

Reinhard Jung – Eleftheria Kardamaki (eds.)



# SYNCHRONIZING THE DESTRUCTIONS OF THE MYCENAEAN PALACES

Reinhard Jung – Eleftheria Kardamaki (eds.)  
Synchronizing the Destructions of the Mycenaean Palaces

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN  
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE  
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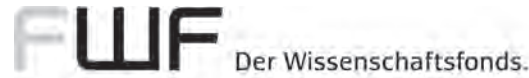
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# **Synchronizing the Destructions of the Mycenaean Palaces**

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Tiryns, citadel, as seen from the west (photo © R. Jung)

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## Abbreviations

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FM	Furumark Motif
FS	Furumark Shape
FT	Furumark Type
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LC	Late Cypriot
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan





## Preface

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The present volume of the series “Mykenische Studien” contains the proceedings of a conference organized by Eleftheria Kardamaki and Reinhard Jung on the subject of the destructions of the Mycenaean palaces, a key issue for understanding Mycenaean history, as it marks the end of the first state administration on the European continent. Thus, it also marks the end of the entire palace-based system of economy and administrative system, which in Europe first started on Minoan Crete. The volume contains ten papers by 15 authors who are actively involved in studying primary contexts from different Mycenaean palaces and other major sites in the Aegean and beyond, in the eastern Mediterranean. It thus offers new, first-hand insights into the crises and final demise of those administrative centers and the social-economic system they were controlling.

Financial support for the conference and its publication was granted by the Austrian Science Fund. We sincerely thank Ulrike Schuh for coordinating the publication process, Nicola Wood for language editing, Markus Baumann (Crossdesign) for providing the layout and the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press for support during the printing process.

The series “Mykenische Studien” has been well established since the 1970s and attests to the importance of the field of the Aegean Bronze Age and more general Aegean prehistory at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. We will continue this tradition and in the series will host publications focusing on Mycenaean archaeology and history, but also others that deal with the immediately preceding and following chronological phases and societies in the wider Aegean region. We welcome different theoretical and methodological approaches of interpretation as well as their articulation in the various languages established in Aegean research. The series will continue to include both monographs and conference proceedings as well as other collective publications. In line with all publications at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the “Mykenische Studien” are subjected to a strict peer-review process, which ensures the high quality of the published work.

Reinhard Jung and Michaela Zavadil  
Series editors  
Vienna, December 1<sup>st</sup> 2021



# Introduction

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*Reinhard Jung*<sup>1</sup> – *Eleftheria Kardamaki*<sup>2</sup>

The Mycenaean palaces, using an archaic form of Greek written with the Linear B script for administrative purposes, stood at the head of the earliest states or state on the European continent – following, of course, the centuries-older palatial systems of Protopalatial and Neopalatial Crete.<sup>3</sup> Four of those palaces have been excavated to their full preserved extent: the ones at Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid – the first to be found in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century CE – a third one at Knossos in northern central Crete,<sup>4</sup> and the fourth at Ano Englianos, Mycenaean Pylos, in Messenia. The palatial complex of Thebes in Boiotia is only partially uncovered to date, while at Chania, Mycenaean Kydonia, in western Crete and at Ayios Vasileios in Laconia we currently know only a very small portion of what must have been their most imposing buildings and centers of administration. Two fragmentary Linear B tablets from the Kastro-Palia quarter in Volos suggest there might have been a palace building close by, which would then be the first in Thessaly.<sup>5</sup>

Scholarly discussion has suggested the previous existence of palaces for other sites as well, namely for Midea in the Argolid<sup>6</sup> and for the acropolis of Athens in Attica.<sup>7</sup> Finally, there is a similar suggestion for Orchomenos in Boiotia.<sup>8</sup> The Boiotian citadel of Glas, larger than any other Mycenaean fortification, is a separate case.<sup>9</sup> It does house buildings of high architectonic quality,

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<sup>3</sup> For an overview of different approaches in their explanation see Driessen et al. 2002.

<sup>4</sup> In this case, however, the Mycenaean palace administration was using a centuries-old building, which had been remodeled after LM IB and adapted to the new system, though many of the late additions have been removed by the excavators (Macdonald 2010, 539–540).

<sup>5</sup> Further inland, at Dimini, the building complexes called ‘Megaron A’ and ‘Megaron B’ by their excavator apparently did not have a function analogous to that of the palaces at Tiryns or Pylos (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 856–857).

<sup>6</sup> The highest terrace of the citadel hill shows leveled rock, but the 1940s excavations uncovered only scant traces of some building there (Demakopoulou 2007, 67, 77, fig. 6). The acropolis of Midea is among the Aegean sites that yielded evidence of inscribed administrative documents, i.e. a clay nodule with the inscription *o-pa me-ka-ro-de a3-so-ni-jo* (see Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2002, 52–54; Flouda 2010, 58, fig. 1).

<sup>7</sup> For a concise summary of the evidence for reconstructing the changing role Athens may have played in Mycenaean Attica see Ruppenstein 2010, 25–32. For an update on the Mycenaean fortifications preserved on the acropolis see Sioumpara 2018. A dump excavated on top of and close to the Northeast Ascent of the Mycenaean acropolis of Athens seems to represent destruction debris originating from the acropolis itself (personal communication Jeremy Rutter). The related pottery dates to LH IIIC Early 1 (Broneer 1933; Gauß 2003, 98–102).

<sup>8</sup> Arguments put forward to support the existence of a Mycenaean palace at Orchomenos include a fresco-decorated building at the foot of the acropolis hill (Spyropoulos 2015, stressing the iconographic and stylistic links to the Tirynthian palace frescos) and the exquisite and huge tholos tomb (‘Treasury of Minyas’) paralleling only the Atreus tholos in many respects (Eder 2009, 26–28).

<sup>9</sup> Throughout his architectural analysis, Klaus Kilian implies that the ‘Residenzen Pylos, Tiryns, Mykene, Glas’ were of equal rank (Kilian 1987, 21, 28). By contrast, its excavator Spyros Iakovidis denied the palatial character of the so-called *Melathron* of Glas and explains it convincingly as the seat of two functionaries subordinate to Orchomenos (Iakovidis 2007, 211). The buildings in the citadel were destroyed by fire (Iakovidis 1989; Iakovidis 1998). For the most recent research at Glas see Kountouri 2020a; Kountouri 2020b; Kountouri 2021. Based on the published evidence, a LH IIIB2 Early (LH IIIB Developed) destruction date has been proposed (Vitale 2018, 155, 170), while certain characteristics such as Group A deep bowls with Podzuweit’s decoration type 6.1 and running

but their layout and installations differ greatly from the palace complexes at Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos.<sup>10</sup> More importantly, we must note that none of the last four sites mentioned yielded any Linear B tablets, which may of course be due to preservation issues.

Finally, the find of one Linear B tablet fragment at Iklaina in Messenia became the first instance in which such a document was found kilometers away from the nearest palace. Therefore, it gave a new historical dimension to the realm of Pylian palatial administration and added an important aspect for the reconstruction of Mycenaean scribal practice in general.<sup>11</sup>

Regarding chronology, we know that the Mycenaean palace system was of more limited duration than the preceding Minoan administrative systems taken together, but how long did it last precisely? When did the system start and when exactly did it come to an end? It is even more difficult to answer the question of which palaces existed simultaneously and if so, whether they went through parallel historical stages visible in their stratigraphic sequences from foundation, through destructions and rebuildings to the final abandonment.

In view of this state of affairs, we organized a workshop to put into perspective the latest results of research at each palace site in comparison with older data. The workshop with the title ‘Synchronizing the Destructions of the Mycenaean Palaces’ took place on November 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 2018 at the Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. As was the case during the workshop, the proceedings of this volume focus on those sites which are securely identified as Mycenaean palace centers by the presence of monumental buildings and Linear B archives. In addition, it includes several papers, which discuss interregional issues of archaeological and historical synchronisms.

Vivid debates about the exact dates of the intermediate and final destructions of the various palatial complexes are by no means a new phenomenon in our research history. A prominent example is the controversy about the end of the Mycenaean palace of Knossos, unfolding since the 1960s and still not ended. The scholarly discussions produced chronological discrepancies amounting to more than 100 years between the proposed dates for part or all of the archive assemblages in the building – from LM II or early LM IIIA1,<sup>12</sup> LM IIIA2 (Early),<sup>13</sup> LM IIIA2 (Late)<sup>14</sup> to sometime in LM IIIB.<sup>15</sup> Although research in the past decades nuanced early views and there seems to be growing agreement about the repeated occurrence of destructions affecting the palace and its Linear B archives,<sup>16</sup> the question of when the building complex ceased to be an administrative center with Linear B bureaucracy, remains acute. In the meantime, the Linear B tablets found at Chania (see below) added another important aspect to the debate, i.e. the question of whether the two Mycenaean palaces of Knossos and Chania coexisted or if Chania followed

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spirals (from several buildings, Iakovidis 1989, 48, fig. 10; Iakovidis 1998, 29, 47, pls. 19α1–2; 34α1), a spouted basin FT 302 with monochrome interior (Iakovidis 1989, 102, pl. 36β), a cup FT 215 with monochrome interior (Iakovidis 1998, 95, pl. 56α; shape very similar to Vitale 2018, 165, fig. 8.9c) and a deep bowl of Group C (monochrome interior, rim band of medium width [according to Kardamaki 2015, 84–86], Iakovidis 1998, 45, pl. 33α5–6) and a painted askos FT 295 (Kountouri 2020a, 213–214, 236, fig. 29, with a good parallel from Thebes, MCC plot, Andrikou, this volume) may suggest an even later date in LH IIIB Final (LH IIIB2 Late). Once pottery statistics and more drawings are available, one will be able to decide between these diverging proposals.

<sup>10</sup> For a comparison see Kilian 1987. There is, for instance, no evidence to suggest that the *polythyron* hall of the *Melathron* at Glas had been provided with a throne and a central hearth (Iakovidis 2007, 210, 217, fig. 6). For a recent discussion on the possible variability of architectural layouts among the mainland palaces (be it a chronological variability or a regional one or both) see Maran – Thaler 2017, 84. Due to the large courtyard and huge stoas, Ayios Vasileios could be such a case without the characteristic tripartite throne room, but further excavation may change that impression. For a discussion on the architecture of Ayios Vasileios see Vasilogamvrou et al. 2021.

<sup>11</sup> Shelmerdine 2015, 249–251, fig. 5. See also Shelmerdine, this volume.

<sup>12</sup> Driessen 2000, 218 (with earlier bibliography). He is now advocating a series of three destructions (LM II/III A1, LM IIIA2, LM IIIB1) with Linear B tablets belonging to each of them, see most recently Driessen – MOUTHUY 2022.

<sup>13</sup> Popham 1970; Popham 1988.

<sup>14</sup> Macdonald 2010, 540.

<sup>15</sup> Hallager 1977 (with older bibliography).

<sup>16</sup> For a concise summary of the research history see Driessen 2008, 70–72.

Knossos in time as the main administrative center for a larger part of the island. Strong paleographic similarities between the LM IIIB1 tablets from Chania and certain tablets from Knossos provide arguments for either a direct synchronism or the existence of only a small chronological distance between some of the scribes working at those two sites.<sup>17</sup>

Similar issues also surfaced for the Mycenaean palaces on the Greek mainland, but they became viral somewhat later. Since the 1960s different destruction horizons and subsequent settlement phases have been identified at Mycenae. Tiryns followed in the late 1960s and mainly in the 1970s and 80s with yet another sequence of destruction and rebuilding activities. Leaving aside for a moment the most important, but also most difficult problem of determining the reasons for those destructions (for which see the contribution by Joseph Maran with preceding bibliography), chronological debates involving Mycenae and Tiryns focused more on buildings outside the palaces rather than on the central parts of the citadels with the palaces themselves. Regarding the key contexts of these discussions, at Mycenae these were the Petsas House,<sup>18</sup> the Ivory Houses<sup>19</sup> and the so-called Perseia Trench L<sup>20</sup> all located outside the citadel, while inside the citadel, on its western slope, several buildings including the Cult Center became important reference points.<sup>21</sup> Regarding Tiryns during the Palace period, the intensively excavated habitation area of the Lower Citadel was most important for that research.<sup>22</sup>

The path that the chronological discourse took is, of course, due to the early excavation dates of the two Argive palaces and the lack of a detailed presentation of pottery contexts in the relevant publications by Christos Tsountas<sup>23</sup> and Heinrich Schliemann<sup>24</sup> respectively. However, at both sites, one can partially balance these shortcomings by making use of pottery assemblages stratified at places more or less directly linked to the palace cores. In the case of Mycenae, we have the Artisans' Quarter and the House of Columns, both of which probably formed part of the east wing of the palace.<sup>25</sup> They show evidence of fire destruction, but the related pottery assemblages remain largely unpublished.<sup>26</sup> Until the final publication of these assemblages it remains a hypothesis that the last LH IIIIB fire destruction detected in the houses on the lower west slope inside the citadel<sup>27</sup> is contemporaneous with the final palace destruction. Outside the citadel, the House of the Tripod Tomb<sup>28</sup> and the Plakes House<sup>29</sup> were destroyed, though not by fire.

<sup>17</sup> Driessen – Langohr 2007, 179–180, fig. 16.2; Driessen 2008, 71 (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>18</sup> Papadimitriou – Petsas 1951; French 1965, 171–174, fig. 5; Shelton, this volume.

<sup>19</sup> Verdelis 1964, 166, pls. 120–123; French 1967.

<sup>20</sup> French 1969.

<sup>21</sup> Wardle 1969; Wardle 1973; Mountjoy 1976.

<sup>22</sup> For the stratigraphy see Damm-Meinhardt 2015; for the pottery sequence see Podzuweit 2007 and Wirghová, this volume.

<sup>23</sup> He reported having found huge quantities of pottery in the palace – i.e. in the throne room and its adjacent rooms – but did not illustrate any of it (Tsountas 1888, 78; cf. also Tsountas 1887). Alan Wace and Winifred Lamb, returning to this central area of the palace some decades later, barely encountered any floor deposits with in situ pottery, of which they illustrated almost nothing (Wace – Lamb 1921/1923). For a summary of the evidence see Iakovidis 1986, 236–237.

<sup>24</sup> Schliemann does illustrate single ceramic vessels from the Tirynthian Upper Citadel with their relative depths, but he gives no room assignments. He mainly refers to pictorial and other painted fine ware vessels, but also depicts a coarse ware baking tray (Schliemann 1885, 90–92, 103–104, 107–108, 115–116, 120–125, 127–143, pls. 14–15, 17b; 20c–d; 21b; 22a, c; 23b; 27a–c).

<sup>25</sup> Iakovidis – French 2003, 14 and plan ‘Mycenae Citadel 8’.

<sup>26</sup> Some photos of selected sherds and vessels are given in Georgios Mylonas' excavation reports, see Mylonas 1966; Mylonas 1967, 87–94, pl. 105; Mylonas 1968, 103–105, pl. 90a; also Iakovidis 1986, 237–239, pls. 18c; 19e.

<sup>27</sup> Moore – Taylour 1999, 35, 43–44; French – Taylour 2007, 8, 12, 31–35; E. B. French in: French – Stockhammer 2009, 182, tab. 3; 185–195; French 2011, 1.

<sup>28</sup> Onassoglou 1995.

<sup>29</sup> Iakovidis 2013. The destruction of the Plakes House, ascribed to an earthquake, has been synchronized with the Phase VII (LH IIIIB Middle) destruction inside the citadel (French 2002, 10, fig. 1; 68). However, the reportedly numerous deep bowls with monochrome interior (Iakovidis 2013; only two are illustrated: Iakovidis 2013, pls. 41a1; 41b) and the presence of various rosette deep bowls (Iakovidis 2013, pl. 44b) as well as deep bowls A with Podzuweit's decoration type 6.1 (Iakovidis 2013, 37, 44, 107, pls. 13a3–4; 14a7; 37.1) suggest a later date, probably LH IIIIB Final.

This destruction was preceded by an earlier one, which again affected many buildings inside and outside the citadel of Mycenae and happened in LH IIIB Middle. So far, we do not have sufficient stratigraphic evidence from the palace itself to decide whether it was affected by the same destruction. The LH IIIB Middle destruction horizon at Mycenae did not affect all locations in the same way. Panagia House I, for instance, shows a clear collapse stratum, but fire traces are locally very restricted.<sup>30</sup> By contrast, the group of houses often called the Ivory Houses (i.e. the West House, the House of Sphinxes, the House of the Oil Merchant and the House of Shields) suffered complete destruction by fire, which led to the abandonment of those houses.<sup>31</sup> Scholars usually ascribe the LH IIIB Middle destruction horizon at Mycenae to an earthquake.<sup>32</sup>

For the assessment of the ceramic inventory stored and used in the palace of Tiryns, there are the secondary deposits of the Epichosis<sup>33</sup> and the Western Staircase Dumps,<sup>34</sup> whose huge published assemblages constitute valuable chronological evidence in that they link the burnt destruction of the Upper Citadel to the continuous vertical stratigraphy of the Lower Citadel, for which pottery statistics are available.

Thebes presents a completely different situation, as the present-day town is situated directly on top of the citadel, thus inhibiting extensive excavations of the Mycenaean architecture.<sup>35</sup> It also causes significant difficulties for the identification of those structures that did indeed belong to the palace as opposed to those that may have been administrative buildings or dwellings of the ruling class in the vicinity of the palace<sup>36</sup> – similar to Petsas House or the Ivory Houses at Mycenae. The splendid Theban evidence is the fruit of many decades of research starting with the partial excavation of a palatial complex decorated with frescos and yielding a series of coarse ware stirrup jars, some of which were painted with Linear B inscriptions. Its excavator, Antonios Keramopoulos, named this complex ‘House of Kadmos’.<sup>37</sup> The study of the aforementioned Cretan stirrup jars by Jacques Raison<sup>38</sup> initiated a long debate around the chronology of the Theban palace, which expanded when more buildings were unearthed and Linear B tablets were added to the picture at different excavation sites. The orientation of the excavated building parts scattered across the city plateau played a prominent part in the older debates. In the meantime, some of the excavated pottery assemblages were thoroughly published,<sup>39</sup> while others still await presentation to the public.

<sup>30</sup> Ione Mylonas Shear ascribed the scattered ashes on the floor of Room 5, the only one with a substantial floor deposit of pottery vessels (Mylonas Shear 1987, 18, pls. 26.38; 27.15; figs. 12.63, 68; 14.81; 15.99; 16.113–114), to the hearth in the center of the room and noted that the pots are unburnt. The skeleton of a woman found underneath stones and with a crushed skull in the doorway between Room 5 and Room 3 is interpreted as an earthquake victim (Mylonas Shear 1987, 16–19, 154–155, pls. 4B; 5B).

<sup>31</sup> Tournavitou 1995, 298–299.

<sup>32</sup> Mylonas Shear 1987, 154–155; French 2002, 10, fig. 1. Citing contradictory evidence and leaving the decision open: Tournavitou 1995, 298–299.

<sup>33</sup> Verdelis et al. 1966; Voigtländer 2003; Kardamaki 2009, 307–321. The ‘Krater of the Shield Bearers’ is a perfect illustration for the direct connection between the palace inventory and the sherds of the Epichosis Dump; for the restoration of joined fragments found by Schliemann inside the palace with others from the Epichosis see Schliemann 1885, 103–104, pl. 14; Slenczka 1974, 47–48 cat. no. 101, pl. 1.1a–b; Demakopoulou 1990, 360–362 cat. no. 341; Sakellarakis 1992, 26–28 cat. no. 12). The burnt fresco fragments inside the Epichosis (Verdelis 1959, 5, 7–8, fig. 16) prove that this inventory belonged to the last palace phase that burnt down.

<sup>34</sup> To be precise, the lower of the two stratigraphic packages, called ‘Zone 2’ (Kardamaki 2009; Kardamaki 2015). Again, there are a lot of fragments from the palace frescos in these layers (Maran et al. 2015) proving that this material originates from the arson of the palace.

<sup>35</sup> For an overview see Dakouri-Hild 2010, 696–702, fig. 52.2.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Aravantinos 2015, 23, fig. 3; Aravantinos 2020, 155–165, drawings 1–5.

<sup>37</sup> The main part of Keramopoulos’ excavation is published in Keramopoulos 1909; later excavations followed with brief reports. For a new analysis of all the evidence available today see Dakouri-Hild 2001; Dakouri-Hild 2006.

<sup>38</sup> Raison 1968, 4–117.

<sup>39</sup> These are the ceramic finds from the following excavation sites: the House of Kadmos or Old Kadmeion at Pindar St. (Raison 1968, 4–117; Dakouri-Hild 2001), the Kordatzis plot at 14 Oedipus St. (two pottery groups not stratigraphically related to a building and therefore not included in Tab. 1 of the present study [Symeonoglou 1973, 16–19, 23–43, pls. 27–63] and the floor deposit of Room B, a jewelry workshop [Symeonoglou

Summing up the scholarly discussion, the study of the pottery from the different buildings on the Theban citadel hill revealed yet another sequence of destructions occurring during the mature and late periods of the Mycenaean Palace age.

By contrast, Pylos seemed to be a rather clear-cut case. There is a fully exposed palace building with its final stage destroyed in an intense conflagration and with lots of pots left in situ on the floors. The detailed publication of the floor deposits constitutes a clear advantage in comparison to the palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns. However, as it is characterized by the scarcity of painted wares and several typological peculiarities of the pots, the character of this destruction deposit inside the palace of Pylos once more caused a discussion about the correct date of a final destruction event. Published opinions differed less than for Knossos, but also amounted to some 50 years or so.<sup>40</sup>

A few years ago, a research team working on the processing and interpretation of excavation evidence and artifacts uncovered by Dimitrios Theocharis from 1956 to 1961 on the Kastro-Palia tell site in the city center of Volos identified two Linear B tablet fragments among the pottery finds stored in two boxes.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, the sherds stored with these first tablets from Thessaly do not seem to represent closed find contexts, and the only contextual information the box labels provide point to three different excavation trenches opened by Theocharis on the northern and western slopes of the tell.<sup>42</sup> The Linear B documents should thus relate to some scribal office working at Palia, be it inside a Mycenaean palace proper or at the seat of some palatial functionary.<sup>43</sup> In view of the absence of stratigraphical information, one cannot proceed to any chronological discussion of that administration and the fire that put an end to it, to judge from the burnt state of the tablet fragments.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, the most recent discovery and excavation at Ayios Vasileios in the Eurotas Valley provides us for the first time with a Mycenaean palace complex in Laconia. It also poses once again a new challenge for establishing interregional synchronisms among the different palaces and their administrative regions across Greece.

Pottery studies provide the backbone for establishing chronological order at each individual site as well as for superregional synchronization. Therefore, the assessment of ceramic chronologies is the main focus of the present volume. The different authors reexamine previous theories with a special focus on (1) pottery studies, (2) the correlation of significant historical events, particularly the destruction horizons, and (3) the historical conclusions we can draw from these results.

Although the focus is on destruction assemblages, the chronological framework of this book also includes stratigraphic evidence for the establishment and major expansion phases of the palaces.<sup>45</sup> Our discussions stop at or after the earliest Post-palatial phase and thus extend from

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1973, 15–16, pl. 18, fig. 29.1; 19, fig. 30.4; 20, fig. 31.2; 21, fig. 32; 22, fig. 33]), the Workshop in 29 Pindar St. (Demakopoulou 1974), the Sotiriou-Dougekou plot at Epaminondas St. with its Linear B archive (Spyropoulos 1975 [pottery illustrated only by means of photos]), and the stretch underneath Pelopidas St. itself between the Douloglou and Zengini side streets with another Linear B archive (Andrikou 2006) and finally the plot of the Municipal Conference Center at 1 Loukas Bellos St. (Andrikou, this volume).

<sup>40</sup> Mervyn Popham and Christian Podzuweit opted for much earlier dates (first half of LH IIIB) than the one offered by the excavators in their final publication (Popham 1991; Podzuweit 2007, 241–248), while Penelope Mountjoy, by restudying the painted pottery found on the floors, put forward an argument for a date (Transitional LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early) in alignment with the excavators' view (Mountjoy 1997).

<sup>41</sup> Skafida et al. 2012.

<sup>42</sup> Skafida et al. 2012, 60, 67, fig. 2; 70, fig. 8; Skafida et al. 2018, 73, drawings 1–2.

<sup>43</sup> Skafida et al. 2012, 64–65.

<sup>44</sup> Huge quantities of Palace-period Mycenaean pottery including hundreds of unpainted carinated and conical kylikes come from these trenches (Skafida et al. 2018, 56, 70–72, fig. 10), and the last Mycenaean settlement phase finished in a conflagration (Skafida et al. 2018, 74–75), but there is no additional evidence corroborating a connection of this conflagration with the tablets (Skafida et al. 2012, 60 n. 28).

<sup>45</sup> See the contributions by Hachtmann – Voutsaki, Vitale et al. and Shelmerdine in this volume.



approximately 1450 to 1180 BCE. During most of this period, one may search for the existence of parallel developments, but a closer look may also reveal regional differences between various palatial sites. Of course, these differences also found expression in pottery production. A precise correlation between the local sequences of the different palaces still represents a major desideratum.

The authors of the individual contributions address the following issues:

- The character and extent of destruction events
- The existence of major destructions prior to 1200 BCE and their impact
- The synchronization of each specific site with other palatial sites in terms of chronological correlation between (1) the different building phases and (2) destruction horizon(s)
- The development of the pottery at each palace during the 14<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, also seen in terms of differences and similarities with other regions
- Historical implications resulting from the chronological sequence of events

The papers assembled in this volume reflect a wide methodological spectrum of current Mycenaean pottery research, which is due to a multitude of factors. First of all, the different research histories outlined above have, of course, a decisive impact on the individual approaches. In the Argolid, research has reached a phase in which a quantitative fine-tuning of pottery characteristics for relatively short stylistic phases is possible, whereas in Laconia, for instance, the basic type inventory of each phase is still being defined, as larger assemblages from closed contexts only recently became available. Second, the methodological issues the different authors are dealing with vary according to the available stratigraphic and ceramic evidence. Some process huge amounts of complete vessels from floor and pit deposits resulting from a single destruction event, while others analyze much more fragmentary material from a longer sequence of strata. Another problem that affects different sites to various degrees is the frequency of chronologically more sensitive painted fine wares as opposed to unpainted classes. Regarding interregional synchronisms, a fundamental agreement on terminology would facilitate referencing across all regions producing and using Mycenaean-type pottery. In the past, different researchers suggested taking the final conflagrations at the Argive sites of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea as reference points for the end of the LH III B period (whether it be called LH III B Final or LH III B2 Late).<sup>46</sup> This seems possible, as the ceramic assemblages of those burnt horizons from the three citadels allow the identification of a common repertoire of types and stylistic features common for all the Argolid. However, there is still a lack of consensus in the phase terminology and definition of LH III B. The very fine four-phased subdivision established at Tiryns (LH III B Early, Middle, Developed and Final)<sup>47</sup> has a broad correlation with Mycenae, where a simple or a tripartite division of LH III B was followed (LH III B1, LH III B Middle and LH III B2).<sup>48</sup> Recent work by Salvatore Vitale equated the last two LH III B phases of the Tirynthian system with his LH III B2 Early and Late phases, and this new terminology has found wide acceptance.<sup>49</sup> However, ‘LH III B2 Early’ is not used in the same way by all scholars. For some LH III B2 Early begins with LH III B Middle<sup>50</sup> while for others LH III B Middle is still the closing stage of LH III B1.<sup>51</sup> In general, it seems that the defining criteria for LH III B Middle are different at Mycenae and at Tiryns.<sup>52</sup> One might seek the cause of

<sup>46</sup> W. Gauß, R. Jung, J. B. Rutter in: Deger-Jalkotzy – Zavadil 2003, 253–255.

<sup>47</sup> Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 84.

<sup>48</sup> There is discussion on an early and later part of LH III B1 at Mycenae (Mountjoy 1976, 82), but no alternative designation was developed for this. See Schönfeld 1988, 163, tab. 4; Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 80.

<sup>49</sup> Vitale 2006, tabs. 2–3.

<sup>50</sup> French – Stockhammer 2009, 182–183, tabs. 3–4.

<sup>51</sup> Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 79–80; Kardamaki 2009, tab. 33.

<sup>52</sup> For example, the production of kylikes FT 257 and mainly FT 258 is still in its ‘floruit’ in Building Horizon 16 of Tiryns (LH III B Middle) (Schönfeld 1988, 188–189, fig. 11.17, and Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 47) but in the LH III B Middle Horizon of Mycenae (Ivory Houses and Phase VII destruction in the Citadel House Area) they are absent and already replaced by deep bowls (French 1967; French – Taylour 2007). Only in the Bothros outside the West House is there one kylix fragment painted with vertical whorl shells (French 1967, 181, fig. 20.111). There are

this phenomenon in the different functions of the assemblages being compared.<sup>53</sup> If, during the LH IIIB Middle phase, an earthquake indeed led to the destruction of houses all over the Argolid, this would constitute a timeline for all affected contexts, but seismic research has not yet been conducted at all the Argive citadels.<sup>54</sup> Vitale applied the label ‘LH IIIB2 Late’ to contexts outside the Argolid, but the issue raised by Susan Sherratt in the 1980s and recently discussed by Jeremy Rutter<sup>55</sup> of the growing regionalism in LH IIIB should not be overlooked. The use of a regional prefix like ‘Argive LH IIIB1’ or ‘Argive LH IIIB2’ is one option.<sup>56</sup>

Yet, establishing synchronisms of Argive LH IIIB1 and LH IIIB2 contexts with other regions entails resolving further problems specific to each region. Certain regions feature imports – often even from the Argolid – that provide direct links to one or more external production places. But for those imports to offer precise synchronisms depends, among other factors, on the shorter or longer production periods of the types they represent. In other geographical areas the researcher has to decide whether features of potential chronological relevance start to occur because local potters adopted these as new features from another region, or because they invented them in a creative process entirely independent from external influence (though possibly relying on local traditions). In the latter case, one would need to deal with convergent stylistic phenomena without any use for establishing synchronisms between different production provinces. As demonstrated in some of the following papers, it seems advisable that the chronology of 14<sup>th</sup>- to 13<sup>th</sup>-century sites outside the Argolid be built upon the local sequences of plain and painted wares. Only as a second step should an attempt be made to synchronize them with the Argive sequence. The relative chronology of these sequences can be assisted by the presence of type fossils, i.e. decorated pottery types in Argive style, but they should not depend on them. Using criteria established in one region for another should be treated with caution as this process can sometimes lead to pitfalls.

The existence of destruction horizons prior to LH IIIB2 is one of the major topics treated in this volume. We are attempting to answer the question of whether these are localized or widespread events and whether there is any causal relation between them. Several contributions in the present volume deal with destruction horizons in LH IIIA2 Early (Pylos), LH IIIA2 Late (Mycenae)<sup>57</sup> and LH IIIB Middle (Ayios Vasileios, Iklaina, Mycenae and Thebes). Some of these destructions seem to be more apparent, others not. The clear LH IIIA2 Late destruction horizon of Mycenae, for instance, is so far not paralleled at Tiryns.<sup>58</sup> However, a crucial aspect that should not be forgotten is the existence of subsequent (re)building activities that may have obliterated traces of earlier destruction events, through the removal of debris and leveling work.

The first paper to deal with earlier destruction horizons of the Mycenaean palaces is the one by Kim Shelton, ‘On Shaky Ground: Petsas House and Destruction at Mycenae in LH IIIA2’. Petsas House, to the northwest of the citadel, is a unique case at Mycenae. In general, buildings of LH IIIA2 date with their inventory and architectural remains preserved in such an excellent

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further differences regarding the types of the deep bowls FT 284 which occur at each site (see Kardamaki 2009, 385–392 for discussion). The differences between the LH IIIB Middle pottery assemblages of Mycenae and Tiryns are also viewed by Vitale – Van de Moortel 2020, 31–33, 59, tab. V, as having a chronological relevance.

<sup>53</sup> It is, for example, remarkable that all the Ivory Houses destruction contexts and the ‘refuse areas’ just outside these houses yielded only a few small open vessels, while closed vessels were largely predominant – especially inside the four houses (cf. French 1967, 149, 179–182, 186–187). By contrast, the LH IIIB layers of the Tirynthian Lower Citadel yielded many more open than closed vessel rim fragments (Schönfeld 1988, 155, tab. 1).

<sup>54</sup> The LH IIIB Middle earthquake hypothesis faces the difficulty that the hypothetically related damage was observed at Mycenae and Tiryns, but not at Midea (Hinzen et al. 2018, 19). Furthermore, an active normal fault line passes right underneath the citadel of Mycenae, but not underneath the other two fortified hills (Hinzen et al. 2018, 3, fig. 2).

<sup>55</sup> Sherratt 1980, 200, fig. 10; 201; J. B. Rutter in: Deger-Jalkotzy – Zavadil 2003, 250.

<sup>56</sup> Sherratt 1980, mentions ‘Argive LH IIIB1’ and ‘Argive LH IIIB2’.

<sup>57</sup> According to Rutter, this volume, the LH IIIA2 Early destruction of Knossos could coincide with a more advanced stage of LH IIIA2 and probably after LH IIIA2 Early.

<sup>58</sup> For the nature of the LH IIIA2 strata in the Lower Citadel cf. Kilian 1988, 132, fig. 27.

condition are very rare. The structure, a multi-functional building used for the production and storage of pottery as well as for habitation and administrative purposes, yielded thousands of intact vessels. The pottery from Petsas House offers one of the most complete pictures of the LH IIIA2 Argive styles. The assemblages of Apotheke Alpha and Apotheke Epsilon, where painted and plain pots were stored, and the fill of a well in Room Pi are discussed. According to the author, the painted closed vessels, suitable for international trade, were probably the output of a single potter. Among the thousands of vessels discovered, the plain kylikes intended for individual use are the most common; Apotheke Epsilon alone contained 8000 kylikes. The examination of the stratigraphic evidence led to the conclusion that the building was struck by an earthquake followed by fire visible in the interior of various rooms. Based on the overview of evidence from other areas inside and outside the citadel, the destruction of Petsas House was not an isolated event, but rather a widespread one associated with fires. However, unlike other structures, Petsas House was eventually abandoned, despite the fact that it was partly cleared of destruction debris. Shelton underlines the huge impact of the LH IIIA2 Late destruction at Mycenae that marks a significant change in pottery styles, architecture and construction techniques.

Turning to the second major palatial center of the Argolid, the paper ‘Turning Points in the Ceramic Sequence of the Northern Tip of the Lower Citadel at Tiryns’ by Soňa Wirghová presents a detailed study on the pottery sequence from LH IIIB Early through LH IIIC Early 2 at Tiryns. The material, which is largely presented here for the first time, comes from the recent excavations of Building XI and the Gateway at the northern tip of the Lower Citadel. The primary focus is on the discussion of the local painted wares, but significant information is provided regarding a wide range of material including plain wares and cooking pots. Moreover, this area yielded a remarkable concentration of imports from different Aegean regions and the eastern Mediterranean such as Kos, Crete, Cyprus and the Levantine coast, and Wirghová provides the first detailed examination of these vessels and their chronological distribution within LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early. The typological, macroscopic and statistical analysis of the material is accompanied by comments on architecture, stratigraphy and methodology. Most of the in situ material derives from the final use and destruction of the acropolis in LH IIIB Final. The dating of the finds takes into consideration the first appearance of a single type, but also the time span of use or frequency of each type in every phase. Thus, the study provides new insights into the development of pottery types of chronological significance. By comparing the LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early finds, Wirghová reaches the conclusion that pottery styles underwent a significant change not immediately after the destruction but in the later parts of LH IIIC Early.

In central Greece, the palace of Thebes is the subject of Eleni Andrikou’s paper ‘Kadmeia, Thebes: The Pottery from a Storeroom Destroyed at the End of the Mycenaean Palatial Period’, which offers new evidence about the final destruction of the palace and its synchronisms. Andrikou publishes the pottery from a newly excavated storeroom in the northern part of the Kadmeia Hill, i.e. north of the main palace building, located at the plot of the Municipal Conference Center (1 Loukas Bellou St.). The assemblage, consisting of complete or well-preserved vessels suitable for the storage of food supplies and liquids, is discussed according to function and fabric, providing crucial information on the dating but also the character of the buildings in Mycenaean Thebes – an aspect that is poorly understood due to the modern habitation of the city. Andrikou focuses on the pottery from the use and destruction of the building (Deposit II) that is dated in LH IIIB2 Late but also includes its reoccupation in LH IIIC Early (Deposit I). An aspect underlined by the comparison of the material is that any typological differences between the various assemblages may relate to the function and/or regional diversities and must not always be of chronological relevance. Andrikou places the new excavation evidence in its local and supraregional context and concludes that the final destruction of Thebes by fire still falls within the LH IIIB2 Late phase but should have happened slightly later than the destructions of the Argive palaces, and thus closer to the destruction of Pylos.

The Messenian palace is discussed by Salvatore Vitale, Sharon Stocker and Jack Davis, who, in their contribution on ‘The Destructions of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos and Its LH IIIA

Predecessor as a Methodological Case Study', offer the latest synthesis of evidence regarding the two major destruction events that struck the Palace of Nestor in the later part of the Late Bronze Age. The pottery presented comes from published and unpublished material excavated under the direction of Carl Blegen, enriched by material yielded by recent excavation campaigns at the palace and its surrounding area. With this new set of data, the authors provide a nuanced approach to the claimed peculiarities of the pottery from the palace, and its differences and similarities to the pottery found in the Lower Town and beyond Pylos. The refined dating of the earlier destruction is placed in LH IIIA2 Early (Pylos Horizon A). Regarding the later one, the authors summarize the most significant evidence that suggests LH IIIC Early 1 as the most appropriate date for the final destruction of the palace (Pylos Horizon B) – instead of Early LH IIIB or even advanced LH IIIC as had been argued before. The new assessment of the date of Horizon A is crucial for understanding a phase that is still poorly known in most parts of southern Greece. The authors argue that LH IIIA2 Early marks significant events around Greece, i.e. destruction horizons in Boiotia (Mitrou) or major construction work in Laconia (at Ayios Vasileios and the Menelaion). They go on to point out that evidence from Pylos and elsewhere suggests that the final destructions of the Mycenaean palaces took place at slightly different times, with the earliest ones occurring in the Argolid and in Boiotia at Thebes (LH IIIB2 Late), while the destructions of others to the south in Messenia as well as to the north in Thessaly followed slightly later in LH IIIC Early 1.

A second paper on Messenia, 'Pottery and Stratigraphy at Iklaina in the 14<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC', written by Cynthia Shelmerdine, presents the architectural and ceramic evidence from the more recently excavated site of Iklaina, one of the second-order centers of the Pylian realm. Its focus is the South Sector, characterized by an uninterrupted building activity spanning most of the Mycenaean age from LH II to LH IIIC Early. Within this chronological frame the excavators discern four major or minor architectural phases, with the third one (LH IIIA2 Late–IIIB Middle) marked by the construction of the Cyclopean Terrace Building, a monumental structure placed on top of a massive stone platform and decorated with frescos. Shelmerdine presents the main ceramic features of each of the four broad chronological phases and highlights similarities and differences with other regions. She dates the destruction to the end of the third architectural phase, the only destruction event identified at Iklaina, to LH IIIB Middle, i.e. contemporary with the mid-13<sup>th</sup>-century destructions in the Argolid. Furthermore, she discusses the development of Iklaina and its relation to the palace of Pylos. Based on the contemporaneity of the Linear B tablet found at Iklaina and the tablets caught in the LH IIIA2 Early destruction of the Pylos palace, Shelmerdine argues for an early integration of Iklaina into the Pylian realm, i.e. prior to that destruction.

Laconia, the other southern Peloponnesian region, is also represented by two papers, which publish stratigraphic and ceramic evidence from the most recent research conducted at Ayios Vasileios. 'The Destruction at the Palace of Ayios Vasileios and Its Synchronisms' by Adamantia Vasilogamvrou, Eleftheria Kardamaki and Nektarios Karadimas deals with the ceramic evidence from the palace destruction and the subsequent reoccupation of the site. On the one hand, the archaeological contexts encompass the West Stoa with its collapsed upper floor as well as the first archive with Linear B tablets ever found in Laconia, and on the other hand, the large Court. The former area preserves the destruction debris almost intact, whereas the latter area shows evidence for reoccupation. The authors place the date of the severe fire destruction that struck the palace of Ayios Vasileios in LH IIIB Middle. Afterwards a reoccupation followed that lasted from LH IIIB2 up to LH IIIC Early, although the extent and character of the site during the latter period is still unknown and the differentiation between the late LH IIIB and the LH IIIC Early pottery of the site is still not fully understood. The LH IIIB1 to LH IIIC Early 1 pottery sequence of Ayios Vasileios is compared to what is known from other sites within and outside Laconia. The final section of the paper provides a brief overview of the main differences and similarities in the pottery used in different regions of southern Greece. According to Vasilogamvrou, Kardamaki and Karadimas, LH IIIB Middle was probably a time of general and widespread unrest with destructions striking palatial and secondary sites around southern Greece, which probably represented the prelude for

the final collapse of the palaces. Unlike Mycenae and Thebes, the palace of Ayios Vasileios may not have resumed its function in LH IIIB2.

‘The Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery in the Palatial Period’ by Vasco Hachtmann and Sofia Voutsaki is the second contribution on Laconia, and it deals with the funerary evidence from Ayios Vasileios. The authors provide the first overview on the pottery sequence from the time of the final use of the area as a burial ground until its definite abandonment, i.e. from LH IIIA1 until LH IIIC Early. The material presented is placed in the local and wider Laconian context, and in doing so, the authors provide a separate discussion of the pottery styles from the Menelaion, the second major site in central Laconia. The main phases represented are LH IIIA1–IIIA2 Early, LH IIIA2, LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early. These coincide with some significant events like the construction of the palace in LH IIIA2 Early, from which point onwards the North Cemetery was only used as a memorial place. The local repertoire is characterized by the rarity of the pattern-painted pottery prior to LH IIIC Early and the absence of Argive decorative styles. Of all the pottery phases represented in the area of the North Cemetery, the least recognizable is LH IIIB, and, as Hachtmann and Voutsaki suggest, something similar is true for the Menelaion, whereas in both cases the first part of LH IIIB is better attested. The authors are led to conclusions that have wider implications for central Laconia. Mansion 2/3 at the Menelaion must have been abandoned before the end of LH IIIB and the rarity of LH IIIB2 pottery at both sites could suggest restricted occupation or even a hiatus. Finally, the similar date suggested for the construction and destruction of the monumental buildings at Ayios Vasileios and the Menelaion could imply the existence of a single political entity since LH IIIA2 Early.

Unfortunately, the Mycenaean palace of Chania located on Kastelli Hill is not represented by a separate article.<sup>59</sup> The first evidence for the existence of a Mycenaean palatial administration at Chania had been three Linear B tablets found in House 2 of the Ayia Aekaterini Square site, but as part of a floor deposit inside Room E underneath the Kanevaro side street. The excavators dated the clearly burnt destruction context to the end of LM IIIB1.<sup>60</sup> While House 2 is a large building complex, the Mycenaean palace proper was situated elsewhere. Part of it is being uncovered at the plot of 1 Katre St. in the southwestern part of the Kastelli Hill. This excavation uncovered part of a monumental building with column bases and wall paintings, in which a combined animal and human sacrifice seems to have been performed in connection with the severe destruction of the whole complex. Cracks in the high quality *terrazzo* floor (partially painted) led the excavator to ascribe this destruction to an earthquake. Fire was involved, too.<sup>61</sup> Geological investigations detected an active fault line underneath this very spot.<sup>62</sup> At the fault itself the *terrazzo* floor was partially sunken, partially uplifted, as the most recent excavations revealed – thus proving the earthquake beyond doubt.<sup>63</sup> Traces of burning are also observable on two published vessels from this destruction: squat stirrup jars of LM IIIB1 date<sup>64</sup> that suggest a synchronization with the House 2 destruction. Most importantly, a Linear B tablet from the courtyard strengthens the view that this monumental building of high architectonic quality was indeed part of the palace, the seat of the Mycenaean administration at Chania.<sup>65</sup>

Regarding the synchronization of the LM IIIB1 phase at Chania with the palace destructions of the Peloponnese, it is important to note that this Kastelli settlement phase yielded a series of Myce-

<sup>59</sup> At the workshop, Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki gave a paper on the destruction of the LM IIIB palace with a detailed presentation of the relevant excavation evidence from 1 Katre St., but unfortunately has not been able to submit a manuscript.

<sup>60</sup> Hallager et al. 1992. In the area of the Ayia Aekaterini Square excavation, up to three more fragments of Linear B tablets have come to light (Hallager 2011, 419–420, 425–426, pls. 277–278).

<sup>61</sup> Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2015, 29–42; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2022, 25–27.

<sup>62</sup> Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2015, 38–39, 42, fig. 26.

<sup>63</sup> Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2022, 27–29, figs. 5–10, 13.

<sup>64</sup> Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2015, 31, 33, fig. 8; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2018, 192 (with color photos). A LM IIIB1 cup comes from the area, where the plaster floor ran over the fault itself (Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2022, 29, fig. 10a–b).

<sup>65</sup> Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2015, 29.

naean imports of Argive style datable to LH IIIB Early–Middle (LH IIIB1).<sup>66</sup> This suggests at least a partial chronological overlap of LM IIIB1 with LH IIIB Early or Middle.<sup>67</sup> Two small fragments of what may have been Linear B tablets come from LM IIIB2 and LM IIIB2/IIIC rubbish pits respectively, which leaves doubts as to the date of their inscriptions.<sup>68</sup> However, the important quantities of West Cretan coarse ware stirrup jars FT 164, including some with Linear B inscriptions from LH IIIB Final (LH IIIB2 Late) contexts at Tiryns,<sup>69</sup> support the notion that an administrative center continued to function at Chania even after the LM IIIB1 destruction. Indeed, there are many fragments of inscribed coarse ware stirrup jars stratified in the LM IIIB2 settlement phase of Chania.<sup>70</sup> To sum up, the present evidence from Chania itself does not necessarily give us the full time range of the Mycenaean palatial administration at the site. The secure Linear B tablets provide a *terminus ad quem* in LM IIIB1, and so far none of the inscribed stirrup jars dates further back in time.

With Jeremy Rutter’s contribution on ‘LM IIIB Ceramic Regionalism and Chronological Correlations with LH IIIB–C Phases on the Greek Mainland’ the discussion in this volume extends from the Greek mainland to Crete. In his paper Rutter investigates questions of pottery regionalism and uniformity on Crete between LM II and LM IIIC Early. As cultural phenomena, pottery regionalisms on Crete after LM IIIA1 and on the Greek mainland after LH IIIB could have departed from similar circumstances following the destruction of Knossos and the Mycenaean palaces respectively (comparative regionalism). Drawing on the comparison between Chania and various other Cretan sites, the notion of a growing ceramic homogeneity in LM IIIB Late is challenged. Rutter considers specific aspects of the Chaniote repertoire and, most notably, the appearance and peak of the dark-surfaced handmade and burnished ware of Italian inspiration as well as other phenomena, which he interprets as local plain and painted imitations of characteristic Italian shapes such as the banded cup and Italianizing Gray Ware. Since similar developments, and especially the production of Italian shapes in Mycenaean painted wares, appear to be more frequent on the Greek mainland (especially at Tiryns and Dimini) after the LH IIIB destructions, Rutter proposes a correlation of most if not of the entire phase of LM IIIB2 with the early Post-palatial ceramic phase on the mainland (LH IIIC Early 1 and perhaps LH IIIC Early 2). The differences between the LM IIIB Late pottery of Chania – the only site showing evidence for destruction at the end of LM IIIB – and other sites on Crete may relate to the arrival at the former site of a larger number of immigrants from the Mycenaean mainland and southern Italy following the destructions of the Mycenaean palaces.

A palace site was destroyed for a reason, and our research into the fine chronology of such major historical events is intended to aid the search for the reasons behind those events. Furthermore, regional events may have been part of interregional historical trends, as the authors in this volume remark when discussing aspects of comparative chronology between the single palace sites and between regions. Historical reconstruction is at the root of all chronological research. For this reason, we invited Joseph Maran to our workshop to give a keynote lecture with a historical interpretative focus.

<sup>66</sup> Hallager 2005, 280–284, figs. 2–3.

<sup>67</sup> Following Rutter’s proposal for a late synchronism of the LM IIIB2 phase at Chania (see below) might also entail a partial overlap of the preceding LM IIIB1 phase with LH IIIB Developed (LH IIIB2 Early).

<sup>68</sup> Hallager 2011, 420, 425, pl. 277.KH X 2, KH X 3.

<sup>69</sup> Kardamaki et al. 2016. One of these coarse ware stirrup jars, TI Z 29, even bears the *wa-na-ka-te-ro* inscription (*wa-na-ka*) linking it directly to the royal administration (Godart – Olivier 1975, 37–43; Kardamaki et al. 2016, 158). TI Z 29 comes from the upper part of a large stirrup jar and was found to the west of the Upper Citadel, in the area of the Lower West Town at Tiryns. The context is reported as LH IIIB with only one later sherd. However, no details are given on the character of the context and the exact date of the vessel within LH IIIB is not clear (Gercke – Naumann 1974, 22–23).

<sup>70</sup> Hallager 2011, 424. Here Erik Hallager lists 13 fragments from certain and two from probable LM IIIB2 contexts (Hallager 2011, 415–419). 12 of these 15 stirrup jars are West Cretan products according to chemical/petrographic analyses (the remaining three have not been analyzed so far). In five cases the identification of Linear B signs is not secure.

In his contribution ‘The Demise of the Mycenaean Palaces: The Need for an Interpretative Reset’ Maran gives an in-depth account of the research problem regarding the collapse of the palatial system at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and possible ways for resolving it. He questions the nature of previous explanatory models as oversimplistic since they tend to create an idea of a stable Mycenaean palatial society throughout its history and up to the moment of the palaces’ final destruction. Instead of pinpointing one aspect, the paper introduces the idea of medium- to long-term processes as crucial for the understanding of these events and, at the same time, shifts the focus from hypotheses about natural disasters such as earthquakes to actions created by human agency (collective violence). In this context, three factors in particular are discussed as most relevant based on the available archaeological context. These are: internal conflicts between different factions of the elites, conflicts emerging from large-scale construction projects, and changes in the palatial armed forces. According to Maran, all these factors in combination, or only some of them and to various degrees, could have played a decisive role in the weakening of the palatial system long before its final collapse. The introduction of a new ruler concept after the destruction of Knossos in the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE, an increasing exclusivity of the royal families with the monopolization of the religious sector, or the integration of foreign warrior groups are among the reasons discussed by Maran as decisive in the chain of medium- to long-term events before the final collapse of the palaces.

The Mycenaean palace system did not exist in isolation but was one of the mighty palatial powers among others in the wider eastern Mediterranean – from Asia Minor, the Levantine coast and Mesopotamia to Egypt. Political, economic and cultural relationships had developed between all those ‘players’, and the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE was the final phase of those relationships prior to a new start in the Early Iron Age. Establishing precise synchronisms between these palace systems therefore means setting the framework for an interregional history of the time.

In his contribution, ‘Synchronizing Palace Destructions in the Eastern Mediterranean’, Reinhard Jung links destruction events taking place in Cyprus and along the northern Levantine coast in late LC IIC and LBA II respectively with the relative chronology of the Mycenaean mainland at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Jung evaluates the evidence of the Aegean-type pottery, i.e. Aegean imports and local products of Aegean type and inspiration, at five key sites: Ugarit, Tell Tweini and Tell Kazel in Syria, and Enkomi and Alassa on Cyprus. With his analysis, Jung underlines the significance of the locally produced Aegean pottery, which, for a number of reasons, can often be more reliable for Aegean correlations than real Aegean imports. As Jung demonstrates, the latter had become rare by the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, or often belong to rare and idiosyncratic vessel types produced only for trade and therefore difficult to link to Aegean stratigraphy. In this respect, local Aegean-type deep bowls from Tell Tweini Level 7A, Tell Kazel Phase K1 and Enkomi IIB are compared to deep bowls of LH IIC Early 1 date. In exceptional cases, the appearance of the rare handmade burnished pottery of Italian type in Tell Kazel Phase K1 offers additional and direct parallels to pottery of the same type from the Greek mainland (especially at Dimini). The destruction events at these five sites, which in almost all cases include conflagrations and hostile actions followed by plundering, are viewed from a new perspective. In some cases, these events could be the result of seaborne raids like the ones referred to in monumental inscriptions (5<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> regnal years of Ramesses III) and other written sources of this period. In the case of Alassa Palaiotaverna, however, the destruction at the end of Phase 1 may have had a social background with possible evidence for class struggle, as Jung proposes. According to Jung, the exact synchronization with LH IIIB Final or in LH IIC Early 1 is still difficult, but for three out of five key sites (Tell Tweini, Tell Kazel and Enkomi), the LH IIC Early 1 date is well founded, while for the other two, this date represents the most appropriate possibility.

At the end of the conference, the participants agreed to unite the single destruction dates explained in the different contributions into one chronological table (Tab. 1). We thought it would be useful to add some more destruction contexts to that table in order to provide a wider framework for the results achieved at this conference. Some of these additional contexts were excavated at



Fig. 1 Sites discussed in the present volume and in Tab. 1 (cartography: M. Börner).

the same sites as those discussed in the book, while others represent events in different Greek regions not treated in the form of dedicated contributions. We then sent out this table to the conference participants, who commented on the synchronisms contained therein and also asked us to add some more sites and destruction contexts. The final version of this table given here results from this discussion, in which many authors of the volume have participated. However, we do not want to give the impression that it represents the unanimous opinion of all of the authors. Some of them, for instance, have published diverging dates for certain contexts. The destruction contexts discussed in the present book (Fig. 1) are given in bold letters in the table; the other contexts are those added for comparative reasons (Tab. 1). This table only presents strata resulting from the destruction of buildings either involving fire or not. In the latter case, the classification as destruction (as opposed to abandonment) is based on the judgement of the excavators. The contexts listed are primary deposits datable by pottery unless stated otherwise. Secondary deposits are marked as dumps.

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Tab. 1 Mycenaean destruction deposits of the developed to late Palatial and earliest Post-palatial period. – Bold letters = destruction of buildings discussed in this volume; normal letters = destruction of buildings mentioned in comparison; \* = joint chronological boxes, no differentiation between two subphases possible based on existing publications/synchronisms; ? = no secure dating possible based on existing publications/synchronisms.

Relative Chronology (Vitale 2006; Vitale 2011)	Mycenae	Tiryns	Midea	Pylos	Iklaina	Ayios Vasileios	Athens	Thebes	Glas	Dimini	Chania	Cyprus	Syria	Relative Chronology (Tiryns system according to Podzuweit 2007; Kardamaki 2009)
LH IIIA2 Early				<b>Ano Englianos, Horizon A</b>										
LH IIIA2 Middle														
LH IIIA2 Late	<b>Petsas House</b>													LH IIIA Late
LH IIIB1								House of Kadmos in Pindar St.; Workshop in 29 Pindar St. *			I Katre St., palatial building; Ayia Aekaterini Square *			LH IIIB Early
LH IIIB1 (Middle)	Ivory Houses; Panagia House I; Cult Center, Service Areas, Phase VII; Temple, Phase VII	Lower Citadel Hor. 16a6–16a7			<b>Cyclopean Terrace Building Phase 3 (and other structures)</b>	palace								LH IIIB Middle
LH IIIB2 Early														LH IIIB Developed

Tab. 1 (continued)

Relative Chronology (Vitale 2006; Vitale 2011)	Mycenae	Tiryns	Midea	Pylos	Ikklaina	Ayios Vasileios	Athens	Thebes	Glas	Dimini	Chania	Cyprus	Syria	Relative Chronology (Tiryns system according to Podzauweit 2007; Kardamaki 2009)
LH III B2 Late	South House Annex, Phase VIII; Temple, Phase VIII; Artisans' Quarter (?); House of the Tripod Tomb; Plakes House (?)	palace (Western Staircase Dump, Zone 2); <b>Lower Citadel Hor. 17a5–18</b>	West Gate Area; Lower West Terraces					<b>Municipal Conference Center, Deposit II;</b> Pelopidas St., Linear B archive; Epaminondas/Demoscritus St., Linear B archive; 14 Oedipus St., Room B	buildings inside the citadel*					LH III B Final
LH III C Early 1	Area 36, R. XXXIV	Western Staircase Dump, Zone 1		<b>Ano Englianos, palace, Horizon B</b>			Acropolis, Northeast Ascent pathway dump			Megaron A; Megaron B; North Megaron		<b>Enkomi, City Quarters 1 West and 4 West, Level IIB; Alassa-Pal-iotaverna, Phase 1 (?)</b>	<b>Ugarit, palace and town (?); Tell Kazel, Areas II and IV, Phase KI, Tell Tweini, Phase 7A</b>	LH III C Early 1

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## Table

Tab. 1 Mycenaean destruction deposits of the developed to late Palatial and earliest Post-palatial period. – **Bold letters** = destruction of buildings discussed in this volume; normal letters = destruction of buildings mentioned in comparison; \* = joint chronological boxes, no differentiation between two subphases possible based on existing publications/synchronisms; ? = no secure dating possible based on existing publications/synchronisms. – Mycenae: Petsas House (contribution by K. Shelton); Ivory Houses (see n. 19); Panagia House I (see n. 30); Cult Center, Service Areas, Phase VII (French – Taylour 2007); Cult Center, Temple, Phase VII (Moore – Taylour 1999); South House Annex, Phase VIII (see n. 27); Cult Center, Temple, Phase VIII (see n. 27); Artisans' Quarter (see n. 26); House of the Tripod Tomb (see n. 28); Plakes House (see n. 29); Cult Center, Area 36, R. XXXIV (French 2007; French 2011). – Tiryns: Lower Citadel Hor. 16a6–16a7 (Schönfeld 1988; Damm-Meinhardt 2015); palace, Western Staircase Dump, Zone 2 (Kardamaki 2009; Kardamaki 2015); Lower Citadel Hor. 17a5–18 (Podzuweit 2007; Damm-Meinhardt 2015; contribution by S. Wirghová); Western Staircase Dump, Zone 1 (Kardamaki 2009; Kardamaki 2015). – Midea: West Gate Area and Lower West Terraces (Demakopoulou 2003; Demakopoulou 2007). – Pylos: Ano Englianos, Horizons A and B (see contribution by S. Vitale, Sh. Stocker and J. Davis). – Iklaina: Cyclopean Terrace Building Phase 3 (see contribution by C. Shelmerdine). – Ayios Vasileios, palace (contribution by A. Vasilogamvrou, E. Kardamaki and N. Karadimas). – Athens, Acropolis, Northeast Ascent pathway dump (see n. 7). – Thebes: House of Kadmos in Pindar St. (see n. 37 and 38); Workshop in 29 Pindar St. (see n. 39); Municipal Conference Center, Deposit II (see contribution by E. Andrikou); Pelopidas St., Linear B archive (see n. 39; contribution by E. Andrikou); Epaminondas/Democritus St., Linear B archive (see n. 39; contribution by E. Andrikou); 14 Oedipus St., Room B (see n. 39). – Glas: buildings inside the citadel (see n. 9). – Dimini: Megaron A (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 129–167, 342–344, 425–461); Megaron B (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 185–195, 201–224, 341–342, 348–424); North Megaron (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 177–181, 462–496). – Chania: 1 Katre St., palatial court (see n. 64); Ayia Aekaterini Square, settlement (see n. 60 and 66). – Enkomi: City Quarters 1 West and 4 West, Level IIB (see contribution by R. Jung). – Alassa-Palaiotaverna: Phase 1 (see contribution by R. Jung). – Ugarit, palace and town (see contribution by R. Jung). – Tell Kazel: Areas II and IV, Phase K1. – Tell Tweini, Phase 7A (see contribution by R. Jung).



# On Shaky Ground: Petsas House and Destruction at Mycenae in LH IIIA2

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*Kim Shelton*<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** This paper presents results of the Archaeological Society's excavation (2000–2013) of the structure known as 'Petsas House' in Mycenae's settlement. The building complex, destroyed late in the LH IIIA2 period, was used for habitation, ceramic production and storage, and is one of the few examples, so far excavated, of multi-use space in a palatial settlement during this period of expansion and centralization. In particular, this paper examines the nature of the destruction of Petsas House, and its immediate aftermath, along with a presentation of the extensive ceramic evidence for dating this event. Based on this, evidence for destruction and rebuilding elsewhere at Mycenae during this period, including the palace, is critically detailed in order to define a possible destruction horizon at the site and investigate the potential impact on and historical implications for the center, its inhabitants, and their sociopolitical and economic trajectory.

**Keywords:** Mycenae, LH IIIA2, pottery, mudbrick, well, earthquake

## Introduction

The excavation of the building complex, located in the settlement of Mycenae to the northwest of the citadel, was first undertaken as a rescue excavation by Ioannis Papadimitriou and Fotis Petsas during a brief period in 1950, followed by several months of more systematic investigation in 1951.<sup>2</sup> They uncovered a series of building foundations divided into rooms, which were mostly filled with ceramics, situated roughly northeast-southwest along a terraced slope. The current excavation program, under the aegis of the 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 during the LH IIIA2 period. The excavation during each season since, up to 2013, has revealed a large, well-built structure of several foundation levels set on and built into the sloped hillside, and that all or part of that ground level was originally covered with an upper story (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

The earliest use of the rooms as understood by the excavators in the 1950s was primarily for 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. The vases also consistently appeared to be new, or at least unused. Then, during the course of the current excavation project, there emerged, slowly and systematically, evidence for ceramic production as well as storage, elements of industrial complexity, and purely domestic contexts of varying degrees or characters. As a result of the project, we understand that the so-called 'Petsas House' was constructed at the very end of LH II and towards the beginning of LH IIIA, over the foundations of

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<sup>2</sup> Papadimitriou – Petsas 1951, 203–233; Papadimitriou – Petsas 1952, 192–196.

<sup>3</sup> Iakovidis 2003; Iakovidis 2004; Iakovidis 2005, 18; Iakovidis 2006, 23–24; Iakovidis 2007a, 24–26; Iakovidis 2007b, 28–32; Iakovidis 2008, 26–29; Iakovidis 2010a, 18–21; Iakovidis 2010b, 27–30; Shelton 2010; Petrakos 2013, 15–16; Iakovidis 2015, 21–25; Shelton 2015a; Shelton 2016.

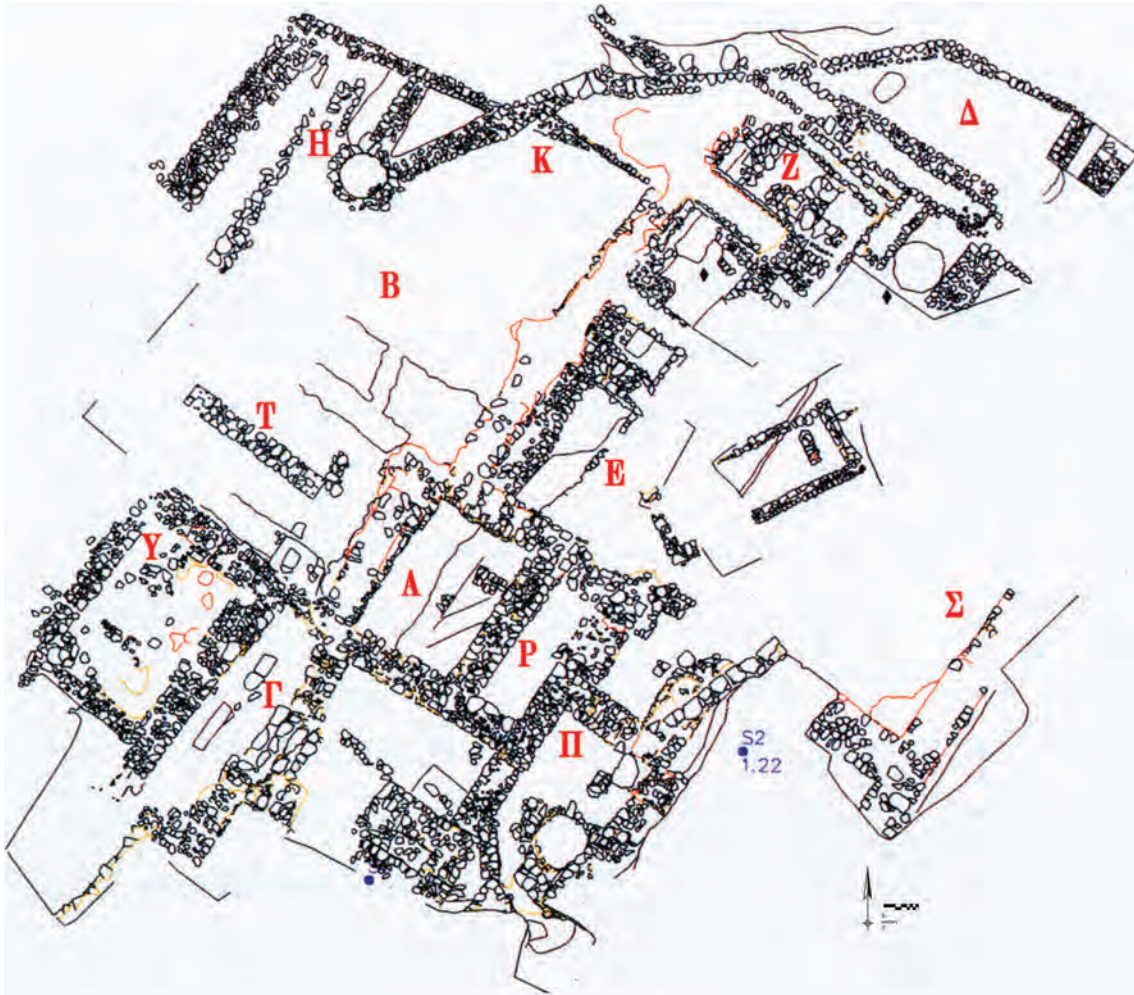


Fig. 1 Petsas House plan (N. Mitrovgenis, K. Chronis; © Petsas House Excavations and K. Shelton).



Fig. 2 Petsas House plan with areas color-coded by function (© Petsas House Excavations and K. Shelton).

an earlier structure of similar plan.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the overall character of the architectural design indicates, in concert with the building's contents, a highly developed spatial organization and extensive use for ceramic production, storage, and distribution on a large scale (Fig. 2). The pottery recovered from all the excavation periods provides overwhelming and secure dating evidence that situates the building's destruction, due to an earthquake and localized fires, towards the end of the LH IIIA2 period.<sup>5</sup>

### Petsas House and its Pottery

Current research on the material excavated at Petsas House emphasizes the project's contribution to the study of pottery produced and utilized during the LH IIIA2 period, stylistically, technically, and functionally, as well as to the study of industrial production installations and storage procedures and practices within a settlement context.<sup>6</sup> The building complex is also significant as an example of LH IIIA2 domestic architecture. Due to the extensive building programs of the following 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, within the LH IIIB period,<sup>7</sup> few physical remains of 14<sup>th</sup>-century BC architecture have survived or been accessed archaeologically, even fewer of those with a plan that can be reconstructed to any great extent.<sup>8</sup> The preliminary results of the current excavations have also shown Petsas House to be significant for our understanding of the potential relationship of the settlement to the palace at Mycenae, the use of Linear B, and the organization of domestic and workshop space in the LH IIIA2 period.<sup>9</sup>

The material recovered from the excavation of Petsas House, mostly ceramic, seems almost overwhelming in quantity and quality, with hundreds of figurines and thousands of vases. Such a rich corpus of ceramic objects reveals an amazing amount about the style, technology, and chronology of production from a closed destruction context. Since its initial discovery it has been recognized that one of the building's primary uses was for the storage of mass quantities of pottery in a range of wares and production qualities. Most of the rooms excavated in the 1950s were ground-level storerooms for new vases, clearly without use-marks or wear, that were found broken on the earthen floors and had originally been placed on wooden shelves, stacked and/or arranged by shape and size.<sup>10</sup> Apotheke Alpha, the first deposit discovered and investigated in 1950, was the most completely excavated storeroom and was relatively well recorded. The room contained approximately 500 vases in 20 different shapes, over 90% of them produced in decorated fine ware, all with a strong piriform or pedestalled profile, including stirrup and piriform jars of at least three graduated sizes/scales. The vases exhibit high-quality production in clay, form, and decoration. Generally, the majority 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 shape.<sup>11</sup> There are both closed and open vessels, and a few in undecorated fine ware of the analogous shapes. The stirrup jar was used for oil, often scented, and wine<sup>12</sup>—two liquids certainly of interest to and likely

<sup>4</sup> Preliminary evidence (sherds and early figurines) may indicate ceramics production in the earlier structure which allows for the possibility of a multi-generational 'family' industry.

<sup>5</sup> Shelton 2008; Shelton 2010; Shelton 2014.

<sup>6</sup> French 2009, 55–61; Shelton 2015a; Shelton 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Wace 1953, 9–15; Wace 1954, 267–291; Iakovidis 1983, 55–57; Mylonas Shear 1987; Tournavitou 1995, 1–68; Iakovidis – French 2003, 14, 48; French 2009, 57–61; Shelton 2009.

<sup>8</sup> French 2002, 57–61; Iakovidis – French 2003, 14–15.

<sup>9</sup> Shelton 2005, 387–396; Shelton 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Papadimitriou – Petsas 1951, 203–205; the majority of the rooms excavated in 1950–51 were identified correctly as storage areas, based on both the number of vases recovered and on their original organization by ware, shape, and size. Production areas include features for the processing of clay, water supply, and a working space.

<sup>11</sup> Papadimitriou – Petsas 1951, 207–212; Mountjoy 1986, 67.

<sup>12</sup> Established through residue analysis, see Mountjoy 1986, 30–31, 67, 163–177, 203; Mountjoy 1993, 71; Negbi – Negbi 1993; Tzedakis – Martlew 1999.



Fig. 3 Piriform and stirrup jars in relative scales from Apotheke Alpha (© Petsas House Excavations and K. Shelton).

controlled to some extent by the palace, but in addition, products which play a very obvious and prolific role in trade, especially overseas, 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 128 small-scale piriform examples alone (FS 166) in only Apotheke Alpha, together with many larger capacity examples (Fig. 3). There is a striking 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.<sup>13</sup>

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) (Fig. 4) or the slender concave stems of the kylix (FS 257). The highly organized storage space had pots placed on wooden shelves around three sides of the room, arranged by shape and size, where open vessels were stacked one inside another and smaller closed shapes were placed between the narrow stems of larger examples, organized in this manner either as a form of inventory control, for ease of retrieval, or to maximize room capacity. Inventory was also counted using a simple but effective marking system that consisted of a single brushstroke of paint under the base of otherwise unpainted shapes.



Fig. 4 Kalathos 50<211> BE 797 (drawing in scale 1:4) (© Petsas House Excavations and K. Shelton).

<sup>13</sup> Hankey 1997; Halstead 2007, 68–70; French – Shelton 2009, 197.

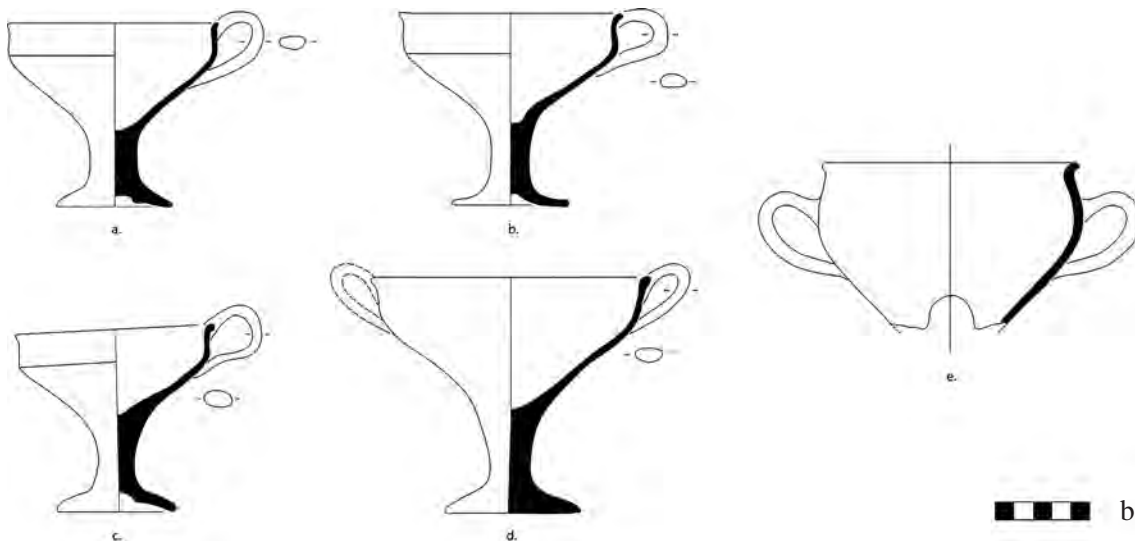


Fig. 5 a. Carinated kylikes (scale ca. 1:3); b. variety of kylix shapes (a–c. carinated, FS 267; d. rounded bowl, FS 257; e. rounded bowl with handles on bowl, FS 269) (scale 1:4) (© Petsas House Excavations and K. Shelton).

Apotheke Epsilon, adjacent to the north of Apotheke Alpha, on the other hand, was filled with vessels in undecorated fine ware (Fig. 5), almost all for drinking and serving, primarily kylikes and stemmed bowls, and many of those in an extra-large size. There was also a huge number of rather casually or even carelessly produced carinated kylikes (FS 267).

At Petsas House and among its pottery corpus, the proportion of predominantly undecorated (~95–98%) to only a few decorated vases, and of mostly kylikes to a wide variety of other shapes, matches well with proportions observed in most contexts culture-wide.<sup>14</sup> 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 made. The kylix was simultaneously one of the most beautiful and one of the ugliest, least functional vases recovered

<sup>14</sup> Mountjoy 1993; Shelton 2008, 221–224; Shelton 2010, 192, 193–195; Shelton 2014. The relative proportions were calculated from whole and restorable vases while the same proportions are obvious among sherd material. Kylix numbers are supplemented by whole stem counts.



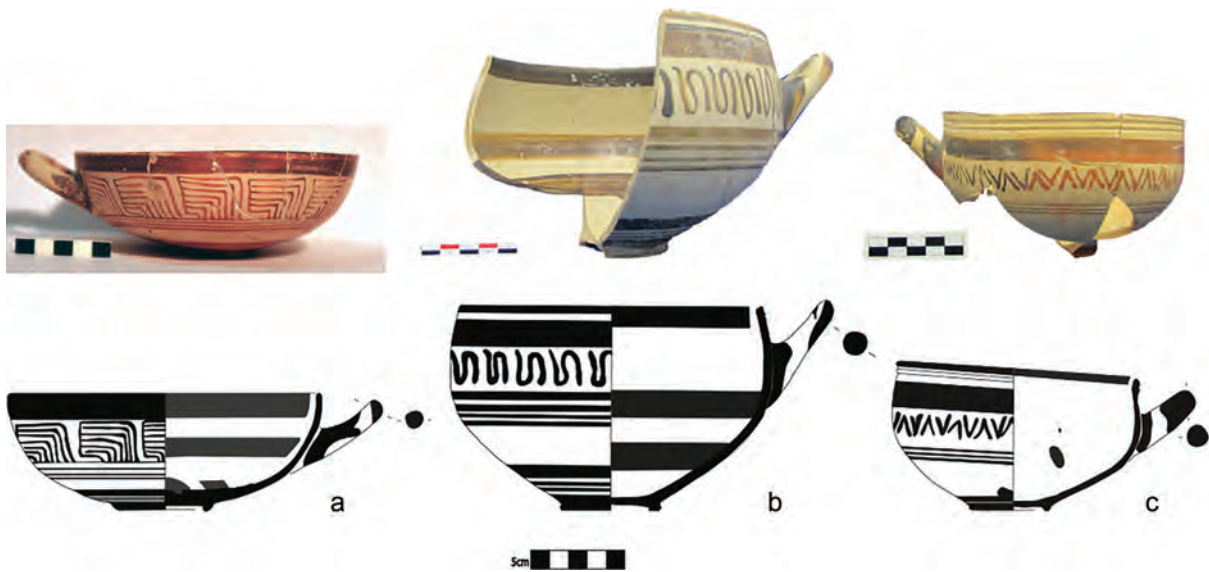


Fig. 6 Variety of one-handed bowls, FS 283 (a. 50<255> BE 606; b. <60>06/16614 BE 33190; c. <139>06/16557 BE 35220 (scale 1:4) (© Petsas House Excavations and K. Shelton).

from Petsas House. At the time of its destruction, the building contained perhaps as many as 8000 kylikes, only a small percentage of which survived intact. The vast majority of these kylikes were undecorated fine ware and roughly two-thirds of those were of the carinated or angular variety (FS 267), which in turn made up about 80% of all open shapes in the building.

Ultimately, the functional quality of these carinated kylikes does not seem to have been of primary concern since even those without holes are the least impermeable of the kylix types and many do not stand upright. Standard-scale kylikes, whether decorated or undecorated fine ware examples, were likely intended for individual use and have rather standardized volumes. Communal undecorated vessels included many extra-large rounded bowl kylikes (20+ cm height) and stemmed bowls/krateriskoi with heights of c. 20cm and an average volume of 2.75 liters.<sup>15</sup>

The deep bowl (FS 284) is missing from among the open-shape corpus and helps narrow our dating criteria for the destruction of Petsas House. No example of the shape, even fragmentary, was found in the destruction debris. The pottery in use or in storage overall indicates a destruction date late in the LH IIIA2 period, but one that is prior to the shape's introduction at the very end of the period.<sup>16</sup> Instead, there are numerous examples of the deep bowl's functional predecessor, the one-handed bowl (FS 283) (Fig. 6), which Penelope Mountjoy describes as a small shape only, and of which, up to now, very few examples have been found in LH IIIA2 contexts, especially in the Argolid.<sup>17</sup> At Petsas House, the one-handed bowl is relatively common and exhibits a great variety of characteristic elements, such as size, profile, and range of motif, that could lead to misidentification of the shape in sherd material. The well deposit from Room Pi (II) (see below) has produced numerous examples of the one-handed bowl in various scales, some quite large, that conform to the general morphological definition, straight profile, ring base, and single round, horizontal handle, however, with a significant range of rim types and details. The range of sizes, rim shapes, and decorative schemes indicates that the shape may have served a wide audience of consumers who utilized these bowls for a variety of purposes, and because neither the use nor the user was regular or predictable, the vessels themselves were not standardized, unlike the deep bowl that quickly became standardized, replaced the one-handed bowl, and took off in popularity in LH IIIB.

<sup>15</sup> Shelton 2014, 19–28; Shelton 2015a, 32.

<sup>16</sup> Mountjoy 1986, 91.

<sup>17</sup> Mountjoy 1986, 90–91.

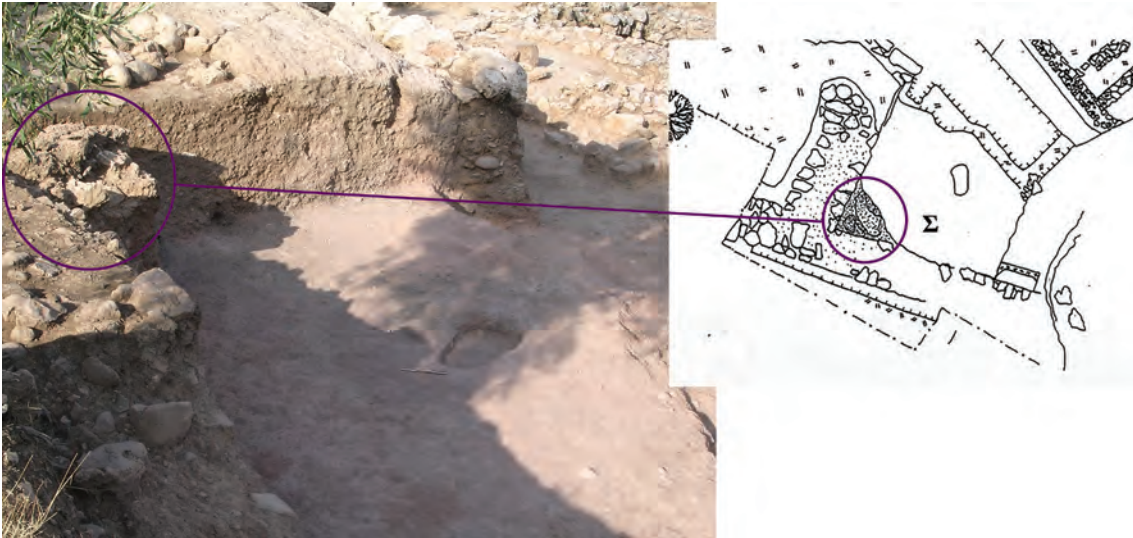


Fig. 7 Room Sigma (Σ) with mudbrick wall remains of foundation (© Petsas House Excavations and K. Shelton).

## Destruction Contexts

### Room Pi (II), the Well

The greatest quantity of ceramic material from the excavation came from the context of a well located in Room Pi. The extensive deposit that was excavated from 2001–2007 is clearly related to the pottery vessels in storage, as demonstrated through ceramic joins between the well and the other rooms in the building. The well was excavated to a depth of 12.35m and the deposit was characterized by a fill of moist red-brown soil together with fragments of charcoal, burned mudbrick, and frescos<sup>18</sup> – debris from the building itself – mixed with animal bone, clay, a vast quantity of pottery, and other small finds of stone, ivory, glass, and ceramic, including fragments of Linear B tablets. The massive and complex deposit was the result of a single event, an extended clean-up following the destruction of the building. It extended through the entire depth of the well, over 20m<sup>3</sup> of debris and remarkable pottery content, including more than 250,000 sherds, that represent material from the final period of the workshop's operation. The deposit also preserved an internal stratigraphy of levels with different vase types, qualities, and functional categories, alternating with building debris, illustrating the depositional sequence. Many thousands of whole and restorable vases were recovered from the well deposit, the majority of which were undecorated fine ware, especially kylikes and shallow angular bowls (FS 295), together with decorated pieces and cookware in two distinct fabric types.<sup>19</sup> The range of materials from this deposit represents the breadth of activities in the structure: frescos on timber-frame walls; pottery of all types, wares, and classes; figurines and other small finds; domestic debris such as food remains. An ongoing study of the faunal material from the well<sup>20</sup> has revealed in its bottom levels several fully articulated dog remains, of various sizes and at least two species, which were likely victims of the earthquake destruction and the first to be disposed of in this deposit, just above stones from the collapsed well head.

The well in Room Pi and its excavated contents have been essential for the reconstruction of Petsas House and its use for habitation and as a workshop (Fig. 2). It has also been an important and convincing witness to the severity of the destruction that befell Petsas House late in

<sup>18</sup> Shelton 2015b.

<sup>19</sup> Trusty 2016.

<sup>20</sup> Shelton 2015a, 32; Price et al. 2017.

LH IIIA2. Elsewhere in the building, we found walls that had jumped off of their foundations and foundations that have cracked and been knocked off of their orientation. Fires started in many areas of the building – some reaching a high enough temperature to not only carbonize the timber frame, hard-bake collapsing mudbrick (Fig. 7) and a few tablets, but also to vitrify the fabric of a tripod cooking pot that exploded across the width of Room Sigma ( $\Sigma$ ). The destruction of the building was total – the storage rooms spilled their breakable contents onto the floor and the upper floor rooms and their contents came crashing down through the floors and down the slope into the lower levels. Following the destruction, thousands of vases and other objects originating from the house, together with segments of paint-covered walls, were deposited in the well in an attempt to clear out the destruction debris and presumably in order to recover the use of the structure. The internal stratigraphy of the deposit indicates the dumping of debris loads from alternating sources of pottery from all over the building, household waste, and the house itself.<sup>21</sup>

### The Black Soil Dump (BSD)

Above the destruction level of Room Pi, a mass of dumped ceramic material covered in thick black soil was excavated, believed to be the excess spillover of debris accumulated above and outside the well, once it was full. This pile of primarily broken pottery had been covered with an accelerant, probably oil, and burned post-deposition, resulting in a greasy black soil that stubbornly adhered to the surfaces of everything in the deposit. The burned and consolidated pile was then tamped down and spread out in a circular pattern to flatten it further. Through many pottery joins across the site, it is possible to identify that the material in the BSD, and that from the well deposit, originated in other rooms of the building, in storage contexts, and had been removed and dumped into the well or over the ruins of Room Pi during a recovery or clean-up effort following the destruction. For example, among the predominantly undecorated sherds and vases (kylikes and bowls) in the BSD an important and unique piece of pictorial decoration with a sphinx motif was found that joins a squat stirrup jar, one of three in graduated sizes, found in Room Gamma during the 1951 excavation, and now on exhibit in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.<sup>22</sup> Other examples of joins between the well deposit and across the site include a one-handled bowl from Apotheke Alpha (BE 606 see Fig. 6a) and the pictorial Duck Krater (MM 1514) found in an upper level in Room Delta, both from the 1950 excavation.<sup>23</sup>

The well deposit is evidence for a catastrophic destruction of the structure and the total loss of its contents, and for a very labor-intensive effort to rescue whatever was lost in some part. There was an attempt to dig out and reclaim the structure at least, even though the products themselves were not salvageable. No room in the structure, however, was totally cleared of debris; only partial contents were removed. Not until the truly overwhelming nature of the recovery became clear, or they found what they were looking for, was the effort abandoned and the building with it. The nature of the destruction, the building collapse, and the mass of debris meant that the recovery was too much of an undertaking and yet, even though the area could have been ‘bulldozed’ over and the structure rebuilt on a mighty terrace, as was done elsewhere (see below),<sup>24</sup> this did not happen and the site was abandoned. There is no way to know why the area was never reoccupied and as yet, we cannot know if this was an isolated example or part of an abandoned neighborhood of structures. The lack of redevelopment may indicate private rights to the building and a relocated industry.

<sup>21</sup> Shelton 2009; Shelton 2015.

<sup>22</sup> Papadimitriou – Petsas 1952, 196, fig. 6; Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 84; Sakellarakis 1992, 110–112.

<sup>23</sup> Papadimitriou – Petsas 1951, 220, fig. 53.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, the House of the Wine Merchant and the Ivory Houses, Wace 1954; Tournavitou 1995.



Fig. 8 Court/Yard to west of the middle terrace (© Petsas House Excavations and K. Shelton).

#### Court/Yard

In another part of the site, an extensive deposit that is also integral to understanding the destruction sequence of the house was in the large yard or court to the west of the storerooms on the middle terrace. Area Beta was first excavated in 1951 when the full preserved extent of the east wall was exposed down to bedrock at the bottom of the trench. The west side of the trench was found to consist of a deep scarp of Post-Mycenaean fill and unstratified destruction debris on top of a dark burnt layer near the trench bottom. This layer was rich in organic material, which occurred in scattered patches of carbon-rich soil, indicating that wood building material, possibly from walls or the roof, had burned and fallen down onto the surface, a thin, very hard-packed earth layer over bedrock. The working/living surface had masses of sherds pressed flat into it and was contemporary with the time of the destruction. The continuous burnt layer confirms that Area B, along with Trench 10 and Area K to the north, was an open yard or court along the west wall of Petsas House, into which a significant amount of destruction debris fell, including a number of whole pots from the storerooms, and then burned in spots. The discovery of channels washed through loose gravel and sand in the upper levels of these destruction fills indicates that the debris was left exposed to the elements for an extended period, which allowed for the wash of soils and artifacts downslope (Fig. 8).

#### Elsewhere at Mycenae

The destruction of Petsas House was not an entirely local event. Evidence for substantial disruption at that time is found all over Mycenae, under the extensive later building remains. Around the site, mostly pottery sherds and fresco fragments are found in terrace fill in amounts that indicate both extensive occupation in all areas of the citadel and over the slopes of the settlement during LH IIIA, and that a catastrophic event with associated fires likely occurred, affecting structures both inside and outside of the citadel. Due to the abandonment of the site post destruction, Petsas House is so far unique at Mycenae, with substantial accessible architectural remains from the 14<sup>th</sup> century and preserved evidence of the destruction event in situ. Other examples of architectural

remains in the citadel with a LH IIIA date include stretches of the north and east fortification walls – with the old gates demolished at the northwest and northeast corners of the citadel; the earliest foundations of the Shrine Gamma from the Cult Centre; in the area of the Palace there are two walls, one behind the north wall of the great court along the south side of the south corridor and the so-called ‘old wall’ in the west terrace wall; and the fire-damaged area and fill in the Pillar Basement.<sup>25</sup> All of these are ruins of structures that very quickly were covered over by or incorporated into other buildings. Other evidence of LH IIIA occupation and destruction consists only of pottery deposits in various locations around the citadel hill, such as from below the Artists’ Quarters, and wall painting fragments below the Ramp House.<sup>26</sup> Outside of the citadel, only the remains of the so-called House of the Wine Merchant date to the LH IIIA2 period but this structure was represented only by a storage area containing pithoi and 50 transport stirrup jars. The building itself, completely eradicated by the overbuilding of the South Megaron of the Cyclopean Terrace Building, was apparently destroyed by fire at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE,<sup>27</sup> and would indeed have been a neighbor of Petsas House, a contemporary structure dating to LH IIIA2, and was destroyed at the same time – likely by the same destruction event – and then overbuilt by the massive building terrace in LH IIIB.

The apparent catastrophic event that occurred late in the LH IIIA period brings, in the following period – LH IIIB – widespread building and significant changes in architecture.<sup>28</sup> Something significant happened which caused such a great deal of destruction and affected structures both within the walled citadel and on multiple slopes of the settlement. The great extent of new construction that easily and totally obliterated pre-existing structures, mostly to the point where only fragmentary material elements and debris remained, further indicates how wholesale and catastrophic the event must have been; it was easier to consolidate and build over than it was to repair and reconstruct. The material culture was also affected by the catastrophe. The changes in the stylistic/ceramic period from LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB represent a real division, for example, and the tremendous amount of necessary new construction brought about major changes and innovation in engineering, architectural design, and building techniques. By early LH IIIB, construction had taken place everywhere at Mycenae with new buildings both inside and outside of the citadel, but construction of a rather different kind from what had been undertaken previously, including ‘Houses’ strongly built, usually on massive artificial terraces that allowed the available space to be expanded and contributed considerably to the strength of the structures – and to the destruction or eradication of earlier remains. It seems likely that some large-scale disaster had occurred late in the previous period, which led to changes in building practice and may have allowed for or facilitated other elements of change as well. I would suggest that something catastrophic had occurred and if Petsas House was a victim of that destruction, then it must have been an earthquake event. An earthquake destruction could also have resulted in the altered construction methods that were employed in most of the new buildings, which indicates an attempt to build in a different manner – perhaps more anti-seismic, although the widespread destruction during the LH IIIB period clearly shows these construction techniques were not foolproof.

The nature of the destruction of Petsas House and its immediate aftermath provides multiscale evidence for an earthquake event and the extensive ceramic evidence in the workshop context dates this event to late in the LH IIIA2 period.<sup>29</sup> Evidence for widespread destruction and extensive rebuilding at Mycenae during this same period, including in and around the palace, indicates a destruction horizon at the site, which impacted the center, its inhabitants, and very likely, the sociopolitical and economic trajectory of the Palatial period.

<sup>25</sup> French 2002, 57–61; Iakovidis – French 2003, 14–15; Shelton 2009, 636; Shelton 2022.

<sup>26</sup> Shaw 1996; French 2002, 98–99.

<sup>27</sup> Wace 1953, 9–15; Wace 1954, 267–291; French 2002, 64–66; Iakovidis – French 2003, 48.

<sup>28</sup> Tournavitou 1995; Shelton 2009, 636–638.

<sup>29</sup> The stratigraphy and destruction and depositional sequences recorded at Petsas House, and at Mycenae more generally, do not provide evidence for further division of the LH IIIA2 period.

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# Turning Points in the Ceramic Sequence of the Northern Tip of the Lower Citadel at Tiryns

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**Abstract:** During the excavations of the northern tip of the Lower Citadel of Tiryns by Klaus Kilian<sup>2</sup> in 1982–1983 and by Joseph Maran (campaigns 2000–2003),<sup>3</sup> a sequence of late Palatial and Post-palatial Mycenaean layers and architectural structures was uncovered. They provide evidence for several turning points in the history of this location, which allow us to reconstruct a detailed pottery sequence from LH IIIB Early to the final Post-palatial period. In this paper, based on the pottery sequence in the area of Building XI and the Passageway to the North Gate the development of the painted Mycenaean wares from LH IIIB Early–Middle to LH IIIC Early will be outlined. The results of the study of the pottery found during the 2000–2003 campaigns will be supplemented by the material found in this area by Kilian. The focus will be on the local painted Mycenaean pottery. Preliminary observations on the development of local unpainted and local and Aeginetan cooking wares from this area will be given as well. Since the non-local ceramic vessels from this area provide important evidence for international goods exchange in the Palatial period, one section will be devoted to pottery of foreign origin. From the methodological point of view, the monocausal method was used to date stratigraphic contexts. In addition to this method, the polycasual method<sup>4</sup> will be presented here based on the example of painted deep bowls.

**Keywords:** Tiryns, Lower Citadel, pottery sequence, LH IIIB Early–Final, LH IIIC Early

## Introduction

At the northern tip of the Lower Citadel at Tiryns (Fig. 1) an extraordinary situation is encountered, allowing us to combine the newest observations on stratigraphy and pottery sequences according to the excavations carried out from 2000 to 2003 together with the architecture and material found during the 1982–1983 campaigns.<sup>5</sup> The ceramic study presented in this paper is based on the current knowledge of the stratigraphy in this area according to Joseph Maran (excavations 2000–2003) and Tobias Mühlenbruch (excavations 1982–1983).

The focus of this paper is the ceramic material retrieved during the 2000–2003 campaigns in the area of Building XI and the Passageway leading to the North Gate. In addition, pottery from this area excavated by Klaus Kilian and some vessels from Building XV are included in this study to provide more information about the ceramic sequences. The architectural remains are dated

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<sup>2</sup> Kilian 1988, 105–151.

<sup>3</sup> Maran 2008, 35–111.

<sup>4</sup> These approaches are to be understood as defined in Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 14–15. In the monocausal method the presence of ‘Leitformen’ defining that phase is decisive, as well as the absence of ‘Leitformen’ characteristic for a younger phase. By contrast, the quantitative relationship of different ‘Leitformen’ to each other is crucial in the polycasual approach.

<sup>5</sup> During Kilian’s campaigns of 1982–1983 in the northern tip of the Lower Citadel roughly half of Building XI was uncovered and excavation of the area of the Passageway was undertaken (Kilian 1988). Only one wall of Building XV was discovered by Kilian (1988, 108, 111, fig. 7b). During the 2000–2003 campaigns a narrow strip along the westernmost part of Building XV was excavated (Maran 2008, 41, 48–49, 57–59).

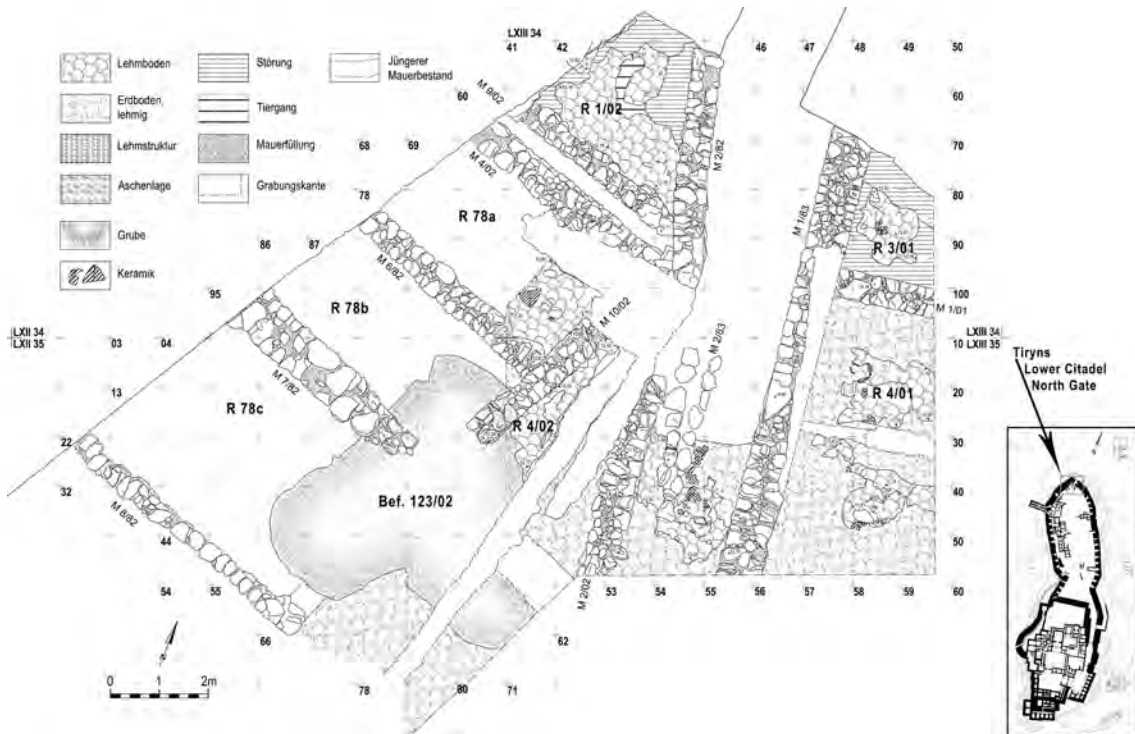


Fig. 1 Tiryns, Lower Citadel. Plan with the preserved structures from the northern tip of the Citadel (plan M. Kostoula).

to the following pottery/chronological subphases as defined by Maran:<sup>6</sup> LH IIIB Early–Middle,<sup>7</sup> LH IIIB Developed, LH IIIB Final, and LH IIIC Early 1 and 2. The ceramic content of these phases is introduced in the study presented here. This article emphasizes the development of the shapes of the local painted and unpainted pottery as well as the cooking wares. Vessels believed to be of foreign origin, which are particularly frequent in this area, will be discussed as well.

First, the stratigraphic phases mentioned above will be introduced with their architectural structures, installations (such as ovens) and burials. Afterwards, a short section on methodology will follow. Starting with a general picture of pottery shapes, the ceramic content of each architectural phase will be presented as the main part of the paper. One separate section will be devoted to the evidence of international contacts in the ceramic material introduced here. The monocausal approach of dating pottery will be used. Since deep bowls are the most suitable vessels for dating purposes and are well represented in the sherd material, their relationship will be presented, using the polycasual method. A preliminary assessment of the unpainted fine ware and local and Aeginetan cooking pots will follow.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Maran 2008, 38–65.

<sup>7</sup> These two phases are combined due to the poor preservation of architectural and other remains from the first half of LH IIIB in the studied area of the citadel. See also Maran 2008, 38. ‘Due to the superimposition of the architectural remains of later Mycenaean phases, features of the first half of LH IIIB were only uncovered in tiny areas of the excavation, which did not allow a clear-cut separation of the subphases LH IIIB Early and Middle’ (additional information provided by Joseph Maran). The pottery found beneath Building XI and the Passageway only permits assumptions about the precise dating (see below, section ‘Painted Fine Ware of the Palatial Period’).

<sup>8</sup> This article is a preliminary report of the results on the ceramic study of material from the northern tip of the Lower Citadel. More details will follow in my PhD thesis.



Fig. 2 Tiryns, Lower Citadel. Entrance to the postern gate (N-Gang, Befund-Nr. 20/02) (photo J. Maran).

### Architectural Development and Other Remains

From LH IIIB Early–Middle, remains of a building and an oven (Befund-Nr. 46/03) were encountered beneath Building XI,<sup>9</sup> while in the area of the later Passageway, the remains of two walls were discovered. Next to one of them, a small piriform jar came to light.<sup>10</sup>

During LH IIIB Developed, a phase of significant architectural changes began. The construction of the Cyclopean wall and the erection of the ‘narrow postern gate, which formed the only connection between the northern Lower Citadel and the Lower Town’<sup>11</sup> (Nord-Gang, 7.80–8.00m long, Fig. 2) can be considered the highlights of this time. Several supporting walls under Building XI were erected and a stone platform (Befund-Nr. 37/03) was built beneath Room 78c in Building XI. This stone construction could possibly have functioned as a platform for building activities linked to the Cyclopean wall.<sup>12</sup>

Building XI to the west of the Passageway and Building XV to the east were constructed in the LH IIIB Final phase. At the same time, the North Gate became the point of connection between the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town. Between the two buildings, the Passageway started to be used.<sup>13</sup> A stone fill (Befund-Nr. 18/03) interpreted as a leveling layer was found under Room 1/02 and, according to the latest study, dates to the beginning of LH IIIB Final.<sup>14</sup> The next turning point was the destruction of the palace at the end of LH IIIB Final.

<sup>9</sup> Maran 2008, 38–39, figs. 2–3. According to Maran (personal communication), Wall 6/03 is younger than the floor that is connected to the oven and, accordingly, two phases could be differentiated which are either both dated to LH IIIB Early–Middle, or the earlier one to LH IIIB Early and the later one to LH IIIB Middle.

<sup>10</sup> Maran 2008, 40, figs. 6–7.

<sup>11</sup> Davis et al. 2015, 91. See also Maran 2008, 41–42, figs. 10–11.

<sup>12</sup> Maran 2008, 46–48, fig. 18; Maran (personal communication).

<sup>13</sup> Maran 2008, 50, 55, 57–58, figs. 20, 24–25, 33, 39.

<sup>14</sup> Maran 2008, 43–44, fig. 13; Davis et al. 2015, 92. More precisely, Befund-Nr. 18/03 dates to horizon 17a4 (Maran, personal communication).

There is no architectural evidence from the northern tip of the Lower Citadel from the earliest Post-palatial period. Dated to this first architectural phase of LH IIIC<sup>15</sup> is a large pit (Befund-Nr. 123/02)<sup>16</sup> with at least six skeletons.<sup>17</sup> The pit cut the walls of the Rooms 78b and 78c of Building XI.

During the 2003 excavation, a pit (Grube 3/03) in the southwestern corner of Room 78c was identified.<sup>18</sup> According to the stratigraphy, the pit is dated to the later phase of LH IIIC Early, but still part of Maran's first architectural phase of LH IIIC.<sup>19</sup> In the first phase of its use, it had probably served as an oven or a hearth.<sup>20</sup> According to Maran, starting in the second architectural phase<sup>21</sup> of LH IIIC<sup>22</sup> in the western part of the excavations, a new building was constructed (Building Complex Raum 78a–c.2/02).<sup>23</sup>

### Stratigraphic Analysis

The pottery analysis presented in this paper was carried out based on the stratigraphic analysis undertaken by Maran and Mühlenbruch. Each square meter of excavated sediment<sup>24</sup> was thus dated according to its position in the corresponding layer sequence. For squares clearly found between two floors, precise dating to only one chronological phase was possible. Only these squares are part of the study presented here, together with in situ finds.<sup>25</sup> One exception is the stratigraphic phase LH IIIB Early–Middle as defined by Maran,<sup>26</sup> where no such assignment was possible.

After the excavation by Maran, some squares from the 1982–1983 and 2000–2003 campaigns were identified as parts of the pit Befund-Nr. 123/02. For the ceramic analysis, only squares clearly dated to the first architectural phase of LH IIIC and belonging to this pit were considered in this study. During Kilian's excavation, the pit had not yet been identified.

Regarding the stratigraphic sequence, the upper part of the pit Grube 3/03 had not yet been identified in the overlying layers. Additional assignment of squares belonging to this pit was done by Maran after the excavation. Again, only squares clearly identified as part of this pit were considered in the analysis.

In a first step, the ceramic repertory of each stratigraphic phase layer was defined. Using a comparative approach, in the next step, the first appearance of ceramic shapes for each phase studied was analyzed (monocausal method). Vessels found in situ will be highlighted in the upcoming pottery analysis.

<sup>15</sup> Maran 2008, 60. This architectural phase corresponds to LH IIIC Phase 1 or LH IIIC Early 1, Hor. 19a1, at Tiryns (Podzuweit 2007, 7, 213, Beil. 84).

<sup>16</sup> Maran 2008, 60–65, fig. 25.

<sup>17</sup> For photos and a discussion of the skeletons from the pit Befund-Nr. 123/02 see Maran 2008, 61–63, figs. 45–52.

<sup>18</sup> This pit was identified in Floor VI J, square meters LXII 35/13.14.23.24.

<sup>19</sup> Maran 2008, 60.

<sup>20</sup> Maran 2008, 65.

<sup>21</sup> Maran divided the Post-palatial or LH IIIC period into five stratigraphic or building phases corresponding with LH IIIC Early to LH IIIC Advanced or even LH IIIC Late (Maran 2008, 60–61). 'The five phases of the Mycenaean Post-palatial period (LH IIIC) are based on stratigraphical and architectural evidence. The second LH IIIC phase dated to LH IIIC Developed was the one that covered the burial place of the first phase (LH IIIC Early). The architecture of the third building phase was superimposed in the western half of the excavation on the one of the second phase' (additional information provided by Joseph Maran).

<sup>22</sup> LH IIIC Developed according to Kilian (1982, 395, 399; Podzuweit 2007, 7) or LH IIIC Middle 1 (Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 60).

<sup>23</sup> Maran 2008, 65.

<sup>24</sup> For more on the methodology of the excavation see Podzuweit 2007, 6; Mühlenbruch 2013, 11.

<sup>25</sup> Only representative examples of the recognized vessel shapes are published in this article. The remaining ceramic material is part of my PhD thesis.

<sup>26</sup> Maran 2008, 38–41.

### Pottery Analysis

First, a brief summary of the number of diagnostic sherds analyzed will be given (Tab. 1). This statistic includes only ceramic material excavated during the 2000–2003 campaigns in the area of Building XI and the Passageway. As mentioned above, for this article, Kilian's material<sup>27</sup> and some local and foreign shapes uncovered in the area of Building XV were used as an additional source of information to get a more complete picture of the ceramic repertory for each phase.

It has to be pointed out that there is a significant difference between the number of diagnostic sherds in each phase (LH IIIB Early–Middle with 132 diagnostic sherds, in comparison to 2344 pieces from LH IIIB Final, Tab. 1<sup>28</sup>). This fact certainly had an influence on the number of shapes identified from single phases. Early Mycenaean sherds are included in the count. Both closed shapes and shapes that are not identifiable as open are counted as closed.

		LH IIIB Early– Middle	LH IIIB Developed	LH IIIB Final (West)	LH IIIB Final (Gateway)	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Painted Fine Ware*	open shapes	25	56	603	33	206	94
	closed shapes**	9	15	193	5	44	20
Unpainted Fine Ware	open shapes	73	120	1106	70	392	120
	closed shapes	11	15	120	10	49	21
Cooking Ware Local	open shapes	0	3	10	1	5	1
	closed shapes	13	16	144	12	30	6
Cooking Ware Aeginetan	open shapes	0	0	0	1	0	0
	closed shapes	1	2	36	0	8	2
Total		132	227	2212	132	734	264

Tab. 1 Number of diagnostic sherds per chronological phase (2000–2003 excavations)

(\* – including early Mycenaean sherds; \*\* – open/closed vessels counted to closed).

For this study, the typology of deep bowls as defined by Eleftheria Kardamaki was used. Kardamaki identified two new types of deep bowls (Group C deep bowl<sup>29</sup> and a large Group A deep bowl) and clearly defined Group B deep bowls and the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior.<sup>30</sup> Philipp Stockhammer's terminology is used for deep bowls, cups FS 215 and kraters with monochrome interior and stemmed bowl type of banding, which he describes as 'deep bowl SB, cup SB, krater SB'.<sup>31</sup> Stockhammer's study of the Post-palatial pottery from the Northeastern Lower Town served as a basis for the analysis of shapes first appearing in the stratigraphic phase (so-called 'Leitform').

The minimum number of individuals (MNI) analysis in this study is based on the count of rims. In exceptional cases another part of a vessel was taken into account when this represents

<sup>27</sup> The pottery from the area of Building XI and the Passageway excavated by Kilian was only partially studied during my stay at Tiryns.

<sup>28</sup> Tab. 1 considers only the counted diagnostic sherds from the 2000–2003 excavations. Vessels coming from Kilian's excavation are not included in this statistic. Ceramic wares of foreign origin are also excluded with the exception of Aeginetan cooking ware.

<sup>29</sup> The discussed deep bowls are of FS 284.

<sup>30</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 203–232. Based on the definition of Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 47, fig. 5, his deep bowl A/B would correspond to Kardamaki's deep bowl Group A with monochrome interior.

<sup>31</sup> Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 31, 51–52. Kardamaki's deep bowls with monochrome interior and linear decoration type 9.3 correspond to deep bowls SB by Stockhammer (Kardamaki 2009, tab. 1).

the only example of a vessel type in a single period. Such cases are clearly indicated in the corresponding tables.

### Painted Fine Ware

According to the monocausal method, the absence/presence of characteristic types is of importance for the dating of a given context. Following this approach, an overview of the existing shapes in each phase had to be established. The result of this work is the list of open and closed forms as recognized in each phase for the painted fine ware (Tabs. 2–3).<sup>32</sup>

An attempt to answer the following questions was therefore made possible: 1) when a form first appeared and 2) what the form's life span was. To answer the second question, other published material from Tiryns will serve as reference.

Form	LH IIIB Early–Middle	LH IIIB Developed	LH IIIB Final	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Deep bowl Group A (Skyphos A, FS 284, Decoration 1 and 5.1)	X	X	X	X	X
Large deep bowl Group A (FS 284, Decoration 6.1, 7.1, 9.3)		Possible	X	Possible	Possible
Deep bowl Group A with monochrome interior (FS 284, Decoration 15)		X	X	X*	X
Deep band deep bowl (Skyphos B, FS 284, Decoration 14)			X	X	
Deep bowl Group C (Skyphos C, FS 284, Decoration 16)			X		
Deep bowl Group B or Group C (FS 284)			X	X*	
Deep bowl SB (FS 284, Decoration 9.3)			X		
Deep bowl with wavy line (FS 284)		X		Possible	
Deep bowl Group C or medium band deep bowl (FS 284)				X*	X
Deep bowl Group A with monochrome interior or medium band deep bowl (FS 284)			X	X	X
Deep bowl monochrome (FS 284)			X		
Medium band deep bowl (FS 284)					X
Possibly linear deep bowl (FS 284)				X	
Rosette deep bowl (FS 284)		X	X	X	X
Rosette deep bowl, linear (FS 284)					X
One-handled cup (FS 283)	X				
Stemmed bowl (FS 305)	X	X	X	X	X
Stemmed bowl (FS 305) monochrome			X	X	X

<sup>32</sup> Mug FS 225 is decorated with ridges on the rim and/or waist. Mug FS 226 is without these ridges.

Form	LH IIB Early–Middle	LH IIB Developed	LH IIB Final	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Cup, conical, (miscellaneous)	X				
Deep bowl, conical or kylix, conical (FS 242 or FS 274)			X*		X
Deep bowl, conical or kylix, conical (FS 242 or FS 274) monochrome?				X	
Deep bowl, conical with a motif (FS 242)				X	
Kylix, conical (FS 274)					X
Kylix (FS 258B)	X	X	X	X*	
Krater (FS 7–9)		X	X	X	
Ring-based krater (FS 281)		X	X	X	X
Krater (FS 7–9 or FS 281)	X		X	X	
Shallow globular bowl (FS 295B)		X	X		X
Shallow bowl (FS 295 or FS 296)		X			
Shallow angular bowl (FS 295C)					Possible
Basin (FS 294)			X	X	X
Mug (FS 226)		X	X	X	X
Mug (FS 225)		X	X	X	X
Kalathos (FS 290)					
Kalathos (FS 290 or FS 291)					X
Spouted conical bowl (FS 300 or FS 301)	<u>X</u>			X*	
Cup, shallow (FS 219 or FS 220)	X				
Cup, deep semi-globular, linear (FS 215)			X		
Lip band cup or bowl (FS 215 or FS 284)				X*	
Medium band cup (FS 215)			X		
Cup, deep semi-globular with dotted rim or dipper (Punktrand- tasse FS 215 or FS 236)			X	X*	
Miniature handmade vessels (open shapes)		X	X		
Miniature wheelmade vessels (open shapes)			X	X	X
Rhyton (FS 199)		X		X	
Spouted bowl (FS 288 or FS 289)				X	
Carinated cup (FS 240)					X
Spouted bowl or spouted basin			X		
Spouted cup (FS 253)			<u>X</u>		
Dipper (FS 236)			X		
Chalice (FS 278)			X		

Tab. 2 Painted fine ware open shapes and their occurrence in chronological phases  
(X – at least one diagnostic sherd of a shape found in the phase; X – found in situ;  
\* – form only attested in the material from Klaus Kilian's excavations).



Form	LH IIIB Early–Middle	LH IIIB Developed	LH IIIB Final	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Alabastron, rounded or straight-sided	X		X		
Alabastron straight-sided (FS 94)	X	X	<u>X</u>		
Alabastron (FS 80–86)			X		
Amphoriskos (FS 59)			X	X	
Amphora/Jug/Hydria	<u>X</u>	X	<u>X</u>	X	X
Jug (FS 110)	X		X	X	
Stirrup jar, globular (FS 171 etc.)	X		X	X	X
Stirrup jar, large (FS 164)				X	
Stirrup jar, large (FS 167)		X			
Feeding bottle (FS 160)	X		X		
Miniature handmade vessels (closed shapes)		X	X		
Miniature wheelmade vessels (closed shapes)			X		
Piriform jar (small, FS 48)	<u>X</u>			X	
Piriform jar (possibly FS 35)			X		
Collar-necked jar (FS 63)			X		
Collar-necked jar (FS 64)			X		
Strainer jug (FS 155)			<u>X</u>		
Narrow-necked jug (FS 120)			<u>X</u>		

Tab. 3 Painted fine ware closed shapes and their occurrence in chronological phases (X – at least one diagnostic sherd of a shape found in the phase; X – found in situ; \* – form only attested in the material from Klaus Kilian's excavations).

### Painted Fine Ware of the Palatial Period

Because of the dense building activities in the more recent phases, there is not much evidence about what the area underneath Building XI looked like in LH IIIB Early–Middle. The total number of diagnostic sherds available is relatively small (Tab. 1), resulting in a lower number of ceramic shapes identified for this period. The fine ware painted shapes identified and dated to this phase included a spouted conical bowl FS 300 or FS 301 found in situ near Wall 6/03 (Fig. 3.6), probably a Group A deep bowl (Fig. 3.1), the stemmed bowl FS 305 (Fig. 3.2), miscellaneous conical bowls/cups found in the burned ashy floor of the oven Befund-Nr. 46/03 (Fig. 3.3), kylix type FS 258B (Fig. 3.4; 3.9) and krater FS 7–9 or FS 281 (Fig. 3.5). It seems that the shallow cup FS 219 or FS220 was still in use (Fig. 3.7). No other deep bowl types were attested in this period. Another open vessel represented is a well-preserved one-handled cup FS 283 with ridged rim (Fig. 3.8) coming from the area above the burnt floor of the oven. The ridged rims are known in LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1, especially on mugs. Because of the good state of preservation, I assume that this vessel belongs to the repertory of this stratigraphic phase.

Closed shapes which are present include a piriform jar found in situ,<sup>33</sup> alabastra (Fig. 3.11–12), probably the jug FS 110<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 3.10) without a hollowed rim, and stirrup jar FS 171, etc. (Fig. 3.13). On the clay floor related to the building attested by Walls 5/03 and 6/03 under the LH IIIB

<sup>33</sup> Maran 2008, 40, fig. 7. Found to the north of a clay floor attested below the Passageway (Maran 2008, 40).

<sup>34</sup> Diameter 7.4cm.

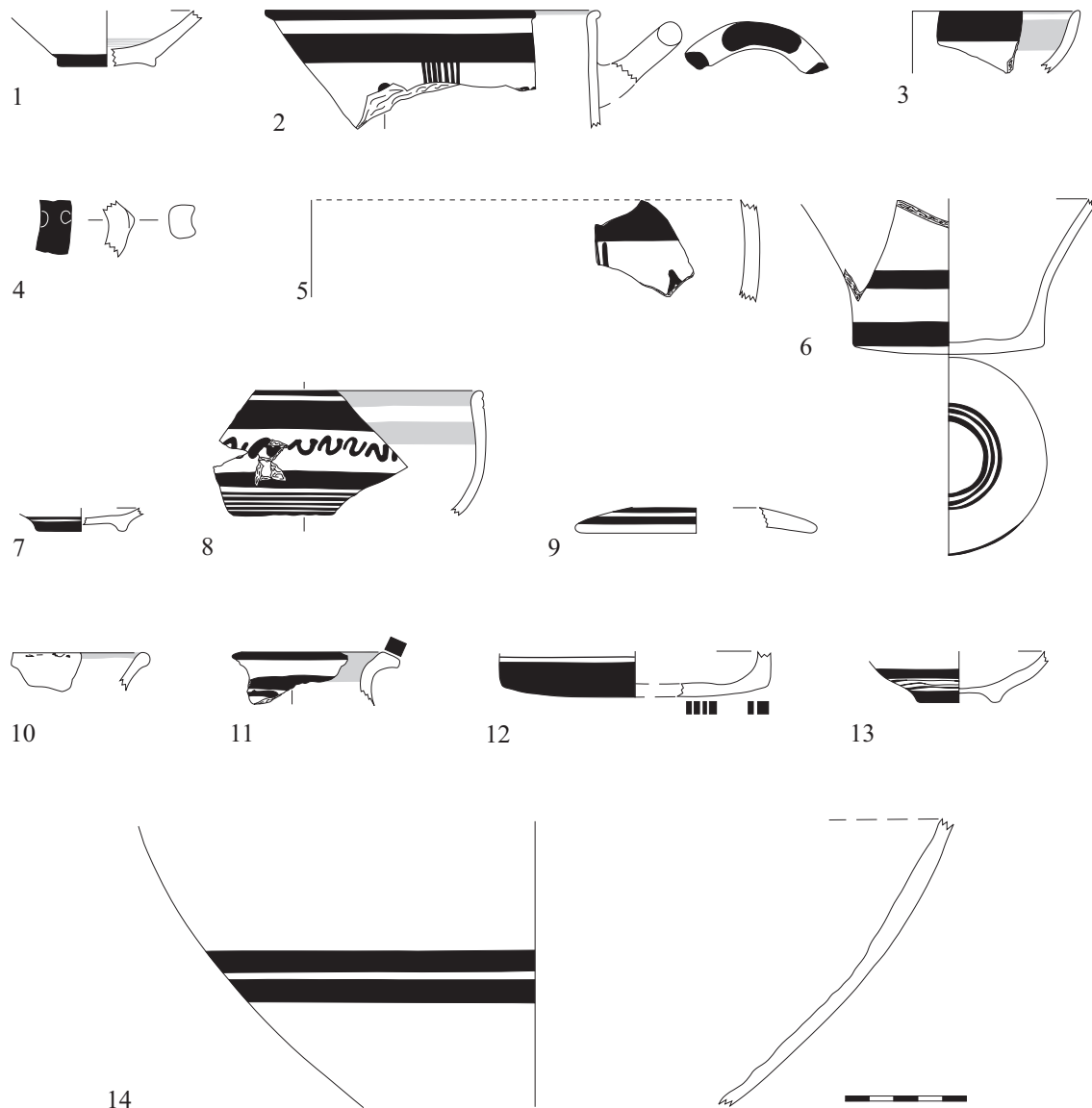


Fig. 3 LH III B Early-Middle: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (2-3, 9-12, 14: drawings S. Wirghová; 1, 4-8, 13: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

Final Passageway, two different large body fragments of a probable amphora/jug/hydria (one of them shown in Fig. 3.14) were found. It has to be emphasized that a further study of additional material is needed to reach a more conclusive picture of this stratigraphic and ceramic phase. As for the material context underneath Building XI, I am assuming an early phase of LH III B, probably dating only to LH III B Early (missing Group B and the rosette deep bowl,<sup>35</sup> occurrence of FS 283 in a LH IIIA2 tradition, kylix FS 258B, stemmed bowl FS 305 and probably a Group A deep bowl).

Due to the investigation of the supporting walls and the supporting platform Befund-Nr. 37/03, the excavated area of the LH III B Developed phase was larger than in the previous phase. This resulted in a quantitatively better basis of ceramic material to study.

<sup>35</sup> There is no clear evidence of a rosette deep bowl being present in the material dated to LH III B Early-Middle from an area of a later Building XV.

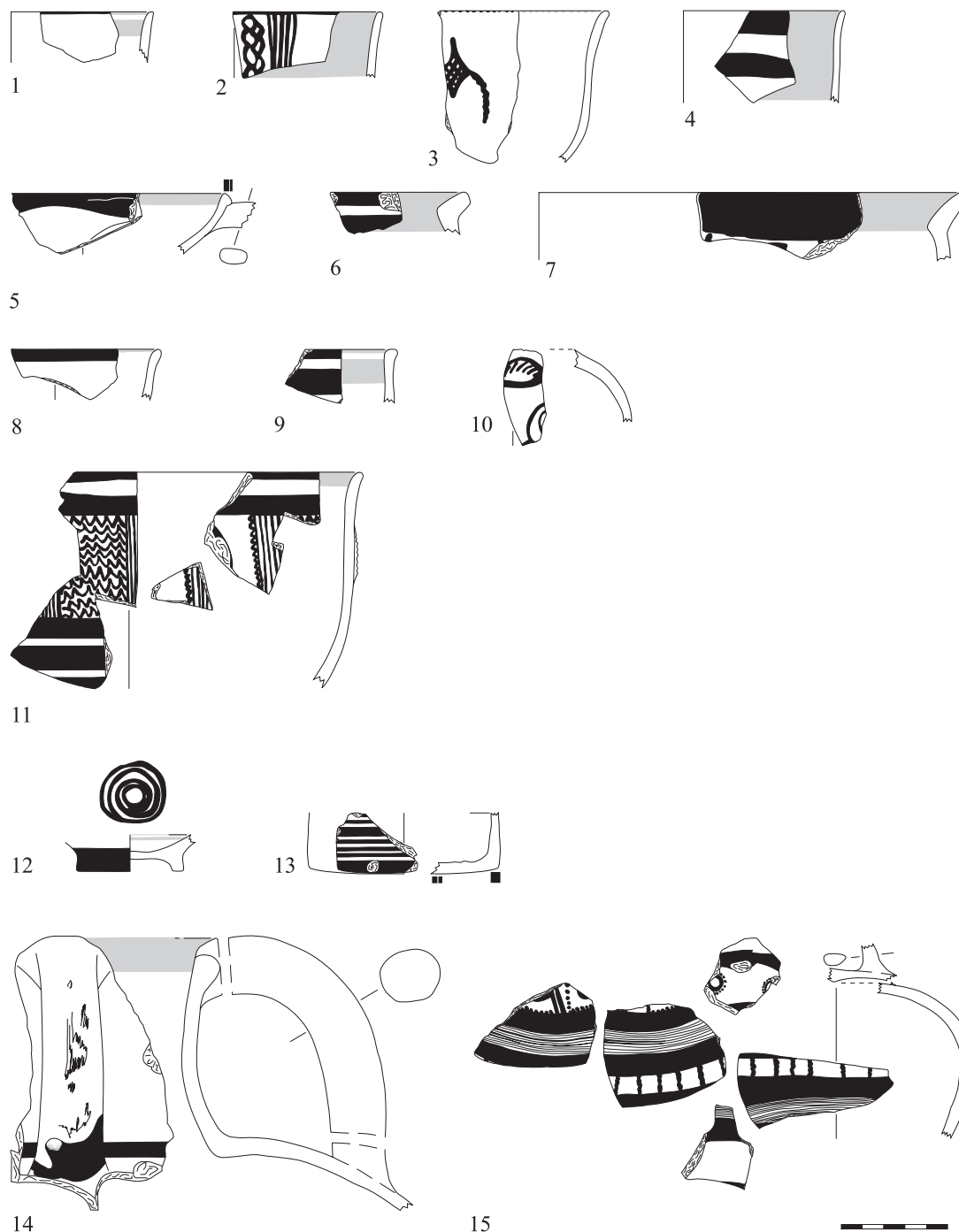


Fig. 4 LH IIIB Developed: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (1, 4, 6, 8–9, 11–15: drawings S. Wirghová; 2–3, 5, 7, 10: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

In this phase no in situ ceramic finds were present in the western part of the excavated area. The Group A deep bowl (Fig. 4.1, 12) and Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior (Fig. 4.2) were recognized together with the rosette deep bowl<sup>36</sup> (Fig. 4.3) and the deep bowl with wavy

<sup>36</sup> Another rosette deep bowl (Nr. 72/02) was found on the floor level dated to LH IIIB Developed under Building XV. Rosette deep bowls with three splashes on the handle were recognized in Kilian's material and are dated to LH IIIB Final. The type with multi-splashed handles was attested in LH IIIB Developed–Final, LH IIIB Final and LH IIIC Early 1 (Befund-Nr. 123/02).

line (Fig. 4.4). Except for the latter, all these deep bowl types are characteristic shapes of Vitale's LH IIIB2 Early (or LH IIIB Developed at Tiryns).<sup>37</sup> However, the presence of the Group B deep bowl, also postulated by Salvatore Vitale for that chronological horizon, does not find support in the material studied here dating to LH IIIB Developed.<sup>38</sup> The large Group A deep bowl FS 284 or stemmed bowl FS 305 (Fig. 4.11) with stemmed bowl type of banding and with three bands on the belly (diameter 22cm) was attested for the first time in this phase.<sup>39</sup> No linear shapes were identified in this phase. This might be the result of the small size of the sherd material, which does not allow the study of whole vessels. No shallow bowls FS 296 with white painting were recognized. This is the reason why all shallow bowls with horizontal handles were assigned to the globular type FS 295B (example of FS 295B, Christian Podzuweit's Type 1<sup>40</sup> shown in Fig. 4.5). One rim of a ring-based krater FS 281 (Fig. 4.6) with probably monochrome interior and a stemmed bowl type of banding, the so-called ring-base krater SB, was already found in this phase. The first miniature vessels<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 4.10) from the studied material are dated to this period. Most miniature vessels from LH IIIB Developed and Final are handmade. One almost completely preserved miniature jug was found in the area of Room 78b in Building XI. The find is not stratified,<sup>42</sup> but it appears to be in a handmade tradition of the LH IIIB period (Fig. 7.10). It seems that mugs were still in use, together with a stemmed bowl (Fig. 4.9). Furthermore, in this phase we find a small open vessel (Fig. 4.8) and a krater FS 7–9 (Fig. 4.7).

Closed shapes are represented by the rounded stirrup jar FS 167 (Fig. 4.15), straight-sided alabastron FS 94 (Fig. 4.13), and amphora/jug/hydria (Fig. 4.14). Neither collar-necked jars nor hollowed rims on large, closed shapes were observed in this phase.

The LH IIIB Final phase, with its developed palatial organization on the one side, and the final destruction on the other side, constitutes the next turning point of historical development. This is reflected in the ceramic material by a wide range of shapes, some of which are of a special character (chalice FS 278, Fig. 6.4 and spouted cup<sup>43</sup> FS 253, Fig. 6.6). However, not only local shapes but also foreign forms found in Building XI, Building XV and in the Passageway are of interest in this phase.<sup>44</sup> In addition to the area excavated by Maran, the area of the Passageway excavated by Kilian yielded supplementary information regarding the ceramic repertory of this period.

From the local shapes that were already known and attested in situ, there are Group A (Fig. 5.1–2) and Group B deep bowls<sup>45</sup> (Fig. 5.4), which, together with the spouted cup already mentioned, comprise a part of the inventory of Room 78c in Building XI. The Group A deep bowl with

<sup>37</sup> Vitale 2006, 197, tab. 1. Stockhammer concludes that the phase LH IIIB2 Early corresponds to LH IIIB Middle at Tiryns and also sees Group B deep bowls as being one of the characteristic forms of this phase (2008, vol. 1, 46–47, figs. 3–4). See also French – Stockhammer 2009, tab. 4. Kardamaki agrees with Vitale in synchronizing LH IIIB2 Early with LH IIIB Developed at Tiryns (2009, fig. 33).

<sup>38</sup> The assessment of the stratigraphy of Kilian's excavation by Maran for the final publication of the architectonic and stratigraphic sequence in the northernmost part of the Lower Citadel revealed that Kilian's excavation did not reach the strata dating to LH IIIB Developed in the area of the Passageway (Maran, personal communication). Kilian's material from this area thus does not add to the knowledge of the ceramic repertory of LH IIIB Developed. Additionally, there is also no clear indication of the presence of Group B deep bowls in the material of LH IIIB Developed found beneath Building XV.

<sup>39</sup> The rim shape is reminiscent of deep bowls rather than stemmed bowls. All other characteristics are the same as a stemmed bowl.

<sup>40</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 73–74.

<sup>41</sup> See also Damm 1997, pl. 44.628; Podzuweit 2007, pl. 111.8. For further miniature vessels see Damm 1997, pls. 9.119; 13.198. According to the stratigraphy reviewed by Maran, all these vessels are dated to LH IIIB Final.

<sup>42</sup> The jug was found during cleaning activities in 2003 (Säuberung Kiliangrabung) in an area secondarily disturbed by animals (LXII 34/86).

<sup>43</sup> The handle is placed at 90° to the spout.

<sup>44</sup> See below, section 'Evidence of Foreign Contacts in the Ceramic Material from the Northern Tip of the Lower Citadel'.

<sup>45</sup> For another Group B deep bowl found in the destruction layer of Building XV see Maran 2008, 58, fig. 40. The complete inventory of the rooms of Building XI will be discussed in my PhD thesis.

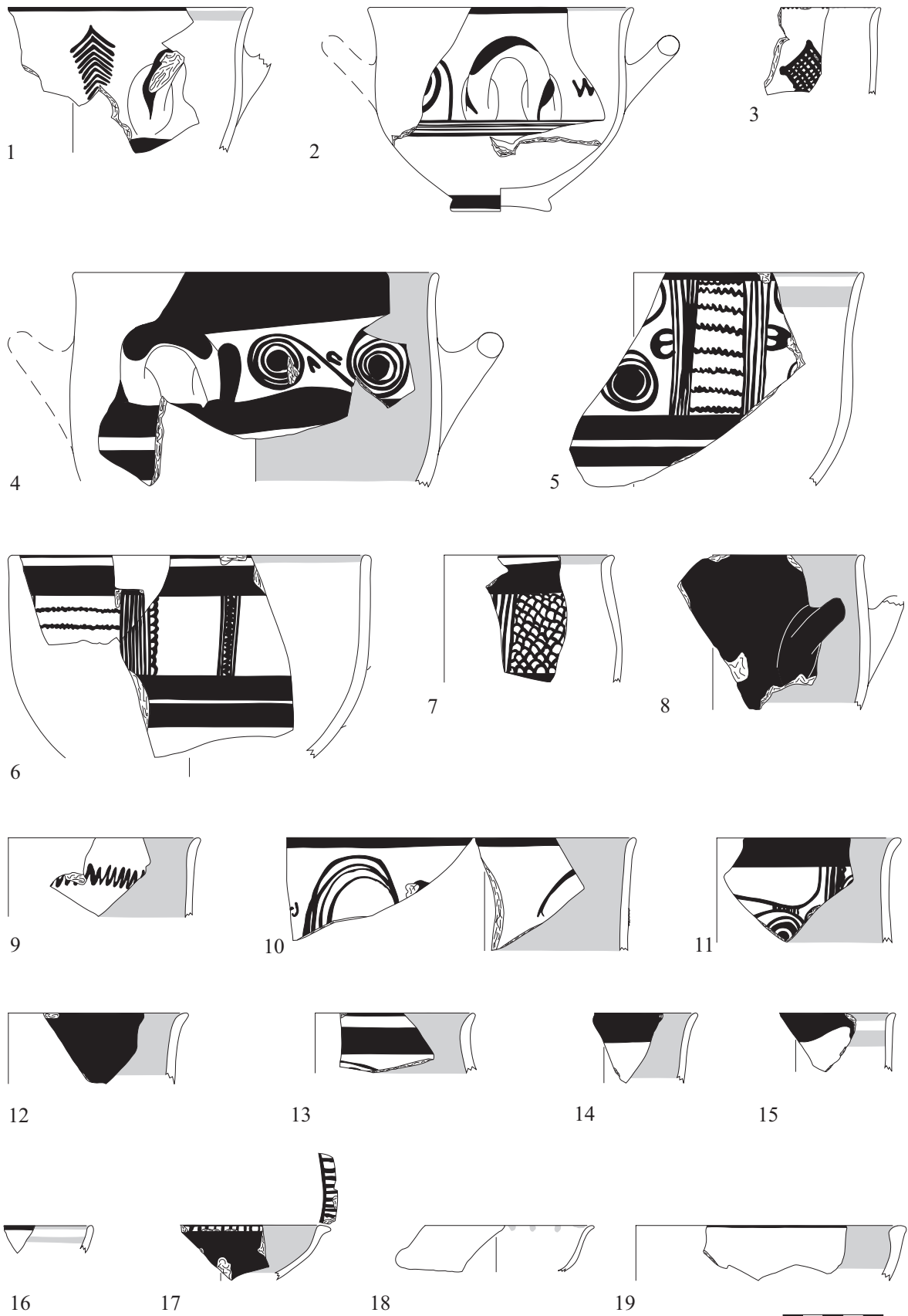


Fig. 5 LH III B Final: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (1, 3–4, 8–19: drawings S. Wirghová; 2, 5, 7: drawings R. Tsembera; 6: Kilian's excavation archive; digitization S. Wirghová).

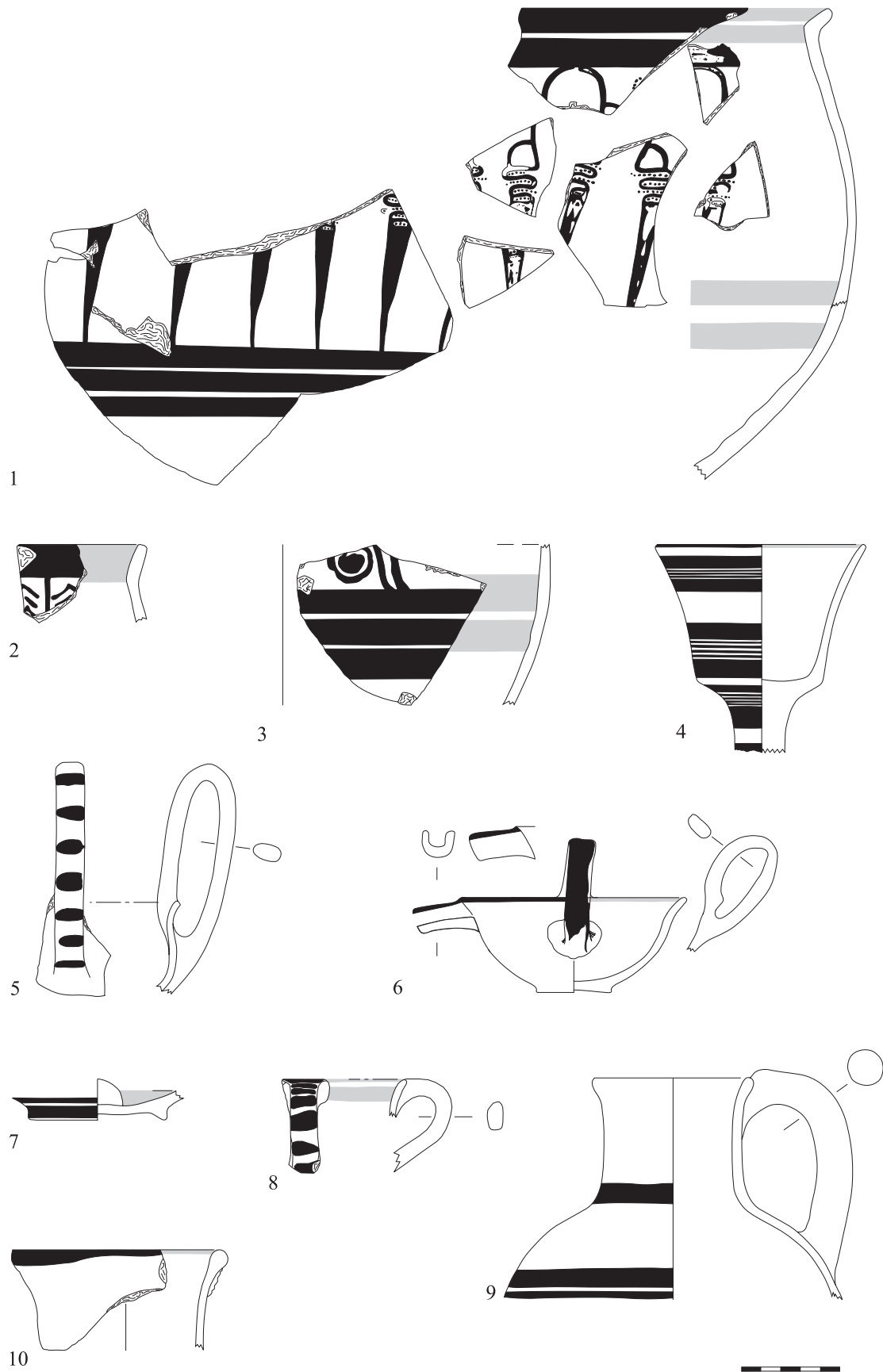


Fig. 6 LH IIIB Final: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (1–3, 5–7, 10: drawings S. Wirghová; 4, 8: drawings R. Tsembera; 9: Kilian's excavation archive; digitization S. Wirghová).

monochrome interior (Fig. 5.9–10) and a rosette deep bowl are earlier shapes that are still present (Fig. 5.3). The Group C deep bowl (Fig. 5.11), deep bowl SB<sup>46</sup> (Fig. 5.13), medium band cup FS 215 (Fig. 5.14)<sup>47</sup> and deep semi-globular cup FS 215<sup>48</sup> (linear, Figs. 5.15; 6.8) together with the already mentioned Group B deep bowl were recognized as new shapes in the ceramic repertory. According to Vitale, linear decorated shapes seem to be more typical for the LH IIIB Final phase than for LH IIIB Developed.<sup>49</sup> A new technological feature is a reserved circle in the center base on deep bowls with monochrome interior (Fig. 6.7). A monochrome deep bowl FS 284, described as a problematic form for this period by Stockhammer,<sup>50</sup> was identified as well (Fig. 5.12). One conical linear painted rim (Fig. 5.16) comes from a deep conical bowl FS 242 or a conical kylix FS 274. It remains questionable whether this is the older or the newer type, since a similar rim was also found in the LH IIIB Early–Middle. In the material from the Western Staircase, this shape is found only in Zone 1 (LH IIIC Early 1).<sup>51</sup> Reliable examples of this form come from LH IIIC Early.<sup>52</sup> The repertory of shapes further includes the shallow globular bowl (probably FS 295B, Podzuweit's Type 1, Fig. 5.17), the dipper FS 236 (Fig. 6.5), the krater FS 7–9 (Fig. 6.2) and the ring-based krater FS 281 (Fig. 6.1,<sup>53</sup> 3). A small open vessel with dotted rim was classified as a shallow cup FS 220 or dipper FS 236 (Fig. 5.18). The basin FS 294 with monochrome interior was attested as well (Fig. 5.19) and since we have no examples of this shape from previous phases in the studied material, its first appearance remains unclear. A well-preserved stemmed bowl FS 305 (Fig. 5.6) found in the Passageway attests to the continuity of this shape in this phase<sup>54</sup> together with two other examples, one of them monochrome (Fig. 5.7–8). Another well-preserved large Group A deep bowl found in the fill of Room 1/02 comes from this phase (Fig. 5.5). For the following LH IIIC Early phases 1 and 2, this type of deep bowl was not reliably identified in this material, which stands in contrast to the number of large Group A deep bowls in Zone 1 in the Western Staircase, where this type has its peak.<sup>55</sup>

Regarding closed shapes, the amphora with hollowed rim<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 6.10) and the collar-necked jar (FS 63 and FS 64,<sup>57</sup> Fig. 7.2–3) were introduced in this phase. Also, amphoriskoi (Fig. 7.4) seem to appear as a new type in this phase, though this might not be the final conclusion and further research is needed. In situ finds from Room 78c are a strainer jug FS 155 with a pictorial decoration (Fig. 7.8) and an amphora/jug/hydria (Fig. 7.1). From Kilian's excavation comes a well-preserved example of a jug FS 110<sup>58</sup> (Fig. 6.9, area of Room 78c). A body fragment decorated with side triglyph with wavy line FM 53 and probably chevron FM 58 (Fig. 7.5) most probably

<sup>46</sup> Because of its diameter, 16cm, I decided not to classify this vessel as a large Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior.

<sup>47</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 113–114, Beil. 56, saw the beginning of medium band cups in LH IIIB Developed. See also the discussion on medium band cups in Kardamaki 2009, 243–244.

<sup>48</sup> Diameter 10cm.

<sup>49</sup> Vitale 2006, 197–199, tab. 1.

<sup>50</sup> Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 52–53.

<sup>51</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 257, pl. 29.619–621.

<sup>52</sup> See Kardamaki 2009, 258 n. 688.

<sup>53</sup> The ring-based krater with vertical, filled whorl shells FM 23 (fig. 6.1) has joins from a LH IIIB Final context together with the LH IIIC Early 1 pit Befund-Nr. 123/02. These joins come from both excavations (2002 and 1982–1983). The assumption is that the sherds found in the mentioned pit are only cast ups from the LH IIIB Final layer and thus the krater is dated to LH IIIB Final. All whorl shells were originally completely filled. In the upper part, the slip is not so well-preserved.

<sup>54</sup> Found in the Passageway during Kilian's excavation.

<sup>55</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 220. A very plausible reason is the studied context, in which only finds from a pit Befund-Nr. 123/02 are available to study the earliest Post-palatial phase in the northern tip of the Lower Citadel.

<sup>56</sup> A bottom of a big amphora/jug/hydria was found in situ in the destruction horizon of Building XV (Maran 2008, 58, fig. 40).

<sup>57</sup> The smaller collar-necked jar FS 64 comes from Kilian's excavation from the Passageway.

<sup>58</sup> Diameter 8cm. The other side of the rim was not preserved and thus we do not know if there was another handle. Because of the diameter, the vessel was assigned to the smaller FS 110.



Fig. 7 LH III B Final: painted fine ware (10. non-stratified). Scale 1:3 (2, 4–7: drawings S. Wirghová; 1, 9–10: drawings R. Tsembera; 8: drawing B. Konnemann; 3: Kilian's excavation archive; digitization S. Wirghová).

comes from a narrow-necked jug FS 120.<sup>59</sup> A round stirrup jar comes from Room 78c (Fig. 7.7).<sup>60</sup> To make the picture of the ceramic repertory for this phase even more complete, a straight-sided alabastron FS 94, which originates from the destruction horizon of Room 4/01 in Building XV<sup>61</sup> (Fig. 7.9, another example on Fig. 7.6), has to be mentioned.

In the material from the LH III B Final phase, the following shapes were not identified in the material studied: deep bowls with monochrome interior and linear outside (FS 284) and medium

<sup>59</sup> One almost completely preserved jug FS 120 decorated with vertical whorl shells comes from Room 4/01 in Building XV (found in situ).

<sup>60</sup> This vessel has joins to the sherds found in Kilian's excavations. No in situ find.

<sup>61</sup> Maran 2008, 58, fig. 40.



band deep bowls (FS 284).<sup>62</sup> The deep semi-globular cup SB (FS 215), lip-band cup FS 215 or bowl<sup>63</sup> and carinated cup FS 240 were not attested in this phase either.

From the ceramic material, the LH IIIB Final period at Tiryns turned out to be the most interconnected phase, including long-distance contacts ranging from Aegina to the Near East. In the following section a brief overview of the foreign wares found at the northern tip of the Lower Citadel will be given.

### **Evidence of Foreign Contacts in the Ceramic Material from the Northern Tip of the Lower Citadel**

As one of the most important Mycenaean palaces, Tiryns was part of an international exchange network in the Late Bronze Age. During this period, there is evidence of ‘diplomatic embassies and royal exchanges in addition to low-level commercial activity, dispatching of troops’,<sup>64</sup> inter-dynastic marriages and the exchanging of ‘specialist personnel’.<sup>65</sup> The palaces also controlled the collection of taxes and tributes in the form of commodities.<sup>66</sup> Possibly luxuries and other exotic objects were also exchanged in the form of a gift.<sup>67</sup> Although wall brackets with their ‘origin in the Cypriot or Levantine region’<sup>68</sup> could be considered such an exotic object, the two wall brackets found in Room 78a of Building XI and in the LH IIIB Final destruction horizon in the Passageway<sup>69</sup> are of local origin<sup>70</sup> and thus became a local interpretation of an originally exotic object.

According to the material presented in this paper, during the Palatial period the community of Tiryns maintained a vivid international goods exchange,<sup>71</sup> reaching from Aegina<sup>72</sup> in the west to

<sup>62</sup> See Kardamaki 2009, 233–234, for discussion on linear painted deep bowls. Her assumption that the beginning of the linear painted (medium band) deep bowls can be dated to LH IIIC Early seems to find support in the material presented here. This would correspond to the observations by Vitale, who considers lip band (medium band) and linear deep bowls with monochrome interior to ‘become very common’ in the early Post-palatial phase (Vitale 2006, 199). Podzuweit 2007, 49–50, Beil. 13, 33–34, saw the appearance of the medium band deep bowls and cups (decoration type 9.1) already in LH IIIB Final with a tendency towards more linear painted deep bowls in LH IIIC Early. In the general overview of diagnostic features for LH IIIB2 Late (LH IIIB Final) Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 51, lists medium band deep bowls as characteristic feature for this phase. In Phase 1 in the Northeastern Lower Town, the medium band deep bowl is attested (Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 137; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 20.418).

<sup>63</sup> The lip band cup as defined by Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 52, fig. 5, with a rim band less than 1 cm thick and monochrome interior (Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 78g [decoration type 9.2]).

<sup>64</sup> Cline 1999, 121; Cline 2003, 362–364.

<sup>65</sup> Sherratt – Sherratt 1991, 371.

<sup>66</sup> Sherratt – Sherratt 1991, 371.

<sup>67</sup> Cline 1999. Objects such as wall brackets could have been highly valued as exotic objects because of the ‘distance they were travelled’ (Cline 1999, 123). Contrary to this, based on its fabric, only one example from Tiryns could be considered imported. The other examples are local imitations with specific ideological value, used in households as religious ‘paraphernalia’ (Rahmstorf 2008, 110). Such objects were used as lamps, lamp holders or incense burners (‘Räuchergefäße’), as suggested by the burn marks on some of them (Cline 1999, 120; Rahmstorf 2008, 109). The number of wall brackets with burn marks is quite small, so it was not necessary that the liquid (oil, well-scented essences) or incense (‘Räucherkügelchen’) was burnt (Rahmstorf 2008, 109).

<sup>68</sup> See the discussion on their origin in Maran 2004, 11–12.

<sup>69</sup> Maran 2004, 13–14, 17, figs. 5–9; Maran 2008, 51, 56, figs. 27, 36–37.

<sup>70</sup> Maran 2008, 12; Rahmstorf 2008, 108, 110–111.

<sup>71</sup> For Canaanite jars the assumption is that ‘commodities once contained, transported, or stored in these jars were wine, ale, beans, beer, curds, fat, fish, fowl, fruit, grain, honey, meat, milk, mutton, oil, eyepaint, gum, incense, myrrh, purple dye, and unguent’ (Leonard 1996, 251). Chemical analysis of the organic residues in Canaanite jars has identified different species of *Pistacia* (Knapp 1991; Serpico – White 2000).

<sup>72</sup> In the studied material, the only evidence of contacts with Aegina during LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early phases are the cooking pots found. Although there were some Aeginetan pottery shapes of a fine ware recognized in the studied material, these seem to be cast ups from LH IIIA or even older phases.

Crete in the south, as well as to Kythera, the islands of the Dodecanese, Cyprus and the Levant in the east.

	LH IIIB Early–Middle	LH IIIB Developed	LH IIIB Final	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Cretan-type stirrup jar		X	<u>X</u>	X	X
Coarse wares from Kythera	X	X	<u>X</u>	X	
Import Cyprus			<u>X</u>		
Canaanite amphora			<u>X</u>		
Aeginetan cooking ware	<u>X</u>	X	X	X	X
Import Dodecanese (Kos)			<u>X</u>		

Tab. 4 Evidence of foreign ceramic wares in the area of the northern tip of the Lower Citadel throughout the Palatial and early Post-palatial periods (X – at least one diagnostic sherd of a foreign ware found in the phase; X – found in situ).

As shown in Tab. 4, according to the studied material, contacts with Aegina and Kythera were first attested in LH IIIB Early–Middle. In this phase, Aeginetan cooking pots with gold mica<sup>73</sup> and a coarse ware with a dense concentration of silver mica (muscovite) in the clay were attested. This feature is known in the pottery from the Cyclades and Kythera.<sup>74</sup> Based on parallels from Kythera, both micaceous wares presented here were assigned to this region. The best evidence of a Kytheran ware with applied vertical coils with notched impressions comes from LH IIIB Developed out of a fill from under Room 4/01 in Building XV (Fig. 8.1).<sup>75</sup> A very similar Kytheran coarse ware pithos from Kommos dated to LH IIIB was published by Jeremy Rutter.<sup>76</sup>

Another example of a coarse ware vessel from Kythera containing silver mica, painted light-on-dark (Fig. 8.2), was uncovered in Room 78a in Building XI and dates to LH IIIB Final.<sup>77</sup> This ware was already attested in LH IIIB Early–Middle from the area of Building XV and sporadically also in the Post-palatial layers. Although a relatively well-preserved rim with silver mica and a pale colored stripe under the rim dated to architectural Phase 4 of the LH IIIC sequence (LH IIIC Advanced) was found in the area of Building XV,<sup>78</sup> it cannot be excluded that the rim is a cast up from the Palatial period. From the Northeastern Lower Town (Phase 1, LH IIIC

<sup>73</sup> See also below, section ‘Local and Aeginetan Cooking Wares of the Palatial and Early Post-Palatial Periods’, where the presence of Aeginetan cooking ware is discussed in more detail for all other studied phases as well. At Kolonna, Aegina, a macroscopic group MG 1 was identified by Gauß – Kiriati 2011, 47–48, tab. 12, as a local cooking ware characterized by golden, black, sparkling, and chalky-white inclusions. For a detailed macroscopic description of Aeginetan fabrics see Maran 1992, 323–328.

<sup>74</sup> See Coldstream 1972. Hilditch 2008, 111, 290, characterized the raw material clay deposits found in the western Cycladic islands such as Kea, Siphnos, Seriphos and even on the Attic coast as ‘red, mica-rich fabrics from the metamorphic deposits’. For micaceous fabrics from Attica see Gilstrap et al. 2016, 503–504. See also the results of petrographic analysis of MM pottery found on Cycladic islands, especially micaceous Macroscopic Groups C and G and Fabric C (Hilditch 2008, 146–147). Petrographic analysis of transport stirrup jars conducted by Peter Day on Cretan and other stirrup jars from different geographical regions identified Fabric Group 24, characterized by ‘dominant inclusions of laths of white mica (probably *muscovite*)’ and other minerals, to be a local Kytheran fabric (Haskell et al. 2011, 76). For Kytheran fabrics represented in the group of the transport stirrup jars imported to Tiryns see Kardamaki et al. 2016, 151, fig. 3.

<sup>75</sup> Body fragments of this Kytheran coarse ware with mostly plastic decoration were also found in the Post-palatial phases (Phases 2–5) in the northern tip of the Lower Citadel, but none of them is as well preserved as the example from LH IIIB Developed published here.

<sup>76</sup> He also mentions another such pithos of an even larger size from Pylos (Rutter 2005, 35–36, fig. 8). This kind of plastic decoration was also attested on coarse ware vessels from Kythera, in Deposit ρ dated to LH IIIA2–B1 (Coldstream 1972, 159, pl. 43.74). For further examples see Rutter 2005, 36.

<sup>77</sup> Coarse ware cooking vessels characterized by micaceous inclusions, red clay and white paint coming from Kythera were found in Deposit ρ dated to LH IIIA2–B1 (Coldstream 1972, 157–158, pl. 43.51–52).

<sup>78</sup> Befund-Nr. 33/01, Floor IIIA.

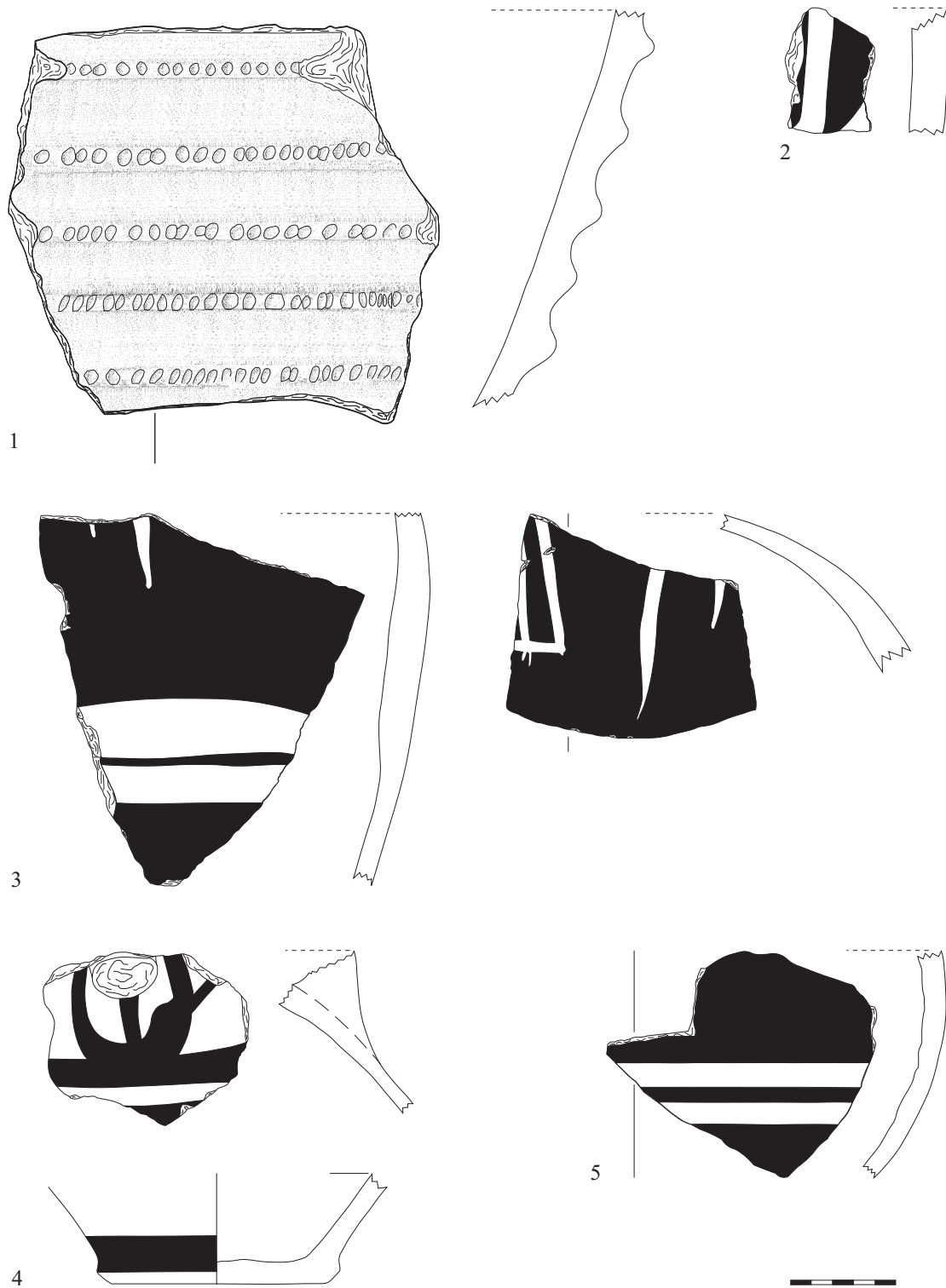


Fig. 8 1–2. Kytheran coarse ware pithoi; 3–5. Cretan-type stirrup jars. Scale 1:3  
(2–4: drawings S. Wirghová; 1, 5: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

Early 1–2) only one body fragment of probably Cycladic or Kytheran coarse ware with an octopus decoration was published.<sup>79</sup> Other vessel fragments with a high ratio of silver mica were attested

<sup>79</sup> Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 152; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 40.972.

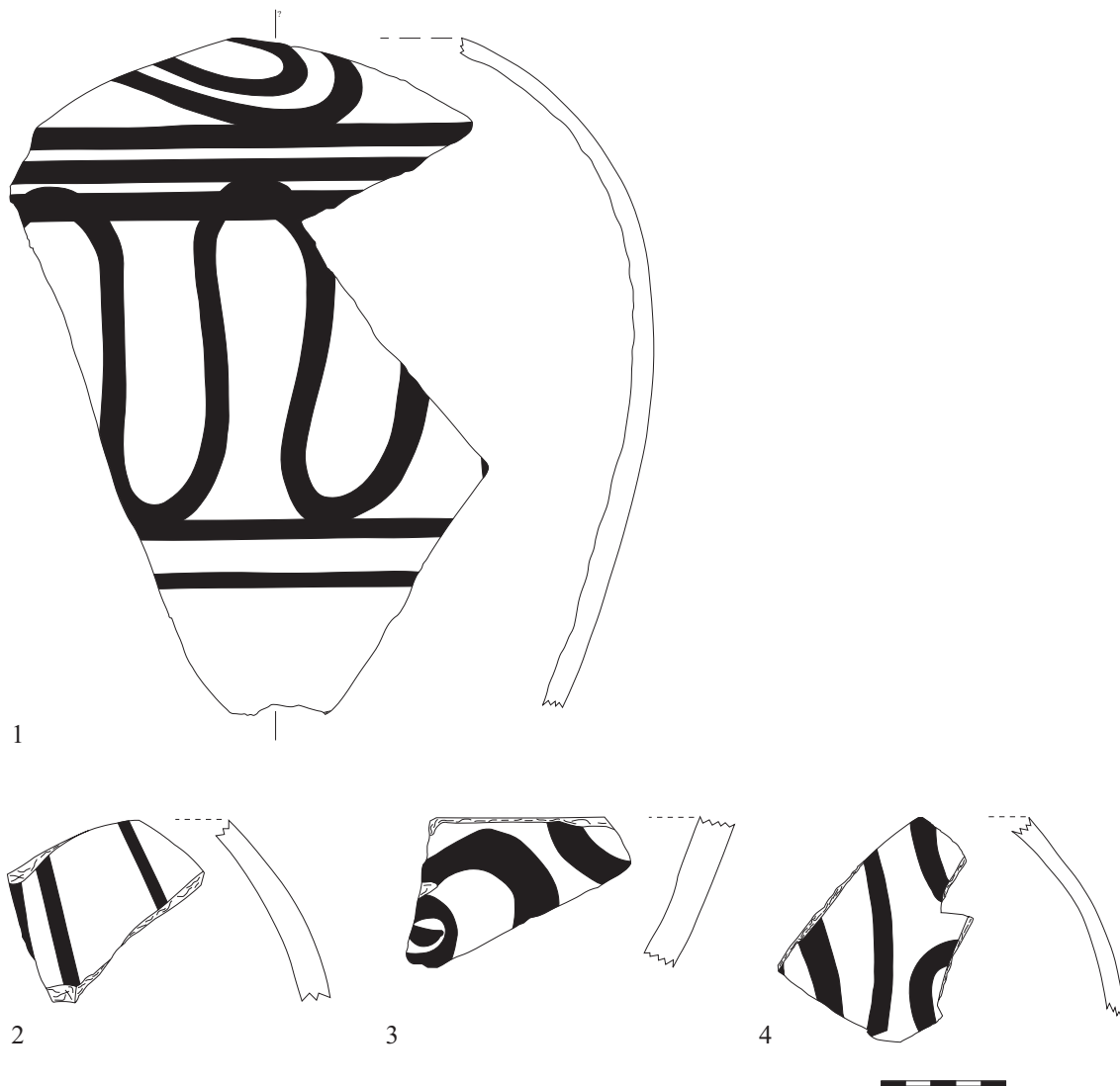


Fig. 9 Cretan-type stirrup jars. Scale 1:3 (1: drawing R. Tsembera; 2–4: drawings S. Wirghová; digitization S. Wirghová).

in Phase 2 (LH IIIC Early 2).<sup>80</sup> I assume that, similarly to the Cretan-type stirrup jars,<sup>81</sup> these Kytheran coarse wares were present only during the Palatial period or slightly beyond (LH IIIC Early 1).

Cretan-type<sup>82</sup> and/or Cretan-provenance stirrup jars were already recognized in LH IIIB Developed layers.<sup>83</sup> Two body fragments, probably of the same vessel with Linear B signs (Fig. 8.3),

<sup>80</sup> Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 190; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 63.1384. After Phase 2 in the Northeastern Lower Town the origin of all other fragments with much silver mica in the clay was hypothetically assigned to the Eastern Aegean. I was not able to find any Cycladic sherd with plastic decoration in the catalogue published by Stockhammer (2008, vol. 2).

<sup>81</sup> Maran 2005.

<sup>82</sup> Petrographic analyses undertaken by Day on coarse stirrup jars from the Argolid proves that many vessels were produced locally, although morphological, decorative and production technique features would categorize them as Cretan. For a short comment on the fabric of the locally produced transport stirrup jars see Kardamaki et al. 2016, 150.

<sup>83</sup> Only one dark-on-light body fragment and one handle of probably the same ware dated to LH IIIB Developed come from the area under Building XI. More evidence of this ware in this early phase comes from the area of Building XV (all fragments are of the dark-on-light type). From LH IIIB Early–Middle there is no evidence of Cretan-type stirrup jars in the studied area (not even in the area of Building XV).

were discovered in the LH IIIB Developed fill under Room 3/01 in Building XV.<sup>84</sup> In LH IIIB Final two types of these jars existed in parallel: the dark-on-light version<sup>85</sup> (Fig. 8.4) and the light-on-dark version (Fig. 8.5). One well-preserved jar with a typical octopus decoration comes from the Passageway; it was discovered during the 1982–1983 campaign (Figs. 9.1; 11.1) and dates to LH IIIB Final. These foreign vessels were also attested sporadically in the early Post-palatial period from the pit Befund-Nr. 123/02 dated to LH IIIC Early 1 (Fig. 9.2–3) and the pit Grube 3/03 dated to LH IIIC Early 2 (Fig. 9.4). As discussed by Maran,<sup>86</sup> evidence from the Northeastern and Northwestern Lower Town suggests continuity of Cretan-type stirrup jars until the end of the LH IIIC Early phase. The latest petrographic analyses of light-on-dark and dark-on-light stirrup jars from Tiryns identified two main regions of origin for these vessels: Chania and western Mesara.<sup>87</sup> According to the chemical and petrographic analysis, the Cretan-type stirrup jar with an unusual geometric decoration from Room 78a dated to LH IIIB Final<sup>88</sup> (Figs. 10.4; 11.2) turned out to be a vessel produced on the Greek mainland (Argolid).<sup>89</sup>

The petrographic analysis of two transport vessels with a black metallic slip on their surface dated to LH IIIB Final (Figs. 10.1–2; 12.1–2) showed that the origin of these vessels should probably be sought in the Dodecanese, most likely on the island of Kos.<sup>90</sup> One hydria and one amphora of this foreign ware were uncovered in the destruction layer in the Passageway,<sup>91</sup> together with another hydria (Figs. 10.3; 13.1) of red clay with black slip and gold mica in the clay. Gold mica is mainly known from Aegina, but also on the island of Kos.<sup>92</sup> One can assume that the presence of this mineral may suggest that the hydria probably comes from Kos, like the other two vessels.

There is rather limited evidence of Cypriote pottery in the excavations at the northern tip of the Lower Citadel. According to Maran, the neck of a large jug<sup>93</sup> also dated to the final Palatial phase (Figs. 10.5; 13.2), which probably had a transport function, could be such an example.<sup>94</sup>

Fragments from Canaanite jars were attested in the Passageway. Besides one already published base<sup>95</sup> and a partly preserved Canaanite jar with Cypro-Minoan post-firing signs on the handle,<sup>96</sup> in 2002 the rim and other body fragments with the second handle coming from the same vessel (Fig. 13.3) were discovered in the southern part of the Passageway, next to the vessels

<sup>84</sup> Maran 2008, 49, fig. 23.

<sup>85</sup> See also a Cretan-type stirrup jar from Building XV (LH IIIB Final) in Maran 2008, figs. 40, 42; Maran 2005, 417–418, fig. 1.1. Quite large body fragments of a Cretan-type stirrup jar (Befund-Nr. 8/02) were found on Floor IVf, Room 4/01 in Building XV.

<sup>86</sup> Maran 2005, 419–420. See also Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 216.

<sup>87</sup> Kardamaki et al. 2016.

<sup>88</sup> Maran 2008, 51–52, fig. 28.

<sup>89</sup> Information provided by Peter Day and Eleftheria Kardamaki. An additional rim with attached handle and false neck was found during the 2005 campaign during the preparation for the conservation works in the area of Building XI led by Melissa Vetter.

<sup>90</sup> Information provided by Day and Kardamaki. For Koan fabrics represented in the group of the transport stirrup jars imported to Tiryns see Kardamaki et al. 2016, 151, fig. 2.

<sup>91</sup> Maran 2008, 56, fig. 35.

<sup>92</sup> Information by Toulia Marketou. See also Marthari et al. 1990 on the analysis of LB I vessels with gold mica found at Akrotiri, Thera, originally coming from Kos. Gold mica is also known from Troy ‘as an indication of a local provenance’ (for example B-Troy chemical group found among others on Lesbos and Kos) (Mountjoy 2017, 18, 20, fig. 167).

<sup>93</sup> The following observations were made on the fabric of this coarse ware jug: the rough surface is of very pale brown color outside (10YR 8/2, 2.5Y 8/3) and pink inside (7.5YR 7.4; Munsell Soil Color Chart 2009), on the surface very few silver mica particles; 4% very small to small white bright particles (quartz?), 1% very small to small not bright black elements.

<sup>94</sup> Maran 2008, 58–59, figs. 40–41. The jug is one of the vessels found in the LH IIIB Final destruction horizon of Room 4/01 in Building XV.

<sup>95</sup> One of them is the bottom of a Canaanite jar from the so-called ‘Torkammer’ already published by Kilian (1988, fig. 24.7). Based on the most up-to-date knowledge of the stratigraphy, this vessel comes from a LH IIIC Advanced layer, Hor. 21a0–21b0 in the North Gate (chronology by Mühlenbruch 2013), but we are probably dealing with a cast up, allowing the vessel to be dated to LH IIIB Final together with the wall fragment presented here (fig. 10.6) and with the Canaanite jar with Cypro-Minoan post-firing signs (fig. 13.3) (Davis et al. in press).

<sup>96</sup> Kilian 1988, 108; Olivier 1988, 255, 266–267, figs. 2.13; 5.13; Cline 1994, 171 no. 316; Hirschfeld 1999, 72, tab. 3.2.

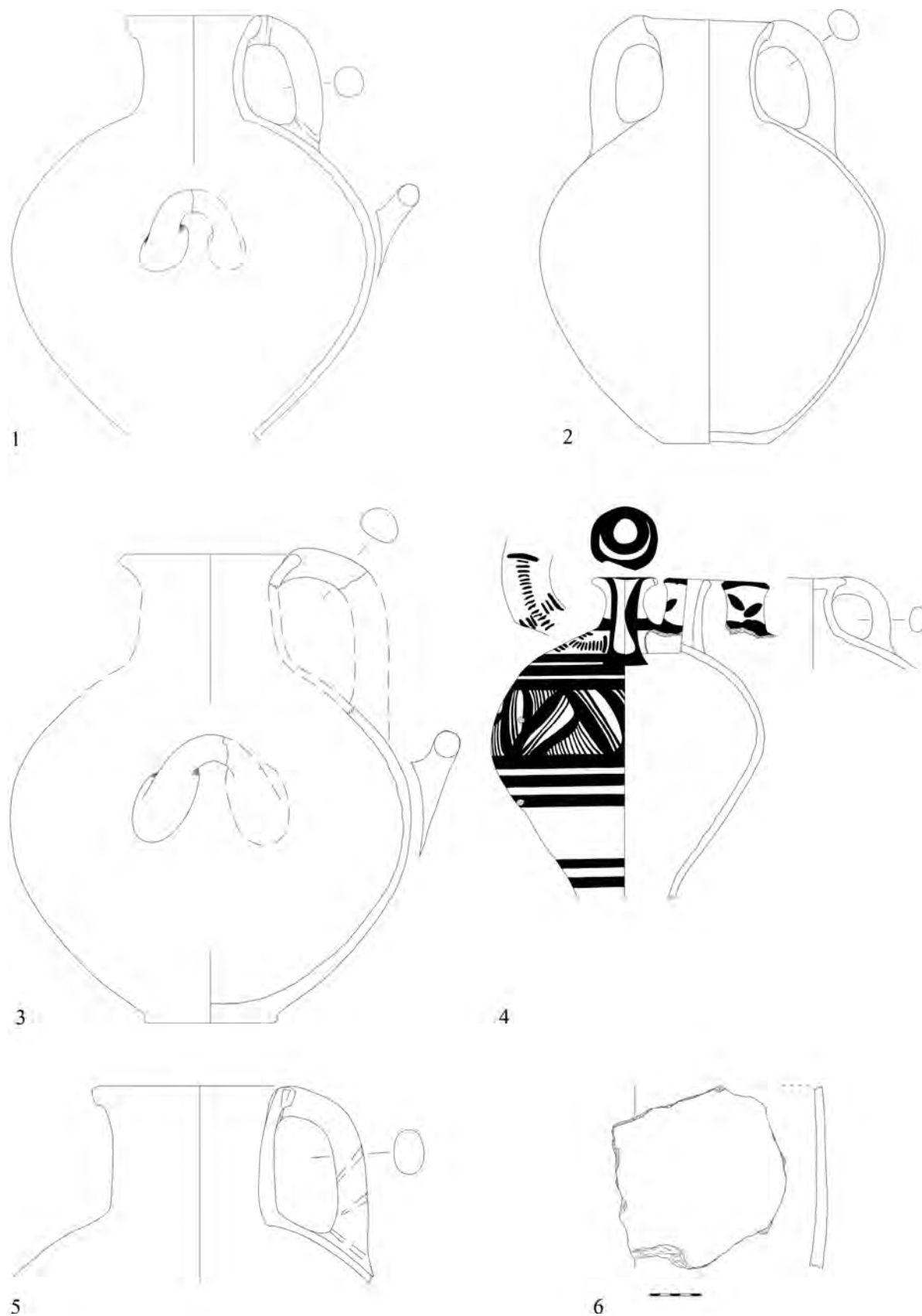


Fig. 10 1–3. Transport vessels from the Dodecanese; 4. local transport stirrup jar; 5. coarse ware jug from Cyprus; 6. Canaanite jar. Scale 1:6 (1–3: drawings B. Konnemann; 4: drawing R. Tsembera and Kilian's excavation archive; 5–6: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).



Fig. 11 Cretan-type stirrup jars. 1. Scale 1:3; 2. Scale 1:6 (photos M. Kostoula).



Fig. 12 Transport vessels from the Dodecanese. Scale 1:6 (photos M. Kostoula).





Fig. 13 1. Transport vessel from the Dodecanese; 2. coarse ware jug from Cyprus; 3. Canaanite transport jar.  
Scale 1:6 (photos M. Kostoula).

from the Dodecanese.<sup>97</sup> The newly uncovered handle was again marked with one Cypro-Minoan post-firing sign.<sup>98</sup> Somewhat more to the south of the Passageway, another body sherd of a coarse Canaanite jar was discovered (Fig. 10.6). According to the stratigraphy, this vessel is dated to LH IIIB Developed–Final. Recently undertaken petrographic analysis provided more precise information on the origin of this vessel, identifying it to be an import from the North Lebanon region (Akkar on the Syrian border).<sup>99</sup> The ongoing study showed that the Canaanite jar with Cypro-Minoan post-firing signs (Fig. 13.3) and the bottom found during Kilian’s excavation in the ‘Torkammer’ are fragments of the same vessel. Although both vessels are of Canaanite type, different macroscopic descriptions for Fig. 13.3 and Fig. 10.6 mean that we cannot assume that they come from the same vessel. To conclude that they come from the same region is in my opinion rather difficult, and further analysis and research needs to be carried out.<sup>100</sup>

### Painted Fine Ware of the Early Post-Palatial Period

As mentioned above, the early Post-palatial period is represented by two pits (Befund-Nr. 123/02 and Grube 3/03). According to the stratigraphy, Befund-Nr. 123/02 predates the pit Grube 3/03. As shown in this section, the pottery supports the observations concluded through stratigraphy.

The linear shallow angular bowl FS 295A is mentioned by Stockhammer<sup>101</sup> as a new shape in the LH IIIC Early 1 phase. In Befund-Nr. 123/02 it was not possible to identify this type. The conical kylix or conical bowl (FS 274 or FS 242) with linear decoration inside and out was not identified,<sup>102</sup> but one preserved conical rim seems to be completely monochrome (Fig. 14.1). Another conical rim comes from a possible conical bowl decorated with a triangular patch hanging from the rim (Fig. 14.2).<sup>103</sup> In this phase the deep semi-globular cup with dotted rim FS 215 was attested (Fig. 14.3). Furthermore, a possible linear deep bowl with a rim band inside (Fig. 14.5) and a lip band cup/bowl with a monochrome interior were identified (Fig. 14.4). The possible lip band cup/bowl might represent a new decoration type in this Post-palatial phase.<sup>104</sup> In addition, we also find here the well-known shapes: Group A (Fig. 14.6), Group A with monochrome interior (Fig. 14.7), Group B<sup>105</sup> (Fig. 14.11), rosette deep bowl (Fig. 14.8) and two types of stemmed bowl FS 305: one with bands inside and another one monochrome (Fig. 14.9–10). Kraters

<sup>97</sup> Maran 2008, 56, fig. 35.

<sup>98</sup> Davis et al. in press.

<sup>99</sup> Day et al. 2020, 49, 54, tab. 6 (sample T112, Fabric E).

<sup>100</sup> Davis et al. in press. See Day et al. 2020, for the analysis on Canaanite jars mainly from the Upper Citadel that provide evidence for a wider range of provenances and production centers for these vessels.

<sup>101</sup> Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 55.

<sup>102</sup> In the material from the Northeastern Lower Town at Tiryns the linear painted conical kylix/bowl was attested in Phase 1 (LH IIIC Early 1–2) (Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 132, 157–158; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 12.225–235). Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 55, listed this shape under the questionable shapes for the LH IIIC Early 1 phase. Kardamaki 2009, 257, pl. 29.619–621, published some examples of FS 242 or FS 274 from her Zone 1 in the Western Staircase and thus dated them to LH IIIC Early 1 (Kardamaki 2009, 397).

<sup>103</sup> A similar rim with a joining semicircles motif from Zone 1 (i.e. the LH IIIC Early 1 layer) in the Western Staircase was published by Kardamaki 2009, 257, pl. 29.618) Another example of a decorated conical bowl with vertical wavy lines FM 53 was found in the Tiryns *Επίχουσις* (Voigtländer 2003, pl. 118.SC 32) and at Midea (Trench Na, Stratum 5) with ‘a pattern that resembles a ladder’ (Giering 1998, 129, pl. 85.605), the latter certainly, the former possibly, dated to LH IIIB Final.

<sup>104</sup> According to Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 52, the beginning of the lip band cup is not clearly defined, probably LH IIIB Final. Lip band deep bowls FS 284 were already attested in the Northeastern Lower Town Phase 1 (Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 137; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pls. 17.326; 22.453) together with lip band cups FS 215 (Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 130; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 10.166–168). Medium band cups are securely found in Zone 1 in the Western Staircase, some of them with a lip band up to 1.49cm, decoration type 15 (Kardamaki 2009, 242, pl. 27.573, 577).

<sup>105</sup> The Group B deep bowl on fig. 14.11 has a rim band of 2.4cm and thus should be assigned to Group C of deep bowls, but because of the diameter of 21–22cm this piece falls into Group B.

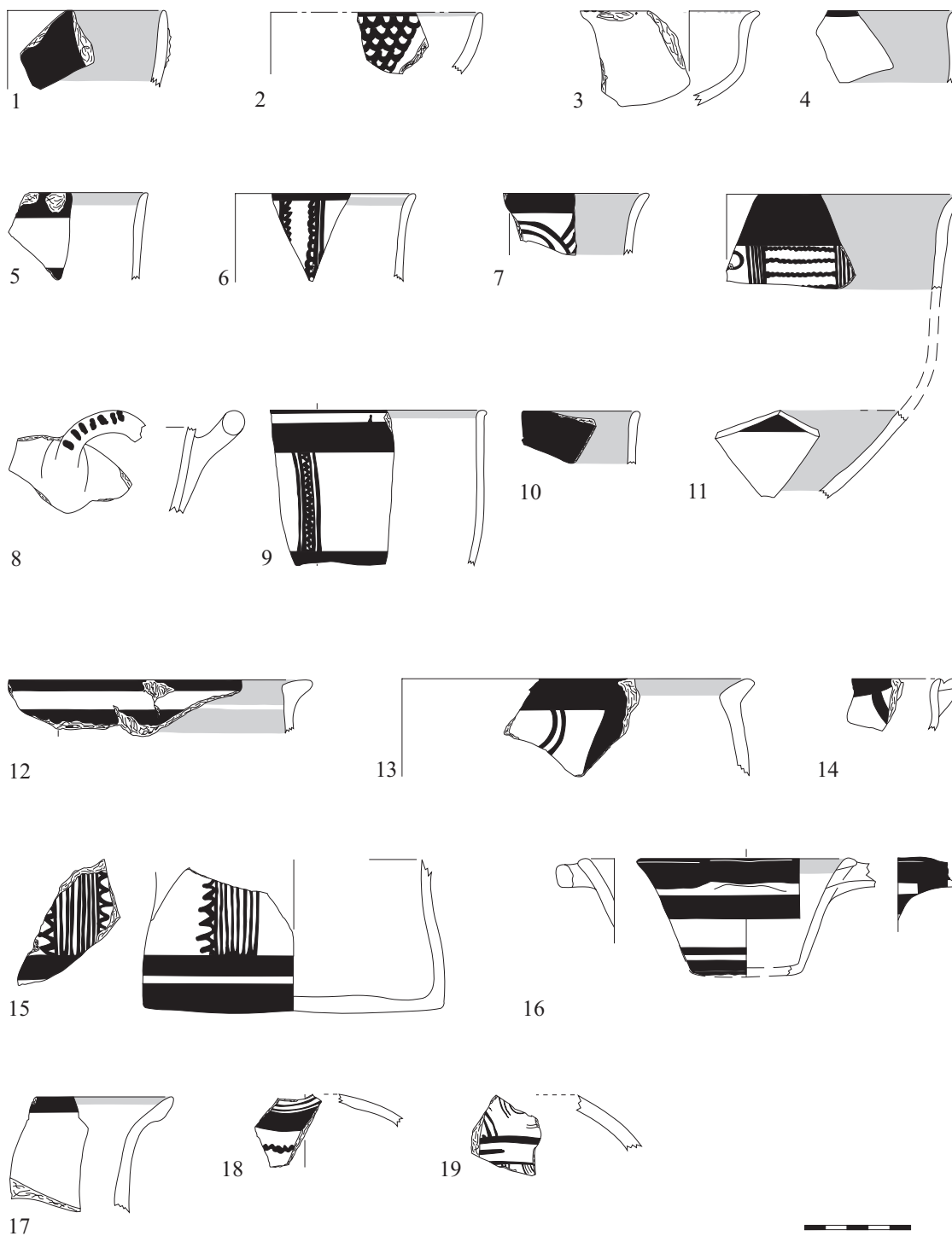


Fig. 14 LH IIIc Early 1: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (1, 5, 12–13, 15, 17–18: drawings R. Tsembera; 2–4, 6–11, 14, 16, 19: drawings S. Wirghová; digitization S. Wirghová).

(Fig. 14.12–13), mugs FS 226 (Fig. 14.15), basins FS 294, a spouted bowl FS 288 or FS 289 (Fig. 14.14) and a spouted conical bowl FS 301 (Fig. 14.16) are present in this phase as well.

The amphoriskos FS 59 with a horizontal wavy line (FM 53:17, Fig. 14.18); large, closed shapes with a hollowed rim<sup>106</sup> (Fig. 14.17) and stirrup jars (Fig. 14.19) were still present in this phase.

<sup>106</sup> Closed forms without a hollowed rim are present in this phase as well.

When observing the spectrum of shapes in LH IIIB Final and LH IIIC Early 1, it is obvious that many shapes continued until this phase (Tabs. 2–3). There was only one rim of a Group B deep bowl attested; the deep bowl SB and Group C deep bowl could not be recognized in this early LH IIIC phase. This might be due to the fact that these shapes are relatively rare even in LH IIIB Final. Stockhammer considers the Group B deep bowl to be still popular in the Early LH IIIC Phase.<sup>107</sup> Conversely, Vitale sees the Group B and rosette deep bowls as non-existent in this phase.<sup>108</sup> In the ceramic material from the area of the Western Staircase, the Group B deep bowl is found in higher numbers in Zone 2 (LH IIIB Final). In LH IIIC Early, this shape seems to be rare.<sup>109</sup> Based on the material studied here, it is not possible to say whether the Group B deep bowl also continued to be produced in LH IIIC Early, or if the piece mentioned here is just a cast up coming from an older layer. In this phase we miss the carinated cup FS 240 as well as the shallow angular bowl FS 295A, thus dating Befund-Nr. 123/02 to LH IIIC Early 1.

The pit Grube 3/03 was smaller compared to Befund-Nr. 123/02. The number of diagnostic pieces was only approximately one third of that of the bigger pit. Nevertheless, it was possible to identify completely new shapes appearing in this phase: the carinated cup FS 240 (Fig. 15.1), the medium band deep bowl (FS 284, Fig. 15.2) and a conical kylix FS 274 with monochrome interior (Fig. 15.3). There is one linear rim, probably from a shallow angular bowl FS 295C (Fig. 15.4). According to Stockhammer, the chronological appearance of this shape is not yet clarified,<sup>110</sup> but looking at the material studied here, this shape seems to begin already in a later stage of LH IIIC Early. The Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior was also recognized in this period (Fig. 15.5).<sup>111</sup> Group C deep bowls were not directly identified, but might have been used continuously, since rims categorized as Group C or medium band deep bowl were still attested (Fig. 15.7).<sup>112</sup> According to the results presented here, it seems that the medium band bowl is very rare and probably became more popular in the Post-palatial period. One rare example of a possible linear rosette deep bowl with a rosette placed high under the rim (Fig. 15.8) comes from this phase. Group A deep bowls (Fig. 15.12), stemmed bowls (Fig. 15.10) and a conical kylix or conical bowl (FS 274 or FS 242, Fig. 15.9) were also found in the pit, together with a kalathos (Fig. 15.17), a ring-based krater FS 281 with a pictorial decoration (Fig. 15.14–15) and a basin FS 294 with monochrome interior (Fig. 15.11). Regarding the material presented here, it seems that only LH IIIB Final and LH IIIC Early 2 provided vessels with pictorial decoration. This would correspond to the observations from Mycenae, where this type of decoration was also attested in LH IIIC Early 2.<sup>113</sup> It is possible that rosette deep bowls continued until the later LH IIIC Early phase (Fig. 15.13).

Closed shapes are represented only by an amphora/jug/hydria (Fig. 15.18) and a globular stirrup jar (Fig. 15.19). Technological features like a monochrome interior and a reserved circle in the center base on deep bowls (Fig. 15.16) and hollowed rims on large, closed shapes also continued to be popular in this Post-palatial phase.

<sup>107</sup> Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 137.

<sup>108</sup> Vitale 2006, 199.

<sup>109</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 227, tabs. 5–6.

<sup>110</sup> Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 58. Podzuweit 2007, 80, Beil. 50, saw the beginning of these bowls in LH IIIB Final, but they became more common by LH IIIC Early 2. One rim fragment with handle of a possible shallow angular bowl 295A was found in a disturbed area of Zone 3 in the Western Staircase and thus no certain dating can be made. No such fragments were found in either Zone 1 or Zone 2 (Kardamaki 2009, 254–255). A shallow angular bowl probably assignable to FS 295A was recognized among the material of the Northeastern Lower Town only once in Phase 1 (Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 139; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 23.511). In Phase 2 of that area there is no example for either FS 295A or FS 295C (Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 162–164, 184).

<sup>111</sup> Another possible example of a deep bowl A with monochrome interior or medium band deep bowl is shown on fig. 15.6.

<sup>112</sup> Dated to Phase 2 and Phase 2 or 3 (LH IIIC Middle), there are two well-preserved rim fragments from a Group C deep bowl in the material from the northern tip of the Lower Citadel. This might be a sign that they were still produced in Phase 2 (LH IIIC Middle 1).

<sup>113</sup> French 2011, 83.

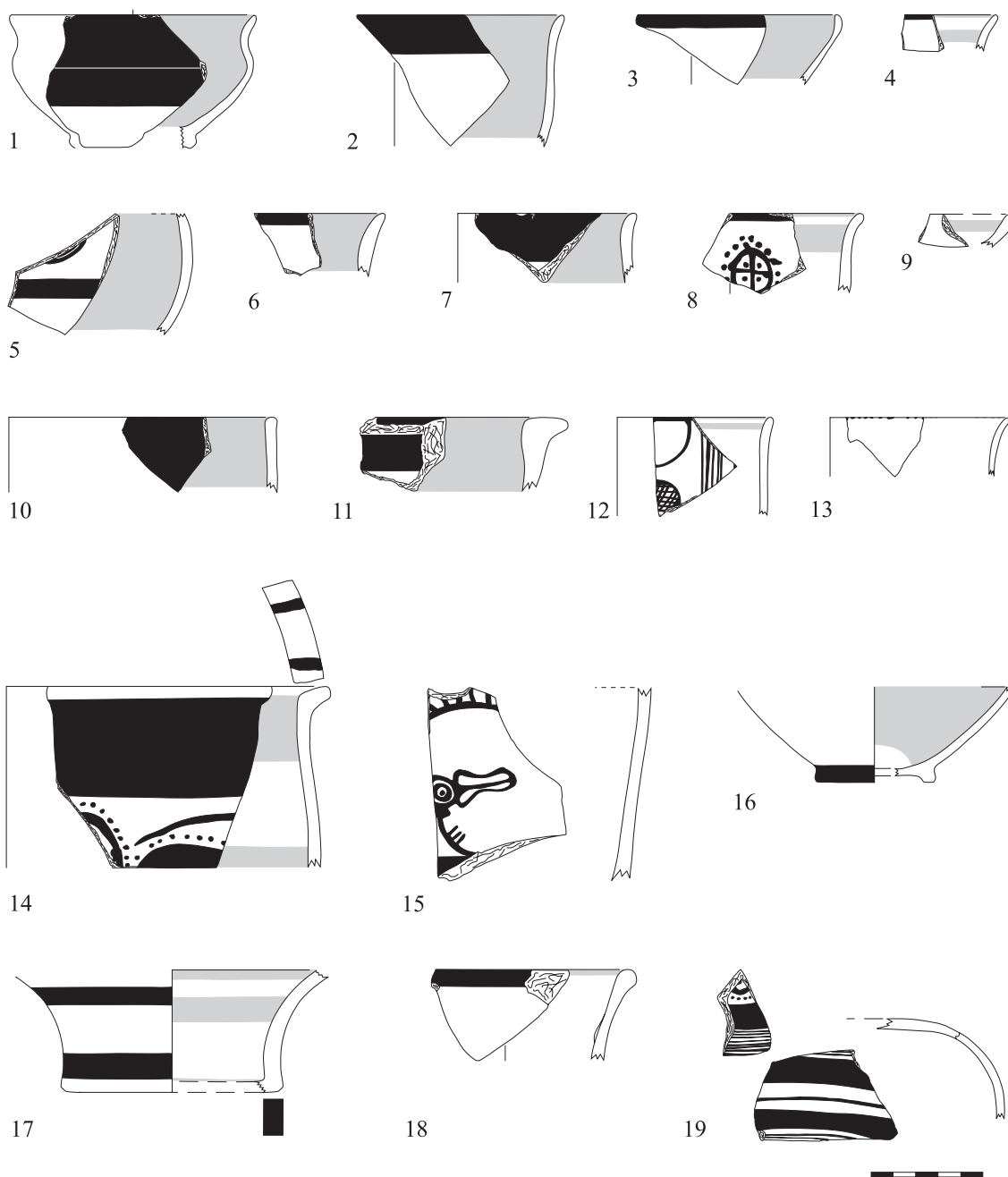


Fig. 15 LH III C Early 2: painted fine ware. Scale 1:3 (1–8, 10, 13, 15–16, 18–19: drawings S. Wirghová; 9, 11–12, 14, 17: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

The material from the pit Grube 3/03 does not include any of the typical LH III C Middle 1 ceramic shapes and features (FM 48 scroll on the large, closed shapes, conical kylix FS 274 with a stem swollen in the middle and ‘reserved band’ on the open shapes)<sup>114</sup> and thus still dates to LH III C Early 2.

<sup>114</sup> Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 60–61.

### Percentage of Deep and Stemmed Bowls

According to the available data (Tab. 5), it seems that the Group A deep bowl is the most popular type of deep bowl during LH IIIB Developed until LH IIIC Early 2 (Tab. 6). In LH IIIB Final, the Group A deep bowl is followed by the rosette and Group B deep bowls. When compared to stemmed bowls, stemmed bowls would become the second most popular type after the Group A deep bowl. It is possible that rosette deep bowls were also still more popular than Group B and Group C deep bowls in LH IIIC Early 1. The Group B deep bowl was attested in the LH IIIC Early 1 phase only once, compared to the previous phases with its possible peak in LH IIIB Final.<sup>115</sup> This does not correspond to the observation of Kardamaki for the material in other areas of the Tiryns Citadel.<sup>116</sup> The high percentage of linear painted deep bowls with monochrome or unpainted/linear painted interior from the Lower Citadel as presented by Podzuweit<sup>117</sup> finds no comparison in the material presented here. For LH IIIB Developed and Final it was very difficult to identify this type of decoration at all. The only clearly identifiable medium band deep bowl comes from LH IIIC Early 2 (Fig. 15.2) and one rim identified as a possible linear deep bowl with rim band inside was attested in LH IIIC Early 1 (Fig. 14.5). The tendency towards more linear decoration in LH IIIC Early as observed by Podzuweit can also be noted in the material from the northern tip of the Lower Citadel.<sup>118</sup> Although the number of sherds analyzed for LH IIIC Early 2 is very small, the tendency towards a larger number of Group A deep bowls with monochrome interior and medium band deep bowls was observed.

Form	LH IIIB Early–Middle	LH IIIB Developed	LH IIIB Final	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Deep bowl Group A	1	3+1*	69+14*	12+20*	15+1*
Deep bowl Group B	0	0+0*	6+2*	1+0*	0+0*
Deep bowl Group C	0	0+0*	1+1*	0+0*	0+0*
Large deep bowl Group A	0	0	3+0*	0+0*	0+0*
Deep bowl Group A with monochrome interior	0	1+0*	3+0*	1*	1**+0*
Rosette deep bowl	0	1+0*	8+2*	4*	2+1*
Deep bowl with wavy line	0	1+0*	0+0*	0+0*	0+0*
Medium band deep bowl	0	0+0*	0+0*	0+0*	1+0*
Deep bowl group SB	0	0+0*	1+0*	0+0*	0+0*
Possibly linear deep bowl	0	0+0*	0+0*	1+0*	0+0*
Stemmed bowl	2	2+0*	27+15*	13+3*	1+0*
Stemmed bowl monochrome	0	0+0*	6+2*	1+0*	1+0*
Total	3	9	160	56	23

Tab. 5 Number of rims of deep and stemmed bowls per chronological phase  
(\* – form only attested in the material from Klaus Kilian's excavations; \*\* – other than a rim fragment).

<sup>115</sup> It has to be emphasized that the total number of analyzed rims from LH IIIB Developed (9 versus 160 in LH IIIB Final, Tab. 5) was very small and this might be the reason for the absence of Group B deep bowls in the LH IIIB Developed phase in the studied material.

<sup>116</sup> For Tiryns, Kardamaki (2009, 227) sees the peak of Group B deep bowls in LH IIIB Developed. In the discussed material from the northern tip of the Lower Citadel (area of Building XI and the Passageway) no Group B deep bowl sherds were found in phase LH IIIB Middle–LH IIIB Developed, and only one wall fragment dated to LH IIIB Developed–Final could be assigned to this shape.

<sup>117</sup> Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 34. In this supplement Podzuweit provides statistics of painted deep bowls with motif and linear decoration for LH IIIB Developed, Final and LH IIIC Early. There is no subdivision of LH IIIC Early to Hor. 19a1 and 19b1 in these statistics.

<sup>118</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 50, Beil. 33–34. Kardamaki 2009, 234, made a similar observation regarding the Western Staircase.

Form	LH IIIB Early–Middle	LH IIIB Developed	LH IIIB Final	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Deep bowl Group A of total	33.33	44.44	51.88	57.14	69.57
Deep bowl Group B of total	0.00	0.00	5.00	1.79	0.00
Deep bowl Group C of total	0.00	0.00	1.25	0.00	0.00
Large deep bowl Group A of total	0.00	0.00	1.88	0.00	0.00
Deep bowl Group A with monochrome interior of total	0.00	11.11	1.88	1.79	4.35
Rosette deep bowl of total	0.00	11.11	6.25	7.14	13.04
Deep bowl with wavy line of total	0.00	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00
Medium band deep bowl of total	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.35
Deep bowl group SB of total	0.00	0.00	0.63	0.00	0.00
Possibly linear deep bowl of total	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.79	0.00
Stemmed bowl of total	66.67	22.22	26.25	28.57	4.35
Stemmed bowl monochrome of total	0.00	0.00	5.00	1.79	4.35

Tab. 6 Percentage of deep and stemmed bowls per chronological phase based on the count of rims as shown in Tab. 5.

### Unpainted Fine Ware of the Palatial and Early Post-Palatial Periods

In the Palatial period, but also in the early Post-palatial periods, the ratio of unpainted fine ware in comparison to painted fine ware is approximately 2:1 according to the sherd counts.<sup>119</sup> Unpainted fine ware thus constitutes the best represented group of all local Mycenaean pottery groups and deserves further analysis. The most frequent shapes will be discussed in more detail in this section, for less frequent forms, a short overview of recognized shapes per phase will be provided.

Beginning in LH IIIB Developed, the repertory of the unpainted open shapes stays relatively constant (Tab. 7). The one-handled carinated kylix FS 267 is attested already in LH IIIB Early–Middle (Fig. 16.1); it was found together with a smaller unpainted body sherd<sup>120</sup> of a closed shape with remains of a handle (probably hydria, Fig. 16.8) on a floor related to Wall 6/03. Another carinated kylix found in situ in the Passageway comes from LH IIIB Final (Fig. 17.1).<sup>121</sup> In each studied phase the most popular shapes are the carinated kylix FS 267 (Figs. 16.12; 19.2) and shallow angular bowl FS 295C (Figs. 16.3, 10; 17.4; 19.3, 15). These were attested with certainty in all of the presented phases. Their popularity is illustrated in MNI statistics for LH IIIB Final, where carinated kylikes appear twice as often as the conical pendant (Tab. 8). The count of kylix stems/kylix bowls versus small open bottoms, which could represent bowls or cups, speaks for a clear preference in favor of kylikes in this final phase.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Illustrated by all counted sherds of painted and unpainted fine wares from the LH IIIB Final phase (area of Building XI and the Passageway, excavations 2000–2003): unpainted: painted fine ware 2.2:1. A slight decrease in unpainted fine ware was observed for LH IIIC Early 2 with the ratio 2:1 for pit Grube 3/03. A similar picture was obtained by analyzing the same using all diagnostic sherds (not MNI, Tab. 1) only for these two phases. In LH IIIB Final the ratio of unpainted to painted fine ware is 1.5:1 and for pit Grube 3/03 1.2:1.

<sup>120</sup> One cannot exclude the possibility that the vessel was originally painted, since the fragment is too small.

<sup>121</sup> Other carinated and conical kylikes found in situ from the LH IIIB Final phase will be published in my PhD thesis.

<sup>122</sup> Dated to LH IIIB Final, 67 unpainted kylix stems/kylix bowls from excavations in 2003 (western part) and 1982–1983 versus 20 unpainted bottoms with diameter up to 3.5cm were counted.

Form	LH IIIB Early–Middle	LH IIIB Developed	LH IIIB Final	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Kylix (possibly FS 258)	X	X	X	X	X
Kylix (FS 273)			X*		
Kylix, conical (FS 274)			<u>X</u>	X	X
Kylix or deep bowl, conical (FS 274 or FS 242)		X	X	X	X
Deep bowl, conical (FS 242)					
Shallow rounded bowl (FS 295B)		X	X	X	
Shallow angular bowl (FS 295C)	X	X	X	X	X
Carinated Kylix (FS 267)	<u>X</u>	X	<u>X</u>	X	
Basin (FS 294)	X	X	X	X	X
Cup, shallow (FS 220)	<u>X</u>	X	X	X	X
Cup, deep semi-globular (FS 215)					
Deep bowl (FS 284)			X	X	
Stemmed bowl (FS 305)			X	X*	
Dipper (FS 236)	Possible	X	<u>X</u>	X	Possible
Miniature handmade vessels (open shapes)				X	
Miniature wheelmade vessels (open shapes)					X
Krater (FS 7–9)			X		
Ring-based krater (FS 281)			X		X
Ring-based krater or basin (FS 281 or FS 294)			X	X	
Kalathos (FS 291)			X	Possible*	
Mug (FS 226)			X		

Tab. 7 Unpainted fine ware open shapes and their occurrence in chronological phases (X – at least one diagnostic sherd of a shape found in the phase; X – found in situ; \* – form only attested in the material from Klaus Kilian's excavations).

	FS 267 or FS 295C	FS 242 or FS 274	Possibly FS 258	FS 220	FS 305	FS 236	FS 60 or FS 106 or FS 128
Number of rims	182	84	17	6	1	6	24

Tab. 8 LH IIIB Final. The minimum number of individuals (MNI) for selected shapes of unpainted fine ware based on the count of rims (excavations 2000–2003).

A conical kylix FS 274 (Fig. 17.2) found in situ in Room 78c comes from LH IIIB Final. This kylix type was also attested in LH IIIB Developed (Fig. 16.11). In the earliest phase represented in the excavation (LH IIIB Early–Middle) we have no conical kylikes/conical bowls from the area, in which Building XI would have been built later. This is caused by the limited number of sherds studied from this area. In the eastern part, the area of Building XV, Room 4/01, there is at least one certain rim of an unpainted conical shape documented for the LH IIIB Early–Middle phase. When examining the attested conical rims, one notes that some of them have a diameter of only 11cm, which suggests they belong to conical cups rather than kylikes.<sup>123</sup> One could assume that

<sup>123</sup> An almost completely preserved conical bowl/cup (without handle) (diameter 11.4cm) comes from a LH IIIB Developed–Final context.



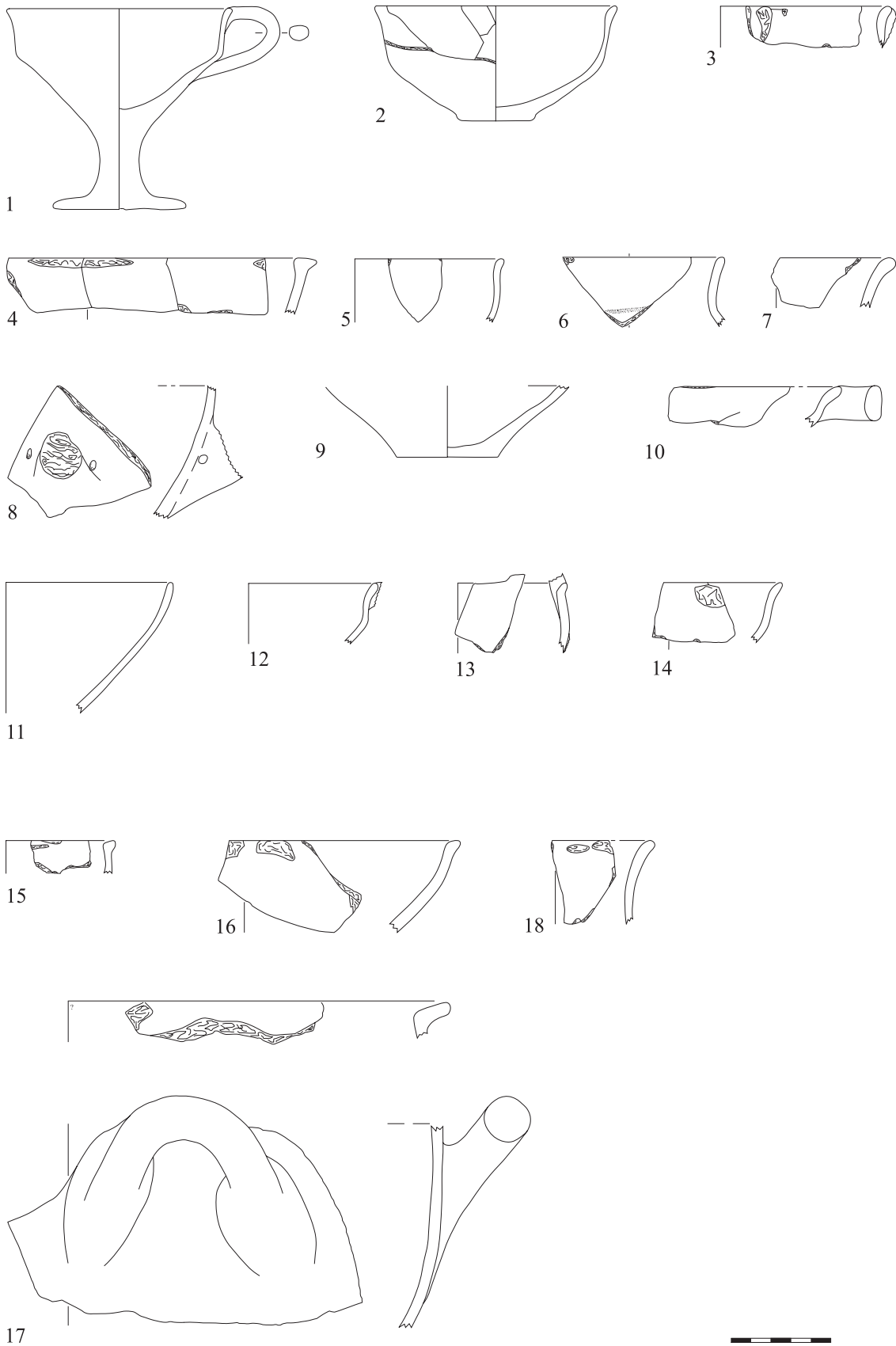


Fig. 16 Unpainted fine ware. 1–9. LH IIIB Early–Middle; 10–16, 18. LH IIIB Developed; 17. LH IIIB Developed–Final. Scale 1:3 (1–4, 6–8, 10, 13–15, 17–18: drawings S. Wirghová; 5, 9, 11–12, 16: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

they probably replaced, or existed in parallel to, the shallow cups FS 220. One almost completely preserved shallow cup dates to LH IIIB Early–Middle<sup>124</sup> (Fig. 16.2) and another rim (Fig. 16.14) to LH IIIB Developed. The percentage of shallow cups FS 220 is very small overall, but in the eastern part of the excavation, one complete profile of such a cup was found dated to LH IIIB Final and an additional one was found in the area of Room 78b in Kilian's excavation (Fig. 17.8). Although there is one almost completely preserved kylix FS 258 or FS 273 with high-swung strap handle (Fig. 17.3)<sup>125</sup> in the material of Kilian's excavation dated to LH IIIB Final from Room 78a, the overall quantity of rims assigned to FS 258 (Fig. 16.5) is very small.<sup>126</sup> Almost completely preserved representatives of the unpainted shallow cup FS 220 and the kylix FS 258 or FS 273 from LH IIIB Final could be a hint that these vessels remained in use to a small extent till the end of the Palatial period. One quite well-preserved fragment of a shallow cup FS 220 comes from the Northeastern Lower Town dated to Phase 1 or 2 (LH IIIC Early 1–2), which led Stockhammer to the conclusion that these cups were still produced in this Post-palatial phase.<sup>127</sup>

The unpainted basin FS 294 is one of the shapes attested in all studied phases (Figs. 16.4, 16; 17.10, 13; 19.9, 13).<sup>128</sup> The rim dated to LH IIIB Final (Fig. 17.13) has an extraordinary, angular profile. Because of its large diameter (25cm) and the thickness of the body wall, I assigned it to FS 294. On the other hand, the kalathos FS 291 seems to be a shape which was popular mostly in LH IIIB Final (Fig. 17.12). A possible base of an unpainted mug or kalathos (Fig. 19.10) was identified in Befund-Nr. 123/02. The shallow globular bowl FS 295B was attested in phase LH IIIB Developed, LH IIIB Final and in LH IIIC Early 1 (Figs. 16.15; 17.11; 19.5). The unpainted variant of this shape is represented only very occasionally in the vessel repertory of the unpainted vessels.

The unpainted deep, semi-globular cup FS 215 was not identified in the phases studied here. Without a handle it is very difficult to identify and these sherds were categorized as dipper-cup or cup, shallow or deep. The dipper is represented by one rim with attached handle in LH IIIB Developed<sup>129</sup> (Fig. 16.13), by a well-preserved example in LH IIIB Final<sup>130</sup> (Fig. 17.5) and from Befund-Nr. 123/02 (Fig. 19.6). Unpainted miniature vessels seem to be present in the studied material only in the early Post-palatial period. A LH IIIC Early 1 handmade cup is shown in Fig. 19.11. From the pit Grube 3/03 we have examples of both a handmade closed shape (Fig. 19.17) and a wheelmade body fragment with attached fragmentary handle, probably of a deep bowl.<sup>131</sup>

Considered as an extraordinary unpainted shape, deep bowls (Fig. 17.14–15) coming from Kilian's excavation in the area of the later Gateway together with the rim illustrated in Fig. 17.9 and with an almost completely preserved example of an unpainted deep bowl (Fig. 18.1) from the area of Room 3/01 in Building XV show the existence of this unpainted shape in LH IIIB Final. The example in Fig. 17.14 (diameter 16cm) has an unusual handle form, in which a round horizontal handle is close to the body. Also originating from the 1982 excavation is a well-preserved unpainted stemmed bowl (Fig. 19.1) found in the subsequently identified Befund-Nr. 123/02 and thus dated to LH IIIC Early 1. Another example of an unpainted stemmed bowl

<sup>124</sup> Another rim of FS 220 was found on the surface level by oven Befund-Nr. 46/03.

<sup>125</sup> Weight: 470 grams.

<sup>126</sup> Two examples in LH IIIB Early–Middle, two rims in LH IIIB Developed, 17 rims in LH IIIB Final and nine rims from LH IIIC Early 1.

<sup>127</sup> Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 155; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 43.1099.

<sup>128</sup> Contrary to Jung 2002, 126, 136, who sees the boundary between basin FS 294 and FS 295 at 25cm, I decided to follow the study of Stockhammer, who sets the boundary to distinguish between FS 294 and FS 295 at 20cm (Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 110–111).

<sup>129</sup> From LH IIIB Early–Middle there is only one rim of an open shape with high-swung strap handle from a dipper or kylix in the western part of the excavation. A similar observation was made for the pit Grube 3/03 in LH IIIC Early 2, where three unpainted rims (two of them with part of a high-swung handle preserved) are part of a mixed category FS 236 or FS 258, FS 236 or FS 215.

<sup>130</sup> One dipper base found on the final Palatial surface in the Passageway comes from the 1982–1983 excavations.

<sup>131</sup> The diameter measured on the body is 11cm.

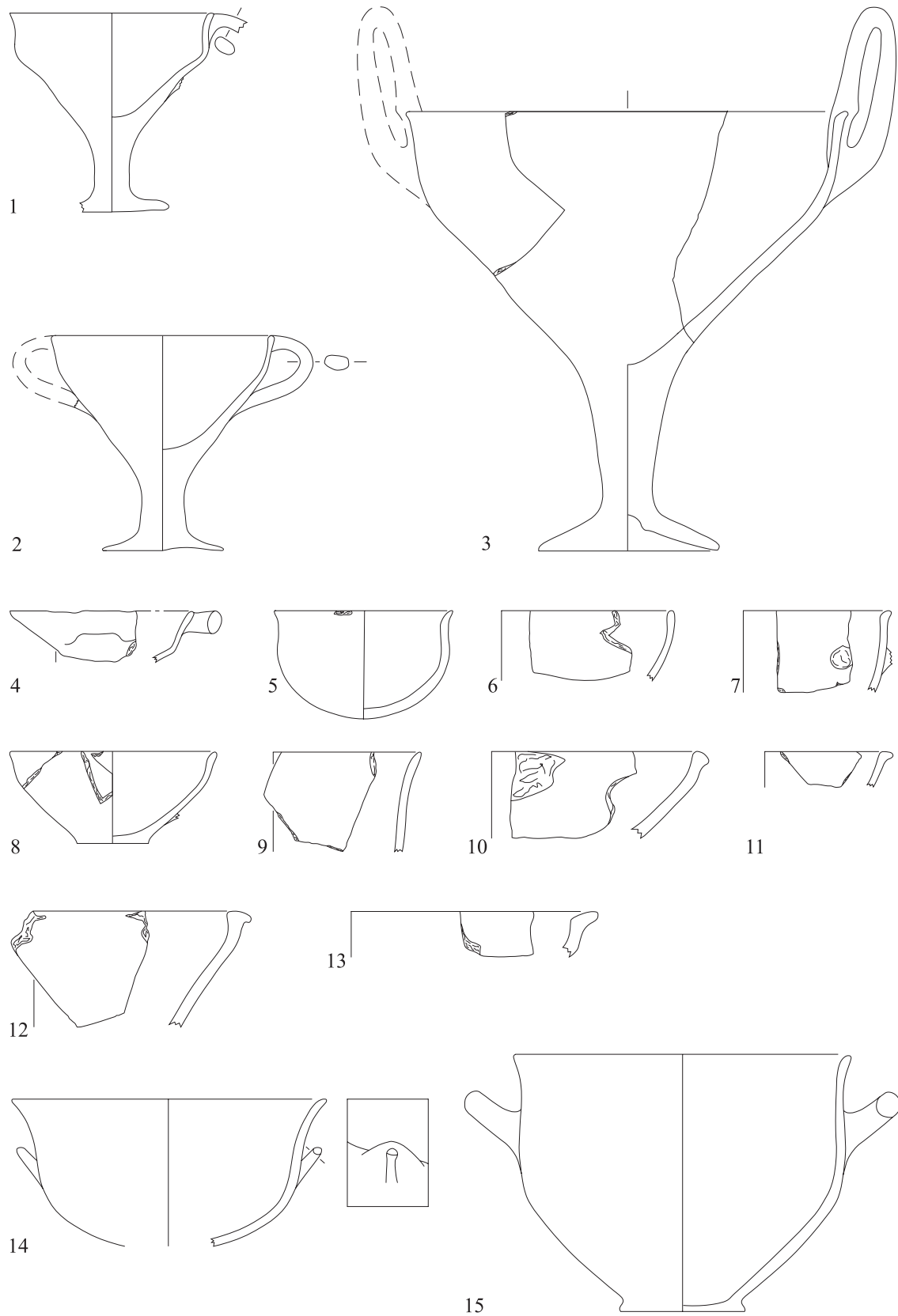


Fig. 17 LH III B Final: unpainted fine ware (open shapes). Scale 1:3 (1–3, 5–13: drawings S. Wirghová; 4: drawing R. Tsembera; 14–15: Kilian's excavation archive; digitization S. Wirghová).

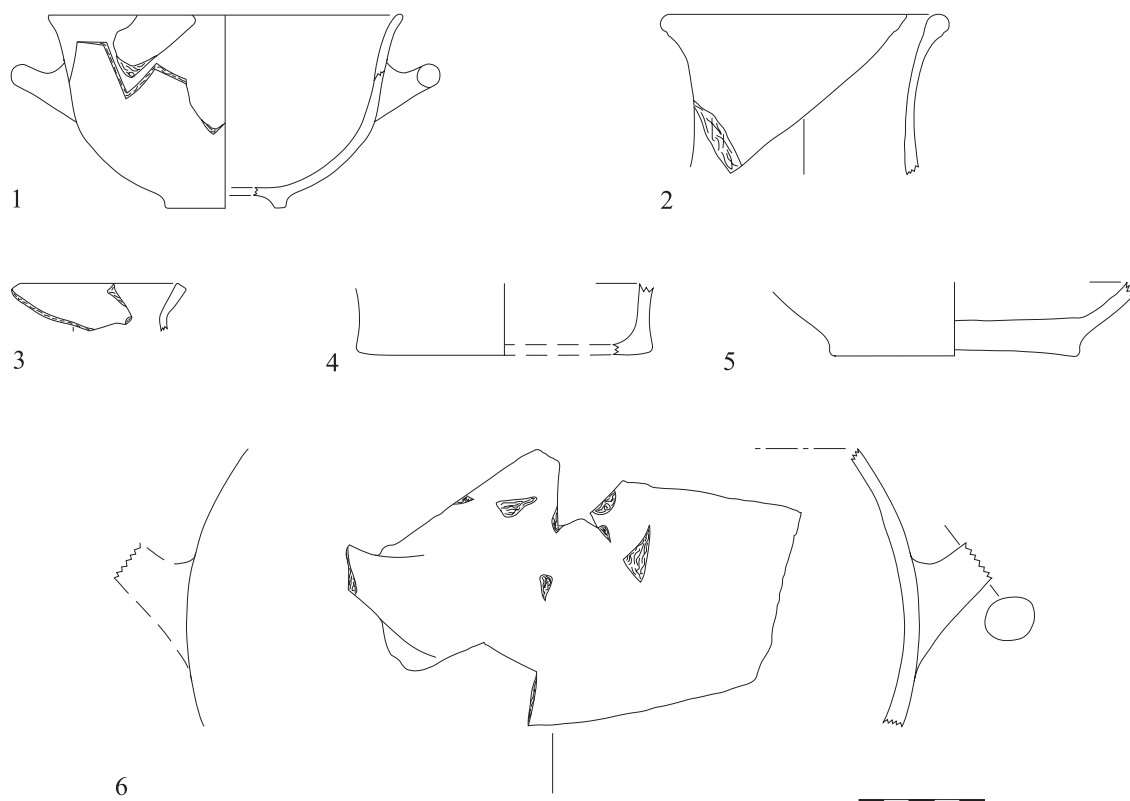


Fig. 18 LH IIIB Final: unpainted fine ware (open and closed shapes). Scale 1:3  
(1, 3–6: drawings S. Wirghová; 2: drawing B. Konnemann; digitization S. Wirghová).

derives from LH IIIB Final (Fig. 17.7). These unpainted shapes are very rare in the ceramic material. On the basis of small sherds, it is difficult to distinguish between a deep bowl and a deep cup or kylix.

Form	LH IIIB Early–Middle	LH IIIB Developed	LH IIIB Final	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Amphoriskos or alabastron (FS 59 or FS 86 / FS 96 or FS 99)			X		
Straight-sided alabastron			X	X	
Amphora/Jug/Hydria	X	X	<u>X</u>	X	
Hydria or belly-handled amphora (FS 128 or FS 58)	X		<u>X</u>		
Jug (FS 110)	X	X	X		
Jug (FS 120)			X		
Piriform jar or alabastron (small)			X		
Vessel with rounded bottom (mug, kalathos or straight-sided alabastron)	X				
Miniature handmade vessels (closed shapes)					X

Tab. 9 Unpainted fine ware closed shapes and their occurrence in chronological phases  
(X – at least one diagnostic sherd of a shape found in the phase; X – found in situ).

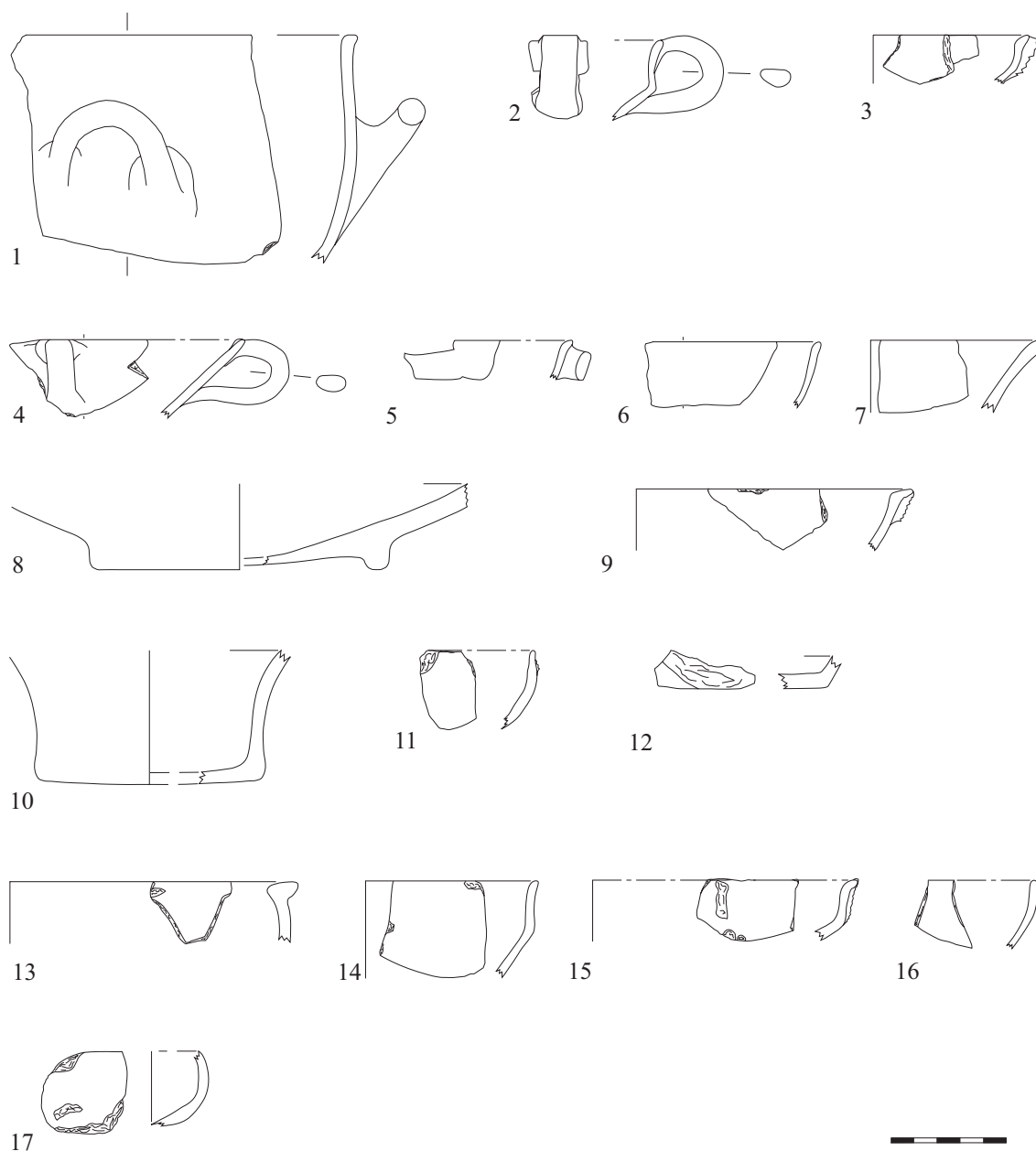


Fig. 19 Unpainted fine ware. 1–12. LH IIIC Early 1; 13–17. LH IIIC Early 2. Scale 1:3  
(1–2, 4–5, 7–8, 10–17: drawings S. Wirghová; 3, 6, 9: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

The unpainted ring-based krater FS 281 is very rare in the ceramic material. The first example was attested in LH IIIB Developed (a body fragment with attached horizontal handle). The best example comes from LH IIIB Developed–Final (Fig. 16.17). Similarly, this shape is also rare in the early Post-palatial phase (possible ring-based krater FS 281 or basin FS 294 in Fig. 19.8).

Closed shapes in an unpainted variant are limited to only a few shapes (Tab. 9). In almost every phase, the amphora/hydria/jug (Fig. 16.7, LH IIIB Early–Middle; Fig. 18.2, found in situ in the Gateway, LH IIIB Final) and jug FS 110 were attested (Fig. 16.18, LH IIIB Developed). Several unpainted bases of large, closed vessels dated to LH IIIB Developed and Final (Fig. 18.5, in situ Room 78c) were identified together with a bottom of a medium, closed shape dated to LH IIIB Early–Middle (Fig. 16.9). Originally, these bases could have been part of an amphora/

hydria/jug.<sup>132</sup> An unpainted hydria FS 128 or belly-handled amphora FS 58 was found in situ in Room 78c dated to LH IIIB Final (Fig. 18.6). From other phases (LH IIIB Early–Middle [Fig. 16.8], LH IIIB Developed–Final, LH IIIB Final–IIIC Early 1) only a body fragment with an attached handle could be assigned to FS 128 or FS 58. Unpainted bases of the straight-sided alabastron occurred in the LH IIIB Final layer (Fig. 18.4) and in Befund-Nr. 123/02 (Fig. 19.12). An unpainted rim assigned to an alabastron/amphoriskos (Fig. 18.3) is dated to LH IIIB Final.

### Local and Aeginetan Cooking Wares of the Palatial and Early Post-Palatial Periods

Of special interest when studying local cooking pots from the Palatial period is the first appearance of cooking pot FS 66 (cooking pots with ‘low and wide spreading neck with a handle from the rim’<sup>133</sup>). In this part I will attempt to clarify this issue according to the evidence from the studied material, and I will introduce other cooking shapes attested here, which supplement the inventory for each phase. Finally, I will give a brief overview of shapes of Aeginetan cooking ware identified throughout the period under study.

Beginning with LH IIIB Early–Middle, there was no rim with a handle preserved, which would prove the existence of local cooking pot FS 66 with a handle from the rim (Tab. 10). A possible candidate may be a rim illustrated in Fig. 20.2 (FS 66 or FS 67). Two thin rims could come from FS 67 (cooking pots with a ‘long, thin rim and a handle from below the rim’<sup>134</sup>, Fig. 20.3–4). In the next phase, LH IIIB Developed, it seems that shapes FS 74 (cooking pots with a ‘low and wide neck and a handle just below neck to broadest part of body’,<sup>135</sup> Fig. 20.7) and FS 67 (Fig. 20.8) predominate.<sup>136</sup> Only one short, thick rim might be from a cooking pot FS 66 or a tripod FS 320 (Fig. 20.6).<sup>137</sup> This also seems to be the case in the LH IIIB Final phase, in which three almost completely preserved local cooking pots were found in situ in the Gateway<sup>138</sup> – FS 67 shown in Figs. 21.1–2; 22.1, and FS 74 in Fig. 21.3. The last example with a short neck and a handle from below the rim has an intentionally drilled hole in the bottom (Fig. 22.2) and thus could have been used as a sieve, or for libation purposes. The fragment with a handle preserved from the rim, FS 66 illustrated in Fig. 20.16, is the only one from the final Palatial layer in the area of Building XI.<sup>139</sup> This picture corresponds to observations made on local cooking ware from the Western Staircase. There is one fragment with handle from the rim FS 66 coming from Zone 2, but it has joins in Zone 1, thus the dating of this piece is uncertain.<sup>140</sup> One published example from LH IIIB2 comes from Mycenae.<sup>141</sup> It seems that the development of this shape of local cooking ware in the Argolid is similar to its development in Attica, where in Kontopigado this shape is attested in LH IIIB2 Late.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>132</sup> It cannot be excluded that some of these bases were initially part of painted vessels.

<sup>133</sup> Furumark 1992 [1941], pl. 41, Type 66.

<sup>134</sup> See Furumark 1992 [1941], pl. 41, Type 67.

<sup>135</sup> Furumark 1992 [1941], pl. 45, Type 74.

<sup>136</sup> In this phase no certain example of FS 66 was found. Only in the phase LH IIIB Developed–Final is there one rim with a handle beginning at the rim.

<sup>137</sup> From the eastern part of the excavation under the LH IIIB Final surface of Room 4/01 in Building XV, two larger, thick, short rims without handle of possible FS 66 cooking pot(s) were found (dated to LH IIIB Developed). A rim with handle, probably from the rim, was also found in this area and might be an example of an FS 66 local cooking pot for this phase.

<sup>138</sup> The larger ones (Figs. 21.1 and 21.3) come from Kilian’s excavation and were found on Floor Va; the smaller one (Fig. 21.2) has a diameter of 9cm and was lying on Floor V as determined by Kilian. The rim shown in Fig. 20.13 is an in situ find from Room 78c excavated in 2003.

<sup>139</sup> The rim with an applied coil in the transition from the neck to the body in Fig. 20.15 might be another example of FS 66 from the last Palatial period. The same may apply for the rim Fig. 20.14.

<sup>140</sup> Information provided by Kardamaki.

<sup>141</sup> French – Taylour 2007, CD-367, CD-420.

<sup>142</sup> Kardamaki – Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018, 124, fig. 6.25. The same statement was made by Bartłomiej Lis, Štěpán Rückl, Maria Choleva in their article on the mobility of Aeginetan potters, where they state that ‘only by the

This trend also continues in LH IIIC Early 1, in which no example of a possible FS 66 with a handle from the rim is attested from Befund-Nr. 123/02. One possible example of this Furumark shape is illustrated in Fig. 23.6. A fragment of a cooking pot, probably FS 74, is shown in Fig. 23.7. A thick, short rim, possibly of the FS 66-type cooking pot, was found in the pit Grube 3/03 (Fig. 23.16). Because of the limited number of sherds of local cooking ware in this phase, no further conclusions can be drawn. Cooking pots FS 66 found in situ were published from a second phase of the excavation in the Northeastern Lower Town dating to LH IIIC Early 2;<sup>143</sup> thus, it seems that during this phase, at the latest, cooking pots FS 66 predominate. To conclude, according to the material presented, it seems that in LH IIIB cooking pots FS 67 and FS 74 were the most popular shapes in circulation. Probably during LH IIIB Developed or LH IIIB Final (LH IIIB2), the type FS 66 was introduced into the repertoire of the local cooking ware and became the most frequent type in LH IIIC Early.

Form	LH IIIB Early–Middle	LH IIIB Developed	LH IIIB Final	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Tripod cooking pot (FS 320)	X	X	<u>X</u>	X*	
Cooking pot (possibly FS 66)	?	?	X	X	X
Cooking pot (possibly FS 67)	X	X	X	X	X
Cooking pot (FS 74)		X	<u>X</u>	X	
Cooking pot (FS 67 or FS 74)	X	X	X	X	
Cooking pot (FS 67)			<u>X</u>		
Ladle or brazier with supporting handle (FS 311 or FS 312)		X	X	X	
Portable fireplace – Baking pan		X	X		
Dipper (FS 236)				X	
Torch (Topflampe)			X	X	
Angular tripod cooking pot (FS 320)			X	X*	

Tab. 10 Forms of local cooking ware and their occurrence in chronological phases  
(X – at least one diagnostic sherd of a shape found in the phase; X – found in situ;  
\* – form only attested in the material from Klaus Kilian’s excavations).

Local tripod cooking pots were attested in all studied phases (Figs. 20.11, 22; 23.8, 15).<sup>144</sup> The examples found in situ from the final Palatial phase have an unusual trifoliate section (Figs. 20.22; 21.5<sup>145</sup>); most of the legs found are round or oval in section. Dated to LH IIIB Final, an angular tripod cooking pot (Fig. 20.19) of local fabric was found in the material excavated in 2003. A similar tripod cooking pot (Fig. 23.14) came to light during Kilian’s excavation and dates to LH IIIC Early 1 (Befund-Nr. 123/02). It may be that this is a cast up from the Palatial period.<sup>146</sup> An unusual tripod cooking pot or other closed vessel with horizontal handle dates to LH IIIB Final (Fig. 20.20).

beginning of the LH IIIC period did a shift towards rim-handled shapes among the “Mycenaean” cooking pots occur’ (Lis et al. 2015, 67).

<sup>143</sup> Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 52.1204, 1206 etc. Examples of the cooking pot FS 67 or FS 74 are described by Stockhammer as cast ups in his Phase 1 (LH IIIC Early 1–2), since fragments of shape FS 66 predominate (Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 146).

<sup>144</sup> Legs of local tripod cooking pots were found already in LH IIIB Early–Middle (not published here). The majority of local and Aeginetan tripod cooking pots had vertical handles. One example from Midea with horizontal handles belongs to cooking ware and has been restored as a tripod (Dalinghaus 1998, 136, pl. 88.668).

<sup>145</sup> This tripod Befund-Nr. 102/01 was found on the final Palatial surface of Room 4/01 in Building XV.

<sup>146</sup> There is only this drawing available for this study. I was not able to examine this vessel in person.

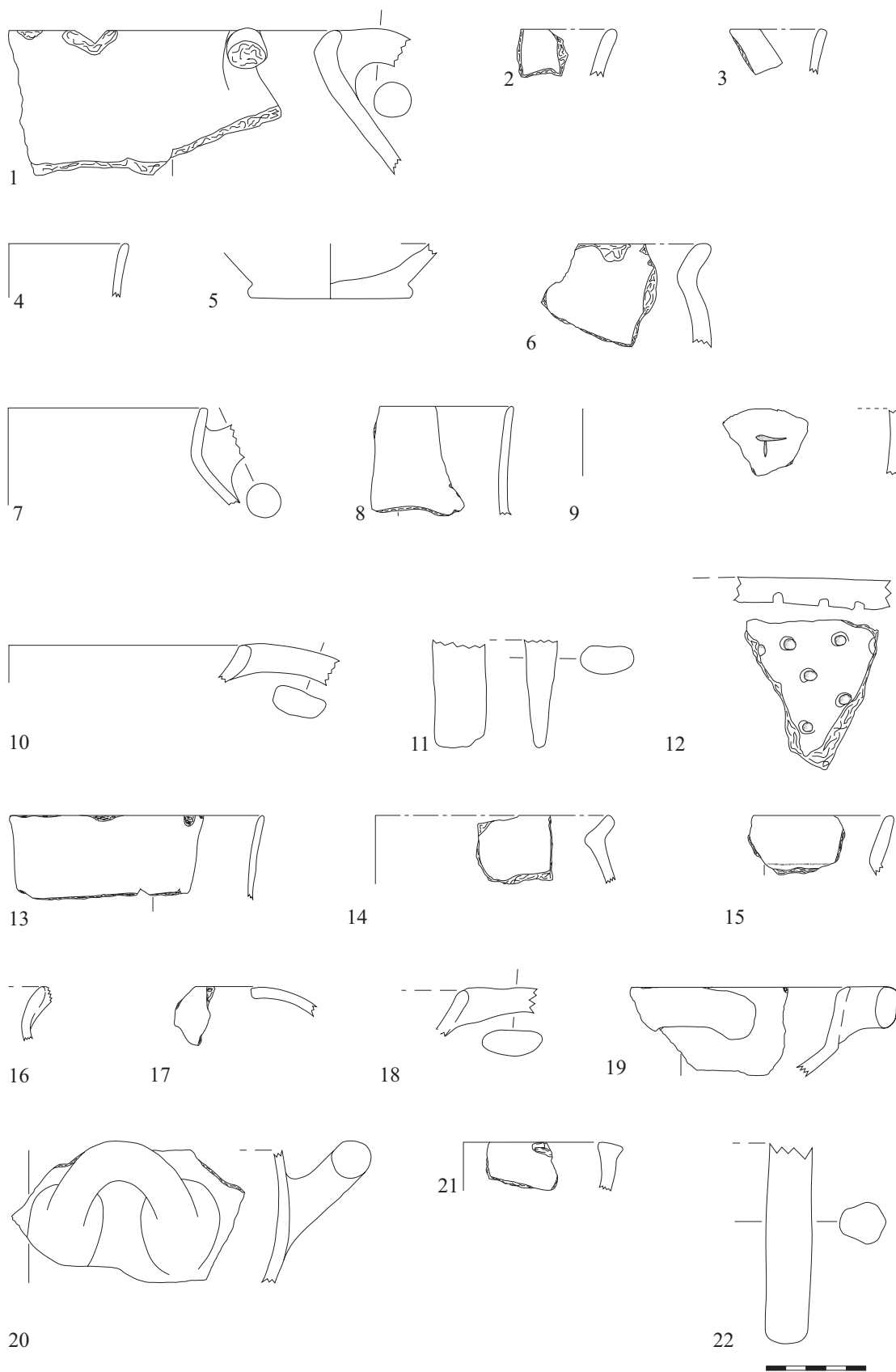


Fig. 20 1. LH IIIB Early–Middle: Aeginetan cooking ware; 2–5. LH IIIB Early–Middle: local cooking ware; 9. LH IIIB Developed: Aeginetan cooking ware; 6–8, 10–12. LH IIIB Developed: local cooking ware; 13–22. LH IIIB Final: local cooking ware. Scale 1:3 (1–6, 10–21: drawings S. Wirghová; 7–9, 22: drawings R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).



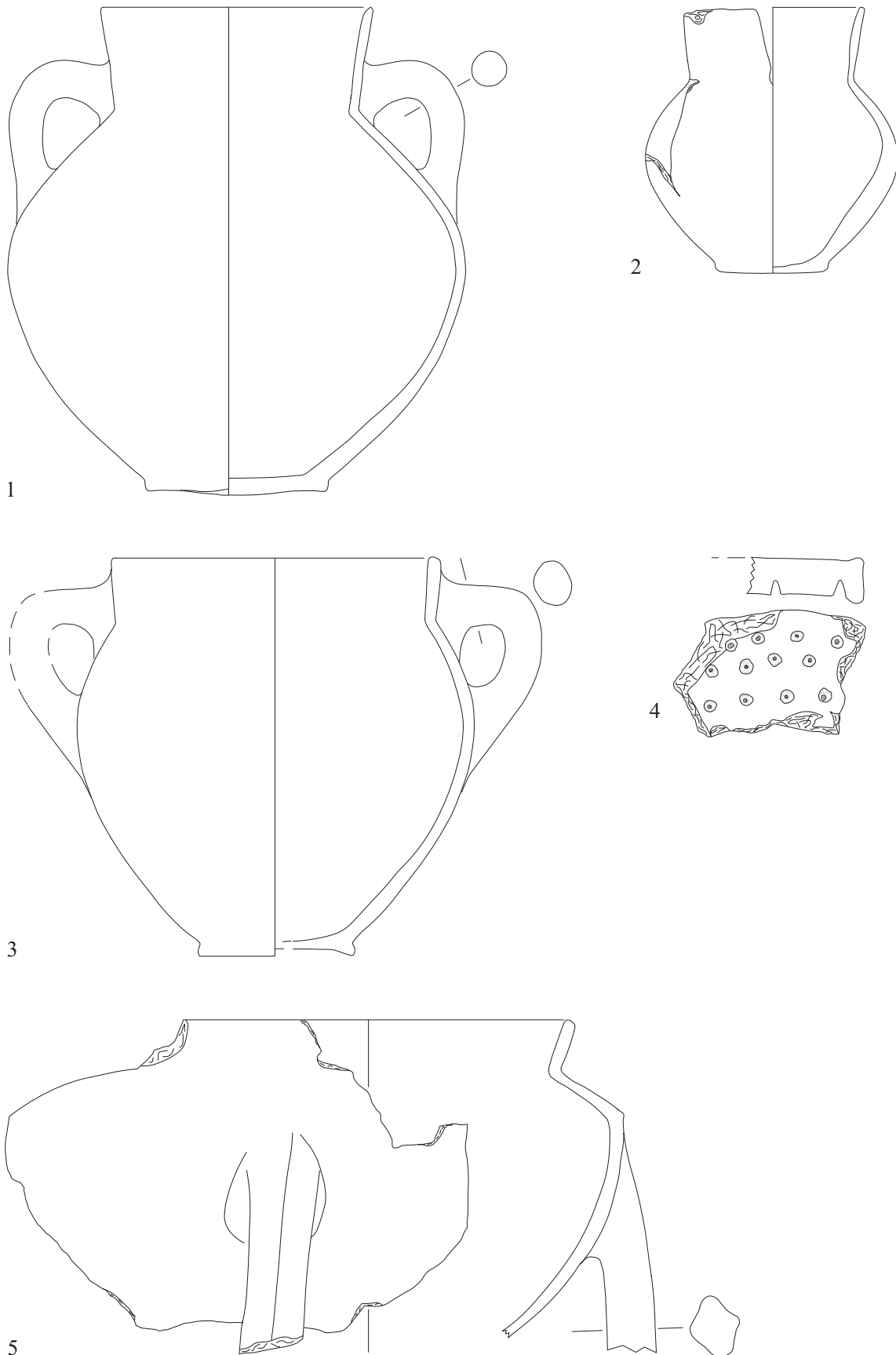


Fig. 21 LH IIIB Final: local cooking ware. Scale 1:3 (1, 3: Kilian's excavation archive; 2, 4: drawings S. Wirghová; 5: drawing R. Tsembera; digitization S. Wirghová).

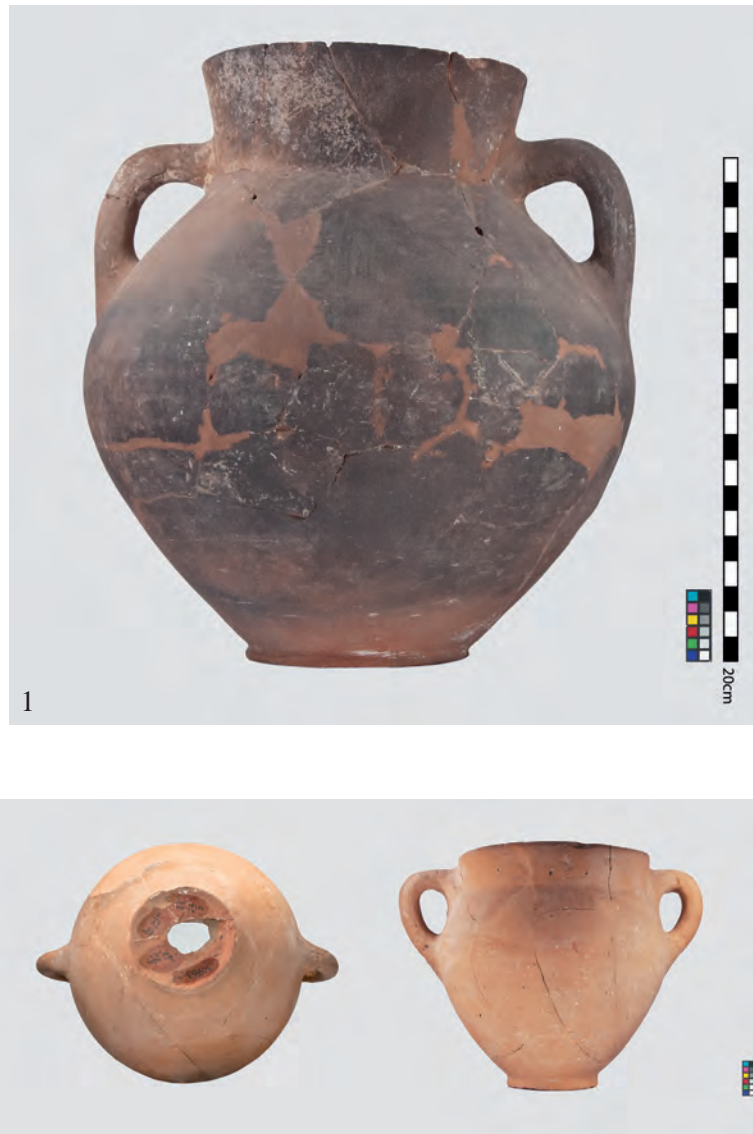


Fig. 22 1. Local cooking pot; 2. local cooking pot with an intentionally drilled hole in the bottom.  
1. Scale 1:3; 2. Scale 1:6 (photos M. Kostoula).

The baking pan was recognized in LH IIIB Developed (Fig. 20.12) and Final layers (Fig. 21.4). All sherds were found secondarily burnt on the side without dimples. In my opinion, this makes them a portable fireplace, probably used in both cult and domestic activities.<sup>147</sup> The ladle or brazier FS 311 or FS 312 is attested in LH IIIB Developed, Final and in Befund-Nr.123/02 (Figs. 20.10, 18; 23.10–11); the torch, only in LH IIIB Final (Fig. 20.17) and LH IIIC Early 1 (Fig. 23.9). In LH IIIC Early 1, a cooking ware dipper (Fig. 23.12) was found as well. The variety of the shapes of the local cooking ware seems to be almost the same as in the previous phase (Tab. 10). The very limited amount of studied ceramic material<sup>148</sup> did not allow us to acquire a better picture of the cooking ware repertoire for the LH IIIC Early 2 phase (Fig. 23.15–16).

<sup>147</sup> A possible use as a fireplace to bake flatbread must be considered as well (Hruby 2006, 141; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 322). On other possible functions of such vessels see Hruby 2006, 140. My interpretation is based on the tripod found at Tiryns with preserved legs with a plain, burned surface at the top and dimples on the opposite ('bottom') side displayed in the museum in Nafplio, Greece. This vessel is illustrated in Hiesel 1982, 438–439, fig. 57.

<sup>148</sup> Seven diagnostic sherds of local cooking ware, two sherds Aeginetan.

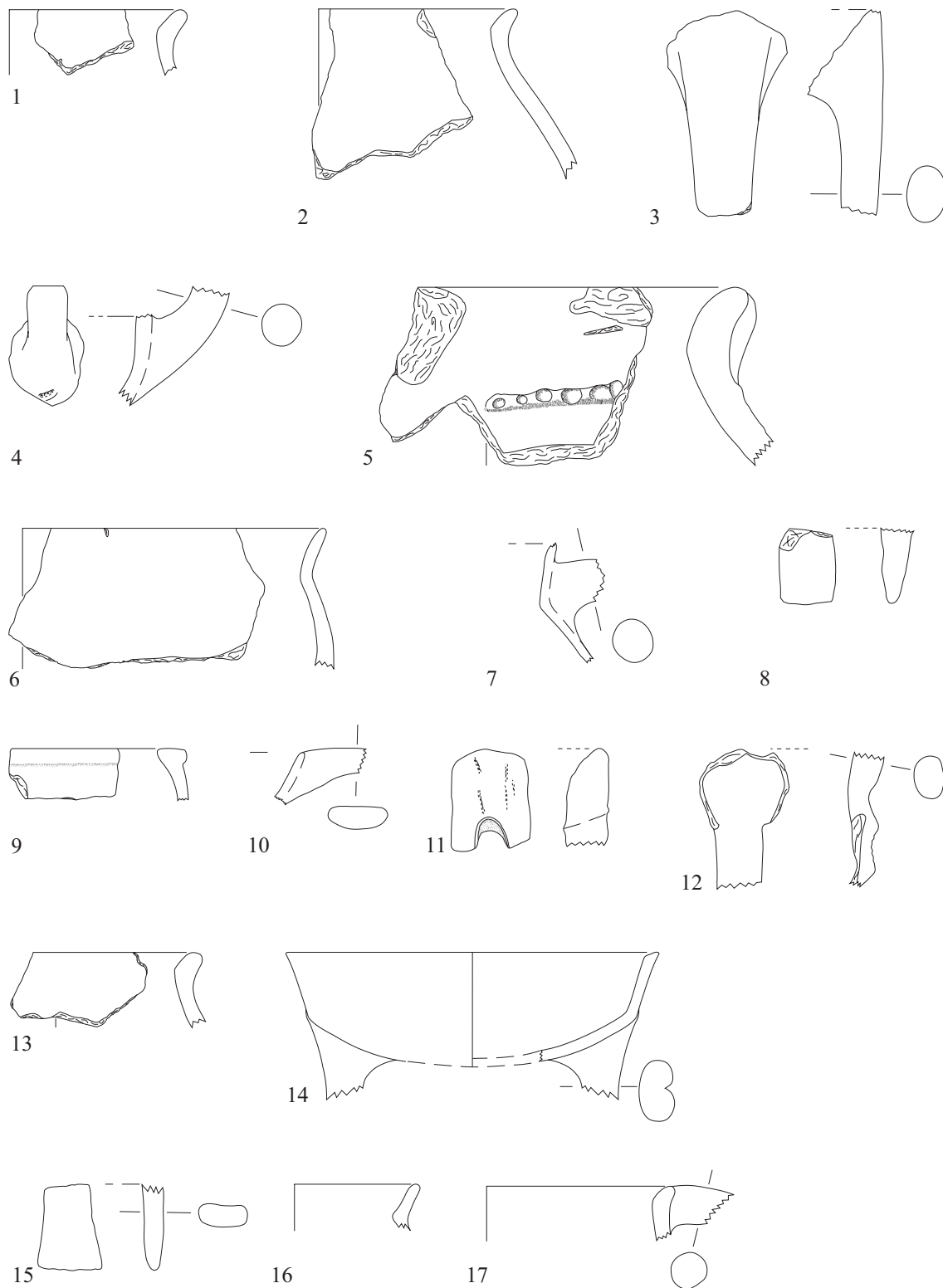


Fig. 23 1–5. LH IIIB Final: Aeginetan cooking ware; 6–12, 14. LH IIIC Early 1: local cooking ware; 13. LH IIIC Early 1: Aeginetan cooking ware; 15–16. LH IIIC Early 2: local cooking ware; 17. LH IIIC Early 2: Aeginetan cooking ware. Scale 1:3 (1–2, 4–6, 8–9, 11–13, 15–17: drawings S. Wirghová; 3, 7, 10: drawings R. Tsembera; 14: Kilian's excavation archive; digitization S. Wirghová).

Examples of an Aeginetan cooking pot FS 66 or tripod FS 320<sup>149</sup> (Fig. 20.1; Tab. 11) were already identified in the phase LH IIIB Early–Middle. This shape was also the only one identified in all of the phases studied (Figs. 20.1, 9; 23.1–2, 13, 17). Unusual molding decoration, probably made by fingers, was observed on an Aeginetan vessel from a LH IIIB Final fill from Room 78a excavated by Kilian (Fig. 23.5). This kind of decoration is very rare, and the examples could be counted on one hand.<sup>150</sup> Legs of an Aeginetan tripod FS 320 were attested in LH IIIB Developed,<sup>151</sup> Final (Fig. 23.3), and LH IIIC Early 1.<sup>152</sup> There was no such find in the pit Grube 3/03. One body sherd yields a potter's mark, found on an Aeginetan cooking pot in the LH IIIB Developed layer (Fig. 20.9). Another example of such a sign comes from an attached handle dated to LH IIIB Final (Fig. 23.4). According to Bartłomiej Lis, Štěpán Růckl and Maria Choleva, Aeginetan cooking pots were widely distributed between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB2 and the mass exportation of Aeginetan cooking pots significantly decreased in the beginning of LH IIIC.<sup>153</sup> This is reflected in the material presented here as well.

Form	LH IIIB Early–Middle	LH IIIB Developed	LH IIIB Final	LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 2
Cooking pot or tripod (possibly FS 66 or FS 320)	<u>X</u>	X (with potter's mark)	X	X	X
Cooking pot (FS 66)			X	X	
Tripod (FS 320)			X	X	

Tab. 11 Forms of Aeginetan cooking ware and their occurrence in chronological phases  
(X – at least one diagnostic sherd of a shape found in the phase; X – found in situ).

## Conclusions

As noted at the beginning of this paper, when it comes to the Palatial and Post-palatial period architecture as well as interventions of the Post-palatial period, we have a rich history in this area of the Lower Citadel. To find a reflection of this development in the ceramic material was not always easy.

Introducing the first phase studied, LH IIIB Early–Middle, only a few painted fine ware shapes were attested: a Group A deep bowl, a stemmed bowl FS 305, a kylix FS 258 and a shallow cups FS 220. The carinated kylix is the most popular shape among the unpainted fine ware. Cooking pots are mainly represented by the form with a handle below the rim (FS 67 and FS 74), and Aeginetan cooking ware is attested as well. According to the material presented here, the preference for FS 67 and FS 74 can be observed until LH IIIC Early 1. For the first time, vessels of Kytheran coarse ware were identified in the studied area.

When we keep in mind that in LH IIIB Developed some new shapes such as a Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior, a rosette deep bowl, a deep bowl with a wavy line, possibly a large Group A deep bowl, and a ring-based krater SB (FS 281) were introduced, we can consider this phase as the first turning point in the ceramic sequence in this area. In this phase, the first imports of Cretan character were attested in the area of the northern tip of the Lower Citadel. The unpainted carinated kylikes and/or angular shallow bowls (FS 267, FS 295C) are the most popular unpainted shapes, followed by conical kylikes/bowls.

<sup>149</sup> One Aeginetan cooking pot FS 66 or FS 320 with handle from the rim was found on a LH IIIB Early–Middle surface in the area of the later Building XV (Befund-Nr. 97/02).

<sup>150</sup> Most of these vessels with plastic decoration were revealed in the LH IIIC Layers.

<sup>151</sup> One Aeginetan leg from this period was found in the area of the subsequently erected Building XV.

<sup>152</sup> One leg found during the excavation by Kilian.

<sup>153</sup> Lis et al. 2015, 71. See also Gauß – Kiriati 2011, 248.

In LH IIIB Final, some new shapes such as a Group B deep bowl, a Group C deep bowl, a deep bowl SB, a deep semi-globular cup with dotted rim FS 215 or a dipper FS 236, a medium band cup FS 215, a linear deep semi-globular cup FS 215, a collar-necked jar (FS 63 and FS 64), and an amphoriskos were added to the ceramic repertory. It seems that the Group B deep bowl has its peak in this phase. Hollowed rims on large fine ware closed shapes and a reserved center on the interior of painted deep bowls with monochrome interior are the new technological features introduced in the final Palatial phase. Unpainted carinated kylikes and angular shallow bowls remain the most popular among unpainted fine ware and it seems that the unpainted shallow cup FS 220 and kylix FS 258 or FS 273 are still in use. Attested for the first time in the studied area is the unpainted deep bowl. The most frequent shapes of the local cooking ware did not change, but the first clear evidence for local cooking pots with a handle from the rim FS 66 were attested at Tiryns in LH IIIB Final. On the one hand, there is a certain degree of continuity in the ceramic repertory during LH IIIB Developed and Final. On the other hand, it seems that with a more complexly organized community surrounding the expanding palace, a need for new vessel functionality arose as well, as it is illustrated by shapes such as different types of cups, extraordinary shapes such as chalices or spouted vessels, collar-necked jars, and clear evidence of FS 66 in local cooking ware.

The final Palatial phase was the most exciting as regards international contacts. Foreign objects in the form of small finds and goods in the corresponding vessels, as found in the northern tip of the Lower Citadel, are witnesses of contacts with Aegina, Kythera, Crete, the Dodecanese, Cyprus, and the Levant. The inscribed Canaanite amphora (TIRY Avas 001), the inscribed local fine ware jug (TIRY Avas 002), the locally imitated wall brackets, the head-shaped faience vessels in the shape of a monkey or the Near Eastern demon Humbaba and other small finds from this area provide 'evidence for the presence of people with an intimate knowledge of Cypriot cultural practices in the area of the northern tip of the Lower Citadel of Tiryns'.<sup>154</sup>

At the transition to LH IIIC Early, most of these special items with Cypriot/Near Eastern connections disappear, and this seems to suggest a dramatic 'turning point'. By contrast, when observing the repertory of the ceramic shapes in the earliest Post-palatial phase, we are mostly dealing with continuity. In the LH IIIC Early 1 phase, all shapes seem to continue, although in a different percentage ratio than by the end of LH IIIB. The tendency towards more linear decoration is probably attested by the first appearance of shapes such as the lip band cup/bowl and possibly the linear deep bowl with rim band inside. The spectrum of foreign wares decreased radically. Only fragments of Cretan-type, Aeginetan and Kytheran ware are still present. At this point it has to be emphasized that the chronology of Befund-Nr. 123/02, dated to LH IIIC Early 1, is based solely on the stratigraphy and it might be that all of the material in this pit is secondarily deposited ceramic material originally dated to LH IIIB Final. The small size of most sherds from Befund-Nr. 123/02 and ceramic joins identified with LH IIIB Final and Developed layers could support this hypothesis. With the introduction of the painted carinated cup FS 240 and painted conical kylix FS 274, the presence of the linear rosette bowl with a rosette placed high under the rim, the increasing popularity of linear shapes such as medium band deep bowls and the shift from shapes FS 67 and FS 74 to FS 66 by local cooking ware, the LH IIIC Early 2 phase constitutes one of the more striking turning points in the ceramic development. This is also the last Post-palatial phase, in which Cretan-type and/or Cretan-provenance pottery is still attested.

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<sup>154</sup> Davis et al. 2015, 103–104. See the same for further literature on the mentioned finds.

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# Kadmeia, Thebes: The Pottery from a Storeroom Destroyed at the End of the Mycenaean Palatial Period

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*Eleni Andrikou*<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** In 1997, in the plot of the Municipal Conference Centre (MCC) of Thebes on the N-NW part of the Kadmeia Hill, the contents of a Mycenaean storeroom were partially excavated, about 250m N-NW of the Kadmeion. It comprised a bronze corselet, an agate seal depicting a cow suckling her calf, traces of melted lead and pottery. All the items had fallen from a higher level and were found in a fill of red earth, probably deriving from the disintegrated mud-bricks. Areas of black earth with charred wood and signs of burning on several of the finds indicate fire as the cause of destruction. Thirty-five vases were complete or nearly complete: twenty-four of coarse or plain ware (storage vessels, lamps, a small amphora, shallow cups, ladles, kylikes), ten decorated closed vessels (stirrup jars, jugs, a hydria, a based askos, a small amphora), and one Group A deep bowl. The pottery is dated to the end of the LH IIIB period, when some features of the LH IIIC Early pottery had already appeared. The pottery from the storeroom is discussed in connection with pottery groups from other sites in Thebes as well as from other Mycenaean palatial centers.

**Keywords:** Mycenaean pottery, Thebes, Kadmeia, end of Mycenaean palaces

After the House of Kadmos was revealed by Antonios Keramopoulos<sup>2</sup> in the period between 1906 and 1929 on top of the Kadmeia Hill (Fig. 1.1), intense excavations from 1960 onwards brought to light several parts of the Mycenaean settlement at Thebes. The picture gained is fragmentary, not only due to the rescue character of the excavations represented by random trenches in the entire town following modern building activity but also because it is mainly based on preliminary reports.

In 1995–1997 the plot where the Municipal Conference Center (MCC) of Thebes was later erected had been excavated (Fig. 1.6). The plot is situated on the N-NW slope of the Kadmeia Hill, on Loukas Bellos and Threpsiadis Sts., about 250m from the Kadmeion. On top of the hill, above the excavated area, stands the church of Ayios Georgios in the homonymous square, 9.16m higher than Loukas Bellos St.

The ceramic contents of a storeroom destroyed by fire will be presented and compared to other pottery groups from Thebes and other – mainly palatial – Mycenaean sites. The deposit was devoid of later intrusions and represents the stage of the final collapse of the Mycenaean Palatial system in Thebes. For comparison, three excavations in Thebes have been selected, where the palatial character is clear and publication or more detailed references to the pottery exist. These sites are situated at a distance of 100–250m to the SE and SW of the Kadmeion. The two most remote sites (MCC plot, 1 Oedipus St. plot) are approximately 450m apart:

- The plot on Epaminondas and Democritus (former Metaxas) Sts. (Fig.1.3), where a building comprising a Linear B tablet archive was excavated.<sup>3</sup>
- The plot at 1 Oedipus St. (Fig.1.4), where three buildings destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIB2 were excavated in 1981 and 1983.<sup>4</sup> For Building III, the excavator identified an

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<sup>2</sup> Keramopoulos 1909; Keramopoulos 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975.

<sup>4</sup> Piteros 1988; Piteros 1989.

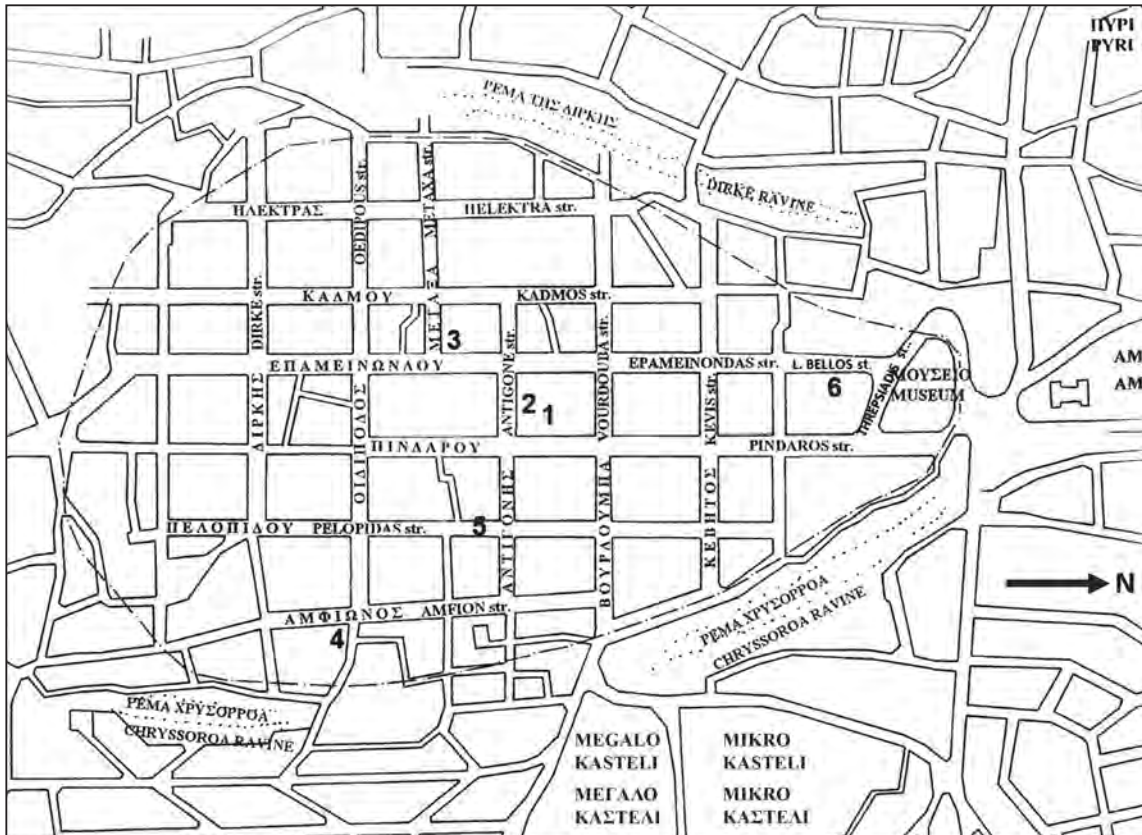


Fig. 1 Map of Kadmeia Hill. 1. Old Kadmeion; 2. New Kadmeion; 3. Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. Plot; 4. 1 Oedipus St. plot; 5. Pelopidas St. excavation; 6. MCC plot.

earlier destruction level also caused by fire, dating to LH IIIB1. A group of 60 clay sealings, 56 of them inscribed in Linear B, is connected to this earlier destruction.<sup>5</sup>

- The excavation below the surface of Pelopidas St. (Fig.1.5), where another Linear B tablet archive has been revealed.<sup>6</sup> The study of the pottery led to the dating of the archive to the end of LH IIIB2. Habitation levels from LH IIIA2, LH IIIC Early and LH IIIC Middle also existed.<sup>7</sup>

On the MCC plot (Fig. 2), dense occupation with substantial architectural remains from all Byzantine periods was attested by the 1<sup>st</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.<sup>8</sup> Pottery from the Classical and Hellenistic periods indicates that some of the fragmentary walls date to these periods.<sup>9</sup> The Mycenaean layer was attested in the south and in the central part of the excavation. Middle Helladic architectural finds were rather poor and restricted to the southern part and the central-eastern border of the excavated area.<sup>10</sup> The Early Helladic period was well attested, including a big apsidal house in a good state of preservation, again in the southern part of the plot.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Piteros et al. 1990.

<sup>6</sup> Aravantinos et al. 2001; Aravantinos et al. 2002; Aravantinos et al. 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Andrikou 2006.

<sup>8</sup> Koilakou 1992, 118–119; Koilakou 2000, 77–80.

<sup>9</sup> Andrikou 2000a, 291–292; Karakitsou 2000; Sabetai – Karakitsou 2016. Our late colleague Elissavet Stassinopoulou excavated the relics of a sanctuary, possibly the Thesmophorion referred to by Pausanias (IX.6.5), on Ayios Georgios Square, during the 1980s.

<sup>10</sup> Andrikou 2000a, 294; Deligianni 2003.

<sup>11</sup> Andrikou 2000a, 294; Andrikou 2000b.

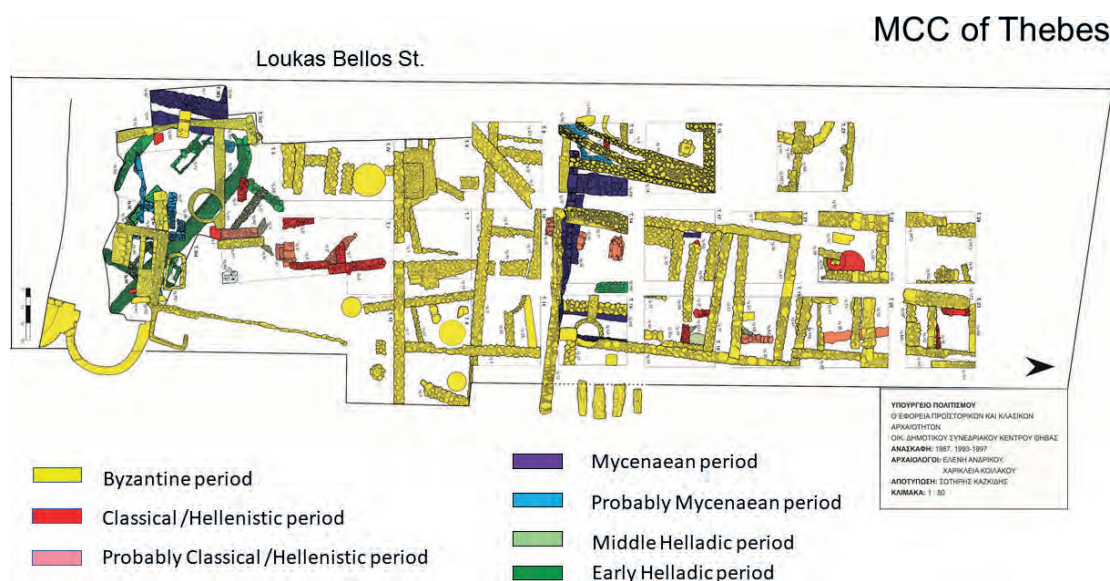


Fig. 2 MCC plot, Thebes. Ground plan of the excavation (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boiotia).

In the Mycenaean layer, six lots were discerned named Deposits I–VI.<sup>12</sup> Deposit II is the contents of a storeroom at the SW corner of the terrain, defined by Wall κβ' and extending to the west (Figs. 2, 3). The pottery is of LH IIIB2 Late date.<sup>13</sup> Deposit V in the central part of the terrain also dates to this phase, while Deposits I and IV date to LH IIIC Early, immediately after the destruction. Earlier occupation in LH IIIA2/B1 is attested by the small Deposit III between the Walls κβ' and κε' (Fig. 3a–b).

Of the building to which the storeroom belonged, only the exterior east wall (Wall κβ') has been revealed at a length of 4.50m, extending from N-NE to S-SW.<sup>14</sup> Its total preserved height is 1.80–1.92m. The lower part, 1.35–1.42m in height, constitutes the foundation, 1m wide. The upper 0.50m is the wall itself. The walls on the other three sides were not discovered (Fig. 3a–b).

The contents of the storeroom were excavated over an area of almost 4m<sup>2</sup> and most likely extend further to W below the modern street level. The level at which it was found corresponds to the basement of that time. Given that all the items had fallen into the place where they were found and that the basement is too short in height to be of proper use, it is suggested that the actual storeroom was on a higher level of the ground floor. The upper 0.30/0.50m of the deposit (Fig. 3b) were composed of dark brown earth with burnt areas, and the remaining 1.10m till the lowest course of the foundation of the Wall κβ', of bright red earth, probably from the dissolution of unbaked bricks, with black burnt areas.<sup>15</sup> That the dark and the red layer belong together is proven by the jug II.250, which was found in the dark layer. However, matching sherds were also found in the lowest 0.40m. The level connected to the actual wall was disturbed when the area was reused after the destruction (Deposit I).

The contents of the storeroom comprised various ceramic vessels and a few individual items, such as a steatite conulus, some stone tools and lead sheets or wires. Among them, a deformed

<sup>12</sup> Andrikou, forthcoming. The catalogue numbers of the vases referred to in the text derive from the publication catalogue.

<sup>13</sup> The term LH IIIB2 Late is considered an appropriate one for the last ceramic phase within the Palatial period. However, I think that regional variations can be clearly identified and characteristic features of one area are not so important for another. See Vitale 2006, 199; Andrikou 2006, 36; French – Stockhammer 2009, 216–218.

<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that the direction of the Walls κβ' and κε' does not coincide with the NE-SW axis of Keramopoulos' Kadmeion.

<sup>15</sup> At this depth, the upper surface of Wall λη' was revealed (Fig. 3), but it was not possible to continue the excavation.

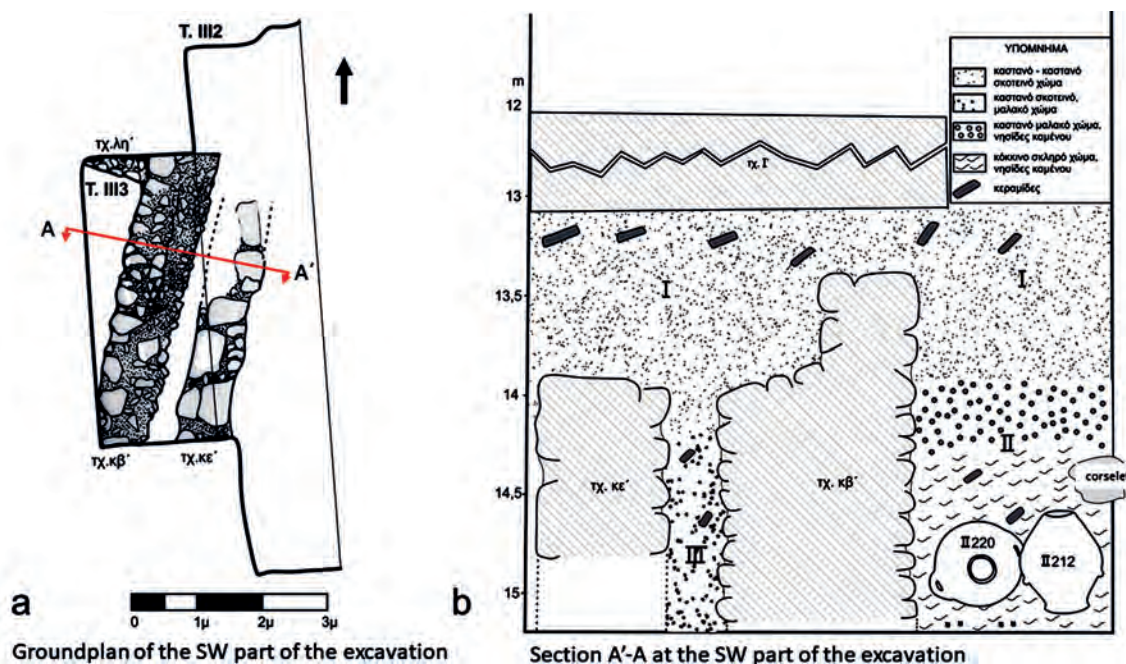


Fig. 3 MCC plot, Thebes. Area of Deposit II. a. Ground plan; b. stratigraphical section (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boiotia).

bronze corselet,<sup>16</sup> an agate seal<sup>17</sup> and two ivory fragments that belonged to a lyre demonstrate the high status of the owner, also confirmed by the building's sturdy construction. Some of the items are burnt and others not, and several vases are partially burnt because they were smashed before the fire spread. The vases were broken but mostly with their pieces remaining together or within a limited vertical and horizontal distribution. At the depth of the foundations (15.11m from the Ayios Georgios level/5.95m from Loukas Bellos St.) two storage vases were lying side by side, cracked but keeping their original shape. They were both upturned, the pithos II.212 almost vertical with the mouth downwards to the N and the belly-handled amphora II.220 almost upright, leaning to the N. The red-earth fill ended at the level at which both vessels stood (Fig. 3b). No signs of a floor were attested, which also suggests that the basement was not used, and most probably constituted an empty space into which the items collapsed.

The storeroom was for alimentary provisions, mainly liquids – i.e. wine and oil. Cooking pots and vases suitable for serving and consuming these products were also kept. The pottery comprises 35 whole or nearly whole vases and 587 sherds.

The storage vases are plain, of coarse or semi-coarse ware:

**Pithos FS 13.** Pithos II.212 (0.62m in height, Fig. 4.4) was found on the bottom of the trench. It has the smooth contour of the LH IIIB pithoi,<sup>18</sup> a flat base and two horizontal handles on the shoulder. The closest parallel, although it displays different proportions, is known from the LH IIIB1 West House at Mycenae.<sup>19</sup>

**Belly-handled amphora FS 58.** Three amphorae of that type (II.219–II.221), similar in size (0.60–0.70m in height) are preserved (Fig. 6.4). The amphora II.220 was found next to the pithos II.212. The shape is known from the LH IIIB1 houses around the acropolis of Mycenae<sup>20</sup> and from

<sup>16</sup> Andrikou 2007. The date suggested in this paper is now changed due to the refinement of the pottery study. A lower date (LH IIIB) for the corselet is more consistent with the line of evolution from LH IIIA.

<sup>17</sup> Andrikou 2003, 610–613 no. 1; Andrikou 2004, no. 377.

<sup>18</sup> Iakovidis 2006, 50, pl. 15.26; Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2010, 30, fig. 44.

<sup>19</sup> Verdelis 1963, 22, fig. 33; French 1967, 172 n. 44.

<sup>20</sup> Verdelis 1963, 23–24, figs. 36–37, 40; French 1967, 172, 174, fig. 14.52-568, pl. 39d.

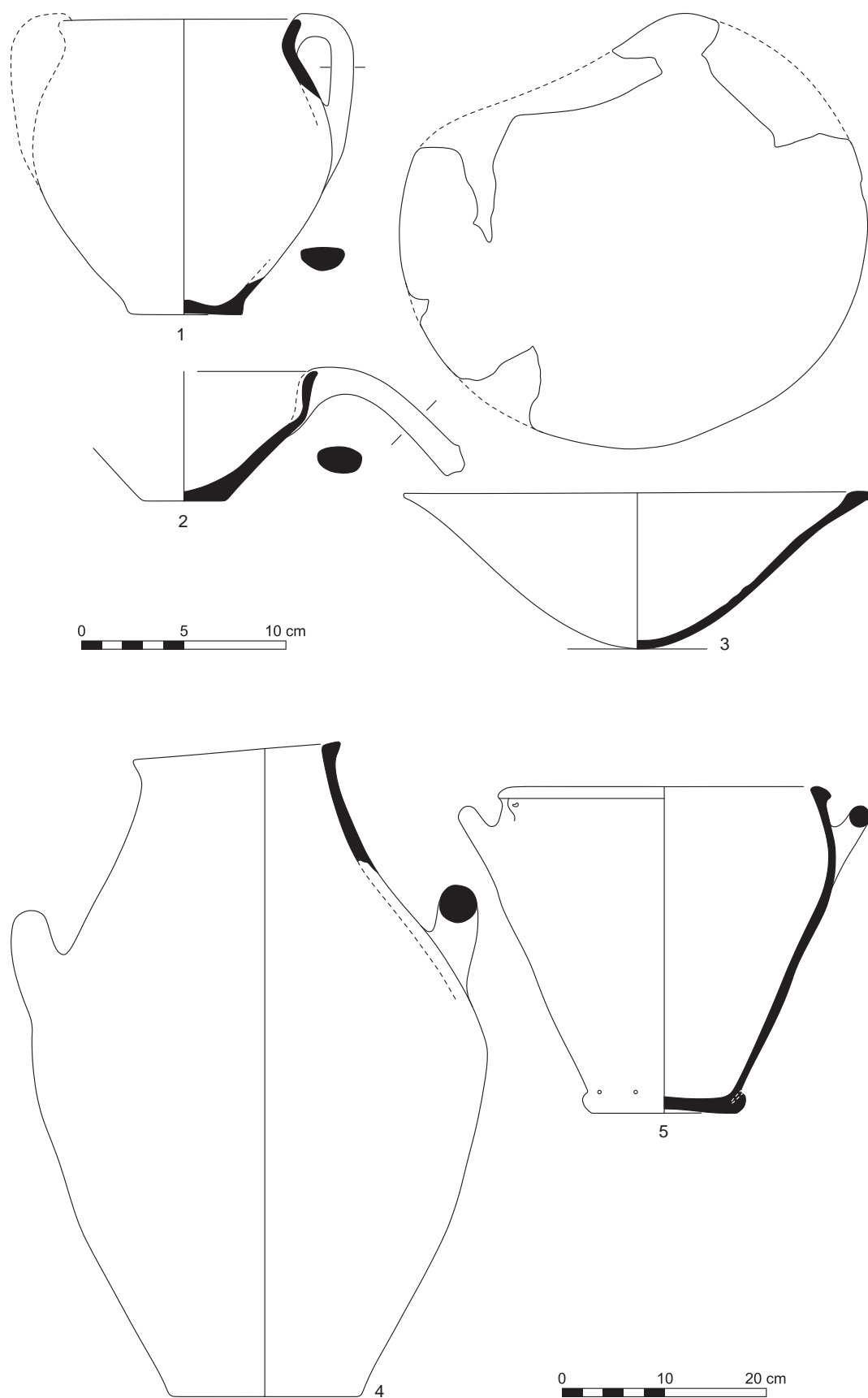


Fig. 4 Pottery from Deposit II. 1. Cooking pot II.206; 2. lamp II.209; 3. lamp II.210; 4. pithos II.212; 5. wide-mouthed storage jar II.214. 1-3, 5. scale 1:3; 4. scale 1:6.

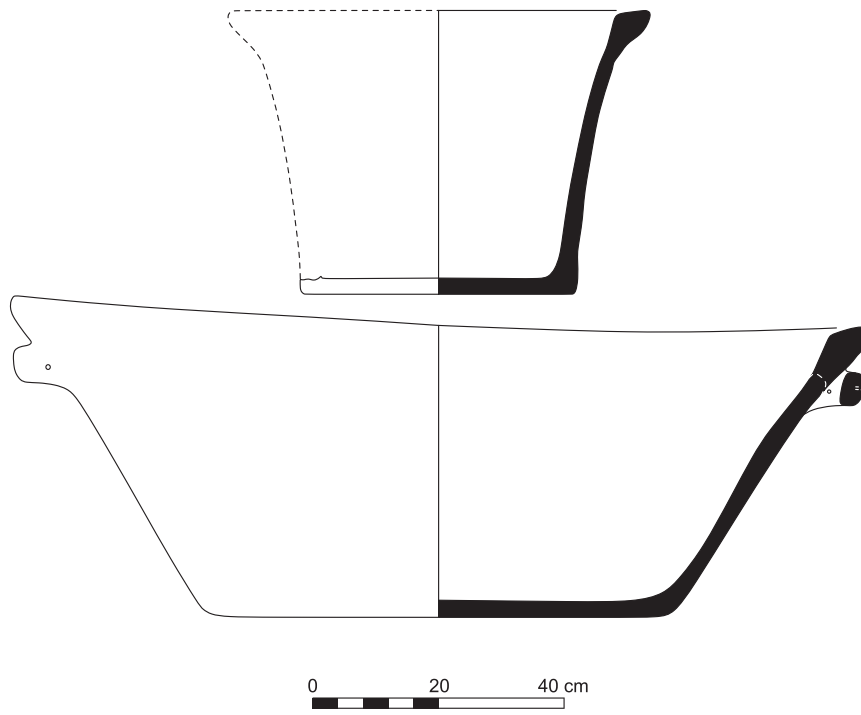


Fig. 5 Pottery from Deposit II. Tub II.211. Scale 1:6.

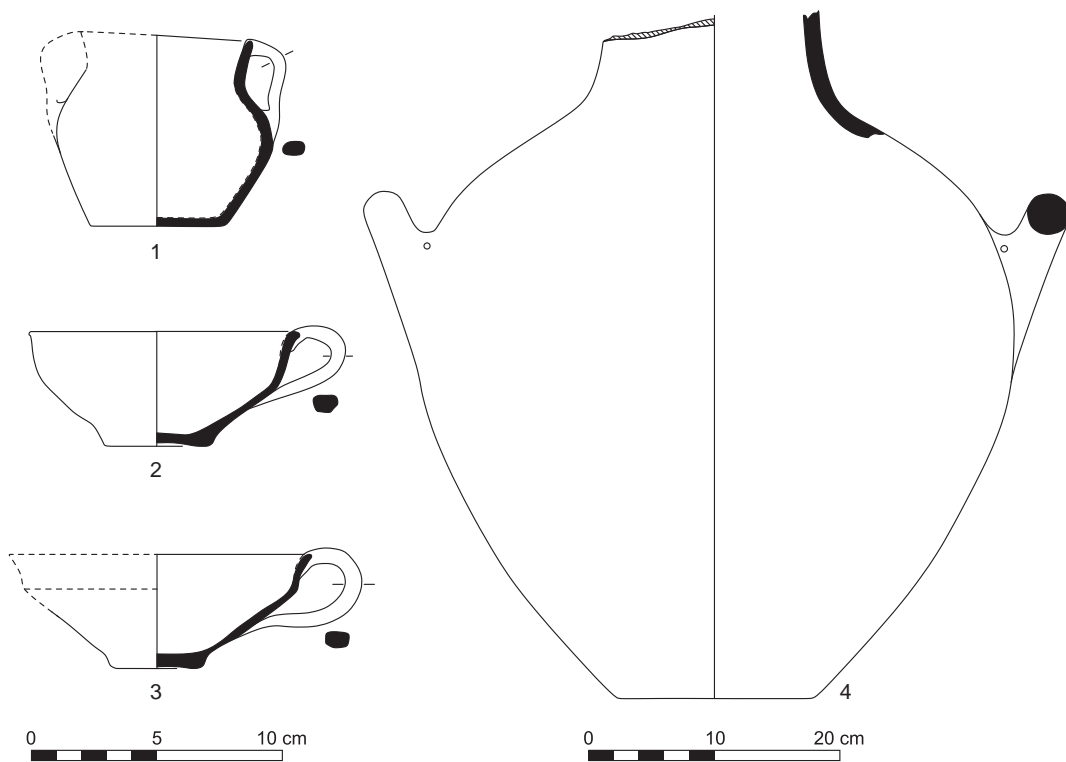


Fig. 6 Pottery from Deposit II. 1. Amphoriskos II.225; 2. cup II.227; 3. cup II.226; 4. belly-handled amphora II.220. 1-3. scale 1:3; 4. scale 1:6.

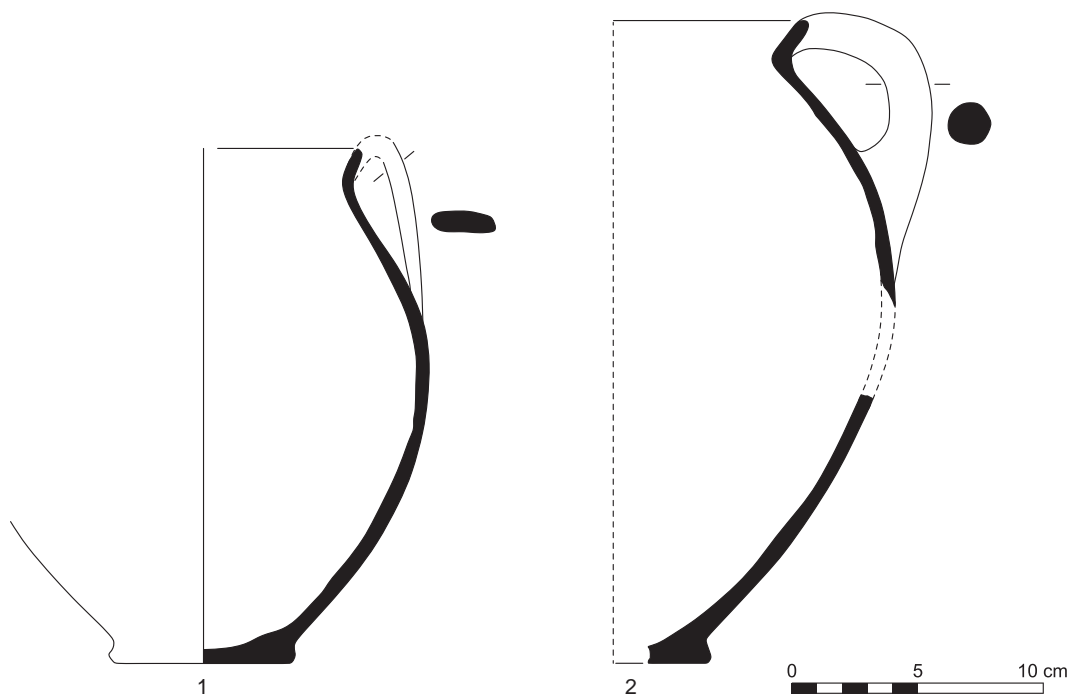


Fig. 7 Pottery from Deposit II. Storage amphorae. 1. II.222; 2. II.223. Scale 1:3.

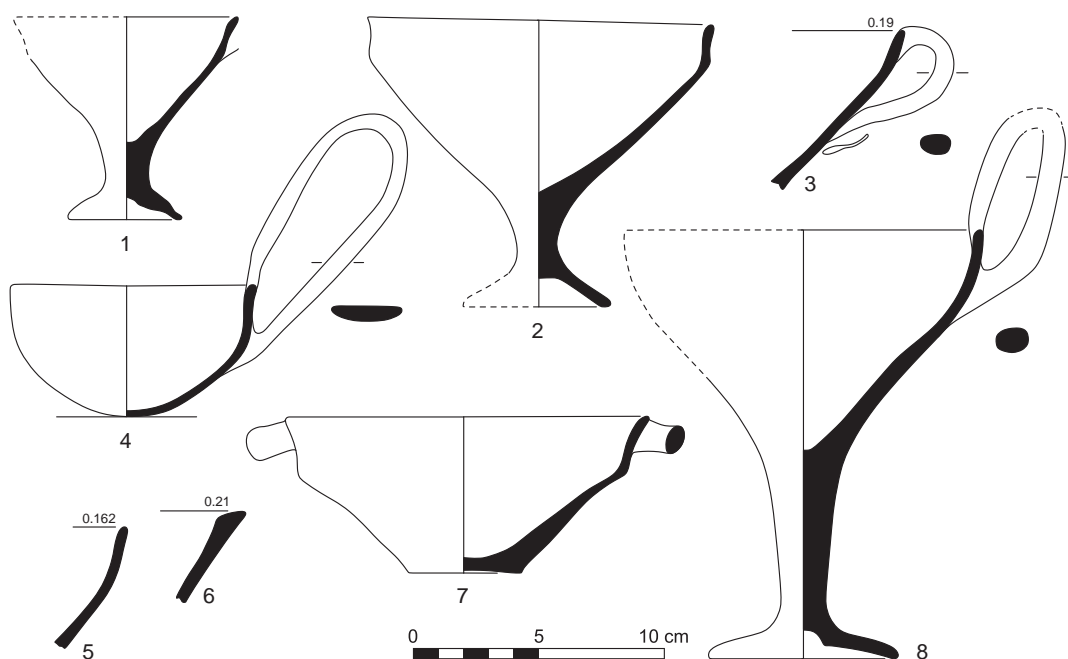


Fig. 8 Pottery from Deposit II. 1. Low-stemmed kylix II.239; 2. low-stemmed kylix II.237; 3. conical kylix II.243; 4. ladle II.233; 5. conical kylix II.244; 6. conical bowl or basin II.247; 7. shallow angular bowl II.246; 8. kylix with high handles II.242. Scale 1:3.



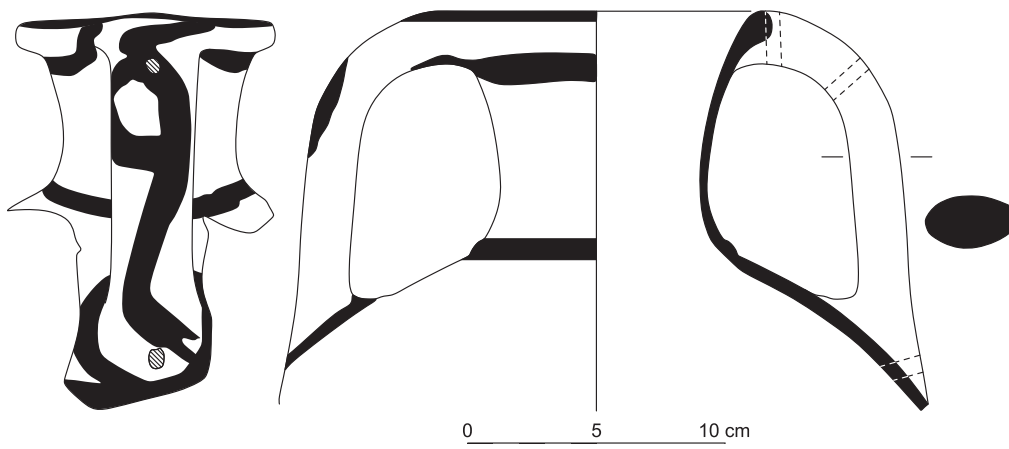


Fig. 9 Pottery from Deposit II. Large amphora II.248. Scale 1:3.



Fig. 10 Pottery from Deposit II. 1. Hydria II.255; 2. amphoriskos II.254. Scale 1:3.

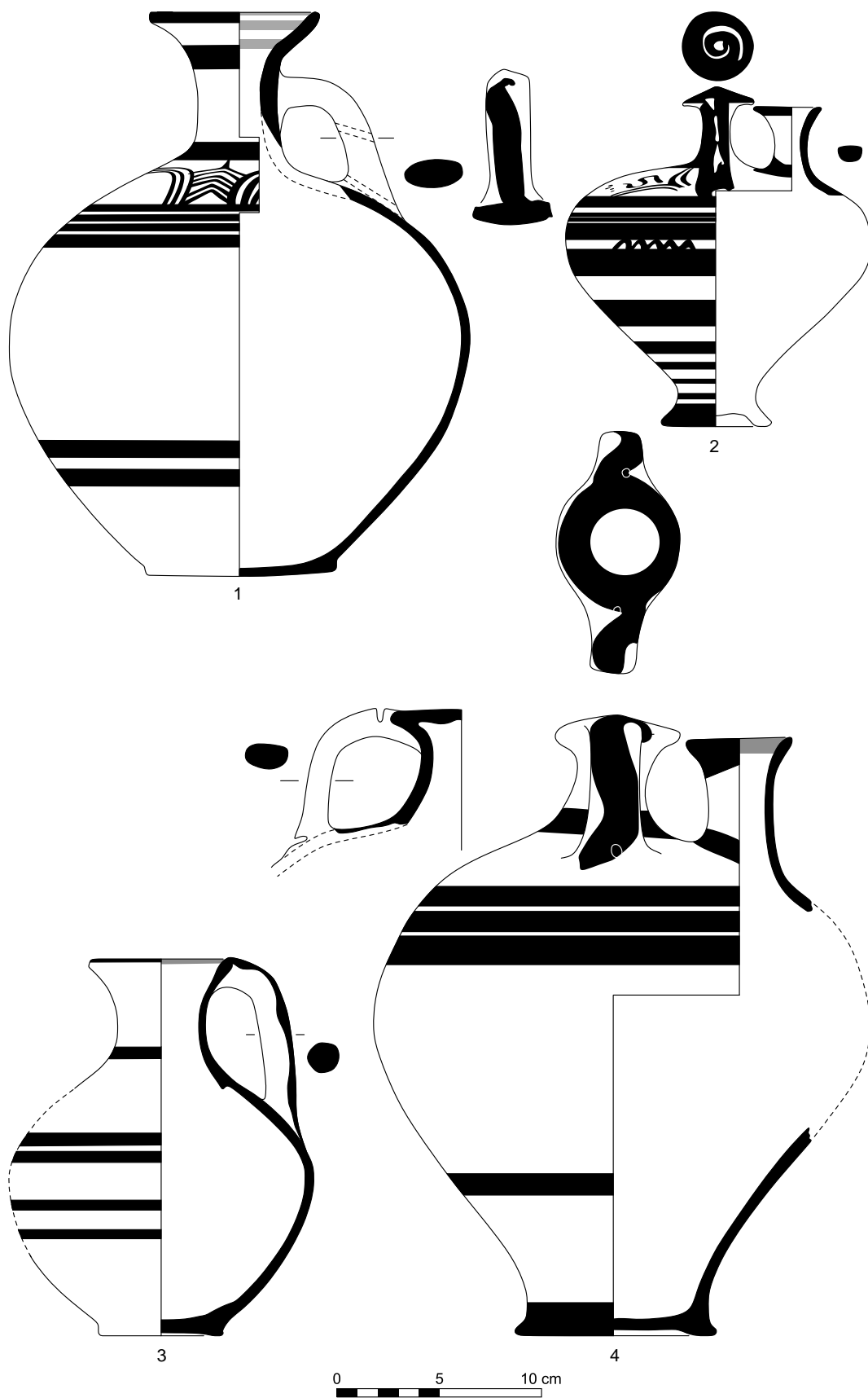


Fig. 11 Pottery from Deposit II. 1. Narrow-necked jug II.253; 2. stirrup jar II.257; 3. jug II.250; 4. stirrup jar II.256. Scale 1:3.

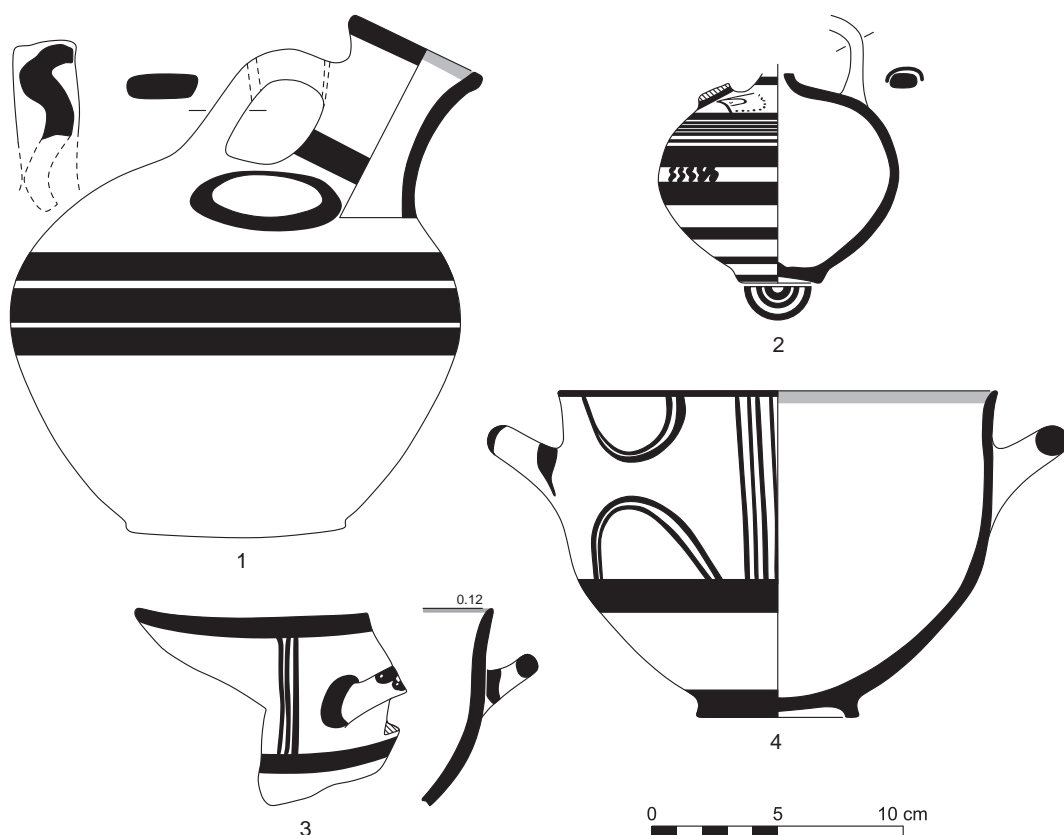


Fig. 12 Pottery from Deposit II. 1. Based askos II.261; 2. stirrup jar II.260; 3. deep bowl II.267; 4. Group A deep bowl II.266. Scale 1:3.

the LH IIIB2 destruction levels at the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. plot in Thebes,<sup>21</sup> from the Englianos palace,<sup>22</sup> the West Gate Area at Midea,<sup>23</sup> the House of the Tripod Tomb at Mycenae,<sup>24</sup> and Storeroom 4 at Megaron B in Dimini.<sup>25</sup>

**Tub FS 1.** The tub II.211 (Fig. 5) was reconstructed from pieces scattered south of the storage vases II.212 and II.220. A similar but slightly smaller tub (IV.335) was reused in the Post-palatial Deposit IV after having been mended with lead clamps.

Although plain tubs in domestic sites have not gained much attention and a special study on them is lacking, it seems that they became more common in late Mycenaean times, either as bathtubs or for other uses like storage,<sup>26</sup> as is the case here. Several tubs are known from LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early 1 destruction contexts at Thebes (Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. plot,<sup>27</sup> 1 Oedipus St. plot<sup>28</sup>), at Mycenae (the House of the Tripod Tomb)<sup>29</sup> and in Attica (Ayios Kosmas).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 27 no. 3, pl. 15.46.

<sup>22</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, figs. 373–374 (Shape 49).

<sup>23</sup> Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 1997, 22, fig. 36.

<sup>24</sup> Onassoglou 1995, 96 no. β; 109 no. α; 110 no. ι, fig. 48.3, pls. 41β; 42α; 44γ; 45β.

<sup>25</sup> Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 373–374.

<sup>26</sup> Keramopoulos 1917, 92; Onassoglou 1995, 143; Marabea 2010, 149–150, 268–270, discusses several other potential uses of the vessel.

<sup>27</sup> Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 11, 21.

<sup>28</sup> Piteros 1988, 191, pl. 120α; Piteros 1989, 132.

<sup>29</sup> Onassoglou 1995, 110 no. θ, fig. 51, pl. 45α.

<sup>30</sup> Mylonas 1959, 53, pls. 31, 171.

**Storage jar FS 280.** The wide-mouthed storage jar II.214 (Fig. 4.5) was designed to accept a lid fastened just below its rim. It has no exact parallel, although a similar vase was found in the destruction layer at Midea<sup>31</sup> and a variety of comparable shapes belong to the Palace of Nestor collection.<sup>32</sup>

**Amphora FS 66.** This shape (II.222, II.223, Fig. 7.1–2) of semi-coarse fabric seems to be confined to Thebes. A semi-coarse example comes from the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. excavation.<sup>33</sup> At Mycenae and Pylos, the type with handles from neck to shoulder (FS 67) was preferred.<sup>34</sup>

Vessels for special purposes or cooking comprise:

**Lamps FS 311, 312.** Arne Furumark calls these two shapes ladle or brazier. Two examples of a semi-coarse fabric are present. II.209 (Fig. 4.2) is considered a lamp since two similar vessels from the MCC plot (III.274, VI.595) bear signs of burning on the nozzle opposite the handle. This was also observed on two lamps from the Panagia Houses at Mycenae.<sup>35</sup> II.210 (Fig. 4.3) could also be a lamp if one considers the slight traces of burning on the rim approximately opposite to the handle, which was attached at the portion of the wall which was pushed in and is now missing. Whatever its use, the vessel is present in LH IIIB2 destruction contexts at Midea.<sup>36</sup>

**Cooking pot FS 66.** The shape of the cooking pot II.206 (Fig. 4.1), as assumed based on the fabric and the signs of fire, is most probably that of an amphora with handles from rim to shoulder. The shape, also known in semi-coarse fabric, is recognized as a cooking pot from several fragmentary examples at the MCC plot and the Pelopidas St. archive.<sup>37</sup> The predilection for the amphoroid type of cooking pot is also noted in the Argolid, though there the types with handles from neck to shoulder FS 67 and 74 were preferred.<sup>38</sup> The tripod cooking pot FS 320 is represented in the contents of the storeroom only by two fragments.

**Baking pan FS 323.** Only a small part (II.208) indicates the existence of the vessel, which seems to be present, although sparingly, in every LH IIIB household context.<sup>39</sup>

Open undecorated vases are of fine or semi-fine fabric:

The **cup FS 222** is one of the most common shapes (Fig. 6.2–3). The version with an angular profile prevails; this is also the case in the destruction layer of the Kadmeion.<sup>40</sup> A comparable variety in shape can be observed in the Englianos palace,<sup>41</sup> while cups with a rounded profile seem to have been preferred in the Argolid.<sup>42</sup>

The **ladle FS 236** appears in a smaller (II.233, Fig. 8.4) and a bigger (II.234) variation with a 0.06–0.07m-high handle. Parallels can be found among the ladles of the Palace of Nestor and in the examples from the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. excavations.<sup>43</sup>

The **low-stemmed kylix FS 267** (Fig. 8.1–2) is by far the most frequent unpainted vase, mostly with an angular bowl, like the cup FS 222 and the shallow bowl FS 295. They are common

<sup>31</sup> Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 1999, 63, fig. 15.

<sup>32</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 394–396, figs. 383–384 (Shapes 57, 58).

<sup>33</sup> Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 29 no. 2, pl. 17.55.

<sup>34</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 384, fig. 372 (Shape 48b); French 1967, 172–173, fig. 13.2–3, 5–6; French 1969, 86, fig. 12.9.

<sup>35</sup> Mylonas Shear 1987, 99–100, pl. 27.110–111 (Drain Deposit N of Room 7).

<sup>36</sup> Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 1999, 71–72, fig. 69; Baumann 2007, 160, fig. 177.2049, 2051.

<sup>37</sup> Andrikou 2006, 27 n. 3.

<sup>38</sup> French 1967, 173–174; Wardle 1969, 282–283, fig. 8.81, 84; 291; Mountjoy 1976, 96, fig. 10.103–104; Mylonas Shear 1987, 109, pl. 32.139–142; Onassoglou 1995, pls. 44.1; 50.2; Dalinghaus 1998, 135, pl. 88.662, 664.

<sup>39</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 340–341, fig. 348.12; French 1969, 85–86, fig. 12.24; Mylonas Shear 1987, 111 nos. 148–149, fig. 21, pl. 33; Iakovidis 1989, 235, fig. 9β; Dalinghaus 1998, 136–137, pl. 89.680–685; Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 1999, 67, fig. 44; Andrikou 2006, 61 no. 22, pl. 27.9–10; Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 450–452.

<sup>40</sup> Raison 1968, 48–49 n. 190, pl. 37.78.

<sup>41</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, figs. 353–354 (Shape 12). Cf. also Vasilogamvrou et al., this volume, for a cup with angular profile from the LH IIIB Middle destruction deposit at Ayios Vasileios.

<sup>42</sup> French 1967, 174, 176, fig. 16; Wardle 1969, 282, 284, fig. 9.88–94; Mountjoy 1976, 95, 98–99, fig. 12.136–142; Hiesel 1982, 433, fig. 52.3; 436–437; Verstraete 2007, 152, figs. 167.1963–1965; 169.1982.

<sup>43</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, figs. 357–358 (Shape 22); Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, pl. 18.65–67.

in the LH IIIB1 destruction layer of the Kadmeion,<sup>44</sup> differing in that they have a lipped rim and maybe a shallower bowl, and also in the late LH IIIB2 destructions in Pelopidas St.<sup>45</sup> and in Epaminondas and Democritus Sts.<sup>46</sup> They are present at Pylos<sup>47</sup> and other Mycenaean sites, and at Midea they are characterized as the most common undecorated vase.<sup>48</sup>

**Kylix with high handles FS 273.** The only example, II.242 (Fig. 8.8) with a deep bowl, compares well with the kylikes from the Palace of Nestor.<sup>49</sup>

The **conical Kylix FS 274** (II.243–II.245) is recognized only from parts of the bowl. The profile of II.243 (Fig. 8.3) is straight and slightly curving before the rim, similar to a kylix from the Kadmeion and to another kylix found at Midea.<sup>50</sup> The other two examples (Fig. 8.5) present a smooth, rounded profile similar to kylix fragments from the Pelopidas St. archive<sup>51</sup> and kylikes from the Palace of Nestor and other Mycenaean sites.<sup>52</sup>

The lower part of a high stem with the beginning of the base disc (II.265), probably solid painted or banded, is the only decorated piece. Both forms of decoration appear in Tiryns late in LH IIIB2.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, low-stemmed kylikes with a solid painted foot are considered diagnostic for LH IIIB2 Late.<sup>54</sup>

**Shallow angular bowl FS 295.** II.246 (Fig. 8.7) is an almost complete example and finds close parallels at the Pelopidas St. archive,<sup>55</sup> the Palace of Nestor and the Midea West Gate destruction deposit.<sup>56</sup> The type was already present among the Kadmeion pottery.<sup>57</sup>

II.247 (Fig. 8.6) is attributed to a large conical bowl or basin, similar to the basins of the Palace of Nestor.<sup>58</sup>

Closed decorated vases are of semi-fine or fine fabric:

**Large amphora FS 69.** II.248 (Fig. 9) is the only example safely attributed to this shape. The handle decoration and the stripe below the rim on the outside may be an indication for a late date in LH IIIB2.<sup>59</sup>

**Hydria FS 128.** II.255 (Fig. 10.1) is an almost complete example with ovoid body and band decoration. The partially preserved hydria from the Palace of Nestor can be compared, as well as the hydria from the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. excavations.<sup>60</sup> Two fine ware hydriae come from Deposits I and IV (LH IIIC Early) of the MCC plot.

**Jug FS 110.** II.250 (Fig. 11.3) has a smooth contour from shoulder to neck and is decorated with stripes and a nearly straight band along the handle. The narrow neck expanding to the rim reminds one of the lekythos. The shape and decoration find parallels in the jugs of MCC Deposit V, the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. excavations and a bigger jug from the Pylos palace.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Raison 1968, 48 n. 188, pl. 37.75.242, 263, 247, 261; 77.260, 363.

<sup>45</sup> Andrikou 2006, 28, pls. 9.136–137; 11.175–176; 40.46.

<sup>46</sup> Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 34 no. 3, pl. 20.79.

<sup>47</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 366–367, figs. 359–360 (Shape 27).

<sup>48</sup> Demakopoulou 2003, 82.

<sup>49</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 372–374 (Shape 30c, 32), figs. 365–366.

<sup>50</sup> Raison 1968, 47–48 n. 186–187, pl. 37.77.265; Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2001, 40, 43, fig. 19.

<sup>51</sup> Andrikou 2006, 109, pls. 9.139–144; 11.177A–B; 40.47.

<sup>52</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 371 (Shape 29h, i), figs. 363–364; French 1969, 86, fig. 12.6; Wardle 1969, 286, fig. 10.104; Mountjoy 1976, 101, fig. 13.163; Hiesel 1982, 433, fig. 52.4; Mountjoy 1983, 79, fig. 32.150.

<sup>53</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 107, 110, pls. 54.1; 55.8.

<sup>54</sup> French – Stockhammer 2009, 219, fig. 23.6.

<sup>55</sup> Andrikou 2006, pl. 9.149.

<sup>56</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, fig. 350 (Shape 4); Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2001, 44, fig. 30.

<sup>57</sup> Raison 1968, 48, pl. 37.77.295, 269.

<sup>58</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, fig. 350 (Shape 1, no. 225; Shape 2, no. 508).

<sup>59</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 185, Beil. 63 (Variety 4, decoration type 7), 64 (handle decoration e).

<sup>60</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, fig. 345.4; Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, pl. 21.87.

<sup>61</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, fig. 367.676 (Shape 37); Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 29 nos. 3–4; 34 no. 1, pls. 17.56–57; 20.77.

There exist two **amphoriskoi**, with no versions in Furumark's typology: a plain one with a wide neck (II.225, Fig. 6.1) and a decorated, somewhat taller one (II.254, Fig. 10.2). The decoration on the shoulder connects it to the narrow-necked jugs II.252 and II.253 (Fig. 11.1).

**Narrow-necked jug FS 120/121.** There are three mended jugs (II.251, II.252, II.253) of the same size (height 0.26–0.275m) (Figs. 11.1; 13.2). Although they are not equal as regards the quality of the fabric and painting,<sup>62</sup> they are thought to come from the same workshop. The motifs on the shoulders of II.252 and II.253 (Figs. 11.1; 13.2) are reminiscent of the aforementioned amphoriskos II.254. The calyx-shaped mouth of II.253 is considered a development of an earlier feature, also noticed at Glas.<sup>63</sup>

The decorative system of either alternating perpendicular motifs or continuous motifs comprising panel-like designs is characteristic of the shape.<sup>64</sup> A close parallel to II.251 is a jug from Tomb 3 in the area of the Elektra Gate.<sup>65</sup>

The narrow-necked jug, a funerary vase during LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1,<sup>66</sup> becomes common, as much as a specialized shape can be, in settlement contexts in LH IIIB2. In the West Gate Area at Midea, at least eight have been found in the destruction layers<sup>67</sup> as well as at Mycenae (Perseia Trench L, Panagia Houses, House of the Tripod Tomb, Citadel SW Quarter)<sup>68</sup> and Tiryns.<sup>69</sup> This popularity continued and even increased in LH IIIC with the succeeding shape known as a lekythos.

**Stirrup jar.** II.256 (Fig. 11.4) is an example of a medium-sized storage stirrup jar FS 164 of semi-coarse fabric, bearing linear decoration. A similar stirrup jar with an additional wavy band around the shoulder comes from the Kadmeion.<sup>70</sup> A circle on the flat disc of the handles and a wavy band along them appear on another stirrup jar from the Kadmeion and also on a stirrup jar from Mycenae (House of the Tripod Tomb).<sup>71</sup>

The piriform stirrup jar II.257, of medium size (FS 166/167, Fig. 11.2), resembles those found in LH IIIB2 destruction layers in the houses outside the Mycenae Citadel<sup>72</sup> and in the Pylos palace.<sup>73</sup> The convex disc of the handles indicates a late LH IIIB2 date, as does the simple banding on the lower body.<sup>74</sup>

The medium-sized stirrup jar II.259 bears only linear decoration comprising the usual system for the shape consisting of lines between bands. On the disc of the handles a spiral is painted, as is common on stirrup jars,<sup>75</sup> and a wavy band along the handles which does not reach the disc.<sup>76</sup>

**Small globular stirrup jar FS 171/173.** II.260 (Fig. 12.2) is decorated in the LH IIIB2 style with a group of lines between bands separating the shoulder, where Mycenaean flowers are painted, from the belly zone filled with vertical wavy lines. The lower body is covered with

<sup>62</sup> II.251 is of a high standard on both aspects (fig. 13.2), II.252 presents a hasty drawing and II.253 (fig. 11.1) is of semi-fine fabric.

<sup>63</sup> Iakovidis 1998, 25–26, fig. 10; Mountjoy 1999, 682–683, fig. 261.177.

<sup>64</sup> See n. 65–68 below.

<sup>65</sup> Keramopoulos 1917, 28, fig. 24 (= FS 121.6); Mountjoy 1999, 682–683, fig. 261.177.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. indicatively, Mountjoy 1999, 119, 135 n. 652 (for LH IIIA2, LH IIIB1 examples from burials), 147 n. 730–733 (for examples from LH IIIB2 settlements).

<sup>67</sup> Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 1994, 27 (the most common closed shape together with stirrup jar FS 173), 29, figs. 25–26; 30, fig. 28; Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 1999, 64, fig. 22 (Room VIa); Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2001, 42–43, figs. 12–13, 21 (Room VIIa, b); 47, fig. 47; Giering 1998, pl. 73.271; Giering 2007, pl. 139.1626.

<sup>68</sup> French 1969, 73–74, fig. 1.11–13; Mylonas Shear 1987, 106–107, fig. 18, pl. 30.128; Onassoglou 1995, 76, 79, fig. 45.3; pl. 28a; Iakovidis et al. 2013, 370, pls. 89a; 94a.

<sup>69</sup> Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 69 (Varieties 5 and 6).

<sup>70</sup> Raison 1968, pls. 32.69; 34.71 (Thebes 826).

<sup>71</sup> Raison 1968, pl. 5.20 (Thebes 853); Onassoglou 1995, fig. 49.1.

<sup>72</sup> Onassoglou 1995, 109–110 no. ζ, fig. 50.1, pl. 44β; Iakovidis 2013, 67, pl. 21β.

<sup>73</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 406, 410–411 (Shape 65f), fig. 367.676.

<sup>74</sup> See below FS 171/173: n. 78.

<sup>75</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, fig. 394.

<sup>76</sup> A similar blank space is noticed on some stirrup jars between the disc and the solidly painted handle. Podzuweit 2007, 160 n. 955, considers it a chronological criterium for a LH IIIB Early and Middle date.



Fig. 13 Pottery from Deposit II. 1. Rim fragment of Group A/B deep bowl (Deposit II.271); 2. narrow-necked jug II.251.

bands of nearly equal width. Simple band decoration on the lower body appeared in LH IIIB<sup>77</sup> and became more common and widespread during LH IIIC in other closed shapes as well.<sup>78</sup> II.260 is one of the very rare examples with circles painted on the underside of the base. The small globular stirrup jar is very common in the MCC plot and also found in the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. plot.<sup>79</sup>

**Based askos FS 195.** There are two examples of decorated based askoi: the medium-sized II.261 (Fig. 12.1) and the big II.262. Based askoi are known from LH IIIA on in funerary contexts.<sup>80</sup> In LH IIIB2 their number, especially for undecorated ones, increases in settlement contexts, like in the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. plot at Thebes, at Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea and Dimini.<sup>81</sup> Decorated examples, mainly linear, are rare. On the decorated askoi from the MCC plot, Thebes and Plakes, Mycenae,<sup>82</sup> circular or curvilinear motifs are added on the shoulder.

**Deep bowl FS 284** of fine fabric. II.266 (Fig. 12.4) is a nearly complete example of a Group A deep bowl. The decoration, consisting of simple rectilinear triglyphs and pairs of semicircles in the metopes, although characteristic of LH IIIB stemmed bowls<sup>83</sup> and Group B deep bowls,<sup>84</sup> is known on Group A and Group A/B deep bowls as well.<sup>85</sup> The simple rectilinear triglyph also appears on a rim bowl fragment (II.267, Fig. 12.3) with an exterior lip band wider than is usual on Group A deep bowls. The motif on the metope is missing. It could be a lozenge, like on deep bowls from MCC Deposits V and VI or another motif or combination.<sup>86</sup> Interior decoration is very rare. It can be a second band below the rim (II.268) or concentric circles on the bottom (II.270).

Group A/B deep bowls are represented only by two sherds with the multiple stem motif FM 19. On the rim fragment II.271 (Fig. 13.1) the ‘tongue’ variation appears, and on a small belly fragment, probably the ‘hooked’ one. The multiple stem in several variations is also present on Group A and Group A/B deep bowls in other deposits of the MCC plot.

Six small fragments, one of which is a rim, belong to monochrome deep bowls, which have a clear presence in all MCC contexts.

<sup>77</sup> Mylonas Shear 1987, pl. 28.117–119.

<sup>78</sup> Andrikou 2006, 40 n. 4; 83 no. 295, pls. 18, 48.72. Cf. also Mountjoy 1999, 573, fig. 211.348, 354; 683, fig. 261.179; Voigtländer 2003, pl. 136.Bü 30.

<sup>79</sup> Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 30, fig. 8, pl. 17.60–60a.

<sup>80</sup> Immerwahr 1971, 138–139. For a LH IIIB1 domestic example see Thomas 2005, 507.

<sup>81</sup> Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 34 no. 2, pl. 20.78; Hiesel 1982, 437–438, figs. 54–55; Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 1997, 22, fig. 33; Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2001, 44, fig. 28; French – Tylour 2007, 24 (Area 36, no. 66-509); Daniilidou 2008, 150, fig. 118, pl. 52; Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 374–375.

<sup>82</sup> Iakovidis 2013, 136, pl. 50β.

<sup>83</sup> Demakopoulou 1974, 172, fig. 13; Voigtländer 2003, pl. 107.HS 69.

<sup>84</sup> Voigtländer 2003, pl. 124.Si 43; Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 468.

<sup>85</sup> Mountjoy 1995, 207, fig. 6.64; Marabea 2010, 660, fig. 121.2.112; Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 468.

<sup>86</sup> Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 1994, 27, fig. 16; Mountjoy 1999, 679–680, fig. 259.162.

Regarding the open plain shapes represented in the sherd material, the deep bowl FS 284<sup>87</sup> has been identified as well as various types of cups (FS 204, 215), while fragments of the angular kylix FS 267 are the most numerous. Among the decorated sherds, the closed vases are well represented, and two belong to the stemmed bowl FS 304. The Group A deep bowl FS 284 constitutes 76% of the total examples of the shape; the monochrome deep bowl, 16% and Group A/B, 5%.<sup>88</sup> Other types of the deep bowl, e.g. of Group B, with rosette, with linear decoration or medium band are not found, nor is the cup FS 215 with lip band or medium band.

The best-preserved vases of Deposit II are closed shapes, plain or decorated. Open table vases (kylikes, cups, shallow and deep bowls) are better attested in sherd material. The range of shapes found in the excavated material primarily serves the storage needs of foodstuffs and especially liquids (pithos, several types of amphorae, stirrup jars, jugs, askoi) and secondly of serving and consuming the same (ladles, jugs, kylikes, cups, deep bowls).<sup>89</sup> Bearing in mind the restrictions regarding the shape variety due to the nature of the deposit, resemblance can be attested between the pottery of MCC Deposit II and the pottery from the Linear B tablet archive in Pelopidas St. (Deposits 2a, 2b) and from the excavations at Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. Focusing on decorated open shapes it is observed that:

- Group A deep bowls prevail in the Theban pottery groups selected for comparison.
- The monochrome deep bowl is well attested in the Pelopidas St. archive<sup>90</sup> and the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. excavations.<sup>91</sup> It is present at Mycenae and Tiryns in LH IIIB<sup>92</sup> and at the Palace of Nestor.<sup>93</sup>
- Group A/B deep bowls are sparingly present in the MCC plot and in the Pelopidas St. archive<sup>94</sup> and not mentioned in the report of the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. excavations.
- Group B deep bowls are only represented with three small sherds from Deposit 2b in Pelopidas St.<sup>95</sup>
- Rosette or medium band deep bowls and the cup FS 215 (linear, with dotted rim, solidly painted interior) are only found at Pelopidas St.<sup>96</sup>

Deposit I was lying over Deposit II and extended further to the east over the MH layer. It consisted of dark brown earth and dissolved building material covering fragmentary walls which did not allow any certain reconstruction plan and are hard to date. Most of the pottery is Mycenaean, but it is clear that the deposit was disturbed in later times. The Mycenaean pottery is preserved in sherds with almost no joins amongst them. Although it appears very close to the pottery of Deposit II, it presents certain characteristics which suggest it dates slightly later. The deep cup FS 215 is represented both in a plain and a decorated version (linear, with lip band, medium band, dotted rim) by a few fragmentary examples. The Group A deep bowl continues to be the most common type followed by monochrome and Group A/B ones. However, a slight increase in the number of cups and deep bowls with monochrome interior is observed. Various examples, like a jug with disintegrated leaf decoration on the shoulder (I.126) or a linear semi-fine stirrup jar (I.134) find parallels in LH IIIC Early contexts.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>87</sup> French 1967, 175; Wardle 1969, 291–292, fig. 12.121; Döhl 1973, 170 nos. A 9, A 11–A 12, pl. 70; Mountjoy 1976, 102, fig. 14.179; Mountjoy 1983, 40–41, fig. 14.313; Mountjoy 1995, 221–222, fig. 16.172–174; Dalinghaus 1998, pl. 86.642; Demakopoulou 2003, 81; Andrikou 2006, 28, tab. 5A; 30, 109, pl. 9.145–146.

<sup>88</sup> All sherds that could be recognized as belonging to deep bowls and could be attributed securely to each type have been counted and formed the basis for calculating percentages.

<sup>89</sup> For the function of various vases see Tournavitou 1995, 98–103.

<sup>90</sup> Andrikou 2006, 29–30, tab. 5B; 32, tab. 6.

<sup>91</sup> Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 35 no. 7; 36 no. 14, pls. 21.83; 22.90.

<sup>92</sup> Ph. Stockhammer in: French – Stockhammer 2009, 211.

<sup>93</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 398 no. 594, figs. 385–386.

<sup>94</sup> Andrikou 2006, 29, tab. 5B, pl. 13.217–218, 221.

<sup>95</sup> Andrikou 2006, 29, tab. 5B.

<sup>96</sup> Andrikou 2006, 29, tab. 5B, pls. 10.153; 12.191–199; 13.219–220, 222–225.

<sup>97</sup> Grossmann – Schäffer 1971, 68, pl. 37.30; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, 8, pl. 3.66.



In the effort to synchronize the final destruction of the Mycenaean palatial centers through pottery comparisons, one should keep in mind that apart from the differences in shape range due to the different character and function of each deposit, differences in shape and decoration due to local preferences may also exist.

As far as the range of shapes is concerned, it is observed that some shapes, plain or decorated, in Deposit II, are more common in the other final destruction layers at Thebes and other Mycenaean sites. Apart from the pithos and the belly-handled amphora, the tub is quite frequent, although its use is ambiguous (was it a bathtub, a storage chest or both?). Lamps are often attested – maybe because they were needed in storerooms – and also wide-mouthed jars and plain deep bowls. Among the decorated shapes, the hydria, ovoid-shaped and with band decoration, is common in habitation deposits. Even more common is the narrow-necked jug succeeded in LH IIIC by the lekythos. The based askos is found in settlement contexts, mainly plain but also decorated. The piriform stirrup jar FS 167 gains popularity and continues with linear decoration in LH IIIC. The small spherical stirrup jar with Mycenaean flowers or dotted circles on the shoulder prevails over other types of stirrup jars.

Despite the differences,<sup>98</sup> the destruction of the MCC storeroom must have been simultaneous with the one at the Pelopidas St. archive and the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. excavations. Deposit II finds close parallels to the pottery of the latter.

Individual vases can be found linking one site with others. For example, the collar-necked jar FS 63/64, with quite a wide and short neck, appears in the destruction deposit at 1 Oedipus St. and Epaminondas and Democritus Sts.<sup>99</sup> as well as in the West Gate Area, Midea.<sup>100</sup>

Another vase that links pottery groups is the deep bowl decorated with a running spiral with dense coils which almost completely covers the wide decorative zone framed by the thin rim band and a single wide band round the belly below the handles. The interior is plain or has a secondary band below the rim and one or more circles on the bottom. A complete example comes from the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. excavations<sup>101</sup> and a fragmentary one from the Pelopidas St. archive.<sup>102</sup> A third example is reported in Building III at 1 Oedipus St. connected to the earlier (lower) destruction level dated to LH IIIB1 by the excavator<sup>103</sup> and a fourth one from the Panagia Houses at Mycenae, but of uncertain stratigraphic context.<sup>104</sup> Variations of this spiral may appear on Group A deep bowls with a second line below the rim<sup>105</sup> or with stemmed bowl rim banding<sup>106</sup> and usually with a solid painted eye in early LH IIIC at Thebes,<sup>107</sup> Mycenae<sup>108</sup> and Dimini.<sup>109</sup> A link between the LH IIIB2 Late destruction in the 1 Oedipus St. excavations and in the House of the Tripod Tomb, Mycenae is illustrated by a piriform medium-sized stirrup jar FS 164 with tassel pattern decoration on the shoulder.<sup>110</sup> Although the motif is known on earlier LH IIIB stirrup jars<sup>111</sup> it became common on various closed shapes in LH IIIC Early.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>98</sup> See above comment on deep bowl FS 284 and cup FS 215.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 34–35 no 6, pl. 21.82; Piteros 1988, 191, pl. 120στ.

<sup>100</sup> Demakopoulou 2003, 82, fig. 5.4.

<sup>101</sup> Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 30 no 2, pl. 18.61.

<sup>102</sup> Andrikou 2006, 76, pls. 12.206; 43.57a.

<sup>103</sup> Piteros 1989, 132, pl. 64β. The date of the destructions will be clarified when the pottery is published since the pottery shapes in the lower destruction level at Oedipus St. comprise belly-handled amphorae and collar-necked jars (stamnoi) which are also present in the upper destruction layer (see above n. 99), while Group B deep bowls are not mentioned. However, the motif is preserved on a LH IIIB1 example from Tsoungiza, see Thomas 2005, 490, fig. 16.8.

<sup>104</sup> Mylonas Shear 1987, 84, 87 (fill washed into Room 9), fig. 13, pl. 22.77.

<sup>105</sup> Iakovidis 1998, 147, pl. 19α1–2; MCC Deposit I (I.154).

<sup>106</sup> Taylour 1963, 38–39, fig. 77; Andrikou 2006, 76, pls. 12.206; 43.57a.

<sup>107</sup> MCC Deposit I (I.156) and Deposit VI (VI.760); Andrikou 2006, pl. 20.317.

<sup>108</sup> French 2011, 36, fig. 9 (Phase IX).

<sup>109</sup> Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 508–509 (BE 35885).

<sup>110</sup> Piteros 1988, 191, pl. 120δ; Onassoglou 1995, 80 no. η, fig. 46.1; pl. 28γ.

<sup>111</sup> Blegen 1928, 149–151, figs. 132.371; 139–140; Mountjoy 1976, 84, pl. 14a, in a horizontal position.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. for Thebes, Andrikou 2006, 48.

Apart from the similarities, differences between the pottery groups may be of chronological value, if they do not reflect local preferences for certain shapes or decoration. The Group B deep bowl, which only barely appears in the Pelopidas St. archive, is present in destruction layers at Mycenae<sup>113</sup> and especially in that of the House of the Tripod Tomb, which also exhibits features of LH IIIC pottery styles.<sup>114</sup> It is also present in the West Gate destruction at Midea<sup>115</sup> and at Tiryns, where examples are even found in LH IIIC Early.<sup>116</sup> This is probably due to the fact that the Argive centers were destroyed earlier than Thebes. It should be noticed that on the acropolis of Glas, Group B deep bowls are more numerous than Group A ones in the destruction and abandonment level dated ‘in the advanced but not late LH IIIB’<sup>117</sup> and thus prior to the destruction of Thebes. But we must keep in mind the reservation that the nearly complete absence of Group B deep bowls from the final destruction in Thebes indicates that the type was not preferred.<sup>118</sup> This may also apply for the cups or kylikes with solidly painted interior, a feature suggested as diagnostic of the late LH IIIB2 phase in Mycenae and Tiryns.<sup>119</sup> Analogous skepticism is expressed for the rosette deep bowl, of which a few fragments are reported in Thebes,<sup>120</sup> but which is not mentioned in other Boiotian sites like Glas, Eutresis, Orchomenos etc.<sup>121</sup> Conversely, the monochrome deep bowl is the most popular after the Group A deep bowl in Thebes and other Boiotian sites.<sup>122</sup> Comparisons of the MCC Deposit II pottery to the vases from the destruction at Englianos refer mainly to the coarse ware and to plain fine tableware. It is not peculiar that the pantries of the Palace of Nestor contained a high number of vases in a larger range of shapes so that the special procedures and needs of the palace could be served. This variety has caused a lot of controversy regarding the destruction date of the palace.<sup>123</sup> As at Thebes, it is not clear whether dissimilarities in comparison to the Argive pottery reflect solely a later chronology for the destruction or express more clearly the tastes and the abilities of the local pottery workshops.<sup>124</sup>

The pottery from the destroyed storeroom (Deposit II) in the MCC plot at Thebes coexamined with that from the destruction layers of three other sites on the Kadmeia Hill, at least two of which yielded Linear B documents, shows that an extensive fire at the end of LH IIIB2 drove to an end the palatial administrative system at Thebes. Although the character of the pottery is LH IIIB2, some elements appearing more regularly in LH IIIC Early are already present. At these sites, situated at a distance of 100–250m around the presumable palace core on top of the Kadmeia,<sup>125</sup> independent architectural units should have stood, especially in the MCC and 1 Oedipus St. plots and Pelopidas St. archive, which lie lower down the slopes of Kadmeia Hill, while the Epaminondas and Democritus Sts. plot is at the edge of the plateau on top of the hill. These sites operated within the palatial system in its later period, but it has yet to be proved if and which of them were directly connected to the palace. The latter seems not to be the case for the MCC plot

<sup>113</sup> French 1969, 75, 82, fig.7; Wardle 1973, 315–318, fig. 11; Iakovidis 2006, 175; French – Tylour 2007, 23 (end of Phase VII) nos. 66-619, 66-439, 66-1504.

<sup>114</sup> Onassoglou 1995, 143–144.

<sup>115</sup> Demakopoulou 2003, 81–82, 84, fig. 5.3.

<sup>116</sup> Podzuweit 1979, 413–414, fig. 35.10–11; 420, fig. 40.6; 422; Kardamaki 2015, 84, tab. 1.

<sup>117</sup> Iakovidis 1998, 148, 190–191, 271.

<sup>118</sup> Group B deep bowls are mentioned in excavation reports but rarely illustrated, see Demakopoulou 1974, 163; Demakopoulou 1979, 431, 433, pl. 284γ. The material of the LH destruction layer in Room B at 14 Oedipus St. (Kordatzis plot) comprises one sherd of such a bowl, cf. Symeonoglou 1973, 21, pl.18, fig. 29.1.5, and at 29 Pindar St. (Koropouli plot) is totally absent, cf. Demakopoulou 1974, 173.

<sup>119</sup> French – Stockhammer 2009, 219, fig. 23.5–7.

<sup>120</sup> Andrikou 2006, 32–33, tab. 6.

<sup>121</sup> Mountjoy 1983, 112; Iakovidis 1998, 143–148; Mountjoy 1999, 678–681. Similar observation about the rosette deep bowl at the destruction level at Dimini (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 346, 425).

<sup>122</sup> This is valid for all deposits in the MCC plot. See n. 90–91, 117.

<sup>123</sup> For a summary on the chronology debate see Mountjoy 1997, 109.

<sup>124</sup> For a detailed analysis of the pottery production at Pylos see Hruby 2006, 178–223.

<sup>125</sup> For the existence of one or two Mycenaean palaces on top of Kadmeia Hill and their extent see Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 58–71; Catling et al. 1980, 95–97; Symeonoglou 1985, 40–50; Dakouri-Hild 2001, 105–107.

since the variety of the items in the storeroom contents and the amount of pottery for keeping and consuming food points to a wealthy owner and not to the extensive and specialized storerooms of a palace. The evidence speaks for a widespread disaster striking Thebes. The cause of this disaster is attributed by Theodoros Spyropoulos and John Chadwick to an earthquake,<sup>126</sup> but relevant evidence is dubious for the Pelopidas St. archive<sup>127</sup> and absent in the MCC plot. Palatial Thebes did not recover from this situation as it had done earlier, since earthquake or fire disasters attested in LH IIIA2–B and/or LH IIIB1 Late<sup>128</sup> had not affected the operation of the palatial administration. The inevitable deduction is that the Theban palace was weakened and unable to face successfully the unfavorable results, maybe due to problems in the economic system and the distribution of food and other goods. The relationship between Thebes and Orchomenos is of primary importance in this respect, as, surely, were also the effects of the abandonment of Glas and the subsequent flooding of the cultivated land in the dried Kopais Lake. To address this problem, more evidence from Orchomenos is needed. Following the collapse of the palatial system, Thebes continued to be inhabited. The people resumed their life over the ruins immediately after the destruction, as is shown by the pottery in use at the MCC plot and the Pelopidas St. excavation site. Dense habitation through centuries in Thebes caused the humble architectural relics of this revival to disappear. Future excavations, however, may hold surprises. Although crafts dependent on precious or semi-precious raw materials were negatively affected, pottery retained a certain quality and also creativeness, as demonstrated by a pictorial krater with a representation of sphinxes and a chariot scene from the MCC plot.<sup>129</sup> This new situation seems to have gone on and led to a moderate flourishing until LH IIIC Middle.

The final destruction at Thebes falls in the same time span (LH IIIB2 Late) as the end of the Mycenaean palatial centers in the Peloponnese. It seems to be closer to the destruction of the Pylian palace and slightly later than Argive centers. The analysis of more ceramic material from other plots in Thebes may confirm this suggestion.

The cause of the demise of the Mycenaean palatial system is a subject that has mobilized research.<sup>130</sup> The most recent proposal, that it resulted from internal social problems and social upheaval, seems to be gaining ground.<sup>131</sup> The disintegration most probably started from the Mycenaean centers in the Argolid and soon spread to surrounding areas including Boiotia, which seems to fit the pottery evidence from various sites, as discussed above. That a new order was established after the destructions which did not essentially differ in material culture insofar as can be observed in the pottery is attested in all Mycenaean centers. The evidence from Tiryns<sup>132</sup> in particular demonstrates how the post-destruction society was reorganized on a new basis and benefitted from the achievements of the past.

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<sup>126</sup> Spyropoulos – Chadwick 1975, 55, 68–69.

<sup>127</sup> Indications only exist for an earthquake as the cause of the conflagration: Aravantinos et al. 2001, 16–19; Andrikou 2006, 55–56.

<sup>128</sup> Andrikou 2006, 56–58, Sites 1, 3, 4, 7, 9.

<sup>129</sup> Thebes Museum BE26996. Pliatsika 2000, 296, figs. 1–2; Mommsen – Maran 2000/2001, 97–98, tab. 1, Theb61 (26996); 101, tab. 3.

<sup>130</sup> Maran 2010, 242.

<sup>131</sup> Maran 2010; Jung 2017.

<sup>132</sup> Maran – Papadimitriou 2017.

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# The Destructions of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos and Its LH IIIA Predecessor as a Methodological Case Study

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**Abstract:** The aim of this paper is to reassess and refine the chronology of two significant destruction horizons that occurred in the area of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the early 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. This contribution also provides a methodological case study concerning the use of pottery for chronology within its broader archaeological context. The bases of our analysis are the contexts brought to light during the old excavations carried out by the University of Cincinnati under the direction of Carl Blegen. This information is integrated with and enhanced by preliminary data from ongoing archaeological investigations conducted at Pylos by Sharon Stocker and Jack Davis, again under the aegis of the University of Cincinnati. Our results suggest the existence of possible compositional and functional differences between the assemblages recovered in different areas located within and around the Palace of Nestor. Our understanding of the data indicates that the first destruction occurred shortly after the start of LH IIIA2. The final destruction, on the other hand, is assigned to the very beginning of LH IIIC. Our refined chronological sequence also allows a reliable synchronization of the Pylian horizons with other relevant deposits from the southern Peloponnese and the wider Greek mainland.

**Keywords:** Palace of Nestor at Pylos, pottery analysis methodology, formation processes of archaeological contexts, Mycenaean relative chronology

The aim of this paper is to reassess and refine the chronology of two significant destruction horizons that occurred in the area of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos during the second half of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>4</sup> The bases of our analysis are the contexts brought to light during the old excavations carried out by the University of Cincinnati under the direction of Carl Blegen.<sup>5</sup> This information is integrated with and enhanced by preliminary data from ongoing archaeological investigations conducted at Pylos by Sharon Stocker and Jack Davis, again under the aegis of the University of Cincinnati.<sup>6</sup> Our contribution also provides a methodological case study concerning the use of pottery for chronology within its broader archaeological context.

S. V. – S. R. S. – J. L. D.

## Research Background

In 1966, Carl Blegen and Marion Rawson assigned the final destruction of the Palace of Nestor to ‘a time when pottery of Mycenaean IIIC was beginning to be made and to displace the wares of IIIB’.<sup>7</sup> In the same volume, Blegen and Rawson also suggested that in an earlier destruction, dating towards the end of LH IIIA, the structures that existed on the Pylian acropolis before the final

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<sup>5</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966; Blegen et al. 1973.

<sup>6</sup> Davis – Stocker 2016, 608, fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 421.

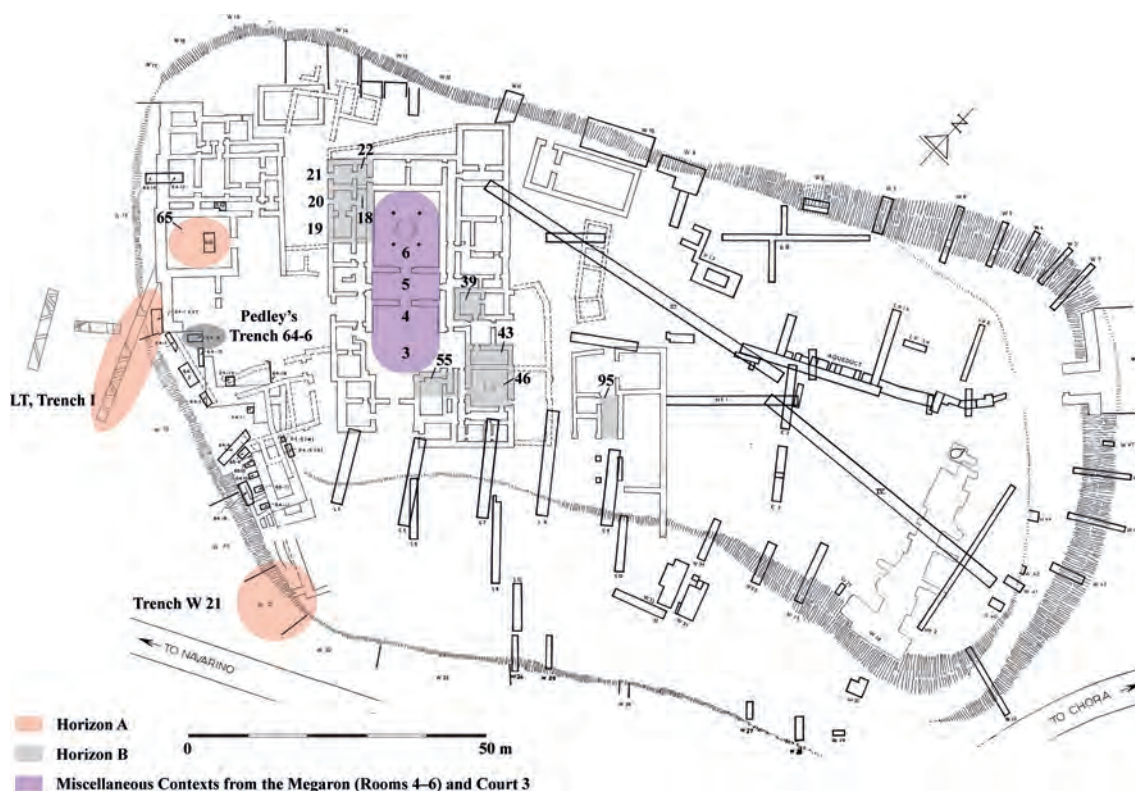


Fig. 1 Locations of relevant contexts recovered during Blegen's excavations at the Palace of Nestor (after Blegen et al. 1973, 36, fig. 302, with additions by S. Vitale).

palace was built had burned down. According to Blegen and Rawson, these structures included the residence for a king.<sup>8</sup>

The date of the earlier destruction (hereafter Horizon A) was based on a variety of deposits that were partially published by Blegen and his team in 1973 (Fig. 1). These assemblages include floor deposits from some incompletely excavated structures in the so-called Lower Town (LT), as well as fills excavated beneath the palace, such as the materials recovered underneath Hall 65.<sup>9</sup> The dating of the final destruction (hereafter Horizon B) was based on the large assemblage of complete vessels recovered on the floor levels of the palace.<sup>10</sup>

The new investigations conducted at Pylos by Stocker and Davis (Palace of Nestor Excavations, hereafter PONEX) have already received worldwide attention for the discovery of an extremely rich burial, known as the grave of the Griffin Warrior (Fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> In addition to this extraordinary find, however, PONEX is also bringing to light a new detailed sequence of stratified contexts that will significantly enhance our understanding of the region around the Palace of Nestor, as well as our wider knowledge of Mycenaean civilization.<sup>12</sup>

As far as pottery is concerned, PONEX investigations have produced a large amount of material covering the whole time span between late MH I and the final destruction of the palace. Particularly relevant to this paper are three pits from PONEX Area A, located on the acropolis, and several

<sup>8</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 19, 24, 32, 423.

<sup>9</sup> Blegen et al. 1973, 36–37, 52–57, figs. 139, 141, 155.11–13.

<sup>10</sup> For the first comprehensive classification and quantification of the pottery from the final destruction of the Palace of Nestor see Blegen – Rawson 1966, 350–418, figs. 349–398.

<sup>11</sup> Davis – Stocker 2016; Stocker – Davis 2017; Davis – Stocker 2018; Stocker et al. 2022.

<sup>12</sup> For an outline overview of PONEX excavations see GWA (Griffin Warrior, Acropolis); GWTF (Griffin Warrior, Tsakonas Field).



Fig. 2 Locations of relevant contexts recovered during PONEX excavations at the Palace of Nestor. Area A is situated on the acropolis. Areas B, C, D, and E are situated in the Tsakonon field. Area G is situated in the Dimopoulos field (D. Nenova – J. Wallrodt).

contexts from the Tsakonon and the Dimopoulos fields (Tab. 1; Fig. 2). The pits from PONEX Area A include materials related to destruction Horizon A. The contexts from the Tsakonon and the Dimopoulos fields include respectively a stratified sequence of LH IIIA2 Early to LH IIIB1 deposits, brought to light in PONEX Area E, and one deposit dating to LH IIIC Early 1, recovered in PONEX Area G. These freshly excavated materials represent a range of different types of formation processes (Tab. 1), which provide new significant data on both Horizons A and B.

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## Methodology

Since Blegen and Rawson's original publication, different dates have been proposed for the final destruction of the Palace of Nestor, ranging from the first half of LH IIIB to LH IIIC.<sup>13</sup> In addition, it has also been suggested that some of the vessels with possible late characteristics may belong to a reoccupation of the palace in advanced LH IIIC or the Early Iron Age (EIA) after a LH IIIB destruction.<sup>14</sup>

The occurrence of such conflicting proposals is surprising, if one considers that the Palace of Nestor provides the ideal context for a reliable chronology: a destruction layer containing thousands of vessels found in situ on the floors of interconnected and fully excavated rooms. We believe that the debate over the date of the final destruction reflects an approach to periodization

<sup>13</sup> For a detailed discussion of the destruction dates proposed by different scholars for the Palace of Nestor see Mountjoy 1997; Mountjoy 1999, 36, 309–311; Vitale 2006, 190–191.

<sup>14</sup> Popham 1991; Cassola Guida 1996; Carrington-Smith 1999; Cosmetico 1999, 240–242.

that overemphasizes the importance of ceramic typology at the expense of the comprehensive analysis of archeological contexts and their formation processes.<sup>15</sup>

Our study of Pylian destruction horizons is based on the combined observation of two interrelated factors: (a) the stratigraphic and functional characteristics of the contexts; and (b) the quantitative distribution of diagnostic features and their variations through space and time.<sup>16</sup> Through this methodology, all the chronological components of a given deposit are integrated within a wider understanding of context.

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### Contextual Approach to Pottery Chronology

In this section, we provide a few selected examples of how our approach to pottery chronology can enhance our understanding of Pylian ceramics. Recent studies by Julie Hruby have demonstrated that the vessels from Rooms 18 to 22 of the palace, the so-called Pantries, were intended for use at state sponsored feasts.<sup>17</sup> According to Blegen and Rawson's published counts, these materials included 6667 vessels, forming 84.4% of the total assemblage (Tabs. 1–2). This wide array of specialized eating/drinking and serving vessels produces important biases.<sup>18</sup> One of the most obvious is the overrepresentation of plain pottery. This feature, which has previously been regarded as a Pylian idiosyncrasy,<sup>19</sup> simply corresponds to the first of six criteria recognized as typical of Mycenaean feasting assemblages by Mary Dabney, Paul Halstead, and Patrick Thomas.<sup>20</sup>

Location	Formation Process	Chronology	Quantification	Painted	Plain	Total
Acropolis Palace of Nestor <sup>1</sup>	Destruction deposits	Horizon B	Nos.	163	7734	7897
			%	2.1%	97.9%	100.0%
Dimopoulos Field Trench N-G11 <sup>2</sup>	Construction fill	Horizon B	Nos.	266	3755	4021
			%	6.6%	93.4%	100.0%
Acropolis Trenches N-A08, -09 <sup>3</sup>	Pit fills (from destruction events)	Horizon A	Nos.	25	1958	1983
			%	1.3%	98.7%	100.0%
Tsakonas Field Trench N-E08 <sup>4</sup>	Fill	Horizon A	Nos.	58	589	647
			%	9.0%	91.0%	100.0%

<sup>1</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 350–418.

<sup>2</sup> N-G11-26, -27.

<sup>3</sup> N-A08-07; N-A08-65, -66, -67, -68; N-A09-05, -07.

<sup>4</sup> N-E08-53.

Tab. 1 Distribution of painted and plain pottery from Horizons A and B at Pylos.

<sup>15</sup> For a similar approach to the use of pottery for chronology see Vitale 2012, 1234; Vitale et al. 2021 (all with previous bibliography).

<sup>16</sup> For the importance of a quantitative approach to ceramic chronology see Schönfeld 1988, 156, 208–210; Kilian 1988, 118; R. Jung in: Deger-Jalkotzy – Zavadil 2003, 252; Vitale 2006, esp. 197–202; Podzuweit 2007; Kardamaki 2017, 79–80.

<sup>17</sup> Hruby 2006; Hruby 2008. Before and since Hruby's research, many other scholars have suggested that feasting activities played an important role at the Palace of Nestor (see Graham 1967; Säflund 1980; McCallum 1987; Isaakidou et al. 2002; Bendall 2004; Halstead – Isaakidou 2004; Stocker – Davis 2004; Wright 2004; Lis 2007; Lis 2008).

<sup>18</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 119–134, figs. 93–104, 323–325, 328.

<sup>19</sup> See Mountjoy 1997, 109; Podzuweit 2007, 242, Beil. 71c.

<sup>20</sup> See Dabney et al. 2004, 203–205.

Location	Formation Process	Chronology	Quantification	Painted	Plain	Total
Acropolis Palace of Nestor <sup>1</sup>	Destruction deposits	Horizon B	Nos.	130	1100	1230
			%	10.6%	89.4%	100.0%
Dimopoulos Field Trench N-G11 <sup>2</sup>	Construction fill	Horizon B	Nos.	266	3755	4021
			%	6.6%	93.4%	100.0%

<sup>1</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 350–418.

<sup>2</sup> N-G11-26, -27.

Tab. 2 Distribution of painted and plain pottery from Horizon B at Pylos (vessels from Rooms 18–20 of the Palace of Nestor are excluded from these counts).

Comparison between the final destruction deposit from the palace and the materials from PONEX excavations in the Dimopoulos field demonstrates that, outside of the acropolis, Pylian deposits had a much higher incidence of painted ceramics (Tab. 1). At the same time, if the materials from the Pantries are excluded, the occurrence of painted pottery from the palace is even higher than that from the Dimopoulos field (Tab. 2). Comparable trends also occur at the time of the earlier destruction horizon, when relevant assemblages from the acropolis contain less than 1.5% painted pottery, while the materials from the Tsakonas field have significantly higher concentrations (Tab. 1).

Differences in the composition of Pylian assemblages are not limited to decorative treatments, but also include the frequency of specific shapes. For example, during Horizon A, conical cups FS 204 represent 44.0% of fine open shapes on the acropolis, but only 13.1% of fine open shapes from the LT and the Tsakonas field (Tab. 3; Figs. 1–2). These data imply the occurrence of different consumption patterns and functional trajectories and, at the same time, reflect the complex internal organization of social spaces and arenas within discrete areas of the site.

Location	Conical Cups FS 204	Total Open Shapes	Incidence of Conical Cups
Acropolis Trenches N-A08, -09 <sup>1</sup>	73	166	44.0%
Trench W 21, S. Corner, Trench I + Tsakonas Field <sup>2</sup>	39	298	13.1%
Total	112	464	24.1%

<sup>1</sup> N-A08-07; N-A08-65, -66, -67, -68; N-A09-05, -07.

<sup>2</sup> Blegen et al. 1973, 51–57 + N-E08-053.

Tab. 3 Incidence of conical cups from Horizon A at Pylos.

Our analysis is not aimed at denying the occurrence of local trends in the pottery from Pylos. In fact, the incidence of painted pottery recovered outside the acropolis remains smaller than at other Mycenaean sites (Tabs. 1–2, 4–5). The selected list of examples provided above simply demonstrates how a comprehensive contextual approach to ceramic assemblages may challenge traditional views, enrich the range of our research questions, and improve our analysis.

Location	Formation Process	Chronology	Quantification	Painted	Plain	Total
Acropolis Trenches N-A08, -09 <sup>1</sup>	Pit fills (from destruction events)	Horizon A	Nos.	25	1958	1983
			%	1.3%	98.7%	100.0%
Tsakonias Field Trench N-E08 <sup>2</sup>	Fill	Horizon A	Nos.	58	589	647
			%	9.0%	91.0%	100.0%
Tsoungiza EU 9 <sup>3</sup>	Refuse dump	LH IIIA2 Middle	Nos.	2161	8452	10613
			%	20.4%	79.6%	100.0%
Mitrou Trench LE795 <sup>4</sup>	Dump + pit fill	LH IIIA1	Nos.	64	106	170
			%	37.6%	62.4%	100.0%
Asine Room D, Stratum 2 <sup>5</sup>	Floor deposit	LH IIB– LH IIIA1	Nos.	884	3271	4155
			%	21.3%	78.7%	100.0%

<sup>1</sup> N-A08-07; N-A08-65, -66, -67, -68; N-A09-05, -07.

<sup>2</sup> N-E08-53.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Vitale 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Frizell 1980, 34–41.

Tab. 4 Distribution of painted and plain pottery in selected deposits from Pylos (Horizon A) and other sites on the Greek mainland.

Location	Formation Process	Chronology	Quantification	Painted	Plain	Total
Acropolis Palace of Nestor <sup>1</sup>	Destruction deposits	Horizon B	Nos.	163	7734	7897
			%	2.1%	97.9%	100.0%
Dimopoulos Field Trench N-G11 <sup>2</sup>	Construction fill	Horizon B	Nos.	266	3755	4021
			%	6.6%	93.4%	100.0%
Mycenae Causeway Deposit <sup>3</sup>	Cumulative dump	LH IIIB2 Late	Nos.	825	3604	4429
			%	18.6%	81.4%	100.0%
Tiryns Zone IV <sup>4</sup>	Aggregate of selected stratified deposits	LH IIIB1	Nos.	270	613	883
			%	30.6%	69.4%	100.0%
Tsoungiza EU 2 <sup>5</sup>	Pit fill	LH IIIB1	Nos.	2626	15123	17749
			%	14.8%	85.2%	100.0%

<sup>1</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 350–418.

<sup>2</sup> N-G11-26, -27.

<sup>3</sup> Wardle 1973.

<sup>4</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 210–211, Beil. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas 2005.

Tab. 5 Distribution of painted and plain pottery in selected deposits from Pylos (Horizon B) and other sites on the Greek mainland.

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### Ceramic Assemblages and Their Chronology

As stated previously, Blegen and Rawson dated destruction Horizon A to the end of LH IIIA.<sup>21</sup> Recent studies of Mycenaean relative chronology have provided an extremely detailed sequence for

<sup>21</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 423.

the pottery of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>22</sup> As a result, LH IIIA2 can now be divided into three subphases, termed respectively Early, Middle, and Late. The diagnostic features of these subphases were originally identified by Cynthia Shelmerdine at Nichoria and have subsequently been defined in greater detail by the author of this section for the entire Greek mainland, based on the pottery from Mitrou.<sup>23</sup> The development of the painted kylix, specifically the appearance of the types known as FS 264, 256, and 257, plays a major role in the identification of each of the three subphases.<sup>24</sup>

PONEX excavations, especially in Area E, have revealed that this tripartite subdivision of LH IIIA2 is fully represented at Pylos. The deposits defining destruction Horizon A (Tabs. 1, 3–4, 6–7; Figs. 1–2) lack any of the defining features of LH IIIA2 Middle and Late. In fact, the deposits from Horizon A include features that can be stylistically assigned to LH IIIA1, LH IIIA2 Early, or both.

LH IIIA1 vessels include patterned mugs FS 225 (Fig. 3.1) and monochrome goblets FS 263 (Fig. 3.2). LH IIIA2 Early vessels consist of patterned alabastra FS 85, piriform kraters FS 7 (Fig. 3.3), and bowls with high-swung handles FS 241,<sup>25</sup> as well as monochrome kylikes FS 264 (Fig. 4.1–4). Shapes that can be assigned to either LH IIIA1 or LH IIIA2 Early include patterned shallow cups FS 219 (Fig. 4.5), carinated cups FS 230 (Fig. 4.6), and experimental kylikes with horizontal strap handles (Fig. 4.7–9), as well as plain stirrup jugs FS 150 (Fig. 5.1), conical cups FS 204 (Fig. 5.2–3), goblets FS 263, kylikes FS 264, 266, 267, 272 (Figs. 5.4–5, 6.1), basins FS 294 (Fig. 6.2), conical bowls (Fig. 6.3), and shallow angular bowls FS 295 (Fig. 6.4).

Because kylikes gradually replace goblets as the most popular drinking vessels in the Mycenaean painted and plain tableware assemblage,<sup>26</sup> the safest way to separate LH IIIA1 from LH IIIA2 Early is to consider the quantitative distribution of these two shapes (Tabs. 6–7). Our dataset demonstrates that, during Horizon A, kylikes were largely prevalent over goblets in the fine painted, as well as in the fine plain fraction. This indicates that Horizon A can be assigned to LH IIIA2 Early.

Location	Shape	Patterned	Linear	Mono-chrome	Total	Incidence
Pylos, Acropolis Trenches N-A08, -09 <sup>1</sup>	Goblet FS 263	0	1	7	8	14.0%
+	Goblet/Kylix FS 263/264	0	0	10	10	17.6%
Trench W 21, S. Corner <sup>2</sup>	Kylix FS 264	0	0	11	11	19.3%
+	Kylix patterned*	2	0	0	2	3.5%
LT, Trench I <sup>3</sup>	Other open shapes	3	6	17	26	45.6%
+	Total	5	7	45	57	100.0%
Tsakonas Field Trench N-E08 <sup>4</sup>						22.8%%

<sup>1</sup> N-A08-07; N-A08-65, -66, -67, -68; N-A09-05, -07.

<sup>2</sup> Blegen et al. 1973, 51–52.

<sup>3</sup> Blegen et al. 1973, 52–57.

<sup>4</sup> N-E08-053.

\* At Pylos, during LH IIIA2 Early, patterned kylikes exclusively include ‘experimental types’, traditionally assigned to LH IIIA1 (see Mountjoy 1986, 65–66, fig. 75; Mountjoy 1999, 332 nos. 54–57, fig. 112). As is typical for the rest of the Greek mainland, patterned kylikes FS 256 and 257 appear at Pylos in LH IIIA2 Middle and Late respectively.

Tab. 6 Distribution of painted goblets and kylikes from Horizon A at Pylos.

<sup>22</sup> Shelmerdine 1992; Mountjoy 2008; Thomas 2011; Vitale 2011.

<sup>23</sup> Shelmerdine 1992, 495–503, figs. 9.39–50; Vitale 2011, esp. 339–343, tab. 5. The LH IIIA2 pottery phase was initially divided by Arne Furumark into an early and a late stage (Furumark 1941a, 505–522; Furumark 1941b, 56–64, 99–101).

<sup>24</sup> See Mountjoy 1986, 88–90, figs. 106–108.

<sup>25</sup> Blegen et al. 1973, 55, fig. 155.12.

<sup>26</sup> Mountjoy 1986, 67; Shelmerdine 1992, 495–497; Vitale 2011, 332–338, tab. 2A. See also Thomas 2011, 196–201.



Location	Shape	Total	Incidence
Pylos, Acropolis Trenches N-A08, -09 <sup>1</sup>	Goblet FS 263	4	0.9%
+	Goblet/Kylix FS 263/264	37	8.0%
Trench W 21, S. Corner <sup>2</sup>	Kylix FS 264/266/267/272	217	46.7%
+	Conical cup FS 204	112	24.1%
LT, Trench I <sup>3</sup>	Other open shapes	94	20.3%
+			
Tsakonas Field Trench N-E08 <sup>4</sup>	Total	464	100.0%

<sup>1</sup> N-A08-07; N-A08-65, -66, -67, -68; N-A09-05, -07.

<sup>2</sup> Blegen et al. 1973, 51–52.

<sup>3</sup> Blegen et al. 1973, 52–57.

<sup>4</sup> N-E08-053.

Tab. 7 Distribution of popular plain open shapes from Horizon A at Pylos.

Turning to Horizon B, we provide a critical discussion of some of the main chronological arguments mentioned previously. A date in the first half of LH IIIB, proposed by Peter Warren, Mervyn Popham, Patrick Thomas and, most recently, Louis Godart and Anna Sacconi, is untenable for at least three reasons.<sup>27</sup> First, the absence of painted kylikes FS 258, 264, 265 and the occurrence of the deep bowl FS 284 among painted open shapes from the destruction layer in themselves suggest a date no earlier than LH IIIB2 Early (Tab. 8).<sup>28</sup> Second, preliminary analysis of the unpublished materials excavated by John Pedley in Trench 64-6 has documented the presence of LH IIIB2 Late to LH IIIC Early 1 features underneath the final floor of one of the rooms from the South-western Building.<sup>29</sup> These features include fragments from Transitional Type (TT) 1 (Fig. 7.1) and monochrome deep bowls FS 284 (Fig. 7.2).<sup>30</sup> The occurrence of these sherds underneath the

<sup>27</sup> Warren 1975, 134; Popham 1991; Thomas 2004; Godart – Sacconi 2020.

<sup>28</sup> See French 1969; Wardle 1973; Mountjoy 1986, 121; Vitale 2006, 178; Vitale – Van de Moortel 2020, 30–33 (with previous bibliography). According to Thomas, the absence of Zygouries kylikes FS 258A at Pylos implies that the destruction of the Palace of Nestor occurred at such an early stage of LH IIIB1 that simply not enough time had passed to allow for the adoption of this distinctively Argolid shape at Ano Englianos (Thomas 2004, 217–221, especially 220–221). Specifically, Thomas wonders why “... if the palace was functioning for nearly the entire duration of LH IIIB, as Blegen suggested ... do we not find a single example of the FS 258A kylix, especially as local imitations of them were manufactured at smaller Messenian sites such as Nichoria?” (Thomas 2004, 220). A major problem with this argument is that it does not take into account the occurrence of deep bowls FS 284 in the palace’s destruction deposits. Deep bowls FS 284 are basically a LH IIIB innovation and they remain less popular than decorated kylikes during the first part of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC everywhere on the Greek mainland (Vitale – Van de Moortel 2020, 11–15, 30–33). Should the absence of decorated kylikes at Pylos imply an early LH IIIB1 destruction date, then one would also expect to find no deep bowls. This said, recent PONEX excavations in the area of the palace have uncovered several specimens of decorated kylikes FS 258B, which overlap chronologically more or less exactly with Zygouries kylikes FS 258A. Thus, the lack of the latter type (FS 258A), which significantly parallels the lack of Ephyrean goblets FS 254 at the site during LH IIIB, has no chronological meaning and must be interpreted as a deliberate rejection of Argolid drinking fashions (Vitale et al. 2021, 199, 208). It again underlines the role of the Palace of Nestor as a repository of specific cultural behaviors, which were intimately connected to the local Mycenaean identity, so powerfully endorsed through the performance of large-scale feasting activities in the area (see Hruby 2006; Vitale et al. 2021, 199, 207–209).

<sup>29</sup> Blegen et al. 1973, 38–39.

<sup>30</sup> Mountjoy 1997, 111, fig. 7.32–44; Mountjoy 1999, 37.

floor of the Southwestern Building implies that the final destruction of the palace must postdate LH IIIB1. Finally, the recent discovery by Emily Egan of Group B deep bowl fragments FS 284 (Fig. 7.3–4) among the unpublished finds from Blegen’s excavations in the Portico of the Megaron (Room 4) also indicates that the palace was functioning after the end of LH IIIB1.<sup>31</sup> These Group B deep bowl sherds come from mixed layers including MH to LH IIIC Early 1 and EIA pottery and exhibit a heavy degree of wear and a fragmentary state of preservation.<sup>32</sup>

Shape <sup>1</sup>	Patterned + Linear	Monochrome	Total	Incidence
Basin FS 294	1	0	1	2.3%
Bowls, miscellaneous	5	0	5	11.6%
Cups, miscellaneous	1	0	1	2.3%
Dipper, diminutive	13	0	13	30.2%
Dipper FS 236	6	0	6	14.0%
Mug FS 226	2	0	2	4.7%
Deep Bowl FS 284	8	2	10	23.3%
Krater FS 9	5	0	5	11.6%
Total	41	2	43	100.0%
%	95.3%	4.7%	100.0%	

<sup>1</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 350–418.

Tab. 8 Distribution of painted open shapes from Horizon B at the Palace of Nestor at Pylos.

Popham’s suggestion that the complete vessels from Room 46 belong to a reoccupation of that area of the palace in advanced LH IIIC or the EIA (Fig. 8), is not supported by the stratigraphy.<sup>33</sup> Careful reanalysis of the original excavation data by Stocker and Davis clearly demonstrates that the vessels from the so-called Queen’s Megaron were found in situ on the original floor of the Mycenaean palace rather than above the floor, as speculated by Popham.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, the EIA sherds recovered in the area of Room 46 come from a distinct layer located well above the floor and, in contrast to the vessels found on the floor, which are complete and heavily burnt, they exhibit a fragmentary state of preservation and do not show any traces of contact with fire.

Recent examination of old and newly excavated EIA ceramics from the palace area also indicates that these materials date between William Coulson’s Dark Ages II and III, with some vessels extending into the Late Geometric period.<sup>35</sup> The complete vessels from the destruction

<sup>31</sup> Egan 2015, 66–67, 429–430, 452–454, 466–467, nos. P-242, 315–322, 373–374, pls. 79, 98–100, 115. It seems likely that future in-depth study of unpublished finds from Blegen’s excavations in areas of the Palace of Nestor other than the Megaron will produce additional evidence for the existence of this shape at Pylos during the second half of LH IIIB.

<sup>32</sup> Egan 2015, 95–97, 490, tab. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 201, 354, fig. 332; Popham 1991, 321; Mountjoy 1997, 131–135; Mountjoy 1999, 310.

<sup>34</sup> Davis et al. in press.

<sup>35</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 64, 185–186 nos. 615–618, 827, fig. 347; Coulson 1983; Coulson 1986, 67–68, 109–111 nos. 359–364, fig. 20, pl. 15a–f; Davis – Lynch 2017, 56–60, 63–65, figs. 5.1–2.

floor deposit of Room 46 are incompatible with such a late time span based on their technological features, which include relatively thick walls, lightly burnished surfaces, and the use of dull to moderately lustrous paints.<sup>36</sup>

If LH IIIB1 and advanced LH IIIC or the EIA are ruled out, the final destruction of the Palace of Nestor must be placed either late in LH IIIB or at the very beginning of LH IIIC Early. Stylistic analysis of the 163 decorated vessels found on the floors of the palace demonstrates that LH IIIC Early 1 features are prominent and suggests that the very beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century remains the only possible date for the final destruction, as proposed by the author of this section in 2006 (Tab. 9).<sup>37</sup> The most diagnostic LH IIIC Early 1 painted shapes from destruction Horizon B include linear and patterned juglets FS 111 (Fig. 9.1), linear mugs FS 226 (Fig. 9.2), and belly-handled amphorae FS 58 (Fig. 8.1), a patterned collar-necked jar FS 63 (Fig. 9.3), as well as monochrome (Fig. 10) and dark-ground TT 2 deep bowls FS 284 (Fig. 8.5).

Quantification	Non-Diagnostic	LH IIIB	LH IIIB / LH IIIC Early 1	LH IIIC Early 1	Total
Nos.	21	25	65	52	163
%	12.9%	15.3%	39.9%	31.9%	100.0%

Non-Diagnostic: Blegen – Rawson 1966, Shapes 9, 19, 42, 45, 50, 54:a–b, 56, 57, 65:e.

LH IIIB: Blegen – Rawson 1966, Shapes 44, 52, 53, 63, 64, 65:c–d.

LH IIIB/LH IIIC Early 1: Blegen – Rawson 1966, Shapes 20, 21, 38, 43, 45, 52, 60, 65:a–b, f.

LH IIIC Early 1: Blegen – Rawson 1966, Shapes 1, 33, 34, 37, 45, 49, 52, 60, 63, 68.

Tab. 9 Styles represented in the pottery from Horizon B at the Palace of Nestor at Pylos (painted vessels only).

Such a conclusion is also indirectly supported by the recently identified Group B deep bowls from the area of the Portico of the Megaron (Room 4; Fig. 7.3–4). The state of preservation of these fragments (see above) strongly indicates that they represent artifacts used some time before the final catastrophe occurred.<sup>38</sup> In fact, the absence of complete Group B deep bowls from the floor deposits marking the final destruction of the palace indicates that by that time, as one would

<sup>36</sup> See Coulson 1983, 61–63, 72, 90–91, 96; Coulson 1986, 12, 28, 66–67; Davis – Lynch 2017, 64–65. The only two vessels from the area of the palace that date to LH IIIC Late are: a hydria FS 128 with a wavy band FM 53 on the vertical handle and a possible scroll FM 48 on the shoulder (Blegen – Rawson 1966, 65, fig. 345.4; Popham 1991, 317; Mountjoy 1999, 310 n. 68); and an unpublished jug or hydria FS 106/128 with a twisted handle and a possible tassel FM 72 on the shoulder. These vessels both come from Court 3 and are only partially mendable. While they demonstrate occasional visits to the ruins of the palace during LH IIIC Late, they cannot be used to suggest a re-occupation of any area of the Main Building at that time. The unpublished jug or hydria is typified by a distinctive soft white fabric that is remarkably different from all the complete vessels from the destruction deposits found on the floor levels of the Palace of Nestor, including that from Room 46. In this respect, it is noteworthy that Coulson drew a sharp distinction between the dark-ground deep bowl from Room 46, which he assigned to LH IIIC Early, and vessels characteristic of LH IIIC Late in Messenia (Coulson 1986, 19). The fabric of the unpublished LH IIIC Late jug or hydria from Court 3 may be a forerunner of a soft white and crumbly fabric that Coulson considered typical of his Dark Age I phase (Coulson 1986, 9, 12).

<sup>37</sup> Vitale 2006, 190–191.

<sup>38</sup> According to Egan's analysis, only three vessels can be definitely assigned to the destruction deposit found in situ on the floors of the Megaron at the moment of the final destruction: a plain neck-handled amphora FS 70, a patterned Group A deep bowl FS 284 with running spiral FM 46, and a plain basin FS 294 (Egan 2015, 100, 134–135, 396–397, 428, 463, 491–494, tabs. 16–17, nos. P-136, 235, 367, pls. 51, 75–76, 113). Unlike the fragments from the Group B deep bowls, these three vessels are either complete or highly mendable and exhibit traces of burning from the final catastrophe, with the Group A deep bowl being almost vitrified as a result of exposure to very high temperatures.

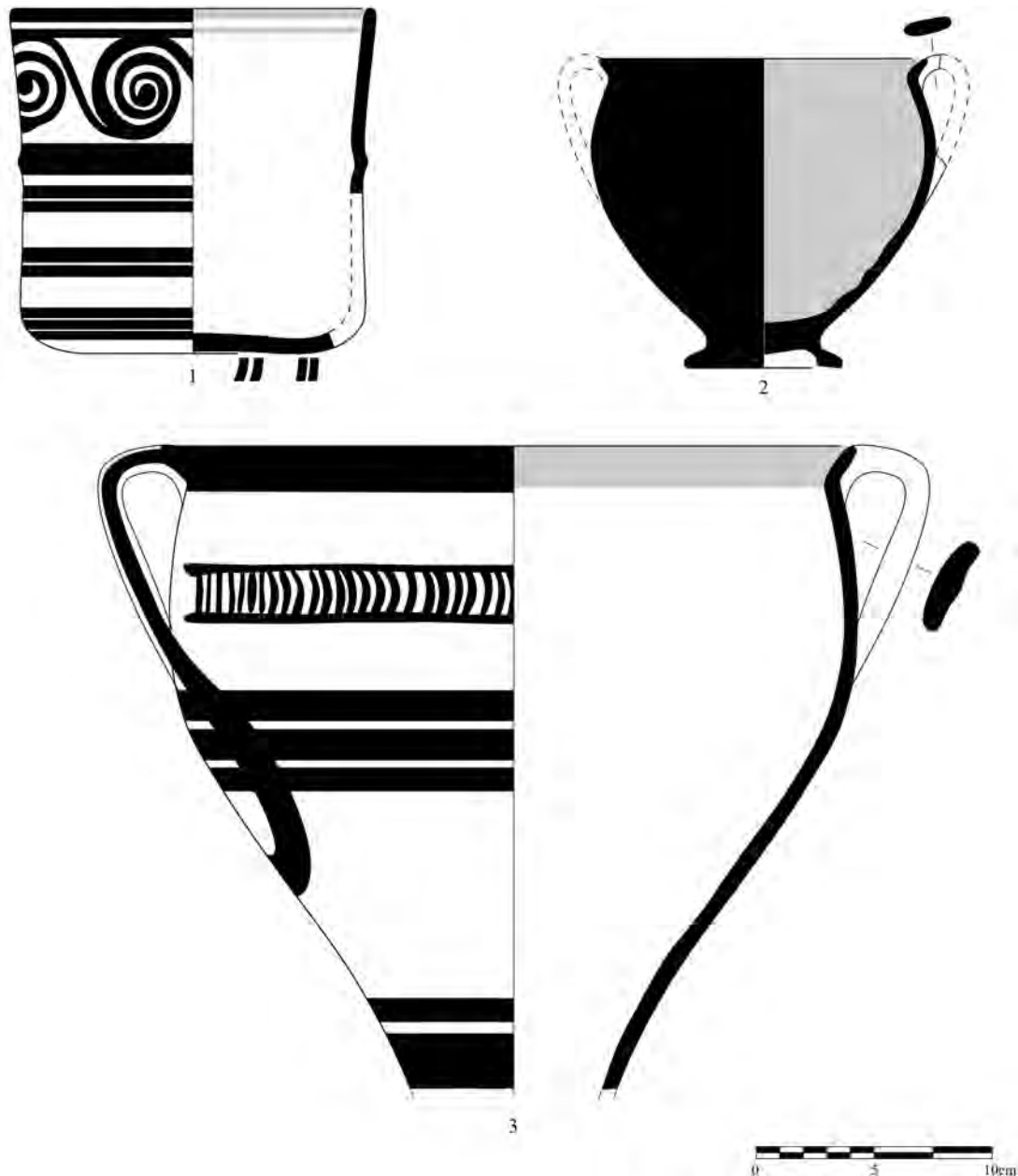


Fig. 3 LH IIIA2 Early Mycenaean lustrous decorated pottery from Horizon A at Pylos (all from Blegen's excavations). 1. Patterned mug FS 225 decorated with running spiral FM 46 (CM 2854), LT, Trench I; 2–3. monochrome goblet FS 263 and patterned krater FS 7 decorated with foliate band FM 64 (CM 1908, 1637), Trench W 21, S. Corner (digitization T. Ross, after Mountjoy 1999, 330–332 nos. 45, 49, 58, figs. 111–112). Scale 1:3.

normally expect during LH IIIC Early 1 outside the Argolid, this shape was no longer used in Pylos.

There is much variety in the typological and functional range of fine plain open shapes from Horizon B.<sup>39</sup> A detailed discussion of this wide array of vessels is beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, while many specimens in use at the time of the destruction of the Palace of

<sup>39</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 350–418, figs. 349–398.

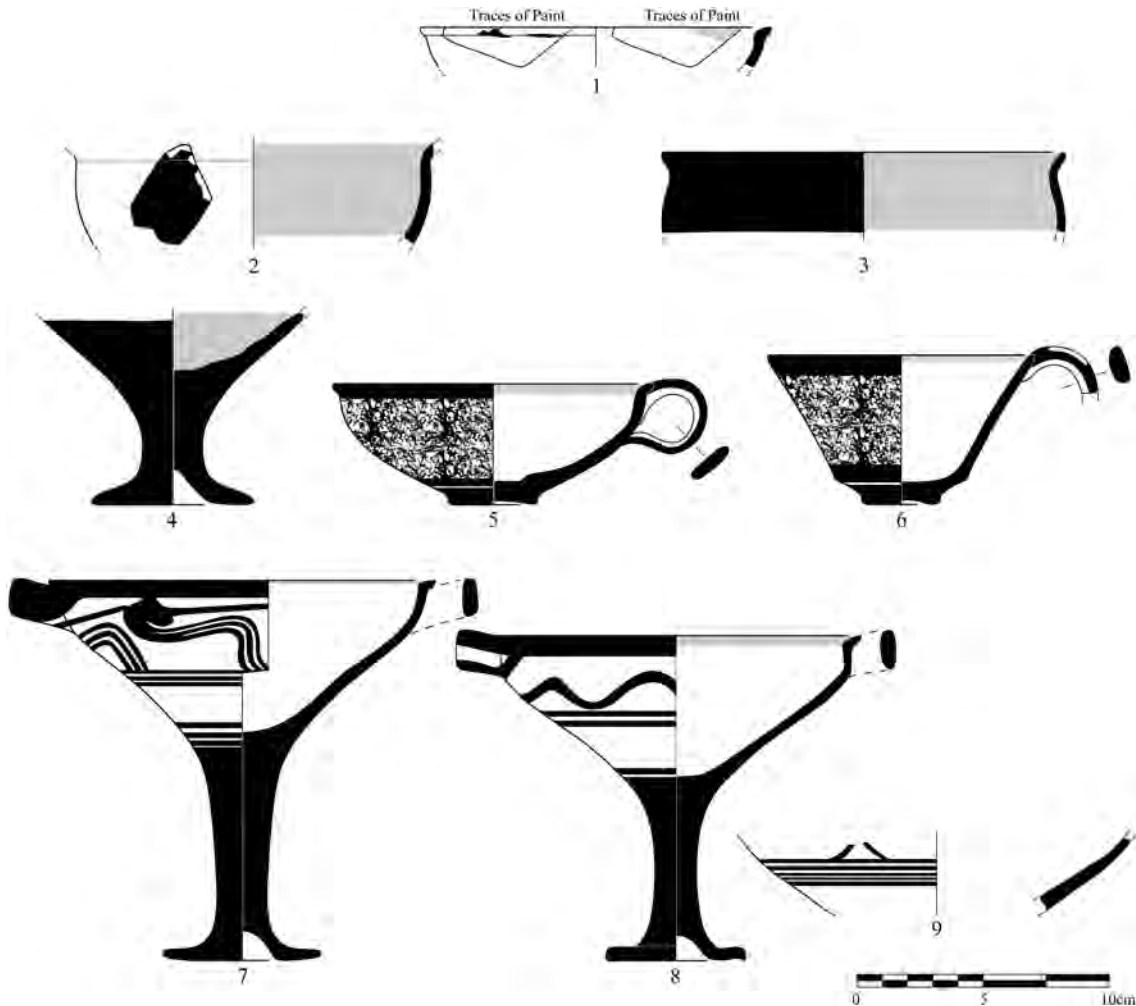


Fig. 4 LH IIIA2 Early Mycenaean lustrous decorated pottery from Horizon A at Pylos. 1. Monochrome kylix FS 264 (N-A08-65-P07) from PONEX excavations, Area A; 2–3. monochrome kylixes FS 264 (unnumbered) from Blegen's excavations, underneath Hall 65; 4. monochrome kylix FS 264 (N-E08-53-P21) from PONEX excavations, Area E; 5–6. patterned shallow cup FS 219 and carinated cup FS 230 decorated with stipple FM 77 (CM 1721, 1712) from Blegen's excavations, LT, Trench I; 7–8. patterned kylikes with horizontal strap handles decorated with ivy FM 12 and wavy line FM 53 (CM 1734, 1732) from Blegen's excavations, LT, Trench I; 9. patterned kylix decorated with an unidentified motif (N-E08-53-P10) from PONEX excavations, Area E (1–4, 9: drawings T. Ross, 5–8: digitization T. Ross, after Mountjoy 1999, 331–332 nos. 46, 52, 56–57, figs. 111–112). Scale 1:3.

Nestor have profiles that would normally be at home in LH IIIA2 and/or LH IIIB1,<sup>40</sup> many others are consistent with LH IIIC Early 1.<sup>41</sup> This is especially true for plain open shapes with beaded, lipless, and/or flaring lipless rims, including shallow cups FS 220/222 (Fig. 11.1), kylikes FS 259/265/266/267/274 (Fig. 11.2–5), and shallow angular bowls FS 295 (Fig. 12).

<sup>40</sup> See, for example Blegen – Rawson 1966, 356–357, 366–367, 369–374 (Shape 4, FS 295, nos. 455–456; Shape 5; Shape 27, FS 267, nos. 426, 176; Shape 28, FS 269; Shape 29:a, FS 264/265, no. 721; Shape 29:c, FS 259/264/265, nos. 186, 187, 190, 588; Shape 29:d, FS 264/265; Shape 29:e, FS 263/264; Shape 29:f, FS 264; Shape 29:g, FS 274, no. 215; Shape 29:h, FS 264; Shape 29:i, FS 264/265; Shapes 30–32, FS 273), figs. 349–350, 359–366.

<sup>41</sup> See, for example Blegen – Rawson 1966, 356, 360, 366–369, 371 (Shape 4, FS 295, nos. 75, 100, 142, 199, 570; Shape 12, FS 220/222; Shape 26; Shape 27, FS 267, nos. 63, 425; Shape 29:a, FS 265, no. 701; Shape 29:b, FS 266; Shape 29:c, FS 259/265; Shape 29:g, FS 274, no. 284), figs. 349–350, 353–354, 359–364.

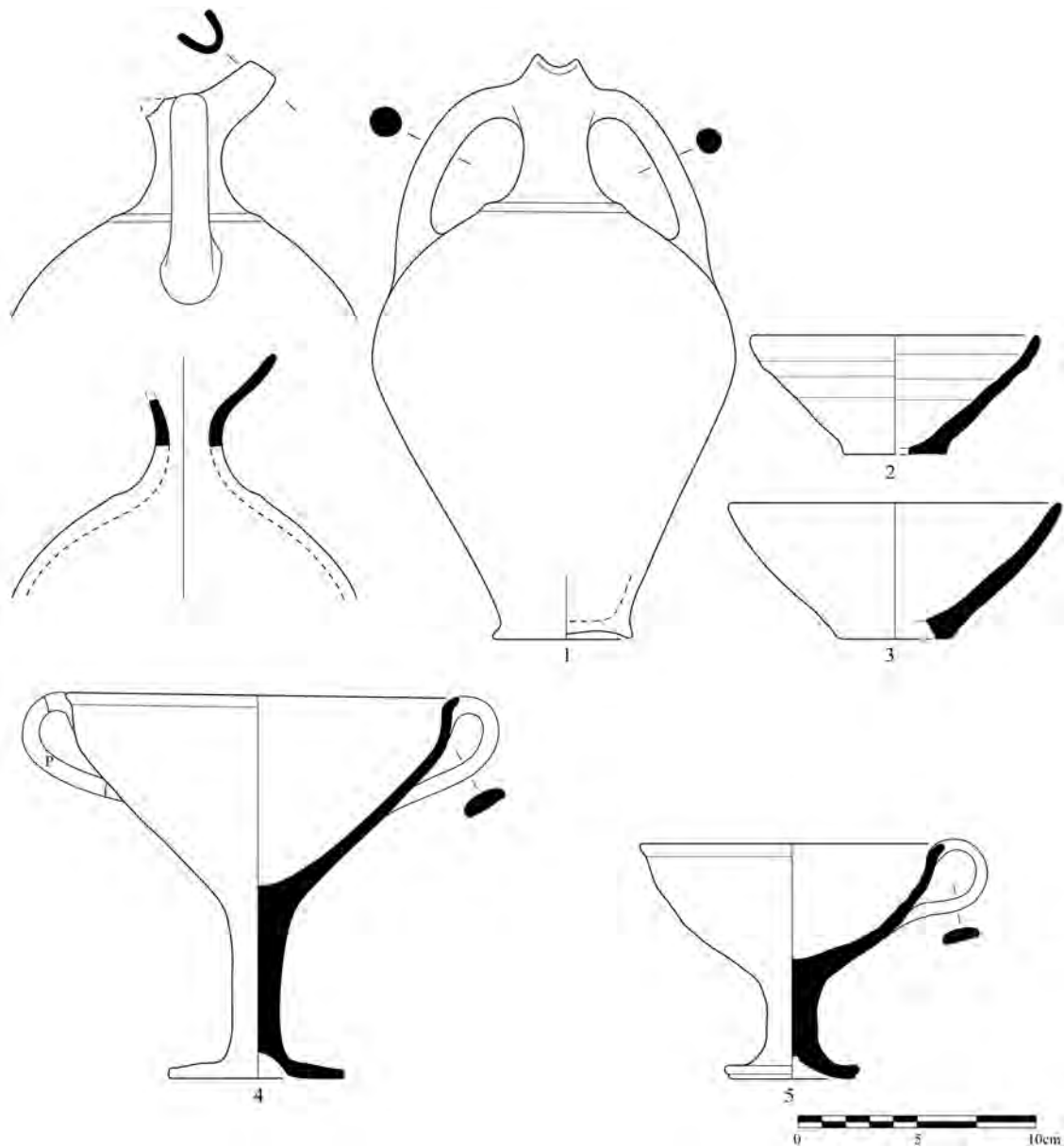


Fig. 5 LH IIIA2 Early fine pale plain pottery from Horizon A at Pylos. 1. Stirrup jug FS 150 (CM 1789) from Blegen's excavations, Trench W 21, S. Corner; 2. conical cup FS 204 (unnumbered) from Blegen's excavations, underneath Hall 65; 3. conical cup FS 204 (N-A08-07-P12) from PONEX excavations, Area A; 4. deep rounded kylix FS 264 (CM 1740) from Blegen's excavations, LT, Trench I; 5. one-handed kylix FS 267 (unnumbered) from Blegen's excavations, underneath Hall 65 (drawings T. Ross). In this and all following figures, the letter 'P' indicates areas that have been restored with plaster. Scale 1:3.

The occurrence of shapes stylistically assignable to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 in a context otherwise datable to LH IIIC Early 1 may be explained by considering the special function of the assemblage. The partial continuation of old vessel types may have been favored by the need to perform long-standing eating and drinking ceremonial practices. In fact, recent excavations carried out during the construction of the new roof for the Palace of Nestor have suggested that feasting activities had been taking place on the acropolis of Pylos since the second half of LH IIIB.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Egan 2021; Karapanagiotou et al. 2021; Vitale et al. 2021.

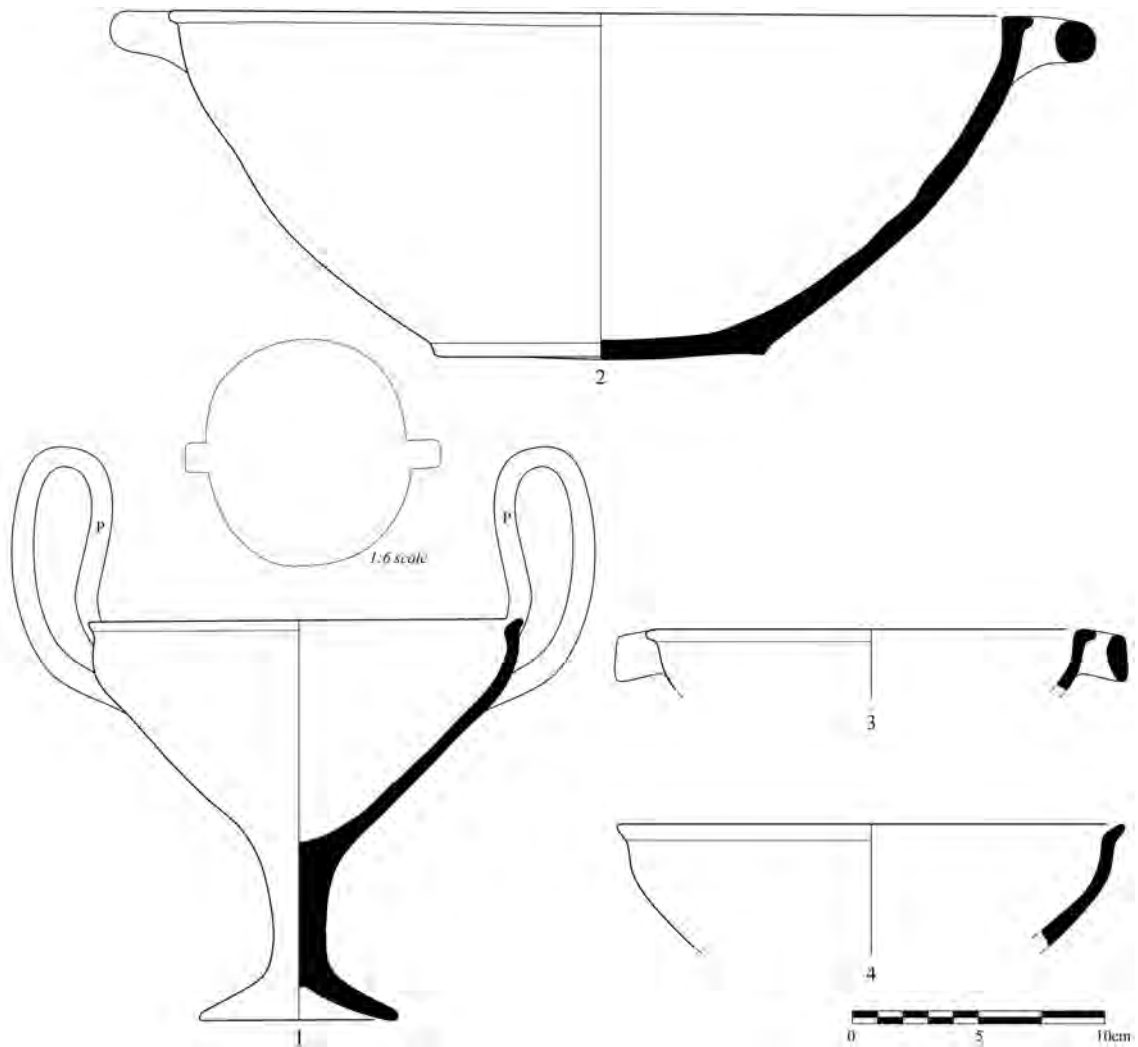


Fig. 6 LH IIIA2 Early fine pale plain pottery from Horizon A at Pylos. 1. Kylix with high-swung handles FS 272 (CM 1742) from Blegen's excavations, LT, Trench I; 2. basin FS 294 (CM 1641) from Blegen's excavations, Trench W 21, S. Corner; 3–4. conical bowl and shallow angular bowl FS 295 (N-A08-07-P09, N-A09-05-P07) from PON-EX excavations, Area A (drawings T. Ross). Scale 1:3 (except where indicated otherwise).

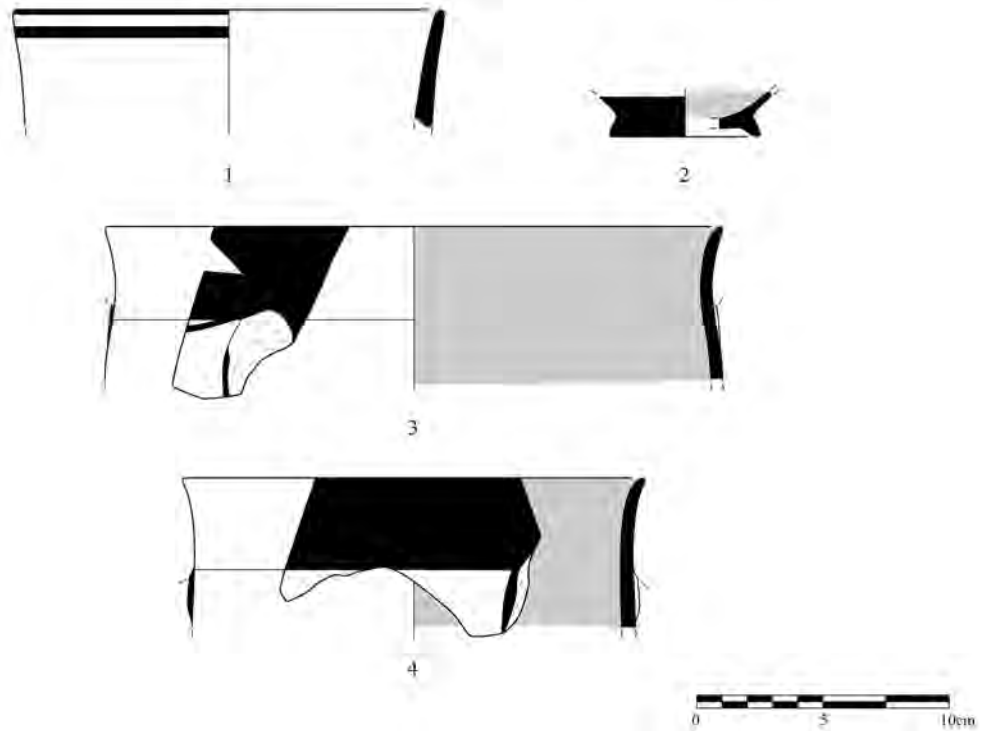


Fig. 7 LH IIIB2 to LH IIIC Early 1 Mycenaean lustrous decorated pottery from Pylos (all from Blegen's excavations). 1–2. LH IIIB2 Late to LH IIIC Early 1 linear TT 1 deep bowl FS 284 and monochrome deep bowl FS 284 (unnumbered) from Pedley's Trench 64-6; 3. LH IIIB2 patterned Group B deep bowl FS 284 decorated with running spiral FM 46 (unnumbered) from the Portico of the Megaron; 4. LH IIIB2 Group B deep bowl FS 284 with no preserved decorative pattern (unnumbered) from the Portico of the Megaron (1–2: drawings T. Ross; 3–4: drawings E. Egan with additions by T. Ross – S. Vitale). Scale 1:3.



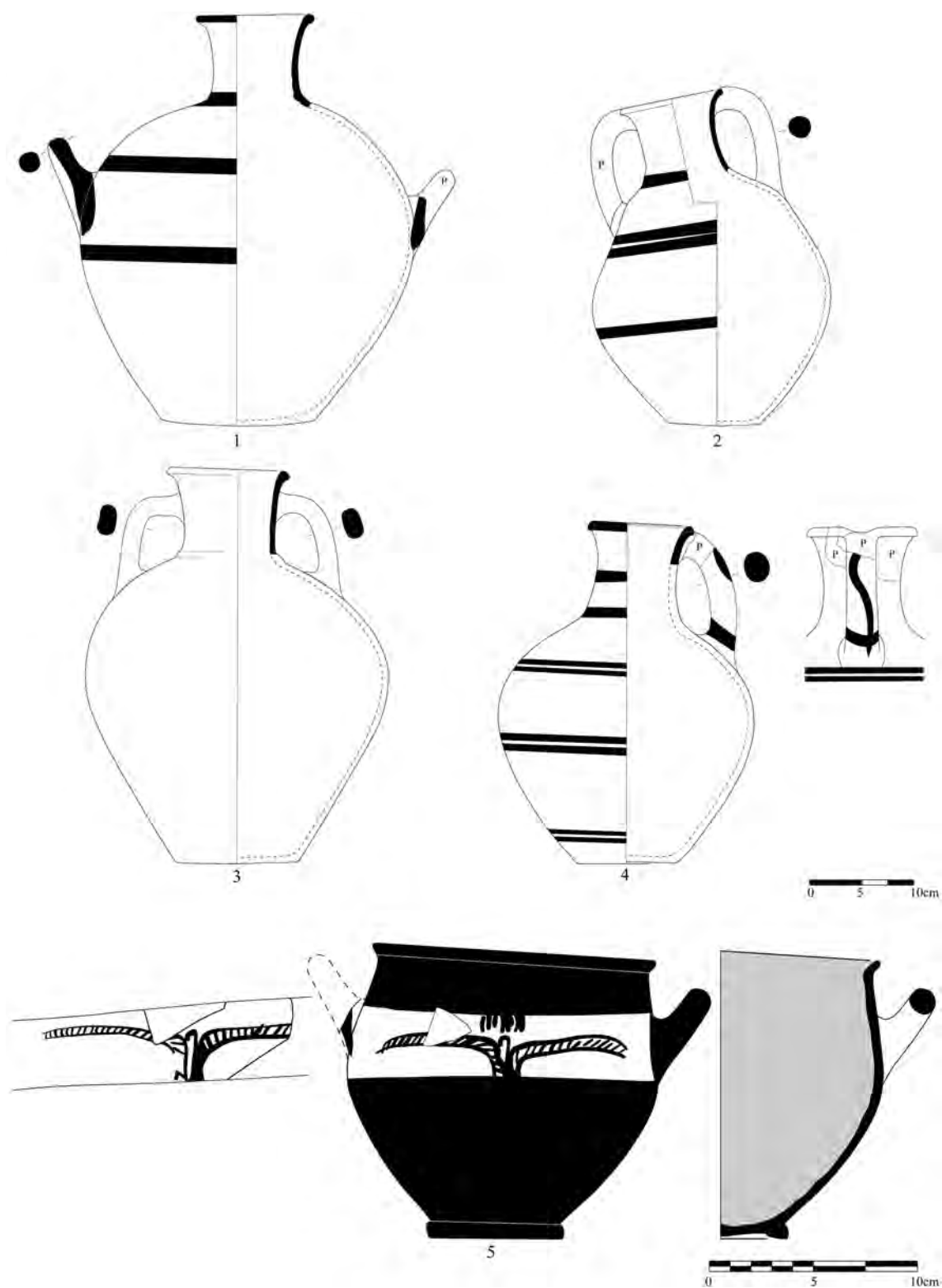


Fig. 8 LH IIIC Early 1 Mycenaean lustrous decorated and fine pale plain pottery from Horizon B at Pylos (all from Blegen's excavations in Room 46 of the Palace of Nestor). 1. Linear belly-handled amphora FS 58 (CM 1947); 2. linear amphora FS 69 (CM 1944); 3. plain neck-handled amphora FS 70 (CM 1483); 4. patterned jug FS 105/106 decorated with wavy line FM 53 (CM 1484); 5. dark-ground patterned TT 2 deep bowl FS 284 (CM 1485) decorated with dashed semicircles FM 43 (drawings T. Ross). 1–4. Scale 1:6; 5. Scale 1:3.



Fig. 9 LH IIIC Early 1 Mycenaean lustrous decorated pottery from Horizon B at Pylos (all from Blegen's excavations). 1. Patterned juglet FS 111 decorated with wavy line FM 53 (CM 0947); 2. linear mug FS 226 (CM 1143); 3. patterned collar-necked jar FS 63 decorated with semicircles FM 43 linked by chevrons FM 58 with fill of stemmed spirals FM 51 (CM 1265), Rooms 20 and 39 of the Palace of Nestor (1–2: digitization, T. Ross, after Mountjoy 1999, 347, 349 nos. 94, 105, figs. 116, 119; 3: drawing T. Ross). Scale 1:3.

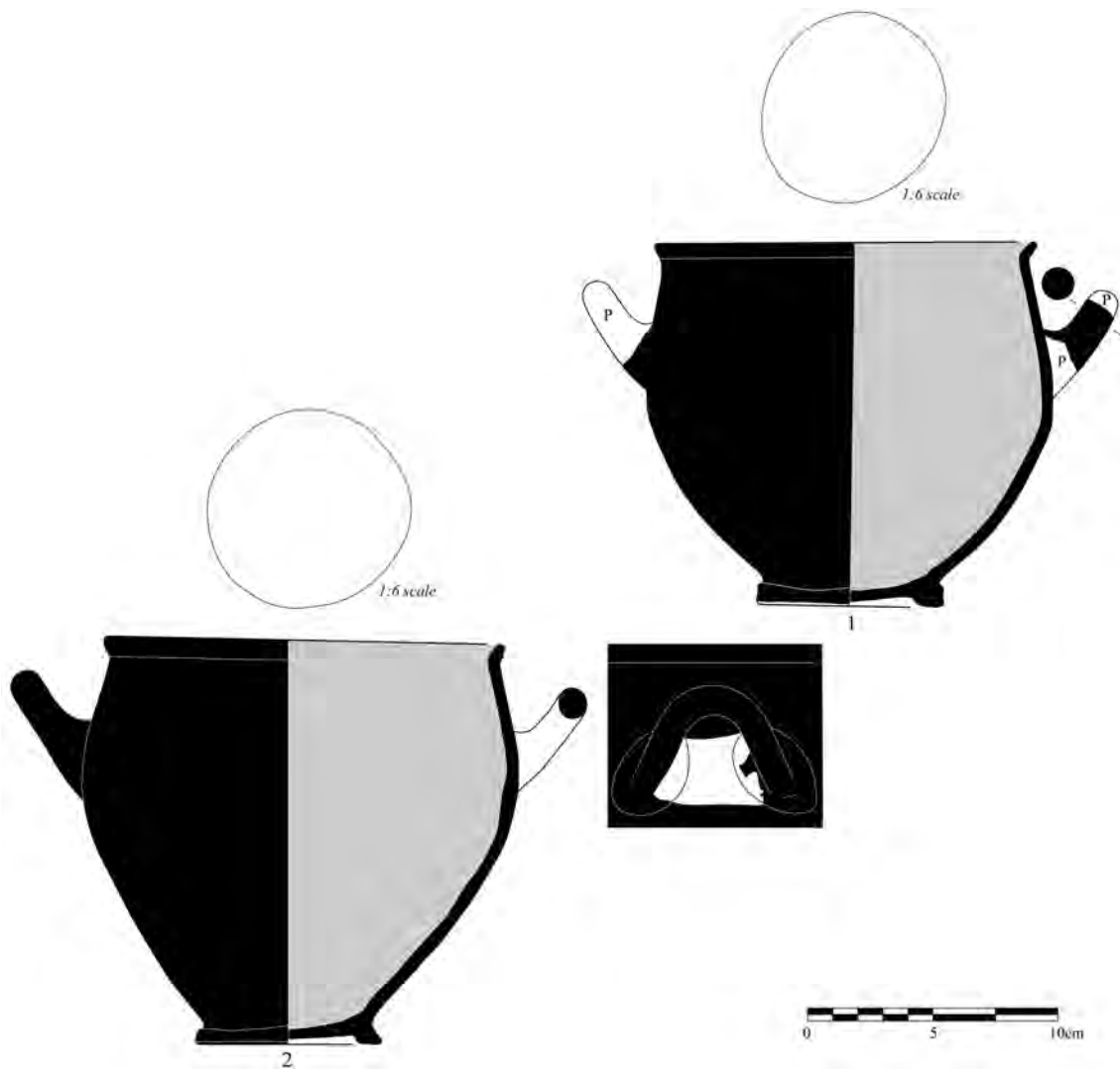


Fig. 10 LH IIIC Early 1 Mycenaean lustrous decorated pottery from Horizon B at Pylos (all from Blegen's excavations). 1–2. Monochrome TT 2 deep bowls FS 284 (CM 1402, 1976), Rooms 43 and 95 of the Palace of Nestor (drawings T. Ross). Scale 1:3 (except where indicated otherwise).

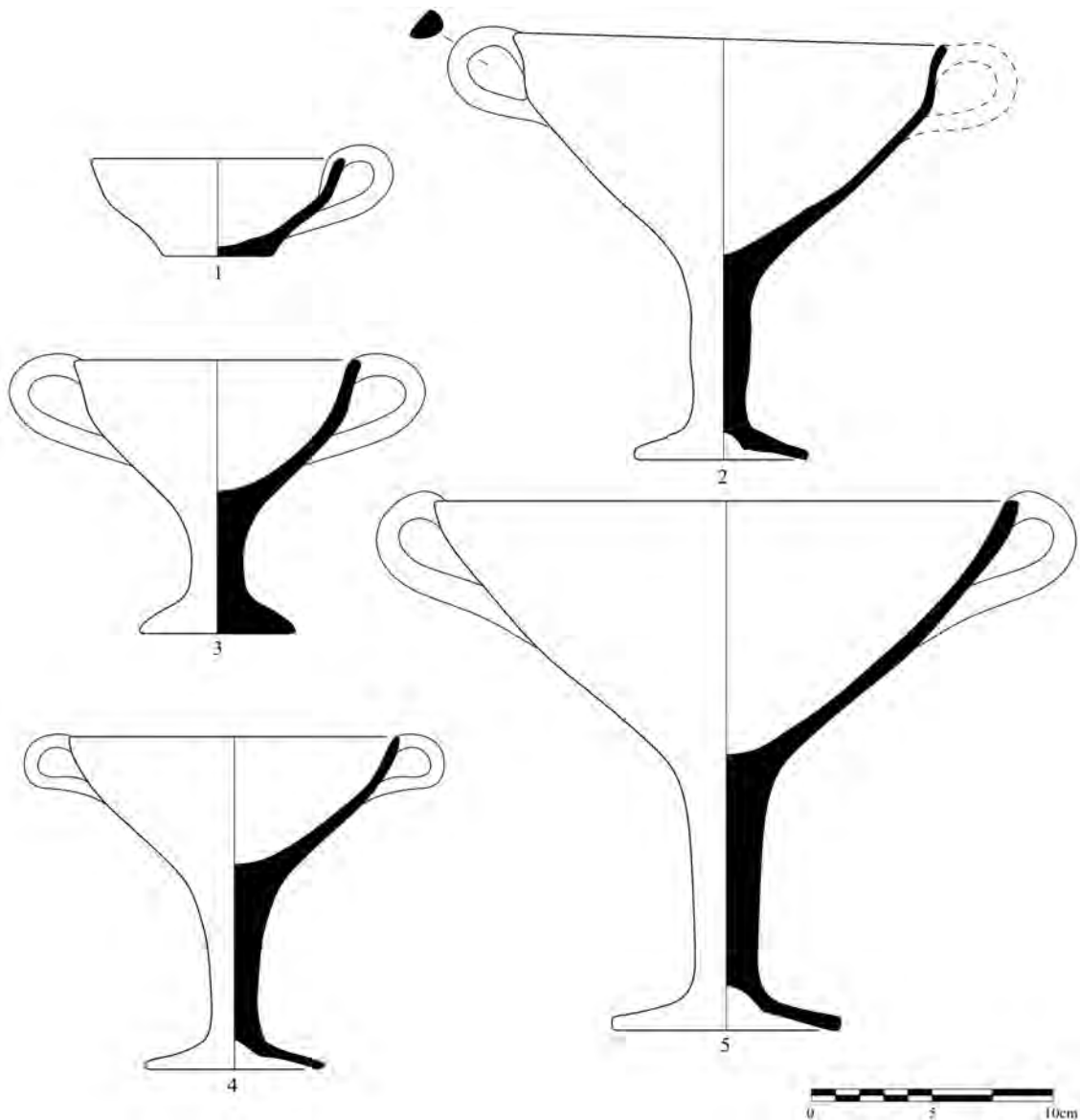


Fig. 11 LH IIIIC Early 1 fine pale plain pottery from Horizon B at Pylos (all from Blegen's excavations). 1. Shallow cup FS 222 (no. 2); 2. deep kylix FS 259/265 (unnumbered); 3. deep rounded kylix FS 265 (no. 701); 4. shallow kylix FS 266 (no. 203); 5. conical kylix FS 274 (no. 264), Rooms 18, 19, 21, and 55 of the Palace of Nestor (digitization T. Ross, after Hruby 2014, 50, fig. 4; Blegen – Rawson 1966, 122, 132, 225, 366–369, 371, figs. 360–362). Scale 1:3.

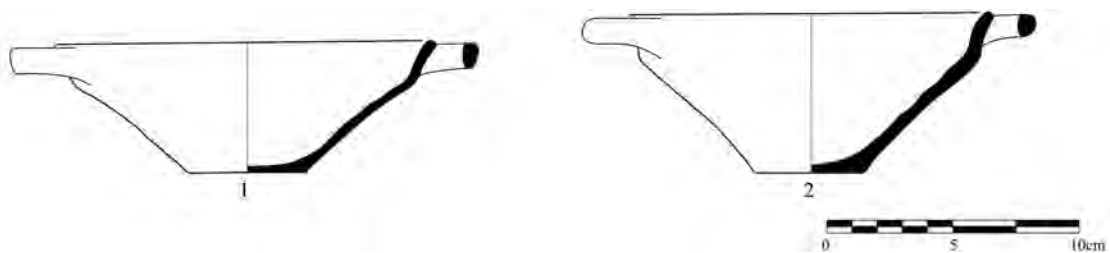


Fig. 12 LH IIIIC Early 1 fine pale plain pottery from Horizon B at Pylos (all from Blegen's excavations). 1–2. Shallow angular bowls FS 295 (nos. 75, 199), Room 21 of the Palace of Nestor (digitization T. Ross, after Blegen – Rawson 1966, 132, 356, fig. 350). Scale 1:3.

### Synchronisms across the Greek Mainland

Based on the data provided in the previous section of this article, Pylian Destruction Horizons A and B can be roughly synchronized with a relatively large number of deposits from different regions of the Greek mainland.<sup>43</sup> Horizon A is approximately contemporary with the end of the LH IIB to LH IIIA2 Early phase at Iklaina,<sup>44</sup> the materials from Trench L23 at Nichoria,<sup>45</sup> the construction fill of Mansion 2 at the Menelaion,<sup>46</sup> Floor 3 of Building B and the construction fill below the West Stoa at Ayios Vasileios,<sup>47</sup> as well as several assemblages from Mitrou including destruction deposits from Buildings D and F, the construction fills of Road 1 (Levels 7–9), and some dumps located in the northeast excavation sector (Tab. 10).<sup>48</sup> There are no published settlement deposits from the Argolid, Attica, and Boiotia assignable to LH IIIA2 Early. However, several tomb assemblages from these regions can be attributed to this subphase.<sup>49</sup> They come from Mycenae,<sup>50</sup> Prosymna,<sup>51</sup> Athens,<sup>52</sup> and Thebes.<sup>53</sup>

Pylos	Pylos Chronology	Pottery Date	Significant Contemporary Settlement Deposits from the Greek Mainland
Acropolis Palace of Nestor	Horizon B	LH IIIC Early 1 or Rutter's LH IIIC Phase 1	Mycenae, destruction deposits at the end of Phase IX Tiryns, West Staircase Terrace, Zone 1 Korakou, Trench P VI–V Athens, Northeast Ascent Thorikos, Mine No. 3
Dimopoulos Field Trench N-G11	Horizon B		Dimini, destruction of Megaron A, Megaron B, and settlement (labeled as LH IIIB2 by the excavator) Thebes, Floor 5 above the "Linear B Archive" Eutresis, House V
Acropolis Trenches N-A08, -09	Horizon A	LH IIIA2 Early	Mitrou, destruction deposits from Buildings D and F; Road 1, Levels 6–8; NE Sector dumps Nichoria, Trench L23 PQfg, Level 23 Iklaina, end of the LH IIB to LH IIIA2 Early phase Menelaion, Mansion 2, construction fill Ayios Vasileios, Building B, Floor 3; below West Stoa, construction fill
Acropolis Trench W 21, S. Corner LT, Trench I	Horizon A		
Tsakonas Field Area E	Horizon A		

Tab. 10 Correlation between destruction horizons at Pylos and other significant pottery deposits from the Greek mainland.

<sup>43</sup> Vitale 2006, 197–201, tabs. 2–3; Vitale 2011, 340–341, tab. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 99–100, 102–103.

<sup>45</sup> Shelmerdine 1992, 495–503, 537–538, figs. 9.39–40.

<sup>46</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 42–43 nos. ET 62–63; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 88, fig. 92. See also Kardamaki 2017, 113, tab. 4.

<sup>47</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 87–104, 111, 113–114, 134 nos. 97–118; 139 nos. 313–317, tabs. 4, 6, figs. 7, 20.

<sup>48</sup> Vitale 2011, 332–338, 340–341, tabs. 2A–2B, 5, figs. 2, 3.1–4 (with revisions).

<sup>49</sup> Vitale 2011, 340–341, tab. 5.

<sup>50</sup> For Chamber Tombs 520–521 at Mycenae see Wace 1932, 21–28 nos. 15, 17, 25–27, 30–31, figs. 9–10, pls. 16–17; 28–31 no. 1, figs. 9, 15.

<sup>51</sup> For Tomb XLII at Prosymna see Blegen 1937, 147–152, fig. 368.

<sup>52</sup> For Tombs XVIII, XXVIII, XXXII, and XXXIX from the Athenian Agora see Immerwahr 1971, 209–211 nos. XVIII-1–7; 230–231 no. XXVIII-1; 234 nos. XXXII-1–3; 241–242 nos. XXXIX-1–3, pls. 48, 54, 56, 58.

<sup>53</sup> For Kolonaki Tomb 21 at Thebes see Keramopoulos 1917, 181–183, fig. 130.

Pylos Horizon B is roughly contemporary with the destruction deposits at the end of Phase IX at Mycenae,<sup>54</sup> Tiryns' West Staircase Terrace, Zone 1,<sup>55</sup> Phase 4 at Korakou,<sup>56</sup> the deposits from the Northeast Ascent of the Athenian Acropolis,<sup>57</sup> the destruction of Building Complex I at Kontopigado,<sup>58</sup> the earlier materials from Thorikos Mine No. 3,<sup>59</sup> Floor 5 above the 'Linear B Archive' at Thebes,<sup>60</sup> the floor level from House V at Eutresis,<sup>61</sup> as well as the destruction of Megaron A, Megaron B, and the settlement at Dimini (Tab. 10).<sup>62</sup> These deposits date to LH IIIC Early 1 or Jeremy Rutter's LH IIIC Phase 1.<sup>63</sup> They possibly postdate the destructions of the palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Thebes, as well as those of the citadels of Midea (West Gate Area and Southwest Slope) and Glas.<sup>64</sup> These data may imply a slight chronological difference between the destructions of the palaces located in the central area of the Greek mainland, extending from the Argolid to Boiotia, and the palaces or palatial structures located in Messenia and Thessaly at the southwest and northeast edges of this core area. Based on the chronology recently proposed for the destruction of the palace of Ayios Vasileios (LH IIIB1 Late),<sup>65</sup> the data presented in this paper may also indicate that during the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, Pylos was the only palatial center in the southern Peloponnese.

S. V.

### Summary and Results

At the current stage in our research, it is probably wise to contain our interpretative efforts and hold back from grand historical reconstructions. Such an attitude is suggested at Pylos by the ongoing status of PONEX excavations. The same consideration may apply to other important sites, such as Iklaina and Ayios Vasileios. In addition, caution is also necessary at the theoretical level. Recent research by Jorrit Kelder, Birgitta Eder, and Reinhard Jung has challenged peer polity interaction models accepted by most scholars in the last 30 years, arguing for a unified administrative palatial organization under a single *wanax* for most of the Mycenaean world from the Greek mainland to the east Aegean.<sup>66</sup>

Despite these problematic aspects, the data presented in this paper have important implications for our understanding of significant phases of cultural and sociopolitical transitions at Pylos and, more generally, on the Mycenaean mainland. Five points emerge. First, our study demonstrates the value of a comprehensive contextual approach to ceramic analysis and its potential benefits for a refined chronology. Second, our work allows, for the first time, a precise date for what we have termed destruction Horizon A at Pylos, when, according to Blegen and Rawson, the predecessor of the Palace of Nestor had burned down. Third, our results firmly indicate that the Palace of Nestor was definitively destroyed in LH IIIC Early 1, thus ending a long debate. Fourth, our proposed synchronisms show the existence of some discrete LH IIIA2 Early destruction horizons, involving such sites as Pylos and Mitrou. At the same time, this

<sup>54</sup> French 2011, 1–4, 35–51, 300–533, tab. 1, figs. 9–14, 17.

<sup>55</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 62–153, pls. 15–37; Kardamaki 2015, 88–93, figs. 7–9.

<sup>56</sup> Rutter 1974, 147–166, figs. 39–51.

<sup>57</sup> Broneer 1933; Rutter 1977, 1–2; Gauß 2003, 98–102.

<sup>58</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2014, 79–81, 94, 110, figs. 14–16, 23, 34.

<sup>59</sup> Mountjoy 1995.

<sup>60</sup> Andrikou et al. 2006, 50, 80–81 nos. 256–270, pls. 15–16, 72–74.

<sup>61</sup> Goldman 1931, 68, 189–190, figs. 77, 263.

<sup>62</sup> Adrimi-Sismani 2013, 212–247, figs. 54–76; Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 333–496.

<sup>63</sup> Rutter 1977, 1–2.

<sup>64</sup> Vitale 2006, 199–202, tabs. 2–3 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>65</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 114; Vasilogamvrou et al., this volume. For the chronology and terminology of the LH IIIB phase see Vitale – Van de Moortel 2020, especially 11–15, 30–33 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>66</sup> Cherry – Renfrew 1986; Kelder 2010; Nakassis et al. 2010; Eder – Jung 2015; Jung 2015.

phase may have marked important construction activities at the Laconian centers of the Menelaion and Ayios Vasileios. Whether these different events are connected at a supra-regional level remains unclear, as we lack contemporary settlement data from the Argolid, Attica, and Boiotia. The fifth point emerging from our analysis is that Pylos and Dimini may have been destroyed slightly later than Mycenae, Tiryns, and Thebes.<sup>67</sup> The potential political implications of these later destructions, located at the edge of the central area of Mycenaean palatial society, remain to be explored further in the future.

Concluding this paper, a final issue must be addressed. While PONEX is bringing to light new solid evidence concerning LH IIIA2 Middle and Late activities in Area E from the Tsakonas field near Tholos IV, the picture from the acropolis during these subphases remains poorly understood. This time span is of crucial importance, as it includes the period between destruction Horizon A and the construction of the Main Building of the final Mycenaean palace, which is currently dated to LH IIIB.<sup>68</sup> Additional information about human activities on the acropolis during LH IIIA2 may come from future analysis of the materials recovered underneath the floors of the Palace of Nestor, as well as from future study of the assemblages from the excavations recently carried out for the construction of the new roof over the Main Building of the palace.<sup>69</sup>

A better understanding of the Pylian acropolis during the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC is crucial for at least two reasons. First, it may shed new light on the political relationships between major centers in the southern Greek mainland during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC, such as Pylos, Iklaina, the Menelaion, and Ayios Vasileios. Second, addressing this issue may provide valuable information about the conditions that may have left Pylos, after the destruction at Ayios Vasileios, as the only palatial center in the southern Peloponnese during the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC.

S. V. – S. R. S. – J. L. D.

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<sup>67</sup> See Vitale 2006, 190–191, 197–202, tabs. 2–3.

<sup>68</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 32–33.

<sup>69</sup> Egan 2021; Karapanagiotou et al. 2021; Vitale et al. 2021.

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# Pottery and Stratigraphy at Iklaina in the 14<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC

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**Abstract:** Iklaina is fulfilling the prediction that it would be an important Mycenaean site, and one of the major second-order centers of the Pylos state. Several different sectors are being uncovered, differentiated by function. This paper concentrates on the South Sector, where excavation has produced evidence for a monumental structure with frescoes, as well as other buildings, an outdoor pit shrine, roads and a gateway. The North Sector, which includes both residential and industrial buildings, is still under study, as is the residential East Sector. Iklaina is clearly a larger and more complex site than Nichoria, the other excavated second-order center in Messenia. Four architectural phases can now be distinguished. This paper outlines these phases and their ceramic dating. In the light of this ceramic and stratigraphical evidence, the paper addresses current thinking about the town's historical development and particularly about its relationship with the palatial center at Pylos (Englianos).

**Keywords:** Iklaina, pottery, Pylos, administration, destruction

The site of Iklaina lies about 6km as the crow flies from the palace at Pylos (Englianos) in Messenia. Excavation, under the auspices of the Archaeological Society at Athens and the direction of Michael Cosmopoulos, began in 2006 and is ongoing. Finds to date include a monumental platform, with ashlar blocks and fresco fragments from the substantial building it once supported. A number of smaller buildings have also come to light, with signs of residential and industrial activity, as well as drains, roads and an outdoor pit shrine. As excavation continues, our theories are evolving about the town's history and its relationship with the palatial center. This paper presents an interim report on these topics, based on the interplay of ceramic and stratigraphical evidence (Fig. 1).

So far the fieldwork has focused on three areas of the site. The South Sector includes the monumental platform, the shrine, and the roads; the North Sector has both residential and industrial structures; and a residential East Sector came to light in 2016. This paper is based on material from the South Sector, which was just published in late 2018.<sup>2</sup> Excavation and study of the other sectors is still under way, but the evidence available so far is consistent with the observations made here.

Four main architectural phases have been identified at Iklaina, starting in LH II. MH and LH I pottery is present at the site, but without associated buildings.

## Phase 1 (LH IIA–B)

The earliest phase of occupation is represented chiefly by Terrace V in the South Sector.<sup>3</sup> The terrace is defined by the adjacent walls CT-031 and CT-032. Both inside this corner and outside to the west of CT-031 there are a few pieces of LH IIIA1 date in the upper layers, but the main fill deposit dates to LH IIA–B, with some LH I sherds mixed in. Pottery dates the construction of the

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<sup>2</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 44–50, pls. 83–89.

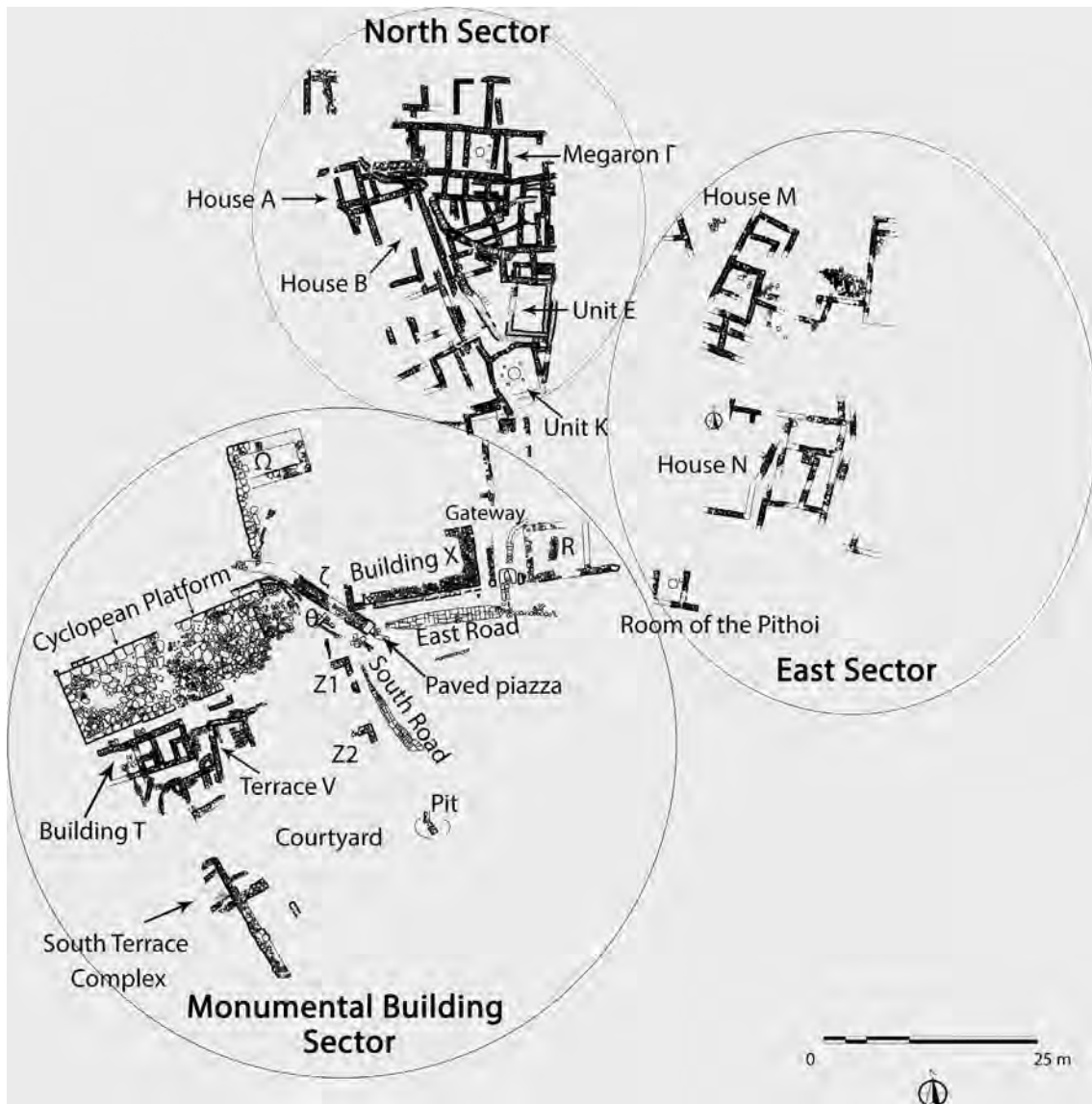


Fig. 1 Plan of Iklaina (drawing M. Nelson).

terrace itself to LH IIA.<sup>4</sup> The deposit extends down to the foundation of Wall CT-031; below it is a layer containing sherds dating to MH III, LH I and LH II. The diagnostic pottery of this phase consists mostly of goblets and bowls in semi-fine orange fabrics.<sup>5</sup> The goblets have tall, thin lips, and include several of the shoulder-handled type FS 268 (P3662) and one with high-swung handles FS 270 (P3750) (Fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> The fine decorated ware consists mostly of Type II and III Vapheio cups with characteristic motifs like spirals (P3638, P3644), foliate band (P3635, P3643) and straight or rippled vertical lines (P3295, P3640), as well as fragments of alabastra, squat jugs (P2721) and cups (P3777) (Fig. 3).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 101.

<sup>5</sup> For ceramic fabrics at Iklaina see Shelmerdine – Gulizio 2016; Gulizio – Shelmerdine 2017, 29, tab. 4.1.

<sup>6</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 47.

<sup>7</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 47.

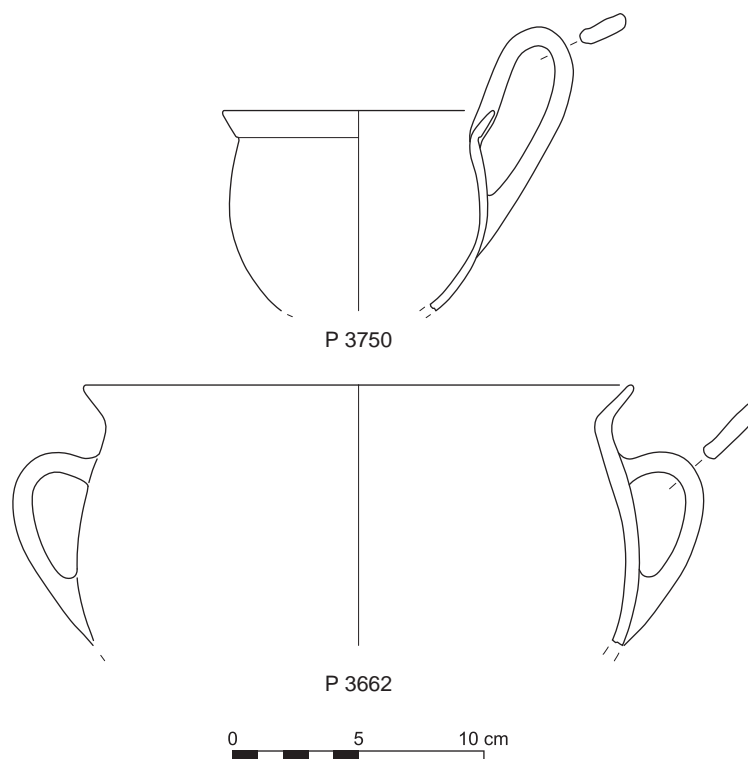


Fig. 2 Pottery of Phase 1. Scale 1:3 (drawings Y. Nakas).

### Phase 2 (LH IIB/IIIA1–IIIA2 Middle)

This phase is much more substantial than Phase 1. In the North Sector it is represented most clearly by Houses A and B and Megaron Unit K. A rubbish pit east of House B contained pottery from LH II–IIIB1 and a fragment of a Linear B tablet, IK X 1, preserved by burning.<sup>8</sup> Only the earlier sherds from the pit show signs of fire, not the LH IIIA2 Late–IIIB1 material. Further, the paleography of the tablet is early, so it too should belong to Phase 2.

In the South Sector, several buildings were constructed in Phase 2, most oriented NW-SE or SW-NE. The five-room Building T was constructed in LH IIIA1 over a paved courtyard of LH II, putting it out of use. The lower levels of Building T belong to this phase, its upper levels to Phase 3.<sup>9</sup> Phase 2 is also represented by Building A to the east of Building T, and by Building B2 and the South Terrace Building to its south.<sup>10</sup> An open air pit shrine southeast of these buildings also dates to this phase.<sup>11</sup> In it were found offering tables, charcoal, a lead sheet and numerous bones of young animals, chiefly piglets. Pottery dates the use of the pit to LH IIIA1–2 Early and includes more than 40 conical cups and 30 kylikes. Wall CT-035 marks the west edge of the pit, and the east edge of a pebble floor, with pottery from LH II–IIIA2 Early. East of the large platform of Phase 3 (see below), Wall CT-025 is the original south wall of the Phase 3 Building X, which seems to have begun in Phase 2 as a platform.<sup>12</sup> It is dated to Phase 2 by a handful of sherds found among its stones. These range from LH I/II to LH IIIA2 Early, the latest piece being a tall triangular-lipped kylix rim (Fig. 4.P4684).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Shelmerdine 2012.

<sup>9</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 29–41, pls. 55–77.

<sup>10</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 45, fig. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Cosmopoulos 2015b; Cosmopoulos 2018, 80–84, pls. 138–147.

<sup>12</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 90–91, 107.

<sup>13</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 92.





P 2721



P 3295



P 3638



P 3643



P 3777

Fig. 3 Pottery of Phase 1 (photos G. Vdokakis).

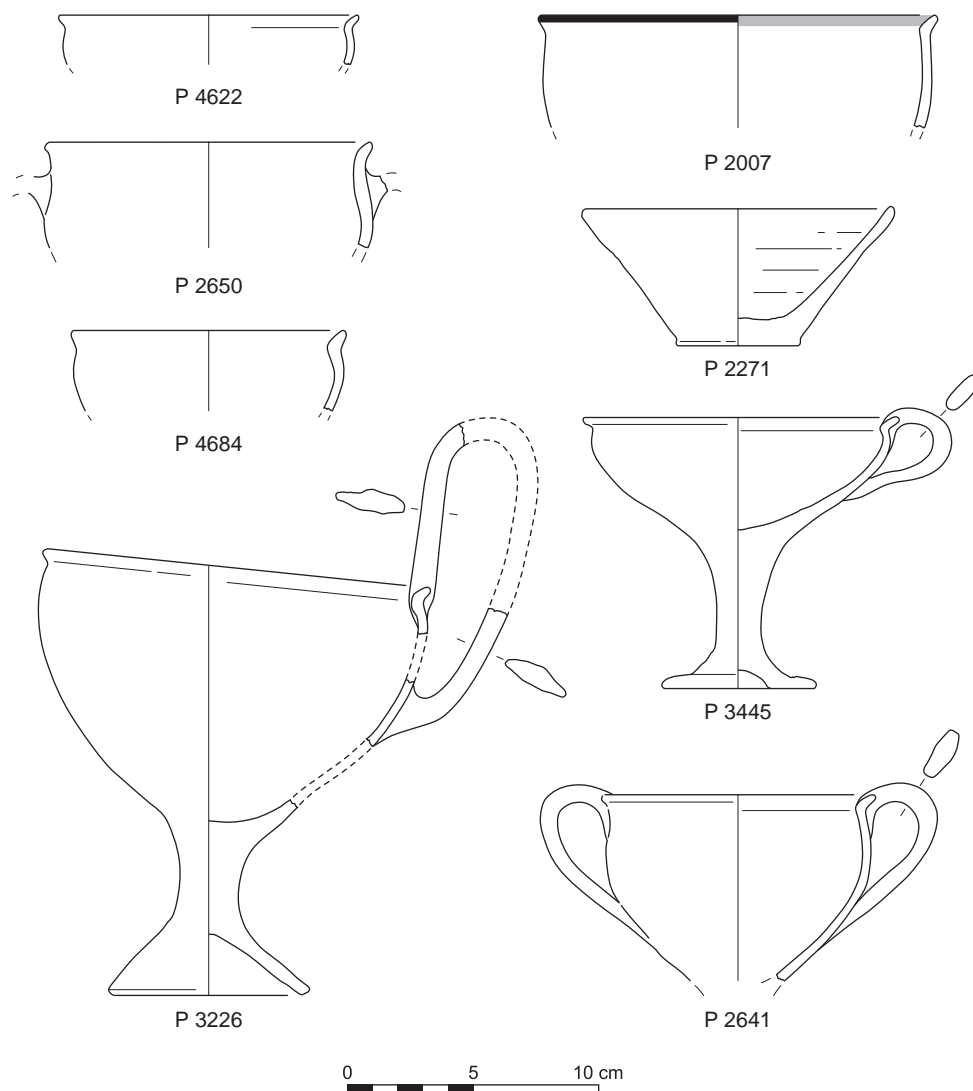


Fig. 4 Pottery of Phase 2. Scale 1:3 (drawings Y. Nakas).

The beginning of Phase 2 seems to overlap ceramically with the end of Phase 1. Most LH IIB goblets are made of orange semi-fine fabrics typical of LH I–II; there are very few fine ware goblets, and only one fragment of the Ephraean type FS 254 (Fig. 5.P3753 from Room T2).<sup>14</sup> Some kylikes we call ‘transitional’: they have kylix stems, but they are made in the semi-fine orange fabrics of Early Mycenaean goblets, rather than the Late Mycenaean fine ware of LH IIIA–B. The rest of the Phase 2 pottery is typical of LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 Early in Messenia. Most of the fine ware is unpainted, and once painted sherds are often worn and encrusted, making it hard to discern their original appearance. There are, however, a few fragments of both closed and open decorated vessels, including a kylix of FS 256, a LH IIIA2 Early form, with a rim band and a deep upper body (Fig. 4.P2007).<sup>15</sup> Unpainted kylikes are both rounded (P2641) and angular (P3445), though the carination on some of the latter is very gentle (Fig. 4).<sup>16</sup> Many of the rounded examples are small enough that they may have had a single handle like, for

<sup>14</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 34.

<sup>15</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 70.

<sup>16</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 83.



Fig. 5 Pottery of Phase 2 (photos G. Vdokakis).

example, most of the LH IIIA1 kylikes at the Menelaion,<sup>17</sup> rather than two handles like the conventional FS 264. There are only a few examples of the types with high-swung handles FS 272 (P3226) and with shoulder handles FS 269 (P2650) (Fig. 4).<sup>18</sup> The full range of Phase 2, LH IIB/IIIA1–IIIA2 Early, is represented in material from Building T, and probably also the pit shrine, which may extend into LH IIIA2 Early. P3226 comes from rubble on the south side of the platform, in the eastern part with much pottery from LH II–IIIA1 and little from LH IIIA2–B. This is interesting, since a destruction layer below the rubble was predominantly LH IIIA2–B in date. Shallow cups (P4622) and conical cups (P2271) are common (Fig. 4), as are shallow angular bowls (Fig. 5.P3471).<sup>19</sup>

### Phase 3 (LH IIIA2 Late–IIIB Middle)

Phase 3 is marked by extensive construction in both the North and South Sectors. While Houses A and B went out of use in the North Sector, Megaron Γ and Unit E were added, on a more cardinal

<sup>17</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 403–404.

<sup>18</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 23 (P3226), 31 (P2650).

<sup>19</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 37 (P4622), 83 (P2271), 84 (P3471).

orientation than the buildings of Phase 2. In the South Sector, the most notable addition was a massive platform (referred to in early Iklaina publications as a terrace). This is a 24.3×8.2m structure oriented SW-NE, like most buildings of Phase 2, parallel to the slope of the hill on which it stands. It extended the level area north of Building T, and supported a large building, the so-called Cyclopean Terrace Building, of which some ashlar blocks survive along with pottery and fresco fragments.<sup>20</sup>

South of this platform, the South Terrace Building remained in use during Phase 3 and Buildings Z1 and Z2 were added. Building T also continued; its second phase is marked architecturally by the construction of Wall CT-001 to replace the earlier north walls of the building. Building T may have been incorporated into the Cyclopean Terrace Building during this phase, or it may have continued to be a separate building.<sup>21</sup> Several structures were also added north and east of the platform, notably Building X and a Gateway to the east. Originally a platform in Phase 2, Building X took shape as a building in Phase 3, and Wall CT-026 was added along the original south Wall CT-025.

In ceramic terms, Phase 3 extends from latest LH IIIA2 into LH IIIB2. The start of the phase is exemplified by pottery from foundation trenches on both the north and south sides of the platform, dating its construction to the LH IIIA2/IIIB transition.<sup>22</sup> Some kylix rims from these assemblages have a short rounded profile typical of LH IIIA2 Late/IIIB1 (e.g. P4708), while others are of the LH IIIB1 lipless variety (e.g. P4641, P4644) (Fig. 6). The only possible deep bowl fragment in these foundation deposits is Fig. 7.P4643, a round horizontal handle with black paint, attached to a body coated on the interior. The wall is thinner and the handle smaller than is typical of stemmed bowls, but a deep bowl with coated interior would require a date much later in LH IIIB, inconsistent with the rest of the foundation material. It is therefore more likely to be a stemmed bowl.

Most of the LH IIIA2–B1 pottery from Iklaina is unpainted. The decorated material is canonical in both shapes and, where preserved, motifs. Kylikes of both LH IIIA2 Late FS 257 and LH IIIB1 FS 258B types are attested (Fig. 7); a spiral pattern is preserved on one of the former (P3679), and two of the latter have vertical whorl-shell decoration (P3534, P3684).<sup>23</sup> Spirals also appear in this phase on a stemmed bowl (Fig. 7.P3667) and a mug (Fig. 6.P1611).<sup>24</sup> Except for the destruction material that marks the end of Phase 3 (see below), deep bowls are rare or absent in deposits of this phase,<sup>25</sup> indicating a date early in LH IIIB1.

A burning destruction affected most or all of the site at the end of Phase 3, which can be dated in ceramic terms to the transition from LH IIIB1 to LH IIIB2. The assemblages that date the destruction of the Cyclopean Terrace Building are typical; along with ashlar blocks, burnt mud-brick and building material, and charcoal, the destruction layer contains mostly characteristic LH IIIB1 pottery, including lipless kylix rims,<sup>26</sup> and Group A and banded deep bowls (Fig. 6.P3707; Fig. 7.P3735).<sup>27</sup> As at other sites in Messenia, LH IIIB2 pottery at Iklaina lacks the two features that define this phase in the Argolid: rosette and Group B deep bowls.<sup>28</sup> But the Phase 3 destruction material does include five vessels of LH IIIB2 types: two monochrome deep bowls (Fig. 6.P3700, P4233), two deep bowls with coated interiors (Figs. 6.P4200; 7.P4018), and a krater with coated interior (Fig. 6.P3706). Both of the deep bowls may be Type A/B: the rim P4018 has a handle ringed with paint but no preserved decoration exterior banding, and the base P4200, still in

<sup>20</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 6–15, 20–28.

<sup>21</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 104–106.

<sup>22</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 13–14, 26, pls. 22–23.

<sup>23</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 27.

<sup>24</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 27.

<sup>25</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 27, 33, 36 (deep bowls absent in Building T), 44 (possible rims in Room CT), 69 (fragments in the pit in Space ST.1 of the South Terrace Building).

<sup>26</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 12, fig. 5, including lipless kylix rims P3836, P4030 and deep bowl rim P3853.

<sup>27</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, pl. 21.

<sup>28</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 36.

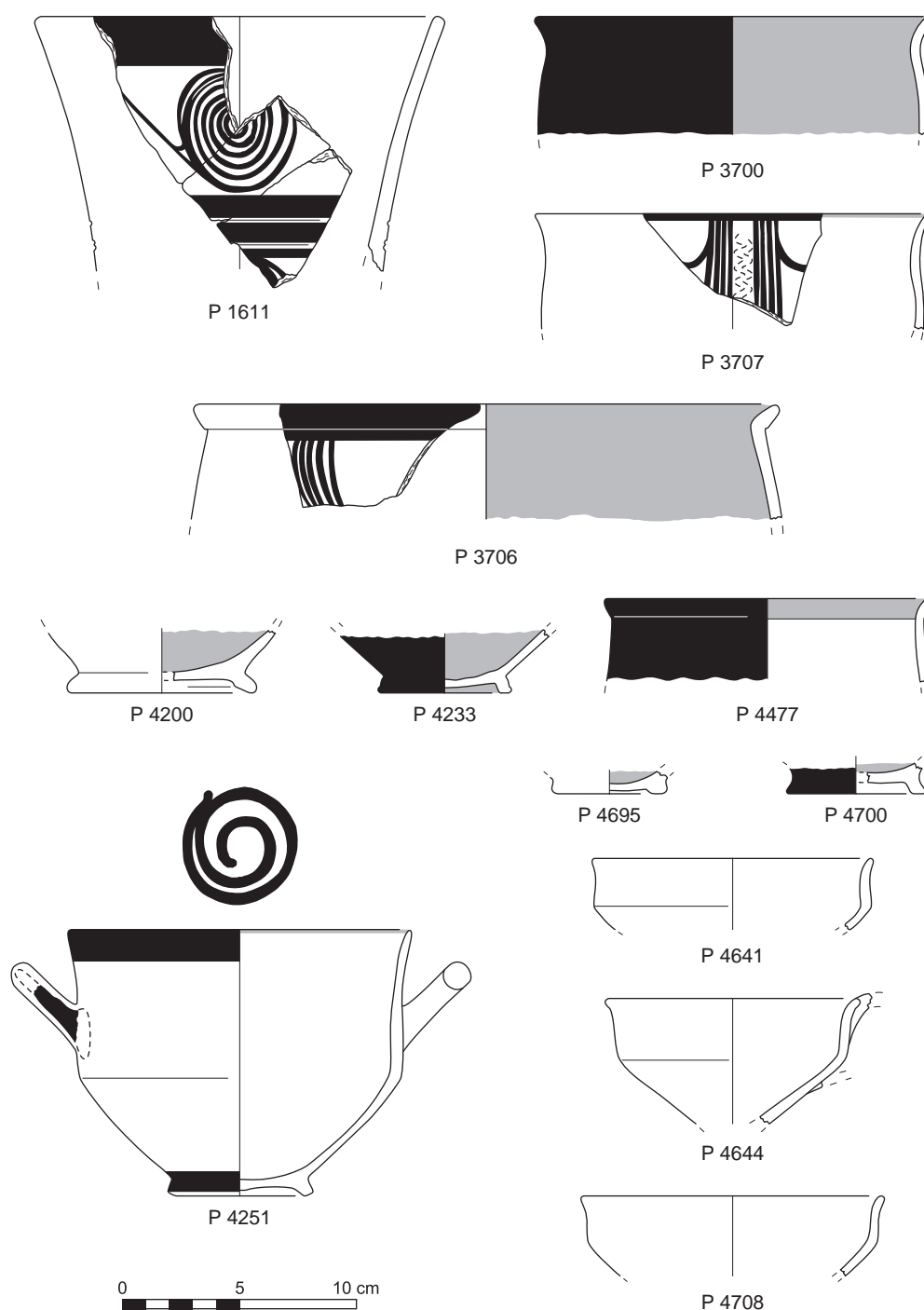


Fig. 6 Pottery of Phase 3. Scale 1:3 (drawings Y. Nakas).

conservation, may prove to have a narrow band on the exterior. The presence of these five vessels means that Phase 3 not only spans latest LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 but extends into LH IIIB2. It thus corresponds in Argolid terms to both LH IIIB Early and mid-LH IIIB (Mycenae) / LH IIIB Middle (Tiryns).<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 32; Vitale 2006, 178–184.



Fig. 7 Pottery of Phase 3 (photos G. Vdokakis).

Further evidence of this destruction in the South Sector comes from the South Terrace Building, Buildings Z1 and Z2, Building X, the Gateway, and the East Road to the south of the latter two structures. Like the destruction material from the Platform area, the pottery includes characteristic LH IIIB1 material, including Group A and unpainted deep bowls, plus just four deep bowls typical of LH IIIB2. Three of these are from the destruction layer of Building X (Fig. 6): P4251, with a medium band on the exterior and a spiral on the interior base; P4695 with coated interior; and the monochrome example P4700.<sup>30</sup> From the rubble associated with the Horos just south of Building X comes Fig. 6.P4477, with a deep exterior rim band that also should be later in LH IIIB.<sup>31</sup>

#### Phase 4 (LH IIIB Middle – IIC Early)

This is a short phase following the destruction that ended Phase 3. In the north, Megaron Γ now had small storage rooms attached to its south side, and its main room was divided by two cross-walls. Some of this remodeling had apparently begun in Phase 3, but the precise chronology

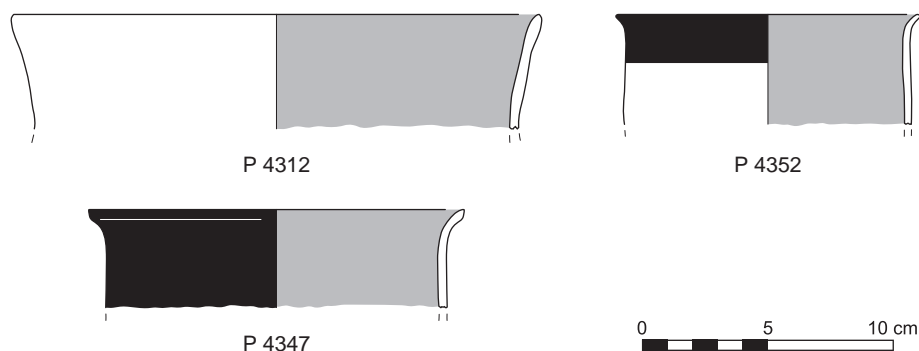


Fig. 8 Pottery of Phase 4. Scale 1:3 (drawings Y. Nakas).

is still to be worked out. Unit E continued in use; an industrial function is indicated by the addition of plaster floors to the west of it.<sup>32</sup> This phase is also present in the East Sector, which is still under study. Much less evidence for this phase comes from the South Sector. The buildings of Phase 3 were not rebuilt, but Walls CT-048 and CT-060 show that new buildings were added at the east end of the East Road and above the destroyed Gateway.

Both monochrome (P4347) and medium band (P4352) deep bowls, types first seen in the destruction of Phase 3, continue in Phase 4 (Fig. 8).<sup>33</sup> The rim P4312 with coated interior (Fig. 8) could be from either a mug or a deep bowl.<sup>34</sup> Unpainted kylix and shallow angular bowl rims are very thin and mostly lipless, and a few are in brown or gray-brown fabrics. The drab colors and thin walls are uncharacteristic of LH IIIA–B1, and more often attested in late LH IIIB–IIC. Also indicative of a late date is the absence of decorated kylikes. Late IIIB–IIC features are



Fig. 9 Pottery of Phase 4. (photo G. Vdokakis).

<sup>30</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 87.

<sup>31</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 88.

<sup>32</sup> Cosmopoulos 2019, 364–365.

<sup>33</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 88; the exterior rim band on P4352 is not indicated in Fig. 44.

<sup>34</sup> Cosmopoulos 2018, 87.

also seen in Phase 4 pottery from other sectors, for example a jar shoulder with tassel decoration FM 72 (Fig. 9.P5049) from the Room of the Pithoi in the East Sector.

### Development, Destruction and Abandonment

Iklaina developed without interruption from Phase 1 to Phase 2. Nor was there a major destruction at the end of Phase 2, as we originally thought. Our initial idea was that the Cyclopean Terrace Building and Building T were built in Phase 2, and destroyed at the end of that phase.<sup>35</sup> We also observed signs of destruction in the North Sector, and indeed Unit A in that sector did suffer a destruction at this time. However, stratigraphic and ceramic evidence have confirmed that the Cyclopean Terrace Building belongs entirely to Phase 3, and that the second phase of Building T is contemporary with it.

The end of Phase 3, however, was marked by a general site-wide burning destruction, dated ceramically to the middle of LH IIIB. At this time, the Cyclopean Terrace Building was destroyed, along with the other buildings in the South Sector, and several in the North Sector as well. After this destruction there was only a little activity in the South Sector, in the vicinity of Building X and the Gateway. More significant activity continued in the North Sector, some of it industrial, and in the apparently residential East Sector. At the end of Phase 4 the site seems to have been abandoned, with no sign of further destruction.

A remaining question is how the history of Iklaina outlined here maps onto the history of the region, and particularly the history of the kingdom of Pylos. There is clear evidence that an administration complex enough to keep written records was operating at the Englianos palace by early in LH IIIA.<sup>36</sup> These early tablets were burned in a destruction now known to date to LH IIIA2 Early.<sup>37</sup> The Iklaina tablet is roughly contemporary with this early phase of administration, and could support the view that Iklaina was already part of the Pylian state at this time, in Phase 2. To date no further tablets have been found at Iklaina, however, and in any case, it seems unlikely to me that there was a second regional power complex enough to require written records, especially at this early stage of palatial administration. However, this is the view currently held by Cosmopoulos, the director of the Iklaina project, who believes the site came under palatial control only after the destruction at the end of Phase 3.<sup>38</sup> Its new status, as the second-order center *a-pu<sub>2</sub>-we*,<sup>39</sup> would account for the industrial activity that went on in the North Sector during Phase 4.

If this view is correct, it must follow that the Pylian system of second-order centers, and the taxation system based on it, developed surprisingly late in the history of the state, in contrast to the longer history generally proposed.<sup>40</sup> We all hope that future work at Iklaina will provide more clarity on this important issue.

**Acknowledgments:** I wish to thank Michael Cosmopoulos for the opportunity to work at the Iklaina project and to offer this account. I am grateful to the editors for their help with illustrations.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Cosmopoulos 2012; Cosmopoulos 2015a, 250–251, 257; Shelmerdine 2015, 243, 246–247.

<sup>36</sup> Shelmerdine in press.

<sup>37</sup> Vitale et al., this volume.

<sup>38</sup> Cosmopoulos 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Hope Simpson 2014, 57.

<sup>40</sup> Hope Simpson 2014, 53–54; Shelmerdine in press.



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# The Destruction at the Palace of Ayios Vasileios and Its Synchronisms

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**Abstract:** The newly discovered palace at Ayios Vasileios offers the first evidence for the use of Linear B clay tablets in Laconia. The palace was destroyed by a severe fire during which the room that hosted the Linear B archive was burnt down. The suggested date of this destruction is placed close to LH IIIB Middle. The present paper discusses the related evidence from the pottery and stratigraphy available so far. Moreover, the destruction of Ayios Vasileios is placed in a wider geographical context, suggesting that the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century in southern Greece was marked by several similar events. Finally, the paper offers some preliminary results about the date and character of reoccupation in the area of the court.

**Keywords:** Ayios Vasileios, Laconia, palace destruction, pottery, LH IIIB Middle

## Introduction

The discovery of the palace at Ayios Vasileios and the first Linear B archive in Laconia, almost 150 years after the first excavations in Mycenae and Tiryns, fills a major research gap.<sup>4</sup> It aspires to provide new data on some of the most highly debated aspects of the Mycenaean research such as the formation of the Mycenaean palaces, the development of palatial architecture, and the political organization in the southeastern Peloponnese. Since 2010, excavation has gradually revealed the remains of large building complexes and a large Court.<sup>5</sup> The latter had a northwest-southeast orientation and may have been approximately 20m wide (Figs. 1–2).<sup>6</sup> The size and presumed architectural design of the large Court with the surrounding buildings recall Cretan traditions and there are some features that were not encountered before the discovery of Ayios Vasileios in the context of the mainland architecture. Most prominent among these are the two excavated porticos, the West Stoa and the South Stoa, that are 5.5m wide and thus unusually deep, while their colonnades consist of alternating pillars and columns. The whole complex of the stoas and the court was constructed in LH IIIA2 Early – approximately at the same time when the first megaron at Tiryns, Mycenae and Pylos were built – on top of an artificial platform.<sup>7</sup>

The palace of Ayios Vasileios suffered a severe conflagration that is obvious in all excavation trenches. The following paper discusses the date of this event based on the evidence of the pottery discovered firstly in the area of the two stoas, i.e. the area of the Linear B archive in the West Stoa

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<sup>4</sup> See Aravantinos – Vasilogamvrou 2012 for the first Linear B tablets from Ayios Vasileios.

<sup>5</sup> Buildings A, Δ and E. Vasilogamvrou 2013; Vasilogamvrou 2014; Vasilogamvrou 2015a; Vasilogamvrou 2015b; Vasilogamvrou 2018. In the north part of the plateau a cemetery with cist tombs was in use from MH III to LH IIB. See Moutafi – Voutsaki 2016; Hachtmann – Voutsaki, this volume.

<sup>6</sup> Its northern end is not exposed yet, but the evidence from the geophysical prospection suggests that it may have extended up to the area west of Building A (Vasilogamvrou 2015b, 98–99, pls. 66–67).

<sup>7</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2018, 155–165, figs. 13–17; Vasilogamvrou et al. 2021. The Great Megaron in Tiryns was constructed in LH IIIA1 or LH IIIA2 (Maran 2001, 23–25). For Pylos see Nelson 2001.



Fig. 1 The large Court of Ayios Vasileios with the West and the South Stoa. State of 2016 excavation. In red, the group of the in situ vessels from the West Stoa (drawing K. Minakakis, K. Athanasiou, I. Koulogeorgiou).

and secondly in the court.<sup>8</sup> Before this, we shall present the main stratigraphic features in the area under discussion and some evidence for a possible reoccupation. The destruction of the palace was most certainly an event of major significance in Laconia, but it may also have had wider implications. To gain a deeper insight into these queries, the destruction of Ayios Vasileios is placed within a wider context to the extent that the available material allows it.

### The Stratigraphy

In almost all trenches opened in the area of the court and the stoas, the excavation has reached the floor of the structures. Evidence of the conflagration is abundant, while the destruction debris was well preserved in particular areas. This is mainly observed in the West Stoa, where the debris from the collapsed upper story that contained the Linear B tablets was found lying directly on the ground floor of the stoa (Figs. 2, 4).<sup>9</sup> Besides the baked Linear B tablets, many other finds and building material show evidence for exposure to fire and high temperatures. The pottery, for instance, is often vitrified, and the same is true for the ground floor of the structures that consisted

<sup>8</sup> See Kardamaki 2017 for a preliminary discussion.

<sup>9</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2015a, 73–74, pls. 58–60α; Vasilogamvrou 2015b, 108, fig. 3, pls. 71–73.



Fig. 2 The West and South Stoa and the large Court. The round pits are Byzantine. State at the end of the 2016 excavation. Bottom left: the rear room to the west of the West Stoa. Top left: the collapsed upper floor of the West Stoa (Linear B archive). Centre right: Wall 108 on the floor of the court (aerial photo N. Karadimas).

of pebbles and trodden earth. Almost everywhere it has been exposed, both in the stoas and in the court, it has a grayish-brown color with crackles on its surface.<sup>10</sup>

More precisely, the following stratigraphy was observed in the course of the excavation. Two groups of vessels were discovered lying directly on the floor of the West Stoa (Figs. 1–2) and close to the west pillar of the South Stoa respectively. In the West Stoa the vessels were covered by the building debris of the first floor<sup>11</sup> while in the South Stoa they were found under a stone rubble that probably derived from the fallen upper structures (Fig. 3). The layer on top of the floor of the West Stoa was red loamish, varying in thickness between 20 and 40cm. This was very often sealed by the lime-plaster floor and the building material of the fallen upper story and it may have formed a subfloor fill of the upper story. Many fragments of the Linear B tablets were closely

<sup>10</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2015a, 73.

<sup>11</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2018, 163, fig. 17.

associated with or even lying directly on the lime-plaster floor.<sup>12</sup> The whole deposit was buried under a c. 30cm-thick layer of soil with mixed pottery from various periods up to the modern times.

In the South Stoa (Trenches Δ12γ, Δ12β, Δ13β, Δ13δ, south part of E14γ, Δ14α) the situation is different. The part of the rear wall excavated so far survives only at a foundation level (Trenches Δ13δ, Γ12α)<sup>13</sup> whereas the vitrified floor in the southern part of the structure was found almost directly under the modern surface (southern part of Δ12γ, Δ14α). In the northern part of the South Stoa the deposits are thicker, and the floor was covered by several layers, varying in thickness (from 5 to 15 and 40cm), color (grayish, brown or red) or consistency. In the eastern part of the South Stoa (Trench Δ14α) a large piece of charred wood was lying directly on the floor.<sup>14</sup> In trench Δ12β a layer with gray soil on top of the floor of the stoa and the court was followed by a c. 40cm-thick brownish-red layer that covered most parts of the trench and contained post-destruction material. In Trenches Δ13β and E13δ a c. 40cm-thick grayish-brownish layer with post-destruction material that extended from the court to the South Stoa was lying on top of the floor (Fig. 12.53–57). This layer cuts another one with red soil and a few sherds of earlier date (Fig. 12.49–52). Some of the layers mentioned above contained few sherds and may derive from disintegrated building material or refuse during use of the buildings (thin layers on top of the floor of the court and South Stoa), while others seem to relate to post-destruction activities.

The excavation in Trenches Δ11β, Δ12α and Δ12γ, yielded a c. 60cm-thick layer of large and medium-sized stones mixed with red soil on top of the ground floor.<sup>15</sup> This stone rubble appeared across the colonnade of the West Stoa (Fig. 5), as well as the colonnade of the South Stoa – where it covered the group of vessels next to the western pillar of the South Stoa – and it was also attested in the north part of the South Stoa (Figs. 1, 3). The exact origin of the stone rubble is not yet clear, but it most probably derives from the upper story of the West and South Stoa.<sup>16</sup> A concentration of stones was also excavated in the west part of Trench Δ12β.

In Trench Δ12α, a wall with a north-south course was resting on a thin red layer which itself was on top of the vitrified floor of the court (Wall 108) (Figs. 1, 4–5).<sup>17</sup> West of Wall 108 there was a c. 50cm-thick red soil that resembles the red layer from the West Stoa, but to the east the soil had a rather brownish-red color. This wall was therefore constructed on top of the vitrified floor of the court and represents a post-destruction architectural feature. Besides the burnt floor of the court, no other floor has survived in Trench Δ12α that could be associated with Wall 108.

While interpreting the stratigraphic data is a work in progress that will most certainly improve as the excavation continues, some aspects already seem clear. The debris from the fire destruction of the palace was not entirely removed when some kind of reoccupation occurred in the area. It was found almost intact in the West Stoa, where in some areas its upper preserved level was higher than the upper courses of post-destruction Wall 108 in the court. Some of the destruction debris also remained in place in the South Stoa (charred wood in Trench Δ14α). This may suggest that a complete rebuilding and renovation of the old structures was not part of the post-destruction program and some areas may have gone out of use. In other cases this type of rebuilding amid destruction debris that was still visible or leveled was often called ‘Squatter Building’ or ‘Ruinenbewohnung’ and it was related to restricted building capacities or was viewed as an instant

<sup>12</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2015b, 108; Vasilogamvrou 2018, 160, 163, figs. 12, 15. In some cases, fragments of the lime-plaster floor of the upper story were found directly on the floor of the West Stoa without the intervening red layer (Vasilogamvrou 2015b, 107).

<sup>13</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2015b, 113, fig. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2015b, 110–111, pl. 75α.

<sup>15</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2015a, 74, pl. 59β. Close to the west pillar base of the South Stoa, a thin red layer was observed between the lowest levels of the rubble and the floor. A similar deposit was encountered in the court in Trenches E13δ and E14γ to the east, but the stone layers also contained fragments of charred wood and many mudbricks (Vasilogamvrou 2015b, 110–111, pl. 75).

<sup>16</sup> In Trench E11δ, in the area of the colonnade, pottery joins connecting the upper with the lowest part of the stone rubble were observed. This probably suggests that the stone rubble results from a single-process event.

<sup>17</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2015a, 74, pl. 58α.



Fig. 3 The stone rubble in the court (Trench Δ12α) and the north part of the South Stoa (Trench Δ12γ). View from the east. Excavation state 2012 (photo V. Georgiadis).



Fig. 4 Wall 108 and stone rubble in the court (Trench Δ12α) and the fallen lime-plaster floor of the upper story of the West Stoa. View from the north (photo N. Karadimas).

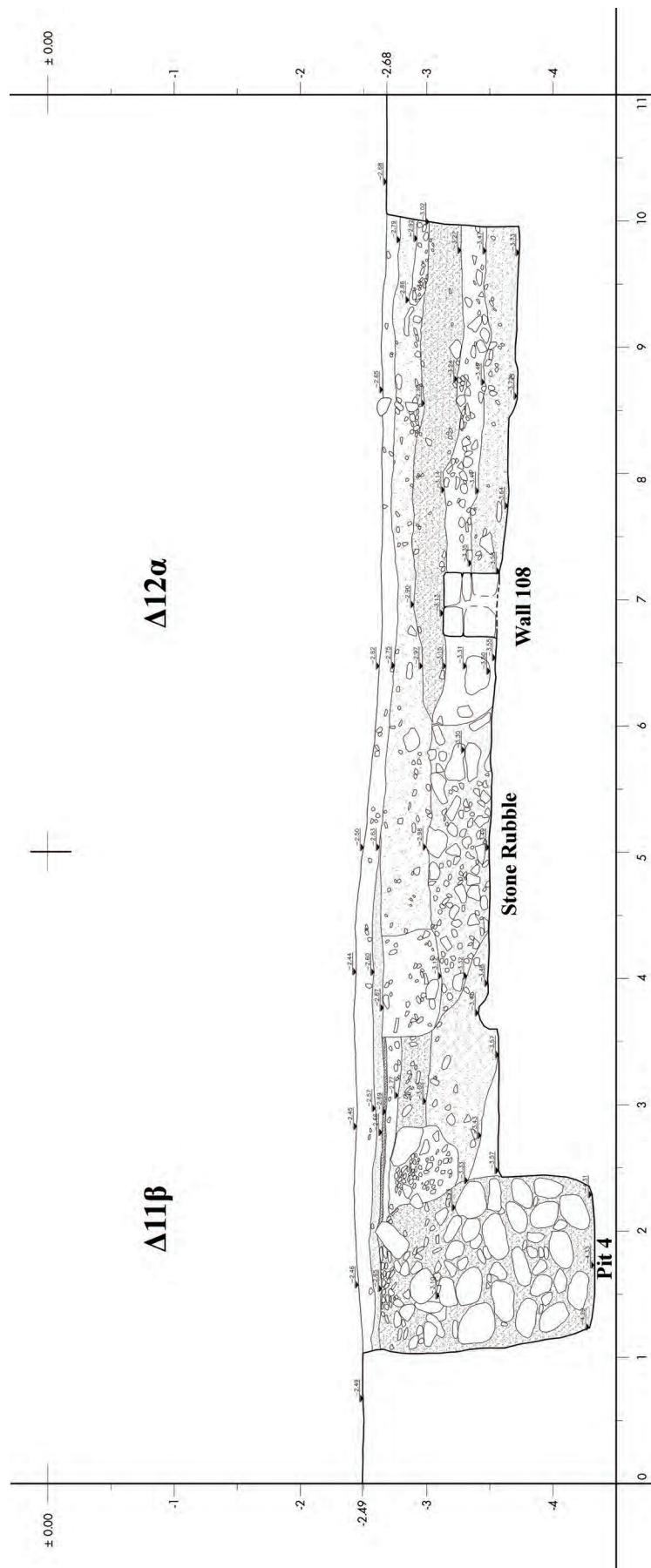


Fig. 5 Section of the north baulk in Trenches Δ11β and Δ12α with the stone rubble and Wall 108 built on top of the floor of the court (Section A-A', see Fig. 1) (drawing I. Koulogeorgiou).

reaction after a sudden event – e.g. an earthquake.<sup>18</sup> However, a selective rebuilding with deliberate preservation or rejection of earlier spaces based on a new concept is also possible and has been demonstrated by Joseph Maran in the case of the LH IIIC Early Post-palatial occupation in the Upper Citadel of Tiryns.<sup>19</sup>

In the following sections we discuss the pottery from the two stoas – West and South Stoa – and the court.

### Pottery from the West Stoa and the South Stoa

The pottery from the West Stoa and the west end of the South Stoa belongs to three different types of assemblages. The first comprises pottery that was found in situ on the floor of the building's ground floor. The vessels from the West Stoa are fully or very well preserved – in total 17 pots – while in the South Stoa – next to the western pillar base – the material is more fragmented. In both cases the pottery is heavily burnt and often deformed.<sup>20</sup> These two floor deposits provide the most secure evidence for the dating of the destruction of the two stoas; however, their dating is a challenging task as the entire material consists exclusively of plain vessels.

The second type of assemblage consists of fully or almost fully preserved pots – in total seven vessels – that were found in association with the debris of the upper story of the West Stoa or lying in the red layer that existed between the floor plaster of the upper story and the floor of the ground floor of the West Stoa. These vessels, which give additional evidence for the dating of the destruction of the West Stoa, may have formed part of the first floor room assemblages and some of these could have entered the red layer when the upper floor collapsed.<sup>21</sup> They occasionally appear in concentrations, but unlike the in situ material from the ground floor, these vessels were not burnt. However, their surfaces were almost always covered by a layer of lime that was also observed on the surfaces of the in situ pots.<sup>22</sup>

The third type of assemblage is the sherd material from the destruction and building debris of the West Stoa. Some sherds preserve a large part of their original section but most of the material is fragmented.

### Pottery from the Ground Floor of the West Stoa and the South Stoa

The vessels that were discovered in situ on the ground floor level of the West Stoa and the west end of the South Stoa are all plain (Figs. 6–7).<sup>23</sup> Most of the material belongs to drinking/eating pots, i.e. carinated kylikes FS 267 (Figs. 6.6–7, 7.12), globular kylikes FS 264/265 (Fig. 7.9–10), angular bowls FS 295 (Figs. 6.8, 7.13–14), cups FS 222 (Fig. 6.1–5) and a few conical cups FS 204 (Fig. 7.15–16). The group of open vessels from the South Stoa also includes large fragments of two cooking tripods. The distribution of the material shows a noteworthy differentiation in terms of its typology. Globular kylikes and conical cups appear only in the South Stoa (Fig. 7.9–10, 15–16) while cups FS 222 are found only in the West Stoa (Fig. 6.1–5).

<sup>18</sup> Kilian 1988, 135. See Damm-Meinhardt 2015, 249–250, for discussion. Catling 2009, vol. 1, 216–217, 236–237. According to Hector Catling, the buildings on the Aetos South Slope were damaged due to structural failure and earthquake.

<sup>19</sup> Maran 2012, 158–159.

<sup>20</sup> For this reason, the identification of joining fragments is sometimes impossible. Thus, the number of pots, especially from the South Stoa, is approximate.

<sup>21</sup> Some fragments of the plaster floor were found in almost vertical position (Vasilogamvrou 2015b, 107).

<sup>22</sup> This lime deposition on the surfaces of sherds and vessels was observed only on the material related to the destruction deposits and the red layer on top of the floor of the West Stoa. It was not observed on the surfaces of later material (Byzantine tiles) found in the higher disturbed layers of the West Stoa nor on the LH IIIB/IIIC Early post-destruction sherds in the area of the court to the east of the West Stoa.

<sup>23</sup> See also Kardamaki 2017, 131, fig. 20.318–321.



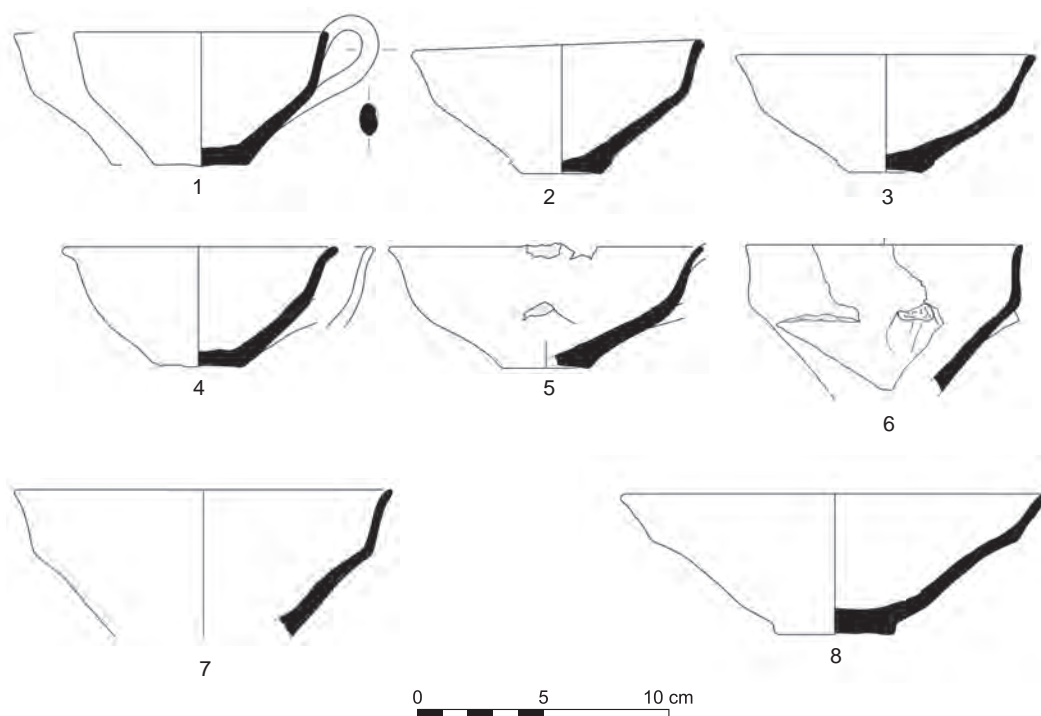


Fig. 6 The group of the in situ pottery from the West Stoa. Scale 1:3 (drawings A. Poelstra Traga).

Angular bowls and carinated kylikes appear in both contexts. Moreover, the in situ pottery of the South Stoa clearly reflects an earlier, LH IIIA2 style,<sup>24</sup> while the pots from the West Stoa demonstrate a more advanced typology with tall flaring rims or slightly pulled lips that are typical for LH IIIB.<sup>25</sup> This suggests that pottery of LH IIIA2 style either survived or was still produced at the time of destruction, although at the moment it is difficult to explain this spatial distribution of material.

The group of the shallow cups FS 222 from the West Stoa merits special attention. The type occurs in two shape variants, a shallow rounded (Fig. 6.4–5) and an angular (Fig. 6.1–3) one. Regarding the latter, this was taken as an indication for a LH IIIB chronology as the shape was absent in LH IIIA contexts of the site. Angular cups are represented by three specimens, but only one preserves a handle (Fig. 6.1).<sup>26</sup> Published examples of the shape are well known from LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early contexts, as at Dimini,<sup>27</sup> Pylos,<sup>28</sup> the House of Kadmos in Thebes,<sup>29</sup> the Acro-

<sup>24</sup> For similar LH IIIA2 rounded kylikes from Ayios Vasileios see Kardamaki 2017, 124, fig. 13.204. See also Thomas 2011, 212, fig. 21.228. For the angular bowl/kylix on fig. 7.13 see Thomas 2011, 213, fig. 22.239.

<sup>25</sup> French 1967, 176, fig. 17.K4–K5, K10; 177, fig. 18.B7 (LH IIIB Middle, Mycenae); Mountjoy 1976, 99, fig. 12.155; Thomas 2005, 514, fig. 27.1, 6. Simple flaring rims rarely occur prior to LH IIIB at Ayios Vasileios (cf. Kardamaki 2017, 104, 121, fig. 10.174). In Mitrou some LH IIIA2 Early angular bowls have flaring rims (Vitale 2008, pl. 44i).

<sup>26</sup> In the other two examples only 30% of the total perimeter is preserved. Pots published as handleless angular bowls (Wardle 1969, 284, fig. 9.94 [LH IIIB1 Mycenae]) are fragmentary and the identification cannot be certain.

<sup>27</sup> Adrimi-Sismani 2013, pl. 70.4.1 (exterior of North Building, dated in LH IIIB2); Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 369 nos. BE46705–BE46707, BE46709, BE46724 (Floor Deposit, Magazine 5, Megaron B, LH IIIB2).

<sup>28</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 360, Shape 12, fig. 354. Shape 12 comprises cups with a variety of shapes, some of which have double curved sides.

<sup>29</sup> Raison 1968, pl. 37.279, 277 (Kadmeion). See also Andrikou, this volume.

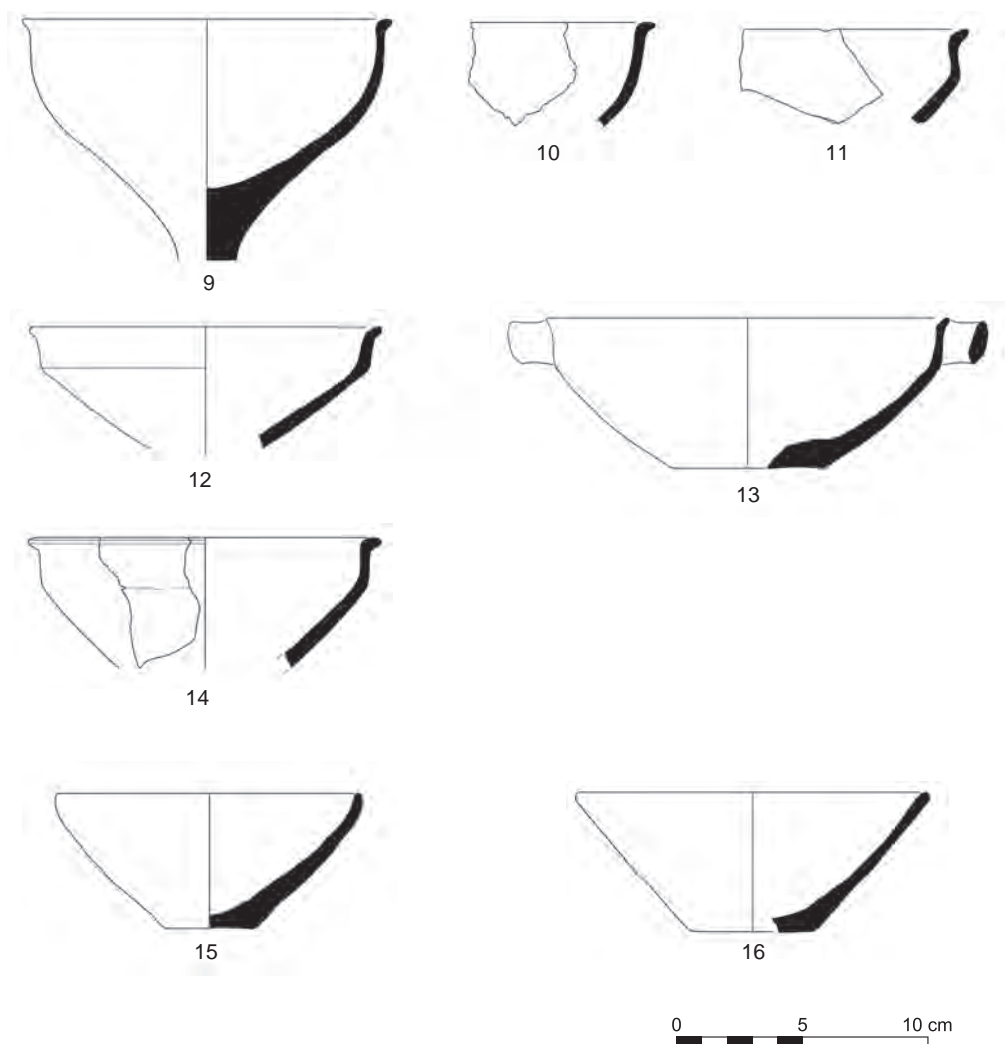


Fig. 7 The group of the in situ pottery next to the pillar base of the South Stoa, Trench Δ12γ. Scale 1:3 (drawings A. Poelstra Traga, E. Kardamaki).

polis of Athens<sup>30</sup> and also from Mycenae<sup>31</sup> and Tiryns.<sup>32</sup> The cups from Ayios Vasileios differ from most of the published examples accompanied by drawings in that they have narrower bases and a straighter upper part with a slightly pulled rim – rather than a flaring one. This rim type is very characteristic and is also typical for the angular bowls from the same context (Fig. 6.8). Plain vessels with similar rims appear in LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early 1,<sup>33</sup> but they are especially well attested in the deliberate deposit of Room 19 in the Temple Complex at Mycenae that was sealed at the beginning of Phase VIII (LH IIIB2). The contents of Room 19 are assigned to the use of the

<sup>30</sup> Broneer 1939, 381, fig. 63a (underground fountain). The shape is reported as a rare specimen among the material of the houses on the NE ascent (LH IIIC Early 1). In LH IIIB–IIIC Early levels at Kontopigado the shape is absent. For a similar depositional pattern of two angular cups FS 222 from a chamber tomb in Glyka Nera, Attica, to this of Minoan plain conical cups in funerary contexts see Sgouritsa 2019, 344–345, pl. 137. The date of the cups is suggested to be between LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB.

<sup>31</sup> Wardle 1969, 184, fig. 9.94 (LH IIIB1); Mylonas Shear 1987, pl. 20.55–56; fig. 11.55–56 (55 probably LH IIIB2 [Room 20, Building II], 56 probably LH IIIB1 [drain deposit north of Room 7]).

<sup>32</sup> Hiesel 1982, 433, fig. 52.3.

<sup>33</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, fig. 350 (Shape 4, no. 75); French 1967, 176, fig. 16.C7; 177, fig. 18.B7; Mountjoy 1976, 99, fig. 12.136; French – Tylour 2007, CD-356; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 176, fig. 180.WS 66.

building during Phase VII that ended with the destruction in LH IIIB Middle.<sup>34</sup> A close similarity between the two deposits in terms of the rim typology is supported by the presence of an angular cup in Room 19 that closely resembles the angular cups FS 222 from Ayios Vasileios, except its handle reaches higher above the rim.<sup>35</sup>

#### Pottery Presumably from the Upper Story of the West Stoa

The group of vessels that was found in the destruction debris provides additional evidence for the dating. The most common shape is the dipper with linear decoration or a dotted rim (Fig. 8.17–19). The vessels are relatively shallow with flaring rims and rounded bases, while two examples are the size of a miniature (Fig. 8.18). Their shape is slightly different from most LH IIIB published examples from the Argolid, which often have the so-called dimple or a tiny raised base and deeper curved or flaring profiles.<sup>36</sup> A tiny raised base is observed only once among dippers from the present deposit. On the other hand, the LH IIIA2 dippers usually have a more pronounced or everted rim and a more globular shape.<sup>37</sup> Dippers with profiles like those from Ayios Vasileios are common at Pylos and Kontopigado (LH IIIC Early 1).<sup>38</sup>

A date in LH IIIB is probable for the two dippers with dotted rim, a pottery type that begins in LH IIIB1<sup>39</sup> and continues up to LH IIIC Early 1. Earlier examples are rare.<sup>40</sup> The handle of the miniature dipper with the dotted rim is decorated with horizontal stripes (Fig. 8.18), a decoration which is difficult to trace among published material that dates prior to LH IIIB2.<sup>41</sup> The second dipper with a dotted rim has a handle decorated with horizontal stripes and vertical lines. At the base of the handle, the vertical lines are joined forming a ‘U’. A similar decoration is found on a spouted bowl FS 253 from Prosymna that has been dated by Penelope Mountjoy to LH IIIB1.<sup>42</sup> Regarding the linear painted dippers, there are plenty of examples known from LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Moore – Tylour 1999, 17, 36, fig. 10.68-1414, 68-1420 (carinated kylikes); 38, fig. 12.68-1416 (miniature kylix with two handles); 39, fig. 13.68-1427 (cup FS 222), 68-1426 (bowl with two? handles).

<sup>35</sup> In the drawing the vessel is restored with a second handle, but this is suggested as a probable addition (Moore – Tylour 1999, 17). However, the vessel is nearly complete and most likely belongs to the type with one handle. For the photo see Moore – Tylour 1999, CD-207.

<sup>36</sup> French 1967, 152, fig. 2.52-262–52-263 (House of the Oil Merchant, LH IIIB1). But see also French 1967, 152, fig. 2.52-264, 52-168, and Wardle 1969, 277, fig. 7.71–72 (Citadel House, Room 3, LH IIIB1), for less flaring rims. For a similar but slightly deeper shape than the Ayios Vasileios dipper see Mylonas Shear 1987, fig. 15.99 (LH IIIB Middle) but with dimple base, and Kardamaki 2009, pl. 16.274 (Tiryns, LH IIIC Early 1).

<sup>37</sup> Shelton 2008, pl. 36k (Petsas House, Apotheke A). See Wardle 1969, 277, fig. 7.72 (Citadel House, Room 3, Deposits C, D, LH IIIB1), for dippers with a straighter upper part and rounded rims.

<sup>38</sup> Blegen – Rawson 1966, 364, figs. 357–358 (Shape 21), but rim more rounded. Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2012, 178, fig. 16.56 (LH IIIC Early 1, plain, rim slightly thickened).

<sup>39</sup> See Schönfeld 1988, 165, fig. 2.3. One dipper from Ayios Stephanos with blobs rather than dots and a shallow profile has been dated in LH IIIA2 (Mountjoy 2008, 375–376, fig. 6.38.3680). However, it may be later as it is related to one of the latest floors of the site (Tylour 1972, 235, dates the vessel in LH IIIB).

<sup>40</sup> One dipper from the Terrace below the House of Shields (French 1965, 187, fig. 9.4) is unusual as it is decorated with a single motif. The dipper has big dots, more like splashes, and an incurving upper part. However, the terrace also contains LH IIIB1 material (Schönfeld 1988, 184). One of the few LH IIIA2 examples comes from Prosymna (Blegen 1937, 430, fig. 125.235). The dipper that was intact comes from a swept-away burial in Chamber Tomb 21. The final burial in the tomb dates to LH IIIB1, but the dipper with the dotted rim was found within the LH IIIA2 displaced material (Mountjoy 1999, 127). However, one rounded plain kylix from the area covered by the swept-away material is typical for LH IIIB1 (Blegen 1937, fig. 125.271; 695. Cf. Thomas 2011, 515, fig. 28.16, 18).

<sup>41</sup> But see Adrimi-Sismani 2013, pl. 46.2–3, for a handle from a dipper with horizontal stripes that is dated to LH IIIA2 (from Deposit A). Its rim shape anticipates LH IIIB examples. For LH IIIB2 see Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 401. For LH IIIC Early 1 see Blegen – Rawson 1966, 364, fig. 357.247 (Pylos); Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2012, 172, fig. 14.37–39 (Kontopigado). This decoration is even more typical on LH IIIB2–IIIC Early cups FS 215 (French – Stockhammer 2009, 194, fig. 7.4; Kardamaki 2009, pls. 26.558–559, 562; 27.589–592).

<sup>42</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 142, fig. 35.265.

<sup>43</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 142, fig. 35.261–262 (Citadel House Area, Phase VII/VIII, and House of the Oil Merchant). See Podzuweit 2007, 125–126, pl. 63.1, for discussion.

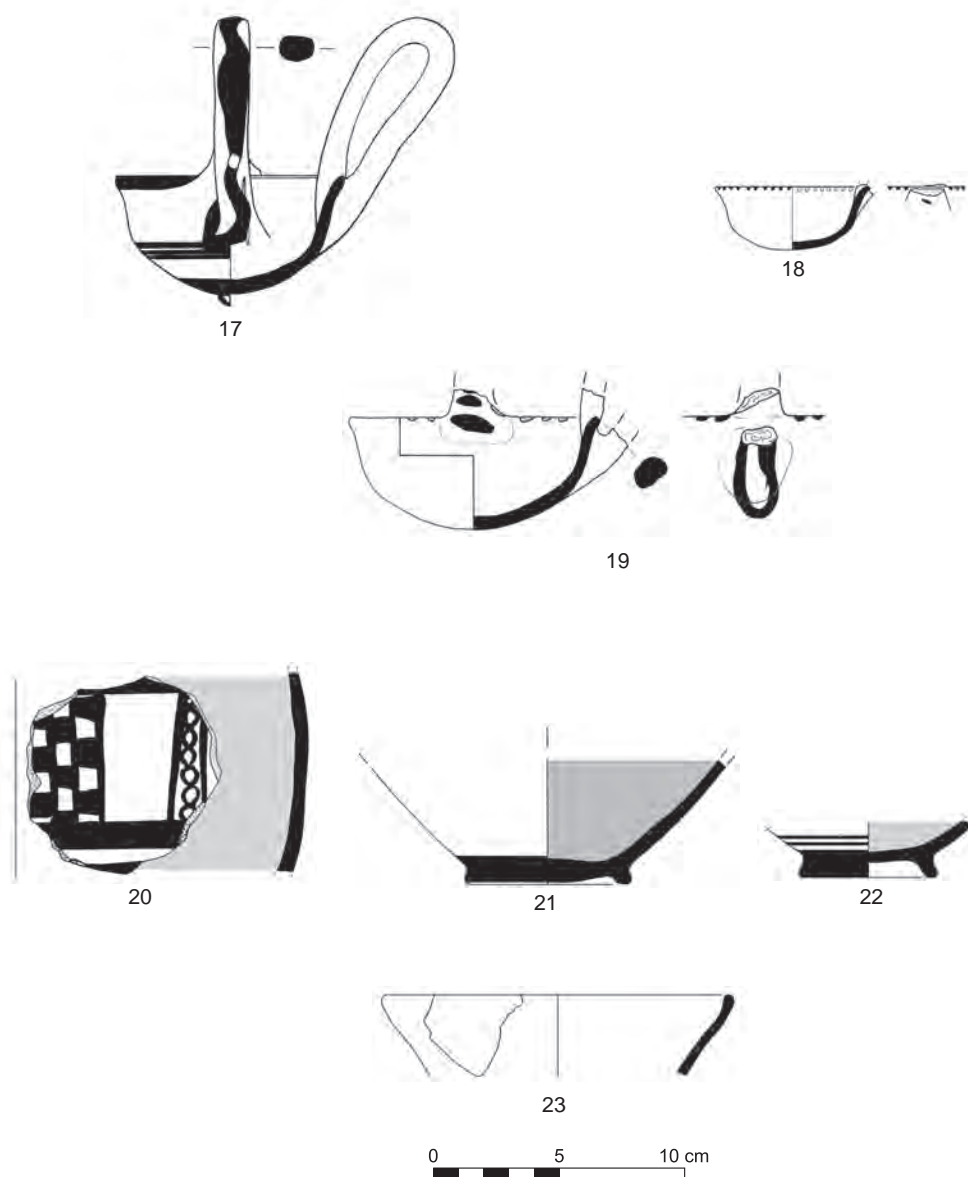


Fig. 8 Pottery from the red layer and the building debris above the floor of the West Stoa. Scale 1:3 (drawings A. Poelstra Traga, R. Jung, V. Hachtmann).

#### Sherd Material in the Destruction Debris of the West Stoa

As was to be expected, the sherd material from the West Stoa has a broad chronological span from LH I to LH IIIB. Most sherds date to LH IIIA and possibly derive from building material or the subfloor fill of the upper story (red layer, see above). Very few sherds date to LH IIIB. To these belong the sherd of an open vessel that is decorated with checkers and a triglyph and has a monochrome interior (Fig. 8.20), and two bases of deep bowls FS 284 (8.21–22), one of which has an unusual decoration on the exterior base (Fig. 8.22).<sup>44</sup> The above mentioned sherd has a

<sup>44</sup> The bases of the deep bowls with monochrome interior usually have a single band on their exterior, and this is the case with the second deep bowl base identified in this deposit. There are rare deviations from this decoration that have two bands or a band and a thin line above (Mountjoy 1999, 151, fig. 39.295; Podzuweit 2007, pl. 10.10).

combination of motifs that we would not expect before LH IIIB2.<sup>45</sup> Its narrow decorative zone and preserved linear decoration make it likely that the sherd comes from a large Group B deep bowl (FS 284).<sup>46</sup> Checkers on deep bowls are unusual but there are some examples.<sup>47</sup> It is worth noting that by the time of the destruction the sherd was in secondary use, possibly as a lid.<sup>48</sup> One sherd from a conical open shape may be the only example of a LH IIIB plain conical kylix identified in the area excavated so far (Fig. 8.23).

The pottery that was found among the thick stone rubble west of the later Wall 108 (court) and across the colonnade of the West Stoa, seems to belong to LH IIIB1. There is a plain carinated kylix FS 267 with a flaring rim (Fig. 9.23) and a base of a probable painted kylix FS 258 (Fig. 9.24).<sup>49</sup> The thick layer of red soil that was found between the stone rubble and Wall 108 contained a fragment of a kylix FS 258 with a decoration of whorl shells (?) arranged diagonally (Fig. 10.33).

The rarity of deep bowls FS 284 and plain conical kylikes FS 274 may be due to the function of the area under discussion, or, alternatively, due to a regional Laconian style and need not imply a destruction early in LH IIIB1.<sup>50</sup> The combined evidence available so far from the in situ plain pots that find good parallels in LH IIIB Middle contexts at Mycenae, the dippers with dotted rims and the probable fragment of a Group B deep bowl and two other deep bowls with monochrome interior, seems to suggest a date at the end of LH IIIB1 and probably close to LH IIIB Middle for the destruction of the palace.<sup>51</sup> The presence of Group B deep bowls in LH IIIB Middle is confirmed in Tiryns and possibly Mycenae.<sup>52</sup> Finally, since deep bowls FS 284 of Group A are extremely rare at Ayios Vasileios they cannot significantly contribute to the chronological discussion (see below).

<sup>45</sup> For the same type of triglyph from a krater from the Menelaion see Mountjoy 1999, 276–277, fig. 93.153. The sherd probably comes from the area of the mansions (Dawkins 1910, 8–9) and was dated convincingly by Mountjoy on stylistic grounds to LH IIIB. For triglyph FM 75:25 with circles on the interior see Catling 2009, vol. 2, 286, fig. 290.A 74 (LH IIIC Early 1). Also, at Midea: Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2001, fig. 17 (LH IIIB2 deep bowl B but circles not attached to each other). Paneled patterns and triglyphs are, in general, very rare before LH IIIB. Schönfeld 1988, 179, figs. 1.18; 3.12, reports three examples. At Nichoria triglyphs are reported from the LH IIIA2/LH IIIB1 layers (Shelmerdine 1992). Checkers on open shapes are rare before LH IIIB2 and especially LH IIIC Early (see, for example, Mountjoy 2008, 382, fig. 6.41.3712, 3722). One krater from the cemetery of Lazarides on Aegina is dated in LH IIIB2 (Efstratiou – Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2016, fig. 135) but a slightly later date cannot be excluded.

<sup>46</sup> Group B is defined as having a 3cm-wide rim band, two bands at the belly underneath the handles and a monochrome interior. Narrow decorative zones are very typical for LH IIIB2 deep bowls (Voigtländer 2003, pls. 124.Si 41; 125.Si 55–Si 56).

<sup>47</sup> See Voigtländer 2003, pl. 133.Ki 8 (named *krateriskos*, LH IIIC Early).

<sup>48</sup> The fractures of the sherd are worked to give it a round shape. Secondarily produced round sherds may have been used as lids (for discussion see Rahmstorf 2008, 37–52).

<sup>49</sup> The decoration with one line on the edge of the base and one at the base of the stem is rare but see D. Sfakianakis in: Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2018, 288, fig. 84, for a LH IIIB kylix from a larnax burial, Tomb 2 at Metochi Kalou, Trapeza, on Crete for a disc decorated in the same way. However, the stem of the kylix from Trapeza is decorated with a group of lines in the typical Cretan style.

<sup>50</sup> Conical kylikes appear to become more common in later parts of LH IIIB1. See, for example, the rarity of plain conical kylikes in Tsoungiza during LH IIIB1 that are represented only by few sherds (Thomas 2005, 512). In another destruction deposit from the east part of the court, which is currently being processed, plain conical kylikes FS 274 are well represented in the sherd material.

<sup>51</sup> The frequency of the kylikes FS 258 and the ratio between kylikes and deep bowls are very different between the various contexts assigned to LH IIIB1 and LH IIIB Middle at Mycenae and Tiryns respectively. Therefore, the destruction contexts of Mycenae and the LH IIIB Middle assemblages of Tiryns cannot be compared directly (Kardamaki 2009, 388–389). For the division of the second half of LH IIIB, the chronological system of Christian Podzuweit is followed with LH IIIB Developed and Final (Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 80). This correlates with LH IIIB2 Early and Late in the system of Vitale 2006, 201, tab. 3 (see Kardamaki 2009, 388–392, tab. 33, for discussion).

<sup>52</sup> In the LH IIIB Middle destruction horizon of the Citadel House Area (Mycenae Phase VII), the presence of a deep bowl B is not certain since most fragments are assigned by French – Taylour 2007, 23, to Phase VIII (LH IIIB2 infill) (see French – Taylour 2007, CD-204). At Tiryns Schönfeld 1988, 155, tab. 1.60, records ten fragments of deep bowls B in the LH IIIB Middle horizon at Tiryns.

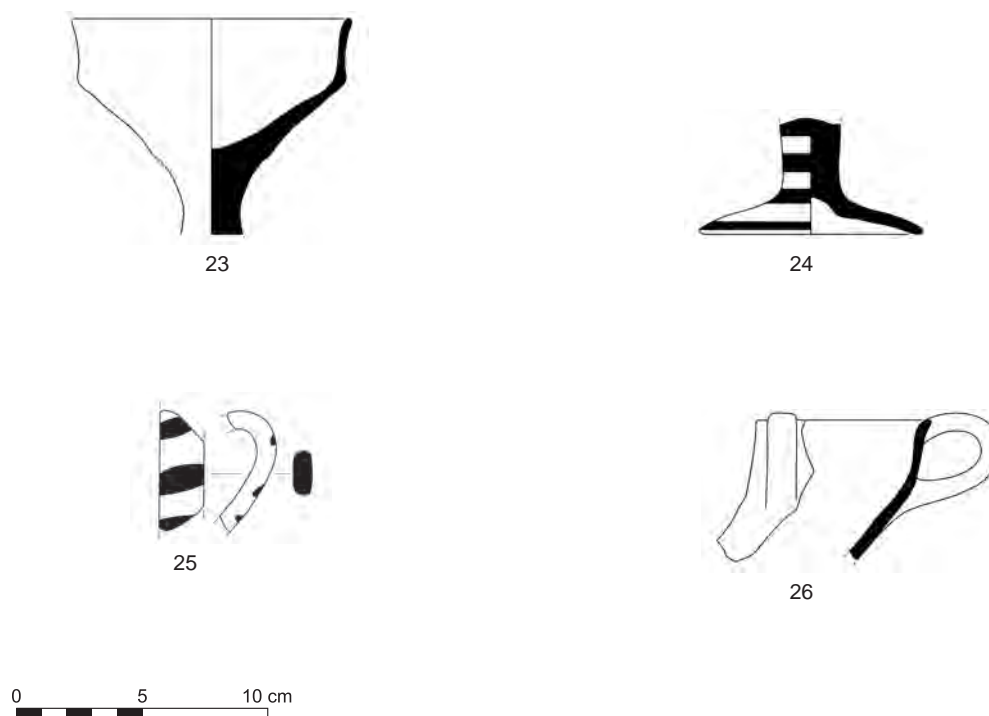


Fig. 9 Pottery from the stone rubble in the colonnade of the West Stoa and in the court. 23–24. Trench  $\Delta 11\beta$ ; 25–26. Trench  $\Delta 12\beta$ . Scale 1:3 (drawings A. Poelstra Traga).

#### Pottery from the Court and the East Part of the South Stoa (Trenches $\Delta 12\alpha$ , $\Delta 12\beta$ , $\Delta 13\beta$ )

The pottery from the area of the court is fragmented and only a few sherds preserve a large part of their original profile. This sherd material comes from secondary layers. The brownish-red layer to the east of Wall 108 in Trench  $\Delta 12\alpha$  contained mainly small but also some large fragments. The material covers a wider chronological range, and dates from the pre- and main destruction phase to the time of the construction and use of Wall 108. Several sherds fit well in LH IIIB1. There are rims of plain vessels like a one-handed deep bowl FS 283 (Fig. 10.29) and probably kylikes (Fig. 10.30–31).<sup>53</sup> Painted sherds include a stemmed bowl with monochrome interior (Fig. 10.28).<sup>54</sup> The latest fragment, however, seems to come from a bowl FS 295B with round horizontal handles (Fig. 10.27). The vessel, of which one third is preserved, was found in the lower parts of the brownish-red layer to the east of Wall 108. The earliest examples of the type, or a variant of the type that was classified by Christian Podzuweit as his bowl Type no. 6,<sup>55</sup> date to LH IIIB2 Late, but it was common in LH IIIC Early.<sup>56</sup> It cannot be excluded that it appears in earlier phases

<sup>53</sup> For profiles see Wardle 1969, 286, fig. 10.103 (LH IIIB1, Mycenae), and Thomas 1992, fig. 57.9 (Zygouries).

<sup>54</sup> Thomas 2005, 503, fig. 22.18.

<sup>55</sup> For the shape see Podzuweit 2007, pls. 43.13–14; 44. Podzuweit's bowl type 6 includes bowls with short or medium-tall everted rims that can be linear painted or decorated with various motifs (e.g. lines, horizontal chevrons). Bowls assigned to FS 295B may have flaring or short everted rims (Mountjoy 1986, 153, fig. 197.2; French 2011, CD-444). Most vessels cited by Mountjoy and French do not have a pattern-painted rim but there are some examples that probably belong to Podzuweit's bowl Type no. 6 with decoration on the rim (French 2011, CD-337–338, LH IIIC Early 1). At Tiryns bowls FS 295B with horizontal handles seem to have slightly different – taller – rims from the published examples from Mycenae.

<sup>56</sup> See Mountjoy 1986, 153, fig. 197.2. LH IIIB2: Podzuweit 2007, pl. 44.13. LH IIIC Early 1: French 2011, CD-437, CD-444 (Room XXXIV, Mycenae); Kardamaki 2009, pl. 29 (Western Staircase/Zone 1, Tiryns). Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 51–52, 58, suggests LH IIIB Developed and LH IIIB Final (early and late LH IIIB2) as the main phase of his bowl type no. 6 with isolated examples in LH IIIB1.

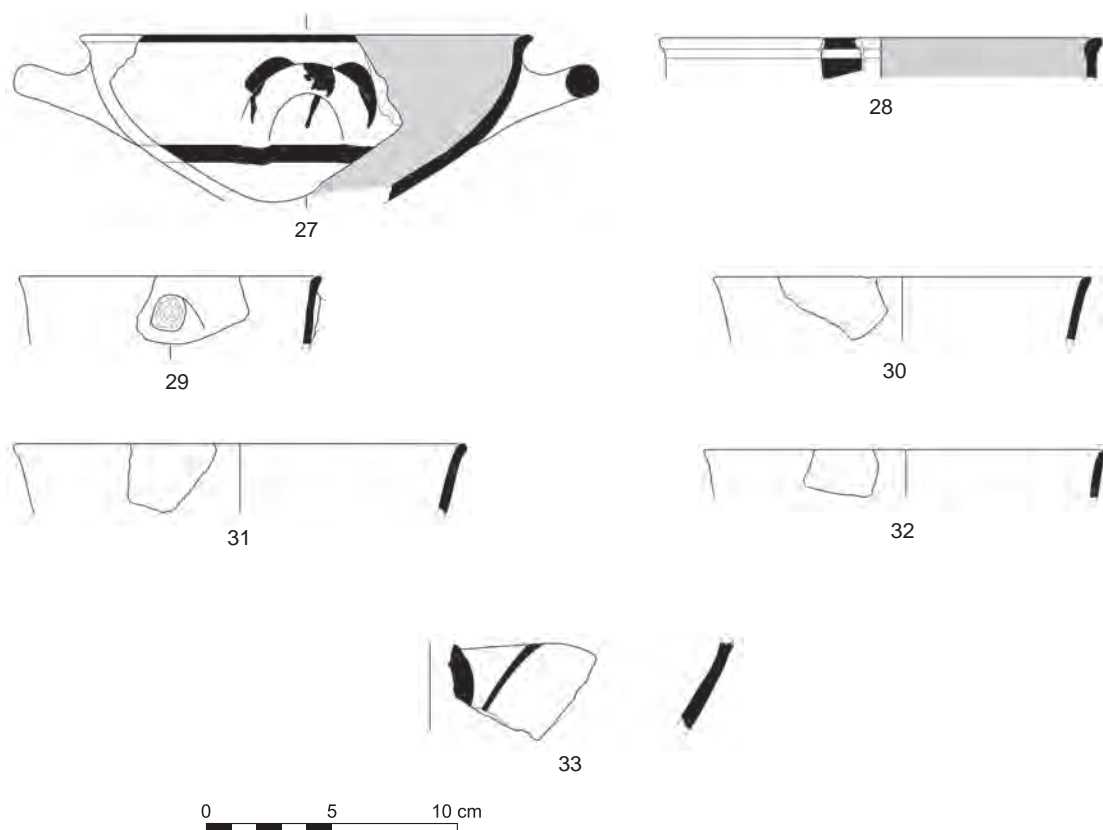


Fig. 10 Trench  $\Delta 12a$ . 27–32. pottery found east of Wall 108 (court); 33. pottery found west of Wall 108. Scale 1:3 (drawings A. Poelstra Traga).

as well. On the other hand, the absence of deep bowls in this layer should be noted (see below). This would make LH IIIB2 Late or LH IIIC Early unlikely as the phase of construction of Wall 108. Based on this evidence, as well as the pottery from the West Stoa, rebuilding activities in the southwestern part of the court may have started soon after the destruction and perhaps in early LH IIIB2.

Most of Trench  $\Delta 12\beta$  relates to the court (Fig. 1). Here, the floor of the court was covered by a thin layer of gray soil; it contained little material, among which there is the rim of a Zygouries kylix (Fig. 11.34). On the west side of the trench stone rubble was lying directly on the floor. Among the stones a plain kylix with shallow bowl (similar to FS 258) (Fig. 9.26)<sup>57</sup> and one handle with horizontal splashes (Fig. 9.25) were found; the latter is rather wide for a LH IIIB1 dipper and could be later, but it is too fragmented to allow a secure identification.<sup>58</sup> Above the gray soil there was a brown-reddish layer that also extended above the stone rubble to the west of the trench; in addition to LH IIIB1 kylikes (Fig. 11.36–37), this layer contained deep bowls FS 284 and plain conical kylikes FS 274 (Fig. 11.38–45, 48) of LH IIIB2/IIIC Early date (see below).<sup>59</sup> It is perhaps noteworthy that rims with a slightly pulled lip like these observed on the pots of the West Stoa (Fig. 6.2–3, 8) are missing. The painted conical kylix FS 274, a feature mainly related to LH IIIC

<sup>57</sup> See Wardle 1969, 287, fig. 11.106 (LH IIIB1, Mycenae).

<sup>58</sup> It could come from a dipper FS 236 or a spouted bowl FS 253. LH IIIB1: Mountjoy 1999, 141–142, fig. 35.265 (bowl FS 253 with handle decorated with stripes in the upper part and a band in the lower part). LH IIIB2: Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 401 (handles probably from dippers). LH IIIC Early 1: Mountjoy 2008, 362, fig. 6.33.3594 (dipper).

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Wardle 1969, 286, fig. 10.104 (LH IIIB1, Mycenae); Mountjoy 1976, 101, fig. 13.163 (LH IIIB1, Mycenae).

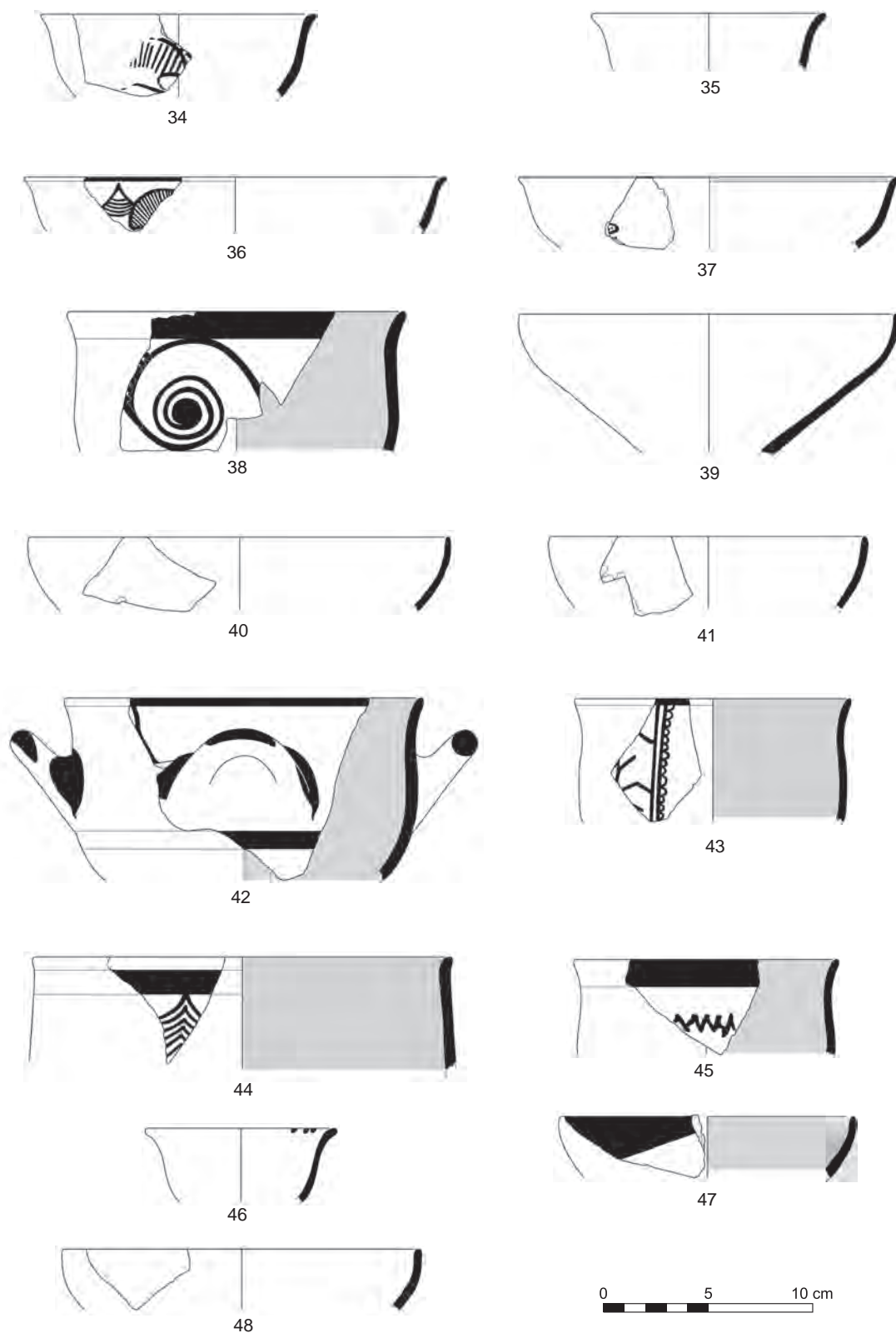


Fig. 11 Trench Δ12β. 34–35. gray layer on top of the floor of the large Court; 36–41. brownish-red layer in the court and the South Stoa, spits 4–5; 42–48. brownish-red layer in the court and the South Stoa, spit 3. Scale 1:3 (drawings A. Poelstra Traga).



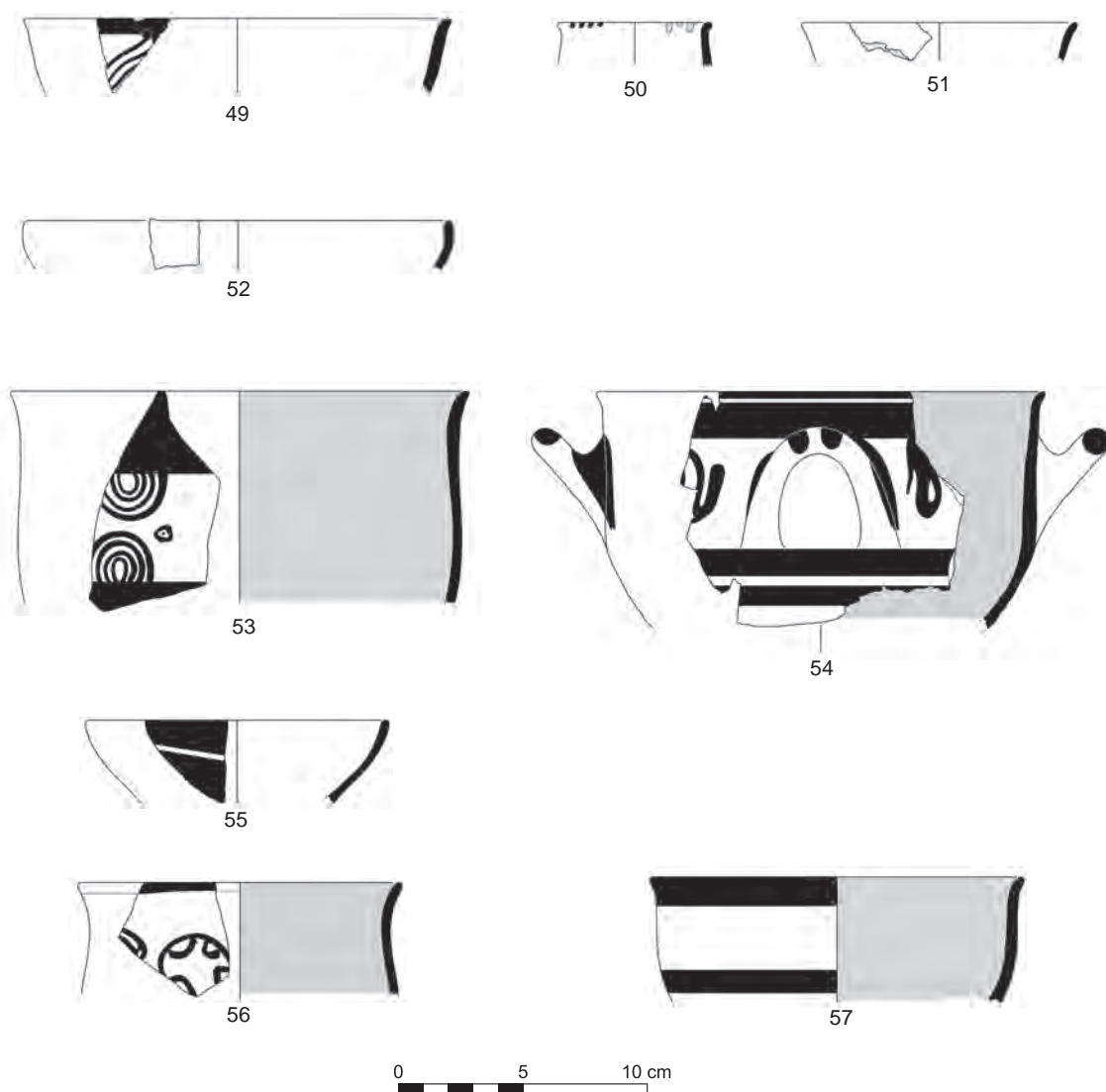


Fig. 12 Trench Δ13β. 49–52. red layer on top of the South Stoa; 53–55. gray layer in the court and the South Stoa, spits 3–4; 56–57. spit 1. Scale 1:3 (drawings A. Poelstra Traga).

Early and later contexts, is represented by one example (Fig. 11.47).<sup>60</sup> Thus, with the exception of three possible fragments in the destruction debris of the West Stoa (Fig. 8.20–22), we have in this layer the first substantial evidence in the court area for the presence of the deep bowl FS 284 that comprises no less than 30% of the total painted feature sherds or 31% of the total painted rims. Finally, another new feature in this layer is represented by sherds of the handmade and burnished ware.<sup>61</sup>

A similar sequence with layers containing LH IIIB1 sherds (Fig. 12.49–52) and cut or followed by others with LH IIIB2/IIC Early material (Fig. 12.53–57) is also observed in Trench

<sup>60</sup> Rutter 2003, 197. For LH IIC Early 1 examples see Kaza-Papageorgiou et al. 2011, 247, fig. 13.83–87. For very rare LH IIIB2 examples of painted FS 274 see French – Stockhammer 2009, 191, fig. 5.3.

<sup>61</sup> See also Kardamaki – Vasilogamvrou 2021. Apart from Trench Δ12β, sherds of this ware are also present in other layers of the court that contain deep bowls and LH IIIB2/IIC Early material.

Δ13β (east part of the South Stoa). Worth noting in the layer with the later material in Δ13β is the presence of a Group B deep bowl (Fig. 12.53), a typical LH IIIB2 type in the Argolid.

At the moment, the small size of the investigated area does not provide a clear picture of the extent and nature of the post-destruction activities that took place in the area of the court. In addition, the corpus of the datable material from the destruction horizon is still small. It is, however, possible to draw some first conclusions. First, the *in situ* pottery and the latest sherds from the destruction debris of the West Stoa suggest LH IIIB Middle as a possible date for the destruction of the palace. Second, the destruction debris was not removed from the area of the West Stoa excavated so far and there is no evidence for any new floor on top of the debris. Third, the construction of a new wall (Wall 108) and possibly the first reoccupation activities must have taken place soon after the destruction. There is no evidence of deep bowls in the brown-reddish layer east of Wall 108. And fourth, in those areas where the LH IIIB2/IIIC Early layers (Trench Δ13β) lay partly on the floor or very close above the floor (Trench Δ12β), the LH IIIB debris must have been largely cleared away.

### Ceramic Regionalism in LH IIIB at Ayios Vasileios and Beyond

Increasingly, new material sheds new light on aspects of ceramic regionalism during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is often assumed and convincingly argued that the production of Argive painted pottery is characterized by a constant use of innovative elements and modes of mass production.<sup>62</sup> However, the spread of the Argive styles should not always be expected and when/where it does occur, it cannot be viewed as a uniform process. In many settlements, typical Argive products of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century appear as occasional finds with no real impact on local production. At Ayios Vasileios decorated drinking sets of Argive style from the late 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries are rare and a large part of the ceramic assemblages seems to consist mainly of plain and monochrome vases.<sup>63</sup>

#### The First Part of LH IIIB

The material assigned to the destruction horizon of the palace probably belongs to the end of LH IIIB1 (LH IIIB Middle). Apart from the group of the approximately 30 plain vessels and painted dippers from the West and South Stoas, LH IIIB Middle is so far not represented by other closed contexts at Ayios Vasileios. LH IIIB1 sherds that may date from before (refuse during use) or the time of the destruction are identified in the layers on top of the floor of the court (Figs. 11.34–35, 12.49–52) and in layers with later material (Fig. 11.36–37). Thus, the narrow range of the painted shape repertoire probably reflects the rarity of excavated room assemblages from this phase. The most striking aspect is the rarity of deep bowls FS 284 in the contexts discussed above, represented by only three fragments. One possible sherd belongs to an advanced variant that appears in LH IIIB Middle but is typical for LH IIIB2 (Fig. 8.20). In the Argolid deep bowls exist from the beginning of LH IIIB and they gradually replace the painted kylikes.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, some shapes and pottery types that were newly introduced in LH IIIB1, such as the plain

<sup>62</sup> See Kilian 1988, 117; Dickinson et al. 1992, 518–519, for discussion.

<sup>63</sup> Pattern-painted kylikes FS 256/257 are very rare at Ayios Vasileios (Kardamaki 2017, 105, 114). The same is true for Kontopigado (Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2017, 50–52; Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2018, 30).

<sup>64</sup> Room 3, House with the Idols, Mycenae: painted kylix (23.2%) and deep bowls (29.5%) (Wardle 1973, 305, fig. 4). Room 22, South House, Mycenae: painted kylix (18.7%) and deep bowls (31.7%) (Mountjoy 1976, 109, tab. 1). Room 22 is considered to represent a later stage in LH IIIB1 and in the system of Schönfeld 1988, 163, tab. 4; 206–207, this is LH IIIB Middle. For the discussion of LH IIIB Middle see Kardamaki 2009, 386–392. In the LH IIIB Middle floor deposits from Mycenae the painted kylikes are absent. At Tiryns the LH IIIB Middle floor deposits also contain painted kylikes.

conical kylix FS 274 and the decorated kylix FS 258, are present and locally produced, but they seem to be rare.<sup>65</sup>

Turning to other major Laconian sites, LH IIIB1 cannot be isolated successfully from a settlement level and as a ceramic phase. Most shapes are identified on the basis of stylistic parallels and were discovered in mixed or later contexts.<sup>66</sup> At the Menelaion and at Ayios Stephanos the LH IIIB1 phase was mainly identified thanks to the presence of a few decorated deep bowls and kylikes.<sup>67</sup> Despite the absence of closed LH IIIB1 contexts, it is clear that the typical LH IIIB1 pattern-painted kylikes are rare at both sites. Beyond Laconia, at Nichoria, there are kylikes FS 258 and deep bowls dated to a transitional LH IIIA2/IIIB1 phase, but deep bowls are rarer.<sup>68</sup> At Kontopigado in Attica some contexts that may date in the first half of LH IIIB contain mainly plain and monochrome open vessels, while pattern-painted kylikes are absent and decorated deep bowls are extremely rare.<sup>69</sup> In Tsoungiza, on the other hand, both shapes are very well represented, but the site has strong links to the Argolid.<sup>70</sup> From the above discussion, it is possible to suggest that in many regions some of the most common LH IIIB1 types of the Argolid were rarely adopted.<sup>71</sup> This need not always suggest a restricted occupation or depopulation. At Ayios Vasileios there is evidence that plain and monochrome tableware continue from LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB (Fig. 7) with some new additions like the plain conical kylix and kylikes FS 258.<sup>72</sup>

#### LH IIIB Late–LH IIIC Early

The next recognizable ceramic phase in the area under discussion is linked to a level which follows the destruction and construction of Wall 108, but is not related to any floors. This latest ceramic phase, the best evidence of which comes from Trenches Δ12β and Δ13β, is characterized by some significant changes. One of these is the introduction of the deep bowl FS 284 as the most common drinking/eating vessel in the painted tableware. Also worth mentioning is the first appearance of handmade burnished ware. This makes Ayios Vasileios the second site in Laconia after the Menelaion to yield evidence for this ware.<sup>73</sup> Fragments of LH IIIB1 painted kylikes continue to appear in this level as well (11%) but they may represent early strays.<sup>74</sup> The three most characteristic LH IIIB2 deep bowl variants of the Argolid, groups A and B and the rosette deep

<sup>65</sup> At Mycenae the plain conical kylix is also a relatively rare shape. In the deposit under the floor of Room 21, South House at Mycenae, there are 47 rims of kylix FS 274 out of 930 rims of plain kylikes (Mountjoy 1976, 111, tab. 3). See Jung 2006, figs. 4–5, for statistic tables of various plain types among LH IIIB1 and LH IIIB2 contexts and the absence of the FS 274 from some contexts at Thebes and Mycenae.

<sup>66</sup> See Mountjoy 2008, 337–339, 377, for Ayios Stephanos. Some sherds can be stylistically assigned to LH IIIB or Late LH IIIB and the rarity of LH IIIB deep bowls is stressed. See Catling 2009, vol. 1, 366–367, for discussion on the comparison of the pottery phases between the Argolid and the Menelaion and the difficulty in following the Argive criteria at the site.

<sup>67</sup> For very few Zygouries-type kylikes (FS 258A) and LH IIIB1 kylikes with circumcurrent decoration (FS 258B) among the later material in the Aetos Stone Mound see Catling 2009, vol. 1, 373–374. For possible LH IIIB1 deep bowls at the Menelaion see Catling 2009, vol. 1, 391.

<sup>68</sup> Shelmerdine 1992, 503–504, fig. 9-51. There are five examples of Zygouries kylikes, 45 examples of FS 258 and six rims of FS 284.

<sup>69</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou–Kardamaki 2012, 168, fig. 11.27.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas 2005, 478–483, 488–495.

<sup>71</sup> See also Vitale 2018, 154, 158, tab. 8.1, for the rarity of LH IIIB1 contexts at Mitrou.

<sup>72</sup> In many regions the monochrome kylix FS 264 appears to continue in LH IIIB1 and LH IIIB2/IIIC Early (Thomas 2011, 195, fig. 9.1–3; Kaza-Papageorgiou et al. 2011, 212, fig. 12.69–73; Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 479). At Nichoria, in the trenches identified as LH IIIA2/IIIB1, kylikes of the LH IIIA2 style are frequent (Shelmerdine 1992). Kylikes of the LH IIIA2 style also continue at Tsoungiza (Thomas 2011, 479).

<sup>73</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 2, 297, fig. 301; Kardamaki – Vasilogamvrou 2021.

<sup>74</sup> For the use of LH IIIB1-style kylikes in late LH IIIB see Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 480–485 (occasionally with a monochrome interior). Also, Catling 2009, vol. 1, 374–375; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 223, fig. 227.PE 30, PE 35, suggests a late dating in LH IIIB/IIIC Early for some painted kylikes.

bowl, are largely absent or very rare.<sup>75</sup> Group A deep bowls and the small rosette deep bowl with the dotted rim have not been identified yet, while the large Group B deep bowl, omnipresent in the destruction deposits of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea is represented by one fragment in Trench  $\Delta 13\beta$  (Fig. 12.53) and a possible second one from the West Stoa (Fig. 8.20).<sup>76</sup> Another common deep bowl type with pattern-painted decoration and a medium rim band (Group C) which is also frequently attested in the LH IIIB2 destruction horizon of the Argolid<sup>77</sup> has not been identified in the material of Ayios Vasileios studied so far. Some examples are similar (Fig. 11.38, 45), but their exterior rim band is slightly thinner (1.3cm).

The deep bowls from the area of the court at Ayios Vasileios always have a fully coated interior and an exterior rim band that varies from a thin line (Fig. 11.42–43) to a medium band (1.3cm) (Fig. 11.38).<sup>78</sup> Some examples have the exterior rim banding of a stemmed bowl (Fig. 12.54).<sup>79</sup> In terms of their style, they resemble either some of the features of the so-called transitional LH IIIB2–LH IIIC Early Types 1 and 2 as defined by Mountjoy,<sup>80</sup> or deep bowl variants usually assigned to LH IIIC Early, e.g. Group A with monochrome interior.<sup>81</sup> Mountjoy's transitional phase usually correlates with the earliest LH IIIC horizon, for example Jeremy Rutter's LH IIIC Phase 1.<sup>82</sup> It postdates the destruction of Mycenae and Tiryns but should be contemporary with the final destruction of major palatial sites such as Pylos and Thebes (Archive Room).<sup>83</sup> Other major contexts dated by Mountjoy to her transitional phase come from Ayios Stephanos and the Menelaion in Laconia, and the group of pots from the NE ascent of the Athenian Acropolis. In the Argolid, the transitional phase is represented by the 'Bothros' of Iria.<sup>84</sup>

The question arising is whether the deep bowls at Ayios Vasileios reflect the local LH IIIB2 Late equivalent or, alternatively, whether they suggest a more advanced chronological stage in LH IIIC Early for the final phase and abandonment of the site. While either scenario is difficult to confirm at the moment due to the absence of closed deposits, there are some aspects that we need to keep in mind. First, stratigraphically there is no evidence for a hiatus after the destruction of the palace in LH IIIB Middle (Wall 108). Second, recent studies suggest the redating of some contexts from transitional LH IIIB2–LH IIIC Early to LH IIIB2 Late and point out that some of the 'transitional' features tend to appear already in LH IIIB2.<sup>85</sup> And third, while all the deep bowls from Ayios Vasileios described above appear in the same stratigraphic units, Group A deep bowls with a monochrome interior and a thin exterior rim band that are more typical for LH IIIC Early tend to appear only in the upper parts of the relevant deposits (Figs. 11.44–45, 12.56). If the latter impression is confirmed in the future by more material and closed contexts, it could suggest that at Ayios Vasileios the deep bowls with rim band between 1–1.5cm, stemmed bowl banding and occasional Group B deep bowls still date in late LH IIIB, while the variant with an exterior thin rim line is later and dates to LH IIIC Early 1.

<sup>75</sup> French 1969; Wardle 1973.

<sup>76</sup> See Voigtländer 2003, pl. 123.Si 23, Si 29, Si 31, Si 35–Si 37 for deep bowls of Group B from the Epichosis of Tiryns. After LH IIIB2 the deep bowl B becomes very rare (Kardamaki 2009, 456, tab. 6). In the NE-Lower Town (Phase 1) there is only one fragment (Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pl. 19.382).

<sup>77</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 453–454, tabs. 1–2, pl. 23.466–475. The Group C deep bowl has an exterior rim band between 1.5 and 2.49cm, linear decoration 16.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Catling 2009, vol. 2, 227, fig. 231.PE 77, PE 81, PE 84, for spirals with a solid center from the Prophitis Elias Erosion Gully (LH IIIB2/ IIIC Early).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Catling 2009, vol. 1, 389; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 289, fig. 293.A 124; 291, fig. 295.A 154.

<sup>80</sup> Mountjoy 1997, 122, 125–127, figs. 7–10.

<sup>81</sup> Mountjoy 1986, 150; Popham et al. 2006, 228–229, tab. 2.1. Deep bowl Type A/B according to Ph. Stockhammer in: French – Stockhammer 2009, 208. The Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior in Kardamaki 2009, 453–454, tabs. 1–2, encompasses deep bowls with a rim band between 0 and 1.49cm.

<sup>82</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 39, tab. II. See Rutter 1977; Rutter 2003.

<sup>83</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 641, 647. But see Andrikou 2006 and Andrikou, this volume, for Thebes.

<sup>84</sup> Mountjoy 1997; Mountjoy 1999, 36, dates the destruction of Midea in this phase, but Demakopoulou 2003 recently argued for a destruction in LH IIIB2 final.

<sup>85</sup> Vitale 2006; Demakopoulou 2003, 82, fig. 5; French – Stockhammer 2009; Kardamaki 2009, 394, pls. 4.80; 12.171.

Regarding the existence of a LH IIIC Early phase at Ayios Vasileios, there are some other features that point in this direction, but these are very scant. One sherd comes from a painted conical kylix FS 274 with monochrome interior (Fig. 11.47),<sup>86</sup> while another sherd from Trench Δ13β may come from the same shape or a bowl (Fig. 12.55).<sup>87</sup> In the Menelaion one painted conical kylix appears in some of the latest levels of the site assigned by Hector Catling to LH IIIC Early.<sup>88</sup> The so-called medium band deep bowls or linear painted deep bowls with monochrome interiors are, so far, absent at Ayios Vasileios.<sup>89</sup> The painted cup FS 215 is represented by a single sherd (Fig. 12.57) but it has a banded exterior.<sup>90</sup> The absence of the medium band type in the southern Peloponnese has been discussed by Jeremy Rutter who identifies it as a more northern variety.<sup>91</sup>

The main evidence for the existence of late LH IIIB and/or early LH IIIC at Ayios Vasileios has to be based on the study of the deep bowls. As already mentioned above, one of the most advanced variants is the one with a thin rim band on the exterior (Group A with monochrome interior or Group A/B) (Figs. 11.44–45, 12.56).<sup>92</sup> This type is also reported by Mountjoy as rare among the transitional group of deep bowls.<sup>93</sup> Although it is considered to be typical for LH IIIC Early, Group A with monochrome interior appears already in LH IIIB1 and LH IIIB Middle, during which phases it was still rare.<sup>94</sup> In the second half of LH IIIB it becomes more frequent and there are some well-stratified examples from the Argolid.<sup>95</sup> According to Podzuweit, at Tiryns the ratio between pattern-painted deep bowls with monochrome interior and Group A deep bowls with monochrome interior is 2:1 respectively during LH IIIB Developed and Final.<sup>96</sup> Although this proportion is probably overestimated since similar evidence is lacking in other LH IIIB2 Late contexts of the site, it still shows that the type was in use in the palatial centers of the Argolid prior

<sup>86</sup> The painted conical kylix FS 274 is also more typical for a later stage of LH IIIC Early, but in some regions it appears already in LH IIIC Early 1 (Rutter 2003). In the Argolid the type seems to be present only after LH IIIC Early 1 (see French 2011, CD-828 [from LH IIIC Early Tower]). For rare LH IIIB examples see French – Stockhammer 2009, 191, fig. 5.3, with dotted rim. Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2004, 18, mention wholly or partly coated kylikes FS 274 and FS 267 from LH IIIB2 deposits in Midea. Monochrome conical kylikes rarely exist in LH IIIB2 Late levels at Kontopigado.

<sup>87</sup> See French – Taylour 2007, CD-277, for conical bowls FS 242 with linear decoration inside/outside (LH IIIB2). The piece from Ayios Vasileios has unusual decoration.

<sup>88</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 240–241; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 272, fig. 276.AO 14 ('reoccupation' in Aetos South Slope). For a painted conical kylix from Ayios Stephanos see Mountjoy 1999, 284, fig. 96.197.

<sup>89</sup> Mountjoy 1986, 152. Linear painted deep bowls with monochrome interior are found occasionally in LH IIIB2 layers (Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 2004, 10, fig. 7; Andrikou 2006, 33, pls. 10.159; 13.219–220; 42.220; Podzuweit 2007, pl. 19.5). In the Menelaion there are some linear painted deep bowls with monochrome interior dated mainly to LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early by Catling 2009, vol. 2, 231, fig. 235.PD 49; 273, fig. 277.AO 30. In Dimini medium band deep bowls are mainly associated with the reoccupation layers, dated in LH IIIC Early (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 523). For earlier, LH IIIB2 medium band deep bowls see Demakopoulou 2003, 84; Podzuweit 2007, pl. 19.10.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Catling 2009, vol. 1, 234, fig. 238.PE 238 (Prophitis Elias Erosion Gully dated by Catling to LH IIIB/IIIC Early and LH IIIC Early).

<sup>91</sup> See Rutter, this volume. The cup with medium rim band and monochrome interior appears in the Argolid in LH IIIB2 but it is still very rare (Kardamaki 2009, 243–244).

<sup>92</sup> This is Podzuweit's pattern-painted deep bowl B with linear decoration 9.2 and 9.2.1 (Podzuweit 2007, 30, 314, Beil. 78g (decoration types 9.2–9.2.1; pl. 5.5–7). Group A/monochrome in: Popham et al. 2006, 222, fig. 2.43; 228–229, tab. 2.1. Type A/B: Andrikou 2006, 33; Vitale 2006, 181–182, 190, tab. 2; French – Stockhammer 2009, 209. Kardamaki's 'deep bowl A with monochrome interior' encompasses both thin and medium exterior rim bands (0–1.49cm) (Kardamaki 2009, 453–454, tabs. 1–2). The same is also true for some deep bowls A/B as well (Andrikou 2006, 42, pl. 21.330).

<sup>93</sup> Only one sherd of Transitional Types 1 and 2 has a thin rim band (Mountjoy 1997, 122, fig. 7.37).

<sup>94</sup> Mountjoy 1976, 88, fig. 6.45; Schönfeld 1988, 175, fig. 5.9; 177, fig. 6.20, dated to LH IIIB Early and Middle respectively. According to Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 48 n. 255, the deep bowl assigned by Guntram Schönfeld to LH IIIB Early could be LH IIIB Middle. See also Wirghova, this volume.

<sup>95</sup> Giering 1998, pl. 81.492–493; Demakopoulou 2003, 82, fig. 5.1; Podzuweit 2007, pl. 5.5 (LH IIIB Developed, Tiryns).

<sup>96</sup> Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 5 (Podzuweit's 'Dekor 9.2' applies for deep bowl A with monochrome interior).

to the destruction.<sup>97</sup> Regarding its further development in the Argolid, the type becomes common after LH IIIC Early.<sup>98</sup>

Evidence from other Laconian sites suggest a wide distribution of the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior. At Ayios Stephanos the relevant layers contain pottery that has been dated to transitional LH IIIB2–LH IIIC Early but mainly to LH IIIC Early.<sup>99</sup> At the Menelaion the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior carries mainly a medium or a thin rim band on the exterior.<sup>100</sup> It is, however, important to note that at both Laconian sites Group A deep bowls with monochrome interior appear next to other deep bowl variants and most notably the canonical Group A. The latter is rarer at Ayios Stephanos but relatively well represented at the Menelaion. According to Catling's analysis on selected deposits from the Menelaion, the percentages of Group A deep bowls among all deep bowl types vary from 6% to 41%.<sup>101</sup> This contrasts strongly with the situation at Ayios Vasileios, where the canonical Group A deep bowl is very rare. In this respect, it is interesting to note that the Menelaion has also yielded evidence for the rare – outside the Argolis – rosette deep bowl, to be precise, a variant of the type that omits the dotted rim.<sup>102</sup>

Beyond Laconia and the Argolid, excavations at Kontopigado (Attica) brought to light various deposits dating from LH IIIB Late to LH IIIC Early 1. Next to the local variants of the deep bowls,<sup>103</sup> we find the canonical Group A, rare examples of Group B, and also Group A with monochrome interior.<sup>104</sup> Attested in both LH IIIB as well as LH IIIC Early 1 contexts of Kontopigado is the type with the exterior stemmed bowl rim banding.<sup>105</sup> However, the most common deep bowl type in almost all contexts studied so far is the monochrome one comprising more than 60% of the deep bowl rims.<sup>106</sup> This probably represents a local development continuing from LH IIIA2,<sup>107</sup> and has no parallels at Ayios Vasileios where monochrome deep bowls are extremely rare.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, Group A deep bowls with monochrome interior are either absent or extremely rare in LH IIIB deposits of the site.<sup>109</sup> In Dimini, the destruction deposits of Megaron B and the abandonment deposit of Megaron A have been dated to LH IIIB2 Late and LH IIIC Early respectively.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>97</sup> In the Western Staircase of Tiryns (LH IIIB2 Late) only one rim possibly belongs to this type (Kardamaki 2009, pl. 2.39).

<sup>98</sup> Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 5. In the Western Staircase of Tiryns the percentage of the deep bowl A with monochrome interior among deep bowl rims in Zone 2 (LH IIIB2 Late) and Zone 1 (LH IIIC Early 1) is 2.7% and 2% respectively. For the type in the lowest LH IIIC levels of Phase 1 in the NE-Lower Town of Tiryns (LH IIIC Early 1–IIIC Early 2) see Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, pls. 15.293; 16.301, 306; 17.322; 18.348, 351. In the LH IIIC Early 1 houses of Mycenae deep bowls A with monochrome interior are missing, but this may be accidental since the type appears in the terrace fill below the houses (French 2011, CD-825 Graph 2).

<sup>99</sup> Mountjoy 2008, 318, fig. 6.12.3155–3156, 3165–3166, 3174, 3177–3178, 3180 (the majority with no or very thin exterior rim band). Medium exterior rim bands or other linear decoration occur as well (Mountjoy 2008, 378, fig. 6.39.3697). Several transitional-type deep bowls come from the same deposits that date in LH IIIC Early (Mountjoy 1999, 280, fig. 94.164; 281, fig. 95.170–171; Mountjoy 2008, 377).

<sup>100</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 389. See, for example, Catling 2009, vol. 2, 226, fig. 230.PE 58–PE 67. Deep bowls with no exterior rim band occur mainly at the Aetos Stone Mound but are rarer than other linear decoration.

<sup>101</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 388. In some deposits such as in the NE Wash levels they are more frequent.

<sup>102</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 2, 290, fig. 294.A 148–A 151.

<sup>103</sup> Kardamaki – Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018, 119, fig. 6.9; 122, fig. 6.18.

<sup>104</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou et al. 2011, 236, fig. 7.13–25; Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2012, 178, fig. 16.46. For deep bowls A with a monochrome interior from Thorikos see Mountjoy 1995, 207, fig. 6.63–64.

<sup>105</sup> Kardamaki – Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018, 120, fig. 6.11; 122, fig. 6.16. Neither demonstrating the typical flaring profile.

<sup>106</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou et al. 2011, 234, fig. 6; 264, tab. 2; Kardamaki – Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018, 121, fig. 6.14.

<sup>107</sup> Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2018, 28, fig. 13.153; 29, fig. 14.173–174. Large deep bowls similar to the type usually called truncated stemmed bowl.

<sup>108</sup> At the Menelaion monochrome deep bowls are present, but their exact number is not given. Cf. Catling 2009, vol. 1, 388 n. 511; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 231, fig. 235.PE 188.

<sup>109</sup> Kardamaki – Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018, 118–120.

<sup>110</sup> Adrimi-Sismani, 2014, 868, 870. But see Vitale et al., this volume. The main difference between the LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early assemblages in Dimini is the presence of handmade burnished and Gray Ware in the contexts of the latter phase.

The Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior is perhaps the most common variant, while several examples have flaring or even bell-shaped profiles<sup>111</sup> and reserved bases on the interior.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior is represented in the destruction deposits of Thebes but is clearly rarer than Group A deep bowls.<sup>113</sup> This type also occurs in LH IIIB2 Late contexts of Mitrou.<sup>114</sup> At Nichoria Group A deep bowls with a monochrome interior were found in the latest Mycenaean deposits of the site that date to LH IIIB2.<sup>115</sup>

In summary, Group A deep bowls with a monochrome interior do appear in LH IIIB1. In LH IIIB2 they become more frequent, based on the evidence from Tiryns, Mycenae and Midea, but at these sites they never outnumber the canonical Group A deep bowls. Some other regions, on the other hand, show a stronger preference for Group A deep bowls with a monochrome interior (Laconia, Thessaly). Ultimately, however, the available stratigraphy does not allow a conclusive decision on whether the frequent use of Group A deep bowls with a monochrome interior in some regions beyond the Argolid correlates with LH IIIB2 or late LH IIIB2 or whether it suggests occupation in LH IIIC Early.<sup>116</sup>

### The Destruction of Ayios Vasileios in the Wider Context

The goal of the present paper was to establish the chronology of the destruction of the palace and the Linear B archive. Based on the present evidence this event most probably took place towards the end of LH IIIB1. In ceramic terms this is most comparable to LH IIIB Middle in the Argolid, a phase that, according to the chronological system of Tiryns, still belongs to the first part of LH IIIB<sup>117</sup> while at Mycenae it bridges LH IIIB1 with LH IIIB2.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, the interpretation of the stratigraphy represents a crucial aspect. Although there is evidence suggesting that the destruction was followed immediately by reoccupation, the character of the site in late LH IIIB is still poorly understood due to the small size of the excavated area. Additional evidence comes from the North Cemetery<sup>119</sup> and Building A to the northeast of the court<sup>120</sup> but the overall picture remains patchy.

This chronological assessment suggests that the palace of Ayios Vasileios was burnt down some decades before the final destructions of the late 13<sup>th</sup>–early 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE. While the latter destruction horizon is well defined, although it is considered to have extended over one or two decades,<sup>121</sup> earlier, LH IIIB events are more difficult to understand due to subsequent overbuilding. Still there seems to be sufficient evidence to suggest that the destruction of Ayios Vasileios does not represent an isolated phenomenon.

<sup>111</sup> Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 464. There are also canonical Group A deep bowls, Group A variants and probably rosette deep bowls (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 431, 465). Most bell-shaped deep bowls are illustrated from the reoccupation level of Megaron A (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 508–509).

<sup>112</sup> For the discussion of the reserved circle on the interior of vessels see Kardamaki 2009, 228 n. 444. The feature is already applied in LH IIIA2 (Mountjoy 2008, 308, fig. 6.6.3069, Ayios Stephanos).

<sup>113</sup> Andrikou 2006, 29, tab. 5; 31, pl. 13.217.

<sup>114</sup> Vitale 2018, 165, fig. 8.9g.

<sup>115</sup> Shelmerdine 1992, fig. 9-61.P3811, P3814. At Nichoria LH IIIB2 is preceded by LH IIIA2/IIIB1 (Shelmerdine 1992, 503).

<sup>116</sup> In Dimini the floors of the megara are built on top of LH IIIA2 building and destruction remains (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 129–130). At Ayios Stephanos and the Menelaion there is no clear LH IIIB2 level. Catling 2009, vol. 1, 252, comments that it is doubtful whether deep bowls with monochrome interiors can be used as a chronological indicator in Laconia. But see Hachtmann – Voutsaki, this volume, for a deposit dated exclusively in LH IIIC Early.

<sup>117</sup> Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 80.

<sup>118</sup> French – Taylour 2007.

<sup>119</sup> See Hachtmann – Voutsaki, this volume.

<sup>120</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2018, 142–147.

<sup>121</sup> J. B. Rutter in: Deger-Jalkotzy – Zavadil 2003, 255.

In the Argolid there is evidence for a destruction followed by rebuilding during a phase in which LH IIIB2 styles were not fully established – the so-called LH IIIB Middle horizon. At Tiryns the walls of some rooms in the Lower Citadel collapsed.<sup>122</sup> At Mycenae destruction horizons are documented both inside and outside the Citadel, i.e. in the Cult Centre and the Ivory Houses.<sup>123</sup> It is not clear whether the enlargement of the wall happened before or directly after a presumed LH IIIB Middle earthquake but it seems that some rooms or buildings of the Cult Area ceased to be used during LH IIIB2.<sup>124</sup> Regarding the area of the palace, there seems to be some damage assigned to an earthquake followed by fire.<sup>125</sup> Further to the north, the so-called ‘Potter’s Shop’ at Zygouries was destroyed by an intensive fire during which some pots were burnt and deformed, giving the impression of kiln wasters – a feature also clearly observed at Ayios Vasileios. This destruction was dated by Patrick Thomas late in LH IIIB1.<sup>126</sup> At Thebes, middle LH IIIB destruction is supported by several finds. One relevant context is represented by the jewelry workshop at 29 Pindar St. that is dated to the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>127</sup> This event was, however, neither widespread nor did it mean the end of the palatial system that continued up to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>128</sup> although Eleni Andrikou convincingly comments that the LH IIIB Middle debris could have been removed during subsequent rebuilding.

Finally, in other Laconian sites beyond Ayios Vasileios the evidence regarding the first part of LH IIIB is still scarce. While pottery of the LH IIIB1 style is, for example, present, neither at the Menelaion nor at Ayios Stephanos is there any level exclusively assigned to this subphase. At Ayios Stephanos LH IIIB1 is considered to be a phase of very restricted occupation – if the site was not even completely deserted.<sup>129</sup> At the Menelaion, remodeling in the walls of Mansion 2 was assigned to LH IIIB (Mansion 3). Moreover, Catling excavated a burnt deposit in Mansion 2 that he dated to LH IIIB.<sup>130</sup> By combining evidence from the so-called pottery dump in the surrounding area of Mansion 2/3 that was convincingly connected with the occupation in the plateau, Catling suggested that the abandonment of the building must have taken place in final LH IIIB. It is interesting to note the absence of advanced deep bowl types from the pottery dump and the wash deposits around the mansions – contrary to other areas close to the Menelaion hills – that could support a destruction in the 13<sup>th</sup> century for Mansion 2/3, although a more precise dating within LH IIIB is difficult to suggest.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Kilian 1988, 133, fig. 27; Damm-Meinhardt 2015, 19. Klaus Kilian correlated this destruction at Tiryns with the destruction of the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae.

<sup>123</sup> Wardle 2015, 591, dates the event at the end of LH IIIB1.

<sup>124</sup> For an outline of development in the Citadel House Area see French – Taylour 2007, 4, tab. 1; 10–12. For the Ivory Houses see French 1967, 150, 182–183. Both the so-called Citadel House Area Phase VII Destruction and the destruction of the Ivory Houses are placed in LH IIIB Middle.

<sup>125</sup> French 2002, 59–61, 63. For example, the Pillar Basement was constructed in LH IIIA2, and under the final floor of LH IIIB there was another floor destroyed by fire.

<sup>126</sup> Blegen 1928, 37; Thomas 1992, 277–283, 338, 508–509. The date of construction of Building B in LH IIIB1 seems to be secure.

<sup>127</sup> Demakopoulou 1974, 170–171; Demakopoulou 1987, 433.

<sup>128</sup> See Andrikou 2006, 58. The dating of the destruction of Building B in the Kordatzis property in Oedipus St. in the later part of LH IIIB1 is convincingly questioned by Andrikou 2006, 57, who considers it to be LH IIIB2. On the other hand, the pottery from close to the ivory hoard seems to be rather LH IIIB1 (see Symeonoglou 1973, pls. 57–58).

<sup>129</sup> There is some evidence for the fire destruction of one building that was dated to LH IIIC Early. The skulls of four adults were deposited in a pit and the find was related to a hostile attack and evidence for a massacre (Janko 2008, 605).

<sup>130</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 18–19; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 138, fig. 142.X 3–X 4, X 7.

<sup>131</sup> Most well-preserved deep bowls belong to Group A (Catling 2009, vol. 2, 162, fig. 166.WN 62; 174, fig. 178.WS 25; 181, fig. 185.PD 46–PD 47; 182, fig. 186.PD 53). There are few rims from deep bowls with monochrome interiors and medium rim bands on the exterior (Catling 2009, vol. 2, 169, fig. 173.WE 48–WE 49). There is one linear-painted deep bowl with the exterior rim banding of a stemmed bowl (Catling 2009, vol. 2, 182, fig. 186.PD 49).



### Discussion and Conclusions

The present evidence suggests that the fire destruction of the palace at Ayios Vasileios took place in LH IIIB Middle. This event was followed by a reoccupation that may have lasted throughout the later parts of LH IIIB and continued to the early part of LH IIIC Early. No layer is identified that can be exclusively assigned to LH IIIB2 in terms of the Argive sequence. The post-destruction rebuilding in the area of the court seems to have been hasty, but in other areas of the palace there is evidence for a more substantial occupation.<sup>132</sup> The pottery from Ayios Vasileios shows local preferences, a tendency that is mainly expressed by the group of pattern-painted vessels. Most characteristic in this respect is the apparent late adoption of the deep bowl that occurred in a substantial way after the destruction and much later than in the Argolid. But regional preferences are also observed within Laconia, with the Menelaion showing a greater variety in the decoration of deep bowls.<sup>133</sup>

On a wider scale, Ayios Vasileios may provide some new evidence related to the history and development of the Mycenaean palaces. One of the crucial questions raised by our study is whether destruction events with a supraregional impact took place at least one more time before the final collapse of the palatial system at the end of LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early 1 and if so, whether such events are in any way interconnected.<sup>134</sup> Although the archaeological remains from the other major Laconian sites do not allow a detailed reconstruction of the LH IIIB occupation, the correlation between the destruction of Ayios Vasileios and the LH IIIB Middle destructions at Mycenae and Tiryns seems possible. Destructions connected with the first part of LH IIIB are known from elsewhere (see above). In Thebes, the jewelry workshop in Pindar and Oedipus Sts. and another house in Pelops St. on the southeastern and eastern part of Kadmeia Hill respectively show evidence for fire destruction and have been dated to the end of LH IIIB1.<sup>135</sup> Regarding the House of Kadmos, the possibility cannot be ruled out that it was destroyed during a later part of LH IIIB1, but this issue is still not resolved.<sup>136</sup> In a recently published paper Salvatore Vitale suggests a change in the political landscape of Boiotia and east Locris, with Thebes taking over control in Mitrou after a possible destruction at Glas and Orchomenos in early LH IIIB2.<sup>137</sup> Although the exact dating of the destruction of Orchomenos is difficult to support on the basis of the published material, an earlier destruction of Glas than for Thebes seems likely and strengthens the hypothesis that the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century was a time of unrest in many regions of Mycenaean Greece.<sup>138</sup>

However, what differentiates Ayios Vasileios from the other palaces that probably experienced some kind of violent interruption in LH IIIB Middle is its later development. Not only was the monumental West Stoa not repaired, suggesting the abandonment of a whole sector but – at least so far – there is no evidence for the existence of written tablets at the site during the later parts of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This could not contrast more with the situation at Mycenae and Tiryns. It is well known and has been clearly demonstrated that LH IIIB Middle represents a turning point in

<sup>132</sup> See Vasilogamvrou 2018 for the altar and the group of the bull figures found on a surface created on levelled areas of Building A.

<sup>133</sup> Deep bowls without a solidly painted interior (Group A) are much better attested at the Menelaion than at Ayios Vasileios.

<sup>134</sup> At Ayios Vasileios there are several deposits that date to LH IIIA2 and may come from the cleaning of rooms after a destruction (Kardamaki 2017). Also, Building A was destroyed in LH IIIA (Vasilogamvrou 2018).

<sup>135</sup> Andrikou 2006, 58.

<sup>136</sup> The destruction of the House of Kadmos falls in early LH IIIB1 but a later dating is also stated as a possibility (Dakouri-Hild 2001). The destruction deposit contains plain angular cups FS 222 like the ones in the West Stoa of Ayios Vasileios and a conical kylix FS 274 (cf. Raison 1968). The conical kylix FS 274 is absent in the Terraces below the Ivory Houses that, according to Schönfeld 1988, 163, tab. 4; 185, date to LH IIIB Early and the beginning of LH IIIB Middle (Terrace under the House of the Oil Merchant). In Tsoungiza Deposit EU, which dates to LH IIIB1 Early, the plain conical kylix is very rare (Thomas 2005, 512).

<sup>137</sup> Vitale 2018, 155.

<sup>138</sup> See Shelmerdine, this volume, for Iklaina and its incorporation into the Pylian state.

the history of the Mycenaean palaces of the Argolid. After a destruction which was put down to an earthquake and in some cases to a human act<sup>139</sup> the palaces were rebuilt and refurbished following a program that exceeded everything else known before.<sup>140</sup> LH IIIB2 was also a period of cautiousness. There are several indications for the latter. Magazines with transport commodities like the House of the Oil Merchant must have been transferred into the secured and controlled environment of the citadel, as argued by Joseph Maran.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, the new Cyclopean walls represented the latest word in defensive architecture in the Aegean. Besides their high symbolic value, their rebuilding and expansion must have also been directed by careful planning of defensive strategies.<sup>142</sup>

A final point may be of relevance here. In the later part of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Tiryns was involved in a wide exchange network, as demonstrated by the large numbers of ceramic containers from Crete and various parts of the eastern Mediterranean discovered at the site.<sup>143</sup> LH IIIB2 also coincides with the increase of Kytheran imports at Tiryns such as stirrup jars and pithoi.<sup>144</sup> In fact, after Crete, Kythera is the second most common area of provenance for the LH IIIB2 stirrup jars recovered at Tiryns. While it needs to be stressed that the less extensive LH IIIB1 material record from Tiryns due to later rebuilding does not allow secure conclusions for the frequency of Kytheran stirrup jars during the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century at the site, at Mycenae at least it is possible to say that Kytheran stirrup jars are absent from the magazines of the Oil Merchant.<sup>145</sup> Kythera as a region was strongly connected to Laconia from LH I onwards. This is not only suggested because of the geographic proximity between the two regions but is obvious from various aspects of material culture. Kytheran pottery was frequently imported to the Menelaion and Ayios Vasileios from LH IIB onwards, including not only large transport containers but also common wares such as cooking tripods and utensils.<sup>146</sup> Based on the presence of Kytheran pithoi at Kommos and Pylos, Rutter argued that the former must have played an important role in the movement of goods between Crete and Pylos and more precisely of oil that would have been very important for the perfume industry of the palace.<sup>147</sup> In this respect, it is interesting to note that the range of LH IIIB2 Kytheran containers from Tiryns encompasses a larger variety of shapes, i.e. large stirrup jars and not only pithoi. Thus, it is not inconceivable that after the destruction of Ayios Vasileios, Tiryns and the Argolid gained more access to this part of the Aegean that would have been an important connection to Crete.

The overview given above raises more questions than it provides answers. Our present impression is that Ayios Vasileios did not resume its function after LH IIIB Middle, although the palatial system of administration was still fully operating as we know from Pylos and Thebes. If this is true, the destruction of Ayios Vasileios could reflect a crisis that would take a more general and radical form approximately two generations later.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>139</sup> For the House of the Oil Merchant see Wace 1951, 255–256, who ascribes the destruction of the building to looting and violent fire that caused some of the vases to become vitrified. According to Alan Wace, the stirrup jars were deliberately unstoppered and overturned so that their contents could be used as fuel.

<sup>140</sup> Maran 2015. Regarding Mycenae see Wardle 2015. It is not clear whether the construction of the Lion Gate and the enlargement of the west wall at Mycenae took place before or after the LH IIIB Middle destructions.

<sup>141</sup> See Maran 2005, 418, for the Argolid. This hypothesis is confirmed by the large number of Cretan and other foreign containers discovered in the LH IIIB2 dumps of the Tirynthian palace (Kardamaki et al. 2016).

<sup>142</sup> Iakovidis 1973; Maran 2010, 247–250.

<sup>143</sup> Kilian 1988; Maran 2005.

<sup>144</sup> Kardamaki et al. 2016, 150, 157. See Wirghová, this volume for the presence of Kytheran wares also in LH IIIB Early and Middle contexts of the Lower Citadel.

<sup>145</sup> Haskell et al. 2011, tab. 27 nos. MYC 17–MYC 31, MYC 39, MYC 72–MYC 74, MYC 89–MYC 99, MYC 103.

<sup>146</sup> Kardamaki 2017.

<sup>147</sup> Rutter 2005, 40.

<sup>148</sup> With regard to the final LH IIIB, the theory of natural events as the main catalyst and ‘prime mover’ for the collapse of the palaces seems to be largely compromised by recent research (Maran 2010, 255–257; Jung 2016; Jung 2017; Hinzen et al. 2018; Maran, this volume).

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# The Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery in the Palatial Period

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**Abstract:** In ten years of fieldwork at the newly discovered site of Ayios Vasileios near Xirokambi, plenty of evidence has been collected to identify this site as the political center of Laconia during the Mycenaean Palatial period. We are, however, still at the very beginning of understanding the process and implications of its rise, operation, and fall. One precondition to do so is to get the archaeological record in chronological order. Secondly, it is our belief that any report on the significance of Ayios Vasileios requires a synopsis of all available evidence. In this paper we would therefore like to contribute to this synopsis by briefly presenting all currently available evidence from the Early Mycenaean cemetery in the north of the Ayios Vasileios Hill concerning the Palatial and early Post-palatial period. The margins of the North Cemetery yielded evidence of later use of the area in the form of architectural remains and ceramic deposits that may help to synchronize phases of construction and destruction at Ayios Vasileios. In our attempt to approach the political and cultural development in central Laconia between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC, we also include in our discussion significant aspects of the ceramic sequence and settlement development at the Menelaion, the best researched site in the region.

**Keywords:** Ayios Vasileios, North Cemetery, pottery, chronology, Menelaion, political development, Mycenaean Laconia

## Introduction

The more we know about a site, the more confident we are in the reconstruction of its history. This is particularly important in the case of Ayios Vasileios, the recently discovered palatial center in Laconia, whose history seems to diverge from that of other palatial sites.<sup>3</sup> In this paper we use the evidence from the North Cemetery area at Ayios Vasileios<sup>4</sup> to contribute to the reconstruction of the site's history from the time the palace was operating until its destruction and the aftermath, i.e. in the Late Helladic III period. Although the main period of the cemetery is the LH I–II period, as attested by both the ceramic offerings and the radiocarbon analysis of the human remains,<sup>5</sup> the North Cemetery area does offer evidence for the later phases. To start with, the larger built tomb

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<sup>3</sup> Vasilogamvrou 2013; Vasilogamvrou 2014; Vasilogamvrou 2015a; Vasilogamvrou 2015b; Kardamaki 2017. At Ayios Vasileios numerous baked Linear B tablets were embedded in burnt and collapsed building material found in situ in the area of the West Stoa (Vasilogamvrou 2015b, 108). This layer and other extensive traces of fire destruction are dated on the basis of ceramic finds around the middle of LH IIIB (Kardamaki 2017, 114), perhaps a couple of decades earlier than the final destructions of the palaces in the Argolid and at Pylos.

<sup>4</sup> The North Cemetery at Ayios Vasileios is situated at the northernmost point of the hill where the Mycenaean palace was built. See Voutsaki et al. 2021. The excavation of the North Cemetery is part of the Ayios Vasileios Excavation Project, carried out under the auspices of the Archaeological Society in Athens and the general direction of Adamantia Vasilogamvrou. Sofia Voutsaki, University of Groningen, has been responsible for the excavations since 2011, with the assistance of an international team of specialists. The excavation has been financed by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology, while the scientific analyses have been covered by a generous grant from the Ammodo Foundation, The Netherlands. The study of the pottery has been carried out thanks to a post-doctoral fellowship from the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), while the Mediterranean Archaeological Trust (MAT) has contributed to the study of both the pottery and the human remains.

<sup>5</sup> Erdil et al. forthcoming.

(Grave 21), which contained approximately 27 burials, may have remained in use until LH IIIA1. In addition, in the later phases the cemetery was used, albeit only occasionally, for the burial of infants. Finally, the abundance of deposits with pottery dated within LH IIIA and LH IIIC Early at the margins of the cemetery indicates certain activities in this area though the graves were never overbuilt or disturbed.

While the nature of these activities is still a matter of further investigation, we may provide here a picture of higher chronological resolution and evaluate the intensity of use of the North Cemetery area during the Palatial period phase by phase. The emphasis in this paper is thus on the types and groups of pottery relevant for a chronological sequence. Regarding the still limited available evidence from Ayios Vasileios, from both the palace and the North Cemetery area, it is advisable to refer back to the sequence presented by Hector Catling for the Menelaion. After all, the Menelaion offers the largest corpus of published Late Bronze Age pottery in central Laconia. Moreover, Catling has observed that the ceramic sequence at the Menelaion seems much closer to the Argolid than, for example, to the palace on Epano Englianos at Pylos,<sup>6</sup> a comment which is of considerable importance considering the fact that the Argolid is the leading reference for the typology of Late Helladic pottery.

Our investigation elucidates some general problems of ceramic studies in central Laconia but also provides an opportunity to synchronize occupational events at Ayios Vasileios with those at the Menelaion – an exercise which may help us understand shifts in the political landscape in Laconia and developments in the Mycenaean Palatial and early Post-palatial period in general.

### Conditions for the Study of the Late Helladic Pottery

When attempting to reconstruct the sequence of a new Late Helladic site outside the Argolid, one immediately encounters the problem that some of the chronologically most significant vessel types for certain phases are notoriously rare and difficult to detect among worn and encrusted sherd material such as that from the North Cemetery at Ayios Vasileios. Diagnostic items of this kind include all vessel types decorated with a single motif without horizontal banding such as Ephyraean-style vessels (LH IIB), Zygouries kylikes (LH IIIB1) and rosette deep bowls (LH IIIB2); none of these types have yet been identified at the North Cemetery but they are also extremely rare among the better preserved material in the nearby palace area. In our attempt to reconstruct the relative chronological sequence at Ayios Vasileios we have to rely at the moment largely on the study of plain, linear and monochrome decorated types of pottery. There are, however, pottery-related hints that might provide an expedient.<sup>7</sup> A detailed rim typology developed for the Ayios Vasileios project<sup>8</sup> occasionally referred to in this paper may help in understanding the local ceramic development and provide useful supplemental chronological information. In addition, radiocarbon dates have now been obtained from the human skeletons which can be compared to the relative dates obtained from ceramic finds.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 366.

<sup>7</sup> As can be derived from occasional notes, Catling observed for the Menelaion a morphological development of rim shapes of open vessels similar to that at Ayios Vasileios. Concerning the material from the South Erosion Deposit on the North Hill (NS), which is predominately of LH II date, Catling notes that ‘nearly all the everted rims are both very long and very slim’ (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 402; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 203, fig. 207.NS 59–NS 67), while his distinction between monochrome goblets from LH II and from LH IIIA1 is based on his observation that the typical goblet of the later phase ‘has a rather fatter, still everted, rim which in some cases verges on wedge-shaped’ (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 354). Among the most obvious changes between LH IIIA and LH IIIB, Catling mentions the ‘disappearance of the lip, whether distinguished by eversion, or some kind of modelling’ (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 404). For Ayios Vasileios see Kardamaki 2017, 81.

<sup>8</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 80–83; Kardamaki – Hachtmann forthcoming.

<sup>9</sup> The human and animal bones are still being studied by Ioanna Moutafi and Youri van den Hurk.

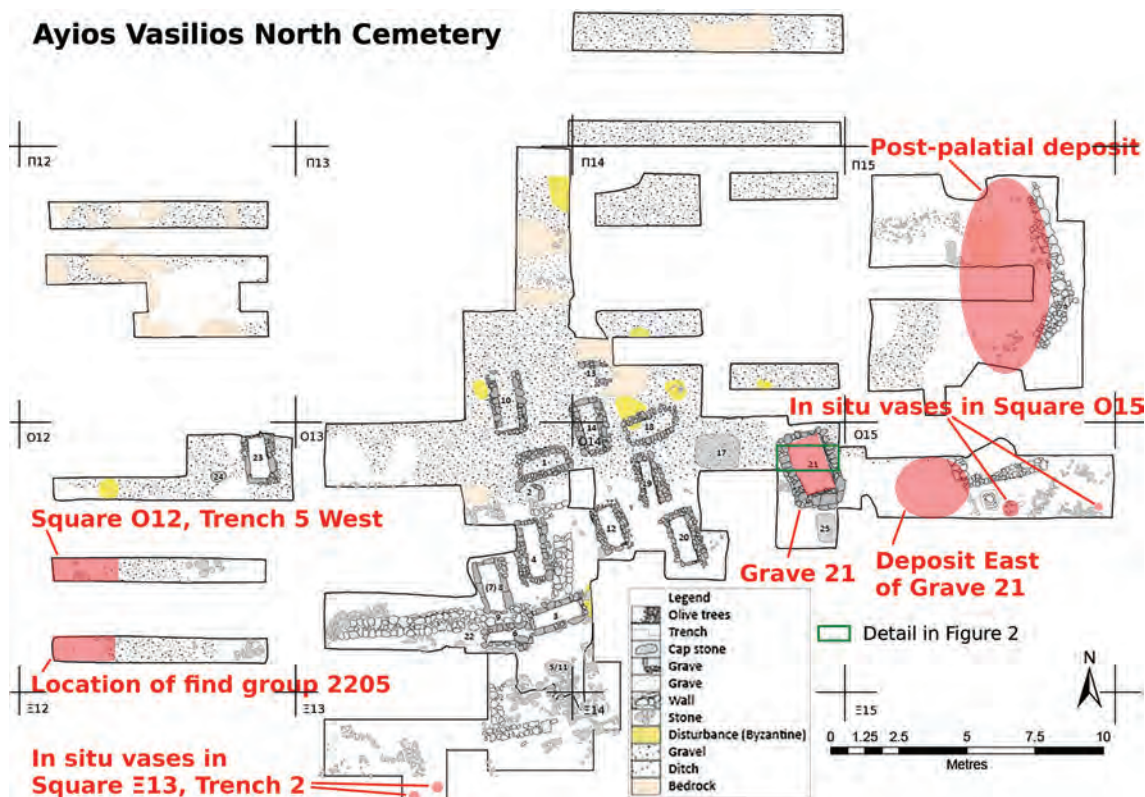


Fig. 1 Plan of Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery with locations of deposits (drawing I. Koulogeorgiou, digitization G. Nobles with additions by V. Hachtmann).

In the following sections, chronologically significant ceramic features and the contexts in which they were found are discussed briefly phase by phase, regarding the question of what they can tell us about the history of the North Cemetery area.

### LH IIIA1 to LH IIIA2 Early

The ceramic evidence from the graves in the North Cemetery at Ayios Vasileios suggests that the main phase of use for burials ended in LH IIB or LH IIIA1.<sup>10</sup> The latest burial activities took place in the largest built tomb Grave 21 with over 27 buried individuals (Fig. 1). Before the first skeletons appeared, large stones were found overlain by a fill of soil in the uppermost layers of the grave. On top of the layer of soil, concentrations of larger vessel fragments, small stones and bones – possibly both animal and human – were documented in the position in which they were found (Fig. 2). Among the 17 fragments from this ‘Surface under Layer 3’, one upper part of a goblet with tall everted rim, monochrome interior and plain exterior except for a thin rim band is the most significant (Fig. 3).<sup>11</sup> Based a) on the presence and the typo-chronology of this fragment

<sup>10</sup> Voutsaki et al. 2021.

<sup>11</sup> This vessel type occurs in LH IIIA2 at Tsoungiza and Patrick Thomas (2011, 196, fig. 10.76–79) noted that the thin exterior rim band may be a characteristic feature of this phase; however, the rims on the Tsoungiza goblets are all of a shorter type than the piece from Grave 21. We would like to follow Kardamaki (2017, 93), who has suggested on the basis of stratified evidence in the palace area of Ayios Vasileios that this vessel type with thin exterior rim band begins already in LH IIIA1 and that this feature perhaps does not yet appear in LH IIB. Consequently, in respect of the tall everted rim, the goblet from the uppermost fill of Grave 21 should be dated in LH IIIA1. Similar vessels from the Menelaion are discussed among the LH IIB pottery (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 345–346, and e.g. Catling 2009, vol. 2, 104, fig. 108.ST 53, ST 55).

Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery  
Square O14β, Trench 1, Layer 3

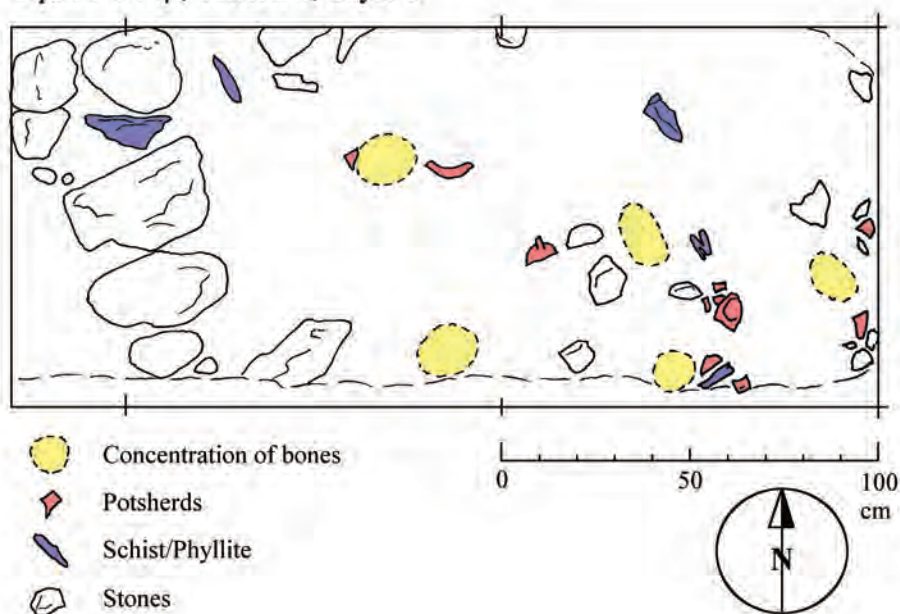


Fig. 2 Discovery of Grave 21: Square O14β, Trench 1, Surface under Layer 3 (drawing A. Balitsari, digitization V. Hachtmann).



Fig. 3 'Vessel 1' on top of Grave 21 (Square O14β, Trench 1, Surface under Layer 3). Scale 1:3 (drawing V. Hachtmann).

and b) on the total absence of later ceramic features, we may date the uppermost fill of Grave 21 above the stones to the LH IIIA1 subphase.<sup>12</sup> This date signals the end of the main use of the North Cemetery, although the area remained respected and was occasionally used for infant burials.

The North Cemetery area yielded plenty of evidence from the period after its main use as a burial ground. A large deposit with fragmented pottery was found east of Grave 21 (Fig. 1). The 'Deposit East of Grave 21' contained pottery from LH II to IIIA1; however, the youngest component may have crossed over into the next phase. There are possible monochrome kylikes and possible stemmed bowls, both types which are introduced in LH IIIA2 Early (Fig. 4.1–3).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> By using digital recording and reconstruction methods, de Raaff et al. 2022, convincingly suggested that the stones found within Grave 21 originated from a cairn above wooden beams and tumbled into the grave when the beams collapsed. This may have happened just before or during the LH IIIA1 period, when the cavity formed after the collapse of the roof was filled with soil containing pottery and bones taken from the closer vicinity.

<sup>13</sup> Shelmerdine 1992, 495–497; Vitale 2011, 334; Kardamaki 2017, 78–79, 114. See also a recently presented LH IIIA1 closed context at Kontopigado/Athens without monochrome kylikes and stemmed bowls (Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2018). But see Thomas 2011, 198–201 n. 50.

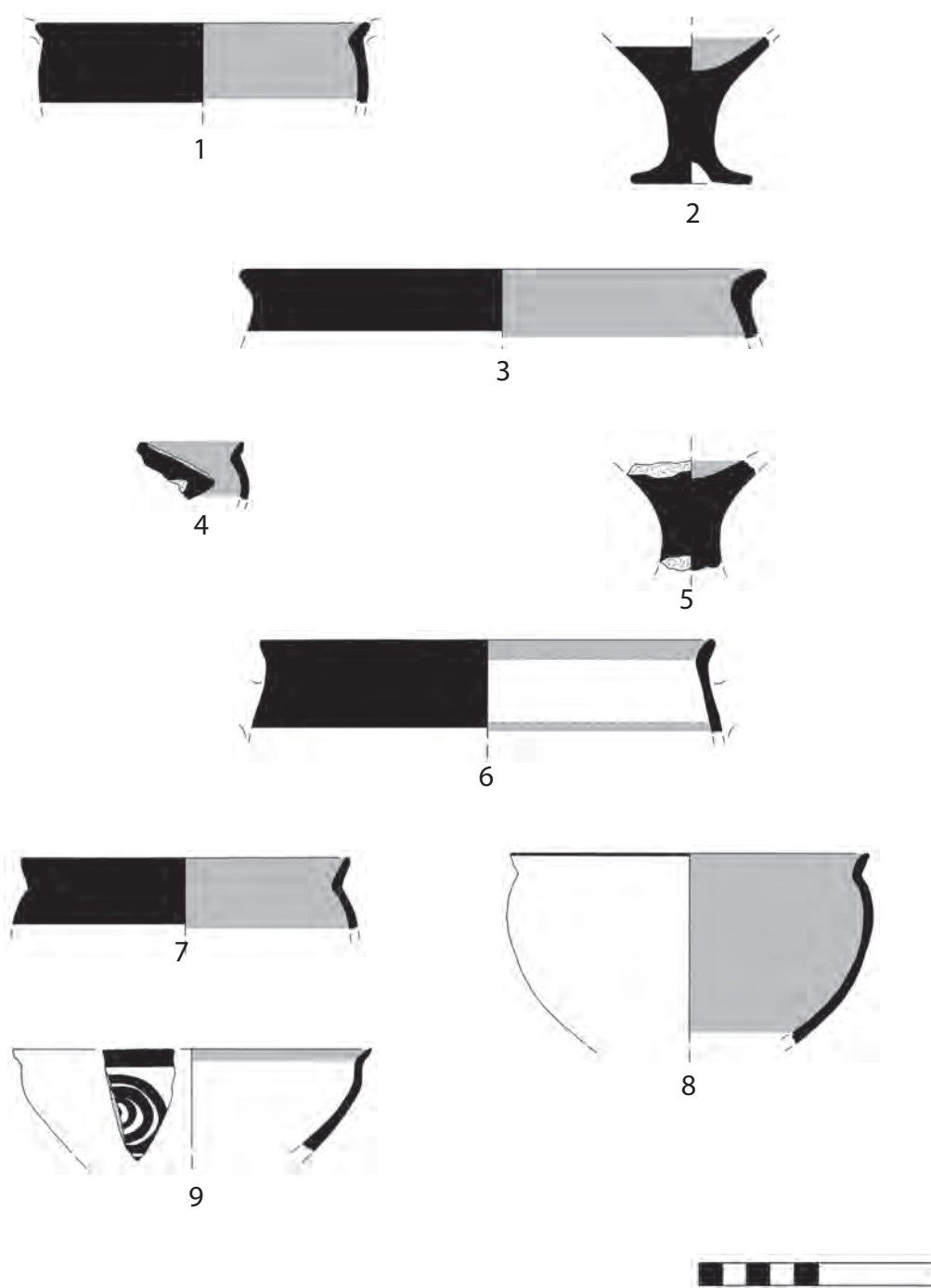


Fig. 4 Examples of pottery from pure deposits. 1–3. ‘Deposit East of Grave 21’ (LH IIIA1–IIIA2 Early); 4–6. Square O12, Trench 5 West, Layer 3 (LH IIIA2 Early); 7–9. Square O12, Trench 5 West, Layer 4 (LH IIIA1). Scale 1:3 (drawings V. Hachtmann).

Moreover, some lips of open shapes are short and everted, typical for LH IIIA2; however, there is no pattern-painted pottery from this phase. Due to the absence of pattern-decorated kylikes FS 256 and 257 there is no reason to believe that this deposit reaches beyond an initial stage of the LH IIIA2 subphase.<sup>14</sup> Two deposits in the palace area of similar ambivalence between LH IIIA1

<sup>14</sup> Shelmerdine 1992, 495–497; Vitale 2011, 334.

and LH IIIA2 Early were studied by Eleftheria Kardamaki.<sup>15</sup> One of them comes from the construction fill under the floor of the West Stoa and would actually date the large terrace upon which the monumental stoas and the court of the palace were built. Considering that some of the pottery in the construction fill of the Mansion at the Menelaion might date to LH IIIA2,<sup>16</sup> although the bulk of the material is of LH IIIA1 date, the construction of Mansion 2 and of important monumental features at Ayios Vasileios such as the court and the West Stoa may be more or less contemporary.

While the ‘Deposit East of Grave 21’ appears to be a mix of pottery from LH II to IIIA2 Early, a clearer sequence of LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 Early, termed ‘Sequence in Square O12, Trench 5 West’, was found west of the cemetery in two layers superimposed upon each other (Fig. 1).<sup>17</sup> Although the division of these two layers was artificial, and evidence is once more limited by the small amount of sherd material, the upper layer (Layer 3) contained shapes missing in the lower layer (Layer 4), in particular fragments of monochrome kylikes and of one stemmed bowl (Fig. 4.4–6). Layer 4 instead contained exclusively goblets with tall to medium-tall everted rims and one fragment of a pattern-decorated LH IIIA1 kylix with shallow bowl (Fig. 4.7–9).

In summary, intensive and large-scale building activities took place on the top of the hill around the transition from LH IIIA1 to LH IIIA2 as part of the construction, or perhaps the expansion or monumentalization of the palatial main complex. This is attested on the basis of pottery deposits below and above the large Court and the material inside terrace fills.<sup>18</sup> The ‘Deposit East of Grave 21’ may indicate that certain rearrangements of space also took place around the same time in the cemetery area. By then, the construction of tombs and the deposition of burials within them had certainly stopped. With the exception of occasional infant burials, the cemetery may have functioned as a memorial from then on.

## LH IIIA2

In two areas in the North Cemetery area, vases were found in situ in non-funerary contexts: further east of the ‘Deposit East of Grave 21’ in Square O15 and south of the cemetery in Square E13 (Fig. 1). Segments of walls were encountered in both areas; however, the in situ vases and possible floors could not be related to these walls with certainty. East of the cemetery, in Square O15, a large part of a cooking tripod was found that was reassembled from more than 30 sherds (Fig. 5.1). One of the two units that contributed most sherds to this vessel<sup>19</sup> also contained, amongst other things, one fragment of a monochrome stemmed bowl with short everted rim (Fig. 5.2). Only 3m to the east, another in situ vase was found: a small jug of fine plain Mycenaean fabric, the rim of which was missing (Fig. 5.3). Although the stratigraphic relationship between these two vessels is unclear due to disturbances in this area during the Byzantine period, it seems possible that both belong to one single horizon that overlay the ‘Deposit East of Grave 21’ and that can be dated to the full LH IIIA2 subphase. In any case, it is worth noting that there were no indicators in this area for the LH IIIB and IIIC Early phases. The tripod cooking pot indicates domestic activities in direct proximity to the cemetery and the use of this area may imply an expansion of the settlement in this phase.

<sup>15</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 110, tab. 6, ‘highest pebble surface (‘Floor’ 3)’ and ‘(construction) fill below West Stoa’.

<sup>16</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 77 n. 18, 113–114.

<sup>17</sup> Kardamaki et al. in press.

<sup>18</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 111.

<sup>19</sup> Find Groups 2334 and 2358. After mending, Unit 2334 contained 141 fragments of utilitarian pottery and Unit 2358 contained 11 fragments. Unit 2334 was contaminated with eight fragments of Byzantine tile. With its flat base and the s-shaped rim profile, this cooking tripod has a good parallel in Room 6, Trench I18a in the palace area dated to LH IIIA2 Late based on its context (Kardamaki 2017, fig. 11.180. See also Kardamaki 2017, 104–105, 110, tab. 6).

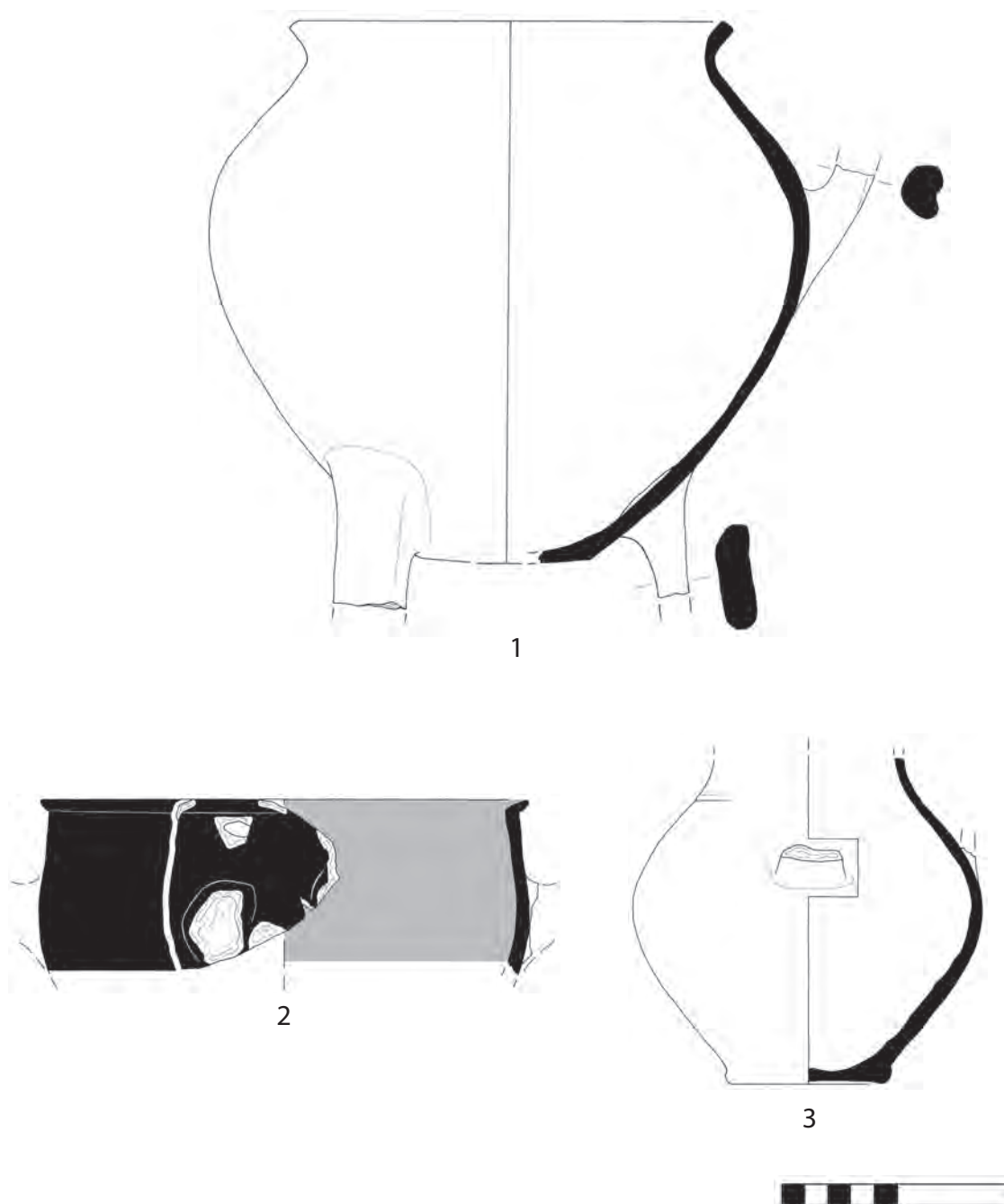


Fig. 5 In situ vases in Square O15. Scale 1:3 (drawings V. Hachtmann).

In Square  $\Xi$ 13, south of the cemetery (Fig. 1), many pebbles, which possibly represent the remains of a pebble floor, were encountered only c. 15cm below the modern surface. Among other sherds and animal bones, this layer yielded one large fragment of a monochrome basin (Fig. 6.1) and many sherds that were reassembled as one almost complete carinated kylix with the handle missing (Fig. 6.2). The rim of this kylix is rather flaring and quite dissimilar to every other carinated kylix rim from the ‘Deposit East of Grave 21’ or from the ‘Sequence in Square O12, Trench 5 West’ mentioned above. It resembles a later type found in quantity in the so-called ‘Fresco Dump’ in Square  $\Delta$ 6, west of the large Court dating to LH IIIA2 Late.<sup>20</sup> According to our current state

<sup>20</sup> Kardamaki 2017, fig. 13.200–201, 203.



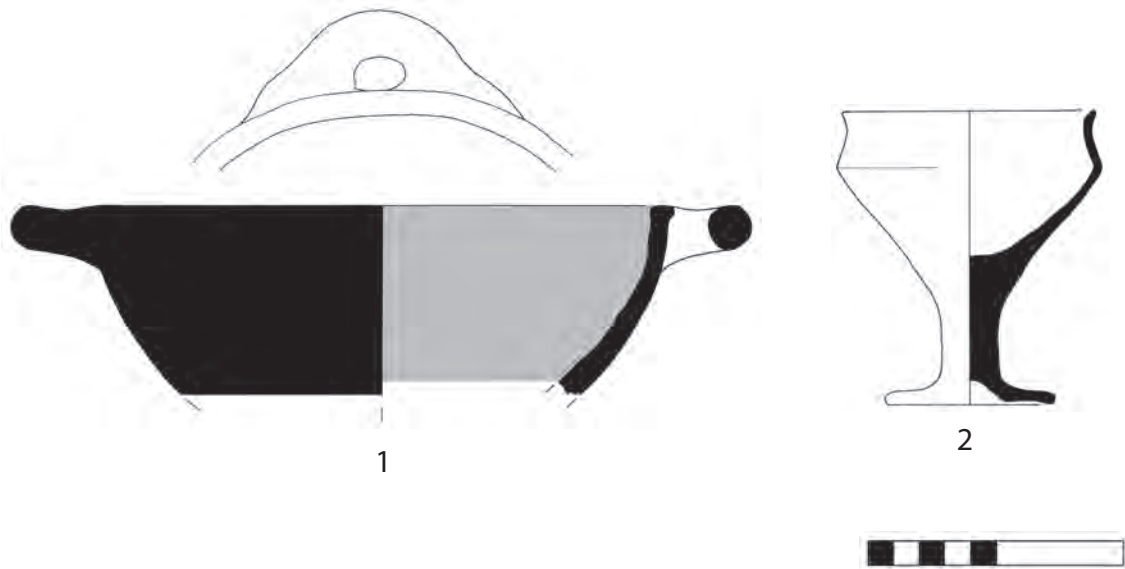


Fig. 6 In situ vases in Square Ξ13, Trench 2. Scale 1:3 (drawings V. Hachtmann).

of knowledge, the ‘Fresco Dump’ can be connected with a possible refurbishment or rebuilding activity prior to the main destruction of the palace.<sup>21</sup> Whether the in situ vases in the North Cemetery area represent one single horizon and, if they do, whether they were contemporary with the ‘Fresco Dump’ or the later disastrous conflagration of the palace, cannot yet be decided.

### LH IIIB

A less well-attested period for Ayios Vasileios is LH IIIB, although evidence is pointing towards the destruction of the palace somewhere in the middle of this period.<sup>22</sup> In the palace area painted pottery of LH IIIB1 style is rare.<sup>23</sup> However, in the area of the court and in the West Stoa there is subtle evidence for this phase embedded in a red layer that seems to derive from the collapsed upper floor after the fire.<sup>24</sup> In the North Cemetery area this phase is even more elusive. Fragments of pattern-decorated kylikes are uncertain and deep bowls of canonical<sup>25</sup> Type A (without monochrome interior) are rare. One fragment of a Group A deep bowl with traces of a flower decoration found in a LH IIIC Early context is among the very few pattern-decorated pieces from the North Cemetery area that can be safely dated to LH IIIB (Fig. 7). Only one single find group in the west of the cemetery without any relation to walls or floors, Find Group 2205<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 1), delivered a couple of fragments from plain kylikes and shallow angular bowls with characteristics of this phase. The rims of these vases are lipless, rounded or slightly flaring (Fig. 8.1–9). Parallels in safe LH IIIB1 contexts can be found e.g. at Mycenae and at Tsoungiza.<sup>27</sup> A date in LH IIIA2

<sup>21</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 114.

<sup>22</sup> See Vasilogamvrou et al., this volume.

<sup>23</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 114.

<sup>24</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 111. See also Vasilogamvrou et al., this volume.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Canonical’ is here referring to interior rim bands; the emphasis is on the contrast with vessels with a monochrome interior.

<sup>26</sup> Find Group 2205 contained 147 fragments of utilitarian pottery after mending. These include also Early Mycenaean and some EH II sherds. Three historical sherds and one fragment of a Byzantine roof tile can be interpreted as intrusive into Find Group 2205.

<sup>27</sup> Mycenae: for the rounded kylikes see Mountjoy 1976, 101, fig. 13.165. For plain open shapes in general see Wardle 1969, 284–292, figs. 9–12. Tsoungiza: Thomas 2005, 514, fig. 27.12–18; 515, fig. 28.1–18.



Fig. 7 Fragment of a Group A deep bowl (Post-palatial deposit). Scale 1:3 (drawing V. Hachtmann).

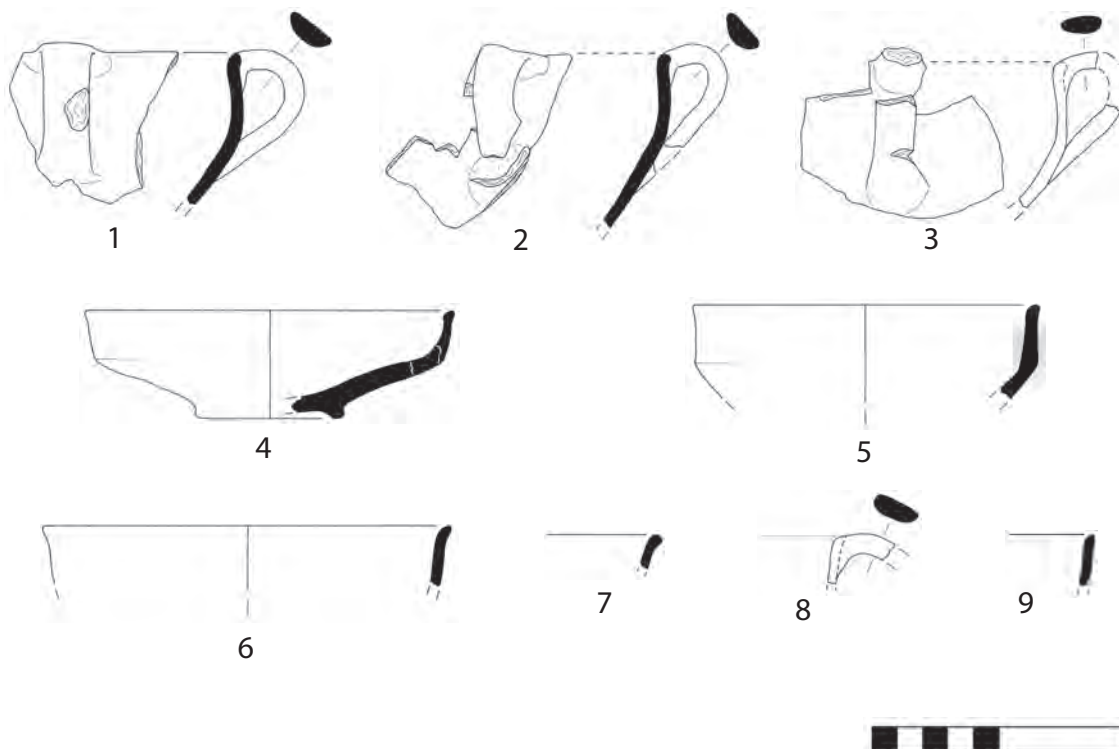


Fig. 8 Fragments from Find Group 2205. Scale 1:3 (drawings V. Hachtmann).

Late, however, cannot be entirely ruled out for this group of fragments.<sup>28</sup> In any case, it is important to note that fragments of deep bowls were totally absent in Find Group 2205, although this shape was extraordinarily well represented in a Post-palatial deposit 35m further east (see below). This may suggest that the plain kylikes in Find Group 2205 predate the phase when deep bowls came into use at Ayios Vasileios. The plain kylikes in Find Group 2205 may be placed between LH IIIA2 Late and the earlier part of LH IIIB. It may even be suggested that they date just before or around the time of the palace destruction. The relatively large size of the fragments may imply that they were broken not too far away from the place they were found.<sup>29</sup> Pottery signaling the LH IIIB2 phase, in particular the Group B deep bowl and the rosette deep bowl,<sup>30</sup> has not yet been found among the material from the North Cemetery.

<sup>28</sup> Shelmerdine 1992, fig. 9-47.P3721–P3723 (Nichoria, LH IIIA2 Middle–Late).

<sup>29</sup> The group of fragments in Find Group 2205 may also be related to one of the infant burials dated according to radiocarbon date in LH IIIB.

<sup>30</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 36.

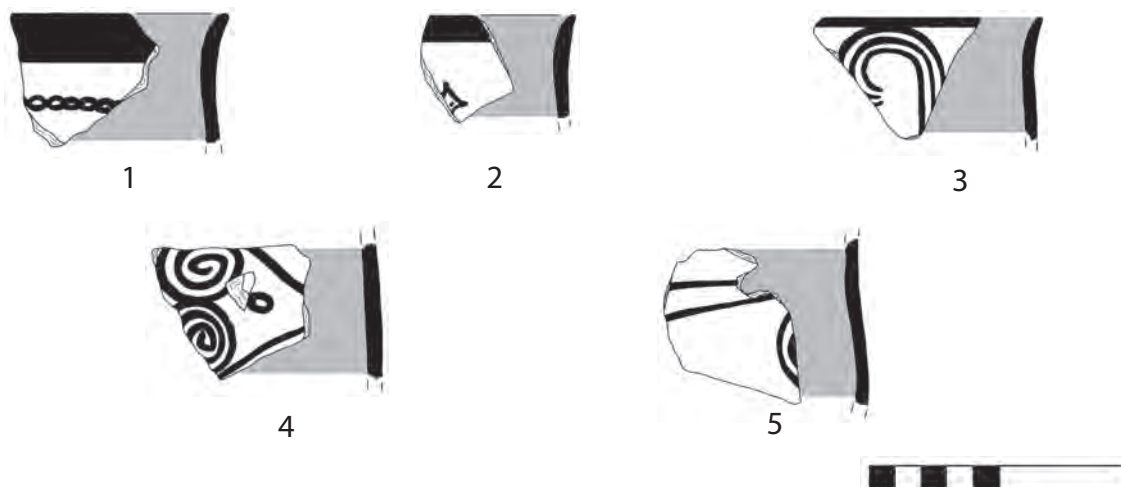


Fig. 9 Fragments of Group A deep bowls with monochrome interior from the 'Post-palatial deposit'.  
Scale 1:3 (drawings V. Hachtmann).

### LH IIIC Early

The next pottery phase identified at the North Cemetery has been attributed to the LH IIIC Early phase and probably dates in its early part (LH IIIC Early 1)<sup>31</sup> since characteristic types of advanced LH IIIC Early have not yet been identified at this stage.<sup>32</sup> LH IIIC Early is characterized at Ayios Vasileios by deep bowls with a thin to medium-wide exterior rim band, monochrome interior, and a wide range of motifs, of which the antithetic spiral is the most frequent (Fig. 9.1–5). In the palace area material dated to LH IIIB2/IIIC Early is so far only known from secondary deposits.<sup>33</sup> In the cemetery area one large dump of fragmented LH IIIC Early pottery, the so-called 'Post-palatial Deposit' (Fig. 1), was found northeast of the graves in Square II15 in connection with a wall. Whether this wall was built during LH IIIC Early or earlier, while the palace was still intact, is not yet clear and a definite answer has to await further stratigraphic analyses. Either way, the 'Post-palatial Deposit' clearly indicates certain activity in the cemetery area during the LH IIIC Early phase.

### The Menelaion Sequence

At this point we may recall the situation at the well-researched Menelaion. LH IIIA2 at the Menelaion was described by Catling as a 'period of uncertainty'.<sup>34</sup> This phase is mainly represented in wash levels and in only one of them, the 'Prophitis Elias South Wash Level' (PES), does LH IIIA2 seem to be the dominant component.<sup>35</sup> The reason for the assumed scarcity of LH IIIA2 deposits

<sup>31</sup> French 2011; Kardamaki 2015, 88–93.

<sup>32</sup> For example, painted conical kylikes FS 274. For LH IIIC Early 1 contexts in the Argolid see French 2011 and Kardamaki 2015. We cannot exclude that the material we call here LH IIIC Early also includes pottery attributable to Mountjoy's transitional LH IIIB2/IIIC Early phase (Mountjoy 1995; Mountjoy 1997; Mountjoy 1999). The study is still in process and a definite answer regarding this phase must be delayed until the final analysis. We need to point out that the fragmentary state and poor preservation of the material at the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery hampers the identification of a phase which has been defined largely on the basis of complete vases. At the Menelaion the transitional LH IIIB2/IIIC Early phase has been positively identified by Mountjoy through well-preserved vessels.

<sup>33</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 114.

<sup>34</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 461.

<sup>35</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 359.

may partly be due to the rarity of pattern-decorated pottery from this phase in mixed sherd material.<sup>36</sup>

Although few architectural remains can be assigned with certainty to the LH IIIB phase, extensive wash levels were found with corresponding pottery indicating an occupation throughout this phase at almost all excavated locations of the site.<sup>37</sup> An early phase within LH IIIB is clearly signaled by decorated kylikes FS 258A (Zygouries kylix) and FS 258B. The best evidence for these types of kylikes was found concentrated in the 'Aetos Stone Mound' although the number of sherds belonging to these types is small.<sup>38</sup> Evidence for the most common open shape during LH IIIB, the deep bowl FS 284 of canonical Type A, is widespread over the site.<sup>39</sup> By contrast, the Group B deep bowl with exterior rim band around 3cm wide, characteristic for the LH IIIB2 subphase in the Argolid, is virtually absent at the Menelaion. Two well-preserved rosette deep bowls from the Aetos Stone Mound may also postdate the LH IIIB2 subphase.<sup>40</sup> The most common type of deep bowl at the Menelaion is the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior so common in the 'Post-palatial Deposit' in the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery mentioned above. At the Menelaion, this type of deep bowl was especially frequent in the 'Prophitis Elias, Erosion Gully' (PE) and in the 'Aetos Stone Mound' (A), two large deposits with mixed material assigned by Catling to LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early.<sup>41</sup> By contrast, in the wash levels around the slopes of the Mansion (WN, WE, WS and PD) that have been connected with the occupation of Mansions 2 and 3, the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior is conspicuously rare, while the canonical one is relatively well attested there.<sup>42</sup> This could be interpreted as showing that the Mansion had fallen out of use before the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior became popular. While in the Argolid the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior is traditionally regarded as an element of LH IIIC,<sup>43</sup> Catling assumes that this type was commonplace already in LH IIIB

<sup>36</sup> While pattern-decorated pottery was rare in the wash levels north and east of the Mansion, 41% of the decorated pottery was monochrome painted (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 78), a significant part of which may actually come from the LH IIIA2 occupation (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 80). In fact, LH IIIA2 pattern-decorated pottery was found in the Mansion area during the old excavations by Richard Dawkins (Dawkins 1910, 8–9, pl. 1).

<sup>37</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 461. On the Menelaion Hill rebuilding/repair activities referred to as 'Mansion 3' are believed to date to LH IIIB. North Hill and Aetos Hill were occupied as well.

<sup>38</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 2, 281, fig. 285.A 2, A 4, A 7–A 8, A 10–A 11.

<sup>39</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 388–389; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 174, fig. 178.WS 25; 181, fig. 185.PD 46; 211, fig. 215.NC 48; 217, fig. 221.NW 23; 226, fig. 230.PE 61; 262, fig. 266.AA 12–AA 13; 272, fig. 276.AO 22, AO 24; 286, fig. 290.A 65–A 69, A 78.

<sup>40</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 391; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 290, fig. 294.A 148–A 149. For rosette deep bowls in the transitional LH IIIB2/IIIC Early and LH IIIC Early periods see Mountjoy 1997, 116.

<sup>41</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 453; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 226–231, figs. 230–235; 282–286, figs. 286–290.

<sup>42</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 77–81; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 155–193, figs. 159–197. In the Menelaion Hill wash levels the monochrome interior (compare Catling 2009, vol. 1, 388 [table]) may be largely confined to stemmed bowls (Catling 2009, vol. 2, 163, fig. 167.WN 69–WN 70; 169, fig. 173.WE 42, WE 49; 174, fig. 178.WS 30; 182, fig. 186.PD 64–PD 65) and one type of stemmed or deep bowl with a fat wavy line FM 53 (Catling 2009, vol. 2, 163, fig. 167.WN 71; 169, fig. 173.WE 41, WE 48; 174, fig. 178.WS 33; 181, fig. 185.PD 48). The latter types are well represented in the Aetos Stone Mound (Catling 2009, vol. 2, 290, fig. 294.A 144–A 146; 294, fig. 298.A 207–A 215). Stemmed and deep bowls with a fat wavy line and monochrome interior are among the vessel types used to define the transitional LH IIIB2/IIIC Early phase (Mountjoy 1997, 116), however the fat wavy line was a very popular pattern on stemmed bowls already during LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 (Rutter 2003, 198; Thomas 2005, 499, 501; Thomas 2011, 205) when it was already combined with a monochrome interior (Mountjoy 1999, 275–276, fig. 92.142, 144; Thomas 2005, 503, fig. 22.15, 18). If the combination of wavy band and painted monochrome interior existed some time before the beginning of the 'transitional' phase, it seems possible that the corresponding rim sherds from the Mansion wash belong to stemmed bowls from this older period. In the Mansion area only two pieces may actually be deep bowls A with monochrome interior (Catling 2009, vol. 2, 182, fig. 186.PD 49, PD 55. PD 52 may also be a stemmed bowl). The deep bowl A with monochrome interior decorated with paneled patterns and antithetic spirals encountered in large quantities in the Prophitis Elias, Erosion Gully and the Aetos Stone Mound seems to be missing in the Mansion area, like most of the shapes that necessarily call for a date within the transitional LH IIIB2/IIIC Early phase or LH IIIC Early.

<sup>43</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 387.

at the Menelaion.<sup>44</sup> Recently the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior has also been securely attested in the Argolid already for LH IIIB, but the canonical type without monochrome interior was still predominant in LH IIIB2 destruction layers.<sup>45</sup> The motifs on deep bowls with and without monochrome interiors are similar: paneled compositions and continuous patterns occur, but on the latter the antithetic spiral motif is particularly frequent.

At this point, a note on the Menelaion sequence concerns the transitional LH IIIB2/IIIC Early phase of Penelope Mountjoy. According to Mountjoy, the Menelaion was among the sites that yielded evidence for this phase.<sup>46</sup> In the Argolid this transitional phase was used to describe the period immediately after the destruction of the palaces at Mycenae and Tiryns when ceramic features of LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early were in use together with certain features unique to this transitional phase as defined by Mountjoy.<sup>47</sup> The definition of this phase, however, was received with skepticism. Jeremy Rutter synchronized it with his LH IIIC Phase 1 defined for Korakou,<sup>48</sup> and Salvatore Vitale attributed the features and contexts of the transitional phase to either LH IIIB2 Late or LH IIIC Phase 1.<sup>49</sup>

There is, however, also secure evidence at the Menelaion suggesting that the site was occupied beyond LH IIIC Early 1. This evidence includes e.g. one type of decorated conical kylix with inward-curving upper body FS 274 and carinated cups FS 240.<sup>50</sup> In fact, some of the material from the ‘Prophitis Elias, Erosion Gully’ and the ‘Aetos Stone Mound’, including plenty of Group A deep bowls with monochrome interior, may also date to the more advanced LH IIIC Early. In any case, a stratigraphic sequence that would allow us to distinguish between LH IIIB Late, LH IIIC Early 1 and more advanced LH IIIC Early has not yet been identified at the Menelaion, and the same is true for the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery.

### Summary of Pottery Evidence from Ayios Vasileios and the Menelaion

Stylistically, the LH III sequences at Ayios Vasileios and the Menelaion are closely comparable. The rims of open shapes follow the same development observed elsewhere in southern Greece from tall and medium-tall everted in LH IIIA1 to short everted, short flaring and rounded in LH IIIA2. In this period goblets and kylikes occur together. Monochrome pottery is extremely common compared to patterned ware. Pattern-decorated kylikes FS 256, characteristic of LH IIIA2, are difficult to identify among the fragmented material from the North Cemetery at Ayios Vasileios. They are attested in the palace area and also at the Menelaion, but in the former they are rare.<sup>51</sup>

Concerning the LH IIIB period, evidence is getting thin at the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery. Mycenaean decorated pottery of this phase is virtually absent there. Only one small group of fragments from plain vases may be attributed to LH IIIA2 Late or the earlier part of LH IIIB and nothing was found that necessarily dates to LH IIIB2 as defined in the Argolid. In the palace area, the canonical Group A deep bowl is extremely rare in the area of the court and the West

<sup>44</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 459. Catling 2009, vol. 1, 367, refers to Nichoria, where deep bowls with a monochrome interior have been assigned to LH IIIB2, although, according to Mountjoy 1997, 124, this material may also belong in the transitional LH IIIB2/IIIC Early phase. For Nichoria see Shelmerdine 1992, 531, fig. 9-61.

<sup>45</sup> See, e.g., Demakopoulou 2003, 82, fig. 5.1–2; Kardamaki 2015, 84, tab. 1; Wirghová, this volume.

<sup>46</sup> Mountjoy 1997, 123; Mountjoy 1999, 36–38.

<sup>47</sup> Mountjoy 1997, 111–112, 116–117. See also Mountjoy 1995, 196, and Mountjoy 1999, 36–38. See, however, Kardamaki 2015, 86; Wirghová, this volume.

<sup>48</sup> Rutter 2003.

<sup>49</sup> Vitale 2006.

<sup>50</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 2, 234, fig. 238.PE 246–247 (carinated cup FS 240); 272, fig. 276.AO 14; 295, fig. 299.A 229 (conical kylix with inwards-curving rim).

<sup>51</sup> Ayios Vasileios palace area: Kardamaki 2017, 114, 123, fig. 12.192–195. Menelaion: Catling 2009, vol. 1, 361–363, and e.g. Catling 2009, vol. 2, 169, fig. 173.WE 28–WE 33.

Stoa, and only two examples of the Group B deep bowl have been found there so far.<sup>52</sup> Catling wrote about the ‘Pottery Dump’ (PD) at the northwestern corner of the Mansion that ‘the predominant character of the pottery contents is of LH IIIB2 type’.<sup>53</sup> There are, indeed, a couple of Group A deep bowls in the Mansion wash deposits supporting occupation during LH IIIB; however, the identification of the LH IIIB2 phase, again in comparison to what we know circulated in the Argolid at that time, is not really convincing for the entire Menelaion ridge. In fact, Mansion 2 (or rather Mansion 3) may have fallen out of use before the end of the LH IIIB phase. Although too little is known to discuss the reasons for the abandonment of the Mansion, the discovery of patches of burning in connection with a floor deposit that was dated by Catling to LH IIIB may suggest a destruction by fire.<sup>54</sup> In the southernmost sector of the Menelaion ridge, in particular on the Prophitis Elias ridge and on the Aetos Hill, occupation continued, however, well into LH IIIC Early. This phase is also well attested again at Ayios Vasileios in the form of the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior that is often decorated with antithetic spirals, like those from the Menelaion.

### Conclusions

After having examined significant ceramic deposits from the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery and compared them both with deposits from the palace area and the nearly continuous ceramic sequence at the Menelaion, we may approach a synchronization of construction and destruction phases at the two sites. Around the LH IIIA1–IIIA2 Early transition, major building activities took place at Ayios Vasileios. A large terrace was built to support new monumental extensions of the palace.<sup>55</sup> At the Menelaion, some ceramic evidence in the construction fill of Mansion 2 suggests that it was built around the same time.<sup>56</sup> The two settlements were probably in operation during the LH IIIA2 phase, although evidence is still limited. A few in situ vases in the North Cemetery may be remnants from this period. Otherwise, broken pottery and other debris may have been cleaned up and dumped in appropriate places.

If we compare the situations at the Menelaion and Ayios Vasileios for the following LH IIIB period, as far as they are known to us, we note that the ceramic sequence at the Menelaion is less incomplete than at Ayios Vasileios thanks to the abundance of the canonical Group A deep bowl. Both sites, however, have in common the absence of the most characteristic types of deep bowls for LH IIIB2 in the Argolid: the Group B deep bowl and the rosette deep bowl. Is this due to a settlement hiatus in central Laconia or to a different stylistic development of the pottery diverging from the Argolid? This examination has shown that the question of ‘occupational gap or regional diversity of ceramic style’<sup>57</sup> cannot be answered from the perspective of the Ayios Vasileios North Cemetery alone. In the palace area, subtle evidence of an earlier phase in LH IIIB exists that would place the destructive fire somewhere in the middle of this phase.<sup>58</sup> But where is the second half of LH IIIB? One ceramic-related solution to shorten the gap in LH IIIB, or make it disappear, is to believe, with Catling, that the Group A deep bowl with monochrome interior, found in large quantities at both sites, the Menelaion and Ayios Vasileios, was already regularly in use in Laconia in LH IIIB. Consequently, since this vessel type seems to appear only after the destruction of the palace at Ayios Vasileios and the abandonment, or perhaps destruction, of the Mansion at the

<sup>52</sup> See Vasilogamvrou et al., this volume, also for another possible deep bowl B fragment from the destruction deposit of the West Stoa.

<sup>53</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 132.

<sup>54</sup> Catling 2009, vol. 1, 18–19, 451; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 138, fig. 142.X 3–X 4, X 7.

<sup>55</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 111.

<sup>56</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 77 n. 18, 113–114.

<sup>57</sup> This was the title of the paper presented at a workshop in memory of Christopher Mee (Kardamaki et al. in press).

<sup>58</sup> See Vasilogamvrou et al., this volume.

Menelaion, both events could be placed somewhere in the middle of the LH IIIB phase. Moreover, it seems possible that these events may have taken place within a very short span of time, or even were exactly contemporary. At the beginning of LH IIIB, the use of traditional shapes such as the decorated kylix may have continued, while in the Argolid, the deep bowl FS 284 was already the most common shape on the dinner table.<sup>59</sup> The fact that the canonical Group A deep bowl is somewhat better represented at the Menelaion than at Ayios Vasileios may reflect the current state of research and may change with continuing excavation. In this respect, we may consider the perhaps surprising but nevertheless plausible suggestion that the construction and destruction of both the palace of Ayios Vasileios and of Mansion 2/3 at the Menelaion were more or less synchronous,<sup>60</sup> though the limited evidence from both sites recommends some caution. This assumption would, however, support the view that Ayios Vasileios and the Menelaion belonged to the same political entity.

In any case, there is clear evidence at Ayios Vasileios of a major destruction from which the palace may have never fully recovered, and there are hints that this destruction, according to the latest results, took place at the end of LH IIIB1.<sup>61</sup> This destruction may not have caused a complete hiatus but nevertheless a significant reduction in occupation for approximately 50 years that might explain the scarceness of deposits from this phase. During this time the cemetery area may have largely fallen into disuse, while other parts of the hill may still have been inhabited. Thereafter, the edges of the cemetery area were used again in LH IIIC Early – albeit only for a short time.

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<sup>60</sup> Compare Kardamaki 2017, 112.

<sup>61</sup> Kardamaki 2017, 111; see also Vasilogamvrou et al., this volume.

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# LM IIIB Ceramic Regionalism and Chronological Correlations with LH IIIB–C Phases on the Greek Mainland

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**Abstract:** Over the past quarter-century, the published evidence for variability in the nature and extent of ceramic regionalism within LM II–IIIB Crete (c. 1450–1180 BC) has increased dramatically. Assessing the implications of that evidence, however, has been hampered by the continuing failure of pottery specialists to agree upon criteria for defining ceramic phases that apply throughout the island, as well as by the lack of established metrics whereby varying degrees of ceramic uniformity or regionalism can be determined. By reviewing some results of a recent determined effort on the part of specialists to explore incremental ceramic change as well as regionalism during the 13<sup>th</sup> century in particular, the suggestion is made that the appearance of dark-surfaced Handmade and Burnished Ware (HMBW), agreed to be of south Italian ancestry, and its imitation in local pale-firing fine fabrics on Crete as well as on the southern and central Greek mainland can be used to correlate the ceramically based relative chronologies of these two Aegean regions. The short-lived LH IIIB2 Final through earliest IIIC destruction horizon of mainland palatial centers occurred during the phase termed LM IIIB2 (or LM IIIB Late) on Crete. Thus, mainland refugees from those destructions can be expected to be recognizable on Crete before LM IIIC begins. Indeed, their arrival may have played a significant role in the dramatic changes in settlement pattern that are observable throughout much of Crete during the later LM IIIB period.

**Keywords:** ceramic regionalism, Chania, Dimini, Handmade Burnished Ware, Late Minoan III

## Introduction

Two major international conferences in the early 1990s hosted respectively by the French School and the Danish Institute in Athens, a third such gathering in 2003 in the same city hosted by the Italian Archaeological School and, most recently, a fourth organized and hosted by the AEGIS research group at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium) late in 2013 have, in combination, had an enormous impact on our current understanding of Minoan Crete from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> to the early 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Building upon Athanasia Kanta's pioneering 1980 monograph, the published proceedings of these conferences, and particularly those of the three most recent, have put special emphasis on the ceramically determined relative chronology of these 250–275 years, on the history and nature of ceramic regionalism during this era, and on the variability within it of connections between Crete and the Greek mainland.<sup>2</sup> Another major source of important contributions consists of the numerous site-specific final reports on ceramic sequences from a host of both settlements and cemeteries that have vastly increased the quantities of data at our disposal.<sup>3</sup> The most valuable contribution of all on the specific issue of regional variability within Crete from the collapse of Neopalatial culture to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, however, is the detailed, synthetic analysis of the central and western portions of the island published by Charlotte Langohr in 2009.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Kanta 1980; Driessen – Farnoux 1997; Hallager – Hallager 1997; D'Agata et al. 2005; Langohr 2017a.

<sup>3</sup> For listings of most of those published since 1980 see the bibliographies in Nezeri 2013, 267–318; Langohr 2017b, 29–35.

<sup>4</sup> Langohr 2009, esp. 175–239.

### LM II–IIIB Ceramic Regionalism

What can we say about the ups and downs of ceramic regionalism within Crete from c. 1450 to 1180 BC? Any response to this question should begin by acknowledging that the diversity of ‘expert opinions’ on this subject constitutes a scholarly minefield, the choosing of a specific path through which is necessarily a personal, and at times inevitably subjective, endeavor. What follows should therefore be understood as merely one person’s opinion rather than an indication of any widely held consensus.

The nature of ceramic regionalism during this 270-year-long era, one that encompasses what are on Crete a so-called Monopalatial period of some 75–110 years’ duration,<sup>5</sup> a Final Palatial period that may have lasted up to a century longer, and then the beginning of an even lengthier Post-palatial period, is certainly not a constant. That is, the degree to which individual regions differ from each other in their production and consumption of ceramic containers is not the same throughout, nor are the regions in question themselves always to be defined in the same way. For example, ceramic regionalism during LM II is almost impossible to discuss at present due to a lack of sufficient data from much of the island. By contrast, the immediately following LM IIIA1 phase witnesses a remarkable degree of uniformity, at least in the principal table wares, across much of the center and west of the island, while the far east (beyond the Bay of Mirabello) is quite different. As time goes on during LM IIIA2 and IIIB (roughly coeval with the Mycenaean palatial era), regional products and preferences in the center and west of Crete seem to become progressively more distinct all the way down to quite late in the LM IIIB phase, at which point a comparatively brief era of relatively uniform ceramic assemblages characterizing much of Crete has been claimed to exist in the terminal LM IIIB and early LM IIIC phases.<sup>6</sup>

Of course, such simple statements about changes in the nature of ceramic regionalism through time presuppose the existence of some objective methodology whereby various degrees of ceramic difference can be assessed or measured. Likewise, they require general agreement on how to draw the temporal boundaries of ceramic phasing during the periods in question. Consultation of the contributions to pan-Cretan conferences on ceramic phasing during such cultural stages as the terminal Neopalatial phase we call LM IB or the final literate phase we call LM IIIB Early or LM IIIB1 shows all too clearly that agreement on ceramic subphasing is often problematic.<sup>7</sup> Even the distinctions between major phases such as LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB may vary significantly from specialist to specialist.<sup>8</sup> As usual in our field, I would argue that the best response to such dissension is simply to be as explicit as possible about one’s criteria for whatever spatial, temporal, typological, functional, or methodological distinctions one is proposing to make.

A large number of different features, involving either shape or decoration or a combination of the two, have been explored, and sometimes utilized, in an attempt to define chronological horizons within the LM IIIA2–B ceramic continuum on Crete.<sup>9</sup> As far as shape morphology goes, the focus has understandably been on the most common open shapes, that is, deep rim-handled cups, deep bowls, kylikes, footed one-handled cups, and various forms of small handleless bowls (including the ubiquitous ‘conical cup’). The body and rim profiles of pattern-decorated cups and deep bowls and the handle placement on the latter shape have attracted a good deal of comment,

<sup>5</sup> The duration of this period in absolute years depends principally on when the major LM IIIA2 Early destruction of Knossos is to be dated, either comparatively early (c. 1375/1370) or as much as a full generation later (c. 1355/1340), the later date being based on the identification of a reference to a Sed festival on a scarab of the Egyptian pharaoh Amenophis III recovered from Sellopoulo Tomb 4 at Knossos (Wiener 2018).

<sup>6</sup> Brogan et al. 2002; Kanta 2003; Smith 2004; Smith 2005; Warren 2005; Langohr 2009, 200–204, 209–217, 220–221, 230–233; Smith 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Hallager – Hallager 1997 (LM III); Brogan – Hallager 2011 (LM IB).

<sup>8</sup> Hallager 2011a, 377–379.

<sup>9</sup> For overviews of and commentary on these features from various points of view see the papers in Hallager – Hallager 1997 and Langohr 2017a; see also Rutter 2006a, 517–518, 586–589, 610–630; Langohr 2009, 209–212, 219–227.

yet in my opinion have failed to yield any very useful chronological criteria. Similarly, the banding at the rim and below the decorated zone on patterned cups and bowls have repeatedly been targets of those seeking to generate rules for how to distinguish between LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB pieces. But the number of exceptions to any attempt to apply such rules strictly makes them essentially useless for discerning anything but very broad trends in decorative preferences.

Of greater value for dating purposes, although still incapable of being used as profitably as so many LH III dating criteria can be, are the foot profiles of one-handled footed cups, also known as champagne cups,<sup>10</sup> or the appearance of octopus decoration on Minoan transport stirrup jars,<sup>11</sup> both useful as criteria for distinguishing LM IIIB from LM IIIA2. An even more dependable clue to differentiating LM IIIB from LM IIIA2 is the adoption on Minoan vessels from many different parts of Crete of either individual patterns or specific decorative syntaxes characteristic of LH IIIB. Some of these become quite popular at individual Minoan sites, to such an extent that they are occasionally cited as evidence for the actual presence of Mycenaean mainlanders at the Minoan sites in question. A recently published example of such vessels and this kind of interpretation is a set of three high-stemmed kylikes from the pottery-manufacturing center of Gouves situated between Knossos and Malia and practically on the northern coast.<sup>12</sup> These have been identified as the local products of a single potter whom the excavator suggests was an immigrant from the Peloponnese, possibly from the area around Zygouries. Certainly, the decorative syntax of the Gouves kylikes is closely related to Mycenaean LH IIIB1 kylikes, except for the very sparse banding on the stems, and their solid rather than pierced stems are just as certainly more at home on the mainland than on LM IIIB Crete. Clay analyses, possibly supporting even if not proving their local manufacture at Gouves, would enhance the excavator's case that these drinking vessels are the works of a migrant mainland potter who came to Gouves at some point during the 13<sup>th</sup> century to work there. But whether or not their maker was a mainland potter, the early LH IIIB style of these kylikes furnishes only a *terminus post quem* for their date. Precisely *when* within LM IIIB such Minoan adaptations of Mycenaean patterns began or became truly popular is difficult to say, given the present state of publication of well-stratified LM IIIB contexts on the island. As a consequence, the usages of adopted Mycenaean patterns such as paneled patterns (FM 75) or antithetic spiral compositions (FM 50) are not presently as useful as they may become if subjected to more detailed study.<sup>13</sup>

Careful analyses of the impact of Mycenaean as well as regional Minoan decorative motifs on the output of particular Minoan 'workshops' have been undertaken in the case of the so-called Local Kydonian Workshop,<sup>14</sup> and also in the cases of the LM IIIA–B pottery from Mochlos<sup>15</sup> and

<sup>10</sup> Hallager 1997a, 30; Hallager 1997b, 408 (shape A6); Hallager 2011a, 378.

<sup>11</sup> Hatzaki 2017, 67, tab. 3.3.

<sup>12</sup> Chatzi-Vallianou 2017, 127–129, fig. 5.33.

<sup>13</sup> More detailed analyses of these imitations of Mycenaean decorative motifs form part of a 2013 PhD thesis by Katrin Bernhardt at the University of Vienna recently published in monograph form (Bernhardt 2021). But if an analytical program of research of this kind is to be undertaken (e.g. Bernhardt 2016 for a sample methodology), it will obviously be important to be sure that the patterns or shape features identified as imitations of Mycenaean LH IIIB date have been accurately identified as such. Multiple stem patterns (FM 19) need not be of Mycenaean origin or LM IIIA2–B date, since loosely comparable patterns on Crete exist already as early as LM IB in the form of multiple quirks (e.g. Rutter 2017a, 14 no. X1:3/3, fig. 2.7.X1:3/3; 104 no. X3N:3/10, fig. 2.102.X3N:3/10) that could have evolved on Crete into a pattern close to the mainland version of multiple stem cited by Bernhardt as an example of LM IIIB Cretan borrowing (Watrous 1992, 85 no. 1482, fig. 56, pl. 38 = Bernhardt 2016, fig. 8). An intermediate LM IIIB pattern that shows clearly enough how this evolution might have occurred without the need to invoke any Mycenaean influence appears on a pair of deep rim-handled cups also from Kommos (Watrous 1992, 72 no. 1201, fig. 45, pl. 28; 93–94 no. 1632, pl. 41). For the Mycenaean impact on Minoan ceramic production during the LM IIIA–B periods, see now Bernhardt 2021, 113–253.

<sup>14</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2000, 171–172, 203–205; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 261, 298–299; Hallager 2011a, 375–376, fig. 97 (= Hallager 2017, 47, fig. 2.13); Hallager 2011b, 449–450; Hallager – Hallager 2016, 287, 336–338, fig. 84.

<sup>15</sup> Smith 2010.

the contemporary local products from the Armenoi-Rethymno region of west-central Crete.<sup>16</sup> But sites within the orbit of Knossos in north- and south-central Crete like Archanes, Ayia Triada, and Kommos are more difficult to examine in this way, not least because these three sites in particular have yielded principally settlement finds rather than funerary assemblages, and so their pottery is decidedly more fragmentary.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the actual production locales at LM III sites, marked by pottery kilns and associated workshop facilities, have been found only rarely, notably at Gouves and much further west at Chamalevri.<sup>18</sup> Fotini Nezeri has nevertheless suggested plausible criteria for the identification of at least eight LM IIIA2–B ‘workshop traditions’ and has proposed the existence of an additional five local or regional traditions, the latter more tentatively due to the far scantier bodies of relevant evidence for these. In this endeavor, she is following in the footsteps of Kanta, who in 1980 was arguably the first to make a systematic effort to identify local ceramic traditions within LM III Crete.<sup>19</sup>

How are we to agree on ceramic phasing and subphasing when we all recognize that regional identities are becoming progressively more disparate with time after the end of LM IIIA1 or very early in the LM IIIA2 phase? The answer is surely that we must depend on the existence of interregional exchanges of ceramics within Crete as well as on the importation of time-specific pottery types from outside the island to correlate the various site-specific ceramic chronologies with each other. The good news is that there is plenty of intra-island ceramic exchange during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as considerable traffic in pottery both to and from culture zones outside of Minoan Crete. The bad news is that we have yet to quantify and otherwise evaluate such exchanges in sufficient detail to allow them to assist us much in firming up our definitions of both phases and regional identities.<sup>20</sup> We also have relied – as has also been the tradition on the Greek mainland – overwhelmingly on decorated table wares and failed until very recently to pay sufficient attention to storage and transport vessels or to cooking pottery. The best-known examples of intra-island ceramic exchange are fine decorated pottery produced in Chania (the output of the already cited Local Kydonia Workshop), Knossos,<sup>21</sup> and Palaikastro,<sup>22</sup> as well as large and for the most part coarse transport stirrup jars,<sup>23</sup> while the most widely published off-island imports are Mycenaean and Cypriot fine wares, although a fair amount of attention has also been paid to transport vessels such as Canaanite and Egyptian amphorae and Cypriot pithoi.<sup>24</sup>

Why is the issue of ceramic regionalism on Crete relevant to the issue of ‘Synchronizing the Destructions of the Mycenaean Palaces’? One answer to this question involves the interpretation of such regionalism and thus its potential implications, regardless of where it may appear. On Crete, as already noted, there is a fairly sudden change in the nature of ceramic regionalism at the end of LM IIIA1 or early in LM IIIA2. There appears to be universal agreement among specialists that the subsequent increase in the degree of regionalism in central and western Crete is a direct

<sup>16</sup> Nezeri 2013, 57–63, 161–185.

<sup>17</sup> For an overview of the relationships between the major excavated sites in the western Mesara (Ayia Triada, Kommos, and Phaistos) in Neopalatial and Post-palatial times see Shaw 2006, esp. 866–875, tab. 5.1. For the frequency of Knossian ceramic imports to Kommos relative to those from any other Cretan production centers see Watrous 1992, 149–154; Rutter 2017a, 174–175, 195–196, 218–230. For Ayia Triada, Kommos, and Phaistos in LM III B see Borgna 2017; D’Agata 2017; Rutter 2017b.

<sup>18</sup> Chatzi-Vallianou 2017 (Gouves, LM III B); Andreadaki-Vlazaki – Papadopoulou 2005, 361, figs. 2, 13–17 (Chamalevri, LM III C Early).

<sup>19</sup> Kanta 1980, 288–293.

<sup>20</sup> For a recent overview of the correlation of Minoan and Mycenaean ceramic phasing during the LM/LH IIIA–B periods, see Bernhardt 2021, 22–24, 319–325, 327–329.

<sup>21</sup> Watrous 1992, 150–152; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 246–248; Hallager 2011a, 360–363; Rutter 2017a, 218–230.

<sup>22</sup> Watrous 1992, 153; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 248; Smith 2005, 191–195, fig. 7; Rutter 2006a, 422–423, 439; Hallager 2011a, 363–364; Rutter 2017a, 419, s.v. ‘imported pottery: East Cretan’.

<sup>23</sup> Day et al. 2011; Haskell et al. 2011; Kardamaki et al. 2016; Pratt 2016; Knapp – Demesticha 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Watrous 1992, 153–169; Rutter 2006b; Karageorghis et al. 2014; Rutter 2014a; Rutter 2014b; Bernhardt 2016; Demesticha – Knapp 2016; Knapp – Demesticha 2017; Bernhardt 2021.

result of the major destruction by fire of the palace at Knossos, at that time the only identifiable palatial center on the island and the location of its only literate palatial administration.<sup>25</sup>

Three avenues of inquiry immediately suggest themselves. First, is there any indication on the Greek mainland of an immediate ripple effect stemming from the Knossian palatial destruction just cited, and if so, how extensive might it be? For example, how does the demise of the LH IIIA predecessor of the last palace at Pylos in Messenia line up chronologically with Mervyn Popham's LM IIIA2 Early date for the Knossian palace's principal Late Bronze Age destruction horizon?<sup>26</sup> Second, how comparable is the onset of ceramic regionalism as a cultural phenomenon on Crete after this Knossian destruction to what has repeatedly been observed since Vincent R. d'A. Desborough's 1964 publication of *The Last Mycenaean and Their Successors*, namely that *Mycenaean* pottery assemblages beginning not quite three centuries later become stylistically less homogeneous as time goes on during the mainland's Post-palatial era.<sup>27</sup> Addressing such a question presupposes a belief in what one might call *comparative regionalism* and would once again clearly require a careful consideration of methodology. But in addition, it draws attention to the problem of an excessive specialization and compartmentalization that has for some time now plagued Aegean prehistoric research. Simply put, how many ceramic specialists working on either Crete or the Greek mainland feel equally comfortable in both areas and thus would be prepared to undertake such a comparative analysis of the history of ceramic regionalism in the aftermath of palatial collapse at two different times in these two areas? Are there other culture zones in the Aegean that might supply useful comparative data in addressing this question? For example, what might be observable in the Cyclades or in the Dodecanese with respect to ceramic regionalism in the aftermath of either the LM IIIA2 Early destruction of Knossos or the LH IIIB2 Final to earliest LH IIIC palatial destructions on the Greek mainland?<sup>28</sup> And third, is the claim that LM IIIB Late and earliest LM IIIC pottery on Crete exhibits a return to greater ceramic uniformity<sup>29</sup> sustainable or not? If so, how should this reversal in the phenomenon of regionalization be interpreted, and how should the beginning of this tendency toward greater ceramic uniformity on Crete be dated in mainland Greek terms?

I would like to conclude this highly personal overview of LM III ceramic phasing and contemporary regionalism by drawing attention to a fundamental difference in determining the relative ceramic date of 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century Minoan as opposed to Mycenaean excavation contexts. For the past 45 years, thanks principally to the well-known works of Arne Furumark, Elizabeth French, and Penelope Mountjoy, I have had no significant difficulty in assigning a relative date to the pottery from the mainland contexts that I have sorted through at a range of eight different sites, both major and minor. Well-established criteria for the determination of such dates have been in existence since I began such work in 1972, and although those have become progressively more refined over the ensuing decades, the original criteria are still extremely reliable. By contrast, confidently establishing relative dates for Minoan contexts has often been more problematic, for the simple reason that ceramic regionalism on Crete seems to have been more pervasive throughout

<sup>25</sup> Hence the term Monopalatial for the period from the collapse of the Polypalatial era of Neopalatial Crete at the end of LM IB (c. 1450 BC) to the destruction by fire of the lone remaining palace at Knossos early in LM IIIA2 (either as early as c. 1375 BC or as late as c. 1340 BC). A minority view that the palace at Knossos continued to function as a major administrative center until an advanced stage of LM IIIB has recently been restated by Hallager – Hallager 2015.

<sup>26</sup> See Vitale et al. and Shelmerdine, this volume. Note that there is now solid evidence from more than one Minoan site that LH IIIA2 had begun before LM IIIA1 ended on Crete (Hallager 1988, 181; Hallager 2005; Rutter 2006b, 670–671; Hallager 2007, 196, tab. 1; Hallager – Hallager 2016, 283; Rutter 2017a, 229). Thus, a date for the Knossian destruction in LM IIIA2 Early or even slightly before should be equivalent to a developed LH IIIA2 date, perhaps even later than what mainland specialists from Furumark onwards have been calling LH IIIA2 Early (Thomas 2011; Vitale 2011).

<sup>27</sup> Desborough 1964, 9–17; Desborough 1972, 15–25; Rutter 1977; Mountjoy 1999, 44–47, 50–51, 53–55.

<sup>28</sup> For an even broader comparative perspective see the paper by Jung, this volume.

<sup>29</sup> Langohr 2017b, 25–26.

the Bronze Age than in the Peloponnese and central Greece. I would therefore argue that the ceramic specialist working on Crete needs to become aware of a far larger series of typologies involving morphology, decoration and surface treatment, and fabric variability than would be true of a colleague working on the Greek mainland. In my opinion, it is fair to characterize Helladic pottery production as more disciplined than that of Crete, more rule-bound.<sup>30</sup> And because Minoan producers and consumers had a greater tolerance for variety and experimentation, the creation by archaeologists of reliable yet comparatively simple Minoan ceramic taxonomies is made much more difficult and complex. There is a good reason why no Minoan equivalents of Furumark's 1941 classification or Mountjoy's helpful 1986 handbook exist. The subject of Minoan ceramic variability is simply too complicated, even with the advent of digital databases, to be codified in a way that applies helpfully and usefully to all of Crete, even for periods of time much shorter than the full duration of the Late Bronze Age.

### LM IIIB2 and its Chronological Correlation with the LH III Sequence

In the remainder of this paper, I will focus on the comparatively short but in my opinion very significant stage of Minoan ceramic development that was convincingly isolated over two decades ago by Birgitta and Erik Hallager at Chania, where they christened this phase LM IIIB2, a phase that has, however, stubbornly resisted easy recognition at other sites. My goals are to draw attention to why this phase has been so difficult to identify elsewhere on Crete, to suggest how this Minoan phase should be dated in mainland Greek terms, and to show why the peculiarities of this phase are important in the context of a discussion of the major Mycenaean palatial collapses at the end of the LH IIIB period. The content of what follows has been greatly facilitated by the papers given at a workshop held in October 2013 at Louvain-la-Neuve, the proceedings of which were published at the very end of 2017.<sup>31</sup> The organizer, Charlotte Langohr, has provided an informative overview of the findings of that workshop in an introduction to these proceedings entitled, 'The Late Minoan IIIB Phase on Crete. The State of Play and Future Perspectives', exceptionally helpful for the accuracy, detail, and scope of its coverage.<sup>32</sup> The chronological conclusions for the subdivision and absolute dating of this period at eleven major sites on the island were summarized in a table that was jointly produced by the workshop's participants under Langohr's editorial supervision and that is reproduced here as Tab. 1.<sup>33</sup>

My ensuing comments on the LM IIIB2 or LM IIIB Late phase derive from two principal periods of research: first, the 15 years I spent from 1991 to 2005 in charge of the processing, analysis, and publication of Late Minoan pottery from Kommos;<sup>34</sup> and second, the half-dozen years from 2012 to the present during which I have had a similar responsibility for the LH IIIC pottery sequence recovered during the most recent excavations of the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Aigeira in eastern Achaea.<sup>35</sup>

The LM IIIB2 phase at Chania and the distinctive characteristics of its ceramic assemblage have been described in a number of different formats over the past twenty years.<sup>36</sup> The settlement of this phase in Ayia Aekaterini Square represents a partial reoccupation as well as an extension of a large residential structure (Building 1) destroyed in the fire that put an end to the preceding LM IIIB1 settlement.<sup>37</sup> There are compelling reasons in the form of figurine usage for seeing in

<sup>30</sup> Bernhardt 2016, 13–14.

<sup>31</sup> Langohr 2017a.

<sup>32</sup> Langohr 2017b.

<sup>33</sup> Langohr 2017a, 398. See also ns. 69 and 74 below.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. Rutter 2006a; Rutter 2017a; Rutter 2017b.

<sup>35</sup> Gauß et al. 2013; Gauß et al. 2015; Rutter in press.

<sup>36</sup> Hallager 2003, 105–116; Hallager – Hallager 2003; Hallager 2005; Hallager 2007; Hallager 2017.

<sup>37</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 186–194, 263–265, 286–288; Hallager 2017, 37–40, fig. 2.1–2.

the occupants of this reconstructed and extended building personnel who behaved more like Mycenaean mainlanders than Minoans, although this cultural identification of its occupants may have been true of this building alone among those cleared in this sector of the larger settlement.<sup>38</sup> Ceramic hallmarks of this LM IIIB2 phase are linearly decorated cups with a single high-swung handle<sup>39</sup> and deep bowls of decidedly Mycenaeanizing type with bell-shaped profiles, lipless flaring rims, and two thin bands at the rim and just below on the interior.<sup>40</sup> Among the pattern-decorated deep bowls are the first examples of this shape decorated with antithetic spirals and a dramatic increase in those decorated with paneled patterns having exterior outlines elaborated with joining semicircle fringes or half-rosettes. Unlike most Minoan-style deep bowls of this period, those of LM IIIB2 Chania feature a highly variable number of bands or fine lines below the handle zone.<sup>41</sup> A couple of these LM IIIB2 deep bowls also feature a deep rim band similar to that characteristic of so-called Group B deep bowls on the mainland, although the Chaniote bowls in question bear typical Minoan rather than standard LH IIIB2 patterns.<sup>42</sup> The LM IIIB2 settlement once again came to an end in a widespread fire, but in the succeeding LM IIIC Early phase the same buildings were reused with the same floors.<sup>43</sup>

I have summarized what has been published about the LM IIIB2 settlement at Chania at some length for two reasons: first, for the clear increase its pottery reveals in what might be termed Helladic influence on local fine ware production;<sup>44</sup> and second, for the evidence it has yielded for a version of a Minoan LM IIIB1 house being converted into what the excavators imagine to have been the residence of ‘Mycenaean’. But the discovery of two complete dark-surfaced, handmade and burnished pots, part of a substantial floor deposit of 13 vessels found in Room A of this building, has also suggested the possibility that some of this building’s occupants may have been immigrants from southern Italy.<sup>45</sup>

Chania is thus far the only site on Crete to have yielded large quantities of the dark-surfaced handmade and burnished class of pottery (hereafter, HMBW) with clear southern Italian antecedents that is also a significant component of the ceramic assemblages at a substantial number of Peloponnesian sites in the earliest phases of the Post-palatial era.<sup>46</sup> In the cases of Chania as well as several sites in the Argolid, the earliest evidence for the presence of this Italianizing but evidently locally produced handmade pottery occurs in small quantities in the phase immediately preceding the phase when it appears in substantial quantities and as part of a significant change in the overall ceramic assemblage – that is, in LM IIIB1 at Chania and in LH IIIB2 at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Midea.<sup>47</sup> Very shortly after the beginning of the LH IIIC period on the mainland, one of the most distinctive HMBW shapes – a carinated cup known to Italian prehistorians as either a *tazza carenata* (if small) or a *ciotola carenata* (if larger) – begins to be imitated by Mycenaean potters in the form of a wheelmade carinated cup (FS 240), initially either solidly coated (as at

<sup>38</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 191. For Mycenaean figurine usage see Vetters 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Hallager 2003, 106–108, fig. 1b–c; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 201, pl. 47; Hallager 2017, 45, fig. 2.10.

<sup>40</sup> Hallager 2003, 107–108, fig. 1e–h; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 208 n. 100–101, 109; Hallager 2017, 45–46, fig. 2.11.

<sup>41</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 208, pl. 51; Hallager 2017, 45.

<sup>42</sup> Hallager 2003, 107–108, fig. 1j; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 32 no. 73-P1070, pls. 51, 92a.2; 143 no. 84-P0823, pls. 51, 121a.2; 208; Hallager 2017, 46.

<sup>43</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 186–194; Langohr 2017a, 398.

<sup>44</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 261–262.

<sup>45</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 287–288; Bettelli 2009, 96; D’Agata et al. 2012, 299–307, figs. 4–5, tabs. II–IV.

<sup>46</sup> For other sites on Crete at which HMBW pottery of southern Italian derivation has been found see Hallager 2011a, 372 n. 1280; Rahmstorf 2011, fig. 6 (Ayia Pelayia, Knossos, Kastelli Pediada); Kanta – Kontopodi 2011, 130, 132, fig. 8g (Kastrokefala); D’Agata et al. 2012, 310–319, figs. 8–11, tab. VIII (Thronos Kefala); Jung 2018, 281–282. Aside from a thorough discussion of the evidence from LM IIIB Chania for pottery of this kind (above n. 45), D’Agata et al. 2012, 307–310, figs. 6–7, tabs. V–VII, provide the most detailed survey of that from LM IIIC contexts throughout the island (Ayia Pelayia, Kastelli Pediada, Kastrokefala and Knossos) before concentrating on the LM IIIC evidence from Thronos Kefala.

<sup>47</sup> Jung 2006, 21–47; Kilian 2007; Stockhammer 2008, 283–294; Lis 2009; Hallager 2011a, 371–372, pl. 128; Rahmstorf 2011; Romanos 2011; Stockhammer 2011, 228–236; D’Agata et al. 2012, 299–307, figs. 4–5, tabs. II–IV.



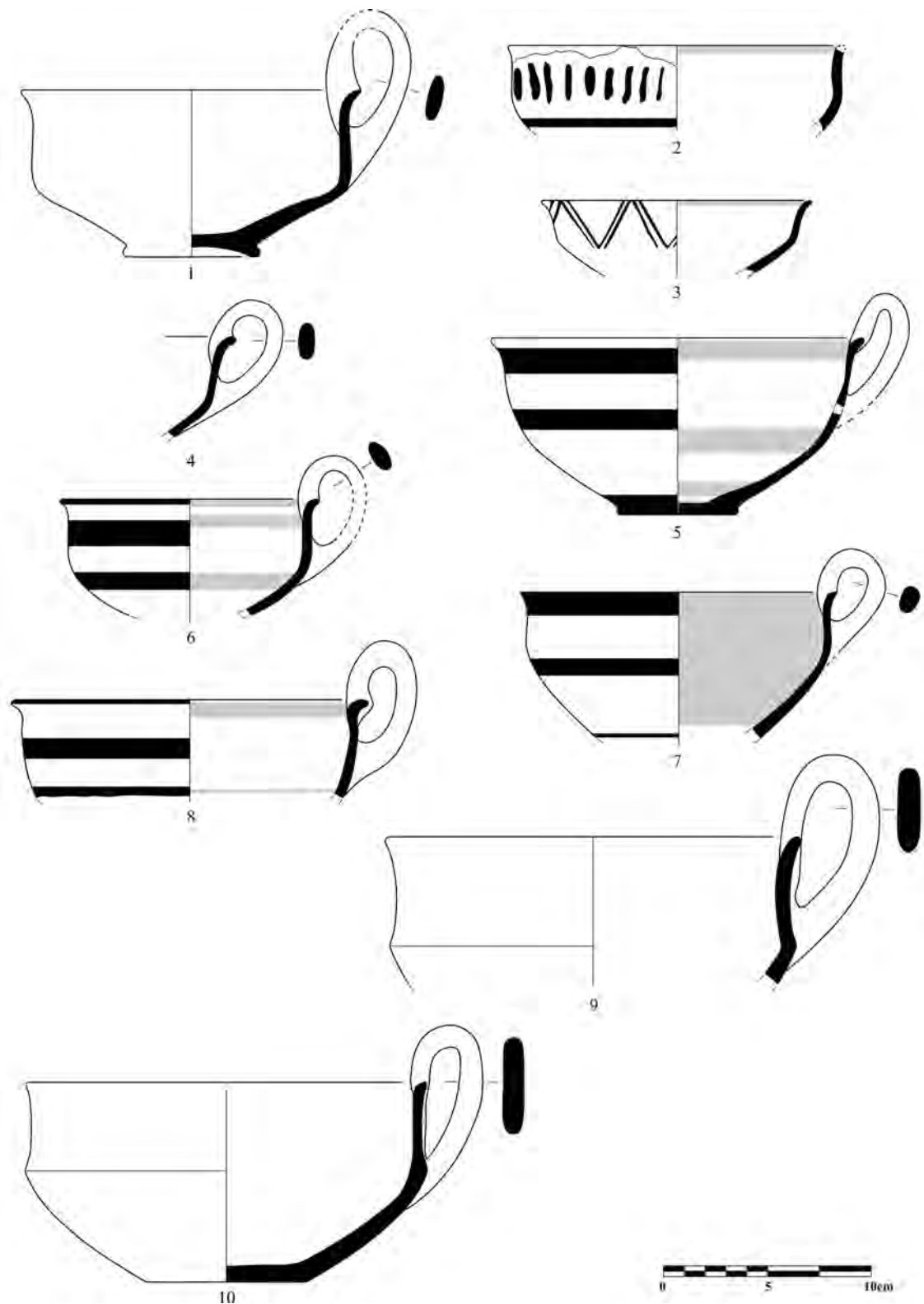


Fig. 1 Chania, Ayia Aekaterini Square, LM IIIB2 fine ware imitations of dark-surfaced HMBW carinated cups. Scale 1:3 (after Hallager – Hallager 2003, plates as cited in parentheses). 1. 80-P0457/1440 (+70-P0545/0547/0548) (pl. 69); 2. 01-P0101 (pl. 53); 3. 80-P0724/0774 (+84-P0917) (pl. 47); 4. 84-P0545 (pl. 47); 5. 83-P0369 (+80-P0465/83-P0312/0324) (pl. 47); 6. 84-P0553 (pl. 47); 7. 84-P0821 (pl. 47); 8. 71-P1389 (pl. 47); 9. 70-P0352/0802/0956 (pl. 85); 10. 71-P0182 (pl. 85).

Tiryns and Lefkandi) or bearing principally linear decoration (as at Korakou and Aigeira) – that is, banding. This wheelmade Mycenaean shape is, in fact, a principal diagnostic of the phase now known as LH IIIC phase 2 or LH IIIC Early 2.<sup>48</sup>

Let us return to Chania. In LM IIIB1, only a small number (12 pieces, or 0.53% of the total pieces inventoried) of HMBW fragments have been identified, including examples of both jars – *olle* – and carinated cups.<sup>49</sup> But in LM IIIB2 the amount of HMBW becomes substantially greater (90 pieces, or 4.62% of the 1947 total inventoried sherds),<sup>50</sup> and the first local wheelmade imitations of carinated cups appear in the form of a single plain example (Fig. 1.1),<sup>51</sup> one or two possible pattern-decorated specimens (Fig. 1.2–3),<sup>52</sup> but most strikingly in the form of the banded cups that are a particular hallmark of the LM IIIB2 phase (Fig. 1.4–8).<sup>53</sup> Most of these banded cups actually have rounded rather than markedly carinated body profiles and they can be quite large (rim diameters range between 12 and 18cm), but their high-swung handles differentiate them sharply from traditional LM III cup types and make their connection with the HMBW *tazze* and *ciotole carenate* (Fig. 1.9–10) clear. The parallelism between the appearance and subsequent impact of this HMBW vessel form at Chania and, say, Tiryns is striking, even if the local imitations of the Italian carinated cup form are rather different at Chania from those on the mainland, the mainland variety being as a rule smaller and provided with a far more distinct carination. The Chaniote imitations, in fact, appear to be rather atypical even for Crete, since a somewhat later solidly painted wheelmade imitation (Fig. 2.2) of a dark-surfaced HMBW model (Fig. 2.1), both vessels from contemporary LM IIIC Early contexts at Kastrokafala, looks very similar to the mainland type of imitation in both its profile and decoration.<sup>54</sup> Also noteworthy is the fact that the two pattern-decorated carinated open shapes from LM IIIB2 Chania cited above (Fig. 1.2–3) bear simple patterns just above their carinations that closely resemble the incised patterns (continuous vertical bars; opposed diagonals) that occur rarely at and above the carination of Italianizing HMBW carinated cups from LH IIIC Early contexts at Lefkandi, Dimini, Volos-Palia, and Korakou on the mainland.<sup>55</sup> Finally, it has become clear that the Gray Ware that appears at Chania in quantity for the first time in LM IIIB2 and that during that phase is most abundantly represented in the form of carinated high-handled cups suggestive of a southern Italian ancestry finds its closest parallels in the Aegean world at Dimini and perhaps also Tiryns, but that it is not as closely related to the Gray Ware of southern Italy as is that from LH IIIC Early 1 Dimini.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Rutter 1977; Deger-Jalkotzy 1982; Stockhammer 2008, 53–58; Rutter 2020, 213–215.

<sup>49</sup> Hallager 2011a, 371–372 n. 1273, pls. 128, 150c.3–4; Hallager 2011b, 434–437; D’Agata et al. 2012, 299–302, fig. 4, tabs. II–III.

<sup>50</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 295–296, 298–299, tabs. 2, 5; Bettelli 2009, 96–99, figs. 1–2, 3.5–6; D’Agata et al. 2012, 303–307, fig. 5, tabs. II, IV; Hallager 2017, 48.

<sup>51</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 157, 204, 236, pls. 69.80-P0457/1440 (+70-P0545/0547/0548); 129d.7.

<sup>52</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 151, 212, pls. 53.01-P0101; 122f.4; 164, 261, pls. 47.80-P0724/0774 (+84-P0917); 130e.3.

<sup>53</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 201 n. 37–44, pls. 47, 87; D’Agata et al. 2012, 305, fig. 3B; Rutter 2012, 84–86 n. 13, fig. 8.17–18; Hallager 2017, 45, fig. 2.10.

<sup>54</sup> Kanta – Kontopodi 2011, fig. 8g, i (from two different rooms within the same building complex).

<sup>55</sup> Jung 2006, 36–37, pl. 17.7; Bettelli 2009, 114, fig. 12.1, 6; Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 564, fig. [sherd no. 1]; Rutter 2020, figs. 1.1–3; 2. See also a shallow handleless bowl in dark-surfaced HMBW from Dimini with very similar decoration (Jung 2006, 36; Adrimi-Sismani 2013, 250 no. BE 2969, pl. 80a).

<sup>56</sup> For the Gray Ware from LM IIIB2 Chania see Hallager – Hallager 2003, 254–256, pl. 86; D’Agata et al. 2012, tabs. II–V. For the relationships of the various Gray Ware assemblages from Chania, Tiryns, and Dimini to each other see Jung 2006, 47–51. He repeats and agrees with Bettelli’s 1999 arguments that the Gray Ware cups from Chania should not be compared to southern Italian Gray Ware cups (Jung 2006, 50 n. 363), in marked contrast to the Gray Ware carinated cups from Dimini. For the Gray Ware from LH IIIC Early 1 contexts at Dimini see Adrimi-Sismani 2006; Adrimi-Sismani 2013, 248–249. Note Reinhard Jung’s reservations about the presence of Gray Ware carinated cups at Tiryns (Jung 2006, 48 n. 339–340). I am grateful to Bartek Lis for drawing Jung’s comments about this Tirynthian material to my attention.

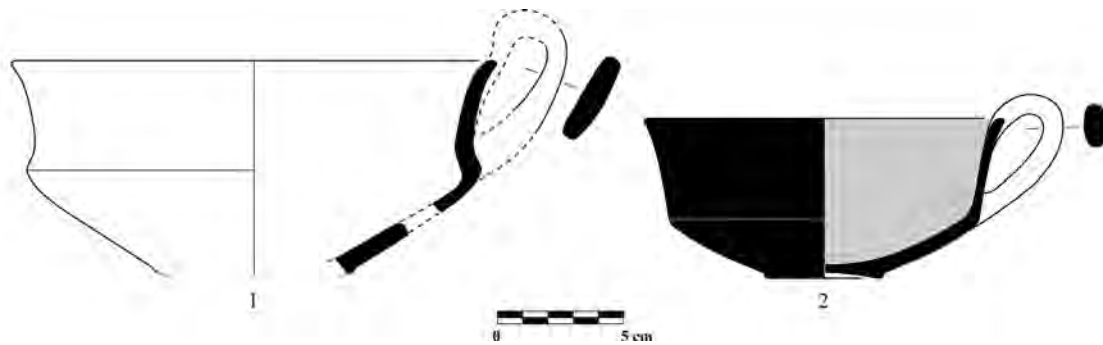


Fig. 2 Kastrokefala, LM IIIC Early carinated cups. Scale 1:3 (after Kanta – Kontopodi 2011, fig. 8g, i). 1. HMBW cup (Building complex 1, Room 11); 2. wheelmade and solidly painted cup (Building complex 1, Room 13).

The preceding review of the appearance of high-handled carinated cups at Chania in the local LM IIIB2 phase in both a dark-surfaced handmade and burnished ware as well as in a wheelmade fine Gray Ware, and the seemingly contemporary imitation of that shape, occasionally in plain as well as pattern-decorated local fabrics, but most commonly in a linearly decorated and more rounded form, when juxtaposed with the appearance of similar wheelmade Gray Ware (in LH IIIC Early 1) and HMBW (in LH IIIC Early 1–2) carinated cups on the Greek mainland, followed by their imitation there in solidly coated as well as linearly decorated versions in LH IIIC Early 2, raises the possibility that the introduction of this distinctive high-handled cup form was roughly contemporary in both areas, as opposed to being a phenomenon that occurred decades earlier on Crete than on the mainland. In other words, might Chaniote LM IIIB2 not be largely, perhaps even completely, contemporary with LH IIIC Early 1, and perhaps even part of Early 2, at Tiryns, Lefkandi, and Korakou?<sup>57</sup>

A number of additional considerations suggest that this could indeed be the case. For example, several other unusual pottery shapes appear in LM IIIB2 Chania that, though paralleled in LH IIIB2 contexts on the mainland, are in some cases better-paralleled in LH IIIC Early contexts: a pattern-decorated side-handled kalathos (FS 291) with a distinctly Helladic-looking profile (Fig. 3.1);<sup>58</sup> a very shallow bowl from the same context that resembles what would be called a tray (FS 322) on the mainland (Fig. 3.2);<sup>59</sup> a linear basin of typical Helladic type (FS 294) that is characteristic of both LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early contexts in the Peloponnese but that here features light-on-dark bar groups in added white on the flattened top of the lip (Fig. 3.3);<sup>60</sup> and a linearly decorated deep cup with a hollowed raised base (FS 215) from Post-Minoan strata at

<sup>57</sup> The argument that follows has been anticipated on somewhat different grounds by Jung in his review of the HMBW evidence from Chania (Jung 2006, 181–185).

<sup>58</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 27, 225 n. 308, pls. 64.73-P0725; 90f.1. For this shape in mainland contexts, Mountjoy 1999, 1230, s.v. ‘Kalathos FS 291’; Popham et al. 2006, 195, fig. 2.27.5–6. Note the flattened top of the rim and the interior hollowing of the lip on the kalathos from Chania and compare LH IIIC Middle profiles on this shape (e.g. Mountjoy 2007, fig. 5 bottom); for the decoration on the Chania piece and especially its syntax, compare an example from the Menelaion in Laconia (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 220 no. AD 24; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 264, fig. 268. AD 24).

<sup>59</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 27, 225, pls. 64.73-P0594; 90f.2. For this shape in mainland contexts see Popham et al. 2006, 195, fig. 2.26. An example of the type has been identified in a context of LH IIIC Early 2 at Aigeira, so it was introduced on the mainland earlier than its conventional LH IIIC Middle 2 date of appearance (Mountjoy 2007, 222, fig. 3).

<sup>60</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 169 (with the mention of the light-on-dark motif), 209, pls. 53.84-P1338, 132f.4. For this shape in mainland contexts see Popham et al. 2006, 195, fig. 2.25.1–3; Catling 2009, vol. 1, 376–377 (esp. his Group [a]); Kardamaki 2009, 249–252. For the profile of the example from Chania, compare a plain basin from the Menelaion in Laconia (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 222 no. AD 89; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 267, fig. 271. AD 89).

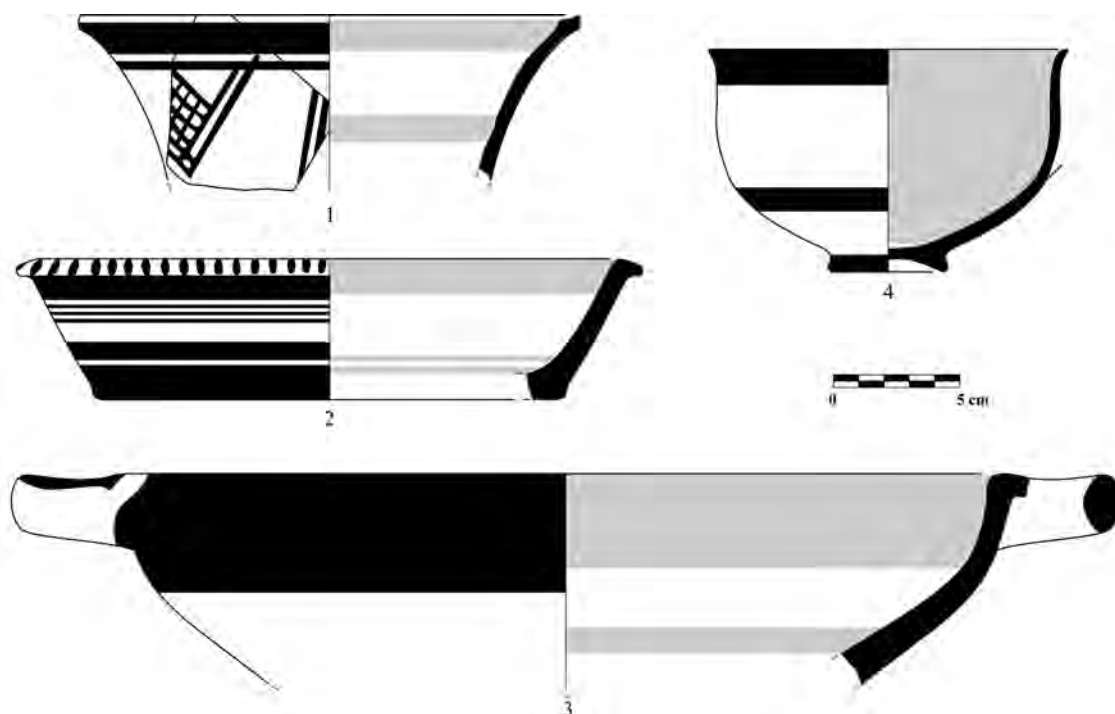


Fig. 3 Chania, Ayia Aekaterini Square, LM IIIB2 pottery with close parallels from LH IIIB2–IIIC Early parallels on the Greek mainland. Scale 1:3 (after Hallager – Hallager 2003, plates as cited in parentheses). 1. patterned kalathos 73-P0725 (pl. 64); 2. patterned tray 73-P0594 (pl. 64); 3. linear basin 84-P1338 (pl. 53); 4. linear deep semi-globular cup 77-P2154 (+77-P0212; 77-P0222; 77-P2149) (pl. 87).

Chania that is quintessentially characteristic of LH IIIC Early as well as of later LH IIIC phases (Fig. 3.4).<sup>61</sup>

On top of the above findings at Chania itself, one may note the discovery of two LM IIIB Chaniote vessels, a deep bowl<sup>62</sup> and a stirrup jar,<sup>63</sup> that have been found at the southern Italian site of Punta di Zambrone in contexts associated with late LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early 1 pottery.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 183, 258, pls. 87.77-P2154; 137b.2. See also the linear rim 71-P0461 described and illustrated on Hallager – Hallager 2003, 182, 258, pl. 136a.1. For a full discussion of the still disputed date of appearance of such cups on the mainland see Kardamaki 2009, 241–245; for the shape during the full LH IIIC period see Popham et al. 2006, 181, fig. 2.15. Although the single exterior body band at the base of the handle zone on the cup from Chania can be paralleled only occasionally on mainland cups in the Argolid (Kardamaki 2009, 242 n. 556), not until LH IIIC Middle in Attica (Mountjoy 1999, 596 n. 755 no. 458, 597, fig. 222.458), and rarely if at all further north, this feature appears to be common in LH IIIC Early Laconia, both at the Menelaion (Catling 2009, vol. 1, 176 nos. PE 235, PE 238, PE 240, PE 244; 377–378; Catling 2009, vol. 2, 234, fig. 238.PE 235, PE 238, PE 240, PE 244) and Ayios Stephanos (Mountjoy 1999, 283 no. 192; 284, fig. 96.192), as well as at Koukounaries on Paros (Mountjoy 1999, 934 n. 436, no. 3; 936, fig. 381.3), at all three sites with a band at the exterior base as well. The Chania cup unfortunately comes from a Post-Minoan context, so that its attribution to LM IIIB2 by the excavators must be considered uncertain; but since LH IIIC ceramic imports identified in LM IIIC contexts on Crete are extremely unusual (Hallager – Hallager 2003, 252 n. 534), even at Chania, there is a very good chance that this piece has been appropriately attributed to the LM IIIB2 settlement there.

<sup>62</sup> Jung et al. 2015a, 70–71, 96 no. 6, fig. 13.6. As noted by Jung et al., this Chaniote import is closely paralleled in shape and decoration by a patterned deep bowl reused as a lamp from a relatively late LM IIIB context at Kommos (Rutter 2006a, 541 no. 59/6, pls. 3.67; 3.93a–b; for the date within LM IIIB of its context of discovery at Kommos, the destruction horizon of Building N in the Southern Area, see Langohr 2017a, 398; Rutter 2017b, 246).

<sup>63</sup> Jung et al. 2015a, 70–71, 75, 98 no. 26, fig. 14.15.

<sup>64</sup> For the NAA analyses that have confirmed these pieces as being of Chaniote origin see Jung et al. 2015b, 458–459, tab. 3, samples Zamb3 and Zamb9. I am extremely grateful to Reinhard Jung for drawing these two Chaniote exports to southern Italy and their analyses to my attention.

A couple of additional features of the LM III B2 pottery from Chania are worth noting: the first solid stirrup jar false necks appear at this time,<sup>65</sup> as do the first deep bowls with articulated bases, whether of genuine ring type or hollowed and raised.<sup>66</sup> The second of these two features links this phase at Chania with what has been termed LM III B Late at sites in central Crete such as Knossos, Kalamafka, and Kommos,<sup>67</sup> while the appearance at Kommos and also at Sissi of imported LH III C Early stirrup jars in LM III B Late contexts<sup>68</sup> supports the notion that the Post-palatial era on the mainland had begun well before the end of what we have been calling LM III B. But if Chaniote LM III B2 is contemporary with what is being called LM III B Late at these other sites,<sup>69</sup> why does its ceramic assemblage look so different?

The answer to this question lies in the local circumstances that affected different parts of Crete in very different ways at this time, as well as in the fairly advanced nature of the ceramic regionalism that had come to characterize the island generally by the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC. Knossos, Kommos, and Ayia Triada, to name just three major central Cretan sites, had been in gradual decline for some time by the latter part of LM III B. The Post-palatial town of Knossos was soon to be abandoned and relocated in LM III B Late, possibly after a brief hiatus in settlement, a good deal further to the west than during LM III A2 and LM III B Early times, in the process of which move its inhabitants evidently gave up writing and began living in a significantly different way.<sup>70</sup> Kommos and Ayia Triada were almost completely abandoned by the end of the LM III B period, their inhabitants probably relocating to the nascent center at Phaistos.<sup>71</sup> Both small and large settlements further east such as Mochlos and Palaikastro appear to have been abandoned even earlier within LM III B, and when reoccupied in LM III B Late witnessed similar relocations, in the case of Palaikastro to the more defensible summit of Kastri. The foundations of new settlements in the west-central region of Crete at the sites of Chamalevri (on the Tsikouriana ridge)<sup>72</sup> and Thronos Kefala (Sybrita)<sup>73</sup> show that such major moves were a feature of virtually all regions of Crete at one point or another during LM III B (Tab. 1).<sup>74</sup> What sets Chania apart is the presence of south Italian and possibly also some Mycenaean immigrants, the first showing up in small numbers in the local LM III B1 phase and both being well represented in what has been called LM III B2. As far as Mycenaean immigrants are concerned, Chania can boast of having received some 70% of all documented Mycenaean LH III A–B imports to Crete:<sup>75</sup> it is no real surprise that its own potters should have absorbed more in the way of Mycenaean ceramic influence by the end of the LM III B period than is detectable anywhere else on Crete by that time.

All of this evidence for movement of substantial numbers of widely dispersed, yet once firmly anchored local populations indicates that a high degree of turbulence as well as social mobility

<sup>65</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 215–216 n. 208–209.

<sup>66</sup> Hallager – Hallager 2003, 29, 208 n. 113, 209 n. 118, 257, pls. 52.71-P0761; 91a; 205 n. 89, 93, pls. 49.71-P0813, 91b.

<sup>67</sup> Knossos: Hatzaki 2007, 245–248, fig. 6.35.1–2; Hatzaki 2017, 69, figs. 3.10.P585, P590; 3.11.P343, P344; Kalamafka: Kanta – Kontopodi 2017, 86–87, fig. 4.14a; Kommos: Watrous 1992, 101 no. 1743, pl. 44 (mislabelled ‘1742’); 109 nos. 1920–1922; 145, 147, pls. 26, 48–49; Rutter 2006a, 574 no. 78/16, 628–629, pl. 3.85.

<sup>68</sup> Kommos: Rutter 2017b, 246, 278, fig. 8.4.C2424; Sissi: Langohr 2017c, 216, 228–229, fig. 7.19e. See also Kanta – Kontopodi 2017, 92, fig. 4.25a–b (Kalamafka; the first of these two stirrup jars seems in several respects to be a close imitation of a mainland LH III C stirrup jar of FS 175 type). For the broader implications of LH III C Early imports in LM III B contexts see Langohr 2017b, 22–24.

<sup>69</sup> For a multiply authored attempt at assembling a relative chronology of significant ceramic deposits of the later LM III B period based upon findings at 11 different Minoan sites occupied during the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, see Langohr 2017a, 398 (= Tab. 1 of the present article).

<sup>70</sup> Hatzaki 2005; Warren 2005; Warren 2007; Hatzaki 2017.

<sup>71</sup> Borgna 2017; D’Agata 2017; Langohr 2017b, 19–20, 25; Rutter 2017b.

<sup>72</sup> Andreadaki-Vlazaki – Papadopoulou 2005.

<sup>73</sup> D’Agata 2003; D’Agata 2007.

<sup>74</sup> Langohr 2017a, 398; Langohr 2017b, 17–20.

<sup>75</sup> Bernhardt 2016, 14.



Fig. 4 Aigeira, LH IIIC Early transport stirrup jar with post-firing incised mark on upper surface of false neck disc, inventory no. FGA 1975/365-1 (courtesy of Austrian Archaeological Institute's excavations at Aigeira, director Walter Gauß).

established workshops in the Palaikastro area even earlier. Thus, the localized ceramic traditions of the LM IIIA2–B periods identified by Kanta, Hallager, and Nezeri<sup>76</sup> presumably disappeared gradually because of the population movements that characterized different parts of Crete at rather different times during the course of the LM IIIB period. Only the tradition centered at Chania continued, and along with it the lengthier survival of a tradition of writing in the form of the Linear B inscriptions painted on transport stirrup jars, a practice that interestingly appears to have reached its peak during LM IIIB2, thus possibly accounting for the discovery of quite a few fragments as well as an occasional whole example of such large stirrup jars in LH IIIC Early levels at Tiryns.<sup>77</sup> Could it be that the population mix of LM IIIB2 Chania had been altered by the arrival of refugees from the destructions occurring at numerous locations throughout the Peloponnese at the very end of the LH IIIB period? Might the occupants of Building 1 in Ayia Aekaterini Square be a mixture of Mycenaean mainlanders and recently arrived south Italian immigrants similar to the mix seemingly attested by a very similar mixture of ceramic assemblages at LH IIIC Early 1 Dimini?

characterized this period, with the difference at Chania being that the population movement in question consisted of *immigration* rather than *emigration*. The relocation of south Italian and possibly also mainland Greek groups to Chania in LM IIIB2 times is surely reminiscent of what must have been happening during the earliest LH IIIC period in the immediate aftermath of the palatial destructions at sites such as Dimini and the Lower Town at Tiryns. But what is missing at almost all Minoan sites at the end of their respective LM IIIB stages of occupation are destruction horizons. Instead, abandonment is the rule, with Chania sticking out as a noteworthy exception.

One consequence of all the moving around in later or latest LM IIIB is that the ensuing LM IIIC Early phase becomes far more uniform in terms of its ceramic assemblages than had previously been the case. This increased homogeneity of ceramic production, distribution, and consumption is presumably due to the movement of both potters and their production facilities in addition to that of the populations that they served. The excavated production center at Gouves was abandoned *before* this LM IIIC Early phase, as must have been the long-

<sup>76</sup> Kanta 1980, 288–293; Hallager – Hallager 2000, 163–164, 171–172; Hallager – Hallager 2003, 246–248, 260; Hallager 2011a, 360–364, 375–376; Nezeri 2013, 161–185.

<sup>77</sup> Maran 2005; Kardamaki et al. 2016.

Tab. 1 The Late Minoan IIIB Phase (after Langohr 2017a, 398).

		THE LATE MINOAN IIIB PHASE										BEGINNING OF THE LATE MINOAN IIIC PHASE		
		1300	1290	1280	1270	1260	1250	1240	1230	1220	1210	1200	1190	1180
WEST-CRETE	KHANIA Agia Aikaterini Square	LM IIIB1 occupation in Building 1 and Building 2										All the rooms of the LM IIIB2 building are cleared off and reused with new floors in LM IIIC Early (except the northeastern part of Room A and Room E)		
		Destruction by fire					The buildings are immediately rebuilt in LM IIIB2, partly reusing old rooms, partly constructing new rooms End: destruction by fire							
NORTH-CENTRAL-CRETE	KNOSSOS	LM IIIB Early hiatus in occupation of MUM					LM IIIB Early abandonment deposits at palace and houses in the town					- LM IIIB Late LPN, Building 1 and Contexts 5.4.3, 5.6.1, 5.6.4, 5.6.6		
		LM IIIB Early occupation in palace, town (including MUM)					- Repairs to, and reoccupation of MUM North Sector - Abandonment of MUM					- Continued occupation of LPN Building 1 - Foundation and occupation of LPN Building 2 - Subsequent abandonment of SEX and LPN		
	KALAMAFKA Aposelemis Valley	Occupation of the remote site of Kalamafka (started c. 1250 or 1240, lasted until c. 1220)												
	KATO GOUVES Potters' quarter and workshops	Main occupation of the Building Complexes A, B and C										Destruction & Abandonment of building complexes & workshops		
SISSI	Possible hiatus in occupation	Construction and main occupation of Building CD					Abandonment of the site, possibly followed by an earthquake					Desertion of the site		
		Reinstallation in the east wing of the Neopalatial court-centered building					Spatially limited reoccupation of Building CD							

Tab. 1 (continued).

		THE LATE MINOAN IIIB PHASE										BEGINNING OF THE LATE MINOAN IIIC PHASE		
		1300	1290	1280	1270	1260	1250	1240	1230	1220	1210	1200	1190	1180
SOUTH-CENTRAL CRETE	KOMMOS D. = Deposit G. = Group	Hilltop: North House, Room N17a [Watrous 1992: D. 55]  Southern Area: Primary earth floor in Building P, Gallery 3 [Rutter 2006a: G. 68]	Hilltop, North House, Room N17a [Watrous 1992:D. 81]	Southern Area: Fill below final floor in Rooms N12-13 [Rutter 2006a: G. 64]	Hilltop, Court 2 [Watrous 1992: D. 82]; Central Hill- side: Northeast Room; Room 21 [Watrous 1992: D. 47, 60] Southern Area: Abandonment of Building N [Rutter 2006a: G. 59-60, 65]	Southern Area: Intermediate floors in Build- ing P, Galleries P2, P3, P5, and P6 [Rutter 2006a: G. 67c-d, 69a-b, 70a-b, 72, 73a-b, 75]	Southern Area: -Usage of final floors in Building P; Galleries P1, P2, P3, P5, and P6 [Rutter 2006a: G. 66, 67a-b, 71a-b, 74, 76-77]; -Building and use of make- shift structure above Corri- dor N7 [Rutter 2006a: G. 79] Central Hillside, final oc- cupation: Room 19; House of the Snake Tube [Watrous 1992: D. 75, 91-95]							
		Latest material in ceramic group 1.2 LM IIIB Early ceramic groups 5.2; 6.9-10; 13.16; 13.19 [cf. Kommos, G. 68]	LM IIIB Advanced-to-Late ceramic groups 1.3; 6.11; 11.2-3; 13.21(?) [cf. Kommos, G. 59-60, 69]											
EAST CRETE	HAGHIA TRIADA Esp. North sector  PHAISTOS	Chalara, "Mansion", M 1 (ca. 1300- 1270 BC)			Hiatus?		Casa a ovest del Piazzale I, Rooms 1-4 (Phases 1-2) (ca. 1250-1200 BC)							
EAST CRETE	MYRSINI- ASPROSPILIA  PALAIKASTRO	Sporadic presence testified by some sherds in the area of the LM I Villa					Acropoli Mediana: LM IIIB Late-LM IIIC activities							
		Tombs Delta, Epsilon, H					Main occupation of the shrines in rooms I, V, XV-XIX							
		End of Period XV; abandon- ment of town site, 'final' deposits in Blocks G, D, B, P, X, M, House N, Buildings 3, 4, 5, 7			Hiatus	Building 1 'final' deposits; Kastri, KA floor 2; Koura- mentos	Hiatus ?							
														Kastri 'upper levels': House K; KA trench 4

Here, within a chronological table covering the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, the different contributors tried to situate the occupational phase(s) of their respective LM IIIB sites and the related buildings/areas/contexts or ceramic sequence/phasing/groups. This eventually contributes to our collaborative effort to better define our original question: "how long is a century?"



I will end this imaginative reconstruction of events on Crete with the observation that the LH III C Early population that settled Aigeira in eastern Achaea shortly after the beginning of the mainland's Post-palatial era (LH III C Early 2) made use of linear carinated cups in small numbers at the time of their arrival at the site, although there is no evidence whatsoever for either *tazze carenate* or *ciotole carenate* within the highly distinctive HMBW pottery repertoire from the site.<sup>78</sup> They also had access to a small number of transport stirrup jars, including one example with an incised and probably Cypriot post-firing mark centered on its false neck disc (Fig. 4).<sup>79</sup> Most of the attention traditionally devoted by archaeologists to Post-palatial Aegean population mobility has arguably been focused on the emigration of Minoan, Mycenaean, and island groups to regions outside of the Aegean, whether to the east (Cyprus, Cilicia, Syria, Philistia) or west (southern Italy). Perhaps it is time to devote a little more time and energy to investigating those who remained within the Aegean, even if they, too, had abandoned their former homes *en route* to settling into new locations and mingling with new neighbors.

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# The Demise of the Mycenaean Palaces: The Need for an Interpretative Reset

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**Abstract:** This paper dealing with the demise of the Mycenaean palaces is intended as a plea for an interpretive reset and a departure from any search for a single ‘prime mover’ allegedly responsible for this historical watershed. The doubts regarding the validity of the ‘earthquake hypothesis’ should be perceived as an opportunity to look for alternatives to previous explanatory approaches that were too simplistic. In order to do this, attention must shift away from events and towards assessing those structures and processes that enabled the palaces’ demise. In this respect, three closely interrelated factors of historical, political, and social relevance to which I ascribe a crucial importance will be discussed: first, conflicts among the elites; second, large-scale construction projects; and, third, changes in the palatial armed forces. It is argued that the palaces were brought down first and foremost by internal contradictions that had long built up in the palatial polities and were exploited by members of the elite. Alongside antagonistic fault lines that developed over a long period of time, centrifugal forces were unleashed by social groups pursuing their own interests and forging alliances to strengthen their power base.

**Keywords:** Mycenaean palaces, destructions, medium- and long-term factors, collective violence

## Beyond the Search for ‘Prime Movers’ and the Focus on the Short-Term

One of the few certainties about the Mycenaean Palatial period is that it came to an end with extensive conflagrations. Arguably, palaces had gone down in flames long before the end of the phase LH IIIB, as exemplified not least by the excavations at Ayios Vasileios and further supported by fire destructions dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> or late 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE at Mycenae, Tiryns and Thebes. Yet, the massive destructions that brought the Palatial period to a close were different, since the palaces would never recover from them. After the final destructions, far more than the palaces disappeared. The Linear B script ceased to exist, as, apparently, did administrative practices and monumental architecture, while special types of skilled crafts such as wall painting and ivory processing were practiced, at most, on a greatly reduced scale. The crucial question, therefore, is why these destructions had far more lasting consequences at all of the affected palatial centers than those of earlier periods, when palaces had always managed to recover and reestablish their administrative grip on societies.

Until the 1970s, the prevailing opinion blamed the destructions on attacks by the ‘Dorians’ or ‘Sea Peoples’ engaged in long-distance migrations.<sup>2</sup> Only in the 1980s did this belief begin to shift after excavations in Midea and Tiryns appeared to provide evidence that a major earthquake had caused the palatial conflagrations.<sup>3</sup> This marked the birth of the influential ‘earthquake hypothesis’, which at the time must have brought significant relief by replacing older ‘migrationist’ theories that had long dominated research and that by then were regarded as antiquated and

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<sup>2</sup> For the history of research see Hooker 1976, 166–176; Dickinson 2006, 46–54; Dickinson 2010, 483–484.

<sup>3</sup> Kilian 1980, 182–185; Åström 1985; Kilian 1985, 74–75; Kilian 1988a, 134; Åström – Demakopoulou 1996, 37–40; Kilian 1996. For possible earthquakes at Mycenae see already Iakovidis 1977, 134; but see French 1996 for a cautious perspective.



embarrassing.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the formulation of this ‘earthquake hypothesis’ was an important step as it reminded those in the field that the problem of what had caused the destruction was anything but resolved.

Nevertheless, in retrospect, it may be said that the ‘earthquake hypothesis’ too posed major problems. Since it was formulated by archaeologists<sup>5</sup> and based mostly on archaeological arguments,<sup>6</sup> it would have been appropriate for them to assess its validity in joint projects with geoscientists at the respective sites.<sup>7</sup> Instead, however, things took a very different turn. The earthquake hypothesis was considered proven by the 1990s and came to serve as a basis for further hypotheses by geoscientists and archaeologists,<sup>8</sup> thereby encouraging the latter to assume that it was correct. Yet, when we recently tested the ‘earthquake hypothesis’ for the first time at Tiryns and Midea in a project with the seismologist Klaus-Günter Hinzen and the cooperation of Katie Demakopoulou, we found no clear evidence that an earthquake had caused the destructions marking the end of the Palatial period (LH IIIB2) at these sites.<sup>9</sup> This does not preclude the possibility that future investigations may prove otherwise,<sup>10</sup> but it does show that the mystery of the causes behind the final palatial destructions remains unsolved, and that we are well advised to seek answers elsewhere than in earthquakes.<sup>11</sup> Such a reorientation of our attention seems unavoidable, in fact, since it is unlikely in general that earthquakes alone could account for the downfall of any Mycenaean palatial polity. As Nicholas Ambraseys reminds us: ‘In contrast with wars, epidemics and other long-lasting calamities that have serious and prolonged effects, earthquakes, no matter how large, seem to have had little long-term impact on Man.’<sup>12</sup>

This paper does not aim to present an alternative ‘prime mover’ that would replace the ‘earthquake hypothesis’ as the cause of the final palatial conflagrations. Instead, it is intended as a plea for an interpretive reset and a departure from any search for another single ‘prime mover’ that would serve as the prevalent explanation for a few years before being replaced by its successor.<sup>13</sup> It seems to me that the doubts regarding the validity of the ‘earthquake hypothesis’ offer an opportunity to look for alternatives to previous explanatory approaches that, in my opinion, are too simplistic, because one thing is certain: most likely the causes of the destruction were highly complex.<sup>14</sup> As a consequence, we must shift our attention away from events and towards assessing those structures and processes that enabled the palaces’ demise.<sup>15</sup> In addition, we must try to identify and disentangle a variety of processes that unfolded within different ranges of time. I therefore argue that understanding the potential factors that led to the final palatial destructions requires an analysis of the short as well as medium-to-long-term time frame.

By short-term, I mean the time of the destructions themselves and the years immediately leading up to them, while by the medium- to long-term, I refer to the few decades to roughly a century or even more that preceded them. One of the peculiarities of most previous approaches to the final

<sup>4</sup> Schachermeier 1980, 26–27.

<sup>5</sup> For an excellent synopsis of the history of research of the ‘earthquake hypothesis’ see Vanschoonwinkel 2002.

<sup>6</sup> Ambraseys 2006; Kreimerman 2017, 180; Middleton 2017, 138–140.

<sup>7</sup> For an exemplary methodology see Jusseret et al. 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Zangger 1994; Nur – Cline 2000; Nur – Burgess 2008, 11–31, 224–245.

<sup>9</sup> Hinzen et al. 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Force – Rutter 2019, discuss intriguing signs of a possible relation between a tectonic fault running through the Cult Center of Mycenae and the distribution of finds, especially in the Temple complex. They conclude that tectonic movements along this fault were probably noticed by people of the Palatial period and were integrated into ritual practice. Whether this geological fault or others at Mycenae (Maroukian et al. 1996) could account for some of the destructions of the site during the Palatial period needs to be investigated.

<sup>11</sup> See also Millek 2017, 114.

<sup>12</sup> Ambraseys 2006, 1015.

<sup>13</sup> For a critique of the search for ‘prime movers’ see already Dickinson 2010, 487–489; Knapp – Manning 2016, 113, 136–138.

<sup>14</sup> Cline 2014, 168–170.

<sup>15</sup> Dickinson 2006, 54–56.

destruction of the palaces is that their scope has been limited to the short-term range and that they have regarded the matter as resolved once a ‘prime mover’ – be it an earthquake or human agency – has been identified. At most, they posit a brief crisis just before the calamity. An interruption in the supply of metal in the eastern Mediterranean<sup>16</sup> as well as climatic fluctuations<sup>17</sup> or even epidemics<sup>18</sup> have all been cited as possibilities in this respect. While I consider the arguments for an interruption in the East-Mediterranean metal trade in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE unconvincing,<sup>19</sup> I do believe that the climate factor in particular merits closer examination, as weather did have a direct impact on agriculture and may have caused uprisings and other forms of collective violence when crops failed. The paleoclimatic investigations to date, however, have rested on a relatively crude chronological solution, which is why they are of only limited value to the analysis of short-term historical change such as that which interests us here.<sup>20</sup> But I would like to go a step further and state that even the idea of a crisis immediately preceding the destruction falls far short of providing an adequate explanation for it.

The general problem with most previous interpretations of the final palatial devastations is that they were based on never articulated and highly contestable prerequisites. Thus, as different as the migration and the earthquake hypotheses seem to be, they both rely – as was already pointed out by Guy Middleton – on a simplistic model, according to which the Mycenaean palaces were, in principle, stable until the very end,<sup>21</sup> and were brought down, perhaps after a brief crisis, by events suddenly striking from the outside or from the interior of the earth. For this reason, researchers felt that it is sufficient to restrict their focus to the short-term. Such reasoning is based on the romantic notion of the downfall of a blossoming civilization through an unforeseen disaster that exerts a great fascination on today’s observers and assures an immediate media presence for anyone who claims to be able to pinpoint the reasons behind such a catastrophe.<sup>22</sup> But what if the picture of a flourishing and stable Mycenaean palatial rule cut short in its prime is flawed? What if, on the contrary, this rule rested on a fragile basis throughout its duration and was accompanied by perennial crises? Finally, what if long before their final destruction these palatial societies had already been fragmented into factions with different interests, which at times were antagonistically opposed to each other? In such a case, the destruction of c. 1200 BCE would mark the endpoint of a cumulatively unstable and contested political order.<sup>23</sup> It was Manolis Andronikos, who in 1954 argued that the Mycenaean palaces were brought down not by population movements, but by long-term inner-societal contradictions and tensions between different segments of society.<sup>24</sup> It seems to me that he was right and that, if one looks at the Mycenaean palatial centers from this perspective, one will find clues that are inconsistent with the notion of a stable, continuously evolving Palatial period. In the course of their existence, all centers were repeatedly subject to fundamental changes in their architectural design, which often occurred after bouts of destruction.<sup>25</sup> Some political centers (such as Glas in Boiotia) may have been abandoned before the end of the Palatial period; others (such as Ayios Vasileios in Laconia or Iklaina in Messenia) seem to have suffered significant setbacks well before 1200 BCE; while yet other sites (such as Tiryns and perhaps also Midea in the Argolid) do not seem to have been fully developed from an architectural point of view until the final stretch of the Palatial period. Where statements about the sequence of large-scale construction projects can be made, as in the Argolid, one can show that these were

<sup>16</sup> Iakovidis 1993.

<sup>17</sup> Carpenter 1966; Bryson et al. 1974; Zerefos – Zerefos 1978; Kaniewski et al. 2010; Kaniewski et al. 2011; Kaniewski et al. 2013; Langgut et al. 2013; Finné et al. 2017; Kaniewski – Van Campo 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Walløe 2000; Middleton 2017, 145–146; Wiener 2017, 47–48.

<sup>19</sup> Maran 2010; Cline 2014, 148–152.

<sup>20</sup> Knapp – Manning 2016, 102–111; Middleton 2017, 136; Middleton 2019, 279–282; Middleton 2020b, 14.

<sup>21</sup> Middleton 2017, 144–145.

<sup>22</sup> Middleton 2017, 4–5.

<sup>23</sup> Parkinson 1999, 98–101; Shelmerdine 2001, 375–376; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 387–390; Jung 2016.

<sup>24</sup> Andronikos 1954.

<sup>25</sup> Shelmerdine 2001, 372–373; Dickinson 2006, 42–43; Wiener 2017, 48–49.

conducted with ever-increasing intensity until reaching a true crescendo<sup>26</sup> in the final decades of the palaces' existence. Based on such considerations, I will argue here that it is the assessment of the medium- to long-term range that holds the key to understanding not only the background of the destruction in all its complexity, but also the reasons behind its far-reaching consequences.

But let us first address the short-term in which the final palatial destructions took place, the analysis of which still remains an important issue! In this respect, we are faced first and foremost with the unsolved problems of chronological synchronizations.<sup>27</sup> It is important to know in which sequence Pylos, Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns, Dimini, and Kastro-Palia were destroyed and whether the time between their respective devastation can be counted in days, weeks, months or even years. That said, the conspicuous concentration of cataclysmic disasters in the final stretch of LH IIIB or the transition to LH IIIC does indicate some interrelation between these acts of destruction. The palaces may have come down simultaneously or in succession, or the destruction may have begun with one palatial polity – perhaps the one centered on the Argolid<sup>28</sup> – from which it spread either through a domino effect or by radiating to surrounding regions. This brings us back to the causes behind the devastation. In those sites where assessment is possible, the event appears to correspond to Type 1 of the typology recently proposed by Igor Kreimerman, or 'Complete Burning of an Entire City'.<sup>29</sup> However, since only a few sites offer detailed information on the intensity and nature of the destruction in specific areas, the question remains as to whether the palaces were destroyed with greater intensity than were other areas of the respective settlements. The potential research to which this question may give rise has been recently demonstrated by Reinhard Jung,<sup>30</sup> to whose conclusions I shall soon return. All the sites suggest that their destruction was accompanied by fire, which could only have been sparked by an earthquake or human agency. Other factors, such as climatic fluctuation or epidemics could not have triggered fires directly but must still be considered as possible catalysts that precipitated the final destruction.<sup>31</sup>

### Collective Violence as the Cause of the Final Palatial Destructions

As noted, there is currently no unequivocal evidence that any of the destructions were caused by earthquakes, which is why I will not pursue this option any further. This leaves us with 'human agency' as the sole alternative. In the case of this factor, collective violence is the only possibility<sup>32</sup> as the sheer amount of destruction and its far-reaching consequences allow us to exclude negligence as the cause of multiple fires. Among the various manifestations of 'collective violence' I would distinguish between attacks by an external enemy on the respective polity and clashes among hostile groups within one and the same polity. The external attacks may have come from neighboring regions, from more distant areas of Greece or the Aegean, or from beyond the Aegean. In terms of armed conflicts within a polity, I would differentiate between opponents who confronted each other 'horizontally' and those who did so 'vertically' in the social space. Opponents who faced each other 'horizontally' would be primarily factions within the respective elites of the polities, while 'vertically' opposed adversaries may have engaged in uprisings or rebellions organized by social groups with lesser resources against the palatial elites in general or rulers in particular. The driving force behind such uprisings may have been an oppressed population,<sup>33</sup> and/

<sup>26</sup> Marzloff 2004, 86 ('atemberaubendes architektonisches Crescendo'); see also Maran 2010, 248–255; Maran 2015, 280–282.

<sup>27</sup> Vitale 2006; French – Stockhammer 2009.

<sup>28</sup> Maran 2010, 255–256.

<sup>29</sup> Kreimerman 2017, 182–184.

<sup>30</sup> Jung 2016; Jung 2017b.

<sup>31</sup> Knapp – Manning 2016, 113, 136; Middleton 2017, 347–349; Wiener 2017, 47–53.

<sup>32</sup> Wiener 2017, 50–51.

<sup>33</sup> Andronikos 1954, 236–239; Ekholm Friedman 2005, 81–84; Jung 2016, 563–567; Jung 2017b, 88–93, 96–101.

or, as I shall argue, members of the palatial military in coalition with certain factions of the elite. Here, too, various combinations of ‘external’ and ‘internal’ as well as ‘horizontal’ and ‘vertical’ patterns of collective violence are conceivable. Palatial elites from different regions may have formed a coalition to attack another polity or several polities. Groups within the elite of a polity may have taken advantage of the ‘anger’ or dissatisfaction of segments of the military or of certain populations, then entered into coalitions with groups from other places in the same polity or from other regions of Greece or the Mediterranean, to name just a few of the possible constellations. I will return to these issues later.

Although the available archaeological evidence of the destructions alone does not allow us to specify the forms of collective violence involved, the assumption that the palaces were destroyed by violent force seems to me far better founded than the earthquake hypothesis. Based on meticulous investigation, Jung has recently presented arguments for his belief that the destruction of the palatial remains that he investigated was triggered by collective violence.<sup>34</sup> His analysis focuses, in part, on the distribution of the traces of fire at Tiryns, where they are more pronounced in the area of the Upper Citadel and especially that of the palace than, for example, in the Lower Citadel. From this he deduces that the Upper Citadel was specifically targeted and deliberately burned down.<sup>35</sup> Jung is certainly right in pointing out that excavations at Tiryns since Heinrich Schliemann and Wilhelm Dörpfeld uncovered tall stumps of burnt and melted building materials solely in the area of the central part of the palace<sup>36</sup> and not in the Lower Citadel; these remind us to this day of the intensity of the fires. In the case of Tiryns, however, one also has to consider additional elements when interpreting the distribution and conservation of its masses of debris. The first are the winds, which, during the day, may have stoked fires in the area of the highly exposed buildings of the Upper Citadel far more intensively than in the Lower Citadel, where the buildings were shielded from winds by the high Cyclopean wall.<sup>37</sup> The second, even more important factor has to do with the way in which Palatial period ruins were dealt with in the Post-palatial period. The concentration of burnt mudbrick walls in the central part of the palace, emphasized by Jung and still recognizable today, is the result of a deliberate shaping of a ruin mound at the center of which Building T was erected in early LH IIIC.<sup>38</sup> The layers of burnt debris found along the western and southwestern slopes of the Upper Citadel<sup>39</sup> prove that similar burnt walls must also have existed in other parts of this area, but that these were removed by ablation and relocation. Similar processes may also be responsible for the lack of still-standing remains of mudbrick debris in the Lower Citadel. These differential interventions into the ruins were undertaken in the early Post-palatial period with the intention of reusing only those parts of the Upper Citadel with a strong politico-religious significance that were situated around the center of the former palace.<sup>40</sup>

In short, Tiryns currently seems to be the only site where possible differences in the intensity of a conflagration can be studied. While I see Jung’s methodology as being exemplary and believe that he has correctly observed the far more pronounced indications of destruction by fire in the palace area, the validity of his conclusions needs to be reassessed in those palatial centers whose appearance was not as altered by post-destruction interventions as they were at Tiryns (as, for example, at Pylos,<sup>41</sup> where we do not yet know whether the palace was more intensely destroyed than other parts of the settlement). To this end, projects should be initiated that, with the help of fire experts, take a closer look at traces of fires still visible in the palatial ruins and look for

<sup>34</sup> Jung 2016, 556–560; Jung 2017b, 87–88; see also Middleton 2020, 16–17.

<sup>35</sup> For the interpretation that the palace was particularly targeted see also Marzolf 2004, 86.

<sup>36</sup> Maran 2012, 154.

<sup>37</sup> Jung 2016, 559.

<sup>38</sup> Maran 2020.

<sup>39</sup> Kardamaki 2015.

<sup>40</sup> Maran 2011, 173–174; Maran 2012, 158–160.

<sup>41</sup> For selective interventions into the ruin of the palace of Pylos after c. 1075 BCE see LaFayette Hogue 2011, 31–41, 282–290; LaFayette Hogue 2016.

patterns in the palatial conflagrations that possibly point to intentionality. To my knowledge, none have yet been undertaken.

It is the evidence that Jung presented as proof of pillage of at least some of the palaces prior to the destruction that I find particularly persuasive.<sup>42</sup> The excavations in Ayios Vasileios remind us of the precious objects typically expected at the site of a suddenly destroyed palace. Similar assemblages of finds have come to light in destruction layers of the palace of Thebes.<sup>43</sup> By contrast, neither at Tiryns nor at Mycenae or Pylos were comparable concentrations of valuable objects encountered, a fact that was already interpreted in the past by excavators at the sites as evidence of looting activities.<sup>44</sup> In this respect, it must be stressed that even in the layers of redeposited debris along the western slope of the Upper Citadel of Tiryns, no objects of metal or other special materials such as ivory, semi-precious stones, or faience were discovered.<sup>45</sup> It seems impossible that all valuable objects would have been completely recovered from the smoldering ruins after the destruction. Quite the contrary – given the scale of the destruction as well as the fact that the Post-palatial leveling measures did not reach down to the floors in many areas of the Upper Citadel – the western and eastern wings of the palace for instance<sup>46</sup> – such valuables could be expected to still lie in situ in numerous places, including the Lower Citadel, where no concentrations of valuable objects that could have been reused have ever been uncovered. That such objects have not been found indicates, as Jung has rightly argued, selective pillage, followed by the torching of buildings.<sup>47</sup>

### **Middle- and Long-Term Factors 1: Conflicts Among the Elites**

Turning now to the middle- to long-term time frame, we need to assess the processes and structures that paved the way for the final palatial conflagrations. In this respect, I would like to single out three closely interrelated factors of historical, political, and social relevance that have not yet received the attention they deserve with regard to the final palatial destructions despite the fact that they may have accelerated the changes during the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE. These factors are: first, conflicts among the elites; second, large-scale construction projects; and, third, changes in the palatial armed forces. It must be emphasized that these are potential factors as we cannot be sure which of them really had an impact or how they may have amplified each other. I am also sure that these are not the only factors that merit consideration. My choice falls on them because there is some indication that they may be reflected in the archaeological materials to a certain extent.

The potentially explosive force of the first factor is underscored by the example of the late Hittite Empire, where the state was weakened and ultimately overthrown because the order of succession to the throne was challenged at different times by members of the extended royal family.<sup>48</sup> Due to the nature of our sources, we are unaware of such events in Mycenaean Greece because the names and relationships of the political actors in the Mycenaean palatial polities

<sup>42</sup> Jung 2016, 555–556.

<sup>43</sup> Aravantinos 2010, 70–91; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2012, 95–97; Jung 2016, 555.

<sup>44</sup> Wace 1949, 95; Blegen – Rawson 1966, 424; Jung 2016, 555.

<sup>45</sup> Kardamaki 2009; Kardamaki 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Maran 2012, 154–155.

<sup>47</sup> With reference to the seeming abandonment of the Hittite capital and its evacuation by the royal family (cf. Seeher 2001), an unknown reviewer of this article made the interesting observation that members of the Mycenaean ruling elite may have taken precious objects with them when they fled from the palatial centers in the wake of an imminent defeat. The reviewer adds: ‘Indeed, it seems that a situation in which the royal family might have to leave with their valuables, as quickly but as clandestinely as possible, was anticipated at Mycenae, by the construction of the corbelled passage through the northeast extensions, whose exit could be easily camouflaged, and at Tiryns, by the construction of the western staircase, protected behind a cyclopean wall whose exit was also easily camouflaged.’ I am very grateful to the reviewer for making this important point.

<sup>48</sup> Hawkins 2002; Bryce 2005, 327–333.

are as unknown to us as are the relationships between members of dynastic lines in different polities.<sup>49</sup> However, I think it is very likely that processes similar to the conflict in the Hittite Empire also unfolded in Mycenaean Greece<sup>50</sup> as the royal families of the palatial polities must have been closely related through intermarriage, which meant that siblings, children, cousins, and nephews or nieces of */wanaktes/* probably occupied high political positions in places within their own respective polities or, thanks to marriage, appanage or inheritance, in neighboring ones. Therefore, conflicts over succession to the throne among the primo-, secundo- and tertio-genitur of each */wanax/* and/or competing genealogical lines of the descendants of his brothers and uncles were bound to occur.<sup>51</sup> Evidence of disputes among the elites of places within the same polity may be reflected in Messenia in the antagonism between Iklaina and Pylos,<sup>52</sup> which seems to have been decided in favor of the capital relatively late in the Palatial period. Likewise of special interest in terms of possible antagonistic relations between members of the royal family is the relationship among the palatial centers of the Argolid. It was here that Tiryns stood in the shadow of mighty Mycenae during most of the Palatial period until, a few decades before the final palatial destruction, the site was developed by enormous effort into a ‘Mycenaean Versailles’, as Hans Lauter put it.<sup>53</sup> In light of this evidence, Ulrich Thaler<sup>54</sup> and Philipp Stockhammer<sup>55</sup> have independently proposed that by this point in time, Tiryns may have replaced Mycenae as the capital of the polity that was centered on the Argolid.<sup>56</sup> While I think they correctly point to the political significance of the considerable investment made to develop Tiryns in the final Palatial period, I believe that their conclusion needs to be modified. Thus, the architectural development of Tiryns must have still taken place within the period of Mycenae’s predominance since Tiryns’ subordination to Mycenae was virtually written into the patterns of movement and architectural semantics of its new palatial complex. In the historical process, however, it often happens that the purposes for which some architecture was designed change in ways unforeseen by the original builders. Over time, the Tirynthian governor, who may have been a brother, cousin or uncle of the */wanax/* of Mycenae, and his followers may have occasionally appropriated the splendid new palace for their own purposes, thereby fueling further an already simmering conflict with Mycenae.

### Middle- and Long-Term Factors 2: Large-Scale Construction Projects

Various factors may have exacerbated such conflicts within the ruling elites, which brings us to the second factor to be discussed, namely, the major architectural and engineering projects, the execution of which, I presume, formed part of Mycenaean rulers’ identity. Klaus Kilian already argued that these construction projects were partly responsible for the collapse of the palaces as they wasted valuable palatial resources and prevented ever-larger parts of the population from engaging in agricultural activity. I believe that Kilian was right,<sup>57</sup> and that these major public

<sup>49</sup> As Middleton 2017, 144, rightly remarked about the Mycenaean palatial polities: ‘Although we may imagine relatively stable kingdoms that suddenly collapsed this is largely because we lack literary evidence that tells us otherwise, as it does for the Romans, Hittites and others where rivals for power can be identified.’

<sup>50</sup> Andronikos 1954, 237; Hooker 1976, 177; Mylonas 1983, 249; Dickinson 2006, 54–56; Middleton 2020, 14–15, already emphasized the likelihood of internecine conflicts as a contributing factor to the demise of Mycenaean polities.

<sup>51</sup> For the significance of inner-societal power struggles in the demise of empires see Cahill 2010, 225–226; McAnany – Yoffee 2010b, 8–9; Middleton 2017, 166–168, 341–342.

<sup>52</sup> Cosmopoulos – Shelmerdine 2016; Cosmopoulos 2018, 103–109.

<sup>53</sup> Lauter 1987, 225.

<sup>54</sup> Thaler 2009, 292–294, 352, 419; Thaler 2018a, 239–240, 282–284.

<sup>55</sup> Stockhammer 2008, 49–50; Stockhammer 2011, 209.

<sup>56</sup> See also Wiener 2017, 61–62.

<sup>57</sup> Kilian 1988a, 134; see also Thomas – Conant 1999, 25; Mühlenbruch 2020, 130.

works coupled with an exploitative taxation system<sup>58</sup> had the potential to overburden the population and thus create an explosive social situation.<sup>59</sup> As I have already noted, the examples of Mycenae and especially Tiryns underline that the costs invested in major works of construction seem to have increased towards the end of the palatial period. A downright megalomaniac measure such as Tiryns' river diversion<sup>60</sup> was, in fact, completed shortly before the final destruction. This alone points to a possible connection between monumental projects and the cataclysm. Such construction, however, may have been fateful for the palaces for yet other reasons than the ones envisioned by Kilian.

An analysis of the architectural dynamics at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos reveals that the innermost circle of the ruling elites of the late Palatial period made ever more attempts to monopolize the use of politico-religious space within the centers.<sup>61</sup> At Mycenae, the construction of the new western Cyclopean wall in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE interrupted the previously relatively open access to the Cult Center and the area of the shaft graves.<sup>62</sup> Integrating these key monuments into circulation patterns within the citadel, the wall facilitated their monopolization by the palatial elite.<sup>63</sup> In the new megaron palace built in Tiryns at about the same time, access to the Great Megaron was carefully structured into different sections. This was most likely done not only to prescribe certain patterns of processional movement, but also to segregate most participants in these processions into groups that remained at certain points along the route, so that only the chosen few could reach the throne room, its destination.<sup>64</sup> A similar channeling of processional movement and division of the passage to the megaron into sections of ever-increasing exclusivity characterize the late palatial rebuilding of the final palace at Pylos, thus emphasizing that we are dealing here with a general trend in late Palatial Mycenaean palatial architecture.<sup>65</sup>

The described ways of employing architecture to exclude and seclude in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE did not appear 'out of the blue' but were probably the result of escalating political conflicts within the elites that may be traceable to the early Palatial period. It seems to me that a decisive turn that led to an aggravation of inner-elite conflict occurred in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE, when central features of */wanax/* ideology<sup>66</sup> were transferred from Crete to the Greek mainland after the major destruction of the palace of Knossos. Architecturally speaking, this process found its expression in the construction of the first Palatial megaron palaces with a throne room modeled on the one in Knossos and meant to serve as the place for meetings between the ruler and deities.<sup>67</sup> The new conception of rulership granted the ruler the exclusive right to communicate with supernatural beings and removed him from the rest of the elite.<sup>68</sup> Such new ideological features must have strained inner-societal relations because they conflicted with previous ways of legitimizing rulership. The new ideological basis of rulership would have been perceived as quite foreign by the majority of the population of Mycenaean palatial polities, not only because it was not firmly anchored in indigenous traditions, but also

<sup>58</sup> Jung 2016, 563–564.

<sup>59</sup> Maran 2010, 255.

<sup>60</sup> Balcer 1974; Kilian 1988a, 134; Zangger 1993, 204–207; Knauss 1995; Bilis 2016.

<sup>61</sup> On the capacity of Mycenaean fortification architecture to divide the urban space and the community see Efkleidou 2018, 71. On the costs involved in Mycenaean construction works see now Boswinkel 2021; Brysbaert 2021.

<sup>62</sup> Wardle 2003, 320–325; Wardle 2015, 592–593.

<sup>63</sup> Wardle 2015, 579; Maran 2016a, 588.

<sup>64</sup> Wright 1994, 51–60; Maran 2006, 78–85; Wright 2006, 49–74; Maran 2012, 150–158; Thaler 2012, 191–198; Thaler 2018a, 187–241; Thaler 2018b.

<sup>65</sup> Wright 1984, 26–27; Shelmerdine 1987, 560–561, 564–567; Shelmerdine 1999, 407–408; Thaler 2006, 96–108; Murphy 2014, 216–217; Murphy 2016, 440–444; Thaler 2016, 120; Thaler 2018a, 39–185; Thaler 2018b.

<sup>66</sup> Kilian 1988b; Wright 1994, 59; Palaima 1995, 127–128; Palaima 2016, 138–144, 150–153.

<sup>67</sup> Maran – Stavrianopoulou 2007; Maran 2015, 280.

<sup>68</sup> For the meaning of the possible signs for divine aspects of the */wanax/* see Shelmerdine 1985, 77–78; Deger-Jalkotzy 1999, 127; Lupack 2014.

because the population had no access to the central areas of the palaces and was thus unable to attend the most important rituals. Probably for this reason architectural measures were taken by the ruling elite to let ‘invented traditions’, such as the new megaron palaces, seem to be ‘traditional’ by linking them in ritual processions to ancient monuments and persons,<sup>69</sup> such as the ancestors buried in the shaft graves.<sup>70</sup> However, so seclusive were the innermost rituals of the new ideology that even within the palatial elite only certain factions were able to take part in them and to comprehend the ideological basis of rulership.<sup>71</sup> Thus, while */wanax/* ideology boosted the power of the ruler, its introduction may have driven a wedge into the elite by dividing it into those who accepted the new basis of rulership and those who regarded it as heretical and openly or tacitly opposed it.

All this led to a vicious circle, in which a small group within the ruling elite that surrounded the */wanax/* became prisoner to its own ideology. Convinced that the realization of major construction projects was their duty,<sup>72</sup> they had to invest more and more resources and energy into this sector in order to present the completed monuments as evidence of their proximity to the gods and their right to take center-stage in lavish public rituals.<sup>73</sup> However, the more the numerically small inner group around the */wanax/* sought to monopolize access to those monuments in which the rituals ensuring the continuation of the polity were conducted, the more they alienated other social groups. Thus, the inner core of the political elite became increasingly isolated and, due to its hermetic ideological and spatial seclusion, made itself vulnerable to the intrigues of political dignitaries in the second or third tier of the elite, who felt excluded and were able to exploit the dissatisfaction of the general population.

In this context it is important to realize that the large-scale projects, although they were undoubtedly ordered by the */wanaktes/*, offered charismatic local rulers and their allies an opportunity to promote themselves by applying their organizational skills to mobilize the population, recruit specialists, and expertly execute the measures. In this way, they were able to build up networks through which the mobilization of labor forces could easily be diverted into the mobilization of military forces – if they felt these were needed. Tellingly, at Tiryns – especially in the case of major construction projects – there are astonishing lines of continuity between the Palatial and Post-palatial periods. Recent excavations in the northwestern Lower Town of Tiryns have, in fact, confirmed my previously stated opinion that the diversion of the river was part of a final palatial ‘master plan’ that envisaged creating an entirely new part of that Lower Town in the zone north of the citadel.<sup>74</sup> Evidence uncovered during the excavation demonstrates that after the stream was redirected in the late Palatial period, a leveling layer of a thickness of about 25cm was spread over a large area above the dried-out river sediment and was carefully consolidated to create a firm and uniform substratum into which a foundation trench for a final palatial building was already cut.<sup>75</sup> However, the diversion of the river seems to have been completed so shortly before the destruction of the palace that the master plan was finished only early in the Post-palatial period, when the entire zone was systematically developed into a new Lower Town.<sup>76</sup> These striking continuities in the planning of large-scale construction projects in the Palatial and Post-palatial periods indicate that parts of the local elite, and perhaps even the local governor of Tiryns, may have survived the destruction, possibly because they were involved in the military planning of the overthrow and were thus among its beneficiaries.

<sup>69</sup> Maran 2019b.

<sup>70</sup> Lupack 2014, 171–174; Wardle 2015, 587–589.

<sup>71</sup> Maran 2011, 172–173.

<sup>72</sup> Maran 2010, 256–257.

<sup>73</sup> Bendall 2004; Lupack 2010, 272; Nakassis 2012; Lupack 2018.

<sup>74</sup> Maran 2008, 89–90; Maran 2010, 253–255; Maran 2015, 284.

<sup>75</sup> Birndorfer et al. 2019; T. Birndorfer – S. Khamnueva-Wendt – H.-R. Bork – I. Unkel in: Maran – Papadimitriou 2021, 136–143.

<sup>76</sup> Maran 2016b; Maran – Papadimitriou 2017; Maran – Papadimitriou 2019; Maran – Papadimitriou 2021.



### Middle- and Long-Term Factors 3: Changes in the Palatial Armed Forces

This brings us to the third factor to which I assign a key role, namely, certain changes in the palatial armed forces. The power of the Mycenaean palaces was decisively based on their military, which could be used not only for protection against the outside, but also for holding internal opponents at bay. The few palaces that ruled the various polities from the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE on must have arisen out of a multitude of armed conflicts that had taken place since the early Mycenaean period.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, throughout the existence of the palaces, military campaigns must have been carried out against internal and external adversaries, during which coalitions between various palatial polities may have united to achieve certain goals. Due to the military's great importance in securing palatial rule,<sup>78</sup> any changes in the composition of troops and their armaments are of great interest to scholars. Such a change occurred in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE, when an entire series of new types of weapons of Italian origin, particularly the Naue II slashing swords, were introduced in the East Mediterranean.<sup>79</sup> Further developing Hector Catling's claim that 'military necessity... drove Mycenaean princes to hire warriors from outside Greece',<sup>80</sup> Jung has used material-culture features, such as Handmade Burnished Ware, bronze fibulae and weapons, to advance the hypothesis that groups of warriors from southern Europe entered the service of Mycenaean palaces, just as groups of 'Sea Peoples' taken as prisoners of war were integrated as warriors into the Pharaonic army in 14<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>-century BCE Egypt.<sup>81</sup> There are even textual indications of the polyethnic composition of the Mycenaean palatial armed forces. According to Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, the percentage of persons with non-Greek names among the military commanders and deputy commanders at Pylos seems to have been particularly high even if we are unable to say from where they came,<sup>82</sup> and Jan Driessen has also argued on the basis of Linear B evidence for the integration of mercenaries from different regions in the palatial forces at 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE Pylos and 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE Knossos.<sup>83</sup> While we lack similar Linear B evidence for the Argive palaces, the great number of material culture elements of foreign – especially Italian and Cypriot<sup>84</sup> – derivation in Palatial period centers make the presence of foreigners in a variety of functions, including as warriors,<sup>85</sup> likely.

The integration of such foreign warrior groups must have greatly increased the heterogeneity of the palatial armed forces, which may have favored the rise of a new type of military leader who pursued his own political goals by commanding newly formed polyethnic warrior groups.<sup>86</sup> These warlords, as I have called them,<sup>87</sup> may have increased their influence and power base by exploiting disputes within the ruling families and forging coalitions with members of the traditional elite

<sup>77</sup> Deger-Jalkotzy 1999, 123–124; Wright 2008, 244–246; Middleton 2020, 14–17.

<sup>78</sup> Davis – Bennet 1999; Deger-Jalkotzy 1999.

<sup>79</sup> Bietti Sestieri 1973, 407–411; Sandars 1978, 91–92; Harding 1984, 155–180; Bettelli 2002, 133–137; Jung 2009a; Jung 2009b; Vitale 2012; Iacono 2013; Jung – Mehofer 2013; Pabst 2013; Molloy 2016; Mehofer – Jung 2017.

<sup>80</sup> Catling 1968, 103; see also Catling 1961, 121; Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 75; Sandars 1978, 93–94; Drews 1993, 155–157; Bettelli 1999, 469; Bettelli 2002, 134.

<sup>81</sup> Jung 2009a, 147–149; Jung 2009b, 78; Jung – Mehofer 2013, 184–185; Pabst 2013, 123–126; Jung 2017a, 27; Wiener 2017, 54–55. For the comparison to the situation in Egypt see Deger-Jalkotzy 1977, 75; Bernabò Brea 1982; Dobesch 1983, 183; Schachermeyr 1984, 161–162; Lehmann 1985, 56–59; Drews 1993, 147–155; Bettelli 2002, 134–136.

<sup>82</sup> Deger-Jalkotzy 1978, 45.

<sup>83</sup> J. Driessen in: Driessen – MacDonald 1984, 49–56.

<sup>84</sup> Cline 1994, 60–67, 78–81; Jung 2006, 21–57; Cline 2007, 195–200; Cline 2015, 211–212.

<sup>85</sup> Yasur-Landau 2010, 204–214.

<sup>86</sup> Molloy 2016, 347, 365–370; Maran 2018, 230–232. With the term 'polyethnic' I also refer to such groups of warriors who came from other regions of Greece to a palatial polity, because the palatial administration seems to have perceived such foreigners as of a different ethnicity than the 'official' one of the respective palatial polity; for the fluidity of collective identities during the Mycenaean palatial period see Maran 2019a, 56–58, with further literature.

<sup>87</sup> Maran 2010, 256 with n. 64; Hitchcock – Maeir 2014, 635; Maran 2018, 231–232.

who felt disenfranchised.<sup>88</sup> In a harbor town such as Tiryns, the Italian traits of material culture are far more pronounced from the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE onward than at Mycenae and at other Argive sites.<sup>89</sup> The presence of such polyethnic warrior groups led by warlords may have given the local governor a decisive edge over Mycenae. Since the warlords were able to draw on the warrior groups' Mediterranean social networks, which had intensified in the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE thanks to the integration of persons of various ethnicities in palatial forces, they may have requested military reinforcement from their homelands in order to significantly increase their fighting capability.<sup>90</sup> This would also partially account for the seeming growth of population at Tiryns at the beginning of LH IIIC<sup>91</sup> and explain why the intensity of cultural features of Italian derivation seems to significantly increase from the late 13<sup>th</sup> (LH IIIB2) to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE (LH IIIC Early).<sup>92</sup> But such warlords also posed a major risk as they had their own military power base and experience in the use of collective violence, which made them unpredictable and capable of turning against their masters and coalition partners.

It seems to me that the origin of the Sea Peoples phenomenon is to be sought in such late 13<sup>th</sup>-century BCE processes.<sup>93</sup> What research has called 'Sea Peoples' were not something that appeared 'out of the blue' in the eastern Mediterranean or foreign 'barbarians' without prior acquaintance with the regions that they attacked. Instead, many of these warriors may have been insiders within the area's political landscape and thus enjoyed intimate knowledge of the inner workings of palatial societies.<sup>94</sup> After the destructions, the warlords, experts in combat and strategic planning, possessed all the necessary skills to take matters into their own hands. By taking over and commanding former palatial naval forces and forging alliances with like-minded military leaders in other parts of the Mediterranean, they were able to assemble polyethnic naval and ground forces and launch operations in the East Mediterranean.

In sum, to understand the dynamics of the final destruction of the Mycenaean palaces, we have to move away from simplistic models that are based on 'prime movers' and that concentrate solely on the final destructions while envisaging the rest of the Palatial period as basically stable. As I have argued, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE, various processes and crises unfolded over the course of different lengths of time and levels of Mycenaean palatial societies. Each of these processes could have taken a direction that would not have severely threatened the existence of the palaces, but through some specific combination of fateful decisions and unintended consequences they gradually undermined the already fragile cohesion of the Mycenaean polities and eventually destroyed them. I am certain that there are many more lines of conflict and many regional peculiarities that we have not yet understood. In this context I would like to mention in particular the factor of religion.<sup>95</sup> Due to different views on whether the acts of those ruling conformed with religious principles, for instance, the priesthood may have taken different sides when it came to antagonistic factions within a polity and may have provided them with ideological support. The situation may have been aggravated by calamities such as epidemics, earthquakes or crop failures due to climate variations,<sup>96</sup> but these alone cannot explain the final destruction of the palaces any

<sup>88</sup> For the role of 'Barbarian' *foederati* during the Late Roman Empire in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century CE as a possible comparison see Maran 2018, 231.

<sup>89</sup> Kilian 1988a, 127–133; Belardelli – Bettelli 1999; Jung 2006, 32–57; Kilian 2007, 72–80; Meiri et al. 2019.

<sup>90</sup> Cameron (2013, 224) describes ethnographic examples in which groups became dominant by absorbing refugee populations. She states that 'for chiefdom-like societies such as those in Africa...avenues to power for ambitious men often involve drawing growing numbers of people into their group'.

<sup>91</sup> Kilian 1988a, 135; Maran – Papadimitriou 2017, 74.

<sup>92</sup> Kilian 2007, 46–49; Bettelli 2015, 141–142.

<sup>93</sup> Maran 2018, 225, 231–233.

<sup>94</sup> Hitchcock – Maeir 2014, 631–634.

<sup>95</sup> Another factor of potentially crucial importance for the palatial demise is the economic structures of Mycenaean palatial polities in their wider Mediterranean setting, see Parkinson 1999; Broodbank 2013, 467–471; Jung 2016, 563–568; Jung 2017b, 80–85.

<sup>96</sup> Knapp – Manning 2016, 113, 136; Middleton 2017, 348.

more than can the other so-called ‘prime movers’ discussed above. The palaces were brought down first and foremost by internal contradictions that had long built up in the palatial polities and were exploited by members of the elite. Alongside antagonistic fault lines that developed over a long period of time, centrifugal forces were unleashed by social groups pursuing their own interests and forging alliances to strengthen their power base. The hypothesis of a revolution of the oppressed population as the cause of the palace destruction describes one such possible line of antagonistic conflict,<sup>97</sup> which I, however, would modify. Yes, the populace’s discontent with the rulers may have played an important role, but as is so often the case with so-called revolutions, the overthrow was successful above all because it was supported and organized by disenfranchised members of the second or third tier of the elite, which could have recourse to parts of the military infrastructure of the palaces and turn it against the rulers. Driven by their own ambitions and feelings of exclusion, they fueled the discontent of the people, manipulated them for their own purposes, and worked on changing political conditions in their own favor through military alliances. Those groups that emerged as the winners of these conflicts were to determine the fate of the early Post-palatial period and shape the historical events that would affect and shatter the entire East Mediterranean.

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# Synchronizing Palace Destructions in the Eastern Mediterranean

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**Abstract:** The different destructions of the Mycenaean palaces on the Greek mainland and on Crete unfold their historical relevance on two different levels. Firstly, and in a very concrete way, they signify the sharpening crisis and subsequently the final and definite demise of the *Asiatic Mode of Production* (or else the *Palace State*) in southeastern Europe. Second, these palace destructions happened during a period, in which various *circum-Mediterranean* societies were undergoing profound social and economic changes. Similarly to Greece, those changes were marked by violent destructions of political and economic centers in a number of different regions. Since the developments of the societies living along the central and the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea were interconnected in stronger or weaker relationships of uneven and combined character, especially so during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, the question arises whether it is possible to uncover causal connections between events separated by many hundreds of kilometers. In order to fully perceive and explain the historical importance of the Mycenaean palace destructions, it is therefore necessary to widen the geographical perspective. As the precondition of any interregional historical analysis is the precise localization of specific events in time, this paper explores the timeline of major eastern Mediterranean destruction events with reference to the palace destructions in Greece as well as in terms of absolute chronology (mainly in relation to Egyptian and Near Eastern rulers' reigns). A comparison of stratified pottery assemblages forms the basis for this endeavor.

**Keywords:** Cyprus, Late Cypriot IIC, Late Bronze Age II, Mycenaean pottery, Syria

## The Material

Synchronization between Aegean and Cypriot as well as Near Eastern settlements of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) has to rely on pottery – to be precise, on painted pottery that is found in the Levant and on Cyprus. This is because pottery of eastern origin is very rare in Greece and if it is present – e.g. in the form of transport amphorae ('Canaanite jars')<sup>2</sup> – it is not as closely datable as the painted pots of Aegean manufacture. These are obvious facts, of course, but the painted Aegean pottery found in the Levant is not uniform in appearance and therefore merits some introductory comments. There are three different principal classes of ceramics, which are related to the Aegean regions and turn up at many sites on Cyprus and along the Levantine coasts.

- 1) Pots produced in the Aegean and imported by the different populations living in the great and petty kingdoms around the eastern half of the Mediterranean. Those pots include Mycenaean vessels from the Greek mainland, western Asia Minor and the Aegean islands as well as Minoan vessels from Crete.
- 2) Vessels, which were produced in many different regions outside the Aegean, including basically all of Cyprus and the long Levantine coast, but adhere closely to the typological and stylistic categories established by the potters in the Aegean.
- 3) Pots, which in shapes, linear decoration and motifs clearly betray the influence of Aegean ceramics, but at the same time show some impact of local Levantine or Cypriot pot making traditions, which led to inventions that have transformed the Aegean prototypes profoundly –

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<sup>2</sup> Pedrazzi 2007; Knapp – Demesticha 2017.



i.e. to a degree that one cannot find any close parallels for them among vessels produced in the Aegean regions themselves.

Only categories (1) and (2) can provide reliable dates in terms of the Aegean relative chronology. They can be grouped together using the term ‘Aegean-type’ pottery, while the third category may be referred to as ‘Aegeanizing’ pottery.<sup>3</sup>

Establishing relative synchronisms with the Aegean crucially depends on the identification of vessels belonging to the Aegean-type repertoire among the stratified find assemblages from any non-Aegean site. In this respect, it is an advantage that the vast majority of imported Aegean ceramics dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE and found in the regions between the Nile valley and the coasts of Cyprus and Syria are ‘made in the Argolid’ (in the region of Mycenae to be precise). This fact, established by a whole series of provenance studies using NAA,<sup>4</sup> paves the way for direct references to the pottery manufacture of the Mycenae workshops and the vertical settlement stratigraphies of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea – stratigraphies that are of crucial relevance for internal Aegean synchronisms, too – as the contributions to this volume demonstrate once again.

However, even working with vessels imported from the Argolid does not always provide straightforward answers in terms of precise synchronisms. This is due to the fact that some of the most characteristic Argive export products belong to types that are only rarely (if ever) attested in the Argive settlements themselves. Examples include the amphoroid kraters FT 54/55, the pedestal bowl FT 310 and other shapes. Some others, such as the shallow strap-handled bowl FT 296, do appear in both the Argolid and the importing regions of the eastern Mediterranean, but were more frequently used outside Greece than in the Peloponnese.<sup>5</sup> In the case of those types that were only incidentally used in the Argolid (or happened to break there before being shipped overseas), their Peloponnesian stratigraphic contexts can only be used as *termini ad quem* for a production period of nondescript length. Other types with a scant yet somewhat regular presence in Argive contexts can give us a vague idea about their production period in the Argolid, but it will be difficult to make any quantitative or semi-quantitative statements relative to the development of that production over time. Of course, some of the Argive types such as painted kylikes FT 258A and B that are of prime chronological value in Greece do also appear in the Near East. Yet, due to their general rarity, one often cannot draw straightforward conclusions in terms of relative dates from their presence or absence in a given context.

One final problem arises from the praxis of long-term use in the Near East. There is contextual evidence at several sites supporting the notion that especially during those phases when the Argive pottery export had almost come to an end (LH IIIB Developed, LH IIIB Final, LH IIIC Early 1), the imported vessels were treated with special care on Cyprus and all over the Levant, which led to prolonged use periods in comparison to the Argolid itself.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes these vessels were also mended with lead clamps.<sup>7</sup> In addition, pottery studies at various Aegean sites support

<sup>3</sup> Jung 2010a, 150–154.

<sup>4</sup> Jung 2015, 243–251 (with bibliography); Mountjoy 2015. Detailed fabric descriptions of all cataloged vessels and fabric comparison with selected vessels analyzed by NAA help to differentiate imports from local products that can occasionally be of quite high quality (on the methodological problem of simply classifying all vessels with lustrous paint as imports from Greece see also Mountjoy 2018, 31).

<sup>5</sup> For these phenomena see recently: Jung 2015, 245–249, figs. 3–5; Mountjoy 2018, 31–62.

<sup>6</sup> Phase E at Deir ʿAlla in Jordan provides a good example. Sealed by the same destruction were a faience vessel bearing the name of Queen Tewosret (Siptah and Tewosret: 1206–1198 BCE) in a sanctuary cella (Franken 1992, 5, fig. 2-1 [Square D500]; 7–9, 23, fig. 3-1; 30–31, fig. 3-9.5), a small Simple Style stirrup jar FT 171 in Room E2 further to the east, and an almost certainly much earlier squat stirrup jar FT 178/180/181 of LH IIIB Early–Middle date in the neighboring Room E1 (Hankey 1967, 131–132, fig. 5a, c; Warren – Hankey 1989, 161; Franken 1992, 5, fig. 2-1 [Square P600]; 37, fig. 4-1; 38, 40, fig. 4-3.17; 43–44, fig. 4-6.9; pl. 5d–e; van Wijngaarden 2002, 103–106). Note that squat stirrup jars are absent from the destruction deposits marking the end of the Argive palaces (see Podzuweit 2007, 159, Beil. 59; for the Epichosis at Tiryns see also Voigtländer 2003, pls. 135.Bü 5–Bü 18; 136–137).

<sup>7</sup> A perfect example is a krater FT 281/282 with chariot motifs from Room 13 of Complex B in Area II at Pyla-Kokkinokremos: Karageorghis – Demas 1984, 33 cat. no. 12; 50, pl. 33.12 and photos on frontispiece. Güntner 2000,

the hypothesis that the main Argive palace workshops entered a severe production crisis after the first half of LH IIIB.<sup>8</sup>

### Historical Dates

Of the different historical chronologies in the ancient Near East, the one based on the pharaonic regnal periods<sup>9</sup> still provides the most direct and reliable connections to the relative chronological phases of the Aegean Bronze Age. Those connections depend on associations of Aegean-type ceramics with written documents that offer direct references to the reign of a named pharaoh and – ideally – to a specific period or even a year during his or her reign. Indirect references via named individuals such as Egyptian officials or Levantine kings that are known contemporaries of single pharaohs can also be helpful.<sup>10</sup> In the current debate on the pharaonic regnal years, scholars have found new evidence for a shortening of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (compared to an earlier accepted low chronology) and for Ramesses II's accession date in 1290 BCE.<sup>11</sup>

This paper focuses on the northern half of the Levantine coast and on Cyprus, because the two latest historical dates known from written sources that we can connect to the Aegean LBA chronological systems, i.e. regnal years 5 and 8 of Ramesses III (1195–1164 BCE),<sup>12</sup> are connected with historical events unfolding in an area between southern Asia Minor, Cyprus and Syria.<sup>13</sup> We should therefore look for Aegean-type finds from stratified contexts in these Levantine regions in an attempt to find datum lines that can be extended towards the Mycenaean world – given the fact that in Greece itself almost no datable inscribed documents from Egypt or the Near East have been found in contexts of the late Palace period and of the early Post-palatial period.<sup>14</sup> In this context, of course, one must mention the bronze armor scale inscribed with one cartouche of Ramesses II (1290–1224 BCE)<sup>15</sup> and found in the coastal settlement of Kanakia on Salamis.<sup>16</sup> Underneath the earth floor of an anteroom in the upper wing of Building IΔ, the armor scale was hidden in a folded bronze sheet, which, in turn, was part of a small bronze hoard including a Mycenaean-type sickle, a slender chisel and a broad chisel, as well as a fragment of a bronze vessel.<sup>17</sup> Christina Marabea dates the construction phase of the Eastern Complex, which includes Buildings IA, IB and IΔ, to the first half of LH IIIB.<sup>18</sup> If the hoard was hidden during that construction phase (which, however, cannot be proven), this would provide a *terminus ad quem* for LH IIIB Early–Middle during Ramesses II's long reign.

181 cat. no. 'Wagen 168', dates this vessel by style to LH IIIB Developed. However, as mending with lead clamps was a common practice in the Aegean itself, one cannot exclude the somewhat unlikely possibility that the krater had arrived in a mended state in a southern Cypriot harbor town.

<sup>8</sup> Imports from the Argolid ceased completely at Chania, where the LM IIIB1 strata contained some possible LH IIIA2 and a series of certain LH IIIB Early–Middle imports, while the LM IIIB2 strata did not yield any piece of secure LH IIIB Developed or Final date (Hallager 2005). Even at Tsoungiza in Corinthia, bordering the Argolid to the north, decorated pottery of Argive style had become very rare by that time (Dabney 2016). These observations compare quite well with the situation known from the eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>9</sup> To cite but a few more recent studies see Höflmayer 2012; Aston 2014; Aston 2016.

<sup>10</sup> Müller 2006.

<sup>11</sup> Aston 2014; Aston 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Throughout this paper regnal years are given according to Schneider 2010, 402; Aston 2014, 307.

<sup>13</sup> Jung 2009a; Ben-Dor Evian 2018; Jung 2018a, 286–296.

<sup>14</sup> Two faience amulets bearing the names of Ramesses II come from the Post-palatial cemetery of Perati, but are most likely heirlooms (Warren – Hankey 1989, 158, 173 n. 37).

<sup>15</sup> Regnal years according to Schneider 2010, 402.

<sup>16</sup> Lolos 2012b, 28–30, 57, fig. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Lolos 2009, 31, 35, fig. 11; 38–39, fig. 16. I am indebted to Yiannos Lolos for information regarding the method of deposition.

<sup>18</sup> Marabea 2012, 164–165.

## Ugarit

The city of Ugarit, capital of a small north Syrian kingdom subject to the Great King of the Hittites, burned down around 1200 BCE. The architect Olivier Callot was able to observe that although the fire traces were found ‘absolument partout’, the palace and the richer houses – i.e. those inhabited by state officials and merchants – show the clearest traces of burning, while the ordinary houses were apparently much less affected by that conflagration. In his judgment, this does not necessarily mean that those houses did not burn at all. As they were often built against more important buildings, they should likewise have been affected by an uncontrolled fire.<sup>19</sup> The palace and some richer houses were plundered, as the excavators infer from certain artefact scatters.<sup>20</sup> However, the destruction level of the Royal Palace did still yield a wide array of fragmentary objects made of precious and imported materials.<sup>21</sup>

Regarding the cause of destruction, Marguerite Yon interpreted scatters of arrowheads found across the city as evidence for fighting. In the ‘Centre de la ville’ quarter she counted 25 arrowheads on a surface of 1500m<sup>2</sup> including both streets and buildings. In the ‘Ville sud’ the excavators encountered at least 30 arrowheads with a similarly scattered distribution. Yon furthermore stressed that neither quarter yielded weapon storehouses; they were simple living quarters.<sup>22</sup>

### The Relative Chronology of Destruction and Reoccupation

During the last decades scholars found evidence for a (probably short-lived) reoccupation following that fiery destruction. The evidence consists of walls built on top of the destruction debris in certain buildings located in different city quarters. According to the estimate by Callot, those reoccupation activities remained limited to approximately one third of the tell surface. One can name as examples the House of the Armorer in the city quarter called the Residential Quarter,<sup>23</sup> and Building B in the ‘Grand-rue’ quarter.<sup>24</sup> However, we do not yet have a very clear picture of that reoccupation, of its duration or its end.<sup>25</sup>

Seen against the background of the rather recent realization that the burnt city was just the penultimate habitation phase followed by a final one in some quarters and buildings, it is certainly problematic that we do not know the exact stratigraphic context of many typologically and chronologically important vessels that allegedly post-date LH IIIB.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, this is the case for most of the fragmentary deep bowls, which have been ascribed a LH IIIC date. Judging by the published fabric descriptions, two of them might not be Aegean imports.<sup>27</sup>

The first deep bowl FT 284/285 belongs to Type A as defined by Christian Podzuweit – henceforth FT 284/285A or deep bowl A – and is decorated with a stemmed spiral FM 51 (Fig. 1.3). It is said to have been found inside Tomb LVII in the ‘Ville Basse Ouest’, which is odd because this

<sup>19</sup> Callot 1994, 212–213. On the burnt Temple of Baal on the highest spot of the acropolis: Callot 2011, 63–64, 135, fig. 1. The Royal Palace may have been burned several times, but the different scholars working at Ugarit have not yet resolved all the issues regarding the precise history of that building (Matoian 2008b, 38).

<sup>20</sup> Yon 1992, 117–118.

<sup>21</sup> Matoian 2008a.

<sup>22</sup> Yon 1992, 117–118, fig. 14.5a. So far, no detailed mappings of weapon finds at Ugarit have been published.

<sup>23</sup> Callot 2008, 120–122.

<sup>24</sup> Matoian et al. 2013, 455.

<sup>25</sup> In some houses the architect Olivier Callot has been able to recognize this phase based on a restudy of the architectural structures in combination with Claude Schaeffer’s excavation documentation – for instance regarding the levels of precisely measured small finds – but not pottery (Callot 2008). Other houses were uncovered during more recent campaigns but final publication thereof is outstanding (Matoian et al. 2013).

<sup>26</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to Valérie Matoian for checking the context data of the deep bowls FT 284/285 for me.

<sup>27</sup> Karageorghis 2000, 64–65, classifies his cat. nos. 71–72 as local products. Indeed, his descriptions of the paint quality and of the inclusions do not fit with regular Argive products.

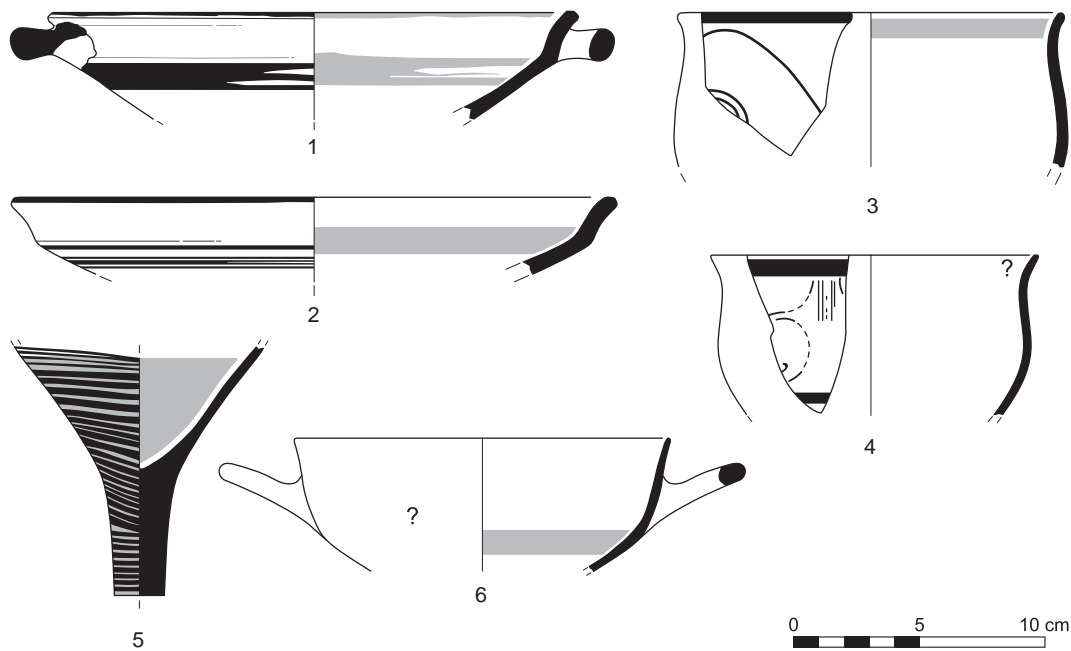


Fig. 1 Mycenaean pottery from Ugarit. Scale 1:3 (digitization St. Fragner, 1–2: after Monchambert 2004, 285 cat. nos. 1631–1632; 3: after Hirschfeld 2000, 242, fig. 32.486; 4: after Hirschfeld 2000, 242, fig. 32.487; 5–6: after Monchambert 2004, 295, fig. 119.1628–1629).

tomb is dated to the 18<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE.<sup>28</sup> In the Argolid, Group A deep bowls with stemmed spirals were produced starting in LH IIIB Developed, but became more common by LH IIIB Final and especially in LH IIIC Early.<sup>29</sup> According to Vassos Karageorghis' fabric description and classification, this piece may, in fact, be an import – possibly even from the Argolid.<sup>30</sup> The second deep bowl fragment shows antithetic spirals FM 50 flanking a narrow triglyph (Fig. 1.4) and was found in the western part of Courtyard III, which had been a garden in the Royal Palace.<sup>31</sup> The third fragment also has antithetic spirals FM 50, but not enough is preserved to say whether there was a central triglyph. Its context is entirely unknown.<sup>32</sup> Like stemmed spirals, antithetic spirals on Group A deep bowls are not confined to LH IIIC, but appear already in the late Palace period – in this case even in the first half of LH IIIB.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, there is a fragment probably belonging to a Group A deep bowl with badly preserved surface. It was found in a building situated to the south of the 'Résidence nord'. That building had three floor levels, and the deep bowl sherd lay on the second floor (Fig. 1.6).<sup>34</sup> If its decoration did

<sup>28</sup> Hirschfeld 2000, 159 cat. no. 486; 242, fig. 32.486; Karageorghis 2000, 65 no. 70; Yon 2000b, 31; and personal information by Matoïan. For the definition of deep bowl Type A as a deep bowl with a non-monochrome interior see Podzuweit 2007, 24. Type A closely resembles the so-called 'open style' Group A deep bowls of LH IIIB date as defined by Elisabeth French but encompasses a larger variety of linear decorations on the rim and interior/exterior body, while it does not include any specimens with a monochrome interior.

<sup>29</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 92, 217, 456–457, tab. 8 (type GT1fa), pl. 20.387.

<sup>30</sup> Karageorghis 2000, 65 cat. no. 70. There are several deep bowls FT 284/285A with stemmed spirals in different sectors of Pyla-Kokkinokremos (abandonment level): Karageorghis – Demas 1984, 45 nos. 22–23, pl. 35.1952/22, 1952/23; Bretschneider et al. 2019a, 82, fig. 54. However, these are most probably local products made on Cyprus.

<sup>31</sup> Hirschfeld 2000, 159 cat. no. 487; 242, fig. 32.487; Karageorghis 2000, 65 cat. no. 72; Yon 2000b, 33; and personal information by Matoïan, according to whom the topographic point 222 is located in the W part of Courtyard III (see also al-Maqdissi – Matoïan 2008, 154). On the garden see Yon 1997, 47, fig. 20; 52–53.

<sup>32</sup> Hirschfeld 2000, 159 cat. no. 488; 242, fig. 32.488; Karageorghis 2000, 65 no. 71; Yon 2000b, 35; and personal information by Matoïan.

<sup>33</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 217–218 (with bibliography).

<sup>34</sup> Monchambert 2004, 12, fig. 2; 14, fig. 5; 284 cat. no. 1629; 295, fig. 119.1629; 319. The description of the interior decoration ('bandes concentriques') contradicts the drawing, which shows only one broad interior band. If, instead,

indeed include a broad band deep down on its interior wall, this characteristic trait would argue in favor of a LH IIIC Early rather than of a LH IIIB Final date.<sup>35</sup> In another excavation sector in the northern part of the city, three more Mycenaean fragments of alleged LH IIIC Early date were found. They lay on a floor of an apparently open space south of the only wall excavated in that square labelled A14l. Together with imports of Cypriot pottery (White Slip, Base Ring 2) and with Palace-period Mycenaean imports, the sherds were part of a destruction layer reaching a thickness of 1m on top of that floor. Jean-Yves Monchambert, who published the relevant pottery, stated that this destruction layer could be ascribed either to the extended LBA destruction of the city or to the subsequent reoccupation phase, but did not discuss these options further.<sup>36</sup> Two fragments belong to carinated strap-handled bowls, which do not conform to the regular FT 295 shape, but have a very low and quite everted upper part (Fig. 1.1–2).<sup>37</sup> They find parallels among Cypro-Mycenaean bowls of LC IIC and early IIIA date<sup>38</sup> and would fit with Penelope Mountjoy's Cypriot bowl Type 8.<sup>39</sup> The third fragment from the floor in Square A14l, a conical kylix FT 274 with monochrome decoration type 11.0<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 1.5),<sup>41</sup> is of greater chronological relevance. The streaky execution of the monochrome paint is known from this Mycenaean shape, and the fabric description might support Monchambert's classification as an Aegean import. In the Argolid, the monochrome conical kylix is a characteristic LH IIIC type, though stem fragments from Tiryns might suggest that the type was in fact an invention of the late Palace period.<sup>42</sup> However, according to secure attestations, the painted conical kylix FT 274 was not regularly produced prior to LH IIIC Early 1.<sup>43</sup> The conical kylix from the destruction layer on floor 1 of Square A14l should therefore, in all probability, be a product of the Mycenaean Post-palatial period.<sup>44</sup>

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there were several fine lines, this would be a trait well attested on deep bowls A painted with various LH IIIB motifs. However, the fine interior lines of regular Argive deep bowls A are found lower down, on the bottom or very close to the bottom of the vessel (cf. Voigtländer 2003, pls. 97.S 9; 98.S 14–S 15, S 19, S 30; 99.S 97, S 115; 100.S 126, S 147; 101.S 217, S 226, S 274).

<sup>35</sup> See below with n. 106 to 115.

<sup>36</sup> Monchambert 2004, 12, fig. 2; 13, 284–285 cat. nos. 1628, 1631–1632; 295, fig. 119.1628; 296, fig. 119.1631–1632; 315–316, 321–322. In part, Monchambert's discussion of the chronological relevance of the three sherds is unfortunately circular reasoning. When he applies Peter Warren's and Vronwy Hankey's absolute date of 1190 for the start of LH IIIC Early in order to fix the destruction date of Ugarit in absolute and relative terms, he does not realize that the Aegean absolute dates depend on precisely such Near Eastern destruction contexts because specific written sources allow us to connect regnal years to those destruction layers with greater or lesser certainty.

<sup>37</sup> Although classified as Mycenaean imports, their fabric descriptions (especially the inclusions) argue against Argive products (cf. Monchambert 2004, 285 cat. nos. 1631–1632; 296, fig. 120.1631–1632).

<sup>38</sup> Jung 2009a, 43 (quoting South 1988, 226, fig. 2.K-AD1257; 228).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Mountjoy 2018, 117–120, figs. 57–58.

<sup>40</sup> Decoration types in this paper follow Podzuweit's system (Podzuweit 2007, 311–316, Beil. 78a–j) including later additions (Jung 2002, 575–580, pls. I–XVII; Kardamaki 2009, 14–15, 454–455, tabs. 2–4).

<sup>41</sup> Monchambert 2004, 284 cat. no. 1628; 295, fig. 119.1628. According to the type descriptions provided by Arne Furumark and based on the specimens he quoted, one can differentiate FT 274 from FT 275 by proportion. In general, FT 274 has a deeper vessel and a shorter stem than FT 275 does (cf. the discussion in Jung 2002, 146).

<sup>42</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 107, Beil. 54. A further exception may be given by a fragment from Mycenae. E. French in: French – Stockhammer 2009, 177, tab. 1; 191, fig. 5.3 (but the vessel is very shallow, which might only fit with FT 275, if it really is a kylix and not a shallow cup).

<sup>43</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 324–325, 332, 385, 397, 401. The LH IIIC Early 1 abandonment phase of Building Complex I of the settlement at Kontopigado yielded a well-preserved specimen of FT 274 with decoration type 9.2 (Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2012, 168, fig. 11.33; 173–174), while similarly decorated fragments of conical kylikes are part of the Pit 1 deposit at the same site (Kaza-Papageorgiou et al. 2011, 213, 222, 246–247, fig. 13.83–88). A completely preserved painted vessel from a LH IIIB Final context in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns (Building VI, Room 123) shows a profile which one could typologically classify as halfway between the classical Palace-period FT 258 and the conical FT 274 (Kilian 1982, 401, 404, fig. 15.8; for the context see Damm-Meinhardt 2015, 158, pl. 42.2).

<sup>44</sup> The rather small sherds of Minoan coarse ware stirrup jars and Trojan kraters with incised wavy lines from the underlying Floor 2 are no real help in establishing a precise *terminus ante quem* in terms of Aegean relative chronology for the three sherds on Floor 1 (but cf. Monchambert 2004, 316, 302–303, fig. 126.1676, 1678; 309–310, fig. 128.1696, 1699).



Fig. 2 Mycenaean krater of southeast Aegean provenance, found at Ugarit in the House of Yabninu (National Museum of Latakia, photo R. Jung, view of the object originally published in Courtois – Courtois 1978, 349, fig. 54B).

Finally, there are various vessels of southeastern Aegean provenance found at different spots inside the settlement as well as in the Royal Palace of Ugarit which are often dated to LH IIIC or to a transitional phase of LH IIIB2 to LH IIIC Early.<sup>45</sup> The most famous of these vessels is the amphoroid krater FT 56 decorated with men, horses, wild goats and dolphins and found in the destruction level of a storeroom inside the House of Yabninu, also called the Southern Palace (Fig. 2).<sup>46</sup> The fact that such vessels from the wider region of the Dodecanese and Caria turn up in different contexts of the final LBA phases in the northern and central Levant as well as on Cyprus,<sup>47</sup> gives them a certain relative chronological value, but as long as we are lacking a detailed publication of a settlement sequence in their region of origin – a sequence covering both LH IIIB and LH IIIC – we cannot use them for establishing precise synchronisms with the Mycenaean relative chronology.

In drawing a conclusion from this discussion of relative chronology, which focuses on the typologically latest Mycenaean-type vessels from Ugarit, one needs to admit that the available evidence does not unequivocally support a synchronization of the conflagration with LH IIIC Early, although a connection with this Mycenaean phase seems to be slightly more plausible than with the preceding phase LH IIIB Final.

<sup>45</sup> Warren – Hankey 1989, 159–160; Mountjoy 2004.

<sup>46</sup> Courtois – Courtois 1978, 346–350, figs. 54–54C; Courtois 1990, 104, fig. 1; 129, fig. 3; 135–140, figs. 4–6A, B; Yon 1997, 63, 154–155 cat. no. 32.

<sup>47</sup> For the distribution see Jung 2009b, 79, 84, 91, fig. 4.

The Absolute Chronology of the Extensive Destruction  
Preceding the Reoccupation Phase

Fortunately, we are in a better position regarding the stratigraphic location of those artefacts that provide us with anchors for the absolute chronology for the end of Ugarit in its function as the capital of a petty kingdom. The first relevant object is a grip-tang sword of apparently local type with an incised cartouche bearing the *nomen* of Pharaoh Merneptah,<sup>48</sup> who reigned from 1224 to 1214 BCE.<sup>49</sup> The sword was part of a larger group of bronze weapons and implements which lay in the House of the Armorer, in a space which may have been a courtyard. Their scattered position and the fact that the level on which they were excavated corresponds to the foot of the wall limiting the courtyard, according to Callot, suggests that these bronzes had fallen from a higher story into the courtyard. During the reoccupation phase the inhabitants raised the floor level of the courtyard and positioned two stone troughs on top of the above mentioned and now ruined wall of the original house. With this amendment the house now had a wide courtyard suited for housing animals, which would drink from the troughs.<sup>50</sup> Thanks to Callot's architectural and stratigraphic analysis, we can thus be certain that the well-known Merneptah sword was initially stored in the House of the Armorer and got buried during the fire that destroyed the house and the city. This conflagration must therefore have happened during or after Merneptah's reign.

Two written documents help to narrow down the time of the destruction further. These are two letters found inside the House of Urtēnu in the city quarter named 'Sud-Centre'.<sup>51</sup> Both are written in Akkadian and were sent from Egypt to 'Ammurapi, last king of Ugarit. The first (RS 94.2176) is very fragmentary. Apart from the name of the recipient, only the sender's titles are extant, and these identify Pharaoh Seti II (1214–1208).<sup>52</sup>

The sender of the second letter (RS 86.2230) is Beya (or Bay), chancellor to Pharaoh Siptah (1206–1200):<sup>53</sup> 'Ainsi parle Beya, le chef des gardes du corps du grand roi, du roi du pays d'Égypte mē[me]: à 'Ammurapi, roi du pays d'Ou[garit].'<sup>54</sup> According to a hieratic ostrakon from Deir el-Medina, Siptah had Beya executed in his 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year,<sup>55</sup> which would be 1201 BCE. This year is a *terminus post quem non* for the sending of the letter found in the House of Urtēnu. It provides us with the latest date, which we can grasp based on the documents found at Ugarit itself. The time span between this date and Ramesses III's year 8 (1187) amounts to 14 years.<sup>56</sup> From a purely chronological point of view then, ascribing the arson of Ugarit to the Sea Peoples' destructive actions reported for Karkamiš (northern Syria)<sup>57</sup> in the year 8 inscription<sup>58</sup> thus gains in probability.<sup>59</sup>

There is an additional argument supporting this theory. This is the long-suspected connection between seaborne raids leading to the destruction of coastal towns by fire, as reported in various

<sup>48</sup> Schaeffer 1956, 169–173, fig. 170, pl. 8; Yon 1997, 81, 178–179 cat. no. 62; M. Gabolde in: Galliano – Calvet 2004, 109 cat. no. 82; Bietak – Jung 2008, 214–216, fig. 2 (with further bibliography); Jung 2009c, 139–143, fig. 7.6.

<sup>49</sup> Regnal years according to Schneider 2010, 402.

<sup>50</sup> Callot 2008, 120–122, figs. 1–2.

<sup>51</sup> On the House of Urtēnu see Yon 1997, 96–98; Calvet 2004.

<sup>52</sup> Lackenbacher – Malbran-Labat 2016, 86–87, pls. 36, 138.

<sup>53</sup> Regnal years according to Schneider 2010, 402; cf. also Schneider 2003, 138–140, 144, 146.

<sup>54</sup> Arnaud 2001, 278–279, 289, fig. 15.

<sup>55</sup> Grandet 2000.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Yon 1992, 119–120.

<sup>57</sup> For Klengel 1992, 113–114, has pointed out: 'When the "land of Karkamish" is mentioned in texts of the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.; this could point not only to the immediate territory of this city but also to all inland Syria in the north, belonging to or controlled by the kings of Karkamish.'

<sup>58</sup> Edel 1985, 31; see now also Ben-Dor Evian 2018, for a different reading, according to which the destroyers of kingdoms were not seaborne attackers or pirates, but at least initially foreign (land) troops betraying the kings, in whose armies they had been serving. However, further written evidence from the House of Urtēnu does indeed provide evidence for a seaborne enemy attack (see below).

<sup>59</sup> For a similar reasoning see already Yon 1992, 120.

letters found at Ugarit, on the one hand, and the destructions mentioned in Ramesses' inscriptions, on the other.<sup>60</sup> One of these letters is dated to the reign of 'Ammurapi, last king of Ugarit.<sup>61</sup> The House of Urtēnu yielded one additional letter that seems to provide some historical background information, as it can be dated to the early regnal years of a king who is generally thought to be 'Ammurapi.<sup>62</sup> The letter, sent by the Hittite Great King to the governor of Ugarit,<sup>63</sup> mentions the Šikalāyū, 'who live on ships' and about whom the Hittite Great King is trying to assemble information by interrogating a former captive of those Šikalāyū. Seaborne warriors virtually unknown to the established military powers in the eastern Mediterranean were thus disturbing the sea routes and endangering the life of the coastal settlements at least during a long period of 'Ammurapi's reign. Moreover, the Akkadian Šikalāyū *ethnikon* has a hieroglyphic equivalent among one of the Sea Peoples *ethnika* listed in Ramesses III's year 8 inscription.<sup>64</sup> Although there is no consensus among scholars about which equation is the correct one, we have both a lexical correspondence and a parallel in the content of both written sources, for the Šikalāyū / Tjekery or Šekeleš who, according to Ramesses III, come from islands,<sup>65</sup> while according to the Hittite Great King, they live on ships. Both pieces of information point to some Mediterranean region west of the lands controlled by the Great Kings. This evidence makes an attack advancing from the west coast towards the hinterland a plausible scenario for the cause of conflagration and fighting that ended the Ugaritic kingdom.

One final letter, again from the House of Urtēnu, provides some important topographic detail that could almost be called a confirmation of the mentioned hypothesis. Although fragmentary and addressed to an unnamed king (who might be the king of Karkamiš), this letter is of crucial importance, because it says: 'At the moment the enemy troops are stationed at Ra'šu and their vanguards [?] have been sent against Ugarit.' The sender is named 'Ammurapi', who – though mentioned only as 'servant', without further title – most probably is King 'Ammurapi, and he

<sup>60</sup> Yon 1992, 116–117 (on RS 34.129 regarding Šikalāyū living on ships as well as on RS L 1 by the king of Alašiya [Cyprus] to King 'Ammurapi regarding enemy ships); Noort 1994, 86–88 (on RS L 1; RS 20.238; RS 20.18); Lackenbacher 2002, 192–194.

<sup>61</sup> RS L 1: Nougayrol 1968, 85–86.

<sup>62</sup> The text of the letter explicitly states that the king 'is (still) young. He does not know anything' (Dietrich – Loretz 1978, 55 lines 5–7; Klengel 1992, 150; Lackenbacher – Malbran-Labat 2005, 227–228). Provided that king is indeed 'Ammurapi, this probably means the letter was written during the reign of Merneptah (cf. Singer 1999, 732–733, tab.).

<sup>63</sup> RS 34.129: Dietrich – Loretz 1978; Lehmann 1979; Malbran-Labat 1991, 38–39.

<sup>64</sup> Different scholars suggested either the Škr/Šklwš3 (Lehmann 1979, 489; Redford 2008) or the Tkr/T3k3r/T3k3ry (Railey 1982, 133–134; Edel 1984; Lehmann 1985, 34).

<sup>65</sup> Edel 1985, 225 line II,3A; now also Wüthrich – Matic' forthcoming. Even when adopting Shirly Ben-Dor Evian's new reading proposal of the inscription, according to which the named foreign lands fell victim to a conspiracy by *thr* troops, who in turn are interpreted as soldiers of foreign origin (Ben-Dor Evian 2018), one has to deal with military actions (in the form of some 'betrayal') occurring on some islands and thus to the west of the Levantine coast. For the crucial point in changing the interpretation, i.e. the *thr* soldiers being the agents of the whole betrayal, uprooting and scattering sequence of actions, Ben-Dor Evian quotes Wolfgang Helck (originally Helck 1979, 136). However, in his translation of the initial passage in the year 8 inscription, Helck has said something different from what Ben-Dor Evian states in her English translation of his reading. Helck wrote 'die Fremdländer ... entwurzelt und verstreut auf die Truppen der Länder [my emphasis]'. In his translation of the inscription, this explains the way in which the foreign lands had left according to the preceding part of the sentence ('die alle zusammen von ihren Inseln aufgebrochen waren'). According to Helck, they had left their islands in the state of being uprooted and scattered among the troops of the lands [i.e. troops of different countries], not 'by the land troops' (which in German would be 'durch die Landstreitkräfte' or something similar). For Helck, they were intermingled with troops of the regions from which they set off. However, in his discussion of the passage Helck states that 'being scattered among the troops of the (foreign) lands' seems to indicate that the Sea People groups had been 'als tuhir, Landsknechte' (lansquenets) in those countries and that they eventually met in some kind of a mercenaries' uprising in Amurru (Helck 1979, 137). He thus arrives at a similar point as Ben-Dor Evian does, but for him the uprising only happens in Amurru. Furthermore, he seems to imply a cooperation of those lansquenets with 'free' seaborne comrades in plundering cities such as Ugarit (Helck 1979, 137).



urges his ‘Lord’ to send troops and chariots as relief, while mentioning that he has already written to his Lord three times prior to this. Raʿšu is modern Rās Ibn Hanī, which was an Ugaritic harbor town situated just 4km southwest of Ugarit and housed further palaces of the royal family. Not surprisingly, the editors of the letter ask themselves if the fact that this letter has not been sent was due to the deterioration of the situation under pressure from the enemy.<sup>66</sup> Thus, this letter may have been one of the last written at Ugarit and reporting on the very reason why the city eventually fell to the unnamed enemy that had evidently come from the sea.

The excavation of the last LBA habitation phase of the North Palace at Rās Ibn Hanī again brought to light evidence for a conflagration. In their careful analysis of the stratigraphy, Élisabeth du Puytison-Lagarce and Jacques Lagarce have demonstrated that this destruction by fire resulted from systematic arson aided by additional fuel brought into an almost completely emptied building. Even most of the pottery had not been left inside the palace before the arson. This distinguishes the North Palace of Rās Ibn Hanī neatly from the Royal Palace at Ugarit.<sup>67</sup> Rather than ascribing this very systematic and thus probably planned action to the ‘enemy troops’, one may think of some kind of scorched-earth policy employed by the Ugaritans themselves before retreating towards Ugarit further inland.

Returning to the House of Urtēnu, we need to take note of several Mycenaean vessels found within it. They originated from different production regions, and this fits nicely with the wide range of international affairs that are documented in the archives of that house. Provided that none of them belongs to any reoccupation phase,<sup>68</sup> the well-preserved vessels in particular should have been intact and probably in use when the house was destroyed. These include one amphoroid krater, FT 56, from the southeastern Aegean<sup>69</sup> and an amphoroid krater painted in the Cypriot Rude or Pastoral Style.<sup>70</sup> For its shape and the standing s-shaped spirals on the neck, the latter finds a very good counterpart at Pyla-Kokkinokremos on the southern Cypriot coast.<sup>71</sup> As the amphoroid krater is a very rare shape among the Pastoral Style vessels,<sup>72</sup> this parallel is suggestive of a direct synchronism between Pyla and Ugarit. A fragment of a second Pastoral Style vessel from the House of Urtēnu belongs to a bell-shaped krater, FT 281/282.<sup>73</sup>

In assessing the chronological significance of these vessels, one needs to consider their exact find spot in Rooms 2072 and 2053. As in many Ugaritic houses, the House of Urtēnu has its own built chamber tomb, and this tomb was plundered. Its dromos opens to Room 2072, while Room 2053 communicates directly with 2072 by a door immediately north of the dromos. Therefore, Marguerite Yon has hypothesized that the two vessels may have been among the original grave gifts of that plundered tomb.<sup>74</sup> The tomb and the neighboring rooms yielded several amphoroid kraters, FT 54/55, of Argive LH IIIB style.<sup>75</sup> If all these pots were indeed originally deposited inside the tomb, their funerary use may, of course, antedate the last phase of the city by an unknown span of time.

<sup>66</sup> RS 94.2169: Lackenbacher – Malbran-Labat 2016, 33–35, pls. 8, 106. Surprisingly, Jesse Millek does not discuss this letter in his recent papers on LBA destruction events in the northern Levant (Millek 2020/2021; Millek 2021).

<sup>67</sup> du Puytison-Lagarce – Lagarce 2006.

<sup>68</sup> The stratigraphic evidence and the finds are not finally published. The first monographic publications of the House of Urtēnu examine the archival record.

<sup>69</sup> Lombard 1995, 230, 234, fig. 4.RS 92.2233; Jung 2009b, 84.

<sup>70</sup> RS 88.2221 + 2228 + 2229 (Yon et al. 1990, 20, 22, fig. 16; Lombard 1995, 230, 234, fig. 4.RS 88.2222).

<sup>71</sup> Surface find from the Dikaios excavations (Karageorghis – Demas 1984, 48, pls. 19.1953/V-21/25; 35.1953/V-21/25), joining a new fragment (PK18.05.00403-C) from Sector 5, Space 5.16, of the ongoing Belgian excavations (rim diameter 31cm [39%], base diameter 11cm [73%], Jung et al. in press, fig. 11). A further parallel with similar neck motifs comes from Kazaphani (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 207 cat. no. VI.9; Karageorghis 2008, 174–175, fig. 4, pl. 2).

<sup>72</sup> Karageorghis 2008.

<sup>73</sup> Yon 2000a, 14, 22, fig. 5d.

<sup>74</sup> Yon 2000a, 7; cf. Lombard 1995, 236, fig. 7; Calvet 2004.

<sup>75</sup> Yon 2000a, 7, 12, 21, fig. 4; 22, fig. 5b, c; 23, fig. 6c–e.

A small globular stirrup jar, FT 173, comes from Room 2135, which is located in the rear (to the east) of the tomb and does not communicate with the dromos.<sup>76</sup> It should therefore be part of the house inventory. Penelope Mountjoy recently assigned it to a pattern-decorated subgroup of the Cypriot Simple Style,<sup>77</sup> which unfortunately cannot be used for a fine-phased correlation with Aegean pottery phases.

To sum up, the conflagration of Ugarit gives us some very precise anchors for absolute chronology but leaves us with problems regarding the relative chronological links to the Aegean. These problems mainly arise from uncertainties regarding the exact stratigraphic positions of the typologically latest Aegean-type ceramics and may be resolved in the upcoming volumes of the final publication.

### Tell Tweini

Proceeding southwards along the Levantine coast, the next destruction to be examined is that of Tell Tweini. This settlement is situated in the plain of Jebleh and can most probably be identified with LBA Gibala, the southernmost harbor town in the kingdom of Ugarit.<sup>78</sup> At the end of LBA II a conflagration destroyed the settlement, and, according to the excavators, arrowheads from the destruction level suggest that fighting inside the city accompanied that conflagration.<sup>79</sup> Although by the end of the last Belgian-Syrian excavation campaign in 2010 the LBA II settlement phase had been detected all over Excavation Field A, not all walls and only a few floor deposits of the LBA buildings were uncovered at that time (Fig. 3). Moreover, the subsequent building activities in the Iron Age I and II periods destroyed parts of the LBA II structures and strata. Therefore, the pottery analysis has to confine itself to a limited number of vessels that can help in the synchronization of that phase with the Aegean relative chronological sequence.

One of the earliest Argive imports at Tell Tweini is an amphoroid krater, FT 53, painted with a pair of chariots confronting each other on either side of the shoulder (Fig. 4). The combination of all its characteristics – from its proportions with a broad shoulder and low neck<sup>80</sup> to the riders'

<sup>76</sup> Yon 2000a, 7, 20, fig. 3c; cf. Calvet 2004.

<sup>77</sup> Mountjoy 2018, 68–69, fig. 28.4.

<sup>78</sup> Bretschneider et al. 2004, 217–220; Bretschneider – Van Lerberghe 2008, 31–32.

<sup>79</sup> Bretschneider – Van Lerberghe 2008, 32; Bretschneider – Van Lerberghe 2010, 32–33, 41, ill. 36; Bretschneider et al. 2019b, 6: “... a layer of ashes (ca. 5 to 25cm) superimposing the ruins of various Late Bronze Age buildings (Level 7A).” This brings to mind similar findings from different city quarters at Ugarit (see above).

<sup>80</sup> TWE-A-01089-C001.C002, TWE-A-01089-C003 + TWE-A-01805-C001.C002.C003.C007, TWE-A-01089-C007 + TWE-A-02605-C014, TWE-A-01805-C004.C005, TWE-A-01805-C006, TWE-A-02016-C010.C011, TWE-A-02016-C002, TWE-A-02016-C005.C012.C015, TWE-A-02016-C009.C013, TWE-A-02016-C014, TWE-A-02532-C008.C009, TWE-A-02532-C010, A-02555-C050, TWE-A-2603-C009.C010.C013.C015.C019.C024.C025 + TWE-A-02605-C003, TWE-A-02605-C008, TWE-A-02605-C010.C011. Rim diameter: 36cm (10%); max. diameter: 42.5cm. For similar proportions see the krater from Maroni in New York (Slenczka 1974, 116, pl. 40.3; Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 196 cat. no. III.16; Güntner 2000, 174 cat. no. ‘Wagen 9’ [supposedly LH IIIA1, but see FM 34.2, the rock pattern from this very krater, dated to LH IIIA2 Early by Furumark 1941, 327, fig. 55; 329]); a krater from Bamboula-Vournes (Johnson 1980, 34 cat. no. 248, pl. 50 [height 42cm; rim diameter 32cm]; Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 197 cat. no. IV.1; Güntner 2000, 177 cat. no. ‘Wagen 74’ [supposedly LH IIIA2]); a krater from Enkomi Chamber Tomb 10, second burial layer (Dikaios 1969/1971, 361, 367 cat. no. 23, pls. 203.19; 204; 223.7; 224; Slenczka 1974, 118, pl. 41.2; Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 198 cat. no. IV.32; Güntner 2000, 224 cat. no. ‘Stier 11’ [LH IIIA2]); and a krater from Tomb 21 at Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios. The latter tomb was totally disturbed in antiquity and did not contain any in situ burials. The excavator dates its grave goods to LC IIB (South 2006, 140–144). With a height of 54.5cm, a rim diameter of 39.0cm and a maximum diameter of 49.8cm, it is slightly bigger than the Tweini krater. The composition of the two antithetic chariots driving towards each other is identical for both kraters (South 2006, 140–142, figs. 9–10, 11.K-AD2360).

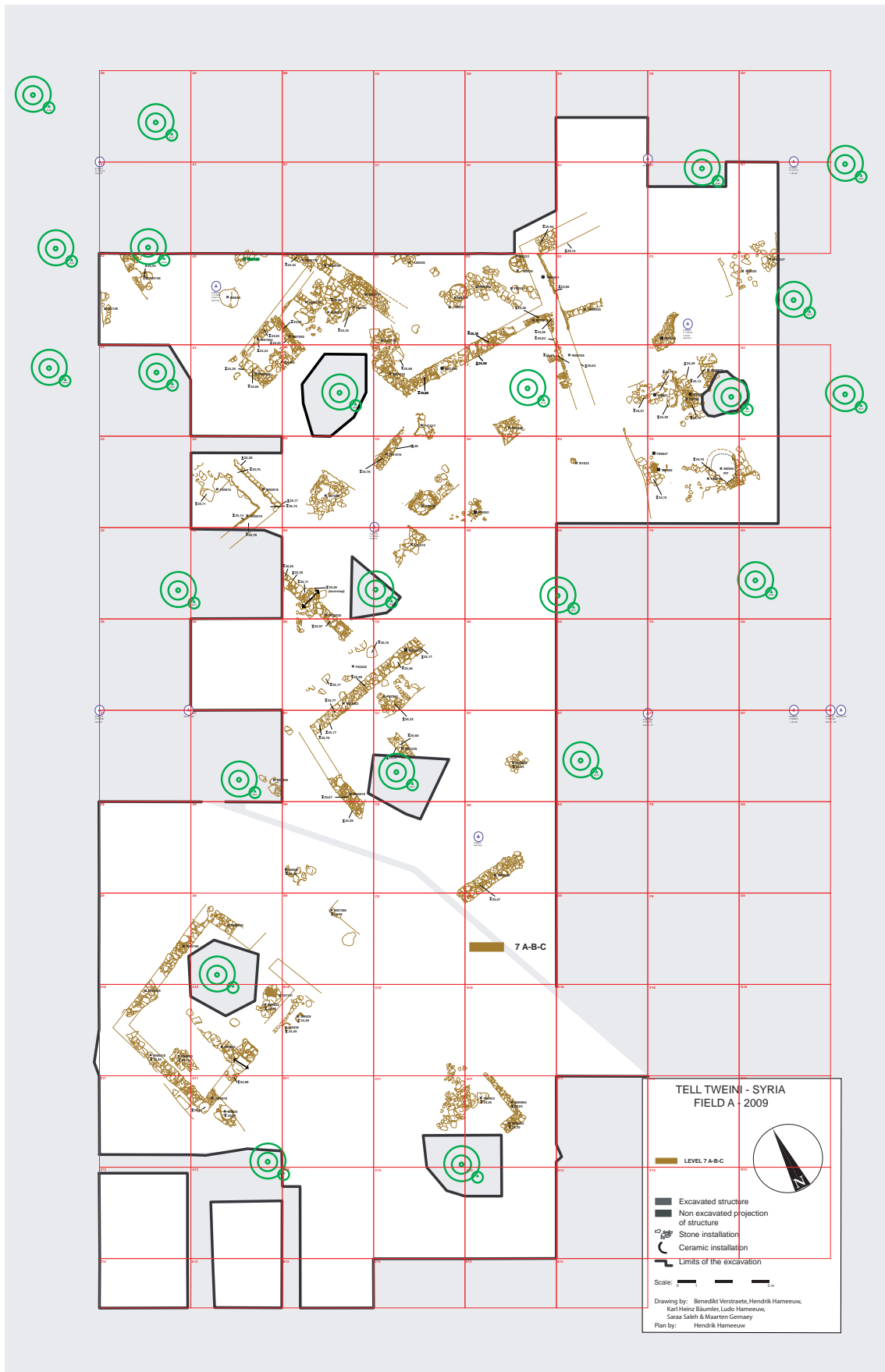


Fig. 3 Tell Tweini, Field A, plan of Level 7A-B-C (after Bretschneider et al. 2019b, 19, fig. 6).



Fig. 4 Tell Tweini, Field A, amphoroid krater of Argive provenance. Scale 1:6 (drawing R. Jung, digitization R. Yassine).

face profiles,<sup>81</sup> the patterns on the chariot box<sup>82</sup> and the floating fill motifs in front of the riders<sup>83</sup> – suggests a typological-stylistic date in LH IIIA2 Late. The sherds of that krater were dispersed across layers of a street running through the northern part of Field A (Squares A4 and B4). Stratigraphically these contexts antedate the LBA II destruction of the settlement and thus provide a *terminus post quem* for that destruction. The lowermost strata yielding sherds of the krater belong to the LBA II construction horizon called Level 7C.

The fragment of a small Minoan stirrup jar with the characteristic evenly banded body (Fig. 5.1) comes from the construction horizon Level 7C in the northern part of Field A (Square F3) and is

<sup>81</sup> Cf. a krater of unknown provenance in Paris (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 196 cat. no. III.18; Güntner 2000, 174 cat. no. ‘Wagen 11’ [supposedly LH IIIA1, but see the fill motifs FM 11.41 and FM 25.9–10, both dated to LH IIIA2 by Furumark 1941, 265, fig. 34; 267, 315–316, fig. 53; see also below n. 83) and the mentioned krater from Tomb 21 at Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios (South 2006, 141, fig. 9).

<sup>82</sup> For similar though not identical combinations of dots and naturalistic patch pattern on the same chariot box see the mentioned krater from Maroni (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 196 cat. no. III.16) and a fragment of an amphoroid krater from Enkomi Level IIA (Dikaios 1969/1971, 558, pl. 61.38).

<sup>83</sup> For the bivalve motif FM 25.9–10 on other amphoroid chariot kraters see the mentioned kraters from Bamboula-Vournes (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 197 cat. no. IV.1; cf. n. 80) and of unknown provenance in Paris (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 196 cat. no. III.18; cf. n. 81); a krater from Tomb 12 of the British excavations at Enkomi (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 196 cat. no. III.17; Güntner 2000, 174 cat. no. ‘Wagen 5’ [supposedly LH IIIA1]); and the krater from Tomb 21 at Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios (South 2006, 140–142, figs. 9–10, 11.K-AD2360). For this motif decorating stirrup jar shoulders see the examples of FT 171 found at Tell el-Amarna (Hankey 1995, 116, 119, fig. 5).

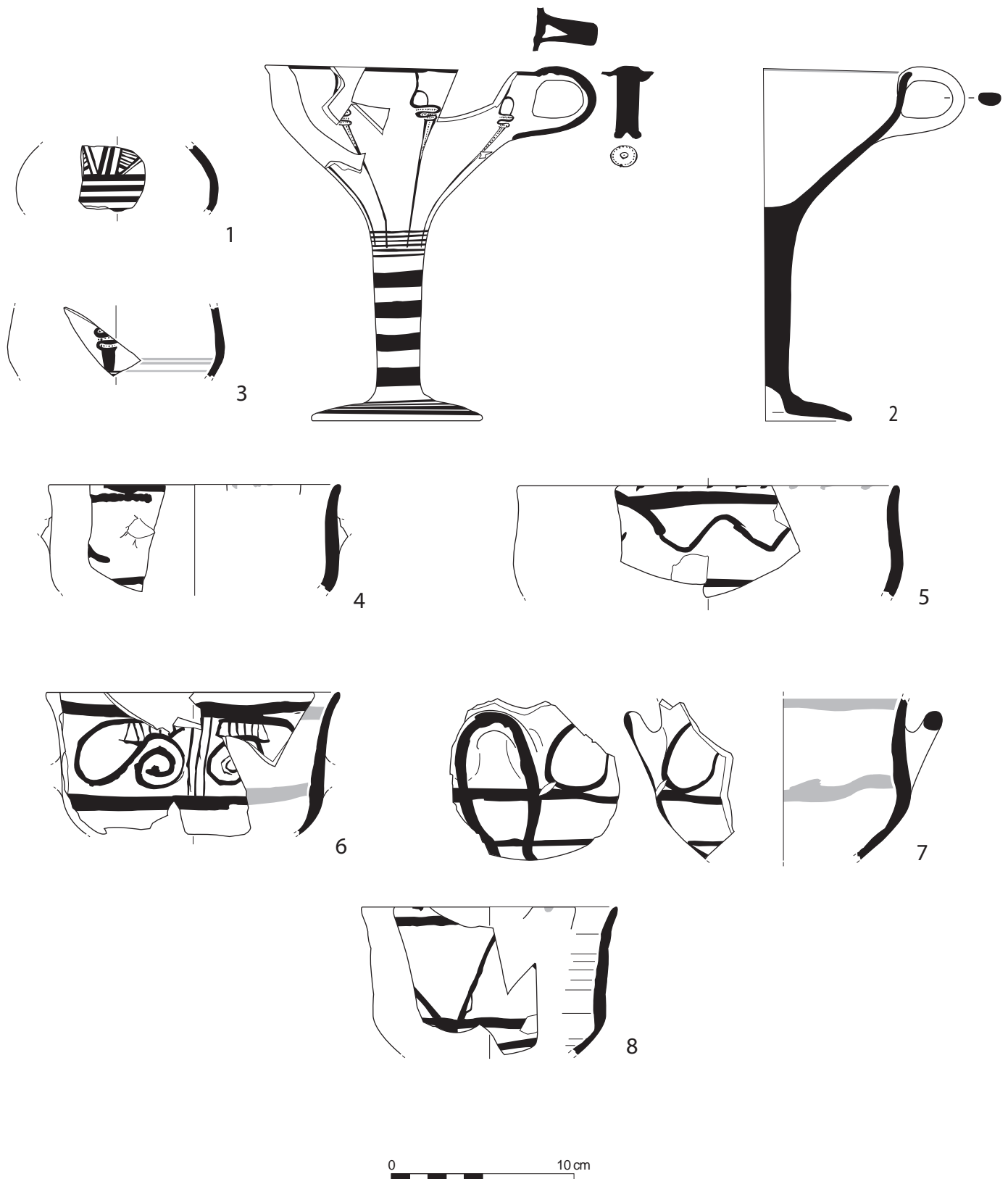


Fig. 5 Aegean pottery from Tell Tweini, Field A, Level 7A-B-C and 6GH. 1. Level 7C; 2-4. Level 7A; 5-7. Level 6GH. 1. Minoan import; 2-3. Argive imports; 4-8. local Mycenaean products. Scale 1:3 (drawings R. Jung, digitization R. Yassine).

connected with a building. It also sets a *terminus post quem* for the LBA II destruction. Its shoulder motif, consisting of hatched triangles with a pair of separating lines, finds quite a good parallel on a large, closed vessel from the LM IIIB2 destruction level at Ayia Aekaterini Square at Chania.<sup>84</sup>

Also in the northern part of Field A, but in another building that is located in Square B2, a classical Argive kylix, FT 258A, (Fig. 5.2) was found as part of a pottery assemblage deposited on a floor during the fiery destruction marking the end of LBA II Tell Tweini (Level 7A) at least in this area of the settlement.<sup>85</sup> That floor deposit includes two shallow bowls or plates of local type;<sup>86</sup> a baggy handmade cooking pot, also of local type;<sup>87</sup> and a Cypriot-type Plain White Wheelmade jug with a conical neck.<sup>88</sup> The Argive kylix with the typical rim decoration type 1.1 (narrow rim band in and out) shows a series of vertical whorl shells FM 23.8 on the body and a single rosette FM 27.21 underneath the preserved handle. All its characteristics anchor it firmly in the first half of LH IIIB, the phases LH IIIB Early and LH IIIB Middle.<sup>89</sup> Afterwards, the production of pattern-decorated kylikes FT 258 stopped abruptly.<sup>90</sup>

The body fragment of what must have been an imported Argive deep bowl FT 284/285A comes from an open-air space (Square Z11) in the south of Field A (Fig. 5.3). The context is a layer equivalent to the LBA II destruction Level 7A. This deep bowl is painted with a variety of the vertical whorl-shell motif that has the solid body (similar to FM 23.10) characteristic for the later LH IIIB phases.<sup>91</sup> This might mean that the vessel represents one of the very rare imports dating to the period of the Argive export drop after the phase LH IIIB Middle.

This same architectural Phase 7A has more to offer than imported Mycenaean and Cypriot ceramics, namely a number of local products, which clearly reproduce Aegean prototypes, but add certain elements to a specific style that make it unique in the regions of the Levantine coast. A building in the central part of Field A (Squares C6, C7, D6) contained rim fragments of deep bowls FT 284/285A (in the broader sense of the term characterized by the non-monochrome interior) which were locally made in a light brown/buff fabric with a wiped surface decorated with a dull, dark reddish brown paint (Fabric M 4,<sup>92</sup> Fig. 6). One fragment is securely stratified in the

<sup>84</sup> TWE-A-00854-C009. The parallel from Chania was found in Building 1, Room A (Hallager – Hallager 2003, 69, pls. 82.71-P0875; 100c).

<sup>85</sup> Jung 2010b, 119, ill. 2. The context (locus TWE-A-0185) and its environs exhibited clear traces of fire and an ash layer (personal information Joachim Bretschneider, Greta Jans). The handmade cooking pot TWE-A-0185-C021 shows traces of secondary burning after breakage.

<sup>86</sup> Plates of Types 1 and 5 in Monchambert's system (Monchambert 2004, 28, 60, fig. 7; 62, fig. 9.101–117).

<sup>87</sup> For the handmade cooking pot see Vansteenhuyse 2010, 41–43, 51, figs. 7–8.

<sup>88</sup> According to the NAA result, it is an import from the Larnaca Bay area (sample Twei 47: group CypJ), see Vilain 2019, 331, 365 cat. no. CYP 342; 385, fig. 53 (top, center). For the vessel type see e.g. Bürge – Fischer 2018, 258, 260, fig. 3.26.1.

<sup>89</sup> TWE-A-0185-C020.C026. Guntram Schönfeld offers a comprehensive discussion of type, decoration and motif (Schönfeld 1988, 155, tabs. 1.43 and 2.39; 158, 163–164, tab. 4; 167–170, 175, fig. 5.4; 182–183, 186, 188, 192) with reference to settlement contexts from Tiryns and Mycenae.

<sup>90</sup> This is most probably because they were replaced by deep bowls (Podzuweit 2007, 108, Beil. 47).

<sup>91</sup> TWE-A-05764-C015. In the Tirynthian Epichosis (mainly LH IIIB Final, to a lesser extent LH IIIC Early 1, see Kardamaki 2015, 93–94) 13 published deep bowls A include six with a solidly painted stem, two with a dotted stem (the older variety) and one with a stem made up of parallel lines (Voigtländer 2003, 37–38 cat. nos. S 2–S 14, pls. 13.S 2–S 14; 97.S 2–S 12; 98.S 13–S 14). The so-called Potter's Shop at Zygouries provides the earliest attestation of the solid body variety, but on kylikes not on deep bowls (Thomas 2004, 215, fig. 10.3.2). Only 3 out of 42 sufficiently preserved whorl-shell motifs on kylikes FT 258A from this room have a solidly painted stem, 21 have a dotted stem, 16 show other fill motifs between the stem lines, while on two the stem is left blank (Thomas 1992, 585–594, figs. 51–61).

<sup>92</sup> Fired very hard. Surface wiped, wheel marks and wiping traces visible. Paint dull; diluted to solid cover. Pottery matrix with a medium quantity of fine to coarse voids; very large amount of fine to coarse angular and rounded inclusions (mainly white, but also dark gray particles), handle with chaff temper. Color of paint ranging from 2.5YR 4/1 (dark reddish gray), 4/4 (reddish brown) to 5YR 4/2 (dark reddish gray); color of surface ranging from 10YR 6/4 (light yellowish brown), 7/2 (light gray), 7/3 (very pale brown) to 7.5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow) and 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); color of break 10YR 5/4 (yellowish brown) to 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow), sometimes with a gray core.



Fig. 6 Local Mycenaean deep bowl fragments (Fabric M 4) from Tell Tweini, Field A.  
Scale 1:3. Left: TWE-A-03328-C036.C037, Level 6G; right: TWE-A-03338-C015, Level 7A (photo R. Jung).

Level 7A destruction debris (Fig. 5.4); the second one was found higher up (Fig. 5.5), in a layer that should already belong to the following settlement Level 6G. However, given its striking similarity to the 7A specimen, its context might, in fact, be due to secondary deposition of a Level 7A product. The linear decoration of the two deep bowls is confined to the exterior and includes a band, which is either painted on the lip or a little below (in the first case another band follows underneath), and at least one lower band bordering the decorative zone. Patterns consists of a line of dots or rather short strokes on the interior rim (most probably a feature of local inspiration)<sup>93</sup> and a single horizontal wavy band with wide swings of medium thickness (FM 53.20). All painted decoration is untidily drawn. While the one specimen has a regular deep bowl diameter of 16cm, the other one is large, with its rim diameter measuring 21cm. These deep bowls recall the wavy band deep bowls of the Argolid in (a) their variability of sizes reaching quite large diameters and (b) in the wide-swung single wavy band occupying the decorative zone.

Those wavy band deep bowls are a characteristic feature of the so-called Epichosis at Tiryns, i.e. strata mainly formed by LH IIIB Final palace destruction debris dumped from the Upper Citadel and most probably also – though to a lesser degree – by further debris thrown down the wall during LH IIIC Early 1.<sup>94</sup> Most of the wavy band deep bowls from the Epichosis resemble stemmed bowls in their linear decoration of type 7, while specimens with a monochrome interior (decoration type 9) are rare.<sup>95</sup> The Western Staircase stratigraphy clarified that the main production period of those Tirynthian wavy band deep bowls post-dated the destruction of the palace. It also suggests that they did not belong to the popular table ware vessels.<sup>96</sup> Elsewhere in the Argolid, deep bowls painted with a single broad wavy band appear to be even rarer.

<sup>93</sup> It seems doubtful that this rim pattern could relate to LH IIIB and LH IIIC deep bowls with dotted rim (such as Mountjoy 1999, 151, fig. 39.298; 157, fig. 41.316; 173, fig. 49.366; Voigtländer 2003, pls. 102–103; Podzuweit 2007, pls. 13.10; 20.4–6; or Kardamaki 2009, pls. 4.84–87; 21.422–438, 422), for the dots on the Tweini deep bowls appear in continuous rows of widely spaced short brush strokes rather than as densely placed proper dots. Local reproductions of rosette deep bowls in the Mycenaean sense are unknown in the Levantine coastal regions. Short or longer, more or less widely spaced brush strokes recur, however, on painted Levantine pots (mostly chalices of local types, e.g. Badre – Capet 2018, 82–84, pl. 13.180, 189, 192). These may betray the origin of such patterns on locally made deep bowls in coastal Syria (for this discussion see Jung 2008, 193–195).

<sup>94</sup> Kardamaki 2015, 93–94.

<sup>95</sup> Voigtländer 2003, 94 cat. nos. Si 122–Si 125; 172–176, pls. 49–50, 67. Si 122–Si 125; 109–110, 129. Si 122.

<sup>96</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 221–222, pl. 20.411–412.

Leaving aside regional preferences outside the territories of the Mycenaean kingdom, such as the situation on the central Macedonian tell settlements,<sup>97</sup> one notes that wavy band deep bowls were in common use in coastal Thessaly. At Dimini the destruction layer inside Megaron B, which fell out of use after its conflagration, contained many wavy band deep bowls with either a banded or a monochrome interior. Most of these have the thickened rim of the stemmed bowl.<sup>98</sup> The same destruction layer yielded many deep cups FT 215, most of which are painted in the decoration types 14–15 (interior monochrome, sometimes with reserved bottom circle, medium to broad rim band),<sup>99</sup> which in Argive terms would point to a date in LH IIIC Early 1 rather than LH IIIB Final.<sup>100</sup> The high frequency of deep bowls FT 284/285 with decoration type 9.2 (narrow rim band and monochrome interior)<sup>101</sup> provides additional evidence for such a date. The predominance of antithetic spirals, FM 50, and triglyphs, FM 75, on those deep bowls would also be in accordance with that, although one might expect more specimens with running spirals FM 46 (their rarity might be a local trait).<sup>102</sup> So, the parallels from both Tiryns and Dimini suggest that the Tweini specimens were manufactured in LH IIIC Early 1, when wavy band deep bowls occupied a certain place in some Aegean drinking sets rather than being an absolute exception.

At Tell Tweini, further south in Field A (Squares A9, B9, B10) another building yielded examples of locally made deep bowls FT 284/285A, which, however, are made in a different fabric (M 1).<sup>103</sup> Their contexts belong to the first building activities of the Early Iron Age (Level 6GH).<sup>104</sup> They are mainly rubble layers underneath the first Early Iron Age floors and overlying the LBA II structures. The surfaces of these vessels are wiped (with many visible traces), of yellowish buff color and bear dull, dark-red paint (Fig. 7). The walls of these deep bowls are straight rather than bell-shaped but have clearly flaring rims. Their linear decoration is reminiscent of the Argive stemmed bowl decoration type 7 (rim band + further bands on the interior and exterior surfaces), but differs from the classic stemmed bowl decoration types in leaving the lip without a band and placing the uppermost interior and exterior bands a bit further down. There are long tails descending on both sides from the band painted along the ridge of the horizontal handles. All but one of these deep bowls show antithetic spirals FM 50, which – if sufficiently preserved – flank a central triglyph (Fig. 5.6–7). The one exception has a wide horizontal zigzag painted between the upper and the first lower band (Fig. 5.8). This is clearly not a Mycenaean deep bowl motif (even though one can assign it the FM 61 number). Its local use on this vessel type may have been inspired by large Syrian-type deep bowls, which show similar (but usually broader) zigzag motifs on the upper half of the body.<sup>105</sup> Just like the first group of deep bowls made in Fabric M 4, this group

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Jung 2002, 81–83, figs. 14–15 (with further bibliography).

<sup>98</sup> Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 214, tab. 15; 388–389. The fill layer inside Room 2 of the Northern Megaron, a complex situated immediately to the north of Megaron A and overbuilt after the destruction by LH IIIC Early structures, also yielded such wavy band deep bowls (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 180–181, tab. 9; 470–471).

<sup>99</sup> Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 206, tab. 12; 208, tab. 13; 211, tab. 14; 214, tab. 15; 349–350, 398–399.

<sup>100</sup> Kardamaki 2015, 90–91, fig. 8.10.

<sup>101</sup> Rim band below 1cm width. Decoration type 9.1 starts at 1cm width in Podzuweit's system, while Eleftheria Kardamaki in her modification talks about decoration type 15 if the rim band is narrower than 1.49cm (Kardamaki 2009, 454, tab. 2).

<sup>102</sup> Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 382–387. Cf. Kardamaki 2009, 456, tab. 6; 457, tab. 10.

<sup>103</sup> Fig. 5.6: TWE-A-07331-C003.C004 + TWE-A-07185-C002; Fig. 5.7: TWE-A-7169-C019; Fig. 5.8: TWE-A-07331-C001 + TWE-A-07336-C001. Fired hard. Surface wiped/covered by a self-slip; fine wheel marks visible on the exterior, on the interior also deeper wheel marks (as if it was a closed vessel). Paint dull; solid cover, but at certain spots diluted. Color of paint 10R 3/4 (dusky red), 4/4 (weak red), 4/6 (red); color of surface 7.5YR 7/4 (pink), 7/6 (reddish yellow); 2.5Y 7/3, 7/4 (pale yellow); color of break 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Pottery matrix dense; many angular inclusions of predominantly medium to coarse size (black, reddish brown, very few white ones).

<sup>104</sup> These deep bowls cannot serve to illustrate the pottery that was in use during the Level 7A destruction event (despite Mountjoy 2020, 187–188, fig. 18.14.3), for they are stratified in the first Iron Age level (cf. Jung 2018a, 291–292, fig. 19.13.1–3).

<sup>105</sup> Badre – Capet 2018, 74–75, pl. 9.105.





Fig. 7 Local Mycenaean deep bowl fragment (Fabric M 1) from Tell Tweini, Field A, Level 6GH (photo R. Jung).

of local deep bowls made in Fabric M 1 is characterized by a lack of care in drawing horizontal lines and executing symmetrical patterns. A dotted rim on the zigzag deep bowl links this second group to the first.

Despite the impact that the local potters' creativity had on the execution of painted linear decorations and motifs, these deep bowls are clearly of Mycenaean type and are therefore significant for establishing synchronisms with the Aegean. In the Argolid, antithetic spiral motifs were characteristic Group A deep bowl motifs from LH IIIB Early until LH IIIC Early.<sup>106</sup> The linear decorations of type 7 and, more precisely, the varieties with one or several bands in the middle or on the lower half of the interior wall are chronologically more sensitive. In the Argolid, the habit of decorating deep bowls in this way emerged at the end of the Palatial period, but describing its development in quantitative terms with reference to specific subphases is not easy.

The earliest stratified attestations are to be found in the LH IIIB Final destruction contexts of Mycenae,<sup>107</sup> and Midea.<sup>108</sup> The published Epichosis material from Tiryns includes three deep bowls with single broad lower bands on their interior walls, one of them a Type A deep bowl

<sup>106</sup> Schönfeld 1988, 155, tab. 2.90; 177, fig. 6.14–15, 17, 19; 187; Podzuweit 2007, 26–28, Beil. 3, pl. 2.6–11; Kardamaki 2009, 214–215, 300, 456–457, tab. 8 (Typ GT1fb).

<sup>107</sup> South House Annex, Room 1: E. French in: French – Stockhammer 2009, 185, 187, fig. 2.2 (regular FT 284/285, rim diameter 17cm according to the drawing). South House, Central Room: E. French in: French – Stockhammer 2009, 191–192, fig. 5.6 (large specimen, rim diameter 20cm according to the drawing – although the reconstruction as FT 283/285 rather than as a stemmed bowl FT 304/305 is not entirely secured).

<sup>108</sup> Gateway of the West Gate: Demakopoulou 2003, 81–82, fig. 5.2 (large specimen, rim diameter 20cm according to the drawing). Apart from the stemmed foot, this vessel resembles a stemmed bowl FT 304/305 in all its morphological and decorative details.

bearing whorl shells with filled stems (similar to FM 23.10, see above) as well as a large and a small wavy band deep bowl.<sup>109</sup> However, the character of the Epichosis strata does not allow for a differentiation between LH IIIB Final and LH IIIC Early 1. Among the finds from the Western Staircase, there is no specimen with that kind of interior decoration that we could ascribe with certainty to the LH IIIB Final palace destruction, while two vessels belong to the succeeding LH IIIC Early 1 horizon.<sup>110</sup> Likewise, the Lower Citadel stratigraphy did not yield any attestation of that decoration mode on deep bowls in levels antedating LH IIIC Early.<sup>111</sup> Further towards the southern coast of the Argolid, we find three large wavy band deep bowls in the Iria house annex of probably LH IIIC Early 1 date.<sup>112</sup>

Probably the earliest deep bowls (FT 284/285) to be painted with that variety of decoration type 7 were those large specimens that morphologically still betray the model of the stemmed bowl FT 304/305. This might suggest an innovative process, during which potters transferred the new linear decoration to the classic small deep bowl FT 284/285A with rim diameters between 14 and 16cm<sup>113</sup> only as a second step. If this is true, then we might be entitled to date the small (i.e. regular-sized) Group A deep bowls with one or two broad interior bands at medium or lower height to LH IIIC Early 1 rather than to LH IIIB Final.<sup>114</sup> These would then be indicators for a *terminus ad or post quem* of LH IIIC Early 1, when found elsewhere.<sup>115</sup>

Summing up the evidence from Tell Tweini, for the construction period of LBA II Level 7 (Level 7C) we have a *terminus ad or ante quem* of LH IIIA2 Late. The final conflagration occurred when Aegean-type pots were being locally made under the influence of the LH IIIC Early 1 style, while much earlier Palace period imports were still in use among the population. One may assume that the fiery destructions of the capital Ugarit and its southern harbor town Gibala (Tell Tweini) were related historical events, for the mentioned letter from the Urtēnu archives informs us that the northern harbor town Raʿšu (Rās Ibn Hani) had fallen to unnamed enemies during ʿAmmurapi’s reign and because the whole kingdom ceased to exist with the fall of this last king ʿAmmurapi. The Aegean relative synchronisms of Tell Tweini would then apply to Ugarit as well. This is conceivable, as the evidence from Ugarit itself points to the time span LH IIIB Final–IIIC Early 1 for the extensive conflagration. It also fits with the stratigraphic evidence for fighting found in both settlements and with the report in Ramesses III’s year 8 inscription, which refers to the destruction of entire lands or kingdoms. Accepting that both destructions can be synchronized with LH IIIC Early 1 then leads to the conclusion that LH IIIC Early 1 should have started before at least 1187 (Ramesses III, year 8, the Sea Peoples’ destructions in the northern Levant) and possibly – though less plausibly – even before 1201 BCE (Siptah, year 5, the execution of Bay, who had sent a letter to King ʿAmmurapi).

<sup>109</sup> Voigtländer 2003, 38 cat. no. S 14 (rim diameter 14.8cm); 74 cat. nos. SW 14 (rim diameter 22cm) and SW 21 (rim diameter 12.2cm), pls. 98.S 14; 110.SW 14, SW 21.

<sup>110</sup> Western Staircase, context of either LH IIIB Final or LH IIIC Early 1 date: Kardamaki 2009, 11–12, 56, 204, 207 n. 298, 213, 219, pl. 12.171 (large specimen, rim diameter 20cm, cf. Kardamaki 2015, 85–86, fig. 3.2). Western Staircase, LH IIIC Early 1: Kardamaki 2009, 89, 204, 208, 213, 221, 300, pls. 18.361 (small specimen, rim diameter 16cm); 22.450 (large specimen, rim diameter 19cm).

<sup>111</sup> Podzuweit 1987, 188, 192 n. 26; Podzuweit 2007, 24–25, pls. 1.2; 2.8; 3.7.

<sup>112</sup> Döhl 1973, 169–170, 183, fig. 16.A 5, A 7, A 8; pl. 69.3–5; Mountjoy 1999, 153–154, fig. 40.302. For the date of the complex see most recently Kardamaki 2009, 382–385.

<sup>113</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 29.

<sup>114</sup> At Dimini, the deep bowls with interior bands at medium height found in the Northern Megaron (north of Megaron A) in a fill layer most probably deposited during LH IIIC Early 1 and then overbuilt by later LH IIIC Early rooms either show morphological traits of the stemmed bowl FT 304/305 or are very small vessels with a straight rather than bell-shaped profile (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 465, 471). Thus, they do not represent the regular deep bowl shape.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. already Podzuweit 1987, 188 with n. 26 (Pyla and Kalavassos lasting until LH IIIC Early based on those deep bowls); Podzuweit 2007, 25, 269 n. 1815, 276–278, 281.

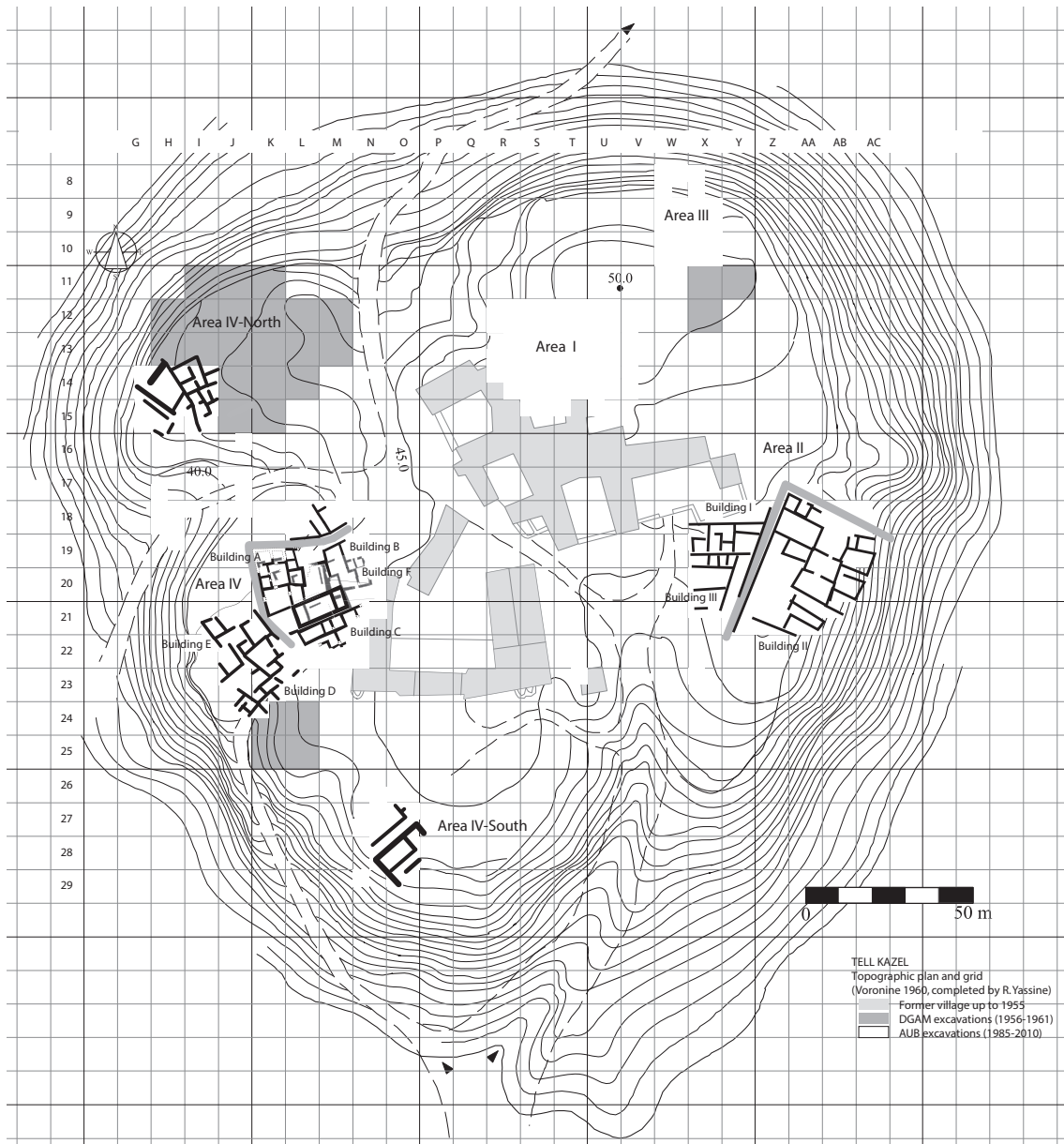


Fig. 8 Excavated buildings on Tell Kazel (digitization St. Fragner, after Badre – Capet 2018, 163, plan 2).

### Tell Kazel

The Kingdom of Amurru is one of the major regions affected by those destructions on which Ramesses' inscriptions at Medinet Habu report.<sup>116</sup> The Akkar plain, the northern part of which today belongs to Syria and the southern part to Lebanon, formed the central part of Amurru. Many seasons of excavation explored the most important LBA settlement in this plain. This is Tell Kazel (Fig. 8), usually identified with the city of Šumur situated in the kingdom of Amurru and apparently the seat of its king.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Edel 1985.

<sup>117</sup> Klengel 1984; Klengel 1992, 160–174. Subsequently, this identification has gained support from petrographic studies on Amarna letters (EA 165–EA 167 and EA 96) either sent by Aziru, king of Amurru, or by an Egyptian general writing from Šumur (Goren et al. 2004a, 108–111, 116, 124–125, tab. 7.1) and on Syrian-type pottery found at Tell Kazel itself (Badre et al. 2005, 23–24, pl. 2a–b; Boileau et al. 2010, 1685, 1687, fig. 6a–c).



Fig. 9 Tell Kazel, Area IV-North, pithos storeroom (photo R. Jung, courtesy of L. Badre, storeroom originally published in Badre – Capet 2018, 33, photo 6 [by L. Badre]).

At the end of LBA II (Akkar Phase K1), Tell Kazel also fell victim to a fiery destruction. A good illustration of its devastation is a storeroom in Excavation Area IV-North, where stones calcinated by the fire became a concrete-like mass due to subsequent reaction with water (Fig. 9).<sup>118</sup> The destruction traces are less marked in Area II, yet still exist.<sup>119</sup> In direct comparison, the Phase K1 conflagration of Area II is referred to as the ‘incendie’, that of Area IV as the ‘violent incendie’.<sup>120</sup>

Weapons (mainly arrowheads, but also a Syrian-type sword) related to that destruction were found in Excavation Areas II and IV. While there are no human skeletons in the destruction debris, Area IV yielded a complete sheep skeleton lying on a floor of the destruction phase.<sup>121</sup> The excavations did not uncover written documents that would connect Akkar Phase K1 to any known king. However, two of the Medinet Habu inscriptions by Ramesses III explicitly mention a devastating destruction of Amurru by the coalition of ‘ethnic’ groups that scholars conventionally refer to as the Sea Peoples. The first inscription dates to his regnal year 5 (1190 BCE); the second, to his year 8 (1187 BCE). It seems that decades of discussion among Egyptologists have resulted in a now widely accepted view that those reports which refer to destructions in the northern Levant

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Badre – Capet 2018, 33, photo 6.

<sup>119</sup> In some rooms the destruction layer on top of the last Level 6 floor had been cleared away by the rebuilders of the Iron Age I phase, while in others these same people had apparently moved the Level 6 burnt debris in order to use it as fill material under the first floors they laid (Capet 2003, 66, 73–74, 76, 79, 81, 87, 90, 93, 99). Although stylistically often very similar, the vessels from the Iron Age I destruction should not be intermingled with those from the preceding LBA II destruction (as in Mountjoy 2020, 187–190, fig. 18.14.4–8). Despite initially noting the destruction evidence published for Area II (Millek 2020/2021, 114–116), Millek later neglects it (Millek 2021, 73).

<sup>120</sup> Capet 2003, 117.

<sup>121</sup> Badre 2006, 85, fig. 15; Jung 2009a, 42.

do have historical value and cannot be discarded as copying main events from earlier pharaonic historical narratives.<sup>122</sup>

### Argive Imports

In many respects, the Tell Kazel pottery evidence is reminiscent of that encountered at Tell Tweini. As part of the destruction level assemblage in Phase K1, there are Argive imports dating to the Palace period (LH IIIB Middle–Developed) and local Mycenaean products adopting stylistic elements of the LH IIIB Final and LH IIIC Early 1 phases. Two series of NAA and petrographic analyses have assigned the majority of the imports to the northern Argolid (chemical pattern MYBE) and have confirmed the origin of the local Mycenaean pots in the region of the Akkar plain.<sup>123</sup>

Starting with the northern Argive imports from Phase K1 contexts,<sup>124</sup> Building B to the north/northeast of the temple yielded a number of relevant finds. A chalice FT 278 (Fig. 10.1) comes from the same space in which the sheep skeleton lay (architectural Level 5 upper in Area IV).<sup>125</sup> Its row of walking men finds close parallels on other chalices in the Levant and on Cyprus as well as on an open vessel of uncertain shape at Berbati, a potters' quarter in the region of Mycenae. Based on the style, they can be dated to LH IIIB Early–Middle.<sup>126</sup> In addition, stratified in the same Phase K1 destruction context there are fragments of a small globular stirrup jar FT 173 (Fig. 10.3)<sup>127</sup> as well as of one of the extremely rare specimens of unpainted Argive imports, a conical kylix FT 274 (Fig. 10.2).<sup>128</sup> The small stirrup jar finds good parallels for all of its typological aspects in Argive contexts from LH IIIB Middle to LH IIIB Final.<sup>129</sup>

The same excavation square yielded a large fragment of a Zygouries kylix FT 258A (Fig. 10.4) lying on the plaster floor covered by a destruction layer of an older building, which the excavators ascribe to architectural phase 6 (Akkar Phase K3 = Level 6 upper in Area IV).<sup>130</sup> The Zygouries type was an innovative feature of the LH IIIB Early phase and became common only by LH IIIB Middle, and the Kazel specimen with its whorl-shell pair showing empty heads finds plenty of parallels in LH IIIB Middle levels of the Tirynthian Lower Citadel as well as in the LH IIIB Middle eponymous 'Potter's Shop' at Zygouries in Corinthia.<sup>131</sup>

This floor sequence therefore suggests that at least the pictorial chalice found almost complete in the Phase K1 destruction layer was an old piece that had remained in use from a previous

<sup>122</sup> Summing up earlier debates and proposing new pieces of interpretation: Kahn 2010; Ben-Dor Evian 2018; Wüthrich – Matic' forthcoming.

<sup>123</sup> Badre et al. 2005; Boileau et al. 2010.

<sup>124</sup> More detailed discussions and pottery editions have been published elsewhere (Jung 2008; Jung 2011c; Jung 2015). What follows is a selection of certain chronologically important pieces.

<sup>125</sup> 6421.1 + 6652.14 (both Square M 19 SE): Badre et al. 2005, 26, 40 no. TK 72; Jung 2008, 159–161, 165, fig. 7.19; 214 cat. no. 19 (with a Levantine parallel probably found at Kāmid el-Lōz). For the context cf. Badre 2006, 85, fig. 15.

<sup>126</sup> The parallel on Cyprus comes from the new Belgian-Greek excavations at Pyla-Kokkinokremos (PK15 384 + PK15 604, unpublished). For the stylistic date of the parallels for the human figures see Güntner 2000, 179–180 cat. nos. 'Wagen 114' and 'Wagen 133'; 200–201 cat. nos. 'Mensch 33, 35, 37, 38, 45' (quoting Åkerström 1987, 32 cat. nos. 105, 107–109, 111, 119, pls. 19.5; 20.1–3, 5a–5c; 21.8, and Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 200–201 cat. nos. V.7, V.8). There might be one more distant parallel on Cyprus, found in Temple 2 at Kition (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, 202 cat. no. V.33; Mountjoy 2018, 634–635, fig. 317.383). The human figures resemble closely those on the Tell Kazel chalice, but the vessel seems to be a kylix FT 274 rather than a chalice FT 278.

<sup>127</sup> 6652.12B,C (M 19 SE).

<sup>128</sup> 6652.13A,B (M 19 SE): Jung 2008, 170, 202, fig. 19.91; 218 cat. no. 91.

<sup>129</sup> Mycenae, West House destruction, LH IIIB Middle: French 1967, 160–161, fig. 10.5, pl. 38b (right). Mycenae, Corridor in the so-called Citadel House Area, destruction layer, LH IIIB Final: Wardle 1973, 309, fig. 7.10, 13. Tiryns, Epichosis, LH IIIB Final (–LH IIIC Early 1): Voigtländer 2003, 101–102 cat. nos. Bü 9–Bü 15, pls. 73.Bü 13–Bü 15; 135.Bü 15.

<sup>130</sup> 6689.1A, 6689.1B (Square M 19 SE/S [southern bulk of M 19 SE]): Badre et al. 2005, 41 no. TK 106.

<sup>131</sup> Schönfeld 1988, 155, tabs. 1.42 and 1.65; 176, 188–189; Thomas 1992, 585–587, figs. 51.3, 6–7; 52.1, 3; 53.2–5; Thomas 2004, 212–217, fig. 10.2.1–2.

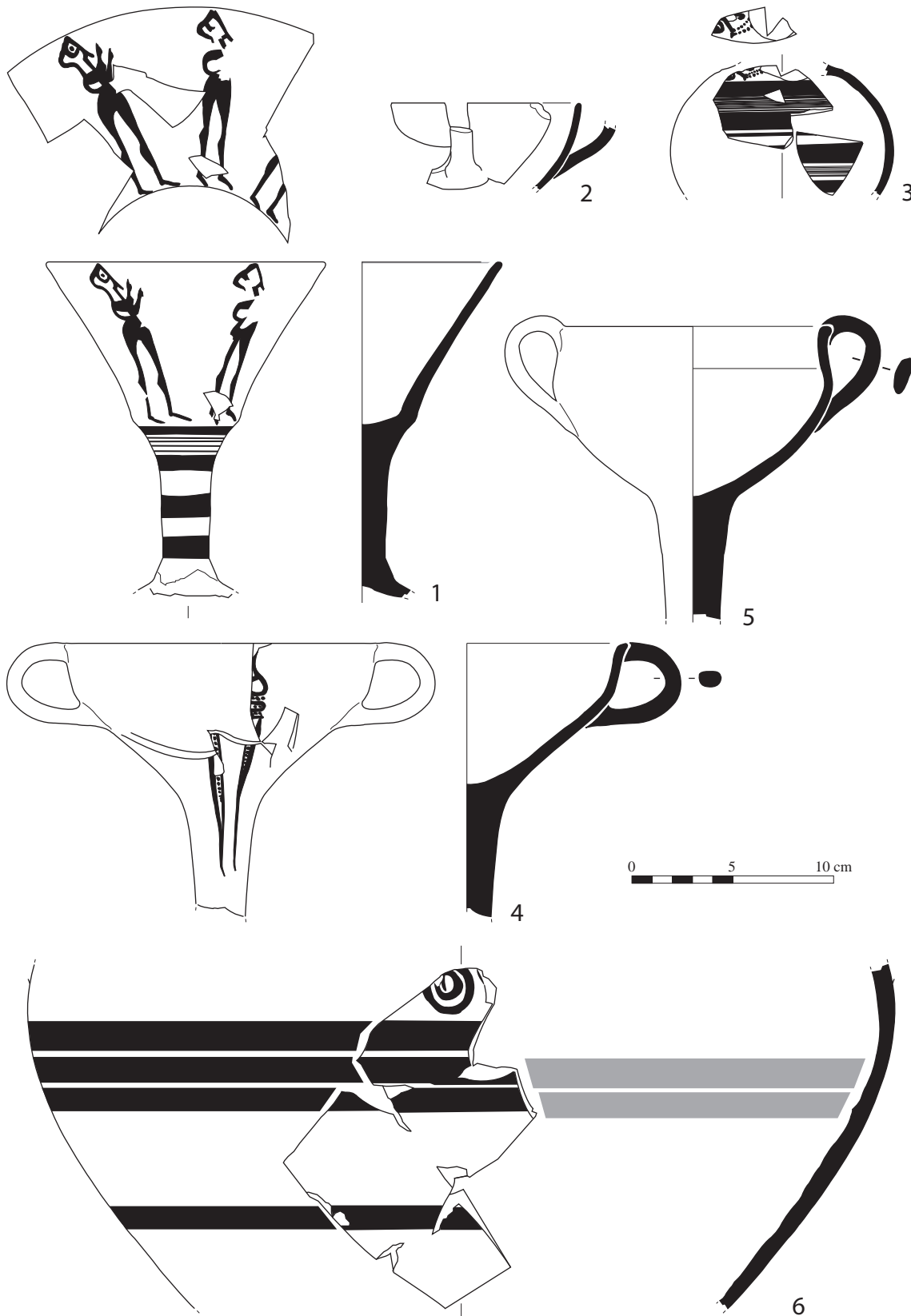


Fig. 10 Aegean pottery from Tell Kazel, Area IV, Building B. 1–3. Akkar Phase K1; 4. Akkar Phase K3; 5–6. probably Akkar Phase K3. 1–4, 6. Mycenaean imports from the Argolid; 5. Gray Ware kylix imported from Troy. Scale 1:3 (drawings R. Jung, digitization R. Yassine).

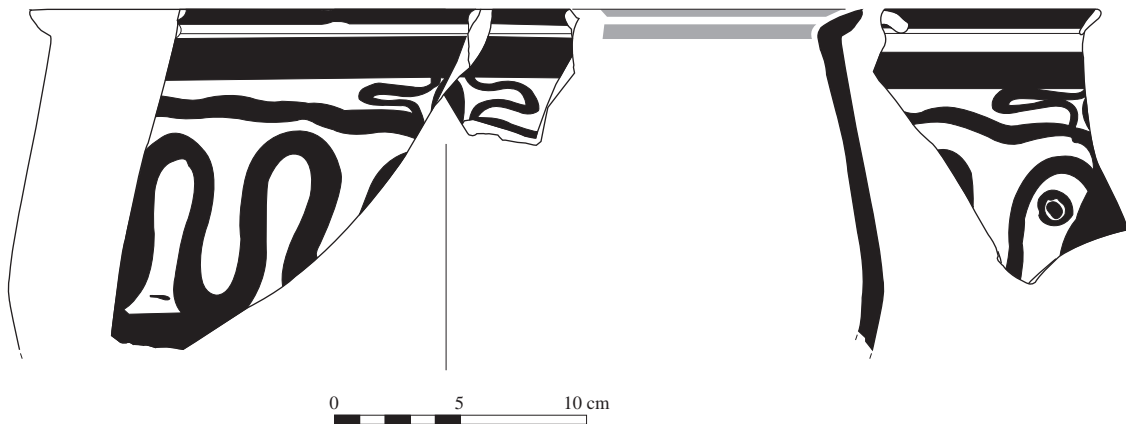


Fig. 11 Imported Argive krater from Tell Kazel, Area IV, Building E, Akkar Phase K1, and Building F, Akkar Phase K3/K4. Scale 1:3 (drawing R. Jung, digitization R. Yassine).

settlement phase. The same might be true for a Trojan Gray Ware kylix (Fig. 10.5), but a fragment of it did in fact form part of the same Phase K3 context as the Zygouries kylix (Fig. 10.4).<sup>132</sup> This, in turn, probably means that the fragment from the K1 destruction layer has ended up there due to a process of secondary deposition. At Troy itself, this Gray Ware kylix type (A 85 in Blegen's typology), which is equivalent to the Mycenaean unpainted FT 265, was in use from Troy VI Late to Troy VIIa,<sup>133</sup> which would be from LH IIIA2 to the end of LH IIIB or the very beginning of LH IIIC Early in the Mycenaean chronological system.<sup>134</sup>

Further to the west, on a flagstone floor bordering the already mentioned plaster floor of Level 6, another fragment of special chronological relevance was found. It is the body fragment of a krater, which, because of one preserved handle attachment and in view of its interior bands, was clearly a FT 281/282 krater with horizontal handles (Fig. 10.6). In the course of LH IIIB this type largely replaced the earlier one with vertical handles. The new join from Level 6 upper (Akkar Phase K3) suggests that the other fragments had been secondarily deposited in higher levels.<sup>135</sup>

For the relative chronology of Akkar Phase K3 one can further mention a krater with rim decoration type 7.1 and a large octopus motif (close to FM 21.17), again from Excavation Area IV. While the first fragment of it turned up in Phase K1 (Level 5 upper) of Building E, a second sherd, which almost certainly belongs to the other side of the same vessel, turned up in a later excavation season 40m to the east, in a context of Level 6 in Building F. Therefore, the vessel very probably came to Syria when the buildings of Level 6 (Akkar Phases K3 and K4) were inhabited (Fig. 11).<sup>136</sup> There are only a few parallels for a krater with this motif. The one which is closest to the Tell Kazel specimen is a krater FT 8/9 with vertical handles found in a chamber tomb at Ialysos on Rhodes.<sup>137</sup> A second, though not as close a parallel, comes from Enkomi, Tomb 48 of the British Museum excavations. It is an example of FT 281/282 with a

<sup>132</sup> Vessel TK 03.143, joined from 6652.1 (M 19 SE) + 6689.52 (Square M 19 SE/S): Badre et al. 2005, 31–32, fig. 7.4; 41 no. TK 97; Badre 2006, 88, fig. 17.8.

<sup>133</sup> Blegen et al. 1953, 40, tab. 9; 52; Blegen et al. 1958, 20, tab. 9; 30.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Mountjoy 2006.

<sup>135</sup> 5396.5 (M 20 NE) + 6392.3 (M 19 NE) + 7564.1 ([7192] N 21 NE/E), 6687.30 (M 19 SE): Jung 2008, 159–160, fig. 4.14; 214 cat. no. 14 (level ascription has to be corrected).

<sup>136</sup> 6339.1A–D (Square J 22 NW) + 7244.42 (J 21 SW), 8055.1 (N 20 NW): Badre et al. 2005, 40 no. TK 70; Jung 2008, 158–160, fig. 4.12; 214 cat. no. 12 (without the new join).

<sup>137</sup> The version of FM 21 is very similar to that on the Tell Kazel krater, but the linear decoration is different (decoration type 1.2): Ialysos, Makra Vounara, Chamber Tomb 59 (Benzi 1992, 357 no. 2, pl. 90g; Mountjoy 1999, 1021–1022, fig. 417.101). Unfortunately, this vessel was not associated with one of the in situ burials and can thus not be dated by context (cf. Benzi 1992, 356–357, pl. 124c).

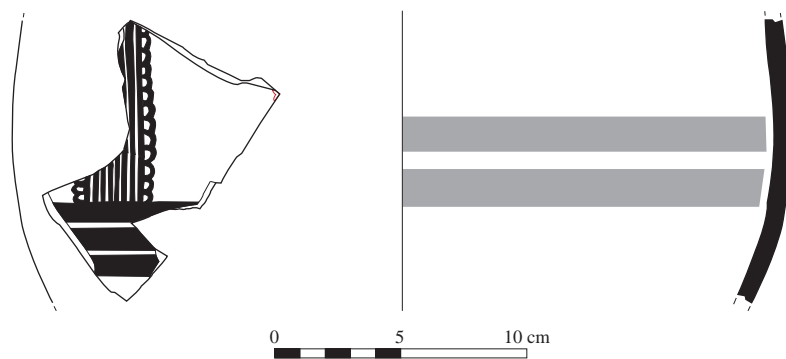


Fig. 12 Imported Argive krater from Tell Kazel, Area IV, Building B, Early Iron Age I phase, and Building C, Akkar Phase K1. Scale 1:3 (drawing R. Jung, digitization R. Yassine).

slightly diverging version of the motif (including added white paint).<sup>138</sup> The third parallel is a krater FT 8/9 found in a built chamber tomb of the Lazarides cemetery on Aegina. It already differs considerably from the Argive vessel found in Syria.<sup>139</sup> Unfortunately, none of these parallels comes from a closed context.

However, the linear decoration type 7.1 consisting of a rim band and a second band below both on the inside and on the outside is chronologically quite sensitive. In the continuous vertical sequence of the Tirynthian Lower Citadel the first kraters decorated with this double rim banding appeared in LH III B Middle, but decoration 7.1 became common on kraters only by LH III B Developed and Final.<sup>140</sup> In view of the version of the FM 21 pattern (cf. FM 21.17), which is attested on kylikes FT 258B characteristic for the LH III B Early to Middle phases,<sup>141</sup> the Tell Kazel krater should probably be dated to LH III B Middle. Wolfgang Güntner proposed a similar stylistic date for the Rhodian krater, the octopus of which is closest in style to the one found at Tell Kazel.<sup>142</sup> In fact, the above-mentioned krater from Aegina is much closer to Güntner's LH III B Developed style.<sup>143</sup>

Taken together, these imports from Level 6 of Area IV demonstrate that by Akkar Phase K3 (the last floors of the Level 6 buildings) the time of the Aegean phase LH III B Middle must have been reached. The *excursus* to this earlier level was necessary to understand the complex stratification processes as well as the prolonged use periods of Argive painted vessels in the Syrian settlement of Tell Kazel, which can be regarded as exemplary for the treatment of such pottery in many regions of the eastern Mediterranean.

Returning to the destruction Phase K1, one may finally cite the two joining fragments of an Argive krater FT 281/282, the first of which comes from the burnt layer in Building C (Area IV, Level 5 upper) and the second from a later context of the following Early Iron Age I phase in Building B. The vessel is decorated with two broad interior bands at medium height,

<sup>138</sup> Murray 1900, 47–48, fig. 73.965; cf. Güntner 2000, 313 cat. no. 'Tintenfish 208' (stylistically dated to LH III B Developed). For a description and color photo (showing decoration type 6.1) see the British Museum online catalog (Crewe 2008, cat. no. 48.14).

<sup>139</sup> It bears a different version of FM 21 including added white paint, while the rim decoration type is 1.2.2: Lazarides, Built Chamber Tomb B, without stratigraphy (Efstratiou – Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2016, 9–11, 105–107, fig. 134 and drawing 34).

<sup>140</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 59, Beil. 39.

<sup>141</sup> For kylikes FT 258B with FM 21 see Furumark 1941, 629 (258 nos. 13–14, 16–18), and Thomas 1992, 154–155, 546, fig. 12.20–21 (body and foot fragments which either belong to FT 257 or FT 258B from Tsoungiza, EU 2, Rubbish Pit 1, LH III B Early). For the production period of FT 258B see Schönfeld 1988, 155, tab. 1.43; 158, 176, 180, 183, 188–189, 200, 205–206.

<sup>142</sup> Güntner 2000, 319 n. 297: 'eine Zwischenstellung zwischen den Darstellungen der Phase SH III B 1 und SH III B 2'.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. especially one krater FT 281/282 from the Tirynthian Lower citadel: Güntner 2000, 150, 312 cat. no. 'Tintenfish 180', pl. 77 (earliest contexts date to LH III B Final).



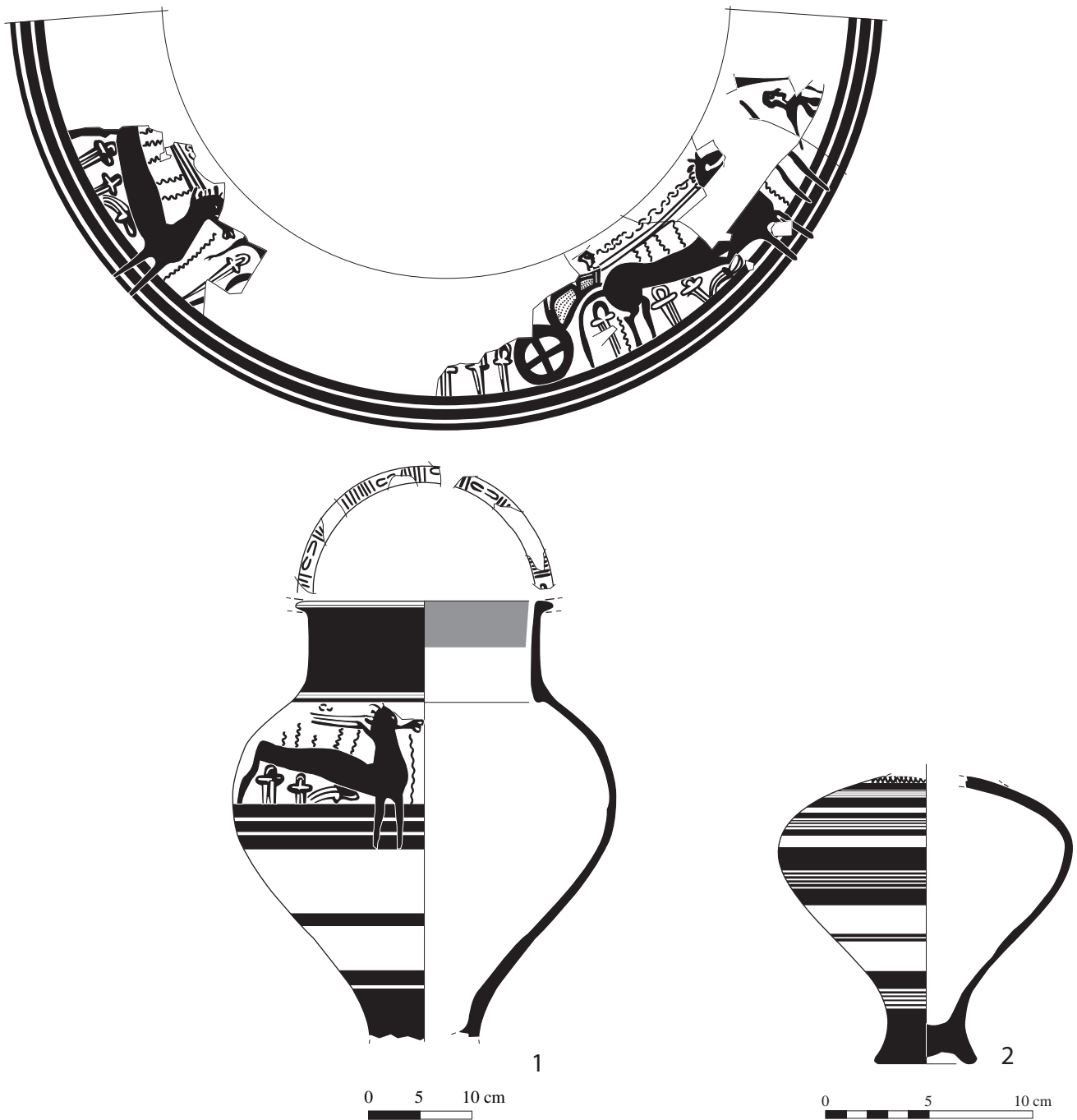


Fig. 13 Imported Argive vessels from Tell Kazel, Area II, Building II, Akkar Phase K2. 1. Room 6IIK; 2. Room 6IIA.  
1. Scale 1:6; 2. Scale 1:3 (drawings R. Jung, R. Yassine, digitization R. Yassine).

three broad lower bands on the outside and as a motif carries a triglyph of medium width, FM 75.29.<sup>144</sup> Parallels range in date from LH IIIB Middle (perhaps also IIIB Early) to LH IIIB Final (Fig. 12).<sup>145</sup>

One may also briefly mention some chronologically relevant Argive imports from Excavation Area II further to the east on the tell. An almost complete amphoroid krater FT 54/55 lay on the lower floor of Room 6IIK in Building II (Akkar Phase K2). It shows a developed chariot motif, which, based on its execution, still seems to belong to the LH IIIB Early–Middle style (Fig. 13.1).<sup>146</sup> On the lower floor in Room 6IIA of Building II in Area II (Akkar Phase K2) lay a stirrup jar FT 166 with net pattern FM 57.2 on the shoulder (Fig. 13.2).<sup>147</sup> This type is especially characteristic for LH IIIA 2 (Late), though FM 57 is a truly exceptional shoulder motif.<sup>148</sup> The type continued into LH IIIB Early.<sup>149</sup>

### Local Mycenaean Ceramics

Apart from the imports discussed here from the Argolid, Akkar Phase K1 is also characterized by the first appearance of locally made Mycenaean pottery at Tell Kazel. It appears in the same buildings as the earlier Mycenaean imports, but the quantities differ from building to building and from room to room. Occasionally, both of these classes in the same building show the impact of the fire that destroyed the settlement at the end of Phase K1 (Fig. 14)<sup>150</sup> – as is, for example, the case in the presumably ‘Administrative Building’ of Area IV-North.<sup>151</sup>

The locally produced Mycenaean pottery of Tell Kazel shares certain traits with that of Tell Tweini, but the differences are more notable. Unpainted Mycenaean vessels were a regular part of the set at Tell Kazel, but rarer at Tell Tweini, and the type spectrum of unpainted shapes was different at both sites. Among the painted vessels, those from Tweini generally carry patterned motifs, while at Tell Kazel many bear only linear decoration. The antithetic spirals FM 50, the most common motif on the deep bowls of one local Mycenaean fabric group at Tell Tweini, are completely absent from the local Mycenaean repertoire at Tell Kazel. Simple triglyphs FM 75 without additional motifs are the commonest patterns on deep bowls FT 284/285A and other painted shapes at Tell Kazel. Vertical strokes on the interior rims of the Kazel deep bowls recall

<sup>144</sup> 5720.62, 63 (Square M 22 NW) + 6975.24 (Square N 19 SW/W): Jung 2008, 159–160, fig. 4.13; 214 cat. no. 13 (prior to more complete restoration).

<sup>145</sup> Mycenae, South House, Room 22 (LH IIIB Middle): Mountjoy 1976, 84–85, fig. 4.18 (broad triglyph, FT 281/282). Tsoungiza, EU 2, Rubbish Pit 1 (LH IIIB Early): Thomas 1992, 160 cat. nos. TS 151 and TS 152, fig. 14.2–3; Thomas 2005, 484–485, fig. 13.2–3 (triglyphs, but not exact parallels, FT 281/282 not clearly identified). Tiryns, Lower Citadel, LH IIIB Middle (triglyphs of medium width): Schönfeld 1988, 189, 191, fig. 8.6, 8. Tiryns, Epichosis, LH IIIB Final (–LH IIIC Early 1): Voigtländer 2003, 76 cat. no. K 10, pls. 52.K 10; 112.K 10 (possible direct parallel or only part of a much broader triglyph like Voigtländer 2003, pl. 52.K 14).

<sup>146</sup> 4189.6, 11: Badre et al. 2005, 38 no. TK 21; Jung 2008, 161–163, fig. 5; 214 cat. no. 16. For the context see Capet 2003, 65, fig. 2; 73–74, 78, fig. 13.

<sup>147</sup> 2090.8 + 4794.2 (both AA 18 SW): Badre et al. 1994, 337, fig. 59d; 340.

<sup>148</sup> Mycenae, Petsas House, Storeroom A: Papadimitriou – Petsas 1951, 209, fig. 8.362, 649; 223–234; Shelton 2015, 31, fig. 6. For FM 57.2 as a shoulder motif on a stirrup jar FT 166 see a specimen (with certain Minoan features) from the Attic cemetery of Brauron, Chamber Tomb 6, excavated by Ioannis Papadimitriou (Papadopoulos – Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2014, 28 cat. no. 27, fig. 3.56; pl. 19.27).

<sup>149</sup> Thebes, 14 Oedipus St. (Kordatzis plot), pit of the so-called ivory-pottery hoard (pottery Group A, LH IIIB Early destruction, Symeonoglou 1973, 16–17, 41, tab. I): The stirrup jars with exclusively linear decoration K26–K28 provide the best parallels for the proportions and the original height of the fragmentary vessel from Tell Kazel (Symeonoglou 1973, 36, pls. 40–41, figs. 121–126), whereas the smaller and less piriform pattern-painted stirrup jars K29–K43 provide better parallels for the type of linear decoration found on the Argive import at Tell Kazel (Symeonoglou 1973, 36–38, pls. 42–50, figs. 127–171; Mountjoy 1999, 663, 665–666, fig. 253.84–85).

<sup>150</sup> The photo shows 7497.19 (I 14 SE), the rim sherd of a linear deep bowl FT 284/285A with decoration type 1.1 and fragments of 7483.1, 7483.12.13, 7483.14, 7483.30 (I 14 NW/S), a small piriform jar FT 45 with N-pattern FM 60.

<sup>151</sup> For that possibly administrative complex see Badre – Capet 2018, 14, 33, photo 6; 163, plan 2.



Fig. 14 Mycenaean pottery from Tell Kazel, Area IV-North, 'Administrative Building', Akkar Phase K1. Left: burnt local Mycenaean deep bowl fragment; right: burnt and unburnt fragments of an imported Argive piriform jar (photo R. Jung).

the dotted rims of the Tweini deep bowls in a certain sense, but the resemblance is only superficial.

The linear decorations of the local Mycenaean vessels give us good evidence for establishing a comparative chronology. The high number of deep bowls carrying exclusively linear decoration finds its counterpart in LH IIIC Early, a phase in which purely linear decoration became dominant for the first time on these vessels in the Argolid.<sup>152</sup> At the same time, unpainted table ware was still very much in use in this region and elsewhere in early Post-palatial Mycenaean Greece.<sup>153</sup>

The Southwestern Complex or Building D in Area IV of Tell Kazel yielded two well-preserved local Mycenaean vessels, which can most probably be ascribed to the Phase K1 destruction, an unpainted carinated kylix FT 267 (Fig. 15.1)<sup>154</sup> and a linear deep bowl with vertical handles FT 289 (Fig. 15.2).<sup>155</sup> In addition, there is the sherd of an imported stemmed bowl

<sup>152</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 50–51, Beil. 32–33.

<sup>153</sup> Mycenae, Citadel House Area, Room XXXIV, Phase IX: 33 painted (42%) and 46 unpainted vessels (58%). The clearly dominant shape of the latter is the kylix, while unpainted deep bowls and shallow bowls are much rarer (French 2011, 42, tab. 2). Among the unpainted kylikes, the conical type FT 274 is more common than the angular one FT 267 (French 2011, 44, fig. 16). For more detailed comparative discussion of vessel statistics see Jung 2011c, 121–123, figs. 1–3; 126–127.

<sup>154</sup> TK 05.101 (Context 7264, K 22 SE/W).

<sup>155</sup> 7264.40 (K 22 SE/W).

FT 304/305, which, in view of its fabric, might actually be the product of a southern Argive workshop (Fig. 15.3).<sup>156</sup> The latter vessel stands out due to its rare 9.1.2 decoration (very broad rim band and monochrome interior) and has its best parallel at Asine-Barbouna, in a settlement layer that – although not strictly speaking a closed context<sup>157</sup> – contained pottery datable to LH IIIB Early/Middle.<sup>158</sup> The carinated kylix shows a profile without articulated rim, which is attested since the early LH IIIB phases and until the end of production of that shape,<sup>159</sup> but the linear deep bowl with vertical handles is chronologically more sensitive. FT 289 was apparently not particularly common in the Aegean, so that only unstratified examples were available for a long time.<sup>160</sup> Therefore, chronological assessments proved to be difficult. Mario Benzi argued for a long production period extending from the first half of LH IIIB to LH IIIC Late<sup>161</sup> and quoted unpainted examples as well as others with dotted rims and without linear decoration from LH IIIB Middle contexts as the earliest attestations.<sup>162</sup> In most cases, including the earliest examples, which are unpainted or have dotted rims, the two vertical handles start slightly below or even well below the rim. In other cases, however, they are attached to the lip, as is the case with the one-handled cups FT 215.<sup>163</sup> One specimen comes from the abandonment level of Building IB at Kanakia on the island of Salamis.<sup>164</sup> It should therefore date to LH IIIC Early 1.<sup>165</sup> Unfortunately, its decoration is largely worn off, but apparently, it had a monochrome interior.<sup>166</sup> Two examples with purely linear decoration come from later LH IIIC contexts in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns.<sup>167</sup> One monochrome, one unpainted and one linear specimen turned up in different houses of the Phase 1b destruction horizon at Lefkandi and thus date to LH IIIC Developed. The unpainted and the linear specimens have the classic handles starting below

<sup>156</sup> 6350.30 (K 22 SW).

<sup>157</sup> Frizell 1978, 82, 84, fig. 70.110. For the context in Trench E, Strata 1–2 see Hägg 1973, 49–53.

<sup>158</sup> This date (rather than a date in LH IIIB Developed, as Vitale 2006, 185–186, 200, tab. 2, proposed) is indicated by the considerable number of pattern-painted kylikes and the absence of rosette deep bowls (Frizell 1978, 82–84, figs. 68, 70.110). These were among the arguments that led Schönfeld to suggest a LH IIIB Early–Middle date (Schönfeld 1988, 163, tab. 4; 207–208).

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Thomas 2011, 298–299, fig. 1.10–14. For LH IIIC Early 1 examples see Phase IX floor deposits in the so-called Citadel House Area inside the citadel of Mycenae (French 2011, CD-ROM, 418, 464). See also the last phase of the settlement at Kontopigado (Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2012, 172, fig. 14.44; 174; Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2014, 70–71, fig. 9.16; 123; Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2017, 55, 57, fig. 31.155–156; 62, fig. 37.181; 82–83).

<sup>160</sup> Furumark 1941, 635, knew only examples from the Italian excavations at the Ialysos cemetery. Since then a few more examples from different regions in Greece have been published (Mountjoy 1999, 577–578, fig. 213.380–381; 715–716, fig. 274.76; 1062–1063, fig. 435.242). The specimen from a chamber tomb at Perati belongs to the completely disturbed grave goods of Chamber Tomb Σ1 (Iakovidis 1969/1970, vol. 1, 18–21 cat. no. 83; Iakovidis 1969/1970, vol. 3, pl. 3γ.83). Likewise, the vessels found in Ialysos Tombs 17, 21 and 32 do not belong to closed contexts (Benzi 1992, 256, 264 no. 57; 266 no. f; 275–277 nos. 13–15; 302, 308 nos. 42–43, pls. 30d, f; 37a–c; 60q–r; 171a–b).

<sup>161</sup> Benzi 1992, 147–148, 152.

<sup>162</sup> Mycenae, West House destruction, LH IIIB Middle: French 1967, 163 nos. 49–52; 167 no. 112, fig. 12.51; 170 (classified as ‘Deep Bowl with two vertical handles FS 284 *bis*’); see also Verdelis 1963, 20–21, fig. 28 (right). Mycenae, House with the Idols, LH IIIB Middle: Wardle 1969, 291–292, fig. 12.122–124; pl. 63a (all unpainted). Cf. one unpainted and one painted specimen from Brauron, Chamber Tomb 19 excavated by Petros Themelis (Papadopoulou – Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2014, 87 cat. nos. 246–247, pl. 74.246–247). The painted one has a dotted rim like the LH IIIB Middle examples from Mycenae, but in addition also a rosette just like a rosette deep bowl. Unfortunately, we do not have stratigraphical data for these two Attic finds.

<sup>163</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 113, pl. 58.11–12.

<sup>164</sup> Marabea 2012, 173, 202, fig. 13.

<sup>165</sup> This chronological estimate by the pottery specialist of the Kanakia excavation (Marabea 2012, 178–182, 191, tab. 1) has also been discussed by other scholars working in Attica (Kaza-Papageorgiou et al. 2011, 229–230).

<sup>166</sup> Lolos – Marabea 2003, 120–121, 173, fig. 27.

<sup>167</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 113, pl. 58.11–12. These two fragmentary vessels from Room 126 in the Lower Citadel settlement date to LH IIIC Advanced and LH IIIC Late respectively. Their decoration with an upper band running underneath the handle is characteristic for the LH IIIC phases Developed to Late (see Podzuweit 2007, 116).



Fig. 15 Mycenaean pottery from Tell Kazel, Area IV, Building D, most probably Akkar Phase K1. 1–2. Local Mycenaean vessels; 3. Argive import. Scale 1:3 (drawings R. Jung, R. Yassine, digitization R. Yassine).

the rim.<sup>168</sup> From the few stratified specimens one might therefore conclude that the early, i.e. Palace-period versions of the deep bowl with vertical handles were either unpainted or had dotted rims, while the linear and monochrome versions were Post-palatial innovations. The type of linear decoration which the Tell Kazel vessel shows (variety of decoration Type 3.2 + base decoration 4.2) is so far without direct parallel in the Aegean, but most probably depends on the linear style of decorating FT 289 in the Post-palatial period.

Much local Mycenaean pottery of the Akkar Phase K1 destruction has been encountered in excavation Area II, and some of the relevant contexts such as the fill layer in Rooms 6IIU–V of Building II have been discussed in detail elsewhere.<sup>169</sup> Suffice it here to present the locally made Mycenaean ceramics from a (so far unnumbered) room inside Building I as an example. These consist of an unpainted rim fragment of a carinated kylix FT 267 (Fig. 16.3), two fragmentary deep bowls FT 284/285A (Fig. 16.1, 4) and a large rim sherd of a mug FT 226 (Fig. 16.2). The larger of the two deep bowls has the row of long strokes on the interior rim so characteristic for the local style, but other than that, these vessels do not carry any patterned decoration. The smaller deep bowl shows linear decoration type 7.8.1, which includes the familiar low interior band hinting at a date in LH IIIC Early 1 (see above). In terms of both linear decoration and its narrow triglyph motif FM 75.9, the mug has close to very close parallels in LH IIIB Final and IIIC Early 1 contexts at Mycenae, Iria and Thebes.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>168</sup> Mountjoy 1999, 715–716, fig. 274.76; Popham et al. 2006a, 22 no. P12; 123 no. P60; Popham et al. 2006b, 183, fig. 2.16.3; pls. 17.9; 29.4. The linear vessel shows a monochrome interior, decoration type 9.1 + lower bands 2.1(?) to be precise.

<sup>169</sup> Jung 2008, 192–196, figs. 14.54–59; 15.61, 66, 68–69; 16. Apart from painted and unpainted local Mycenaean table wares including painted and unpainted deep bowls, predominantly unpainted kylikes, painted kraters and painted basins, this context also yielded a fragment of a Mycenaean cooking pot (Jung 2011c, 124–125, figs. 4–5).

<sup>170</sup> These parallels are assembled in Jung 2008, 195. Fig. 16.1: 6472.8A–B (X 21 NE); Fig. 16.2: 6498.1 (X 21 NE/NW); Fig. 16.3: 6472.10 (X 21 NE); Fig. 16.4: 6472.9 (X 21 NE).

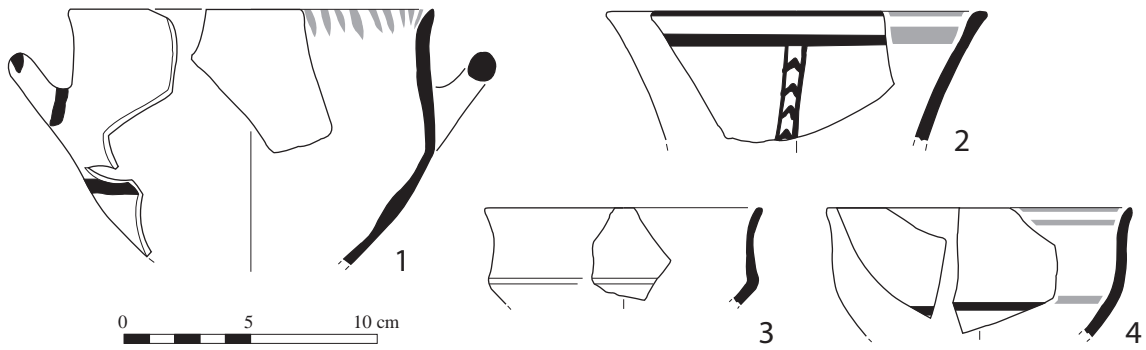


Fig. 16 Local Mycenaean vessels from Tell Kazel, Area II, Building I, Akkar Phase K1. Scale 1:3 (drawings R. Jung, digitization R. Yassine).

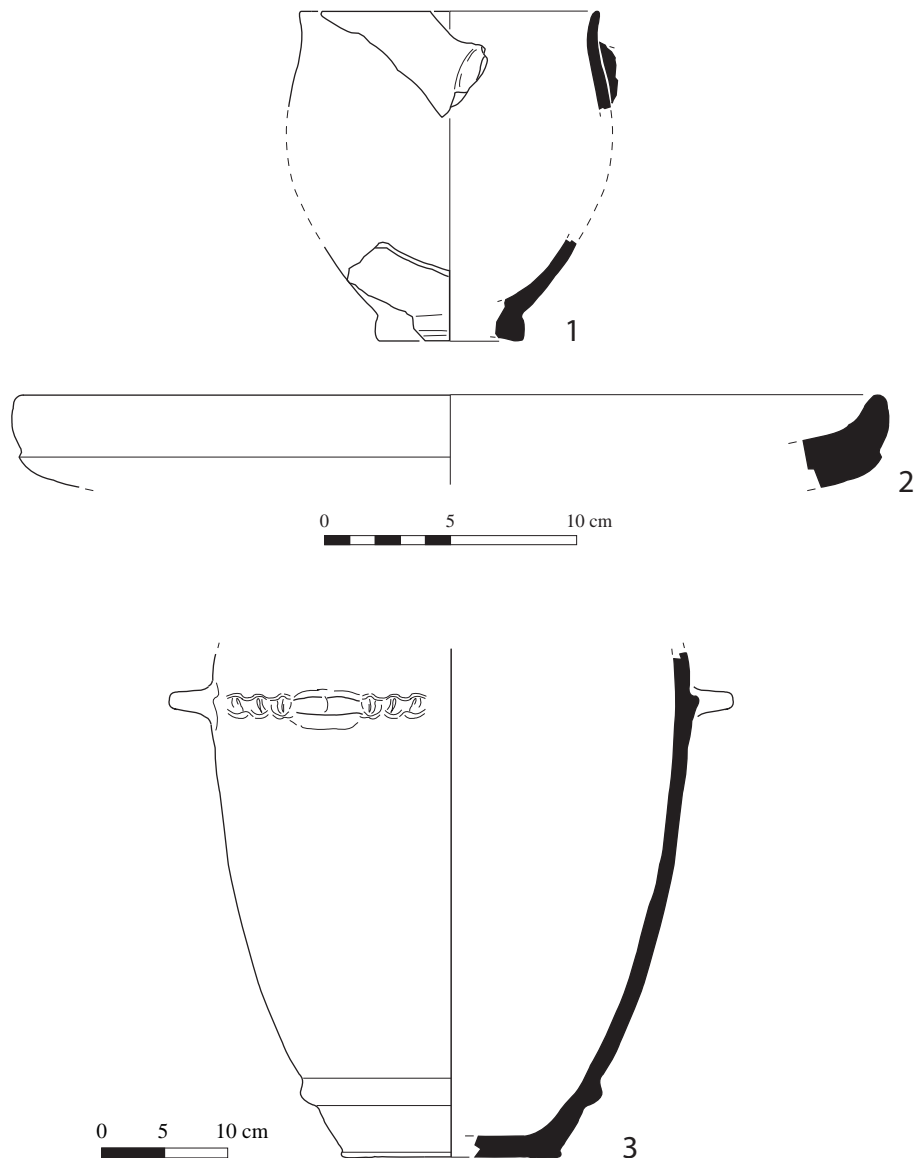


Fig. 17 Mycenaean pottery from Tell Kazel, Area IV, Building C, Akkar Phase K1. 1. Local Mycenaean deep bowl; 2–3. locally made handmade and burnished vessels of Italian type. 1–2. Scale 1:3. 3. Scale 1:6 (drawings R. Jung, R. Yassine, digitization R. Yassine).

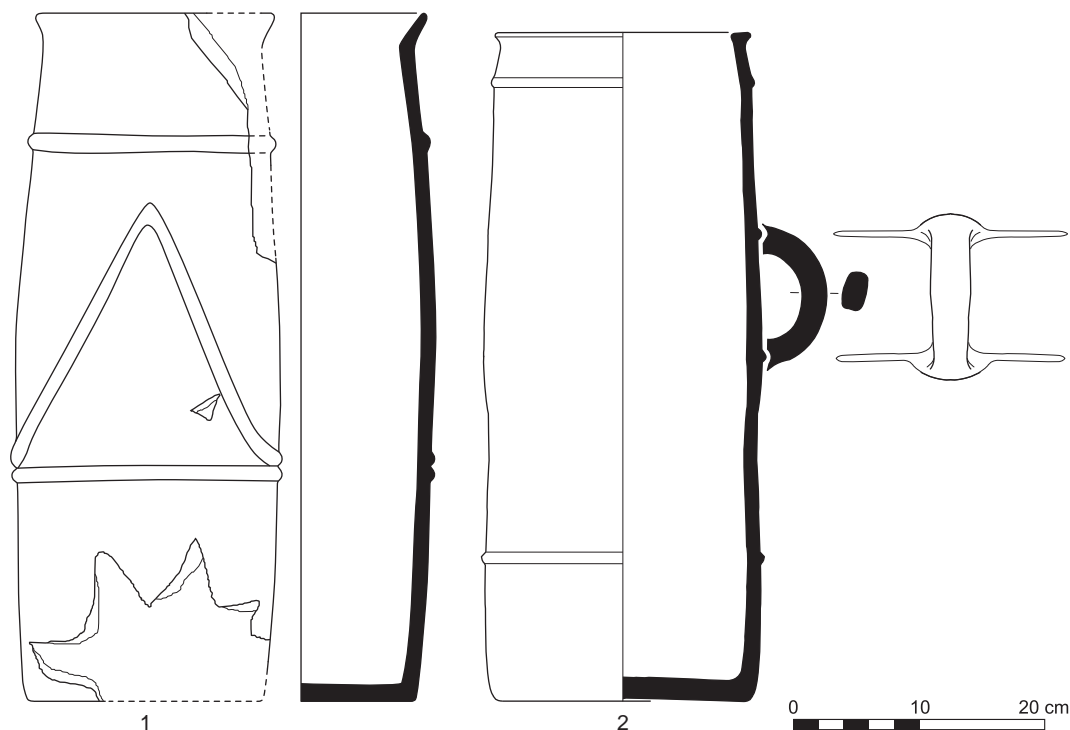


Fig. 18 Cylindrical handmade and burnished jars of Italian type. 1. Dimini, Room Δ, building overlying the Southern Megaron; 2. Tell Kazel, Building C. Scale 1:6 (digitization St. Fragner, 1: after Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 570 no. BE 36014; 2: after Badre – Capet 2018, 140–141, pl. 41.470).

### Italian-type Pottery

In Akkar Phase K1, yet another new pottery class made its appearance, which, in terms of stratigraphy, was contemporaneous with the local Mycenaean ceramics. That is (predominantly) locally made handmade and burnished pottery of the Italian Subapennine type.<sup>171</sup> Apart from an unpainted local Mycenaean deep bowl FT 284/285 (Fig. 17.1),<sup>172</sup> the Southern Complex or Building C just south of the LBA temple in Area IV contained three such Italian-type handmade vessels.<sup>173</sup> The first is a fragmentary hole-mouthed jar (Fig. 17.3), the second a completely preserved high cylindrical jar (Fig. 18.2), while the third was a tray and is represented solely by a rim fragment (Fig. 17.2).

Apart from a regular plastic band with finger impressions and a horizontal lug positioned high up on the body, the hole-mouthed jar shows the rare feature of a second plastic band, which is plain and applied a few centimeters above the base (Fig. 17.3).<sup>174</sup> Roca Vecchia on the Adriatic coast of Apulia provides a parallel, differing in the detail that both plastic bands are plain. The excavator dates it to the end of the Recent Bronze Age (RBA 2) or the beginning of the Final Bronze Age (FBA 1), i.e. to some point in time contemporary with LH IIIC Advanced.<sup>175</sup> A vessel from a LH IIIC Developed building in the northwestern part of the Tirynthian Lower Town provides another parallel, which, however, has two plastic bands below the

<sup>171</sup> Badre 2006. For a comparative typological discussion see Jung 2009c, 144–146, figs. 9–10; Jung 2018a, 287–289, fig. 19.8–11. For the petrographic and chemical analyses see Badre et al. 2005; Boileau et al. 2010.

<sup>172</sup> 5110.8/9 (M 21 SW).

<sup>173</sup> Badre et al. 2005, 34–35, fig. 9.1; 39 no. TK 60; Badre 2006, 83–84, fig. 14.2; 86, fig. 16.1–3; Badre – Capet 2018, 140–141, pl. 41.470, 472.

<sup>174</sup> 5042.50 (M 21 SW).

<sup>175</sup> Guglielmino 2005, 646, pl. 167e. For the Aegean synchronisms of RBA 2 and FBA 1 see Jung 2006.

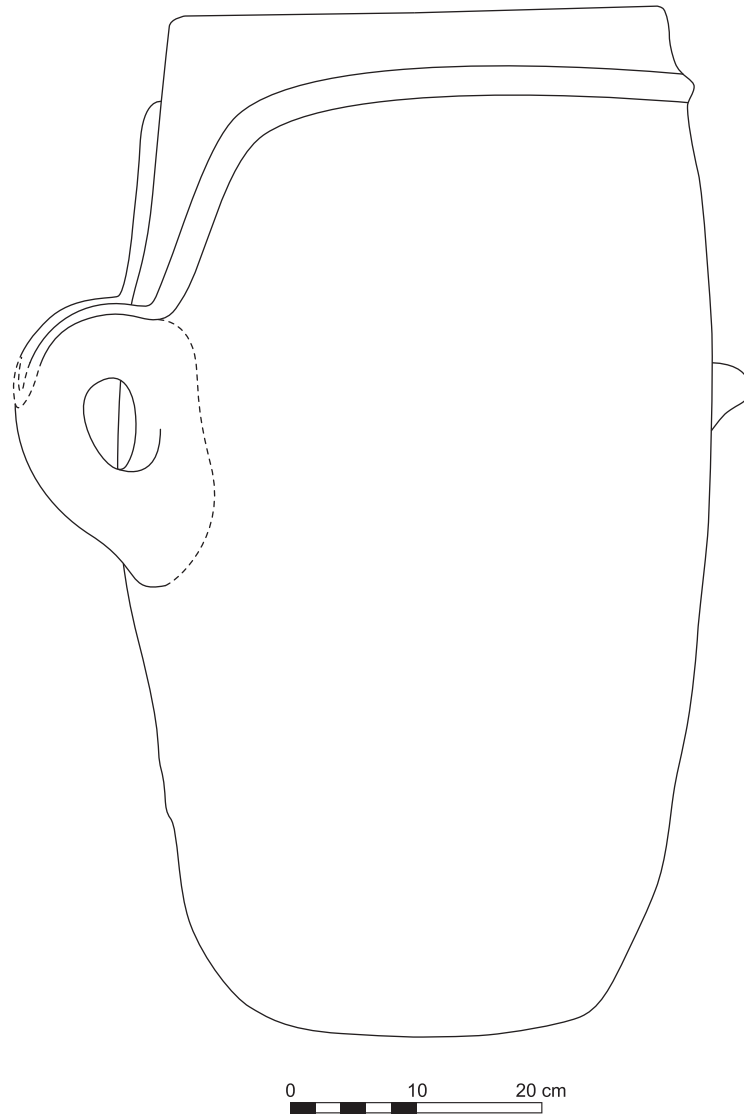


Fig. 19 Slightly convex cylindrical jar used as cremation urn at Timmari. Scale 1:6 (digitization St. Fragner, after Cipolloni Sampò 1979, 508, fig. 4 [left]).

rim.<sup>176</sup> The fact that the specific placement of a plastic band quite low on the body in addition to the regular one below the rim is such a rare feature both in Italy and among the Italian-type products from Greece, suggests constraint in using this vessel from Building C for proposing a very late synchronism.

Chronologically more important are the parallels for the high cylindrical vessel (Fig. 18.2).<sup>177</sup> A southern Italian *comparandum* comes from the Basilicata region (Fig. 19). Like the vessel from Tell Kazel, it has its vertical handle in a central position on the body and also shows applied plastic bands, but it is larger, and the silhouette is somewhat more convex.<sup>178</sup> A complete vessel from a LH IIIC Early 1 building at Dimini is a much better parallel (Fig. 18.1).<sup>179</sup> Apart from the plastic

<sup>176</sup> Maran – Papadimitriou 2017, 50–52, fig. 70; Maran 2018, 236; V. Papamichalopoulou in: Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2018, 350 cat. no. 273. It is slightly smaller than the jar from Tell Kazel.

<sup>177</sup> TK 99.274 (Context 5380, M 21 SE): height 53cm; diameter 19.1cm (Badre 2004, 115 cat. no. 91; Badre – Capet 2018, 140–141, pl. 41.470; 157, pl. 1f).

<sup>178</sup> Used as an urn for a cremation burial at Timmari (Cipolloni Sampò 1979, 508, fig. 4 [left]).

<sup>179</sup> Jung 2009c, 144–145, fig. 9 (before the complete restoration).



zigzag band and the missing handle, it is virtually identical to the Syrian product – even regarding its exact height.<sup>180</sup> This is also of special significance in view of the fact that Dimini further shares with Tell Kazel the marked presence of a second pottery class with strong Italian affinities, i.e. a kind of wheelmade Gray Ware, which is not related to the well-known Gray Ware from Asia Minor.<sup>181</sup> More precisely, Dimini and Tell Kazel are at present the only sites in the eastern Mediterranean where this specific Gray Ware class appears with a large variety of types, including some of Italian and others of Mycenaean derivation.<sup>182</sup> This hints at some kind of relationship between those two specific settlements. However, that relationship may have had an indirect character, in which the link is due to the wide-ranging actions of seafaring groups with Italian and Aegean backgrounds in the decades around 1200 BCE.<sup>183</sup>

The third handmade vessel from the Southern Complex, a tray of c. 35cm diameter, is preserved only by a rim fragment (Fig. 17.2).<sup>184</sup> Apart from a single parallel found at the Lower Citadel of Tiryns,<sup>185</sup> it is a unique shape from the Levant to southern Greece. However, it has parallels in Italy and more specifically among the RBA 2 ceramic repertoire of Lipari in the Aeolian Islands and Punta di Zambrone in southern Calabria.<sup>186</sup> RBA 2 at Punta di Zambrone represents an early aspect of that phase including Mycenaean pottery imports of LH IIIC Early date.<sup>187</sup>

Similar to the situation of Tell Tweini then, by the time of the destruction at the end of LBA II, local products inspired by Aegean ceramics reflect the earliest Post-palatial style of Mycenaean pottery production at Tell Kazel, while the Argive Mycenaean imports from the same habitation phase were already old vessels, if still in use, that had been imported during earlier phases. Only in the Akkar plain do we find local pots modeled on Italian Subapennine handmade and Gray Ware prototypes.

## Cyprus

A number of LBA settlements in Cyprus have been excavated and provide evidence for destructions, the date of which we can investigate in terms of Aegean synchronisms.<sup>188</sup> This investigation will have to be limited to relative chronology, because we cannot connect any specific coastal settlement on Cyprus to the destruction of Alašiya mentioned in Ramesses III's year 8 inscription.<sup>189</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Dimini, floor deposit inside Room Δ, building overlying the so-called Southern Megaron: height 54cm; base diameter 18cm (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 268–269, 569–570 no. BE 36014). The vessel was indeed handleless (confirmed by Vassiliki Adrimi-Sismani, personal communication).

<sup>181</sup> Trojan Gray Ware does exist at Tell Kazel (see above) as it does at other Levantine sites (see most recently Jung 2018b), but its fabric characteristics clearly differ from those of the Italian-Aegean-type Gray Ware, see Badre et al. 2005, 31–32, 42 (Fabrics G 1 [Italian and Aegean shapes] and G 2 [Trojan imports]).

<sup>182</sup> Jung 2012, 109–111, fig. 10.4; Badre – Capet 2018, 142–143, pl. 42.477–478, 481. For the Gray Ware from Dimini, see Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 559–561. Kastro/Palia in Volos yielded this Gray Ware class as well, but the vessel repertoire is more restricted than at nearby Dimini (Lis – Batziou 2022, 26–27, fig. 16).

<sup>183</sup> In this context one can also mention Levantine amphorae ('Canaanite jars') at Dimini (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 376, 556).

<sup>184</sup> 5701.39 (M 22 NW).

<sup>185</sup> This 'pan' as it is called has, however, only a diameter of 18cm. It comes from a LH IIIC Advanced context (Kilian 2007, 31–32, 107 cat. no. 300, pl. 24.300) and differs from the Syrian find in that the rim and the bottom meet at an angle. While the same is true for the RBA 2 trays from northern Calabrian Broglio di Trebisacce (quoted by Klaus Kilian), by contrast, the tray from the Ausonio I level on the acropolis of Lipari has a very similar curved profile as the tray from Tell Kazel (Bernabò Brea – Cavalier 1980, pl. 211.3d; cf. Jung 2018a, 288–289, fig. 19.10). The rim diameters of the latter are decisively larger than in the case of the northern Calabrian and Tiryinthian trays.

<sup>186</sup> Jung 2018a, 288–289, fig. 19.10.

<sup>187</sup> Jung et al. 2015, 68–79, 95–99; Jung 2017, 634–636.

<sup>188</sup> For previous studies see French – Åström 1980; Mountjoy 2005; Mountjoy 2007; Podzuweit 2007; Jung 2011a; most recently Mountjoy 2018 (with an emphasis on the LC IIIA and IIIB periods).

<sup>189</sup> Leaving aside the question of how much power its king may have held, it seems clear today that in all probability 'Alašiya' refers to the entire island of Cyprus (Peltenburg – Iacovou 2012, 345–351; Knapp 2013, 432–447). Thus,



Fig. 20 White Slip II and Late White Slip II bowls from Enkomi Level IIB, City Quarter 1 West, Room 1 (photo R. Jung).

### Enkomi

At the end of LC IIC, Enkomi was destroyed. The excavations by Porphyrios Dikaios still provide the most reliable stratigraphy for that turning point in the settlement history, marked by Level IIB contemporary with LC IIC.<sup>190</sup> Two of the city quarters he excavated are most relevant for discussing the comparative chronology of the LC IIC destruction: Area III at the northern fortification wall (or City Quarter 1 West on the overall plan drawn by the French mission) and Area I (or City Quarter 4 West) closer to the city center.<sup>191</sup> The excavator ascribed the Level IIB destruction layers in both city quarters to the same events, i.e. an enemy attack ending in the destruction of, ‘presumably, the whole of the town’.<sup>192</sup> There are slight differences in the exact way in which the destruction affected those two city quarters. In City Quarter 4 West, traces of fire on the floors as well as other evidence such as charcoal, ash layers and red earth in Rooms 135, 137, 138, 139, 140 of the South Sector (and to a lesser extent also in Rooms 113 and 114) as well as in Rooms 106, 127 and 128 in the North Sector show that a conflagration accompanied the destruction.<sup>193</sup> There

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many settlements in this kingdom could have been potential victims of a seaborne attack – even if one were to limit the search to coastal sites only. The same would apply if we were to assume a foreign soldier uprising in the way suggested by Ben-Dor Evian (cf. above n. 65). It would be too great a stretch to restrict the realm of Alašiya to central southern Cyprus just on the basis of the petrographic similarities between the southern Troodos foothills and letters sent from Alašiya to Egypt and Ugarit (cf. Goren et al. 2004b). Even if one were to give a special weight to these petrographic results, the political term would still signify the whole kingdom. Furthermore, while the analyzed letters seem to have been sent from either Alassa or Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios, the king may have had many different seats/palaces anyway (Knapp 2011; Knapp 2013, 444).

<sup>190</sup> Dikaios 1969/1971, 451–452.

<sup>191</sup> Dikaios 1969/1971, pl. 240; Courtois et al. 1986, 3, fig. 1; 6, fig. 2; 8–18.

<sup>192</sup> Dikaios 1969/1971, 170, 513.

<sup>193</sup> Dikaios 1969/1971, 164–171, pl. 271. Millek did not accept ashes and red earth on the floors of some of these rooms as traces of fire (cf. Millek 2021, 77, fig. 7).

is no consistent presence of fire indicators throughout the rooms of City Quarter 1 West. In most rooms, in which ash layers and fire traces on the floors do occur, they are either linked to hearths or to the function of those rooms as copper workshops. However, debris layers of pebbles, stones and decomposed mudbricks are frequent and especially thick close to the fortification wall in City Quarter 1 West.<sup>194</sup>

Room 1 of the copper workshop in City Quarter 1 West<sup>195</sup> yielded a rich assemblage of pottery, which is representative for the settlement phase of Level IIB. The rim count of three different find contexts assigned to Level IIB in that room resulted in 40 wheelmade rims, 101 handmade rims and 4 undetermined rims.<sup>196</sup> The vast majority (72 rims) of the handmade rim fragments belong to White Slip II and Late White Slip II bowls (Fig. 20).<sup>197</sup>

The Argive imports from this room include one shallow strap-handled bowl FT 295/296 with an only slightly thickened rounded rim (rim variety 1), linear decoration type 7.8.2 (+ a band around the base attachment) and a number of interior motifs, of which a hybrid flower, FM 18B, and a flattened variety of chevron, FM 58, are sufficiently preserved for identification (Fig. 21.1).<sup>198</sup> Such shallow bowls, FT 295/296 with interior patterns, were among the most popular imported vessels on Cyprus and along the Levantine coasts.<sup>199</sup> However, in the region from which they were exported, the Argolid, they do not seem to have been a regular element of ceramic banqueting sets, which causes problems for the determination of their exact production period. Early attestations of the painted type date back to LH IIIB Early.<sup>200</sup> Specimens with patterns on the interior seem to appear only from LH IIIB Middle onwards,<sup>201</sup> which may, however, be due to the comparative rarity of FT 295/296 in the Argolid settlement stratigraphies. There are several examples with interior patterns from the LH IIIB Final (–LH IIIC Early 1) Epichosis at Tiryns.<sup>202</sup>

Another imported vessel from the Argolid found in Room 1 of City Quarter 1 West is a small-sized monochrome stemmed bowl FT 304/305, of which a rim and a foot fragment survive (Fig. 21.3).<sup>203</sup> Monochrome stemmed bowls were quite common in late Palace-period contexts of the Argolid.<sup>204</sup> This specific vessel represents a very small specimen with a rim diameter of 13cm and a reconstructed height of c. 15.5cm. Some fragments from the Epichosis prove the presence of similar small specimens in the Upper Citadel of Tiryns. The reserved circle on the bottom of the

<sup>194</sup> Dikaios 1969/1971, 49–65, 70–71, 81–92, pls. 252–253, 261.3–4; 264.3, 6.

<sup>195</sup> Dikaios 1969/1971, 51.

<sup>196</sup> This count includes Find Contexts 2707 and 2715 from the western part of the room and 2762 from its eastern part. There are several joining fragments between Contexts 2707 and 2715.

<sup>197</sup> This photo shows White Slip II and Late White Slip II bowls from Context 2762.

<sup>198</sup> 2707/7 + 2715/7.10 (Jung 2011b, 179, 194, fig. 5.2). Part of it was published, see Dikaios 1969/1971, 566, pl. 67.21; Mountjoy 2018, 315–316, fig. 164.836. Room 1 contained more vessels of this type, also painted with interior motifs (e.g. 2762/5, fig. 21.2; Mountjoy 2018, 314–315, fig. 164.835).

<sup>199</sup> For some statistics see Jung 2015, 247, figs. 3–4. For a well deposit with many FT 295/296 specimens at Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios see South 1988, 225, fig. 2.K-AD 1241, K-AD 1255; 228; pl. 35; South 2008, 311, pls. 62b; 63.

<sup>200</sup> Mycenae, Terrace on the Atreus Ridge, LH IIIB Early (Schönfeld 1988, 163, tab. 4; 182–183); French 1965, 177, 180, fig. 7.26; 186–187, fig. 9.5–6. Tiryns, Lower Citadel, LH IIIB Early: Schönfeld 1988, 155, tab. 1.59; 166. They are absent from the LH IIIA2 contexts inside the Petsas House (personal communication by Kim Shelton, to whom I am very grateful).

<sup>201</sup> Mycenae, use surface in the Prehistoric Cemetery, LH IIIB Middle (Schönfeld 1988, 163, tab. 4; 198–201); French 1966, 223, pl. 49e. Tiryns, Lower Citadel, LH IIIB Middle: Schönfeld 1988, 193, fig. 9.13, 16 (patterns in added white paint); 202. Tiryns, Lower Citadel, LH IIIB Developed: Podzuweit 1981, 198–199, fig. 51; Kardamaki 2009, 482–483, tab. 32j (no. 1).

<sup>202</sup> Patterns painted between the interior bands: Voigtländer 2003, 81–82 cat. nos. SC 15–SC 17, SC 19–SC 20, pls. 57.SC 15–SC 17, SC 19–SC 20; 117.SC 15; 118.SC 16–SC 20. Patterns in white paint added on top of one or more interior bands: Voigtländer 2003, 80–81 cat. nos. SC 1–SC 14, pls. 56; 117.SC 1–SC 14.

<sup>203</sup> 2715/19, 2715/B (Jung 2009b, 79, 84, 90, fig. 3.4). The foot shape might suggest a monochrome kylix FT 264, but the rim indicates the stemmed bowl.

<sup>204</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 56, Beil. 34 (10.4% of all deep bowl and stemmed bowl types in LH IIIB Developed; 1.0% in LH IIIB Final).

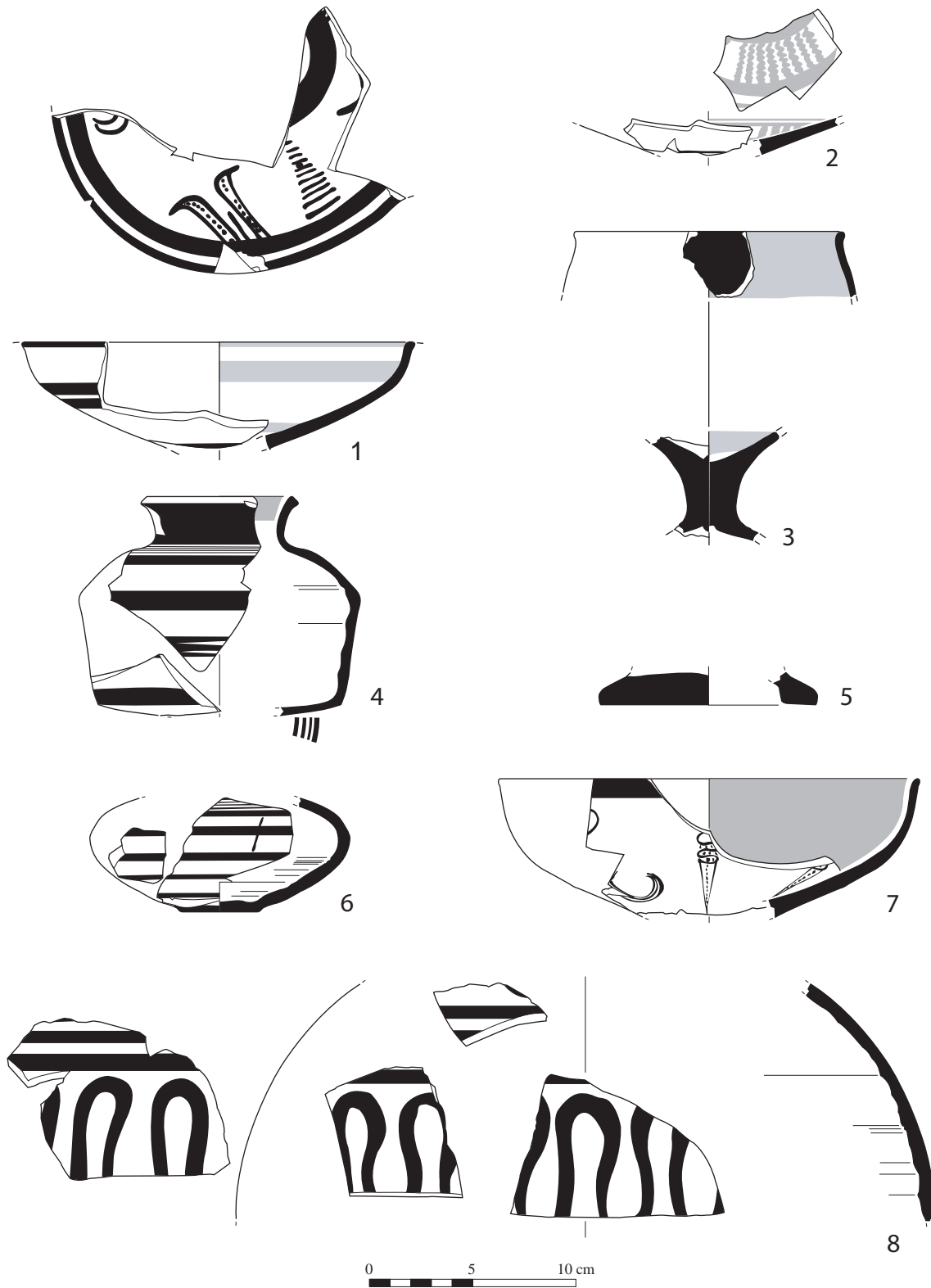


Fig. 21 Wheelmade pottery from Enkomi, City Quarter 1 West, Room 1, Level IIB. 1–5. Mycenaean imports from the Argolid; 6–8. Minoan imports. Scale 1:3 (drawings R. Jung, digitization M. Frauenglas, R. Yassine).

vessel is a further stylistic trait linking certain monochrome stemmed bowls from the Epichosis with the vessel from Enkomi.<sup>205</sup> Both of the Enkomi fragments are secondarily burnt, which might suggest that the vessel was in use during the fiery destruction of the Level IIB settlement.<sup>206</sup>

Finally, there are fragments of two closed vessels from the Argolid, a torus base from a large piriform jar FT 35–36 or perhaps an amphoroid krater FT 54/55 (Fig. 21.5)<sup>207</sup> and an angular alabastron FT 94–95 without shoulder motif. This vessel has LH IIB Final and IIC Early parallels (Fig. 21.4).<sup>208</sup>

A Minoan kylix with monochrome interior, narrow rim band (decoration type 9.2), a row of vertical whorl shells FM 23, and a palm tree motif FM 15 has several parallels in LM IIB contexts around Crete (Fig. 21.7).<sup>209</sup> A large coarse ware stirrup jar FT 164 with a stylized octopus motif (a tightly swung wavy line with high amplitude FM 53.14) inside a narrow decorative zone bordered by three shoulder bands may be of central Cretan manufacture (Fig. 21.8). In central Crete we find a good parallel at Kalamafka,<sup>210</sup> while there are others at Tiryns.<sup>211</sup> The contexts of those parallels suggest a later LM IIB to early LM IIC date for the Enkomi specimen. A squat fine ware stirrup jar is also of Minoan type and finds parallels throughout LM IIB in different Cretan regions (Fig. 21.6).<sup>212</sup>

Several further painted Mycenaean vessels are most probably local products (Fig. 22.1–5). One is an example of the Cypro-Mycenaean bowl, Type 2 in Mountjoy's typology (Fig. 22.3) with its characteristic flaring upper body and more shallow lower body and a purely linear decoration (decoration type 7.4.1).<sup>213</sup> Mountjoy proposes a derivation of this very long-lived bowl shape from the Mycenaean FT 210 and quotes several locally made bowls from LC IIC contexts while assigning

<sup>205</sup> Voigtländer 2003, 99–100 cat. nos. MO 7 (rim diameter 13.6cm), MO 8 (rim diameter 13.0cm; height 15.3cm), MO 15 (rim diameter 14.0cm), MO 24, pls. 133.Mo 7–Mo 8; 134.Mo 15; 135.Mo 24. Cat. nos. MO 8 and MO 24 have a reserved circle inside on the bottom of the vessel. Although the few published stratigraphical data suggest that vessels with this type of decoration mainly stem from deeper Epichosis layers (Voigtländer 2003, 99), the Lower Citadel layers confirmed the existence of monochrome stemmed bowls right until the end of LH IIB (Podzuweit 2007, 56). Foot fragments of monochrome stemmed bowls FT 304/305 with a reserved interior circle are also among the pottery finds from the destruction level of Megaron B at Dimini (Adrimi-Sismani 2014, 412), which would suggest a LH IIC Early 1 date (see above).

<sup>206</sup> According to Dikaios 1969/1971, 51, Room 1 was a copper workshop, which means that traces of burning on sherds from this room might also be due to their exposure to the flames of work processes. However, most sherds found on Floors IV and III belonging to Level IIB do not show such traces of secondary burning.

<sup>207</sup> 2762/9.

<sup>208</sup> 2762/2. 3 (Dikaios 1969/71, 567, pl. 67.10). A good parallel for shape and linear decoration – but with a shoulder motif – was found at Iria, Annex room (probably LH IIC Early 1, Döhl 1973, 172, 190, fig. 19.A 21; pl. 73.5). A slightly smaller vessel with exclusively linear decoration comes from the LH IIB Final destruction level of Room VIb at Midea, West Gate Area (Demakopoulou et al. 1999, 63–64, fig. 29).

<sup>209</sup> 2715/1 (Dikaios 1969/1971, 566, pl. 67.29; Mountjoy 2018, 314–315, fig. 164.833). Cf. Knossos, discarded material north of the Little Palace, Context 5.4.3, LM IIB Late: Hatzaki 2017, 65, fig. 3.10.P592; 70.

<sup>210</sup> 2715/14 with a belly diameter of 33.5cm (Dikaios 1969/1971, 566, pl. 67.28). Cf. Kalamafka (northern central Crete), Level D, LM IIB2: Kanta – Kontopodi 2017, 92, 94, fig. 4.24a (belly diameter c. 46cm according to the drawing).

<sup>211</sup> Lower Citadel: Podzuweit 2007, 172, pl. 92.6 (LXI–LXII 36 IVa–d, slightly smaller with a belly diameter of c. 30cm according to the drawing; Sample T12 = south-central Crete, personal information E. Kardamaki); Lower Town, LH IIC Early 2: Maran 2005, 419–422, fig. 1.2; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 1, 97, 177–178, 190; Stockhammer 2008, vol. 2, 80 cat. no. 1218, pl. 57.1218 (belly diameter 33.4cm).

<sup>212</sup> 2707/6 + 2715/2, 2715/2. Usually these Minoan squat stirrup jars have an even banding without fine line groups as body decoration, commencing directly below the shoulder motifs, e.g. at Chania in the LM IIB2 phase (Hallager 2003, 214–217, pls. 56–57) as well as in the preceding LM IIB1 phase (Hallager 2011, 297–301, pls. 98, 153f; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2015, 31, 33, fig. 8). However, one squat stirrup jar from an unpublished context in Tomb Γ at Staminii in central Crete and another one from a LM IIB larnax burial in tomb D at Kalochorafitis in the Mesara Plain show the same combination of a fine line group on the shoulder with an evenly banded body as the Enkomi vessel (Kanta 1980, 56, fig. 25.3–4; Antonakaki 2015, 121; Girella 2015, 144, 205, fig. 6.14.D-Cat.n.4; 207 cat. no. 4; 431, pl. IX.D-Cat.n.4).

<sup>213</sup> 2715/3–5. 8. The fabric is of good quality (Enkomi Fabric M 27), but the inclusions (medium to large quantity of medium to coarse dark gray and also reddish brown particles) show that it is not a northern Argive import.

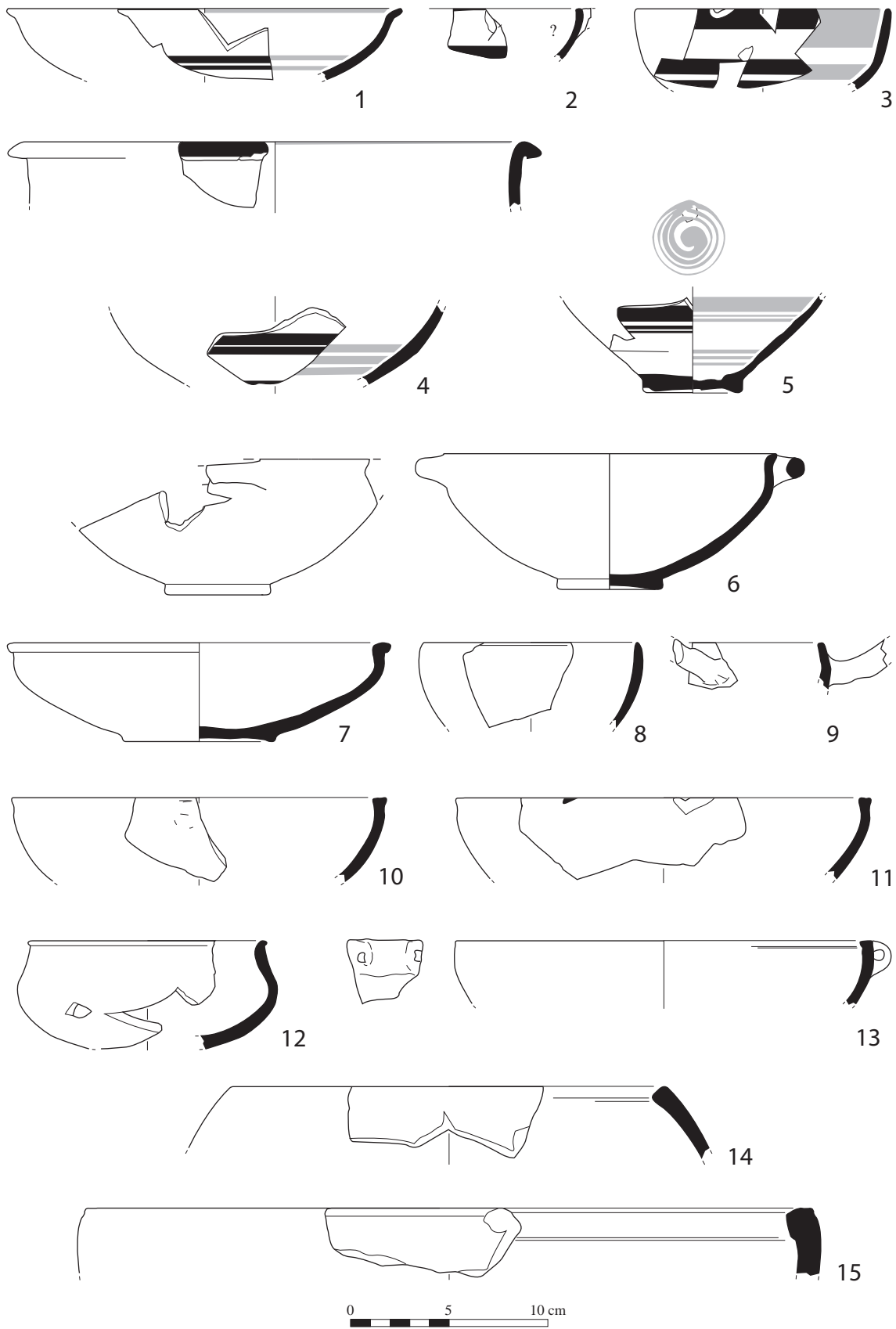


Fig. 22 Pottery from Enkomi, City Quarter 1 West, Room 1, Level IIB. 1–5. local Mycenaean pottery; 6–15. Plain White Wheelmade pottery. Scale 1:3 (drawings R. Jung, M. Frauenglas, digitization R. Yassine).

them to FT 210. The fragmentary bowl from Room 1 of Level IIB in City Quarter 1 West is closer to the LC IIC specimens than to the products from Greece, but does not find any exact parallel in terms of both shape and linear decoration.<sup>214</sup> A fragment of a shallow strap-handled bowl FT 296 painted with decoration type 7.9.3 (Fig. 22.1),<sup>215</sup> the rim of another similar bowl (Fig. 22.2)<sup>216</sup> and the lower half of a shallow bowl (Fig. 22.5)<sup>217</sup> as well as a krater FT 281/282 without (preserved) patterned decoration (Fig. 22.4)<sup>218</sup> complete the local Mycenaean repertoire from the same room. A locally made unpainted version (Plain White Wheelmade) of FT 295/296<sup>219</sup> is also present (Fig. 22.6). Another unpainted shallow bowl of local manufacture conforms to the proportions and rim shape of FT 295/296 but was apparently handleless (Fig. 22.7).<sup>220</sup>

Among the local unpainted pottery, i.e. the so-called Plain White Wheelmade Ware often covered with the whitish slip so characteristic for Enkomi, there is a wide variety of small, mainly shallow bowls. Some of these are close in shape to handmade White Slip (Fig. 22.8)<sup>221</sup> and monochrome bowls respectively (Fig. 22.9).<sup>222</sup> Others, especially the type with a short thickened and flattened rim (rim type a, T-shaped; rim type 3, thickened only on the interior), sometimes with a groove on top (rim type e, T-shaped with groove), and a single, pierced lug are very common even as grave offerings (Fig. 22.10–11, 13).<sup>223</sup> Large basins with different complex rim profiles are also a common feature and appear in similar shapes, e.g. at LC IIC Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios (Figs. 22.15; 23.1).<sup>224</sup> Furthermore, large parts of a plain amphoroid krater are preserved. This vessel has close parallels among the grave gifts in the Enkomi chamber tombs (Fig. 23.2).<sup>225</sup> However, rare types are represented as well, e.g. a cup or bowl with s-shaped profile (Fig. 22.12)<sup>226</sup> and an apparently globular vessel with incurving upper body and angular lip (Fig. 22.14).<sup>227</sup> Other fragments belong to large, closed vessels (Fig. 23.3–4), one of which is a jug of the characteristic LC IIC shape with its handle attached slightly below the lip (Fig. 23.4).<sup>228</sup> The rim of a large storage jar belongs to a vessel that in the tradition of Cypriot research would already be called a pithos despite having a height of far less than one meter (Fig. 24.1).<sup>229</sup>

Handmade cooking pots show a variety of sizes, rim and handle types, all of which correspond to classic LC IIC types and have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Fig. 24.2–5).<sup>230</sup>

<sup>214</sup> Mountjoy 2018, 54–55, fig. 20; 91–94, figs. 36–38. For FT 210, which as Mountjoy rightly stresses serves as a label for quite different bowl shapes, see Furumark's definition in Furumark 1941, 620.

<sup>215</sup> 2707/9. 10 + 2715/11.

<sup>216</sup> 2762/11. It belongs to Mountjoy's bowl Type 6 with a production period extending to Enkomi Level IIIA (Mountjoy 2018, 105–108, figs. 46–48).

<sup>217</sup> 2762/13. It might be a quite deep version of Type 6 or Type 8 in Mountjoy's bowl typology (cf. specimens from a shaft at Kouklia-Mantissa, difficult to date, but around the end of LC IIC and the beginning of LC IIIA, Mountjoy 2018, 831–834, figs. 410.84; 411.95, 100).

<sup>218</sup> 2715/15.

<sup>219</sup> 2715/25 (Dikaios 1969/1971, 566, pl. 65.3; Jung 2011b, 178, 190, fig. 1.4).

<sup>220</sup> 2715/26. A sufficiently large continuous portion of the rim (60%) is preserved to exclude at least the existence of two strap handles, which are defining for FT 295 and 296.

<sup>221</sup> 2715/.. [no sherd number].

<sup>222</sup> 2715/.. [no sherd number]. For the shape cf. e.g. small monochrome bowls from Chamber Tomb 110, excavated by the French mission (Courtois 1981, 135 cat. no. 99; 136 cat. nos. 113, 115; 194, fig. 96.99; 197, fig. 99.113, 115).

<sup>223</sup> All 2715/.. [no sherd numbers]; cf. Enkomi, Chamber Tomb 110: Courtois 1981, 136–137 cat. nos. 134–135, 140, 144; 201, fig. 103.134–135; 203, fig. 105.140, 144.

<sup>224</sup> Fig. 22.15: 2715/31; Fig. 23.1: 2715/.. [no sherd number]; cf. Schuster Keswani 1989, 19, fig. 20.10–14.

<sup>225</sup> 2715/29, 2715/35. The rim and base most probably formed part of the same vessel. For parallels see Courtois 1981, 139–140 cat. nos. 212, 214; 224, fig. 127.212, 214 (from Chamber Tomb 110).

<sup>226</sup> 2715/24.

<sup>227</sup> 2715/32.

<sup>228</sup> 2715/27. The base fragment Fig. 23.3 is 2715/34 with slag adhering to one fracture surface.

<sup>229</sup> 2715/30 (rim diameter 28cm). Cf. Schuster Keswani's short-necked Group I pithoi, Form IB1 (Schuster Keswani 1989, 14, fig. 16.12–23).

<sup>230</sup> Jung 2011a, 58–59, 79–80, figs. 1–2. Fig. 24.2: 2707/4; Fig. 24.3: 2715/23; Fig. 24.4: 2715/.. [no sherd number]; Fig. 24.5: 2707/.. + 2715/.. [no sherd numbers].

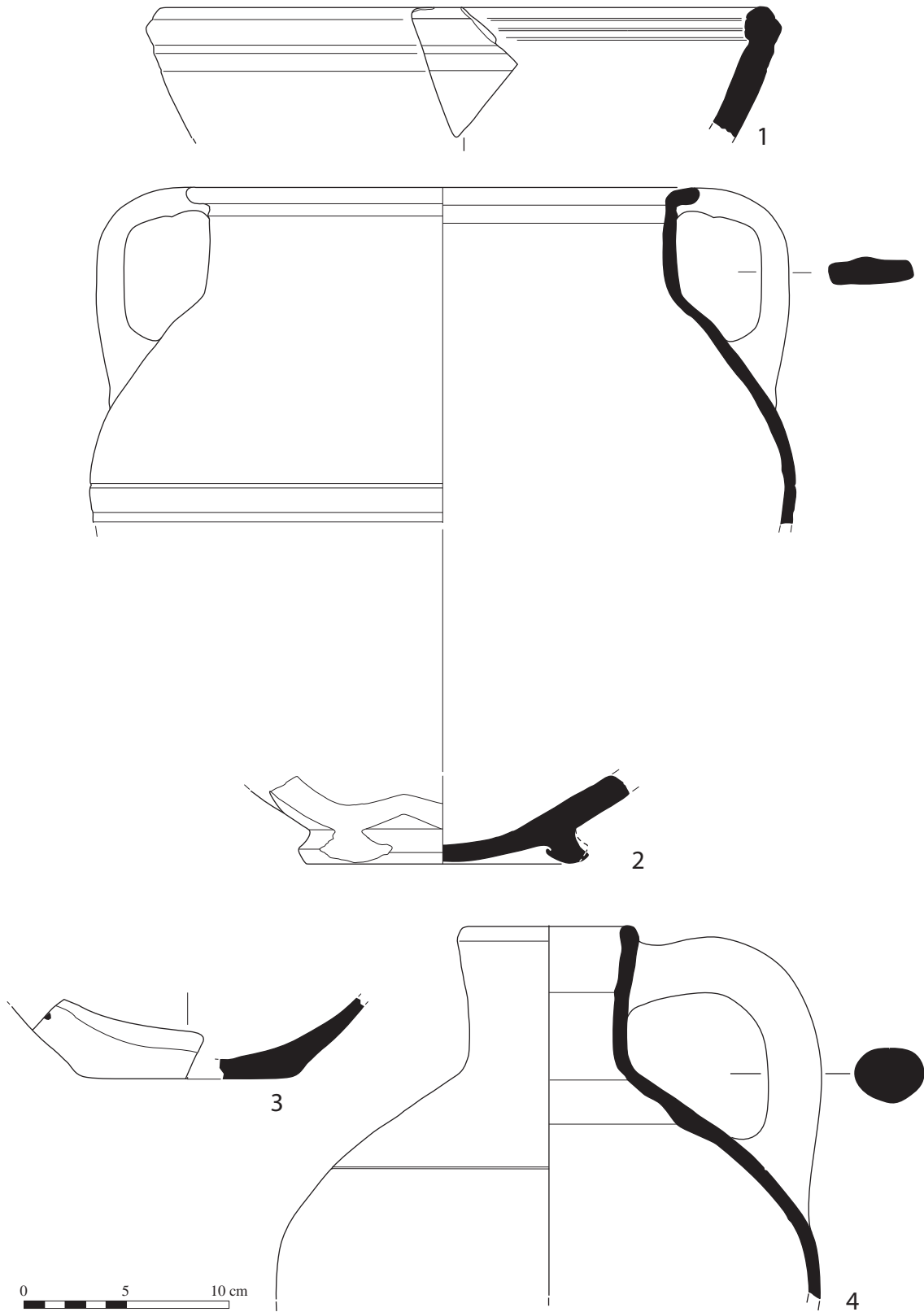


Fig. 23 Plain White Wheelmade pottery from Enkomi, City Quarter 1 West, Room 1, Level IIB. Scale 1:3 (drawings R. Jung, digitization M. Frauenglas, R. Yassine).



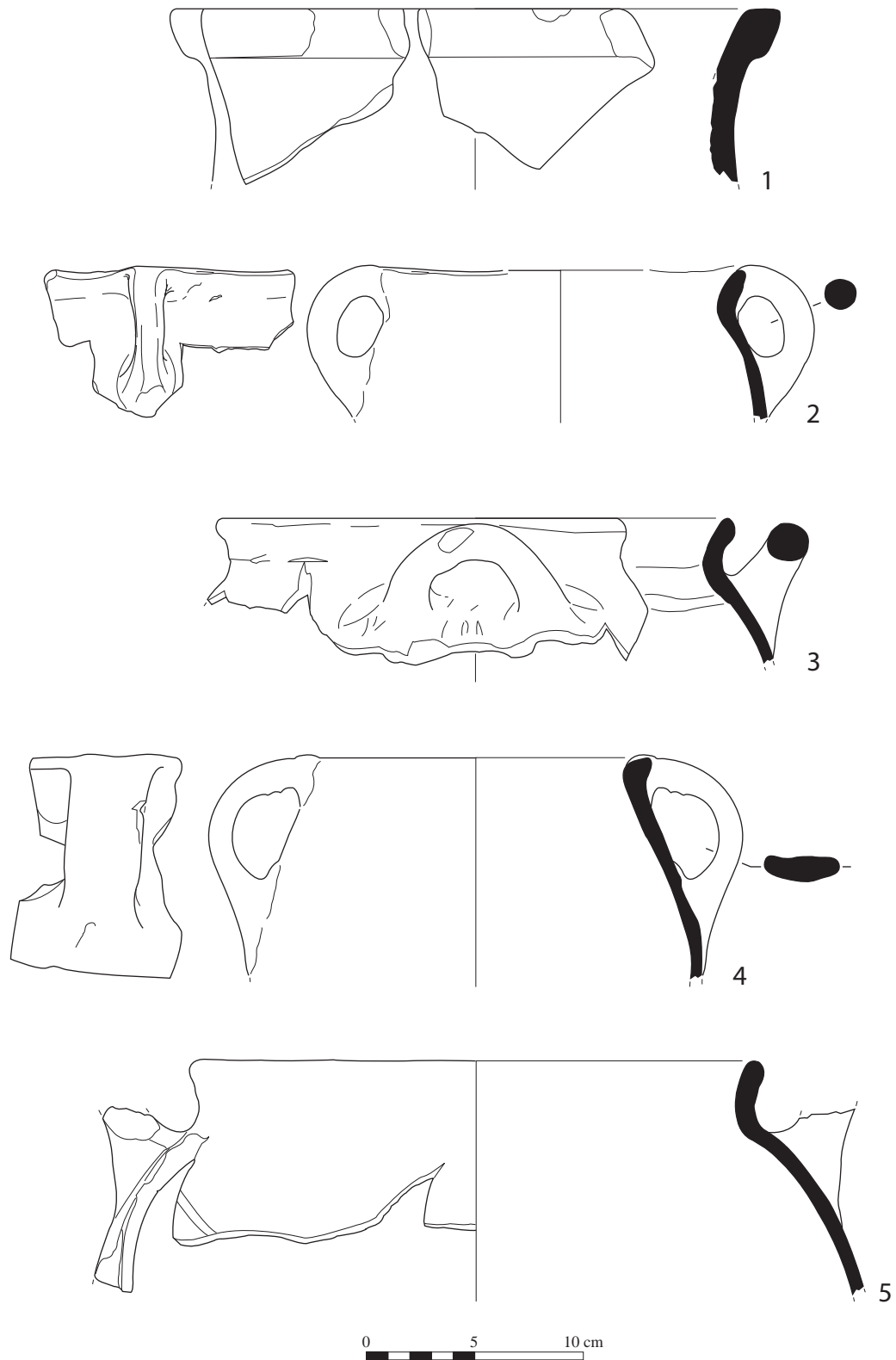


Fig. 24 Local unpainted pottery from Enkomi, City Quarter 1 West, Room 1, Level IIB. 1. pithos; 2–5. handmade cooking pots of Cypriot type. Scale 1:3 (drawings R. Jung, D. Knauseder, digitization R. Yassine).

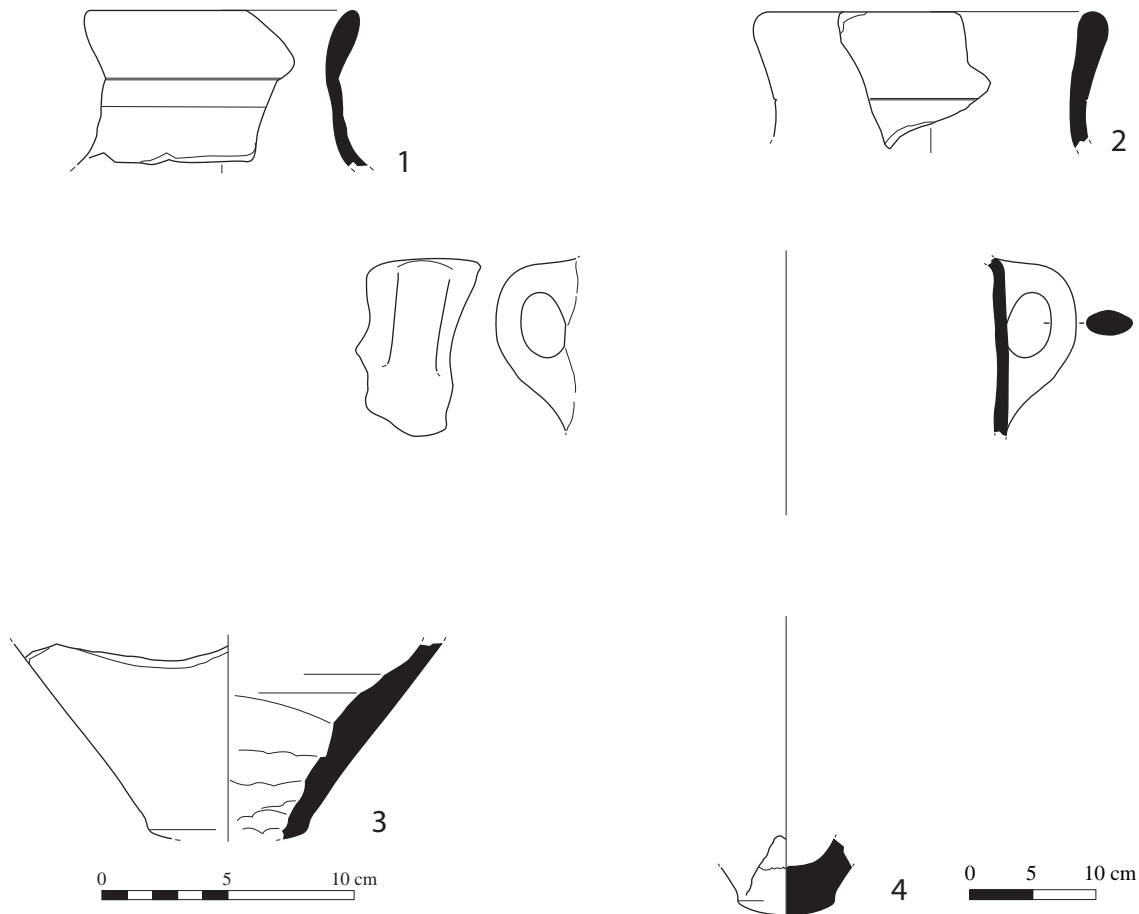


Fig. 25 Canaanite jars from Enkomi, City Quarter 1 West, Room 1, Level IIB. 1–3. Scale 1:3; 4. Scale 1:6 (drawings R. Jung, digitization R. Yassine).

The unpainted imports in principal consist of Canaanite jars (Fig. 25),<sup>231</sup> one of which preserved just enough of the shoulder carination to be assignable to Pedrazzi's Type 5-4 (Fig. 25.4). This type is the main LBA II maritime transport container of the Levant, represented with numerous examples inside the Uluburun wreck and inside a storage room at the Ugaritan port of Rās Ibn Hani among others.<sup>232</sup>

To conclude the Enkomi Level IIB discussion, a few more Aegean-type vessels from its final floors will be mentioned. The first is a Minoan kylix (decoration type 9.2 + lower bands 1.2 + foot decoration 7) from the floor deposit of Room 3A (on Floor IV), the rear room of the so-called West Megaron in City Quarter 1 West (Fig. 26.1).<sup>233</sup> The combination of the type with raised handles and flower motif finds a good parallel in central Crete, at Pentamodi.<sup>234</sup> According to Eleni Hatzaki, at Knossos the painted version of the kylix type with roll handles raised high above the rim was more common in LM IIIB Late than in LM IIIB Early.<sup>235</sup> Next to this Cretan kylix lay an Argive chalice

<sup>231</sup> Fig. 25.1: 2715/28; Fig. 25.2: 2707/.. [no sherd number]; Fig. 25.3–4: 2715/.. [no sherd numbers].

<sup>232</sup> Pedrazzi 2007, 75–77, 306–307.

<sup>233</sup> 1668 (Dikaios 1969/1971, 49, 562, pl. 67.1, 3; Jung 2009b, 79 n. 13; 90, fig. 3.2; Mountjoy 2018, 304, fig. 159.773).

<sup>234</sup> Kanta 1980, 14, fig. 6.2. Due to the lack of a drawing, nothing can be said about the interior decoration. Apart from the fact that the zone of the motifs is bordered by three instead of two bands, it is a perfect match for the Enkomi kylix. Unfortunately, its context is unknown.

<sup>235</sup> Hatzaki 2007, 237, fig. 6.27 (decoration type 9.2 except for lower bands and motif); 239, 246–247, fig. 6.35.7 (decoration type 9.2).

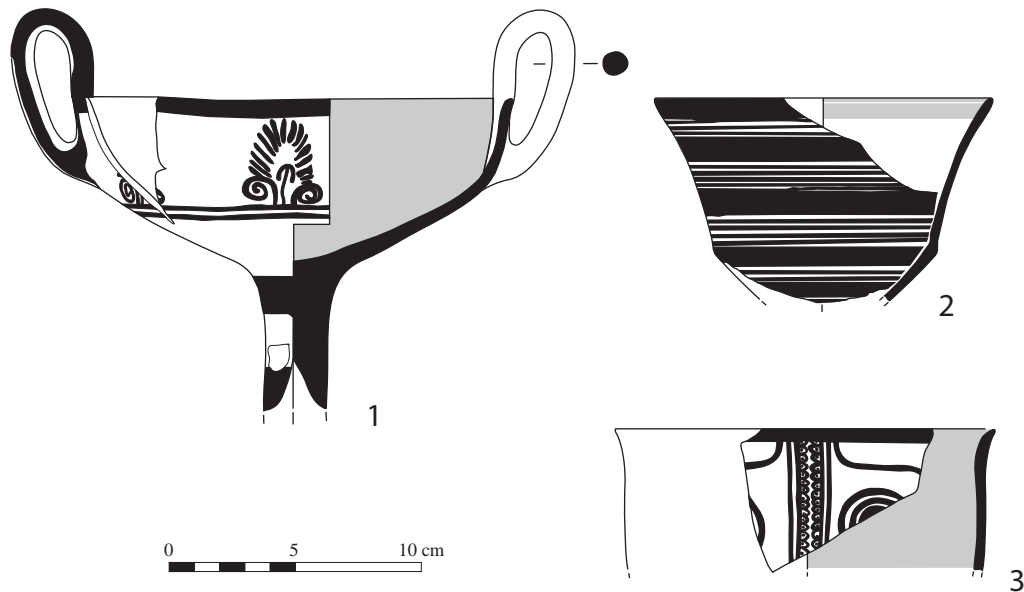


Fig. 26 Aegean-type pottery from Enkomi Level IIB, City Quarter 1 West. 1–2. Room 3A; 3. Room 7. 1. Minoan import; 2. Argive import; 3. local Mycenaean vessel. Scale 1:3 (drawings R. Jung, digitization M. Frauenglas).

FT 278, which, in contrast to the pictorial one from Tell Kazel (see above), bears only linear decoration consisting of fine line groups separated by broad bands on the exterior and two rim bands on the interior (Fig. 26.2).<sup>236</sup> Similar though not identical variations of purely linear decoration occur on a chalice from a LH IIIB Middle context and a second one from a LH IIIB Final context inside the Lower Citadel at Tiryns.<sup>237</sup> Other vessels from this floor deposit include two Base Ring II bowls and fragments of White Slip II bowls, characteristic local table wares of LC IIC.<sup>238</sup>

As a last vessel from Enkomi Level IIB, one quite innovative deep bowl FT 284/285 with decoration type 9.2 (narrow rim band and monochrome interior) and a triglyph with antithetic spirals (FM 50) is worth considering (Fig. 26.3). It comes from the upper of two Level IIB floors (Floor IV) in Room 7 of City Quarter 1 West.<sup>239</sup> With regard to the ubiquitous deep bowls FT 284/285 from the following Level IIIA, it is necessary to stress that neither the profile<sup>240</sup> nor the fabric of this vessel resemble the later deep bowls from Enkomi IIIA.<sup>241</sup> The deep bowl from Room 7 in City Quarter 1 West may therefore be an import to Enkomi IIB from another region on Cyprus.<sup>242</sup>

<sup>236</sup> 1669 (Dikaios 1969/1971, 49, 562, pl. 67.20; Mountjoy 2018, 304, fig. 159.774).

<sup>237</sup> LH IIIB Middle: Schönfeld 1988, 191, fig. 8.5. Northern Gateway, floor deposit, LH IIIB Final: Maran 2008, 56, fig. 35; Wirghová, this volume, fig. 6.4.

<sup>238</sup> Dikaios 1969/1971, 49.

<sup>239</sup> 1157 (Dikaios 1969/1971, 58, 561, pl. 67.27; Jung 2011a, 62–63, 82, fig. 5.4; Mountjoy 2018, 372–374, fig. 194.1151).

<sup>240</sup> For an overview on Enkomi IIIA deep bowls see Mountjoy 2007, 583, fig. 1.3, 8; 585, fig. 2.8–11; 586, fig. 3.1–2, 8–9, 16; 587, fig. 4.4–8; 588, fig. 5.5–7; 589, fig. 6.1, 6–8. The Level IIIA vessels have an s-shaped profile, while the profile of 1157 is much less curved. One deep bowl with broad wavy band found inside the floor layer (Floor V) of the Level IIIA Court 64 has a straight profile with just the lip being everted. Mountjoy therefore ascribes it to the LC IIC destruction of Level IIB (Mountjoy 2007, 584, 586, fig. 3.9), but based on stratigraphy alone, it belongs to the construction period of Level IIIA.

<sup>241</sup> If deep bowls resembling those of Level IIIA are ascribed to Enkomi Level IIB, they do not come from certain Level IIB contexts (Jung 2011a, 62, 82, fig. 5.3).

<sup>242</sup> For the fabric description see Jung 2011a, 63 n. 11. Finally, imported Argive deep bowl FT 284/285 specimens are very rare and their linear decoration and motifs rather suggest LH IIIB Early–Middle dates. An example is 5903/1,

The LH IIIB Final destruction level in the West Gate Area of Midea provides us with a parallel showing the same decoration and motif, while the triglyph is somewhat broader than the one on the Cypriot vessel.<sup>243</sup> A second parallel for type and decoration comes from the same destruction level, but from the West Gate passage itself. In this case, however, the antithetic spirals have taken the shape of two stemmed spiral versions.<sup>244</sup> The Tirynthian Epichosis with its known dating range (see above) gave us two examples for this decoration type in combination with a triglyph flanked by antithetic spirals.<sup>245</sup>

For the Argive fine chronology it is important to note that such deep bowls with decoration type 9.2 (often called FT 284/285A with monochrome interior) appear in the Western Staircase stratigraphy of Tiryns first in Zone 2, in the layers of palace destruction debris (LH IIIB Final), but are common only by Zone 1, i.e. in the early Post-palatial debris deposited on top (LH IIIC Early 1).<sup>246</sup> Likewise, deep bowls with decoration type 9.2 showing antithetic spirals are rare even in the Zone 1 layers,<sup>247</sup> while the Lower Citadel stratigraphy proves that their innovation dates back to LH IIIB Final.<sup>248</sup>

If the Cypriot potters of the deep bowl found in Room 7 of City Quarter 1 West drew on Argive prototypes, the presented stratigraphic evidence would favor a LH IIIC Early rather than a LH IIIB Final date for the vessel. In this context it is also interesting to note that Pyla-Kokkinokremos, destroyed and abandoned in LC IIC, provides more examples of deep bowls FT 284/285 than Enkomi IIB, but all of the vessels published so far show a straight profile more or less close to the Enkomi IIB example from Room 7 discussed here and not the s-profile characteristic for Enkomi Level IIIA.<sup>249</sup>

This overview shows that the Aegean-type pottery from the Enkomi LC IIC destruction layers suggests a synchronism with LH IIIB Final or LH IIIC Early 1, but most probably with the latter phase. In this context, one should also turn to find contexts from the preceding Level IIA in order to narrow down the construction date of that settlement phase. In City Quarter 1 West, Level IIA ended in a destruction including a conflagration.<sup>250</sup> The deposit on top of the burnt Floor VIIA inside Room 8 offers a pottery assemblage that is chronologically significant for assessing the end date of this phase.<sup>251</sup> An Argive shallow strap-handled bowl FT 295/296 with purely linear

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a FT 284/285A with decoration type 5.1 and FM 18, from City Quarter 4 West, Room 142 (Dikaios 1969/1971, 309, pls. 66.1; 87.47). Unfortunately, the well-known singular Argive deep bowl FT 284/285B with reserved bottom circle and FM 48 from 'Swedish Tomb' 6 (Mountjoy 2018, 155–156, fig. 83.24) does not help to fix the synchronism of settlement Level IIB. This last vessel fulfills French's and Mountjoy's definition criteria for 'Group B' deep bowls, i.e. a monochrome interior, a very broad rim band of c. 3cm width (measuring 2.7cm in this specific case) and broad lower bands (Verdelis et al. 1966, 139; French 1969, 74–75, 82, fig. 7; Mountjoy 1986, 129–131, fig. 161). In Podzuweit's definition it is a deep bowl B with decoration type 9.1.2 (Podzuweit 2007, 314, Beilage 78g).

<sup>243</sup> Demakopoulou – Divari-Valakou 1997, 18–19, fig. 16.

<sup>244</sup> Demakopoulou 2003, 81–82, fig. 5.1.

<sup>245</sup> Voigtländer 2003, 95, pls. 68.Si 132a–Si 132b; 129.Si 132.

<sup>246</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 455, tab. 5: 'Skyphos A mit monochromer Innenseite'. In the Lower Citadel decoration type 9.2 is well attested by the LH IIIB Developed and Final phases and continues into the LH IIIC phases (Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 5). Podzuweit subsumed all deep bowls with monochrome interior under his deep bowl Type B (Podzuweit 2007, 24, 29).

<sup>247</sup> Kardamaki 2009, 229, 358 (about parallels at Mycenae), 457, tab. 10 (Typ GT5d); pl. 23.472.

<sup>248</sup> Podzuweit 2007, Beil. 6 (deep bowls with monochrome interior and antithetic spirals: one in LH IIIB Final, four in LH IIIC Early).

<sup>249</sup> Karageorghis – Demas 1984, 45 cat. nos. 22–23; 47, pl. 35.1952/22, 1952/23; Bretschneider et al. 2019a, 82, fig. 54. However, the local Pyla deep bowls FT 284/285 do not parallel the monochrome interior of the Enkomi inv. no. 1157.

<sup>250</sup> Dikaios 1969/1971, 45–46.

<sup>251</sup> Context 2597: The label reads 'Room VIIIA. Demolition layer under floor VII. 1460–1475', which corresponds to the Level IIA Floor VIIA in the published plan and in the room description (Dikaios 1969/1971, 40, pl. 249: 'VIIA 14.76–14.55'). Floor VII, the lower floor of Level IIB, follows at -14.42/14.43m (Dikaios 1969/1971, 58, pl. 251). By contrast, the assignation of Floor VIIA to Level IIB in a stratigraphic table (Dikaios 1969/1971, 45: '-14.45m') must be wrong (also based on the section Dikaios 1969/1971, pl. 260.3: VIIA = 'destr. of IIA'). The destruction of

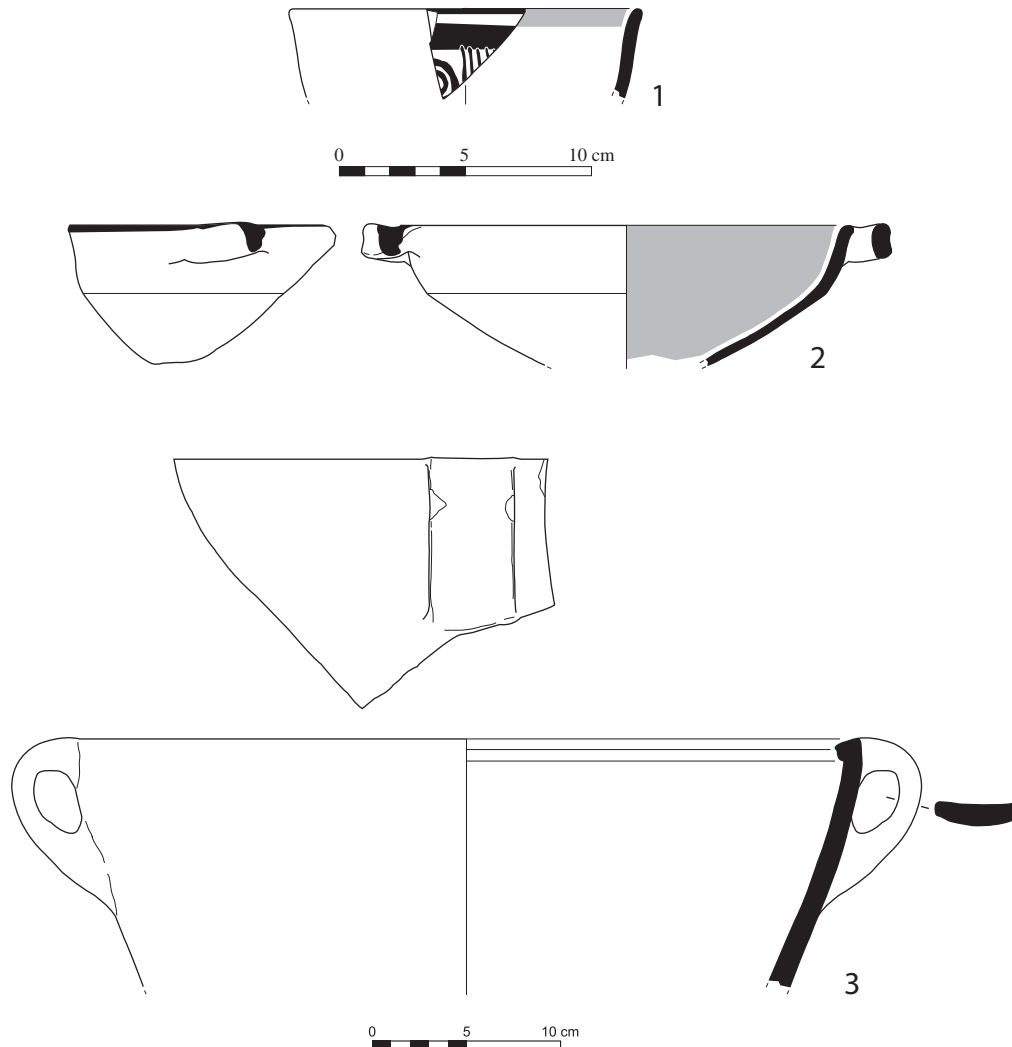


Fig. 27 Pottery from Enkomi, City Quarter 1 West, Room 8, end of Level IIA. 1–2. Argive imports; 3. Plain White Handmade vat. 1–2. Scale 1:3; 3. Scale 1:4 (drawings R. Jung, digitization R. Yassine).

decoration (decoration type 9.2), belongs to this floor deposit (Fig. 27.2).<sup>252</sup> Judging by stratified Argive examples of FT 295/296 with a monochrome interior, one might not expect a production date for this decoration prior to LH IIIB Final for the Enkomi vessel.<sup>253</sup> However, one needs to keep in mind that those shallow strap-handled bowls belong to those Argive export vessels that were not often used by the Mycenaeans themselves (see above). On balance, one might assign this shallow bowl a production date in LH IIIB Middle or Developed. The other wheelmade rim sherds from this floor deposit belong to a small imported Argive bowl (Fig. 26.1)<sup>254</sup> and two local Plain White Wheelmade vessels, while the handmade rim sherds consist of three White Slip II pieces, one Base Ring fragment, one trefoil mouth of a jug and a large Cypriot vat with vertical

the Level IIA building is indicated by the label of Context 2597 ('demolition layer under floor VII') and probably by the description of Floor VIIA as 'darkened by smoke' as well. The Level IIB Room 8 had three consecutive floors (VII, VI and V according to Dikaios 1969/1971, 58, pl. 251).

<sup>252</sup> 2597/8, rim diameter 18cm, rim preservation 19% (for the sherd see Jung 2011a, 62, 82, fig. 5.1).

<sup>253</sup> Cf. Tiryns, Lower Citadel: Podzuweit 2007, 73, Beil. 48 (one specimen in LH IIIB Final and one in LH IIIC Early), pl. 40.6–8.

<sup>254</sup> 2597/9.

handles (Fig. 26.3).<sup>255</sup> In terms of local pottery, this is a classic LC IIC group, while the handmade vat fits well with a date prior to Level IIB.<sup>256</sup>

Weighing the different chronological indications, it is possible that the settlement phase Enkomi IIB started by the time of LH IIIB Developed, while it ended in a destruction that most probably occurred contemporaneously with LH IIIC Early 1.

### Alassa

The settlement of Alassa located in the center of a plateau above the Kouris River in southern Cyprus includes two excavated quarters, the upper quarters at the location called Paliotaverna and, 250m to the east, the lower quarters at Pano Mantilaris.<sup>257</sup> While the evidence at Pano Mantilaris (Fig. 28) shows that this quarter was abandoned ‘without any trace of violent destruction’,<sup>258</sup> the picture from the other quarter is entirely different. At Paliotaverna, the excavation uncovered three buildings (Fig. 29). Building II is the largest one with an area of 1545m<sup>2</sup> including a courtyard of 462m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>259</sup> The only partially excavated Building I, separated from Building II by a street to the south, is interpreted as a subsidiary structure to Building II, while Building III, located immediately to the northeast of Building II but with another orientation, served for ‘industrial activities’.<sup>260</sup>

Buildings II and III burnt down at the end of Paliotaverna Phase 1, but, in the absence of an undisturbed stratigraphic connection between the two, the excavator Sophocles Hadjisavvas refrains from assigning both fires to one and the same catastrophe. However, he also notes that no casual fire could have first broken out in the Pithos Magazine and then expanded over the whole building and further east to Building III, because neither the latter nor the south wing of Building II communicated directly with the pithos storeroom, nor were they attached to it. Apart from an accidental fire, he also considers an attack by foreign raiders (‘Sea Peoples’) as a possible cause of the destruction, but argues that the undisturbed development of the Pano Mantilaris settlement does not support the invasion hypothesis.<sup>261</sup> Following the fire, Building II was reused in a second settlement phase.<sup>262</sup> Considering the significant architectural differences between the simple Pano Mantilaris buildings with their walls made of simply cut stones and mudbricks on the one hand,<sup>263</sup> and the carefully planned and imposing ashlar walls, especially of Building II, including huge storage facilities, on the other,<sup>264</sup> one may wonder if the selectivity of the destruction might have had a social dimension. We may then seek those people who burnt down the ashlar buildings while sparing the nearby village among the local population. The archaeological findings might be evidence of class struggle rather than the actions of foreign raiders.

Layers of destruction debris including burnt pottery useful for dating the fire were found in the North Corridor outside Building II. The excavator suspects that the broken objects had been thrown out of (hypothetical) windows of the Pithos Magazine, because they were found lying in groups in the North Corridor.<sup>265</sup> Unfortunately, only very few pottery fragments allow identification of the type and decoration. The neck and partially preserved vertical handle of

<sup>255</sup> 2597/3.

<sup>256</sup> Yet even by Level IIB a large part of the pottery was still produced without the aid of the potter’s wheel (Jung 2011b, 177, 191, fig. 2).

<sup>257</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 4–7, figs. 1.2–1.4; 132, fig. 4.5.

<sup>258</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 68.

<sup>259</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 130–131, fig. 4.3; 139, 232.

<sup>260</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 131.

<sup>261</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 472–473, fig. 8.3. It remains unclear why Millek denies the existence of any archaeological evidence for destruction in Buildings II and III (Millek 2021, 79).

<sup>262</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 473.

<sup>263</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 10–13, fig. 2.3.

<sup>264</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 138–170, 176–197, 203–214, 221–225, 232–241; Schmid 2017. The building techniques used for Building III are comparable to those of Building II, ‘but the workmanship is not as fine’ (Hadjisavvas 2017, 255).

<sup>265</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 225–226, fig. 4.120–4.121; 473.



Fig. 28 Excavation area of Alassa Pano Mantiliaris (after Hadjisavvas 2017, 11, fig. 2.3).

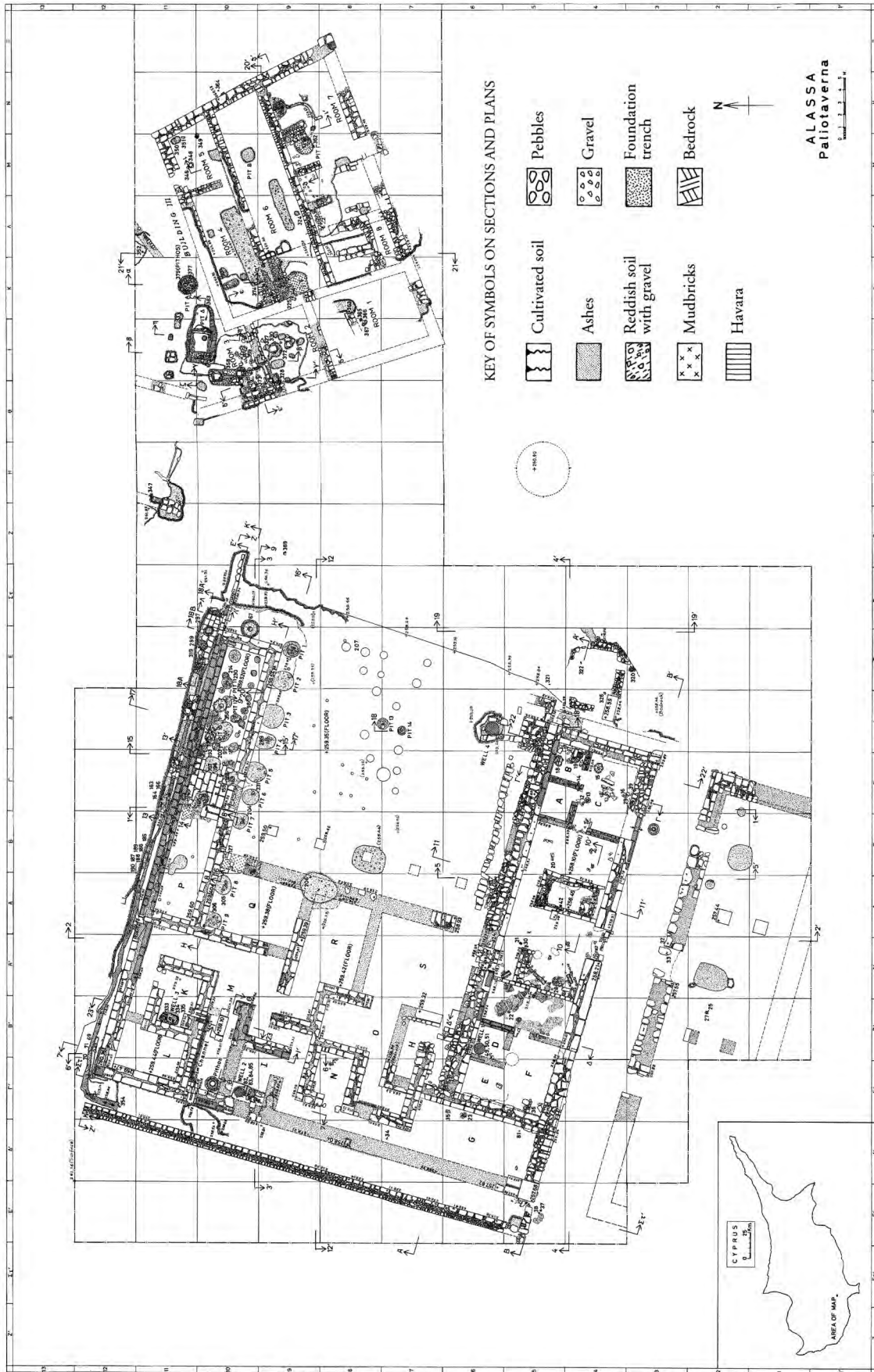


Fig. 29 Excavation area of Alassa Paliotaverna with Buildings I, II and III (after Hadjisavvas 2017, 130–131, fig. 4.3).



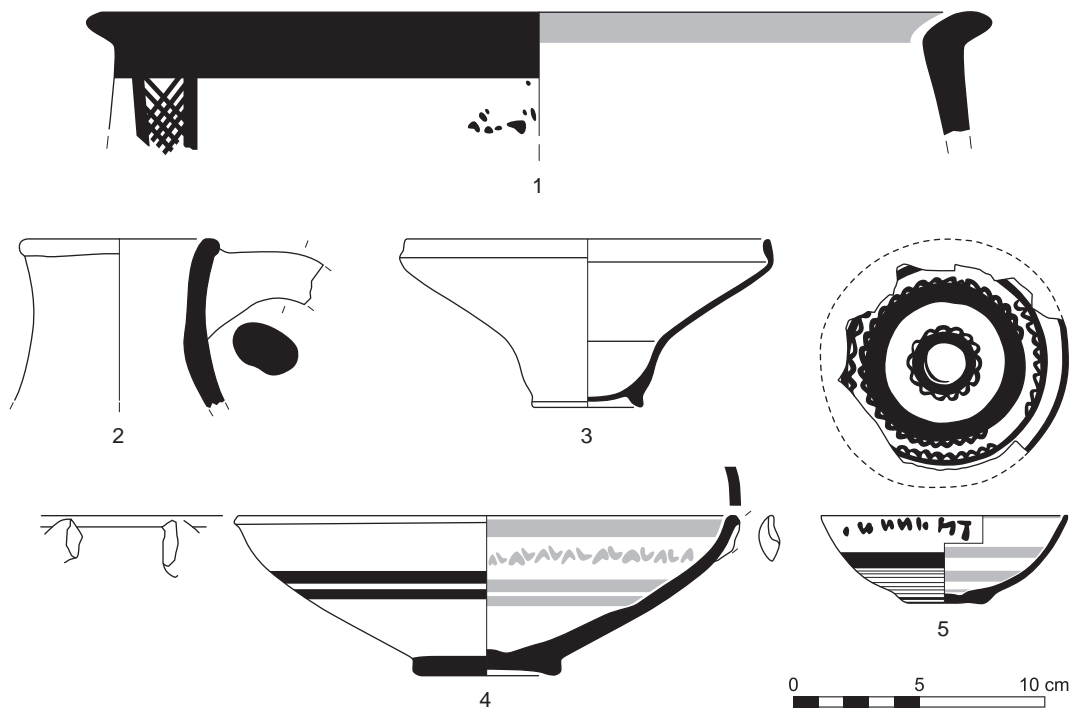


Fig. 30 Pottery finds from Alassa Paliotaverna, Building II. 1. From the Pithos Magazine; 2. from the burnt debris in the North Corridor outside Building II; 3–5. from Well 2 inside Room I. Scale 1:3 (digitization St. Fragner, 1: after Hadjisavvas 2017, 215 no. PT 112; 2: after Hadjisavvas 2017, 227 no. PT 181; 3: after Hadjisavvas 2017, 199 no. PT 89; 4: after Hadjisavvas 2017, 198 no. PT 84; 5: after Hadjisavvas 2017, 198 no. PT 88).

a Plain White vessel is not described in detail and might therefore be either wheelmade or handmade (Fig. 30.2).<sup>266</sup> Its shape finds good parallels at Enkomi, in Level IIB (Fig. 23.4, with a different rim variety), and at Pyla-Kokkinokremos.<sup>267</sup> An imported Mycenaean shallow cup FT 220 (apparently without sunken base) is painted only with banded decoration. This cup type without sunken base and non-thickened, flaring rim seems to have had its main production period in LH IIIB Early and Middle,<sup>268</sup> but is not common in the Argive settlements,<sup>269</sup> which impedes its precise dating. There is no reason to classify a further painted fragment as ‘Mycenaean IIIC:1b’, for it seems to carry a pictorial motif and, according to its fabric characteristics, should be an import, too. In the absence of a drawing, one cannot classify it with any certainty.<sup>270</sup> A rather coarse krater fragment with the hind legs of an animal is listed with the North Corridor pottery, but according to the square, was not found inside the corridor itself, but outside of it to the north.<sup>271</sup> It is therefore stratigraphically problematic and cannot help in dating the conflagration of Paliotaverna Phase 1.

<sup>266</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 227 no. PT 181.

<sup>267</sup> Cf. Jung 2011b, 178, 190, fig. 1.3 (Plain White Wheelmade Ware); Karageorghis – Georgiou 2014, 131, pl. 15.140, 142 (Plain White Wheelmade Ware).

<sup>268</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 229 no. PT 292. Cf. Tiryns, Lower Citadel, LH IIIB Early and LH IIIB Middle: Schönfeld 1988, 155, tab. 1.31; 169, 173, fig. 4.9. Tiryns, Epichosis, LH IIIB Final (–LH IIIC Early 1): Voigtländer 2003, 83 cat. nos. SC 30, SC 39, pls. 58.SC 30, SC 39; 118.SC 30 (with N-pattern); 119.SC 39 (linear). Athens, Agora, Chamber Tomb XXV with two burials, LH IIIB Early–Middle: Immerwahr 1971, 227 no. XXV-3, pl. 53.tomb XXV.3; Mountjoy 1999, 549–550, fig. 199.236.

<sup>269</sup> On the rarity see already Mountjoy 1986, 110–111, fig. 136.

<sup>270</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 229 no. PT 314.

<sup>271</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 230 no. PT 695.

No burnt destruction debris is reported from Well 2 in Room I. This room is part of the West Wing, which, according to Hadjisavvas, ‘most likely belongs to the first period of construction’.<sup>272</sup> Nevertheless, the deepest, 0.60m-thick and silty fill layer of the well contained four unburnt vessels which might be related to a phase preceding the last use of the building. However, this hypothesis is based solely on their find depth inside that 1.40m-deep well.<sup>273</sup> The first one is a wheelmade version of a Base Ring bowl (Fig. 30.3).<sup>274</sup> At Enkomi, such wheelmade bowls of Base Ring shape – produced either unpainted or with monochrome paint – are first attested by the end of Level IIB, where they belong to the most innovative pottery classes of that settlement phase.<sup>275</sup> An almost completely preserved specimen with monochrome decoration (decoration type 11.0) from City Quarter 4 West, found in Room 142 almost directly on Floor VII (the last Level IIB floor), may serve as an example (Fig. 31.1).<sup>276</sup> The rest of that floor deposit<sup>277</sup> comprises characteristic LC IIC Plain White Wheelmade bowls (Fig. 31.2–3, 5–8),<sup>278</sup> a wheelmade vat (Fig. 31.16),<sup>279</sup> the rims of a narrow-necked closed vessel, probably a jug (Fig. 31.13),<sup>280</sup> a storage jar (Fig. 31.15),<sup>281</sup> and a pithos (Fig. 31.14);<sup>282</sup> and in terms of imports, some Argive Mycenaean body and base fragments (Fig. 31.12),<sup>283</sup> as well as Canaanite jars (Fig. 31.10–11).<sup>284</sup> It also includes characteristic handmade shapes such as cooking pots of Cypriot type (Fig. 31.9),<sup>285</sup> a shallow bowl (rim variety d) made in the same handmade cooking pot fabric (Fig. 31.4),<sup>286</sup> and finally, several rims of White Slip II bowls. None of these finds suggest a Level IIIA date or contamination, so that we can accept the whole wheelmade Base Ring bowl as a genuine Level IIB product. This, in turn, allows us to also assume a LC IIC date for the wheelmade Base Ring bowl from Well 2 in Building II of Alassa Paliotaverna.

In fact, the accompanying finds from that well support such a date. According to fabric descriptions and color photos, the other two published vessels from Well 2 are Mycenaean imports (most probably from the Argolid). The first one is a shallow strap-handled bowl FT 295/296<sup>287</sup> with rounded profile, thickened rim flattened on top (rim variety 6), linear decoration 7.2.11 (+ base decoration 1.1), and a row of alternating Λ- and V-patterns, FM 59, on the inside (Fig. 30.4).<sup>288</sup> This vessel can give only an approximate chronological hint (see the discussion on Fig. 21.1 above).

The second Mycenaean vessel is a presumably handleless hemispherical bowl FT 210 with an irregular N-pattern, FM 60, below the rim on the exterior and joining semicircles, FM 42, positioned along the different interior bands (Fig. 30.5).<sup>289</sup> Examples of FT 210 are known from the Epichosis at Tiryns.<sup>290</sup>

<sup>272</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 178.

<sup>273</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 183–184, figs. 4.68–4.69.

<sup>274</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 199 no. PT 89.

<sup>275</sup> On the production period of wheelmade bowls of Base Ring shape see Dikaios 1969/1971, 451, 458, 464, 470–471.

<sup>276</sup> 5897/3: height 3.8cm, rim diameter 9.2–9.4cm (78%), base diameter 3.1cm (100%) (Dikaios 1969/1971, 572, pl. 65.9).

<sup>277</sup> Contexts 5897 and 5898, both between the upper floor of Level IIB, i.e. Floor VII, and the first floor of Level IIIA, i.e. Floor VI (cf. Dikaios 1969/1971, 168, pls. 271, 273).

<sup>278</sup> Fig. 31.2–3: 5897/.. [no sherd numbers]; Fig. 31.5–8: 5898/.. [no sherd numbers].

<sup>279</sup> 5897/.. [no sherd number].

<sup>280</sup> 5898/.. [no sherd number].

<sup>281</sup> 5898/.. [no sherd number].

<sup>282</sup> 5898/.. [no sherd number].

<sup>283</sup> 5898/2.

<sup>284</sup> Both 5898/.. [no sherd numbers].

<sup>285</sup> 5898/.. [no sherd number].

<sup>286</sup> 5898/.. [no sherd number].

<sup>287</sup> For a critical discussion of Furumark’s original typological differentiation see Leonard 1994, 123–124; Jung 2008, 155 with n. 30.

<sup>288</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 198 no. PT 84.

<sup>289</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 198 no. PT 88: height 5cm; rim diameter 10cm; decoration Type 1.1 + exterior bands 7.7 + interior band 2.1 + interior band 2.1 + base Decoration 3.9.

<sup>290</sup> Voigtländer 2003, 82–83 cat. nos. SC 21, SC 32, pls. 57.SC 21; 58.SC 32; 118.SC 21, SC 32. SC 21, with a height of 4.2cm and a rim diameter of 12.0cm has a similar linear decoration and also shares the joining semicircles with

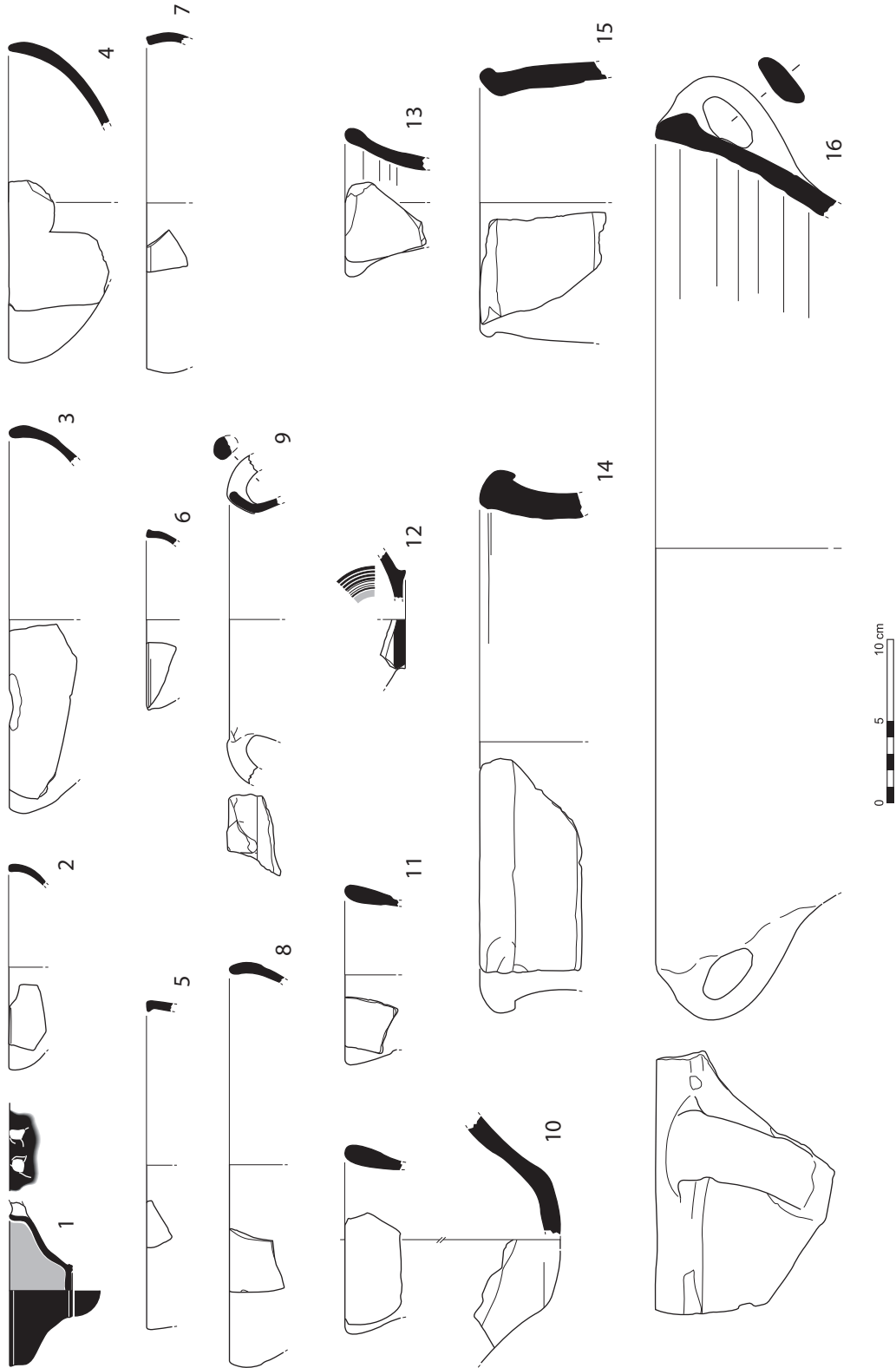


Fig. 31 Pottery from Enkomi, City Quarter 4 West, Room 142, end of Level IIB. 1. Local painted wheelmade Base Ring bowl; 2–3, 5–8, 13, 15–16. Plain White Wheelmade vessels; 4, 9. handmade coarse ware; 10–11. Canaanite jars; 12. Argive import; 14. pithos. Scale 1:4 (drawings R. Jung, D. Knauseder, digitalization St. Fragner, R. Yassine).

The floor contexts of the Pithos Magazine provide the most valuable stratigraphic evidence for the last settlement phase following the conflagration, because it was sealed by a thick layer of decomposed mudbrick that had remained undisturbed after the abandonment of Building II.<sup>291</sup> Inside a pithos, a large fragment of a krater FT 281/282 turned up, which appears to bear pictorial motifs. Judging from the photo and the fabric description, we may be dealing with a Pastoral Style krater, perhaps showing bulls.<sup>292</sup> Pastoral Style kraters were produced in different regions of Cyprus during LC IIC and IIIA.<sup>293</sup> A second fragmentary krater FT 281/282 is in a bad state of preservation, but according to the drawing, a narrow cross-hatched triglyph, FM 75, was one of its motifs (Fig. 30.1).<sup>294</sup>

Regarding other Mycenaean-type vessels, which may be imports, a fragmentary open carinated vessel with narrow rim band and continuous exterior banding made up by fine lines and a broad interior band at medium height is difficult to classify due to the lack of a drawing.<sup>295</sup> Its rim diameter of 11cm could still fit with a chalice FT 278,<sup>296</sup> but the part above the carination seems to be too short for that type. Therefore, it is probably a carinated handleless bowl FT 209.<sup>297</sup> The fabric description might suggest that this piece is an import from Greece, but if it was locally made, it would belong to Mountjoy's Cypriot bowl, Type 3, which has a long production period lasting from LC IIC to LC IIIB.<sup>298</sup> A jug with a rim band, a band around the base of the neck, and a broad wavy line down the vertical handle belongs to the high-necked (Levanto-Helladic) jug version FT 116 – probably an imported specimen.<sup>299</sup> Finally, there is the solidly painted torus base of either a large piriform jar or an amphoroid krater as well as a ring base and body fragments with broad body bands, which cannot contribute to the comparative chronology at all.<sup>300</sup>

The unpainted vessel fragments of Cypriot type from the floors of the Pithos Magazine all find parallels in Enkomi Level IIB and at Pyla-Kokkinokremos. One may name a rim of a Base Ring carinated bowl with wishbone handle, a fragmentary Coarse Monochrome jug, a base and a shoulder of two Plain White Handmade jugs, the rim of a handmade basin with a rim thickened on the exterior, and finally, the upper part of a handmade cooking pot with one vertical handle preserved.<sup>301</sup>

In conclusion then, the destruction of Alassa Paliotaverna Phase 1 happened during LC IIC, most probably towards its end, but no precise synchronization with a specific Mycenaean phase is possible based on the Aegean-type pottery from Alassa itself.

PT 88. An earlier morphological parallel comes from the LH IIIA 2 (Late) context of the Petsas House at Mycenae (Shelton 2008, 228, pl. 36b [right] [exterior decorated with fine lines between a broad rim and a broad base band, interior invisible]).

<sup>291</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 208–211, figs. 4.102–4.106.

<sup>292</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 208, fig. 4.93 (for the find spot); 217 nos. PT 191 + PT 203. Cf. an example from Enkomi Level IIB (LC IIC): 2889/2, 2889/3 (according to the tray label ‘-14.30–13.80 m. E-Z/15–17’, i.e. the layer between the upper floor of Level IIB, Floor IV, and the Level IIIA Floor III, see Dikaios 1969/1971, 567 [assigned to Level IIB]; Jung 2011b, 174, 190, fig. 1.1; Mountjoy 2018, 373–374, fig. 194.1152).

<sup>293</sup> Mountjoy – Mommsen 2015, 474–475. For a LC IIIA example see Hala Sultan Tekke, City Quarter 1, Stratum 2 (Bürge – Fischer 2018, 238, 296–297, fig. 3.50.2).

<sup>294</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 215 no. PT 112. Cf. Enkomi Level IIIA, Room 45, below Floor IV, inv. no. 1072: Mountjoy 2018, 246–247, fig. 129.435 (krater FT 281/282: triglyphs to both sides of an antithetic version of stemmed spirals FM 51; net triglyph interpreted as Minoan influence by Mountjoy).

<sup>295</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 219 no. PT 237.

<sup>296</sup> Cf. Schönfeld 1988, 191, fig. 8.5 (rim diameter 10cm according to the drawing).

<sup>297</sup> Voigtländer 2003, 83 cat. no. SC 38, 185, pls. 58.SC 38; 119.SC 38 (rim diameter 10.7cm).

<sup>298</sup> Cf. Mountjoy 2018, 95–99.

<sup>299</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 219 no. PT 303.

<sup>300</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 215 no. PT 78; 218–219 no. PT 216.

<sup>301</sup> Hadjisavvas 2017, 215 no. PT 98; 216 nos. PT 173 + PT 174a; 218 nos. PT 196, PT 198, PT 214; 220 no. PT 635. Cf. Dikaios 1969/1971, pl. 62.14, 21; Karageorghis – Demas 1984, 34 cat. no. 18; 41 cat. no. 103, pl. 36.18.103; Jung 2011a, 79, fig. 1.1–2, 4; Karageorghis – Georgiou 2014, 129 cat. nos. 107, 114–115; 131–132 cat. nos. 141, 144, 161; pls. 5.115; 14.107; 15.114, 141; 16.144, 161.

## Conclusion

The analysis of the available pottery evidence from well-stratified layers leads to the following synchronistic table (Fig. 32). However, due to the widely differing quantities of preserved and published finds from the relevant destruction deposits, it needs to be pointed out again that the Aegean synchronisms are not of the same precision for all the sites on this chart. The firmest dates are those based on the presence of several artefact categories in combination, such as local Mycenaean pottery and locally made Subapennine pottery in Phase K1 at Tell Kazel. The most insecure synchronisms are those that rely heavily on Argive imports, while local pottery classes suggest that the contexts are well beyond the time when the last LH IIIB Middle imports reached the site. This is the case with Phase 1 of Alassa Paliotaverna. At Ugarit we have the *desideratum* of finding more pottery groups in clear reoccupation layers. Only such assemblages would allow a secure date to be fixed to that last settlement phase, which apparently followed more or less immediately on the violent conflagration of the city.

Mycenaean Phases	Ugarit	Tell Tweini	Tell Kazel	Enkomi	Alassa Paliotaverna	Cypriot Phases
LH IIIB Middle			Akkar Ph. K3 destruction			LC IIC
LH IIIB Developed				Level IIA conflagration?		
LH IIIB Final	Conflagration				Conflagration	
LH IIIC Early 1		Level 7A conflagration	Akkar Ph. K1 conflagration	Level IIB conflagration		
LH IIIC Early 2	Partial reoccupation?		Reoccupation	Level IIIA	Reoccupation	LC IIIA

Fig. 32 Comparative chronology chart.

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The Late Bronze Age Mycenaean palaces in southern and central Greece stood at the head of the earliest state system on the European continent. The authors of this volume, all leading scholars in Bronze Age research and often engaged in excavating the palace sites themselves, focus in their contributions on the most recent progress in pottery studies in order to arrive at precise relative chronological dates for the destruction events.

The investigated archaeological sites range from Crete in the south to the Peloponnese with the palaces of Pylos, Ayios Vasileios, Mycenae and Tiryns, and further north to central Greece with the palace of Thebes, while contemporary sites on Cyprus and in Syria are taken into consideration as well. A precise chronology of those multilayered sites is a precondition for placing the administrative texts from the palace archives in a historical sequence as well as for writing the building history of the palaces themselves. Ultimately, this chronological sequence must also form the backbone of every theory seeking to explain the causes of the palace destructions and their final abandonment. The search for those historical causes is a subject of this publication as well. The book contains primary data from the investigated sites – in many cases illustrating the relevant archaeological finds for the first time. It is the first comprehensive analysis of the topic and is based on the most recent archaeological excavation results.

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