

The Origins and Development of Early Mycenaean  
Culture

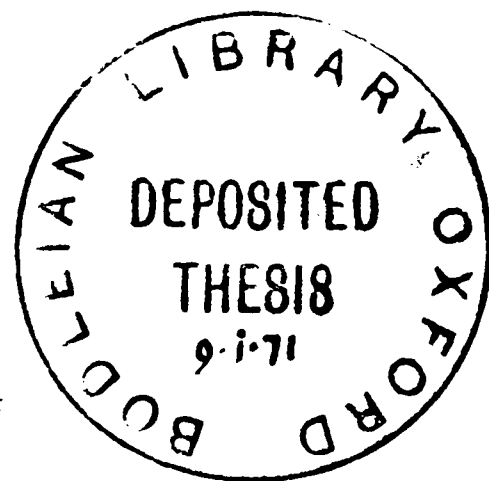
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Chapter IVDEVELOPMENTS ELSEWHERE IN GREECE DURING  
THE PERIOD OF THE SHAFT GRAVES.

The Shaft Graves were in use from late MH to early LH IIIA in pottery terms, and the period of their greatest wealth was certainly LH I. Pottery of LH IA types is widely found in central and southern Greece, as I shall show in detail below, and may have been made locally in the south and west Peloponnese. It has sometimes been found in chamber tombs, but I shall show in Chapter VI that more than one type of chamber tomb is known and that the connection between them is not simple: the type adopted in the Argolid became prevalent in Greece, but local tradition in other parts of the Peloponnese preserved other types.

It must be emphasised that it is not possible to say more than this about the period represented by LH I pottery for most of Greece. We may suspect that sites like Thebes, which were important later, were already developing on lines similar to Mycenae in LH I, but at present it cannot be proved. If, as I have suggested, the activities of the rulers of Mycenae extended to central Greece, such development may have been retarded for a time. Certainly Mycenaean finds of a later date from Attica and Boeotia show direct influence from the Argolid, which is not the case with other parts of the Peloponnese. Substantial continuity may be observed at several sites, Lerna, Eleusis, Aghios Stephanos and Kirrha, in the use of cist-tomb cemeteries (see

Chapter VI), but the contents of the graves are not very illuminating, consisting of pottery and occasionally other objects such as knives or small ornaments. At Aghios Stephanos, material from the site included much LH IA pottery and some imports from Crete and Kythera,<sup>1</sup> but despite this evidence of foreign connections its graves do not suggest that it was a wealthy site. Cemeteries of unusual chamber tombs at Monemvasia, and of stone-built tombs at Analipsis, Palaiochori and Tegea,<sup>2</sup> which were all certainly in use in LH IIA, testify to strong local traditions in this part of the Peloponnese, and will be discussed more fully in Chapter VI; but they do not help to define the origins of the Mycenaean culture in this area.

Only in Messenia is the evidence, consisting of excavated settlement-sites, tombs and other finds, substantial enough for it to be possible to draw conclusions, and only there have objects comparable to those of the Shaft Graves been found. The rest of this chapter will therefore be devoted to a close discussion of the Messenian evidence; but this should not be taken to mean that Messenia was necessarily the only province where such developments took place.

We have already seen that Messenia had a local culture in the MH period, differing from that of the central area in several ways although ultimately deriving from it. Most notably, burial-tumuli seem to have been popular here, as throughout Western Greece, and there

1. ArchRep 1960-61, 32; material unpublished, in the Sparta Museum.
2. K. Christou, in Praktika 1956, 207-10; Prehistoric Laconia II, 130-35, 136-7.

are some indications that they were used by families of importance. Finds of Grey Minyan and late Matt-Painted pottery show that contact was maintained with the central area; two vases from a tumulus at Samikon in Triphylia have good parallels in the Shaft Graves.<sup>3</sup> The grave Kephlovryso T. 1 at Volimidia, which has already been discussed,<sup>4</sup> contained knives of the 'northern' type 6b and an almost certainly Cretan vase, demonstrating even wider connections. The burial with which these were associated was certainly that of an important person, and the unusual size and construction of the grave suggest that it belonged to an important family. Other traces of the rise of a ruling class were noted in the fortification of Malthi and the construction of a tholos tomb near Koryphasion, that could be dated to the MH period. This last is the most important, for the tholos tomb was to become commonplace in Messenia and popular in the rest of Greece.

Many features of the construction of this tholos tomb suggest an early date.<sup>5</sup> It was built underground, in the plain. The dromos was unwallled and descended steeply; the entrance was blocked by a well-built wall. Heavy unworked blocks were used for the lintel, small flattish stones for the chamber. Its diameter was 6 m.,

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3. Samikon, Pls. 6:α, 20:α; cf. SG, 164, figs. 80-81, and Pl.172:358.
  4. Supra, Chapter II (4)<sup>r</sup> (iii) The South-West Peloponnese, pp. 110-11.
  5. P. Kourouniotes, in Praktika 1925-6, 140-41; C.W. Blegen, "An Early Tholos Tomb in Western Messenia", in Hesperia 23 (1954), 158-62, Pls. 37-3.

comparable with that of the small tumuli at Samikon and Makryisia but considerably less than that of many others. One metre above the floor, a thin blackish stratum was found. On the floor were scattered finds, including fragments of bone, of silver vases and a faience pyxis, and of pottery. The potsherds made up into several vases, which are an interesting mixture. They include handmade Matt-Painted vases of types represented in Kephlovryso T.1, the basket-handled spouted jar, bowl with internal handle, and double-cup: a complete wheelmade ovoid jar and fragments of several similar vases with two belly-handles and band-decoration on the upper body, a type that has a good parallel at Chlemoutsi in Elis:<sup>6</sup> a fine wheelmade ewer with widely-spaced ripple-decoration that is almost certainly Cretan:<sup>7</sup> a wheelmade jar shoulder of fine ware with remains of cross-hatching and loop-decoration, that might be Early Mycenaean: and other pieces that could be Cretan, including the mouth of an oval-mouthed amphora, pieces of a brazier, and the pedestal of a wheelmade open vase that was coated inside. These vases might conceivably belong to a single burial, but it seems more likely that they are the goods of several burials, spread over the transition from late LH to early LH I. (See FIG. 12 for Matt-Painted shapes).

As the following paragraphs will show, several other tholos tombs seem to have been built in Messenia before the end of LH I. They were

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6. Hesperia 23 (1954), Pl. 33:6, cf. BCH 88 (1964), 33, fig. 13.

7. Hesperia 23 (1954), Pl. 33:8, cf. SG, Pl. 175:945 (for shape), and PM I, 567, fig. 404:g (for decoration).

clearly princely tombs from the start. The chamber tomb was introduced at Volimidia and Pylos, and the tumulus seems to have continued elsewhere. These tombs are one of the best indications of the rise of a series of petty principalities in Messenia; I shall leave discussion of the types of these tombs until later, and proceed to consider the evidence for these principalities, moving from the coasts of the Messenian Gulf to the area inland of Pylos, the Aulon, and Triphylia (See MAP 3).

At a site near Sotirianaka, on the east side of the Messenian Gulf, a hoard of gold objects was discovered by two peasants, who took it to the local goldsmith to be melted down.<sup>8</sup> It was seized by the local authorities before the work had proceeded very far, and the objects are now in the National Museum at Athens.<sup>9</sup> The most important piece is a complete kantharos, very similar to that from Shaft Grave IV.<sup>10</sup> There are also two very crumpled gold vases, apparently of the same type, and two pieces of gold plate with repoussé decoration, one with spirals, the other with circles linked by notched bands, very much in the style of the 'garter' from Grave Alpha.<sup>11</sup> A gold hilt-plate and statuette were also rumoured to have

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8. R. Hope Simpson, "Identifying a Mycenaean State", in BSA 52 (1957), 239-40.

9. A. Sakellariou and G. Papathanasopoulos, A Brief Guide to the National Archaeological Museum's Prehistoric Collection (1965), 52, nos. 7381, 7385.

10. SG, Pl. 108:440.

11. G.E. Mylonas, Ancient Mycenae (1957), fig. 42.

been found. These do not seem to have been found in a tomb, but were apparently a tomb-robbers' cache; they almost certainly came from a tomb originally. Their parallels ensure that they must be dated early in the Mycenaean period, at the latest. They indicate the presence of an important centre in this area, represented later by the fine tholos tomb at Kambos. On the west side of the Gulf, at Michoria (Rizomylo), sherd-material demonstrates the existence of an Early Mycenaean site: indeed, one sherd from a site nearby may be termed LH IA.<sup>12</sup> This is an extremely strategic site, dominating the main route across to west Messenia. No site of the period has so far been found in the central Messenian plain; but this evidence shows that this part of Messenia was by no means backward at this period.

In the Pylos area there are many sites of importance. At Voroulia, a single-roomed building was found, which contained about a hundred vases.<sup>13</sup> These included several that can be identified as LH IA and late Matt-Painted, but the bulk were of local plain wares. The house was built on the side of a steep slope, and no further traces of habitation were found: it might be the storeroom of a cult-centre. At Tragana nearby, two tholoi have been excavated, at the end of a ridge. The first had an unwallled dromos and a diameter of 7.2 m., the second a

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12. Hope Simpson, *op.cit.* (*supra*, note 8), 249; Prehistoric Messenia I, 248-9, III, 156, Pl. 45b:4 (LHIA sherd).

13. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 202.

walled dromos and a diameter of 8.5 m.<sup>14</sup> Vapheio cup sherds have been reported from both,<sup>15</sup> but the early burials were very disturbed. A cup from the first tomb, on show in Chora Museum, seems very early, being a ribless Vapheio cup with ripple decoration in dullish paint; the second contained a jar whose decoration of ivy is probably from the same hand as the decoration of the ewer in Shaft Grave I.<sup>16</sup> Both seem to have contained pieces of LH IIA jars. No habitation-site can be connected with these or with the Voroulia house, but their existence presupposes an important centre in the neighbourhood at least as early as the beginning of LH IIA.

The site of Ano Englianos, which I shall call Pylos, following Blegen, was certainly an early centre of considerable importance. It was inhabited in the MH period, and seems to have been fortified in LH I with a wall of small stones, having a gateway approached by a flight of stairs on the north-east.<sup>17</sup> There was a 'lower town' below the acropolis on the south-west, and there seems to have been a connected settlement on a slope to the north-east.<sup>18</sup> Opposite the gateway stood a large tholos tomb, 9.35 m. in diameter, which is

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14. P. Kourouniotes, in ArchEph 1912, 268-9, 1914, 98-117; S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1955, 247-54, 1956, 202.

15. Ialysos, 191, note 4; S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1955, 250.

16. ArchEph 1914, Pl. 2:1, cf. Ialysos, 191, note 4.

17. Pylos I, 19, 29.

18. Pylos I, 19; C.W. Blegen, in AJA 61 (1957), 133-4.

called Tholos Delta or the Kanakaris Tholos.<sup>19</sup> It had an unvalled dromos, a chamber built of small coursed stones, and a doorway of fine large cut and coursed blocks. Although robbed at least twice, it still contained much valuable material. The only surviving vase on the floor was a banded jar very like that already noted from the Koryphasion tholos; a small ripple-decorated jar or jug was also found, and a piece of a LH IIA jar. It was a family tomb, containing remains of at least ten men, six women and a child, and seems to have come into use early in LH I. Its position and the rich jewellery found in it suggest strongly that it was the tomb of the ruling family.

Only 135 m. to the south of the site was another tholos tomb, known as Tholos Beta or the Vagenas Tholos.<sup>20</sup> Since only the foundation-course remained, it might be argued that this was in fact a burial-tumulus, but the presence of many grave-pits in the floor and of goods associated with them, but outside the pits, makes this unlikely. The tholos was small, only 5.5 m. in diameter, and had been disturbed, but the earliest burials, in the grave-pits, were untouched. The earliest of all seem to have been three burials placed in jars, which differed in their arrangement, but may be classed together.

In the western part of the tomb was a large two-handled jar, dark-coated on the upper body and cross-banded on the lower. It seems

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19. C.W. Blegen, in AJA 58 (1954), 30-32; I have also received information on this tomb from Lord William Taylour.

20. C.W. Blegen, in AJA 62 (1958), 178; Lord William Taylour, The Mycenaeans (1964), 80-81, and information; cf. Appendix to Chapter VII for list of finds.

to have been laid on its side in a shallow pit: the body, tightly contracted and probably trussed, was put into it feet first. With the body in the jar were fragments of ivory pins, silver ornaments apparently triangular in shape, like the 'half-band', strung on or piped with bronze wire, and a quoit-like object of some perished substance, wrapped in gold leaf. Associated with the jar was a copper cauldron,<sup>21</sup> and under it was a bent Type A sword and a long dagger.

In the eastern part of the tomb were three jar-burials, one of which was certainly a secondary burial in a LH IIA jar. Of the other two, one was laid on its side in a pit 67 cm. deep; it was a wide-mouthed spouted jar decorated with vertical bars and wide horizontal bands, with close parallels in Crete.<sup>22</sup> It was closed by a square stone slab: the body, again probably trussed, was put into it head first. In the jar was a small cup of egg-cup shape, decorated with ripple outside and coated inside, which is either Cretan or very early Mycenaean. Associated with the jar were three Type A swords with ivory pommels, that had been deliberately bent, a long and a short dagger, and possibly a plain jar of local type.

The third jar was set upright in a pit 1.21 m. deep, and was closed by a round stone slab. It had a rather ovoid shape, and was

21. Cf. SG, Pl. 159.

22. Cf. Pl I, 583, fig. 427:a; E.N. Hall, Excavations in Eastern Crete: Sphoungaras (1912), 65, fig. 36: left; R.B. Seager, Explorations in the Island of Mochlos (1912), Pl. 11.

coated with dull black paint, and was decorated with groups of diagonal lines and cross-hatched lozenges in dull white. The mouth was certainly not wide enough to admit even a trussed corpse, and it is clear from the total disarray of the bones that this was a secondary burial, the bones being put in the jar when the flesh had decayed. By the jar was a deep copper krater,<sup>23</sup> containing a 'Slachtmesser' of Shaft Grave type, four daggers of various types, a whetstone and a large amber bead. Between krater and jar were four deliberately bent Type A swords. Inside the jar were a bronze knife, three bronze pins with disc heads, a complete boar's tusk, pierced twice, and a very thin, fragmentary, decorated silver cup; under it was another amber bead. Further associated finds were several amber beads, one a spacer, another complete boar's tusk and several pierced pieces of tusk, an ivory pin, one bead of amethyst and one of carnelian, and four arrowheads, three of local chert and one of obsidian. Other arrowheads and beads scattered in the upper layer of the tomb might belong to this burial, which was quite the richest of the three and comparable to some of the burials in Circle B.

There may be further early burials in this grave, which continued in use until LH IIIA1. Along the north side of the grave was a large shallow pit, containing five skeletons, six daggers of various types, like those with the jar-burials, a whetstone, and a gold head-band with repoussé decoration of circles and dots. The links between these

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23. Cf. SG, Pl. 160.

burials and the early Shaft Graves are obvious, but the practice of 'killing' weapons, for which the bent swords seem to be evidence, and the jar-burials themselves are individual characteristics. The weapons were not ornate: one of the swords had a midrib decorated with spirals, and some of the daggers had scalloped flanged hilts. This may originally have been the tomb of the rulers of Pylos, the founders of its later importance, but, if so, the more important members of the family were later buried in the Kanakaris tholos, for the other burials in the Vagenas tholos are much poorer. Alternatively, it may have been the grave of a family or clan of the followers of the rulers of Pylos.

There were yet other graves close to Pylos itself. A tholos tomb at Kato Englianos, a kilometre away, does not seem to have come into use before LH IIA,<sup>24</sup> but at least one chamber tomb, Tsakalis T. 3, contained LH I pottery:<sup>25</sup> its type remains unknown. It does not seem to be an exaggeration to see Pylos even in this early period as one of the most important Messenian centres.

Some distance from Pylos is the settlement and cemetery of Volimidia, which began to flourish in LH I. The settlement seems to have been situated on level ground; under a metre of LH III fill, associated with a wall, was another metre of LH I fill, without structures, but including many pieces of rope-decorated pithoi and of

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24. C.W. Blegen, in AJA 43 (1939), 571-5.

25. M. Ervin, "News Letter from Greece", in AJA 71 (1967), 300; pottery from this tomb is on show in Chora Museum.

mud-brick.<sup>26</sup> To judge from the size of the cemetery, Volimidia was a centre of considerable size, as one might expect, for the area is very fertile and has a perennial spring. At least three of the four major groups of tombs were in use by the end of LH I:<sup>27</sup> the earliest were in the same area as Kephlovryso T.1, and were of oval shape, but this group also included tholos-shaped tombs, which were the rule in all the other groups. The early burials were often placed in a series of pits around the circumference of the tomb or even in its walls: their goods consisted of pottery, including both Mycenaean and local types, and sometimes a bronze knife, some tools, or a set of stone arrowheads. I suspect from its position on level ground and the comparative poverty of its tombs that this was not an independent centre, but was subject to Pylos. However, it may be that the local rulers' seat and tombs have not yet been discovered. The tombs are large and well-cut, which seems to suggest that their owners were substantial men; their comparatively poor goods are probably a reflection of the amount of wealth concentrated in the hands of their rulers.

To the north-east of Pylos is a group of graves near Myrsinochori that cannot as yet be connected with a settlement-site. These include the MH tumuli already noted<sup>28</sup> and the two tholoi of Routsis.<sup>29</sup> These

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26. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1953, 248-9.

27. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1952, 473-96, 1953, 238-48, 1954, 299-306, 1960, 198-201, 1964, 77-89, 1965, 102-9.

28. Supra, Chapter II (4) (iii) The South-West Peloponnese, note 24.

29. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 203-6, 1957, 118-20.

were both small, only 5 m. in diameter, were not very well built, and had unwallled dromoi. Both were certainly used from LH IIIA to LH IIIA1, and the richest burials seem to date from this period, but in each there were one or two early vases that suggest a construction-date before the end of LH I. From T.1 comes a large askos with spiral decoration,<sup>30</sup> and from T.2 a small ripple-decorated askos and an oval-mouthed amphora, decorated with bands of dark paint overpainted with straight and wavy lines in white (on show in Chora Museum). All these have close connections with Crete, and are likely to be LH I or LH IA.

Further to the south-east, in the area of Koukounara, is a fine series of tholos tombs and one acropolis. This site, Katarrakhaki, has the form of a peninsula, almost completely surrounded by deep ravines. It was inhabited in MH,<sup>31</sup> and remains of early Mycenaean houses have been found. One, an apsidal megaron at least 10 m. long, seems to have been built entirely of stone, and was inhabited in both LH I and LH IIA.<sup>32</sup> To the east of the acropolis and beyond the ravine is an area called Gouvalari, in which tholos tombs and burial-tumuli have been found.<sup>33</sup> One tumulus contained three small tholos-shaped tombs without entrances, less than 3 m. across, which covered

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30. Praktika 1956, Pl. 97:α, 1.

31. Prehistoric Messenia I, 244.

32. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1958, 138, 1959, 174.

33. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1959, 175-7, 1960, 195-6.

disordered bones. One held a Vapheio cup similar in shape to the examples from Voroulia but with effaced decoration, another vases that are probably LH II; other goods are a few bronzes, clay whorls, stone beads and a flint arrowhead. These seem to have been the burials of local farmers of some substance.

Two tholos tombs in the same area were placed back to back, with dromoi facing respectively north and south. The northern one seems to have been older; it was poorly built, and did not have a diameter much greater than 5 m., while the southern one had a diameter of 6.25 m. and was better built. The vases of these two have unfortunately been mixed, but the older certainly contained a Matt-Painted jug,<sup>34</sup> the younger a large jar decorated with loop-rosettes, that is either LH IB or early LH IIA.<sup>35</sup> Vases that may have belonged to either include a fine two-handled jar with LH IA linked-circle decoration, a deep cup with a LH IA foliate band, and a small three-handled jar with 'racket-tree' decoration, probably LH I (all on show in Pylos Museum). None of the goods may certainly be dated as early as this pottery. Well to the south-west of Katarrahaki is another tholos tomb, only 4.2 m. in diameter and built of small flat stones:<sup>36</sup> it had been thoroughly robbed, but the pottery that survived suggested that it may have dated from the end of LH I. Both this and the Gouvalari tombs

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34. Praktika 1960, Pl. 151:α, 1.

35. Praktika 1960, Pl. 151:α, 2.

36. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1958, 189-90; cf. Prehistoric Messenia I, 244 (site 65).

were built in level ground and had conspicuous mounds heaped over them. Katarrakhaki and the associated tombs seem to belong to the local ruler: the other tholos may be that of some family of quite minor importance.

Further north, in the Aulon, the site of Malthi, certainly fortified by now, continued to be inhabited: remains from the settlement are not impressive, and the only certain burials are two children's cist-graves.<sup>37</sup> West of Malthi, at Peristeria, remains of great importance have been discovered.<sup>38</sup> This site is a lofty acropolis, on the south bank of the Kyparisseis river and very difficult to approach from that side, but with a more gradual approach on the south. On Koukirikou, a nearby hill separated from Peristeria by a deep ravine, was a MH tumulus, already noted,<sup>39</sup> and Peristeria seems to have been settled in LH. The hill was fortified along its south slope, probably in this period, by a simple wall of small stones: at least one tower or buttress seems to have been discovered inside, and the entrance was a simple gap in the wall as at Malthi.<sup>40</sup> Near the top of the hill, part of a house with several rooms was excavated: it contained at least one LH I Vapheio cup,<sup>41</sup> and had beneath it a large number of infant

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37. Malthi, 226-8.

38. The best description is by S. Marinatos, in "Problemi archeologici e filologici di Pilo", in SEEA 3 (1967), 10-14.

39. Supra, note 28.

40. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1964, 93-4; op.cit. (supra, note 38), 9, fig. 3.

41. Praktika 1961, Pl. 133:α.

burials, which could belong to an earlier cemetery or to the house.<sup>42</sup> Two large tholos tombs on the hill, one cut into this house, do not seem to have been built before LH IIA, but a third small one seems to be earlier than these. It was only partly preserved, the entrance having been lost, but seems to have been about 6 m. in diameter:<sup>43</sup> it was very close to one of the large tholoi, and both seem to have been surrounded later by a strong wall which cut across the larger one's dromos, and may have supported a tumulus heaped over both.

The tholos itself was empty apart from some plain pottery. In the walling on the west side, most of a skeleton was found, with some gold leaf and two vases, a large LH I jar and an oval-mouthed amphora.<sup>44</sup> In the floor was a shallow rock-cut pit, which contained a rich gold treasure, a set of stone arrowheads, and beads of amber, amethyst, rock crystal and carnelian. Marinatos believed that this was a shaft grave which preceded the construction of the tholos: I have already outlined my reasons for believing this to be wrong above,<sup>45</sup> mainly on the grounds of the small size, oval shape, and shallowness of the pit. It seems extremely unlikely that the skeleton could have been removed from this, if it was a grave, and the finds not noticed; I believe that it was more probably a pit for grave-goods, which was covered when the

42. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1961, 171.

43. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1965, 114-20, Deltion 21 (1966) B, 167-8, op.cit. (supra, note 38), 12-13.

44. Praktika 1965, Pl. 133:α-β.

45. Supra, Chapter III (1) Introduction, p. 187.

tholos collapsed, or might even represent the shallow depression leading in from the dromos found in other early tholoi.<sup>46</sup> Once covered, it would be missed in the probable robbery of the tomb.

The most important objects in the pit were a head-band and three cups of gold. The head-band was simply decorated with repoussé circles, and was rather similar to the head-bands from Shaft Grave I.<sup>47</sup> The cups were two Vapheio cups and a rounded cup: one Vapheio cup was decorated with rows of repoussé spirals, the other two with impressed spirals, all fairly closely comparable to Shaft Grave material.<sup>48</sup> There were also many gold cutouts, of different types from those of the Shaft Graves, rosettes, triton-shells, opposed butterflies, flying birds and owls. The owls are particularly interesting, for exactly the same type has been found in the Kanakaris tholos at Pylos and in Tholos A at Kakovatos.<sup>49</sup> There were gold tassels, a type also found in the Shaft Graves,<sup>50</sup> decorated gold leaf pendants, and multitubular gold spacer beads. The parallels of this material are perfectly compatible with a date of LH IB suggested by the pottery. This hoard shows clearly enough that at this time Peristeria was a place of considerable wealth and importance.

46. E.g. Mycenae (BSA 25), 301, Pl. 46.

47. SG, Pl. 35:184.

48. Cf. SG, 151, fig. 66, and Pl. 125.

49. AJA 58, (1954), Pl. 9:16; AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 13:23.

50. SG, Pl. 56:639.

Further to the north, in Triphylia, nothing of great importance has been found. The tholos tombs at Kakovatos all seem to date to LH IIA.<sup>51</sup> Two tumuli, at Samikon and Makryisia, were in use continuously from the end of the MH period.<sup>52</sup> Both had been much disturbed, but the goods were poor, consisting usually of vases, with sometimes clay whorls and bronze knives. These are clear successors of the earlier tumuli, but were small, being respectively 5.5 and c. 5 m. in diameter. These may hold families of some local importance, but they are in no way comparable with the princes of the south.

There can be no doubt from this survey of the evidence that during LH I there was a great access of wealth in Messenia, most of which found its way into the hands of a class of petty princes, who ruled often from strong acropolises and were buried in tholos tombs. The broken nature of the Messenian countryside and the abundance of acropolis sites did not favour the rise of a central power. Despite the strong connection of the Sotirianaka and Peristeria hoards and the goods of the Vagenas tholos with the Shaft Graves, it does not seem likely that these princes are new arrivals from the Argolid-Corinthia. Their burial-customs are quite different, and those of Messenia may be related to the local MH customs. For, although the tholos cannot be considered the direct descendant of the tumulus, there is surely some connection between them: the connection is clearest in the Vagenas tholos,

51. But note that Ath Mitt 34 (1909), 316, fig. 16, is probably LH IA, and Pl. 23:1 could be LH IB; both are from Tholos A.

52. Samikon; P. Themelis, "Σκευαλλοῦς", in Deltion 23 (1968) A, 287-8.

where the dead were placed, either at death or after the dissolution of their flesh, in jars. It may also be significant that tumuli and tholos tombs are closely associated at Routsis, Koukounara and Peristeria. Neither does it seem likely that the tholoi contain a class of Cretan dynasts, newly arrived 'colonists'. We might surely expect signs of their presence in good architecture and the ubiquitous conical cup, as well as other Cretan domestic wares of the sort found on Kythera and at Trianda on Rhodes.

I shall discuss in Chapter VI the origin and adoption of both chamber and tholos tombs; here I will only say that I believe them to be closely connected, the result of Aegean influence, which may also be seen in the appearance of Cretan pottery. It is not easy to suggest reasons for this interest on the part of Crete nor for that of the Argolid-Corinthia, suggested by the appearance of the 'Slachtmesser' in the Vagenas tholos and by the close parallels with Shaft Grave metalwork; but it is likely that the new wealth of the Messenian princes is bound up with this interest. Most of the sites are well-placed to control fertile areas, and some have positions of strategic value. The princes may have taken toll on both Aegean and Argive traders travelling to and along the west coast, and may have indulged in a minor way in much the same activities as the Shaft Grave kings. It is possible that Messenia controlled the amber trade at this time, but there is not a great quantity of amber in the early tombs. One piece from the Vagenas tholos is not Baltic, but possibly

Sicilian:<sup>53</sup> this suggests that the Messenians may have been trading in the west on their own account.

Too little is known of the MH period in Messenia for the nature of the transition to be entirely clear. But it seems certain that another 'heroic' society emerged in Messenia, more like the later ones in consisting of a number of small principalities that probably indulged in continual small-scale war. These were in contact both with the Argolid and with Crete, but remained poor in comparison, since they had only limited resources, and were later somewhat backwards and out of touch. They seem to have made one major contribution to the Mycenaean culture, the tholos tomb, which was probably developed in Messenia and spread from there. But despite their backwardness and probable turbulence, their wealth increased; it seems a fair conclusion that they played an important part in the Aegean world, even if the reasons for this are not clear.

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53. C.W. Beck, "Analysis and Provenience of Minoan and Mycenaean Amber, I", in Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 7 (1966), 208.

Chapter V

## THE EARLY MYCENAEAN POTTERY

(1) Introduction

Furumark called the different phases of Mycenaean pottery Myc. I, IIA, etc., but this terminology has not found general favour, and I shall follow the majority in using LH I, IIA, etc. These terms, and 'Mycenaean' itself, will be used in this chapter solely to refer to the fine decorated pottery of the Early Mycenaean period; wares deriving from the MH tradition, which in fact form the greater part of the domestic deposits, will not be called Mycenaean, but will be considered below.

Furumark's stylistic divisions have not always been used by archaeologists, particularly that between LH IIA and LH IIB. This has been largely the result of a tendency to identify stylistic phases with historical periods, and thus to end LH II and the Early Mycenaean period at c. 1400 B.C., the date suggested for the LM II destruction of Knossos, and often for the LM IB destructions of sites elsewhere in Crete. Such views are no longer tenable: it is now clear that the destruction of Knossos must be dated at least as low as the end of LM IIIA1, a stylistic phase well represented throughout Crete, which is certainly subsequent to both LM IB and LM II.<sup>1</sup> The LM IB

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1. M.R. Popham, "The Destruction of the Palace of Knossos and its Pottery", in Antiquity 40 (1966), 27-8.

destruction-horizon is thus completely separate, and I have already suggested that historically it provides a convenient terminus for the Early Mycenaean period. It does not correspond precisely to the break between LH IIA and LH IIB, for LH IIB 'Ephyraean goblets' have been found in the late LM IB destruction-deposits of Aghia Irini on Kea, and in many ways the LH IIB style is the culmination of earlier developments as well as a turning-point. I shall therefore consider it below with the earlier styles, in more summary fashion.

Furumark was forced to base his early stylistic divisions mainly on stratified material from Korakou and a few tombs and deposits in the Argolid; only from LH IIB onwards could he draw on a wide range of groups.<sup>2</sup> The greater part of the material discovered since his study has yet to be fully published, but it is already clear that in most cases it does not provide closed groups or sequences. However, it has immensely increased the amount available for study and has widened the geographical area over which the earlier phases have been found. Furumark believed that Mycenaean pottery originated in the Argolid and was spread from there by degrees, always under direct Argive influence. It can now be suggested that pottery from other parts of Greece, particularly Messenia, is as early as any in the Argolid, and that there were some provincial variations at an early date. It will therefore be best to treat all the earliest material together before considering its origins.

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2. CMP, 28-9, 46-52, 85, 131; Ialysos, 186-7.

There are signs that Crete greatly increased its influence in the Aegean in the MM III period; not only Cretan vases and imitations of them, but Cretan types of house and frescoes were found at various Cycladic sites.<sup>3</sup> Cretan traders and even colonists moved into the east Aegean: a light-on-dark ware, which seems to be local, deriving from MM III, has been found on Karpathos, Kos, Kalymnos, Rhodes, Samos, and at Miletus.<sup>4</sup> Small fine vases decorated in light-on-dark technique, found mainly in the Argolid-Corinthia, have long been thought to be imitations of MM III;<sup>5</sup> unpublished large jars from Circle B, decorated in a polychrome light-on-dark technique, may also derive from MM III.<sup>6</sup> It is perhaps surprising that such influence should be first clearly visible in a period when the general standard of Cretan pottery was low,<sup>7</sup> but it may be precisely because it was comparatively easy to imitate that MM III exerted influence. Such imitations were rare at Phylakopi, where the local pottery-industry was in a particularly

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3. Cyclades, 37-8; G.A. Papathanasopoulos, in "Κυκλαδικὰ Νάξου", in Δελτίον 17 (1961-2) A, 131-2, with Pls. 63-4, publishes a group of MM III vases from a Naxian tomb.
  4. R. Hope Simpson and J.F. Lazenby, "Notes from the Dodecanese", in BSA 57 (1962), 160, 171, note 157, 173-4; also information from Mr. G. Cadogan, to whom I am indebted for an opinion on this class of pottery.
  5. Korakou, 32-3.
  6. Cf. Caskey 1954, Pl. 8:c-d, thought by Mr. Cadogan to be imitations of Cretan pottery, probably post-MM II.
  7. Archaeology of Crete, 158; M.R. Popham, "Late Minoan Pottery: a Summary", in BSA 62 (1967), 337.

flourishing state.<sup>8</sup>

The essential feature of LM IA pottery, the dark-on-light system of decoration, seems to have become established only gradually.<sup>9</sup> It seems likely that this development took a different course in central and in eastern Crete. The more important, as far as the rest of the Aegean is concerned, took place at Knossos: the LM IA pottery of Phaestos and Mallia, of the colonies at Kastri on Kythera and Trianda on Rhodes, and the local style imitating LM IA at Phylakopi all depended to a greater or less extent on that of Knossos. However, the material from Kastri has many individual features, that form a true provincial style, and, as I shall show, this is of considerable importance in any consideration of the origins of the Mycenaean style. I shall therefore describe developments at Kastri and Knossos in some detail.<sup>10</sup>

At Knossos, dark-on-light decoration seems to have been quite common in the phase called MM IIIB by Evans, but it was practically confined to series of heavy horizontal bands, trickle-decoration, large dots, and ripple-decoration; one large vase in a good deposit has a simple spray-motif.<sup>11</sup> Many more vases in this deposit were completely coated, generally with the dull purple-brown paint typical of MM pottery,

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8. Phylakopi II, Pl. 7:175, 240, appear to derive from MM III; also Phylakopi I, Pl. 16:6?

9. Popham, op.cit. (supra, note 7), 337-9.

10. I am indebted to Messrs. M.S.F. Hood and N.J. Coldstream for information on material from Knossos and Kastri and permission to discuss it.

11. PM I, 552-90, on MM III at Knossos, 591-611, on rise of LM I; PM I, 576, fig. 421:3, for jar with spray-motif.

but sometimes with a black metallic lustrous paint. Spirals, probably the commonest MM IIIB motif, might be painted in white on this ground. The first phase in which dark-on-light decoration dominated, represented by unpublished deposits from Hogarth's Houses and the Royal Road excavations, was characterised by ripple-decoration and spirals on large vases and small; occasionally foliate bands or isolated plant-motifs were found, and white on dark cups were still fairly common. This may in fact be Evan's MM IIIB, or an early phase of LM IA: its separate identity as a phase is the important point.

In the following phase, 'classic' LM IA, represented by the Gypsades Well Deposit as well as by much unpublished material from the Royal Road,<sup>12</sup> ripple was becoming rare, but the spiral was popular and the reed-spray was growing in popularity, to surpass the spiral eventually. Other types of plant-design and objects like the double-axe also appeared; large vases were often decorated in several horizontal registers.<sup>13</sup> Dots and bands in thin white paint were frequently superimposed on bands of paint and on the central dots of spirals, and sometimes more complex decoration in white was found on the large vases.

The shapes were also developing. They seem to have been inherited from MM, with a few additions: the most popular were the Vapheio cup, rounded cup, bridge-spouted jug and holemouth-jar. Others often found

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12. PM II, 549, fig. 349; BSA 62 (1967), Pl. 76.

13. Popham, op.cit. (supra, note 7), 339, with Pl. 77.

are the large pithoid jar, stirrup-jar, cylindrical jar, strainer, beaked jug, ewer, stemmed jug, deep stemmed bowl, fruit-stand, small askos, conical rhyton, piriform rhyton, and various forms of small cup. Shapes generally became lighter and better proportioned. The Vapheio cup was often taller and narrower, with a raised rib around the belly; its base was often bevelled on early examples, but was later clean-cut.<sup>14</sup> Open vases in this period were either completely coated inside or, as is the case with some bowls, decorated in registers.

The pottery of Kastri on Kythera may also be divided into several phases. Before the arrival of dark-on-light decoration, the pottery was uninspired, mostly black-coated and occasionally decorated in white or purple. The first dark-on-light phase, represented by the first plentiful deposit, ε, is dominated by ripple-decoration, cross-hatching, thick wavy lines and bands, in purple or black-brown paint, sometimes both; the spiral and foliate band are found on one or two fragments, and there is one imported LM IA cup, decorated with linked spirals. Shapes include the Vapheio cup, with and without a rib, cups or bowls with various profiles, bridge-spouted jars or jugs, and jugs with a ridge at the neck-joint: the decorated vases were most often small open shapes. Deposits γ and θ represent what corresponds to the 'classic' LM IA phase. In this the characteristic purple paint has almost disappeared: red and brown are used instead, sometimes with added white.

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14. Compare BSA 62 (1967), Pl. 76:a with d-e.

Running spirals of various types are the most popular form of decoration, but linked filled circles, the foliate band, ripple-decoration, the wavy line, and one or two plant-motifs are also found. The most popular shape is the ribbed Vapheio cup, and the rounded cup is well represented: both have features rare in Crete, interiors plain except for a band at the rim and handles banded diagonally. Conical and peg-topped rhyta were found in this phase as well as the other shapes: Cretan LM IA was imported, and one or two pieces of Matt-Painted pottery and possibly LH I were also found.

In general, these deposits are greatly inferior to those of Knossos in their range of shapes and motifs; the majority of decorated vases were cups. Types of spiral found in Crete, but more rarely,<sup>15</sup> dominate in this style and are closely comparable to Mycenaean types: the accessory decoration of Mycenaean cups is the same as that of Kastri. It follows that either the Mycenaean style must derive these elements from Kastri, or both must derive from a common source: the evidence of the imports makes it most unlikely that the mainland style should have been evolved first. The material from Kastri is therefore more important than its limited range would suggest.

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15. Popham, op. cit. (supra, note 7), 338, fig. 1:4-5, cf. Pl. 77:a.

(2) LH IA

On the basis of the limited material available to him, Furumark stated that the LH IA vases were "essentially Helladic in character, with the addition of features in shape and decoration which are of Minoan origin but have been transformed according to mainland tastes and standards".<sup>1</sup> Since he wrote, important deposits of this pottery have been found in the Lerna 'shaft graves', and in a house at Voroulia in Messenia;<sup>2</sup> vases have been found in Grave Circle B, in graves on and near the Lerna mound, and the Volimidia settlement and chamber tombs.<sup>3</sup> Stylistically similar pieces have been widely found in Greece, not only in the Peloponnese, but in Zakynthos, at Eleusis, Athens, Lefkandi and Kirrha;<sup>4</sup> their absence from eastern Attica, Boeotia and coastal Thessaly is probably due to the accidents of excavation and publication, for good LH IB has been found in all these areas. The ware was also exported to the Cyclades, the Lipari Islands, and perhaps Miletus.<sup>5</sup> This is a great increase in material compared

1. Ialysos, 186.
2. Caskey 1955, 34, 1956, 156, 1960 B; S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 202, Deltion 16 (1960), 114.
3. Praktika 1952, 455, fig. 24 (Grave Delta); Caskey 1957, 145; E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, in ArchEph 1955, Chronika 3, 6-7; I. Papachristodoulou, in Deltion 22 (1967) B, 182 (Graves III, VIII); Praktika 1952, 477, fig. 3: outer two, 1953, 248, fig. 9: top right and bottom row, 249, fig. 10 (settlement), 1964, Pls. 91:8, 93:α-β, 1965, Pl. 120:β-δ, γ.
4. Eleusis, 112, fig. 89 (several), cf. AJA 40 (1936), 422, fig. 8 (several); Deltion 20 (1965) B, Pl. 28:β (Athens); Kirrha, Pl. 51:60, ?70; Cf. Lord William Taylour, Mycenaean Pottery in Italy and Adjacent Areas (1958), 21, under no. 17, for Zakynthos; sherds from Lefkandi unpublished.
5. Phylakopi I, Pl. 31:15-16, and much unpublished material in various museums; material from Kea, unpublished; Taylour, op.cit. (supra, note 4), Pls. 2:17-18, 8:4; for Miletus, cf. IstMitt 9-10 (1959-60), Pl. 7:1, left.

with the sixteen vases available to Furumark, and it is possible to discuss LH IA with much greater confidence and precision.

Four shapes are basic to the LH IA repertory, the Vapheio cup, rounded cup, squat jug and small jar (see FIG. 30 ). Both cup-types had long been established in Crete, and seem to have been adopted in the MH Late Phase: the Vapheio cup of that period was relatively low and wide, without a rib, and it sometimes had the loop-handle on the rim, typical of the Late Phase.<sup>6</sup> These shapes were found in Matt-Painted, bichrome and light-on-dark wares in the central area, notably at Lerna, Korakou and Eleusis.<sup>7</sup> The second 'shaft grave' at Lerna contained fine examples of both types:<sup>8</sup> the Vapheio cup is particularly interesting, for it had a rudimentary rib and bevelled base, both features typical of Vapheio cups of the ripple-dominated phase in Crete. Another cup, from Shaft Grave VI, had a rib, and two of the cups from Eleusis had bevelled bases.<sup>9</sup> Both rib and base are typical of LH IA Vapheio cups, although examples without them are known; LH IA cups are also generally larger than the MH ones. Both Vapheio and rounded cup were popular in the metal industry of the Shaft Graves.

The small jar has no such obvious pedigree in Crete or Greece. It had from the start a short flaring neck with plain rim and two

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6. E.g. Prosymna II, 7, figs. 39:565, 588, 43:577.

7. Korakou, 33; Praktika 1952, 64, fig.5 (Eleusis); Caskey 1955, Pl.16:a.

8. Caskey 1956, Pl. 39:d-e (See FIG. 10 ).

9. SG, Pl.173:954; op.cit. (supra, note 7), for Eleusis.

horizontal handles set on the shoulder: these have been claimed as Helladic features by Furumark,<sup>10</sup> but may also be seen on some rather elongated plain jars with a pedestal base from MM III tomb-deposits near Knossos and Phaestos.<sup>11</sup> The late MH decorated jars of the mainland have similar necks and handles, ovoid bodies and flat bases:<sup>12</sup> a small coarse jar from Grave Omicron (unpublished, in the Nafplion Museum), is close to the Mycenaean shape, but has a hollow pedestal base. The later experiments with handles, as on the jars from Shaft Grave I,<sup>13</sup> and two light-on-dark jars with four handles,<sup>14</sup> suggest a link between the large and small types, and the latter may well have emerged as miniature versions of the former.

The squat jug has no obvious Cretan parallels: the example from Aghia Triada quoted by Furumark is likely to be a LM IB imitation of the mainland shape.<sup>15</sup> Furumark believed that the shape was Helladic, and quoted as evidence much later (LH IIIB-C?) examples from Kephallenia, that seemed to belong to a local tradition. Plain and Matt-Painted examples from Malthi and the tumuli of Samikon and Makrysia<sup>16</sup> could well

10. MP, 24, 83, 89.

11. AthAA 1 (1968), 250, fig. 1:left (Poros); ASAtene 23-4 (1963), 46, fig. 46:a-b, d-e (Kamilari).

12. E.g. G.E. Mylonas, Ancient Mycenae (1957), figs. 43:a, 64, 81.

13. SG, Pl. 167: 190-96.

14. SG, Pl. 172:858; Samikon, Pl. 20:α.

15. MP, 42; FM II, 512, fig. 315:a (Aghia Triada).

16. Malthi, Pls. 19:12, 20:42; Samikon, Pl. 9:α-e; Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pls. 125:α, 127:α.

be earlier examples of this tradition. They vary widely in the shape of the body, height of the neck and size of the handle, which on some is disproportionately large, suggesting that they were suspended from the handle. It is possible that some or all of these are imitations of the decorated shape; but it is also possible that they represent a stage in development from the MH jar or jug to the squat jug. The small loop-handled jar of the Late Phase had generally a lower and wider neck than the squat jug,<sup>17</sup> but some small jugs are close in shape to the western jugs and the Mycenaean shape, except for their handles.<sup>18</sup> It is possible that the shoulder-handle found on some of the larger jugs<sup>19</sup> was simply transferred to the small type, while in the west a ladle-like handle was sometimes tried. The handle-type appears to imitate the handles of metal cups in the Shaft Graves.<sup>20</sup> In fact, the squat jug seems to be a mainland development from the late MH tradition; it was certainly a shape almost confined to the mainland, like the small jar.

There are a few examples of a wide range of other shapes. The holemouth-jar<sup>21</sup> had already appeared in the late MH repertory (see

17. Compare Prosymna II, 160, fig. 647:574, with 162, fig. 652:343.
18. Prosymna II, 162, fig. 650:1057; C.W. Blegen, Corinth XIII: The North Cemetery (1964), Pl. 4:7-1.
19. Prosymna II, 6, fig. 34:1; Blegen, op.cit. (supra, note 18), Pl. 4:3-5, 5-1.
20. Cf. SG, Pls. 107:427, 127:509.
21. Caskey 1957, Pl. 39:f, 1960 C, 132; Korakou, 34-5, fig. 49:1-2.

FIG. 9 ), and a small jug, loop-handled jar and goblet are certainly MH types of the Late Phase;<sup>22</sup> a semiglobular rimless cup is surely of Cretan origin.<sup>23</sup> The alabastron is probably a flattened version of the small jar, as suggested by Furumark:<sup>24</sup> it has the same type of neck and originally the same arrangement of handles (see FIG. 30 ). The light-on-dark jars noted above<sup>25</sup> probably derive from large jars in a similar way. It does not seem possible to relate the alabastron to two similar squat Cretan vases, since they are MM IB in date and apparently have no descendants,<sup>26</sup> or to Egyptian stone alabastra, since these are tall and have no handles.<sup>27</sup> The alabastron, goblet and holemouth-jar were to become popular in the Mycenaean ware, but the other shapes are transitional, or were abandoned after a few experiments. In general, the shapes are small: the holemouth-jars are largest, but do not pass 20 cm. in height.

The decoration had a fairly wide range, but is limited in approach (see FIG. 34 for a representative selection of motifs). On the great majority of vases, it runs horizontally across the upper body of the vase, limited by bands: it has a vertical direction only with ripple-

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22. Prosymna II, 48, fig. 208:431 (jug), Kirra, Pl. 51:69 (loop-handled jar); Korakou, 34, fig. 48:right (goblet?).

23. Prosymna II, 48, fig. 208:385.

24. Prosymna II, 44, fig. 195:870; cf. MP, 40.

25. Supra, note 14.

26. PM IV, 114, fig. 80:a-b.

27. MP, 39-40, with fig. 10.

decoration, double-axes, and some rare examples of plant-decoration, while the hatched loop is found in a horizontal register, springing diagonally upwards from the band. The most common motif is the spiral: versions of this had already appeared on late MH vases, but the LH IA types have no close connection with these spirals. The earliest examples stylistically are isolated, divided by groups of diagonal bars,<sup>28</sup> a type comparable to unpublished examples from Kythera; but generally the spirals are set in thick circular frames that are linked by loops or diagonal tangents, and have a large central dot. A very popular type, also paralleled in Kythera, has dots or other motifs flanking the linking tangent: this is one of the most widespread early types.<sup>29</sup> Closely related is the linked-circle decoration, in which the frames are filled with some other motif: this may be cross-hatching, rosettes, foliate bands, groups of circles, leaves and crossed bars.<sup>30</sup> Simpler types of running spiral, the quirk and the wavy line appear:<sup>31</sup> several wavy lines may be used to give a scale

28. Deltion 16 (1960), Pl. 83:top right; Praktika 1964, Pl. 93:α.

29. E.g., apart from many examples in the Argolid, Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pl. 68:δ (Monemvasia); Praktika 1953, 249, fig. 10: top row (Volimidia); Malthi, Pl. 24:A 6-7; Samikon, Pls. 11: top row, 14:δ; Eleusis, 112, fig. 89: most of top row; MV, Pl. 26:259 (Athens); Lefkandi, unpublished; Caskey 1962, Pl. 97:j (Kea); H. Gallet de Santevre, Délos primitive et archaïque (1958), Pl. 11: fig. 22a; Phylakopi, many unpublished in Ashmolean Museum; Taylour, op.cit. (supra, note 4), Pl. 3:12.

30. SG, Pl. 166:156; Praktika 1952, 477, fig. 3:right, 1956, Pl. 96:β; Deltion 22 (1967) B, Pl. 131:β; Samikon, Pl. 14:γ.

31. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl.23:c (spirals), g (quirks); Praktika 1952, 477, fig. 3:left.

effect.<sup>32</sup> The ripple motif is common, but confined to Vapheio cups after a few early types.<sup>33</sup> Groups of bars, festoons and semi-circles appear occasionally.<sup>34</sup>

Plant-motifs already occur, the commonest being the foliate band. The basic form consists of one or two thick horizontal bands, off which leaves spring, but in more complicated types these may be replaced by buds on one side, or be ignored altogether, for a row of circles or wavy lines.<sup>35</sup> Isolated flowers or leaves are set in rows, often alternating;<sup>36</sup> there are two examples of a running wavy stem, with leaves springing off on either side alternately.<sup>37</sup> Other isolated motifs such as circles and whirligig-rosettes may be used in rows.<sup>38</sup> The double-axe and the hatched loop make an appearance.<sup>39</sup> Some more

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32. Korakou, 35, fig. 49:3, 8-9.

33. Early examples are Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 23:c; an unpublished stemmed cup and bowl from Grave Gamma; Praktika 1964, Pls. 91:8, 93:8 (Volimidia).

34. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 23:d, h; Praktika 1953, 248, fig. 9: bottom left; Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pl. 124:α.

35. Korakou, Pl. 3:6; BM Cat. I 1, 131, fig. 174: A 766:3; OpusAth 8 (1968), 91, fig. 2:1-2; Taylor, op.cit. (supra, note 4), Pl. 8:4, 6a-b.

36. Korakou, Pl. 3:5; Prosymna II, 48, fig. 208, cf. 162, fig. 652; OpusAth 8 (1968), 89, fig. 1:2.

37. BM Cat. I 1, 131, fig. 174: A 766:1; OpusAth 8 (1968), 89, fig. 1:1.

38. Zygouries, Pl. 3:6, and Caskey 1955, Pl. 16:c (circles); OpusAth 8 (1968), 89, fig. 1:3 (whirligig-rosette).

39. Korakou, Pl. 3:7, 34, fig. 48: right (double-axe); Prosymna II, 44, fig. 195:870 (loop).

ornate forms of plant-decoration, with stiff leafy sprays springing diagonally up from the base, have been found on larger vases from Lerna and Voroulia (both unpublished).

For accessory decoration, the rims and necks are generally coated: Vapheio cups often have no rim-band outside. Inside the rim or neck there is generally a deep uneven band of paint, that is painted directly onto the clay, for cups and vase-necks were consistently unslipped inside. Below the decoration is a deep band or two narrow ones; the rib of a Vapheio cup is generally covered by a deep band, but may be left reserved in the middle of a band. The larger vases may have bands continuously below the decoration to the base, but the small ones have a plain lower body and one thick band at the base, sometimes with thick ones above. Vapheio cup-bases often have a ring of paint at the edge, and may be crossed. Cup- and squat jug-handles generally have thick diagonal bars painted across them, but jar-handles are coated. Clay 'rivets' may appear at the top of a handle; and handles in general have 'metallic' connections;<sup>40</sup> however, the true Vapheio cup-handle was never imitated in clay. Bands, rows of dots and dot-rosettes in thin white paint are often found on body-bands, necks, and the central dots of spirals.

The clay of these vases is not always particularly good, especially in Messenia, and only the outside is slipped or smoothed. The colour varies from a fine yellow to pink-buff, whitish, greenish,

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40. MP, 92-4, on handles and 'rivets'; cf. 598 (Type 87), 621 (type 218), 625 (Type 237).

orange, even dull grey, and the paint may be red, black or brown: there seems to be little significance in these variations, which often seem to have been produced in the firing, as all may be found on pottery of the Argolid. Vases were not always well-shaped: the Vapheio cup was particularly liable to bad workmanship, being ill-proportioned, with too large a rib or a badly finished base, and the handles of squat jugs sometimes seem too large. In fact, examination suggests that most LH IA was not made on the fast wheel: Furumark commented that most appeared to be made on a 'slowly revolving wheel',<sup>41</sup> but such marks could easily be produced by finishing on a tournette. Ålin has commented generally on the rough appearance of a group from Asine.<sup>42</sup> The decoration is executed by hand, but is relatively skilful: the body-bands, however, are usually uneven.

The origins of the Mycenaean pottery thus appear to be mixed. Some shapes were inherited from the Late Phase of MH, others seem to have been locally developed under the influence of Cretan pottery and metalwork. The motifs derive from LM IA, some being closely similar to those of the Kastri style, but include what seem to be local developments of Cretan motifs, the double-axe, hatched loop and composite

41. MP, 14.

42. P. Ålin, "Unpublished Mycenaean Sherds from Asine", in OpusAth 8 (1968), 88.

foliate band.<sup>43</sup> The style was a mass-produced one, like LH IA and unlike the various fine wares of the Late Phase, but was quite probably evolved by the MH potters themselves, who made far greater advances in later MH than did other MH craftsmen. It is uniform enough to have been created in one area: the Argolid-Corinthia, the centre of the late MH fine wares, is the most likely. Indeed, the fine light-on-dark ware of this area is often of a quality that anticipates Mycenaean.<sup>44</sup> The clay was yellow or whitish, often slipped inside and out, the coat was a glossy black or red, and the decoration was in thick white paint; dull black might be used for rim-bands inside and out and for dots on the white bands. The shapes and motifs of this ware are generally close to Cretan ones, but the decoration is also paralleled in the late Matt-Painted style. The ware seems to have been wheelmade. This ware was, I suggest, the step by which the local potters went from sporadic imitation of Cretan types to a full-blown attempt to create a style on Cretan lines.

LH IA may have taken some time to develop, and local schools may have been set up in Laconia, Messenia and the Saronic Gulf which reproduced the original style without much variation. The ware

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43. For the double-axe in Crete, cf. BSA 62 (1967), 338, fig. 1:15, Pl. 77:c, bottom right, and C. Zervos, L'Art de la Crète (1956), 304, figs. 439-40; for the hatched loop, Zervos, op.cit. 243, fig. 332, 246, fig. 341, 251, fig. 350, and Pl. II, Pl. 9 (opposite p. 215):c, dl, g; the composite foliate band has no close parallels, cf. BSA 62 (1967), 338, fig. 1:9, and Pl. 77:c (several), for the realistic foliate band.

44. Korakou, 32-3, discusses this ware thoroughly.

certainly became popular swiftly, despite the unevenness of its technique, and it drove the MH fine wares off the market. At least two of the Circle B graves, Delta and Gamma, contained LH IA vases together with an array of finelate MH types; a tomb near Lerna contained two Mycenaean and two MH vases,<sup>45</sup> and at Kirrha Mycenaean and Matt-Painted vases were not only associated,<sup>46</sup> but at least one Matt-Painted vase was of Mycenaean shape and one Mycenaean vase of MH shape.<sup>47</sup> These probably all belong to the transitional period when Mycenaean pottery was becoming established. Very soon, only the fine plain wares and some simple Matt-Painted and bichrome-decorated vases survived of the MH tradition.

The best evidence for this comes from the chamber tombs of Prosymna. There, Ts. 25 and 26 contained LH IA deposits: these included three bichrome-decorated jars, a Grey Minyan cup and a small plain jug as well as Mycenaean jars and cups.<sup>48</sup> At Volimidia, the local plain wares continued to appear in chamber tombs,<sup>49</sup> and at Thebes, Matt-Painted jars were found in a chamber tomb.<sup>50</sup> This in fact reflects

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45. I. Papachristodoulou, in Deltion 22 (1967) B, 182 (T. VIII), Pl. 131:β, ε, ζ'.

46. Kirrha, 122 (roof of T. 42).

47. Kirrha, Pl. 51:67 (Matt-Painted small jar), and 69 (Mycenaean loop-handled jar).

48. Prosymna II, 44, fig. 195:496, 499; 48, fig. 210:342, 380-81.

49. Praktika 1964, Pl. 194:α-β, 1965, Pl. 120:γ.

50. ArchEph 1910, 231-2, figs. 22-3.

the continuing use of these wares in the domestic deposits, to which I shall now turn.

There is only one closed settlement-deposit, at Voroulia in Messenia.<sup>51</sup> This consisted of about one hundred vases, found in a single room. Nine of these vases were LH IA, eight cups and a small jar; two were Matt-Painted, a beaked jug and a feeding-bottle. A spouted bowl, goblet and ladle were coated with red paint: the rest were plain and coarse, in a wide variety of shades. Most popular were variations of the deep open jar with slightly highswung vertical handle, a type that derives directly from the MH coarse jar and had been popular in MH Messenia.<sup>52</sup> There were also goblets, ladles, one low Vapheio cup, two bottle-like jugs, a basket-handled spouted bowl, and some unusual vases, including a kernos. This deposit may have been of vases intended for use in a shrine or cult; it demonstrates the survival of the local MH tradition and its complete difference from that of the Argolid-Corinthia.

The Argolid-Corinthia is best represented by material from the fill of the Lerna 'shaft graves', and deposits at Korakou and Mycenae.<sup>53</sup> Of these the first two contained earlier, the last later material as well: the Korakou deposit has the advantage of forming part of a sequence

51. S. Marinatos, op.cit. (supra, note 2).

52. Many are visible in Praktika 1956, Pl. 96:α, cf. Malthi, Pls. 1:1, 16:1, 103, 17:50.

53. Caskey, op.cit. (supra, note 2); Mycenae (BSA 25), 157-8; Korakou, 43-4, 127-8.

whose later phases are even better represented and more easily datable, and I shall rely on it for this account. The material in question comes from the East Alley Pit, which originally seemed to provide a complete EH-LH sequence. I have concluded, from a study of the material that there is a division into five major stylistic groups: an EH II deposit, a deposit of mixed MH, mainly of the advanced Angular Minyan and Late Phases, and LH IA, deposits of LH IIA (Blegen's LH I), LH IIB (Blegen's LH II), and LH IIIA-C, partly house-deposits. Stratigraphical divisions are not very clear, but hard layers, apparently representing yard-floors, run between the LH IIA and LH IIB deposits and above the LH IIB; below these there were ash-layers and possible bits of clay floor that cannot be associated with changes in the pottery. Apart from a very thin layer, there was no proper LH IA deposit: but the material from the upper part of the mixed deposit and from the LH IIA deposit allows deductions to be made that are of some use.

The Matt-Painted ware is represented principally by jugs, jars and hydriae of related shapes. These generally had a rather tall flaring neck, an ovoid body with flat base, and two belly-handles (see FIG. 31 ): the hydriae had one vertical handle from rim to shoulder as well. The ware was usually smooth and light green in colour, with decoration in dull black or red; sometimes it was pink-buff with a finer red paint. The decoration seems to have been very simple: usually there were bands on the rim and at the base of the neck, a figure-of-eight loop around the handles, and a simple motif on the

shoulder, often two large concentric circles or a band containing running quirks. The material is so fragmentary that it is impossible to be sure of the full range of decoration, and whether pieces were late MH strays or LH IA: later jars of this type from Thebes and Athens often have a more sophisticated decoration, using geometric motifs in panels on the shoulder, and there are some pieces of this type in the later levels at Korakou.

Spouted bowls, related in shape to the holemouth-jar, seem to have survived some way in LH I: these had a fine buff surface, red-painted rim and spout, and decoration in a band below the rim, often two wavy lines, one of which might be in a different colour, grey or brown. There were further straight bands below the decoration, around the handle, and at the base, in red. There is at least one example of this type from the Lerna 'shaft grave' fill (on show in Argos Museum), and other pieces from the Aegina strata (Cf. photographs in the German Archaeological Institute): large fragments were quite common at Korakou in the mixed MH-LH IA deposit, and occurred in the LH IIA. Unlike the jars and hydriae, this type never seems to have been put in graves, and died out early.

A coated ware, most often red in the earlier phases, but later as often black as red, seems to have been introduced at the end of the MH period. The spouted bowl was one of its shapes, but much more popular were goblets and stemmed cups (see FIG. 31). These had everted rims and might have either a completely rounded profile or a carination some way below the rim: the low stemmed foot often gives the

impression of having been made separately and fitted on. Handles seem always to have been horizontal. These goblets might attain considerable size: a large body fragment from Korakou had a height of at least 14 cm. and a diameter at the rim of 16 cm. A small goblet was put in a Lerna grave.<sup>54</sup> This ware became extremely popular, spreading quickly to Laconia, Messenia and Attica, but examples are very rarely found in graves.

The plain ware had the greatest range (see FIGS. ~~34~~). The finest vases were goblets and stemmed cups, the same shapes as in the coated ware, mainly in fine yellow polished ware, but also found in shades of buff, orange-brown, pink-brown and green. Jars and hydriae, and jugs with beaked or cutaway spouts, were made in a thicker yellow ware that was not so highly polished. Conical cups, in a plain pink-buff ware, were not very common; ladles were made in soft yellow and green wares. A few plain Vapheio cups, with and without the rib, have been found in the finer plain wares. Rather poor plain wares and a wheelmade grey coarse ware were used for cooking-pots: the commonest shape was an open jar with two vertical rounded handles on the body and a pedestal base, but at least one large spouted bowl has been found.

The fill of the Lerna 'shaft graves' corroborates this picture. MH material included Grey Minyan, coarse and fine Matt-Painted, and light-on-dark.<sup>55</sup> There were LH IA cups, bowls, small closed vases

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54. Caskey 1957, Pl. 39:h.

55. The best description is Caskey 1955, 34; cf. also Caskey 1960 C, 133.

and holemouth-jars, quantities of Yellow Minyan, chiefly cups, 'Red Monochrome', chiefly goblets, bichrome 'wide bowls or basins', and plain buff and coarse grey-brown wares. Over 80 plain and coarse bases had incised signs: one or two of these appeared in each stratum at Korakou. The Matt-Painted jars and spouted bowls have been found on Aegina; and much later well-deposits from Athens, probably LH IIB or LH IIIA1, have a fine array of Matt-Painted, coated and plain vases of these types.<sup>56</sup>

These deposits correct the pictures of the graves, which contain a much higher proportion of decorated vases. At no time in the Early Mycenaean period was the percentage of decorated ware in the Korakou deposits higher than 30%: in LH IA, it was probably much less, maybe only half this figure. Plain vases accounted for another 25-30%, coated vases grew in quantity to almost 25%, and Matt-Painted large jars and bowls made up another 15-20% at first, while true coarse wares remained at about 5%.<sup>57</sup> The shapes of these other wares may be derived without exception from the late MH tradition except for Vapheio cups and conical cups, rare intruders. The Voroulia group and the Messenian tombs show that the local MH tradition survived there too, although there is at present very little evidence for the survival of Matt-Painted in any strength; the coated ware seems to have come in with

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56. Deltion 19 (1964) B, Pls. 21:β-γ, 22:α, 20 (1965) B, Pls. 27-30. Platon dates these LH IIIA2, a date not supported by the fine pottery or finds elsewhere.

57. These figures are based on the percentages in Korakou, 127.

the decorated.

The appearance of Mycenaean ware, in fact, only seems to have changed the fashion in fine ware: the rest of the pottery industry continued much as before, changing only slowly. However, there was now a closer link between the central area and the periphery than before, for potters with knowledge of the new ware seem to have spread over the Peloponnese and central Greece, perhaps before the end of LH IA. Thus a sort of uniformity was imposed over the divergent traditions in domestic pottery, and the various areas began to grow closer together in their pottery.

(3) LH IB

The development of LH IB may be considered a consolidation of the early style, extending its range and improving its technique. It is certainly identifiable in central Greece and coastal Thessaly, and it was exported to Troy and the Near East as well as to the Cyclades and Lipari.<sup>1</sup> It may be traced most clearly in the central area, but closed groups are few and not necessarily representative.<sup>2</sup> Korakou provides good but unstratified material, as do many other sites: the material published from Eleusis mostly came from earlier excavations, but one fine cup was found on a house-floor, and one group from a burnt area seems to be of this date.<sup>3</sup> A small floor-deposit from Aghios Kosmas may date to this or early in the next period.<sup>4</sup> Many of the commonest types persisted virtually unchanged into LH IIA, as Furumark noted:<sup>5</sup> vases found unstratified on sites or in tombs might belong to either period. It is easier, therefore, to note the changes and developments from LH IA than to describe a distinctive LH IB style.

The most obvious improvement is in technique: the clay of the vases,

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1. ArchEph 1910, 227-8, fig. 17:δ (Thebes); unpublished photograph in the British School of Archaeology at Athens (Zerelia); Troy III, fig. 383:1; F.H. Stubbings, Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant (1951), 55, fig. 13; Ialysos, 204, fig. 14:C (Egypt).
  2. Ialysos, 187, note 2.
  3. Eleusis, 35, 113, fig. 90; A. Skias, "Ἐλευσινιακῆς νεκροπόλεως ἀνασκαφαὶ", in ArchEph 1912, 7-10, with figs. 4-5.
  4. Aghios Kosmas, 48-50.
  5. MP, 484.

at least in the central area, seems better prepared, and is covered by a fine polished slip, most often a distinctive yellow. Cups are consistently slipped inside, and were probably regularly made on the fast wheel. The quality of the paint is also better, a fine red or black in the Argolid. The south and west Peloponnese seem to have had a different ideal for their fine ware, a dead white surface with black paint; if not correctly fired, the surface became pinkish and the paint red, and often the same vase has patches of both types. The shaping of vases is also better: Vapheio cups now have a cleanly-cut base, a small rib and a taller, thinner shape.

Many of the early motifs, such as the linked-circle types and the more complex foliate bands, seem to have dropped out. Domination by spirals is the major feature of the new style. One particular type, set in thick frames and linked by two curving tangents, was extremely popular: this consistently had a rosette of white dots on the central dot and a row along the right-hand tangent (see FIG. 34 ). This decoration is most typical of deep rounded cups, which seem to have been mass-produced at a kiln at Berbati,<sup>6</sup> but it appears on many other shapes, including large closed vases.<sup>7</sup> Other types of spiral were also common; those linked by dot-flanked tangents continued, and versions

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6. Å. Åkerström, "A Mycenaean Potter's Factory at Berbati near Mycenae", in First Mycenological Congress I, 49, Pl. II:4.

7. Chamber Tombs, Pls. 1:10 (rhyton), 3:1 (ewer); Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 23:b ('jar', coated inside); Prosymna II, 166, figs. 658:216 (Vapheio cup), 659 (ewer); Praktika 1956, 125, fig. 2 (Volos, pyxis, ? LH IIA); CVA USA 4, Pl. 8:2 ('Vari' ewer).

with spirals rising from a continuous wavy line were produced:<sup>8</sup> some early large jars had heavy framed types with much added white.<sup>9</sup>

Ripple-decoration and simple foliate bands survived, but were already beginning to be formalised: the ripple is less blurred, and the foliate bands often consists simply of two or three bands flanked by diagonal dashes. The double-axe and hatched loop became much more popular: a small cup with double-axe decoration was especially common (see FIG. 30 ). Other types of double-axe appeared, and the motif is found on a wide range of shapes:<sup>10</sup> this decoration is rare in the west Peloponnese, but examples have been found.<sup>11</sup> The hatched loop may be used alone, springing diagonally from body-bands on squat jugs and alabstra, or to represent leaves on stiff vertical trees: two put together were used to make up a heart-shaped leaf, and one fine holemouth-jar from Prosymna combines these leaves with simple loops and diagonal lines in a complicated plant-decoration.<sup>12</sup> A cup from

8. E.g. Prosymna II, 18, fig. 105:371; Kirrho, Pl. 51:69; Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 23:c, p; Korakou, 41, fig. 56:right (LH IIA); Samikon, Pls. 11:α-γ, ε,ζ, 13:α, 14:η, 15:α (some LH IIA?); Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pl. 124:β.
9. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 48:g; Praktika 1964, Pl. 133:α (Peristeria).
10. Chamber Tombs, Pl. 56:2 (holemouth-jar); Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 47:h (jar); Prosymna II, 163, fig. 670 (rhyton).
11. Praktika 1952, 480, fig. 6, 1961, Pl. 131:3, top row; Pylos I, 173; Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pl. 124:γ.
12. (i) Hatched loop alone: Prosymna II, 168, fig. 667, 172, fig. 683  
 (ii) 'Racket-trees': Chamber Tombs, Pl. 39:4; AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 23:1 (LH IIA?); ArchEph 1912, 8, fig. 4:4.  
 (iii) Complex pattern: Prosymna II, 165, fig. 656; AJA 40 (1936), 422, fig. 8 (Eleusis).

Eleusis shows another type of leaves, pointing stiffly downwards.<sup>13</sup>

Other motifs are not common. Simple rows of dots and dashes were used on the shoulders of small jars and generally on the bodies of angular pyxides.<sup>14</sup> Some jugs with two registers of decoration have simple reed-decoration in the lower register,<sup>15</sup> but this decoration is only rarely found as the main motif, on one or two cups. It is possible that the sequence of large jars with intricate plant-decoration began in this period, but more likely that they are a bit later.

A range of new shapes has been added to the repertory (see FIG. 30). The most important is the large pithoid jar, but there are also various types of jug, and the angular pyxis. This is a relative of the alabastron, and seems to be a purely mainland invention, whereas the others were probably introduced from Crete. The decoration includes more vertical types as well as horizontal, and large vases may have two differing registers of decoration. There is not much evidence for the adoption of LM IA motifs: the few examples of reed-decoration, and a particular form of rosette, made up of loops,<sup>16</sup> may be noted. The Argolid still seems to be the centre of development: the west seems to have been only intermittently in contact with it, for some common Argive types are rare there, but it does not seem to have produced any local types.

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13. Eleusis, 117, fig. 95:left.

14. SG, Pl. 167:194; Korakou, 39, fig. 52:5; Prosymna II, 64, fig. 268 92, fig. 387:98.

15. Prosymna II, 166, fig. 659; CVA USA 4, Pl. 8:2; Chamber Tombs, Pl. 3:1.

16. Praktika 1960, Pl. 151:σ2; cf. PM II, 220, fig. 125, and R. B. Seager, Excavations on the Island of Pseira, Crete (1910), 33, fig. 14.

(4) LH IIA

The material available for the study of LH IIA is still not particularly abundant. There is one rich and important domestic deposit, from the East Alley Pit at Korakou. There are some tomb-groups from Mycenae and Prosymna, and many tombs in central Greece and the Peloponnese have provided examples of the best styles, which often imitate Cretan LM IB and are therefore safely datable to this phase, even when in mixed contexts. Small and large vases of this style were exported to all the old markets, as well as appearing on Kythera and Crete itself.<sup>1</sup>

Furumark's discussions of LH IIA<sup>2</sup> are mainly concerned with that element which closely imitated LM IB or was imbued with the same spirit. He does stress that a class of vases decorated in LH I style survived, but never really makes it clear that this constitutes a major part of LH IIA material. There is also a third element, deriving from both of these, that is the direct ancestor of LH IIB and is well represented at Korakou: it may come fairly late in the phase. It is now possible to see the finest LM IB vases and their LH IIA counterparts as luxury products, forming a small

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1. ArchRep 1964-5, 28, fig. 33: top left, 1965-6, 21 (Kythera); N. Platon, in Praktika 1966, 147, Pl. 130:α (Zakro); BSA 28 (1926-7), 258, fig. 11 (Mavrospelio). The Royal Road excavations at Knossos have produced a LH IIA squat jug and a possible imitation, cf. also PM II, 512, fig. 315:a (Aghia Triada).
  2. MP, 477-86; Ialysos, 156-62.

proportion of the pottery produced both in Crete and Greece:<sup>3</sup> the deposit of LM IB from the Royal Road excavations at Knossos<sup>4</sup> has shown that domestic LM IB included a substantial class of vases decorated in LM IA style, and that the small vases of LM IB and LH IIA are totally different. Furumark's statements about the relationship of LM IB and LH IIA,<sup>5</sup> therefore, are most meaningful when applied to the relatively small groups of very fine vases, and the possibility that many of the best LH IIA vases were produced by emigrant Cretan potters<sup>6</sup> should be kept in mind. I shall not attempt to divide LH IIA, as Furumark does:<sup>7</sup> at present the evidence suggests an overlap of LH IIB and late LM IB, rather than of later LH IIA and early LM II, as he thought.

Many of the most characteristic LH IB types continued to be produced,<sup>8</sup> especially the Vapheio cup with spiral, ripple or foliate band decoration, and the rounded cups with spiral or double-axe decoration. The spiral also continued to be popular on other vases. Changes on these types are minor: the use of white for accessory decoration is rare, and the ripple and foliate band are even more

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3. M.R. Popham, "Late Minoan Pottery: a Summary", in BSA 62 (1967), 341-3.
  4. M.S.F. Hood, in ArchRep 1961-2, 25-7, KC 15-16 (1961-2) I, 96-7, Deltion 17 (1961-2) B, 294-5.
  5. MP, 151, 484.
  6. Popham, op.cit. (supra, note 3), 343, note 25.
  7. GIP, 85.
  8. Ialysos, 156, note 5, 157, notes 1-3.

formalised. The squat jug with cross-hatched loop on the shoulder, (see FIG. 30 ), a type that may date from the preceding phase, now became exceedingly popular, especially in the south and west Peloponnese, where dozens have been found in graves.<sup>9</sup> It seems to have been made locally both in the Argolid and elsewhere, since the Argolid examples have a fine yellow surface while those of the south and west have a dead white or pink-buff one. Examples were exported to Crete and Egypt.<sup>10</sup> This type remained popular, apparently, until the end of LH IIB, for it is found with material of that date in several Argolid graves, especially one from Berbati.<sup>11</sup> The cross-hatched loop was also popular on alabaster, particularly in the south and west Peloponnese, and was also exported.<sup>12</sup> The goblet and stemmed cup, and various forms of plant-decoration, especially ivy, now seem to have become common for the first time, and there seem to have been experiments with the shape of the alabastron and pyxis.<sup>13</sup>

Turning to consider the fine 'palatial' class of LH IIA vases, we

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9. Praktika 1953, 248, fig. 9: top left, 1964, Pl. 94:8, 1965, Pl. 120: (Volimidia); Samikon, Pl. 10: Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pl. 69:3-8 (Monemvasia).
  10. Ialysos, 204, fig. 14:A; supra, note 1 (Zakro and Royal Road).
  11. Prosymna II, 172, fig. 683; Berbati, 69-81, especially 73-4, fig. 53:5.
  12. Samikon, Pl. 12:8-c; Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pl. 70:γ-β; for exports, cf. Ialysos, 210, fig. 18:A-B, and supra, note 1 (Mavrospelio).
  13. E.g. Khalkis Tombs, Pls. 16: bottom row, 18: top row; ArchEph 1910, 227-8, fig. 17:α, ε.

find strong support for the idea of a mainland school or schools of artists. The most commonly found shape is the pithoid jar: this usually has three horizontal handles on the shoulder, but may sometimes have three rows of handles down the sides, a LM IB type.<sup>14</sup> The body is piriform, narrowing to a torus base, and there is often a neck-ridge. The holemouth-jar, bridge-spouted jug, various forms of tall jug and rhyton, and the three-handled stirrup-jar, are the other common 'palatial' shapes: most of these have good LM IB parallels, and some may be actual imports, as a tall alabastron and fine oval-mouthed amphora must surely be.<sup>15</sup> Occasionally alabastra were decorated in 'palatial' style, and sherds of a fine spouted bowl were found at Mycenae.<sup>16</sup> This range of shapes is more limited than that of LM IB, and the most favoured type, the pithoid jar, is fairly rare in Crete. (See FIG. 32 for 'palatial' shapes).

A certain number of pithoid jars show such strong Cretan characteristics in their decoration, including reserved wavy bands on the neck, that it is best to consider them imports:<sup>17</sup> they include one example with reed-decoration, several with fresco-like rows of

14. Cf. PM II, 423, fig. 244, 427, fig. 248, Praktika 1962, Pl. 156:α.

15. Praktika 1956, Pl. 100: , 1960, 279, fig. 7:α-β.

16. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 52:b.

17. JHS 24 (1904), Pl. 11 (Vapheio); B. Graef and U. Langlotz, Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I (1925), Pl. 2:53; Deltion 16 (1960), Pl. 99:8 (Reed-decorated, from Routsis); AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 17 (Kakovatos); ArchRep 1935-6, 20, fig. 7: left (Berbati), Dendra II, 65, fig. 77; Thebaika, 486, fig. 211 (the last four all have spirals).

spirals, and one from the Vapheio tholos that is covered with an extraordinary medley of marine and abstract motifs, divided by foliate bands and by vertical wavy registers of sponge-print or a similar motif below the handle, which is without parallel. The majority of the rest are decorated in one of several distinctive plant-styles (see FIGS. 35-6 ). These may show ivy, palms or papyrus springing from the base of the vase and spreading curving stems all over the surface, often with subsidiary plants below or about them, or rosettes and other motifs in the field; or, on a dotted ground, large ivy-leaves running horizontally across the vase, linked by thick stems; or linked rows of ivy-leaves, sometimes alternating. The earliest examples are probably the ewer from Shaft Grave I and the jar from Tragana tholos I, discussed above;<sup>18</sup> the Kakovatos tholoi provide many good examples of these styles, and others have been found in the Epano Phournos and Aegisthus tholoi at Mycenae.<sup>19</sup> They are so rare in Crete<sup>20</sup> that they may justifiably be considered a mainland product; conversely, the popular Reed and Olive Spray styles of Crete do not appear on the mainland.<sup>21</sup> Probably these derive their inspiration from LM IA plant-styles; rather stiff examples of plant-decoration have already been noted, suggesting a predilection of

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18. Supra, Ch. III, p. 217.

19. AthMitt 34 (1909), Pls. 18:2, 19-22, 23:2, 24:7; Mycenae (BSA 25), Pls. 45:p, 49, 51; BSA 48 (1953), Pls. 26, 27:a-b, 28:b.

20. R. B. Seager, Explorations on the Island of Pseira, Crete (1910), 25, fig. 8; BSA Supplementary Paper I (1923), Pl. 18:b (Palaikastro).

21. Popham, op.cit. (supra, note 3), 341-2.

mainlanders for this style.

Another popular method of decoration was to cover the vase with several horizontal registers, generally filled by the same motif. This was equally popular in Crete and the mainland, and some of the motifs used are the same, such as the pendent 'necklace'<sup>22</sup> (see FIG. 34). Other motifs include wavy bars, and the 'ogival canopy' (see FIG. 36): the latter has been plausibly derived by Evans and Furumark from a Cretan type of leaf-spray,<sup>23</sup> but is so rare in Crete that it may well be another mainland development.<sup>24</sup> Running motifs may also cross the vase ~~with~~<sup>without</sup> being divided into registers: the most popular is made up of rows of thick zigzag lines, often with dashes or small double-axes set in the angles.<sup>25</sup> The 'variegated rock' pattern, made up of rows of circles on a dotted ground, and a scale-pattern with dashes pendent from the scales, are also fairly popular.<sup>26</sup>

Finally there are marine motifs. On the mainland these are generally confined to rows of nautili or a displayed octopus (see FIG. 36), with varied filling of seaweed or rock; fragments from Mycenae

22. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 50:a; cf. PM II, 427, fig. 248.

23. PM II, 491-2; MP, 158-9, 274.

24. PM II, 485, fig. 291:d, 490, fig. 296:a; Deltion 17 (1961-2) B, Pl. 356:8; Praktika 1967, Pl. 158:8.

25. ArchEph 1895, Pl. 11:2; Deltion 1 (1915), 267, fig. 35:3; Phylakopi I, Pl. 31:8; Praktika 1956, Pls. 99:3, 100:γ.

26. AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 24:10, and BSA 48 (1953), Pl. 25 (rock-pattern); Prosymna II, 167, fig. 665:1004, and Thebaika, 199, fig. 143:2 (scales).

seem to show a pure seaweed motif, but may be imported.<sup>27</sup> Furumark has distinguished between Cretan and mainland versions of the Marine Style,<sup>28</sup> but it seems likely that there were several schools working in the Aegean, more than one of them in Crete.<sup>29</sup> Compared with the Cretan examples, the pieces found on the mainland are very limited in range, and it is possible that the best examples, particularly the three-handled stirrup-jars, were imported from Crete.<sup>30</sup> Alabastra from Asine, Phylakopi and Egypt, have decoration of marine motifs:<sup>31</sup> they may be products of a hybrid school, working outside the mainland, and are comparable to other alabstra with unusually fine decoration.<sup>32</sup>

All these motifs were found mainly on pithoid jars, but large running ivy-leaves are popular on bridge-spouted jugs, and the ogival canopy in various forms appears on a wide range of shapes, including

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27. Praktika 1955, Pl. 75:α.

28. Ialysos, 157-9.

29. Compare PM IV, 280, fig. 215, and A.J. Evans, The Tomb of the Double Axes (1914), 87, fig. 94.

30. Ialysos, 158, fig. 3:D (Aegina); Deltion 20 (1965) B, Pl. 26:α (Athens); unpublished example from Thebes.

31. Asine, 415, fig. 270:2; Phylakopi II, Pl. 11:137; Ialysos, 211, fig. 19:F.

32. Aegina, 24, fig. 27; Phylakopi I, 146, fig. 123; PM II, 497, fig. 303 (cf. Popham, op.cit. (supra, note 3), 344, note 2); Ialysos, 211, fig. 19:J-L; Knossos fragment in the Ashmolean Museum, AE 787; cf. Chamber Tombs, Pl. 6:3; Thebaika, 135, fig. 19: top right, 152, fig. 113:1; Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pl. 68:γ.

bridge-spouted jugs, alabastra and goblets:<sup>33</sup> the subsidiary 'rock' motif was soon to become standard on alabastra. Large LM IB vases were also imported, and very occasionally small ones:<sup>34</sup> the latter were, however, common on Kythera and Melos.

Fine 'palatial' LH IIA and LM IB are really parallel styles, concentrating on different motifs and shapes; the LH IIA style was popular in the Cyclades, but does not seem to have exerted much influence on Crete, whereas there seems to be a fairly large class of close imitations of LM IB on the mainland. The mainland styles were probably produced by schools of Cretan artists, working on the mainland for mainland masters: this rather than any deep-rooted artistic preferences is probably responsible for the individual nature of fine mainland pottery. A preoccupation with plant-patterns became typical of mainland domestic pottery at about this time, and was to continue; much of this material seems to have been produced and decorated by mainland potters.

Levels X and IX of the East Alley Pit at Korakou represent, I believe, a deposit of advanced LH IIA, although containing much earlier material. Blegen believed it to be LH I, and all the whole vases

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33. Chamber Tombs, Pl. 33:3 (bridge-spouted jug); Prosymna II, 42, fig. 187:375 (jug), 106, fig. 438:162 (alabastron); ArchEph 1889, Pl. 7:19 (Vapheio, stemmed cup).

34. Supra, notes 15, 17; for small vases, cf. Deltion, Parartema 1922-5, 19, figs. 1:2, 4, 3:1 (Palaiochori); Prosymna II, 35, fig. 166:1115; Deltion 23 (1963) A, Pls. 68:γ-δ, 69:α (Monemvasia) are probable imports.

illustrated in Korakou as such come from this deposit, but I believe that the virtual absence of typical LH I vases, such as the cups decorated with spirals, ripple or double-axes, makes it impossible to date this deposit so early and suggests, since these types continued in strength into LH IIA, that we are dealing with a deposit of advanced type. The spiral does remain popular, and one goblet has a perfectly good 'sub-LH I' decoration (see FIG. 37 ).

The dominant position among open vases had now been taken over by goblets and stemmed cups, as is shown by the complete vases (see FIG. 37). These most often have a rounded profile, but carinated types with a concave or offset rim do occur, possibly related to metal cups. The foot remains rather thick and splaying, giving the impression of having been added: inside it, there is normally a concave hollow. On some of the larger cups and goblets, one or two highswung handles may be found; otherwise the handles are from rim to shoulder, and may be either coated or barred. The rim is nearly always offset and painted inside and out.

The whole vases show a considerable variety in decoration, that is increased by the sherds; there hardly seems to be an accepted way of decorating these shapes. Spirals and double-axes survive from the earlier style; there are also running quirks, some with spiral heads, pendent streamers and dashes, festoons, wavy lines, straight bands, groups of bars, rows of dots, and some plant-decoration, generally some variant of the ivy-leaf or multiple stem (see FIGS. 38-9). An unusual piece with horizontal ribbon-handles beneath the rim has thick reed-

decoration, comparable with a piece from Orchomenos.<sup>35</sup> Pendent festoons from the rim-band and thrush-egg stipple, both motifs that became much more popular in LH IIB, make an appearance.

Other shapes are not well represented. Vapheio cups with foliate bands, or occasionally ripple formalised into wavy lines or other motifs, are quite common. Closed vases include squat jugs, alabastra, pyxides, a beaked jug with cutaway neck and large jars. Spirals are common on large closed fragments; the smaller closed vases seem to have had the same range of decoration as the goblets, including plant-types (see FIGS 38-9).

In the other wares, plain and coated goblets and stemmed cups predominate (see FIG. 40); some are only coated inside, and the rounded profile is much more common than the carinated. In fine plain ware there were profiles or large fragments of three conical cups, two Vapheio cups, a round-mouthed jug, a jug with cutaway neck, a beaked jug, three ladles, and a small closed vase on a pedestal base. There were many Matt-Painted amphora-necks; one shoulder-fragment had a band of running quirks, another, hatched loops. There were some spouted bowl pieces in Matt-Painted, coated and plain ware.

The predominance of stemmed cups and goblets in this material and the extraordinary range of decoration are the most notable features of this deposit. The decoration seems to be still largely geometric, and has almost no links with that of the large vases. Apart from the Vapheio

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35. MV, Pl. 19:135.

cup with foliate band, no type seems to have been mass-produced, although spirals of one sort or another were still very common. Many of the motifs found in this deposit are the direct ancestors of LH IIB motifs, and the shift to goblets and cups foreshadows the popularity of the kylix. This deposit represents a style much further removed from Cretan originals than that of the 'palatial' vases.

Vases of this type are quite often found elsewhere, but are rarely closely datable. A few groups are known, in which early plant-style and geometrically decorated types were found side by side with 'sub-LH I' and 'palatial' LH IIA;<sup>36</sup> goblets only coated inside, or simply decorated with bands, have been found in tombs of the Argolid and at Thebes and Samikon.<sup>37</sup> In the west, the LH I tradition seems to have survived strongly, marked by a dominance of spirals and hatched loops. Single vases may also be identified in central Greece,<sup>38</sup> and one got as far as Lachish.<sup>39</sup> But these types were not often found in tombs, and these are our main source of evidence for the phase.

36. Chamber Tombs, Pls. 2:4, and 33:1-3; Prosymna II, 42, figs. 187-8 and 133, fig. 531, with 135, figs. 536:1034, 538.

37. Chamber Tombs, Pls. 34:16-7, 53:6; ArchEph 1910, 229, fig. 21; Samikon, Pl. 16:3; Prosymna II, 18, figs. 104:395, 105:400, 466; 20, fig. 110:215; 28, fig. 140:1210; 29, fig. 145:253.

38. E.g. ArchEph 1910, 227, fig. 17: ; Khalkis Tombs, Pl. 20:453.

39. Stubbings, op.cit. (supra, (3) note 1), Pl. 14:1.

(5) LH IIB

It is generally agreed that LH IIB was developed on the mainland.<sup>1</sup> It was very widespread, and is readily identifiable in most areas of Greece. Besides some closed grave-groups, from cists at Korakou, Lerna, and Eleusis,<sup>2</sup> there are homogeneous groups from the Argolid, Thebes and Thessaly.<sup>3</sup> The domestic pottery is best represented by deposits from Korakou; a floor-deposit was found at Tsoungiza near Nemea, but has not been published.<sup>4</sup> Well-deposits from Athens<sup>5</sup> contained fine LH IIB-III A1 sherds and many whole vases of domestic types that should be of similar date. In the west, the evidence is not particularly good, being confined to a few easily identifiable vases.<sup>6</sup> The really fine class of vases often found in tombs, that I have called 'palatial', now became rare, and the distinction between the pottery of settlements and tombs is less clear. Chronologically, the phase overlaps with late LM IB, as I have stated above,<sup>7</sup> but there is little sign of

1. MP, 495-7; Ialysos, 261.

2. GMP, 50; Korakou, 102; Eleusis, 58-9; Caskey 1957, 145-6.

3. GMP, 50-51, 151.

4. J.P. Harland, in AJA 34 (1928), 63.

5. N. Platon, in Deltion 19 (1964) B, 30-31, 20 (1965) B, 28-32.

6. Pylos I, 284, 287, 310, mention fragments of Ephyraean goblets, and a probable piece, a surface-find, is in the Ashmolean Museum; First Mycenological Congress I, Pl. 2:3 (opposite p.17, from Olympia); Samikon, Pl. 14:ς; Praktika 1952, 483, fig. 9 (Volimidia).

7. Supra, Introduction, p. 352.

Cretan influence. A few LM II vases were imported,<sup>8</sup> and the late LM IB 'alternating style' may have been the origin of the mainland 'Ephyraean' style with its isolated motifs;<sup>9</sup> otherwise the makers of LH IIB seem to have drawn entirely on the LH IIA tradition and their own resources of invention. Since I am mainly concerned to show development from LH IIA, I shall treat LH IIB more summarily, beginning with Korakou.

The material of this phase at Korakou was extremely rich. In the East Alley Pit, it was represented by Levels VII-V, that were separated from the lower levels by a hard stratum. The same deposit seems to have been found in neighbouring trenches, J, L, M and West Alley, since there were joins between all these: only the East Alley material was preserved largely intact for study, but it contained over 2500 sherds, including a little LH IIIA and probably quite a lot of earlier material. Grey Minyan and fine Matt-Painted pieces may certainly be excluded from consideration, and also some cup-fragments with white-dotted spirals and a Vapheio cup fragment with ripple decoration,<sup>10</sup> that are LH I, but it is not possible to be sure about

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8. Cf. MP, 494; JHS 23 (1903), 192, fig. 10, 24 (1904), Pl. 13; BCH 87 (1953), Pls. 22-3; MV, Pl. 27:217; Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 45:m; Asine, 379, fig. 248:1; M.D. Theochares, "A Knossian Vase from Attica", in Antiquity 34 (1960), 266-9; an unpublished round pyxis with bird-decoration from Mycenae Chamber Tomb 7.
9. J.N. Coldstream, "The Thera Eruption: some thoughts on the survivors", in Mycenae Seminar, 19th February 1969, 347.
10. Korakou, 46, fig. 62:10 (from East Alley VI).

some fragments decorated with fine LH IIA patterns like the ogival canopy, scale-pattern and marine motifs.<sup>11</sup> These styles, or the individual vases, may have survived for a while; but the pieces do not resemble the best LH IIB in appearance, and are so fragmentary that it is probably best to consider them intrusions.

By this time, types traceable to LH I had almost vanished; only the Vapheio cup had survived. This often had a very wide flaring upper body and a narrow cylindrical lower body, often without a rib at the dividing point (see FIG. 42). The decoration is commonly a very fine stylised foliate band, but various types of plant-decoration have also been found.<sup>12</sup> There is no clear evidence for the survival of the deep cup: spirals are very rare, and there are no examples of the double-axe. Shallow ring-handled saucers seem to appear first in this period, probably deriving from deeper cups with a ring-handle<sup>13</sup> (see FIG. 41); but the commonest open decorated vases are undoubtedly the goblet and stemmed cup.

The 'Ephyraean goblet' is a hallmark of this period<sup>14</sup> (see FIG. 41). This was consistently made of a fine yellow ware, with decoration confined to a single motif on either side, between the handles, and a

11. Partly unpublished: cf. Korakou, 47, fig. 63:7, 11-12 (from East Alley VI, and V plus M IV).

12. Korakou, 45, fig. 62:3, 5, 6, 9.

13. Chamber Tombs, Pl. 2:4, 39, for ancestors; cf. Korakou, 53, fig. 72.

14. Basic discussions are Korakou, 54-7; A.J.B. Wace, "Ephyraean Ware", in BSA 51 (1956), 123-7.

small pendent motif below each handle. The range of motifs is very limited: the rosette, lily, palm and stylised nautilus are common, others very rare. This type is paralleled by the LM II goblet in Crete, which, however, generally has a painted rim, handles, foot and interior. These are often finely decorated and have a much greater range of motifs, including birds; they vary considerably in size. If, as seems likely, the appearance of the goblet-shape at Knossos is due to mainland influence,<sup>15</sup> the Cretan artists certainly made much more of the single motif scheme than their mainland counterparts. Ephyraean goblets were widely found in the Argolid-Corinthia, where they were surely manufactured; examples have also been found in Attica, Boeotia, Euboea, Messenia and overseas on Kythera, Kea, Melos, Rhodes, Scopelos in the northern Sporades, probably at Knossos and maybe at Lipari.<sup>16</sup>

The goblet or stemmed cup with a horizontal band of decoration on the upper body is also very common. One very large example with decoration of ogival-canopy type came from the East Alley deposit, and

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15. M.R. Popham, "Late Minoan Pottery: a Summary", in BSA 62 (1967), 344.
16. Eleusis, 127, fig. 107:374; Deltion 19 (1964) B, Pls. 20:α, top left, ? bottom left and right, 21:8, top right, (Athens); Eutresis, 189; CAH Plates I (1927), opposite Pl. 174 (Orchomenos); Mycenaeae Gazetteer, 118, no. 405 (Aghios Joannis); W.A. Heurtley, "Notes on the Harbours of South Boeotia and Sea-Trade between Boeotia and Corinth in Prehistoric Times", in BSA 26 (1923-5), 40 (Livadostro); Lefkandi, unpublished; Supra, note 6, for Pylos, and Prehistoric Messenia III, 170, Pl.45:b, 5 (Lepreon); KC 3 (1949), Pl. I :2, left (Scopelos); Wace, op.cit. (supra, note 14), 125, 127 (Ialysos), and Ialysos, 168; Kea and Kythera, unpublished.

a similar but even finer piece from elsewhere.<sup>17</sup>

Other motifs include thrush-egg stippling, various forms of plant-decoration including ivy leaves and groups of vertical wavy stems, and pendent wavy bands; spirals, running quirks, pendent festoons and wavy lines are rarer than they were in LH IIA. Some examples have no decoration in the shoulder-area at all, but simply a band at the rim and bands round the belly.<sup>18</sup> It is rare to find motifs exactly repeated: only the Ephyraean goblets seem to have been mass-produced. (See FIGS. 42-4)

The closed vases seem to have been the best-decorated of this phase at Korakou, and there are several relatively complete examples (see FIG. 41), including jugs, alabastra and squat jugs. Plant-decoration, often with wavy bands as a subsidiary motif, is popular on these vases. The largest alabastron has an early form of the 'rock motif' on a dotted ground. One extremely fine ewer is decorated with three isolated double-spirals, and a cutaway-neck jug has a unique decoration that appears to be an imitation of seaweed: on a dark brown surface there are irregular chains of small loops, and one or two thick curving bands of paint stemming from the handle and base-band. One large squat-bodied vase, possibly a ewer, was covered with dot-stipple, broken only by two horizontal bands just above the widest point. Sherds include pieces from squat jugs

17. Korakou, 48-9, figs. 64-5 (fig. 65 from East Alley).

18. E.g. Korakou, 57, fig. 79: left.

decorated with hatched loops, festoons, or plants, from angular pyxides, and from jars with streamer or ogival canopy decoration. The top stratum in the East Alley contained a large piece decorated with a very poorly drawn octopus, in dull orange paint on a buff ground (see FIG. 44 ): the suckers are rendered by dots, making this piece comparable to other LH IIB jars.<sup>19</sup>

The other wares include, as before, a preponderance of goblets. The plain ware also includes several examples of conical cups, ladles and large round-bodied jugs, while heavy jugs or hydriae continued in Matt-Painted ware. The spouted bowl does not seem to be represented any longer, and the percentage of Matt-Painted ware is lower. Whole examples of all these shapes, probably of slightly later date, come from the Athens wells.<sup>20</sup>

Study of this deposit leads to some clear conclusions. Plant-decoration of various sorts had come to be almost as common as geometric decoration, many of whose early forms had now disappeared. The goblet was definitely established as the typical open shape, and there was a greater proportion of decorated closed vases than before. The quantity of Matt-Painted was now considerably less, but this is a question of the disappearance of a technique, for the simple banded hydria or jar survived in Mycenaean pottery. Technically the pottery was about as good as it would ever be; the vases are well-shaped and nearly always

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19. Cf. Thebaika, 142, fig. 104.

20. Supra, (2) note 52.

made on the fast wheel. The range of decoration, if unexciting, is wide; and apart from the Vapheio cup with foliate band and the Ephyraean goblet, there are still few signs of mass-production. The 'isolated motif' style was used effectively on goblets and fine ewers.

The domestic pottery, then, had if anything slightly improved in quality, but it was otherwise with the fine 'palatial' vases put in tombs. The commonest shapes were the pithoid jar, fine ewer and flat alabastron; small jars were also found. The decoration of the large jars includes motifs parallel with those of LH IIA, but the degeneration of style is startling. The decorative motif was often confined to the shoulder, the rest of the body being covered by groups of bands; there were usually three vertical handles on the shoulder, and the lower body of the vase tended to taper (see FIG. 33 ).

Varieties of the palm-tree were a popular motif: in some cases it springs straight or somewhat obliquely from the body-band, and is flanked by tricurved arches,<sup>21</sup> while in others it is almost completely formalised.<sup>22</sup> The former are likely to be earlier, and may be compared with LH IIA jars from Asine and Thebes;<sup>23</sup> it is even possible that all are products of the same school. An isolated large ivy leaf

21. Chamber Tombs, Pl. 5:15; Dendra II, 67, Fig. 80; Thebaika, 89, fig. 64, 202, fig. 146; BSA 62 (1967), 136, fig. 7 (Amman); Deltion 16 (1960), Pl. 73:a (Dendra T. 12).

22. Asine, 360, fig. 233:1; Thebaika, 144, fig. 106.

23. Asine, 419, fig. 273; ArchEph 1910, Pl. 8:1.

is another common motif, which probably derives from the LH IIA motif of large linked ivy-leaves.<sup>24</sup> One jar from Thebes has a very poor octopus, already far on the way to a formal pattern.<sup>25</sup> A jar from the Kapakli tholos is decorated with rows of spirals;<sup>26</sup> a jar from Asine, decorated with isolated groups of three rosette-filled spirals and with what may be stylised trees beneath the handles, is more probably a LM II import, since it is without parallel on the mainland.<sup>27</sup> A large jar from Argos with stylised papyrus on the shoulder may be LH IIB or LH IIIA1.<sup>28</sup> Smaller jars of the same period, which are often rather slim and conical in shape (see FIG. 33 ), may be decorated on the shoulder with scale-pattern or an ivy-stalk,<sup>29</sup> or have plant-decoration on the body.<sup>30</sup>

The alabastron became increasingly popular as a vase to put in the grave during this period, and was often extremely large, while the shape became very flat (see FIG. 33 ). It was often decorated with plant-motifs like those of the jars: we may note the upright

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24. Thebaika, 143, fig. 105; Khalkis Tombs, Pl. 20:555; BM Cat. I 1, Pl. 11: A 822 (Ialysos); Troy III, fig. 409: 37-954.

25. Supra, note 19.

26. ArchEph 1906, 238, fig. 15: right; cf. Prosymna II, 173, fig. 685.

27. Asine, 379, fig. 248:1; cf. MP, 494.

28. BCH 93 (1969), 591, figs. 37-8.

29. BCH 77 (1953), 34, fig. 23; Prosymna II, 103, fig. 431:176.

30. Chamber Tombs, Pl. 4:2; Prosymna II, 57, fig. 246.

palm-tree, single ivy-leaf, wavy-stemmed ivy-leaf, palm-frond or lily, and the alternating palm-frond and ivy-leaf<sup>31</sup> (see FIG. 34). But the large flat alabastron decorated with the 'rock motif' was to outstrip all these types in popularity, especially late in LH IIB.<sup>32</sup> Great numbers of these with little variation in their decoration have been found; the type continued into LH IIIA1, with a change in the decoration of the base, from spoked wheel to concentric circles,<sup>33</sup> and later alabastera derive stylistically from it. It was imitated, rather poorly, in Crete.<sup>34</sup>

The large ewer of the type represented at Korakou is probably one of the most successfully decorated vase-types of this period. It retains metallic characteristics on the neck and handle, and is consistently decorated with a foliate band on the shoulder, and three isolated motifs on the body. These may all be the same,<sup>35</sup> or occasionally the

31. Palm-tree: Prosymna II, 103, fig. 431:158.  
 Ivy-Leaf: Chamber Tombs, Pl. 48:8.  
 Wavy Stem types: Chamber Tombs, Pls. 39:30, 40:28, 48:9-10, 54:2.  
 Alternating Palm and Ivy: Chamber Tombs, Pl. 5:7.
32. Chamber Tombs, Pl. 27:2-7; cf. MP, 323, fig. 54: motif 32, types 16-25.
33. E. French, "Late Helladic IIIA1 pottery from Mycenae", in BSA 59 (1964), 247-8, 256.
34. BSA 47 (1952), 266, fig. 10: I.9, II.2, V.2, 268, fig. 11: III. 7-8 (Knossos Warrior Graves); S. Alexiou, Υστερομινωϊκὸι τάφοι λυκίου κυρσοῦ (Κατσαμπῆ) (1967), Pls. 2:β, bottom row, 9:γ, 13:β, centre, γ.
35. As on Korakou, Pl. 5, ArchEph 1906, Pl. 12: top (Kapakli), ASAtene 6-7 (1923-4), 185, fig. 108 (Ialysos), Thebaika, 199, fig. 143:1.

central motif may be different, as on an example from Athens, where an octopus is flanked by two fish.<sup>36</sup> The motif in other cases may be some form of spiral or a plant. The shape clearly derives from the LM IB ewer. (See FIG. 41 for an example).

Vases of these types, particularly large jars and alabastra, were exported to Kea, Knossos, Troy, and the Levant, penetrating as far as Amman beyond the Jordan.<sup>37</sup> The Ephyraean goblet's range is more restricted, as we have seen. It seems probable that both the goblet and alabastron were introduced to Crete at this time as a result of the appearance of a mainland dynasty at Knossos;<sup>38</sup> the goblet-shape was also imitated at Troy.<sup>39</sup> Otherwise, LH IIB seems to have exerted little influence, although it seems to have been fairly popular overseas; it was also taken by colonists to Rhodes. It can hardly be considered an outstanding style; its best effects were achieved by a single device, the isolated motif. It seems to demonstrate that the mainland potters, when left to themselves, were not capable of anything great, although they were technically competent; but a greater standardisation and formalisation was also coming into the Cretan wares, and in general the potter's art was somewhat in decline.

36. Hesperia 24 (1955), Pl. 73:17.

37. BSA 62 (1967), 136, fig. 7 (Amman); Ialysos, 205, fig. 15:B-F; Troy III, figs. 320: 35-624, 323: 37-954, 324: 36-1061, 383: 5, 26-8, 37, 407:1-10; PM II, 485, fig. 291:e.

38. Popham, op.cit. (supra, note 15).

39. Troy III, fig. 292b: A 84.

Chapter VI

## GRAVE-TYPES

(1) Chamber Tombs and Tholos Tombs

Although never universal, the chamber tomb and tholos tomb were extremely characteristic of Mycenaean culture in its heyday. The chamber tomb varied considerably in shape and size, but always consisted of a straight open passage, the dromos, leading to a chamber, usually through a narrower covered entrance, the stomion (See FIG.45 for characteristic types). It was nearly always cut into rock, usually into a hillside or slope, but quite often into level ground. Some examples had one or more chambers leading off the main one, or separate chambers leading off the same dromos, or had later enlargements added to the chamber. The dromos was at first wide and irregularly shaped, later long and narrow with inclining sides; it was sometimes stepped.

The tholos tomb was made up of the same elements, dromos, stomion and chamber, but was much more uniform. The chamber was nearly always beehive-shaped (a few oval examples are known): both it and the stomion were built of stone, and in later examples the dromos was often walled. Early examples were quite frequently dug into level ground; these seem to have been constructed so that part of the dome protruded above ground, and in any case a mound seems regularly to have been heaped over the top. Only two of the latest

and finest, the Treasuries of Atreus and Minyas, had side-chambers.

Both types of tomb often had pits in the floor; in the tholoi these tended to be larger and better-cut, and were sometimes lined with stone. Tholoi might also contain burial-cists built upon the floor, up against the wall. Raised platforms, also used for burials, have been found in some tholoi and the richer chamber tombs. The burial-rite was nearly always simple inhumation, on the floor or in a pit; there is a growing body of evidence for coffin-burials in chamber tombs, but these can be dated to Middle Mycenaean times or just before.<sup>1</sup> The evidence from Messenia makes it clear that there both tholoi and chamber tombs were used as family-tombs from the first; examples in other areas were sometimes used for only one burial or on one occasion.

Opinion on the origin of these types of tomb is divided. It used to be thought that both originated in the Argolid after the Shaft Graves ceased to be used, but there are now many examples of LH I chamber tombs, both in the Argolid and elsewhere, and one or two tholoi in Messenia seem to antedate the introduction of Mycenaean pottery. Persson's theory that the chamber tomb was derived from the Egyptian rock-cut tomb<sup>2</sup> has been revived by

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1. See E.T.Vermeule and A.Travlos, "Mycenaean Tomb beneath the Middle Stoa", in Hesperia 35 (1966), 69-72, for a full discussion.
  2. Dendra II, 166-75.

Mylonas,<sup>3</sup> who believes that the tholos was developed on the mainland in close relationship with the chamber tomb. As Kantor has shown,<sup>4</sup> there are great difficulties involved in deriving the chamber tomb from Egypt; not only is there no evidence for a mainland connection with Egypt at this date so intensive that it could lead to the introduction of a tomb-type, but also Persson has compared ground-plans only, thus ignoring the fact that burials in the Egyptian tombs took place in shafts below the hall and shrine that are represented by the ground plan. Moreover, the closest parallels with Egyptian tombs are those of rectangular chamber tombs with sidechambers, from Mycenae, Prosymna, Thebes and Dendra; but tombs with sidechambers are a minority of Mycenaean chamber tombs, many of them are not early, and there are many with main chambers that are not rectangular but rounded, semicircular, oval or irregular. It seems that this theory may be safely discounted. Pini and Hood follow Evans<sup>5</sup> in deriving the tholos and chamber tomb respectively from the Cretan stone-built circular tomb and rock-cut tomb respectively. Vermeule believes that the tholos tomb was a mainland development,<sup>6</sup> and Iakovidis has argued that the Volimidia chamber tombs imitated the

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3. G.E.Mylonas, Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age (1966), 131-2.
  4. H.J.Kantor, The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C. (1947), 39-40.
  5. I.Pini, Beiträge zur minoische Gräberkunde (1968), 49; M.S.F.Hood, "Tholos Tombs of the Aegean", in Antiquity 34 (1960), 166-76, and The Home of the Heroes (1967), 175-77.
  6. E.T.Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age (1964), 121, 299.

tholos rather than the reverse.<sup>7</sup>

The strong similarity between the tholos and chamber tomb suggests that they have a common prototype. However, their histories are completely different, for whereas LH I chamber tombs have been found in several areas of the mainland, LH I tholoi cannot certainly be traced outside Messenia.<sup>8</sup> As we have seen in Chapter IV, as many as a dozen tholoi may have been in use in Messenia by the end of LH I, and one cemetery of chamber tombs was flourishing at the same date. The Messenian evidence is, I believe, crucial, and I shall therefore consider it first, and then discuss the evidence from other provinces.

The evidence for tholos tombs is not complicated. The Koryphasion tholos certainly contained MH pottery, and the jar-burials in the Vagenas tholos are probably contemporary with the Shaft Graves and may well date before the introduction of Mycenaean pottery. A Matt-Painted vase was found in Gouvalari tholos 1, and pottery of very early type in this and other tholoi. None was particularly large or well-built, although several were rich; Tragana tholos 1 and the Kanakaris tholos at Pylos were larger than the rest, 8.5 and 9.35 m. in diameter respectively, and had finely built doorways of

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7. S. Iakovidis, "Περὶ τοῦ σχήματος τῶν λαξευτῶν τάφων εἰς τὰ Βολυμίδεια Μεσσηνίας", in Orlandos Charisterion II, 98-111.

8. The tholos tomb at Karditsa in Thessaly, often cited as LH I (E.g. Lord William Taylour, The Mycenaeans (1964), 79; Mycenaean Gazetteer, 162, no. 545) contained no decorated LH I pottery, and has a roofed dromos, a feature linking it with Iron Age types.

stone blocks. The two great tholoi at Peristeria and the three tholoi at Kakovatos belong to the LH IIA period: these were larger, mostly over 10 m. in diameter. Peristeria tholos 1 is the largest and finest known in Messenia; its diameter was 12.1 m., it had a fine stomion wall of shaped poros blocks, on one outer face of which were two incised signs like those on Cretan buildings, and its inner lintel-slab weighed some 22 tons and seems to have been curved to fit the chamber wall. The walls were over 1 m. thick, of small rectangular blocks. The second tholos was less carefully built, but 11 m. in diameter; both had walled dromoi.<sup>9</sup> These are comparable with the Tomb of Aegisthus and the second architectural group at Mycenae, though it is not known whether either had a 'relieving triangle' (see below).

Other tholos tombs at Kato Englianos and Vasiliko were probably built in this period. The Kambos tholos, on the eastern side of the Messenian Gulf, is comparable with the second architectural group at Mycenae, and may well also belong to this period, but contained no material to suggest a certain date. Many other Messenian tholoi continued to be used in this period, and their number increased still further in the Middle Mycenaean period, but the quality of their construction did not improve and they remained relatively small. Throughout, their sites, next to prominent acropolises,

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9. S. Marinatos, "Problemi archeologici e filologici di Pilo", in SMEA 3 (1967), 10-11, is the best short account; cf. also Deltion 17 (1961-2)B, 101-3.

and their contents are consonant with the view that they were the tombs of major and minor ruling families.

The MH pottery of the Koryphasion tholos is closely parallel to that of the latest burial in Kephlovryso T. 1, a peculiar tomb in the Volimidia cemetery that was constructed in a roughly rectangular natural cavity and was used for several burials. Close to it was a smaller and shallower rectangular rock-cut tomb containing two contracted burials, probably MH, and to the west and north were chamber tombs of the Kephlovryso group.<sup>10</sup> These differed significantly from the normal Volimidia type, not least in their orientation, which was not at all regular. Two sub-groups may be distinguished, Ts. 2-4 and 5-7.

Ts. 2-4 are close in type to the tholos-shaped chamber tomb of the other groups, but T. 3 was distinctly oval and T. 2 had a low roof. Both these contained many burial-pits. T. 2 was the earliest, containing LH IA pottery, T. 3 contained plain vases of early type and a LH II squat jug, and T. 4 seems to have held nothing very early. All were relatively small, T. 2 having a diameter of 3.7 m., T. 4 of 3.8 m., and T. 3 being 3.4-3.5 m. long by 4.25-4.30 m. wide.

Of the others, T. 6 was so close to T. 1 on the west that its construction caused a slight hole in the side. It was more semi-circular than round in shape, 3.2 m. across, and seems to have had

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10. S.Marinatos, in Praktika 1964, 81-89, 1965, 102-9.

a low roof; it contained several burial-pits, and the burials all seem to have been of early Mycenaean date, some LH IA. A notable feature was a heap of stones in front of the entrance, that contained sherds of plain early goblets and had upon it ashes and animal-bones, strongly suggesting that it was a place of sacrifice. T. 5 was a few metres to the north of T. 1; it was of elliptical shape, 3.6 m. long, and was reached by a wide dromos, 3.2 m. long, which ran straight into the chamber without the intervention of a stomion (see FIG. 45). There were three pits at the back, and in these and on the floor were many skulls and bones, a few early vases, including LH IA and plain types, and a group of stone objects and boar's tusks. T. 7, of much the same size and shape, opened off its west side; according to Marinatos, it was a separate tomb, into which T. 5 had been cut or vice versa, but the dromos was not found. It held a few early vases, the only complete ones being a plain feeding-bottle and cup, and a great many skulls,<sup>11</sup> all lying upon the floor.

The other tombs of the Volimidia cemetery were consistently tholos-shaped, nearly always well-cut, and generally between 4 and 5 m. in diameter<sup>12</sup> (see FIG. 45 for an example): several held LH IA pottery in the Koroniou and Angelopoulou groups. They usually had many burial-pits in the floor, in which the early burials were found,

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11. I am indebted to Miss C. Sourvinou, who took part in the excavation, for the information that there may have been as many as a hundred skulls.

12. Iakovidis, op. cit. (supra, note 7).

and sometimes had secondary round chambers opening off the dromos to the left.<sup>13</sup> The same type continued to be made in LH IIIA, and they were used at least to LH IIIB.

Other chamber tombs have been found in the neighbourhood, at Pylos and Chora, and they seem to have been common in the Pamisos valley and the Olympia area.<sup>14</sup> So far as is known, none of these were tholos-shaped; the shape of the early tomb Tsakalis T. 8 at Pylos, which was used from LH I, is unknown, but there is no reason to believe that it was different from the rest of the tombs dug into the same ridge, which varied within the normal range of Mycenaean chamber tombs. Isolated examples of the tholos-shaped tomb have been found at Pellanes on the northern border of Laconia and on Kephallenia,<sup>15</sup> the latter actually having built domes; these are all of LH III date, and may be derived from the Volimidia type or be independent imitations of the tholos.

The Volimidia type therefore seems to be an isolated development

13. S.Marinatos, in Praktika 1952, 491, 1953, 238, 245.
14. S.Marinatos, in Praktika 1954, 305-6 (Chora); C.W.Blegen, in AJA 61 (1957), 134, and 62 (1958), 178-9 (Pylos); R. Hope Simpson, "Identifying a Mycenaean State", in BSA 52 (1957), 242, 245, 246, fig. 8 (Pamisos Valley); N.Yalouris, "Trouvailles mycéniennes et prémycéniennes de la Région du Sanctuaire d'Olympie", in First Mycenological Congress I, 77-8; M.Ervin, "News Letter from Greece" in AJA 71 (1967), 300, for the Tsakalis group of chamber tombs at Pylos.
15. Prehistoric Laconia II, 125-7; S.Marinatos, in Arch Eph 1933, 70-73, 76-7.

but it is no less important for that. The evidence from the Kephallouvroso group seems to show that the imitation of tholoi was secondary; not only are there early and less successful imitations, but there are completely different types. The latter, Ts. 5 and 7, are typologically the most primitive, contain many burials but few goods, and hardly seem to have been used after LH IA. Since the tholos-shaped type was already flourishing in LH IA, it can be argued that Ts. 5 and 7 were originally constructed in the MH period as collective tombs for large groups, clans or whole settlements. It may be objected that T. 1, a development of the cist, belongs to the late MH period and contains only few burials; but this may be explained as the tomb of a ruling family, on the grounds of its comparative wealth.

The sequence might then be as follows. The original chamber tombs at Volimidia were introduced as collective tombs. Not much later, the tholos tomb was introduced as a princely tomb; it quickly proved popular, and was imitated at Volimidia with swift success. It must be emphasised that the Volimidia chamber tombs are unusually large and well-cut; although their goods are poor, this argues for a prosperous population, and the number of tombs in use suggests that it was large. Such imitations might indicate a population-group which considered itself at least in a position to imitate princely tombs. If we accept this view of the rise of these types, we reach the next problem, where they came from and how. Before this is answered, it will be necessary to consider the evidence from elsewhere

in Greece.

There is much less evidence from the Argolid than from Messenia. The earliest datable tombs of the new types are chamber tombs, Ts. 25 and 26 at Prosymna.<sup>16</sup> These both contained several LH IA vases; they were relatively large and well-constructed, with long straight dromoi. Each had an almost square central chamber, 3.31 x 3.13 m. and 3.56 x 4.02 m. respectively; T. 26 had an oblong side-chamber, opening off the near left-hand corner, and T. 25 had no less than three side-chambers, oblong or with one rounded side, one opening off each side of the main chamber. It seems that most if not all of these must have been part of the original plans, for the side-chamber in T. 26 contained two LH IA burials, the east chamber of T. 25 four or more burials of LH IA date and the west chamber one of LH IB date; the north chamber is so similar in shape, size and positioning to the others that it was very probably contemporary, although it contained no early burials. In both cases, the main chamber was almost empty; this was probably due to the reusers of the tombs in LH III times, who seem to have disturbed the original burials to some extent. In spite of their impressive architecture, the tombs did not contain very rich burials, although several had a dagger as well as pottery, and a LH II burial in T. 26 an assortment of goods.

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16. Prosymna I, 86-98, for full description.

Several other tombs at Prosymna contained LH I pottery;<sup>17</sup> they had shorter dromoi and small oblong, oval or rectangular chambers, rarely as much as 3 m. wide or 2.5 m. long. One, T. 52, was very small (1.6 x 1.98 m. at most) and contained only two burials, apparently of LH IB date; these were provided with pottery, and in one case a bronze knife and ring, in the other a clay whorl. The roof seems to have collapsed before any other burials could be made. Similar tombs to these were built in LH IIA, but there was also a series of large fine tombs,<sup>18</sup> which have almost circular plans and measurements ranging around 5 m. These gave evidence of having contained important burials, either sherds of large 'palatial' jars in the dromos, fine vases scattered about the chamber, or, in the case of T. 44, an intact layer of burials with fine goods. A tholos tomb of LH IIA date was also found at Prosymna.<sup>19</sup> It was large, almost 9.5 m. in diameter, and well-built; the stones of the chamber had been shaped, and the facade and part of the dromos wall were of dressed blocks. It contained three burial-pits, in all of which human bones were found, and other bones were found on the floor. It had been robbed, but small gold and glass ornaments, fragments of bronze,

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17. Prosymna I, 56 (T. 17; queried LH I, CMP, 131), 58 (T. 18), 116-8 (T. 52), 156 (T. 6; queried LH I, CMP, 131), 169 (T. 14), 223 (T. 46).

18. Prosymna I, 147-8 (T. 42), 157, 159 (T. 7), 173-9 (T. 2), 206-14 (T. 44).

19. P. Stamatakis, in AthMitt 3 (1878), 271-86; Mycenae (BSA 25), 386-7.

stone and faience vases, some boar's tusk plates and pieces of several large jars were found: the finds suggest that it was used in LH IIA and possibly later as well.

At Mycenae no tholoi or chamber tombs can be dated to LH IA. Almost the only closely datable chamber tombs were in the Kalkani cemetery: the earliest of these are on the north slope of Kalkani hill, where there seems to have been a settlement from EH times. They are likely to have been the tombs of the inhabitants of this settlement, and their dimensions and relative wealth may not necessarily be typical of Mycenae as a whole. Ts. 516-18 and 529-33 seem to have been built in the Early Mycenaean period.<sup>20</sup> These contained pottery of LH IB-IIA type, but in most cases it is impossible to isolate the earliest burials, which were usually moved to cists, often in the dromos, or disturbed by later burials. Furumark dated vases in Ts. 517 and 518 LH I, and these two tombs represent the two types of the group (See FIG. 45). T. 517 had a short dromos, no stomion and a small oval chamber (2 x 3 m.): Ts. 516 and 532 were closely similar in dimensions and type. T. 518 had a long dromos, a stomion and a large, roughly oblong chamber (3.8 x 5 m.): Ts. 529, 530 and 533 were similar. T. 533 is probably the latest, having a well-cut dromos and chamber. The majority of Mycenaean chamber tombs resemble T. 518, differing only in their dimensions and the shape of the chamber. The finds in these tombs were rather richer than those of Prosymna, including

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20. Chamber Tombs, 63-87, 98-120.

fine beads, one or two weapons and other objects.

There are in all nine tholoi at Mycenae: Wace divided them architecturally into three groups and suggested an order in which they had been built.<sup>21</sup> The first two groups were certainly distinct: the earliest group had chambers built of rubble, with little attempt at coursing, short straight lintel-slabs, and in two cases no dromos-walls, while the second group had dromoi lined with dressed blocks, facades of dressed blocks, roughly coursed chamber-walls, long lintel-slabs curved on the inside to fit the curve of the chamber, and in one case, probably all, the 'relieving triangle', an architectural device to take weight off the lintel. The Tomb of Aegisthus, the third in the first group, had a facade of dressed blocks added at some time after its construction; the Lion Tomb, the third of the second group, had evidence of a door, a feature of the third group. These were mainly distinguished by their better masonry, and were so well built that they did not collapse until broken into.

It is certainly possible to distinguish between groups and even individual tombs in this way, but it must be pointed out that all except the two finest contained fragments of fine 'palatial' jars that probably belonged to the original grave-goods. The Tomb of the Genii, the earliest of the third group, may be ignored, since the pottery as described and illustrated fits a Middle Mycenaean date,<sup>22</sup>

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21. Mycenae (BSA 25), 283-397.

22. Mycenae (BSA 25), 386-7, Pl. 45:l-m.

but it is difficult to draw distinctions between the pottery from the others. Examples of the LH IIA plant styles occur in most of them,<sup>23</sup> and of the LM IB Marine Style or mainland imitations of it in three.<sup>24</sup> It surely follows that these tombs were mostly built within the LH IIA period, and that several must have been in use simultaneously. Such a view is perfectly possible if we do not assume that they were all the tombs of a single royal dynasty.

Some other evidence may be adduced. In Wace's sequence, the fourth, the Panaghia Tomb, and seventh, the Tomb of the Genii, are no larger than the first, the Cyclopean Tomb, and the fifth, the Kato Phournos Tomb, is a bit smaller than the second, the Epano Phournos Tomb. Moreover, the Kato Phournos and Lion Tombs and the Tomb of the Genii contain one or more burial-pits, which suggests that they were family-tombs. The tholoi may be neatly divided by the Panaghia ridge, the largest and finest being on the citadel side, the smaller on the other side, among groups of chamber tombs,<sup>25</sup> and facing away from the citadel (see MAP 9). Surely it is possible that these are the tombs of great nobles or noble families. Tomb Rho, also of LH IIA date, is evidence that monumental tombs might be built

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23. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pls. 45:d? (Lion Tomb), i-k (Kato Phournos Tomb), o (Cyclopean Tomb); 49, 51 (Tomb of Aegisthus); BSA 49 (1953), Pls. 26:b, 27:a, 28:b (Epano Phournos Tomb).

24. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pls. 45:a, c (Lion Tomb), h (Kato Phournos Tomb, probably LM IB), 48:u-v (Tomb of Aegisthus).

25. Cf. Tsountas's map, ArchEph 1888, 119, fig. 1.

at this period; these tombs might correspond to the 'royal' tholoi in the same way that the later Circle B shaft graves corresponded to those of Circle A.

The 'royal' tombs would then be those by the citadel, the Tomb of Aegisthus and the Lion Tomb, with diameters of 13 and 14 m. The first was certainly the earlier: it lay below the acropolis on the south-west, some way east of Grave Circle B, and faced to the south-west. It contained a great deal of pottery that was probably washed from the settlement on the acropolis and the surrounding slopes, but also <sup>fragments of</sup> vases, mostly large jars, that probably belonged to the original burials, including LH IB (or sub-LH I), LH IIA, and LM IB.<sup>26</sup> The addition of a fine facade suggests that it was used more than once. The Lion Tomb lay on the north-west side of the acropolis and faced in that direction: the few sherds published from it are advanced LH IIA.<sup>27</sup> It contained three pits: one was about the size for a single burial (2.4 x 1 x 2 m.), and was lined with finely cut poros slabs, a second was similar but more shallow and roughly cut in the rock, while the third was much larger and deeper (5.6 x 2 x 3 m.), comparable in size with the pit in the Kato Phournos tholos and the pit containing the 'king' and 'queen' in the Dendra tholos.<sup>28</sup> These can hardly

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26. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pls. 48:g,p,q (LH I "style"); 52:b (LM IB); pp. 309-10, 314-5 (LH IIA).

27. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 45:a-d.

28. Mycenae (BSA 25), 322; Dendra I, 23-4.

all have been cut at the same time, and suggest that this tomb was used several times.

Tholos tombs have also been found at Tiryns, Dendra, Berbati, and Kazarma. The first two do not concern us, since that at Tiryns cannot be dated, and that at Dendra is certainly Middle Mycenaean. Two tombs have been reported from Kazarma, one of which has been excavated.<sup>29</sup> It is only 7.2 m. in diameter and is thus smaller than those of Mycenae; it was constructed with some care, larger blocks being used in the lower courses. It was found intact; the earliest burials were in deep shafts below the floor, roofed with slabs and sealed with clay. Fine large 'palatial' jars and LH I-II pottery stood over them. They each contained one burial, two men and a woman; their goods were similar in range to those of the Circle B graves, weapons, jewellery and some precious objects. It seems that after their burial a large pyre was heaped in the centre of the tholos, in which many animal bones and two human skeletons were found; sacrifices had also taken place on a small heap of stones in front of the doorway. The excavator seemed to think that the burials were simultaneous and that these sacrifices took place as part of the funeral ceremonies. Much later, a calf was sacrificed on the 'altar' in front of the doorway; a small deep bowl was found with this sacrifice, apparently dating it to the very beginning of LH IIIC.

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29. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, "Θολωτός τάφος Καζάρμας", in AthAA 1 (1968), 236-8, 2 (1969), 3-6.

It seems that the tomb was also in use between LH IIA and LH IIIC, but we are told nothing about the burials of this period. This is the first evidence of elaborate funeral rites in a tholos tomb, but cannot be discussed further until more is known about its date.

The Berbati tholos was also small, 8 m. in diameter, and rather roughly built, but it had a finely-lined dromos and facade of cut blocks, thus belonging to Wace's second architectural group.<sup>30</sup> Furumark has stated that it contained only one burial<sup>31</sup> and consequently dated all the material to LH IIIA1, with five LH IIA jars and four LH IIB alabastra as 'heirlooms'. There was only one grave-pit, but this need not imply a single burial, and, since the grave was thoroughly robbed, there can be no certainty. There is only one similar case of 'heirlooms', in Dendra T. 10, which contained one large jar that would normally be dated LH IIA (it is very similar to jars from Berbati and Kakovatos, and might even be one of a class of LM IB imports), and three LH IIB vases.<sup>32</sup> However, although only one burial, that of a woman, was found in the grave, it had certainly been entered again after this burial, although not by robbers; also, pieces of the LH IIA jar were scattered all over the chamber and in the stomion and dromos. It is possible that some

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30. A.J.B.Wace, "A new beehive tomb: discoveries at Berbati near Mycenae", in ILN, 15th Feb. 1936, 276-9.

31. CMP, 52.

32. Dendra II, 59-95.

earlier burials had been removed for some reason. In any case, the larger number of the earlier vases in the Berbati tholos does suggest that they belong to earlier burials. This would then have been the tomb of another family of local nobility, probably not built before late LH IIA.

Early chamber tombs have been found at several sites in the Argolid. At Dendra, Ts. 6 and 8 were the earliest: they were very similar in appearance, having long dromoi, large rectangular chambers with saddle roofs and side-chambers, and they lay next to one another.<sup>33</sup> T. 6 held LH IB-IIA cups, a jar decorated with racket trees of similar early date, and other LH II material, while T. 8 held fine LH IIA vases.<sup>34</sup> The earliest burial in T. 8 was apparently in a wooden coffin, and was provided with a fine range of goods, of which the most important was a bronze shoulder-piece. Like several others in this cemetery, this burial seems to have been that of a warrior. Fine vases of LM IB or 'palatial' LH IIA type have been found in tombs at Berbati and Asine,<sup>35</sup> that are of medium size and orthodox type, and early chamber tombs of unusual types have been found at Aria, Schoinochori, and at Galataki in the Corinthia.<sup>36</sup>

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33. Dendra II, 20-31 and 37-51.

34. Dendra II, 27, fig. 29 (T. 6); 42-4, figs. 45-6, 47: 1 (T. 8).

35. Berbati, 25-6. figs. 10-11 (dromos of T.1, LM IB?); Asine, 182-8, 415, fig. 270:2, 417, fig. 271:11-12, 418, fig. 272, 419, fig. 273 (T. I:7; latter two vases in dromos).

36. BCH Chronique 79 (1955), 244 (Aria), cf. figs. 29-30 on 243; L.Renaudin, in BCH 47 (1923), 216-23 (Schoinochori T. E); N.M.Verdelis, in Praktika 1958, 136-7, Pls. 113:β, 114 (Galataki).

That at Schoinochori resembles Kephlovryso T. 5 closely in plan, and contained a piece of a ripple-decorated Vapheio cup;<sup>37</sup> those from Aria are described as 'de forme assez bizarre', and several of those from Galataki are reached by well-like pits or deep shafts rather than a dromos, like the 'pit-cave' type at Zafer Papoura.<sup>38</sup>

The evidence from the Argolid shows that the chamber tomb was introduced before the tholos. Both types of tomb seem to have become really common in LH IIA. The tholos tombs were larger and better built than the average Messenian tholos, and may have been built for individuals as well as families. The chamber tombs included both large well-cut and small carelessly cut types: a certain number of early examples were built with sidechambers. Burials in them were generally made on the floor, and moved to shafts or to the dromos by later users of the tomb: this contrasts with Volimidia, where they seem to have been moved to small pits with their goods as soon as the flesh had decomposed. To judge from Prosymna, burials in chamber tombs were at first no wealthier than at Volimidia, but LH II burials generally had a greater range of goods, and some chamber tombs contained goods comparable to those from minor tholoi in Messenia.

Some further evidence from the Peloponnese and central Greece must be considered before a theory can be constructed. In the

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37. BCH 47 (1923), 221, fig. 35.

38. A.J.Evans, The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos (1906), 15-20.

south-east Peloponnese, there are a number of early tombs. Two large tholos tombs at Analipsis, on the borders of Laconia, and Vapheio (8.65 and 10 m. in diameter), are of LH IIA date.<sup>39</sup> The former resembled the first group at Mycenae in its architecture and contained two pits, one large enough for an adult burial, the other small, perhaps an offerings pit: it had been robbed. The latter, built of dressed blocks, was situated at the top of a hill, and probably only contained one burial: the chamber had been robbed, but an intact cist contained extremely rich contents, that were arranged as if around a man's body.

At Analipsis and further to the north, nearer Tegea, cemeteries of small tholoi, that are never over 3.5 m. in diameter, have been found:<sup>40</sup> eight were excavated at Analipsis, but only one at Tegea. The pottery from the Analipsis tombs has been stated to range from LH I to LH IIIB; spindle whorls, a few daggers, figurines and a sealstone have also been found. The pottery from the Tegea tomb has been called LH III, but a small jar decorated with rows of dots on the shoulder is more likely to be LH IB-IIA,<sup>41</sup> and a small alabastron might also be early. In the area of Palaiochori, at the head of

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39. K.Romaios, in Praktika 1954, 270-86 (Analipsis); C.Tsountas, "Ἀνασκαφὴ τοῦ παρὰ τὸ Βάφειον τάφου", in ArchEph 1889, 136-72.

40. Prehistoric Laconia II, 130, note 119; F.Schachermeyr, "Forschungsbericht über die Ausgrabungen und Neufunde zur Ägäischen Frühzeit 1957-60", in AA 87 (1962), 157-8.

41. MP, 422, fig. 73, motif 76:1, cf. SG, Pl. 167:194.

the valley leading up from Leonidi on the east coast of Laconia, groups of small oval stone-built tombs have been found, that contained pottery of LH IIA and later date, including some LM IB cups:<sup>42</sup> one certainly had the dromos and stomion of a true tholos, but others, although vaulted, may have only had an entrance in one side. The contents were rumoured to have included weapons. It seems probable that all these small stone-built tombs are the local equivalent of chamber tombs, in some cases deriving from the tholos, in others more like chamber tombs built in stone. A similar small tholos, of extremely irregular shape (c. 1.50 x 0.80 m.), has been found on Zakynthos: it had a 'relieving triangle', and contained only two skeletons and two vases.<sup>43</sup> These vases have been dated LH III, but are more probably LH II, being squat jugs with spiral decoration of early type.

In the area of Epidauros Limerá, north of Monemvasia, several groups of chamber tombs of an unusual type have been found.<sup>44</sup> One group at Aghia Triada and an isolated example at Bambakia had the same shape, with a short wide dromos, facing north and sometimes stepped, off which there opened a main chamber, oval or semicircular,

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42. Prehistoric Laconia II, 131-5.

43. G.Dondas, in Deltion 21 (1966) B, 325; Pl. 334:ε shows the 'relieving triangle' clearly.

44. K.Christou, in Praktika 1956, 207-10; Prehistoric Laconia II, 136-7.

and on the east another smaller chamber (see FIG. 45). The main chambers contained long burial-pits, which may have been dug in LH III. Another group, at Palaiokastro, had only one chamber, with burial-pits. The published material from these tombs included LM IB and LH IIA, but also two pieces that are probably LH I: a plain angular stemmed cup and goblet also seem early, the latter seeming particularly close to the MH type.<sup>45</sup> Boxes of sherds in the Sparta Museum, apparently from the Aghia Triada tombs, contained a few pieces of early ripple-decorated vases, one from a rounded cup, coated inside, and another closed. These are likely to be Cretan, MM IIIB or LM IA, or the earliest Mycenaean, and suggest that these chamber tombs are as early as any in the Argolid.

In central Greece there is less evidence of early tombs than in the Peloponnese. An extraordinary group of built tombs has been found at Thorikos.<sup>46</sup> These include an ordinary round tholos, found separated from the rest on the north-east slope of Velatouri hill: it was 9.15 m. in diameter, had a walled dromos that was not centred on the line of the stromion and that ran along the slope instead of into it, and contained evidence of many burials. There were three slab-covered cists in the floor: one had not been touched, but contained only a skeleton, and was smaller than the rest. On the floor,

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45. Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pls. 68:  $\delta$ , 78:  $\zeta'$ , right (LH I); Pls. 68:  $\alpha$ - $\gamma$ , 69, 70:  $\alpha$ - $\beta$  (LM IB and LH IIA: the racket-decorated vases could be later); Pl. 77:  $\beta$ ,  $\zeta'$ , right (plain vases).

46. B. Stais, in Deltion 1890, 159-60, Praktika 1893, 12-15; Thorikos I, 27-46.

and partly over the cists, were two built enclosures. The tomb had been robbed, but there were still quite rich remains. These included two LH IIA jars, two alabaster that may be LH IIB, a stone lamp, a gold box-lid, part of an ivory pyxis, some stone arrowheads, a bronze mirror, a lead disc, a glass rosette and a few other ornaments.

The other tombs were on the saddle between the two summits of Velatouri. One was a large elliptical tholos, 9 x 3.5 m., entered at one end by a dromos whose sides were almost vaulted at the end; the tholos dome seems to have partly covered the dromos. This tomb had also been robbed, but contained a fragment of a fine LH IIA or LM IB jar, a spear and a piece of a short sword. There were also two oval stone-built tombs, 5 x 2 and 4 x 1.5 m., that were entered by short dromoi on a long side, near one end, had no stomion, and may not have been vaulted. One of these contained a large burial-shaft; it had also been robbed, but held a LH IIA pyxis of unusual type and some small objects, including gold ornaments and sealstones. It seems to have been used for cult in Archaic and Classical times. The other contained nothing but material of these periods, but may have been Mycenaean. In the same area was a rectangular stone-built tomb, roofed with slabs and with a short dromos at right angles, which contained only one burial, a large man with a plain LH III kylix, probably late: this resembled the 'Gamma-type' tombs at Eleusis, but was cut in the rock and walled with single large slabs on their sides.

The faults of construction and peculiarities of these tombs

suggest that they are products of a local tradition, the elliptical tholos being perhaps a first attempt at building a tholos. All seem to have been rich tombs of the LH IIA period; their wealth was probably founded on the exploitation of the local silver-mines. It does not seem probable that there can be any connection between Thorikos and Palaiochori, as has been suggested:<sup>47</sup> the areas are remote from one another, and there can have been no incentive for migration between them, nor is it easy to imagine such a thing happening.

There is no evidence of early chamber tombs from Attica except occasional vases of LH IB-IIA date that probably came from tombs.<sup>48</sup> Nor is there much evidence elsewhere in central Greece. A tholos tomb may have been dug into the Dramesi mound in Boeotia: a wide doorway with large lintel blocks was certainly found, but it is extremely unlikely that some MH and LH I vases and some spearheads, found south of, i.e. outside this doorway, can have anything to do with the tomb.<sup>49</sup> They are much more likely to have come from cist-tombs; there has been no proper excavation here, and it would certainly be rash to assume that this was a MH tholos tomb. At Thebes, one large rectangular chamber tomb (3.8 x 5 m.), Aghia Anna T. 2, contained two Matt-Painted jars, a small jar that may be LH IA, and

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47. Prehistoric Laconia II, 135.

48. CVA Denmark 2, Pl. 64:5, USA 4, Pl. 8:2; MV, Pl. 18:121.

49. C.W.Blegen, "Hyria", in Hesperia Supplement 8 (1949), 41.

other vases that may be LH IB, as well as LH II:<sup>50</sup> two burials with rich necklaces in a cist in its floor are probably LH II. Fine LH IIA vases have been found in several other Theban tombs.<sup>51</sup> At Chalkis, a cemetery of chamber tombs was excavated, but their shape is unknown in most cases; the vases included one or two LH IB-IIA and many LH IIA, as well as a LM IB stirrup-jar.<sup>52</sup>

The assembled evidence suggests several conclusions. No tholos of LH I date has been found outside Messenia, unless one includes the first group of tombs at Mycenae, of which the Cyclopean Tomb and Tomb of Aegisthus may belong to the very end of the period, since they contain pottery of LH IB style.<sup>53</sup> It seems a legitimate conclusion that the tholos tomb originated in Messenia and was spread from there; but a series of technical improvements was carried out at Mycenae, and the finer tholos tombs elsewhere seem to incorporate these improvements. In Messenia, tombs seem to have become larger and finer, but this does not seem to have been the home of the improvements. The reason may be that the large number of tholos

50. A.D.Keramopoulos, in ArchEph 1910, 214-34; 231-2, figs. 22-3 are the Matt-Painted, 227, fig. 17:α, δ, ε could be LH IB, and vase 8, described on 225, sounds like a LH IA jar.
51. Thebaika, 135, fig. 99: top row, 152, fig. 113:1, 155, fig. 116:4, 199, fig. 143:2, 200, fig. 145, 486, fig. 211.
52. Khalkis Tombs, Pls. 20:493 (LH IB-IIA), 16:416, 475, 20:543-4, 446, 540, 24:539, 491 (LH IIA); 79, fig. 4 (LM IB).
53. Supra, note 26; Mycenae (BSA 25), Pls. 45:n (Cyclopean Tomb), 47:c, i, 48:g, p, q (Tomb of Aegisthus).

tombs built at Mycenae within a short period allowed a school of architects to develop. Somehow, then, the tholos tomb was introduced to Messenia and, probably from there, into the Argolid.

The origins of the chamber tomb are certainly different. Kephlovryso Ts. 5 and 7 at Volimidia may well be the earliest, and seem to be collective tombs; but in LH IA the Volimidia type was stabilised as a close imitation of the tholos. Such tholos-shaped tombs do not appear as the earliest tombs elsewhere, and it cannot therefore be argued that the chamber tomb was spread from Messenia. The most important centre for the development of the chamber tomb was the Argolid. The earliest tombs here might be large and elaborate, with one or more side-chambers, or small and poorly shaped, often without a stomion. In LH IIA, fine large chamber tombs with round or rectangular plans were built; similar tombs may be found at Thebes, where the rectangular plan was particularly popular.<sup>54</sup>

Important variations of early date appear in the south-east Peloponnese, a peculiar type of double-chambered tomb near Monemvasia, and stone-built tombs, sometimes small tholoi, at Analipsis, Palaiochori and Tegea. The Monemvasia tombs may be as early as any in the Argolid, and are certainly a local type, which cannot be derived from the Argolid although similar in some ways to the tombs with side-chambers. The others may be derived from the tholos or be walled versions of the chamber tomb. At Thorikos, a similarly

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54. Thebaika, 124, fig. 89.

independent group of tombs may be identified, although it is obviously based on knowledge of the other types: the small oval tombs seem to be translations into stone of early chamber tombs, while the elliptical tholos was similar in plan to Kephlovryso Ts. 5 and 7. The arrival of the chamber tomb in Attica and at Chalkis is probably a secondary development, but at Thebes it may have appeared independently, although the same type was introduced as in the Argolid.

Behind all these variations, and arguably behind the tholos tomb as well, lies the concept of a tomb with a fairly regular plan, approached by a straight dromos, usually through a stomion. Multiple-chamber rock-cut tombs, apparently developed from the use of natural caves, were well-established in the Knossos area by MM III,<sup>55</sup> and reached Kythera in that period:<sup>56</sup> their plans were considerably more haphazard. Several chambers might open off the same dromos, and there was very little attempt to shape the chamber properly: the tomb might be enlarged as occasion served. However, small single-chamber tombs with dromos and stomion, including examples with rectangular and tholos-shaped plans, have been found at Phylakopi; they had been robbed, and cannot therefore be dated with

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55. Archaeology of Crete, 155; ArchRep 1953, 50 (Ailias); M.S.F. Hood, in BSA 53-4 (1958-9), 220-4; cf. BSA 28 (1926-7), 256, fig. 8, 260, fig. 14, 265, fig. 19, 277, fig. 32, for plans of the Mavrospelio tombs.

56. Prehistoric Laconia II, 152, cf. Mycenaeen Gazetteer, 56, no. 164.

certainty, but regularly had fragments of the early MC 'geometric' style associated with them, sometimes also later 'Mycenaean'.<sup>57</sup>

These may derive from an even earlier tradition represented by the shaft-and-chamber tombs of Manika on Euboea and the stone-built tombs with an entrance of Chal<sup>an</sup>driani on Syros.<sup>58</sup>

The earliest tombs of this type to be found in Crete are in the Mavrospelio cemetery near Knossos,<sup>59</sup> which contained LM IA, but it may be noted that T. 7 of the same cemetery has a short broad dromos, containing steps, a rudimentary stomion, and a rather regular double-chamber: this tomb dates back to MM III at least.<sup>60</sup> This strongly suggests that the type was adopted in north Crete from the Cyclades, as a more elegant and labour-saving form of the rock-cut tomb. Influence either from Crete or from Phylakopi would account for the introduction of the chamber-tomb in Greece: the variety of types may well be the result of influence from different quarters.

A distinction in purpose should probably be made between the original chamber tombs at Volimidia and the later tholos-shaped tombs, and the fine examples with one or more chambers at Prosymna. The elaboration of the latter suggest that they were intended from the

57. Phylakopi I, 234-7, fig. 193:1, 2, 5, 12.

58. Euboean Tombs, passim; Kykladika II, 80, figs. 1-10.

59. PM II, 556, fig. 351.

60. E.J.Forsdyke, "The Mavro Spelio Cemetery at Knossos", in BSA 28 (1926-7), 261, fig. 15, 263 (VIIA. 23, 26).

first for use by people of some importance, or who at least considered themselves to have some consequence; the original Kephlovryso tombs, if collective tombs, would be unique on the mainland, a development that never became popular.

The tholos tomb was probably produced in answer to a requirement for an imposing princely tomb: its round plan may have appealed to the Messenians, who were already familiar with round tumuli, and it may have been thought easier to construct on a large scale than tombs of other plans. Indeed, it is certainly possible, as has been argued, that the latest Cretan circular tombs were domed:<sup>61</sup> but the tholos tomb has features which cannot be found on circular tombs, the dromos and stomion, and does not have, as they do, additional chambers for cult and further burials built onto it. The tholos tomb cannot be derived simply from these circular tombs: rather, it may have been a combination of features from various types of Aegean tomb.

Cretan architects and skilled workmen must surely have been required to build the first tholoi and cut at least some of the first chamber tombs, since there is no evidence that anyone on the mainland had skills of this sort, and early chamber tombs such as the tholos-shaped examples at Volimidia, Ts. 25 and 26 at Prosymna, and Aghia Anna T. 2 at Thebes show considerable care in their construction. They may, indeed, have adapted types with which they were familiar to mainland requirements, thus in a sense 'inventing' the types. Such

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61. Hood, op. cit. in Antiquity (supra, note 5), 171-3.

men are likely to have been responsible for the improvements visible in the Mycenae series, given the long Aegean tradition of working with stone; the Cretan signs on the doorway of Peristeria tholos 1 are the best evidence for them. A class of professional tomb-cutters and builders seems required by the evidence: it is difficult to believe that a Mycenaean family could or would waste a considerable amount of time on constructing a tomb themselves, and the best tholoi must surely have been planned by experts. Local architects may have been responsible for the tombs in many of the areas to which the types later spread, but knowledge of the techniques required must surely have been conveyed to them in the first instance by experts.

The reasons for the adoption of these types are not clear.

Family-tombs were already known in Messenia in the MH period, in the form of burial-tumuli; elsewhere in Greece, it remained rare for a grave to be reused. The chamber tombs were certainly intended to be used by whole groups, and so, in many cases, were the tholos tombs. It is possible that this was a logical development of the grouping of tombs to be found in some late MH cemeteries of the Argolid-Corinthia and of the 'family precinct', Circle A, and special group of burials, Circle B. But this would not explain the rapid adoption of the chamber tomb in many provinces. The explanation is likely to lie in a change of attitudes towards the family and the dead, a change which may have been the result of increased contact with the civilisations of the Aegean. Any suggestion that these tombs were, in fact, the tombs of new settlers from the Aegean comes up against the clear

difference between the cultures that may be documented from other evidence, as well as the difficulty of finding a close parallel for the tholos in Crete. It may be possible in the future to document the change from cist-grave to chamber tomb in more detail; but I do not believe that the reasons for it will ever be clear, and suggest a 'religious' change as a possible hypothesis.

The introduction of the tholos tomb at Mycenae remains to be explained. There are several ways in which this could have happened. The royal family may have been looking out for a new and more impressive tomb than the shaft grave; it may have been introduced as a novelty, like Tomb Rho later, by a non-royal family and have been adopted; knowledge of it may have been introduced via a dynastic marriage; or, least likely of all, it may have been introduced by conquest. I believe that the choice lies between the first and second alternatives. It is not clear whether the other tholoi of the Peloponnese were the result of influence from Messenia or the Argolid; the latter is more likely, for they often incorporate improvements first made at Mycenae.

(2) Other Types of Tomb

The chamber tomb spread fairly rapidly, once established on the mainland, but it seems to have been adopted very late in some areas, and not to have been universal in others. A special case is that of Eleusis, where built tombs, used by whole families, had been evolved from the MH cist-tomb before the end of MH; these continued to be used throughout the Mycenaean period, and only in late LH IIIB and LH IIIC were a few chamber tombs constructed.<sup>1</sup> These were in earth, suggesting that the hardness of the local rock may have been one reason why chamber tombs were not made. A tomb of similar type has been found at Thorikos.<sup>2</sup>

In central Greece, there is further evidence of an occasional unwillingness to use the chamber tomb. At Kirrha, cist-burials continued until at least LH IIB,<sup>3</sup> while at Medeon nearby built tombs of LH IIIA date were found,<sup>4</sup> and the earliest chamber tombs of Phocis seem to have been of LH IIIB date. Built tombs of pre-LH III date have also been found near Demetrias in Thessaly and on the island of Scopelos, and LH IIIB cists at Dhimini.<sup>5</sup> Weapons and vases from

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1. Mylonas, op. cit. (supra, (1) note 3), 111.

2. Supra, ~~(1) note 42~~ p. 422.

3. Kirrha, 117, Pl. 52:74 (T. 10), 119, Pl. 52:72 (T. 24).

4. Y.Constantinou, in Deltion 19 (1964) B, 223.

5. P. Wolters, "Mykenische Vasen aus dem nordlichen Griechenland" in AthMitt 14 (1889), 263-4; Prehistoric Thessaly, 82; N. Platon, "Ὁ τάφος τοῦ Σταφύλου καὶ ὁ Μινωϊκὸς ἀποικισμὸς τῆς Πεπερήθου", in KC 3 (1949), 544-7.

Dramesi in Boeotia may well belong to a cemetery of cist-burials, extending from the late MH period into the Mycenaean.<sup>6</sup> In Attica, many pit-burials of LH IIIA-B date have been found at Athens itself,<sup>7</sup> a few at Voula,<sup>8</sup> and a 'LH II shaft grave' at Varkiza,<sup>9</sup> some Early Mycenaean children's burials have been found at Aghios Kosmas.<sup>10</sup> This is most interesting, in view of the prevalence of chamber tomb cemeteries in Attica.

Even in the Argolid, one home of the chamber tomb, cist- and pit-burials of Mycenaean date may be found. At Mycenae, the Pre-historic Cemetery continued to be used to LH IIB, not only for children's burials, but for the adult burials in the Granary Grave, a small shaft grave that is unlikely to be earlier than LH II.<sup>11</sup> At Prosymna, two cist-burials were found in one of the groups of MH graves, T. 21B, which contained the bones of five adult and LH II vases, and T. 25, which contained a single adult and a vase that is

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6. C. W. Blegen, "Hyria", in Hesperia Supplement 8 (1949), 41.
  7. E. D. Townsend, "A Mycenaean Chamber Tomb under the Temple of Ares", in Hesperia 24 (1955), 188, notes 3 and 4.
  8. J. Papadimitriou, in Praktika 1955, 99, 1957, 31-4.
  9. Alin, 106.
  10. Aghios Kosmas, 62.
  11. A. J. B. Wace, in BSA 45 (1950), 210-11 (T. 3), 214-5 (T. 7), 215-6 (T. 10), all probably or certainly LH II children's graves; Mycenae (BSA 25), 55-8 (Granary Grave).

probably LH IIIA1.<sup>12</sup> LH cist-burials, mostly containing children, have been found at Asine, one being certainly LH IIIB.<sup>13</sup> At Argos, a grave built in LH IB was used for adult burials to LH IIIA,<sup>14</sup> and slab-covered pit-graves, often associated with chamber tombs, were particularly common in LH IIIA.<sup>15</sup> Finally, at Lerna, LH I-II children's burials were found on the site,<sup>16</sup> and a late MH cemetery near the site continued in use into LH IA.<sup>17</sup> Such evidence is rare elsewhere in the Peloponnese, but apparently intramural LH cist-burials have been found at Aghios Stephanos in Laconia,<sup>18</sup> and intramural LH I-II children's burials at Malthi in Messenia;<sup>19</sup> cists have also been reported from Kafkania, near Olympia.<sup>20</sup>

These graves may be divided into various groups. First are the

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12. Prosymna I, 42, 45.
13. Asine, 128-9.
14. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, "Μυκηναϊκὸς Τάφος ἐξ Ἄργους", in Orlandos Charisterion II, 239-47.
15. Argos:Deiras, 240-41.
16. Caskey 1955, 32-4, 1956, 155-7.
17. I. Papachristodoulou, in Deltion 22 (1967) B, 182.
18. ArchRep 1960-61, 32; 1963-4, 9.
19. Malthi, 225-31, especially 226-8 (Ts. 23-4, definitely Early Mycenaean).
20. N.Yalouris, in Deltion 16 (1960), 126.

very early cists, like those of Lerna, that are direct continuations of MH practice, probably dating from before the adoption of the chamber tomb. Second, there are the children's burials; these never seem to have been placed within chamber tombs before LH III, and were clearly not always so treated even in LH IIIB. There remain a number of adult burials, as at Argos and Athens, some of them fairly well provided, which may have been buried in cists for the sake of convenience, tradition, or some social or religious reason that we cannot guess. The persisting use of the cist in these circumstances is interesting, but we need more evidence before we can guess at its significance.

In Messenia, as I have noted, the chamber tomb has only been found in the Pamisos valley and the immediate vicinity of Pylos; it is common in Elis in LH III times, and probably appeared in Achaea and the Ionian Islands well before the end of LH III, although the majority of examples seem to date from LH IIIC. The burial tumulus seems to have survived as a family tomb. Two examples in Triphylia, at Makrysia and Samikon,<sup>21</sup> were used from late MH, the latter to LH IIIA2; both had been largely destroyed, but certainly contained pit-burials both in the earth of the tumulus and in its rock-cut floor. Two others, at Gouvalari and Kissos, east of Pylos, are much larger and may have been built during the Late Bronze Age:<sup>22</sup> the

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21. Samikon; P. Themelis, "Σκελλῶς", in Deltion 23 (1968) A, 284-8.

22. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1959, 175, 1965, 121-8.

former has been described in Chapter IV. That at Kissos contained two pithos-burials in the centre, that may be MH, a slab-built cist, and burial-areas surrounded by a few courses of stones. The pottery from the burial-areas was all plain, but included clearly identifiable LH II and LH III types such as goblets, kylikes and alabastra, and local plain pottery. A tumulus at Oikopeda on Kephallenia also seems to date from late MH or at the latest Early Mycenaean, since it contained a Vapheio cup and squat jugs;<sup>23</sup> it had two layers of burials, the upper apparently of LH II-III date, for it contained glass relief-beads as well as other goods. All these tumuli contained much pottery, clay and steatite whorls, a few bronze knives and occasionally stone arrowheads, goods in every way similar to those of the chamber tombs at Volimidia or elsewhere.

Finally, there is one unusual built tomb at Mycenae, which is at present unique in Greece. This is Tomb Rho,<sup>24</sup> that was found within the area of Grave Circle B; its pottery dates it to LH IIA, well after the Circle's period of use, and it may have been placed there through ignorance of the Circle's existence, or because of some real or fancied relationship with its occupants. Roof, walls and floor were built of good ashlar blocks, within a rock-cut shaft measuring 7 x 3 m. The tomb consisted of a passage and chamber,

23. S. Marinatos, in ArchEph 1932, 10-14.

24. J. Papadimitriou, in Praktika 1954, 246-59; G.E.Mylonas, in Ancient Mycenae (1957), 158-65.

both rectangular, linked by a doorway and both four courses high; in the passage all four courses inclined to form a gable-like arch, while in the chamber only the top two inclined, and slabs were laid over the top. The joints were filled with clay and covered with alternately black and red strips of stucco. This was clearly a very important tomb; it had been plundered, but fragments of gold, ivory and alabaster, a lapis lazuli scarab, a sealstone, and pieces of three fine 'palatial' LH IIA jars show how wealthy it must once have been. It seems to have contained only a single burial, for the finds are homogeneous. It has been connected with built tombs at Ugarit,<sup>25</sup> but we may note that at Phylakopi similar rock-cut tombs, with a double rectangular chamber and gabled roof, have been found;<sup>26</sup> they may date early in the Middle Bronze Age. Whatever its origin, it is evidence that in the fifteenth century B.C. a prince or noble of Mycenae did not feel himself bound by any convention of burial and that there was still room for experiment. Taken with all the other evidence for diversity of burial-customs in Greece, it suggests that we should not be too dogmatic about the types of tomb used by the Mycenaeans.

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25. Mylonas, ibid. (supra, note 11), and Vermeule, op. cit. (supra, (1) note 6), 125, 338.

26. Phylakopi I, 235, fig. 193:7, 13.

Chapter VII(1) Architecture

Very little can be said about Early Mycenaean architecture, since at most Early Mycenaean sites good house-remains have not been uncovered. In some cases, for instance, the fortified village at Malthi, and a house at Brauron, the same buildings may have continued to be inhabited from late MH.<sup>1</sup> On the most important sites, such as Mycenae and Pylos, levelling for later constructions seems to have destroyed almost all traces of earlier buildings. Two fresco-fragments found in the East Lobby Deposit under the Palace at Mycenae<sup>2</sup> suggest that a building with frescoed walls stood there at an early date, since the latest pottery in the deposit seems to be LH IIA.<sup>3</sup> Walls, fresco-fragments and a drain under the Ramp House<sup>4</sup> cannot be closely dated: there seems to be no pure Early Mycenaean deposit under the house, and they are more probably of LH IIIA date.<sup>5</sup>

Rather fragmentary remains of early houses have been found at

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1. Malthi, 169-70; ArchRep 1956, 5.
  2. Mycenae (BSA 25), 159.
  3. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 23:m-n. Note also mention of a 'stippled fragment'.
  4. Mycenae (BSA 25), 75-6, 78.
  5. E.French, "Late Helladic IIIA1 Pottery from Mycenae", in BSA 59 (1964), 242. Mycenae (BSA 25), Pl. 14:e-f are LH IIIA2.

Eleusis and Aghios Kosmas in Attica, Voroulia, Koukounara and Peristeria in Messenia. The Eleusis house seems to have been a rectangular megaron with a smaller trapezoidal room at the back: a child's burial was found underneath the floor.<sup>6</sup> This and the remains of another house behind it can be dated by the pottery on the floor to LH IB.<sup>7</sup> In the Koukounara acropolis, a fairly large apsidal megaron, apparently built entirely of stone but not very well constructed, was found:<sup>8</sup> pottery included fragments of ripple-decorated Vapheio cups, plain goblets and handmade handleless jars, and Marinatos has stated that there were two periods of occupation, in LH I and early LH II. On Peristeria, the great tholos I was dug into earlier houses, one of which, the East House, has been partly excavated.<sup>9</sup> This was of irregular plan, but seems to have had a courtyard in front of it, walled on one side, and several rooms: pottery included a fine ripple-decorated Vapheio cup and late Matt-Painted sherds.<sup>10</sup> Under the house were many children's burials. At Voroulia, a single room containing about a hundred vases, obviously a storeroom, was found.<sup>11</sup> Finally, at Aghios Kosmas, a long

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6. Eleusis, 29-34.

7. G.E.Mylonas, "Eleusis in the Bronze Age", in AJA 36 (1932), 114.

8. S.Marinatos, in Praktika 1958, 188, 1959, 174, Deltion 16 (1960), 115.

9. S.Marinatos, in Praktika 1961, 171.

10. Praktika 1961, Pls. 132:β and 133:α.

11. S.Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 202, Deltion 16 (1960), 114.

house-wall and semicircular piece of another seem to have belonged to Early Mycenaean houses:<sup>12</sup> a floor-deposit was associated with the larger, including two Matt-Painted pithoi, a coarse jar and a fine cup decorated with double axes. Large apsidal, rectangular and oval-roomed houses at Thermon in Aetolia may belong to this early period;<sup>13</sup> their contents included local plain and painted wares of MH types, some LH I-IIA and a few pieces of LH III.<sup>14</sup> These houses were apparently built entirely of stone, and their walls were often preserved to the height of a metre. Apart from one apsidal megaron of considerable size, they are not closely related to Helladic houses, and are best left out of account.

These few examples do not suggest that there was much change from MH practice. Walls were in general no straighter, thicker or better built, the megaron remained a common type, and intramural burial of children seems to have continued. Only at Mycenae is there any suggestion that 'Minoanisation' affected architecture, at least to the extent of frescoed walls.

In the west, some fortified sites appeared. If Malthi does in fact date from MH times, it is the earliest known; other examples that are probably early have been found at Pylos and Peristeria. These

12. Aghios Kosmas, 48-52.

13. A.K.Romaios, in Deltion 1 (1915), 227-56, 2 (1916), 179-84.

14. E.g. Deltion 1 (1915), 270, fig. 38, and 2 (1916), 184, fig. 6:top left; cf. S. Benton, "The Ionian Islands", in BSA 32 (1931-2), 239.

are similar to that of Malthi in being built of comparatively small stones, and having simple gaps in the wall as entrances.<sup>15</sup> That of Peristeria seems to have had buildings on the inside, and probably covered the only accessible approach, from the south-west. That of Pylos seems to have enclosed the acropolis, and was entered from the north-west by a comparatively steep stair. Walls flanked an entrance-passage on the inside, as in the case of some of the Malthi gates. The style of these walls is so simple that they could well have been constructed without any foreign influence; they are infinitely less sophisticated than those of Aegina, Aghia Irini and Phylakopi of the same period, which all have MB predecessors.<sup>16</sup> No fortifications can be proved to have existed anywhere else except possibly at Brauron;<sup>17</sup> the 'MH' wall at Mycenae has been shown to be a LH IIIB terrace-wall.<sup>18</sup> In general, our evidence suggests that in the Early Mycenaean period architectural skill was expended on tombs alone.

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15. C.W.Blegen, in AJA 64 (1960) 155-6, and Pylos I, 19, 29; S.Marinatos, in Praktika 1964, 93-4, with fig. 2 on 91.

16. Aegina, 11, fig. 9, and 24; Caskey 1968 B, Pls. 2-3; Phylakopi I, Pl. 2.

17. J.Papadimitriou, in Praktika 1956, 79 (wall dated to MH).

18. Supra, Chapter III (7) note 8.

(2) Weapons and Implements (See FIG. 19)

The Shaft Graves provide the clearest evidence of the transformation undergone by mainland metallurgy at the end of the LH period. Comparable groups of bronzes have only rarely been found elsewhere, since so many princely tombs have been robbed; however, the tholoi of Kazarma, Vapheio, Pylos and Kakovatos contained comparable weapons or groups datable to the Early Mycenaean period, while other groups in the Scopelos grave and with the last burial in Routsis tholos 2, though of Middle Mycenaean date, have similar features. The rich LH IIB-III A graves of the Argolid and their contemporaries in the Knossos area have produced many fine examples of Middle Mycenaean weapons, which serve to show the course that development took.

The sword, the most popular weapon of the Shaft Graves, is quite well-represented elsewhere. Type A swords or fragments of them were found in the Vapheio tholos and in each of the Kakovatos tholoi, and no less than eight were found in the Vagenas tholos near Pylos.<sup>1</sup> Four were found with the last burial in Routsis tholos 2, one probable example and gold plating for the hilt of another in the Scopelos grave.<sup>2</sup> A "slender, strongly-ribbed rapier" in the Kato Englianos

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1. N.K.Sandars, "The First Aegean Swords and their Ancestry", in AJA 65 (1961), 26; cf. also Appendix to this chapter. The Vagenas swords are on show in Chora Museum.

2. Sandars, op. cit. (supra, note 1); N. Platon, "Ὁ τάφος τοῦ στα βύλου καὶ ὁ Μινωϊκὸς ἀποικισμὸς τῆς Πελοποννήσου", in KC 3 (1949), 550, Pls. IA', IB'. The Routsis swords are on show in Chora Museum, and clearly visible on the plan in Antiquity 31, (1957), 98, and in Pl. 8b.

tholos and a "LH I sword" from a site near Olympia may also be of this type.<sup>3</sup> Finally, two examples have been found in Epirot tumuli, that are surely imports from some part of Greece, or conceivably from Crete.<sup>4</sup>

Of these, the eight blades from the Vagenas tholos are the earliest, probably contemporary with those of the Shaft Graves; an example from the Vajzë tumulus in Epirus was over 1 metre in length and was found with a 'shoe-slot' spear of MH type and a slotted spear of Cycladic type, all features which suggest that it is of early date.<sup>5</sup> The examples from Vapheio and Kakovatos are in LH IIA contexts, and one from the Pazhok tumulus in Epirus was found in the same grave as an imported LH IIA Vapheio cup.<sup>6</sup> The pottery of the Scopelos grave is predominantly LH IIB, but some is earlier;<sup>7</sup> the latest vase in Routsis tholos 2, which presumably dates the latest burial, is LH IIIA1.<sup>8</sup> Their dates of deposition thus cover the Early and Middle Mycenaean periods.

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3. C. W. Blegen, in AJA 43 (1939), 574; N. Yalouris, "Trouvailles mycéniennes et prémycéniennes de la Région du Sanctuaire d'Olympie", in First Mycenaological Congress I, 178.
  4. N.G.L. Hammond, Epirus (1967), 320 and fig. 20:G, and "Tumulus-burial in Albania, the Grave Circles of Mycenae, and the Indo-Europeans", in BSA 62 (1967), 81-2, Pl. 19:1.
  5. N.G.L. Hammond, Epirus (1967), 337.
  6. Hammond, op. cit. in BSA (supra, note 4), Pl. 20:1.
  7. This grave will be fully discussed in Chapter IX; cf. Platon, op. cit. (supra, note 2).
  8. AA 77 (1962), 277-8, fig. 54.

Where the lengths of fully-preserved swords are known, these are long: that from the Vapheio tholos is 94 cm. long, that from Kakovatos tholos B 92 cm. long, and that from the Vajzë tumulus over 1 metre long. The Vagenas blades also look long, and one from Routsis seems as long as any on the mainland. The blades are usually unadorned: one from the Vagenas tholos has spirals along the midrib, a fragment from Kakovatos tholos A has a rounded midrib beautifully decorated with a repeated motif, apparently traced, that looks like a pair of displayed wings,<sup>9</sup> and the Vajzë sword has a grooved midrib. Several have gold-plated rivets, which are arranged in various ways: most if not all seem to have had rivets in the shoulder, and five of the Vagenas swords have long tangs with several rivets, but others only have one or two rivets in the tang. Most of the Vagenas swords also have ivory pommels. The sword from Kakovatos tholos B has an ivory hilt decorated with gold nails, like some Shaft Grave swords, and very fine gold hilt- and pommel-covers from the Scopelos grave are decorated with spirals and maeanders very much in the style of some Shaft Grave hilts.<sup>10</sup>

Some of these weapons, particularly the more ornate ones, may have been exported from Mycenae to other parts of Greece, and one or two might be heirlooms, but it seems likely that there was a local school in Messenia that continued to make them in the Middle Mycenaean

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9. AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 12:9.

10. Sandars, op. cit. (supra, note 1); Platon, op. cit. (supra, note 2) Pl. IB'.

period. No other type of sword has been found here except three relatively short Type D swords. Only one of these is in a good context, with the last burial in Routsis tholos 2; another was found with a hoard of bronzes in the dromos of Tragana tholos 1, and a third, shown on a photograph in the German Archaeological Institute, was found near Samikon in 1908.<sup>11</sup> The Routsis sword was rather ornate, with an extension for pommel-attachment, a gold hilt-plate and two gold-plated rivets in the blade. The Tragana sword had a rivet at the base of the hilt and two in it, the Samikon sword three in the hilt only, and an extension for pommel-attachment. Both of these seem to have had flat-topped midribs; the Samikon sword is about 50 cm. long. Thus all have individual features, but there is no way of telling whether they are imports or locally made.

The absence of the Type B sword from Messenia is not surprising for hardly any example has been found in a good context outside the Shaft Graves.<sup>12</sup> One short example, 53 cm. long, was buried with the male burial in the Dendra tholos;<sup>13</sup> this could have been an heirloom. A sword from the Roman market at Smyrna and a hilt-fragment supposedly from Thera are definitely of this type, but the

11. For Routsis, see the plan in Antiquity (supra, note 2); S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1955, 248 (Tragana, on show in the National Museum at Athens); German Archaeological Institute photo Triphylien 128.

12. Sandars, op. cit. (supra, note 1), 27-8.

13. Dendra I, 54-5, Pl. 21.

provenance of the first is uninformative, of the second slightly dubious.<sup>14</sup> Other swords from the Dodecanese seem to be of locally developed hybrid types, without close parallels in the Aegean. A weapon from T. 518 at Mycenae is stated to be a sword by Sanders, but is in fact a flat dagger;<sup>15</sup> gold hilt-plates that would be appropriate to Type B swords have been found in Ts. 81 and 88.<sup>16</sup>

The only other sword of the Early Mycenaean period found so far is a short sword of unknown type, found with a male burial in Pit 2 of the Kazarma tholos, probably of LH IIA date.<sup>17</sup> The first datable Type C and D swords were found with rich burials of LM II and LM IIIA1 date in the Knossos area; similar burials have been found at Dendra, no earlier than Late LH IIB, and other swords of these types have been found in tombs at Mycenae and Prosymna.<sup>18</sup> They were in general somewhat shorter than the swords of the Shaft Graves, but often

14. For Smyrna, Sanders, op. cit. (supra, note 12); the Thera blade was acquired for the Danish National Museum in 1873 in Athens, and was published by J.J.A.Worsaeae, "Des Ages de Pierre et de Bronze dans l'ancien et le nouveau Monde", in Extrait des Memoires des Antiquaires du Nord 1880 (1881), 231, no. 13, 234; I am informed by Mr. Dietz of the Danish National Museum that the purchaser was "very careful about the localization", but it is difficult to imagine in what circumstances finds could be made on Thera, where the pre-historic remains were covered by metres of volcanic ash.
15. Chamber Tombs, Pl. 7:49.
16. N.K.Sanders, "Later Aegean Bronze Swords", in AJA 67 (1963), 124.
17. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, "Θολωτὸς τάφος καὶ ζάρμας", in AthAA 2 (1969) 4.
18. Sanders, op. cit. (supra, note 16), 119-29, 144-8.

had similar ornate hilts and ribbed or grooved midribs and blades. Both had flanged hilts and shoulders, to which the handle was riveted; the Type C sword had horned shoulders, the Type D sword horizontal angular or round projections on them, which give it a characteristic cruciform appearance. These additions were clearly designed to protect the hand to some extent, either from a glancing blow resulting from a missed thrust, or possibly from a cutting-stroke, which could have been more safely made with these shorter and better-hilted blades. These swords also spread to the Dodecanese, and to Epirus and the Balkans, where a local industry seems to have become established, and two Type D swords reached as far as Lyons and Jutland.<sup>19</sup> The complete absence of Type C and rarity of Type D in Messenia are therefore somewhat remarkable. It is possible that the relatively small resources available to the Messenian princes kept the technology of the area backward, possible too, that the rulers of Mycenae monopolised the services of the master-smiths and jealously guarded the secrets of the new types.

The evidence suggests that, though widespread, swords were not especially common outside Mycenae itself. Apart from the short sword just mentioned, no example was found with the early burials of the Kazarma tholos. None were found with the early burials of Routsis tholos 2, with the later burials of the Vagenas tholos, or with the early chamber tomb burials of Mycenae, Prosymna and

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19. K.Randsborg, "'Aegean' Bronzes in a Grave in Jutland", in Acta Archaeologica 38 (1967), 1-27, especially 9-12.

Volimidia, nor is there much evidence that even suggests them in the small Messenian tholoi. Moreover, the single sword of the Vapheio burial, otherwise richly provided, contrasts strongly with the large numbers placed with the Shaft Grave burials; the last burial in Routsis tholos 2, and the male burial in the Dendra tholos, are the only later burials to be provided with more than two swords. Swords may well have been more common than the finds suggest; but they seem to have been too precious to be laid in a grave more often than every once in a while.

Other hand-weapons have been found more frequently. The 'Slachtmesser' appears several times. The Cyclopean Tholos at Mycenae held one, 44.5 cm. long, with a hilt flanged to hold a wooden haft; the hilt was once covered with gold leaf.<sup>20</sup> Two in the Vapheio tholos, 49 and 50 cm. long, had tubular handles without rings at the end; two with rings were found in the Vagenas tholos and Routsis tholos 2.<sup>21</sup>

Daggers of the short broad and ogival types were common in the Argolid and Messenia, and were also found in the Scopelos grave.<sup>22</sup>

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20. Mycenae (BSA 25), 290-91, fig. 51.

21. ArchEph 1889, 158-9, Pl. 8:9; the two from Messenia are on show in Chora Museum.

22. E.g. op. cit. (supra, note 15); Prosymna II, fig. 197 (LH IB), 49, figs. 214:1 (LH IA), 215:9 (LH IIB); Dendra II, 44, fig. 48:1 (late LH IIA). Both types were found in the Vagenas tholos and Routsis tholos 2 (on show in Chora Museum); cf. also Praktika 1964, Pl. 94:γ, bottom (Kephlovryso T. 3), and Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pl. 123β:2 (Makryisia tumulus); Platon, op. cit. (supra, note 2), Pl. IA':bottom left.

Flange-hilted blades shaped more like a small 'Slachtmesser' were found with the early burials in the Vagenas tholos. Prosymna T. 25 also contained a dagger, 28 cm. long, shaped like a miniature Type A sword, with a flat-topped midrib, in a LH IIA context.<sup>23</sup> Comparable but later and larger derivatives from the Type A sword were found in T. 78 at Mycenae and T. 44 at Zafer Papoura.<sup>24</sup>

Inlaid daggers of the Shaft Grave type appear in several tomb groups of the Early and Middle Mycenaean periods. The earliest that can be dated are those from the Vapheio tholos, which are LH IIA.<sup>25</sup> Two daggers with the uppermost burial in Cist 2 of Routsis tholos 2 cannot be much later, for a large jar decorated with an octopus in late-looking Marine Style stood on the cover-slabs.<sup>26</sup> Others were found in Ts. 3 and 14 at Prosymna, and associated with a tholos tomb at Pharai in Achaea;<sup>27</sup> of these T. 3's earliest pottery was LH IIIA1, T. 14 contained LH IB-IIIB, and the material associated with the Pharai dagger fits a Middle Mycenaean date. The daggers vary in

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23. Prosymna II, 44, fig. 196:right.

24. ArchEph 1897, Pl. 7:3-3γ; A.J.Evans, The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos (1906), 62, fig. 109:44b, 107, fig. 111.

25. ArchEph 1889, Pl. 7:1-2; cf. S.Marinatos, "The 'Swimmers' Dagger from the Tholos Tomb at Vapheio", in Essays presented to Sir Arthur Evans (1927), 63-71.

26. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 205, Pl. 101; Pl. 100:α shows jar.

27. Prosymna I, 169, 184, 330-2, Pl. 2 (facing 330); N.S.Zafeiropoulos, in Praktika 1956, 194, Pl. 88:α.

length from 16 to over 25 cm., and one blade in the Vapheio tholos was really a miniature, 6.8 cm. long. A blade-fragment 'from Thera', simply decorated with a row of gold double-axes, seems from its size and appearance to have belonged to a sword;<sup>28</sup> it is the only other weapon decorated in this technique to be found in the Aegean, and may well be early. These could all be the products of a continuous tradition in the Argolid, or all have been made in the period of the Shaft Graves or just after, but deposited at various dates, or be the work of local or travelling craftsmen in the Peloponnese. With the exception of the daggers from Pharai and T. 3 at Prosymna, which are decorated with very similar arching dolphins, these daggers do not seem to be closely linked in style. Other ornate daggers have not been found: but gold- or silver-plated rivets remained common. T. 529 at Mycenae held a faience pommel, probably once inlaid, the Berbati tholos a gold pommel-cover, and a third dagger with the two inlaid ones at Routsis had a gold ring at the end of the handle,<sup>29</sup> otherwise daggers seem to have been rather utilitarian. The great daggers of the Shaft Graves were no longer found: the later blades do not exceed 25 cm. in length.

Examples of the long spear have been found in Prosymna T. 26, the Vapheio tholos, Routsis tholos 2, the Scopelos grave, in a hoard

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28. This is published with the Type B hilt (supra, note 14), and its reported provenance is open to the same objection; cf. also E.T.Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age (1964) Pl. 13:c.

29. ILN, 15th Feb. 1936, 278, fig. 10; Chamber Tombs, 220.

from the dromos of Tragana tholos 1, and probably near Olympia.<sup>30</sup> The examples from Vapheio, and one from Routsis, deep in Cist 2, are of LH IIA date; those from Prosymna and Scopelos, and a second from Routsis, with the last burial, are in Middle Mycenaean contexts, and those from Tragana were in the same hoard as the Type Di short sword noted above, and probably slightly later than the rest. They vary in length, the Scopelos example being the longest known, c. 40 cm., while those from Vapheio were 32.7 and 28.5 cm. and that from Prosymna 26.6 cm. in length. Marinatos has suggested that the smaller one from Vapheio was a javelin, and has argued that a bronze-plated shaft, 78 cm. long, found in the same tomb, was its shaft.<sup>31</sup> If this is correct, several other spears could be classified as javelins, for the Vapheio example is by no means the smallest known; but, since it resembles the large weapons of the Shaft Graves in shape and proportions, I believe that it and others, whose lengths may be as little as 24 cm., are thrusting-spears. Most of these spearheads do not differ from those of the Shaft Graves except in size, and do not always have a ring fixed around the socket. The Prosymna spearhead and the later one from Routsis had decorated sockets, the one

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30. Prosymna II, 49, fig. 214:4; BSA 38 (1936-7), 188, fig. 1:A-B (Vapheio); BCH Chronique 80 (1956) 283, fig. 9 (Tragana); Platon, op. cit. (supra, note 2), Pl. IA': bottom centre; Yalouris, op. cit. (supra, note 3). Those from Routsis are on show in the Chora Museum.

31. S. Marinatos, "Συζήτηση", in BSA 38 (1936-7), 187-91.

horizontally fluted, the other having arch-decoration; both can be paralleled at Knossos.<sup>32</sup> The two Tragana spearheads were decorated identically, with fluting on socket and blade, close to one from Knossos,<sup>33</sup> and with probably traced festoon-decoration around the socket. There is no trace in these few examples of any development towards the "one-piece" spear of the type found in many Knossian graves and the Dendra tholos.<sup>34</sup> The Tragana blades may be imports from Knossos or the Argolid; they are among the few ornate weapons to reach Messenia.

Two axes found in the Vapheio tholos are unlikely to have been weapons.<sup>35</sup> One is a Syro-Egyptian type, the only example found in the Aegean, and was individual in being fitted onto a shaft, rather than into it like those of the Near East. There are three representations on sealstones of long-robed men carrying such weapons, one from the Vapheio tholos itself. Evans has suggested that such figures, on these and other gems, are priests, and the weapon may therefore have a sacral character.<sup>36</sup> The other is an axe-adze, a common Aegean tool, but has decoration of figure-of-eight shields on the shaft, comparable with relief double-spirals of an axe-adze

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32. BSA 47 (1952), 262, fig. 8: AJ.3, and 51 (1956), 91, fig. 4:11.

33. BSA 51 (1956), 91, fig. 4:11.

34. H.W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World (1964), 123.

35. ArchEph 1889, Pl. 8:1-2.

36. PM IV, 404-5, 412-9.

'from Mochlos':<sup>37</sup> this too was probably special in some way.

Arrowheads were commonly found, singly and in groups. They are particularly common in Messenian graves, including most tholoi and several of the Volimidia chamber tombs, but a fair number have also been found in the Argolid and elsewhere,<sup>38</sup> most recently with the two original male burials in the Kazarma tholos.<sup>39</sup> Finds suggest that the bronze arrowhead became fairly common in LH IIA,<sup>40</sup> but they were extremely rare in Messenia.<sup>41</sup> Bronze examples were consistently long and triangular, sometimes with slightly rounded sides, and with long barbs; they usually had two or more holes by which they were fastened to a wooden shaft (see FIG. 19). Stone ones, of chert, flint or obsidian, were usually round-shouldered and rather elongated, with incurved barbs (see FIG. 19), and were often extremely finely worked. It has been suggested that fine flint was imported from Egypt for them,<sup>42</sup> but the brown flint thought to be Egyptian can be found in Messenia.<sup>43</sup> However, obsidian certainly continued to be

37. Catling, op. cit. (supra, note 34), 91-2.

38. H.-G. Buccholz, "Die Pfeilglätter aus dem VI. Schachtgrab von Mykene und die helladischen Pfeilspitzen", in JdI 77 (1962), 1-58, especially 24-5, 36-44, 50-58.

39. Protonotariou-Deilaki, op. cit. (supra, note 17), 4, 6, fig. 7.

40. Buccholz, op. cit. (supra, note 38), 51-3.

41. Buccholz, op. cit. (supra, note 38), 50, no. 15, is the only certainly early example.

42. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 205.

43. Chamber Tombs, 222-3.

imported. They may vary considerably in length; those from Volimidia range from 1 to 5 cm., those from Kakovatos tholos A from 2.6 to 5.5 cm., and bronze ones generally from 3 to 6 cm.

It cannot be stated certainly that these were used for war, but it may be considered likely. The Battle Krater and Siege Rhyton certainly show archers in battle, and the large numbers of arrowheads in the Knossos Arsenal and Pylos Palace must surely have been intended for war. The heavy preponderance of Messenia in the distribution echoes an earlier west Greek archery tradition, and it may be argued that the early fortifications of Messenia were intended to give some protection from the bow. They were not always found as grave-goods, however; examples in the dromos of Routsis tholos 2 seem to have been fired at the door, presumably as a ritual, possibly apotropaic, act.<sup>44</sup>

The one-edged knife is a very widespread type, and was almost certainly used mainly as a domestic implement. There were two main types, both having a long blade and straight tang with rivet-holes, and one also having flanges on the tang<sup>45</sup> (See FIG. 19). Such knives are among the commonest grave-goods in the poorer Argive and Messenian graves,<sup>46</sup> and also appear in many tholoi, and in the

44. S. Marinatos, "ΠΑΛΑΙΠΡΥΛΟΣ", in Das Altertum 1 (1955), 145.

45. N.K. Sandars, "The Antiquity of the One-Edged Knife in the Aegean", in ProcPS 20 (1955), 174-9 (Types Ia-b), listed 188-93.

46. Praktika 1953, 250, fig. 11:bottom (Koroniou T. 6), 1964, Pl. 94:γ, top and bottom (Kephlovryso T. 2); Deltion 23 (1968) A, Pls. 123:β. 1, 3, γ (Makryisia tumulus).

Scopelos grave. Both types seem to have continued popular to the Late Mycenaean period. They were rarely longer than 20 cm., and were only occasionally decorated with grooves along the back of the blade. The broad-bladed 'razor', though well-represented in the Shaft Graves, is very rare. A blade from the Vapheio tholos might be one, but has an uncharacteristic handle with rivets along it;<sup>47</sup> Dendra T. 8 contained one certain example, with silver-plated rivets, that may be dated to the end of LH IIA.<sup>48</sup>

Other tools and implements have not often been found. Pit 5 in Koroniou T. 6 of the Volimidia cemetery contained a whole set of tools of bronze and stone, including a small chisel and awl, two knives, an "arrow-polisher", a whetstone, a hammer and a rubber.<sup>49</sup> Other Volimidia graves contained similar articles,<sup>50</sup> whetstones have been found in some tholoi,<sup>51</sup> and stone tools of some sort in Kakovatos tholos A.<sup>52</sup> Blades and blocks of flint and obsidian have also been found in the Volimidia graves, and it has been suggested that a block of flint might be put in a grave from which the dead

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47. ArchEph 1889, Pl. 8:7.

48. Dendra II, 44, fig. 48:2.

49. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1953, 239, 250, fig. 11.

50. E.g. Praktika 1965, Pl. 119:α.

51. AthAA 2 (1969), 6, fig. 7 (Kazarma); C.W.Blegen, in AJA 62, (1958), 178, "two hones" (Vagenas); Dendra II, 46, fig. 49:2.

52. AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 13:6-7.

man might knap his own blades and arrowheads.<sup>53</sup>

The history of mainland metallurgy between the Shaft Grave period and that of the rich Middle Mycenaean burials is not at all clear. The evidence from the Argolid is very poor, and that from elsewhere is scanty and scattered. So far, it does not seem that there were any major changes. The flanged hilt, introduced at the end of MH, reached Messenia together with the Type A sword, but there is no good evidence that the Type B sword, for which it was adopted, was found outside the Argolid. Unflanged types of knife continued by the side of flanged ones, and daggers continued to have separate hilts; the innovation was not universally adopted. The introduction of bronze arrowheads is a noticeable but not especially significant change. Being simple flat blades they could have been produced easily, and the holes in the blade for attachment may have meant they were more secure on the shaft; but only rulers with considerable quantities of bronze to spare could have afforded to have them produced, and they may have been no sharper or otherwise better than the fine stone arrowheads.

The next major developments, the Types C and D swords and the "one-piece" spears, appear fully developed in the tombs of the Argolid and Knossos. It is not at all clear in which area they were originally developed, but it is very probable that they were produced eventually in both. Their extreme rarity elsewhere, with

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53. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1964, 82.

the exception of groups in Epirus and the Dodecanese, suggests that the rulers of Mycenae and Knossos virtually monopolised the master-smiths. They continued the tradition of large and ornate weapons established by the Shaft Graves to the end of the Middle Mycenaean period. Thereafter, weapons were short and rather drab; this cannot entirely be due to the absence of royal hoards, for two tombs in the rich Dendra cemetery, Ts. 2 and 7, contained weapons of this type.<sup>54</sup> The change can hardly be due to the greater practicality of shorter weapons, for this would not prevent the production of ornamental types. Possibly the resources used on such show-pieces were diverted into other channels such as fine architecture, but it may be that the fall of Knossos has something to do with it. The palace of Knossos must surely have patronised the workshops of the area, and, given the primacy of Crete in all the arts, may have served as a source of craftsmen and inspiration for the mainland. When it fell, it may have taken with it irreplaceable skills.

The evidence provided by the groups of weapons for methods of warfare is limited. It is difficult to argue, for instance, that the reason for the rare appearance of the spear is that it was more useful in battle; in fact, most groups include both swords and spear-heads, in varying proportions. Swords became generally shorter, but spears might be longer than most of those of the Shaft Graves.

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54. Dendra I, Pls. 32:5-6, 33:4, II, 34, fig. 35:1-2.

Heavy knives and slashing weapons are still found, but they do not seem to have continued beyond the Early Mycenaean period; eventually, shorter dirks seem to have combined sword and knife. Arrowheads were most often found with early or poor burials; there were none in the Vapheio tholos. The Kazarma burials are unusual in being provided with only short swords or daggers, knives and arrowheads, though otherwise quite rich. On the whole, the evidence suggest that warfare continued to be a matter of relatively few, well-armed champions. These seem to have used both sword and spear. A sealstone from Gouvalari tholos 2 shows two helmeted warriors duelling with two swords, apparently one long and one short,<sup>55</sup> but this is presumably a representation of a duel rather than a battle-scene. Another from Tragana shows one spearing another, and a third, maybe dead, wearing a helmet:<sup>56</sup> this is too schematised for it to be clear what is happening. A third, from the Vapheio tholos, shows two men in a chariot, one holding a spear.<sup>57</sup> These are less informative than the series of battle-scenes on the Shaft Graves material, but do not suggest any change in the methods of waging warfare.

The evidence for armour is confined to the remains of boar's tusk helmets, a bronze shoulder-piece from Dendra T. 8, which seems

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55. Praktika 1955, Pl. 92:α .

56. CMS I, 298.

57. CMS I, 262.

to be late LH IIA in date,<sup>58</sup> and representations of helmets and shields on sealstones. The single shoulder-piece has been identified as such by comparison with the complete corslet from Dendra T. 12, of early LH IIIA1 date;<sup>59</sup> it is evidence for the earlier development of armour of this sort, but it is difficult to believe that many warriors can have afforded such costly gear or that even the wealthiest kings could outfit many men in this way. The fact that it was felt to be something worth having gives some idea of the ferocity of Mycenaean warfare; but it does not have any wider significance.

It seems that these developments took place to a great extent at Knossos primarily, and were taken over at Mycenae. Unfortunately, we know virtually nothing of Cretan weapon-smithing in LM IB, and it is the direct patronage of the mainland dynasty which seems to have been ruling in LM II. The local smiths at Mycenae do not seem to have evolved beyond the Type B sword until the arrival of new influences from Crete, and the local school in Messenia that I have postulated seems to have been content to go on making Type A swords. In general, it seems most likely that Crete, and particularly Knossos, was the source of master-smiths and of new developments; but the smiths working at Mycenae were certainly capable of innovation on their

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58. Dendra II, 43, Pl. 7:1-2 ("helmet"); the vases 42-4, figs. 45-47:1 date the earliest burial, to which this belongs.

59. The full publication of this and of the excavation of the grave by N.M. Verdelis, "Neue Funde von Dendra", in Ath Mitt 82 (1967), 1-53.

own account in the Shaft Graves period, and it may be that the picture presented by the finds is misleading.

(3) Jewellery and Ornaments

Outside the Shaft Graves, Early Mycenaean jewellery is represented by a few groups from rich tombs. These show varying degrees of connection with the Shaft Graves, but in no case is there anything like the extraordinary variety of ornament, and some types, such as earrings, are missing altogether. Material from the tholoi of Kakovatos, Peristeria, Routsis and Pylos cover the Messenian sequence from LH I to LH IIB. Material from the tholoi of Kazarma and Vapheio and the chamber tombs of Mycenae, Prosymna and Dendra may be dated LH IIA, and a single head-band from the Scopelos grave early LH IIB, at latest.

Head-bands and related ornaments appear in various groups, but never in quantity. The largest known is from the pit in Peristeria tholos 3, which resembles those of Shaft Grave I in its simple decoration.<sup>1</sup> Another was found in the Vagenas tholos at Pylos, with very similar decoration: this came from an early pit, while one of the jar-burials contained four silver half-bands, apparently piped with copper wire.<sup>2</sup> Two pieces of gold plate from the Sotirianaka hoard in eastern Messenia, also of early date, might be parts of head-bands or similar ornaments.<sup>3</sup> Six gold double bands

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1. Praktika 1965, Pl. 134, cf. SG, Pl. 35:184.

2. Lord William Taylour, The Mycenaeans (1964), 81, and information; on show in Chora Museum.

3. R. Hope Simpson, "Identifying a Mycenaean State", in BSA 52 (1957), 239-40; on show in the National Museum.

from Routsis are probably the 'gold leaves' mentioned as coming from the lower layers of cist 2 in tholos 2, and are therefore likely to be of LH IIA date.<sup>4</sup> A gold crown of very thin leaves, perhaps made for the grave, was found with the early woman's burial in the Kazarma tholos,<sup>5</sup> and a small gold head-band in the Scopelos grave.<sup>6</sup> The tradition of these ornaments clearly did not survive with any strength past LH I.

Cutout dress-ornaments have only been found in Messenia. The owl is found in Peristeria tholos 3, the Kanakaris tholos at Pylos, and Kakovatos tholos A.<sup>7</sup> Peristeria tholos 3 also contained flying birds, pairs of opposed butterflies, rosettes, nautili, and five-petalled flowers.<sup>8</sup> The Kanakaris tholos also held butterflies and rosettes,<sup>9</sup> Peristeria tholos 1 ivy-leaves and tholos 2 bees.<sup>10</sup> Large pieces of thin gold leaf impressed with patterns such as rosettes and leaves were often found in the Messenian tholoi,

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4. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 205; on show in the National Museum.
  5. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, "Θολωτὸς τάφος Καζάρμας", in AthAA 2 (1969), 4.
  6. KC 3 (1949), Pl. IA'.
  7. Praktika 1965, Pl. 140:γ, centre; AJA 58 (1954), Pl. 9:16; AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 13:28.
  8. Praktika 1965, Pls. 140:α-γ, 141: α, δ-ε.
  9. C.W.Blegen, in AJA 58 (1954), 32.
  10. Praktika 1962, Pl. 99:α (bees), 1965, Pl. 129:α (ivy-leaves).

apparently including both dress-ornaments and pendants.<sup>11</sup> More substantial gold ornaments have rarely been found: we may note a toad from Kakovatos tholos A and a figure-of-eight shield from the Kanakaris tholos, both decorated with granulation.<sup>12</sup> Simple grooved conical gold ornaments, shaped like snail-shells, have been found in Kakovatos tholos A and Routsis tholos 2:<sup>13</sup> they were probably belt-ornaments.

Examples of bone objects decorated in complex geometric style are almost confined to Kakovatos. Tholos A contained buttons, pommels, plates, and a long strip, of bone and ivory, decorated with concentric circles and variations of the whirling figure and spiral;<sup>14</sup> the decoration was sometimes filled with a red substance. Tholos C contained a gold button and button-cover.<sup>15</sup> A single plate from Asine has decoration so close to that of the Kakovatos examples that it is probably of the same date, despite its presence in a MH layer.<sup>16</sup>

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11. Blegen, op. cit. (supra, note 9); S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1962, 97, Pl. 101, 1965, Pls. 140: left, 142:β; K. Müller, "Alt Pylos II. Die Funde aus den Kuppelgräbern von Kakovatos", in AthMitt 34 (1909), 300, Pl. 14:13.
  12. AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 13:27; AJA 58 (1954), Pl. 9:14.
  13. AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 13:1, 7; ILN, April 6th, 1957, 542, fig. 13.
  14. Müller, op. cit. (supra, note 11), 282-7.
  15. Müller, op. cit. (supra, note 11), 300, Pl. 14:10.
  16. Asine, 256-7.

The ornate pin also survived for a while. In the Vapheio tholos were found one silver object with a flower-like head, probably a pin, two bronze pins with stone heads and two silver pins with apparently glass heads, mounted in granulated gold caps.<sup>17</sup> A bronze pin from Kakovatos tholos B was probably wrapped in gold leaf;<sup>18</sup> fragments of two others were found with it. A silver pin from Routsis tholos 2 had a gold-capped amethyst head.<sup>19</sup> Bronze pins with biconical heads have been found in Routsis tholos 1 and Kephalaovryso T. 6 at Volimidia.<sup>20</sup> Ivory pins were found with two of the jar-burials in the Vagenas tholos, and long bronze pins with disc-heads seem to have been used to pin their shrouds.<sup>21</sup> These simpler ivory and bronze pins probably derive directly from the MH tradition; those with fine heads are clearly related to the Shaft Grave pins, but do not seem to have been common.

The ornaments of these rich graves have no other close link with the Shaft Graves except gold tassels.<sup>22</sup> Early Mycenaean gold beads

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17. C. Tsountas, in ArchEph 1889, 150-51, 153, Pl. 7:3-4, 16.

18. Müller, op. cit. (supra, note 11), 298.

19. Marinatos, op. cit. (supra, note 4).

20. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 203 (Routsis), 1965, 107, Pl. 119:β (Volimidia); the Routsis pin is on show in the National Museum.

21. C.W. Blegen, in AJA 62 (1958), 178, and Taylour, op. cit. (supra, note 2).

22. Praktika 1962, Pl. 99:β, 1965, Pl. 141:γ (Peristeria); Blegen, op. cit. (supra, note 9) (Kanakaris).

of various types have been found at Vapheio, Kakovatos, Peristeria, and in Prosymna T. 44, the only common types being simple globular beads, others with granulated decoration, and clusters of soldered grains.<sup>23</sup> The Prosymna group included a fine lotus-shaped bead, two gold 'lantern-beads', imported from the Near East or imitations of the type, two gold caps from an amber bead, and two gold leaf fragments that seem to have covered relief-beads decorated with nautili, probably of glass;<sup>24</sup> Kakovatos tholos B held a fine gold cockle-shaped relief-bead.<sup>25</sup> A single tubular bead with wire spirals is reported from a Pylos tholos,<sup>26</sup> and multitubular spacers were found in Peristeria tholos 3 and perhaps the Kanakaris tholos.<sup>27</sup> The relief beads of gold and glass that are so typical of later Mycenaean and Minoan graves have still hardly appeared:<sup>28</sup> some glass beads from Mycenae T. 516 and Kakovatos tholos A are 'Nuzi-beads', imported from the Near East.<sup>29</sup>

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23. ArchEph 1889, Pl. 7:7, 10-12; AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 13:38-41, Praktika 1965, Pls. 129:β, 140:δ, centre; Prosymna II, 136, fig. 541:6-13.
24. Prosymna I, 269-71; cf. R.A.Higgins, Greek and Roman Jewellery (1961), 74, on 'lantern-beads'.
25. AthMitt 34 (1909), Pl. 14:2.
26. Higgins, op. cit. (supra, note 24), 81-2.
27. Praktika 1965, Pl. 140:δ, centre; Blegen, op. cit. (supra, note 9).
28. Some examples from the Prosymna tholos (Mycenae (BSA 25), 335-7) cannot be certainly dated.
29. Chamber Tombs, 66, fig. 25:5b-c; Müller, op.cit. (supra, note 11), 277; cf. T.E.Haevernick, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des antiken Glases XIII: Nuzi-Perlen", in JRGZM 12 (1965), 37.

Other beads of various materials are of simple shapes, well known in Crete and Greece,<sup>30</sup> many of them simple globular types. The most popular stone is amethyst, which does not appear on the mainland before LH I, but there are also many carnelian and some rock crystal. A fine series of beads from Kakovatos are of lapis lazuli,<sup>31</sup> and glass beads of simple shapes were found in the Kazarma and Kakovatos tholoi, Routsis tholos 2, Prosymna T. 44 and Dendra T. 6.<sup>32</sup> Those from Routsis came from cist 1, the burial of an adolescent girl, and were polychrome.<sup>33</sup>

Tholos A at Kakovatos contained some five hundred amber beads mostly lentoids, but including some spacer-beads and ring-pendants.<sup>34</sup> Amber beads were common in Messenian tholoi, notably those at Pylos, Peristeria and Routsis, and were also found in the tholoi at Vapheio and Analipsis, and in Prosymna T. 44, but after the Shaft Graves large necklaces were rarely found outside Messenia.<sup>35</sup> A particular type of spacer-bead, found certainly in Shaft Grave Omicron and Kakovatos

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30. Higgins, op. cit. (supra, note 24), 74-5.

31. Müller, op. cit. (supra, note 11), 276, 295-6.

32. Protonotariou-Deilaki, op. cit. (supra, note 5); Müller, op. cit. (supra, note 11), 296; S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 204; Prosymna I, 214; Dendra II, 29.

33. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 204.

34. Müller, op. cit. (supra, note 11), 278-81.

35. Cf. D.E.Strong, Catalogue of the Carved Amber in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities (1966), 16-18 (list of sites and discussion).

tholos A, probably the Circle A shaft graves, and reported from Peristeria and Pylos,<sup>36</sup> has close connections with spacer-beads of the Wessex culture, but it is not clear what the significance of this is. There is no doubt, however, that the amber is 'Baltic' (with one early exception),<sup>37</sup> and must come from Europe: quite probably it was imported in strings or necklaces.

The evidence presented suggests that, while techniques such as granulation and glass-production were becoming well-established, there was no real jewellery tradition. The Shaft Graves contained a heterogeneous collection of material, without any truly common types. Some of this can be paralleled in Messenia, but finds from the Kazarma and Vapheio tholoi show hardly any connections with the Shaft Graves. The relief-bead tradition was probably already developing in Greece and Crete, but it is first clearly dominant in the rich tombs of the Middle Mycenaean period and their counterparts at Knossos. In Messenia, the early tradition seems to have taken longer to die, but there are no signs of it in Routsis tholos 2, whose burials are mostly LH IIA-III A1. It is probable that the Shaft Grave tradition of ornament was too expensive to maintain: in Shaft Grave I the ornaments were already more stereotyped and of much thinner gold. There may even have been a change of dress, to the 'Minoan court dress'

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36. S. Marinatos, on Praktika 1962, 95-6, and information from Lord William Taylour.

37. C.W. Beck, "Amber in Archaeology", in Archaeology 23 (1970), 7-11.

shown on later frescoes and sealstones; this did not offer much scope for the attachment of large plate-ornaments or many cutouts. The later dress-pins seem to be associated with male burials, however, suggesting that male dress remained different from the Cretan.

(4) Vases and Vessels of Precious Materials (See FIG. 29)

I have discussed in Chapter IV the hoards of gold vessels from Sotirianaka and Peristeria tholos 3 in Messenia, and have also described the early finds in the Koryphasion and Vagenas tholos tombs. If these are left out of consideration, the evidence for early Mycenaean metal vases becomes very meagre, and that for vases and vessels of other materials is not much better. The cist in the Vapheio tholos contains a collection that may be fairly compared with the contents of the Shaft Graves; after that, the next really rich groups are to be found in the Dendra tholos and chamber tombs.<sup>1</sup> The 'Golden Treasure' from Mycenae, a fine group of gold vases and jewellery, cannot be closely dated between LH IIA and LH IIIA1.<sup>2</sup> It is a fair assumption that much of the evidence has been lost through the robbery of so many princely graves, but the remains do suggest that collections of Shaft Grave type were beyond the means of all but the wealthiest princes.

The group of metal vases from the Vapheio cist should be considered first, since it provides the bulk of the evidence for this class.<sup>3</sup> Most important are the two gold cups decorated with scenes

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1. Dendra I, Pls. 10, 12, 16, 17, 33:bottom left; Dendra II, 75, fig. 88, 88-9, figs. 99-100; AthMitt 82 (1967), Pls. 24-5, 31.
  2. H.Thomas, "The Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae", in BSA 29, (1938-9), especially 66-72, 77-9 (on vases), 84-6 (on date). The goblets resemble most closely the LH IIIA1 clay shape, cf. MP, 58, 60, fig. 16: no. 264.
  3. C. Tsountas, in ArchEph 1889, 145-7.

of the trapping of bulls, which have given their name to the Vapheio cup-shape. The decoration is marvellously executed in repousse work, and is generally agreed to be of Cretan workmanship; quite probably the cups are direct imports. With them were two silver Vapheio cups, decorated with groups of horizontal grooves, a shallow saucer-like silver cup with a flat gold rim and raised gold handle, finely decorated, a deeper silver bowl without handles, the remains of a small silver vase, a silver dipper, bronze brazier and bronze ladle.<sup>4</sup> There were no traces of large copper or bronze vessels. The collection is thus rich but, apart from the gold cups, undistinguished.

An unlooted early grave in the Kazarma tholos held a silver cup and a gold and silver 'lamp', possibly a shallow saucer of the type found in the Vapheio tomb.<sup>5</sup> The Berbati tholos held the gold-plated rim and handle of another such saucer.<sup>6</sup> Cist 2 in Routsis tholos 2 held a small plain silver Vapheio cup and remains of a larger silver cup.<sup>7</sup> The Scopelos grave, of early LH IIB date, held a silver cup and a two-handled amphora, basin and other vase-fragments of bronze.<sup>8</sup> A gold pyxis-lid was found in the round

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4. Cf. H. W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World (1964), 184, for identification of brazier.
  5. Protonotariou-Deilaki, op. cit. (supra, (3) note 5).
  6. ILN 15th Feb., 1936, 278, figs. 9, 11.
  7. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 205.
  8. N. Platon, in KC 3 (1949), 551.

tholos at Thorikos,<sup>9</sup> fragments of a silver cup inlaid with gold discs and pendent lilies, and possibly of other inlaid vases, in Peristeria tholos 2,<sup>10</sup> and fragments of bronze vessels in the Prosymna tholos, Peristeria tholos 2, and Kakovatos tholos A and probably C.<sup>11</sup> The probable fragment from Kakovatos tholos C was decorated with repousse spirals, and one from the Prosymna tholos had a piece of gold leaf adhering. The 'Golden Treasure' contained a set of four gold goblets with handles ending in dog's heads, with a tall graceful stem attached separately, a rounded gold cup with a flat rim, and a thick rod of gold, possibly a horizontal handle, upon which is seated a very finely-portrayed lion.<sup>12</sup> A silver handle of the Vapheio type with inlaid decoration was found in the Pre-historic Cemetery area at Mycenae.<sup>13</sup> Finally, a small stemmed cup in the British Museum should be mentioned, of gold, with a gold-plated silver handle and a copper or bronze core to strengthen the foot:<sup>14</sup> it is plain except for the handle, which has notches along the edge and three grooves down the centre. It is likely that this

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9. B.Stais, in Praktika 1893, 14.

10. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1962, 95, Pl. 100:α.

11. Mycenae (BSA 25), 335-6; Marinatos, op. cit. (supra, note 10); Müller, op. cit. (supra, (3) note 11), 276, 300, no. 5.

12. BSA 29 (1938-9), Pls. 26:a, 27, 28:d.

13. A.J.B.Wace, in BSA 48 (1953), 9, Pl. 4:c.

14. F.H.Marshall, Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum, (1911), 63, Pl. 73:820.

is a genuine cup of Early or Middle Mycenaean date, unlike the decorated gold stemmed cups noted in Chapter III.<sup>15</sup>

Very little of this evidence can be securely dated to the Early Mycenaean period. We can say that cups and goblets of gold and silver, and large household vessels of bronze or copper, continued to be made; the cups included the Vapheio cup and shallow saucer, which typically has a gold-plated rim. Evidence from the Middle Mycenaean period, mainly from Dendra, shows that extremely fine gold and silver vases, including inlaid cups and bowls, continued to be made; the household vases of bronze or copper became smaller and finer, the lekane, hydria, and lamp being most popular, while the vast cauldrons and kraters vanished.<sup>16</sup> The geometrically-decorated gold and silver cups seem to have vanished, also the large vases of gold and silver. There had been, in fact, a great restriction of types, although techniques such as Metallmalerei, repousse decoration and covering with gold leaf were maintained.<sup>17</sup> The gold cups from Vapheio are clear evidence that Cretan influence was very strong; there is further evidence from Dendra and in the close connection between the bronze vessels of the mainland and Crete.<sup>18</sup>

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15. Supra, Chapter III (4) (iv), note 24.

16. Catling, op. cit. (supra, note 4), 171-2 (lekane), 175-6 (hydria), 182-4 (lamp), 187-8 (disappearance of large types).

17. Supra, note 1, for examples of all three; also N.S.Zafeiropoulos, in Praktika 1956, 195 (gold-covered bronze vase).

18. Dendra I, 45, considers gold cup of Cretan origin; Catling, op. cit. (supra, note 4), 166-88.

Many stone vases have been found on the mainland, but they may all be considered imports from Crete, or from Egypt via Crete.<sup>19</sup> The most popular type is the lamp; all the mainland examples are low and many have a decorated rim. Examples have been found in tholoi at Mycenae, Prosymna, Vapheio, Thorikos, Pylos, Peristeria and Kakovatos.<sup>20</sup> Egyptian baggy alabastra and pointed jars of alabaster were also common; examples have been found in tholoi at Prosymna, Vapheio and Kakovatos and also from Chalkis, probably from a chamber tomb.<sup>21</sup> The Prosymna tholos also contained a 'blossom bowl' and a cylindrical alabaster jar,<sup>22</sup> the Vapheio tholos three conical cups,<sup>23</sup> and Mycenae T. 26 a fine two-piece rhyton with a depressed globular body, decorated in relief with octopuses in the finest LM IB style.<sup>24</sup> A carinated stone bowl was found in the Scopelos grave.<sup>25</sup>

Some of these may be imports of Middle Mycenaean date; certainly many more stone vases were imported in that period, being

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19. P.M. Warren, "Minoan Stone Vases as Evidence for Minoan Foreign Connexions in the Aegean Late Bronze Age", in ProcPS 33 (1967), 37-56.
20. Warren, op. cit. (supra, note 19), 41-3; Müller, op. cit. (supra, (3) note 11), 293; Praktika 1965, Pl. 128:β; information from Lord William Taylour, on Kanakaris tholos.
21. Aegyptiaca, 44 (Vapheio), 59 (Prosymna), 100 (Chalkis); Müller, op. cit. (supra, (3) note 11), 293.
22. Warren, op. cit. (supra, note 19), 38 (C.1), 40 (I).
23. Warren, op. cit. (supra, note 19), 40 (H. 3-5).
24. Warren, op. cit. (supra, note 19), 47 (S. 9).
25. Platon, op. cit. (supra, note 8); on show in the National Museum.

found especially in the chamber tombs of Mycenae. Both these and the Early Mycenaean examples are only rarely of outstanding quality, most being of common Cretan types. Fine stone rhyta, including bull's and lion's heads, have been found on the mainland, usually in Late Mycenaean deposits, but must surely have been imported before the fall of Knossos and quite probably at an Early date.<sup>26</sup>

There are some other imports of rare materials. The Prosymna tholos contained a piece of an Egyptian faience bowl, maybe of the reign of Hatshepsut or Tuthmosis III;<sup>27</sup> fragments of faience vases have also been found in the Koryphasion tholos, as noted above, and Kakovatos tholos A.<sup>28</sup> A single ostrich-egg rhyton in the Dendra tholos is probably an import from Crete.<sup>29</sup> A glass bowl from Kakovatos tholos B is probably an import from the Near East.<sup>30</sup>

All these are rarities, certainly not produced locally. A gold plate from Peristeria tholos 1 probably decorated the side of a box: it shows seven men in what may be a procession.<sup>31</sup> This suggests a connection with the famous Harvesters' Rhyton,<sup>32</sup> and it might be Cretan. Inlays of gold, lapis lazuli, ivory and glass from

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26. Warren, op. cit. (supra, note 19), 46-7.

27. Aegyptiaca, 59, no. 103.

28. Supra, Chapter IV, note 5; Müller, op. cit. (supra, (3) note 11), 293.

29. Dendra I, Pl. 3.

30. Müller, op. cit. (supra, (3) note 11), 296-7, fig. 13.

31. Praktika 1965, Pl. 128: γ.

32. C. Zervos, L'Art de la Crète(1956), 376-7.

Kakovatos tholos A presuppose inlaid boxes, gaming boards or even furniture.<sup>33</sup> An ivory pyxis from the round tholos at Thorikos is decorated with linked spirals, similar to those on a Cretan stone lamp;<sup>34</sup> two other ivory pyxides, maybe of Middle Mycenaean date, were found in Routsis tholos 2, one decorated with spirals and the other with dolphins.<sup>35</sup> It is difficult to be certain whether these were also imports or made on the mainland; they may well be local, since there is a flourishing ivory-industry later.<sup>36</sup>

This survey suggests that the demonstrable interest of the Shaft Grave rulers in metal vases continued throughout the Early and Middle Mycenaean period. However, stone vases and sometimes vases of other material continued to be imported, and there was perhaps a growing interest in ivory. The evidence is too scrappy to say much more than this; types and techniques prevalent in the Middle Mycenaean period may have been developed at this time, but we cannot be sure. It is just as possible that the local industries continued without much innovation until the period of closer contact between Knossos and the mainland let in a flood of new ideas. It seems certain that previous vases and vessels of any material remained confined to the graves of the wealthiest people, reigning princes and great nobles,

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33. Müller, op. cit. (supra, (3) note 11), 273-4, 277-8.

34. Stais, op. cit. (supra, note 9).

35. Marinatos, op. cit. (supra, note 7).

36. H.J.Kantor, "Ivory Carving in the Mycenaean Period", in Archaeology 13 (1960), 14-25.

unlike the later jewellery.

(5) Sealstones and Rings

At the end of the Middle Bronze Age, specifically Cretan types of sealstone and seal-ring were introduced on the mainland. During the Early Mycenaean period, these became increasingly popular, particularly in the Argolid. Certainly early examples were found in the Kazarma tholos, Tomb Rho and T. 516 at Mycenae and T. 44 at Prosymna, probably early examples in Ts. 518 and 529 at Mycenae and Ts. 6 and 8 at Dendra, and sealstones and rings from Middle Mycenaean tombs were common. The distribution elsewhere was peculiar: the Vapheio tholos held two rings and forty-one sealstones, the Kambos tholos one sealstone, the Vagenas tholos two sealstones, the Kanakaris tholos four sealstones, a gold ring and a gold gem, Tragana tholos 1 one sealstone, Gouvalari tholos 1 seven sealstones, Gouvalari tholos 2 one sealstone, cist 2 in Routsis tholos 2 five sealstones and a gold gem, and a single cylinder seal was found in the excavation dump from the Kakovatos tholoi.<sup>1</sup> Three sealstones were found in the smaller oval tomb at Thorikos.<sup>2</sup> Most of these are either certainly of Early Mycenaean date or probably no later than Middle Mycenaean: a fine group of nine sealstones, two cylinder

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1. Nearly all the early stones are published in CMS I. Exceptions are the Kazarma stones, mentioned by E. Protonotariou-Deilaki in "Θολωτὸς τάφος Καζάρμας", in AthAA 2 (1969), 4, 6; the Gouvalari stones, published by S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1963, Pls. 89:α, 92.

2. Thorikos I, 34.

seals and a gold-plated gem were found with the last burial in Routsis tholos 2, definitely of Middle Mycenaean date.<sup>3</sup>

There are some remarkable gaps in this distribution; while one would not expect sealstones to have been found in the tholoi at Mycenae, which had been virtually emptied, it is surprising that none were found in the tholoi at Prosymna, Berbati, Analipsis, Peristeria and Thorikos, all of which contained the remains of rich finds, or in the often untouched chamber tombs of Volimidia. The significance of the gaps in the distribution is not clear; but it is surely not a coincidence that so few should have been found outside the Peloponnese; apart from the Thorikos sealstones, one or two have been found in early contexts in Theban chamber tombs, and one in the Scopelos tomb.<sup>4</sup> The preponderance of the Argolid is also very marked, and continues in later Mycenaean times: large numbers were found in the chamber tombs of Mycenae and on the site.

I do not propose to spend much space on consideration of the origin of various sealstones. In the early period, there are three possibilities: that the stone was made in Crete and somehow brought to the mainland, that it was made on the mainland by a Cretan seal-worker, or that it was made on the mainland by a mainland seal-worker. In his analysis of the Vapheio sealstones,<sup>5</sup> Kenna assigned

3. CMS I, nos. 275-86.

4. CMS I, no. 406 (Thebes, Aghia Anna T. 2), 409 (Scopelos); also Thebaika, 129, fig. 93 (Kolonakion T. 3; probably early).

5. V.E.G.kenna, Cretan Seals (1960), 80-81.

only a few to the last category, and divided the rest fairly evenly between the first two categories. I do not always find his criteria for distinguishing the two categories very satisfactory, but I do not doubt that most were made by Cretan seal-workers. The large groups of sealings from Aghia Triada and Zakro include many parallels in subject and style;<sup>6</sup> the difference between the mainland and Cretan groups seems to consist to a large extent in the relative popularity of subjects, shapes, and materials. One class, the 'talismanic' stones, appears only very rarely on the mainland, and the examples may be confidently taken to be Cretan 'imports'.<sup>7</sup> Some other stones have very close parallels in Crete, such as the one from Tragana tholos 1, and are probably from Cretan workshops.<sup>8</sup>

The interest in scenes of action and in animals shown by one large class of Shaft Grave art was continued by the sealstones. The lion, bull, deer, wild goat, and griffin appear commonly; dogs, birds and fish also occur. These animals may be shown alone, in various static postures,<sup>9</sup> walking or running,<sup>10</sup> wounded by an arrow

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6. D. Levi, "Le Cretule di Haghia Triada e di Zakro", in ASAtene 8-9 (1925-6), 71-201.
  7. CMS I, nos. 6 (Grave Mu), 7 (Grave Omicron), 136 (Mycenae T. 103?), 207-8 (Prosymna T. 3), 261 (Vapheio; cf. Kenna, op. cit. (supra, note 5), 44-5, 113-6.
  8. CMS I, no. 263; cf. CMS VII, 170, no. 130.
  9. E.g. turning (CMS I, no. 235), crouching (CMS I, nos. 236, 246), sitting or lying (CMS I, nos. 240-1, 243-4, 272), standing (CMS I, nos. 269, 271, 288).
  10. CMS I, nos. 233 (b), 234, 238, 245.

or spear and often collapsing,<sup>11</sup> or, in the case of lions and griffins, attacking other animals.<sup>12</sup> Birds may be shown in flight or standing in pairs,<sup>13</sup> dogs scratching.<sup>14</sup>

Scenes involving human beings are relatively rare. The Vapheio tholos group includes two examples of a man or men in a chariot, and another is reported from the Kazarma tholos.<sup>15</sup> The Vapheio group also includes two examples of men fighting animals;<sup>16</sup> other examples were found in the Vagenas tholos and the Kanakaris tholos.<sup>17</sup> The Kakovatos cylinder-seal shows a man attacking a lion, with a 'genius' in the background.<sup>18</sup> A sealstone from Gouvalari tholos 1 shows two warriors fighting with swords;<sup>19</sup> the Tragana stone and its Cretan counterpart seem to show variations of a scene involving three men, one helmeted and one having a spear or shaft.<sup>20</sup>

11. CMS I, nos. 242, 248; Praktika 1963, Pl. 92:γ-δ,η.

12. CMS I, nos. 251-254; Praktika 1963, Pl. 92:β.

13. CMS I, nos. 146, 273, 406 (in flight), 258 (pair).

14. CMS I, nos. 255-6.

15. CMS I, nos. 229-30; Protonotariou-Deilaki, op. cit. (supra, note 1).

16. CMS I, nos. 227-8.

17. CMS I, nos. 290, 294.

18. M. A. V. Gill, "The Minoan 'Genius'", in AthMitt 79 (1964), 21, note 69, Pl. 7:2.

19. Praktika 1963, Pl. 92:α.

20. Supra, note 8.

The Vapheio group also includes many stones showing human beings with animals in mythical or religious contexts, two probably showing priests alone, and two showing the Cretan 'genius' carrying a ewer;<sup>21</sup> no other early context contains similar stones.

On a few stones, animals or their elements seem to be used to form a pattern, with no relation to real life. On two stones from the Vapheio tholos, lions are used, on a third bulls, on a fourth dolphins, and on a fifth rams' heads;<sup>22</sup> four dolphins form a whirling figure on a stone from Gouvalari tholos 1.<sup>23</sup> Objects and abstract patterns were rarely found; apart from the few certainly 'talismanic' stones, the Vapheio tholos held one showing a boar's tusk helmet, the Vagenas tholos and oval tomb at Thorikos stones that may be 'talismanic', and Gouvalari tholos 1 one with a quatrefoil design.<sup>24</sup> A stone from Shaft 2 in Routsis tholos 2 shows a dragonfly and butterfly opposite one another.<sup>25</sup>

Few gold rings may be certainly attributed to the Early Mycenaean period, but it seems that, after the Shaft Graves, they were normally decorated with religious scenes or motifs. Rings from the

21. CMS I, nos. 220-6, 231-2 (genii).

22. CMS I, nos. 239 (bulls), 249-50 (lions), 257 (rams' heads), 259 (dolphins).

23. Praktika 1963, Pl. 92:ζ .

24. CMS I, nos. 260 (Vapheio), 299 (Vagenas); Thorikos I, 34; Praktika 1963, Pl. 92:ε .

25. CMS I, no. 270.

Vapheio and Kanakaris tholoi, the Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae, and the Tiryns Treasure are of this type;<sup>26</sup> but the steatite ring set in copper from the Vapheio tholos, and the gold gem from Shaft 2 in Routsis tholos 2 show lifelike scenes, and the gold gem from the Kanakaris tholos shows a displayed griffin, possibly a royal symbol but not necessarily religious.<sup>27</sup>

By far the most popular shape is the lentoid; some three-sided lentoid prisms occur. The amygdaloid, glandular and flattened cylinder shapes are also found, and seem to be particularly common in Messenia; the only early cylinder seal was found at Kakovatos, and might well be an import. The most popular materials in the Vapheio group are agate, onyx, sardonyx and jasper; carnelian, chalcedony, amethyst, haematite, lapis lazuli and clay were also represented by one to four examples, and many were capped with gold. Amethyst appeared surprisingly often elsewhere, considering how rarely it seems to have been used in Crete;<sup>28</sup> the example from Mycenae T. 516 was of glass, and several of the Messenian examples were of stones rare or not closely identifiable.<sup>29</sup> The Vapheio

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26. CMS I, nos. 17-18 (Mycenae), 179-80 (Tiryns), 219 (Vapheio), 292 (Kanakaris).
27. CMS I, nos. 253 (lion attacking bull), 274 (netted bull), 293.
28. CMS I, nos. 5, 13, 217, 233, 257, 263, 272-3, 290-91, 299 are definitely early; cf. Kenna, op. cit. (supra, note 5), 159 (seven), CMS IV, xviii (one), VII, xvii (three), VIII, xvii (three). (Several of these are of amethystine quartz, and some are attributed to the mainland.)
29. CMS I, nos. 259 (bluish porous stone), 270 (dark stone), 294 (conglomerate); S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1963, 119, no. 6 (grey porous stone).

tholos contained not only a steatite ring set in copper, but two gold rings with purely ornamental bezels, inlaid with glass, and an iron ring with a plain bezel.<sup>30</sup> Part of a similar iron ring was found in Kakovatos tholos A.<sup>31</sup>

The distribution of the material is too random, and too few stones are closely dated, for any regional tendencies to emerge clearly. Several of the Messenian sealstones show a remarkable stiffness which it is difficult to parallel in the Argolid, the Vapheio group, or contemporary Cretan work.<sup>32</sup> As a whole, the mainland shows a greater interest in lions and griffins and considerably less interest in mythical or religious scenes than Crete. It may also be suggested that the mainland sealstones more often show an actual scene than use action to form a pattern.

Lastly we may consider how these sealstones were worn and used. One of the first on the mainland, from Grave Mu, was the centre-piece of a necklace, and those from Graves Omicron and Gamma were also found with other beads.<sup>33</sup> The flattened gold cylinders from Grave III were found on or near the bodies.<sup>34</sup> Stones from the Kazarma tholos seem to have formed part of a necklace, and two

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30. C. Tsountas, in ArchEph 1889, 147, 151-2, Pl. 7:8-9.

31. Müller, op. cit. (supra, (3) note 11), 275.

32. CMS I, nos. 269, 272, 288; Praktika 1963, Pl. 92: .

33. G.E.Mylonas, Ancient Mycenae (1957), 145, 155 (Mu, Omicron); J. Papadimitriou, in Praktika 1952, 446 (Gamma).

34. Mycenae and Tiryns, 173.

groups in the Vapheio cist may have been strung together.<sup>35</sup> A single stone seems to be worn as a wrist-ornament in the Cupbearer Fresco in Knossos.<sup>36</sup> Since nearly all the examples found were perforated, I think that it is a fair assumption that they were worn as ornaments: the rings might have been worn separately, on the finger or hung around the neck or wrist.

There is no evidence to suggest that they were considered more than superior ornaments at this period. However, no 'palatial' deposits in which one might expect sealings have been found. The large collections in the Vapheio tholos and Routsis tholos<sup>2</sup> suggest that they could be valued for their own sake; but the rest of the distribution suggests that most people owned only one or two. The unevenness of the distribution seems to militate against any theory of general seal-use by princes, but it is not impossible that some were used in this way. I think it more likely that they were valued, perhaps 'lucky' ornaments, which might sometimes be worn as symbols of rank or have religious connotations.

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35. Protonotariou-Deilaki, op. cit. (supra, note 1); Tsountas, op. cit. (supra, note 30), 146-7.

36. H. II, 705, fig. 441.

(6) Miscellaneous (See FIG. 28)

Certain objects and classes of object found in the Early Mycenaean tombs are worthy of mention, either for their intrinsic interest or because they belong to truly Mycenaean classes, found in later contexts as well.

One of the most purely indigenous is the boar's tusk helmet. Plates of boar's tusk were found in MH contexts, and plates that seem to have belonged to helmets in Shaft Graves Nu, IV and V.<sup>1</sup> They have also been found in the Epano Phournos and Kazarma tholoi, Ts. 517 and 518 at Mycenae, T. 14 at Prosymna, and T. 6 at Dendra, in the Argolid,<sup>2</sup> and in the Analipsis and Gouvalari tholoi, Kakovatos tholos A, and some Volimidia tombs, in the south and west Peloponnese.<sup>3</sup> Their distribution thus includes both princely tombs and less wealthy chamber tombs, and they may have been quite common.

The mirror and comb, though often thought of as typical 'female' goods, have often been found with clearly male burials. Both were found in the Shaft Graves.<sup>4</sup> The mirror, a simple round bronze

1. G. E. Mylonas, Ancient Mycenae (1957), 149, 151; SG, 112, nos. 521-31, 151, no. 877, 154, nos. 893-6.

2. M.S.F.Hood, in BSA 49 (1953), 79 (Epano Phournos); Protonotariou-Deilaki, op. cit. (supra, (5), note 10), 4 (Kazarma); Chamber Tombs, 73, no. 36, 85, no. 59: Prosymna I, 419; Dendra II, 30, no. 25.

3. Praktika 1954, 282, fig. 11 (Analipsis); S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1959, 177-8 (Gouvalari); Müller, op. cit. (supra, (3) note 11), 292-3 (Kakovatos); examples from Volimidia Koroniou T. 5 and Angelopoulou T. 7 are on show in Chora Museum.

4. SG, 82, nos. 292-3, 84, no. 310 (combs), 142, no. 785 (mirror).

plate with a handle of wood or ivory, has been found in Prosymna Ts. 14 and 25, the Vapheio tholos, and the round tholos in Thorikos, as well as with the last, Middle Mycenaean, burials in Routsitholos 2 and the Vagenas tholos, the Routsitholos examples having fine handles.<sup>5</sup> Combs were found in the Kazarma tholos, Mycenae Ts. 518 and 529, Prosymna T. 14, Kakovatos tholos A, the Analipsis tholos, and Routsitholos 2:<sup>6</sup> they have a wide range of decoration, varying from raised ribs and dots, in one case with pendent lilies, to incised geometric decoration or, on one of the Routsitholos combs, a fine scene of leopards or wild cats attacking ducks.<sup>7</sup> All probably had a down-curving handle, attached separately, and separate teeth fitted into a slot.

Bronze scale-pans were found in many tombs; the Vapheio and Kazarma tholoi, Mycenae T. 529, Prosymna Ts. 26, and 44, hold certainly early examples.<sup>8</sup> These may be related to the sets of gold scales in Shaft Grave III.<sup>9</sup> The Vapheio tholos contained not only

5. Prosymna I, 350-51; B.Stais, in Praktika 1893, 14 (Thorikos); C. Tsountas, in ArchEph 1889, 145 (Vapheio); S.Marinatos, in Praktika 1956, 205 (Routsitholos); Lord William Taylour, The Mycenaean (1964), 80-81 (Vagenas).
6. Protonotariou-Deilaki, op. cit. (supra, note 2); Chamber Tombs, 84, nos. 57-8, 105, nos. 33-4 with figs. 42-3; Prosymna I, 282; Müller, op. cit. (supra, note 3), 285, 288; Praktika 1954, 284, fig. 15 (Analipsis); Marinatos, op. cit. (supra, note 5).
7. S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, Crete and Mycenae (1960), Pl. 222: lower.
8. H.W.Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World (1964), 185-6; Protonotariou-Deilaki, op. cit. (supra, note 2).
9. SG, Pl. 34:81-2.

the scale-pans but the remains of bronze balances, which have not been identified in other tombs.<sup>10</sup> It also contained a set of bronze and lead weights: similar lead weights have been found in the Kazarma tholos, with a different burial from the one provided with scales, in the Thorikos round tholos (a single example, coated white and decorated in red), and in unknown contexts at Mycenae.<sup>11</sup> The early distribution of sets of scales seems confined to the east Peloponnese and Thorikos, but some examples that are not closely datable have also been found in the Vagenas tholos.<sup>12</sup> Their significance is doubtful: they might conceivably have some ritual use, since the examples in Shaft Grave III are clearly symbolic, being too flimsy for actual use.

More probably of some religious significance are an offering-table from Prosymna T. 44 and a female figurine from Peristeria tholos 2.<sup>13</sup> The table was found with a set of vases which had pierced bottoms, probably used for ritual libations.<sup>14</sup> Other pieces of figurines have been found at Peristeria, that cannot be closely dated, and one of the earliest of the Mycenaean figurines was found

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10. Tsountas, op. cit. (supra, note 5), 156, Pl. 8:3, 5.

11. Tsountas, op. cit. (supra, note 5), 145, 156-7; Stais, op. cit. (supra, note 5); Protonotariou-Deilaki, op. cit. (supra, note 2); SG, 168.

12. Information from Lord William Taylour.

13. Prosymna II, 136, fig. 539; Praktika 1962, Pl. 97: γ.

14. Prosymna I, 213.

with the last burial in the Vagenas tholos;<sup>15</sup> it seems possible, on this evidence, that the Mycenaean figurine might have been developed in Messenia. The Peristeria example has a general resemblance to examples from MM sanctuaries in East Crete,<sup>16</sup> and might well be of Cretan origin.

There is some evidence for the existence of a class of ritual or ceremonial staffs, a class also probably represented in the Shaft Graves.<sup>17</sup> Mycenae T. 529 held the remains of a long ivory rod,<sup>18</sup> Ts. 530 and 532 fragments of bronze rods, which might however be ingots.<sup>19</sup> Kakovatos tholos A held a fragment of a bone staff that seems to have been hafted in bronze, which may have been silver-plated, and banded with gold.<sup>20</sup> The bronze head and foot of a 'sceptre', from Kolonakiou T. 26 at Thebes, may well be associated with the 'palatial' LH IIA vases and other signs of a rich early burial in this grave.<sup>21</sup>

A few other objects must be noted in passing: gold or silver

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15. E.g. Praktika 1962, Pl. 97:α-β (Peristeria); Taylour, op.cit. (supra, note 5), Pl. 26 (Vagenas).
  16. S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1962, 96; cf. KC 5 (1951), Pls. E:13, ST:2-4 (between pp. 128-9).
  17. Cf. SG, 84, fig. 20, and Chapter III (2), pp. 204, 325, 330.
  18. Chamber Tombs, 105, no. 32.
  19. Chamber Tombs, 109, no. 17, 113, no. 22.
  20. Müller, op. cit. (supra, note 3), 274.
  21. Thebaika, 197, no. 1, fig. 142:6-7.

'ear-spoons' or 'ear-picks' from the Vapheio tholos, Routsis tholos 2, Prosymna Ts. 30 and 44 and Kolonakiou T. 26;<sup>22</sup> finely decorated ivory objects from Peristeria tholos 2 and Kakovatos tholos A;<sup>23</sup> a silver disc from the Analipsis tholos;<sup>24</sup> possible gold wrappings of a child from Prosymna T. 2;<sup>25</sup> an unparalleled socketed bronze implement from the Vapheio tholos;<sup>26</sup> and sets of bronze tweezers, an ordinary Aegean type, from Mycenae and Prosymna chamber tombs.<sup>27</sup> Plain rings of metal and fragments of metal wire have also been found in many tombs, but do not yield any useful information.

This rather summary list, probably incomplete, is a useful reminder of the diversity of goods that might be placed with a rich burial. It includes personal possessions and objects that seem to be connected with the less tangible side of Mycenaean life, the social and religious. It is interesting that so many should have parallels in the Shaft Graves, for this suggests that, even if the more flamboyant and spectacular finds of the Shaft Graves were unparalleled later, the style of life established at Mycenae and at the lesser

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22. Tsountas, op. cit. (supra, note 5), 147; Marinatos, op. cit. (supra, note 5); Prosymna I, 272; Thebaika, 198, no. 4.

23. Praktika 1962, Pl. 102: β; Müller, op. cit. (supra, note 3), 289-90, fig. 11.

24. K. Rhomaios, in Praktika 1954, 285.

25. Prosymna I, 271-2.

26. ArchEph 1889, Pl. 8-11.

27. Chamber Tombs, 105, nos. 26, 28; Prosymna I, 349.

centres in Messenia was widely imitated in the Peloponnese and central Greece.

Appendix to Chapter VII

## Rich Early Mycenaean Grave-Groups

(1) The Early Burials in the Vagenas Tholos

The best published description is by Lord William Taylour, in The Mycenaeans (1964), 80-81. The order in which I have arranged the burials is arbitrary; each jar contained one burial, presumably male.

Jar I: In jar 4 silver half-bands, decorated with repousse patterns, piped with bronze wire; 3 ivory pins; 1 quoit-like object wrapped in gold foil; 1 ivory plaque with a central hold (from pommel?)  
With jar 1 copper cauldron, 1 Type A sword, 1 dagger.

Jar II: In jar 1 fragmentary silver vase; 1 knife; 1 complete boar's tusk with two perforations; 1 amber bead; 3 bronze pins with tack-like heads.

With jar 1 copper krater; 4 Type A swords, 2 having ivory pommels, 1 'Slachtmesser', 4 daggers and knives, 1 obsidian and 3 chert arrowheads; 1 square whetstone; 1 complete boar's tusk, pierced fragments of boar's tusk; 2 shaped pieces of amber, 5 beads of amber and other fragments, 1 bead of amethyst, 1 of carnelian; 1 ivory pin, 1 bone point; 1 bronze pin with tack-like head.

Jar III:In jar 1 vase.

With jar 3 Type A swords with ivory pommels, 2 daggers.

Pit M: Remains of 5 skeletons. 1 gold head-band, 6 daggers and knives, 1 round whetstone.

(2) The Early Burials in the Kazarma Tholos

E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, "Θολωτὸς τάφος Καζάρμας", in AthAA 1 (1968), 236-8; 2 (1969), 3-6.

These burials were in large deep shafts below the floor of the tholos, and appear to be roughly contemporary. The vases, in Pit II, appear to be LH IIA: large jars stood over the cists.

Pit I: 1 woman's burial. 1 gold diadem of thin gold leaves, 1 necklace of amethyst beads. Fragments of gold leaf near mouth of grave.

Pit II: 1 man's burial, laid on a bier, shield or hide. 1 short sword, 2 daggers, 1 knife, arrowheads of bronze and obsidian; 1 helmet plated with boar's tusks; 1 necklace of large amethyst, carnelian and glass beads, some apparently sealstones; 1 gold and silver 'lamp' (? a cup with gold-plated rim), 1 silver cup; 4 lead weights; 5 vases (squat jugs or small alabaster).

Pit III: 1 man's burial, laid on a bier, shield or hide. 1 dagger (possibly two), 1 large and 2 small knives, by left side; behind head, arrowheads of bronze and stone, 1 whetstone; 1 ivory comb; 1 pair of bronze discs from a set of scales.

(3) The Vapheio Tholos Tomb

C. Tsountas, "Ἀνασκαφή τοῦ παρὰ τὸ Βάφειον τάφου", in ArchEph 1889, 136-72.

The chamber had been plundered, but a cist below the floor was intact; sherds of some large jars were found in the dromos. Some bones were found on the floor, but none in the cist, although the

goods were arranged as if around a body. There may well have been only one burial.

On the Floor fragments of 1 inlaid dagger; 1 gold seal-ring, 11 sealstones, 1 amethyst scarab; 2 beads of gold, 1 of glass, and others of amber, rock crystal and amethyst; 2 bronze pins with stone heads, covered with gold; 2 silver pins; 4 gold cutouts; fragments of 3 stone conical cups, and 5-6 fragments of ivory; sherds of plain pottery.

In the Cist Weapons and Tools 1 Type A sword, with gold-plated rivets; 2 spearheads; 2 'Slachtmessers'; 1 large, 1 small inlaid daggers, the former having a hilt decorated with gold pins; 1 'Syro-Egyptian' axe, 1 axe-adze; 1 'razor'; 5 knives. Note also 1 ribbed bronze tube that may have covered a short spear-shaft, and 3 gold objects that may be pommel-covers.

Precious Vases 2 gold cups; 1 silver cup with gold-plated rim; 2 silver cups, 1 handleless deep silver bowl, fragments of 1 small silver vase, 1 silver dipper; 1 bronze brazier, 1 bronze ladle; 2 alabaster vases, 2 stone lamps.

Necklaces and Ornaments 1 necklace of 80 amethyst beads; 2 groups of sealstones that may have been strung as wristlets, and other sealstones, totalling 30 in all; 1 gold seal-ring, 1 steatite seal-ring set in bronze or copper, 1 iron ring; 1 silver object, probably a pin.

Other Objects 1 set of bronze scales, 10 bronze and 5 lead discs (weights); 1 bronze blade on a tube; 1 silver 'ear-pick'; 4

goblets, 3 lamps of clay.

(4) The Kakovatos Tholos Tombs

K. Müller, "Alt-Pylos II: die Funde aus den Kuppelgräbern von Kakovatos", in AthMitt 34 (1909), 269-328.

These tombs had been severely plundered, but contained rich remains. It seems likely that there was only one burial in each, and that all were of LH IIA date. A sealstone was found in the excavation dump after the excavation (M.A.V. Gill, "The Minoan 'Genius'", in AthMitt 79 (1964), 21, note 69).

Tomb A Weapons and Armour Fragments of a sword, probably Type A, with a finely-decorated rounded midrib; 1 bronze and over 40 flint arrowheads; 2 pairs of ivory pommels; many boar's tusk plates, probably from a helmet; gold rivet-caps.

Precious Vases and Vessels Many fragments of bronze (or copper) vases; fragments of 7-8 alabaster vases, and of faience vases; ivory plates from a box, and inlays of gold, lapis lazuli, glass and ivory.

Necklaces and Ornaments Some 500 amber beads, including several spacers of various kinds; 18 beads of gold, 7 of lapis lazuli, 6 of amethyst, 1 of gold-covered stone; 1 pendant of gold (granulated toad), 3 of glass (bull, ?man, ring); 1 gold owl-cutout; 3 gold 'beehives' (belt-ornaments?); 10 pierced round gold plates, 1 gold rosette, 2 ivory plates (1 with red-filled decoration), 37 bone buttons; fragments of gold-plated pins; 2 bronze rings, 1 S-shaped

piece of bronze wire, 1 piece of iron, probably the bezel of a seal-ring; much gold leaf.

Other Objects 1 bone staff, set in bronze, bound alternately with strips of gold and ?silver-plated copper; 3 stone tools, 1 'arrow-polisher'; 1 ivory comb, 1 bone comb; 1 fragment of ivory tube; 1 pierced ivory disc, other shaped pieces of ivory; fragments of silver; 18 large clay jars (1 in dromos), other sherds, 1 clay whorl.

Tomb B Type A sword, with gold-plated rivets and a hilt decorated with gold nails; 1 long gold-covered bronze pin; 1 glass vase, 1 marble lamp; 1 gold ?dress-ornament; 1 bead of gold, 23 of lapis lazuli, 1 of amber, 4 of glass, 5 of amethyst; fragments of 3 jars, 2 oval-mouthed amphorae, other sherds.

Tomb C 1 point of a sword or dagger, 1 Type A hilt; 9 rivets from 3-4 swords or daggers, 7 being gold-plated (3 from the same weapon); 1 gold button, 1 gold button-cover; 1 round gold plate; much gold leaf, including 2 rosettes, fragments with impressed leaves and rosettes, rivet-caps; fragments of bronze decorated in relief with spirals (presumably a vase); 7 beads of amber, 7 of amethyst, 1 rock crystal roundel; sherds of 2 jars.

Chapter VIII

## TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF SITES

The aim of this chapter is to present all information known about sites of the Early Mycenaean period in a condensed form. I shall not reargue points discussed in detail above, and will only give major references from surveys, and references to obscure or previously unmentioned material. The sites will be discussed in a roughly geographical order, with some indication of their type and position in all cases but the best known. Earlier habitation will be noted, but since virtually all the sites and most of the tombs were inhabited or used in later Mycenaean times, I shall not specifically mention this in most cases. I have stated the present whereabouts of excavated material, if known to me, and have noted sites that I have personally visited. A summary for each province is included.

(1) Argolid-Corinthia (See MAP 1)1. MYCENAE. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 1; Alin, 10-25 (see MAP 9).

The site was inhabited continuously from EH II at least. A separate settlement existed on Kalkani hill throughout the Bronze Age; minor settlements on the nearer west and south-west slopes were inhabited in MH and probably mostly continued in LH (cf. N.M. Verdelis, in Praktika 1961, 163, 1963, 109-10 (house-remains and a bothros of transitional date near the West House). The area of habitation spread

to include the south of the Panaghia ridge (A.J.B. Wace, in BSA 51 (1956), 120). No architectural remains of the Early Mycenaean period have been recovered, but a fill of stone blocks and pottery, including two fresco-fragments, under the Palace Lobbies belongs to this period and may represent the remains of a large house. The Prehistoric Cemetery, on the south-west slope below the acropolis, came into use some time in MH; the Grave Circle B area began to be used in the MH Late Phase, and Grave Circle A was constructed in the middle of the Prehistoric Cemetery before the end of MH. Circle B was used to LH IA, Circle A to early LH IIA, almost exclusively for shaft grave burials; some LH I-IIB burials, including one or two small shaft graves, were made in the Prehistoric Cemetery. A unique built tomb, Grave Rho, was built in the eastern part of Circle B in LH IIA. Chamber tomb cemeteries were found on the north, south and west of the acropolis: the only group which may be certainly dated is on the north slope of Kalkani hill and the slope opposite, the earliest of which are LH IB-IIA. The earliest tholos tombs date from the end of LH IB or the beginning of LH IIA: two, the Tomb of Aegisthus and the Lion Tomb, are close to the acropolis and probably royal, while four, the Cyclopean, Epáno Phournos, Panaghia and Kato Phournos Tombs, are on the other side of the Panaghia ridge facing away from the acropolis and probably not royal, but all were in use in LH IIA.

(I have visited this site; most of the material is in the National Museum at Athens, but the majority of the Circle B pottery is in the Nafplion Museum).

2. TIRYNS. Mycenaeen Gazetteer, no. 8; Alin, 25-36.

The site was inhabited continuously from EH II at least, and was apparently of great importance in EH II. No remains of great importance have been found of any later period, until the first Mycenaean fortifications, dated by Alin to LH IIIA1. Great quantities of early pottery were found in excavations of 1916, including LH IA (Korakou, 117; photographs in the German Archaeological Institute in Athens). Trial excavations to the south and west of the acropolis suggest that there was a 'lower town' in the Early Mycenaean period (AA 24 (1909), 122; M. Ervin, "News Letter from Greece", in AJA 73 (1969), 349).

A tholos tomb was discovered on the west slope of Aghios Ilias, a ridge east of the acropolis, some 800 m. from it; it cannot be closely dated, but belongs to Wace's second architectural group of tholoi and is therefore unlikely to be earlier than mature LH IIA (H. Dragendorff, in AthMitt 38 (1913), 347-54). Chamber tombs were excavated on the other side of the Aghios Ilias ridge, including some early examples, two of which were reached by a shaft rather than a true dromos; these contained LH IB-IIA and later pottery, but no valuable finds (AA 42 (1927), 369-70). Two fine gold rings found in a hoard of mixed material on the acropolis may be of Early Mycenaean date: they are, with the tholos, the only signs that Tiryns was of any particular importance before LH III.

(I have visited this site; the material is in the National Museum in Athens and the Nafplion Museum).

3. PROSYMNA. Mycenaean Gazetteer. no. 4; Alin, 37-8.

This site is an acropolis south-east of Mycenae; Neolithic remains have been found on neighbouring slopes, but the acropolis was only settled in the Early Bronze Age, probably in EH II. A scatter of MH graves of the Late Phase was found on the slopes to the north and west, suggesting the existence of subsidiary settlements. The cemetery of Mycenaean chamber tombs is formed of even more widely spread groups; the earliest are to be found in Group IV, well to the north-west of the acropolis and separated from it by two ravines, and are LH IA. By LH IIA, at least a dozen or more tombs in seven or eight groups were in use; several tombs of this period were finely constructed and large. A tholos tomb even further to the north-west belonged, like that at Tiryns, to Wace's second architectural group; it seems to have been in use in LH IIA and probably later. Its presence suggests that Prosymna was an important subsidiary centre in the Early Mycenaean period.

(I have visited this site; the material is in the National Museum at Athens).

4. ELEUTHERIOS.

This is a settlement-site, 50 yards from the bed of the ancient river Eleutherios, which is about half-way between Mycenae and Prosymna. Three fine Early Mycenaean sherds, two 'palatial' LH IIA, and later Mycenaean sherds are in the collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens.

(I am indebted to Mr. R.W. Hutchinson, who discovered this site,

for information on it).

5. **BERBATI.** Mycenaeen Gazetteer, no. 5; Alin, 38, 40.

This site is a small but conspicuous acropolis, east of Prosymna and north of Dendra; it was inhabited continuously from EH II at least. Some relatively wealthy graves of the MH Late Phase have been found here, and Early Mycenaean sherd-material has been found, but there are no structures except a potter's kiln, which seems to have specialised in the production of a few types of LH I-II cup and goblet (A. Akerstrom, "A Mycenaean Potter's Factory at Berbati Near Mycenae", in First Mycenological Congress I, 49). Chamber tombs were found on the slopes to the west, but the only early material consists of some probably LM IB sherds in the dromos of T. 1 (Berbati, 25-7, figs. 10-11). 1 kilometre to the north-west there was a tholos tomb, which was probably built in the Early Mycenaean period, and is evidence that Berbati was a subsidiary centre of some importance.

(The material from this site is in the Nafplion Museum).

6. **DENDRA.** Mycenaeen Gazetteer, nos. 6 and 7; Alin, 40-42.

The site is a lofty acropolis north-east of Tiryns, on the edge of the Argive plain. It was inhabited continuously from EH II at least. Early Mycenaean sherds have been found on the acropolis (G. Walberg, "Finds from excavations in the acropolis of Midea 1939", in OpusAth 7 (1967), 162, Pl. 1:3). The cemetery of this site, about 1 km. from the acropolis and near the modern village, belongs mostly to the Middle Mycenaean period, including several very rich and important chamber tombs and one rich tholos tomb; T. 8 contained a

'warrior burial' in a coffin that may be dated by its pottery to the end of the Early Mycenaean period, and T.6 contained LH IB-IIA pottery in a shaft in the dromos, to which the early burials were moved. Sherds on the ridge above the tombs suggest that there was a subsidiary settlement here, that may have begun in the Early Mycenaean period (R. Hägg, "Research at Dendra 1961", in OpusAth 4 (1962), 88-9). The great importance of this site in later Mycenaean times, marked by its fortification-wall, seems to have had its roots in the Middle and not the Early Mycenaean period; it is impossible to say how important it was before.

(I have visited this site; the material is in the National Museum at Athens and the Nafplion Museum).

7. KAZARMA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 20; Alin, 51; E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, "Θολωτὸς τάφος Καζάρμας", in AthAA 1 (1968), 236-8, 2 (1969), 3-6.

This site is on the road from Nafplion to Epidaurus. MH sherds have been found on a hill, later surmounted by a Greek fortress, but the only Early Mycenaean remains here were found in a tholos tomb, some 15 km. from Nafplion. The earliest burials in this, in shafts below its floor, are of LH IIA date, and belong to a minor princely family. Another unexcavated tholos tomb has been reported nearby. These are clear evidence that a subsidiary centre of importance existed somewhere in the neighbourhood, probably on the site of the later fortress.

(The material from the tholos tomb is in Nafplion Museum).

9. ARGOS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 12; Alin, 42-3.

Only one or two sherds from this site may be attributed to the EH period, but in the MH period it seems to have been a centre of considerable population, since early MH house-remains and pottery have been found on the Aspis (a low hill north-west of the modern town), the Larisa (a lofty acropolis to the south of the Aspis), in the Deiras (the slope between these two hills), and over a wide area of the modern town to the south-east of them. In contrast, remains of late MH and Early Mycenaean date are very scanty, consisting mainly of a few tombs. A rectangular built tomb on the east slope of the Aspis was first used in LH IB/IIA and continued in use thereafter to LH IIIA: its contents were not at all rich. LH II sherds from the Aspis and Larisa are in the collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens. None of the chamber tombs in the Deiras seem to have been in use before LH IIB, and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that there had been a definite decline later in MH and that the site was never as important as in post-Bronze Age times. The Aspis was twice fortified, but the date of its walls is not certain; one may belong to the earlier MH period, one to the later Mycenaean.

(I have visited this site; the material is in the Argos Museum).

10. LERNA and MYLOI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, nos. 13-14; Alin, 45.

Lerna is a low oval mound-site close to the modern village of Myloi and to the sea, south of Argos. It was inhabited in the Neolithic period, and again continuously from EM II, which was its period of greatest importance; it seems to have been a substantial centre

of population in the MH period, in contact with the Aegean. The late MH and Mycenaean levels had been largely eroded, and these periods were represented by tombs, including the two large 'shaft graves', Grave BC. 3, and some smaller cists containing children's burials. The 'shaft graves' had been emptied and filled with late MH and LH IA settlement-rubbish. Small groups of cist-graves have been found in the village, dating from late MH to LH II. Both these and later chamber tombs excavated in the area have not produced finds of any great importance; it seems that Lerna, like Argos, may have gone into decline, but the presence of large graves of the late MH period suggests that this happened no earlier than the MH-LH transition.

(I have visited this site; the material is in the Argos Museum).

11. **ARIA.** Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 10; Alin, 47.

The modern village is some 3 km. east of Nafplion, on the road to Epidaurus. Two chamber tombs of unusual shape were excavated near here and contained LH II-III A vases (BCH Chronique 79 (1955), 244; one illustrated vase (243, fig. 30) can hardly be later than LH IIA).

12. **SCHOINOCHORI.** Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 16; Alin, 43, 45.

On a hill near this village, to the north-west of Argos, a group of small chamber tombs was excavated (L. Renaudin, "La Nécropole 'mycénienne' de Skinokhori-Lyrkeia", in BCH 47 (1923), 190-240). One contained a piece of a LH I-II A Vapheio cup and two plain cups that might be early (op.cit., 220-1, figs. 34-5).

13. **KASTRO (GYMNO).** Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 18.

A steep acropolis to the north-west of SCHOINOCHORI. MH and LH II

sherds have been found here.

14. KANDIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 26; Alin, 49-50.

A tiny acropolis east of Asine, near the coast. EH and MH remains were found in excavation, also later Mycenaean material; no Early Mycenaean was recorded, but there are five LH II sherds from here in the collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens.

15. IRIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 28; Alin, 50-51.

A hill site on the coast, further east from KANDIA. EH, MH and a few LH I-II sherds were found in trial excavations (U. Jantzen et al., "Tiryns - Synoro - Iria 1965-1968", in AA 83 (1968), 373).

16. ASCLEPIEION. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 22; Alin, 51.

On the site of the later sanctuary near Epidaurus, EH, MH, and LH I-II sherds were found (J. Papadimitriou, in Praktika 1950, 198, fig. 4); a dagger decorated with spirals on the midrib and another blade-fragment with a midrib are also probably Early Mycenaean, but may not have originally come from here (Praktika 1948, 102, fig. 6:centre, 103, fig. 7).

17. VASSA (DIMENA). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 25; Alin, 51.

A site on a rocky ridge north-west of modern Epidaurus. MH and LH II sherds have been found.

18. HERMIONE. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 31; Alin, 52.

A low promontory on the coast west of the modern town. EH, MH and one LH II sherd have been found.

19. TSOUNGIZA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 46; Alin, 59 (Heraklion).

A ridge north of Heraklion village, near ancient Nemea. Material

found in excavations was continuous from Neolithic, including many pieces of Early Mycenaean Vapheio cups, and houses of MH and LH IIB date were found.

(Material from this site is in the Corinth Museum).

20. CLEONAE. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 47.

The prehistoric settlement was on the westernmost of the three hillocks forming the classical acropolis; MH, possible LH I and LH IIB sherds have been found.

21. ZYGOURIES. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 48; Alin, 58-9.

This site is on a ridge north of Mycenae, between it and Cleonae. It was inhabited continuously from EH II, which seems to have been its most flourishing period; the MH and Early Mycenaean periods are represented by sherds (Zygouries, 134, fig. 127:9-10, 136, fig. 128:1-7, are Early Mycenaean).

22. GALATAKI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 52; Alin, 58.

A low hill south-east of Corinth, near the shore of the Saronic Gulf. Five chamber tombs were excavated here, two containing LH IIA-B vases (N.M. Verdelis, in Praktika 1958, 135-45, Pls. 113:8, 114).

23. MYLOS CHELIOTOU. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 57; Alin, 55; C.W.

Blegen, "Corinth in Prehistoric Times", in AJA 24 (1920), 1-13, no. 2.

A small isolated hill, northwest of Old Corinth. EH, MH, and rare LH I-II sherds were found here (Korakou, 116).

24. AIETCPETRA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 58; Alin, 57; Blegen, op.cit., no. 3.

A high flat-topped cliff, west of Old Corinth. EH and MH sherds

have been found; there is one LH I-II sherd in the collection of the British School of Archeology at Athens.

25. AGHIOS GERASIMOS. Mycenaeen Gazetteer, no. 59; Alin, 57; Blegen, op.cit. no. 4.

A slight rise near the coast west of ancient Lechaeum. EH and MH sherds have been found, and there is one LH I-II sherd in the collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens.

26. KORAKOU. Mycenaeen Gazetteer, no. 60; Alin, 55-6; Blegen, op.cit., no. 5.

A low but conspicuous mound on a bluff overlooking the coast road west of New Corinth. This was a large site, inhabited from EH II at least; much Early Mycenaean material was found and good stratigraphical sequences. This site is the best candidate in the Corinthia for an important centre, on the grounds of its size.

(The material from this site is in the Corinth Museum).

27. ARAPIZA. Mycenaeen Gazetteer, no. 61; Alin, 57; Blegen, op.cit., no. 6.

A small mound south of New Corinth. EH and MH sherds have been found; there is one LH I-II sherd in the collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens.

28. GONIA. Mycenaeen Gazetteer, no. 62; Alin, 57-8; Blegen, op.cit., no. 8.

A long but fairly narrow ridge south of New Corinth and east of ARAPIZA. Trial excavations showed that this site had been inhabited continuously from the Neolithic period, and included a certain number

of Early Mycenaean sherds.

(The material from this site is in the Corinth Museum).

29. ISTHMIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 63; Alin, 57.

A small site near the east end of the Corinth canal. Excavations have produced EH, MH, and some Early Mycenaean sherds (Hesperia 24 (1955), Pl. 57a: ends of middle row).

30. SICYON (VASILIKO). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 77; Alin, 57.

A mound site on a spur. MH sherds and one LH I/II sherd have been found.

31. PITSA. Alin, 61.

Near this village, which is well to the west of Xylokastro and Sicyon, a group of LH I vases was found, perhaps the contents of a cist-grave.

(These vases are in the Corinth Museum).

#### SUMMARY

I have shown above my reasons for believing that the Argolid-Corinthia was the most important centre of MH and Early Mycenaean development. It is likely that Mycenae dominated this whole area from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, for no other major sites that might plausibly be suggested to be independent of it have been discovered within the Argive plain, the eastern Argolid, or the Corinthia. In the Argive plain, the appearance of a number of tholos tombs suggests that the main sites, which had in most cases been prominent since the MH period, were the seats of minor princes; no such evidence has so far been found elsewhere. It is interesting that Corinth and Nafplion

should seem to have no early history at all; but there were many small sites in the immediate neighbourhood of Corinth, and Tiryns may originally have been close enough to the sea to serve as a port. Argos and Lerna may have been in decline in this period, and Argos is not of great importance until the end of the Bronze Age. The difference between the Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean political map of the Argolid-Corinthia is very marked.

(2) South Arcadia and Laconia (MAP 2)

1. SYNOIKISMOS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 90; Alin, 74 (Tegea).

This site is between Tegea and Analipsis. Some small tholos tombs have been found, one of which has been excavated. A jar decorated with dots on the shoulder should be Early Mycenaean.

(This and other vases are in the Tegea Museum).

2. ASEA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 91; Alin, 73.

A lofty acropolis site in South Arcadia, which was inhabited continuously from EH II. Houses of the earlier MH period have been found, but the later MH and Early Mycenaean period are represented only by sherds (Asea, 111, fig. 108:a-f are Early Mycenaean).

(The material from this site is in Tegea Museum).

3. ANALIPSIS (VOURVOURA). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 135; Alin, 74-5; Prehistoric Laconia II, 130.

The site and its cemetery are on two adjoining hills, on the borders of Arcadia and Laconia. EH has been reported from the site, and a late MH child's cist-grave has been found there (F. Schachermeyr,

in AA 87 (1962), 261, fig. 48). A large tholos tomb and eight small ones, one below the site on the river-bank, have been excavated; the large one contained LH IIA-B pottery and rich finds, the smaller are reported to have contained LH I-III B (Schachermeyr, op.cit., 257-8). The site was strategically placed at the junction of the route into Laconia from the north and that coming inland from the Kynourian coast; it was clearly the centre of a principality of some importance in the Early Mycenaean period.

The material from this site is in the National Museum at Athens).

4. PALAIOCHORI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 142; Alin, 74; Prehistoric Laconia II, 132-5.

The modern village is at the head of the valley running inland from Leonidhi on the east Laconian coast. Oval tholos tombs and built tombs have been found in the area, in various groups. A group of vases supposed to come from one of these includes late IM IB cups, some LH IIA and more LH IIB-III A1 (in the National Museum at Athens). The valley may be reached from Laconia but not from the Argolid, except by sea.

5. AMYKLAION. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 97; Alin, 92-3; Prehistoric Laconia I, 74-6.

A broad hill in the Spartan plain. The Bronze Age settlement seems to have centred on the south-east slopes; EH and MH pottery has been found, including some late MH vases, and 'palatial' LH IIA sherds.

6. PALAIOPYRGO and VAPHEIO. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 93; Alin, 93; Prehistoric Laconia I, 76-8, 80.

A broad hill south of the AMYKLAION, the highest in the group in

the Spartan plain. EH, MH and LH I-II sherds have been found on the hill, including one 'palatial' LH IIA. The Vapheio tholos is on a separate hill to the north-west; it was of LH IIA date and extremely rich. Its presence strongly suggests that Palaiopyrgo was the centre of an important principality in the Early Mycenaean period.

(The material from the tholos is in the National Museum at Athens).

7. LAINA (GORITSA). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 103; Alin, 93; Prehistoric Laconia I, 83.

A hillock in a small valley, on the west slopes of Mount Paron. EH, MH, and goblet-feet that might be Early Mycenaean have been found.

8. APIDIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 106; Alin, 96; Prehistoric Laconia I, 86-7.

A hill in a small valley on the west slopes of Mount Paron. EH and MH sherds have been found; one sherd decorated with the ogival canopy should be LH IIA.

9. AGHIOS STRATEGOS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 110; Alin, 95; Prehistoric Laconia I, 87-9.

A small hill in the eastern Helos plain. EH, MH and 1 LH II sherd have been found.

10. ASTERI (KARAOUSI). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 112; Alin, 95, Prehistoric Laconia I, 89-92.

A large and prominent mound-site, north-west of AGHIOS STRATEGOS. Trial excavations showed that it had been extensively eroded, but EH, MH and some Early Mycenaean pottery was found.

(The material from this site is in the Sparta Museum).

11. AGHIOS STEPHANOS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 120; Alin, 94; Prehistoric Laconia I, 97-100.

A conspicuous hill in the western Helos plain. Excavations have produced EH-LH material, including many burials, but few well-preserved remains of structures. One burial contained a LH IA Vapheio cup and much material of this phase was discovered. There is evidence of some wealth and overseas contacts in the MH period, and this was clearly an important site.

(The material from this site is in the Sparta Museum).

12. PAIZOULIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 123; Alin, 95; Prehistoric Laconia I, 105.

A small hill along the coast south-west of AGHIOS STEPHANOS. EH, MH and one sherd from an Early Mycenaean Vapheio cup have been found.

13. EPIDAUROS LIMERA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, nos. 146-7; Alin, 96 (Aghios Joannis); Prehistoric Laconia II, 136-7.

Several groups of chamber tombs of unusual type have been excavated in the area south-west of the acropolis. Associated sherds include LM IA, and the tombs were certainly in use by LH IIA, and contain some LM IB imports. The unusual tombs and Cretan contacts suggest that this was a centre of some importance.

(The material from these tombs is in the Sparta Museum).

14. DAIMONIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 152; Alin, 96; Prehistoric Laconia II, 141.

A rocky acropolis, commanding the route down the eastern coast of the Laconian Gulf. MH sherds and one piece of a racket-decorated squat

jug have been found.

15. STENA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 153; Prehistoric Laconia II, 141-2.

A high conical hill dominating the road further south from DAIMONIA. EH sherds, and one rhyton-fragment that must be LM IB or LH IIA, have been found.

16. PAVLOPETRI. A. Harding, "A Town under Water from the Bronze Age", in ILN, 22nd February 1969, 22-3; M. Ervin, "News Letter from Greece", in AJA 73 (1969), 350-51.

The plan of a whole town has been discovered underwater here, off the coast near Elaphonisi. Finds here and on the coast include EH and MH pottery, probable MM III-LM IA imports, Vapheio cup fragments and a LH IIA pyxis. The site clearly had foreign contacts, but the date of the town itself is not known.

#### SUMMARY

Although Aghios Stephanos and Pavlopetri show connections with Crete in MH times, there is no evidence in Laconia for a development to parallel the appearance of the Shaft Graves. Probable LM IB imports at various sites show continuing interest on the part of Crete, probably motivated by an interest in Laconia's fine stones (cf. P.M. Warren, Minoan Stone Vases (1969), 126 (Antico Rosso), 132-3 (Lapis Lacedaemonius); former in use from MM I, latter from MM III?). The profits of this trade may have contributed to the great wealth of the prince buried in the Vapheio tholos. The centres of other principalities may be discerned at Analipsis, and probably Palaiochori and Epidaurus Limeria; but the Spartan plain was probably the most heavily populated

area of Laconia from the MH period. After the Early Mycenaean period, the evidence is not very good, and it may be that the Laconian principalities went into decline; the persistence of unusual forms of tomb at Palaiochori, Epidaurus Limera and Analipsis suggests that the province remained divided between groups with different traditions.

(3) The South-West Peloponnese (See MAP 3)

(I have not included sites where the only evidence for Early Mycenaean occupation consists of goblet-sherds, since these can have a wide range of possible dates).

1. KAMBOS (ZARNATA). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 169; Alin, 89; R. Hope Simpson, "Identifying a Mycenaean State", in BSA 52 (1957), 236-9.

A fine tholos tomb was found built into the side of a hill at this site, on the east side of the Messenian Gulf, south-east of Kalamata. It belonged to Wace's second architectural group. It had been thoroughly plundered, the most interesting surviving finds being two lead figurines of Cretan type. These may well have been imported in the Early Mycenaean period.

(Material from this tomb is in the National Museum at Athens).

2. SOTIRIANAKA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 167; Alin, 88-9; Hope Simpson, op.cit., 239-40.

Near the road between Kalamata and KAMBOS, a hoard of gold objects was found, probably loot from a tomb. The most complete was a kantharos, very close to one from Shaft Grave IV; the whole group is

almost certainly of Early Mycenaean date. This hoard is evidence for the existence of an important centre somewhere in this area from an early date.

(This material is in the National Museum at Athens).

3. NICHORIA (RIZOMYLO). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 182; Alin, 88; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 76.

This is a fine acropolis on the western side of the Messenian Gulf, dominating the land route between eastern and western Messenia. Excavations there show that it was inhabited continuously from the MH period, and have produced Early Mycenaean material, including LH IA. It is likely to have been an important site at this period.

(The material from this site is in Kalamata Museum).

4. SKORDHAKIS (VELIKA). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 183; Prehistoric Messenia II, no. 76B.

A small low hill near NICHORIA. Sherd-material included a MH jar-base and the rim-fragment of a LH IA Vapheio cup (Prehistoric Messenia III, 156, Pl. 45b:4).

5. PYLOS (ANO ENGLIANOS). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 197; Alin, 82-4; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 42.

A broad, low acropolis, inhabited continuously from MH. Trials on the south-west and north-east have produced evidence of subsidiary settlements, probably dating from late MH (Pylos I, 19; C.W. Blegen, in AJA 61 (1957), 133-4). The acropolis seems to have been fortified early in the Mycenaean period, with an entrance on the east. A tholos tomb opposite this gateway was used for rich, probably royal burials in

the Early and Middle Mycenaean periods; another a short distance to the south contained warrior-burials in jars, contemporary with the Shaft Graves, and poorer burials of the Early and Middle Mycenaean periods. A third tholos, over 1 km. to the south at Kato Englianos, seems to have been built in LH IIA and was used for a long time. Chamber tombs have been excavated on the ridge south-west of the site; one dated from LH I. This site was quite certainly one of the most important centres in Messenia from the beginning of the Mycenaean period.

(I have visited this site; the material is in the National Museum at Athens and Chora Museum).

6. VOLIMIDIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 201; Alin, 81; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 41.

This site was 5 km. north-east of PYLOS, near the modern village of Chora. A settlement-site was discovered, apparently on level ground, at which a layer of LH IA pottery was stratified below LH III structures. Four major groups of chamber tombs were found in this area, cut below the ground or into slight ridges. The earliest, at Kephlovryso, included a MH tomb and two very early chamber tombs that seem to have been collective tombs, probably used in MH; LH IA chamber tombs were found in this and the Koroniou and Angelopoulou groups, nearly all tholos-shaped. The Boria group was in use by LH IIA. These tombs are in general large and well-cut, and are evidence for a large and prosperous population; this is to be expected, since the area is very fertile and well-watered. It is not clear whether the site represents an independent centre or was dominated from Pylos.

(I have visited this site; material from it is in Chora Museum).

7. VOROULIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 204; Alin, 85; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 45.

On a very steep slope half a kilometre east of Tragana village and south-west of PYLOS, a one-roomed house was found, containing a deposit of about a hundred vases. These included Matt-Painted and LH IA, but were mostly local. It is possible that this was the storeroom of a cult-centre.

(Material from this site is in the Chora Museum).

8. TRAGANA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 205; Alin, 84-5; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 46.

Two tholos tombs were excavated at the south end of the ridge on which Tragana village stands, about 1 km. away. Both seem to have been in use in the Early Mycenaean period, probably in LH I. No habitation-site can be associated with these or VOROULIA, but they are evidence for an important centre in the area.

(Material from these tombs is in the Chora Museum).

9. KORYPHASION (CHARATSARI). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 207; Alin, 86; Prehistoric Messenia, no. 57.

A tholos tomb was excavated 1 km. south-south-west of Koryphasion village; it was apparently entirely below ground. Its pottery included local MH types, IM IA and probably Early Mycenaean; it is certainly the earliest attested tholos on the mainland, and a few remains of rich goods suggests that it was that of a princely family.

(Material from this tomb is in the National Museum at Athens).

10. ROUTSI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 212; Alin, 85; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 48.

On a fine upland plateau south-east of PYLOS, some MH burial-tumuli and two tholos tombs have been excavated. Both of these were in use in LH IIA, and continued in use into the Middle Mycenaean period. No habitation-site can be associated with this important group of tombs, which suggest the presence of an important centre, perhaps subsidiary to Pylos.

(Material from these tombs is in the National Museum at Athens and Chora Museum).

11. PAPPOULIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 213; Alin, 85-6; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 49.

A tumulus containing MH burials was found 1 km. from the modern village, south-east of ROUTSI. Three small tholos tombs were excavated in the village (S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1954, 315-6) and have always been dated LH III. But pottery on show from tholos 3 in the Chora Museum includes a squat jug and carinated stemmed cup that may well be Early Mycenaean and are hardly later than Middle Mycenaean.

12. KOUKOUNARA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, nos. 226-7; Alin, 87-8; Prehistoric Messenia I, nos. 65 and 65A.

A fine, rather small acropolis well to the south-east of PYLOS, practically made into an island by ravines. Early Mycenaean buildings were discovered on the acropolis; on the slope opposite, to the east, two tholos tombs and a tumulus containing miniature tholoi were excavated, and there are mounds probably concealing other tombs. The

excavated tombs all contained vases datable to LH IA. Many other tholos tombs were found in the surrounding area; two, at Libaditi (Koukounara 1, over 1 km. to the south), and Akona (Koukounara 7,  $\frac{1}{2}$  km. to the north-west) may have been in use in LH IIA and may be associated with the acropolis. Koukounara was clearly an important centre, but poorer than Pylos and possibly dependent on it in the Early Mycenaean period or later.

(I have visited this site; material from the tombs is in Pylos Museum).

13. KISSOS. Prehistoric Messenia III, no. 67A; S. Marinatos, in Praktika 1966, 121-8.

A burial-tumulus was excavated here, south-east of KOUKOUNARA. The earliest burials were probably MH, others Early Mycenaean and later. This seems to be the tomb of a family of local farmers.

(The material is in Pylos Museum).

14. PERISTERIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 235; Alin, 80-81; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 22B.

A fine acropolis on the south side of the river Kyparissia. A probably MH tumulus has been excavated on the neighbouring hill to the west; on the site itself, MH sherds seem to have been found, and a large LH I house, remains of a fortification wall, and three tholos tombs have been excavated. The wall may well be early, and seems to cover the approach from the south. Tholos 3, the smallest, was of LH I date and contained a rich hoard of gold objects; tholos 2, next to it, was LH IIA, and tholos 1, further up the hill and cut into the

LH I house, was also of LH IIA date and the finest in western Messenia. This was clearly one of the most important Early Mycenaean centres in western Messenia; there are remains of a later Mycenaean settlement, but there is no clear evidence that the site was important then.

(I have visited this site; the material is in Chora Museum).

15. MALTHI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 242; Alin, 76-8; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 27.

A lofty acropolis, dominating routes into the Aulon and the central Messenian plain. It seems to have been inhabited continuously from the beginning of the MH period, with some possible traces of earlier habitation, and was fortified no later than the beginning of the Mycenaean period, when the whole site was rebuilt on an 'integrated' plan. Early Mycenaean pottery, including LH I, has been found, but the site does not seem to have been particularly wealthy, and its 'palace' is not impressive. Its strategic position suggests that it must have had some importance.

(I have visited this site; the material is in Vasiliko Museum).

16. VASILIKO. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 242; Alin, 78; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 28.

A tholos tomb was excavated near Vasiliko railway station, some 4 km. from MALTHI. It contained fragments of a 'palatial' LH IIA jar, but had been thoroughly robbed. The existence of another beside it has been reported. These tombs may well be associated with Malthi, despite their distance from the site.

(I have visited this site).

17. KAKOVATOS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 255; Alin, 79-80 (Nestora); Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 20.

A small acropolis close to the Triphylian coast, apparently inhabited from MH times. Three tholos tombs were excavated in its western slope, all datable by their pottery to LH IIA; although plundered, they contained rich finds. This was clearly a site of considerable importance in the Early Mycenaean period; it may have declined later.

(This material is in the National Museum at Athens).

18. SAMIKON (KLIDHI). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 257; Alin, 79; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 19.

A long low isolated hill north of KAKOVATOS and close to the coast, upon which EH-MH sherds have been found. At its northern end was a burial-tumulus, which was used for burials from late MH to LH IIIA. Photographs of sherds from 'Arene bei Samikon', presumably this site, in the German Institute of Archaeology at Athens, include several of Early Mycenaean date.

(This material is in Olympia Museum).

19. MAKRYZIA (PROPHITIS ILIAS). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 272; Alin, 69-70; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 14, III, 129 (Aghios Ilias).

There are probable MH sherds on the site, south-west of Olympia, but more important is a burial-tumulus found seven hundred metres west of the modern village, which contained burials of late MH and Early Mycenaean date.

(This material is in Olympia Museum).

20. YERAKOVOUNO. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 274; Alin, 70; Prehistoric

Messenia I, no. 16.

2 LH I vases in Olympia Museum are reported to have come from Raza, a site 2 km. east-north-east of Yerakovouno, which is just south of Olympia.

21. OLYMPIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, nos. 266-7; Alin, 68; Prehistoric Messenia I, nos. 7-8, III, 128-9.

EH and MH sherd-material have been widely found in the area of modern Olympia, and houses (? EH III) on the ancient site. Two Early Mycenaean sherds have been published (AthMitt 77 (1962), Pl. 4: 1a, c), and numerous LH II have been reported from near the Museum. This was probably an important habitation-centre from an early date.

(I have visited this site; the material is in Olympia Museum).

22. MIRAKA. Prehistoric Messenia III, no. 9A.

A LH I sword and spearhead were found at Chandakia, near this site, east of Olympia, and are in Olympia Museum.

23. AGHIOS ANDREAS (PONTIKOKASTRO). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 258; Alin, 71; Prehistoric Messenia I, no. 1.

A small acropolis on the Katakolon peninsula, north of the mouth of the Alpheios. Probable EH, MH and two LH I-II sherds were found.

24. PALAIKASTRO (TRYPES). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 92; Alin, 73-4.

An acropolis well up the Alpheios, near ancient Gortys in Arcadia. Several LH IIIB-C chamber tombs were excavated here; among the material from them, displayed in Sparta Museum, is a LH IIA alabastron, but Miss K. Demakopoulou informs me that this is not necessarily a trustworthy

attribution.

### SUMMARY

This large area divides naturally into several districts, the central Messenian plain, the Pylos area, the Aulon, Triphylia, and the Alpheios valley. Important principalities were certainly being formed on the coast of the Messenian Gulf, in the Pylos area and the Aulon in LH I; Kakovatos in Triphylia may be added in LH IIA. The number of 'princely' tombs excavated shows the wealth and importance of this area better than the habitation-sites, which are extremely difficult to identify certainly; their number would be greatly increased if sites known to have been inhabited in MH and LH III were added. The distribution of tombs and acropolises suggests that Messenia was divided between a large number of small principalities, of which Pylos and Peristeria were probably pre-eminent in the Early Mycenaean period. Some of these may have gone into decline later, but political fragmentation probably continued until the foundation of the great palace at Pylos in LH IIIB. The oddities of Messenian pottery and the persisting Messenian preference for the tumulus as opposed to the chamber tomb are characteristics which suggest that Messenia was always rather unusual; in the Early Mycenaean period there was much trade with the Argolid and Crete, but the remains also suggest that Messenia was rather conservative and slow to change, and may not always have been fully in touch with developments in the central area.

(4) North-West Greece (See MAP 4).

1. AKARNES. Alin, 52; P. Åström, "Mycenaean Pottery from the Region of Aigion, with a List of Prehistoric Sites in Achaea", in OpusAth 5 (1964), 100.

Miss S. Benton has reported seeing LM I (i.e. LH I) sherds from this site, on the northern tip of Achaea, in the Patras Museum (S. Benton, "The Ionian Islands", in BSA 32 (1931-2), 238).

2. KRYONERI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 310; Alin, 136.

A low eroded terrace, some six hundred metres north-east of the modern village; this site was Aetolian Chalkis. Benton (op. cit., 239, fig. 20:9) notes a LH II sherd, and possible MH walls.

3. THERMON. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 313; Alin, 136.

This site is well inland in Aetolia, some 3 km. east of Lake Trichonis. Under the Greek temple, the foundations of oval and apsidal houses were found. Associated with these were several different wares, predominantly plain and Matt-Painted of MH type and Early Mycenaean; some LH III and black-on-red decorated (a central Greek ware, probably MH here) was also found. It seems probable that the buildings are of Early Mycenaean date, and that the 'MH' wares are the domestic wares; some of the Early Mycenaean was probably imported. The buildings are most unusual in plan and construction (apparently entirely of stone). The site was not 'typically Mycenaean', but was clearly closely in touch with the Mycenaean world.

(The material from this site is in Thermon Museum).

4. ZAKYNTHOS: KALOGEROS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 347.

This site is on the south-east promontory of Zakynthos. Trial excavations produced "fragments of more than twenty small cups" of Early Mycenaean type, including Vapheio cups, as well as later Mycenaean material (Cf. The Annual Report of the British School of Archaeology at Athens 1933-4, 5; Lord William Taylour, Mycenaean Pottery in Italy and Adjacent Areas (1958), 21, 132, note 3).

5. ZAKYNTHOS: KERI. G. Dondas, in Deltion 21 (1966) B, 325.

A tiny irregularly shaped tholos tomb was excavated here, in the side of a hill on the south-west promontory of Zakynthos. It had a 'relieving triangle', and contained only two burials and two vases. Dondas calls these LH III, but LH II is more probable.

6. ITHAKA: POLIS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 325.

This was a cave-site in the north of the island. It contained EH and MH pottery; one piece decorated with spirals and a band, on which there were white dots, may well be Early Mycenaean, and there was another of the same ware (S. Benton, "The Cave at Polis II", in BSA 39 (1938-9), 12, Pl. 7: 42:3).

(This material is in Vathy Museum).

7. KEPHALLENIA: OIKOPEDA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 341.

A burial tumulus seems to have been found at this site, on the west peninsula of the island (S. Marinatos, in Deltion 6 (1920-21), Parartema, 175-7, ArchEph 1932, 10-14). There were two layers of finds. One vase was closest in appearance to a late MH Vapheio cup, others included squat jugs, low-stemmed cups, a high-handled cup, and a small three-handled jar. The upper layer held fine grave-goods, including

glass relief-beads of Middle or Late Mycenaean date. It seems very likely that the burials in the lower layer were of Early Mycenaean date.

(This material is in Argostoli Museum).

DEFINITELY NOT EARLY MYCENAEAN

1. DRAKOTRYPA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 297; Alin, 65.

In Praktika 1958, 175, Zapheiroopoulos specifically rules out habitation in Early Mycenaean times.

2. KATO GOUMENITSA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 303; Alin, 65-6.

The 'early Mycenaean' tomb here contained a LH IIB-III A1 alabastron (E.T. Vermeule, "The Mycenaean in Achaea", in AJA 64 (1960), 8, Pl. 2:15-16).

SUMMARY

The great rarity of sites in this large area may be because they are difficult to identify, or because it is relatively remote from the central area. However, we must note the early penetration to Thermon and the material at Kalogeros on Zakynthos, which might have been a staging-post on the way to Lipari. There are many traces of MH settlement in Achaea and the Ionian Islands, and it is unlikely that they should have been deserted in this period. It is safest to assume that we know very little of this area yet.

(5) Attica and the Saronic Gulf (see MAP 5)

1. ATHENS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 348; Alin, 99-103.

The Acropolis and its slopes seem to have been inhabited

continuously from Neolithic times; there is evidence of a wide spread of associated settlements in the MH period. The Early Mycenaean period is represented at present only by pottery and a house on the acropolis (L.B. Holland, "Erechtheum Papers II", in AJA 28 (1924), 152-6). The pottery found on the Acropolis and in wells on its south slope included fine 'palatial' LH IIA and some probable LM IB imports; these are the best indication that Athens was a place of some importance at this period.

(I have visited this site; material is in the Acropolis and Agora Museums).

2. AGHIOS KOSMAS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 353; Alin, 104-5.

This was a coastal site on a headland well south of Athens-Peiraeus, whose period of greatest importance seems to have been in EH II. A few EH III and MH sherds were found, and the remains of two buildings and two children's graves belonged to the Early Mycenaean period.

(This material is in the National Museum at Athens).

3. ALIKI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 355; Alin, 105.

A LH IIA jar and beaked jug (MV, Pls. 18:121, 19:136) and LH IIA-B goblet (MV, Pl. 19:138) probably came from chamber tombs in this neighbourhood, further south along the coast from AGHIOS KOSMAS.

4. VARI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 357; Alin, 106.

A LH IB beaked jug is reported to have come from here, probably from a chamber tomb (CVA USA 4, Pl. 8:2), not far from ALIKI.

5. VARKIZA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 358; Alin, 106.

A cemetery of chamber tombs was excavated here, close to VARI.

Among the vases on show in the National Museum at Athens is one identical with a jug from Prosymna (Prosymna II, 18, fig. 105:371), which is most probably Early Mycenaean.

6. KOROPI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 369; Alin, 106.

A "fine LH I jug" from this site, in the centre of Attica, was presented to the National Museum (ArchRep 1935-6, 14); there are no other references to this vase.

7. SPATA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 371; Alin, 109-10.

Two fine chamber tombs of Late Mycenaean date were excavated here, east of Athens in the centre of Attica. A fragment from the larger has been tentatively dated LH IIA by Furumark (MV, Pl. 17: 115, GMP, 70), but is quite possibly much later.

8. THORIKOS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 361; Alin, 109.

A fine acropolis in the south-east of Attica, close to Laurion. The site was inhabited from late MH at least, probably much earlier. A round and oval tholos tomb and a smaller oval built tomb all date to LH IIA. They are clear evidence of the importance of this site, where silver was being refined by the end of the MH period.

(Material from this site is in the National Museum at Athens).

9. BRAURON. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 368; Alin, 108.

A fine acropolis, probably inhabited continuously from BH II, which may have been fortified in late MH or Early Mycenaean times (J. Papadimitriou, in Praktika 1956, 79). Houses on the acropolis contained fine LH I-II (Papadimitriou, op.cit., 78-9). This was clearly an important centre.

(I have visited this site; material is in the Brauron Museum).

10. ASKITARIO. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 374; Alin, 110.

This settlement is on a ridge close to the shore, well to the north of Brauron. It was a fortified site of importance in the EH II period; later remains are scanty, but include a 'palatial' LH IIA fragment (Praktika 1955, Pl. 34:γ).

11. NINOI (The Cave of Pan). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 379; Alin, 111.

Cult-material in this cave, near Marathon, is said to be continuous from Neolithic to LH III.

12. APHIDNA (KOTRONI). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 380; Alin, 111.

A fine acropolis, on which MH and LH II sherds have been found. A rich MH burial tumulus of the Decorated Minyan phase was found nearby. This was probably an important centre.

13. ELEUSIS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 386; Alin, 112-3.

The acropolis was inhabited continuously from the EH II period. Remains of houses containing LH IB vases have been found on the acropolis, and much good Early Mycenaean pottery in various excavations. The extramural cemetery to the west was used continuously from a fairly advanced phase of MH. Locally developed types of built tomb, derived from the cist, continued to be built and used here in the Early Mycenaean period. The finds from the graves are not particularly spectacular, but their number suggests that Eleusis was a site of some size and probable importance.

(I have visited this site; its material is in the Eleusis Museum).

14. SALAMIS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 384; Alin, 113-4.

A large jar of LH IIA-B date, one of a group, probably came from a chamber tomb on the island (AJA 54 (1950), Pl. 3C:4). A "cup with wishbone handles of Late Helladic IB type" has also been reported (ArchRep 1952, 27).

15. MEGARA. Mycenaeen Gazetteer, no. 390; Alin, 114.

A fine early Vapheio cup, in the Bonn Museum, is supposed to have come from here (AA 6 (1891), 15). It may in fact be from no. 16.

16. PALAIOKASTRO. Mycenaeen Gazetteer, no. 391; Alin, 114 (Nisaea).

A hill on the coast near Megara. MH and LH sherds were found in excavations here; 2 fragments of Vapheio cups are Early Mycenaean (I. Threpsiades and I. Travlos, in Praktika 1934, 50-54; sherds, 52, fig. 12:3, 8).

17. AEGINA: KOLONNA. Mycenaeen Gazetteer, no. 392; Alin, 114-5.

This site is on a small promontory-hill north of the modern town and harbour. It was a fortified town of great importance from the EH II period. Much Early Mycenaean pottery has been found and a cemetery of 'shaft graves' nearby contained LH II burials (AA 53 (1938), 511). The material from this site is mostly unpublished; it certainly maintained connections with the Aegean from a very early period, and may have been more Cycladic than Helladic in the Middle Bronze Age, but seems to have become 'Mycenaean' early in the Late Bronze Age.

(I have visited this site; the material is in the Aegina Museum).

18. AEGINA: OROS. Mycenaeen Gazetteer, no. 394; Alin, 148.

This site is an acropolis in the centre of the southern part of Aegina. Furtwängler stated that only LH III was found here (Aegina: das

Heiligtum der Aphaia (1906), 473), but Fimmen says that this is incorrect and notes pre-Mycenaean material (Die Kretisch-mykenische Kultur (1921), 9). Welter (Aegina, 26-7) and Ålin follow Furtwängler. Hope Simpson notes "MH and LH, mostly LH III", which is not definitely stated by Fimmen, but could be deduced from his wording.

#### SUMMARY.

The evidence from Attica for the Early Mycenaean period is not good, and graves are particularly rare. We know enough to suggest that Attica was split into several principalities, based on strong acropolises. So far Thorikos is the only one to have produced evidence comparable with that of Peloponnesian sites; it is difficult to believe that there were not others, particularly since there is a rich series of Middle Mycenaean graves at Athens and a probably Middle Mycenaean tholos tomb at Marathon.

#### (6) Central Greece (see MAP 6).

##### (i) Boeotia

##### 1. THEBES. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 416; Ålin, 118.

The Cadmeia, the rather broad acropolis of this site, was continuously inhabited from EH II at least. A large EH building on the site suggests that it was important at an early date; MH settlement-remains have been found in many parts, providing evidence of a considerable population, and a transitional MH-LH cist grave contained fine gold and carnelian jewellery. No remains of importance can be certainly attributed to the Early Mycenaean period: Keramopoullou

believed that the palace was built in LH II (ArchEph 1930, 32), but Furumark dated it to LH IIIA1 (CMP, 52), and more recent finds have suggested that the date is Late Mycenaean (e.g. ArchRep 1964-5, 13). Reusch dated the Women's Procession Fresco to c. 1500 B.C. (Die zeichnerische Rekonstruktion des Frauen-frieses im bootischen Theben (1956)), but this date is based on stylistic considerations and cannot be accepted without further evidence.

The chamber tomb cemeteries around the acropolis included several large Early Mycenaean chamber tombs, some of which date back to LH I: they held fine large vases, including LM IB imports, and sometimes other rich finds. There can be no doubt that Thebes was a site of considerable importance in the Early Mycenaean period, although it may have reached its peak later.

(I have visited this site; the material is in Thebes Museum).

2. EUTRESIS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 417; Alin, 123-4.

A hill site with a deep habitation-deposit and plateau-like extension, south-west of Thebes, about halfway between it and the Corinthian Gulf. It was inhabited continuously from the Neolithic period; Early Mycenaean remains are confined to a few sherds (Eutresis, 188, figs. 260:6, 8, 9, 12, 261:2). This was a strategically placed site, as is demonstrated by the later Mycenaean fortification, and it was probably more important than the scanty remains suggest.

(The material from this site is in Thebes Museum).

3. TOURLEZA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 426.

A small acropolis north-east of Thebes. An Early Mycenaean Vapheio

cup rim was found here, but nothing pre-Mycenaean, although there was a good deal of obsidian.

4. DRAMESI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 432; Alin, 120-21.

A large 'high mound' site near the coast south of Chalkis, on which EH and MH sherds were found. Probably from graves, presumably cists, are some late MH and Early Mycenaean vases, and three spearheads. Possible remains of a tholos tomb are likely to be of later date.

5. SOROS (CHALIA). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 436; Alin, 125.

A low 'high mound' site, near the coast west of Chalkis. Neolithic, EH and MH were reported from trial excavations; MH and two probable LH II sherds were found on the surface.

6. ALIKI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 421; Alin, 124.

An acropolis on the south coast of Boeotia, south-east of Thisbe. MH and LH sherds were found here (W.A. Heurtley, "Notes on the Harbours of S. Boeotia, and Sea-Trade between Boeotia and Corinth in Prehistoric Times", in BSA 26 (1923-5), 44); six LH II sherds were reported, but the sherds in the collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens are not closely datable, and may not be Early Mycenaean.

7. LIVADOSTRO. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 422; Alin, 124-5.

A small hill at the head of a south Boeotian bay, east of ALIKI. EH, MH and LH II sherds have been found here.

8. HALIARTOS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 409; Alin, 121.

An acropolis on the south shore of Lake Copais. EH, MH and LH sherds have been found in excavations here; LH II has been reported, but

the description would equally well fit LH IIIA1 or later pottery (R.P. Austin, "Excavations at Haliartos", in BSA 28 (1926-7), 129, 32 (1931-2), 190).

9. KALAMI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 411; Alin, 121.

A large mound near the south-west shore of Lake Copais. Much EH, MH and LH pottery found here is in the collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens: Hope Simpson notes LH I/II, but I saw nothing certain.

10. MAGOULA (PYRGOS). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 398; Alin, 122.

A small peninsula in the north of Lake Copais. Trial excavations produced Neolithic, EH, and MH, and LH I/II sherds have been found on the surface.

11. POLYIRA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 397; Alin, 122.

A small spur on the north edge of Lake Copais. EH and one possible LH II sherd have been found here.

12. ORCHOMENOS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 396; Alin, 121-2.

The site is on a large lower spur of Mt. Dourdouvana. It was inhabited in Neolithic times, and continuously from EH II if not before. Many MH cist-graves have been found here. The Early Mycenaean period is represented by pottery (in the Chaeronea Museum). This site was large, and probably important.

(I have visited this site; there is material in the National Museum at Athens as well as the Chaeronea Museum).

(ii) Phocis

13. AGHIOS THEODOROS (MEDEON, or ANTICYRA). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 443;

Alin, 132 (Antikyrra).

A small hill, overlooking the Corinthian Gulf near Anticyra. Sherd-material included EH III - MH and LH III, but no Early Mycenaean. A series of fine stone-built rectangular tombs here certainly contained LH IIB-IIIAl and later pottery, and two fine late MH vases illustrated by Hunter (The Bronze Age in Thessaly and Its Environs, with special reference of Mycenaean Culture (B. Litt. thesis at Oxford, 1953), Pl. 31:247-8) may come from similar graves, which would suggest that the cemetery was in use continuously.

(Material from this site is in the Chaeronea Museum).

14. KIRRHA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 449; Alin, 132.

A low mound site, near the coast east of Itea, continuously inhabited from EH II. The architectural evidence seems to end at the MH-LH transition (cf. Y. Nikopoulou, in AthAA 1 (1968), 144-6), and the site seems to have been used thereafter as a cemetery. Vases from at least two graves may be dated to the Early Mycenaean period, but most of the well-provided graves, called 'MH IIIB' or LH I' in the publication, are in fact Middle Mycenaean.

(Material from this site and no. 15 is in the Delphi Museum).

15. KRISA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 447; Alin, 130-2.

An acropolis site, north-east of Kirrha. Its architectural strata show a gap between late MH and LH IIIAl; one jar from a grave may be Early Mycenaean (BCH 62 (1938), Pl. 24:5).

16. DELPHI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 446; Alin, 129-30.

MH sherds have been found here. Some pottery has been attributed

to Early Mycenaean (L. Lérat, "Fouilles de Delphes (1934-1935)", in Revue Archéologique 6th Series 12 (1938), 188, note 4, and BCH 59 (1935), 337, fig. 1:6); the illustrated sherd is definitely not Early Mycenaean, and the others may not be either.

17. PIPERIS (DRACHMANI). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 457; Alin, 133-4.

A mound site, north of the Kephisos river and well to the west of Orchomenos. The earliest habitation is Neolithic; a late MH house-deposit and much Mycenaean pottery have been found in the upper layer. Hunter noted at least one Early Mycenaean sherd, a cup decorated with double axes (op. cit., (supra, no. 13), Pl. 26:176).

(This material is in the Chaeronea Museum).

18. ALPENOI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 468.

A settlement on a low spur near Thermopylae. MH sherds and a possible LH I goblet-base have been found.

(iii) Euboea

19. CHALKIS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 553; Alin, 126, Prehistoric Euboea, no. 37.

MH sherds have been found with the vases from the chamber tombs east of the modern town, and there are several prehistoric sites in the vicinity. The tombs contained LH IB and much LH IIA pottery, and at least one LM IB import. This was probably a centre of some importance.

(This material is in Chalkis Museum).

20. MANIKA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 556; Alin, 126; Prehistoric Euboea, no. 35.

This site is on a low headland north of Chalkis. It was inhabited

continuously from the Neolithic period, and was of importance in the EH II-III period. The MH and LH periods are represented by sherd-material, which includes at least one Early Mycenaean (Prehistoric Euboea, 57, note 67).

21. LEFKANDI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 554; Alin, 126 (Keropoli); Prehistoric Euboea, no. 48.

A long mound site, on a hill overlooking the sea about halfway between Chalkis and Eretria. It was inhabited continuously from a period equivalent to EH III. There was a long MH sequence, but the Early and Middle Mycenaean layers were mixed and telescoped. Sherd-material includes LH IA, and one or two cist-tombs of early date have been found (e.g. Lefkandi, 10, fig. 10). This was probably an important site, to judge from its size.

(I took part in excavations at this site; the material is in Eretria Museum).

22. AMARYNTHOS. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 564; Alin, 126; Prehistoric Euboea, no. 62.

A prominent hill, east of Eretria. It was inhabited continuously from EH II, to judge from sherds found. No sherds found can be certainly dated Early Mycenaean (Prehistoric Euboea, 100, fig. 25:1, 3, 4 are probably Middle Mycenaean), but the continuity of occupation can scarcely be doubted. This site was probably the most important of the Eretria plain at this period.

23. POLITIKA (KAFKALA). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 557; Alin, 126; Prehistoric Euboea, no. 26.

A low mound, west of Psakhna in north central Euboea, near the west coast. EH and MH sherds have been found; it has been stated to have LH I-II occupation (Prehistoric Euboea, 104), but nothing is mentioned in the text.

24. ROVIES (PALAIOCHORI). Prehistoric Euboea, no. 20.

A hill near the west coast in northern Euboea. EH and MH sherds have been found, and a holemouth-jar spout is almost certainly Early Mycenaean (Prehistoric Euboea, 48, note 47).

25. YIALTRA (KASTELLI), Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 559; Prehistoric Euboea, no. 3.

A fine natural acropolis at the east end of the north-west peninsula of Euboea. Neolithic, EH and MH sherds were found, also a "LH I cup stem" and "LH II bowl fragment".

SUMMARY

This enormous area is proportionately the least well represented by sites, although MH sites have been widely found. This is particularly disappointing, because it is very likely that Boeotia was an early centre of Mycenaean development, and that Thebes and Orchomenos were sites of great importance. The Mycenaean culture seems to have taken hold in Boeotia and Euboea earlier than Phocis, where MH traditions in pottery and grave-types seem to have lingered. In contrast with Boeotia, Phocis and Euboea do not seem to have been very important areas, although probably well-populated.

(7) Thessaly (see MAP 7)

1. IOLKOS (VOLOS). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 480; Alin, 142-4.

A large mound site in the western part of the modern town. It seems to have been inhabited continuously from EH II. In deep soundings Early Mycenaean levels have been found, in which some LH I and more LH II were mixed: a small pyxis (Praktika 1956, 125, fig. 2) is quite probably locally made. This was probably the major site of Mycenaean Thessaly, although the finds are rather meagre; a tholos tomb at Kapakli, to the west, belongs to the Middle Mycenaean period.

(I have visited this site; the material is in the Volos Museum).

2. NELEIA (PEUKAKIA). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 482; Alin, 144.

A low promontory opposite Volos, with a deep prehistoric deposit. Trial excavations produced material continuous from Neolithic, and two architectural phases were assigned to LH I and LH II (D. Theochares, in Praktika 1957, 61). A group of vases stated to come from a tomb in the Demetrias area has been dated LH IIB (OMP, 50), but some might be earlier (AthMitt 14 (1889), Pls. 9:2, 10:3, 4, 11:1).

(This material is in Volos Museum).

3. DHIMINI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 483; Alin, 144-5.

A small mound site, a short distance west of Volos, inhabited continuously from the Neolithic period. Hunter noted two early vases in the material in the National Museum (op.cit., (supra, (6) no. 13), 189, A 148-9), one plain high-handled-goblet and one decorated with ogival canopy. These might be LH IIA or LH IIB.

(I have visited this site).

4. ANKHIALOS (PYRASOS). Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 489.

A high mound site, on the coast at the northern end of the Krokian plain, inhabited continuously from the Neolithic period. MH and LH sherds were found, including one Vapheio cup-rim not later than LH IIA (Thessalika 2 (1959), 60, fig. 26:1; fig. 26:2 may also be from a Vapheio cup).

5. ZERELIA. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 493; Alin, 145.

A high mound site on the south-west edge of the Krokian plain. The site is mostly made up of Neolithic strata; there were MH sherds and graves in the top stratum and some Mycenaean, including Early Mycenaean cups (cf. Hunter, op.cit. (supra, (6) no. 13), 184, A 135, and 205, A 199).

6. TSINI. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 536; Alin, 141.

A low mound site deep in the west Thessalian plain, north-west of Pharsalos. The site was apparently Neolithic (Prehistoric Thessaly, 10, no. 88); 'mittelmykenische' was also found. This must include a fine sherd in the collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, from the neck of a ewer with a rib at the base of the neck and foliate band decoration below (Hunter, op.cit. (supra, (6) no. 13), 211, A 213). This must be LH IIA or Middle Mycenaean.

DEFINITELY NOT EARLY MYCENAEAN

1. GEORGIKON. Mycenaean Gazetteer, no. 545; Alin, 142 (with Tsipousi).

A tholos tomb, south-west of Karditsa. Investigation of the surviving fill produced 'matt-painted' sherds, thought to be of Early Mycenaean date at first (D. Theochares, in Deltion 15 (1960), 171).

This date is no longer accepted; the tomb's size, remote position, and slab-roofed dromos (a feature of Iron Age tholoi) argue against it.

#### SUMMARY

The rarity of material in Thessaly suggests that Mycenaean impact in the Early Mycenaean period was slight, almost confined to the Gulf of Pagasae, which had also been most clearly linked with the southern MH cultures. Volos was probably the most important site of the Early Mycenaean period.

Chapter IX

## ACTIVITY OVERSEAS

(1) The Aegean

In Chapter II, I have shown reason to believe that there was lively trade on a small scale both between the Aegean cultures and the mainland, and between different provinces of the mainland, during the MH period. The most obvious export was wheelmade Grey Minyan pottery, the most obvious import Melian obsidian; in the Late Phase beads of stone and faience were traded along the east coast of Greece, small quantities of precious metal seem to have been in circulation, and there are signs of a greater interest in the mainland on the part of the Aegean cultures. It seems likely that the spread of Grey Minyan as far as Chalcidice and apparently Troy, where the ring-stemmed goblet was imitated in the local ware very similar to Grey Minyan, may be attributed to MH enterprise, since there is very little sign of other Aegean interest in these areas; and I think it fair to assume that at least some MH traders, probably of the central area, knew their way about their own coasts and the Cyclades reasonably well by the Late Phase. I have suggested that Aegean traders were sailing up both the coasts of Greece in search of metal; the mainlanders may also have been able to supply traders with wood, or with special local products, such as silver at Thorikos, or fine stones in Laconia.

In the Early Mycenaean period, there is similar evidence for trade.

The evidence consists predominantly of pottery, as far as mainland activity in the Aegean is concerned. This may not necessarily have been a by-product of a more important trade: the islanders seem to have been unable to achieve the fine wares produced in Crete and on the mainland, and imported considerable quantities of both. The date of finds abroad suggests that the mainland traders were already extending their range in the Early Mycenaean period, and they may have used the Cycladic islands more as staging-posts than as markets; moreover, it seems likely that the wealth of the mainland princes would have been sufficient to attract the markets of indispensable raw materials to them, and they would not have needed to go in search of them. However, small-scale trade in quantities too small for the princes to bother with may have continued, and obsidian continued to be imported.

The LH IA Vapheio cup was extremely popular at Phylakopi, and whole cups or fragments have also been found on Kea, probably Kythnos, Delos, Rhodes, and even Miletus;<sup>1</sup> the rounded cup was also found occasionally. This is perhaps surprising, for the mainland cups were not of as high quality technically as those of Crete or Kythera, and LM IA large vases were imported; possibly the mainland traders were more willing to be bothered with a trade in small open vases than the Cretans. Later in LH I, the typical rounded cups with white-dotted spirals and double axes

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1. Phylakopi I, Pl. 13:15-6, II, Pl. 14:3, and many unpublished; Hesperia 31 (1962), Pl. 97:e (Kea); Cyclades, 30 (Kythnos); H. Gallet de Santerre, Délos primitive et archaïque (1958), Pl. 11: fig. 22a; Ialysos, 167, fig. 7:104; IstMitt 9-10 (1959-60), Pl. 7:1, top, left (Miletus).

were exported, even reaching Troy,<sup>2</sup> and small containers such as askoi, small jars, and squat jugs appeared.<sup>3</sup> The squat jug with racket decoration was even imported in Crete.<sup>4</sup> 'Palatial' LH IIA was also exported in some quantity,<sup>5</sup> and may even have influenced Cretan pottery but LM IB was more popular in the Cyclades.

In LH IIB, the picture begins to change. The LM IB destruction deposit of Aghia Irini on Kea contained not only fine LM IB vases, but LH IIB goblets, alabastra, at least one tall conical jar, and some small decorated and plain vases of no obvious value.<sup>6</sup> The 'Ephyraean goblet', a hall-mark of LH IIB, was also found on Kythera, Melos and Rhodes,<sup>7</sup> and a fair quantity of LH IIB pottery at Troy.<sup>8</sup> LM II pottery is more difficult to trace; it was in this period that a mainland dynasty seems to have established itself at Knossos, and late in LH IIB mainland colonists seem to have arrived in Rhodes.<sup>9</sup> The

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2. Phylakopi II, 15, fig. 2:19, Pl. 14:8, 12; AA 83 (1968), 387, fig. 21:b, 388, fig. 23:c (Naxos); Troy III, fig. 383:1, 35.
  3. E.g. Phylakopi II, fig. 2:82, 96.
  4. N. Platon, in Praktika 1966, 147, Pl. 130:a (Zakro); unpublished from Royal Road, Knossos.
  5. Phylakopi II, 146, fig. 123, Pl. 11:137, 163; Hesperia 33 (1964) Pl. 57:c; AA 83 (1968) 388, fig. 23:d; Ialysos, probably 168, fig. 8:123, and 170, fig. 9:148.
  6. This material is unpublished, from Room 1 of House A.
  7. Supra, Chapter V (iv), note 16.
  8. Troy III, figs. 383:5, 20, 26-7, 36-7, 407:1-10, 409:37-954.
  9. Ialysos, 262, note 5.

'Mycenaeen expansion' had begun.

Indeed, the earliest expansion may be dated late in LH IIA, but is in a different direction, to the island of Scopelos (ancient Peparethos). A princely tomb, rectangular and built of stone, has been found on this island.<sup>10</sup> Most of the pottery that it contained was LH IIB, including good examples of the 'Ephyraean goblet' and LH IIB/III A1 alabastron; but a goblet with highswung handles was decorated with a typical LH IIA spiral pattern,<sup>11</sup> and a pointed rhyton decorated with lilies probably also belongs to this period. The grave contained rich goods, weapons, metal vases, a gold head-band, and some other objects; the head-band and the decoration of a fine gold hilt-cover that proved to have come from the tomb hark back to the Shaft Graves. There were traces of a building nearby, with which some goblet-stems of low LH II-III A1 type were associated.<sup>12</sup> Very little in the contents of this grave may be suggested to be Cretan, and I am therefore unwilling to accept the connection made more than once with the legend of a colonisation of the island by Rhadamanthys.<sup>13</sup> The grave is of a type found in central Greece, and the appearance of 'Mycenaeans' on the island may be plausibly connected with the general

10. H. Platon, "Ὁ τάφος τοῦ Σταφύλου καὶ ὁ Μινωικὸς ἀποικισμὸς τῆς Πεπαρήθου", in KC 3 (1949), 534-73, especially 541-56 (account of excavation and finds).
11. Cf. MP, 353, fig. 59: motif 46:12.
12. Platon, op.cit. (supra, note 10), 547-8.
13. Platon, op.cit. (supra, note 10), 561-73; M.S.F. Hood, The Home of the Heroes: the Aegean before the Greeks (1967), 74-5.

spread of Mycenaean culture northwards. However, there is no trace of Mycenaean interest in Macedonia or Thrace, except a possible early sherd from the neighbourhood of Thessaloniki.<sup>14</sup>

It must be pointed out that no other good evidence exists for a Mycenaean expansion into the Aegean before the Middle Mycenaean period. It has often been stated that there was a colony at Miletus;<sup>15</sup> in fact, the bulk of the early Aegean pottery from the site is Cretan, and it is quite probable that all the Aegean pottery is the result of trade. A sword very like Type B examples has been found at Smyrna, but there is no guarantee that it was originally found here or in the area.<sup>16</sup> 'LH I' pottery from a bothros at Poliochni on Lemnos is probably provincial LM IA, like that from a bothros on Samos.<sup>17</sup> A mould for butterfly-shaped beads from Emborio on Chios cannot be considered distinctively Mycenaean.<sup>18</sup> Finally, imitations of stemmed cups on Lesbos certainly look fairly early, but are more probably the result of trade en route to Troy than of any genuine interest in Lesbos itself.<sup>19</sup>

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14. D.H. French, Index of Prehistoric Sites in Central Macedonia (1967), 59: Kalamaria.
  15. E.g. E.T. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age (1964), 116; Lord William Taylour, The Mycenaean (1964), 156.
  16. N.K. Sandars, "The First Aegean Swords and their Ancestry", in AJA 65 (1961), 27-8.
  17. L. Bernabo Brea, Poliochni I (1964), 30: Mycenaean Gazetteer, 189-90 (Samos).
  18. ArchRep 1954, 20, Pl. 2B.
  19. W. Lamb, Excavations at Thermi on Lesbos (1936), 141-2, Pl. 18: 644-5, 647; the decorated pottery is LH IIIA1 (142, fig. 42:1-2).

There is one piece of evidence that might suggest that trade in the Aegean included more important things than pottery. This is a Type B sword-hilt, supposed to have come from Thera. It was acquired with a fragment of sword-blade, inlaid with gold axes on niello, and with other weapons from Amorgos, by the Danish National Museum of Antiquities.<sup>20</sup> Although it is difficult to see how such finds could have been made on Thera, it is not impossible that a tomb should have been found during the excavation of the pumice for cement.<sup>21</sup> This sword hilt must either be explained as an import from Mycenae, or as evidence that the type was developed or made outside Mycenae; in the absence of other evidence, the former seems more likely.

It may be argued that the mainland traders concerned operated principally from the Argolid-Corinthia. There are two reasons for believing this, first, that the Mycenaean style seems to have been developed there, secondly, that spectrographical analysis has shown that many of the imported sherds at Phylakopi are of Type A.<sup>22</sup> This type's homeland appears to be the east Peloponnese: it has been found at sites in the Argolid-Corinthia, also at Megara and Aghios Stephanos, where it might be an imported ware. The Argolid-Corinthia is a home, not only of the original Mycenaean ware, but also of the typical LH IB cups, of

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20. Supra, Chapter VII (ii), note 14.

21. I owe this suggestion to Dr. H.W. Catling.

22. H.W. Catling, E.E. Richards, and A.E. Blin-Stoyle, "Correlations between Composition and Provenance of Mycenaean and Minoan Pottery", in BSA 58 (1963), 104-5; of Pl. 31:a, all but 21, 27, 29, and 31 are Type A.

the 'palatial' LH IIA and of the 'Ephyraean goblets': most of these types may have been made principally if not exclusively in the area. It is also more likely that in this area there was scope for a true pottery-industry, given the wide range of territory and great resources probably under Mycenae's control. Further evidence might suggest that Aegina could also have produced these types, or even sites in Attica; but for the above reasons, the Argolid-Corinthia remains a strong candidate for at least part of the trade.

(2) The Levant

Mycenaean contacts with the Near East are represented, as in the Aegean, by pottery, but it seems likely that traders went to the Near East with more in mind than selling a few vases. For the Aegean, the Near East was the nearest organised source of basic materials like copper and tin and of luxuries like gold, ivory, and semiprecious stones. I have argued above that in the Shaft Grave period these materials may have come to Mycenae; in the Early Mycenaean period, there were other mainland centres to create a demand, and the rulers of Mycenae may not have disposed of so much wealth. The mainland traders may have been attempting to eliminate the middleman, in this case probably the Cretans and maybe islanders; they may also have been exploring on their own account. It is by no means clear what traders from any part of the Aegean offered in return for the goods and materials bought; the bulk of it may have been made up of untraceable materials like textiles, foodstuffs, and wood, and fine metalwork that may have gone straight into royal treasuries.

As in the Aegean, the first Mycenaean vases found are cups: spiral-decorated LH IB-IIA cups have been found at Lachish and Abusir.<sup>1</sup> A 'possible LH I sherd' has been reported from Tell Sukas on the Syrian coast.<sup>2</sup> An extremely fine stemmed cup from Lachish and a doubleaxe-decorated cup with some odd features from Cyprus are no later than

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1. Ialysos, 204, fig. 14:C (Abusir), D (Lachish).

2. V. Hankey, "Mycenaean Pottery in the Middle East: Notes on Finds since 1951", in BSA 62 (1967), 113.

LH IIA;<sup>3</sup> two shallow cups with plant decoration inside, from Enkomi and Saqqara, are more likely to be LH IIB.<sup>4</sup> Small containers are also well-represented: there are several LH IIA squat jugs and alabastra in Egypt, one decorated in Marine Style and the others with rackets,<sup>5</sup> while one squat jug and several alabastra are LH IIB.<sup>6</sup> Pieces of other fine closed vases, with Marine Style decoration, have been found at Alalakh and Byblos,<sup>7</sup> and of 'palatial' jars at Egyptian Thebes and Byblos.<sup>8</sup> Pieces of LH IIB jars have been found at Gezer and at Amman in Transjordan.<sup>9</sup>

Cretan pottery of the equivalent periods, LM IA-II is rarer, but more is continually being found. The total quantity of Aegean pottery, however, is minute compared with the amount of Cypriot pottery found in the Levant and Egypt: Aegean vases in Egypt were often found with Cypriot vases.<sup>10</sup> Any suggestion that the mainland or Crete 'dominated'

3. Ialysos, 212, fig. 20; CVA Cyprus 2, 19-20, Pl. 29:1-3.
4. Ialysos, 211, fig. 19:G (Saqqara), H (Enkomi).
5. Ialysos, 204, fig. 14:A, B; 205, fig. 15:A, G; 210, fig. 18:211, fig. 19:F.
6. Ialysos, 205, fig. 15:B-F; 211, fig. 19:J-L.
7. L. Woolley, Alalakh (1955), Pl. 129: ATP/47/50, 50b. Ialysos, 211, fig. 19:I.
8. Ialysos, 211, fig. 19:M, N; 214, fig. 21.
9. F. Stubbings, Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant (1951), 55, fig. 11:b; Hankey, op.cit. (supra, note 2), 135-6, Pl. 31:b.
10. R.S. Merrillees, The Cypriot Bronze Age Pottery Found In Egypt (1968), 195.

trade with the Near East is based on totally inadequate evidence, and much of the trade may have gone through Cyprus. Three silver vases found at Enkomi, one inlaid with bucrania and lotus ornament, very like a bowl in the Dendra tholos, one a Vapheio cup decorated with grooves like that from the Vapheio tholos, and a plain bowl with a wishbone handle, have specifically mainland parallels, but belong late in the Early Mycenaean or in the Middle Mycenaean period:<sup>11</sup> they suggest that by that time trade with Cyprus was an important factor. Crete continued to import Egyptian stone vases and to acquire raw materials and luxuries until the fall of Knossos; whether under a native or mainland dynasty, Knossos seems to have been a major centre for the importing and probably redistribution of these goods. There is no reason to believe that the establishment of a mainland dynasty at Knossos would have favoured Mycenaean enterprise.

The 'Keftiu' paintings should be discussed in this connection.<sup>12</sup> These are found at Thebes in tombs of the reigns of Hatshepsut, Tutmosis III and Amenophis II, and show variously labelled and depicted people bringing goods, generally called 'tribute', that include types that cannot be anything but Aegean, notably Vapheio cups and animal's head rhyta. The gift-bearers were originally shown as beardless, having long locks of hair, and wearing a form of dress that seems

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11. H.W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World (1964) 46, Pl. 1:a-b.

12. The most recent discussion is by J. Vercoutter, L'Égypte et le Monde égéen préhellénique (1956).

intended to represent the Cretan loincloth and cod-piece. Later they were shown wearing a patterned kilt, representations of which were painted over the original loincloths in the case of one famous painting in the Tomb of Rekhmire. There has been a great deal of controversy over these paintings and the whereabouts of Keftiu, in the course of which I believe that certain important points have been forgotten.

One of the most significant of these is the nomenclature of the gift-bearers. In the earliest tomb, that of Senmut, this has been lost; in the next, that of Useramen, they are stated to be from "the Isles in the Midst of the Sea". In the third, that of Rekhmire, they are from "Keftiu and the Isles in the Midst of the Sea". In the fourth, that of Menkheperasonb, they have no name, but the king of Keftiu is shown separately, as a bearded man, with the kings of Tunip, Kadesh, Hatti, and two others. The actual gift-bearers have already become mixed with Syro-Palestinians, each carrying the others' typical goods and some being of mixed type. Later, the term Keftiu is used alone, but there is little distinctive left about the people: in the tomb of Amenemhab, they are shown as ordinary Syro-Palestinians, carrying some 'Keftiu' goods. To group all these paintings together as Keftiu scenes is therefore misleading. The original term, "The Isles in the Midst of the Sea", can hardly refer to anywhere but the Aegean, and the evidence favours the identification of Keftiu with some part of the Aegean, but the Egyptians may not have had a very clear idea of the geography of that area.

Furumark made much of the 'Syrian' objects being carried by the

Keftiu, to support his theory that only one embassy came from Crete and that later paintings were copies of this, mixed with other elements.<sup>13</sup> Vercoutter has rightly pointed out that many new types appear in the Tomb of Rekhmire painting, and that it is dangerous to rule on whether a type is Aegean or not in the absence of evidence. Moreover, the Egyptian artists may have represented types with which they were unfamiliar by types which they knew already, as may be the case with the swords and some of the jugs. They were not after all, producing a faithful representation of a single scene but a work of art. However, the later paintings do not seem to have contained any new elements but to have copied a set of patterns; this suggests that no further embassies came for a long time.

It has sometimes been suggested that the kilts of the later paintings show that the persons concerned are Mycenaeans, and that they are an embassy from the new rulers of Knossos.<sup>14</sup> But there is no evidence that the kilt was worn in Greece; the Thisbe gems, on which it appears, are forgeries, and it is difficult to see how the kilt can be identified with the 'drawers' worn by the hunters on the 'Lion Hunt' dagger and the warriors on the 'Battle in the Glen' ring, as Hutchinson suggests; the iconography of the types is different, and there is no later evidence of anything like a kilt on the mainland. The kilt does, however, appear on frescoes that probably belong to the

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13. Ialysos, 223-46.

14. E.g. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek (1959), 38; R.W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete (1962), 110-11.

period of the Last Palace at Knossos;<sup>15</sup> its appearance at Knossos is likely to be a result of a change in internal fashion and not closely datable. What seems absolutely certain is that the people from the Isles in the Midst of the Sea and Keftiu are either Cretans or people very strongly Cretanised; the paintings therefore have no bearing on mainland activity in the Levant.

The original appearances of mainlanders in the Levant seem to have been rather tentative, but increased in the Middle Mycenaean period, when a 'colony' was established on Rhodes. With the passing of Knossos as a major force in the Aegean, the mainland, and probably Mycenae in particular, was left a free hand; a flood of LH IIIA2 pottery reached the Levant, all arguably of Argive origin,<sup>16</sup> as an indicator of the strength of Mycenaean contacts, and a late Type C sword was even found at Gezer.<sup>17</sup> Copper and ivory must have been two of the main commodities sought. But in this area the mainlanders continued to appear only as traders, whereas they settled parts of the Aegean coast of Anatolia.

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15. Pl. II, Supplementary Pl. 27.

16. Catling. et al., op.cit. (supra, (1), note 22), 105, 109, 112.

17. N.K. Sandars, "Later Aegean Bronze Swords", in AJA 67 (1963), 122.

(3) The West and North

From the Early Bronze Age the mainland of Greece was more a part of the world of the Aegean and the East than of Europe. But in MH times the local cultures of north and west Greece had contacts with Epirus and Macedonia, and I have already noted evidence for Aegean interest in the Leukas-Epirus area. Possible or probable MH pottery has also been found in south Italy and the Aeolian Islands, and strays as far away as Yugoslavia and Rumania. The Mycenaeans, therefore, are likely to have inherited some rudimentary connections with barbarian Europe.

The most certain sign of their presence, pottery, has only been found at a restricted number of sites. A great quantity of Mycenaean pottery has been found on Lipari and Filicudi in the Aeolian Islands, including several examples of LH IA and much that is probably Early Mycenaean.<sup>1</sup> In Albania, a fine Vapheio cup with formalised ripple-decoration has been found, that is most probably LH IIA.<sup>2</sup> Since probable MH has been found in the area of Taranto as well as LH III, one might expect LH I-II, but the sherds so dated by Biancofiore<sup>3</sup> are more probably LH III. Some Sicilian vases have been claimed to be imitations of Vapheio cups, but none have the characteristic Mycenaean rib;<sup>4</sup> a single four-handled jar from Sicily is almost

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1. Lord William Taylour, Mycenaean Pottery in Italy and Adjacent Areas (1958), 13-33; Pls. 2:17, 3:12, 8:4 are LH IA.

2. BSA 62 (1967), Pl. 20:1.

3. F. Biancofiore, Civiltà micenea nell' Italia meridionale (1967), Pl. 2:98, 101, 177, 212.

4. Taylour, op.cit. (supra, note 1), 67.

certainly an imitation of the Mycenaean type, but Mycenaean examples of this shape continued to LH IIB.<sup>5</sup> The earliest Mycenaean pottery in Sicily is LH IIIA1:<sup>6</sup> all the early pottery-trading therefore seems to have centred on the Aeolian Islands. Very much the same classes were found here as in the Near East: Vapheio cups, rounded cups, small containers, and at least one piece of a large jar.<sup>7</sup>

Exports and imitations of Mycenaean metalwork are of greater interest. Two swords from tumuli in Albania seem to be Type A rapiers,<sup>8</sup> one associated with MH and MC slotted spears and the other with the LH IIA Vapheio cup just noted; it seems most likely that the latter is of mainland origin, but it might come either from the Argolid or Messenia. Other weapons from the Ionian Islands, Sicily and Rumania have been thought to be Type A swords or local imitations, but in no case is the link certain.<sup>9</sup> Blade-fragments from the R tumuli on Leukas were expressly stated by Dörpfeld to be of copper, and cannot therefore be of LH origin.<sup>10</sup> The Sicilian blades are mostly very short, with wide blades of rhomboid section, no midrib, and rounded points: only one,

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5. L. Bernabò Brea, Sicily before the Greeks (1957), 133, fig. 27:B; cf. AthMitt 14 (1889), Pl. 10; a LH IIB jar of this shape was discovered in the 1968 Citadel House excavations at Mycenae.
  6. Bernabò Brea, op.cit. (supra, note 5), 134-5, Pl. 59.
  7. Taylour, op.cit. (supra, note 1), Pl. 4:5.
  8. N.G.L. Hammond, Epirus (1967), 320, and BSA 62 (1967), Pl. 19:1 (called cruciform sword in the text, 81-2).
  9. N.K. Sandars, "The First Aegean Swords and their Ancestry", in AJA 65 (1961), 26-7.
  10. Sandars, op.cit. (supra, (2) note 17), 145; W. Dörpfeld, Alt-Ithaka I (1927), 291.

from Plemmirio, is long and narrow with a true midrib, and this has three rivets across the base of the blade and a poor tang.<sup>11</sup> It came from a grave of the Thapsos culture, dated by the imported Mycenaean vases, the earliest being LH IIIA1, as just noted; a spearhead from the same grave seems to be related to the great one-piece spears of the Knossos Warrior Graves,<sup>12</sup> and it is therefore probable that these weapons are the result of influence in Middle Mycenaean times.

The swords of Rumania are all stray finds, and many have lost their hilts, so that their type cannot be regarded as certain; but they include some extremely long blades, 90 cm. or over, with well-marked midribs and sometimes rivets in the blade. The loss of the hilt in so many cases suggests that these weapons were weak there, as Type A swords tended to be, but the local Type C imitations in Epirus and Bulgaria were similarly weak in the hilt because of the addition of rivets.<sup>13</sup> These were also of great length, and were sometimes found with long spears of the Warrior Grave type. It seems the most economical thesis to group all these weapons together as the products of a local tradition dependent on the Aegean, again probably starting in the Middle Mycenaean period. A single fairly short weapon from Rumania with grooved decoration along the blade has a very close parallel from

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11. P. Orsi, "Necropoli Sicule", in Bollettino di Paletnologia Italiana 17 (1891), Pl. 11:10.

12. Orsi, op.cit. (supra, note 10), Pl. 11:16.

13. Sandars, op.cit. (supra, (2) note 17), 121.

Ithaka, without context.<sup>14</sup> Both have a rhomboid section rather than a midrib and a wide base with at least two rivets: they probably derive from a different tradition that may have an Aegean origin.

Other traces of the influence of Aegean metalworking have been noted from time to time; they are generally rather difficult to date independently of the Aegean framework, but it seems that they can or should, in some cases, be placed in the Middle Mycenaean period rather than any earlier. This is the case with the Beitzch helmet, which may be compared to one from a Knossos Warrior Grave,<sup>15</sup> and with a spouted bronze cup with fine foliate-band decoration from Dohnsen in Hanover,<sup>16</sup> whose closest parallels belong to that period. It may also be the case with the technique of decorating hilt-plates with tiny gold nails, found on daggers in Brittany and Wessex; this occurs not only in the Shaft Graves and Early Mycenaean tholoi, but in graves at Dendra and at Knossos in the time of the Last Palace.<sup>17</sup> The clay vases clearly deriving from metal Vapheio cups from north Italy and Nienhagen are similarly difficult to date closely, since this shape

14. V. Dumitrescu, "Rapière en bronze trouvé au sud-ouest de Bucarest", in Dacia 5-6 (1935-6); S. Benton, "Antiquities from Thiaki", in BSA 29 (1927-8), 113-6.
15. M. Gimbutas, Bronze Age Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe (1965), 58, fig. 23:2 on 59; BSA 47 (1952), Pl. 50:a.
16. E. Sprockhoff, "Eine mykenische Bronzetasche von Dohnsen, Kreis Celle", in Germania 39 (1961), 11-22.
17. S. Piggott, "The Early Bronze Age in Wessex", in ProcPS 4 (1933), 62-4, 95; Sandars, op.cit. (supra, (2) note 17), 120.

continued in the Middle Mycenaean period.<sup>18</sup>

Two gold cups, from Rillaton in Cornwall and Fritzdorf near Bonn have repeatedly been stated to imitate Mycenaean technique;<sup>19</sup> but their shape is not Mycenaean, nor is the method of rivetting the handle, and the ribbing of the Rillaton cup is rounded, whereas that of the Shaft Grave cups, themselves unique, to which it is compared, is sharp.<sup>20</sup> The presence of an omphalos on the base is paralleled on several Aegean cups, but seems too common a feature to be specifically Aegean.<sup>21</sup>

It has been argued that the spread of faience beads and of a certain style of decoration are the result of Mycenaean influence,<sup>22</sup> but this cannot be proved. Faience beads were already reaching Europe before the rise of the Mycenaean culture, and the types found are Near Eastern rather than Mycenaean;<sup>23</sup> moreover, there is some evidence for local factories.<sup>24</sup> Sulimirski has shown that the ornamental style

18. L. Barfield, "A Bronze Age Cup from Lake Ledro (Trento)", in Antiquity 39 (1965), 48-9; Gimbutas, op.cit. (supra, note 15), 58, fig. 22:1.
19. Most recently, S. Piggott, Ancient Europe (1965), 134.
20. SG, Pl. 104:392-3.
21. M.S.F. Hood, "Another Warrior Grave at Aghios Ioannis near Knossos", in BSA 51 (1956), 87-8.
22. Piggott, op.cit. (supra, note 19), 136, with fig. 73.
23. Gimbutas, op.cit. (supra, note 15), 52-5.
24. Gimbutas, op.cit. (supra, note 15), 54-5; R.G. Newton and C. Renfrew, "The Origin of the British Faience Beads reconsidered", to be published in ProcPS.

cannot be very closely dated:<sup>25</sup> the bone objects on which it appears have few Greek parallels and the style may be noted at Alalakh and in LM III Crete.<sup>26</sup> It has been argued that both faience beads and bone ornaments might come from Anatolia.<sup>27</sup>

More certain, though probably indirect, links are those between the bone mounts of Bush Barrow and Shaft Grave Iota, and between the amber spacer-beads of Britain and the Peloponnese, already noted in Chapter III. It seems probable that the amber beads were imported into Greece; they, and the bone mounts, might reach Greece and Britain from a common undiscovered centre. Amber is the only certainly European substance to have been imported into Greece; nearly all tested examples have proved to be 'Baltic'.<sup>28</sup> Its period of greatest popularity seems to have been the Early and Middle Mycenaean period. Knowledge of it must surely have come to the Mycenaeans through an area with which they were already in contact; on the evidence, either the Aeolian Islands or Epirus would be possible for amber has been found in both, though in later contexts.<sup>29</sup> We may note that a single piece which could be Sicilian amber was found in a very early

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25. T. Sulimirski, "Barrow Grave 6 at Komárov", in Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology 4 (1964), 171-88, especially 179.
26. Piggott, op.cit. (supra, note 19), 135, fig. 72; BSA Supplementary Paper 1 (1923), 128, fig. 110 (Palaikastro).
27. J. Mellaart, "Anatolian Trade with Europe and Anatolian Geography and Culture Provinces in the Late Bronze Age", in AnatSt 18 (1968), 187-202, especially 194.
28. C.W. Beck, "Amber in Archaeology", in Archaeology 23 (1970), 10-11.
29. N.G.L. Hammon, Epirus, (1967), 331 (tumuli of Mati valley); Beck, op.cit. (supra, note 28), 11 (Lipari).

context in the Vagenas tholos at Pylos.<sup>30</sup>

The existence of contacts with Lipari and continental Europe is easier to demonstrate than to explain. I have already suggested that the Shaft Grave kings might have been channelling trade in metal from Europe, and have been sent amber as a 'friendship-gift'. This may have come to an end because closer relations with Cyprus made it possible for the Mycenaean rulers to obtain copper from there; but an interest in Italy certainly continued in later Mycenaean times, and some Mycenaean goods spread very far afield. They, like the amber, demonstrate a trading connection rather than explain it. I do not believe that it is yet possible to be at all certain about the nature and extent of Mycenaean contacts with Europe, but I suspect that they will prove to be deeper and more widespread than the evidence at present suggests.

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30. Beck, op.cit. (supra, note 28), 11.

Chapter X

## HISTORICAL SUMMARY (See MAP 10)

In the EH II period, a remarkably uniform culture extended over central and southern Greece. It flourished most in the Argolid, where fortifications and fine buildings have been found at Lerna and Tiryns, but there were also fortified centres in east Attica and Euboea, and all along the eastern coasts there are signs of contact with the Cyclades. Cultural continuity was broken violently at the end of EH II; the succeeding cultures were less developed, and society on the mainland reverted to the village level. The connection with the Cyclades was not broken, but after EH II the mainland stagnated compared with the Cyclades and Crete, where more sophisticated urban cultures with advanced technology developed. Despite the relative closeness of some of these centres, the existence of a Cretan colony on Kythera and continuing contacts with the Aegean, the mainland remained poor and unorganised.

Developments in the early phases of the MH period are difficult to trace, since few sites have produced strata of this date. But it seems clear that varieties of the MH culture, which largely derived from the Argive EH III culture, spread over much of Greece. There does not seem to have been a permanent drop in the population; indeed, western Messenia seems to have been widely settled for the first time. But while the exchange of fine pottery like Grey Minyan and of obsidian shows that the

various provinces of Greece maintained contact with one another, the culture of the mainland was by no means as unified as in EH II. Outside the central area, Grey Minyan and Matt-Painted were rare: there were peculiar local traditions in pottery, and the burial-tumulus, besides appearing at Drachmani in Phocis and Aphidna in Attica, seems to have been common along the west coast of Greece as far as Leukas.

In the second half of the period, there are signs of growing mainland prosperity and adventurousness: Grey Minyan pottery spread overseas to the Cyclades, Chalcidice and Troy, and there is more evidence of MH metallurgy. Aegean daggers were sometimes copied, local types of spearhead and knife seem to have been developed in north Greece, and pins and wire ornaments were made. A little gold, silver and tin was available. There are also signs of growing Aegean interest in the mainland: in the Late Phase, there was Cycladic and Cretan influence on the fine wares of the Argolid-Corinthia, and beads of stone and faience, surely imported, were found in graves all along the east coast. Aegean traders also seem to have been travelling up the coasts of Greece to Sesklo, Leukas and Epirus, arguably in search of copper.

This extension of Cretan influence to the mainland was only part of a wider Cretan expansion in the MM III period. For the first time, Cretan wares were imitated at Phylakopi; pottery in the Dodecanese and at Miletus seems to belong to a 'colonial' MM III - LM IA tradition; true 'colonies' seem to have been founded on Thera before the end of MM and at Trianda on Rhodes by LM IA. I do not believe that this evidence

of wide Cretan influence can be taken to mean that there was a Cretan 'thalassocracy', let alone a Knossian one. The existence of great palaces at Phaistos, Mallia and later Zakro, is surely evidence that Crete itself was not united under one rule; and the fortifications of Phylakopi, Aghia Irini and Aegina were not only maintained but improved in this period. This need not necessarily mean that they were independent of Cretan control, but it surely suggests that the Aegean was in a troubled state, inconsistent with any idea of a pax Minoica. There may well have been a Knossian hegemony in Crete and even in the islands, but I doubt if it could have extended to a close control of the sea-routes; such a 'thalassocracy' was not possible when ships could not remain at sea for a long time. Cretan influence may have been very strong in the Aegean by the end of MM, but it could not preclude independent contacts between the Cyclades and the mainland and independent activity of mainland traders, and I doubt if it could have extended to any control of trade in the form of the protection of Aegean merchants or the application of 'sanctions'.

The appearance of the Mycenaean culture has sometimes been ascribed to the interaction of Cretan influence and MH prosperity. However, the increased prosperity of the mainland still does not seem to have led to a much greater availability of basic metals. Greece was poor in these, and had to acquire them from elsewhere, presumably in exchange for other materials of which a surplus had to be produced. Such surpluses, in turn, could only be produced by relatively large units, and there is no evidence that these units existed in MH times. I have noted some

sporadic and far from satisfactory evidence for MH 'chieftains'; but, with the possible exception of the burial tumuli, no consistent evidence of a ruling class has been obtained. Further, there is no evidence for leagues for common worship, in the shape of communal shrines, that might provide a unifying factor and lead, as in ancient Mesopotamia, to the production of a surplus. The social and religious organisation of the MH people seems to have been rudimentary in the extreme.

The Shaft Graves mark a new departure. The rapidly increasing wealth of the grave-goods is strong evidence for the establishment at Mycenae of a centre of real importance, in command of large resources. I have already argued that the evidence of Grave Circle B shows that this wealth was not brought to Mycenae, but was accumulated over a period of time, during which more and more exotic features, such as stelae, death-masks and chariots, were incorporated in the culture. The foundation of this wealth must surely have rested on the control of a large territory and secure access to the sea, over which the raw materials and finished products such as swords must have been brought to Mycenae. For this reason it seems inherently likely that Mycenae controlled the Argive plain, and, since no centres of even secondary importance have been found in the eastern Argolid and the Corinthia, although these areas have been well explored, it is probable that they too were under the control of Mycenae.

I have suggested other sources of Mycenae's wealth, notably the simple processes of raiding and exacting tribute and the more complex

processes of trade. The presence at Mycenae of many highly skilled craftsmen, probably mostly Cretans, the availability of great quantities of raw materials, and the appearance of expensive novelties like the chariot, are most likely to have come about with the complaisance and even active assistance of the Aegean powers. This suggests that the rulers of Mycenae were in a strong position, and they are unlikely to have achieved this by terror alone. If they managed to centralise the previously scattered trickles of Aegean trade with the mainland and were even able to provide more of whatever it was that was required, they will have been of some service to the Aegean traders and, presumably, their masters. Much of their wealth may have taken the form of presents for services rendered, whether the value of the 'presents' was actually commensurate with the services or not. These need not have been only the securing of trade; mercenaries and even slaves may have been provided.

In Messenia, a society somewhat similar to that of Mycenae seems to have emerged during the Shaft Grave period, but it was extremely fragmented. There seem to have been many princes, each ruling from his acropolis and being buried in a tholos tomb. These princes acquired wealth on a modest scale, but the sources of their wealth are more obscure. The final burial in Kephlovryso T. 1, with his weapons and fine array of pottery, is probably a precursor of these princes; the man or group who fortified Malthi must also have 'ruled'. Messenian society may have been more organised, so that a chieftain-class ready to become petty princes already existed. The adoption of

the tholos tomb and chamber tomb demonstrate a strong Aegean connection, since these tomb-types were ultimately of Aegean ancestry; the goods, notably Type A swords, metal vases and gold ornaments, have many parallels with the Shaft Graves, suggesting that there was a strong connection with Mycenae too. Much of this wealth may have been paid for with local produce, for there were many fertile areas in Messenia; but we may suspect that the control and 'protection' of trade may have played a part.

It seems clear that a similar society had been widely adopted in central and southern Greece by LH IIA. The best evidence for this is the spread of the tholos tomb, a princely tomb par excellence; early examples have been found in the Argolid, Laconia and the Arcadian borderland, and at Thorikos, as well as in Messenia. Varieties of the chamber tomb seem to have been adopted independently over a wider area: LH I examples have been found in the Argolid, at Epidauros Limeria in Laconia, at Thebes and at Chalkis, and related stone-built tombs have been found on the Laconian border with Arcadia and Kynouria, that were certainly in use by LH IIA. All these types of tomb represent a new idea, the family tomb, used for several generations, and are evidence of a social change; all, moreover, contained Mycenaean pottery, a ware probably first developed in the Argolid and spread from there. These local principalities may have been based on the exploitation of resources, such as the fine stones of Laconia or the silver of Thorikos; but in many cases they may have resulted from the domination of large areas from strong acropolises, either by already existing or by newly arisen

chieftains, to whom the success of Mycenae was an example to be emulated. The wide spread of types of tomb, pottery and small object testifies to the close relations between these principalities and their ultimate dependence on the Argolid and Crete artistically.

In this society, there was a marked division between the rulers and the ruled. The rulers were provided with expensive weapons, ornate jewellery and ornaments, metal cups and large vessels in their graves; the ruled had pottery, clay or steatite 'whorls', bronze knives and sometimes sets of stone arrowheads. In the richer chamber tombs, of the Argolid and Thebes, there might be jewellery and small objects of types also found in tholos tombs. I believe that this represents the greater degree of wealth in these areas and their greater closeness to the centre of development; some chamber tombs, too, seem to have been used by families of importance, who in Messenia might have used small tholos tombs.

It may be an anachronism to think in terms of 'kings' and 'nobles': the great number of tholoi at Mycenae, and the appearance in Messenia of pairs of tholoi that seem to have been in use simultaneously, suggests the possibility of rule by kin-groups divided into two or more branches, between whom supreme control might pass. There are parallels in Celtic society for such a system, and we may also compare the great numbers of βασιλῆες in Homer. But it seems undeniable that the rulers absorbed most of the available wealth, forming a class; they may also have done most of the fighting with their retinues. I have suggested that this sort of society was 'heroic': interest was centred on warfare

and hunting, and the greatest skill was expended on the production of personal property such as fine weapons or ornate metal vases. This need not have conflicted with an interest in trade, since the raw materials were acquired, and probably much of the wealth, by trade. The appearance of Early Mycenaean pottery widely overseas demonstrates that some part of the mainland was interested in trade, and its discovery at sites like Lipari and Troy shows that the mainland traders did not merely follow where Cretans had been before.

It has sometimes been argued, on the grounds of the greater quantity of Mycenaean pottery in the Near East at this period, that Crete had lost 'control' of Near Eastern trade to the mainland. It has been pointed out that the mere counting of vases is not conclusive, since there are far greater quantities of Cypriot pottery in Syria and Egypt than of any Aegean ware. At this stage, the mainland traders were probably still exploring the Near Eastern route, perhaps with the ultimate intention of eliminating the middleman; but the great period of Mycenaean trade with the Near East was to come later, after the collapse of Crete.

There is no reason to believe that in LM IB, Cretan power and wealth were not as great as they had ever been. But a whole series of destructions in Crete, dated by LM IB pottery, mark the end of an era, after which there was a definable change. This series of destructions, together with other destructions and desertions of sites in the Aegean islands, has been connected with the volcanic eruption of Thera, and seen as the result of associated tidal waves and the fall-out

of poisonous ash.<sup>1</sup> There are two major objections to this theory. The first is that the settlement on Thera itself was destroyed in LM IA. It has been suggested that there were two eruptions, the second and more serious in LM IB after Thera had been deserted; so far, the evidence for this theory is not very good. The second is that sites on the north coast of Crete and in the Gulf of Mirabello, which should have been most vulnerable to tidal waves, often showed evidence of destructions by fire, rarely evidence that could be interpreted as the result of such waves. A stumbling-block to the 'fall-out' theory is the swift recovery of Knossos, which should have been as vulnerable as east Crete and surely based its wealth equally on fertile plains, which the ash might pollute. Moreover, the destructions in south Crete, from which there seems to have been only a moderate recovery, are not easily explained, although they could be due to associated earthquakes.

In these circumstances the older explanation, that these destructions were due to war, might seem preferable. The establishment of a mainland dynasty at Knossos, which may be deduced from the use of Greek in the Linear B tablets if from nothing else, has often been connected; there is no reason to believe that this was accomplished violently, but it may have been followed by a Knossian attempt to extend its domination over the whole island. The evidence of the tablets,

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1. This theory was originally proposed by S. Marinatos, "The Volcanic Destruction of Minoan Crete", in Antiquity 13 (1939), 425-39; cf. also D. Ninkovich and B.C. Heezen, "Santorini Tephra", in Colston Papers 17 (1965), 413-53.

which seem to include eastern and western Cretan place-names as well as a possible Phaistos,<sup>2</sup> and of the pottery, which shows that in LM IIIA1 all Crete derived its pottery-style from Knossos, might well support this theory. At all events, the evidence at present suggests that Knossos was the greatest palatial centre surviving. There is no reason to believe that Crete was in any way dominated from the mainland; on the contrary, Knossos still seems to have been the source of the best metal-work, such as the Types C and D swords and one-piece spears, of fine stone vases and 'palatial' pottery, and possibly of the best jewellery. Large LM II-III A1 stirrup-jars have been found as far north as Troy,<sup>3</sup> suggesting that Knossos was extending its trading interests into areas more frequented by mainlanders earlier. A list of Aegean sites in a temple of Amenophis III includes both Cretan and mainland sites,<sup>4</sup> and in its last phase Knossos was still importing many Egyptian goods, stone vases, scarabs and ivory.

Nevertheless, there was a perceptible change during this period. The Cretan settlement on Kythera was abandoned, perhaps under hostile mainland pressure; the site of Aghia Irini on Kea was never reoccupied on the same scale, and imported only mainland pottery after IM II. Mainland settlers appeared in the Dodecanese in LH IIB, and mainland

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2. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek (1956) 146-7: East Cretan are Inatos, Lyktos, Lato, Setaia and Itanos, West Cretan are Sybrita (?), Aptara and Kydonia.
  3. Troy III, figs. 323: 35.622, 330.
  4. E. Edel, Die Ortsnamlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III (1966), 33-60.

pottery began to arrive at Miletus and in Cyprus in appreciable quantities in LH IIIA1. At the end of LH IIIA1, Phylakopi and Ialysos seem to have suffered a mainland 'takeover'. The fall of Knossos early in LM IIIA2 opened the way for Mycenaean influence to dominate both the Aegean and the trade-routes with the Near East. In the same Middle Mycenaean period, the Mycenaean culture was extended to Thessaly and Aetolia, and its pottery began to appear in Sicily and Italy. This was, then, an age of expansion for the mainland, and of decline for the Cyclades, and, eventually Knossos.

The Middle Mycenaean period inherited from the Early many characteristics. An interest in fine weapons and metal-work continued, and fine tombs seem to have been preferred to fine buildings. Work in glass and ivory became more sophisticated, supplementing the older skills with metal. The pottery tradition derived substantially from LH IIA, with little or no Cretan influence. The political picture may have changed somewhat: Mycenae maintained and even enhanced its power, perhaps taking the lion's share of trade overseas, but many sites in the south and west Peloponnese, which had clearly been powerful in the Early Mycenaean period, show no evidence of particular importance, notably Vapheio, Peristeria and Kakovatos. Thebes and Athens may now have come to the fore; tholos tombs of this period also appear at Marathon, Kapakli near Volos, and Pharai in Achaea.

There seems to have been a particularly close link between the Argolid and Knossos in this period, to judge from the very similar finds from the Warrior Graves and the Dendra tombs. It may have been through

this link that fresco-painting, fine architecture, and a form of literacy reached the mainland, or they may have been brought by refugee craftsmen and artists after the fall of Knossos. These were to become characteristic of the Late Mycenaean period, while pottery, weapons, and jewellery became more stereotyped and plain. The spread of Mycenaean influence in this period was surely responsible for the great uniformity visible in the Late Mycenaean period throughout the Aegean. Burial-customs might differ slightly, Crete maintained a separate pottery tradition, and there were oddities in Messenia and other outlying provinces, but by and large the picture of a Mycenaean koine is correct.

It is a long way from the 'heroic society' of the Shaft Graves and the Messenian principalities to the bureaucratic 'palace society' of the Late Mycenaean period, certainly attested at Mycenae, Pylos and Thebes, and inferrable for other major citadels such as Orchomenos and Athens. To a great extent, it was the developments of the Middle Mycenaean period, the close connection with Knossos and the eastward expansion, that gave rise to the Late Mycenaean world. It could be argued that the great fresco-decorated palaces with their complex archives represent a conscious attempt to emulate Crete which was not present in the Early Mycenaean period.

In the first stages, the rulers of the mainland centres were confident in their barbarism. They took Cretan products and admired Cretan skills, but left the rest. With their growing sophistication and closer connections with the Aegean, they seem to have become more

interested in imitation than in adaptation. Thus, the splendid animal-art and battle-scenes, the inlaid weapons and decorated vases, reached their peak in the Shaft Graves; they left no enduring descendants in Mycenaean art. The stelae and masks are also without later parallel. There seems to have been a toning-down of the first exuberance, which may in any case have been largely confined to Mycenae; in LH IIA there was a fresh recourse to Cretan inspiration, visible in the gold Vapheio cups, the jewellery and the pottery.

This process continued in the Middle Mycenaean period; only the pottery had now been soundly enough rooted to rely on its own resources, while the metal-work showed strong Cretan connections. Further features originally Cretan were added with the introduction of the great palaces; and it is probable that the inspiration behind the adoption of the female figurines that are so characteristic of Late Mycenaean Greece was Cretan.

A decline of extravagant display and growth of uniformity might be expected as the mainland became more organised and the flow of wealth from Crete may have become restricted. The inability of the mainlanders to do more than copy and occasionally adapt Cretan forms is not a necessary consequence of these processes. I believe that it may be traced to the MH inability to develop a distinctive culture beyond a very low level. In this respect, the Shaft Graves represent a brilliant episode, whose effects on the course of Mycenaean culture were not strong enough to counteract Cretan influence. The great wealth which made their splendour possible was not widely available; a much more sober

form of display was generally adopted, as we may see from the contents of the Vapheio cist and the Routsis and Dendra tholoi.

The important change introduced at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age was a social change. New types of tomb representing a new attitude to the family and the dead were widely adopted, and a ruling class emerged where none had been perceptible before. In this sphere, the mainland maintained independence from Crete to the end; unfortified cities and great isolated villas did not appear on the mainland, and much of the mainland may have continued to be ruled from small citadels. But the 'Palace society', the arts and possibly the religion of the major centres owed much to Crete. A pattern that first emerged in the Early Mycenaean period and was consolidated in the Middle Mycenaean period continued to be followed, of dependence on Crete for inspiration. The importance of the Shaft Graves is not so much that they contained the first 'Greek art', but that they represented an event which ensured that the mainland would play a part in Aegean history; for it was to a great extent on Mycenae itself that the importance of the mainland rested. Thus the preoccupation with Mycenae is not misplaced, for it seems to have set the style for the rest of the mainland most of the time and to have represented it overseas. Dim memories of this were to percolate into Greek myth, and to ensure that Mycenae was always remembered when other centres were forgotten, and 'Mycenaean' is still a fitting name for the culture.

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS

- FIG. 1: Proposed Systems of MM-LM Chronology.
- FIG. 2: Suggested Chronology.
- FIG. 3: The Commonest Shapes of Argolid-Corinthia EH III.
- FIG. 4: The Commonest EH III Shapes at Orchomenos and Aghia Marina.
- FIG. 5: Euboean EB III Shapes.
- FIG. 6: EH III Houses and Small Finds.
- FIG. 7: The Development of Grey Minyan Shapes.
- FIG. 8: Early Matt-Painted Shapes.
- FIG. 9: Late Matt-Painted Shapes.
- FIG. 10: Matt-Painted Vases of the Late Phase.
- FIG. 11: Typical Shapes of Thermon and Pharai.
- FIG. 12: Shapes of Local Matt-Painted from the Koryphasion Tholos.
- FIG. 13: Some MH Houses.
- FIG. 14: MH Tumuli.
- FIG. 15: MH Small Finds.
- FIG. 16: Small Finds from the Sesklo Cemetery.
- FIG. 17: The Shaft Graves.
- FIG. 18: Shaft Grave Stelae.
- FIG. 19: Weapons and Implements of the Shaft Graves and Early Mycenaean Greece.
- FIG. 20: Fine Weapon-Hilts from the Shaft Graves.
- FIG. 21: Masks and Head-Band.
- FIG. 22: Gold Discs from Grave III.
- FIG. 23: Gold Button-Covers from Grave V.

- FIG. 24: Gold Cutouts from Grave III.
- FIG. 25: Gold Cutouts from Grave III, and Gold-Covered Lozenges from Grave IV.
- FIG. 26: Gold Wire-Spiral Jewellery and Granulated Earrings from Grave III.
- FIG. 27: Miscellaneous from the Shaft Graves.
- FIG. 28: Objects from the Shaft Graves and Early Mycenaean Greece.
- FIG. 29: Metal Vase-Shapes of the Shaft Graves and Early Mycenaean Greece.
- FIG. 30: Early Mycenaean Vase-Shapes.
- FIG. 31: Early Mycenaean Domestic Shapes.
- FIG. 32: 'Palatial' LH IIA Shapes.
- FIG. 33: Typical LH IIB Shapes.
- FIG. 34: Early Mycenaean Motifs.
- FIG. 35: Plant-Decorated LH IIA Jars from Kakovatos.
- FIG. 36: Variously Decorated Jars from Kakovatos.
- FIG. 37: Whole LH IIA Vases from Korakou.
- FIGS. 38-9: Decorated LH IIA Sherds from Korakou.
- FIG. 40: Coated and Plain LH IIA Sherds from Korakou.
- FIG. 41: Whole LH IIB Sherds from Korakou.
- FIGS. 42-4: Decorated LH IIB Sherds from Korakou.
- FIG. 45: Early Mycenaean Tomb-Types.
- MAP 1: The Argolid-Corinthia.
- MAP 2: Laconia and S. Arcadia.
- MAP 3: The South-West Peloponnese and Elis.
- MAP 4: North-West Greece.

- MAP 5: Attica, the Saronic Gulf and central Euboea.  
 MAP 6: Central Greece and the Spercheios Valley.  
 MAP 7: Thessaly.  
 MAP 8: MH Greece.  
 MAP 9: MH and Early Mycenaean Mycenae.  
 MAP 10: Early Mycenaean Greece.
- 

MAPS 1-7 show the distribution of MH and Early Mycenaean sites. Conventions are:

ASTROS means a site inhabited in the MH period.

KORAKOU means a site inhabited in the Early Mycenaean period as well as the MH period.

[PITSA] means a site only inhabited in the Early Mycenaean period, not in MH (although it may have remains of EH or later Mycenaean habitation)

MALANDRINI? means a site possibly inhabited in the MH period.

KRYONERI means a site inhabited in the MH period and possibly or probably in the Early Mycenaean period.

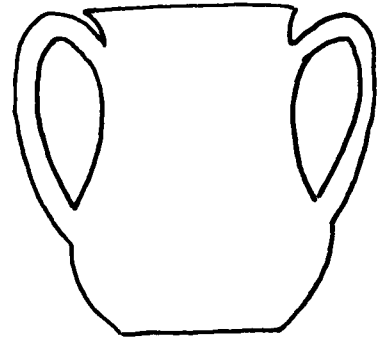
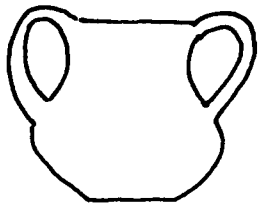
| YEAR B.C. | HOOD     | PLATON             | MATZ             | HUTCHINSON                             | LEVI                 | ÅSTRÖM                        | YEAR B.C. |
|-----------|----------|--------------------|------------------|--|----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 2000      |          |                    |                  |  |                      |                               | 2000      |
| 1975      |          |                    |                  |  |                      |                               | 1975      |
| 1950      | MM IB    | PROTO-PALATIAL I   | MM IA            |  |                      |                               | 1950      |
| 1925      |          |                    |                  | MM IA                                  |                      |                               | 1925      |
| 1900      |          |                    |                  |  |                      |                               | 1900      |
| 1875      |          |                    | MM IB            | MM IB + MM IA                          |                      |                               | 1875      |
| 1850      | MM IA    | PROTO-PALATIAL II  |                  |  |                      |                               | 1850      |
| 1825      |          |                    | MM IA            |  | PROTO-PALATIAL       | ↑ ALTERNATIVE DATES FOR START | 1825      |
| 1800      |          |                    |                  |  |                      |                               | 1800      |
| 1775      |          |                    |                  | MM IB                                  | Ia                   | MM IA                         | 1775      |
| 1750      | MM IB    | PROTO-PALATIAL III | MM IB            |  | II                   |                               | 1750      |
| 1725      |          |                    |                  |  | (a, b?)              | MM IB                         | 1725      |
| 1700      |          |                    |                  |  |                      |                               | 1700      |
| 1675      |          |                    |                  |  |                      |                               | 1675      |
| 1650      | MM IIIA  | NEO-PALATIAL I     | MM IIIA          | MM IIIA                                | PROTO-PALATIAL III   | MM II                         | 1650      |
| 1625      |          |                    |                  |  |                      |                               | 1625      |
| 1600      |          |                    |                  |  |                      |                               | 1600      |
| 1575      | MM III B |                    | MM III B         | PRE-EARTH-QUAKE<br>MM III B<br>C. 1570 |                      | MM III                        | 1575      |
| 1550      |          |                    |                  | POST-EARTH-QUAKE                       |                      |                               | 1550      |
| 1525      | LM IA    | NEO-PALATIAL II    | LM IA            | LM IA                                  |                      |                               | 1525      |
| 1500      |          |                    |                  |  |                      |                               | 1500      |
| 1475      | LM IB    |                    | LM IB            | LM IB                                  | NEO-PALATIAL (a, b?) |                               | 1475      |
| 1450      |          |                    | LM II AT KNOSSOS | LM II AT KNOSSOS                       |                      |                               | 1450      |
| 1425      | LM II    | NEO-PALATIAL III   |                  |  |                      |                               | 1425      |
| 1400      |          |                    |                  |  |                      |                               | 1400      |

FIG. 1: PROPOSED SYSTEMS OF MM-LM CHRONOLOGY

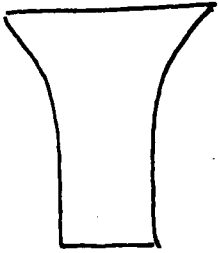
| YEAR<br>B.C. | EGYPT  |  | CRETE                     |                          | MAINLAND  |   |
|--------------|--|--|---------------------------|--------------------------|---|---|
|              | DYNASTY  | NOTED REIGNS   | POTTERY PHASE             | PERIOD                   | POTTERY PHASE                                     | PERIOD (SUGGESTED)                      |
| 2000         |  |  |                           |                          |   |   |
| 1950         | <u>TWELFTH</u><br><br><u>DYNASTY</u><br>(1991-1786/76) |  | MMIA                      | PREPALATIAL              | EARLY MINYAN                                      | [MHTA]                                  |
| 1900         |  | AMMENEMES II<br>(1929-1895)                          |                           |                          |   |   |
| 1850         |  | SESOSTRIS II<br>(1897-1877)                          | MMIB                      |                          | DECORATED MINYAN                                  | [MHIB]                                  |
|              |  | SESOSTRIS III<br>(1878-1843)                         |                           |                          |   |   |
| 1800         | AMMENEMES III<br>(1842-1797)                           |  | FIRST PALACE AT KNOSSOS   | ANGULAR MINYAN           | [MHTA]  |   |
| 1750         | POSSIBLE RANGE OF END                                  |  | MMIIA                     |                          |   |   |
| 1700         | [SECOND] POSSIBLE RANGE OF BEGINNING                   |  | MMIB                      |                          | [YELLOW MINYAN & FINE MATT-PAINTED BECOME COMMON] | [MHIB]                                  |
| 1650         | [INTERMEDIATE]   |  | MMIIA                     |                          |   |   |
| 1600         | <u>HYKSOS</u><br>(RULED c.110 YEARS)<br>[PERIOD]       |  |                           | SECOND PALACE AT KNOSSOS | LATE PHASE  | [MHIII]<br>(PERIOD OF THE SHAFT GRAVES) |
| 1550         | POSSIBLE RANGE OF AHMOSE'S ACCESSION (1570/46 B.C.)    |  | MMIIB                     |                          |   |   |
| 1500         | <u>EIGHTEENTH</u><br><br><u>DYNASTY</u>                |  | LMIA                      |                          | LHIA  | EARLY MYCENAEAN                         |
| 1450         |  | HATSHEPSUT (1490-c.1468) & TUTHMOSIS III (1490-1436) | LMIB                      |                          | LHIIA   |   |
| 1400         |  | AMENOPHIS II (1436-1413)                             | LMII                      | LAST PALACE AT KNOSSOS   | LHIIIB  | MIDDLE MYCENAEAN                        |
|              |  | TUTHMOSIS IV (1413-1400)                             |                           |                          |   |   |
|              |  | AMENOPHIS III (1405-1369/67)                         | LMIIIAI & LMIIIAZ (EARLY) |                          |   |   |
| 1350         |  |  |                           |                          |   |   |

FIG. 2: SUGGESTED CHRONOLOGY

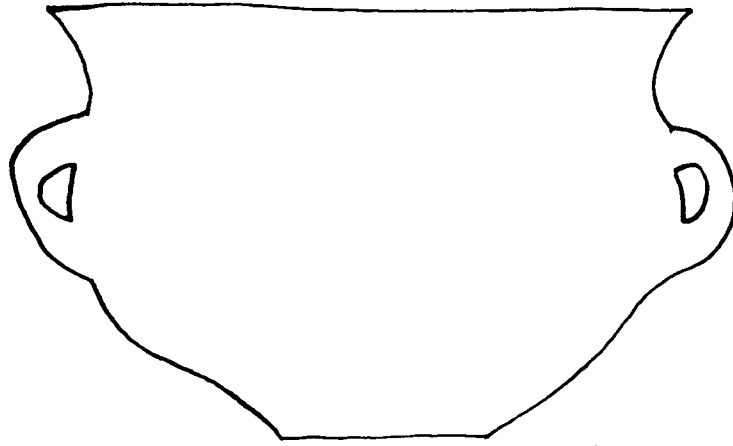
The relationship suggested between the early LM and LH phases is conventional, and not to be pressed in terms of years.



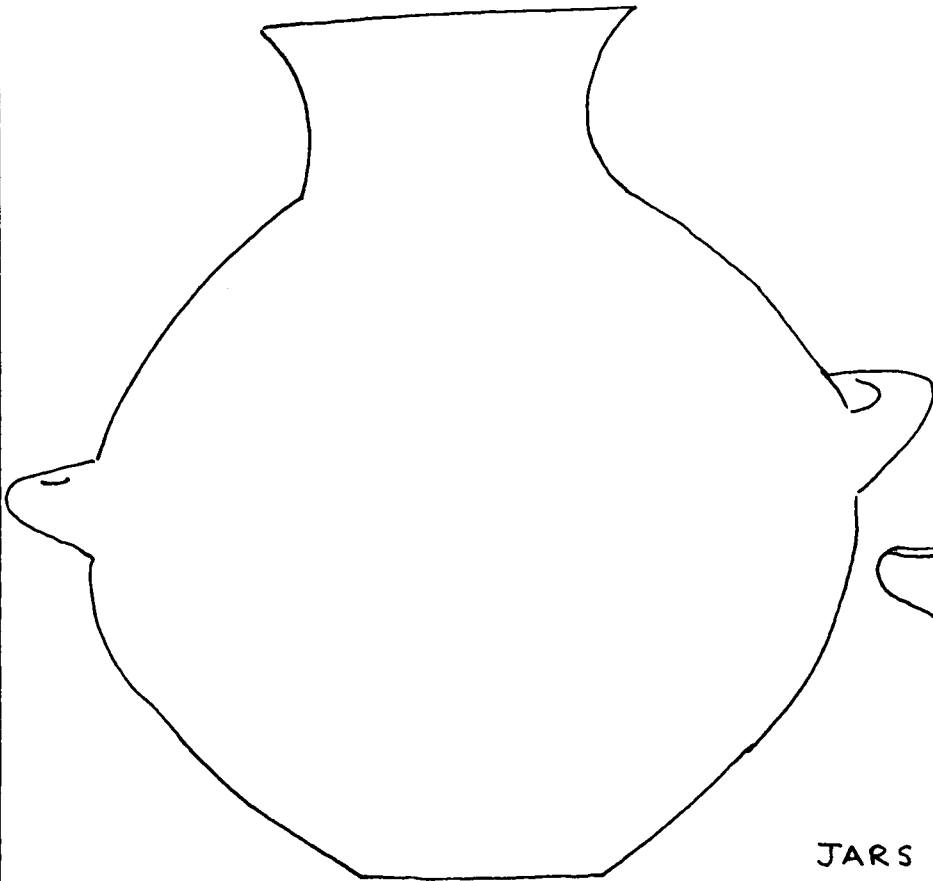
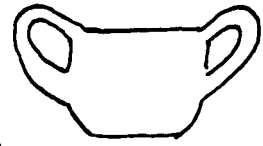
TANKARDS



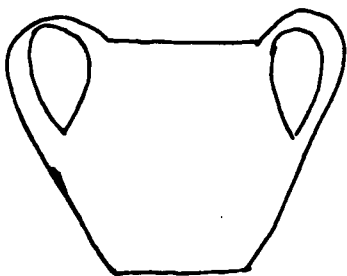
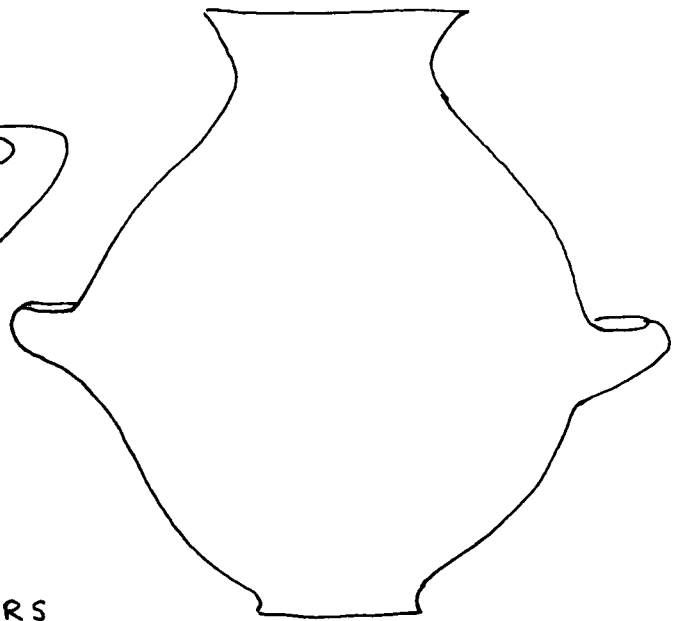
OUZO CUP



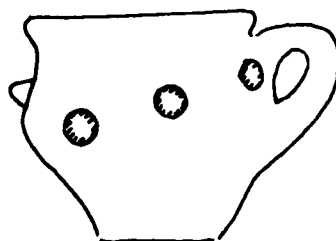
TWO-HANDLED BOWLS



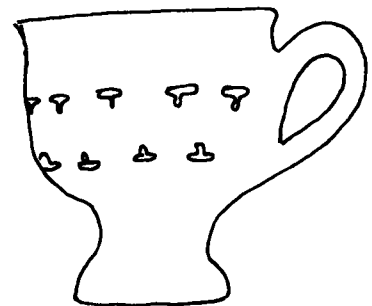
JARS



PLAIN OPEN JAR



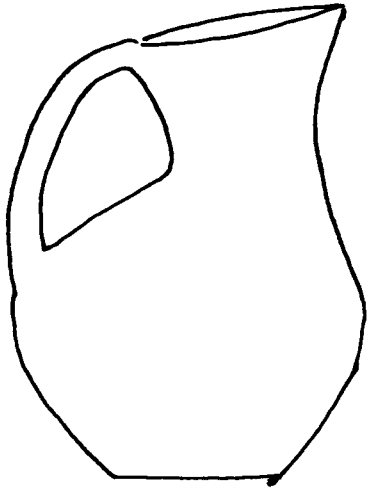
COARSE CUP



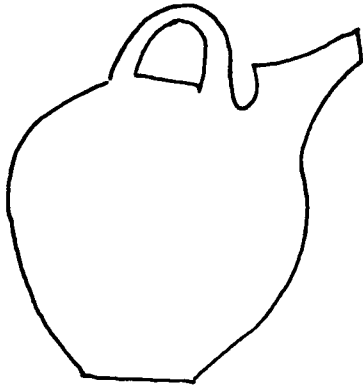
STRAINER

SCALE 1:4

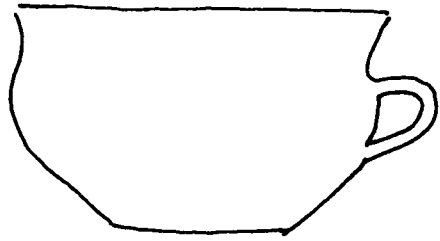
FIG. 3: THE COMMONEST SHAPES OF ARGOLID-CORINTHIA EH III



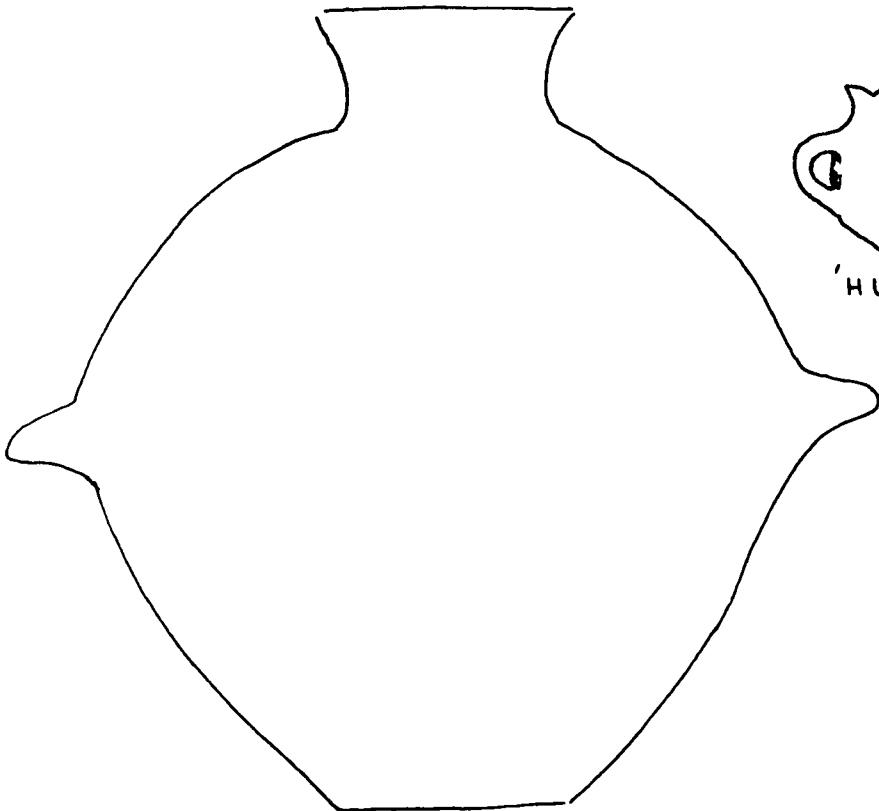
ASKOID



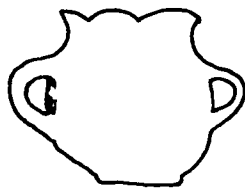
SHAPES



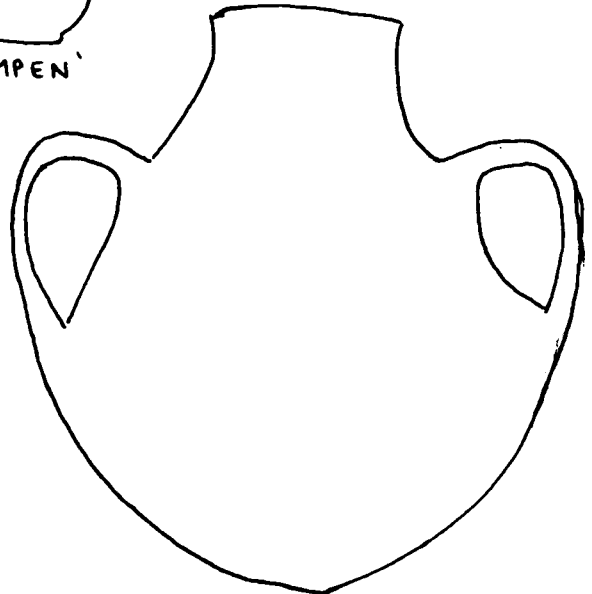
CUP



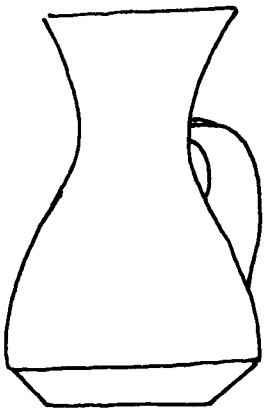
JAR



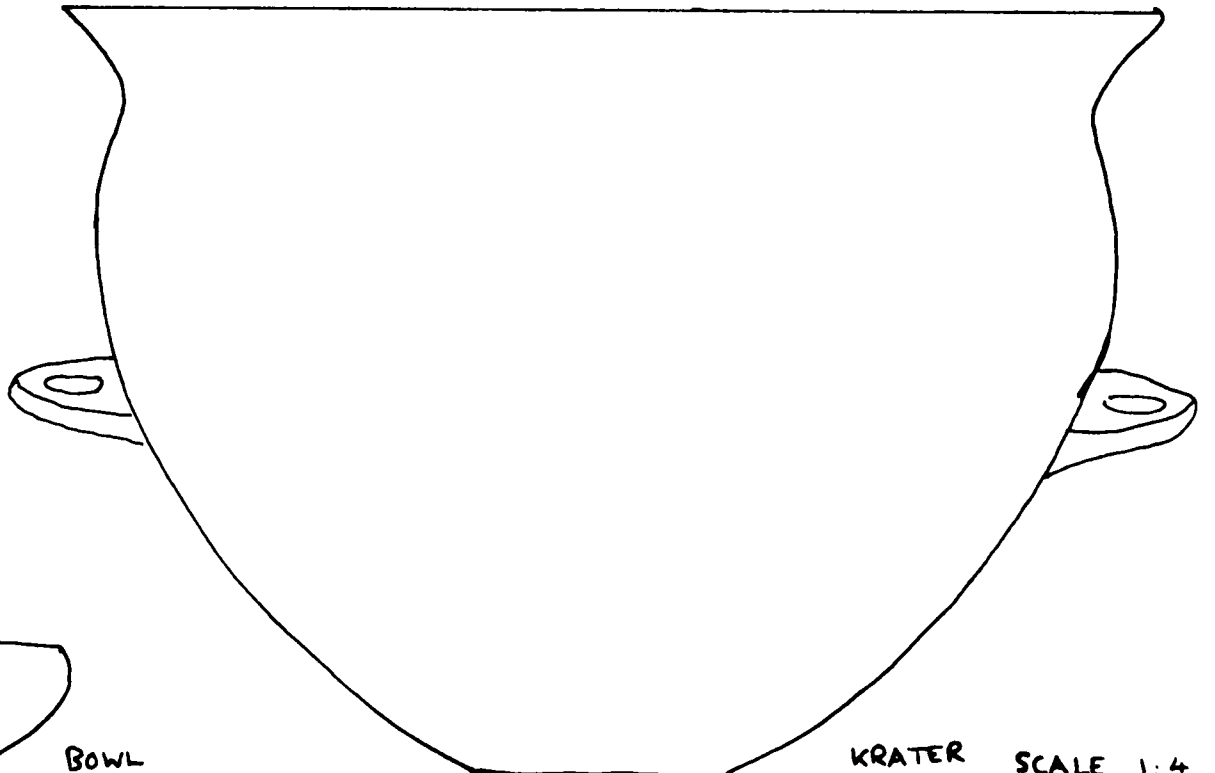
'HUMPEN'



TANKARD



'TRUMPET-JUG'

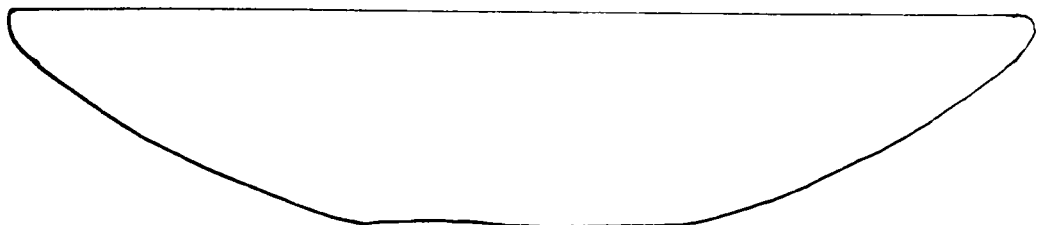


KRATER SCALE 1:4

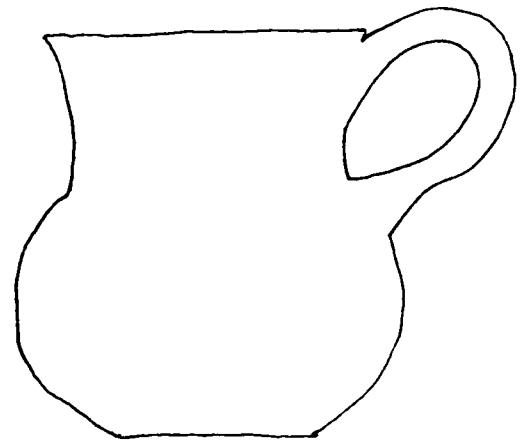
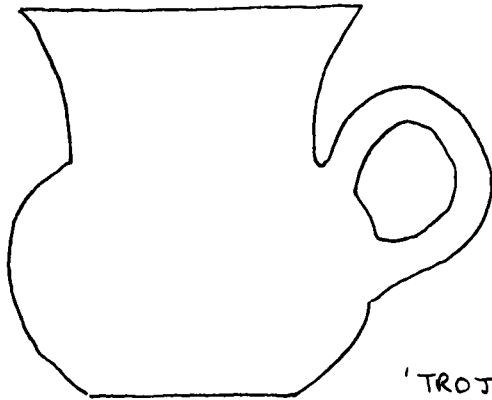
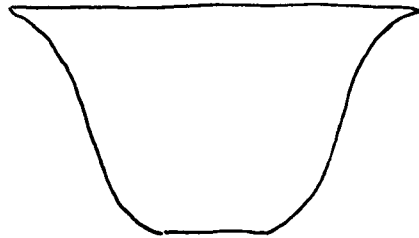
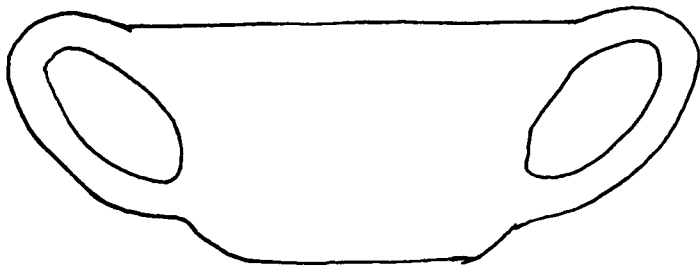
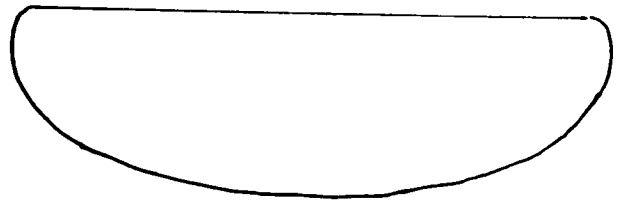
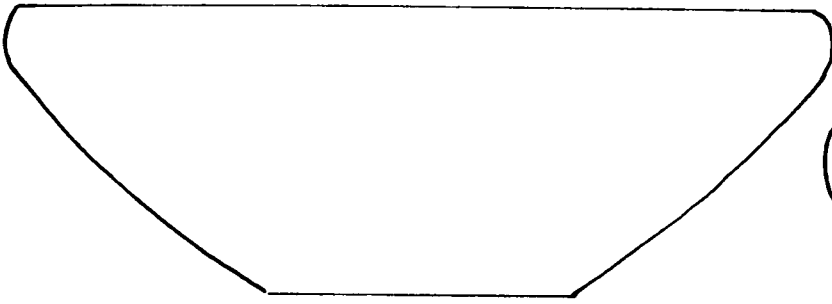


BOWL

FIG. 4: THE COMMONEST EHTI SHAPES AT ORCHOMENOS AND



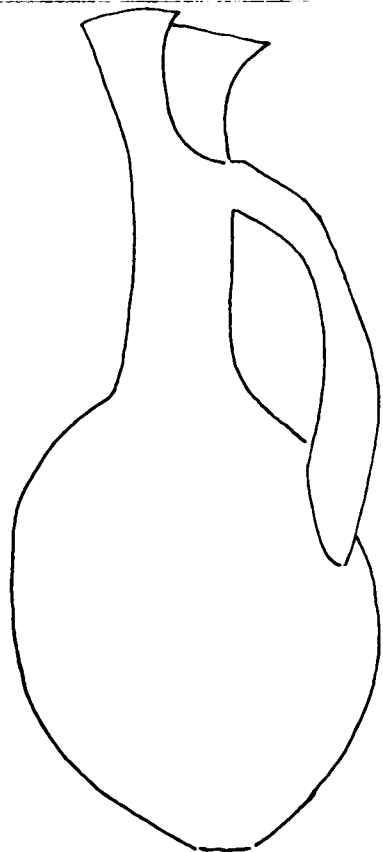
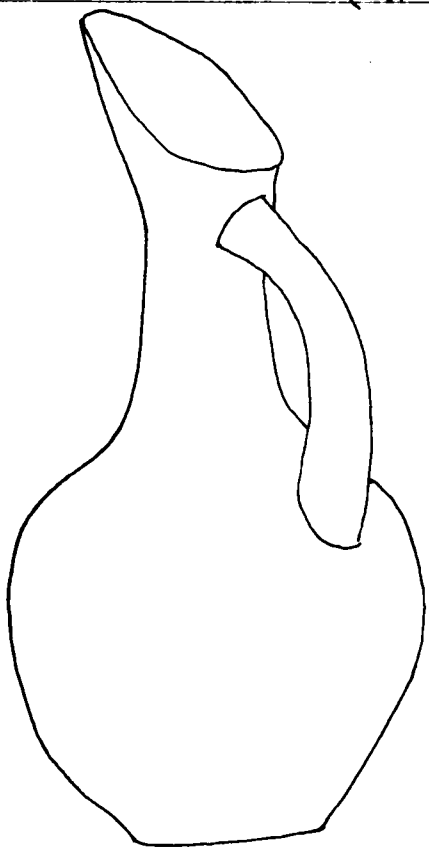
WHEELMADE PLATES/BOWLS



'TROJAN JUGS'

FROM LEFKANDI PHASE I (after LEFKANDI, 7, fig. 7)

NO SCALE

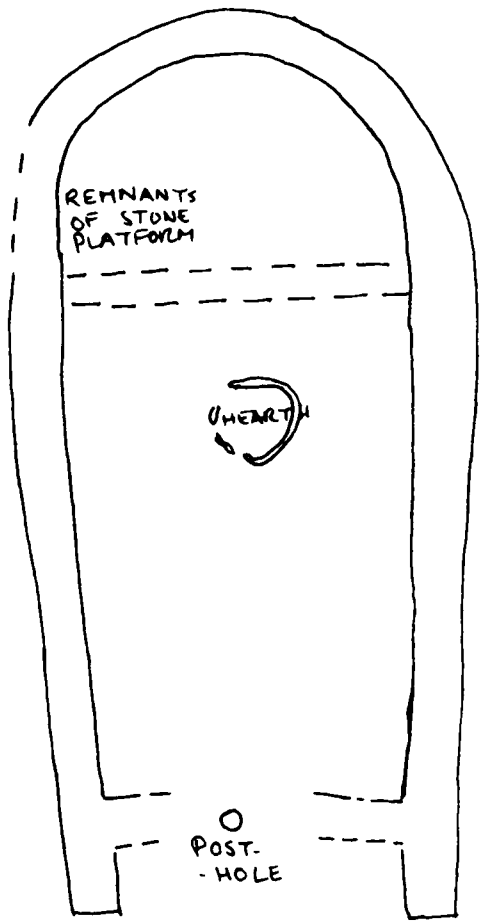


FROM MANIKA TOMBS (after EUBOEAN TOMBS, Pls H: 5, Θ: 1, 3)

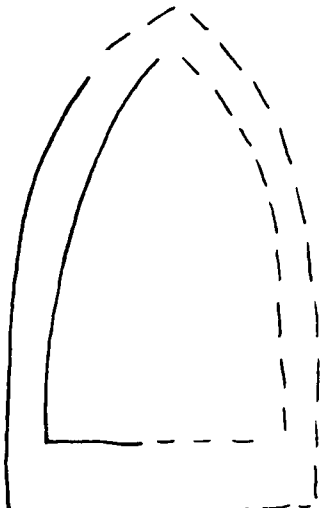
'BEAK-SPOUTED JUGS'

SCALE c. 1:325

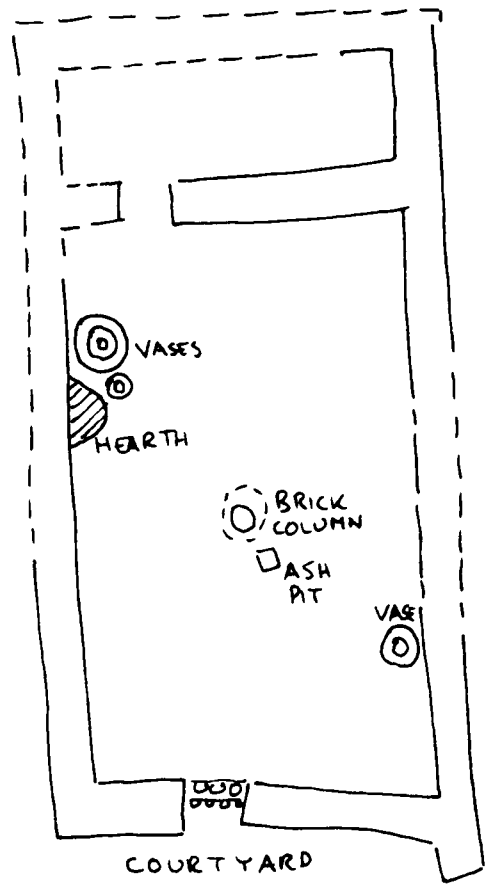
FIG 5 EUBOEAN EB III SHAPES



HOUSE C1 AT LERNA  
(after Caskey 1966 B, Fig. 3)

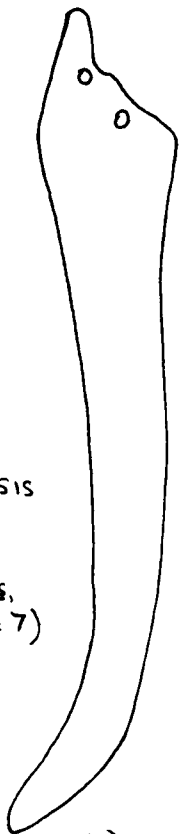


HOUSE N27 AT ORCHOMENOS  
(after Orchomenos I fig. 9)

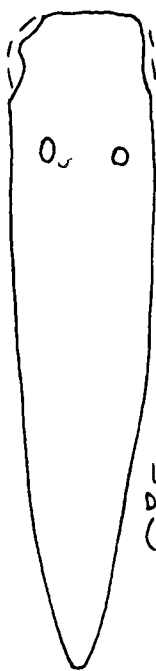


HOUSE H AT EUTRESIS  
(after Eutresis, fig. 17)

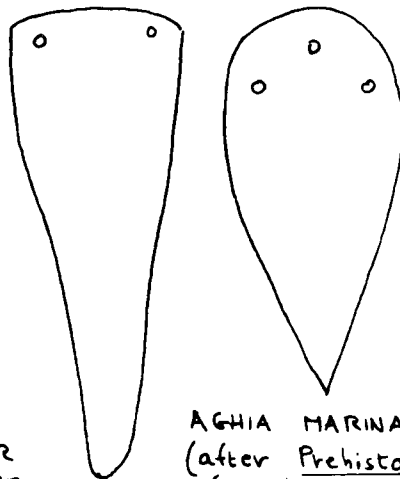
SCALE 3cm : 5m.



EUTRESIS KNIFE  
(after Eutresis, fig. 286:7)



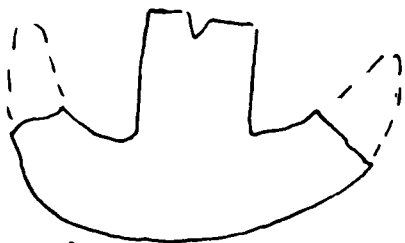
LERNA DAGGER OR SPEAR  
(after Caskey 1955, Pl. 23:a)



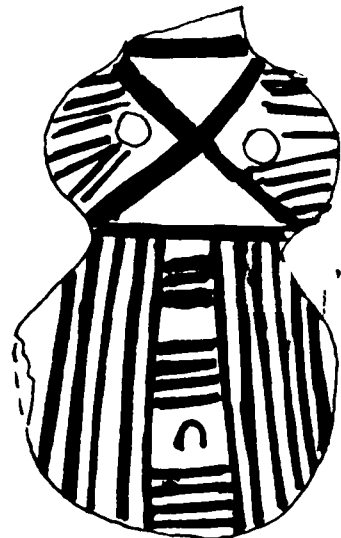
AGHIA MARINA DAGGERS  
(after Prehistoric Phocis, fig. 15)



EUTRESIS ARROWHEAD  
(after Eutresis, fig. 276:4)



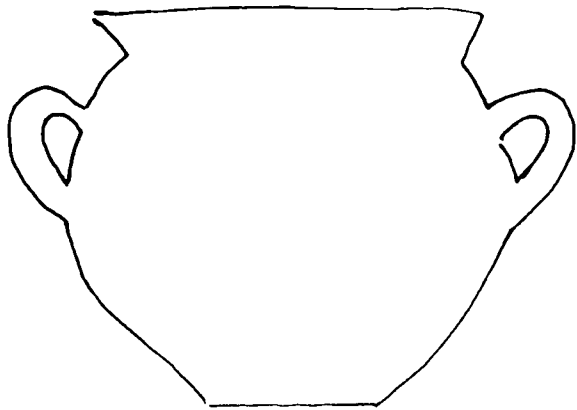
ANCHORS  
(after Caskey 1956, Pl. 47 p.1)



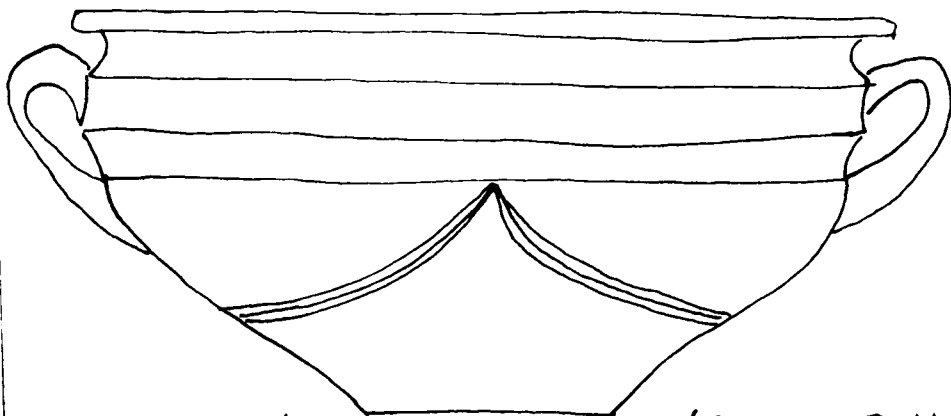
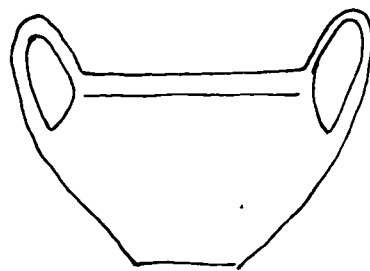
LERNA FIGURINE  
(after BCH Chronique 80 (1956), 269, fig. 15)

SCALE: 1:2

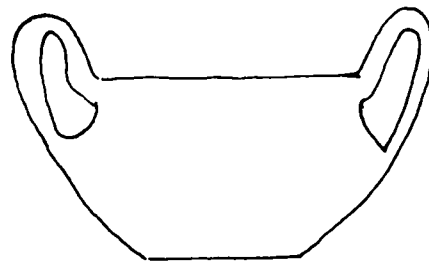
FIG. 6: EH III HOUSES AND SMALL FINDS



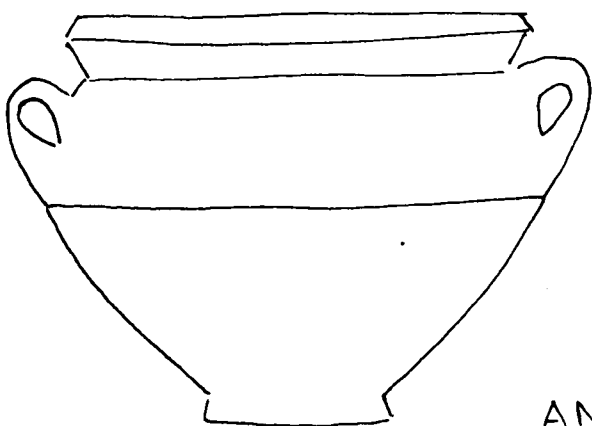
EARLY MINYAN BOWLS



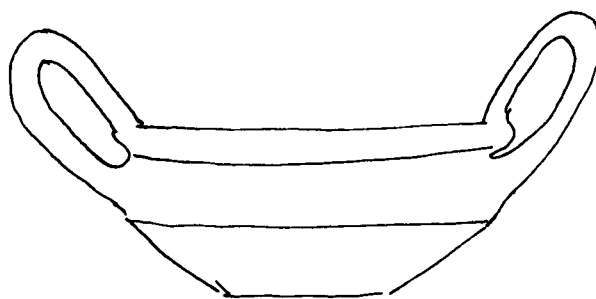
'ARGIVE MINYAN' BOWL (DECORATED MINYAN)



EARLY KANTHAROID TYPE (FROM DECORATED MINYAN PHASE)

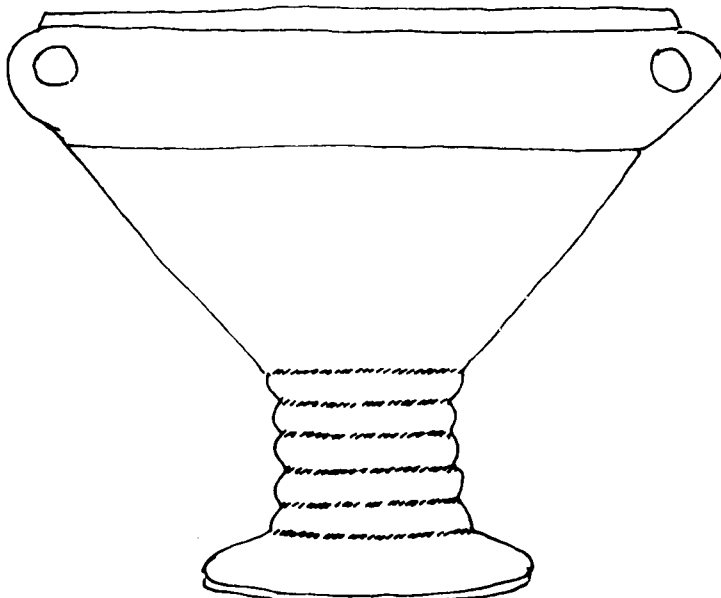


HEAVY CARINATED BOWL



KANTHAROID

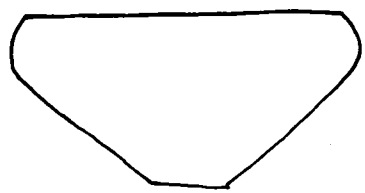
ANGULAR MINYAN SHAPES



RING-STEMMED GOBLET

SCALE 1:4

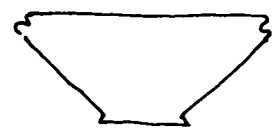
FIG. 7: THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREY MINYAN SHAPES



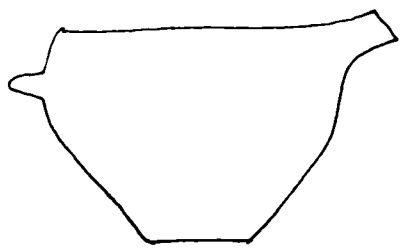
A1  
BOWL WITH  
INCURVED RIM



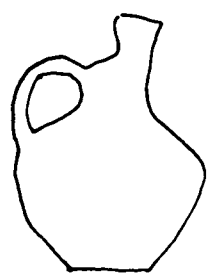
A11  
KANTHAROS  
(WITH TYPICAL  
DECORATION)



A4  
BOWL WITH  
EVERTED RIM

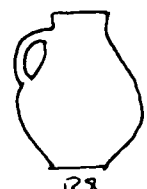
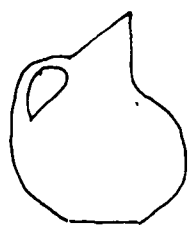


B2  
SPOUTED BOWL



B9

EARLY JUG-SHAPES B13

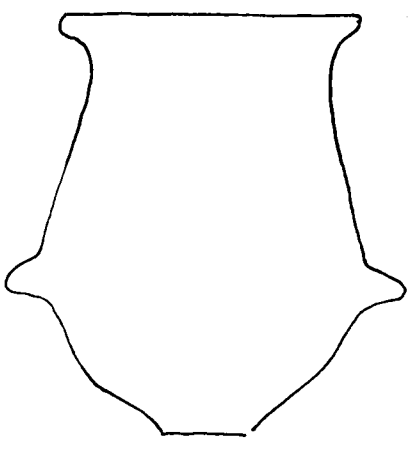


B8

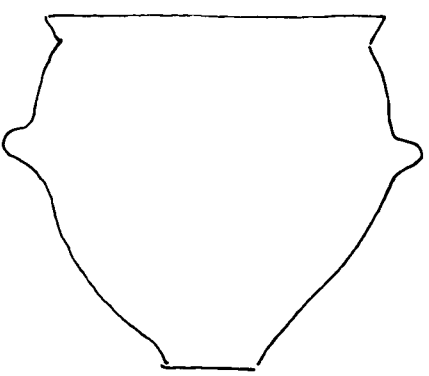
EARLY JUG-SHAPES



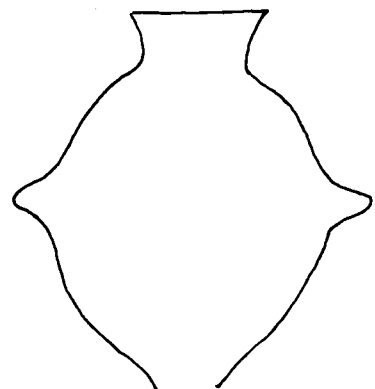
B10



C1  
BARREL-JAR



C2  
KRATER

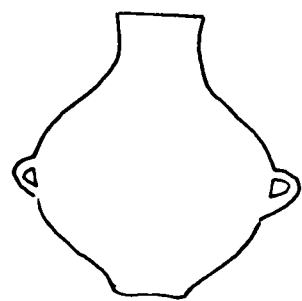


C5  
OVOID JAR

SCALE 1:4



A8

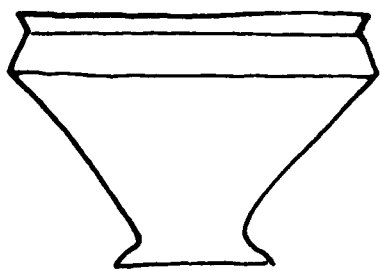


B15

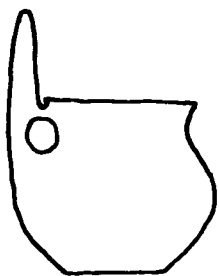
'LIANOGLADHI' MATT-PAINTED JARS

SCALE 1:4

FIG. 8: EARLY MATT-PAINTED SHAPES  
(after *Hesperia* 33 (1964), Pls 39-41)



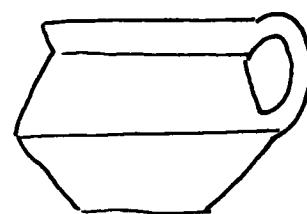
A7  
CARINATED GOBLET



A9  
LOOP-HANDLED  
JAR



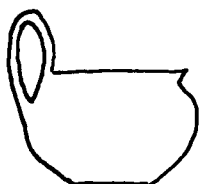
A10  
KANTHAROS



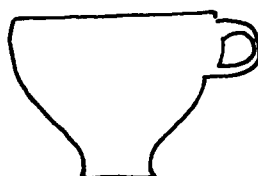
A12  
CARINATED CUP



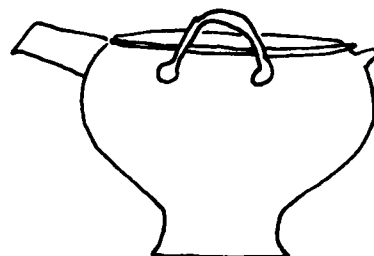
A13  
VAPHEID CUP



A14  
LOOP-HANDLED  
CUP

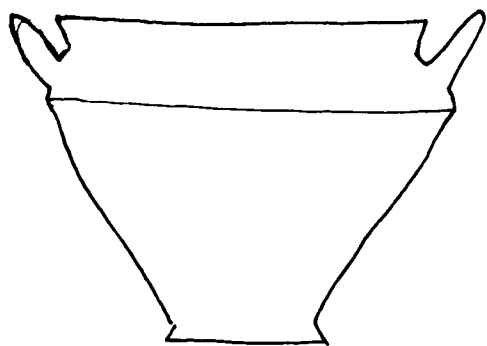


A15  
'EGG-CUP'

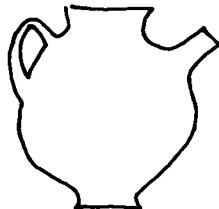


B6  
HOLEMOUTH-JAR

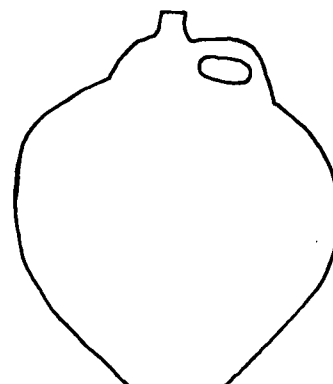
SCALE 1:4



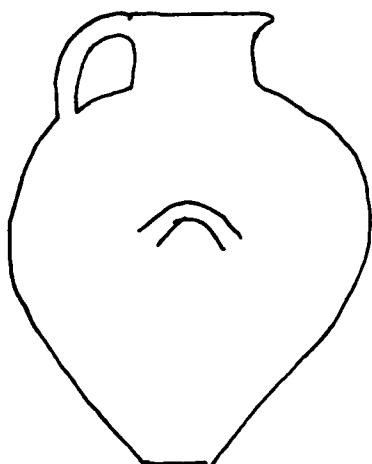
A3  
KRATER



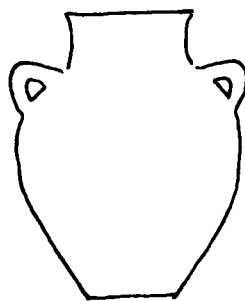
B5  
SPOUTED JUG



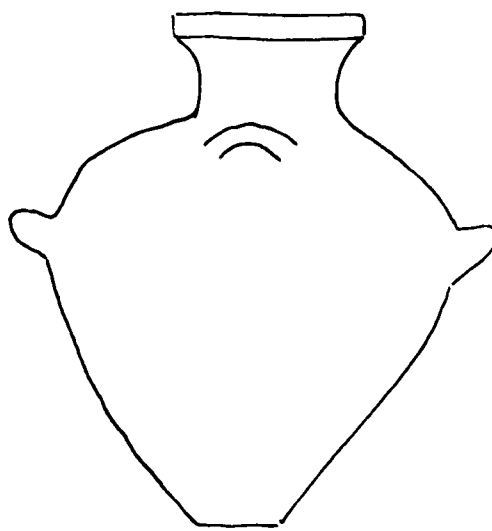
B11  
'BRD-JUG'



C6  
HYDRIA



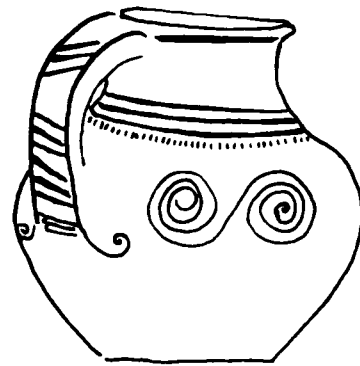
C8  
JAR



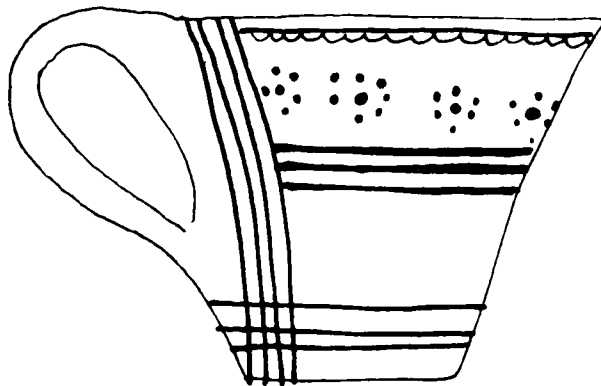
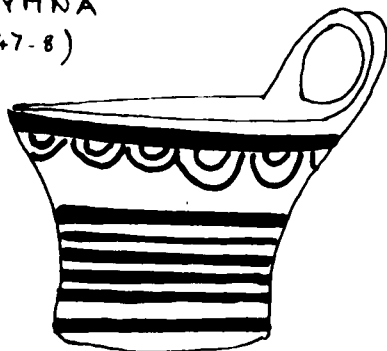
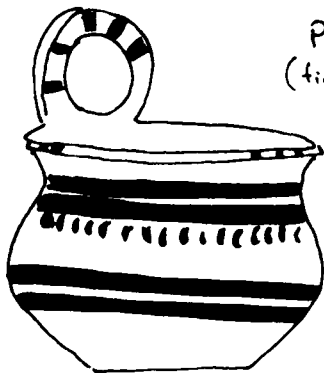
C9  
FOUR-HANDLED JAR

SCALE 1:8

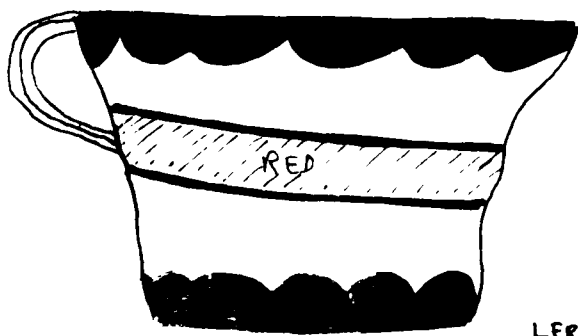
FIG. 9: LATE MATT-PAINTED SHAPES  
(after Hesperia 33 (1964), pls. 39-41)



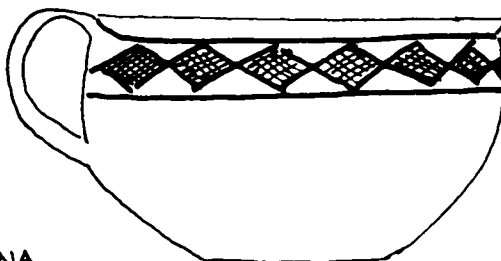
PROSYMNA  
(figs. 647-8)



ELEUSIS  
(Praktika 1952,  
64, fig. 5)



LERNA  
(Cassidy 1956, Pl. 39: d-e)



SCALE 1:2



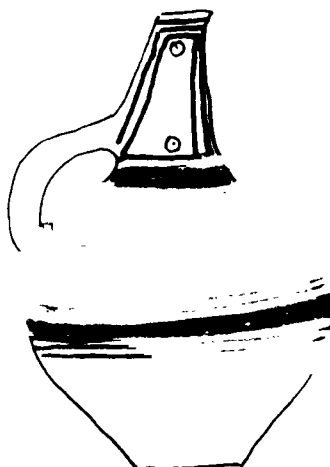
PROSYMNA  
(fig. 643)



ASINE  
(fig. 207: 2)



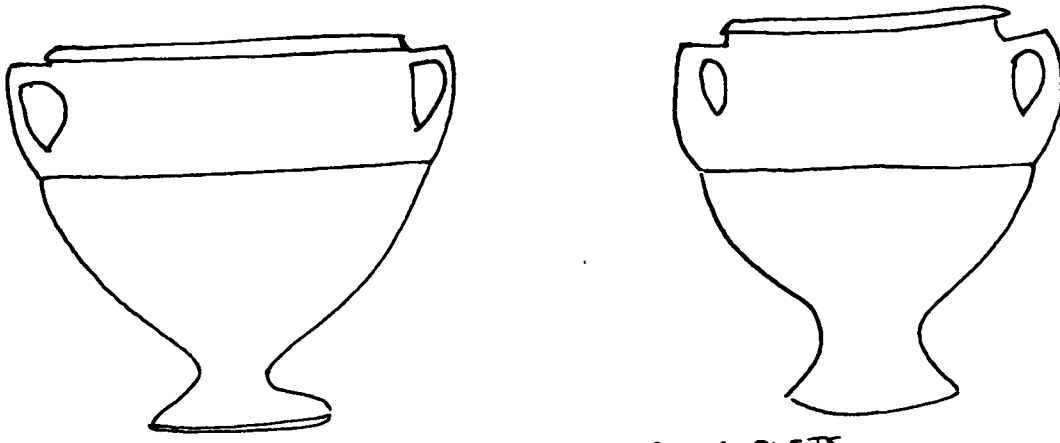
PROSYMNA  
(fig. 646)



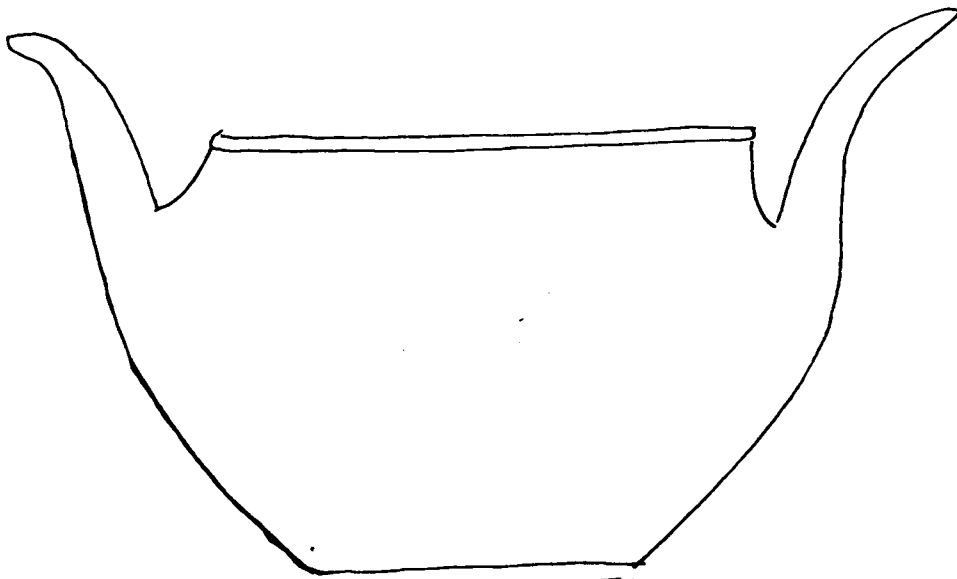
PROSYMNA (fig. 649: 559)

SCALE 1:4

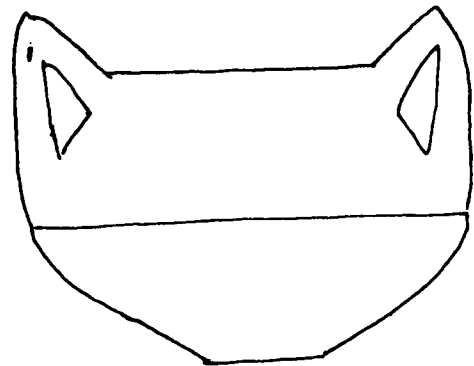
FIG 10: MATT-PAINTED VASES OF THE LATE PHASE



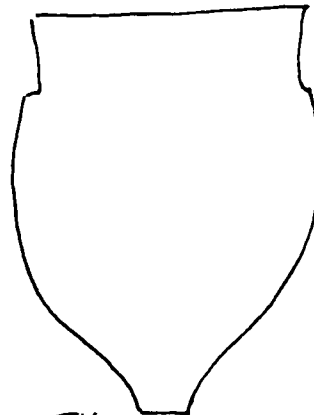
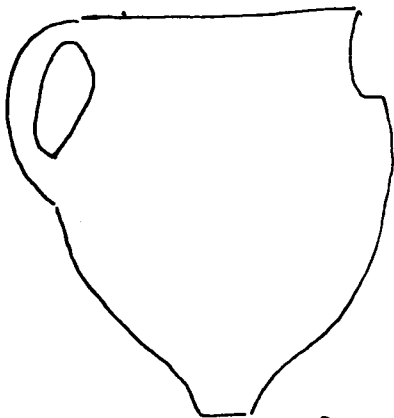
ANGULAR-HANDLED GOBLETS



KANTHAROS WITH RAKING HANDLES



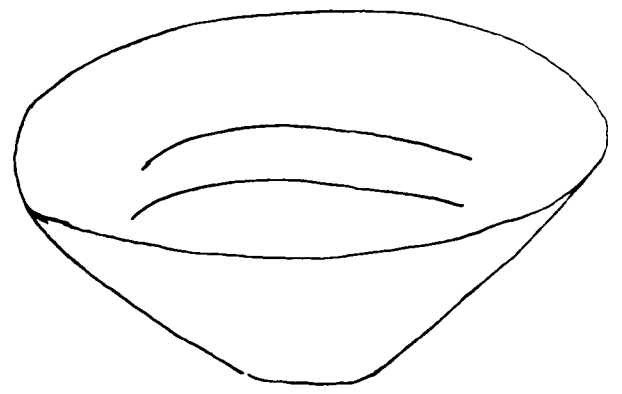
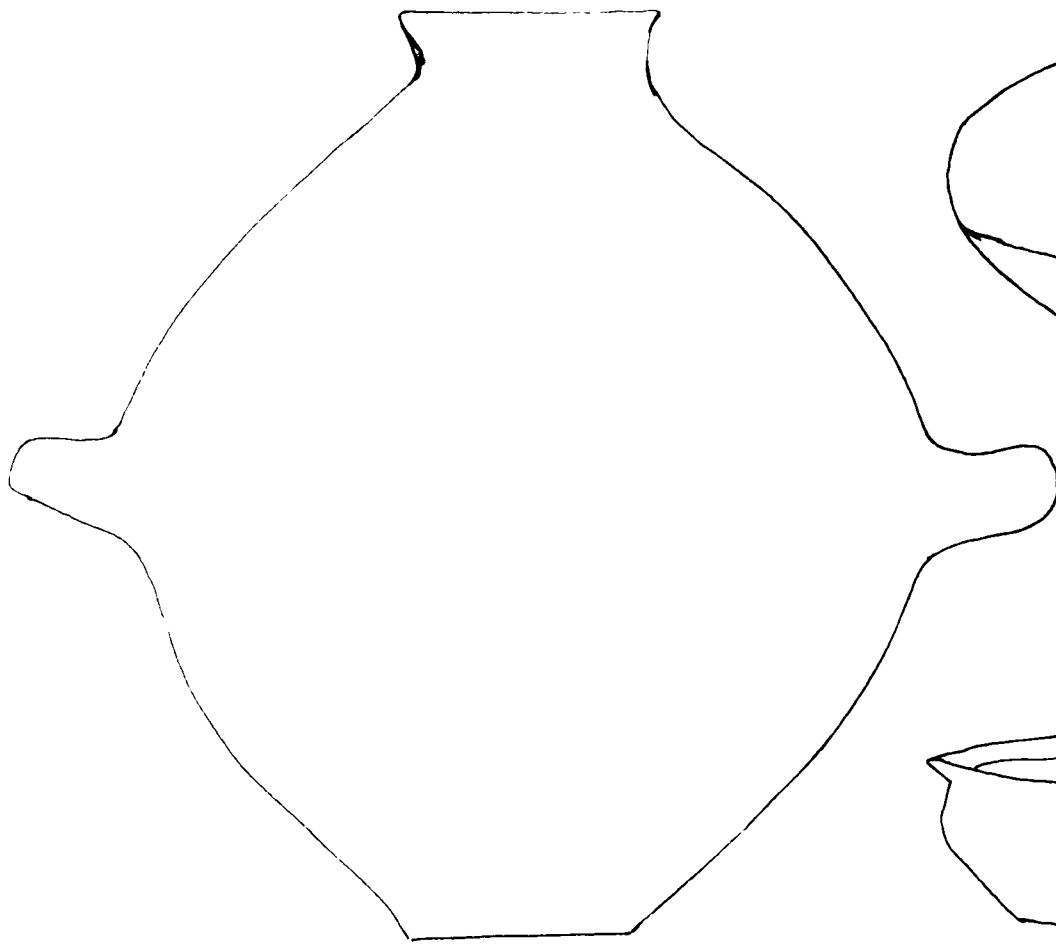
KANTHAROS WITH ANGULAR HANDLES



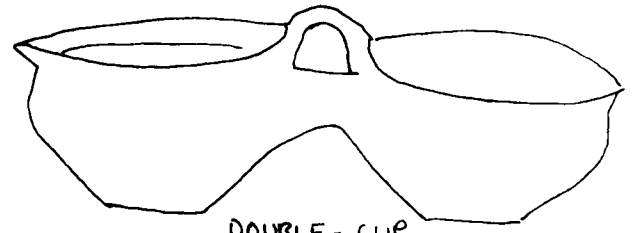
DOMESTIC JARS WITH POINTED BASES

SCALE 1:4

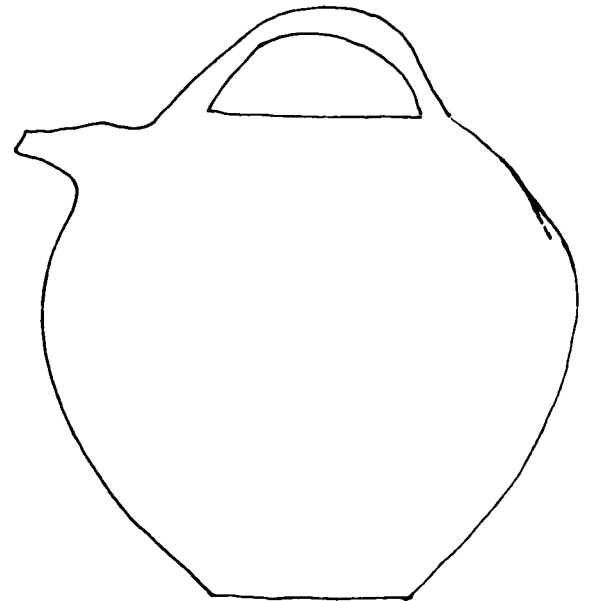
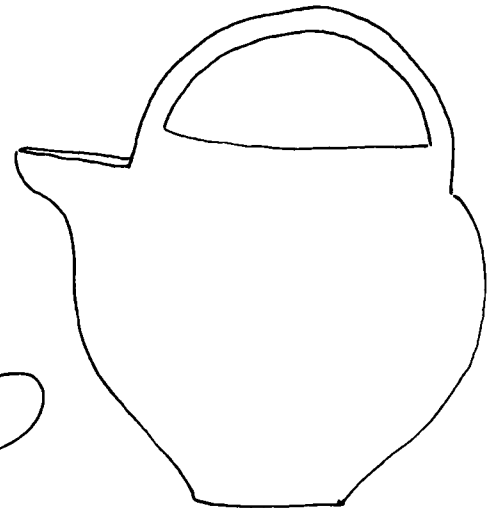
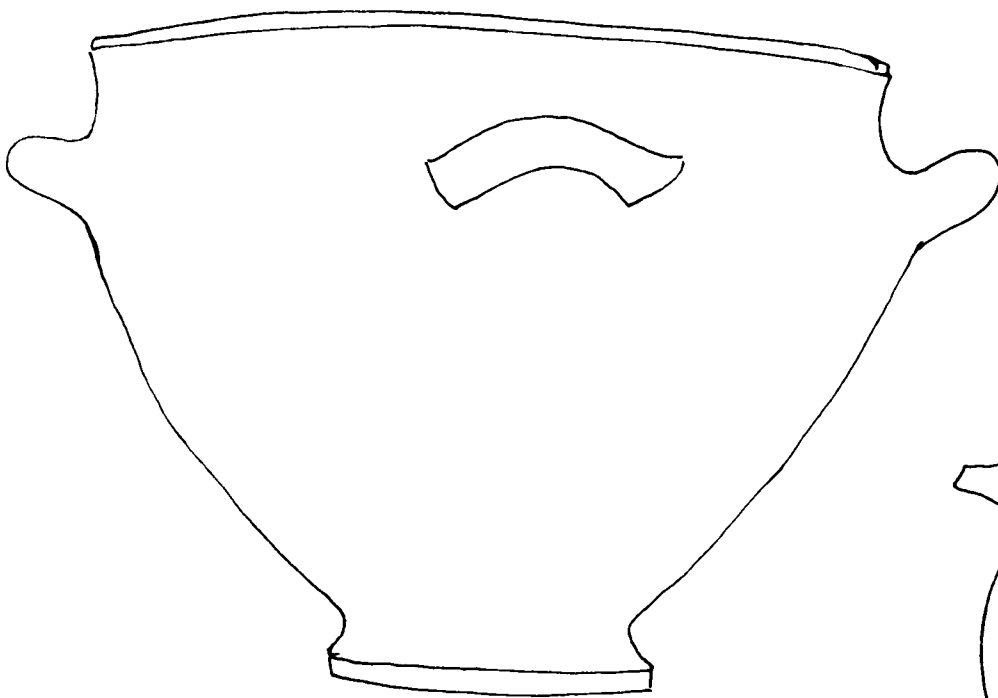
FIG. II: TYPICAL SHAPES OF THERMON AND PHARAI  
 (after Ergon, 1958, 140-41, figs. 148-9, and Deltion 1 (1915), 258, fig. 17)



BOWL WITH  
INTERNAL HANDLE

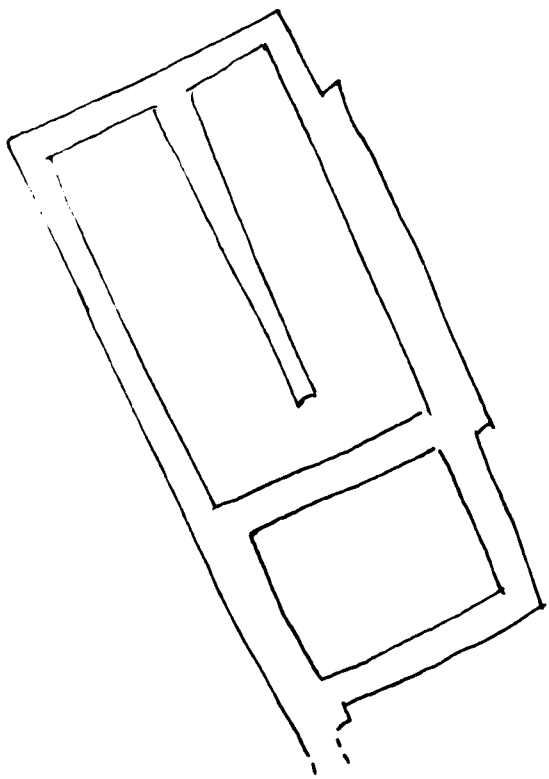
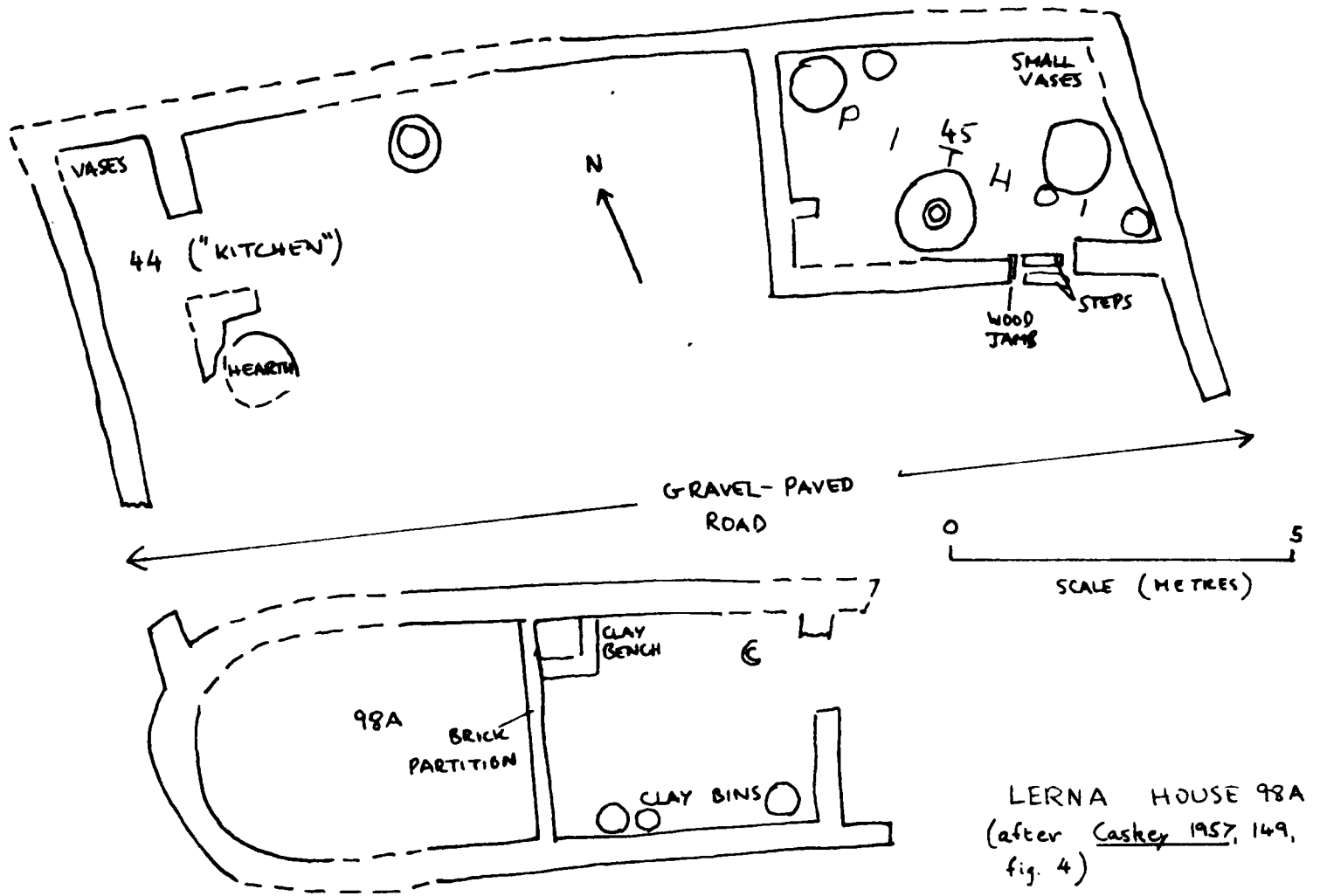


DOUBLE-CUP

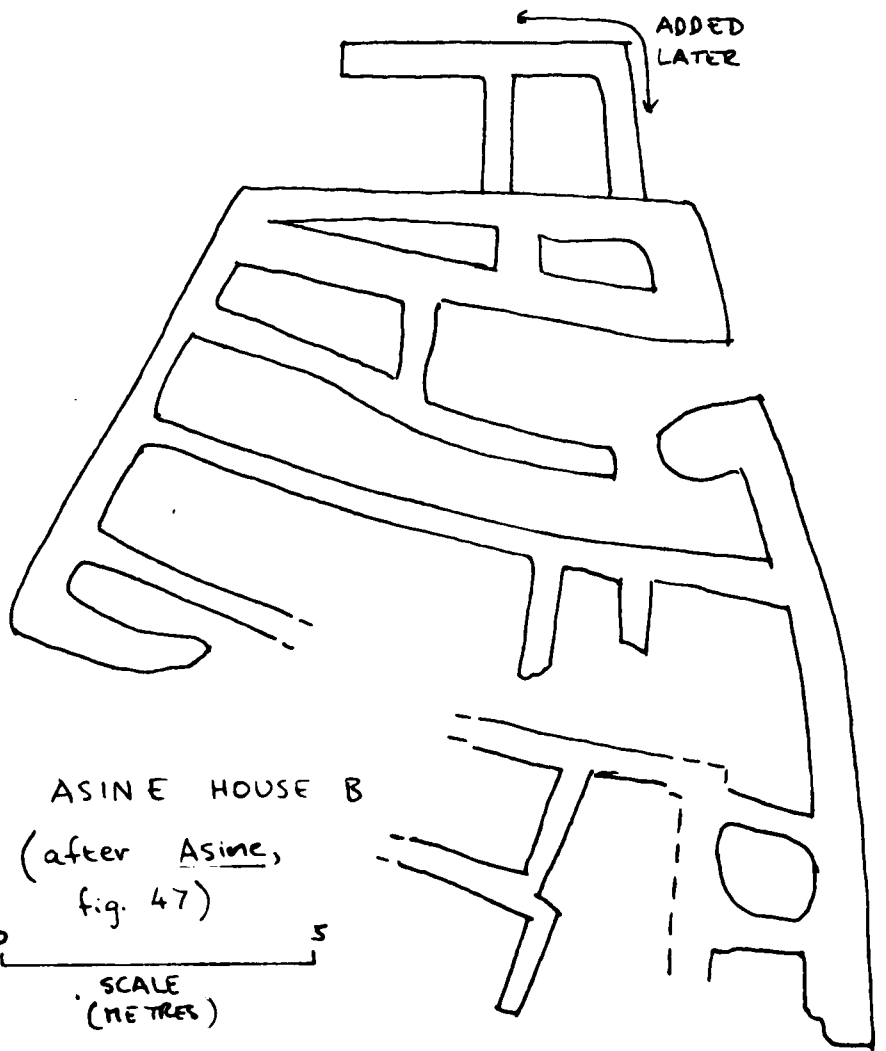
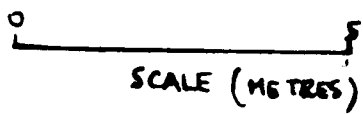


SCALE 1:5

FIG. 12: SHAPES OF LOCAL MATT-PAINTED FROM  
THE KORYPHASION THOLOS  
(after Hesperia 23 (1954), Pls 37-8)



ASINE HOUSE T  
(after Asine, fig. 69)



ASINE HOUSE B  
(after Asine, fig. 47)

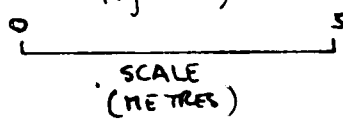
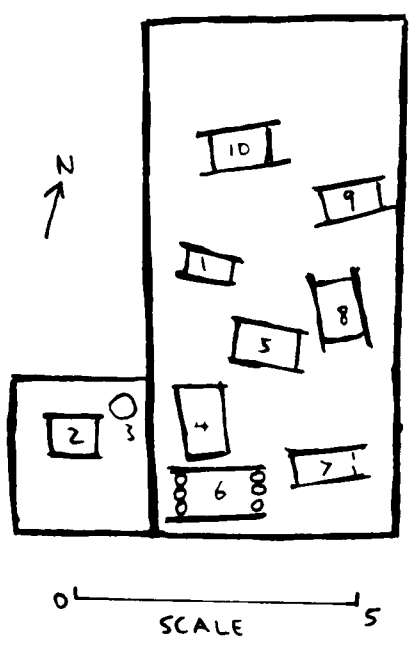
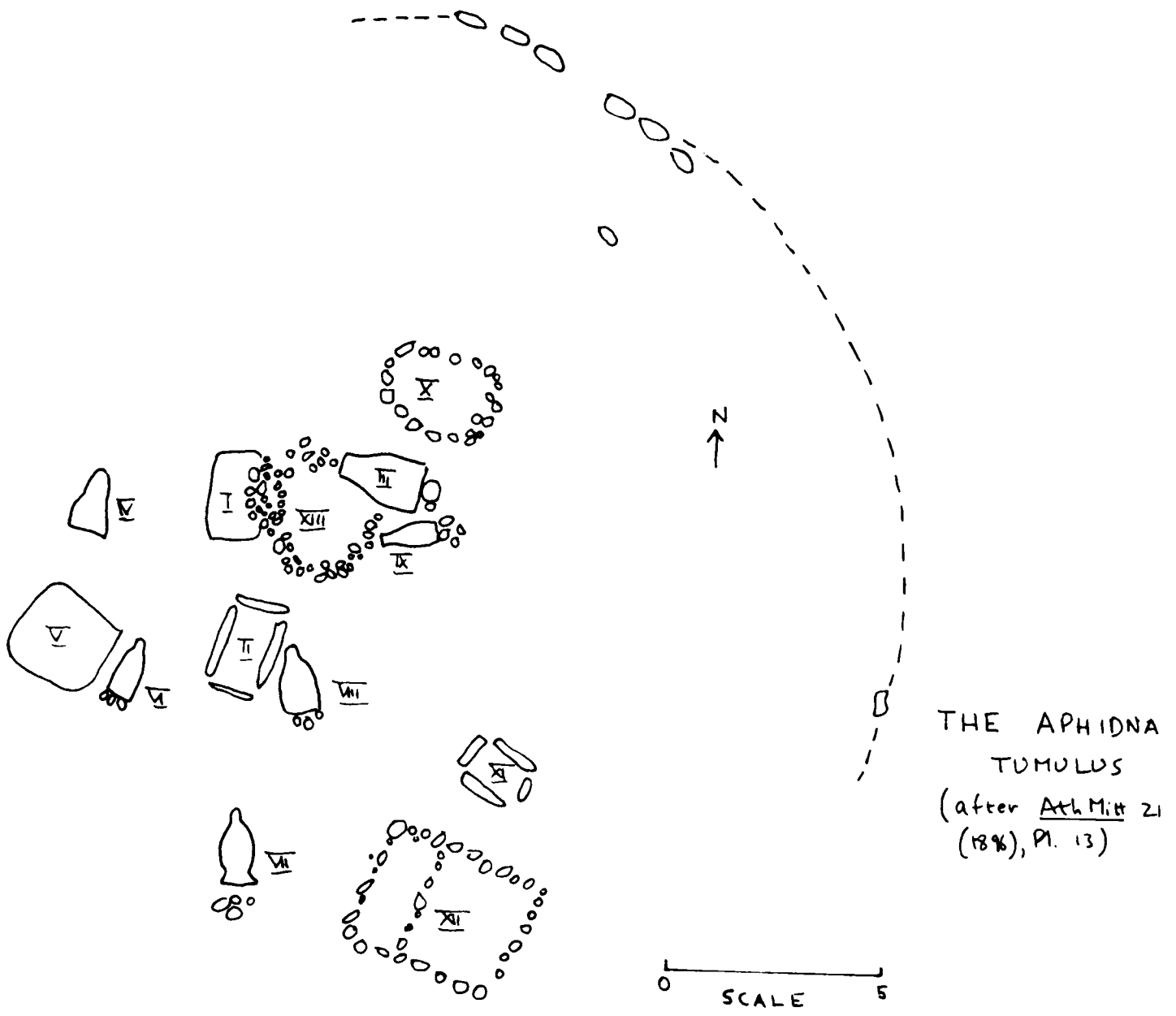
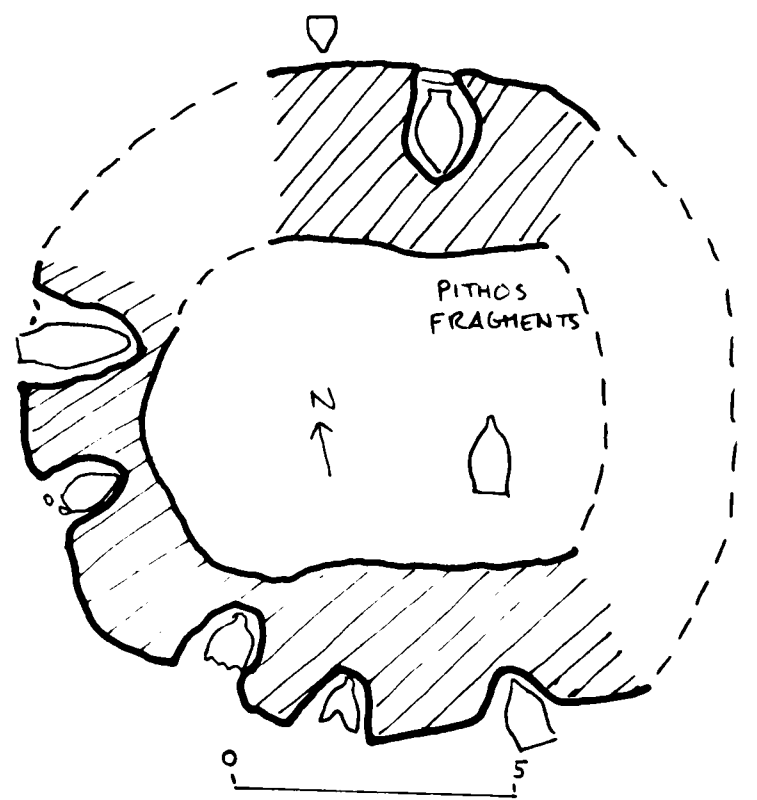


FIG. 13: SOME MH HOUSES

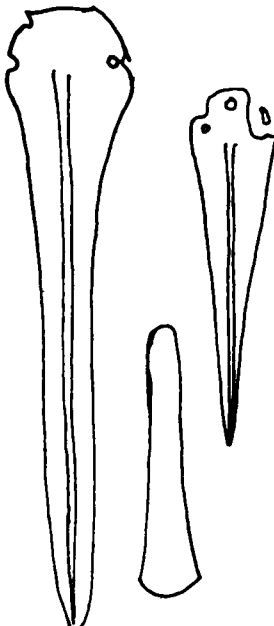


LEUKAS TUMULUS F  
(after W Dorpfeld, Alt-Ithaka, Pl 18)

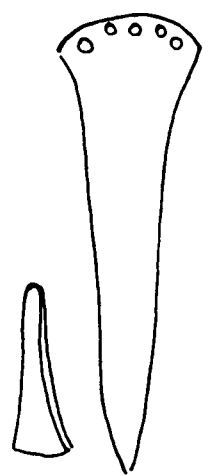


THE PAPPOULIA TUMULUS  
(after Praktika 1954, 315, fig 12)

FIG. 14 MH TUMULI



LERNA BRONZES  
(after Caskey 1957, Pl. 42: c)



PROSYMNA DAGGER  
AND TWEEZERS  
(after Prosymna II,  
fig. 58)



EUTRESIS  
DAGGER  
(Eutresis,  
fig. 288: 8)



TYPE 66  
KNIFE FROM  
LEUKAS 5.10  
(Peters 21 (1955,  
1957, fig. 4)



CORINTH  
(C.W. Blegen,  
Corinth 13,  
Pl. 3: 2-5)



AGNIDOS  
STEPHANOS  
(Deltion 19 (1964) B,  
Pl. 148: α)

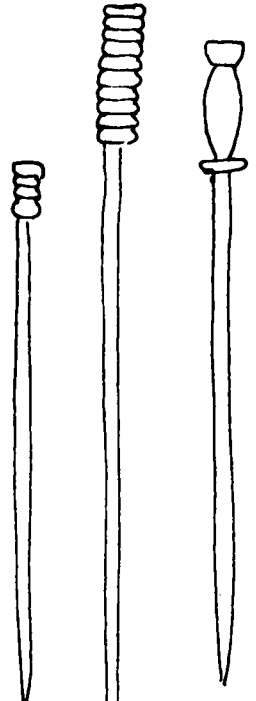


LERNA  
(Caskey 1957,  
Pl. 42: b)

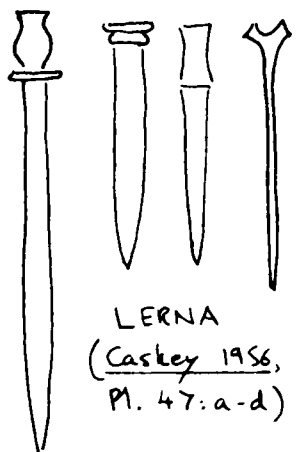
GERAKI  
(BSA 16 (1909-10),  
74, fig. 4)

SCALE 1:4

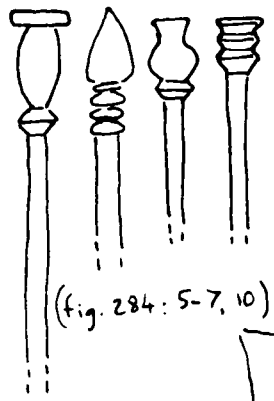
BRONZE PINS SCALE 1:2



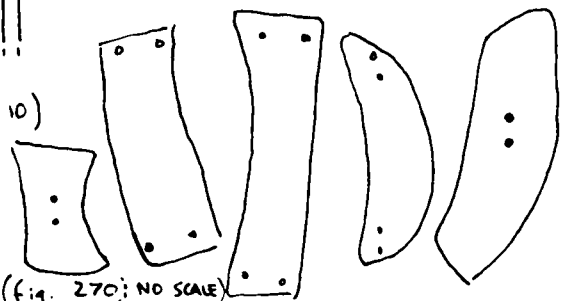
GONIA  
(Gonia, 78,  
fig. 35)



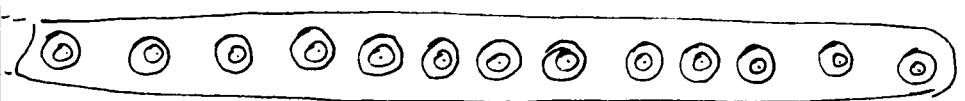
LERNA  
(Caskey 1956,  
Pl. 47: a-d)



EUTRESIS  
(fig. 284: 5-7, 10)



(fig. 270: NO SCALE)



ELEUSIS

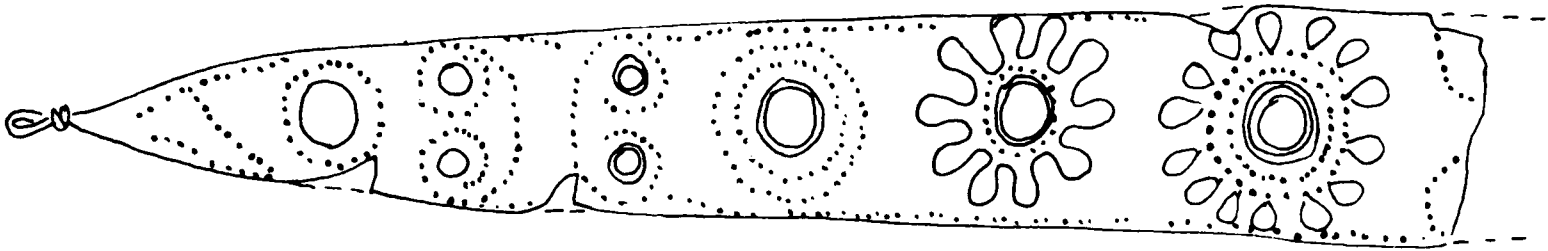


(after Eleusis, fig. 119)



ASEA  
BOAR'S TUSK PLATE  
(Asea, fig. 121: 21)  
NO SCALE

OBJECTS OF BONE AND BOAR'S TUSK PLATES USUAL SCALE 1:2



THE GOLD HEAD-BAND FROM CORINTH (partly restored, after  
C.W. Blegen, Corinth 13, 3, fig. 1) ACTUAL SIZE

FIG. 15: MH SMALL FINDS

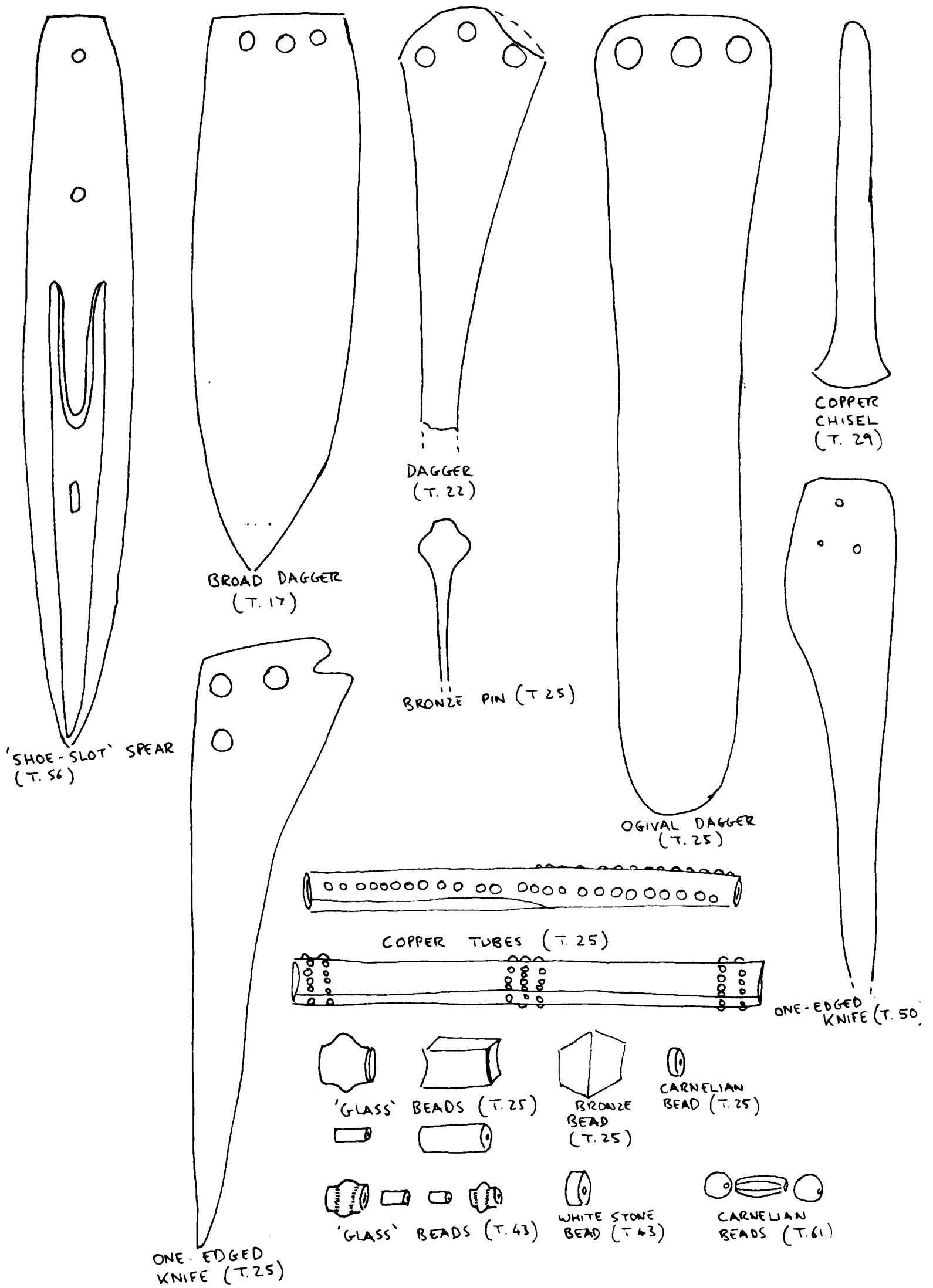
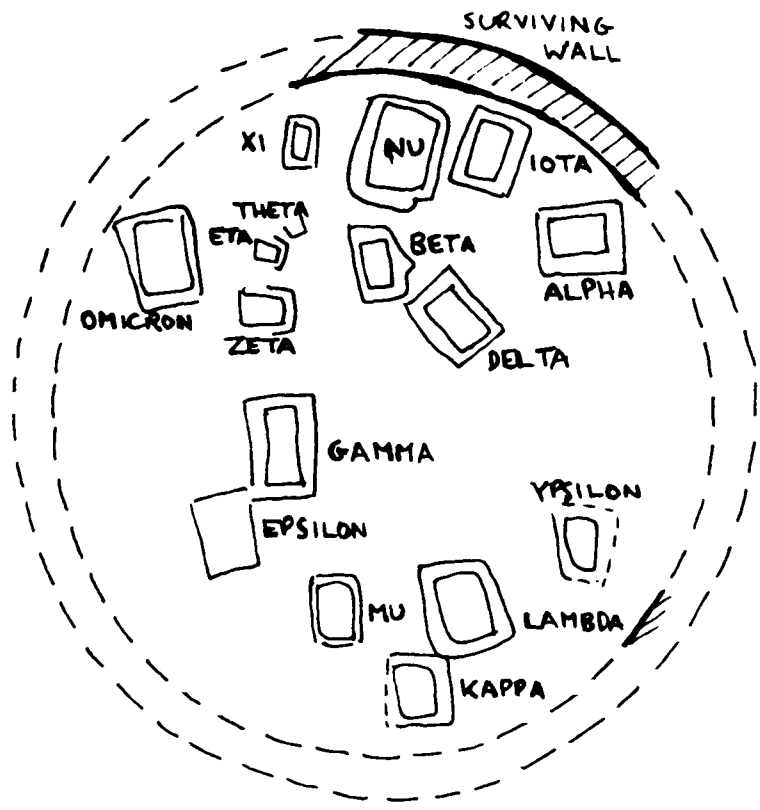


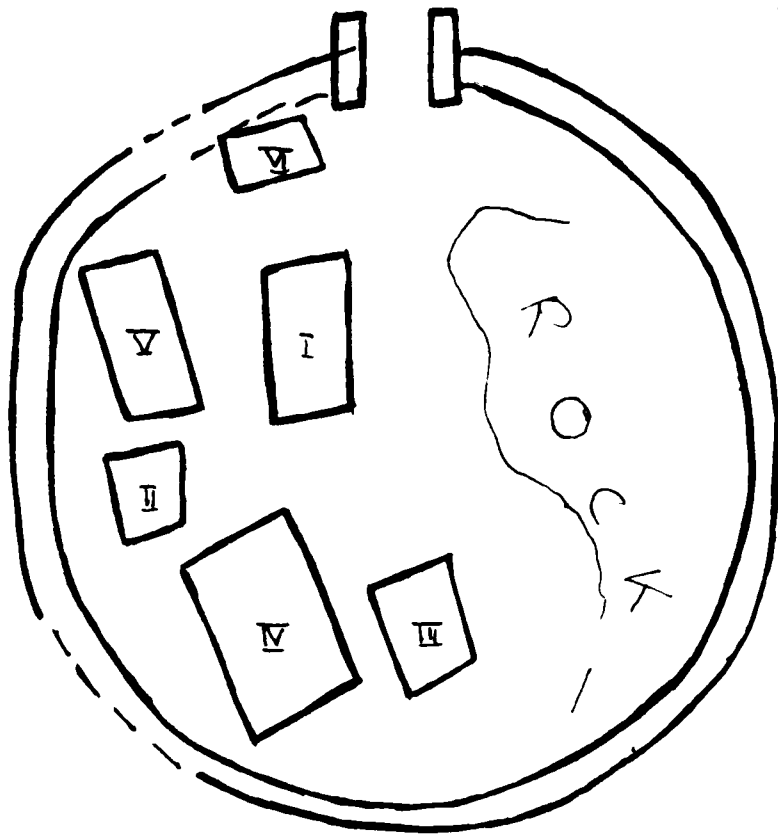
FIG. 16: SMALL FINDS FROM THE SESKLO CEMETERY  
 (after Dhimini and Sesklo, Pls 4-5)



GRAVE CIRCLE

B

(Planned without poor and early graves and later intrusions; after Praktika 1954, 243, fig. 1).



GRAVE CIRCLE

A

(Planned without MH graves, and with LH III wall; after Mycena (BSA 25), Pl. I).

SCALE APPROXIMATELY AS ABOVE

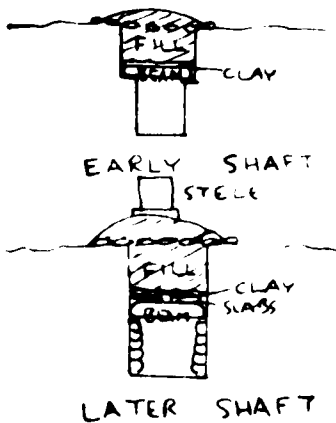


FIG. 17: THE SHAFT GRAVES

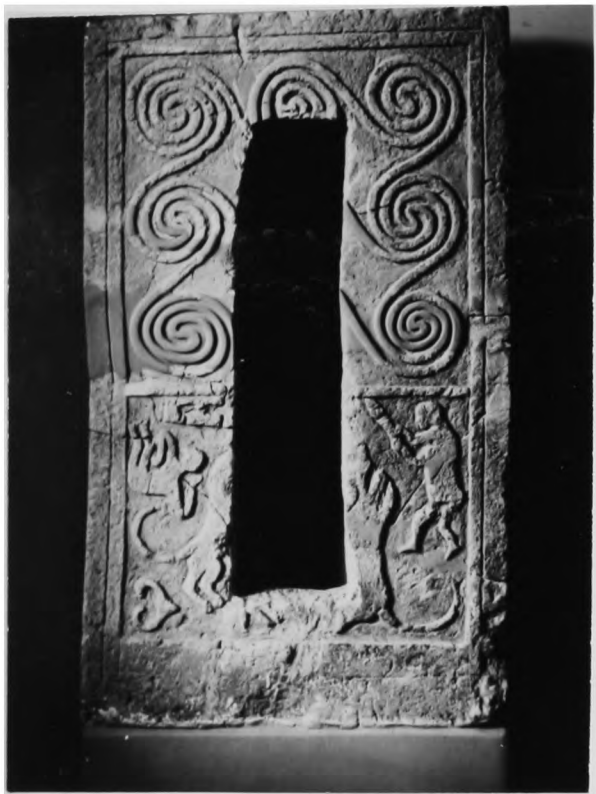
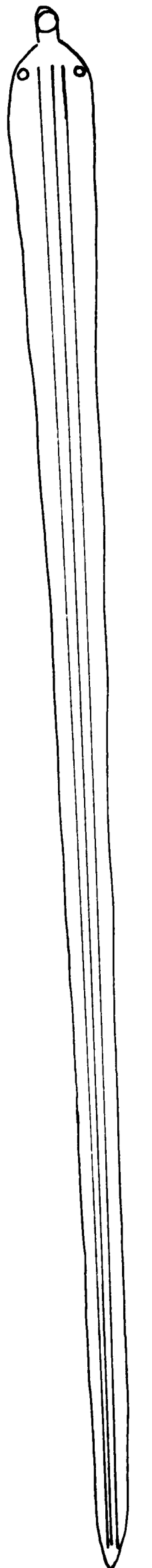
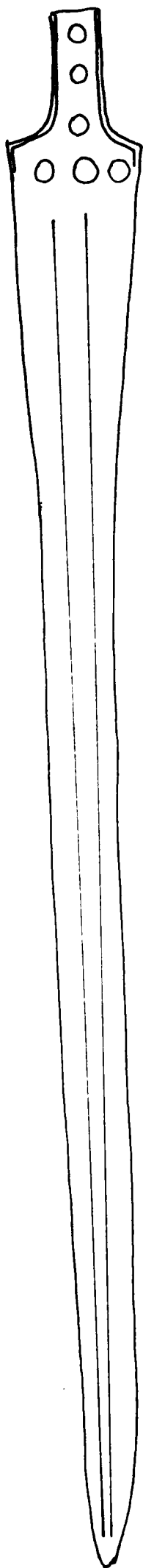


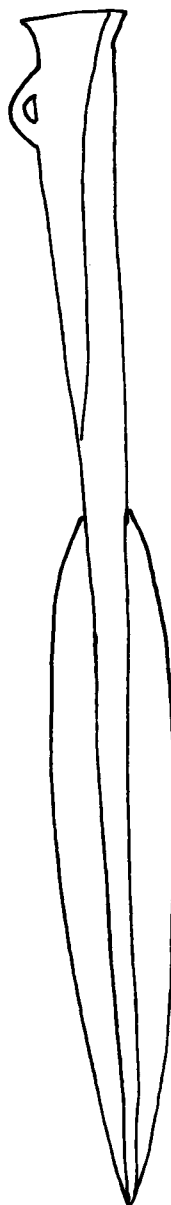
FIG. 18: SHAFT GRAVE STELAE



TYPE A  
SWORD



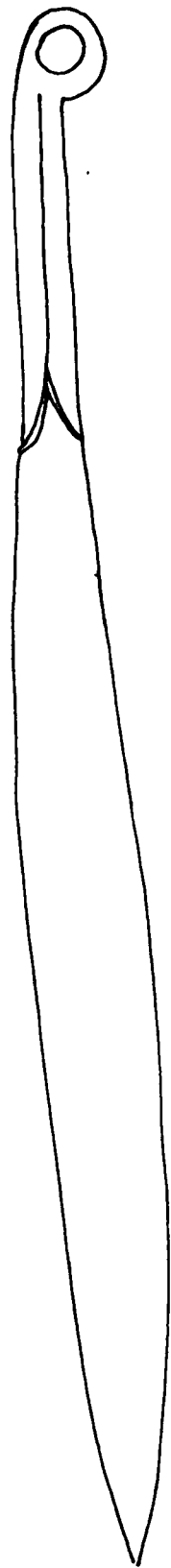
TYPE B  
SWORD



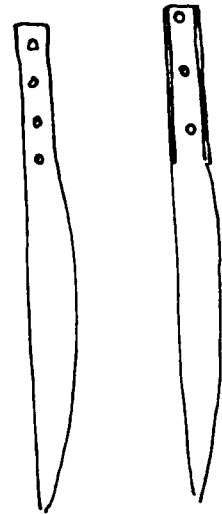
LONG  
SPEAR



OGIVAL  
DAGGER



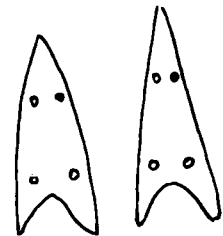
'SLACHTHESSER'



KNIVES



OBSIDIAN AND  
FLINT



BRONZE  
ARROWHEADS  
(SCALE 1:2)

FIG. 19:

WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF THE  
SHAFT GRAVES AND EARLY  
MYCENAEAN GREECE

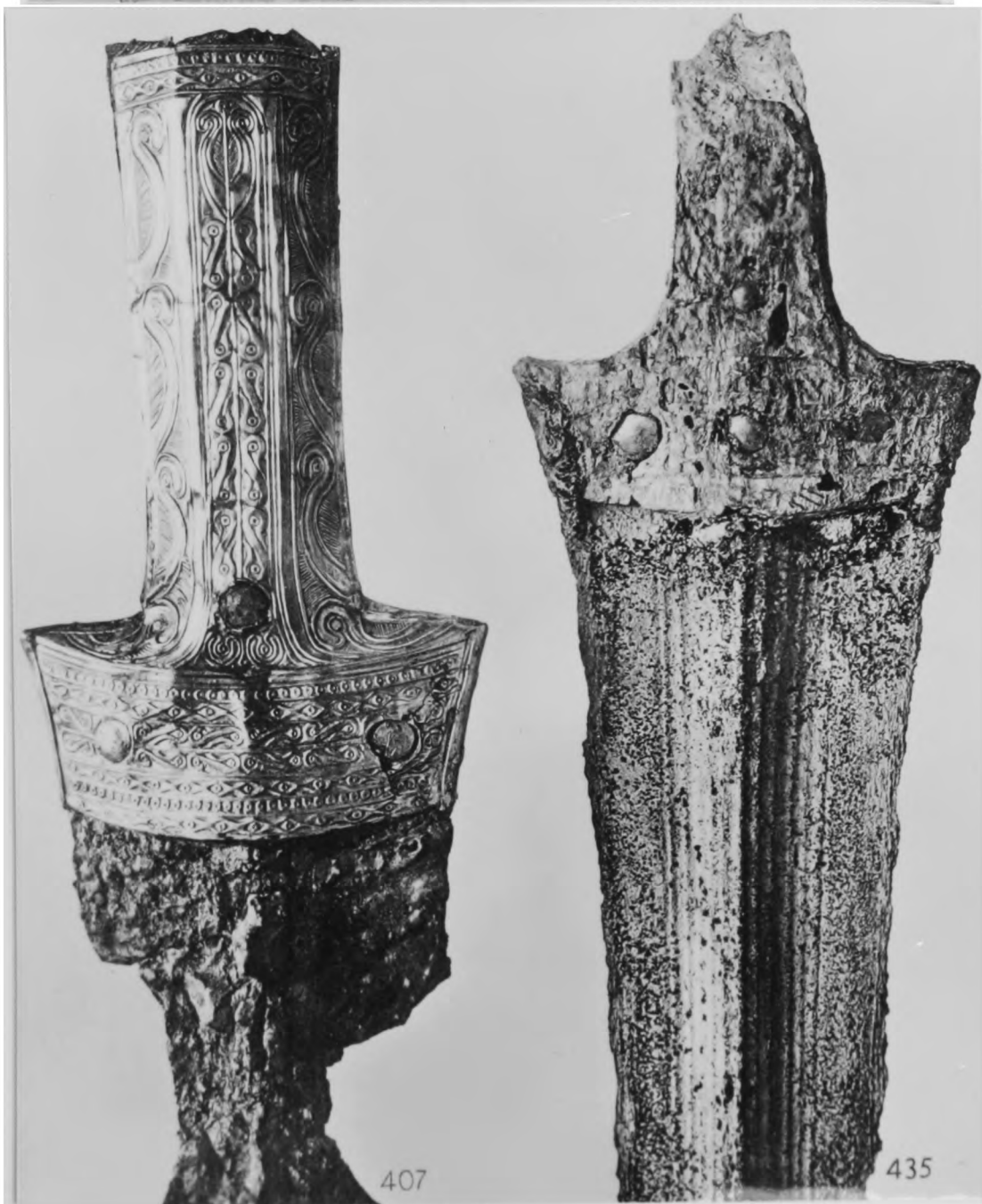
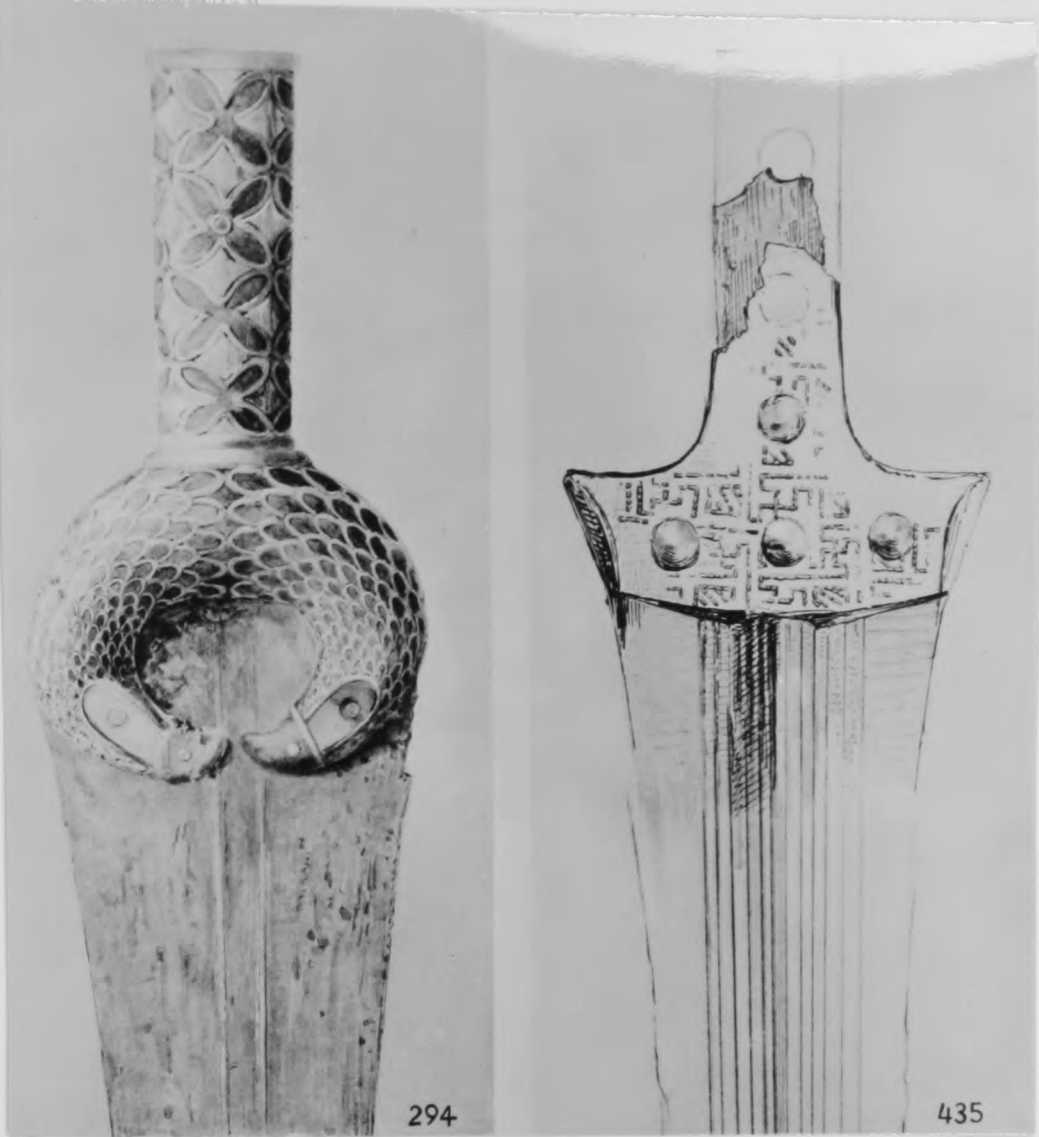


FIG. 20:  
FINE WEAPON HILTS  
FROM THE  
SHARIF GRAVES



EARLIEST TYPE



MASK FROM  
GRAVE IV



MASK FROM  
GRAVE V



LARGEST HEAD-BAND, FROM GRAVE III

FIG. 21 : MASKS AND HEAD-BAND

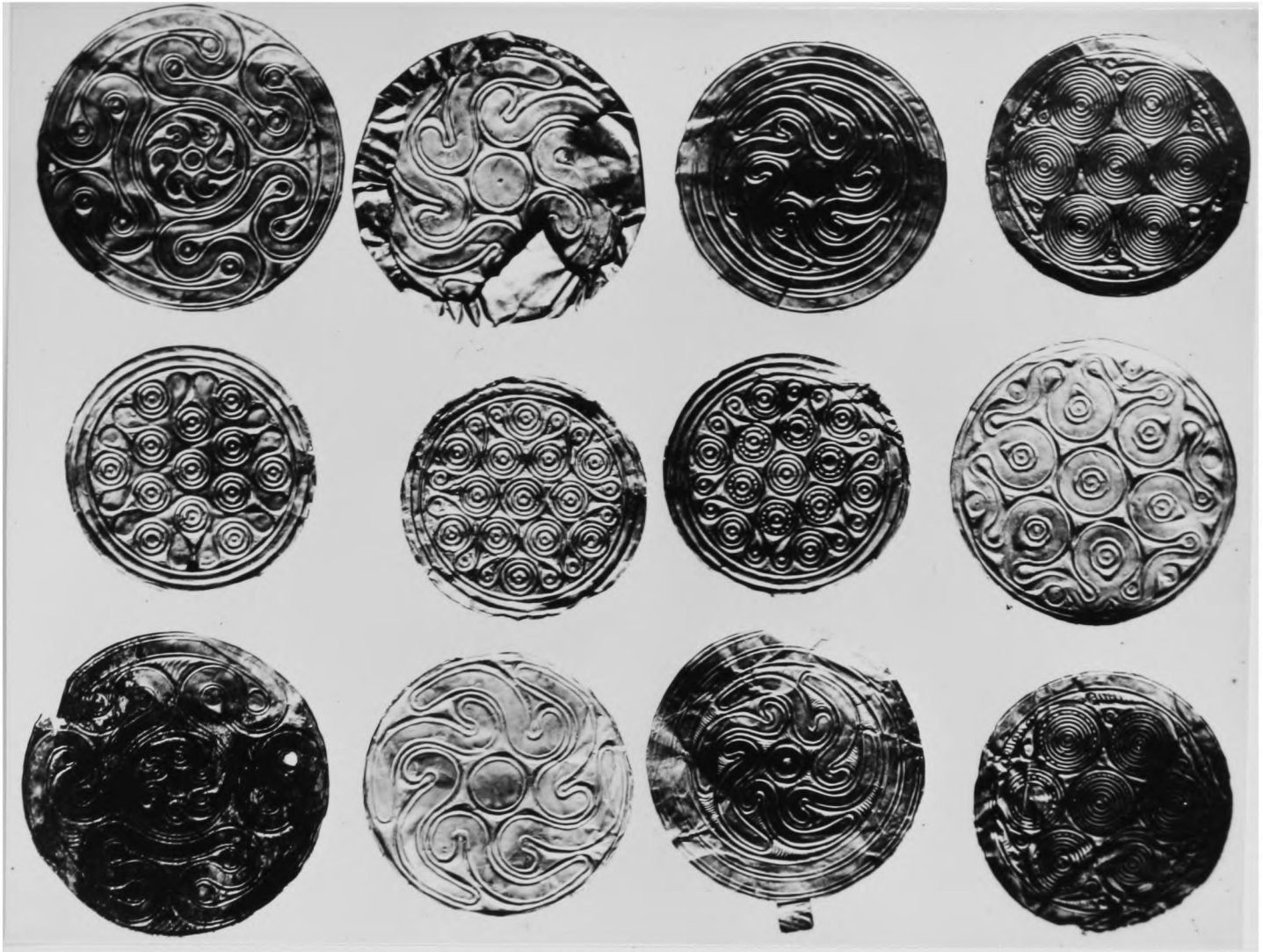


FIG. 22: GOLD DISCS FROM GRAVE III

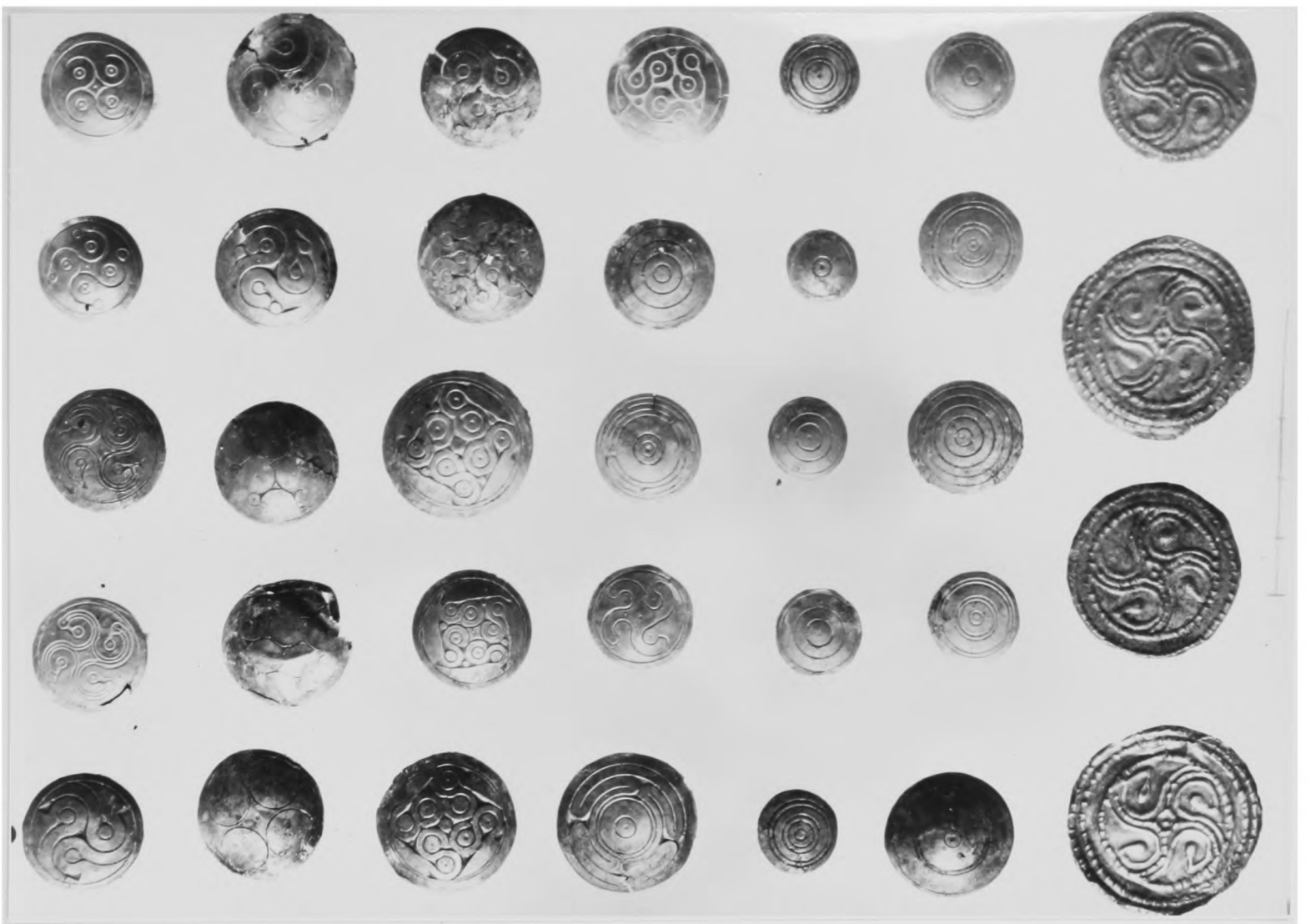


FIG. 23: GOLD BUTTON-COVERS FROM GRAVE V

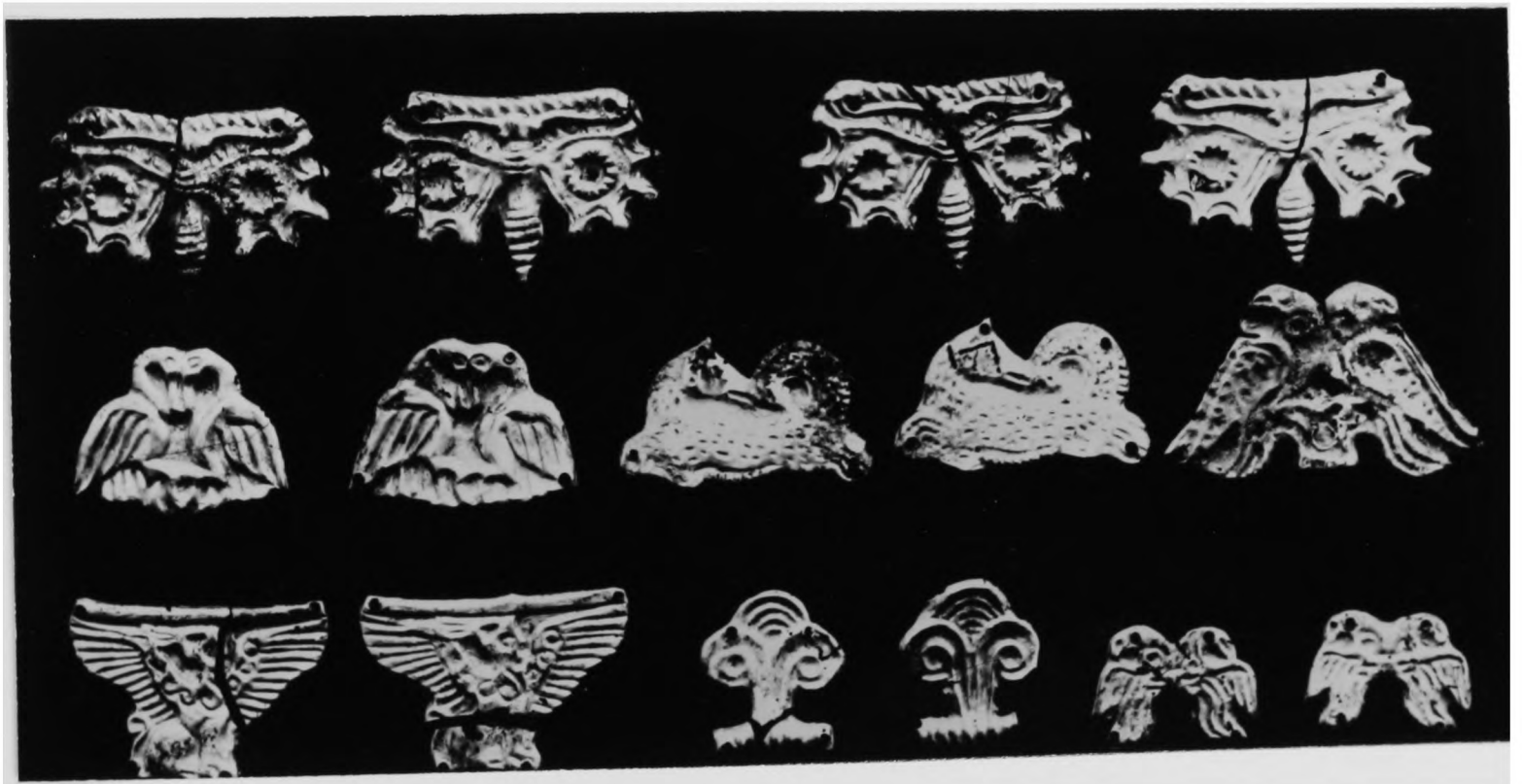


FIG. 24 : GOLD CUTOUTS FROM GRAVE III

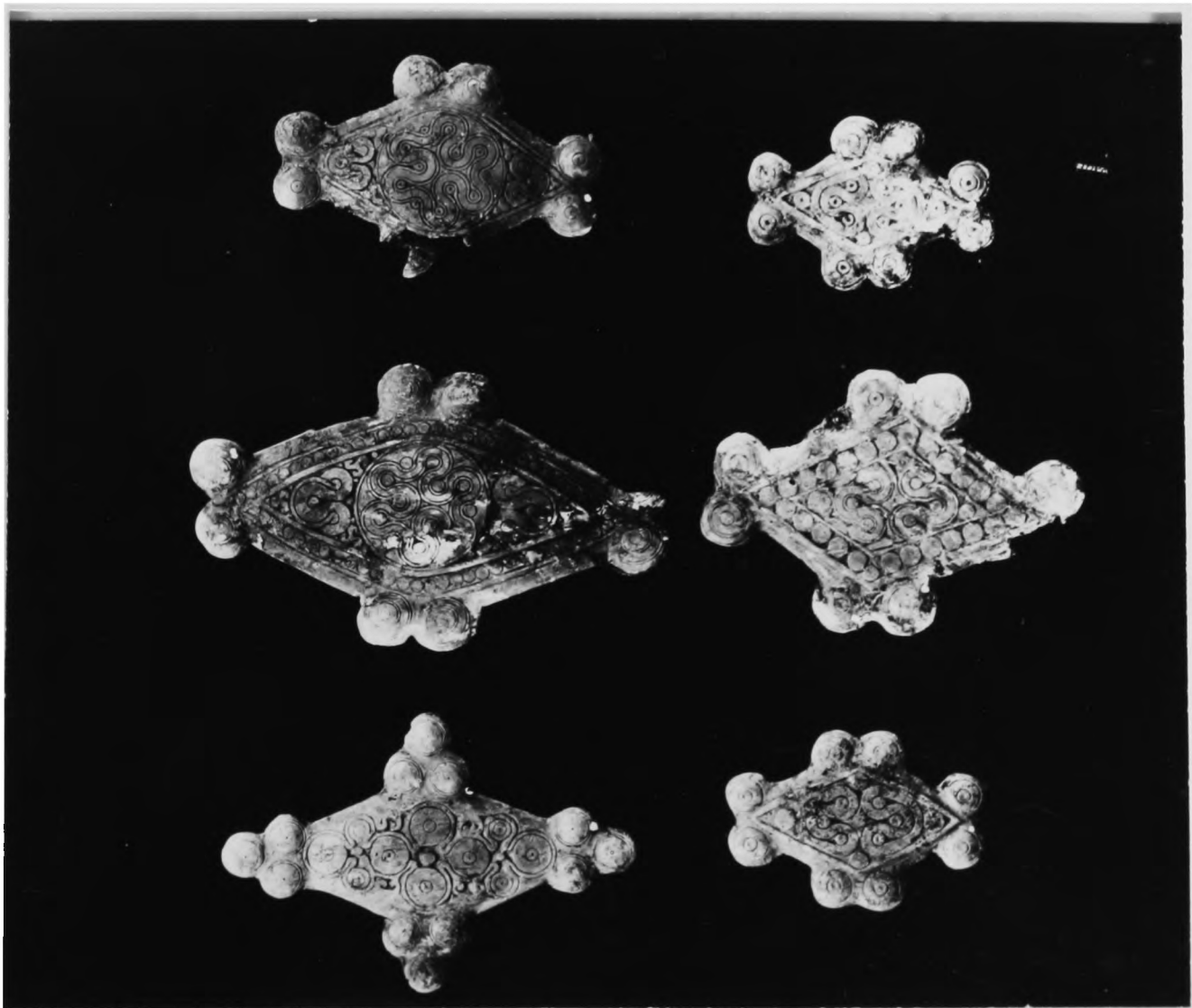
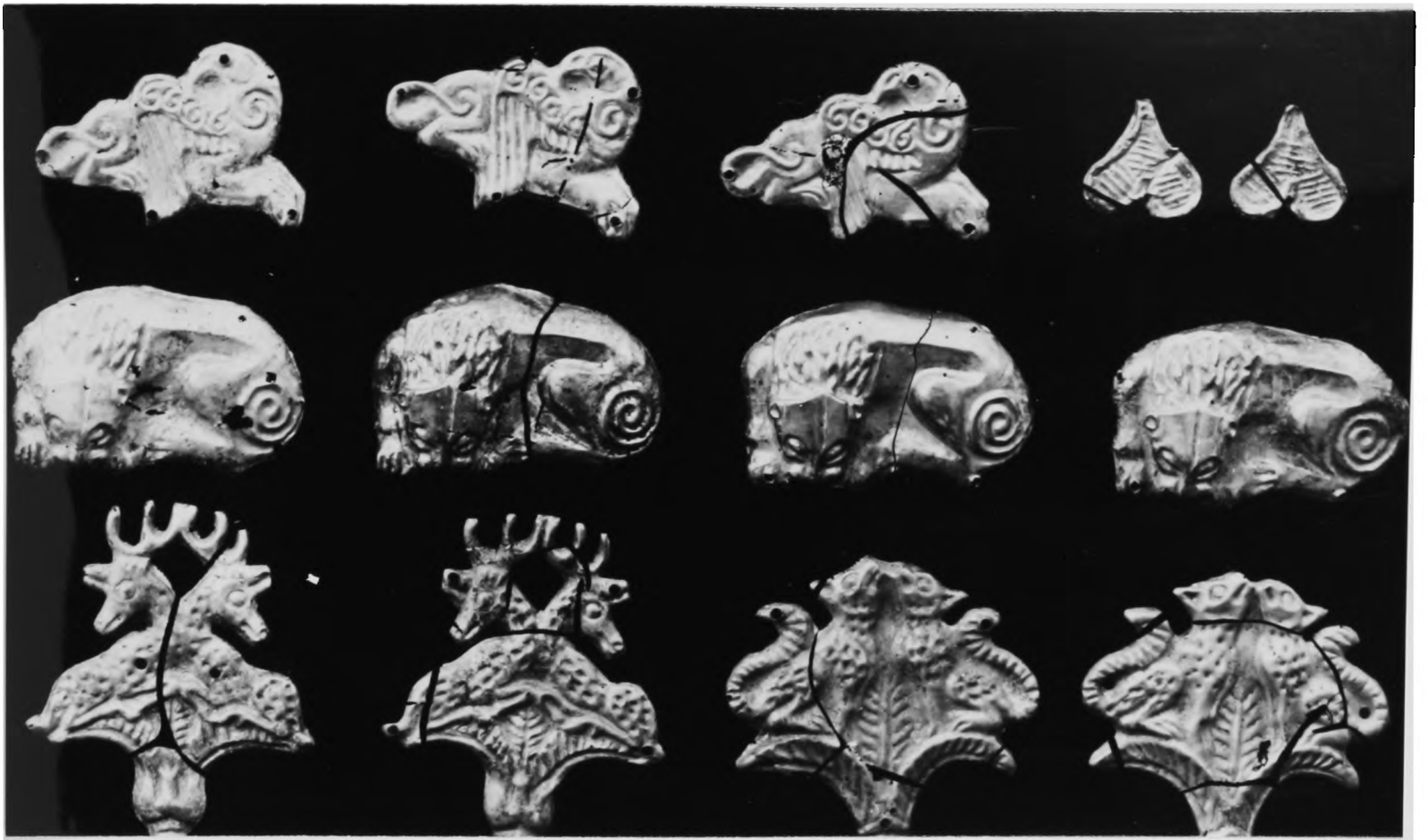


FIG. 25: GOLD CUTOUTS FROM GRAVE III, AND  
GOLD-COVERED LOZENGES FROM GRAVE IV

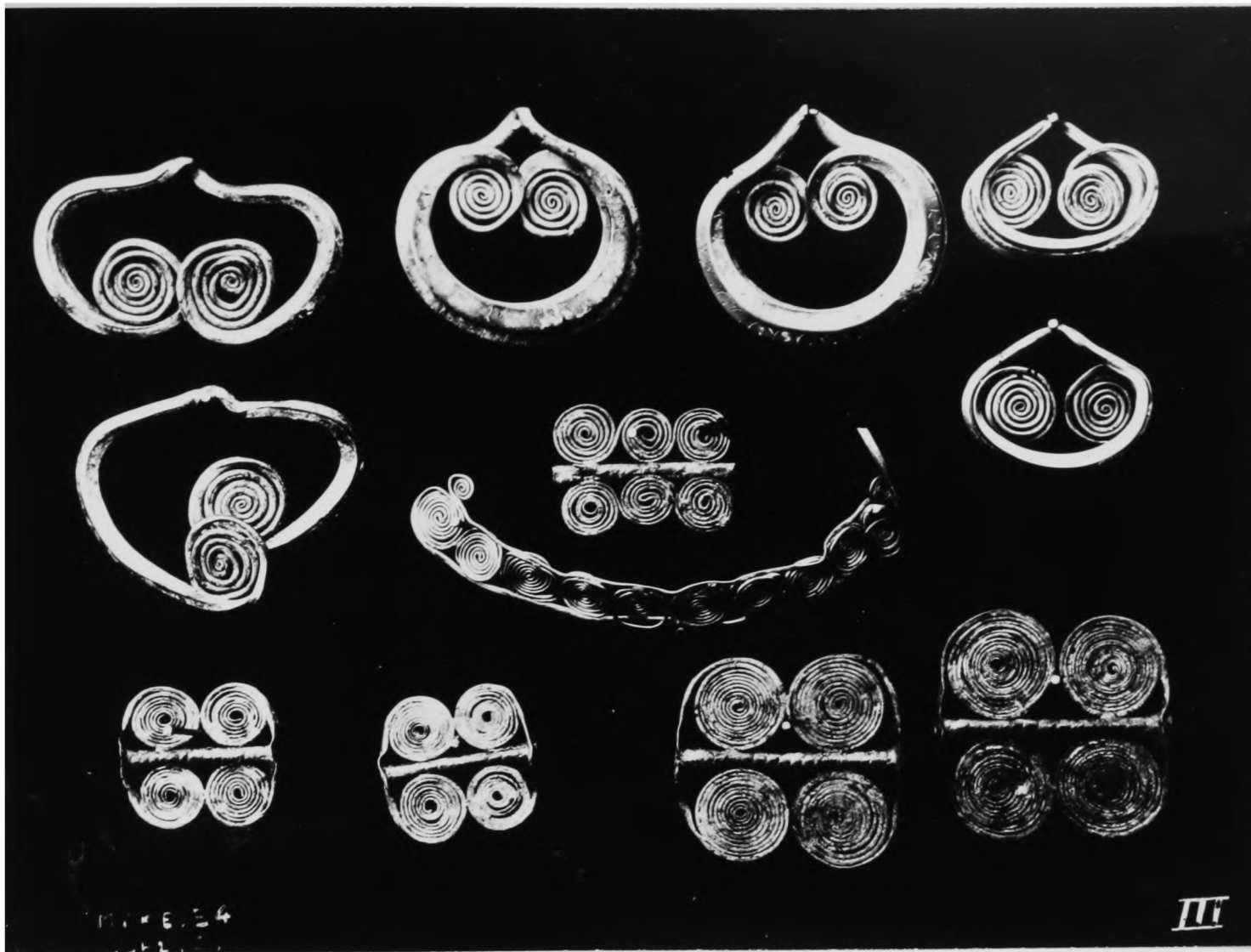


FIG. 26: GOLD WIRE-SPIRAL JEWELLERY AND GRANULATED EARRINGS FROM GRAVE III



HEAD-BANDS FROM GRAVE IV



ROCK-CRYSTAL-HEADED PINS FROM GRAVE III

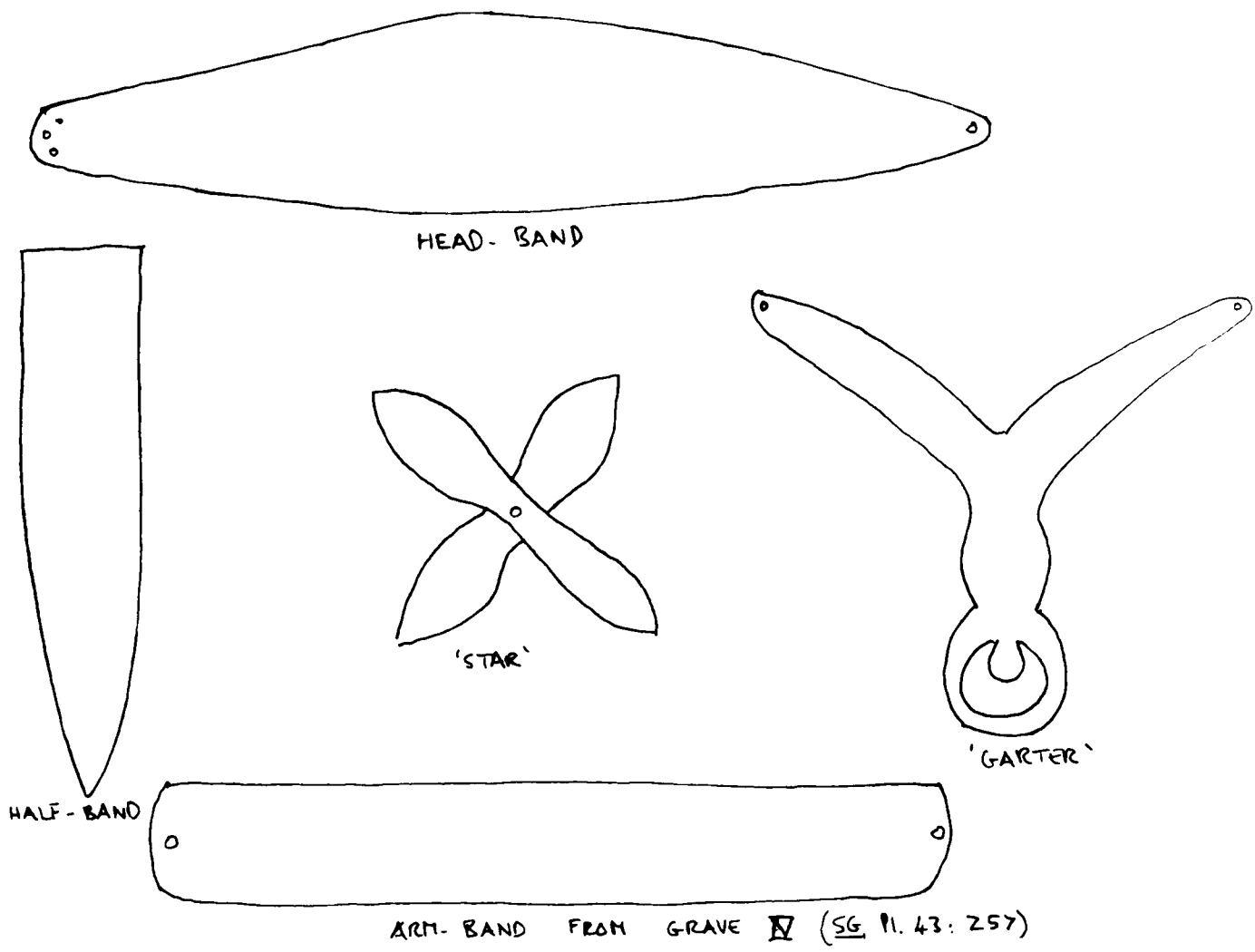


GOLD CUP FROM GRAVE II

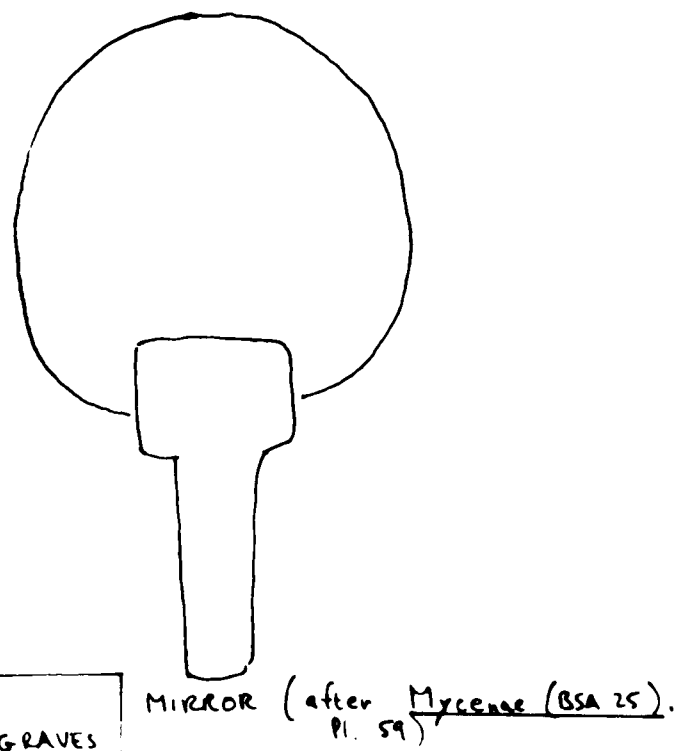
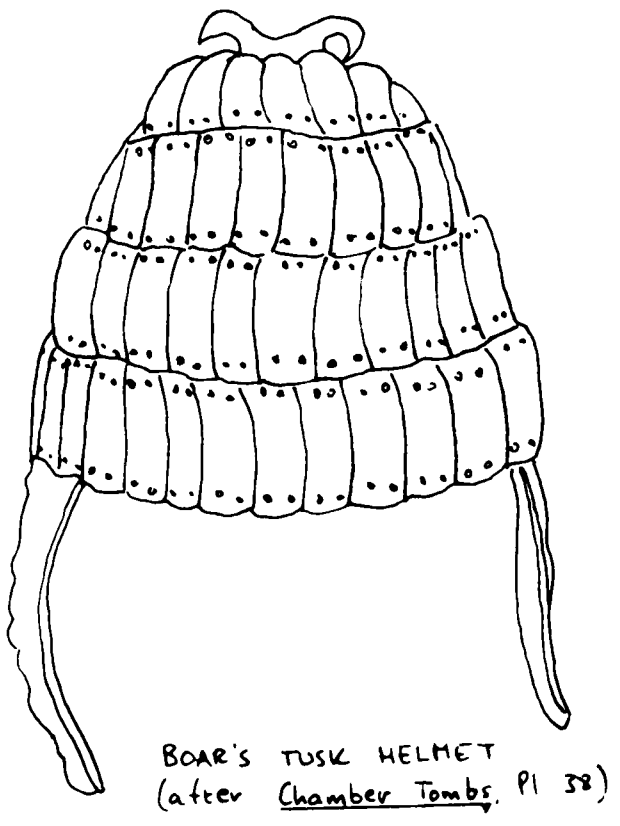
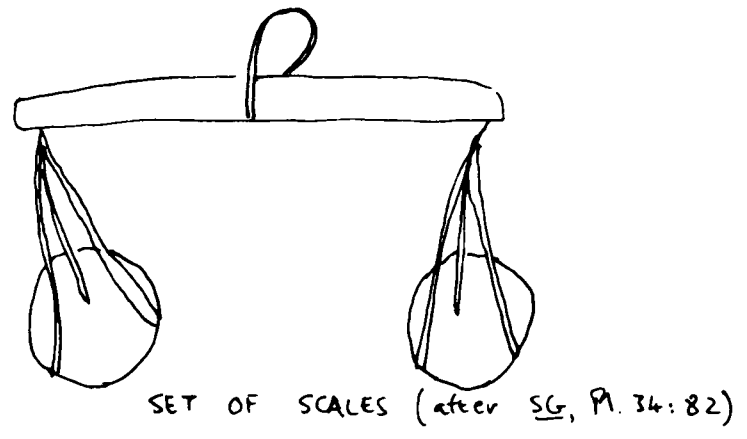
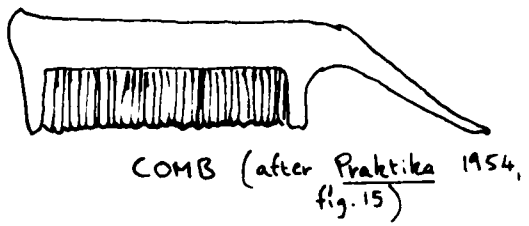


GOLD-HEADED PIN FROM GRAVE III

FIG. 27: MISCELLANEOUS FROM THE SHAFT GRAVES

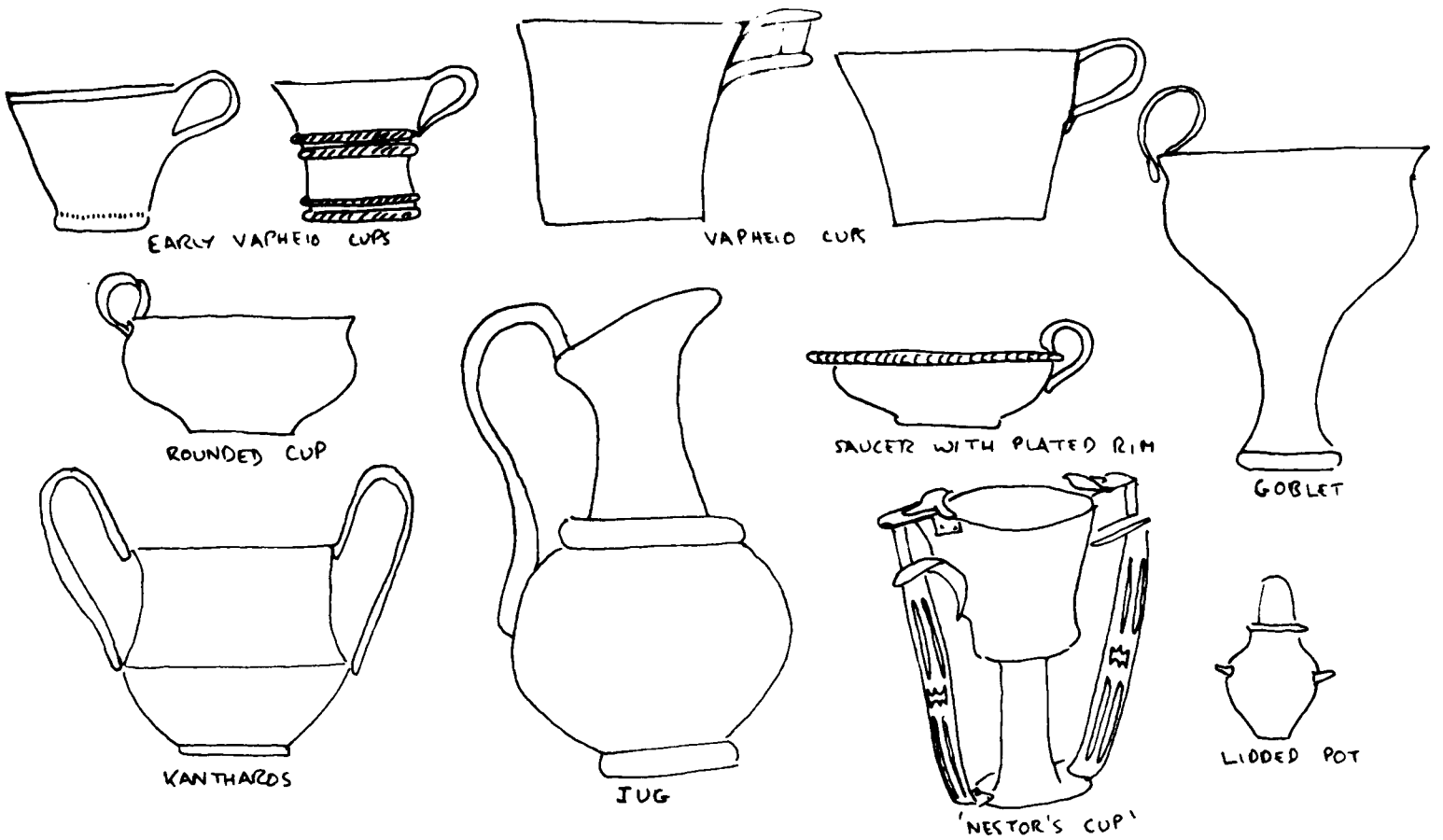


GOLD ORNAMENTS OF SHAFT GRAVE TYPE SCALE 1:4



**FIG. 8:** OBJECTS FROM THE SHAFT GRAVES AND EARLY MYCENAEAN GREECE

MISCELLANEOUS MYCENAEAN GREECE SCALE 1:4



EARLY VAPHEID CUPS

VAPHEID CUP

ROUNDED CUP

SAUCER WITH PLATED RIM

GOBLET

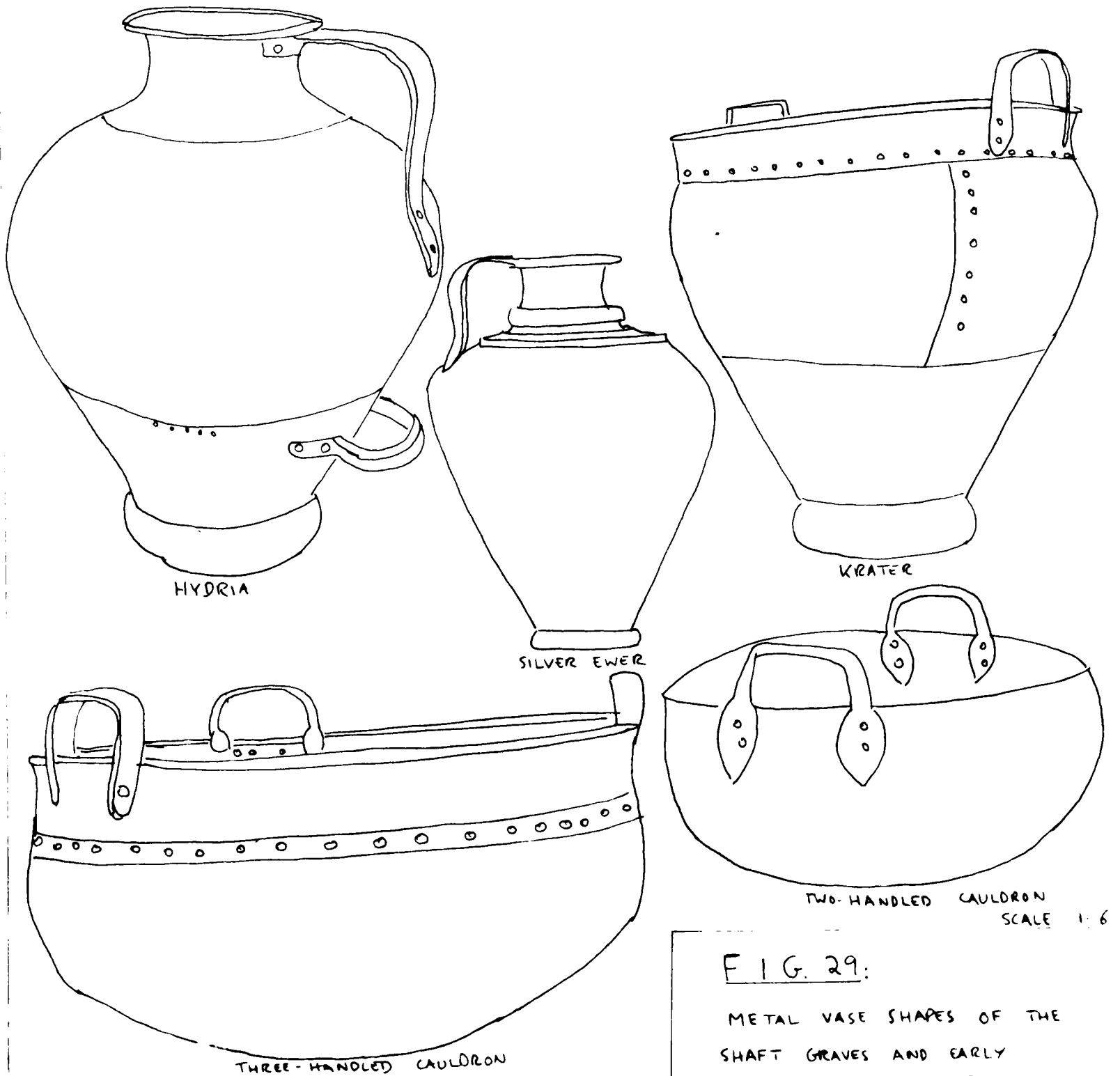
KANTHAROS

JUG

'NESTOR'S CUP'

LIDDED POT

SCALE 1:4



HYDRIA

SILVER EWER

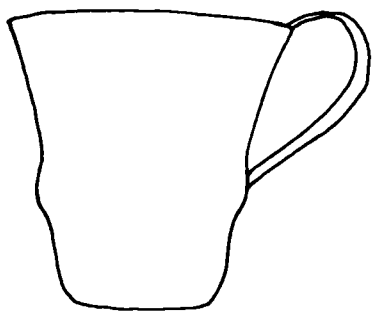
KRATER

THREE-HANDLED CAULDRON

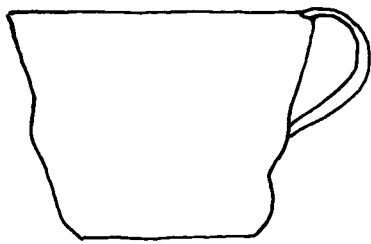
TWO-HANDLED CAULDRON  
SCALE 1:6

FIG. 29:

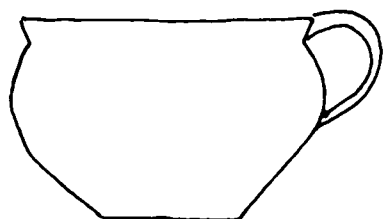
METAL VASE SHAPES OF THE  
SHAFT GRAVES AND EARLY  
MYCENAEAN GREECE



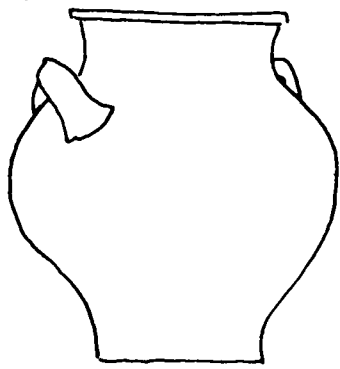
VAPHEIO CUPS



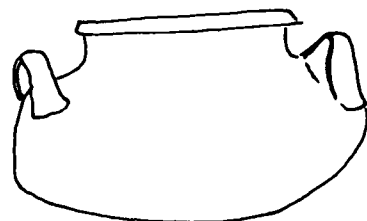
ROUNDED CUP



SQUAT JUG



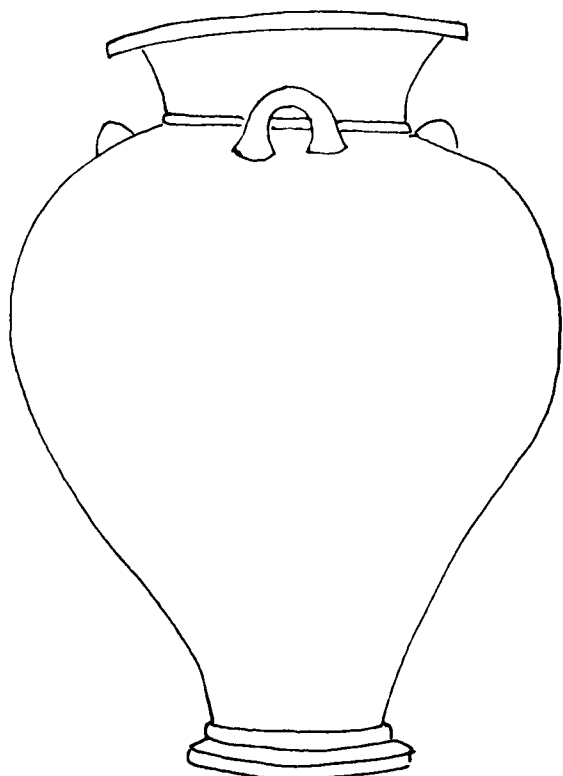
SMALL JAR



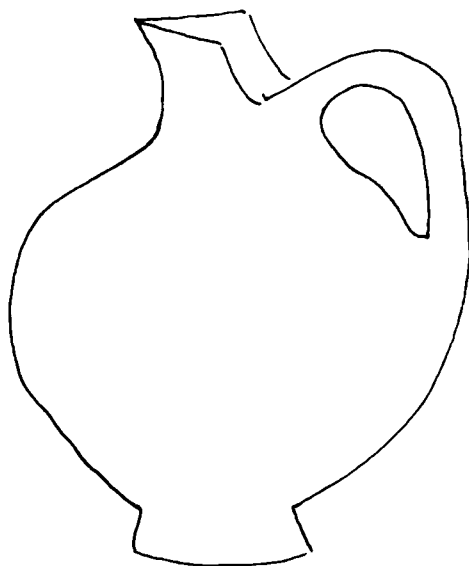
ALABASTRON

LHIA SHAPES

SCALE 1:3



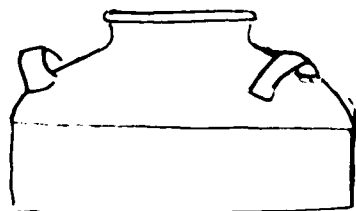
PITHOID JAR  
(SCALE 1:8)



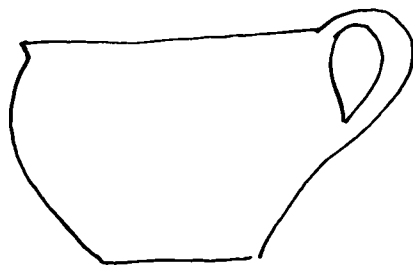
JUG WITH  
CUTAWAY NECK



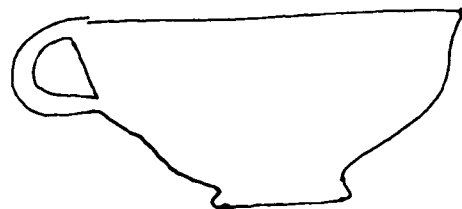
BEAKED JUG



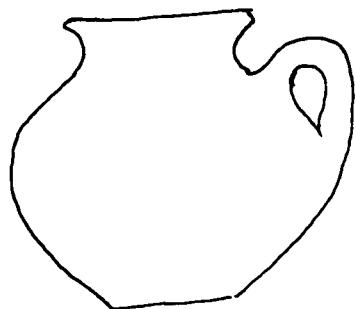
ANGULAR PYXIS



CUP OF TYPE  
WITH DOUBLEAXE DECORATION



CUP OF TYPE WITH  
SPIRAL DECORATION



SQUAT JUG OF TYPE  
WITH HATCHED LOOP DECORATION

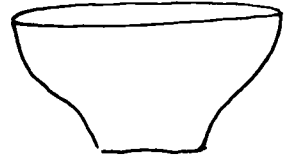
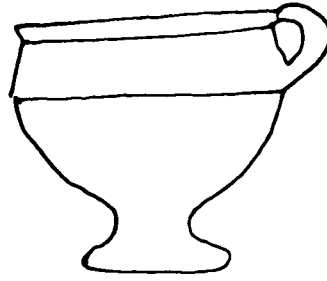
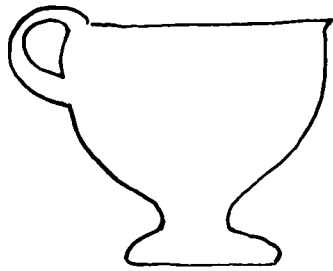
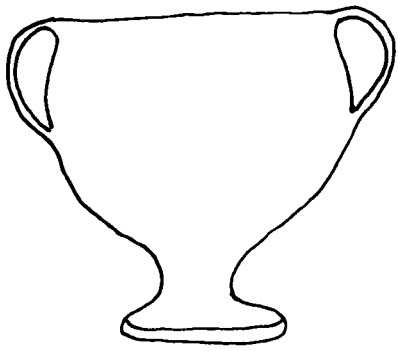


STEMMED CUP

LHIB-TA SHAPES

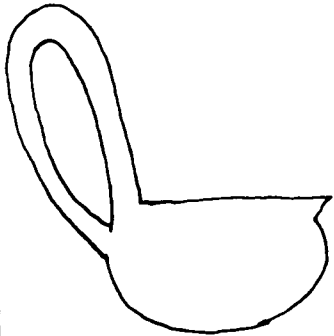
GENERAL SCALE 1:3

FIG. 30: EARLY MYCENAEAN VASE SHAPES

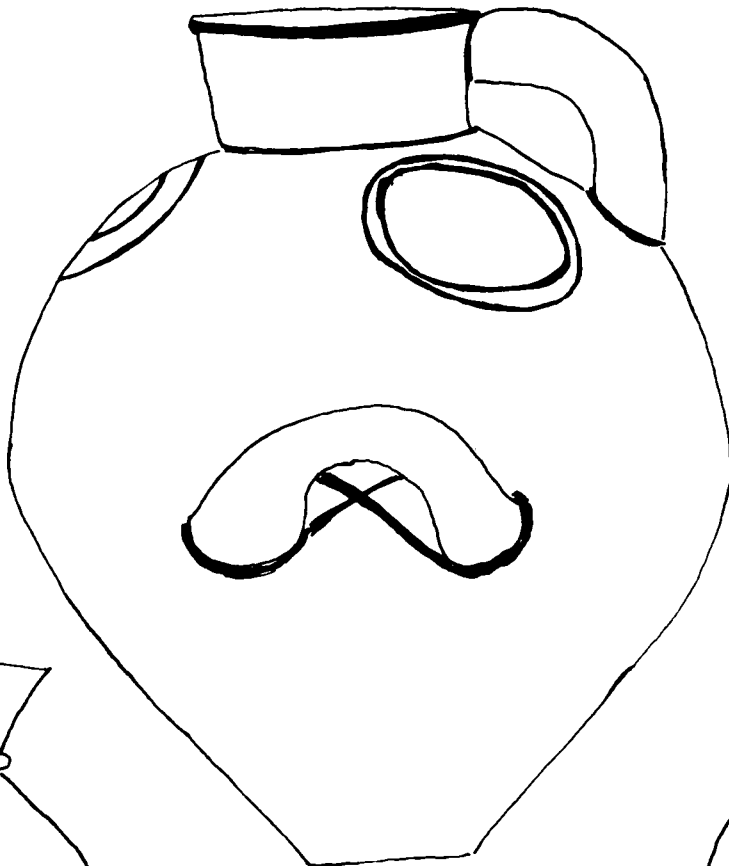


COATED AND PLAIN GOBLETS AND CUPS

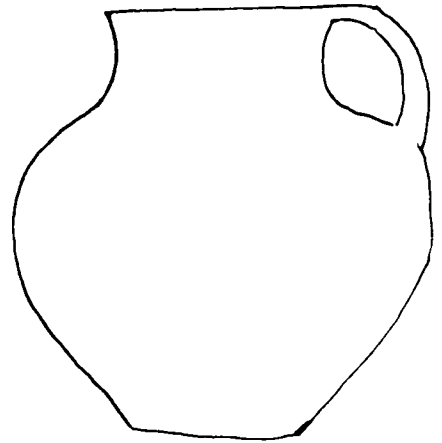
CONICAL CUP



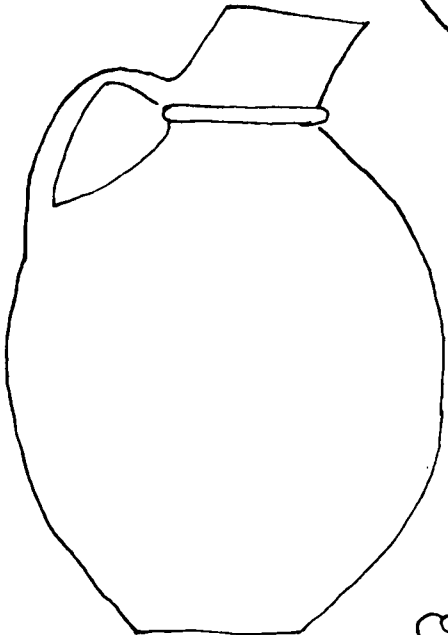
LADLE



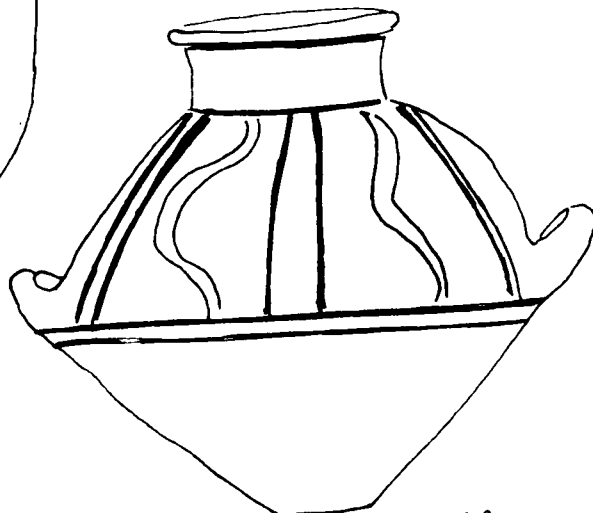
MATT-PAINTED HYDRIA  
(after Deltion 19 (1965) B, p. 30)



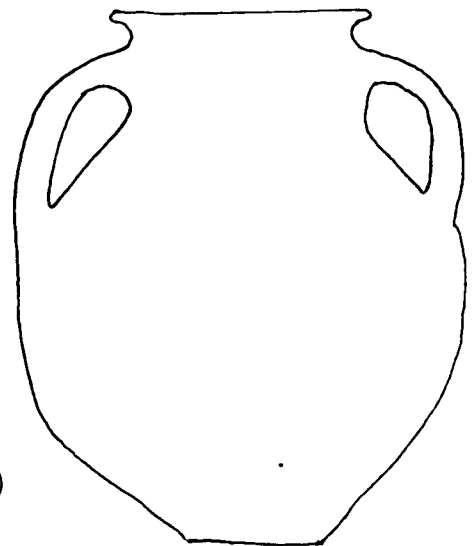
JUG



BEAKED JUG  
WITH CUTAWAY NECK



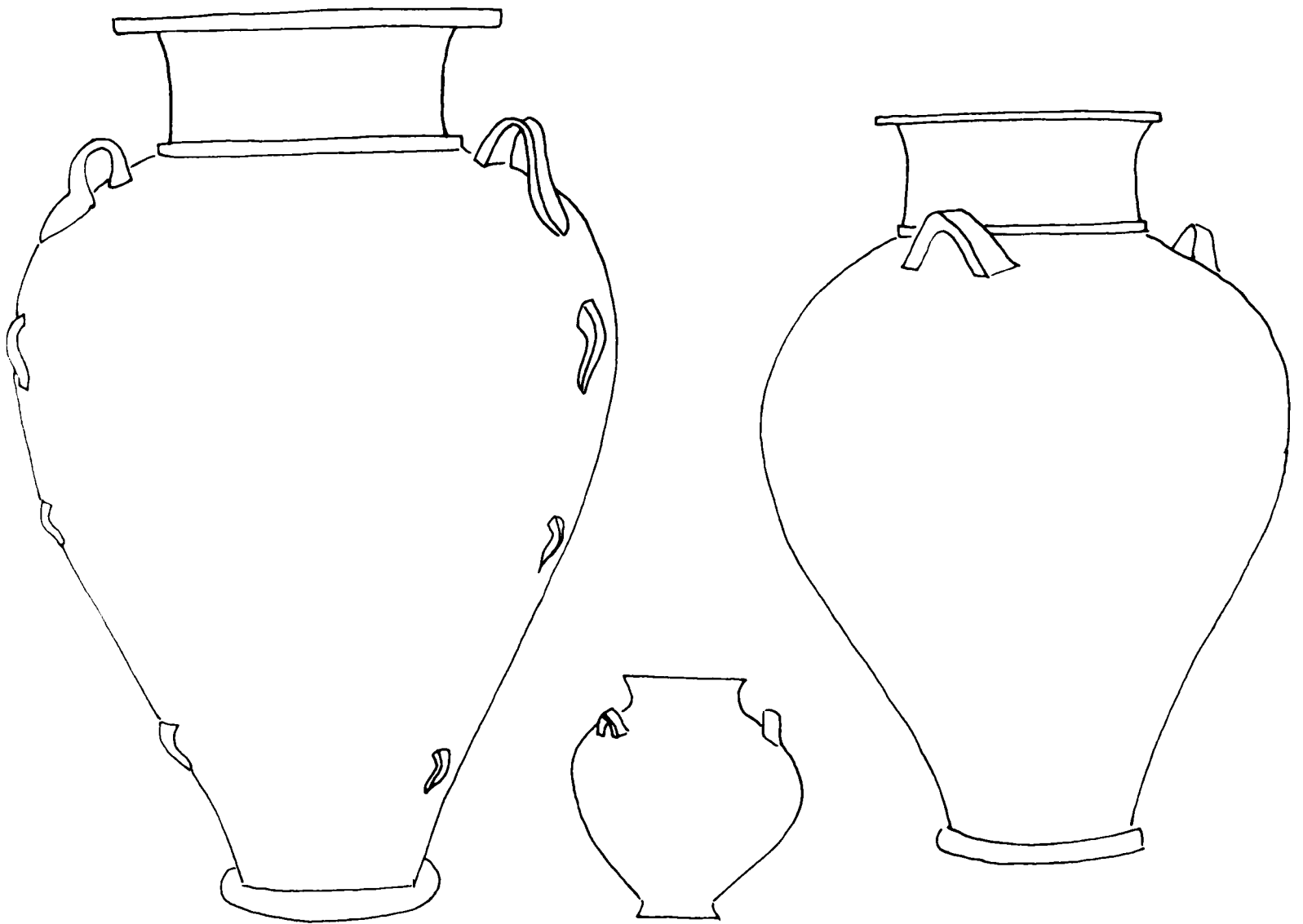
MATT-PAINTED JAR  
(after Deltion 17 (1964) B, p. 211y)



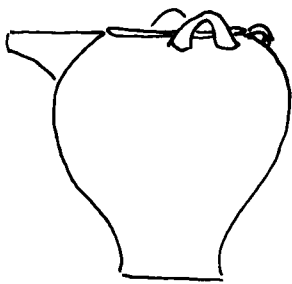
JAR

SCALE 1/4

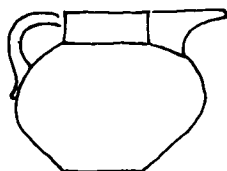
FIG. 31: EARLY MYCENAEAN DOMESTIC SHAPES



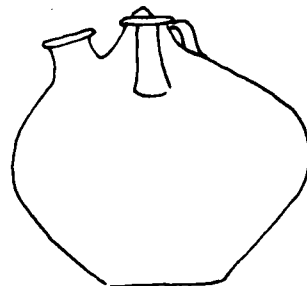
PITHOID JARS



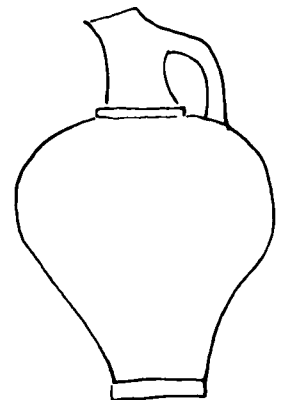
HOLEMOUTH-JAR



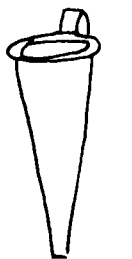
BRIDGE-SPOUTED  
JUG



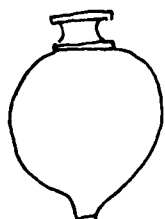
THREE HANDED  
STIRRUP-JAR



TALL JUG  
OR EWER



CONICAL  
RHYTON



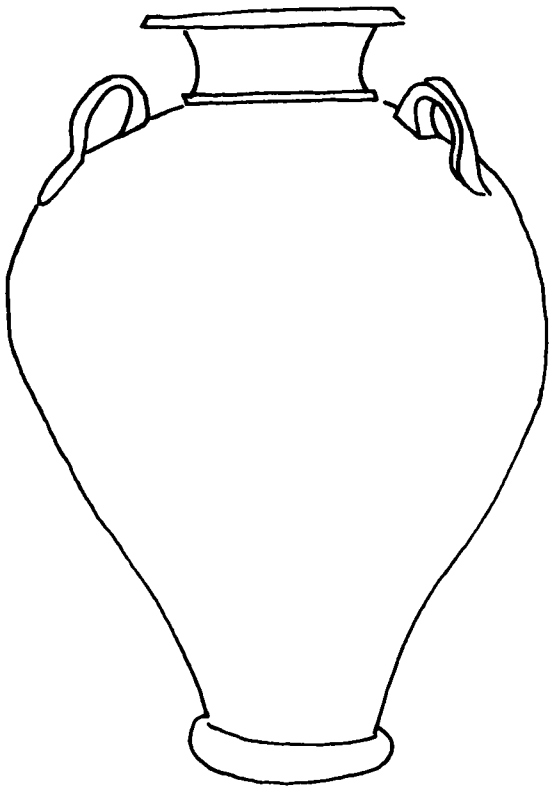
GLOBULAR  
RHYTON



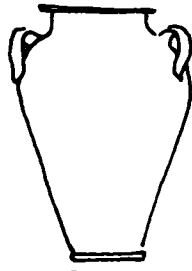
PIRIFORM  
RHYTON

SCALE 1.8

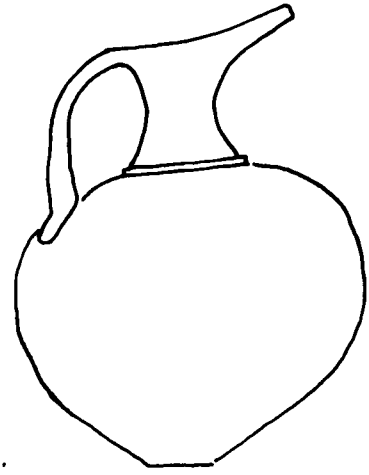
FIG. 32: 'PALATIAL' LHIIA SHAPES



PITHOID JAR

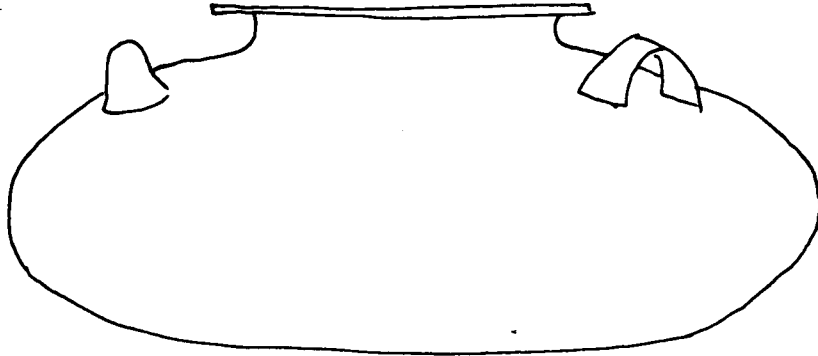


SMALL JAR

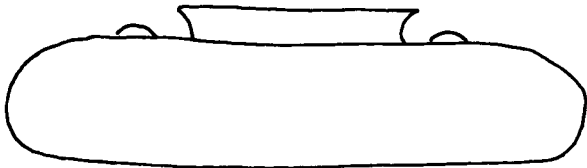


EWER

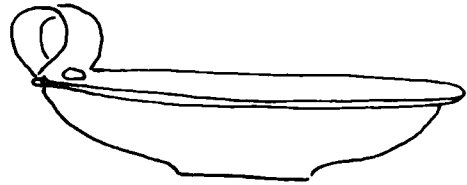
SCALE 1:8



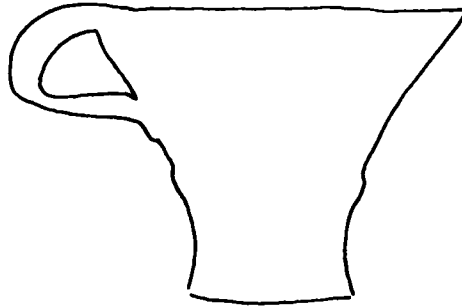
ALABASTRON



FLAT ALABASTRON  
(NOT BEFORE LH IIB/IIA)



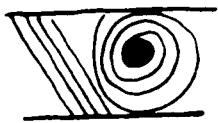
SAUCER



VARNEIO CUP

SCALE 1:3

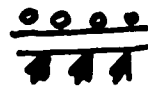
FIG. 33: TYPICAL LH IIB SHAPES



SPIRAL MOTIFS



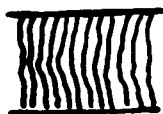
FILLED CIRCLE MOTIFS



FOLIATE BAND MOTIFS



ISOLATED AND ALTERNATING MOTIFS



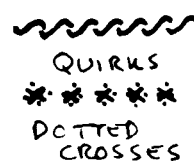
RIPPLE



HATCHED LOOP



DOUBLEAXE



QUIRKS  
DOTTED  
CROSSES

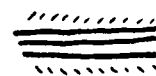
LHIA MOTIFS



WHITE-DOTTED SPIRAL



'CRETAN' DOUBLEAXE



LATER FOLIATE BAND



LATER  
RIPPLE



'OGIVAL CANOPY'



'PENDENT NECKLACE'

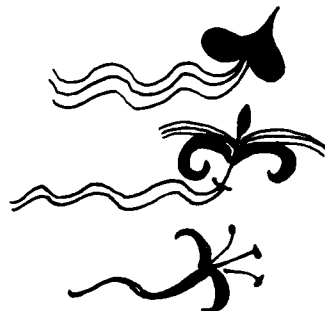
LHIB AND LHIA MOTIFS



UPRIGHT PALM



IVY LEAF



WAVY-STEMMED PLANTS



ALTERNATING IVY  
AND PALM



ROCK DECORATION

LHIB MOTIFS



PAPYRUS



PALMS AND IVY



PALMS AND  
IVY



IVY-LEAVES

FIG. 35: PLANT-DECORATED LHIA JARS  
FROM KAKOVATOS



RACKET-TREES  
(LHIB?)



MARINE STYLE  
(LHIIA)



SPIRALS  
(LHIB?)



OGIVAL CANOPY  
(LHIIA)

FIG. 36: VARIOUSLY-DECORATED JARS  
FROM KAKOVATOS



H. 8.5 cm.



H. 10.6 cm.



H. c. 8.8 cm.



H. c. 8.8 cm.



H. c. 11.4 cm.



H. 6.3 cm.



H. 5.2 cm.



H. c. 13 cm

FIG. 37: WHOLE

LHIIA VASES FROM KORAKOU



Preserved H. 9 cm.



FIG. 38 : DECORATED LHITA SHERDS FROM KORAKOU

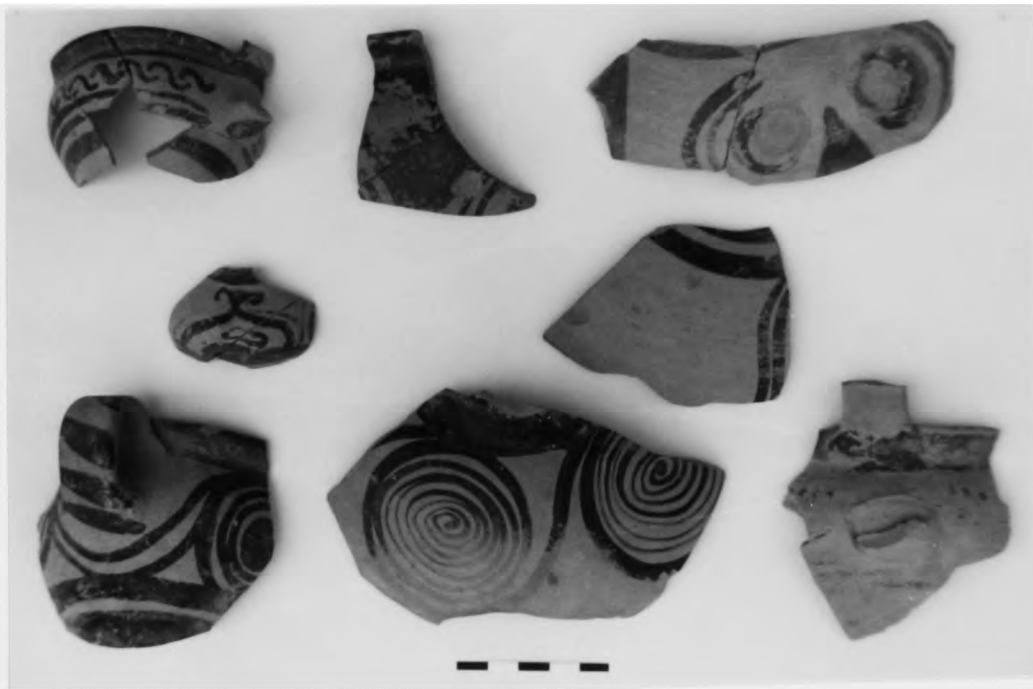


FIG. 39: DECORATED LHIA SHERDS FROM KARAKOU



FIG. 40: COATED AND PLAIN LHIA SHERDS FROM KOKAKKU



H. c. 16.6 cm.



H. c. 16.5 cm



H. c. 30 cm.



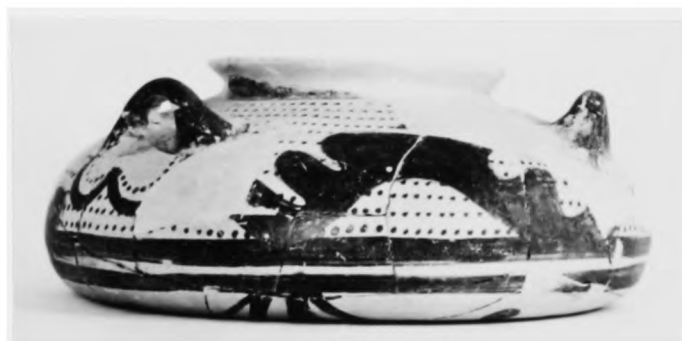
H. c. 16 cm



H. c. 20 cm.



Diameter 9.8 cm.

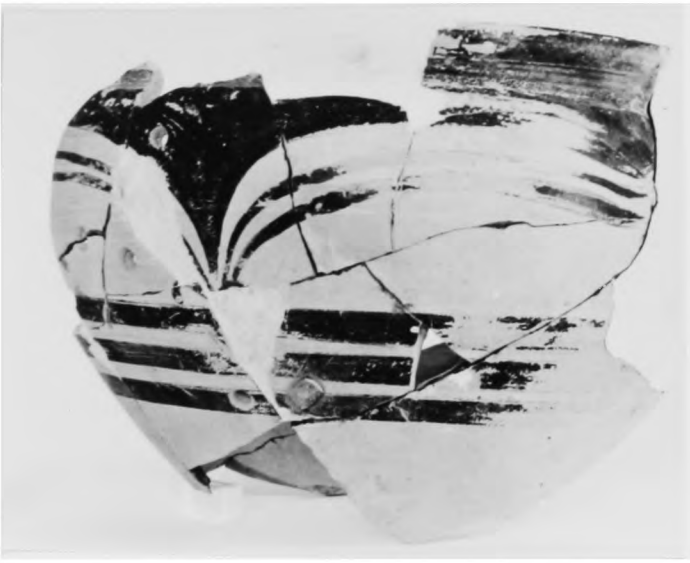


H.c. 7.5 cm.

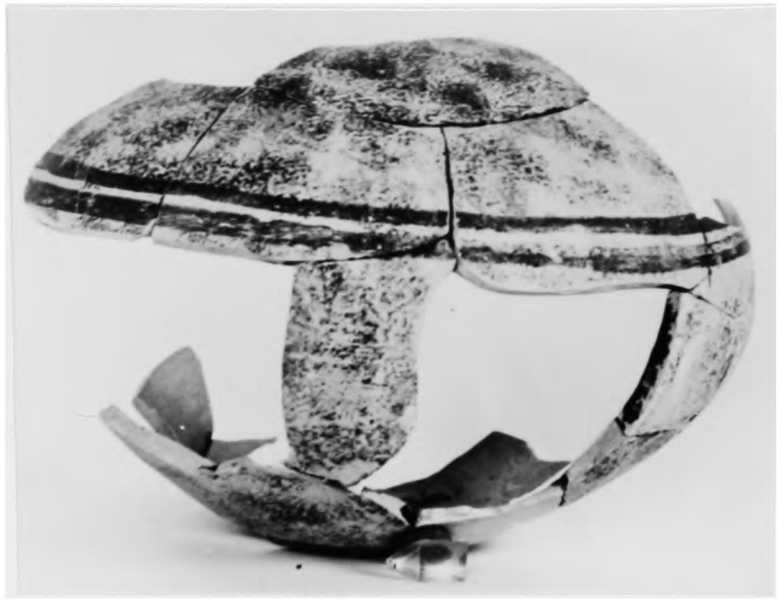


H. c. 10 cm.

FIG. 41: WHOLE LHIB VASES FROM KORAKOU



H. c. 15 cm.



H. c. 12.5 cm



H. c. 11.6 cm.

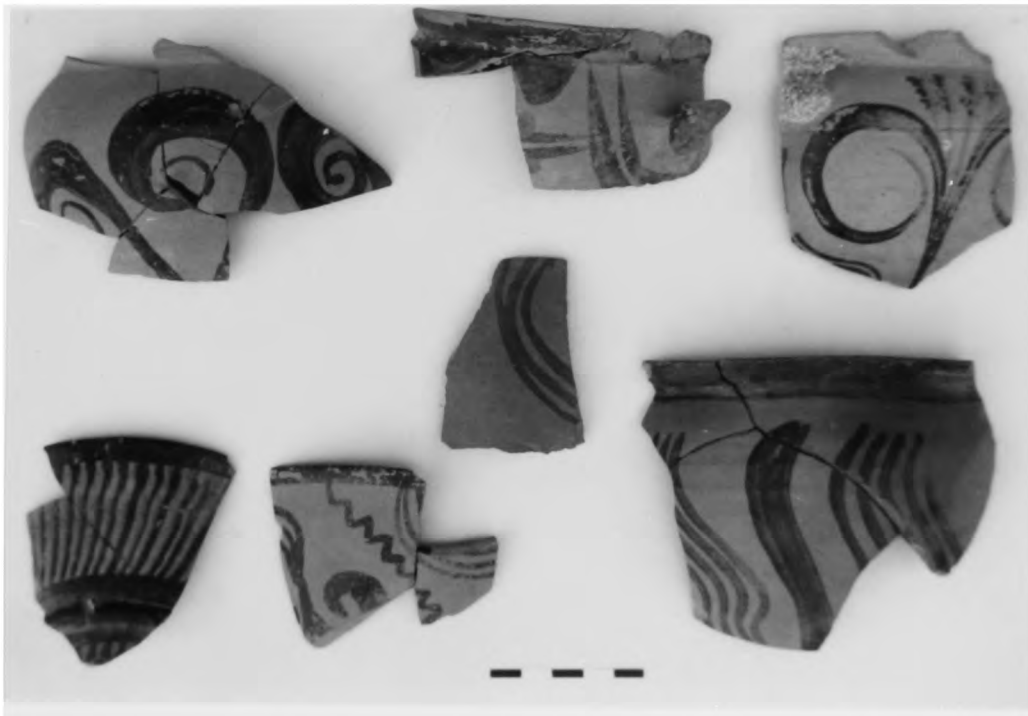
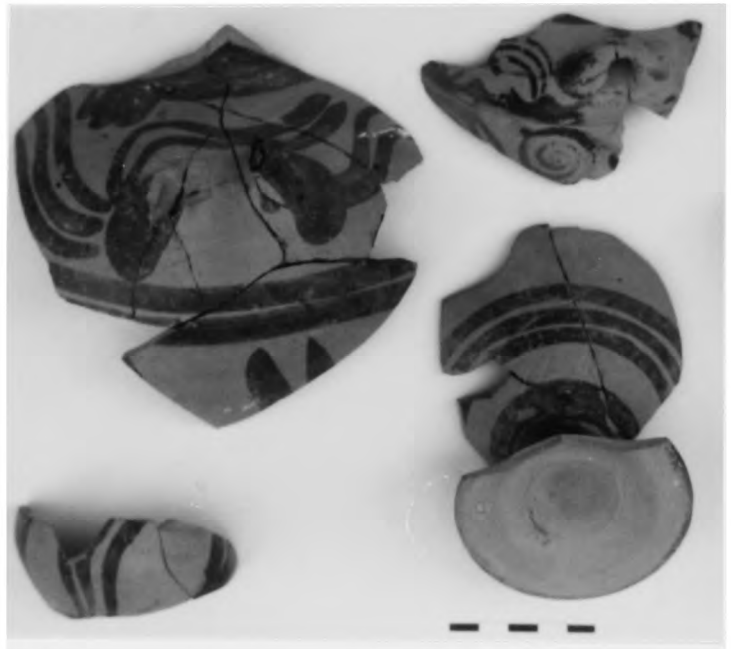


FIG. 42: DECORATED LHIB SHERDS FROM KORAUCO

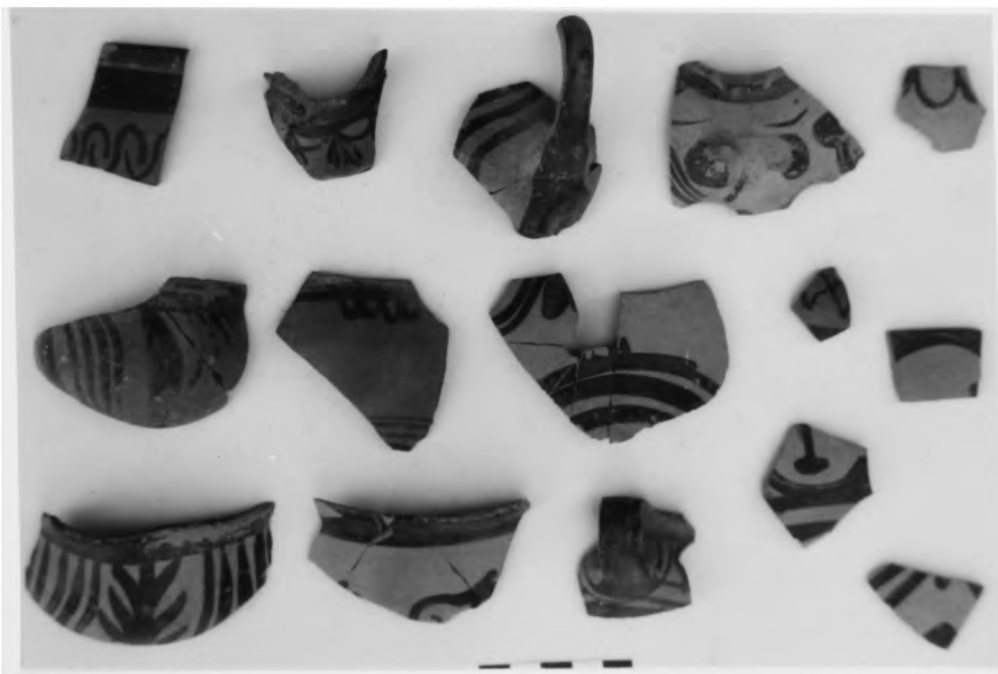


FIG 43: DECORATED LHIB SHARDS FROM KORAKOU

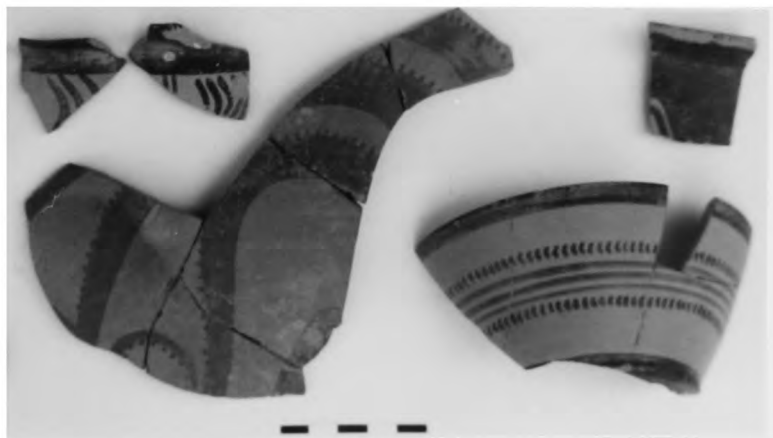
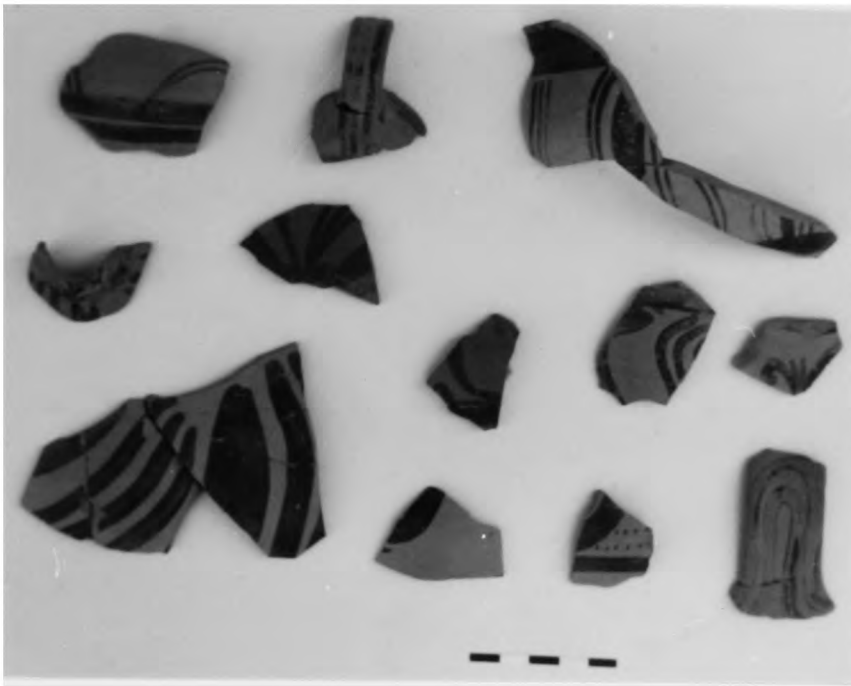
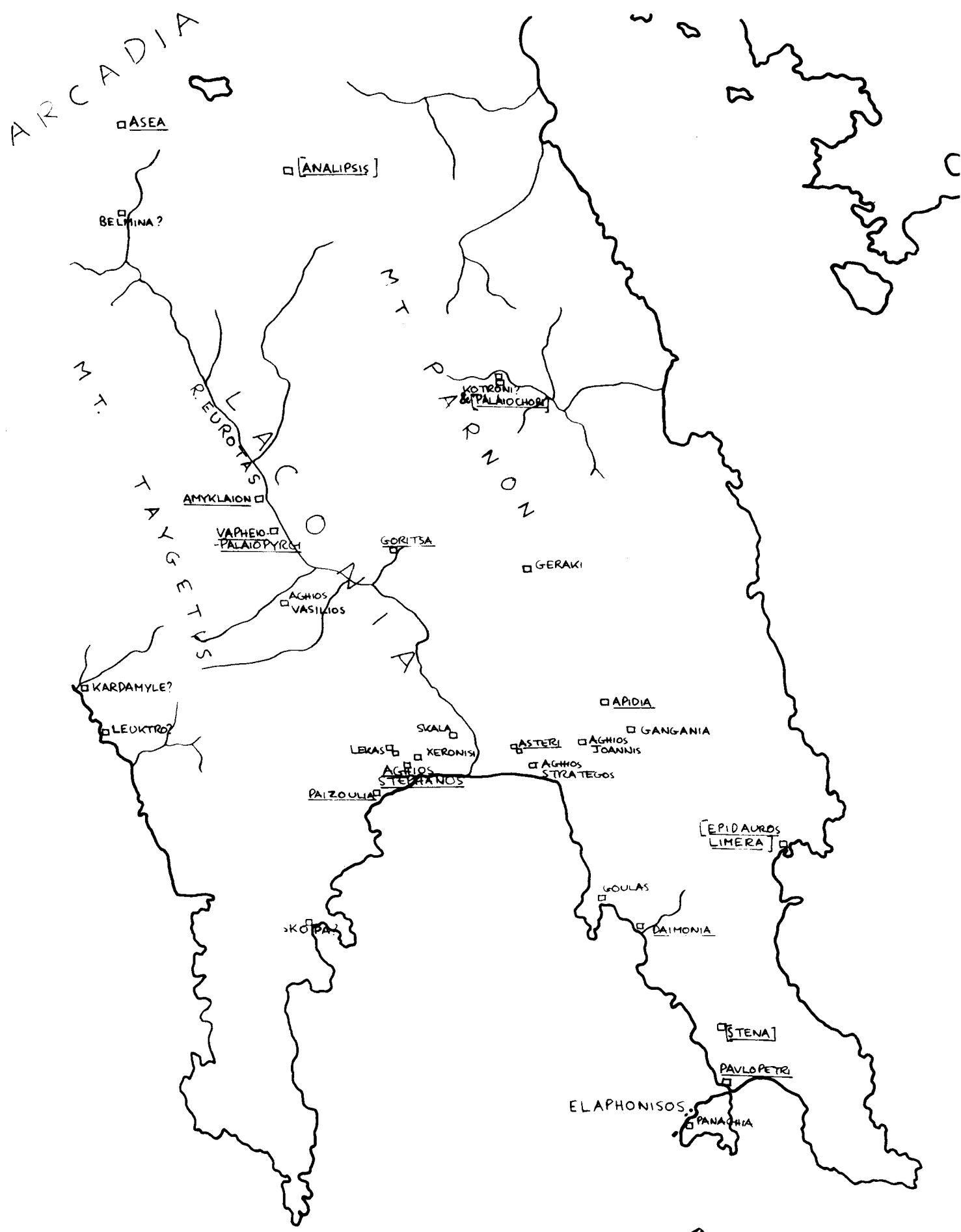


FIG. 44: DECORATED LHIB SHERDS FROM KORAKOU



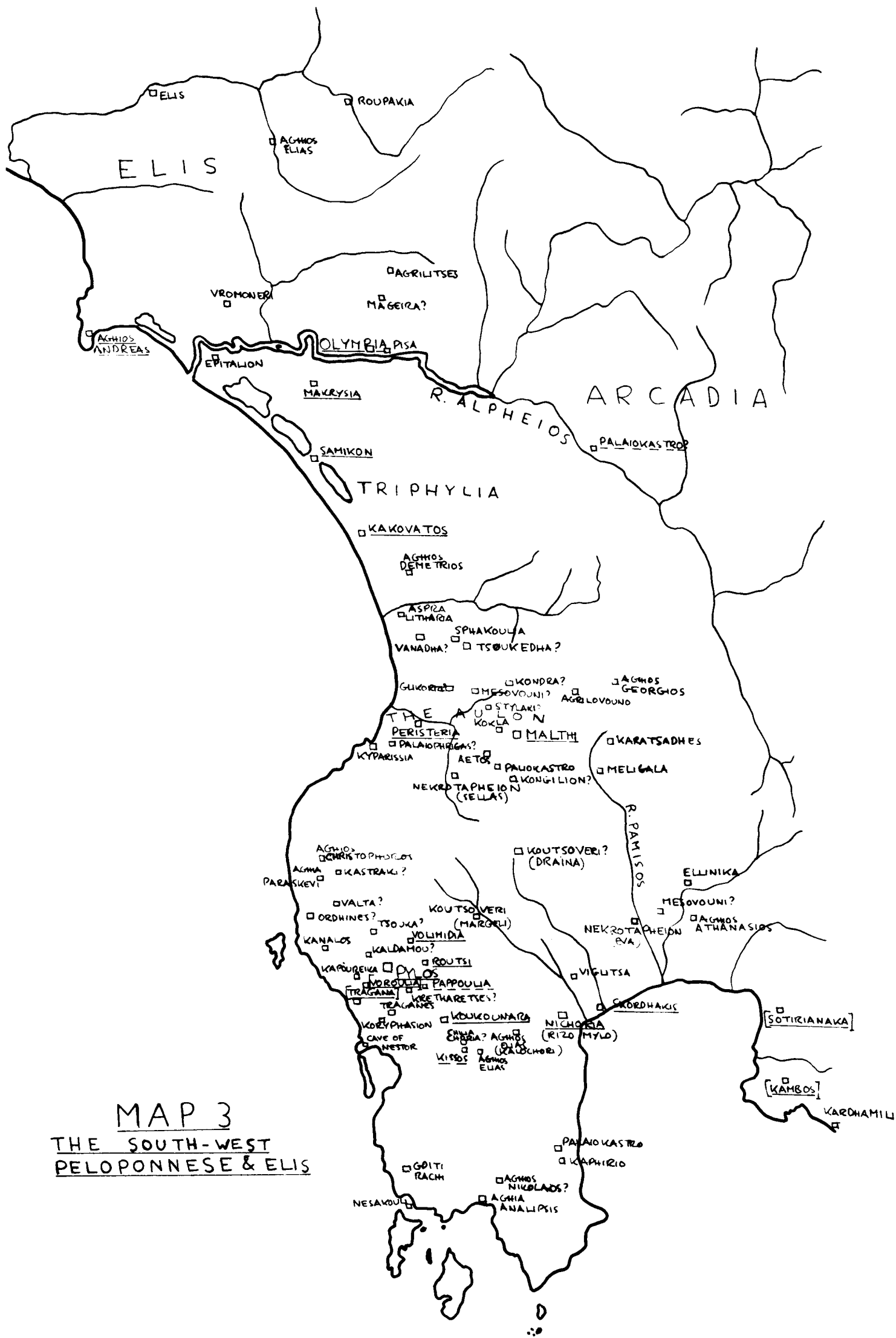
MAP 1  
THE ARGOLID-CORINTHIA



MAP 2  
LACONIA & S. ARCADIA

KYTHERA





MAP 3  
 THE SOUTH-WEST  
 PELOPONNESE & ELIS



LEUKAS

□ NIDRI  
(TUMULI)

□ CHOIROSPILIA

□ STRATOS?

L. TRICHONIS

□ THERMON

AETOLIA

□ PELIKATA  
□ POLIS  
□ STAVROS

ITHAKA

□ ASTAKOS?

□ KRYONERI?

□ AKARNES

□ OIKOPEDA

□ KAKOLANGADA

KEPHALLENIA

□ KRANEA

□ KOKKOLATA

□ KORNELI

□ TEIKHOS  
□ DYMAION

□ XERIKO

□ ARAVONITSA

MAP 4  
NORTH-WEST GREECE

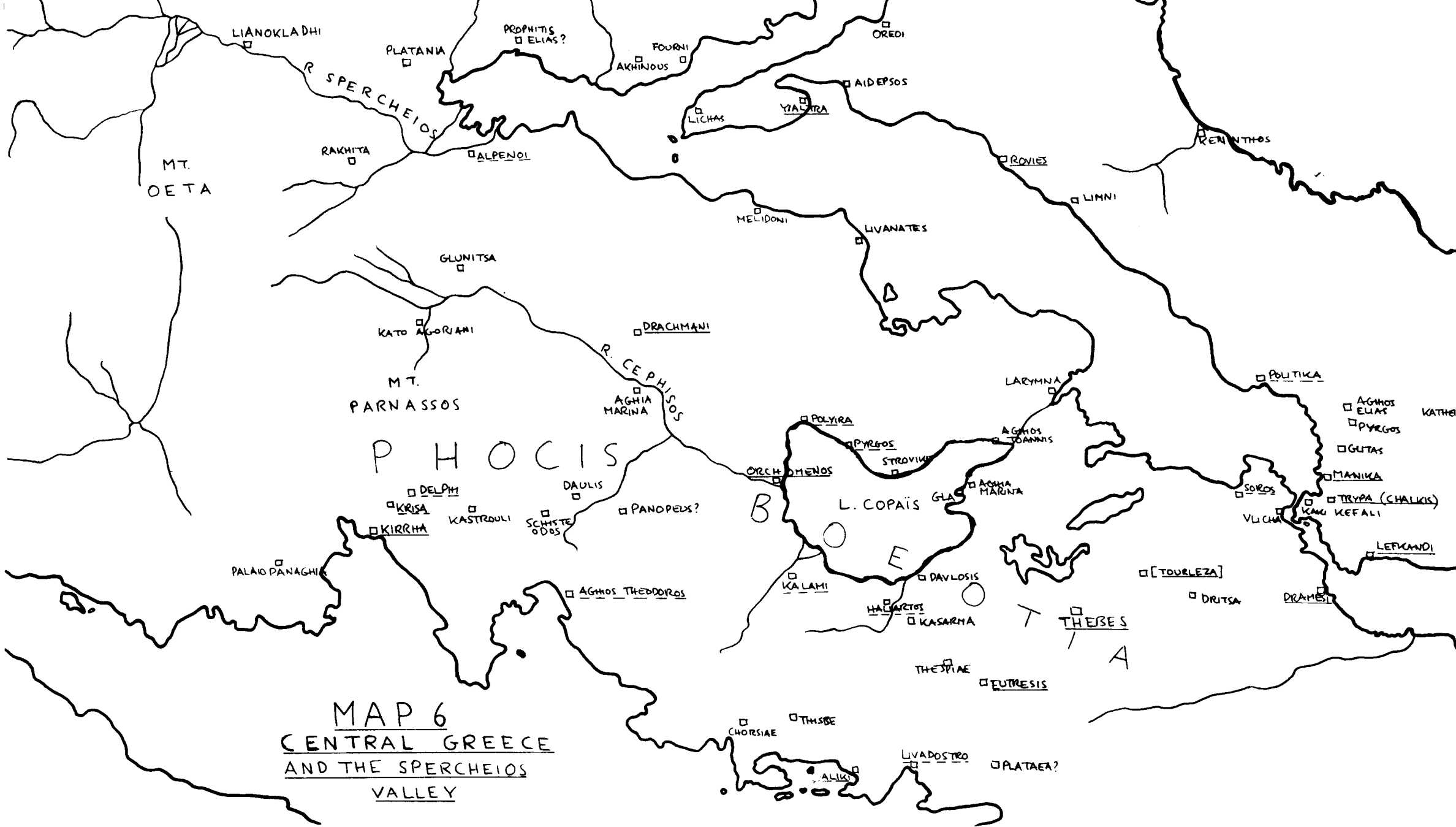
□ MIRALI

□ PHARA SITES

AKHAEA

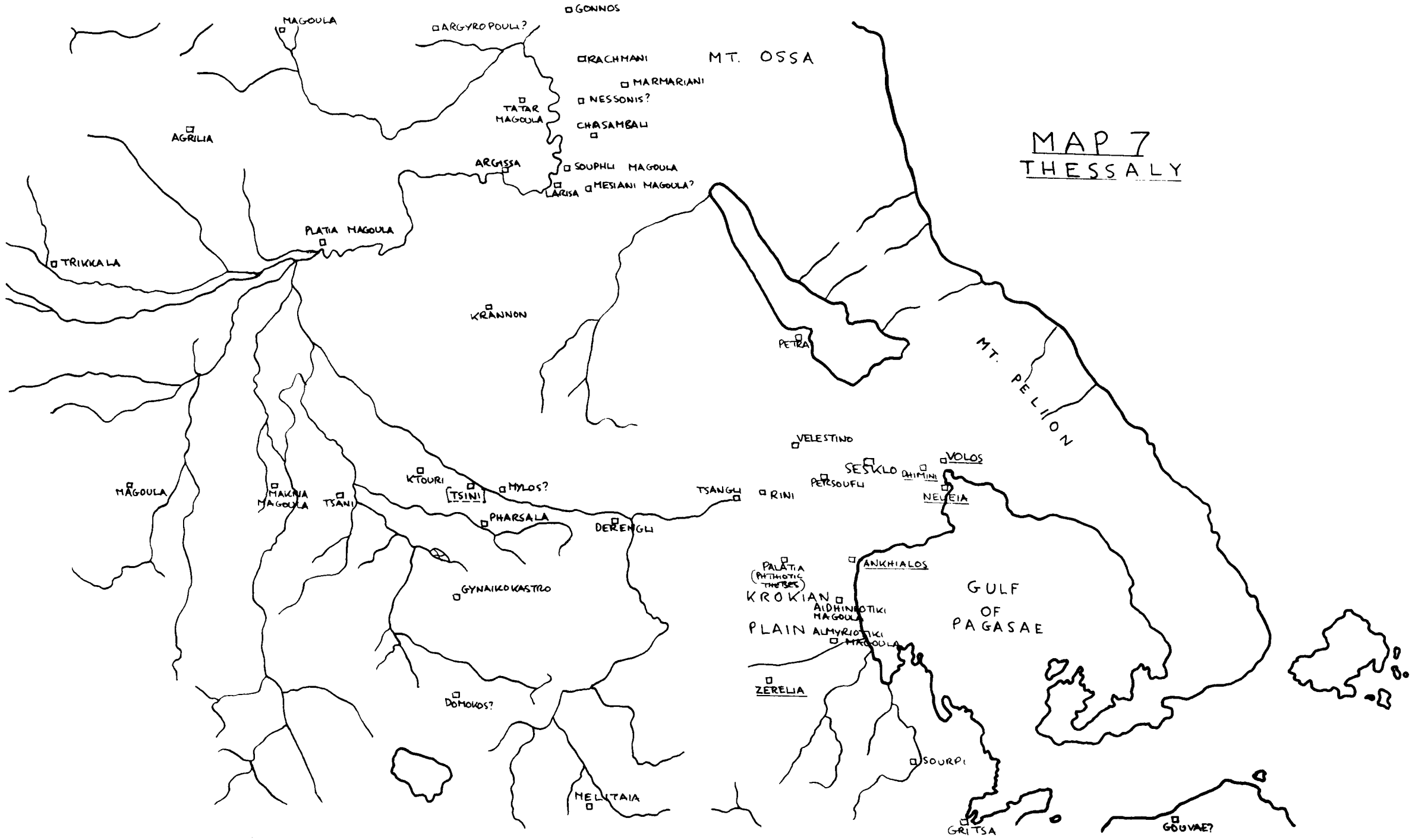


MAP 5  
ATTICA, THE SARONIC GULF  
AND CENTRAL EUBOEAE

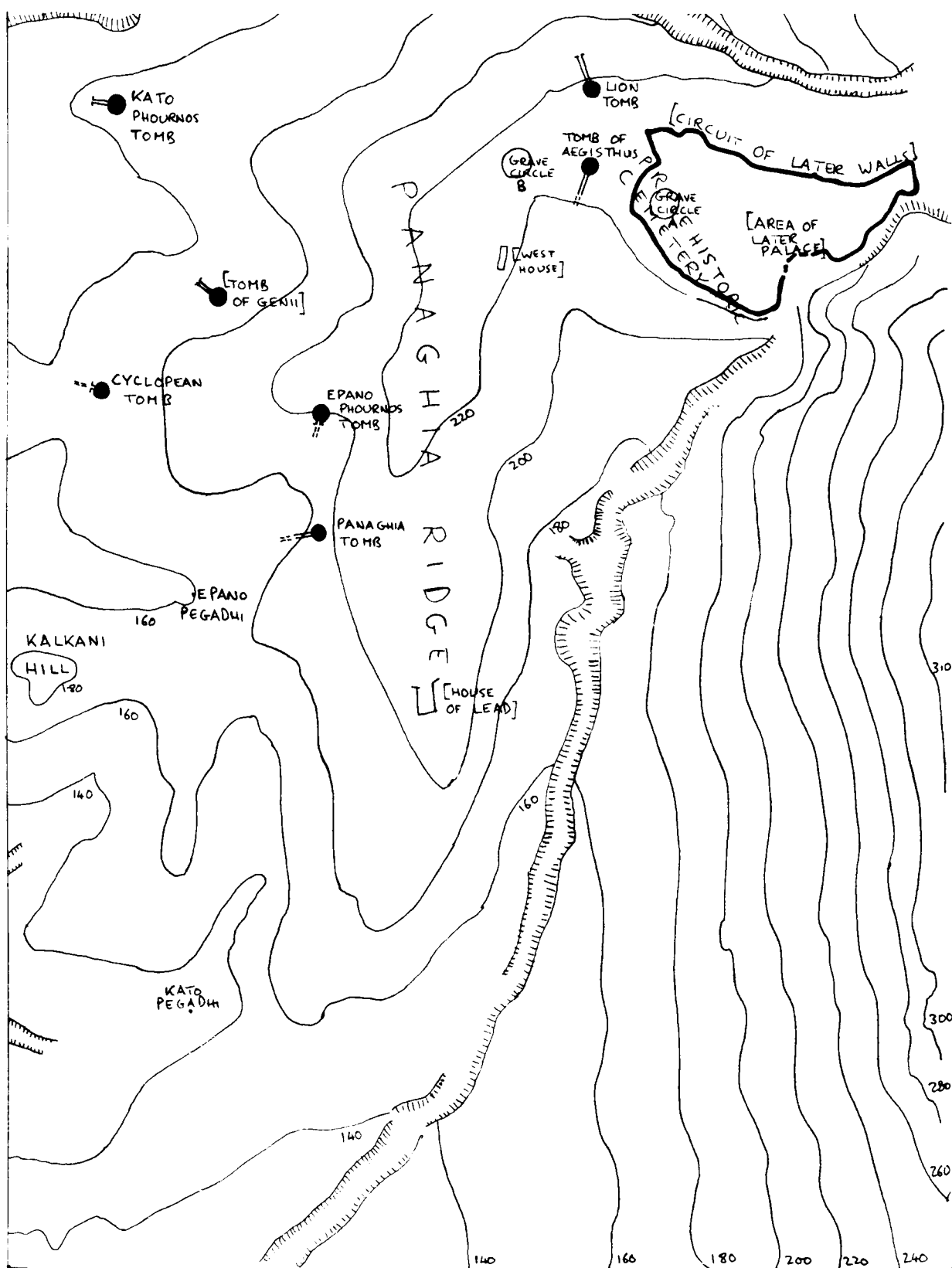


MAP 6  
CENTRAL GREECE  
AND THE SPERCHEIOS  
VALLEY

MAP 7  
THESSALY

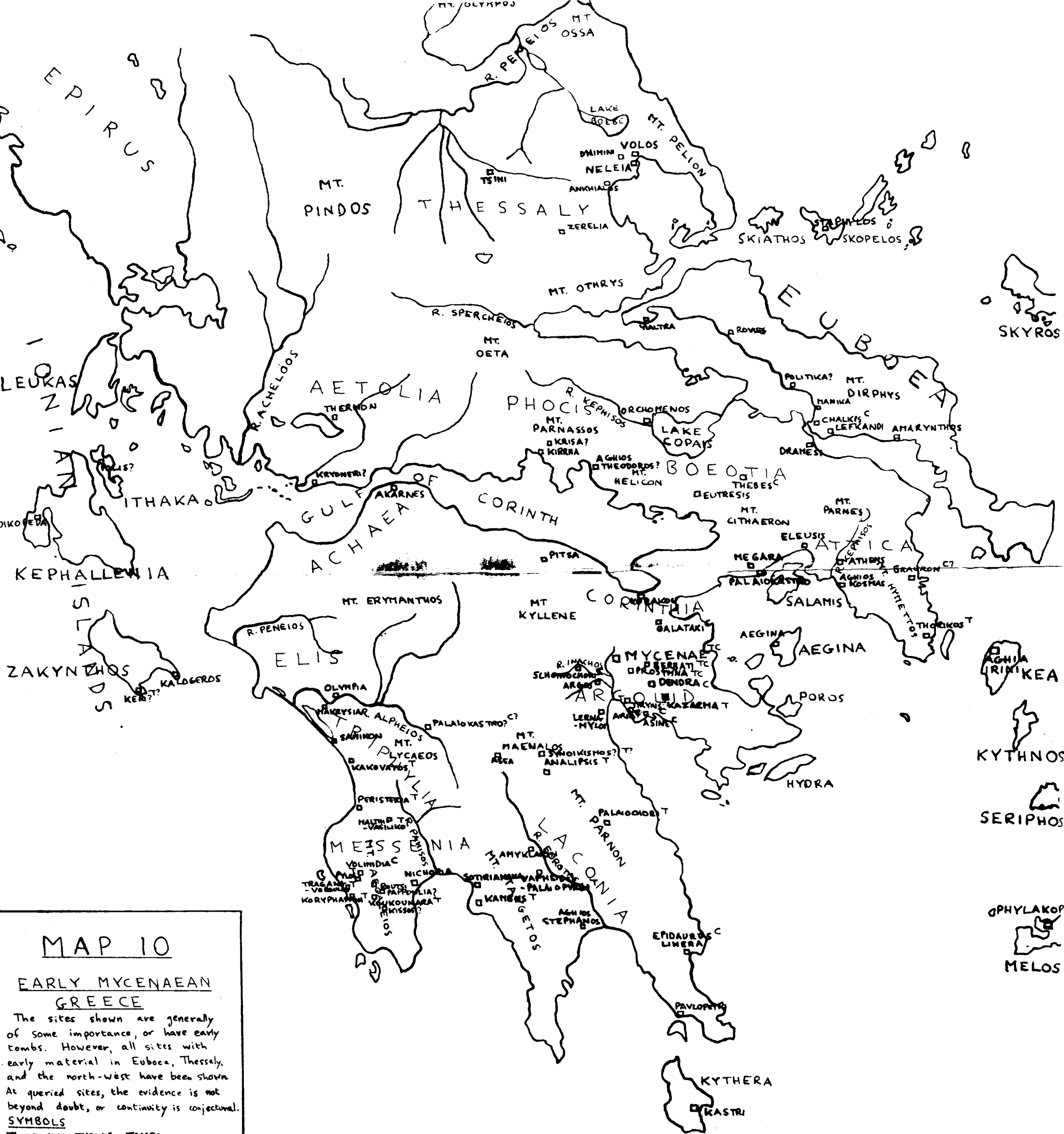






**MAP 9 : MH and EARLY MYCENAEAN  
MYCENAE**

(Some later features are shown, with their names in brackets).



# MAP 10

## EARLY MYCENAEAN GREECE

The sites shown are generally of some importance, or have early tombs. However, all sites with early material in Euboea, Thessaly, and the north-west have been shown. At queried sites, the evidence is not beyond doubt, or continuity is conjectural.

### SYMBOLS

- T EARLY THOLDS TOMBS.
- C EARLY CHAMBER TOMBS.