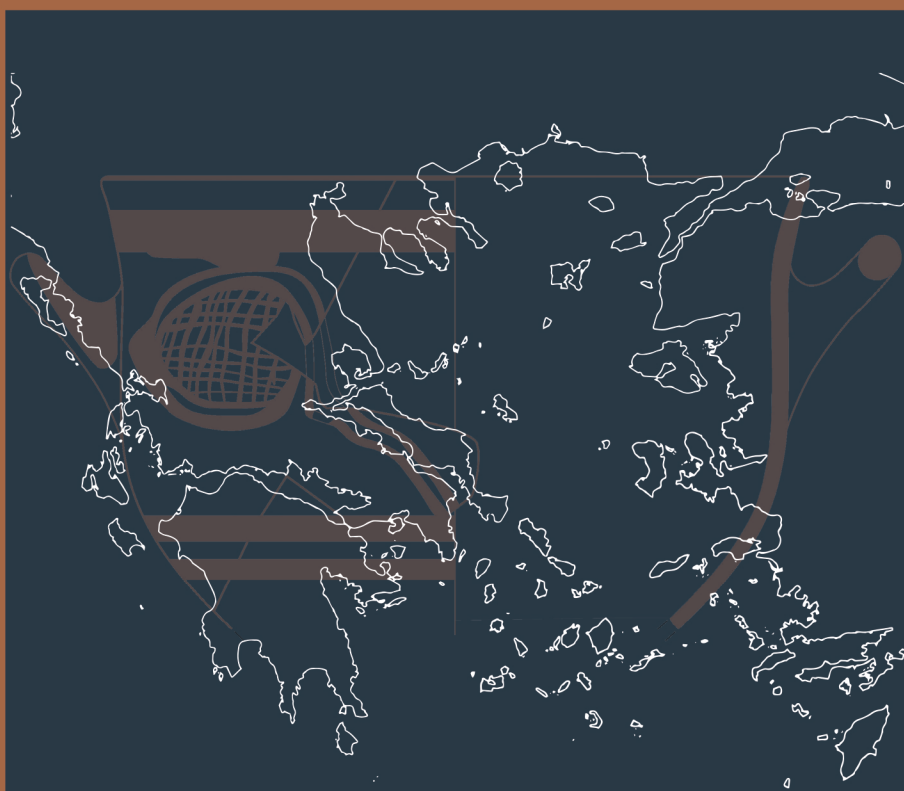


REGIONAL VARIATION IN MYCENAEAN POTTERY



EDITED BY
BARTŁOMIEJ LIS

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On the cover: schematic map of the Aegean with deep bowl AP 2772 (Mycenaean Fountain, Athens)
as a background

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To the memory of Penelope Mountjoy

INTRODUCTION

BARTŁOMIEJ LIS

This volume stems from a two-day workshop held remotely from Warsaw on the 27th and 28th of October 2022. Despite the format, which is not ideal for workshops that aim to stimulate interaction between specialists, it was a successful event with lively discussions, followed by a large audience through a YouTube live broadcast. Over these two days, 16 papers were presented, and all but two authors decided to contribute to this volume.

This essay is meant to offer only a brief introduction to the volume, as the two following papers by Jeremy Rutter and myself, originally distributed among the participants before the workshop, serve as a proper introduction, covering several methodological issues, discussing ways of approaching ceramic regionalism, and dealing, in a more general fashion, with the complex issue of imports.

Any workshop and subsequent publication that deals with regionalism in Mycenaean pottery has to refer to the *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery* (RMDP; 1999), a truly monumental two-volume *opus magnum* by Penelope Mountjoy. In searching for the right words to describe this work, I revert to a quote from a review of these volumes by Jeremy Rutter (2001), published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*:

„Mountjoy has brought her unparalleled experience with the full spatial and temporal range of Mycenaean pottery to bear on the problem of identifying regional or even more narrowly localized peculiarities. Mountjoy’s approach to this topic is epic in scope, including capsule descriptions of over 4,000 vessels, most of them whole or largely restorable, and each illustrated by a high-quality line drawing.”

I think it is no exaggeration to observe that workshops like the one held in 2022, and this resulting volume, would not be possible without these two volumes. With regard to the aims of the workshop, one issue was clear from the start: no comprehensive update of *RMDP*, seeking to match the original’s geographical and chronological scope, was ever possible. This was clearly beyond the limits of a 2-day workshop that allowed generous time slots for presentation and discussion. Therefore, the coverage of the workshop was necessarily selective. Some regions were not addressed at all, while others were represented by only a single site, often focusing on a narrow chronological window and not covering the entire Late Bronze Age. Nevertheless, the case studies featured, mainly targeting finds at individual sites, even if occasionally having a broader geographical scope, provide a way to improve our understanding of a phenomenon that Penelope Mountjoy made us all fully aware of in her exceptional survey of twenty-five years ago. This is achieved by drawing attention to several aspects relevant to regionalism that were only briefly noted in *RMDP*, such as potting technology or a better understanding of provenance, ultimately leading to a crucial distinction between regional production on the one hand and localized consumption patterns on the other. Last but not least, a major contribution of this volume is that several papers discuss the full range of ceramic classes present in local assemblages, including unpainted and cooking pottery. In particular, the fine plain (i.e., undecorated) pottery, the bulk of which is likely to have been locally produced, appears to be a crucial class for understanding the dynamics of regionalism.

The debt owed by this volume to the example of *RMDP* is also clear in its similar overall geographical scope. With the exception of the slopes of Mt Olympus, the significance of which during the Mycenaean period was only beginning to become clear when *RMDP* was published, the workshop and its resulting publication cover a similar area. This area can be described as “Mycenaean Greece” or,

in seeking a more neutral term, the territories within which the material cultural assemblage that we term “Mycenaean” was adopted and the pottery that we recognize as “Mycenaean” was dominant during at least part of the Late Bronze Age. A research area defined in this way excludes a significantly larger part of the Mediterranean littoral where Mycenaeanizing (or Mycenaean-inspired) pottery was produced in the later part of the Late Bronze Age, including an impressive number of sites in southern Italy, Northern Greece, along the western and southern coasts of Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Levant. Mycenaeanizing pottery never became the dominant category consumed in those areas, often representing only the fine decorated tableware and thus making up only a fraction of the entire assemblage. Importantly, only at the single site of Tell Kazel has it been possible to document substantial amounts of unpainted pottery that can be linked to Mycenaean types produced and used on the Greek Mainland (Jung 2011). This critical point highlights the distinct differences between the regions covered in this volume and areas such as Italy, Macedonia, or the Levant. Furthermore, in many cases Mycenaean-type pottery has been thoroughly transformed through a variety of factors including influences from local ceramic classes and separation from the impact of Mainland Greek production centres to an extent that it is challenging to consider it as “Mycenaean”, a fact reflected also in the variety of names given to such Mycenaean-inspired pottery.

Mycenaeanizing pottery produced in those areas deserves thorough studies in their own right, but this would require at least one separate, if not multiple distinct workshops. The current volume may pave the way for a comprehensive study of regionalism in highlighted areas, by suggesting variable approaches to the recognition and discussion of regional ceramic variability applied to case studies where regionalism is limited by at least one major factor - the activity of supra-regional centres of production that influenced stylistic trends through the wide distribution of their products, if not also activity of mobile potters. The situation is quite different in other, more remote areas beyond the regions discussed in this volume, where regionalism develops rapidly and freely after the cessation of imports from the Greek mainland. It appears that in many places, Mycenaeanizing pottery also develops quite independently, being subjected to a variety of influences from various pottery traditions, and there are no dominant centres that could dictate fashions or styles that would spread over broader regions, in contrast to mainland Greece. Even when this exchange is detectable (for Cyprus and the Levant, see Mountjoy and Mommsen 2015), the variety of production locales and constant mutability of stylistic features only increase regional variation. In such circumstances, one needs to develop a different methodology to study and assess variation and conduct research on a regional and site-by-site basis, with comprehensive incorporation of non-Mycenaean classes in the analysis. Any overarching synthesis may be considered futile. The foundations for such work are in many cases laid out already, starting with another monumental work by P. Mountjoy (2018, *Decorated Pottery in Cyprus and Philistia in the 12th Century BC: Cypriot IIIC and Philistine IIIC*), which appeared almost 20 years after *RMDP* and is an invaluable resource for Cyprus and part of the Levant. The bewildering stylistic variability revealed in this volume is both an invitation and, at the same time, a cautionary tale for the study of regionalism in those areas. For other regions, one can mention works by Jones, Levi, Bettelli and Vagnetti (2014, *Italo-Mycenaean Pottery: The Archaeological and Archaeometric Dimensions*), again by Mountjoy for Troy (2017, *Troy VI Middle, VI Late and VII: The Mycenaean Pottery*), or by Jung for Kastanas in Macedonia (2002, *Kastanas. Die Drehscheibenkeramik der Schichten 19 bis 11*). Nevertheless, for several regions, such broad treatments of Mycenaean-type pottery are still pending.

To return to the concerns of the present volume, one aspect where it seems much progress is needed, and where this volume provides a significant contribution, regards the types of contexts we use for investigating regionalism. *Regional Decorated Mycenaean Pottery* relied heavily on material from cemeteries, especially in the case of regions such as Thessaly and Achaia. This was a result of the material available to P. Mountjoy and published by the early 1990s, but we should now be putting more

emphasis on settlements and settlement material. This was a major criterion in selecting presenters at the workshop, and most of the papers reflect this clear focus on settlement as opposed to funerary assemblages, extending the ranges of ceramic classes and forms beyond those typically found with Mycenaean burials.

The volume is organized in a simple fashion. After two introductory papers, the presentations are divided into two broad regions: first, the Peloponnese, and second, Central Greece (with the Cyclades and the eastern slopes of Mt. Olympus). Closing papers attempt a more wide-ranging perspective in a comparative study of Argive pottery found in other regions and of the Mycenaean *koine* style.

I would like to express my gratitude to Jeremy Rutter for his constant support and valuable advice throughout the entire process – from the inception of the idea and initial encouragement, through the preparation of the pre-circulated papers, to the publication of workshop’s proceedings. I am also grateful for insightful comments from the two reviewers of the volume.

I hope the resulting volume will serve as something more than a useful resource with plentiful new material, no matter how important such new material is for ongoing studies of the Mycenaean period and its ceramics. It would be ideal if it also provided an incentive to a more in-depth investigation of ceramic regionalism in the future, both in terms of theoretical approaches and case studies incorporating regions beyond those covered in this volume.

Last but not least, given the immeasurable impact of Penelope Mountjoy’s work on our study of Mycenaean pottery and the issue of regionalism central to this workshop, I would like to dedicate this volume to her memory. She was unable to join and contribute to the volume, and with her passing a few months ago, she will no longer be able to appreciate its contents that owe so much to her own work. I can only hope that she would have enjoyed it.

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REGIONALISM – GENERAL ISSUES

MYCENAEAN CERAMIC REGIONALISM: SOME PROLEGOMENA

JEREMY B. RUTTER

Abstract

Assessing the nature or degree of ceramic regionalism within a defined geographic space or culture area is by definition a comparative exercise, whether undertaken synchronously or diachronically. For such an exercise to yield potentially interpretable or otherwise meaningful results, issues of terminology and quantification, but most fundamentally concerning how to characterize multiple ceramic assemblages in a useful way, need to be addressed. The following comments are intended to facilitate exchanges of data useful for identifying and evaluating variability in ceramic regionalism, either spatially or temporally or both in combination.

INTRODUCTION

The ceramic assemblages produced by human societies through space and time may be differentiated from each other through the variability exhibited by numerous discrete attributes inherent in all terracotta containers. Whether they be physical, mineralogical, chemical, morphological, or decorative, patterning in the combinations of these variabilities lends itself to analyses of their nature and frequencies in such a way as to be representative of a society occupying a particular site or region for a notional period of time. We may identify such a pattern in the multivariate space of ceramic variables as a “regional ceramic assemblage” and seek to define how large a region it represents and for how long it existed before it changed significantly enough to warrant being recognized as a different assemblage in terms of its constituent variables and potentially also in its spatial and temporal extents. The degree to which a particular geographic region can be characterized by a single, more or less uniform ceramic assemblage, or alternatively by multiple differentiable assemblages, will have something to say about the human groups responsible for their production and for how these groups were internally organized and how they interacted with each other. But before the potential meanings of such assemblages can be investigated, it will be necessary for those pursuing such analyses to reach some agreement on how ceramic assemblages are to be defined, as a prelude to their comparison in terms of as many variables as may be desirable for that purpose.

TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

Aegean prehistoric pottery has traditionally been published in multiple languages.¹ For the purposes of making progress on evaluating the variable nature of ceramic regionalism during the Late Bronze Age [LBA] (ca. 1650 – 1050 BCE) on the Greek mainland, English would arguably be the optimal language to use for communication. General handbooks on the characterization and analysis of ceramics

¹ Principally English, French, German, and Greek, but also Danish, Dutch, Norwegian, Spanish, Swedish, and Turkish.

in archaeology published in that language should therefore be used as the primary sources for the terms used in papers focused on this topic (Shepard 1965; Rice 1987; Orton *et al.* 1993; Horejs *et al.* 2010; Orton. Hughes 2013; Rice 2015).

The terms “ceramics” or “pottery” as used here are understood to be applicable only to containers of fired clay (i.e. terracotta), and thus not to other terracotta objects (e.g. figurines, loomweights, spindle whorls, etc.) nor to containers produced from other materials (e.g. stone, metal, glass, cane, etc.). The term “ceramic/pottery assemblage” is to be understood to signify the full range of ceramic types (whether classified by shape, decoration, paste/fabric composition, or any other individual variable or combination of variables) represented in a particular depositional context, at an individual site, or within a specified larger locality or region. The entities to be compared between contexts, sites, localities or regions will ideally be complete ceramic assemblages rather than select portions only of those assemblages (whether decorated tablewares [Mountjoy 1999], transport vessels [Haskell *et al.* 2011; Knapp, Demesticha 2016; Pratt 2021], cooking pots [Lis 2012a; 2012b; 2017b], storage vessels [Alram-Stern 2020], or other sub-assemblages of shapes, decorative modes or motifs, specific pastes or fabric types, etc.), although exceptions can certainly be made for presentations that provide novel information on widely distributed sub-assemblages of specific kinds.

CHARACTERIZING A CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

In order to assess the extent to which two or more ceramic assemblages within a given space resemble or differ from each other, and in what ways, each assemblage will need to be characterized in terms of an identical set of variables. Within the Mycenaean culture area of the mainland Greek Bronze Age, the range of variables that can be employed for such purposes is a broad one, even if comparatively few contexts have been published in sufficient detail to allow the full range of vessel types in contemporary use to be tabulated for more than a small number of sites within any specific temporal interval (period, phase, or sub-phase). Even in the case of decorated fine to medium coarse pottery, the ceramic class that has historically received by far the most attention (as “tableware”) from Mycenaean ceramic specialists, the numbers of what may be considered “fully published” as well as relatively narrowly dated ceramic contexts are limited.²

As part of a continuing effort to make further progress on identifying and interpreting Mycenaean ceramic regionalism in the aftermath of the workshop held in October 2023, one of our chief purposes should be to establish which regions, localities, and sites of the LBA Greek mainland are best documented through a holistic approach to their ceramic assemblages throughout the six centuries in question. There is a particular need in the immediate future to provide more balance to the study of regionalism by devoting greater attention to plain classes of pottery, whether they are fine tablewares, coarser cooking pots, or the full range of fabrics exploited for transport and long-term storage vessels. With such aims in mind, we should consider presenting data from the sites or regions with which our papers deal in tabular formats that make clear where the gaps in our existing understanding of regional or sub-regional assemblages most require bridging or supplementary work. The listings of “significant assemblages” by period and region identified by Mountjoy in the later 1990’s (Mountjoy 1999, 18–58) may serve as a starting point for such summary tables of what phases and sub-phases are best known at whatever sites, sub-regions, or larger areas may form the subjects of future studies. A better appreciation of where we know most about the pottery of specific temporal intervals will likewise be of value in allowing us to recognize why the influences of particular sites or regions on others have thus far been identified and interpreted as they have been.

² Mountjoy 1999, *passim* for an overview of the major Mycenaean ceramic assemblages identified on the Greek mainland as of a quarter-century ago according to more than 20 modern administrative subdivisions and 12 relative chronological phases that are still in conventional use.

Variables that it would be helpful to learn more about within individual locales and periods include: the relative frequencies of classes³ of decorated and plain pottery; the numbers of distinct shapes in each class and their relative frequencies;⁴ the degree of popularity of particular decorative syntaxes and motifs within the patterned and linearly decorated classes of lustrous-painted tablewares;⁵ the range of vessel forms within such functional classes as cooking pottery (Lis 2012a; 2012b; 2017b; Hruby, Trusty 2017) and medium coarse to coarse storage vessels (Afram-Stern 2020); the size ranges of individual vessel forms, in both linear measurements (height; rim, base, and maximum diameters) and volumetric ones (Lis 2012a, 27–28, 125–126, 134–136, 195, figs. 48–71; Phialon 2020; Rutter 2020, 654–657).

One important aspect of Mycenaean pottery that has recently attracted considerable attention from specialists is the technology of its production, from forming techniques (Hruby 2011; 2014; Lis 2016; 2017a; Vitale 2018; Choleva *et al.* 2020) to firing temperatures and atmospheric conditions within kilns to various features of standardization. Details of modes of production and fabric compositions in combination with shapes and minor features such as potter's marks have allowed imports to be more persuasively identified (Lindblom 2001; Lis 2012b; 2020; Gauss *et al.* 2017) and even to permit the identification of mobile potters (Lis 2016; Lis *et al.* 2016; 2020). The application of colored slips, either dark-firing and often mottled due to their iron content or pale-firing due to the absence of iron, and their variable functions to reduce porosity or to provide a light ground for dark-painted ornament, is another feature of vessel production that, along with surface paring, burnishing, or polishing (Rutter 1995, 55–58), allows different production traditions to be identified.

Quantification should always be an important concern in the characterization of ceramic assemblages (Orton, Hughes 2013, 203–219, 262–271). But producing helpful, much less meaningful statistics can be challenging, especially in dealing with the highly fragmented pottery from typical settlement deposits as opposed to the whole or largely mendable vessels recovered from most Aegean LBA tombs. The first significant steps in the quantification of shapes, painted patterns, and banded or solidly coated ornament were introduced by Elizabeth French and her students in an influential series of articles devoted to settlement deposits of the palatial era from Mycenae that had an enormous impact on how fragmentary Mycenaean ceramics would be presented thenceforth.⁶ While the quantities of pottery recovered from specific excavation contexts are obviously important to record in terms of both sherd numbers and weights for the purposes of any comparisons being made between such contexts, they just as certainly do not always provide reliable estimates for the relative popularity of the vessels being either produced or simply employed within a particular deposit, site, or region. For such more focused and detailed comparisons, other methods of quantification need to be used.

³ For the term “class” as preferred over “ware”, see Rutter 1995, 11–14, table C.1; Vitale and Trecarichi 2015, 313–315 and ns. 9–10, table 1; Vitale *et al.* 2021, 194–198, tables 3–5. For macroscopically defined sub-divisions of classes termed “ware-types” on the basis of multiple variables involving fabric, color, inclusions, and surface treatment, see Kardamaki 2017, 81–84.

⁴ For the traditional classification of Mycenaean pottery by shape, see Furumark 1941, 16–109, 583–643, 655–657, figs. 2–24; Mountjoy 1986, 9, 17, 37, 51, 67, 93, 121, 134–135, 155, 181, 194, 201–205, 206–221, figs. 270–283, tables III–IV (for 11 distinct chronological phases and sub-phases). For shape classifications by the author of other periods of the mainland Greek Bronze Age, see Rutter 1995, 30–32, 277–477 [Early Helladic (EH) III]; 2020, 496–646, figs. 9.7–9.51 [Late Helladic (LH) I Early]. For EH II, see Wiencke 2000; Pullen 2011; Ntouni 2015; for MH I–III, Lindblom 2001, 24–38, figs. 4–8 [Aegina]; Maran 1992; Hale 2015 [central Greece]; Spencer 2024 [northeast Peloponnese]; for LH I Developed, Lindblom 2024.

⁵ For the traditional classification of decorated Mycenaean pottery by pattern-painted motifs, see Furumark 1941, 236–423, 658–662, figs. 25–73, with brief comments on other modes of decoration restricted to 424–429; Mountjoy 1986, 9–10, 17–18, 37–38, 51–53, 67–70, 93–96, 121–123, 135–137, 155–160, 181–184, 194–195, figs. 1, 12, 38, 57, 77, 114 148 166, 200, 235, 258 (for 11 distinct chronological phases and sub-phases). For classifications of the linear decoration that characterizes much Mycenaean lustrous decorated pottery, see Jung 2002, II: 575–580, pls. I–XVII, followed by Stockhammer 2008, 115 and n. 537 and developed originally by Podzuweit in his 1992 Habilitationsschrift for the University of Bonn and posthumously published in Podzuweit 2007, Beilage 78. For further refinements to this system of describing linear decoration, see Stockhammer 2008, 115–119, fig. 117; Kardamaki 2009, 12–16, tables 1–4.

⁶ French 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1969; Wardle 1969, 1973; Mountjoy 1976. For more recent and more evolved but methodologically similar quantitative presentations of Mycenaean settlement ceramics of the palatial era from the nearby site of Tsoungiza, see Thomas 2005, 458–460, 541–571, tables 1–4 [LH IIIB1]; 2011, 183–186, tables 1–7 [LH IIIA2 Early].

Examples are the employment of minimum number of individuals (MNI) or estimated vessel equivalents (EVE's), in both cases numbers derived from diagnostic morphological features of individual shapes (e.g. rims, handles, bases/feet, spouts) or potentially even decorative features.⁷

At least three distinct kinds of distortion of the quantitative data reported from excavation contexts of all kinds may adversely affect the reliability of these data and thus hinder efforts to define individual centers or spatially distinctive regions of ceramic production. Two of them concern the simple recognition and appropriate statistical evaluation of chronologically extraneous pieces within a specific context. There may be earlier fragments that should be eliminated from consideration as residual, provided, of course, that such "earlier" pieces are confidently identified as such rather than as indications of stylistic lag or conservatism typical of a specific region.⁸ There may also be easily identifiable later fragments that qualify as intrusions and likewise merit being excluded from further consideration, whether or not their presence can be satisfactorily accounted for. The simple fact is that chronologically altogether "pure" deposits of Mycenaean pottery are remarkably rare, especially in the case of highly fragmented settlement deposits. But when arguments for the presence of certain frequencies of specific vessel types play a role in the definition of a site's or region's ceramic repertoire, it is clearly important to eliminate as much as possible of the background noise constituted by chronologically intrusive elements from any statistical analysis. At the same time, it is helpful to recognize approximately what the frequency of such intrusive pieces is within the range of individual contexts that together make up the population of deposits being surveyed. A third and more problematic source of distortion that must somehow be dealt with consists of imported ceramics that should be dealt with as constituents of a site's or region's ceramic profile under a separate heading from what is being locally produced during a given temporal phase. The origins, typological range, and respective frequencies of such imports are in themselves of considerable interest, but as indicators of a particular site's or region's patterns of consumption rather than of production (Stockhammer 2008, 90-99; Lis, this volume).

A SAMPLE DEFINITION OF A SMALL REGIONAL ASSEMBLAGE

The recent publication of a pair of Late Helladic (LH) IIB pottery deposits from the southwestern Corinthian site of Tsoungiza, just a three-hour walk from the major center of Mycenae in the north-central Argolid, provides an opportunity to illustrate the characterization of a regional ceramic assemblage following the principles outlined above (Rutter 2020: 657-727, 798-818; Lis 2020: 870-876). The rapid pace at which our knowledge of this period has advanced and is continuing to progress is highlighted by the differences that distinguish Mountjoy's useful, if now somewhat outdated, summary of its decorated pottery in 1999 (Mountjoy 1999: 24-26), two recent and more broadly based overviews of LH IIB ceramic assemblages up to 2015 (Kardamaki 2017, 74-79; Rutter 2020, 710-712), and publications that have appeared even more recently concerning sites that had previously not figured among those producing significant deposits datable to this pivotal phase (Vitale *et al.* 2021; Eder, Hadzi-Spiliopoulou 2021; Huber *et al.* 2021).⁹

⁷ For discussions of the need for some sort of vessel-equivalent calculation, see Orton *et al.* 1993, 168-173; Orton, Hughes 2013, 206-208. For a recent application of the MNI approach to a stratified sequence of post-palatial Mycenaean deposits from Tiryns, see Stockhammer 2008, 77-78, figs. 77-81, 94-97, 105-108, 111-114, where the term "Mindestindividuenzahl" [abbreviated "MIZ"] is used; see also Kardamaki 2017, 79 for a somewhat more recent use of the MNI approach. For a critique of the MNI method and an expression of preference for the EVE approach, see Lis 2012a, 23-25, 159-160, 165-166, figs. 24-32, 55, 70, tables 1, 3-7, 9, 11-22.

⁸ Some examples of how these may be dealt with: Stockhammer 2008, 100-102; Vitale 2013, 123 ns. 2-3. Entirely different ways of dealing with such stylistically earlier pieces are discussed by Schönfeld 1988; Thomas 1992, 33-35, 266-267; 2005, 457-459, tables 1-2. See also Kardamaki 2017, 80 for a brief general discussion of some of these issues.

⁹ For the significance of this phase within a broader consideration of developments throughout the Aegean, see Rutter 2020, 720-721; numerous papers in D'Agata *et al.* 2022.

Table 1: Tsoungiza, Pottery Group G of Late Helladic (LH) IIB: Classes and Shapes

CLASS	OPEN SHAPES	CLOSED SHAPES
Fine Lustrous-painted, patterned	43 (7 shallow rounded cups, 1 Vapheio cup, 35 goblets)	9 (2 piriform jars, 2 alabastra, 1 squat jar, 1 round-mouthed jug, 2 narrow-necked jugs, 1 stirrup jar)
Fine Lustrous-painted, linear	4 (1 deep semiglobular cup, 1 ring-handled cup, 2 high-handled goblets)	8 (2 piriform jars, 4 round-mouthed jugs, 2 misc.)
Fine Pale-surfaced, unpainted	59 (6 conical cups, 3 deep semiglobular cups, 1 straight-sided cup, 3 dippers, 25 goblets, 14 carinated kylikes, 1 shallow rounded bowl, 1 shallow angular bowl, 1 kalathos, misc. 4)	4 (1 askos, 3 misc.)
Medium coarse to coarse, plain, storage	-	5 (1 narrow-necked jar, 3 wide-mouthed jugs/jars, 1 pithos)
Medium coarse to coarse, plain, cooking	1 deep bowl, 1 tripod	6 (wide-mouthed or collar-necked jugs)
IMPORT: linear, bichrome-painted	-	2 (1 Aeginetan jar, 1 jar from unknown source)
IMPORT: fine to medium fine, unpainted	1 (Aeginetan krater)	1 (Aeginetan jar)
IMPORT: medium coarse, cooking	-	4 (Aeginetan wide-mouthed jugs)
TOTALS	109	39

The two Tsoungiza deposits in question, both likely to represent refuse from the usage of a single quite short-lived but poorly preserved building in area EU2 at the site, yielded almost 61 kg of pottery by weight and a total of 5816 sherds, of which only 35–40 kg and some 3500–4000 fragments dated to LH IIB (Rutter 2020, 474, 717–719 and n. 622, fig. 9.1, table 9.13 [Pottery Group G1–G148]). From this lesser body of chronologically homogeneous material, 148 different fragmentary vessels were inventoried for the purposes of the final publication (Table 1; Rutter 2020, 665–689, 798–818, figs. 9.54–9.66, tables 9.23–9.25 [catalogue], 689–710 [analysis]; Lis 2020, 870–876 [cooking pottery]). Comparisons of this settlement assemblage with others published from central and southern Greece resulted in the conclusion that the LH IIB material dated to a comparatively late stage of ca. 25–35 years within a period that may have lasted roughly twice that long (Rutter 2020, 712–717).

During the approximate generation evidenced by these two Tsoungiza deposits, the larger region that they may be considered to represent included several sites further south in the Argolid that have yielded substantial bodies of LH IIB pottery (Argos, Asine, Katsingri [Frank, this volume], Prosymna, Tiryns) as well as other sites to the north and east in the Corinthia (Galataki, Korakou).¹⁰ Substantial differences between Tsoungiza and sites in Laconia (Menelaion, Ayios Vasileios) and Messenia (Pylos) suggest that those southern Peloponnesian regions, though in some ways similar, nevertheless belong to spatially distinguishable zones of ceramic production. Two features in particular set those southern regions apart: first, a preference for dark monochrome surfaces in tablewares, achieved with added dark paint in Laconia (Mountjoy 2008; Catling 2009; Kardamaki 2017; Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022, 195–198, fig. 4:1–7) or by a dark-firing unpainted class christened Fine Dark in western Messenia (Vitale et al. 2021, 195–198, table 5); and second, by the presence of far fewer goblets decorated in the easily recognizable Ephyraean style throughout

¹⁰ But note the absence of plain carinated kylikes (FS 267) in the large LH IIB deposit at Korakou (Dickinson 1972), possibly due to this deposit's earlier dating within the period, as argued by Rutter (2020: 713; *see also* Vitale et al. 2021: 207 and ns. 23–24).

the southernmost Peloponnese, notwithstanding the popularity of the shape in the northeastern Peloponnese, Attica, and the western Cyclades (Table 2).¹¹ The continuing, albeit reduced, popularity of imported Aeginetan cooking pots and both plain and matt-painted water jars at Tsoungiza likewise distinguishes Tsoungiza from regions to the south, but that is due to consumption preferences rather than to differences in local production.

Table 2: Tsoungiza, Pottery Group G of LH IIB: Shapes and Painted Patterns

SHAPE	PAINTED PATTERN	NUMBER
Shallow Rounded Cup FS 219 (7)	Running Spirals FS 46:14	1
	Curve-stemmed Spiral FM 49	1
	Stipple FM 77:2	4
	Undeterminable	1
Vapheio Cup FS 224 (1)	Foliate Band FM 64	1
Goblet FS 254: Ephyraean (11)	Lily FM 9	3
	Rosette FM 17	1
	Argonaut FM 22	3
	Group Spiral FM 47 (?)	1 + 1?
	Parallel Chevrons FM 58 at handle base	2
Goblet FS 254: Non-Ephyraean (24)	Lily FM 9	1 + 1?
	Palm I FM 14 with Parallel Chevrons FM 58:3	1
	Pendent Rock Pattern I FM 32	5
	Pendent Rock Pattern I FM 32 with horizontal	1
	Wavy Line FM 53	
	Upright Rock Pattern I FM 32	1
	Running Spirals FM 46	1 + 1?
	Horizontal Wavy Line FM 53	1
	Parallel Chevrons FM 58:3	2
	Stipple FM 77:1	1
	Misc. Spiral	1
	Undeterminable	7
Piriform Jar FS 22/23 or 25/26 (2)	Curve-stemmed Spiral FM 49	1
	Scale Pattern FM 70	1
Alabastron FS 84 (2)	Rock Pattern I FM 32	1
	Rock Pattern I FM 32 with fill of stemmed plant	1
Squat Jar FS 87 (1)	Pendant FM 38	1
Round-mouthed Jug FS 110 Ephyraean: (1)	Parallel Chevrons FM 58:3	1
Narrow-necked Jug FS 118 Ephyraean: (1)	Isolated Spiral FS 52	1
Narrow-necked Jug FS 143 (1)	Arcade Pattern FM 66	1
Stirrup Jar FS 169 Marine Style: (1)	Octopus FS 21 with fill of rock pattern and weed, Sea Urchin FM 27:15, and bubbles	1
TOTAL		52

¹¹ The region of Triphylia just to the north of western Messenia exhibits a fondness for the Ephyraean style that is lacking in western Messenia to the south (Huber *et al.* 2021; Eder, Chatzi-Spiliotopoulou 2021; Vitale *et al.* 2021, 199 and n. 15). Ephyraean goblets are moderately popular in Attica and the western Cyclades, but markedly less so than in the northeast Peloponnese (Rutter n.d., tables 2-4).

Table 3: Tsoungiza, Pottery Group G of LH IIB: Shapes, Dimensions, and Volumes of Common Shapes

SHAPE	HEIGHT	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	VOLUME
Shallow Rounded Cup FS 219, patterned (2)	4.7	11.0 – 12.8	3.3 – 3.6 (2)	0.21 l. (to base of rim)
Conical Cup FS 204, plain (4)	4.5 – 5.8	10.5 – 12.0	3.5 – 4.5	0.18–0.23 l. (to rim)
Deep Semiglobular Cup FS 213, plain (2)	6.2 – 6.5	10.3	3.0 – 5.3	0.26 – 0.30 l. (to base of rim)
Straight-sided Cup FS 224, plain (1)	6.9	8.5 – 9.2	4.1	0.15 (to rim)
Dipper FS 236, plain (1)	6.2 (to rim)	10.0 (9.4 – 12.5)	-	0.24 l. (to base of rim)
Goblet FS 254, patterned Ephyraean (11)	-	13–14 (4) [small] 16–17 (7) [large]	-	-
Goblet FS 254, patterned Non-Ephyraean (14)	-	11–12 (3) [small] 16–20 (11) [large]	-	-
Goblet FS 263, plain (2)	12.8 – 14.3 [large]	16.7 – 16.8 [large] (25 between 15–17, 1 at 14, 1 at 20.5)	7.2 – 7.6 [large] (7–9)	1.05, 1.54 (to base of rim)
Kylix FS 267, plain (4)	9.1 – 9.7	9.5 – 13.5	5.8 – 6.4	0.19 – 0.29 (to base of rim)
Askos FS 195, plain (1)	21.5 (to top of body)	6.8	8.0 (27.8 = maximum diameter)	4.48 l. (to base of spout)
(17 total shapes, not including pattern-painted goblets)				

By far the most popular single shape at LH IIB Tsoungiza is the goblet, produced as both a pattern-painted (FS 254) and a plain (FS 263) type, but not at all in a solidly painted version. Pattern-decorated goblets were evidently produced in two distinct sizes (Tables 1, 3), the larger being far more popular, while plain goblets appear to have been limited to a single large size (Table 3). At least a third of the patterned goblets are decorated in the Ephyraean style, as are also two varieties of small jugs (Tables 2, 3; Mountjoy 1983; Rutter 2020, 695–696, 700–704, 721–723; n.d.). This exceptional popularity of the Ephyraean style at Tsoungiza and its contemporary manifestation on rare examples of minor closed shapes are features thus far peculiar to Tsoungiza and other settlements in the Argolid and the Corinthia (Asine, Katsingri, Korakou, Midea, Mycenae, Tiryns) as well as to a single center in central Laconia (Menelaion) and also to a few cemeteries in the Argolid (Argos, Kokla, Mycenae, and especially Prosymna); in combination with the standardization in size of decorated goblets, a phenomenon not as apparent in such neighboring regions as Laconia (Menelaion) or Attica (Athens), they suggest that the Ephyraean style originated in the immediate neighborhood of Mycenae, possibly in a deliberate effort to break away from an earlier dependence on Minoan drinking services dominated by semiglobular and straight-sided (or Vapheio) cups. In establishing a new preference for decorated drinking vessels with long-lived mainland pedigrees, the Ephyraean style in ceramics was probably modeled after developments in the repertoire of precious metal drinking services pioneered in the LH I–IIA periods at Mycenae and extended to a wider range of shapes in LH IIB (Wright 2004, 17–25; Rutter 2012, 79–82; Rutter, Lindblom 2022, 621–622).¹²

¹² The existence of Ephyraean kraters is thus far limited to the Menelaion (Catling 2009, 106, 345 no. V.6, fig. 130, pl. 76a = Mountjoy 1999, 264, 266 no. 75, fig. 87:75), possibly because the need for a large mixing bowl for formal drinking

Non-Ephyraean decorated goblets bear a variety of patterns, with the smaller and larger sizes possibly exhibiting discrete pattern ranges (Table 2; Rutter 2020, 703). On the larger size, the dominant patterns at Tsoungiza are pendent Rock Pattern I FM 32 and Parallel Chevrons FM 58:3.

The second most popular shape at LH IIB Tsoungiza is the carinated (or angular) kylix (FS 267), invariably produced as an unpainted, pale-surfaced type and in a single size that distinguishes it quite sharply from contemporary plain goblets, especially insofar as its volume is concerned (Tables 1, 3). As has become apparent from recent publications, this particular variant of the one-handled stemmed cup is peculiar in this advanced stage of the LH IIB period to the southern Peloponnese (western Messenia, Laconia), the Argolid, and the southern Corinthia (Rutter 2020, 699–700, 713–714; Vitale *et al.* 2021, 199 and n. 18, 207 and n. 24). This sub-stage of LH IIB witnesses a strikingly increased degree of standardization, well-exemplified by its contrast with the greater variety of both shapes and decoration on display in the earlier LH IIB deposit from the East Alley at Korakou (Rutter 2020, 713, 725 and ns. 664–665). As previously noted (Rutter 2020, 725–726, 727 n. 674), this heightened standardization in the cheap medium of ceramics is “so closely contemporary with that of the earliest monumental settlement architecture in the form of Mansions I and II at the Menelaion that it is difficult not to see some sort of connection between this shift in ceramics and the rise of larger and more complex polities in at least the Peloponnese at this time” (see also Kardamaki 2017; Vasilogamvrou *et al.* 2021, 350–352, fig. 9; Vitale *et al.* 2021).

What is notably lacking at this time for a sharper definition of a specifically northeast Peloponnesian regional ceramic assemblage during this period are data on forming techniques that may be characteristic of this region’s workshops (Choleva *et al.* 2020), much more information on storage and transport vessels, and extended programs of chemical and petrographic analysis that will better inform us about emerging patterns of ceramic exchange. Fortunately, the cooking pottery of this time at Tsoungiza has been recently reviewed and put into a helpful chronological context by comparisons with both preceding and following periods at the site (Lis 2020, 858–870 [LH I], 870–876 [LH IIB], 876–887 [LH IIIA2 Early], 887–898 [LH IIIB1]). The well-documented chronological evolution of cooking pottery at Tsoungiza may be usefully compared with that at Mitrou in coastal Locris, and these two regional traditions representing the northeastern Peloponnese and east-central Greece may be further compared and contrasted with that in evidence from LH IIB onwards at a southern Peloponnesian regional center (the Menelaion), well away from the coast in central Laconia (Lis 2017b, figs. 5.1, 5.2, and 5.4).

The only deposit of LH IIB pottery from a mainland Greek site thus far published in comparable statistical detail to the two deposits from Tsoungiza outlined above (Tables 1–2) is described in a preliminary report on a relatively small sample of the ceramics from a pit or natural depression excavated just to the northeast of the LH IIIB palace at Pylos (Vitale *et al.* 2021, 193–194, fig. 1). This LH IIB Pylian sample is roughly one-third the size of the two deposits at Tsoungiza, to judge from the total sherds recovered in each.¹³ The Tsoungiza deposits have been interpreted as occupational debris from a single household over a period of roughly a generation (25–35 years) at a settlement best described as a hamlet. The Pylian deposit, on the other hand, is suggested to be the remains of feasting activities celebrated either in or immediately adjacent to one or more monumental buildings that are likely to constitute the administrative core of a palatial center of this period (Vitale *et al.* 2021, 207–209). One consequence of these altogether different assessments of the activities reflected by the highly fragmentary ceramic corpora from the two sites is that we should be very cautious in using them to define

occasions was unnecessary at minor sites such as Tsoungiza and Prosymna. The restriction of Ephyraean pouring shapes to small-scale juglets suggests that the drinking behaviors in which this distinctive decorative style flourished typically involved a very small number of participants, perhaps as few as just two (see further Rutter 2020, 656–657).

¹³ Vitale *et al.* 2021, 202 table 10 (1293 sherds) vs. ca. 3500–4000 LH IIB sherds from the Tsoungiza deposits. No sherd weights have as yet been reported from the Pylian deposit, whether from the representative sample presented in Vitale *et al.* 2021 or from the substantially larger deposit of which that sample is a portion.

distinct regional ceramic assemblages in more or less contemporary use in the later 15th century BCE. Consider, for example, that the minuscule amount of decorated tableware in the Pylian deposit compared with the substantial number of decorated drinking and pouring vessels in the Tsoungiza contexts may simply reflect the difference between the drinking vessels in use at large-scale, palace-sponsored “feasts” (mostly plain handleless conical cups, two-handled goblets, and one-handled kylikes) as opposed to the ceramic inventory used over a generation by a single well-to-do farming family. The same distinction in the social activities responsible for the shape breakdowns of the deposits at the two sites may have resulted in the far greater percentage of conical cups at Pylos than at Tsoungiza. A detailed comparison of the two sets of deposits, one from a major center in Messenia and the other from a single house at a small settlement in the southwesternmost Corinthia, may not be worth undertaking until we have many more ceramic contexts at our disposal for which we have solid statistical data combined with carefully presented assessments of what these contexts represent in terms of human behaviors. The basic distinction between the ceramic repertoires of Mycenaean settlement debris on the one hand and the finds from Mycenaean funerary deposits has long been recognized by Aegean prehistorians; there is every reason to believe that there are several functional sub-categories of Mycenaean settlement deposits that would generate quite different mixtures of fabrics, shapes, and decorative modes and patterns in their associated pottery assemblages. As already noted, past overreliance on decorated crockery and failure to pay significant attention to plain tablewares as well as cooking assemblages have also had an adverse effect on our ability to make meaningful comparisons between the ceramic productions of different areas of the Greek mainland. Identifying what are functional differences versus what are regional differences is not likely to be a simple task in many cases.

DIFFERENTIAL PATTERNS OF SPATIAL VARIATION: COMPARATIVE REGIONALISM

The Aegean basin includes numerous distinct culture zones throughout the Bronze Age aside from that which was typical of the Greek mainland from southeastern Thessaly in the north to the southernmost tips of the Peloponnese (the so-called Helladic sphere).¹⁴ These include the western and central Aegean islands of the Cyclades, the island of Crete, the Ionian islands along Greece’s Adriatic coast, Macedonia, Epirus, the Dodecanese of the southeastern Aegean, the large islands of the east-central and northeastern Aegean, and the western Anatolian littoral. Several of these zones are as well known during the Late Bronze Age as are the southern and central Greek mainland (or Helladic zone), and most of them exhibit an ever-increasing degree of influence from the Peloponnesian and central Greek epicenters of Mycenaean culture as time passes from the 16th to the 12th-11th centuries. That said, it remains to be established which regions within these traditional epicenters of Mycenaean material culture played the principal roles in disseminating such influence during specific increments of time. An area of regional research that should be of as much interest as ceramic regionalism within the Greek mainland might be how its changing patterns of ceramic uniformity versus localism compare to those of some of the other regions just identified (e.g. for Crete, Hallager, Hallager 1997; Brogan, Hallager 2011; Langohr 2017; Rutter 2022). As the production of Mycenaean cultural forms, and especially its ceramic repertoire, diffuse with time to other regions of the Aegean and to portions of the eastern and central Mediterranean seaboard even further afield during the post-palatial era, the issue of Mycenaean ceramic regionalism involves an increasingly large overall space. How to explore this constantly expanding space by way of studying regional ceramic repertoires at various scales and assessing what they may mean thus offers yet another aspect of the larger topic of Mycenaean ceramic regionalism.

¹⁴ This statement is by no means intended to imply that ceramic uniformity is more pronounced within the Helladic sphere than in the other, and for the most part much smaller, Aegean regions identified in the following sentence.

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THE PROBLEMATIC ROLES OF IMPORTS IN DEFINING REGIONAL CERAMIC SEQUENCES AND IN ESTABLISHING SYNCHRONISMS

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Abstract

This paper focuses on ceramic imports and how they influence our efforts in dealing with ceramic regionalism. On the one hand, imports, if not correctly identified, may obscure our perception of regional variation, providing a (false) picture of considerable uniformity. On the other hand, they may contribute to the changes in local production, leading to increased uniformity, if local potters start imitating them. Imports also offer the most secure means of synchronizing regional ceramic sequences, however, certain stylistic innovations may appear locally at different times in different regions. In short, imports play a crucial and varied role in our approach to ceramic regionalism and our attempts to deal with its consequences.

Keywords: Ceramic regionalism; uniformity; imports; Mycenaean pottery

INTRODUCTION: IMPORTS AND THE PERCEPTION OF CERAMIC REGIONALISM

In his paper in this volume, Jeremy Rutter considered imports as one of the distortions that may, if not recognized correctly, adversely affect our ability to define the features of regional ceramic production. The scale of this distortion depends on several factors, such as the intensity of inter-regional exchange, the temporal interval under study, or the ability of ceramic specialists to recognize ceramic imports and correctly identify their probable places of manufacture. Yet another complicating factor is the number of inter-regional production centres contributing to the locally available ceramics supply.

The ability to recognize imports surely derives from ceramic experts' experience and their exposure to pottery from a number of different regions. We all know how our individual ability grows over the years, a phenomenon of our professional development that often leads to a reconsideration of previous identifications and the interpretations dependent upon them. Because of the different degrees of experience and the subjectivity inherent in the identification process, macroscopic examination should be supported by more objective results of clay analyses, either chemical or petrographic, and preferably both in combination. It would be ideal if assemblages of pottery subjected to such analyses in the past and for which provenance has been established were available for study by interested researchers, contributing to a better agreement between specialists regarding macroscopic features characteristic of specific production centres. However, while several, easy-to-access sherd collections worldwide include fragments deriving from known findspots, they usually lack the scientific data on their place of production.¹ At the same time, access to storage facilities in Greece containing material on which such analyses have been performed is by no means easy and requires an arduous permit acquisition procedure.

¹ For a few exceptions, see sherds sampled from the Asine collection in Uppsala (Lindblom, Nordquist and Mommsen 2018; Sjöberg and Mommsen 2021), and pottery from Tell-el-Amarna kept at the Akademisches Kunstmuseum of the University of Bonn (Mommsen et al. 1992). Currently, the author is involved in the publication of further results of analyses from the sherd material kept in the Bonn collection.

Regarding the intensity of exchange, I think that most specialists would agree that the palatial period in general, and the LH IIIA2 and B1 phases in particular, is the era when the scale of this exchange, and its resulting impact on our perception of regional assemblages, was the greatest. It seems this is mostly, although surely not exclusively, due to the large-scale export of Argive pottery. Paradoxically, we have much more secure datasets to consider the role that this single region played in trade relations with areas outside of the Aegean (Mommsen et al. 1996; Mountjoy and Mommsen 2001; Badre et al. 2006; Zuckerman† et al. 2020; Jung 2015) than from within (Mommsen, Beier and Hein 2002; Marketou et al. 2006; Lis et al. 2020, 315–6; Lis et al. 2023). But even with this less comprehensive data available for the Aegean, we can postulate that Argive workshops were those that played a preponderant role as sources of imports in most areas of the Greek Mainland lying outside of the Argolid and Corinthia, as well as in regions outside of central and southern Greece. As the contribution of Elina Kardamaki (this volume) shows, however, the degree of contribution, measured as a percentage of imports, can vary significantly across time and, most importantly, space.

The period between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 is also considered to be the time when cultural uniformity, referred to as a *koine* (see Vitale, this volume, with further references), is at its peak. Painted Mycenaean pottery is an important, if not the most important, constituent of this *koine*. However, it appears that the export activity discussed above likely contributed significantly to the high degree of ceramic uniformity visible across the Aegean during the palatial period. The simple frequency of Argive imports obscures the full extent of regional variation that existed during the palatial period. If they could be removed from the picture, we would probably be dealing with (and would be able to assess) degrees of regionalism much greater than what we imagine at the moment. Consequently, a considerable ceramic variability visible during the LH IIIB2 phase (Sherratt 1980), becoming even more pronounced in the ensuing 12th century BC, might be interpretable as more of a continuation than a radical break from the situation in earlier centuries. Another similar problem may stem from an imbalance between ceramic data available from different contexts – funerary and settlement – where consumption preferences for imports vs local production might have been quite different. This seems to have been the case in LH IIIB1 Attica, where funerary contexts align with the mainstream, plausibly Argive pottery (most likely due to the presence of imports). In contrast, settlement pottery, at least at the site of Kontopigado, is different (Kardamaki and Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018, 132) and displays a highly divergent, regional character. Whether this is a characteristic limited to a single site or more of a true regionalism of Attica at that time remains to be seen.

It may perhaps be somewhat surprising at first, but another period when a certain uniformity comes to the fore, at least in part of the Aegean, is the terminal stage of the LH IIIC period. Penelope Mountjoy defined this phenomenon as the East Mainland – Aegean pottery *koine*, and noted that the shapes that are markers of this *koine* are often made in White Ware (Mountjoy 2009). At that time, the consensus was that there were several production centres for White Ware and that the White Ware of Lefkandi differed from that of Perati (Mountjoy 1999, 52). However, recent clay analyses employing both petrography and NAA have shown beyond doubt that we are dealing with a single production centre, most likely located in East Attica (Lis et al. 2020; Lis, Mommsen and Sterba 2023; Murray, Lis 2023). Many of the sites that belong to that *koine* have either confirmed or suspected White Ware imports from this production area, with the easternmost example coming from Bademgediği Tepe in western Anatolia (Mommsen, Mountjoy and Pavúk 2021). Furthermore, stirrup jars typical of the Perati cemetery, produced in finer clay that nevertheless belongs to the same chemical group as White Ware (Lis et al. 2020), are also found at other sites. It was Sue Sherratt (1981, 193, 195, 281–2) who, in her PhD thesis, first drew attention to the very similar appearance of pottery from Salamis and Asine to that of Perati, mainly in the form of stirrup jars. In the case of Asine, stirrup jars from the tombs are accompanied by several possible White Ware pieces deriving from the settlement. Although not confirmed yet by analyses, these are more likely imports than

local imitations. Therefore, once again, an apparent *koine* seems to be a product of a very efficient distribution system rather than a widely shared style.

THE ROLE OF IMPORTS IN SPREADING UNIFORMITY

Nevertheless, it can be postulated that an abundance of imports must have had at least some impact on local production. Can we consider this an important factor contributing to the increased similarities between locally produced pottery in various regions? John Papadopoulos (1997, 450) framed this problem as a question concerning the spread of style: “does a “provincial” potter patiently await an import (whether by trade [direct or indirect], gift-exchange or otherwise) which, once at hand, is then admired, slowly pondered, and then copied, or does the dissemination of style involve more than just imitation?”. His answer was that we probably should not be expecting exact copies of imported pieces, and the mobility of potters, rather than local copying, played a more important role in the spread of style and in establishing ceramic uniformity across wider regions. Nevertheless, imports circulating within a certain settlement or a region surely had some impact on local production, at least on a general level of typological and decorative spectrum. Otherwise, it would be difficult to consider locally-produced pottery as “Mycenaean”. Usually, such pottery is easy to distinguish from imports, due to the differences in clay and an accompanying lower quality of craftsmanship (see, for example, paper by Koulidou, this volume).

However, if potters were moving from the North-eastern Peloponnese or other leading centres of ceramic production, bringing with them the entire technological know-how responsible for a distinctively high-quality end product, then distinguishing their products from actual imports could be problematic; again, only the application of one or more kinds of scientific analysis can provide definitive answers in such cases. It would be intriguing and highly interesting to try to establish both the locations at which such highly skilled potters arrived and settled, and the periods during which such movement occurred most frequently. From my own experience, I suspect that at least one production site located somewhere in Thessaly (but not at Dimini) might have been a place where Argive-trained potters worked for at least some time. Still, pinpointing its location and defining the full spectrum of pottery produced there require further studies. Another such case is Termitito, a site in southern Italy, where pictorial pottery of Argive style and other high-quality pottery was seemingly produced locally (Jung 2018; Lis 2018).

The impact of imports on local production (but also undoubtedly on our perception and understanding of regional ceramic assemblages) is best visible once they cease to reach particular regions. This is what S. Sherratt emphasized (1980, 202) in discussing pottery from regions that are no longer closely tied to the North-eastern Peloponnese: “local potters, no longer reliant on inspiration from a central innovating source, produced a simplified and limited repertoire of shapes and motifs based ultimately on those of LH IIIB1”. However, while such a strong dependence can be imagined for some regions, such as the Cyclades in the LH IIIA period (Cosmopoulos 1997) where the local painted pottery was outnumbered by imports, for other regions that display a stronger, more deeply rooted tradition of local production of Mycenaean-style pottery, this seems to be a less appropriate model.

In sum, large-scale exports of pottery from one production centre (or multiple centres) may obscure existing regional differences, and while the presence of such pottery may lead to copying on the local level and thus to an increase in uniformity, this will most likely not eliminate regional variation. In any case, the most efficient mechanism of spreading uniformity remains the mobility of potters. Still, this phenomenon, in terms of impact and temporal variability, is rarely investigated regarding Mycenaean pottery.²

² See Lis et al. 2020 for an example of a study on mobility of cooking pottery producers.

ESTABLISHING REGIONAL SEQUENCES AND THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL CORRELATIONS WITH THOSE OF OTHER REGIONS

To establish a regional ceramic sequence, once again, macroscopic analysis coupled with archaeometry is the key. In the first place, as discussed above, it allows us to distinguish imported pottery from that produced within a region. But we need to bear in mind that there might be multiple production sites within a single region, each with its own stylistic peculiarities, and each contributing in quantitatively varying degrees to an assemblage we may consider representative of a ‘regional style’. Pottery produced at each such site may develop differently and display different peculiarities at any given moment in time. Even though we may assume that the degree of similarity within a region will be far greater than any existing differences, we should strive to arrive at as fine-tuned an understanding of regional workshops as possible. Obviously, the degree to which they can be distinguished macroscopically is crucial, as only a small fraction of material can realistically be subjected to scientific analyses, due to the high costs of such an approach and the problem of securing necessary permits for a large sampling campaign.

Equipped with such tools, we can start to define regional styles and their temporal development, based on the available stratigraphy of a site or a group of sites, arriving at a site-specific or regionally-based pottery sequence (see Rutter, this volume). But what about anchoring such sequences into established system(s) of relative chronology, usually based on the pottery sequence from one or more regions most intensively studied or considered to have played a leading role in overall stylistic development? This could easily be done when imports from such regions are present and are correctly recognized. Here, Argive pottery is obviously extremely helpful (Jung and Kardamaki 2022). But what about periods when such pottery was not widely traded? This would pertain, for example, to the terminal stages of the LH IIIB and the entire LH IIIC period. In those cases, we may need to focus on other classes of pottery that enjoyed a broader distribution, and that can be either independently dated or used to anchor several regional sequences. White Ware could serve as an example, even though we are still far from understanding its precise development, chiefly because the site where it is best represented, Perati, is a cemetery and not a settlement with a sequence of strata, and the division of its development into three stages does not offer high enough resolution. Nevertheless, I think we should be casting our net more widely, and use ceramic categories other than the fine decorated pottery. A suggestion that a proper study of fine unpainted pottery can contribute a lot to our knowledge has already been formulated by some specialists, but I would like to point in another direction, namely to cooking pottery. During my research in coastal Thessaly, it turned out that Aeginetan pottery can serve as a very useful tool for fine-tuned chronological synchronisms, not least because of its very wide distribution (Lis et al. 2020). Even though it does not change at a pace comparable with decorated tableware, and thus does not offer an array of ‘type fossils’ or even chronologically sensitive features, occasional forms like the carinated tripod seem to have enjoyed short-lived episodes of popularity that are very useful for our aims. Moreover, the end of cooking pottery production on Aegina at some point either at the end of LH IIIB or at the very beginning of LH IIIC resulted, with some delay, in its disappearance from settlement contexts in regions where it had previously been abundant, such as coastal Thessaly and many others.

Under the heading of defining and correlating regional ceramic sequences, at least two important caveats need to be kept in mind and accounted for to the maximum extent possible. First is the issue of earlier, residual pottery, another ‘distortion’ mentioned by Jeremy Rutter in his paper in this volume. The other is the variable lifetime of specific ceramic forms, depending on their function or usage. This latter concern, however, applies to all types of pottery, and luckily, cooking pottery is similar to tableware used in eating and drinking in that it tends to break frequently, and thus requires regular replacement. Perhaps the third concern worth mentioning here, but again one not restricted to this

functional category, consists of the preferential differences between households in their overall ceramic inventories. Considering all this, I still think that the presence versus absence of Aeginetan imports could serve as a sensitive chronological indicator for a period when decorated pottery undergoes only limited changes, as is the case for coastal Thessaly around 1200 BC (Lis et al. 2020).

THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL VARIATION ON SUPRA-REGIONAL RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY AND SYNCHRONISMS

Under this final heading, I would like to consider how to deal with regional sequences and their synchronisation in times of increased regionalism, and to focus on the LH IIIC period. Above, I suggested that pottery groups such as White Ware or Aeginetan cooking pottery could be effectively used for that purpose. Yet they are not universally present nor cover the entire LH IIIC period. In the periodization efforts undertaken so far, scholars often used certain shapes as type fossils (Rutter 1977; Stockhammer 2008). Some key shapes or decorative features used for such purposes include the painted conical kylix, the linear shallow angular bowl, or reserved bands on both the interiors and exteriors of deep bowls. We have assumed that such novelties appear at more or less the same time all over Mainland Greece, as otherwise their chronological utility would be significantly lessened. This was undoubtedly the only way to proceed when our understanding of regional variation was still limited. However, in the framework of a volume that aims to increase our sensitivity to the issue of ceramic regionalism, we should investigate the appropriateness of such an assumption. I would like to illustrate possible problems with some examples from various sites and regions.

One of the shapes whose appearance is considered chronologically meaningful is the decorated conical kylix, a type that defines the beginning of Rutter's phase 3 of the LH IIIC period (Rutter 1977). In phase 1a at Lefkandi, linear conical kylikes occur very rarely and are made almost exclusively in a particular red fabric covered with a pale slip, a combination that is most likely not local (Fig. 1). Locally made decorated conical kylikes are only attested in the following phase 1b, one of the main horizons within Rutter's phase 3. The kylikes in red fabric thus represent an earlier development, and since they were neither distributed very widely (as it seems) nor immediately copied locally, ascribing too much importance to them in synchronization attempts could lead to problematic conclusions. Their centre of production remains unknown, and thus they cannot yet be used to synchronize the sequence of Lefkandi with that of another site or region.

An example of a similar phenomenon, this time with Lefkandi serving as a stylistically more advanced centre where certain decorative features are introduced ahead of other sites/regions, comes from LH IIIC Early assemblages from Eleon (Lis and Van Damme 2021). A burnt destruction deposit recovered from the NW part of the site appears to date to the very end of the LH IIIC Early period (i.e. at the end of Rutter's phase 3). If it were not for imports from central Euboea, most likely from Lefkandi itself (Lis et al. 2023), our perception of the assemblage and its chronological position might have been at least slightly different. Such imports comprise the majority of more elaborately decorated closed shapes in the assemblage, including new ways of decorating the handles of jugs and amphoras, such as with the scroll motif. An example is a jug with a small "branch" motif on the shoulder and a careless scroll on the handle that has a perfect parallel at Lefkandi (Van Damme 2017, fig. 2.P0015). Without such imports, closed shapes at Eleon would be almost exclusively linear or even unpainted, and this would perhaps seem inadequately advanced for the final stages of LH IIIC Early. Such observations also attest to strong regional differences between central Euboea and the sub-region(s) of eastern Boeotia that supplied Eleon with most of its pottery.

Imports such as those highlighted above help construct supra-regional chronological sequences. At the same time, they make clear that when trade in ceramics was geographically restricted to nearby



Figure 1. Conical kylikes of phase 1a at Lefkandi (photo by B. Lis, courtesy of the British School at Athens).

regions, the distribution of certain chronologically sensitive features can be quite random, making some of our efforts at synchronizing regional assemblages almost futile. An instructive illustration of how both shapes and decorative features may appear at different moments in two regional assemblages without direct connections to each other during the LH IIIC period is a diagram that S. Sherratt designed for her thesis (1981, fig. 161; Fig. 2 here). The two sites in question are Mycenae and Lefkandi. As shown in Figure 2, except for Lefkandi phase 2b, which shares a couple of diagnostic features with Sherratt's "Latest", none of the phase correlations show good agreement. This is likely to be due partly to the different positioning of the phases in absolute terms and their different durations. Yet this cannot fully account for what we see in the case of Lefkandi phases 1b and 2a, as features present in those two phases show up for the first time in as many as three different phases at Mycenae. A more likely explanation is that chronologically distinct moments of appearance of specific features in various regions contributed to such a situation.

Finally, a last example concerns the end of the LH IIIC period and the transition to the Early Iron Age. In quite a few regions of the Greek Mainland, the main feature that allows the distinction between the latest LH IIIC phase and the beginning of the Protogeometric period appears to be the introduction of decoration in the form of concentric circles drawn with a multiple brush. In central Greece, the first attestation of such decoration is associated with large neck-handled amphoras, which we know from Kalapodi (Jacob-Felsch 1996), Elateia (Deger-Jalkotzy 1999), Kynos (Dakoronia and Kounouklas 2009), and Mitrou (Lis 2009). Their medium fine micaceous fabric is quite distinct, and does not seem local at many of the sites where such vessels have so far been identified. According to the recent results of chemical analysis of such amphoras (Gimatzidis 2020), we should be looking north, particularly at Macedonia, for the most likely region of their manufacture. Despite their wide distribution in the Northern and Central Aegean (Catling 1998), they form a stylistically quite consistent group, suggesting a limited number of production sites. While their presence further south provides a useful link between Northern and Central Greek ceramic sequences, at the same time there is not much else beyond these amphoras that could help us link the Macedonian regional sequences to the relative chronology established for Central and Southern Greece (yet see Van Damme and Lis 2024). Also, in terms of Central Greece, these amphoras provide one of the very few seemingly secure diagnostics. In both areas, the associated

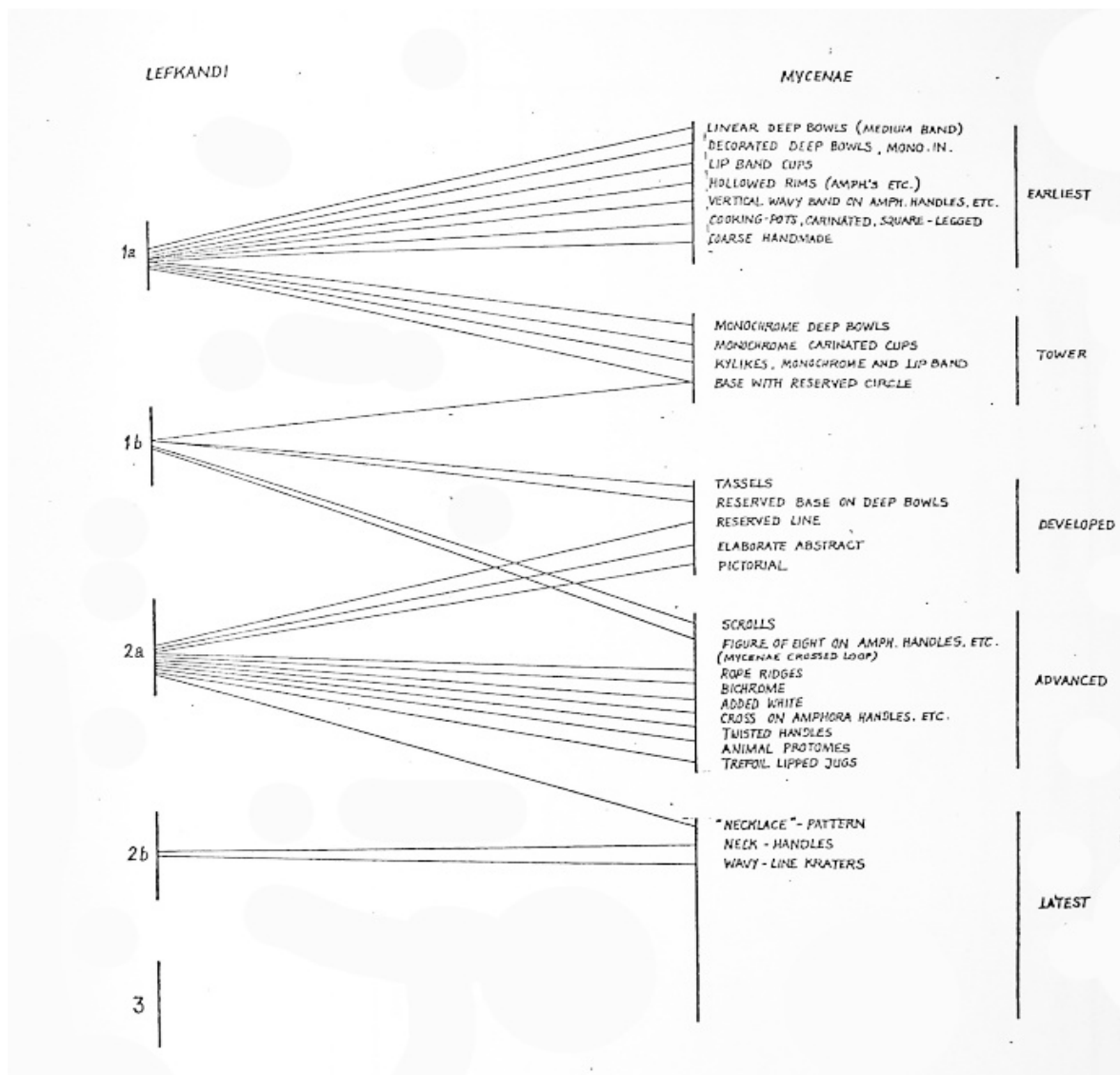


Figure 2. Comparison of LH IIIC phases between Lefkandi and Mycenae (after Sherratt 1981, fig. 161).

decorated pottery has a very Mycenaean character. Good links with areas further south, such as Attica, are missing.

The example of the earliest amphoras decorated in a Protogeometric style brings me to the final question I would like to discuss here, that is, whether stylistic innovations such as compass-drawn concentric circles or decorated conical kylikes can appear independently in two different regions? I would agree with S. Gimatzidis that we have been too dependent on centre-periphery models when thinking about the diffusion of style, and that specific stylistic developments may indeed have been independent innovations (Gimatzidis 2021; see also Jung and Kardamaki 2022, 17), or they may start earlier in areas that have been conventionally perceived as peripheral (Van Damme and Lis 2024). Therefore, such developments need not be contemporaneous. This observation may apply to compass-drawn decoration, or virtually any other stylistic feature we choose to use in our attempts at synchronization.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In conclusion, it seems that the first appearances of particular features that we consider as chronologically sensitive and diagnostic should be treated with caution, especially if limited in popularity and lacking a verified centre of production. Once such features become more common and universally attested, they can be more safely used in synchronization. Furthermore, it seems that isolated appearances of similar features do not have to be contemporary, or even very close in time. I think this method of synchronization can be safely used only if we can demonstrate that the examples of a particular form or feature found at two different sites are from the same workshop/production centre, as in the cases cited here of White Ware, central Euboean decorated ceramics or Aeginetan cooking pottery, highlighting once again the crucial role of imports and their recognition. However, such types will most likely exhibit limited circulation, effectively meaning that we cannot extend our network of synchronisms across all the regions to which we might like them to apply.

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REGIONALISM
– STUDIES OF PARTICULAR REGIONS

The Peloponnese

PETSAS HOUSE POTTERY: PRODUCTION, PRODUCTS, AND PERCENTAGES IN THE LATE HELLADIC IIIA WORKSHOP AT MYCENAE

KIM SHELTON

Abstract

Petsas House, a building complex in the settlement of Mycenae, provides an opportunity to study and understand pottery production and the Argive regional style during the late 14th c. BCE. The house also served as a ceramic workshop during the LH IIIA period, was totally destroyed by earthquake late in that period, and is one of the few examples, so far excavated, of multi-use space in a palatial settlement during a period of expansion and centralization. The massive pottery corpus recovered through excavation provides important insights into large-scale ceramic production, the organization of a major workshop, and the features of consumer demand. In particular, this paper examines in some detail the pottery produced and in storage in the house in order to characterize its typological make-up, various manufacturing technologies, and production strategies, which were focused locally, regionally, and towards the greater Mycenaean and Mediterranean world. The pottery at Petsas House exhibits standardization, innovation, and variation in LH IIIA2 ceramics and provides a unique opportunity to define the regional style in context, through fabrics, treatments, and trends.

Keywords: Mycenae, LH IIIA 2, workshop, piriform, kylix, pictorial, decorative syntax

Late Helladic (LH) pottery from the Argolid is considered by most specialists as a trend-setter and a benchmark for assessing chronological sequences and regional styles – both defining its own regional style, and in comparison to it, defining other regional styles. This benchmark status is due in part to scholarly bias based on early excavations of sherd material and the pottery typologies developed from those (e.g. Furtwängler, Loeschcke 1879; 1886; Blegen, Blegen 1937; Furumark 1941a; 1941b; French 1963; 1964; 1965; 1966; 1969; Mountjoy 1986). And yet, pottery from the Argolid, especially during the palatial period, does appear to have spread far and wide, where it is recognized by scholars macroscopically, stylistically, and chemically (Wace, Blegen 1939; Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982; Mountjoy 1999: 60–196; van Wijngaarden 2002; Jones *et al* 2005; Zuckerman *et al* 2010; Jung 2015). Pottery from the Argolid was exported to other regions on the mainland and in the Aegean, it was curated and kept as heirlooms, it inspired local and regional imitation. Was pottery from the Argolid a part of the Mycenaean *koine* or was it the model around which the *koine* formed? I lay these foundations and pose these questions as a preamble to this paper – things to always consider and to frame our discussion. At the same time, I must acknowledge that my perspective is based on a production context in the privileged location of Mycenae in the Argolid.

Petsas House (Fig. 1), a residential building complex that includes a ceramic workshop in the settlement of Mycenae, provides an opportunity to study and gain insight into pottery production and the Argive regional style during the late 14th c. BCE, when it was destroyed by earthquake and localized fires (Shelton 2010; 2015; 2022). The excavation of the building was first undertaken as a rescue excavation by Papadimitriou and Petsas during a brief period in 1950, followed by several months of more systematic investigation in 1951 (Papadimitriou, Petsas 1951: 203–233; 1952: 192–196). They uncovered a series of building foundations divided into rooms situated along a terraced slope, which were mostly filled with fine ware vases. The current excavation program, under the aegis of the

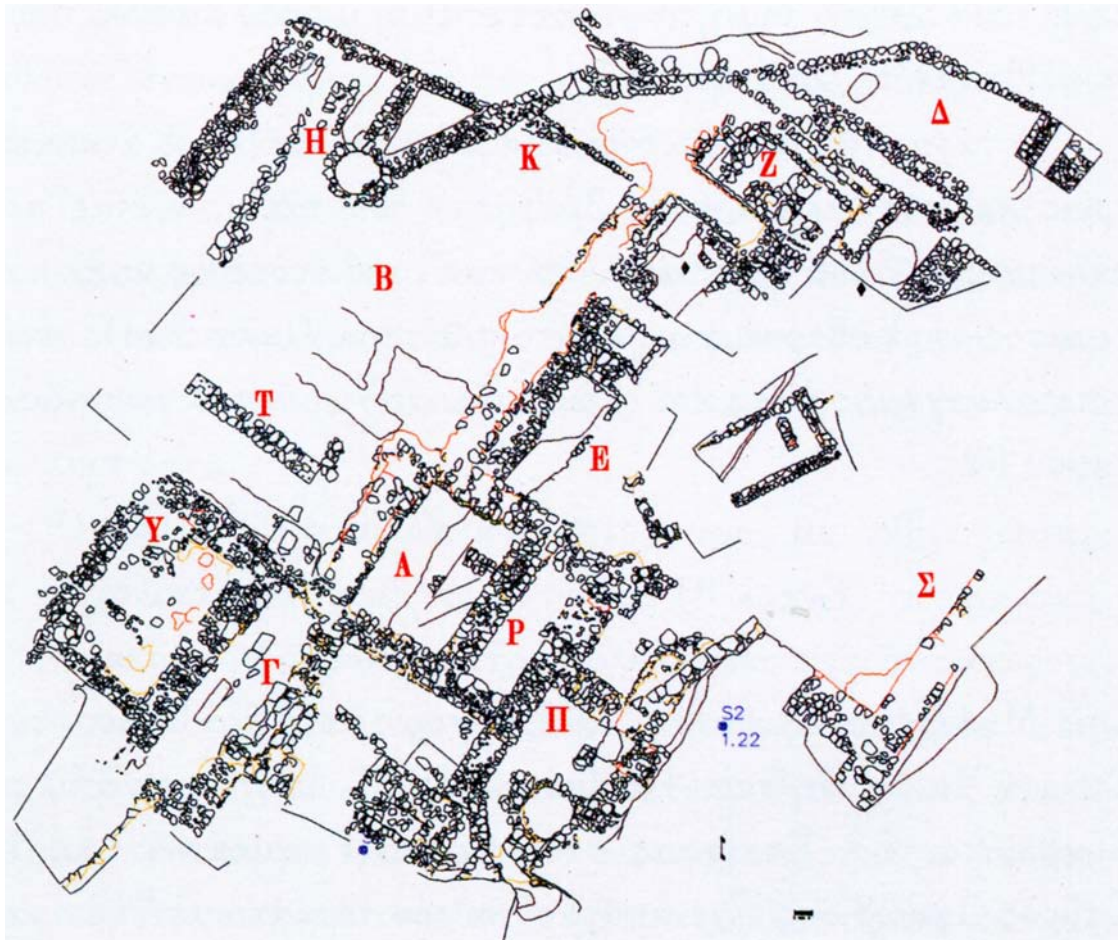


Figure 1. Plan of Petsas House (N. Mitrovgeni and K. Chronis) ©K. Shelton

Archaeological Society of Athens, was initiated in 2000 to complete the work of the previous excavators for publication and to expand the excavation area for a better contextual understanding of the architectural complex, its pottery, and the settlement of Mycenae. The excavation has revealed a large, well-built structure of several foundation levels set on and built into the sloped hillside, and all or part of that ground level was originally covered with an upper story (Iakovidis 2003: 63–66; 2004: 49–55; 2005: 15–19; 2006: 19–24; 2007a: 24–26; 2007b: 28–32; 2008: 26–29; 2010a: 18–21; 2010b: 27–30; 2015: 21–25; Shelton 2009c; 2015; Petrakos 2015: 23–26).

The earliest understood use of the rooms by the excavators in the 1950s was primarily pottery storage, based on the number of vases uncovered and their arrangement as they were found, fallen from shelves where they had been grouped by size and shape (Papadimitriou, Petsas 1951: 208). The vases also appear consistently to be new, or at least unused. Then, during the course of the current excavation project, there emerged evidence for ceramic production as well as additional storage, elements of industrial complexity, and purely domestic contexts of varying degrees or characters. As a result of the project, we understand that Petsas House was constructed at the very end of the Late Helladic II period and towards the beginning of LH IIIA, over the foundations of an earlier structure of similar plan. The ceramic evidence (pottery and figurines) associated with the earlier building indicates that this building too was likely the location of ceramic production. Here, I examine in some detail the pottery produced and in storage in the house in order to characterize its typological make-up, various manufacturing technologies, and production strategies, which were focused locally, regionally, and towards the greater Mycenaean and Mediterranean world.



Figure 2. Ceramic types and pottery classes produced at Petsas House (LH IIIA2). 1. Apotheke A; 2-6. Well deposit, Room II; 7-8. Room Γ. (by author) ©K. Shelton

The massive pottery corpus recovered from the LH IIIA 2 destruction provides important insights into large-scale ceramic production, the organization of a major workshop, and the features of consumer demand (Shelton 2016). The ceramic material is almost overwhelming in quantity and quality with hundreds of figurines and thousands of vases (Fig. 2), and it reveals an amazing amount about the style, technology, and chronology of production from a closed destruction context (Shelton 2022). Since Petsas House is a rare example of excavated remains of habitation *and* pottery production in the 14th c. BCE, its products must be, to some extent, a proxy for the Argolid style in this period, LH IIIA2 – perhaps the northern Argolid in particular, in addition to material from tombs, and a significant number of exports, both abroad and closer to home.

Features that identify Petsas House as one of the rare examples of a pottery workshop include: the massive amount of new pottery stored in organized categories by class and shape in ground-level rooms and the kiln discovered downslope off the west side of the house and its yard. Additionally, numerous misfired and malformed fine ware vessels have been found scattered around the site. Petrographic and chemical analyses of the cooking ware fabric also indicate that the fabric was locally sourced, originating from deposits around Mycenae (Trusty 2016). Furthermore, Room II, on the middle terrace of the structure, contained a possible stone bench or worktable before which was a series of small post-holes that may have been the result of the installation of a potter's wheel, as well as a large well that would have provided water needed for potting (Shelton 2015).

Because of its function as a workshop, the quite excellent preservation of its remains, and the limited chronological range of the pottery, Petsas House affords us the opportunity to identify some of the types of production decisions made by potters and determine their justification for making the choices they did – perhaps identifying trends and trend-setters. It seems that the workshop produced



Figure 3. Piriform Jugs from the well deposit, Room II. (by author) ©K. Shelton

vessels in what we would identify as four different fabric types: fine, coarse, semi-coarse, and cooking classes. The careful examination of these fabric types reveals the potter's need for standardization,¹ while still maintaining a desire to experiment and innovate. The workshop operated with some independence that allowed the potters to respond in different ways to the demands of traditional needs, consumer demands, and their own initiative. This resulted in the production of an assemblage of similarly shaped vessels, which suggests that potters anticipated the need for certain pots. Innovation in vessel form and decoration appears to have involved experimentation that remained grounded in shape tradition and was responsive to vessel function. The 'Petsas style' is a combination of fabric and slip quality, elegant shape profiles, and a consistent decorative syntax with blossoms of exceptional decorative schemes. I would describe it as "individualized standardization."

TYPOLOGICAL MAKEUP OF THE ASSEMBLAGE

By examining technical details of the ceramic production within this vast corpus, evidence is found for different modes of production. The vessel output indicates a good deal of mass production, especially of a limited range of shapes that must be in regular demand for the needs of the community, or at least interested or invested segments of it (e.g. the kylix and the stirrup jar). At the same time and alongside, highly original pieces are produced, often requiring a great output of labor (e.g. the rhyton and the amphora). Meanwhile, new and experimental shapes are produced that compliment older, more traditional shapes (the piriform jug and the piriform jar), rather than simply replacing them (Fig. 3). Vases are produced in fine ware of course, decorated and undecorated (Shelton 2015), but also many kitchen or cookware vessels, and figures, all made entirely or mostly on the wheel, together with coarse vessels built up at least initially from coils, and hundreds of figurines (Shelton 2009b) and many miniature vases all fashioned by hand.

To focus on some specific examples:

Room II, the well: The greatest quantity of excavated material comes from a well context in Room II that is related to pottery in storage around the building as was demonstrated through ceramic joins. Excavated to a depth of almost 13m, the deposit is characterized by a fill of moist red-brown soil together with fragments of charcoal, burned mudbrick, and wall paintings; building debris that was

¹ In this context, standardization is the reduction of variability (Rice 1987) and the result of repetitive action conducted in order to maximize product output and minimize costs (Rice 1981).

mixed with animal bone, clays, a vast quantity of pottery, and other small finds of stone, ivory, glass, and ceramic including fragments of Linear B tablets. The deposit, which consisted of over 20 cubic meters of debris, including over 250,000 sherds, is a closed context that comprises material from the final period of the workshop's operation and is the result of a single extended clean-up event after the building's destruction. Thousands of whole and restorable vases have been recovered; the majority are undecorated fine ware, especially kylikes, together with decorated pieces and cookware.

From the deposit were recovered hundreds of kitchen ware vessels (Fig. 2.6), many likely intended for feasting assemblages, consisting of closed shapes -- like jugs or pots for cooking, and several oversized vessels for shared consumption, as well as specialized shapes like griddles and ladles for preparing a restricted cuisine reserved for the elite. At the same time, typical domestic kitchen ware vessels represent the most common shapes of that class found in the deposit and include scoops (often used as lamps) and braziers (used to move coals from/to a fire), as well as tripods and jars produced in two fabric types: heavy and gritty. The presence of these shapes points to a production scheme oriented toward the general population and household needs, in addition to meeting the needs of the upper echelon and/or the palatial authorities. The faunal evidence, which consists of roughly 75 thousand animal bones, indicates two different food sources: palatial and local or household subsistence production (Meier *et al* 2022).

Apotheke Alpha, the first deposit discovered and investigated in 1950, was the most completely excavated storeroom and was relatively well-recorded (Papadimitriou, Petsas 1951). The room contained approximately 500 vases in 20 different shapes, both closed and open vessels, over 90% of them produced in decorated fine ware, almost all with a strong piriform or pedestalled profile, including stirrup and piriform jars of at least three graduated sizes/scales (Fig. 2.1). The vases exhibit a high-quality production in clay, form, and decoration. Among the decorated examples, there is a high degree of repetition of motifs which may suggest the work of a limited number of specialized artisans rather than a narrow motive repertoire per se. On the predominantly closed shapes, more than half are decorated with Multiple Stem (FM 19) in its various iterations -- angular probably most often -- and a third of the total are decorated with Flowers (FM 18C) (Fig. 4). The remainder show quite a bit of variety -- foliate band, spirals, wavy border, quirk, etc. Some are quite imaginative with surface and facial designs. Linear decoration is also a popular option for the largest and smallest examples of the stirrup jar, and for the few smaller open shapes. The open shapes stored in Apotheke Alpha were mostly decorated fine ware and share with the closed vases the sharply incurving lower bodies of the jars, like the kalathos (FS 300) or the slender concave stems of the kylix (FS 257). The majority of the vases in this storeroom are remarkably well-formed, finished with a creamy pink-buff slip, and precisely decorated -- the banding scheme especially (more below). Generally, most of these vases represent the work and output of a single potter, who must have been a specialist in or innovator of this characteristic LH IIIA2 profile (Papadimitriou, Petsas 1951: 207–212; Mountjoy 1986: 67).

Apotheke Epsilon, adjacent to the north of Apotheke Alpha, was filled with vessels in undecorated fine ware, almost all for drinking and serving, kylikes and stemmed bowls primarily, and many of those in an extra-large size (~2-3 liters volume). There was also a huge number of rather casually or even carelessly produced carinated kylikes (FS 267). Among the Petsas pottery corpus, the proportion of predominantly undecorated vases to decorated (~ 90%), and of mostly kylikes to a wide variety of other shapes, matches well with proportions observed in most contexts culture-wide (Mountjoy 1993; Shelton 2009a: 221–224; Shelton 2010: 192, 193–195; Shelton 2014). Among a rather diverse corpus of LH IIIA2 drinking vessels, the kylix stands out as the most abundant, both in quantity and the number of different versions of the basic functional shape that were in production. The kylix simultaneously was one of the most beautiful and one of the ugliest, least functional vases recovered from Petsas House. At the time of its destruction, the building contained more than 10 thousand kylikes. The vast majority were undecorated fine ware (Fig. 2.2, 5) and roughly two-thirds of those were



Figure 4. Stirrup jars and Piriform Jars from Apotheke A and Trench 10 decorated with typical motifs: multiple stem and unvolved flower. (images and drawings by author) ©K. Shelton

of the carinated or angular variety (FS 267), which in turn, made up about 60% of all open shapes in the building. Another 20-25% of open shapes are undecorated also: the conical cup (204/206) and the carinated bowl (FS 295), the latter of which displays very regular technical details yet occurs in a variety of scales – more like the rounded-bowl kylikes (FS 257/269).

Decoration. Kylikes with a rounded bowl profile (FS 257/264) are often decorated and exhibit a surface treatment on the exterior and interior which required significant labor. The thick creamy slip which usually matches the color of the clay is applied to the more common undecorated examples as well as those painted with motifs. There is some polishing of the surface, especially on the exterior, on almost all examples while about a quarter of the total are highly polished without additional decoration.

These polished kylikes represent one of three general categories of decorated kylikes, based on the surface treatment, the other two categories are monochrome painted, and patterned, including linear decoration. With few exceptions, all three decorative types are applied to well-made and fired kylikes. The profile shapes, size, and scale exhibit standardization of production, especially among decorated examples. Undecorated versions of the same shapes tend to display more variation than the decorated examples, but not a great degree of variation in reality. The polished examples are technically the best produced with the hardest walls, finest slip, and resemble the characteristics of metal vessels most closely among decorated types (Shelton 2014: 24). Monochrome kylikes represent about 60% of the decorated kylikes at Petsas House with the best examples (and in LH IIIA 2 more generally) are covered in a smooth red or red-orange glaze, and a few covered in a striated dark brown glaze, which is more common on the stemmed bowl (FS 304). The shape of the monochrome kylix is most similar to the shape of the patterned examples (FS 257 and 264) but with wider strap handles that evokes a comparison to those of a krater.



Figure 5. Pictorial kylikes from Rooms II and T. (by author) ©K. Shelton

Patterned kylikes, whether decorated with bands/lines only (linear) or with motifs (one repeating or several in combination) are produced in an excellent quality. This standardized high quality production created a general similarity and precision in shape and scale. However, among the decorative elements there is both standardization and a design originality that takes advantage of the diverse range of motifs. The motif repertoire used in LH IIIA 1 on the goblet, such as spirals (FM 46/49) and stemmed elements (FM 9/11/14), provides one source for patterning on the kylix. Surface or facial patterns (i.e. net FM 57, scale FM 70, etc.), however, appear less often than on the goblet since there is a strong preference for individual motifs that are repeated or alternate in combination with other individual motifs. Particularly favorite or characteristic motifs are the whorl shell (FM 23) or especially the flower (FM 18C, voluted and unvoluted varieties), but there is also a great deal of originality among individual examples and often even among motifs on the same vase (Shelton 2014: 22, fig. 2.3 and 28). The syntax in the decorative zone is also standardized with a preference for elements that rise diagonally left to right from the zone's base line into the field, such as stemmed motifs like the whorl or flower, while multiple stem (FM 19) and similar patterns always run in the zone from right to left. When vertical motifs occur, they tend to be those that provide a visual contrast with alternating rising and pendant motifs. In fact, there is clearly an interest in a decorative syntax which emphasizes contrasts in surface space, such as linear – mass, curved – angular, up – down, open – closed. The pictorial style is applied to kylikes at Petsas House on a number of examples. Both are exceptional pieces, one has a row of ducks that swim head to tail from left to right and the other has a pair of curved-horn goats, on each side between the handles, that confront each other with raised forelegs (Fig. 5).

Miniature kylikes and other shapes were produced in significant numbers at Petsas House, both undecorated and decorated (patterned primarily). In shape, execution, and design the miniature kylikes are small-scale versions of their full-sized counterparts (Fig. 6.5). The surface treatment and

decorative syntax is as standardized as on the larger scale examples with a similar range of motifs including spirals, flowers, and multiple stem. A smaller percentage of miniature kylikes are decorated with narrow repeating motifs in a band-zone, such as ‘N’ pattern (FM 60) or foliate band (FM 64), drawn from the repertoire of motifs that appear on cups, due perhaps to the smaller relative decorative zone (Shelton 2014: 23, fig. 2.4 and 28).

There are no examples of decorated carinated kylikes from Petsas House. This was a consistent choice since they were produced in huge quantities in the same workshop alongside decorated kylikes and in close enough proximity to the decoration process, demonstrated with several examples with accidental glaze splashes, drips, and several instances of paint-stained fingerprints.

Basic “unstemmed” cup shapes are well represented with numerous examples each of the shallow and angular cups together with the mug. In each case, they occur more often decorated than not, but also exist in unpainted, polished versions. The profiles are standardized and consistent. Variety appears in features such as handles and spouts: a version with two horizontal side handles, with high-swung handles, a spouted variety and even a combination of features such as the spouted shallow cup with a high-swung handle. The decoration is finely executed and often very predictable – the curtailed running spiral (FM 46) (Fig. 2.3), appearing on close to 90% of the shallow cups (FS 220) and the few examples with two high-swung handles. Those with different features also have the most variety in decoration.

Flowers. A particular favorite motif and decorative scheme of painters at Petsas House is the Mycenaean Flower, especially in the unvoluted variety (FM 18C), which appears across a range of shapes, both open and closed, including piriform and stirrup jars, piriform jugs, kylikes, bowls, and rhyta (Fig. 2.4). There are many variants of the blossom itself, yet frequently the examples are similar enough to potentially identify the same hand (Fig. 6).

Pictorial. As I mentioned above, we have many examples of the pictorial style among the Petsas material, although it is a statistical minority – less than 3% of decorated vases, albeit more like 10% of decorated open vases (krater, kylix, mug) (Fig. 5). It is not a predominant style among the vessels in storage at the time of the destruction, but since many or most examples would have been produced for export, the vessels themselves would not be represented in storage necessarily. I do think that pictorial pottery is less of a specialty product here than it is at Berbati for example (Åkerström 1968). Pictorial motifs do occur on a wider range of shapes at Petsas, including stirrup jars, although kraters are most frequent. The pictorial themes show a strong preference for birds or ducks, the octopus, and other animals – goats especially. We have a chariot scene on a larnax and another on a kylix, but so far, no bulls, the preferred scenes at the Berbati workshop. Very common in the decoration is added white paint, applied post-firing, occasionally on some exceptional examples of pattern-style, frequently on pictorial motifs and always on the octopus!

Lastly, figures and figurines ... obviously not a component of pottery styles yet made with the same fabrics and slips and are a stylistic *koine* themselves. Like the pottery, the production range for figurines shows a preference for a limited number of standardized types and decorative motifs, while some pieces bespeak individualized and labor-intensive workmanship (Fig. 2.7-8).

While there are only a handful of female and bovine figures made on the wheel, we can ascertain a Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) for handmade figurines of about 650 – so far, with a preference for female figurines at 50% of the total. Bovids represent ca. 35% and the remaining 15% are other animals, furniture, boats, chariots, and combination ensembles (humans and animals, humans and furniture). Their typological and stylistic development from individualized pieces (Proto-Phi) to standardized mass-produced objects (female Phi B and bovine Linear 1 types) parallels the pottery trajectory of LH IIIA (Gillespie 2024).

Decorative Syntax: Oftentimes at Petsas House, the combination of vessel shape and function determined the decorative scheme that was applied, the “decorative syntax.” The FS 267 one-handled



Figure 6. Examples of the Flower, unvoluted (FM 18C) on a variety of shapes: 1. conical rhyton; 2-3. large piriform jar; 4. piriform stirrup jar; 5. miniature kylix (by author) ©K. Shelton

carinated kylikes from Petsas House (Fig. 2.2), for example, were never painted, while other types of kylikes, as we have seen already, always two-handled, were either painted or highly polished. The piriform stirrup jars (FS 166) are a great example of this phenomenon. This vessel seems to have been defined in part by the regular series of bands and fine line groups that appeared in a specific and consistent arrangement together with a narrow, even selective, range of motifs limited to the shoulder zone (Fig. 4.1-2, 4). Decorative body zones appear only on more exceptional squat examples (FS 178). Piriform jars (FS 39) from Petsas House, which may have had a related but likely not identical function, were painted in a similar fashion, but with a subtly different arrangement of bands and lines and zones for comparable motifs between the typically vertical handles (Fig. 4.5). This difference in decorative scheme seems to align with distinctions of the vessel function/s and which may have been an important means of communicating these distinctions to the consumers acquiring and using the vessels. And its frequency and standardization create a stylistic statement or model.

Experimentation in the production of pottery appears in the existence of small quantities of a wide range of shapes that indicate the continuation of an independent or semi-independent workshop (Shelton 2010: 190–191). The one-handled bowl (FS 283) is just one example of this. Many examples were recovered from the well deposit in Room II and in Apotheke A, found in various scales that conform to the general morphological definition – a straight profile, a ring base, and a single round, horizontal handle, but, with a surprising range of rim forms, shape details, and decorative syntax (Fig. 7). This range of sizes and details indicates that the shape was utilized for a variety of purposes probably by a diverse audience of consumers, and because neither the use nor the user were regular or predictable, the vessels themselves were not particularly standardized. Production was relatively limited rather than maximized, and production costs were likely greater per vessel

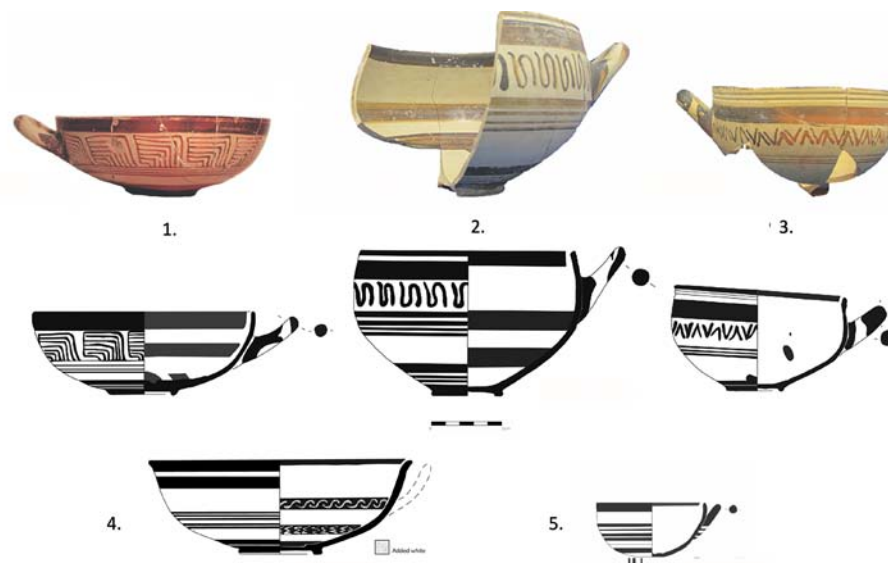


Figure 7. Selection of one-handed bowls from Petsas House. 1. from Room A with Multiple Stem (FM 19); 2 and 3. from Room II's well deposit in two scales with narrow decorative zones; 4. Linear example with added white decoration on interior bands; 5. miniature example with linear decoration (by author) ©K. Shelton

than what was expended on even the large banded piriform or stirrup jars. Other examples of this same phenomenon include the piriform spouted jug (Fig. 3) and the decorated amphora.

These examples of vessel design emphasize the many underlying cultural and social elements of vessel production and micro-decisions made by individual potters that shaped the vessel formation process and created a local or regional style. The ceramic material and other artifacts excavated at Petsas House indicate a relationship with different segments of the local population – the settlement at large, elite groups, and the palatial administration, as well as wider spheres of interest: locally, regionally, and internationally.

Beyond the immediate consumers in Mycenae's settlement and citadel, the output and stylistic repertoire of the Petsas pottery appear in the northern Argolid and southern Korinthia, including the Nemea and Phlious valleys. At Tsoungiza, the LH IIIA2 early assemblage (Thomas 2011) foreshadows the later style at the time of the House's destruction and has strong similarities to sherds from earlier fills in the building. At Aidonia, a good proportion of the LH IIIA pottery exhibits this style, with some examples of vases and figurines likely from Petsas House. We also see these connections to Mycenae that include fabric and finish in other periods – both earlier and especially later.

International consumers. The Argolid style abroad can be seen in a variety of vessel types (Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982; van Wijngaarden 2002); those shapes that are relevant to the Petsas material include storage vessels mostly (stirrup jars, piriform jars), with some examples of open shapes (kraters). The stirrup jar (Fig. 4.1-4) was used for oil, often scented, and wine (established through residue analysis, see Mountjoy 1986: 30–31, 67, 163–177, 203; 1993: 71; Negbi, Negbi 1993; Tzedakis, Martlew 1999), products which play an obvious and frequent role in overseas trade, exhibited by the large numbers of stirrup jars recovered in foreign contexts. The high production quality of these vases is in direct relationship both to their potential market appeal/value and to the strict parameters necessary for volume, strength, functionality, etc. At Petsas House, the stirrup jar was produced in very large numbers – almost mass-produced with a minimum of ~130 small-scale piriform examples alone (FS 166), in only Apotheke Alpha, together with a smaller quantity of globular and squat profiles together with many larger capacity piriform examples. There is a striking stylistic similarity to stirrup jars found at Amarna in Egypt and those recovered from the Uluburun shipwreck, which at

the very least, is evidence for a chronological horizon across these contexts (Hankey 1997; Halstead 2007: 68–70; French, Shelton 2009: 197).

Indeed, the Petsas potters produced vases decorated in the pictorial style for consumers both at home and abroad (Sakellarakis 1992: 109–112), each tailored to shapes designed to the market taste; examples of Pictorial Style kraters in the mainland-preferred Stemmed Krater (FS 8) were found in the house, and that were decorated by the same hand as other Amphoroid Kraters found at Enkomi (Shelton 2010: 197; Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982: 28) and at Alalakh, Syria, recently identified by R. Koehl (pers. comm.).

Statistical analysis combined with our examination of the remains of technical gestures and decorative syntax reveal a workshop organized in a much more complex way than what might be observed at the level of household production (Kvapil, Shelton 2016; Kvapil *et al* 2022; Shelton forthcoming). Petsas House was not a strictly controlled palatial workshop either, but instead operated with independence that allowed them to respond in different ways to the demands of traditional needs, consumer demands, and their own desire to experiment. Innovation in vessel form and decoration may be more difficult to define generally, but at Petsas House, it appears to have involved experimentation that remained grounded in shape tradition and yet was responsive to vessel function. This is the definition of the Petsas style.

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PLAIN POTTERY IN EARLY MYCENAEAN SETTLEMENTS: A CASE STUDY OF KOLONNA ON AEGINA AND KATSINGRI IN THE ARGOLID

DANIEL FRANK, EVA KREUZ

Abstract

The onset of the Late Bronze Age witnessed a diverse array of pottery classes within domestic contexts. One of the most prevalent classes, plain ceramics, often receives inadequate attention compared to matt or lustrous painted pottery, resulting in its misperception as a less significant element in a region's material culture. In this paper, we focus on unpainted pottery from two settlements in the Argo-Saronic region during the formative stage of Mycenaean culture. The present study of Katsingri in the Argolid and Kolonna on Aegina elaborates on the distinct local character of unpainted pottery, regional trajectories, and its role in reflecting consumption patterns during the Early Mycenaean phase. At the same time, an examination of local and regional vessel preferences reveals a distinct contrast to the imports received by each settlement. Furthermore, these two settlements serve as consumers within their respective ceramic production locales and trade networks, offering valuable insights into the import and export patterns of each region.

Keywords: plain pottery, stemmed cups, Early Mycenaean settlement, Kolonna, Aegina, Katsingri, Argolid

Unpainted pottery during the Late Bronze Age (LBA) is a ceramic class reduced to its fundamental function: that of storing and consuming food and liquids. A plausible reason for the popularity of plain pottery¹ is the advantage of fast, serial, and standardized production, as well as the resulting uniformity of vessel forms (Glatz 2016, 17–19). In the case of plain pottery in the Aegean Bronze Age, particular attention is often given to sites where large quantities of such pottery have been discovered, such as at Ayia Irini on Kea (Cummer, Schofield 1984) or Kastri on Kythera (Coldstream, Huxley 1972). Particularly in focus is one well-known and multifunctional vessel, the Minoan conical cup. Regarding the significance of these cups, interpretations often diverge, linking them to ritual practices as well as the influence of institutions such as Minoan palatial centers, while more recent theories focus on consumption and changes in consumer behavior (Wiener 2011, 360; Knappett, Hilditch 2015, 96).

Another field of research in Aegean prehistory in which plain pottery has gained much attention is Mycenaean feasting events, as especially open shapes represent a substantial component of feasting deposits and hence play a vital role in reconstructing the feasting practices of the Mycenaean pre- and palatial era. Note, for example, the late LH IIB possible feasting deposit from Pylos (Vitale *et al.* 2021, 193–213) or the later LH IIIA2 Early deposit from Tsoungiza (Dabney *et al.* 2004, 197–215). Therefore, shapes used in such contexts, such as the plain angular kylix FS 267 or the shallow angular bowl FS 295, are comparatively well-studied (Bendall 2004, 105–135; Thomas 2011, 297–305). It is not the purpose of this paper, however, to review early feasting practices in detail and their contribution to the development of large-scale events of the palatial period. On the contrary, such an attempt would be fruitless due to the general lack of evidence for feasting except Lerna and

¹ Not included in this paper are cooking vessels or large containers for storage.

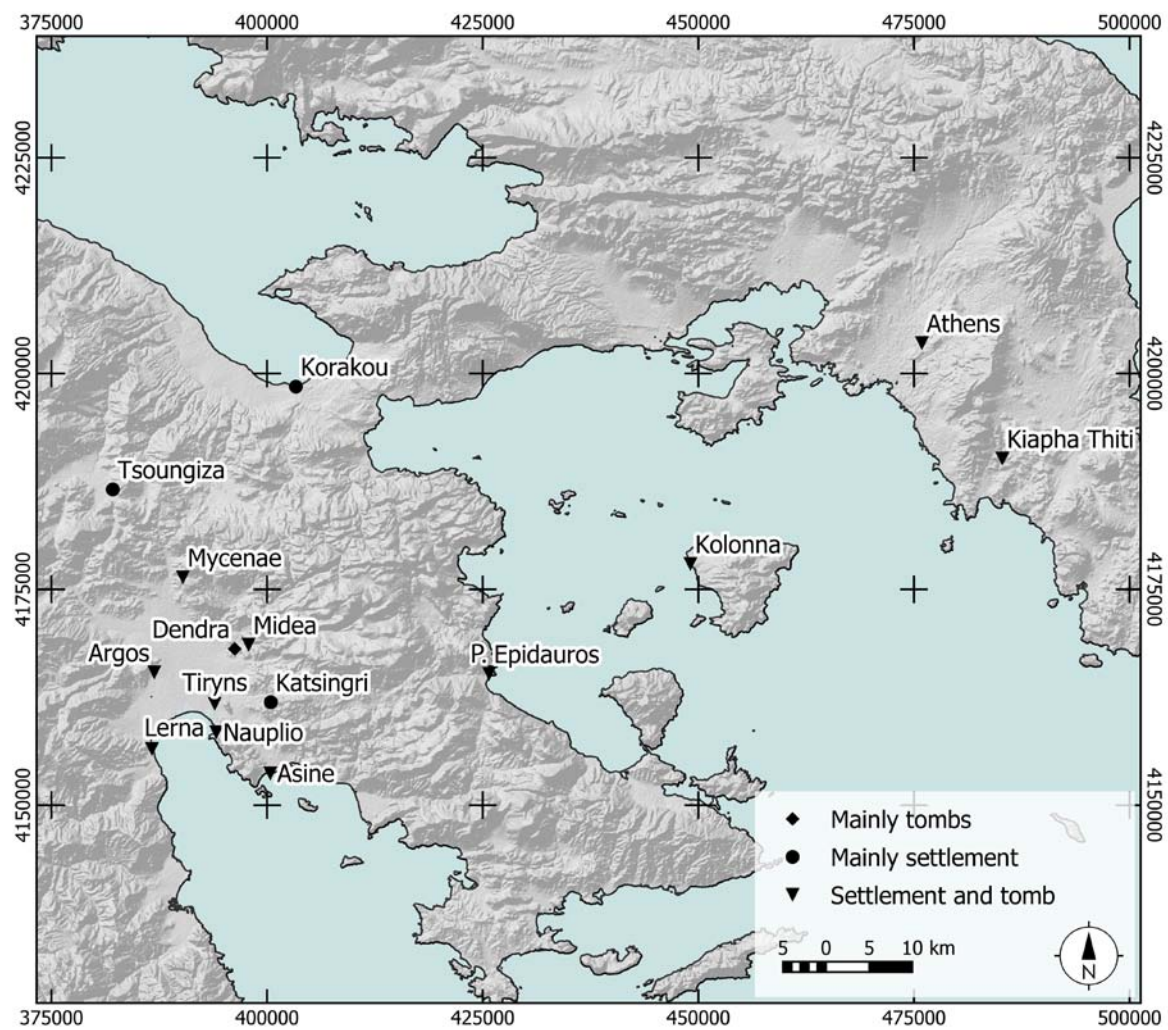


Fig. 1: Northeast Peloponnese and the Saronic Gulf (by S. Biernath).

the aforementioned deposit from Pylos during the earlier formative period of Mycenaean culture, spanning MH III to LH II.

We now shift our attention away from the previous examples and turn to consumption practices in settlements on the early Mycenaean Greek Mainland. In this region, an evolving drinking etiquette, linked to and promoted by the elites, emerged during the Shaft Grave period. The endpoint of this process is the appearance of a standard service of characteristic Mycenaean drinking vessels by LH IIB/LH IIIA1 (Wright 2004, 98–99; Rutter 2020, 723). These observations, however, are largely based on pottery or metal vessels from elite graves (Wright 2004). Sets from settlements are unfortunately absent, with the exception of a domestic assemblage from an LH I floor deposit at Tsoungiza. Apart from cooking pots, it contains only plain pottery with pale surfaces, including shapes such as the kantharos in various sizes, goblet, dipper, and jug with cutaway neck (Rutter 2020, 722–723). Overall, assessing the significance of Early Mycenaean plain pottery for food or liquid consumption in a domestic context proves challenging due to the scarcity of published material on the subject. In order to approach the phenomenon of plain pottery from its initial regional trajectory to a greater homogeneity, it appears worthwhile to briefly investigate consumption practices of two different social groups through a comparison of the plain pottery class during the formative stage of the Mycenaean culture: Kolonna on Aegina and Katsingri in the Argolid (Fig. 1), located in two regions renowned

for their ceramic production. As the Argolid and Aegina are linked through the Saronic Gulf, they had the potential to influence each other through the mutual imports of their respective ceramics in the early LBA.

THE SETTLEMENT OF KATSINGRI ON PROFITIS ILIAS

The prehistoric settlement of Katsingri on Mount Profitis Ilias is strategically located in the protected hinterland, on the eastern edge of the Argive plain. As a result, anyone traveling to or from Palea Epidaurus on the Saronic Gulf into the Argolid would have passed within the sight of the settlement (Fig. 2). First fieldwork was conducted in 1962 by the Greek Antiquities Service with the objective of investigating a structure situated on the hilltop below the church and a cave beneath the summit. This investigation revealed a Late Archaic temple and a cave with votives of the same period (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1963, 65–66). In 1981, a systematic excavation was carried out by K. Kilian and E. Protonotariou-Deilaki to investigate Katsingri, revealing two major prehistoric phases in the settlement's history of Profitis Ilias: an Early Mycenaean and a palatial-period occupation, which are most prominent in the archaeological record (Kilian 1990, 185–196). In this paper, our emphasis is on the preliminary results of the Early Mycenaean period at Katsingri.

The presentation will follow natural topography, starting from the top of the mountain. The Early Mycenaean ceramic evidence found in the destruction layer on the hilltop in trench G suggests that a building complex was situated on the summit. However, it is noteworthy that during the palatial period, the mountain peak was fortified, suggesting a potential shift in its purpose (Kilian 1990, 190–194, figs. 7–8). Activities on the summit are accompanied by houses on the eastern slope, particularly in trench H and Z in the upper east slope of Profitis Ilias. The architectural remains of four houses in this area provide a more comprehensive insight into the settlement structure of Early Mycenaean Katsingri. The rectangular houses divided by cross-walls into smaller rooms are aligned with the terraces of the hillside (Dietz 1991, 287). These buildings, named “Reihenhäuser” by Kilian are comparable to the architecture of phase four of the settlement on the Aspis in Argos (Philippa-Touchais *et al.* 2021, 457, fig. 4). It is evident that in Katsingri building activity continued in this area during the later Early Mycenaean period, of which only irregular foundation walls have survived. As a result, due to the limited preservation of the foundation walls and the lack of conclusive evidence, it is not possible to make definitive comments on any potential architectural transformation of the Early Mycenaean settlement. Indeed, the pottery assemblages are crucial for comprehending the nature of the settlement in Katsingri. The ongoing analysis and study of pottery fragments, including their typology, style, and distribution patterns, can provide valuable insights into the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the community that once inhabited the site.

The data used for the analysis is derived from the feature sherds listed in the catalogue of the final publication (Frank, forthcoming). We can observe an early phase composed of MH III (Late) to LH I (Early) pottery in Section H and Z, and a subsequent phase with mixed deposits with dates ranging mainly from LH I to LH IIB/LH IIIA1 in trench H and on the summit in trench G of Profitis Ilias. While a destruction event by fire is responsible for the discontinuity in LH I, the archaeological evidence for the abandonment of the settlement Katsingri on Profitis Ilias in LH IIB/LH IIIA1 is inconclusive.

Overall, Katsingri can be considered a representative example of an average Argive settlement of the early LBA, located in the heartland of Mycenaean civilization, with a repertoire of finds that may be regarded as characteristic of this region. In the following section, Early Mycenaean pottery will be examined and categorized into two distinct phases: an early phase and a late phase.



Fig. 2. Katsingri, the eastern side of Profitis Ilias, view towards the Argive plain (by D. Frank).

Table 1: Ceramic classes of the early LBA Katsingri compared by phase/trenches.

Early settlement phase in Katsingri, eastern slope trench Z and H (MH III Late/LH I Early)		Later settlement phase, eastern slope trench H (mainly LH I-LH IIB/LH IIIA1)		Trench G, hilltop of Profitis Ilias (mainly LH I-LH IIB/LH IIIA1)	
Fine lustrous-painted	2.05%	Fine lustrous-painted	16.10%	Fine lustrous-painted	20.40%
Fine burnished, unpainted	12.31%	Fine burnished, unpainted	8.83%	Fine burnished, unpainted	21.74%
Fine matt-painted	9.74%	Fine matt-painted	7.27%	Fine matt-painted	6.35%
Fine unpainted	11.28%	Fine unpainted	8.57%	Fine unpainted	8.70%
Medium coarse to coarse, matt-painted	9.74%	Medium coarse to coarse, matt-painted	3.12%	Medium coarse to coarse, matt-painted	4.68%
Medium coarse to coarse, plain	9.74%	Medium coarse to coarse, plain	9.61%	Medium coarse to coarse, plain	4.68%
Aeginetan matt-painted	10.26%	Aeginetan matt-painted	17.40%	Aeginetan matt-painted	12.04%
Aeginetan plain	9.23%	Aeginetan plain	4.68%	Aeginetan plain	7.69%
Non-Aeginetan Cooking pottery	9.23%	Non-Aeginetan Cooking pottery	6.23%	Non-Aeginetan Cooking pottery	0.33%
Aeginetan cooking pottery	12.31%	Aeginetan cooking pottery	9.35%	Aeginetan cooking pottery	9.03%
Aeginetan bichrome-painted	0.51%	Aeginetan bichrome-painted	1.30%	Aeginetan bichrome-painted	0.33%
Aeginetan solidly painted	3.08%	Aeginetan solidly painted	4.94%	Aeginetan solidly painted	3.01%
Light on dark painted	0.51%	Light on dark painted	1.56%	Light on dark painted	0.00%
Import, unlocalized	0.00%	Import, unlocalized	1.04%	Import, unlocalized	1.00%
Total	100.00%	Total	100.00%	Total	100.00%

EARLY SETTLEMENT PHASE IN KATSINGRI, EASTERN SLOPE TRENCH Z AND H OF PROFITIS ILIAS

The End of the early settlement phase on Profitis Ilias coincides with “Movement B” in the settlement on the Aspis in Argos (Philippa-Touchais *et al.* 2021, 464–466), LH IA in Asine Lowertown (Dietz 1991, 92–104. 255–257), the Late Phase 2 in Mycenae’s Grave Circle B according to G. Graziadio (Graziadio 1988, 362 tab. 5), and dates slightly earlier than the two shaft graves at Lerna (Lindblom, Manning 2011, 147).

The tableware pottery dating from MH III Late to LH I Early follows a very uniform pattern. Larger open shapes, such as goblets, are the most common (Fig. 3.11–16). The typical repertoire of small open vessels in a room usually consists of cups/dippers or kantharoi (Fig. 3.5–10). Kraters, which maybe imports from Aegina, are less frequent. Among the closed vessels, large plain or matt painted narrow-necked transport and storage types dominate (Fig. 3.1–3), complemented by a few smaller types (Fig. 3.5). There is also evidence of cooking pots in nearly every room, leading to the conclusion that most rooms had a self-contained, fully functional assemblage for daily needs of the residents.

When considering Mycenaean lustrous painted pottery in LH I Katsingri, this class seems to be limited to a few fragments of open vessels, such as Vapheio cups FS 224 or semiglobular cups FS 211/212, making up only 2.05% of the total pottery in the early settlement phase (Tab. 1). Even the solidly red painted goblets and kraters from Aegina, with a share of 3.07%, are better represented than LH I lustrously decorated Mycenaean vessels. On the other hand, a class in the MH tradition, namely matt painted pottery, makes up 29.74% of the feature sherds, with 10.26% being imports from Aegina Kolonna, whereas the plain Aeginetan pottery seems to consist exclusively of unpainted narrow-necked closed vessels. The reason for the significant share of Aeginetan plain pottery listed in Tab. 1 is the presence of plain fragments from otherwise zonal-patterned vessels and, in some cases, the poor preservation of exterior surfaces. Cooking pots comprise an additional 21.54% of pottery in the early settlement phase (according to macroscopic classification: Northeast Peloponnese 9.23%, Aegina 12.31%), thus leaving a little less than half, 42.56% of the feature sherds, for the plain wares.

Table 2: Fine burnished unpainted shapes in the early settlement phase in Katsingri (MH III Late–LH I Early), eastern slope trench Z and H of Profitis Ilias.

Fine burnished, unpainted	Feature sherd	Rim sherd	Total	
Miscellaneous open vessel	1		1	4.17%
Carinated Cup		1	1	4.17%
Stemmed Cup/Kantharos	1		1	4.17%
Cup/Dipper/Kantharos	1		1	4.17%
Kantharos	2	2	4	16.67%
Goblet	5	4	9	37.50%
Kantharos/Goblet	6		6	25.00%
Jug	1		1	4.17%
Total	17	7	24	100.00%

The fine burnished and unpainted class, as indicated by the data in Tab. 2, is predominantly utilized for open vessels, accounting for an overwhelming 95.83% of the assemblage. The combined presence of goblets and kantharoi in the assemblage accounts for a significant portion, specifically 79.17%, of burnished and plain pottery class. Among these two vessel types, goblets emerge as the most prevalent, comprising 37.50% of the secure and classifiable shapes. The stemmed cup and carinated cup are each represented once. The fine unpainted and unburnished pottery class exhibits

a similar pattern, with goblets and kantharoi comprising a significant portion (68.18%) of the assemblage (Tab. 3).

Table 3: Fine unpainted and unburnished shapes from the early settlement phase in Katsingri (MH III Late–LH I Early), eastern slope trench Z and H of Profitis Ilias.

Fine unpainted	Feature sherd	Rim sherd	Total	
Miscellaneous open vessel	2		2	9.09%
Miscellaneous closed vessel	3		3	13.64%
Cup/Dipper	1		1	4.55%
Kantharos	3	3	6	27.27%
Goblet	4	4	8	36.36%
Goblet/Kantharos	1		1	4.55%
Amphoriskos		1	1	4.55%
Total	14	8	22	100.00%

The medium coarse to coarse plain pottery class reveals an interesting distribution, with goblets and kantharoi accounting for 63.16% of the vessels, while the remaining 36.84% is attributed to closed vessels, most likely as coarser fabrics are usually considered an advantage in stability of larger pots (Tab. 4). What stands out within this class is the pronounced occurrence of elements of MH pottery tradition, such as encircling incised grooves on goblets (Fig. 3.15) or carinated profiles (Fig. 3.13).

Table 4: Medium coarse to coarse plain shapes from the early settlement phase in Katsingri (MH III Late–LH I Early), eastern slope trench Z and H of Profitis Ilias.

Medium coarse to coarse, plain	Feature sherd	Rim sherd	Total	
Miscellaneous closed vessel	3	2	5	26.32%
Kantharos	3		3	15.79%
Goblet	7	1	8	42.11%
Kantharos/Goblet	1		1	5.26%
Jug/Amphora/Hydria		1	1	5.26%
Jug	1		1	5.26%
Total	15	4	19	100.00%

In summary, the plain wares found in the early settlement phase of Katsingri are evidently every-day vessel shapes used by the settlers for consumption. These locally produced ceramics predominantly feature shapes like the goblet and kantharos, which were well-known from the MH period, suggesting a continuation of previous consumer practices. Notably, a shift occurs, with the diminishing significance of the small kantharos and the emergence of new additions, such as the carinated or stemmed cup and dipper, which become the new important small-volume vessels in the pottery repertoire.

LATER SETTLEMENT PHASE IN KATSINGRI, EASTERN SLOPE OF PROFITIS ILIAS TRENCH H

The interpretation of the assemblage in trench H, dating mainly to LH I to LH IIB/LH IIIA1, should be approached with caution due to the mixed context of the finds of both Early Mycenaean phases present at the site. However, some observations can still be made. Comparable contexts that

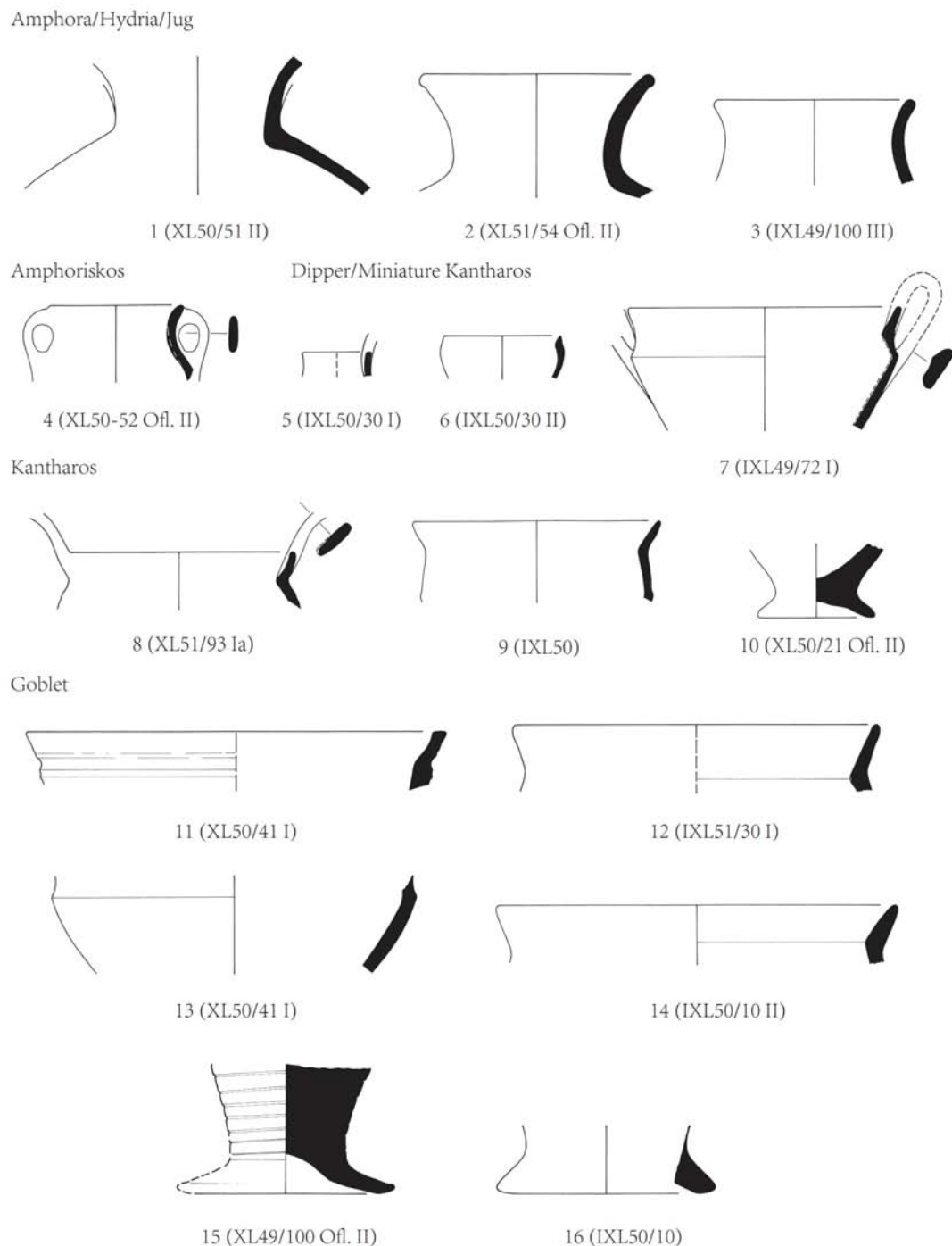


Fig. 3: Plain pottery, selection from the early settlement phase in Katsingri, scale 1:3 (by D. Frank).

correlate with the latest finds of the later Early Mycenaean settlement deposit in Katsingri can be found in various locations in the Northeast Peloponnese (Mountjoy 1999, 24–26), including Room F layer 3 in the Lower Town of Asine (Frizell 1980, 60–69), House D1 in the Unterstadt at Tiryns (Gercke *et al.* 1975, 18–26), the area of the courtyard Room XVI layer 6 on the upper citadel at Tiryns (Stülpnagel 2005, 83–86), the ceramic group G in Tsoungiza (Rutter 2020, 657–818), or the Korakou layers V–VII (Dickinson 1972, 103–112) and further away Ayia Irini VIIc (Schofield 2011, 160–168).

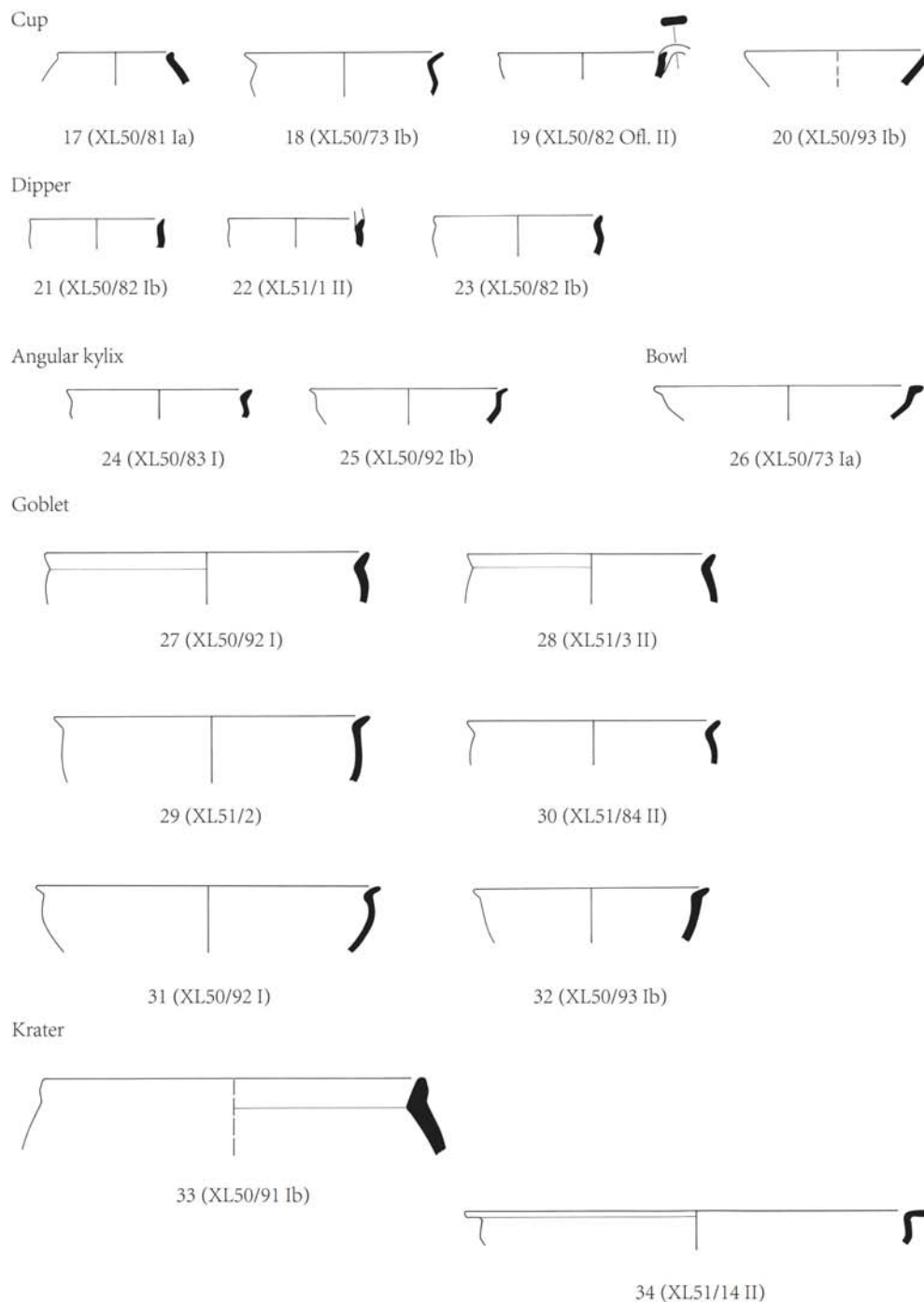


Fig. 4: Plain pottery, selection from the later settlement phase in Katsingri, scale 1:3 (by D. Frank).

To summarize the most important aspects of this pottery, especially compared to the earlier settlement phase outlined above, there is a significant presence of the Early Mycenaean lustrous decorated class, comprising 16.10% of the assemblage, dating mainly to LH IIA to LH IIB/LH IIIA1 (Tab. 1). The proportion of matt painted pots slightly decreases to 27.79% of feature sherds, with 17.40% being imported from Aegina Kolonna, suggesting fewer matt painted pots in Katsingri originating from Mainland workshops. Cooking pottery accounts for 15.58% (Peloponnese: 6.23%, Aegina: 9.35%), while plain tableware is reduced to 31.69%.

Open shapes, typically associated with Early Mycenaean lustrous painted pottery, such as cups FS 218/219/237 and a large number of goblets FS 254/255/263, decorated with various patterns, monochrome, or in the Ephyraean style, are among the chronologically most relevant finds. In the later settlement phase of trench H, closed shapes of Early Mycenaean lustrous, painted pottery, such as the piriform jug/amphora or alabastron, also appear for the first time. Indeterminate imports or bichrome painted pottery are more visible in the material, and some, such as the light on burnished dark class, appear for the first time in Katsingri. The proportion of Aeginetan matt painted pottery, mostly narrow-necked storage or transport vessels, increases in the later settlement phase, while unpainted Aeginetan fine ware declines. In addition to the matt painted transport and storage vessels from the Saronic Gulf, a small number of Aeginetan matt painted cups are found in Katsingri. Whether there is a functional connection, i.e., a pairing, between the numerous matt painted narrow-necked vessels and the few cups from Aegina remains ambiguous. A comparable phenomenon in the Early Mycenaean period, where exclusively narrow-necked vessels and cups/bowls of Aeginetan monochrome matt painted pottery are present, is found in Kiapha Thiti (Maran 1992b, 190–198). Among the imports in the later settlement phase, there is only a minimal increase in bichrome decorated vessels from Kolonna, from 0.5% to 1.3%. The solidly red-painted imports from the Saronic Gulf increase slightly compared to the earlier phase but remain below 5% of the total. Cooking pottery in the later settlement phase consists of 40% pots from the Peloponnese and 60% Aeginetan imports, among which the only two fragments of tripod cooking pots are found in trench H. Overall, the proportion of imports, comprising almost exclusively Aeginetan pottery in early LBA Katsingri, is constantly around one third based on feature sherds (Tab. 1).

Table 5: Fine burnished unpainted shapes from the later settlement phase in Katsingri (mainly LH I–LH IIB/LH IIIA1), eastern slope trench H of Profitis Ilias.

Fine burnished. unpainted	Feature sherd	Rim sherd	Total	
Miscellaneous open vessel	4		4	5.26%
Miscellaneous closed vessel	4		4	5.26%
Cup		1	1	1.32%
Ring-handled rounded cup		1	1	1.32%
Stemmed cup/Carinated cup	5	2	7	9.21%
Straight-sided cup		1	1	1.32%
Dipper		3	3	3.95%
FS 267 angular kylix		3	3	3.95%
Kantharos	2		2	2.63%
Goblet	14	18	32	42.11%
Kantharos/Goblet	12	3	15	19.74%
Goblet/Kylix	1		1	1.32%
FS 290/300 Krater		2	2	2.63%
Total	42	34	76	100.00%

During the later settlement phase in section H, there is a decrease in the overall proportion of plain pottery, accounting for 31.69% of the feature sherds. Despite this decline, plain pottery continues to be significant within this context. Comparable to the early phase is the importance of the goblet in various sizes as a prominent shape within the plain pottery repertoire (Fig. 4.27–32). In the fine burnished unpainted class, the goblet is the most common shape accounting for 42.11% (Tab. 5). A notable shift occurs during the Early Mycenaean period in Katsingri, as cups gain increasing importance within the plain tableware. This change reflects the growing significance of cups as vessels

for everyday use and social interactions within the settlement. Among them, there are miscellaneous cups, ring-handled rounded cups, straight-sided cups, and most commonly, stemmed or carinated cups (Fig. 4.17–20), accounting altogether for 13.17% of the fine burnished class. A noteworthy addition to the repertoire of securely identifiable shapes in the ceramic assemblage is the dipper (Fig. 4.21–23), which accounts for 3.95% of the total. A new and rare shape is the small plain bowl (Fig. 4.26). During the late Early Mycenaean period, two distinct shapes that emerge as characteristic are also present in Katsingri, the carinated krater FS 290/300 (Fig. 4.34) and the angular kylix FS 267 (Fig. 4.24–25). P. Thomas suggests that the angular shapes, especially the kylix, may reflect a trend of archaizing movement within Mycenaean ceramics (Thomas 2011, 304). The adoption of angular shapes during the latest formative stage of Mycenaean material culture could indicate a deliberate nod to earlier ceramic traditions of the MH Mainland pottery tradition, possibly as a means of cultural revival or invoking a sense of continuity with the past.

Table 6: Fine unpainted and unburnished shapes from the later settlement phase in Katsingri (mainly LH I–LH IIB/LH IIIA1), eastern slope trench H of Profitis Ilias.

Fine unpainted	Feature sherd	Rim sherd	Total	
Miscellaneous open vessel	6	1	7	21.21%
Miscellaneous closed vessel	3		3	9.09%
Cup		2	2	6.06%
Kantharos	5	2	7	21.21%
Kantharos/Cup/Dipper	1		1	3.03%
Miniature kantharos/ Dipper		1	1	3.03%
Miniature kantharos/Jug		1	1	3.03%
Goblet	7	2	9	27.27%
Bowl	1	1	2	6.06%
Total	23	10	33	100.00%

Furthermore, in the fine unpainted and unburnished class, there are slightly more cups traceable, with 6.06% (Tab. 6). The importance of goblets within plain tableware becomes evident when examining the medium coarse to coarse plain class. Within this category, goblets account for a substantial 51.35% share in the vessel shapes (Tab. 7).

Table 7: Medium coarse to coarse plain shapes from the later settlement phase in Katsingri (mainly LH I–LH IIB/LH IIIA1), eastern slope trench H of Profitis Ilias.

Medium coarse to coarse, plain	Feature sherd	Rim sherd	Total	
Miscellaneous open vessel	3		3	8.11%
Miscellaneous closed vessel	6		6	16.22%
Kantharos	7		7	18.92%
Goblet	9	10	19	51.35%
Jug/Amphora/Hydria	1		1	2.70%
Jug/Amphora		1	1	2.70%
Total	26	11	37	100.00%

When comparing the different shapes observed in the early and late phases, several noteworthy patterns regarding the development of plain pottery in Katsingri emerge. Firstly, there is the gradual

replacement of kantharoi (initially small and later all types) by dippers and cups, starting in LH I, indicating a shift in vessel preferences within the settlement. This transition may suggest that dippers were favored for specific functions previously partly fulfilled by small kantharoi, while cups and small goblets seem to have replaced larger kantharoi.

The increased occurrence of several types of cups in the later phase potentially indicates a change in consumption preferences among the settlement's inhabitants. The growing prominence of cups suggests a shift towards an emphasis on drinking and social interaction within the community. This change in consumption patterns may reflect evolving social dynamics, possibly through cultural influences, resulting in an altered trajectory of societal practices. An acculturation of Minoan shapes and motifs is evident in the lustrous painted, and, slightly later, in the plain classes.

TRENCH G ON THE HILLTOP OF PROFITIS ILIAS

When examining the characteristics of the pottery dating stylistically from MH III to LH IIB/LH IIIA1, which is mixed with palatial layers on the summit, noticeable differences are observed compared to the finds from the houses on the eastern slope of Profitis Ilias. The pottery appears to be generally similar in chronological terms to the later settlement phase in trench H. The percentage of Early Mycenaean lustrous decorated feature sherds is higher at the hilltop, reaching 20.40% compared to the early and later settlement phases in trench H and Z (Tab. 1). However, it is important to consider that mixed-in sherds from the painted classes might be overrepresented, as they tend to be the most identifiable and diagnostic in small, fragmented material. Moreover, there are differences in the repertoire of shapes revealing functional preferences. Notably, a high percentage of closed shapes, comprising 42.63% of the class, is observed in lustrous painted vessels, compared to 22.73% in trench H. Due to the high degree of fragmentation, most of these closed vessels are of unknown shapes (29.51%), followed by jugs FS 87, alabastra FS 83, piriform amphora, and a bridge-spouted jug FS 103.

Among the open vessels of Early Mycenaean lustrous painted pottery, cups in the form of FS 211/212, FS 218/219, and FS 224 are the most frequent, collectively accounting for 19.68% of the lustrous painted assemblage. Among these, the most prevalent type is the Vapheio cup type 2 FS 224, comprising 8.20% of the total. The most common open shape by far is the goblet FS 254/263, representing 31.14%. Remarkably, among the pattern decorated goblets, the Ephyraean style constitutes a large proportion of painted open vessels, at 14.75%.

Fine matt painted and fine plain classes show a similar repertoire of open shapes, including goblets, kantharoi, and various types of cups. In contrast, the medium coarse to coarse plain vessels decrease significantly, which does not apply to the matt painted class of the same fabric.

Table 8: Fine burnished unpainted shapes from the hilltop of Profitis Ilias Katsingri, trench G, early LBA.

Fine burnished, unpainted	Feature sherd	Rim sherd	Total	
Miscellaneous open vessel	3		3	4.62%
Miscellaneous closed vessel	1		1	1.54%
Cup	3		3	4.62%
Semiglobular cup/Small goblet	1	7	8	12.31%
Ring-handled rounded cup	2	1	3	4.62%
Stemmed cup	1	2	3	4.62%
Carinated cup	2	3	5	7.69%

Fine burnished, unpainted	Feature sherd	Rim sherd	Total	
FS 267 angular kylix		1	1	1.54%
Dipper	3	2	5	7.69%
Kantharos	11	2	13	20.00%
Goblet	7	12	19	29.23%
Kantharos/Goblet	1		1	1.54%
Total	35	30	65	100.00%

Remarkably, the plain pottery classes of the early LBA within the hilltop settlement area of Profitis Ilias comprise a high percentage of 42.81%, compared to the houses on the eastern slope (Tab. 1). This disparity raises intriguing questions regarding the socio-cultural dynamics and consumption practices within these distinct areas of the settlement. The classifiable plain cups on the summit account for 33.85% of shapes in the plain burnished class (Tab. 8). The ceramic assemblage includes a range of types such as ring-handled rounded cups, stemmed cups, and carinated cups, indicating a prominence and popularity within this particular context. During the LH IIA period, an interesting trend emerges concerning goblets, as they exhibit variations in size, allowing for classification into small and large types (Rutter 1993, 67 fig. 7, nos. 23, 24). The substantial presence of plain semiglobular cups may also encompass a few small plain goblets. However, distinguishing between semiglobular cups or goblets within small, fractured settlement material can pose a challenge.

While it remains speculative to definitively attribute the higher proportion of plain cups in trench G to a specific function, an association with small-scale gatherings, potentially involving the settlement's residents, is possible at the prominent summit of Profitis Ilias.

KOLONNA ON AEGINA

The prehistoric settlement of Kolonna is located on a cape in the north of the modern capital of the island Aegina, in the center of the Saronic Gulf (Fig. 1). The island is known as an important center for the production of pottery made from two easily recognizable fabrics during prehistoric times, and continued to export various types of cooking pots until the Archaic to Classical period. Although some vessels traveled as far as Italy and Anatolia, the core markets for Aeginetan EH III-LH IIIA:1 pottery lay on the Greek mainland, the Peloponnese, and the Cyclades, as shown by export patterns (Gauss, Knodell 2020, 250–254).

In Early Mycenaean times, the settlement already looked back on a long history of occupation dating back to the Late Neolithic. Kolonna flourished during the Middle Helladic period, and its fortification walls, whose first phase dates to EH III, were continuously rebuilt and strengthened (Gauss 2010, 739–745). In MH I a large building complex at least partly used for administrative purposes was erected, with the first period of use towards the end of that phase, during a later stage of Kolonna's ceramic phase H (Gauss *et al.* 2011, 76–87). By MH II, the settlement was extended to the east, and a shaft grave was built in a prominent location next to one of the gates in the extension of the fortification (Sporn *et al.* 2017, 93–95; Gauss 2010, 745–746). The local elite of this phase, as suggested by finds from the large building complex in particular, had close ties to Crete (Gauss 2010, 745; cf. Gauss *et al.* 2011, 82).

At an early stage of the LBA (Sporn *et al.* 2017, 95–96), a second eastern extension of the settlement was built and fortified. Following this, a major shift in either the social structure or the organization of the settlement occurred during early LH IIA at the latest (Gauss *et al.* 2011, 85), when the large building complex was given up and later, during LH IIIA, partly overbuilt with a potter's

kiln. The organization of the Mycenaean settlement remains unclear because of later building activities. During the Mycenaean palatial era, Kolonna seems to have lost its predominance over the Saronic region, although the settlement continued to participate in the trade networks of the Mainland and the Eastern Mediterranean (Tartaron 2013, 232–243; Gauss 2010, 746–747).

CERAMIC FINDS FROM AREA K10 IN THE OUTER EXTENSION OF THE KOLONNA SETTLEMENT

The material presented here is currently under study by one of the authors and comes from a small area labelled K10 in the North-Western part of the so-called Outer Extension of the settlement, that has been excavated since 2015 (Fig. 5). The uppermost prehistoric stratum or strata had been removed already in the 1980s, when extensive excavation campaigns covering most of Kolonna's Outer Extension have been carried out.

K10 measures roughly 2.5 m x 3.5 m and gained its chamber-like shape gradually during the Shaft Grave period, with surrounding walls belonging to three different building phases. The wall in the north of K10 was added only towards the end of the stratigraphic sequence. This sequence begins in MH II, although excavations are not yet finished, and ends in LH IIA/B (Berger *et al.* 2020, 48–50). The feature sherds kept after the excavations conducted during the 1980s indicate that activities in the area surrounding and including K10 ceased during LH IIB. Afterwards, the area was overbuilt (Sporn *et al.* 2017, fig. 15, 95). Due to the scarcity of documentation, it must unfortunately remain unclear whether the material found during the 1980s belonged to one thick fill or multiple separate strata.

All ceramic finds featured in this article were found in the stratigraphically youngest deposits. The uppermost part consists of a levelling layer that has been partly excavated in the 1980s and two other, very small deposits. Underneath, a 20–40 cm thick layer (destruction layer 1) came to light, which, based on pottery, is roughly contemporary with the layer above. Because the border between destruction layer 1 and the two smaller deposits is blurry, with frequently joining vessel fragments, the three layers are combined here for the purpose of the analysis. The destruction layer 1 slopes down from the north and most likely represents the remnants of a building that collapsed from the north into Area K10. The range of shapes and decoration of lustrous painted Mycenaean pottery is closely comparable to Schnitt 1, SE 4 at Kiapha Thiti in Attica (Maran 1992b, 10–14, pl. 1–2) and to the destruction deposits of period VIIb in Ayia Irini on Keos (Cummer, Schofield 1984), but without Ephyraean goblets. In short, pottery typical for LH IIA predominates, but a few vessels show advanced traits, such as the pendant rock pattern I, which is more fitting for early LH IIB (Rutter 2020, 712–713).

The ceramic finds in the uppermost stratum, the levelling layer, show higher fragmentation, fewer joins, and a higher proportion of small Early Helladic sherds compared to destruction layer 1. This fill is, apart from the Early Helladic fragments, chronologically homogeneous, with no fragments later than LH IIA/IIB.

Around 90% of the pottery from both the levelling layer and destruction layer 1 is of local Aeginetan origin, consisting of several classes: plain unburnished light, plain unburnished dark (i.e., Aeginetan cooking ware), solidly painted with dark or red color and matt painted mono- or bichrome. Most of the fragments with lustrous painted patterns are imports from the Peloponnese, as are the Mycenaean lustrous solidly painted vessels. Plain Mycenaean pottery occurs rarely (both goblets in Tab. 10, see one of them in Fig. 6.2, and one goblet in Tab. 11). Only less than a handful of fragments of Cycladic pottery made their way into the stratigraphically youngest strata of K10.

The Aeginetan products show the standard range of fabrics, shapes and decoration. The repertoire of monochrome matt painted shapes seems to have been limited to large closed, narrow-necked

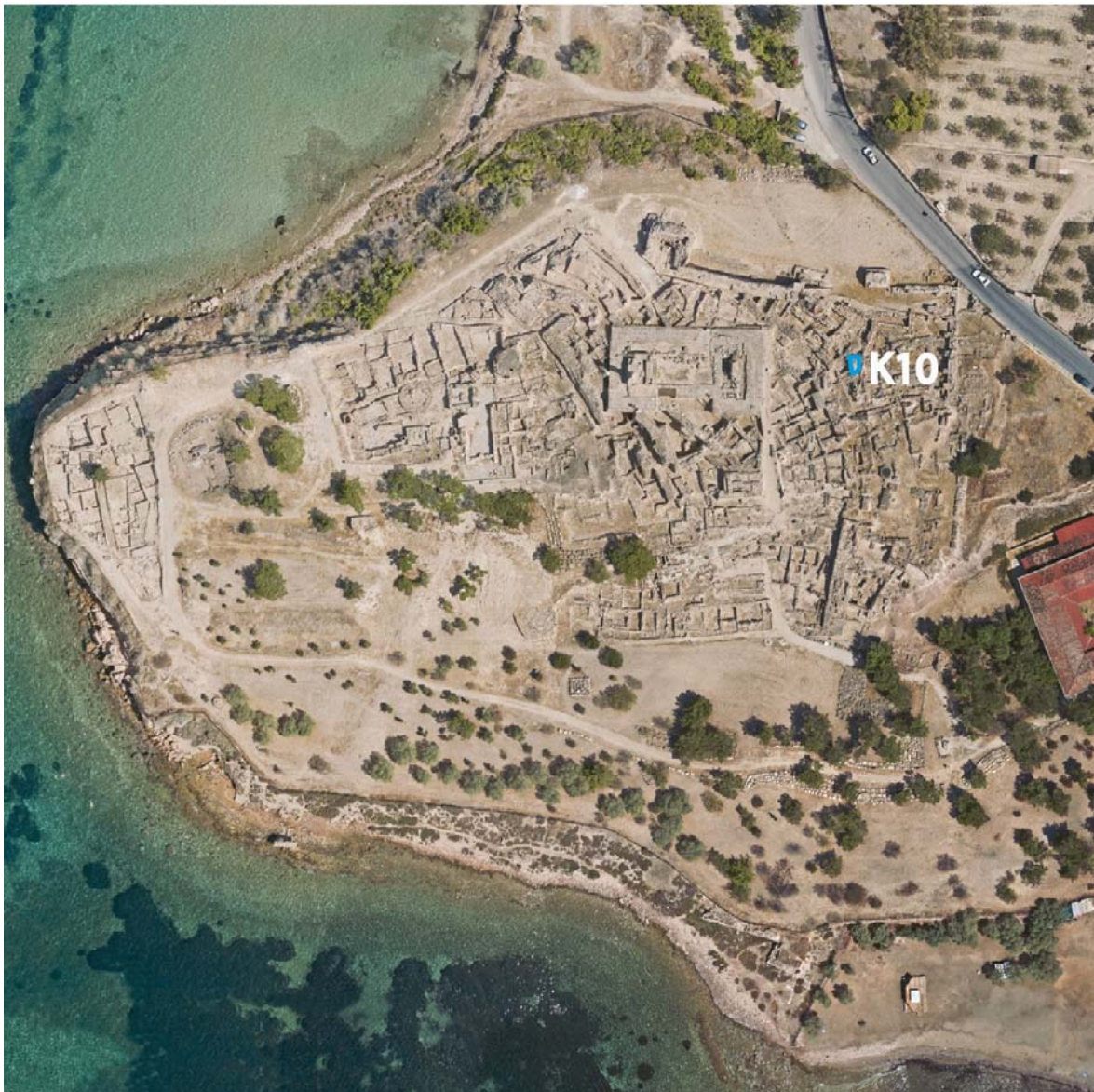


Fig. 5: Aerial photograph of Kolonna with outlines of area K10 marked in blue (Photo: Department of Classical Studies, University of Salzburg)

shapes made of the light-colored local fabric (macroscopic group MG 2 after Gauss, Kiriati 2011) with sparse decoration in red to black, sometimes mottled paint limited to the upper part of the vessel: The most common patterns are double circles, figure-of-eight loops around horizontal handles and horizontal bands. Apart from a Krater, no examples of locally produced open monochrome matt painted shapes appear in the discussed layers. Bichrome Aeginetan vessels are attested by only four fragments, three of which are very small; the fourth, a fragment of a horizontal handle, was part of a large, closed shape.

The typical solidly painted shape – either with red or dark-colored surfaces – is the goblet, followed by the krater; however, large, narrow-necked closed vessels or pithoi occasionally appear in the same class. While especially goblets and kraters were burnished with varying intensity, larger closed shapes remained unburnished but were often decorated with plastic bands. Wide-mouthed cooking jars and, to a lesser extent, tripods are the standard shapes for Aeginetan cooking ware, accompanied by a few fragments of a cooking basin and a cooking jug.

PLAIN POTTERY IN THE YOUNGEST LAYERS OF K10

The broadest range of shapes can be found in the local unpainted unburnished light fine to medium coarse class, with a clear preference for rather small, open shapes. Most prominent is the stemmed cup, coming in two variants (e.g., Figs. 7.7, 7.17): a handleless cup with a straight or slightly out-turning rim, and a cup with everted rim and one handle. Clay pellets placed as pseudo-rivets on the join of the rim and handle are a common feature (Rutter 2023, 365–383). Dippers and a few fragments of sloppily made conical cups complete the repertoire of small open shapes. Since larger goblets and kraters were usually coated in dark or red color, unpainted specimens are rare. Unpainted closed narrow-necked Aeginetan vessels pose a problem for classification when only the base is preserved, as matt-painted patterns appear on their decorated counterparts on the upper half of the body. Therefore, such unpainted bases will not be included in this article. Regarding the shapes of the narrow-necked vessels within the class of unpainted pottery, jugs with a single handle (Figs. 6.1, 7.1–2) are likely to be as common as the larger amphoras or hydrias (Figs. 7.3–4, 9.1; Tabs. 10–11).

Table 9: Ceramic classes from the discussed layers of K10 based on sherd count and weights.

Class	Fill (Levelling Layer)		Destruction Layer 1 + two smaller deposits	
	% of counted sherds (n= 464)	% of weight (3.563 kg)	% of counted sherds (n= 3470)	% of weight (50.794 kg)
Pattern painted matt DoL monochrome	6.75 %	10.11 %	9.08 %	15.37 %
Pattern painted matt DoL bichrome	0.22 %	0,14 %	0.12 %	0.31 %
Pattern painted lustrous DoL (Mycenaean)	5.17 %	6.43 %	7.29 %	3.22 %
Boeotian polychrome	-	-	0.09 %	0,01 %
Solidly painted lustrous (Mycenaean)	1.07 %	1.94 %	0.46 %	0.27 %
Solidly painted dark fine to medium coarse	3.21 %	2.88 %	5.07 %	10.90 %
Solidly painted dark coarse	0.64 %	2.95 %	0.32 %	1.41 %
Solidly painted red fine to medium coarse	6.25 %	23.15 %	8.05 %	11.27 %
Solidly painted red coarse	0.22 %	1.54 %	0.09 %	0.58 %
Unpainted polished light fine	0.43 %	0.06 %	0.37 %	0.06 %
Unpainted burnished light fine	0.22 %	0.11 %	2.33 %	1.90 %
Unpainted unburnished light fine / medium coarse	35.56 %	24.47 %	30.18 %	21.66 %
Unpainted unburnished light coarse	0.22 %	1.20 %	0.29 %	1.21 %
Unpainted unburnished dark medium coarse – coarse	14.87 %	12.35 %	23.17 %	26.77 %
Residual finds (Neolithic – MH II)	11.64 %	5.28 %	2.88 %	0.90 %
?	14.87 %	7.38 %	10.23 %	4.07 %

Table 10: Fragments of cataloged plain vessels from the levelling layer including mixed stratigraphical units.

Levelling Layer	Rim sherd	Base / foot sherd	Handle sherd	Total	
Conical cup	4	1	-	5	25%
Cup/dipper	3	-	-	3	15%
Stemmed cup, everted rim	2	-	-	2	10%
Handleless stemmed cup	3	-	-	3	15%
Goblet	-	2	-	2	10%
Krater	1	-	-	1	5%
Flaring rim, shape unknown	1	-	-	1	5%
Jug	1	-	-	1	5%
Amphora / Hydria	1	-	-	1	5%
?	1	-	-	1	5%
Total	17	3		20	100%

Table 11: Fragments of plain vessels from destruction layer 1 included in the catalog.

	Rim sherd	Base / foot sherd	Handle sherd	Total	
Conical cup	2	1	-	3	4.11%
Miniature bowl	2	-	-	2	2.74%
Dipper	4	-	-	4	5.48%
Stemmed cup	-	3	1	4	5.48%
Stemmed cup, everted rim	20	-	-	20	27.40%
Stemmed cup, everted rim?	3	-	-	3	4.11%
Handleless stemmed cup	4	-	-	4	5.48%
Dipper / stemmed cup	2	-	-	2	2.74%
Goblet / stemmed cup	1	-	4	5	6.85%
Goblet	5	1	-	6	8.22%
Krater	1	-	-	1	1.37%
Jug	4	2	1	7	9.59%
Amphora / Hydria	5	-	2	7	9.59%
Pithos	1	-	-	1	1.37%
?	3	-	1	4	5.48%
Total	57	7	9	73	100,01%

Locally produced, handmade dippers with rounded bases first appear during LH I (Pruckner 2010, 72) and remain in use during LH IIA (Figs. 6.10, 7.5–6). The diameters of these handmade vessels with usually very short rims vary from 7.4 to 11 cm. The volume of the best-preserved dipper (Fig. 7.6) ranges from 45 ml, when theoretically filled to the inner base of the rim, to 60 ml, when filled to the rim (Fig. 8.1).

The most frequent form, however, is a handmade, round-bodied stemmed cup that appears in two variants (cf. Tabs. 10–11). Both have identical short stems, with a flat to slightly concave base, whose diameter

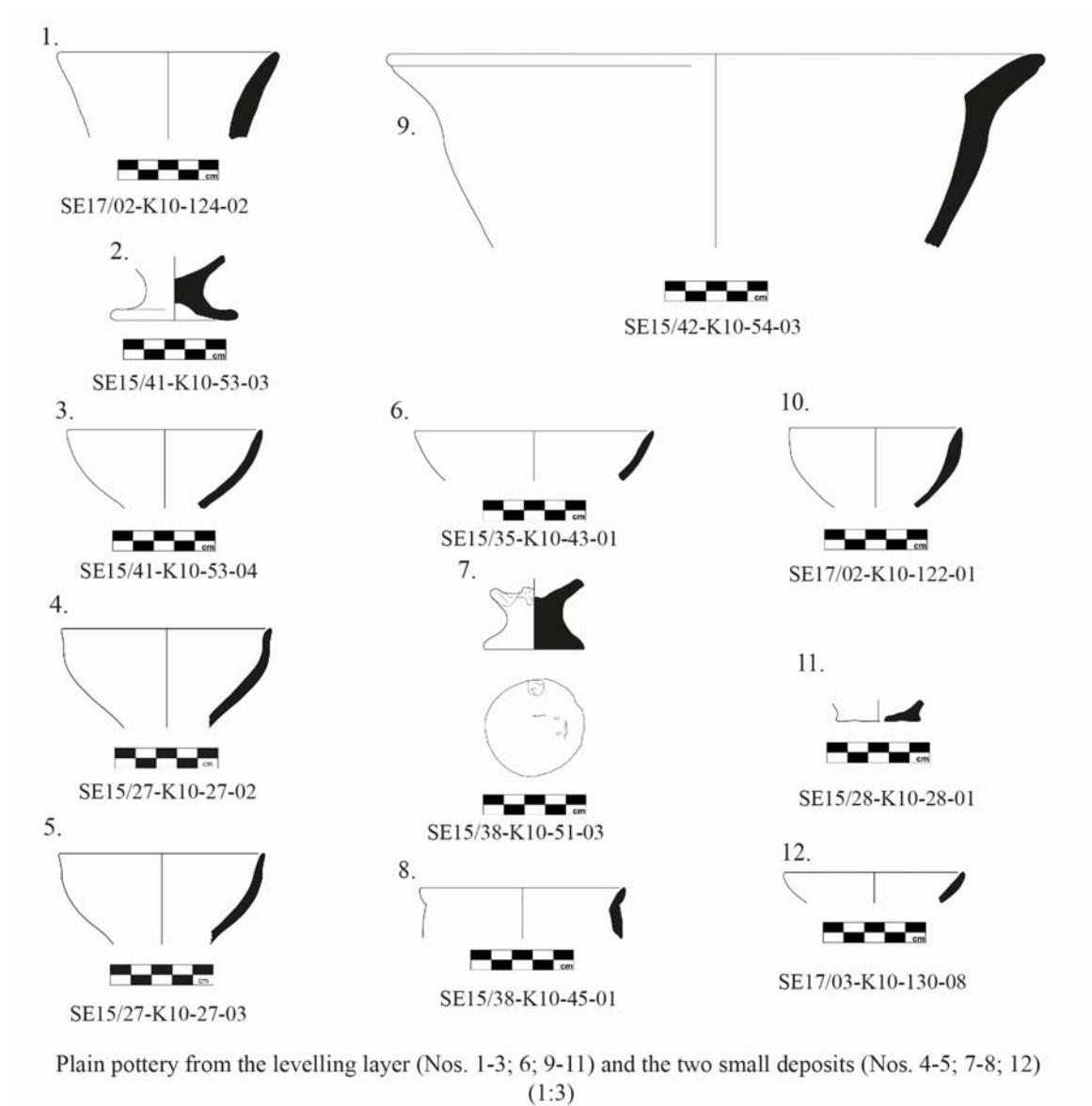


Fig. 6: Selection of plain vessels from K10's levelling layer and the two small deposits (by E. Kreuz).

measures usually circa 5 cm (Figs. 6.7, 7.17). The first shape under discussion, a stemmed cup with an everted rim and one vertical strap handle (Fig. 7.7–14), is the older of the two. Typically, one pseudo-rivet is positioned at the juncture of the rim and the handle (Fig. 7.8). The average diameters range from 10 to 12.5 cm, with one larger exception with 14 cm diameter (cf. Tab. 12). A rather small and heavily tilting example (ca. 10.5 cm rim diameter) from destruction layer 1 has a capacity from ca. 0.2 l to 0.22 l (Fig. 7.7).

A likely predecessor of this LH II shape is an Aeginetan LH I semiglobular cup with everted rim found in Lerna (Lindblom 2007, 130, fig. 13), leading to the assumption that Aeginetan potters integrated this shape, as well as the dipper, into their repertoire shortly after or contemporarily with its appearance in the Argolid (see above and Rutter 2020, 588–589).

Furthermore, some everted rims of cups belonging to vessels with a more globular profile are present in the two small deposits and destruction layer 1 (Figs. 6.8, 7.15–16). Since the best comparanda for these profiles are found in LH I deposits (Rutter 2020, 516, fig. 9.14, D75. 537, fig. 9.26. 539, fig. 9.27; Maran 1992b, pl. 25, no. 75), they may be considered residual.

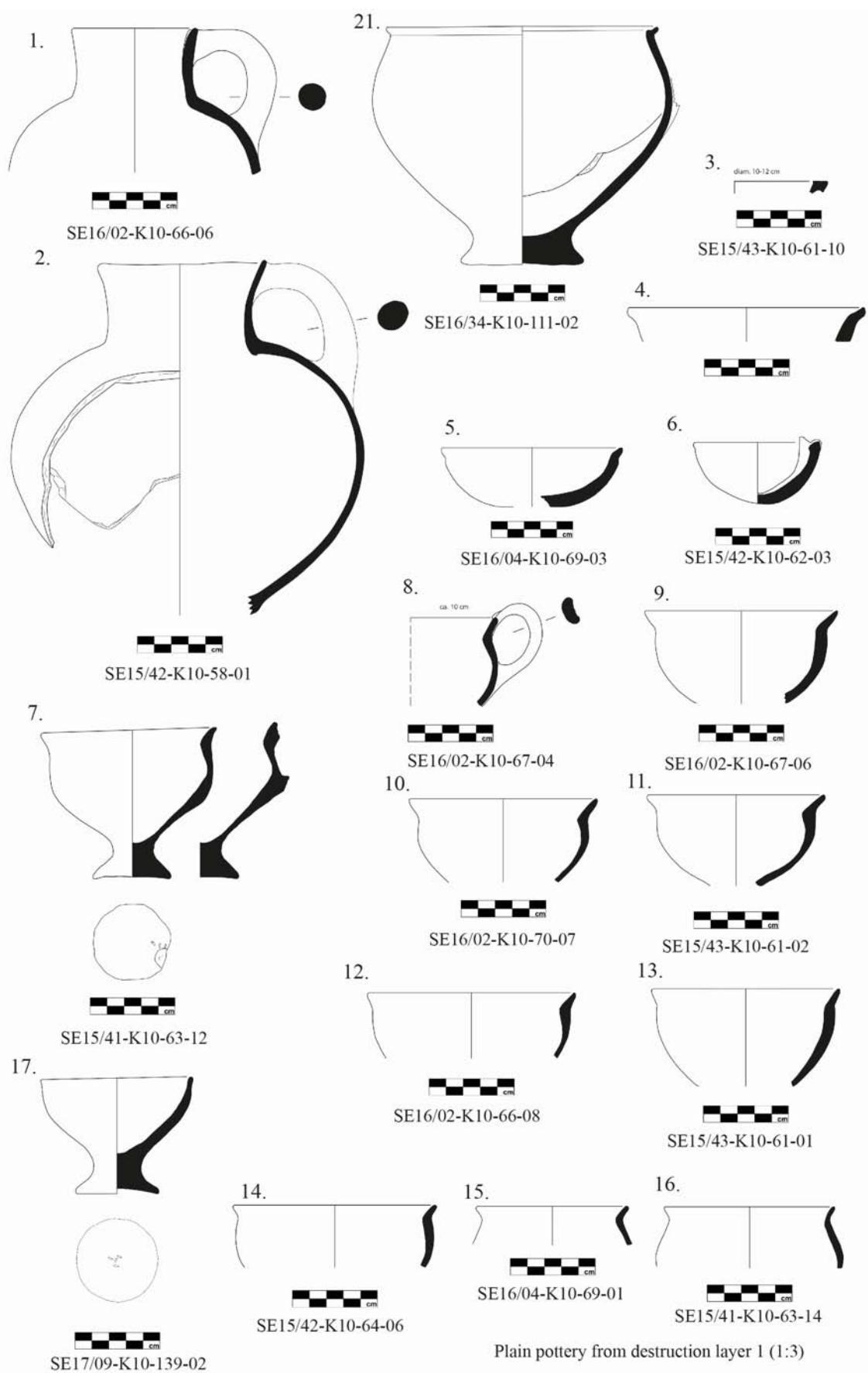


Fig. 7: Selection of plain vessels from destruction layer 1 and the two smaller deposits of K 10 (by E. Kreuz).

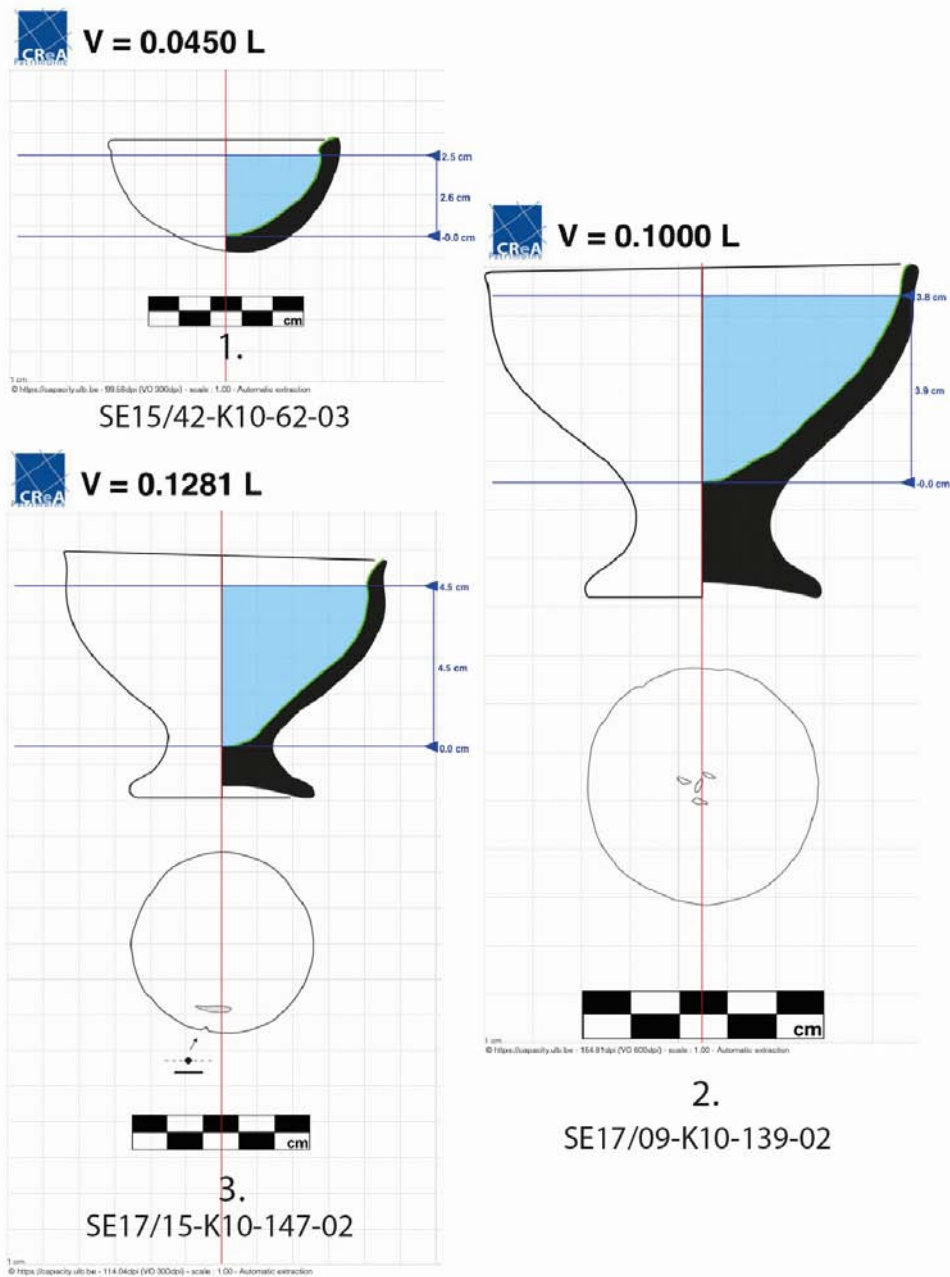


Fig. 8: Volumes calculated with the capacity calculator of the University of Bruxelles.

In contrast to the stemmed cup with an everted rim, the second shape has a straight to slightly outturning rim and a more or less conical lower body. Another distinctive feature of this shape is the absence of handles, as evidenced by one complete vessel. Furthermore, no fragments of handles attached to a rim fitting for this shape have been found in K10. This means that certain profiles bear similarities with conical cups, for example, the upper part of Fig. 7.17. But as no unambiguously Aeginetan bases of conical cups have been preserved in K10, all the rim fragments probably belong to such stemmed cups. All in all, two handleless stemmed cups are completely or nearly completely preserved. Although both have carefully wiped interior and exterior surfaces, their rims are not horizontal but tilting – a phenomenon that appears from time to time in all open Aeginetan vessel shapes, which could indicate that little effort was put into the forming of these vessels. The volumes



Fig. 9. Examples of plain pottery from Kolonna (Photos: Department of Classical Studies, University of Salzburg)

are small, 100 ml for SE17/09-K10-139-02 (Figs. 7.17, 8.2, 9.2), filled up to a few millimeters under the rim. The second cup, which was found in the earlier LH IIA layer beneath destruction layer 1, is a bit larger, and could contain approximately 128 ml when filled to the base of the tilted rim (Fig. 8.3). The handleless stemmed cup seems to appear at some point in LH IIA and may be a local innovation. In K10 most of these cups were found in the youngest strata, the levelling layer, and the two small deposits (Fig. 6.3–6).

At least two conical cups made their way into the fill of the levelling layer. One is rather large, with a diameter of 14 cm and of Aeginetan origin, while all the other fragments of conical cups were found in deposits probably mixed with destruction layer 1 (Fig. 6.12). Some of these fragments were parts of the same imported, sloppily wheel-made and poorly preserved cup (Fig. 6.11). Only one fragment of a conical cup was found in an unmixed stratigraphical unit of destruction layer 1.

Conical cups can be considered rare, as far as we know, in LH II Aegina. Moreover, there is no evidence that conical cups were used as lamps since none of the fragments show any traces of burning. Some of the conical cups are most probably locally made, but the preservation renders it difficult to determine to which macroscopic group they belong. Since they show traces of production on the potter's wheel, they would be among the earliest examples for the adoption of production techniques associated with Mycenaean ceramics by Aeginetan potters.

As mentioned above, large open plain vessels such as goblets with diameters exceeding 15 cm or kraters are rare in the discussed layers. The most conservative regarding the shape is the goblet on Fig. 7.21, that shows features already present in LH I bichrome painted Aeginetan vessels, such as the short rim with hollowing (cf. Lindblom 2007, 133, fig. 16). Another very large goblet (rim

diameter 22 cm, Fig. 9.3) is fashioned in the standard shape of Aeginetan LH II goblets, with rounded shoulder, strap handles and an everted rim. Of special interest is the rim of a conical krater with everted rim (Fig. 6.9; rim diameter 32 cm). The only comparable Aeginetan vessel, an unusually large solidly painted goblet, has been found in a disturbed deposit at Kiapha Thiti, that contained no LBA fragments postdating LH II (Maran 1992b, pl. 19, no. 627).

THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF THE AEGINETAN PLAIN POTTERY IN SETS

Given the nature of the context, it is speculative to define a set of vessels in the assemblage of the discussed layers from K10. However, examining the diameters of the rims reveals a pattern of size classes for small to medium-sized open vessels. The following Tab. 12 is based on the cataloged rim fragments from the discussed layers. Not included are conical cups, as their diameters can only be estimated with some uncertainty. Regarding the lustrous pattern painted Mycenaean pottery, it is worth noting that Vapheio cups and shallow cups are excluded from the list due to their scarcity.

The first results of the ongoing cataloging of the ceramic finds in Tab. 12 show a clustering of plain cups around smaller diameters up to 13 cm. The stemmed cups with everted rims tend to be larger than the handleless stemmed cups. In contrast to the plain cups, the Aeginetan solidly painted goblets group around diameters from 14 cm to 20 cm, with a tendency towards larger diameters. Meanwhile, imported Mycenaean lustrous pattern or monochrome painted goblets and/or semiglobular cups range from 10 cm to over 15 cm. This result leads to the tentative conclusion that the imported Mycenaean goblets or semiglobular cups are bridging the size gap between larger, solidly painted goblets and the smaller, plain cups, partly overlapping with both groups, effectively forming a cohesive set of locally produced vessels supplemented by specifically chosen imports.

A cautious look at vessel capacities seems to confirm this observation, as Mycenaean lustrous decorated semi-globular cups and goblets tend to be more voluminous than Aeginetan plain cups with comparable rim diameters, whose measured capacities range from 0,1 l to 0,22 l (see Fig. 9). Since up to now no complete profile of a Mycenaean lustrous painted open vessel from K10 could be mended, already published contemporary or slightly later semi-globular cups or goblets have been chosen for comparison. For example, a one-handled lustrous painted goblet from LH IIA Tsoungiza with a rim diameter of 10.9 cm could hold 0.49 l (Rutter 1993, fig. 6, no. 16; Phialon 2020, Appendix 1, 23, tab. 12, measured at rim), a deep semiglobular cup with 10 cm rim diameter from the LH IIB group of the same settlement, 0.27 l (base of rim) – 0.30 l (rim), a linear painted goblet (12.1 cm diam.) 0.53 l at rim (Rutter, 2020, 609, tab. 9.12 G18. E90). Two LH IIA vessels from Ayios Stephanos, a monochrome goblet with 11 cm rim diameter has 0.5 l capacity, a Mycenaean lustrous decorated semi-globular cup (FS 211) with 11 cm rim diameter, 0.37 l (Zerner 2008, nos. 3005. 3511; Phialon 2020, Appendix 1, 6, tab. 3), both measured at the rim, show the same trend.

In this set, the Aeginetan solidly painted goblets – the best preserved could hold 1.84 l (16.8 cm rim diameter, capacity measured at the rim) – would serve as vessels for distributing food or liquids, similar to the still larger krater. The presence of spiraling or horizontal scratching marks on the lower interior part of larger goblets with the highest density at the lowest point of the vessel's body suggests frequent stirring or scooping with a dipper. Notably, the diameters of well-preserved goblets are too small to allow the use of a stemmed cup inside the vessels in order to scoop food such as stews or liquids. On the Aeginetan goblets from K10 examined so far, similar marks do not occur on the interiors of vessels with rim diameters smaller than 15 cm or of Mycenaean patterned or solidly-painted goblets or semi-globular cups.

Table 12: Rim diameters of open vessels from levelling layer, the two smaller deposits and destruction layer 1. EVEs were chosen to give a better impression of the fragmentation of the finds.

“Mycenaean”; Pattern painted, lustrous and monochrome (goblets/semi-globular cups)		Aeginetan solidly painted (goblets)		Aeginetan plain:	Handleless stemmed cups	Stemmed cups with everted rim
Diameter (rim)	EVE	Diameter (rim)	EVE	Diameter (rim)	EVE	EVE
8–8.9 cm	-	8–8.9 cm	-	8–8.9 cm	13% [1-cup/dipper]	
9–9.9 cm	-	9–9.9 cm	-	9–9.9 cm	97% [3]	14% [1]
10–10.9 cm	35% [2]	10–10.9 cm	-	10–10.9 cm	33% [2]	136% [7]
11–11.9 cm		11–11.9 cm	10% [1 dark, Aegina?]	11–11.9 cm	52% [3]	83% [3]
12–12.9 cm	95% [2], 16% [1, solid.]	12–12.9 cm	-	12–12.9 cm	-	37% [4]
13–13.9 cm	19% [1]	13–13.9 cm	8% [1 red]	13–13.9 cm	-	
14–14.9 cm	9% [1] (pattern p.)	14–14.9 cm	20% [1 dark]	14–14.9 cm	-	9% [1]
15–15.9 cm	35% [1] (solidl.)	15–15.9 cm	14% [2 red]	15–15.9 cm	-	
16–16.9 cm	-	16–16.9 cm	151% [5 red]	16–16.9 cm	-	-
18 cm	-	18 cm	6% [1 dark]	18 cm	-	-
			52% [5 red]			
19–19.9 cm	-	19–19.9 cm	25% [2 dark], 5% [1 red]	19–19.9 cm	-	-

A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON PLAIN SHAPES IN LH I AND LH II FROM THE ARGO-SARONIC REGION

When dealing with plain ceramics in the early LBA in the Mycenaean heartland, the Yellow Minyan pottery deserves some attention. This pottery class has a vaguely formulated definition and has faced scrutiny in research, particularly first questioned by E.J. Forsdyke (1914, 128). Yellow Minyan can be characterized as follows: it is oxidized-fired fine pottery with a pale brown, yellowish to reddish surface color, finely smoothed, burnished but rather irregular, and often appears to have been produced on the potter’s wheel (French, French 1971, 26; Maran 1992a, 76.80; Maran 1992b, 130–139). Descriptions of this class are less specific regarding tempering or size of inclusions, making comparisons between sites often problematic. In Asine (Nordquist 1987, 49; Dietz 1991, 29–31), Tsoungiza (Rutter 2020, 592) in Northeast Peloponnese and Kiapha Thiti in Attica (Maran 1992b, 130–135) attempts have been made to define new classes, leading to the emergence of further subgroups of plain pottery. In most instances, production-related aspects such as surface treatment, tempering, or the use of a potter’s wheel have been emphasized as the main criteria.

In general, there appears to be a fluid transition, combined with a diffuse demarcation between the Yellow Minyan class and Early Mycenaean plain pottery (Rutter, Rutter 1976, 9, note 10; Maran 1992b, 130). Both categories share morphological and technical features. This refers to their visual

appearance, pale color, good surface treatment, and overall craftsmanship, such as production using the potter's wheel. It apparently took varying amounts of time in the early LBA until potters produced what is termed unpainted Mycenaean pottery (Rutter 2020, 689). Understandably, potters initially relied partially on the previously standard production processes, shapes, and decorative elements of the Middle Helladic period for a ceramic type meant for predominantly domestic use. The Minyan goblets in Grave Circle B are generally regarded as eating vessels, but they might also have been used to store small quantities of food for the deceased (Graziadio 1991, 416). The appearance of Yellow Minyan, also known as Asine 'Argive light ware' with burnished surface (class FT1), is documented in the Argolid region from at least MH III onwards (Graziadio 1988, 361; Dietz 1991, 29). However, its decline is characterized by a change and extension in the shape repertoire of the lustrous painted class rather than by the extinction of the class itself. For example, within LH I at Asine, a significantly increasing proportion of Argive light ware with burnished surface (FT1) can be observed (Dietz 1991, 92. 103). Consequently, the Yellow Minyan class seems to morph imperceptibly into plain Early Mycenaean pottery from LH I to LH II (Davis 1979, 255). Hence, the term Yellow Minyan could be used for the fine burnished and unpainted class from the early settlement phase of Katsingri. However, it would be inaccurate to use this term for the same class from the later settlement phase. Because the Mycenaean pottery initially relied heavily on Minoan shapes (the goblet is absent) and motifs during LH I and the presence of lustrous painted Mycenaean pottery remains notably scarce in domestic contexts, it comes as no surprise that the transition from Yellow Minyan vessels in settlements to unpainted Early Mycenaean only becomes more visible in archaeological evidence during and after LH IIA. In Lerna, the Yellow Minyan class appears in LH I, just like in Kiapha Thiti, and Dietz attributes its origin in the Argolid to the late MH period (Dietz 1991, 29–30. 149–198; Maran 1992b, 131).

The transition from the MH to LH period reveals several noteworthy trends, particularly in the domain of fine pottery (Dickinson 1974, 118–119). These trends often occur simultaneously, although Dickinson pointed out that a predilection for light-colored wares seems to emerge initially (Dickinson 2021, 542). Plain, light-colored pottery represents a diverse array of presumed regional vessels and shapes, as exemplified by sites in the Northeast Peloponnese (Dietz 1991, 29–30; Rutter 2020, 652). At Tsoungiza, a shift is observed from a reliance on pots from various regional production sites to the predominance of a single production locale in the LH IIA period, likely originating from the Argolid, with the remaining portion deriving from Aegina (Rutter 2020, 652). Upon closer examination of the common plain shapes in Early Mycenaean Northeast Peloponnese, a shared developmental pattern becomes apparent, contributing to a distinctive regional repertoire within the Mycenaean heartland. While traditional MH shapes such as kantharoi and low-stemmed goblets continue to be prevalent at the onset of LH, a second trend emerges with the production of small new shapes, open and closed: cups, dippers, small jugs, and containers (Dickinson 2021, 542).

By far the most popular shape in plain tableware in LH I settlements in the Northeast Peloponnese is the goblet followed by the kantharos, which had also been the case during the preceding MH III period (Dickinson 1974, 118; Dietz 1991, 255–258; Davis 1979, 247–252; Stülpmagel 2005, 41–45; Rutter 2020, 592). Dietz noted that in the Argolid, all kantharoi during LH I are plain, and miniature kantharoi are scarce, suggesting that their production was very limited, if it occurred at all (Dietz 1991, 255). At Tsoungiza, there is a group of plain goblets that are very large, produced in medium-coarse fabric, which are referred to as kraters (Rutter 2020, 586). In contrast, transitional MH/LH kraters found at Katsingri, produced in the surrounding region, are matt painted. It is worth mentioning that the kraters made in the Northeast Peloponnese generally lack a bridged spout, which is a characteristic feature of both central Greek and more common Aeginetan kraters commonly found in mainland sites (Stülpmagel 2005, 183–196; Rutter 2020, 643).

A significant development in LH I plain pottery is the introduction of the round-bodied/semi-globular or carinated cup, characterized by a low pedestal foot and either a flaring or spreading profile

(Dietz 1991, 163, fig. 48; Rutter 2020, 588). The plain straight-sided or plain Vapheio cup, as well as the flat-based carinated and semiglobular cups, are generally rare (Rutter 2020, 589). Quite frequently, open plain vessels retain a carinated profile, a characteristic reminiscent of the MH pottery tradition, which appears to have persisted until LH I before vanishing. In Korakou and Katsingri, a ring around the stem (Davis 1979, 247), and at Tsoungiza the imitation of metal rivets in clay with rounded pellets at the upper attachment of vertical handles with rims constitute chronologically significant features (Rutter 2020, 495 note 48; Rutter 2023, 365–383). Another noteworthy addition to LH I consumption practices is the plain dipper, which bears a resemblance to the stemmed cup in its profile and became a favored vessel for handling small-volume contents, replacing the miniature kantharos (Rutter 2020, 590). Interestingly, plain large kantharoi were prevalent during the earlier phase of LH I in Tsoungiza and Katsingri, particularly during the occupation of the West Building and ‘Bau I’. However, it seems that in the later LH I phase, when the East Building in Tsoungiza was in use, they were gradually replaced by an increasing number of one-handed drinking cups influenced by Minoan designs (Rutter 2020, 642).

In LH IIA, in the settlements of the Northeast Peloponnese innovative plain shapes from the LH I phase may continue to be used, while previously decorated forms might be introduced to the repertoire of plain tableware (Dickinson 1972, 105; Rutter 1993, 67 fig. 7, nos. 22–27; Stülpnagel 2005, 183–196 Room XVIII layer 5). However, it is unfortunate that our understanding of plain domestic pottery in undisturbed settlement contexts during this phase, particularly in the Argolid, is limited due to the lack of detailed information.

A significant shift in the Early Mycenaean ceramic tradition, referred to by Rutter as the “de-emphasis of Minoanizing forms”, becomes apparent during the LH IIB period, particularly in the Northeast Peloponnese (Rutter 2020, 723–724). Former prominent one-handed, low pedestal and stemless drinking vessels, such as straight-sided cups and semiglobular cups, which were prevalent during the LH I and IIA phases, as well as Minoan-influenced pouring vessels, seem to have become rare. Regarding the Minoan plain conical cup found in LH II Tsoungiza or Asine, it is important to note that it is made of a coarse fabric and appears to have functioned as a lamp rather than a typical consumption vessel (Frizell 1980, pl. 12, pl. 12, nos. 249. 250; Rutter 2020, 690). When examining the assemblages in the Northeast Peloponnese in the settlements of Tsoungiza and Katsingri during the MH III–LH II period, Minoan-influenced tripod cooking pots are rare. Only two fragments each have been discovered at Katsingri and Tsoungiza. At Tsoungiza, for example, one is an MH III-import from Aegina, the other a locally produced tripod, dated in LH IIB (Rutter 2020, 557. 693). Nevertheless, both the conical cup (FS 204) and the tripod cooking pot (FS 320) appear in small numbers from LH I onwards in Mainland sites (Dickinson 1974, 118–119).

A distinct characteristic of Mycenaean plain shapes is the introduction of an LH IIB innovation, the angular kylix (FS 267), which is likely a regional Argive invention (Rutter 2020, 724; See Rutter in this volume). In the late LH II phase, another notable addition to Mycenaean tableware is the plain shallow rounded bowl (FS 295; Frizell 1980, 127; Rutter 2020, 705–706). Similarly, the plain conical krater (FS 290/300) can be considered a new shape associated with the Mycenaean heartland during the later stages of the Early Mycenaean period (Frizell 1980, pl. 12, no. 253; Rutter 2020, 706). In a fascinating manner, the discussion of these unpainted LH IIB vessels provides a glimpse into the forthcoming tableware of the palatial period.

As far as Kolonna is concerned, no imported plain vessels are published, and only a few fragments of early LBA light-colored plain, locally made vessels are documented from the settlement, since most studies focus either on specific ceramic classes (Hiller 1975), earlier phases, or aspects of Aeginetan pottery production. According to K. Pruckner, who examined the solidly painted and bichrome pattern painted pottery from the LH I fill of a well on the south slope of Kolonna, local plain pottery makes up 44.7% of this assemblage by weight. Since no information is available about the number

of sherds attributable to particular shapes is available, Pruckner's list of unpainted shapes present in the material, even though incomplete, must be sufficient. Closed vessels, such as amphorae, hydriae, jugs of various shapes, and pithoi, were found. Open shapes of various size classes are present, including bowls and goblets, small dippers with rounded bases, lids, and "Keftiu" cups (Pruckner 2010, 71–72, fig. 19). W. Gauss and R. Smetana provide additional information about shapes and decorations in their definition of Kolonna's ceramic phase K, although the assemblage they used is rather small. Within this assemblage, plain pottery consists entirely of locally produced vessels, a goblet (or stemmed cup?), a Vapheio cup and a small jug with pseudo-rivet (Gauss, Smetana 2007, 65, fig. 12). Interestingly, one shape is absent in this publication, the plain kantharos, that still was in use in settlements on the Northeast Peloponnese (see above), just across the Saronic Gulf. On the other hand, Aeginetan potters were quick to integrate new shapes as plain Vapheio / Keftiu cups, dipper and stemmed cups into their repertoire.

When it comes to fitting Aeginetan plain pottery into the bigger picture of Early Mycenaean pottery from other settlements, the main obstacle is that especially small open plain Aeginetan vessels were apparently not produced for large-scale export, unlike, for example, the matt painted class. Starting with settlements in the Argolid, Aeginetan matt painted narrow-necked closed vases have been found as late as LH IIB–IIIA at Asine, but plain Aeginetan pottery is missing (Frizell 1980, 43, nos. 79–82, fig. 5, pl. 1). At Katsingri, as stated above, imports of plain Aeginetan pottery seem to be limited to large, closed narrow-necked vessels while open shapes are rare. Their number declines from the earlier to the later settlement phase of Katsingri (from 9% of the cataloged feature sherds to around 4%; cf. Tab. 1). It is worth adding that approximately one-third of the unpainted Aeginetan fine plain feature sherds comprise base fragments, while matt painted bases are nearly absent. Hence, it can be quite challenging to differentiate between Aeginetan plain pottery fragments that originally belonged to vessels with or without paint. A similar pattern of imports emerges at Tsoungiza in the Corinthia. In comparison to matt painted closed vases and cooking pots, plain Aeginetan pottery reached the settlement in far smaller numbers. Mostly closed, narrow-necked plain shapes of certain Aeginetan production were found in contexts dating from LH I to LH IIB. In LH I, plain Aeginetan narrow-necked closed vessels outnumber open vessels of the same class at a ratio of six to one. However, the question once again arises whether some of the fragments counted as plain might in fact originate from painted vessels, a possibility suggested by the presence of a krater, a shape typically executed in bichrome or solidly-painted decoration on Aegina (Rutter 2020, 513, D61; 534, D216–D219; 632, E79; 687, G156; 706). Additionally, a goblet (Rutter 2020, 517, D87) and a stemmed cup (Rutter 2020, 536, D225) may be of Aeginetan origin. By LH IIA, the imports thin out to one Aeginetan plain hydria (Rutter 1993, 69, fig. 8, no. 30), and by LH IIB to one narrow-necked closed vessel and one krater (Rutter 2020, 683–684, G130–G131). Not far away, at Korakou, no plain Aeginetan fragments, apart from bases of closed shapes with potter's marks, are included in Davis' publication of LH I pottery, although fragments of monochrome and bichrome matt painted, cooking pots and maybe solidly painted Aeginetan pottery are well attested (Davis 1979, 239–241, figs. 2–4; 242–248, figs. 5–8; 250, fig. 10). There is not much information about a possible Aeginetan component in the LH IIA – IIB strata of the East Alley pit (Dickinson 1972, 106).

Turning to settlement contexts in Attica, at Kiapha Thiti, pottery of Aeginetan origin comprises a high percentage of the feature sherds that J. Maran selected for publication (for example 28.9% in Schnitt 1, SE 4, cf. Maran 1992b, 217). The share of plain open vessels of Aeginetan provenance is significantly higher, but overall the plain class is usually outnumbered by other classes, such as solidly-painted, matt monochrome pattern-painted, and cooking pots.² Open plain shapes, with the goblet being the most common, occur in the catalog as frequently as closed shapes such as hydrias or

² See the tables of Appendix 1. Plain Aeginetan pottery is Gattung D2; Maran 1992b, 217–218.

jugs.³ Only one fragment can be attributed to a cup, another one belongs to a rare shape that Maran identifies as a lamp.⁴ By LH II, the majority of non-pattern painted goblets and cups at Kiapha Thiti are most probably of local production and may be considered early representatives of the Acropolis burnished ware (Maran 1992b, 137–139).

Staying in Attica, Eleusis still provides many Aeginetan imports in LH I, but only matt painted (mono- and bichrome), and solidly painted vessels are present (Cosmopoulos 2014, 318–326). Most of the unpainted open vessels are attributed to the Grey Minyan and Yellow Minyan classes (Cosmopoulos 2014, 337–341). In LH IIA, imports from Aegina seem to be limited to a few remnants of matt painted vessels, the number of which further decreases in a LH IIA/IIB deposit (Cosmopoulos 2014, 346, 376). The overall picture may be biased, since only few feature sherds of plain vessels from LH IIA-deposits at Eleusis were included in the publication (Cosmopoulos 2014, 346). By LH IIB, plain vessels at Eleusis belong either to the Acropolis burnished ware, especially goblets and a few jars, or to Mycenaean plain pottery (Cosmopoulos 2014, 375, 434–436).

Due to the way the pottery was recorded, Ayia Irini on Keos provides only vague information regarding plain Aeginetan imported vases. In our opinion, a handleless stemmed cup from the destruction deposit of Period VIIa made of “moderately fine greenish-buff fabric” (Bikaki 1984, 39, no. VII-58; Schofield 2011, 133, pl. 67, no. 1549;) with a potter’s mark on the underside of its base could be of Aeginetan origin.

In East Lokris, at Mitrou, a well-known recipient of Late Helladic Aeginetan cooking pottery, all classes of Aeginetan pottery were imported during LH IIA. Among these are fragments from unpainted kraters (Vitale 2012, 1148; Rutter 2020, 707, note 538).

A similar pattern to that observed in settlements can be traced in the feasting deposits at Lerna. Among the large amount of Aeginetan pottery attested in the LH I fills of the shaft graves, plain open shapes make up only a very small proportion. Lindblom describes the quantities of goblets as “handful”, while undecorated cup fragments are “occasional” (Lindblom 2007, 124).

DISCUSSION

Undoubtedly, plain ceramics play a vital role in studying site’s local and regional economic and sociopolitical history by providing insights into the preferred shapes and technological aspects applied by potters. During the Early Mycenaean period, the plain class was typically regionally produced, and its use was closely linked to communal consumption practices. Consequently, these vessels held significance in expressing group identity and served as manifestations of the community’s shared values and social dynamics. The vessels forming the assemblages described above possess minimal intrinsic value in terms of their form or appearance. Morphologically, they embody simplicity with basic and functional shapes, remaining plain and featuring hardly any decorative elements apart from pseudo-rivets, a ring around the stem or incised grooves.

When comparing deposits from different settlements, such as Katsingri and Kolonna, several potential pitfalls need to be considered. Firstly, the assemblages available for this comparison are only partly contemporary, which may lead to temporal discrepancies and limit the accuracy of the conclusions drawn. Additionally, the artifacts from Kolonna are very well preserved, whereas fragmentation and surface erosion are generally higher in the assemblages from Katsingri. This potentially affects the comparability of classification and data interpretation. Furthermore, it is essential to acknowledge

³ For closed shapes see Maran 1992b, pl. 6, no. 221 (amphora/hydria); pl. 21, nos. 681, 682 (hydria); pl. 26, no. 812 (jug?); pl. 27, no. 845 (jug?); pl. 30, no. 919 (amphora/hydria); pl. 31, no. 962 (hydria).

⁴ For open shapes see Maran 1992b, pl. 8, no. 289 (semiglobular cup); pl. 1, no. 36 (goblet?); pl. 5, no. 173 (goblet); pl. 21, no. 683 (goblet); pl. 21, no. 684 (goblet?); pl. 32, no. 985 (goblet); pl. 32, no. 983 (lamp).

that the material from Katsingri is sourced from multiple find spots of the settlement, while all the finds from Kolonna presented here originate from a single small area within the settlement. Despite these challenges, the following discussion aims to summarize local, regional, and cross-regional trends in consumption practices and the distribution of pottery throughout the Argo-Saronic Gulf.

According to the sherd count, the levelling layer in Aegina comprises 36.43% plain pottery, while the destruction layer 1 contains 33.17%. In Katsingri, based on the feature sherd count, plain pottery accounts for 42.56% of the early settlement phase in area Z and H, decreasing to 31.69% in the later phase of the houses in the middle eastern slope of Profitis Ilias. However, the layers on the hilltop in area G exhibit an unusually high percentage of plain sherds (42.81%) in the early LBA, although they seem contemporary with the later deposit in area H. Indeed, a significant proportion of vessels found in the settlements were unpainted during the Early Mycenaean era. This prevalence of unpainted ceramics underscores their importance and widespread usage in the daily consumption practices of the inhabitants.

Generally, the assemblages of plain tableware under study exhibit differences in surface treatment. Burnishing is almost completely absent at LH II Kolonna. At the same time, in both the early and later settlement phases of Katsingri, fine plain burnished pottery makes up a significant percentage, accounting for approximately 10% of the overall assemblage, similar to the proportions of fine unpainted and medium coarse to coarse plain pottery (cf. Tab. 1).

Regarding shapes and their regional as well as chronological significance, the dipper emerges as a shared element between the plain tableware found in Kolonna and Katsingri, making up a bit more than 3% of the fine burnished and unburnished fragments at Katsingri. In K10, dippers comprise 15% and 5.88% of the plain pottery from the discussed layers. In the LH II local unpainted unburnished pottery assemblage of Aegina, there is a clear tendency towards small, open shapes as around half of the cataloged fragments from both layers belong to various cups (cf. Tabs. 10–11). Among these, as can be shown, the stemmed cup holds particular prominence, appearing in two distinct variants: one with a flaring rim and the other with a straight to slightly outturning rim accompanied by a conical lower body. A peculiarity of Kolonna are the handleless stemmed cups, which seem to make their first appearance during LH IIA.

In the Katsingri settlement area on the eastern slope, smaller open shapes such as stemmed or carinated cups are rare during the initial phase. However, in the later phase, they become more common, although not reaching the frequency observed at Kolonna. Atop the hill of Profitis Ilias, the semiglobular cup stands out as the prevailing small open shape, a characteristic that can be attributed to both chronological factors and likely specific contextual circumstances. As the large kantharoi declined in domestic assemblages during LH I, the Minoanizing cups gradually found their way into the tableware of Northeast Peloponnesian sites. Within the settlements in the Northeast Peloponnese, the goblet emerged as the dominant form in the plain classes, exemplified by the situation observed in Katsingri, particularly within the medium coarse to coarse ware. In contrast, at Aegina, the larger goblets seem to be almost exclusively limited to the solidly red or black painted class. Pattern-painted goblets imported from the Peloponnese are usually small, fitting the general preference for small-volume consumption vessels among the inhabitants of Aegina.

During LH I, the small kantharos is scarcely represented at Katsingri, while the large plain kantharoi gradually diminish in prevalence, persisting until late LH I on the Mainland. Instead, the stemmed or carinated cup and dipper become more relevant for smaller volume usage. Considering the plain semiglobular or straight-sided cups, their resemblance to the lustrous Mycenaean painted equivalents suggests that they should be dated late in LH I or even LH IIA. While the formerly mentioned stemmed cups and dippers were quickly integrated into the repertoire of Aeginetan handmade vessels, no plain locally produced semiglobular cups came to light in K10. Not many conical cups have been identified within the levelling and destruction layer 1 on Aegina. Consequently, the conical

cup, which cannot be confidently ascribed to the plain class in Katsingri, does not hold substantial significance in the studied areas of both settlements. Nonetheless, these cups may represent early instances of using a potter's wheel by Aeginetans, a production locale that is well known to hold onto handmade vessels in the early LBA. Nevertheless, it is possibly the only local wheel-made shape in K10, and, as Knappett and Hilditch (2015, 107–108) suggest, “The conical cup is closely associated to being wheel fashioned, thereby linking the package, shape and wheel-fashioned, to the Minoan potting tradition”.

In the early LBA, plain pottery of the discussed regions exhibits certain features that seem to draw inspiration initially from the Middle Helladic pottery tradition, followed by Minoan/Early Mycenaean pottery, or from models found in other materials. The Aeginetan stemmed cups commonly feature the presence of pseudo rivets, typically positioned on the rim-handle join, a distinctive characteristic also observed in Mainland sites. Rutter proposed it as an LH I/LH IIA feature, which appears to be much more commonly in use on LH IIA cups produced on Aegina than on vessels from the Northeast Peloponnese, underlining the often-ascribed traditional character of Aeginetan pottery (Rutter 2020, 702, n. 490; Rutter 2023, 365–383). Nevertheless, there is no secure evidence for this particular ceramic skeuomorph in Katsingri. Instead, there are remains of Middle Helladic potting traditions: a single ring around the stem is of chronological significance in LH I in Korakou (Davis 1979, 247) and Katsingri, and in the early phase it additionally encircles incised grooves (Fig. 3.15). Both of these features appear to become rare or even vanish altogether in LH IIA. Furthermore, in LH I, carinated profiles are well-attested on several plain shapes, particularly on goblets, kantharoi, and cups. However, these carinated profiles gradually decline in popularity and are eventually replaced by semiglobular or round profiles in LH IIA, only to be revived in the form of the FS 267 angular kylix and FS 290/300 carinated krater of LH IIB.

In communities engaged in reciprocal pottery exchange, such as those inhabiting Aegina and the Northeast Peloponnese, it may be expected that similarities in vessel forms will not strictly align with topographical borders. This phenomenon would be indicative of centralized and standardized pottery production, which occurred in the Northeast Peloponnese during the transition to LH II, according to data from Tsoungiza (Rutter 2020, 648–649). Similarly, by LH II in Kiapha Thiti (Attica), the plain goblets and cups are of local production, most likely being early representatives of the Acropolis burnished ware, and argue for a change in the production landscape and distribution in the region (Maran 1992b, 137–139). From an evolutionary perspective, the widespread dissemination of lustrous painted Early Mycenaean pottery, along with its associated plain ware, can be attributed to the proliferation of specialized potter's workshops in several regions on the Mainland. Large-scale manufacturers, which were already present on Aegina much earlier, lose traction in the course of LH II. From a macroeconomic perspective, this can be explained by the disintegration of old markets and their actors (Aegina), as well as the introduction of new technologies (such as the potter's wheel), products (Early Mycenaean pottery, which was either decorated or plain), methods, or business models, including restructured maritime trade networks.

In Kolonna, the imported Mycenaean small goblets or semi-globular cups bridge the size gap between the larger solidly painted goblets and the plain stemmed cups, which appear frequently in K10 but were seemingly not exported in significant quantities. On the contrary, Katsingri imported larger open vessels, such as kraters, large goblets, narrow-necked vessels like amphorae, hydriae, jugs, or large cooking pots from Aegina. These choices resemble the Aeginetan imports at LH I Tsoungiza, where cooking pots with rim diameters from 20 cm to 30 cm were exclusively supplied by Aegina (e.g., Lis 2020, 866–868, fig. 11.2) and only large vessels of the other Aeginetan classes have been found (e.g., Rutter 2020, 564–570). Similar observations can be made at contemporary strata at Korakou, although the evidence is not as clear (Davis 1979, 239–241, figs. 2–4; 242, fig. 5; 250, fig. 10). At Kiapha Thiti, within a LH I deposit, a similar pattern emerges (Schnitt 101, SE3, Maran 1992b,

79–80): apart from the presence of two small plain vessels, a goblet and a bowl (?), the assemblage is characterized by large solidly painted goblets with diameters exceeding 20 cm, as well as large narrow-necked closed vessels and cooking pots featuring rim diameters ranging from 17 to 25 cm. The tendency to import large vessels from Aegina continues in LH IIA and LH IIB (e.g., Maran 1992b, 10–14; 28–29; 36–39; 208. Schnitt 1 SE 3/SE 4, Schnitt 5 SE 2, Schnitt 4 SE 3, Schnitt 6/SE 2). At Aegina, the picture is somewhat inverted, as every class and shape was locally produced, with the exception of pattern-painted Mycenaean small open shapes and closed shapes, such as alabastra, stirrup jars, and bridge-spouted jugs, which all have no direct equivalent in the repertoire of Aeginetan pottery. These exchange patterns, which, of course, are adapted with what is locally produced in each region during the Early Mycenaean period, seem to set the competition of specialized workshops in motion.

Determining the “Mycenaean-ness” from Katsingri and Kolonna would go beyond the scope of this article. Still, it can be shown that both incorporate Mycenaean pottery at the beginning of the LBA in their assemblages, indicating a complex interplay of cross-regional factors. It is precisely this supra-regional interplay that lays the foundation of Mycenaean culture. In essence, both sites represent two early Mycenaean settlements with their regional trajectories.

In conclusion, besides providing data for the often-neglected plain pottery of two distinct settlements in the early LBA, we want to stress that the unpainted class in particular has a very strong local character because it is usually produced locally or at least regionally during the formative stage of Mycenaean society. These vessels seem to be the ones most frequently utilized, reflecting regional consumption patterns. When examining the exchange between the regions of Aegina and the Northeast Peloponnese, it becomes apparent that both case studies indicate selective imports supplementing local consumption in the early LBA. It is the plain class that substantially represents the preferred consumption practices, highlighting distinct regional ceramic features and technology.

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SIMILARITIES AND DISSIMILARITIES OF LATE HELLADIC CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES BETWEEN SUB-REGIONS OF LACONIA AND WHAT THEY MAY MEAN

VASCO HACHTMANN

Abstract

The British excavations at Ayios Stephanos and the Menelaion in the 1960s and 1970s significantly expanded knowledge of the Late Bronze Age in Laconia. The extensive publication of the finds from these two settlements has revealed a notable difference in material culture, which apparently owes much to the varying intensity of contact with the Minoan world. New evidence from different sites within Laconia invites a reassessment of the question of regionalism during the Late Bronze Age in this part of Greece. For example, the results of an intensive archaeological survey in Central Laconia have been published. In South East Laconia, a new corpus of grave pottery from Epidavros Limera has been presented, while at Pavlopetri, a large coastal site is being investigated. Quantified pottery data are now available from the recently discovered Mycenaean palace at Ayios Vasileios near Sparta. This paper attempts to integrate this data into our current understanding of the different trajectories of ceramic development, focusing on style, consumption, and pottery-related practices in various Laconian sub-regions. Some of these developments allow interpretations on the level of society, organisation, contacts, influences, and events.

INTRODUCTION

Laconia is topographically divided by mountains and the sea into zones with fairly different natural conditions (Fig. 1). Another important factor, culturally significant for the population, was accessibility by sea. At the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, for the inhabitants of the Laconian coast, this meant the necessity of dealing with the Minoan thalassocracy. Ayios Stephanos, for example, could be reached from Minoan Kythera by boat within a 2-day journey (based on Broodbank 2000, 102). Even closer was the Malea peninsula with important sites such as Pavlopetri and Epidavros Limera. These coastal sites were located in most favourable positions for overseas contacts – supposedly often enough those of a beneficial kind. In contrast, North and Central Laconia with the Spartan Plain had no access to the sea. The Spartan Plain is connected to the south coast through the valley of the Evrotas River, but the Vardhounia hill country forces the Evrotas into deep canyons that are difficult to access or cross.

Within this barrier between North and South Laconia, the quarries of *lapis lacedaemonios* near Krokees were a place of Minoan interest. This rare stone may have been shipped 6 km further south east from the coastal site of Ayios Stephanos to Kythera and Crete. Regular contact between the settlement at Ayios Stephanos and the Minoan world is already evident throughout the Middle Bronze Age, as indicated by the Lustrous Decorated, so-called ‘Minoanising’ pottery, and actual Minoan imports (Rutter, Rutter 1976, 63–65; Zerner 2008, 180–182). Another important node between Minoans and the mainland, Pavlopetri, located on the Malea peninsula, is awaiting major publication (Harding et al. 1969; Cavanagh et al. 2022).

For the purpose of the present study, which aims to trace regional diversity in ceramic assemblages in LH Laconia, we rely on Mycenaean decorated pottery (MDP) as it is the most thoroughly studied

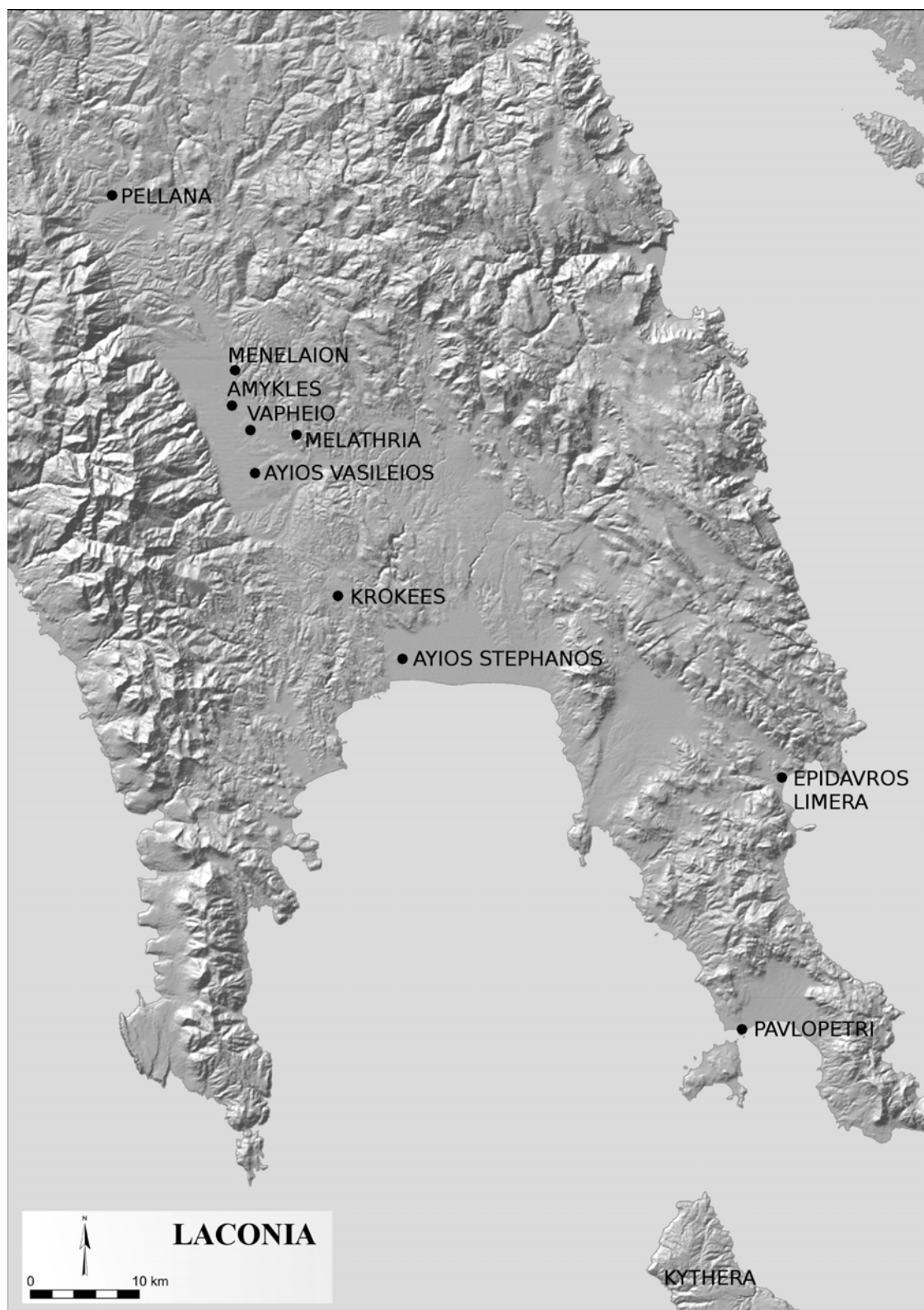


Fig. 1. Topographical map of Laconia and LH sites mentioned in the text

and published pottery class, providing the chronological framework necessary for a diachronic view. For Laconia, the most detailed description of this pottery class was provided by Penelope Mountjoy (1999). Kythera was also included in this study. Mainland evidence comes mainly from Ayios

Stephanos and Epidavros Limera. At the same time, less material was presented from Central and North Laconia, specifically from Pellana, the Menelaion and Melathria (**Fig. 1**). In the meantime the Menelaion (Catling 2009) and Ayios Stephanos (Taylour, Janko 2008) have been fully published and some more pottery from Epidavros Limera (Gallou 2020) has been presented. Several major and minor articles on pottery have recently been published also for Ayios Vasileios (Kardamaki 2017; Day et al. 2022; Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022; Kondyli, Mathioudaki 2022; Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022a; 2022b; Kardamaki et al. 2023; Hachtmann 2023).

Regarding the MDP, there is now considerable evidence from various sub-regions of Laconia, specifically from the Spartan basin (Central Laconia), the Helos plain (Ayios Stephanos/South Laconia), and the east coast of the Malea peninsula (Epidavros Limera/Southeast Laconia). Chronologically, the evidence spans from the beginning to the very end of the Late Bronze Age, but not every site and region is represented over the full time period. For instance, evidence from the time after LH IIIC Early is largely absent from most major sites.

To gain a more detailed understanding of all pottery-related activities, we need to include other LH wares as well and explore the possibility of comparing statistical data. Comprehensible data on pottery consumption requires the study of closed contexts or stratified or homogenous deposits. These can have very different origins: Apart from offerings in funeral context there are feasting deposits, ritual deposition, storage rooms, functional sets of complete vases in use just before a destruction event, household pottery discarded in pits, wash layers, fill material inside terraces and wells – to name only some of the common types of deposits. Needless to say, in deposits with different depositional backgrounds, different functional aspects of ceramic assemblages can be emphasised.

What is the background of the available pottery contexts in Laconia? And what kind of information do they provide? Are different kinds of contexts comparable at all (Rutter *Prolegomena*, this volume)? Whereas the finds from Epidavros Limera represent offerings in chamber tombs, the material from Ayios Stephanos and the Menelaion stems mainly from settlement deposits. Our focus here will be on the domestic sphere rather than the burial context – not only because of the difficulties in reconstructing contexts in communal chamber tombs but also because the selection of offerings is biased by purpose. In contrast, fragmented pottery from domestic deposits is potentially representative of various everyday activities if these deposits fulfil certain criteria of quantity and purity. Ideal for statistical comparisons seem to be contexts containing the full range of pottery classes in contemporary use. In Laconia, however, a reconstruction of ceramic development is hindered for some phases by the lack of large, stratified, or homogeneous deposits.

In the present study phases and periods are discussed in chronological order. For each phase, the available evidence and the background of the relevant deposits are mentioned. Hereby the investigation is confined to sites for which a large corpus of material has been published, namely the Menelaion, Ayios Vasileios, Ayios Stephanos, and Epidavros Limera (for a fuller account of published LH pottery including also minor publications, see Cavanagh et al. 1996, fig. 13.1–13.4; Mountjoy 1999, 244–247; Banou 1996; Cavanagh et al. 2002, 142–150; Banou 2011; Zavvou 2011; Gallou 2020). Then, the characteristics of ceramic assemblages are discussed in significant aspects, beginning with the MDP and mostly referring to the most common shapes of the fine table-ware in fashion. Whenever contextual or stratified information allows it, plain and coarse wares are also taken into consideration. In some cases, statistical pottery data is available, providing us with substantial information about local ceramic styles, technological developments, as well as differences, contacts, and influences between sub-regions of Laconia and beyond. Occasionally, results of scientific analyses allow valuable insights into pottery production and exchange.

LH I–IIA

This period is well represented at Ayios Stephanos (Rutter, Rutter 1976; Zerner 2008, 186–188; Mountjoy 2008, 369–372) and Ayios Vasileios (Voutsaki et al. 2021, 325–326 [North Cemetery]; Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022a, 171–177, Hachtmann 2023 [Platform deposit]; Kondyli, Mathioudaki 2022 [“Building A”]) but less so at the Menelaion where the LH I phase hardly left any detectable traces (Catling 2009, 337–342). For Epidavros Limera, 63 pieces were catalogued (of which 42 were illustrated), dated to the Transitional MH III/LH I, LH I, and LH IIA phases (Gallou 2020, 150–167).

Significant influence from Minoan Kythera is manifested in the new Lustrous Painted fine-ware characteristic of LH I. This pottery appeared relatively suddenly as a package including new vessel shapes, decorative modes, and technological aspects – most importantly, it marks the beginning of wheel-made pottery production in Laconia. A controversial discussion has revolved around the question of the centre of production of the earliest LH I pottery; South Laconia (Rutter, Rutter 1976, 64), Kythera (Lindblom et al. 2015, 233), and the Argolid (Dickinson 2014, 13) are the likeliest candidates. In fact, despite its stylistic and technological homogeneity, this earliest MDP may have been produced in different regions (Mountjoy 1999, 248; Lindblom et al. 2015, 233).

All the common early types are represented in Laconia (Mountjoy 1999, 248), but it needs to be stressed that evidence from Central Laconia regarding LH I MDP is still limited (Crouwel 1996, 27; Catling 2009, 337; Kondyli, Mathioudaki 2022, 155, fig. 5b; Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022a, 173–174, fig. 5,6; 6,1–2; Hachtmann 2023). Central Laconia may be peripheral to the first MDP workshops in LH I, and perhaps even in LH IIA: all four samples of MDP dated in LH IIA from the palace area at Ayios Vasileios, analysed by means of neutron activation analysis (NAA), were imported from the Argolid (Hein et al. 2021, 8, fig. 5,3–6).

In LH IIA, numerous new shapes and vessel types are introduced. Among the hallmarks of this phase is the large and richly decorated palatial jar FS 15 that appears in the form of complete vases in tholos or tholos-shaped tombs at Vapheio, Pellana and Analipsis/Vouvoura in Southeast Arcadia, but only in highly fragmented form in settlements such as the Menelaion (Kalogeropoulos 2011, 208–209, fig. 1,15–18; Catling 2009, 337–338). To these finds from settlement context may be added newly published sherds from Ayios Vasileios (**Fig. 2**).¹ Regarding the distribution of palatial jars one can observe a zone spanning from Messenia through Central and North Laconia to the Argolid and the Saronic area. At the same time, evidence from South Laconia is absent (Kalogeropoulos 2011, 208, fig. 1).

Among the vases deposited in chamber tombs at Epidavros Limera, a strong Minoan influence can be detected. There is a hole-mouthed jar, FS 101, in Arcade style, and there are bell cups, FS 221.² Noteworthy is also the monochrome interior of some open vases at Epidavros Limera (Gallou 2020, 163–164, fig. 4.31, 4.34, 4.36). This feature may be inspired by Minoan pottery, although colour-coated interior surfaces have also been interpreted as a technological improvement for the containment of liquids (Sherratt 1980, 186). However, a monochrome interior is also a feature of two remarkable Vapheio cups in “Building A” at Ayios Vasileios (Kondyli, Mathioudaki 2022, 158, fig. 8e–f).

Despite strong Minoan influences on LH I and LH IIA pottery, there is also an increasing self-awareness visible in the production of MDP. For example, the squat jug FS 87 has no prototype in Minoan culture, and the type with a hatched loop FM 63 is particularly popular throughout Laconia. For Epidavros Limera, Chrysanthi Gallou published 13 individual vessels of this type (2020,

¹ Compare the motifs on **Fig. 2** with those on palatial style jars in Kalogeropoulos 2011, 218, fig. 15 – Routsis (**Fig. 2,1**); 214, fig. 5 – Analipsis (**Fig. 2,2**); 215, fig. 10 – Kakovatos (**Fig. 2,3,5**); 214, fig. 4 – Kakovatos (**Fig. 2,4**).

² Gallou 2020, hole-mouthed jar: 162, fig. 4.30 (compare Hood 2011, 167, fig. 34 – Knossos); bell cups: 163–164, fig. 4.34–35 (in general Coldstream, Huxley 1972, 293–294; Mountjoy 1986, 33).

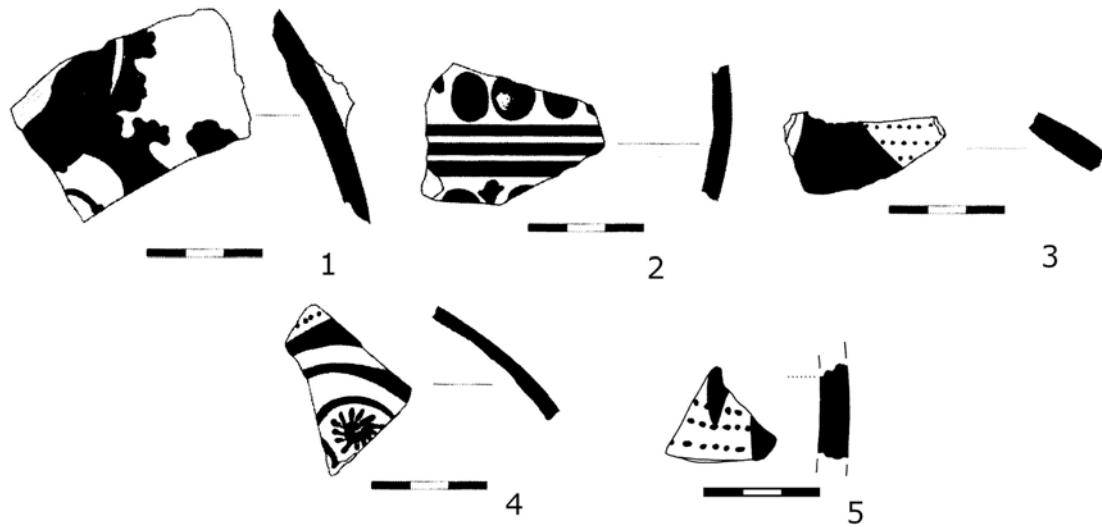


Fig. 2. Sherds from palatial style vases from Ayios Vasileios. 1–4: Palace area/South-eastern deposit (Kardamaki 2017, 125, fig. 14, 227–228. 230–231; 5: Platform deposit (Hachtmann 2023, 352, fig. 1, 21)

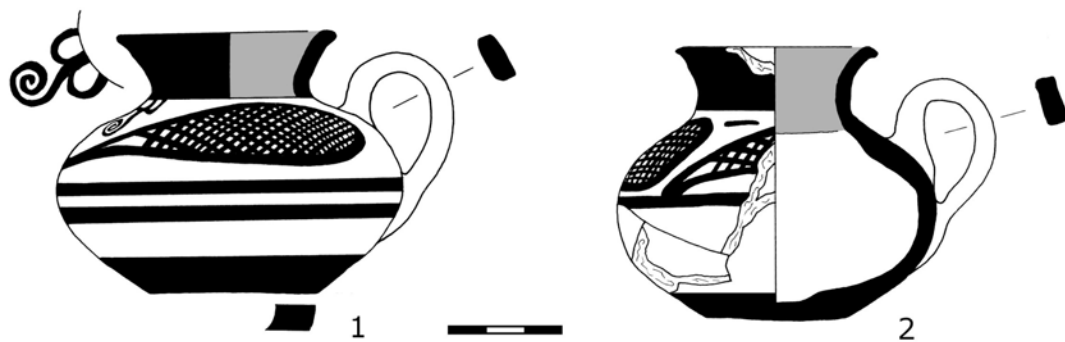


Fig. 3. Squat jugs FS 87 with hatched loop FM 63 from the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery (Drawings by author)

158–161). Among the 19 entire vase offerings from the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery, there are two squat jugs with hatched loop (**Fig. 3, 1–2**; Hachtmann forthcoming).

As another example of the close similarities between MDP in Central and South Laconia, two goblets, FS 262 with an ogival canopy (FM 13), found in the Vapheio tholos and at Epidavros Limera (Mountjoy 1999, 257, fig. 84, 34–35), may serve as an illustration. Admittedly, however, a one-to-one comparison as presented here may be insufficient for reconstructing the intensity of the relationship between two regions. While vase offerings in graves represent a qualitative selection, for which fine-ware products were preferred or even produced for that special purpose,³ a couple of studies about Ayios Vasileios now provide quantitative data on more representative pottery assemblages, allowing an assessment of the whole range of vessel types, wares, and fabrics in domestic use. In the Palace

³ This question was recently addressed through an organic residue analysis of vase offerings from the North Cemetery at Ayios Vasileios. Since the offerings – exclusively open and closed shapes of small size, and perhaps all of them related to child burials – are hardly typologically paralleled in contemporary domestic deposits at the site, the question arises whether they were produced solely for the burial. This could be the case if they showed no signs of organic residue because they may have never been used. Organic residue was, however, found in all samples, partly indicating repeated use for a range of purposes (Roumbou et al. 2023). Moreover, comparison with the results of a stable isotope analysis of human remains from the same cemetery showed that “no special or unique sources were detected in the two data sets that would set apart daily diets from offerings to the dead” (Roumbou et al. 2023, 8).

area, in “Building A”, three early Mycenaean deposits were found; Deposit 1 was dated to late LH I, Deposit 2 to LH IIA, while Deposit 3 includes material from LH IIA and LH IIB-III A1 (Kondyli, Mathioudaki 2022). Apart from sherd material, all deposits also included entire vases or large vessel parts. The excellent preservation of some vessels allows detailed typological studies. The mixing with animal bones suggests a special deposition, according to the authors, perhaps in a context of feasting or ritual practices (Kondyli, Mathioudaki 2022, 163).⁴ The published diagrams about the proportions of different ceramic wares and shapes suggest among others that early Mycenaean pottery (Lustrous Dark-on-Light, here MDP) is already present in LH I and increases in LH IIA, while at the same time Matt Painted pottery sharply decreases (Kondyli, Mathioudaki 2022, 154, fig. 3).

In the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery area, part of a domestic dump, the so-called ‘Platform deposit’, has been excavated. It contained 1750 sherds of utilitarian pottery, along with an additional 70 sherds of thick-walled storage pottery, from a later phase in LH I and LH IIA. Nevertheless, this deposit appears to be remarkably homogenous. Counts and proportions of macroscopic fabric groups and wares in terms of total sherds, feature sherds, rim sherds and base sherds are available. Thus this deposit may serve here as a point of start for observations on regional differences in domestic pottery assemblages in Laconia (Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022a, 171–177; Hachtmann 2023).

Comparison with Ayios Stephanos is facilitated by detailed pottery studies conducted for this site. As pioneers in modern methods of pottery recording and presentation, Jeremy and Sarah Rutter presented 1976 a sequence of four periods between MH II and LH IIA Early. The material from deposits used to define the latest Period IV dates mainly in LH IIA, albeit there are some LH IIB/III A1 intrusions (Rutter, Rutter 1976, 46–60; Rutter 1993, 86, footnote 69; Mountjoy 2008, 368; Hachtmann 2023, 325).⁵

In her studies for Ayios Stephanos, Carol Zerner defined a phase LH I/IIA that is largely comparable to the material from the Ayios Vasileios ‘Platform deposit’ (Zerner 2008, 186–187). A one-to-one comparison of macroscopic fabrics and wares is, however, not always possible due to diverging perceptions among various scholars. Nevertheless, the characteristics of the ‘Platform deposit’ in relation to Ayios Stephanos can be summarized as follows (Hachtmann 2023):

- MDP, mainly represented in the Platform deposit by open shapes (various types of cups and goblets), makes up 4% of the total sherds and 12% of the rim sherds. These proportions are comparable to those found at contemporary sites outside Laconia.⁶ For Ayios Stephanos, no reliable statistical data is available due to the contamination of relevant deposits.
- Fine Mycenaean plain-ware is still absent. For Ayios Stephanos, it is difficult to prove this decidedly, again due to the mixing of crucial deposits.⁷
- One fine plain wheel-made fabric is present, but the shapes are entirely unrelated to later wheel-made plain Mycenaean pottery (Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022a, 173–175, fig. 5,8; 7,1). This fabric seems to be a local phenomenon at Ayios Vasileios, which is absent at Ayios Stephanos. It disappears after LH IIA.
- Dark Burnished pottery is still present at Ayios Vasileios, albeit in lower proportions. This situation resembles the one at Ayios Stephanos.
- Matt Painted pottery is still the most frequent type of decorated pottery. It occurs in both fine and gritty fabrics. Both of these fabrics also occur in plain version and are among the most frequent ones in the deposit. The matt-painted patterns closely resemble those at Ayios Stephanos (Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022a, 178–179, fig. 9).

⁴ A detailed publication of these deposits and of the sherd material is in preparation (Iro Mathioudaki pers. comm.).

⁵ Another problem for the statistics was the fact that a majority of the sherds has been discarded prior to the pottery study.

⁶ For Nichoria see Dickinson 1992, 471, Tab. 9–4; for Tsoungiza see Rutter 1993, 58, Tab. 1; for Asine see Dietz 1991, 93, fig. 26; for Lerna see Lindblom 2007, 122, fig. 7.

⁷ For a discussion regarding this problem see Hachtmann 2023, 327.

- The gritty fabric at Ayios Vasileios is closely related to the gritty fabric at Ayios Stephanos (pers. comm. Peter Day).
- Bichrome Matt Painted pottery is rare, but also related to Ayios Stephanos.
- Lustrous Decorated „Minoanising“ in Mudstone and Chert fabric is rare – in contrast to Ayios Stephanos, where it is among the most common wares until LH IIA (Rutter, Rutter 1976; Zerner 2008, 197–199; Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022a, 178).
- Coarse cooking ware is handmade and represented exclusively by button-based cooking jugs. The use of the same type of cooking pot at Ayios Stephanos indicates similar food preparation practices (Zerner 2008, 200–201; 264, fig. 5.36, 1818–1825). One such vessel comes from “Building A” in the Palace area of Ayios Vasileios from Deposit 2 dated to LH IIA (Kondyli, Mathioudaki 2022, 158, fig. 8a). It was found together with an Aeginetan tripod cooking pot (Kondyli, Mathioudaki 2022, 158, fig. 8b). The shape of this tripod, as well as its fabric, should be regarded as exception in this phase and supports the special character of the deposit. The earliest tripod cooking pots are reported for Ayios Stephanos already for the transition from MH III to LH I (Rutter, Rutter 1976, 45; Zerner 2008, 186), but there, like in Central Laconia, Aeginetan pottery is extremely rare. It is safe to say that Laconia lay outside of the regular exchange network of Aeginetan pottery.

LH IIB–IIIA₁

This period is well attested at the major sites in Central Laconia, while at the same time, there is a decrease in the archaeological record at Ayios Stephanos and on Kythera. The hallmark of the LH IIB phase, the Ephyraean style (**Fig. 4,1**), is generally too rare in Laconia to rely on it as a chronological marker.⁸ For the Menelaion, “some twenty fragments” (Catling 2009, 344) have been catalogued. However, considering the large amounts of pottery recovered from this site, combined with the assumption of major construction activities during this phase, the evidence for the Ephyraean style seems rather limited. At Ayios Vasileios five sherds are attested so far which may belong to Ephyraean vases; for Epidavros Limera one Ephyraean goblet FS 254 has been reported but not illustrated (Gallou 2020, 169, EpLim 112b⁹); at Ayios Stephanos no Ephyraean style has been found (Mountjoy 2008, 373), but one fragment from Kastri on Kythera has been published (Coldstream, Huxley 1972, Pl. 58; Mountjoy 1999, 260, fig. 85,48).

Plain goblets with monochrome interior and linear/unpainted exterior seem to become a type fossil in Laconia in LH IIB (**Fig. 4,2**; Catling 2009, 345–346; Kardamaki 2017, 93; Gallou 2020, 169, fig. 4.47). This type has also been attested elsewhere, although often in a smaller version with one high-swung handle (Mountjoy 1986, 49–50, fig. 55,1). It is worth considering here that the potters in Laconia – once holding a brush in their hands to paint the interior surface solidly – could have proceeded to draw an Ephyraean pattern on the exterior of such vases. In doing so, they would have created a new vessel type with a symbolic connection to the Central Area of Greece.¹⁰ Here, we may face rejection of a genuine mainland style by the members of the ruling elite or those who decided about regional pottery style. Instead, the monochrome interior of these vessels points towards a Cretan tradition.

LH IIIA₁ is a phase for which local peculiarities in the MDP have been observed. Often cited are the spirals on the bases of rounded alabastra, droplets on spiral and stem motifs, and the single or double contour line parallel to the rock pattern FM 32; the latter feature is believed to indicate a continuing influence from Crete (Mountjoy 1999, 249–250). The droplets and the contour lines

⁸ See Rutter 2023 for a recent account of Ephyraean style pottery.

⁹ Since a note in the catalogue says “no decoration preserved” it is not quite clear what the identification as Ephyraean is based on.

¹⁰ For the definition of the “Central Area” see Dickinson 1977, 17.

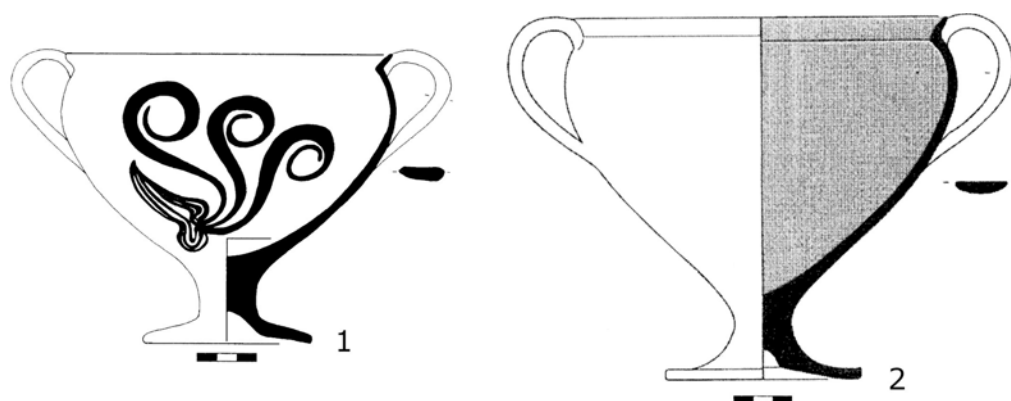


Fig. 4. Ephyraean goblet from Ayia Irini/Kea (Mountjoy 1999, 881, fig. 359,59); 2: goblet with monochrome exterior and plain interior from the Menelaion (Catling 2009, fig. 93,ET 93)

also appear in Central Laconia around this time, partly on newly introduced shapes in the repertoire of MDP such as kraters FS 7, mugs FS 225, and the first kylikes.¹¹

The goblet with a monochrome interior continues. A working hypothesis of ours is that not before LH IIIA1 does the colour spill over to the exterior of the tall everted rim and technically turn the unpainted exterior into a linear painted one (Kardamaki 2017, 93; Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022b, 195–198, fig. 3; 4,8). This decorative mode continues into LH IIIA2 in the form of small one-handled goblets, with relatively short everted rims as at Ayios Vasileios, Tsoungiza and Mitrou.¹²

At Ayios Vasileios stratified sherd material comes from a sequence of pebble floors in “Building B” in the Palace Area, dated between LH IIB and LH IIIA1–IIIA2 early. Counts and proportions of total sherds, rims and bases are available.¹³ Although the amount of sherds in each of these layers is limited and the material is fragmented, some tendencies in pottery development can be observed, such as a decrease of handmade pottery and a growing domination of MDP.

Some other significant changes occurred at Ayios Vasileios during LH IIB–IIIA1. Firstly, fine Mycenaean plain ware was now produced and consumed in large amounts.¹⁴ New is also the extensive use of conical cups, a vessel shape *par excellence* for signalling Cretan practices. Secondly, the tripod cooking pot was fully adopted in Central Laconia alongside other ceramic household equipment such as trays, pans, braziers, and lamps. At Ayios Vasileios, most of these new objects seem to consist of a similar kind of clay, which we refer to as ‘lamp ware’, ‘low density micaceous’, or ‘red micaceous’. Vessels made from this fabric are wheel-made, and morphological studies, combined with thin-section petrography, suggest local production; however, this is probably due to “relocated or itinerant potters trained in Kytheran and Cretan potting traditions” (Day et al. 2022, 365–386).

To conclude, in Central Laconia, we can observe increased building activities in LH IIB–IIIA1. At the Menelaion, Mansion 1 was constructed and, perhaps after a landslide, dismantled again to give way to Mansion 2. At Ayios Vasileios, an extension of the former LH IIA settlement area is indicated by the beginning of a sequence of domestic deposits in “Building B” in LH IIB and supposedly contemporary buildings in this area (Kardamaki 2017, 112–113). At around the same time evidence

¹¹ Droplets: Catling 2009, fig. 96,ET 101, 126,III 8, 134,VII 8. Contour lines: Catling 2009, fig. 90,ET 31 (krater), 124,II 13. II 15 (krater); Kardamaki 2017, 47, fig. 8,130 (mug), 55, fig. 16,262. 264. 267 (kylix).

¹² Ayios Vasileios: Kardamaki 2017, 126, fig. 15,249–254; Tsoungiza: Thomas 2011; Mitrou: Vitale 2011, where they are termed cups.

¹³ Kardamaki 2017, 88, Tab. 3; with alterations in Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022a, 175, Tab. 2.

¹⁴ Eleven LH IIB/IIIA1 sherds from Ayios Vasileios analysed with NAA show a great diversity of compositional patterns but only two sherds come from possible Argive imports (Hein et al. 2021). For NAA analyses of pottery from Ayios Vasileios see also Kardamaki, this volume.

from South Laconia is conspicuously limited and Ayios Stephanos as well as Kastri on Kythera seem to have suffered a major decline in occupation (Ayios Stephanos: Mountjoy 2008, 373–374. Kythera: Coldstream, Huxley 1972, 303–304; Broodbank et al. 2005, 87). A connection between the developments in Central and South Laconia in LH IIB–IIIA1 has recently been suggested (Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022a, 182; see also Gallou 2020, 247).

LH IIIA₂

Settlement deposits of LH IIIA₂ are again available for Ayios Stephanos and for the Menelaion, although mainly in the form of wash deposits (Ayios Stephanos: Mountjoy 2008, 302–314, figs. 6.3–6.9; 374–376. Menelaion: Catling 2009, fig. 224–225). Additional evidence for this phase comes from Ayios Vasileios, but closed contexts are also rare here. Deposits of LH IIIA₂ were found at different locations in the palace area, some of which were dated late in this phase (Room 6, Fresco dump). Others date around the transition from LH IIIA₁ to LH IIIA₂ Early (“Building” B ‘Floor’ 3, Fill below the *stoa*), or they contain material from both phases, LH IIIA₁ and LH IIIA₂ (South-eastern deposit; Kardamaki 2017). In the area of the North Cemetery, one substantial sherd deposit of LH IIIA₁–IIIA₂ Early (Deposit east of Grave 21) and a few minor deposits of LH IIIA₂ have been excavated (Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022b, 195–200).

Two monochrome vessel types are introduced early in LH IIIA₂, the kylix FS 264 and the stemmed bowl FS 304. A third monochrome shape, the krateriskos, seems to appear regularly in deposits which contain the above-mentioned types (**Fig. 5, 1–4**; Mountjoy 1999, 273–274, fig. 91, 133; Catling 2009, 366 and fig. 166, WN 49; Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022b, 197, fig. 4, 3. 6). This shape has a rim diameter between 20 and 25 cm, horizontal round handles and a ring base. Rim sherds, which may be attributable to this shape, have been termed stemmed bowls on other occasions (Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022b, 196; Kardamaki 2017, 134, fig. 7, 103).

Indeed, in LH IIIA₂, monochrome pottery is extraordinarily popular in Laconia. The Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery gives an impression of the sheer variety of different monochrome shapes; among the illustrated shapes are amphorae/hydriae FS 69/128, jugs FS 112, 114, 133, semi-globular cups, mugs FS 225, kylikes FS 264 and 267, krateriskoi, basins FS 294 and spouted conical bowls FS 300 (Mountjoy 1999, 266–275, figs. 87–92). The examples shown are mainly from Ayios Stephanos but in Central Laconia the situation is similar at that time.

Conversely, patterned decorated pottery declines in quantity. The LH IIIA₂ type fossil, the decorated kylix FS 256, is not yet well-attested at Ayios Vasileios (Kardamaki 2017, 114). For the Menelaion, evidence for the kylikes FS 256 and 257 is widespread throughout the site, albeit in a fragmented state and not particularly plentiful (Catling 2009, 361). At Ayios Stephanos this shape is somewhat better represented. Here, a group of decorated kylikes FS 256 with monochrome interiors stands out. According to Penelope Mountjoy, these kylikes of “Group II” are of “hybrid” Minoan/Mycenaean character; again, the monochrome interior can be interpreted as Cretan influence while the decorative repertoire is identified as local idiosyncrasy (Mountjoy 2008, 305). This type of kylix is absent in Central Laconia.

To conclude, early in LH IIIA₂, the palace at Ayios Vasileios had reached its monumental layout (Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022, 161). The same may be true for Mansion 2 at the Menelaion (Kardamaki 2017, 77, 112–114; Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022b, 205–206). Like the palace 10 km to the south, the Menelaion may have flourished in this phase, although only a few pottery deposits could be attributed to it. The reason for this may be the rarity of pattern-painted MDP in favour of monochrome and plain pottery classes, which are difficult to date (Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022b, 204–205). A useful indicator of LH IIIA₂ is here – like in the rest of Laconia and in other Mycenaean regions

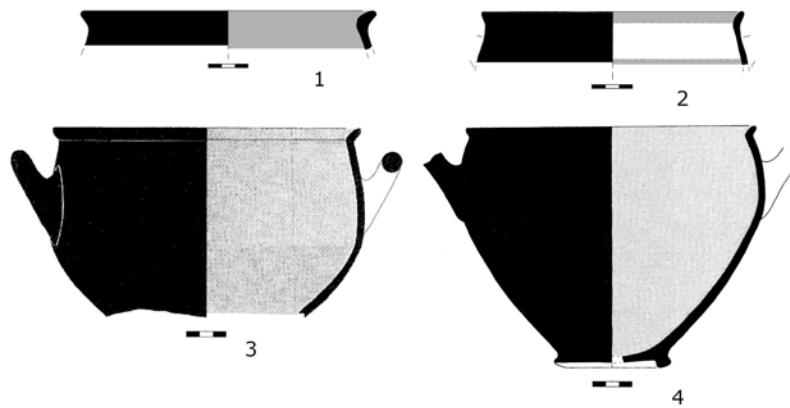


Fig. 5. Monochrome krateriskoi in Laconia. 1–2: Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery (Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022b, 197, fig. 4,3. 6); 3: Menelaion (Catling 2009, fig. 166, WN 49); 4: Ayios Stephanos (Mountjoy 1999, 273, fig. 91,133)

– the short everted rim on all kinds of shapes (Mountjoy 2008, 304–313, figs. 6.3–6.9; Thomas 2011; Hachtmann 2022, 79–80).

At Ayios Stephanos, an increase in settlement activities was observed for LH IIIA2 compared to the preceding phase. Remarkably, the kylix with a monochrome interior is unparalleled in Central Laconia, arguing for the independence of local pottery production at the coast. Noteworthy in this regard is that Kastri on Kythera also shows clear traces of re-occupation at around the same time (Coldstream, Huxley 1972; Mountjoy 1999, 250; Broodbank et al. 2005).

LH IIIB–IIIC EARLY

LH IIIB is again underrepresented among the MDP from Ayios Stephanos, and the corresponding material is not stratified (Mountjoy 2008, 377). Noteworthy among this material are fragments of the kylix FS 258 featuring a vertical whorl shell FM 32 and a monochrome interior (Mountjoy 2008, 315, fig. 6.10,3128 and 338, fig. 6.23,3351). These pieces seem to continue the local tradition of colour coating the interior surfaces of open shapes.

In Central Laconia, deposits from this phase are either small or mixed. Consequently, there is no clear stratigraphical sequence for Laconia covering the palatial and immediate post-palatial periods. In addition, the attribution of contexts to LH IIIB or any of its sub-phases is hindered by the fact that the stylistic ceramic development diverges in several aspects from that in the Argolid (Catling 2009, 366–368; Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022, 177–182; Kardamaki et al. 2023). Firstly, it seems that LH IIIA2 plain and painted tableware continued into LH IIIB (Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022, 178. Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022b, 200–201). Secondly, vessel types characteristic for LH IIIB in the Argolid are either rare (Zygouries kylix FS 258A, kylix FS 258B, Group A deep bowl FS 284, rosette deep bowl) or virtually absent (Group B deep bowl) in Laconia.¹⁵

In contrast, in Laconia, the deep bowl with a thin or medium-wide rim band and monochrome interior is very frequent on all major sites.¹⁶ It is, however, not yet clear how frequently this type appears already

¹⁵ See also Kardamaki, this volume.

¹⁶ Mountjoy 2008, 379–380, 385, fig. 6.44; Catling 2009, 388, figs. 230–235, 290–295; Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022; Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022b, 202–204; Interestingly however, deep bowls, and any traces of the LH IIIC Early phase in general, seem to be absent at the rural sites located by the Laconia Survey (Crouwel 1996, 31, figs. 13.1–13.4).

in LH IIIB. At the Menelaion, deep bowls with monochrome interiors are concentrated on the Propheetis Elias and the Aetos hills, but they are almost absent in the Mansion area. This may mean that this type of bowl was not commonly in use when the Mansion was finally abandoned.¹⁷ If this abandonment had taken place in LH IIIB2, as Hector Catling assumes (Catling 2009, 132), then the deep bowl with monochrome interior should also be in Laconia, a characteristic feature mainly of LH IIIC Early.

At Ayios Vasileios, there is evidence that the deep bowl with monochrome interior was massively in use only after the major destruction of the palace dated towards the end of LH IIIB1 (Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022, 182). The in situ vases found until now in the destruction level (often showing severe traces of fire) are comprised only of plain open shapes, namely conical cups FS 204, shallow carinated cups FS 222, rounded kylikes FS 264/265, carinated kylikes FS 267 and shallow angular bowls FS 295 (Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022, 167–170, fig. 6–7). The sherd material within the destruction debris is more difficult to interpret. Regarding what follows, no stratigraphical hiatus was observed between the destruction and the “re-occupation” according to the excavators of the palace area, although the nature of the activities after the destruction is still poorly understood (Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022, 182).

If it is true that such deposits, in which the deep bowl FS 284 with a monochrome interior dominates, date to LH IIIC Early, this phase must mark another settlement climax at all the known LH central sites in Laconia. At Ayios Stephanos, floor deposits from this sub-phase were found, one of which probably dates the construction of the ‘megaron’ building (Mountjoy 2008, 377–378, fig. 6.39 and 362, fig. 6.33, 3593–3597). In the area of the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery part of a deposit including roughly 3000 sherds was found, which contained large amounts of deep bowls FS 284 with monochrome interior. Moreover, all other painted open shapes within this complex, termed the ‘Postpalatial deposit,’ also show predominantly monochrome interiors. The most common among them are linear cups FS 215, kraters FS 281–282, basins FS 294, shallow bowls FS 295, and stemmed bowls FS 304/305, all shapes are well in place in LH IIIC Early (Fig. 6, 1–7).¹⁸ Although monochrome interior appeared already in LH IIIB, the rarity of reserved interior surfaces in this deposit, in my opinion, can be taken as a sign for a relatively pure LH IIIC Early deposit.

While the LH IIIC Early MDP gives a fairly homogenous impression throughout Laconia, there are significant differences in the distribution of another ceramic ware termed Handmade Burnished Ware (HBW). Because this pottery is technologically less advanced than the wheel-made Mycenaean fine and cooking wares, HBW is commonly associated with the physical presence of foreign people in Greece. Stylistically, most of this pottery can be linked to the Recent Bronze Age 1 and 2 in Italy (Popham, Milburn 1971, 338–340, n. 8; Kilian 2007, 54–55, 75; Jung 2006, 211–216, Abb. 24, Taf. 25). Among the Greek sites that yielded considerable amounts of HBW are Mycenae, Tiryns, Korakou, Aigeira, Lefkandi, Dimini, Volos, Knossos, Chania and also the Menelaion (Kilian 2007, 56–66). A few sherds have also recently been presented from Ayios Vasileios (Kardamaki, Vasilogamvrou, 2021), while this ware has not been reported for either Ayios Stephanos or Epidavros Limera.

The rich material from Tiryns allowed an assessment of the HBW within the stratigraphical horizons. A clear peak can be observed during the later part of LH IIIC Early. However, this pottery made its appearance already in LH IIIB developed, during the palatial period (Kilian 2007, 46–49, Abb. 1). At the Menelaion the distribution pattern of the HBW corresponds to the one of the deep

¹⁷ See the argumentation in Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022b, 205–206.

¹⁸ Cup FS 215: Döhl 1973, 158, fig. 8, B 10 (Iria); Mountjoy 1995, 205, fig. 5, 53–54 (Thorikos); Deger-Jalkotzy 2003, 57, fig. 2, 2. Krater FS 281–282: Stockhammer 2008, Taf. 13, 250 (Tiryns). Basin FS 294: Catling 2009, 165 and fig. 215, NC 66; 175 and fig. 237, PE 205 (Menelaion; both linear painted interior). The row of dashes on the lip is more common for the kalathos FS 291 (Mountjoy 1999, 157–158, fig. 41, 319; Podzuweit 2007, Taf. 52, 2. 6–7) but the rim shape and the handle attachment underneath the rim of Fig. 6, 6 – most likely from a horizontal strap handle – speak for a basin. At Ayios Stephanos basins FS 294 with rows of dashes or blobs on the lip are known in LH IIIA2 (Mountjoy 2008, 335, 3326; 376, 3685–3686). Shallow bowl FS 295: Stockhammer 2008, Taf. 24, 518 (Tiryns); Catling 2009, fig. 236, PE 190 (Menelaion). Stemmed bowl FS 304/305: Mountjoy 1995, 211, fig. 9, 99 (Thorikos).

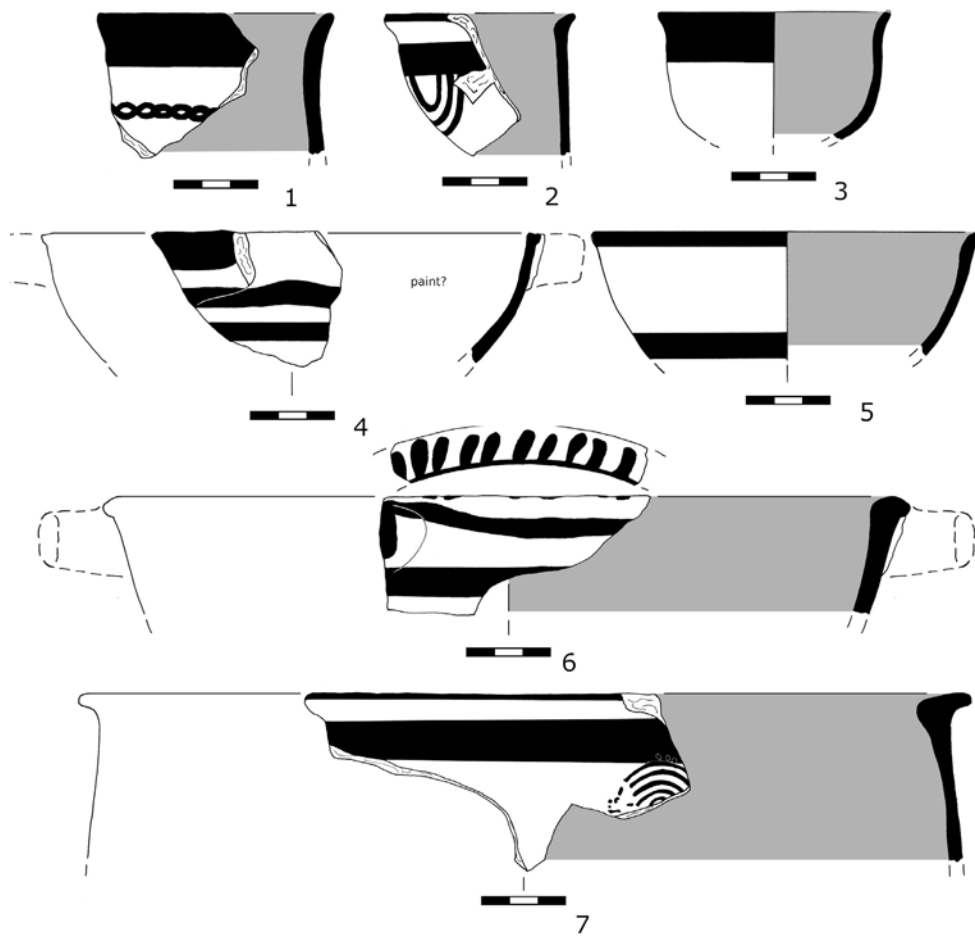


Fig. 6. Vessel shapes in the Postpalatial deposit in the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery area. 1: deep bowl FS 284 with monochrome interior; 2: stemmed bowl FS 304/305; 3: cup FS 215; 4: shallow bowl FS 295B; 5: small bowl; 6: basin FS 294; 7: krater FS 281/282 (drawings by author)

bowl with monochrome interior – it is relatively frequent on the Profitis Ilias and Aetos hills but absent in the Mansion area. In comparison to Tiryns, there are significant stylistic differences; first of all, the rims of barrel-like shapes are never as tall in Tiryns as on similar vessels at the Menelaion (Kardamaki, Vasilogamvrou 2021, 514). Other peculiarities at the Menelaion, which are absent at Tiryns, are hemispheric bowls, pointed lips, and interior rims decorated with incised patterns.¹⁹ Remarkably, even the few sherds from Ayios Vasileios show typological differences compared to the Menelaion, which once more “confirms the lack of standardisation observed among the HBW used at various sites” (Kardamaki, Vasilogamvrou 2021, 517. See also Kilian 2007, 56–66 and Lis 2009). This is supported by the results of chemical analyses on six HBW sherds from Ayios Vasileios, which were separated into three different compositional groups, for none of which a specific provenance could be determined (Hein et al. 2021, 14).

¹⁹ Catling 2009, fig. 240, PE 277. PE 279, fig. 301, A 266. A 274 (hemispheric bowls); fig. 240, PE 280–PE 281 (pointed lips); fig. 240, PE 283 (interior rims with incised patterns).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Any attempt to reconstruct the LH ceramic development in Laconia needs to start with an assessment of the Mycenaean decorated pottery (MDP), which remains the golden thread that leads one through this period of roughly 500 years of local history. In Central Laconia, MDP is present in LH I and LH IIA; however, it is possible that no local production of this ware took place: for all four LH IIA sherds from Ayios Vasileios analysed with NAA, an Argive provenance has been suggested (Hein et al. 2021, 15). Notably, production of early MDP has been suggested for Ayios Stephanos in this period (Rutter, Rutter 1976, 64; Mountjoy 1999, 248) but any interpretation of these circumstances should be made with caution regarding the widespread availability in the Peloponnese and on Kythera of similar fine Neogene clays used for the production of Mycenaean pottery.²⁰

In LH IIB and LH IIIA1, MDP in Laconia resembles the one from the Northeast Peloponnese, although the Ephyraean style is not yet well-attested at Ayios Vasileios. This is all the more true for South Laconia, but this impression may also be due to a lack of archaeological record at Ayios Stephanos and Kythera at that time. Instead, the plain goblet with monochrome interior is omnipresent in deposits of LH IIB and LH IIIA1. The omission of an Ephyraean motif on the plain exterior of such vessels is interpreted here as a deliberate rejection of a striking Argive emblem.

In LH IIIA2, a large part of the painted pottery assemblage in Laconia is monochrome. Decorated kylikes are not frequent in Central Laconia, while at Ayios Stephanos, they appear also in a local version with monochrome interior.

Some unresolved typo-chronological issues arise concerning the phase LH IIIB. The characteristic Argive types, Zygouries kylikes, deep bowls A and B, and rosette deep bowls, are very rare or virtually absent in Laconia (see Kardamaki, this volume). Due to the absence of published stratified material, it is currently unclear what a typical LH IIIB ceramic assemblage in Laconia would have looked like. Was it mainly composed of plain pottery? We may recall the impression of the pantries in the Palace of Pylos. Here, we meet one of the limitations of focusing exclusively on painted fine wares. On the other hand, plain wares can only be reliably dated when they are associated with MDP. Quantified data is available from Ayios Vasileios for the early Mycenaean period, but there is hardly any other complex in Laconia with which to compare this data. If there is a will to change this situation, it takes a) to isolate large homogenous pottery deposits, b) to try to find funding or a research position, and c) to fully record, draw, study, and publish the pottery.

Considering only the MDP, regional differences within Laconia do not seem to be particularly pronounced during the Late Bronze Age. We find Cretan morphological and decorative elements on MDP, particularly in South Laconia. At Ayios Stephanos, there is an unbroken tradition of colour coating interior surfaces of painted, decorated open shapes, not paralleled in Central Laconia. The technological advantage of a drinking vase with a solidly painted interior, as suggested, e.g., by Susan Sherratt (1980, 186), cannot be the only explanation here. Firstly, open vases with plain interiors have continued to be produced, and secondly, a polished or burnished interior, common in pottery already from the MH and the earlier LH, may have eventually had a similar effect of preventing the clay from absorbing the liquid contents of a vessel.

The comparison of other ceramic wares is currently only possible between domestic contexts in Central Laconia and Agios Stephanos.²¹ As a coastal settlement, Ayios Stephanos had a long tradition of contact with Crete and Minoan Kythera, manifested in the MH Lustrous Decorated Minoanising pottery. This ware never reached Central Laconia in significant quantities before it disappeared

²⁰ Kiriati 2010, 696 (in the context of Lustrous Decorated pottery); Hein et al. 2021, 9, 16, n. 46 (in the context of LH III pottery).

²¹ Pottery evidence from burial contexts is included in an overview of cultural historical developments in LH Laconia in Gallou 2020, 239–253.

in LH IIA. The Platform deposit in the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery offered the opportunity to study the full range of pottery in use around the transition from LH I to LH IIA in Central Laconia. A close resemblance to Ayios Stephanos can be detected regarding the use of Matt Painted ware, the gritty fabric, and cooking pottery.

In LH IIB-IIIA1, there is a decline in the archaeological record at Ayios Stephanos and on Kythera, while at the Menelaion and at Ayios Vasileios, construction of monumental buildings had begun. The flourishing region of Central Laconia may have led to voluntary or forced migration from settlements in South Laconia and Kythera (Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022a, 182). At the same time, shapes such as conical cups, tripod cooking pots, and other household equipment indicate that Minoan practices of communal drinking and various household activities were established in Central Laconia (Day et al. 2022). These southern connections are not limited to pottery. For example, Elina Kardamaki highlights similarities in the architecture between Ayios Vasileios and the sites in the Western Mesara, including the construction of monumental terraces as a foundation for palaces, of a large court and of deep stoas (Vasilogamvrou et al. 2021). This may hint at intensified relations during LH IIIA between these two regions. At this time, Central Laconia may have attracted specialized craftsmen from Crete who helped build and furnish the palace at Ayios Vasileios and who introduced new sumptuary practices.

For the following periods, we currently lack data from stratified, quantified, and fully published deposits. As described above, regarding MDP, a certain stylistic divergence from the development in the Argolid can be observed. Argive innovations were rarely followed in Laconia, and scientific analyses by means of NAA seem to confirm that there was very little exchange of fine ware products between these two regions during LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB (Kardamaki et al. 2023, 122–123). Does this mean a decreased amount of contact between Laconia and the Argolid already from LH IIIA2 onwards?

An alignment of the two regions in terms of their pottery development took place with the introduction of the deep bowl with a thin or medium-wide rim band and monochrome interior that is very frequent on all major Laconian sites. In the Argolid, this vessel type is dominant only from LH IIIC Early onwards. Is it, however, a commonplace in the South Peloponnese already during LH IIIB? At Ayios Vasileios, there is some stratified evidence that open shapes with monochrome interiors became common only after the major destruction of the palace in the middle of the LH IIIB phase (Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022). Still unresolved is the question of whether a massive increase in monochrome interiors occurred already in later LH IIIB or in LH IIIC Early. In the first scenario, there would be no significant occupational hiatus at Ayios Vasileios (cf. Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022, 182); however, the sudden introduction of the deep bowl FS 284, a shape totally alien to local consumption practices, would demand an explanation. One might, for instance, consider immigration of people from another Mycenaean region where deep bowls were already being used in mid-LH IIIB, such as the Argolid. In the Argolid, however, the use of colour coating on the interior of decorated vessels was not a common practice before the very end of LH IIIB (Wirghova 2022, 54–64), with the notable exceptions being the stemmed bowl FS 304/305 with a wavy band and the Group B deep bowl. The latter shape, as well as the rosette deep bowl, the two type fossils of LH IIIB2 Argive pottery, are likewise absent in Laconia, with the result that Argive influence on the pottery style in Laconia is currently not obvious before LH IIIC Early (Kardamaki, this volume).

In the second scenario, there would be a gap in the second half of the 13th century in Laconia, followed by an explosion of activities on the known major sites in LH IIIC Early, directly after the palaces in the Argolid had been destroyed. We know very little yet about the nature of these activities due to the lack of excavated contexts and architecture. It would, however, have been a short episode that might have ended after a few decades. The latest stage of the Bronze Age in Laconia is mainly represented by chamber tombs at Epidavros Limera and Pellana, as well as the sanctuary at Amykles (Demakopoulou 1982).

Reconstructing the events and relationships between the different regions within Laconia and beyond in the last part of the Late Bronze Age clearly requires further studies, particularly at Ayios Vasileios and Pavlopetri in the South, as well as at other promising sites. Eventually, the decorated deep bowl, FS 284, with its monochrome interior, holds a key to our understanding, as it seems to mark the beginning of a new era — an era without palaces.

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A VIEW FROM THE TERRACE: LATE HELLADIC POTTERY AT IKLAINA, MESSENIA

PATRICK M. THOMAS

Abstract

This paper presents some aspects of ceramics recently recovered from Iklaina, an important Mycenaean polity in Messenia near the Bronze Age palace at Pylos. After a lengthy period of independence, Iklaina was eventually subjected to direct control by Pylos in LH IIIB. Current understanding suggests that the site was first occupied during MH III; activity was then continuous until the end of LH IIIB or the early years of LH IIIC. The great bulk of the pottery excavated at Iklaina appears to have been made in the region, if not Iklaina itself. The potters who supplied Iklaina developed a number of distinctive local semi-fine and coarse fabrics, some of which continued in use for a long time. Changes in vessel shape over time, particularly within the fine wares, conform closely to those observed elsewhere in the Greek mainland. Although decoration is often not well-preserved, it appears that Iklaina's potters, like those at Nichoria, decorated vases less frequently than their counterparts in the Argolid and were selective in choosing motifs. The unpainted pottery, which includes many vessels and implements related to cooking, as well as large numbers of basins and conical cups, suggests that specialized activities occurred at the site.

Keywords: Iklaina, Late Bronze Age Messenia, Late Helladic ceramics

This brief report aims to present some of the on-going research on the pottery from the site of Iklaina in Messenia (Fig. 1). The site itself came to attention decades ago because of a large stone platform, the so-called "Cyclopean Terrace," which supported a monumental building. The Iklaina Archaeological Project (IKAP) has examined the region around the site for more than twenty years, first beginning with a survey (Cosmopoulos 2016), and since 2006, excavation of the site itself.¹ Current understanding suggests that Iklaina enjoyed a long period of independence before its integration into the kingdom centered at Pylos, only a few miles to the northwest (Cosmopoulos 2019). Some pottery has already been published in a volume concerning the stratigraphy of the Cyclopean Terrace and adjacent areas with monumental buildings (Cosmopoulos 2018; 2021), but other than an account of some of the cooking pottery (Gulizio, Shelmerdine 2017) and an account of the major phases of development (Shelmerdine 2022), little has been presented concerning the entire corpus, which exceeded 350,000 sherds by the end of the 2023 excavation season, including a substantial number of complete profiles, particularly of unpainted vessels.

Some general points about the material examined to date are appropriate. The chronological range of the Iklaina pottery runs from MH III continuously through LH IIIB; a small number of pieces may extend into LH IIIC and a very few possibly into Protogeometric, although the latter are uncertain. There is a very small amount of Hellenistic pottery, and then a substantial number of Byzantine tile fragments (although no obvious pottery), mostly confined to surface levels. IKAP has exposed a large area around the nucleus of the site, and a great deal of LH IIIA and IIIB material has been

¹ IKAP is directed by Dr. Michael B. Cosmopoulos of the University of Missouri-St. Louis under the auspices of the Athens Archaeological Society. I thank Dr. Cosmopoulos for his steadfast support and encouragement. The ceramics team includes Dr. Cynthia Shelmerdine (Univ. of Texas-Austin) and Dr. Joann Gulizio (Univ. of Texas-Austin) along with myself. I extend profound thanks to Ms. Stephania Veldemiri, project conservator; Dr. Yannis Nakas, who prepared all the drawings of pottery; Mr. Giorgos Vdokakis, project photographer, who took all the photographs; and Ms. Alexandra Katevaini, project database coordinator. All profile drawings are represented at a 1:3 scale; photographs are variously scaled, but a scale is provided with each to indicate the size. The map of Messenia was prepared by the author.

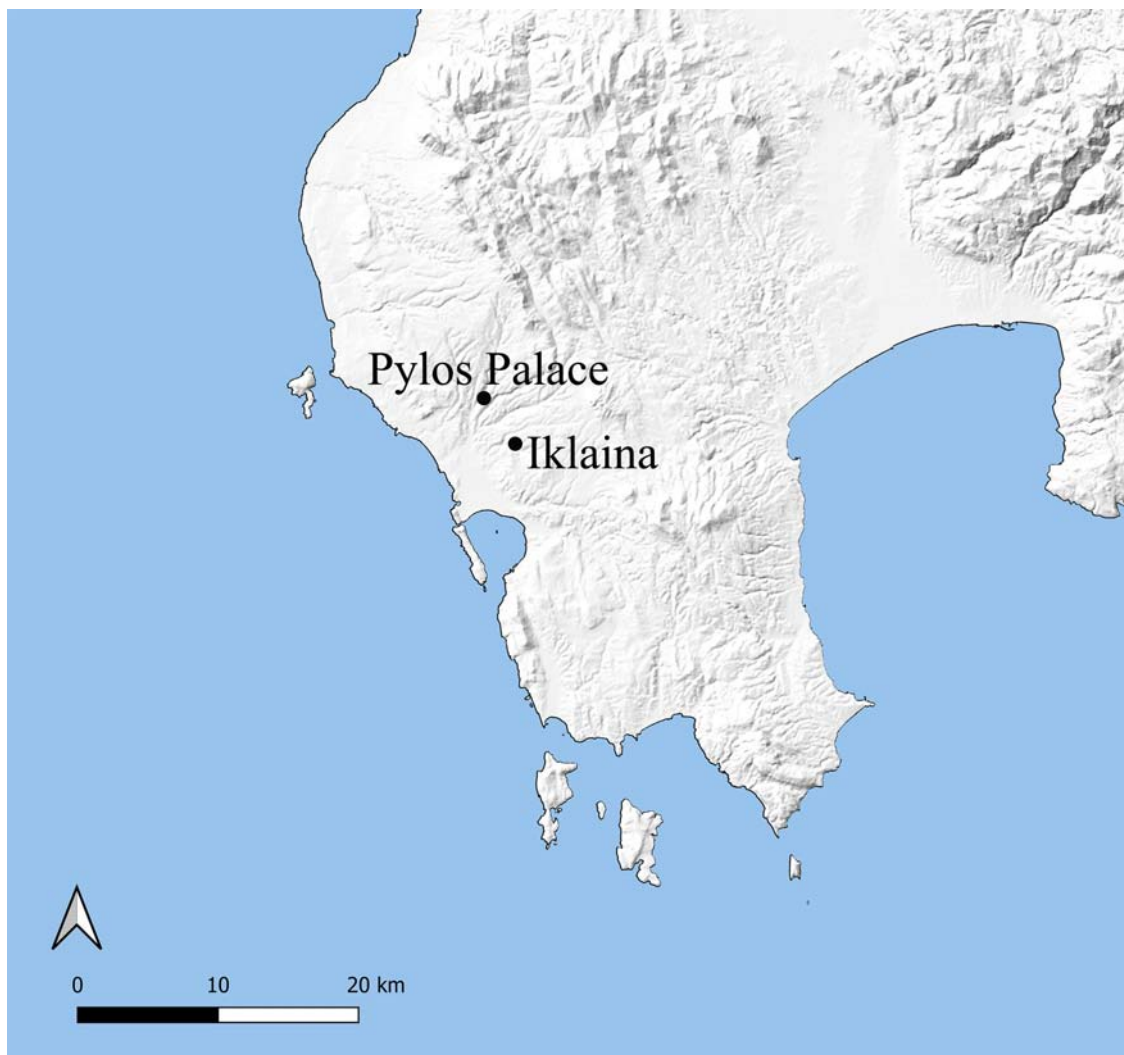


Fig. 1. Messenia, with locations of Iklaina and Pylos (author's work)

excavated in building contexts. Only relatively small areas of earlier levels have been exposed so far, although intensive construction activities in LH IIIA-B ensured plentiful redeposition of earlier pottery. Throughout Late Helladic, Iklaina's local potters followed closely changes in shape and decoration observed throughout much of the mainland, although in terms of fabrics, particularly for semi-fine and coarse wares, they tended to be conservative, using some varieties consistently for a very long time. One of the issues presenting difficulties for dating is that painted decoration is often very poorly preserved. An interesting point is that lustrous painted decoration is usually much better preserved on LH I-II vessels than on ones from LH III, which also is generally true of Nichoria and Pylos. Although "Messenian soil" often is blamed for bad preservation, it appears rather to be the result of the earlier decorated pots being much more carefully slipped and finished. Even unpainted pottery from LH III frequently sees much of its surface, not only the paint, spall or peel off.

IKAP's approach to initial classification of ceramics has been to distinguish painted from unpainted sherds and to use "fine," "semi-fine," and "coarse" fractions based on increasing inclusion size. The term "semi-fine" generally corresponds to "medium-coarse" used at other sites. Within each of those fractions, varying numbers of macroscopic fabric groups have been discerned, some of which have chronological boundaries (e.g., "Late Mycenaean fine" (LH IIIA-B) and "Palace" (LH IIIA2-B)), while others are less restricted (e.g., "Mycenaean fine white" (LH I-III)). Truly fine wares are rare in MH and

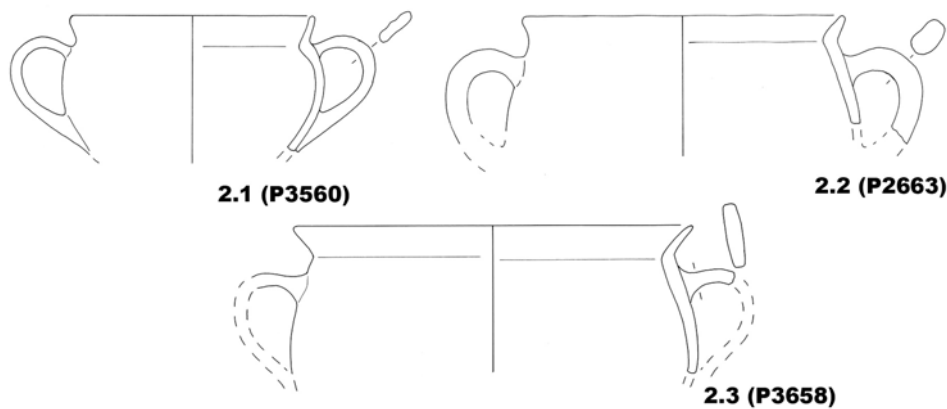


Fig. 2. Early Mycenaean shoulder-handled goblets (drawings Y. Nakas)

LH I, become somewhat more common in LH II, and then very common in LH III; some of the larger LH IIIB units are 60–70% fine ware. The “Palace” ware that begins to appear at Iklaina in LH IIIA2 derives its name from the greenish-white, over-fired surfaces that resemble those frequently encountered at the Pylos palace. Whether Iklaina’s “Palace” ware was produced by Pylian potters is undetermined at present, although Galaty (1999; 2014) has argued for a single production center or group of producers in Messenia associated with the palace using a common source of kaolinitic clay, particularly for kylikes. Some regularly-encountered macroscopic fabric groups are certainly imports, such as those containing large numbers of micaceous inclusions. Most of the latter probably come from Kythera and belong to large tubs or closed vessels, but others may be from Lakonia; petrographic and chemical analyses are underway to address their origin more definitively. Imports from outside the region, however, are rare. To date, no definite Cycladic or Aeginetan pottery has been encountered, nor has any Minoan import been securely identified. There are, however, some painted fine vessels that are likely from the Argolid.

In terms of chronology, the earliest pottery for which we have evidence does not have the highly carinated profiles of MH II open vessels reported from Nichoria (Howell 1992, 56–65, figs. 3.34–3.41, 3.48). Likewise, painted decoration associated with MH II is lacking. A small area of burnt destruction level with MH III was investigated in 2006 and 2008 (Cosmopoulos 2008). It and Iklaina’s other MH pottery from open vessels have the more rounded profiles of MH III. Well-burnished Minyan pottery, either light or dark, is not often preserved, since the very thin burnished surfaces erode easily. P3560 (Fig. 2.1) is one of the better examples of Iklaina’s “local Minyan” ware, which in terms of fabric is semi-fine, not fine. The fabric certainly continues into LH I, if not LH IIA, and P3560 is in fact probably LH I. Shoulder-handled goblets, kantharoi, and smaller footed cups in unburnished semi-fine ware are the most common open shapes from MH III into LH II, and attempting to draw hard distinctions between periods based simply on rim profiles is difficult even in larger units. Figs. 2.2–2.3 (P2663, P3658) show two shoulder-handled goblets in two of the most common semi-fine wares observed in LH I–II, “Early Mycenaean Gray-Orange” and “Hard Orange” respectively. Coarse dark burnished sherds from cooking pots or similar closed vessels are common. Even though we refer to these generically as “Middle Helladic coarse,” they probably continued to be made into LH I or even later. As Rutter (2017) suggested, in many respects a lengthier Middle Helladic Period that unites MH III and LH I might make good sense; this seems applicable to Iklaina’s material.

When lustrous-decorated Mycenaean pottery appears, the relatively small amount of it in comparison to the unpainted fraction echoes what was recently reported of an LH IIB deposit recently published from Pylos (Vitale *et al.* 2021, 195). At Iklaina, the Vapheio cup not surprisingly is the dominant form in LH I–II, as it is in the rest of Messenia (Mountjoy 1999, 315). Five Vapheio



Fig. 3. Vapheio cup rims (photos G. Vdokakis)



Fig. 4. Bridge-spouted jug; pear-shaped rhyton (drawing Y. Nakas; photos G. Vdokakis)

cup (FS 224) rims of LH I-IIA date from an LH IIA pottery unit are all probably Messenian products (Figs. 3.1-3.5). All of these have deep rim bands on the interior. Other early painted LH forms include small squat jugs (FS 87) and alabastra (probably FS 81). Good examples with well-preserved paint are illustrated by Shelmerdine (2022, 152, fig. 3). Larger vessels are not common, but some are present, of which P3568 (Fig. 4.1), a fragment of the upper part of an FS 103 bridge-spouted jug dating to LH IIA is an example. Also from LH IIA is a substantial fragment of what is probably an unusual FS 202 pear-shaped rhyton (P3543; Fig. 4.2) with a large octopus. A large body sherd with linked arcades (FM 66) and a framed spiral above it is from a beaked jug (FS 141 or 143). Other than Vapheio cups, painted open serving vessels like goblets seem to have been uncommon. Of well-known and easily identifiable types like Ephyraean goblets, there is only a single possible example.

In LH III, Iklaina's painted pottery follows trends elsewhere, although as noted above, the paint is often poorly preserved. From LH IIIA1 is P5551 (Fig. 5), an FS 31 piriform jar with FM 49 curve-stemmed

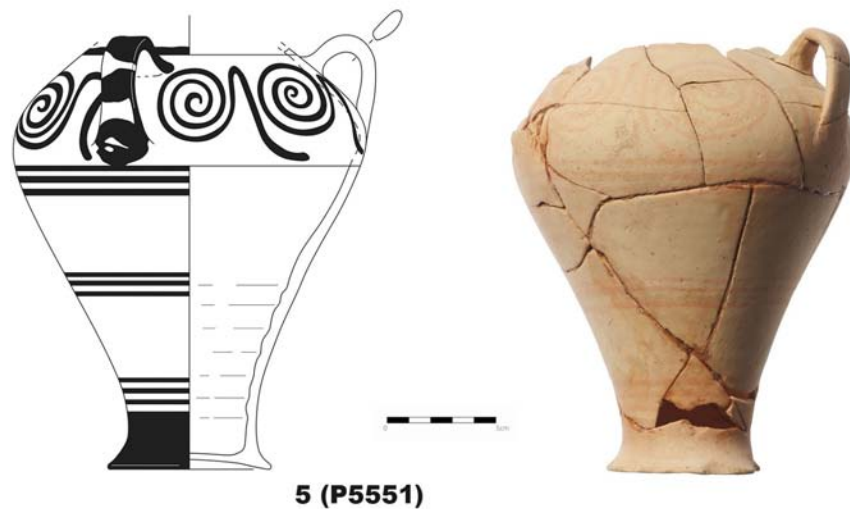


Fig. 5. Piriform jar (drawing Y. Nakas; photo G. Vdokakis)

spiral in the shoulder zone; the photograph shows how fugitive the paint tends to become in LH III. Painted kylikes appear from LH IIIA1 onwards, and as at other sites, it appears that solid paint was by far the most common kind of decoration for this shape; an example from LH IIIA2 (early) (P5431; Fig. 6.1) shows one of the better-preserved examples, with the profile alongside the sherd. Frequently dirt clings so tenaciously to the paint that it cannot be removed without taking off both the paint and the underlying surface. Patterned kylikes, even the linear stems and feet, are less frequently encountered. P4444 (Fig. 6.2), is an FS 257 kylix with an FM 23 horizontal whorlshell and reasonably well-preserved paint. It comes from a unit that is predominantly LH IIIA2 (late) with a small amount of LH IIIB. Shelmerdine (2022, 155, 157, fig. 7) illustrates several other patterned kylikes of FS 257 or 258 with good paint preserved; P3534, however, is probably an import from the NE Peloponnese. FS 284 deep bowls are fairly common in LH IIIB, although certainly not at the frequencies observed in the Argolid. Painted patterns are usually not well preserved, but P5507 (Fig. 7.1) shows an FS 284 deep bowl with vertical chevrons flanking some kind of large tongue or floral pattern. P4251 (Fig. 7.2) is an interesting example that comes from the destruction layer of Building X that covered part of the East Road, one of the latest strata on the site (Cosmopoulos 2018, 86–87). P4251 has the somewhat angular lower body and relatively straight rim of the Type 3 Messenian deep bowls that Mountjoy (1997, 124–128) has termed transitional LH IIIB–C and Vitale (2006; cf. also Vitale *et al.* 2022, 128–139) has termed LH IIIC Phase 1.² If there was a pattern in the handle zone, it has been eroded, but the linear decoration on the exterior is preserved, as is a spiral on the inner floor of the vase, similar to a deep bowl from Sykea in Lakonia (Mountjoy 1997, 123, 129, fig. 11, no 70).

Iklaina has produced a large amount of unpainted pottery, including many complete profiles. Within the fine ware, the FS 204 conical cup is especially common from LH IIA (and possibly earlier) to the end of occupation: we have nearly 3000 rims and more than 300 complete profiles, of which P3482 and 3484 are representative examples (Figs. 8.1–2). Based on an LH IIB deposit published by Vitale, Stocker, & Malapani (2021, 199, 205, tab. 14), it appears that conical cups were very common

² The drawing shown here is an updated one compared to that illustrated by Shelmerdine (2022, 156, fig. 7, P4251). This deep bowl is not as angular in its lower body as shown there, and the belly band is wider. Shelmerdine (2022, 158) assigned this pot to LH IIIB2.



Fig. 6. Solidly-painted and patterned kylikes (drawing Y. Nakas; photo G. Vdokakis)

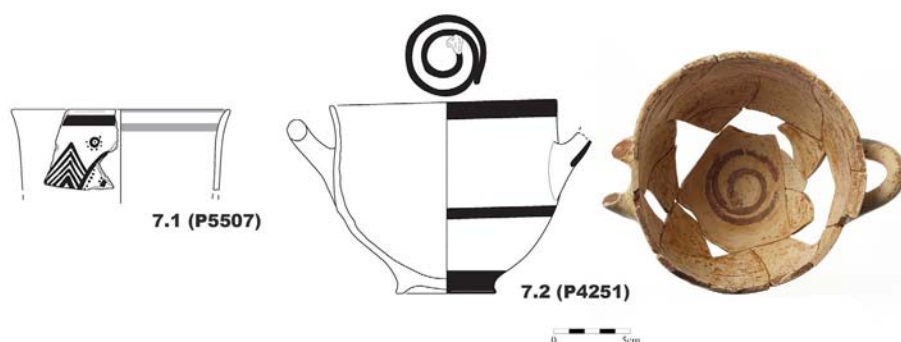


Fig. 7. Deep bowls (drawings Y. Nakas; photo G. Vdokakis)

at Pylos by that time, as they were at Nichoria from LH I onwards (Dickinson 1992, 478–479). Unpainted kylikes are, as expected, the most common fine open shape in LH III, especially the FS 267 angular variety, which first appear in LH IIIA1 at Iklaina. Unpainted bowls and basins of all kinds are represented, from the small FS 295 shallow angular bowls (SABs) to medium and large-sized ones with convex profiles. Unlike some other sites where it is difficult to distinguish the small FS 295 SAB from the angular kylix, at Iklaina until well into LH IIIB, the rims of SABs are horizontal everted (cf. P1857; Fig. 8.3), unlike those of the angular kylikes, which are everted. Only in later LH IIIB do the SAB rims reflect the spreading lipless or flaring lipless profiles of contemporary angular kylikes (cf. P5415; Fig. 8.4). The handles become narrower and sometimes project an angle above the rim, as seen in the drawing.

It has also been possible to mend a number of larger closed vessels, of which P4509 (Fig. 9.1), a fine hydria from an LH IIIB context is an outstanding example. From the same context comes P4510 (Fig. 9.2), a cutaway neck jug with a twisted handle; it is in a semi-fine fabric, however, not fine. These two vessels were accompanied by a third, P4511 (Fig. 9.3), a high-handled jar with a parallel from the palace at Pylos (Shape 40; Blegen, Rawson 1966, 378–379, figs. 343 & 370, no. 802).

Of particular interest from Iklaina is the abundance of cooking-related vessels, some of which have been discussed by Gulizio and Shelmerdine (2016). These include many fragments of spit-stands in different coarse fabrics, including 15 complete profiles, and more than 50 pieces of griddles. One emendation to be made to that article as a result of a better understanding of the chronology of our coarse “Tan Grog” and “Very Coarse Orange” fabrics is that we now recognize that spit stands are not primarily limited to earlier Mycenaean, but certainly continue into LH IIIB. Large cooking jars from

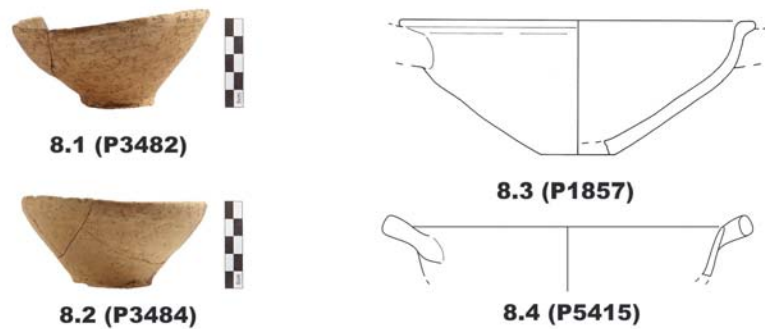


Fig. 8. Conical cups; shallow angular bowls (photos G. Vdokakis; drawings Y. Nakas)



Fig. 9. Hydria, cutaway-neck jug, high-handled jar (photos G. Vdokakis)

LH II-III A1 often resemble the button-based ones familiar from the Argolid, Lakonia, and central Greece (cf. Lis 2017, p. 41, fig. 5.2). The ovoid cooking jars of the LH III A2-B periods with everted, tall spreading, or collar-necked rims and vertical round or oval handles (cf. Lis 2017, p. 43, fig. 5.4) are not obvious at Iklaina. It seems possible that a generic vessel type we term a wide-mouthed jar served this purpose, since some have burning on one side. The everted rim profiles of these are easy to recognize in the semi-fine and coarse fractions, but they appear to come in a distressingly large range of body heights and rim diameters, although two horizontal round handles are standard. P5256 (Fig. 10) from an LH III A2/B context shows a particularly squat and lopsided one with a flat base. At Nichoria, this vessel form seems to appear in LH III A1 (Martin 1992, 494; 584-585, figs. 9-36 (P3640), 9.37 (P3641) and continues at least into LH III A2 (cf. Shelmerdine 1992, 502). Semi-fine and coarse tripods of varying sizes are common, but they become less so in LH III A2-B, as noted by Gulizio & Shelmerdine (2017, 37). As is the case at Nichoria, most of the early ones from LH I-III A1 have incurving lipless or incurving flat-topped rims. The abundance of cooking equipment is probably evidence for frequent feasting activities at the site.

Many miniature vessels imitating the most common standard shapes such as kylikes, cups, bowls, dippers, tripods, hydrias, feeding bottles, and a few others have been identified. Paint is not often well preserved on these, and it is likely that some of the ones in semi-fine fabrics were unpainted. These



Fig. 10. Wide-mouthed jar (Photo G. Vdokakis)

vessels will be the subject of a special study by J. Gulizio, who has already presented some preliminary results (Gulizio 2013).

Iklaina offers the opportunity to study ceramic change at a site that in its early history was a peer or near-peer polity of Pylos, with the latter eventually developing into a palatial center and incorporating Iklaina into its control. Its potters seem to have been well integrated into the “ceramic culture” of Late Helladic Greece, but they also appear to have maintained some particularly local types of fabrics and distinctive preferences for some shapes in the semi-fine and coarse wares.

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INCOMING AND OUTGOING. CERAMIC TRADITIONS IN LATE MYCENAEAN WESTERN ACHAEA. THE CASE OF TEICHOS DYMAION

MICHALIS GAZIS

Abstract

The LH III pottery from Teichos Dymaion is characterized by a good deal of variability, both in terms of stylistic and typological attributes, as well as in matters of production techniques and methods. The assemblage is predominantly composed of vessels associated with the consumption of food and drink, such as deep bowls, cups, kylikes, kraters etc. Imported pottery is well represented, as exemplified by the numerous LH IIIB2 / IIIC early deep bowls of Argolic origin. In terms of decoration, local production is typical of Achaean fashion, mainly of LH IIIC date, including multiple bands on stirrup jars and solidly painted bodies of kraters, amphoras and kylikes.

Variability is also manifested in the occurrence at Teichos Dymaion of two ceramic traditions, apparently of southern Italian origin, which distinct from the predominant Mycenaean tradition, but are considered in this paper as significant indicators of mobility of people and ideas throughout most of the 12th century BCE. One of them is the Handmade Burnished Ware, which has been found in quantities significantly higher than those documented at other Aegean sites. Wheel made Grey Ware, while relatively rare, is considered in the context of hybridity with Mycenaean pottery. Moving in the opposite direction, one could arguably claim that Teichos Dymaion played a role, if not in the production, then at least in the circulation of Achaean pottery in Italy, given its strategic location at the starting point of the sea route between western Achaea and the Italian peninsula.

Keywords: Late Helladic III, Teichos Dymaion, western Achaea, ceramic traditions, mobility.

Our understanding of the evolution and idiosyncrasies of the Late Helladic (LH) III local pottery tradition of western Achaea is primarily based on the study of burial contexts.¹ (Fig. 1) On the other hand, information from settlements is in short supply, not least because of the paucity of excavated sites,² but also to some extent due to the challenges of studying assemblages of fragmented material from old excavations, often with documentation that leaves much to be desired.

Western Achaea followed a distinct cultural path during the Bronze Age and well after (Moschos 2002, Deger-Jalkotzy 2003, Moschos 2009, 2, Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2015, 322, Petropoulos 2016, Aktypi *et al.* 2021, 489). The Late Bronze Age pottery from Teichos Dymaion, while firmly rooted in the Mycenaean tradition, displays clear signs of variability in terms of stylistic and typological features, as well as in aspects of production methods. As is to be expected in a settlement site, the pottery is highly fragmented, with no more than a few dozen complete vessels that can be associated with specific habitation levels.

An outline of the pottery from E. Mastrokostas' excavations in the 1960's (Mastrokostas 1962; 1963; 1964; 1965; 1966, Papadopoulos 1979) and more recent ones (Gazis 2010; 2017; 2018) is included in this paper. Pottery from the 1960's is in effect without stratigraphic or contextual information, so it will be evaluated based on its typological attributes. Detailed quantified results are not available at

¹ In the last few years a number of studies have appeared concerning the most prominent chamber tomb cemeteries in the region around Patras and to its west, namely Kallithea (Papadopoulou 2015), Krini (Kaskantiri 2016), Chalandritsa/Ag. Vasileios (Aktypi 2017), Clauss (Paschalidis 2018) and Voudeni (Kolonas 2021). For a synopsis of the available data, see Aktypi *et al.* 2021.

² For Chalandritsa/Stavros, see Kolonas, Gazis 2006; for Teichos Dymaion, see Mastrokostas 1963; 1964; 1965, Gazis 2010; 2017; for Mygdalia, see Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Paschalidis 2017; 2021; for Aigeira see Alzinger *et al.* 1985, Alram-Stern 2003, Deger-Jalkotzy, Alram-Stern 2006, Gauss 2009, Gauss 2019.

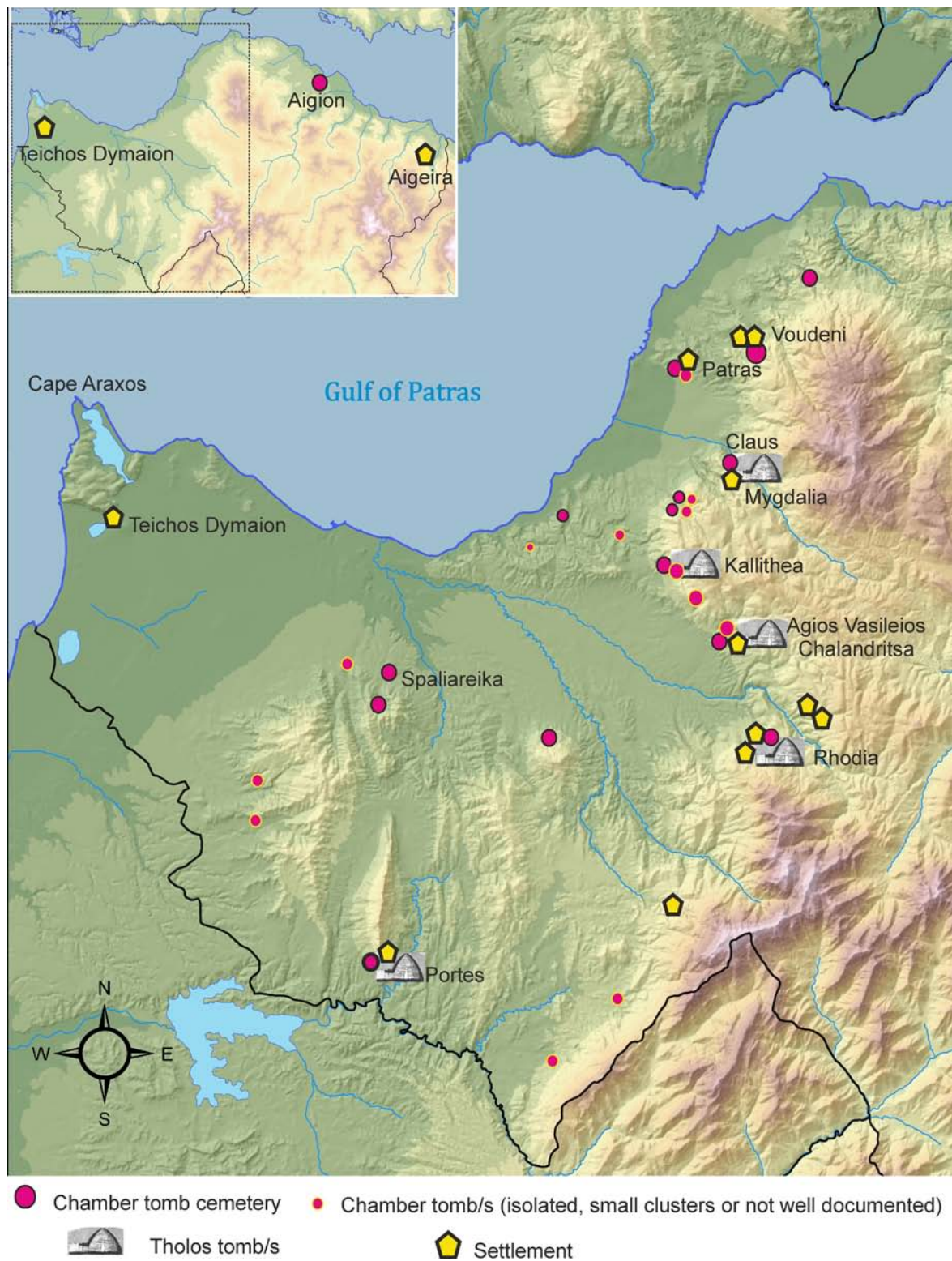


Fig. 1. Map of western Achaia (Achaia inset) with sites mentioned in the text (after Aktypi et. al. 2019).

the moment, however, a few remarks can be made with a reasonable degree of certainty. Table 1 provides a summary of the available evidence regarding complete vessels.

Table 1. Frequency of various shapes based on complete vessels.

Shape	Number of complete vessels	%
Deep bowl (FS 284, 285)	12	18.18
Deep bowl w/vertical handles (FS 289)	2	3.03
Stirrup jar (FS 171, 173, 174, 176)	12	18.18
Kylix (FS 267, 274, 275)	11	16.66
Krater (FS 10, 282)	5	7.57
Amphoriskos (FS 59)	4	6.06
Alabastron (FS 83, 93)	4	6.06
Hydria (FS 128)	6	9.09
Amphora (FS 58)	2	3.03
Jug (FS 112)	5	7.57
Cup (FS 215)	3	4.54
Stemmed bowl (FS 306)	2	3.03
Carinated cup (FS 240)	1	1.51
Basin (~ FS 322)	1	1.51
TOTAL	66	

The general picture is very much like what we know from practically every LH IIIB – LH IIIC assemblage on the Greek mainland (Lis, Batziou 2022, 61). The repertoire comprises mainly open vessels; as expected, the deep bowl is the dominant shape, particularly during the final stages of LH IIIB and into LH IIIC early. The number of complete vessels in the table tells only part of the story, since the sherd material comprises a very large number of deep bowls, from the earlier Group A type to the later monochrome version. Further open shapes, albeit in significantly smaller quantities include cups of shallow or deep, semi-globular variety, kraters, kylikes, basins, and kalathoi. Closed shapes comprise stirrup jars, as well as belly-handled and four-handled amphoras, amphoriskoi, alabastra, hydrias, and jugs. Storage vessels, including pithoi and smaller-sized coarse/medium coarse ones, are common. Very few of the potsherds can be identified as cooking vessels, whereas tripod cooking vessels are virtually unknown in Achaea.

In terms of technology, the fine decorated wares at Teichos Dymaion show a remarkable uniformity. The majority of the vessels are made with the typical clays common in western Achaea, ranging from pink to very pale brown and reddish yellow. The quality of the potting is high, with most vessels being fired hard to cling hard. On the other hand, the shaping is not as consistent; many vessels, especially kylikes, are not symmetrical and often exhibit some degree of distortion.

POTTERY BY PERIOD³

A point that has to be made is the lack of evidence concerning the LH I and LH II periods at Teichos Dymaion. Although the Early Helladic II and III, as well as the Middle Helladic periods, are well-documented in terms of pottery (Gazis 2017; 2018), often found mixed in strata of Mycenaean date, there is hardly any pottery evidence predating the LH IIIA. One sherd, decorated with a scale pattern, most likely from a piriform jar (Mastrokostas 1965, pl. 161γ, upper left), can be dated to

³ The chronology of ceramic phases in Achaea is based on typological and stylistic criteria almost exclusively from burial contexts. We are not, yet, in a position to adopt a more refined, universal chronological scheme that combines ceramic and architectural criteria. In this paper a safe approach will be followed, i.e. a two- and three-phase division for the LH IIIB (IIIB:1-2) and LH IIIC (IIIC early – middle – late) respectively.

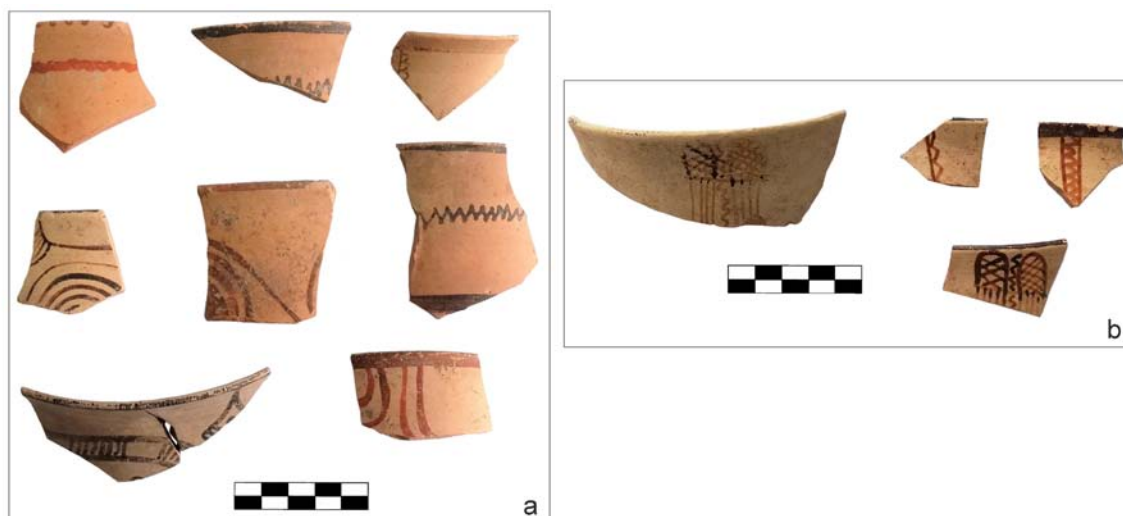


Fig. 2. a. Sherd of Group A deep bowls/ monochrome interior, b. Sherds of Group A deep bowls/ linear interior.

LH IIIA1. Stratigraphically, no evidence has been found to date that suggests a clear LH IIIA1 or IIIA2 phase. This is hardly surprising for western Achaea in general, particularly concerning the lowlands. LH I and II sites have been located on the foothills along the western flank of Mt. Panachaiko with an apparent focus in the area of Katarraktis and Rhodia (Fig. 1; Zapheiropoulos 1956, Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, Aktypi, Gazis 2019), but there is no evidence of those periods either from burial or settlement contexts in the lowlands and along the coastal plain.

Interestingly, the best examples datable to the succeeding period, LH IIIB1, are incoming. Several stirrup jars with various versions of the Mycenaean flower on the shoulder and alternating thin and broader bands just below, are examples of the Argolic influence during this period throughout Achaea (Mastrokostas 1965, pl. 170, Papadopoulos 1979, 71, fig. 95g).

The picture becomes more complex and varied toward the end of the 13th and into the 12th century BCE. There is a much greater number of vessels and potsherds of LH IIIB2 date. Deep bowls, apart from being the most common open shape, can be taken as an indicator of ceramic change or continuity at both intra- and inter-site levels. In our case, a closer, preliminary examination of both old and new sherd material can be summarised as follows:

Group A deep bowls (Papadopoulos 1979, 153, fig. 177) and group A with monochrome interior (Kardamaki 2009, 231-233) far outnumber all other types (Fig. 2a).

Sherds with a medium rim band or group C deep bowls (Kardamaki 2009, 228-230) are the next most frequent type (Fig. 3).

Only one sherd attributable to a group B deep bowl has been identified (Fig. 3 top right). This is hardly surprising, given the relative rarity of this type outside the Argolid (Catling 2009, 367; Vasilogamvrou et al. 2022, 178-179). More examples could be attributed to stemmed bowls, but the number of bases/stems is remarkably low compared to the rims, so it is not always safe to distinguish between the two variations.

There are only three known examples of rosette deep bowls: one complete (mended) vessel, Π 15925 (cat. no. 1),⁴ and two sherds from the 1960's (Mastrokostas 1965, pl. 164, bottom, second from left, and one more identified recently).

In trench EH /SU 11 (Fig. 4) a destruction layer has come to light that comprises a group of Argolic imports with definite LH IIIB2 features and some LH IIIC early ones: A rosette deep

⁴ Cat. nos refer to the catalogue of selected vessels at the end of the paper (see Appendix).



Fig. 3. a. Sherds of Group C (medium band) deep bowls, b. Sherd of Group B deep bowl



Fig. 4. Trench EZ/ SU 11

bowl (Π 15925) that is customarily considered a herald of LH IIIB2, four almost identical kylikes (cat. no. 2, Π 17128, cat. no. 3, Π 17129, Fig. 5, and sherds of two more), one dipper (cat. no. 10, Π 17138), and a stemmed krater sherd with “composite” decoration (cat. no. 11, Π 18392, Fig. 6), all of them equally comfortable in LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC early. This is a clear illustration of the connection with Argolid and a telling example of the long-standing debate concerning the pottery



Fig. 5. Kylix cat. no. 3, Π 17129.

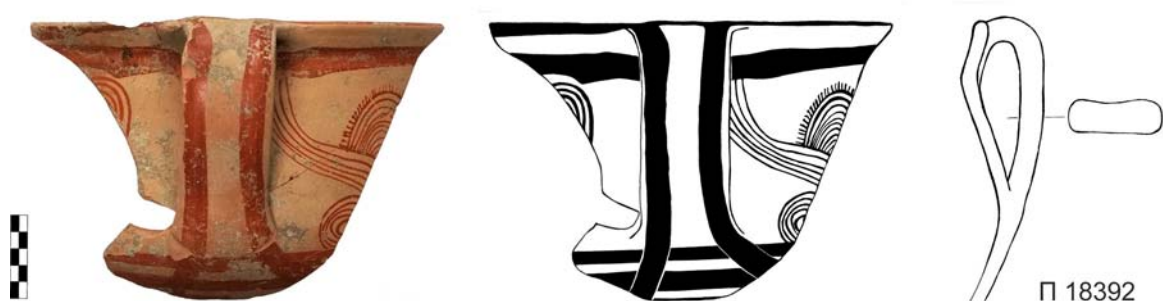


Fig. 6. Fragment of krater cat. no. 11, Π 18392

sequence on either side of the turn of the 12th century BCE (Rutter 1977; Mountjoy 1999, 36–38; Vitale 2006; French *et al.* 2009).⁵

The LH IIIC early seems to be the best represented period in the pottery assemblage. Regarding the deep bowls, a typological/stylistic dividing line between the LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC early periods is hardly discernible, so many of the observations described in the previous paragraph also apply to this one. A notable differentiation is an apparent increase in the occurrence of group C (medium band) deep bowls and monochrome deep bowls. Stirrup jars are more helpful in defining differences in style, with features that gradually distinguish the decorative trends from those of the preceding period, such as the decoration with groups of bands on their bellies and the evolution of shoulder decorative motifs.

The LH IIIC middle appears to be less conspicuous, a fact not unlike what is known for Achaea, as observed by P. Mountjoy (1999, 404). In the case of Teichos Dymaion, this may be a reflection of the site's history, with the first destruction taking place in the LH IIIC early and another towards the end of the 12th century BCE. Thus, the apparent decline during the LH IIIC middle can be explained as an effect of the earlier destruction. Deep bowl cat. no. 6, Π 17132 (Fig. 7) is decorated in a fashion reminiscent of the large krater from Aigeira known as the “krater with fringed decoration” (Deger-Jalkotzy 2003, 67, fig. 7; Alram-Stern 2020, taf. 54:c), dated to the local phase IIa, i.e. LH IIIC middle.

An increase in our data is observed for the LH IIIC late, in line with the picture of prosperity that we have for Achaea. In terms of shapes, there are deep bowls and stemmed bowls, now both monochrome (cat. no. 4 and 5, Π 17130, Fig. 8, and Π 17131), kylikes with solidly painted stems and lower bodies (Papadopoulos 1979, fig. 179:f-i) and jugs, alabastra (cat. no. 7, Π 17135), kraters, deep

⁵ One can only sympathise with H. Catling's concerns while putting forward the analytical questions concerning the deep bowls from the Menelaion (Catling 2009, 388).



Fig. 7. Deep bowl cat. no. 6, Π 17132.



Fig. 8. Monochrome deep bowl cat. no. 4, Π 17130

bowls with vertical handles (perhaps predecessors of the EPG kantharoi), belly-handled amphoras and large four-handled amphoras, found fragmentarily in Teichos Dymaion. The Achaean style takes over, as is exemplified by the typical western Achaean stirrup jars, decorated with concentric semi-circles and banding around the belly, which is the trademark of this period (cat. no. 7, Π 17134, see also Papadopoulos 1979, fig. 81:b, PM 906, and fig. 85:c, PM 801). Figure 9 illustrates a LH IIIC late destruction layer from trench EZ/ SU 6 with characteristic Achaean vessels (cat. no. 7, Π 17134 and cat. no. 9, Π 17136, Fig. 10), a group of clay spools and, interestingly, Handmade Burnished Ware (HBW) sherds (Gazis 2022). A taste for monochromy is evident, particularly in open shapes. An interesting example of a local idiosyncratic shape, a tripod basin with horizontal handles (cat. no. 12,

Π 18393, Fig. 11), was found in a LH IIIC late context in trench ΔΔ. This is the only example of such a vessel found in western Achaea (see the Appendix, which includes the catalogue of vessels).

Table 2. Decorative motifs on pottery at Teichos Dymaion

Rosette	FM 17
Flower	FM 18
Multiple stem	FM 19
Whorl shell	FM 23
Sea anemone	FM 27
Concentric semicircles	FM 44
U- pattern	FM 45
Running spiral	FM 46
Quirk	FM 48
Antithetic spirals	FM 50
Isolated semi-circles	FM 43
Stemmed spiral	FM 51
Wavy line	FM 53
Chevrons	FM 58
Zigzag/triangles	FM 61
Tricurved arches	FM 62
Foliate band	FM 64
Lozenges	FM 73
Panel	FM 75

Several interesting features of the assemblage are worth further comment:

Decoration: Fine wares are, as a rule, either pattern- or linear-decorated, followed by monochrome pottery. Unpainted fine vessels come in much smaller numbers, although in some cases they are objects of some prestige (e.g. kylikes). Regarding decorative motifs, the entire array known from the Achaean cemeteries is present at Teichos Dymaion (Table 2). The local Achaean style becomes apparent in the post palatial period. At Teichos Dymaion this is illustrated by the stirrup jars (see cat. no. 7. Π 17134), the large amphoras and monochrome deep bowls and jugs typical of LH IIIC middle-late Achaean style. The hands of particular painters or the products of pottery workshops in western Achaea have been identified based on typological affinities shared by groups of vessels (Aktypi 2017, 227, fig. 279; Paschalidis 2018, 364, fig. 792). Otherwise, there is no indication in the archaeological record that helps locate a production centre in Achaea.

Potter vs. painter: Following an earlier hint, a picture that frequently emerges at Teichos Dymaion is a contrast between the quality of the potting and that of the decoration. Deep bowl cat. No. 6, Π 17132 (Fig. 6) makes the case: It is well-shaped and fired, but its decoration is very poorly executed; careless brushstrokes, an unstable hand, and the motifs are almost distorted. There are numerous examples of vessels or sherds exhibiting the same features. Would it be unreasonable to assume that they were painted by less skilled craftspeople, apprentices, or even elders? Is this a sign of provincialism? Could it mean that there were two sorts of tableware, “good” and “bad”? Should we consider such vessels as suitable for consumption in contexts where aesthetic attributes may have had little significance, such as a settlement? The issue becomes more interesting, considering that this contrast in quality between manufacture and decoration is not uncommon in the cemeteries of western Achaea, where one might expect the “good” pots to have precedence over the “bad” ones. Characteristic examples have been documented, among others, at the cemeteries of Chalandritsa/Ag. Vasileios (Aktypi



Fig. 9. Trench EZ/ SU 6



Fig. 10. Basin cat. no. 9, Π 17136.

2017, 51, fig. 61, 129, fig. 174, 144, fig. 194), Clauss (Paschalidis 2018 200, fig. 385, 203, fig. 390) and to a lesser degree Voudeni (Kolonas 2021, 108, pl. 87, AEB 264, 231, pl. 143, AEB 600 & AEB 601, 314, pl. 180, AEB 804).

Outgoing traditions: Western Achaean LH IIIC pottery has been found in regions including Elis (Mountjoy 1999, fig. 139:94), Arcadia (Mountjoy 1999, 299), the Argolid (Argos: Mountjoy 1999,

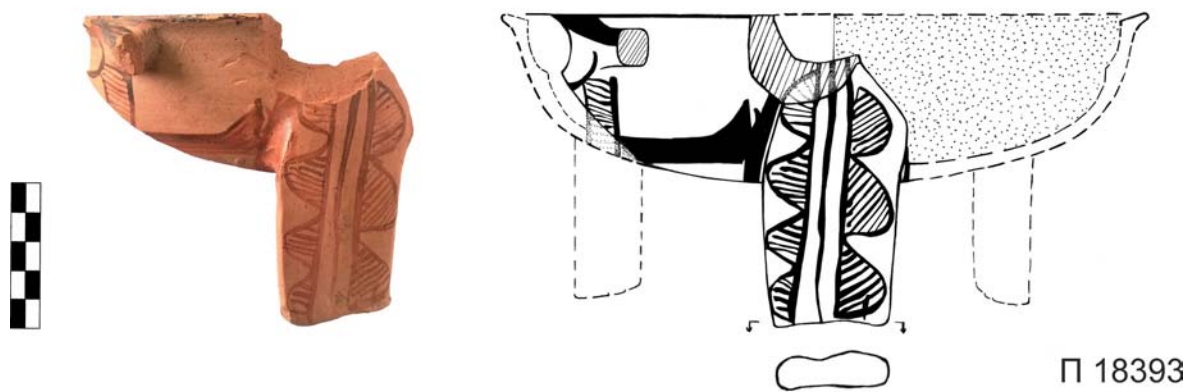


Fig. 11. Fragment of tripod basin cat. no. 12, Π 18393.



Fig. 12. Carinated cup /bowl FS 240 (Π 788) and Grey Ware carinated vessel (Π 18395).

183, fig. 55:412&413), Ithaka (Polis cave: Mountjoy 1999, 471, fig. 172:4), Phokis (Delphi: Mountjoy 1999, 789, fig. 312:291&292), Phthiotis (Elateia/Alonaki: Deger Jalkotzy 2007, 149, fig. 1:4&8). Within Achaea “Voudeni type” LH IIIC late pottery has been found in burial contexts at Nikoleika (Petropoulos 2007, fig. 56b, 59b) and Trapeza (Borgna 2017, 477; Borgna, Vordos 2019, 16, fig. 6; Borgna, De Angeli 2019, 44, fig. 11).

Beyond the Aegean world, it is the Italian connection that puts Teichos Dymaion in the picture of contacts between the two sides of the Ionian. Mycenaean pottery in southern Italian sites including, most notably, Rocavecchia (Guglielmino 2005, pl. CLXVI:d.g; Guglielmino *et.al.* 2010), Scoglio del Tonno (Bettelli 2002, 59-60, figs. 9, 11; Gorgoglione *et al.* 2006) and Punta Meliso (Benzi, Graziadio 1996, 95-138, figs. 2-6; Benzi 2001) has long been considered as of western Achaean origin, both on typological and stylistic grounds, but more recently also corroborated by archaeometric analyses, as for

example in Punta di Zambrone in Calabria (Jung *et al.* 2015). One could arguably claim that Teichos Dymaion played a role in the circulation of Achaean pottery in southern Italy, given its strategic location at the starting point of the sea route between NW Peloponnese and the Italian peninsula (Gazis 2017).

Incoming traditions: At Teichos Dymaion the long standing observation of a strong connection with the Argolid particularly during the late 13th – early 12th century BCE (Sherratt 1980, 182-183, 199, 202: footnote 93, see also Vitale 2006, 187-188) is further corroborated in light of the more recent research. The number of vessels of apparent Argolic origin has increased, including some that are not common in Achaea (unpainted conical kylikes FS 274) or very rare indeed (rosette deep bowls). In fact, the similarity of such vessels with their Argolic counterparts can be striking, e.g., rosette deep bowl cat. no. 1/ Π 15925 and kylikes cat. no. 2/ Π 17128 and cat. no. 3/ Π 17129 have all very close parallels at Iria (see Appendix). The same applies to group A deep bowls Π 773 and Π 916 (Papadopoulos 1979, fig. 177a and 177c), with their parallels at Tiryns (French *et al.* 2009, fig. 13:3-4) and Iria (Döhl 1973, 145, Taf. 63, 3, B6, B6a). This more or less direct Argolic connection is no longer detectable at Teichos Dymaion after LH IIIC early. A relatively limited number of vessels imported from the Argolid has been identified in burial contexts, too, throughout Achaea (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1993, 211-212, pl. 23 e-f, 24b; Petropoulos 2007, 282, fig. 51a-b; Aktypi 2017, 157, fig. 217, fig. 231; Kolonas 2021 pl. 312-313). Common features shared with the pottery of neighbouring regions, mainly Elis, western Arcadia, Aitolokarnania, and to some extent Messenia, have often been grouped under the stylistic umbrella of the so-called West Mainland Koine (Mountjoy 1999, 54-55). Minoan influences or imports have been attested at Voudeni (Kolonas 2021, pl. 347 - 348) and Patras, Germanou str. (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1993), Spaliareika (Giannopoulos 2008, 231, pl. 25:35) and Portes; vessels interpreted as Cypriot imports have also been reported (Papadopoulos 1985).

On the receiving end of the Italian connection, there are two incoming pottery traditions at Teichos Dymaion: Handmade Burnished Ware (HBW) and wheel-made Grey Ware. Both alien to their Mycenaean counterparts, those wares epitomize the aspect of mobility and are regarded as a tangible material indication of the presence of populations of “foreign” origin in the Aegean (Rutter 1975; Kilian 2007; Strack 2007; Romanos 2011; Lis 2018, 140), tentatively related to the appearance of the Urnfield bronzes (Bettelli 2002, 258; Jung 2006, 147; Iacono 2013, 63-66; Jung, Mehofer 2013, *passim*; D’Agata *et al.* 2012, 298; see also Van den Berg 2018 for an assessment of Achaea’s role in the metal trade network).

A few steps towards a better understanding of this process at Teichos Dymaion have been made recently, notably through the work of Benoit Proulx and the author (Gazis 2017, 465, pl. CLXXXVII a-j, pl. CLXXXVIII a-c; Proulx 2019; Gazis 2022, 92-93; Gazis 2024). It has become clear from the preliminary study of the pottery from two trenches of the 2000’s excavation (EZ and ΓΓ) that HBW constitutes a substantial part of the total pottery throughout LH IIIC. This applies primarily to the LH IIIC early, but is also valid for LH IIIC middle and even LH IIIC late (Gazis 2022, 92; Gazis 2024, 154).⁶

Based on typological and petrographic analysis by B. Proulx (2019), the HBW from Teichos Dymaion has been related to Italian prototypes: technological practices such as grog tempering, the presence of specific shapes, most notably collared jars, buckets with incurving rims (and plastic bands), carinated cups as well as examples of imported impasto and Grey Ware are unmistakable indicators of the Italian connection. The element that stands out regarding the HBW at Teichos Dymaion is its quantity. The analysis has shown that HBW constitutes on average 18% of the total pottery studied (Gazis 2022, 93; Gazis 2024, 154). The percentage is remarkably higher than at most Aegean sites, where it usually remains below 1% of the total. Notable exceptions have been recorded at Tiryns, with

⁶ In most sites in the Aegean, the survival of HBW after the beginnings of the LH IIIC middle is the exception, and it is characterized by a noticeable decrease in quantity (Lis 2009, 161; Tiryns: Stockhammer 2008, 287, fig. 71; Rahmstorf 2011, 318; Mycenae: Romanos 2011, 193; Aigeira: Deger-Jalkotzy 2003, fig. 8.6; Lefkandi: Popham *et al.* 2006, 174-175, 180).

9.85% in the Lower City during phase 3/ LH IIIC developed (Stockhammer 2008, 287, Abb. 71), as well as in specific areas of the Lower Citadel (Room 127, Belardelli, Bettelli 1999; Bettelli 2002, 136) and at Kastro/Palaia (Iolkos); here a percentage of 14% is reported for the LH IIIC early deposit from Kokotsikas plot (Lis, Batziou 2022, 60). Although it would be unsafe to adopt a “pots = people” approach, the numbers do make a strong case regarding the intensity and duration of the HBW phenomenon at Teichos Dymaion. In Achaea, apart from Teichos Dymaion, handmade pottery originally identified as HBW has, so far, only been found at Aigeira (Deger-Jalkotzy 1977; Rutter 2023, 205–207). However, serious doubts have been raised regarding its association with Italian prototypes (Jung 2006, 43–46; Lis 2018, 141). Besides the ubiquitous HBW, the second incoming category, wheel-made Grey Ware, amounts to only 1.4% of the total pottery in the trenches analyzed (Gazis 2024, 152). It has a very similar shape repertoire with what has been documented at Tiryns (Belardelli 1999), Dimini (Adrymi-Sismani 2006, 106, fig.7) and Kastro/Palaia (Iolkos) (Lis, Batziou 2022, 78–79, fig. 16). It is considered here in the context of hybridity between Italian and Mycenaean traditions, as exemplified in Fig. 12.

This brief description of the pottery assemblage of Teichos Dymaion sets the scene for multiple levels of reading. To begin with, the appearance here of different ceramic traditions is a manifestation of mobility of people, ideas, and artefacts. Each tradition, then, was the product of certain geographical and social realities, which are ultimately reflected in the composition of the ceramic assemblage, from the prestigious Argolic imports of the late 13th century BCE to the unassuming HBW of the post palatial era. The underlay, the uniting common thread, was, of course, the local western Achaean ceramic tradition, which evolved over time, established itself, and spread along both sides of the Ionian.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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APPENDIX

Catalogue of selected vessels (2000's excavations)

1. **Π 15925**: Rosette deep bowl. Mended and restored. Rim decorated with dots and short horizontal lines, one sea anemone (~FM 40) on each side, three-splashed handles. Dark brown paint. Pale buff clay, same slip. FS 284.
H: 0.10m, D. rim 0.132m, D. base 0.049m
Parallels: Döhl 1973, 169, taf. 68:3, A4 (Iria); French *et.al.* 2009, 193, fig. 6:2, 195, fig. 8:2 (Mycenae); Mountjoy 1999, vol. I, 151, fig. 39:298, French *et.al.* 2009, 208, fig. 18:2, Kardamaki 2009, Taf.4, 83 (Tiryns).
2. **Π 17128**: Kylix, mended and restored. In-turned lip, vertical strap handles, deep conical body, disc base with semi globular cavity on the underside. Possible traces of tin plating. Pale buff clay, same slip. FS 274.

H. 0.182m, D. rim 0.20m, D. base 0.075m

Parallels: Döhl 1973, 176, taf. 71:4, H9a (Iria); Catling 2009, fig. 188:PD 103 (Menelaion); French *et.al.* 2009, 205, fig. 16:1 (Tiryns); Aktypi 2017, 63, fig. 76, cat. no. 62 (Chalandritsa/ Ag. Vasileios); Alram-Stern 2020, Taf. 37:c, Taf. 40:a, b, Taf. 41:b, d, Taf. 50:a, (Aigeira); Papadopoulos, Papadopoulou-Chrysikopoulou 2017, 119, fig. 33:105 (Aigion).

3. II 17129: Kylix, almost identical with 17128, handles slightly shorter. Pale brown clay, reddish buff slip. H. 0.178–0.179m, D. rim 0.195m, D. base 0.08m

Parallels: as above.

4. II 17130: Monochrome deep bowl, mended, partly restored. Out-turned rim, straight-sided upper and conical lower body, ring base. Dark brown clay, blackish brown paint. FS 285.

H. 0.132m, D. rim 0.173m, D. base 0.065m

Parallels:, Mountjoy 1999, vol. I 189, fig. 58:447 (Mycenae).

5. II 17131: Monochrome deep bowl, complete. Out-turned rim, rounded conical body, ring base. Dark brown clay, blackish brown paint. FS 285.

H. 0.101m, D. rim 0.142m, D. base 0.057m

Parallels: Alram-Stern 2020, Taf. 36:a, e, taf. 45:a, taf. 49:e (Aigeira).

6. II 17132: Large deep bowl or small krater. Partly preserved, mended. Flat horizontal rim, horizontal handles at maximum diameter, conical lower body, base missing. Interior and rim solidly painted, wide band below the rim, handles and lower body solidly painted. Decorated with panel pattern on both sides and hanging semicircles, single or concentric, above and below. Pale brown clay, same slip. Scaled down FS 281.

H. pres. 0.111m, D. rim 0.19m

Parallels: Döhl 1973, 132, Abb. 3, taf. 760:1, U 1 (Iria); Mountjoy 1999, vol. I, 173, fig. 49:364 (Mycenae), for rim profile see Mountjoy 1999, vol. I, 157, fig. 41:314, both from Aigeira, Alram-Stern 2020, Taf. 54:c for body shape.

7. II 17134: Stirrup jar, mended, missing false neck, handles and parts of lower body. Vertical spout, ovoid/biconical body, disk base. Rings around spout and handle roots, groups of concentric semicircles (FM 43:h) on shoulder. Twelve bands around middle part of body, lower part solidly painted. Light brown clay, buff slip. Brown paint. FS 175.

H. 0.111m, D. max. 0.123m, D. rim 0.022m, D. base 0.054m

Parallels: Papadopoulos 1979, fig. 89:a-b, Paschalidis 2018, 143, fig. 268, for decoration except lower body, 186, fig. 358, 190, fig. 364 (Clauss); Kolonas 2021 310, pl. 306, T13/9, AEB 559, 323, pl. 319, T24/25 AEB 835 (Voudeni); Aktypi 2017, 147, fig. 199 (Chalandritsa/Ag. Vasileios) all for shape and decoration except lower body; Kaskantiri 2016, pl. 13, Γαλ.-T1/E13, pl. 22, Γαλ.-T2/E11 (Krini/Zoitada) for body decoration.

8. II 17135: Two-handled straight-sided alabastron, mended and restored. Wide everted rim, flattened lip. Slanting shoulder, slightly concave sides, vertical handles, flat base. Rim and neck solidly painted inside and outside, upper shoulder unpainted. Decorative zone with three triglyphs bordered above by stylised foliate band (FM 75:2) Handles, sides and underside solidly painted. Dark brown paint. Dark brown clay, same slip. FS 96.

H. 0.079m, D. rim 0.079m, D. max. 0.114m

Parallels: Mountjoy 1999, vol. I, 394, fig. 138:83 (Kladeos); Giannopoulos 2008, taf. 65:5, taf. 67:5 (Spaliareika) for shape.

9. II 17136: Shallow basin, restored and mended, missing one handle. Flat lip, two upright handles, concave sides, flat base. Solidly painted inside and outside, short lines on the handles, three wavy lines around the lip. Reddish brown clay, light brown slip. FS ~322.

H. 0.074m, D. rim 0.225m, D. base 0.148m

10. II 17138: Dipper, mended and restored, handle missing. Mastoid shape, very faint traces of possible solid paint around base. Pale buff clay, same slip. FS 236.

H. pres. 0.105m, D. rim 0.23m 08m, D. rim 0.143m

Parallels: Döhl 1973, 176, taf. 64:6, H3 and B19 (Iria), Kolonas 2021 125, T7/3, AEB 336a-b (Voudeni); Paschalidis 2018, 294, fig. 615 (Clauss) for body shape.

11. Π 18392: Fragment of krater. Wide out-turned rim, wide vertical strap handle, slightly in-turning body. Painted rim, bands below rim inside, along handle edges, three more below handle root. Surviving parts of decoration comprise fringed concentric semicircles and groups of curving thin lines. Pale buff clay, same slip. Brownish red paint. FS 7/9

H. pres. 0.165m, D. rim 0.36m

Parallels: Iakovidis 1969, vol. A, 428, vol. B, 255-257, vol. Γ, pl. 128, no 875 (Perati); Blegen, Rawson 1966, fig. 365.336, Mountjoy 1999, fig. 118:102, fig. 119:103 & 104 (Pylos); Kolonas 2021, 125, T7/2, AEB 338 (Voudeni).

12. Π 18393: Sherd of tripod basin preserving one wide, strap leg, the root of one horizontal handle and parts of the flat/horizontal rim and body. Inside and rim solidly painted. Wide band around root of handle, vertical ladder pattern below it. Wide band around lower body, root of leg painted. Leg decorated with hatched rock pattern. Reddish brown clay, same slip.

H. 0.105m, D. rim 0.23m

Parallels / Comment: Phialon 2018, fig. 19:6128, fig. 65 (Krisa), for basin shape and feet, although differently placed, dated to LH IIIA2, Catling 2009, fig. 210:NS 116 (Menelaion) for foot and lower body shape; French 2007, 186, fig. 8:6 (Mycenae) for a stemmed bowl with round feet and vertical handle.

Though not common, tripod vessels have been found in several cemeteries in Achaea (Papadopoulos 1979, 122, fig. 146a-e, Moschos 2002, 24, fig. 5, Paschalidis 2018, 144, fig. 270, 147, fig. 274, 189, fig. 363) and Elis (Mountjoy 1999, 394, fig. 138:88, Vikatou 2009, 489-490), all of them being stemmed variants of standard closed shapes, e.g. straight sided alabastra, ring vases etc.

The combination of a basin with wide, flattened legs and horizontal handles is so far unique. J. Rutter (pers. comm.) has suggested that this shape might be a ceramic imitation of a stone tripodic mortar (Murray, Lis 2023, 2-3, fig. 4). K. Aktypi (pers. comm.) proposes that this ceramic example could be considered a predecessor of the EPG/ PG clay tripod cauldrons, such as the ones found in the sanctuary of Artemis Aontia at Ano Mazaraki (Rakita), Achaea (Petropoulos 2001, tav. 1:1).

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REGIONALISM
– STUDIES OF PARTICULAR REGIONS

Central Greece and the Cyclades

MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN SOUTHERN PHOCIS FROM THE NEW SYSTEMATIC EXCAVATIONS IN KIRRHA¹

LUCILLE GARNERY, JULIEN ZURBACH

Abstract

The site of Kirrha in southern Phocis, on the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, was occupied from the Early Bronze Age until LH IIIA2. Excavations have been conducted here by Henri van Effenterre and others in 1937-1938, by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Delphi since the 1960s, and as a collaboration between the French School of Athens and the Ephorate since 2008. In LH III the site was smaller than in earlier periods; remains of that period came to light only on the eastern half of the magoula, around the church of the modern village. We have been able to find LH III remains in area 4, on the summit of the hill, just east of the trenches dug by van Effenterre where similar phases also came to light. The material excavated is typical for a settlement, usually highly fragmented. No contexts were excavated which could be characterised as destruction deposits; it seems that the buildings, which are in all probability domestic structures, were abandoned, if not emptied by their inhabitants, and not destroyed by fire. Nevertheless, the careful excavation has led to the establishment of a fine stratigraphy comprising at least four main phases from LH II to IIIA2, with the earlier phases more clearly attested. A striking feature of this site, particularly in area 4, is the change from settlement (until LH IIA) to necropolis (LH IIB) and back to settlement at the beginning of LH III. This paper presents aspects of the LH I-II pottery from graves, which mark the beginning of Mycenaean pottery in Kirrha; then turns to questions about the fine decorated, Mycenaean-style pottery from LH IIIA, and subsequently explores the coexistence of, and relationship between, handmade and wheelmade cooking and storage vessels.

Keywords: Phocis, Kirrha, graves, settlement, adaptation

INTRODUCTION

A new program of systematic excavation began in 2008 on the magoula of Kirrha as a joint project of the Ephorate of Phocis and the French School in Athens.² Kirrha is an important site on the northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf, located at the southern end of the plain covered nowadays with olive trees. It is well known as the harbour of Delphi from Late Archaic times onwards. The name of Kirrha, borne by the modern village that partially covers the site, was coined after ancient Greek texts reflecting a tradition on the First Sacred war? over the control of the land sacred to Apollo, probably at the beginning of the 6th century BC. In fact, the location of ancient Kirrha remains an open question. The modern village, originally known as Xeropigado and located approximately 2.5 km to the north, has been relocated here since 1870 and lies on the southern flank of the magoula, which ensures a good preservation of archaeological remains.

The history of exploration on the site can be divided into three phases (Fig. 1). A French team directed by Henri van Effenterre worked here in 1937-38, concentrating on the central area of the magoula

¹ We would like to thank Bartłomiej Lis for the invitation to contribute to the workshop and its publication and R. Orgeolet for his support, as well as K. Sarri (in charge of MH and LH I pottery) for the collaboration and all the discussions over the years.

² Directors were D. Skorda, R. Orgeolet and J. Zurbach. We are most thankful for the support of Instap, Aix-Marseille university and the École normale supérieure in Paris, as well as the LAMPEA (UMR 7269) and AOOrOc (UMR 8546). Credits: R. Orgeolet (fig.1-2); drawings by L. Garnery, I. Nakas, B. Konnemann; photographs mission de Kirrha. We acknowledge the use of an unpublished report by L. Phialon on L700, 2013.

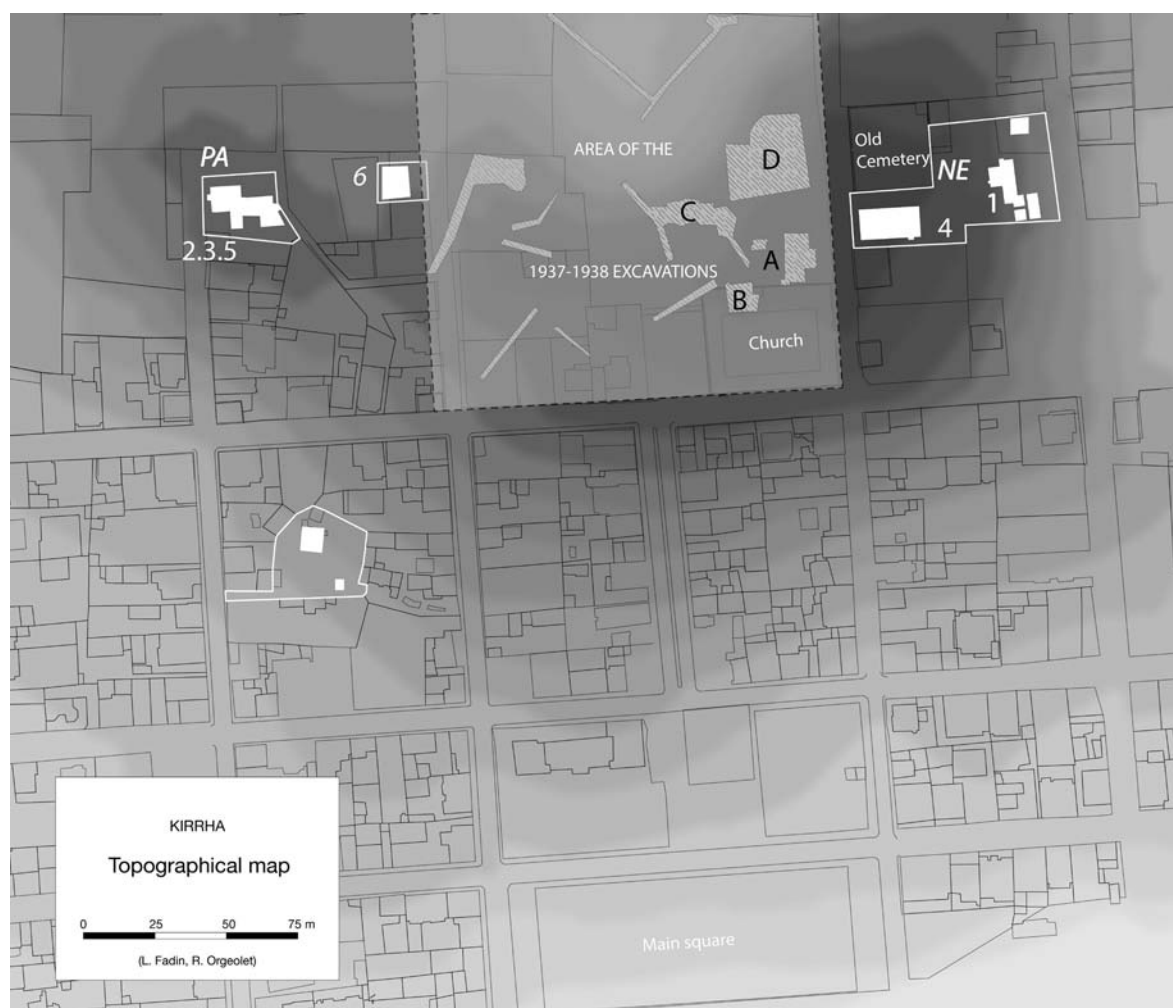


Fig. 1. General plan of Kirrha.

and looking for the Classical sanctuary, but also for the Helladic settlement. These excavations, as far as the Bronze Age is concerned, were published after World War II (Dor et al. 1960). The 1960 publication in one volume, made according to the standards of the time, has long been the reference for the site. Emergency excavations began in the 1960s and intensified, particularly under the direction of Despoina Skorda, in the 1990s and 2000s. Excavations took place in almost every part of the magoula, with very important results on the extent of the settlement in different phases of the Bronze Age. The new systematic excavation by a Greek and French team began in 2008 and concentrated on two separate areas, on the western and eastern slopes of the magoula, respectively. Meanwhile, emergency excavations by the Ephorate continue to take place. A series of contributions in *Archaiologikon Deltion* and other journals and congresses is available, providing an idea of the work done in both the rescue and systematic excavations. Both await a definitive publication (Orgeolet et al. 2017; Orgeolet 2020; Chabrol et al. 2023).

The site is of considerable size; it extends on more than 200 m (north-south) and 400 m (east-west), and its maximum extent may be estimated at ca. 7 ha. However, this does not reflect the size of the Late Helladic (LH) settlement, which was smaller than in earlier periods. Occupation is attested from the Early Bronze II, the deepest levels uncovered during van Effenterre's excavations, but there are earlier sherds and the bedrock has never been reached (Chabrol et al. 2023). The site had its largest expansion during Middle Helladic times. Afterwards, in the Late Helladic period only a smaller area was occupied on the peak of the magoula. Remains of this LH settlement have been

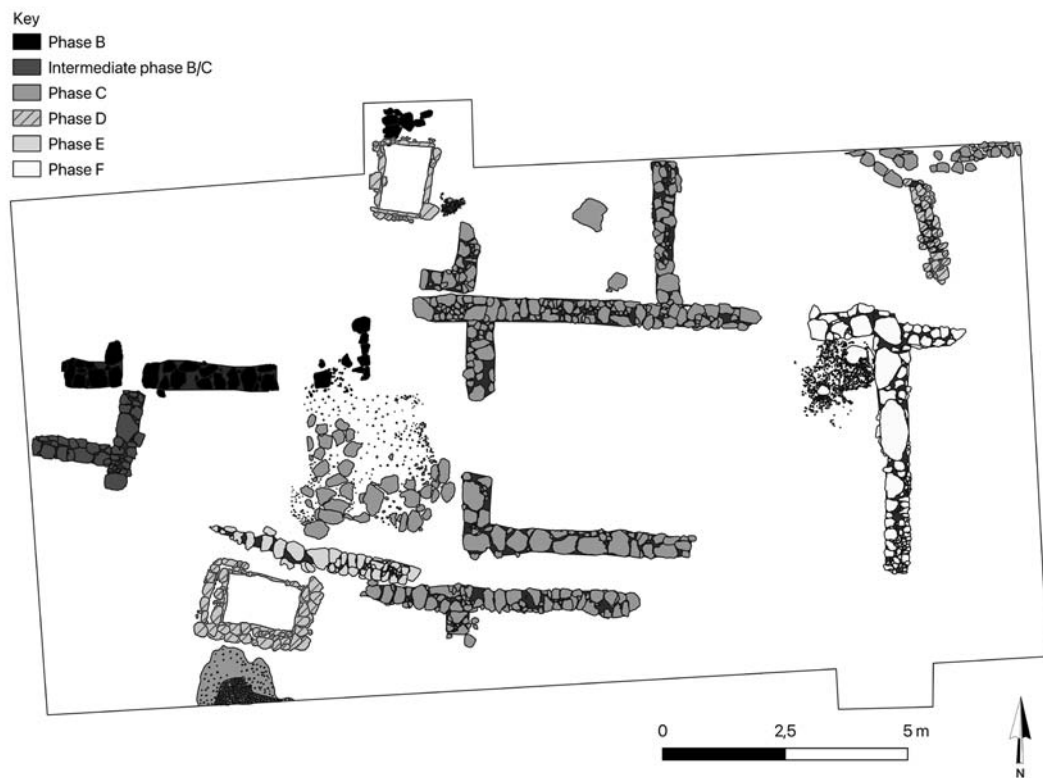


Fig. 2. Phase plan for Area 4.

excavated by H. van Effenterre on the highest and central part of the magoula, then by V. Petrakos during the reconstruction of the church, and lately by the systematic excavation in the area called area 4 (and also in area 1 to the east [Fig. 1], where a pit was excavated, see below). LH remains have been found in some excavations by the Ephorate around that area; however, we are not yet able to define precisely the extent of the site in these periods. Two points may be considered certain: the settlement was smaller in LH I than earlier, and even smaller in LH II-III; and it was located on the summit of the hill constituted by the magoula.

We will present here an overview of the Late Helladic pottery that came to light during the systematic excavation. The material belongs to LH I until LH IIIA2. In the first stages, only a very small minority of the material does, in fact, belong to Mycenaean decorated pottery. Many of these pieces are found in funerary contexts and were imported to a settlement which continued to produce and use the MH classes of pottery. From the beginning of LH IIIA at the latest, the picture changes radically, as decorated and plain wares are locally produced in Mycenaean techniques, shapes and decoration, even if some local peculiarities remain. More than a history of progressive adaptation and acculturation, we tend to understand these changes as the result of choices made at particular moments.

The areas excavated on the *western slope* (sector PA, Fig. 1) were occupied by an MH II settlement, the ruins of which were converted into a cemetery dated to MH III onwards. The graves from this cemetery contained some Mycenaean vases. On the *eastern slope* (sector NE), two quite diverse areas were excavated. In area 1, located in the middle of the slope, no sign of LH activity was found, except for a pit filled with LH IIIA2 pottery and two small kilns of probable LH I date. In area 4, which is, in fact, part of the flat summit of the magoula, remains of the LH I and LH III settlement were excavated.

The structures excavated in area 4 (Fig. 2) define spaces of clear domestic use, and the pottery belongs to household contexts. The only exception to this is the presence of two graves in phase D:

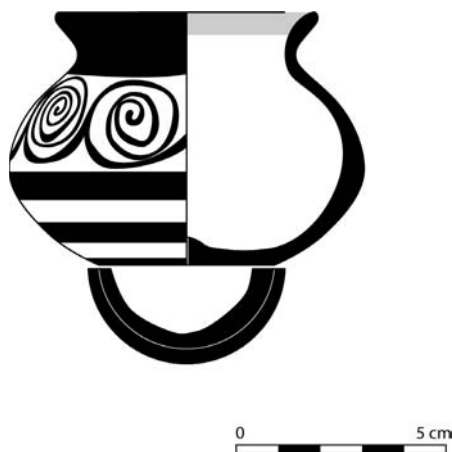


Fig. 3. Squat jug / Basket vase 2039.67

for a time during LH IIB, this whole area was turned into a cemetery, as there are no other structures in that phase. This is quite a remarkable shift, also because it did not last very long before the area returned to being a part of the settlement. The material excavated is typical for a settlement, usually highly fragmented, and lacks clear destruction deposits. It often bears incrustations which render the decoration difficult to identify. The buildings seem to have been abandoned, if not emptied by their inhabitants, without destruction by fire. Nevertheless, the careful excavation has led to the establishment of a fine stratigraphy comprising at least four main phases from LH I to IIIA2. The phases have been defined as follows: the deepest levels we were able to reach constitute phase E, part of the LH I settlement, which probably extends into part of LH IIA; phase

D comprises only the two big cist graves already mentioned, and can be dated to LH II; phases C and B (LH II-III A) are successive settlement phases; and phase A is the abandonment successive to B.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN KIRRHA (LH I-IIB)

The earliest Mycenaean vase from Kirrha (Fig. 3) recalls a squat jug in shape (2039.67, FS 87). It has the typical everted lip and round body, with running spirals on the shoulder and three quite evenly distributed bands on the lower part of the body. Only about one half is preserved. If reconstructed with a vertical loop-handle, this vase may belong to LH I or LH IIA (Mountjoy 1999: 81-82, No. 10 and 88-89, No. 34), and would be close in shape and decoration to an example from the earlier excavations (Dor *et al.* 1960, pl. lii, first line to the left). However, it may also be reconstructed with a basket-handle on the rim. This last shape belongs to the Middle Helladic repertoire and is very common in LH I Central Greece (Burke *et al.* 2020, 455-461, and fig. 13 to the right; in the online image gallery see fig. 4 and 6); other vases from graves in this area are close parallels in yellow Minyan and matt painted wares (see below); and an example from the earlier excavations, the closest parallel for the decoration of our vase, is attributed to LH IIA by Mountjoy (Mountjoy 1999: 747, 749, No. 2: “no Mycenaean parallels” for the shape). This attribution, however, relies on the only aspect that differs from the vase 2039.67: the fact that the stemmed spirals grow from a wavy band, an LH IIA feature according to Mountjoy. On the vase 2039.67 the running spirals do not show this feature. It is then better to maintain the possibility that the vase dates to LH I or LH IIA.

This vase came to light in the western sector (areas 2-3-5, Fig. 1), where a necropolis was installed among the ruins of the Middle Helladic settlement. The stratigraphic context (L401, Fig. 4) is a concentration of human bones whose nature remains unclear: this pit contained “commingled remains of at least four adults of both sexes and different ages, two children, and an infant”; it had been “dug against an earlier wall, probably dating to Middle Helladic I-II” (Lagia *et al.* 2016, 195). These remains, most probably a secondary deposition, must be understood within the general context of the numerous manipulations of skeletons and bones which appear to be a fundamental feature of this necropolis (Lagia *et al.* 2016). The squat jug/basket vase was therefore quite certainly deposited as part of a funerary practice, either with these bones or part of them in their first context or at the moment of their secondary re-deposition. The graves of this area contained very few grave goods, which enabled the excavators to only broadly date the existence of this necropolis during MH III and LH I for its main part, with at least one later grave containing a small amphora decorated with



Fig. 4. Secondary deposition of human bones L401 with vase 2039.67

flammes, probably LH IIB (see below). These few vases do, however, constitute a quite homogeneous series. There are at least four vases which, even if their shape is clearly not the same, do form a coherent series of small vases with handles, the function of which may have been quite similar in the context of funerary practices. These are three small jugs with basket handles (Mountjoy's "basket vase"), two of them matt-painted and one plain (from L504, L261B and L283), and one Vapheio-type cup with basket handle decorated with matt paint (from L314) which, despite being an open shape, may be considered here as well. All of them are from funerary contexts.

On the other hand, it is well known that the Mycenaean squat jugs FS 87 often occur in funerary contexts in other regions. Examples have come to light in Circles A and B at Mycenae, as well as in the Lerna shaft graves (Lindblom 2007, fig. 6), or in the early tombs at Prosymna (Mountjoy 1999, 89 n. 34, 35). There are somewhat later examples from the LH IIB grave near the potter's kiln at Dimini (Adrimi-Sismani 1999, 138–140). Mountjoy notes the popularity of the shape in the Argolid and Thessaly. The basket vase in Minyan and matt-painted is also very popular in funerary contexts of MH III – LH I date (Mountjoy 1999, 747). From a macroscopic examination, this vase seems of local production. It may therefore be a local experiment of lustrous painting on a traditional shape (if a "basket vase") or a local experiment in lustrous painting on a new shape (if a squat jug FS 87). In the latter case, it is clear that the squat jug would not have represented a fundamental change in funerary practices, which required this kind of small closed vessels, and this innovation would therefore not have included any change of function – it remained in the funerary sphere.

In area 4, on the eastern slopes of the magoula, a similar shift from settlement to necropolis took place at a later time. As we have seen, the settlement of the early Late Bronze Age was abandoned in that area, and for one phase during LH II, only two cist graves (L906 and L950) were



Fig. 5 The vases from grave L950



Fig. 6. The alabastron from grave L906

in use, to be later obliterated by a new settlement phase from LH IIIA1 onwards. Both these graves are collective graves of a type well attested in Kirrha at the beginning of the LBA. These bigger cist graves were used for many inhumations involving the manipulation of the remains of earlier depositions (Lagia *et al.* 2016). Grave goods were still as scarce as they were in the preceding phase in areas 2-3-5. During the use of the graves, and apparently not in a single deposition, some small vessels were deposited. Grave L950 contained at least 6 individuals, deposited in different levels; the tomb was, therefore, in use for some time. Mingled with the bones were a total of four vases, among them one red Minyan goblet with flaring lip,

two amphoriskoi, one decorated with matt paint and the other in yellow Minyan; and an imported squat alabastron of Mycenaean type which we tend to date to LH IIB (Fig. 5). In grave L906, belonging to the same phase, there were remains of a red Minyan goblet and another alabastron, in grey Minyan (Fig. 6). This is all the material we have from that phase in area 4, since only graves were located in this area in phase D.

The two alabastra are of interest here. The first one, from L906, is a straight-sided alabastron of regular shape FS 91 with three handles and (for what is preserved of this part of the vase) an everted lip; from its shape, it may be dated to LH II (Fig. 6). It is made in grey Minyan. This represents the outcome of an experiment for which we know no parallels. The appropriation of a typical Mycenaean shape by a potter more used to (or choosing to favour, for one reason or another) the grey

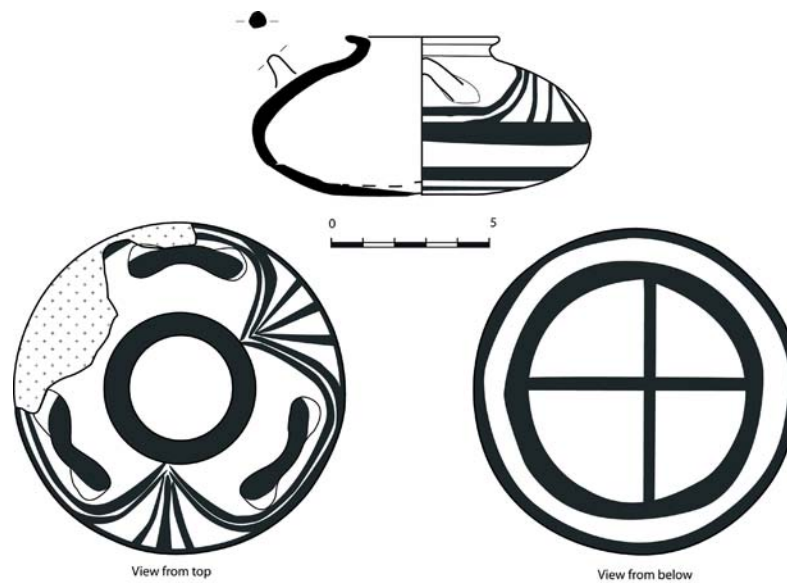


Fig. 7. The alabastron from grave L950

Minyan technique is quite singular. The other one, from L950, is a squat alabastron of medium size (FS 93) decorated in lustrous paint and, based on a macroscopic examination, it is certainly imported (Figs. 5 and 7). The decoration structurally corresponds to what is expected on this shape in terms of the general disposition of motives, but these motives appear quite original. The space between the handles is occupied by a triangular motive as is usual with ogival canopy or rock pattern. Still, the motive itself belongs to the repertoire of matt-painted pottery (see for instance Philippa-Touchais 2002, Nos. 1, 9, 21-23, 45 [Argos], Philippa-Touchais 2007, Nos. 34-37 [Aeginetan, from Argos]) although there does not seem to be any example from Kirrha itself (according to Dor *et al.* 1960). The base of the vase is covered with a simple cross, which would be coherent with a LH IIB date. On this point there are parallels to the north (Thessaly: Mountjoy 1990, 253, fig. 9 n. 1, the same in Mountjoy 1999, 830, No. 16) but also in Achaia (Patras, from a grave: Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2003, 447, No. 9). Alabastra are not surprising among grave goods of that period. Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that the vases of local production found in the same grave are not of similar shapes. From grave L950, there come two small, two-handled amphoras, one matt-painted and one in yellow Minyan, and a goblet in red Minyan (Fig. 5). From grave L906, as we have seen, fragments of a red Minyan goblet are also present. The overall picture appears, therefore, quite different from the situation in the preceding period in the western area (sector PA, areas 2-3-5) where we noted the general convergence of shapes. The presence of alabastra tends to introduce some diversity in the shapes used as grave goods.

This modest occurrence of lustrous painted Mycenaean wares has already been underlined for LH I-IIA on the basis of material from the early excavations. A critical assessment of the 1960 publication has been done by P. Pavúk (2012, 50-57). Despite the lack of stratigraphic and contextual information on this material, some vases may be considered here. P. Mountjoy has attributed to LH IIA a fragment of a squat alabastron FS 83 decorated with ivy and rock pattern on the shoulder, and the vase of the type she calls a “basket vase”, without parallels among Mycenaean shapes, which has already been mentioned. Both these vases are assumed to come from funerary contexts (Mountjoy 1999, 747, 749, Nos. 1-2). It is also the case of two other squat jugs (Dor *et al.* 1960, pl. lii first line to the left and centre; Mountjoy 1999, 748, Nos. 6, 4). The latter is clearly LH IIA based on the crocus motive. The former is attributed to LH IIB by Mountjoy (1999, 748-749, No. 6), a date also quoted



Fig. 8. The amphoriskos from L293 (6192.1)

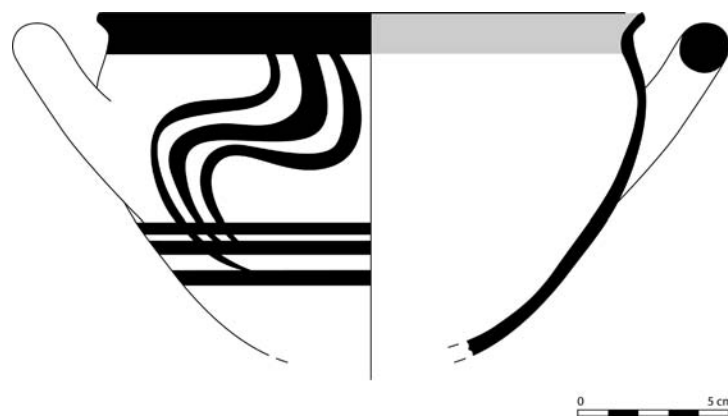


Fig. 9. Stemmed bowl 4275.52, LH IIIA2

by Pavúk (2012, 55). There may, however, be some discussion on that point. The vase considered as miniature is only half the size of 2039.67; the date seems to rely on the “foliate band variant” which is also attested, however, as early as LH I in very similar ways but on other, open, shapes (Mountjoy 1990, 14-15, fig. 7:7, fig. 8:6).

To sum up, it is possible to distinguish two phases in the beginning of Mycenaean lustrous painted wares at Kirrha. To LH I – IIA belong the vase 2039.67, reconstructed as either a squat jug or as a basket vase, and the squat jug from the early excavations (Dor *et al.* 1960 pl. lii first line to the left). They are of probable local production and appear to fit the local use of small closed vessels in graves, which was also widespread at that time in Central Greece and the Peloponnese. In this early period, the classes of pottery in domestic contexts are Minyan, matt-painted and Mainland polychrome. For the time being, we are unable to quote any Mycenaean lustrous-decorated fragment from a settlement context; it is not impossible that some will emerge in the next seasons, but they will certainly remain quite rare. In a later phase, situated in LH II and probably more precisely in LH IIB, other types of Mycenaean lustrous decorated vases appear. According to the material from the early excavations, this is the first phase in which the main shapes of lustrous, painted Mycenaean ware appear, even if they still constitute a small minority of the sherd material (Pavúk 2012, 55). The two graves from area 4 tend to show that Mycenaean alabaster, either imported or locally imitated in grey Minyan, are a more innovative feature among grave goods than their predecessors, the squat jug and basket vase, were in the preceding period. This is the beginning of an answer to the legitimate call for more contextualization made by Pavúk (2012, 55).

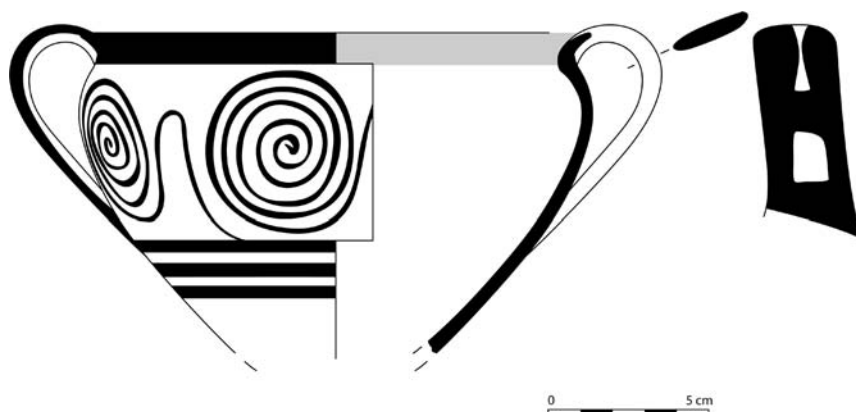


Fig. 10. Goblet with stemmed spirals, 1408.11 from pit L700, LH IIIA2

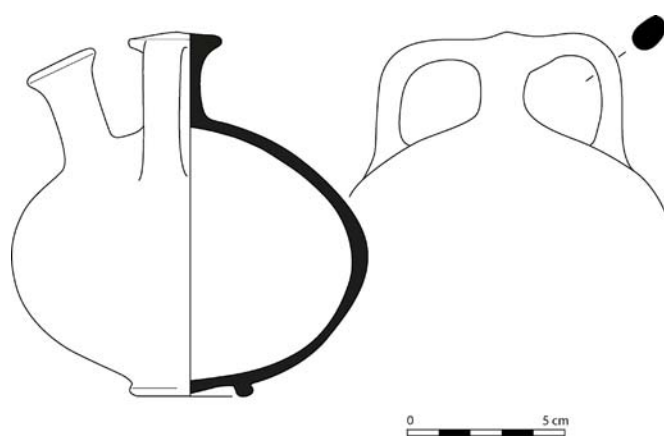


Fig. 11. Globular stirrup jar, plain, 4022.14, LH IIIA2

In light of this general setting, it may be of interest to revisit one particular group, excavated near grave 42 in 1937-38 (Dor *et al.* 1960: 55-56 [grave]; 57 [vases]). Grave 42 is a cist made of slabs, with one inhumation lying inside and another one, probably later, to the side of it; at a small distance, a group of vases came to light, which is certainly linked to the grave. These six vases are two matt-painted cups, one matt-painted crater, one feeding bottle (FS 158, LH IIB), a plain goblet, and the squat jug already quoted (with “foliate band variant”). It is, of course, unclear to what extent these vases form a closed context or are stratigraphically related to both inhumations. As Pavúk (2012, 55) has shown, there is some chronological diversity among these vases. Still, if one considers the possible earlier date of the squat jug (Dor *et al.* 1960, pl. lii first line to the left) then only the feeding bottle would belong to LH IIB, and this group would then appear to belong mainly to the early period as defined here (LH I-IIA), with one Mycenaean squat jug among matt-painted and Minyan vases. The presence of a later vase would then be a distinctive feature of this deposit, which would need to be considered in light of the exceptional nature of the metal grave goods from grave 42.

LH IIIA SETTLEMENT POTTERY

The last period of the settlement on the magoula belongs to LH IIIA. As already mentioned, the settlement was smaller than in preceding periods, but there is a strong caveat to be made here. The fact that the settlement is smaller does not show that it was dying out in favour of Krisa or other nearby



Fig. 12. Kylikes, shallow angular bowl, cup from pit L700

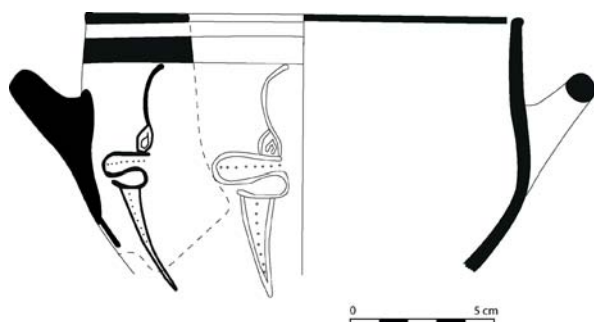


Fig. 13. Deep bowl 1068.17 (LH IIIA2)

sites. On the contrary, it appears that the settlement at Kirrha was dense and well-organized, as evidenced by the presence of a street alongside an LH III building in area D of the old excavation. The pottery from now on is entirely Mycenaean, with only some local features.

A perfect example of the transition towards this new phase is an amphoriskos from a secondary deposit of human bones (L293) in area 2-3-5 (Fig. 8). This amphoriskos is a shape quite common in Minyan but typically not produced in Mycenaean lustrous painted pottery.

This exemplar is decorated with wavy stems on

the shoulder and belly, a motive quite current in Southern Phocis called *flammes* (flames) in the French terminology. The best parallels for this shape are the two amphoriskoi from grave L950, which have already been mentioned, one matt-painted and one in yellow Minyan (Fig. 5). These latter may belong to LH II, possibly LH IIB, as the alabastron from the same grave. This is also the earliest possible date for the amphoriskos from L293. A somewhat later date, in LH IIIA, cannot be excluded, but there are examples of *flammes* already in LH IIB (Mountjoy 1999, 749, fig. 288, No. 7, a basket vase already mentioned in Mountjoy 1990, 254-255 as the earliest occurrence of the motive). Even if dated to LH IIB, this is the last vase of the western area (area 2-3-5). As is well known, Henri van Effenterre coined the term “flammes” for this motive. Based on the material from Krisa, Kirrha and then Delphi, it has been considered a local feature of LH IIIA date. A link with Thessaly might be possible (Mountjoy 1990, 254-255). For now, however, the popularity of the motive is not really visible at Kirrha, even though it is present (Fig. 9). It seems much more popular at Krisa, which is also the impression one would get from the material from the old excavations. At Delphi the motive does occur but less often than in Krisa (Müller 1992, 464-465). It may be, therefore, that we have to do here with a South Phocidian originality but with very diverse aspects at different sites.

The main post-LH II material in area 4 belongs to phase C. From phases B and A we have only small contexts, important for the stratigraphy but of less use for the study of pottery. Phase C is dated to LH IIIA1 – A2 Early based on the importance of stipple motives. It may begin in LH IIB if the small number of lip fragments from Ephyrean goblets are not intrusions from earlier contexts. Already at that time, we can underline the transformation of the repertoire by the dying out of all classes of MH tradition: not a single grey Minyan or matt painted sherd has been identified, and



Fig. 14a and b. Krater 1077.08 (LH IIIA2)



Fig. 15. Cooking pot fragments from phase C and B.

the shapes associated with yellow or red Minyan also disappear. As for the techniques, they merge with Mycenaean-style techniques to create something new, since burnishing is maintained for some time and applied only to part of the production. However, burnished surfaces do not constitute the majority of fine ware pottery. Even this practice, which has long been considered a “local feature”, must be viewed with caution.

Most of the Mycenaean fine pottery, decorated or plain, used in Kirrha was also produced there. Even if we do not have kilns and workshops of that period, in contrast to the MH ones, the existence of a local

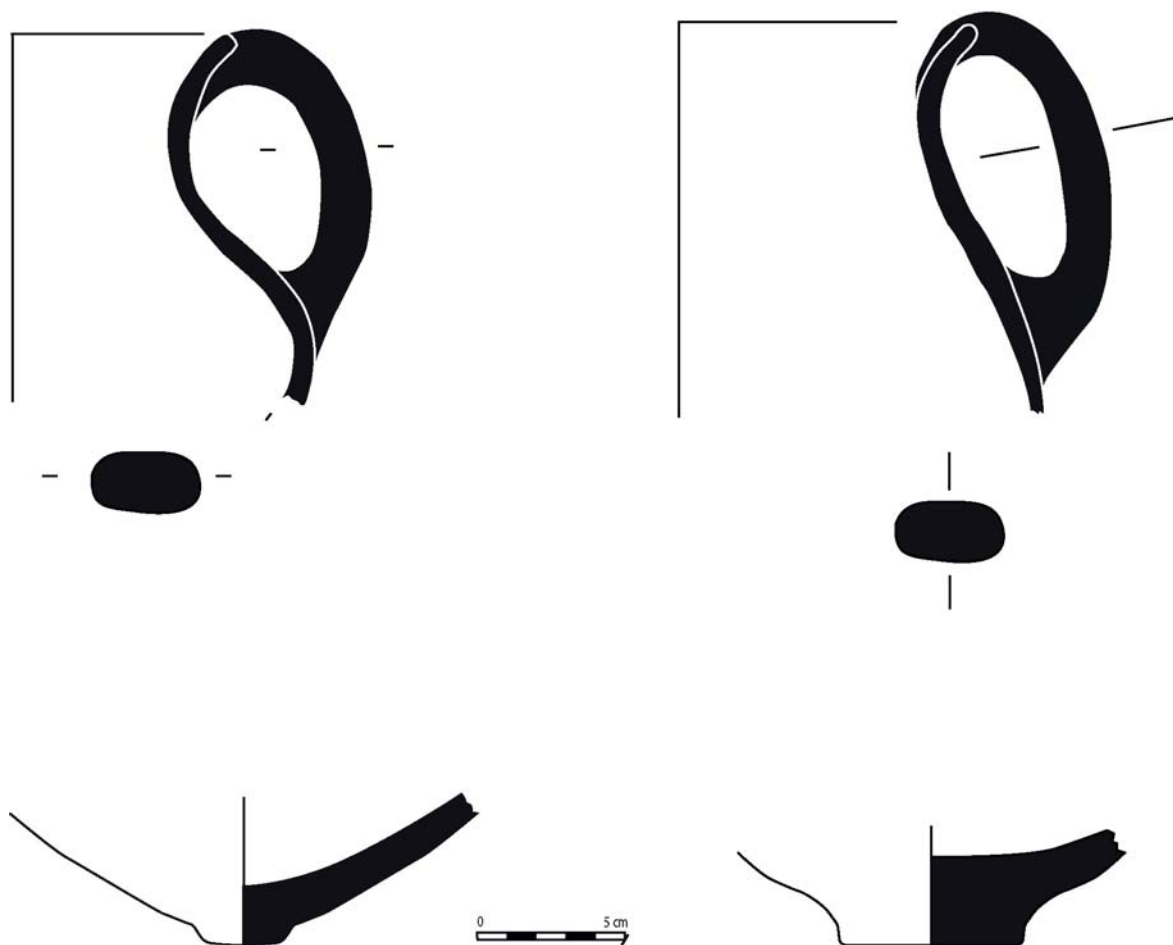


Fig. 16. Cooking pots with 'button' base, phases C and B (4754.51, 4706.59, 4706.54, 4706.56)

production which met the greatest part of the demand emerges from a consideration of fabrics. A classification of fabrics has been established; most Mycenaean pottery belongs to two main fine wares (we called these A1: powdery beige to orange with very fine mica and calcareous inclusions, and B1: porous orange fabric with mica and calcareous inclusions) and imports from the Argolid (F and G in our classification) remain limited, while other sources are very rare.

The local production takes a quite classical Mycenaean aspect. Different aspects of the local South Phocidian style, as has been defined with old excavation material at Delphi and Krisa, are not so heavily represented here (Müller 1992, 463–465; Mountjoy 1999, 27; 29–30). The krater rims do not seem to show the very angular profile inherited from Minyan and identified in Krisa. We have already discussed the *flames* motive; it was present but apparently not on the same scale as in Krisa. On the other hand, the usual chronological markers are present. In phase C, the stipple pattern FM 77, a very useful chronological diagnostic, occurs in a very regular way in most contexts, and as a whole, nothing tends to show that it could have here another chronological meaning than in other regions. More significant than the emergence of a local style is the sudden appearance of a Mycenaean repertoire in fine decorated and plain wares at the very moment when area 4 is again used as a settlement (examples on Figs. 10, 11). At some time between LH IIB and LH IIIA1, pottery classes characteristic of the beginning of the Late Bronze Age seem to die out quite rapidly. There are no complete profiles among Phase C material in yellow Minyan, Mainland polychrome or matt-painted pottery. Sherds from those categories constitute a small minority and can be explained as earlier material in later contexts. What remains are technical aspects used in the context of the local production of Mycenaean pottery,

above all the burnishing of surfaces applied to Mycenaean lustrous painted or plain wares, considered an inheritance from yellow Minyan (Müller 1992: 463) and found on a minority of sherds. Elements of a local style are less clear than it seems from other sites; the krateriskos is not yet attested (Mountjoy 1999: 29–30). Monochrome decoration does occur, particularly for open forms in LH IIIA, which is, however, hardly a characteristic of Phocis. On the whole, the alignment with Mycenaean standards seems clearer than the persistence of local techniques and classes. This is a stylistic, functional, and technical change, as the use of the fast wheel is now clearly visible and accounts for the entire production of fine, decorated, and plain wares.

This is clearly shown by one large context, probably being also the latest on the site. On the eastern slopes of the magoula, east of area 4, a large pit was excavated in 2009. It is located in area 1 (Fig. 1) and cut into earlier phases, directly under agricultural soil, so that any direct stratigraphic connection with area 4 is beyond reach, but from the material, it belongs to phase B. It contained very few animal bones and a quantity of pottery, including 14 complete profiles of kylikes and 67 kylix stems, three shallow angular bowls (all plain), one plain cup (truncated kylix) and a decorated krater, two decorated deep bowls and three stemmed bowls (one truncated). The unity of the pit was evident during excavation and has been confirmed by joins among pottery from the different levels. The presence of the truncated stemmed bowl indicates a date in LH IIIA2, and the deep bowls are of the late LH IIIA2 type; one of them (fig. 10) has a vertical whorl shell very similar to an example from Prosymna (Mountjoy 1999, 129, fig. 29, No. 212). The set of plain kylikes comprises almost all variants (carinated or not, high or low handles, one or two handles). The kylikes are of local manufacture, but the two deep bowls seem to be imports from the Argolid. A large fragment of a crater, probably local (Fig. 11), is the main piece of this deposit. Its decoration is quite unusual in that it seems to present an evolution of the argonaut towards some kind of monster or hydra. The locally made kylikes are thrown on the wheel; they do not exhibit any clearly original features compared to other sites.

Cooking and storage pottery in phases C and B appears more idiosyncratic against Mycenaean standards. Such originality of the cooking and storage pottery of Mycenaean southern Phocis is, in fact, expected and has been stressed before on the basis of non-stratified material at Delphi (Müller 1992, 463–464). The material from the excavation by J.-M. Luce under the Rhodian monument in Delphi should contribute to the question when published. The material from Kirrha represents the only stratified material to date. It shows that the majority of this category of pottery is, in fact, handmade and burnished throughout LH IIIA, a point that constitutes without a doubt an element of continuity with the MH traditions. This general view must be somewhat qualified.

The majority of sherds do seem to belong to a class of one- or two-handled cooking pots with narrow bases, very much like the so-called ‘button-based’ cooking pots known from Mitrou and other sites throughout the Peloponnese and Central Greece (Lis 2017, 39–42). There is no complete example of this shape, and it has to be reconstructed from sherd material. Flat vertical handles are common, as are the ‘button’ bases, some very narrow and others being real bases the vase could perhaps stand on. In contrast, legs of tripod cooking pots are absent from almost all contexts (only a handful have been identified), as are souvlaki stands, which is at variance with Peloponnesian sites and Mitrou (Lis 2017, 41–42). The technique is the same for all fragments: there are no traces of the use of the wheel, even for finishing, and surfaces are highly burnished. A second class of cooking pottery also produced using the same technique is characterised by wider bases and is probably to be connected with the neck and shoulder sherds with plastic decoration of impressed bands (Fig. 17a–b). The walls of this class seem thicker.

It is not yet possible to define possible changes between phases C and B, that is, between LH IIIA1 to early IIIA2 on one side and LH IIIA2 Late on the other. Two cases may be mentioned that point towards a certain degree of diversity in techniques – co-existence more than replacement. From phase

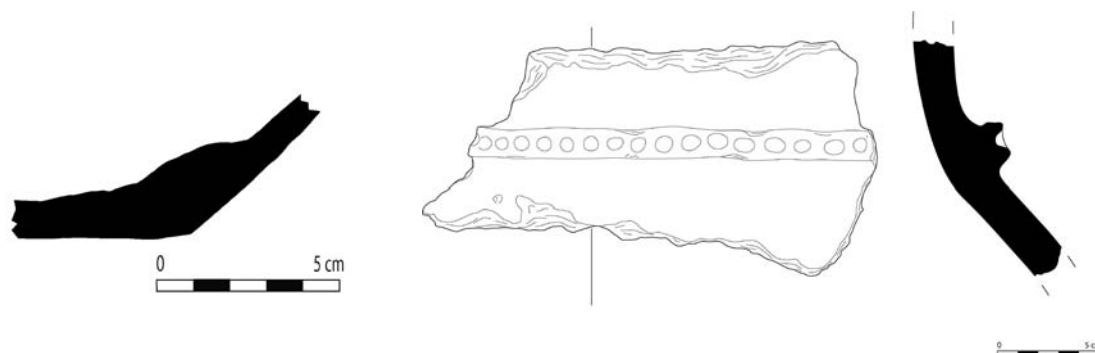


Fig. 17a and b. Other types of cooking pots from phases C and B (4710.57, 4349.3)

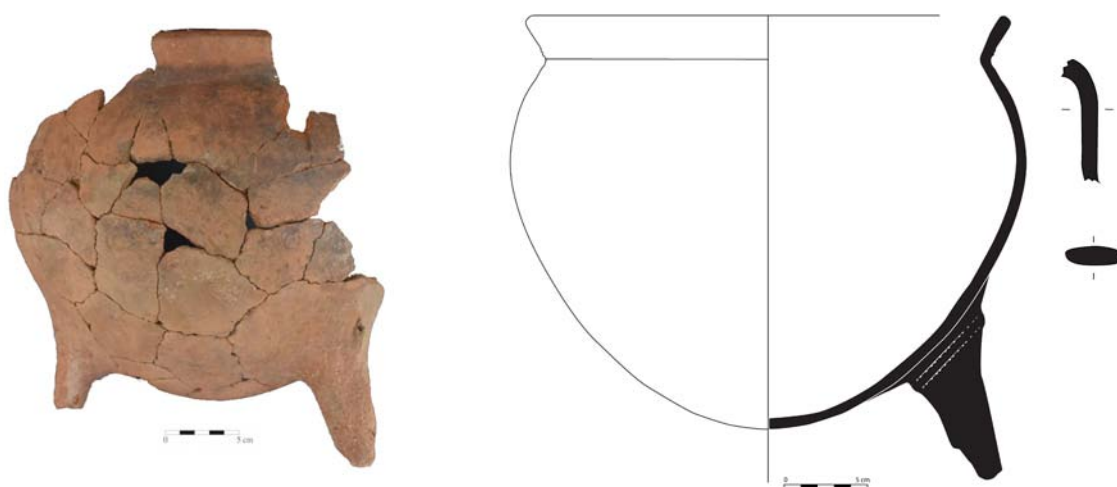


Fig. 18a and b. Tripod cooking pot 4754.50 (LH IIIA2).

C, we have two occurrences of the big storage jar with a vertical handle; they are very similar in form, but one example is handmade and burnished, and the second one is made on the wheel without a burnished surface. Both are from phase C. To this phase belongs also the only example of a tripod cooking pot, whose upper part was made by coiling and finished on the wheel. This is a huge vase with a rim diameter of some 28.5 cm. The fabric is reddish, very hard and with much mica along the usual calcareous inclusions, which makes it a probable import. Its presence is remarkable, but for now, we are unable to measure the degree of evolution, or its absence, towards a more frequent use of the wheel for local production of cooking pots. A Phocidian originality in that area may be supposed from the almost complete absence of tripod cooking pots among the Mycenaean material at Delphi; solid conclusions, however, will rely only on the excavation of stratified LH IIIB – C contexts in the future.

CONCLUSIONS

The overall picture from the new excavation at Kirrha is, to put it briefly, more of a series of sudden changes (in the use of spaces and the production and consumption of pottery) than a long history of the survival of inherited traditions. It seems that at least three main phases can be distinguished in the production and use of Mycenaean pottery at Kirrha. In the first phase (LH I) isolated vases make their way to the site and into some graves without altering the repertoire of shapes being deposited in those contexts. In the second phase, a somewhat greater originality is evident through the appearance

of alabastra and the interaction with locally produced vases in other wares. From the LH II/IIIA transition onwards, Kirrha had a local production of Mycenaean decorated and plain pottery, and these classes replaced the earlier MH-LH I classes quite rapidly; they did not show the regional Phocidian facies as clearly as other neighbouring sites like Krisa and Delphi. The cooking wares, on the other hand, show a certain originality in the absence of locally-made tripod cooking pots. – The last of these changes is the abandonment of the site towards the end of LH IIIA2. The large pit on the eastern slope may well be one of the latest contexts, and the imported early deep bowls would then be the last to find their way to the site from outside. At that time, settlement already existed on the site of Chrysso/Krisa, 4 km to the NE, on the site of Gla Itas, 2.5 km to the NW, and at Delphi.

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OBSERVATIONS ON REGIONAL VARIATION ON LH IIIB2 LATE POTTERY FROM THEBES

ELENI ANDRIKOU

Abstract

An assemblage of pottery excavated in the Municipal Conference Centre of Thebes (MCCTh) plot is presented and discussed in the frame of defining regionality for the palatial centre of Thebes in comparison to the pottery of the Mycenaean centres in the Peloponnese.

MCCTh plot lies at the NW lower slope of the Kadmeia hill, just opposite the Archaeological Museum of Thebes, at a distance of 250m from the “House of Kadmos” on top of the hill. The pottery assemblage, 23 Mycenaean figurines, and a restricted number of other artefacts were discarded in an irregular area (Trenches 17 – 18). The pottery has been dated to LH IIIB2 Late. Based on the analysis of the vessels, the conclusion has been drawn that the discarded ceramics are the remnants of a collective feast involving mainly, if not exclusively, drinking.

Presentation and discussion of the material deals with three topics:

1. Typology of shapes and decoration – comment on particularities
2. Macroscopic examination of technological traits of pottery manufacture
3. The results of the Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) of 46 samples point to a mainly Theban production for the material.

Keywords: Thebes, Mycenaean pottery, Late Helladic IIIB, NAA

INTRODUCTION

The pottery assemblage discussed below has been found in the Municipal Conference Centre of Thebes (MCCTh) plot, which lies at the NW lower slope of the Kadmeia hill just opposite the Archaeological Museum of Thebes (Fig. 1). It is at a distance of approximately 250 m north of the palace, the *House of Kadmos*, located on top of the hill (Fig. 1.1,2 - Keramopoulos 1909; 1930, Platon, Touloupa 1964; 1965, Aravantinos 2016, 228, 230, fig. 2) and 350 m from the excavations at Epameinondas and Demokritos (former Metaxas) street to the SW (Spyropoulos, Chadwick 1975, 9-58) and below Pelopidas street to the SE (Aravantinos 1995, 276-277, fig. 2, 279, fig. 3). On each site a Late Helladic IIIB2 Late destruction layer has been excavated revealing Linear B tablets (Spyropoulos, Chadwick 1975, Aravantinos *et al.* 2001; 2002; 2005, Andrikou 2006).

The excavation was conducted prior to the erection of the MCCTh building (Andrikou 1995). Byzantine buildings (Koilkou 1987; 1995) that covered the whole area were in a good state of preservation and some of them cut deep into the lower levels of habitation during historical period, LH, MH and EH.¹

In Trenches 17, 17/18 and 18 at the central east part of the plot (Fig. 2), below the byzantine foundations and a mixed Classical/Hellenistic layer, an irregular area approximately 6/7 m long E-W and 5 m N-S was filled mainly with broken pottery dated to LH IIIB2 Late period. The

¹ Pottery is referred to under the catalogue number or database number (db) of the final publication (Andrikou 2025). Drawings are by the author and Soteris Kazakidis, draftsman at the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia. Vases were mended by conservators Sophia Michaeloglou and Ioanna Moraiti at the same Ephorate. Photographer Kostas Xenikakis produced most photographs.

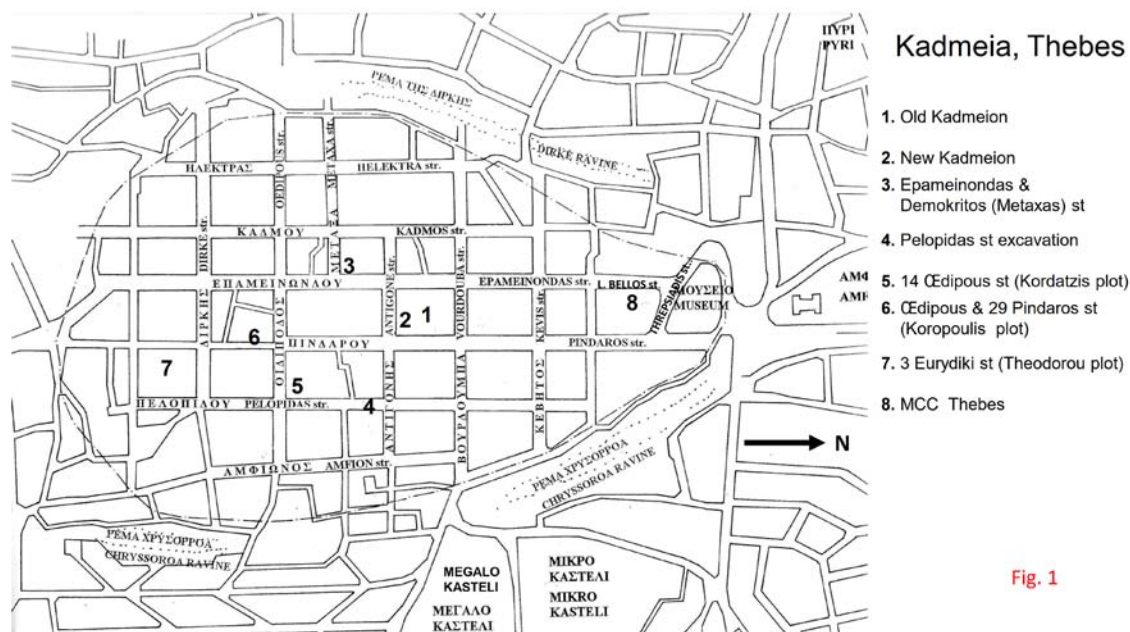


Fig. 1. Plan of the Kadmeia hill, Thebes. Selective Mycenaean excavations.

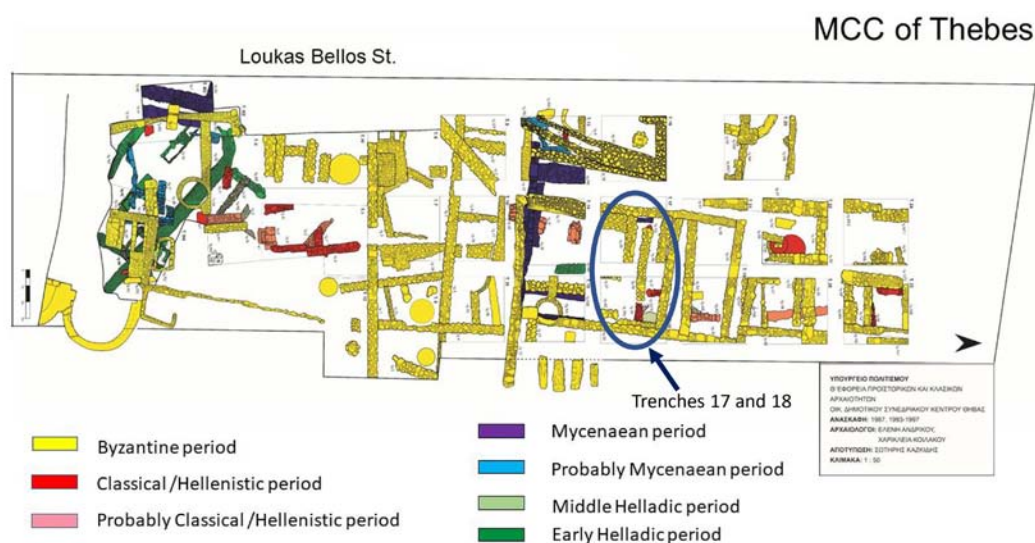


Fig. 2. Ground plan of the excavation at the MCC Thebes plot.

pottery was discarded soon after the disaster that struck the place at that time, as attested in other parts of the plot (Andrikou 2022). The fill, 0.70-1.00 m thick, comprised also 23 clay Mycenaean figurines and some other artefacts like a glass paste bead and an inlay, a fluorite seal (Andrikou 2003, 613-614, no 2, figs 1-2; 2004, no 378), nine steatite cones, ivory items and lead sheets, the latter two maybe originating from other areas of the plot. At the NE part of the area, the fill reached the MH layer. Pottery from this fill called Deposit VI is presented and discussed here in order to trace ceramic elements that constitute divergence between Theban ceramic production and the Mycenaean centres in the Peloponnese.



Fig. 3. Plain pottery. Kylix, cup, shallow bowl.

THE POTTERY ASSEMBLAGE

Deposit VI was not a sealed one and comprised later as well as earlier pottery, especially in the upper levels. The mostly fragmentary pottery assemblage was very dense with little earth between the fragments, which preserved sharp edges. It is classified in five categories according to the fabric: F1 cooking ware, F2 coarse, F3 semi-coarse, F4 fine, and F5 semi-fine. A wide range of shapes is present in the assemblage, both plain and decorated, although most have a frequency below 1% of the total. The ratio between decorated and undecorated diagnostic fragments is 1:3.

The excavation evidence and the quantitative analysis of the pottery lead to the interpretation that this assemblage consists of vases which had been used at a communal feasting, and mainly drinking occasion, and were later discarded.

More than 4/5 of the plain pottery in Deposit VI belongs to tableware. Low-stemmed carinated kylix FS 267 constitutes 58% of the total of plain pottery (Fig. 3. VI.636-637), followed by high-stemmed kylix FS 274 (4.1%) (Fig. 3. VI.660). Rare examples of high-stemmed kylix with horizontal handles have no parallel and must be considered as a Theban peculiarity (Fig. 3. VI.675). Several types of cups (handless conical cup FS 204, one-handled semiglobular cup FS 215, mug FS 227, and a single example of a small deep cup VI.611) represent 12.7% (Fig. 4. VI.609, 612, 627, 611), half of them belonging to type FS 222, mostly with angular profile (6.6%) (Fig. 3. VI.613, 623). Shallow angular-bowl FS 295 appears with a similar frequency to the cups (11.7%) (Fig. 3. VI.685). Conical and rounded basin FS 294 and 295 is present (1.43%) including one bridge spouted example (Fig. 4. VI.700, 706, 709). Plain deep bowls FS 284 (Fig. 4. VI.681-682) have a clear presence of 2% within the plain pottery and 16.5% among all deep bowls, plain and decorated. The shape is almost equally attested in the LH IIIB2 Late destruction layer with Linear B tablets below Pelopidas street (Andrikou 2006, 28, Table 5A, 30, pl. 9.145, 146). Very few examples of LH IIIB date are known at Mycenae (French 1967, 175, Wardle 1969, 291, 292, fig. 12.121, Mountjoy 1976, 102, fig. 14.179), Midea (Dalinghaus 1998, pl. 86.642, Demakopoulou 2003, 81) and Orchomenos (Mountjoy 1983, 40-41, fig. 14.313). At Dimini, plain deep bowl is considered a criterion of the LH IIIC Early phase

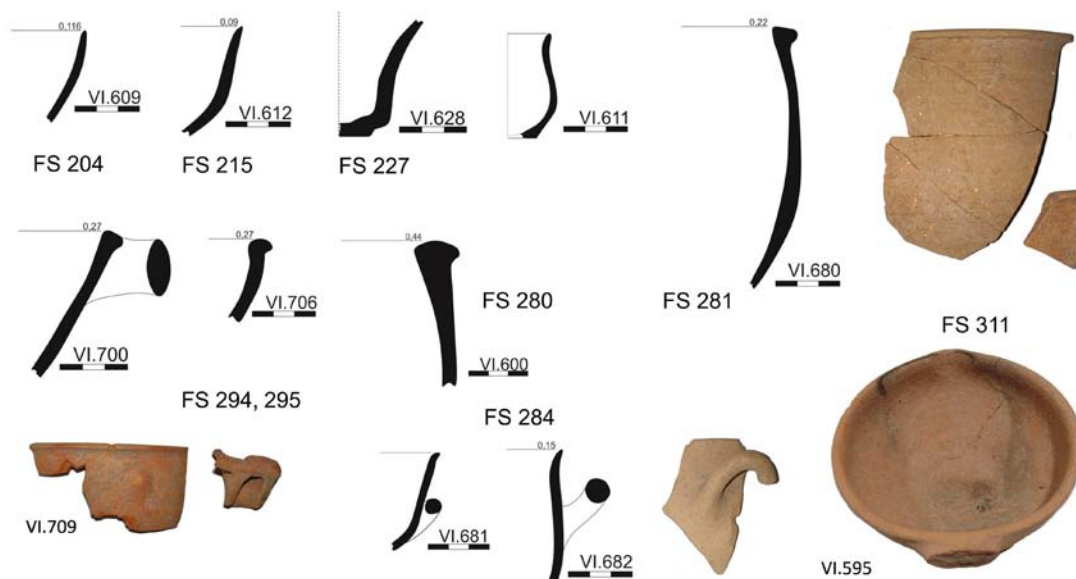


Fig. 4. Plain pottery. Cup, crater, deep bowl, basin, lamp.

(Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 501) and it appears at Iria (Döhl 1973, 170, nos A9, A11, A12, pl. 70) and Thorikos (Mountjoy 1995, 221, 222, fig. 16.172-174). Consequently, the occurrence of plain deep bowl in Deposit VI could be attributed both to local preference and chronology. Shapes represented with a minor percentage include ladle FS 236, deep rounded bowl FS 280, krater FS 281, and a lamp FS 311 missing the handle (Fig. 4.VI.600, 680, 595). In sum, Late Helladic IIIB2 Late plain pottery comprises shapes well-known in Mycenaean centres like Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea and Pylos.

Decorated tableware further supports the interpretive proposal of the assemblage as remnants of a feast since deep bowl FS 284 dominates with 32.8% and is followed by several types of cups (8.5%) with clear presence of cup FS 215 (2%), stemmed bowl FS 304 (2.1%), krater FS 281 (1.6%) and shallow bowl (1.3%). Closed vases of semi-coarse, semi-fine, and fine fabric suitable for storing and serving liquids are well represented at 35.4%, although few shapes can be identified. Fine ware stirrup jars form 8.6% and small jugs 2.6% of the decorated pottery.

Regarding closed shapes, collar-necked jar FS 64 has been recognised (Fig. 5.VI.716), as well as the narrow-necked jug FS 120/121, one example decorated with a Mycenaean flower (FM 18A voluted) and schematized trefoil rock-work (FM 29.23) as a fill (Fig. 5.VI.721). Both shapes appear more frequently in habitation areas from LH IIIB2 Late onwards (indicatively: FS 64, Podzuweit 2007, 153, FS 120/121, Demakopoulou, Divari-Valakou 1994, 27, Onassoglou 1995, 76, 79, fig. 45.3, pl. 28a).

Big storage stirrup jar FS 164 of coarse or semi-coarse fabric and medium-sized examples of semi-fine fabric (Fig. 5.VI.731) are both present, but in particularly small numbers. Small fine vases like the feeding bottle FS160 (Fig. 5.VI.726) are present as well, and juglets FS 114, 115 with linear decoration (max. belly diam. 0.008-0.009m) have a clear occurrence (Fig. 6.VI.722).

Small stirrup jars mainly belong to the globular type FS 171, 173 (Fig. 5.VI.733-735), although the squat type FS 181 is also present (Fig. 5.VI.738). The decoration consists of bands and lines on the body and Mycenaean flowers or “sea anemones” on the shoulder. Numerous parallels are known from other Mycenaean centres.

One-handled cup FS 215 with an S-curving profile is the most common among the cups. More than half of them bear bands outside or on both sides. Examples with a band around the rim outside



Fig. 5. Decorated pottery. Collar-necked jar, juglet, narrow-necked jug, feeding bottle, stirrup jar, strainer jug.

and a monochrome interior comprise 1/6 of the cups. Dots on the rim appear on 1/10 of the examples, while another 1/10 had possibly decorative motifs (Fig. 6.VI.744, 743). Bands inside and out appear also on the less common shallow type FS 220. On both types, the band running along the handle may be short, which can indicate a particular workshop or potter. Cup FS 215 appears in all variations that have been suggested as diagnostic for LH IIIB2 Late at Mycenae and Tiryns (French, Stockhammer 2009, 219, fig. 23.3-5).

Mug FS 225/227 is very rare and usually decorated with bands. An example with a lozenge (VI.748) is an exception (Fig. 6.VI. 748, 749).

Decorated kylix is almost absent. One fragment of a conical variety (FS 274) only bears dots on the rim (Fig. 6.VI.755, cf. French, Stockhammer 2009, 220, fig. 24.6). Krater FS 281 is rare and motifs are barely preserved (Fig. 6.VI.756).

A basin mended from several pieces (VI.786) is a high quality vase (Fig.6.VI.786). The shape can be described as a low kalathos with a ring base and has no reference in Furumark's (1941) classification. The closest parallel comes from Tiryns and is possibly connected with Epichosis IIb (LH IIIB2) (Voigtländer 2004, 185, pl. 119.SC37, cf., SC43). Decoration in white applied on the brown bands on both sides is also found on few rounded shallow bowls (Fig. 6.VI.787, 789). These bowls, usually bearing only plain bands, are distinguished from the examples of FS 296 and FS 295B found at Mycenae and Tiryns (French, Stockhammer 2009, 204, fig. 15.1, 208, fig. 18.5, 209 (c), 211(c), 216, 221 (4), 222, fig. 25).

Deep bowl FS 284 is the most common decorated shape. It presents variations in profile and size. The rim diameter varies from 0.135 to 0.20 m, mostly between 0.14 and 0.165 m.

Group A deep bowl forms 59% of all deep bowls, plain and decorated. The most common motifs are triglyphs FM 75, antithetic spiral pattern FM 50, running spiral FM 46, wavy band, multiple stem and tongue pattern FM 19, quirk FM 48, and lozenge FM 73 (Fig. 7.VI.760, 761, 763-766, 770).

The use of the simple rectilinear triglyph on Group A deep bowls from LH IIIB2 Late Deposits II and VI and LH IIIC Early Deposit V at the MCCTh plot can be a Theban variation (Fig. 7.VI.764, Andrikou 2022, 106, fig. 12.3-4, 110).

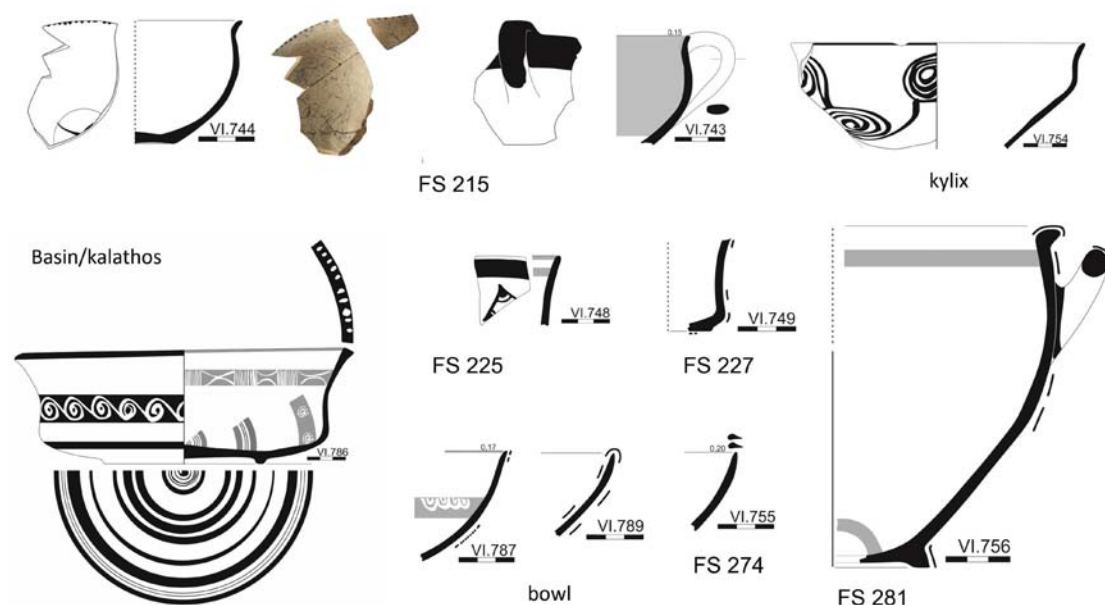


Fig. 6. Decorated pottery. Cup, kylix, bowl, crater, basin / kalathos.

Running spiral with dense, thin coils is known from several LH IIB2 Late examples in Thebes, some with a solid eye, which may be a later feature, also appearing at Mycenae (Fig. 7.VI.760, Andrikou 2022, 112).

Group A/B deep bowl falls short numerically in comparison to Group A bowl. It bears the same decorative motifs outside (Fig. 7.VI.775).

Rosette deep bowl appears in a low percentage (1.1%) among the decorated deep bowls (Fig. 7.VI.776, with a rimband) as it was also attested among the pottery from the excavation below Pelopidas street (Andrikou 2006, 29-30, Table 5B). Sherratt (1980, 184) has already noticed the rarity of the rosette deep bowl in Thebes. It must also be added that this type of bowl is not mentioned at Glas.

Medium band deep bowl, which is considered a diagnostic feature of LH IIB2 Late at Mycenae and Tiryns (French, Stockhammer 2009, 177, Table 1), is barely detectable (Fig. 7.VI.777).

Group B deep bowl characterising the Mycenaean Argive pottery (Vitale 2006, 197, French, Stockhammer 2009, 177, Table 1) is non-existent at the MCCTh plot. No deep bowl with monochrome interior and reserved circle at base has been found either (Demakopoulou 2003, 81-82, fig. 5.3, French, Stockhammer 2009, 177, Table 1). Looking at the published material from Thebes, only three small fragments were present in the LH IIB2 Late destruction layer at the Pelopidas street excavation (Andrikou 2006, 29-30, Table 5B). A single rim fragment is depicted from the LH IIB1 Late / LH IIB2 Early destruction layer in Room B at 14 Oedipus street excavation (Symeonoglou 1973, 19, 21, pl.18, fig. 29.1.5, Andrikou 2006, 57, Site 4). Examples are mentioned in the LH IIB2 material of Oedipus and 29 Pindaros street excavation (Koropouli plot) but none is depicted (Demakopoulou K. 1974, Andrikou 2006, 56, Site 3). Group B deep bowl does not appear among the representative shapes from the Theodorou plot destruction assemblage (Aravantinos *et al.* 2020, 179-181, 183, fig. 4). These shapes are comparable with LH IIB2 Late vases from the destruction layer at the MCC Thebes plot (Andrikou 2022, 102-106, figs 6-12). At Glas this type of bowl was present in the construction stage deposits and prevalent at those associated with the destruction, which most probably hit earlier than in the MCCTh plot (Iakovidis 1998, 148, 190-191, 271).



Fig. 7. Decorated pottery. Deep bowl, stemmed bowl.

Monochrome deep bowl, on the contrary, represents 1/5 of the decorated examples and is as frequent as the plain one (Fig. 7.VI.779, 782). There is only one example (VI.783) with a reserved area under the handle. Another single example bears a running spiral in added white (Fig. 7.VI.784). The predilection for the monochrome deep bowl has been attested in the pottery from the LH IIIB2 Late destruction layers with Linear B tablets in Thebes, namely at Epameinondas and Demokritos street plot (Spyropoulos, Chadwick 1975, 35, nos 7, 36, no. 14, 48-49, pls XXI.83, XXII.90) and below Pelopidas street (Andrikou 2006, 32-33, Table 6). At Mycenae and Tiryns, the monochrome deep bowl, although present, is not popular during the LH IIIB period (Podzuweit 2007, 54, Beilage 34, 77, French, Stockhammer 2009, 211).

Stemmed bowl FS 304 is attested by rim-wall fragments, and only one base has been found (Fig. 7.VI.795, 798, 799, 802). The wavy band and the panelled pattern FM 75 are the usual decorative motifs. A probable floral pattern (VI.795) has no parallel. Monochrome stemmed bowls are also present.

Cylindrical lid FS 334 with linear decoration is close to the LH IIIB Early – LH IIIC Late variant 3 at Tiryns as defined by Podzuweit (2007, 187-188, Variante 3, pl. 108.10-14). Finally, there is one fragment of a stand FS 336a with the usual decoration of a deep wavy band.

Four examples have been included in the quantitative analysis that, although they fit well with the proposed interpretation for the assemblage, appear to be somewhat later, perhaps indicating the disposal time of the material after the final destruction. These examples are mentioned here as peculiarities:

- a deformed strainer jug with linear decoration is idiosyncratic because the mouth is closed and pierced near the handle. The lower part of the vase which might clarify its function has not been found (Fig. 5.VI.724).
- an unparalleled kylix (VI.754), one-handled as indicated by the chain of stemmed spiral around it, is considered later due to style and the metallic sheen of the paint (Fig. 6.VI.754).
- two problematic examples of low-stemmed kylix or goblet present some resemblance to LH IIIA2 goblets and especially its short variation in Attica (Mountjoy 1999, 539, fig. 195.189-191), but seem closer related to LH IIIC Early examples from Schimatari (Mountjoy 1983, 76, 78, fig. 31.140-142).

Summarising the discussion above, it is attested that the pottery at this late stage of LH IIIB2 fits well in the Mycenaean repertoire of shapes and decoration known from the centres of NE Peloponnese and the palace of Pylos. However, some features that differentiate Theban ceramic production from the production of these centres have been observed.

In plain pottery, the deep bowl FS 284 is rather popular, while the high-stemmed kylix with horizontal handles is a local experimentation that has never surpassed this stage. An angular profile is used not only for kylix FS 267 but is also preferred for one-handed cup FS 222 and shallow bowl FS 295.

In decorated pottery, two shapes and their characteristics, namely deep bowl FS 284 and one-handed cup FS 215, but also the absence of certain others, are most indicative of the differentiation of Theban workshops from the NE Peloponnesian ones.

Apart from the high frequency of Group A deep bowl, which is commonly observed in the Mycenaean centres, at the MCCTh plot a predilection for the monochrome deep bowl, black or red-painted is observed. Medium band deep bowl has a very low percentage. Rosette deep bowl hardly appears and Group B deep bowl is absent. These latter variations characteristic of the Mycenaean production in the Argolid were not favoured in Thebes.

Although the range of motifs painted on deep bowls follows the general trend, some secondary preferences seem to occur at Thebes, e.g. for the simple rectilinear triglyph and the running spiral with large and dense coil.

The linear – outside or on both sides – cup FS 215 at the MCCTh plot far outnumbers the examples with other types of decoration found in the Argolid.

The absence of linear or partially monochrome kylix FS 267 and of linear rounded shallow bowl FS 295, which are suggested as diagnostic features for LH IIIB2 Late at Mycenae and Tiryns (French, Stockhammer 2009, 177, table 1), is also indicative of differentiation in pottery production between Argolis and Thebes.

A further indication is that fine decorated open vases are generally plain or linear on the inside. Solid painted interior is not favoured, nor has a reserved circle been observed on the bottom of deep bowls' monochrome interior.

MACROSCOPIC OBSERVATIONS ON TECHNOLOGY

Macroscopic examination of the pottery shows that it is wheel-made except seven handmade examples.

For the wheel-made pottery, the wheel-coil technique was used as indicated by various technological features, such as fissures, unevenness of the thickness and undulations of the wall, striations underneath the base etc. (Choleva *et al.* 2020). However, fissures in the section of wall fragments indicating coil seams are not clearly visible (Fig. 8, VI.786) and sometimes are not visible at all, suggesting highly-skilled potters. Coils can more often be discerned at the joins of different parts of a vase at big coarse vessels. Occasionally the thickness of the wall of open vases is abruptly reduced because of insufficient or excessive stretching of the coils on the wheel (Fig. 8, VI.617, VI.621). Undulations are usually smoothed, especially on open vases of fine or semi-fine ware, but exceptions do exist (Fig. 8, VI.619). More usually undulations are visible on the interior of coarse and semi-coarse vases (Fig. 8, VI.602). On the underside of the bases, fine, and semi-fine cups and shallow bowls usually bear concentric semi-circular striations, i.e. string marks resulting from the removal of the vessel from the wheel (Fig. 8, VI.685), which sometimes may look disturbed.

Kylix is built on the wheel. The joins of different vase parts – base / stem / bowl – are well finished and difficult to discern. In only one case a kylix FS 267 presents a void over the joint of the bowl with



Fig. 8. Pottery. Features of manufacture.

the stem (Fig. 8, VI.639). In the interior the join is usually smoothed and the bottom of the bowl appears curved (Fig. 3, VI.637). Some examples are poorly finished, and the bottom is funnel shaped (Fig. 8, VI.658). Kylix FS 274 is generally of better manufacture with a curved or smoothed bottom (Figs. 3.VI.660, 8.VI.665). The disc of the kylix base was usually reformed with a dome underneath, when the vase was placed upside down on the wheel (Figs. 3.VI.636–637, 8.VI.658). There is a very restricted number of discs (3 in total), which are flat and bear string marks underneath (Fig. 8. db5270). This peculiarity has been recognised as a local characteristic in NE Peloponnese (Choleva *et al.* 2020, 262–264, figs 37a, 38a, n. 154). There is no sign of torsional ripples on the kylix stems, unlike what was observed for the Tiryns material (Choleva *et al.* 2020, 259–260, fig. 31).

Cylindrical parts such as kylix stems and handles of large vessels could be made of a cylindrical core covered with a thick layer of clay (Fig. 9. db2040, db1285).

Plain tableware was finished in a hasty way as deduced by the fact that the symmetry of the shape was often disturbed when the handles were attached, the vase was taken off the wheel, or in the kiln. Moreover, some accidents occurred during firing and cracks were caused especially at the bottom of the vases (Fig. 8, VI.619). This hasty way of making has been observed in the pottery from the pantries of the Palace of Nestor (Hruby 2006, 192–195) and is probably due to the need of mass production.

On all plain open shapes, the surface has been treated on the wheel, either scraped as shown by concentric circular marks (Fig. 6.VI.744) or smoothed and wiped as shown by horizontal marks. Better finished surfaces, usually of high stemmed kylix, are covered with slip, sometimes glossy (Fig. 8. VI.665).

Decorated fine ware vases are better finished and wheel marks are covered with slip. Occasionally, undulations or striations are visible.

Wheel-made false neck of decorated stirrup jar like the Theban examples (Fig. 9.VI.732) is considered a common practice in the Argolid (Choleva *et al.* 2020, 264, fig. 38c). Different ways of application could also be used exceptionally, as shown by a solid false neck with a protruding plug (Fig. 9.dp3433).



Fig. 9. Pottery. Features of manufacture. Handmade vases.

Among the handmade pottery, there are some fragments of unidentified miniature vases of the known Mycenaean decorated type (French 1969, 74, 75 fig. 2, 88, Wardle 1969, 277-278, fig. 7.58-64; 1973, 329, fig.18.191, 335, fig.21.265) and an unparalleled crude small closed vase (Fig. 9.VI.710). Of particular interest is a handmade bridge-spouted basin (Fig. 9.VI.711), the only one identified to date in Thebes. The bridge spouted krater from Epameinondas and Demokritos plot (Spyropoulos, Chadwick 1975, no 1963 pl. XVI.54) belongs to FS 298 (also suggested by Carington-Smith 1999, 90, n. 38). The basin is of dark (Munsell 10YR/3/1) semi-coarse fabric with small dark inclusions that appear on the surfaces which are burnished. The surfaces are brown (Munsell 7.5YR/6/4), but on half of the exterior two black areas are probably due to burning or firing conditions. Vases of similar fabric - handmade, wheel made or of a mixed technique - are known from Room 60 of the Palace of Nestor (Lis 2016). The Theban example is similar to basin shape 2 of the Pylian typology, which, however, is not spouted like deep spouted bowl shape 10 (Lis 2016, 499, fig. 6c-d). The bottom of the Theban example is thin, like on one bridge-spouted krater from Mycenae (French, Taylour 2007, 371-372, no 66-1522) and not thickened and curved like the Pylian ones. Clay analysis would help clarify its provenance.

The pottery manufacture at the MCCTh plot falls within the common technology of the core of the Mycenaean world. Some minor individual features can be connected to workshops or the potter's hand.

NEUTRON ACTIVATION ANALYSIS RESULTS

The pottery from the MCCTh plot, among other sites in Thebes, has been included in the scientific project "Pottery Production and distribution of Bronze Age settlements of Mycenaean Greece and the Aegean" for investigation with neutron activation analysis (NAA; Mommsen *et al.* 2002, Andrikou *et al.* 2024). Forty six samples from the LH IIIB2 Late pottery excavated in Trenches 17, 17/18, 18 have been analysed. According to NAA results, 70% belongs to groups recognised as Boeotian

TheA, TheB-ThBC and TanA, with group TheA, probably Theban, being the most numerous comprising mainly undecorated kylikes and various cups, as well as fine decorated vases. A roof tile fragment is attributed to group TheB. Three decorated examples are associated with chemical groups attributed to Crete (group KnoL which has chemical affiliation with group TheB), to Corfu (group KofuB) and Euboea (group EuA) respectively.

SUMMARY – CONCLUSION

The ceramic production at LH IIIB2 Late Thebes just before the demise of the Mycenaean palatial system, as illustrated by Deposit VI assemblage at the MCCTh plot excavation, was sustained by local workshops using clay beds in Thebes or its vicinity. Imports were very restricted. The range of shapes and motifs is well embedded in the Mycenaean tradition as known at the core of the Mycenaean world. Minor variations and preference, or lack thereof, for certain decorated shapes and the use or rendering of certain motifs compared to the production of the NE Peloponnesian centres do not constitute regional divergence even in this late palatial period.

The same is true for the technology applied in the manufacture of the vases as deduced by the macroscopic analysis and the neutron activation analysis of the pottery. The careless way of manufacturing the plain tableware, as also observed at the Pylos pantries, highlights the common concept for the preparation of similar activities, e.g. communal feasting. These findings are not unexpected when comparing ceramic material from the main centres of the Mycenaean world, since the unity of the culture is also witnessed in other material artefacts e.g. ivories, bronzes, weapons, etc., and especially in the administration system and the use of Linear B script, which expresses the Greek language.

Regionality in the production of ceramics and other artefacts within the Mycenaean palatial system can best be seen in remote areas without direct connection to centres. Workshops in each centre may be conservative or innovative depending on specific local factors that encourage or discourage artisans' circulation and trade of specific products, in the case of pottery trade either for the vases themselves or as containers of agricultural or manufactured products.

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REGIONAL VARIABILITY IN MYCENAEAN POTTERY: SOME THOUGHTS ON LOCAL MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN THE SPERCHEIOS VALLEY

EFTHYMIA KARANTZALI

Abstract

The excavation of the cemetery at Kompotades on the south side of the Spercheios valley yielded a great wealth of ceramics. The material culture generally demonstrates that the people in the valley settlements were aware of the technical innovations of the Mycenaean palatial centers. The local ceramic assemblage here is characterized by the absence of the lustrous early Mycenaean pottery; some Middle Helladic wares and their derivatives continue to be produced in Central Greece into what chronologically is the initial phase of Late Helladic (LH) I. Pottery classes identified during these periods for the first time continue to be produced in a similar way, or in variations on it, through into the LH III period. Frantzi is to date a unique site: it provides stratified Mycenaean pottery from the LH II-III A1/III A2-early until LH III B2-III C early periods. The majority of the ceramic production during the palatial period was locally manufactured, while imports were rare.

Keywords: Fthiotis, Spercheios, Frantzi settlement, local pottery, imports

The cultural and geomorphological unity of the Spercheios valley in Fthiotis, Central Greece, provides all the necessities for life and relative safety, the major elements required for establishing and developing prehistoric habitations during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The cultivable plain ringed by wooded mountains, the abundant water resources, protected passes leading to Thessaly and Phocis, and the easy communications offered by the eastern sea route to Boeotia are all factors that favored the creation of a network of prehistoric villages in the valley during the Bronze Age, and after.

The first evidence for the inhabitation of the valley during the Late Helladic period¹ comes from the cemetery of Stavros/Bikiorema (Dakoronia 1985, 136, pl. 45; 1991, 70-73, fig. 7:1, pl. 7:1-4; 1994, 235-237, fig. 11), from single graves in Archani and Vardates (Marinatos 1940, 334; Papakonstantinou 1989, 180; Dakoronia 1991, 72, pl. 7:10; 1994, 236, 238; Mountjoy 1999, 813-815, fig. 324), as well as from settlement vestiges at Platania/Agia Paraskevi (Papakonstantinou, Krapf 2021, 137-142), Valogourna/Lamia² and the acropolis hill of Akrolamia (Stamoudi 2021, 161-171), with the remains of a house on the south side of the hill (Fig. 1).³ In addition, considerable architectural remains of two Late Helladic (LH) settlements at Frantzi and Lygaria were revealed during 2005 and 2008 respectively; however, they are only partly explored so far due to the rescue character of the excavations. These settlements were established along the road crossings to Phokis and Thessaly and belonged to prosperous

¹ For an overview of the Mycenaean sites of Fthiotis: Papakonstantinou 2021, 111, 119-121.

² Dakoronia 1998, 199; 1999, 181-186; 2007, 419. The material is unpublished. There are characteristic sherds such as FS 284 deep bowls of group A with antithetic spirals and monochrome interior (LH III B2/LH III C-early), a kylix sherd with spiral motif (LH III A2), a krater sherd of LH III A2-late with papyrus decoration, a LH IIB-III A1 goblet sherd and a rim from a local monochrome vase of the typical LH III A1 shape of the handleless jar.

³ Bouya 2000, 436-437. This unpublished material includes group A deep bowls FS 284 decorated with antithetic spirals and monochrome interior, few examples of Group B deep bowl of LH III B2/III C-early, a few cups, kraters and a twisted amphora handle of an FS 69 amphora of LH III C-early.

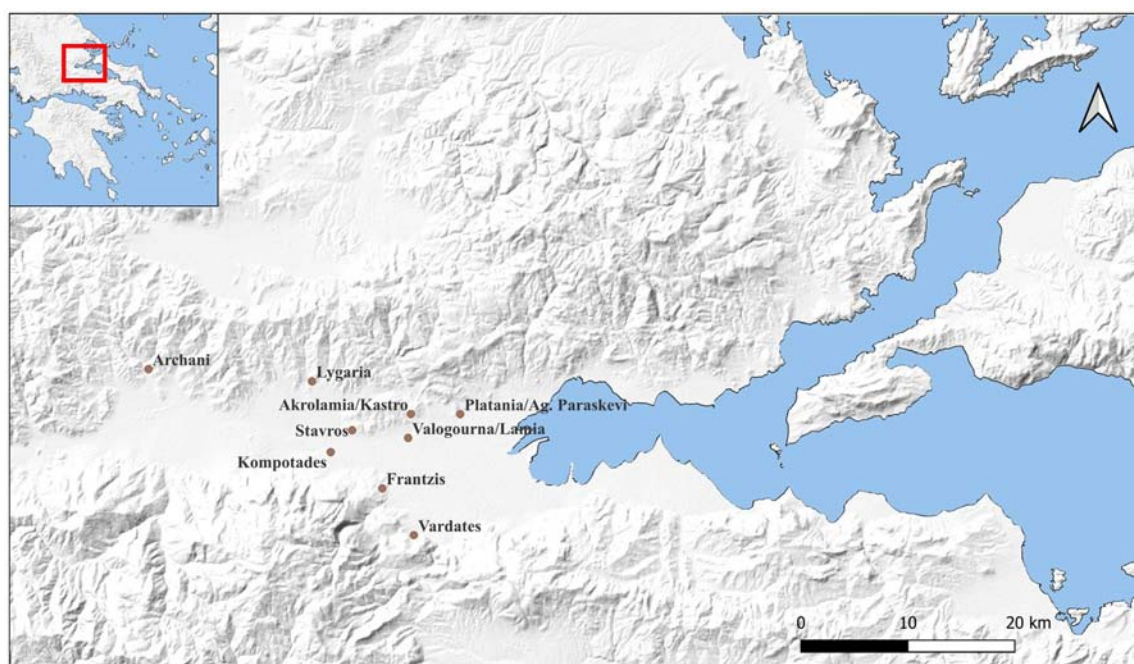


Fig.1. Map of the Spercheios valley with the locations mentioned in the text

communities of the valley during the palatial period. Another such community was the one to which the Mycenaean cemetery of the Prophet Elias/Kompotades belongs. Most of the chamber tombs are dated to the palatial period, while were first used during the Early Mycenaean period. The so far investigated Mycenaean communities in the Spercheios valley were abandoned, more or less, in the same historical horizon, namely at the end of the palatial period. Dimini (Adrymi-Sismani 2006, 475-476; 2012, 166-167; 2013, 38-39) and Pefkakia in Magnesia/Thessaly (Batziou-Efstathiou 1992, 284; Batziou-Efstathiou 2015, 60-67, 79-81) were also affected, as were other Mycenaean sites of Boeotia (Thebes: Dakouri-Hild 2001, 106-107; Andrikou *et al.*, 2006, 58) and of the Peloponnese (Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, etc.).

Any attempt to present the Mycenaean pottery in the Spercheios valley settlements runs into difficulties due to the limited stratified ceramic assemblages that exist. Furthermore, indications of inter-regional production centers in the valley, which will have contributed to the locally available supply of ceramics within the region, are not yet recognizable. Therefore, to define LH III ceramic production in the Spercheios valley, we must first demonstrate the individual features of the ceramic assemblage of the transitional MH III/LH I, right at the beginning of the LH occupation in the sites of the valley.

IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE EARLY MYCENAEAN PERIOD IN THE SPERCHEIOS VALLEY

To define the basic local ceramic characteristics, we utilized the material of the so-called transitional MH III/LH I and start of LH periods from the Frantzi settlement. This was a Middle Helladic (=MH) site, which continued to be inhabited during the Late Bronze Age (=LBA), displaying a high degree of continuity from MH II to the end of the Mycenaean palatial period (Fig. 2). The apsidal house discovered at this site provides suitable stratigraphy for determining the main features of the local MH III-LH I and early stages of LH I pottery production in the Spercheios valley.⁴

⁴ The majority of the LH I-II material was found in rubble fill deposits at Frantzi, mixed with MH and LH IIIA-B pottery. It is difficult to distinguish separate stratigraphical layers for the LH I and LH II phases in Frantzi settlement due

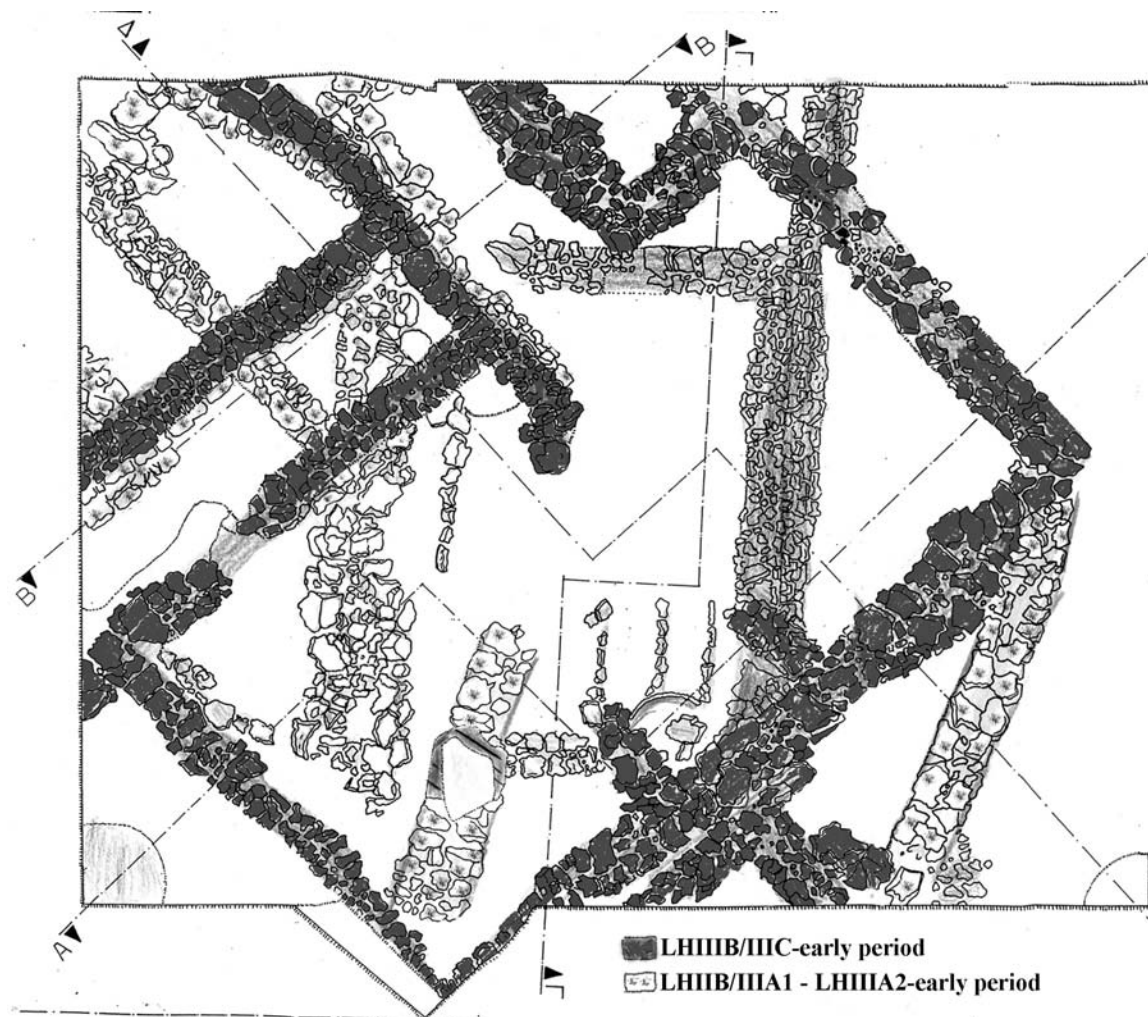


Fig.2. Architectural plan of the Mycenaean and MH III-LH I settlement at Frantzi.

The pottery of the period is characterized by a conservatism visible in the persistence of MH traditional classes, wares and shapes, with the dominant grey Minyan class and the dark, coarse and usually handmade storage/cooking category (Mountjoy 1999, 20, 811; Kramer-Hajos 2008, 75-77; Karantzali 2012, 1000-1004; 2014/2015, 45-47). However, there is a clear preference for ceramics with a pale unpainted surface and also for new or sophisticated shapes in the fine wares. These are the unpainted reddish-yellowish or orange-yellowish washed and burnished and the pale brown-yellowish plain burnished classes, which characterize the LH ceramic production in the valley (Karantzali 2014/2015, 45-49, 52-53). They are also recognized at the site of Lygaria, in the pottery of the apsidal houses (Fig. 3) discovered in 2007, during the construction works of the new railway.⁵ These characteristic classes of the beginning of the LH period are also identified in a LH I tomb at Amouri,⁶ in domestic remains at Platania/Ag. Paraskevi, and Taratsa/Lamia (Stamoudi 2003, 268-269, fig. 10; Papakonstantinou, Krapf 2021, 138, fig. 9), in the LH I layer at Neo Monastiri in northern Fthiotis (Froussou 2007,

to the local character and high degree of uniformity of the local LH pottery. For comparable cases, cf. Dickinson 1974, 112; Müller 1992, 461-463; Maran 1993, 201-206; Kramer-Hajos 2008, 77, 118-120; Mathioudaki 2014, 14-15.

⁵ The unpublished material includes characteristic shapes, such as bowls with high forked or triangular handles (cf. Maran 1992a, 24, 210, 286, phases 6 and 7) and a small beaked handmade juglet with a pointed bottom of Pefkakia type 5C of LH I phase 7 (Mylonas 1973, pl. 197, 223; Maran 1992a, Beilage 21:13).

⁶ It is the so-called light colored plain class, with a one-handled cup and two bases from goblets. Papakonstantinou, Sakkas 2010, 586, fig. 6a-b.



Fig.3. Characteristic LH I pottery from the apsidal houses of Lygaria

235-236; 2010, 594-595), and also in the disturbed LH deposits in Akrolamia (Stamoudi 2021, 157, fig. 2, 3). Moreover, these classes and local varieties are common in Thessalian contexts from the final stages of the MH II to MH III-LH I (Maran 1992a, 107-108 (phases 6 and 7); Adrymi-Sismani 2010, 304, 306; 2013, 79; Vaiopoulou 2016, 179). It is also worth noting that the pale brown-yellowish burnished class is the precursor of the plain, lustrous light-colored fine and semi-fine pervasive ceramic class of the LH II and III periods in the Spercheios valley (Karantzali 2012, 1216-1217; 2013, 143, 145). The light-ground, late matt-painted class (or fine pale burnished)⁷ is represented at the Frantzi apsidal house by a few sherds of local character and by an imported vase (from Eastern Lokris) dated to the beginning of the LH I period (Karantzali 2014/2015, 46-47, fig. 19; Karantzali, Hein, Kilikoglou forthcoming). A small sherd, probably from a Vapheio-type cup, comes from a mixed deposit at Akrolamia. It has a dark-on-light decoration, reminiscent of the Minoan tortoise-shell ripple pattern,⁸ and it could be an import (Stamoudi 2021, 157, fig. 3:9,10).

As evidenced by the stratigraphy at the Frantzi settlement, there are two main local classes of MH III/LH I and early LH I pottery, characterized by their light-colored surface. These pottery classes continued to be produced during the Mycenaean palatial period in different variants. The few imported vases probably came from nearby regions, such as East Lokris, or further afield, such as Boeotia.

THE EARLY MYCENAEAN (PRE-PALATIAL) PERIOD IN THE SPERCHEIOS VALLEY

The Early Mycenaean period has not yet been adequately attested in the settlements of the Spercheios valley. Scarce Early Mycenaean pottery has been identified in mixed assemblages of the palatial period at Akrolamia/Kastro (Stamoudi 2021, 157, fig. 3), Valogourna/Lamia⁹ and Lygaria,¹⁰ while early Mycenaean vases are mentioned in the preliminary reports of Stavros/Bikiorema cemetery (Dakoronia 1985, 136-137; 1982, 261).

However, the Early Mycenaean period is much better represented in the settlement at Frantzi (Fig. 2), with architectural remains and corresponding pottery, demonstrating a long-term use

⁷ This late matt-painted pottery has been recorded regionally in local variations and subcategories, a consequence of the long-term imitation of the Aeginetan Middle Helladic pottery. This is a particular pattern-decorated class, which continued to be produced during the early Mycenaean phase (Mountjoy 1981, 75-77; Maran 1992b, 188-198, category D4-D5).

⁸ Cf. a fragment decorated with tortoise-shell ripple from deposit 1 of Aghios Vasileios/Laconia: Kondyli, Mathioudaki 2022, 156, fig. 6.

⁹ A sherd of a goblet with a spiral and wide rim band, like the LH IIB-III A1 examples, as well as a rim from a local monochrome handleless jar of LH III A1. The majority of the pottery belongs to the local class with a thin pale yellow slip, and corresponds perfectly with the same pottery class from Frantzi.

¹⁰ It is a sherd of an alabaster of LH III A1: Karantzali 2013, 150-151, fig. 14:2105.

of Early Mycenaean buildings from LH IIB-III A1 to the early phase of LH III A2 (Karantzali 2012, 1216; 2020, 903-906; cf. Mitrou: Vitale 2012, 1147-1149, 1151-1152). Frantzi is at present the only site providing stratified Mycenaean pottery from the LH II-III A2-early until LH IIIB2-III C early period. Early Mycenaean pottery is present in different stratified deposits under the floors of the rooms and in the foundations of the walls of the Mycenaean palatial complex and from closed contexts of the Early Mycenaean destruction layer (Karantzali 2020, 901-902).

Local Early Mycenaean pottery from Frantzi settlement is characterized by simple decorative syntaxes, a limited repertory of shapes, and a tendency towards both unpainted and solidly painted surfaces (Karantzali 2020, 906-907). The following brief description of the main characteristics of the local early Mycenaean pottery of Frantzi should serve as a reliable guide until other early Mycenaean assemblages are found in the valley.

Two major classes, defined macroscopically in terms of stylistic and technical criteria, characterize the Mycenaean pottery of all phases up to early LH III C in the Spercheios valley. The plain/unpainted class includes several wares, designed for diverse functional purposes: these comprise fine pale brown-yellowish or reddish-yellowish lustrous, semi-coarse reddish-yellowish ware and dark (gray-black) storage and cooking ware. They have a washed or slipped surface in the color of the clay or in a similar color tone that is usually lustrous. The painted class comprises fine and semi-fine wares, and is again designed to serve functional purposes. Vessels can be either solidly painted, linear or pattern-decorated. Dark, solidly painted ceramics predominate. Dark painted decoration is applied to a light washed surface or to a buff-yellowish to whitish slip, either thick and lustrous or thin and easily flaked off (Karantzali 2012, 1001-1004; 2018, 105-113; 2020, 903).

The unpainted class has usually a considerable share, both in the fine (39% table ware) and semi-coarse (27% transport/storage ware) ceramics, being followed by solid painted fine (21% table ware) and the linear decorated class, popular among the closed vases (mainly of table ware or transport containers, 19%). In the solid painted and plain table-ware the goblet and kylix shapes dominate.¹¹ The share of decorated class is low (8%). Plain table ware includes shapes dating to LH II-III A1 (goblets FS 254/263, FS 255) and some LH III A2-early forms (FS 264; Fig. 4.1-9). Goblets of FS 263 and FS 264 represent 43% of the total plain ware. The low-stemmed FS 263 goblet prevails (Fig. 4.5, 6), while the FS 262 LH II goblet with wide thin angular rim is represented by a few sherds (Karantzali 2020, 903, note 17), (Fig. 4.1, 2. Fig. 8.1). Examples of the LH III A1 and early-LH III A2 angular kylix (FS 267) and a tall stem of an early LH III A2, FS 266 kylix, (Fig. 4.14, 16) were also found.¹²

The high frequency (70% of the total monochrome ware) of the solidly painted goblets and kylikes is remarkable. Goblets are usually of the low-stemmed type like the LH II examples, but rims are shorter than typical for LH II tableware. The goblets are of the LH II-III A1 type, of which FS 254 is the most popular (Fig. 4.11, 13, 15), while there is also the FS 264 LH III A2-early type to be seen (Fig. 4.12). The local variant of the LH II-III A1 monochrome goblet is characterized by an unpainted interior with a band round the rim (Fig. 5.1, 2). However, some of the fragments could even belong to the early LH III A2 stemmed bowl. A few sherds appear to belong to the so-called large kylix/kantharos of early LH III A2 (Fig. 5.3, 4).

Other shapes, produced in the unpainted, monochrome and linear categories, are the deep cup (FS 213), the krater (FS 6/FS 7), the basin (FS 294), the wide-mouthed jars, and jugs (FS 110, FS 112-FS 114) and other closed vases (amphorae, hydria). The storage/cooking ware of semi-coarse fabric with a coarse dark surface represents the largest group (40% of the total pottery of the period),

¹¹ Most of the small sherds of tableware are assigned to the 'goblet-kylix/stemmed bowls' group in quantification, although most must have belonged to low-stemmed goblets or kantharos-type kylikes. Cf. Catling 2009, 354-355. Handles of FS 304 stemmed bowls are found in considerably lower quantities. Cf. Mountjoy 1999, 115, fig. 23:138.

¹² For FS 267 kylix without shaped rim: cf. Frizell 1980, 33, fig. 4:55, 49, fig. 9:166-167; Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 1995, 93, note 100; Martin 1992, 493; Thomas 2011b, 298, 301, fig. 1:4.

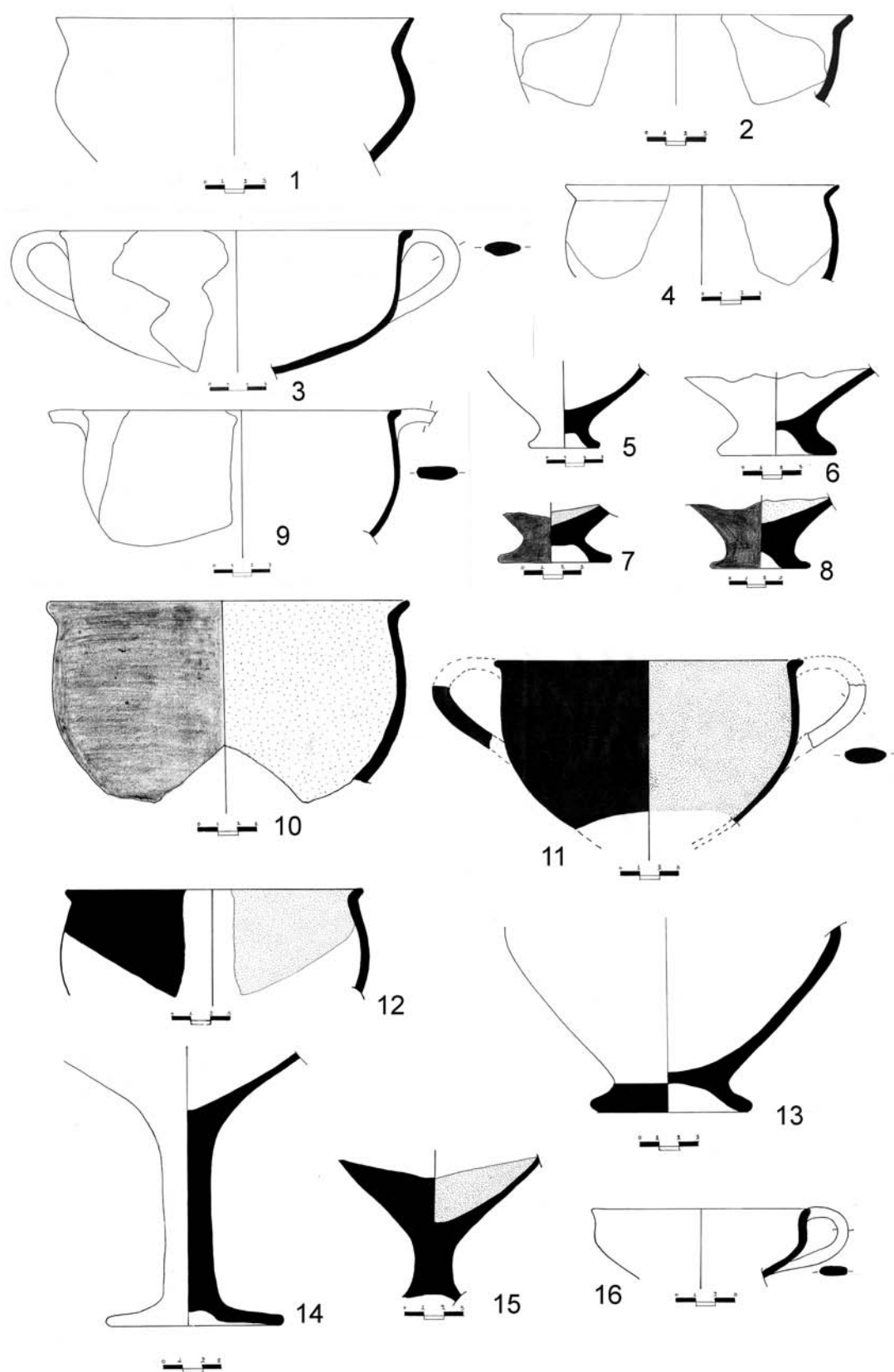


Fig.4. Plain and solid painted goblets and kylikes from the LH II/IIIA1-IIIA2-early period from the settlement at Frantzi.

with handmade and wheel-made examples. It is close to the MH III types and continues the MH tradition here.

The majority of the material is locally made, according to macroscopic observations, and this is also borne out by Neutron Activation Analysis. A preference for undecorated and solid painted burnished surfaces is notable. Lustrous decorated LH I and LH II Mycenaean pottery, typical of the southern regions, as does characteristic decorated LH IIA shapes, such as the cup with ring-shaped handle (FS 237), the Vapheio cup (FS 224), and the LH IIB Ephyraean goblet,¹³ are not recognized in the Frantzi material culture.¹⁴ Imported or locally produced fine lustrous and decorated LH II-III A1 Mycenaean pottery occurs in small numbers (Karantzali 2020, 205). There are sherds of pattern-decorated vases or linear open and closed shapes, mostly alabastra (Fig. 5.6-10), alongside a few small or medium size piriform jars (FS 31) and cups (FS 219/220), (Fig. 5.12,13). The motifs are typical of the LH II-III A1 period, continuing into the early LH III A2 phase, such as the rock pattern FM 32, in several variants, the running spiral FM 46 (LH III A2), the net pattern FM 57 (LH III A1), the scale pattern FM 70 (LH IIB-III A1), the foliate band FM 64 (LH III A1) and points FM 77 (LH II-III A1). One sherd, belonging to a small FS 85 alabastron from Lygaria (Fig. 5.11), bears a whitish-grayish slip and features a row of isolated spirals in reddish paint (FM 52:1), which is a popular LH II-III A1 motif in the local production of the Spercheios valley.¹⁵ Chemical analysis of some early Mycenaean pottery from Frantzi shows a strong local ceramic production, with a few imports from Lokris/East Fthiotis (Fig. 5.5), Kynos/East Lokris, Thebes/Boeotia (Fig. 5.14, Fig. 8.2) and only one imported vase (Fig. 5.10) from the north-east Peloponnese/Argolid.¹⁶

The discovery of early Mycenaean burials in the cemetery of chamber tombs at Prophet Elias-Kompotades has provided important evidence for the local ceramic production in the Spercheios valley, as it is easier to recognize particular characteristics of local ceramic output in burial contexts than in residential settings due to the fact that it is easier to recognize special new features when whole vessels are preserved. A typical example of local LH II production is the Mycenaean shape of squat jug (FS 87), which was especially popular and associated with local burial practices. The vases of this shape, found in tomb XIV in Kompotades, are reproduced in various categories and styles (Fig. 6), either wheel-made (Fig. 6.4,6) or handmade (Fig. 6.1-3,5), and are made in reddish/orange or brown/yellowish wares of the plain/unpainted burnished class (Fig. 6.1-3) and the late matt-painted class (Fig. 6.5). These examples represent local variants (unpainted or matt-painted) of the LH II FS 87 shape, which can be dated early to the LH II period (or LH IIA), while the decorated examples feature regular LH IIB motifs (running spiral, chain of joining dotted semi-circles, etc.; Karantzali 2021, 177; Fig. 6.4, 6, see also Lis and Batziou, this volume). Painted decorated vases of the LH IIB and LH III A1 periods accompanied the Early Mycenaean burials of the cemetery, such as alabastra,¹⁷ the most favored vase in the LBA contexts of the Spercheios valley (Fig. 7), and the popular LH III A1 shape of the handleless globular jar, which includes two possibly imported vases, decorated with the stipple pattern, as well as a host of local production, mostly monochrome or unpainted.

¹³ However, some local undecorated goblets (Fig. 8.1), from mixed context, bear morphological characteristics suggesting a LH IIA date. Cf. goblet from House A at Ayia Irini/ Keos: Cummer, Schofield 1984, 104, pl. 76:1169; Rutter 1993, fig. 7:23-27.

¹⁴ For related conclusions in other areas, cf. Dickinson 1977, 100, 108; Feuer 1983, 49-50; Adrymi-Sismani 2006, 465-466; Aravantinos, Psaraki 2010, 377. LH IIA pottery was identified at Glypha/Ancient Andron (Papakonstantinou 1999, 175), also at Mitrou (Vitale 2012, 1147-1148, fig. 1) and Elateia (Mountjoy 1999, 808).

¹⁵ However, the double chevrons visible below the handle is characteristic of the LH III A2-early phase.

¹⁶ Karantzali 2013, 143, fig. 6:22/5 (goblet imported from Lokris/East Fthiotis), fig. 6:162 (alabastron imported from the Argolid (NAA group MYCE); Karantzali, Mommsen 2023, 6-7; Karantzali, Hein, Kilikoglou forthcoming).

¹⁷ Some rounded and straight-sided alabastra from Kompotades are produced in a grey soft, fine clay with a polished surface, usually dark washed. This is possibly an imitation of the grey Middle Helladic pottery, which is also attested in the Frantzi and Lygaria settlements.

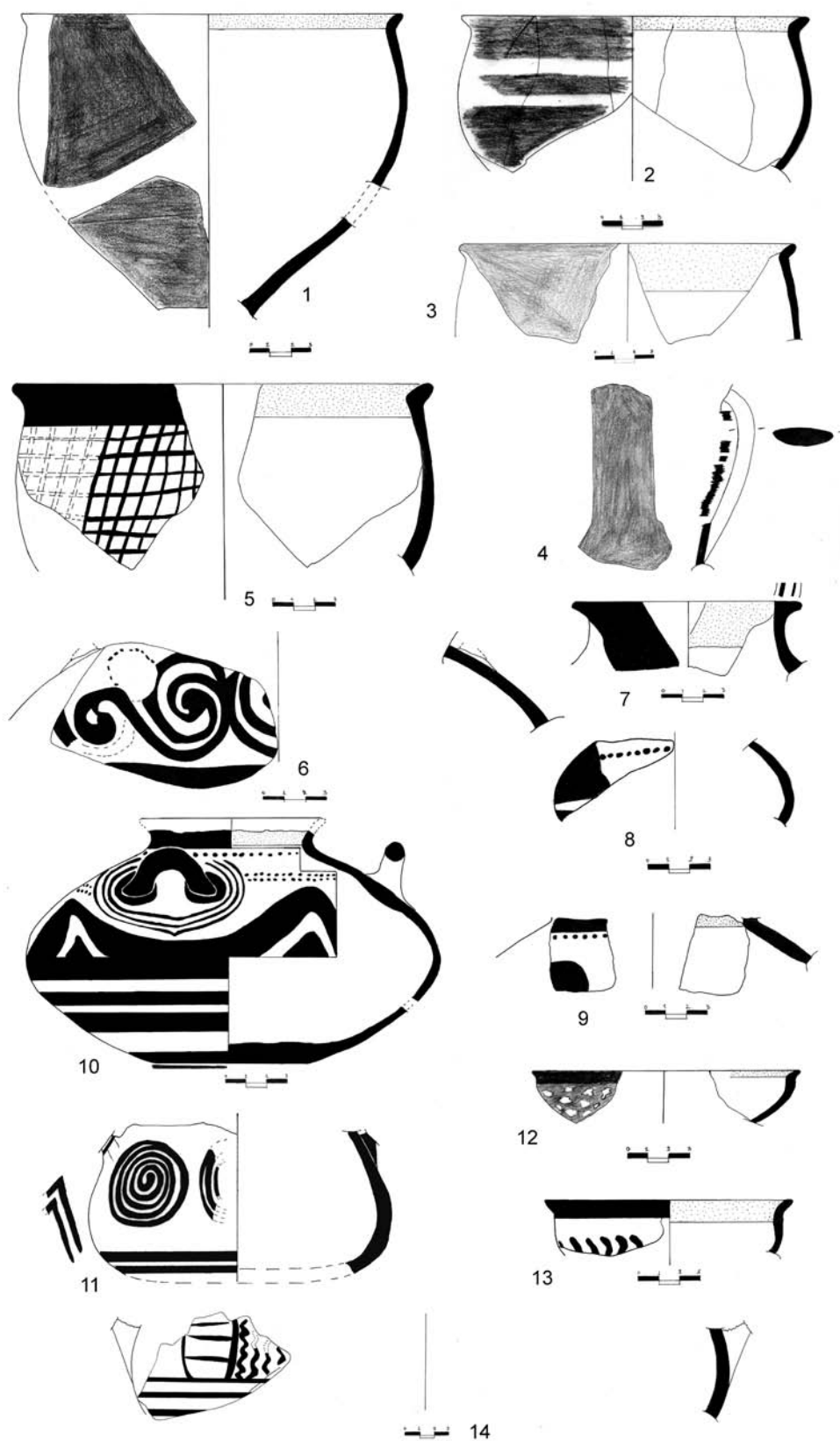


Fig.5. Solid painted and pattern decorated pottery from the LH II/IIIA1-IIIA2-early period from the settlement at Frantzi.



Fig.6. LH IIA and LH IIB juglets or cups from the Kompotades cemetery.

Macroscopically examined, early Mycenaean pottery found either in residential or burial contexts of the Spercheios valley shares several characteristics regarding the mixing/composition of the clay, the preference for monochrome or plain surfaces, the frequent use of whitish/yellowish thin slip and the variability in execution of the usual Mycenaean painted motifs.

THE PALATIAL PERIOD IN THE SPERCHEIOS VALLEY SEEN THROUGH THE CERAMICS

The pottery of the palatial period in Frantzi and Lygaria settlements (sites bearing stratigraphical evidence) share important similarities, which are also observed, to a certain extent, in the ceramic groups from Valogoura/Lamia and Akrolamia/Kastro (Karantzali 2013, 151; 2021, 178). All local pottery classes, dating from the beginning of the LH period in the material culture of the valley, continue to be produced during the palatial period (from LH IIIA2-late/LH IIIB until LH IIIB2/LH IIIC-early). These are the unpainted lustrous, the solidly painted and the decorated categories, the last being either linear or patterned.¹⁸ There is also a subcategory that is characterized by a buff-whitish to yellowish slip on which a dark reddish-brown to black painted decoration is applied.¹⁹

The pottery of the palatial period at the Frantzi and Lygaria settlements is fragmentary, with worn outer surfaces and faded decoration, which does not allow certain sorts of observations to be made, such as differentiating a FS 256 kylix from a FS 257 or securely identifying the rare type B deep bowl FS 284. Nevertheless, a considerable number of vases, found at Frantzi, Lygaria, Akrolamia and Kompotades, are produced from well-fired clay, with a carefully worked surface that is plain, monochrome or decorated: all of which possibly indicates locally produced and technically competent pottery (Fig. 8.3). The majority of the pottery is wheel-made, except some handmade coarse ware domestic pots, indicating a possible coexistence of different kinds of pottery production

¹⁸ The common feature of the ceramics is the reddish/orange-yellowish or brown-yellowish clay with few mica grits and the reddish/yellowish or brown/yellowish washed lustrous surface.

¹⁹ For Akrolamia/Kastro: cf. Stamoudi 2021, 161. It was called “Thessalian ware” (cf. Mountjoy 1990, 252, 1999, II, 823), but the NAA results on the pottery of the Spercheios valley have shown that vases of this subcategory are local, while some are imports from the southern regions.



Fig.7. Various types of alabaster of the LH IIB-III A1 and LH III A2-early period, from the cemetery of Kompotades

serving different functional needs. Typical LH IIB shapes appear alongside LH III A and earlier stylistic trends that persist. Unpainted pottery is abundant, as well as the solidly painted class (that can account for up to 70% in an assemblage).

A frequent table ware shape at Frantzi and Lygaria is the deep bowl FS 284, produced in local variants, usually solid painted inside, and bearing features dated to LH IIB1, LH IIB2 and some to the transitional phase LH IIB2/IIIC-early (Karantzali 2012, 1217; 2013, 143, 145, fig. 7; cf. Papa-konstantinou, Krapf 2021, 138, fig. 5:3, fig. 7; Stamoudi 2021, 163). Decorated deep bowls bear common motifs of the period (cf. Mountjoy 1995, 208, fig. 6:64-6, fig. 7:68; 1997, 116, 130, fig. 12:77), while the type B deep bowl of LH IIB2 is not distinct in its standard form²⁰, but occurs in local variants (Fig. 9.1-3). A characteristic example of the local type of bowl, dating to LH IIB2 or LH IIB2/IIIC-early, is found in the destruction level at the settlement of Lygaria (Fig. 9.4), decorated with an undulating wavy band and solid painted inside (cf. Mountjoy 1997, 123, 129, fig. 11:68-69). Another example is a stemmed bowl (Fig. 9.5) decorated with the usual banding system and a broad undulating (FM 53) wavy band (Karantzali 2013, 149, fig. 14). It is difficult to differentiate between the stemmed and truncated stemmed (FS 283) bowl due to the worn sherd material in both sites.

Kylikes are the second most frequent tableware shape, both in the Frantzi and Lygaria ceramic production, where the LH III A2 type, either unpainted or solid painted (Fig. 9.11), with a deep

²⁰ For Laconia cf. Mountjoy 2008, 385; Catling 2009.



Fig.8. Characteristic pottery from the settlement at Frantzi. 1.LH IIA kylix. 2. Imported monochrome kylix from Thebes/Boeotia. 3. Fine local pattern decorated pottery. 4. Stirrup jar with calcareous buff-whitish clay. 5. Large storage/transport jar with banded decoration. 6. Coarse ware storage/transport stirrup jar from Thebes/Boeotia.

or shallow body (FS 256, FS 264, FS 265) coexists with LH IIIB1 types, such as the plain kylix FS 265/ FS 267 (Karantzali 2012, 1218; 2013, 144-145; cf. Thomas 2011a, 181-183, fig. 6, LH IIIA2 unpainted; 2005, 512-513, fig. 28). Some unpainted kylikes, such as the FS 266 type (Fig. 9.9), and the one-handed FS 267 angular kylix (Fig. 9.10) are usually produced in high quality lustrous fine ware. In addition, some Lygaria kylix sherds are characterized by a lustrous, thickly but irregularly applied black paint. The few decorated LH IIIA2-late and LH IIIB1 kylikes from Frantzi and Lygaria (FS 256-FS 257) carry common motifs, such as spirals, octopus (Fig. 9.12), vertical whorl-shell (Fig. 9.15), volute flower with antithetic whorl-shells (Fig. 9.14), linked whorl-shell (Fig. 9.13), flowers, tricurved or concentric arcs; almost all are solidly painted inside (Karantzali 2012, 1218; 2013, 149; cf. Vitale 2011, 334, fig. 2; 2013, 126-127, fig. 2; Papakonstantinou, Krapf 2021, 138-140; Stamoudi 2021, 161-165, figs. 6-7).

Moreover, a special subcategory is attested with light-grey, fine and soft clay, washed and polished surface. In this it is reminiscent of the local gray MH III class, suggesting a local preference for producing new shapes, such as the kylix and alabastron, in old techniques (Fig. 7.4,7). The so-called kantharos vase, dating to the late LH IIIA2 phase, is a deep pedestal shape, similar to a small krater or a big goblet. It is a shape of the Phocian regional style, represented in central Greece (Mitrou/Lokris, Spercheios valley) and in Western Greece/the Ionian islands (Karantzali 2012, 1218, fig. 8:7-10; 2013, 149, figs. 14:2 and 154:1,2; cf. Vitale 2011, 334).

The deep semi-globular FS 214 cup is still present in LH IIIB contexts both at Frantzi and Lygaria, either solidly painted or plain (Fig. 9.6). In addition, the LH IIIC-early cup (FS 215) is recognized only in the last occupation period at Frantzi (Fig. 9.7). A few cup fragments, mostly monochrome inside and with a wide or medium rim band, can be considered as local products (Karantzali 2012, 1218, fig. 8:7-10; 2013, 149, figs. 14:2 and 154:1,2; cf. Vitale 2011, 334). Kraters (FS 8-FS 9, FS 281) appear as a frequent item of tableware in all Spercheios valley settlements (Frantzi, Lygaria, Akrolamia etc.), in a variety of sizes, with unpainted, pattern decorated and solidly painted examples. Some vases with particular characteristics could be considered products of the local workshops of Spercheios valley during LH IIIA2-late/IIIB. For example, a nearly complete krater from Lygaria has

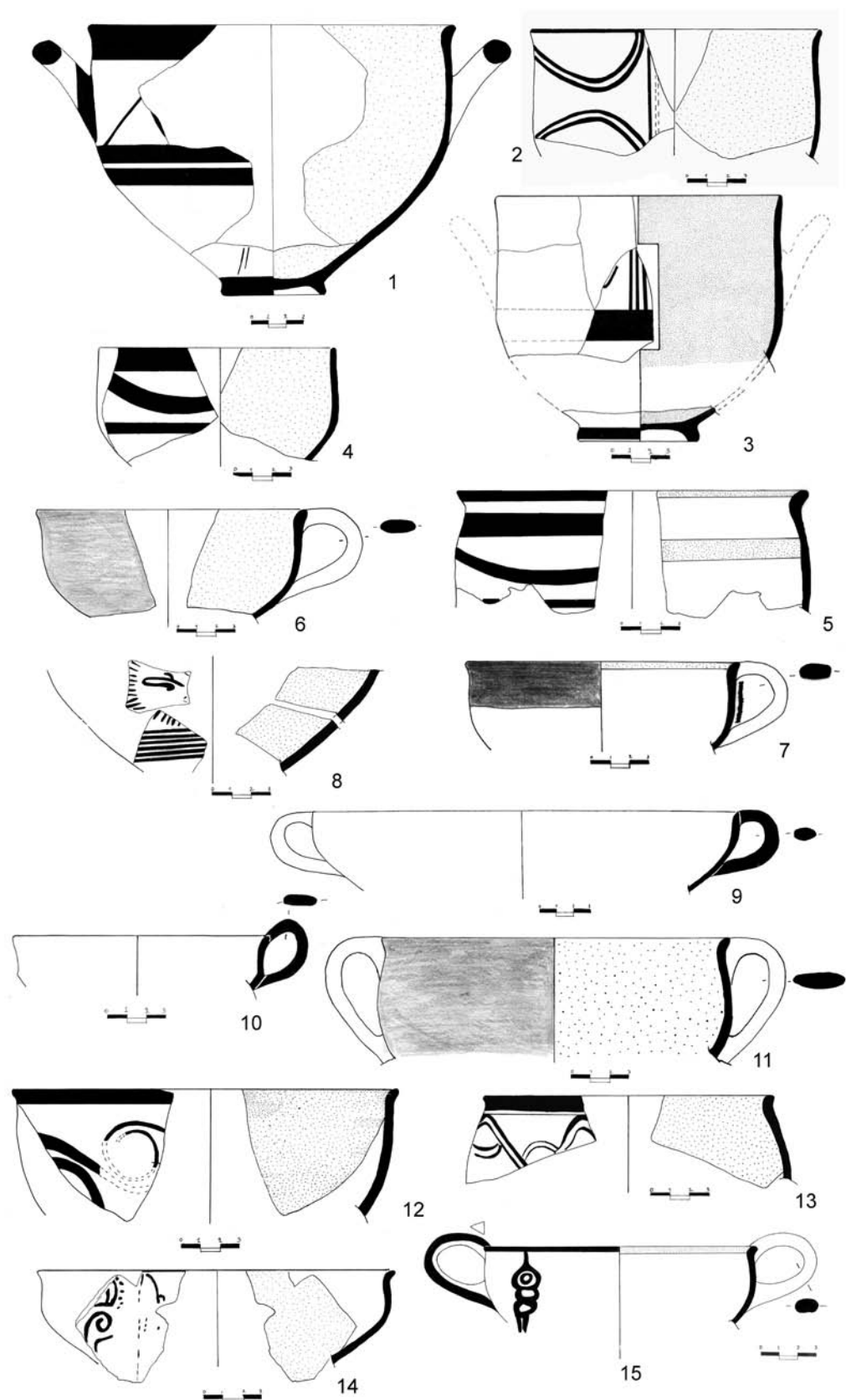


Fig.9. Plain, solid painted and pattern decorated pottery of the Palatial period from the Frantzi (1-3, 7, 9-12, 14-15) and Lygaria (4-6, 8, 13) settlements.

a more elongated than usual hemispherical body, a wide pedestal instead of a ring base and a broad band along the handles, instead of the usual three splashes on them (Fig. 10.4). Additionally, a krater sherd from Frantzi is decorated with a row of stylized conjoined rosettes (FM17:21, LH IIIA1/2), which is a motif used as an accessory, rather than a primary one (Fig. 10.5).

Closed shapes of fine and semi-fine ware are few. The alabastron (FS 85, FS 94; Fig. 10.1-2,6) is a favorite shape, both in residential and burial contexts, in the Spercheios valley, as are the small piriform jar (Fig. 10.10) and beaked jug (Fig. 10.3), while the stirrup jar is rarely attested (Fig. 8.4; Fig. 10.7). One of the typical trends of the valley's local style is the use of the common LH IIIA1 banding system, called the 'Boeotian band', for decorating LH IIIA2/IIIB vases, usually alabastra (e.g., Lygaria and Kompotades; Karantzali 2013, 151, fig. 14:891/2; Karantzali 2018, 103-104). Additionally, the Cretan-inspired pattern of multiple chequered lines (FM 61), in a variant particularly popular in the early LM IIIC, is found to be decorating a straight-sided alabastron from Kompotades (Karantzali 2018, 104). This stylistic element entered the local repertoire through nearby primary palatial centers (e.g. Thebes), which enjoyed close contacts with Late Minoan Crete.²¹ The local variant of the Mycenaean shape of hydria (FS 128) is the most common domestic/storage and transport shape, both at the Frantzi and Lygaria settlements (Fig. 10.11). The pots are usually unpainted, but there are also examples in a linear/banded style (Fig. 8.5). The large storage piriform jar (FS 35; Fig. 10.9) or the belly-handled amphora (FS 58, FS 69) are also identified in the material of Frantzi.²² A medium-sized closed vase from Lygaria is characteristic of the early LH IIIC style (Fig. 11.1), decorated with groups of horizontal bands and a wavy band in a narrow decorative zone: this bears similarities to an amphoriskos (FS 59) from Phocis (cf. Mountjoy 1999, II, 773, fig. 303:175).

Semi-coarse and coarse dark-surfaced cooking pottery from Frantzi includes local shapes, either wheel-made or handmade. Two fragmentary handmade burnished jars (Fig. 11.3) of coarse dark clay belong to a common type, also found in LH IIIB contexts at Mycenae, Thebes and continuing into the later periods (Karantzali 2012, 1215, note 22; Andrikou *et al.*, 2006, 121, pl. 21:343; Lis 2006, 9-12). Moreover, a fragmentary handmade fire-box/pyraunos²³ (Fig. 11.4; Fig. 12) consists of a round-bottomed bowl with an integral stand and can be compared with Lefkandi example (Popham *et al.* 2006, 212, fig. 2.40:6). A notable example of a good quality coarse ware is a thin-walled, wide-mouthed jug, which bears a large burnt mark opposite the handle, probably indicating it was employed to heat liquids. The jug appears to be handmade, but the disc-shaped base indicates a possible use of wheel in the manufacture (Fig. 11.2; Fig. 13).

The results of the Neutron Activation Analysis of Mycenaean palatial pottery from Frantzi settlement²⁴ show that most of the samples present similarities in terms of fabric as well as in terms of elemental composition, indicating that a large part of the Late Helladic pottery at Frantzi was locally manufactured from basically the same type of clay or from geochemically related sources. It can be assumed that the local workshop(s) used raw materials from the main alluvial deposits associated with the Spercheios River. The analysis of local raw materials from the deposits of Spercheios also supports this. The observed differences and variations of fabrics might be due to natural variations in the raw materials or to variation during the preparation of the clay paste. It is therefore likely that

²¹ For strong Cretan influences on the art and life of Thebes: Aravantinos 2015, 31.

²² A twisted handles of FS 69 amphora of early LH IIIC period were found at Frantzi and Akrolamia. Karantzali 2012, 1214, note 13, 1218.

²³ The shape has some similarities with the FS 316 but is without handles and perforations, while the three-part stand is closer to the FS 336. The firebox and a rim of a second one were found in room C of the Mycenaean complex with LH IIIA2-late/LH IIIB1 associations.

²⁴ The majority of the samples were analyzed at Demokritos by Anno Hein and Vasilis Kilikoglou, while a small number (=15 samples) were processed at Bonn University by Hans Mommsen. The selected pottery is divided macroscopically into eight categories based color, technical features of the clay (quality and quantity of inclusions, mica, hardness, etc.) and type of surface treatment (wash, slip or stable thick slip, quality of paint, etc.).

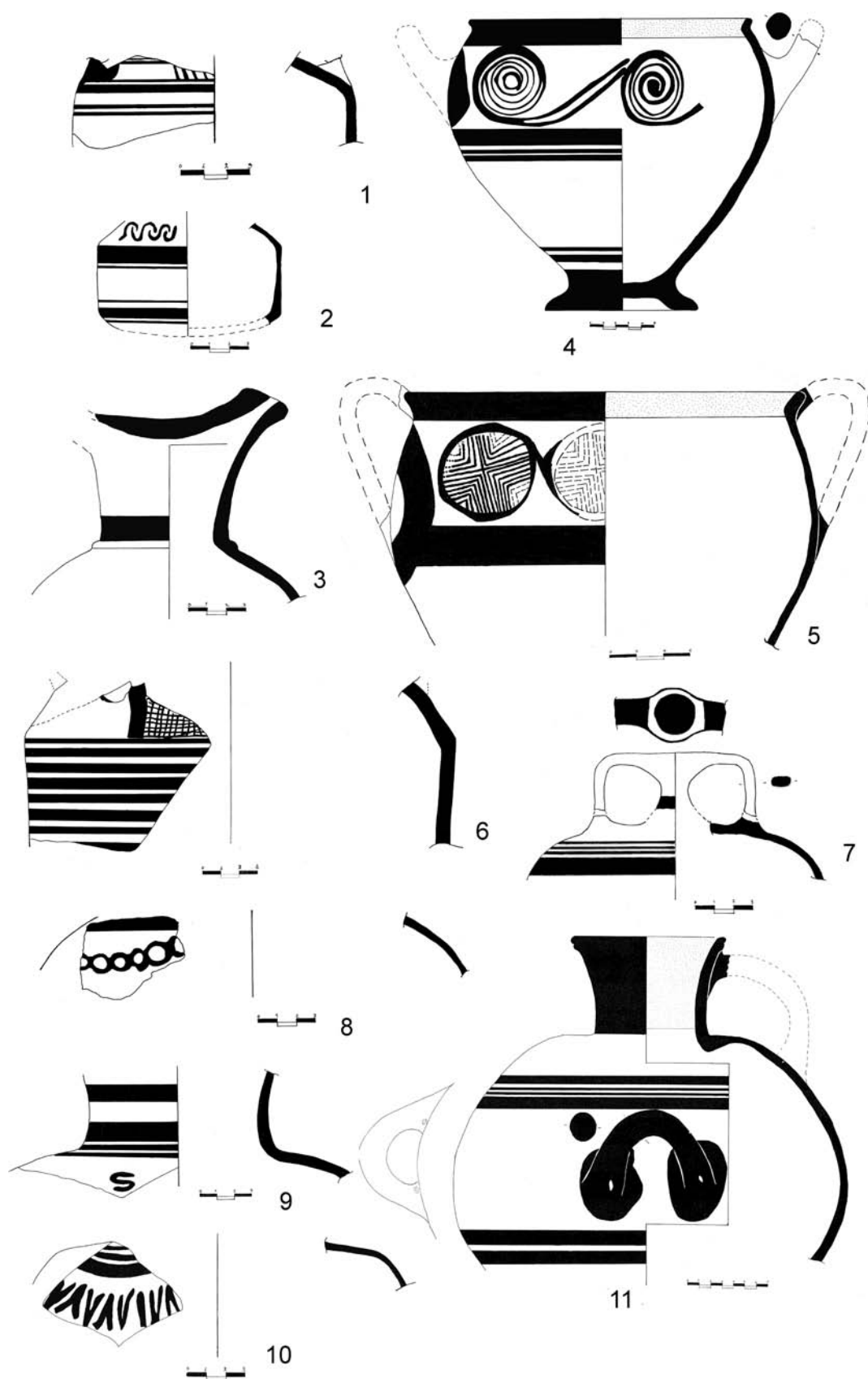


Fig.10. Pattern decorated pottery of the Palatial period from the Frantzi (1, 5-11) and Lygaria (2-4) settlements.

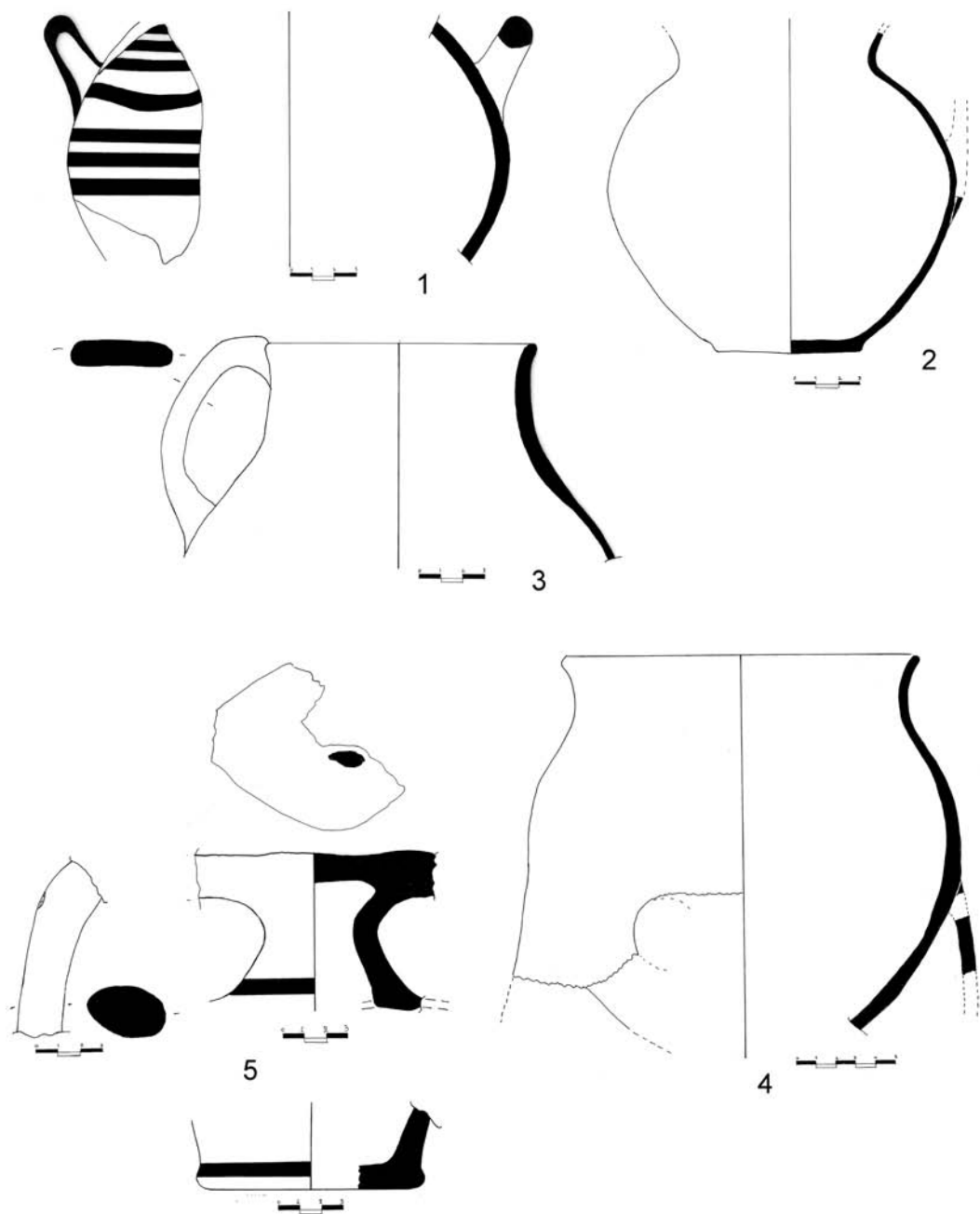


Fig.11. Closed decorated vase from Lygaria and coarse ware domestic pottery from the settlement at Frantzi.

high-quality pottery is being produced in Mycenaean Frantzi. A few sherds present similarities to the compositional group of LH pottery from Kynos/East Lokris and Lokris/East Fthiotida. Other compositional groups exhibit distinct patterns, and so can be distinguished from the assumedly local or regional pottery. The comparison with reference patterns on the *ceraDAT* database indicates possible imports from Attica, Aitolokarnania/(Loutraki-Katounas), Achaia/Elis and Thebes/Boeotia. An imported coarse storage stirrup jar (FS 164) for transporting liquids (oil or wine), found in a LH IIIB1 context in room D of the building at Frantzi, demonstrates the existence of trade networks with the nearby palatial center of Thebes²⁵ (Fig. 8.6; Fig. 11.5), while another storage/transport jar was

²⁵ For comparable examples of storage/transport stirrup jars from Thebes: Andrikou *et al.* 2006, 68, pl. 7:113, Andrikou in this volume; Dakouri-Hild 2001, 111, fig. 16.



Fig.12. Handmade fire-box from Frantzi



Fig.13. Wide-mouthed jug from Frantzi.

a possible import from the island of Chios or a workshop on the coast of Asia Minor, opposite Chios (Karantzali, Hein, Kilikoglou forthcoming; Karantzali, Mommsen 2023, 6-7).

SYNOPSIS - DISCUSSION

Material culture, especially the pottery, is the principal component in reconstructing the social and historical development of LH III sites in the Spercheios valley, demonstrating that the local inhabitants were aware of the technical innovations of the Mycenaean palatial centers and had strengthened commercial exchanges and contacts with the nearby regions. At the same time they were self-sufficient, having their own products based on a strong and resilient Middle Helladic tradition.

At the early stages of the Late Bronze Age, Mycenaean decorated pottery constituted only a small percentage of the total ceramic assemblage of the sites in the Spercheios valley. During the formative period (LH I-II) of the Mycenaean culture, ceramic production in the valley was characterized by a variety of classes, wares, types and shapes, recognized also at other Mainland sites.²⁶ The Prepalatial or early Mycenaean period in the valley, as presented through the pottery, reveals the continuation of native styles of the LH I period, such as the light pale-slipped surface, as well as the gradual adoption of elements of the Mycenaean life-style as expressed ceramically, such as Mycenaean tableware and decorative trends. The coexistence of new, advanced forms and techniques with traditional ones characterizes the local LH I-II style in the Frantzi settlement and by extension the area of Spercheios valley. Local unpainted LH II pottery prevails in both domestic and burial contexts of the valley, while at the same time decorative LH IIA and LH IIB pottery is rare in Fthiotis, as in some Peloponnesian sites (Kardamaki 2017). Household/domestic pottery, whether wheel-made or handmade, continued to some extent the MH/LH I tradition.

Both Frantzi and Lygaria were destroyed and abandoned during the LH IIIB2 or the transitional phase LH IIIB2/early LH IIIC, as were the other LH III sites in the Spercheios valley. The local palatial-period ceramic production in the valley, as witnessed in the stratigraphical sequence at Frantzi and Lygaria, but also in the ceramic assemblages at Akrolamia/Kastro, Valogourna/Lamia and Platania/Agia Paraskevi, was mainly concerned with providing standard, easily produced forms for domestic use, with little desire for pattern decorated vases. This resulted in the emergence of unpainted, solidly painted and linear ceramic categories,

²⁶ Karantzali 2014/2015, 53-54, with associated bibliography.

which constitute the majority in the LH IIIA-B material and therefore reflects the local stylistic preferences in the regional or provincial Mycenaean style of the Spercheios valley. Despite local idiosyncrasies, it appears that the pottery of the palatial period follows the accepted Mycenaean consumption pattern in vase shapes and decoration, thus being in step with the Mycenaean eating and drinking habits practiced in the southern Mainland. The typological homogeneity that characterizes the majority of Mycenaean ceramics – at least in terms of the fine plain and painted classes, which did develop in form and style over time – suggests an inter-regionally shared technological knowledge among the settlements of the Spercheios valley. Modest decorative trends and a simplified and limited repertoire of shapes and motifs characterize the local pottery from LH IIIA to the end of the palatial period (LH IIIB2/LH IIIC-early). There is still no evidence of possible supra-regional production centers in the valley, which contributed to the locally available supply of ceramics.

Furthermore, the shapes and styles of storage and transport wheel-made vases remain largely unchanged or only slightly evolved during the lifespan of the settlements. Handmade coarse cooking vases are found in limited numbers and are probably associated with the willingness of a workshop or a household workshop to make handmade cooking utensils.

In summary, the main features of local ceramic production during the Mycenaean palatial period, as recorded in the material culture of the settlements in the Spercheios valley, are the following:

- The preference for light-colored surfaces, either by the application of a buff-yellowish to whitish slip or by use of calcareous buff-whitish clay (Fig. 8.4).
- The presence of high quality pattern-decorated pottery, with simple but canonical Mycenaean motifs.
- The predominance of monochrome interiors in tableware shapes (deep bowls, kylikes, cups and so on).
- The presence of different local variants of the type A deep bowl (e.g. wide bands in the decorative concept of type B deep bowl), as well as the rarity of the type B bowl and the absence of the rosette type bowl.
- The persistence of early shapes into the LH IIIA2 period, such as the solidly painted goblet FS 263 with a small everted rim, and the production of short stemmed kylikes in LH IIIA2, keeping up the tradition of the LH IIIA1 goblet.
- The continuation of earlier ceramic shapes and stylistic features in LH IIIB2 and early LH IIIC, as for example the use of the solidly painted kylix FS 264/265 until the end of the palatial period.
- The particular and local decorative syntax of the motifs and the banding system of the lustrous painted tableware.
- The preferences for the alabastron and the small to medium piriform jar to accompany burials.
- The rarity of the linear angular bowl FS 295.
- The conical kylix FS 274 has not yet been identified.
- The absence of the Aeginetan type pottery.
- The limited presence of pottery of the LH IIIC early²⁷ and middle phases²⁸, despite the presence of typical decorated pottery of Mountjoy's transitional phase (e.g., antithetic spirals on either side of triglyphs).

The vases present in both settlements and cemeteries of the Spercheios valley are mostly produced locally (from 85% to 90%). A significant group of fine-quality decorated pottery, as certified by NAA, demonstrates that the local potters were well-trained and had the standard technical knowledge required to make high-quality vases. This is true for the majority of vases so analyzed.

²⁷ There are few examples of the FS 215 cup with broad rim band and solid painted interior from Frantzi (Karantzali 2012, 1218-1219, fig. 7.11-13), one example of FS 284 bowl with reserved circle at the bottom and one with a reserved band near the rim also from Frantzi (Karantzali 2012, 1218-1219, fig. 7.9,10), two examples of twisted amphora handles from Frantzi and Akrolamia, and a rim of coarse ware handmade burnished jar from Frantzi (Karantzali 2012, 1218-1219, fig. 5.10,11).

²⁸ Karantzali 2018, 117, fig. 23, 24 from Kompotades.

The Mycenaean culture was possibly introduced into the Spercheios valley by means of itinerant artists and craftsmen, and evidently spread by interaction during commercial activities. Through these same sort of contacts, ceramic uniformity developed across the Aegean during the Palatial period. The most effective mechanism for uniformly spreading the Mycenaean culture remains the mobility of potters and the widespread achieved by the pottery. A workshop where Argive-trained potters worked for at least some time is hypothesized for Thessaly (Lis, this volume). Perhaps by the same mechanism, the use of buff-whitish slip on the local pottery of the valley was introduced during the formative period of Mycenaean culture, as an attempt to imitate the Argive Mycenaean pottery. Following the Neutron Activation Analysis results, the so-called 'Thessalian' ceramic category of the valley, so named because of the use of buff-yellowish or buff-whitish slip and the stylistic similarities, is now considered as local. Furthermore, there are no Thessalian imports in the Spercheios valley, as is confirmed by the same analyses. The same stylistic preferences and similarities may indeed have been independent innovations in Thessaly and the Spercheios valley. Maybe local potters from these regions were trained and taught in the same technological tradition, by potters specialized in the Argive repertoire. This is a consequence of the leading role of Argive workshops in producing and exchanging Mycenaean pottery for food and drink consumption. Even so, imported vases at the Frantzi settlement, examples of which were analyzed, suggest a possible Boeotian/Theban origin. This region enjoyed a strong relationship with Mycenae and Crete, as well as with the nearby region of Lokris (SE Fthiotis) and through the latter with the Spercheios valley. It could be supposed that any palatial center (primary or secondary), which may have existed in the Spercheios valley, would have been in contact with the palatial centers of other regions, such as those of Boeotia, and with the important settlements of Phocis, and ultimately through them with the great palatial centers of the Peloponnese. Thus, while a typical Mycenaean uniformity may be discerned, there are still particular technical/stylistic preferences that show similarities either with the north (Thessaly) or south (Phocis). Imported products did arrive from the southern regions (Boeotia, Achaia/Elis, etc.) and even from the great palatial centers in the far-off Argolid.

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THE EARLIEST IMPORTED AND LOCALLY PRODUCED MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN COASTAL THESSALY

BARTŁOMIEJ LIS, ANTHI BATZIOU

Abstract

This paper focuses on the earliest Mycenaean-style pottery from the coastal Thessaly around the modern city of Volos. Our understanding of such pottery has been heavily dependent on the finds from tombs. To counter this bias, we discuss pottery deriving mostly from settlement contexts at the site of Kastro/Palaia in Volos. The pottery is presented following a division into imported and locally produced, a distinction informed by archaeometric analyses. Two aspects are discussed in more detail – the issue of chronology, including the inherent difficulty in dating locally produced and stylistically idiosyncratic pottery, and manufacture. In terms of the latter, our study shows that while all local pottery is handmade, this mode of manufacture is attested also for some of the imports from the Northeastern Peloponnese.

INTRODUCTION

The earliest Mycenaean pottery in coastal Thessaly is still relatively poorly known, despite a formidable effort by Penelope Mountjoy who attempted to assemble as complete picture as possible for her monumental *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery* (1999). Furthermore, apart from a single pyxis form the settlement at Kastro/Palaia, being the single vessel illustrated for the LH IIA period (no. 1 in the chapter on Thessaly), and a LH IIIA1 cup from Pefkakia (No. 61), the rest of LH IIB-LH IIIA1 material presented in 1999 monograph derives from burials, such as numerous Early Mycenaean tombs found at the Nea Ionia cemetery. This represents a considerable bias in our perception and understanding of the earliest Mycenaean pottery in the area. Finally, the question of provenance of these earliest vessels has not been, until very recently, sufficiently addressed.

In light of such a state of the art, the aim of our paper is to provide an update on this topic taking advantage of the previous and current research by the authors, as well as of the recently published archaeometric data shedding light on the provenance of numerous Early Mycenaean vessels deriving from coastal Thessaly.

The material presented here derives mostly from the site of Kastro/Palaia. The site has been excavated by D. Theocharis in 1950s (1956; 1961), and, in the following decades, witnessed a considerable activity connected to rescue excavations conducted by the local Ephorate at a number of plots located within the low artificial hill.¹ Late Bronze Age material, particularly pottery, from three of such plots, in combination with finds made by Theocharis, constituted the subject of doctoral research by one of the authors (Batzioiu-Efstathiou 1998). Material from two of the rescue excavations, conducted at the plots of Diakoumis and Kokotsika, was included in the new project entitled “From the first to the last Mycenaeans in the Gulf of Volos”² which aims to provide a better understanding of the LBA pottery sequence in the area of coastal Thessaly. A fresh look at the Early Mycenaean pottery advanced

¹ For a list of rescue excavations conducted at the hill, see (Skafida, Karnava and Olivier 2012, 59, n. 23).

² The project received a generous funding from National Science Centre (Poland) through a grant No. 2020/38/E/HS3/00512.

our understanding of chronology and stratigraphy, and made it possible to document additional pieces of interest that will be presented here. In terms of provenance, a fair number of Early Mycenaean vessels from Thessaly was sampled in 1996 within a programme coordinated by Joseph Maran and Hans Mommsen, results of which have been recently published with participation of both authors (Lis et al. 2023), revealing both extensive importation but also strong and long-lasting local production. Furthermore, within the new project, additional chemical analyses have been undertaken.

Based on the better understanding of provenance, resulting from these analyses, our presentation will be divided into imported and locally produced Mycenaean pottery. Such an approach is instrumental in singling out aspects of local style(s).

CONTEXTS

Diakoumis plot

The Diakoumis plot is located in the central part of the hill (for location, see Lis et al. 2023, 203, fig. 4), and was excavated in 1990–91. Palatial period levels have been briefly summarized in a recent paper (Batziou 2023). The material of interest for this paper derives from below the LH IIIA1 layer located at the depth of 4.69 to 4.93, and above a level dating to the LH I period, beginning half a meter below the LH IIIA1 layer, and associated with well-preserved architecture. This ca. 50 cm thick stratum that dates to LH II period has no clear stratigraphy and is moreover disturbed by several features. The most significant of them is a drain, associated with the LH IIIA1 activity, that reached to the depth of ca. 5.20. The other disturbances are associated with two later pits, as well as a LH IIB cist tomb. Due to this significant activity, caution is needed when considering the relative depths at which particular vessels were found.

Kokotsika plot

The rescue excavations at the Kokotsika plot, carried out in 1988, were located very close to the trenches dug by Theocharis at the east edge of the hill of Kastro/Palaia. The LH IIIC Early deposit from that excavation has been recently published in detail by the authors (Lis and Batziou 2022). The layers that belong to the Early Mycenaean period start almost immediately below the make-up of the floor on which the LH IIIC Early deposit was found, and continue down to a depth of 7.10. The only architectural feature is a small stretch of wall revealed at the depth of 6.80. No clear floor levels were documented within this thick accumulation. Even though no obvious disturbances were detected during the excavation, the material of this Early Mycenaean levels appears to be mixed, as stylistically early fragments are found in its upper parts, while pieces of LH IIB date are found towards its bottom.

PRESENTATION OF POTTERY

Imports

As stated by P. Mountjoy (1999, 826), the only two pieces of LH IIA pottery published so far from Thessaly are probably imported. Only one of them derives from the area under consideration, and is a unique lid FS 334 from Kastro/Palaia (excavations of D. Theocharis), decorated with a framed spiral

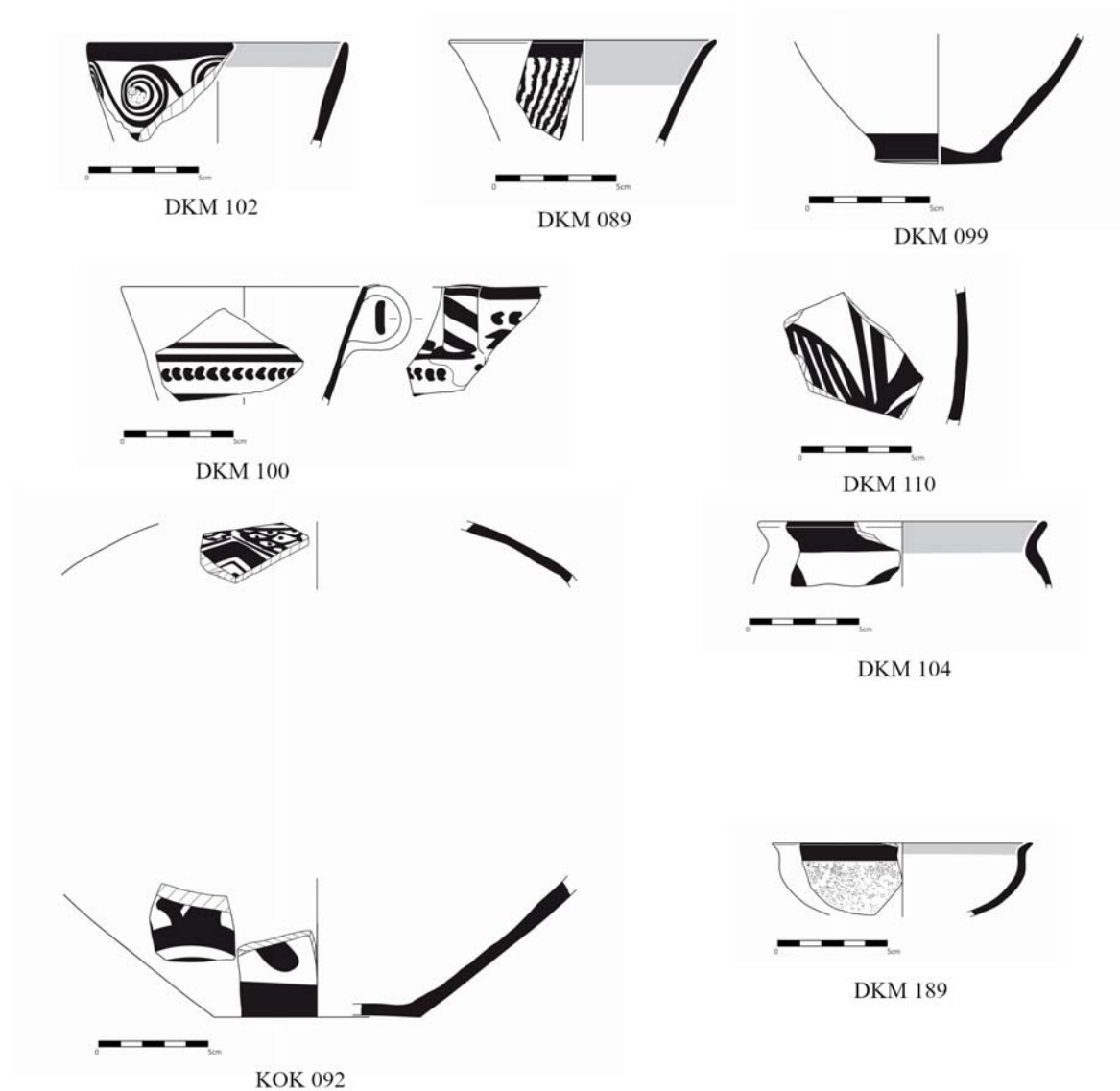


Fig. 1 Imported Early Mycenaean pottery from Kastro/Palaia

FM 46. Therefore, until now it did not seem that Mycenaean pottery has reached coastal Thessaly (or Thessaly in general) prior to LH IIA, and that it was very scarce at the beginning.

Our current results reinforce this view concerning the LH I period, with, however, a single exception. It is a lustrous-decorated Vapheio cup **DKM 102** (Fig. 1) decorated with a running spiral. The drawing of the motif is atypical for Mycenaean pottery, and is more akin to the running spirals on LH I matt-painted pottery, such as panelled cups. Examples from Lerna provide good parallel (Caskey 1955, pl. 16a). The paint on DKM 102 is definitely lustrous, however. There is no good parallel for such a combination of features. The interior bears irregular wiping marks, and it is likely that this Vapheio cup is handmade. Chemical analysis with means of NAA showed that it is an import from the Argolid (sample Iolk 010, pattern MYCE, Lis et al. 2023). Its stratigraphic position is very secure, as it comes from a level with numerous mendable pottery that is clearly LH I in date, including matt-painted and Bichrome pottery. DKM 102 is the only lustrous-decorated fragment in this context.

Taking all these observations together, we are dealing here not only with the earliest lustrous-decorated import to coastal Thessaly, but also with a very early example of a lustrous-decorated Vapheio cup from NE Peloponnese, with no good parallels from the origin area.

Except for this fragment, there are no other unambiguous examples of LH I Mycenaean pottery, either stylistically or stratigraphically, confirming that the perception of Thessaly as missing LH I lustrous-decorated pottery is generally correct.

The other possible candidate for a very early import to Thessaly is a Vapheio cup **DKM 089** (Fig. 1), decorated with a ripple pattern. Such cups are generally dated between LH I and LH IIA, while an unslipped interior would be an indication of an earlier date. In this case the interior appears to be slipped, but is irregular. Nevertheless, upon a closer inspection of the published evidence, it seems that Vapheio cups with such decoration found on the Mainland are most likely indicative of an LH IIA date.³ This appears to be true also of this fragment, as it was found above the LH I level mentioned before, and in association with other pieces that are of LH IIA date.

Another import from NE Peloponnese (NAA: MYCE, sample Iolk 012) is **DKM 099** (Fig. 1), a lower part and base to a closed shape. The only decoration is in the form of an irregular band at base, and as such it is not closely datable. Contextual association suggests it may be an LH IIA fragment as well. An interesting aspect is that it is clearly handmade.

A further lustrous decorated fragment recovered from the same level is a Vapheio cup **DKM 100** (Fig. 1), featuring a foliate band, oblique bars at the handle and a clay pellet at the upper handle attachment imitating a rivet (Rutter 2023). It can be dated to the LH IIA period. The decoration is executed in a slightly careless manner, but the quality of manufacture and surface finish is extremely high. It is a Central Greek import, belonging to NAA group X066 (sample Iolk 014), which has most of its members in the area of East Lokris (Lis et al. 2023).

Not a standard Mycenaean fragment, but bearing a clearly Mycenaean motif in at least semi-lustrous paint is **DKM 110** (Fig. 1), an import from Aegina, according to NAA, with the rocket-tree pattern (sample Iolk 017). Again, this fragment should date to LH IIA.⁴ Interestingly, it is the remote region of Thessaly that provides firm evidence for a class of handmade Mycenaean-style pottery produced on Aegina, which is only rarely known from the areas that would be closer to Aegina or from Aegina itself.

From the other rescue excavation plot, Kokotsika, there is only a single secure imported LH II fragment deriving from a relatively high-lying unit with respect to the depths from where other Early Mycenaean pottery came from. These are three non-joining fragments belonging undoubtedly to a single closed shape (**KOK 092**, Fig. 1), most likely an early stirrup jar. It features a simple flat base with a band and a fragment of an arcade pattern, and a zigzag with scale pattern on the shoulder. The third fragment, probably from lower body, depicts rockwork pattern. There is a number of closed shapes that feature an arcade pattern on the lower body, including a jug from one of the graves at a nearby Nea Ionia cemetery (Batziou-Efstathiou 1991, 35, fig. 15).

Finally, there is a goblet with a rimband and a curvilinear pattern below (**DKM 104**, Fig. 1) that dates to LH IIB, and a cup from the Diakoumi plot, **DKM 189** (Fig. 1), decorated with a stipple pattern, making it a fairly standard LH IIIA1 piece. The first is a confirmed import from the Argolid (sample Iolk 008), and such provenance is most likely for the other.

It is intriguing that there are clearly more imported vessels of LH IIA date, even though they are admittedly few, than those that would date to LH IIB or LH IIIA1. This is in contrast to the evidence from the Nea Ionia tombs, where imports of especially LH IIB/IIIA1 date are quite plentiful (Lis et al. 2023), while LH IIA pottery is virtually absent, at least among the published material.

³ This is suggested by the most recent studies on pottery from southern Peloponnese (Hachtmann 2023, 31), as well as Tsoungiza (Rutter 2020, 651).

⁴ For parallels, see examples of hole-mouthed jars from Mycenae (Mountjoy 1999, 90, fig. 13:40) and Thermon (Mountjoy 1990, 799, fig. 319:2).

LOCALLY PRODUCED POTTERY

Defining the features of local Early Mycenaean pottery in Thessaly, P. Mountjoy could take advantage of almost exclusively tomb pottery, and therefore her conclusions concern predominantly closed shapes, in particular alabastra, squat jugs and piriform jars (Mountjoy 1999, 823–5, fig. 328). She singled out several local motifs, among them droplet stems, wavy vertical stem, reed, and variants of rock pattern (single, fringed single, and continuous pointed). Material from Kastro/Palaia that is considered here helps supplementing this picture with settlement evidence that includes open shapes.

Open shapes are attested predominantly in the form of goblets and/or cups. **DKM 192** (Figs. 2, 3) is an example of an open shape, based on size most likely a goblet. It is handmade, a feature common to all locally produced pottery until LH IIIA2, has a relatively short lip and is covered with a pale slip on the exterior and on interior rim, as it is visible below the layer of paint covering the rim. The rest of the interior is unslipped, but finished (burnished). The decoration consists of at least two sets of pendent semicircles, a unique motif among the Early Mycenaean pottery, and a floral ornament that can be a rosette or droplet stems, similar to the decoration on an alabastron from Achilleion (Mountjoy 1999, 831, no. 29, fig. 333).

A two-handled goblet is represented by **KOK 089** (Figs. 2, 3), again handmade, but without a distinct pale slip. It is decorated most likely with an ivy, stretched between both handles. The handles are framed by a loop, and they are decorated with oblique strokes. The rim is somewhat irregular, convex, and longer than on DKM 192.

KOK 099 (Fig. 2) is a smaller shape, probably a cup, with a long everted rim. The motif, partially preserved, is most likely a double axe, while the interior rim is decorated with strokes. The parallels for such a combination are as early as LH I (Mountjoy 1986, 14).

Another likely goblet, perhaps one-handled, is **DKM 191** (Figs. 2, 3). It shows several local characteristics, such as handmade manufacture and use of pale slip for entire exterior and only interior rim (Fig. 3). The main motif consists of scale pattern made of two rows of joined semicircles, but the linear decoration is also interesting. The handle is framed by a loop and bears oblique bars, in a manner already seen on DKM 192. Three parallel slightly oblique bands spread from the loop that frame the decorative field from below. Similar decoration can be found on a Vapheio cup from Veles-tino (Kakavogiannis 2003, pl. 31), but a closer parallel, also in terms of shape, comes from Korakou (Mountjoy 1986, 47, fig. 53.1), save for the scale pattern that constitutes a frequent local version of that pattern.

Yet another pale-slipped goblet, this time of considerable size, is **KOK 093** (Fig. 2). It is decorated with a tongue motif, more commonly placed on the necks of closed shapes, such as the beaked jug from Nea Ionia (K 2928, Mountjoy 1999, 833, no. 36, fig. 334). The motif is bordered from below by a triple wavy band, or a triple wave motif, nicely synchronized with individual tongues. The same decoration, this time placed above the main motif, is found on another open shape from Volos, Diakoumis plot (**DKM 202**, Fig. 3). The motif in question appears to be a fairly regular rosette with a circle in the middle. This brings to mind Ephyrean goblets and Ephyrean style in particular, and another possible connection with that style can be seen in goblet KOK 093, as the tongue pattern usually decorates beaked jugs in the Ephyrean style (Mountjoy 1999, 833; 1986, 43, fig. 47.1). However, Ephyrean goblets are conspicuously missing from Thessaly, and contrary to Mountjoy (1999, 824), this is not a chance of excavation, but rather a selective distribution of that particular shape and style.

Among cups and goblets there is only one possible local example of a Vapheio cup (**KOK 098**, Fig. 2), featuring a midrib and decorated with a foliate band. This attests to the rarity of this otherwise very popular Mycenaean shape, which has been imported to Thessaly from early on.

Among the few closed shapes deriving from the settlement layers we can mention a fragment of a possible piriform jar **DKM 088** (Figs. 2, 3) with curved stripes and vertical wavy stems, which

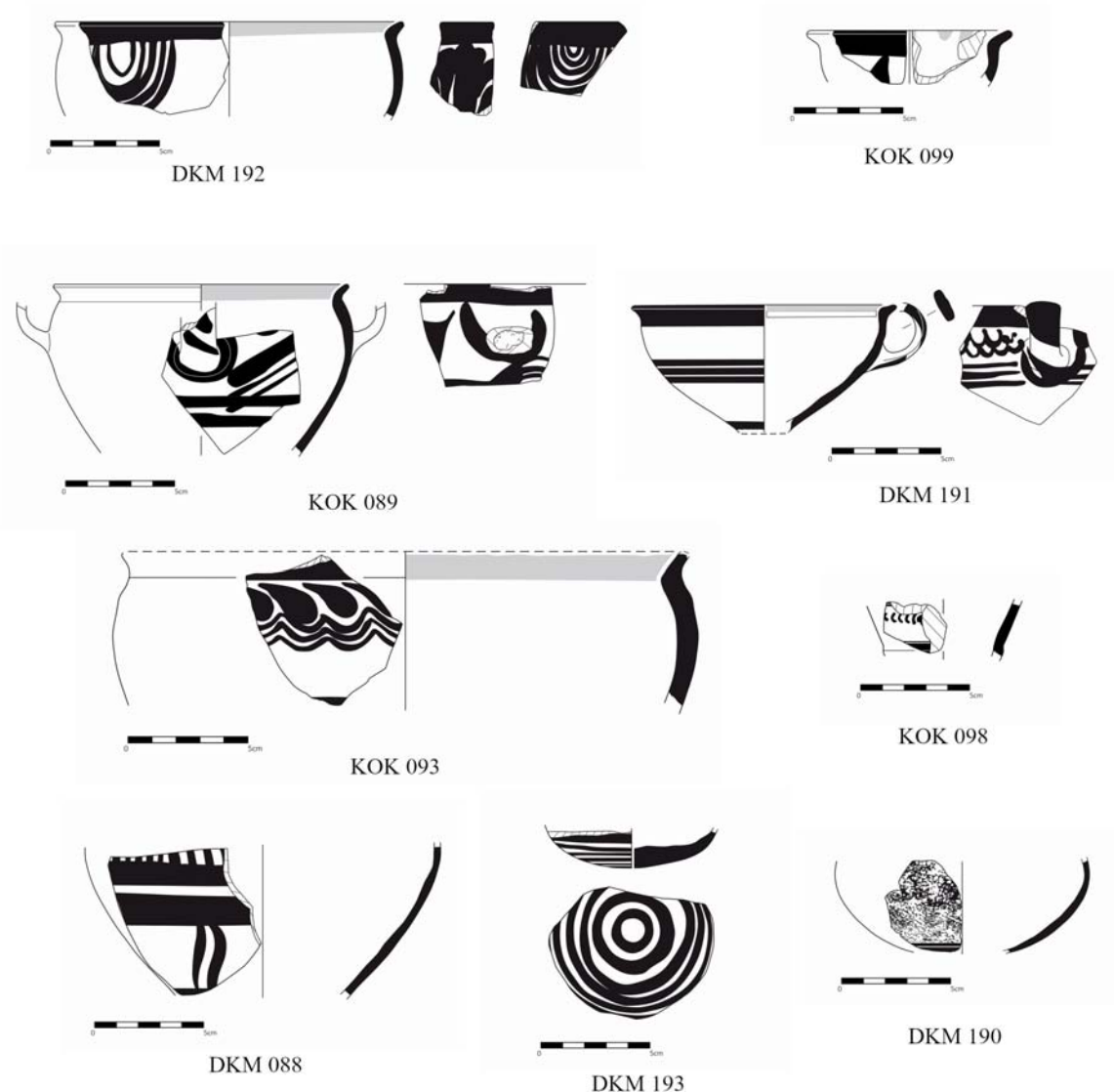


Fig. 2 Locally made Early Mycenaean pottery from Kastro/Palaia

finds an exact parallel among the burial pottery at Nea Ionia (Mountjoy 1999, 827, no. 2, fig. 330), dated to LH IIB.

A small closed shape, either an alabastron or a squat jug, is represented by a handmade, convex base **DKM 193** (Fig. 2). It is decorated with a group of concentric circles, and such decoration does not find good parallels among published examples from Thessaly.

Finally, fragment **DKM 190** (Figs. 2, 3) represents a local copy of a hallmark of LH IIIA1 ceramic phase – a handleless jar decorated with a stipple. Its clearly handmade mode of manufacture (Fig. 3) shows beyond a doubt that this technique was in use in Thessaly until this period.

From a grave dug into Early Mycenaean layers at Diakoumis plot, there comes a single jug with a cutaway neck of a small size (Lis et al. 2023, 204, online supplement p. 10). It is decorated with wavy vertical stems and reed, some of the most common Thessalian motifs, and thus represents a standard example of local production with a good parallel from Larissa (Mountjoy 1999, 833, no. 34, fig. 333). It has been analysed with NAA (sample Iolk 021) and found to match the local Dimini pattern.



Fig. 3 Photographs of locally made Early Mycenaean pottery from Kastro/Palaia

A VIEW FROM THE TOMBS – THE SQUAT JUG

Even though our paper is focused on settlement material, we decided to include a discussion of one particular tomb shape, the squat jug FS 87, as it constitutes one of the most striking aspect of Thessalian regionalism on the one hand, and on the other enables us to show important connections to the neighbouring regions.

In her relevant study of the provincial workshops, Mountjoy (1990, 252–4) considers the squat jug FS 87 to be a typical example of a Thessalian regional style of LH IIB, according to typological characteristics of shape and decoration, almost exclusively FM 12 ivy, FM 19 multiple stem and FM 32 rock pattern. The shape is so far only known from burials, unless DKM 193 is an example of this shape. Published examples from Volos area come from Pefkakia and Dimini. Five examples of this shape, once belonging to private collections and later donated to the Archaeological Museum in Volos,⁵ were most likely found in Mycenaean graves that had been clandestinely excavated at

⁵ Volos Museum inventory Nos: K 2975 (former collection of Ioannis Christopoulos) and K.516, K517, K519, K520 (former collection of Perikles Apostolides). For discussion and illustration see Batziou-Efstathiou 1998, 184–90, K 2975 (fig.16d), K 516 (Pl.162a, fig. 16c), K517 (Pl.162b, fig.16e), K 519 (Pl.163b, fig.16b), K 520 (fig.16a).

Pefkakia at the end of the 19th century (Wolters 1889). The clay of those vases is slightly different from one another, ranging from orange 5YR 6/6 (K516), through light reddish brown 5YR 6/4 (K517) to red to brown 2.5YR 5/6 (K520, K2975). They are decorated with red paint on yellowish/white slip 10YR 8/3. The fifth vase, K519, stands out for its slightly biconical shape, its decoration with FM 42 joining semicircles combined with bending triangles (referred to as ogival canopy in Mountjoy 1999, 831), and the decoration at the base with an X in a circle, which is unique at least in the Volos area. Furthermore its fabric is different from the rest of the vases, with light brown clay (10YR 6/4), lustrous slip and brown paint. The shape and its elaborate decoration would imply that this vase might be an import to Pefkakia. Yet another squat jug from Pefkakia, now lost, is decorated with a hatched loop (Wolters 1889, pl. IX.2), a typical motif for this shape during the LH IIA period in the Peloponnese.

Further four squat jugs have been found among other vases in a cist grave in Dimini dated to LH IIB (Adrymi-Sismani 1999, 138, figs. 18–25). One of them (BE 10412) is produced from orange clay 5YR 6/6, which is considered as one of the most characteristic features of the Thessalian local pottery production. The remaining three squat jugs from Dimini are made from a slightly different clay, reddish yellow 7.5YR 7/6. Their decoration expands the repertoire of motifs known from Pefkakia to include foliate band, and vertical wavy bands.

It is important to note that in the Mycenaean cemetery of Nea Ionia Volos, although numerous tombs dated to LH II–IIIA1 were found there, this shape seems to be absent (Theocharis and Theochari 1970; Batziou-Efstathiou 1991). This highlights an important aspect of variability in consumption patterns even within a very restricted area of the Volos Bay.

Squat jugs are also known from burials in Central Thessaly, mainly in sites situated on the travel route from Phthiotis to Thessaly and Macedonia: Achilleion, Pharsala, Larissa, and at Gyrtoni and Bounarbasi (Batziou 2021, figs. 4, 7, 8). South of Thessaly, this shape is also attested with one decorated vase (hatched loop, K 4696) in the burial circle A of Andron dated to LH IIA (Papakonstantinou 1999, 175–6, fig. 8), and in the cemetery of Kompotades (Karantzali, this volume). Even further south,⁶ and across the Corinthian Gulf, vessels of this shape have been found as burial offerings of a warrior, in Vrysari in southern Achaia, on the border with Arkadia. The grave included also a juglet in Gray Minyan, and is dated to the LH II period (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1999, 270, 273–5). The decoration and chronology are similar to the vessels from Thessaly, Lokris and Achaia. Papazoglou-Manioudaki (1999, 279, n. 114) claims that the mountain roads leading from Kirra to the Spercheios valley and Thessaly, if combined with the sea passage from Kirra to Aigio and then the mountain passages and roads by the rivers to Vrysari, create a network of communication stretching from Thessaly to the western and central Peloponnese, without requiring passage through the Corinthian Isthmus. To this vast N–S network, based on the popularity of the squat jug, we can also add the area on the slopes of mount Olympus (Koulidou, this volume). A program of elemental analysis aimed at this particular shape collecting samples from all these regions would provide clear evidence of the provenance of the shape and the nature of these wide ranging connections.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

With limited material at hand, we tried to outline some of the most important aspects relating to the earliest Mycenaean pottery in coastal Thessaly. It appears that quantity aside, the preliminary conclusions are interesting and in quite a few aspects new.

⁶ It is interesting that in LH IIB the squat jug is uncommon in southern Greece, in contrast to LH IIA period when it was frequent, and almost invariably decorated with a hatched loop (Mountjoy 1999, 831).

The prevailing assumption that Mycenaean lustrous-decorated material starts with LH IIA seems to hold, despite the fact that a very early Vapheio cup has been recently documented from Kastro/Palaia, and confirmed to derive from NE Peloponnese. It appears to be executed in a tradition of matt-painted pottery, despite the use of lustrous paint, and represents a peculiar vessel even if found in the Argolid.

LH IIA pottery is present, and even though quantities are really limited, it is a significant enlargement of the corpus when compared to RMDP. It is intriguing to see products of a number of manufacturing centres, including East Lokris and Aegina, in addition to the omnipresent Argolid. It is likewise striking that the amount of clear LH IIB imported pottery is limited among the settlement material, and it is tempting to suggest a hypothesis that the introduction of local production was a response to the growing demand for Mycenaean pottery, and that it negatively affected consumption of imported pottery, at least at the settlement of Kastro Palaia. The same cannot be said about the cemetery, where imported LH IIB pottery is well attested, if not even dominant (Lis et al. 2023).

An important aspect, and so far completely unexplored, connected to the NE Peloponnesian pottery is the fact that at least some of the LH IIA pottery exported to Thessaly appears to be handmade. Nowhere in the literature on the Early Mycenaean pottery can one find such observations (Lewis 1983), while it would be surprising to find it exclusively in Thessaly. It seems much more likely that it is a feature of at least part of the output of NE Peloponnesian workshops during the Early Mycenaean period. In fact, when consulting a rich collection of high-quality photographs of Early Mycenaean pottery from Korakou,⁷ one can clearly see that a considerable number of fragments do not bear any indications of wheel use. This aspect of early production of Mycenaean pottery in the core region deserves more attention.

Turning to the locally produced pottery, one is faced with the issue of dating. It could be dated based on the associated imported pottery, for which we possess a reliable chronological framework, but the stratigraphic associations are in our case insecure. Despite poor stratigraphy, at least in the Diakoumis plot it appears that LH IIA imported material is not found together with any locally made Mycenaean pottery. If this represents a true pattern, then we would have another indication that the phenomenon of local pottery production starts in LH IIB.

Independent, stylistic dating of local pottery presents numerous problems, to the extent of becoming impossible. First, there is a considerable idiosyncratic element, first isolated by Mountjoy for the closed shapes found in Thessalian tombs. Motifs such as pendent concentric semicircles, or the triple wavy band add to this local Thessalian repertoire. Furthermore, finding similarities in motifs or decorative syntax can only provide a vague terminus ante quem/a quo, as we do not know the local development of these decoration types, or the mechanisms and the speed of transmission. Applying the length of the rim as a criterion for establishing chronology is a problematic approach of transplanting approaches developed for likely mass-produced pottery in the centres of the Mycenaean world. Therefore, the only sound solution is to stylistically date only those pieces that seem to follow very closely Argive pottery, such as the handleless jar with stipple, and for the rest wait until a reliable local sequence can be established based on more stratified material.

Finally, two technological peculiarities of local pottery deserve a comment. First is the use of pale slip (Fig. 3). The contribution of E. Karantzali (this volume) highlights that this is not only a Thessalian feature. Nevertheless, the use of thick very pale slip on some of the local vessels is clearly an attempt to cover the very dark red-brown local clay. In our opinion, this is not so much to imitate the appearance of imported pottery, but a simple attempt to make the painted decoration stand out more. In the case of local pieces without pale slip, the decoration is much less well visible. The use of pale slip continues in coastal Thessaly into the mature Mycenaean period.

⁷ They can be accessed at <https://corinth.ascsa.net/id/corinth/monument/korakou> (last visit: 19.12.2023).

The fact that local pottery is invariably handmade (Fig. 3) strongly suggests that it is manufactured by local potters, who, while continuing their ways of doing, try to imitate imported pottery that starts reaching Thessaly from the LH IIA period onwards. Nevertheless, it needs to be stressed that also some of the imported pottery is handmade, but this is less common in LH IIB and probably entirely gone by LH IIIA1, while local pottery continues to be handmade. It therefore seems that the interaction between potters from Thessaly and their colleagues working further south was limited, if not non-existent, which also explains the strongly idiosyncratic stylistic character of local pottery. Nevertheless, the local potters are not slavishly following stylistic trends that they can observe through imported pottery, but show a fair degree of innovativeness, which is responsible for the distinct regional character of Thessalian Early Mycenaean pottery. While this is posing some additional challenges in its study, we must also appreciate its appealing appearance.

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MYCENAEAN POTTERY FROM THE EASTERN SLOPES OF MACEDONIAN OLYMPUS REVISITED: THE SEARCH FOR REGIONAL VARIATIONS AT THE “TRIMPINA/PLATAMON STOP” AND “REMA XYDIAS” CEMETERIES

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Abstract

The paper starts with a brief account of the prehistory of the region of Macedonian Olympus, before the permeation of Mycenaean pottery, in order to delineate the prehistoric local cultural profile. Through this overview, a cultural affiliation of the region with Thessaly is testified, affinities with the northern Aegean Bronze Age cultural circle are detected, as well as indications for the participation of the region in networks that stretch to its south (central mainland Greece or the Peloponnese).

The Mycenaean type pottery from the *Trimpina* and *Rema Xydias* cemeteries, dating to LH IIIA1 to LH IIIB/LHIIIC Early, is being reevaluated as to aspects that point to either local features and idiosyncrasies or influences pointing to other regions. The Thessalian (both inland and coastal), Phthiocian and the West Peloponnesian cultural circles are suggested as the main sources of influences for the local pottery assemblage. Furthermore, recognised or supposed imported vessels are being deployed for the synchronisation of the local Mycenaean type pottery with the Mycenaean pottery from the core of the Mycenaean world. Finally, regional preferences are being recognised, such as the fondness for the use of squat jugs (FS 87), small handleless jars (FS 77) and straight-sided alabastra (FS 94).

Keywords: Olympus region, Mycenaean type pottery, Mycenaean imports, Late Bronze Age, ceramic regional variations.

INTRODUCTION¹

The region of Mount Olympus is an area with fertile soils, abundant natural springs and the ultimate shelter of the multifaceted massif of Olympus, which maintained successive human settlements as early as the prehistoric times. These early settlers had running water, agricultural, logging, livestock and hunting opportunities, and an abundance of varied building materials. They could also capitalise on the natural passages and the areas of panoramic view and strategic importance. If the proximity of the sea and the key position on the North-South axis is added, one can fully appreciate how well this area served the early settlers.

Despite the natural advantages and the strong mythological background of the region, archaeological evidence for prehistoric occupation was, until the mid-80's, groundbreaking yet sporadic: an Early Iron Age cemetery at *Tris Elies*, at the mountain pass of Petra, on Olympus; the first Mycenaean cemetery of Olympus, at *Spathes*, near the modern village *Agios Demetrios*, on a high slope of the same

¹ I thank Bartłomiej Lis for his kind invitation and warm atmosphere during the workshop. I express my gratitude to Eftychia Poulaki-Pantemali for entrusting me with the excavations of the coastal region of Olympus and the study of the LBA material. I am finally thankful for the thorough work undertaken by the numerous archaeologists, conservators, drawers, topographers and excavation workers who worked at the rescue excavations, under stressful and challenging conditions.

pass towards Thessaly; several tumulus cemeteries, on the high foothills of upper Olympus, dating from the late Protogeometric to sub-Protogeometric Age (Pantermali 2013, 64, 53, 74).

It wasn't until the last decades that archaeological survey, in the form of rescue excavations, started unveiling the traces of human activity, especially in the coastal region of Macedonian Olympus, where large-scale infrastructure works, such as the construction of national highway and railway tracks, were carried out². It became apparent that human occupants favoured this previously under-studied region as a settling ground as early as the Neolithic times.

THE LOCAL CULTURAL PROFILE

A brief account of this prehistoric past will be presented, in an attempt to delineate the prehistoric local cultural profile, if one can be determined. For, culture is differentially shared among various entities at different levels of organization (individuals, families, communities, polities or regions), and to some extent such differential participation can be discerned in the archaeological record (Feuer 2003, 15). If a diachronic regional cultural identity is to be identified for the period before the broad permeation of Mycenaean cultural traits in the coastal region of Macedonian Olympus, then a basis for the quest of regional variations during the Mycenaean era could be formed. It is a challenging task indeed, since cultural identity is not a stable, homogeneous, inalienable essence, always the same, but even so patterns of social behaviour discernible in the material record and affiliations with neighbouring areas affecting the local substratum could be detected.

Starting from the south, near the borderline of the modern administrative division of Pieria (Central Macedonia) with Larisa (Thessaly), at the site of *Pigi Athinas*, traces of a Neolithic settlement of the 5th millennium BC were unearthed (Fig. 1). The better-preserved phases date to the Late Neolithic period (Poulaki-Pantermali 2005), with Pre-Dimini and Dimini phases and the corresponding pottery classes, Tsangli-Larisa, Arapi and Classical Dimini, all well documented at the Thessalian sites. A possible Middle Neolithic phase was also indicated in the archaeological record and was further supported by one radiocarbon date (5600/5470 BC, Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 30). All in all, the pottery of the site demonstrates stylistic and formal features of Thessalian pottery, which comes as no surprise, since patterns of interaction between Macedonian sites (situated much further north than *Pigi Athinas*) and Thessaly have indeed been attested as early as the Early and Middle Neolithic period (Urem-Kotsou *et al.* 2017, 334-335).

After a long-lasting gap of occupation, from the end of Final Neolithic (FN) until the Middle Bronze Age/Late Bronze Age (MBA/LBA), the site was reused as a burial ground by the most prominent families of a local community (Poulaki Pantermali 2013, 35). The rich in findings layers overlying the tumuli combined with the presence of small-scale stone-built constructions, such as circular and rectangular structures, stone pavings, lines of stones and retaining enclosures are suggestive of LBA/MBA dating, as was the case at Argissa-Magula, Pevkakia Magoula and Dimini (Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 35) in Thessaly. Five stone-built tumuli, grouped in pairs, were unearthed, containing 17 adult men and women, buried in a flexed position (Tritsaroli 2010, 193). Men were preferably buried lying on their right side and women on their left (Tritsaroli 2017, 234, 253), as was the case at the cemetery of Lerna in the Argolid (Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 38). The offerings in the burials were mostly the so-called "Thessalian" *kantharoi* (Poulaki-Pantermali 2005, 462; Poulaki-Pantermali 2008, 115-129).

A few kilometres to the north, Early Bronze Age architectural remains sealed by fire were uncovered at *Krania*, at the foot of the Platamon castle hill, by the sea. The site, possibly to be identified with

² The intense archaeological survey was conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service/Ministry of Culture under the tireless direction of Eftychia Poulaki-Pantermali who has filled numerous gaps in the archaeological knowledge of the region of Macedonian Olympus.



Fig. 1. Map showing the sites under study (indicated with red numbers and dots) and the ones mentioned in the text (indicated with black numbers and dots): 1. Tris Elies, 2. Spathes, 3. Tumulus cemeteries (Protogeometric to sub-Protogeometric Age), 4. Pigi Athinas, 5. Krania, 6. Valtos-Leptokarya, 7. Pigi Artemidos, 8. Trimpina, 9. Rema Xydias (illustrated by the author).

the ancient city *Herakleion* of historic times (Poulaki-Pantermali 2003, 335), was the place of discovery of a well-preserved stone enclosure accompanied by a gravelled roadway and a good number of Early

Bronze Age pottery sherds, among them a jug with cutaway-neck and burnished surface. Parallels for both the architectural remains, in terms of construction and use, and the jug have been found at Early Bronze Age Emporio, on the island of Chios (Poulaki-Pantermali 2003, 339, Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 32). Occupation continued well into Middle/LBA, when the site sees the construction of three new monumental stone enclosures accompanied by a limited number of findings, such as a well burnished “Thessalian” *kantharos*, some wish-bone handles and roll-topped pins (Poulaki-Pantermali 2003, 340).

Bronze Age occupation was also recognised at another neighbouring coastal site, further north at *Valtos-Leptokarya*, where a long-lasting settlement was testified by monumental stone-built enclosures, fragmentary buildings, ditches, postholes, pits and a tumuli cemetery, dating to the 2nd millennium BC (Poulaki-Pantermali *et al.* 2010a, Poulaki-Pantermali *et al.* 2010b). Three occupation phases were recognized. The two earlier phases (Valtos 2 and 3), occupying the first half of the 2nd millennium BC,³ rendered a plethora of local handmade pottery. Tableware (cups, bowls, jars) and utilitarian coarse vessels (amphoras, pithoi, cooking pots) were repeatedly recognised in the pottery assemblage (Poulaki-Pantermali *et al.* 2006, 402). A few sherds of Minyan pottery (both Yellow and Gray) were also identified along with the characteristic drinking vessel, the “Thessalian” *kantharos*, featuring the vertical, high rising strap handles with central groove and occasional burnished surface, made of orange clay. This vessel is favoured in the region throughout Bronze Age and its use continues into the Iron Age in the tumulus cemeteries of Dion (Poulaki-Pantermali 2013 82-83).

Seven cooking pots from *Valtos-Leptokarya* (Phase 3) were selected for a recent study on LBA cooking pots from the region of Macedonian Olympus (Dimoula *et al.* 2022a).⁴ In terms of typology, the best parallels were found in the contemporary ceramic assemblages of Thessaly, while at the same time the absence of the typical “local” cooking jar type (flat based handled pithoid jar) in the coeval sites of Macedonia was ascertained. In terms of raw material origin, the petrographic analysis demonstrated that clay used in the cooking pottery production had been acquired from the surroundings of the site.

Returning to the question posed above, can this brief overview of the archaeological background from the coastal area of Macedonian Olympus, before the permeation of Mycenaean pottery in the region, provide us with adequate data to delineate the local cultural profile? A few observations can indeed be drawn. First, a cultural affiliation of the area with Thessaly is testified, may that be by the presence of the Final Neolithic Thessalian pottery wares “Larissa”, “Arapi” and “Dimini” or by the local handmade Bronze Age pottery with counterparts at prominent Thessalian sites such as *Argisa*, *Pevkakia* and *Dimini*. Second, affinities with the northern Aegean Bronze Age cultural circle have been detected through the architectural remains and pottery at the Early Bronze Age *Krania*. Third, the tumulus burial practice, documented in the region during the MBA/LBA period possibly indicates the participation of the region in networks that operated to its south, such as central mainland Greece or the Peloponnese, where tumulus burials had already spread during the MBA (Cavanagh, Mee 1998, 23-24). The tumulus burial practice disappeared in the area during the “Mycenaenized” period of Late Bronze Age to reappear during the Early Iron Age (1100-700 BC, Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 67-70).

Having taken into account multiple cultural components (architectural, material culture, burial practices) over a considerably long period of time, from Middle Neolithic until the beginning of LBA, a more balanced reading of the regional culture is provided. It appears that the coastal region of Macedonian Olympus accommodated an established and flourishing culture with connections and cultural exchanges with neighbouring Thessaly and with more distant regions of central and southern mainland Greece, as well as northern Aegean islands. Surely, the region’s advantageous location along

³ C14 dating of the destruction layer of Phase 3 provided a date between 1885 and 1695 BC, while the date for a sample from the stone-build enclosures of Phase 2 falls between 1670 and 1505 BC.

⁴ The study has been conducted in the context of the PLANTCULT Project entitled “Identifying the Food Cultures of Ancient Europe”, funded by the European Research Council (ERC), under the direction of Prof. Sultana Maria Valamoti, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

the valley pass of Tempi and the proximity to the sea fulfil all requirements for the development of an extrovert culture.

It may be due to these very cultural characteristics that elements of the Mycenaean material culture reached the region early in LBA: at the site of *Pigi Artemidos*, in an otherwise traditional burial structure, a tumulus, delimited by a stone ring and filled with earth, containing ten pit graves, a squat jug (FS 87) was discovered furnishing the grave of an infant (Koulidou 2014, 143, Tritsaroli, Koulidou 2018, 12). No decoration is preserved on the jug, but the vertical orientation of the handle could indicate an early dating, possibly Late Helladic II.

During the course of LBA, the site was used as a habitation area comprising residential structures such as parts of walls and cobbled areas, open-air stone built rectangular structures, a small kiln and a ditch. A considerable amount of Mycenaean tableware is present in the pottery assemblage of the settlement, although in extremely fragmentary state of preservation. A few vessels that stand out in the pottery assemblage, due to their preserved diagnostic features in style and decoration, can be grouped in two chronological phases: the first group is dated to LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB and the second to LH IIIC Early to LH IIIC Late (Koulidou 2014, 149).

Furthermore, the aforementioned study of cooking pottery (Dimoula *et al.* 2022a) yielded some interesting results. Among the three samples selected for analysis, one large-sized jar (A-101), made of local clay, finds typological parallels in the Peloponnese. A second small to medium jar, possibly a handled tripod jar (A-25), a pot of an exclusively southern and particularly Mycenaean tradition (Dimoula *et al.* 2022a, 57), also made of local clay, finds general typological parallels in sites of Thessaly and central Greece. Finally, a remarkable tripod jar (A-62), made of clay from Thessaly, bears potter's mark on the handle, a typical practice of potters from the island of Aegina in Attica. However, it is not an import from Aegina, as suggested by its typological features and clay origin. It is rather placed in the broader Thessalian tradition, which has encompassed elements of the Aeginetan cooking pottery tradition (Dimoula *et al.* 2022a, 59). Last but not least, a number of fragmentary pyraunoi were recognised in the cooking pot assemblage of the site. These pots comprise typical cooking vessels in northern Greece and the Balkans during MBA and LBA, but are not attested further south [the exceptions to this rule, mentioned in Dimoula *et al.* 2022a, 57 have been complemented by one piece from the Spercheios valley (Karantzali, this volume) and an unpublished piece from Pefkakia (B. Lis, pers. com.)]. Their presence in the pottery assemblage of *Pigi Artemidos* attests for affiliations with northern areas (Dimoula *et al.* 2022b, 380).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE TWO SITES, TRIMPINA AND REMA XYDIAS

The main body of evidence for the permeation of Mycenaean-style pottery in the coastal region of Macedonian Olympus is provided by two adjacent sites, *Rema Xydias* and *Trimpina*, situated a few hundred meters south of *Pigi Artemidos*. *Rema Xydias* was initially used as burial grounds and later on as a habitation area testified by two apsidal buildings and a double enclosure wall. The two uses might have coincided for some time, according to the stratigraphy and the relative pottery dating (Koulidou *et al.* 2019, 175).⁵ At *Trimpina*, habitation preceded a later Mycenaean cemetery and it included extended cobbled areas, fragmentary walls, pithoi, and pits of various sizes, all consistent with a workshop and storage area. The Mycenaean ceramic assemblages discussed in this paper derive from the burial contexts of these sites,⁶ since the settlements' pottery is still under study.

⁵ This suggestion is further reinforced by the C14 dating of one of the apsidal building's destruction layers, which falls between 1489 and 1296 BC.

⁶ For the documentation of the cemeteries (layout, type and furnishing of tombs, burial practices and bioarcheological analysis) see Koulidou *et al.* 2017, Koulidou *et al.* 2019, Koulidou 2021, Tritsaroli 2021, Koulidou, Tritsaroli 2022.

Based on the grave offerings, the use of both cemeteries dates to LH IIIA1 to LH IIIB/LH IIIC Early, a dating which is further supported by one C14 dating from Trimpina.⁷

THE FUNERARY POTTERY ASSEMBLAGE REVISITED

The typology of the pottery assemblage of the two cemeteries has already been published, and inter-cemetery variations, as well as external connections of the region with other areas of the Mycenaean world have been explored (Koulidou 2021). It is, however, the first time that all the grave goods (pottery and other) are presented along with their depositional context (grave type, depositional stage) and the anthropological data⁸, all compiled together in Appendix 1, for Trimpina, and Appendix 2, for Rema Xydias, accompanied by cemetery plans (Figs. 11 and 12 respectively).

One of the main characteristics of the pottery assemblage of both cemeteries is the high rate of occurrence of Mycenaean style pottery compared to handmade pottery, both in terms of quantity and shape variety (Table 1). These rates are 81-82% Mycenaean style pottery *vs.* 18-19% handmade pottery, corresponding to 103 complete or fragmentary Mycenaean style vessels *vs.* 23 handmade vessels (Table 2). Regarding shape variety, 19 Mycenaean style shapes and nine handmade shapes are recognised (Table 3). Furthermore, closed shapes dominate the pottery assemblage of both cemeteries, accounting for 80%-92% of the total of ceramics (see Table 3). On top of that, a wide distribution of the Mycenaean-type pottery among the graves of both cemeteries has been detected, since the ware is well represented in the majority of the furnished graves.⁹

Table 1. Mycenaean ware and handmade shapes in the pottery assemblages of *Trimpina* and *Rema Xydias*.

NUMBER OF SHAPES	MYCENAEAN & HANDMADE SHAPES	TRIMPINA	REMA XYDIAS
1	PIRIFORM JAR (FS 45, 31, 39)	6	3
2	JAR WITH VERTICAL HANDLES ON BODY (FS 74)	2	-
3	SMALL HANDLELESS JAR (FS 77)	6	4
4	ALABASTRON, ROUNDED (FS 84, 85)	6	5
5	SQUAT JUG (FS 87)	13	2
6	ALABASTRON STRAIGHT-SIDED (FS 94)	6	22
7	JUG (FS 112/114?)	2	1
8	JUG WITH CUTAWAY NECK (FS 136)	1	3
9	BEAKED JUG (FS 144)	1	-
10	ASKOS (FS 195)	1	1
11	CUP (FS 214/FS 215/FS 216)	2	3
12	DEEP BOWL (fragments)	-	2
13	CUP WITH TWO HORIZONTAL HANDLES (FS 245)	-	1
14	GOBLET (FS 264, FS 255)	2	2
15	TRUNCATED STEMMED BOWL (NO FS & FS 283?)	-	2
16	ONE-HANDLED BOWL (FS 283)	-	1
17	FEEDING BOTTLE (FS 159)	-	1
18	AMPHORA OR HYDRIA	-	1
19	COMPOSITE VESSEL (FS 326-327)	1	-

⁷ A C14 dating from the last inhumation of Tomb 14 from *Trimpina* has given a date between 1407 and 1231 BC (95.4%) or 1386-1267 (68.2%), which is consistent with the relative dating.

⁸ The raw data from the anthropological study are a courtesy of Dr. Paraskevi Tritsaroli, to whom the author is deeply thankful for her generosity and long-standing support of the excavations.

⁹ Mycenaean ware pottery was recovered in 15 (out of 20) furnished graves in *Trimpina* and in 14 (out of 17) furnished graves in *Rema Xydias*.

NUMBER OF SHAPES	MYCENAEAN & HANDMADE SHAPES	TRIMPINA	REMA XYDIAS
20	HANDMADE JUG	2	6
21	HANDMADE HYDRIA	1	-
22	ONE-HANDLED HANDMADE BOWL OR KANTHAROS	4	2
23	HANDMADE KANTHAROS	-	1
24	HANDMADE CUP WITH VERTICAL HANDLE AND APENDICE	1	-
25	HANDMADE MINIATURE PITHOS	1	-
26	HANDMADE COOKING AND STORAGE VESSELS	-	2
27	HANDMADE BOWL	-	2
28	MATT PAINTED CLOSED VESSEL (fragment)	-	1
	TOTAL	58	68

Table 2. Mycenaean ware pottery *vs* handmade pottery from *Trimpina* and *Rema Xydias*.

	TRIMPINA NUMBER OF VESSELS	TRIMPINA NUMBER OF SHAPES	REMA XYDIAS NUMBER OF VESSELS	REMA XYDIAS NUMBER OF SHAPES	TOTAL NUMBER OF VESSELS
MYCENAEAN TYPE	49	12	54	16	103
HANDMADE	9	5	14	6	23
TOTAL	58	17	68	22	126

Table 3. Mycenaean closed *vs.* open shapes (in numbers of occurrence and in percentage).

	TRIMPINA (IN NUMBERS)	TRIMPINA (%)	REMA XYDIAS (IN NUMBERS)	REMA XYDIAS (%)
MYCENAEAN CLOSED SHAPES	44	92%	43	80%
MYCENAEAN OPEN SHAPES	5	8%	11	20%
TOTAL	49	100%	54	100%

This plethora, variety and broad distribution of the Mycenaean tableware recovered from the two cemeteries combined with the reduction in the variety of shapes and the quantity of the handmade pottery marks a major innovation in the material culture of the region (formerly comprising exclusively handmade pottery), further enhanced by the introduction and prevalence of the cist grave and the application of a new burial practice, that of the secondary treatment of the dead body and the multiple inhumations (Koulidou 2021, 428-429, Tritsaroli 2021). Furthermore, it draws attention to the varying degrees to which the Mycenaean ware pottery permeated the communities of the coastal region of Olympus, on the one hand, and those of mainland Macedonia, on the other. In the latter case, the ware always occupied only a small part of the tablewares, and the repertory of shapes was confined to a few decorated tableware forms (Andreou 2010, 652-653, Jung 2003, 213, Jung 2010, 177).

Despite the aforementioned securely determined general typological, quantitative, and spatial characteristics of the funerary assemblage of the cemeteries, measurable data on local idiosyncrasies had up to now been left out of the discussion. This calls for a closer examination of the pottery as to aspects crucial for this volume that point to either local features or influences pointing to other regions (Table 4).

Table 4. Features that indicate possible imports, represent deviations from the norm, indicate affiliations with other regions or suggest regional preferences (the prefix “TP” stands for vessels from *Trimpina* and “EY” from *Rema Xydias*).

Shape	Registration No.	Grave No.	Typology/Material	Decoration	Relative Dating	Context absolute dating	Imports/ Idiosyncrasies/ Parallels/ Observations
FS 45, 31, 39/ PIRIFORM JAR	TP 20	GR. 13	fine buff clay and elegant shape profile	wavy vertical stem decoration (local motif of Thessaly)	LH IIIA2 Early		import? (pos. from one of the Mycenaean centres?)
	EY 11	GR. 2	two instead of three horizontal handles placed asymmetrically on the shoulder		LH IIIA2		deviation from the norm
	EY 58	GR. 10	canonical example of FS 45/Small	net (FM 57)	LH IIIA2 Early		import from Argolid? (Lis, pers. com)
FS 74/ JAR WITH VERTICAL HANDLES ON BODY	TP 19	GR. 13	unusual narrow base		LH IIIA1-2		local variant as to the base? shape parallels in the Argolid
	TP 25	GR. 14/Secondary	unusual narrow base	monochrome (as is the norm in the Argolid)	LH IIIA1-2		local variant as to the base? shape parallels in the Argolid
FS 77/ SMALL HANDLELESS JAR	TP 23 TP 42	GR. 14/ Secondary, GR. 14/Primary	favoured shape in both cemeteries	unpainted (?)	LH IIIA1		connection with north-west Peloponnese, Phocis and inland Thessaly
	TP 36, TP 39, TP 40, TP 41	GR. 15	favoured shape in both cemeteries	not preserved	LH IIIA2 (by context)		connection with north-west Peloponnese, Phocis and inland Thessaly
	EY 24	GR. 2	favoured shape in both cemeteries	monochrome	LH IIIA1(?)		connection with north-west Peloponnese, Phocis and inland Thessaly

Shape	Registration No.	Grave No.	Typology/Material	Decoration	Relative Dating	Context absolute dating	Imports/ Idiosyncrasies/ Parallels/ Observations
	EY 15	GR. 3	favoured shape in both cemeteries	monochrome/ stippled?	LH IIIA (LH IIIA1?),		connection with north-west Peloponnese, Phocis and inland Thessaly
	EY 18	GR. 4/ Secondary	favoured shape in both cemeteries	monochrome	LH IIIA(?)		connection with north-west Peloponnese, Phocis and inland Thessaly
	EY 30	GR. 10	favoured shape in both cemeteries	monochrome	LH IIIA1		connection with north-west Peloponnese, Phocis and inland Thessaly
FS 84, 85/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED	TP 6	GR. 1	light colour and fine texture of clay	rock pattern (FM 32)	LH IIIA2		import?
	TP 12	GR. 9	orangish clay and loose form of lips	not preserved	LH IIIA1 (Early?)		local production?
	TP 28	GR. 14/Primary	big size		LH IIIA2		import from Elis?
	EY 9	GR. 9	buff clay and well attended decoration	rock pattern (FM 32) combined with dot rosette (FM 27)	LH IIIA2		product of Thessalian workshops?/import?
	EY 21	GR. 4/Primary	buff clay and well attended decoration		LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1		product of Thessalian workshops?/import?
	EY 44	Gr. 19	non-typical broad discoid base/"hybrid" shape/buff fine clay with pale yellow slip	uncommon vertical line decoration on lip and handles (instead of monochrome)	LH IIIA2?		non- local origin/ import from Elis?

Shape	Registration No.	Grave No.	Typology/Material	Decoration	Relative Dating	Context absolute dating	Imports/ Idiosyncrasies/ Parallels/ Observations
FS 87/ SQUAT JUG	TP 14	GR. 9	well-attended shape	solid stripe of paint down the handle (instead of diagonal bars)	LH IIIA1-III A2 (by context)		Thessalian and Phthiocian characteristic/ import?
	TP 18	GR. 11		orange clay with thick white slip	LH IIB? (no context dating available)	1340 BC. (C14 on bone collagen)	characteristic feature of Thessaly and Phthiotis
	TP 43	GR. 16		orange clay with thick white slip	LH IIB-LH III A2? (by context)		characteristic feature of Thessaly and Phthiotis
	TP 45	GR. 17		orange clay with thick white slip	LH IIIA (by context)		characteristic feature of Thessaly and Phthiotis
FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	TP 30	GR. 14/Primary	big size with strongly convex base		LH IIIA2	1407-1231 BC (95.4%) or 1386-1267 BC. (68.2%)	West Peloponnese, Phthiotis and Larissa or local peculiarity?
	EY 45	GR. 19	big size with strongly convex base		LH IIIA2-LH IIB1?		West Peloponnese, Phthiotis and Larissa or local peculiarity?
	EY 6	GR. 9/Primary	convex base	complementary decorative motif under the handles	LH IIIA2		West Peloponnese, Phthiotis and Larissa
	EY 14	GR. 3/ Secondary	convex base		LH IIIA2		West Peloponnese, Phthiotis and Larissa
	EY 37	GR. 6	convex base		LH IIIA2-LH IIB1		West Peloponnese, Phthiotis and Larissa
	EY 53	GR. 22/Deposit		complementary decorative motif under the handles	LH IIIA2 Early		West Peloponnesian characteristic

Shape	Registration No.	Grave No.	Typology/Material	Decoration	Relative Dating	Context absolute dating	Imports/ Idiosyncrasies/ Parallels/ Observations
	ΕΥ 46	GR. 22/Primary?		rare combination of FS 94 with the rock pattern (FM 32)	LH IIIA2-III B1		similar vase from Merenda in Attica
FS 112-114/ JUG	ΕΥ 25	GR. 1	light-yellow clay		LH IIIA2 - III B1		import from one of the Mycenaean centres, possibly Corinth
FS 136/ JUG WITH CUTAWAY NECK	TP 29	GR. 14/Primary		thick white slip	LH IIIA2-LH III B1		characteristic feature of Thessaly and Phthiotis
	ΕΥ 16	GR. 1		thick white slip+ wavy band high up the shoulder	LH IIIA2 - III B1		characteristic feature of Thessaly and Phthiotis+ characteristic of LH IIIA2 Thessaly
	ΕΥ 50	GR. 22		thick white slip+ wavy band high up the shoulder	LH IIIA2		characteristic feature of Thessaly and Phthiotis+ characteristic of LH IIIA2 Thessaly
FS 195/ ASKOS	TP 34	GR. 15		white slip	LH IIIA2		characteristic feature of Thessaly and Phthiotis
	ΕΥ 49	GR 22/Deposit		white slip	LH IIIA2		characteristic feature of Thessaly and Phthiotis
FS 159/ FEEDING BOTTLE	ΕΥ 42	GR. 21	handle at right angle with the spout		LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2 (mostly LH IIIA2)		North-west Peloponnesian idiosyncrasy + close parallel from Euboea

Shape	Registration No.	Grave No.	Typology/Material	Decoration	Relative Dating	Context absolute dating	Imports/ Idiosyncrasies/ Parallels/ Observations
FS 245/ CUP WITH TWO HORIZONTAL HANDLES (?)	EY 23	GR. 5	No close parallels		LH IIIA2 Late		local variant? Or import from Attica? (Trevor van Damme, pers. com)
FS 254/255/ GOBLET	TP 46	GR. 17	unusually broad- bodied with no stem and no dome underneath the base		LH IIIA1?		local variation of a goblet?
	EY 56	GR. 22/Deposit	deep body with short leg of LH IIIA1 goblet FS 255 + innovative feature: shorter lip of the LH IIIA2 monochrome kylix FS 264	innovative feature of LH IIIA2: monochrome decoration	LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2 Early		transitional type?
FS 283/ TRUNCATED STEMMED BOWL	EY 19	GR. 4/Secondary		early monochrome interior			close parallels from Attica and Dimini
	EY 55	GR. 22/Deposit		early monochrome interior	LH IIIA2		close parallels from Attica and Dimini
clumsily- manufactured Mycenaean-type vessels	TP 37, TP 38	GR 15	one handmade (TP 37), one with poor construction quality		LH IIIA2 (by context)		local copies
	EY 22, EY 35	GR. 5, GR. 6/Primary	poor construction quality		LH IIIA2- LH IIIB1 (by context)		local copies

There is also a call for revisiting the chronological attribution of the pottery, especially with regard to the issue of regionalism. Dates have been suggested for a number of pieces (Koulidou 2021) based on parallels, mainly deriving from the core of the Mycenaean world. However, there arises a general problem of dating idiosyncratic local pottery, as opposed to dating imports for which more direct (and well-dated) parallels can be found. So, how could this problem be addressed and this challenging task be met? Does the findspot (i.e. the same tomb) help in any way with this? Could identified imports help with dating local Mycenaean vases deriving from the same tomb and the same depositional stage (initial or secondary inhumation)?

Even though the ability to recognize imports derives from ceramic experts' experience and no objective results of clay analyses are yet available, an attempt is made to identify the imported ceramics in the funerary pottery assemblage by means of visual inspection of their fabric, shape, surface treatment and decorative schemes and to pinpoint their origin.

Among the 49 inventoried Mycenaean ware vessels from *Trimpina* (see Table 2) no more than 4 (ca. 8%) are suspected of being imports, whereas at *Rema Xydias*, the suspected number of imports rises to 6 among 54 vessels (ca. 11%). Thus, in both cemeteries, the recognisable (or suspected) imports represent only a small part of the Mycenaean ware pottery recovered.

More specifically, in the *Trimpina* cemetery, the morphological features of the globular rounded alabastron FS 85 from Gr. 1, **TP 6** (Fig. 2, see Table 4), along with the light colour and fine texture of its clay are indicative of a non-local origin or of a southern workshop with no means of determining the locus of origin. It is decorated with a rock pattern (FM 32) motif, has the narrow neck and the down-sloping rim typical of LH IIIA2, and is dated to this period (Mountjoy 2008, 67, 66). The same grave also yielded a pair of straight sided alabastra (FS 94) of local manufacture, **TP 4** and **TP 5**, and a beaked jug (FS 144), **TP 3**, the first two dating to LH IIIA2 (Mountjoy 1986, 73, fig. 84, Furumark 1992, Pl. 54 for TP 4 and Mountjoy 1986, 73, fig. 84 for TP 5) and the last to LH IIIA1 (Mountjoy 1986, 59, fig. 67, Papadopoulos 1979, Part 1, 91-93, Part 2, fig. 151 (b-f), Benaki 1997, cat. num. 69). In every case, the dating of the imported vessel is consistent with the dating of the local vessels.

Another vessel from *Trimpina* that has any claim to being a possible import comes from Gr. 9 (Fig. 3) and it is the **TP 14** squat jug (FS 87) (Koulidou *et al.* 2017, fig. 2/A-36). It has a well-attended globular shape and it is the only squat jug with preserved decoration in the assemblage: it is decorated with the wavy or multiple stemmed motif (FM 19?) and a solid stripe of paint down the handle (instead of the diagonal bars used in south Greece), which are local LH IIB Thessalian and Phthiocian characteristics (Mountjoy 1999, II, 831, 824). This early dating does not match the dating of the non-imported vessels recovered from the same grave, excluding another squat jug, **TP 13**, which also seems early. The baggy shape of the rounded alabastron **TP 12** belongs to Furumark's "high baggy type" FS 84 and can be dated early in LH IIIA1 (Mountjoy 1986, 57, fig. 64/1-2). In contrast, the two the piriform jars **TP 15** and **TP 17**, belonging to shape FS 31 or FS 39, have the squat neck found on some Thessalian piriform jars and they are dated to LH IIIA1 or IIIA2 (Mountjoy 1986, 71, fig. 80/1, Mountjoy 1999, 835, fig. 335/47, 48, fig. 335/47, 48). In this case it seems more possible that the later dating of the non-imports (LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2) can be used to date the imported vessel, since the overall evidence from *Trimpina*'s pottery assemblage for LH IIB dating is scarce and is only suggested by one shape of vessel, that is squat jugs, which represent the earlier Mycenaean shapes and are challenging in their precise dating.

Piriform jar **TP 20** from Gr. 13 (Fig. 4) belongs to shape FS 45. The wavy vertical stem decoration on the shoulder is a local motif of Thessaly, during LH IIB (Mountjoy 1999, II, 824, Karantzali 2018, 111, fig. 17, 19).¹⁰ Still, the broad decorative zone is a criterion of LH IIIA2 Early (Mountjoy 1999, I, 115). Its fine buff clay along with the elegant shape profile could count it as an import, possibly

¹⁰ Karantzali presents a piriform jar with a very piriform lower body from Phthiotis (12649), which finds parallels in LH IIB Thessaly (cf. Mountjoy 1999, 845-846, fig. 341/89-90).



Fig. 2. Pottery from Grave 1 and Grave 2, *Trimpina* cemetery. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pieria; image processing and composition by the author and editor)

from the core of the Mycenaean world. The LH IIIA2 Early dating is consistent with the chronological spectrum of LH IIIA1-2, within which fall the other two vessels from the same grave. More specifically, the **TP 19** jar with vertical handles on body FS 74, can be paralleled to the Argolic shapes dating to LH IIIA1-2,¹¹ but has an unusual narrow base which could indicate a local variant. The **TP 21** squat jug (FS 87) has a characteristic ring base instead of the more usual convex or flat and is probably dated to LH IIIA2.¹²

¹¹ Although TP 19 has a distinctive narrow base, it can generally be paralleled to the Argolic vases, such as the ones presented in Mountjoy 1999, I, 106, fig. 20/108, 116-117, fig. 24/148 and in Furumark 1992, III, pl. 41, fig. 67.1, pl. 45, fig. 74.

¹² Furumark 1992, III, pl. 51, fig. 87.6.



Fig. 3. Pottery from Graves 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 11, *Trimpina* cemetery. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pieria; image processing and composition by the author and editor)



Fig. 4. Pottery from Graves 12, 13 and 14, *Trimpina* cemetery. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pieria; image processing and composition by the author and editor)



Fig. 5. Pottery from Graves 15, 16, 17, *Trimpina* cemetery. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pieria; image processing and composition by the author and editor).



Fig. 6. Pottery from Graves 22, 23 and 24, *Trimpina* cemetery. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pieria; image processing and composition by the author and editor)

The final imported vessel in the pottery assemblage from *Trimpina* is the large rounded alabastron (FS 85), **TP 28**, that accompanied the final inhumation of Gr. 14 (see Fig. 4). This grave accommodated three inhumations, first an adult female (20-30 years old), then an adult male (31-35 years old) and finally another adult male (27 years old) - the final inhumation. The grave offerings of the first two inhumations were found placed on top of the covering slabs and around the cist grave, whereas the final inhumation's offerings were laid down the feet of the deceased (Koulidou 2017, 216-217, fig. 6). **TP 28** alabastron was found among these last offerings, including a very badly preserved miniature handleless jar or rounded alabastron (**TP 42**). It is decorated with the quirk motif (FM 48) and has a down turning rim, typical of LH IIIA2 in Thessaly (Mountjoy 1999, II, 840, fig. 338/66, 68). On the other hand, its shape and big size¹³ find parallels in the big alabastera from Elis (Mountjoy 1999, 380-381, fig. 131.36) and could count as an import from this region. This final inhumation was also accompanied by an interesting group of three vessels, among which there was the only composite vessel of the cemetery's pottery assemblage, **TP 31**. The other two vessels (**TP 29**, **TP 30**) both bear characteristics that point to different regions of the Mycenaean world and will be discussed later. What is important, is that the dating of the possible import fits well with the dating of the jug with cutaway neck (FS 136) **TP 29** in LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1¹⁴ and the large alabastron, **TP 30**, with the strongly convex base and net decoration (FM 57) which is dated to the later phase of LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB, due to its down-sloping rim (Mountjoy 1999, I, 117, fig. 24/154-155, 840, fig. 338) and the narrow decorative zone (Mountjoy 1986, 74). The C14 dating of the right femur of the final inhumation further aids the dating challenge, mostly in the sense of calibration between relative and absolute chronologies, since it provides a quite wide chronological spectrum of more than 100 years, that is 1386-1267 (68,2%), within which fall both LH IIIA2 and an early part of LH IIIB¹⁵. Last but not least, the overall pottery assemblage from all the depositional phases of the tomb (initial and secondary) is suggestive of style change over time. That is, the alabastron **TP 26**, attributed to the earlier inhumations of the grave is decorated with a foliate band (FM 64) in a moderately narrow decorative zone. This feature allows a LH IIIA2 early dating¹⁶ and is closely paralleled by a similar alabastron from Phocis.¹⁷ On the other hand, the aforementioned large alabastron, **TP 30**, furnishing the final and latest inhumation of the grave is dated to the later phase of LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB, thus slightly postdating **TP 26**.

We now turn to the other cemetery, *Rema Xydias*. The jug **ΞY 25** from Gr.1 (Fig. 7), is possibly a small jug FS 114 of the LH IIIA2-IIIB1 period (Mountjoy 1986, 74, fig. 85, 101, fig. 121) made with a distinctive light-yellow clay, which is suggestive of an import from one of the Mycenaean centres, possibly the Argolid (Kountouri 2017, 26) or Corinth. This date clearly matches the date attributed to the two other non-imported vessels that accompanied the final inhumation of the grave,¹⁸ that is a) the **ΞY 16** jug with cutaway neck FS 136 dating to LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB [Mountjoy 1986, 103-104, fig. 125/1, Poulaki-Pantermali 1988, 139, Mountjoy 1999, II, 842, fig. 339/73, Papadopoulos, Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2006, 690, Euk. 5.β (similar jug from Larisa Gediki, LH IIIA), Papadopoulos 1979, Part 1, 91, Part 2, 218, fig. 242(e), Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2003, 187, fig. 14] with the characteristic thick white slip that could well originate from the LH IIB Thessalian-Phthiotian

¹³ Height: 10,4cm, D. rim: 8,7cm, D. max.: 14cm.

¹⁴ Mountjoy 1986, 103-104, fig. 125/1 (LH IIIB1). Poulaki Pantermali 1988, 139. Mountjoy 1999, II, 842, fig. 339/73 (LH IIIA2). Papadopoulos, Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2006, 690, fig. 5. β (similar jug from Larisa Gediki, LH IIIA). Poulaki Pantermali 2013, 62.

¹⁵ Chronology according to Manning 2010, 22, Table 2.2.

¹⁶ Mountjoy 1986, 74, fig. 84/2.

¹⁷ Mountjoy 1999, II, 754, fig. 291/42 (Itea/Phocis).

¹⁸ Grave 1 accommodated four inhumations, the final one of an old male and the previous three of two males and one female of unknown age. Bones of all four inhumations were found both inside and outside the cist grave (Koulidou, Tritsaroli 2022, 147-148).



Fig. 7. Pottery from Graves 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, *Rema Xydias* cemetery. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pieria; image processing and composition by the author and editor)

style (Mountjoy 1999, I, 25) and a wavy band high up the shoulder, a decoration which is characteristic of the LH IIIA2 period in Thessaly, which provided a close parallel from Larisa Gediki (Mountjoy 1999, II, 840-843, fig. 339/73). A close parallel can be found at the Spathes cemetery on



Fig. 8. Pottery from Graves 6, 8, 9 and 10, *Rema Xydias* cemetery. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pieria; image processing and composition by the author and editor)

Olympus (Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 62) and b) the **ΕΥ 24** monochrome small handleless jar (FS 77) also dating to the same period [Furumark 1992, Pl. 46, Mountjoy 1999, Fig. 142.11-13, 406 (Achaia), Fig. 131.30-31 (Elis), Fig. 289.18-20 (Phocis), 837, Fig. 336.51 (Thessaly)].

The two rounded alabastra FS 85, **ΕΥ 21** and **ΕΥ 9**, recovered from the final inhumations of Gr. 4 and Gr. 9 (Fig. 8, see Fig. 7) respectively are well made, with buff clay and well attended decoration, not typical of local origin. The globular and baggy shape, with the short sloping lip and the decoration of rock pattern (FM 32) combined with dot rosette (FM 27) on **ΕΥ 9**, are typical of LH IIIA2. Parallels have been found in almost all of Peloponnese (including Mycenae), in Boeotia, Phocis and Thessaly, where the vase was very common during this period and could well have been imported from Thessaly.¹⁹ Very similar alabastra have also been found in the Spathes cemetery on Olympus (Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 57). The dating of **ΕΥ 9** can be of use for the validation of the dating of the four straight-sided alabastra (FS 94) of local origin, **ΕΥ 4**, **ΕΥ 6**, **ΕΥ 7** and **ΕΥ 8**, that were found together and have indeed been dated to the same period.²⁰

Another rounded alabastron (FS 85), **ΕΥ 44**, furnishing the final inhumation of Gr. 19 at *Rema Xydias* (Fig. 9) is an exceptionally well-made vessel²¹ with a non-typical broad discoid base, rock pattern on the body and vertical line decoration on lip and handles, instead of the commonest monochrome ones (Mountjoy, 1999, I, 385). No exact matches for its base have been found, whereas the vertical line lip decoration can be paralleled to a LH IIIB alabastron from Elis (Mountjoy 1999, I, 386, fig.134/56-57). It appears to be a “hybrid” shape combining features common in alabastra from all over Peloponnese, Boeotia, Aitolokarnania, Merenda in Attica, Phocis and finally Thessaly, all dating to LH IIIA2.²² Its fine buff clay with the pale-yellow slip suggests a non-local origin, and perhaps we are dealing with an import with possible origin from western Peloponnese (Elis?). **ΕΥ 44** was not the only offering of the final inhumation. It was paired with a big²³ straight-sided alabastron (FS 94), **ΕΥ 45**, with a strongly convex base and a scale pattern (FM 70) decoration. It is dated to LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1 (Mountjoy 1986, 73, Fig. 84, 100, Fig. 119, Mountjoy 1999, 754, Fig. 42, 544, Fig. 197.215), but the imported co-find **ΕΥ 44** could be used to narrow the dating down to LH IIIA2.

Another suggested imported vessel is **ΕΥ 23**, from Gr. 5 (see Fig. 7). Its attribution to the cup with two horizontal handles FS 245²⁴ is problematic since half the vessel is missing. No close parallels have been found, so it could be a local variant, but the colour and texture of its clay is suggestive of an import, possibly from Attica (T. Van Damme, pers. com).²⁵ It is dated to LH IIIA2, its dating being crucial for the attribution to LH IIIA2-LH IIIB of the accompanying **ΕΥ 22**, a grayish unpainted

¹⁹ For **ΕΥ 21** see: Mountjoy 1986, 73, fig. 83/1-3, 99, fig. 118/1. Mountjoy 1999, I, 116-117, fig. 24/150-151, 153 (Mycenae), 216-217, fig. 68/99 (Korinthia), 334-335, fig. 113/64 (Messenia-Pylos), 379-381, fig. 131/36-37 (Olympia), 544-545, fig. 197/214, (Athenian Agora), Mountjoy 1999, II, 663-664, fig. 252/76 (Boeotia/Orchomenos), 753-754, fig. 291/40 (Phocis), 840-841, fig. 338/66-69 (Thessaly), 995-996, fig. 403/24-25 (Rhodes). For **ΕΥ 9** see: Mountjoy 1999, I, 265-266, fig. 87/79-80 (Laconia). *Eadem*: II, 840-841, fig. 338/68-69 (Thessaly), 995-996, fig. 403/24-25 (Rhodes).

²⁰ For **ΕΥ 4**: see Mountjoy 1999, 753, Fig. 291.41 (Phocis), 840, fig. 339.71, 72 (Thessaly). For **ΕΥ 6**: see Mountjoy 1999, 408 (Achaia), 325, fig. 108/33 (Messenia), 378, fig. 131/29, 32 (Elis), 410, fig. 143/25, 28 (Achaia), 526, fig. 187/132 (Athens, Agora). For **ΕΥ 7**: see Furumark 1992, Pl. 53, Fig. 94, Mountjoy 1999, 526, fig. 187.131 (Attica), 216, fig. 68.103 (Corinthia). For **ΕΥ 8** see Furumark 1992, Pl. 53, Fig. 94, Mountjoy 1986, 73, Fig. 84, Mountjoy 1999, 753, Fig. 291.42 (Phocis).

²¹ Height: 11,7cm. D. rim: 8,7cm, D. Max.: 15,2cm.

²² See for example: Furumark 1992, III, Pl. 50, fig. 85, Mountjoy 1999, I, 116-117, fig. 24/153, 216-217, fig. 68/99, 334-335, fig. 113/64, 379-381, fig. 131/36-37, 386, fig. 134/56-57, 544-545, fig. 197/214, Mountjoy 1999, II, 663-664, fig. 252/76, 802-803, fig. 320/27-28, 840-841, fig. 338/67-68, 995-996, fig. 403/24-25, 763-764, fig. 297/91-93, 845-846, fig. 341/91-92, Salavoura 2007, 69, fig. 12, Aktypi 2014, 15, fig. 9.

²³ It has an unusual big size: Height: 14,06cm, D. lip: 8,6cm, D. max: 16,2cm.

²⁴ For this shape see: Mountjoy 1986, 87, Fig. 104, Mountjoy 1999, I, 127, fig. 28/204 (LH IIIA2, Argolid), 272, fig. 90/108 (LH IIIA2, Laconia, local variant), 535, fig. 193/165-171 (LH IIIA2, Attica), II, 1023, fig. 418/107-108 (LH IIIB, Rhodes). However, all of these parallels usually have a linear interior and not a monochrome one, such as **ΕΥ 23**.

²⁵ We are thankful to Dr. Trevor Van Damme for being at our disposal, providing his expertise, early in the study of the pottery assemblage.



Fig. 9. Pottery from Graves 11, 12, 13, 19, and 21, *Rema Xydias* cemetery. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pieria; image processing and composition by the author and editor)

straight-sided alabastron with sloping body and the uneven upper lip, which accounts for a “*local copy*”, even though some Achaean and Thessalian parallels have been found [Mountjoy 1999, I, 409-410, fig. 143/26-27 (FS 94, Achaia, LH IIIA2), II, 845-847, fig. 341/97 (FS 94, Thessaly, LH IIIB)].

Finally, piriform jar **EY 58** from Gr. 10 (furnishing either or the 4 inhumations, see Fig. 8) is a canonical example of the small piriform jar FS 45,²⁶ with a piriform lower body and a net decoration (FM 57), typical of this shape in LH IIIA2 Early, as suggested by the broad decorative zone (Mountjoy 1999, II, 824). Its elegant shape, the well-attended decoration and the fine buff clay suggest an import, possibly from the Argolid (Lis, pers. com.).²⁷ Its presence among the funerary pottery of the grave further secures the dating of the accompanying Mycenaean ware vessels, namely three straight sided alabastra (FS 94), **EY 1**, **EY 28** and **EY 59**, dated to LH IIIA2 (except for **EY 59** which is undatable due to bad preservation), one monochrome small handleless jar (FS 77), **EY 30**, dated to LH IIIA1 and one cup FS 214/215/216, **EY 29**, whose fragmentary state of preservation, hinders its secure attribution to either the cup or the bowl FS 283 shape, and is possibly dated to LH IIIA2(?).

²⁶ For canonical examples of FS 45, see Mountjoy 1986, 70 (Small size FS 45), Mountjoy 1999, II, 838, fig. 338/63, 64 and Furumark 1992, III, pl. 31/45.

²⁷ I express my gratitude to Dr. Bartłomiej Lis, who generously offered his guidance, insight, assistance and patience, for this paper to be accomplished and helped with the identification of imports.

LOCAL FEATURES AND IDIOSYNCRASIES

Let us now focus the discussion on the local features or idiosyncrasies of the pottery assemblage. It has already been demonstrated that the time span of Trimpina's pottery assemblage is LH II-IA1-LH IIIC Early and that of Rema Xydias' LH IIIA2-LH IIIB (Koulidou 2021, 428), that is during the so-called Mycenaean *koine* period and the early part of the Postpalatial era. The Mycenaean *koine* spans the LH IIIA2-B period and the ceramic repertoire is more standardised than ever before (with ca. 35 painted and 10-20 unpainted vessel types in common use), while the Postpalatial LH IIIC period witnesses a movement toward regionally diverse ceramic assemblages, which become more pronounced during LH IIIC Middle (Rutter 2010, 418-419).

Considering this standardisation, one would expect to find hardly any cases of deviations from the Mycenaean norm in the pottery assemblage in question. But is this the case? Can such features be discerned among the ceramics of the two cemeteries and if so, what is their frequency? What is more, are there influences that point to other regions? To explore these issues, the vessels in the funerary pottery assemblage are examined according to their shape, to further bring together evidence of idiosyncrasies that could be shape-related (see Table 4).

The piriform jars from both cemeteries belong to shapes FS 44, 45, 31, 39. The *Trimpina* cemetery yielded six piriform jars belonging to all the above shapes, whereas all three jars from Rema Xydias belong to shape FS 45. Apart from **TP 20**, which is probably an import, most of them bear the usual characteristics of the shape, except for **EY 11** from Gr. 2, *Rema Xydias* (see Fig. 7). It is a piriform jar FS 45 with a narrow decorative zone with the U-pattern (FM 45), which is common for this shape in LH IIIA2, and finds a good parallel in Thessaly (Mountjoy 1986, 70, fig. 81, Mountjoy 1999, II, 841, fig. 338/64). However, the two instead of three horizontal handles placed asymmetrically on the shoulder of this otherwise "normal" vessel counts as a deviation from the norm.

The jar with vertical handles on body FS 74, is represented by two samples, **TP 19** and **TP 25**, recovered from two adjacent graves in *Trimpina* (Gr. 13 and Gr. 14, see Fig. 4) and is totally absent in *Rema Xydias*. This shape was introduced in the Mycenaean repertoire in the Argolid, during LH IIIA1 and is generally monochrome (Mountjoy 1999, I, 71), as is **TP 25**. Both jars can be paralleled to the Argolic shapes and are dated to LH IIIA1-2.²⁸ However, the narrow bases of the jars are unusual for this shape and could well be an indication for the creation of a local variant.

Among the eleven rounded alabastra (FS 84, 85, 86) recovered from both cemeteries (see Table 1), a good number (five) has already been suggested as imports. The significance of **TP 12** from Gr. 9, *Trimpina* (see Fig. 3), belonging to Furumark's "high baggy type" (FS 84) and dating early in LH IIIA1 (Mountjoy 1986, 57, fig. 64/1-2) does not lie in its elaborate style or decoration; on the contrary, it lies in other characteristic features, such as the loose form of its lip and the orangish colour of its clay. The former feature can be indicative of lack of skill in pottery making, expected in a peripheral workshop, and the second is common in the pottery assemblages of the region diachronically, thus suggesting a local production for this vessel.

Ample information suggesting influences from other regions in the pottery assemblage of the cemeteries is provided by three squat jugs (FS 87), **TP 18**, **TP 43** and **TP 45**, recovered from three different graves (Gr. 11, Gr. 16 and Gr. 17 respectively, see Figs. 3, 5) at *Trimpina*, where FS 87 is by far the most popular shape with 13 vases assigned to it. These three squat jugs are made of orange clay with thick white slip, which are characteristic features of the LH II regional style in Thessaly and Phthiotis (Mountjoy 1999, I, 25, II, 810, Karantzali 2018, A', 100-101, Karantzali, this volume), although the *Trimpina* jugs must be later in dating, both according to the funerary context and to

²⁸ Although TP 19 has a distinctive narrow base, both vases can generally be paralleled to the Argolic vases, such as the ones presented in Mountjoy 1999, I, 106, fig. 20/108, 116-117, fig. 24/148 and in Furumark 1992, III, pl. 41, fig. 67.1, pl. 45, fig. 74.

a C14 dating from Gr. 11, that gives a date of 1340 B.C.,²⁹ which corresponds to the LH IIIA2 period.³⁰ In addition, both regions show a preference for this shape, which is rare elsewhere in this phase. Furthermore, not only were the squat jugs favoured in *Trimpina*, but they were also, on some occasions, used in groups of two or three to furnish a grave. Moreover, the vast majority of the graves that were furnished with squat jugs (eight out of nine) were also provided with bronze offerings (jewellery or weapons), an observation that cannot be assessed at the moment but, in any case, seems worth noting.

Another group of vessels that is most revealing as to the matter of influences from other regions is the straight-sided alabastra (FS 94), which are the most favoured vessels in *Rema Xydias* and are quite well represented in *Trimpina*. In the latter, these alabastra were found in pairs inside graves, either having been offered simultaneously, as were the two alabastra, **TP 4** and **TP 5**, furnishing Gr. 1 (see Fig. 2), or during the reuse of the grave, such as the cases of **TP 26** and **TP 30** (mentioned above), furnishing Gr. 14 (see Fig. 4). The most prominent feature of these vessels is their convex base. In the cases of **ΕΥ 6**, **ΕΥ 14** and **ΕΥ 37** (see Figs. 8, 9), where this feature is applied on medium- to small-sized vessels, parallels have been recognized at inland Thessaly (Batziou 2021, 358-359, fig. 4γ, No. 2001.17, Larissa LH IIIA2/B), Phthiotis (Karantzali 2018, fig. 12, No. 12650, Kompotades, LH IIIA2) and west Peloponnese (Mountjoy 1999, I, 409, fig. 143/26, Paschalidis, McGeorge 2009, 83, fig. 4., Achaia Clauss, LH IIIA-B). On the other hand, this configuration of the base combined with a very big size, such as in the cases of the aforementioned **TP 30**³¹ and **ΕΥ 45**³² (with an almost pointed convex base) seems to be a local peculiarity, since, although both these features have indeed been documented separately in western Peloponnese (Mountjoy 1999, 410, 409, fig. 143/26, Papadopoulos 1979, 87-88), however, they have not been found together.

West Peloponnese seems to provide the inspiration for another feature found on **ΕΥ 6** and **ΕΥ 53** straight-sided alabastra (Fig. 10, see Fig. 8) that is, the complementary decorative motif under the handles, which is a west Peloponnesian characteristic (Mountjoy 1999, I, 408, 325, fig. 108/33, 378, fig. 131/29, 32,) and is a sign of LH IIIA2 Early dating (Mountjoy 1999, 410, fig. 143/25, 28, 526, fig. 187/132). Finally, a possible influence from Attica can be suggested based on a rare combination of FS 94 with the rock pattern (FM 32) motif that has been observed on **ΕΥ 46** (see Fig. 10) and finds a single parallel at Merenda, dating to LH IIIA2-IIIB1 (Salavoura 2007, 68-69, fig. 11).

The majority of the jugs with cutaway neck (FS 136) found in both cemeteries, that is three out of four (**TP 29**, **ΕΥ 16**, **ΕΥ 50**, see Figs. 4, 7, 10), feature the characteristic thick white slip that could well originate from the LH IIB Thessalian-Phthiotian style (Mountjoy 1999, I, 25). All samples are dated to LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB³³ and can be paralleled with a similar jug from the Spathes cemetery on Olympus (Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 62). Furthermore, **ΕΥ 16** and **ΕΥ 50** are decorated with a wavy band high up the shoulder, a decoration which is characteristic of the LH IIIA2 period in Thessaly, which provided a close parallel from Larisa Gediki (Mountjoy 1999, II, 840-843, fig. 339/73). The holes observed on the lower body part of these last two vases could well have served for libations.

The aforementioned white slip suggesting Thessalian-Phthiotian influences has also been applied on the surface of the two samples of askos (FS 195), **TP 34** and **ΕΥ 49**, although badly preserved in the former vessel (see Figs. 5, 10). **ΕΥ 49** is a based askos FS 195, decorated with a foliate band

²⁹ The C14 dating was conducted on a collagen sample extracted from the anthropological material of Grave 11, by Laboratoire méditerranéen de préhistoire Europe Afrique (Lampea).

³⁰ Chronology according to Manning 2010, 22, Table 2.2.

³¹ Height: 16,30 cm, D. lip: 11,2 cm, D. max: 19,4 cm.

³² Height: 14,06 cm, D. lip: 8,6 cm, D. max: 16,2 cm.

³³ For **TP 29** see: Mountjoy 1986, 103-104, fig. 125/1, Poulaki-Pantermali 1988, 139, Mountjoy 1999, II, 842, fig. 339/73, Papadopoulos, Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2006, 690, Εικ. 5.β (similar jug from Larisa Gediki, LH IIIA), Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 62. For **ΕΥ 16** see all the above and Papadopoulos 1979, Part 1, 91, Part 2, 218, fig. 242(e), Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2003, 187, fig. 14. For **ΕΥ 50** further see: Furumark 1992, III, Pl. 64, Type 114,6.



Fig. 10. Pottery from Grave 22, *Rema Xydias* cemetery. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pieria; image processing and composition by the author and editor)

(FM 64). Its decoration is paralleled by a vessel form inland Thessaly (Larisa Gediki) and its shape by a vessel from Rhodes, dating to LH IIIA2 (Mountjoy 1999, II, 842, fig. 339/78, 1003, fig. 411/43). A very similar vase had survived at Toumba Thessaloniki until much later, in LH IIIC Early (Kedrou, Andreou 2017, 431, fig. 3).

North-west Peloponnesian influences are again attested in the pottery assemblage through a specific feature, that is the position of the handle, observed on the feeding bottle (FS 159) ΕΥ 42 (see Fig. 9). Even though the handle of the vessel is not preserved, traces on the semi-preserved lip suggest that it would have been placed at the right angle with the spout instead of being aligned with it, which is the most common practice. Such a handle placement has been considered a north-west Peloponnesian idiosyncrasy (Mountjoy 1999, I, 389-390, fig. 135/69.). The raised concave base is

suggestive of LH IIIA2 (Mountjoy 1999, I, 419-421, fig. 147/76, Achaea), but has been found also in LH IIIA1 Euboea (Mountjoy 1999, II, 705-706, fig. 270/35).

Other types of drinking vessels in the pottery assemblage that reveal regional variations, include the goblet FS 254/255, dating to LH IIIA1-2. First, the unusually broad-bodied **TP 46**, from Gr. 17, *Trimpina* (see Fig. 5), has no stem and it lacks the dome underneath the base, thus possibly counting for a local variation of a goblet, since no exact parallels have been found. (Mountjoy 1999, I, 264, fig. 86/70, II, 834, fig. 334/40, 42). Second, the monochrome **ΞY 56**, from the deposit of bones outside Gr. 22, *Rema Xydias* (see Fig. 10), has a deep body with short leg, similar to a LH IIIA1 goblet FS 255 (Mountjoy 1999, II, 880-881, fig. 359/63), but it also has innovative features such as the monochrome decoration and the shorter lip of the LH IIIA2 monochrome kylix FS 264 (Mountjoy 1986, 90, 108/1; Mountjoy 1999, II, 842-844, fig. 340/83, 994, fig. 402/16), so it must be a transitional type.

The *Rema Xydias* cemetery also yielded two truncated stemmed bowls (no FS and FS 283), **ΞY 19** and **ΞY 55** (see Fig. 7, 10). Despite the vases' resemblance to the LH IIIB deep bowls FS 284 of Group B type, the narrower than 3cm rim banding excludes them from being admissible in this category (Mountjoy 1986, 131) or in the category of the three types of deep bowls of Transitional LH IIIB-IIIC Early (Mountjoy 1999, 35-37), which have been further discussed by S. Vitale (2006, 177-204). Furthermore, they are neither FS 285 deep bowls of the LH IIIC Late, since they lack the reserved circle at the bottom of their interior base (Mountjoy 1986, 191-192, fig. 254). Both vases are decorated with a wavy band (FM 53) and have monochrome interiors³⁴ - red and dark brown, respectively - dating to LH IIIA2. Close parallels to the *Rema Xydias* vases come from Attica (Mountjoy 1999, 541, fig. 196/202, 203), but also from Dimini, where the wavy band is attested in a very stretched version - almost like a straight band (Adrymi-Sismani 2013, Pl 67i, Adrymi-Sismani 2014, 471, 521).

At the opposite end of the standardised Mycenaean production chaîne opératoire (as described by Kiriati, Andreou 2016, 34), that of the untrained potter, four vases originating from both cemeteries represent an unexperienced attempt to manufacture the straight-sided alabastron shape and copy the morphological characteristics of the "original" Mycenaean vessel. These are two straight-sided alabastra from *Trimpina*, **TP 37** and **TP 38**, both recovered from a single grave (Gr. 15, see Fig. 5), along with a number of other Mycenaean ware vessels and minor objects, including two seals (Tsangaraki 2021, 444, cat nos. 10/ TP 57 and 11/TP 62 in Gr. 15), dating to LH IIIB. Their sides are not properly separated from the shoulder and the neck suggesting the vessels are poor local copies, **TP 37** being handmade, such as a straight-sided alabastron from Agrilia in Thessaly (Mountjoy 1999, II, 845, fig. 341/95, LH IIIB). The grayish unpainted straight-sided alabastron with the sloping body and the uneven upper lip, **ΞY 22**, from *Rema Xydias* (see Fig. 7), also accounts for a "local copy", even though some Achaean and Thessalian parallels have been found [Mountjoy 1999, I, 409-410, fig. 143/26-27 (FS 94, Achaea, LH IIIA2), II, 845-847, fig. 341/97 (FS 94, Thessaly, LH IIIB)]. Finally, the straight-sided miniature monochrome alabastron³⁵ with no handles, **ΞY 35** (see Fig. 8), is also a deviation from the norm, which, if not for its straight sides, could have been a handleless jar.

REGIONAL PREFERENCES

Having documented the development of local features and idiosyncrasies among the Mycenaean type vessels of the pottery assemblage, we shall investigate possible regional preferences. The preference for

³⁴ The monochrome interior is a feature which is not found in the central area of the north east Peloponnese, until LH IIIB2-IIIC (Mountjoy 1999, II, 744).

³⁵ The miniature vases are common during the whole of LH IIIB, but do not appear in the preceding or the succeeding periods (Mountjoy 1986, 101).

Table 5. The Mycenaean decorative motives at the *Rema Xydias* pottery assemblage.

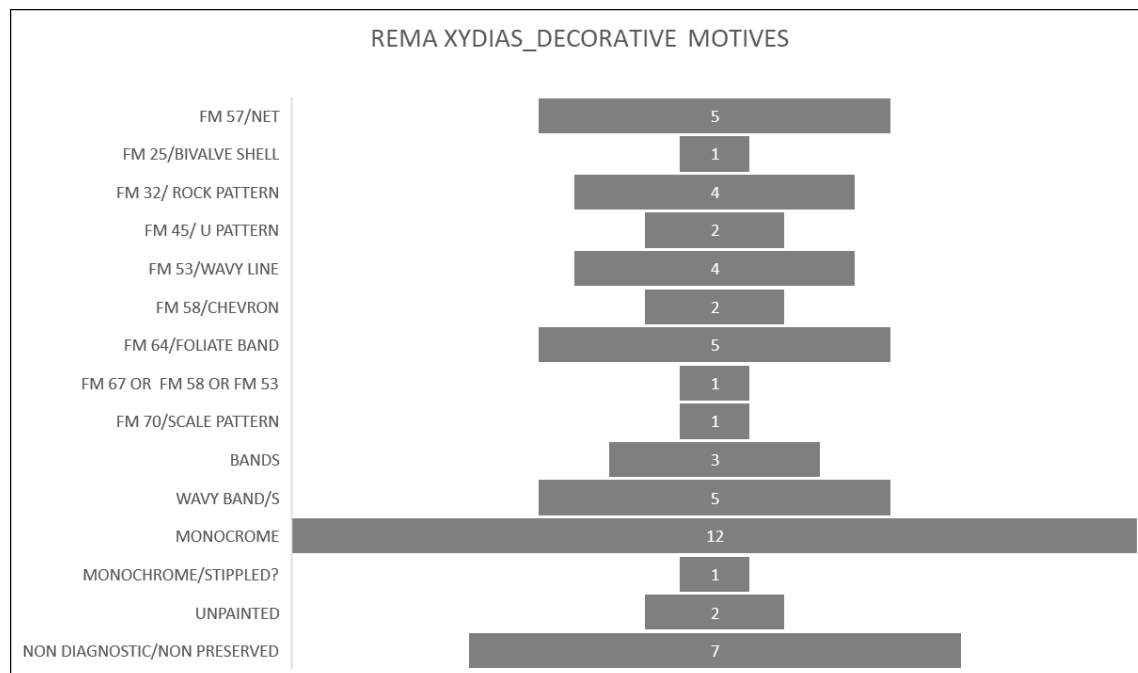
FS	45	77	85	87	94	112-114	136	195	214-216		245	264/265	NO & 283	283	159		
SHAPE/ DECORATIVE MOTIF	PIRIFORM JAR	SMALL HANDLELESS JAR	ALABASTRON ROUNDED	SQUAT JUG	ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	JUG	JUG WITH CUTAWAY NECK	ASKOS	CUP	DEEP BOWL (FRAGMENTS)	CUP WITH TWO HORIZONTAL HANDLES	GOBLET	TRUNCATED STEMMED BOWL	ONE-HANDLED BOWL	FEEDING BOTTLE	AMPHORA OR HYDRIA	TOTAL USES OF MOTIVES
FM 57/NET	1				4												5
FM 25/BIVALVE SHELL					1												1
FM 32/ ROCK PATTERN			3		1												4
FM 45/ U PATTERN	1				1												2
FM 53/WAVY LINE	1				3												4
FM 58/ CHEVRON					2												2
FM 64/FOLIATE BAND					4			1									5
FM 67, FM 58, FM 53 (?)					1												1
FM 70/SCALE PATTERN					1												1
BANDS						1		1			1						3
WAVY BAND/S							3						2				5
MONOCHROME		3		2	1				3			1		1	1		12
MONOCHROME/ STIPPLED?		1															1
UNPAINTED					1							1					2
UNDETERMIN- ABLE/NOT PRESERVED			2		2					2						1	7
TOTAL VESSELS (PER TYPE)	3	4	5	2	22	1	3	1	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	

certain shapes is best documented in the use of small handleless jar (FS 77), which is favoured in both cemeteries and its presence is a good diagnostic feature of LH IIIA1 (Mountjoy 1986, 51, 67). All six samples from *Trimpina* are unpainted or monochrome (TP 23, TP 42, TP 36, TP 39, TP 40, TP 41 – the last four furnished a single grave, Gr. 15, see Figs. 4-5) and the same applies for the jars from *Rema Xydias* (EY 24, EY 15, EY 18, EY 30, see Figs. 7-8). Since, according to Mountjoy, this shape was not used in funerary assemblages in eastern Mycenaean Greece in LH IIIA1, but was so employed in the north-west Peloponnese and Phocis (Mountjoy 1999, I, 27, 403), its numerous presence in this pottery assemblage is not only a good indication for a connection with these areas, but also a possible regional preference. In addition, as more recent research is verifying its funerary use at various sites of interior Thessaly (Batziou 2021, 355-370), connections with this region are also attested.

Regional preference is also attested through the popularity of squat jugs (FS 87), especially at *Trimpina*, where they were by far the most popular vessels. Most of them have a baggy appearance, a characteristic of LH IIB (Mountjoy 1999, 25, 831,) but the *Trimpina* cemetery chronological context is later (the earliest safe dating is LH IIIA1). On three occasions, they have been used in groups of three or four to furnish a grave, that is, in the cases of Gr. 1 (with TP 1 and TP 2), Gr. 16 (with TP 43, TP 44) and Gr. 9 (with TP 13, TP 14, TP 16).

Finally, the straight-sided alabastron FS 94 is the most favoured vessel type in *Rema Xydias* and is quite well represented in *Trimpina* (see Table 1), thus indicating a strong preference for their use. Furthermore, they are decorated with the greatest variety of motifs of all vase shapes (Tables 5, 6). These are the wavy line (FM 53), net (FM 57), U-pattern (FM 45), horizontal chevrons (FM 58), foliate band (FM 64), scale pattern (FM 70), bivalve chain (FM 25), a rare motif of Minoan derivation (Mountjoy 1999, I, 267-268, fig. 88/96) and finally the rock pattern (FM 32). In *Trimpina*, these alabastra (as the aforementioned squat jugs) were found in pairs inside graves, either having been offered simultaneously (as were the two alabastra, TP 4 and TP 5, furnishing Gr. 1) or during the reuse of the grave, as in the case of Gr. 14.

Table 6. The preference in decorative motives in the *Rema Xydias* Mycenaean pottery assemblage.



DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

The presentation of the Mycenaean type pottery assemblages of the cemeteries at *Trimpina* and *Rema Xydias* has demonstrated that Mycenaean pottery had permeated the coastal region of Olympus as early as LH IIIA1 and was incorporated into the funerary practice from this period on until at least LH IIIC Early. Looking closer into the two extremes of this time spectrum, one could observe more examples from *Trimpina* with LH IIIA1 chronological features than from *Rema Xydias*. More specific, the *Trimpina* cemetery yielded four vessels, the **TP 3** (FS 144/Beaked jug) from Gr. 1, the **TP 12** (FS 84/Rounded alabastron) and **TP 17** (FS 31?/Piriform jar) from Gr. 9 and **TP 23** (FS 77/Small handleless jar) from Gr. 14, whereas *Rema Xydias* yielded two vessels – both FS 77/Small handleless jars – **EY 15** from Gr. 3 and **EY 30**, from Gr. 10. Even though this early dating could be questioned for **TP 3** and **EY 30**, based on the later dating (LH IIIA2) of their co-finds, that is, the suggested imports, **TP 6** and **EY 58**, the fact remains that the pottery assemblage of *Trimpina* is indicative of an earlier dating than that of *Rema Xydias*. This suggestion is further supported by the evidence from the grave types and the burial practices, since the traditional type of the pit grave is still favoured in *Trimpina*, but it is underrepresented at *Rema Xydias* (Koulidou 2021, 417–418). Moreover, the newly introduced burial practice of grave reuse and secondary treatment of the dead body is much more frequently practiced and seems much more established at *Rema Xydias* than at *Trimpina* (Tritsaroli 2021, 452). Evidence of Mycenaean type pottery introduction in the region possibly prior to LH IIIA1 can also be detected in the form of the locally manufactured squat jug found at the tumulus of *Pigi Artemidos* or the wheel-made imported tripod (A-16) recovered from the settlement phase that preceded the cemetery at *Trimpina*.

At the other end of the time spectrum, only one sample is securely attributed to LH IIIB2–LH IIIC Early,³⁶ and that is **TP 49**, an FS 86/Rounded alabastron with two handles, recovered from Gr. 23 of *Trimpina* (see Fig. 6). Thus, this cemetery is not only earlier but also longer lasting.

Since the issue of chronology is discussed, it feels adequate to address the challenging task of dating idiosyncratic local pottery posed earlier. In other words, is the pottery assemblage from the two cemeteries synchronised with the Mycenaean pottery from the core of the Mycenaean world or do the “original” Mycenaean features “echo” in later times, in this “marginal” region of the Mycenaean world? Using the better-dated imports or suggested imports as indexes for calibrating local Mycenaean-type pottery recovered from the same context (same grave or same depositional phase in the grave), it has been demonstrated that the dating of the imports either fits well with the dating of the local vessels (as in the cases of Gr. 14 of *Trimpina* and Gr. 1 and Gr. 10 of *Rema Xydias*) or is consistent with the broader chronological spectrum of the local pottery and helps narrow it down or slightly adjust it (as in the cases of Gr. 1, Gr. 13 and Gr. 14 of *Trimpina* and of Gr. 19 of *Rema Xydias*). Since no chronological delay in the appearance of typological or decorative features on the vessels is observed, we therefore suggest that the local Mycenaean style pottery from the two cemeteries is “up-to-date” with the Mycenaean pottery fashions. To further enhance this suggestion, a comparison between an “up-to-date” and an “outdated” vessel is presented: it is the case of the **EY 49** based askos (FS 195) from Gr. 22, *Rema Xydias*, which is safely dated to LH IIIA2, compared to a very similar vase, which was found in a LH IIIC Early–beginning of LH IIIC Middle context (Phase 4) at Toumba Thessaloniki (Kedrou, Andreou 2017, 431, fig. 3).

As to imports, their significance does not only lie in their use as a dating index. By their presence or absence and frequency in a pottery assemblage, indications can be drawn regarding a) connections with other regions and b) the degree of establishment of Mycenaean type pottery in a region. As to the first matter, the possible source of origin that has been assigned to several suggested imports in

³⁶ Mountjoy 1986, 99, fig. 118. Mountjoy 1999, I, 145, II, 813, fig. 324/16–18.

the pottery assemblage of both cemeteries is indicative of connections with Thessaly and Phthiotis, since two rounded alabstra (FS 84, 85), **ΞY 9**, **ΞY 21**, and one squat jug (FS 87), **TP 14**, seem to originate from these regions. Connections with the western Peloponnese are suggested by the presence of two rounded alabstra **TP 28** and **ΞY 44** (FS 84, 85), possibly originating from Elis, and with the north-eastern Peloponnese by the presence of **ΞY 58** piriform jar (FS 45) from Argolid and **ΞY 25** jug (FS 112-114) from Korinthia. Finally, Attica presents itself in the pottery assemblage through the **ΞY 23** cup with two horizontal handles.

Using imports as a means to assess the degree of establishment of Mycenaean type pottery in a region, we suggest that the small numbers of imported vessels in the pottery assemblages of the two cemeteries, along with the attempt to produce Mycenaean pottery at a household level (“local copies”) is a good indication for a high degree of Mycenaean type pottery establishment in the region of Macedonian Olympus. In other words, Mycenaean pottery seems deeply entangled in communal activities (at least the ones relevant to burial practices) and it is not considered an “exotic” commodity reserved for a limited group of “privileged” people.

At the same time, the examination of the non-imported Mycenaean ceramics of the pottery assemblages from the two cemeteries provides answers regarding the presence of features that deviate from the norm that can be assigned as local idiosyncrasies or regional variants (see Table 4). More specifically, eight vessels, five from *Trimpina* and three from *Rema Xydias*, have been suggested as regional variants or local productions, assigned to five shapes. These are the **ΞY 11** piriform jar (FS 45) with two instead of three horizontal handles, two jars with vertical handles on body (FS 74), **TP 19** and **TP 25**, with an unusual for this shape narrow base, the **TP 12** rounded alabastron (FS 54) with a characteristic local orange clay and loose form of lip, two straight-sided alabstra (FS 94), **TP 30** and **ΞY 45**, with a unique combination of a strongly convex base with a big size, and finally the two goblets FS 254/255, **TP 46** and **ΞY 56**, the first having an unusual broad body and no stem or dome underneath the base, and the second combining features from LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2, possibly being a transitional type. If these cases are complemented with the four “local copies” characterised by poor construction quality, **TP 37** and **TP 38**, then a “freedom” in the production of Mycenaean type pottery can be discerned, suggesting the operation of a regional workshop, with limited control over the typology of its products.

But, can the aforementioned idiosyncrasies strongly support the identification of a regional style in the region of Macedonian Olympus? Or are they just several “attempts” to create new styles in the sense of incorporating novel features into established styles and/or creating Mycenaean style vessels on a household level? The answer to this question would better remain on hold until the pottery sample is enlarged with the addition of the Mycenaean type ceramics from the settlements of the region that could possibly provide evidence for the evolution of these “attempts” into a regional character of the Mycenaean type pottery.

Until this evidence is available, preferences in the use of the Mycenaean pottery in the region can be explored. First, the preference for certain shapes is best documented in the use of numerous (a total of 13 samples) squat jugs (FS 87) at *Trimpina*, which shares similarities with the Thessalian-Phthiotian style of the earlier LH II, when the shape was rare in south Greece (Mountjoy 1999, I, 25, II, 810). Not only was the shape preferred at *Trimpina* but it was usually used in groups of two or three to furnish a grave. Another preference at the same cemetery (and to a lesser extent at *Rema Xydias*) is for the small handleless jar (FS 77), as is in the pottery assemblage of the cemetery of Spathes, Ayios Demetrios, on Olympus (Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 56-57). Again, this preference shares similarities with that of the north-western Peloponnese and Phocis where the shape was employed during LH IIIA1 (Mountjoy 1999, I, 27, 403) in contrast to eastern Mycenaean Greece where it was not used in funerary assemblages (Mountjoy 1999, I, 27, 403), but also with interior Thessaly (Batziou 2021, 355-370). It seems that this particular vase can be used to trace the route (Karantzali, Mommsen, 2023, 8-9,

Lis and Batziou, this volume) from Western Peloponnese through Phocis, to central Greece and further north to inland Thessaly and the region of Macedonian Olympus, being incorporated in the pottery assemblages under examination. A final regional preference that can be singled out, this time at *Rema Xydias*, is that for the use of the straight-sided alabastron (FS 94) - a total number of 22 vessels - which were used during 13 depositional phases (secondary and initial inhumations) within 11 graves.

Influences from or connections with other regions of the Mycenaean world have also been inferred by investigating the surface treatment and application of decoration motives on the vessels. The characteristic Thessalian and Phthiocian white slip is a common surface treatment in both cemeteries mainly applied on the squat jugs (FS 87), on jugs with cutaway neck (FS 136) and askos (FS 195). Close affinities with Thessaly in particular are also attested in the cooking pottery from the settlements, such as evidenced by the handled tripod jar (A-25) from Pigi Artemidos, the large jars from *Rema Xydias* and the tripods from both cemeteries. Furthermore, the preference for monochrome decoration mostly observed in the *Rema Xydias* pottery assemblage (see Tables 5, 6), applied on both closed and open shapes (piriform jar, squat jug, straight sided alabastron, cup, goblet, one-handed bowl and feeding bottle) can be related to the Thessalian and Phocian fondness for monochrome decoration and the north-western Peloponnesian popularity of small, monochrome vases (Mountjoy 1999, 27, 29, 30). As to the decoration of Trimpina's pottery assemblage, any observations would be inconclusive due to the bad preservation of the vessels' surface (Tables 7, 8).

Table 7. The preference in decorative motives in the *Trimpina* Mycenaean pottery assemblage.

TRIMPINA_DECORATIVE MOTIVES	
FM19 (;) (MULTIPLE STEM, HOOKED)	1
FM 32/ ROCK PATTERN	2
FM 48/QUIRK	1
FM 57/NET	1
FM 64/FOLIATE BAND	1
WAVY VERTICAL STEMS	1
STRIPES	1
MONOCROME	3
UNDETERMINABLE/NOT PRESERVED	38

Generally, two main cultural circles have been identified as the source of the Mycenaean pottery influence. First, the Thessalian cultural circle with which the region has a long-established tradition of close connections and mutual contacts and influences, attested in the pottery assemblages as early as the Late Neolithic period, by the Arapi and Dimini pottery from Pigi Athinas, the Minyan pottery from Valtos Lepokaryas and finally by the "Thessalian" *kantharos* found in all Middle to Late Bronze Age sites in the area, including *Rema Xydias*. Second, contacts with areas further south, that is Phthiotis and Phocis, have also been identified in the pottery assemblage and could have been achieved through Thessaly, the former regions having established trade networks through the so-called isthmus trade route that connected the Krisean Gulf (present-day Itea Gulf) and the Malian Gulf (Karantzali 2023, 8-9, Fig. 9). The same routes of communication and cultural exchanges could also explain the affinities between the Mycenaean-ware pottery assemblages of the coastal region of Macedonian

Table 8. The Mycenaean decorative motives at the *Trimpina* pottery assemblage.

FS	45	74	77	85/ 86	87	94	112- 114	136	144	195	214- 216	264/ 265	326/ 327	
SHAPE/ DECORATIVE MOTIF	PIRIFORM JAR	JAR WITH VERTICAL HANDLES ON BODY	SMALL HANDLELESS JAR	ALABASTRON ROUNDED	SQUAT JUG	ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	JUG	JUG WITH CUTAWAY NECK	BEAKED JUG	ASKOS	CUP	GOBLET	COMPOSITE VESSEL	TOTAL USES OF MOTIVES
FM 19 (;) (MULTIPLE STEM, HOOKED)					1									1
FM 32/ ROCK PATTERN				1									1	2
FM 48/ QUIRK				1										1
FM 57/ NET						1								1
FM 64/ FOLIATE BAND						1								1
WAVY VERTICAL STEMS	1													1
STRIPES								1						1
MONOCHROME		1	1									1		3
UNDETERMIN- ABLE/NOT PRESERVED	5	1	5	4	12	4	2		1	1	2	1		38
TOTAL VESSELS (PER TYPE)	6	2	6	6	13	6	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	

Olympus with the West Peloponnesian cultural circle (West Mainland koine), particularly Achaea. Strong evidence for these very connections have additionally been provided through the thorough study of another element of the material culture of the region, the Pieria seals (both coastal and inland, see Tsangaraki 2020, 337, 340). The recent study on the MBA-LBA cooking pottery assemblages from the region (Dimoula *et al.* 2022a; Dimoula *et al.* 2022b) has also indicated the common traditions of the Olympus area with its northern neighbours (northern Greece and the Balkans) through the identification and analysis of the typical northern cooking vessel, the pyraunos.

The analysis presented here is not exhaustive. Until an interdisciplinary study on both the funerary and the settlement Mycenaean pottery assemblages of the region is conducted, the presentation of the pottery assemblages from the *Trimpina* and *Rema Xydias* cemeteries represents a small, but crucial, contribution towards a better understanding not only of the regional idiosyncrasies in pottery style, but also of the networks and social dynamics that developed in the coastal region of Olympus, during the second half of the 2nd millennium BC.

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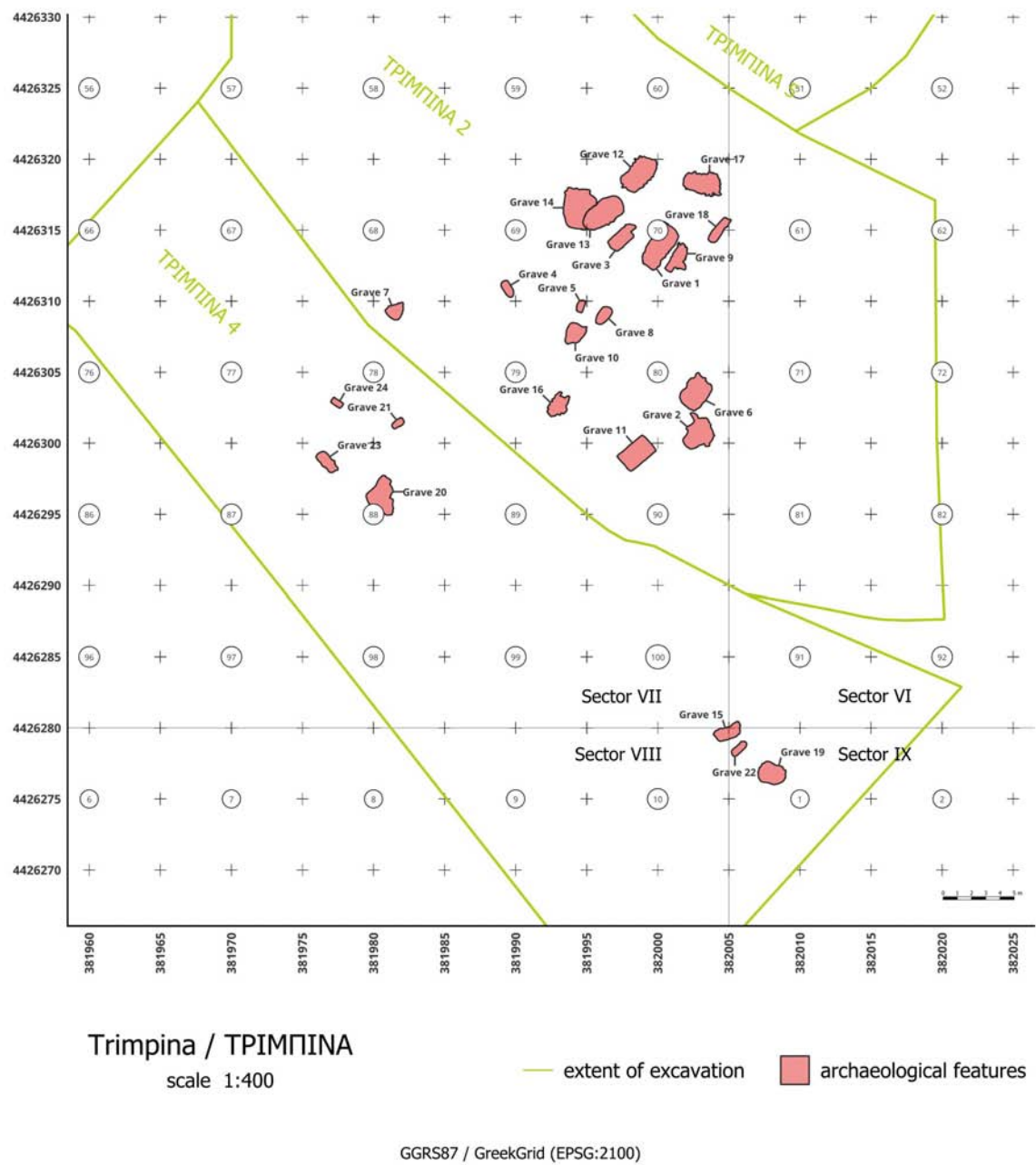
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APPENDIX I INFORMATION ON BURIALS AT TRIMPINA



Grave Number: 1

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2

Individual: 1.1

Burial type: undetermined, looted?; Age: adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-1	TP 1	outside the grave (possibly related to Gr. 9)	1.1?	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB- LH IIIA1?
A-2	TP 2	outside the grave (possibly related to Gr. 9)	1.1?	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB- LH IIIA2?
A-3	-	outside the grave (possibly related to Gr. 9)	1.1?	FS 85/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED	LH IIIA2- LHIIIB
A-4	-	outside the grave (possibly related to Gr. 9)	1.1?	sherd (unidentified)	-
A-64	-	outside the grave (possibly related to Gr. 1 and/or Gr. 9)	1.1?	WHEELMADE CLOSED VESSEL (unidentified)	-
A-5	TP 3	inside the grave	1.1	FS 144/ BEAKED JUG	LH IIIA1
A-6	TP 4	inside the grave	1.1	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2
A-7	TP 5	inside the grave	1.1	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2 Early
A-8	TP 6	inside the grave	1.1	FS 85/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED FM 32/ ROCK PATTERN	LH IIIA2
A-9	-	inside the grave	1.1	Handmade sherd (unidentified)	-

Fig. 11. Plan of the *Trimpina* cemetery

X-1	-	inside the grave	1.1	Bronze earring or bracelet	-

Grave Number: 2

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 2.1

Burial type: primary; Age: adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-22	TP.7	inside the grave	2.1	HANDMADE HYDRIA	LH IIIB- LH IIIC?
A-23	-	inside the grave	2.1	SHERDS OF A COARSE HANDMADE VESSEL (unidentified)	-
A-24	TP 8	inside the grave	2.1	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB- LHIIIA?
A-25	-	inside the grave	2.1	BASE OF A COARSE HANDMADE VESSEL (unidentified)	-
A-20	-	outside the grave (on top of the grave pit/possibly not related to grave)	-	SHERD OF A WHEELMADE VESSEL (unidentified)	-
A-21	-	outside the grave (inside the grave pit/ possibly related to the previous habitation phase)	-	Pyraunos	-
X-5	TP 68	inside the grave	2.1	Bronze spear of javelin point (Salimbeti's "Group K")	LH IIIB-C?
X-6	TP 69	inside the grave	2.1	Bronze knife	LH IIIB-C?

Grave Number: 3

Grave type: pit

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 3.1

Burial type: undetermined (no bones, only teeth); Age: Subadult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-29	TP 9	inside the grave	3.1	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB?
X-8, Γ-2	TP 71	inside the grave	3.1	Necklace made of 17 bronze and 2 glass beads	-
X-9	TP 72	inside the grave	3.1	Bronze bracelet/armlet	
X-10	TP 73	inside the grave	3.1	Circle-headed bronze pin	
X-11	TP 74	inside the grave	3.1	Bronze bracelet (right hand)	
X-12	TP 75	inside the grave	3.1	Bronze bracelet (left hand)	

Grave Number: 4

Grave type: pit

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2?

Individual: -

Burial type: -; Age: -; Sex: -; Location of bones -

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-30	TP 10	inside the grave	-	FS 112-114/JUG	LH IIIA2?

Grave Number: 5

Grave type: pit

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 5.1

Burial type: undetermined; Age: Adolescent; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-31	-	inside the grave	5.1	FS 45/PIRIFORM JAR (BASE SHERD)	-
X-13	TP 76	inside the grave	5.1	Bronze bracelet	-
X-14	TP 77	inside the grave	5.1	Bronze bracelet	-

Grave Number: 6

Grave type: cist/built

Grave Dating: LH IIIA-LH IIIC?

Individual: 6.1

Burial type: undetermined; Age: Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-32	TP 11	inside the grave	6.1	HANDMADE CUP WITH VERTICAL HANDLE AND APENDICE	LH IIIA- LH IIIC?

Grave Number: 7

Grave type: pit (irregular shape)

Grave Dating: -

Individual: -

Burial type:-; Age:-; Sex:-; Location of bones:-

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
X-2	TP 67	inside the grave	-	Bronze bracelet	-
X-3	-	inside the grave	-	Bronze shaft?	-
X-4	-	inside the grave	-	Nugget of bronze	-
X-7	TP 70	inside the grave	-	Bronze bracelet	-

Grave Number: 8

Grave type: pit/stone- lined

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 8.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-33	-	inside the grave	8.1	Handmade one-handled bowl or Kantharos	-

Grave Number: 9

Grave type: pit/stone-lined

Grave Dating: LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2

Individual: 9.1

Burial type: disturbed primary; Age: Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-34	TP 12	inside the grave	9.1	FS 84/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED	LH IIIA1 (Early?)
A-35	TP 13	inside the grave	9.1	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB
A-36	TP 14	inside the grave	9.1	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB
A-37	TP 15	inside the grave	9.1	FS 31/FS 39/ PIRIFORM JAR	LH IIIA1- LH IIIA2
A-38	TP 16	inside the grave	9.1	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB
A-39	TP 17	inside the grave	9.1	FS 31?/ PIRIFORM JAR	LH IIIA1
X-15	TP 78	inside the grave	9.1	Roll-topped bronze pin	-

Grave Number: 10

Grave type: pit

Grave Dating: -

Individual: animal (bovine?)

Burial type: primary; Age:-; Sex:-; Location of bones: in the grave

Grave Number: 11

Grave type: pit/clay coffin

Grave Dating: 1340 BC LHIIB?

Individual: 11.1

Burial type: disturbed primary; Age: Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-40	TP 18	inside the grave	11.1	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LHIIB
X-16	TP 79	inside the grave	11.1	Bronze bracelet (right arm)	
X-17	TP 80	inside the grave	11.1	Bronze bracelet (left arm)	
II-3	TP 66	inside the grave	11.1	Spindle whorl or Button	

Grave Number: 12

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LH IIIA(?)

Individual: 12.1; 12.2

Burial type: undetermined, looted?; Age: 12yrs±30months; Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave, in the grave (few bones scattered outside the grave)

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-41	-	outside the grave	12.1, 12.2	Handmade one handled (?) bowl	
A-42	TP 101	outside the grave	12.1, 12.2	FS 214/215/CUP	LH IIIA2
A-43	-	inside and outside the grave	12.1, 12.2	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB-LH IIIA1
A- 61	TP 33	inside and outside the grave	12.1, 12.2	Handmade miniature pithos	-
A-69	-	outside the grave	12.1, 12.2	Sherds of a hand-made open vessel	-
X-18	-	inside the grave	12.1, 12.2	Bronze earring	-
X-19	-	inside the grave	12.1, 12.2	Bronze earring	-
X-20	TP 81	inside the grave	12.1, 12.2	Leaf-shaped "razor"	-
X-21	-	inside the grave	12.1, 12.2	Small bronze fragment (unidentified)	LH I-LH IIIA

Grave Number: 13

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LH IIIA1-2

Individual: 13.1; 13.2; 13.3

Burial type: primary, primary, undetermined; Age: 7yrs±24months; 9yrs±24months, Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-44	TP 19	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	FS 74/ JAR WITH VERTICAL HANDLES ON BODY	LH IIIA1-2
A-45	TP 20	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	FS 45/ PIRIFORM JAR WAVY VERTICAL STEMS	LH IIIA2 Early
A-46	TP 21	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIIA2?
A-59	-	outside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Handmade (?) bowl	-

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
X-22	TP 82	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Hair ornament (fragment) ?	-
X-23	TP 83	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Hair ornament (fragment) ?	-
X-24	TP 84	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Bronze ring or hair ornament (fragment) ?	-
X-25	-	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Bronze ring or hair ornament (fragment) ?	-
X-26	TP 85	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Bronze ring or hair ornament (fragment) ?	-
X-27	-	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Bronze earring	-
X-28		inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Bronze earring	-
O-1	TP 65	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Ivory bead	-
A-8	TP 51	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Stone spindle whorl or Button	-
A-9	TP 52	inside the grave	13.2 ?	Sealstone (Mainland Popular Group)	LH IIIA2 – LH IIIB
Γ-1	TP 50	inside the grave	13.1, 13.2, 13.3	Glass bead	

Grave Number: 14

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2-LH IIIB

[C14 dating: 1407-1231 B.C. (95.4%) or 1386-1267 B.C. (68.2%)]

Individual: 14.1

Burial type: primary (final inhumation); Age: 27; Sex: M; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-55	TP 28	inside the grave	14.1 (final inhumation)	FS 85/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED FM 48/QUIRK (WITH PAINT ON THE TOP OF HANDLES)	LH IIIA2
A-56	TP 29	inside the grave	14.1 (final inhumation)	FS 136/ JUG WITH CUTAWAY NECK STRIPES (AND WHITE SLIP)	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB1

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-57	TP 30	inside the grave	14.1 (final inhumation)	FS 94/ ALABSTRON STRAIGHT SIDED FM 57/NET (WITH PAINT ON THE TOP OF HANDLES)	LH IIIA2 Late-LH IIIB
A-58	TP 31	inside the grave	14.1 (final inhumation)	COMPOSITE VESSEL FM 32/ ROCK PATTERN WITH DOT FILL (WITH PAINT ON THE TOP OF HANDLES)	LH IIIA2-LH IIIB (by context)
A-81	TP 42	inside the grave (inside A-57/ TP 30)	14.1 (final inhumation)	FS 77/SMALL HANDLELESS JAR/ MINIATURE MONO- CHROME? (BADLY PRESERVED SURFACE)	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB (by context)
X-29	TP 86	inside the grave	14.1 (final inhumation)-on the right arm	Bronze razor or cleaver	LH IIIA- LH IIIC
A-10	TP 53	inside the grave	14.1 (final inhumation)-on the right arm	Grinding stone	-

Grave Number: 14/ Secondary 14/ Deposit

Grave type: -

Grave Dating: LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2

Individual: 14.2; 14.3; 14.2 or 14.3

Burial type: secondary (2nd inhumation), secondary (initial inhumation), secondary; 31-35, 20-30, -;

Sex: M, F, -; Location of bones: in the grave, outside the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-47	TP 22	outside the grave, placed on top of the covering slabs	14.2, 14.3	FS 214/215/CUP	LH IIIA2?
A-48	TP 23	outside the grave, placed at the north edge of the cist	14.2, 14.3	FS 77/SMALL HANDLELESS JAR	LH IIIA1

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-49	TP 24	outside the grave, placed at the north edge of the cist, on top of A-53	14.2, 14.3	FS 44/45/ PIRIFORM JAR	LH IIIA1- LH IIIA2
A-50	-	outside the grave, placed at the north edge of the cist, on top of A-52	14.2, 14.3	Handmade beaked jug	-
A-51	TP 25	outside the grave, placed at the north edge of the cist	14.2, 14.3	FS 74/ JAR WITH VER- TICAL HAN- DLES ON BODY MONO- CHROME	LH IIIA1- LH IIIA2
A-52	-	outside the grave, placed at the north edge of the cist, under A-50	14.2, 14.3	PIRIFORM JAR (badly preserved)	-
A-53	TP 26	outside the grave, placed at the north edge of the cist, under A-49	14.2, 14.3	FS 94/ ALABSTRON STRAIGHT SIDED FM 64 FOLIATE BAND	LH IIIA2
A-54	TP 27	outside the grave, placed at the north edge of the cist, under A-49.	14.2, 14.3	FS 44/ PIRIFORM JAR	LH IIIA1- LH IIIA2
A-60	TP 32	outside the grave	14.2, 14.3	Handmade cup or kantharos	-
X-30	TP 87	inside the grave, among mingled bones	14.2, 14.3	Bronze ring or hair ornament	
X-31	TP 88	inside the grave, among mingled bones	14.2, 14.3	Bronze ring or hair ornament	
X-32	TP 89	inside the grave, among mingled bones	14.2, 14.3		
X-33	-	outside the grave	14.2, 14.3	Bronze earring?	
O-2	-	inside the grave, among mingled bones	14.2, 14.3	Bone pin	
Λ-11	TP 54	inside the grave	14.1, 14.2, 14.3	Sealstone (Mainland Popular Group)	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB
Λ-12	TP 55	inside the grave	14.1, 14.2, 14.3	Stone spindle whorl or Button	

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-13	TP 56	inside the grave	14.1, 14.2, 14.3	bead made of carnelian stone	
A-26		inside the grave	14.1, 14.2, 14.4	bead made of carnelian stone	

Grave Number: 15

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2

Individual: 15.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-73	TP 34	inside the grave	15.1	FS 195 /ASKOS	LH IIIA2
A-74	TP 35	inside the grave	15.1	FS 85/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB
A-75	TP 36	inside the grave	15.1	FS 77/SMALL HANDLELESS JAR/ MINIATURE	-
A-76	TP 37	inside the grave	15.1	FS 94/ ALABSTRON STRAIGHT SIDED/ MINIATURE/ LOCAL COPY	LH IIIB ?
A-77	TP 38	inside the grave	15.1	FS 94/ ALABSTRON STRAIGHT SIDED/LOCAL COPY	LH IIIB ?
A-78	TP 39	inside the grave	15.1	FS 77/SMALL HANDLELESS JAR/ MINIATURE	LH IIIB ?
A-79	TP 40	inside the grave	15.1	FS 77/SMALL HANDLELESS JAR/ MINIATURE	LH IIIB ?
A-80	TP 41	inside the grave	15.1	FS 77/SMALL HANDLELESS JAR/ MINIATURE	LH IIIB ?
X-34	TP 98	inside the grave	15.1	bronze pin	
X-46		inside the grave	15.1	bronze ring (inside TR 38)	

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
Λ-18	TP 57	inside the grave	15.1	Sealstone (Mainland Popular Group)	LH IIIA2– LH IIIB
Λ-19	TP 58	inside the grave	15.1	Stone spindle whorl or Button	
Λ-20	TP 59	inside the grave	15.1	Stone spindle whorl or Button	
Λ-21	TP 60	inside the grave	15.1	Stone spindle whorl or Button	
Λ-22	-	inside the grave	15.1	flint flake? (fragment)	
Λ-23	TP 61	inside the grave	15.1	cylindrical stone bead	
Λ-24	TP 62	inside the grave	15.1	Sealstone (Mainland Popular Group)	LH IIIA2– LH IIIB

Grave Number: 16

Grave type: pit/stone encircled

Grave Dating: LH IIB-LH IIIA2?

Individual: 16.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-83	TP 43	inside the grave	16.1	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB
A-84	TP 44	inside the grave	16.1	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB
A-93		inside and on top of the grave (scattered fragments)	16.1	CLOSED VESSEL WITH VERTICAL HANDLE (sherd) BLACK HORIZONTAL STRIPES	
X- 35	TP 90	inside the grave	16.1	Bronze horned sword (Type Cii)	LH II – LH III A2
X- 36	TP 91	inside the grave	16.1	Vase-headed bronze pin	
X- 37	TP 92	inside the grave	16.1	Vase-headed bronze pin	
X- 38	TP 93	inside the grave	16.1	Bronze pin with conical head	-
X-39	TP 94	inside the grave	16.1	Spear butt-spike	LH IIIB-C?
X-40	TP 94	inside the grave	16.1	Leaf-shaped javelin blade	LH I-LH IIIA?

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
X-41	TP 95	inside the grave	16.1	Bronze knife (Sandars's Class 1b "Straight- backed, flanged")	LH IIIB-C?
X-42	TP 96	inside the grave	16.1	Bronze bead	-

Grave Number: 17

Grave type: built

Grave Dating: LH IIIA

Individual: 17.1, 17.2

Burial type: primary; Age: Adult; Sex: U, M?; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-85	TP 45	inside the grave	17.1, 17.2	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB?
A-86	TP 46	inside the grave	17.1, 17.2	FS 254-255/ GOBLET	LH IIIA1?

Grave Number: 18

Grave type: pit/stone encircled

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 18.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Adult; Sex: M?; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
X-43	TP 97	inside the grave	18.1	Circle-headed bronze pin	-

Grave Number: 19

Grave type: pit?

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 19.1

Burial type: undetermined; Age: Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Grave Number: 20

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Individual: no bones

Burial type: -; Age: -; Sex: -; Location of bones: -

Grave Number: 21

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Individual: no bones

Burial type: -; Age: -; Sex: -; Location of bones: -

Grave Number: 22

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 22.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-97	-	in the trench of the cist grave	22.1	FS 84-85?/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED (sherds)	-
A-98	TP 47	inside the grave	22.1	HANDMADE JUG WITH CUTAWAY NECK	-
A-36	TP 63	inside the grave	22.1	stone spindle whorl or Button	-

Grave Number: 23

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LH IIIB2-LH IIIC Early

Individual: 23.1, 23.2

Burial type: undetermined, primary; Age: 9yrs±24months, 3yrs±12months; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-99	TP 48	inside the grave	23.1, 23.2	FS 114/SMALL JUG	LH IIIA?
A-100	TP 49	inside the grave	23.1, 23.2	FS 86/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED WITH TWO HANDLES	LHIIIB2- LHIIIC Early
A-101	-	inside the grave	23.1, 23.2	CLOSED VESSEL WITH HANDLE-UN- IDENTIFIED (sherds)	-
X-44	TP 99	inside the grave	23.1, 23.2	bronze ring	-

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
X-45	TP 100	inside the grave	23.1, 23.2	fine metal sheet with dotted decoration (diadem or mask?)	-
Λ-37, Γ-4, Γ-5	TP 64	inside the grave	23.1, 23.2	necklace made of 15 carnelian stone beads and 2 glass beads	-

Grave Number: 24

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LHIIIA1

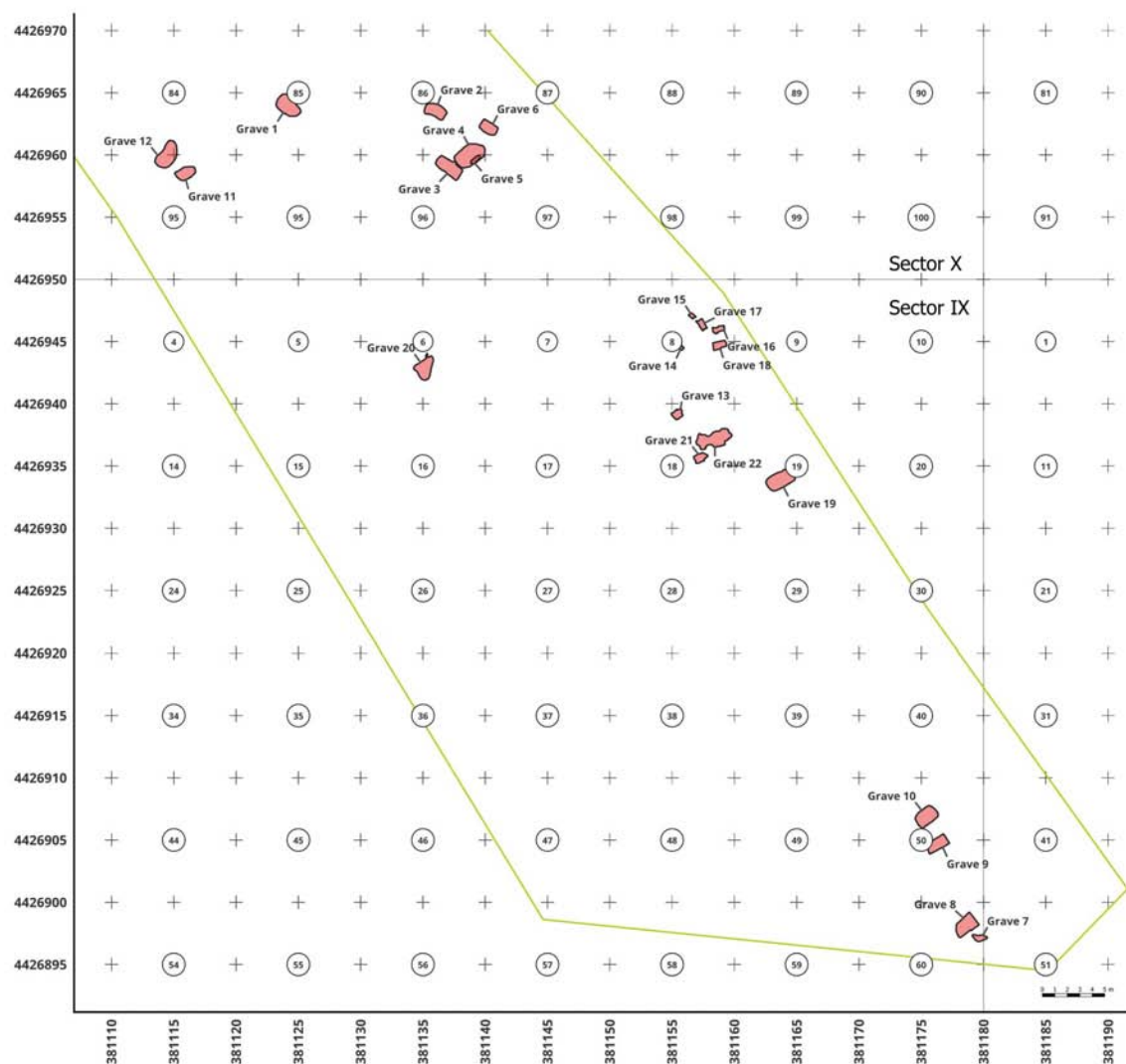
Individual: 24.1

Burial type: primary; Age 1yr±4months; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-102	-	in the trench of the cist grave	24.1	FS 255/ GOBLET	LHIIIA1?
Λ-38	-	inside the grave	24.1	carnelian bead	-

APPENDIX 2 INFORMATION ON BURIALS AT REMA XYDIAS



Rema Xydias / ΡΕΜΑ ΞΥΔΙΑΣ

scale 1:500

— extent of excavation

■ archaeological features

GGRS87 / GreekGrid (EPSG:2100)

Grave Number: 1

Grave type: cist/stone and slab built

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1

Individual: 1.1

Burial type: primary; Age: old (50yrs); Sex: M; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-28	ΞY 16	inside the grave	1.1. final inhumation	JUG WITH CUTAWAY NECK (FS 136)	LH IIIA2 - LH IIIB1
A-29	ΞY 24	inside the grave	1.1. final inhumation	FS 77/SMALL HANDLELESS JAR	LH IIIA1(;))
A-30	ΞY 25	inside the grave	1.1. final inhumation	FS 114/SMALL JUG	LH IIIA2 - LH IIIB1

Grave 1/Deposit

Deposit Dating: LH IIIA2?

Individuals: 1.2, 1.3, 1.4

Burial type: secondary; Age: adults; Sex: 2M?, 1F?; Location of bones: in and out of the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-31	ΞY 26	outside the grave (bone deposit)	1.2, 1.3, 1.4. initial inhumation(s)/ bone deposit	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2 (?))
A-32	ΞY 27	outside the grave (bone deposit)	1.2, 1.3, 1.4. initial inhumation(s)/ bone deposit	FS 85/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED	-
Π- 4		outside the grave (bone deposit)	1.2, 1.3, 1.4. initial inhumation(s)/ bone deposit	Spindle whorl	-
A-174		outside the grave pit	1.2, 1.3, 1.4. initial inhumation(s)	HANDMADE JUG	-
A-106		over the grave pit	1.2, 1.3, 1.4. initial inhumation(s)	FRAGMENT OF OPEN HANDMADE VESSEL	-

Fig. 12. Plan of the *Rema Xydias* cemetery

Grave Number: 2

Grave type: cist/slabs

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2

Individuals: 2.1, 2.2

Burial type: disturbed primary, undetermined; Age: adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave
Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-10	ΕΥ 10	near Grave 2	undetermined	HANDMADE JUG	-
A-11	ΕΥ 11	inside the grave	undetermined	FS 45/ PIRIFORM JAR	LH IIIA2
A-12	ΕΥ 12	inside the grave	undetermined	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2-IIIB (mostly LH IIIA2)
X-1		inside the grave	undetermined	BRONZE KNIFE	LH IIIA2-B
X-2		inside the grave	undetermined	BRONZE WIRE HOOP(S) (pelvis area)	-
X-3		inside the grave	undetermined	BRONZE WIRE HOOP (skull area)	-

Grave Number: 3

Grave type: cist/slabs

Grave Dating: LH IIIA (LH IIIA1?)

Individual: 3.1

Burial type: primary; Age: middle; Sex: M?; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-15	ΕΥ 15	inside the grave	3.1. final inhumation	FS 77/SMALL HANDLELESS JAR	LH IIIA (LH IIIA1?)
A-16		inside the grave	3.1. final inhumation	UNIDENTI- FIED SHERD	-

Grave 3/Secondary

Deposit Dating: LH IIIA2

Individual: 3.2; Age: adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-13		outside the grave (NW)	3.2. initial inhumation (?)	HANDMADE JUG	-
A-14-176	ΕΥ 14	outside the grave (on the covering slabs/SW)	3.2. initial inhumation (?)	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-175	ΞY 32	outside the grave (wider area of the grave)	3.2. initial inhumation (?)	STRAIGHT SIDED ALABASTRON (FRAGMENT/ BASE)	-
A-180	ΞY 34	outside the grave (wider area of the grave)	3.2. initial inhumation (?)	DEEP BOWL (?) (FRAGMENT/ HORIZONTAL HANDLE)	-
A-181		outside the grave (wider area of the grave)	3.2. initial inhumation (?)	HANDMADE BOWL (FRAGMENTS)	-
Π- 1		outside the grave (SW)	3.2. initial inhumation (?)	Spindle whorl	-

Grave Number: 4

Grave type: cist/slabs and stone-lined

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1

Individual: 4.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Adult; Sex: M?; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-21	ΞY 21	inside the grave	4.1 final inhumation	FS 85/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED	LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1
X-4		inside the grave	4.1 final inhumation	Bronze wire hoops (leg area)	-

Grave 4/Secondary

Deposit Dating: LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1

Individuals: 4.2, 4.3, 4.4

Age: adults; Sex: M? 30-34, F? 35-39, F? 20-24; Location of bones: in and out of the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-17	ΞY 17	outside the grave	4.2, 4.3, 4.4. initial inhumations	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1
A-18	ΞY 18	outside the grave	4.2, 4.3, 4.4. initial inhumations	FS 77/SMALL HANDLELESS JAR	LH IIIA(?)
A-19	ΞY 19	outside the grave	4.2, 4.3, 4.4. initial inhumations	TRUNCATED STEMMED BOWL (No FS)	LH IIIA2 Late
A-20	ΞY 20	outside the grave	4.2, 4.3, 4.4. initial inhumations	KYLIX/ GOBLET FS 264 OR FS 255	LH IIIA2

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
Π- 2		outside the grave (NE corner)	4.2, 4.3, 4.4. initial inhumations	Spindle whorl	-

Grave Number: 5

Grave type: pit (stone-lined)/deposit of bones from Gr. 4

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2-LH IIIB

Individual: 5.1

Burial type: secondary; Age: Adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-22	ΞY 22	inside the grave	5.1	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB
A-23	ΞY 23	inside the grave	5.1	FS 245/ CUP WITH TWO HORIZONTAL HANDLES (?)	LH IIIA2 Late

Grave Number: 6

Grave type: cist/slabs and stone-lined

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2- LH IIIB1

Individual: 6.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Old (50+); Sex: F; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-24	ΞY 37	inside the grave	6.1. final inhumation	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB1
A-25	ΞY 35	inside the grave	6.1. final inhumation	ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED- MINIATURE	LH IIIB
A-27	ΞY 39	inside the grave	6.1. final inhumation	FS 136/ JUG WITH CUTAWAY NECK	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB1
A-177	ΞY 33	inside the grave	6.1. final inhumation	FS 283/ONE HANDLED BOWL or FS 214 / FS 215 / FS 216/ CUP	LH IIIA2 Late (?)
A-178	ΞY 36	inside the grave	6.1. final inhumation	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB
Λ-16 (Π- 3)		inside the grave	6.1. final inhumation	Stone spindle whorl	-

Grave 6/Deposit

Deposit Dating: LH IIIA2 (?)

Individuals: 6.2, 6.3, 6.4

Age: Young (30-34), Middle (35-39), Adult; Sex: M?, M?, U; Location of bones: out of the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
X-5		outside the grave (deposit of bones)	6.2, 6.3, 6.4. deposit of bones	bronze knife	LH IIIB-C (?)
A-26	ΕΥ 38	outside the grave (on the covering slabs/NW)	6.2, 6.3, 6.4. deposit of bones	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2 (?)

Grave Number: 7

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Individuals: 7.1, 7.2

Burial type: secondary, undetermined; Age: Child (4yrs±12m), Adolescent (15yrs±36m); Sex: -; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Grave Number: 8

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Individuals: 8.1, 8.2

Burial type: undetermined, secondary; Age: Adolescent (15yrs±36m), Child (7yrs±24m); Sex: -; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-2	ΕΥ 2	outside the grave	-	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED (?)	-
A-3	ΕΥ 3	inside the grave	8,1	sherds from a handmade closed vessel	
Α-28		inside the grave	8,1	Seal stone ("Fluorite Group")	LH IIIA1- IIIA2

Grave Number: 9

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2

Individuals: 9.1, 9.2, 9.3

Burial type: primary, disturbed primary?, secondary; Age: 20-24, 40-44, Adult; Sex: M, M, F; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-4	ΞΥ 4	inside the grave/ area of legs	9.1, final inhumation?	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2
A-5	ΞΥ 5	inside the grave/ area of legs	9.1, final inhumation?	HANDMADE JUG	-
A-6	ΞΥ 6	inside the grave/ area of legs	9.1, final inhumation?	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2
A-7	ΞΥ 7	inside the grave/ area of legs	9.1, final inhumation?	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2
A-8	ΞΥ 8/	inside the grave/ area of legs	9.1, final inhumation?	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2
A-9	ΞΥ 9	inside the grave/ area of legs	9.1, final inhumation?	FS 85/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED	LH IIIA2
O-2		inside the grave/ under the scapula	9.1, final inhumation	Cylindrical bone object	-

Grave Number: 10

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2

Individuals: 10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4

Burial type: secondary (10.1, 10.2, 10.4), undetermined (10.3); Age: Adult (35-39), Adult, Adult, 3yrs±12m; Sex: F?, M?, M?; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-1	ΞΥ 1	outside the grave/ over the pit	10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (?)	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2
A-35	ΞΥ 28	inside the grave/under re- assembled bones	10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (?)	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2 (?)
A-36/37	ΞΥ 29	inside the grave/ under disturbed bones	10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (?)	FS 214 / FS 215 / FS 216/ CUP	LH IIIA2 (?)

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-84	ΞY 30	outside the grave/ disturbed	10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (?)	FS 77/SMALL HANDLELESS JAR	LH IIIA1
A-86	ΞY 59	outside the grave/ disturbed	10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (?)	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	-
A-302	ΞY 58	outside the grave	10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (?)	FS 45/ PIRIFORM JAR	LH IIIA2 Early
A-303	ΞY 57	outside the grave	10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (?)	HANDMADE JUG	-
X-6		inside the grave/ under disturbed bones	10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (?)	Bronze pin	-
X-7		inside the grave/ under disturbed bones	10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (?)	Bronze hook	-
X-8		outside the grave	10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (?)	Bronze wire bracelet (?)	-

Grave Number: 11

Grave type: cist/built

Grave Dating: LH IIB-LH IIIA

Individual: 11.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Adult (young); Sex: F?; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-33	ΞY 40	inside the grave	11.1	FS 87/SQUAT JUG	LH IIB-LH IIIA

Grave Number: 12

Grave type: cist/built

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 12.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Adult (young); Sex: M?; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-34	ΞY 41	inside the grave	12.1	Handmade jug?	-

Grave Number: 13

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 13.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Infant (18m±6m); Sex: - ; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-87		outside the grave	13.1	FS 84/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED? Or COMPOSITE VESSEL (sherd)	-
A-88		outside the grave	13.1	NO FS/DEEP BOWL?	-
X-11		inside the grave	13.1	Bronze wire hoop	-
X-12		inside the grave	13.1	Bronze wire hoop	-
X-13		inside the grave	13.1	Bronze wire hoop	-

Grave Number: 14

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 14.1

Burial type: primary; Age: newborn (in utero); Sex: - ; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds: -

Grave Number: 15

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Finds: -

Grave Number: 16

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 16.1

Burial type: undetermined; Age: newborn (birth±2m); Sex: - ; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds: -

Grave Number: 17

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2-LH IIIB

Individual: 17.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Infant (18m±6m); Sex: - ; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
Λ-14	ΞΥ 83	inside the grave (near the left hand)	17.1	seal stone ("Mainland Popular Group")	LH IIIA2-B

Grave Number: 18

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 18.1, 18.2

Burial type: primary, disturbed primary; Age: Infant (18m±6m), Child (3yrs±12m); Sex: - ; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
Γ-2		inside the grave (left hand)	18.1	Glass (?) bead	-
Γ-3		inside the grave (left hand)	18.1	Glass (?) bead	-
Γ-4		inside the grave (left hand)	18.1	Glass (?) bead	-
A-114		outside the grave (in contact with a covering slab)	-	handmade bowl (sherd)	-

Grave Number: 19

Grave type: cist/slabs and stone-lined

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1?

Individuals: 19.1, 19.2

Burial type: primary, disturbed primary; Age: Middle (45-49), Young adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-191	ΞY 45	inside the grave	19.1, final inhumation	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB1?
A-192	ΞY 44	inside the grave	19.1, final inhumation	FS 84/ ALABASTRON ROUNDED	LH IIIA2?
Π-13		inside the grave	19.1, final inhumation?	Spindle whorl	-
X-17		inside the grave	19.1, final inhumation?	Bronze ring	-
O-25		inside the grave	19.1, final inhumation?	Ivory bead	-
X-18		inside the grave	19.1, final inhumation?	Bronze ring	-

Grave 19/ Secondary

Deposit Dating: LH IIIA2 OR TRANSITIONAL LH IIIB2-IIIC Early?

Individual: 19.3; Age: adult; Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-168		outside the grave/ on the covering slabs	19.3, initial inhumation?	AMPHORA (neck and lip sherd)?	-
A-172		outside the grave/ soil over the grave pit	19.3, initial inhumation?	HANDMADE CLOSED VESSEL (sherd) WITH MATT PAINTED DECORATION	-
A-190	ΞY 43	outside the grave/ on the covering slabs	19.3, initial inhumation?	FS 215/CUP OR Bowl FS 283	LH IIIA2 OR TRANSITION- AL LH IIIB2- IIIC Early?
X-19		inside the grave	19.3, initial inhumation?	Bronze bracelet	-
X-20, 21		inside the grave	19.3, initial inhumation?	Bronze ring	-
X-22		inside the grave	19.3, initial inhumation?	Bronze ring	
Π-15		inside the grave	19.2?	Spindle whorl	
Λ-17		inside the grave	?	Stone bead (unfinished)	
Λ-18		inside the grave	19.3, initial inhumation?	Stone bead (unfinished)	
Γ-5		inside the grave	19.3, initial inhumation?	Glass (?) bead	

Grave Number: 20

Grave type: pit

Grave Dating: -

Individual: 20.1

Burial type: primary; Age: Young adult; Sex: M?; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds: -

Grave Number: 21

Grave type: cist

Grave Dating: LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2 (mostly LH IIIA2)

Individual: 21.1

Burial type: unknown; Age: Subadult (infant/young child); Sex: U; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-232	ΞY 42	inside the grave	21.1	FS 259/ FEEDING BOTTLE	LH IIIA1- LH IIIA2 (mostly LH IIIA2)

Grave Number: 22

Grave type: cist/slabs and stone-lined

Grave Dating: LH IIIA2-LH IIIB

Individuals: 22.1, 22.2

Burial type: secondary disarticulated remains on top of primary burial, primary; Age: 15yrs±36m, 40-44; Sex: U, F; Location of bones: in the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-259	ΞY 50	inside the grave	22.2 (22.1?)	NO FS/ JUG WITH CUTAWAY NECK	LH IIIA2
A-260	ΞY 46	inside the grave	22.2 (22.1?)	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB
X-25		inside the grave	22.2 (22.1?)	Bronze ring	-
X-26		inside the grave	22.2 (22.1?)	Bronze wire hook (fragment)	-
X-27		inside the grave	22.2 (22.1?)	Three (3) bronze beads	-
Λ-27		inside the grave	22.2 (22.1?)	Stone spindle whorl/"button"	-

Grave 22/ Deposit

Deposit Dating: LH IIIA2

Individuals: 22.3, 22.4, 22.5

Burial type: secondary (selected bones, arrangement); Age: 1 middle, 2 adults; Sex: 1 M? middle, 2 unknown adults; Location of bones: out of the grave

Finds:

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
Π-21		outside the grave (bone deposit)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	Spindle whorl	-
Π-22		outside the grave (bone deposit)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	Spindle whorl	-
O-29		outside the grave (bone deposit)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	unidentified ivory/pearl object	-
Γ-1		outside the grave (bone deposit)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	Three (3) faience beads	-
A-238	ΞY 56	outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	TRANSITION- AL FS 255 / GOBLET- FS 264/KYLIX	LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2 Early
A-239/249	ΞY 55	outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	FS 283/ Truncated Stemmed Bowl	LH IIIA2

Excavation No.	Catalogue No.	Location	Relation to burial	Vessel type	Dating
A-243/255	ΕΥ 47	outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2
A-244-257	ΕΥ 53	outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2 Early
A-245/254	ΕΥ 54	outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	FS 45/ PIRIFORM JAR	LH IIIA2
A-247		outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	SHERD (UN- IDENTIFIED)	-
A-248		outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	SHERD (TRUNCATED STEMMED BOWL?)	-
A-250		outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	SHERD (ALA- BASTRON?)	-
A-251		outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	SHERD (ALA- BASTRON?)	-
A-252		outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	SHERD (UN- IDENTIFIED)	-
A-253	ΕΥ 52	outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	NO FS/DEEP BOWL? (HANDLE)	-
A-256	ΕΥ 51	outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	FS 87/SQUAT JUG?	LH IIIA2- LH IIIB
A-244/257	ΕΥ 53	outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	FS 94/ ALABASTRON STRAIGHT SIDED	LH IIIA2 Early
A-258	ΕΥ 48	outside the grave (adjacent to the SW grave corner)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	HANDMADE KANTHAROS	-
A-263	ΕΥ 49	outside the grave (in contact with the NE outer grave corner)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	FS 195 /ASKOS	LH IIIA2
X-24		outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	Bronze wire hook (fragment)	
O-27		outside the grave (scattered)	22.3, 22.4, 22.5	Bone pin	-

A LATE BRONZE AGE DESTRUCTION ON THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS REVISITED

TREVOR VAN DAMME

Abstract

A major destruction of the Athenian Acropolis is documented by a large assemblage of material discarded from the summit filling several wells on the North Slope including the so-called Mycenaean Fountain. After outlining the inventoried material assigned to this deposit and establishing its placement in LH IIIC Early, the focus of the article turns to its chronology relative to other published LH IIIC Early deposits from Attica and central Greece. By highlighting a major discrepancy in the number of monochrome deep bowls found in other LH IIIC Attic deposits, two conclusions are reached: 1) that the destruction of the Mycenaean Acropolis antedates the destructions of other Attic settlements; 2) that the remaining divergence in consumption choices are indicative of micro-regionalism, perhaps influenced by the social status of the inhabitants of the Acropolis at the turn of the 12th century BCE.

Keywords: Late Bronze Age, Late Helladic IIIC, Athens, Acropolis, Mycenaean Fountain, monochrome deep bowls, regionalism.

The regional character of Attic Mycenaean Style pottery has been long recognized (e.g., Stubblings 1941; Townsend Vermeule 1955; Immerwahr 1971; Benzi 1975; Mountjoy 1981, 1995a, 1999, 485–635), yet the lack of stratified settlement deposits has hampered the development of an indigenous ceramic sequence (Kardamaki 2020, 556). Thus, study of Late Helladic (LH) Attic ceramic assemblages, still relies on comparisons with extra-regional rather than inter-regional chronologies. The Attic sequence, however, does not lend itself to such a type of analysis readily as direct imports are few and far between and key diagnostics in other regional Mycenaean styles seem rare or entirely omitted from the Attic repertoire. The LH IIIB period is particularly impacted, with few tomb or stratified settlement assemblages published (Mountjoy 1999, 494–495). This paper has two aims: first, to present a detailed analysis of a closed deposit of pottery recovered from the Mycenaean Fountain on the North Slope of the Athenian Acropolis; and, second, to explore further the relative chronological placement of this deposit within the Attic sequence and its implications for local consumption practices at the turn of the 12th century BCE. The outcome of this analysis in turn impacts our understanding of the history of Athens and Attica and, by way of conclusion, I briefly revisit the historical model that I presented based on an earlier consideration of the evidence (Van Damme 2023, 172–178).

THE MYCENAEAN FOUNTAIN ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS

The Mycenaean Fountain is located on the North Slope of the Athenian Acropolis (Figure 1). Excavated in 1937 and 1938, a limited selection of the ceramics and other finds from the excavation were published by Oscar Broneer only a year later (Broneer 1939). Despite its name, the Mycenaean Fountain was one of three wells in use during LH IIIB on the North Slope. The other two wells, V 24:1 and S 27:7, were excavated as part of the zone of the Athenian Agora excavations and published in the 1970s in Athenian Agora Excavations monograph series (Immerwahr 1971, 255–261). In addition, from the excavation of the remains

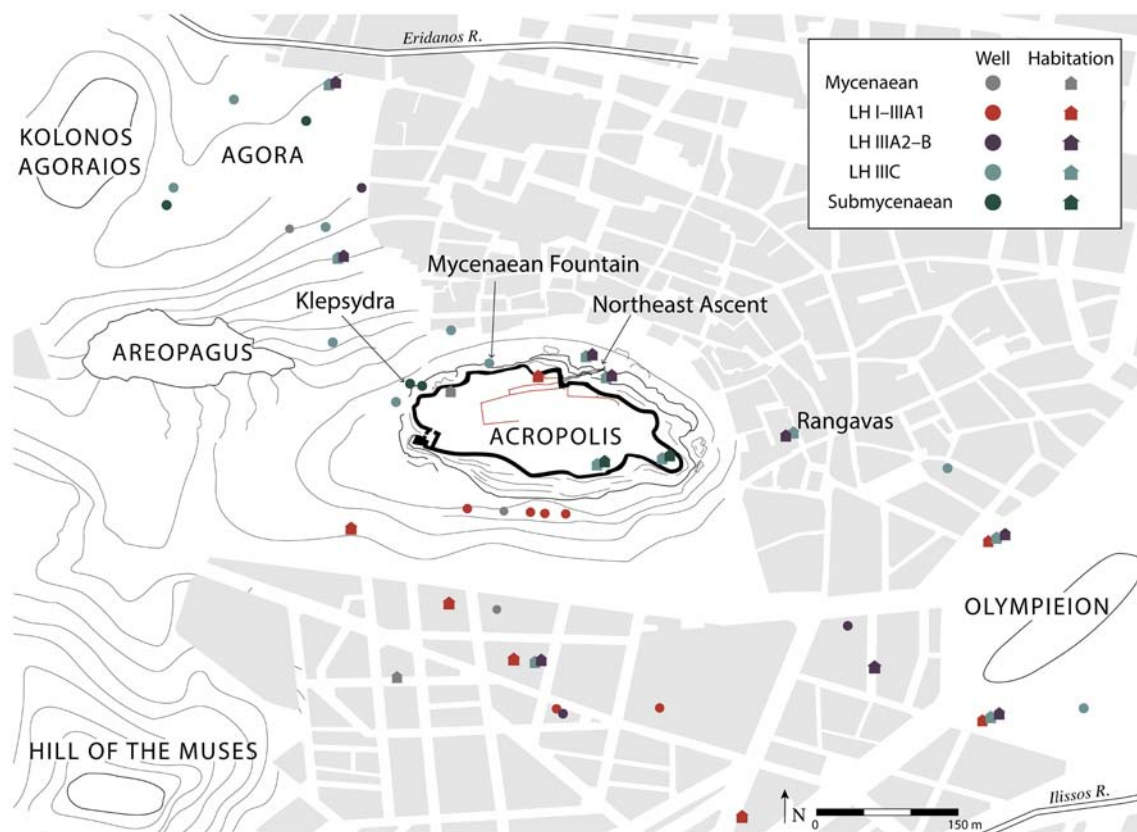


Figure 1: Map of Late Mycenaean Athens showing location of the Mycenaean Fountain (T. Ross).

of households in the area of the Northeast Ascent and, more recently, the Odos Rangavas and Odos Thalou plots to the northeast of the Acropolis attest to a thriving LH IIIB community covering the North Slope (Broneer 1933, 1935; Hansen 1937, 539–540; Gilstrap 2015, 38–39). Thus, the picture emerges of a typical Mycenaean fortified acropolis with a larger, unfortified, lower town covering most of the North Slope. This lower town may have extended a considerable distance to the east as well, since two LH IIIB wells were also excavated in the area of the much later Olympeion (Pantelidou 1975, pp. 123–130, wells 3 and 4), one abandoned in LH IIIB1 and one in LH IIIB2.

The Mycenaean Fountain provided a stable water source for those living on the terraced summit of the Athenian Acropolis from the security of the Mycenaean fortification wall, which was constructed around the same time (Van Damme 2023, 118–119). Whether it was also possible to access the Mycenaean Fountain from the North Slope via the eastern opening of the cave in antiquity as it is today, however, is not clear (Broneer 1939, 422). If it was, some sort of gate must have prevented uncontrolled access to both the water source and the Acropolis summit.

A precise construction date for the Mycenaean Fountain is no longer possible to establish but there are good reasons to suppose that it is contemporary with the fortification wall (Van Damme 2023, 119). While Broneer (1939, 346, n. 24) mentions sherds found in the rubble foundations supporting the lower flights of stairs, these do not appear to have been kept separately to the present day. Broneer indicates, however, that their character was indistinguishable from the first filling phase suggesting that not much time elapsed between the construction of the Mycenaean Fountain and its abandonment (Broneer 1939, 346, note 24).

Subsequent work on the finds recovered under Broneer's direction by Mountjoy (1995a), Gauss (2000, 2003), and Rutter (2003) revealed important new observations concerning the stratigraphy

and character of the finds. They also highlighted the need for a comprehensive study of the material collected from the Mycenaean Fountain, which includes thousands of fragments of unpublished material, much of which still retains its original context information. Since 2017, therefore, I have been undertaking such an analysis of the finds from the Mycenaean Fountain in preparation for their final publication. This work has already revealed important insights into the chronology of the Mycenaean Fountain including the presence of two distinct filling phases: one dating to the early 12th century BCE and one that appears to date to the early 7th century BCE (Van Damme 2023).

This contribution focuses on the early 12th century BCE filling phase, the so-called first filling phase. While some contamination took place during the excavations in the 1930s due to the challenges of excavating over 23 m down in a narrow crevice, patterns of joins indicate that this level was archaeologically well-stratified and sharply divided from the later filling phase, indicating an extended lapse of time between the two filling events (Van Damme 2023, 131–139). The material found within the first filling phase originally formed a closed deposit and especially the mendable vessels form a discreet assemblage that can be compared to other deposits both within Attica and in adjacent regions to establish a relative date for the pottery contained within.

This study builds on Gauss' seminal studies (Gauss 2000, 2003) by fully documenting all of the remaining pottery from the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain. As a result, is a more detailed understanding of the character of the deposit emerges allowing for more precise comparisons with other published assemblages. Such an endeavor is achievable due to the subsequent publications of ceramic assemblages from Attica that have appeared since Gauss' initial publications. Particularly important are the detailed studies of LH IIIB2–LH IIIC Early deposits from the site of Kontopigado approximately 7 km to the southwest of the Acropolis and the identification of it as a production center for Attic pottery (Kaza-Papageorgiou et al. 2011; Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2012, 2014, 2017; Kardamaki and Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018; Kardamaki 2020). These publications provide new opportunities to establish the placement of the Acropolis destruction in the local sequence and to reconsider the nature and extent of transformations that took place in Attica across the palatial to post-palatial divide.

Although the Mycenaean Fountain was in use for only a short period of time, there were sherds mending up into complete vessels discovered at the bottom of the well and on the landing of staircase IV that seem to represent the period-of-use (Broneer 1939, 346–347). These assemblages include a number of jugs, amphoras, and a small hydria appropriate to the use of the Mycenaean fountain as a water source, as well as an undecorated carinated kylix that Broneer speculated could have functioned as a lamp based on traces of burning on the interior of the bowl (Broneer 1939, 377). Upon further review, however, it can be difficult to distinguish between vessels used in the Mycenaean Fountain and those found in the fill. For instance, in the photograph documenting the vessels found “in situ” on the landing of the fourth flight of stairs, there are clearly large fragments from other vessels not assigned to the period-of-use (Broneer 1939, 347, fig. 22). A review of the notebooks only further confuses the picture, since in addition to the vessels mentioned by Broneer in his publication, near-complete vessels including a deep bowl (AP 2557) and tripod (AP 2574) were found in the same area (Broneer 1937–1939, 132–134). The tripod, in particular, has no obvious connection to the use-phase of the Mycenaean Fountain and must have been introduced with the first filling phase (see further discussion in Van Damme 2023, 173, n. 171). One might speculate then whether any of the vessels from the landing should be attributed to the period-of-use at all.

Due to the difficulties in untangling what vessels should be included in each, they are considered together here. As the vessels currently attributed to the period-of-use by Broneer are mostly large, closed shapes, these are unlikely to impact the conclusions concerning the date of the deposit, which arise from the more chronologically sensitive open shapes, especially the large mendable assemblage of deep bowls.

POTTERY FROM THE PERIOD-OF-USE AND THE FIRST FILLING PHASE

The Mycenaean Fountain contains one of the largest deposits of Mycenaean pottery from anywhere in Athens. While the exact number of sherds recovered is impossible to ascertain due to the discard of undocumented quantities when it was first read and packed for storage in 1938 (Broneer 1937–1939, 69–78), the number must be considerably more than the approximately 20,000 that were retained, of which around 40% belong to the first filling phase. While it appears that less material was discarded from the first filling phase levels, as these were recognized as a closed context, it is obvious from the cook ware and storage sherds remaining that all non-features were discarded. Likewise, we might expect that a considerable amount of the undecorated sherds were also discarded. While it is impossible to present the entire remaining assemblage in the present study, I have reviewed the entire corpus and the conclusions presented here make reference to all retained material when discussing the presence or absence of key diagnostics.

There are currently 232 inventoried pottery finds that can be assigned to the period-of-use and first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain. Of these, 28 preserve the complete profile of the vase and 96 consist of more than one sherd from the same vessel. The remainder are individual sherds that should be treated with some caution as some contamination of lower units is documented in the original excavation notebooks (Van Damme 2023, 133). In order to limit the scope of the present paper and to focus attention on the pieces that can be attributed most accurately to the first filling phase, I will restrict my discussion for the most part to the 124 mendable or near-complete vessels that can be securely placed in the period-of-use and first filling phase (Table 1).

Table 1: Mendable vessels from the period of use and first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain.

Table Wares				Cooking and Storage Wares	
<u>Closed</u>		<u>Open</u>			
FS 37	1	FS 9	2	FS 5	1
FS 86	2	FS 199	2	FS 13	1
FS 69	7	FS 215	1	FS 164	3
FS 98	1	FS 226	1	FS 315	1
FS 105	2	FS 236	1	FS 320	3
FS 110	3	FS 240	1		
FS 128	3	FS 253	3		
FS 162	2	FS 267	3		
FS 167	3	FS 274	2		
FS 174/175	5	FS 281	4		
Large closed	2	FS 281/298	1		
		FS 284/285	56		
		FS 295	2		
		FS 298	1		
		FS 301	1		
		FS 302	1		
		FS 305	1		
		FS 334	1		
Total	31	Total	84	Total	9
Assemblage Total					124

Closed Shapes

31 closed shapes meet the above criterion for inclusion and comprise ten distinct shapes: amphoras, jugs, hydrias, transport stirrup jars, piriform stirrup jars, globular stirrup jars, a large piriform jar, feeding bottles, a rounded alabastron, and a basket-handled straight-sided alabastron.

Among the large, closed shapes, amphoras with both twisted and round- or oval-section handles are present. Amphoras are either slipped and burnished (e.g., **AP 3591**: Fig. 2.1; see also Gauss 2003, 94) or decorated with linear bands. Amphoras with twisted handles, are always decorated with linear bands (e.g., **AP 2892**: Fig. 2.2). Jugs are present in two sizes: The larger FS 115, which is always burnished, typically with a thick coat of pale slip (e.g., **AP 2553**: Fig. 2.3), and the smaller FS 110, a nearly complete example of which is decorated with bands and a wavy band down the exterior of the handle (**AP 3600**: Fig. 2.4). Hydrias show the most variety of any of the large, closed shapes with slipped and burnished (e.g., **AP 3627**: Fig. 2.5), linear (e.g., **AP 3609**: Fig. 2.6), and monochrome variants all attested in an array of sizes. Among the mendable examples, **AP 3639** (Figs. 2.7) stands out as exceptional, both on account of its monochrome decoration, as well as its distinctly non-local fabric marked by the presence of gold mica. While these vessels could all conceivably be linked to the use of the Mycenaean Fountain as a water source, the distribution of joins for several pieces demonstrate that they were recovered across multiple depths, where they had been discarded in batches during the first filling phase.

The largest closed shape, **AP 2581** (Fig. 3), is a piriform jar (FS 37) standing 0.63 m tall. Especially noteworthy is the presence of five handles (three vertical handles attached at the shoulder and two large horizontal handles attached at the belly) and the appearance of pictorial decoration on the shoulder of this vase. This decoration, characterized as an “indistinct design” by Broneer (1939, 388), appears upon further study to be a bird (FM 7). While the style of the bird recalls bird motifs of LH IIIA2, in particular in its use of a segmented body (e.g., Townsend Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 31, figs. IV.39, IV.40), similar LH IIIC Early fragments from closed shapes found at Phylakopi indicate that this is not a holdover but rather an example of LH IIIC archaism (Mountjoy 1999, vol. 2, 913, fig. 371.122, 371.129). The fabric of this jar is fired grayish-brown and coated with a pale slip. As clearly demonstrated by the photo (Fig. 3b), the painted decoration placed on this slip has almost everywhere flaked away leaving only faded outlines. This particular vessel finds a close parallel with a jar from the final settlement levels at Kontopigado (Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2012, 180–181, fig. 19), which is executed in “brown fabric ware with a whitish slip” (Kardamaki and Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018, 123), a fabric that appears to be identical with that of **AP 2581**. The two vessels may, therefore, be tentatively linked to the same production center perhaps located elsewhere in Attica as the underlying geology of this fabric is similar to the clays used at Kontopigado.¹

Two additional large mendable fragments come from shapes decorated with linear bands. While neither can be securely identified, their globular form and banding suggest that they may be from large collar-necked jars.

Within the assemblage, stirrup jars represent the most common small, closed shape. These occur in two distinct forms: piriform jars with domed feet (FS 167) and globular stirrup jars with flat raised bases (FS 174/175). The piriform stirrup jar with domed foot is an especially popular type in Attica during LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early, apparently a further development of the LH IIIA2–B1 piriform version with torus base (Stubbings 1947, 15, fig. 2:h, 20, 58; Camp and Martens 2020, 605, fig. 11:11). In the Mycenaean Fountain, it is represented by no fewer than four mendable examples, all decorated with regularly spaced linear bands (e.g., **AP 2542**: Fig. 4.1). The shoulders are left undecorated, a feature that provides a good indication of an advanced date. Globular stirrup jars range

¹ Alternatively the fabric may be a specialized recipe necessitated by the large size of these closed vessels.

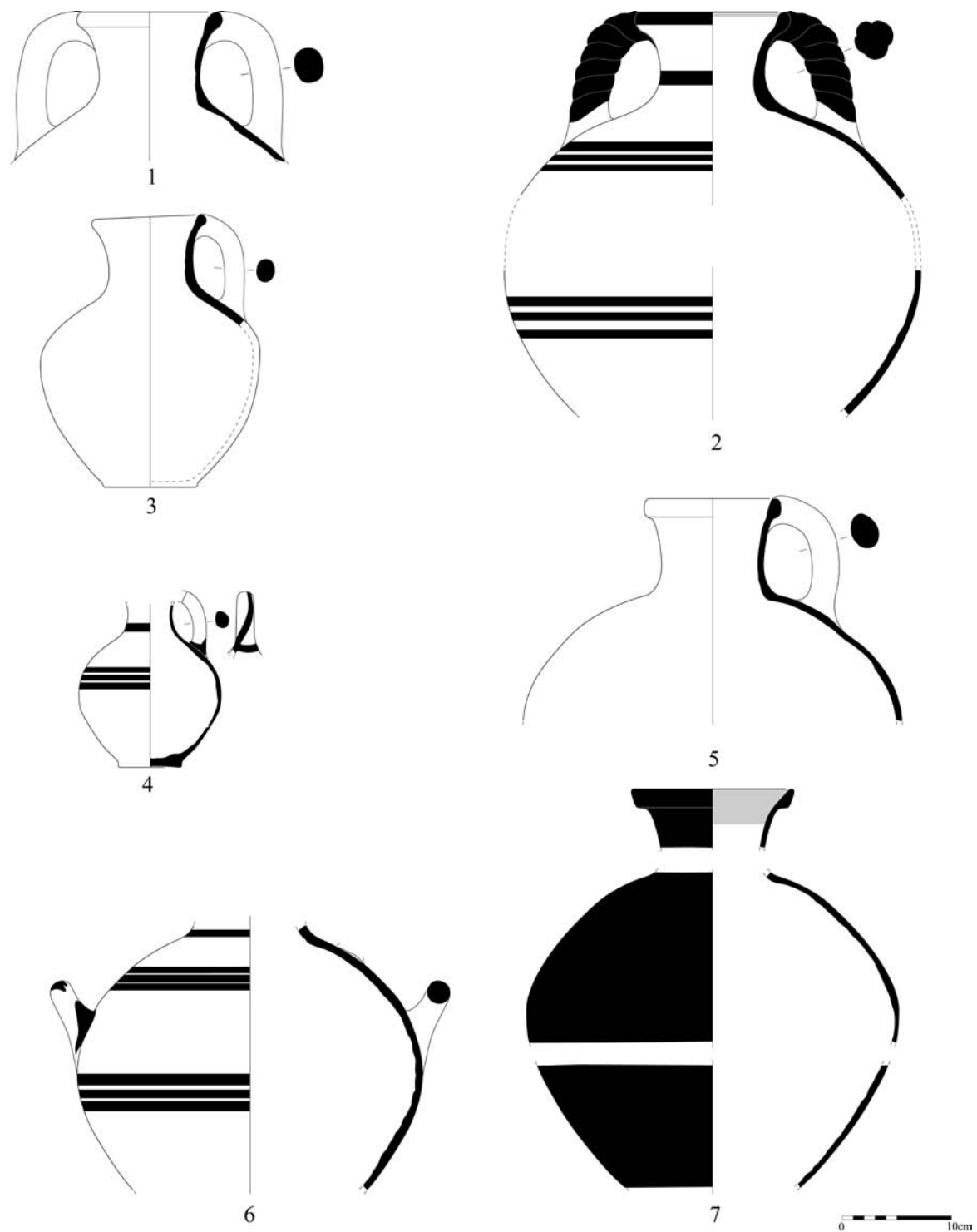


Figure 2: Large closed shapes from the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain: 1. AP 3591, 2. AP 2892, 3. AP 2553, 4. AP 3600, 5. AP 3627, 6. AP 3609, 7. AP 3639 (T. Ross).

in size from small examples like **AP 2885** (Fig. 4.2) and large examples like **AP 2572** (Broneer 1939, 388, fig. 69a). Both are decorated with a late, stylized form of flower motif. Globular stirrup jars also occasionally occur in the purely linear format of regularly spaced medium bands documented among the piriform examples. A good example of this is the slightly squat example, **AP 2571** (Broneer 1939, 388, fig. 69b).

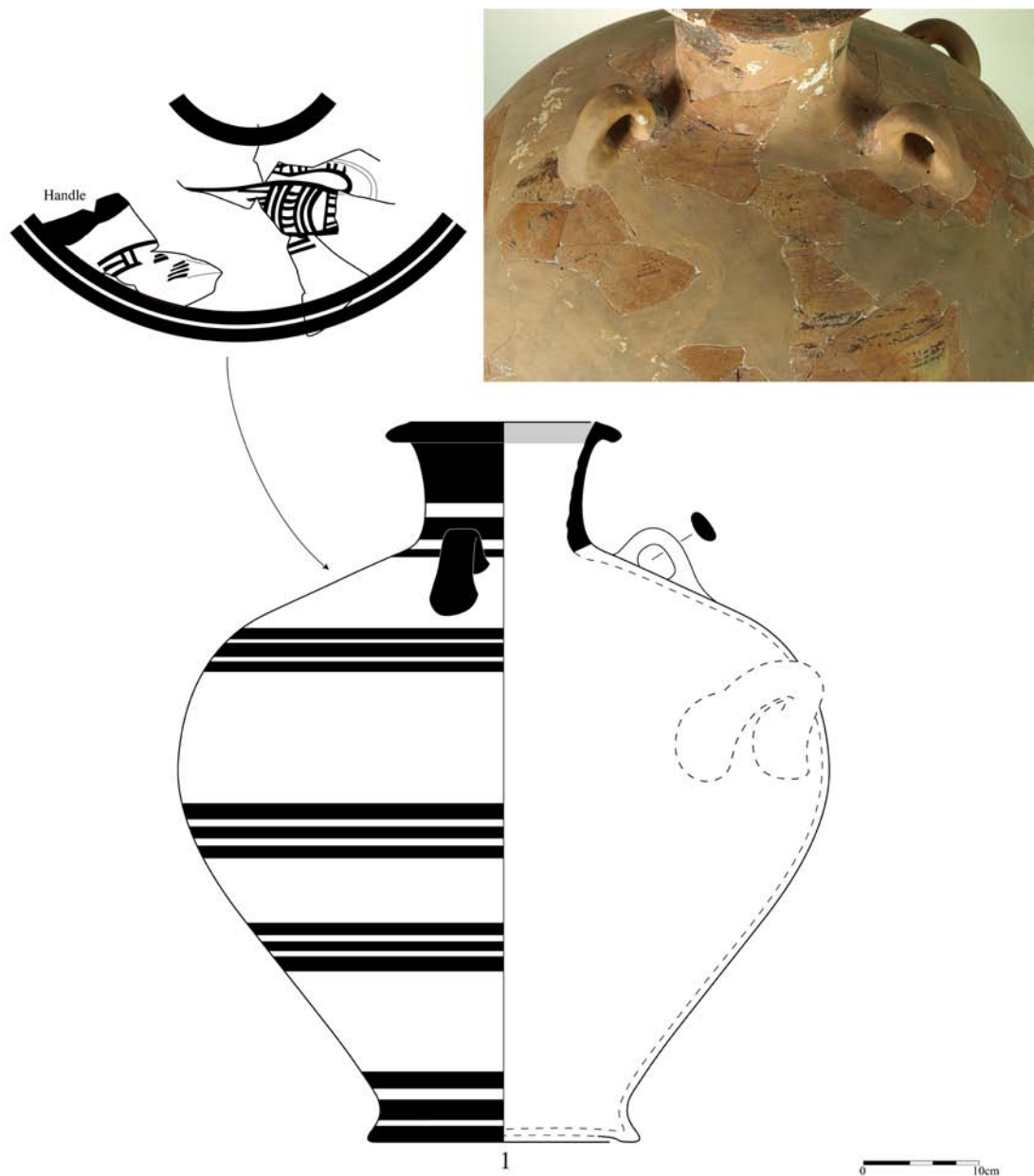


Figure 3: **AP 2581** with roll-out and photograph of pictorial decoration on shoulder (line art: T. Ross; photography: Craig Mauzy. Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens City, Ancient Agora, ASCSA: Agora Excavations. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.R.E.D.).).

Other mendable examples of small, closed shapes include alabastra and feeding bottles. Alabastra are present in a variety of shapes and sizes, including a large example preserving a nearly complete profile with stylized flower motif in the shoulder zone (**AP 2866**: Fig. 4.3) and a straight-sided alabastron with basket handles (FS 98: also known as a pyxis) decorated with ivy motif (**AP 2547+2847**: Fig. 4.4). FS 98 is a particularly popular shape in Attica in LH IIIC Early (Broneer 1933, 367, fig. 39a; Kaza-Papageorgiou et al. 2011, 249, 250, fig. 15.102; Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2017, 23, fig. 17.48–49, 42, fig. 27.113, 74, 79). Rutter (2003, 194, 196) has previously identified it as one of the Cretan influences on Attic production, since the shape seems to be modelled after Cretan antecedents (Furumark 1941, 45). Feeding bottles are rare but represented in the first filling phase by two near-complete profiles. One example is decorated with linear bands (Broneer 1939, 392, fig. 73a),

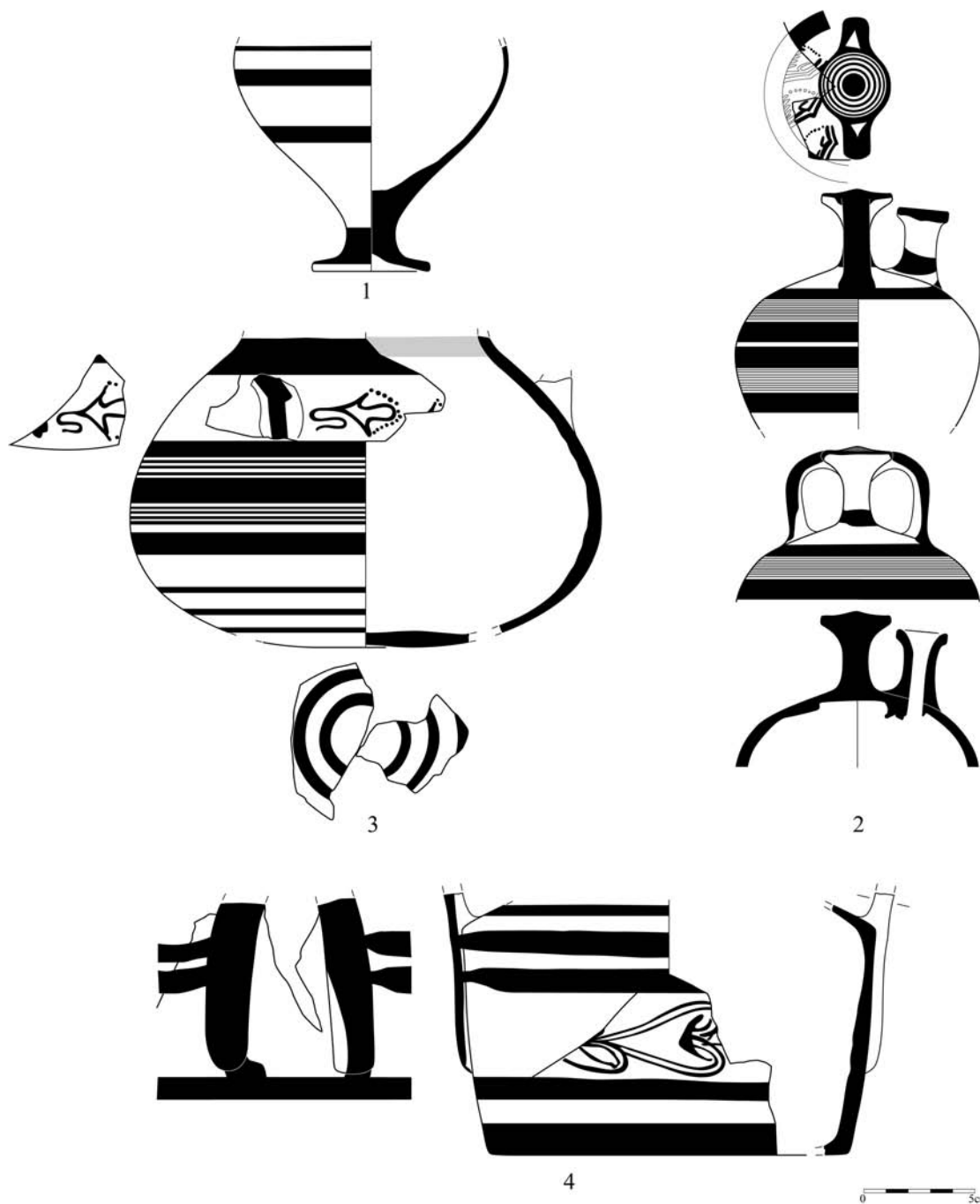


Figure 4: Small closed shapes from the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain: 1. AP 2542, 2. AP 2885, 3. AP 2866, 4. AP 2547+2847 (T. Ross).

while the other, larger example features running quirk (FM 48) in the shoulder zone (Broneer 1939, 392, fig. 73b).

Open Shapes

Among the open shapes, 84 mendable or complete profiles have been catalogued including 18 distinct shapes (Table 1). By far the most common are deep bowls. Study up to the present has resulted

in the cataloguing of 56 mendable or complete profiles, of which 50 can be assigned to a specific type. These include group A, group B, group C (see Kardamaki 2015, 84–86), what are called in the present article group D (deep bowls with stemmed bowl banding), medium-band, linear, monochrome, rosette, and undecorated. The diversity of deep bowl types represented is characteristic of the LH IIIB2 to LH IIIC Early transition, when new styles such as monochrome and linear, were rapidly displacing the old Group A and B type bowls.

Group A deep bowls are the most common among the mendable examples, with eighteen examples including several near-complete or complete profiles. Their decoration is typically panelled, with side triglyphs (AP 2692: Fig. 5.1), vertical chevrons, and antithetic spirals (AP 2749[+2750[+2751: Fig. 5b) on the exterior. Conspicuously absent are group A deep bowls with narrow zonal motifs (e.g., N-pattern, U-pattern). Both linear and monochrome interiors (e.g., AP 3542: Fig. 5.3) are present but monochrome interiors are in the minority (fifteen linear to three monochrome among the mendable inventory). Somewhat more irregular is AP 2714 (Van Damme 2023, 142, fig. 9:4), which has panels with isolated semi-circle fills, a typical motif of the LH IIIC Early period in Athens. Although previously categorized as a Type C deep bowl, upon further reflection, this bowl is considerably larger than most group C bowls from the Mycenaean Fountain and has a much narrower rim band. In certain aspects, including its decoration, it shows a closer affinity to group A deep bowls with monochrome interiors and fits well with Kardamaki's sub-category of large group A deep bowls (also known as GT2 deep bowls; Kardamaki 2013, 219–221). Similar bowls were also characterized among Mountjoy's Transitional Type 1 and, therefore, a date in early LH IIIC for the present piece is likely (1997, 11).

Group B deep bowls are non-existent among the remaining rims in the context pottery (see Table 2 below), but there are five mendable examples from the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain (e.g., **AP 2555**: Fig. 6). One particularly elaborate panelled example, **AP 3597** (Fig. 5.4), finds close parallels from the Perseia Fountain deposit at Mycenae and in the Epichosis deposit at Tiryns (French 1969, 82, fig. 7:6; Voigtländer 2003, 86, no. Si12, pls. 61, 122) and is quite possibly an import. The production of group B deep bowls is now known to have continued into the earliest stages of LH IIIC in the Argolid (e.g., Kardamaki 2015, 93). Their presence among the mendable vessels but total absence from the rims among the remaining sherd material may be of chronological value and is explored in further detail below.

Table 2: Deep bowl decorative schemes attested in other Attic LH IIIC Early settlement deposits.

	Mycenaean Fountain All Rims		Mycenaean Fountain Mendable Inventory		Kontopigado: Pit 1		Thorikos Mine No. 3 Catalogued Inventory	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
A	93	23%	15	29%	8	12%	8	27%
A mono	33	8%	3	6%	6	9%	3	10%
B	0	0%	5	10%	1	1%	0	0%
C	17	4%	9	18%	2	3%	3	10%
D	65	16%	8	16%	2	3%	2	7%
Linear	100	25%	7	14%	2	3%	4	13%
Monochrome	79	20%	2	4%	44	65%	8	27%
Undecorated	8	2%	1	2%	3	4%	2	7%
Rosette	3	1%	1	2%	0	0%	0	0%
TOTAL	398	100%	51	100%	68	100%	30	100%
*Monochrome deep bowls, however, made up 151/227 deep bowl fragments (67%) when all sherds were counted (Mountjoy 1995b, 206).								

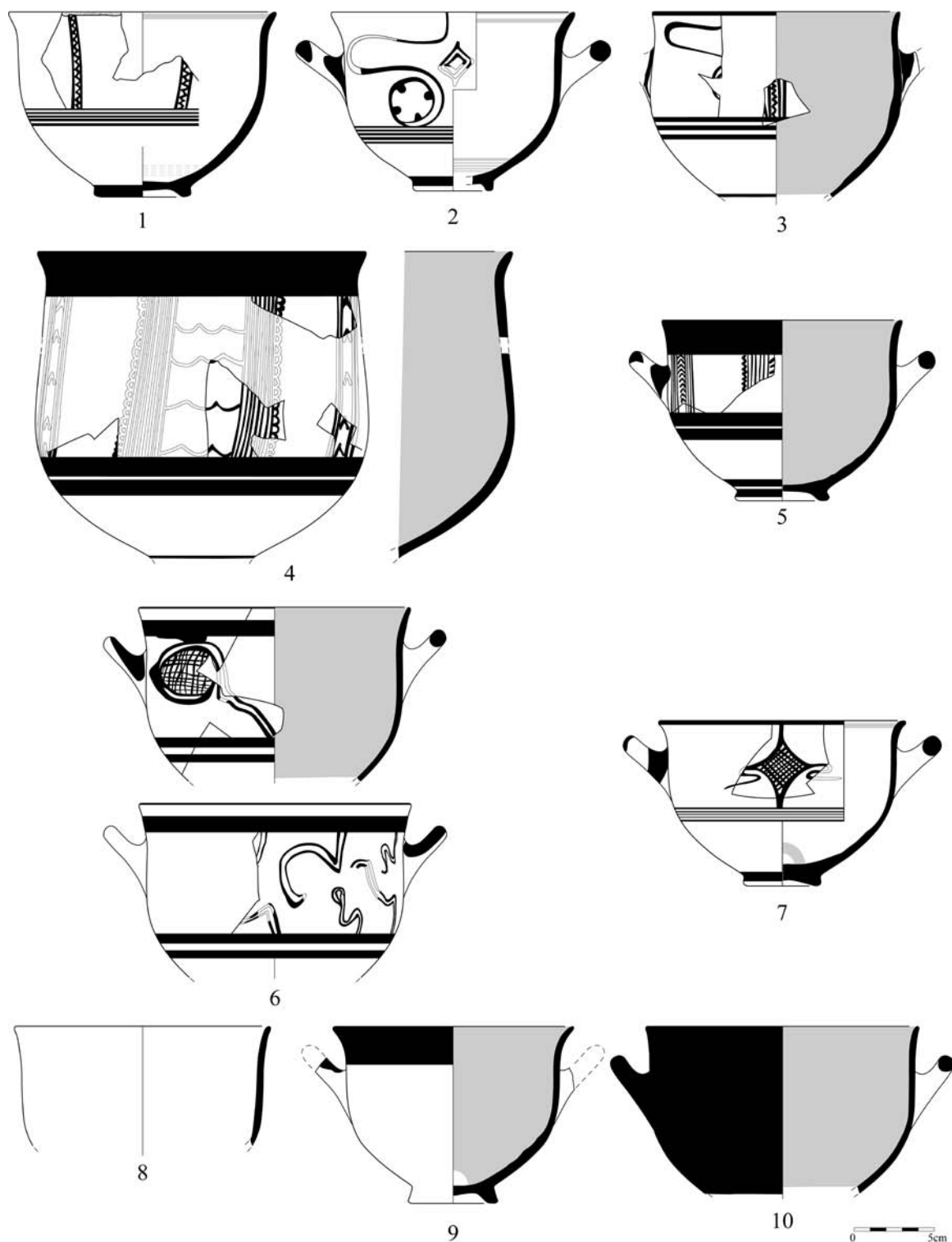


Figure 5: Deep bowls from the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain: 1. AP 2692, 2. AP 2749[+][2750][+][2751], 3. AP 3542, 4. AP 3597, 5. AP 2703, 6. AP 2772+3660, 7. AP 2723, 8. AP 3654, 9. AP 3658, 10. AP 3652 (T. Ross).

Group C deep bowls, represented by nine mendable examples, are typically panelled, although one large fragment of a deep bowl with stemmed spirals is either from a group B or group C deep bowl. One complete profile, AP 2703 (Fig. 5.5), is characteristic of the type, including a double band above the ring base.



Figure 6: **AP 2555** (J. Vanderpool. Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens City, Ancient Agora, ASCSA: Agora Excavations. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.RE.D.).).

Group D deep bowls are defined here as those with stemmed bowl banding (for the same type classed by various names, see: Mountjoy 1997, 111–112, where similar bowls are split across Transitional Types 1, 3, and 4; Podzuweit 2007: “Dekor 7.1” and “Dekor 9.3”; Stockhammer 2008 “Skyphos SB”; Kardamaki 2015: “deep bowl A with stemmed bowl banding out”; Wirghová 2022, 62: “deep bowl SB”). These include both linear and pattern-decorated examples. The Mycenaean Fountain has produced eight mendable examples of this type making them the third most popular type (although they are somewhat less common among the remaining rim counts). The decoration of group D bowls shows considerable variety including panelled examples, hooked stem, and a late variant of tri-curved arch. Of the mendable examples, four are pattern decorated and four are purely linear. **AP 2772+3660** (Fig. 5.6) stands out from the other mendable examples, as it features different motifs on its

two faces. This is a feature that Penelope Mountjoy has previously identified as characteristic of Attic production (Mountjoy 1995b, 206, 207, fig. 6:63; 1999, vol. 1, 551, fig. 200:249, 200:251, 552, 560, 561, fig. 205:290). Equally notable is the fact that the motif on side A finds a good parallel on a small krater from Knossos (Warren 2007, 338, fig. 3.P2144). It thus joins a growing repertoire of shapes and motifs shared between Attica and Crete in LH IIIC Early (Rutter 2003).

Almost entirely absent from the thousands of sherds examined are true rosette deep bowls with dotted rims, a centrally placed rosette or lozenge, and multi-splashed handles. Canonical rosette deep bowls appear to have only rarely found their way outside the Argolid and they have proven to be unreliable dating indicators (Sherratt 1980, 200, tab. 1). Dotted rims and multi-splashed handles are in fact only present as rare non-joining fragments. The lone mendable rosette bowl, **AP 2723** (Fig. 5.7), is a late variant with banding more typical of a group A deep bowl combined with a centrally placed lozenge on each side. The handles are tri-splashed rather than multi-splashed. This variant of rosette deep bowl is typically considered to be diagnostic of LH IIIC Early (Mountjoy 1986, 151).

Likewise, undecorated deep bowls were present in small quantities but only a single mendable example can be assigned to the first filling phase (**AP 3654**; Fig. 5.8), with the typical pale slip and burnished finish that was preferred by Athenian potters for large, closed shapes and spouted kraters.

Perhaps the most diagnostic deep bowl types for dating purposes are the linear deep bowls found in the first filling phase. Among the mendable deep bowls from this phase of the Mycenaean Fountain, there are no less than three examples of medium band deep bowls, including two that preserve complete profiles (e.g., **AP 3658**; Fig. 5.9). In addition, there are another four mendable examples with medium bands placed at the rim, below the handle zone, and at the base. To these, one can also note that there were four mendable group D bowls with purely linear decoration (e.g., **AP 3589**: Van Damme 2023, 142, fig. 9:7). Taken together, the quantity of linear deep bowls is presently a unique feature of the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain when compared to other Attic assemblages.

Monochrome deep bowls are rarely mendable. In fact, only two examples produced multiple fragments (e.g., **AP 3652**: Fig. 5.10). Rim counts, however, suggest they were more widely consumed

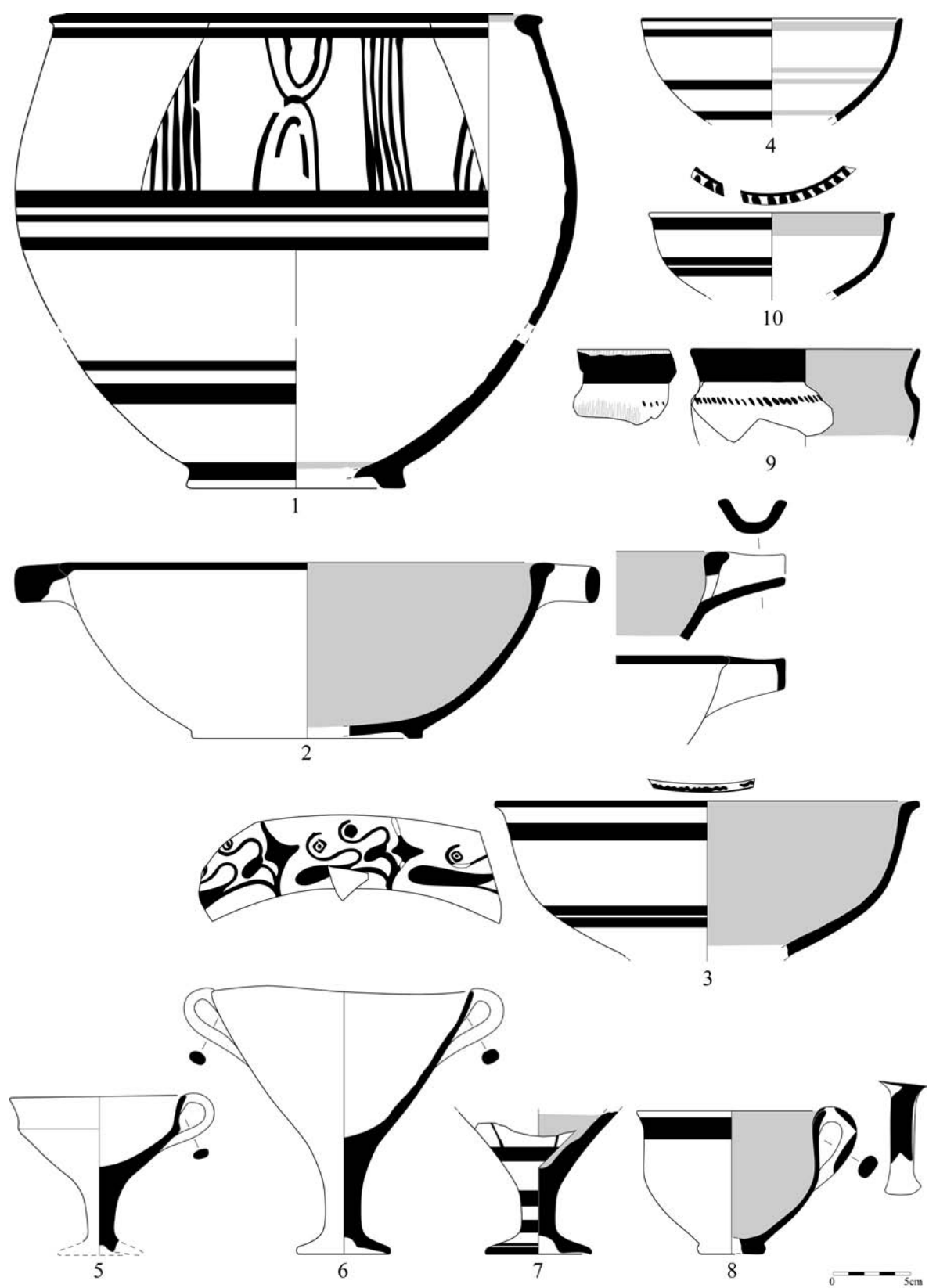


Figure 7: Open shapes from the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain: 1. AP2621[+]²⁶²²[+]²⁶²³[+]²⁶²⁴[+]³⁶⁴⁸, 2. AP 2573, 3. AP 2748, 4. AP 3628, 5. AP 2551, 6. AP 2575, 7. AP 2799, 8. AP 2831, 9. AP 3009, 10. AP 3592 (1, 3–10: T. Ross; 2: drawn by T. Van Damme and inked by T. Ross).

(18% of the total). Both deep bowls feature relatively vertical upper bowls with barely flaring lips suggesting an earlier rather than later dating.

There are two mendable examples that can be described either as ring-based kraters, FS 281, or spouted ring-based kraters, FS 298. **AP2621[+]****2622[+]****2623[+]****2624[+]****3648**, a group of non-joining but associated mendable fragments, is the most complete example preserving nearly the entire profile of a large krater (Fig. 7.1). From this profile it is possible to calculate the volume of the krater to be just over 20 l. The decoration of the vessel is panelled with triglyphs of vertical lines creating panels filled with concentric semi-circles. There is also one mendable example of the same shape decorated with wavy band, a feature that is considered a hallmark of local production in LH IIIC and thought to show the influence of Cretan workshops (**AP 2604**: Van Damme 2023, 142, fig. 9:9; Rutter 2003, 195–196).

The large, spouted basin, FS 302, is represented by one near-complete example with painted lip and monochrome interior (**AP 2573**: Fig. 7.2). This piece exhibits moderate to severe use-wear on its interior indicative of crushing or grinding of its contents (see also Lis 2013). Other, smaller shallow bowls or basins are also present, including an example with a stylized form of cuttlefish motif on the exterior (**AP 2748**: Fig. 7.3) and a shallow bowl (FS 295B) with linear banding (**AP 3628**: Fig. 7.4).

Kylikes occur in five distinct forms: undecorated angular (FS 267, e.g., **AP 2551**: Fig. 7.5), undecorated conical (FS 274, **AP 2575**: Fig. 7.6), a pattern decorated variant of FS 264/267 (**AP 2799**: Fig. 7.7), a decorated version of FS 267 with a monochrome stem and interior, and a monochrome version of FS 267. Of these, only the first three types are represented by mendable examples. Undecorated angular kylikes (FS 267) are also abundantly represented in the sherd material. Burn marks on the interior of four of the undecorated kylikes may indicate that they were reused as lamps, as already hypothesized by Broneer (1939, 346, 377).

Cups of all sorts are rare and represented by a somewhat eclectic array of lingering and innovative forms. A single near-complete example of a semi-globular cup is decorated with a medium band below the rim and a monochrome interior (**AP 2831**: Fig. 7.8). The only mendable carinated cup (FS 240) is an unusual type with patterned decoration in the form of stylized foliate band along the mid-body carination (**AP 3009**: Fig. 7.9). More unusual is the presence of three mendable portions of spouted cups with high-swung handles placed at 90 degrees from the spout (FS 253: e.g., **AP 3592**). This palatial-period cup type was almost certainly no longer produced in the early 12th century BCE and these fragments provide a evidence for at least an occasional mendable earlier vessel in the first filling phase, perhaps material scraped up when the debris from the settlement was cleared and discarded down the Mycenaean Fountain.

Storage and Cooking Shapes

A total of nine mendable vessels can be assigned to cooking or storage vessels despite the discard of most non-feature sherds at the time of the original excavations in the 1930s (Van Damme 2023, 139), including three transport stirrup jars (TSJs: FS 164), three tripods (FS 320), a tripod strainer (FS 315), a coarse vat (FS 5), and a large fragment from a decorated pithos (FS 13) with raised plastic band at the shoulder with finger incised decoration. Despite its highly selective nature, the inventoried finds provide a good sample of the expected range of domestic coarse wares.

Notable among the assemblage is the presence of two mendable locally-produced TSJs, **AP 3636** and **AP 3646** (Fig. 8.1, 8.2). Although the most diagnostic features are missing, **AP 3636** is identified as a TSJ on the basis of the placement of the one preserved handle scar, the banding, and the size and somewhat piriform form of the vessel. Executed in a fine fabric, both **AP 3636** and

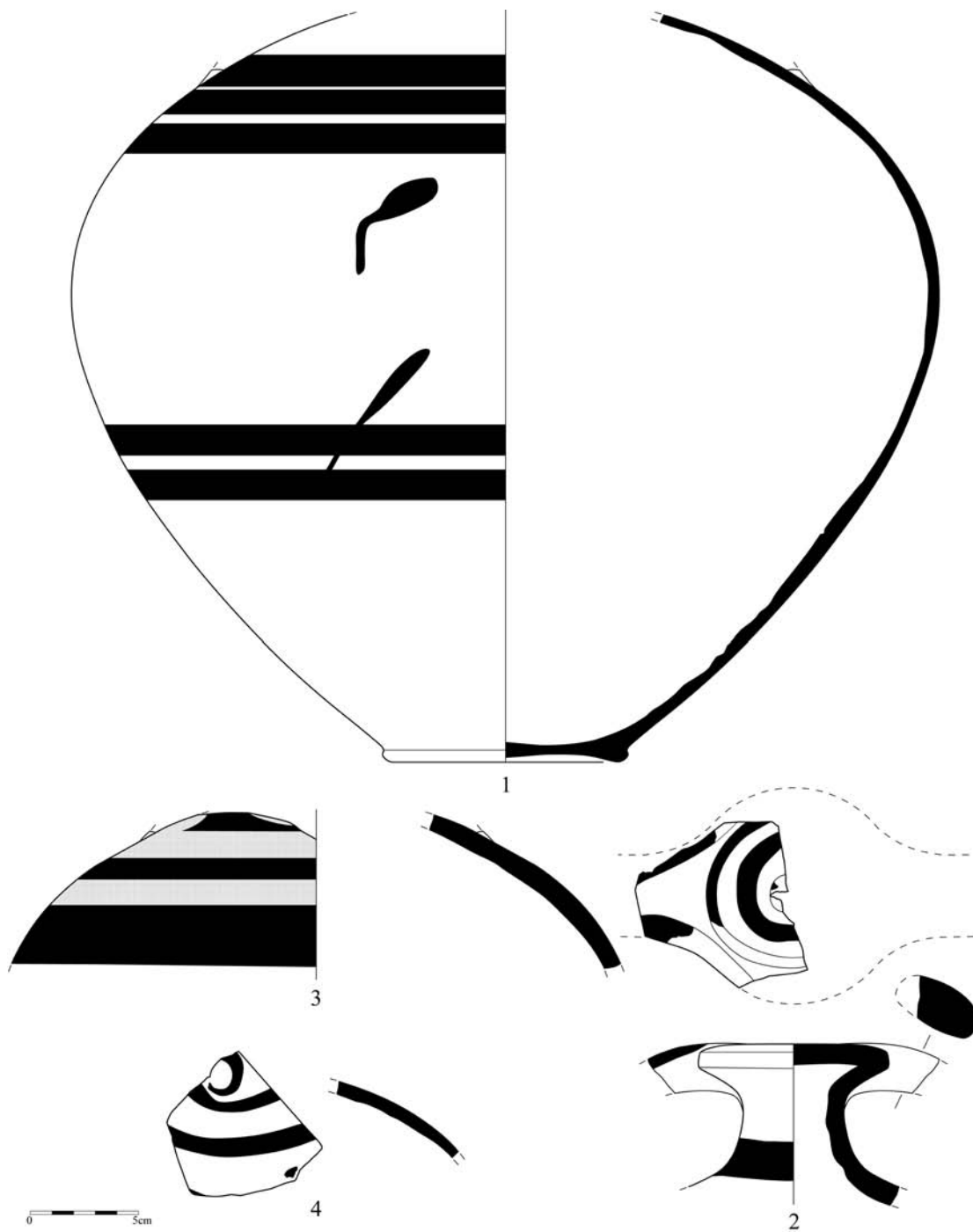


Figure 8: Transport stirrup jars (TSJs) from the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain: 1. AP 3636, 2. AP 3646, 3. AP 3602, 4. AP 3633 (T. Ross).

AP 3646 find parallels with large fine fabric TSJs produced on the island of Euboea excavated at Lefkandi and Eleon (Evely 2006, 29, pl. 22:4; Lis and Van Damme 2021, 59; Lis et al. 2023, 4–5, tab. 1, no. ELE005). Similar in size and shape is a large stirrup jar from the courtyard of a building at Kontopigado (Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2014, 79, fig. 14.25, 81–82, 124). Although only about one-third complete and originally categorized as FS 167, the maximum diameter of the vase from Kontopigado (37 cm) is very close to **AP 3646** from the Mycenaean Fountain (40 cm) making its assignment to FS 164 preferable. While no mendable Cretan TSJs are present in the deposit, two

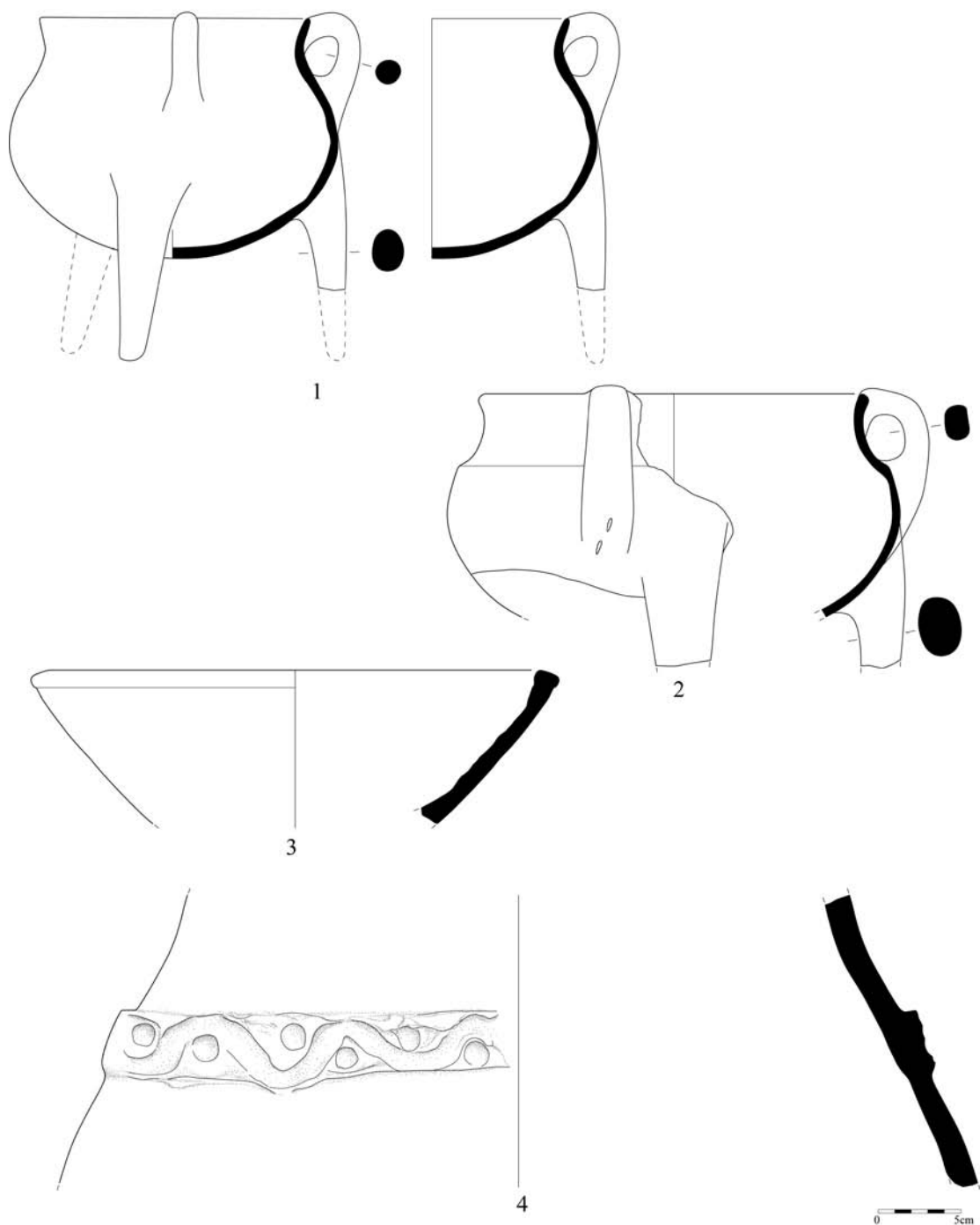


Figure 9: Storage and cooking shapes from the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain: 1. **AP 2574**, 2. **AP 2576**, 3. **AP 3651**, 4. **AP 3682** (T. Ross).

sherds from the same light-on-dark TSJ (**AP 3602**: Fig. 8.3) and one dark-on-light TSJ decorated with octopus motif (**AP 3633**: Fig. 8.4) may provide further evidence for their circulation into the early 12th century BCE (Maran 2005; Kardamaki et al. 2015).

With respect to cookware, the only mendable shape preserved in the assemblage is the tripod. Both rounded- and carinated-profile examples are documented, with a preference for the former among the retained feature sherds. A single example, **AP 2574** (Fig. 9.1), preserves a complete profile. All the inventoried items that are mendable are Aeginetan, with the carinated tripod, **AP 2576**

(Fig. 9.2), featuring a potter's mark at the base of its handle, a hallmark of the potting community there (Lis 2012, 138, no. 473). The presence of a substantial quantity of Aeginetan cookware suggests an early date in LH IIIC for the first filling phase, since Aeginetan production appears to decline over the course of the early 12th century BCE (e.g., Gauss et al. 2017).

Rounding out the assemblage are two other mendable vessels that can be associated with food preparation and storage. The tripod strainer (**AP 3004**: Broneer 1939, 401, fig. 83b) is fragmentary, making its precise shape difficult to assess. More common is the coarse vat (**AP 3651**: Fig. 9.3), a type that is well attested at Kontopigado (e.g., Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2017, 82, fig. 33.168).

Lastly, a single example of a very large pithos has survived thanks to the presence of finger-incised decoration on a raised plastic band placed on the shoulder of the vase (**AP 3682**: Fig. 9.4). Although only partially preserved, the pithos must have been an impressive vessel when complete. Similar pithoi are well documented in LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early contexts in Attica and elsewhere (Evely 2006, 123, nos. P38, 216, fig. 2.41.1, pl. 24.1; Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2014, 67, fig. 7.2, 122; Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020, 37, fig. 27b).

IMPORTS AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

The pottery from the Mycenaean Fountain is overwhelmingly local in character. A petrographic study conducted by Gilstrap as part of his Ph.D. dissertation research included previously inventoried finds from the Mycenaean Fountain. Of these, 19 can be assigned to the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain. 16 of the 19 samples (85%) ultimately derived from three local fabric groups (Gilstrap Group 1, 6B, and 7) connected with the workshop at Kontopigado (Gilstrap 2015). The remaining 15% consist of three items assigned to extra regional production centers: one from Aegina (Gilstrap Group 9A), one from the Argo-Corinthia (Gilstrap Group 11), and one from an unknown center (Gilstrap Group 30). The sampled sherd from Gilstrap Group 11 is a single rim sherd from a carinated cup with a medium band set below the exterior of the lip and monochrome interior providing an important synchronism with the Argolid sequence where such shapes belong exclusively to LH IIIC (Rutter 1977, 2020, 213–214). While showing some engagement with the trade of ceramics around the Saronic Gulf, the results of Gilstrap's study highlighted the strength of the local potting industry and its ability to supply not only the inhabitants of Kontopigado but also the settlement located on the North Slope of the Athenian Acropolis.

Among the decorated pottery of the first filling phase, one clear import to the Mycenaean Fountain not studied by Gilstrap is **AP 3639**, the monochrome hydria (Figs. 2.7, 10). While other monochrome examples are attested at Kontopigado, this example finds its best parallels with several vases published from an LH IIIB Final context at Tiryns in form, decoration, and fabric (Wirghová 2022, 68, 69, fig. 10.1, 71, fig. 12.1). Petrographic analysis of these vessels indicates a likely origin on the island of Kos. A distinguishing feature of their fabric is the presence of gold mica, which is also present in the fabric of **AP 3639** and not typical of local production. The presence of a Dodecanesian import in the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain is perhaps indicative of the emergence of the south Aegean koine articulated by Vincent Desborough (1964, 228; see Mountjoy 1999, vol. 1, 498 for an alternate view on the nature of the apparent koine).

DATING THE FIRST FILLING PHASE

The first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain has been previously examined by Penelope Mountjoy (1995a, 43–44, 56) and Walter Gauss (2000, 2003, 93–95). While Mountjoy (1995, 56) believed



Figure 10: **AP 3639** (C. Mauzy. Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens City, Ancient Agora, ASCSA: Agora Excavations. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.RE.D.).).

the entire mass of pottery to have been deposited in a single filling event in LH IIIC Middle, Gauss identified a pure Mycenaean fill that he believed dated to an early stage of LH IIIC (2000, esp. 171–177, 2003, 100–102). While Gauss' examination was not as comprehensive as the present study, his dating is upheld in light of recent finds. Several of the key characteristics that Gauss outlined for the first filling of the Mycenaean Fountain, including the absence of group A deep bowls with monochrome interiors and the presence of linear decorated SABs, are in need of re-evaluation in light of my own work. The former are present as demonstrated above and the latter are almost certainly intrusive fragments fallen from above and dating to LH IIIC Middle or Late.

Some revised observations concerning the first filling phase can, therefore, be put forward here:

- 1) The basket handled pyxis or straight-sided alabastron (FS 98) and carinated cup (FS 240) are rare but present, including one mendable example of each.
- 2) Deep bowls (FS 284) occur in a wide variety of decorative schemata: Group A, group B, group C, the newly coined group D, linear (includes medium-band), monochrome, rosette, and undecorated. While rosette deep bowls are almost entirely absent with the exception of a single mendable uncanonical type, group B deep bowls are represented by five mendable examples.
- 3) Conical kylikes (FS 274), and shallow angular bowls (FS 295B) are all undecorated.
- 4) Both ring-based kraters and basins are present in unspouted (FS 281 and 294) and spouted (FS 298 and 302) variants.
- 5) Large, closed shapes (e.g., FS 69, 110, 128) are present in slipped and burnished, linear, and, rarely, monochrome forms. A slight hollowing on the interior of the lip can be observed on some, but not all, closed shapes.
- 6) Stirrup jars include a mixture of piriform (FS 167) and globular (FS 174/175) types. Evenly spaced banding was beginning to displace fine line groups as the main decoration of the body.
- 7) A characteristic slipped and burnished surface occurs on a range of shapes including large closed shapes like amphoras, jugs, and hydrias, but also open shapes like kraters and, more rarely, deep bowls.

The clearest diagnostic of an LH IIIC Early date for the first filling phase is the presence of carinated cups (FS 240), including one example that mends across multiple levels of fill indicating with certainty that it belongs to the first filling phase. As wheel made carinated cups have yet to be identified in pre-LH IIIC deposits elsewhere (Rutter 2020, 213–214), there seems no reason to doubt that the actual discard event that led to the formation of the first filling phase deposit took place early in the 12th century BCE. The lone mendable rosette bowl, which combines elements of group A and rosette deep bowls is equally more at home in LH IIIC Early (Mountjoy 1986, 151).

To this we should also add the large quantity of mendable linear deep bowls. Linear deep bowls, particularly in such a quantity, still appear to be a LH IIIC phenomenon (e.g., Rutter 2003, 197; Kardamaki 2015; Wirghová 2022). The rare occurrences of such bowls among final LH IIIB2 deposits is hard to verify from published sherd evidence alone since small rim fragments or handles could derive from other deep bowl types leading to their misleading earlier appearance (e.g., Andrikou 2006, 29–30, table 5B; Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020, 24, fig. 13d, 33).

Other features, while less certain markers of LH IIIC, similarly point in that direction. While FS 98, the straight-sided alabastron or pyxis with two handles (Furumark 1941, 43), long held as a diagnostic innovation of the LH IIIC Early period, has now been identified in final LH IIIB2 contexts at Tiryns (Wirghová 2022, 63, fig. 7:9, where it is identified as FS 94), it is characteristic of the earliest LH IIIC deposits. Similarly, monochrome deep bowls, already discussed at length can likewise now be shown to have already become popular in central Greece by LH IIIC Early and their presence here is actually low in comparison to other central Greek sites.

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY WITHIN LH IIIB₂-C ATTICA

While a date in LH IIIC Early remains the best fit for the deposit, therefore, it remains to be seen where within the LH IIIC sequence, the material from the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain should be placed. In what follows, I will make a first attempt at dating the deposit relative to other known Attic and central Greek deposits. A major impediment to this endeavour is the limited quantity of imported material. Further issues derive from the previously mentioned lack of stratified settlement deposits spanning the LH IIIB-C divide within Attica. Nonetheless, comparisons with other Attic deposits can help to facilitate the placement of the first filling phase in relation to other Attic deposits of similar date.

The most striking disparity that emerges between the Mycenaean Fountain and other published Attic LH IIIC Early deposits from Kontopigado and Thorikos is the rarity of monochrome deep bowls from the first filling phase (Table 2). At Kontopigado, Pit 1 contained a minimum number of 68 deep bowls (65 decorated and 3 undecorated) calculated from the diagnostic rim and base fragments (Kaza-Papageorgiou et al. 2011, 210), of which 44 (65%) were monochrome painted (Kaza-Papageorgiou et al. 2011, 264, tab. 2, 4). Similarly, at Thorikos, Penelope Mountjoy (1995b, 206) reports a ratio of 151 monochrome painted fragments (62 painted red or orange and 89 black) out of a total of 227 fragments or 67%. It is not clear exactly what constitutes a fragment in this context and whether non-feature sherds were also included in her analysis. Consequently, this data may overrepresent monochrome deep bowls slightly since they only made up 27% of the published inventory of mendable vessels (Table 2). In contrast to these two sites, the Mycenaean Fountain produced far fewer monochrome deep bowls. Among the mendable inventory, only 2 out of 51 (4%) were monochrome. When looking at the rim counts for the remaining, uninventoried material from the first filling phase, this ratio improves significantly to 79 fragments out of 398 (20%). This indicates some bias in the material selected for inventory, perhaps due to challenges in recognizing joins among the monochrome material, but, even so, the frequency remains considerably less overall than the percentage of monochrome deep bowls documented at Kontopigado and Thorikos. The question thus emerges whether the different overall quantity of monochrome and linear deep bowls at these two sites should be taken as a chronological indicator.

Although monochrome deep bowls are typically seen as a characteristic feature of LH IIIC, they are now accepted to be present and even fairly common in advanced LH IIIB deposits (e.g., Vitale 2006, 197–199; Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020, 21–22, 26, 33–36; Andrikou 2022, 111). While it is true that monochrome deep bowls only become dominant at sites like Lefkandi Xeropolis in the later stages of LH IIIC Early (Evely 2006, 138, 188), it was already observed by the excavators there that preceding LH IIIB levels contained both linear and monochrome deep bowls (Popham and Milburn 1971, 346). Recent research has not only supported this observation but also provided additional evidence that monochrome deep bowls may have become popular in Central Greek settlements such as Mitrou, Thebes, and Kontopigado already before the end of LH IIIB2, forming between 20% and 50% of all decorated deep bowls in some instances (e.g., Kardamaki 2020, 553; Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020, 55, tab. IV:d; Andrikou 2022, 113). Closer scrutiny of the Lefkandi assemblages supports such a pattern of early adoption across much of central Greece. In Phase Ia, the earliest

LH IIIC deposits, for instance, 42 of 97 deep bowl fragments are monochrome decorated or 43% of the total for all deep bowls (calculated from Evely 2006, CD-32, tab. C.1, CD-33, tab. C.2, CD-34, tab. C.3). Thus, even at Lefkandi, monochrome deep bowls in the earliest LH IIIC levels already seem to outnumber significantly the quantity present in the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain. In fact, the Lefkandi deep bowl assemblage provides a fairly close parallel to the material from Pit 1 at Kontopigado, particularly in its extremely limited amount of pattern decorated material. Viewed together then, the evidence from other central Greek sites suggests that the levels of monochrome deep bowls from the Mycenaean Fountain are not unusual for sites from LH IIIB2 onwards. In fact, the lower quantities of deep bowls among the Mycenaean Fountain assemblage appear more consistent with a palatial date for much of the material than a post-palatial date. Nonetheless, given the presence of clear LH IIIC Early diagnostics among the material, a placement for the filling event itself in LH IIIB2 must be rejected. It is highly likely, however, that the material from the first filling phase may include some LH IIIB2 material that was discarded at the time of a clean-up event early in LH IIIC Early. In this regard, the material from the Mycenaean Fountain would closely parallel the so-called Epichosis deposit at Tiryns (Voigtländer 2003), which more recent studies have demonstrated was discarded early in LH IIIC (Kardamaki 2015, 94).

The high quantity of linear deep bowls among both the rim sherd counts and mendable vases prevents assigning all the material to LH IIIB2. Even accepting their appearance in an advanced stage of LH IIIB, linear deep bowls at other central Greek sites never form more than a small percentage of the total deep bowl assemblage. At Mitrou, for example, a large LH IIIB2 assemblage contained only 0.9% medium-band deep bowls, whereas the linear deep bowl types made up 25% of the deep bowl rims and 14% of the mendable vessels in the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain. The number of linear deep bowls, particularly among the inventoried mendable pots is not so different from Thorikos, where linear deep bowls made up 13% of the total. It seems, therefore, that it would be difficult (although not impossible) solely to blame chronology for the difference in consumption patterns observed here. This suggests that other factors may also be at play in influencing the overall make-up of the deep bowl assemblage represented in the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain.

Recent scholarship has highlighted the natural division of Attica into a series of micro-regions (e.g., Kalogeropoulos 2020; Papdimitriou 2021). A possible explanation for the differing consumption choices with respect to deep bowls may be the persistence of local traditions in these regions, resulting in the distinct archaeological patterning observed in Table 2. Additionally, in the decades leading up to the destruction event documented by the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain, the inhabitants of the summit of the Athenian Acropolis invested deeply in the fortification of the Acropolis and the construction of the Mycenaean Fountain as a protected water source. These walls served both a defensive function as well as to delineate physically those living on top of the Acropolis from those in the lower town. In this case, the consumption of pattern decorated deep bowls may have similarly served to distinguish and reinforce the elite identity of this group from the surrounding communities who may have made more extensive use of monochrome deep bowls.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

As the above analysis demonstrates, the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain should be placed in LH IIIC Early. The fill was deposited as part of a clean up operation subsequent to a major destruction event on the Athenian Acropolis. The present article establishes that the major destruction event took place prior to LH IIIC Early 2. A possible synchronization would be with the destruction of the Palace of Nestor in Messenia, typically placed at the start of LH IIIC Early equivalent

to Rutter Phase 1 (Mountjoy 1997; Vitale et al. 2022, 128–141). It is not possible to exclude an even earlier destruction date, however, contemporary with the destruction of Tiryns in LH IIIB2, Argive LH IIIB Final (Kardamaki 2015), but this would suggest a longer delay between the destruction and clean-up event and the assumption that large parts of the acropolis were abandoned for a generation after the destruction. Given that the houses located around the Northeast Ascent also seem to be abandoned in the earliest stage of LH IIIC Early, Rutter Phase 1, it seems more economical to synchronize their abandonment with the destruction on the acropolis, particularly since dumps of debris linked to the abandonment seem to derive from the Acropolis (Gauss 2003, 98–100; Vitale 2006, 194–195, 200, table 2; Vitale et al. 2022, 140, table 10). In either case, we can be certain that the clean-up took place at a more advanced stage of LH IIIC Early, Rutter Phase 2, due to the presence of wheel made carinated cups in the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain. Thus, Athens seems to follow closely the pattern observed in the Argive polities where central places were fortified in the decades leading up to sudden destruction events. One outstanding issue, despite the increase in high resolution data from Attic sites is the lack of directly comparable statistics. Having a consistent standard of published data (particularly with respect to minimum number of vessels) would help to make more accurate comparisons between individual sites and strengthen (or weaken) the conclusions presented here.

As the present study emphasizes, the material from the first filling phase of the Mycenaean Fountain finds close parallels at other Attic sites, including the well documented assemblages from Kontopigado and Thorikos. Yet the decorative schemes favored by the inhabitants of the Athenian Acropolis stand out from the other two sites and demand further consideration. This study offers two conclusions: first, the bulk of the assemblage from the Mycenaean Acropolis should be placed earlier than Pit 1 and thus the final abandonment of the settlement at Kontopigado; secondly, the present observations may also suggest micro-regional consumption trends emerging between Attic sites in the 12th century BCE. In this case, the inhabitants living on the Acropolis and those living at Kontopigado would have made distinct consumption choices with respect to deep bowls. The first suggestion breaks with the model previously suggested by the present author (Van Damme 2023, 173, table 4), which considered the destructions observed in eastern and southern Attica to be chronologically correlated. If this is no longer true, it has important implications for considering who or what instigated the destruction observed on the Athenian Acropolis although these remain outside the scope of the present paper. With respect to the latter conclusion, this observation should urge caution when using deep bowls as a reliable chronological indicator as it indicates that even on a regional level considerable variation could co-exist, even only a few kilometers apart.

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CERAMIC CONSUMPTION PATTERNS AT AYIA IRINI, KEA IN THE MYCENAEAN PERIOD

ANNA BELZA

Abstract

This paper presents the results of the preliminary study of ceramics from the Mycenaean period (LH IIB–LH IIIA2/IIIB early, ca. 1450–1240 BCE) in the harbor town of Ayia Irini, Kea. The main features of the pottery (classes, forms, styles) are presented from four contexts: House AB, the Spring Chamber, House J, and the Building M bothros. The character of local and nonlocal pottery is examined to determine the degree of variation and/or uniformity between Ayia Irini and other regions in the Late Bronze Age Aegean. The pottery from House AB provides significant insights into pottery consumption patterns at Ayia Irini in LH IIB, as well as the local production of wares. Pottery dating to LH IIIA2 from the Spring Chamber, House J, and the Building M bothros indicates that regional networks remained stable from LH IIB–IIIA2 while local potters experimented with technologies (clay processing, forming, surface treatment) and shapes. The Mycenaean *koine* ceramically attested at Ayia Irini is understood to result from participation in a mainland-oriented exchange network that underwent change or reorganization in LH IIIB, leading to diminished activity at Ayia Irini through LH IIIC.

Keywords: Cyclades, Late Bronze Age, Mycenaean, Ayia Irini, Kea

INTRODUCTION¹

From 1960–1976 excavations by John L. Caskey under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens revealed a prehistoric town in the Bay of Aghios Nikolaos on Kea. Located about 10 km off the coast of Attica, the island of Kea is ideally situated to facilitate movement and interaction between the Greek mainland, other Cycladic islands, and Crete (Fig. 1). Evidence of interaction between these regions is well attested at the harbor town of Ayia Irini, beginning in the Final Neolithic period and continuing through the Late Bronze Age (ca. 4200–1450 BCE), termed Ayia Irini Periods I–VIIb (Table 1) (Caskey 1979, 412). Mycenaean period activity (LH IIB–IIIC, 1450–1070 BCE)—Ayia Irini Periods VIIc–VIII—is attested throughout the settlement of Ayia Irini but remains selectively published.² A defining feature of Periods VIIc and VIII is a decrease in imported pottery from Crete and the Cyclades and the predominance of mainland pottery.

¹ I thank: Bartłomiej Lis for organizing the workshop and inviting me to speak; Maria Koutsoumpou and the Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Κυκλάδων for permission to conduct research on Ayia Irini, Kea; the guards and museum staff on Kea. I am grateful to Jack Davis, Carol Hershenson, and Natalie Abell for reading and commenting upon a draft of this paper. My research was funded by the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati, and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

² Milburn 1965; Preston 1972; Cummer, Schofield 1984; Hershenson 1998, 161–168; Morris, Jones 1998, 189–199. Periods VIIc–VIII contexts are mentioned in Schofield 2011 but the material was not inventoried and presented. Caskey 1964, 326–331; 1971, 384–386; Caskey 1981, 127–136 for an overview of the Temple chronology. See Caskey 1971, 359–396; 1972, 397–401 for a preliminary presentation of Period VIIc and VIII contexts and ceramics.

Table 1: General Chronology of Ayia Irini, Kea.³

	Period, Ayia Irini	Greece/Mainland	Cyclades	Crete	Absolute Chronology (B.C.)
	I	Late Neolithic	Late Neolithic	Late Neolithic	End of 4 th millennium
	II	EH IIA	EC II	EM IIA	2700–2400
	III	EH IIB		EM IIB	2400–2000
	IV	MH II	MC II	MM IB MM II	1900–1800 1800–1700
	V	MH III	MC III	MM III	1700–1630/10
	VI	LH I	LC I	LM IA	1630/10–1520/10
	VIIa–b	LH IIA–LH IIB early	LC II	LM IB	1520/10–1450/1440
LATER MYCENAEAN	VIIc	LH IIB middle–advanced	LC II	LM II	1450/40–1410/1400
	VIII	LH IIIA1	LC III	LM IIIA1	1410/00–1360/55/45
		LH IIIA2		LM IIIA2	1360–1295
		LH IIIB1		LM IIIB1	1295–1240
		LH IIIB2		LM IIIB2	1240–1200/1190
		LH IIIC Early Middle (Developed, Advanced) Late		LM IIIC	1200/1190–1070 1200/1190–1185/1180 1185/1180–1150/1140 1150/1140–1070

In this paper, the preliminary findings from the author's doctoral research on the later Mycenaean period of Ayia Irini are presented. Definitions and classes of Period VIIc–VIII pottery are offered. Four contexts are examined to provide a chronological overview of ceramic sequences and synchronisms from the LH IIB–LH IIIA2 periods at Ayia Irini: House AB, House J, the Spring Chamber, and the Building M bothros. Reference is made to Period VIII deposits from Houses A, C, and F. The character of local and nonlocal pottery is examined to determine the degree of variation and/or uniformity between Kea and other regions in the Late Bronze Age Aegean.

AYIA IRINI IN THE LATER MYCENAEAN PERIOD

The stratigraphy of most areas of Ayia Irini is complicated due to continuous use and successive re-building programs that followed wide-spread destruction events. The later Mycenaean period levels are further complicated because most were close to the surface and suffered from erosion and historic period activity and intrusions.⁴ As a result of these factors, homogenous deposits are limited in number and often contain fragmentary material.

Habitation occurred on a smaller scale in the later Mycenaean period than during the preceding MH III–LH IIA periods (Fig. 2). Several structures were (re)used during LH IIB–LH IIIA2: a three-room structure built over House A;⁵ House AB (Hershenson 1998, 161–168); House C

³ Dates after Manning 2010, 23, table 2.2, with revised information from Malcolm H. Wiener in Davis 2022, xxvi, fig. 5.

⁴ Butt 1977, 299–314; Cummer, Schofield 1984. Excavations carried out by Gabriel Welter (1954, 48–49) may be responsible for reverse stratigraphy in certain areas and disturbances in others. The author is currently investigating this possibility.

⁵ Cummer, Schofield 1984, 21–23; 64–69, 72–74. Rooms 13–16.

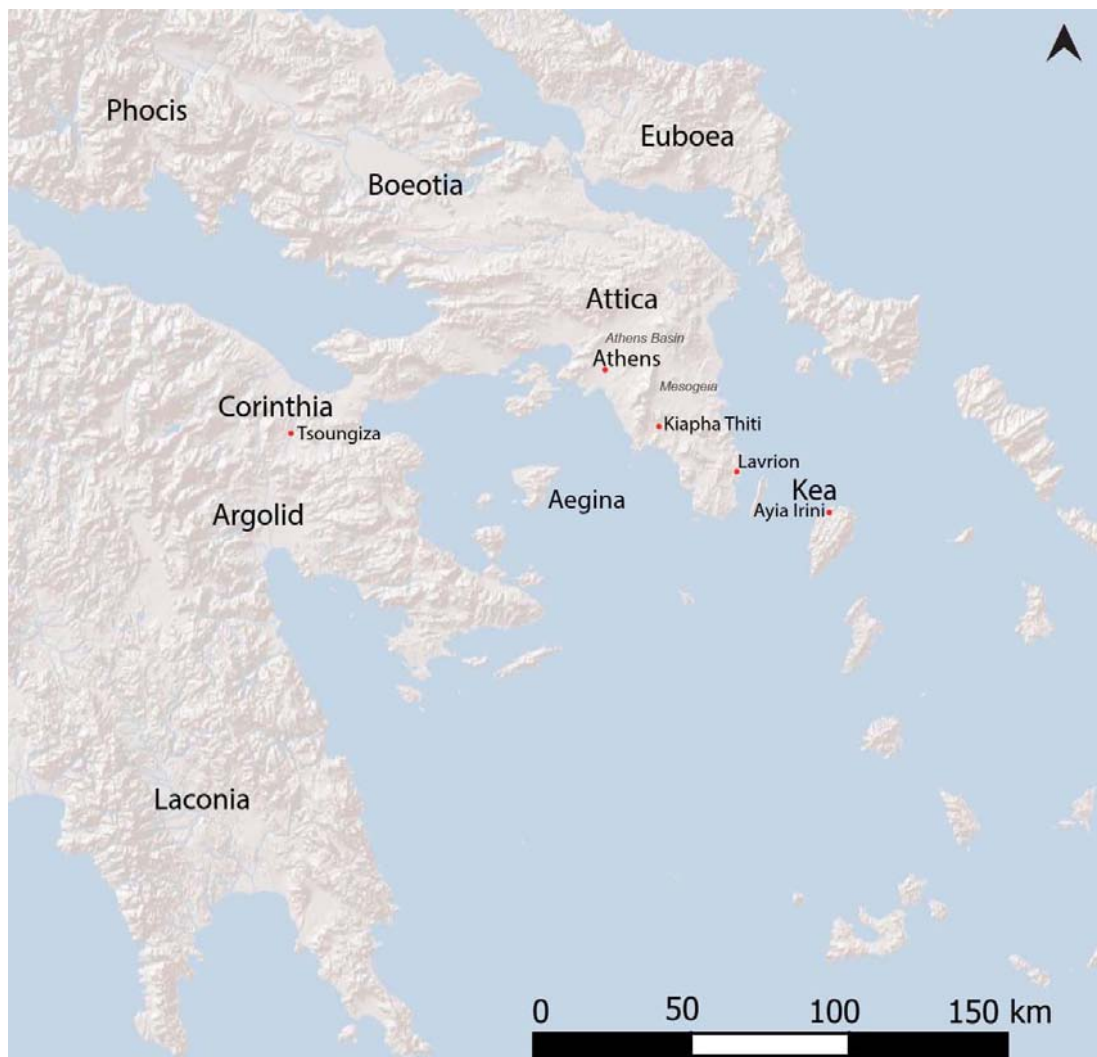


Figure 1. Map with sites discussed (by the author).

(Milburn 1965, 68–121; Schofield 2011, 135–158); House F (Preston 1972);⁶ House J (Davis 1977, 41–45, 174–176; Schofield 2011, 79–80); the Spring Chamber (Caskey 1971, 365–367; Caskey 1972, 398, pl. 97; Schofield 2011, 56); and the Temple (Caskey 1971, 359–396; 1972, 397–401; Caskey 1981, 127–136; Caskey 1986). Walls from MH III–LH IIA buildings were reinforced and used as socles for superstructures constructed in stone or mudbrick. In LH IIB, significant effort was made to reuse House AB. A party wall was constructed to divide the interior into two separate rooms, and a stone-paved landing was added at the base of the stairs at the level of the earth-beaten floor. A new building in Area M—currently under study—was constructed outside the eastern settlement wall with two phases identified by excavators as LH IIIA1–IIIA2. Mycenaean period activity is otherwise known outside the limits of the MH III–LH IIA town from test trenches and from a possible Mycenaean period tomb.⁷

⁶ Preston 1972; Schofield 2011, 1–14 examines Periods I–VII, making mention of Periods VIIc and VIII architectural phases without cataloguing material.

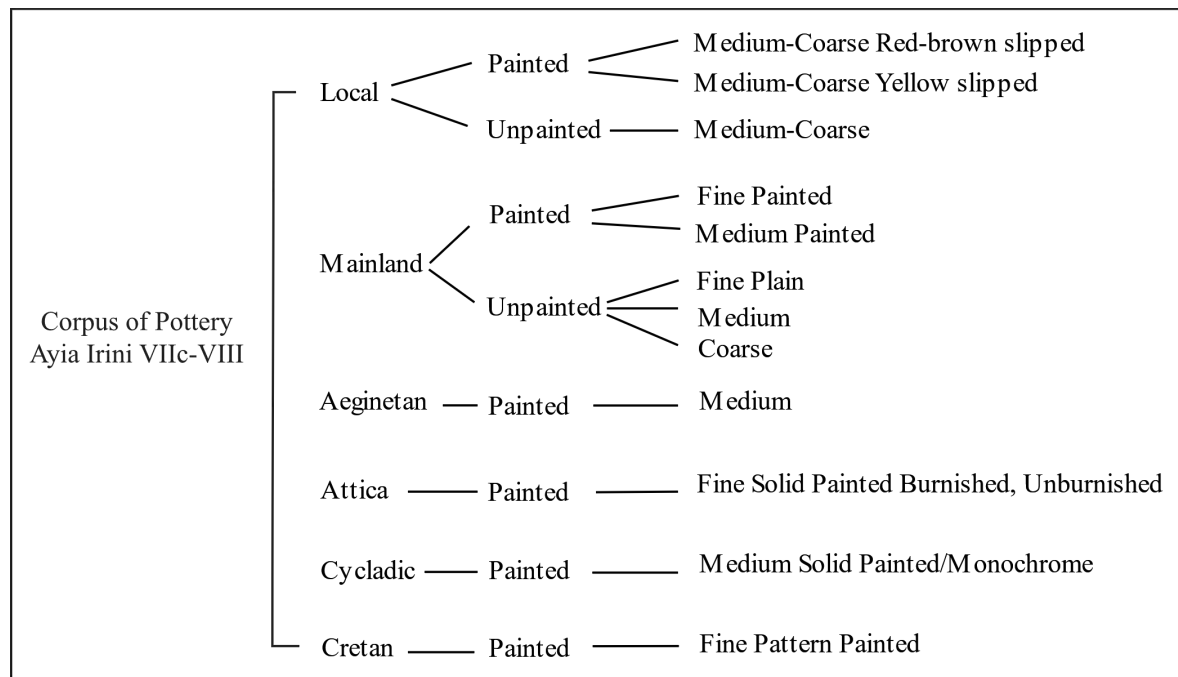
⁷ Kaiser 1976 *CVA*, Bonn 2, Akademisches Kunstmuseum ii [Germany 40] pl. 35 [1961]: 2–6; Davis 1978, 416–417. The possible tomb and its plan remain unpublished.

Seven types of surface treatment have been isolated using the naked eye and macroscopic analyses: 1. Unfinished: a non-lustrous surface with no treatment applied. 2. Smoothed: a non-lustrous evened surface with no evident tool marks. 3. Wiped: a non-lustrous evened surface with parallel fine striations produced by a tool. 4. Slipped: a surface coated in a textured suspension of clay and water. A change in color is visible at or near a surface. 5. Washed: A surface coated by a diluted suspension of clay and water. Washes tend to fade unevenly on a vessel's surface, leaving the clay surface visible. 6. Polished: a plain, slipped, or washed surface that is lustrous but does not have clearly visible tool marks. 7. Burnished: similar to the polished treatment except the tool marks used to achieve a lustrous surface are visible (Rutter 1995, 55–58).

Paints, fine clay slips to which pigments are added (Rutter 1995, 13), are used for decorative purposes either as matt, semi-lustrous (dull), or lustrous finishes.⁹ Dark on light (DoL) decoration is predominant as a decorative technique, whereby pattern painted motifs or bands were painted in a dark-firing paint on a light surface that is either plain, slipped, or washed.

Decorative treatments can be categorized as painted and unpainted. Painted decoration is when the interior and/or exterior of a vessel retains a slip, wash, or paint covering the surface. This process was often undertaken after a pre-fired vessel had dried leather hard, to avoid paints bleeding at borders. Painted decoration can be categorized as: pattern painted when there are one or more motifs (e.g., spiral, wavy bands); linear when decoration comprises exclusively horizontal bands or lines; and monochrome (solid slip, wash, or paint on the interior and exterior) (Evely 2000, 290–293). Unpainted decoration is either plain or coated with a solid light-firing wash.

Table 2: Periods VIIc–VIII Kean Ceramic Classification



⁹ Matt paints are manganese-based. See, for example, Rutter 1993, 71–73; Hale 2014, 40–41; Rutter, Lindblom 2022, 549–550. Semi-lustrous (dull) and lustrous paints are iron-based. Manganese-based paints do not mottle even with variant firing conditions. Iron-based paints are difficult to produce consistently and are variable in color. Availability of raw materials may account for differing application of paints (Hale 2014).

CLASSIFICATIONS¹⁰

The classification system consists of three hierarchically applied criteria: pottery tradition (local, Aeginetan, Attic, Mycenaean, Cretan, Cycladic); decorative treatment (painted or unpainted); and the size and frequency of non-plastic inclusions (fine, medium, or coarse). Other variables such as forming, shape typology, and decorative technique are not yet considered criteria for the classification system. Eleven classes of pottery have been isolated (Table 2).

LOCAL (KEAN) TRADITION CLASSES¹¹

The fabrics within the local (Kean) class show limited variability. The clay is a red-brown (2.5YR 4/6–4/8, 5/4 red) that is well fired, rarely exhibiting a gray core. It is used for thin- and thick-walled vessels. Inclusions in order of frequency include semi-translucent gray and white, silver mica, shiny gray with occasional angular red-brown and hard black, and very rare gold mica. The fabric in Periods VIIc–VIII equates best with Natalie Abell’s classification system A-3/A-5 (Abell 2014, 627, pl. 53) and RBMa (Abell 2021, 250–251), notably due to the lack of green-gray to green-blue schist and pink particles present in other varieties of local fabrics associated with EBA–MBA wares.

Medium-Coarse Yellow Slipped

Yellow slipped is a local tradition that uses red-brown fabric (2.5YR 4/6–4/8, 5/4 red) with a powdery yellow slip that is sometimes decorated with black paint in Period VIIc (Abell 2021, 247). The yellow slip has little variation in color (10YR 8/4 very pale brown–10YR 8/6 yellow). There is no visible surface treatment; yellow slip was applied directly to a coarse fabric that preserves no signs of wiping or smoothing. Vessels are coil-built and wheel-finished or wheel-thrown.

Medium fabric examples of yellow slip do not preserve painted decoration, as opposed to the coarse matt pattern painted examples. Patterns are generally abstract and include zigzags on lids and jar necks. Medium fabric forms attested include goblets (Fig. 5.4, 5.5). Coarse fabric forms without painted decoration include pithoi, basins, lids, and jars.

Yellow slipped first begins at Ayia Irini in early Period IV and continues through Period VI, declining significantly in Periods VIIa–b.¹² Cycladic and possibly Aeginetan yellow slipped traditions occur alongside local yellow slipped during Periods VI–VII (Abell 2021, 200, 220–222).

Medium-Coarse Red Brown Slipped

Local red brown slipped is a medium to coarse red brown (2.5YR 4/6–4/8, 5/4 red) fabric with a slip that is orangish-red to reddish-brown, similar in color to the paste (2.5YR 4/6–4/8, 5/4 red). The surface

¹⁰ Rutter 1995, 11–14 for classes, a taxonomic system that combines criteria of diagnostic wares, specific shapes, and the combination of diagnostic wares and shapes. The author presented three classes in the workshop: Local, Mycenaean, and Aeginetan.

¹¹ For previous definitions of local wares and petrographic analyses: Coleman 1977, 9; Caskey 1986, 25–26, 109; Davis, Williams 1981, 300; Davis 1986, 3–4; Georgiou 1986, 2; Overbeck 1989b, 9; Abell 2021, 147–153.

¹² Overbeck 1989b, 111; Abell 2021, 176, 192–193, 207–213. One sherd of yellow slipped ware was found in Period III deposits (Wilson 1999, 90, table 3).

is sometimes wiped, with a red slip applied on top and occasionally polished. No decorated examples survive. Examples are coil-built and wheel-finished or wheel-thrown. Forms attested include kylikes, jars, a tripod basin (Fig. 14), a spouted bowl (Fig. 13.11), and large bases of closed vessels.

Local red brown slipped is infrequent—absent from Period VIIc–VIII early deposits (LH IIB–LH IIIA1) coinciding with a preference for Acropolis Burnished wares. It increases during LH IIIA2 in tandem with Mycenaean fine monochrome, with examples from the Building M and the bothros in House A (hereafter bothros A.1) dating to LH IIIA2 late.¹³ The practice first begins in Period VI and is synonymous with local slipped.¹⁴

Medium–Coarse Unpainted

The diagnostic features of this class are a medium–coarse local fabric that is red-brown (2.5YR 4/6–4/8, 5/4 red), and surface treatment that is limited to smoothing. Examples are handmade or wheel-thrown. Plastic ornamentation is present only on pottery that was reused from earlier periods (e.g., pithos with applied discs). Forms attested include jars; jugs; basins; a lamp (Fig. 5.1); handleless cups (Fig. 13.1–13.8); and a lid (Fig. 13.13).

Potentially local vases not otherwise classifiable

The majority of local vases can be assigned to the preceding local classes. Two examples, a kylix (Fig. 11.1) and a lid (Fig. 11.2), may belong to a variant of a local class that appears in LH IIIA2 late. The fabric is a hard brown (7.5YR 4/2–5/3 brown), sometimes with a gray core (7.5YR 6/1 gray). Vessels are wheel-thrown. The surfaces are coated with a black slip applied by a brush. The fabric, both in terms of inclusions (semi-transparent gray and white; abundant gray shiny subangular–angular (schist); rare silver mica) may be local;¹⁵ however, the firing technique and surface treatment differentiate these vessels from other local classes.

MAINLAND CLASSES

The Mycenaean class of pottery refers to vessels in LH II–III shapes, styles, and fabrics that were imported from the Greek mainland to Kea.¹⁶ Northeastern Peloponnesian (Argolic–Corinthian) imports are the most frequent in this category. Other possible areas of interaction are likely (e.g., Euboea, Phocis). Petrographic and chemical analyses would be required to test these hypotheses and provide conclusive data.

Fabrics from the fine variety of this class are hard fired and can be fine to very fine, with inclusions macroscopically undetectable or limited to small (0.0005–0.001m)—tiny (<0.0005m) subangular hard gray or reddish-brown granules. Medium fabrics contain moderate sized (0.001–0.005m) subangular–angular hard brown (mud-stone?) and occasional angular gray and translucent white (quartz?).

¹³ See Cummer, Schofield 1984, 128–130 for the bothros A.1 assemblage. The coarse wares are enumerated but not catalogued.

¹⁴ Abell 2021, 193. See Cummer, Schofield 1984, 46 which is described as a local version of Red Coated ware.

¹⁵ A similar—almost certainly local—fabric was isolated by Abell (2014, 629, A7/A8) and petrographically analyzed (2021, 250–251 RBMa).

¹⁶ Morris, Jones 1998, 189–199. The term “Mycenaean” is not utilized here to imply an ethnic identity, but rather a geographical place of origin.

Mycenaean Painted Fine and Painted Medium

The distinguishing feature of this class is painted decoration in a dark paint on a light-colored surface of a vessel (DoL). Surfaces may be plain (5YR 7/6 reddish yellow, 10YR 8/3 very pale brown, 5Y 8/3 pale yellow, 7.5YR 8/4 pink) or coated with a light-firing slip/wash (7.5YR 7/4–8/4 pink). Decorative treatment is executed in a semi-lustrous (dull) or lustrous paint that can be patterned, linear, or monochrome. Pattern-painted motifs are various; they are described and quantified in Table 5. The paint color varies between red (2.5YR 4/6 red), reddish brown (2.5YR 3/3–5/4 dark reddish brown), brownish red (2.5YR 4/6–5/6 red), brown (7.5YR 4/3, 4/4 brown), blackish-brown (10YR 4/1 dark gray, 5YR 3/2 dark reddish brown), and black (5YR 2.5/1 black). Surfaces can be smoothed, wiped, or polished. Vessels are coil built and wheel-finished or wheel-thrown.

Forms attested in the Mycenaean class are numerous and include (Table 5): alabastra (FS 94), goblets (FS 254), a Vapheio cup (FS 224), bowls, basins, kraters, jars (FS 23, 77), jugs (FS 112, 118), hydriae/amphorae, kylikes (FS 256, 257), stemmed bowls (FS 304), a deep bowl (FS 284), stirrup jars (FS 169, 178, Fig. 10.6), rhyta (FS 199), a feeding bottle (Fig. 10.8), and lids.

CYCLADIC CLASSES

The Cycladic class refers to vessels in fabrics nonlocal to Kea that likely originate from elsewhere in the Cyclades. More than one fabric has been isolated, suggesting more than one source for imported Cycladic vessels in Periods VIIc–VIII.

The Greater Naxos region and one other possible locale are represented; they are distinguished based on the different compositions of their respective pastes. Material speculated to be from the Greater Naxos region exhibits a medium hard reddish brown (2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown) to reddish yellow (5YR 6/6 reddish yellow) paste with inclusions ranging from opaque gray and white, fine silver mica flakes, black, occasional gray shiny (schist), and rare fine gold mica. This class equates best with Abell's A-9 fabric attested in Periods VI and VII deposits in House B (Abell 2014, 629–630, pl. 55; 2021, 250–251, RBMa).

Cycladic Medium Solid Painted/Monochrome

The distinguishing feature of this class is a non-local Cycladic fabric (described above). Surfaces can be plain and wiped or treated with a slip applied to the light surface of a vessel or a plain surface. Slips may be black or creamy buff (10YR 8/3 very pale brown) applied to a wiped surface. No decoration is attested. Vessels are coil-built and wheel-finished or wheel-thrown.

Forms attested in this class include kylikes; goblet/kylix; basin; and unidentified closed and open shapes.

CRETAN CLASS

The Cretan class refers to fabrics, forms, and styles that likely originate from Crete. Very few vessels belong to the Cretan class (ca. 4 specimens) in Periods VIIc–VIII. Examples in this group have a dull light brown soft or hard fired fabric with inclusions not macroscopically visible. All vessels are open shapes (goblet or kylix) and are formed with a hollow stem.

Fine Pattern Painted

The distinguishing feature of this class is dark painted decoration applied to a light surface (DoL).¹⁷ The class is equivalent to DoL ware for LM II–LM IIIA2 vessels from Knossos (Hatzaki 2007, 203–207). Paint is lustrous–semi-lustrous (dull) and tends to be flakey. Decorative motifs are applied within bands below the rim band or freely on the vessel's body. No traces of a slip or lustrous surface are distinguishable macroscopically.¹⁸ Interior surfaces are monochrome or plain. Vessels are wheel-thrown. Forms attested include kylikes (e.g., Fig. 9) and goblets.

AEGINETAN CLASS

The Aeginetan class refers to vessels that likely originate from Aegina.¹⁹ They are distinguished on the basis of their fabric and matt painted decoration. Clay colors range from pale brown (10YR 8/3 very pale brown) to buff (7.5YR 8/3 pink). Inclusions are small (0.0005–0.001m) to moderately sized (0.001–0.005m). The most common inclusions are black hard shiny spicules (probably hornblende), red-brown subangular, soft white, gold mica, and silver mica. The hard black shiny inclusions and gold mica provide the most obvious identification of these likely originating from Aegina, as well as the confinement of this class to Period VIIc–VIII early (LH IIB–LH IIIA1) contexts, seemingly matching the reduced export of Aeginetan pottery in later Period VIII (LH IIIA2). Potter's marks are rare; when present, they are found as either two small circular indentations on the base or two small rectangular indentations on the edge of a base.²⁰

Medium Matt Painted ~ Standard Matt Painted

The distinguishing feature of this class is a medium slightly soft light paste (described above) with decoration in matt black (5YR 2.5/1 black) or brown (7.5YR 4/2 brown). The sparse decoration is linear and appears as quirk on the neck (FM 61), horizontal bands along the neck and belly, along with vertical zigzags on the body between double straight lines and double wavy lines. The paint often leaves an orange ghost when faded. Surfaces can be slipped (e.g., buff 7.5YR 8/3 pink) but are otherwise left untreated. Vessels are mainly wheel-made.

Aeginetan medium matt painted is equivalent to: Matt-Painted ware with sparse decoration (Caskey 1972, 393), Standard Matt Painted ware,²¹ Sparse Matt Painted (Cummer, Schofield 1983, 46; Schallin 1993, 150; Morris, Jones 1998, 189–199), and Aeginetan painted (Gorogianni 2008), in studies on Ayia Irini. It is otherwise equivalent to Aeginetan matt-painted in mainland- and Aegina-centric studies.²²

Forms attested in this class include jugs (Fig. 5.6) and hydriae/amphorae.

¹⁷ The author was unable to obtain Munsell colors for the Cretan vessels as they were discolored/stained post-deposition.

¹⁸ Hatzaki 2007, 203 indicates high firing temperatures may be responsible for the absence of surface slip (Jones 1986, 759).

¹⁹ Morris, Jones 1998, 193 refer to Aeginetan matt painted as Sparse Matt Painted. Chemical analysis (atomic absorption spectrometry) differentiated sampled fabrics in this class to originate from neither the northeastern Peloponnese, Attica, nor Euboea. For petrographic analyses also see Zerner 1986, 64–66; 1988, I; Abell 2021, 250–264, 284, 300–301, 306–307.

²⁰ Unpublished nos. K.4612, K.4613.

²¹ Cummer, Schofield 1984, 46 first designates Standard Matt Painted as a term. It is used thereafter in: Schofield 2011; Abell 2014; Abell 2021.

²² E.g., Sarri 2010; Pruckner 2011, 324–346; Gauss, Kiriati 2011. “Mattbemalt” refers to Aeginetan matt-painted pottery in the Middle–Late Bronze Age. Class K1/A in Gauss, Kiriati 2011.

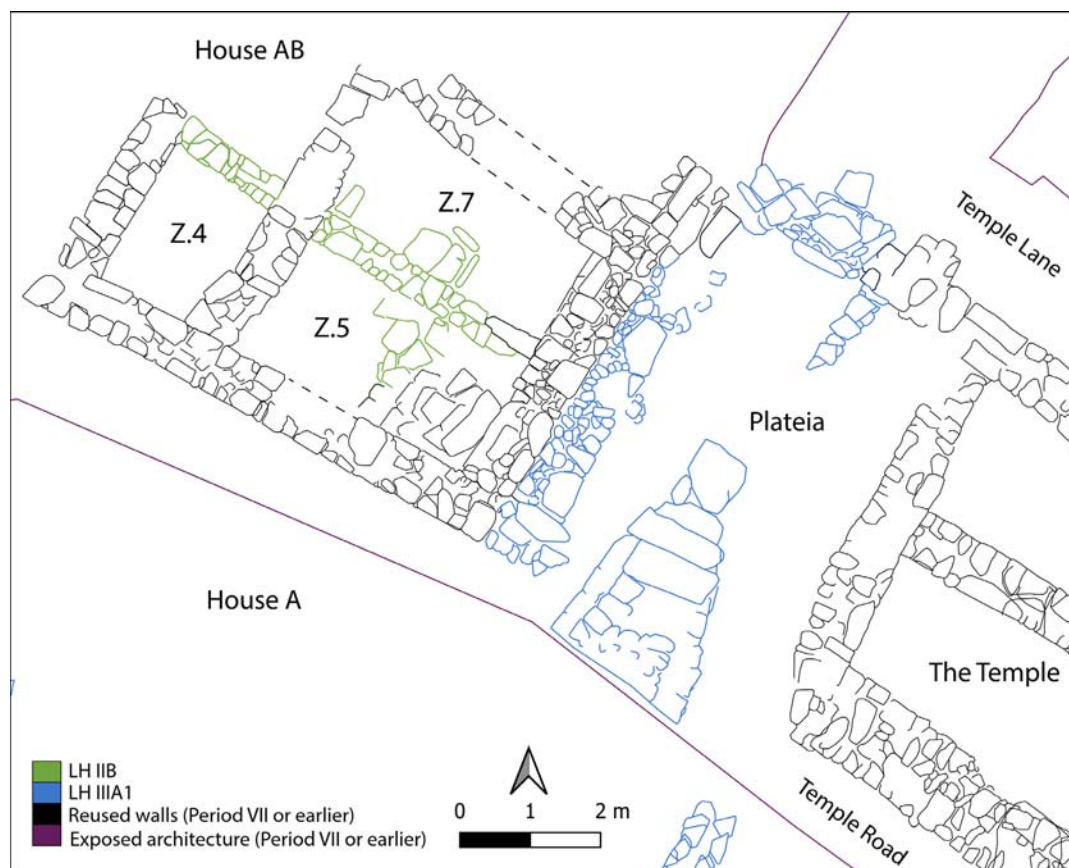


Figure 3. Plan of House AB (based on Architects Field Sheet NE Area G by Lloyd E. Cotsen, Roger L. Holzen, and W. Willson Cummer. By the author).

ATTIC

The Attic class refers to fabrics with clay sources in Attica.²³ Fabrics from this class are medium-soft to slightly powdery reddish yellow (5YR 7/6 reddish yellow) with soft round-subrounded white, rounded black, and fine silver mica inclusions.²⁴

Fine Solid Painted Burnished or Unburnished ~Acropolis Burnished

The distinguishing feature of this class is a red or reddish-yellow slip (2.5YR 5/4–5/6, 2.5YR 6/6, 5YR 5/6, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow) applied to a light surface (2.5YR 7/6 light red) that is sometimes burnished. The fabric is invariably fine; it is medium-soft to slightly powdery. Hard fired examples are less common. Vessels are handmade and wheel-made.

The fine matt monochrome burnished class is equivalent to Mountjoy's Acropolis burnished ware (Mountjoy 1981, 15; Zerner 1983, 110); the red burnished wheel-made pottery from Kiapha Thiti;²⁵ and solidly painted burnished ware from Kontopigado (Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2017, 6–7).

Forms attested in this class include goblets, cups, shallow cups, and jars.

²³ Morris, Jones 1998, 191–194 confirmed Attica as the region of origin for this ware by chemical analysis (Atomic absorption spectrometry). Select sherds from Period VIII contexts at Ayia Irini, Kea were tested.

²⁴ See Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2017, 7 for a similar description of solidly painted burnished ware from Kontopigado.

²⁵ Maran 1992, 136–139; designated as ware A6.

LH IIB–IIIA₁ AT AYIA IRINI

A stratified Period VIIc deposit was excavated in a three-room semi-basement structure, House AB (Fig. 3). The lower floor, made of packed earth and stone paving, preserves a period of use in LH IIB middle.²⁶ An upper floor of packed earth preserves a period of use in LH IIB advanced.²⁷

House AB, lower floor, LH IIB middle²⁸

The lower floor assemblage from House AB is comprised of shapes functional for drinking/dining and storage: goblets (FS 254), shallow cups (FS 219), Vapheio cups (FS 224), one stirrup jar (FS 169), a squat jug (FS 87), local yellow slipped coarseware basins, and pithoi. Decorative motifs are restricted to stipple, foliate band, running spiral, and a few other outliers (e.g., argonauts in marinescapes, tassel at the base of handles) (Table 3). In addition to the fine decorated wares, Acropolis burnished wares are present as goblets, cups, and basins. Amphorae imported from Aegina were decorated with linear motifs in matt paint. Very few local yellow slipped goblets, similar in shape to imported goblets, were produced during LH IIB middle. The small-scale production of local wares suggests a limited size or capacity within the local potting community during Period VIIc, which led to a reliance on intra-regional exchange networks for specific forms suited to drinking/dining.

Table 3: Shapes and painted patterns, LH IIB middle, lower floor of House AB.

SHAPE	PAINTED PATTERN	NUMBER
Shallow Rounded Cup FS 219	Stipple FM 77	1
Vapheio Cup FS 224 (1)	Foliate Band FM 64	1
Goblet or Ewer FS 254, FS 143/144: Ephyraean	Tassel FM 72	2
Goblet FS 254: Non Ephyraean	Running spiral FM 46	1
Alabastron FS 84	Foliate Band FM 64	1
Squat handled jug FS 87	Running quirk? FM 48	1
Closed (Pithoid jar?)	Stipple FM 77	1
Stirrup Jar FS 169 Marine Style	Tricurved rockwork FM 33, Argonaut FM 22.8	1
TOTAL		9

Two decorated finewares provide evidence for dating the lower floor level in House AB to LH IIB middle. The first, a stirrup jar (Fig. 4.2), is decorated with one (or more) argonaut(s) (FM 22) within a seascape (FM 33 tricurved rockwork). The body of the argonaut—filled with vertical striations—finds parallels in LM IB/LH IIA marine style, while the interspaced arrangement of argonauts within the seascape is reminiscent of alternating style (Betancourt 1985, 140–148). The motifs are, however, painted against an uncrowded background—lacking the *horror vacui* that defines marine style in LM IB—and with stylistic elements familiar to LH IIB. For example, the argonaut tendrils are stylistically typical of LH IIB, featuring curtailed ends that replace suckers on the tentacles. This

²⁶ Hershenson 1998, 161–168 presented a typology and morphology of LH IIB fine wares from House AB.

²⁷ LH IIB middle–advanced are defined following Rutter's (2020, pp. 657–727) study of the Group G deposit from Tsoungiza.

²⁸ About 50% of the lots from the first floor were recorded as discard. The wares were coarse fabrics and mainly included conical cups, tripod vessels, pithoi, and flat bases with post-firing holes in their center. Indeed, flat bases with post-firing holes have the second highest discard rate, behind the conical cup.



Figure 4.1. Ephyraean Goblet with Running Spiral, lower floor House AB (K.4619). 4.2. Stirrup jar from House AB (drawn by Rosemary Robertson).

design is conceptually similar to the running spiral that would become popular by LH IIIA1.²⁹

The second vessel is a goblet (Fig. 4.1) decorated with running spiral that is similar in form and syntax to Ephyraean style goblets but differs in two notable ways.³⁰ The goblet from House AB has a smaller size and capacity, and it is decorated with horizontal running spiral across the upper shoulder zone. The decorative syntax differs from the typical Ephyraean manner, which features a singular isolated facial motif that can sometimes be accompanied by a pattern at the base of the handle(s).³¹ The absence of similar goblets in Period VIIb destruction deposits at Ayia Irini suggests that the morphological changes to the shape of the goblet, along with changes in decorative syntax, are chronologically significant, suggesting a slightly later phase in LH IIB (~ LH IIB middle).³²

Stipple decoration above a lower body band occurs on shallow cups (FS 219) and handleless jars (FS 77). The association of the two shapes and style with the lower floor level suggests an LH IIB

²⁹ Mountjoy 1972, 125–128; 1974, 177–180 Type B.

³⁰ Hershenson 1998, 163. See also Rutter 2023 for more on the Ephyraean goblet, including decorative motifs.

³¹ Hershenson 1998, 163 suggested that perhaps the smaller body of the goblet prefigures the Mycenaean kylix. Rutter 2023, p. 147.

³² For more on the inclusion of Ephyraean goblets within LH IIA destruction deposits at Ayia Irini see: Schofield 1984, 155; Hershenson 1998, 163; Hatzaki 2007, 195–196; Abell 2021, 214–215; Rutter 2023, 147–168.



Figure 5. 1. Plain lamp from House AB lower floor (K.2494) (by the author). 2. Alabastron, upper floor level House AB (drawn by Rosemary Robertson), 3. Yellow slipped jar, House AB upper floor (by the author), 4–5. Yellow slipped goblets, House AB upper floor (by the author), 6. Jug with cut-away neck, House AB upper floor (drawn by Rosemary Robertson).

date for this syntax, dissimilar to sites such as Tsoungiza where the same shapes decorated with stipple appear in LH IIB advanced (Rutter 2020, 699).

Storage vessels and utilitarian wares were either locally produced in LH IIB or reused from earlier periods. A unique example from the LH IIB middle floor level is a plain local coarse lamp that has a shallow bowl with two mirroring rectangular spouts cut in the square horizontal rim (Fig. 5.1).³³ Locally produced utilitarian wares were often decorated with yellow slip and include interesting specimens, such as an oval base with a post-firing hole bored in the center of the base. Additionally, a basin rim with yellow slip indicates a utilitarian purpose for yellow slipped wares in association with the lower floor in House AB.³⁴

Locally made coarse conical cups (FS 204) were found in large quantities on the lower floor; many (ca. 44) were discarded. The conical cups are morphologically similar to Period VIIb types, featuring thick flat bases that are sometimes raised, thick walls, and a thick lipless rim.³⁵ A few examples of repurposed cups exist; their body walls were ground or polished near to the base, possibly for reuse as stoppers or small lids.

House AB, upper floor, LH IIB advanced

The upper floor level in House AB—a packed earth layer directly above the lower floor—was used in LH IIB advanced. The ceramics, from a purely stylistic point of view, have conventionally been

³³ Painted *comparanda* are known from Mycenae. Pers. comm. K. Shelton (Oct. 2022).

³⁴ See Abell 2021, 211, for Period VII yellow slipped basins from House B. No. 441 (95, fig. 43) is similar in shape to the example from House AB; the latter, however, does not preserve painted decoration.

³⁵ Type M or Type 1 in Ayia Irini terms (e.g., Schofield 2011, pl. 37).

assigned to the transitional LH IIB/IIIA1 phase (e.g., stipple decoration, alabastra with concentric circles on their bases)³⁶ but can now be considered to fall within LH IIB advanced in accordance with Rutter's third phase of LH IIB in the Group G deposit from Tsoungiza.³⁷

The decoration on goblets (FS 254) departed from the Ephyraean style, incorporating additional decoration such as painted rims and patterned ornamentation within the shoulder zone above linear bands. Ladder pattern became a common decoration on handles, especially of goblets and occasionally on kraters (FS 6/7). Squat alabastra (FS 84) are decorated with rockwork I, a typical pattern during LH IIB, but with concentric circles on their bases, anticipating the favored LH IIIA1 decorative scheme (Fig. 5.2). Stipple decoration on handleless jars and shallow cups is attested at a higher rate than on the lower floor level in House AB, evincing the increasing popularity of this style and these shapes. Plain goblets simultaneously begin to be imported from the mainland and the plain carinated kylix (FS 267) first appears. This carinated kylix provides a synchronism to Rutter's third phase (~LH IIB advanced) from the Group G deposit at Tsoungiza.

Table 4: Shapes and painted patterns, LH IIB advanced, upper floor of House AB.

SHAPE	PAINTED PATTERN	NUMBER
Shallow Rounded Cup FS 219	Stipple FM 77	2
Handleless jar FS 77	Stipple FM 77	1
Goblet FS 254: Non-Ephyraean	Pendant rockwork FM 32:5	3
	Curve-stemmed spiral with double stamen FM 49	1
	Scale FM 70	1
	Close spiral	2
	Running Spiral FM 46	3
	Scale pattern, upside down FM 70:7	1
Krater FS 6/7	Scale pattern FM 70:1	1
	Rockwork FM 32:5, Concentric circles on base	3
Alabastron FS 84	Stems or palm (under handle)	1
	Base (only) with concentric circle	2
Bowl?	Stipple FM 77	1
Pithoid Jar FS 23	Scale pattern FM 70:1	1
1 undetermined	Foliate band FM 64	1
TOTAL		24

Acropolis burnished was the largest class of imported ceramics. A restricted range of shapes are attested, namely goblets and cups, with limited examples of the jar in LH IIB advanced deposits. Aeginetan Standard Matt Painted hydriae and amphorae comprise a considerable quantity of the LH IIB advanced assemblage. An imported Aeginetan jug with a cut-away neck (Fig. 5.6) finds parallels from Phylakopi and from the Acropolis wells in Athens (Mountjoy 1981, no. 252; Barber 2008, 164, 220, fig. 46, no. MM 122).

³⁶ Hershenson (1998, 162–165, fn. 29) believed that the second floor level of House AB fell within LH IIIA1, though she acknowledged another intermediary phase between Period VIIc and VIII style ceramics may have existed at other sites such as the Menelaion and Asine. Mountjoy 1981, 30, 43, nos. 167, 168, 323; 1986, 44–45, 51, 63; Shelton 1996, 281, 300. Contra see: Hershenson 1998, 164, fn. 29; Mountjoy 1999, 211, fn. 1139; Catling et al. 2009, 348; Rutter 2020, 699.

³⁷ Rutter 2020, 713–715.

Local yellow slipped pottery was produced in small quantities during LH IIB advanced for tablewares and utilitarian wares. Painted decoration on locally produced ceramics is limited to the neck of one small jar (Fig. 5.3). Plain yellow slipped goblets (FS 256) are morphologically similar to specimens from the LH IIB middle deposits in House AB, which imitated mainland imported forms (Fig. 5.4, 5.5).³⁸ Conical cups (FS 204) retain convex body walls; however, they are thinner and taper in thickness towards the lip in comparison to the thicker-walled LH IIB middle cups. The altered shape seems to foreshadow the handleless cups of Period VIII that become taller, thinner-walled, and have a raised base.

The absence of ceramics typical to LH IIIA1 strengthen the dating of LH IIB advanced for the upper floor level in House AB. There is a paucity of plain Mycenaean pottery commonly found in LH IIIA1 assemblages in Houses A,³⁹ C,⁴⁰ and F (e.g., bowls, basins, kylikes).⁴¹ The absence of these forms have also been noted at Kiapha Thiti where LH IIIA1 material is poorly represented.⁴² A restricted range of shapes known from the Athens Acropolis wells are lacking at Ayia Irini, similar to Kontopigado, but differing from Kiapha Thiti: bridge-spouted jugs and collar-necked jars with perforated rims.⁴³ Open shapes imported from Aegina are also not present.⁴⁴

Cookware fabrics from House AB were rarely saved by the excavators: one rim from the lower LH IIB floor level, and two tripod legs from the upper floor level are preserved.

LH IIIA2 AT AYIA IRINI

Three LH IIIA2 (early–late) deposits are discussed here: Room 3 in House J (Davis 1977, 14–15, 41–45; Schofield 2011, 77); the Building M bothros (Caskey 1972, 400, pl. 97, nos. L32–L34; Mountjoy 1999, 882, fig. 360, no. 66); and the Spring Chamber (Caskey 1971, 365–367, fig. 6, pl. 78 d–g; 1972, 398, pl. 97, K1–K6). Other areas with LH IIIA2 deposits include the area outside of the NE Bastion (Caskey 1966, 365), a structure in Area L,⁴⁵ bothros A.1 (Cummer, Schofield 1983, 128–130, pls. 46, 88 a–l), and Building M which is associated with the Building M bothros presented below.⁴⁶

The Spring Chamber and Building M bothros are discussed together as their assemblages have substantial overlap. House J Room 3 is treated separately, on account of the utilitarian nature of the deposit.

The Spring Chamber is a natural water source that was accessed via a deep stairwell outside the fortification wall (Fig. 6). It was used as a midden in Period VIII. Two accumulation layers were identified by excavators: LH IIIA2 early–late pottery was mixed in both.⁴⁷ The Building M bothros is a semi-circular structure built from small–large cobbles against the exterior face of a two-room structure (Fig. 7). The pit was 70 cm deep.

³⁸ Abell 2021. N.B. yellow-slipped goblets provide a synchronism for defining the Late Cycladic II ceramic period. For difficulties in defining a LC II ceramic period see Earle 2018, 43–55.

³⁹ Cummer, Schofield 1984, 66, 69, 74, nos. 335–340, pl. 52.

⁴⁰ Milburn 1965, 82, 99, 107, 108, nos. 4 (K.2298), 34 (K.2287), 52 (K.2096), 54a, pls. LIIC, LXVIIb, LXXIIb, LXXIV.

⁴¹ Preston 1972, 60–61, 113–114, 131–132, 139–141, 152, nos. 15–17, 16, 17a, 17b, 17c, 17, 18a, 18b, 20a, 9, 10a, 10b, 14a, 14b, 12, pls. XVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXVII.

⁴² Maran 1992, 208–210. Further distinctions can be drawn between Kea and the settlements in Southern Greece (e.g., Menelaion, Nichoria, Mycenae Atreus Ridge) that help distinguish an LH IIB advanced date from LH IIIA1; namely, the use of monochrome lustrous, pattern painted, and plain fine pottery (Kardamaki 2017, 73–172; Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2017, 27).

⁴³ Mountjoy 1981, fig. 3, nos. 3–5, 11, 12; fig. 4, nos. 13–18; fig. 19, nos. 212, 217. Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2017, 26–27.

⁴⁴ See Gauss, Kiriati 2011, 243–247; Lis 2017 for discussion on Aeginetan imports in LH IIIA1 layers at Mitrou.

⁴⁵ Unpublished.

⁴⁶ Unpublished. Currently under study by the author.

⁴⁷ For earlier use of the Spring Chamber see: Schofield 2011, 53–56, 63–68, pls. 48–50.

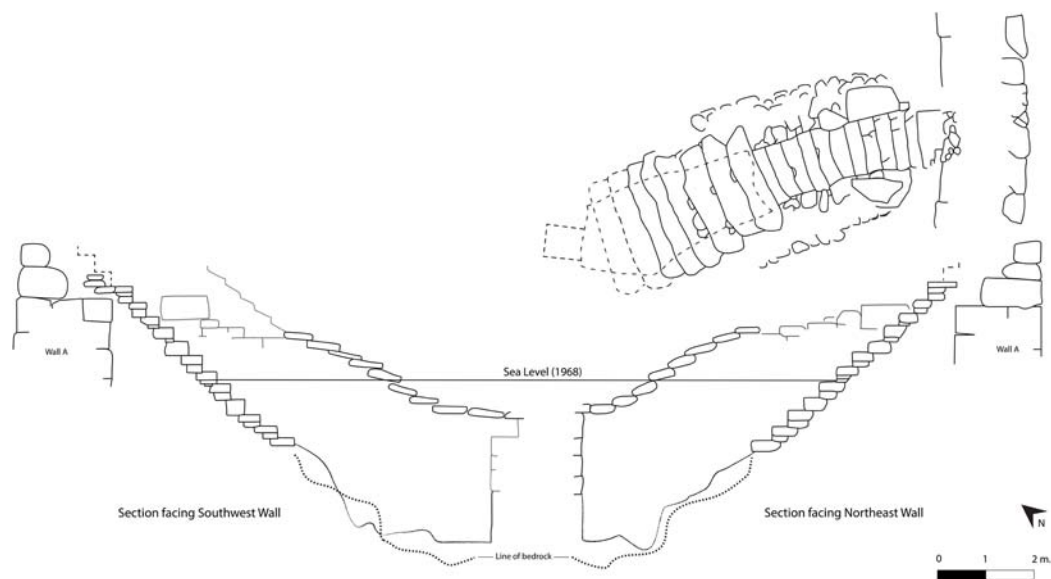


Figure 6. Plan of the spring Chamber (based on architect's sheet by Roger L. Holtzen. By the author).



Figure 7. Photo of Area M bothros, looking West (Kea Excavation Archives).

Mycenaean painted fineware is the most common class identified from deposits in the Spring Chamber and Building M bothros. Kylikes (rounded FS 256, 257) and stemmed bowls (FS 304) are the most frequently attested form (Fig. 8). Black or brown monochrome decoration is the predominant surface treatment on kylikes and stemmed bowls, followed by a variety of pattern painted motifs (Table 5). Linear painted decoration is less common; it occurs on large open shapes, such as the krater (FS 8, 9) and stemmed bowl (FS 304), and occasionally on smaller open shapes (FS 249,

K.2769).⁴⁸ Other open forms belonging to the Mycenaean painted fineware class include a carinated cup (FS 230); a one-handled bowl (FS 208/283); a deep bowl (FS 284); and a miniature rhyton (FS 199). A wider range of closed shapes are attested, including jugs (FS 118 or 112); stirrup jars; an alabastron (FS 94); a rounded alabastron; and a feeding bottle.

Table 5: Shapes and painted patterns, from LH IIIA2 deposits discussed in text.

SHAPE	PAINTED PATTERN	NUMBER
Jug FS 118, 112	Foliate band FM 64:19-20	1
Lid	Foliate band FM 64:20, Chevron	1
Kylix (round) FS 256	Horizontal tricurved arches FM 62 Iris bud fill (horizontal)	1
	Mycenaean flowers FM 18:34, Whorlshells FM 23	1
	Whorl shells FM 23	3
	Undetermined hatched loop?	1
	Linked whorl-shell FM 24:3	2
	Mycenaean flower FM 18	3
	Tricurved arch FM 62	1
	Octopus FM 2:1	2?
	Running spiral FM 46:55	1
	Multiple stem and tongue FM 19	1
	Wavy line FM 53:11	1
	Undetermined, badly worn	4
	Hooked multiple stem with interlocking Horizontal stems FM 19:49-53	1
Stemmed bowl FS 304	Isolated semicircles FM 41	2
	Panel FM 75	1
	Linked whorl-shell FM 24:3	1
	N-pattern FM 60:2	1
Deep bowl FS 284	Hooked stem FM 19	1
Stirrup jar, squat FS 178	Parallel chevrons FM 58:15	1
Stirrup jar	Whorl shells FM 23, concentric circles FM 41:15	1
	Multiple stem FM 19	1
	Mycenaean flower FM 18C	1
	Concentric circles on false spout FM 41:15	1
Alabastron FS 94	Tricurved arch FM 62	1
Alabastron rounded	Foliate band FM 64:20	1
Carinated cup?	Zonal chevron FM 58:32	2
Cup or bowl	Undetermined, badly worn	2
One-handled bowl FS 208/283	U pattern FM 45	1
Rhyton, miniature FS 199	Vertical whorl shell FM 23	1
TOTAL		41

⁴⁸ Caskey 1972, 398–400, pl. 97, L32; Mountjoy 1986, 87, fig. 105; 1999, 882, no. 66. Mountjoy (1999, 882, nos. 70–71) suggests the linear pattern is the Boeotian stripe.

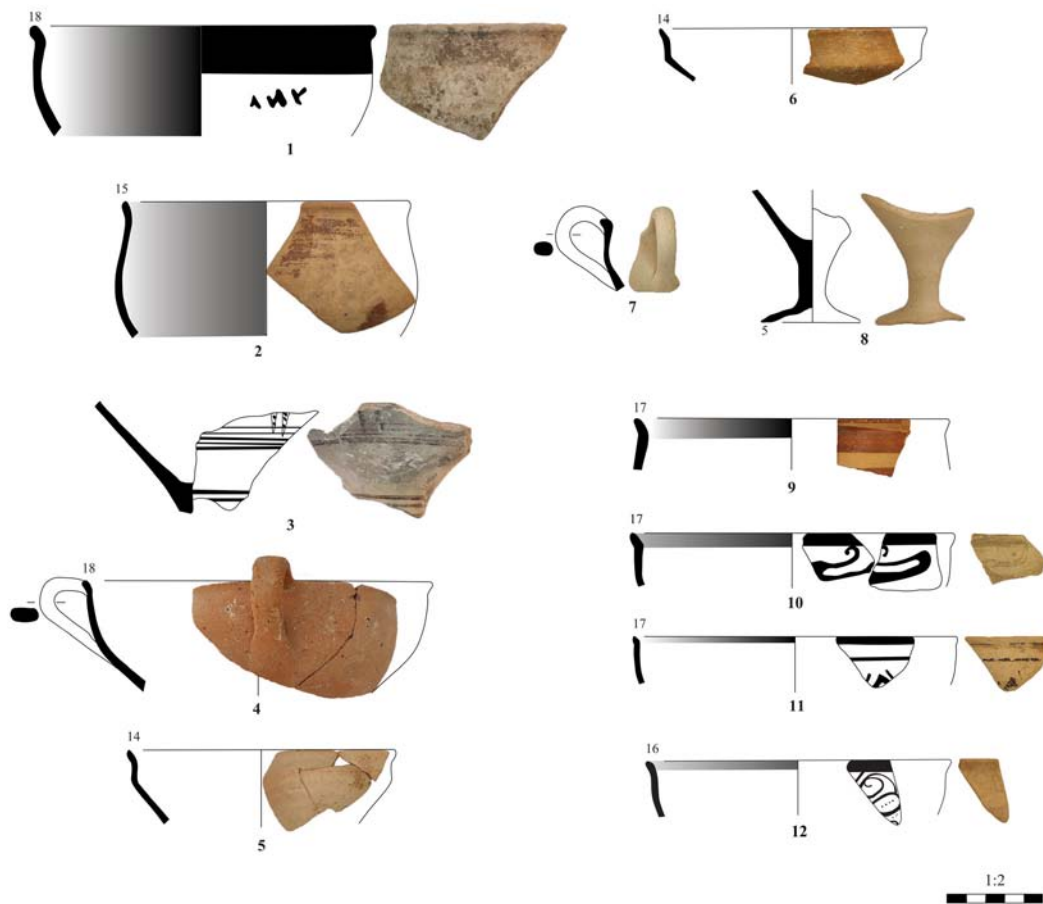


Figure 8. Kylix profiles, Spring Chamber and Area M bothros (by the author).

Fine pattern painted kylikes (FS 256), likely from Crete, are present in small quantities (Fig. 9).⁴⁹ They are identifiable by their shape (rounded outturned rim, rounded shoulder, and two round handles attached at the rim) that includes a hollow stem. Cretan imports—identifiable by shape, style, or fabric—are otherwise rare in LH IIIA2 deposits at Ayia Irini.

The most common open shape on site in LH IIIA2 is the plain, fine to medium, carinated kylix (FS 267). Examples are attested in all three LH IIIA2 contexts discussed here (House J Room 3, Building M bothros, the Spring Chamber). There is some variation in the rims. Rims can be short and outturned/pointed or slightly flaring with either shallow or deep bowls (Fig. 8.5, 8.6). Examples of flaring rims are often found in contexts alongside LH IIIA2 late shapes and styles (e.g., within the Building M bothros), suggesting that this particular shape of the kylix may have been introduced to Ayia Irini by LH IIIA2 late, preceding other Cycladic islands such as Phylakopi and Tenos where known similar examples are dated to LH IIIB by their respective assemblages.⁵⁰

The Building M bothros deposit, located against the eastern exterior wall of Building M, is the second sealed deposit that contained much LH IIIA2 pottery. The stylistic and morphological qualities of the ceramics indicate a date in LH IIIA2 late, perhaps synchronous with LH IIIA2 late/LH IIIB early deposits from the mainland (Fig. 10).⁵¹ A deep bowl (FS 284) decorated with hooked stem (FM 19) (Fig. 10.5) is

⁴⁹ K.3308.

⁵⁰ Angelopoulou 2019, 54–61, esp. nos. 8–11. Earle 2019, 231, fig. 11, nos. 27–33.

⁵¹ French 1965; Schönfeld (1988, 163, table 4) redated the Atreus Ridge deposit and the terrace below the House of Shields.



Figure 9. LM IIIA2 kylix (K.3308), Spring Chamber (drawn by Susan Bird).

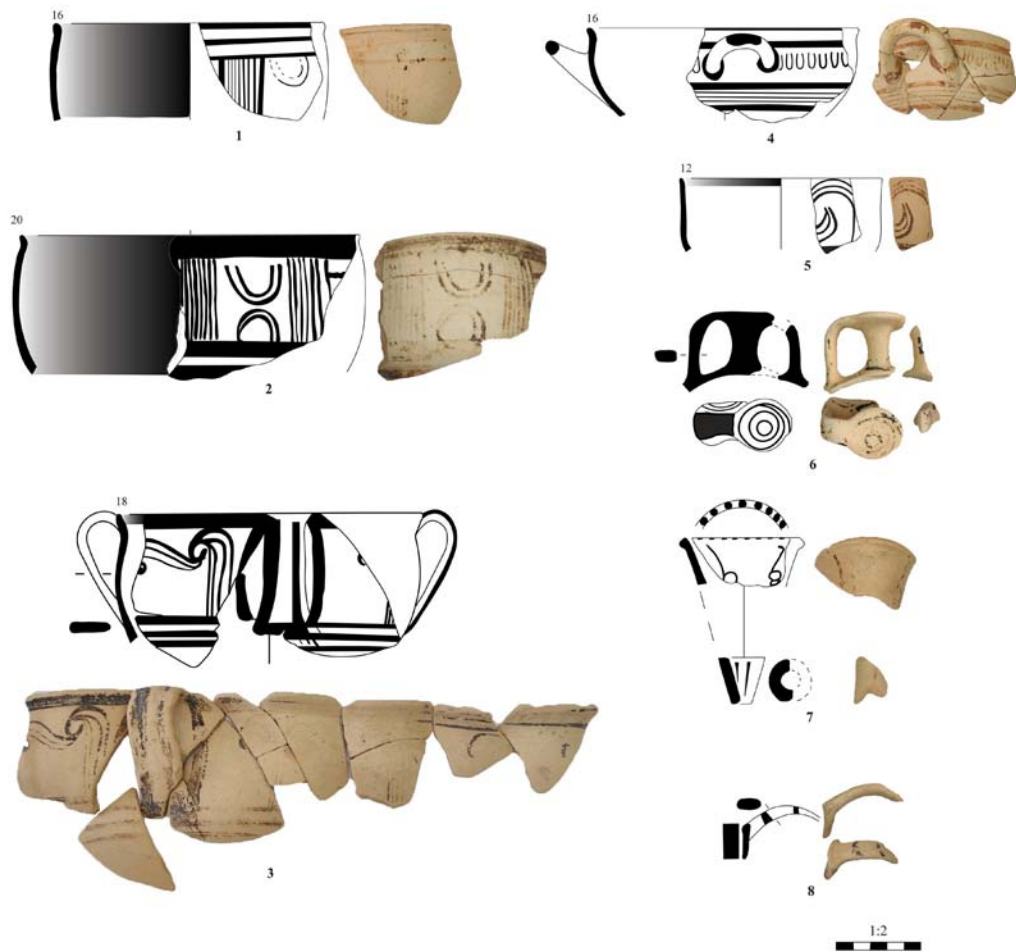


Figure 10. Area M bothros, pattern painted pottery (by the author).

a rare example of the form before it becomes common in LH IIIB. A miniature rhyton (FS 199) is decorated with vertical whorl shell (FM 23) and blobs along the rim (Fig. 10.7). Included within the bothros are a few LH IIIB fragments: for example, a stemmed bowl (FS 304) (Fig. 10.1) decorated with isolated semicircles (FM 41) framed within a panel (FM 75) and painted solid on the interior in lustrous black. A second example (Fig. 10.2) is a stemmed bowl decorated with two isolated semicircles (FM 43) framed by panels (FM 75) with a trace of wavy line (FM 53:27) and brown monochrome lustrous interior.

Ceramics in the local medium-coarse classes in the Building M bothros deposit indicate that local potters were experimenting with novel surface treatments and firing conditions on various shapes

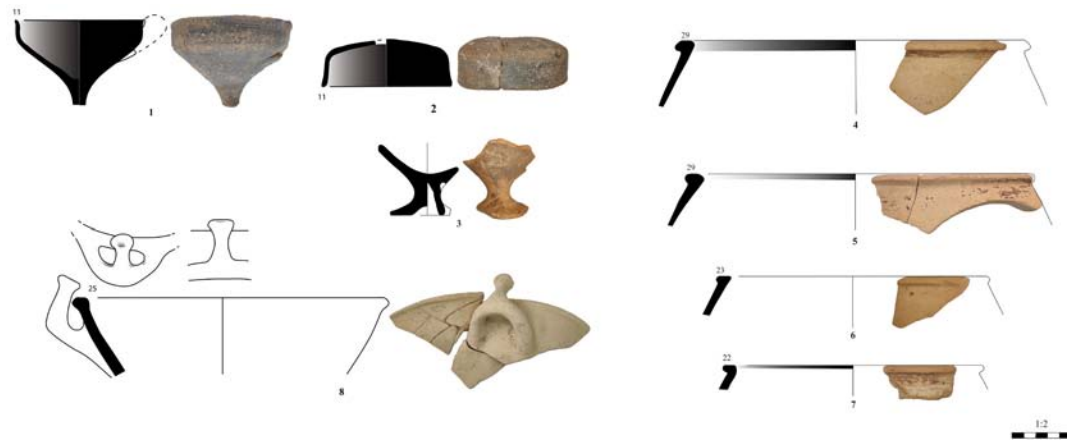


Figure 11. 1–2. Carinated kylix and lid, Area M bothros (by the author), 3. Kylix/goblet with drip on exterior, Spring Chamber (by the author), 4–7. Spouted krater profiles, Spring Chamber and Area M bothros (by the author), 8. Button handled kalathos, Area M bothros (by the author).

during LH IIIA2. A carinated kylix (FS 267) and a lid (Fig. 11.1. 11.2), possibly from the local class, are coated in a thick black slip that was applied with a brush, as evinced by the streaky application.⁵² Both the black paint and the application by brush are uncommon techniques at Ayia Irini during Periods VIIc–VIII. It is possible that these specimens were imported from a neighboring, geologically similar area, perhaps southern Euboea, although there is currently no evidence of ceramic production in those areas coinciding with LH IIIA2 activity at Ayia Irini.⁵³

A third example of the use of thick black slip was found in the Spring Chamber on a local kylix/goblet (FS 256) (Fig. 11.3). The thick slip is preserved on the inside and outside of the vessel; but, peculiar to this example is the uneven application on the exterior, which has left a drip mark above the base. The potter seems to have submerged the kylix/goblet rim first while holding the foot. The thick remnant slip dripped towards the base once the vessel was turned right side up.

Fine Mycenaean painted and local unpainted (spouted?) kraters (FS 298) are attested in the Spring Chamber and Building M bothros deposits. There is considerable variety in the shape of the rims which can be horizontal, slightly downsloping, or rounded (Fig. 11.4–11.7). The body consistently spreads outward at an angle below the rim. Sherd material does not preserve joins to semi-globular lower body fragments expected of FS 298. Spouts that may join to the krater rim fragments are rare; one was found in the Spring Chamber.⁵⁴ Decorated examples of these kraters feature painted rims, inside and out, sometimes with a band on the exterior below the rim. The fine Mycenaean painted kraters have diameters that range from 23–29 cm, while local unpainted examples can reach up to 32 cm. Although comparanda for the spouted krater (FS 298) in LH IIIA2 are rare,⁵⁵ specimens in the Spring Chamber deposits suggest that this shape was in use at Ayia Irini during LH IIIA2. In contrast, the (spouted?) krater fragments from the Building M bothros may belong later in LH IIIA2 late/LH IIIB early.

⁵² The fabric of these two specimens differs from other examples from the local medium-coarse class in the color (7.5YR 5/3 brown; 7.5YR 6/1) and composition of the paste. Locally produced kylikes and kylix/goblets in LH IIIA2 tend to have less subangular hard opaque gray and white (<1–1.5mm) and less subangular gray shiny (<1–1mm).

⁵³ LH IIIA2 activity in southern Euboea is unattested. Styra and Philagra have only yielded LH IIIC material (Popham 1966, 104–105) and no LBA material was identified by the Norwegian Archaeological Survey in the Karystia plain (Tankosić et al. 2021, 7, 27–28). The tomb at Chalkis remains the most substantial LH IIIA assemblage (Hankey 1952, 54; Kramer-Hajos 2020, 78). The central area of Euboea at Amarnthos, Aliveri, Avlonari, and Kyri connect the Euboean Gulf and Aegean coast and attest small *tholoi* (Knodell 2021, 52–54; 2022, 117).

⁵⁴ *Errata* to a question by E. Kardamaki regarding the frequency of spouts in contexts with such krater rims.

⁵⁵ See Mountjoy 1999, 29, 746, for LH IIIA2 spouted kraters from Phocis. The spouted krater becomes more common in LH IIIB–IIIC.

A button-handled *kalathos* was found in the Building M bothros (Fig. 11.8).⁵⁶ The vertical protrusions on the handles are an uncommon addition to *kalathoi*.⁵⁷ Metal comparanda survive from a handful of sites on the mainland and central Crete.⁵⁸ Ceramic comparanda are few, ranging in date from LH IIIA2–IIIC on the mainland and Crete.⁵⁹

House J (Figs. 12, 13)

The assemblage from House J was discovered on a floor level within the confines of Room 3 (Fig. 12).⁶⁰ House J was partially reused in LH IIB as evinced by the inclusion of goblets and small cups deposited overtop debris from the Period VIIb earthquake destruction (Schofield 2011, 80, 82). Reuse of House J in Period VIII was localized to Rooms 2 and 3, beginning in LH IIIA1 with the re-enforcing of walls in Room 3.

Sixteen whole pots found upon a floor comprise the LH IIIA2 assemblage (Fig. 13). All are local unpainted medium-coarse or Mycenaean medium unpainted. The forms include carinated kylikes (FS 267), handleless cups (FS 204), basins (FS 294/295), a large jar, a fineware lid, and a local coarseware lid. Much like House AB, conical cups were discarded at a high rate (ca. 25) by excavators.

Eight examples of local and imported handleless cups (FS 204) were found in House J (Fig. 13.1–13.8).⁶¹ They are conical or convex with flat raised bases and lipless rims, with one example that has a raised base and a spreading lip. The diameters of the handleless cups range from 10–14 cm. The local handleless cups were produced in a medium fabric. The clay color and the size and number of inclusions vary, indicating experimentation in clay processing (i.e., levigation) and various firing conditions in LH IIIA2. Wheel forming marks are pronounced on the interior of some vessels and are occasionally noticeable on the exterior body. The bases of locally produced cups preserve a series of concentric striations left from the removal process from the wheel,⁶² similar to cups from preceding periods. Other shapes in Period VIII with similar marks made during removal from the wheel are very rare, including a kylix base from the structure in Area M that is currently under study.⁶³

A unique shape was found with the assemblage in House J. It is a local unpainted medium-coarse spouted carinated bowl, also known as the Cycladic bowl/cup or carinated-bowl (Fig. 13.11). It is without parallels from Ayia Irini or elsewhere in the Cyclades.⁶⁴ The bowl is bridge-spouted with a horizontal loop handle opposite the spout. Two butterfly lug handles are attached on either side

⁵⁶ N.B. Two more button-handled *kalathoi* have been identified from the associated Area M structure currently under study. There are no cross-joins.

⁵⁷ See Graziadio 1999, 365–377 for an overview on button-handled and wishbone-handled vessels.

⁵⁸ Examples are known from Asine, the Athenian Agora (Immerwahr 1971), Crete (Chania, Phaistos, Sellopoulo, Zapher Papoura), and Dendra. Type B1 (Matthäus 1980, 265–267, pls. 47–48, 70B).

⁵⁹ See Lis, Van Damme 2020, 185–210, for use-wear on *kalathoi* and basins preserving evidence for ritual hand washing, a performative custom used by elites to distinguish themselves in feasting events.

⁶⁰ See Schofield 2011, 77–100 for a presentation Periods V–VII of House J.

⁶¹ In the Argolid: Mycenae (Wace 1921–22/1922–23, 150–151, fig. 33c), Petsas House (Shelton, this volume); in Laconia: Ayios Stephanos in small quantities (Mountjoy 2008a, fig. 6.9, no. 3112); in Messenia, Pylos, Shape 11 (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 223, 259, fig. 337, 353–354; Blegen et al. 1973, 35, 42, 51, 92, 198, 205; Vitale, Stocker and Davis 2022, 133, fig. 5, nos. 2, 3), on Aegina, Sanctuary of Aphaia (Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 115, pls. 27, 74, nos. 854, 855).

⁶² Also attested at Ayios Vasileos, Laconia (Kardamaki 2017, 106).

⁶³ Kardamaki (2017, 100, fn. 221) notes that it is common for LH IIIB carinated kylikes (FS 267), angular bowls (FS 295), and small cups (FS 220) from Ayios Vasileios, Laconia, to have cut marks visible, possibly evincing mass production (Hruby 2006).

⁶⁴ The Cycladic bowl, cup, or carinated bowl, appears at Ayia Irini in Periods IV and V (MH I–II), decreasing in number by Period VI. (Overbeck 1984, 110; Davis 1986, 5; Overbeck 1989a; 1989b). It is generally considered a fossil type for MC and LC I. Marthari (1993, 88–91) distinguishes four variations of the Cycladic bowl in LC I (spouted, bridge-spouted, tall, low). Kean Cycladic bowls were produced without spouts (Barber 2007, 188). Spouted Cycladic cups/bowls are not included in Theran MC assemblages (Nikolakopoulou 2019, 157).

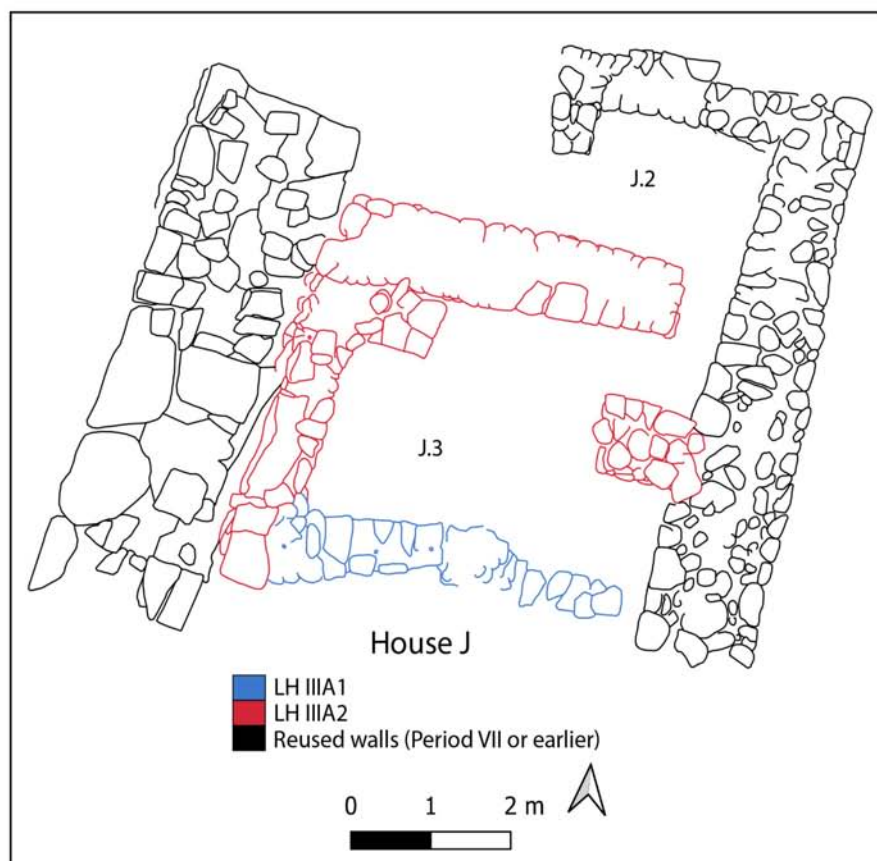


Figure 12. Plan of House J (based on Architects Field Sheet NW2 by Lloyd E. Cotsen, Roger L. Holzen, and W. Willson Cummer. By the author). Floor of Room 3, House J (photo by William Kittredge '64, Kea Excavation Archives).



Figure 13. Assemblage from Room 3, House J (by the author).

of the rim. There is a small ridge below the rim midway to the carinated shoulder. The interior and exterior surfaces are smoothed. Two other examples of spouted Cycladic bowls with lug handles are known from Ayia Irini but those vessels are considered anomalous and are dated by their respective assemblages to Period VI and Period VII.⁶⁵ The Cycladic bowl from Room 3 in House J differs in the attention paid to the ridging along the shoulder and its diameter at 16 cm, which exceeds the other examples by 1–2 cm.

Lug handles are otherwise present in the LH IIIA2 contexts in House J and the Building M bothros. The handles are either horizontal or vertical and are positioned along the rim of open and closed vessels. Examples are attested in medium to coarse, non-local fabrics (*viz.*, Mycenaean unpainted medium-coarse). The lugs are vertically perforated, such as a lug-handled jar rim from House J (Fig. 13.12) and the rim of a basin from the Area M bothros.

⁶⁵ For the MH III spouted Cycladic bowl see: Schofield 2011, 99, pl. 60, no. 1168 (K.4074) For the LH II Cycladic spouted bowl see: Cummer, Schofield 1984, 93, pl. 69, no. 1047 (K.3029). Spouted Cycladic bowls are also known from MH III–LH I contexts on the mainland: Asine (Nordquist 1987, 53, fig. 58, no. 1); Eleusis (Mylonas 1975, fig. 21β, no. 237; Kiapha Thiti (Maran 1992, 185, fig. 32, no. 983).

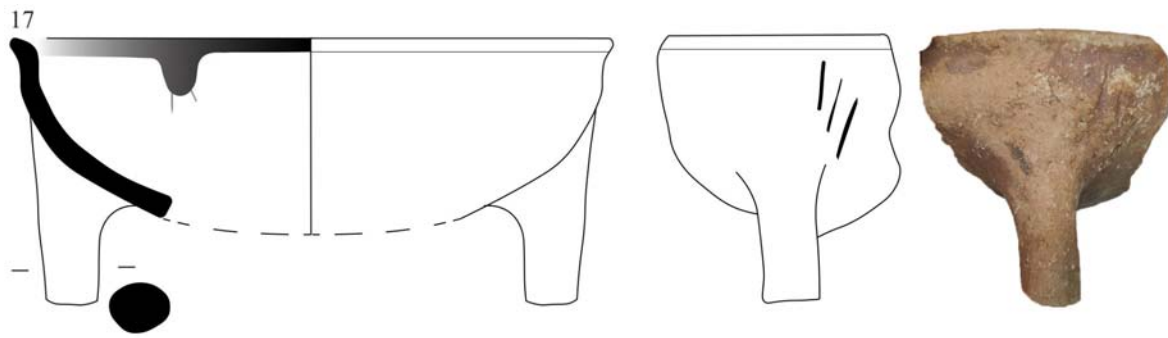


Figure 14. Tripod basin, Area M bothros (by the author).

LH IIIA2 Coarsewares

Local and imported coarsewares were present in LH IIIA2 deposits. Imported medium-coarse jugs from the mainland are often painted along the rim and neck in a semi-lustrous paint. Local red-brown slip becomes the preferred surface treatment on local coarseware and is sometimes polished.

Shapes that were locally produced include large and small tripod vessels and jars. A small tripod vessel was found with the Building M bothros assemblage (Fig. 14). It is a tripod basin with a short, rounded rim and shallow body, with an elliptical leg stub that does not taper in size towards the foot. The exterior and rim of the vessel were coated in a thick red-brown slip, with a drip mark visible on the interior from which a small splash mark radiates.

Rare or absent forms and decoration in LH IIIA2

Some forms that are absent from the LH IIIA2 deposits discussed above include variations of the rounded kylix (high-swung handles FS 272, rounded kylix with handles attached on the shoulder and belly). Examples of horned kylikes are known from bothros A.1,⁶⁶ but are absent in the Spring Chamber, Building M bothros, and House J. Mugs (FS 226) are rare with only two examples from the Spring Chamber, which are linear decorated and plain. The use of added white paint in pattern painted decoration is likewise only attested on ceramics from bothros A.1 (Cummer, Schofield 1983, 129, pl. 88c, e; Mountjoy 1999, 882); deterioration of white paint due to post-depositional processes (e.g., acidic soil stripping painted decoration from the surface of a vessel) does not seem responsible for the paucity of this treatment in the deposits from the Spring Chamber, Building M bothros, and House J. Group II kylikes (FS 256) distinguished by Mountjoy at Ayios Stephanos are missing, as is also the case at Tsoungiza (Mountjoy 2008a, 305, 307, fig. 6.5; Thomas 2011a, 193). Specialized cooking equipment (e.g., braziers, ladles, souvlaki stands/grills, griddles) and other cooking equipment (e.g., tripods) are very rare.⁶⁷

DISCUSSION

During Periods VIIc–VIII, Ayia Irini was integrated into effective distribution systems that facilitated large-scale exports from one or more centers in the Aegean. In Period VIIc, Ayia Irini was

⁶⁶ Unpublished.

⁶⁷ Fragments have only been found in mixed surface lots thus far.

well-connected to some regions of the Greek mainland, perhaps through a small-world network.⁶⁸ The most common areas of contact were Attica and the northeastern Peloponnese, as indicated by the large quantities of imported Acropolis burnished ware and fine lustrous painted ceramics. Aeginetan standard matt painted jugs or *hydriae* were regular imports during LH IIB. Conical cups continued to be locally produced in Period VIIc, indicating that the form was deeply embedded in practices at Ayia Irini even in the wake of the Period VIIb earthquake destruction. The specimens from the House AB LH IIB middle deposits are morphologically similar to the stout and thick-walled conical cups of LH I–IIA, before modifications in LH IIB advanced popularized thinner and taller body walls. Similar changes to conical cups have been observed in deposits from the Corinthia,⁶⁹ Laconia,⁷⁰ and Messenia⁷¹ perhaps indicating that changes to the conical cup during LH IIB may reflect standards set by workshops based on the mainland. The introduction of the plain carinated (or angular) kylix (FS 267)⁷² further indicates that regionally specific trends from the mainland reached Ayia Irini during LH IIB advanced.⁷³ At the same time, LM II imports from Crete are absent in LH IIB deposits from House AB.⁷⁴ A few painted examples of LM II goblets from other deposits at Ayia Irini (Houses A and C) suggest that LM II must have been contemporary with LH IIB advanced rather than LH IIA late/LH IIB early coinciding with the first appearance of the Ephraean style at Ayia Irini, or, to LH IIB middle when the lower floor of House AB was in use.⁷⁵

The LH IIIA1 ceramics from Ayia Irini indicate continuity and stability of interaction with external connections established in LH IIB: northeastern Peloponnese, Attica, and Aegina (Morris, Jones 1998, 189–194). Assemblages are mostly standardized in LH IIIA1 contexts from House A, C, and F.⁷⁶ Solid painted burnished open shapes from Attica (*viz.*, FS 265) continue to be imported. Northeastern Peloponnesian imports increase with a new decorative syntax on fine Mycenaean decorated shapes (piriform jars, krater) including painted rims, lower body bands, and favored pattern painted decoration of scale pattern and ivy. Plain Mycenaean pottery is introduced to Ayia Irini in

⁶⁸ Tartaron 2013, 190–198; 2015, 35. The small world may be understood as communities within relative proximity to one another that were bound by regular interaction due to geography, topography, phenomenological reasons, or social alliances (e.g., kinship).

⁶⁹ Rutter 2020, 614, 630, 636, 662, 708, figs. 9.48, 9.59, 9.61, nos. E66, E67, E107, E108, G71, G72.

⁷⁰ Menelaion (Catling 2009, 409); Ayios Vasileios (Kardamaki 2017, 100–101).

⁷¹ Palace of Nestor, Pylos, 5Z deposit (Vitale, Stocker, and Malapani 2021, 193–213).

⁷² See Rutter 2020, 712–716, esp. 713–714, who distinguishes one-handled carinated kylikes (FS 267) as a feature of the later stage of LH IIB from Group G at Tsoungiza. See also Thomas 2011b, 297–305 for the carinated kylix and shallow angular bowl and its social meaning from LH II–LH III.

⁷³ Carinated kylikes are attested from deposits in House B (Abell 2021, 58, fig. 33, pl. 27, nos. 201–205); House C (Milburn 1965, 82, pl. LII, no. 4c (K.2298)); House F (Preston 1972, 86, 131, 140, nos. 11, 12, 13a, 20a, 20b, 23, 24a, 24b, pls. XXV, XXXIII, XXXV). Carinated kylikes are known from the Argolid (Tiryns, Gercke, Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 22–23, fig. 7, no. 44), Attica (Schnitt 4, SE 3; Schnitt 6, SE 2 (Maran 1992, 28–29, 45)), the Corinthia (Prosymna, Tomb 17 (Blegen 1937, 18, fig. 104, no. 373); Tsoungiza (Rutter 2020, 704–705)), Laconia (Menelaion (Catling 2009, 27–32, 120–122, 204–207, nos. N23, 25, PH18–38, figs. 125, 161–162, pl. 81 d–e); Ayios Vasileios (Kardamaki 2017, 84–104, figs. 2–5, 6.72–82)), and Messenia (Palace of Nestor, Pylos, 5Z deposit (Vitale, Stocker, and Malapani 2021, 193–213)). NB, the form is not ubiquitous in deposits from the above regions. The carinated kylix (FS 267) is absent from deposits in Nichoria (Dickinson 1992, 480, 486–487, 528–534, 562–580), Asine (Frizell 1980, 60, 65, nos. 233–253, figs. 11–12, pl. 4), Korakou (Dickinson 1972, 106–112, pls. 32–34), Kontopigado (Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2017, 1–58, esp. 38), and from the Athens Wells (Mountjoy 1981). See also Rutter, this volume.

⁷⁴ The temporary use of House AB for storage may be the reason for the absence of LM II imported wares. See Hatzaki 2007, 213–214, for LM II synchronisms between the Aegean and east Mediterranean. See Rutter 2023 for the distribution of LBA II goblets.

⁷⁵ Room C.2, K.2303: Milburn 1965, 85–86, no. 14, pls. 50, 55b; Cummer, Schofield 1984, p. 143, fn. 9; Rutter 2023. Milburn (1965, 81–82, pl. LIIB, no. 3) lists smaller goblets that seem to emulate the LM II form. The LM II goblet from House A is unpublished.

⁷⁶ Milburn 1965; Cummer, Schofield 1984; Preston 1972. A restudy of those contexts in the future would be beneficial in light of the continued progress and advances of our knowledge on the LH IIB–IIIA1 periods and to examine the coarsewares that were left unpublished.

novel forms, such as the kylix (FS 262) and the basin (FS 294/295). Differences between Ayia Irini and other regions are evident; for instance, the Laconian preference for goblets with monochrome interiors and plain exteriors is absent from LH IIIA1 deposits at Ayia Irini.⁷⁷ This absence may stem from a pre-existing preference for the readily available Acropolis burnished and plain polished pottery from the mainland.

The LH IIIA2 pottery from Ayia Irini comprises a robust assemblage that demonstrates increased inter-regional exchange at the time that Mycenaean palatial centers shaped the social and political geography of the Greek mainland. Connections with northeastern Peloponnesian and possibly Euboean production centers (Morris, Jones 1998, 189–194) continued, as attested by the imported mainland decorated and plain classes of ceramics. Open decorated shapes (e.g., kylix, kylix/goblet, kraters) outnumber closed shapes by almost double. Aeginetan imports ceased to circulate to Ayia Irini, seemingly matching the decline of Aegina as a powerful polity during LH IIIA2 and a potential shift in influence to the Argolid.⁷⁸ Regional distinctions are evident between Kea and Laconia, where there is a preference for solid interior slip and painted exteriors on open shapes (e.g., FS 256). During LH IIIA2 Ayia Irini (re)introduced the local production of red-brown and black slipped wares, synchronous—and perhaps in response—to the disappearance of Attic burnished wares or as an emulation of Mycenaean monochrome decoration. Cretan ceramics (*viz.*, kylikes) circulated to Ayia Irini, albeit in small numbers, and shapes otherwise only—currently—attested from Phocis in LH IIIA2 (the spouted krater) indicate wider regional influences. The similarities between the assemblages at Ayia Irini and Phylakopi in LH IIIA2 provide some indication that distribution networks may have expanded during this period, potentially (re)establishing a maritime corridor through the Cyclades.⁷⁹

Local artistic creativity declined during Periods VIIc–VIII.⁸⁰ The main features of the local tradition in the LH IIB middle–advanced deposits are yellow slipped wares produced in the form of goblets and handleless cups. Only one painted, yellow-slipped specimen provides evidence of decoration on a local ceramic. The limited production and consumption of locally produced pottery likely reflects the presence of a small a potting community at Ayia Irini following the Period VIIb destruction that was further affected by the foundation of high-volume workshops on the mainland, which inundated the market with a homogenous range of wares, ultimately stifling artistic independence and creativity on Kea.

During LH IIIA2, the local potting community shows signs of growth. Potters experimented with various techniques—such as forming methods and surface treatment—and produced both imitations of Mycenaean forms (e.g., FS 267, handleless cups) and unique local shapes (e.g., the bridge-spouted bowl *à la* Cycladic bowl/cup). Wheel forming and handmade production methods continued in LH IIIA2 (e.g., jar, lid from House J), differing from mainland workshops which preferred the wheel in LH IIIA2.⁸¹ Locally produced ceramics were well-made; there are no structural issues or evidence of sloppy handling on or off the wheel (e.g., off-centered stems, dents, pinches, tilting profiles).⁸² The production of a few well-made, functional, vessels suggests that local workshops intended to supplement imported pottery with plain local imitations, rather than supplying Ayia Irini on a mass scale with multiple functional categories of ceramics.⁸³

⁷⁷ Hachtmann this volume.

⁷⁸ Morris, Jones 1998, 191–194; Gauss, Kiriati 2011, 244–247, 284, tab. 87. See Lis 2017, 195, 200, 203, for the reappearance of Aeginetan cookware at Mitrou in LH IIIA2 early.

⁷⁹ See, for example: Mountjoy 2009, 73–135; Earle 2019, 215–282.

⁸⁰ Influence and/or inspiration from Cycladic, mainland, and Cretan styles is evident in the locally produced ceramics from the earlier history of Ayia Irini (Periods II–VIIb).

⁸¹ E.g., Kontopigado. See Kardamaki 2017, 37–38, who suggests various reasons for the predominance of wheel-made pottery in mainland workshops.

⁸² Contra Petsas House (Shelton 2014, 17–32).

⁸³ See Hruby 2014, 49–58 for more on mass production of ceramics.

The changes to local production at Ayia Irini during LH IIIA2 are undoubtedly due to an increased scale of exchange between the mainland and the Cyclades, which similarly impacted other islands. For example, local painted pottery on Naxos and Melos was often outnumbered by imports, and when present, they mimicked select imported shapes and pattern painted motifs.⁸⁴ The absence of local imitations of Mycenaean decorated pottery at Ayia Irini during LH IIIA2 may indicate that the regular access to painted ceramics through maritime networks ultimately discouraged local artistic (re)production. Instead of replicating imported wares, local Kea potters sometimes repaired fine Mycenaean ceramics with lead clamps. Mending practices, together with the apparent availability of Mycenaean painted pottery in Period VIII, may have deterred local potters from imitating decorated imports—an absence that has previously been misinterpreted either as a decline in artistic dependence on NE Peloponnesian trends or as a practical response to the limitations of coarse local clays that were unsuitable for producing finewares.⁸⁵

The limited evidence for activity at Ayia Irini in LH IIIB–IIIC, aside from the Temple, may reflect a disruption in the maritime routes that facilitated exchange systems in preceding periods.⁸⁶ The Spring Chamber and Building M bothros deposits are important in this respect, as they show some overlap between LH IIIA2 late and LH IIIB early styles, suggesting that the abandonment of Ayia Irini may have occurred *in* LH IIIB, rather than *by* LH IIIB.

External regional connections between Kea, Attica, and the northeastern Peloponnese in Periods VIIc–VIII were likely predicated on trade networks that were established in preceding periods. Ayia Irini held an important position as the northwesternmost Cycladic Island in the Neopalatial period (MH III–LH IIA), near to the silver mines in Lavrion. Evidence for metal processing of Lavrion silver and copper at Ayia Irini is abundant during MH III–LH IIA (Gale et al. 1984, Abell and Georgakopoulou). While no evidence exists for metal processing or working in Period VIIc, mending practices continued (e.g., Acropolis Burnished goblets). Examples of crucibles are known from a few Period VIII contexts and ceramics were mended during LH IIIA1–LH IIIA2 (e.g., Mycenaean fine painted piriform jar and kylikes).⁸⁷

Changes to over-land routes in Attica may be responsible for the decreased activity at Ayia Irini in late Period VIII. Increased activity in Athens (e.g., metal hoard,⁸⁸ well deposit⁸⁹) in LH IIIB–IIIC suggests that the Athens basin, which seems to have been peripheral to inland routes that facilitated metal trade between Thorikos, Mesogeia, and Boeotia in LH IIB–IIIA2,⁹⁰ became a central node that was responsible for interaction and metal trade between regions. A reorganization or reorientation away from coastal polities in Attica may have caused Ayia Irini to acquire a geographically peripheral status that limited exchange and interaction between the mainland and the Cycladic Island.⁹¹

Continued, but limited, use of Ayia Irini is attested by the Temple assemblage in LH IIIB–LH IIIC, indicating that the religious significance of the site remained important to travelers—

⁸⁴ Cosmopoulos 1997, 369–376; Mountjoy 2008b, 467–477; Earle 2019, 215–282.

⁸⁵ Mountjoy 2008b, 469.

⁸⁶ Gorogianni, Abell, and Hilditch 2020; Gorogianni and Abell *forthcoming* argue that Ayia Irini fell out of trade networks because it was unable to negotiate a role of exchange for metals from Lavrion.

⁸⁷ I thank Natalie Abell for sharing her preliminary observations from the Ayia Irini Metals project with me.

⁸⁸ Catling 1964, 296; Spyropoulos 1972, 63–78, 92–97, 202–203; Iakovidis 2006, 175, fig. 284; Blackwell 2018, 509–539.

⁸⁹ Bronceer 1933, 351–372; 1938, 168–170; 1939, 317–433, pls. XI–XII; Iakovidis 2006, 141–144; Van Damme 2023; this volume.

⁹⁰ Papadimitriou, Cosmopoulos 2015; Papadimitriou 2021. A review metal objects interred in Mycenaean tombs in Attica suggests that inland routes facilitated metal trade between Thorikos, Mesogeia, and Boeotia during LH IIIA. The distribution of wealth in LH III Attica likely corresponds to corridors in metal transportation. Areas that greatly profited have tombs (e.g., Menidi tholos, Thorikos tholoi) that attest significant wealth, while peripheral areas (Athens, Marathon) show a relative lack of wealth. Also see Kalogeropoulos 2021, 227–298 for a mesoregional approach to Attica, and Fachard, Knodell 2020, 407–416 for models of overland movement in Attica.

⁹¹ A similar scenario may be suggested for Phylakopi, Melos where all pottery in LH IIIC is locally produced (Mountjoy 2009, 73). See also Gorogianni and Abell.

whether as a landmark for sailors navigating the seascape or for those making use of the sheltered Aghios Nikolaos bay.⁹² A full study and presentation of the Temple deposits in the future will help clarify questions of regionalism in the final phases of the Mycenaean period at Ayia Irini.

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⁹² For more on the role of temples as prominent markers on seascapes and wayfaring see: Ingold 2000, 223–240; Morton 2001; Brody 2008, 3–4; Ingold 2010, 128.

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REGIONALISM – COMPARATIVE APPROACHES

ARGIVE STYLE POTTERY AS A BENCHMARK? DISTRIBUTION AND CONSUMPTION OF PAINTED STYLES DERIVING FROM THE ARGIVE WORKSHOPS IN THREE CASE STUDIES FROM LACONIA, ATTICA, AND LEMNOS

ELEFThERIA KARDAMAKI

Abstract

Decorated pottery produced in Argive pottery workshops represents the most influential pottery style of the mature and late Mycenaean palatial period. Argive pottery played a special role in conspicuous consumption practices and was a highly valued product from the early Mycenaean onwards. The peak of production was achieved in LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB, when specialized workshops produced pottery for export to the East. The following study investigates aspects related to the adaptation of imported Argive pottery and its local imitations by different communities in mainland Greece and the Mycenaean periphery based on three case studies, namely the palace of Ayios Vasileios in Laconia, the workshop and nearby settlement of Kontopigado south of Athens, and finally Koukonisi in Lemnos.

Keywords: Argive imports, patterned painted pottery, Ayios Vasileios, Kontopigado, Koukonisi.

INTRODUCTION

The topic of regionalism in Mycenaean pottery styles and production has been a focus of scholarly interest in the past, and in the last years it has attracted a renewed attention due to new discoveries and publication of material (Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2018; Kardamaki *et al.* 2023). Like in many other aspects of material culture, the investigation of regional and standardized pottery styles is not only related to problems of chronology, but most important it sheds light on aspects of social life and practices, consumption patterns and the transfer of knowledge and technical skills around Mycenaean Greece, the periphery and beyond the Aegean (Lindblom *et al.* 2015; see Lis this volume).

The existence of regional styles or certain features of regionalism during the Mycenaean palatial period in Greece and the Aegean are often discussed in connection to the local or regional background, often reaching to the Early Mycenaean or even Middle Bronze Age pottery traditions (Mountjoy 1999; Girella, Pavúk 2016; Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2018). Very often, regional styles are discussed in reference to major production centers or entire areas, such as the Argolid or Crete (Mountjoy 1999, 744, for the Phocian LH IIIA1 motif of the “flames”). Penelope Mountjoy provided the most thorough discussion of the Mycenaean regional styles, presenting evidence from southern and central Greece, as well as the Aegean islands (Mountjoy 1999). One example of a large regional *koiné* is the so-called East Aegean/Western Anatolia Interface of the 14th century, which was divided into different zones according to the extent of influence from mainland Greece, mainly the Argolid (Mountjoy 1998; Boulotis, Kardamaki 2021). Additionally, the impact of early local and hybrid Minoan traditions played a major role in the manifestation of the local styles (Girella, Pavúk 2018). Cretan influence was also detected on mainland pottery of the palatial and early post palatial period.¹

¹ My warmest thanks go to Bartek Lis for inviting me to this highly interesting conference, as well as for his valuable discussions, suggestions, and improvements to my paper during the editing process. I am also indebted to the anonymous

The region that produced the most significant pottery style on the Greek mainland is knowingly the Argolid. Pottery production in Argive workshops exhibited several unique features (see below) that contributed to the creation of distinct styles that provide an ideal basis for establishing relative chronology and synchronisms in the Aegean and beyond (Podzuweit 2007). The impact and distribution of Argive styles is so great that it is no exaggeration to say that regionalism, especially during the palatial period, is measured by the deviation from Argive standard-typology. Moreover, the degree of possible deviation has often been taken to reflect the intensity or absence of contact between various regions (Sherratt 1980).

In the following, I will try to investigate issues related to the role of Argive Mycenaean pottery as a leading pottery style during the Mycenaean palace period. More specifically, I will examine the spread of Argive pottery and its local imitation at three sites of my personal research: Ayios Vasileios in Lakonia, Kontopigado in the Athenian Basin, and Koukonisi on Lemnos, at the periphery of the Mycenaean world. The focus will be on the decorated wares, as plain wares from the Argolid are rarely found beyond the NE-Peloponnese and were generally rarely exported (see also below).² A comparison between these sites is interesting, as it highlights the various ways in which Argive pottery and Argive pottery styles were adapted in different regions of southern Greece and the periphery. This differentiation needs not to imply limited or more intensive contacts and is certainly not a question of more or less skilled potters. Instead, it is indicative of the different production strategies and consumer preferences around southern Greece and the northern Aegean.

ARGIVE POTTERY

The predominance of Mycenaean pottery signifies the adaptation of decorated, wheel-made wares with dark-on-light, lustrous decoration throughout Greece.³ This new LBA tradition marks the end of variability in MBA pottery styles and production, although, as one would expect, this did not happen immediately everywhere, but rather over a longer period of time.⁴ The earliest production of standard Mycenaean pottery classes (first of decorated and later of plain fine wares) is most likely to be traced in the Argolid and NE-Peloponnese and was the result of a population movement from Crete and the Aegean into the Argolid and the blending of different pottery tradition from Crete and the mainland (Rutter 2015). Even if one advocates that the first decorated Mycenaean pottery started to be produced in more than one region (e.g. also in Kythera/Laconia, Messenia), the Argolid definitely soon became the most flourishing production place of the style.

In a world that was undergoing dramatic transformation, high-quality and elaborately decorated vases with lustrous paint served perfectly the expression of a new etiquette shared by Mainland elites (Wright 2004). Mycenaean pottery produced in the Argolid was also from the onset viewed and probably designed as a valuable good for export. Various analyses demonstrate clearly that at least by LH I/IIA Argive pottery was being exported to other mainland sites and in the Aegean (Marketou *et al.* 2006; Hein *et al.* 2021).⁵ This trend was going to be one of the most distinct features of the local history of specific Argive workshops

reviewers for their insightful comments. This study was carried out as part of the project Kontopigado: A Mycenaean Industrial Area South of Athens, funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF project P31938-G25). Mountjoy 1999, 250 for Laconia; Rutter 2003 for Attica, Kardamaki, Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018; Huber 2018 for Triphyly. For discussion on special relationship between Crete and Athens see Immerwahr 1971

² Marketou *et al.* 2006, 17 sample no. 160. Among the studied material from Koukonissi there are only one or two examples of imported plain pottery (rounded kylikes FS 264).

³ Added white paint is rarely used, see Mountjoy 1999, 759-762 nos. 73-74, fig. 295.

⁴ Stubbings 1947; Mountjoy 1999, 744 for LH IIIA in Phocis; Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2018 for Kontopigado.

⁵ Mountjoy, Ponting 2000 suggest on the basis of ICP-AES analyses an Athenian production of LH IIA pseudo marine style, but see Mommsen 2003, 20 whose analyses suggest that almost all painted wares from the relative deposits from Athens are imported from the Argolid. See also Rutter 2023, 158-160 for casting doubt on the use of ICP analyses.

and the local elites (Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2023). By LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1, the exportation of Argive decorated wares exhibited characteristics of industrial production for export, unparalleled in other regions of Mycenaean Greece (Güntner 2000; Maran, Mommsen 2001; Jung 2015).

The second most characteristic, almost unparalleled feature of the Argive style is the mass production of painted pottery, accompanied by constant innovation of motifs and styles, indicating the existence of specialized pottery workshops involved in the competent and extensive production of vases with patterned decoration. This is best demonstrated by the example of drinking/eating vases and drinking sets, beginning with LH I Vapheio cups with framed spirals, through the LH IIB Ephraean goblets, or the LH IIB Vapheio cup with foliate band, the LH IIIA2 kylikes with the octopus and the Mycenaean flower motifs, the LH IIIB1 Zygouries Kylikes and to the later rosette deep bowls and deep bowls with heavy style paneled decoration (group B) in LH IIIB2, all of which are typical Argive pottery styles).⁶ This constant renovation in combination with the rich stratigraphic sequences of the palaces became a valuable tool in the hands of archaeologists who established the Argive ceramic sequences (French 1969; Wardle 1969; Wardle 1973; Mountjoy 1976; Schönfeld 1988, Podzuweit 2007, Kardamaki 2009). Thus, the 14th and 13th century production of decorated pottery in the Argolid is based on a deep-rooted tradition and long-standing reputation of pottery that maintained a special role in conspicuous consumption practices, dating back to LH I and LH IIA.

ARGIVE POTTERY OUTSIDE THE ARGOLID AND LOCAL IMITATIONS

Assessing the presence of Argive pottery outside the Argolid is not always a simple question. One needs to consider a large number of aspects and variables. The first difficulty is whether it is possible to distinguish Argive imports from local imitation or imports from other regions with such a high confidence that would make a statistical analysis reliable. The most secure approach in this respect is a thorough macroscopic classification of the material, followed by the selection of samples representative of each macroscopic ware for chemical and petrographic analysis. In some cases, however, the share of Argive imports in the assemblage can only be roughly estimated. In most of the cases, Argive imports relate to the chemical profile established by Neutron Activation Analysis known as Mycenae/Berbat (MYBE) and linked to the workshops of Berbati or this area. Imports with the chemical profile linked to the region of Tiryns (Tiryns/Asine) are identified outside the Argolid much more rarely (Marketou et al. 2006, 5-6). Argive imports can be macroscopically distinguished with relatively high confidence at two of the three sites discussed below, namely Kontopigado and Koukonisi; however, in the case of Ayios Vasileios, this was not a straightforward process. Many examples of painted pottery there demonstrate good quality of paint and very fine clay, and could be mistaken as Argive or, due to the presence of silver-shining inclusions, these sherds would not be out of place in Tiryns (Choleva *et al.* 2020).

Another factor that needs to be taken into account regarding the presence of Argive or Argive-style pottery in a given region is the character of context and the type of assemblage (funerary/habitational, central site/secondary settlement/village, house context/elite context/feasting deposit etc.). To gain a fuller and clearer picture, material from multiple types of contexts needs to be integrated into an analysis, as the distribution of Argive imports may be skewed. For example, in one region, Argive imports may appear more frequently in the funerary assemblages than in the settlements.⁷

⁶ For the most recent discussion of the Ephraean style and the implication of its distribution see Rutter 2023 and Eder, Huber 2023. For LH IIB Vapheio cups with foliate band see Kardamaki 2017.

⁷ Cf. Immerwahr 1971, 151 for the tombs in the Athenian Agora and Pantelidou-Gopha 1975 and Mountjoy 1981 for the LH IIB/IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 wells respectively in the slopes of the Acropolis. In the cemetery of Myloi on Aegina that is currently under study, the vast majority of the lustrous painted vases is imported from the Argolid (LH I-III A1;

The large-scale production of painted, and especially pattern-painted, pottery is considered, as noted above, one of the most characteristic features of the Argive workshops. This clearly relates with specific production strategies, but most importantly, it highlights particular patterns of consumption. Perhaps more so than elsewhere on the mainland, pattern-painted pottery was very popular in the Argolid and was used by a larger part of the population, although there are examples where it seems to be more limited (see below). Undoubtedly, the highest amounts of pattern-decorated pottery occur in the area of the palaces and central sites (Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea), where it was used as a special tableware (Podzuweit 2007) or stored for transfer to smaller settlements during religious festivals.⁸

In this respect, the following two variables are investigated here as a possible direct and indirect indication of the impact of Argive pottery styles: First, the number of identified Argive imports at the sites presented below, and second, the high or low presence of the pattern painted pottery in the material as a consumption pattern in general.⁹ As will be shown, such a comparative analysis between Mycenaean regions may offer useful results. It can be also easily extended to include more sites and contexts, but only when the studied material is accompanied by a detailed and coherent quantitative presentation. The application of similar quantification methods such as a rim-count and/or where possible the estimation of vessel equivalents (rim eves) that provides a more realistic picture of material preservation provides the most secure basis and is indeed a precondition for any detailed analysis aiming at intra-site comparison and inter-site variation (see Rutter, this volume).¹⁰ At the palace of Ayios Vasileios, 42 samples of Mycenaean painted pottery were submitted for provenance analysis (NAA; Hein *et al.* 2020). The sampled fragments date from LH IIA to LH IIIC Early, although the LH IIA sherds were all found in later contexts (Fig. 1). It is worth noting that few samples originally considered to be imports turned out to be Laconian products.¹¹ All the samples of the Argive pottery date between LH IIA and LH IIIA1, while the percentage of Argive imports ranges based on macroscopic identifications between 4 and 5% of the fine painted wares (tab. 2). On the other hand, as we are mainly dealing with early strays in later contexts, the amount of Argive imports in proper LH I and LH II contexts may have been much bigger. It is even possible that Argive imports may have represented the main class of Mycenaean patterned painted wares in early contexts, since the main evidence of local production in a small LH IIB studied assemblage includes, so far, mainly monochrome and linear painted wares (Kardamaki 2017; Hein *et al.* 2020). Thus, the analysis of the material suggests that the influx of Argive imports took place during the early Mycenaean period, while from LH IIIA2 onwards, Argive imports were very rare or absent at the palace. The findings from Ayios Vasileios seem to support the results from Ayios Stephanos and the Menelaion, where chemical analysis similarly suggests that most of the imported Argive pottery originates from phases predating LH IIIA2 (French *et al.* 2008; Jones, Tomlinson 2009).

Regarding local imitation of Argive styles, there are only rare examples of kylix FS 258B with whorl shells and few deep bowls of group B with paneled decoration (fig. 2; Vasilogamvrou *et al.* 2022; Kardamaki forthcoming a). Zygouries kylikes, deep bowls of group A and Rosette deep bowls are so far missing (Hachtmann this volume). Interestingly, the low evidence of Argive imitations and Argive imports in

66 out of 68 recorded vases). Two vases of LH IIIA1 date are locally produced. This high presence of imported pottery in the cemetery has probably no parallels in the settlement, but this needs to be clarified in the future publication of material (see Berger, Karathanou 2020).

⁸ For discussion see Hruby 2006. Tsoungiza may have been such a case, Dabney *et al.* 2004 for the LH IIIA2 feasting deposit of Tsoungiza.

⁹ Of course, one needs to consider the limitation of statistics based on sherds. For example, linear painted sherds are likely to have belonged to patterned painted vases. This means that in sites where pattern-painted pottery shows great popularity like in the Argive palaces the percentage of such pottery represents a minimum and the original amount is likely to have been much bigger.

¹⁰ For discussion, see especially Lis, Batziou 2022, 6.

¹¹ None of the 21 samples of the fine plain category was found to be imported from the Argolid, a fact which is in perfect agreement with macroscopic observation of the material.

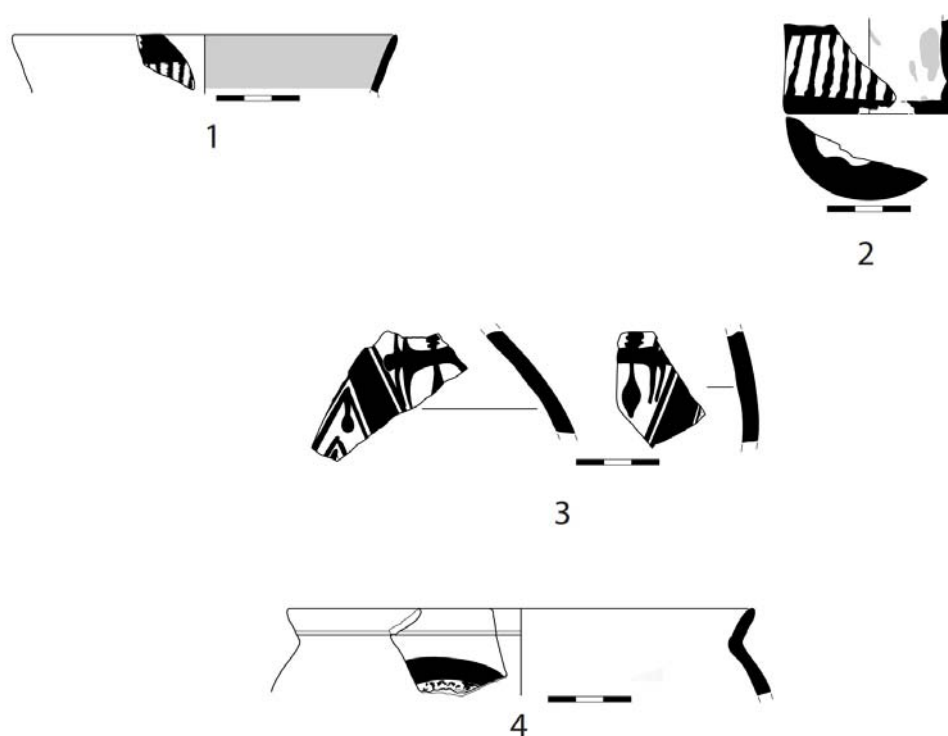


Figure 1. Ayios Vasileios. LH IIA and LH IIB Argive imports

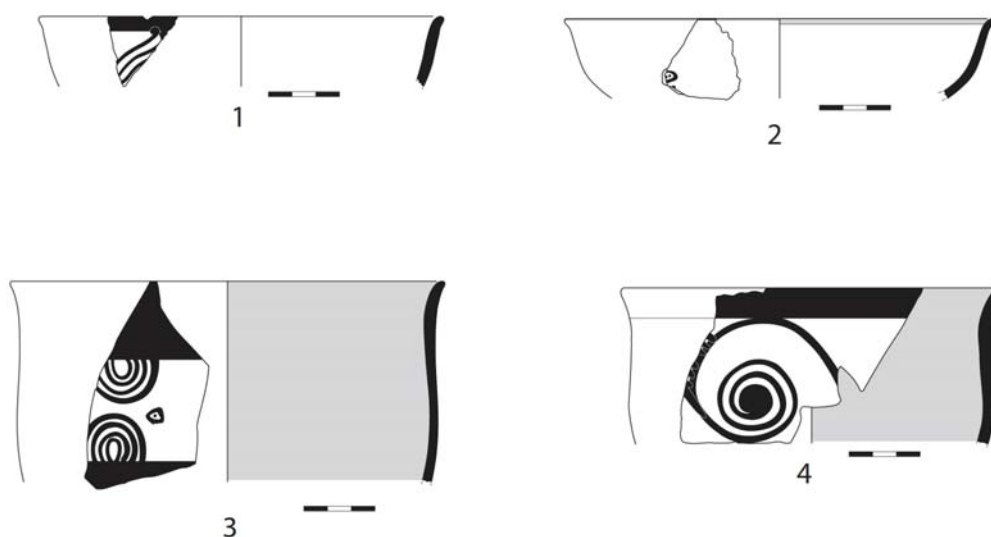


Figure 2. Ayios Vasileios. LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early 1 imitations of Argive pottery types

LH IIIA and the greatest part of LH IIIB fits well the very low percentage of pattern-painted pottery identified at the site. Among four different deposits ranging from LH IIIA1/IIIA2 to LH IIIB the percentage of the patterned painted pottery is always lower than 5%, with the bulk of table ware belonging to

fine plain wares (see tab. 1). This low occurrence of pattern-painted pottery strongly contrasts the situation in central Argive sites and other settlements of the NE Peloponnese, where pattern-painted pottery may range from 5% to almost 19% (tab. 1 and Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 38). However, the highest numbers of pattern-painted pottery based on published material seem to derive from the palace of Tiryns.¹² At Ayios Vasileios, this situation seems to change in the post-destruction deposits, which date between LH IIIB2 Late and LH IIIC Early. In these contexts, the amount of pattern-painted pottery increases to nearly 10%, while fine plain pottery becomes for the first time rarer and is not entirely dominating the assemblages (tab. 1). Although this increase is not accompanied by an influx of Argive imports, the decorated pottery includes many vessel types that were popular in the Argolid such as deep bowls of Type C and A with monochrome interior (Vasilogamvrou *et al.* 2022; cf. Kardamaki 2015).

Table. 1. Amounts of patterned painted pottery in selected contexts of Ayios Vasileios, Kontopigado and Tiryns.

	Pattern paint. (all feature sherds)	Pattern paint. (Rims)	Linear/ monochr. (all feature sherds)	Linear/ monochr. (Rims)	Fine plain (all feature sherds)	Fine plain (Rims)	Other (all feature sherds)	Other (rims)	Total Feat. sherds	Total Rims
Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIA1/IIIA2)	10 (7,5%)	4 (4,7%)	16 (12,1%)	11 (12,9%)	78 (59%)	60 (70,5%)	28 (21,2%)	10 (11,7%)	132 (100%)	85 (100%)
Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIA2)	51 (9,6%)	12 (3,6%)	96 (18,1%)	58 (17,4%)	306 (57%)	228 (68,4%)	77 (14,5%)	35 (10,5%)	530 (100%)	333 (100%)
Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIA2)	91 (4,9%)	33 (2,5%)	138 (7,4%)	92 (7,0%)	1501 (81,4%)	1116 (84,9%)	113 (6,1%)	72 (5,4%)	1843 (100%)	1313 (100%)
Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIB Middle)	17 (4,7%)	4 (1,7%)	22 (6,1%)	10 (4,3%)	299 (83,5%)	202 (88,5%)	20 (5,5%)	12 (5,2%)	358 (100%)	228 (100%)
Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIB2-LH IIIC Early)	26 (11,2%)	18 (9,6%)	64 (27,5%)	50 (26,8%)	113 (48,7%)	96 (51,6%)	29 (12,5%)	22 (11,8%)	232 (100%)	186 (100%)
Kontopigado LH IIIA1	5 (3,2%)	- (-%)	102 (65,8%)	61 (70,1%)	7 (4,5%)	6 (6,8%)	41 (26,4%)	20 (22,9%)	155 (100%)	87 (100%)
Kontopigado LH IIIB2	65 (5,6%)	38 (6,4%)	605 (52,4%)	206 (35,0%)	348 (30,1%)	257 (43,7%)	136 (11,7%)	87 (14,7%)	1154 (%)	588 (%)
Tiryns (LH IIIB2)	68 (20,2%)	33 (18,3%)	42 (12,5%)	26 (14,4%)	186 (55,3%)	103 (57,2%)	40 (11,9%)	18 (10%)	336 (100%)	180 (100%)

The first two deposits from Ayios Vasileios represent construction fills, the third is a huge dump known as SE Deposit (see Kardamaki 2017). For LH IIIA1 Kontopigado see Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2018. The LH IIIB2 deposit from Kontopigado comes from the lower levels of well 7 in the area of the workshop installation (Kardamaki 2020). For Tiryns see Kardamaki 2009; 2015.

At the site of the Mycenaean workshop and settlement at Kontopigado, situated south of Athens, there are some similarities to Ayios Vasileios. Moreover, due to the local clay, distinct manufacturing techniques (especially the burnishing of surfaces) and characteristic typology, the local

¹² In Tsoungiza, where thorough statistical analyses are available, the amount of the pattern-painted pottery seems to increase from 4% in LH IIIA2 to 11% in LH IIIB1 (percentages processed from tables in Thomas 2005; 2011 in rim statistics).

pottery represents a very homogeneous group, and the macroscopic identification of imports was possible with great confidence (Kardamaki, Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018). The studied assemblages date from LH IIIA1 to LH IIIC Early 1, with imports identified almost exclusively in an LH IIIA1 deposit. These sherds have not been analyzed, but their fabric, paint, and typology are perfectly consistent with a production in the Argolid. Although they represent only a very small amount of the total assemblage, these are almost the only examples of pattern-painted ware, with the rest of the painted material belonging to local monochrome wares (Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2018, 19). The material includes goblets, as well as other open and closed shapes, dating between LH IIA, LH IIB (early strays), and LH IIIA1. In later phases, the percentage of the Argive pottery that has also been confirmed analytically is negligible (tab. 2). The LH IIIB1 to LH IIIC imports at Kontopigado comprise small stirrup jars, deep bowls, and a kylix FS 258B. LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB local imitations are sporadic, including kylikes FS 258B with whorl shells and one or two deep bowls of Group B (Kardamaki 2020). There are, however, local variants of group A deep bowls that are very frequent, and in LH IIIC Early, the group A deep bowls with monochrome interiors show strong similarity to Argive types (Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2017; Kardamaki, Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018). The distinct local styles exhibit an attachment to LH IIIA2 traditions, as evidenced by the numerous vases decorated with wavy bands, others with whorl shells, or a combination of whorl shells and Mycenaean flowers (Fig. 3). In contrast, paneled patterns, which are so popular in the Argolid, are scarce. At Kontopigado, too, the extreme rarity of Argive imports in LH IIIB deposits coincides with the rarity of local imitations and the low percentage of pattern-painted pottery, which is around 6% in a LH IIIB2 late deposit and thus much rarer than at Tiryns. Except at Ayios Vasileios, monochrome pottery dominates the assemblages (Table 1).

Table 2. Amount of Argive imports in selected contexts of Ayios Vasileios, Kontopigado and Koukonisi.

	Fine painted (all feature sherds)	Argive imports	Fine painted (Rims)	Argive imports (Rims)
Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIA1/IIIA2)	26	1 (3,8%)	15	-
Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIA2)	147	6 (4%)	70	2 (3%)
Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIA2)	229	12 (5,2%)	125	7 (5,6%)
Kontopigado LH IIIA1	107	4 (3,7%)	61	-
Kontopigado LH IIIB2	670	1 (0,1%)	244	-
Koukonisi LH IIIA2	50	11 (22%)	18	2 11,1%

For Koukonisi see Boulotis, Kardamaki 2021.

Regarding the influx of Argive imports, a significantly different picture emerges from the study of a LH IIIA2 deposit at Koukonissi, Lemnos. Here, the amount of Argive imports among painted pottery is higher than both Kontopigado and Ayios Vasileios, reaching 20% of all feature sherds and 11% of rims (tab. 2, Boulotis, Kardamaki 2021). Moreover, local imitations are very well represented and include good-quality kraters (FS 7/9) and kylikes (FS 256) of LH IIIA2 date. On the other hand, the assemblage clearly differentiates itself from contemporary mainland assemblages due to the rarity of other common shapes such as plain carinated kylikes, the frequent presence on local wares (solidly coated and burnished), and conical cups reflecting attachment to early Cretan traditions (Boulotis, Kardamaki 2021, 699).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The region of Argolid, where the typical Mycenaean pottery styles possibly first emerged or flourished in LH I, was home to some of the most significant and creative pottery workshops of the Late Bronze Age. Pattern-painted pottery and pottery with figural decoration were one of the main focuses of production. Argive pottery was highly appreciated during the 14th and 13th centuries and was a common trade good in the Eastern Mediterranean either for its own sake as an individual consumption vase or as a beautiful container for valuable material. The impact of Argive workshops on the pottery styles of other regions in Greece and the Aegean is often evident, but a closer examination of settlement and each region separately may reveal different patterns of adaptation. Here, three cases have been presented from Laconia, Attica, and Lemnos. The evidence supports the hypothesis that a large-scale importation of Argive pottery, possibly similar to that known from Cyprus and the Levant, took place only at Koukonissi, thus in the periphery of the Mycenaean world, although figural pottery has not yet been identified at the site. In both Kontopigado and Ayios Vasileios, imports from the Argolid appear to be more common only during the early Mycenaean period (LH I to LH IIIA1); however, in the mature palatial period (LH IIIA2-LH IIIB), these have greatly decreased. Thus, the sites of Kontopigado or the palace of Ayios Vasileios do not seem to have been viewed as a potential market for the trade of pottery, and Argive imports there are rare or may have been mainly used in the funerary sphere.

The rarity of imports after LH IIIA1 explains the absence or rarity of local imitations of common LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 pottery types. It has been argued here that this is also linked to a general low occurrence of patterned pottery at these sites. Pottery consumption at Ayios Vasileios and Kontopigado was entirely dependent on regional production, with high-quality products including painted or pattern-painted vases. However, ceramic tableware was mainly comprised of standard plain, and monochrome wares. Distinctive regional styles of pattern-painted pottery existed at Kontopigado, including wavy band spouted kraters, wavy band deep bowls, and whorl shell decoration. The early circulation of Argive imports at the palace of Ayios Vasileios and at the settlement of Kontopigado, a production place itself (Kaza-Papageorgiou *et al.* 2011; Gilstrap 2015; Gilstrap *et al.* 2016), until LH IIIA1 do not seem to have triggered consumption patterns known from the Argolid (and sites of the NE Peloponnese) with an extensive use of pattern painted pottery, nor did local workshops imitate the Argolid with production of pottery intended for export outside their regions or to the Eastern Mediterranean. The production places in the examples presented above followed their own agenda, serving local cultural backgrounds and preferences, with little or no interest in following the scale of decorated pottery production of Argive workshops.

Regarding aspects of consumption, it is possible that a high demand and use of pattern-painted pottery were more closely linked to the Argolid but were probably centered around the palaces and varied from one settlement to another. The example of Chania, 3 km south of Mycenae, should be kept in mind to illustrate how different the situation can be even within the Argolid, and so close to the palace of Mycenae. The building, a typical example of palatial architecture that may have had a rural character, was destroyed early in LH IIIB2 Early. The vast majority of the material belongs to plain vases, with very few painted vases, while some of the most characteristic vessel types of the sub-phase that occur in vast numbers in Mycenae, Tiryns, and Midea, such as the Rosette deep bowl, are entirely missing from the assemblages of the building (Palaiologou 2015).¹³

A different situation is observed in later parts of LH IIIB and in LH IIIC Early in Ayios Vasileios, when the spread of drinking sets common in the Argolid is observed. In these post-destruction deposits, the share of pattern-painted pottery increases, but this is not accompanied by an increase in imports from the Argolid. Thus, other reasons may lie behind this new situation and probably

¹³ I am grateful to Eleni Palaiologou for this personal information.

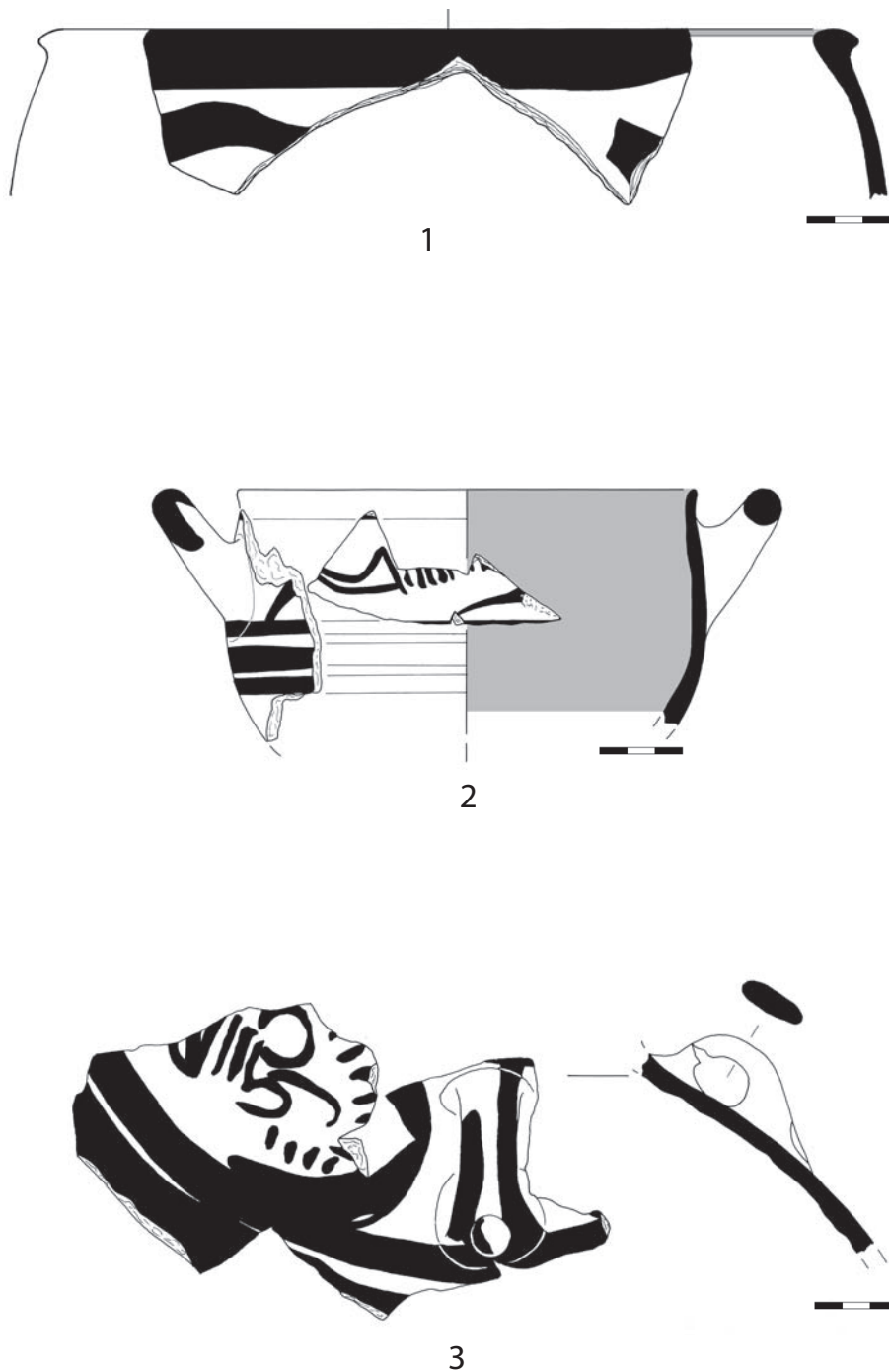


Figure 3. Typical motifs and shapes from Kontopigado, Well 7 (LH IIIB2)

were related to the movement of the population in the later part of LH IIIB2 and in LH IIIC Early. Therefore, the presence of Argive imitations or imports does not seem to be related to reduced or increased contact between different regions. After all, the use of standard plain and monochrome tableware across most of the Mycenaean territories, such as the carinated kylix FS 267 – in my opinion the real corpus of *koine* during the mature Mycenaean palatial period – reflects a high degree of communication between the regions of the mainland.

The higher degree of standardization in fine plain wares rather than decorated wares, and its implications, constitute a topic that has not been sufficiently discussed. The establishment of a *koine*

of plain vases becomes evident through the existence of a common repertoire, especially of certain shapes that occur in most excavated settlements in central and southern Greece and remain in use throughout LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB. The most common shapes of the mature and main palatial phases (LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB) have been illustrated by Mountjoy and belong to large and medium-sized closed vases (hydriae, amphorae, jugs), kylikes, mugs, dippers, and conical bowls (Mountjoy 1993, 79, 85–90). Most of these shapes appear in all 14th and 13th century deposits.

Moreover, despite certain regional variations or other parameters that may be expected to lead to a differentiated repertoire (different kind of activities, i.e. specialized workshop activities, everyday use, cult), some of these shapes, and more precisely the rounded kylix, the one-handed carinated kylix, the shallow cup, the angular bowl and from LH IIIB1 onwards the conical kylix have the widest distribution and appear in large numbers in small and large settlements (tab. 3).¹⁴ This suggests that their production and use, either in the course of everyday activities or during special events, was based on a well-established tradition that seems to have applied for the largest part of the population around Mycenaean Greece. Thus, participation in shared patterns of consumption should be measured by the presence/absence of standard plain table ware rather than any other decorated wares. The examples presented here (tab. 3) show that the highest amounts of kylikes occur in large centers, where they probably reflect their use in large feasting. At Kontopigado, a second-order settlement with a nearby workshop, features of local traditions such as a high number of closed vases (hydriae and amphorae) and spouted basins FS 302/globular basins FS 294 are dominant. Both are related to regional styles that continue from at least LH IIIA1, as well as to specific workshop activities.¹⁵ But even here, the carinated kylix and the kylix in general still represent the most common consumption vases.¹⁶

Table 3. Amounts of selected open shapes (rounded, carinated, conical kylikes, shallow/deep cups, angular bowls, conical cups) in comparison to other open and closed vases at Ayios Vasileios, Kontopigado and Tiryns.

	Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIA2)		Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIB Middle)		Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIB2-LH IIIC Early)		Kontopigado (LH IIIB2)		Kontopigado (LH IIIC Early 1)		Tiryns (LH IIIB2)	
	Rims	Bases	Rims	Bases	Rims	Bases	Rims	Bases	Rims	Bases	Rims	Bases
Kylix FS 264/266/272/272	220 19,8%		41 20,3%		27 28,1%		15 5,8%		58 8,9%		1 1,0%	
Con. Kylix FS 274			9 4,5%		8 8,3%		1 0,4%		36 5,6%	1 0,2%	10 9,7%	
Car. kylix FS 267	317 28,4%	5 1,3%	59 29,2%	2 4,4%	22 23,0%		18 7,0%		55 8,5%		34 33,0%	14 25,0%
Kylix (bases with stems)		220 58,2%		27 60,0%		10 58,8%		27 30,3%		113 25,7%	-	14 25,0%
Ang. bowl FS 295A	45 4,0%	2 0,5%	7 3,5%		3 3,1%		5 1,9%		8 1,2%		9 8,7%	1 1,8%
cup FS 220/222/215	35 3,1%	1 0,3%	5 2,5%		5 5,2%		1 0,4%		33 5,1%		12 11,7%	6 10,7%

¹⁴ The literature concerning deposits with fine plain pottery from the Greek mainland is extensive. For selected bibliography regarding the use of plain pottery and especially kylikes see Hruby 2006; Jung 2006; Galaty 2007.

¹⁵ In Table 3 the category of “other/undefined open vases” includes a large amount of spouted basins. For LH IIIA2 and LH IIIC Early 1 spouted basins from the settlement, see Kaza-Papageorgiou, Kardamaki 2017, 51 fig. 29,132; 57 fig. 31,159–160.

¹⁶ Rounded kylikes are more frequent than carinated kylikes in LH IIIB2 Mitrou (Vitale, van de Moortel 2020, 23). Kylikes are underrepresented in the Kokotsika plot from Katsro-Palaia (LH IIIC Early, see Lis, Batziou 2022, 25). In LH IIIB2 Tiryns and in deposits of the palace in Thebes the carinated kylix is more frequent than the rounded kylix (Andrikou 2006, 28; Wirghová 2022, 78–79 tab. 8; Kardamaki, forthcoming b).

	Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIA2)		Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIB Middle)		Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIB2- LH IIIC Early)		Kontopigado (LH IIIB2)		Kontopigado (LH IIIC Early 1)		Tiryns (LH IIIB2)	
	Rims	Bases	Rims	Bases	Rims	Bases	Rims	Bases	Rims	Bases	Rims	Bases
Con. cup FS 204	280 25,1%	29 7,8%	10 4,9%		5 5,2%						-	1 1,8%
Other/und. open	207 18,5%	114 30,1%	71 35,1%	16 35,6%	21 21,9%	7 41,2%	89 34,6%	29 32,6%	155 23,9%	183 41,6%	35 34,0	14 25,0%
Closed shapes	12 1,1%	7 1,8%			5 5,2%		128 49,8%	33 37,0%	303 46,8%	143 32,5%	2 1,9%	6 10,7%
Total	1116 100%	378 100%	202 100%	45 100%	96 100%	17 100%	257 99,9%	89 99,9%	648 100%	440 100%	103 100%	56 100%

Ayios Vasileios, LH IIIA2: SE Deposit (see Kardamaki 2017). Ayios Vasileios, LH IIIB Middle: Deposit with Frescoes (Kardamaki, forthcoming a). Ayios Vasileios, LH IIIB2-LH IIIC Early (see Vasilogamvrou *et al.* 2022). Kontopigado, LH IIIB2: lower level of well 7 in the area of the workshop installation (Kardamaki 2020). Kontopigado LH IIIC Early 1: Deposit 1 in the area of the workshop installation (Kaza-Papageorgiou *et al.* 2011). Tiryns LH IIIB2: Western Staircase, Zone 2 (Kardamaki 2009;2015; forthcoming b). In the group of carinated kylikes FS 267 are also included rim-sherds of the category “carinated kylikes/angular bowls”.

Besides the use of common types, several other aspects suggest relatively standardized production techniques in the repertoire of the plain table ware and indicate the close interaction and mobility of potters. One good example is the carinated kylix, the surface of which is in most cases left unsmoothed,¹⁷ a feature also related to its use as the most widely used consumption cup. Differentiated manufacturing techniques appear as well (see, for example, burnishing of plain surfaces), but these are primarily applied to vases of regional styles.¹⁸ Another example of standardization in plain pottery refers to the similar development of rim typologies.¹⁹

The examples from Kontopigado and Ayios Vasileios cannot be taken as representative of the whole of southern Greece during LH IIIA2 to LH IIIC Early 1; however, in cases where the analysis of the material allows for a direct comparison, some similarities to other sites appear. The first similarity concerns the low occurrence of pattern-painted pottery that can be observed in several other sites besides Ayios Vasileios and Kontopigado during the early palatial period (LH IIIA).²⁰ In fact, the analysis of more deposits would be desirable to investigate whether a more limited production of pattern-painted pottery – mainly reflected in a percentage of less than 5% of the total rim counts – during LH IIIA was a more general phenomenon.²¹ A differentiation in consumption patterns between Mycenaean regions becomes more evident in LH IIIB. At Ayios Vasileios and Kontopigado patterned painted pottery remains rare. Its percentage does not increase before the final stages of LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early, while elsewhere – in the NE Peloponnese and central Greece – there is a tendency towards increased

¹⁷ „Rough” surface as described by Wardle (1969, 281).

¹⁸ At Kontopigado the burnishing of the vase surfaces is a distinct local manufacturing technique and many spouted basins carry such a burnishing. Kylikes are largely excluded from this treatment. Very characteristic in this respect is also the case of the handleless conical cups in the LH IIB/IIIA1 well fills in Athens as the most common category of open plain vases left unburnished (Mountjoy 1981, 71 Tab. I). Probably shape and manufacturing technique were introduced as a “package” and the vases were not burnished like the vases of the local repertoire.

¹⁹ For example, the rims of carinated kylikes tend to become taller and more flaring towards LH IIIB2, while the LH IIIA2 thick, angular rims give way to less pronounced rims.

²⁰ In the LH IIIA2 Early deposit of Tsoungiza patterned painted pottery comprises 3% of the total rims (Thomas 2011, 184 tab. 1) similar to Ayios Vasileios during the same phase (between 2,5 to 4,7%, see Table 1). At Pylos patterned painted pottery is rare during LH IIIA2 Early as shown on the example of goblets and kylikes (Vitale *et al.* 2022, 127 tab. 6).

²¹ In the LH IIIA deposits at Mitrou patterned painted pottery seems to be rare, while patterned painted rims are not preserved at all (Vitale 2013, 130 tab. 1). By LH IIIB1 the percentage of patterned painted rims is slightly above 5% (Vitale, Van de Moortel 2020, 48 tab. 2:c). Unfortunately a detailed quantification analysis for the Argolid suitable for comparison is still lacking. In the data collected by Thomas (2011, 185–186) one can see that in several pottery studies, especially these of early phases, several variables (counts of plain or solidly painted pottery) are missing.

use of patterned painted pottery already in LH IIIB1. However, differentiation may occur even between LH IIIB deposits of Mycenae and Tiryns.²² Despite the fact that by LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early 1 patterned painted pottery has become generally more popular, there are still cases, the most prominent of all being the palace of Nestor, where a limited use of patterned painted pottery continues.²³ Regarding Argive imports from the late 14th and the 13th centuries, these are identified in several other mainland sites, especially Thebes (Mommensen *et al.* 2002), but these results will need to be substantiated in the future with the help of detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis. However, the same study comments on the low presence of Argive imports in the Peloponnese. Therefore, central Greece – except for Athens – may have received more Argive imports during the mature and late palatial period than the Peloponnese, but further research is required to confirm these conclusions.

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²² Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 38; Thomas 2011, 185 tab. 2.

²³ See Jung 2006, Podzuweit 2007. For a recent discussion and a more nuanced approach regarding the use of painted pottery at the palace see Vitale *et al.* 2022.

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KOINE AND REGIONAL VARIATION IN MYCENAEAN TABLEWARE POTTERY: FROM THEORY TO CASE STUDY

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Abstract

This contribution discusses *koine* and regional variation in Mycenaean tableware and examines the importance of these terms for our understanding of cultural and socio-political developments on the Greek mainland during the late formative, mature, and final phases of the Mycenaean palaces. To do so, based on recent theoretical work by M. Dietler, this article proposes a contextual study of drinking and eating vessels from Pylos, Mitrou, and the “Serraglio” on Kos. Located in different areas of the Mycenaean world, these sites represent diverse case studies, including a palatial center from the southwest Peloponnese, a secondary center from central Greece, and a regional center from the southeast Aegean. Throughout this research, analytical emphasis is placed on the critical comparison between these three sites and other important sites in the northeast Peloponnese, the undisputed home of the so-called Mycenaean *koine*.

While not denying the increased uniformity in tableware vessels during the formative and full Palatial phases of Mycenaean civilization, the case studies examined in this article reveal multifaceted patterns of material interactions. The leadership of Argive workshops in manufacturing a shared vocabulary for Mycenaean eating and drinking practices cannot be overlooked. However, no direct link can be established between this role and the existence of socio-cultural unity under Argive political control. Instead, the evidence suggests different degrees of participation in a shared Mycenaean identity, which appears in the making during LH IIB, at its peak in LH IIIB1, and under challenge during LH IIIB2. It is also clear that each one of the sites examined in this article followed specific individual patterns. This indicates that local agency had an important role and that the social meaning of Mycenaean tableware vessels was continuously negotiated and manipulated according to the agendas of local communities.

Keywords: Mycenaean tableware; Pottery analysis and archaeological theory; Mycenaean palaces; *Koine* and regional variation; Peer polity interaction and socio-political organization

INTRODUCTION

This article critically discusses *koine* and regional variation in Mycenaean tableware eating and drinking vessels.¹ Specifically, by moving from theory to the center of the analytical process where case study and context reside, this work assesses the use of these terms in current Aegean literature and evaluates their significance for our comprehension of cultural developments within Mycenaean Greece between Late Helladic (LH) IIB and LH IIIB2 (late 15th to early 12th centuries B.C.).

This paper analyzes the abovementioned subjects in five sections. The first section is focused on research background and theory. The second section concerns methodology. The third section examines major developments in relevant Mycenaean tableware eating and drinking vessels. Finally, the fourth and fifth sections discuss the cultural, social, and political implications of this study and conclude with some final statements about the necessity for refined analysis of both *koine* and regional variation in tableware pottery and other significant aspects of Mycenaean material culture.

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I. BACKGROUND AND THEORY

The existence of a Mycenaean *koine* has played a key role in the scholarly debate about the cultural, economic, and socio-political trajectories of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) Aegean, with tableware ceramics being used as a prominent case study. Between 1941 and 1944, A. Furumark used the term *koine* to describe the remarkable increase of homogeneity in Late Helladic (LH) IIIA2 and, to a lesser extent, LH IIIB pottery styles and clarified what he considered the obvious historical implications of this uniformity in material culture (Furumark 1941, 521, 540). According to Furumark, “The stylistic interrelations between the fabrics of different parts of the Mycenaean world” implied that LH IIIB was “the period of the greatest Mycenaean expansion” (Furumark 1944, 262). Moreover, Furumark thought that in LH IIIB the Argolid was the “political and cultural center of the Aegean, and the king of Mycenae was doubtless the king of a great realm” (Furumark 1944, 262). For a long time, Furumark’s conclusions found wide support among Aegean LBA authorities (see, for example, Desborough 1964, 2-5, 217-225).

In 1986, using the theoretical lens of peer polity interaction, C. Renfrew stated that during the Palatial period of Mycenaean civilization uniformity in material culture was the result of competitive display and emulation between similarly structured emergent states, implying that each Mycenaean palace or regional cluster of Mycenaean palaces equated to a single kingdom (Renfrew 1986; see also Wright 1995).

In the last decades, Jorrit Kelder, Birgitta Eder, and Reinhard Jung (Kelder 2010; 2018; Eder and Jung 2015; Jung 2015; see also Rutter 2018) have criticized the use of peer polity interaction to understand economic and socio-political developments in Mycenaean Greece, especially between the late 15th and the early 12th centuries B.C. Echoing Furumark’s words, Eder and Jung think that the Mycenaean *koine*, is “... a historically remarkable phenomenon which is anything but self-evident...” (Eder and Jung 2015, 113). As such, together with a relatively limited number of Hittite texts, Kelder, Eder, and Jung consider the Mycenaean *koine* as key evidence to demonstrate the existence of political unity across the Aegean during the Mycenaean Palatial period, with Mycenae seen either as the kingdom’s capital or the designated burial ground for the ruling dynasty of itinerant *wanaktes* (Kelder 2010; 2018; Eder and Jung 2015; Jung 2015; for the Hittite texts, see Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011).

Most recently, the loose use of such terms as cultural *koinai* was critically reviewed by M. Dietler (Dietler 2017). In his work, Dietler states that “... such semantic and theoretical laxity... leads easily to a kind of ‘cargo cult’ approach to theory, where a vaguely apprehended rubric is appropriated in the hope that it will magically deliver interpretive meaning” (Dietler 2017, 17). To rescue the epistemological significance of cultural and material *koinai*, Dietler suggests a theoretically coherent contextual approach. According to this methodology, the analysis of the objects reflecting such *koinai* must consider three aspects: spatial and quantitative distribution; formal and functional characterization; and consumption patterns (Dietler 2017, 24-25).

The wider political implications of the Mycenaean *koine* must be examined through a multidisciplinary analysis of the entire range of Mycenaean material culture across the Aegean. A holistic approach needs to be applied to this varied dataset, with special attention to the multifaceted relationships between things and their perceived economic and ideological meanings, which likely must have shifted spatially and temporally within this broad region.

Focusing on a single component of material culture, this article can only address some of the questions concerning *koine* and regional variation in the Mycenaean world. A complete understanding of the wider economic and socio-political implications of these subjects cannot be achieved until individual aspects of the possible *koine* are better defined. This can only happen through dedicated studies by experts in each of the other relevant fields, such as Linear B script and administration; monumental architecture; frescoes and iconography; ritual and burial practices, etc. Before these studies are completed, any comprehensive interpretation of Mycenaean *koine* and regional variation is bound to be at best far-fetched.

The present contribution is intended as a first step towards a better understanding of *koine* and regional variation in tableware ceramics, a factor that, as seen above, played an important role in the history of research, from Furumark's and Desborough's pioneering work to Jung's most recent research (Furumark 1941; 1944; Desborough 1964; Jung 2015).

2. METHODOLOGY

Following Dietler's theoretical remarks and suggested methodology, this article proposes a diachronic discussion of diagnostic eating and drinking vessels from Pylos, Mitrou, and the "Serraglio" on Kos (Fig. 1). Located in different areas of the Mycenaean world, these sites represent a diverse set of case studies, including a palatial center from the southwest Peloponnese, a secondary center from the central Greek mainland, and a regional center from the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Coastal Anatolian Region (SASCAR). Emphasis is placed on the critical comparison between these three sites and other sites in the northeast Peloponnese, the undisputed home of the so-called Mycenaean *koine*, at the beginning, the peak, and the end of an ideal bell curve in the development of Mycenaean palatial society. Specifically, this paper discusses the occurrence, contextual distribution, and perceived function of goblets, kylikes, and deep bowls, during the late formative (LH IIB), mature (LH IIIB1), and final phases (LH IIIB2) of the Mycenaean palaces.

The assemblages from Pylos, Mitrou, and the "Serraglio" examined in this paper represent a variety of formation processes including, when possible, closed or stylistically homogeneous deposits and a different array of functions (Table 1). While settlement contexts are the focus of this contribution, funerary assemblages from cemeteries located around Pylos, Mitrou, and the "Serraglio" are also considered as an additional source of information.

Comparative assemblages from the northeast Peloponnese include the materials from Tsoungiza's Group G for LH IIB, Tsoungiza's EU2 deposit for LH IIIB1, and Level C of the Causeway deposit from Mycenae for LH IIIB2 (Fig. 1).² These assemblages were selected based on their function, as they all represent ordinary settlement activities, and because of their detailed published dataset (Table 1). The cemetery of Prosymna was, on the other hand, considered the ideal comparative case study for funerary pottery consumption patterns in the northeast Peloponnese.³

Basic quantification methods (see Vitale 2018; Vitale *et al.* 2022; both with previous bibliography) are used as the main source for the presentation, analysis, and interpretation of the pottery data discussed in this research (Tables 2-8), with special attention given to the following variables: presence or absence of decoration (unpainted vs. painted); decorative treatment (linear and monochrome vs. patterned); decorative style (standard vs. special tradition); and place of manufacture (local vs. imported). The term standard tradition indicates those vessel types that follow what one could define as Mycenaean linear stylistic developments. On the other hand, the term special tradition indicates distinctive stylistic twists that do not conform to linear developments. These twists are most likely Argive inventions that occurred within the phases discussed in this article.

To clarify, Mycenaean standard tradition patterned vessels include ordinary goblets FS 254/255 and 262 from LH IIB to LH IIIA2 Middle; kylikes FS 256/257/258B from LH IIIA2 Middle to LH IIIB1; and Group A deep bowls FS 284 in LH IIIB1 and LH IIIB2. Special tradition vessels

² The Causeway deposit was brought to light under the direction of J. Papadimitriou and W. Taylour in the context of the Helleno-British excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae (Wardle 1973; Taylour 1981; French and Taylour 2007, iv-v, 1). Group G and the EU 2 deposit from Tsoungiza were brought to light under the direction of J.C. Wright in the context of the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (Thomas 2005; Wright and Dabney 2020, 2-6; Rutter 2020, 657-687).

³ Excavations at Prosymna were carried out under the direction of C.W. Blegen (Blegen 1937). More recently, the pottery from this cemetery was restudied by K. Shelton (Shelton 1996).

Table 1. Chronology, Formation Process, and Function of Assemblages Quantified in This Article (Tables 2-8)

Chronology/ Formation Processes/ Function	Settlement Assemblages						Funerary Assemblages
	Floor Deposits or Disturbed Floor Deposits	Subsurface Terracing Fills	Miscellaneous Dumps	Pits and/or Pits and Dumps	Undetermined, but stratified (currently still under study)	Unstratified, Mixed, or Arbitrary Selection	
LH IIIB2			12. Mycenaean (Causeway Deposit, Level C)	13. Mitrou (Trench LP782, Redeposited Destruction Debris and Other Miscellaneous Filling Materials)			14. Eleona and Langada (Kos), Burials with LH IIIB pottery; 15. Eleona and Langada (Kos), Burials with LH IIIB2 Early (L-T.36) and Late pottery (E-T.5; L-Ts. 21, 40, 46, 49)
LH IIIB1		6. The “Serraglio” (Fill underneath the House of the Figs)	7. Mitrou (Trench LP784, Destruction Debris dumped over Room D1b)	8. Tsoungiza (EU 2 Deposit)	9. Pylos (Tsakonas Field, Area E)	10. The “Serraglio” (Arbitrarily preserved Materials from Morricone’s Excavations)	11. Eleona and Langada (Kos), Burials with LH IIIB1 pottery
LH IIB	1. Mitrou (Destruction debris from the floor and the underlying levelling operations in Room D1b); 2. Mitrou (Destruction deposit on a pebble hearth surface)		3. Tsoungiza (Group G)	4. Pylos (Acropolis, 5Z)		5. The “Serraglio” (Arbitrarily pre- served Materials from Morricone’s Excavations)	Ordinary Activities (2-3) Ceremonial (1) Feasting (4) Unknown (5)

Chronological Details (according to Vitale *et al.* 2021; Vitale *et al.* 2024; Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020): LH IIB Early: 1-2; LH IIB Late: 3-4; LH IIA-LH IIB and LH IIB-LH IIIA1: 5. LH IIIB1 Early: 7; LH IIIB1 Late: 8; General LH IIIB1: 9-11; LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1: 6. LH IIIB2 Early: 12; LH IIIB1 Late: 13; General LH IIIB: 14; LH IIIB2 Early and Late: 15.



Fig. 1. Map of the Aegean with the main LBA sites mentioned in the text (base map from Google Earth, adapted by C. McNamee - S. Vitale - Tina Ross).

occur only at specific points in the analyzed sequence and include Ephyraean goblets FS 254 in LH IIB; Zygouries kylikes FS 258A in LH IIIB1;⁴ and Group B and Rosette deep bowls FS 284 in LH IIIB2.⁵

⁴ A linear development can be traced from LH IIA standard goblets FS 254 to standard kylikes FS 258B, with intermediate stages identifiable in LH IIB goblets FS 254, LH IIIA1 to LH IIIA2 Middle goblets FS 255, and LH IIIA2 Middle to Late kylikes FS 256 and 257 (Mountjoy 1986, 34-36, 46-50, 64-66, 88-90, 113-115, figs. 35-36, 53-55, 75-76, 106-108, 141; Mountjoy 1999, 21-38). In terms of shape, the stem gradually becomes longer and distinct from the foot; the bowl becomes shallower; and the rims go from tall everted and triangular to short and beaded. The decorated area, which is always zonal with bands around rims, lower bowls, and often stems, becomes comparatively shallower or deeper through time, based on the abovementioned structural changes. Ephyraean goblets FS 254 and Zygouries kylikes FS 258A follow standard shape developments but are anomalous in terms of decorative treatments. In fact, they have no bands and feature a unity decoration syntax rather than a zonal syntax, with motifs encompassing the tridimensional curving surface of the vessels. In addition, one side is left completely unpainted in the case of Zygouries kylikes.

⁵ Group A deep bowls FS 284 appear at the end of LH IIIA2 and represent a linear development of one-handled bowls FS 283 and truncated stemmed bowls (Mountjoy 1986, 90-92, 117-118, 129-131, figs. 109-110, 113, 143, 160-162; Mountjoy 1999, 28-38). The decoration, which becomes narrower during LH IIIB, is mostly zonal with comparatively thin bands around rims, bellies, and bases, while handles are canonically painted with three splashes. Interiors are also linear. Group B deep bowls FS 284 appear in small quantities towards the end of LH IIIB1 Late and become common during

3. PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

In this section, contextual data from Tsoungiza, Pylos, Mitrou, the “Serraglio”, and Mycenae are presented and compared in chronological order. Details on the formation processes of quantified deposits are summarized in Table 1 to clarify the character of the materials and highlight their contribution to our understanding of Mycenaean *koinai* and regional variations. Information from the assemblages located in the northeast Peloponnese is provided first, followed by relevant data from Pylos, Mitrou, and the “Serraglio”, as well as from the funerary locations around these sites, when available. Data concerning the provenance of the vessels from Pylos, Mitrou, and the “Serraglio” discussed in this section are all based on macroscopic observation of fabrics, surface treatments, paints, and, as far as decorated specimens are concerned, on the main stylistic features of the materials.

3.1. LH IIB

3.1.1 The Northeast Peloponnese

The pottery from Group G at Tsoungiza dates to LH IIB Late (Rutter 2020, 657–687). Within this context (Tables 1–3), goblets FS 254/263/270/271 are the most widespread open shape, showing a prevalence of painted over unpainted specimens. In the painted fraction, patterned goblets are predominant over monochrome and linear examples. Standard and special tradition types are both represented, with the former being roughly twice as common as the latter.

At Prosymna, circa 25 graves included LH IIB pottery (Shelton 1996, 277–280). During this phase, goblets FS 254/263/270/271 were relatively common, but the Ephyraean type FS 254 was rare. The vast majority, if not all, of the LH IIB goblets from the northeast Peloponnese were most likely manufactured locally.

3.1.2 Pylos

At Pylos, recent excavations by the Palace of Nestor (PoN) Roof and the Palace of Nestor Excavations (PONEX) have revealed a large amount of LH IIB settlement assemblages of different functions, including ordinary settlement and feasting assemblages (Vitale *et al.* 2021; Vitale in Stocker *et al.* 2022, 235–239, tables 2, 4, fig. 33).⁶ This rich dataset, which is still largely unpublished, adds new information to that originally provided by C.W. Blegen’s excavations within and around the Palace of Nestor (Blegen, Rawson 1966; Blegen *et al.* 1973).

To date, the only fully quantified LH IIB materials from Pylos come from the 5Z Deposit, dating towards the end of this phase (Fig. 2:1–8; Tables 1–3). Located on the acropolis, a few meters north-east of Rooms 33 and 34 of the later Palace of Nestor, this context derives from feasting activities and

LH IIIB2 Early. The decoration remains zonal with three handle splashes, but the decorative style is much heavier, because of the occurrence of a three-centimeter-deep rim band, two-centimeter-deep belly bands, and monochrome interiors. Rosette deep bowls FS 284 appear roughly at the same time as Group B deep bowls and follow similar chronological paths. Typical LH IIIB2 Rosette deep bowls are anomalous in that they feature a unity type syntax with dots instead of bands around rims, multiple-splashed handles, and a central motif on each side, with no linear decoration at all.

⁶ PoN Roof Excavations were carried out as a collaboration between the Ephorate of Antiquities of Messenia and the University of Cincinnati, under the direction of D. Kosmopoulos, A.V. Karapanagiotou, and S.R. Stocker (Karapanagiotou *et al.* 2021). Within PoN Roof, the author is one of the specialists engaged in the study of Bronze Age ceramics. PONEX excavations were carried out by the University of Cincinnati under the direction of S.R. Stocker and J.L. Davis (Davis, Stocker 2016, 628–635; GWE). Within PONEX, the author is the pottery principal investigator.

as a result has some compositional biases (Vitale *et al.* 2021, 199–217, tables 6–16). The most notable is the overrepresentation of drinking vessels and of unpainted over painted pottery (Fig. 2:1–3; Table 2). The incidence of painted goblets, however, does not differ significantly from other standard LH IIB deposits from Pylos, which are currently not fully studied and thus cannot be quantified in this contribution (see Vitale in Stocker *et al.* 2022, 235–239, tables 2, 4, fig. 33).

Table 2. Incidence of LH IIB Goblets

Tsoungiza (Table 1, Assemblage 3)			
	All Goblets	Unpainted Goblets	Painted Goblets
Counts	62	25	37
%	100.0%	40.3%	59.7%
Pylos (Table 1, Assemblage 4)			
	All Goblets	Unpainted Goblets	Painted Goblets
Counts	103	94	9
%	100.0%	91.3%	8.7%
Mitrou (Table 1, Assemblages 1+2)			
	All Goblets	Unpainted Goblets	Painted Goblets
Counts	123	75	48
%	100.0%	61.0%	39.0%
The “Serraglio” (Table 1, Assemblage 5)			
	All Goblets	Unpainted Goblets	Painted Goblets
Counts	39	7	32
%	100.0%	17.9%	82.1%

Sources: Tsoungiza: Rutter 2020. Pylos: Vitale *et al.* 2021. Mitrou: Vitale, this paper. The “Serraglio”: Vitale, this paper.

In the 5Z Deposit, goblets are the most common open shape (Table 2). Within the painted fraction, linear and monochrome goblets FS 263/270 (Fig. 2:4–5) are the most represented types (Table 3). Standard tradition patterned goblets FS 254 are attested (Fig. 2:6–8), but Ephyraean goblets FS 254 are absent.

Until 2022, despite the discovery of many LH IIB deposits, the lack of Ephyraean goblets FS 254 was a constant feature of all assemblages from Pylos. This situation has now changed with the excavations of Area H of the Dimopoulos Field, where a pit including four Ephyraean goblets FS 254 was discovered (Fig. 2:9–10; for a first mention of two of these vessels, see Rutter 2023). Based on a preliminary assessment, this context also derives from feasting activities. This material dates very early in LH IIB, i.e., after the LH IIA Late horizon represented at the end of Ayia Irini VIIB, Stratigraphic Levels 21–24 at Mitrou, the end of Trianda IIA, and perhaps the end of the Late Minoan IB late phase at Kastri, but before the classical stage of the Ephyraean style, as represented in Levels V–VII of the East Alley stratification at Korakou (Rutter 2020, 712–716; Vitale *et al.* 2024, 304–307, fig. 16:9; both with previous bibliography; for Korakou, see Dickinson 1972).

Goblets are uncommon in the published tombs around the Palace of Nestor, and no painted specimens occur (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 71–218). Nearly all the unpainted, linear, and monochrome goblets from Pylos are locally made. The same applies to patterned specimens, with the notable exception of the four Ephyraean goblets, which are Argive imports.

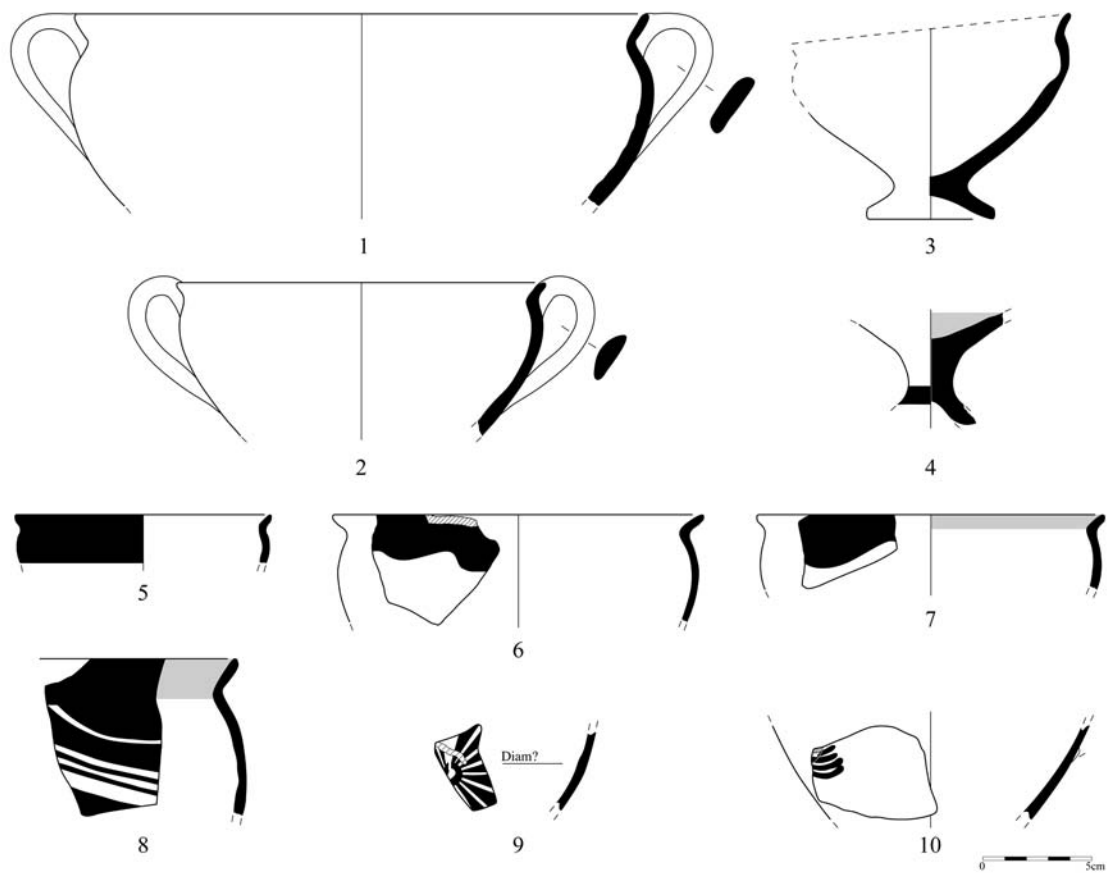


Fig. 2. Pylos: 1-8, LH IIB Late pottery from the 5Z Deposit; 9-10, LH IIB Early pottery from a recently excavated pit in Area H of the Dimopoulos Field (1-8, Tina Ross, after Vitale *et al.* 2021, 200, fig. 2; 9-10, C. Kolb; courtesy of the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati).

3.1.3 Mitrou

The excavations conducted between 2004 and 2008 by the Mitrou Archaeological Project (MAP) have uncovered one of the richest LH IIB settlement sequences from the Greek mainland.⁷ Particularly abundant is the evidence for the LH IIB Early sub-phase, which is roughly contemporary with Levels V-VII from the East Alley stratification at Korakou (Dickinson 1972; for an updated discussion, see Rutter 2020, 712-713) and at Mitrou is well represented both in the southeast sector of Building H (Trenches LG789 and LG790) and the east sector of Building D (Trenches LP783 and LP784). These deposits derive from a diverse array of settlement functions (Fig. 3; Tables 1-3), with the assemblages from elite Building H reflecting ordinary settlement activities and those from elite Building D reflecting at least partially ceremonial practices connected to nearby built Chamber Tomb 73.

Overall, within the LH IIB Early pottery from Mitrou, goblets are the most common open shape, with unpainted specimens FS 263/270 comprising most of the assemblage (Fig. 3:1; Table 2). Within the painted fraction, monochrome and linear goblets FS 263/270 are predominant (Fig. 3:2) over

⁷ MAP Excavations were carried out as a collaboration between the Ephorate of Antiquities of Phthiotida and Evrytania and the University of Tennessee, under the direction of A. Van de Moortel and E. Zahou from 2004 to 2021 and A. Van de Moortel and E. Karantzali since 2021 (Van de Moortel and Zahou 2012; Van de Moortel *et al.* 2019; Van de Moortel 2022). Within MAP, the author is the principal investigator for the LH IIA to LH IIIB ceramics and one of the two principal investigators for LH I ceramics.

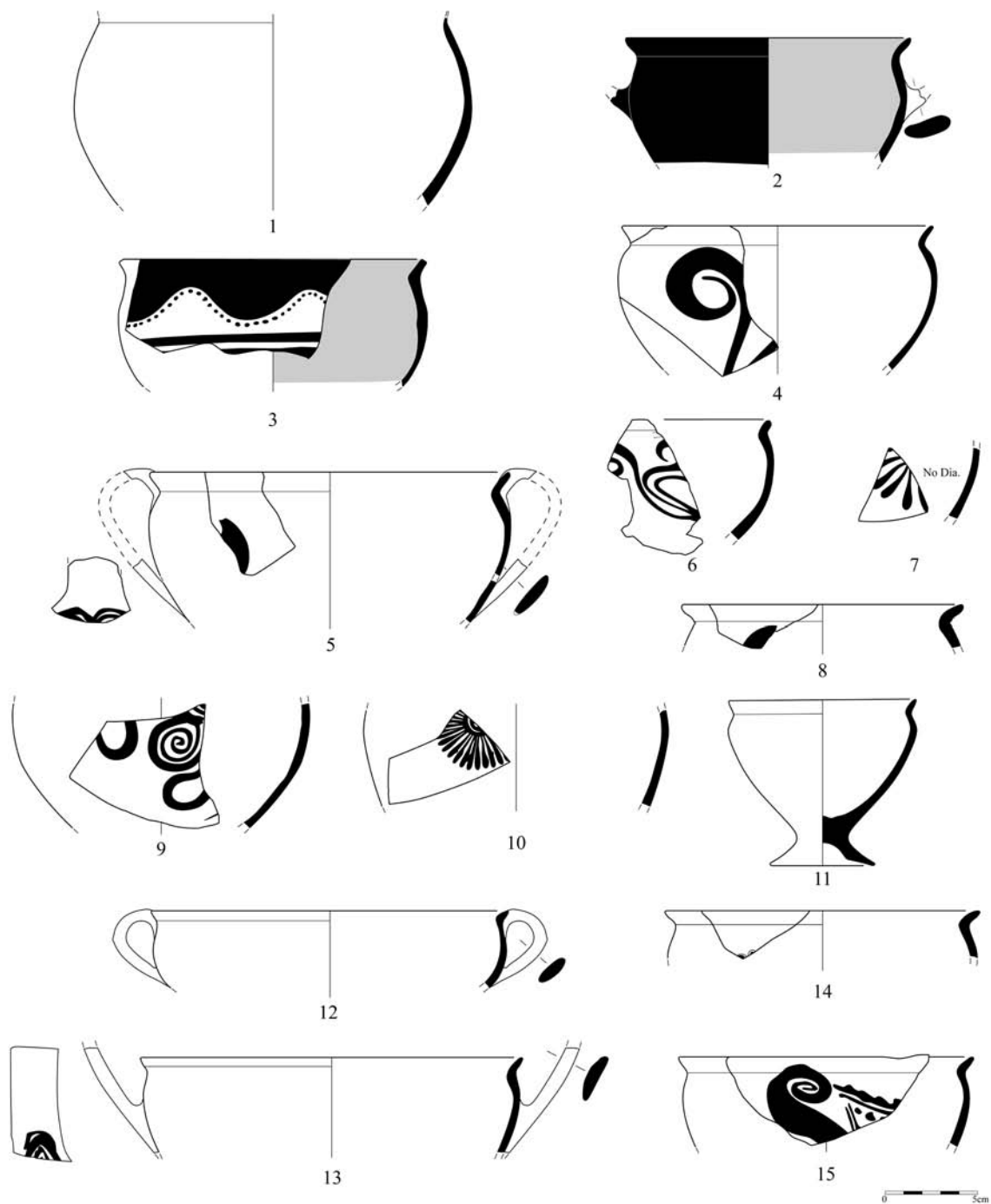


Fig. 3. Mitrou: 1-10, LH IIB Early pottery; 11-15, LH IIB Late pottery (M. Rossin and T. Ross).

patterned goblets (Fig. 3:3-10; Table 3). Although they are not as widespread as in the northeast Peloponnese, Ephyraean goblets are well documented (Fig. 3:4-10). Ephyraean goblets continue to be attested at the site also in LH IIB Late deposits (Fig. 3:11-15 for LH IIB Late deposits; Fig. 3:13-15 for LH IIB Late Ephyraean goblets).

Turning to Mitrou's funerary arena, the mendable vessels from Mitrou's built Chamber Tomb 73 include no goblets (Vitale in Van de Moortel *et al.* 2019, 288-290, table 1). The same applies to the other tombs located in the site's surroundings at Ayia Triada (Kramer-Hajos 2008, 48-49, 122-123, figs. 3:1, 6:2; with previous bibliography).

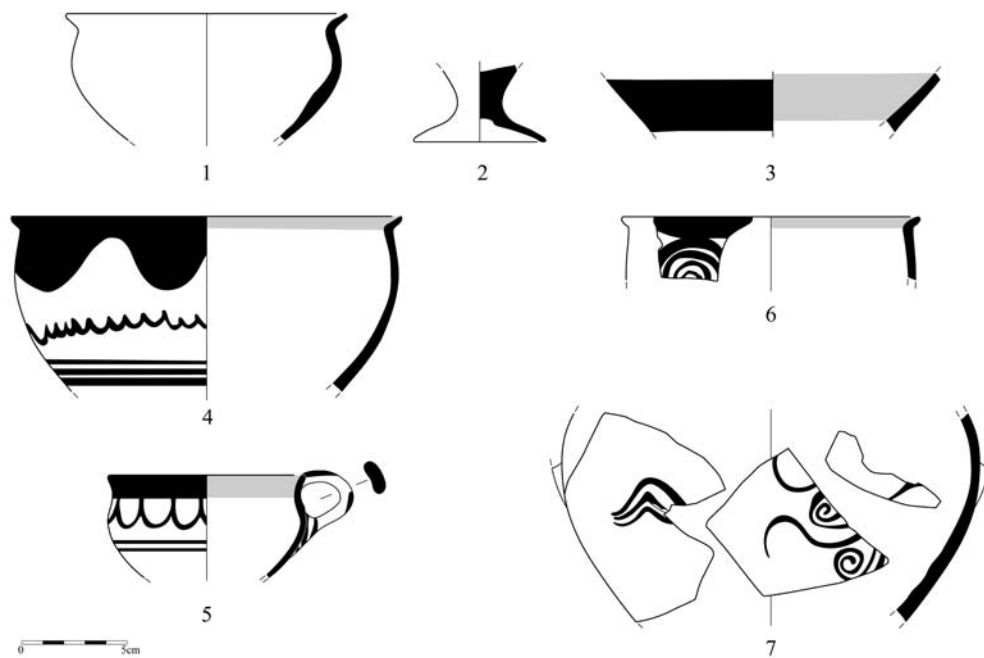


Fig. 4. The “Serraglio”: Unstratified LH IIB pottery from unknown locations within the site (S. Regio, M. Rossin, A. Trecarichi, T. Ross, and C. Kolb).

Most of the unpainted, linear, and monochrome goblets from Mitrou are locally made, while patterned specimens, including all Ephyraean goblets, are mostly Argive imports.

3.1.4 The “Serraglio”

Based on L. Morricone’s 1935 to 1946 excavations on Kos (Morricone 1975), recent research by the “Serraglio, Eleona, and Langada Archaeological Project” (SELAP) has identified five LH IIB-LH IIIA1 small, closed contexts from the “Serraglio”, none of which include goblets.⁸ There are, however, 39 stray goblets from this settlement, dating between LH IIA-LH IIB and LH IIB-LH IIIA1 (Fig. 4; Tables 1-3; Vitale 2006, 81-83, figs. 9-12).

Within this arbitrary assemblage, unpainted goblets FS 263/270 are uncommon (Fig. 4:1-2), while painted goblets FS 254/255/263/270 (Fig. 4:3-7) are prevalent (Table 2). This is certainly the result of biases in how fragmentary materials were kept or discarded almost a century ago by the original excavator of the site (Vitale 2016, 76). The same may very well apply to the overrepresentation of patterned FS 254/255 (Fig. 4:4-7) over linear and monochrome specimens FS 263/270 (Table 3). Only one of the 23 patterned goblets from the “Serraglio” belongs to the Ephyraean type FS 254 (Fig. 4:7).

⁸ SELAP study seasons were carried out under the scientific aegis of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens, under the direction of S. Vitale from 2009 to 2016 and of S. Vitale and C. McNamee since 2016 (Vitale 2012; Vitale *et al.* 2017). SELAP’s 2009 to 2024 field seasons were possible thanks to generous grants and/or donations from the following institutions and/or individuals: Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning, and Religious Affairs of the Hellenic Republic; The Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP); The Shelby White - Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications; Università della Calabria; Mediterranean Archaeological Trust; The Rust Family Foundation; University of Pisa, ProArcheo Call, 2024; ArcheoClub d’Italia, sede di Pisa; and Miss Teresa Pirelli. The author is also grateful to the former and current directors of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens, Emanuele Greco and Emanuele Papi, for scientific and logistical support to SELAP.

Table 3. Incidence of LH IIB Painted Goblets

Tsoungiza (Table 1, Assemblage 3)					
	All Painted Goblets	Linear and Mono Goblets	Patterned Goblets	Ephyraean Goblets over all Painted Goblets	Ephyraean Goblets over all Patterned Goblets
Counts	37	2	35	11	11
%	100.0%	5.4%	94.6%	29.7%	31.4%
Pylos (Table 1, Assemblage 4)					
	All Painted Goblets	Linear and Mono Goblets	Patterned Goblets	Ephyraean Goblets over all Painted Goblets	Ephyraean Goblets over all Patterned Goblets
Counts	9	5	4	0	0
%	100.0%	55.6%	44.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Mitrou (Table 1, Assemblages 1+2)					
	All Painted Goblets	Linear and Mono Goblets	Patterned Goblets	Ephyraean Goblets over all Painted Goblets	Ephyraean Goblets over all Patterned Goblets
Counts	48	32	16	5	5
%	100.0%	66.7%	33.3%	10.4%	31.3%
The “Serraglio” (Table 1, Assemblage 5)					
	All Painted Goblets	Linear and Mono Goblets	Patterned Goblets	Ephyraean Goblets over all Painted Goblets	Ephyraean Goblets over all Patterned Goblets
Counts	32	9	23	1	1
%	100.0%	28.1%	71.9%	3.1%	4.3%

Sources: Tsoungiza: Rutter 2020. Pylos: Vitale *et al.* 2021. Mitrou: Vitale, this paper. The “Serraglio”: Vitale, this paper.

None of the four chamber tombs built in LH IIB at the nearby cemetery of Eleona (nos. 2, 4, 8, and 18) include goblets (Morricone 1967; Vitale *et al.* 2017, 233–234, tables IV–V; Vitale 2023, tables 2, 4). The vast majority of patterned and linear goblets from the “Serraglio” are likely Argive imports. On the contrary, nearly all monochrome and unpainted goblets are locally made.

3.2. LH IIIB₁

3.2.1 The Northeast Peloponnese

The pottery from the EU 2 deposit at Tsoungiza dates to LH IIIB₁ Late. Within this assemblage (Tables 1, 4–5; Thomas 2005), kylikes are the most widespread open shape, with unpainted specimens FS 265/266/267/274 being largely prevalent over painted ones. Patterned kylikes are way more common within the painted fraction than monochrome specimens. Standard tradition patterned kylikes FS 257/258B are almost ten times more common than special tradition Zygouries kylikes FS 258A.

At Prosymna, approximately 32 tombs included LH IIIB₁ pottery (Shelton 1996, 290–292). During this phase, there is only a single patterned kylix of the FS 258B standard tradition. The vast majority, if not all, of the LH IIIB₁ kylikes from the northeast Peloponnese were most likely manufactured locally.

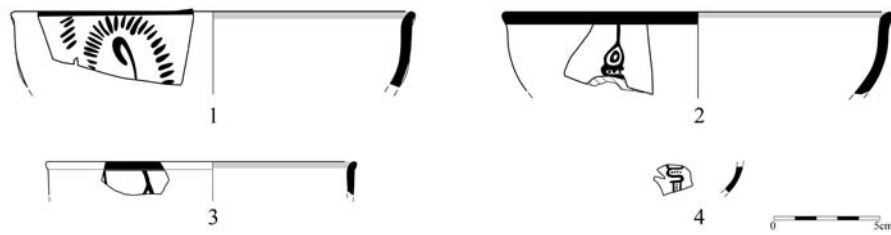


Fig. 5. Pylos: LH IIIB1 pottery from miscellaneous deposits in Area G of the Dimopoulos Field (T. Ross, after Davis *et al.* 2024, 534, fig. 3:a-d; courtesy of the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati).

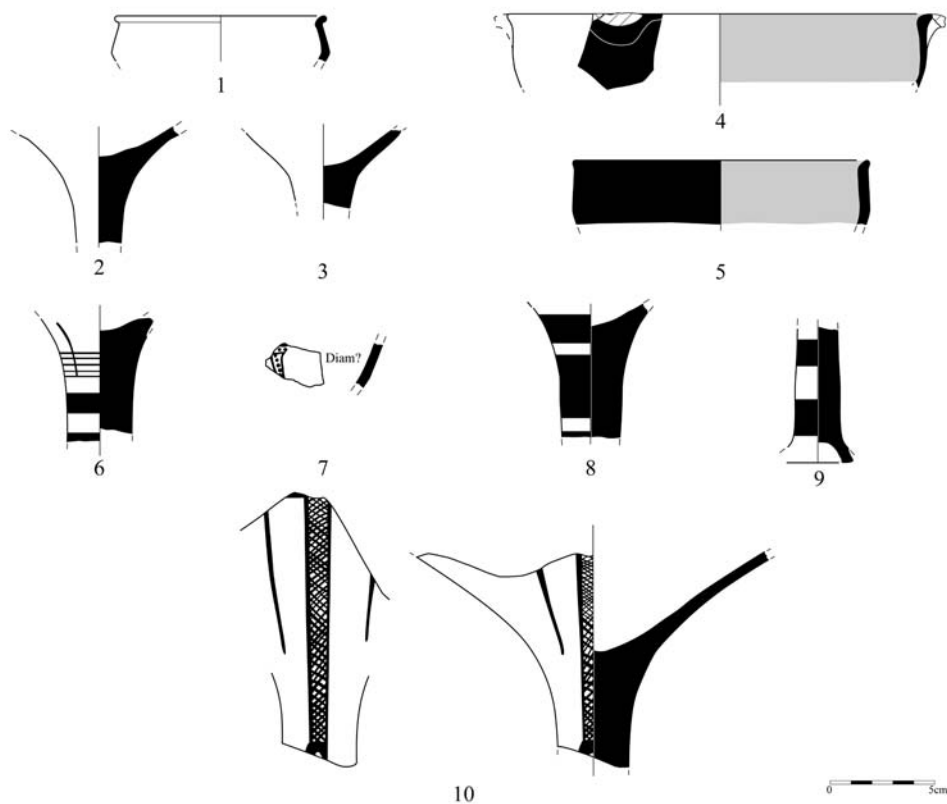


Fig. 6. Mitrou: LH IIIB1 Early pottery from the destruction debris redeposited over the floor of Room D1b (M. Rossin and T. Ross).

3.2.2 Pylos

At Pylos, a few LH IIIB1 settlement deposits were recently discovered by PONEX in Area E of the Tsakonas Field (Fig. 5; Tables 1, 4-5; Vitale *et al.* 2022, 122-123, fig. 2). In these contexts, kylikes are the most widespread open shape, with unpainted specimens FS 265/266/267 being predominant. Within the painted fraction, monochrome specimens FS 265 are way more common than patterned.

Patterned specimens exclusively belong to the standard tradition FS 258B (Fig. 5; Table 5). This is generally true for the entire area around the Palace of Nestor, where all excavations conducted from Blegen's to PONEX's times have shown evidence for the use of small quantities of standard tradition

patterned kylikes FS 258B, but no evidence for Zygouries kylikes FS 258A (Vitale *et al.* 2022, 128 with footnote 28; Davis *et al.* 2024, 533-534, fig. 3:a-d).

No painted kylix occurs in the published tombs around the Palace of Nestor (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 71-218). Most of the LH IIIB1 unpainted, monochrome, and patterned kylikes from Pylos are locally made.

3.2.3 Mitrou

At Mitrou, only one stratified settlement deposit dates to LH IIIB1 (Fig. 6; Table 1). The materials represent redeposited destruction debris dumped over the floor of Room D1b and reflect ordinary settlement functions (Vitale, Van de Moortel 2020, 15-20, figs. 3:a, 4, 7-9). Kylikes are the most widespread open shape, with unpainted FS 265/266/267 (Fig. 6:1-3) and painted specimens FS 265/258A/B (Fig. 6:4-10) being roughly equal in number (Table 4). Within the painted fraction, monochrome specimens FS 265 (Fig. 6:4-5) are way more common than patterned (Table 5). Within patterned specimens, only one certainly belongs to the Zygouries special tradition FS 258A (Fig. 6:10), while most of the recovered examples belong to the standard tradition FS 258B (Fig. 6:6, 8-9). One sherd may belong to either the standard or the special tradition (Fig. 6:7). A few other fragments of Zygouries kylikes FS 258A were found at the site, but they come from mixed deposits.

Table 4. Incidence of LH IIIB1 Kylikes

Tsoungiza (Table 1, Assemblage 8)			
	All Kylikes	Unpainted Kylikes	Painted Kylikes
Counts	1839	1640	199
%	100.0%	89.2%	10.8%
Pylos (Table 1, Assemblage 9)			
	All Kylikes	Unpainted Kylikes	Painted Kylikes
Counts	409	348	61
%	100.0%	85.1%	14.9%
Mitrou (Table 1, Assemblage 7)			
	All Kylikes	Unpainted Kylikes	Painted Kylikes
Counts	41	21	20
%	100.0%	51.2%	48.8%
The “Serraglio” (Table 1, Assemblage 6)			
	All Kylikes	Unpainted Kylikes	Painted Kylikes
Counts	21	15	6
%	100.0%	71.4%	28.6%

Sources: Tsoungiza: Thomas 2005. Pylos: Vitale, this paper. Mitrou: Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020. The “Serraglio”: Vitale, this paper. Three of the 15 unpainted kylikes from Assemblage 6 could be either carinated kylikes FS 267 or shallow angular bowls FS 295.

According to published data, no LH IIIB1 kylikes are known from the clusters of tombs located around Mitrou, including those from Ayia Triada, Spartia, and Rema Pharmaki (Kramer-Hajos 2008, 40, 42-43, 48-49, 125-128, figs. 3:1, 6:4; with previous bibliography). Most of the LH IIIB1 unpainted and monochrome kylikes from Mitrou are local. Most patterned kylikes, including all the Zygouries kylikes FS 258A, are Argive imports.

Table 5. Incidence of LH IIIB1 Painted Kylikes

Tsoungiza (Table 1, Assemblage 8)					
	All Painted Kylikes	Mono Kylikes	Patterned Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Painted Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Patterned Kylikes
Counts	199	24	175	19	19
%	100.0%	12.1%	87.9%	9.5%	10.9%
Pylos (Table 1, Assemblage 9)					
	All Painted Kylikes	Mono Kylikes	Patterned Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Painted Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Patterned Kylikes
Counts	61	55	6	0	0
%	100.0%	90.2%	9.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Mitrou (Table 1, Assemblage 7)					
	All Painted Kylikes	Mono Kylikes	Patterned Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Painted Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Patterned Kylikes
Counts	20	14	6	1	1
%	100.0%	70.0%	30.0%	5.0%	16.7%
The “Serraglio” (Table 1, Assemblage 6)					
	All Painted Kylikes	Mono Kylikes	Patterned Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Painted Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Patterned Kylikes
Counts	6	4	2	0	0
%	100.0%	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%
The “Serraglio” (Table 1, Assemblage 10)					
	All Painted Kylikes	Mono Kylikes	Patterned Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Painted Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Patterned Kylikes
Counts	79	13	66	2	2
%	100.0%	16.5%	83.5%	2.5%	3.0%

Sources: Tsoungiza: Thomas 2005. Pylos: Vitale, this paper. Mitrou: Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020. The “Serraglio”: Vitale, this paper.

3.2.4 The “Serraglio”

Only one context with LH IIIB1 materials survives from the “Serraglio”, a terracing fill excavated underneath the floor of the House of the Figs (Fig. 7:1-3; Vitale 2021, 532, figs. 4, 7; with previous bibliography). The pottery derives from ordinary settlement activities and covers the time between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1, with LH IIIB1 fragments being the most common component (Tables 1, 4-5). Kylikes are the most widespread open shape, with unpainted specimens FS 264/265/266/267 (Fig. 7:1-2) being predominant over painted ones. Within the painted fraction, monochrome specimens FS 264/265 are more common than patterned FS 257/258B (Fig. 7:3) and there are no Zygouries fragments FS 258A (Table 5). In addition to this context, there are 79 stray LH IIIB1 kylikes from the “Serraglio” (Fig. 7:4-11; Tables 1, 5). Within this arbitrary assemblage preserved from Morricone’s excavations, patterned kylikes FS 257/258 are abundant (Fig. 7:4-10), totaling 66 vessels, only two of which belong to the Zygouries type FS 258A (Fig. 7:11).

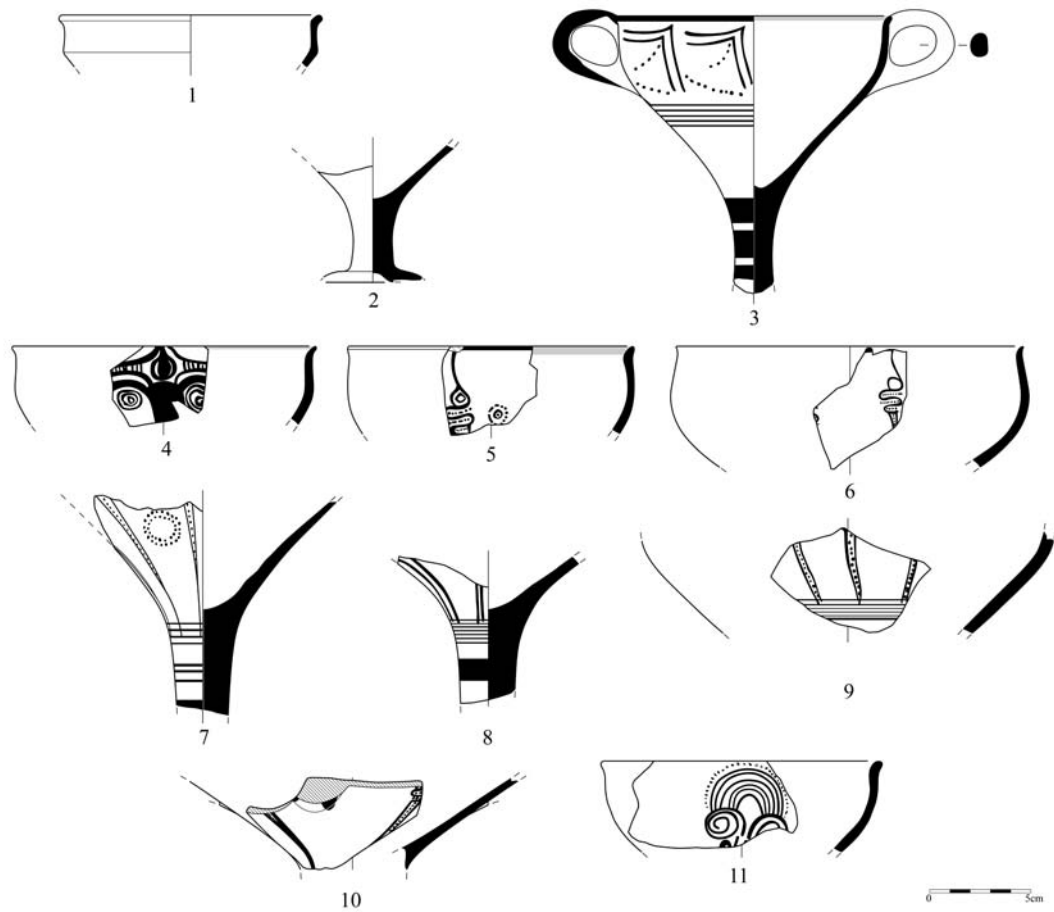


Fig. 7. The “Serraglio”: 1-3, LH IIIB1 pottery from the Fill underneath the House of the Figs; 4-11, Unstratified LH IIIB1 pottery from unknown locations within the site (S. Regio, M. Rossin, and T. Ross).

Turning to the funerary contexts, a relatively high number of patterned kylikes FS 258A/B (Fig. 8) come from the nearby cemeteries of Eleona and Langada, where 25 tombs contained pottery dating to LH IIIB (Morricone 1967; Vitale *et al.* 2017, 233-234, tables IV-V; Vitale 2023, tables 2, 4). The total is eight specimens (Tables 1, 6), six of which belong to the standard tradition type FS 258B (Fig. 8:1-2), while two belong to the Zygouries type FS 258A (Fig. 8:3-4). All the patterned kylikes from the “Serraglio”, Eleona, and Langada are Argive imports, while nearly all the unpainted and monochrome examples are local.

Table 6. LH IIIB1 Painted Kylikes at Eleona and Langada on Kos

(Table 1, Assemblage 11)					
	All Painted Kylikes	Mono Kylikes	Patterned Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Painted Kylikes	Zygouries Kylikes over all Patterned Kylikes
Counts	11	3	8	2	2
%	100.0%	27.3%	72.7%	18.2%	25.0%

Source: Eleona and Langada: Vitale, this paper.

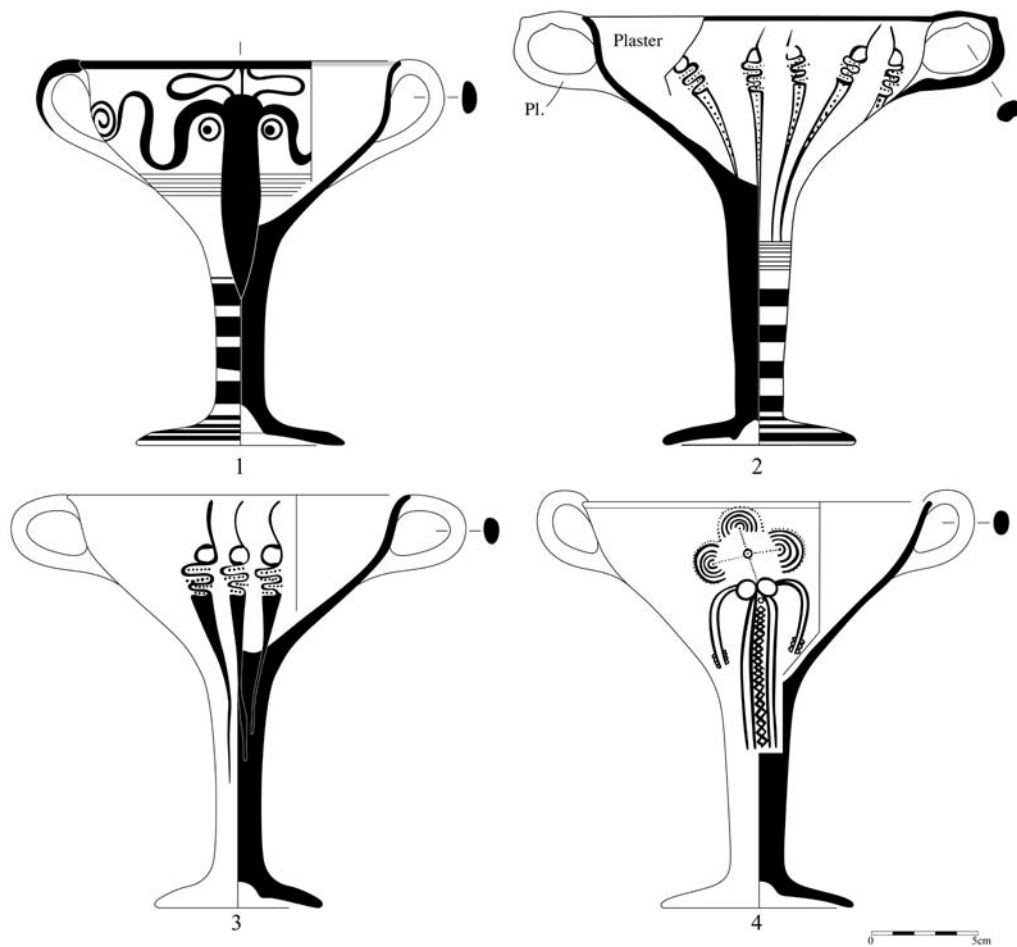


Fig. 8. Eleona and Langada: LH IIIB1 pottery from various burial contexts at the sites (S. Regio, M. Rossin, C. Kolb, and T. Ross).

3.3. LH IIIB₂

3.3.1 The Northeast Peloponnese

The materials from Level C of the Causeway Deposit at Mycenae date to LH IIIB₂ Early (Tables. 1, 7). Deep bowls FS 284 are now the most widespread painted open shape (Wardle 1973). The dominant type is the standard tradition Group A deep bowl FS 284, already well represented in LH IIIB₁. Two new special tradition types follow, the Group B and the Rosette deep bowl. In this deposit, Group A deep bowls are circa twice as common as Group B and circa three times as common as Rosette deep bowls.

At Prosymna, approximately 11 tombs included LH IIIB₂ pottery (Shelton 1996, 293–294). Only two Group A deep bowls FS 284 are represented during this phase. Most, if not all LH IIIB₂ deep bowls from the northeast Peloponnese were likely local productions.

3.3.2 Pylos

At Pylos, no settlement or funerary closed deposits indisputably dating to LH IIIB₂ have been identified (Blegen, Rawson 1966; Blegen *et al.* 1973). Unpublished stratified materials from both Blegen's

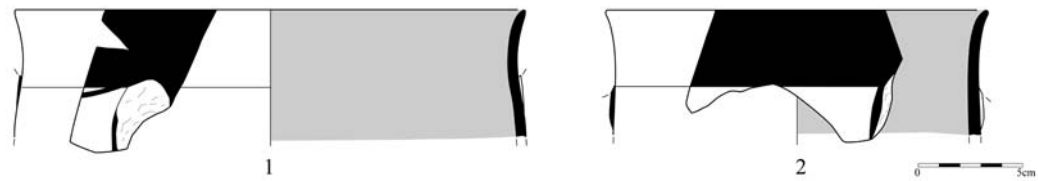


Fig. 9. Pylos: Unstratified LH IIIB2 pottery from the area of the Megaron of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos (E. Egan with additions by T. Ross and S. Vitale, after Vitale *et al.* 2022, 135, fig. 7:3-4; courtesy of the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati).

and PONEX's excavations suggest that, like in the Argolid, deep bowls FS 284 became the most widespread painted open shape sometimes during LH IIIB. Deep bowls seem to be, however, less ubiquitous than in the Argolid and locally made specimens have several idiosyncrasies in both shape and decoration (for anomalies on locally made LH IIIC Early 1 deep bowls from Pylos, see Mountjoy 1999, 36, 309-311, 352, fig. 120; Vitale *et al.* 2022, 128-133, tables 1-2, 5, 8-9, figs. 7-8, 10). Echoes of Argive LH IIIB2 innovations are weak. Among them, there are a few recently identified Group B deep bowls FS 284 (Fig. 9) found in mixed levels from Blegen's excavations in the area of the Megaron (Egan 2015, 66-67, 429-430, 452-454, 466-467, nos. P-242, 315-322, 373-374, pls. 79, 98-100, 115; Vitale *et al.* 2022, 128-131, fig. 7:3-4; Davis *et al.* 2024, 534, fig. 3:e).

In the funerary arena around the Palace of Nestor, one Group A deep bowl FS 284 comes from the final use of Tholos III, dating to LH IIIC Early 1 (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 93, pl. 173:12; Mountjoy 1999, 36, 352, fig. 120:114). The vast majority of the LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early 1 deep bowls FS 284 from Pylos were made locally.

3.3.3 Mitrou

At Mitrou, three LH IIIB2 Late settlement assemblages were published in detail in 2020 (Tables 1, 7; Vitale, Van de Moortel 2020, 15-17, 21-30, figs. 3a, 5, 10-27, 30). The most important one is a deposit associated with a pit and a dump from Trench LP782 (Fig. 10), which mainly represents redeposited destruction debris. In this context, deep bowls FS 284 are the most common open shape, and the standard tradition Group A is (Fig. 10:1-6) the most common sub-type.

Table 7. Incidence of LH IIIB2 Painted Deep Bowls

Mycenae (Table 1, Assemblage 12)					
	All Painted Deep Bowls	Group A Deep Bowls	Group B Deep Bowls	Rosette Deep Bowls	Other Deep Bowls
Counts	113	62	32	19	0
%	100.0%	54.9%	28.3%	16.8%	0.0%
Mitrou (Table 1, Assemblage 13)					
	All Painted Deep Bowls	Group A Deep Bowls	Group B Deep Bowls	Rosette Deep Bowls	Other Deep Bowls
Counts	215	107	3	4	101
%	100.0%	49.8%	1.4%	1.9%	46.9%

Sources: Mycenae: Wardle 1973. Mitrou: Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020.

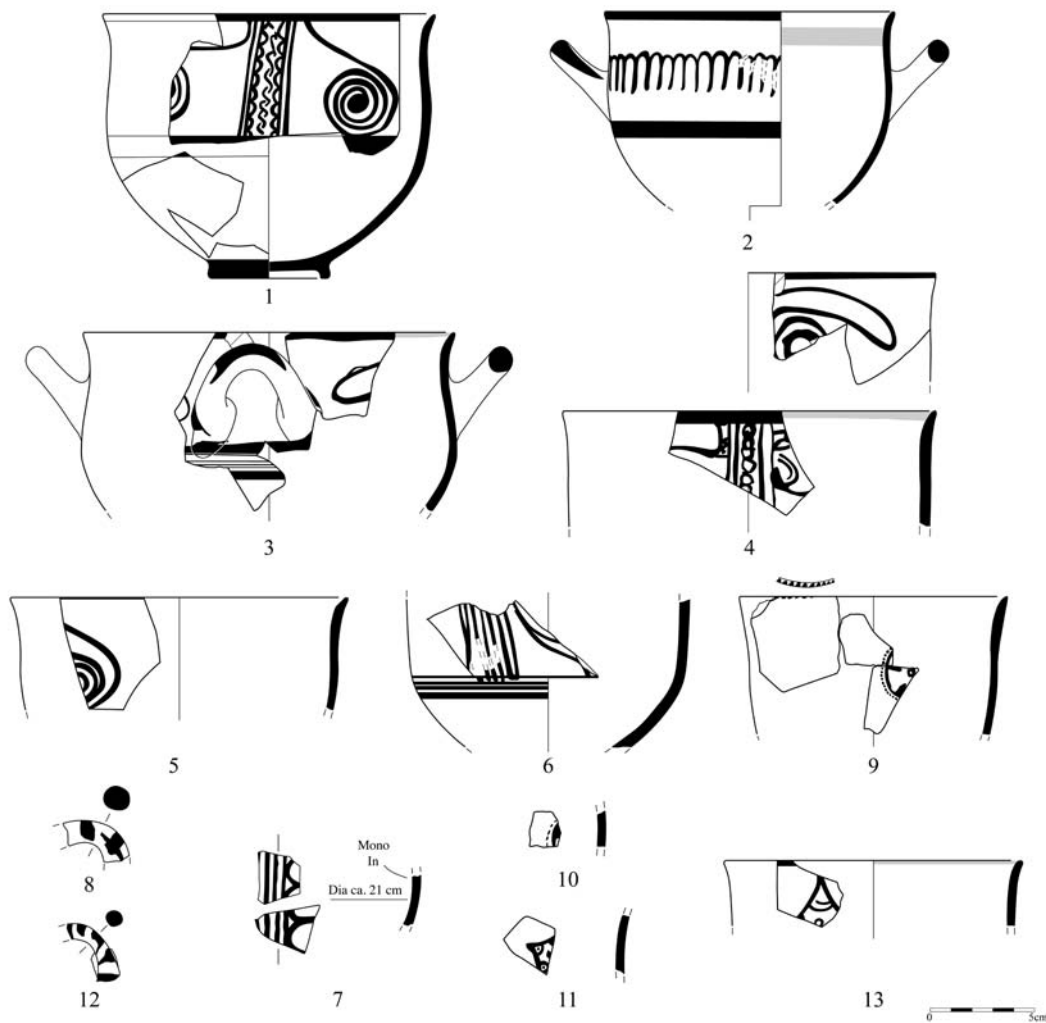


Fig. 10. Mitrou: 1-9, LH IIIB2 Late pottery from the pit and dump located in Trench LP782; 10-13, LH IIIB2 Late, Rosette deep bowls FS 284 from miscellaneous contexts at the site (M. Rossin and T. Ross).

Group B and Rosette deep bowls occur in relatively small numbers (Fig. 10:7-13). This is partially due to the slightly later date of Mitrou's assemblages, compared to the deposit considered for the northeast Peloponnese. However, if Group B and Rosette deep bowls were ever popular at Mitrou, one would expect to find larger numbers of unstratified examples. It is thus safe to conclude that, while present at Mitrou, Group B and Rosette deep bowls were never as common as in the Argolid.

No LH IIIB2 published deep bowls FS 284 are known from any of the funerary clusters located around Mitrou (Kramer-Hajos 2008, 40, 42-43, 48-49, 125-128, figs. 3:1, 6:4; with previous bibliography). Mitrou's LH IIIB2 deep bowls are a mix of locally produced and imported vessels. However, all the Group B and Rosette deep bowls are likely Argive imports.

3.3.4 The "Serraglio"

Only one small LH IIIB2 settlement closed context comes from the "Serraglio", the destruction deposit found on the floor of the House of the Figs (Vitale 2021, 532, figs. 4, 7; with previous bibliography). This assemblage (Fig. 11), consisting of only four vessels, does not include any deep bowl FS 284. Stray finds

indicate that throughout LH IIIB Group A deep bowls (Fig. 12:1-2) were common and were both locally made and imported from the Argolid. There are some possible imported candidates (Fig. 12:3) but no secure examples assignable to Group B deep bowls and only one imported sherd belongs to the Rosette type (Fig. 12:4). It is uncertain whether this Rosette deep bowl should be dated to the very end of LH IIIB2 or to LH IIIC Early 1, but the latter hypothesis seems more likely.

Like in LH IIIB1, Koan cemeteries provide interesting and somewhat unexpected data also for LH IIIB2 (Morricone 1967; Vitale *et al.* 2017, 233-234, tables IV-V; Vitale 2023, tables 2, 4). In the six tombs including LH IIIB2 pottery at Eleona and Langada (no. 5 from Eleona; nos. 21, 36, 40, 46, and 49 from Langada), deep bowls are in fact well attested including seven specimens and representing more than 50.0% of all painted open shapes (Fig. 13; Tables 1, 8). More generally, in contrast with the Argolid, deep bowls are overall well documented in the LH IIIB pottery from Eleona and Langada, where they represent nine specimens and 25.7% of all painted open shapes from this phase (Tables 1, 8).

Table 8. LH IIIB Deep bowls at Eleona and Langada on Kos

	LH IIIB (Table 1, Assemblage 14)		LH IIIB2 Early and Late (Table 1, Assemblage 15)	
	All Painted Open Shapes	All Painted Deep Bowls	All Painted Open Shapes	All Painted Deep Bowls
Counts	35	9	13	7
%	100.0%	25.7%	100.0%	53.8%

Source: Eleona and Langada: Vitale, this paper.

4. DISCUSSION

The pottery data presented above demonstrate important patterns of uniformity and regional variation throughout the phases considered. A shared element within all the analyzed sites is the consistent occurrence of the most diagnostic eating and/or drinking shapes of the standard tradition. A second significant common element is the key role played by Argive imports in shaping the mainstream eating and drinking set of Mycenaean Greece for a long time. As significant components of social practices, which were instrumental for the creation, negotiation, and manipulation of cultural and political messages (see Wright 2004 for drinking vessels in general), goblets, kylikes, and deep bowls manufactured in the Argive fashion served as vehicles for the construction of a wider Mycenaean identity, especially from LH IIB to LH IIIB1.

Other trends, however, imply eccentric trajectories, which characterize local variations at different times. During LH IIB (Tables 2-3), Pylos, Mitrou, and the “Serraglio” are all typified by larger quantities of linear and monochrome drinking vessels compared to the northeast Peloponnese, where patterned goblets were more common than in other regions of the Mycenaean world. At the “Serraglio”, the incidence of locally made patterned goblets seems very small, while the early exposure of both Pylos and Mitrou to Argive drinking fashions prompted two divergent responses. Pylos tends to manufacture its relatively small supplies of patterned goblets locally and shows no interest in adopting the Ephyræan style, after a brief initial use. Mitrou, instead, acquired a good number of Argive imports and endorsed the consumption of patterned goblets, especially of the Ephyræan type, in the elite contexts of Buildings H and D. Another difference within the regions considered in this study occurs in the LH IIB funerary arena, where the northeast Peloponnese is the only area in which goblets are well represented and where painted goblets occur.

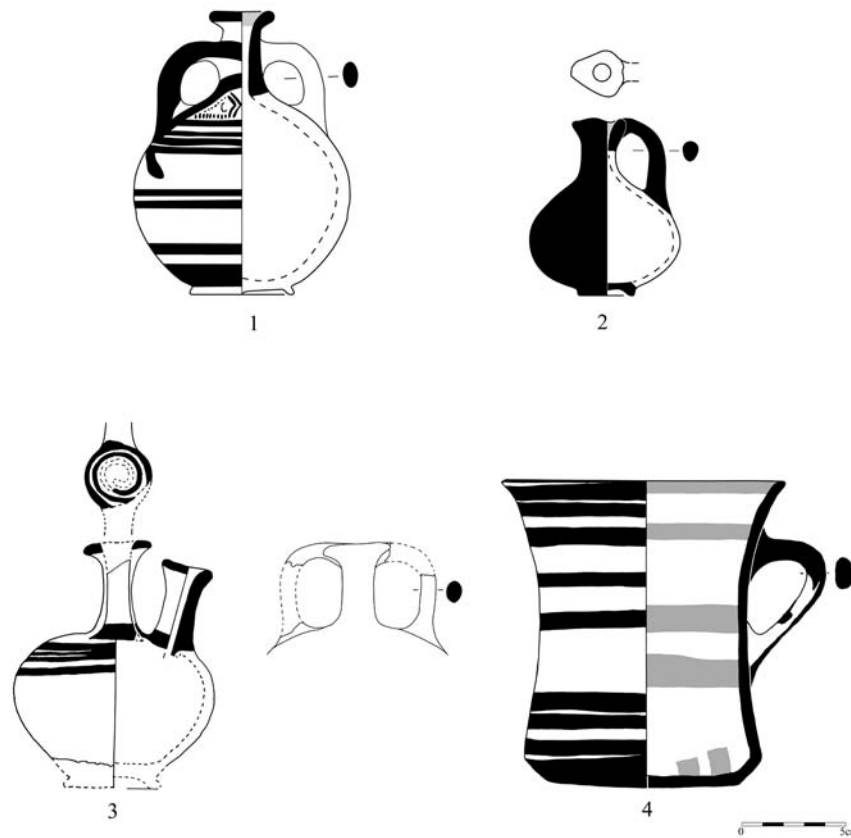


Fig. 11. The “Serraglio”: LH III B2 Late pottery from the destruction deposit from the floor of the House of the Figs (S. Regio, M. Rossin, A. Caputo, and A. Trecarichi).

During LH III B1 (Tables 4-5), Pylos, Mitrou, and the “Serraglio” continued to use larger quantities of monochrome drinking vessels (kylikes) compared to the northeast Peloponnese. Despite this idiosyncrasy, Mitrou’s consumption patterns show a certain degree of adoption of northeast Peloponnesian fashions, as indicated by the occurrence of standard and, to a lesser extent, special tradition patterned kylikes FS 258A/B. During LH III B1, there was a strong presence of locally manufactured drinking vessels at Pylos. Argive fashions reached the site, but standard patterned kylikes FS 258B were not abundant. The complete lack of Zygouries kylikes FS 258A mirrors the dearth of Ephyræan goblets FS 254 during LH IIB. Pylian consumption preferences remain cold towards some of the most innovative Argive inventions in this respect. At the settlement of the “Serraglio”, the data indicate a clear interest in importing standard patterned kylikes FS 258B, but Zygouries kylikes FS 258A were uncommon. In the same phase, however, the most interesting Koan trends occurred at the cemeteries of Eleona and Langada (Table 6), where both standard and Zygouries kylikes FS 258A/B appeared in relatively high quantities compared to the other considered sites, Prosymna inclusive. This suggests that patterned kylikes may have had a special meaning in this segment of the Koan social arena. Alternatively, Koan consumption patterns simply required a larger use of open shapes in funerary contexts compared to the other sites examined in this paper.

During LH III B2, regional variation increases (Tables 7-8). While Pylian trajectories are hardly surprising in this respect, the small incidence of Argive special tradition deep bowls at Mitrou and on Kos contrasts with previous trends. Interestingly, Koan funerary data again feature a comparatively large use of open shapes in the form of deep bowls FS 284.

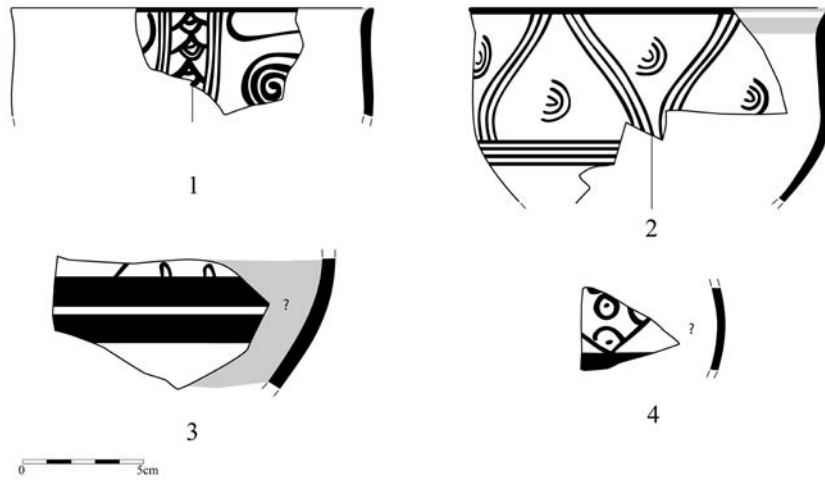


Fig. 12. The “Serraglio”: Unstratified LH IIIB (and LH IIIC Early 1?) pottery from unknown locations within the site (S. Regio, M. Rossin, and T. Ross).

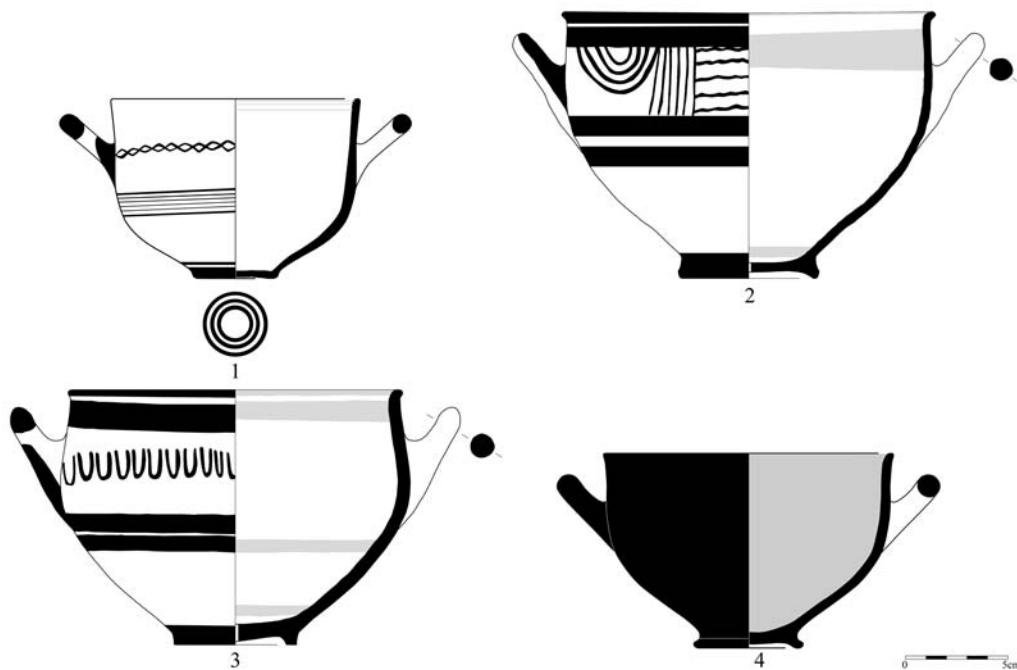


Fig. 13. Eleona and Langada: LH IIIB2 Late pottery from various burial contexts at the sites (S. Regio, M. Rossin, A. Trecarichi, T. Ross, and C. Kolb).

5. FINAL STATEMENTS

This research demonstrates the importance of a comprehensive contextual approach to ceramic analysis and its potential benefits for a refined understanding of complex questions such as cultural *koinai* and regionalism. Data are *never* “self-evident” and *always* require a consistent methodological and theoretical approach to disclose meaning. While not denying the increased uniformity in tableware eating and drinking vessels during the formative and full Palatial phases of Mycenaean civilization, the case studies presented in this paper reveal multifaceted patterns of material interactions.

The leading role of Argive workshops in fashioning a shared vocabulary for Mycenaean eating and drinking practices can hardly be overlooked. However, establishing a direct link between this role and socio-cultural unity under Argive political control would be misleading. Instead, the evidence suggests different degrees of participation in a shared Mycenaean identity, which appears in the making during LH IIB, at its peak in LH IIIB1, and under challenge during LH IIIB2.

It is also obvious that each one of the sites examined in this article followed specific patterns with both common and eccentric trajectories. Differences emerge in the distribution, perceived function, and consumption patterns of diagnostic types across the Aegean. Local agency was thus at play and the social meaning of Mycenaean eating and drinking vessels was continuously negotiated and manipulated according to the agendas of local communities and their leadership.

These conclusions concern exclusively ceramics, i.e. a single aspect of the so-called Mycenaean *koine* and as such they do not by themselves deny the existence of a unified Mycenaean state during the Mycenaean Palatial phase, as recently argued by Eder, Jung, and Kelder. They do, however, emphasize the strong need for additional contextual analysis of all potential aspects of Mycenaean material uniformities. Until more research is carried out by specialists in each of these aspects, any broader political narrative is based on ill-defined presumptions that have the potential to create unnecessary interpretative confusion.

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