (photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari).

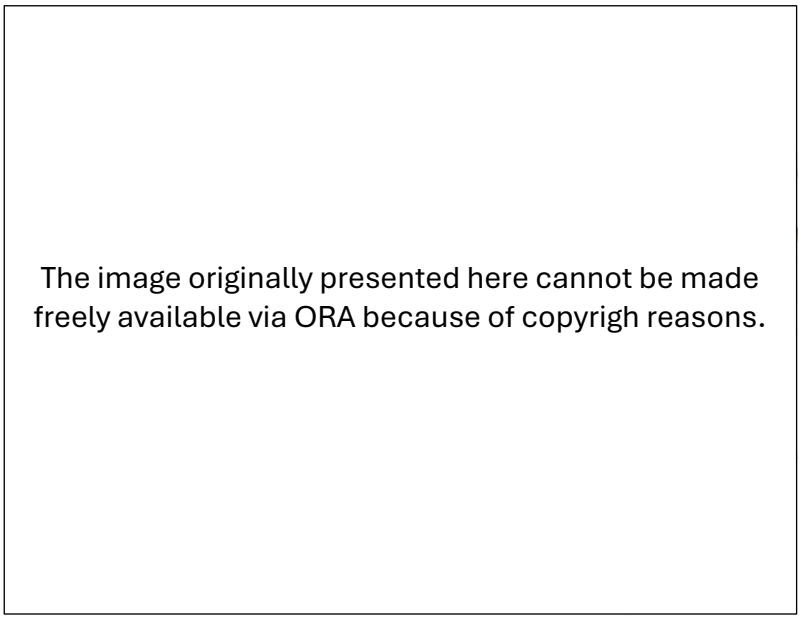

Figure 3.21—Clay horns recovered from the Milazzese settlement on the Lipari acropolis (photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari).

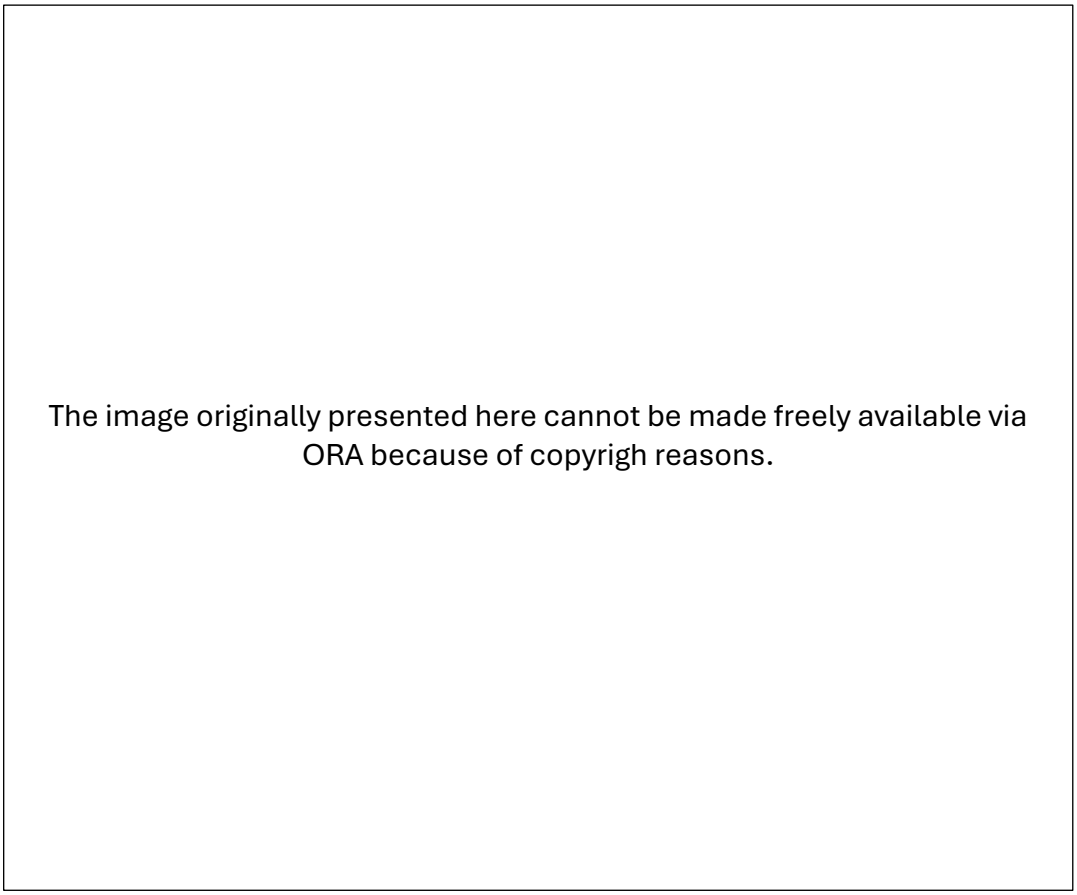

Figure 3.22—Potters' marks identified on Milazzese pottery from the Lipari acropolis (composited after Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1968: 277–279).



Figure 3.23—Carinated bowls with elevated handles shaped as follows: a. bridge handle with truncated horns; b–c. ox-shaped horns (photos by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari).

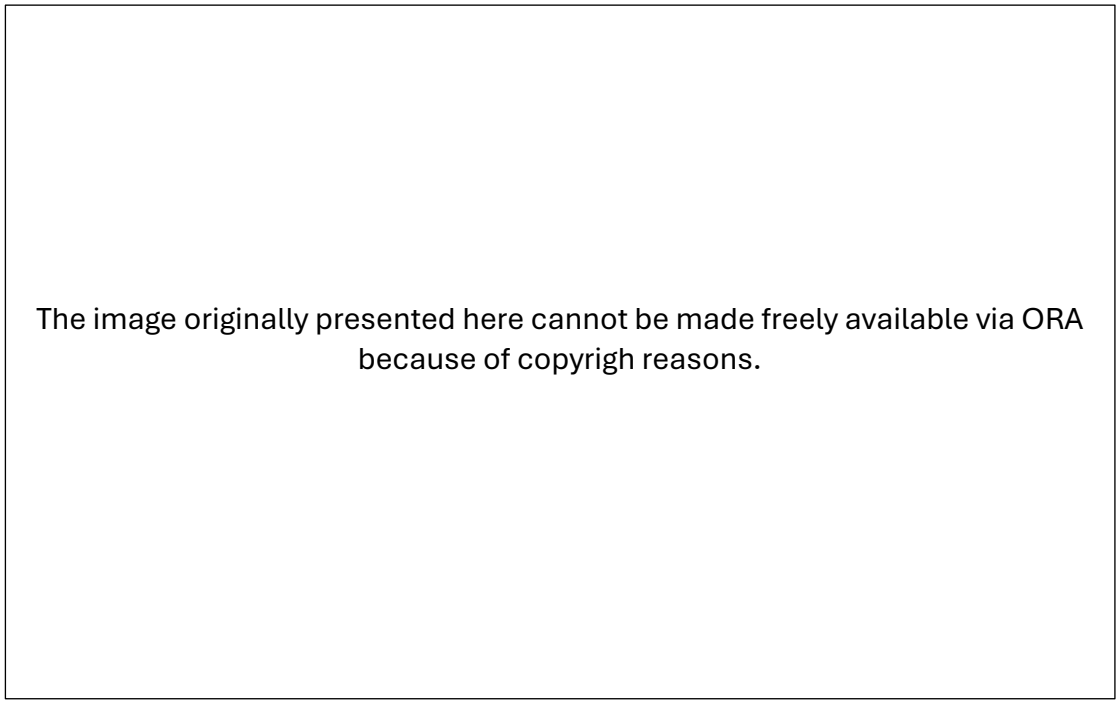

Figure 3.24—Ausonian II pottery recovered from the acropolis: a. Protogeometric vase from structure α II; b. Feathered vase from trench AH (Levi *et al.* 2020: 14, Figure 6).

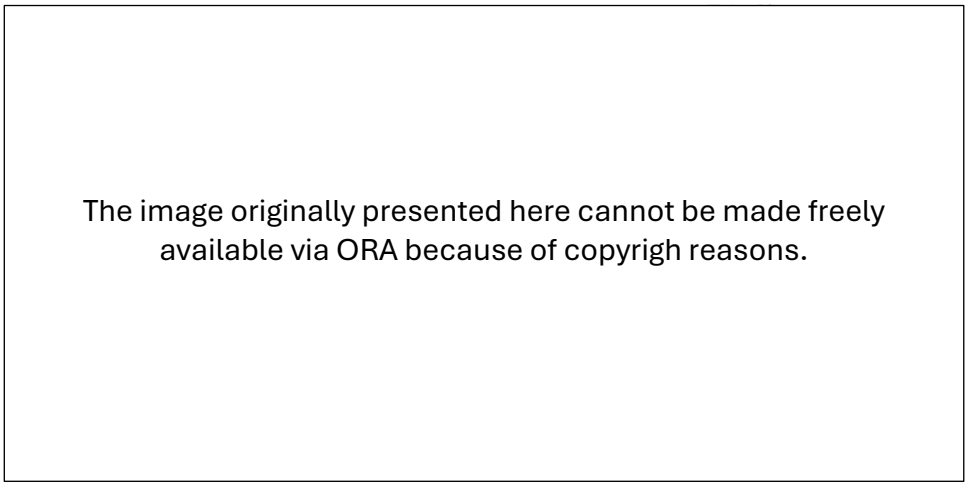

Figure 3.25—Stone mould for bronze melting from structure δ XII (photos by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari).

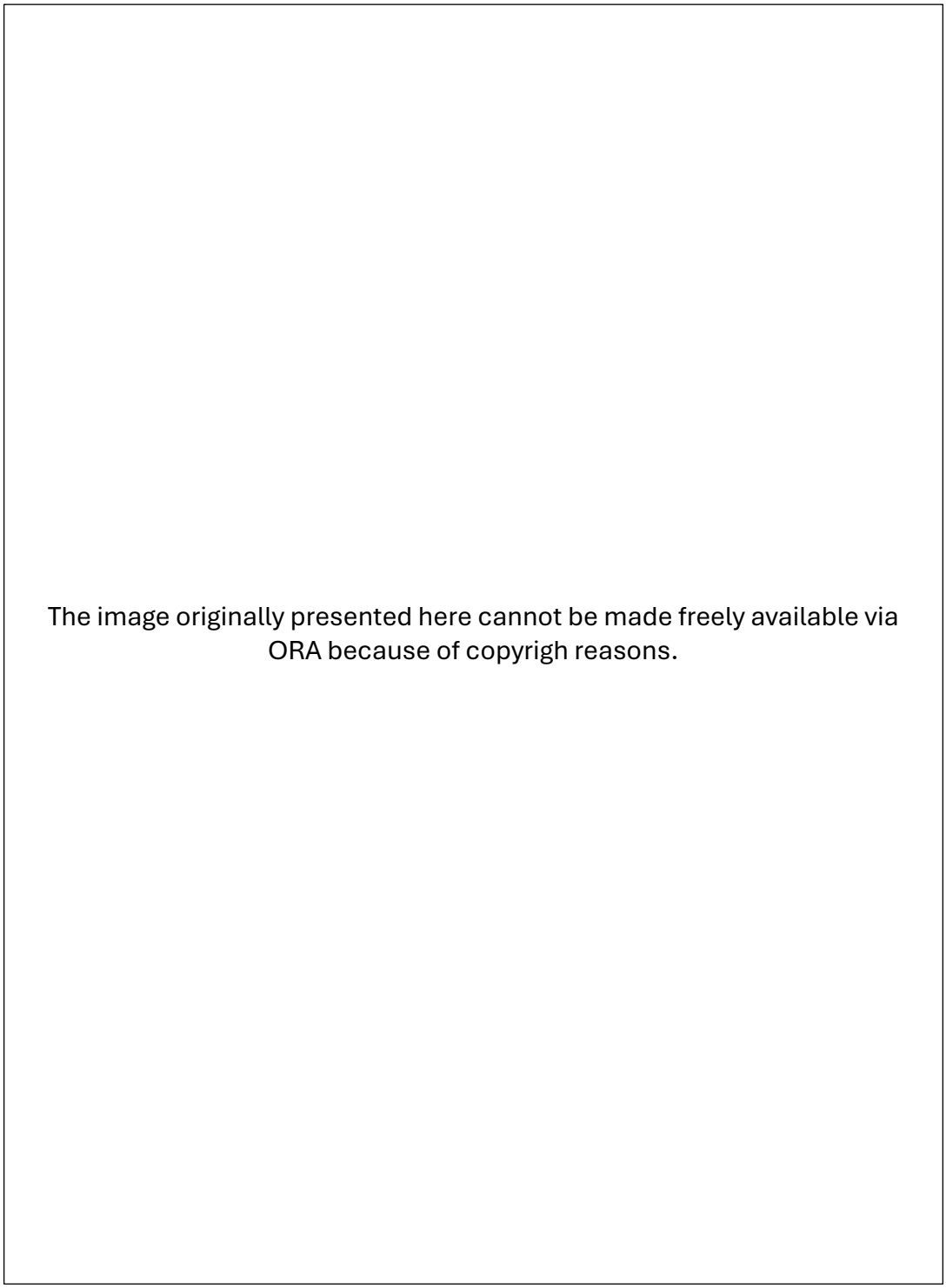

Figure 3.26—Fragments of some of the ingots recovered from the hoard of bronzes (Lo Schiavo *et al.* 2009: Figure 13).

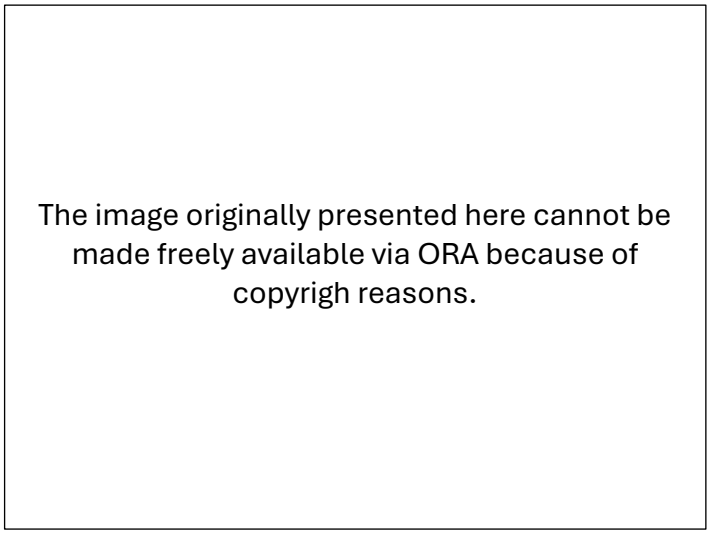

Figure 3.27—Bronzes from structure α II (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980: 638, Fig. 127).

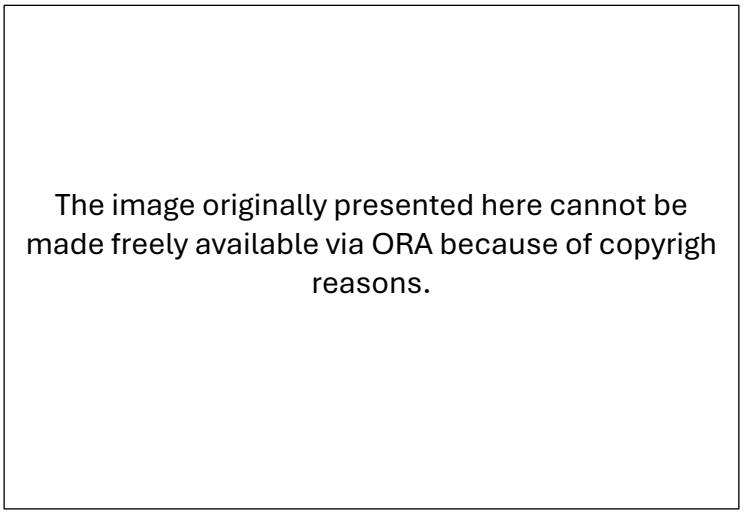

Figure 3.28—Aegean seal from the Palermo Archaeological Museum a. front; b. side with through hole (b. Cucuzza 2006: 75, Figure 1b; a. Cucuzza 2008: 34, Figure 1).

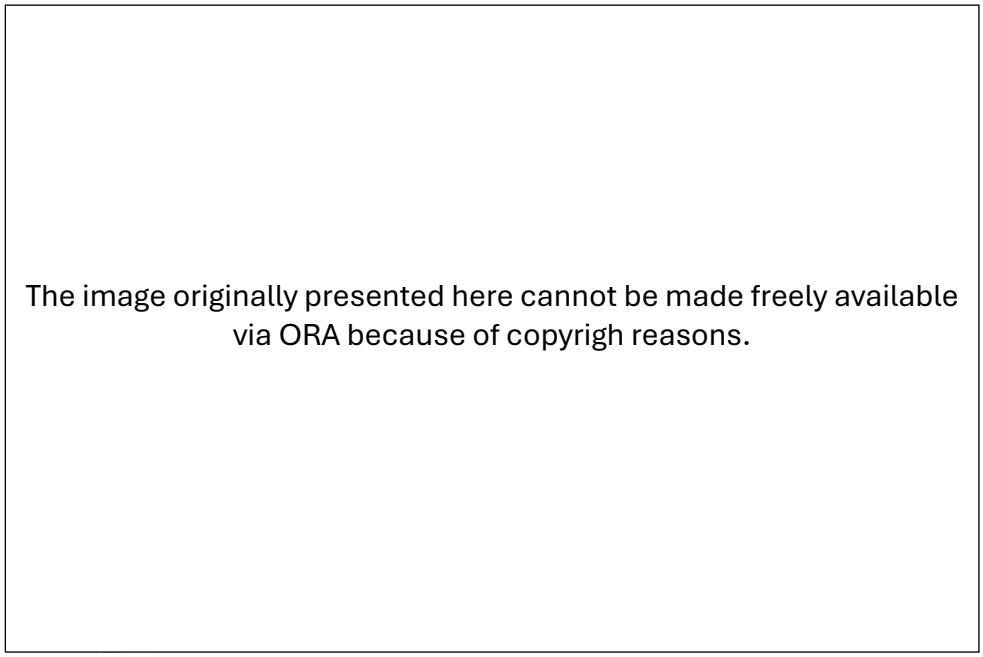

Figure 3.29—Three rectangular stone plaques recovered from the Capo Graziano II contexts (after Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980, Table CXXXIX 4c, g, m).

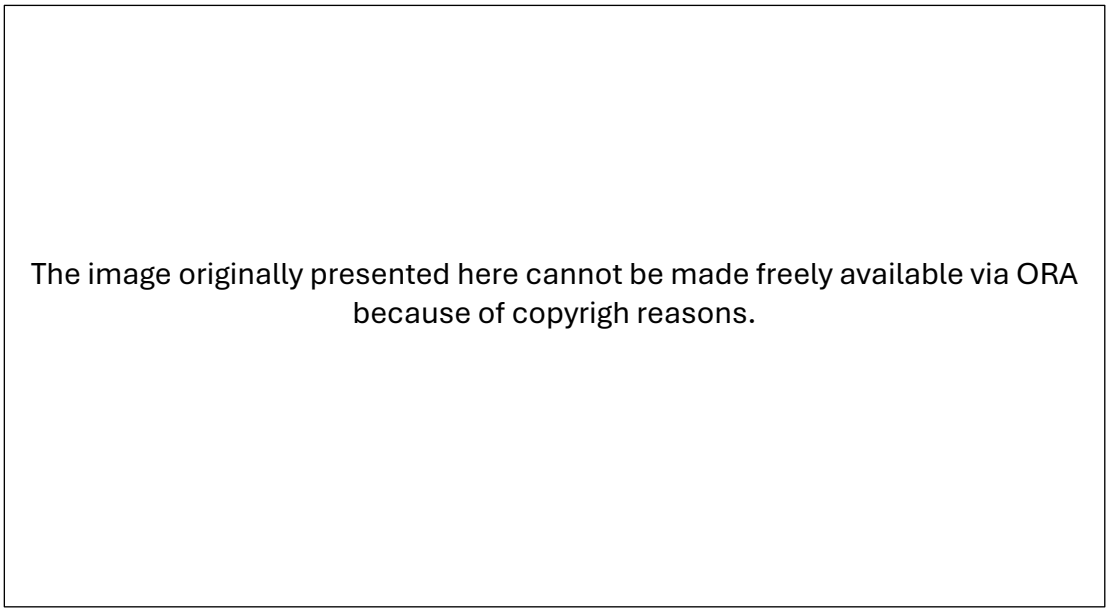

Figure 3.30—Some rectangular weights from central Europe (Ialongo 2018: 112, Figure 6B).



Figure 3.31—Decorated ivory comb from the Capo Graziano II layers (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980, Tav. CLIII, g).

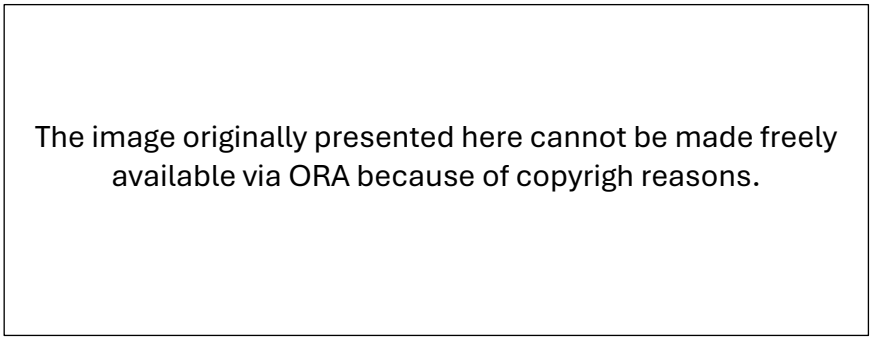

Figure 3.32—Plaque of boar's tusk from structure δ XVI (photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari).

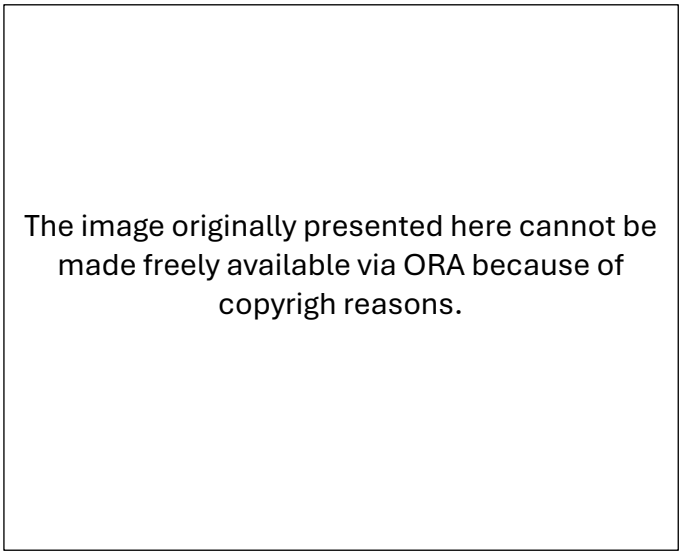

Figure 3.33—Decorated comb made of bone dating to the Ausonian I–II period (photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum "Luigi Bernabò Brea", Lipari).

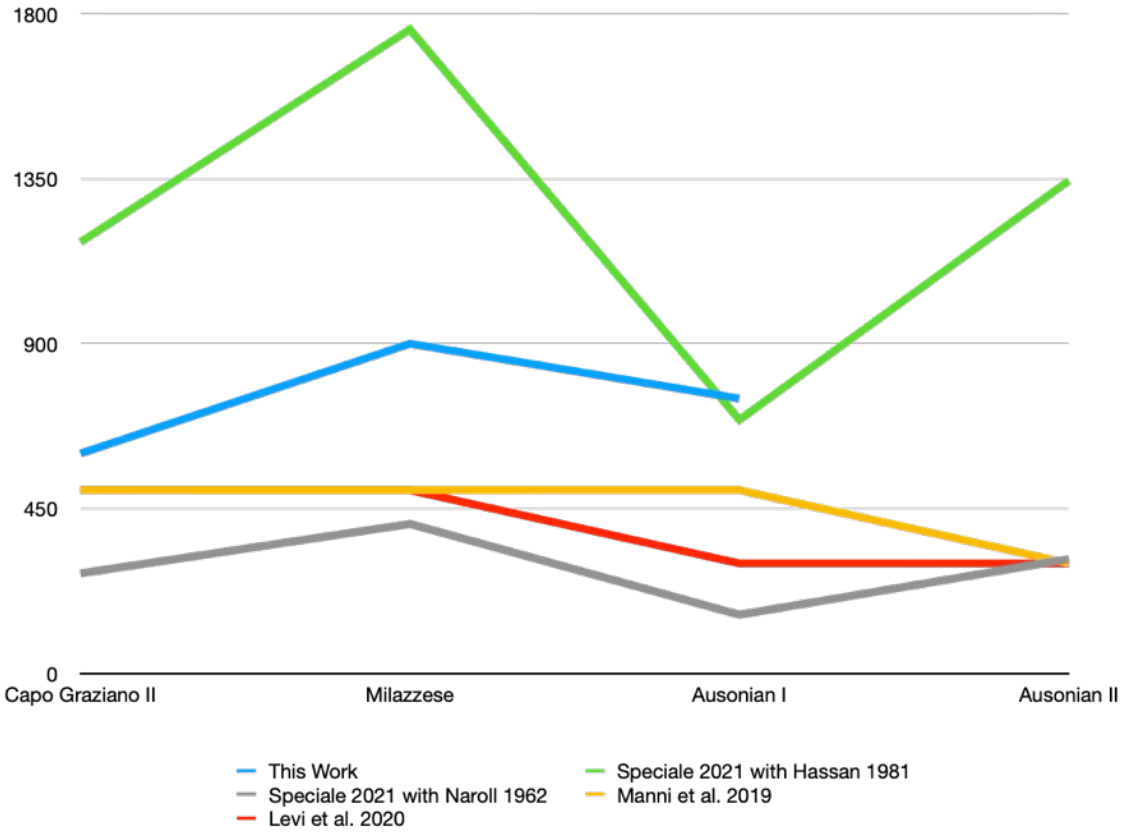

Figure 3.34—Graph showing the different demographic estimates suggested in the literature.

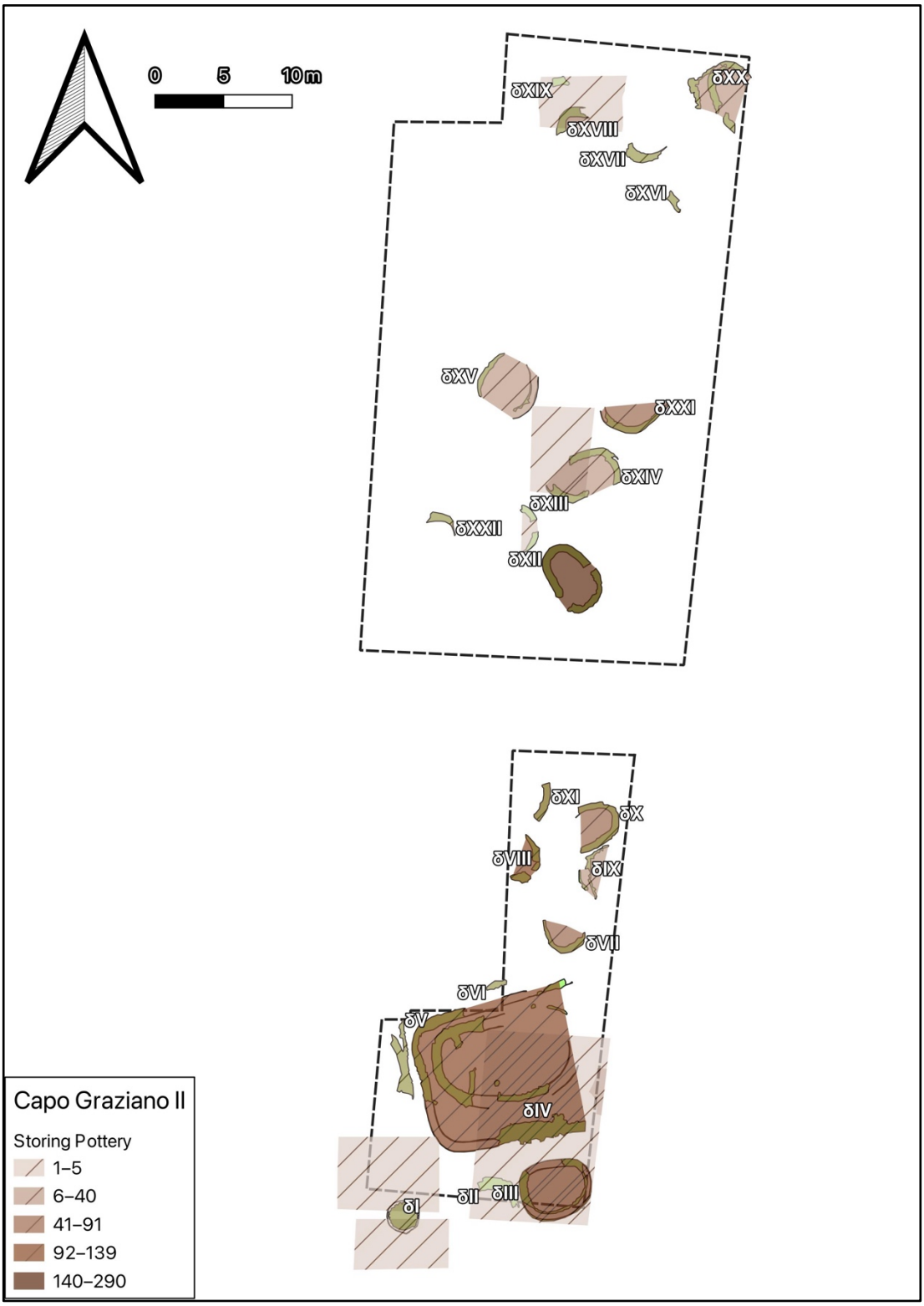

Figure 3.35—Distribution of storing pottery across the Lipari acropolis in the Capo Graziano II settlement (image by Author with QGIS based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).

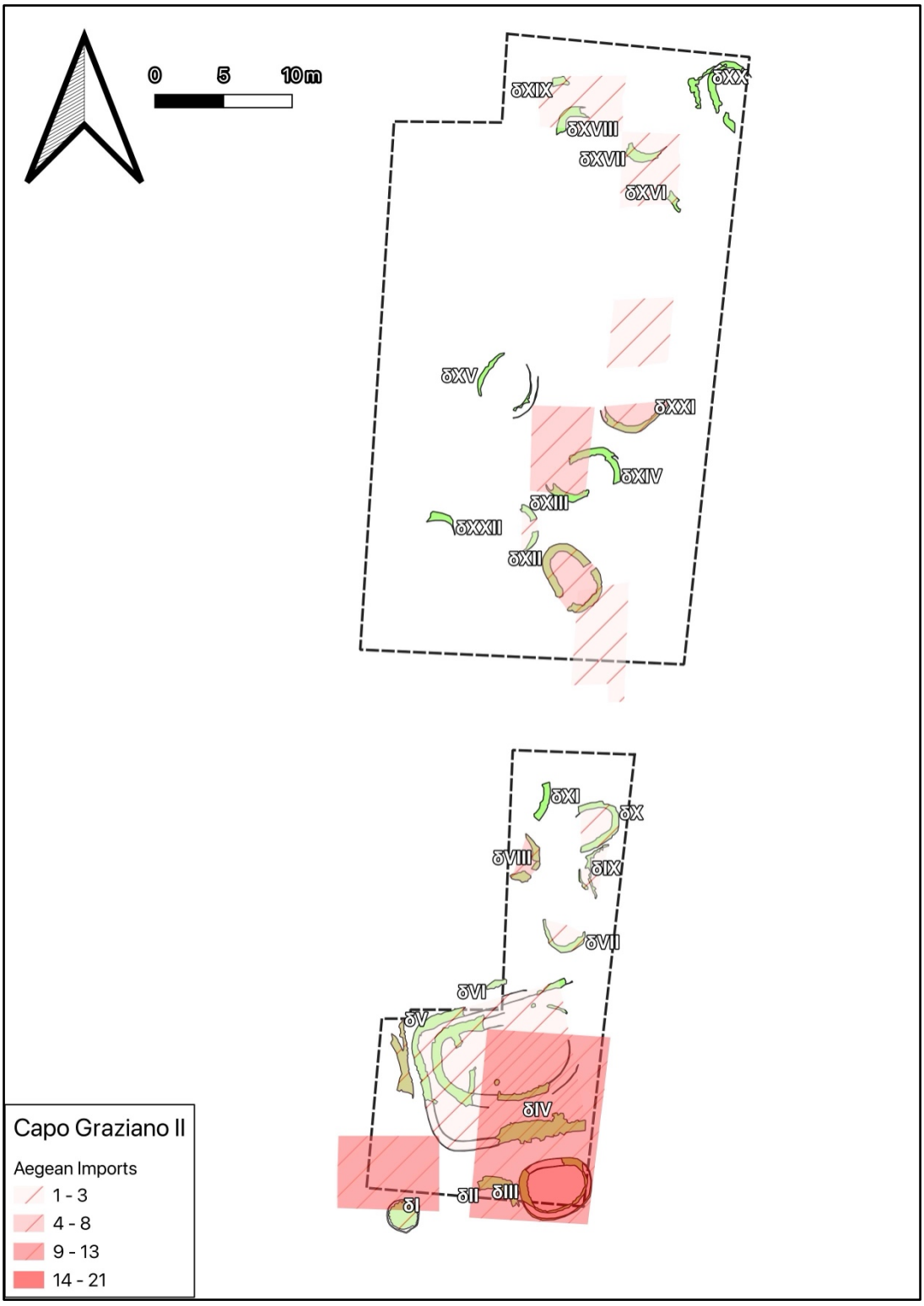

Figure 3.36—Distribution of Aegean imports across the Lipari acropolis in the Capo Graziano II settlement (image by Author with QGIS based on Taylour 1958; 1980; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980; Cavalier and Vagnetti 1984).



Figure 3.37—Distribution of storing pottery across the Lipari acropolis in the Milazzese settlement (image by Author with QGIS based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).



Figure 3.38—Distribution of Aegean imports across the Lipari acropolis in the Milazzese settlement (image by Author with QGIS based on Taylour 1958; 1980; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980; Cavalier and Vagnetti 1984).



Figure 3.39—Distribution of different type of artefacts across the Lipari acropolis in the Milazzese settlement (image by Author with QGIS based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).

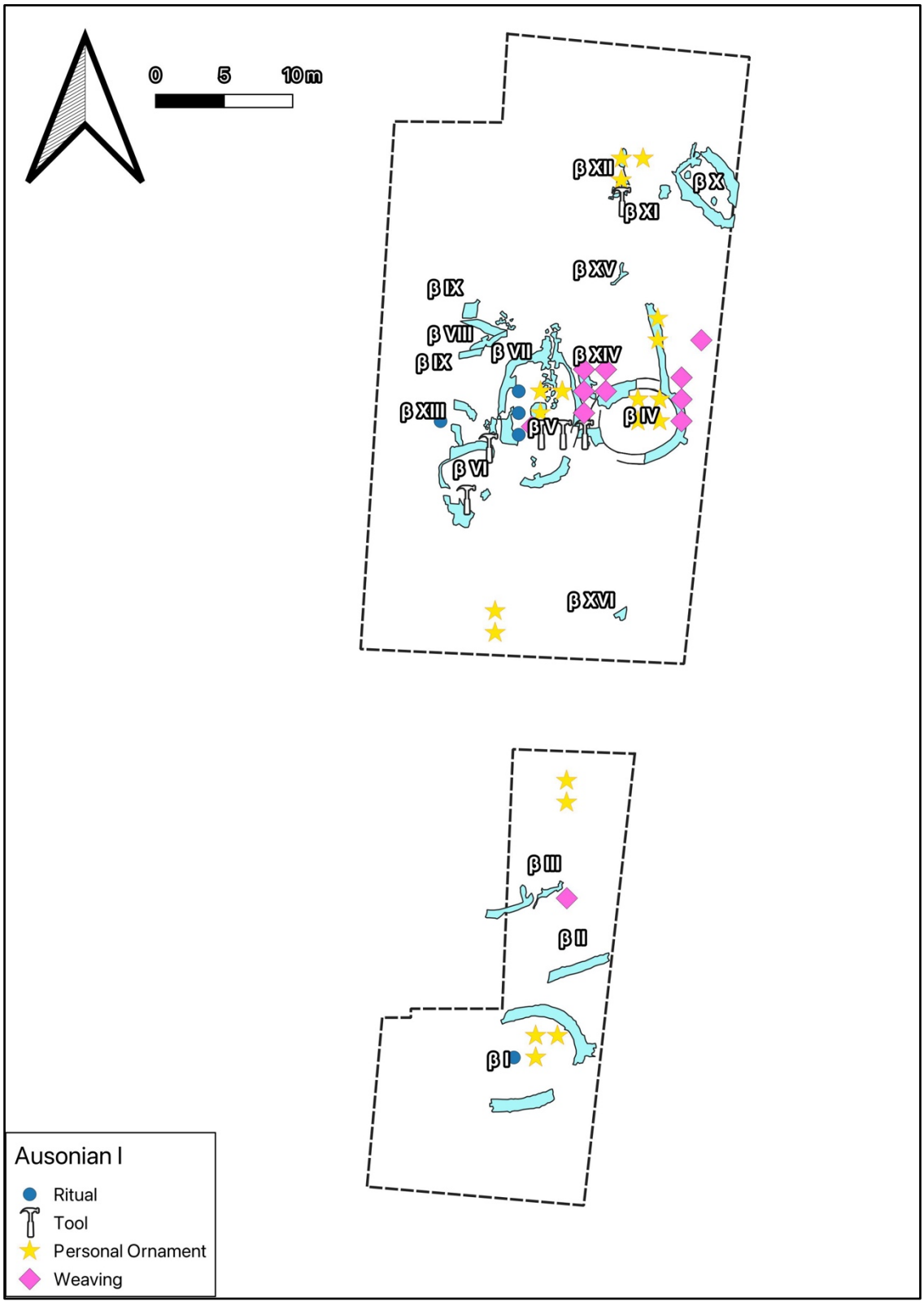

Figure 3.40—Distribution of different type of artefacts across the Lipari acropolis in the Ausonian I settlement according to their function and quantity (image by Author with QGIS based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).



Figure 3.41—Distribution of Aegean imports across the Lipari acropolis in the Ausonian I settlement (image by Author with QGIS based on Taylour 1958; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).

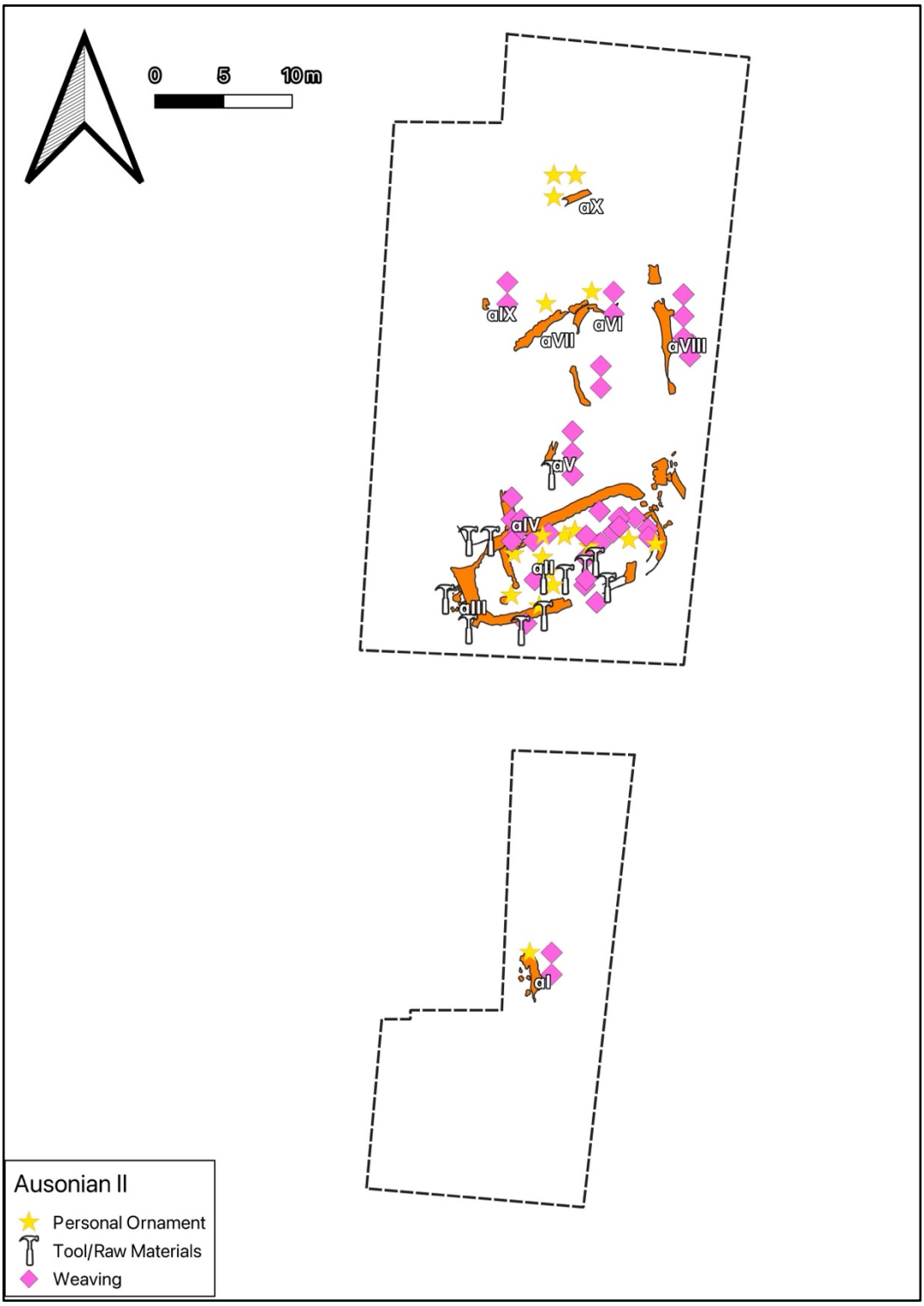

Figure 3.42—Distribution of different types of artefacts across the Lipari acropolis in the Ausonian II settlement (image by Author with QGIS based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).

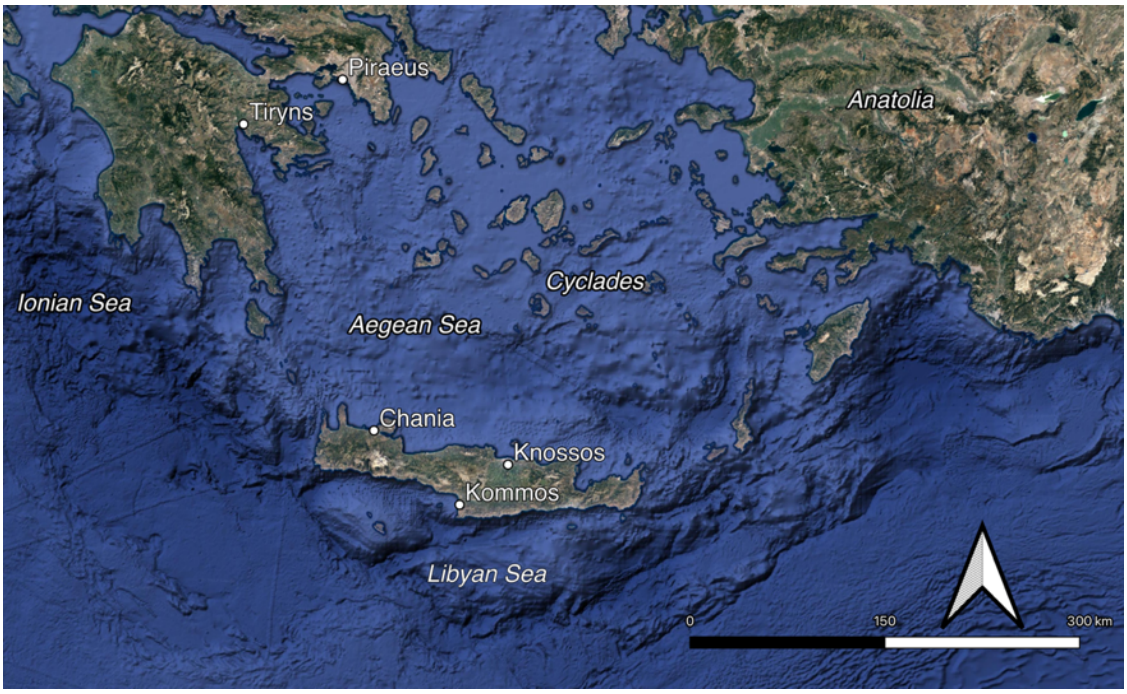

Figure 4.1—Map of the Aegean showing the main locations mentioned in this Chapter (image by Author with QGIS; map data ©2015 Google).

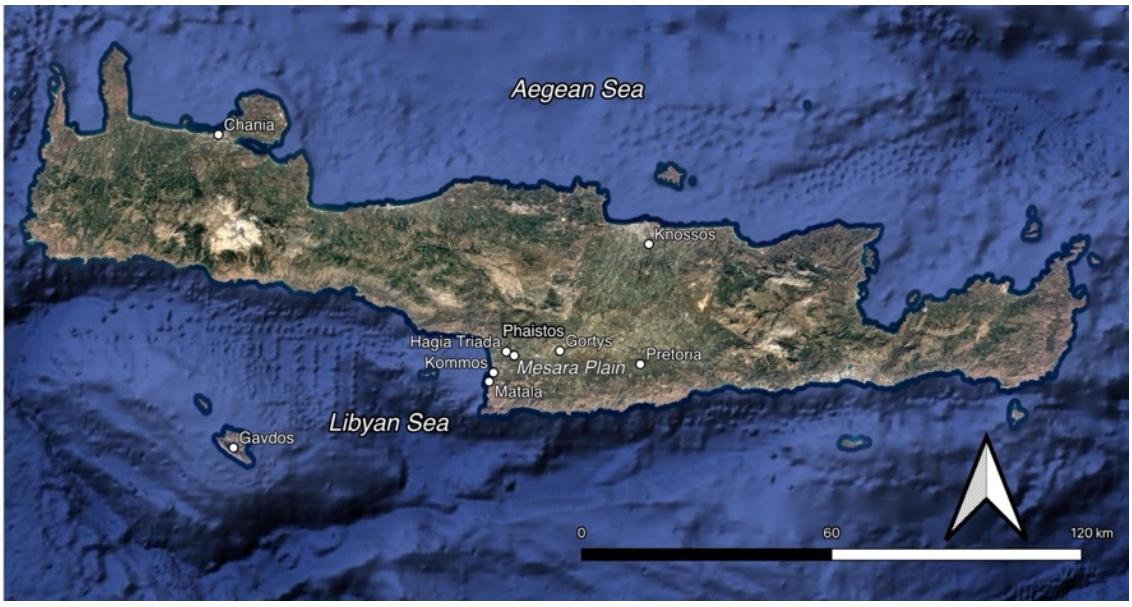

Figure 4.2—Map of Crete showing the main locations mentioned in this Chapter (image by Author with QGIS; map data ©2015 Google).

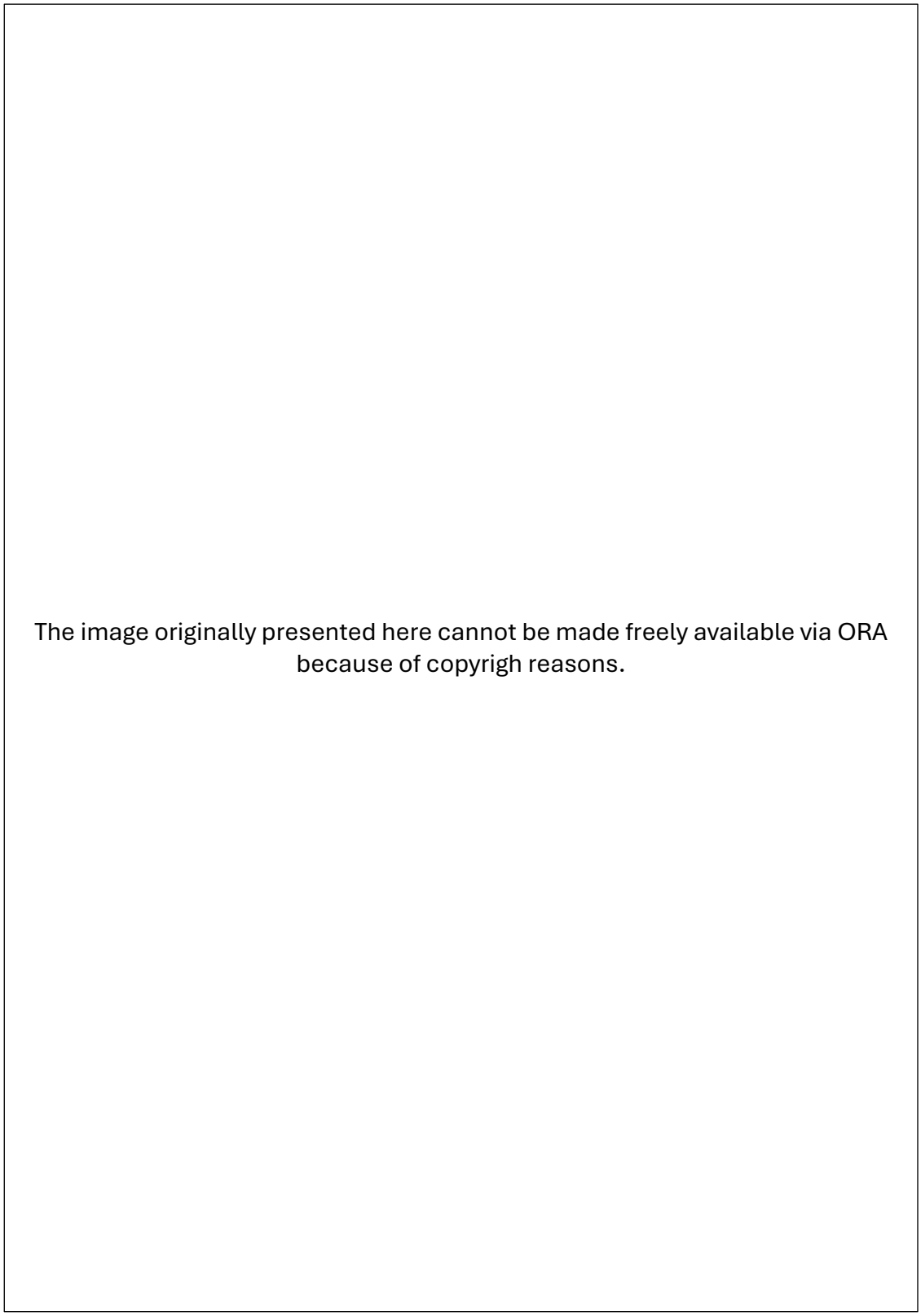

Figure 4.3—Plan of the Kommos archaeological site (modified by Author after Tomlinson *et al.* 2010: 192, Figure 1).

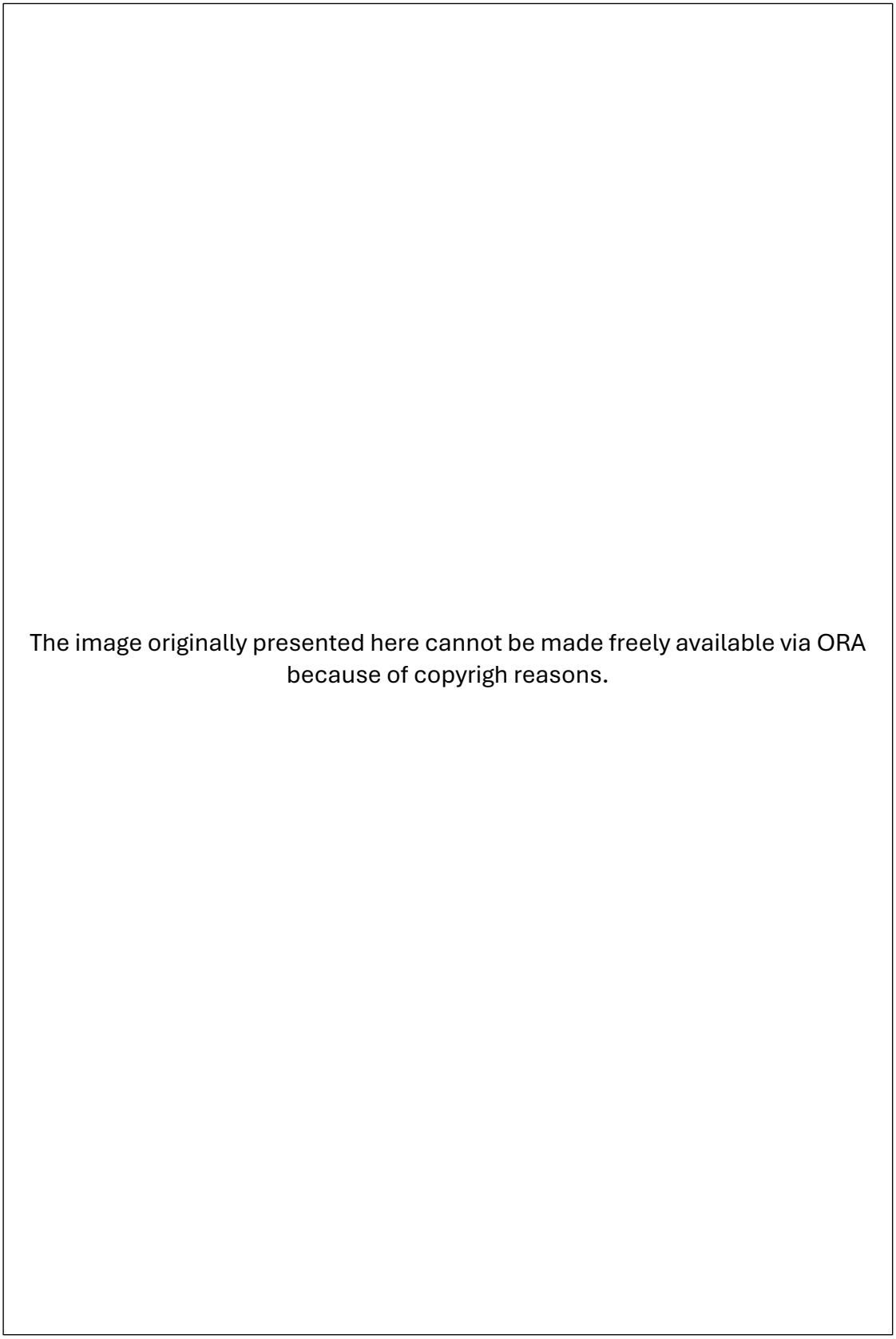

Figure 4.4—Plan of the Hilltop Area with indicated the different structures (Shaw and Shaw 1996: 426, Plate 1.4).

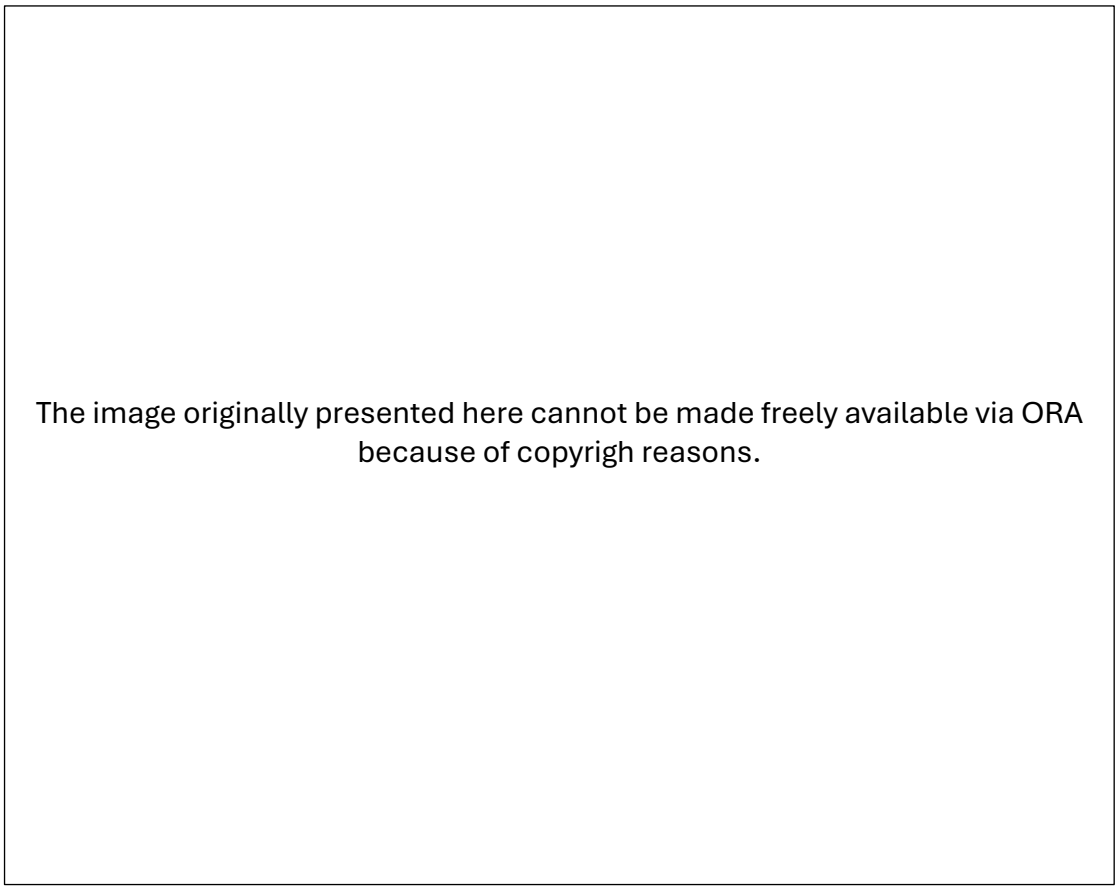

Figure 4.5—Plan of the Hillside Area with indicated the different structures (Shaw and Shaw 1996: 430, Plate 1.10).

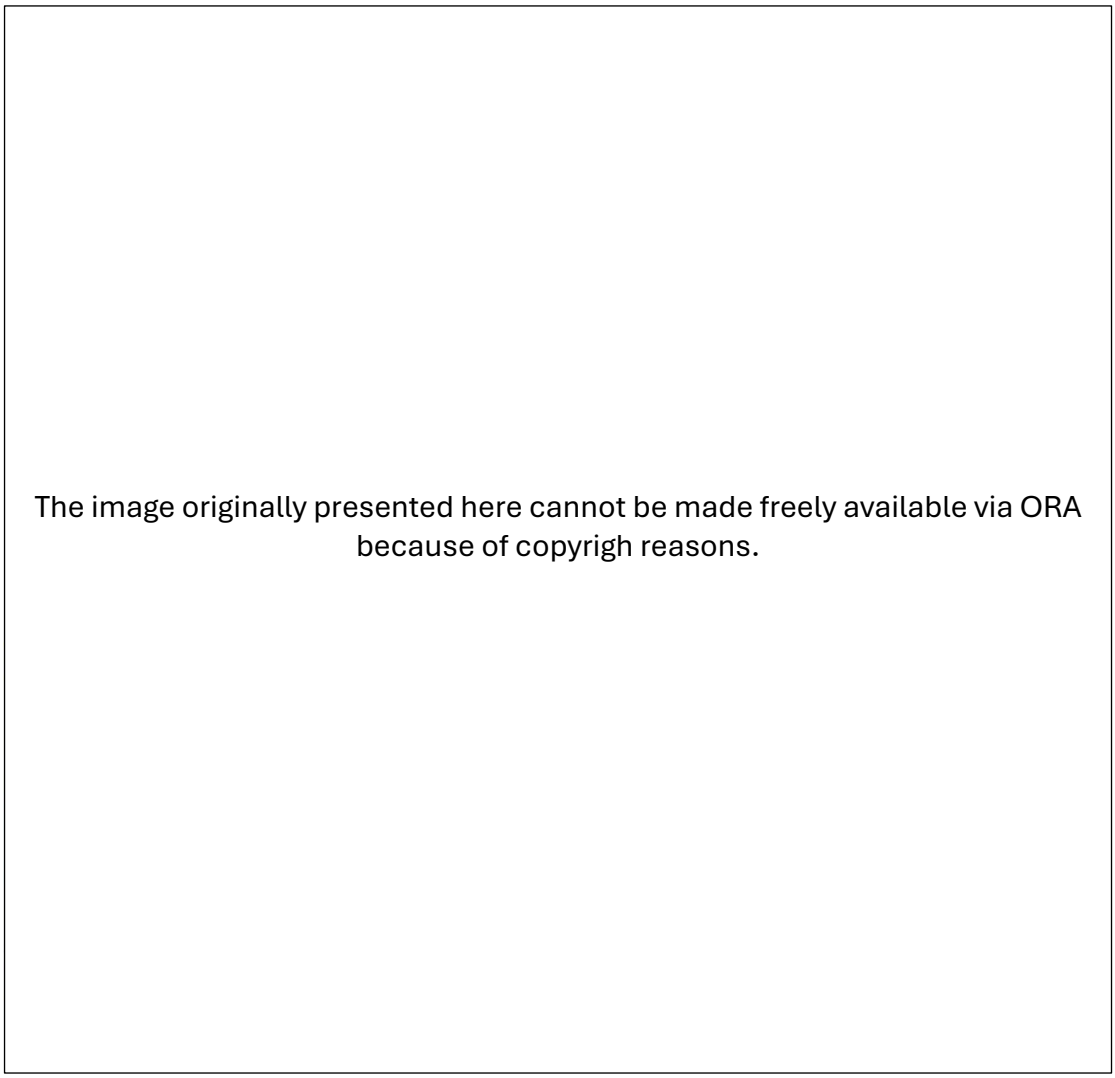

Figure 4.6—Plan of the Southern Area of Kommos showing the different structures according to their date (Shaw and Shaw 2006).

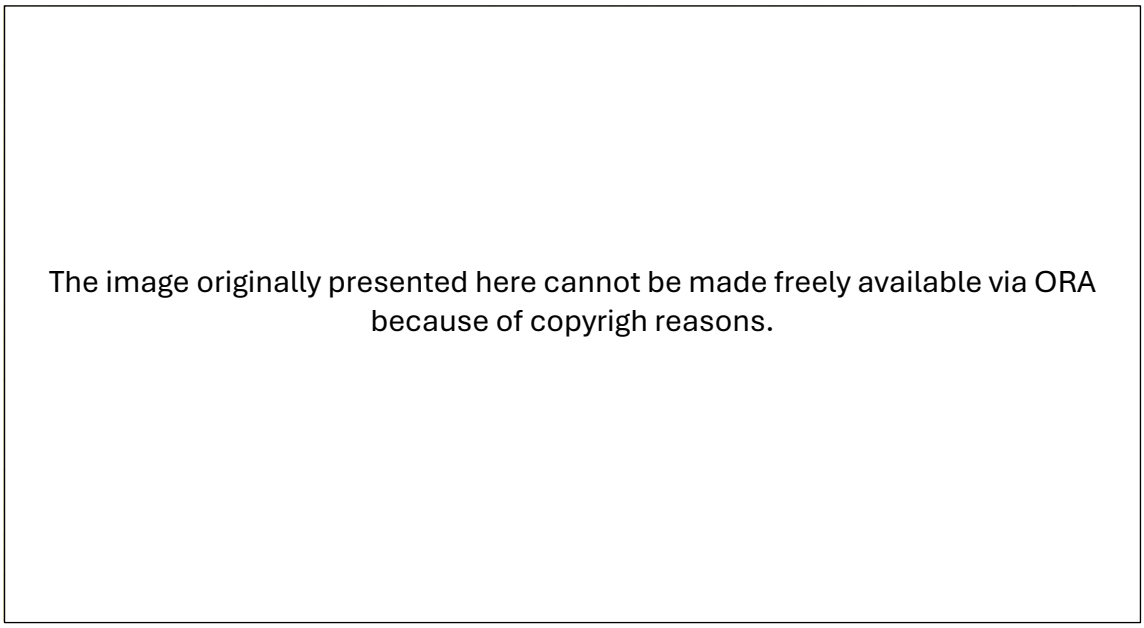

Figure 4.7—Map of the Kommos Area in 1924 (Evans 1928: 89, Figure 42).

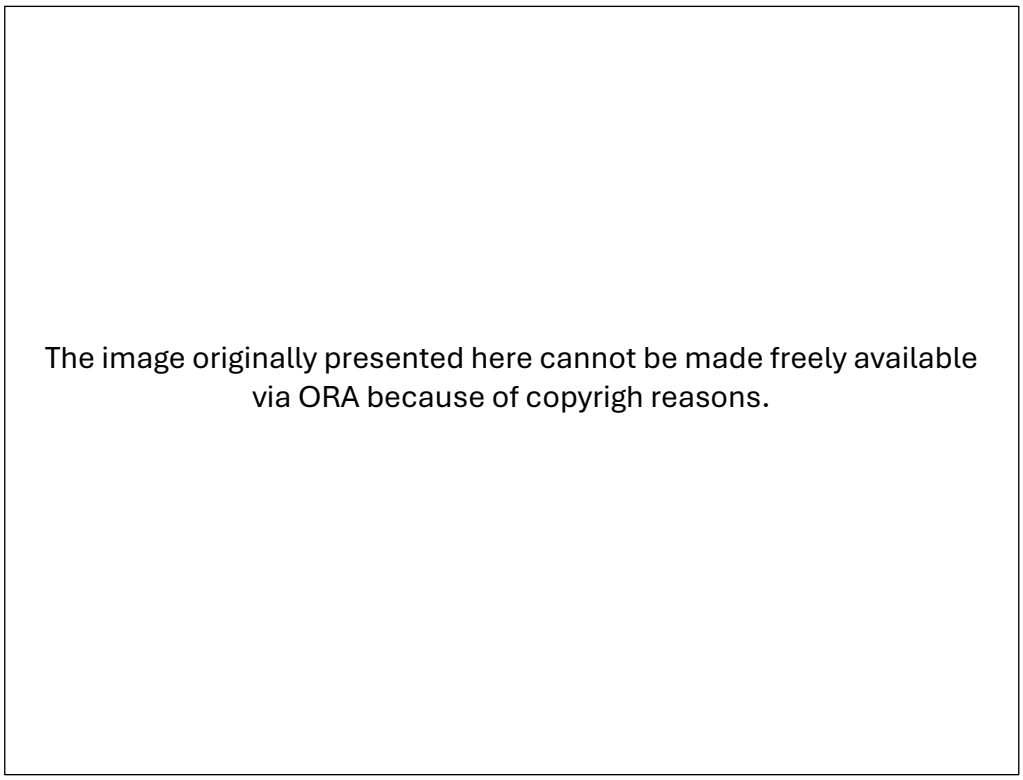

Figure 4.8—Plan of the North House on the Hilltop Area (modified by Author after Shaw and Shaw 1996: 426, 438, Plates 1.4, 2.5).

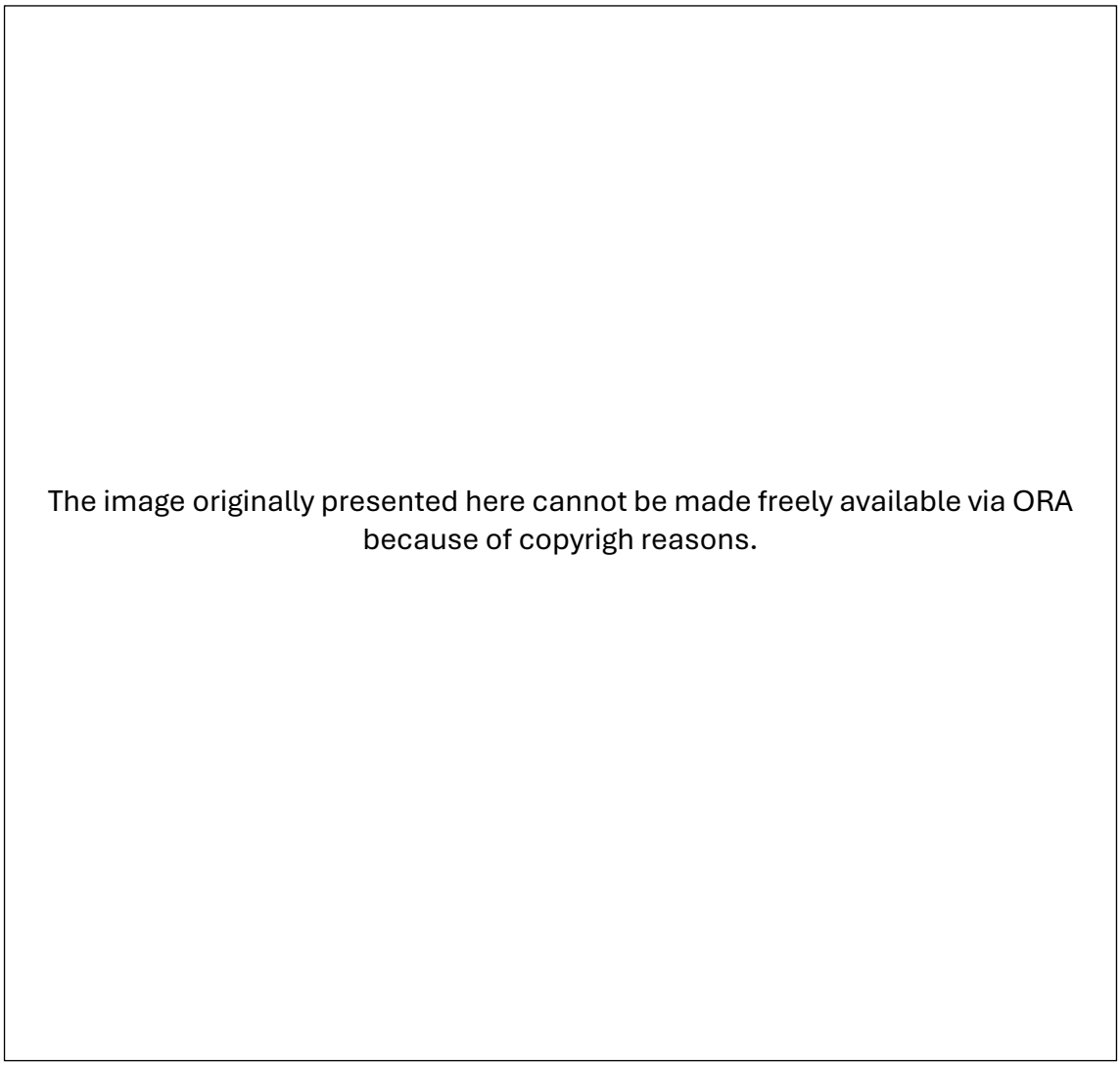

Figure 4.9—LM I plan of the Oblique House (Shaw and Shaw 1996: 482, Plate 2.77).

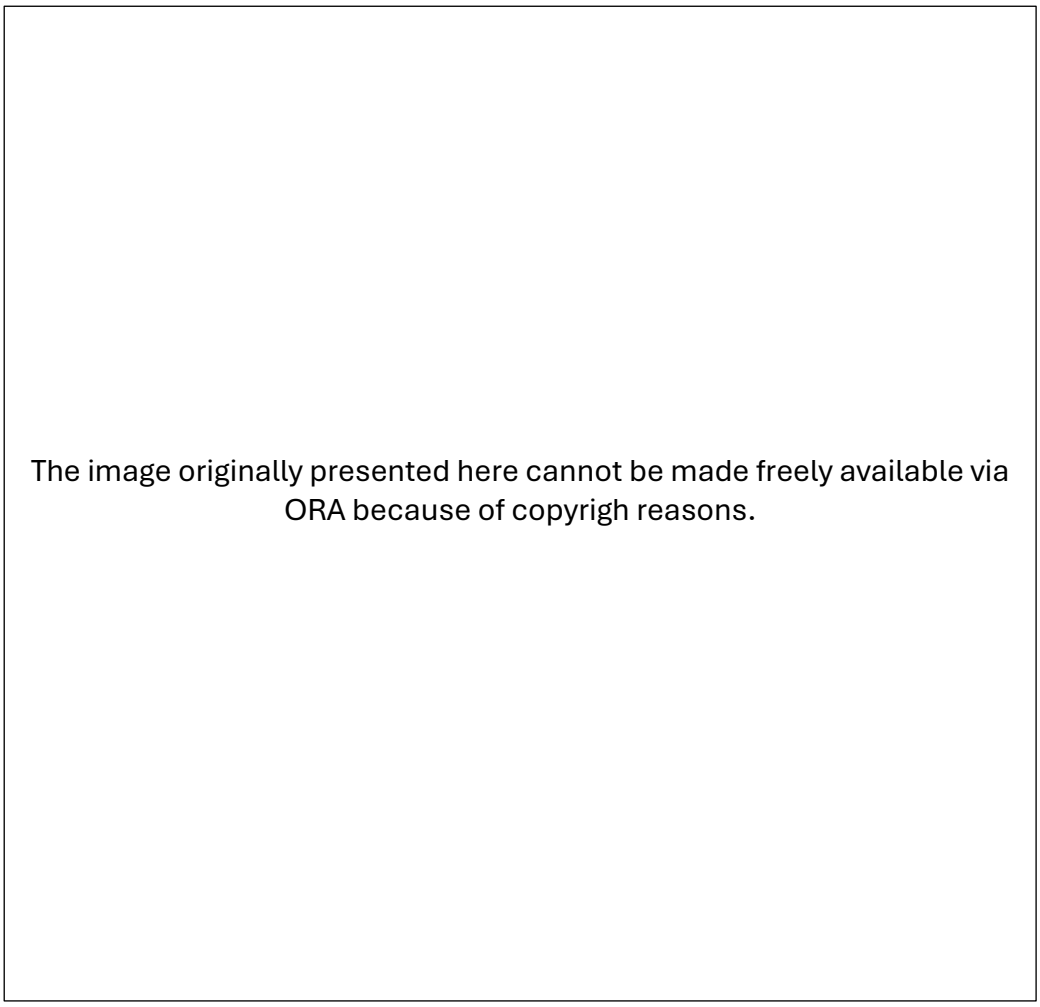

Figure 4.10—House with the Press, Hilltop Area. LM IA–IIIA2 floor deposit (left) and axonometric reconstruction (right; modified by Author after Shaw and Shaw 1996: 530–531, Plates 2.165–166).

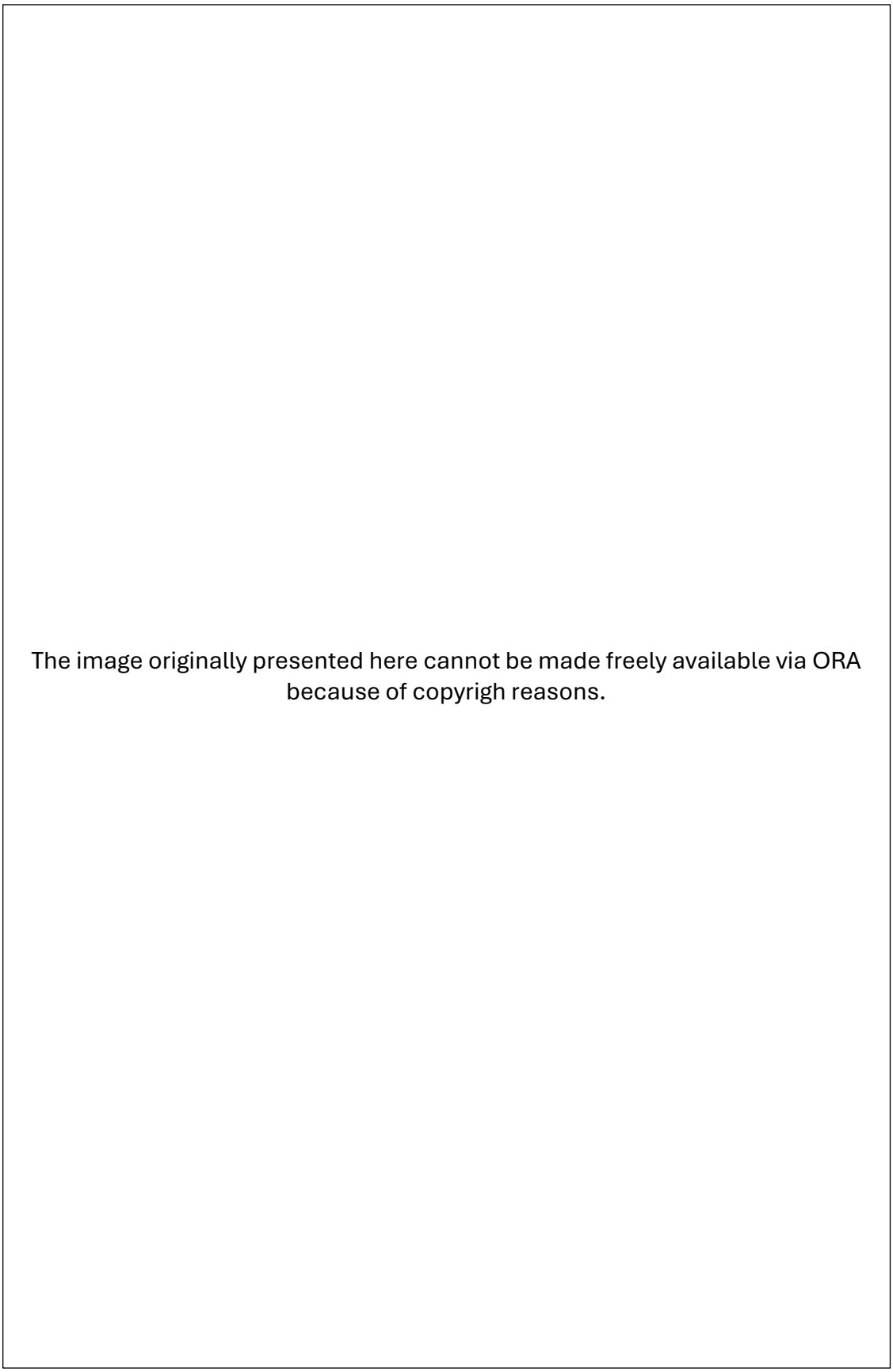

Figure 4.11—LM I–II plan of the House with the Snake Tube in the Hillside Area (Shaw and Shaw 1996: 622, Plate 3.105).

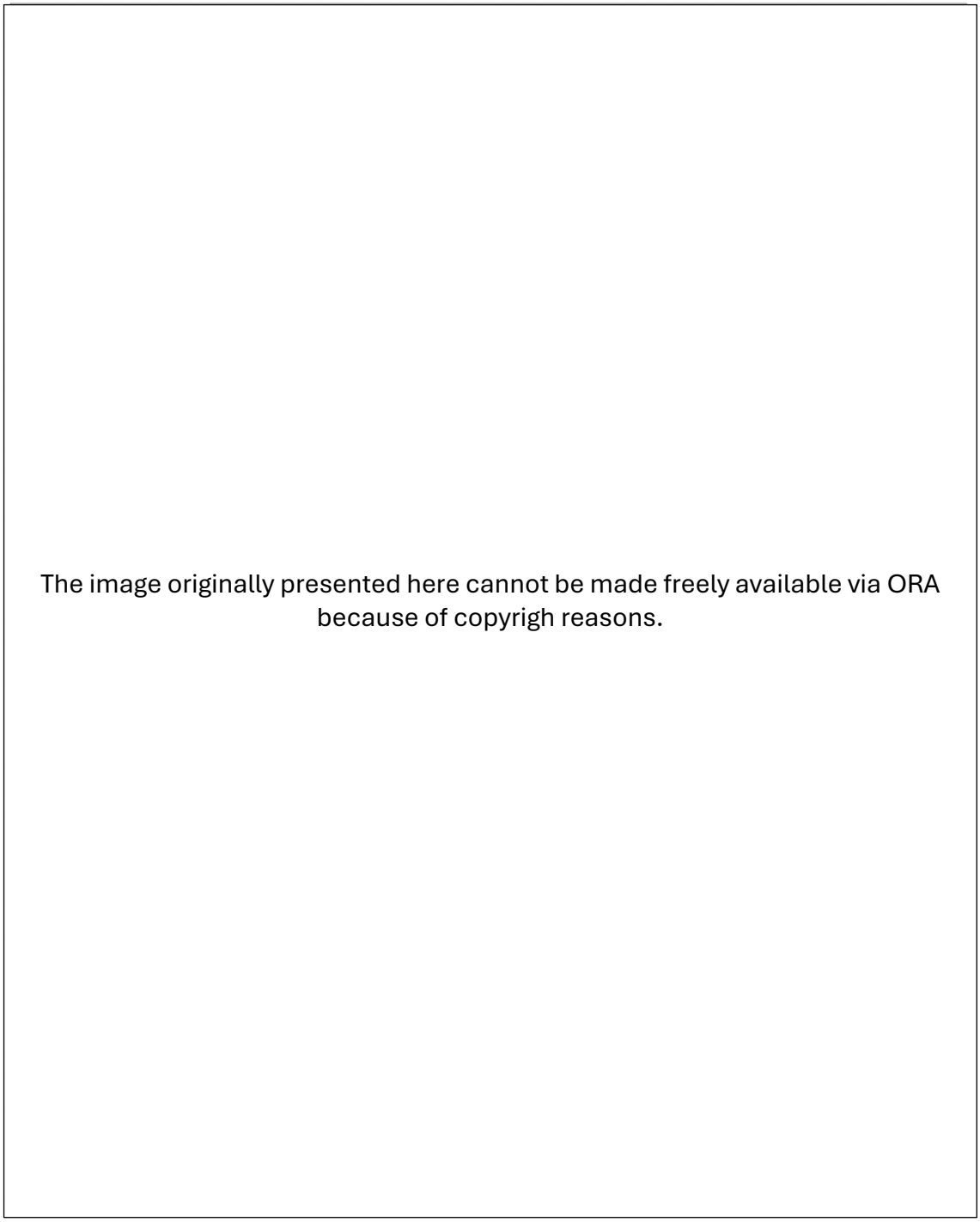

Figure 4.12—Original plan of House X, Southern Area (Shaw and Shaw 2012: Figure 1.2).

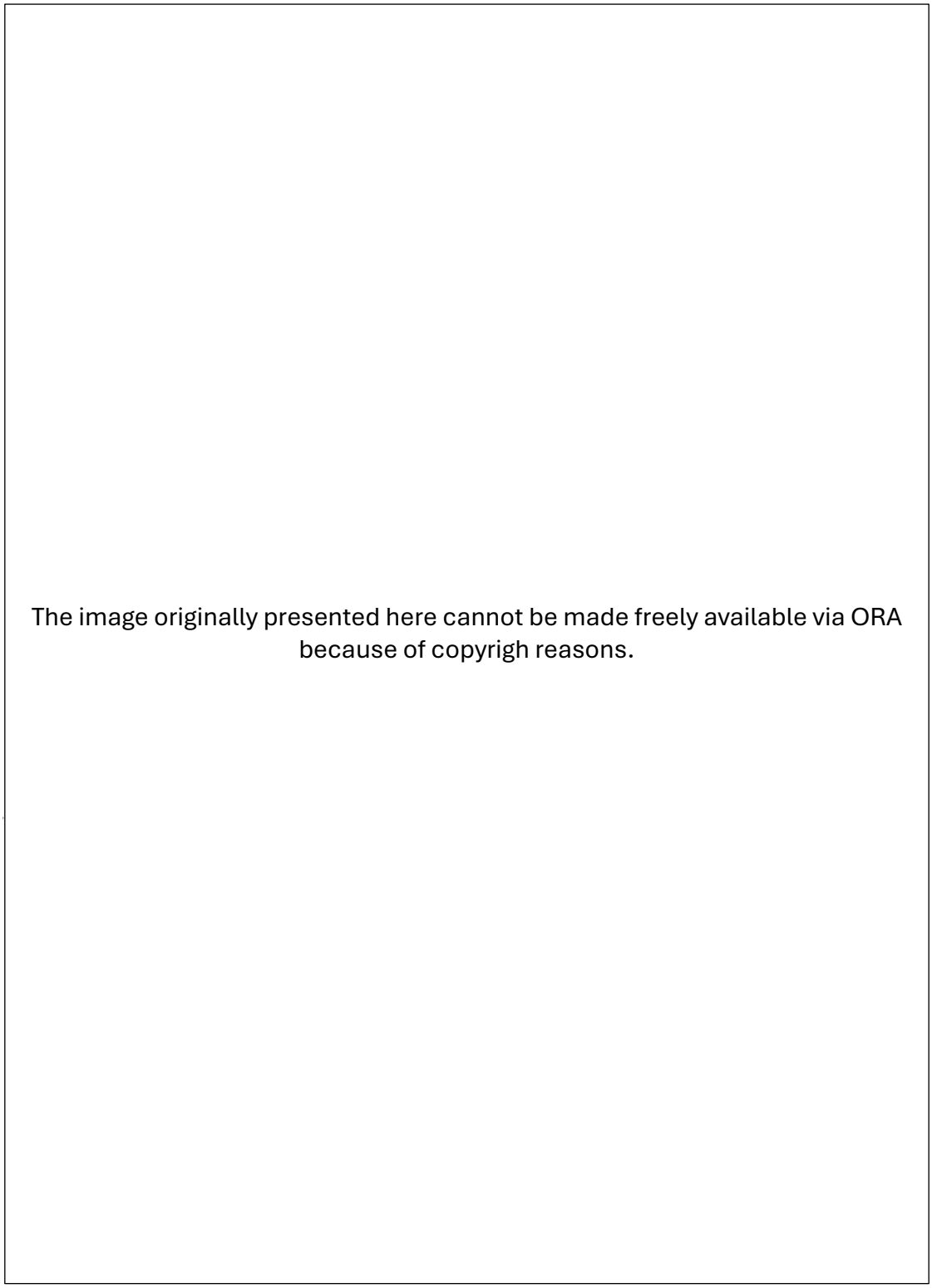

Figure 4.13—Plan of Building T in LM IA (Shaw and Shaw 2006: 957, Plate 1.7).

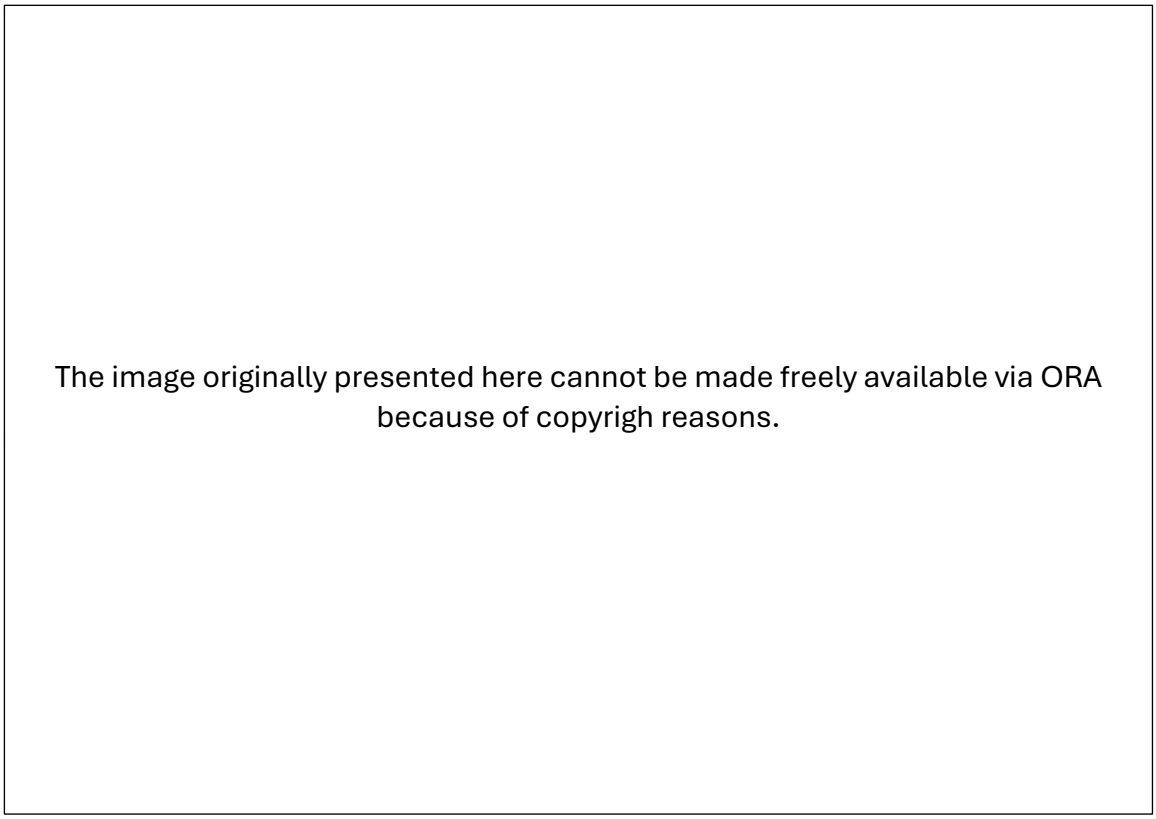

Figure 4.14—Plan reflecting the recent interpretation of Building T as a Naval Centre, here criticised (Shaw 2019: 91, Figure 7).

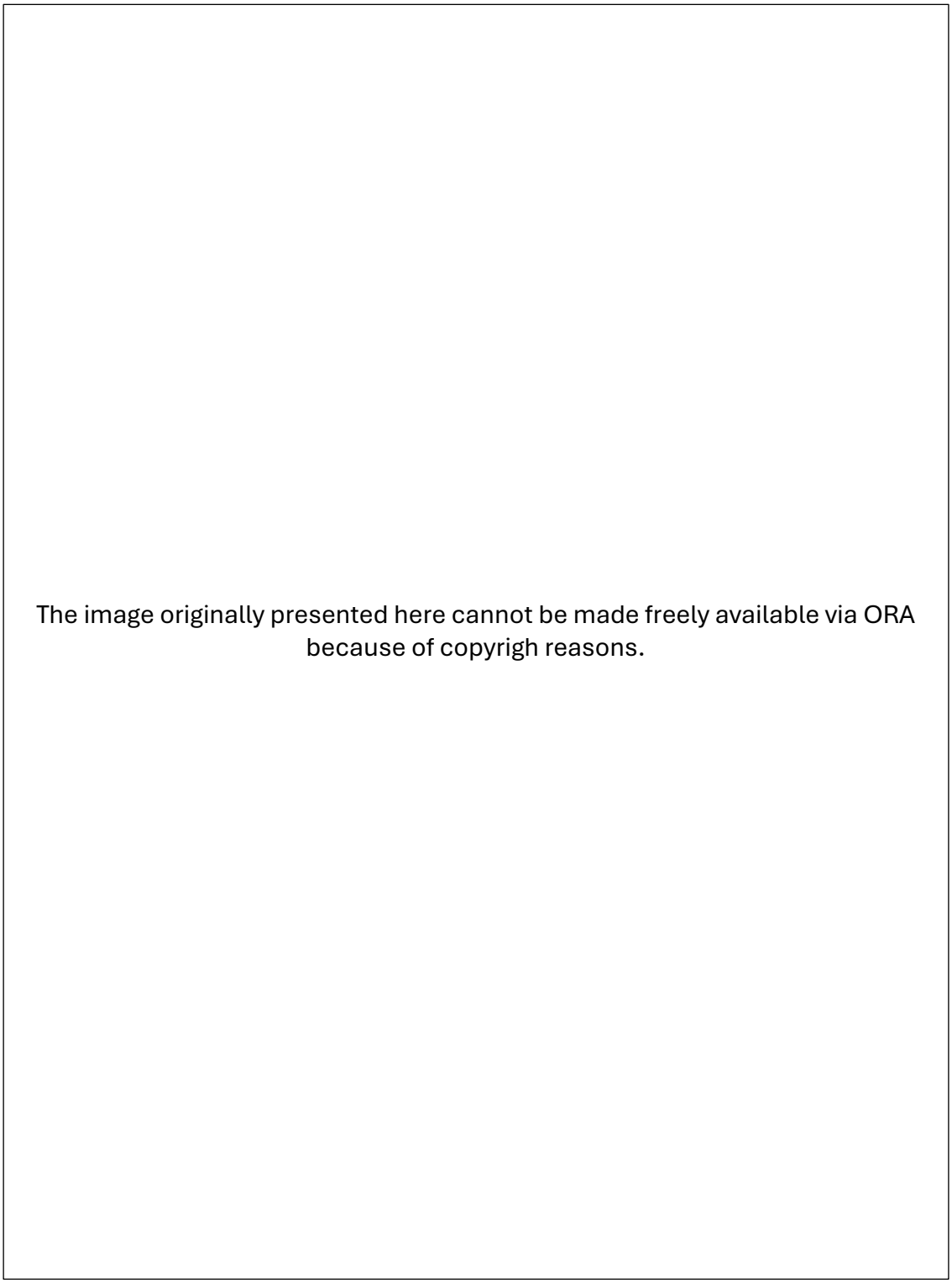

Figure 4.15—LM IIIA1 plan of the House with the Snake Tube in the Hillside Area (Shaw and Shaw 1996: 624, Plate 3.107).

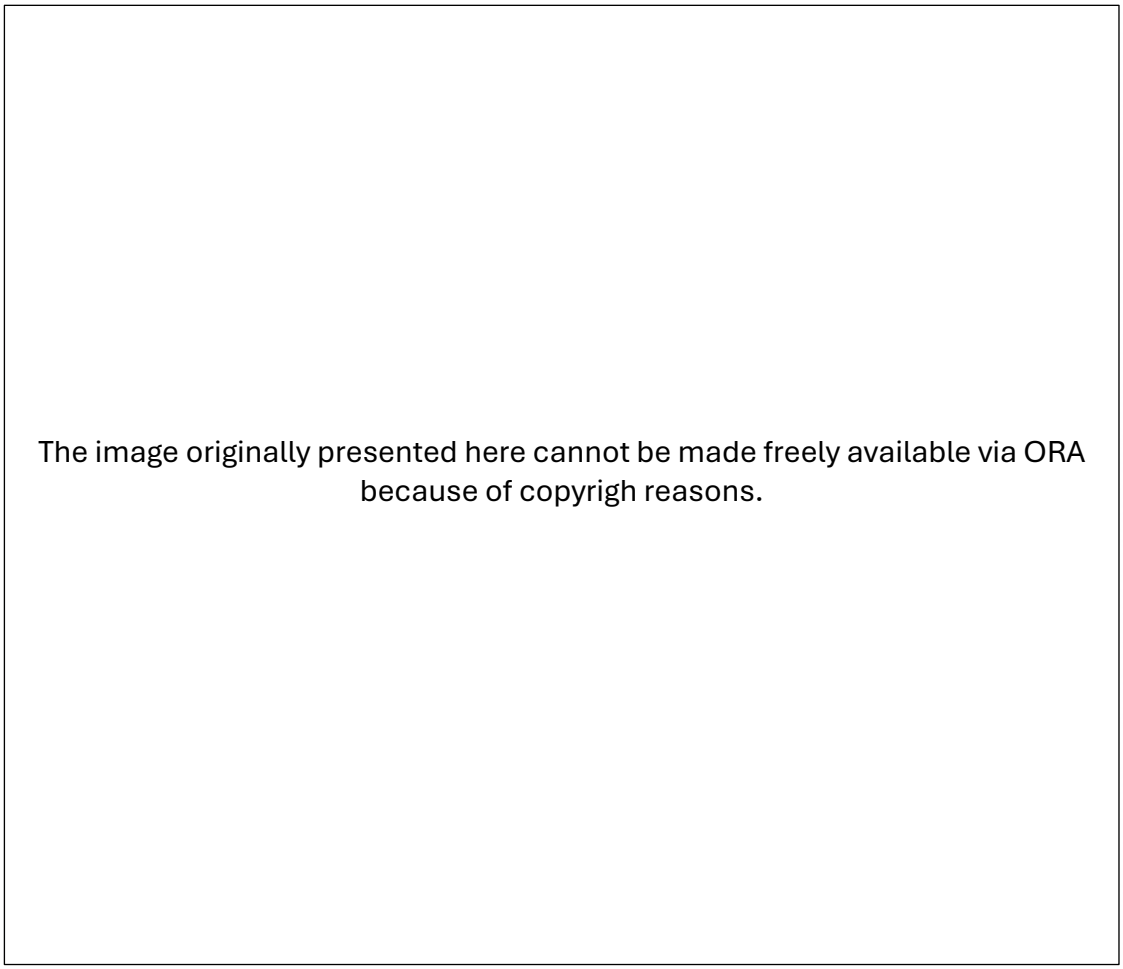

Figure 4.16—LM IIIA2–LM IIIB plan of the North House on the Hilltop Area (Shaw and Shaw 1996: 441, Plate 2.8).

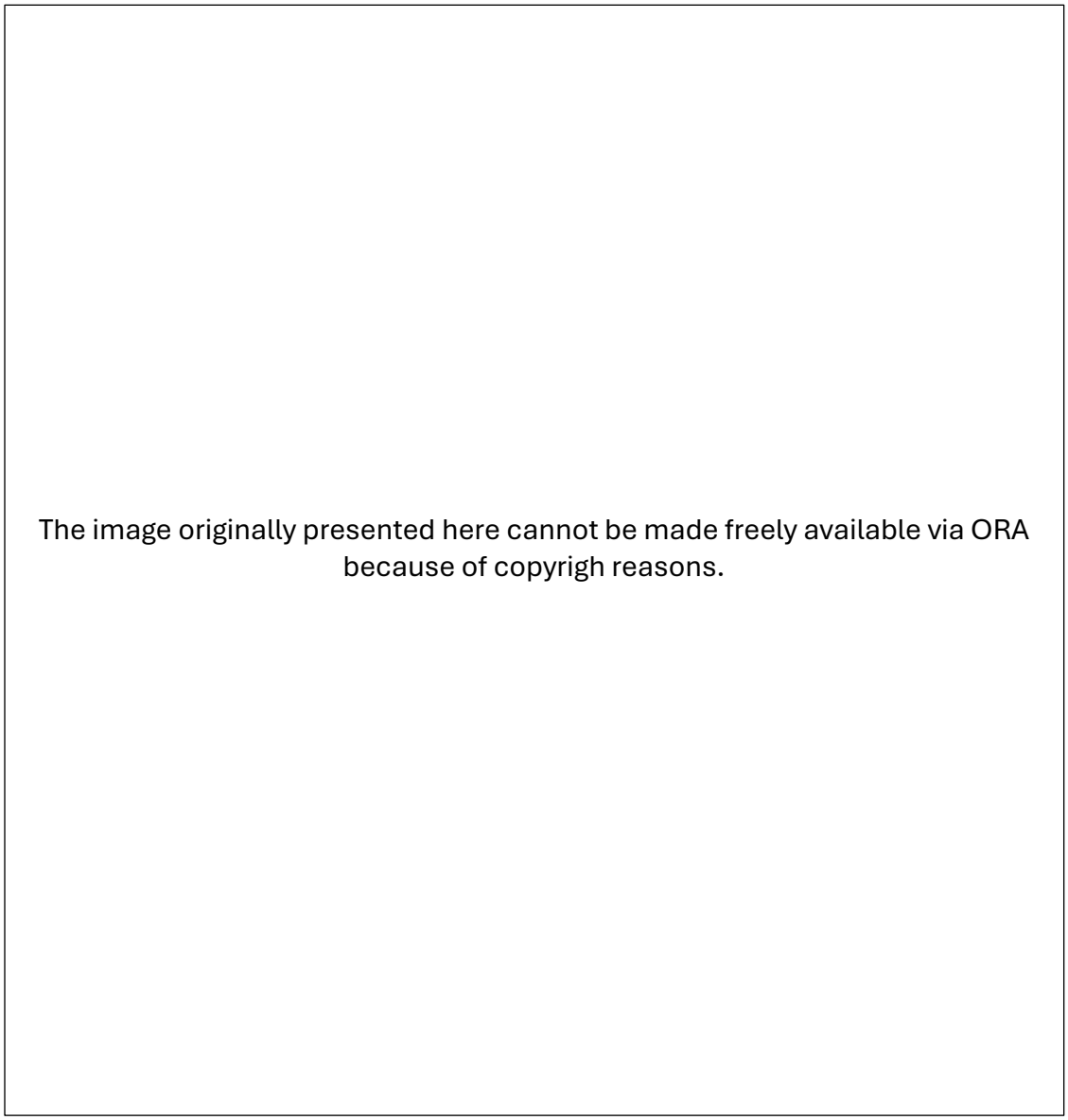

Figure 4.17—LM IIIA2 plan of the southern part of the Hilltop Area including the Oblique House, the Northern Cliffside and Southeast Rooms (Shaw and Shaw 1996: 483, Plate 2.78).

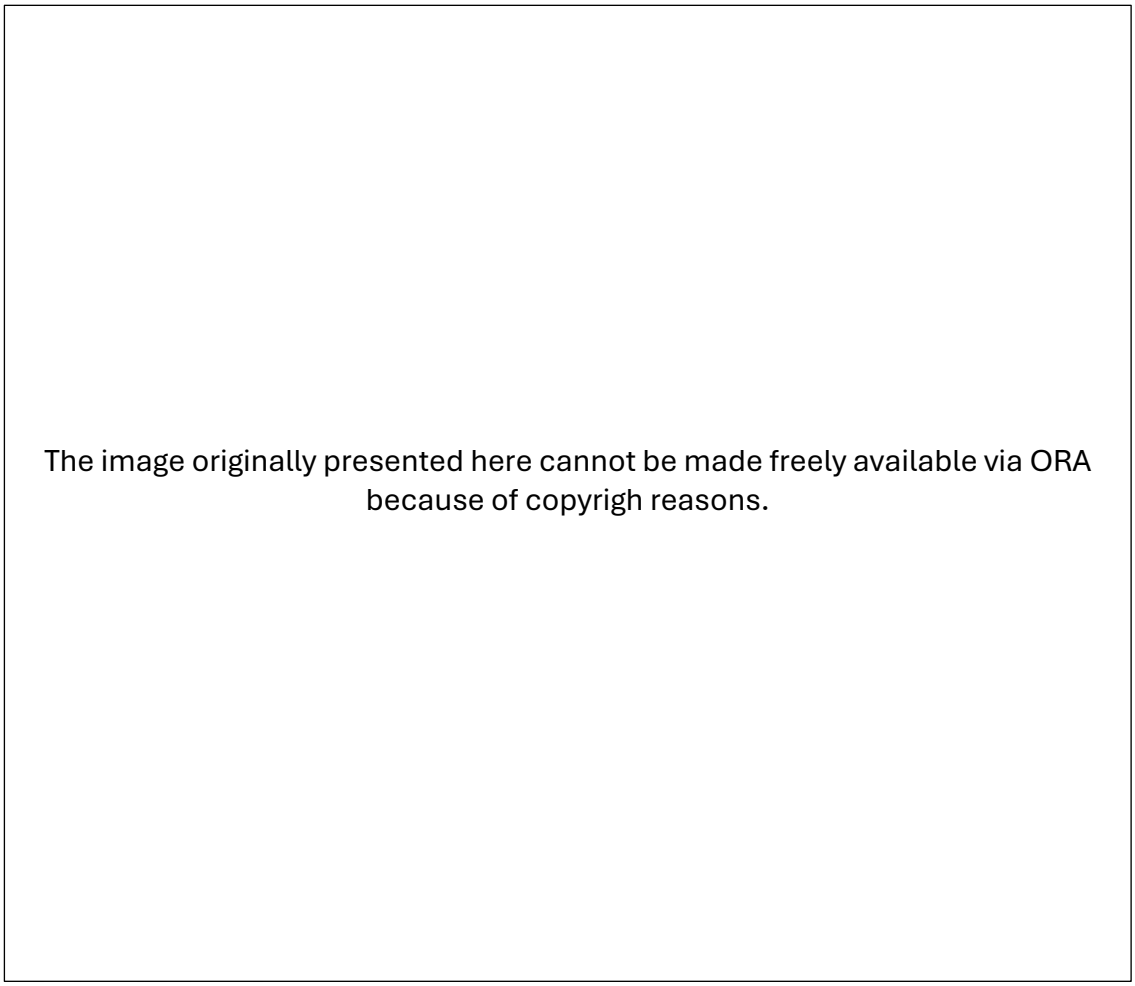

Figure 4.18—LM IIIB plan of the House with the Snake Tube and the rest of the Hillside Area (modified by Author after Shaw and Shaw 1996: 626–627, Plates 3.111–112).



Figure 4.19—LM IIIA2–B plan of Buildings N and P (Shaw and Shaw 2006: 993, Plate 1.60B).

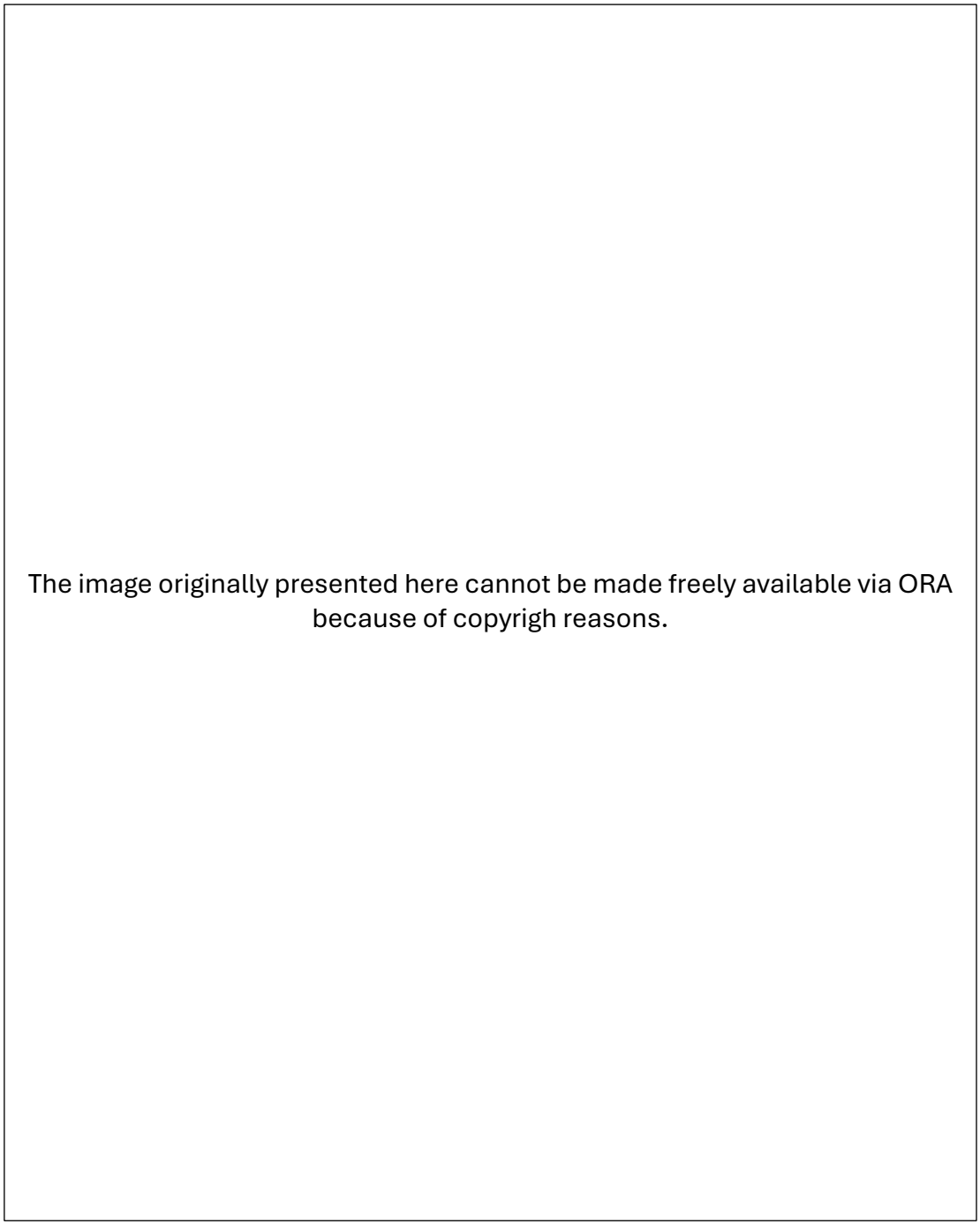

Figure 4.20—Schematic plan and section of Building P and its relationship with the earlier Building T (Shaw and Shaw 2006: 1000, Plate 1.68).

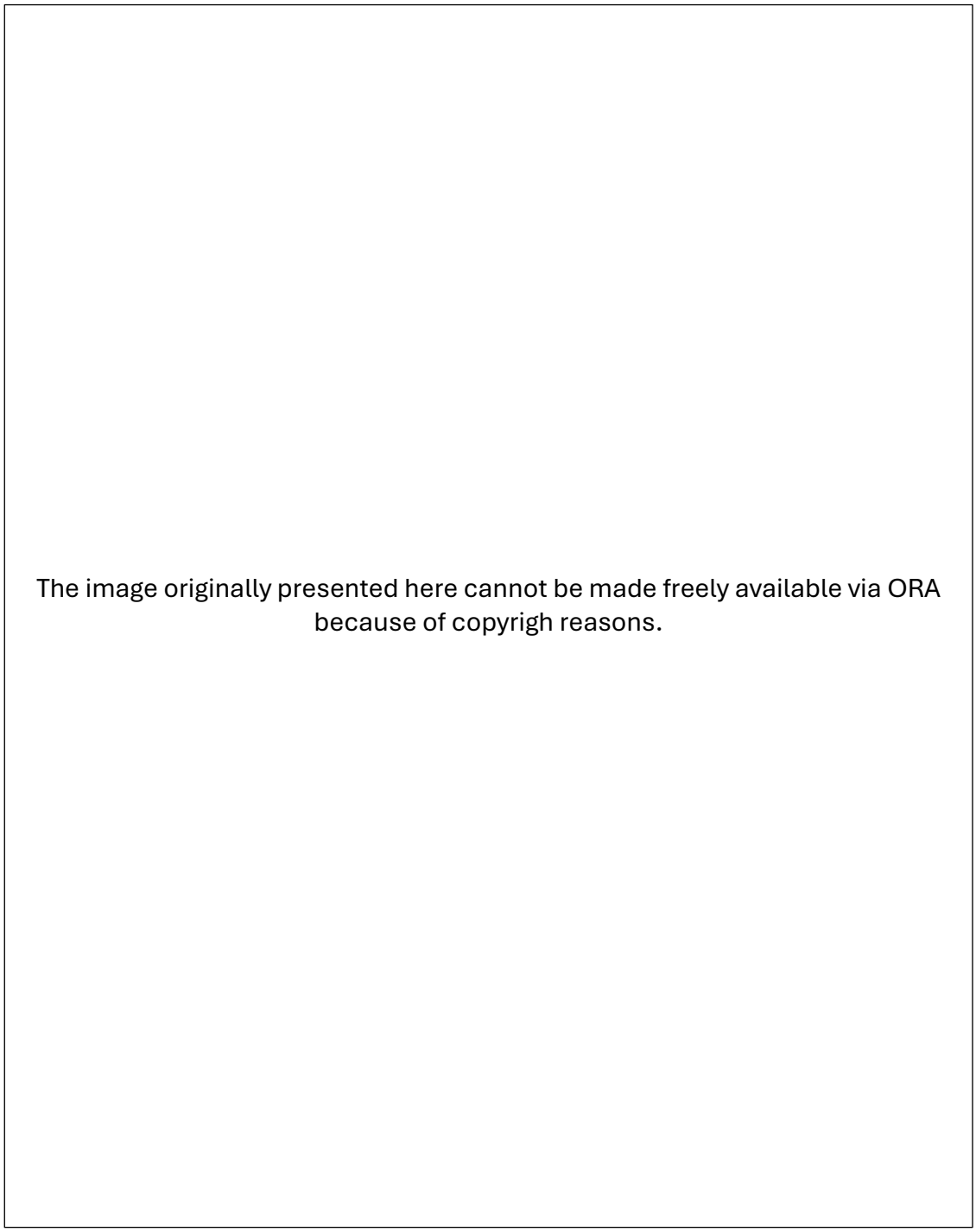

Figure 4.21—LM IIIC wall built across Room 7 of Building N, in the Southern Area (Rutter 2017b: 248, Fig. 8.2.).

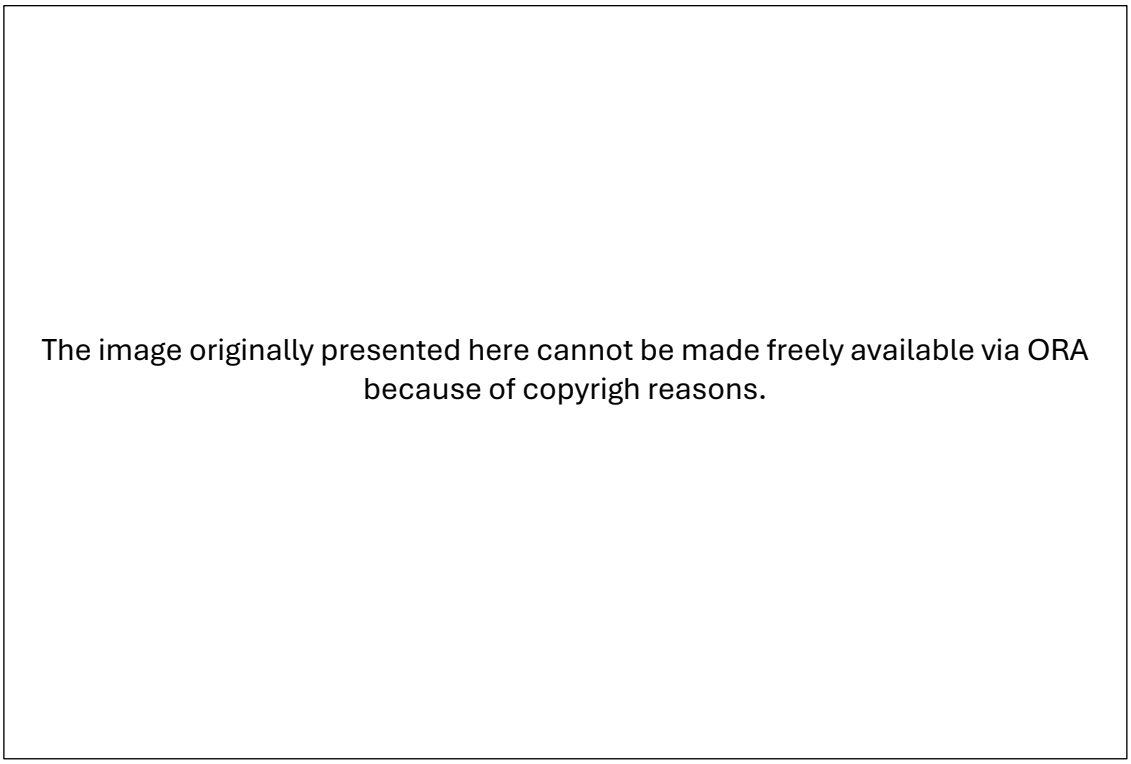

Figure 4.22—South Stoa area with kiln, Building T (Shaw 2001: 7, Figure 2).



Figure 4.23—Distribution of animal and human figurines across the site of Kommos (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012).

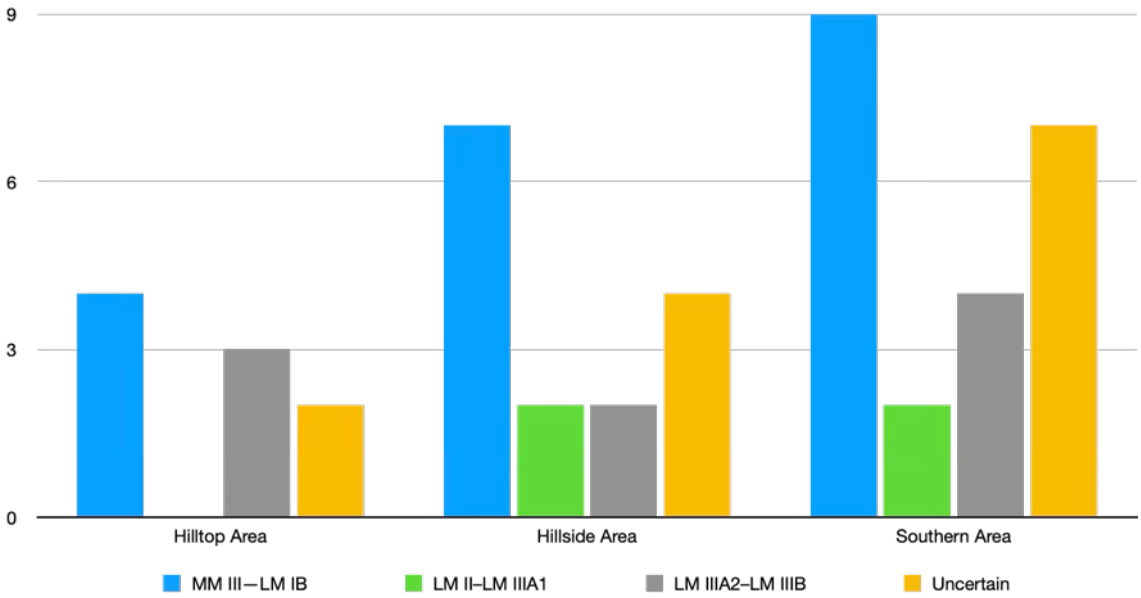

Figure 4.24—Spatial and chronological distribution of figurines at Kommos (graph by Author based on Shaw 1996d; 2012a; Shaw and Nixon 1996; Shaw 2006b; Shaw *et al.* 2006a; Shaw and Shaw 2012).

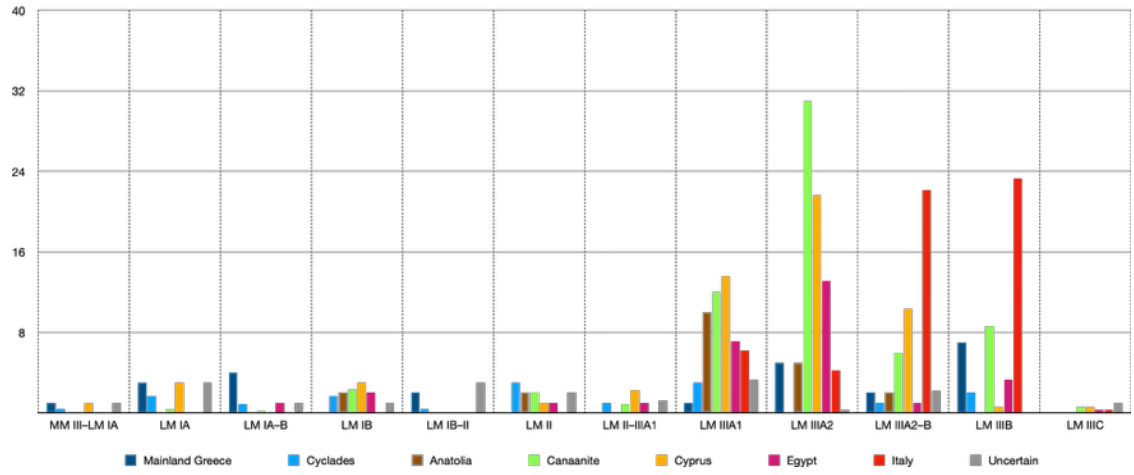

Figure 4.25—Graph showing the chronological changes of imported pottery at Kommos.

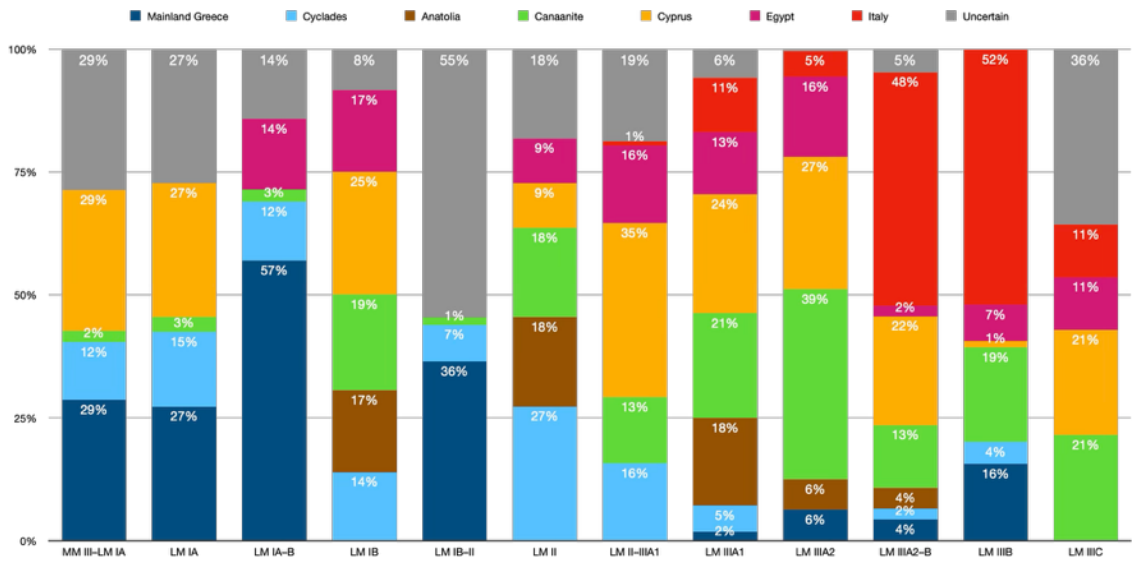

Figure 4.26—Percentage of imported pottery recovered from Kommos.



Figure 4.27—Concentration and chronological distribution of finds from the Greek mainland and Aegean islands recovered across Kommos (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012).



Figure 4.28—Concentration of Anatolian finds across Kommos (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012).

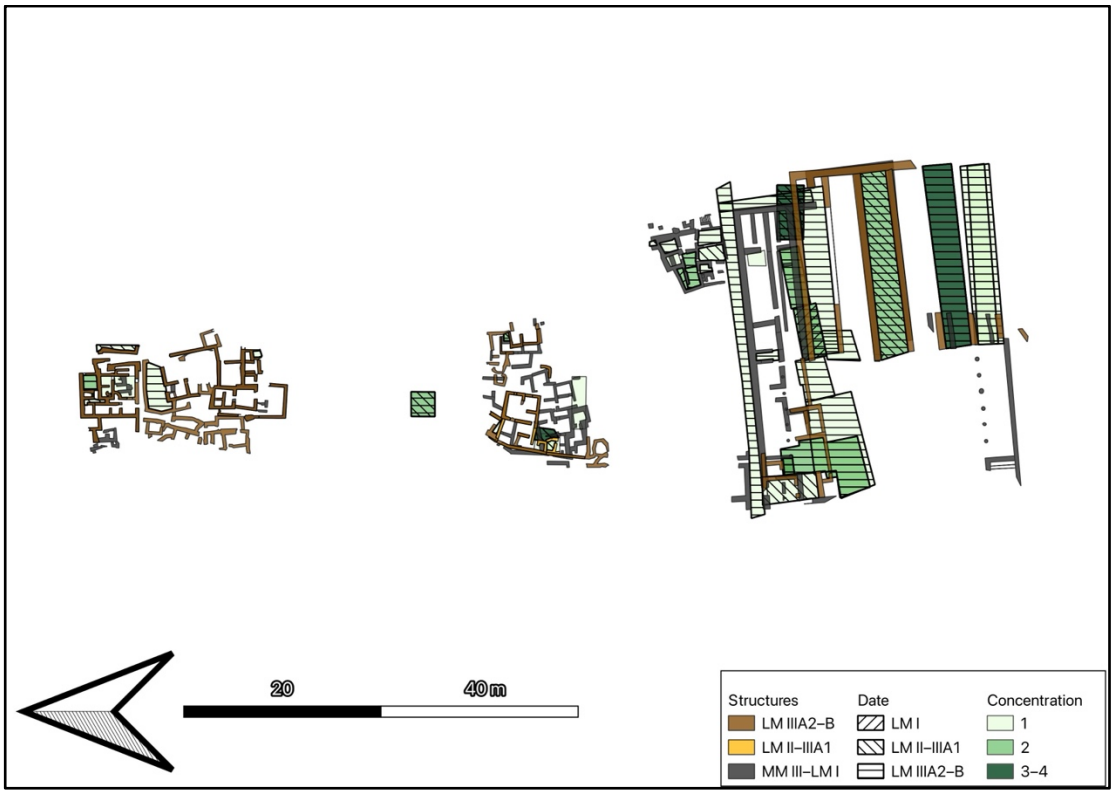

Figure 4.29—Concentration and chronological distribution of Canaanite pottery across Kommos (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012). This map also includes two LM IIIA elephant tusks recovered from the Hillside Area.



Figure 4.30—Concentration and chronological distribution across Kommos of Egyptian pottery and one glass vessel from Room X4 of House X dating LM IIIA2 (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012).



Figure 4.31—Concentration and chronological distribution of Cypriot pottery across Kommos (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012).



Figure 4.32—Concentration and chronological distribution of Italian finds across Kommos (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012).

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Figure 4.33—Potmarks identified at Kommos dating MM III–LM IIIB (composited after Betancourt 1990 Figures 55, 65; Watrous 1992, Figure 30, 50, 62; Shaw and Shaw 1996: 692–693, Plates 4.46–4.47; Rutter and Van de Moortel 2006: 1123–1124, 1150, 1157, 1160, 1175, 1183, Plates 3.30–3.31, 3.57, 3.64, 3.67, 3.82, 3.90; Rutter 2017a Figure 2.43).



Figure 4.34—Drawing (above) and picture (below) of both faces of the jeweller's stone mould, Room X6, House X (Shaw and Shaw 2012: Figure 3.4; Plate 3.11).

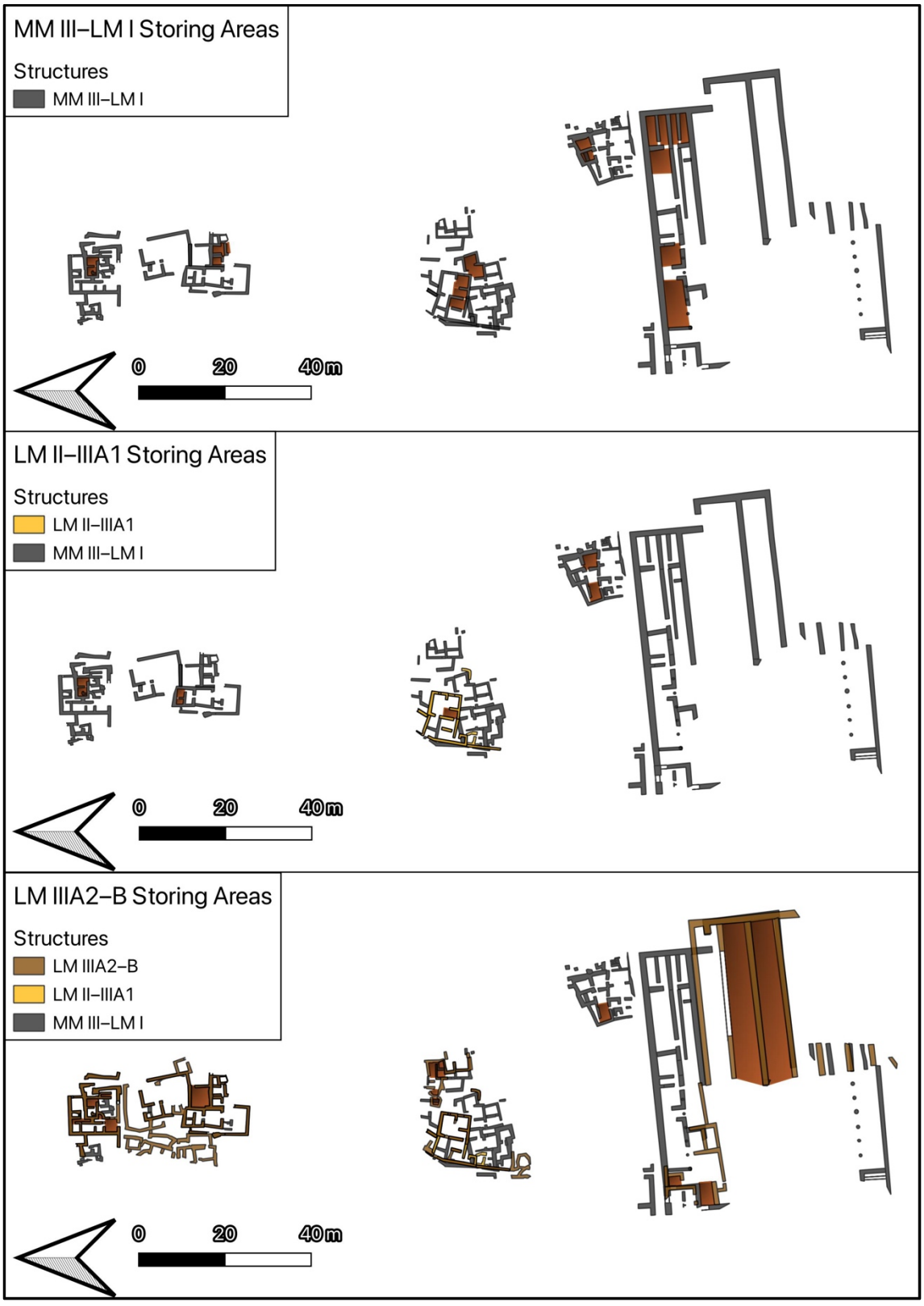

Figure 4.35—Different chronological distribution of storage areas across Kommos (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012).



Figure 5.1—Coast of Kommos showing the location of the submerged islet (Mourtzas and Kolaiti 2020: 8, Figure 3B).

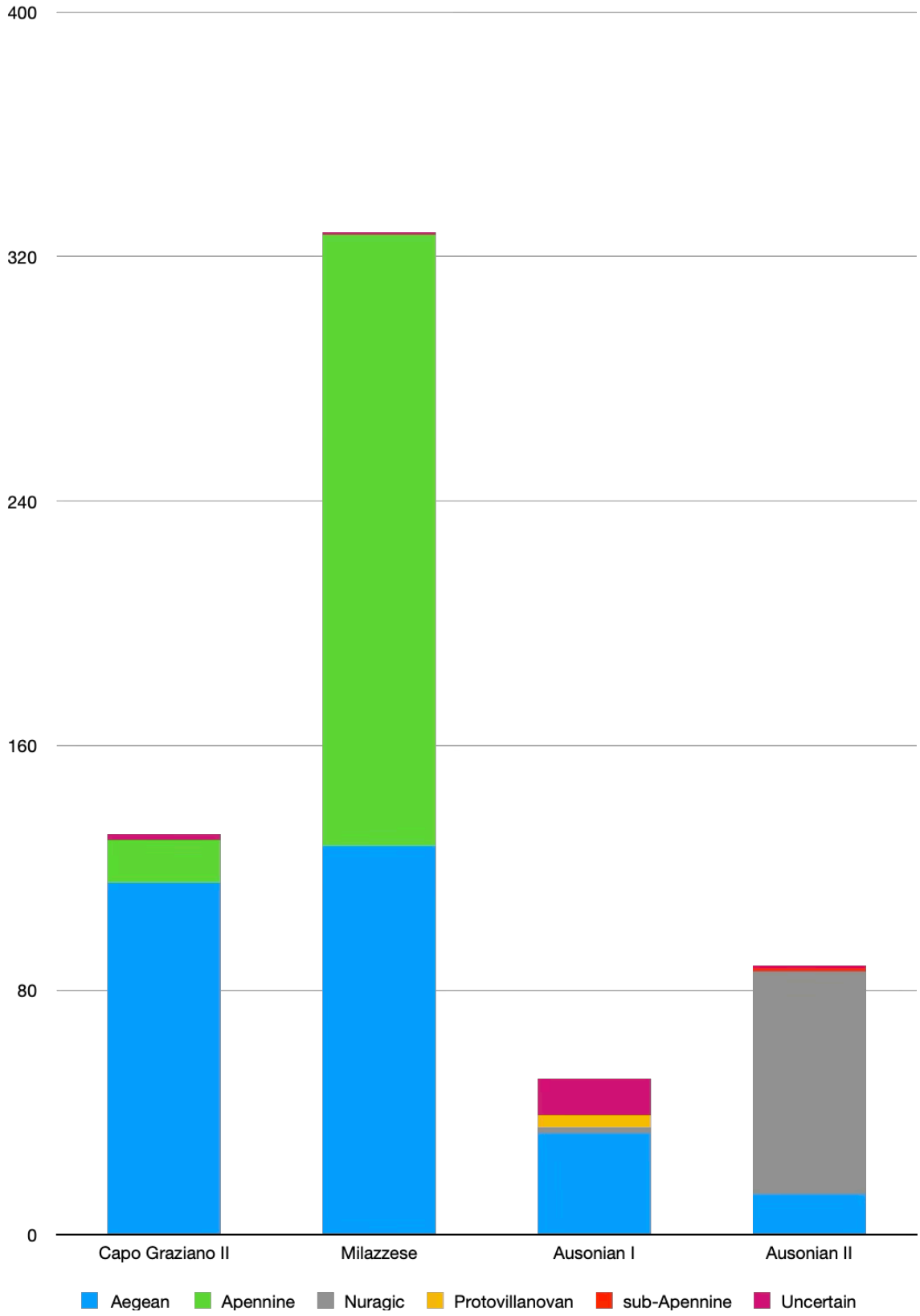

Figure 5.2—Chronological distribution of imports and artefacts displaying foreign influences recovered from Lipari. This count does not include the material from the hoard in α II.

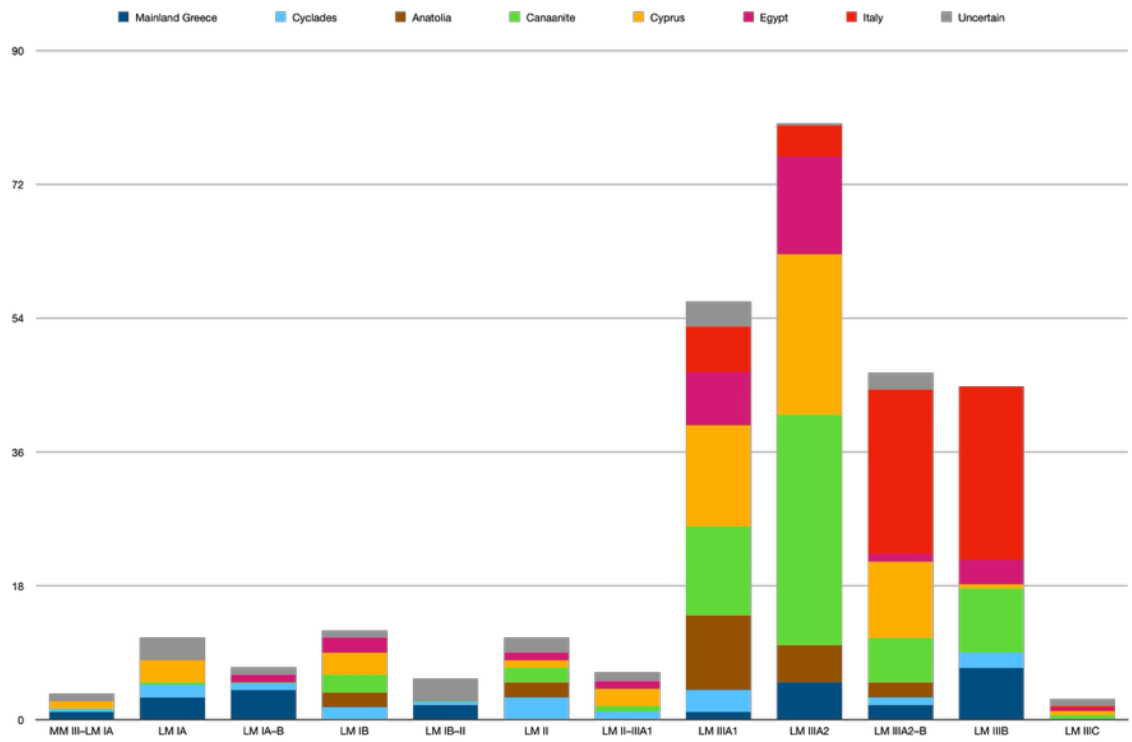

Figure 5.3—Weighted chronological distribution at Kommos of imports from outside Crete.

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Figure 5.4—Violin-bow fibulae and fragments from the Italian ports of interactions: a. Roca Vecchia, SAS X, Phase III; b.–c. Roca Vecchia, SAS X, Phase IV; d.–f. Lipari, hut α II and surroundings (composited after Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980: 640, Figure 128c, h, n; Pagliara et al. 2007: 349, Figure 17).

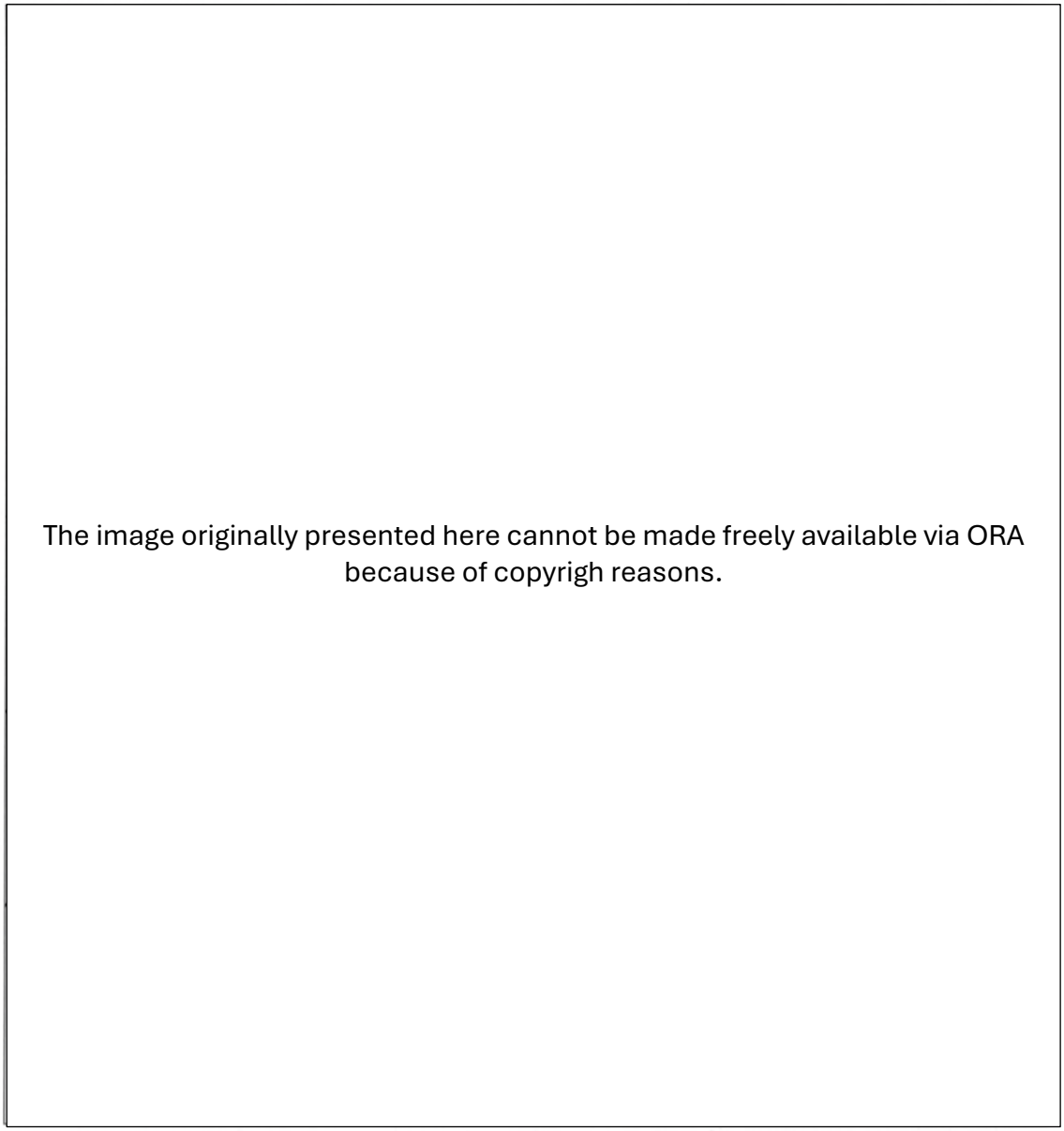

Figure 5.5—Sites with ivory finds in the Central Mediterranean: 1. Trinitapoli; 2. Torre Mordillo; 3. Guidonia; 4. Grosseto; 5. Frattesina; 6. Castelvetrano; 7. Syracuse; 8; Madonna del Piano; 9. Pantalica; 10. Cozzo del Pantano; 11. Dessueri; 12. Mizia Purdia; 13. Santu Antine; 14. Roca; 15. Mursìa (modified by Author after Guglielmino *et al.* 2011: 180–181, Figure 15.8).

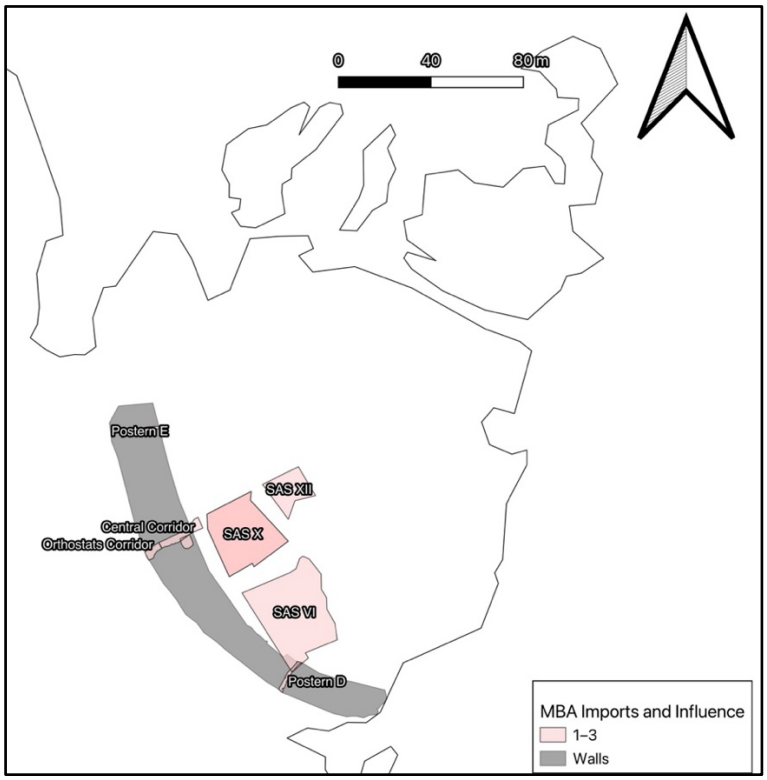

Figure 5.6—Distribution of MBA imported artefacts across Roca Vecchia (image by Author with QGIS based on OpenStreetMap contributors 2015; Guglielmino 2003; Guglielmino *et al*. 2010a, Radina and Recchia 2010; Scarano 2012a: 346; Iacono 2013b).

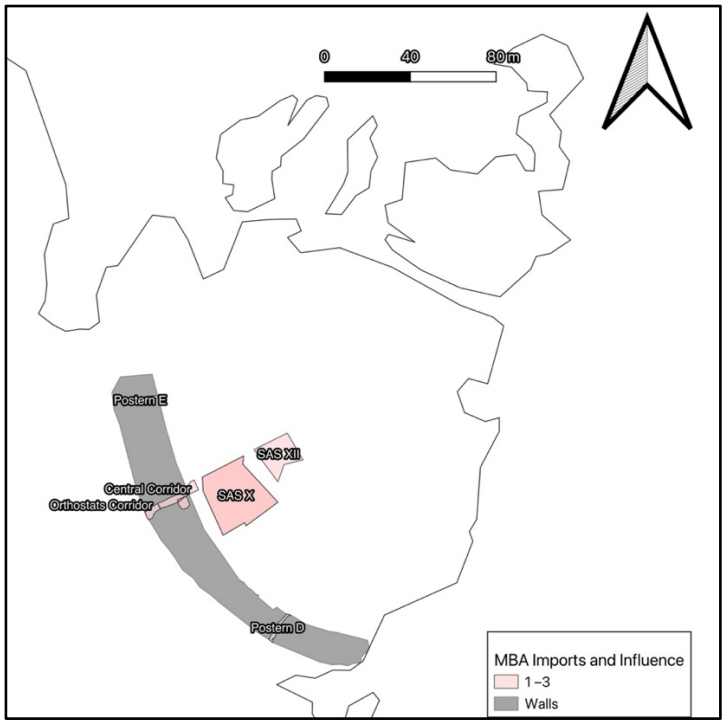

Figure 5.7—Distribution of MBA imported artefacts across Roca Vecchia, excluding possible disturbances (image by Author with QGIS based on OpenStreetMap contributors 2015; Guglielmino 2003; Guglielmino *et al.* 2010a, Radina and Recchia 2010; Scarano 2012a: 346; Iacono 2013b).

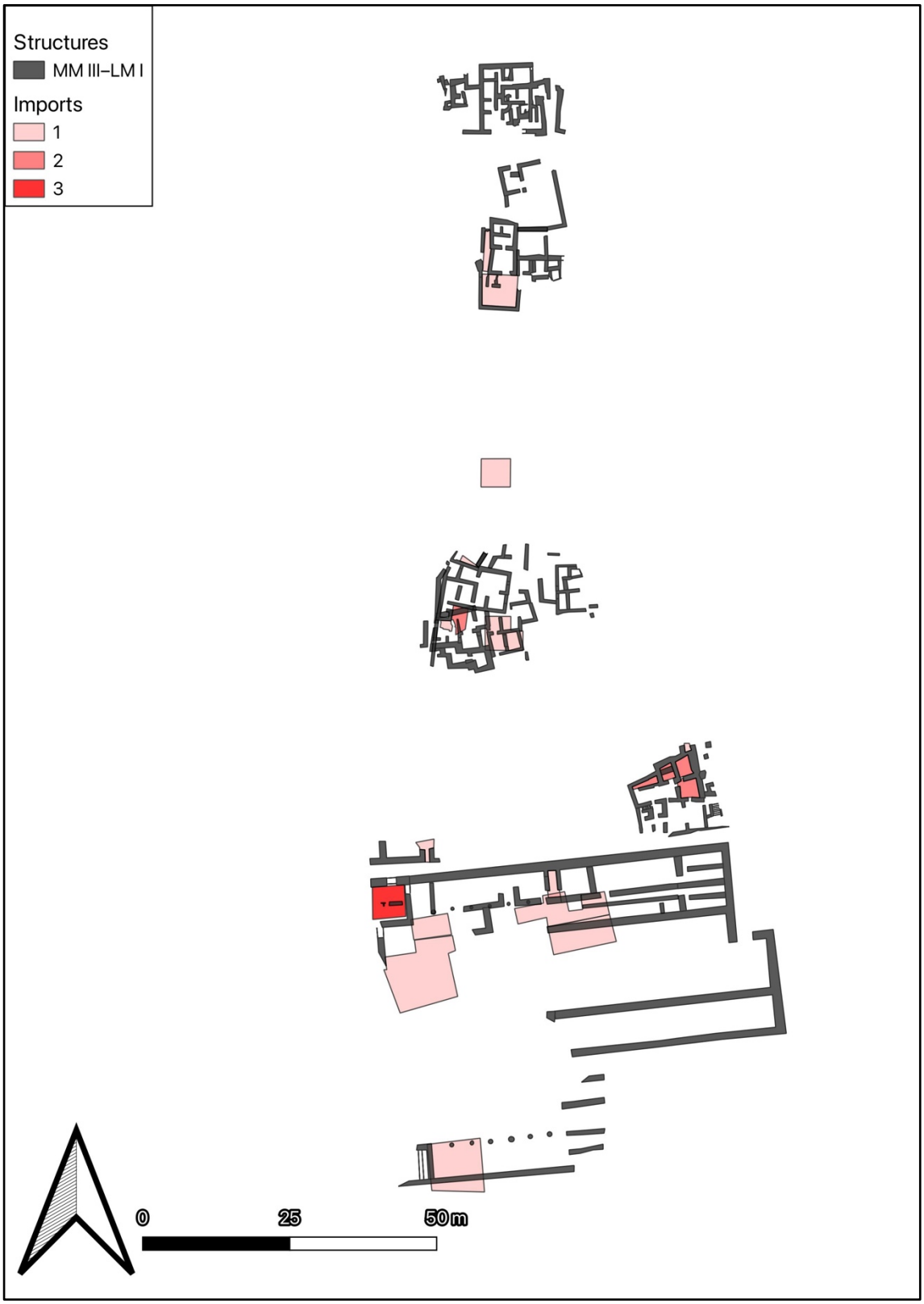

Figure 5.8— MM III–LM I distribution of imported artefacts at Kommos (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012).

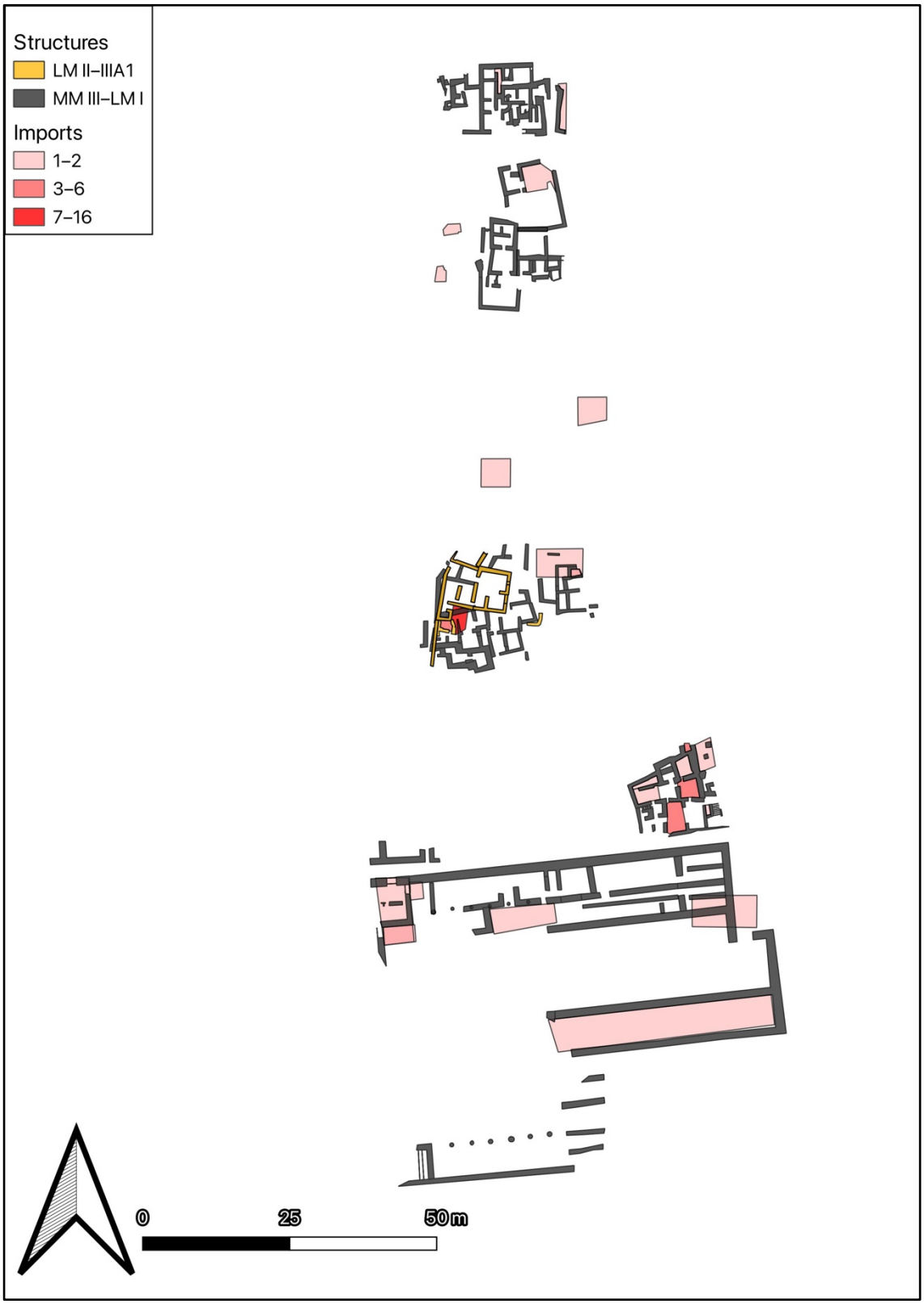

Figure 5.9—LM II–IIIA1 distribution of imported artefacts at Kommos (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012).

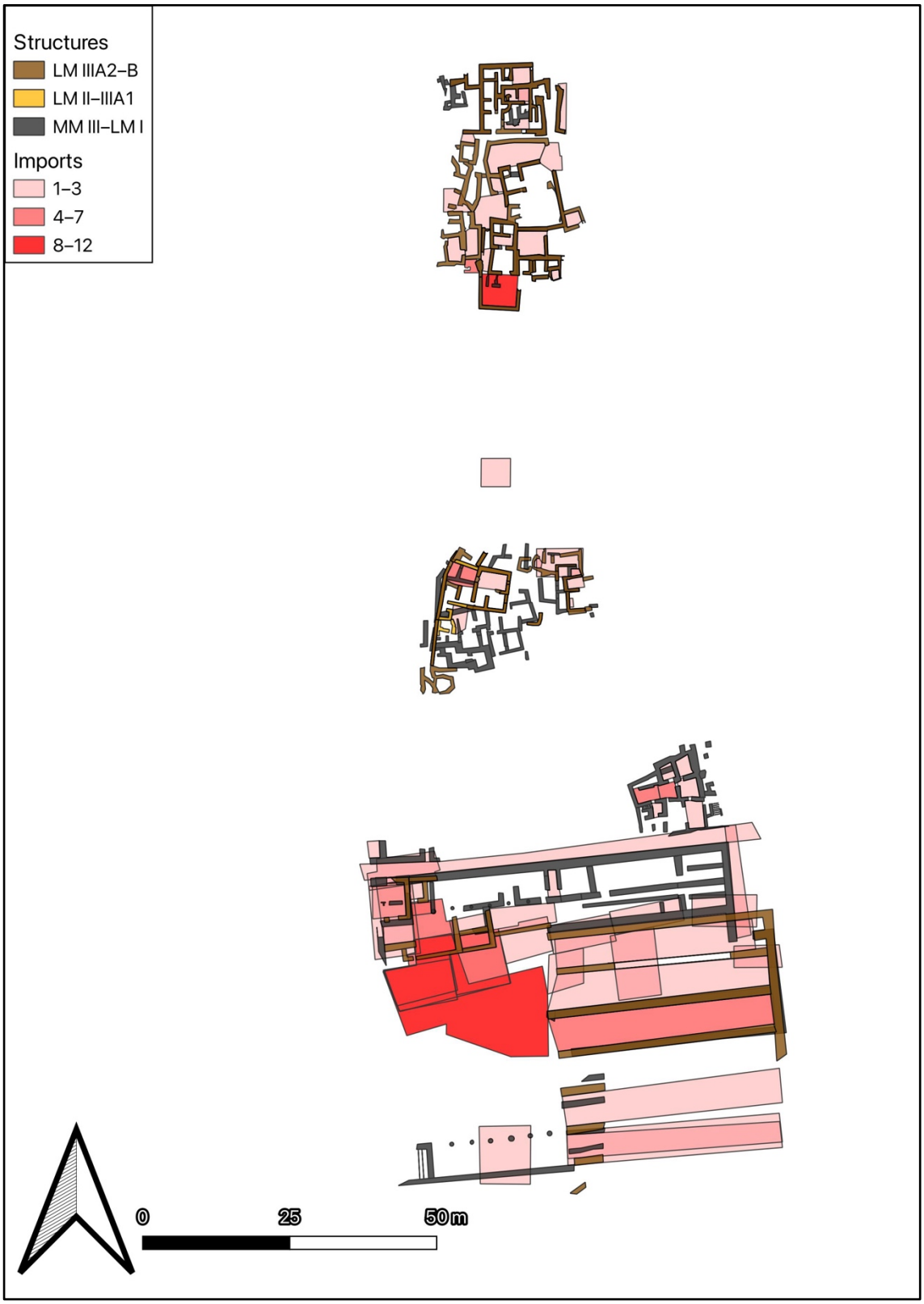

Figure 5.10—LM IIIA2–IIIC distribution of imported artefacts at Kommos (image by Author with QGIS based on Shaw and Shaw 1996; 2006; Shaw and Shaw 2012).

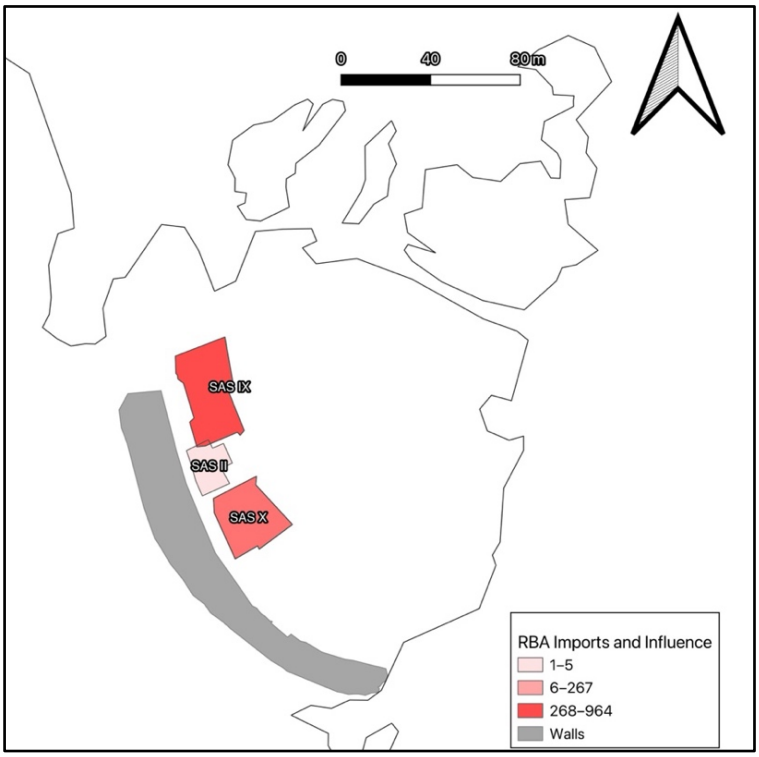

Figure 5.11—Distribution of RBA imported artefacts across Roca Vecchia (image by Author with QGIS based on OpenStreetMap contributors 2015; Guglielmino 2009; Guglielmino *et al*. 2011; Radina and Recchia 2010; Iacono 2013b; Jung *et al*. 2021: 464).

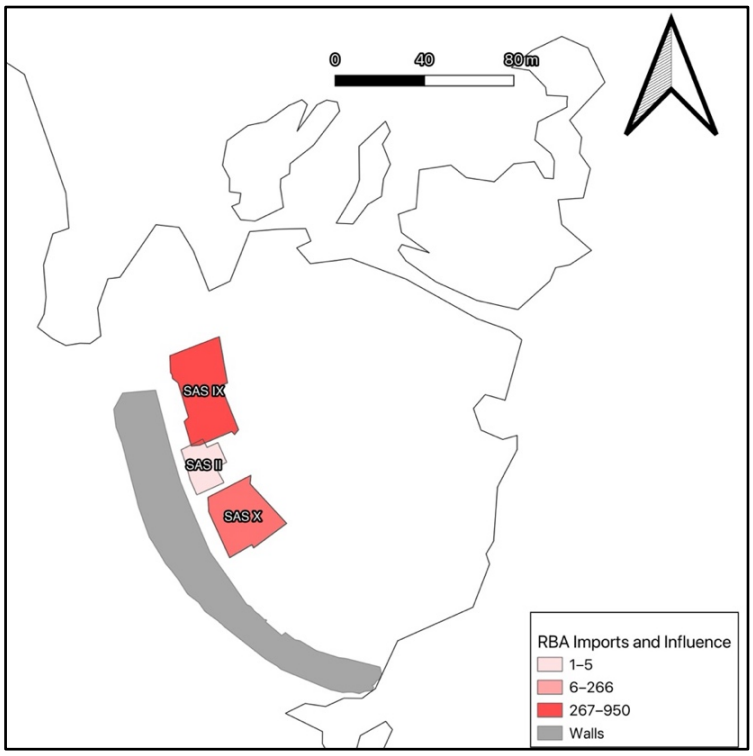

Figure 5.12—Distribution of RBA imported artefacts across Roca Vecchia, excluding possible disturbances (image by Author with QGIS based on OpenStreetMap contributors 2015; Guglielmino 2009; Guglielmino *et al*. 2011; Radina and Recchia 2010; Iacono 2013b; Jung *et al*. 2021: 464).



Figure 5.13—Distribution of Aegean imports across the Lipari acropolis in the Ausonian II settlement (image by Author with QGIS based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980).

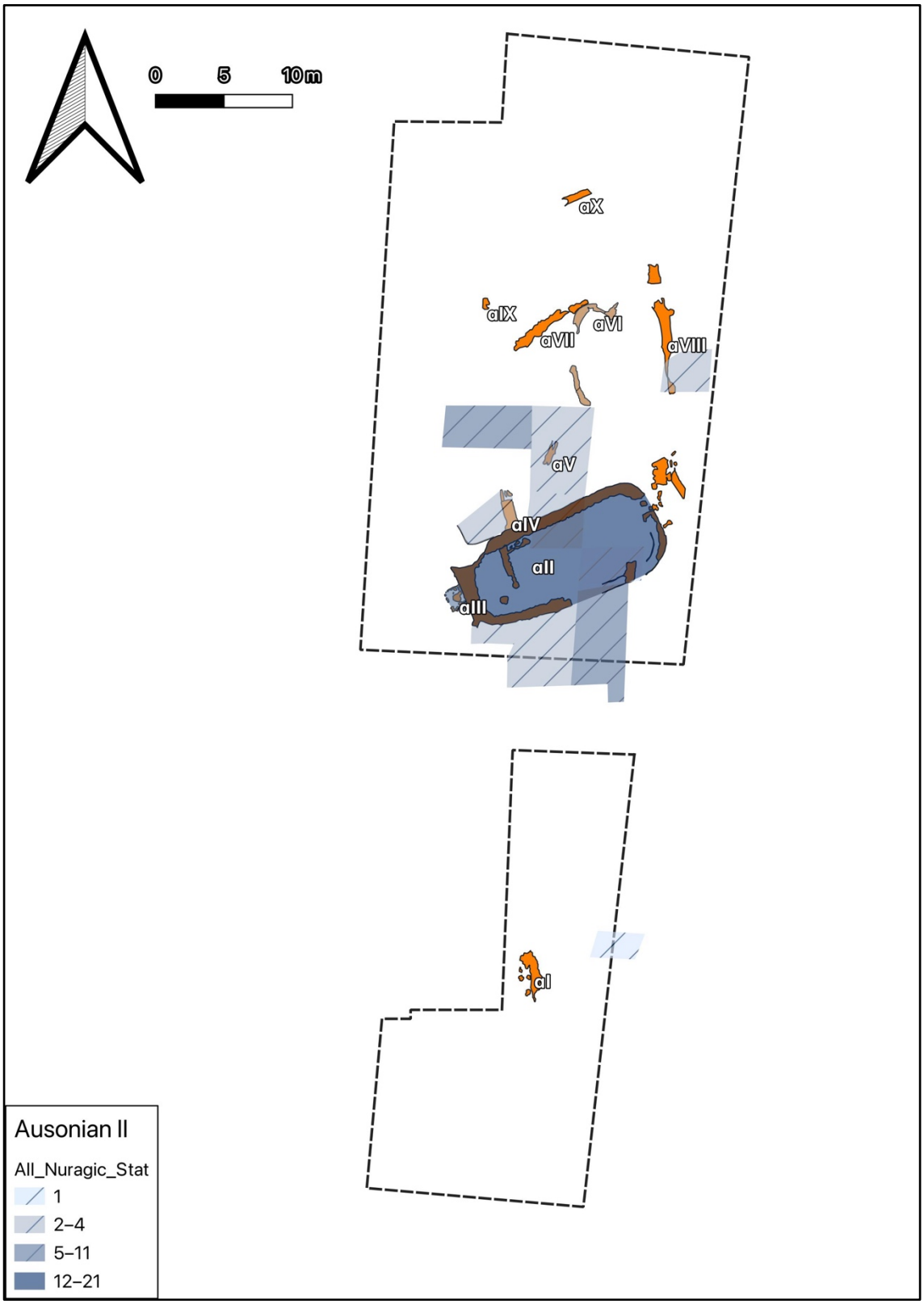

Figure 5.14—Distribution of Nuragic imports across the Lipari acropolis in the Ausonian II settlement (image by Author with QGIS based on Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980; Campus and Leonelli 2012).

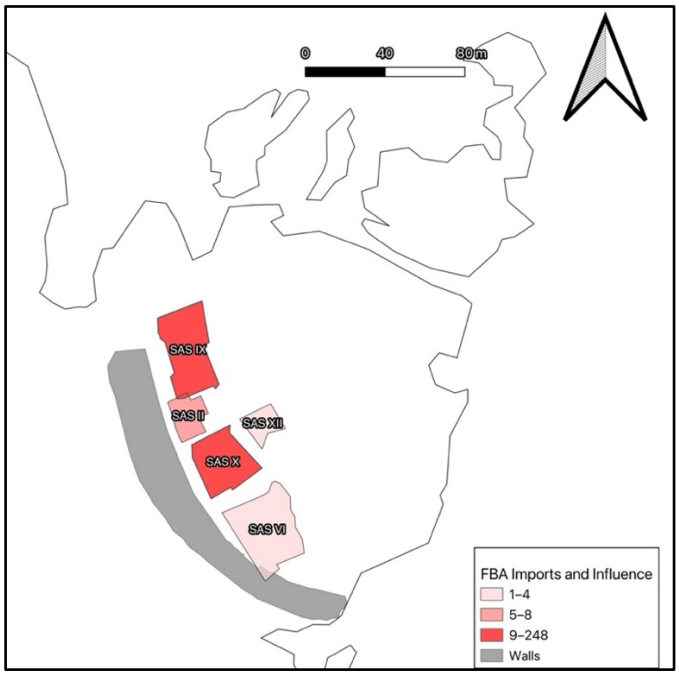

Figure 5.15—Distribution of FBA imported artefacts across Roca Vecchia (image by Author with QGIS based on OpenStreetMap contributors 2015; Maggiulli 2005; Guglielmino in Settis and Parra 2005: 312, 315; Guglielmino 2006a; 2006b; Pagliara *et al.* 2007; Radina and Recchia 2010; Malorgio and Maggiulli 2011; Iacono 2013b; 2019; Guglielmino 2014). This map does not include the artefacts from the hoards in SAS IX and other finished gold artefacts.

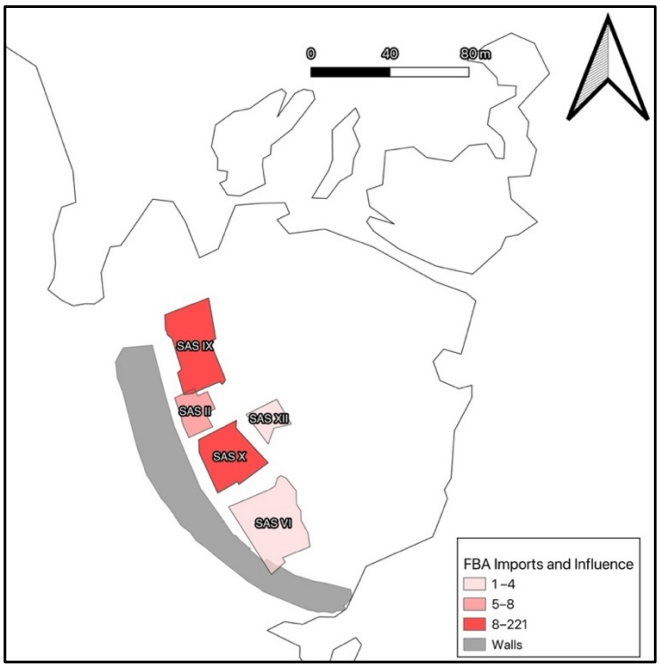

Figure 5.16—Distribution of FBA imported artefacts across Roca Vecchia, excluding possible disturbances (image by Author with based on OpenStreetMap contributors 2015; Guglielmino in Settis and Parra 2005: 312, 315; Guglielmino 2006a; 2006b; Pagliara *et al.* 2007; Radina and Recchia 2010; Malorgio and Maggiulli 2011; Iacono 2013b; 2019; Guglielmino 2014). This map does not include the artefacts from the hoards in SAS IX and other finished gold artefacts.

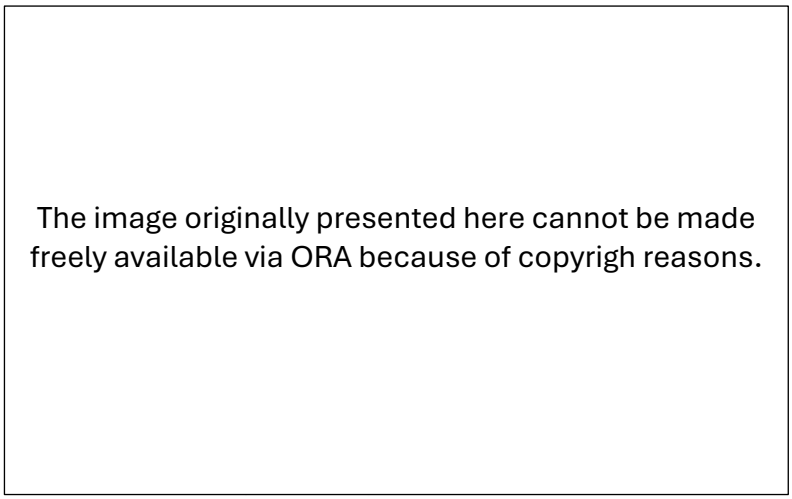

Figure 5.17—Milazzese vase stand with pot marks impressions (photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum “Luigi Bernabò Brea”).

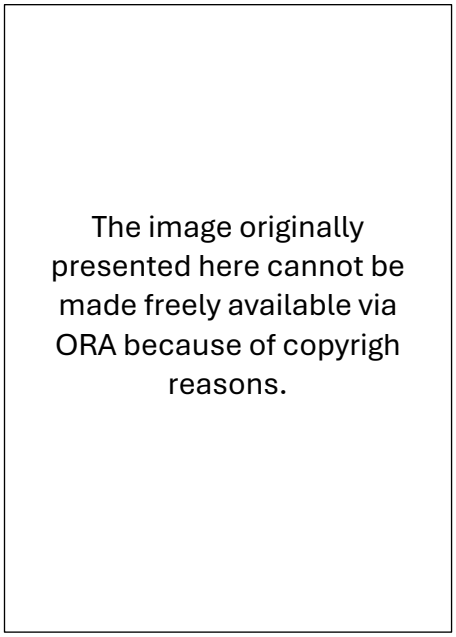

Figure 5.18—Incised stone weight from Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 82–83, Plate XXIX, 78).

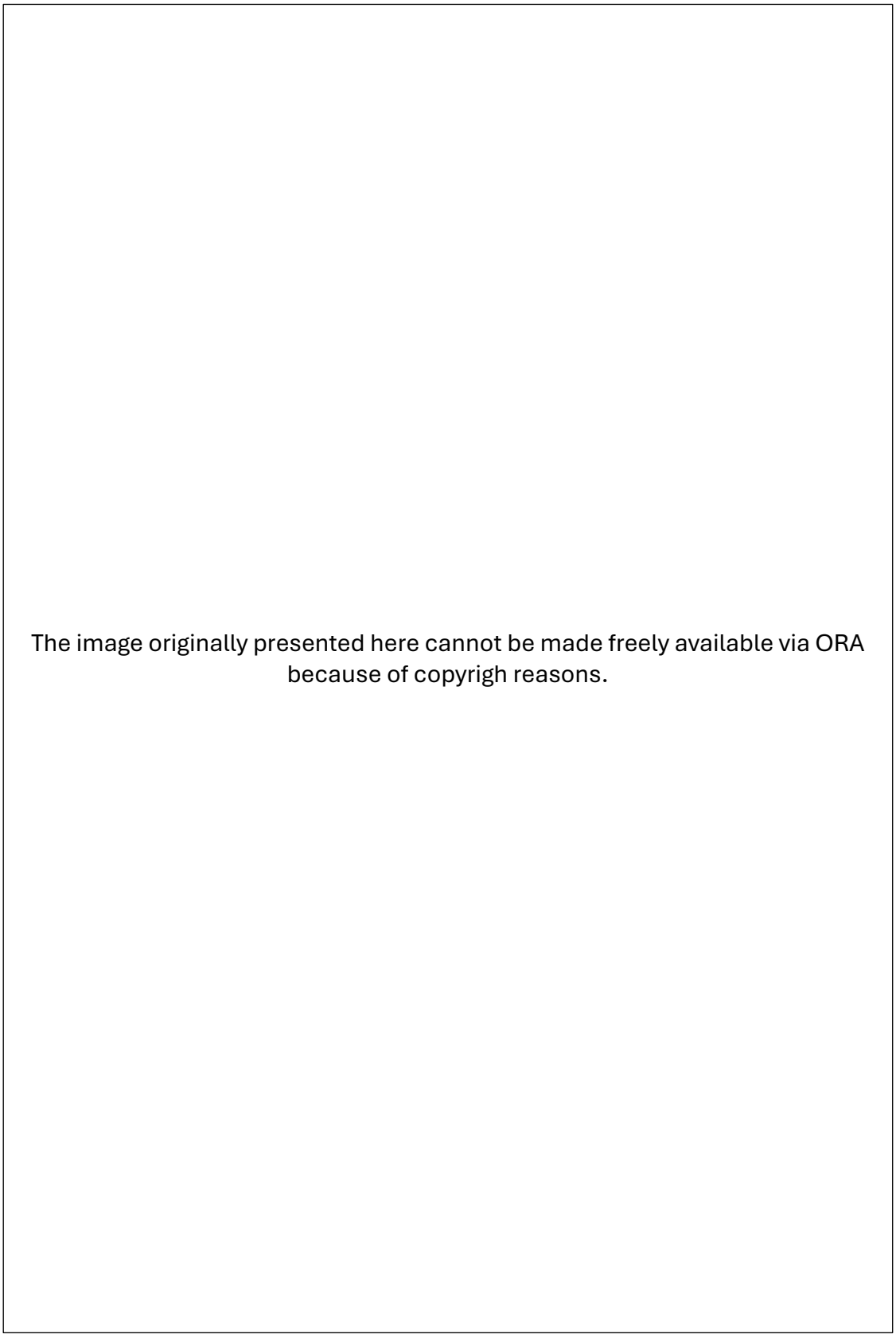

Figure 5.19—Tokens recovered from the MBA fortification walls at Roca Vecchia: no. 195–227 from Postern A, no. 228–247 from Postern B; no. 248–266 Postern D; no. 267–268 Monumental Gate (Scarano 2012a: 329).

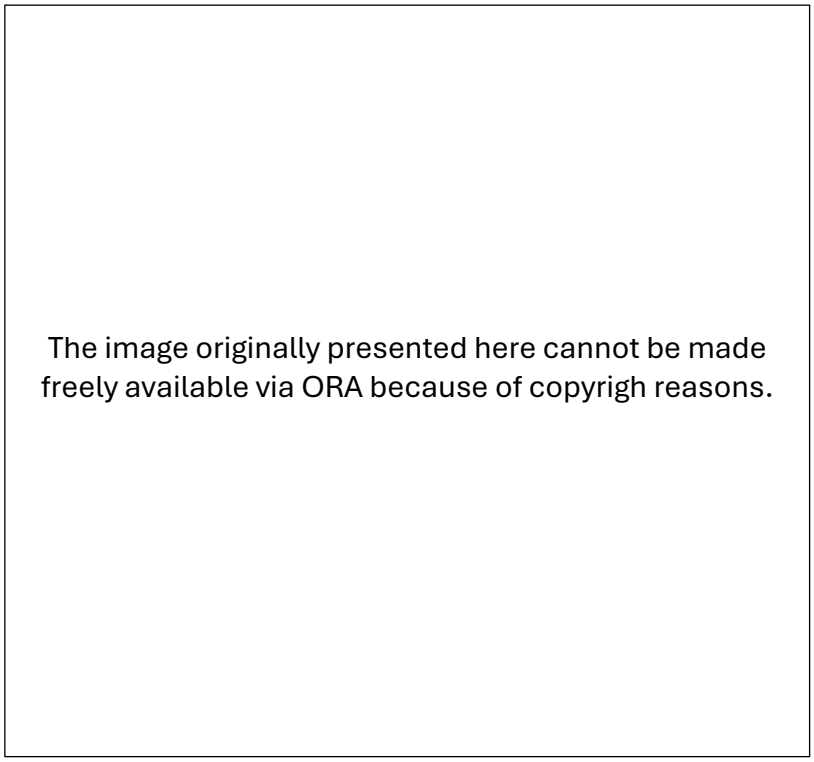

Figure 5.20—Possible tokens from Italo-Aegean pottery walls identified at Roca Vecchia (Guglielmino 2003: 101; Figure 12).

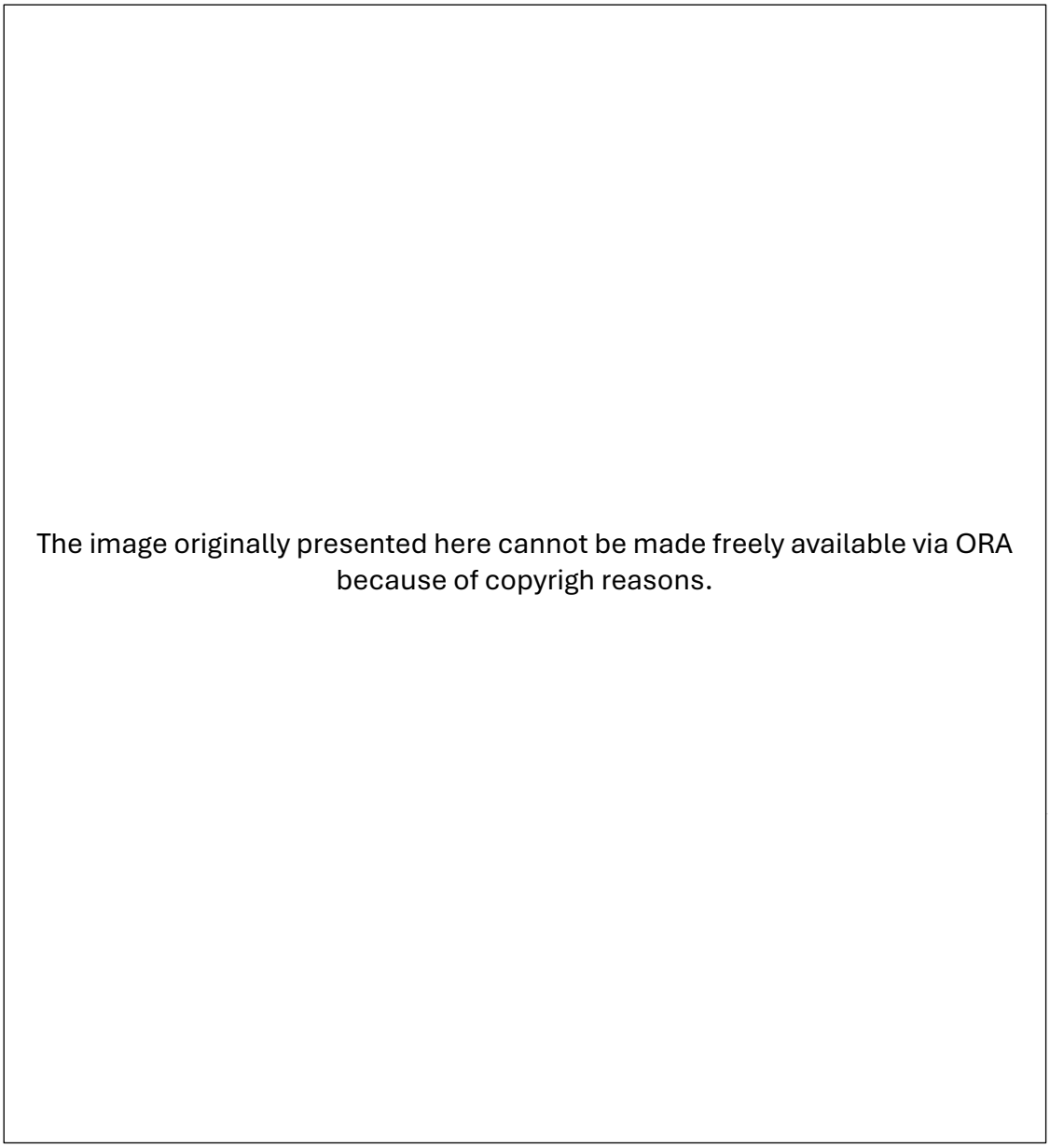

Figure 5.21—Some of the seals recovered from Kommos (image composited by Author after Shaw and Shaw 1996:61, Plate 4.15; 2006, Plate 4.19; Shaw and Shaw 2012, Plate 3.11).



Figure 5.22—Bronze yoke of a scale from tomb 22 in Castelluccio, Sicily (Crispino 2022: 58, Figure 61).

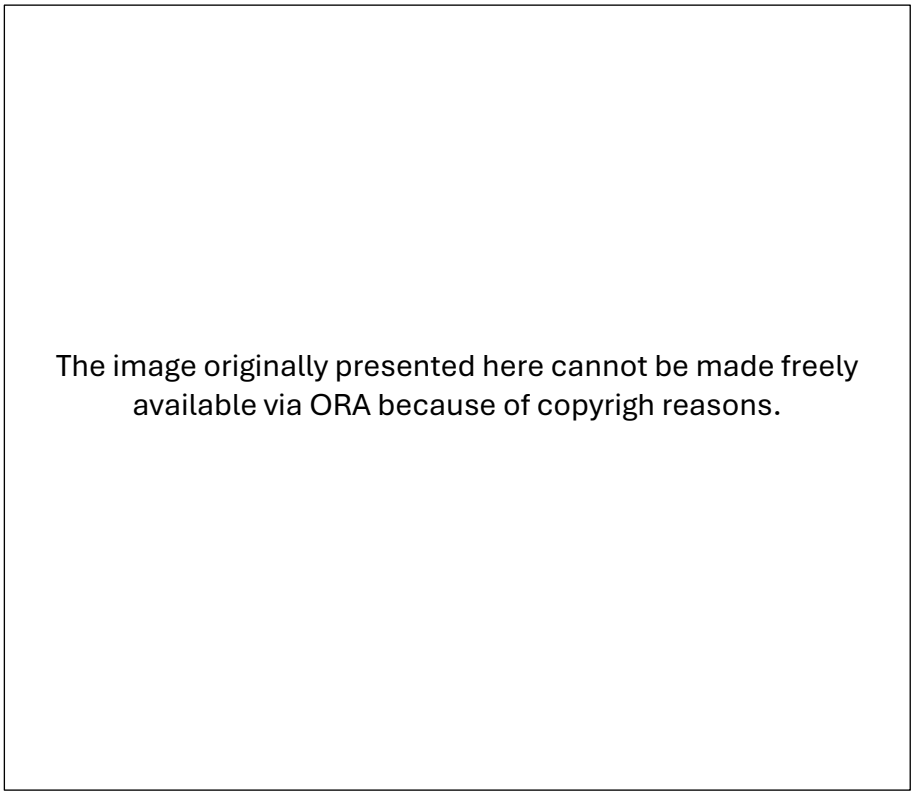

Figure 5.23—Lead weights recovered at Kommos (drawings from Shaw and Shaw 1996: 662, Plate 4.16; photos from Shaw and Shaw 2012, Plate 3.2 Me 29-30).



Figure 5.24—Cup 501 from Filo Braccio on Filicudi (Martinelli *et al.* 2021: 49, Figure 13).

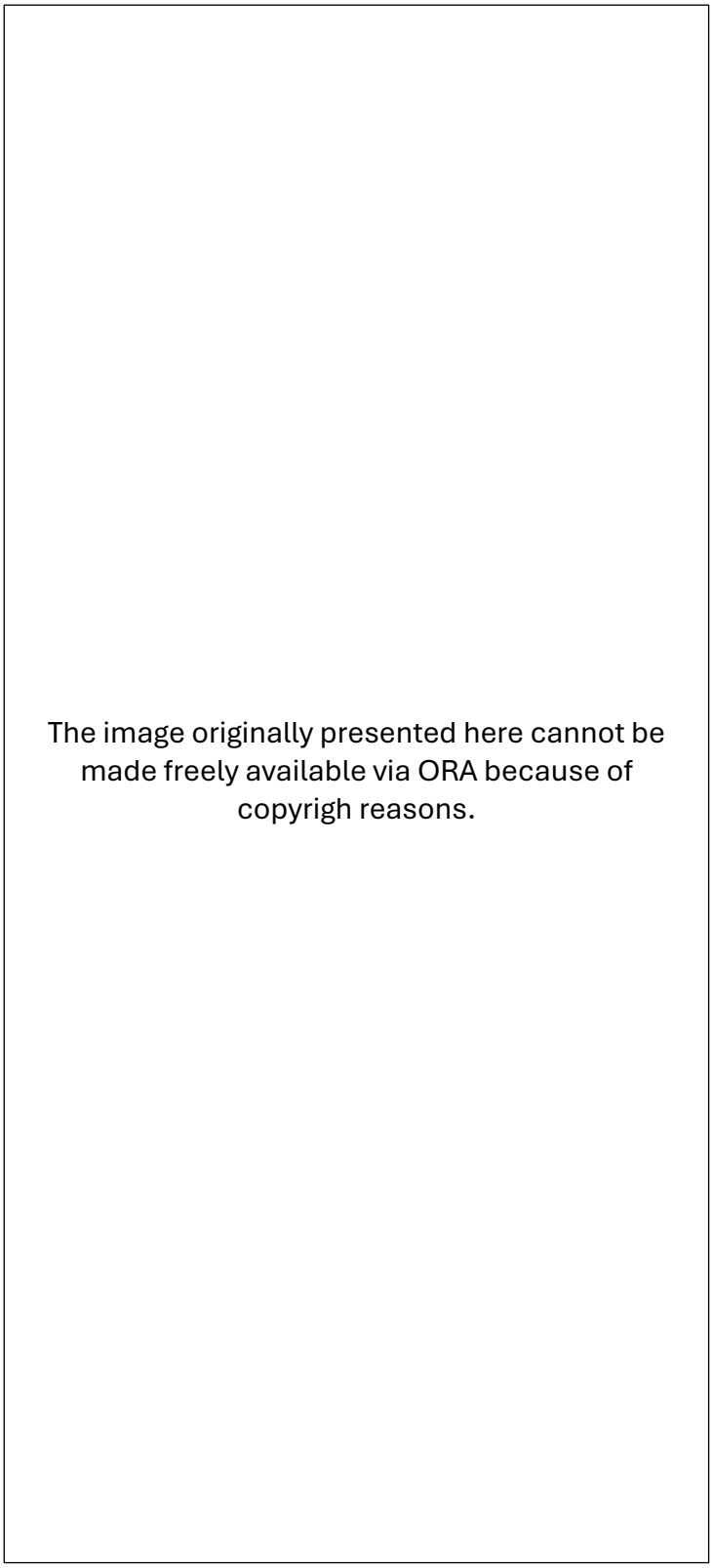

Figure 5.25—Out of scale representations of figurines from the three case studies distributed according to their chronology and place of recovery (Shaw and Shaw 1996: 682–686, 690, Plates 4.36–40, 4.44; Guglielmino and Pagliara 2004, Figure 253; Wardle 2004, Figure 5.10; Guglielmino 2005b: 646, Table CLXVIe; Shaw and Shaw 2012: 1215–1218, Plates 4.44–4.47; Photo by Author 2022 in the Regional Archaeological Museum “Luigi Bernabò Brea).

APPENDIX: POTTERY SHAPES AND FUNCTIONS

Shape	Furumark Shape (FS)	Function In This Work	Other Possible Functions	Notes	Reference
Pithos	FS 13	Storing			van Wijngaarden (2002)
Amphora	FS 66–70	Storing	Pouring	Liquid	van Wijngaarden (2002); Jones *et al.* (2014: 415)
Alabastron	FS 80–86; FS 89–99	Storing		Dry	van Wijngaarden (2002)
Pithoid Jar	FS 282	Storing			van Wijngaarden (2002)
Piriform Jar	FS 14–42; FS 44–49	Storing			van Wijngaarden (2002)
Jar With Vertical Handles	FS 74	Storing		Liquid	van Wijngaarden (2002)
Cylindrical Domestic Jar	FS 2–5	Storing			Furumark (1941); van Wijngaarden (2002)
Collar-Necked Jar	FS 64	Storing			Furumark (1941); Jones *et al.* (2014: 415); Iacono (2019: 154)
Squat Jug	FS 87	Storing		Dry	van Wijngaarden (2002)
Lentoid Flask	FS 186	Storing		Liquid	Tournavitou (1992); van Wijngaarden (2002)
Basin		Storing	Drinking; Dining	Semi-Dry	Jones *et al.* (2014: 415); Iacono (2019: 165)
Lid	FS 334–335	Storing			van Wijngaarden (2002)
Hydria	FS 126	Storing	Pouring; Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Olla		Storing			Iacono (2013b: 187); Martinelli (2020: 131)
Dolium		Storing		Liquid	Guglielmino (1999); Iacono (2019: 165)
Closed Vase		Storing			
Situla		Storing			
Large Stirrup Jar	FS 164	Transport	Storing	Dry	Tournavitou (1992); van Wijngaarden (2002)

Small Stirrup Jar	FS 165–184	Transport	Storing	Liquid	Tournavitou (1992); van Wijngaarden (2002)
Ladle		Cooking	Dining		Furumark (1941); Tournavitou (1992); Shaw and Nixon (1996)
Jug	FS 100–101; FS 103–107; FS 109–111; FS 117–124; FS 139–149; FS 159–163	Pouring	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Spouted Cup	FS 248–253	Pouring	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Askos	FS 194–195	Pouring	Ritual		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Strainer Jug	FS 150–154	Pouring	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Olpe		Pouring	Dining		
Oinochoe		Pouring			
Schnabelkanne		Pouring			
Teapot		Pouring			Martinelli (2020: 132)
Dipper	FS 234–236	Drinking/ Serving	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Ring-Handled Cup	FS 237–238	Drinking/ Serving	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Carinated One-Handled Cup	FS 239–240	Drinking/ Serving	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Cup/Glass	FS 128–130; FS 205–218; FS 221; FS 230–232	Drinking	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Carinated Two-Handled Cup	FS 240–241	Drinking	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
One-Handled Conical Bowl or Cup	FS 242–244	Drinking	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Cup With Horizontal Handles	FS 245	Drinking	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Lug-Handled Cup	FS 247	Drinking	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)

Champagne Cup		Drinking			Hallager (1977)
Vapheio Cup	FS 224	Drinking			van Wijngaarden (2002)
(Deep) Globular Cup/Teacup	FS 211–218	Drinking			van Wijngaarden (2002)
Goblet	FS 254–255	Drinking	Dining		Mountjoy (1993); van Wijngaarden (2002)
Kylix	FS 256–278	Drinking	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Bottle		Drinking	Pouring		Pacciarelli (2021)
Skyphos	FS 284	Drinking	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002); Jones *et al.* (2014: 415)
Kantharos		Drinking			Jones *et al.* (2014: 415)
Deep Bowl	FS 283–288	Drinking	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002); Jones *et al.* (2014: 415)
Deep Krater	FS 6–10	Drinking (Mixing)	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Amphoroid Krater	FS 52–57	Drinking (Mixing)	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Ring-Based Krater	FS 279–282	Drinking (Mixing)	Dining		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Shallow Bowl	FS 292–297	Dining			van Wijngaarden (2002)
Stemmed Deep Bowl	FS 303–306	Dining	Drinking; Serving		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Stemmed Shallow Bowl	FS 308–310	Dining	Drinking; Serving		van Wijngaarden (2002)
Milkbowl		Dining			
Fruit Bowl		Dining			
Biconic Vase		Dining		Liquid	Pacciarelli (2021)
Mug	FS 219–220, 222–223 FS 224–229	Dining	Drinking		Tournavitou (1992); van Wijngaarden (2002)
Kalathos	FS 290–291	Dining	Drinking		van Wijngaarden (2002); Jones *et al.* (2014: 415)
Tureen		Dining			
Brazier	FS 311–312	Cooking	Dining		Furumark (1941)
Perforated Vessels	FS 313–315	Cooking			van Wijngaarden (2002)
Tripod Pot	FS 320	Cooking			Tournavitou (1992)

Sieve		Cooking	Pouring		
Tray/ Baking Pan		Cooking	Dining (Serving)		Scarano (2012a); Martinelli (2020: 131)
Andiron		Cooking			
Boiler		Cooking			
Frying Pan		Cooking			
Rhyton	FS 199–202	Ritual	Pouring	Liquid	van Wijngaarden (2002); Jones *et al.* (2014: 415)
Kernos	FS 196–197	Ritual			van Wijngaarden (2002)
Figurine		Ritual			
Pyxis		Storing			